

MUSEUM OF BROADCAST COMMUNICATIONS

# *Encyclopedia of* TELEVISION

SECOND EDITION



**Volume 1**  
A-C

Horace Newcomb  
EDITOR



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*Encyclopedia of*  
**TELEVISION**  
SECOND EDITION



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# Preface

The Museum of Broadcast Communications is proud to continue its commitment to educating about, and providing a better understanding of, electronic media in our world with this second edition of the *Museum of Broadcast Communications Encyclopedia of Television*. We also continue our collaboration with Dr. Horace Newcomb as Editor of the *Encyclopedia*. Dr. Newcomb is the Lambdin Kay Distinguished Professor for the Peabody and Director of the George Foster Peabody Awards Program in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia.

The first edition the *Encyclopedia of Television* was recognized throughout the world of reference book reviewers, librarians, scholars, teachers, and students as a powerful addition to their resources for understanding this most important medium. As an accompaniment to the Arthur C. Nielsen, Jr. Research Center at the Museum, it makes a major contribution to our ongoing educational mission. Television, as Dr. Newcomb writes in his Introduction, is constantly changing. Our efforts, both at the Museum and in this important reference work, mark those changes and look to the future of the medium.

The MBC is dedicated to preserving the history of television, analyzing its present state, and assisting in shaping its future. This edition of the *Encyclopedia of Television*, completely updated and containing almost 200 new entries, is central to those tasks. We believe it makes a truly significant contribution and are pleased to collaborate with our new publisher, Routledge, in making it available to the public.

This second edition of the *MBC Encyclopedia of Television* will also usher in a new era for the Museum. In 2006 the MBC will move into its new 50,000 square foot home on State Street at Kinzie in downtown Chicago. At this new location, visitors will be able to explore radio and television history in comfort. They will also be able to interact with our digitized collection in the MBC Media Cafe. The digitization of the MBC collection began in early 2004. It will allow us to offer greater access to our archives, our public programs and our seminars, both onsite and online at [www.museum.tv](http://www.museum.tv). With extensive streaming content, standardized lesson plans for teachers, online exhibitions and our *Flashback* series of historic events, the MBC website is on the "favorite list" of many television scholars around the world.

Happy reading, happy browsing and please plan to visit us at our new home in Chicago in 2006.

Bruce DuMont  
Founder/President/CEO  
Museum of Broadcast Communications

# Acknowledgments

Once again this project would not have been possible without the confidence and support of Bruce DuMont, Founder and President of the Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago. His continued efforts on behalf of those committed to understanding the history of electronic media are deeply appreciated by anyone involved in the educational enterprises that continue to grow in this area.

My thanks also go to Elizabeth Nishiura, who served as house editor for the project when it was initiated at Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers. She started this revision in the best possible manner. The project would not have been completed, however, without the amazing efficiency of Kristen Holt and Josh Pasternak at Routledge. They have made my work as editor both better and easier.

I am very grateful to the staff of the George Foster Peabody Awards Program in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia. Tom Hoover, Program Coordinator for the Peabody, Danna Williams, Senior Administrative Assistant, and Eric Holder, Public Relations Coordinator, have been aware of my efforts to complete this project and have made space and time available in the midst of a very demanding schedule. I also appreciate the support received from my many colleagues in the Telecommunication Department and throughout the Grady College. Moving to a new institutional setting in the midst of a project such as this one could have caused major problems. Fortunately, all mine have been minor and of my own doing.

Thanks also go to all the colleagues who assisted this project by suggesting new entry topics, writing new entries, revising existing ones, and offering general advice.

As always, special thanks to Sara Newcomb, whose ongoing support makes work such as this possible.

Horace Newcomb  
Athens, Georgia



## Introduction to the Second Edition

This second edition of the *Museum of Broadcast Communications Encyclopedia of Television* contains almost 200 new entries. Additionally, approximately 500 entries from the first edition have been revised and updated to account for developments since 1997, including changes in cast or other personnel, industrial developments, changes in executive ranks, series endings, or, in some cases, with the addition of new readings or other ancillary materials.

As it was for the first edition, the selection of additional entries has been a difficult process. Some new entries are included because they should or could have been placed in the first edition. That is, their absence from that edition was an oversight. In most cases, however, they are here because they add depth and breadth to the overall attempt to represent television in the fullest possible manner. Others, however, do reflect new developments in the television industries, such as new programs, new companies, merged conglomerates, and individuals who have risen to prominence.

Satellites, videocassette recorders, cable systems, and computers continue to alter the profiles and processes related to the medium of television. By the end of the century these technologies had all but obviated any necessity for the locally familiar transmitting tower, the antenna, and even conventional forms of tuners and receivers. Regularized program schedules had given way in most cases to an array of choices, even in regions where official agencies still attempted to control access to televised content. Moreover, the shifts in technology, with consequent alterations in economic underpinnings, and the power alignments accompanying them, showed up new failures—shortcomings, really—in policies and legal arrangements designed to monitor and rationalize the systems of broadcasting commonly thought of as “television.”

Still, some aspects retain familiar outlines. The GE/NBC purchase of Vivendi Universal in late 2003 was a clear example of old strategies of increased vertical and horizontal integration in the media industries. Whatever new technologies are applied in production or used in transmission and reception, it was in the interest of the network to own a major production facility, especially one that produced one of its “bread and butter” program franchises, the *Law and Order* “brand” of television fictions. Moreover, that brand may be popular precisely because it maintains “older” styles of narrative, marked by contained episodes in which familiar characters deal with issues of the day within a crime and punishment format.

In the case of both the more heavily revised and the many new entries, then, the variable, mutable, strategically positioned definitions of “television” mentioned in the Introduction to the first edition, including the most traditional as well as the more innovative, experimental, or postmodern, come into play. One fundamental question can be framed in terms of degrees of change: has “television” truly changed in less than a decade, or has it merely shifted shape? And in either case, has the type and degree of control by corporate and state interest or the type and degree of use by “viewers” and “audiences” been significantly altered? I have no intention of attempting a firm answer to those questions. Rather, I call attention to a few examples that could be fruitfully examined in such an attempt.

In the Introduction to the first edition, I noted the increasing use of personal video recorders, digitally based devices for recording television programs from broadcast or cable transmission. This topic is examined much more fully in a specific entry in this edition ("Digital Video Recorder"), where William Boddy outlines the development of the devices and explores some of the implications of their diffusion and uses. Interestingly, however, the same devices are mentioned in numerous other entries on topics such as "Advertising," "Time Shifting," "Programming," and "Zapping," among others. From discussions of dire predictions to comments about ease of use, the significance of the device is demonstrated in large and small shifts in our understanding of "television." Is "television" in the U.S. the same thing if commercials, so long a topic of anger, delight, scorn, and profit, are easily avoided? Will the entire financial structure of the industries falter? Will producers be influenced more directly by advertising agencies desirous of placing their products inside fictional narratives? Such questions indicate that the personal video recorder is perhaps more significant than its predecessor, the video cassette recorder, which seems now so basic, so useful primarily for recording programs and skipping a few commercials (if only it could be more easily programmed by someone in the house).

In other developments, programming decisions have altered the material that might be available for such recordings. Despite the claims of HBO, for example, that "it's not TV," original programming for cable television has adopted and adapted narrative strategies long familiar to viewers. In terms of content, however, cable television offerings have also pushed boundaries set by cultural restrictions and social expectations, opening television to subject matters and treatments long restricted in the era dominated by network broadcasting. Moreover, in response to the attraction of these newer programs, more conventional television venues have relaxed these restrictions in their own programming.

In part, these variations in content are made possible by the continuing segmentation of audiences. As more distribution outlets are developed with the capacity afforded by digitalization, as technologies make it easier to record for private viewing, and as creative communities take advantage of new freedom to experiment and challenge, the notion of the "mass audience" recedes in the design and dissemination of televisual material. While it is the case that the largest number of viewers can still be reached within the conventional network structure familiar since the days of radio, television programs remain available on schedules with far smaller numbers of regular viewers. As a result of some of these factors, corporate strategies also shift. New entries in this edition note the presence of new television networks such as The WB. The expanded holdings of conglomerates such as Viacom and Disney are discussed here as is the trend capped, for the time being, by the aforementioned GE/NBC purchase of Vivendi Universal studios, cable channels, and ancillary services.

These alterations are best understood, I believe, as evidence of incremental change, rather than completely new developments, and many were in some degree of progress at the time of publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Television*. They indicate the complexity of social attitudes and cultural patterns, and even more significantly the strength and flexibility of the powerful forces that exercise some forms of control over the multiple contexts in which "television" is made and experienced. Radical shifts, whether in the realm of policy, economics, creativity, or technology, are hard to come by.

In some ways, then, the new entries and revisions published here represent a best effort at "keeping up" with the topics that are very likely already in a process of transformation. More than that, however, they also represent an ongoing attempt to *understand* these processes. The selection of entries, then, continues to represent a useful map of the surface of television rather than a complete analysis of the entire phenomenon. The *Encyclopedia of Television* does not pretend to provide final answers for these questions. It offers no definition of its own for "television." Instead, it offers a multitude of beginning points from which to trace the intersections, conflicts, struggles, and convergences that can be applied, and used as partial explanations for particular events, policies, developments—even for the existence of particular television "shows."

## Introduction to the Second Edition

In the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Television* as in the first, connections are pervasive. Multiple explanations are essential. Comparisons are to be expected. Contradictions are inevitable. With a thorough analytical **Index**, and a network of **Cross-References** in the form of **See also**s following most entries, an apparatus enabling the user to explore these connections is built into the structure of the work. The presence of **750 Photographs** accompanying entries (486 of which are entirely new to the second edition) further enhances usage of the encyclopedia. In every case the connections, cross-references, explanations, comparisons, and contradictions should be sought out and used to understand any particular item presented here. These items are starting points on that surface map of television. Radiating from any single entry, crossing many others, are lines of inquiry. But they are also lines of influence. Providing those connections is the aim of this work. Pursuing them should be the delight of the user.

Horace Newcomb  
Athens, Georgia  
January, 2004



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# Alphabetical List of Entries

## Volume 1

- Abbensetts, Michael  
Abbott, Paul  
ABC Family Channel  
Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN)  
*Absolutely Fabulous*  
A.C. Nielsen Company  
Academy of Television Arts and Sciences  
Action/Adventure Programs  
Action for Children's Television  
Activist Television  
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Advertising Agency  
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American Broadcasting Company (ABC)  
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British Sky Broadcasting  
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Brooks, James L.  
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Canada  
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Canadian Cable Television Association  
Canadian Film and Television Production Association  
Canadian Morning Television  
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Canadian Programming in English  
Canadian Programming in French

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*Cathy Come Home*  
*Cavalcade of America*  
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*Cheers*  
*Cheyenne*  
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 Children and Television  
 China  
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 Citytv  
 Civil Rights Movement and Television, The  
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 Clark, Dick  
 Clarkson, Adrienne  
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 Cleese, John  
 Clinton Impeachment Trial  
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 Codco  
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 Cole, George  
*Colgate Comedy Hour, The*  
 Collins, Bill  
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 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)  
*Columbo*  
 Comedy Central  
 Comedy, Domestic Settings  
 Comedy, Workplace  
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 Convergence  
 Cooke, Alistair  
 Cooking Shows  
 Cooney, Joan Ganz  
 Coproduction, International  
*COPS*  
 Copyright Law and Television  
 Corbett, Harry H.  
 Corday, Barbara  
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 Cosby, Bill  
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*Country Practice, A*  
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 Cousteau, Jacques  
*Cracker*  
 Craft, Christine  
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 Crawford, Hector  
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 Cronkite, Walter  
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 Cuba  
 Curtin, Jane  
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- Da Vinci's Inquest*  
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*Day After, The*  
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*Desmond's*  
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*Dick Van Dyke Show, The*  
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*Dixon of Dock Green*  
*Doctor Who*  
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Dowdle, James Charles  
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Drew, Robert  
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DuMont, Allen B.  
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Dyke, Greg  
*Dynasty*
- E! Entertainment Network  
*Early Frost, An*
- East Side/West Side*  
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*Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)*  
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*Eyes on the Prize*  
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*Family*  
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*Fifth Estate, The*  
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Finland  
*Fireside Theatre*  
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Fisher, Terry Louise  
*Flintstones, The*  
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Flow  
Fontana, Tom

- Food Network  
 Foote, Horton  
*For the Record*  
 Ford, Anna  
 Format Sales, International  
*Forsyte Saga, The*  
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*Four Corners*  
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*Friends*  
*Front Page Challenge*  
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- Garner, James  
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 Geography and Television  
*George Burns and Gracie Allen Show, The*  
 Germany  
 Gerussi, Bruno  
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 Gleason, Jackie  
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 Godfrey, Arthur  
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 Goldenson, Leonard  
 Goldie, Grace Wyndham  
*Good Times*  
 Goodson, Mark, and Bill Todman
- Goodyear Playhouse*  
 Grade, Lew  
 Grade, Michael  
*Grandstand*  
*Grange Hill*  
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*Green Acres*  
 Greenberg, Harold  
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 Griffith, Andy  
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*Gunsmoke*  
 Gyngell, Bruce
- Hagman, Larry  
 Haley, Alex  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Hancock's Half Hour*  
 Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera  
*Happy Days*  
 Harding, Gilbert  
 Harris, Susan  
*Have Gun—Will Travel*  
*Have I Got News for You*  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
*Hazel*  
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 Hemsley, Sherman  
 Henning, Paul  
 Hennock, Frieda Barkin  
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 Hewitt, Don  
*Hey Hey It's Saturday*  
 High-Definition Television  
*Hill Street Blues*  
 Hill, Benny  
*Hillsborough*  
 Hill-Thomas Hearings  
 Hird, Thora  
 History and Television  
*Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy, The*  
*Hockey Night in Canada*  
 Hodge, Patricia  
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*Holocaust*  
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*Honey West*

*Honeymooners, The*

Hong Kong

Hood, Stuart

Hooks, Benjamin Lawson

Hope, Bob

Hopkins, John

*Hour Glass*

*Howdy Doody Show, The*

Howerd, Frankie

Huggins, Roy

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*I Claudius*

*I Love Lucy*

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Iceland

Iger, Robert

Independent Production Companies

Independent Television Service

India

*Inspector Morse*

Interactive Television

International Telecommunications Union

International Television Program Markets

Ireland

Isaacs, Jeremy

Israel

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*It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show*

*I've Got a Secret*

Jackson, Gordon

Jackson, Michael (British)

Jaffrey, Madhur

Jaffrey, Saeed

James, Sid

Japan

Jason, David

*Jeffersons, The*

Jenkins, Charles Francis

Jennings, Peter

*Jeopardy!*

*Jewel in the Crown, The*

Johnson, Lamont

Jones, Quincy

*Julia*

Julien, Isaac

Juneau, Pierre

*Kate and Allie*

Keeshan, Bob

Kellner, Jamie

Kendal, Felicity

Kennedy, Graham

Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral

Kennedy, Robert F.: Assassination

Kennedy Martin, Troy

Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debates, 1960

Kenya

*Kids in the Hall*

Kinescope

King, Larry

King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr.: Assassination

*King of Kensington*

Kinnear, Roy

Kinoy, Ernest

Kintner, Robert E.

Kirck, Harvey

Klein, Paul

Kluge, John

Knowledge Network

Koppel, Ted

Kovacs, Ernie

*Kraft Television Theatre*

*Kukla, Fran and Ollie*

Kuralt, Charles

Kureishi, Hanif

*L.A. Law*

*La Femme Nikita*

La Frenais, Ian

La Plante, Lynda

Lamb, Brian

Lambert, Verity

Landon, Michael

Lane, Carla

Language and Television

Lansbury, Angela

*Lassie*

*Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)*

*Laverne and Shirley*

*Law & Order*

*Lawrence Welk Show, The*

Laybourne, Geraldine

Le Mesurier, John

Lear, Norman

*Leave It to Beaver*

Leno, Jay

Leonard, Herbert B.

Leonard, Sheldon

*Leslie Uggams Show, The*

Letterman, David

Levin, Gerald

Levinson, Richard

*Liberace Show, The*

License  
 License Fee  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Life on Earth*  
 Lifetime  
*Likely Lads, The*  
 Link, William  
*Little House on the Prairie*  
 Littlefield, Warren  
 Loach, Ken

Local Television  
*Lone Ranger, The*  
*Loretta Young Show, The*  
*Lou Grant*  
 Low Power Television  
 Lumet, Sidney  
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*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Malone, John C.  
*Mama*  
*Man Alive*  
*Man From U.N.C.L.E., The/The Girl From U.N.C.L.E.*  
 Mann, Abby  
 Mann, Delbert  
 Mansbridge, Peter  
 Marchant, Tony  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Market  
*Marketplace*  
*Married... With Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martin, Quinn  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mass Communication  
*Mastermind*  
*Maude*  
*Maverick*  
*Max Headroom*  
 McDonald, Trevor  
 McGovern, Jimmy  
 McGrath, John  
 McKay, Jim  
 McKern, Leo  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McQueen, Trina  
 Media Conglomerates  
 Media Events  
*Medic*  
 Medical Video  
*Meet the Press*  
 Melodrama  
 Mercer, David

Mercer, Rick  
 Mergers and Acquisitions  
 Messer, Don  
 Mexico  
*Miami Vice*  
 Microwave  
 Midwest Video Case  
 Miller, J.P.  
*Milton Berle Show, The*  
*Minder*  
 Miner, Worthington  
 Miniseries  
 Minow, Newton  
 Mirren, Helen  
*Miss Marple*  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Monkees, The*  
 Monkhouse, Bob  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
*Moonlighting*  
 Moonves, Leslie R.  
 Moore, Garry  
 Moore, Mary Tyler  
 Moore, Roger  
*Morecambe and Wise*  
 Morning Television Programs  
 Motion Picture Association of America  
 Movie Network, The  
 Movie Professionals and Television  
 Movies on Television  
 Moyers, Bill  
 MSNBC  
 MTV  
 MuchMusic  
 Munroe, Carmen  
*Muppet Show, The*  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
 Murdoch, Rupert K.  
*Murphy Brown*

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Murphy, Thomas S.  
Murrow, Edward R.  
Music Licensing  
Music on Television  
Must Carry Rules  
*My Little Margie*  
*My Three Sons*

*Naked City*  
*Naked Civil Servant, The*  
*Name of the Game, The*  
Narrowcasting  
Nash, Knowlton  
*Nat "King" Cole Show, The*  
Nation, Terry  
*National, The/The Journal*  
National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences  
National Asian American Telecommunications Association  
National Association of Broadcasters  
National Association of Television Program Executives  
National Broadcasting Company (NBC)  
National Cable and Telecommunications Association  
National Education Television Center  
National Telecommunication and Information Administration  
*Nature of Things, The*  
*NBC Mystery Movie, The*  
*NBC Reports*  
*NBC White Paper*  
*Neighbours*  
Nelson, Ozzie and Harriet  
Netherlands, The  
Networks: United States  
New Zealand  
Newhart, Bob  
Newman, Sydney  
News Corporation, Ltd.  
News, Local and Regional  
News, Network  
Nichols, Dandy  
Nick at Nite/TV Land  
Nielsen, A.C.  
Nixon, Agnes  
*North of 60*  
*Northern Exposure*  
Norway  
*Not the Nine O'clock News*  
*Not Only... But Also...*  
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O'Connor, Carroll  
*Odd Couple, The*

Ohlmeyer, Don  
*Old Grey Whistle Test, The*  
Olympics and Television  
*Omnibus*  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Foot in the Grave*  
*Only Fools and Horses*  
Open University  
*Original Amateur Hour, The*  
Ouimet, Alphonse  
*Our Friends in the North*  
*Our Miss Brooks*  
Ovitz, Michael  
Ownership  
Paar, Jack  
Paik, Nam June  
Paley, William S.  
Palin, Michael  
Palmer, Geoffrey  
*Panorama*  
Park, Nick  
Parker, Everett C.  
*Parkinson*  
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Parliament, Coverage by Television  
*Partridge Family, The*  
Pauley, Jane  
PAX Television  
Pay Cable  
Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand  
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Peck, Bob  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
*Pennies from Heaven*  
*Perry Mason*  
*Person to Person*  
Pertwee, Jon  
*Peter Gunn*  
*Peter Pan*  
*Peyton Place*  
*Phil Silvers Show, The*  
Philbin, Regis  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
Phillips, Irna  
Pierce, Frederick S.  
Pilot Programs  
Pittman, Robert W.  
*Playhouse 90*  
Poland  
*Poldark*  
Police Programs  
*Police Story*  
Political Processes and Television  
*Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher*

- Pool Coverage  
*Porridge*  
 Post, Mike  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
*Power without Glory*  
 Presidential Nominating Conventions  
 Press Conference  
*Prime Suspect*  
 Prime Time  
 Prime Time Access Rule  
*Primetime Live*  
 Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner*  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Producer in Television  
 Programming  
 PROMAX  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Public Access Television  
 Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity  
 Public-Service Announcement  
 Public-Service Broadcasting  
 Public Television  
 Puerto Rico
- Quatermass*  
 Quebecor Media  
*Queer As Folk*  
*Quentin Durgens, M.P.*  
 Quiz and Game Shows  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Racism, Ethnicity and Television  
 Radio Corporation of America  
 Radio Television News Directors Association  
 Randall, Tony  
 Rather, Dan  
 Ratings  
*Ready Steady Go*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*
- Reality Television  
*Red Green Show, The*  
*Red Skelton Show, The*  
 Redmond, Phil  
 Redstone, Sumner  
 Rees, Marian  
 Reid, Tim  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Reith, John C.W.  
 Religion on Television  
 Remote Control Device  
 Reruns/Repeats  
 Reynolds, Gene  
*Rich Man, Poor Man*  
 Rigg, Diana  
 Riggs, Marlon  
 Rintels, David W.  
*Rising Damp*  
 Rivera, Geraldo  
*Road to Avonlea*  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robinson, Hubbell  
*Rockford Files, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rogers, Fred McFeely  
 Rogers, Ted  
*Room 222*  
*Roots*  
 Rose, Reginald  
 Roseanne  
*Roseanne*  
 Rosenthal, Jack  
*Route 66*  
*Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*  
*Royal Canadian Air Farce, The*  
 Royalty and Royals on Television  
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 Rule, Elton  
*Rumpole of the Bailey*  
 Rushton, William  
 Russell, Ken  
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- St. Elsewhere*  
 Sagansky, Jeff  
 Salant, Richard S.  
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- Sandford, Jeremy  
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*Saturday Night Live*  
Saunders, Jennifer  
Sawyer, Diane  
Scales, Prunella  
Schaffner, Franklin  
Schorr, Daniel  
Schwartz, Sherwood  
Science Fiction Programs  
Science Programs  
Scotland  
Scrambled Signals  
Second City Television  
Secondari, John H.  
*See It Now*  
*Seeing Things*  
*Seinfeld*  
Sellers, Peter  
*Selling of the Pentagon, The*  
Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
Sesame Workshop  
Sevareid, Eric  
*Sex*  
*Sex and the City*  
Sexual Orientation and Television  
Share  
Shatner, William  
Shaw, Bernard  
Sheen, Fulton J.  
*Sherlock Holmes*  
Shore, Dinah  
Showtime Network  
Silliphant, Stirling  
Silverman, Fred  
Silvers, Phil  
*Simpsons, The*  
Simulcasting  
*Singing Detective, The*  
*Siskel and Ebert*  
*Six Wives of Henry VIII, The*  
*60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II*  
*\$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge*  
Skelton, Red  
*Skippy*  
Smith, Howard K.  
*Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The*  
*Soap*  
Soap Opera  
Social Class and Television  
Society for Motion Picture and Television  
Engineers  
*Some Mothers Do 'ave 'em*  
Sony Corporation  
*Sopranos, The*  
*Soul Train*  
South Africa  
South Korea  
*South Park*  
Southeast Asia  
Space Program and Television  
Spain  
Spanish International Network  
Special/Spectacular  
Speight, Johnny  
Spelling, Aaron  
Spin-Off  
*Spitting Image*  
Sponsor  
Sports and Television  
Sportscasters  
Spriggs, Elizabeth  
Spy Programs  
Standards  
Standards and Practices  
Stanton, Frank  
Star, Darren  
*Star Trek*  
Starowicz, Mark  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
Station and Station Group  
Steadicam  
*Steptoe and Son*  
*Steve Allen Show, The (Various)*  
Streaming Video  
*Street Legal*  
Street-Porter, Janet  
Studio  
*Studio One*  
Subtitling  
Sullivan, Ed  
Super Bowl  
Superstation  
*Survivor*  
*Suspense*  
Susskind, David  
Sustaining Program  
Suzuki, David  
Swallow, Norman  
Sweden  
*Sweeney, The*  
Switzerland  
Sykes, Eric  
*Sylvania Waters*  
Syndication

- Tabloid Television in the United States  
 Taiwan  
 Talk Show in the United States  
*Talking Heads*  
 Tarses, Jay  
 Tartikoff, Brandon  
*Taxi*  
 Teaser  
 Technology, Television  
 Teenagers and Television in the United States  
 Telcos  
 Telecommunications Act of 1996  
 Telefilm Canada  
 Telemundo  
 Telenovela  
 Teleroman  
 Teletext  
 Telethon  
 Television Studies  
 Terrorism  
*That Girl*  
*That Was the Week That Was*  
 Thaw, John  
 Theme Songs  
*thirtysomething*  
*This Hour Has Seven Days*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Tony  
*Thorn Birds, The*  
*Three's Company*  
*Thunderbirds*  
 Tiananmen Square  
*Till Death Us Do Part*  
 Tillstrom, Burr  
 Time Shifting  
 Time Warner  
 Tinker, Grant  
*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*  
 Tisch, Laurence  
*Tiswas*  
*Tommy Hunter Show, The*  
*Tonight*  
*Tonight Show, The*  
*Top of the Pops*  
*Touched By an Angel*  
*Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A*  
 Trade Magazines  
 Translators and Boosters  
 Tribune Broadcasting  
 Trodd, Kenith  
 Troughton, Patrick  
 Turkey  
 Turner Broadcasting Systems  
 Turner, Ted  
*20th Century, The*  
*20/20*  
 24-Hour News  
*Twilight Zone, The*  
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 2000 Presidential Election Coverage  
 227  
  
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*Undercurrents*  
 Unions/Guilds  
 United States Congress and Television  
 United States Presidency and Television (Historical  
     Overview)  
 Universal (NBC-Universal, Vivendi Universal)  
*University Challenge*  
 Univision  
*Untouchables, The*  
 UPN Television Network  
*Upstairs, Downstairs*  
  
*Valour and the Horror, The*  
 Van Dyke, Dick  
 Variety Programs  
*Very British Coup, A*  
*Victory at Sea*  
 Video Editing  
 Videocassette  
 Videodisc  
 Videotape  
 Videotex and Online Services  
*Vietnam: A Television History*  
 Vietnam on Television  
 Violence and Television  
*Voice of Firestone, The*  
 Voice-Over  
  
 W (formerly Women's Television Network)  
*Wagon Train*  
 Wales  
*Walking with Dinosaurs*  
 Wallace, Mike  
 Walsh, Mary  
 Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)  
 Walters, Barbara  
*Waltons, The*  
*War Game, The*  
 War on Television  
 Warner Brothers Presents  
*Watch Mr. Wizard*  
*Watch with Mother*

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Waterman, Dennis  
Waters, Ethel  
Watkins, Peter  
Watson, Patrick  
Wayne and Shuster  
WB Network  
Wearing, Michael  
Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)  
Webb, Jack  
*Wednesday Play, The*  
Weinberger, Ed  
Weldon, Fay  
Welland, Colin  
Wendt, Jana  
Western  
Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse  
Weyman, Ron  
*Wheel of Fortune*  
Wheldon, Huw  
Whicker, Alan  
White, Betty  
Whitfield, June  
*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*  
*Widows*  
*Wild Kingdom*  
Wildlife and Nature Programs  
Wildmon, Donald  
Williams, Raymond  
Wilson, Flip  
Winant, Ethel  
*Wind at My Back*  
Windsor, Frank  
Winfrey, Oprah  
Winters, Jonathan  
Wiseman, Frederick  
Witt, Paul Junger  
*Wojeck*  
Wolf, Dick  
Wolper, David L.  
*Women of Brewster Place, The*  
*Wonder Years, The*  
Wood, Robert  
Wood, Victoria  
Woodward, Edward  
Woodward, Joanne  
Workplace Programs  
*World at War, The*  
*World in Action*  
Worrel, Trix  
Wrather, Jack  
Wrestling on Television  
Wright, Robert C.  
Writer in Television  
Wyman, Jane  
  
*Xena: Warrior Princess*  
*X-Files, The*  
*XXX Man, The*  
  
Yentob, Alan  
*Yes, Minister*  
Young, Loretta  
Young, Robert  
*Your Hit Parade*  
Youth Television  
  
Z Cars  
Zapping  
Ziv Television Programs, Inc.  
Znaimer, Moses  
*Zorro*  
Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz  
Zworykin, Vladimir

# A

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## Abbensetts, Michael (1938– )

British Writer

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Michael Abbensetts is considered by many to be the best black playwright to emerge from his generation. He has been presented with many awards for his lifetime achievements in television drama writing and, in 1979, received an award for an “Outstanding Contribution to Literature” by a black writer resident in England. His work emerged alongside, and as part of, the larger development of black British television drama.

Abbensetts was born in Guyana in 1938. He began his writing career with short stories but decided to turn to playwriting after seeing a performance of John Osborne’s *Look Back in Anger*. He was further inspired when he went to England and visited the Royal Court Theatre, Britain’s premier theater of new writing, where he became resident dramatist in 1974. *Sweet Talk*, Abbensetts’s first play, was performed there in 1973.

In the same year, *The Museum Attendant*, his first television play, was broadcast on BBC 2. Directed by Stephen Frears, the drama was, Abbensetts says, based on his own early experiences as a security guard at the Tower of London. After these two early successes, Abbensetts, unlike most black writers in Britain at the time, was being offered more and more work. He wrote *A Black Christmas*, which was broadcast on the BBC in 1977 and featured Carmen Munroe and Norman Beaton. Like *The Museum Attendant*, *A Black Christmas* was based on actual experience and was shot on location for television.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a number of Abbensetts’s

plays were produced for the London theater. *Alterations* appeared in 1978, followed by *Samba* (1980), *In the Mood* (1981), *Outlaw* (1983), and *El Dorado* (1983). *Inner City Blues*, *Crime and Passion*, *Roadrunner*, and *Fallen Angel* were produced for television.

Abbensetts’s success led to participation in British television’s first black soap opera, *Empire Road* (1978–79), for which he wrote two series. Horace Ove was brought in to direct the second series, establishing a production unit with a black director, black writer, and black actors. The television series was unique not only because it was the first soap opera to be conceived and written by a black writer for a black cast but also because it was specifically about the British-Caribbean experience. Set in Handsworth, Birmingham (United Kingdom), it featured Norman Beaton as Everton Bennett and Corinne Skinner-Carter as his long-suffering screen wife. Although *Empire Road* was a landmark program on British television, it managed to survive only two series before it was axed. Beaton said of the program, “It is perhaps the best TV series I have been in.”

Beaton continued to star in many of Abbensetts’s television productions, including *Easy Money* (1981) *Big George Is Dead* (1987), and *Little Napoleons* (Channel 4, 1994). *Little Napoleons* is a four-part comic-drama depicting the rivalry between two solicitors, played by Saeed Jaffrey and Beaton, who become Labour councillors. The work focuses on a number of themes, including the price of power, the





Michael Abbensetts.  
Photo courtesy of Michael Abbensetts

relationship between West Indian and Asian communities in Britain, and the internal workings of political institutions.

Much of Abbensetts's drama has focused on issues of race and power, but he has always been reluctant to be seen as restricted to issue-based drama. His dialogue is concerned with the development and growth of character, and he is fundamentally aware of the methods and contexts for his actors. Abbensetts has always actively involved himself in the production process, and his dramatic works have provided outstanding roles for established black actors in Britain (Carmen Munroe, Rudolph Walker, and Beaton), giving them the chance to play interesting and realistic roles as well as creating stories about the everyday experiences of black people. Abbensetts's work thrived at a time when there was very little drama on television that represented the lives of black British people, and his television plays have created new perspectives for all his viewers.

SARITA MALIK

**Michael Abbensetts.** Born in British Guiana (now Guyana), June 8, 1938; became British citizen, 1974. Educated at Queen's College, Guyana, 1952–56;

Stanstead College, Quebec; Sir George Williams University, Montreal, 1960–66. Security attendant, Tower of London, 1963–67; staff member, Sir John Soane Museum, London, 1968–71; resident playwright, Royal Court Theatre, London, 1974; visiting professor of drama, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1981; Royal Literary Fellow, University of North London, 2000–01 and 2001–02. Recipient: George Devine Award, 1973; Arts Council bursary, 1977; Afro-Caribbean Award, 1979.

#### Television Series

1978–79 *Empire Road*  
1994 *Little Napoleons*

#### Television Plays

1973 *The Museum Attendant*  
1975 *Inner City Blues*  
1976 *Crime and Passion*  
1977 *A Black Christmas*  
1977 *Roadrunner*  
1981 *Easy Money*  
1987 *Big George Is Dead*

#### Radio

Home Again, 1975; The Sunny Side of the Street, 1977; Brothers of the Sword, 1978; The Fast Lane, 1980; The Dark Horse, 1981; Summer Passions, 1985.

#### Stage

Sweet Talk, 1973; Alterations, 1978; Samba, 1980; In the Mood, 1981; The Dark Horse, 1981; Outlaw, 1983; El Dorado, 1984; Living Together, 1988; The Lion, 1993.

#### Publications

*Sweet Talk* (play), 1976  
*Samba* (play), 1980  
*Empire Road* (novel), 1979  
*Living Together* (play), 1988  
*Four Plays* (including *Sweet Talk*, *Alterations*, *El Dorado*, and *In the Mood*), 2001

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## Abbott, Paul (1960– )

British Writer

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Paul Abbott is one of a new generation of British television writers whose work owes much to the strong tradition of social realism in British television drama. His upbringing in the northwest of England, as the ninth of ten children in a poor working-class family, has clearly had a formative influence, yet the zest and vitality of series like *Clocking Off* and *Linda Green* belie the deprivations of his childhood.

Writing stories was a means of escape for the teenage Abbott and after having a story published in the local *Weekly News* he began to think he could make a living from it. In 1980 Abbott enrolled at Manchester University to study psychology but he didn't give up hopes of a writing career, and when, in 1982, he had a radio play accepted by the BBC he decided to leave the university and concentrate on writing.

Abbott got a job at Granada Television as a story editor on *Coronation Street* and it was there, like many writers before him, that he served his apprenticeship, graduating to writing episodes for the serial in 1989. Given his background, the nuances of working-class life in *Coronation Street* were something Abbott could easily relate to. His upbringing in a large family also drew him to writing for and about children and his first televised script was for Granada's children's series *Dramarama*, an episode called "Blackbird Singing in the Dead of Night," written with Kay Mellor, who was also working on *Coronation Street*. Following this Abbott and Mellor developed *Children's Ward* for Granada TV. The series, which Abbott had originally wanted to set in a children's home, enabled him to draw on his experience of growing up in a large family and sharing a bedroom with seven brothers.

After working on *Coronation Street* for more than ten years Abbott decided to move on in 1994, producing the second series of Jimmy McGovern's *Cracker* before writing two stories for the third series in 1995, one of which involved a psychology student stalking Fitz, the criminal psychologist played by Robbie Coltrane. The *Cracker* scripts marked Abbott's growing maturity as a writer and saw him following in the footsteps of McGovern, branching out from soap opera to series drama.

Following *Cracker* Abbott spent the next year working on three serials, all screened in 1997, an unusually prolific spell for a writer in contemporary television. The first of these was the six-part romantic drama *Reckless*, starring Francesca Annis and Robson Green, which was nominated for Royal Television Society (RTS) and Writers Guild awards, followed by the four-part *Springhill*, a soap opera about a large Liverpool family, and the six-part crime drama *Touching Evil*, also nominated for RTS and Writers Guild awards. This period saw Abbott establish himself on ITV as a successful writer of popular generic drama—a talent much sought after by television companies increasingly concerned with maximizing audiences. After the limitations of the half-hour soap episode these serials enabled Abbott to extend himself with longer, original stories. A sign of his emerging reputation was that high-profile actors were attracted to his scripts; Peter Postlethwaite starred in the 1999 two-part police drama *Butterfly Collectors*.

In 1998 Abbott signed a two-year contract with the BBC and his first commission was the series that really established him as a leading writer of contemporary television drama, *Clocking Off*. Based on the lives of a group of workers at a textile factory in Manchester, with each episode focusing on a different character, *Clocking Off* was in the BBC *Play for Today* mold, serious single dramas about working-class life in the north of England. While its factory setting, working-class characters, and urban locations suggested social realism, Abbott's stylish treatment gave *Clocking Off* an altogether different flavor. The series was highly acclaimed, winning British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) and RTS awards for Best Drama Series, with Abbott receiving the RTS Best Writer award for the series.

The first series of *Clocking Off* in early 2000 was followed by *The Secret World of Michael Fry*, an off-beat two-part drama starring Ewen Bremner, Abbott's second drama for Channel 4 following the pilot episode for the 1999 series *Love in the 21st Century*. The move from ITV to the BBC and Channel 4 liberated Abbott,

enabling him to broaden his repertoire and experiment with different styles, but the three-part BBC 1 serial, *Best of Both Worlds* (2001), about an air hostess with marriages in two different countries, was disappointing, suggesting that Abbott was less comfortable with material that did not arise from his own working-class experience. *Linda Green* (2001), by contrast, was an inspired return to form. Featuring Liza Tarbuck as the brash, uninhibited car salesperson, out for a good time, it marked a return to more familiar territory.

As if to prove his ability to deal with "serious" drama material Abbott spent the next two years working on a major drama for the BBC. *State of Play* (2003) was a six-part political thriller, a genre with an illustrious history but little seen on British television since the 1980s. With a rapturous critical reception *State of Play* cemented Abbott's reputation as a serious dramatist and, while the "human interest" story may have eclipsed the politics in an overly complex plot, it was enough of a success for a second series, this time concentrating on the investigative journalists, to be commissioned by the BBC.

Also in 2003, ITV screened *Alibi*, a two-part drama that confirmed Abbott's standing as a highly accomplished television dramatist. Essentially a crime thriller leavened with comedy, the three-hour drama worked well thanks to excellent performances from Michael Kitchen and Sophie Okonedo, two of British television's best actors.

With *Shameless*, a seven-part autobiographical drama, also screening in 2004, Paul Abbott has established himself as one Britain's most prolific and original screenwriters. His success may suggest that the days of the writer as an important figure in British television are not yet numbered.

LEZ COOKE

**Paul Abbott.** Born in Burnley, England, 1960. Worked as story editor and scriptwriter on *Coronation Street*, writer and producer on *Cracker*; then creator and writer of several acclaimed series and serials, including *Touching Evil*, *Clocking Off*, and *State of Play*. Re-

ipient: Royal Television Society Award for Best Writer, for *Clocking Off*, 2001.

#### Television

- 1988 *Dramarama*, "Blackbird Singing in the Dead of Night" (with Kay Mellor)
- 1989–94 *Coronation Street*
- 1989–95 *Children's Ward*
- 1995 *Sharman: Hearts of Stone*  
*Cracker*
- 1997 *Reckless*  
*Springhill*  
*Touching Evil*
- 1999 *Butterfly Collectors*
- 2000–02 *Clocking Off*
- 2000 *The Secret World of Michael Fry*  
*Love in the 21st Century*,  
"Reproduction"
- 2001 *Best of Both Worlds*  
*Linda Green*
- 2003 *State of Play*  
*Alibi*
- 2004 *Shameless*

#### Theater

- 1989 *Binnin' It*
- 1993 *Possession*

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- Abbott, Paul, "Spinners and Losers," *Guardian* (May 12, 2003)
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- O'Carroll, Lisa, "Abbott Turns His 'Sub-Working Class' Life into Drama," *Guardian Unlimited* (May 16, 2003)

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**ABC.** See American Broadcasting Company

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# ABC Family Channel

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When the Walt Disney Company bought the Family Channel from FOX in October 2001, the acquisition came with an unusual condition: two or three times a day, the cable channel now known as ABC Family Channel must provide time for the Christian evangelist Pat Robertson to air his religious talk show, *The 700 Club*. To understand the origin of this decree, one must look back to 1960, when a then-unknown Robertson bought a run-down UHF TV station in Portsmouth, Virginia, for \$37,000 and called his operation the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). Robertson was a pioneer in satellite-delivered cable programming, since he saw that it was really the only way he could reach 60 million homes with his evangelical programming. CBN built its own satellite Earth station in 1977, bought \$13 million worth of satellite time when it was sold cheaply, and began providing round-the-clock religious programming to a growing network of cable stations. By 1980 the Continental Broadcasting Network, an alternative name for CBN Cable, reached more than 5 million homes, and cable operators were paid eight cents a month per subscriber to provide the religious cable channel in their area.

Robertson financed the early days of his channel by allowing other religious broadcasters to buy his airtime, but the number of viewers was low. He then decided to boost his audience size by providing a broad channel of wholesome entertainment based on reruns of successful old shows from the 1960s and to get rid of all religious shows other than his own *700 Club*, which received a boost in viewership when CBN made the format change. On August 1, 1968, CBN Cable changed its name to the Family Channel.

Two years later, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service forced CBN to sell its profitable subsidiary. Pat Robertson and his son Tim arranged a leveraged buy-out, with a new group, International Family Entertainment (IFE), purchasing the Family Channel from CBN for \$250 million in cash and \$43 million in program commitments. IFE was controlled and partially owned by Pat and Tim Robertson, and, under the terms of the sale, IFE and its successors were required to provide airtime for *The 700 Club* in perpetuity. It was good deal for everyone; CBN claimed that the transaction provided the company with \$600 million in benefits (which included everything from cash to airtime), and

IFE, brilliantly managed by Tim Robertson, Larry Dantzler, and John de Moose from Chrysler, soon became a profitable entity. Launched on the New York Stock Exchange in 1992, IFE became a publicly held \$150 million company.

IFE flourished, buying a chain of theaters in the southern United States and starting the Games Channel, with a format of original game shows and reruns of such series as *Crosswits*, *Let's Make a Deal*, and *Truth or Consequences*. IFE also began a cable Health Club Channel, with limited success. Tim Robertson's most inspired move was to negotiate the 1993 acquisition of the United Kingdom operation Television South (TVS) for a modest \$85 million. TVS had lost its license to broadcast in the ITV awards of 1992 but still had impressive holdings, including MTM Productions (which TVS had bought for approximately \$285 million four years earlier) and Maidstone Studios, which IFE later sold for a profit. Ownership of MTM gave IFE not only the production company's library of programs but also its production facilities in Los Angeles; in addition the TVS acquisition presented an opportunity to establish a British version of the Family Channel.

IFE grew into a variety of entertainment divisions, which included production, live-entertainment, and syndication groups. The MTM catalog provided the channel with such notable programs as *The Bob Newhart Show*, *Lou Grant*, and *Evening Shade*. IFE revenues rose from \$242 million in 1994 to \$273 million in 1995 to \$315 million in 1996. Cable analyst Breck Wheeler suggested that IFE was "poised to ride a wave of worldwide cable system growth that will push demand for both original and syndicated programming." Big groups like Disney and FOX looked toward the Family Channel as an attractive acquisition, while at the same time the Robertsons doubted whether they had the long-term capital resources to compete for new programming with the giants who surrounded them. For Pat Robertson, the real incentive to own the Family Channel remained its ability to carry *The 700 Club* to a nationwide audience; if the terms of any sale included the provision that the new owners must carry this show, he reasoned, why not sell? The issue then became who would pay the highest price, Disney or FOX?

In 1996 it was an Israeli entrepreneur with a huge library of cartoons for kids, Haim Saban of Saban Entertainment, who started serious negotiations to acquire IFE, with the enthusiastic backing of the FOX Children's Network. The new company was called FOX Kids Worldwide, jointly owned by FOX Broadcasting and Saban Entertainment. FOX saw the merger as a necessary ingredient for future success in their worldwide expansion plans. Margaret Loesch, chief executive officer of FOX Kids Networks Worldwide, was quoted as saying that, "Together, we are greater than the sum of our parts.... By bringing [Saban] on board, it gives us an insurance policy and the tools we need to build a very strong international television company. I think it makes the difference between success and failure." In hindsight, the Saban presence did make a difference, but not the one for which Loesch had hoped: Saban's total lack of cable programming experience doomed FOX Kids Worldwide to relative failure.

Still, back in June 1997 Rupert Murdoch, chairman and CEO of FOX's parent company, News Corporation, was congratulated on his wisdom in buying IFE for the price of \$1.9 billion. At that point, the Family Channel reached 59 million homes in the United States. Now known as FOX Family Worldwide, the channel thus provided the Saban/Murdoch team with a cable base of roughly equal standing to that of the two other main children's cable enterprises in the United States: Viacom's Nickelodeon channel (reaching 66.8 million homes at that time) and Time Warner's Cartoon Network (cablecast in 28.3 million households). However, the good times promised did not materialize, for the audience accustomed to the Family Channel format did not like drastic changes in programming instituted by the new owners. Sinking ratings and restless affiliates led to an immediate crisis; within a month Saban removed FOX Kids founder and creative head Loesch from all operations.

IFE staff members left in droves, while Saban struggled desperately to stop the disintegration of his audience by hiring Rich Cronin, a 13-year Nickelodeon veteran, as FOX Family president, but Nickelodeon's owners, MTV Networks, went to court and prevented Cronin from taking the position until his old contract terminated in July 1998. Tim Robertson stepped down from his duties as adviser to the network, and Saban was left without the guidance he needed. He decided to change everything he inherited from IFE and spent \$100 million on promotion, promising another \$125 million for 26 original movies.

Cronin only survived two years under Saban. By May 2000 ratings for FOX Family remained static at 0.3; viewing by children was up 6 percent, but the adult audience 18 to 49 years, a demographic so important to advertisers, declined 0.6 percent. The company lost \$86 million and was forced to borrow \$125 million from another News Corporation unit at a high interest rate of 20 percent. Saban and News Corporation denied they were looking to sell, but rumors abounded. Salvation for the ailing network came in July 2001, when Disney paid an amazing \$5.3 billion (\$3 billion in cash and \$2.3 billion in assumed debt), an amount 32 times the annual cash flow generated from FOX Family's 81 million basic-cable subscribers. Disney executives openly acknowledged that one way they expected to justify the high price was through license-fee hikes to operators.

Disney's purpose in buying FOX Family Worldwide and renaming it ABC Family was to provide an outlet for "repurposed content." In plainer language, Disney intends to repeat its programming from the ABC network and other Disney subsidiaries on the ABC Family Channel, a strategy some media analysts think can succeed. One thing remains from the old Family Channel days, however; whether Disney likes the program or not, *The 700 Club* is now carried by the ABC Family Channel.

ANDREW QUICKE

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## Aboriginal People's Television Network

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Aboriginal People's Television Network's (APTN) inaugural broadcast on September 1, 1999, from Winnipeg, Canada, marked a watershed in North American and international television. APTN is the first national network controlled and operated by indigenous peoples carrying primarily aboriginal content. The Cana-

dian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's (CRTC) February 1999 license decision established APTN as a mandatory service distributed to nearly 8 million households on basic cable, satellite, and wireless cable.

In regions and nations with significant "Fourth



*Courtesy of APTN*

World" populations like Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, and several Central and South American countries, indigenous minority groups have recently included access to media among their other struggles, such as political rights, land entitlement, and cultural autonomy. APTN can be situated within this global emergence of indigenous media and demonstrates First Peoples' desire to use television and other media as tools to sustain aboriginal languages and cultures.

Aboriginal television in Canada has its roots in community radio projects in the 1970s, interactive satellite experiments in the 1980s, and the consolidation of regional native broadcasting organizations across the north in the 1990s. Throughout this period, aboriginal groups (including Indian, Inuit, and Metis) actively lobbied various government jurisdictions for more direct control over television production and distribution as a means of counteracting the flow of nonnative media and its cultural influences upon native communities.

Beginning in 1985, television produced by federally funded native communications societies was distributed to northern native audiences on the basis of ad hoc and often unstable agreements with existing networks such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) or TV Ontario. In 1992 the CRTC licensed a

consortium of native broadcasters and northern educational institutions to operate a dedicated northern native satellite channel called Television Northern Canada (TVNC). TVNC was APTN's immediate predecessor, but the service was not widely available in southern and urban Canada, and it was limited by declining government support for the native broadcasters supplying programs.

In 1997 TVNC implemented a strategy to re-create the network as a national television channel with a secure financial base and renewed mandate to represent aboriginal people across Canada. In its license application to the CRTC, APTN emphasized the need to see Canada through aboriginal eyes in order to strengthen national unity and contribute to the country's cultural development. The network fulfills key requirements for participation of aboriginal peoples laid out by the 1991 Broadcasting Act. APTN is also a response to recommendations of the 1990–96 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, which called for a new relationship between aboriginal and nonaboriginal Canadians.

APTN is a unique hybrid of several elements in Canada's mixed broadcast economy. Constituted as a nonprofit, native-controlled entity, it fulfills public service and cultural policy objectives, while its mandatory carriage and reliance on subscription fees adapts the financial model of specialty cable channels. In the tradition of earlier native broadcasting, APTN remains connected to aboriginal communities through its 21-member volunteer Aboriginal Board of Directors, drawn from all regions of Canada.

Although the eight northern native broadcasters who contribute regional programming to APTN receive some operating funds from the federal government, the network itself depends primarily on the \$.15 per month, per residential subscriber, collected from cable and satellite distributors in combination with a small percentage of advertising income.

The majority of APTN programming is uplinked from its Winnipeg headquarters; a smaller portion originates in Yellowknife. APTN broadcasts in English (60 percent), French (15 percent) and a variety of aboriginal languages (25 percent). The network has less proprietary interest in its programs than conventional networks and functions as a distributor for locally and regionally produced aboriginal programming. By acquiring much of its new programming from independent aboriginal production companies, APTN is generating the growth of a distinctive aboriginal television sector. In 2001 APTN successfully applied to increase its non-Canadian content from 10 percent to 30 percent, allowing the network to reflect the diverse perspectives and cultures of the world's indigenous peoples through a greater proportion of international programming.

While its first season consisted primarily of "shelf product" and contributions from former TVNC members, by October 2000 APTN was able to launch 20 new programs. The network mounted its own in-house news and current affairs programs in April 2000. *APTN National News* now contains segments from all regions, with bureaus in major Canadian centers. A live national call-in program, *Contact*, covers a wide range of topical issues relevant to First Peoples, from aboriginal content on the Internet to a public "town hall" debate in Ottawa on proposed revisions to Canada's Indian Act. Northern native broadcasters contribute news and current affairs programming in aboriginal languages including Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Dene, Oji-Cree, and Cree.

Programming for children and young people includes: *Takuginai*, an Inuktitut puppet show that teaches young children values of respect and sharing; *Longhouse Tales*, a combined puppet and live action program for older children; and *Seventh Generation*, profiles of aboriginal youth who excel in their fields. APTN also schedules several arts and entertainment programs. *Buffalo Tracks* is a talk show featuring aboriginal guests in a wide range of fields. *The Rising Sun Café* presents interviews with aboriginal talent in sports, theater, and music from Edmonton. In *Cooking with the Wolfman*, chef David Wolfman demonstrates aboriginal fusion cuisine.

Part of APTN's mandate is cross-cultural communication with a nonaboriginal audience. Reception immediately after its launch was mixed, with some nonnative critics welcoming the unique perspectives offered by aboriginal television, others dismissing the new network as another instance of government hand-outs. While APTN is included in the basic-cable pack-

age, it competes for attention with the second and third cable tiers as well as with a new slate of digital specialty channels launched in September 2002. APTN has been given channel assignments in the 50s and 60s in many areas, making it that much harder to locate by the casual channel surfer. The network risks being marginalized within rapidly expanding television choices in Canada. Still in its infancy, APTN offers Canadian audiences a tantalizing model of how television can communicate cultural differences. Presenting the nation through aboriginal eyes subtly relocates the center, so that viewers can begin to imagine more inclusive local, national, and global cultural spaces.

MARIAN BREDIN

*See also* **First People's Television Broadcasting in Canada; Television Northern Canada**

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## Absolutely Fabulous

### British Situation Comedy

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A half-hour BBC sitcom with a large cult following, *Absolutely Fabulous* debuted in 1992 with six episodes. Six additional episodes appeared in 1994, six more in 1995, and still another half-dozen in 2001. The U.S. cable channel Comedy Central began running the series in 1994.

*Ab Fab*, as fans call it, is about idle-rich Edina Monsoon (Jennifer Saunders), a 40-ish spoiled brat who owns her own PR business but works at it only rarely (and incompetently). Stuck in the self-indulgences of the 1960s but showing no sign of that decade's political awareness, Edina refuses to grow up. Her principal



Absolutely Fabulous, Joanna Lumley, Jennifer Saunders, 1992–2001, episode “The Last Shout” aired November 6–7, 1996.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

talent is making a spectacle of herself. This she achieves by dressing gaudily, speaking loudly and rudely, and lurching frantically from one exaggerated crisis to the next. All the while, she overindulges—in smoking, drinking, drugs, shopping, and fads (Buddhism, colonic irrigation, various unsuccessful attempts at slimming down). She lives extravagantly off the alimony provided by two ex-husbands.

Edina’s best friend, Patsy Stone (Joanna Lumley), is equally a caricature. Employed as “fashion director” of a trendy magazine, she almost never works (she has the job because she slept with the publisher). She is even more of a substance abuser than Edina and trashier in appearance with an absurdly tall, blond hairdo and far too much lipstick. Most disturbingly, Patsy is overly dependent upon Edina for money, transportation, and especially companionship.

Patsy often behaves like an unruly daughter, thereby displacing Edina’s real daughter, Saffron (Julia Sawalha), of whom Patsy is extremely jealous. Edina humors Patsy’s excesses and seems parental only by

virtue of her money and domineering personality. The real “mother” of the house is Saffron, a young adult who, in being almost irritatingly virtuous, is both a moral counterweight to Patsy and a comic foil for the two childlike adults.

Thus, Saffron represents conscience and serves a function similar to that of Meathead in *All in the Family*, except that in *Ab Fab* the generational conflict is not one of conservative versus liberal so much as bad versus good liberalism. Neither Saffron nor Edina is conservative. Although Saffron is somewhat nerdy in the manner of Alex Keaton of *Family Ties*, she lacks his predatory materialism and serves as a reassuring model of youth. While Patsy and Edina illustrate a pathological mutation of 1960s youth culture, Saffron provides hope that liberalism (or at least youth) is redeemable.

*Ab Fab*’s focus on generational issues also plays out in Edina’s disrespect for her mother (June Whitfield). The relationships among the four female main characters are all the more interesting because of the absence of men. Edina’s father puts in only two appearances in the series (most noticeably as a corpse), and only Saffron cares that he has died. Similarly, Edina’s son is never seen in the first 12 episodes and is only mentioned a few times. It is not that men are bad; rather, they are irrelevant.

This allows *Ab Fab* to have a feminist flavor even as it portrays women in mostly unflattering terms. Edina and Patsy are certainly not intended as role models, and in presenting them as buffoonish and often despicable, series creator-writer Saunders ridicules not only bourgeois notions of motherhood and family life but also media images of women’s liberation. For example, Edina and Patsy, although “working women,” actually depend upon the largesse of men to maintain their station in life. This cynical vision of professionalism may seem regressive, but at the same time, it is a refreshing critique of advertising and fashion, two industries invariably depicted by TV as “absolutely fabulous.”

*Ab Fab* developed from a sketch on the *French and Saunders* show and is a fine example of the flowering of Alternative Comedy, the post-*Monty Python* movement that also produced *The Young Ones*. Rejecting what Roger Wilmut and Peter Rosengard have called the “erudite middle-class approach” of the *Python* generation, the new British comics of the 1980s approached their material with a rude, working-class, rock-and-roll sensibility (see Wilmut and Rosengard). *Ab Fab*, while focusing on the concerns of middle age, nonetheless has a youthful energy and eschews sentimentality. Flashbacks and dream sequences contribute to this energy and give the show a mildly anarchic structure.

A smash hit in Britain, *Ab Fab* won two International Emmy Awards and gave the somewhat obscure



## Absolutely Fabulous

Comedy Central channel a significant publicity boost. Camp elements of the series were especially appreciated by gay viewers, among whom the Edina and Patsy characters achieved icon status. Comedian Roseanne began developing an American adaptation of *Ab Fab* in 1995 but was unable to find a network willing to air it. Meanwhile, Saunders kept the franchise alive by producing a half-hour mock documentary, *How to Be Absolutely Fabulous* (1995), and a reunion movie, *Absolutely Fabulous: The Last Shout* (1996). Six new episodes of the sitcom aired on the BBC in 2001 and debuted on Comedy Central in November of that year.

The success of *Ab Fab* and other mid-1990s series such as *Politically Incorrect* has encouraged Comedy Central to venture even further in the direction of topicality and taboo breaking. For the cable channel, this programming strategy has resulted in additional success (*South Park*) as well as the occasional failure (*That's My Bush!*).

GARY BURNS

See also **Comedy Central; Lumley, Joanna; Saunders, Jennifer**

### Cast

Edina Monsoon	Jennifer Saunders
Patsy Stone	Joanna Lumley
Saffron Monsoon	Julia Sawalha
June Monsoon (Mother)	June Whitfield
Bubble	Jane Horrocks

### Producer

Jon Plowman

### Programming History

BBC

November 1992–December 1992	Six episodes
January 1994–March 1994	Six episodes
March 1995–May 1995	Six episodes
August 2001–October 2001	Six episodes

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# A.C. Nielsen Company

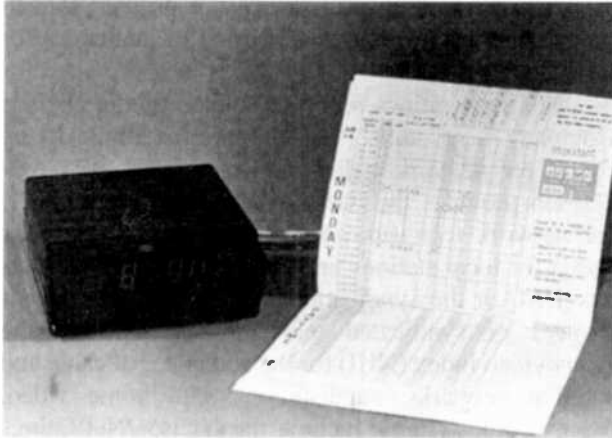
Media Market Research Firm

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Under the banner of Nielsen Media Research, AC-Nielsen measures and compiles statistics on television audiences. It sells this data in various formats to advertisers, advertising agencies, program syndicators, television networks, local stations, and cable program and system operators. Marketing research comprises the primary activity of ACNielsen, which provides a variety of standard market analysis reports and engages in other market research on many different consumer products and services for clients worldwide. By some reports, only 10 percent of ACNielsen's total business

relates to the television audience, although it is well known to the general public for that work. This is due, of course, to the ubiquitous reporting and discussion of program and network ratings produced by ACNielsen.

The A.C. Nielsen Company was started in 1923 by A.C. Nielsen, an engineer, and bought by Dun and Bradstreet in 1984 for \$1.3 billion. On February 16, 2001, the company was acquired by VNU N.V., an international media and information corporation based in the Netherlands. Thus, ACNielsen is no longer an independent entity but a subsidiary of the larger conglomerate.



A Nielsen viewing diary.  
*Courtesy of Nielsen Media Research*

The A.C. Nielsen Company first became involved in audience studies in the 1930s, as an extension of Nielsen's studies tracking retail food and drug purchase. In 1936 Nielsen bought the Audimeter from its designers, Robert Elder and Louis F. Woodruff, two Massachusetts Institute of Technology professors. The Audimeter (and a previous design for a similar device patented in 1929 by Claude E. Robinson and then sold to RCA, which never developed it) was intended to record automatically two aspects of radio listening that would be of interest to programmers and advertisers. The device recorded the frequencies to which a radio set was tuned when it was on and the length of time the set was on. This technique had an obvious problem: it could not ascertain who, if anyone, was listening to the radio. However, compared to the use of telephone surveys and diaries used by competing ratings companies, it had important advantages as well. The other ratings methods depended to a much greater degree on audience members' active cooperation, memories, honesty, and availability.

After a period of redesign and a four-year pilot study, the Nielsen Audimeter was introduced commercially in 1942 with an 800-home sample in the eastern United States. The number of Audimeters and the sample size and coverage were expanded after World War II, eventually, by 1949, representing 97 percent of U.S. radio homes. The Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting had ceased providing ratings in 1946; in 1950 the A.C. Nielsen Company bought Hooper's national radio and television ratings services and thus became the single national radio-rating service. This allowed the company to increase rates, and the new capital was used to increase sample size. As the television industry grew, the Nielsen Company's attention to television



A Nielsen "Peoplemeter."  
*Courtesy of Nielsen Media Research*

grew with it, and the company left the radio field in 1964.

In 1973 the Nielsen Company began using the Storage Instantaneous Audimeter, a new and more sophisticated design for the same purposes as the original (although surely not the only modification to the Audimeter made over the years, this one was much publicized). Set in a closet, designed with battery backup for power outages, and hooked to a dedicated telephone line for daily data reports to a central office, the device kept track of turn on, turnoff, and channel setting for every television in a household, including battery-operated and portable units (through radio transmitter).

Although the Audimeter, widely known as the "Nielsen black box," was the company's most famous device, it was used only for household television ratings. For ratings by people and demographic descriptions of the audience, the Nielsen Company required supplementary studies of audience composition based on a separate sample using the diary technique. This separate sample was smaller, and there was concern in the industry that the people who cooperated with the diaries were not representative of the population in general.

In the 1970s the Nielsen Company experimented with Peoplemeters, a system for measuring the viewing of individuals without diaries, but brought no new services to market. In 1983 AGB Research of Great Britain proposed a commercial Peoplemeter service in the United States similar to the system that organization was using in other countries. This proposal attracted funding from a group of networks, advertising agencies, and others for an evaluation study in Boston. In 1985, in response to this competitive threat, the

Nielsen Company initiated its own Peoplemeter sample, as a supplement to its existing samples. Reports became available beginning in January 1986. The system depends on a box sitting atop the television set that keeps track, in the usual way, of what channel is tuned in. However, the meter is also programmed with demographic descriptions of individual viewers in the household and their visitors. Viewers are asked to push a button indicating when they begin or end viewing the television, even if the set is left on when they leave. The data then indicate which (if any) viewers are present as well as set tuning. (There have also been experiments with passive meters that use infrared sensing rather than requiring viewers to cooperate by pressing buttons, but so far these devices have not been sufficiently reliable.)

Because the Peoplemeters produced different numbers than diaries, they generated controversy in the industry. Ratings points are the reference for negotiations in the purchase of advertising time, in deciding which programs are syndicated, and other issues vital to the television industry. Thus, when different measurement techniques produce different ratings, normal business negotiations become complicated and less predictable. For this reason, many participants in the television business actually prefer one company to have a monopoly on the ratings business, even if it does allow that company to charge higher rates for its services. Even if this service provides inaccurate numbers, those numbers become agreed-upon currency for purposes of negotiation. Eventually, the most recent controversies were settled, and ACNielsen's Peoplemeter system now dominates the production of national television ratings.

The Audimeter was originally conceived as a means to the testing of advertising effectiveness. To at least some extent, A.C. Nielsen's own interest in broadcast audiences was originally motivated by his marketing and advertising clients. However, the ratings have

grown to be an end in themselves, a product sold to parties interested in the composition of audiences for broadcasting.

Among the ratings reports provided by the Nielsen Company were, until 1964, the Nielsen Radio Index (NRI) for network radio audiences. Currently, ACNielsen provides the Nielsen Television Index (NTI) for network television audiences, the Station Index (NSI) for local stations and for designated market areas (DMAs), the Syndication Service (NSS) for the audiences of syndicated television shows, and the Homevideo Index (NHI) for the audiences of cable and satellite networks, superstations, and home video. More recent systems include the Nielsen/NetRatings Internet audience measurement service (in partnership with NetRatings).

ACNielsen periodically produces reports on special topics as well, such as videocassette recorder (VCR) usage, viewership of sports programming, or television viewing in presidential election years. In 1992 ACNielsen launched the first national Hispanic television ratings service (Nielsen Hispanic Television Index) in the United States.

ERIC ROTHENBUHLER

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## Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

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The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS) is known primarily for bestowing Emmys, the top awards for television. These are peer awards, selected by vote of members of the academy, individuals who work in the television industry. In addition to presenting this most public face of the television industry in

an annual award ceremony, the academy also engages in a number of other educational and public functions.

The academy was founded in 1946 in Los Angeles by Syd Cassyd, a trade journal writer who recognized the need for a television organization similar to the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Cassyd



The Emmy Award.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and a group of associates held several exploratory meetings and then decided they needed a major television industry figure to support the project. They succeeded in interesting ventriloquist Edgar Bergen, who became the academy's first president in 1947.

One of the earliest activities of the new academy was to establish a creative identity (and a degree of publicity and prestige) for the developing television industry by presenting awards, the Emmys, in recognition for outstanding work in the medium. Originally, the awards were to be called "Ikes," an abbreviation for the television iconoscope tube. Because "Ike" was so closely associated with Dwight D. Eisenhower, however, the group decided on "Emmy," a feminine form of "Immy," nickname for the television camera image orthicon tube. A contest was held for the design of the statuette and the winner was Louis McManus, an engineer, who used his wife as the model for the winged woman holding up the symbol of the electron.

In the first year of the award, Emmys were presented in only five categories. And because television did not yet have a coast-to-coast hookup, they were

given only to Los Angeles programs and personalities. Shirley Dinsdale (and her puppet Judy Splinters) was the Most Outstanding Television Personality and *Pantomime Quiz* the Most Popular Television Program. By the second year, any show seen in Los Angeles could receive an award and New York-based personalities such as Milton Berle and Ed Wynn were winners.

At this point, there was more intrigue backstage in the academy than onstage. In 1950 Ed Sullivan, host of *Toast of the Town*, produced in New York, initiated a rival TV awards program, but these lasted only until 1953. No awards were presented in 1954 (the only year there have been no Emmys), because the Los Angeles group had decided the show had become too expensive. By 1955, however, the television networks were interested and the Emmys were broadcast nationally for the first time. Sullivan, realizing the Hollywood-based Emmys were a success, became upset and called together New York's television leaders. They demanded, and were granted, a New York chapter of the academy. They then asked for another academy, with equal "founding chapters" in both New York and Hollywood. Thus, in 1957 a newly formed and newly named National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (NATAS) was created with Sullivan as the first president.

The animosity between the East and West Coasts continued. In the early years, New York had the upper hand because the networks were based there and much early live dramatic programming, as well as news and documentaries, emanated from New York. From 1955 to 1971, the Emmys were simulcast with cameras cutting between New York and Los Angeles, often creating technical blunders that left screens blank for several minutes.

By 1971, however, Hollywood was firmly established as the predominant site for television program production. New York was no longer producing live dramas, and, although it was still the seat of news and documentaries, audiences tuned in to the Emmys to see Hollywood stars. In addition, the Emmys were growing in number and the telecast in length, so in 1973 and 1974 the news and documentary categories were removed from the regular show (now produced totally in Hollywood) and given their own telecast. Ratings were low, however, and the show was dropped.

During this period, other cities such as Atlanta, Chicago, and Cincinnati organized academy chapters. Hollywood producers resented the fact that academy members, scattered throughout the country, all had equal votes in determining the Emmy Awards. From their beginning, the Emmys were conceived as peer awards, and the powerful Hollywood community hardly

considered a cameraperson in Cincinnati to be a peer. New York, however, sided with the smaller chapters.

In 1976 the Hollywood chapter of NATAS decided to split from that organization. A year of lawsuits followed, but the end result was two academies: the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences comprised of New York and outlying cities, and the Hollywood-based Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. NATAS would bestow daytime, sports, news, and documentary Emmys, and ATAS would oversee prime-time awards, using its Hollywood member base as voters.

The two academies remain separate, although from time to time they hold meetings regarding reunification, and ATAS has assisted NATAS in the production of the Daytime Emmy Awards. When those prizes first aired nationally in 1991, they achieved higher ratings than the prime-time awards. During this period, ATAS was having its own problems with the prime-time show. For many years, the telecast rotated sequentially among ABC, CBS, and NBC. When the upstart FOX network went on the air, it offered the academy more money for the telecasts than the other networks had been paying, and from 1987 to 1992 the Emmys were shown exclusively on the new network. Ratings plummeted, largely because FOX programming did not appear on local stations throughout the entire country. Eventually the academy returned to the rotation concept, with FOX as one of the participants.

ATAS's membership is based on peer groups: writers, art directors, performers, sound editors, production executives, and so forth. Each peer group establishes its own requirement for membership, usually defined in terms of the number of shows or number of hours of television the person has to his or her credit. The board of governors is composed of two members from each peer group.

Voting for prime-time Emmys is also conducted on a peer group basis, so that only members of the music peer group vote for awards involving music, directors vote for directing awards, and so on. Some "Best Program" awards can be voted on by much of the mem-

bership. Individuals may nominate themselves for awards, and producers may nominate individuals or programs. All nominated material is then judged by the appropriate peers, who come to a central location to view the tapes or are mailed tapes to view at home. Their votes are tabulated and the winners are announced, either during the on-air telecast or at a luncheon ceremony. In general, the awards that the public is most likely to find interesting (performers, outstanding shows, directors) are presented during the prime-time telecast.

While the Emmy Awards are the most visible of its projects, the academy undertakes many other activities including sponsoring a paid student internship program, through which outstanding students from around the country spend eight weeks working with Hollywood professionals; conducting a contest for student TV productions with the winners receiving cash sums; inducting outstanding industry professionals into a hall of fame; holding an annual faculty seminar, where college teachers come to Hollywood and are introduced to people and ideas related to TV programming; hosting luncheons and meetings at which people from within and without the industry share ideas and information; participating, with the University of California Los Angeles, in overseeing a television archives; and publishing *Emmy*, a magazine devoted to articles about the TV industry.

In 1991 ATAS moved into new headquarters containing office space as well as a state-of-the-art theater in which to screen television materials and hold large meetings.

LYNNE GROSS

*See also* National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

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## Acquisitions. *See* Mergers and Acquisitions

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## Action/Adventure Programs

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“Action/Adventure” is a loose generic categorization that encompasses a range of programming types, all of which celebrate bodies and objects in action across the television screen. Action/adventure is not a formal or technical term, but this melding of two Hollywood film genres can be seen as a staple within American television production. It is often considered a quality or stylistic mode within other, more popular genres: detective series, westerns, science fiction, fantasy, police shows, war dramas, spy thrillers, and crime stories.

Whether a particular program can be deemed an action/adventure show is somewhat arbitrary; what qualifies as action- or adventure-oriented enough to fit within the genre has changed over the course of television history. While there are many series that have not followed these larger programming patterns, there have been certain types of action/adventure shows that have been particularly popular during specific eras. In the 1950s, westerns and detective programs ruled the genre and the screen, while in the 1960s, during the height of the cold war, American television viewers saw a larger trend toward international spy stories. Tough, urban undercover cops became popular in the early 1970s, while in the later half of the decade, the trend was toward fantasy and mild titillation. The 1980s action/adventure show centered around the group or the crime-fighting couple, while in the 1990s the action heroine emerged as a popular new lead. In the new millennium, the emphasis seems to be on reality action/adventure programming, with a return to the international action/adventure thriller also discernible.

Because of its emphasis on violence, the genre has often served as an easy target for public criticism. As a genre, action/adventure shows celebrate spectacle, often based on violence, from elaborate fight sequences, to the representation of people in physical jeopardy, to car chases, to explosions, to the dramatization of crimes. In 1961, United States Federal Communications Commission chief Newton Minow decried television as “a vast wasteland,” singling out as the arbiters of mediocrity

a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western badmen, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons.

Besides his disdain for game shows, cartoons, and domestic comedies, most of his comments seemed directed toward a genre that was dominating prime-time network programming during this era, the action/adventure show. Nevertheless, the genre has remained popular because of its ability to thrill, shock, and ultimately entertain television viewers.

Advancements in the technology of television production have often had their greatest showcase in the action/adventure show. Technical innovations in film stock, cameras, and sound equipment have led to greater flexibility for television producers in designing the look of their programs. The syndicated adventure series *Sea Hunt* (1957–61) made use of underwater camera equipment to follow the show’s hero, Mike Nelson (Lloyd Bridges), on his deep-sea adventures. Programs such as the buddy espionage series *I Spy* (NBC, 1965–68) began using location shooting to create more exciting visuals and dramatic chase sequences. The early 1980s saw great changes as handheld cameras brought a more gritty, realistic feel to programs such as *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981–87). With the knowledge that the average viewer’s television screen size is increasing, television programs are becoming more visually complex. A program like Michael Mann’s *Miami Vice* (NBC, 1984–89), which was shot much like an MTV video, or the hybrid science fiction police drama *The X-Files* would film sequences outdoors in low light, knowing that color technology on television sets could still register the image clearly on modern television screens. In order to keep track of multiple, simultaneous actions, the television program *24* uses split screens to follow as many as five different characters’ movements at the same time. Since its inception, the action/adventure show has virtually been defined by its fast-paced style: a detective show becomes action/adventure simply by an increase in motion of the bodies represented—both by actors and the editor.

While there were a few programs that could be considered action/adventure in the early years of television, it was not until the mid-1950s that the genre became defined for television. By the middle of the decade, action/adventure programming was extremely popular, manifesting itself in the form of westerns, crime shows, and children’s programming. The late



*Sea Hunt*, Lloyd Bridges, 1957–61, water.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

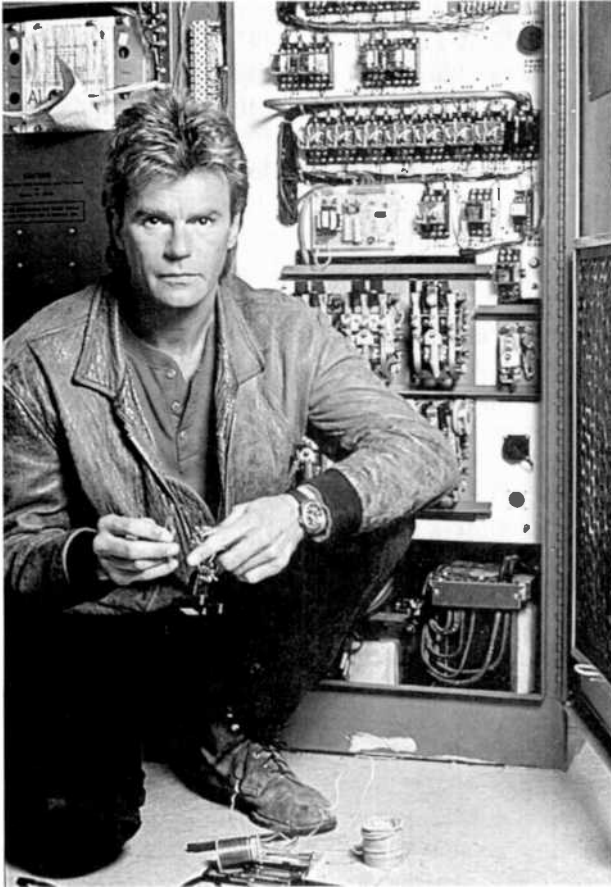
1950s saw an exponential rise in the number of action-oriented westerns on television, including *Cheyenne*, *Gunsmoke*, *Maverick*, *Have Gun—Will Travel*, and *The Rifleman*. These westerns featured the exploits of a strong man of the West, and episodes often involved dramatic, violent confrontations. The second most popular dramatic prime-time program of the era was the detective show. While some programs featured more thrills than others, the detective program always offered a few sequences filled with action and danger. Focusing more on the individual, the detective show, from *Peter Gunn*, to *77 Sunset Strip*, to *Route 66*, offered access to a world of drama, intrigue, and adventure. The police procedural *Dragnet* (NBC, 1952–59, 1967–70), proved to be one of the most successful action/adventure series, lasting over eight years and making the program's laconic actor-director Jack Webb into a household name. For four years, Desilu Productions offered perhaps the most violent program of the era, *The Untouchables* (ABC, 1959–63), which celebrated the crime-fighting work of Eliot Ness and his gang and emphasized audience-pleasing action over historical accuracy. Children's programming of the era also offered a number of action/adventure se-

ries, a number of which were mined from popular children's books or comic book series, including *The Adventures of Rin Tin Tin*, *Zorro*, *The Lone Ranger*, *The Adventures of Superman*, and *Sheena, Queen of the Jungle*.

The popularity of action/adventure programming increased in the 1960s, with an emphasis on international espionage and detection. From *I Spy*, to *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, to *Mission: Impossible*, spy stories that seemed to echo real-life cold war experiences were extremely popular. Two programs from the United Kingdom both stood out as significant contributions to the genre—*The Avengers* and *The Prisoner*. Produced from 1961 to 1969, the British television import *The Avengers* promised a world of fashion, pop culture, and witty repartee, along with the typical espionage plots. (*The Avengers* reemerged in the 1970s again with a new female lead, but with less success.) *The Prisoner* (1968–69) was a personal tour de force for Patrick McGoohan, who created, produced, wrote, and starred in the series as its protagonist, the ex-spy, known only as Number Six, who is stuck in a merry-go-round world unable to escape. Another significant player in the genre emerged in the 1960s, television producer Aaron Spelling. First with his series featuring a young martial arts-trained female private detective, *Honey West* (ABC, 1965–66), and then a few years later with *The Mod Squad* (ABC, 1968–73), which followed street kids turned undercover cops, Spelling gave audiences hip, stylish, youthful heroes along with action-packed theatrics. The decade also offered a range of action/adventure programming that included war dramas, in particular *Combat* (ABC, 1962–67), as well as the cult hit *Star Trek* (NBC, 1966–69), a franchise that has been known for its dedicated fan following throughout all of its television, as well as cinematic, variations.

The genre began moving off the soundstage and onto the streets starting in the late 1960s. One program that capitalized on its location was *Hawaii Five-O* (CBS, 1968–80), the longest continually running police show, which featured tough, often brutal, violence along Hawaii's most beautiful beaches. After the program ended, CBS's production studio based in Hawaii was taken over by another action/adventure series, *Magnum, P.I.* (1980–88). Along with exciting locales came more youthful protagonists—a continuing trend that virtually guarantees the coveted 18–35 audience for the genre. *Starsky and Hutch* (ABC, 1975–79) featured two plainclothes cops, celebrating their swinging bachelorhood, catching criminals after long chase sequences in their bright red hot rod. As part of a similar tactic to bring





*Macgyver*, Richard Dean Anderson, 1985–92.  
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in more youthful audiences, the 1970s saw a great surge in the number of high-concept, fantasy-oriented action/adventure shows. *The Six Million Dollar Man* (ABC, 1974–78) was the first in a line of heroes and heroines imbued with special powers who began saving the day on a weekly basis. From *The Bionic Woman*, to *Wonder Woman*, to *The Incredible Hulk*, superheroes promised great thrills and fearless characters, if often somewhat simplistic plotlines. The heroines could also be included in what Julie D'Acci has referred to as the “jiggle era” of the late 1970s, epitomized in the series *Charlie's Angels* (ABC, 1976–81), which featured young, sexy, fashionable women fighting crime. While the action/adventure heroine in the 1970s was negotiating a position of power, she was often quite conventional in comparison to the type of characters being developed in other television genres of the era, in particular, the sitcom. A few years later, *Cagney and Lacey* (CBS, 1982–88) countered the one-dimensional characters in 1970s jiggle programs by presenting female cops as both



*Tarzan*, Ron Ely, 1966–69.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

professionally and emotionally strong, well-rounded characters—but, like many of the female heroines of action/adventure programming, they were also less physically active.

The 1980s saw a rise in the number of crime-fighting buddies or teams. In 1983 Stephen Cannell, a veteran of the action/adventure genre, who had been involved in *Adam 12*, *Baretta*, and *The Rockford File*, as well as the superhero spoof *The Greatest American Hero*, began producing a show about four unjustly persecuted Vietnam veterans in the program *The A Team* (NBC, 1983–87). Each episode featured massive explosions, grand displays of firepower, but very little blood or death. Urban crime dramas such as *Miami Vice*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *Hunter* highlighted the intensity of city life and featured gritty, typically male cops who often had to break the rules in order to catch the most heinous criminals. The end of the 1980s saw an increase in reality programming, and for the action/adventure genre, in particular, an increased interest in police documentary programs, such as *COPS* (FOX, 1989– ). *COPS* offered a view of real police tracking down and arresting ordinary criminals and seemed to celebrate the sordid, unsavory nature of the United States's underworld of crime.

Unlike these more violent action/adventure shows, a number of buddy programs featuring male-female private investigation firms began appearing on television





Wonder Woman, Lynda Carter, 1976–79.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

screens. Starting with *Hart to Hart* (ABC, 1979–84), which featured wealthy, married supersleuth millionaires, buddy programs proved popular with male and female audiences. The success of *Remington Steele* (NBC, 1982–87) and the more comical than action-oriented duo in *Moonlighting* (ABC, 1985–89) soon lead to more crime-fighting couples, all of whom promised light action/adventure along with the prospect of romance. Even children's programming of the era played into the trend of team-oriented heroes, as evidenced by the great ratings and merchandising success of programs like *The Mighty Morphin Power Rangers* and *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, which were targeted primarily to young boys.

While there was a variety of action/adventure shows in the 1990s, many questioned the authority of what had often been, within the genre, a guaranteed acceptance of the government and the law as moral and just. Particularly popular with Generation X viewers

(loosely defined as those born between 1965 and 1980), *The X-Files* (FOX, 1993–2002) was another buddy series but within a story arc that found the pair uncovering hidden government conspiracies about alien abductions.

Another trend that was decidedly broken in the mid-1990s was the focus on the male action hero. Up until the mid-1990s, the overwhelming number of action/adventure shows had starred male leads. Over the years there have been notable exceptions, but the 1990s saw a great rise in the number of action/adventure heroines on television, in particular *Xena: Warrior Princess* (syndicated, 1995–2001) and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (WB, 1997–2001, UPN, 2001–3). *Xena: Warrior Princess*, a syndicated, campy action/adventure show created as a spin-off to *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (syndicated, 1995–99), became a cult classic, with a strong female fan base. Two years later, the WB premiered *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* in an attempt to bring in the teen audience. These female action/adventure heroines gained strong audience followings, and soon more female heroines began to emerge on the small screen, from the animated series *The Powerpuff Girls*, to James Cameron's postapocalyptic *Dark Angel*.

The action/adventure show continues to be one of the most popular genres on American television. The early 2000s saw the development of the international crime show as well as the genre's blending with reality programming. Television shows like *24* (FOX, 2001–), which follows a government agent's attempt to thwart a presidential candidate's assassination; *Alias* (ABC, 2001–), whose heroine is both a graduate student and an international double agent, and *The Agency* (CBS, 2001–3), the first program created with the support of the CIA, all use federal agents as their heroes. While all of these programs went into production before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, this progovernment trend in programming has only helped to increase their audience share. On an entirely different programming spectrum, the qualities of the action/adventure show can be seen within a reality series such as *Survivor* (CBS, 2000–), where contestants must brave physical challenges as well as the cutthroat competition among their peers.

At the turn of the century, the action/adventure show continued to morph to fit producers' whims and audiences' tastes. The genre has maintained its status as a television staple due to its flexibility in adapting various styles and genres. But always, at its core, is the pleasure of excess, from fights, to explosions, to awesome displays of power and bravura. The low-brow nature of the genre has led to much condemna-

tion by politicians and cultural critics, and programs have often been cited for their emphasis on action and violence over narrative or character development. Yet for television scholars, the action/adventure shows' bold visual style, narrative conventions, and emphasis on a clear symbolic iconography have offered compelling points of entry for the study of American popular culture.

MIRANDA J. BANKS

**See also Avengers, The; Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Cagney and Lacey; Charlie's Angels; Cheyenne; COPS; Detective Programs; Dragnet; Gunsmoke; Have Gun—Will Travel; Hawaii 5-0; Hill Street Blues; I Spy; Man from U.N.C.L.E., The; Magnum, P.I.; Maverick; Miami Vice; Mission: Impossible; Moonlighting; Police Programs; Prisoner, The; Reality Programming; Star Trek; Starsky and Hutch; Survivor; Untouchables, The; Western; X-Files, The; Xena: Warrior Princess**

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## Action for Children's Television

U.S. Citizens' Activist Group

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A "grassroots" activist group, Action for Children's Television (ACT) was founded by Peggy Charren and a group of "housewives and mothers" in her home in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1968. The members of ACT were initially concerned with the lack of quality television programming offered to children. In 1970 ACT petitioned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), asking that television stations be required to provide more programming for the child viewer. In that year the organization also received its first funding from the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation. ACT later received funding from the Ford and Carnegie Foundations as well, grants that allowed the group to expand from volunteers to between 12 and 15 staff members at the height of its activity.

ACT was not generally viewed as a radical or right-wing group advocating censorship. According to Charren, "too many people who worry about children's media want to do it in. ACT was violently opposed to censorship." Partially due to this attitude, the group

was able to gain support from members of the public and from many politicians.

ACT also became concerned with issues of advertising within children's programming. Of particular concern was their finding that one-third of all commercials aimed at children were for vitamins. Partially due to their efforts, the FCC enacted rules pertaining to program-length commercials, host selling, and the placement of separation devices between commercials and children's programming.

ACT was responsible for many cases brought before the courts involving the FCC and its policies concerning children's television. These cases include a major case in media law, *Action for Children's Television, et al. v. Federal Communications Commission and the United States of America* (821. F. 2d 741. D.C. Cir. 1987).

One of the major successes of ACT was the passage of the Children's Television Act of 1990. Shortly after the passage of this act, Charren announced the closing



Peggy Charren.  
Photo courtesy of Peggy Charren

of Action for Children's Television, suggesting that it was now up to individual citizens' groups to police the airwaves. In recent years Charren, a strong supporter of the First Amendment, has fought against FCC regulations limiting "safe harbor" hours; she has also lobbied for government regulation of digital broadcasting to ensure that digital TV serves and protects the interests of children.

WILLIAM RICHTER

*See also* **Activist Television; Children and Television**

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## Activist Television

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Although it has antecedents in earlier print, radio, and film activism, activist television first arose in the late 1960s. A confluence of technological and social factors inspired activists of that era to use television as a tool for political, social, and cultural change. The advent of consumer video cameras, cable television, and video recorders/players opened up new possibilities in television production and distribution. Ordinary people could use inexpensive, portable production equipment to make their own messages in the video medium. Public access cable channels and consumer VCRs provided the means of viewing these messages. The growth of contemporaneous social movements and the founding of a new documentary tradition also spurred the rise of activist television. The New Left, the women's movement, and the civil rights movement all recognized the value of using television to communicate to their members and the society at large. In addition, a broad move-

ment for participatory democracy advocated citizen involvement in public policy formation and access to the media. Participatory democrats thought that popular media, including television, should play a role in mobilizing people, disseminating information, and improving political and social life. At the same time, a new documentary tradition, known as "community media," began using film and video as a tool for political organizing within communities and for conveying community concerns to government authorities.

Over the years, various media-centered groups have attempted to use television for activism. Media scholars have called the resulting media by various names, including grassroots or community television, guerilla television, radical alternative television, and advocacy video. Differing mainly in their relative emphasis on a range of strategies and goals for media activism, these groups share an overarching interest in TV as a catalyst



Paper Tiger Television.  
 Courtesy of Paper Tiger TV Collective



Paper Tiger Television.  
 Courtesy of Paper Tiger TV Collective

for change, a medium for community expression, and a forum for democratic communication and representation.

The Canadian “Challenge for Change” project of the late 1960s and early 1970s was an early impetus for activist television. Grounded in the Canadian social democratic tradition and funded by the Canadian government and National Film Board, the project established and refined the concept of community media. Hoping to increase citizen involvement in social and cultural development, “Challenge for Change” sent video makers into impoverished or socially troubled locales to train already active citizens groups to communicate their needs. These groups used video to help establish community leaders, prioritize social agendas, tell their stories, catalyze local action, and demand better government programs and services. In its later years, the project promoted the creation of community video centers. A former executive producer on the project, George Stoney, cofounded the Alternative Media Center in New York in the early 1970s and began advocating for the establishment of community television in the United States and for public access cable television as a means of distributing community programming. Today, community television often stresses local outreach, organization, and participation; direct expression unmediated by industry professionals; and small scale, locally based initiatives and projects. This model of television activism has analogs in many other parts of the world, including Aboriginal community television in Australia, TV Maxambomba from the marginalized and impoverished neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Video SEWA, produced by working women in Ahmedabad, India, to name a few.

Guerilla television groups in the United States were another impetus for activist television. Video collectives, such as Global Village, Videofreex, People’s Video Theater, and Raindance, sought to use new technologies to create a more democratic and Utopian society. In the book *Guerilla Television*, Michael Shamberg of the Raindance collective laid out his ideas for the philosophy and practice of activist media. The book, which became known in the United States as the “Bible” of guerilla media, covered a range of issues, including the dynamics of the information economy, the nature of media bias, and practical tips on video production. Shamberg criticized the undemocratic, centralized, and monotonous character of the mainstream media and proposed a re-democratization of the media through political and cultural guerilla warfare waged with video, cable TV, and computers.

Activist television today also finds expression in radical alternative television and advocacy video projects. Radical alternative television includes noncommercial and noncorporate media that have a content, aesthetics, and organization that is fundamentally different from the mainstream media. These media address topics and represent viewpoints often excluded from mainstream television, sport a visual look that purposefully defies televisual norms and conventions, and adhere to a more democratic though less efficient and professionalized production process. In addition, these videos place their audience in a different relationship to the product they’re viewing, often aiming at smaller and more specific audiences than their mainstream counterparts. Radical alternative television projects are activist in that they pose challenges to



Paper Tiger Television.  
Courtesy of Paper Tiger TV Collective

dominant power structures, give voice to diverse communities and classes, enable like-minded groups to speak to one another, and aim to move and motivate their viewers. U.S. projects in this vein include: Paper Tiger Television, a video collective that produces a series of media critiques that deconstruct both the content and aesthetic of conventional media; *Labor Beat*, a news and public affairs show that covers labor issues for working people; and *Dyke TV*, a show made by and for lesbians.

Advocacy video refers to the production of works closely connected to specific political campaigns. These videos aim to motivate people to take direct action on issues such as environmental protection, human rights, animal rights, and corporate responsibility. Often in the form of short documentaries, advocacy videos focus on a particular problem intending to evoke a response, initiate debate, build constituencies, and shape legislation. There are many successful examples of advocacy video. The United Farm Workers video, *No Grapes* (1992), was part of an effective campaign to boycott California table grapes and ultimately to restrict the use of harmful pesticides. *Not in Our Town* (1995), a film produced in response to a series of hate crimes in Billings, Montana, was part of a national initiative to fight hate crimes. *Deadly Deception* (1991), an Academy Award-winning documentary designed to hold the General Electric (GE) corporation responsible for the health effects of its nuclear production facilities, helped win a drive to push GE out of the nuclear weapons business.

The ability to produce activist television has increased with developments in technology. In the 1980s, relatively cheap and lightweight video cameras

became available. In the 1990s, digital formats and computer-based editing substantially reduced the time and cost of postproduction. These developments are beginning to erode the gap in production values between mainstream media and activist television. Although the means of production has become widely available, the same cannot be said for distribution. Activist television is largely excluded from mainstream broadcast and cable television channels. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States, public access cable television has been a primary source of distribution for activist television, but these channels are hard-won concessions obtained from cable operators by cities during cable franchise negotiations. The diffusion of home videocassette recorders/players in the 1970s and 1980s offered another avenue for viewing this mode of television. Both public access cable and VCRs require that producers distribute individual tapes to potential audiences and programmers. Since the 1980s, there have been some notable efforts to distribute activist television more efficiently and broadly by satellite. Deep Dish TV Network began using satellite in the mid-1980s to deliver activist programming to public access stations and home dish owners around the United States. In 2000 Free Speech TV began its own channel for activist-oriented programming on the direct broadcast satellite system the Dish Network.

The Internet is the newest frontier for activist television distribution. Numerous activist groups have put the Internet to innovative uses. Free Speech TV uses the World Wide Web to stream program segments, provide additional information on program topics, coordinate discussion forums, and connect viewers with activist organizations. The Witness program works with partner groups in 50 countries to produce and distribute short advocacy videos on human rights abuses. Internet users can view Witness program videos on the Internet that deal with such topics as state-supported executions in Jamaica, police abuse and torture in Tamil Nadu, India, and the women's right movement in Afghanistan. Independent Media Centers (IMCs) may constitute the most ambitious use of the Internet for both local and global activism. Since the establishment of the first IMC in Seattle in 1999, over 100 others have sprung up throughout the world, including Africa; Canada; Europe; Latin America; the Pacific; and South, East, and West Asia. IMCs provide activists interested in initiating debate, spreading information and analysis, and organizing political action with open forums for the distribution of video and other media online. IMC activists frequently couple online with established offline methods of video distribution to achieve maximum circulation of their work.

Laura Stein

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## Adaptations

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Since programming began in the 1940s, adaptations have become a mainstay of commercial television. All manner of preexisting written properties have been turned into adapted teleplays. Short stories, novels, plays, poems, even comic books have been altered for presentation on television. To name just one example, in 2001 the WB began producing a hip version of the comics' Superboy story with *Smallville*, updating Clark Kent's teenage travails to the present and adding an *X-Files* flavored reliance on weird, Kryptonite-induced phenomena. Adaptations appear in formats ranging from half-hour shows, as in some episodes of *The Twilight Zone*, to 30-hour epic miniseries, as in 1988's *War and Remembrance*.

Adaptations are attractive to producers for a variety of reasons. In many cases, audiences for such fare are "pre-sold," having purchased or read the original text or having heard of the work through word of mouth. Sources for adapted works may come from public domain materials drawn from classical literary sources, or, more frequently, from hotly pursued novels by best-selling writers. Authors such as Judith Krantz, John Jakes, Alex Haley, and Stephen King have solid book sales and loyal audiences; adaptations of their works typically generate good ratings and audience share. Synergy between book publishers and networks may also be a factor in the purchasing or optioning of works for adaptation; a successful miniseries can prolong the life of a book currently in print and may resurrect older books that are out of print or no longer readily available in the mass market. When Herman Wouk's *War and Remembrance* was adapted in 1988, not only were that book's sales improved but an unexpected million copies of the first book in the series, *The Winds of War*, were also ordered.

Another reason for television's reliance on adaptations, especially in the form of miniseries, is the lack of good scripts, along with television's voracious need for sponsor-attractive, time slot-filling product. Few miniseries are produced from wholly original concepts; experts estimate that 75 to 90 percent of all miniseries use novels for source material. Novels have overcome basic, yet essential dilemmas in constructing narratives: they have well-defined characters; interwoven subplots filled with ideas and events that can be rearranged, highlighted, or deleted by scriptwriters; and enough story for at least two hours of product. A producer holding something complete and tangible, in the form of an already written story, can feel more confident when searching for financing; in turn, sponsors and networks are more likely to commit money and resources to a finished property, even one that is not yet a best-seller. Consequently, producers option many books that are never produced for television or film, in the belief that some of these unknown and untried works may become popular.

What producers see as a "sure thing," however, professional screenwriters often view as a challenge. Adaptation is far more than slavishly reproducing a previously constructed story in a different format. The requirements of the two forms are significantly different. From the perspective of screenwriters, novels take characters and subplots and let them careen willy-nilly into unstructured chaos. Screenwriters rearrange and augment material to stress the visual and storytelling requirements of the television medium. They purge the script of unnecessary characters or combine the traits and experiences of several characters into one. They try to structure the script so it moves from crisis to cri-



Little Lord Fauntleroy.  
Photo courtesy of Rosemont Productions

sis, keeping in mind the constraints imposed by the presence of commercial breaks. They find opportunities to make the internal world of thoughts and feelings more external, through dialogue and action. The process of adaptation requires a level of creativity that may be equal to that expended in the writing of the source material, as writers hone, pare, expand, and modify concepts from one medium to the other.

Possibly the most frequently adapted works are those of William Shakespeare; the BBC produced adaptations of *MacBeth* as early as 1949 and as late as 1983. These adaptations take many forms; PBS's 2001 adaptations of *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* were updated with contemporary settings and costumes. HBO has created a series of short animations for middle school-age viewers based on the Bard, and popular shows as diverse as *Star Trek*, *The Simpsons*, and *Clueless* have derived individual episodes from Shakespearean plays.

Because novels frequently include dozens of characters interacting over extended periods of time, screenwriters often find the miniseries format essential in marshaling the scope and flavor of the original text.

PBS, considered the "godfather" of the miniseries, introduced the United States to the concept of long-form sagas with its imports of British productions, presented in such series as *Masterpiece Theatre*, *Mystery*, and *Great Performances*. The audience for upscale adaptations of *The Forsyte Saga*, *Brideshead Revisited*, and *The First Churchills* was small, but the form was successful enough to encourage the adaptation of more popular, less highbrow novels such as Irwin Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC, 1976–77). It was the phenomenal success of Alex Haley's *Roots*, a 12-hour adaptation broadcast over eight consecutive evenings in 1977, however, which cemented this form of adaptation and established it as a staple of television production.

Most genres of television have had their adaptations: children's programming (Showtime's 1982–87 *Faerie Tale Theater*; NBC's 1996 *Gulliver's Travels*); the western (CBS's 1989 *Lonesome Dove*); historical romance (NBC's 1980 *Shogun*; ABC's 1985–86 *North and South*); science fiction (episodes of CBS's 1959–64 *The Twilight Zone*) are a few of the genres featured in outstanding adaptations produced for television. The adaptation continues to be popular, lucra-



tive, and entertaining; as long as the genre holds an audience, this narrative form will remain an essential element in broadcasting.

KATHRYN C. D'ALESSANDRO

**See also** *Brideshead Revisited*; *Forsythe Saga*, *The*; *I, Claudius*; *Jewel in the Crown*; *Miss Marple*; *Poldark*; *Rich Man, Poor Man*; *Road to Avonlea*; *Roots*; *Rumpole of the Bailey*; *Sherlock Holmes*; *Thorn Birds*, *The*; *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; *Women of Brewster Place*

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## Adolescents. *See* Teenagers and Television

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# Advanced Television Systems Committee

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The Advanced Television Systems Committee (ATSC) was formed in 1982 by representatives of the Joint Committee on Inter-Society Coordination (JCIC). The purpose of the ATSC is to facilitate and develop voluntary technical standards for an advanced television system to replace the aging American NTSC television standard. Originally, the ATSC also made recommendations to the U.S. Department of State regarding standards at the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR). ATSC membership consists of 146 organizations, including representatives from the National Association of Broadcasters, the National Cable and Telecommunications Association (NCTA), the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, broadcasting organizations, manufacturers, and the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE).

In 1981 Japan's NHK broadcasting organization demonstrated a working high-definition television (HDTV) system called MUSE, which produced startling clear, rich color images of exceptional resolution. The MUSE system utilized analog technology that was incompatible with the American NTSC color televi-

sion standard. The MUSE system also required substantially larger spectrum allocations than current NTSC signals. The ATSC accepted the recommendations of the SMPTE by calling for U.S. and worldwide acceptance of Japan's 1,125/60 standard for HDTV production. In 1986 the CCIR refused to accept the standard, claiming that adoption would be detrimental to the interest of many of its members and participants. Renewed recommendations by the ATSC in 1988 for adoption of the 1,125/60 Japanese standard met with opposition from U.S. network broadcasters because the system requirements were not easily convertible for NTSC usage.

In 1987 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) invited proponents of HDTV to propose a system that would provide terrestrial HDTV to the United States. By 1990 several U.S. entrants proposed all-digital transmission systems that proved preferable to the analog MUSE system. Perhaps the biggest advantage of these digital systems was the potential for scaling HDTV signals into a 6-megahertz bandwidth allowing transmission by terrestrial broadcasters. The ATSC advisory committee developed test procedures to evaluate



the different proposed systems. Later, various proponents of digital systems merged their proposals into a compromise hybrid digital system. In 1996 the FCC adopted the ATSC standard and authorized digital television (DTV) broadcasting in the United States.

In 2001 the committee formed the ATSC Forum for the purpose of promoting the adoption of the ATSC digital standard throughout the Western Hemisphere and Asia. Additionally, the ATSC works to promote common DTV services, including digital cable interoperability, program and system information protocols (PSIP), Internet protocol (IP) multicasting for data broadcasting, closed captioning, and digital application software and hardware specifications to support interactive television and enhancements to the vestigial sideband (VSB) aspects of the U.S. DTV standard.

FRITZ MESSERE

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## Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, The

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* was one of the most enduring family based situation comedies in American television. Ozzie and Harriet Nelson and their sons David and Ricky (ages 16 and 13, respectively, at the time of the program's debut) portrayed fictional versions of themselves on the program. The Nelsons embodied wholesome, "normal" American existence so conscientiously (if blandly) that their name epitomized upright, happy family life for decades.

*Ozzie and Harriet* started out on radio, a medium to which bandleader Ozzie Nelson and his singer/actor wife Harriet Hilliard Nelson had gravitated in the late 1930s, hoping to spend more time together than their conflicting careers would permit. In 1941 they found a permanent spot providing music for Red Skelton's program, a position that foundered when Skelton was drafted in 1944. In that year, the energetic Ozzie Nelson proposed a show of his own to network CBS and sponsor International Silver: a show in which the Nelsons would play themselves. Early in its run, the radio *Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* jettisoned music for situation comedy. Nelson himself directed and co-wrote all the episodes, as he would most of the video shows.

The Nelsons signed a long-term contract with ABC in 1949 that gave that network the option to move their

program to television. The struggling network needed proven talent that was not about to defect to the more established—and wealthier—CBS or NBC.

The television program premiered in 1952. Like its radio predecessor, it focused on the Nelson family at home, chronicling the growing pains of the boys and their parents and dealing with mundane issues like hobbies, rivalries, schoolwork, club membership, and girlfriends. Eventually, the on-screen David and Ricky (although never the off-screen David and Ricky) graduated from college and became lawyers. When the real David and Rick got married (to June Blair and Kristin Harmon, respectively) their wives joined the cast of *Ozzie and Harriet* on television as well as in real life.

*Ozzie and Harriet* lasted 14 years on American television, remaining on the air until 1966. Although never in the top ten of rated programs, it did well throughout its run, appealing to the family viewing base targeted by ABC. The program picked up additional fans in April 1957, when Rick sang Fats Domino's "I'm Walkin'" on an episode titled "Ricky the Drummer."

As soon as the Nelsons realized how popular their singing son was going to be, the telegenic Rick was given every opportunity to croon over the airwaves by his father/director/manager. Sometimes his songs fitted



*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, Ozzie Nelson, David Nelson, Ricky Nelson, Harriet Nelson (seated), 1952–66. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

into the narrative of an episode. Sometimes they were just tacked onto the end: essentially, early music videos of Rick Nelson in performance.

Despite this emphasis on Rick's vocal performances, and despite the legion of young fans the program picked up because of its teenage emphasis, the character of Ozzie dominated the program. The genial, bumbling Ozzie was the narrative linchpin of *Ozzie and Harriet*, attempting to steer his young sons toward the proper paths (usually rather ineffectually) and attempting to assert his ego in a household in which he was often ill at ease.

That ego, and that household, were held together by wise homemaker Harriet. Although she may have seemed something of a cipher to many viewers, clad in the elegant dresses that defined the housewife on 1950s television, Harriet represented the voice of reason on *Ozzie and Harriet*, rescuing Ozzie, and occasionally David and Rick, from the consequences of impulsive behavior.

Ironically, in view of the weakness of paterfamilias Ozzie's character, the program was (and still is) considered, during its lengthy run, as an idealized portrait of the American nuclear family of the postwar years. The Nelsons eventually shifted their program into color and into the 1960s. Nevertheless, in spirit, and in the popular imagination, they remained black-and-white denizens of the 1950s.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

### Cast

Ozzie Nelson	Himself
Harriet Nelson	Herself
David Nelson	Himself
Eric Ricky Nelson	Himself
Thorny Thornberry (1952–59)	Don DeFore
Darby (1955–61)	Parley Baer
Joe Randolph (1956–66)	Lyle Talbot
Clara Randolph (1956–66)	Mary Jane Croft
Doc Williams (1954–65)	Frank Cady
Wally (1957–66)	Skip Jones
Butch Barton (1958–60)	Gordon Jones
June (Mrs. David) Nelson (1961–66)	June Blair
Kris (Mrs. Rick) Nelson (1964–66)	Kristin Harmon
Fred (1958–64)	James Stacy
Mr. Kelley (1960–62)	Joe Flynn
Connie Edwards (1960–66)	Constance Harper
Jack (1961–66)	Jack Wagner
Ginger (1962–65)	Charlene Salerno
Dean Hopkins (1964–66)	Ivan Bonar
Greg (1965–66)	Greg Dawson
Sean (1965–66)	Sean Morgan

### Producers

Ozzie Nelson, Robert Angus, Bill Lewis, Leo Penn

### Programming History

435 episodes	
ABC	
October 1952–June 1956	Friday 8:00–8:30
October 1956–	
September 1958	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
September 1958–	
September 1961	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
September 1961–	
September 1963	Thursday 7:30–8:00
September 1963–	
January 1966	Wednesday 7:30–8:00
January 1966–	
September 1966	Saturday 7:30–8:00

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# Advertising

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In late November 2001, the FOX network announced that it had already sold 70 percent of the 58 commercial slots for the upcoming Super Bowl on February 3, 2002. The going rate was estimated at \$2 million for 30 seconds. FOX expected to generate over \$200 million, about the same as CBS had earned the previous year, despite a general decline in advertising, occasioned by a recession and the terrorist assault on the United States on September 11, 2001. Regular advertisers such as Anheuser-Busch (with ten spots), PepsiCo, Levi Strauss, and Pizza Hut accounted for most of the sales. The investment was justified because executives expected the Super Bowl to fulfill its objective: to attract the largest television audience of the year. This example is merely one indication of advertising's continuing and central role in the story of television.

In the beginning of television history, the advertising numbers were hardly so extraordinary. In 1941, for example, Bulova Watches spent \$9 to buy time on the first advertising spot offered by NBC's fledgling New York station. Soon, however, success stories such as the case of Hazel Bishop cosmetics, whose jump into TV produced a sales explosion, convinced advertisers that it was worthwhile to pay much more to reach the expanding TV audience. Ad revenue fueled the television boom in the United States during the 1950s, and by 1960 TV had become the chief medium of national advertising, earning \$1.5 billion as a result. Rating agencies, notably A.C. Nielsen Company, played a crucial role by measuring the audience size and estimating the audience composition of particular shows. Advertising shaped both programming and the schedule to maximize hits—at that time, largely sports and entertainment offerings. Indeed, ad agencies controlled the actual production of many shows, securing writers, technical personnel, and talent and overseeing scripts and production design. It was not until the quiz show scandals at the end of the 1950s led the networks to take control of their programming that the advertising agencies focused their work primarily on brokering airtime and producing commercial spots.

The success of commercial television as a medium linked to the selling of products provoked an outcry. Vance Packard's 1957 exposé, *The Hidden Persuaders*, identified television as one of the chief villains in the effort to manipulate the American consumer. In 1961 the new chair of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Newton Minow, told

a stunned audience of broadcast executives that television was "a vast wasteland," funded by a seemingly endless supply of commercials.

Initially, few countries followed the U.S. example of supporting their new broadcast media with a commercial, advertiser-supported financial base. Britain, Canada, and much of Western Europe organized television as public service systems. Program development and production, as well as the technical aspects of broadcasting, were funded in part by taxes. However, the expenses of television broadcasting were so high and the private demand for commercial airtime so great that some services accommodated advertising: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), for example, used ad revenues to finance indigenous programming. Both Japan and Australia launched separate commercial and public services in 1953. A year later, ad agencies, now fully international in scope and influence (notably the U.S.-based J. Walter Thompson agency), played a part in convincing the British government to end the BBC monopoly and allow a new channel, a commercial service, to be placed on the air.

Even so, television commercials, the visible artifacts of advertising in their familiar 30- or 60-second versions (and, later, in a 15-second length), long retained the imprint of their American birth. Canadian advertisers hired U.S.-based talent in New York. Young and Rubicam, an American agency, created "Ice Mountain" for Gibbs toothpaste, the first British television commercial ever aired (September 1955). The prevalent strategy of American advertising in the 1950s was the 60-second "hard sell": hit the viewer with bits of information, explain how the product is unique, repeat this argument to drive home the message. The earnest enthusiasm might please the advertisers, but it disturbed its targeted audience. If American viewers were largely satisfied with their television fare, according to a 1960 survey, they were upset by the frequency, the timing, the loudness, and the style of commercials. Still, few people in the United States were ready to pay for noncommercial television through their taxes or a license fee on the television receivers that sat in their living rooms.

Television advertising grew more sophisticated and extravagant during the 1960s. The advent of color TV accentuated the visual dimension of advertising. The increasing cost of airtime fostered a move toward 30-second commercials, which relied on metaphor even



Kellogg's Tony the Tiger.  
*Tony the Tiger™ is a trademark of the Kellogg Company. All rights reserved. Used with permission.*



Maytag's Lonely Repairman.  
 © Maytag Company/Courtesy of Leo Burnett USA, Inc.

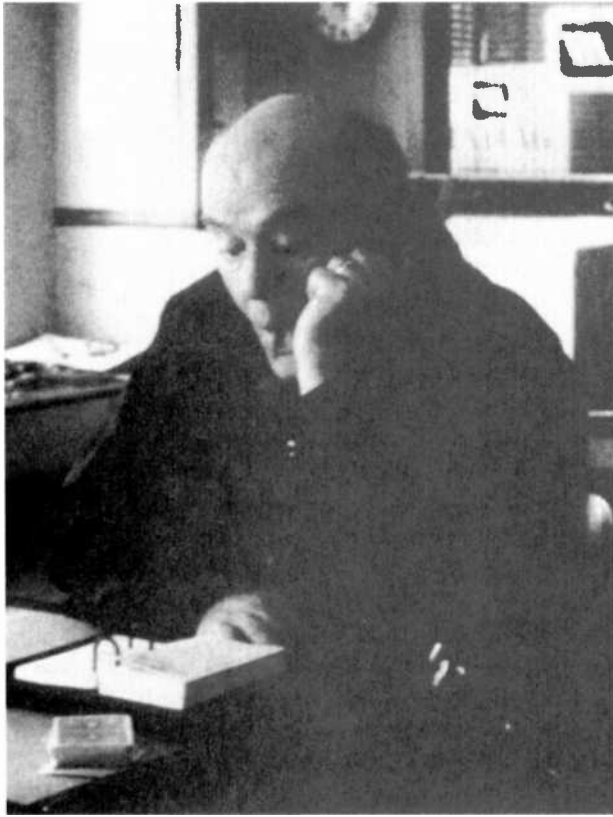
more than logic. Just as important was the "Creative Revolution" that swept over Madison Avenue, led by newcomers and new agencies experimenting with the "soft sell." The emblem of this new movement was the funny and imaginative Volkswagen campaign that was widely credited with making the "Beetle" an American icon. Commercials were even more important to Marlboro cigarettes: sales doubled in the late 1960s, reaching 51.4 billion units, launching the brand on a trajectory that would make it the U.S. leader. One byproduct of the "revolution" was the appearance of spots that pleased viewers: the bouncy tune and happy images of Coca-Cola's famous "Hilltop" spot (1971) may not have taught the world to sing, but it did lead enthusiastic viewers to phone television stations requesting more showings of the ad.

After the mid-1960s, television advertising also became a significant tool of public power. The free public service announcement (PSA) won favor as a way of convincing people to donate moneys, to stop smoking or drinking and driving, or to fight drug abuse.

Political advertising was transformed by the "Daisy" spot, a miniature horror movie that used visuals to link Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater

(who was running against President Lyndon B. Johnson, a Democrat) to the threat of nuclear holocaust. Shown only once (on CBS, September 7, 1964), the spot featured a young girl counting to ten while pulling the petals off a daisy. When she reaches "nine," an adult voice begins counting down to zero, as the image of the girl dissolves to that of a nuclear explosion. The outcry this commercial provoked amply demonstrated how the political spot could affect viewers emotionally.

By 1988 half of the \$92.1 million expended by the campaigns of Vice President George H.W. Bush (Republican) and his Democratic rival for the presidency, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, went to advertising, mostly on television. Even if these sums were much smaller than Coca-Cola or Procter and Gamble might spend in any given year, political advertising now challenged the news as the chief source of election discourse, evidenced by the attention paid to the "Willie Horton" attack ads that smeared Dukakis in 1988. By the 1994 midterm elections, not only had total ad spending in U.S. campaigns approached \$1 billion but negative advertising had exploded in what a November 14 issue of *Advertising Age* called "the season of sleaze."



Maytag's Lonely Repairman.  
© Maytag Company/Courtesy of Leo Burnett USA, Inc.

Meanwhile, the partial repeal of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 had opened the airwaves to advocacy advertising. In 1993 the Health Insurance Association of America managed to catalyze public suspicion of the Clinton administration's health initiative, with its "Harry and Louise" spots, which eventually contributed to the defeat of health reform. In the electoral contest of 2000, the U.S. political parties and their allies practiced the equivalent of carpet bombing, running roughly 1 million spots in the country's 75 major markets. Since so many people avoid political news, television advertising is now the single most important form of political discourse in the United States.

Americans have remained the masters of political and advocacy advertising. However, in other realms, U.S. supremacy has been challenged. American inventiveness declined in part because the "Creative Revolution" waned in the 1970s, with American advertisers coming to favor once more the hard sell. Furthermore, in country after country, private television triumphed over public television, thereby creating new channels for advertising. In the Third World, ad revenues were crucial to the expansion of television, although a fear of excessive commercialism justified Indonesia's ban on television ads in 1981. First in

Italy (in the mid-1970s), then in France (in the mid-1980s), and soon everywhere, the airwaves of Western Europe were opened to private television. Following the collapse of the Soviet empire at the end of the 1980s, ads swiftly appeared in Eastern Europe and Russia: the Marlboro cowboy, banned from American screens after 1970, could be found riding proudly on Russian television in the summer of 1993. The spread of satellite TV in Europe after 1990 offered even more time for marketing.

The British were the first to break free from American tutelage. In the United Kingdom, ad makers refined the ironic sell, which became a key marketing strategy in Europe and North America during the late 1980s: one of the first major successes using the ironic approach was the long-lasting Heineken "Refreshes" campaign launched in 1974. Also in the 1970s, the British government sponsored social ads to shape public behavior, an initiative that was pursued in Canada as well, where the state often proved to be the largest single advertiser. British ad makers soon developed the shock style of social advertising, which used brutal images of misery, death, and horror to jolt people out of their complacency. This too became commonplace in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during the global war against AIDS, drugs, drinking and driving, racism, hunger, and other ills.

Worldwide, the best television commercials had become works of art that reflected the tastes, the fears, and the hopes of their communities. The sums of money spent on making commercials were enormous: it has been estimated that the ads for Pepsi-Cola's "New Generation" campaign of the mid-1980s cost about \$20,000 a second to produce, far more than regular TV programming. European ad makers usually eschewed the American passion for the hard sell and comparative advertising. Many ads acquired a kind of national signature: bizarre imagery (France), a humorous emphasis (Britain), gentleness (Canada), sensuality (Brazil and France), *exposé* (Germany), or beauty (Japan). Some trends applied to the whole industry. During the course of the 1990s, for example, advertising throughout the affluent world became increasingly erotic, often mixing sex and humor, to sell food products, diets, cosmetics, clothing (especially jeans), alcohol, and soft drinks. The sexual sell even spread into other categories, notably car advertising. Perhaps it was not surprising that a 2001 survey of Canadians discovered many viewers thought there was too much sex in advertising.

All these developments suggest that there may be some truth to the claim by Marshall McLuhan (cited once again by *Time* magazine in 1990) that advertising was "the greatest art form of the twentieth century." In fact, since 1980 television networks have offered up



Kellogg's Tony the Tiger.  
*Tony the Tiger™ is a trademark of the Kellogg Company. All rights reserved. Used with permission.*

programs anthologizing old and new ads, movie houses have shown the world's best commercials (the Cannes award winners), and newspapers and magazines have reviewed ads and advertising trends.

It would, of course, be an exaggeration to apply McLuhan's label to every form of television advertising. Consider the infomercial, a form American ad makers pioneered during the late 1980s. Typically, the infomercial is a sponsored message, 30 minutes long, which masquerades as a regular program, often as a talk or interview show complete with commercial inserts. The form has been used to hype hair restorers, diet plans, memory expanders, real estate techniques, living aids, gym equipment, and so on. One infomercial promoting Tae-Bo exercises, shown around 2,000 times a week, was credited in 1998 with rebuilding the market for fitness videos, its product even outselling Walt Disney's movies. The earnest enthusiasm of the infomercial harks back to the ad style of the 1950s, while the element of direct response (the insistence that the viewer must phone now to purchase the brand) looks forward to the future of interactive television. The infomercial proved so successful by the mid-1990s that it had spread into Britain and Western Europe. In the United States and Canada, major national

marketers such as Ford or Philips were experimenting with this long-form advertising. It was estimated in the mid-1990s that infomercials were generating around \$1 billion worth of ad business a year.

That figure nevertheless remained modest by comparison with the scale of conventional television advertising. Altogether, television attracted over \$59 billion of the total \$244 billion of U.S. advertising volume in 2000, which put the medium nearly on a par with print. Indeed, in Japan, France, Italy, Brazil, and Spain, TV beat out all other media. In the United States, however, the rise of both independent and cable television over the previous two decades had dramatically altered the shares of this revenue. The "Big Three" networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—now secured just over \$14 billion, compared to nearly \$11 billion for U.S. cable networks. Local spot-advertising stood at \$13.5 billion. The television ad market had fragmented as a result of the proliferation of channels available to the viewing audience. The result was that advertisers had difficulty reaching masses of viewers at any one time, unless they were willing to pay out huge sums to cover all the main channels. One exception, of course, was the Super Bowl, which is why the network broadcasting the game could charge so much for a 30-second ad.

In fact, for roughly a decade, the future significance, and thus the prosperity, of television advertising has been in question. The record of television advertising as a marketing tool is not always spectacular: people avoid, discount, or disdain most commercials they see. The enormous clutter of ads on television has made recent campaigns much less memorable than ten or 20 years ago, or so surveys suggest. Advertisers have long been concerned by stories about viewers who use their remote controls to mute commercial messages or skip through the channels during a commercial break. The recent arrival of personal digital video recorders offered by TiVo or Microsoft's Ultimate TV have reawakened industry fears that viewers might construct their own ad-free television. Even so, no other rival has emerged to challenge the potential marketing power of TV. One of the ironies of the Internet craze of the late 1990s was that the "dot-coms" used television ads to deliver their messages to consumers: during the 1999 Super Bowl, for example, ABC charged some dot-coms as much as \$3 million for a 30-second spot. So far, advertising on the Internet has not proved a threat to television ad revenues, amounting to less than 2 percent of the total advertising expenditures in 2000.

The laments of a Packard or a Minow have been echoed by an assortment of critics around the world who have blamed advertising for vulgarizing TV, degrading politics, and emphasizing materialism. Indeed, television advertising is often viewed as the most potent

agent of a gospel of consumption. A central tenet of that gospel preaches that satisfaction is for sale. "What advertising has done is to seep out beyond its proper sphere," asserted media scholar Mark Crispin Miller in an NBC documentary, *Sex, Buys, and Advertising* (July 31, 1990), "and to kind of take over the culture."

Ultimately, such claims rest upon a presumption of the awesome cultural power of advertising. Advertising has conditioned the character of television programming, sometimes even inspired a program: Coca-Cola's "Mean Joe Greene" commercial (1979) was the model for a later NBC movie. The music video began life as a method for advertising rock groups, only to later become a form of entertainment and the foundation for the success of the cable network MTV and its imitators. Ad slogans have entered the common language: for example, the fast-food chain Wendy's query, "Where's the beef?" found a place in the 1984 U.S. presidential campaign. Ad critters, notably Kellogg's Tony the Tiger, have become kids' favorites. Ad stars have become famous: the appearance of Nick Kamen in a Levi's 501 ad in Britain in the mid-1980s made him a symbol of male sensuality. Since 2001 the notoriously sexy commercials for Victoria's Secret have been effectively transformed into televised fashion shows.

Such examples demonstrate that commercials are another source of popular culture, a vast collection of meanings and pleasures created by the public to understand and enrich their ordinary experience. The appropriation, creation, and manipulation of these meanings and pleasures by those who assume that they help to sell products continues to be a source of intense cultural and social scrutiny and debate. All the while, the variety of effects of TV advertising on our lives remain contested.

PAUL RUTHERFORD

**See also Cost-Per-Thousand; Demographics; Market; Narrowcasting; Pay Cable; Pay Television; Pay-Per-View; Ratings; Share; Sponsor; Zapping**

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## Advertising Agency

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In the early years of U.S. broadcasting, advertising agencies were quick to embrace new media. Fortunately for advertisers, the ability to reach a mass audience with radio intersected with an expansion of the

U.S. economy in the 1920s. The techniques of mass production championed by Henry Ford, the rise of Taylorism, and an increase in disposable income in the years following World War I sustained an ideology of



consumption that advertising both reflected and nurtured. NBC President Merlin H. Aylesworth proclaimed that radio was "an open gateway to national markets, to millions of consumers, and to thousands upon thousands of retailers."

The vision of eager consumers gathered around this remarkable appliance was irresistible to potential sponsors. The expansion of commercial broadcasting came with such astonishing speed that by 1931 radio was an enormous industry, accounting for \$36 million in time sales on the networks alone. Larger agencies such as N.W. Ayer, BBDO, and J. Walter Thompson set up broadcasting departments and actively encouraged clients to pursue the medium.

The emergence of radio as an economic force was reflected in a crucial change regarding program development at the agency level. Through the 1920s most commercial programming originated with networks or local stations, with the agency serving as broker, casting about for clients willing to purchase the rights to a broadcaster-produced show. By the early 1930s, however, the agencies had reversed the equation—they were developing shows in-house for clients, then purchasing airtime from the broadcasters. The key function for the agency thus became to analyze a client's particular needs and design an entire program around those needs, an enormously complex and financially risky undertaking, yet one in which Madison Avenue was entirely successful. By the end of the 1930s, agencies produced more than 80 percent of all network commercial programming.

With the advent of commercial television in 1946, there was considerable sentiment within the networks that program creation and execution would best be left in their hands, although the personnel demands and expense of video production made it impossible for any network to produce all its programming in-house. Thus, as in radio, agencies assumed a major role in the evolution of the television schedule. There was not, however, a wholesale rush of sponsors begging to enter the medium, and the networks were compelled to offer time slots at bargain rates to attract customers. Companies such as Thompson, and Young and Rubicam, had already developed some television expertise, but the vast majority of agencies found themselves at the bottom of a very steep learning curve. Still, Madison Avenue produced some of the most enduring programs of the "golden age" of television, including *Texaco Star Theater*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, and *The Goldbergs*.

As more stations began operation—particularly after 1952—the cost of purchasing airtime on the networks and local stations increased dramatically, as did production budgets. Most agencies accepted as an economic fact that they could no longer afford to create

and produce their own shows as they had in radio, and the recognition on Madison Avenue that complete control of television production was unprofitable to the agencies themselves contributed to the evolution in programming hegemony away from the agencies to the networks. Thus, agencies never assumed the kind of production control in television they enjoyed in radio; they could never put into play the same economies of scale as the networks and independent producers. The 15 percent commission that served as the source of agency revenue simply was not enough to cover the ever-increasing expenses associated with television production. Many agencies subsequently shifted their emphasis to the production of commercial spots, while others moved aggressively into syndication, forming partnerships with Hollywood producers to create filmed series that could be sold to a variety of sponsors.

As costs rose during the 1950s, the gap between agency income and expenses narrowed considerably, forcing a reconsideration of organizational structure, leading to the emergence of what was termed the "all-media strategy," which remains the dominant paradigm. Most agencies had relied on specialists in a strict division of labor such that a client's advertising might be divided up between three or four different departments. The all-media approach rejected this diffusion of responsibility, placing a single person or team in charge of a client's overall needs. By eliminating specialists and fostering cooperation between divisions, agencies could streamline personnel, coordinate functions, improve efficiency, and thereby reduce overhead.

Advertising agencies had an agenda distinct from that of their clients. Although publicly they represented the clients' interests, many Madison Avenue executives also promoted network control of programming in the trade press. Because of their concerns over the increasing costs and complexities of program production, and their frustration with mediating disputes between advertisers and networks, many hoped television would not continue the radio model of sponsor ownership of time slots. Concerned that the expense of television programming far outstripped that of radio production, agency executives sought ways to develop television as a mass advertising medium while also seeking to avoid draining agency revenues with television program costs. In this sense, the evolution of the all-media strategy is illustrative of how the economic pressures brought to bear on agencies during the 1950s changed the way Madison Avenue approached programming, from an advertising vehicle to one (albeit primary) component of a marketing plan.

Today, the advertising agency is primarily responsible for the production of commercial spots as well as the purchasing of airtime on behalf of clients. The situ-



ation has become murkier in recent years, however, as some large companies (Coca-Cola, for example) have begun producing much of their own advertising in-house, bypassing Madison Avenue. Further, the networks now frequently approach potential advertisers directly rather than going through the client's agency. In an era when even large stores are acquired by enormous multinational holding companies, the role of the agency is now focused more on using powers of persuasion in many different media than merely in creating a single great advertisement.

MICHAEL MASHON

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## Advertising, Company Voice

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Company voice advertising typically presents its sponsors as good corporate citizens; forward-thinking providers of products, jobs, and services; and active supporters of causes such as environmentalism. Historically a staple of magazines, radio, and sponsored motion pictures, company voice advertising helped shape sponsorships of dramatic anthology, spectacular, news, and documentary programs. After 1970 the practice helped shape Public Broadcasting Service program underwriting.

Alternately known as "public relations," or "institutional" or "advocacy advertising," company voice advertising seeks a favorable political climate for the expansion of its sponsors' commercial activities and interests. One of the earliest campaigns of its kind, dating to 1908, promoted the "universal service" of the AT&T Bell System telephone monopoly. By the late 1920s public-minded "progress" had become the highly advertised hallmark of General Electric (GE), General Motors, and other center firms. The practice picked up political significance during the New Deal and later during World War II, when all manner of advertising promoted companies' patriotic sacrifice and struggle on the production front.

After the war, business leaders remained suspicious of centralized government, confiscatory taxation, politically powerful labor, and what many believed to be the public's outmoded fear of big business. In bringing postwar public and employee relations to television, business invested in programs with objectives ranging from economic education to outright entertainment. Factory processes and free enterprise rhetoric appeared

regularly. The National Association of Manufacturers, for example, launched *Industry on Parade*, a syndicated telefilm series that toured the nation's industrial centers. Initially produced by the NBC News film unit, the series ran from 1951 to 1958. Business and trade groups worked television into training and employee relations. Drexel Institute of Technology's *University of the Air*, for example, took advantage of marginal television time in the Philadelphia area for noon-hour panel discussions of labor-management issues. Designed for in-plant reception by audiences of supervisory trainees and managers, the scenes attracted spouses in the home viewing audience who, one publicist proudly noted, had become the new fans of industrial human relations.

Entering television for the first time, major corporations predicated their public and employee relations activities upon the experience of entertainment. GE and DuPont, both active in economic education, favored the editorial control of dramatic anthology programs. The company voice specialists of the *General Electric Theater* ruled out the sponsorship of panel discussions such as *Meet the Press* and *Youth Wants to Know* because the format posed the threat of spontaneous comments inimical to business. DuPont continued its investment in tightly controlled drama with the transfer of radio's *Cavalcade of America* to television in 1952. DuPont specialists justified their television investment with projected declining costs per thousand, which by 1954 would equal radio's peak year of 1948. Further delineating the audience for company voice messages, specialists anticipated the maturity of a generation with no firsthand knowledge of the depres-

sion—or, as GE's Chester H. Lang, put it, "no adult exposure to the violent anti-business propaganda of the 'depression' years. The opinions the young people form now, as they grow up," Lang explained, "will determine the climate in which we will operate in the decades of their maturity." DuPont's F. Lyman Dewey suggested that his company's investment in television affirmed its executives' appreciation of the fact that it was no longer a question of "shall we as DuPont representatives use these powerful tools of communication—but shall we use them well."

Recoiling from television's expense and unproved effect, other company voice advertisers hesitantly incorporated the new medium into their plans. More than a few invested in alternating-week sponsorships that further divided commercial breaks between product sales and company voice messages. U.S. Steel predicated its television plans in part upon a tax code that allowed deductions for product sales and company voice advertising as a business expense. Its first telecast (Christmas night 1952) presented Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*. *The U.S. Steel Hour* later apportioned commercial breaks between company voice messages read by "Voice of U.S. Steel" announcer George Hicks and industrywide product sales promotions acted out by U.S. Steel's "family team" Mary Kay and Johnny.

Spectacular programs built around light entertainment, sports, and special events presented sponsors as adjuncts of national life and culture. General Motors, reminiscent of its massive investments in wartime institutional advertising, entered television in the 1952–53 season with a weekly schedule of *NCAA Football*, followed by the Eisenhower Inauguration and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Ford Motor Company and the electrical industry each invested in light entertainment. The success of the *Ford 50th Anniversary Show* simultaneously telecast on NBC and CBS led to similarly conceived "horizontal saturation" for the 1954 television season. *Light's Diamond Jubilee*, for example, a two-hour spectacular celebrating the 75th anniversary of Thomas Edison's invention of the electric light, appeared on four networks. The David O. Selznick production featured a filmed talk by President Eisenhower, narration by Joseph Cotten, and sketches and musical numbers with Walter Brennan, Kim Novak, Helen Hayes, Lauren Bacall, David Niven, Judith Anderson, and Eddie Fisher.

By the mid-1950s nearly every major American corporation had entered television to build audiences for company voice advertising. The Aluminum Company of America sponsored Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* to boost its name recognition with the public and with manufacturers using aluminum. Reynolds Aluminum sponsored *Mr. Peepers*, while the Aluminum Company

of Canada with others sponsored *Omnibus*. Underwritten by the Ford Foundation as a demonstration of "television at its best," the Sunday afternoon series presented diverse entertainments hosted by Alistair Cooke. Not averse to commercial sponsorship, *Omnibus* anticipated the "making possible" program environment of the Public Broadcasting Service.

While politically active corporations embraced the prestigious possibilities of drama, light entertainment, and special events, by 1960 many had become willing sponsors of science, news, and documentary programs. The promotion of scientific and technological competence took on special urgency after the Soviet launch of the Sputnik spacecraft in 1958. The corporate-cool television presence of the Bell System exemplified the trend. In 1956 Bell entered television with half-hour dramas entitled *Telephone Time*. One hundred and ten episodes ran until 1958, dramatizing the success stories of "little people." In 1959 Bell returned to the air with four musical specials that evolved into the *Bell Telephone Hour*. Light orchestral music, musical numbers, and ballet sequences accompanied "Of time and space" company voice messages. Bell also developed preemptive documentary programs on weather, genetics, circulation of the blood, and cosmic rays, and the *Threshold* series treating the American space program. Bell also purchased related CBS documentaries such as *Why Man in Space?* Adopting a similar strategy, Texaco, Gulf, and Westinghouse each televised network news and special events laden with scientific and technological news value. Texaco became an early sponsor of NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The "unassuming authenticity and easy informality" of coanchors Chet Huntley and David Brinkley were thought to complement Texaco's "dependability" message. Gulf raised its institutional profile with "instant specials" featuring NBC correspondent Frank McGee, who covered the events of the 1960 presidential campaign and the U.S. space program. Documentary films such as *The Tunnel* rounded out the schedule. *Westinghouse Presents* featured documentary specials "Our Man in Vienna" with David Brinkley, "The Land" with Chet Huntley, and "The Wacky World of Jerry Lewis." Company voice messages promoted Westinghouse's "scientific achievements, dedication and sincere interest in people," qualities thought to mitigate the negative public relations impact of 641 civil damage suits stemming from charges of price-fixing.

The multinational aspirations of Xerox Corporation sought complementary qualities of excellence. Not unlike the program strategies pursued by steel, automotive, and electrical producers, Xerox embarked upon an aggressive public relations campaign by purchasing programs that "get talked about": *Huntley-Brinkley Reports* treating the Kremlin, Communism, Jimmy Hoffa, Cuba, and Korea; the making of the president,

1960 and 1964; and a series of 90-minute specials dramatizing the work of United Nations (UN) social agencies. Broadcast without commercial interruption on NBC and ABC, the UN series targeted the international community identified as key to the expansion of the office copier market. A model of corporate underwriting, Xerox's UN dramas won critical acclaim that helped justify the series' \$4 million expense to stockholders who questioned its value. The series' most celebrated program, "Carol for Another Christmas," featured a Rod Serling script that revisited the horrors of Hiroshima, the millions unavailable to Western abundance, and the bleakest of futures prefigured by the hydrogen bomb. Xerox later sponsored *Civilisation* with Kenneth Clark. Thirteen one-hour programs presented "leading social issues and advanced art forms" reviewing "1600 years of Western man's great art and ideas... man at his finest on television at its finest."

While company voice advertisers of the early 1950s anticipated the maturity of a television generation with no direct knowledge of the depression, the company voice advertisers of the early 1960s bemoaned that generation's expectation that business extend its interests beyond the balance sheet to include social goals in the areas of minority employment, consumer protection, and environmentalism. Public opinion pollster Louis Harris described the public image of U.S. business as "bright, but flawed." Specialists set out to narrow the distance between corporate claim and performance said to be as great as the so-called generation gap. Not only had society become more impersonal and complex, they argued, but increasingly polarized and problematic. Hoping to erase lingering doubts about advertising's impact and effect, specialists sharpened claims for advocacy advertising as "the one remaining tool with which business can apply counter pressure in an adversary society."

John E. O'Toole, the thoughtful president of the Madison Avenue agency Foote, Cone and Belding, suggested that business leaders learn to emulate the "adversary culture" of intellectual and academic pursuits, political activists, and consumer groups "who seek basic changes in the system." O'Toole noted that while each "culture" had necessary and legitimate functions, the adversary culture dominated the media. In complex times, O'Toole argued, business should make certain that its unique claims of social leadership rose above the dissident clutter.

Led by the oil industry, the 1970s witnessed significant investment in company voice television. Reeling from the public relations fallout of rising energy prices, American-based petroleum producers became a presence on the Public Broadcasting Service. Mobil's *Masterpiece Theatre* with one-time *Omnibus* host Alistair Cooke debuted in January 1971. As historian Laurence

Jarvik notes, Mobil soon displaced the Ford Foundation as the single largest contributor to public television, raising its initial program grant of \$390,000 to \$12 million by 1990. *Masterpiece Theatre*, *Mystery!*, and *Upstairs, Downstairs* provided cultural cover for a heavy schedule of combative advocacy ads published in the op-ed sections of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. In the late 1970s the ad campaign came to television: elaborately costumed "A Fable for Now" spots featuring mimes Shields and Yarnell, the Pilobolus Dance Theatre, the Louis Falco Dance Company, the Richard Morris Dance Theatre, and members of the American Ballet Theatre enlivened Mobil's antiregulatory rhetoric in parables of scarcity and abundance drawn from the animal kingdom. "Mobil Information Center" spots aired locally before network newscasts employed an anchorman-correspondent simulation to tout "the freedom of the press," along with the progrowth logic of offshore drilling, nuclear power plant construction, deregulation of natural gas, and the restriction of environmental regulation.

While sympathetic critics wondered if Mobil could have carried out its advocacy campaign without the expense of television drama, others suggested that big oil's enthusiastic underwriting of public television had turned PBS into the "Petroleum Broadcasting Service." PBS president Lawrence K. Grossman urged perspective on the funding issue. In 1977 Grossman explained that though oil company funding had increased tenfold since the early 1970s, oil company moneys represented less than 3 percent of system income. "What conclusion," asked Grossman, "do we in public television draw from these numbers? Not that oil companies should contribute *less* but rather that corporations of all other types should be asked to contribute more!"

By 1983 corporate support for PBS had flattened out at \$38 million for the two previous years, presaging a decade of declining federal appropriations that left PBS ever more dependent upon the market for support. In 1981 network officials won congressional approval for an 18-month experiment in "enhanced underwriting." Two-minute credits at the beginning and conclusion of programs telecast by nine PBS affiliates allowed mention of brand names, slogans, and institutional messages beyond previously restricted verbal mentions and static displays of logos. The discussion of corporate mascots, animated logos, product demonstrations and superlatives to tap a new class of advertising revenue alarmed established underwriters. In an effort to conserve PBS's uncluttered institutional character, national program underwriters Mobil, the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies, Chevron, AT&T, Exxon, Ford, GE, IBM, GTE, JC Penney, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Owens-Corning, and others formed the Corporations in Support of Public Television

(CSPT). The CSPT promoted the concept of "quality demographics" among potential corporate underwriters who desired to advertise "excellence," social cause identification, and the occasional product.

AT&T, for example, had recently provided \$9 million for expanded one-hour coverage of the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report* (later *News Hour*). Emphasizing performance and communication, specialists expected the buy to enhance AT&T's image as an information provider after its breakup into regional "Baby Bells" by the U.S. Justice Department.

Reviewing their company voice accounts, specialists themselves perhaps wondered just what effect their long-term advertising campaigns had bought. Increasingly business found itself the subject of critical television news stories treating the environment, the OPEC oil shock, inflation, and recession. Corporate critics charged that public television had become a prime example of what Alan Wolfe described as "logo America," in which "the only price a company will charge for its public service activities is the right to display its logo." Near the opposite end of the political spectrum, critic David Horowitz described PBS's broadcast schedule as a "monotonous diet of left-wing politics," though it would have been hard to find such programs equaling the possibilities, much less access, available to the company voice advertiser. Mobil, for example, financed an hour-long PBS documentary program criticizing the antibusiness thrust of prime-time network television drama. Hosted by writer Benjamin Stein, *Hollywood's Favorite Heavy: Businessmen on Prime Time TV* used clips from *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *Falcon Crest* to contend that television had destroyed youth's outlook upon business and business ethics. A peculiar assumption, wrote critic Jay Rosen in *Channels* magazine, since television itself was a business, and advertisements had made consumption "the nearest thing to religion for most Americans." Mobil, however, had decided that it could not countenance Blake Carrington, J.R. Ewing, and other stereotypes of rapacious businessman in prime time. Interestingly, GE declined to join Mobil as a *Hollywood's Favorite Heavy* underwriter, preferring instead to stick with its "We Bring Good Things to Life" spot campaign. Having rethought its aversion to panel discussions, GE aired its "Good Things" campaign on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley* and *The McLaughlin Group*. The latter appeared commercially on NBC's five owned and operated stations and publicly on a 230-station PBS network.

As the century draws to a close and funding for all forms of television continues to be squeezed by new outlets and new technologies such as computer access to the Internet, corporations continue to seek new connections to media. The trend that began with the origins of mass media shows no sign of abating.

W.L. BIRD

See also Advertising; *Alcoa Hour*, *The*

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## Advocacy Groups

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Advocacy groups—also called public interest groups, citizen groups, consumer activist groups, and media reform groups—have existed in the United States since the 1930s as consumer checks on a broadcast industry where decisions quite often have been based not on public interest standards but rather on economic incentives and regulatory mandates. Advocacy groups have carved a niche for themselves in the broadcast industry's policy-making apparatus by first defining key public interest issues and then by advocating ways by which broadcasters may address these issues.

Advocacy group characteristics have varied widely. Some have operated nationally, with or without local chapters, and some have operated only locally. Some have remained active for many years, whereas the life-span of others has been brief. Some advocacy groups have been well financed, often receiving substantial foundation funding, while others have operated with little financial support. Practically all advocacy groups have relied on newsletter subscriptions, video purchases, and lectures as means of raising money. Finally, some advocacy groups have devoted exclusive attention to the broadcast industry, whereas other groups with a more varied menu of concerns have developed subsidiary units to deal with broadcast-related issues.

The total number of advocacy groups, past or present, is difficult to determine, given their ephemeral nature. What is more, many such groups are smaller components of larger organizations with a mixture of agendas. Some of the more prominent advocacy groups through the years have included the National Association for Better Broadcasting, the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, Action for Children's Television, Accuracy in Media, the National Black Media Coalition, and the Coalition for Better Television. Besides these, the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ has been a particularly effective advocacy group, as have the Media Task Force of the National Organization for Women and the National Parent Teachers Association (PTA). Assisting these groups through the years in legal, regulatory, and legislative matters have been pro bono public interest law firms such as the Citizens Communication Center.

Early advocacy groups, such as the Radio Council on Children's Programming and the Women's National Radio Committee, both formed in the 1930s, were concerned with program content. Group members monitored radio programs, reported their opinions on acceptable and unacceptable content in newsletters, and gave awards to radio stations and networks airing exceptional programs. That practice and mode of consumer/broadcaster interaction continued until the 1960s, when the broadcast industry became caught up in a sweeping consumers' movement. During the latter part of the 1960s, advocacy groups, led most effectively by the United Church of Christ, began challenging television station license renewals through a legal instrument called a "petition to deny." Such petitions were aimed at denying license renewal for television stations whose programming or employment practices were considered discriminatory. Advocacy groups also were successful in forcing broadcasters to accede to programming and minority-employment demands contained in "citizen agreements." When such unprecedented public access into the regulatory and station decision-making process won approval of both the federal courts and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), advocacy groups blossomed.

The most common targets of advocacy groups during the 1970s continued to be minority programming and employment practices. However, violent program content, children's programming, and general public access to the airwaves also took on significance. Advocacy group tactics during this period included the petitions to deny and citizens agreements noted previously as well as participation in FCC rule-making and congressional hearings, actual or threatened program sponsor boycotts, and publicity. Advocacy group achievements during the 1970s usually came in small doses, but major successes included the improvement in broadcast station employment opportunities for women and minorities, greater public participation in the broadcast regulatory process, improvement in children's programming, and the banishment of cigarette advertising from the airwaves.

The nature of advocacy groups began to change during the 1980s. A more conservative political agenda de-

railed the consumers' movement that had bolstered the more liberal-minded advocacy groups of the 1970s. Moreover, public interest law firms and foundations that had funded many of the more prominent advocacy groups during the 1970s began either disappearing or turning their attention elsewhere. Changes in the broadcast industry itself—deregulation, the rise of cable television, and changing station/network ownership patterns—also reversed many of the early advocacy group achievements and left the leadership as well as membership of many of the groups in disarray.

However, advocacy groups did not disappear; rather, their issue emphasis took a decidedly conservative turn. Groups such as Accuracy in Media and the Coalition for Better Television gained momentum in the 1980s with a large constituency, substantial funding, and a focus on ridding the airwaves of programs that either were biased in news reporting or contained an excess of sex and violence. Extensive mailing lists also helped these groups to quickly galvanize public support for their causes.

In the 1990s there also began to appear liberal advocacy groups that set their sights on molding public opinion on a more tightly focused set of special interests than in the past. These interests included gun control, AIDS awareness and prevention, abortion rights, world hunger, and the environment. Led by Amnesty International, the Environmental Media Association, and the Center for Population Options, these advocacy groups succeeded to some extent by convincing a number of television network producers to insert messages in prime-time entertainment programs that addressed the advocacy groups' concerns.

As television entered the 21st century, the role of advocacy groups had diminished somewhat. Many of the issues on which these groups focused so much of their attention had not disappeared, but interest among members of the public in addressing the issues had waned. A plethora of new program channel outlets via cable television and direct broadcast satellite also meant that advocacy groups had opportunities never before available to them to deliver messages of their own design and choosing to television viewers nationwide.

This is not to say that advocacy groups ceased functioning. To the contrary, such groups continued their efforts. The National PTA proceeded with its annual "Take Charge of Your TV Week" campaign. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Hispanic Media Coalition both threatened boycotts against the broadcast television networks during the late 1990s because of the networks' failure to include more African Americans and Hispanics in prime-time television programming. And such organizations as the Parents Television Council, the Center for Media Education, the Media

Research Center, and the American Family Association continued to push for improvement in television programming, especially in programming directed toward children and young adults.

Such groups as these appeared less vocal and less visible than in the past, but a closer examination suggests that they simply employed more sophisticated means of spreading their messages. The World Wide Web had become a particularly valuable information tool that, by 2001, many advocacy groups had incorporated into their public educational tool chest. Websites also were an efficient means of providing programming "action alerts," viewers' guides, information clearinghouses, and instant calls for letter-writing campaigns and/or boycotts.

The role of advocacy groups through the years has engendered a mixture of praise and criticism. While the objectives, methods, and zealotry of some groups have met with scorn, the efforts of others have been viewed as beneficial for, at the very least, making the broadcast industry sensitive to public needs and concerns.

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*See also* **Action for Children's Television; Experimental Video; Public Access Television**

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## Aesthetics, Television

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Aesthetics—that branch of philosophy concerned with the arts, and definitions of artistic experience and artistic value—has always been a contested category in discussions of popular culture. Suspicion of the term, and of the elitist values and assumptions it was thought to imply, was widespread among reviewers and scholars of film, popular music, and (later) television long before academic literary and cultural theory in the 1970s and beyond dismissed aesthetic arguments as the mystifications of high culture and of society's dominant ideologies.

As we entered the 21st century, the political and ideological perspectives that prevailed for a generation and more in the American academy began to yield to a new synthesis. On this emerging view, the commercial and ideological forces that shape popular entertainments are acknowledged as central but are no longer thought to exclude aesthetic questions. This return to the aesthetic has great importance for the nascent scholarship on television, which was born in the era of high theory, of deconstruction and materialist forms of cultural studies.

It is helpful to recognize that the term "aesthetic" may be understood first in a descriptive, anthropological sense. From this angle, to identify certain cultural items as aesthetic is not to praise their beauty or excellence but merely to describe their chief defining feature: their membership in a class of experiences understood to be fictional or imaginary, understood to occur in a symbolic, culturally agreed-upon imaginative space—a theater; the intimate, privatized spaces of our experience of television; the vast ritual amphitheaters of the ancient world; the dark communal space of the movie house—where "real" experience is re-presented, re-created, symbolically displayed. We watch television fiction, that is to say, in a realm of leisure and "play," a territory or environment licensed as make-believe—an aesthetic space.

In estimating the importance of aesthetic perspectives for understanding television, it is instructive to compare prevailing American attitudes toward the

medium with the attitudes held a generation ago toward our homegrown movies and moviemakers. Many film scholars have pointed to the irony that the U.S.'s recognition of her own achievement in the art of film lagged far behind that of Europe. Hollywood's genre movies came finally to seem valuable to Americans, the film critics have shown, only after the French *nouvelle vague* directors had popularized for educated Americans the myths and conventions of those ancestors of today's police and detective series, the films of Bogart and Cagney and Edward G. Robinson.

This change in American attitudes toward the movies—or, more accurately, this change in the attitudes of the educated classes—is the more instructive, and grows more ironic, when we consider how its emergence is tied to the decline of the movies as a form of popular art. Through the 1950s and the 1960s, as critics of the American film lost their defensiveness and began to speak with the same confidence as the literary critics, the American film itself was being supplanted by television as the U.S.'s principal medium of popular narrative. (In 1951, in the early dawn of the television age, 90 million Americans attended the movies each week; by 1959 weekly attendance had fallen to 43 million; today the vast majority of Americans attend the movies only two or three times per year.) As the Hollywood studios and their vast machinery for star making and film manufacturing receded into history and as there emerged a generation of reviewers, critics, and, finally, university professors whose deepest experience of art had occurred in the movie houses of their childhoods, the American film came to be detached or liberated from its identity as a consumer item, a mere commercial product, and to be located instead within an aesthetic field.

This recognition of the essential *artistic* dimension of the Hollywood commercial movie was and remains an intellectual achievement of great magnitude, for it permitted new perspectives on the cultural history of the United States, profoundly complicating our understand-



ing of the workings of our economic system and altering our understanding of the nature and possibilities of art itself. The most significant implication of this recognition, an implication explored by such scholars as Thomas Schatz and Leo Braudy among others, is this: capitalist greed, the crassest of alliances between commerce and modern technology, may constitute the enabling conditions of a complex narrative art.

But this recognition, which was the work of years and many scholars, was in certain respects a belated one. By the time it had been fully lodged in the educated consciousness, in museums and universities, the American film itself was no longer a habitual experience for the mass of the American population, having yielded to television not only its ability to incite contempt for manufactured entertainment but also its status as the nation's central institution for storytelling.

It seems probable, then (as the case of the movies as well as such ancestor systems as the novel and even the theater suggest), that cultures can perceive the artistic character of their primary entertainment systems only when such systems have become historical artifacts, when they are no longer experienced as habitual and common, no longer central.

In the first years of the 21st century, American television itself underwent such a transformation. The broadcast system offering a limited range of consensus stories aimed at a mass audience was undermined and will surely be supplanted by a system of narrowcasting to niche audiences and subcultures. And there were many signs that the old television, like the movies of the studio era, was ready to enter our museums and our school curricula. (This encyclopedia is itself a measure of the transition of television to an object of study and historical interest.)

The era of broadcast television parallels, and, in many respects may be seen to reenact, the history and aesthetic evolution of the movies and, in less precise ways, of such earlier instances of consensus narrative as the novel and the public theater of the Elizabethans.

What is crucial in all these instances is the intersection of historical, political, technological, economic, and aesthetic factors. In such a historicized understanding, aesthetic features appear in response to technical or ideological or cultural constraints. Human agents (writers, directors, producers, actors, audiences) may play a role, of course, but the narrative or dramatic field alters as well in obedience to what Thomas Schatz, echoing Andre Bazin, calls "the genius of the system."

These systems of storytelling and entertainment appear to follow a similar pattern of development, which cannot be accurately described without a partly aesthetic and evaluative vocabulary. Most simply, this pattern is one of self-discovery, in which the new

medium begins by repeating and imitating the forms and strategies of its ancestor systems and gradually, through accident and experiment, discovers more and more thoroughly its own special resources. The novel, for example, is born as an amalgam of older forms: the romance, the picaresque tale, certain forms of religious narrative such as puritan autobiography, various forms of journalism and historical writing. At first it combines these elements haphazardly and crudely. Then, nourished by a large and eager audience that makes novel writing a highly profitable enterprise, the novel begins to distinguish itself clearly from these earlier forms, to combine its inherited elements more harmoniously and judiciously, and to exploit the possibilities for narrative that are uniquely available to fictional stories printed in books.

As many have argued, something of the same principle can be seen in the history of the movies, which begin in a borrowing and restaging of styles, formats, and performances taken from such older media as theater, still photography, visual art, and prose fiction and then evolving methods that exploit with greater and greater subtlety the unique properties of the motion-picture camera and the environment of the movie house.

Public attractions such as carnivals, the circus, and amusement parks were another source for early cinema. Some scholars have claimed that the defining attribute of the birth of the movies in the United States was the struggle between a populist "cinema of attractions" and a middle-class preference for narrative as inspired by theater and books. Such perspectives remind us that the forms achieved by a "mature" medium do not comprise some perfect fulfillment of its intrinsic potential but represent instead a narrowed range of possible outcomes as well as promises unexplored, roads not taken.

The evolution of such systems of entertainment and communication is always immensely complicated by the rivalry of competing systems, by the economic structures and political regimes that shape and support such systems and that are in turn altered themselves as the new media root themselves in people's lives. Improvements in technology and in methods of distribution and access further complicate the development of such media. In the case of film, for instance, decisive changes follow upon the advent of sound and the development of lighter, more mobile cameras and of more sensitive film stock; and seismic shifts in the very nature of film, in its relation to its audience and its society, occur with the birth of television.

Perhaps most significant of all, media systems and institutions for storytelling alter and extend their possibilities as their audiences grow more comfortable with them, learning the special codes and conventions such institutions generate and rely upon. The distance between *Fred*



*Ott's Sneeze* (circa 1893)—only seconds long, produced in East Orange, New Jersey, in the world's first movie studio—and Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) is a rich, decisive emblem for these interacting processes, these enabling conditions of popular art.

American television during the broadcast era (roughly from the medium's inception in 1946 through the decade of the 1990s) enacts a similar history. It is not a history of unremitting refinement and improvement, of course, but it is a history impossible to understand without an awareness of the aesthetics of media transition, a recognition of the complex, ongoing ways in which the medium learned to use and then to exploit more subtly such defining constraints as the commercial interruptions; the reduced visual scale of the screen; the formulas, genres, performing styles, and actors it inherited from radio, theater, and the movies; the 30- or (somewhat later) the 60-minute time slot, the domestic environment in which TV is experienced.

In its first or imitative phase, American television recycled its ancestors—radio, theater formats, and movies, though an early boycott of TV by the Hollywood studios kept most American feature films off the screen during the medium's first decade. One way to understand the misnamed "golden age of live television" is to recognize that 1950s taste hierarchies, which assumed theater's inherent superiority to movies, underpinned many journalistic and scholarly accounts of the shift of prime-time production from live dramas made in New York to filmed series made in Los Angeles. But the popularity of early series such as *I Love Lucy* (1951–61, CBS) and *Dragnet* (1952–59; revived, 1967–70, NBC; and yet again 2003, ABC), deplored by many at the time as "boob-tube" fare, now seems sensible, even aesthetically enlightened. For these pioneering programs embraced the new medium's inherent friendliness toward episodic series, and their visual styles emphasized close-ups and domestic, enclosed spaces in ways that respected the modest dimensions of the TV screen. (In its strategy of filming before an audience, *Lucy*, that timeless hybrid, also found a way to mobilize some of the energies of live performance.) Moreover, their reliance on film was not only a sensible business practice that preserved the product for repeat broadcasts, it was also a recognition that the movies were, and had been for half a century, a central aesthetic experience for most Americans.

Both *Dragnet* and *Lucy* were deeply rooted in older media but also displayed a powerful if partial awareness of the resources of television. Those resources were a function of the medium's presence in the home, easily incorporated into the daily routines of domestic life, and its audiovisual limitations. The small screen, whose images were of marginal quality even when the unsteady broadcast signal was at its strongest, was un-

fit for panoramas or a crowded *mise-en-scène*; its primary theater was, and still remains (even in our era of digital signals and high-definition television), the human face and voice.

The physical realities of the TV environment, then, help to explain its fundamental genres of sitcom, family drama, courtroom drama, soap opera, medical show, all of which rely on dialogue and argument, psychological interaction, interior, intimate settings, close encounters. Even the crime series, with its emphasis on confining urban spaces, may be said to have an affinity for the small screen as the western or other forms of action/adventure do not. (And even most TV westerns, a secondary form of the medium in any event, domesticate their genre, emphasizing interior scenes and talking heads over cattle drives and sage brush.)

An aesthetic history of the medium, and of its complex, sometimes reluctant and evasive mirroring of aspects of American social history, can be traced in part through the evolution of its primary genres. Needless to say, not every new program in a given genre is an advance. The advertising regime that requires commercial interruptions, inflexible timetables, and audience ratings also encourages trivial imitation and replication of popular formulas. But even in a rigidly formulaic system variation and technical refinements are inevitable.

In its second phase (that of a systemic technical advance, approximately the decade of the 1960s) the dominant genres of the medium become increasingly televisual, writers adapt to the enforced commercial interruptions, directors and directors of photography master the nuances of the small screen, which is hostile to excessive movement horizontally, across its confining frame, but more hospitable to motion in depth, toward and away from the camera's eye; and performers and performance styles emerge that aim for quiet, minimalist effects suited to a medium dependent on close-ups and more friendly to ordinary faces than the mythic enlargements of the movie screen or the stylized flamboyance of the theater.

During this decade of technical advance the power of this domestic appliance to establish enduring, habitual connections with its audience is fortified and extended. Although most series episodes during the 1960s were self-contained and although characters rarely remembered their previous adventures, a drama of growth and aging often played out in the faces and bodies of performers who appeared week after week for years. This brute, inherent power of television is one key to the popularity of the soap opera as well as such prime-time programs as *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960–68, CBS) and *Gunsmoke* (1955–75, CBS). The former series, notable for its leisurely pace and conversational comedy, made its debut when Andy's son Opie (Ron Howard) was a six year old and carried its

audience through the heart of his childhood. In *Gunsmoke* Marshall Matt Dillon (James Arness) and his woman friend Kitty (Amanda Blake) ripen into senior citizens during the series' 20-year run. By the end of the 1960s the medium's prior history, a narrative field more widely shared by Americans than any earlier form of fiction or drama, establishes in the viewing audience a deep familiarity with story conventions and performers, and this intimate, accreting literacy itself becomes a resource on which programs can rely.

In its final phase—just before cable and satellite systems and new digital technologies threaten and then supersede the network monopolies of the broadcast era—the technical complications and refinements developed over two decades are joined to a more complex subject matter, and television fiction at its best becomes a genuine art form. The progression, for example, from *Lucy* to the *Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961–66, CBS) to the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77, CBS), *All in the Family* (1971–79, CBS), and *M\*A\*S\*H* (1972–83, CBS) is more than an instructive social history of American society, though it is such a chronicle. It is also an aesthetic progression, in which the situation comedy becomes perhaps the signature American art form of its era.

One measure of the relative maturity TV fiction had achieved by the 1970s is the emergence of distinctive subgenres or strains of situation comedy, an analogue to the movie era when screwball comedy, Lubitsch-style worldly comedy, and the anarchic comedy of the Marx Brothers signaled something of the diversity of the Hollywood system. In the television equivalent of such a ripening, Garry Marshall's escapist comedies—*The Odd Couple* (1970–83, ABC), *Happy Days* (1974–84, ABC), *Laverne and Shirley* (1976–83, ABC), *Mork and Mindy* (1978–82, ABC), among others—emphasized vivid star turns and slapstick situations that drew upon and updated the tone and feel of *I Love Lucy*, on whose successor, *The Lucy Show*, Marshall had worked as a writer. A second strain of comedy developed from the more character-oriented and visually restrained style of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, which like the early Marshall shows engendered a range of similar series produced by the MTM company through the 1970s: *Rhoda* (1974–78, CBS), *The Bob Newhart Show* (1972–78, CBS), *The Tony Randall Show* (1976–78, ABC, CBS), among others. A third flavor of comedy was created by Norman Lear, the visionary writer-creator of *All in the Family* and then a series of similar shows that included *Maude* (1972–78, CBS), *The Jeffersons* (1975–85, CBS), and *One Day at a Time* (1975–84, CBS). Produced on videotape instead of film and aiming for social relevance and an invasive, vulgar intimacy, the Lear shows were loud, harsh, and overtly political, radically unlike the witty, visually decorous MTM series or the clownish escapism of the Marshall programs.

*M\*A\*S\*H* offered yet a fourth variation in style and substance, for this classic series, one of network television's most memorable achievements, was filmed with one camera, on movie principles, and eschewed the live audiences of the other comedy factories. Developed by Larry Gelbart from the Robert Altman film (1970), *M\*A\*S\*H* was ostensibly set during the Korean War but spoke directly to the ambivalence and anxiety generated by the war in Vietnam. In *M\*A\*S\*H*, as in all the strongest series of the 1970s and beyond, the experience of the characters was cumulative, their rivalries and affections developed and shifted over time, and the program explored psychology and human relationships in ways that were uniquely enabled by the format of the weekly series.

As the foregoing implies, the 1970s and 1980s are the true "golden age" of broadcast television. The medium's defining genres achieve culminating incarnations in this period, exploiting their weekly installments to dramatize character development and multiple, entwined plots with compelling complexity and authority. The MTM factory shifts away from sitcoms toward the end of the 1970s, producing hour-long dramas, some of which reach new levels of psychological and social seriousness. Examples include *Lou Grant* (1977–82, CBS), about an urban newspaper; *The White Shadow* (1978–81, CBS), set in a city high school; *St. Elsewhere* (1982–88, NBC), a hospital series, and, most notably, *Hill Street Blues* (1981–87, NBC), a landmark *policier*, marked by jittery, rapid camera work and editing and morally complex stories and characters that influenced all subsequent TV drama and established its cocreator and executive producer, Steven Bochco, as one of the primary auteur-producers in American television.

This late period of the broadcast era is distinguished as well by made-for-television movies and miniseries that move beyond the limits of the weekly series to explore political and historical topics that had never before reached the TV screen. The emergence of these longer forms is a sign of television's maturity and enlarging ambition as a narrative medium. The format of the miniseries implicitly exposes how arbitrary and relatively inflexible is the length of theatrical movies. Television, in contrast, is theoretically free to allow stories to unfold according to the needs of the material, for its audience can easily tune in to chapters or episodes running across several days or even weeks. Some of the defining programs of the 1970s and early 1980s exploit this distinctive attribute of the medium. The following are representative instances of a much larger group of such texts: *QB VII* (six hours, 30 minutes, 1974, ABC), about a libel action that becomes a story of the concentration camps; *Rich Man, Poor Man* (12 hours, 1976, ABC), an ambitious social history of

the post-World War II United States; *Roots* (12 hours, 1977, ABC), an adaptation of Alex Haley's epic of the African-American experience; *Holocaust* (seven hours, 35 minutes, 1978, NBC); *The Awakening Land* (seven hours, 1978, NBC), an epic of American pioneers; and *King* (six hours, 1978, NBC), about the life and death of Martin Luther King.

Many of the television movies of this era are also thematically ambitious and visually complex. Some of these films exploit the performance history of the medium by casting actors who refine or play against personae they had established in TV series. As before, the following examples are drawn from a much larger range of texts. Elizabeth Montgomery, wholesome star of the escapist sitcom *Bewitched* (1964–72, ABC), appears in several thoughtful and disturbing films during the 1970s that deal with violence against women, including *A Case of Rape* (1974), *A Killing Affair* (1977), and *Act of Violence* (1979). Montgomery is also memorably cast against her subservient helpmeet series identity in the miniseries about frontier pioneers mentioned above, *The Awakening Land*, based on Conrad Richter's trilogy of novels. Mary Tyler Moore draws on and complicates the audience's affection for her sitcom character in a candid film about breast cancer, *First You Cry* (1978). Carol Burnett, beloved star of the variety show that bears her name (1967–77, CBS), plays a be-reaved mother demanding answers from an unresponsive military in the antiwar film *Friendly Fire* (1979). David Janssen re-creates and deepens the wincing vulnerability of his roles in *The Fugitive* (1963–67, ABC) and *Harry-O* (1974–76, ABC) in such films as *A Sensitive*, *Passionate Man* (1977) and *City in Fear* (1980). As the titles just cited suggest, TV movies have frequently engaged painful and ambiguous material, often with a modest clarity rarely found in theatrical movies of recent decades. Both the series and longer-form programs of the 1970s through the 1990s deserve and will repay the sort of systematic cataloguing and close interpretation that is routinely granted to the movies of the studio era.

Though we are still too close to the broadcast era for a definitive verdict, it is probable that American television of the second half of the twentieth century will be recognized as a significant aesthetic achievement, the result of a never-to-be-repeated confluence of social, technological, and historical forces, a unique precursor to the digital entertainment future. It would not be the first time that popular diversions scarcely valued by

the society that produced them were judged by the future to be works of art.

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## Africa, Sub-Saharan

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Television broadcasting in sub-Saharan Africa displays two distinct patterns. On the one hand, there is the success story reproducing itself in countries that undertook bold and substantive liberalization of the airwaves over the past decade. The flipside is the pitiable state of impeded growth, inefficiency, and decadence. While the goings-on of the early 21st century suggest a hopeful outlook for the region, a lack of succinct national/regional media policies could frustrate growth of local production capability and push the subcontinent deeper into dependence on TV output from Western countries.

In many African countries, TV broadcasting was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s by former colonial settlers. While the colonial edifices only endeavored to service the information and entertainment needs of the settlers, the first black African governments used broadcasting as a tool both to entrench themselves politically and to repress their own societies. Between the 1960s (Africa's independence decade) and the late 1980s, television broadcasting in sub-Saharan Africa was heavily controlled by the government, with virtually no private sector participation. With little (at times no) independently produced local content and weak signals limited to major urban centers, viewership grew sluggishly in many countries.

Television broadcasting changed during the late 1980s and early 1990s, as a wind of democratic reform consumed much of the continent. In almost all countries that embraced political change, television business has flourished, creating a fast-growing broadcasting sector. Such countries boast multiple private TV stations alongside revamped state broadcasters. The lure of cheap reruns of Western sitcoms and soap operas, spiced with persuasive local content from nascent but independent production houses, is winning audiences for the new African TV-owning households. Local content hardly matches the cheap foreign imports, but the emergence of regional content—from regional sporting events and from such broadcasting centers as South Africa and Nigeria—is helping maintain an African idea on the television screen.

Kenya and Nigeria were the first sub-Saharan countries to allow private broadcasting. While Kenya issued one private license in 1990 and thereafter stymied further liberalization for six years, Nigeria opened the door to private broadcasters in 1991 and kept it open. The result was the creation of Africa's most competitive TV

market, with over 80 private and state-owned stations jostling for audiences and a portion of the nearly \$1 billion in annual advertising spending. A vibrant local production industry flourishes alongside imported content. Indeed, these indigenous productions form Nigeria's biggest contribution to the continent's TV broadcasting. The country is home to some of Africa's most successful sitcoms, such as *Ikebe Super* and *Papa Ajasco* produced by Wale Adenuga. *Papa Ajasco* is the most-watched sitcom in West Africa, with audiences in eight countries. Since 1999, a number of Nigerian sitcoms have been on air in East Africa, with moderate success. Audience research conducted in Lagos in 1999 indicated that African Independent Television (AIT) was the most-watched station in the city, followed by Channels, MITV, and Degue Broadcasting Network (DBN). AIT and Minaj are licensed as satellite TV stations.

Nigeria has 40 government-owned TV stations, of which 29 stations were established by state governments. There are 16 private free-to-air stations, two satellite stations with global licenses, and 37 private cable and satellite rebroadcast stations. Five of the free-to-air TV licenses were issued in March 2002 by the regulating authority, Nigeria Broadcasting Commission (NBC). The NBC was established in 1992 with a primary function to regulate and supervise the industry. Over 40 government-owned stations operate under the ambit of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), making NTA one of the largest broadcasting operators in Africa. The NTA stations broadcast in most of Nigeria's major local languages. Communications Trends Ltd. (CTL), an indigenous satellite cable television and Internet provider, is the second largest TV network in the country, with operations in 13 of Nigeria's 30 constitutional states.

Senegal and Ghana stand out as two other showcases of rapid growth and promise in television. Both countries have a history of relatively robust and independent media. Senegal allowed private TV operators from 1991 and currently boasts one national public broadcaster (Radiodiffusion Television Senegalaise) and two subscription TV services (Canal Horizons Senegal and EXCAF). RTS signal covers three-quarters of the country with broadcasts in French, English, and several local languages. Canal Horizons is generally a sports and entertainment service that is available on the French bouquet channel, Le Sat, together with EXCAF pay TV. Ghana, on the other hand, began licensing private

broadcasters in 1995 and has four TV stations. Ghana TV is state owned, while Metro TV is a joint venture between the state broadcaster and Lebanese investors. TV3, the first free-to-air station, is a joint venture between local media practitioners and Malaysian investors. Both Metro TV and TV3 broadcast one channel each to Accra and its environs. The fourth operator, Fomto TV, commenced operations in 1999 with news, sports, and entertainment broadcasts around Kumasi.

Some newcomers on the continental broadcasting scene are quickly establishing themselves as leaders. Tanzania is a case in point. After three decades of no television service, Tanzania liberalized the airwaves in the early 1990s. Since then, seven stations—Independent Television (ITV), Dar es Salaam Television (DTV), Central Television Network (CTN), Cable Entertainment Network (CEN), Star Television (STV), Television Zanzibar (TVZ), and Television of Tanzania (TVT)—have commenced operations. Alongside these are dozens of small, intermittent broadcasters licensed to operate in nearly all sizeable urban centers throughout the country. Many of these run cable networks, avoiding the costs of free-to-air transmission. Notably, only TVT is state owned. Local content is scant, as most stations relay CNN, BBC, and Deutsche Welle TV, breaking away only for a few hours nightly for local news and a handful of local productions. ITV is the only Tanzanian station available to the rest of the continent via satellite and terrestrially to five regions within the country.

Uganda has also made considerable progress over the past four years. More than a dozen licenses have been issued, although only half of these have commenced operations. Uganda Television (UTV) is the national broadcaster, with WBS-TV, Channels, STV, MultiChoice, and TV Africa as the main contenders. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaïre), Radio-Television Nationale Congolaise (RTNC) is state owned and the sole national broadcaster in the vast country. RTNC covers nearly three-quarters of this vast country via four channels, previously privately owned but nationalized by the government after civil war broke out in 1997. A number of small private subscription broadcasters have emerged in major urban centers over the past two years. These include Tropicana TV, RAGA, and Antenne A in Kinshasa, and Solar Energy in Lubumbashi.

Nevertheless, television broadcasting is still highly controlled in at least a quarter of sub-Saharan African countries. In such countries, only state-owned television stations operate on free-to-air licenses. For example, Ethiopia TV is the only television station in the country, broadcasting primarily in Amharic and minimally in English. Similarly, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) is the only TV broadcaster in Zambia, with its signal available in major urban areas. The cor-

poration is also the local partner in the two pay-TV services run by South Africa's MultiChoice and the African Broadcast Network (ABN). Swaziland's Television Authority (STVA) broadcasts one television channel with nationwide repeaters. In Malawi the first public TV service, Television Malawi (TVM), was opened by the government in 2000. South Africa's MultiChoice subscription service is the only substitute via satellite in Malawi's main urban centers.

In Seychelles and Mauritius, the state-owned broadcasters are the sole TV operators. The Seychelles Broadcasting Corporation offers a single channel covering the entire island, while the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation runs three free-to-air stations and two subscription channels. Lesotho's National Broadcasting Service and Botswana's BTV operate on a very small scale, respectively, within the two land-locked countries. South Africa's MultiChoice runs subscription TV services comprising mainly sports and entertainment in the two countries.

In Rwanda, Televisiondiffusion de Rwanda (TVR) remains the only major broadcaster, with a signal covering about half the country. Over the past three years, two small stations, Tele 10 and STV, have commenced operations around the capital city of Kigali. A similar story is evident in Madagascar's TV Malagasy, the state broadcaster. The recent launching of three private subscription operators (MaTV, TVF, and RTA) in Antananarivo has had little impact on the broadcasting scene. In Burundi, Television Nationale du Burundi is the sole broadcaster, reaching only a small section of the country.

In Zimbabwe the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation runs ZBC-TV1 as the only national television service. It operates as a commercial TV station and transmits nationally. Since 1997, Joy TV has been licensed as the first independent TV service in the country. It leases ZBC-TV2's studios and transmitters, and its signal is available within a 120-kilometer radius of Harare. TV audience research shows ZBC-TV1 controlling about 52 percent of the audience, with Joy-TV accounting for 37 percent.

In Mozambique, Televisao de Moçambique (TVM), the only national station, is state owned and serves major urban areas. Plans are afoot to have the transmission available countrywide via satellite. Three private local stations, Radio Televisao Klint (RTK), TV Miramar, and Greenland Television operate around Maputo. TV Miramar is owned by the Brazilian Church Reino Universal de Assembleia do Deus (Universal Church of God), while RTK is owned by a political personality. In Angola, the government operates Televisao Popular de Angola (TPA), which has transmitters in most provincial capitals and major towns. A second station, TPA 2, operates around the capital city of Luanda.

In Namibia, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation is a monopoly, with one television service that offers regional programming during various times of the day. Two subscription TV services, Deukom TV and MultiChoice, have operations in major urban centers. Deukom TV offers several four German-language channels (RTL, Sat1, DW, and ARD) while MultiChoice offers several English-language entertainment and sports channels beamed from South Africa.

Throughout the rest of the subcontinent (Botswana, Chad, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast], Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, and Sudan) the state remains the sole broadcaster. In a few other countries, like Burkina Faso, Benin, and Gabon, a multiplicity of problems have frustrated any substantive growth in television broadcasting. Yet others, such as Cameroon and Kenya, have a fledgling TV industry whose growth has been stunted, if not permanently maimed, by years of government interference.

Some notable players on the continent's broadcasting scene include MultiChoice, Le Sat, and TV Africa. MultiChoice is the largest channel bouquet operator on the continent, offering up to 50 channels to 1.2 million subscribers in 15 countries. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 187,000 subscribers, or one-sixth of the total, but boasts a 5 percent annual growth. Le Sat is a Francophone bouquet that is beamed to MDDS operators. TV Africa operates as a content provider to many African television broadcasters. CFI Pro and RTPi are Europe-based content providers for Francophone and Luzophone broadcasters, respectively. African Broadcast Network (ABN), a continentwide broadcaster, was founded in January 2001. It attempts to procure quality entertainment programming for affiliates and partner broadcasters in Africa.

Backhauling and downlinking of pan-African programming has improved considerably as more satellites with an African footprint have been launched in the past five years. At least a dozen satellites are currently

overflying Africa, lowering the cost of transponder hosting and satellite transmission costs. For instance, MultiChoice uses transponder space on PanAmSat 4, PanAmSat 7, and EutelSat W4 satellites to beam its bouquet of channels into sub-Saharan Africa.

One of the drawbacks to the development of TV broadcasting in sub-Saharan Africa is a lack of succinct media policies. With the exception of Nigeria, no country on the subcontinent has a substantive media policy, much less an established institutional framework to administer such policy. Numerous pertinent policy issues (for example, local content regulation, ownership and control, and public service broadcasting) are yet to be addressed, creating chaotic scenarios. For example, in Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and Cameroon, a lack of clarity on many policy issues has set back developments in the TV broadcasting sub-sector or led to a misallocation of much-needed resources. While authorities in these countries have pledged to review the relevant media policies, their nascent TV operations are striving to stand firm in tough trading conditions.

NIXON K. KARIITHI

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## Ailes, Roger (1940– )

U.S. Media Consultant, Producer, Executive

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Roger Eugene Ailes is one of television's most versatile, outspoken, and successful producers and consultants. He has been described as "the amusingly ferocious Republican media genius" and a "pit-bull Republican media strategist turned television tycoon."

He has had a variety of careers, including producer of television shows, Shakespeare, and off-Broadway plays; and president of the cable television channels CNBC, America's Talking, and FOX News.

Ailes's career in television began in Cleveland,



Roger Ailes.  
Courtesy of CNBC

Ohio, where he was a producer and director at KYW-TV, for what was then a locally produced talk-variety show, *The Mike Douglas Show*. He later became executive producer for that program, which syndicated nationally, and won two Emmy Awards for his work, in 1967 and 1968. It was in this position, in 1967, that Ailes had a spirited discussion about television in politics with one of the show's guests, Richard Nixon, who took the view that television was a gimmick. Later, while campaigning for the U.S. presidency, Nixon called on Ailes to serve as his executive producer of TV. Nixon's election victory in 1968 was only Ailes's first venture into presidential television.

After founding Ailes Communications, Inc., in 1969, Ailes worked as consultant for various businesses and politicians, including WCBS-TV in New York. In the 1970s he tried his hand at theater production with the Broadway musical *Mother Earth* (1972) and the off-Broadway hit play *Hot-l Baltimore* (1973-76), for which Ailes received four Obie Awards. He was executive producer for a television special, *The Last Frontier*, in 1974, and he produced and directed a television special, *Fellini: Wizards, Clowns, and Honest Liars*, for which he received an Emmy Award nomination in 1977.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Ailes carried out political consulting for many candidates, and he returned to presidential campaigning as a consultant to President Ronald Reagan in 1984. Ailes is widely credited with having coached Reagan to victory in the second presidential debate with Walter Mondale, after Reagan had disappointed his partisans with a lackluster effort in

the first debate. In 1984 Ailes won an Emmy Award as executive producer and director of a television special, *Television and the Presidency*. In 1987 he wrote a book with Jon Kraushar, *You Are the Message: Secrets of the Master Communicators*, in which Ailes discusses some of his philosophies and strategies for successful performance in the eye of the public media.

Ailes also won acclaim for his work in the 1988 presidential election, in which he helped guide Republican George Bush to a come-from-behind victory over Democrat Michael Dukakis. (Ailes did not work on the losing 1992 Bush campaign against Bill Clinton.)

In 1991 Ailes convinced a syndicator to bring Rush Limbaugh from radio to television and became executive producer of Limbaugh's late-night show. Ailes announced his withdrawal from political consulting in 1992.

In 1993 Ailes became president of NBC's cable channel CNBC and began planning another NBC cable channel, America's Talking (now called MSNBC), which debuted on July 4, 1994. After Ailes took over at CNBC, ratings increased 50 percent and profits tripled. He has had impressive success in his latest position as chairman and chief executive officer of FOX News. Since assuming this position in 1996, Ailes has overseen the launch of the FOX News Channel on cable, boosting FOX programming to a leadership position in the cable news industry. In 2000 Ailes signed a contract to continue to serve as chairman and chief executive officer of FOX News through January 2004.

LYNDA LEE KAID

**Roger (Eugene) Ailes.** Born in Warren, Ohio, May 15, 1940. Educated at Ohio University, Athens, B.A., 1962. Began television career as property assistant, *The Mike Douglas Show*, KYW-TV, Cleveland, Ohio, 1962, producer, 1965, executive producer, 1967-68; media adviser to Richard M. Nixon's presidential campaign, 1968; founder and owner, Ailes Communications, a media production and consulting firm, 1969-92; producer of plays *Mother Earth*, 1972, and *The Hot-l Baltimore*, 1973-76; producer, various television specials, from 1974; media consultant, Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign, 1984, and George Bush's presidential campaign, 1988, also various senatorial and congressional campaigns; president CNBC, cable television network, 1993-96; president and program host, America's Talking (MSNBC), an all-talk cable television network, 1994-96; chairman and CEO of FOX News and the FOX News Channel, since January 1996. Honorary Doctorate, Ohio University. Recipient: Obie Award, Best Off-Broadway Show, 1973, for *Hot-l Baltimore*; Emmy Awards, 1967, 1968, 1984; Silver Circle Award, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1999.



**Television Series (selected)**

- 1962–68 *The Mike Douglas Show*  
 1970 *The Real Tom Kennedy Show*  
 1981 *Tomorrow: Coast to Coast*  
 1992–96 *Rush Limbaugh*

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1974 *Last Frontier*  
 1976 *Fellini: Wizards, Clowns, and Honest Liars*  
 1991 *An All-Star Tribute to Our Troops*

**Stage**

*Mother Earth*, 1972; *Hot-l Baltimore*, 1973–76.

**Publications**

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 “A Few Kind Words for Presenter Tip O’Neill,” *Advertising Age* (January 8, 1990)  
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## Alcoa Hour, The

### U.S. Anthology Drama

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*The Alcoa Hour* was a 60-minute live anthology drama that replaced *The Philco Television Playhouse* and began alternating broadcasts with *The Goodyear Theatre* in the fall of 1955. (For a few months *Philco*, *Alcoa*, and *Goodyear* all alternated in the Sunday 9:00 to 10:00 P.M. slot on NBC. *Philco* withdrew sponsorship in early 1956.) *The Alcoa Hour* was sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America and was produced by Herbert Brodtkin, formerly of ABC TV. Among the program’s directors, many of whom went on to distinguished careers in television and film, were Dan Petrie, Robert Mulligan, Sidney Lumet, and Ralph Nelson. Coming near the end of the “golden age” of live television anthology drama, *The Alcoa Hour* had a relatively short run of just under two years, despite generally high-quality programs and mostly favorable reviews.

The first broadcast of *The Alcoa Hour* was on October 16, 1955. An original teleplay by Joseph Schull enti-

tled “The Black Wings,” the production starred Wendell Corey and Ann Todd and was directed by Norman Felton. Both *Variety* and the *New York Times* praised the high quality of acting and the attractive sets but criticized the script. *New York Times* reviewer J.P. Shanley went so far as to say that the story was “melodramatic hogwash.” Schull’s narrative focused on a German physician (Corey) who had been a Luftwaffe pilot during World War II. He secretly endows a clinic for the treatment of victims of a bombing raid he led over England, then falls in love with an English girl (Todd) who was crippled by the bombing. In spite of the script’s weaknesses, the program was deemed a success because of the excellent performances and fine directing, and critics felt that *The Alcoa Hour* would become a worthy successor to the famous *Philco Television Playhouse*.

During its two years, *The Alcoa Hour* broadcast a wide variety of dramas, including the sixth consecu-





The *Alcoa Hour*, Bob Watson, John Hoyt, Lamont Johnson, David Wayne, 1957–60; “Operation Spark,” 1959. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tive Christmas season airing of Gian Carlo Menotti’s television opera *Amahl and the Night Visitors* on December 25, 1955. During the Christmas season of 1956, *The Alcoa Hour* broadcast a musical version of Charles Dickens’s *A Christmas Carol* entitled “The Stingiest Man in Town.” The adaptation featured Basil Rathbone in a singing role, crooner Vic Damone, songwriter Johnny Desmond, opera singer Patrice Munsel, and the Four Lads, a popular singing group.

Typical programs on *The Alcoa Hour* included “Thunder in Washington” (November 27, 1955) and “Mrs. Gilling and the Skyscraper” (June 9, 1957). “Thunder in Washington” was an original script by David Davidson, directed by Robert Mulligan. The broadcast featured Melvyn Douglas and Ed Begley in a story about a highly competent business executive, Charles Turner, who answers a call from the president of the United States to come to Washington to introduce efficiency into numerous sprawling governmental agencies. Soon Turner’s efforts at reform offend almost everyone, and he finds himself defending his actions before a House Appropriations Committee. The program ends with Turner vowing to continue his crusade to clean up Washington and the committee chair promising to stop him. *New York Times* reviewer Jack Gould praised the broadcast by saying that it was “a play of uncommon timeliness, power, and controversy. With one more scene, it could have been a genuine tour de force of contemporary political drama.” An interesting footnote to the production is that actor Luis van Rooten, hired to play the part of the president of the United States, spent hours studying the voice and mannerisms of then President Dwight D. Eisenhower to make sure his performance was authentic, even though the president was to be seen only in a head-and-shoulders shot from behind.

“Mrs. Gilling and the Skyscraper” was a very different sort of play. An original script by Sumner Locke Eliot, it was a vehicle for distinguished actor Helen Hayes, who played the part of an elderly lady trying to save her apartment from the owners of her building who intend to demolish it to make way for a skyscraper. Both the superb acting and sensitive script were praised. The script in particular was noted for how it dealt with the generational clashes between the old lady and new tenants in her building. During the 1950s, confrontations between the old and new were becoming increasingly common as large stretches of turn-of-the-century dwellings were leveled to make way for modern buildings, and the plight of Mrs. Gillings was a familiar one for many older Americans and their families.

Perhaps the most noteworthy *Alcoa Hour* was the broadcast of February 19, 1956, entitled “Tragedy in a Temporary Town.” The script by Reginald Rose told the story of a vigilante group formed after a girl is assaulted at a construction camp. According to Gould, “Mr. Rose’s final scene—the mob descending on an innocent Puerto Rican victim—did make the viewer’s flesh creep. And the raw vigor of the hero’s denunciation of the mob—the man’s language had uncommon pungency—was extraordinarily vivid video drama.” Directed by Sidney Lumet and starring Lloyd Bridges as the man who opposed the mob, “Tragedy in a Temporary Town” won a Robert E. Sherwood Television Award and a citation from the Anti Defamation League of B’nai B’rith as the best dramatic program of the year dealing with interethnic group relations.

The 1956–57 season saw the networks shifting away from live broadcasts and turning more to the use of film. Faced with this change and competition from a new crop of popular programs, *The Alcoa Hour* went off the air after its September 22, 1957, broadcast of “Night” starring Franchot Tone, Jason Robards, Jr., and E.G. Marshall. As of September 30, 1957, both *The Alcoa Hour* and its companion program *The Goodyear Theatre* became 30-minute filmed programs and were moved to Monday nights at 9:30.

HENRY B. ALDRIDGE

### Programming History

NBC

October 1955–September 1957 Sunday 9:00–10:00

### Producer

Herbert Brodtkin

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## Alda, Alan (1936– )

U.S. Actor

Alan Alda is a television and film star best known for his work in the long-running CBS television series *M\*A\*S\*H*. He has been well honored for that role, having won 28 Emmy nominations, two Writers Guild Awards, three Directors Guild Awards, six Golden Globes from the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, and seven People's Choice Awards. Alda is the only person to have been honored by the Television Academy as top performer, writer, and director.

The son of actor Robert Alda, Alan traveled with his father on the vaudeville circuit and began performing in summer stock theater as a teenager. During his junior year at Fordham University, he studied in Europe, where he performed on the stage in Rome and on television in Amsterdam with his father. After college he acted at the Cleveland Playhouse on a Ford Foundation grant. Upon returning to New York, Alda worked on and off Broadway, and on television. He later acquired improvisational training with Chicago's Second City comedy troupe and with Compass in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts, and that background in political and social satire led to his work as a regular on television's *That Was the Week That Was*.

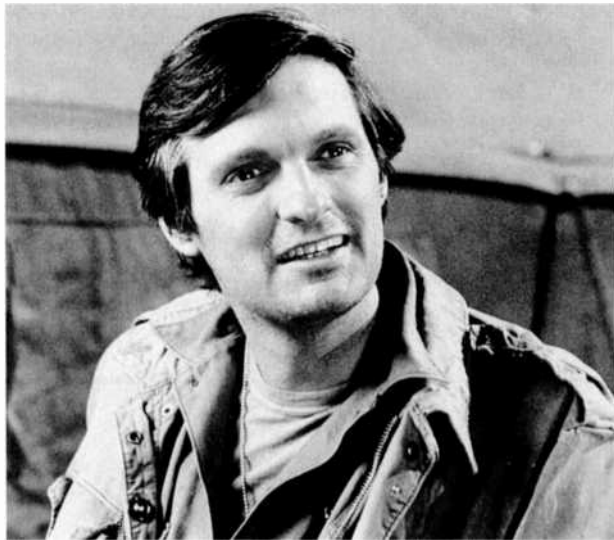
Alda found fame on *M\*A\*S\*H*, where his depiction of sensitive surgeon Hawkeye Pierce won him five Emmy Awards. Set in the Korean War of the 1950s, and broadcast in part during the Vietnam War in the 1970s, *M\*A\*S\*H* won acclaim for its broad and irreverent humor, its ability to effectively combine drama with comedy, and its overall liberal humanist stance. In adapting the show from the 1970 Robert Altman film of the same name, producer and director Gene Reynolds and writer Larry Gelbart used distinctive telefilm aesthetics and a complex narrative structure

that set the show apart from the proscenium-style series that dominated television in the 1960s. The show's influence was broad, traceable perhaps most directly in the large number of 1980s multicharacter dramas and "dramedies" (such as *Hill Street Blues* and *St. Elsewhere*) whose narratives also centered around a tightly knit workplace group who became like family to one another.

Alda, who also wrote and directed many episodes of the show, has become indelibly associated with *M\*A\*S\*H*, which continues to be watched as one of the most successful comedies in syndication. His "sensitive male" persona, derived in large part from his characterization on *M\*A\*S\*H*, continues to be sustained by public awareness of his efforts on behalf of women's rights and other causes. An ardent feminist, Alda campaigned extensively for ten years for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and, in 1976, he was appointed by President Ford to serve on the National Commission for the Observance of International Women's Year. Alda's status as a feminist led a writer in the *Boston Globe* to dub him "the quintessential Honorary Woman: a feminist icon."

Despite such associations, one of Alda's most acclaimed performances was his portrayal of a conniving producer in the 1989 Woody Allen film *Crimes and Misdemeanors*. Alda won the D.W. Griffith Award and the New York Film Critics Award, and he was nominated for a British Academy Award as Best Supporting Actor for his work in the film.

Following this success, Alda added other dimensions to his "character type." For example, he continued his exploration of a "darker side" with his portrayal of a driven corporate executive in the HBO original produc-



Alan Alda.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tion *White Mile* (1994). In another notable role, Alda returned to network television in 1999 as a guest star in several episodes of NBC's medical drama *E.R.*; once again, he played a doctor, but, in contrast to *M\*A\*S\*H*'s brash, youthful Hawkeye Pierce, *E.R.*'s Dr. Gabriel Lawrence was an aging figure in tragic decline, losing his mind and his ability to practice medicine due to Alzheimer's disease. The more familiar, inquisitive, humorous Alda is currently host of the series *Scientific American Frontiers* on PBS.

DIANE NEGRA

See also *M\*A\*S\*H*

**Alan Alda.** Born Alphonso D'Abruzzo in New York City, January 28, 1936. Married: Arlene Weiss, 1957; children: Eve, Elizabeth, and Beatrice. Graduated from Fordham University, Bronx, New York, 1956; studied acting at the Cleveland Playhouse, Ohio, 1956-59. Appeared in off-Broadway productions and television guest roles through 1960s; worked with improvisational groups Second City, Chicago, and Compass, Hyannis Port, Massachusetts; appeared in movies, 1960s and 1970s; began role as "Hawkeye" Pierce in the television series *M\*A\*S\*H*, 1972, also wrote and directed episodes of the series; actor, writer, and director of films since 1983. Presidential appointee, National Commission for the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976; cochair, National Equal Rights Amendment Countdown Campaign, 1982. Trustee: Museum of Television and Radio, 1985; Rockefeller Foundation, 1989. Member: American Federation of

Television and Radio Artists; Directors Guild of America; Writers Guild of America; Actors Equity Association. Recipient: five Emmy Awards; five Golden Globe Awards; Humanitas Award for Writing; D.W. Griffith Award; New York Film Critics Award; seven People's Choice Awards.

#### Television Series

- 1964-65 *That Was the Week That Was*  
1972-83 *M\*A\*S\*H*  
1974 *We'll Get By* (producer and writer)  
1984 *The Four Seasons* (producer)  
1990- *Scientific American Frontiers* (host)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1972 *Playmates*  
1972 *The Glass House*  
1973 *Isn't It Shocking?*  
1974 *6 Rms Riv Vu*  
1977 *Kill Me if You Can*  
1984 *The Four Seasons*  
1993 *And the Band Played On*  
1994 *White Mile*  
1996 *Jake's Women*  
2001 *The Killing Yard*  
2001 *Club Land*

#### Films

*Gone Are the Days*, 1963; *Paper Lion*, 1968; *Jenny*, 1969; *The Extraordinary Seaman*, 1969; *The Moonshine War*, 1970; *Catch-22*, 1970; *The Mephisto Waltz*, 1971; *To Kill a Clown*, 1972; *Same Time, Next Year*, 1978; *California Suite*, 1978; *The Seduction of Joe Tynan* (also writer), 1979; *The Four Seasons* (also director and writer), 1981; *Sweet Liberty* (also director and writer), 1986; *A New Life* (also director and writer), 1988; *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, 1989; *Betsy's Wedding* (also director and writer), 1990; *Whispers in the Dark*, 1992; *Manhattan Murder Mystery*, 1993; *Canadian Bacon*, 1994; *Flirting with Disaster*, 1996; *Everyone Says I Love You*, 1996; *Mad City*, 1997; *Murder at 1600*, 1997; *The Object of My Affection*, 1998; *What Women Want*, 2000.

#### Stage (selected)

*Owl and the Pussycat*; *Purlie Victorious*; *Fair Game for Lover*; *The Apple Tree*; *Jake's Women*; *Art*; *Our Town*.

#### Further Reading

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 Schatz, Thomas. "St. Elsewhere and the Evolution of the Ensemble Series," in *Television: The Critical View*, edited by Horace Newcomb, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976; 4th edition, 1987  
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## Alfred Hitchcock Presents

### U.S. Suspense Anthology

Of all film directors during the 1950s, Alfred Hitchcock was probably the best known to the general public not only by name but also by appearance and through his specialist area of the suspense genre. In some part this was due to the cameo appearances he made in his feature films, but mainly it was due to the remarkable anthology mystery series he produced and hosted for television from 1955 to 1965. For its time, it was unprecedented that such a top-rank feature director would undertake what many considered a demeaning role in television. The resulting effect, however, was quite the opposite.

The half-hour-long *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* series, and later *The Alfred Hitchcock Hour*, were extraordinary collections of dark, cynical tales of crime, mystery, and suspense, with an occasional excursion into the supernatural. The series' emphasis was on ironic or twist endings, usually in which the villain appeared to go unpunished. Each episode would begin with the musical arrangement of Charles Gounod's "Funeral March of a Marionette" while on screen Hitchcock would be seen stepping into his own silhouette trademark profile.

The idea for a Hitchcock television series came from his former agent, Lew Wasserman (then president of MCA), in early 1955 and was intended to be an extension of Hitchcock's own appearances in his features. Though wary of the new medium, Hitchcock was soon persuaded that television would be the perfect showcase for all the stories he had wanted to do but which had been excluded from feature projects due to length or peculiarity. The prospect of enormous financial benefits to be accrued from a weekly television series was also persuasive.

He formed Shamley Productions (named after his summer home in England) to produce the series at Revue Studios, the television arm of Universal. The agreement with CBS and sponsor Bristol-Myers was for Hitchcock to act as host, executive producer ("An Alfred Hitchcock Production"), and occasional director. To run the television operation he brought on board longtime friend and associate Joan Harrison as producer, later joined by Norman Lloyd, and, for the hour-long series, Gordon Hessler. Although Hitchcock was head of the company his involvement was only peripheral and it was Joan Harrison who was ultimately responsible for selecting the stories for the series as well as hiring the writers and directors.

The anthology adapted stories by virtually every modern mystery writer in the genre, presenting macabre tales about ordinary people in extraordinary situations that usually resulted in an O. Henry type twist ending. The series was dark yet humorous, sometimes grim, often ironic, but never gruesome visually. The episodes were "situation tragedies," as Hitchcock quipped. His preference for published material over "developed" stories brought in many source authors who were household names, including Eric Ambler, Robert Bloch, Roald Dahl, Evan Hunter, Ellery Queen, and Henry Slesar. What made these half-hour playlets so different from the other suspense anthology programs of the time (*The Web, Suspense, Danger, Climax, The Vise, Rebound*) was the offbeat quality of the individual productions, often exploring unusual camera angles and employing low-key lighting to enhance the mood of menace and danger. Among the notable directors with a penchant for the suspenseful were

Robert Stevens, Herschel Daugherty, John Brahm, Robert Florey, and actor-turned-director Paul Henreid. Hitchcock himself directed 20 episodes in which he ghoulishly and irreverently parodied the conventions of the murder mystery. The suitably atmospheric black-and-white cinematography, mainly by John L. Russell, and the expedient film editing of Edward W. Williams and Richard G. Wray firmly established a production team working together with admirable precision.

Curiously enough, one of the most popular elements to surface from the series was Hitchcock's own tongue-in-cheek introductions and closing comments as well as his sometimes mordant segues into the commercial breaks. At first the series' sponsor Bristol-Myers was outraged at this irreverent attitude toward its product, but Hitchcock soon convinced them that "a knock is as good as a boost" when they noticed the positive commercial effects his subtle digs generated.

The writer responsible for these little on-camera comments by Hitchcock was screenwriter and playwright James B. Allardice, who was shown a rough cut of *The Trouble with Harry* (then in production) to get an idea of the cynical tone required. Allardice grasped the offbeat black comedy immediately and went on to write all of Hitchcock's prologues and epilogues for the series' ten-year run.

*Alfred Hitchcock Presents* received the Emmy nomination for Best Dramatic Anthology Series for 1957 and for 1958–59.

In 1957, prompted by the success of the CBS series, NBC developed its own mystery anthology, *Suspicion* (1957–58), consisting of 20 live episodes from New York and 20 episodes filmed in Hollywood, ten of the latter produced by Shamley. Joan Harrison served as associate producer, with Hitchcock credited as executive producer. *Suspicion* premiered with the Hitchcock-directed episode "Four O'Clock" (a Francis Cockrell teleplay from a Cornell Woolrich story).

*Psycho* (1960) has certain relevance here, produced and released midway through the series run. The film was financed by Hitchcock himself and produced through the facilities of Shamley. *Psycho* is a film that could only have come out of Hitchcock's experience with filmed television (including the "stories they wouldn't let me do on TV" factor). It was filmed at Revue with Hitchcock using his television crew (including cinematographer John L. Russell and assistant director Hilton A. Green) and applying the shortcut methods of his weekly television production. The famous *Psycho* Victorian house on the Universal backlot would also be seen in various episodes of *The Alfred Hitchcock Hour* (notably in the episode "An Unlocked Window").

After moving from CBS to NBC for one season (1960–61), the series returned to CBS to end its run in June 1962, to be replaced by an hour-long format from 1962 to 1965. When the decision was made to expand the series, *The Alfred Hitchcock Hour* continued the familiar *Presents* format, only longer. Unfortunately, in expanding the type of stories that had characterized *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, the programs developed a rather sedate quality, provoking the criticism of "padding-out." As mystery author and series regular contributor Henry Slesar observed: "More was told about the same thing."

In September 1985 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* returned to network television. It had been two decades since the original had left the air, and five years since the death of Hitchcock. Films of his original monochrome introductions were computer colored and reused to introduce the new episodes. Some episodes of the 1985 revival series presented new stories, while others were remakes of original episodes. Following a one-year network run, additional episodes were filmed for the USA Cable Network in 1987. The last of the additional episodes had its cable premiere early in 1988.

TISE VAHIMAGI

**Host**

Alfred Hitchcock

**Producer**

Joan Harrison (1957)

**Associate Producers**

Joan Harrison (1955–57), Norman Lloyd (1957)

**Writers (selected)**

James B. Allardice, Francis Cockrell, Marian Cockrell, James P. Cavanagh, Bernard C. Schoenfeld, Henry Slesar, Robert Bloch.

**Programming History**

1955–62	265 half-hour episodes
CBS	
October 1955–June 1960	Sunday 9:30–10:00
NBC	
September 1960–June 1962	Tuesday 8:30–9:00

**The Alfred Hitchcock Hour**

**Host**

Alfred Hitchcock

**Executive Producers**

Joan Harrison, Norman Lloyd

**Associate Producer**

Gordon Hessler (1962–64)

**Writers (selected)**

Alfred Hayes, Henry Slesar, James Bridges, Robert Bloch, Leigh Brackett.

**Programming History**

1962–65 93 one-hour episodes

CBS

September 1962–

December 1962 Thursday 10:00–11:00

January 1963–May 1963 Friday 9:30–10:30

September 1963–

June 1964 Friday 10:00–11:00

NBC

October 1964–May 1965 Monday 10:00–11:00

**Alfred Hitchcock Presents (1985–89)****Executive Producers**Christopher Crowe (1985–86), David Levinson (1987),  
Jon Slan (1987–89), Michael Sloan (1988–89)**Programming History**

1985–86 22 Half-hour episodes

1987–89 57 half-hour episodes

NBC

September 1985–July 1986

Sunday 8:30–9:00

USA Cable Network

January 1987–April 1987

February 1988–August 1988

October 1988–July 1989

**Further Reading**"Alfred Hitchcock Discusses Horror, Humor and McGuffins,"  
*TV Guide* (October 27, 1956)"Alfred Hitchcock Talks," *TV Guide* (February 14, 1959)Grams Jr., Martin, and Patrik Wikstrom, *The Alfred Hitchcock Presents Companion*, Churchville, Maryland: OTR Publishing, 2001"Hitchcock, the Great Shocker," *TV Guide* (March 25, 1961)"Joan Harrison's Speciality: Murder!," *TV Guide* (March 8, 1958)McCarty, John, and Brian Kelleher, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1985Taylor, John Russell, "Hitchcock Video Noir," *Emmy Magazine* (Summer 1979)"TV Poses No Problem for Alfred Hitchcock," *TV Guide* (November 30, 1957)

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# Alice

## U.S. Comedy Series

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Based on Warner Bros.'s Oscar-winning movie *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, *Alice* debuted August 31, 1976, on CBS. The 1975 film, however, was not a comedy. Ellen Burstyn won an Academy Award in the title role of the film, which centered on a serious exploration of women's issues. In the series, Linda Lavin plays Alice Hyatt, a recently widowed mother of 12-year-old son Tommy Hyatt (Philip McKeon). After her husband's death, Alice left New Jersey and headed toward Hollywood to pursue her dream of becoming a professional singer. Her car broke down in Phoenix, where she took a temporary waitress job at Mel's Diner to make ends meet—a "temporary" job that lasted nine years. Although she dates occasionally and sometimes has a steady beau, Alice refuses to be de-

pendent on a man. She is willing to make her own way, raising her son the best she can. As the most practical of Mel's waitresses, she is the one others call on for help, and her apartment is second to the diner as the most popular location for friends to gather.

Mel's Diner is central to both film and series, and Vic Tayback was the only cast member to re-create his character in the television series, as Brooklyn native Mel Sharples, the gruff, cheap diner owner. A former Navy cook, Mel is famous for both his chili and his stories. Boisterous and stingy, much of the humor of the series revolves around how little he pays his employees. They include the other waitresses who worked with Alice, Vera Louise Gorman (Beth Howland) and Florence Jean Castleberry—better known as Flo (Polly

Holliday). Flo relishes being the resident flirt of the diner. This wily veteran has seen it all, and demonstrates an aggressive, often crude approach to life, which merely conceals a soft heart. Flo is famous for her catch phrases of "Kiss my grits!" and "When donkeys fly!" She and Mel's Famous Chili are the diner's main attractions. The character left the diner and the show in 1980, moving to Houston to manage her own restaurant in the short-lived spin-off series *Flo*.

In contrast to Flo, New England native Vera is young, impressionable, and shy. She is the scatterbrained character—"dingy," in Mel's vocabulary. Vera typically serves as foil and participant in the zany antics created by others. Belle Dupree (Diane Ladd), a character introduced as Mel's "first" waitress when the diner opened, replaced Flo. (Ironically, Ladd had played Flo in the movie.) Belle and Flo share many similarities, and the diner's regulars readily accept her. Even more brash and aggressive than Flo, she is a Mississippian who writes and sings country-and-western songs. After a year her dream of a music career was realized, and again she left Mel's Diner.

Truck driver Jolene Hunnicutt (Celia Weston) was frustrated with her partner, Burt, and the two had a fight at the diner. After heaving numerous dinner plates at Burt, Jolene hid in the restroom. When the entire diner staff entered to console her, Burt barricaded them inside. After their release, Mel hired the sarcastic Jolene to work off the damage from the fight. Jolene's "temporary" job lasts four and a half years.

Television icon Martha Raye joined the cast from 1982 to 1984 playing Mel's mother, Carrie Sharples, the only character who could intimidate Mel. Most other characters were regular diner patrons. Among them are Henry Beesmyer (Marvin Kaplan), a phone company repairman, and Earl Hicks (Dave Madden), a high school basketball coach. An exception was Marie (Victoria Carroll), Mel's off-and-on girlfriend from 1978 to 1980. *Alice*, and Mel's Diner, were stops for an array of outstanding guest actors throughout the series. In addition to George Burns, such notables as Art Carney, Desi Arnaz, Telly Savalis, Joel Grey, Debbie Reynolds, Robert Goulet, Dinah Shore, Donald O'Conner, Forrest Tucker, Frank Nelson, Adam West, Eve Arden, Carl Ballantine, Jerry Reed, and numerous others appeared. Doris Roberts (since 1996, *Everybody Loves Raymond's* Marie Barone) guest starred in 1981-82 as Alice's mother, Mona Spivak.

CBS aired weekday reruns from June 1980 to September 1982 and *Alice* has sporadically appeared in syndication. *Alice*, cast members, and staff were nominated for numerous Golden Globes and Emmys, winning many. Despite its cast changes, *Alice* was con-

sistently popular throughout its entire nine-year run. The series was in the top 25 of the Nielsen ratings from 1977 to 1982, peaking at number four during 1979-80.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

### See also Comedy, Workplace

#### Cast

Alice Hyatt	Linda Lavin
Tommy Hyatt	Philip McKeon
Mel Sharples	Vic Tayback
Vera Louise Gorman	Beth Howland
Florence Jean Castleberry ("Flo") (1976-80)	Polly Holliday
Earl Hicks (1978-85)	Dave Madden
Henry Beesmyer (1978-85)	Marvin Kaplan
Chuck (1978-85)	Duane R. Campbell
Belle Dupree (1980-81)	Diane Ladd
Jolene Hunnicutt (1981-85)	Celia Weston
Steve Marsh (1981-83)	Kip Niven
Carrie Sharples (1982-84)	Martha Raye
Elliot Novak (1983-85)	Charles Levin
Nicholas Stone (1984-85)	Michael Durrell
Andy (1976-78)	Pat Cranshaw
Jason (1978-79)	Patrick J. Cronin
Cecil (1978-79)	Bob McClurg
Marie (1978-80)	Victoria Carroll
Mike (1979-80)	Michael Ballard
Brian (1979-80)	Alan Haufrect
Charlie (1979-81)	Ted Gehring
Ralph (1979-81)	Michael Alldredge
Raleigh (1979-81)	Raleigh Bond
Mitch Aames (1981-82)	Phillip R. Allen
Jerry (1981-82)	Jerry Potter
Artie (1982-85)	Tony Longo
Danny (1984-85)	Jonathan Prince
Doug (1984-85)	Doug Robinson

#### Producers

Bruce Johnson, Madelyn David, Bob Carroll Jr.

#### Programming History

1976-85	202 episodes
CBS	
August 1976	Monday 9:30-10:00
September 1976-	
October 1976	Wednesday 9:30-10:00
November 1976-	
September 1977	Saturday 9:30-10:00
October 1977-October 1978	Sunday 9:30-10:00
October 1978-	
February 1979	Sunday 8:30-9:00

March 1979–	
September 1982	Sunday 9:00–9:30
October 1982–	
November 1982	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
March 1983–April 1983	Monday 9:00–9:30
April 1983–May 1983	Sunday 9:30–10:00
June 1983–January 1984	Sunday 8:00–8:30
January 1984–	
December 1984	Sunday 9:30–10:00
January 1985–March 1985	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
June 1985–July 1985	Tuesday 8:30–9:00

### Further Reading

- Brooks, Tim, and Marsh, Earle, *TV's Greatest Hits: The 150 Most Popular TV Shows of All Time*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1985
- Brown, Les, *Les Brown's Encyclopedia of Television*, New York: Zoetrope, 1982
- McNeil, Alex, *Total Television: A Comprehensive Guide to Programming from 1948 to the Present*, 3rd edition, New York: Penguin Books, 1991
- Sackett, Susan, *Prime-Time Hits: Television's Most Popular Network Programs 1950 to the Present*, New York: Billboard Books, 1993

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## All-Channel Legislation

### U.S. Communications Policy Legislation

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In July 1962 President John F. Kennedy signed into law legislation that required all television receiving sets shipped across state lines to be able to adequately receive all UHF as well as VHF frequencies. The goal of this law was to put UHF channels (channels 14 through 83) on a more equal technological footing with the VHF channels (2 through 13). Until this time, virtually all sets manufactured in or imported into the United States were equipped to receive the VHF channels only. Viewers interested in watching UHF channels were required to purchase a cumbersome UHF converter and attach it to their sets. These converters, which resembled metal bow ties and sat atop the receiver, did not allow viewers to “click in” the desired channel. The tuning dial operated fluidly, like a radio tuning knob, and viewers had to literally “tune in” the desired channel. With the commercial networks occupying the VHF channels and viewers disadvantaged in receiving the UHF frequencies, UHF channels (primarily independent commercial and educational or noncommercial stations) were in danger of extinction.

The immediate goal, then, of all-channel legislation was the preservation of these channels. The longer-term goal was the encouragement of diversity (or the creation of “a multitude of tongues”), which was a guiding force behind much Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rule making at the time.

Therefore, on September 12, 1962, the commission proposed that any set manufactured in or imported into the United States after April 30, 1964, be all-channel equipped. The proposal became an official FCC order on November 21, 1962. Later amendments to FCC rules and regulations specified performance standards for the UHF circuit in the new receivers relating to sound and picture quality.

KIMBERLY MASSEY

### Further Reading

- Barnouw, Erik, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, volume 3, *The Image Empire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970



# All in the Family

U.S. Situation Comedy

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For five years, *All in the Family*, which aired on CBS from 1971 to 1983 (in its last four seasons under the title *Archie Bunker's Place*), was the top-rated show on American television and the winner of four consecutive Emmy Awards as Outstanding Comedy Series. *All in the Family* was not only one of the most successful sitcoms in history, it was also one of the most important and influential series ever to air, for it ushered in a new era in American television characterized by programs that did not shy away from addressing controversial or socially relevant subject matters.

*All in the Family's* storylines centered on the domestic concerns of the Bunker household in Queens, New York. Family patriarch and breadwinner Archie Bunker (Carroll O'Connor) was a bigoted loading-dock worker disturbed by the changes occurring in American society. To Archie, gains by the "Spades," "Spics," or "Hebes" of the United States (as he referred to blacks, Hispanics, and Jews, respectively) came at his expense and that of other lower-middle-class whites. Countering Archie's harsh demeanor was his sweet but flighty "dingbat" wife, Edith. Played by Jean Stapleton, Edith usually endured Archie's tirades in a manner meant to avoid confrontation. But that was hardly the case with Archie's live-in son-in-law Mike Stivic (Rob Reiner), a liberal college student who was married to the Bunkers' daughter, Gloria (Sally Struthers). The confrontations between Archie and Mike ("Meathead") served as the basis for much of *All in the Family's* comedy. As surely as Archie could be counted upon to be politically conservative and socially misguided, Mike was equally liberal and sensitive to the concerns of minorities and the oppressed, and, because both characters were extremely vocal in their viewpoints, heated conflict between the two was assured.

Producers Norman Lear and Alan (Bud) Yorkin brought *All in the Family* into being by obtaining the U.S. rights to the hit British comedy series *Till Death Us Do Part*, which aired on the BBC in the mid-1960s and featured the character of bigoted dock worker Alf Garnett. Lear developed two pilots based on the concept for ABC, with O'Connor (Mickey Rooney had been Lear's first choice to play Archie)

and Stapleton in the lead roles. But when ABC turned down the series, then known as *Those Were the Days*, it appeared that it would never get off the ground. Luckily for Lear and Yorkin, CBS President Robert D. Wood was in the market for new shows that would appeal to the more affluent, urban audience the network's entrenched lineup of top-rated but aging series failed to attract. As a result, CBS jettisoned such highly rated programs as *The Red Skelton Show* and *Green Acres* in an effort to improve the demographic profile of its audiences, and *All in the Family* seemed a perfect, though risky, vehicle to put in their place. CBS therefore made a 13-episode commitment to air the series beginning in January 1971, as a midseason replacement.

The network had good reason to be wary of reaction to its new show. *All in the Family* seemed to revel in breaking prime time's previously unbreakable taboos. Archie's frequent diatribes laced with degrading racial and ethnic epithets, Mike and Gloria's obviously active sex life, the sounds of Archie's belching and of flushing toilets—all broke with sitcom convention. These controversial touches also made people sit up and take notice of the new CBS series. In fact, its unconventionality caused *All in the Family's* pilot episode to consistently rate below average in research tests conducted by both ABC and CBS. Nevertheless, CBS went ahead and debuted the show on January 12, 1971, although with relatively little fanfare or network promotion.

Viewer response to *All in the Family* was at first tepid. CBS's switchboards were prepared for an avalanche of calls in response to the show's initial airing, but this onslaught never materialized, in part because of the poor 15 percent audience share garnered by the first episode, which put it a distant third in its time period, behind movies on NBC and ABC. But while the show continued to languish in the Nielsen ratings in its first few months, TV critics began to take notice. Despite the negative reviews of a small number of critics, such as *Life's* John Leonard ("a wretched program"), the critical response was generally positive. Combined with strong word of mouth among viewers, these evaluations helped the show's audience

gradually grow. The May 1971 Emmy Awards helped to cap *All in the Family's* climb. The midseason replacement was featured in the opening skit of the Emmy telecast and earned awards in three categories, including Outstanding Comedy Series. Shortly thereafter, *All in the Family* became the top-rated show in prime time, and the show held onto that position for each of the following five seasons.

The program was able to keep an especially sharp edge over its first half-dozen years thanks to the evolving character development of the series' primary cast members and the infusion of strong supporting characters. Both the Bunkers' African-American next-door neighbors, the Jeffersons, and Edith's visiting cousin, Maude Findlay, eventually went on to star in successful spin-off series of their own. *All in the Family* also benefited from occasional one-shot guest appearances, the most memorable of which featured entertainer Sammy Davis Jr.

*All in the Family's* impact went beyond the world of television. The show became the focus of a heated national debate on whether comedy was an appropriate means by which to combat prejudice and social inequality. In addition, the character of Archie Bunker became nothing short of an American icon. While *Till Death Us Do Part's* Alf Garnett was generally unlikable, producer Lear chose to soften the character for American television, patterning Bunker in many ways after his own father. As a result, Carroll O'Connor's characterization of Archie contained notable sympathetic qualities, allowing many viewers to see Archie in a favorable light despite his obvious flaws.

By the late 1970s, however, it was becoming clear that the show had lost much of its earlier spark. Major cast changes occurred in 1978, when Struthers and Reiner left the series, and again in 1980, when Stapleton departed. (The fact that this contractual arrangement was written into the show as Edith's death allowed Lear and company to show once again what had made this series truly memorable.) Archie quit his job in 1977 to buy and run a neighborhood tavern, and the series was retitled *Archie Bunker's Place* in 1979 to reflect the changed nature of the program. By that point, however, though still highly rated, the show no longer stood out as unique and had become what seemed to many a rather conventional sitcom.

*All in the Family's* lasting impact on American television is difficult to overestimate. It helped to usher in a new generation of comedic programs that abandoned the light domestic plotlines of television's early years in favor of topical themes with important social significance. In this sense, its influence on prime-time programming continues to be felt decades later.

DAVID GUNZERATH

*See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Lear, Norman; O'Connor, Carroll*

#### Cast

Archie Bunker	Carroll O'Connor
Edith Bunker (1971-80)	Jean Stapleton
Gloria Bunker Stivic (1971-78)	Sally Struthers
Mike Stivic ("Meathead") (1971-78)	Rob Reiner
Lionel Jefferson (1971-75)	Mike Evans
Louise Jefferson (1971-75)	Isabel Sanford
Henry Jefferson (1971-73)	Mel Stewart
George Jefferson (1973-75)	Sherman Hemsley
Irene Lorenzo (1973-75)	Betty Garrett
Frank Lorenzo (1973-74)	Vincent Gardenia
Bert Munson (1972-77)	Billy Halop
Tommy Kelsey (1972-73)	Brendon Dillon
Tommy Kelsey (1973-77)	Bob Hastings
Justin Quigley (1973-76)	Burt Mustin
Barney Hefner (1973-83)	Allan Melvin
Jo Nelson (1973-75)	Ruth McDevitt
Stretch Cunningham (1974)	James Cromwell
Teresa Betancourt (1976-77)	Liz Torres
Stephanie Mills (1978-83)	Danielle Brisebois
Harry Snowden (1977-83)	Jason Wingreen
Hank Pivnik (1977-81)	Danny Dayton
Murray Klein (1979-81)	Martin Balsam
Mr. Van Ransleer (1978-83)	Bill Quinn
Veronica Rooney (1979-82)	Anne Meara
Jose (1979-83)	Abraham Alvarez
Linda (1980-81)	Heidi Hagman
Raoul (1980-83)	Joe Rosario
Ellen Canby (1980-82)	Barbara Meek
Polly Swanson (1980-81)	Janet MacLachlan
Ed Swanson (1980-81)	Mel Bryant
Billie Bunker (1981-83)	Denise Miller
Gary Rabinowitz (1981-83)	Barry Gordon
Bruce (1982-83)	Bob Okazaki
Marsha (1982-83)	Jessica Nelson

#### Producers

Norman Lear, Woody Kling, Hal Kanter, Mort Lachman, Don Nicholl, Lou Derman, Brigit Jensen Drake, John Rich, Milt Joseberg, Michael Ross, Bernie West, Bill Danoff

#### Programming History

204 episodes

CBS

January 1971-July 1971

Tuesday 9:30-10:00

September 1971-

September 1975

Saturday 8:00-8:30

## All in the Family

September 1975– September 1976	Monday 9:00–9:30
September 1976– October 1976	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
November 1976– September 1977	Saturday 9:00–9:30
October 1977–October 1978	Sunday 9:00–9:30
October 1978–March 1983	Sunday 8:00–8:30
March 1983–May 1983	Monday 8:00–8:30
May 1983	Sunday 8:00–8:30
June 1983	Monday 9:30–10:00
June 1983–September 1983	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
June 1991	Sunday 8:30–9:00
June 1991–July 1991	Sunday 8:00–8:30
September 1991	Friday 8:30–9:00

### Further Reading

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- "CBS TV's Bigot That BBC Begat Figures to Salt Up Second Season," *Variety* (July 22, 1970)
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- Kasindorf, Martin, "Archie and Maude and Fred and Norman and Alan," *New York Times Magazine* (June 24, 1973)
- Leonard, John, "Bigotry As a Dirty Joke," *Life* (March 19, 1971)
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## Allen, Debbie (1950–)

U.S. Actor, Director, Producer, Choreographer

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Debbie Allen began her show business career on Broadway in the 1970s. Her debut in the chorus of *Purlie* and her performance in *A Raisin in the Sun* were noted by stage critics, and in a 1979 production of *West Side Story*, her performance as Anita earned her a Tony Award nomination and a Drama Desk Award. Allen later returned to Broadway as a star and garnered her second Tony nomination, for a 1986–87 performance in *Sweet Charity*. In 1988 she choreographed *Carrie*, a newly composed American musical, with the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Allen's stage presence and choreography quickly moved her from the Broadway stage to the larger venue of television. Throughout the 1970s she made

guest appearances on popular programs such as *Good Times*, *The Love Boat*, and *The Jim Stafford Show*. Her roles in the miniseries *Roots: The Next Generation* and the special *Ben Vereen—His Roots* allowed her to work with some of the most prominent African-American performers in show business and to demonstrate her dramatic and comedic acting range. She also appeared in the short-lived 1977 NBC series *3 Girls 3*.

In the early 1980s her portrayal of a dance instructor, Lydia Grant, on the hit series *Fame* brought Allen to international prominence. Although the NBC show was canceled after one season, the program went on to first-run syndication for four more years. Its popularity



Debbie Allen.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

in Britain prompted a special cast tour there and spurred a "Fame mania" fan phenomena.

Allen's success as a dancer and actor allowed her to move behind the camera to direct and produce. While still a cast member of *Fame*, she became the first African-American woman hired by a television network as a director in prime time. In 1989, after directing episodes of *Fame*, she co-wrote, produced, directed, choreographed, and starred in *The Debbie Allen Special* for ABC. She received two Emmy nominations, for direction and choreography, of this variety show.

In 1988 Allen solidified her reputation as a television director and producer by turning a flawed television series, *A Different World*, into a long-running popular program. Under her leadership the program addressed political issues such as apartheid, date rape, the war in the Persian Gulf, economic discrimination, and the 1992 Los Angeles riots. The highest-rated episode focused on sexual maturity and AIDS and guest starred Whoopi Goldberg, who was nominated for an Emmy Award. Allen was awarded the first Re-

sponsibility in Television award from the Los Angeles Film Teachers Association for consistently representing important social issues on *A Different World*.

In 1989 Allen made her debut as a director of made-for-television movies with a remake of the 1960 film *Pollyanna*. The telefilm, titled *Polly*, starred two players from *The Cosby Show*, Phylicia Rashad and Keshia Knight Pullman. Set in 1955, *Polly* is a musical tale of an orphan who brings happiness to a tyrannical aunt and a small Alabama town. The film was produced by Disney and NBC. Television critics hailed the display of Allen's keen sense of innovative camera work, stemming from her ability to choreograph. The film is also notable for its all-black cast and for succeeding in a genre, the musical film, rarely popular on television. Allen followed *Polly* with a sequel, which aired in November 1990.

In the 1990-91 season, Allen directed the pilot and debut episode of *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, a series that had high ratings on NBC. That same season, she directed a highly rated episode of *Quantum Leap* in which she costarred. In October 1991, Allen received her star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame for her achievements in television.

In 1992 Allen directed *Stompin' at the Savoy* for the CBS network. This program included a cast of prominent African-American performers: Lynn Whitfield, Vanessa Williams, Jasmine Guy, Vanessa Bell Calloway, and Mario Van Peebles. Her most recent television series was the NBC situation comedy *In the House*. In this series, which first aired in April 1995, Allen played a newly divorced mother of two who shares her house with a former football star, played by rap artist L.L. Cool J.

Complementing Allen's versatility as a television actor and director is a repertoire of critically acclaimed film roles. In 1986 she played Richard Pryor's feisty wife in his semiautobiographical film *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling*, and she costarred with Howard E. Rollins and James Cagney in Milos Foreman's *Ragtime* in 1981. Allen's debut as a feature film director came in 1995, with *Out of Sync*, starring L.L. Cool J, Victoria Dillard, and Yaphet Kotto. Among the other films bearing Allen's name in the credits is *Amistad* (1997), a project she tried to produce for ten years before finally finding a collaborator in director and co-producer Steven Spielberg.

Allen is one of the few African-American women currently working as a director and producer in television and film. Her success in TV and film production has not deterred her from her love of dance, and she continues to dazzle television viewers with her choreography. In 1982 she choreographed the dance

Allen, Debbie

numbers for the Academy Awards, and for five consecutive years in the 1990s, her unique style of choreography was featured on the worldwide broadcast of the award ceremony. In 2003 she hosted a series on NBC titled *Fame*, in which she recruited and trained talented young dancers and singers, a show capitalizing on both the popularity of "reality television" and Allen's own celebrity. For three decades, Allen's contributions to television, on the three major U.S. networks and in syndicated programming, have highlighted the maturity of a performer and artistic producer with an impressive spectrum of talents in the performing arts.

MARLA SHELTON

See also *Different World, A*

**Debbie Allen.** Born Deborah Kaye Allen in Houston, Texas, January 16, 1950. Married: 1) Wim Wilford (divorced); 2) Norm Nixon; children: Vivian Nicole and Norm Jr. Educated at Howard University, Washington, D.C., BFA (with honors) 1971; studied with Ballet Nacional and Ballet Folklorico (Mexico); Houston Ballet Foundation, Houston, Texas; New York School of Ballet. Began career as dancer with George Faison Universal Dance Experience; AMAS Repertory Theatre; taught dance, Duke Ellington School of Performing Arts; actor in television, from 1973; actor/producer/director/choreographer of various television shows, miniseries, and specials. Recipient: three Emmy Awards; one Golden Globe Award; Ford Foundation Grant; two Essence Awards; Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame Clarence Muse Youth Award, 1978; Drama Desk Award, 1979; Out Critics Circle Award, 1980; American Women in Radio and Television Lifetime Award, 2000.

#### Television Series

- 1977 *3 Girls 3*  
1982 *Fame*  
1987 *Bronx Zoo* (director)  
1987-93 *A Different World* (producer, director)  
1990-96 *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (director)  
1990 *Quantum Leap* (also director)  
1995-96 *In the House* (also director)  
1996 *Jamie Foxx Show* (director)  
2003 *Fame*

#### Television Miniseries

- 1979 *Roots: The Next Generation*  
1984 *Celebrity*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1977 *The Greatest Thing That Almost Happened*  
1980 *Ebony, Ivory and Jade*  
1983 *Women of San Quentin*  
1989 *Polly* (director and choreographer)  
1990 *Polly Comin' Home!*

#### Television Specials

- 1982, 1991-95 *The Academy Awards* (choreographer)  
1983 *The Kids from Fame*  
1989 *The Debbie Allen Special* (co-writer, producer, director, choreographer)  
1992 *Stompin' at the Savoy* (director)

#### Films

*The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh*, 1979; *Ragtime*, 1981; *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling*, 1986; *Mona Must Die*, 1994; *Blank Check*, 1994; *Forget Paris* (choreographer), 1995; *Out-of-Sync* (director), 1995; *Amistad* (coproducer), 1997.

#### Stage (selected)

*Purlie*, 1971; *Ti-Jean and His Brothers*, 1972; *Raisin in the Sun*, 1973; *Ain't Misbehavin'*, 1978; *The Illusion and Holiday*, 1979; *West Side Story*, 1979; *Louis*, 1981; *The Song Is Kern!*, 1981; *Parade of Stars at the Palace*, 1983; *Sweet Charity*, 1986; *Carrie* (choreographer), 1988; *Pepito's Story* (choreographer), 1995; *Soul Possessed* (writer, director, choreographer), 2000.

#### Publications

*Brothers of the Knight*, 1999  
*Dancing in the Wings*, 2000

#### Further Reading

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Dunning, Jennifer, "Debbie Allen Chips Away at the Glass Ceiling," *New York Times* (March 29, 1992)  
Randolph, Laura B., "Debbie Allen on Power, Pain, Passion, and Prime Time," *Ebony* (March 1991)

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## Allen, Fred (1894–1956)

U.S. Comedian

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Fred Allen hated television. Allen was a radio comedian for nearly two decades who, as early as 1936, had a weekly radio audience of about 20 million. When he visited *The Jack Benny Show* to continue their long-running comedy feud, they had the largest audience in the history of radio, only to be later outdone by President Franklin Roosevelt during a *Fireside Chat*. The writer Herman Wouk said that Allen was the best comic writer in radio. His humor was literate, urbane, intelligent, and contemporary. Allen came to radio from vaudeville, where he performed as a juggler. He was primarily self-educated and was extraordinarily well read.

Allen began his network radio career in 1932, after working vaudeville and Broadway with such comedy icons as Al Jolson, Ed Wynn, George Jessel, and Jack Benny. This was a time when the United States was in a deep economic depression, and radio in its infancy. In his autobiography *Treadmill to Oblivion*, Allen wrote that he thought radio should provide complete stories, series of episodes, and comedy situations instead of the monotonous, unrelated jokes then popular on vaudeville. With this idea in hand, he began his first radio program on NBC, called *The Linit Bath Club Review* (named after the sponsor).

Allen's world of radio was highly competitive and commercial, just as TV would be many years later. He wrote most of the material for his weekly shows himself, usually working 12-hour days, six days a week. Most comedians, like Bob Hope, had an office filled with writers, but Allen used only a few assistants when writing his comedy. Some of these assistants went on to have successful careers in literature and comedy, such as Herman Wouk, author of *The Caine Mutiny* and *The Winds of War*, and Nat Hiken, who created Phil Silver's *The Phil Silvers Show* for TV. Allen's program was imbued with literate, verbal slapstick. He had ethnic comedy routines in *Allen's Alley*, appearances by celebrities such as Alfred Hitchcock, musical numbers with talent from the likes of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, and social commentaries on every conceivable subject, especially criticisms of the

advertising and radio industry. His radio producer, Sylvester "Pat" Weaver (later to become head of NBC TV programming), observed that Allen's humor was so popular that three out of four homes in the country were listening to Allen at the zenith of his popularity. To inform the writing of his comedy scripts, Allen compiled a personal library of more than 4,000 books of humor and read nine newspapers (plus magazines) daily. According to the scholar Alan Havig, Allen's style of comedy had more in common with such literary giants as Robert Benchley and James Thurber than with media comedians such as Jack Benny and Bob Hope.

In the 1946–47 season, Allen's program was ranked the number one show on network radio. World War II was over, Americans were beginning a new era of consumerism, and a very few consumers had recently purchased a new entertainment device called television. When Fred Allen was asked what he thought of television, he said he did not like furniture that talked. He also said television was called a medium because "nothing on it is ever well done." Allen dismissed TV as permitting "people who haven't anything to do to watch people who can't do anything." But, after nearly two decades on radio, he fell in the ratings from number one to number 38 in just a few months. Such a sudden loss of audience was due to a new ABC radio giveaway show called *Name That Tune*, starring Bert Parks, as well as a general decline in listeners for all of radio. Listeners of radio were rapidly becoming viewers of TV. And where the audience went, so went the advertisers. In a few short years the bottom fell out of radio. Fred Allen quickly, but not quietly, left radio in 1949.

Allen was first to leave radio, but Bob Hope, Jack Benny, George Burns, and Gracie Allen soon followed. They all went on to star in their own TV shows—all but Fred Allen. He made a few attempts at TV, but nothing more. He first appeared on the *Colgate Comedy Theater*, where he attempted to bring to TV his *Allen's Alley* from radio. For example, the characters of the Alley were performed with puppets.



Fred Allen, 1947.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Such attempts seldom successfully made the transition to the new medium. On the quiz show *Judge for Yourself* (1953–54), he was supposed to carry on witty ad-libbed conversations with guests. But as Havig states, Allen's "ad-libbing was lost in the confusion of a half hour filled with too many people and too much activity." In short, Allen's humor needed more time and more language than TV allowed. He then was on the short-lived *Fred Allen's Sketchbook* (1954) and finally became a panelist on *What's My Line?* from 1955 until his death in 1956.

Fred Allen's contributions to TV were in two forms. First, he became one of the true critics of TV. He has remained, many decades after his death, the intellectual conscience of TV. His barbs at network TV censorship still hit at the heart of contemporary media ("Heck... is a place invented by [NBC]. NBC does not recognize hell or [CBS]"). Second, his comedy style has become part of the institution of TV comedy. His *Allen's Alley* created the character Titus Moody, who turned up on TV as the Pepperidge Farm cookie man. His Senator Claghorn, also of the *Alley*, was transfigured into Warner Bros. TV cartoon

character Foghorn Leghorn the rooster. And later, the "Senator" appeared on the Kentucky Fried Chicken TV commercial. A variety of TV comedians have done direct takeoffs of Allen's performances. For example, Red Skelton's "Gussler's Gin" routine and Johnny Carson's "Mighty Carson Art Players" can be traced back to Fred Allen. Allen's "People You Didn't Expect to Meet" is an idea that has worked for David Letterman. Finally, Garrison Keillor's tales "Lake Wobegon" (as heard on National Public Radio's *A Prairie Home Companion*) are a throw-back to Allen's comedic style.

Allen wrote in *Treadmill to Oblivion*,

Ability, merit and talent were not requirements of writers and actors working in the industry. Audiences had to be attracted, for advertising purposes, at any cost and by any artifice. Standards were gradually lowered. A medium that demands entertainment eighteen hours a day, seven days every week, has to exhaust the conscientious craftsman and performer.

He was talking about radio, but his remarks could apply just as well to television many decades later.

CLAY WAITE

**Fred Allen (Fred St. James, Fred James, Freddie James).** Born John Florence Sullivan in Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 31, 1894. Married: Portland Hoffa, 1928. Served in U.S. Army, World War I. Began performing on stage as an amateur teenage juggler, eventually adding patter and turning pro with the billing of the "World's Worst Juggler"; for ten years as humorist toured the vaudeville circuit, including 14 months in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Honolulu, 1914–15; dropped juggling, settled on the professional name of "Fred Allen," and moved up from vaudeville to Broadway revues, early 1920s; worked on radio, notably *Allen's Alley* and *Texaco Star Theatre*, from 1932; a panel regular on the television quiz show *What's My Line?*, 1955–56. Died in New York City, March 17, 1956.

#### Television Series

1953	<i>Fred Allen's Sketchbook</i>
1953–54	<i>Judge for Yourself</i>
1955–56	<i>What's My Line?</i>

#### Films

Some film shorts, 1920s; *Thanks a Million*, 1935; *Sally, Irene and Mary*, 1938; *Love Thy Neighbor*,

1940; *It's in the Bag*, 1945; *We're Not Married*, 1952; *Full House*, 1953.

#### Radio

*The Linit Bath Club Revue*, 1932; *Allen's Alley*, 1932–49; *The Salad Bowl Revue*, 1933; *Town Hall Tonight*, 1934; *Texaco Star Theatre*, 1940–41.

#### Publications

*Treadmill to Oblivion*, 1954  
*Much Ado About Me*, 1956  
*Fred Allen's Letters*, edited by Joe McCarthy, 1965

#### Further Reading

Havig, A., *Fred Allen's Radio Comedy*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1990  
 Taylor, R., *Fred Allen: His Life and Wit*, New York: International Polygonics, 1989

## Allen, Gracie (1895–1964)

U.S. Comedian

Gracie Allen transferred her popular fictional persona from vaudeville, film, and radio to American television in the 1950s. Allen had performed with her husband and partner, George Burns, for nearly 30 years when the pair debuted in *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show* on CBS in October 1950. They had enjoyed particular success in radio, popularizing their audio program with a series of stunts that involved Allen in fictitious manhunts, art exhibits, and even a candidacy for the presidency of the United States. The transfer of their program to the small screen both extended their career (the couple were becoming too expensive for radio) and helped to legitimate the new medium.

The Burns and Allen act, a classic vaudeville routine involving a “Dumb Dora” and a straight man, proved infinitely malleable. Initially a flirtation act, by the time it was transferred to television, it was housed in a standard situation-comedy frame: Burns and Allen played themselves, a celebrity couple, enduring various matrimonial mix-ups.

The impetus to comedy within the program was the character portrayed by Allen. Her humor was almost entirely linguistic. Often an entire episode hinged on her confusion of antecedents in a sentence, as when the couple's announcer (who also took part in the program's narrative) informed her that Burns had worked with another performer until he (meaning the other performer) had married, moved to San Diego, Califor-

nia, and had two sons—at which point she concluded that her husband was a bigamist.

The on-screen Gracie's reinterpretations of the world proved extremely disruptive to people and events around her, although the disruptions were generally playful rather than serious and were quickly settled (usually by her husband the straight man) at the end of each episode. Allen's character thus challenged the rational order of things without ever actually threatening it.

The character's success on the program, and popularity with the viewing public, depended in large part on her total unawareness of the comic effects of her “zaniness.” The on-screen Gracie was a sweet soul who on the surface embodied many of the feminine norms of the day (domesticity, reliance on her man, gentleness) even as she took symbolic potshots at the gender order by subverting her husband's logical, masculine world.

The program, and Allen's character, were always framed by audience knowledge about the “real” George Burns and Gracie Allen. Audience members were aware, partly from well-orchestrated publicity for the show and partly from observation, that only a talented and intelligent actor could manage to seem as dumb as Allen did on-screen.

The off-screen Burns and Allen were sometimes also invoked explicitly within episodes, as when characters reminded the fictional George that he was finan-





Gracie Allen.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cially dependent upon his costar/spouse, who had always been the greater star of the two.

The strongest link between on- and off-screen Burns and Allen, however, was the marital bond both pairs shared—and the affection they displayed as actors and as people. Burns's first autobiography, *I Love Her, That's Why!*, placed the couple's relationship at the center of his life, reflecting its centrality to the program in which the two starred.

*The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show* went off the air upon Allen's retirement in 1958. Burns tried for a number of years to sustain programs and acts of his own, but it took him almost a decade to emerge as a performer in his own right. Much of his stage act for the rest of his life featured numerous jokes and stories about his wife, perpetuating the memory of her comedic energy even for those who had never seen her perform.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

**Gracie Allen.** Born in San Francisco, California, July 26, 1895. Married: George Burns, 1926; children:

Sandra Jean and Ronald John. Attended Star of the Sea Convent School. Joined sister Bessie in vaudeville act, Chicago, 1909; played vaudeville as "single" act, from 1911; teamed with George Burns, 1922; toured Orpheum vaudeville circuit; toured United States and Europe in the Keith theater circuit, from 1926; played BBC radio for 20 weeks, 1926; first U.S. radio appearance, with Burns, on *The Rudy Vallee Show*, 1930; premiered as star of *The Adventures of Gracie* on CBS radio, February 15, 1932; starred, with Burns, in *The Burns and Allen Show* on NBC radio, 1945–50; performed in movies, 1930s; starred, with Burns, in *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, CBS Television, 1950–58; retired from show business in 1958. Died in Los Angeles, August 27, 1964.

#### Television Series

1950–58      *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*

#### Films

*100 Percent Service*, 1931; *The Antique Shop*, 1931; *Fit to Be Tied*, 1931; *Once Over, Light*, 1931; *Pulling a Bone*, 1931; *Oh, My Operation*, 1932; *The Big Broadcast*, 1932; *International House*, 1933; *We're Not Dressing*, 1934; *Six of a Kind*, 1934; *Many Happy Returns*, 1934; *The Big Broadcast of 1936*, 1935; *College Holiday*, 1936; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1936; *A Damsel in Distress*, 1937; *College Swing*, 1938; *Honolulu*, 1939; *Gracie Allen Murder Case*, 1939; *Mr. and Mrs. North*, 1941; *Two Girls and a Sailor*, 1944.

#### Publication

"Inside Me," as told to Jane Kesner Morris, *Woman's Home Companion* (March 1953)

#### Further Reading

Blythe, Cheryl, and Susan Sackett, *Say Goodnight Gracie! The Story of Burns and Allen*, New York: Dutton, 1986  
Burns, George, *Gracie: A Love Story*, New York: Putnam, 1988  
Burns, George, with Cynthia Hobart, *I Love Her, That's Why! An Autobiography*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955  
"... Burns and Allen..." *Newsweek* (June 24, 1957)  
"How Gracie Gets That Way," *TV Guide* (October 8, 1955)  
Hubbard, Kim, "George Burns Writes a Final Loving Tribute to Gracie Allen..." *People Weekly* (October 31, 1988)

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## Allen, Steve (1921–2000)

U.S. Comedian, Host, Composer, Writer

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Steve Allen has appropriately been termed television's renaissance man. He hosted numerous television programs, appeared in several motion pictures, wrote more than 50 books, and composed several thousand songs. He once won a \$1,000 bet that he could not compose 50 songs a day for a week.

Allen began his career as a radio announcer in 1942. In 1946 he joined the Mutual Broadcasting System as a comedian and two years later signed with CBS as a late-night disc jockey on KNX in Hollywood. He first gained national attention during the summer of 1950, when his program was booked as a 13-week substitute for *Our Miss Brooks*. This break led to his first television program, *The Steve Allen Show*, which debuted on Christmas Day 1950 on CBS. The show was later moved to Thursday nights, where it alternated with the popular *Amos 'n' Andy Show*.

In 1954 Allen began hosting a daily late-night show on NBC, *The Tonight Show*. During the next three years, he introduced many television innovations that have since been continued by his successors. Most of these inventions involved his audience. Using a hand microphone, he went into the audience to talk with individuals; he answered questions submitted by the audience; members of the audience would attempt to "stump the band" by requesting songs the band could not play. Allen involved his announcer, Gene Rayburn, in nightly chitchat, and he spoke with the band leaders, Skitch Henderson and Bobby Byrne. These techniques epitomized Allen's belief that "people will laugh at things that happen before their eyes much more readily than they will at incidents they're merely told about."

In 1956 Allen became a part-time host on *Tonight* because he was appearing in a new version of *The Steve Allen Show*. Still on NBC, he was now scheduled on Sunday nights, opposite *The Ed Sullivan Show* on CBS. Thus began one of the most famous ratings wars in television history. Allen and Sullivan were perhaps as distinct from one another as two men could be. Allen was a witty, innovative performer, willing to try virtually anything. Sullivan was a stiff master of ceremonies, who compelled his guests to conform to rigid standards of decorum. Although Allen occasionally re-

ceived higher ratings, Sullivan eventually won the war, and after the 1960 season NBC moved *The Steve Allen Show* to Mondays. A year later, Allen took the show into syndication and continued for three more years. From 1964 to 1967, he hosted the highly successful game show *I've Got a Secret* on CBS.

Steve Allen's most innovative television offering was *Meeting of Minds*. The format was an hour-long dramatized discussion of social issues. Allen would act as the moderator accompanied in this imaginative exercise by his "guests": historical characters such as Galileo, Attila the Hun, Charles Darwin, Aristotle, Hegel, or Dostoevski. The idea for this program came in 1960, following Allen's reading of Mortimer Adler's *The Syntopicon*. Rejected by the major networks, the series was accepted by PBS in 1977 and ran until 1981.

During his long career as an entertainer, Allen developed a reputation as a social activist. He considered running for Congress as a Democrat from California, he actively opposed capital punishment, and he openly supported the controversial comedian Lenny Bruce. He wrote about the plight of migrant farm workers in *The Ground Is Our Table* (1966), discussed what he considered the collapse of ethics in the United States in *Ripoff: The Corruption That Plagues America* (1979), and, in a book finished just before his death, evaluated the state of popular culture in *Vulgarians at the Gate: Raising the Standards of Popular Culture* (2001). In the last years of his life Allen appeared only occasionally on television, spending a larger portion of his time operating Meadowlane Music and Rosemeadow Publishing, located in Van Nuys, California. Allen died in October 2000.

LINDSAY E. PACK

*See also Steve Allen Show, The; Talk Show; Tonight Show, The*

**Stephen (Valentine Patrick William) Allen.** Born in New York City, December 26, 1921. Married: 1) Dorothy Goodman, 1943 (divorced, 1952); children: Stephen, Brian, and David; 2) Jayne Meadows, 1954;



Steve Allen.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

child: William Christopher. Attended Drake University, 1941; Arizona State Teacher's College, 1942. Worked as radio announcer at stations KOY, Phoenix, Arizona, 1942; KFAC and KMTR, Los Angeles, 1944; entertainer-comedian, Mutual Network, 1946-47; entertainer-comedian and disc jockey, CBS television, 1948-50; created and hosted *The Tonight Show*, NBC Television, 1954-56; created and hosted *Meeting of Minds*, Public Broadcasting Service, 1977-81; continued television guest appearances, 1970s-90s; composed more than 8,500 songs, several musicals; author of more than 50 books; vocalist, pianist, more than 40 albums/CDs. Recipient: Grammy Award, 1964; Emmy Award, 1981; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1986. Died in Encino, California, October 30, 2000.

#### Television Series

- 1950 *The Steve Allen Show*
- 1950-52 *Songs for Sale*
- 1953-55 *Talent Patrol*
- 1954-56 *The Tonight Show*
- 1956-61 *The Steve Allen Show*
- 1964-67 *I've Got a Secret*
- 1967 *The Steve Allen Comedy Hour*

- 1977-81 *Meeting of Minds*
- 1980-81 *The Steve Allen Comedy Hour*
- 1984-85 *Inside Your Schools* (host)
- 1985-86 *The Start of Something Big* (host)
- 1989-91 *Host-to-Host*

#### Television Miniseries

- 1976 *Rich Man, Poor Man*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1972 *Now You See It, Now You Don't*
- 1979 *Stone*
- 1979 *The Gossip Columnist*
- 1984 *The Ratings Game*
- 1985 *Alice in Wonderland*
- 1996 *James Dean: A Portrait*

#### Television Specials

- 1954 *Fanfare*
- 1954 *The Follies of Suzy*
- 1954 *Sunday in Town* (cohost)
- 1955 *Good Times* (host)
- 1957 *The Timex All-Star Jazz Show I* (host)
- 1966 *The Hollywood Deb Stars of 1966* (cohost)
- 1976 *The Good Old Days of Radio* (host)
- 1981 *I've Had It Up to Here* (host)
- 1982 *Boop Oop a Doop* (narrator)
- 1983-86 *Life's Most Embarrassing Moments* (host)
- 1984 *Stooge Snapshots*
- 1984-86 *Steve Allen's Music Room*

#### Films

- Down Memory Lane*, 1949; *The Benny Goodman Story*, 1955; *College Confidential*, 1960; *Warning Shot*, 1967; *Where Were You When the Lights Went Out?*, 1968; *The Funny Farm*, 1982; *Amazon Women on the Moon*, 1987; *Great Balls of Fire!*, 1989; *The Player*, 1992; *Casino*, 1995.

#### Publications (selected)

- Mark It and Strike It: An Autobiography*, 1960
- Dialogues in Americanism*, with William F. Buckley, Robert Maynard Hutchins, Brent L. Bozell, and James MacGregor Burns, 1964
- The Ground Is Our Table*, 1966
- Meeting of Minds*, 1978-89
- Ripoff: The Corruption That Plagues America*, with Roslyn Bernstein and Donald H. Dunn, 1979
- Funny People*, 1981

*More Funny People*, 1982  
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## Alliance Atlantis Communications

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Two of the most successful programs in the 1997 Canadian television season represented the economic and creative maturity of the domestic industry. *Traders*, a professional drama following the emotional and financial escapades of financiers at a Toronto merchant bank, was produced by Atlantis Communications. *Due South*, a comic adventure about a Mountie relocated to Chicago, was produced by Alliance Communications. Reaching over a million viewers each with these programs, Alliance and Atlantis drew on 25 years of experience gained from competing in many of the same markets and skillfully exploiting Canadian television regulations and subsidy programs. When they announced their merger in 1998, these companies were two of the key participants in building an infrastructure for television production in Canada.

The July 1998 merger was a friendly reverse takeover of the larger company (Alliance) by the smaller. The strategic goals were clear; combining the strengths of two central players and collating their substantial libraries of television and film would allow the new company to compete more successfully with larger American entertainment conglomerates. The newly created Alliance Atlantis Communications (AAC) marked an important evolution toward a major studio-style operation in Canada. The new company anticipated a shift away from in-house production of television series and films toward greater concentration on distribution and deals with independent producers. The merger was the first in a wave of corporate convergence in the Canadian media, motivated by the desire to acquire more channels for guaranteed distribution of content, gain better access to

advertising revenue, and create various possibilities for cross promotion. The Alliance Atlantis merger was a direct response to global trends of technological expansion in content delivery, privatization and deregulation in international television markets, and audience fragmentation.

This focus on building "market muscle" and establishing sure access to broadcast shelf space was presented by the new CEO Michael MacMillan as beneficial for Canadian television, and a reflection of the continuing need for strong Canadian content. Critics wondered if the creation of such a large, vertically integrated enterprise would work against smaller independents and raised the possibility that such mergers should be approved only with some restrictions on access to public financing.

The new company became the largest television and film producer and distributor in Canada, and one of the top 12 entertainment companies in the world, with a combined revenue of \$700 million. Because the Canadian television market is small, more than half of this income was earned in export sales. A full 89 percent of AAC license fees come from outside Canada. Atlantis operated two cable specialty channels, the Life Network and Home and Garden Television, and distributed the U.S. Food Network in Canada. Alliance brought two more successful specialty channels, Showcase and History TV, to the marriage. In its application to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to approve the merger and keep all four specialty channels, AAC said it would spend \$8 million on new Canadian drama and documentary programs.

While AAC posted some restructuring losses in

1998, it quickly implemented a comprehensive acquisitions strategy in various areas. In March 1999 the company acquired an interest in *Headline Sports* (now the *Score*), maintaining its focus on nonfiction theme channels with tie-ins to Internet sites, radio, and magazines. In January 2000 AAC, in partnership with Montreal-based Astral Communications, launched two French-language specialty channels, *Series1* and *Historia*.

In early 2000, AAC created a New Media Division and bought into U8TV, an Internet television station. The U8TV concept features eight young people living in a Toronto loft equipped with webcams streaming live images to the Internet 24 hours a day. Each resident also produces a short daily Internet TV segment, from which highlights are carried on Life Network's nightly half-hour top-rated program *The Lofters*. Aimed at the 18-to-30 demographic, U8TV moved into its second season in 2002 by relying on multiple revenue sources including banner ads on the website, product placement and corporate sponsorship on the webcasts, and ad sales on the Life Network.

AAC consolidated its television production activities in 2000 by purchasing Canadian documentary producer Great North Communications and its 675-hour nonfiction library, responding to demand for reality TV and fact-based programming. In 2001 AAC acquired Salter Street Films, its library of 1,100 half-hours of comedy and nonfiction, plus the company's newly granted Independent Film Channel license. Salter Street productions include *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, *Lexx*, and *The Industry/Made in Canada*. Analysts accused AAC of trafficking in licences, but CRTC approved the purchase requiring that the Independent Film Channel remain in Halifax and that AAC spend a \$1.25 million benefits package on developing the broadcast industry in Atlantic Canada.

Continuing its diversification into specialty broadcasting, AAC made 32 applications to the CRTC for digital licenses in 2000 and launched its new digital offerings in September 2001. The Discovery Health Channel and the Independent Film Channel are Category 1 digital services requiring mandatory carriage by the cable and satellite companies. Of its successful Category 2 license bids, AAC has also negotiated optional carriage agreements for BBC Canada, BBC Kids, National Geographic Canada, Showcase Diva, and Showcase Action. Digital channels in which AAC has part interest include *PrideVision*, *Scream TV*, and *One: the Body, Mind and Spirit Channel*.

In television's currently uncertain economic environment, AAC carries a relatively large debt load, a raft of unproven "developing channels," and the continuing pressure of low profit margins in production. The company has retreated from production of drama into lower-cost, more exportable children's and documentary programs, while enlarging its more profitable, well-branded broadcast operations. Focusing on the U.S. market, it has had recent successes with *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, CBS's third-rated program in the 2001 season, and with TV movies like *Joan of Arc*, *Nuremberg*, and *Life with Judy Garland*.

From its Los Angeles and international offices, AAC is applying its valuable Canadian experience in packaging financing deals and international distribution to changing global television markets. However, the company still dominates Canadian drama production, with annual access to over \$100 million in public funds and tax credits for programs like *DaVinci's Inquest*, *Cold-Squad*, and *The Associates*. Critics point out that CRTC Canadian content regulations make broadcasters a captive market for AAC's programs, while the broadcasters themselves may not apply directly for subsidies. As a vertically integrated production company with 18 specialty channels, AAC is seen as unfairly "self-dealing" its publicly funded products to its own outlets. AAC is solid evidence that Canadian television policy has achieved the desired result of establishing a viable domestic industry. But what remains to be seen is whether the company can remain accountable to Canada's public broadcasting objectives while becoming so heavily involved in global film and television exports.

MARIAN BREDIN

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# Allison, Fran (1907–1989)

## U.S. Television Personality

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Fran Allison is perhaps best known for playing the warm-hearted human foil to the Kuklapolitan Players, a troupe of puppets familiar to almost every viewer in the early days of U.S. television. Allison appeared with the puppets on the children's program *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*, which aired regularly from 1948 to 1957, and in subsequent reunions in the late 1960s and mid-1970s.

Born in Iowa, Allison began working as a songstress on local Waterloo, Iowa, radio programs and eventually moved to Chicago in 1937, where she was hired as a staff singer and personality on NBC Radio. Audiences became familiar with her from numerous radio appearances, first as a singer on such programs as *Smile Parade* and *Uncle Ezra's Radio Station* (also known as *Station EZRA*), and later on *The Breakfast Club* as the gossipy spinster Aunt Fanny, who loved to dish gossip about such fictitious townsfolk as Bert Beerbower, Orphie Hackett, and Ott Ort and was based on a character she first created for a local Iowa radio program. Allison appeared on both the radio and television versions of *Don McNeill's The Breakfast Club* for more than 25 years. The Aunt Fanny character was briefly spun off on her own 30-minute radio program in 1939, *Sunday Dinner at Aunt Fanny's*. But it was on *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* that Allison became the "First Lady of Chicago Broadcasting."

While her husband, Archie Levington, was serving in the army, Allison worked on bond-selling tours, during which she met and became good friends with puppeteer Burr Tillstrom. When the time came to choose an appropriate sidekick for his new television series, Tillstrom wanted to work with "a pretty girl, someone who preferably could sing," someone who could improvise along with Tillstrom and with the show's informal structure. According to Tillstrom, when he and Allison met four days later, she was so enthusiastic about the show and working with her friend that she never asked how much the job paid. With only a handshake, they went on the air live for the first time that very afternoon.

Shortly before his death in 1985, Tillstrom tried to

capture the nature of the unique relationship that Allison had with his puppets: "She laughed, she sympathized, loved them, sang songs to them. She became their big sister, favorite teacher, babysitter, girlfriend, mother." More than just the "girl who talks to Burr [Tillstrom]'s puppets," Allison treated each character as an individual personality, considered each her friend, and, by expressing genuine warmth and affection for them, made the audience feel the same way. She once remarked that she believed in them so implicitly that it would take a few days to become accustomed to a new version of one of the puppets.

It was through Allison that the Kuklapolitans came to life as individual personalities with life histories. Each show was entirely improvised. The only prior planning was a basic storyline. Characters discussed their backgrounds, where they attended school, and their relatives. Allison was the first to mention Ollie's mother Olivia and niece Dolores, and Tillstrom added them to their growing number of Kuklapolitans. In addition to prompting the characters to talk about themselves, Allison herself invented some of the characters' histories, such as announcing that Buelah Witch's alma mater was Witch Normal.

Allison's radio and television work continued after the initial run of *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*. In the late 1950s, Allison hosted *The Fran Allison Show*, a panel discussion program on local Chicago television, telecast in color and considered at that time to be "the most ambitious show in Chicago's decade of television." She also continued to appear on television musical specials over the years, including *Many Moons* (1954), *Pinocchio* (with Mickey Rooney, 1957), *Damn Yankees* (1967), and *Miss Pickerell* (1972). Allison was reunited with Tillstrom and the Kuklapolitans for the series' return in 1969 on PBS and as the hosts of the *CBS Children's Film Festival* on Saturday afternoons from 1971 to 1979. In the 1980s Allison hosted a local Los Angeles (KHJ-TV) program, *Prime Time*, a show for senior citizens.

In 1949 Allison was nominated for an Emmy Award



Fran Allison.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

as Most Outstanding Kinescope Personality but lost to Milton Berle. In 1988 she was inducted into Miami Children's Hospital's Ambassador David M. Walters International Pediatrics Hall of Fame, which honors men and women of medicine and laypersons who have made a significant contribution to the health and happiness of children everywhere.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

**See also Chicago School of Television; Children and Television; Kukla, Fran and Ollie; Tillstrom, Burr**

**Fran Allison.** Born in La Porte City, Iowa, November 20, 1907. Married: Archie Levington, 1940. Attended Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Began career as radio singer, Waterloo, Iowa; staff singer, various shows

on NBC Radio, Chicago, from 1937; star of radio show, *Sunday Dinner at Aunt Fanny's*, 1939; regular guest, *Don McNeill's Breakfast Club*, radio and television program, through 1940s and 1950s; joined Burr Tillstrom, puppeteer, with *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* television program, Chicago, 1947; host, with Tillstrom's puppets, *Children's Film Festival*, PBS, 1971-79; in local radio and television from 1970s. Died in Sherman Oaks, California, June 13, 1989.

#### Television Series (selected)

1948-52, 1954-57,  
1961-62, 1969-71,  
1976 *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* (host)  
1950-51 *Don McNeill's TV Club*

#### Television Specials (selected)

1953 *The Ford 50th Anniversary Show*  
1953 *St. George and the Dragon*  
1954 *The Kukla, Fran and Ollie Mikado*  
1954 *Many Moons*  
1955 *The Kuklapolitan Easter Show*  
1957 *Pinocchio*  
1967 *Damn Yankees*  
1972 *Miss Pickerell*

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# Allocation

## U.S. Broadcast Policy

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The Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) methods of allocating broadcasting frequencies in the United States have long been a subject of debate and controversy. The key issues have been: first, whether television should be controlled by the few strongest networks; second, whether the FCC is responsible for setting aside frequencies for noncommercial or educational broadcasters, even though the media operate within a privately held system; and third, whether spectrum allocations should change when new technologies, requiring use of the airwaves, are introduced. The Communication Act of 1934 provides for a way to maintain federal control over all channels of interstate and foreign radio transmission, and to provide for the use of such channels, but not their ownership.

The act outlines a four-step process for allocating frequencies. An entity that applies for a construction permit (the right to build a broadcast station) must seek a specific channel, antenna location, coverage area, times of operation, and power level of preference. If that applicant is selected for an allocation, the FCC then issues the construction permit. When the station is built, the owners must prove their transmitter and antenna can perform to FCC standards. The aspirant can then apply for a station license. Usually, applicants must also prove U.S. citizenship, good character free of criminal records, sufficient financial resources, and proof of expert technical abilities.

When a few experimenters first put voice over wireless telegraphy at the turn of the century, there was no immediate need for a system of allocation. Many "broadcasters" were amateurs working with low-power systems. Even so, other uses were apparent and growth of radio use was rapid. It was interrupted, however, by World War I, when the government chose to take over all domestic frequencies to ensure control of airwave communication. After the war, when the British government chose to retain political power of its broadcast frequencies and form a public broadcasting system, the U.S. government instead decided to rely upon the entrepreneurial spirit and allow private profit from broadcasting. The technology and the industry were regulated under the provisions of the Radio Act of 1912, which placed control in the U.S.

Department of Commerce, then administered by Secretary Herbert Hoover.

The Second National Radio Conference, March 20, 1923, addressed problems associated with increasing the number of signals on the broadcast spectrum. The conference recommendations included the equitable distribution of frequencies to local areas and discussed wavelengths, power, time of operation, and apparatus. More importantly, the conference suggested three concepts that have not changed with time and technology. The first recognized that broadcasting usually covers a limited area and sanctioned local community involvement in the licensing process. The second concept acknowledged the limited amount of frequency space in the electromagnetic spectrum and supported the assignment of one consistent wavelength to broadcasters. The third concept proposed that once a broadcasting organization was assigned a certain frequency, it should not have to move that placement due to new regulation.

These recommendations died in the U.S. House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries and in Senate committee. No action was taken. Commerce Secretary Hoover believed government control had no place in American broadcasting; those using the airwaves should join together and regulate themselves.

Congress reflected the conflicting views. Though litigation against the government rendered the Radio Act of 1912 virtually inoperable, 50 separate bills failed in Congress before the federal legislature passed the Radio Act of 1927. Cases such as *Hoover v. Inter-city Radio* (1923) held that the government could not refuse a license to an interested party but could designate a frequency and police interferences. In the next major case, *United States v. Zenith Radio Corporation* (1926), a federal judge ruled the Commerce Department had no jurisdiction to regulate radio. Other rulings by the U.S. Attorney General completely nullified Department of Commerce control.

Yet more radio broadcasters wanted frequencies and with 716 radio stations on the air, national regulation was more and more necessary. With the Radio Act of 1927, the federal government decided to retain ownership of the airwaves but allow private interests to hold



continuing licenses. The licenses were renewable after three years, depending on the holder's ability to serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity."

Networks had grown substantially after 1926. Religious, educational, cultural, civil liberties, and labor organizations also sought a voice amid the privately held, commercially supported licensees. Yet the 1927 act did not successfully regulate the system. It was replaced seven years later by the Communications Act of 1934.

The two acts had many similarities and neither altered the allocations already in place for the burgeoning broadcast networks CBS and NBC. Among existing nonprofit broadcasters, many educational institutions were still forced to share frequencies and in the end most educators dropped their partial licenses and chose to be silent. Yet the lobbying efforts of Paulist priest John B. Harney made Congress realize the airwaves could be used for social good by nonprofit interests and the 1934 act included a provision to study such allocations. Still, the conflict was not resolved until 1945 when 20 FM channels between 88 and 92 megahertz were reserved for noncommercial and educational broadcasting. These frequencies represented 20 percent of the broadcast band.

Among the commercial networks, each had considerable power over its affiliate stations until an FCC ruling limited the degree of contractual control over affiliate operations. But practical authority over the dependent affiliates persisted since networks supplied most programming.

By 1938 NBC and CBS commanded the great majority of licensed wattage through owned stations or affiliates. In 1941 the FCC's Report on Chain Broadcasting was accepted by the Supreme Court in *NBC v. U.S.* (1943). The ruling led to a separation of NBC into two radio networks, one of which was later sold and became ABC. Four-way network competition began in the radio marketplace among Mutual, the fledgling ABC, and the dominators, CBS and NBC.

As of 1941, six television stations had been approved and two were in operation; CBS and RCA stepped in early to receive construction permits and licenses. The major networks were joined by receiver maker Alan B. DuMont and each ventured into television as network programmers in the 1940s. The three networks divided the week, each programming two or three nights without competition.

The FCC settled the placement of the radio bandwidth in 1945, but allocation problems did not end. Television's impending maturity created more spectrum confusion. As it had done with radio, the government had issued experimental and early frequency allocations for television on the VHF and UHF spectrums. Large broadcasting corporations obtained early

signal assignments both to monopolize the new medium and to sell a new product, television receivers.

The problem with television allocations was the limited amount of bandwidth compared to radio signal space. The FCC had planned 18 channels, each six megacycles wide between 50 and 294 megacycles. In the VHF spectrum space, only 13 channels existed that could support television signals. Cities 150 miles apart could share a channel; towns 75 miles apart could have consecutively placed station signals. When the commission considered rules in September of 1945, it was decided that 140 metropolitan districts would be allocated VHF broadcasting channels.

The Television Broadcast Association supported shorter distances between localities using the same spectrum space for signal transmission. ABC and CBS believed the future of television existed in the more generous UHF spectrum space. Several network leaders argued either to transfer all television delivery to the more capacious UHF or to allow existing stations to slowly move to UHF. Instead, the FCC approved a VHF delivery plan in November 1945. Five hundred stations would be allocated to the 140 communities, with no allocations planned for channel 1. The FCC plan did not move any previously granted station frequencies. It did, however, allow shorter distances between eastern U.S. station assignments. New York City was given seven channels; smaller towns were allocated limited coverage and lower powered television signals.

By 1948 the FCC realized the November 1945 plan would not work and advocated moving all television to UHF. By then 15 stations were on the air. While a final plan could be developed, the FCC added some VHF signal restrictions and completely eliminated use of channel 1. Also that year, the FCC again held further allocation hearings. The resulting ruling increased the number of stations but questioned the use of UHF for television delivery. The new plan now placed 900 stations in more than 500 communities, still utilizing only the VHF band. Confusion, conflict, and controversy continued and on September 29, 1948, the FCC halted further allocation of station licenses. Only 108 stations were on the air. This action became known as The Freeze of 1948.

Construction of the stations previously approved, but not built, continued and more VHF stations did begin broadcasting between 1948 and the end of the freeze in April 1952. Many television industry interests still supported UHF utilization, but manufacturers had not yet developed transmission equipment for UHF. Television sets were not being built to receive the higher signals. Potential problems with UHF included signal strength and interference. Nevertheless, the FCC decided to begin UHF television without additional testing.

With regard to station allocations, the FCC's Sixth Report and Order was a most salient document. There the commission decided to maintain placement of the existing VHF stations, though a few were ordered to change bandwidth within the VHF spectrum. The new plan created 2,053 allotments in 1,291 communities.

The FCC aggressively assigned UHF stations to smaller towns and left VHF for large cities. The number of stations per community depended upon population. For example, a community with 250,000 to 1 million people received four to six stations. Except for Los Angeles and New York, which secured seven stations in the VHF spectrum, the FCC allocated no more than four VHF stations per locality. Spacing of the same channel between communities depended on such factors as geographical location, population density, and tropospheric interference. Cities at least 170 miles apart could have received allotment of the same channel.

The FCC made a historically significant ruling when it chose to enter UHF broadcasting without materially altering existing allocations. Since many sets had no UHF equipment, the stations with VHF station assignments had the upper hand over new UHF stations. It would be years before any large population could receive UHF. More importantly, the decision created a situation of the early bird catching the worm. The companies with the first granted allocations, namely NBC and CBS, also had the best signal positions. The FCC chose to maintain network dominance of television and essentially gave the large networks control over the future of the new medium. For most viewers, it was easier to tune to the broadcasting giants than to new networks or independent stations.

Allocation of noncommercial stations was another important provision of the Sixth Report and Order. FCC Commissioner Frieda Hennock, a New York attorney, argued for spectrum space for educational television. She established her place in broadcasting history when the FCC decided to make 252 noncommercial assignments, including 68 VHF and 174 UHF stations. This was one-tenth of all stations assigned. Any community with one or two VHF stations in operation won a VHF educational television frequency. The first non-commercial station reached the airwaves in 1954.

Television station allocations moved slowly until the middle 1970s. ABC, operating largely on UHF stations, jockeyed for positioning against the stronger networks, CBS and NBC. In 1975, in a period of government deregulation, the FCC liberalized both frequency allocations and methods of television delivery. The large fees required for satellite receiving stations had diminished, enhancing the possibilities for both satellite and cable delivery of television to homes and businesses.

The FCC again began an aggressive period of television station allocations between 1975 and 1988, primarily assigning UHF spectrum licenses. During this period, more than 300 stations began telecasting. In 1975, 513 VHF and 198 UHF stations were on the air. By 1988, 543 VHF and 501 UHF stations broadcasted shows. The advent of cable somewhat leveled the competitive lead of lower-numbered VHF stations; the reception of each station was equal when provided through the wire and many homes now subscribed to cable systems. The added popularity of remote controlled, hundred-plus channel, cable-ready receivers made any signal a finger press away.

Deregulation also created still more television signal competition, all governed through FCC allocations. Low power television (LPTV), or short range signals serving communities within cities and smaller towns in rural areas, grew as additional licenses were granted in the 1980s. Though these stations were originally expected to handle either home shopping or community access programs, many low power stations became competitive with other television stations by becoming cable carriers.

Because the major networks already held affiliate contracts in most markets, these new UHF and LPTV stations were largely independently owned. The existence of more and more unaffiliated stations opened a door for the creation of new television networks and new program providers. In 1985 the FOX Broadcasting Network was created as a fourth network by linking a number of the new, largely independent stations. Specialty networks, such as the Spanish-language Univision and Telemundo networks, and broadcast-cable hybrid networks, such as Home Shopping Network and Trinity Broadcast Network (religious), developed in the late 1980s. In 1994 Paramount and Warner Bros. Studios entered the arena with networks of broadcast stations airing new programming. The shows presented on these alternative networks have most often been outside the scope of the large networks. Some have challenged traditional network notions of "taste" or programming standards and have presented new types of shows. Others have focused on a selected audience such as Spanish speakers or home shoppers.

In 1994 FOX Broadcasting Company became concerned with the signal power, and resulting audience reach, of its affiliates. The network made a series of contract changes, in essence trading several of its UHF outlets for stronger VHF stations. In those deals, many independent broadcasters were pushed aside for stations owned by broadcast groups such as New World Entertainment. The end result was an increase in VHF placements for FOX shows without resort to issues or problems related to allocation.

## Allocation

The future of station allocation is unclear. In the early 1990s, when high-definition television (HDTV) was expected to overtake U.S. television, skeptics pointed to the history of U.S. television allocations. HDTV could have required more extensive bandwidth, and, therefore, the reordering of spectrum allocations. But in the past, except for the shifting of some VHF stations required by the Sixth Report and Order, the FCC has not changed a previously granted allocation no matter how compelling or leveling the reason. The dominance of the major networks has always been preserved. The channel positions have never changed materially, and audiences have remained comfortable with familiar placements. It is unlikely that the FCC will dabble with allocations in the future. Yet as viewers grow increasingly dependent on cable as their television provider, the role of station placement may decrease in importance. Future station assignments and changes will hardly affect either cable channel placement or the social routines of the television viewer.

JOAN GIGLIONE

**See also Communications Act of 1934; Educational Television; Federal Communications Commission; "Freeze" of 1948; Hennock, Frieda B.; Networks: United States**

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# Ally McBeal

U.S. Dramey

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The FOX series *Ally McBeal* catapulted into the center of cultural discussion shortly after its launch in 1997. The series' form and narrative were distinctive, marked by the use of eccentric characters, digital graphics, and the incorporation of song and dance scenes reminiscent of variety-comedies and film musi-

icals. Significantly, however, the series' title character also sparked sometimes heated cultural debates about the status of feminism, femininity, and womanhood. The show raised many of the dilemmas faced by the post-baby boom, post-second-wave feminist generation of women. Original plans at FOX, however,



Ally McBeal, Thorne-Smith, Bellows, Germann, Flockhart, Krakowski, Carson, MacNicol.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

merely called for a series that would provide an audience matching the demographic makeup of the canceled *Melrose Place*, which was popular among young women and competed well against *Monday Night Football*. The network sought out writer/producer David E. Kelley (*L.A. Law*, *Picket Fences*, *The Practice*) to create such a series.

*Ally McBeal* follows in the television tradition of workplace series, such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, in which the workplace ensemble forms a tight-knit family relationship encompassing both work and the personal, social aspects of characters' lives. Set in the Boston law firm of Cage/Fish and Associates, the series explores relationships among the various lawyers, often as they relate to specific gender issues raised in court cases. Individual episodes focus mainly on professional activities, often beginning with conference meetings, then following with the cases in which the firm members serve as counsel. As well, however, almost every episode offers intricate plots based on personal romantic relationships. At the conclusion of many episodes, the ensemble retires for drinks and dancing in the bar located in the same building as the office. The bar is the venue for the series' signature incorporation of music. Regular cast member/musician Vonda Shepard often performs, sometimes with one of the cast members or a guest star (Elton John, Sting), offering a number that frequently provides a thematic commentary on events in the episode.

The series began when Ally's law school acquaintance, Richard Fish, invited her to join Cage/Fish following her sexual harassment by a partner at her current firm. An intelligent, competent lawyer, Ally is given to fits of whimsy and struggles throughout the series to establish boundaries between the "real world" and the fantasy worlds she constructs. Accepting the offer, she finds herself in the midst of a somewhat odd assortment of colleagues.

Richard is defined by his pursuit of financial success without adherence to a politically correct moral code. Frequently characterized as boyish and immature, his superficiality is at times over the top, given to explicitly politically incorrect, sexist, and homophobic comments. But his perspective is presented in an unthreatening manner, neutralized by the overall tone of the series. John Cage (the name itself is telling) is the most eccentric character, often described by others as a "funny little man." Despite the fact that he stutters and that his nose whistles at inopportune moments, he is the master of a range of gadgets and often appears the most competent of the lawyers. In many ways he functions as the moral center of the show.

The series fluctuates considerably season to season, as the narrative emphases shift and the cast changes. The initial cast (present in most of the first three seasons) includes Ally's childhood sweetheart Billy Thomas, whom she dated from adolescence through her first year of law school, Billy's wife and fellow lawyer, Georgia, and secretary Elaine Vassal. Billy begins the series as a "sensitive" male, a proponent of gender equity. He undergoes a transformation in the third season and becomes a rather virulent male chauvinist. The character then dies suddenly at the end of the season due to complications from a brain tumor that may have contributed to his erratic behavior. Georgia has joined Fish/Cage after experiencing sex-based discrimination at another firm and exhibits none of the eccentricity defining many of the other characters. Rather, she is characterized primarily by her struggle to keep her marriage together while recognizing Billy's continuing infatuation with Ally. Elaine, the ever-present office busybody, is perhaps the most comical of characters, given to public presentation of her outrageous inventions, such as the face bra. Her hyper-sexualized demeanor is an effort to be included among the lawyers, but over the course of the series she reveals elements of her past explaining some of her eccentricities and more overt sexual behaviors.

The first season cast also included Ally's roommate, Renee, a deputy district attorney, and Judge Jennifer "Whipper" Cone, Richard Fish's girlfriend in the first two seasons. In the second season, the series added attorney Nelle Porter, whose stunningly attractive ap-

pearance masked a cutthroat legal style. When she developed a relationship with the shy and retiring John Cage, their interaction revealed unexpected complexities in both characters. Nelle also introduced her excessively litigious client, Ling Woo, who eventually joined the firm and dated Richard. Ling's character was frequently used to examine fundamental ambiguities in matters related to gender definitions and topics.

Billy, Georgia, Whipper, and Renee exited by the series' fourth year, and a budding romance between Ally and new character Larry Paul (Robert Downey Jr.) dominated the season. The series broke from a number of its conventions, going so far as to present many episodes that completely excluded any courtroom scenes. Attention focused instead on the complicated romantic relationships between Ally and Larry, John Cage and an autistic woman, Melanie West, and a romantic triangle among Ling, Richard, and another new character, Jackson Duper. The fifth season again offered more radical variation with the departure of Larry Paul (an arrest on drug charges threatened Downey's availability), Jackson, and Ling. John Cage became a part-time cast member. Several young lawyers were introduced into the firm. The series again emphasized episodic court cases. Ally displayed considerable new maturity as a mentor to youthful doppelganger Jenny. She was promoted to firm partner in John's absence, purchased a house, and became the mother of a 10-year-old girl conceived from an egg Ally had donated during law school.

As this description indicates, *Ally McBeal* is primarily a character-driven series, incorporating some serial features along with the "case-driven" episodic style of most courtroom dramas. Clearly, however, the eccentric nature of many of the characters and their constant, substantive redevelopment contributes to the series' hazy interplay of the serious and the absurd. This, in turn, fueled much of the show's debate and consideration of cultural issues. Narratives often slip unpredictably from realistic melodrama to comedy and fantasy sequences, making varied interpretations freely possible. Indeed, the slippage included the possibility that the dramatic and comedic depictions of characters are parodic, critical of the very topics they explore. These topics ranged over charged social and cultural matters such as sexual behavior, sexual harassment, gender definition, professional ethics, and racialized social structures. Public discussion of these topics was sometimes stimulated by episodes of the television series, and general commentary often made reference to *Ally McBeal*. But the series also dealt with love, truth, honesty, commitment, and honor, common elements of television

produced and written by Kelley. Yet despite the titular focus on Ally, the series, particularly in early seasons, lacked a dependable central character through which the audience could gauge message and ideology. *Ally McBeal* did maintain what creator Kelley termed a "fundamental idealism" personified in Ally and John throughout its variations, as well as a "belief in love and human spirit," and concluded with Ally leaving the firm to move to New York in response to the needs of her daughter.

AMANDA LOTZ

**See also Comedy, Workplace; Dramedy; FOX Broadcasting Company; Gender and Television**

**Cast**

Ally McBeal	Calista Flockhart
Richard Fish	Greg Germann
Elaine Vassal	Jane Krakowski
John Cage	Peter MacNicol
Vonda Shepard	Herself
Renee Raddick (1997–2001)	Lisa Nicole Carson
Billy Alan Thomas (1997–2000)	Gil Bellows
Georgia Thomas (1997–2000)	Courtney Thorne-Smith
Jennifer "Whipper" Cone (1997–2000)	Dyan Cannon
Nelle Porter (1998–2002)	Portia de Rossi
Ling Woo (1998–2001)	Lucy Liu
Dr. Greg Butters (1998)	Jesse L. Martin
Larry Paul (2000–01)	Robert Downey, Jr.
Jackson Duper (2000–01)	Taye Diggs
Mark Albert (2000–01)	James LeGros
Melanie West (2001)	Anne Heche
Coretta Lipp (2001–02)	Regina Hall
Jenny Shaw (2001–02)	Julianne Nicholson
Glenn Foy (2001–02)	James Marsden
Raymond Milbury (2001–02)	Josh Hopkins
Maddie Harrington (2001–02)	Hayden Panettiere

**Producers**

David E. Kelley, Bill D'Elia

**Programming History**

FOX  
September 1997–  
May 2002                      Monday 9:00–10:00

### Further Reading

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- Wild, David, "David E. Kelley: The Prolific Producer-Writer Testifies to the Enduring Success of *Ally McBeal*," *Hollywood Reporter* (18 January 2000)
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## Almond, Paul (1931– )

Canadian Producer, Director

Paul Almond produced and directed more than 100 television dramas in Toronto, London, and Los Angeles between 1954 and 1967. Almond has produced and directed dramas for such Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) shows as *Folio*, *The Unforeseen*, and *Wojeck*.

Among his many accomplishments in "live" or "live-to-tape" television are the early experimental religious drama *The Hill*, which used simple wooden platforms, a cyclorama, and improvisation; Arthur Hailey's realistic early drama about the threats of nuclear technology, *Seeds of Power*; the fascinating, televisual adaptation of Dylan Thomas's radio piece *Under Milk Wood*, which alternated between stylized shots of elements of the set with realistic shots of the actors; Harold Pinter's controversial *Birthday Party*; *A Close Prisoner*, the self-reflexive and chilling satire by Clive Exton; and television versions of Christopher Fry's *Sleep of Prisoners*, *Venus Observed*, and *A Phoenix Too Frequent* and Jean Anouilh's *Antigone*. He also produced and directed a chilling adaptation of *Crime and Punishment*, called *The Murderer*; the dark, antiwar comedy *The Neutron and the Olive*; and his creative partner, designer Rudy Dorn's, drama about World War II from the point of view of a German soldier, *The Broken Sky*. Other successful adaptations included *Macbeth*, with Sean Connery and Zoe Caldwell, using only a flight of steps and a huge throne, and *Julius Caesar*, using one 12-foot decorative column. At the time of these "experimental" productions, Dorn and Almond shared a theory that the "only real thing was the emotion expressed on the face of a really good actor."

Almond directed for the most successful series in CBC television history, *Wojeck*, including the prescient episode on drug abuse ("All Aboard for Candy-

land"), at a time when such subjects were rarely seen on television.

Two of his 1960s dramas were censored by the CBC: Anouilh's *Point of Departure*, which showed two unmarried people in bed together, and *Shadow of a Pale Horse*, a vivid antiwar drama that depicted, according to the broadcaster, a too-explicit hanging in one scene. In instances such as these, when the CBC management threatened to cancel a program (which became easier when tape came into use), the corporation, under pressure from its creative staff, sometimes compromised by scheduling the drama at 11:30 P.M., when it was hoped that everyone likely to complain was in bed. In the case of Michael Tait's *Fellowship*, the CBC canceled the show altogether but relented and broadcast it at a later date. In a rare return to television in 1978, Almond directed the award-winning docudrama *Every Person Is Guilty*, on the anthology *For the Record*.

Television critics and colleagues said of Almond that he was "the mystic," "the romantic," "the man with an eye for symbolic levels of meaning," an "actor's director." Cameraman and well-known television writer Grahame Woods said, "he's very responsive and creates a lot of energy. He had a passion for what he was doing and it's infectious." The actor and director David Gardner characterized Almond's work as "moody.... The camera moved a great deal. He was a very volatile director. But once you got to know Paul it was terrific."

Almond himself has said that in some ways he preferred live television to any other form, because it had not only an excitement but a flow of action. In his view, live television allowed both the cameraperson and the director more freedom to respond to the performance itself and literally "call the shots" in unforeseen patterns

Almond, Paul

and rhythms. Early television did not require three people to run a camera. Almond was one of the most influential of the generation of producers and directors in the 1950s and 1960s who were discovering what could be done with the huge, clumsy, and unreliable cameras of live television. He and his coconspirators took "live-to-tape" drama, which was supposed to be taped with minimum interruption because it was very difficult to edit, into territory that demanded many pauses for change of scene, costume, or special effects. From those early experiments and the eventual discovery of cleaner, easier ways to edit tape came true electronic drama.

With limited CBC experience of filmed TV drama, Almond adapted to film so well that his first full-length feature film *Isabel* in 1968 (shown on the CBC in 1969) was a critical success and was followed by such films as *The Act of the Heart*, *Final Assignment*, and *Captive Hearts*. In 1999 Almond's first two books, *High Hopes: Coming of Age in the Mid-Century* and *La Vengeance des Dieux* were published by ECW Press and Art Global, respectively.

MARY JANE MILLER

See also *Wojeck*

**Paul Almond.** Born in Montreal, Quebec, 1931. Married: Geneviève Bujold, 1967. Attended Bishop's College School, Lennoxville, Quebec; McGill University, Montreal, B.A.; Balliol College Oxford, M.A. Director for a Shakespearean repertory company, England; returned to join the CBC in Toronto, 1954; directed or produced various drama, action, comedy, and horror series and specials for TV until 1967; independent producer since 1967. Recipient: Bronze Prize, Houston Film Festival, 1981.

#### Television Series (selected)

1955–67      *Folio*  
1958–60      *The Unforeseen*

1959–67      *Festival*  
1960–61      *R.C.M.P.*  
1960–61      *First Person* (producer)  
1961–64      *Playdate*  
1963–66      *The Forest Rangers*  
1966          *Wojeck* (director)

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

1963      *The Rose Tattoo* (producer)  
1956      *The Queen of Spades* (producer)  
1957      *Who Destroyed the Earth*  
1967      *La Roulotte aux Poupées* (director)  
1979      *Every Person Is Guilty*

#### Films (selected)

*Isabel*, 1968; *The Act of the Heart*, 1969; *Journey*, 1971; *Final Assignment*, 1979; *Ups and Downs*, 1981; *Kiss Me Better*, 1981; *Eye of the Falcon*, 1985; *Captive Hearts*, 1987; *The Dance Goes On*, 1991; *Freedom Had a Price* (narrator), 1994.

#### Publications

*High Hopes: Coming of Age in the Mid-Century*, 1999  
*La Vengeance des Dieux*, 1999

#### Further Reading

Arsenault, Andre G., "On Location: Paul Almond's Fate of a Hunter," *Cinema Canada* (February 1987)  
"Director Almond Misses Prep Bandwagon," *Calgary Herald* (December 11, 1983)  
Drainie, Bronwyn, *Living the Part: John Drainie and the Dilemma of Canadian Stardom*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1988  
Rutherford, Paul, *When Television Was Young: Prime Time Canada 1952–1967*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990

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## Altman, Robert (1925– )

U.S. Director, Producer, Writer

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One of the most unique of modern directors, with a film and television career that has experienced more peaks and valleys than most, Robert Altman's long

journey to feature acclaim took over ten years of apprenticeship toiling in the television fields. This experience accumulated a richly diverse body of work that,

along the way, helped change certain staid production perceptions and, later, introduce an innovative style to small-screen drama presentation.

His first work for television came in the early 1950s, during a period when he was engaged in directing short films for Calvin Industries, in his hometown of Kansas City. Unfortunately, this television work, a limited crime anthology called *Pulse of the City* (broadcast via the DuMont stations in late 1953), remains something of an obscurity in the program details of television history.

Following a move to Los Angeles in the mid-1950s, Altman codirected (with George W. George) the compilation documentary *The James Dean Story*, released by Warner Bros. in 1957. The documentary came to the notice of Alfred Hitchcock, who had recently launched his mystery series *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (CBS/NBC, 1955–62) and who was immediately impressed by its expedient style of camerawork and editing. On the strength of this he invited Altman to direct two episodes of his half-hour series for the 1957–58 season. It marked the beginning of Altman's television apprenticeship.

For the next two years Altman learned the art and craft of the weekly grind of episodic television making, turning out multiple segments of the action/adventure series *The Whirlybirds*, *United States Marshal*, and *The Troubleshooters*. Among the more interesting moments to emerge from this period were the often-exceptional episodes he directed for *The Millionaire* series, a collection of compact, self-contained stories about the diverse types who find themselves the improbable recipients of a \$1,000,000 bank draft. Altman's episodes ranged in genre from skittish comedy to gripping film noir.

From this period on, Altman began exploring the method and style of genre television, experimenting and innovating his way through the then-popular Western, private eye, and crime drama genres, mainly under contract to Warner Bros. Television.

While his work for the Warner TV westerns *Sugarfoot*, *Bronco*, *Maverick*, and *Lawman* was restricted somewhat by that studio's tight rein over their money-making properties, Altman managed somehow to invert some of the series' formal standards and conventions and celebrate his sense of offbeat adventure. Given a slightly freer hand, the eight episodes of *Bonanza* that he directed for NBC during the 1960–61 season reveal a certain flair for extracting colorful characterizations from an otherwise mundane frontier family saga.

During his period with Warner, Altman was also put to work on their private eye capers *Hawaiian Eye* and *Surfside 6*, but the studio's formula production method offered few opportunities for experimentation. How-



Robert Altman.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ever, Altman was able to fashion a few episodes with a difference from their period mobster drama *The Roaring 20's*, managing to create some surprisingly literate studies amid the screeching tires and machine gun fire.

In 1961 he joined his friend and the series' producer Robert Blees at Twentieth Century Fox Television to work on the character-driven drama series *Bus Stop*. This program gave Altman the opportunity to explore new dimensions without the usual restrictions of series' character and format conventions. Unfortunately, *Bus Stop* reached its terminus prematurely when the ABC network—defying objections from its affiliate stations—decided to air the controversial (Altman-directed) episode "A Lion Walks Among Us" (a disturbing study of a teenage psychopath). The episode caused a national outcry and its powerful content contributed to the ongoing Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency hearings on television violence in 1961. *Bus Stop* was abruptly cancelled thereafter.

Altman was reunited with Blees when he was offered the director-producer assignment on the new men-at-war drama *Combat!*. This period, 1962–63, marked the peak of Altman's creative power during his years in filmed television. As director, producer, and sometimes writer (the latter often uncredited) for most of *Combat!*'s first season, he set the series' visual style and structure as well as introducing innovative production values for the television form (the handheld camera, low-key lighting, overlapping dialogue). When Altman went ahead with production on a particular episode ("Survival") that had been denied the approval of executive producer Selig Seligman, Altman was fired. (*Combat!*'s costar Vic Morrow went on to receive his only Emmy nomination for Best Actor for his work in this episode.)



He then followed Robert Brees to Universal Television, where they worked on the studio's *Kraft Suspense Theatre* anthology until, once again, Altman got himself fired for his well-publicized remark that the Kraft-sponsored series was "as bland as its cheese" (due to Altman having ten of his scripts rejected by the company). One of Altman's *Kraft Suspense Theatre* episodes, the crime thriller "Once Upon a Savage Night" (actually a backdoor pilot for a projected series), was later reedited and made available as the TV movie *Nightmare in Chicago*; it was also released to European cinemas in 1969 under that title.

For the next few years Altman pursued various personal TV pilot projects while at the same time trying to get a foothold in feature work. When, in 1970, critics discovered *M\*A\*S\*H*, it seemed that his feature career was assured. But it was just the beginning of a new series of peaks and valleys in feature production (the high of *Nashville* and the low of *Popeye*).

Throughout most of the 1980s, Altman moved between his intermittent feature work (*Streamers*, *Fool for Love*) and a form of videotaped theater production for television: *The Laundromat* for HBO, *The Dumb Waiter* and *The Room* for ABC.

Then, in 1988, he introduced a captivating narrative form and style new to television drama: *Tanner '88*. This remarkable miniseries (written by Garry Trudeau) was a superb fusion of flamboyant U.S. politicking and television verité (reminiscent of the John Drew-Richard Leacock 1960 Kennedy documentary *Primary*) and featured Michael Murphy's fictional candidate Jack Tanner during the 1988 presidential campaign. The continuously active project and its irregular screenings spanned some six months (paralleling the real-life U.S. campaign). *Tanner '88* became a cult hit and was only limited in reaching a wider audience due to its presentation via cable TV. Nevertheless, Altman won the 1988-89 Emmy Award for Outstanding Directing in a Drama Series.

The 1997 dramatic anthology *The Gun*, about the effect a pearl-handled, semiautomatic pistol has on its various owners, appeared to mark a return to mainstream television for Altman, this time as executive producer (and director of one episode).

While he continues to traverse the peaks and valleys of feature film work, television eagerly awaits Altman's next visit.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*; *Bonanza*; *M\*A\*S\*H*

**Robert Altman.** Born in Kansas City, Missouri, February 20, 1925. Married: 1) La Vonne Elmer, 1946;

2) Lotus Corelli, 1954 (divorced, 1957); 3) Kathryn Reed. Studied mathematical engineering at the University of Missouri. Bomber pilot USAF, 1943-47. Coauthored (with George W. George) film treatments for *Christmas Eve* (UA, 1947) and *The Bodyguard* (RKO, 1948). Writer for magazines, radio, and TV commercials. Produced, wrote, and directed low-budget feature *The Delinquents*, 1955. Founder: Lion's Gate production company, 1970; Westwood Editorial Services, 1974; Sandcastle 5 Productions. Academy Award nominations for *M\*A\*S\*H* (Best Film and Director), 1970; *Nashville* (Best Film and Director), 1975; *The Player* (Best Director), 1992; *Short Cuts* (Best Director), 1993; *Gosford Park* (Best Director), 2002.

#### Television Series (selected)

- 1953-54 *Pulse of the City* (cocreator, coproducer, alternating director)
- 1957 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, "The Young One"  
*Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, "Together"
- 1958-59 *The Whirlybirds*  
*The Millionaire*
- 1959 *Hawaiian Eye*, "Three Tickets to Lani"  
*Sugarfoot*, "Apollo with a Gun"
- 1959-60 *United States Marshal*  
*Troubleshooters*
- 1960 *Bronco*, "The Mustangers"  
*Maverick*, "Bolt from the Blue"
- 1960-61 *The Roaring 20's*  
*Bonanza*
- 1961 *Lawman*, "The Robbery"  
*Surfside 6*, "Thieves Among Honor"
- 1961-62 *Bus Stop*  
*Bus Stop*, "A Lion Walks Among Us"
- 1962-63 *Kraft Mystery Theatre* (and producer)  
*Combat!* (and producer)  
*Combat!*, "Survival"
- 1963-64 *Kraft Suspense Theatre*  
*Kraft Suspense Theatre*, "Once Upon a Savage Night" (and producer)
- 1988 *Tanner '88* (and coproducer)
- 1997 *Gun* (executive producer)  
*Gun*, "All the President's Women" (and executive producer)

#### Television Specials

- 1982 *Precious Blood* (and producer)  
*Rattlesnake in a Cooler* (and producer)
- 1985 *The Laundromat*
- 1987 *The Dumb Waiter* (and producer)  
*The Room* (and producer)

- 1988 *The Caine Mutiny Court-Martial* (and coproducer)  
 1993 *Black and Blue*  
*The Real McTeague*

#### Films (selected)

*The James Dean Story*, 1957; *Countdown*, 1967; *M\*A\*S\*H*, Brewster McCloud, 1970; *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, 1971; *Images*, 1972; *The Long Good-bye*, 1973; *Nashville*, 1975; *Three Women*, 1977; *A*

*Wedding*, 1978; *Popeye*, 1980; *Streamers*, 1983; *Fool for Love*, 1986; *The Player*, 1992; *Short Cuts*, 1993; *Kansas City*, 1996; *Dr. T. & the Women*, 2000; *Gosford Park*, 2001; *The Company*, 2003.

#### Further Reading

McGilligan, Patrick, *Jumping Off the Cliff: A Biography of the Great American Director*; New York: St Martin's Press, 1989; 2nd edition, 1991

## Amen

### U.S. Situation Comedy

From 1986 to 1991, *Amen* aired on NBC. Set around a Philadelphia parish, this was the first hit situation comedy to focus upon religion, an African-American church in particular, depicting, as a *Jet* magazine article put it, "the political as well as humorous side of [this] centuries-old institution." Emphasizing the relationship between the church's virtuous minister, played by Clifton Davis, and its shrewd, quick-witted deacon, played by Sherman Hemsley, this comedy highlighted the continuous conflicts between these contrasting principals. By centralizing these characters' comedic struggles, *Amen* proved a successful parody, satirizing as well as exploring the everyday workings of their church, from service to choir to congregation. Produced by Carson Productions, *Amen* gained top ratings throughout much of its prime-time life.

Focusing primarily on the apparently endless conflict between Deacon Ernest Frye and the Reverend Reuben Gregory, *Amen* was able to capitalize on the humorous dissimilarities separating these perpetually arguing characters. Frye, played expertly by Hemsley, was not unlike George Jefferson, Hemsley's arrogant, determined character for 11 seasons on *The Jeffersons*. The deacon was stubborn, aggressive, and extremely vocal. He had taken over the church from his father, the founder of the First Community Church of Philadelphia, and resisted giving up his control and decision-making power, especially to Reverend Gregory. Ironically, however, Deacon Frye's melodra-

matic antics usually caused more problems than they fixed, leaving a situation Reverend Gregory was often forced to resolve and opening Frye to the sarcastic ridicule of the congregation.

Gregory, on the other hand, was a kind-hearted, ethical pastor with the church's best interests at heart. Mild mannered in action and even toned in voice, Reverend Gregory was a distinct contrast to the boisterous, authoritarian Deacon Frye. Played by Davis (star of the 1974 series *That's My Mama*), who was an established real-life minister, Reverend Reuben Gregory slowly and patiently established an influence over the church, the deacon, of course, fighting him throughout. A rational voice amid the deacon's fiery outbursts, Reverend Gregory helped to temper Frye's melodramatic excitement, aiding in the resolution of the program's various episodes.

Thelma Frye (Anna Maria Horsford), the deacon's adult, socially awkward daughter, also played an important role in many episodes of *Amen*. Thelma, a romantically distraught 30 year old who still lived with her "daddy," provided a constant source of humor, her own childlike naïveté a comical contrast to the clever, often scheming Deacon Frye. Later episodes focused on the developing romantic relationship and eventual marriage between Thelma and the Reverend Gregory, a marriage that signaled Thelma's coming into adulthood while lessening the distance between the reverend and Deacon Frye. Additional characters included



*Amen*, Jester Hairston, Anna Maria Horsford, Roz Ryan, Sherman Hemsley, Barbara Montgomery, Clifton Davis, 1986–91. ©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Rolly Forbes (Jester Hairston), the church's spunky elder church board member, and sisters Casietta and Amelia Hetebrink (Barbara Montgomery and Roz Ryan), all adult church members who frequently made humorous and sarcastic contributions to the show, most often at the expense of Deacon Frye.

Throughout its five years, *Amen* offered a light-hearted look at an African-American church, playfully satirizing its day-to-day activities. Focusing humorously on the everyday conflict between Reverend Gregory and Deacon Frye, as well as these other familiar characters, *Amen* proved a satiric, yet human, portrait of ordinary church life and people.

BRENT MALIN

See also Hemsley, Sherman; *Jeffersons*, The

#### Cast

Deacon Ernest Frye	Sherman Hemsley
Reverend Reuben Gregory	Clifton Davis
Thelma Frye	Anna Maria Horsford
Casietta Hetebrink (1986–90)	Barbara Montgomery
Amelia Hetebrink	Roz Ryan
Rolly Forbes	Jester Hairston
Lorenzo Hollingsworth (1986–87)	Franklyn Seales
Leola Forbes (1987–89)	Rosetta LeNoire
Inga (1988–90)	Elsa Raven
Chris (1988–90)	Tony T. Johnson
Clarence (1990–91)	Bumper Robinson

#### Producers

Ed Weinberger, Michael Leeson, Marcia Govons, Reuben Cannon, Kim Johnston, Arthur Julian, Lloyd David, James Stein, Robert Illes

#### Programming History

110 episodes	
NBC	
September 1986–	
April 1987	Saturday 9:30–10:00
June 1987–	
September 1988	Saturday 9:30–10:00
October 1988–	
July 1989	Saturday 8:30–9:00
August 1989	Saturday 8:00–8:30
September 1989–	
July 1990	Saturday 8:30–9:00
August 1990	Saturday 8:00–8:30
December 1990–	
July 1991	Saturday 8:00–8:30

#### Further Reading

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 Dates, Jannette, and William Barlow, editors, *Split Images: African Americans in the Mass Media*, Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990  
 MacDonald, J. Fred, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television Since 1948*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1983; 2nd edition, 1992  
 Stoddard, Maynard Good, "Amen's Clifton Davis: A Reverend for Real," *Saturday Evening Post* (July–August 1990)

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# American Bandstand

## U.S. Music Program

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Like the soap opera, *American Bandstand* represents the transference of a successful radio format to the burgeoning arena of American television. Unlike the soap opera, however, the radio broadcast format of playing recorded music developed as popular entertainers from radio migrated to the newer medium of television. Initially located at the margins of broadcast schedules, the format of a live disk jockey spinning records targeted toward and embraced by teenagers soon evolved into the economic salvation of many radio stations. For one thing, the programs were relatively inexpensive to produce. In addition, the increased spending power of American teenagers in the 1950s attracted advertisers and companies marketing products specifically targeting that social group. Among the marketing forces were the recording companies that supplied their records without cost to stations, often including economic incentives to disk jockeys to play the companies' products. In effect, the recorded music was a commercial for itself. Given the convergence of these factors, the teen record party became entrenched as a radio format during the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, eventually developing into Top 40 Radio.

For these same reasons, this format also became highly lucrative for local television stations to produce. While the three networks provided the majority of prime-time programming and some early afternoon soap operas, local television stations had to fill marginal broadcast periods themselves. Since the primary audience for television viewing in the late afternoons included teenagers just out of school for the day, the teen record party apparently made sense to station managers as a way to generate advertising revenue during that broadcast period. As a result, a number of teen dance party programs found their way into television schedules during the early 1950s.

*Bandstand*, one of these, appeared on WFIL-TV in Philadelphia during September 1952. Hosted by Bob Horn, a popular local disk jockey, the show was presented "live" and included teenagers dancing to the records that were played. As the success of the televised *Bandstand* grew, Dick Clark took over the disk jockey

duties of the radio program while Bob Horn was broadcasting in front of the cameras. In 1956 Horn was arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol, in the middle of an anti-drunk-driving campaign by WFIL. Soon thereafter, Dick Clark replaced him as the host of the televised program. Clark's clean-cut, boy-next-door image seemed to offset any unsavory fallout from Horn's arrest, and the show's popularity increased. By the fall of 1957, Clark, who had been shepherding kinescopes of the show to New York, convinced the programmers at ABC to include the show in its network lineup.

Adapting the name of the program to its new stature (and the network identity), *American Bandstand* first aired on the ABC network on Monday, August 5, 1957, becoming one of a handful of locally originating programs to broadcast nationally. Initially, the program ran Monday through Friday from 3:00 to 4:30 P.M., eastern standard time. Almost immediately, the show became a hit for the struggling network. In retrospect, *American Bandstand* fit in nicely with the programming strategy that evolved at ABC during the 1950s. As the third television network, ABC could not afford the high-priced radio-celebrity talent or live dramatic programming that generated the predominantly adult viewership of NBC and CBS. Therefore, ABC counterprogrammed its schedule with shows that appealed to a younger audience. Along with programs such as *The Mickey Mouse Club*, ABC used *American Bandstand* in the 1950s to build a loyal audience base that would catapult the network to the top of the prime-time ratings in the mid-1970s.

From a cultural and social standpoint, the impact of *American Bandstand* should not be underrated. Even if the show diffused some of the more raucous elements of rock 'n' roll music, it helped to solidify the growing youth culture that centered around this phenomenon. The show was important in another way as well. Once Clark took over the helm of *Bandstand* in 1956, he insisted on racially integrating the show, since much of the music was performed by black recording artists. When the show moved to the network schedule, it maintained its racially mixed image, thus providing American television broadcasting with its most visible ongoing image of ethnic diversity until the 1970s.



Dick Clark.  
Photo courtesy of Dick Clark Productions, Inc.

In 1964 Clark moved the production of *American Bandstand* to California, cutting broadcasts to once a week. In part, the move was made to facilitate Clark's expansion into other program production. Additionally, it became easier to tap into the American recording industry, the center of which had shifted to Los Angeles by that time. The show's popularity with teenagers continued until the late 1960s.

At that point, white, middle-class American youth culture moved away from the rock 'n' roll dance music that had become the staple of *American Bandstand*, opting instead for the drug-influenced psychedelia of the Vietnam War era. As a response to the specialized tastes of perceived diverse target audiences, radio formats began to fragment at this time, segregating popular music into distinct categories. While *American Bandstand* attempted to integrate many of these styles into its format throughout the 1970s, the show relied heavily on disco, the emerging alternative to psychedelic art rock. Though often denigrated at the time because of disco's emergence in working-class and ethnic communities, the musical style was the logical focus for the show, given its historic reliance on presenting teenagers dancing. Consequently, *American Bandstand* became even more ethnically mixed at a

time when the predominant face of the aging "youth" culture in the United States acquired a social pallor.

The foundation of *American Bandstand's* success rested with its ability to adapt to shifting musical trends while maintaining the basic format developed in the 1950s. As a result, Dick Clark helmed the longest-running broadcast program aimed at mainstream youth to air on American network broadcast television. After 30 years of broadcasting, ABC finally dropped the show from its network schedule in 1987. In its later years, *American Bandstand* was often preempted by various sporting events. Given the commercial profits generated from sports presentations, apparently it was only a matter of time before the network replaced the dance party entirely. Additionally, the rise of MTV and other music video channels in the 1980s also helped to seal *American Bandstand's* fate. The show began to look like an anachronism when compared to the slick production values of expensively produced music videos. Nevertheless, the music video channels owe a debt of gratitude to *American Bandstand*, the network prototype that shaped the format they have exploited so well. As a testament to *American Bandstand's* enduring cultural influence, Dick Clark Productions and ABC aired a celebration of the program's 50th anniversary in 2002.

RODNEY BUXTON

**See also Clark, Dick; Music on Television**

**Host**

Dick Clark (1956–89)  
David Hirsch (1989)

**Producer**

Dick Clark

**Programming History**

ABC  
August 5–September 5, 1957  
Syndicated  
1957–63 daily, various local non-prime-time hours  
1963–69 Saturday, various local non-prime-time hours  
USA Cable  
April 8–October 7, 1989 Saturday, non-prime-time hours

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# American Broadcasting Company

## U.S. Network

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The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) came under the control of the Walt Disney Co. in August 1995 when Disney acquired the network's parent company, Capital Cities/ABC, for \$19 billion. Disney's merger of a major studio with a broadcast network figured to be the model for the television industry of the future. The enticement of media synergy drove Disney to acquire ABC, and the Disney-ABC alliance has served as a model for the subsequent consolidation of networks and studios throughout the television industry.

As a result of its absorption into the Disney empire, ABC is now a highly diversified corporation with extensive U.S. and international interests in broadcasting and cable. The ABC Broadcasting group consists of ten television and 55 radio stations that are owned and operated by ABC, a television network with 225 affiliate stations, a basic radio network that provides programming for 4,600 affiliate stations, and two specialized radio program services—ESPN Radio and Radio Disney. The ABC Cable Networks group oversees a number of cable networks that are either wholly or partially owned by Disney: ABC Family, A&E Television Networks (which include A&E, Biography, and the History Channel), E! Entertainment Television, ESPN Networks (including ESPN International, which reaches 119 million households outside the United States), Lifetime and Lifetime Movies, the Soap Network, Toon Disney, and the Disney Channel and its international versions (seen in 56 countries). In addition to its own sports and news production, ABC now oversees all network and syndicated television production at Disney.

ABC was the first-place network at the time of the merger, but its ratings soon began a downward slide. In just two seasons, ABC fell from first to third in the ratings, losing 23 percent of its target 18- to 49-year-old adult viewers, 35 percent of teens, and 45 percent of children ages two to 11. Unable to deliver its promised ratings, ABC has been forced to compensate advertisers with extra airtime, which cuts deeply into network profits. Operating income dropped from \$400 million to \$100 million in the first two years of Disney ownership, and the network has posted significant losses in subsequent years. Except for the improbable success

of 1999–2000, when *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* (aired as many as four times a week) carried the network into first place, ABC's prime-time ratings have never recovered—in part because the network has failed to use opportunities like the fluke success of *Millionaire* to develop new hits. As ABC has dropped into fourth place in the ratings, industry analysts have begun talking about the return to a two-network television universe, in which only NBC and CBS are actually capable of winning the race for prime time.

ABC was created by the U.S. government to address the inequities of a very real two-network universe that monopolized commercial broadcasting in the 1930s. Strictly speaking, there were three dominant radio networks in those days, but while one belonged to CBS the other two belonged to a single company, RCA, which operated both NBC-Red and NBC-Blue. RCA's dominance of the broadcasting industry led to government scrutiny in the late 1930s when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) investigated the legitimacy of networks—referred to as “chain broadcasting”—that linked together hundreds of local, ostensibly independent stations in national chains commanded by a single owner. The three-year investigation resulted in the 1941 publication of the FCC's Report on Chain Broadcasting, which assailed RCA's influence over a majority of high-powered stations and called for the divorcement of the two NBC networks. RCA challenged the decision in court but failed to overturn the FCC's findings. In October 1943 RCA sold its Blue network for \$8 million to Lifesavers candy tycoon Edward J. Noble, and he christened it the American Broadcasting Company.

Unable to match the financial resources of NBC and CBS, ABC could not compete in acquiring programs or attracting affiliates and advertisers. Into this dismal state of affairs relief came as a result of another government intervention into the media industries: the U.S. Supreme Court's 1948 *Paramount* decision. Bringing to conclusion government antitrust proceedings against the major studios of the motion picture industry, the decision ended the industry's vertical integration by requiring the studios to sell their theaters. Along with the other studios, Paramount Pictures

was ordered to divest its theater chain and reduce the chain from 1,400 to 650 theaters within five years. In 1951 United Paramount Theaters (UPT), the newly independent theater company led by chairman Leonard Goldenson, offered Edward Noble \$25 million for the ABC network.

When the FCC finally approved the merger in 1953, American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters immediately committed \$22 million to develop programming. Instead of competing directly with its rivals, ABC made an unprecedented decision to acquire filmed programs produced in Hollywood. NBC and CBS had a firm grip on TV's big stars and the major corporate sponsors of its live broadcasts. Besides, ABC had a very specific idea of its target market: the "youthful families" of the postwar baby boom who were able to afford staple products and small items at the supermarket but not necessarily costly big-ticket items like a new car or a major appliance.

ABC gambled first on independent producer Walt Disney by committing \$2 million a year over seven years for a Disney television series to debut in October 1954. ABC also spent \$500,000 to purchase a 35-percent share of Disney's ambitious theme park then under construction. With Disney's name recognition, the television series *Disneyland* attracted nearly half of ABC's advertising billings in 1954-55. The series was an immediate hit. The following season, ABC established its most profitable relationship of the 1950s with Warner Bros., whose initial series, *Warner Bros. Presents*, premiered in 1955 and launched the network's first hit drama, the western *Cheyenne*.

In spite of this taste of success, Leonard Goldenson had never been satisfied with Robert Kintner's leadership as president of the network. In October 1956 Goldenson brought in Oliver Treyz and James Aubrey to replace Kintner, who landed at the more prestigious NBC, where he served as president for another decade. Goldenson himself moved from an office at United Paramount to one at ABC, where he began to oversee the network's day-to-day operations. (He would remain in the network's top position until the Capital Cities merger in 1985.)

With Goldenson's support, Aubrey and Treyz planned for ABC to get big fast, to attract large audiences as quickly as possible in order to establish credibility with advertisers and prospective affiliates. They had no interest in gradually building an audience or in balancing popular hits with prestigious offerings. Without the luxury of time or money for experimentation, their programming philosophy was to exploit proven strengths in an attempt to repeat success. Warner Bros. was happy to oblige. Following the success of *Cheyenne*, the studio delivered the westerns

*Maverick*, *Bronco*, *Sugarfoot*, and *Colt .45*. In 1958 Warner Bros. introduced *77 Sunset Strip*, a private detective series based in Los Angeles that featured an ensemble of young, attractive stars. ABC responded to the popularity of *77 Sunset Strip* by ordering three nearly identical series that differed only in their sun-drenched locales: *Bourbon Street Beat*, *Hawaiian Eye*, and *Surfside Six*. ABC's programming strategy became so narrowly focused that, of the 33 series in its 1959-60 schedule, 12 were westerns and seven were crime series.

With the Kennedy-era FCC scrutinizing network television for failing to fulfill its utopian promise—this was the era of FCC chairman Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" speech—and a Senate subcommittee investigating the influence of TV violence on children, ABC came under attack as the network most responsible for the shift to formulaic action series. ABC faced criticism not only for its own programs—the Warner Bros. series and the equally popular *The Untouchables*—but for its perceived influence on programming at NBC and CBS. To compete with the hard-charging ABC, the other networks had abandoned the New York-based, live formats of the 1950s and embraced filmed series made in Hollywood. Since both NBC President Robert Kintner and CBS President James Aubrey had supervised programming at ABC in the 1950s, critics argued that the ABC programming philosophy literally had taken over the airwaves.

The public relations crisis alone would have been a challenge for a network seeking greater credibility to go along with its growing audience, but the trouble was magnified by the near-simultaneous collapse of ABC's ratings. By gambling so heavily on dramas, ABC lacked experience developing situation comedies and was utterly unprepared when public taste swung back toward comedy in the early 1960s. Goldenson fired network chief Oliver Treyz, the architect of ABC's rapid rise, and replaced him with Tom Moore, but it was too late. Except for a few scattered hits over the coming years (*Marcus Welby, M.D.*, *The F.B.I.*, *The Mod Squad*), ABC posed no serious competition to NBC and CBS for more than a decade.

Several factors kept ABC from realizing its potential in the 1960s: its dismal ratings, which limited advertising income; the costly transition to color broadcasting, being driven by RCA, which stood to sell color TV sets, and CBS, which could not afford to fall behind; and the steep rise in programming costs. The network showed a net loss every year between 1963 and 1971 (although these losses were offset at the corporate level by income from AB-PT's theaters, owned-and-operated stations, and other interests).

Given its unrealized potential, ABC was vulnerable to takeover attempts and spent much of the 1960s either fighting off or courting potential suitors. In order to defend against hostile takeovers, Goldenson turned to the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT). ITT was a huge conglomerate with interests in international telecommunications, defense and space contracts, publishing, insurance, and car rentals. With nearly 200,000 employees in 52 countries, 60 percent of its revenues from outside the United States, and nearly 10 percent of its shares owned by foreign interests, ITT was one of the first truly transnational conglomerates based in the United States. ITT's president, Harold S. Geneen, wanted to acquire ABC in order to raise his company's profile—and therefore its stock price—in the United States, where ITT had only a murky corporate identity. In December 1965 the two companies announced plans for a merger. Over the next two years the FCC and the Justice Department scrutinized the deal in what became for ABC an excruciatingly protracted series of hearings and investigations. After the long delay imposed by the investigations, ITT withdrew its offer on January 1, 1968.

Considering its history in the 1960s, ABC's resurrection in the 1970s seems nearly miraculous. When Fred Pierce was named ABC president in 1974, he presided over a perennial third-place network that hadn't turned a profit for most of the past decade, a network that had once set the pace of programming innovation but had grown used to haphazard imitation of its network rivals. Under Pierce's leadership, however, ABC rode an unprecedented wave of popular success that carried the network from third place to first in just three years. In 1979, 14 of the top 20 programs on television belonged to ABC. With advertisers and affiliates clamoring to ride the bandwagon, ABC's network profits rocketed upward: \$29 million in 1975, \$75 million in 1976, \$165 million in 1977, and \$200 million in 1979. For one year after Pierce assumed his role as president in 1974, Michael Eisner was responsible for ABC's prime-time schedule. Essentially giving up on the schedule left behind by the network's most recent program chiefs, Barry Diller and Martin Starger, Eisner and Pierce introduced six series as midseason replacements in January 1975. Amazingly, three became hits: *Baretta*, *S.W.A.T.*, and *Barney Miller*. Eisner is also given credit for the decision to transform the moderately successful *Happy Days* by upgrading Henry Winkler's character "Fonzie" to the lead role, a decision that eventually made *Happy Days* the number one series on television.

In spite of Eisner's accomplishments, Pierce sought a more experienced programmer to take the reins at ABC. In May 1975 he won a public relations coup by

convincing Fred Silverman to leave CBS, where he had been responsible for scheduling many of that network's groundbreaking early 1970s comedies, and take over programming at ABC. After being identified with sophisticated character-based comedy at CBS, Silverman aimed ABC's programming squarely at younger viewers and families: warm family comedy (*Eight is Enough*, *Happy Days*), wacky farce (*Laverne and Shirley*, *Three's Company*, *Soap*), high-concept action (*Charlie's Angels*, *Six Million Dollar Man*), and escapist fantasy (*The Love Boat*, *Fantasy Island*).

Sports and news played a central role in ABC's reemergence during the 1970s, particularly in attracting new affiliates and contributing to the network's profile as a national institution, and Rooney Arledge is the central figure in the history of both. As the producer of ABC's flagship sports program, *Wide World of Sports*, and then as president of ABC Sports beginning in 1968, Arledge revolutionized television sports coverage. He made sports competition meaningful for television by creating a narrative framework for sporting events, giving each game a storyline and developing ABC's trademark "up close and personal" style that brought out the character and personality of an athlete. He was also a showman, unafraid to burnish the spectacle of sports television with multiple camera angles and flashy graphics or to use outlandish personalities, like Howard Cosell, who often overshadowed the sports they covered.

Arledge was largely responsible for creating *Monday Night Football* in 1970, and it is difficult to exaggerate that program's importance in the history of television or professional sports. In 1977 Pierce appointed Rooney Arledge as president of ABC News. Arledge's appointment was surprising, since he had no journalistic training, but his impact was profound. As president of ABC News he presided over the creation of *World News Tonight* in 1978 and *Nightline* in 1979. Later he introduced the prime-time news series, *20/20* and *Primetime*, and the Sunday morning program, *This Week with David Brinkley*. Arledge recruited the on-air talent and behind-the-scenes staff that would make ABC News the most respected news organization in television during the 1980s and early 1990s.

ABC's most innovative and influential programming achievement in the 1970s was the development of the miniseries. Martin Starger, ABC's programming chief in the early 1970s, had a hunch that American audiences might be ready for British-style, limited-episode series and introduced the concept of "novels for television." The milestone in the miniseries format was ABC's broadcast of *Roots*, the powerful adaptation of Alex Haley's multigenerational saga of an African-American family's historical journey through



slavery. Because miniseries have a clear beginning and end, they do not require weekly installments and lend themselves to innovative forms of scheduling. This was the case with *Roots*, a 12-hour series that Fred Silverman chose to show in eight consecutive frigid nights in January 1977. In an age of hundred-channel digital cable and TiVo, it is almost impossible to imagine, but 130 million viewers—half the U.S. population—tuned in on the eighth night for the finale of this historical epic.

ABC settled back into the pack during the early 1980s, shortly after Fred Silverman departed for NBC. Under new entertainment president Brandon Stoddard, ABC presented several miniseries that eclipsed its earlier efforts in production cost and running time: *The Day After* (1983), *Winds of War* (1983), *The Thorn Birds* (1983), *War and Remembrance* (1988). The dominant producer at ABC during the 1980s was Aaron Spelling. He had been responsible for such 1970s hits as *Charlie's Angels* and *Fantasy Island*, but the peak of his influence at ABC came in the 1984–85 season, when his drama *Dynasty* was the top-rated series on television.

The new era of corporate mergers and acquisitions dawned at ABC when it was acquired by Capital Cities Communications in 1985 for \$3.5 billion. Although CEO and chairman Thomas Murphy and president Dan Burke instituted severe cost-cutting measures throughout ABC following the merger, they kept most of the network management in place and allowed the company's divisions to operate with a considerable degree of autonomy. Murphy and Burke also made far-sighted investments in cable networks A&E, the History Channel, Lifetime, and ESPN (which ABC had purchased in 1984).

In 1989 Burke and Murphy unexpectedly chose Robert Iger to succeed Brandon Stoddard as the president of ABC Entertainment. Largely unknown to the creative community in Hollywood because he had come up through ABC Sports, Iger made a strong immediate impression by making series commitments for two of the most radical dramas in television history, both developed by Brandon Stoddard: *Twin Peaks*, produced by David Lynch and Mark Frost, and the musical police drama *Cop Rock*, produced by Stephen Bochco. In doing so, Iger sent a message to the Hollywood creative community that ABC was prepared to take risks and grant creative freedom, without the smothering network oversight so typical of television production.

Iger's four years at the head of ABC Entertainment kicked off the network's last great period of ratings dominance. Iger inherited *thirtysomething* and *Rose-*

*anne* from the regime of Brandon Stoddard and added several other series that became long-running hits: *Doo-gie Howser*, *NYPD Blue*, *America's Funniest Home Videos*, *Home Improvement*, and the highly successful Friday night "TGIF" block of family oriented situation comedies, *Family Matters*, *Full House*, and *Perfect Strangers*. In the target market of 18- to 49-year-old adults ABC won the prime-time ratings race three times during Iger's tenure. When Disney purchased ABC in 1995 it inherited a prime-time schedule that was second in the 18- to 49-year-old demographic and first in total ratings.

Many factors have contributed to the network's sharp decline in the subsequent years, but Disney's management strategies must bear a large share of the blame. The demand for synergy has skewed network practices, distorting the most fundamental goals of identifying talented writers, producers, and performers in order to develop programs that appeal to viewers. The goal of supplying ABC with Disney-produced series has been an unmitigated disaster. No Disney series since *Home Improvement* has survived long enough to make it into syndication, and it debuted before the merger. ABC has alienated many loyal producers by giving favorable attention to Disney. Disney has failed to assure the Hollywood community that it has sorted out the potential conflicts of interest arising from the alliance of a network and a studio. Some producers are reluctant to bring ideas to Disney for fear that the studio will negotiate below-market-value deals to place its programs on ABC. Other producers worry that Disney will evaluate a project based solely on its perceived benefit to ABC. By the same token, rival networks have grown wary of projects that originate at Disney, assuming that any Disney series available on the open market must already have been rejected by ABC. In 1999 Disney tried to solve some of these problems by consolidating the network and studio under the ABC Entertainment Television Group, which formally united Disney's television production subsidiaries under the management of ABC's prime-time division. Since that time Disney has regained a bit of credibility by placing *Scrubs* on NBC, where it appears to be an emerging hit.

ABC's management of prime time has been equally disastrous, characterized by confusion and an almost ritualistic semiannual sacrifice of programming chiefs. The chaos began when Iger hired (and later fired) Jamie Tarses as head of programming after she had helped to develop comedies such as *Friends* at NBC. Without a clear leader, ABC showed the worst signs of being programmed by committee, with no clear sense of the network's identity and every uncertain decision

being second guessed. Tarses alienated some of ABC's most loyal producers, who left the network for production deals elsewhere; Eisner tried to replace Tarses by recruiting Marcy Carsey, the producer of *Roseanne* and *The Cosby Show*; Iger made an expensive, two-year commitment to *Lois and Clark* just before its ratings collapsed; Eisner vetoed development deals negotiated by Iger.

Amid the turmoil, ABC failed to develop new series to replace its fading hits of the early 1990s or to capitalize on small successes like *Ellen*. Even the fleeting success of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*, which some analysts estimate generated \$750 million in revenue during its time on the network, led nowhere. When ABC's *Millionaire*-inflated ratings crashed, another programmer, longtime ABC executive Stuart Bloomberg, was fired and replaced by Susan Lyne. Only time will tell how long she survives. ABC finished the 2002–3 season fourth in the coveted 18- to 49-year-old demographic; without the boost provided by the Super Bowl, the ratings would have been worse. Only *Monday Night Football* and several reality series (*The Bachelor*, *The Bachelorette*, *Celebrity Mole*, and *Extreme Makeover*) broke into the Nielsen top 30. The average cost of a 30-second spot on ABC is now \$50,000 less than its equivalent on NBC.

While prime-time ratings have dropped and the network has floundered, the larger ABC organization has achieved some notable success. The owned-and-operated TV and radio stations are profitable for ABC, as they are for all broadcast networks. Synergy has worked in children's programming, at least, where Disney series fill ABC's Saturday morning schedule and promote the entire range of Disney products. These programs are then distributed to the international Disney channels. The most obvious successes are in Disney's cable television group. While broadcast networks have only a single revenue source—advertising sales—cable networks earn money from advertising and from charging transmission fees to cable and satellite delivery systems, which are passed along to viewers as higher service rates. For the most successful networks, such as Disney's ESPN, these transmission fees can be raised by as much as 20 percent annually. As a result, ESPN has become the world's most valuable network,

generating more than \$500 million per year and establishing a brand name that Disney has successfully exploited by creating additional ESPN cable channels, an ESPN magazine, and ESPN Zone restaurants. Several of ABC's other cable networks, including the Disney Channel, A&E, and Lifetime (often the most-watched cable network in prime time), have seen steady growth in revenues and profits.

Disney executives will have to make key strategic decisions about how ABC will compete in the world of digital television: how to develop new revenue streams and new digital services; how to use multiple channels and define each channel's identity; how best to create or acquire programming; and how to redefine the network's partnership with affiliate stations. With its unrivaled brand identity and a vast library of titles, Disney certainly will play a role in drawing consumers to new digital program services available on cable, satellites, or the Internet. But what role will the ABC network play, especially if it continues along its current path? Disney president Robert Iger believes that a broadcast network has a synergistic value for a diversified media company that far outweighs its cost.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

*See also* Disney, Walt; Eisner, Michael; Iger, Robert; Mergers and Acquisitions; Spelling, Aaron

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## American Forces Radio and Television Service

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American Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS) comprises the primary communication media of the American Forces Information Service (AFIS), an agency of the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD). AFRTS provides radio and television news, information, sports, and entertainment programming to U.S. military personnel and their families stationed at U.S. military installations overseas and to U.S. Navy ships at sea.

AFRTS programming, acquired and distributed by the AFRTS Broadcast Center at March Air Reserve Base near Riverside, California, is selected from popular commercial and public programming found in the United States (although commercials are replaced by DoD information and spot announcements). Most AFRTS programming is acquired with little or no charge (for performance rights or residual fees), thanks to industry cooperation dating back to AFRTS beginnings during World War II. AFRTS does not produce its own entertainment shows for television. The entertainment programming includes over 90 percent of the top-rated programs in the United States.

The AFRTS Satellite Network (SATNET) broadcasts 13 radio services and ten television channels containing entertainment, news, information, and sports, which are uplinked from the Broadcast Center. AFRTS provides four television services, including the primary service, American Forces Network (AFN). Additional programming includes AFN News, AFN Sports, and AFN Spectrum (a service that includes programming from PBS and cable networks such as A&E, Discovery, and the History Channel).

To provide service to DoD personnel in more than 177 countries and U.S. territories worldwide, AFRTS uses eight satellites, reaching more than 800,000 U.S. service members and their families. More than 120 U.S. Navy ships at sea also receive live television and radio channels via the Navy's "Direct to Sailor" (DTS) initiative (created in 1997 to serve sailors and Marines specifically). The Naval Media Center participates with AFRTS in inserting unique Navy Department information programming via the DTS transmissions.

In 1996 AFRTS replaced its worldwide circuiting of videotaped programming with live satellite broadcasts of multiple radio and television channels. For many years, AFRTS broadcasts also reached a substantial "shadow" audience of U.S. citizens living

abroad and citizens of host nations who viewed or listened to the programming. Although no official figures exist for the size of this shadow audience worldwide, one study of the audience in Japan found that 21 percent of the local population (approximately 25 million people) listened to AFRTS radio at least once a week. However, the shadow audience is diminishing as AFRTS has reduced its dependence on low-power, over-the-air broadcast transmissions and instead expanded its direct-to-home satellite service (where military personnel lease or purchase the service from the base exchange) and cable distribution within military installations. Nevertheless, one could safely conclude that the formerly enormous presence of AFRTS broadcasts worldwide probably played an important role in informal English-language instruction and in fostering a general acceptance of U.S. cultural products worldwide.

AFRTS's history can be traced to several small radio stations established by servicemen in Panama, Alaska, and the Philippines near the start of World War II. Following the success and popularity of these small operations, the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) was established by the U.S. War Department on May 26, 1942, with the intent of improving troop morale by giving service members a "touch of home." The military also sought to provide a source of information to U.S. servicemen that would counter enemy propaganda (such as that found in the broadcasts of Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose), although officials denied the move was an attempt at counterpropaganda.

During the war, AFRS programs proved enormously popular with the troops and were made financially possible largely through the contributions of radio and film stars, who donated their time regularly without charge. Two of the more popular programs were *Command Performance* and *Mail Call*, which presented such stars as Bob Hope, Jack Benny, Clark Gable, Red Skelton, Bing Crosby, Dinah Shore, and the Andrews Sisters, among many others. Although these stars unselfishly gave of their time to contribute to the patriotic war effort, their careers most certainly did not suffer from the exposure of a somewhat captive audience. By the end of the war, there were nearly 300 AFRS radio stations operating worldwide (however, that number decreased to only 60 some four years later). Since that time, the number of stations continues to increase and

decrease, depending on the level of U.S. military commitments worldwide.

Television came relatively late to the AFRS, considering the enormous impact the medium was having on American society. The impetus to introduce television, in fact, came from the need to address serious morale problems in the Strategic Air Command. Armed Forces Television (AFT) got its start at Limestone Air Force Base, Maine, in 1953, and after much success in helping to reduce absences without leave, court martials, and the divorce rate at this military installation, AFT was officially joined with the AFRS in 1954 to become AFRTS. AFRTS introduced color television in the early 1970s and was one of the first broadcasters to begin using satellites for live news and sports, doing so as early as 1968.

The AFRTS maintains that its programming is provided "without censorship, propagandizing, or manipulation." The first notable exceptions to that claim surfaced during the Vietnam War period. From 1963 to 1967, AFRTS was instructed by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to broadcast news-analysis programs produced by the United States Information Agency (USIA)—material that was widely recognized as propaganda. The more serious challenge to AFRTS's noninterference claims came from broadcast outlets and journalists in Vietnam itself. Although AFRTS and various military policymakers maintained that censorship of programming was prohibited, nu-

merous controversies arose (both public and internal) over news, quotes, and specific words and phrases that were kept off the air due to AFRTS guidelines. According to a history of the AFRTS commissioned by the service for its 50th anniversary, such restrictions even included "the editing of President Johnson's comments that the command believed were inaccurate." Justifications for such restrictions most often included the desire to avoid injuring troop morale, helping the enemy, or offending the host nation's sensitivities.

Although the broadcasting arm of AFRTS still maintains its claim to no censorship, it admits that local AFN stations have the right to "change the schedule to avoid broadcast of the offending programming" in some host nations. The direct broadcasting of American news programming via SATNET created problems for AFRTS broadcasters in nations particularly sensitive to criticism (such as Korea and the Philippines), but AFRTS contends that the move to new distribution systems to military households has alleviated this problem.

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## American Movie Classics

### U.S. Cable Network

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Near the close of the 20th century, the cable channel American Movie Classics (AMC) quietly became one of the fastest-growing television networks in the United States and one of the great success stories of the emergence of cable TV in the United States. Film fans loved AMC for showing classic, uncut, uncolorized Hollywood films of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, with no interruptions from advertisements. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, AMC allowed a growing number of advertisements between screenings.

Over-the-air television had already served as the principal second-run showcase for Hollywood films

from the mid-1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. However, the number of over-the-air TV stations in any one market limited the possible showcases for classic Hollywood films. Film buffs in major markets could watch independent television stations that frequently counterprogrammed with Hollywood movies, but they were generally displeased with the ways in which stations sanitized the presentations of theatrical films, cut them to fit them into prescribed time slots, and interrupted moving moments with blaring advertisements. With the emergence of cable television in the 1980s, AMC offered a niche for these fans, who sometimes referred



Courtesy of the Everett Collection

to the channel as the "Metropolitan Museum of classic movies." Indeed, AMC created a "repertory" cinema operable by remote control.

AMC began in October 1984 as a pay service but switched onto cable's "basic tier" in 1987, when the network had grown to 7 million subscribers in 1,000 systems across the United States. This growth curve continued, and by the end of 1989 AMC had doubled its subscriber base. Two years later it could count 39 million subscribers. As of January 2002, AMC's parent company, Rainbow Media Holdings (itself a subsidiary of Cablevision System and NBC), reported that the number of American households with access to AMC had reached more than 82 million.

No cable service in the United States has received more favorable reviews. Critics applaud AMC's around-the-clock presentation of Hollywood favorites and undiscovered gems. AMC also has created first-run documentaries that focus on various aspects of the movie business, such as a corporate profile of Republic Studios, a compilation history entitled *Stars and Stripes: Hollywood and World War II*, and a history of boxing movies labeled *Knockout: Hollywood's Love Affair with Boxing*. As of 2002 AMC also featured three original series about films and the film industry: *Backstory*, a weekly program about the making of specific Hollywood pictures; *Hollywood Lives and Legends*, which airs every weeknight and presents documentaries about movie studios, themes such as "Hollywood interpretations of the Bible," and on- and off-screen film personalities; and the weekly series *Cinema Secrets*, which explores how special effects are used in various film projects. Other programming on AMC includes comedy shorts featuring such performers as the Three Stooges or the Little Rascals.

AMC has sometimes filled slots between films with

old Twentieth Century Fox Movietone Newsreels, allowing fans to watch once again as a bored John Barrymore puts his profile into the cement in front of Grauman's Chinese Theater or Shirley Temple accepts her special Oscar, then asks her mother if it is time to go home.

In other ways, too, AMC has unabashedly promoted its nostalgia-as-escapism. Consider a late 1980s marketing device by AMC and the local cable system in Wichita Falls, Texas, designed to launch AMC in that market. More than 200 couples dance in a room, painted black and white, while the sound of Gordy Kilgore's big band playing Glenn Miller's "In the Mood" fills the air.

By June 1988 AMC was successful enough to begin publishing a magazine. An old-time classic star graces the cover of each issue of *AMC Magazine*; the first featured Katharine Hepburn, later came James Stewart, Marilyn Monroe, Gregory Peck, John Wayne, and Henry Fonda, among others. Articles typically discuss the stars of the "golden age" of Hollywood (keyed to AMC showings). The magazine also includes listings of that month's AMC offerings, highlighting festivals constructed around stars, series (such as the Charlie Chan films), and themes ("Super Sleuths," for example).

However, there are limitations to the successes and benefits of AMC. Unless a new preservation print has been made (as was the case with the silent 1927 classic *Wings*), AMC runs television prints. These versions of the films are often incomplete, having been edited during the 1950s and 1960s to eliminate possibly offensive languages and images. Often TV prints have been cut to run a standard 88 minutes, timed to fit into two-hour time slots, with time allotted for advertisements. AMC runs these incomplete prints, deciding not to spend the necessary moneys to create a complete version.

Fans rarely complain about the TV prints, however, and cable operators herald AMC as what is best about cable television. The channel has replaced the repertory cinemas that used to dot the United States's largest cities and college towns and serves as a fine example of specialized niche programming in cable TV of the 1990s. As the 21st century commenced, its only serious rival was Turner Classic Movies.

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See also **Cable Networks; Movies on Television**

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## American Women in Radio and Television

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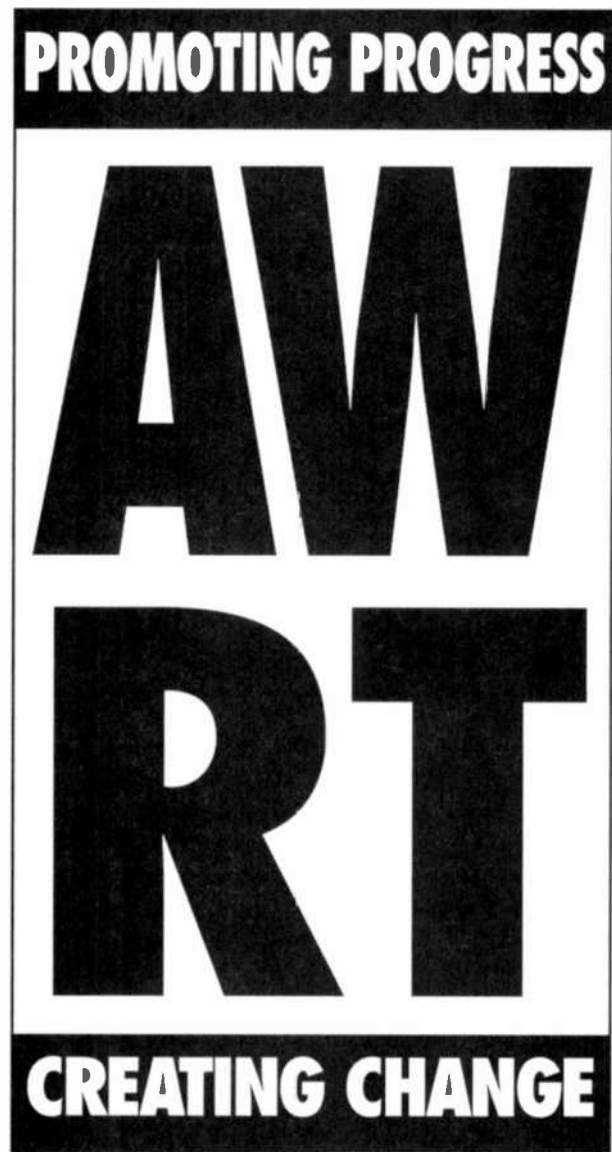
American Women in Radio and Television (AWRT) is a nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. Originally conceived as the women's division of the National Association of Broadcasters, AWRT became an independent entity in 1950. At its first convention, AWRT had 282 women members. Today, the group maintains approximately 2,300 men and women members, largely employed by television and radio stations nationwide.

Although people of both genders can join and serve as officers, the organization's mission is to advance the impact of women in broadcasting and related fields. The group furthers community service, member employment, and education. The organization also has a definite social consciousness. AWRT produces an award-winning series of public service announcements, which have focused upon subjects such as outstanding American women preventing sexual harassment in the workplace. Its agenda has also included, as an issue for study, a concern for indecency in broadcast content.

The organization serves many functions for its members. Its nearly 30 local chapters provide a place for social and professional networking. Some chapters are an important force in their local broadcast communities; others are merely meeting places for people in similar professions. Local activities vary, but often include "Soaring Spirits" benefits to help children's hospitals, scholarship fund-raising for area college students, awards for local media professionals, educational seminars, career development, and job listing dispersal. Local chapter members also mentor meetings of the affiliated College Students in Broadcasting, a club composed of dues-paying students organized at university campus chapters.

On the national level, the organization provides many services. The main office is helmed by full-time employees and directed by both nationally elected officers and an advisory board. Within the organization, the most essential activity is an annual convention held each spring. In the past, convention activities included lobbying in Washington, recreation in Phoenix, Arizona, and education in Florida. As of 2002, however, the organization has chosen to curtail its annual meetings and instead host a yearly training seminar. This policy has been dictated by a decline in the number of members.

The organization also houses the AWRT Foundation, which is designed to help fund research, publication, institutes, lectures, and the general advancement of the electronic media and allied fields. Since 1975 the foundation has been awarding its Gracie Allen



*Courtesy of the American Women in Radio and Television, Inc. (AWRT)*

Awards, to honor quality programming by women, for women, and about women in broadcasting, cable, and new media.

AWRT's Washington office sponsors the annual Star Awards, which recognize media professionals or companies facilitating women's issues and concerns, whereas the Silver Satellite and the Achievement Awards commend success or advancements in electronic media fields.

The chapters differ greatly from each other. For example, the Austin, Texas, chapter's monthly luncheon serves as the primary local meeting place for executives and managers in cable, broadcasting, and advertising. Its activities include speakers with the latest news on industry developments, a preview night for each network's new fall programs in September, a Soaring Spirits five-kilometer run, sponsorship of student scholarships, and the definitive Austin media Christmas party.

In contrast, the southern California chapter has a large sampling of television producers, on-air talent, network executives, educators, screenwriters, and actors in its ranks. Its main annual fundraising event is the Genii Awards luncheon, which honors an outstanding broadcast executive and a performer. Past winners have included producers Marian Rees and Linda Bloodworth Thomason and actors Tyne Daly and Candace Bergen. Other activities include a "Meeting of the Minds" seminar updating the legal and technical

knowledge in communication operations, a "Boot Camp" night, where teams wearing military gear attempt to rearrange network programming schedules to maximize competition, and the more typical social gatherings and guest speakers. The chapter gives more than five scholarships annually, each awarded to a College Students in Broadcasting member.

Although different in membership, clout, and structure, each local chapter uses the services of the national office to disseminate industry knowledge and job information. AWRT helps keep its members up to date in a rapidly changing industrial setting.

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## Americanization

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During a nightly newscast of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's *CBC Prime Time News*, the anchorman, in the last news item before the public affairs portion of the program, presented words to this effect: How would you like to have a house that would cost next to nothing to build and to maintain, with no electrical or heating bills? Viewers were then shown four young Inuit adults building an igloo. They were born in the Arctic region, said the spokeswoman of the group, but had not learned the ancestral skills of carving (literally) a human shelter out of this harsh environment (-35° Celsius at night). It was a broad hint that the spin on this story would be "Young aboriginals in search of their past." The real twist, however, was that their instructors, a middle-aged man and woman, were Caucasian and that the man was born in Detroit, Michigan. The American had studied

environmental architecture and was teaching this particular technique to the young Inuits.

When asked if they were embarrassed by this arrangement, the spokeswoman answered, "No. If he teaches us what we need to know, then that's all right." When asked if he found the situation a bit strange, the Detroit-born man also answered in the negative, "I was born in Detroit, but I do not know how to build a car." In fact, it was one of the Inuit hunters who had taught him how to repair his snowmobile. So why shouldn't he teach young Inuits to build igloos? In the last scene the igloo builders lay out their seal rugs and light a small fire using seal oil, enabling the heat to ice the inside walls, thus insulating the dwelling from the outside cold and creating warmth within. A final shot shows the lighted igloos against the black night sky.

Many things can be read into this short narrative. First, the typical, white, Canadian anchorman, by referring to concerns of southern Canadians (low building and maintenance costs, no taxes, clear air, and quiet neighborhoods), trivializes a technology that, over thousands of years, has allowed populations to survive and create specific societies and cultures in this particular environment. Second, we are made aware of the benefits of international trade: an Inuit teaches a Detroit-born American how to repair a motor vehicle and, in return, learns how to build an igloo. Third, we are led to understand that what the students expect from the teacher is basic working skills.

The temptation to build a case denouncing cultural imperialism, bemoaning the alienation of aboriginal cultures and the shredding of their social fabric, is strong here. On the basis of this one example, however, the argument would at best be flawed, at worst biased. However, for students of popular culture, national identity, and cultural industries, this is but one of the many thousand daily occurrences that exemplify the dynamic complexity of the concept of "Americanization."

Embedded within that term are at least two notions: the American presence and the presence of an American. In this news story, both notions are at work. On the one hand, the viewer is made aware of the American presence, and the influence of American technology on this remote society, through the reference to the snowmobile. (Although the Quebec-born inventor of the snowmobile founded what later became the internationally renowned Canadian Bombardier industries, the fact that the Detroit-born American puts the snowmobile on the same footing as the automobile implicitly makes it seem to be an American invention.) On the other hand, the viewer sees and hears the American instructor.

It is the first form of presence that usually defines the concept of Americanization. The term usually refers to the presence of American products and technology, and it is against this presence that most critics argue. Surprisingly, few argue against the presence of Americans themselves. It is perhaps this distinction that has become most significant in light of the worldwide conglomeration of media industries. Rupert Murdoch's forays into Asian and European national contexts via satellite broadcasting, the purchase of Universal Studios, first by Japanese and later by French owners, and the success of Hong Kong action cinema throughout the world all complicate notions of Americanization. Has Universal Television become Japanese, or French? Has Indian television become American (or Australian) in light of Murdoch's incursions? These questions suggest the complicated nature of intersections of identity, culture, and technology.

One is led to believe that one will become an American, will be Americanized, not by interacting with citizens of the United States but by using American products, eating American (fast) food, and enjoying American cultural artifacts. One can go so far as to live and work in the United States while remaining staunchly Canadian or Australian or British, as many artists who have succeeded in the American music and film industries remind us. The danger of becoming Americanized seems greater, however, if one remains within the comfort of one's home enjoying American cultural products such as magazines, novels, movies, music, comics, television shows and news, or computer software and games.

While these two embedded notions, the presence of Americans and the American presence, make for a fascinating debate, the concept of Americanization conceals the parallel dual notion of "the host." Hosting the American presence seems to be more prevalent and more Americanizing than hosting Americans themselves. To be a host is to make the visitor feel welcome, to make the visitor seem familiar, nonthreatening, at home. In one case, the Canadian host makes the American visitor feel welcome, "at home away from home"; in the second case, the Canadian host is "at home" in the presence of American artifacts that are part of her or his everyday way of life. To become Americanized, it is not only presumed that one consumes a steady diet of readily accessible made-in-the-U.S. products but also that one consumes these cultural products with ease: that is, as would any American.

American products are distributed internationally but are not made for international markets: they are made for the U.S. market, by, for, and about Americans. Thus, one can conclude, to enjoy these easily accessible products, one must be or become American and the more one consumes, the more one becomes American, thereby enabling increasing pleasure and ease in this consumption. Americanization is a case in point of a basic process of acculturation. It results in sounding the alarms of cultural imperialism and cultural alienation: you become what you consume, because in order to consume, you must become the targeted consumer. This is the equivalent of saying, because science (as we believe we know it) is a product of Western European civilization, then to become a scientist one must become Westernized: that is, adopt Western mores, values, and ways of thinking.

In most host countries in the world, there is an overwhelming presence of American products. The pull and pressure of those products must not be underestimated. Still, the news story of the Inuit mechanic and the Detroit igloo builder serves as a reminder that culture, or at least certain types of culture, are less bound



by the economics of their technological environment and modes of production than was once assumed and theorized.

The fact that the Inuit travel on snowmobiles, live in suburban dwellings, watch a great deal of television, and have forgotten how to build igloos does not necessarily make them more Americanized when compared with the Detroit-born teacher, who is made no less American by his ability to build an igloo. Skills, products, and ideas take root in historically given contexts: they bear witness to their times. When they travel, they bring with them elements of their place of origin. To use these ideas and products, one must have an understanding of their historical background or context, of their original intent, and of their mode of operation. If the invention and the corresponding mode of production of goods and ideas are context bound, so too are their uses, and, in many cases, these have an impact on the very nature of products and ideas. This perspective leads to a better understanding of Americanization.

American composers, playwrights, and various other artists have undoubtedly affected the popular arts of the world. With the same degree of certitude, one can proclaim that American entrepreneurs and American entrepreneurship have affected the cultural industries the world over. But perhaps the most profound impact of this particular historical culture and its modes of production is found in the social uses American society has made of these cultural products. If one wishes to speak of Americanization in the realm of popular (or mass) culture, one must focus on the social uses of industrially produced and commercially distributed sounds and images. To show American-made movies in local theaters, to watch American sitcoms on the television set, to listen to American music on the radio—or to use copycat versions of any of these materials—is not, necessarily, to become Americanized. To build into the local social fabric of a non-American society the kind of social uses that Americans have made of industrially produced cultural products *is* to become Americanized but not necessarily to become an American.

To live and work and play in a permanent kaleidoscope world of industrially produced images and sounds (for example, television sets turned on all day; ads overflowing in print, on buses, on T-shirts, talk radio, Walkmans, etc.) means to share a mediated worldview. This, it can be argued, is to become Americanized, and such results are among those most often cited when the reach of newer technologies and the concentration of media ownership are examined as global forces. Yet this, too, it can also be argued, does not mean one necessarily shares an American worldview.

The *Dallas* imperialism syndrome, and its legitimate heir, the O.J. Simpson trial, are good illustra-

tions of this distinction. The debate surrounding the reception by viewers worldwide of the U.S. serial *Dallas* rekindles the debate that greeted the American penny press and Hollywood cinema. Its central question: Is communication technology a threat to basic (Western) values, local cultures, and the human psyche? *Dallas* symbolized this ongoing debate, a debate central to Western culture. But *Dallas* also symbolized a social evolution that has not received the attention it deserves. The worldwide popularity of *Dallas* revived the paradigm of the “magic bullet” theory of direct media effects, a theory suggesting that media content and style can be “injected” into the cultural life system, infecting and contaminating the “healthy” cultural body. It also revived discussions of cultural imperialism, but in a more sophisticated fashion and on a much grander scale. And it raised the counter-paradigm of the uses-and-gratifications model in communication studies.

Many researchers were eager to publish their claims that *Dallas* did not magically turn all its viewers into Americans, but that the program signified many things to many viewers. Moreover, they pointed out that, on the whole, national cultural products (including television programs) still outsold imported American ones. If they did not, they certainly enjoyed more popular support and provided more enjoyment.

Forgotten in this foray was the fact that *Dallas* symbolized the popularization and the banalization of television viewing, its normal integration within the activities of everyday life, its quiet nestling in the central foyer of the household environment. Television viewing, a remarkable new social practice in many locations, quickly and quietly became, inside and outside academia, a major source of everyday conversation, the measuring stick of many moral debates, the epitome of modern living. In so doing, television viewing displaced the boundaries of centuries-old institutions such as family, work, school, and religion. The *Dallas* syndrome symbolized the fact that in a large number of host countries, communication technology had become a permanent part of the everyday social environment, that its messages had become a permanent part of the social fabric, and that its spokespersons had joined the public club of opinion makers.

While one can debate the pros and cons of this social fact, one can also speculate that television is not the revolution that many of its critics as well as admirers had hoped or feared. It did not destroy a sacred treasure of Western values based on the technology of the written word. Rather, it revealed a blind spot among many social thinkers: the constructed centrality of the spoken word in modern societies. Television possibly revealed to the most industrialized society of

the postwar era, the United States, that it was and still is, by and large, an oral society.

Communication technology did not trigger a revolution, social, moral, or sexual; it became part of the establishment in every way, shape, and form. Just as U.S. cultural industries have become an American institution, a part of the social order, and a sustainer of culture in American society, so too have cultural industries in many other societies. In this sense, other societies have become Americanized. Americanization is not to be found in the consumption of American cultural products. It lies in the establishment of a particular social formation. This formation is, to be sure, defined in part by the use of the products of national cultural industries. However, it is also defined by alterations in patterns of everyday life and by the emergence of "new" voices that take their place among existing relations and structures of power. The uses of television throughout the world are both cause and effect within these cultural and social shifts.

Thus, Americanization is neither a boon nor a threat. Rather, it is a cultural and economic fact of life in most (Western) countries. The debate, therefore, should not concern whether to stop or to hasten the consumption of American cultural products. It should instead be centered on the impact of specific social uses of industrially mass-produced cultural products, whether foreign or national. For better or worse, the socialization of sounds and images, and socialization *through* sounds and images, have made more visible, and more mainstream, the oral traditions and the tradition of orality not only in American society but also in all (Western) Americanized societies.

It matters little whether television, and other technologically based cultural industries, were invented by the Americans or not. What Americans invented was a particular social use of these technologies: the massification of production, distribution, and consumption, and the commodification of industrially produced cultural products. In return, this particular social use revealed to American society, and to other industrialized societies that followed suit, the forgotten presence of traditional, nonnational, oral cultures. Cultural industries, and television in particular, revealed that print technology (the written word) had not subverted oral technology (the spoken word); the former had only partially silenced the latter by making it less "visible." Television made words and sound once again "visible" and "audible" to the eyes and ears of the mind. In doing so, it also revealed to the heavily industrialized, print-oriented, Western societies that they were blinded by their most popular visual aid, television.

In the wake of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, a comparatively in-

nocuous story that appeared in the major Canadian newspapers revealed yet another shadowy dimension to the debate about Americanization, one that perhaps indicates a willingness to downplay the notion's politics. While the event referred to here is rather anecdotal, and is presented in this vein, it does point to the reality of the imperialism of politics.

As one newspaper reported (the *Toronto Globe and Mail*), in his televised address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress on September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush thanked countries as far away as Australia and El Salvador for their support of the United States, but he "overlooked" Canada's "housing and feeding 45,000 stranded U.S. airline passengers in the days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon."

On the very next day, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, in a joint press conference with Canada's Minister of External Affairs John Manley, put a spin on the "incident" by thanking the Canadian "brothers and sisters" for their generosity and assistance. In a later meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, on September 25, President Bush is quoted as reiterating this notion that Canada is like "a brother" to the United States, so it should not need public acknowledgment of its efforts since the terrorist strikes. While Mexico may be the United States's friend to the south, Canada is "family." Canadians need no longer to debate whether they are Americanized, or becoming American; they have been "adopted." From the status of neighbor to the north, to ally, to friend, Canada's political relation to the United States has been upgraded to consanguinity. Canada took more than a half-century to become Americanized; it took less than a week to be designated, in a politically correct fashion, as American.

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*See also Audience Research*

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## America's Funniest Home Videos

### U.S. Reality-Based Comedy/Contest

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A peculiar variant of reality-based television programming, *America's Funniest Home Videos* (AFHV) first aired as a Thanksgiving special in 1989 and later debuted on January 14, 1990, as a regular series on ABC, where it was broadcast for roughly a decade before being put on hiatus. It returned for its 11th season as a regular series in 2001. The program's simple premise—to solicit and exhibit a series of humorous video clips shot by amateurs who compete for cash prizes—has had a surprisingly enduring run on network television. AFHV entered into syndication in 1995.

Rooted generally in the subgenre of its comical, voyeuristic predecessors, such as *Candid Camera*, *TV's Bloopers and Practical Jokes*, and *Life's Most Embarrassing Moments*, AFHV more particularly owes its genesis to a weekly variety show produced by the Tokyo Broadcasting Company (TBC), *Fun with Ken and Kato Chan*, which featured a segment in which viewers were invited to mail in their home video clips. Vin Di Bona, who had earlier success with other TBC properties, eventually purchased U.S. rights to the Japanese concept. As executive producer, Di Bona expanded the segment into a half-hour hybrid of home video, variety show, stand-up comedy, and audience participation synthesized to fit the ABC profile of family viewing.

Although indebted to a prevalence of reality-based programs when it debuted, AFHV had a far greater and more immediate impact on weekly ratings than any of its predecessors or imitators. Cracking the Nielsen top

five after only six episodes, by March 1990 it had become the highest-ranked series on Sunday evenings, temporarily unseating CBS's *60 Minutes*, a feat no other ABC program had been able to achieve in 12 years. In many instances since then, it has won its time period among children, teenagers, and women and men ages 18 to 34.

At the series' peak of popularity, producers reported receiving close to 2,000 video submissions a day. These tapes, eventually sorted out by screeners for broadcast approval, must meet criteria that render them suitable for family audiences. First and foremost, qualifying videos should portray funny, amazing, or unexpected events in everyday life, such as animal antics, blunders at birthday parties, bloopers during wedding ceremonies, and fouled plays at sporting events. Because the series emphasizes the supposed universality and spontaneity of slapstick humor, tapes that depict extreme violence, offensive conduct, and serious physical injury, or that encourage imitative behavior, are strictly forbidden. Deliberately staged videos, such as parodies of advertisements or lip-synching of popular songs, may be accepted, but, in general, events rigged to look accidental or spontaneous are disqualified (or were reserved for Di Bona's follow-up program, *America's Funniest People*, now defunct, but created especially to accommodate staged video performances).

Once a clip is approved for AFHV, the clip's creators and performers must sign releases for broadcast autho-



*America's Funniest Home Videos*, Bob Saget, 1990–97.  
©ABC/ Courtesy of the Everett Collection

rization. Then follows a process during which clips are adjusted for uniform quality and matched in terms of production values, embellished with sound effects and wisecracking voice-overs by the host, organized as a montage related to a loose theme (e.g., dogs, talent shows, skiing), and finally, nestled into the format of the program. Each episode is first taped before a live studio audience, with the clips broadcast upon studio monitors so that the series' producers can gauge audience reaction. After subsequent reviews of the taping, producers pass on their recommendations to the staff, who edit out the less-successful moments before the program is broadcast nationwide. Although labor intensive, this method of television production is a relative bargain, costing less per episode than the average sitcom, and has been imitated (for example, by FOX's *Totally Hidden Video*).

Television critics have been somewhat puzzled by the continued success of *AFHV*, many having panned the series as yet another illustration of the American public's increasing willingness to broadcast their most private and embarrassing moments. Several hypotheses for the series' popularity have been cited: the desire of the viewing public to get on television in order to secure their 15 minutes of fame, the possibility of winning a \$10,000 cash prize (\$100,000 for "grand prize" shows), the all-expenses-paid weekend trip to Hollywood to attend studio tapings, the charisma of original host Bob Saget, the first performer since Arthur Godfrey to star in two concurrent, high-rated series (the other being the ABC family sitcom *Full House*), the universal identification with everyday life fundamental to home movies and home video, and the sheer fun of producing television about and for oneself. The series' producers, however, cite the program's humor as the

key to its success. Taking the "Bullwinkle approach," which provokes different kinds of laughter from both children and their parents, *AFHV* not only seeks to attract a wide demographic but self-consciously mocks itself as insignificant, harmless fun.

Despite its overt lack of pretension, *AFHV* remains significant on several accounts, especially its international origins and appeal. Banking upon the perceived cross-cultural universality of home video productions, Di Bona had conceived of the series as international from its inception. *AFHV* has been seen in at least 70 countries and in more than a dozen languages (it is rumored to be the favorite show of the sultan of Brunei). Di Bona has subsequently sold the format rights to producers in other nations, at least 16 of which have created their own versions, while others merely replace the U.S. host with indigenous hosts. Most international affiliates also have clip trade agreements; *AFHV* itself liberally blends domestic and imported clips (blurring the title's emphasis on "America" and pointing to television's partnership in global capitalism).

Also significant is the series' premise that the typical consumers of television may become its producers, that the modes of television reception and production are more dialogic than unidirectional. This inversion, as well as the format's unique hybridization of genres, results in peculiar effects worthy of investigation: the professional's commissioning of the amateur for commercial exploitation; the home video's simultaneous status as folk art and mass media; the promise of reward through competition that reinjects the home mode of production's typical naïveté and noncommercial motivation with formal contrivance and financial incentives; the stress on comedy that excludes the banal everyday activities most typical of home video; and, finally, the format's allowance for a studio audience to vote for and reward their favorite video clip, maintaining the illusion of home video's folksy character, while the cash first prize reifies the slapstick conventions that the producers seek and that keep home viewers tuning in.

JAMES MORAN

#### *See also Camcorder*

#### **Hosts**

Bob Saget	(1990–97)
Daisy Fuentes	(1998–2000)
John Fugelsang	(1998–2000)
Tom Bergeron	(2001–)

#### **Producer**

Vin Di Bona

## America's Funniest Home Videos

### Programming History

ABC

January 1990–February 1993	Sunday 8:00–8:30
March 1993–May 1993	Sunday 7:00–7:30
May 1993–September 1993	Sunday 8:00–8:30
September 1993–December 1994	Sunday 7:00–7:30
January 1995–June 1996	Sunday 7:00–8:00
January 1997	Sunday 8:00–9:00
February 1997	Sunday 7:00–8:00
March 1997	Sunday 8:00–9:00
April 1997–May 1997	Sunday 7:00–8:00
May 1997–September 1997	Sunday 8:00–9:00
January 1998–August 1998	Monday 8:00–9:00
July 1998–December 1998	Saturday 8:00–9:00
1999–2000	various days and times
July 2001–	Friday 8:00–9:00

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# America's Most Wanted

## U.S. Reality/Public Service Program

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First aired on the seven FOX stations in February 1988, *America's Most Wanted* is a U.S. reality program featuring segments that reenact crimes committed by wanted fugitives. Two months later, the show moved to the FOX Broadcasting Corporation and its affiliates. Produced by FOX Television Stations Productions (a unit of FOX Television Stations, Inc.), *America's Most Wanted* may be cited as the first example of the "manhunt" type of reality shows. Consistently winning solid ratings throughout its history, it has also been credited as a television show that doubles as both entertainment and "public service." Through the use of a toll-free "hotline," it elicits the participation of viewers in helping to capture known

suspects depicted on the program, thus garnering praise and cooperation from law enforcement officials.

As a reality program, the style and content of *America's Most Wanted* closely follows that of other program types gathered under this broad industry label (e.g., "tabloid" newsmagazines, video vérité and reenacted crime, rescue and manhunt shows, and family amateur video programs). Central to each of these genres is a visible reference to, or dramatization of, real events and occupations. Thus, while the stories told on *America's Most Wanted* stem from "real life" incidents, they are not comprised of "actual" live footage (with the exception of recorded testimony from the "real" people involved). Rather, incidents of criminal-

ity and victimization are reenacted, and in an often intense and involving manner. This dramatic component, particularly as it entails a subjective appeal, is a dominant feature of reality programs, which tend to accentuate the emotional aspects of the situation for their effectivity. Viewers are thus asked to empathize and identify with the experiences of the people represented on the show, especially insofar as these experiences involve social or moral dilemmas.

Relying upon a structure similar to that used by television newsmagazines—which move back and forth from promotional trailer to anchor to report—each episode of *America's Most Wanted* is divided into a number of segments that retell and reenact a particular crime. Beginning with an update on how many viewers' tips have thus far led to the capture of fugitives featured on the show, the program then moves to the host or "anchor," who introduces the program and the first story segment. Using both actors and live footage of the "real people" involved, these story segments are highly dramatized, making liberal use of quick edits, rock music underscoring, sophisticated camera effects, and voice-overs. In addition to supplying a narrative function, the voice-overs also include actual testimony of the event from police, victims, and the criminals involved, thus emphasizing and appealing to the subjective.

The program resembles the tabloid newsmagazine genre in its often exaggerated language, also used in promotional trailers and by the host to describe the crimes depicted on the show (e.g., "Next, a tragic tale of obsession"). Additionally, and again paralleling qualities of tabloid TV, there are noticeable efforts toward self-promotion or congratulation; the host, law enforcement officials, and even captured fugitives repeatedly hype the policing and surveillance functions of the show. And yet despite these consistencies with a denigrated tabloid TV genre, *America's Most Wanted* is distinct in its appeal to and affiliation with both "the public" and the police.

The program is hosted by John Walsh, who "anchors" *America's Most Wanted* from Washington, D.C. Given the show's cooperation with federal law agencies, such as the FBI and the U.S. Marshall Service, its broadcast from this location acts to further associate it with law enforcement institutions. Walsh, whose son was abducted and murdered in 1981, is a nationally known advocate for missing and exploited children. As part of its program format, *America's Most Wanted* airs a weekly feature on missing children, and has created "The Missing Child Alert," a series of public service bulletins that are made available to all television stations, regardless of network affiliation.

Through its toll-free hotline (1-800-CRIME-TV), which operates seven days and averages 2,500 calls a



*America's Most Wanted*, John Walsh, 1988–present.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

week, the program has assisted in the apprehension of hundreds of fugitives and thus has earned the appreciation of law enforcement agencies. For example, *America's Most Wanted* played a key role in the capture of the "Texas Seven," inmates who escaped from a maximum security prison in Karnes City, Texas, on December 13, 2000, and eluded police for over a month. They lived in a Colorado RV park for almost a month, claiming to be Christian missionaries. On January 21, 2001, a resident of the park informed the owner that he suspected the recent arrivals were the Texas Seven, based on an episode of *America's Most Wanted* he had seen about the fugitives. The owner then viewed the program's website, read more about the Texas Seven, and contacted the police, who apprehended the wanted men.

*America's Most Wanted* sees itself as enabling a cathartic process, offering not only legal justice but psychological resolution to victims of crime. In both these respects, *America's Most Wanted* may be said to move

## America's Most Wanted

away from much of the fixed voyeurism of reality shows, toward a more active "public" function. And yet do man-hunt shows such as *America's Most Wanted* simply temper the tabloid's spectacle into a new form of "vigilante voyeurism?" Do such shows not only feed into but actively promote a public's fears regarding an ever-present criminal threat? Such questions regarding the aims, the intended audience, and the effectivity of *America's Most Wanted's* public function must be addressed.

ELIZABETH SEATON

### Host

John Walsh

### Producers

Lance Heflin, Joseph Russin, Paul Sparrow

### Programming History

FOX

April 1988–August 1990	Sunday 8:00–8:30
September 1990–July 1993	Friday 8:00–9:00
July 1993–January 1994	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
January 1994–	Saturday 9:00–10:00

### Further Reading

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# Amerika

## U.S. Miniseries

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Broadcast on ABC over the course of seven nights in the middle of February 1987, *Amerika* was a controversial 14-and-1/2-hour miniseries. Tom Shales of the *Washington Post* wrote in December 1986 that *Amerika* "could be the hottest political potato in the history of television." It was produced by ABC Circle Films and written and directed by Donald Wrye, who was also executive producer. This series depicted life as imagined in the United States in the late 1990s, ten years after the Soviet Union took control of the United States by employing a Soviet-controlled United Nations (UN) peacekeeping force.

Some have contended that *Amerika* was produced to provide a television counter to the controversial ABC movie *The Day After*, which depicted nuclear holocaust between the United States and the Soviet Union in

1983. The ABC executive responsible for both programs denied this view. Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Circle Films, said on October 16, 1986, at a press tour at the UN Plaza Hotel in New York City that the idea for *Amerika* "never occurred during the controversy of *The Day After*, had nothing to do with *The Day After* ... the birth of this idea happened substantially later." Stoddard went on to say that a critic of *The Day After*, Ben Stein from the *Herald Examiner*, had written something, "at a much later point, a line... that had to do with what would life be like in America in a Russian occupation." Stoddard was stuck, however, thinking about how to do such a television program without getting caught up in the actual struggle of the takeover. Sometime later, Stoddard's spouse suggested doing the project at a point in time ten years after the takeover.



*Amerika.*  
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At the time, *Amerika* was the most controversial television event ever broadcast by ABC. The network received more mail and phone calls about *Amerika* before it was on the air than the total pre- and postbroadcast viewer reaction of any other program in the history of ABC, including the end-of-the-world story *The Day After*.

The critics of *Amerika* came from all sides of the political spectrum. Liberals feared the program would antagonize the Kremlin, jeopardizing arms control and détente. Some on the right thought the miniseries inadequately portrayed the brutality of the USSR. The UN thought the movie would erode its image.

Despite the prebroadcast level of controversy, most of the public did not object to the miniseries. Research conducted by ABC before the broadcast indicated that 96 percent of the population over 18 years old did not object to the program. Most Americans felt strongly that they should have the right to decide for themselves whether they would watch the program.

While almost half the country watched *The Day After* (46.0 rating), *Amerika* was seen in 19 percent of all TV households. Despite lots of publicity, controversy, and viewers, research conducted by William Adams at George Washington University showed that attitudes about the things most critics thought would be influenced by *Amerika* did not change. What Americans thought about the Soviet Union, the UN, or U.S.-Soviet relations did not change in before and after surveys.

GUY LOMETTI

#### Cast

Devin Milford	Kris Kristofferson
Marion Milford	Wendy Hughes
General Samanov	Armin Mueller-Stahl
Peter Bradford	Robert Urich
Amanda Bradford	Cindy Pickett
Colonel Andrei Denisov	Sam Neill
Kimberly Ballard	Mariel Hemingway
Althea Milford	Christine Lahti
Ward Milford	Richard Bradford
Helmut Gurtman	Reiner Schoene
Herbert Lister	John Madden Towney
Will Milford	Ford Rainey

#### Producer

David Wrye

#### Programming History

ABC

February 15–February 22, 1987 9:00–11:00

#### Further Reading

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# Amos 'n' Andy

## U.S. Domestic Comedy

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Like many of its early television counterparts, the *Amos 'n' Andy* television program was a direct descendant of a radio show; the radio version originated on WMAQ in Chicago on March 19, 1928, and eventually became the longest-running radio program in broadcast history. *Amos 'n' Andy* was conceived by Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, two white actors who portrayed the characters Amos Jones and Andy Brown by mimicking so-called Negro dialect.

The significance of *Amos 'n' Andy*, with its almost 30-year history as a highly successful radio show; its brief, contentious years on network television; its banishment from prime time and subsequent years in syndication; and its reappearance in videocassette format is difficult to summarize in a few paragraphs. The position of the *Amos 'n' Andy* show in television history is still debated by media scholars investigating the cultural history of American television.

*Amos 'n' Andy* was first broadcast on CBS Television in June 1951 and lasted some two years before the program was canceled in the midst of growing protest by the black community in 1953. It was the first television series with an all-black cast (the only one of its kind to appear on prime-time network television for nearly another 20 years).

The program presented the antics of Amos Jones, an Uncle Tom-like conservative; Andy Brown, his zany business associate; Kingfish Stevens, a scheming smoothie; Lawyer Calhoun, an underhanded crook whom no one trusted; Lightnin', a slow-moving janitor; Sapphire Stevens, a nosy loudmouth; Mama, a domineering mother-in-law; and the infamous Madame Queen. The basis for these characters was derived largely from the stereotypic caricatures of African Americans that had been communicated through several decades of popular American culture, most notably, motion pictures.

The program's portrayal of black life and culture was deemed by the black community of the period as an insulting return to the days of blackface and minstrelsy. Media historian Donald Bogle notes, "Neither CBS nor the programs' creators were prepared for the

change in national temperament after the Second World War... Within black America, a new political consciousness and a new awareness of the importance of image had emerged." Though hardly devoid of the cruel insults and disparaging imagery of the past, Hollywood of the post-World War II period ushered in an era of better roles and improved images for African-American performers in Hollywood. For the first time in the medium's history, American motion pictures presented glimpses of black soldiers fighting alongside their white comrades; black entertainers appeared in sequined gowns and tuxedos instead of bandanas and calico dresses. Black characters included lawyers, teachers, and other contributing members of society.

Post-World War II African Americans looked upon the new medium of television with hopeful excitement. To them, the medium could nullify the decades of offensive caricatures and ethnic stereotyping so prevalent throughout decades of motion picture history. The frequent appearance of black stars on early television variety shows was met with approval from black leadership.

African Americans were still exuberant over recent important gains in civil rights brought on by World War II. They were determined to realize improved images of themselves in popular culture. To some, the characters in *Amos 'n' Andy*—rude, aggressive women and weak black men—were offensive. Neither the Kingfish nor Sapphire Stevens could engage in a conversation without peppering their speech with faulty grammar and mispronunciations. Especially abhorred was the portrayal of black professionals. Following its 1951 summer convention, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mandated an official protest against the program. The association outlined a list of specific items it felt were objectionable: for example, "every character is either a clown or a crook," "Negro doctors are shown as quacks," and "Negro lawyers are shown as crooks." As the series appeared in June 1951, the NAACP appeared in federal court seeking an injunction against its premiere. To network executives, the show was harmless,

not much different from *Life with Luigi*, *The Goldbergs*, or any other ethnically oriented show of the times.

Moreover, the denunciation of *Amos 'n' Andy* was not universal. With its good writing and talented cast, the show was good comedy, and it soon became a commercial success. The reaction of the black community toward this well-produced and funny program remained divided. Even the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the black community's most influential publications, which had earlier led in the protest against the motion picture *Gone with the Wind*, defended the show in an article appearing in June 1951.

In 1953 CBS reluctantly removed the program from the air, but not solely because of the efforts of the NAACP. As mentioned, the period featured a swiftly changing climate for race relations in the United States. Success in the southern market was important to major advertisers. In an era when African Americans were becoming increasingly vocal in the fight against racial discrimination, large advertisers were reluctant to have their products too closely associated with black people. Fear of white economic backlash was of special concern to advertisers and television producers. The idea of "organized consumer resistance" caused advertisers and television executives to avoid appearing in favor of rights for African Americans. One advertising agency executive, referring to blacks on television, noted in *Variety*, "the word has gone out, 'No Negro performers allowed.'"

Even with so much contention looming, the *Amos 'n' Andy* show remained in syndication well into the 1960s. Currently, videotape cassettes of the episodes are widely available.

PAMALA S. DEANE

#### See also Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

#### Cast

Amos Jones	Alvin Childress
Andrew Hogg Brown (Andy)	Spencer Williams Jr.
George "Kingfish" Stevens	Tim Moore
Lawyer Algonquin J. Calhoun	Johnny Lee
Sapphire Stevens	Ernestine Wade

Lightin'

Horace Stewart (a.k.a.  
Nick O'Demus)

Sapphire's Mama  
(Ramona Smith)

Amanda Randolph

Madame Queen

Lillian Randolph

#### Producers

Freeman Gosden, Charles Correll

#### Programming History

78 half-hour episodes

CBS

June 1951–June 1953 Thursday 8:30–9:00

#### Further Reading

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# Anchor

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In U.S. television the chief news presenter(s) for network, local, cable, and satellite news programming is known as the anchor. The term distinguishes the presenter-journalist at the news desk in the television studio (or above the convention floor, etc.) from the reporter in the field. All news stories in a program are funneled through the anchor as he or she mediates between the public, the network, and/or other news reporters.

The most commonly cited source of the term “anchor” is the television news coverage of the 1952 Republican presidential conventions. The concept is not borrowed, contrary to what one might expect, from the nautical realm, but from the strongest runner of a relay team, the anchorperson, who runs the final leg of the race. In the conventional format of broadcast news, when the anchor is not personally delivering a story by directly addressing the viewing audience or speaking over symbols and visual images of the news, he or she is introducing and calling upon reporters to deliver stories from the field or announcing a commercial break. Moreover, an anchor represents the public and its need to know whenever he or she interrogates and listens to the subject of an interview. National news anchors represent their respective networks and are held accountable for the ratings success of their respective news programs in attracting viewers. In keeping with this serious representational function, the anchor’s style of delivery is typically reserved and his or her appearance is designed to convey credibility. In other words, the anchor is a television host at the top of a hierarchical chain of command with special reportorial credentials and responsibilities centered around “hard” or serious news of the day—celebrity interview and tabloid news shows have hosts, not anchors, even when they are organized similarly in format to network evening news. Journalists in other television news formats without a similar division of labor between studio and field are not, strictly speaking, anchors.

Being delegated with the daily, prestigious responsibility for presenting national news has brought public exposure that has made some network television news anchors into household names. During his tenure as anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, Walter Cronkite transcended the domain of broadcast news into becoming a widely admired and “most trusted” national figure, eclipsing the fame of his cohorts, including the NBC News anchor team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley.

Network anchors since the early 1980s, ABC’s Peter Jennings, CBS’s Dan Rather, and NBC’s Tom Brokaw, have become national celebrities and highly paid television stars. However, the role of the network anchor appears to be declining in cultural significance as the broadcast networks lose more of their audience to cable, satellite, and new-media forms of news on the Internet. The sheer number of anchors—for instance, the singles and pairs that CNN rotates over its 24 hours of news programming—dilutes the potential star power of individual personalities. On the other hand, online news has thus far developed as an interactive magazine format, so that even on network websites, anchors are decentered and reduced to a tiny image on the page. “Ananova,” a female virtual web persona for 24-hour news delivery at [ananova.com](http://ananova.com), represents a mouthpiece in the European “newsreader” tradition, rather than the anchor as a credible news-gathering and news-presenting subject.

Aside from abortive attempts to team Barbara Walters with Harry Reasoner and Connie Chung with Dan Rather, national news presenting has been almost exclusively the preserve of white males. However, many local stations have long represented diversity in the community by employing anchor teams of one man and one woman, with each anchor of a different race, supplemented by an ethnically diverse group of male and female reporters on the sports and weather beat and in the field. Even in the local context, however, distinctions between the ways in which male and female anchors are treated are vital. The highly publicized case of Christine Craft (who was demoted in 1981 from the anchor position at KMBC-TV in Kansas City, Kansas, because focus groups found her physically unappealing and overly aggressive) illustrates the willingness of executives to dismiss women considered “too old” or “too unattractive” to fill this highly visible role. Such judgments are rarely, if ever, made in cases involving male anchors, who are seen to develop “authority” and “gravity” as their physical glamour fades.

Corporate pressure toward expanding profit margins in broadcast and cable news divisions and increasing competition between news venues for ratings are both widely regarded as having eroded the public service orientation and journalistic standards of television news, thus diminishing the credibility and prestige of the television news anchor. The network anchors suffered great embarrassment from precipitous and inaccurate report-

ing of the presidential election of November 2000. During the events and the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, however, the prominence and authority accorded to anchors such as Jennings, Brokaw, and Rather showed that these figures can still personally and powerfully engage the public during a national emergency.

A secondary meaning of "anchor" comes out of semiology, or the study of signs and meaning. In "The Rhetoric of the Image," Roland Barthes uses the anchor-and-relay metaphor to describe two different functions of the caption in relation to a still image: a caption anchors the image when the former selectively elucidates the latter's meaning; when the caption sets out meanings not found in the image itself, it acts as a relay. The television news anchor may be said to function similarly as an "anchor" in this extended sense, by presenting a selection of events as news stories and by providing a framework for the interpretation of their social and cultural meaning. That "anchoring" capability has been challenged not only by the diminishing role and prestige of the network news but also by the proliferation of American-style news formats that present opposing worldviews, such as the Islamic perspectives broadcast on the Al-Jazeera network from Qatar during the war against terrorism in Afghanistan.

MARGARET MORSE

**See also Brinkley, David; Brokaw, Tom; Chung, Connie; Craft, Christine; Cronkite, Walter; Huntley, Chet; Jennings, Peter; Walters, Barbara**

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## Ancier, Garth (1957– )

U.S. Producer, Network President

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Since the 1980s, Garth Ancier has shaped television programming as both a producer and creative executive. Among the milestones in his impressive career was his ability to become only the second person (after

Fred Silverman) to head three networks. As both a network president and an executive producer, Ancier has been instrumental in developing shows targeted to teenagers and young adults.



Garth Ancier.  
Photo courtesy of WB

He began his career in broadcasting as an intern at a public television station at the age of 12. Before Ancier turned 20, he had already worked as a radio reporter and producer at an NBC radio affiliate in New Jersey. While in high school, he created and produced a radio show that evolved into *Focus on Youth*, a program later broadcast when he attended Princeton University. The show, which continued its run at Princeton long after Ancier graduated, became one of the largest nationally syndicated public affairs radio programs in the country, broadcast weekly to more than 300 stations.

Ancier's involvement in *Focus on Youth* attracted the attention of *People* magazine, which ran a profile of him while he was still in college. He later used this article as his ticket into the office of NBC entertainment programmer Brandon Tartikoff. Ancier started in NBC's executive training program and rapidly rose up the ranks during the early 1980s, eventually becoming the network's vice president of current comedy. *The Cosby Show*, *The Golden Girls*, *Cheers*, and *Family Ties* were just a few of the shows he oversaw during his time at NBC.

Although he was quickly moving up at NBC, Ancier could not refuse the request of newly appointed FOX vice president Scott Sassa to become the fledgling network's first head of programming. Ancier initially struggled to define FOX's audience and programming strategies. However, a number of hits soon emerged, including *21 Jump Street*, *Married...with Children*, and *The Simpsons*. These were just a few of the pro-

grams that helped FOX solidify its image as the "alternative network"—home to edgy comedic, dramatic, and reality fare that couldn't be found on the "Big Three." In addition, these shows helped FOX attract advertisers by appealing to the highly desirable audience of viewers aged 18 to 34. Over the ensuing years, Ancier would repeatedly be praised for his success in attracting this demographic group.

Despite his accomplishments at FOX, Ancier left the network in 1989 to develop series programming for Walt Disney Television and Touchstone Television. However, his tenure at Disney was rocky and he left less than two years later amid widespread reports of power struggles between himself and upper management. Though his time at Disney was short, he was nonetheless instrumental in a number of the production company's early successes, including, most notably, *Home Improvement*.

Ancier continued to move from position to position during the early 1990s. He briefly returned to FOX before venturing into independent production. He also served as a television consultant for the Democratic National Committee during the 1992 presidential campaign, creating the 56-screen "video wall" that stood behind the podium during the party's 1992 National Convention. He then produced *Sunday's Best* and *Jane*, a couple of short-lived programs, before finding a hit in the syndicated *Rikki Lake* show.

In creating *Rikki Lake*, Ancier targeted young viewers, a strategy similar to the one he had used at FOX. Ancier identified and exploited the lack of talk shows geared to 18 to 34 year olds. *Rikki Lake* pursued this group with tremendous success, coming in behind only *The Oprah Winfrey Show* in daytime in the years following its debut in 1993. As *Rikki Lake*'s ratings rose, Ancier's 25-percent ownership stake in the show became more valuable.

Even as *Rikki Lake* continued to ascend in the ratings, another promising opportunity arose for Ancier. His former boss at FOX, Jamie Kellner, was in the process of starting the new WB network. Ancier agreed to come on board as its first head of programming. Ancier came into the job at the WB with the mandate to pursue 12 to 34 year olds.

Upon entering into the position as the WB's programming head, Ancier initially recruited several individuals with whom he had worked at FOX. For example, *In Living Color*'s Shawn and Marlon Wayans and *Married...with Children*'s Ron Leavitt and Michael Moyer developed the first WB programs, *The Wayans Bros.* and *Unhappily Ever After...* Although the WB continued to struggle to find a comedy hit, the network found its niche with dramas targeted to teenagers and young adults. *7th Heaven*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Dawson's*

*Creek*, and *Charmed* were all developed under Ancier's supervision.

At a time when the rest of the networks were suffering declines in viewership, the WB continued to grow. In addition, the network was attracting the most desirable demographic groups with advertisers. Ancier was regularly celebrated in the press for these accomplishments and for his skillful programming strategies. He reaped the fruits of his labors through his 2-percent ownership stake in the WB.

These programming achievements did not go unnoticed by the executives at NBC. Scott Sassa, in the process of moving up to the position of NBC's West Coast president, needed someone to replace him as entertainment president. In May 1999 Ancier thus teamed with Sassa once again and returned to the network where he got his start. This marked Ancier's third time as head of programming at a network. However, he now was responsible for more than just prime time. Ancier was commissioned to oversee NBC's late-night, daytime, and Saturday morning hours as well. Further, he assumed control over NBC's program development, current programming, scheduling, network promotion, and publicity.

Ancier was in his new job less than a week when NBC announced its fall 1999 schedule. Arriving at the network while it was experiencing declining ratings, and with a number of aging programs on the schedule, Ancier found himself confronted with huge expectations. Although the 1999–2000 season emerged with a few hits, including *The West Wing* and *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*, the 2000–2001 season was a disaster.

Citing NBC's status as a quality network, Ancier refused to turn to reality programming and game shows even as ABC hit the jackpot with *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* and CBS earned high ratings with *Survivor*. In addition, NBC was faced with a number of expensive, high-profile flops including *The Michael Richards Show* and *Titans*. Thus, after only 18 months on the job, Ancier was forced to resign.

Yet as had often proven to be the case before, Ancier quickly bounced back—once again with the help of Jamie Kellner. Kellner, who had recently become CEO of the Turner Broadcasting System, brought in Ancier to serve as executive vice president of programming. Ancier's mission in this new position was to find synergies among the various Turner and AOL Time Warner holdings, which included CNN, TNT, TBS, the Cartoon Network, and the WB. He was also charged with developing marketing and branding strategies for these divisions. The position had the biggest scope of any Ancier had occupied so far, demanding him to employ the creative and administrative skills he had de-

veloped throughout his diverse experiences in the television business.

ALISA PERREN

**See also FOX Broadcasting Company; Kellner, Jamie; National Broadcasting Company; Sassa, Scott; Tartikoff, Brandon; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting System; WB Television Network**

**Garth Ancier.** Born in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, September 3, 1957. B.A. in political science, Princeton University, graduated 1979. Radio reporter and producer, NBC affiliates WBUD-AM and WBJH-FM, 1972; creator and executive producer, *Focus on Youth*, 1972; participant in NBC executive training program, 1979; manager of East Coast development and assistant to NBC entertainment president Brandon Tartikoff, 1979; vice president of current comedy at NBC, 1983; senior vice president, FOX network, 1986; president of FOX network, 1987; president, network television production, Disney, 1989; television consultant, Democratic National Committee, 1991–92; executive producer, *Sunday's Best*, NBC, 1991; executive producer, *Jane*, FOX, 1992; executive producer, syndicated *Rikki Lake*, 1993; head of programming, the WB, 1994; resigned as head of programming and appointed executive consultant, the WB, 1998; entertainment president, NBC, 1999; executive vice president of programming, Turner Networks, 2001. Member, board of trustees, National Council of Families and Television; member, board of trustees, National Association of College Broadcasters; member, Hall of Fame Selection Committee, the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; served on the Governor's Board of the Hollywood Radio and Television Society.

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## Ancillary Markets

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Television programs have always been designed for initial exposure through local or national transmission. Once aired, some programs never run again. However, most programs are then sold in a range of subsequent, ancillary markets. As the number and variety of these “aftermarkets” has increased, and their importance as revenue sources has grown, their influence on the television industry has become more marked.

There are three major ancillary markets for television programming: international syndication, domestic rerun syndication, and home video.

International syndication—the sale of program distribution rights outside the originating national territory—has long been a lucrative source of revenue for television producers as well as a significant target of cultural criticism. Programs have been sold on this market since the 1950s, as countries began to develop and expand television service. With its fundamentally commercial media system, the United States quickly emerged as a primary exporter of programming, and its studios’ slick fare was promoted as a comparably inexpensive alternative to domestic productions in many countries. As a result, many societies’ primary experiences with global television have been with U.S. television, with series like *I Love Lucy* in the 1950s and *Dallas* in the 1980s being particularly influential. Some cultural critics have argued that this dominance has fostered American cultural imperialism across the planet, while others have argued that local audiences assert their own cultures and meanings over these programs.

While the United States has continued to dominate international syndication, the degree of its dominance has lessened as other countries have successfully gained reputations and market share as television exporters. Australian, Brazilian, British, and Japanese firms in particular have long sold programs to global audiences. While language and culture are certainly significant issues in international television distribution, some series have traveled quite broadly. Brazilian *telenovelas*, for example, have been a particularly successful global genre over the past two decades and have been dubbed into several different languages and dialects for runs in dozens of countries.

Rerun syndication may overlap with international syndication (e.g., after a program has already run for the first time in a foreign market) but is primarily thought of as a domestic market. Reruns are episodes of programs that are sold to local broadcast stations and cable net-

works after their initial transmission. The most established rerun syndication market is the United States, whose more localized broadcasting system has long relied upon the availability of extant programming. The U.S. rerun market developed in the 1950s, as the many stations coming on the air after the end of the 1948–52 license freeze all sought programs to fill their time and attract local advertisers. While first-run (i.e. “new”) syndicated programs initially filled these hours, reruns of these programs, offered at a discount from their distributors, also attracted sizable audiences, contrary to expectations. The success of these programs in rerun form, and the networks’ shift toward filmed programs in the latter half of the 1950s, fostered the growth of the rerun market. These “off-network” programs were sold to stations and advertisers largely on the virtue of their familiarity with audience, and by the early 1960s, they had squeezed most first-run syndicated programming out of the market entirely.

Since that time, network-originated series have generally gone into production with the hope that they eventually make it to the rerun syndication market. This has particularly been the case as production costs have increased while licensing fees—the amount paid by networks for first-run rights to series—have lagged behind. Rerun syndication generates additional revenue for series producers, often returning the first profits on the property, even after years of exposure on first-run television. Current network hits often generate enormous profits in this regard when they enter this market, as with *The Cosby Show* in the late 1980s and *Seinfeld* in the late 1990s.

Since most syndicated reruns (particularly sitcoms) are broadcast on a daily basis (i.e., five or more times a week), a series must typically have a four-season network run in order to compile enough episodes to be an attractive rerun property. Rights to series may be sold for cash, but a more common arrangement (particularly since the media recession of the late 1980s) is through barter, whereby a series is acquired for free (or at a discount) in exchange for a few minutes of advertising time in each episode. The local station still gets to attract local advertisers during its time, but the program’s distributor can then sell national advertising time.

The money and broadcast time at stake in rerun syndication raised significant fears of the monopolization of television in the 1960s, and in 1970 the FCC banned the broadcast networks from the ownership and syndi-

cation of virtually all of their prime-time programming under the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules ("Fin-Syn"). Hollywood studios and independent production companies greatly benefited from these rules during the 1970s and 1980s, collecting the syndication revenues of network hits as they entered the rerun market. After a decade of relaxed regulatory limits on media ownership, however, the rules were retired in 1995, enabling networks to once again own and syndicate their own prime-time programming. In the wake of Fin-Syn's repeal, many studios, networks, station groups, and cable networks have merged, forming huge, synergistic corporations that turn network programs into lucrative off-network properties across an array of media outlets.

While domestic rerun syndication continues to be a major source of television revenue, the home video market has recently become a significant profit generator for television studios. In this market, television programs are rented or sold directly to consumers on VHS tapes or DVDs. Although the VHS rental market had been vital to the film industry since the late 1980s, it had been only marginal for television producers. Unlike a film, which can be released as one tape, a typical television series necessitates many tapes, complicating both retail and domestic storage.

The rapid consumer adoption of DVD technology at the turn of the century transformed the market for television on home video, because of the discs' high audiovisual quality and copious storage space. Series are now sold on DVD as "box sets": book-sized packages with several disks holding an entire season's worth of episodes. FOX pioneered this form with their release of the first season of *The X-Files* in early 2000; other studios soon followed, emptying their archives of older series, and, increasingly, releasing current series

*before* their marketing in rerun syndication. ABC's *Alias*, CBS's *CSI*, and FOX's *24* were released as full-season DVD box sets in this manner.

Regardless of the particular form of distribution, these three markets have become anything but "ancillary" in recent years. While having an international success is still not as necessary with television as it now is with film, it has extended the market life of series for years and even decades and has helped foster a global television culture. Meanwhile, the revenue generated from rerun syndication continues to expand and usually represents the bulk of profits for most successful scripted programs. However, the sudden growth of television on home video represents perhaps the ultimate ancillary market, as programs are now sold directly to consumers as collectible cultural artifacts.

DEREK KOMPARE

*See also* **Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; Movies on Television; Reruns/Repeats; Syndication**

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## Andy Griffith Show, The

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Andy Griffith Show* was one of the most popular and memorable comedy series of the 1960s. In its eight years on the air, from 1960 to 1968, it never dropped below seventh place in the seasonal Nielsen rankings, and it was number one the year it ceased production. The series pilot originally aired as an episode of *Make*

*Room For Daddy*, a popular sitcom starring Danny Thomas. Sheldon Leonard produced both shows for Danny Thomas Productions.

An early example of television's "rural revolution," *The Andy Griffith Show* was part of a programming trend that saw the development of comedies featuring





*The Andy Griffith Show*, Andy Griffith, Ron Howard, 1960–68. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

naive but noble “rubes” from deep in the American heartland. The trend began when ABC debuted *The Real McCoys* in 1957, but CBS became the network most associated with it. The success CBS achieved with *The Andy Griffith Show* provided the inspiration for a string of hits such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, *Petticoat Junction*, and *Hee Haw*. Genial and comparatively innocuous, these shows were just right for a time when TV was under frequent attack by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and congressional committees for its violent content.

Sheldon Leonard and Danny Thomas designed *The Andy Griffith Show* to fit the image of its star. Griffith’s homespun characterizations were already well known to audiences who had seen his hayseed interpretations of Shakespeare on *The Ed Sullivan Show* and his starring roles in the films *A Face in the Crowd* (1957) and *No Time for Sergeants* (1958). On *The Andy Griffith Show* he played Sheriff Andy Taylor, the fair-minded and easygoing head lawman of the Edenic small town of Mayberry, North Carolina. Neither sophisticated nor worldly wise, Andy drew from a deep well of unpretentious folk wisdom that allowed him to settle do-

mestic disputes and outwit the arrogant city folk who occasionally passed through town. When he was not at the sheriff’s office, Andy, a widower, was applying his old-fashioned horse sense to the raising of his young son, Opie (Ronny Howard), a task he shared with his Aunt Bee (Frances Bavier).

Mayberry was based upon Andy Griffith’s real hometown, and perhaps this was partially responsible for the strong sense many viewers got that Mayberry was a real place. Over the years the writers fleshed out the geography and character of the town with a degree of detail unusual for series television. The directorial style of the series was also strikingly distinct, employing a relaxed, almost lethargic tone appropriate to the nostalgic settings of front porch, sidewalk, and barber shop. The townspeople, and the ensemble of actors who portrayed them, were crucial to the success of the show. Most of these characters were “hicks,” playing comic foils to the sagacious Andy. Gomer Pyle (Jim Nabors) and his cousin Goober (George Lindsey) came right out of the “bumpkin” tradition that had been developed years ago in films, popular literature, radio, and comic strips. Town barber Floyd Lawson (Howard McNear) was a font of misinformation and the forerunner of *Cheers*’ Cliff Clavin. Otis (Hal Smith), the unrepentant town drunk, was trained to let himself into his jail cell after a Saturday night bender and to let himself out on Sunday morning. Without much real police work to attend to, Andy’s true job was protecting these and other citizens of Mayberry from their own hubris, intemperance, and stupidity.

Most of Andy’s time, however, was spent controlling his earnest but overzealous deputy, Barney Fife. Self-important, romantic, and nearly always wrong, Barney dreamed of the day he could use the one bullet Andy had issued to him. While Barney was forever frustrated that Mayberry was too small for the delusional ideas he had of himself, viewers got the sense that he could not have survived anywhere else. Don Knotts played the comic and pathetic sides of the character with equal aplomb and was given four Emmy Awards for doing so. He left the show in 1965 and was replaced by Jack Burns in the role of Deputy Warren Furguson.

*The Andy Griffith Show* engendered two spin-offs. *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* was a military sitcom featuring Gomer in the Marines. *Mayberry, R.F.D.* was a reworking of *The Andy Griffith Show* made necessary by Griffith’s departure in 1968. Like the parent show, the spin-offs celebrated the honesty, the strong sense of community, and the solid family values supposedly inherent in small town life.

By the late 1960s, however, many viewers, especially young ones, were rejecting these shows as irrelevant to modern times. Mayberry’s total isolation from contem-

porary problems was part of its appeal, but more than a decade of media coverage of the civil rights movement had brought about a change in the popular image of the small Southern town. *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* was set on a U.S. Marine base between 1964 and 1969, but neither Gomer nor any of his fellow soldiers ever mentioned the war in Vietnam. CBS executives, afraid of losing the lucrative youth demographic, purged their schedule of hit shows that were drawing huge but older audiences. *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* was in second place when it was canceled in 1969. *Mayberry, R.F.D.* and the rest of the rural comedies met a similar fate within the next two seasons. They were replaced by such "relevant" new sitcoms as *All in the Family* and *M\*A\*S\*H*.

*The Andy Griffith Show* remains an enduring favorite in syndicated reruns. New fan books about the program, including a cookbook of favorite dishes mentioned in specific episodes, continued to appear nearly 30 years after the end of the original network run. In 1986, a reunion show brought together most of the original cast and production team. *Return To Mayberry* was the highest-rated telefilm of the season.

ROBERT J. THOMPSON

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Griffith, Andy**

#### Cast

Andy Taylor	Andy Griffith
Opie Taylor	Ronny Howard
Barney Fife (1960–65)	Don Knotts
Ellie Walker (1960–61)	Elinor Donahue
Aunt Bee Taylor	Frances Bavier
Clara Edwards	Hope Summers
Gomer Pyle (1963–64)	Jim Nabors
Helen Crump (1964–68)	Aneta Corsaut
Goober Pyle (1965–68)	George Lindsey
Floyd Lawson	Howard McNear
Otis Campbell (1960–67)	Hal Smith

Howard Sprague (1966–68)	Jack Dodson
Emmett Clark (1967–68)	Paul Hartman
Thelma Lou (1960–65)	Betty Lynn
Warren Ferguson (1965–66)	Jack Burns
Mayor Stoner (1962–63)	Parley Baer
Jud Crowley (1961–66)	Burt Mustin

#### Producers

Louis Edelman, Sheldon Leonard

#### Programming History

249 episodes

CBS

October 1960–July 1963 Monday 9:30–10:00

September 1963–

September 1964 Monday 9:30–10:00

September 1964–June 1965 Monday 8:30–9:00

September 1965–

September 1968 Monday 9:00–9:30

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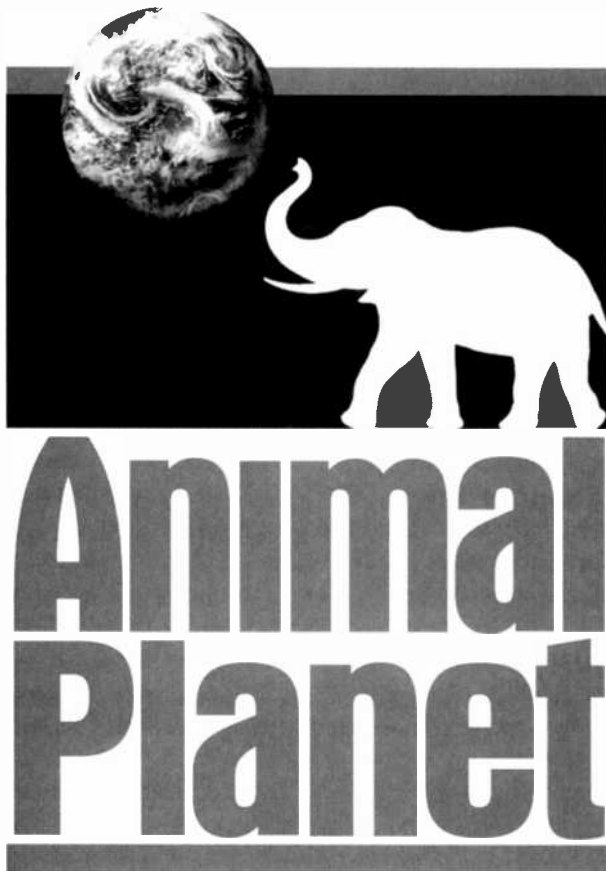
## Animal Planet

U.S. Cable Network

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The 1990s witnessed a wave of specialty cable networks (known in the industry as "category television"), most spun off from established networks, and most focusing on genres traditionally popular with

television audiences. The more successful of these specialty networks were able to build resources and eventually redefine the boundaries of their featured genres. Discovery Networks has been an adept player



Courtesy of Discovery Networks

in this environment, and its third network, Animal Planet, has been particularly successful.

Animal Planet made its U.S. cable debut in June 1996. This basic-cable network, which features programs about both wild and domesticated animals, is particularly popular in households with children and competes with older networks such as Disney Channel and Nickelodeon. Unlike networks that target children specifically, however, Animal Planet also reaches adults. In May 2001 Animal Planet boasted 70.1 million cable and satellite subscribers, making it cable's fastest growing new network and a major competitor with more established networks.

Animal Planet represented Discovery Networks' third cable venture, following the long-standing Discovery Channel and the Learning Channel. Discovery Networks U.S. holdings now also include Travel Channel, Discovery Health Channel, Discovery Home and Leisure, Discovery Science, Discovery Kids, Discovery Wings, and Discovery Civilization. Discovery and its international partners (including the BBC) also operate versions of its networks around the world—including Animal Planet channels in Europe, India, and

Latin America. While these are all distinct themed networks, Discovery is known for its efficient sharing of programs among its various networks; this helped it launch a variety of digital networks in the late 1990s.

Animal Planet launched with only the resources of Discovery and the Learning Channel to build its schedule, however. At first it featured a repertoire of classic animal show reruns, including *Lassie* and *Flipper*, as well as various documentaries. But it moved quickly into the use of original in-house productions and acquired programming. Its first original production was a children's game show called *ZooVenture* that was taped at the San Diego Zoo. Other popular Animal Planet originals have included *Emergency Vets*, *The Jeff Corwin Experience*, *Animal Precinct*, and *Lassie* (a new version of the classic series, coproduced with Canada's CINAR Productions). In spring 2002 Animal Planet announced that it would bring the classic *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom* (which ran on NBC from 1963 to 1971, then in syndication through the 1980s) back into production. Another of Animal Planet's newer programs, *The Pet Psychic*, has attained something of a cult status, particularly among the network's adult audience. Host Sonya Fitzpatrick claims to help humans better understand their animal companions.

Animal Planet programs generally focus on either domesticated or wild animals, though seldom both at the same time. *Emergency Vets* and *Animal Precinct* feature household pets in distress. Other programs, such as *Amazing Animal Videos* and *Pet Story*, echo the cute home video antics typical of *America's Funniest Home Videos*. *Pet Story* showcases the heartwarming drama of human-animal bonding. And *Breed All About It* targets prospective dog owners who are weighing the relative virtues of different breeds.

Wild animal-themed programs tend to have different emphases, appealing largely to the at-home viewers' taste for vicarious adventure. The popular *Jeff Corwin Experience* follows its personable host around the world as he interacts with all manner of species. *Big Cat Diary* focuses specifically on the large feline species that inhabit Kenya's Masai Mara wilderness. Similarly, on *Shark Gordon*, shark expert Ian Gordon pursues the feared but misunderstood predators throughout the world's waters.

Probably Animal Planet's best-known series is *Crocodile Hunter*, hosted by Australians Steve and Terri Irwin (owners of the Australia Zoo). Shot primarily in the Australian Outback, this program thrills viewers as Steve handles a variety of dangerous (or at least dangerous-seeming) reptiles. He frequently holds deadly vipers inches in front of his face and has been known to let a nonvenomous python sink its two-inch

fangs into his forearm. The spin-off, *Crocodile Hunter's Croc Files*, is aimed at children and features such segments as "Croc Talk" (factoids), "Believe It or Nots" (nature quizzes) and "Croc Scrapbook" (home videos). *The Crocodile Hunter Diaries*, a behind-the-scenes show about Steve and Terri's life at the Australia Zoo, debuted in 2002.

Steve Irwin's exploits and bravado have earned him something of a celebrity status; he has appeared in various television commercials (notably for Pentax cameras and Federal Express) that coordinate with the themes of his programs. And he stars in *The Crocodile Hunter: Collision Course*, a feature film released in July 2002. The film is sure to enhance Discovery Networks' corporate synergies for years to come. Additionally, Universal Studios theme parks in California and Florida have added extensive Animal Planet tie-in attractions to connect with the *Crocodile Hunter* themes as well as other of the network's programs.

In fact, Animal Planet as a whole is a healthy contributor to the Discovery Networks marketing empire and its partners. Discovery Networks Stores, an international chain, sells tie-in products such as stuffed animals, themed clothing, and plastic models. More linked merchandise is available from the extensive Discovery

Networks website ([www.discovery.com](http://www.discovery.com)), which includes a sub-site for Animal Planet specifically.

The colorful and animated Animal Planet website, as with many cable-related websites, tightly integrates programs, commercials, and tie-in products. It includes program directories, additional information on program content, and links to fan sites. The more popular program-related pages often feature the logos of the program's television sponsors (for example, Outback Steakhouse for *Crocodile Hunter*).

While it is clear that Animal Planet offers its corporate owners a plethora of commercial tie-ins appealing to adults as well as children, the network also achieves some public service goals. In the case of *Animal Precinct*, for example, producers have successfully linked their content to the work of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA). Other programs, including *Emergency Vets*, look in depth at veterinary medicine, encouraging young people to consider this important profession. Clearly, Animal Planet has met many of the expectations set for specialty cable networks in the early 21st century.

MEGAN MULLEN

*See also Discovery Network*

## Anne of Green Gables

### Canadian Family Drama

Simultaneously invoking its own homespun brand of pastoral feminism and the long-standing and often contentious debates over the role of broadcasting in Canadian national identity, *Anne of Green Gables* is widely considered one of Canada's most potent cultural icons. Filmed by Sullivan Films as a four-hour miniseries, it was first broadcast in December 1985 on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). This version of what Mark Twain once referred to as the "sweetest creation of childhood yet written" has become one of the most celebrated products to emerge from the Canadian tradition of subsidized coproduction to encourage distinguished programming in the competitive broadcast media marketplace created by proximity to the United States. In addition to unprecedented audience figures and multiple critical awards in

Canada, its broadcast on the PBS series *Wonderworks* led the miniseries to become the first Canadian program to win the prestigious Peabody Award.

Attempts to explain the appeal of Lucy Maud Montgomery's 1908 novel have generated a paradox within literary criticism that also applies to the film version. On one hand, *Anne of Green Gables'* plot, characters, and predominant themes are considered by many scholars to be closely consistent with late 19th- and early 20th-century American literature. In Canada, however, both literary scholars and millions of children and adults have cherished Montgomery's Avonlea novels, of which *Anne of Green Gables* is the first, for their very eloquent expression of Canadian heritage, history, and culture. In the ongoing battle to define and articulate a national identity within English-speaking Canada, Anne has be-



*Anne of Green Gables.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

come a powerful force. Indeed, *Anne of Green Gables* is an icon of "Canadianness," not only within her own nation but as a global commodity that has been successfully exported to nations all over the world. The book has been translated into over 30 languages with over 35 million copies in print. Outside of Canada, Anne has enjoyed her greatest success in Japan, where theme parks have been built around the red-headed heroine's persona, and lucrative deals have been brokered to import potatoes from the island province of Prince Edward Island, where her story takes place.

Regardless of the claims made to Anne by other nations, Sullivan's affectionate and lushly filmed family drama continues to stand out in Canadian broadcasting history as one of the most successful television ventures of all time. Its original broadcast gained an audience of 4.9 million viewers on its first night and just under 6 million viewers on the following evening, some of the strongest audience figures ever recorded for a nonsports program broadcast in prime-time viewing hours. These numbers were all the more impressive considering that the CBC sold broadcast time to advertisers based on projections of 2.4 million viewers, and that the film's competition on its first evening included a National Football League (NFL) game.

In addition to its basically unprecedented popularity among viewers, *Anne of Green Gables* garnered critical acclaim for its writing, cinematography, and the performances of the principal actors. Megan Follows, a young Canadian actor, played Anne Shirley, the "scrawny, red-headed orphan" who arrives in the community of Avonlea to live with Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert, siblings whose advancing years force them to send to a nearby orphanage for a young boy to lend a hand with the daily maintenance of their farm. Anne's gender, overactive imagination, and lack of regard for small-town social

mores frame the series of minor conflicts and misadventures that complicate the Cuthberts' eventual decision to adopt her as their own. As Matthew, Richard Farnsworth lends a sweetness and vulnerability to the role of the shy, aging bachelor, while Colleen Dewhurst imbues the initially dour and judgmental Marilla with wisdom, compassion, and a growing, if grudging, affection for her young charge. Anne's eventual adoption into the Cuthbert home and her integration into the various social institutions of the small conservative town provide the backdrop for the film's exploration of the difficult terrain between girlhood and emerging adolescence. Along the way, Anne finds a "bosom friend" and "kindred spirit" in Diana Barry (Schuyler Grant), whose patrician mother's disapproval of Anne's desire to gain an education and eventually have a career foreground Anne's emerging sense of self and ambition. Once lamenting her life as "a perfect graveyard of buried hopes," Anne's love and respect for her adoptive family, acceptance by her peers, and determination suggest that adversity can be liberating when approached with compassion, filial bonds, and values that many critics suggest as basic Christian ideals.

Aesthetically, the production is almost unabashedly sentimental and Sullivan's fond rendering of the idyllic rural landscape casts Avonlea as a key supporting player in the film. Unlike the majority of productions by small independent Canadian filmmakers, Sullivan shot his film in 35 millimeter, which visually gilds the story with a warm, nostalgic glow. Coupled with the meticulously re-created sets and costumes, the lush look captured by this production of *Anne of Green Gables* later became a hallmark characterizing Sullivan's films and enchanted its audience, many of whom had grown up reading the Avonlea stories.

Sullivan's Anne was extraordinarily successful from a business perspective, as well. Shot on time and on budget, roughly 30 percent of its 2.5 million dollar price tag was provided by Telefilm Canada, a Canadian government-funded film development corporation established to support the Canadian broadcasting and film industry. Additional financial support came from the CBC, PBS, City-TV (a private Canadian network), and ZDF (a West German television network). The miniseries also won great critical acclaim. At the 1986 Gemini Awards, given out by the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, Anne won in ten of the 12 categories for which it was nominated, including: Best Dramatic Miniseries, Best performance by a Lead Actress, Best Performance by Supporting Actor and Supporting Actress, Best Writing, and Best Direction.

JODY WATERS

**See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation  
Newsworld; Canadian Programming in English**

**Cast**

Anne Shirley	Megan Follows
Marilla Cuthbert	Colleen Dewhurst
Matthew Cuthbert	Richard Farnsworth
Diana Barry	Schuyler Grant
Gilbert Blythe	Jonathan Crombie
Rachel Lynde	Patricia Hamilton

**Programming History**

CBC (Canada)  
 two two-hour installments  
 December 1–2, 1985  
 PBS (United States)  
 four one-hour episodes on *Wonderworks*  
 February 17–March 10, 1986

**Producers**

Kevin Sullivan and Ian McDougall

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## Annenberg, Walter (1908– )

U.S. Media Executive, Publisher, Diplomat

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As a media magnate, Walter Annenberg controlled important properties in the newspaper, television, and magazine industries. Perhaps most significantly, he was responsible for the creation of *TV Guide*, the largest circulation weekly magazine in the world, a magazine central to understanding television in the United States. He was also very active in the arena of U.S. politics and served as U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James. In his later life, Annenberg became renowned for his substantial philanthropic activities, which included significant donations to educational institutions and public television.

When his father was imprisoned for tax evasion in 1940, Annenberg took over the family publishing business. Triangle Publications, particularly *The Daily Racing Form*, proved to be extremely profitable, and Annenberg looked for ways to expand his company at the time television was beginning to emerge as America's communications medium of the future. Inspired by a Philadelphia-area television magazine called *TV Digest*, Annenberg conceived the idea of publishing a national television feature magazine, which he would then wrap around local television listings. The idea came to fruition when Annenberg purchased *TV Digest*, along with the similar publications *TV Forecast* from Chicago and *TV Guide* from New York. He combined their operations to form *TV Guide* in 1953 and quickly expanded the magazine by creating new regional editions and purchasing existing television listings publications in other markets.

Annenberg and his aide, Merrill Panitt (who would

go on to become *TV Guide's* editorial director), realized that in order to achieve the circulation necessary to make their publication a truly mass medium, they needed to go beyond the fan magazine approach that had been typical of most earlier television and radio periodicals. Because of this desire, they created a magazine that was both a staunch booster of the American system of television and one of the most visible critics of the medium's more egregious perceived shortcomings. *TV Guide's* editors often encouraged the magazine's readers to support quality television programs struggling to gain an audience. In fact, *TV Guide's* greatest accomplishment under Annenberg may have been the magazine's success in walking the fine line between encouraging and prodding the medium to achieve its full potential without becoming too far removed from the prevailing tastes of the mass viewing public. As a consequence, *TV Guide* became extremely popular, widely read, and very influential among those in the television industry. A large number of distinguished authors wrote articles for the magazine over the years, including such names as Margaret Mead, Betty Friedan, John Updike, Gore Vidal, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Many of these writers were attracted by the lure of reaching *TV Guide's* huge audience; at its peak in the late 1970s, *TV Guide* had a paid circulation of nearly 20 million copies per week.

Annenberg remained supportive of conservative political causes through the years, and his efforts on behalf of Republicans were rewarded with his designation by President Richard Nixon as U.S. am-



Walter Annenberg.  
Photo courtesy of Walter Annenberg

bassador to Great Britain in 1969. The appointment led Annenberg to sell his newspapers and television stations, but he retained *TV Guide* and remained active in managing the publication throughout his five-year tenure as ambassador.

Shortly after the election of his close friend Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 (he would endorse Reagan's reelection campaign in 1984 in *TV Guide*, the only such political endorsement ever to appear in the magazine), Annenberg announced a plan to provide the Corporation for Public Broadcasting with \$150 million in funds over a 15-year period to produce educational television programs through which viewers could obtain college credits. Annenberg's sympathy for educational causes had already been evidenced by his financial support of the Annenberg Schools of Communication at both the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California. His activities in this regard would grow even more pronounced in the years to come, particularly after his sale of *TV Guide* and Triangle Publications to Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in 1988 for approximately \$3 billion—at the time, the largest price ever commanded for a publishing property.

Annenberg continued to make news after his sale of Triangle because of his many substantial donations to

educational causes. In addition, Annenberg was also one of the country's foremost collectors of art, and in 1991, he bequeathed his extensive collection—valued at more than \$1 billion—to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. In a 1996 capstone to his storied career, Annenberg was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. His post-Triangle era of charitable activities in the areas of education, art, and television further served to assure Annenberg's lasting legacy to a wide spectrum of American culture.

DAVID GUNZERATH

**Walter H(ubert) Annenberg.** Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 13, 1908. Married: 1) Veronica Dunkelman, 1938 (divorced, 1950); children: Wallis and Roger (deceased); 2) Leonore (Cohn) Rosentiel. Educated at the Peddie School, Highstown, New Jersey, graduated 1927; attended Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1927–28. Joined father, Moses Annenberg, successful publisher, as assistant in the bookkeeping office, 1928; upon father's death, 1942, assumed leadership of family business, Triangle Publications, Inc., which included the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the *Daily Racing Form*, the *Morning Telegraph*, and other minor publications; founded *Seventeen* magazine, 1944, and *TV Guide*, 1953; acquired the Philadelphia *Daily News*, 1957; acquired WFIL-AM and FM radio, Philadelphia, 1945; expanded station to television outlet, 1947; acquired radio and television stations in Altoona and Lebanon, Pennsylvania; Binghamton, New York; New Haven, Connecticut; and Fresno, California; U.S. ambassador to Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1968–74; sold Triangle Publications to Rupert Murdoch, 1988. Founder, Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania; Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; Annenberg Washington Program in Communication Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; Annenberg/Corporation for Public Broadcasting Math and Science Project; founder and trustee, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Eisenhower Medical Center, Rancho Mirage, California. Emeritus Trustee, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; Philadelphia Museum of Art; University of Pennsylvania; the Peddie School, Highstown, New Jersey; Churchill Archives Center, Cambridge College (United Kingdom). Recipient: Order of the British Empire (Honorary); Legion of Honor (France); Order of Merit (Italy); Order of the Crown (Italy); Order of the Lion (Finland); Bencher of the Middle Temple (Honorary); Old Etonian (Honorary); Freedom Medal for Pioneering Television for Educational Purposes; Gold Medal of the Pennsylvania Society; Linus Pauling Medal for Humanitarianism; George Foster Peabody

Award; Ralph Lowell Award, Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Wagner Medal for Public Service, Robert F. Wagner; Award of Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce; Churchill Bell Award; Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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## Anthology Drama

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Anthology drama was an early American television series format or genre in which each episode was a discrete story/play rather than a weekly return to the same setting, characters, and stars. In the history of American television, the anthology dramas that were broadcast live from New York are often considered the epitome of the genre and of television's "golden age" of the 1950s. While television was otherwise maligned as lowbrow and crassly commercial, live anthology dramas represented, at least to some observers, the best of 1950s television. There were, however, several variations on the anthology drama series, and not all were critically acclaimed. A staple of late 1940s and 1950s programming, the last anthology dramas left the airwaves by the mid-1960s.

In 1946–47 a series of monthly dramas were presented on NBC's New York station as *Television Theatre*. However, its schedule was erratic, and it was NBC's *Kraft Television Theatre* that became not only the first weekly anthology drama but the first network television series in 1947. It was followed by several other series in 1948, including *The Ford Television Theater*, *Studio One*, *Philco Television Playhouse*, and *Actors' Studio*. These were hour-long dramas broadcast live from New York. Over the next several years, numerous such series appeared on the airwaves, among them, for example, *Robert Montgomery Presents*, *Celanese Theatre*, and *The U.S. Steel Hour*. Critics praised the live, hour-long dramas for their presentations of adapted literary classics, serious dramas, and social relevance. The evocation of Broadway created prestige.

Live half-hour series appeared by 1950, such as *Colgate Theater*, *Lights Out*, *Danger*, and *Lux Video Theatre*. Some were thematic, creating continuity and programming niches. For instance, *Danger* and *Lights Out* specialized in suspense. With a few exceptions, these half-hour series were not critically acclaimed. Critics complained of dramas squeezed into half hours.

The half-hour format quickly became the province of filmed anthology dramas produced in Hollywood. Critics liked these even less. In contrast to the high-brow, Broadway-play connotations of the live New York series, critics associated filmed dramas with Hollywood, with lowbrow entertainment. But there were all kinds of filmed anthologies, just as there were all kinds of live anthologies. The first filmed anthology series was *Your Show Time* in 1949. Lasting only a few months, it was followed that same year by the first successful filmed anthology drama, *Fireside Theatre*. Other network filmed anthology dramas were *Four Star Playhouse*, *The Loretta Young Show*, and *Hollywood Opening Night*. Like some of the live productions, filmed anthologies sometimes also programmed for special interests. *The Loretta Young Show*, for example, was targeted at women. Some filmed anthology dramas were produced specifically for syndication. Examples include *Douglas Fairbanks Presents*, *Death Valley Days*, and *Crown Theatre Starring Gloria Swanson*. *Death Valley Days* was one of the few anthology dramas with a western theme.

In the earliest years, literary works in the public domain provided the stories for the anthology dramas.





*Playhouse 90*, Maria Schell, Jason Robards Jr., 1956–60; “For Whom the Bell Tolls,” 1959.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

There were no experienced television writers, and the early industry could not afford experienced writers from other fields. Television writers and original television dramas soon appeared, however, and writers as well as critics and audiences recognized the potential power of small-scale, intimate drama created for the new medium. Writers like Rod Serling and Paddy Chayefsky helped refine the form and found critical success writing anthology dramas. Serling would go on to host his own filmed anthology series, *The Twilight Zone*. By the mid-1950s, original television dramas were providing material for feature films. *Marty*, *12 Angry Men*, *No Time for Sergeants*, *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, and other original television plays were made into motion pictures.

Actors and directors also found opportunities on anthology dramas. At a time when the Hollywood studio system was disappearing, television offered jobs and public exposure. Little-known actors such as Charlton Heston and Grace Kelly, as well as older Hollywood stars like Lillian Gish and Bette Davis, acted in anthology dramas. Some stars of Old Hollywood, such as Loretta Young, Douglas Fairbanks, and Barbara Stan-

wyck, had their own anthology series. Directors of anthology dramas who would go on to motion picture work include Sidney Lumet and Arthur Penn.

By the later 1950s, competition from the increasingly successful continuing character series filmed in Hollywood led to other innovations in the anthology drama format. *Playhouse 90* presented 90-minute plays. *Matinee Theater* presented live, color dramas five days a week. *Lux Video Theater* and some others switched from live to filmed dramas. Production moved to Hollywood. During its final season in 1957–58, *Kraft Television Theatre* was the last anthology drama broadcast live from New York.

By the end of the decade, the anthology drama was on its way out. A number of factors led to its demise. Coming up with new, quality dramas and characters every week became increasingly difficult. Some anthology dramas had presented controversial episodes, with well-publicized battles with sponsors who wanted to stick with what they considered middle-of-the-road, uncontroversial entertainment. One last attempt at a socially progressive anthology series, which never did find full sponsorship for its one season, was *East Side, West Side* (1963–64). Sponsors’ attitudes, combined with their ultimate power, discouraged some writers and directors from working in the genre. The days of the glamorous Hollywood star as host were also numbered, and such anthology dramas as *The Loretta Young Show* and *The Barbara Stanwyck Show* were gone by the mid-1960s. One of the last to go was *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater*, an anthology series interspersed with variety specials, which went off the air in 1967. Filmed programming, with its possibilities for an economic afterlife in syndication, had greater profit potential than live production. With television production shifting to Hollywood, more action-oriented genres could now be cranked out. And it seemed that audiences (comprising over 90 percent of U.S. homes by the end of the 1950s) preferred them.

Few examples of the live productions from anthology dramas remain today. Most were not preserved on film, and the few that are available were preserved by filming them off of TV screens (kinescopes). Even many of the filmed programs have disappeared. Perhaps the anthology drama legacy remains today in the made-for-TV movie and in rare attempts at live dramatic productions, such as *Fail Safe* (2000) and the live 1997 season-opening episode of the medical drama series *E.R.*

MADelyn M. RITROSKY-WINSLOW

*See also Advertising, Company Voice; Alcoa Hour, The; Armstrong Circle Theater; Brodtkin, Herbert; Fireside Theater; General Electric Theater; Golden Age of Television; Hallmark Hall of Fame; Kraft*

*Television Theater; Mann, Abby; Robinson, Hubbell; Rose, Reginald; Schaffner, Franklin; Playhouse 90; Studio One; Wednesday Play, The; Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*

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**AOL Time Warner.** *See Time Warner*

**APTN.** *See Aboriginal People's Television Network*

## Arbitron

### U.S. Ratings Service

Arbitron is the name for a media research product developed by the American Research Bureau (ARB), a company that became a major institution in developing television ratings. The company's founders were Jim Seiler and Roger Cooper. Prior to 1950, when about 10 percent of U.S. homes had television, Seiler was experimenting on the East Coast to develop a satisfactory method for measuring television audiences. Around the same time, Cooper was also testing methods to develop audience data for TV station and advertiser use in the Los Angeles area.

At the time, television viewing was being measured by several different groups using varied techniques such as telephone coincentals (calls made to viewers during television broadcasts), recalls (telephone calls made on days subsequent to broadcasts),

and even door-to-door questionnaires. The common element that brought Cooper and Seiler together was that each found that distributing a viewing diary had distinct advantages in developing audience ratings for this new medium. Viewers could be measured from early morning to late night without being bothered by telephone. Moreover, audience composition, as well as household ratings, could be developed. Audiences outside normal dialing areas could be measured, and net weekly cumulative audiences could be produced.

The two researchers joined forces, incorporated, and established headquarters in Washington, D.C. At about the same time, John Landreth formed a company called Television National Audience Measurement Service. In 1951 he was directed to ARB and after a



*Courtesy of Arbitron, Inc.*

meeting with Seiler and Cooper became the third partner in the research endeavor.

ARB developed its own methodology for audience measurement. First, a random sample of homes was drawn from telephone directories of the area surveyed. These households were then contacted to determine whether or not a TV was present. One diary, with an explanatory letter, was mailed to the chosen respondents. Each television set in the house was monitored with a separate diary. The diary keeper in the home would record television viewing at 15-minute intervals day by day for seven days and then return the diary. It was determined that four weekly samples would be the basis for each market-research report. Diaries were tabulated manually and a simple report was prepared on a program-by-program basis during prime time. A Monday-through-Friday combination report was prepared for daytime programming.

In the early 1950s, ARB was ready to expand its operation. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) lifted its 1948 freeze on new station license allocations in July 1952, and many new stations began telecasting. Advertising agencies needed a service to measure viewing in the increasing number of rapidly developing television markets. In 1952 ARB was measuring 15 TV markets. In order to position itself as the industry leader, the organization took a quantum leap and expanded to 35 markets. Ad agency support and usage of the company's TV market reports followed and enabled ARB to be a pioneering leader in the exciting new field of audience measurement.

By the late 1950s, it became obvious that a better way had to be found to develop the diary data. Manual tabulation of the data from diaries was impossibly slow. ARB moved its headquarters to Beltsville, Maryland, and installed a UNIVAC tabulation method and report preparation. This new system almost put the company out of business.

The first reports produced by the system were woefully late; in some markets the reports made no sense. Gradually the company worked its way out of its dilemma. By the 1961-62 television year, ARB was on a better footing and had generally solved the problems it had endured. The new computer equipment gave the

company the capability to expand its market reports to include needed data on specific demographic groups, making reports invaluable tools for advertisers and their agencies seeking to buy and sell spot television time.

By the early 1960s, homes owning a TV set had increased dramatically and hundreds of additional television stations had begun telecasting. Hundreds of thousands of diaries were being placed in American homes each year. By 1967 ARB had clearly defined 225 television markets. It produced television market reports called "sweeps" twice per year for every television market, and from four to seven times a year for the larger major markets. The sweeps provided comparative cumulative data for an entire week. TV's advantage as an advertising medium was thus well documented and appreciated; hundreds of millions of dollars were pouring into station and network coffers.

At this time, as a result of demands from advertising agencies, a new and exclusive market definition called the "Area of Dominant Influence" (ADI) was introduced in ARB reports. The ADI was a collection of counties in which the viewing of particular stations in the market was dominant. Some station executives violently objected, complaining the new ratings did not reflect the true size of their station's reach. To counter this, ARB continued to report total homes viewing the station and demographic characteristics of the total audience.

From its inception, ARB's major competitor was the A.C. Nielsen Company. In the local market field, ARB was usually considered the innovative force, normally reacting quickly to what the ad agencies needed in the report. Although many advertising agencies subscribed to both rating services, ARB usually had a larger list of user agencies. In the larger TV markets, a majority of stations were subscribers to both rating services.

During the 1980s, the two services were caught up in a rapidly changing electronic media marketplace. Arbitron delivered reports on cable penetration and cable viewing within specific markets. It made a large investment in ScanAmerica, a unique service that combined viewing estimates with product purchase surveys. Additional investments were made to change methods of measurement. In larger markets, diary surveys were converted to an automated system that used a sample in which special equipment was attached to the television set. Viewing data from the meter was carried through telephone lines to an electronic data center. In the larger TV markets, metered research provided reports on a more timely basis; indeed, even overnight program ratings were now available.

These very sophisticated research methods were not only costly to install but also expensive to maintain.

This resulted in substantial increases in the cost of market reports. TV stations had always borne most of the cost for the audience research. Both Arbitron and the Nielsen Company charged agencies a token amount for the complete package of all market reports produced.

In the competition Arbitron began losing market share. By the end of the 1980s, it had 19 metered markets, to Nielsen's 29, and the number of TV stations subscribing to ARB's market reports based on the viewing diary declined.

Finally, in the fall of 1993, Arbitron president Stephen Morris declared that his company was out of the television-measuring business, contending that the marketplace would no longer support two rating services. It was revealed that approximately 275 stations subscribed to both Arbitron and Nielsen local market reports. But Arbitron's lists of exclusive station subscribers had dwindled to 180 clients while Nielsen could claim 359 exclusive subscribers. According to Morris, Arbitron would continue to provide specialized TV-audience research for television stations and advertising agencies. But for the first time in nearly 40 years, the sales offices of TV stations and the research departments of ad agencies were dependent on a single source of local market research reports.

As a company, Arbitron is still in existence. It continues to measure successfully radio-listening audiences, using the personal diary, and its research reports are widely used in the radio industry. In recent years it has developed highly successful programs of syndi-

cated market research contracted to newspapers, cable television services, and Internet radio as well as for radio broadcasting. The most ambitious project has been the development of the Portable People Meter, a device that would record media use by individuals in any context or venue. Designed to track audiences for terrestrial, satellite, and Internet radio stations as well as broadcast, satellite, and cable television, this technology could once again alter the business of measuring media use and thereby the economics of the media industries.

C.A. KELLNER

*See also Advertising; Market; Ratings; Share*

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## Archives for Television Materials

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The history of the archiving of television productions has some remarkable similarities with that of the archiving of films made for the cinema. Most striking is the parallel loss of the bulk of early production, which demonstrated the need for archiving to be formalized. Just as the majority of silent cinema failed to survive, so the bulk of television's output from the 1940s to the middle of the 1970s is similarly absent. This can partly be ascribed to the failure in the case of both media to be taken seriously as either an art form or a medium of record in their earliest years. Indeed, both were regarded as ephemeral and insignificant and the retention of their output suffered accordingly. It

also took time for both to become the subject of academic study and thus for historic materials to be demanded.

However, there were also some specific factors at work in the television field which mitigated against archiving. The most important were technical: the earliest television transmissions were all live and the technology to record them did not exist. Thus, all that remains of the BBC's television service from before the World War II are some specially shot films made to illustrate the service. Indeed, the earliest remaining television materials are items shot on film and the first archives of television materials were company film li-



The archives of the Museum of Broadcast Communications (MBC).  
Photo courtesy of the Museum of Broadcast Communications (MBC)

baries. In the late 1940s the technique of telerecording, also known as kinescoping, allowed the recording of transmissions on film. In the United States, this allowed the delayed transmission of programs in different time zones, and thus substantial amounts of material survive. Elsewhere, particularly in Britain, the expense meant that only the most prestigious productions and events were recorded. There was still also the feeling that the bulk of output was not worth preserving, combined with the fact that, being originally a medium developed to transmit moving pictures over a distance as the action happened, there was no such tradition anyway. In addition, the early lack of any possibility that materials would be repeated, partly because of agreements with entertainment unions, mitigated against archiving. The material being kept was mostly factual, especially news reports, which had a clear reuse and historic value.

Again, it is the output of the U.S. networks in the 1950s which has survived the best, another reason being the policy of selling programming to other coun-

tries developing their own television services. The fact that Lucille Ball and Phil Silvers still regularly appear on cable channels throughout the world has a lot to do with this fact.

At the end of the 1950s, the development of videotape gave the possibility of archiving on a larger scale, while its expense and the fact that it could be wiped and reused kept the situation uncertain. Every country has its favorite examples of material that has been lost. In the United States it is the first Super Bowl. In Britain the cult science fiction series *Dr. Who* has almost 100 lost episodes. Nevertheless, more material survives from the 1960s than from before and the growing academic interest in the medium attracted the attention of some of the major public archives already dealing with film.

By the mid-1970s, television archiving was becoming firmly established, and the foundation of an International Federation of Television Archives (FIAT/IFTA) in 1977 testifies to its spread. The most significant archives were those owned by the companies producing the programs. In the United States, these ranged from the news and sports archives of the three main networks to the Hollywood and other production houses that made the rest of the programming. In Europe, where the initial model was single state broadcasters producing all their own programming, followed by the spasmodic introduction of similar commercial broadcasters, company archiving became more centralized. Nevertheless, the commercial nature of the business meant that cultural archives of television programs, and the public access that follows, had to be provided elsewhere.

It is still the case that most countries do not have publicly funded archives of television programs in the way that they do have such archives of film productions. In those countries where such archives do exist, they have often been provided by the same organizations that already ran the film archives. This is certainly the case in Britain, where the National Film Archive, run by the British Film Institute (BFI), began collecting television material at the end of the 1950s and expanded its operation to such an extent that, in 1993, it changed its name to the National Film and Television Archive. This also reflected the fact that legislation and regulation had made it the central national archive for the output of the three main commercial channels, which came either from regional companies in the case of ITV or independent producers in the cases of Channels 4 and 5. The archive's responsibilities are preservation and public access and most material is acquired by recording transmissions, thus ensuring that the complete flow of images, including commercial breaks and promotions, is captured

and preserved. A separate agreement with the BBC, which has had its own archival responsibilities imposed by government since 1979, allows for public access to the corporation's output through the BFI.

In the United States the situation is considerably more fragmented and a national survey by the Library of Congress in 1997 identified hundreds of collections of television programs, reflecting the enormous national production and highlighting the need for the coordination of preservation and access. The most significant public collections are those of the Library itself, the UCLA Film and Television Archive, and the Museum of Broadcasting, though, in the absence of federal legislation, acquisition has of necessity been spasmodic and opportunistic. Academic institutions often end up with significant specialist collections, such as the Political Commercial Archive at the University of Oklahoma.

In some other countries, especially in Scandinavia, there are laws of legal deposit for television programs, though in most there is nothing other than the company archives, most of which remain available for commercial use only. Probably the most interesting solution is in France, where the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel (INA) has the right of legal deposit of all television production and assumes the exploitation rights to much of the material it acquires after a number of years, thus making it a significant production house as well as a comprehensive national resource and study center. In the Netherlands the National Audiovisual Archive (NAA) has combined the resources of the main broadcasters and public archives.

At the end of the 1980s all television archives, company and public, woke up to the biggest problem they now face: the obsolescence of video formats. The first dominant video format, two-inch Quadruplex, which had been standard from the late 1950s to the early 1980s, had been superseded by one-inch formats and the technology was no longer being supported by the companies that had manufactured it. Since then, newer formats have followed at dizzying speeds, the latest being small gauge, highly compressed digital videocassettes, which themselves are being supplanted by disc and file formats. The only way to preserve the images in these circumstances is to transfer them to a current format, though the choices involved are difficult and the likelihood of having to do the transfer again as newer formats emerge is high. The scale of the prob-

lem is enormous and a large amount of the world's two-inch recordings still remain to be transferred.

One factor in the archives' favor is the explosion in television delivery methods, causing a massive rise in the number of channels requiring product to fill them, at the same time as there is a seemingly insatiable appetite for programming from the past. In these circumstances, the reuse of archival material is a massive operation, though the danger that only the material that is regarded as commercially viable will be transferred and preserved is a very real one. Public funding will be required on a large scale if the cultural archives' collections are to survive.

Digital technology is also bringing major changes to television archive operations. Traditional cataloging methods are being supplanted by metadata attached to the digital images themselves, requiring the archive's documentalists to become involved at the production stage, rather than, as traditionally, after transmission. News in particular is becoming a fully digital operation and it is no surprise that the first archive to implement a full digitization policy and make its catalog available on the Internet is that of CNN. Of course, the technology needed to support such operations is notoriously even more unreliable than videotape in terms of its longevity and future compatibility with currently operating models.

Having fought hard to establish themselves and their operations, television archives thus face an uncertain future. At least it is now realized that, for both commercial and cultural reasons, the preservation and continuing accessibility of archival television material is a necessity.

STEVE BRYANT

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# Argentina

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Argentina is one of the most important television and cable markets in Latin America. After Brazil and Mexico, it has the largest number of television receivers in the region (7,165,000 receivers/4.6 persons per receiver, according to the *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1994). Its cable penetration is the highest in Latin America (52 percent, according to *Producción and Distribución*, 1995). Domestic programs actively compete with foreign productions, and popular genres include variety shows, sitcoms, *telenovelas*, and sports and children's programs. The history of television in this country is characterized by cyclical patterns of state and private media ownership that parallel the changes occurring in the political and economic arena.

Argentine television began its transmissions in 1951 through channel 7, during the presidency of Juan Domingo Perón. Jaime Yankelevitch, a pioneer of the medium in the country, was a local radio entrepreneur who traveled to the United States to buy the equipment needed for television broadcasting. Initially, the transmitters were operated by the Ministry of Public Works, and the legal framework established the state as the owner of the broadcasting service. During this time, the government had absolute control over television, even though advertising spots were sold to commercial advertisers from its inception.

The military government of Pedro Eugenio Aramburu that overthrew Perón instituted private television in 1957 through the enactment of the decree 15,460. With the intention of controlling the dissemination of messages, this decree-law also prohibited the existence of broadcasting networks in the country. The stations in Buenos Aires could not send signals to the rest of the country, and as a result many independent stations with limited coverage emerged throughout the country. The first pay-TV systems were founded in 1962–63. They used community antenna television (CATV) technology, coaxial cables, and inexpensive equipment and bought most of their programming from the broadcast stations in Buenos Aires. Ironically, the pay-TV stations that resulted from the 1957 prohibition stand at the root of the high cable penetration and the economic boom in the Argentine cable business today.

The first private channels in the capital city of Buenos Aires started operating in 1960—channels 9, 13, and 11. Though Argentine law prohibited foreign ownership of TV channels, at first the American networks managed to make “backdoor” deals with the lo-

cal stations by creating parallel production companies. Foreign investment could flow to these companies because they were not limited in terms of ownership. Thus the American television corporation NBC invested in channel 9 through the production company Telecenter, ABC invested in channel 11 through Telarama, and CBS and Time-Life invested in channel 13 through Proartel. In this way the American networks became partners of the private Argentine channels.

The founder of channel 13 was Goar Mestre, a famous Cuban broadcasting entrepreneur who left Cuba when Fidel Castro came to power in 1959 and emigrated to Argentina. Because Mestre was married to an Argentine, his wife was able to become the owner of the license for channel 13. At the same time, Mestre established a financial arrangement with CBS and Time-Life in which he owned 60 percent of Proartel (Producciones Argentinas de Televisión), channel 13's production company. As Elizabeth Fox argues in *Media and Politics in Latin America* (1988), the entrance of foreign capital had a strong impact on national broadcasting, by exposing Argentina to large investments in advertising and driving the development of mass consumption markets.

In the mid-1960s national entrepreneurs invested in the majority stocks of the three private channels, and the American networks withdrew from the market. In 1965, Alejandro Romay bought channel 9. In the early 1970s, the Vigil family, owner of the publisher Editorial Atlántida, invested in channel 13, and Héctor Ricardo García, from the publisher Editorial Sarmiento, invested in channel 11. In *Quien te ha visto y quién TV* (1988), Argentine television expert Pablo Sirvén considers the 1960s the best years of private television, a period characterized by the high competition between the stations and the success of their programming.

Yet this golden period came to an end in 1974 when the third Peronist government decided that the private licenses should return to the state and expropriated the major television stations. Silvio Waisbord indicates that the rationale for deciding not to renew their commercial licenses was based on the defense of the national interest, the elimination of commercialism, and the advancement of cultural goals. However, the state's appropriation of private channels brought no major changes because the stations continued to be supported by advertising and the programming was produced by the same production companies as before.



The government did not fulfill its promise to support the national industry and no cultural programming was produced. As reruns of old programs and movies became commonplace, both audiences and advertising declined and the stations needed additional state support to continue operating.

The fact that all television channels were state owned played directly into the hands of the military dictatorship during the period from 1976 to 1983. The military exercised tight ideological control over the content of all programming, and there were "black lists" with the names of prestigious producers, scriptwriters, and actors who could not work in television. The 22,285 broadcasting law enacted during this period dealt extensively with the content of the programming. Any appeal to violence, eroticism, vice, or crime was prohibited as well as any content that challenged the ethical, social, or political norms of the country. During this period, in 1980, the first color transmissions began for the national market.

During the dictatorship, all state units, including all television stations, were allocated one-third to the army, one-third to the navy, and one-third to the air force. Channel 9 went to the army, channel 11 to the air force, channel 13 to the navy, and channel 7 to the presidency. While the military government managed to keep an intense ideological control over the content of the programs, their poor administration of the stations indebted them to the point of bankruptcy. For instance, in order to compete with each other, each of the three branches of the armed forces paid enormous sums of money to hire famous stars. Yet the revenues generated by advertising were not enough to cover these expenses.

The military regime was in principle against any kind of state intervention in the economy. Unlike previous governments that had tried to promote the national industry, the last military government eliminated all tariffs and protectionistic measures impeding the free flow of goods in the marketplace. However, in the area of communication their free-market policies were not so clear. Oscar Landi writes in *Devórame Otra Vez* (1988) that the military intended to privatize the channels while keeping them under their ideological control at the same time. Given this ambivalence, the process of privatization undertaken during this period with the enactment of the 1980 Broadcasting Law was intentionally slow and started with the smaller stations in the provinces. Only in 1984, during the democratically elected government of Raúl Alfonsón, did the wave of privatization reach Buenos Aires. It was at this point that channel 9 returned to its previous owner, Alejandro Romay.

Notwithstanding the elimination of all censorship and "black lists," the communication sector inherited by Alfonsón still operated under the legal legacy of the

military regime and was highly inefficient. As a result, cable television, particularly in the interior of the country, developed without regulation, and television channels continued to violate the legal limit of advertising time. Despite many attempts, the Alfonsón administration did not succeed in reforming the broadcast sector. This failure is generally attributed to the gridlock resulting from the strong economic and political pressures that operated during the transition to democracy.

President Menem learned his lesson from Alfonsón's experience, and early in his administration implemented by decree the "Law of State Reform" that included, among other state enterprises, the privatization of channel 11 and channel 13 in December 1989. At this point the deregulation of broadcasting acquired full force. Today there are five superstations in Buenos Aires; four of them are privately owned (channels 2, 9, 11, and 13) and one remains public (channel 7 / Argentina Televisora Color).

The loosening of cross-media ownership allowed for the emergence of national media conglomerates. Publishers had extensively lobbied for this measure. Channel 13 was licensed to the conglomerate Clarón, the owner of the largest circulation newspaper in the country; ARTEAR, a film and television production company; two radio stations, Radio Mitre and FM100; a publishing company, Editorial Aguilar; an expanding multiple service operator (MSO), Multicanal (400,000 subscribers); three satellite-delivered channels; and one of the partners of a newsprint factory, Papel Prensa, and the national news agency, Diarios y Noticias (DyN). Channel 11 was licensed to Telefé, a consortium integrated by the publisher Editorial Atlántida that also owns Produfé, a program production and distribution company, and at present controls 15 cable systems (200,000 subscribers). ARTEAR and Telefé are the channels that dominate the broadcast landscape and fiercely compete for top ratings.

Toward the end of the 1980s, the number of cable operators in the country reached about 2000. The main players were Video Cable Comunicación (VCC) and CableVisión. In the early 1990s new operators linked to Clar'n and Telefé entered the market and gradually began to buy up cable franchises from smaller operators across the country. At present cable ownership is concentrated in the following four groups: VCC, CableVisión, Clarón, and Telefé. These companies are also investing in fiber optic cable and are implementing Multichannel Multipoint Distribution Services (MMDS) to distribute their signals across areas that cannot be reached by cable. Another player in the cable business is Imagen Satelital, a company that supplies Argentine cable systems with five in-house channels (Space, I-Sat, Infinito, Universo, and Jupiter) and distributes nine additional signals, among them



Televisa's Eco Noticias, Bandeirantes from Brazil, and Much Music from Canada. Argentine signal distributors and programmers have grown rapidly since the launching of the domestic satellite Nahuel in 1992. This satellite's footprint covers the northern part of Argentina, the western part of Brazil, and most of the territory of Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

During the years following the privatization of television channels, advertising expenditures have more than quadrupled. Television and cable operators pay an 8-percent tax on advertising revenues to the National Broadcasting Committee (COMFER), which supports the government channel 7/Argentina Televisora Color. Currently the COMFER also directs 25 percent of this income to the National Film Institute for the subsidy of local film production.

Further trends toward deregulation of communications resulted in the signing of a bilateral accord between Argentina and the United States in September 1994 that allows for American investment in Argentine broadcast and cable operations. American capital entered the market soon afterward, when TCI Inc. and Continental Cable invested in the two largest cable system operators in Argentina, CableVisión and VCC, respectively.

For about \$35 a month, cable subscribers in Argentina receive a varied menu of about 65 channels, which includes (in addition to the domestic superstations): European channels (e.g., RAI from Italy, TV5 from France, TVE from Spain, and Deutsche Welle from Germany); Latin American channels (e.g., Globo TV, Manchete, and Bandeirantes from Brazil, Inravisión from Colombia, ECO from Mexico, and Venevisión from Venezuela); and American channels (FOX, USA, CNN, ESPN, the Discovery Channel, Cartoon Network, MTV, Nickelodeon, HBO Olé, etc.). At present no premium cable channels are offered in Argentina, and all the services are included in the basic subscription package.

Variety shows are among the most popular programs. They are scheduled at different times throughout the day, often in the early afternoon (1:00 to 2:00 p.m.) or during the peak of prime time (8:00 to 9:00 p.m.). The Argentine version of a variety show features a combination of musicals, interviews, comic skits, and games in which the audience participates by calling the host of the program, who frequently is a famous national actor. An example of a daily variety show that has reached top ratings since 1984 is *Hola Susana*, hosted by actor Susana Giménez. Another popular variety show is *Videomatch*, hosted by Marcelo Tinelli. His program starts at midnight, targets a young, 15- to 30-year-old audience, and includes video clips, bloopers, and sports.

In general, *telenovelas* are shown from Monday through Fridays in the afternoon (1:00 to 4:00 p.m., depending on the channel) and early prime time (6:00 to 8:00 p.m.). The former are targeted at women, while the latter are targeted at a young adult audience. Weekly drama series broadcast after 10:00 p.m. are also popular. These attempt to reach an adult audience by dealing with socially controversial themes such as corruption, drugs, homosexuality, and so on.

A typical TV prime-time evening starts at 6:00 p.m. with light *telenovelas*, variety shows, or game shows. These programs precede the one-hour newscasts that are scheduled in different time slots in each channel. Channel 11 and ATC/channel 7 broadcast their evening news programs at 7:00 p.m., channel 2 at 9:00 p.m., and channel 9 and channel 13 compete on the news front at 8:00 p.m. From 10:00 p.m. to midnight viewers may opt for movies (which are usually imported), weekly drama series, or public affairs programs led by well-known national journalists and political pundits.

Sports programs are generally scheduled during weekends. They cover different matches and report on the result of national, regional, or world championships. Soccer is the sport followed by the largest audience; the broadcast of a soccer cup final never fails to reach top ratings. But popular sports programs also include tennis, boxing, motoring, and rugby.

Unfortunately, there is no recent data on the proportion of imported programs available in this country. Early studies on the world flow of television programs conducted by Tapio Varis (1974) show that in 1971 channel 9 and channel 11 respectively imported 10 percent and 30 percent of their programming. A decade later, Varis (1984) found that channel 9 imported 49 percent of its programming. Considering the changes in the Argentine television landscape since 1989 (i.e., privatization, liberalization, the growth of cable, etc.), those partial figures cannot be considered a reliable estimate of the proportion of the current imported/domestic programming. Nevertheless, rating figures show that in general the Argentine audience prefers domestic productions. For instance, in August 1994, according to data from the market research company IBOPE (TV International, 1994), the five programs with the highest ratings were: soccer championship *Copa Libertadores* (13.0 of rating); variety show *Hola Susana* (12.6); family sitcom *¡Grande Pá!* (12.6); movie cycle *Cine ATP* (11.3); and *The Simpsons* (11.2).

JAQUI CHMIELEWSKI FALKENHEIM

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## Arledge, Roone (1931-2002)

U.S. Media Producer, Executive

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Roone Arledge, former president of ABC News, had a more profound impact on the development of television news and sports programming and presentation than any other individual. In fact, a 1994 *Sports Illustrated* magazine ranking placed Arledge third, behind Muhammad Ali and Michael Jordan, in a list of 40 individuals who have had the greatest impact on the world of sports in the previous four decades. In addition, a 1990 *Life* magazine poll listed Arledge as among the "100 Most Important Americans of the 20th Century."

In 1960 Arledge defected from NBC to join a struggling ABC. Later, in his role as vice president of ABC Sports, Arledge created what would become the longest-running and most successful sports program ever, *ABC's Wide World Sports*. He brought his production specialty to ABC and overhauled sports programming, including introduction of such techniques as slow motion and instant replays. These production techniques enabled Arledge to create a more exciting and dramatic sports event. He combined his production skills with "up close and personal" athlete features, which changed the way the world viewed competing athletes. He was one of the first users of the Atlantic satellite, enabling him to produce live sporting events from around the world.

Arledge's success in sports resulted in his promotion to sports division president in 1968, where he served until 1986. Shortly after his promotion, he again elevated ABC's sports prominence with *NFL Monday Night Football*. This prime-time sports program gave ABC the lock on ratings during its time slot and earned Arledge even greater respect.

Under Arledge's lead, ABC Sports became the unchallenged leader in network sports programming. Arledge's innovations on *Wide World* were also successful for the ten Olympic games he produced. Inducted into the Olympic Hall of Fame for his commitment to excellence, Arledge was later awarded the Medal of Olympic Order by the International Olympic Committee, making him the first television executive and one of a select group of Americans to receive this prestigious award.

Despite his successful transformation of ABC Sports, his promotion to president of ABC News came as a surprise to many individuals because Arledge had no formal journalistic training. He was president of ABC Sports and ABC News for nearly ten years.

With the development of shows such as *20/20*, *World News Tonight*, and *Nightline*, ABC was soon on the top of the network news battle. Among his greatest skills was identification of potential stars. Arledge successfully recruited the strongest and most promising journalists for his news team, including *World News Tonight* star Peter Jennings. Arledge recognized Jennings's talent and cast this once-defeated *ABC Evening News* anchor in the spotlight, and it worked. Arledge's team included David Brinkley, Diane Sawyer, Sam Donaldson, Ted Koppel, Barbara Walters, and Hugh Downs.

Arledge put news on the air in nontraditional formats and at nontraditional times and received high ratings. In its more than 20 years, *Nightline* has battled entertainment personalities such as Johnny Carson, David Letterman, and Jay Leno for ratings and in 1995



Roone Arledge, President of ABC News and ABC Sports, 11/20/84.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

was the highest rated late-night program. From its first show with Ali Agah, Iranian affairs leader, and Dorothea Morefield, wife of American hostage Richard Morefield, *Nightline* has been a leader in international affairs reporting.

Arledge's other news show creations include *Prime-time*, with Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson; *This Week with David Brinkley*; *World News Now*, a 2:00–6:00 A.M. Monday through Friday overnight news program; and numerous *ABC News Presents* specials, such as *Turning Point* and *Viewpoint*. Arledge also designed inventive news broadcasts such as *Capital to Capital*, the first satellite news series to promote discussion between U.S. and Soviet legislators.

His shows have received virtually every broadcasting honor possible. In 1995 ABC News was the first news organization to receive the Alfred I. du Pont-Columbia University Award, given for the network's overall commitment to excellence. Interestingly, Arledge won his first of 37 Emmy Awards for producing the puppet show featuring Lamb Chop and Shari Lewis.

In a speech following his appointment at ABC, Arledge declared, "We (ABC) will be setting the stan-

dards that everyone will be talking about and that others in the industry will spend years trying to equal." It is clear, based on the success of ABC Sports and ABC News, that Arledge lived up to his immodest words.

Arledge died December 5, 2002, due to complications from cancer. He was 71. Arledge served as a trustee of Columbia College from 1999 until his death. He was benefactor of the Roone Arledge Auditorium and Cinema at Columbia and 1998 recipient of the Alexander Hamilton Medal, the alumni association's highest award.

JOHN TEDESCO

*See also American Broadcasting Company; News, Network; Olympics and Television; Sports on Television; Sportscasters*

**Roone Arledge.** Born in Forest Hills, New York, July 8, 1931. Married: Joan Heise, 1953 (divorced, 1971); children: Elizabeth Ann, Susan Lee, Patricia Lu, and Roone Pinckney. Educated at Mepham High School, Merrick, New York; Columbia College, New York, B.A. 1952. Served in United States Army, 1953–55. Production assistant, DuMont Television Network, 1952; producer-director, radio public relations spots for U.S. Army, 1953–55; stage manager, director, and producer, NBC Television, 1955–60; joined ABC Television, field producer, NCAA Television, 1960; producer, *ABC's Wide World of Sports*, 1961; vice president, ABC Sports, 1965; president, ABC Sports, 1968–86; created *NFL Monday Night Football*, 1969; president ABC News, 1977; group president, ABC News and Sports, 1985–90; president ABC News, 1990–98. Recipient: 37 Emmy Awards; four George Foster Peabody Awards; two Christopher Awards; Broadcast Pioneers Award; Gold Medal, International Radio and Television Society; Distinguished Service to Journalism Honor Medal, University of Missouri; John Jay Distinguished Professional Service Award, Columbia University; Distinguished Achievement Award, University of Southern California Journalism Association; Founders Award, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Grand Prix, Montreaux Television Festival; Medal of Olympic Order, International Olympic Committee; Grand Prize, Cannes Film Festival; Man of the Year, National Association of Television Program Executives; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1990; U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame, 1990; du Pont-Columbia Award, 1995; Lifetime Achievement Award, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 2002. Died December 5, 2002.

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## Armed Forces Radio and Television Service.

See American Forces Radio and Television Service

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## Armstrong Circle Theatre

U.S. Dramatic Anthology

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*Armstrong Circle Theatre* premiered in the summer of 1950, joining 13 other anthology programs already on the air, and went on to become one of the longest-running anthology series in television history. It aired for 14 seasons, first in a 30-minute format and later expanding to one hour. *Armstrong Circle Theatre* was produced by Talent Associates, Ltd., the agency formed by David Susskind and Alfred Levy, which also produced the *Kaiser Aluminum Hour* and individual productions for the *DuPont Show of the Month*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, and the *Philco Television Playhouse*.

What differentiated the *Armstrong Circle Theatre* from other anthology series was the show's change in focus after its first few seasons. Initially, *Armstrong Circle Theatre* presented typical, formula dramas, with little to distinguish it from other anthologies. In 1952

producers decided to change their approach. An advertising agency gathered scripts from all sources, including first-time writers (such as Rod Serling, whose early story "Acquittal" aired in 1952 as "The Sergeant"), and with this agency's assistance, the producers opted for "quality dramas" that emphasized characterization over pure plot devices. The new stories presented on *Armstrong Circle* attempted a continuity of mood, theme, and style from production to production without presenting the same type of protagonist in varying situations. Some critics described the stories as sentimental, with a "pleasantly related moral" as their thematic approach. One example of this "family type" dramatic style was "The Rocking Horse" (July 25, 1950), a tender story about a reunion between mother and son.

In 1955, when *Armstrong Circle Theatre* expanded to one hour, the series continued its emphasis on the



*Armstrong Circle Theatre: "Battle of Hearts."*  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

story and presented the earliest form of the docudrama (fact-based dramatizations). Executive producer David Susskind and producer Robert Costello de-emphasized the role of actors and made the story the "star." According to Costello, their aim was "to combine fact and drama—to arouse interest, even controversy, on important and topical subjects." Using a news story or idea was not enough: the series also had to "be able to present some potential solution, some hope for your citizens to consider, to think about." Examples of these fact-based dramas include "S.O.S. from the Andrea Doria" (October 16, 1956) and "Lost: \$2,000,000" (October 11, 1955), a drama about the effect of Hurricane Diane on the small town of Winsted, Connecticut.

The docudrama format was enhanced by having a news anchor serve as the host/narrator for the program, and for this task, NBC hired news anchorman John Cameron Swayze. When the series switched from NBC to CBS in 1957, Swayze was replaced by CBS news anchor Douglas Edwards. Edwards was subsequently removed by CBS when network executives felt his credibility as a news anchor would be diminished by hosting a non-news program. He was replaced by reporter Ron Cochran, formerly of ABC.

At the time that its format was lengthened to one hour, *Armstrong Circle Theatre* alternated with *Playwrights '56*. Problems arose between the two series because each was sponsored by a different company with different advertising aims. Pontiac, sponsor of *Playwrights '56*, wanted a very distinct sales message aimed at a large audience. *Armstrong Circle* desired strong sponsor identification with its special type of programming. Although *Playwrights '56* produced a number of distinctive dramas, they were not as critically successful as other anthologies. Pontiac considered the ratings for the show too low and withdrew its sponsorship at the end of the season. The next season, *Armstrong Circle* alternated with *The Kaiser Aluminum Hour*, also produced by David Susskind's Talent Associates, Ltd. In 1957 *Armstrong Circle Theatre* switched to CBS and alternated with *The U.S. Steel Hour* until the end of its television run.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

**See also Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television**

#### Hosts/Narrators

Nelson Case (1950–51)  
Joe Ripley (1952–53)  
Bob Sherry (1953–54)  
Sandy Becker (1954–55)  
John Cameron Swayze (1955–57)  
Douglas Edwards (1957–61)  
Ron Cochran (1961–62)  
Henry Hamilton (1962–63)

#### Producers

Robert Costello, Jacqueline Babbin, George Simpson, Selig Alkon, Ralph Nelson

#### Programming History

NBC  
June 1950–June 1955 Tuesday 9:30–10:00  
September 1955–  
June 1957 Tuesday 9:30–10:30  
CBS  
October 1957–  
August 1963 Wednesday 10:00–11:00

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# Army-McCarthy Hearings

## U.S. Congressional Inquiry

Broadcast "gavel to gavel" on the ABC and DuMont networks from April 22 to June 17, 1954, the Army-McCarthy hearings were the first nationally televised congressional inquiry and a landmark in the emergent nexus between television and U.S. politics. Although the Kefauver Crime Committee hearings of March 1951 can claim priority as a congressional TV show, and subsequent political spectacles (the Watergate hearings, the Iran Contra hearings, the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, President Clinton's impeachment proceedings) would rivet the attention of later generations of television viewers, the Army-McCarthy hearings remain the genre prototype for sheer theatricality and narrative unity.

Ostensibly, the Army-McCarthy hearings convened to investigate a convoluted series of charges leveled by the junior Republican senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, at the U.S. Army and vice versa. In November 1953 a consultant on McCarthy's staff named G. David Schine was drafted into the Army. Even before Schine's formal induction, Roy M. Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel, had begun a personal campaign to pressure military officials—from the secretary of the Army on down to Schine's company commander—into giving Private Schine special privileges. When on March 11, 1954, the Army issued a detailed chronology documenting Cohn's improper intrusions into Schine's military career, McCarthy responded by claiming the Army was holding Schine "hostage" to deter his committee from exposing communists within the military ranks. To resolve the dispute, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, of which McCarthy was chair, voted to investigate and to allow live television coverage of the inquiry. McCarthy re-

linquished the chairmanship to Karl Mundt (Republican, South Dakota) in order to become, with Cohn, contestant and witness in a widely anticipated live television drama.

Throughout the 36 days of hearings, 188 hours of broadcast time were given over to telecasts originating from the Senate Caucus Room. The network "feed" came courtesy of the facilities of ABC's Washington, D.C., affiliate, WMAL-TV. Initially, all four networks were expected to carry the complete hearings live, but NBC and CBS balked at the loss of revenues from commercial programming. With an eye to its profitable daytime soap opera lineup, CBS opted out before the hearings began, leaving NBC, ABC, and DuMont formally committed to coverage. On the second day of hearings, however, after a particularly tedious afternoon session, NBC announced it was bailing out. Henceforth NBC, like CBS, broadcast nightly roundups edited from kinescopes of the daytime ABC telecasts. CBS broadcast from 11:30 p.m. to 12:15 A.M., so when NBC followed suit, it counterprogrammed its recaps from 11:15 p.m. to 12:00 midnight. Looking for a way to put his third-string news division on the map, ABC's president Robert E. Vintner stuck with his decision to broadcast the entire event live, jettisoning the network's daytime programming for continuous coverage, gavel to gavel. Even so, some major markets in the United States (Los Angeles for one) were deprived of live coverage when local affiliates chose not to take the network feed.

In televisual terms, the hearings pitted a boorish McCarthy and a bleary-eyed Cohn against a coolly avuncular Joseph N. Welch of the Boston law firm of Hale and Dorr, whom the Army had hired as its special



Roy Cohn, Senator Joseph McCarthy, at Senate Committee, 1950s.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

counsel. Welch's calm patrician manner served as an appealing contrast to Cohn's unctuous posturing and McCarthy's rude outbursts (the senator's nasal interjection "Point of order!" became a national catchphrase). Senators, military men, and obscure staffers on the McCarthy Committee became household names and faces, among them chain-smoking committee counsel Ray H. Jenkins, Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, and, hovering in the background, a young lawyer for the committee Democrats named Robert F. Kennedy. Along with an often partisan gallery in the packed, smoke-filled hearing room, an audience of some 20 million Americans watched the complicated testimony, a crossfire of mutual recriminations over monitored telephone conversations, doctored photographs, and fabricated memoranda.

The afternoon of June 9, 1954, brought the emotional climax of the hearings, an exchange replayed in myriad cold war documentaries. Ignoring a prehearing agreement between Welch and Cohn, McCarthy insinuated that Fred Fisher, a young lawyer at Hale and Dorr, harbored communist sympathies. Welch responded with a righteous outburst that hit all the hot buttons: "Until this moment, senator, I think I never gauged your cruelty or recklessness.... Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" When McCarthy tried to strike back, Welch cut him off and demanded the chair "call the next witness." Pausing just a beat, the hushed gallery erupted in applause. The uncomprehending McCarthy turned to Cohn and stammered, "What happened?"

What happened was that television, whose coverage of McCarthy's news conferences and addresses to the nation had earlier lent him legitimacy and power, had now precipitated his downfall. Prolonged exposure to McCarthy's odious character and ill-mannered interruptions was a textbook demonstration of how a hot personality wilted under the glare of a cool medium. Toward the close of the hearings, Senator Stuart Symington (Democrat, Missouri) underscored the lesson in media politics during a sharp exchange with McCarthy: "The American people have had a look at you for six weeks. You are not fooling anyone."

The Army-McCarthy hearings were a television milestone not only because of the inherent significance of the event covered but also because television coverage itself was crucial to the meaning, and unfolding, of events. Moreover, unlike many historic television moments from the 1950s, the hearings have remained alive in popular memory, mainly due to filmmaker Emile de Antonio, who in 1963 culled from extant kinescopes the landmark compilation film *Point of Order!*, the definitive documentary record of the U.S.'s first great made-for-TV political spectacle.

THOMAS DOHERTY

### Further Reading

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- Straight, Michael, *Trial by Television*, Boston: Beacon, 1954

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## Arnaz, Desi (1917–1986)

U.S. Actor, Media Executive

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Desi Arnaz is best known for his role as Ricky Ricardo in the early television situation comedy *I Love Lucy*. The series, which starred his wife, Lucille Ball, as his fictional wife, Lucy Ricardo, appeared weekly on CBS. The show originally ran from the fall of 1951 through the 1957 season, and during this time it ranked consistently among the top three national programs. In addition to being a perfect comic straight man for Ball's genius, Arnaz was one of Hollywood's most perceptive and powerful producers in television's early years. His shrewd business skills and his realization of particular combinations of the television's technological and cultural connections enabled him to develop aspects of the medium that remain central to its economic and cultural force.

Arnaz began his show business career in 1935. After singing and playing guitar with the Xavier Cugat orchestra, Desi toured with his own rumba band, but his big break was being cast in the Broadway show *Too Many Girls* in 1939. He met Lucille Ball in Hollywood the next year, when both had roles in the movie version of the play. They were married in 1940 and continued their careers, Ball in motion pictures and radio, and Arnaz in music.

Ball had gained success with her CBS radio program, *My Favorite Husband*, in which she starred as the wife of a banker, played by Richard Denning. CBS was interested in creating a television version of the show, but when Ball insisted that Arnaz play her husband, the network felt that viewers would not be attracted to a show not easily related to their own lives. Executives at CBS were skeptical about whether Arnaz, a Cuban bandleader, would be believable and readily accepted by viewers as Ball's husband. In order to prove the network wrong, the couple set out on a nationwide stage tour designed to gauge public reaction to their working together in a comedy act. CBS was impressed with the positive public response to the couple as well as with a sample script for a TV series developed by the writers from *My Favorite Husband*.

The basics were there, including Arnaz as Ricky Ricardo, a struggling bandleader, and Ball as Lucy, a housewife with little talent but a giant yearning to break into show business. This homey battle-of-the-

sexes premise for the show convinced the network that viewers could relate, and a pilot version of the program impressed the Philip Morris Company, which agreed to sponsor 39 episodes for the 1951–52 season on the CBS network Monday nights at 9:00 p.m. Arnaz and Ball insisted on producing the show in California so they could work together and live at home; such an arrangement had been impossible with Ball acting in films and on radio while Arnaz toured with his band, and the separation had strained their marriage. The idea of recording *I Love Lucy* on film was directly related to the couple's desire to work together in show business as a family and to live in their home in California.

In 1951, before the perfection of videotape, nearly all television shows were live productions, fed from the East Coast because of time-zone differences. Philip Morris approved the idea of filming *I Love Lucy*, but the sponsor wanted a live audience, which had been effective on radio. Arnaz and cinematographer Karl Freund, a veteran of pre-World War II German expressionist cinema working in Hollywood, devised a plan for staging the show as a play, performing each act before an audience and simultaneously filming with three or four cameras stationed in different locations. Because this technique increased network production costs, CBS asked that Arnaz and Ball take a cut in salary to compensate for the expense. In negotiation Arnaz agreed, providing Desilu, a company he and Ball had created, would then own the shows after the broadcasts. A few years later the couple sold the films back to CBS for more than \$4 million, a sum that provided the economic base for building what became the Desilu empire. The practice of filming television episodes also paved the way to TV reruns and syndication. After *I Love Lucy* was established as a hit, Desilu applied its multicamera film technique to the production of other shows, such as *Our Miss Brooks*, *December Bride*, and *The Lineup*. By 1957 Desilu was so successful that additional facilities were needed and it bought RKO Studios from the General Tire and Rubber Company.

Desilu had become the world's largest studio. But as the business grew ever larger, Arnaz and Ball drifted





*I Love Lucy*, Lucille Ball, Desi Arnaz, 1951–57.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

apart, ending their 20-year marriage in 1960 and splitting their interests in Desilu. In 1962 Ball bought Arnaz's share in the company, and he retired for a short time to his horse-breeding farm. Both later married others, and Arnaz returned to television, forming an independent production company and making occasional guest appearances. Desilu was purchased by Gulf Western Industries in 1967. Arnaz died in 1986 and Lucille Ball in 1989. *I Love Lucy* is still popular with television audiences today, thanks to the pioneering production techniques of Desilu.

B.R. SMITH

See also *Ball, Lucille*; *I Love Lucy*

**Desi (Desiderio Alberto, III) Arnaz (Y De Acha).** Born in Santiago, Cuba, March 2, 1917. Married: Lucille Ball, 1940 (divorced, 1960); children: Lucie Désirée and Desiderio Alberto, IV (Desi Jr.). Attended Colegio Delores, Jesuit Preparatory School, Santiago, Cuba. Moved with family to the United States, 1930s.

U.S. Medical Corps., 1943–45. Began entertainment career as singer, with Xavier Cugat Band, 1935–36; formed own band at the Conga Club, Miami, Florida, 1938, height of the "conga craze"; Broadway musical debut, *Too Many Girls*, 1939; RKO film version of the musical, 1940; music director, the Bob Hope radio show, 1946–47; performed with Ball in radio show, *My Favorite Husband*, 1947–50; produced pilot for *I Love Lucy* with own funds, 1951; performed as Ricky Ricardo, *I Love Lucy*, 1951–57; president and cofounder, Desilu Productions, 1951–62. Recipient: Best Performance of the Month, *Photoplay Magazine*, 1943. Died in Del Mar, California, December 2, 1986.

#### Television Series

1951–57 *I Love Lucy* (actor, producer)  
1958–60 *Westinghouse Playhouse* (producer)  
1962–65, 1967 *The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour*  
(actor, producer)

#### Films

*Too Many Girls*, 1940; *Father Takes a Wife*, 1941; *The Navy Comes Through*, 1942; *Four Jacks and a Jill*, 1942; *Bataan*, 1943; *Holiday in Havana*, 1949; *Cuban Pete*, 1950; *The Long, Long Trailer*, 1954; *Forever Darling*, 1956; *The Escape Artist*, 1982.

#### Publication

*A Book by Desi Arnaz*, 1976

#### Further Reading

Anderson, Christopher, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994  
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# Arsenio Hall Show, The

## U.S. Talk Show

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*The Arsenio Hall Show*, a syndicated late-night talk show starring African-American stand-up comedian Arsenio Hall, ran from January 1989 to May 1994. Paramount Domestic Television's syndicated division produced and distributed the show, which aired primarily on stations affiliated with FOX Broadcasting. During its five-year run, the show peaked at a 3.9 national rating in February 1990, an amazing feat for a syndicated show that had access to fewer TV stations than network programs and did not have a specific airing time across the nation (though it usually aired sometime between 11:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m.). During its run, the show received six Emmy nominations, including two for Outstanding Variety, Music, or Comedy Program in 1989 and 1990.

Hall had his first break in late-night television when he became a guest host on FOX's *The Late Show with Joan Rivers*. After Rivers departed in May 1987, the show had a rotating series of guest hosts, including Hall. After fronting the show for several nights, Hall was invited to stay for 13 weeks. That time permitted Hall to develop as a talk show host while solidifying his position as a well-known popular entertainer. Although both Hall and the show were doing moderately well, FOX decided to cancel *The Late Show*, replacing it with *The Wilton North Report*. During that time, when Hall was without a regular television job, Paramount approached him with a multifilm deal, a deal eventually renegotiated to include a talk show. Yet Hall was still under contract with FOX. In order to prevent a legal suit against both Hall and Paramount, FOX affiliates were used as the main venue for Hall's talk show.

The format of *The Arsenio Hall Show* followed traditional structures set by other late-night talk shows: entrance and rapport with the band (known on Hall's program as "the posse") and the studio audience, the host's initial monologue at the center of the stage, interviews with guests (usually two to three) in the sitting area, and a musical number by an invited artist. Hall nevertheless brought some changes (sometimes quite subtle), in order to provide a more informal mood for his show. There was no desk in the sitting area where interviews were conducted, so he could be

closer to his guests. Hall did not have a sidekick on the show. The set had an area at the stage left of the band designated as the "dog pound" where a group of guests would sit and cheer Hall with barks ("Woof," "Woof," "Woof!") while moving their right fists in circles above their heads. These more informal elements of the show were attuned to Hall's agenda of providing an alternative kind of entertainment to the traditional late-night scene.

From the outset, *The Arsenio Hall Show* distinguished itself by targeting audiences that have been largely ignored by other late-night talk shows: urban African Americans and Latinos as well as younger viewers whom he identified on several occasions as the "MTV generation." Hall reached these audiences through a hip and casual approach to the show, strongly informed by his talent as a stand-up comedian as well as by tales of his childhood experiences in a Cleveland, Ohio, lower-middle-class community. In fact, Hall constantly invoked stories about being someone who left the ghetto for another type of life but who was still emotionally and politically connected to it. The strategy kept his television persona grounded at a level closer to urban audiences.

Another technique Hall used to reach a multiethnic younger audience was showcasing a wide variety of artists, comedians, and performers who were less mainstream and thus not usually invited to participate on other talk shows (for example, Dea DeLaria, Tupac Shakur, Snoop Doggy Dog). In terms of entertainment, some of *The Arsenio Hall Show's* highlights included a whole night dedicated exclusively to musical performances by the reclusive artist Prince, a surprise visit in 1992 by presidential candidate Bill Clinton (who performed two songs on the saxophone), and the taping of the series' 1,000th show at the Hollywood Bowl, starring Madonna.

Although entertainment was a priority for Hall, he also conceived of his show as a space where audiences, especially youth, could be educated. For example, he had a special show with Jesse Jackson as well as a night dedicated to commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. Furthermore, Hall became a spokesperson for



Arsenio Hall.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

safer sex/AIDS awareness, mainly owing to his close friendship with basketball star Magic Johnson, who chose *The Arsenio Hall Show* as the venue for his first public discussion about AIDS after announcing that he was HIV positive.

*The Arsenio Hall Show* also had its moments of controversy. Twice, for example, Hall invited the infamous comedian Andrew Dice Clay, notorious for his sexist, racist, and homophobic jokes. On the second visit, members of the gay- and lesbian-rights groups Queer Nation and ACT UP showed up on the program in order to voice their disapproval of the guest as well as of Hall for having him. These organizations had already confronted Hall during an earlier show, both for not having gay or lesbian guests and for ridiculing homosexuals through one of his recurring impersonations. The visit

of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakahn created another controversial moment for the show, and Hall was severely criticized for not being aggressive in his interview. More generally, Hall's laudatory attitude toward most of his guests was constantly criticized by the popular press.

*The Arsenio Hall Show* can be regarded as an example of a syndicated show that was able to succeed temporarily by targeting an audience largely ignored by other late-night shows, the nonwhite, urban multi-ethnic youth. In fact, in its most popular days, *The Arsenio Hall Show* was able to rank second in the late-night rating race, just behind *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson*.

GILBERT BLASINI

See also **Race, Ethnicity and Television; Talk Shows**

**Host**

Arsenio Hall

**Producers**

Arsenio Hall, Marla Kell Brown

**Music**

The Michael Wolff Band

**Programming History**

1,248 episodes

Syndicated, 1989–94

**Further Reading**

Freeman, Michael, "Rivals Circle *Arsenio* Slot," *MediaWeek* (April 26, 1994)

King, Norman, *Arsenio Hall*, New York: William Morrow, 1993

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## Arthur, Beatrice (1926– )

U.S. Actor

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Bea Arthur stands five foot nine and a half inches tall and has a voice that one reviewer characterized as "deep as a pothole." Her formidable stature and booming vo-

cal register made her an unlikely leading lady in an industry driven by a narrow regime of feminine beauty. But as character traits for Maude Findlay, they proved to

be the perfect foil for the sexist bravado of Archie Bunker in Norman Lear's 1970s sitcom, *All in the Family*, in which Arthur first appeared in the role. The spin-off series *Maude* was created for her virtually overnight. As opinionated and caustic in her own way as Archie, Maude Findlay was a crusader for women's liberation. And in the nascent gender consciousness of the 1970s, the women's movement's fictional spokeswoman had to be big and booming.

Television viewers' love affair with the character Arthur created in *Maude* resulted in a struggle with the actors' nemesis: typecasting. Arthur was a recognized actor on Broadway before making the move to television, appearing in, among others, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *The Threepenny Opera*, and *Mame* (for which she won a Tony Award), but she is nevertheless most remembered as the bombastic caricature of a liberated woman on the small screen. Upon leaving *Maude* in 1978, Arthur took a four-year hiatus before accepting another television series, in hopes the Findlay character would fade from the public mind. When she reappeared on the short-lived *Amanda's* in 1983, playing the owner of a seaside hotel, it was as a physically thinner person. Yet despite Arthur's attempt at transformation, audiences and reviewers alike found it hard to shake their favorite character. "Bea has shed so many pounds she is scarcely recognizable as the imposing, flotilla-like Maude," wrote one reviewer. Arthur responded to the evocation of her prior character, "what can you do? I'm still five feet nine and my voice is still deep. But I'm not going to cut off my legs or change my voice." Arthur's typecasting continued on the hit series *Golden Girls*, which first aired in 1985. Playing alongside well-established actors Rue McClanahan, Betty White, and Estelle Getty, only Arthur seemed rooted in a past performance. Her character, Dorothy Zbornak, was a continuation of the Maude character: loud, worldly, and flippant, she was Maude, approaching old age.

Whether as Maude, breaking television's mold of female beauty, or as Dorothy, challenging the omnipotent image of youth, Arthur's roles on the two hit series were instrumental in broadening television representation. She has been recognized for her work in television with two Emmys, for *Maude* and *Golden Girls*. In 2000, a guest appearance on the series *Malcolm in the Middle* garnered her another Emmy nomination and an American Comedy Award for Funniest Guest Appearance in a TV Series. She has been nominated five times for an American Comedy Award's Lifetime Achievement Award. In 2002, she returned to the stage in her one-woman show, *Bea Arthur on Broadway: Just Between Friends*.

LISA A. LEWIS

See also *All in the Family*; *Golden Girls*; *Lear, Norman*; *Maude*



Beatrice Arthur.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**Beatrice Arthur.** Born Bernice Frankel in New York City, May 13, 1926. Married: actor and theater director Gene Saks, 1950 (divorced); children: Matthew and Daniel. Attended Blackstone College, Blackstone, Virginia; Franklin Institute of Science and Arts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, degree in medical technology; studied acting with Erwin Piscator at the Dramatic Workshop, New School for Social Research, New York. Began career in theater and nightclub performance, New York City, 1947, and thereafter appeared frequently in summer stock, 1951–53; on the New York stage, 1947–66; guest appearance as Maude Findlay in *All in the Family*, September 1971; starring role in the series *Maude*, 1972–78; costar, *The Golden Girls*, 1985–92. Recipient: Tony Award, *Mame*, 1966; Emmy Award, 1977 and 1988; American Comedy Award, 2000.

#### Television Series

1971	<i>All in the Family</i>
1972–78	<i>Maude</i>
1983	<i>Amanda's</i>
1985–92	<i>The Golden Girls</i>

Arthur, Beatrice

### Television Specials

- 1980 *The Beatrice Arthur Special*  
1986 *Walt Disney World's 15th Birthday Celebration* (host)  
1987 *All Star Gala at Ford's Theater* (host)

### Stage (selected)

*Lysistrata*, 1947; *The Dog Beneath the Skin*, 1947; *Yerma*, 1947; *No Exit*, 1948; *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1948; *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, 1948; *The Owl and the Pussycat*, 1948; *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1949; *The Creditors*, 1949; *Yes Is for a Very Young Man*, 1949; *Heartbreak House*, 1949; *Personal Appearance, Candle Light, Love or Money, The Voice of the Turtle* (summer stock), 1951; *The New Moon, Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*

(summer stock), 1953; *The Threepenny Opera*, 1954; *Shoestring Revue*, 1955; *Seventh Heaven*, 1955; *What's the Rush* (touring), 1955; *Mistress of the Inn* (stock), 1956; *Nature's Way*, 1957; *Ulysses in Nighttown*, 1958; *Fiddler on the Roof*, 1964; *Mame*, 1966; *The Floating Light Bulb*, 1981; *Bea Arthur on Broadway: Just Between Friends*, 2002.

### Further Reading

- "Bea Arthur's Having a Ball at the Opera," *Chicago Tribune* (March 21, 1994)  
"Maude Is Getting Comfortable in Her Own Skin," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* (August 10, 2001)  
Rose, Linda, "Actresses' Roles Continue to Evolve," *Daily Variety* (June 6, 1996)

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## Arthur Godfrey Shows (Various)

U.S. Variety/Talent/Talk Show

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Arthur Godfrey's shows helped define the first decade and a half of TV history in the United States. While there were a number of television shows on which Godfrey appeared, his fame, fortune, and pioneering activities centered on two variety shows presented on the CBS TV network: *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* and *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*. These two proved so popular that during the 1950s they served as a cornerstone of the CBS TV's programming strategies.

In December 1948, after more than a decade on radio, principally for CBS, Arthur Godfrey ventured onto prime-time TV by simply permitting the televising of his radio hit *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. On TV *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* ran until July 1958 on Monday nights at 8:30 for a half hour and proved Godfrey's best venue on television. Fans embraced this amateur showcase, and during the 1951-52 TV season it reached number one in the ratings. Next season *I Love Lucy* vaulted into first place, but through most of the 1950s *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* regularly finished in TV's prime-time top ten.

The formula for *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* was simple enough. "Scouts" brought on their discoveries to a converted New York theater to perform before a

live studio audience. Most of these "discoveries" were in fact struggling professionals looking for a break, and so the quality of the talent was quite high. At the program's conclusion, the studio audience selected the winner by way of an applause meter.

Godfrey significantly assisted the careers of Pat Boone, Tony Bennett, Eddie Fisher, Connie Francis, Leslie Uggams, Lenny Bruce, Steve Lawrence, Connie Francis, Roy Clark, and Patsy Cline. His "discovery" of Patsy Cline on January 21, 1957, was typical. Her scout, actually her mother Hilda Hensley, presented Patsy, who sang her recent recording "Walkin' After Midnight." Though this was heralded as a country song, and recorded in Nashville, Tennessee, Godfrey's staff insisted Cline not wear one of her mother's hand-crafted cowgirl outfits but appear in a cocktail dress. The audience's ovations stopped the meter at its apex, and for a couple of months thereafter Cline appeared regularly on Godfrey's radio program. In short, although Cline had been performing for nearly a decade, and had been recording and appearing on local Washington, D.C., TV for more than two years, it is Godfrey who is heralded as making Patsy Cline a star through his highly rated program. Yet Godfrey proved fallible. He turned down both Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly!



*Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*, Haleloke, Arthur Godfrey, The Mariners, 1949–57.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Godfrey's other top-ten TV hit was *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*, which premiered in January 1949. On Wednesday nights Godfrey hosted this traditional variety show, employing a resident cast of singers, which over the years included Julius La Rosa, Frank Parker, Lu Ann Simms, Pat Boone, and the Cordettes. Reprising his role on *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, Tony Marvin served as both announcer and Godfrey's "second banana." The appeal of the hour-long *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* rested on the popularity of the assembled company of singers, all clean-cut young people, and guest stars. Godfrey played host and pitchman.

Indeed, to industry insiders, Godfrey ranked as television's first great salesman. He blended a Southern folksiness with enough sophistication to sell almost anything. As he had long done on radio, Godfrey frequently kidded his sponsors but always "sold from the heart," only hawking products he had actually tried and/or regularly used. Godfrey made it sound as if he were confiding to you and to you alone, and early television viewers listened to his rich, warm, resonant descriptions and went out and purchased what he endorsed.

During the early 1950s Godfrey seemed unable to do anything wrong, despite a press that could find little reason for his vast popularity. He began a fall from grace in October 1953, when he fired the then-popular La Rosa—on the air. Because of the negative fallout, Godfrey thereafter regularly feuded with a host of powerful newspaper columnists including Dorothy Kilgallen and John Crosby.

By the end of the 1950s Godfrey's ratings were falling and his brand of variety show was giving way

to action and comedy series made in Hollywood. Still, through the 1960s, CBS unsuccessfully sought new ways to showcase Godfrey. He flopped on *Candid Camera* but appeared on regular specials: *Arthur Godfrey in Hollywood*, which aired on October 11, 1963; *Arthur Godfrey Loves Animals* on March 18, 1963; and so on, once or twice a season. His final television special came on March 28, 1973.

Television in the United States is most dependent on the star system, and Arthur Godfrey, despite common-sense declarations that he had "no talent," must be counted as one of television's greatest stars. Prior to 1959 there was no bigger TV draw than this freckle-faced, ukulele-playing host. There was something about Godfrey's wide grin, his infectious chuckle, his unruly shock of red hair that made millions tune in not just once, but again and again.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also *Godfrey, Arthur*

### Arthur Godfrey and His Friends

#### Host

Arthur Godfrey

#### Regular Guests

Tony Marvin

The Chordettes (Virginia Osborn, Dorothy Schwartz, Carol Hagedorn, Janet Ertel) (1949–53)

Janette Davis (1949–57)

Bill Lawrence (1949–50)

The Mariners (Jim Lewis, Tom Lockard, Nat Dickerson, Martin Karl) (1949–55)

Haleloke (1950–55)

Frank Parker (1950–58)

Marion Marlowe (1950–55)

Julius LaRosa (1952–53)

Lu Ann Simms (1952–55)

The McGuire Sisters (Christine, Dorothy, Phyllis) (1952–57)

Carmel Quinn (1954–57)

Pat Boone (1955–57)

The Toppers (1955–57)

Miyoshi Umeki (1955)

Frank Westbrook Dancers (1959)

#### Orchestra

Archie Bleyer (1949–54)

Jerry Bresler (1954–55)

Will Roland and Bert Farber (1955–57)

Bernie Green (1958–59)

Arthur Godfrey Shows (Various)

### Programming History

CBS

January 1949–June 1957      Wednesday 8:00–9:00

September 1958–April 1959      Tuesday 9:00–9:30

### Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts

#### Host

Arthur Godfrey

#### Announcer

Tony Marvin

### Orchestra

Archie Bleyer (1948–54)

Jerry Bresler (1954–55)

Will Roland and Bert Farber (1955–58)

### Programming History

CBS

December 1948–July 1958

Monday 8:30–9:00

### Further Reading

Castleman, Harry, and Walter Podrazik, *Watching TV: Four Decades of American Television*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982

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## Arts and Entertainment

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The Arts and Entertainment (A&E) Network is the tenth-largest cable programmer in the United States, boasting about 86 million subscribers. Since its launch in February 1984, the network has spawned smaller cable networks (the History Channel and the Biography Channel), magazines, websites, and many other media products. Through its A&E Television Networks (AETN) subsidiary, it publishes *Biography Magazine* and sells videotapes and DVD copies of its cable airings, though published reports show that AETN has tried to sell *Biography Magazine*. A&E has purchased services to add to the viewing experience such as *genealogy.com* and a travel company to help the audience plan excursions based on the channel's shows; these services, along with the company's lucrative video/DVD sales subsidiary, are successful auxiliary lines of business for the cablecaster.

As AETN is the parent corporation of several smaller cable channels, its ownership is shared by three larger media conglomerates. A&E is owned 37.5 percent by the Hearst Corporation, 37.5 percent by ABC, and 25 percent by NBC. Though Hearst has recently downsized its television operations, its interest in A&E has remained unchanged.

Since the channel's initial telecast, Nickolas Davatzes has held the title of president and CEO, A&E Television Networks. Davatzes received the NCTA's Vanguard Award for distinguished leadership in June 2003 for his many years of cable industry service.

Over the years, A&E programming has garnered many awards. Most honors have been Emmys from the

Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, but other organizations have acknowledged A&E's quality as well. The programs *The Crossing* and *Pride and Prejudice* were recognized with Peabody trophies. The 23rd Annual Banff Television Festival gave its outstanding achievement award to the A&E Channel as a whole. In 2003, A&E Network's *Biography* won the Producer's Guild Award for reality/game/informational series. During the years that the National Academy of Cable Programming awarded CableAce Awards, A&E won 88 times.

Since its first nomination in 1990 for best children's program for *All Creatures Big and Small*, the channel has been selected to vie for 65 Emmy Awards (20 in 1999 alone) and has won the golden statue 12 times. A&E's shows competing for awards included *The House of Elliott*, *Napoleon*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Jane Austen's Emma*, *Investigative Reports*, *The Farm: Life Inside Angola Prison*, *Dash and Lilly*, *PT Barnum*, and *Peter Pan Starring Cathy Rigby*. The long-running *Biography* series collected 11 Emmy nominations with two wins (for Judy Garland and the Rat Pack); the drama *Horatio Hornblower* had 11 nominations and two wins. In 2000, the channel won the academy's Governor's Award for its *Biography Project for Schools*.

Although A&E has had a strong success record within the cable industry, the past few years have been the most difficult in terms of corporate management. As compared to the majority of cable networks, A&E had stellar performance under former general manager Brooke Bailey Johnson. When she resigned in 2000 af-

ter ten years with the company, viewers saw a difference. Audiences declined dramatically during the 2000–2001 season. In the earlier years, A&E provided an eclectic mix of off-network crime dramas, BBC mysteries, dramedy such as *Northern Exposure*, and original series aimed at a target audience of mature women. Those shows centered around A&E signature programming such as *Biography* and *Investigative Reports*.

Of its shows, the highest ratings routinely came from the *Biography* series and off-network reruns such as *Law & Order*. In 1999, the *Hollywood Reporter* listed those two shows within the top five cable programs in terms of advertising revenue, with no other A&E series placing within the top 50. A&E showed the Dick Wolf-produced crime drama at least twice during the day, airing a more recent episode weekly at night, and often had multihour marathons during the weekend. In 1999, A&E did not choose to renew *Law & Order*; the domestic syndication rights were purchased by TNT. The asking price rose from A&E's \$150,000 per episode to the \$800,000 per episode ultimately paid by the AOL Time Warner–owned channel. Similarly, Hallmark bought the license to rerun *Northern Exposure*.

*Biography* seemingly lost some of its singularity as cablers such as VH1, E!, and Court TV replicated *Biography*'s core formula to fit their own programming needs. In addition, A&E created separate cable channels for both the History Channel and the Biography Channel, giving fans another location, around the clock, to see favorite shows. A&E placed its development dollars into first-run drama that impressed Emmy voters but did not draw the steady, large numbers reminiscent of *Law & Order*. After a nearly 10-percent increase in viewers from 1998 to 1999, A&E suffered a 33-percent decline in viewers from 2000 to 2001, primarily in the 25-to-54 demographic.

While A&E's cable audience numbers declined, its video and DVD sales climbed at warehouse mass market stores and through Internet sales. In July 2001 sales spikes were reported for double disc sets of special interest "Collector's Choice" selling at \$19.95 and running about three and one half hours each. Titles included "The Wonders of Ancient Egypt," "The Civil War Journal," and the award-winning "The Rat Pack." Through the DVD sales, the company sells segments of A&E's original productions, *Dr. Quinn Medicine Woman* with extras such as a *Biography* segment on Jane Seymour, and imports such as *The Avengers*, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, and *The Prisoner*. In 2002 A&E earned fourth place in market share of TV DVDs behind HBO Home Video, FOX Home Entertainment, and Paramount Home Entertainment.

To try to improve viewership levels on cable, the



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

channel brought in new teams of programmers to reshape and rebrand the channel. Throughout this period, A&E remained a top-ten cable network. Alan Sabinson, formerly of TNT and Showtime, attempted to create quality programming including the series *Nero Wolfe* and *100 Centre Street*, and A&E licensed a daily "repurposed" showing of ABC's daytime talk show *The View*. During his year-and-a-half tenure, working with an annual programming budget of about \$200 million, he succeeded with critics but failed with the channel's general audience. The budget allowed Sabinson to try new quality shows at the expense of outbidding TNT for *Law & Order*.

In late 2002 Abbe Raven, a 16-year veteran of the company, took over as general manager. Her answers to the problems include spending money for film rights, first-run movies for television, artful reality programming (*Makeover Mamas* and *The Well Seasoned Traveler*), new dramas (*MI-5*), off-network shows (*Third Watch*, *Crossing Jordan*, and *Columbo*), and A&E's signature shows. The company purchased 45 "art house" films geared toward its primary audience.

Programming planned for the 2003–4 season, according to Nancy Dubuc, vice president of documentary programming at A&E, includes a biographical movie about Senator Hillary Clinton and a reality show, *House of Dreams*, where several couples will compete "to plan, design, build and decorate their dream house." These shows will be delivered to affiliates through digital feeds, unlike past seasons where the channel utilized analog technology.

A&E often utilizes well-respected news personalities, past and present, to host its signature programming. This includes ABC's Harry Smith for *Biography* and Joan Lunden for *Behind Closed Doors*, CBS's Bill Kurtis anchors *Cold Case Files* and *American Justice*,



and Mark McEwen hosts *Live by Request*. Former *Northern Exposure* and *Sex in the City* star John Corbett gave his voice to *The Love Chronicles*, an A&E documentary attempt that lasted one season. Actor Paul Winfield provides the narration for the ongoing *City Confidential*; classical radio personality Elliott Forrest has conducted interviews for the channel's *Breakfast with the Arts* for more than a decade. In addition, Forrest licensed radio rights for *Biography* from A&E; he produces a weekly *Biography* radiocast aired to over 100 U.S. stations.

A&E answers to three masters, and it is still in the midst of rebranding itself after a viewership decline in the late 1990s. By changing its programming personnel, taking time to understand the new TV viewer, updating its operational technology, tightening its corporate spending, and embracing reality TV, the channel is showing viewer improvement. Although some programmers and branch sales offices are gone,

the core offerings of the channel—*Biography*, original dramas, British imports, top-named concerts, prestigious award shows such as the annual George Foster Peabody Awards, and similar accessible yet highbrow programs—remain, letting viewers know their dial is set to the same old A&E, now streamlined for the new millennium.

JOAN GIGLIONE

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## Ascent of Man, The

### British Documentary Series

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Born in Poland in 1908, Jacob Bronowski belongs as much to the scattering of central Europe in the wake of pogroms, revolutions, and Nazism as he did to the easy learning and liberal and humane socialism of the post-war consensus in Britain. A mathematician turned biologist, with several literary critical works to his name, he was a clear choice to provide David Attenborough's BBC 2 with the follow-up to the international success of Kenneth Clarke's *Civilisation*.

By Bronowski's testimony, work began on the program in 1969, though the 13-part series only arrived on screen in 1974. Intended as a digest of the history of science for general viewers, and to match the claims of the Clarke series, it actually ranged further afield than the Eurocentric *Civilisation*, although Bronowski retained a rather odd dismissal of pre-Colombian science and technology in the New World. The series faced, however, perhaps a greater challenge than its predecessor, in that the conceptual apparatus of science is less obviously telegenic than the achievements of culture. Nonetheless, the device of the "personal view" that underpinned BBC 2's series of televisual essays gave the

ostensibly dry materials a human warmth that allied them successfully with the presenter-led documentaries already familiar on British screens.

*The Ascent of Man* covers, not in strict chronological order but according to the strongly evolutionary model suggested in the title, the emergence of humanity, the agricultural revolution, architecture and engineering, metallurgy and chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, Newtonian and relativistic mechanics, the industrial revolution, Darwinism, atomic physics, quantum physics, DNA, and, in the final program, what we would now call neurobiology and cognitive science and artificial intelligence. As well as a generous use of locations, the series boasted what were then extremely advanced computer graphics, largely re-filmed from computer monitors, and an appropriate delight in the most recent as well as the most ancient tools, skills, crafts, and technologies.

Bronowski's scripts, reprinted almost verbatim as the chapters of the eponymous book accompanying the series, display his gift for inspired and visual analogies. Few have managed to communicate the essence

of the special theory of relativity with such eloquence as Bronowski aboard a tram in Berne, or of Pythagorean geometry by means of the mosaics in the Alhambra. A decision made early in the filming process, to use sites that the presenter was unfamiliar with, perhaps explains some of the air of spontaneity and freshness that other presenter-led blockbuster documentaries buried beneath the modulated accents of expertise. Though sometimes gratuitous, the use of locations assured more than the visual interest of the series: it at least began the process of drawing great links between the apparently disparate cultures contributing to the development of the modern worldview, from hominid skulls in the Olduvai Gorge, by way of Japanese swordsmiths and Inca buildings to the splitting of the atom and the unraveling of DNA.

That profound belief in progress that informs the series, its humanism, and its faith in the future seem now to date it. But Bronowski's facility in moving among social, technological, and scientific history makes his case compelling even now. His account of the industrialization of the West, for example, centers on the contributions of artisans and inventors, emphasizing the emergence of a new mutuality in society as it emerges from the rural past. On the other hand, the attempt to give scientific advance a human face has a double drawback. First, it privileges the role of individuals, despite Bronowski's attempts to tie his account to the greater impact of social trends. And second, as a result, the series title is again accurate in its gendering: not even Marie Curie breaks into the pantheon.

But it is also the case that *The Ascent of Man*, in some of its most moving and most intellectually satisfying moments, confronts the possibility that there is something profoundly amiss with the technocratic society. For many viewers, the most vivid memory of the series is of Bronowski at Auschwitz, where several

members of his family had died. For Bronowski, this is not the apogee of the destructive bent of a dehumanizing secularism but its opposite, the triumph of dogma over the modesty and even awe with which true science confronts the oceanic spaces of the unknown.

In some ways, *The Ascent of Man* stands diametrically opposed to the patrician elegance of Clarke's *Civilisation*. The elegy to Josiah Wedgwood, for example, is based not on his aristocratic commissions but on the simple creamware that transformed the kitchens of the emergent working classes. For all his praise of genius, from Galileo to von Neuman, Bronowski remains committed to what he calls a democracy of the intellect, the responsibility that knowledge brings and that cannot be assigned unmonitored into the hands of the rich and powerful. Such a commitment, and such a faith in the future, may today ring hollow, especially given Bronowski's time-bound blindness to the contributions of women and land-based cultures. Yet it still offers, in the accents of joy and decency, an inspiration that a less optimistic and more authoritarian society needs perhaps more than ever.

SEAN CUBITT

#### Presenter

Jacob Bronowski

#### Programming History

BBC 2

May 5–July 28, 1973

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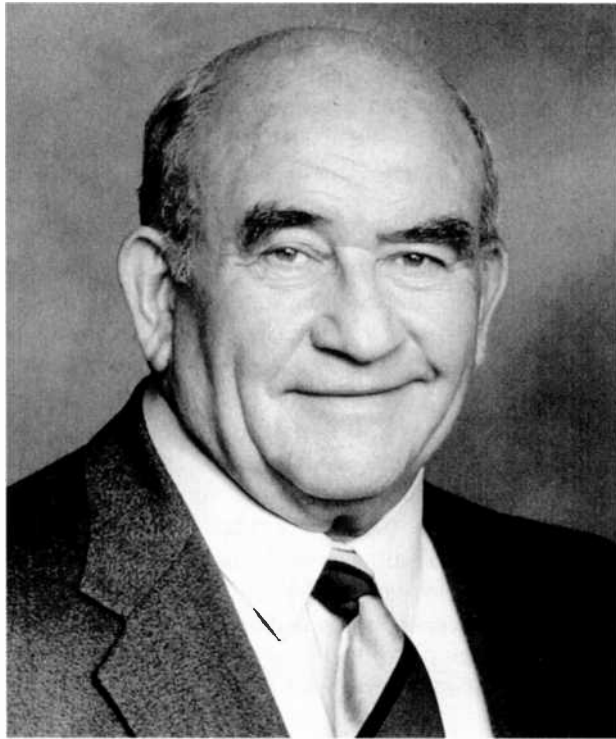
## Asner, Ed (1929– )

U.S. Actor

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Ed Asner is one of U.S. television's most acclaimed and most controversial actors. Through the miracle of the spin-off, Asner became the only actor to win Emmy Awards for playing the same character in both a

comedy and dramatic series. A former president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), Asner's mix of politics and acting have not always set well with network executives, corporate sponsors, or the viewing public.



Ed Asner.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

While Asner is best known for his *Mary Tyler Moore Show* supporting character Lou Grant, the role was a departure from his dramatic roots. Asner began his professional career with the Chicago Playwright's Theatre Company, graduating later to off-Broadway productions. Asner came to Hollywood in 1961, where he received a steady stream of roles, including his first episodic work in the series *Slattery's People*, which ran on CBS in the 1964–65 season.

Asner's big break came when he was spotted by MTM Enterprises cofounder Grant Tinker in an ABC made-for-TV movie; Tinker asked *Mary Tyler Moore Show* creators James L. Brooks and Alan Burns to consider Asner for the role of Mary Richards's boss, the gruff-yet-lovable Lou Grant. According to Brooks, Asner gave a terrible first reading; however, Brooks agreed that Asner had a special quality that made him the clear choice for the role.

Although Asner had previously shied away from comedy, he felt that *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* script was the finest piece of writing he had ever seen. The series paid off for Asner, MTM, and the audience. Lou Grant not only became one of the most successful supporting roles in a comedy series but the prototype for such characters as *Taxi*'s Louie DePalma, whose com-

edy depends on superb timing in the delivery of well-crafted, trick-expectancy dialogue.

After *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* voluntarily retired, Asner became part of another historic TV event when he starred as Captain Davies, a brutal slave trader, in the epic miniseries *Roots*. Meanwhile, James L. Brooks, Allan Burns, and *M\*A\*S\*H* executive producer Gene Reynolds began adapting the Lou Grant character to become the lead dramatic role in a CBS series, in which Asner would star as the crusading editor of the fictional *L.A. Tribune*. Despite a shaky start, the beloved comic character gradually became accepted in this new venue. More than just moving to the big city and losing his sense of humor, however, Asner's more serious Grant became a fictional spokesperson for issues ignored by other mass media venues, including the mainstream press. At the same time, the dramatic narrative offered opportunities for exploring the character more deeply, revealing his strained domestic relationships and his own complex emotional struggles. These revelations, in turn, complicated the professional persona of Lou Grant, the editor.

Like his character, Asner could be outspoken. His first brush with politics occurred when he became a labor rights activist during SAG's 1980 strike, which delayed the 1980–81 TV season. Asner's work on behalf of the actors helped make him a viable candidate for the SAG presidency, to which he was elected in 1981. His political agenda widened, and, in the face of a growing right-wing national sentiment highlighted by the 1980 presidential election of Ronald Reagan, Asner became increasingly vocal against U.S. public policy, including that affecting U.S. involvement in Latin America.

Through *Lou Grant*, Asner's own popularity was growing, leading to appearances in the 1980 film *Fort Apache, The Bronx*, and the 1981 TV movie *A Small Killing*. This level of success was soon to crumble, however, when Asner took part in a fund-raiser to send medical aid to El Salvadoran rebels who were fighting against the Reagan-supported regime. Most disturbing to conservative minds was Asner's direct-mail letter on behalf of the aid organization, which began with, "My name is Ed Asner. I play Lou Grant on television." Conservative SAG members, including Charlton Heston, rose up in arms over Asner using his character to support his own political agenda (of course, one can argue that Heston is so closely associated with his own on-screen persona that his links to conservative causes are just as manipulative).

In his essay on MTM drama, Paul Kerr quoted Allan Burns's assessment of the ensuing anti-Asner onslaught: "I've never seen anybody transformed so

quickly from being everyone's favorite uncle to a communist swine." Within weeks, *Lou Grant* was canceled. While CBS maintains the cancellation was based on dwindling ratings, Asner, and others on the *Lou Grant* production team, feel this was swift punishment for Asner's political beliefs. Interestingly enough, Howard Hesseman, star of *WKRP in Cincinnati*, was also involved with the Asner-supported El Salvador rally; *WKRP* and *Lou Grant* were canceled the same day.

It was not until 1985—the year he resigned as SAG president—that Asner obtained another episodic role on TV, this time playing the grouchy co-owner of an L.A. garment factory in the ABC series *Off the Rack*. After 12 years of quality scripts from his MTM days, Asner's *Off the Rack* experience can be viewed as paying penance for his perceived crimes. In 1988, however, he was back in a more serious role, in the short-lived NBC series *The Bronx Zoo*, which focused on the problems faced by an inner-city high school. In a departure from his own personal views, Asner later landed the role of a conservative ex-cop who often confronted the liberal heroine in *The Trials of Rosie O'Neil*, which starred Sharon Gless as a crusading public defender. Asner has continued to be active as an actor, appearing in made-for-television and feature films and various sitcoms. None of these roles, however, have been as weighty or as important as *Lou Grant*.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also *Lou Grant*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*

**Edward Asner.** Born in Kansas City, Missouri, November 15, 1929. Married: Nancy Lou Sikes, 1959; children: Matthew, Liza, Kathryn, and Charles. Attended University of Chicago, Illinois, 1947–49. U.S. Army Signal Corps, 1951–53. Professional debut, Playwright's Theatre, Chicago, 1953; Broadway and off-Broadway productions and television guest appearances, 1950s and 1960s; prominent as Lou Grant in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, 1970–77, and as the title character in *Lou Grant*, 1977–82. President, Screen Actors Guild, 1981–85. Recipient: five Golden Globe Awards; seven Emmy Awards; Fund for Higher Education Flame of Truth Award, 1981; Screen Actors Guild Lifetime Achievement Award, 2002.

#### Television Series

1964–65 *Slattery's People*  
 1970–77 *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*  
 1977–82 *Lou Grant*  
 1985 *Off the Rack*  
 1987–88 *The Bronx Zoo*

1991–92 *The Trials of Rosie O'Neil*  
 1992–93 *Hearts Afire*  
 1994–95 *Thunder Alley*

#### Television Miniseries

1976 *Rich Man, Poor Man*  
 1977 *Roots*

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

1966 *The Doomsday Flight*  
 1969 *Doug Selby, D.A.*  
 1969 *Daughter of the Mind*  
 1969 *The House on Greenapple Road*  
 1970 *The Old Man Who Cried Wolf*  
 1971 *They Call It Murder*  
 1971 *The Last Child*  
 1971 *Haunts of the Very Rich*  
 1973 *The Police Story*  
 1973 *The Girl Most Likely to...*  
 1975 *Twigs*  
 1975 *The Imposter*  
 1975 *Hey, I'm Alive!*  
 1975 *Death Scream*  
 1977 *The Life and Assassination of the Kingfish*  
 1977 *The Gathering*  
 1979 *The Family Man*  
 1981 *A Small Killing*  
 1981 *The Marva Collins Story* (narrator)  
 1983 *A Case of Libel*  
 1984 *Anatomy of an Illness*  
 1985 *Vital Signs*  
 1985 *Tender Is the Night*  
 1986 *Kate's Secret*  
 1986 *The Christmas Star*  
 1987 *Cracked*  
 1988 *A Friendship in Vienna*  
 1990 *Not a Penny More, Not a Penny Less*  
 1990 *Happily Ever After* (voice)  
 1990 *Good Cops, Bad Cops*  
 1991 *Yes Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus*  
 1991 *Switched at Birth*  
 1991 *Silent Motive*  
 1992 *Cruel Doubt*  
 1993 *Gypsy*  
 1994 *Heads*  
 1996 *Gone in the Night*  
 1996 *The Story of Santa Claus*  
 1997 *Dog's Best Friend*  
 1997 *Payback*  
 1999 *Olive, the Other Reindeer* (voice)  
 2000 *Common Ground*  
 2000 *Becoming Dick*

### Films

*The Slender Thread*, 1965; *The Satan Bug*, 1965; *Peter Gunn*, 1967; *El Dorado*, 1967; *The Venetian Affair*, 1967; *The Todd Killings*, 1970; *Halls of Anger*, 1970; *Change of Habit*, 1969; *They Call Me Mister Tibbs*, 1970; *Skin Game*, 1971; *Gus*, 1976; *Fort Apache*, *The Bronx*, 1980; *O'Hara's Wife*, 1982; *Daniel*, 1983; *Pinocchio and the Emperor of the Night* (voice), 1987; *Moon Over Parador*, 1988; *JFK*, 1991; *Earth and the American Dream* (voice), 1993; *The Long Way Home*, 1997; *Hard Rain*, 1998; *Love and Action in Chicago*, 1999; *The Bachelor*, 1999; *Bring Him Home*, 2000; *Above*

*Suspicion*, 2000; *The Animal*, 2001; *The Confidence Game*, 2001.

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- Feuer, Jane, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi, editors, *MTM: "Quality Television,"* London: British Film Institute, 1984
- Gitlin, Todd, *Inside Prime Time*, New York: Pantheon, 1985; revised edition, 1994

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## Asper, Izzy (1932– )

### Canadian Media Executive

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Izzy Asper is executive chairman of CanWest Global Communications, a multimedia company based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, which controls the Global Television Network as well as interests in production, distribution, international television, and newspaper publishing.

Asper's career began in law and politics. In 1964 he was called to the Manitoba bar and established himself as an expert on tax law. From 1966 to 1977, Asper wrote a nationally syndicated newspaper column on taxation, and in 1970 he authored a book critical of the federal government's tax reform proposals. He was named queen's counsel in 1975. Asper also pursued a political career. From 1970 to 1975, he was leader of the Manitoba Liberal Party and from 1972 to 1975 sat in opposition as a member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly.

In the early 1970s, Asper turned to broadcasting, as he and partner Paul Morton set up Winnipeg independent television station CKND. In 1974 Asper became involved in a financial package to salvage a Toronto-based station, Global Television. Global Television, located in the Toronto-Hamilton corridor, Canada's richest media market, soon became the flagship of a new programming service that supplied Asper's other stations, mostly located in western Canada, with a mixture of Canadian-originated content and top-rated U.S. shows. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Asper continued to acquire other broadcasting assets in an attempt to construct a national television network.

By 1986, however, disputes had erupted between Asper and his partners. The disputes were resolved in 1989, when the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench ordered that the contentious partnerships be dissolved and the assets auctioned to the former partners. Asper emerged victorious from this "corporate shoot-out" as head of a new entity called CanWest Global Communications Corporation.

Upon assuming control of CanWest Global, Asper was able to pursue his goal of creating Canada's third national television network (after the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC] and Canadian Television [CTV]). He achieved this goal in 2000 with the acquisition of the over-the-air assets of WIC Western International Communication. This effectively transformed Global Television into a full-fledged national network consisting of 11 stations reaching 88 percent of the Canadian population.

Asper, however, has not confined his vision to television or limited his ambitions to Canada only. Under his direction, CanWest has assumed an international profile. As of 2001, it owned TV3 and TV4 in New Zealand as well as 57.5 percent of Australia's Ten Network. In 2001 it also held a 45-percent equity stake in the Republic of Ireland's TV3 and a 29.9-percent equity stake in UTV (Ulster, Northern Ireland). In 1998 CanWest also acquired Fireworks Entertainment (producer of such programs as *Relic Hunter*, *Queen of*

*Swords*, and *Gene Roddenberry's Andromeda*), and in 2000 it acquired the assets of Endemol International Distribution. These moves supply CanWest with Canadian content that can also be sold on the international market. In 1999 Asper became executive chairman of CanWest Global while his son Leonard became president and chief executive officer.

Asper's broadcasting career has been characterized by an evolving vision and a willingness to seize opportunities. He has shifted the broadcasting system away from central Canada (Toronto and Montreal) toward the west and even to other parts of the world. He has been pragmatic in producing content that can both meet Canadian regulatory requirements and reach an international audience, and he has positioned CanWest not just as a broadcaster but also as a producer and distributor able to seek synergies across platforms.

PAUL ATTALLAH

**Izzy Asper (Israel Harold Asper)**. Born in Minnedosa, Manitoba, August 11, 1932. Married: Ruth Bernstein, 1956; children: David, Leonard, and Gail. Educated at the University of Manitoba, B.A. 1953; LL.B. 1957, LL.M. 1964. Newspaper columnist on taxation, 1966–77; leader of the Liberal Party in Manitoba, 1970–75; sat in Manitoba Legislative Assembly, 1972–75; named Queen's Counsel, 1975; acquired ownership of a string of independent stations, 1970s; partner, Global Television programming service; head of CanWest Global Communications Corporation and CanWest Capital Group Inc., from 1989, executive chairman, since 1999. Officer, Order of Canada, 1995; CAB Broadcast Hall of Fame, 1995. Recipient: Honorary LL.D., University of Manitoba, 1998; Honorary Ph.D., Hebrew University, 1999.

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## Association of Independent Television Stations/ Association of Local Television Stations

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The Association of Independent Television Stations, known as INTV, began November 10, 1972. Its purpose was to promote the needs of local telecasters throughout the United States that had no network affiliation. At first, the organization served about 70 stations, mostly located in large markets, and worked primarily to solve the economic problems encountered by small stations trying to buy costly shows to fill their programming schedules. One special effort involved attempts to both lower the cost and simplify transmission of programs to nonnetwork stations by means of AT&T's "longlines." When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) deregulated satellite access to national programming in 1975, this problem was eliminated, and much of the recent increase in the profitability of independent television stations can be attributed to reliance on satellite technology. In this same period the FCC also began to allow more station licenses and frequencies per market.

One area of FCC regulation supported by INTV involved the financial interest and syndication rules. These rules restricted network ownership and future syndication rights to the programs networks broadcast and gave those rights to the shows' producers. The re-

strictions created an aftermarket for network shows that could not be controlled by ABC, CBS, or NBC. With access to satellite distribution, independent stations had easier ways to purchase and receive shows and to reach new markets. Due to these changes, INTV's number of member stations—and its power—grew.

In the context of U.S. broadcasting, largely defined by networked stations, independent stations had three obstacles to overcome. The first was the ability to obtain programming at a reasonable cost and in spite of competition from richer affiliate stations in the same local market. INTV eventually advocated support of the Primetime Access Rule (PTAR), which strengthened the syndication industry and made more shows available for independent stations. The PTAR required an hour each day for local programming and succeeded partially because of INTV lobbying efforts. With the implementation of this rule, every type of station, whether network affiliate or independent, had a scheduling space in which independent producers could place shows.

The second obstacle was related to advertising, lifeblood of the U.S. broadcasting industries. Indepen-

dent stations generally provided advertisers with a "spot" market based on demographics rather than on audience size. However, the advertisers had routinely placed national commercials with the national programmers that delivered the huge mass audience. Sponsors were unaware, in some ways, of the profit available from wooing audience segments defined by shared age, wealth, or product-purchasing characteristics. This obstacle was exacerbated in 1970, when Congress banned cigarette advertising on television. This move greatly reduced the advertising revenue available to electronic media, and remaining dollars were keenly sought by all operating stations.

The third obstacle was the audience itself. Independent stations had to provide viewers with shows as compelling as network programs. In addition, UHF stations had to make audiences aware of their very existence and their program schedules. In 1978 only 91 independent stations aired programming, but this mushroomed to 321 by the close of 1988. Most of these stations telecast on newly allocated UHF frequencies with less signal strength and poorer picture quality than the network affiliates, making their identity problems even more difficult. At first, many independent's schedules followed a similar format: movies each night during prime time, network reruns during the day, strong news hours during prime-time access, and religious programming on weekends.

By 1980 INTV's members looked toward the burgeoning cable television industry as a way to increase both viewership reach and advertising revenues. Instead, however, cable providers offered new options for the viewer and actually hurt independent stations in local markets. Independent stations began legal battles, seeking to require local cable operators to carry their signal on local systems, an issue not resolved until 1992.

The entire landscape for independent television stations in the United States changed in 1985, when Rupert Murdoch purchased Twentieth Century Fox Studios from Marvin Davis. Murdoch appointed Barry Diller, formerly of ABC Television and Paramount Studios, to head the venture. Diller believed enough unaffiliated stations existed to support a fourth television network. Murdoch then purchased the Metromedia Corporation, which owned independent stations in the largest U.S. cities, and these acquired stations provided a foundation that allowed Diller and Murdoch to begin the FOX Broadcasting Company.

The new FOX network satisfied INTV stations' needs for regular access to relatively inexpensive programming from Hollywood suppliers. This programming also attracted national advertisements and appealed to the local audience. In signing its new affil-

iates, FOX recruited heavily from INTV member stations, and for the next few years, INTV held its annual conventions in tandem with FOX-affiliate meetings in Los Angeles. These meetings had a profound impact upon the burgeoning fourth network. At the 1988 meeting, the INTV/FOX affiliates made FOX change its operations strategy. Instead of seeking the best producers, who would design programs according to their own tastes and interests, the network now sought to satisfy its member stations. The first result was the cancellation of FOX's short-lived late-night replacement show, *The Wilton North Report*. INTV's leader, Preston Padden, worked closely with FOX executives to institute the pro-affiliate change.

However, INTV made a philosophical break from FOX and began focusing its service on non-FOX members. As FOX's original a-few-days-a-week schedule expanded, the organization showed signs of becoming a network as defined by the FCC, rather than a conglomeration of truly independent stations. In 1990, when 30 percent fewer station members attended the annual INTV meeting, syndicators began curtailing their presence at the organization's conventions. As a result, INTV began holding its conventions in conjunction with the National Association of Television Programming Executives (NATPE), a meeting that attracted far more syndicators than did the FOX affiliates' meeting. FOX hired Padden away from INTV to become its senior vice president for affiliate relations (later, Disney wooed him away from FOX).

INTV welcomed the advent of still more new-network-start-up programming services from Warner Bros. and Paramount Studios. The new arrangements have once again provided greater advertising revenue and easier program acquisition for the INTV members affiliated with the new networks, WB (Warner Bros.) and UPN (United Paramount). However, these affiliations have not lessened the power or interests of INTV. At that time, association leaders were looking toward telephone companies for video dial-tone possibilities and as a means for greater audience access to television programming.

As of March 1995, only 84 stations in the United States had no program provider affiliation, according to David Donovan, vice president of legal and legislative affairs for INTV. Of the other 301 stations considered independent, FOX Broadcasting Company had 150 as affiliates, UPN had 96, WB had 45, and ten stations had combined alliances with both FOX and UPN.

A year later, INTV became the Association of Local Television Stations (ALTV), reflecting the need for advocacy for broadcasters affiliated with nascent networks FOX, UPN, WB, and PaxNet. Over the next six years, the organization focused on issues such as digi-

tal must-carry, satellite carriers, the cable exclusivity rule, and also the repeal of the newspaper/broadcast cross-ownership rule.

ALTV canceled its plans for the January 2002 convention in Las Vegas, Nevada, and reconsidered its role as an advocate for local television stations. On February 5, 2002, the association's board voted to cease its existence. The *Hollywood Reporter* suggested that media consolidation and the weakness in the marketplace for television advertising were the chief reasons for the ALTV's disbandment.

ALTV board chairman Ray Rajewski, executive vice president of Viacom Television Stations Group, said his industry became "far more concentrated, with firms becoming more vertically integrated and expanding into competitive media businesses as well. The end result is that companies are more inwardly focused, and that, combined with a prolonged recession in sales,

doomed our association." At the end, ALTV had 130 member stations.

JOAN GIGLIONE

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## ASTRA. *See* European Commercial Broadcasting Satellite

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## Atkinson, Rowan (1955- )

British Actor

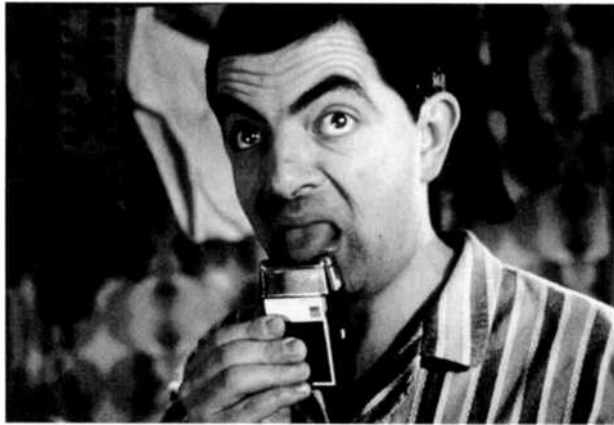
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By the mid-1990s, Rowan Atkinson had achieved a certain ubiquity in British popular culture, with comedy series (and their reruns) on television, character roles in leading films, and even life-size cutouts placed in branches of a major bank (a consequence of his advertisements for that bank). Yet despite Atkinson's high profile, his career has been one of cautious progressions, refining and modestly extending his repertoire of comic personae. As one of his regular writers, Ben Elton, has commented, Atkinson is content to await the roles and vehicles that will suit him rather than constantly seek the limelight.

After revue work at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival and London's Hampstead Theatre in the 1970s, Atkinson first achieved prominence as one-quarter of the

team in the BBC's satirical review *Not the Nine O'Clock News* (broadcast on BBC 2 while the *Nine O'Clock News* occupied BBC 1). After a decade in which British satire had diminished, in the wake of the expiration of the *Monty Python* series, a "second wave" was thereby ushered in as a new conservative government took power in 1979. The four performers (also including Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones, who later formed a successful production company together, and talented comedian Pamela Stephenson) had similar university backgrounds to those of the earlier generations of British television satire since *Beyond the Fringe*. But the show's rapid-sketch format, often accompanied by a driving soundtrack, was less concerned with elaborate deflations of British political and





Rowan Atkinson.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

social institutions or *Pythonesque* surreal narratives; instead, it was a combination of guerilla sniping and playful parody, loosely held together by fake news announcements (the most political and topical segments of the program). Though the quality of the writing varied hugely, Atkinson succeeded most clearly in developing an individual presence through what were to become his comic trademarks—gawky physicality, an abundance of comic facial expressions from sneering distaste to sublime idiocy, shifting mood changes and vocal registers from nerdish obsequiousness to bombast, and his ability to create bizarre characterizations, such as his ranting audience member (planted among the show's actual studio audience) or his nonsense-speaker of biblical passages.

From being the “first among equals” in *Not the Nine O’Clock News*, Atkinson moved to center stage to play Edmund Blackadder in the highly innovative *Blackadder* (also for the BBC), co-written by Elton and Richard Curtis, the latter a writer of Atkinson’s stage shows. The first series was set in a medieval English court, with Edmund Blackadder as a hapless prince in waiting; subsequent series traveled forward in time to portray successive generations of Blackadders, in which Edmund became courtier in Elizabethan England, then courtier during the Regency period, and finally Captain Blackadder in the trenches of World War I. With a regular core cast, who constantly refined their performances as the writers honed their scripts, the series combined, with increasing success, a sharpening satirical thrust with an escapist sense of the absurd. The format served Atkinson extremely well in allowing him to play out variations on a character theme, balancing consistency with change. While all the incarnations of Edmund Blackadder pitted the rational, frustrated, and much put-upon—though intellectually

superior—individual against environments in which the insane, tyrannical, and psychopathic vied for dominance, the youthful, gawky prince of the first series evolved through the wishful, self-aggrandizing courtier of the 1800s, to the older, world-weary soldier attempting merely to stay alive amid the mayhem of war. While the *Blackadder* series undoubtedly took time to find its feet, the attention to detail in all matters, from script to opening credits and period pastiche music, produced in the World War I series a highly successful blend of brilliantly conceived and executed characterizations, a situation combining historical absurdity and tragedy, and a poignant narrative trajectory toward final disaster: in the last episode, Blackadder and his entourage finally did go “over the top” into no man’s land and to their deaths, as in one last trick of time the trenches dissolved into the eerily silent fields that they are today.

If *Blackadder* exploited Atkinson’s skills at very English forms of witty verbal comedy and one-upmanship, his persona in the *Mr. Bean* series linked him with another tradition—that of silent film comics, notably Buster Keaton. Though silent-comedy “specials” have made occasional appearances on British television, this was an innovative attempt to pursue the mode throughout a string of episodes. Inevitably, Atkinson also became, to a much greater extent than previously, conceiver and creator of a character, though Curtis again had writing credits. In *Mr. Bean* Atkinson portrays a kind of small-minded, nerdish bachelor, simultaneously appallingly innocent of the ways of the world, yet, in his solipsistic lifestyle, deeply selfish and mean spirited: the pathetic and the contemptible are here closely allied. It is a comedy of ineptitude, as Bean’s attempts to meet women, decorate his flat, host a New Year’s Eve party, and so on all become calamitous, his incapacities compounded by a seemingly malevolent fate. With its sources in some of his earlier characterizations, Atkinson has been able to exploit his physical gawkiness and plunder his repertoire of expressions in the role. While *Blackadder*’s wit achieved popularity with mainly younger audiences, the *Mr. Bean* format of eccentric protagonist in perpetual conflict with his intractable world took Atkinson fully into the mainstream, with its appeal to all ages. A feature film version, released in 1997, was hugely successful, though it garnered mixed reviews.

Atkinson’s most recent television role—Inspector Fowler in *The Thin Blue Line*—has been a kind of merging of the otherworldliness of *Mr. Bean* with the witty barbs of *Blackadder*. He plays a middle-ranking, idealistic, uniformed policeman with an absolute respect for the values of the law and the job, often ridiculed by his more cynical colleagues. This new se-

ries, widely seen as writer Ben Elton's attempt to create a character-based comedy in a similar vein to the classic *Dad's Army*, received mixed reviews. This bold attempt to reinvigorate an older format has remained a minority taste, regularly revived in the later-evening schedules of BBC 2 but never emerging into the limelight. Its mixed-genre approach, combining character-comedy gentility with an often baroque verbal structure (such as elaborate unintentional double entendres) has tended to mystify viewers. For Atkinson, though, it is something of a logical progression—a variation as opposed to a revolution, and a further integration into the comic mainstream.

So far Atkinson has given no sign of any desire to break out of the character portrayals for which he is renowned. Though his film work has included some strongly defined subsidiary roles (such as his bumbling vicar in *Four Weddings and a Funeral*), he has not attempted to make the move into serious drama and has never had call to portray genuine and serious emotions. Indeed, almost all of his comic characters exude a separateness from other human beings; Blackadder is generally uninterested in women, Bean cannot make contact with prospective partners or friends, and Fowler prefers a hot mug of cocoa to sexual relations with his permanently frustrated female partner. This apparent avoidance of roles demanding emotional display may indicate limitations in his acting range. But Atkinson himself may well regard it more as a choice to concentrate on a steady perfection and crafting of the kind of comic characterization now so closely identified with him.

It seems that the films of *Mr. Bean* and lately Atkinson's Bond-spoof *Johnny English* (from the character created for his Barclaycard advertisements) signal a move away from television. There are still occasional cameo appearances and contributions to charity specials, but it remains to be seen whether Atkinson will return to the medium that established his career.

MARK HAWKINS-DADY

See also *Not the Nine O' Clock News*

**Rowan (Sebastian) Atkinson.** Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, January 6, 1955. Married: Sunitra Sastry, 1990; one son. Attended Durham Cathedral Choristers' School; St. Bees School; Newcastle University; Queen's College, Oxford, BSc, MSc. Launched career as professional comedian, actor, and writer after experience in university revues; established reputation in *Not the Nine O'Clock News* alternative comedy series and later acclaimed as the characters Blackadder and Mr. Bean; youngest person to have a one-man show in London's West End, 1981; runs Tiger Television production company. Recipient:

Variety Club BBC Personality of the Year Award, 1980; BAFTA Best Light Entertainment Performance Award, 1989.

#### Television Series

1979	<i>Canned Laughter</i>
1979–82	<i>Not the Nine O'Clock News</i> (also co-writer)
1983	<i>The Blackadder</i>
1985	<i>Blackadder II</i>
1987	<i>Blackadder the Third</i>
1989	<i>Blackadder Goes Forth</i>
1990–91	<i>Mr. Bean</i> (also co-writer)
1991–94	<i>The Return of Mr. Bean</i> (also co-writer)
1991–94	<i>The Curse of Mr. Bean</i> (also co-writer)
1995–96	<i>The Thin Blue Line</i>

#### Television Specials

1987	<i>Just for Laughs II</i>
1989	<i>Blackadder's Christmas Carol</i>
1991	<i>Merry Christmas Mr. Bean</i>
1995	<i>Full Throttle</i>
1997	<i>Blackadder Back &amp; Forth</i>
1999	<i>Comic Relief: Doctor Who and the Curse of Fatal Death</i>

#### Films

*The Secret Policeman's Ball* (also co-writer), 1981; *The Secret Policeman's Other Ball*, 1982; *Never Say Never Again*, 1983; *The Tall Guy*, 1989; *The Appointment of Dennis Jennings*, 1989; *The Witches*, 1990; *Camden Town Boy*, 1991; *Hot Shots! Part Deux*, 1993; *The Lion King* (voice only), 1994; *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, 1994; *Bean* (*Bean: The Movie*, U.S. title), 1997; *Maybe Baby*, 2000; *Rat Race*, 2001; *Scooby Doo*, 2002; *Johnny English*, 2003; *Love Actually*, 2003.

#### Stage

*Beyond a Joke*, 1978; *Rowan Atkinson*, 1981; *The Nerd*, 1984; *The New Revue*, 1986; *The Sneeze*, 1988.

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## Attenborough, David (1926– )

British Producer, Host, Media Executive

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David Attenborough joined the BBC's fledgling television service in 1952, fronting *Zoo Quest*, the breakthrough wildlife series that established the international reputation of the BBC Natural History Unit at Bristol. The first of these, *Zoo Quest for a Dragon*, established Attenborough as an intuitive performer, so prepossessed by his fascination with the subject at hand and unconcerned for his own dignity in front of the camera that he seemed to sweat integrity. A sense of daring has always surrounded him with a glamorous aura: even in this early outing, the massive Komodo dragon, object of the quest through Borneo, looked as ferocious as its name portends, and Attenborough's presence seemed to prove not only the reality and size of his specimens but a kind of guarantee that we too, as viewers, were part of this far-flung scientific endeavor, the last credible adventure in the period that witnessed the demise of the British Empire. Moreover, *Zoo Quest* engaged, albeit in an entertainment format, a far higher level of scientific seriousness than more child-oriented and anthropomorphic competitors from Europe and the United States. Perhaps only Jacques Cousteau was so resistant to the temptation of cuteness.

Despite this rare skill, shared only by a handful of his fellow scientists (mainly in weather reporting), Attenborough was promoted to senior management at the BBC, where he served for 15 years. As controller of BBC 2, he oversaw (and introduced on screen) the arrival of color on British screens on July 1, 1967, and is credited with turning BBC 2 around from an elite ghetto to an attractive, varied, and increasingly popular alternative to the main channels. His skill as scheduler was evidenced in the "common junctions" scheduling policy, which allowed announcers on the two BBC channels to introduce a choice of viewing, a practice that opened the corporation up to charges of unfair advantage from the commercial broadcasters and contributed indirectly to the pressure for a fourth, commercial channel. Attenborough introduced popular sports like snooker as well as *The Forsyte Saga*, and he pioneered the blockbuster, personality-presenter documentaries like Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation*, Jacob Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, Alistair Cooke's *America*, J.K. Galbraith's *The Age of Uncertainty*, and

his own *Life on Earth*. Common to these expensive—and to that extent, risky—projects was a faith in television as a medium for quite complex historical, cultural, and scientific ideas. Even those series that were less popular achieved the talismanic status of the kind of programs license fees should be used to make. Promoted to deputy controller of programs for the whole network, third in the BBC's hierarchy, he was hotly tipped for the post of director general but abandoned management because, he said, "I haven't even seen the Galapagos Islands." However, he continued to speak passionately in defense of the public service ethos in many public forums.

*Life on Earth*, for which over 1.25 million feet of film were exposed in over 30 countries, subsequently sold in 100 territories and was seen by an estimated 500 million people worldwide. Though he has always claimed modestly that photographing animals will always bring in an audience, the accumulated skills of naturalists and wildlife cinematographers, as well as enormous planning, are required to reach remote places just in time for the great wildebeest migration, the laying of turtle eggs, or the blooming of desert cacti, scenes that have achieved almost mythic status in the popular history of British television. The multimillion pound sequels to *Life*, *The Living Planet* and *The Trials of Life*, the former concentrating on environments and ecologies, created, through a blend of accessible scholarship and schoolboyish enthusiasm, the archetypal middle-brow mix of entertainment and education that marked the public service ethos of the mature BBC. Throughout the trilogy, the developing techniques of nature photography, allied with a sensitive use of computer-generated simulations, produced a spectacular intellectual montage, driven by the desire to communicate scientific theories as well as a sense of awe in the face of natural complexity and diversity. Though it is possible to be irritated by the lack of concern for the human populations of exotic countries, symbolized by the absence of local musics from the soundtrack, Attenborough's combination of charm and amazement has been profoundly influential on a generation of ecologically aware viewers.



David Attenborough.  
Photo Courtesy of David Attenborough

*The Private Life of Plants*, devoted to the evolution and adaptation of flora worldwide, was another spectacular success in the old mold. It has been followed by further focused series on *The Life of Birds*, *The Life of Mammals*, and the scientific and aesthetic triumph of *The Blue Planet*. From dangling in the rainforest canopy to revealing unseen wonders of the deep oceans, Attenborough, now in his 70s, retains his drawing power and credibility. 2000's *State of the Planet* summarized a generation's ecological commitment. Approaching 80, the age he has announced for his retirement, Sir David is said to be preparing another blockbuster on the *Life of Insects*. Honored by the academy, respected by his peers, and loved by audiences, Attenborough's imminent retirement leaves the BBC with a major problem in finding a replacement. Competitors have largely dispensed with on-screen presentation. Attenborough may be not only the first but the last of a disappearing species.

SEAN CUBITT

See also *Ascent of Man*; *Civilisation*; *Life on Earth*

**David (Frederick) Attenborough.** Born in London, England, May 8, 1926, brother of actor Sir Richard Attenborough. Married: Jane Elizabeth Ebsworth Oriel,

1950; one son and one daughter. Attended Wyggeston Grammar School for Boys, Leicester; Clare College, Cambridge. Served in Royal Navy, 1947–49. Worked for educational publishers, 1949–52, joined BBC as trainee producer, 1952; host, long-running *Zoo Quest*, 1954–64; controller, BBC 2, 1965–68; director of programmes, BBC, 1969–72; returned to documentary making in 1979 with *Life on Earth* wildlife series; has since made several more similarly acclaimed nature series. D.Litt.: University of Leicester, 1970; City University, 1972; University of London, 1980; University of Birmingham, 1982. D.Sc.: University of Liverpool, 1974; Heriot-Watt University, 1978; Sussex University, 1979; Bath University, 1981; University of Ulster, 1982; Durham University, 1982; Keele University, 1986; Oxford University, 1988; Plymouth University, 1992. LLD: Bristol University, 1977; Glasgow University, 1980. D.Univ.: Open University, 1980; Essex University, 1987; Antwerp University, 1993. Sc.D.: Cambridge University, 1984. D.Vet.Med.: Edinburgh University, 1994. Honorary Fellow: Manchester Polytechnic, 1976; University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, 1980; Clare College, Cambridge, 1980. Fellow: British Academy of Film and Television Arts, 1980; Royal Society, 1983; Royal College of Physicians, 1991. Honorary Freeman, City of Leicester, 1990. Commander of the British Empire, 1974; Commander of the Golden Ark (Netherlands), 1983; knighted, 1985; Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, 1991. Member: Nature Conservancy Council, 1973–82; corresponding member, American Museum of Natural History, 1985; president, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1990–91; president, Royal Society for Nature Conservation, since 1991. Trustee: Worldwide Fund for Nature U.K., 1965–69, 1972–82, 1984–90; Worldwide Fund for Nature International, 1979–86; British Museum, since 1980; Science Museum, 1984–87; Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, 1986–92. Recipient: Society of Film and Television Arts Special Award, 1961; Royal Television Society Silver Medal, 1966; Zoological Society of London Silver Medal, 1966; Society of Film and Television Arts Desmond Davis Award, 1970; Royal Geographical Society Cherry Kearton Medal, 1972; UNESCO Kalinga Prize, 1981; Boston Museum of Science Washburn Award, 1983; Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science Hopper Day Medal, 1983; Royal Geographical Society Founder's Gold Medal, 1985; Encyclopedia Britannica Award, 1987; International Emmy Award, 1985; Royal Scottish Geographical Society Livingstone Medal, 1990; Royal Society of Arts Franklin Medal, 1990; Folden Kamera Award, Berlin, 1993.

**Television (writer, presenter)**

1954–64	<i>Zoo Quest</i>
1975	<i>The Explorers</i>
1976	<i>The Tribal Eye</i>
1977–	<i>Wildlife on One</i>
1979	<i>Life on Earth</i>
1984	<i>The Living Planet</i>
1987	<i>The First Eden</i>
1989	<i>Lost Worlds, Vanished Lives</i>
1990	<i>The Trials of Life</i>
1993	<i>Wildlife 100</i>
1993	<i>Life in the Freezer</i>
1995	<i>The Private Life of Plants</i>
2000	<i>State of the Planet</i>
2002	<i>The Blue Planet</i>

**Publications**

<i>Zoo Quest to Guiana</i> , 1956
<i>Zoo Quest for a Dragon</i> , 1957
<i>Zoo Quest in Paraguay</i> , 1959
<i>Quest in Paradise</i> , 1960
<i>Zoo Quest to Madagascar</i> , 1961
<i>Quest Under Capricorn</i> , 1963
<i>The Tribal Eye</i> , 1976
<i>Life on Earth</i> , 1979
<i>The Living Planet</i> , 1984
<i>The First Eden</i> , 1987
<i>The Trials of Life</i> , 1990
<i>The Private Life of Plants</i> , 1994

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## Aubrey, James T. (1918–1994)

### U.S. Media Executive

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James T. Aubrey was president of CBS from 1959 until 1965. He later headed MGM Studios, from 1969 to 1973, under studio owner Kirk Kerkorian, and then finished his career as an independent producer. While he is remembered in some circles as the man who oversaw the dismantling of much of MGM's heritage in an effort to save the failing studio from financial ruin, it was his tenure at CBS that earned him his place in the annals of entertainment history.

Aubrey began his broadcasting career as a salesman for CBS's Los Angeles radio station, KNX, in 1948. Aubrey also worked with CBS's new television station, KNXT, and soon advanced into the ranks of the network's West Coast programmers, where he was largely responsible for the development of the offbeat western series *Have Gun, Will Travel*. Aubrey left CBS in 1956 to join ABC, where he was made head of programming, and while there he was responsible for scheduling such shows as *77 Sunset Strip*, *The Real McCoys*, *The Rifleman*, *Maverick*, and *The Donna Reed Show*. He was lured back to CBS in 1958, and shortly thereafter he was named president of the network, succeeding Lou Cowan.

In this position Aubrey's star shined. He assumed complete control over the network's programming de-

isions and added shows to the CBS schedule that would become staples for the next decade, including CBS's famed lineup of "rural comedies." Among the programs for which Aubrey can be credited as the overseer of development are *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Mr. Ed*, *Petticoat Junction*, and *The Munsters*. He also unsuccessfully urged CBS chairman William S. Paley to purchase a Paramount Pictures package of theatrical films to air on the network; the decision to stay away from theatricals returned to haunt CBS, for it allowed NBC to enjoy a substantial advantage in programming feature films throughout the 1960s.

While many critics saw Aubrey's lowbrow programming tastes as tarnish on CBS's "Tiffany" reputation for quality programs, no one could question his knack for finding shows that met with enormous commercial success. By the 1963–64 season, CBS had 14 of the 15 highest-rated programs in prime time and dominated the daytime ratings in a similar fashion. CBS's net profits doubled in kind during Aubrey's tenure, from \$25 million a year in 1959 to \$49 million in 1964.

Aubrey's downfall at CBS came quickly and for a number of reasons. CBS started the 1964–65 season slowly, and its once seemingly insurmountable lead



James T. Aubrey, 1962.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/ CSU Archives

over NBC and ABC was in danger. Aubrey likely would have been given more time to correct the situation had it not been for other factors weighing against him in the minds of Paley and his right-hand man, Frank Stanton. For one, Aubrey's brusque and sometimes ruthless style often alienated his allies as well as his foes, earning him the nickname "The Smiling Cobra." His abrupt and arrogant manner in dealing with people proved especially troublesome when he treated CBS talent in the same way. At various times, he had run-ins with stars such as Jack Benny (whose long-running program was cancelled by Aubrey), Lucille Ball, Garry Moore, and others. Also contributing to Aubrey's demise at CBS were questions of improprieties in the handling of his business and personal affairs, including allegations that he gave special consideration to certain program producers in exchange for personal favors and gifts. These factors combined with the downturn in CBS's programming fortunes and led Paley and Stanton to fire Aubrey from his post in February 1965. Evidence of Aubrey's impact on CBS, at least in the minds of Wall Street financial executives, came in the immediate nine-point drop in CBS's stock price that followed his dismissal.

Aubrey's reputation as a hard-fighting, hard-living executive would follow him for the rest of his life, thanks in part to his immortalization as a leading character in a number of non-fiction and fiction books. He was featured prominently and unflatteringly in Merle Miller's best seller about the television industry, *Only You, Dick Darling!*, while Jacqueline Susann acknowledged patterning the ruthless character of Robin Stone after Aubrey in her 1969 novel, *The Love Machine*. Among Aubrey's credits in his later career as an independent producer was that of co-executive producer of the highly rated and critically

panned 1979 ABC made-for-television movie *The Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders*.

DAVID GUNZERATH

See also **Columbia Broadcasting System**

**James T(homas) Aubrey Jr.** Born in La Salle, Illinois, December 14, 1918. Married: Phyllis Thaxter, 1944 (divorced, 1963); children: Schuyler and James Watson. Graduated from Princeton, New Jersey, B.A. cum laude 1941. Served in U.S. Air Force as test pilot, 1941–45. Started postwar career selling advertising space, Street and Smith and Condé Nast publications, 1946–48; account executive, CBS affiliate KNX, Los Angeles, 1948, and KNXT, 1951; sales manager, then general manager, KNXT and CTPN, 1952–55; manager, CBS television's West Coast network programming (where he and Hunt Stromberg Jr., wrote the outline, based on an idea by other writers, originating the hit television series *Have Gun, Will Travel*), 1956; vice president in charge of programs and talent, ABC, 1956–58; with ABC president Oliver Treyz, initiated *The Real McCoys*, *Maverick*, *The Donna Reed Show*, *77 Sunset Strip*, and *The Rifleman*; vice president in charge of creative services, CBS television, 1958; appointed executive vice president of the CBS television network, 1959; CBS network president, December 1959; launched many successful series, notably *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Mr. Ed*, *Gomer Pyle*, *The Munsters*, *My Favorite Martian*, *Route 66*, *The Defenders*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*; abruptly dismissed by Frank Stanton, president of CBS, Inc., and William S. Paley, chair of the board, February 27, 1965; headed Aubrey Productions, 1965–69; president, MGM, 1969–73; independent producer, from 1973 to 1994. Died in Los Angeles, September 3, 1994.

#### Television Series

1956 *Have Gun, Will Travel*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1979 *The Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders*

#### Films

*Futureworld*, 1976; *The Hunger*, 1983.

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## Audience Research: Cultivation Analysis

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A culture's stories reflect and cultivate its most basic and fundamental assumptions, ideologies, and values. Mass communication is the mass production, distribution, and consumption of cultural stories. Cultivation analysis, developed by George Gerbner and his colleagues, explores the extent to which television viewers' beliefs about the "real world" are shaped by heavy exposure to the most stable, repetitive, and pervasive patterns that television presents, especially in its dramatic entertainment programs.

Cultivation analysis is one component of a long-term, ongoing research program, called "cultural indicators," which follows a three-pronged research strategy. The first, called "institutional process analysis," investigates the pressures and constraints that affect how media messages are selected, produced, and distributed. The second, called "message system analysis," quantifies and tracks the most common and recurrent images in television content. The third, cultivation analysis, studies whether and how television contributes to viewers' conceptions of social reality.

The cultural indicators project was first implemented in the late 1960s, and by the mid-1990s the bibliography of studies relating to it included more than 300 scholarly publications. Although early cultivation research was especially concerned with the issue of television violence, over the years the investigation has been expanded to include sex roles, images of aging, political orientations, environmental attitudes, science, health, religion, minorities, occupations, and other topics. Replications have been carried out in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, England, Germany, Hungary, Israel, the Netherlands, Russia, South Korea, Sweden, Taiwan, and other countries.

The methods and assumptions of cultivation analysis were designed to correct for certain blind spots in traditional mass-communication research. Most earlier studies looked at whether individual messages or genres could produce some kind of change in audience attitudes and behaviors; in contrast, cultivation sees the totality of television's programs as a coherent *system* of messages and asks whether that system might promote stability (or generational shifts), rather than immediate change in individuals. Whereas most research and debate on, for example, television violence has been concerned with whether violent portrayals make viewers more aggressive, Gerbner and his colleagues claimed that heavy exposure to television was associated with exaggerated beliefs about the amount of violence in society.

Cultivation analysis is not concerned with the impact of any particular program, genre, or episode. It does not address questions of style, artistic quality, aesthetic categories, high versus low culture, or specific, selective "readings" or interpretations of media messages. Rather, cultivation researchers are interested in the aggregate patterns of images and representations to which entire communities are exposed—and which they absorb—over long periods of time.

Cultivation does not deny the importance of selective viewing, individual programs, or differences in viewers' interpretations; it just sees these as different research questions. It focuses on what is most broadly shared, in common, across program types and among large groups of otherwise heterogeneous viewers. No matter what impact exposure to genre X may have on attitude Y, the cultivation perspective argues that the consequences of *television* cannot be found in terms of

isolated fragments of the whole. The project is an attempt to say something about the more broad-based ideological consequences of a commercially supported cultural industry celebrating consumption, materialism, individualism, power, and the status quo along lines of gender, race, class, and age. None of this denies the fact that some programs may contain some messages more than others, that not all viewers watch the same programs, or that the messages may change somewhat over time.

The theory of cultivation emphasizes the role that storytelling plays in human society. The basic difference between human beings and other species is that we live in a world that is created by the stories we tell. Great portions of what we know, or think we know, come not from personal or direct experience but from many forms and modes of storytelling. Stories—from myths and legends to sitcoms and cop shows—tend to express, define, and maintain a culture's dominant assumptions, expectations, and interpretations of social reality.

Television has transformed the cultural process of storytelling into a centralized, market-driven, advertiser-sponsored system. In earlier times, the stories of a culture were told face-to-face by members of a community, such as parents, teachers, or the clergy. Today, television tells most of the stories to most of the people, most of the time. Storytelling is now in the hands of global commercial conglomerates that have something to sell. Most of the stories we now consume are not handcrafted works of individual expressive artists but mass produced by bureaucracies according to strict market specifications. To be acceptable to enormous audiences, the stories must fit into and reflect—and thereby sustain and cultivate—the “facts” of life that most people take for granted.

For the cultural indicators project, each year since 1967, weeklong samples of U.S. network television drama have been recorded and content analyzed in order to delineate selected features and trends in the overall world that television presents to its viewers. In the 1990s the analysis has been extended to include the FOX network, “reality” programs, and various new cable channels. Through the years, message system analysis has focused on the most pervasive content patterns that are common to many different types of programs but characteristic of the system of programming as a whole, because these hold the most significant potential lessons television cultivates.

Findings from the analyses of television's content are then used to formulate questions about people's conceptions of social reality, often contrasting television's “reality” with some other real-world criterion. Using standard techniques of survey methodology, the

questions are posed to samples of children, adolescents, or adults, and the differences (if any) in the beliefs of light, medium, and heavy viewers, other things held constant, are assessed. The questions do not mention television, and respondents' awareness of the source of their information is seen as irrelevant.

The prominent and stable overrepresentation of well-off white males in the prime of life pervades prime time. On prime-time TV, women are outnumbered by men at a rate of three to one and allowed a narrower range of activities and opportunities. The dominant white males are more likely to commit violence, while old, young, female, and minority characters are more likely to be victims. Crime in prime time is at least ten times as rampant as in the real world, and an average of five to six acts of overt physical violence per hour involve well over half of all major characters.

Cultivation researchers have argued that these messages of power, dominance, segregation, and victimization cultivate relatively restrictive and intolerant views regarding personal morality and freedoms, women's roles, and minority rights. Cultivation theory contends that heavy exposure to television violence does not stimulate aggression, but it does cultivate insecurity, mistrust, alienation, and a willingness to accept potentially repressive measures in the name of security, all of which strengthens and helps maintain the prevailing hierarchy of social power.

Cultivation is not a linear, unidirectional, mechanical “effect” but part of a continual, dynamic, ongoing process of interaction among messages and contexts. Television viewing usually relates in different ways to different groups' life situations and worldviews. For example, personal interaction with family and peers makes a difference, as do real-world experiences. A wide variety of sociodemographic and individual factors produce sharp variations in cultivation patterns.

These differences often illustrate a phenomenon called “mainstreaming,” which is based on the idea that television has become the primary common source of everyday culture of an otherwise heterogeneous population. From the perspective of cultivation analysis, television provides a relatively restricted set of choices for a virtually unrestricted variety of interests and publics; its programs eliminate boundaries of age, class, and region and are designed by commercial necessity to be watched by nearly everyone.

Mainstreaming means that heavy television viewing may erode the differences in people's perspectives that stem from other factors and influences. Mainstreaming thus represents a relative homogenization and absorption of divergent views and a convergence of disparate viewers. Cultivation researchers argue that television



contributes to a blurring of cultural, political, social, regional, and class-based distinctions; the blending of attitudes into the television mainstream; and the bending of the direction of that mainstream to the political and economic tasks of the medium and its client institutions.

Cultivation has been a highly controversial and provocative approach; the results of cultivation research have been many, varied, and sometimes counterintuitive. The assumptions and procedures of cultivation analysis have been vigorously critiqued on theoretical, methodological, and epistemological grounds; extensive debates and colloquies (sometimes lively, sometimes heated) continue to engage the scholarly community and have led to some refinements and enhancements.

Some researchers have looked inward, seeking cognitive explanations for how television's images find their way into viewers' heads, and some have examined additional intervening variables and processes (e.g., perceived reality, active versus passive viewing). Some have questioned the assumption of relative stability in program content over time and across genres and emphasized differential impacts of exposure to different programs and types. The spread of alternative delivery systems such as cable and VCRs has been taken into account, as has the family and social context of exposure. Increasingly complex and demanding statistical tests have been applied. The paradigm has been implemented in at least a dozen countries besides the United States.

The literature contains numerous failures to replicate the cultivation analysis project's findings as well as numerous independent confirmations of its conclusions. The most common conclusion, supported by meta-analysis, is that television makes a small but significant contribution to heavy viewers' beliefs about the world. Given the pervasiveness of television and even light viewers' cumulative exposure, finding any observable evidence of effects at all is remarkable. Therefore, the discovery of a systematic pattern of small but consistent differences between light and heavy viewers may indicate far-reaching consequences.

Cultivation theory was developed when television viewing in the United States was dominated by three broadcast networks. Yet in the early 21st century, six broadcast networks barely attract 60 percent of primetime viewers. With cable and satellite, the audience is divided among many dozens of specialized channels devoted to news, sports, movies, fashion, cooking, music, health, and more. With the spread of VCRs, the newer personal video recorders, and multichannel digital broadcasting, audiences now seem to choose from an extraordinary range of diverse content, contradicting the assumptions of cultivation.

However, the mere existence of new delivery systems does not fundamentally change the dynamics that drive program production and distribution. There has been little reduction in exposure to "network-type" programming; many new channels mainly offer more of the same types of programs. Concentration of media ownership is increasing as the traditional barriers among networks, stations, studios, syndicators, cable operators, cable networks, and advertisers dissolve.

Furthermore, key aspects of the earlier media system are amplified; for example, premium cable channels have much higher levels of violence than do broadcast networks. Available evidence indicates that new technologies intensify cultivation; for heavy viewers, new media mean even greater exposure to more of the same messages. Thus, technological developments will not diminish cultivation if the messages do not change.

In sum, cultivation research is concerned with the most general consequences of long-term exposure to centrally produced, commercially supported systems of stories. Cultivation analysis concentrates on the enduring and common consequences of growing up and living with television: the cultivation of stable, resistant, and widely shared assumptions and conceptions reflecting the institutional characteristics and interests of both the medium itself and the larger society. Understanding the dynamics of cultivation can help develop and maintain a sense of alternatives essential for self-direction and self-government in the television age. The cultivation perspective will become even more important as we face the vast institutional, technological, and policy-related changes in television the 21st century is sure to bring.

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**See also Americanization; Children and Television; Demographics; Market; Ratings; Share; Violence and Television**

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## Audience Research: Effects Analysis

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Within the field of television studies, effects studies have been both tendentious and critical. Their relative importance is reflected in the following from a 1948 paper by Harold Laswell: "A convenient way to describe an act of communication is to answer the following questions: "Who Says What in Which Channel to Whom with What Effect?"

The question as it is applied to television typically becomes either, How is society different because television is part of it? or, How are individuals or specific groups of people different because they live in a world in which television is available? The first of these questions may be thought of as a matter of media effect upon society, while the second is a matter of media effect upon the development or status of individual people.

Effects of television, then, may be social or psychological and developmental. They may also be short term or long term. Walter Weiss, writing in the second edition of the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (1969), discussed effects literature under ten headings: (1) cognition, (2) comprehension, (3) emotional arousal, (4) identification, (5) attitude, (6) overt behavior, (7) in-

terests and interest-related behavior, (8) public taste, (9) outlook and values, and (10) family life.

For the most part, such effects, however they are characterized, have been studied in a haphazard fashion characterized by the funding priorities of governments and nonprofit foundations. For example, there have been many efforts to assess the effect of the availability of television upon the developmental processes in children. A case in point concerns the British Home Office, which in 1963 established its Television Research Committee with sociologist J.D. Halloran as its secretary. The effects of television were to be studied as both immediate and cumulative, with separate attention paid to perceptions of TV, its content, and its function for viewers.

One area that has been heavily studied and produced an extensive research literature addresses the specific issue of violence, especially the connection between television treatment of violence and its manifestation in society. This work addresses whether portrayals of violent behaviors result in members of the viewing audience becoming more violent in their relationships with others. This issue is often related to other pre-

sumed connections between the models projected by television and various modes of perception and behavior. Thus, the manner in which women and minorities are presented in various television programs may be connected by some researchers to the ways these groups are perceived by viewers in other groups and by the group members themselves.

Just as the presence or absence of a medium or some particular of program content (e.g., violence) can be considered capable of producing effects in an audience, so can such technological innovations as pay-per-view, satellite delivery, three-dimensional presentation, stereo sound, interactive television, the Internet, or streaming. Any of these technological innovations may be linked in a research question with special viewing populations and special samples of program materials in attempts to determine whether or not the shift in technology has an effect on subsequent behavior or attitude.

Effects research is grounded in various forms of social scientific analysis and often depends on such techniques as controlled experiments, surveys, and observations. Challenges to methods, design, or sample size are used to call results into question, and clear, incontrovertible conclusions are difficult to establish. Particularly with regard to research focused on children or on the role of televised violence, these philosophical and scientific difficulties have made it almost

impossible to develop broadcasting policies based on research findings.

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## Audience Research: Industry and Market Analysis

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The television audience is the commodity that stations and networks sell to advertisers. Television audiences are bought and sold, and audience research is the currency, so to speak, that the industry relies upon to make these transactions. From the television side of the business, the goal is to sell as many ads as possible while at the same time charging as much as advertisers are willing to pay. From the advertiser's perspective, the goal is to buy time in programs whose audience contains as many people as possible with the demographic characteristics most desired by the advertiser. Advertisers want to buy these audiences as efficiently as possible. In order to accomplish this task, the industry usually describes audiences and their prices in

terms of costs per thousand. This is simply the cost to purchase one or more ads divided by an estimate of the number of people in thousands. For example, if the cost for one advertisement is \$300,000 and the program audience estimate is 40 million women, 18 to 49 years old, then the cost per thousand is  $\$300,000 / 40,000 = \$7.50$ . There are 40,000 1,000s in 40 million. In this example, an advertiser will spend \$7.50 for every 1,000 women 18 to 49 years old who watch the program in which the ad will be placed. Audience research provides the estimates of the size and characteristics of the audience that the industry buys and sells.

In the United States, the A.C. Nielsen Company provides the audience estimates to stations, networks, pro-

gram producers, advertisers, and advertising agencies. Employing probability sample survey research methodology, ACNielsen identifies which programs people watch and how long they watch them. Printed reports and online computer access allow Nielsen's clients to examine a detailed picture of television audiences. Internet audience estimates are provided by Nielsen/Net Ratings.

Advertisers use this research information to locate the programs, stations, and networks that have large numbers of viewers with demographic characteristics they desire. These characteristics are based upon other market research that indicates such factors as age, sex, income, household size, and geographic location of people who are most likely to purchase and use their products or services. As they identify the significant users and purchasers of their products, advertisers look for television viewers with similar characteristics. These target audiences become the focus of the deals that buyers and sellers make. The audience research data helps identify the size and characteristics of the audience as well as the efficiency of a particular advertising buy.

Television stations and networks approach this equation from the other side. They use market research to identify the characteristics of users and purchasers of products and services to whom they hope to sell advertising. TV sales executives then employ Nielsen audience research to find the programs these target audiences watch. They will then do competitive analyses to compare the size and composition of other station and or network program audiences. They will use this data to convince advertisers that they can deliver more of the target audience at a better price than their competition.

Audience research is an integral part of this business

ritual. It is the starting point for the negotiations in which buyers and sellers engage. As in any business transaction, there are many other factors that will determine price. Supply and demand, personal relationships, and other intangibles affect prices, but in the television industry, audience research plays an important role in how business is conducted.

Audience research has become more complicated with the extraordinary growth in the use of VCRs, cable and satellite delivery, video games, personal video recorders, and digital technology. The audience ratings for a given TV show must be measured in a way that takes into account each of the many ways we use television. In order to obtain accurate audience research, all viewing devices connected to the TV set must be metered and monitored to account for the viewing of television programs delivered over the air, via cable or satellite, playing a video game, playing a tape or DVD, employing a digital personal video recorder, or using a computer in conjunction with the TV. These audience research methods will become even more complex as TV stations and cable systems deliver digital television to a wider audience. This technology will allow for the delivery of either more traditional TV programs or higher audio and video quality.

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## Audience Research: Overview

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The history of media audience studies can be seen as a series of oscillations between perspectives that have stressed the power of the text (or message) over its audiences and perspectives that have stressed the barriers "protecting" the audience from the potential effects of the message. The first position is most obviously represented by the whole tradition of effects studies, mobilizing a "hypodermic" model of media influence, in which the media are seen to have the power to "inject" their audiences with particular "messages," which will

cause those audiences to behave in particular ways. This has involved, from the right, perspectives that see the media as causing the breakdown of "traditional values" and, from the left, perspectives that see the media causing their audiences to remain quiescent in political terms, with the media inculcating consumerist values or causing the audience to inhabit some form of false consciousness.

One of the most influential versions of this kind of "hypodermic" theory of media effects was that ad-

vanced by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, along with other members of the Frankfurt School of Social Research. Their "pessimistic mass-society thesis" reflected the authors' experience of the breakdown of modern Germany into fascism during the 1930s, a breakdown that was attributed, in part, to the loosening of traditional ties and structures, a disintegration regarded as leaving people more "atomized" and exposed to external influences and especially to the pressure of the mass propaganda of powerful leaders, the most effective agency of which was the mass media. This "pessimistic mass-society thesis" stressed the conservative and reconciliatory role of "mass culture" for the audience. Mass culture was seen to suppress "potentialities" and to deny awareness of contradictions in a "one-dimensional world"; only art, in fictional and dramatic form, could preserve the qualities of negation and transcendence. Implicit in this theory was a "hypodermic" model of the media, which were seen as having the power to "inject" a repressive ideology directly into the consciousness of the masses.

However, against this overly pessimistic backdrop, the emigration of the leading members of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse) to the United States during the 1930s led to the development of a specifically "American" school of research in the 1940s and 1950s. The Frankfurt School's "pessimistic" thesis proved unacceptable to American researchers. According to these researchers, the "pessimistic" thesis proposed too direct and unmediated an impact by the media on audiences; it took too far the thesis that all intermediary social structures between leaders/media and the masses had broken down; it did not accurately reflect the pluralistic nature of American society; it was sociologically naive. Clearly, the media had social effects; these must be examined and researched, but, equally clearly, these effects were neither all-powerful, simple, nor even necessarily direct. The nature of this complexity and indirectness also needed to be demonstrated and researched. Thus, in reaction to the Frankfurt School's predilection for critical social theory and qualitative and philosophical analysis, American researchers, such as Herta Herzog, Robert Merton, Paul Lazarsfeld, and, later, Elihu Katz began to develop a quantitative and positivist methodology for empirical audience research into the "sociology of mass persuasion."

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the overall effect of this empirically grounded "sociology of mass persuasion" was to produce a much more qualified notion of "media power," in which media consumers were increasingly recognized to not be completely passive "victims" of the culture industry.

Among the major landmarks here were Merton's *Mass Persuasion* and Katz and Lazarsfeld's *Personal*

*Influence*, in which they developed the concept of "two-step flow" communication, where the influence of the media was seen as crucially mediated by "gatekeepers" and "opinion leaders" within the audience community.

Looking back at these developments from the perspective of the 1970s, Counihan noted the increasing significance of a new perspective on media consumption: the "uses-and-gratifications" approach, largely associated in the United States with the work of Katz and, in Britain, with the work of Jay Blumler and James Halloran as well as the studies of the Leicester Centre for Mass Communications Research, during the 1960s. Within that perspective, the viewer came to be credited with an active role, so that there was then a question, as Halloran put it, of looking at what people do with the media, rather than what the media do to them (see Halloran). This argument was obviously of great significance in moving the debate forward: to begin to look to the active engagement of the audience with the medium and with the particular television programs that they might be watching. A key advance developed by the uses-and-gratifications perspective was that of the variability of response and interpretation. From this perspective, one can no longer talk about the "effect" of a message on a homogenous mass audience, who are all expected to be affected in the same way. Clearly, uses-and-gratifications did represent a significant advance on effects theory, insofar as it opens up the question of differential interpretations. However, critics argue that the theory is limited because the perspective remains individualistic, insofar as differences of response or interpretation are ultimately attributed solely to individual differences of personality or psychology. From this point of view the approach remains severely limited by its insufficiently sociological or cultural perspective.

It was against this background that Stuart Hall, working at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, England, developed the "encoding/decoding" model of communication as an attempt to take forward insights that had emerged within each of these other perspectives. In subsequent years, this model has come to be widely influential in audience studies. It took from the effects theorists the notion that mass communication is a structured activity, in which the institutions that produce the messages do have the power to set agendas and to define issues. This model moves away from the idea that the medium has the power to make a person behave in a certain way (as a direct effect, which is caused by a simple stimulus, provided by the medium), but it holds onto a notion of the role of the media in setting agendas (see the work of Bachrach and Baratz

on the media's agenda-setting functions) and providing cultural categories and frameworks within which members of the culture will tend to operate.

Hall's paradigm also attempts to incorporate from the uses-and-gratifications perspective the idea of the active viewer, making meaning from the signs and symbols that the media provide. However, the model was also designed to take on board concerns with the ways in which responses and interpretations are socially structured and culturally patterned at a level beyond that of individual psychologies. The model was also, critically, informed by semiological perspectives, focusing on the question of how communication works and drawing on Umberto Eco's early work on the decoding of TV as a form of "semiological guerrilla warfare." The key focus was on the realization that we are, of course, dealing with signs and symbols, which only have meaning within the terms of reference supplied by codes (of one sort or another) that the audience shares, to some greater or lesser extent, with the producers of messages. In this respect, Hall's model was also influenced by Roland Barthes's attempts to update Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas of semiology—as "a science of signs at the heart of social life"—by developing an analysis of the role of "mythologies" in contemporary cultures.

The premises of Hall's encoding/decoding model are (1) the same event can be encoded in more than one way; (2) the message always contains more than one potential "reading"—messages propose and "prefer" certain readings over others, but they can never become wholly closed around one reading: they remain polysemic (i.e., capable, in principle, of a variety of interpretations); (3) understanding the message is also a problematic practice, however transparent and "natural" it may seem. Messages encoded one way can always be decoded in a different way.

The television message is treated here as a complex sign, in which a "preferred reading" has been inscribed but retains the potential, if decoded in a manner different from the way in which it has been encoded, of communicating a different meaning. The message is thus a structured polysemy. It is central to Hall's argument that all meanings do not exist "equally" in the message, which is seen to have been structured in dominance, despite the impossibility of a "total closure" of meaning. Further, the "preferred reading" is itself part of the message and can be identified within its linguistic and communicative structure. Thus, when analysis shifts to the "moment" of the encoded message itself, the communicative form and structure can be analyzed in terms of what the mechanisms are that prefer one, dominant reading over the other readings; that is, the means the encoder uses to try to "win the

assent of the audience" to one's preferred reading of the message.

Hall assumes that there will be no necessary "fit," or transparency, between the encoding and decoding ends of the communication chain. It is precisely this lack of transparency, and its consequences for communication, that must be investigated, Hall claims. Having established that there is always a possibility of disjunction between the codes of those sending and those receiving through the circuit of mass communications, the problem of the "effects" of communication could now be reformulated, as that of the *extent* to which decodings take place within the limits of the preferred (or dominant) manner in which the message has been initially encoded. However, the complementary aspect of this problem is that of the extent to which these interpretations, or decodings, also reflect, and are inflected by, the code and discourses that different sections of the audience inhabit and the ways in which this reflection or deflection is determined by the socially governed distribution of cultural codes between and across different sections of the audience: that is, the range of different decoding strategies and competencies in the audience. In this connection, the model draws both on Frank Parkin's work on "meaning systems" and on Pierre Bourdieu's work on the social distribution of forms of cultural competence.

During the 1970s, at around the same time that Hall was developing the encoding/decoding model, the growing influence of feminism led to a revitalization of interest in psychoanalytic theory, in which concern for issues of gender take a central place. Within media studies, this interest in psychoanalytic theories of the construction of gendered identities, within the field of language and representation, was one of the informing principles behind the development of the particular approach to the analysis of the media (predominantly the cinema) and its effects on the spectator, developed by the journal *Screen* (for a time in the late 1970s, heavily influential in this field, particularly in British film studies).

Screen theory emphasized the analysis of the effects of cinema (and especially, the regressive effects of mainstream, commercial Hollywood cinema) in "positioning" the spectator (or subject) of the film, through the way in which the text (by means of camera placement, editing, and other formal characteristics) "fixed" the spectator into a particular kind of "subject-position," which, it was argued, "guaranteed" the transmission of a certain kind of "bourgeois ideology" of naturalism, realism, and verisimilitude.

Screen theory was largely constituted by a mixing of Jacques Lacan's rereading of Sigmund Freud, stressing the importance of language in the unconscious, and

Louis Althusser's early formulation of the "media" as an "Ideological State Apparatus" (even if operating in the private sphere), which had the principal function of securing the reproduction of the conditions of production by "interpellating" its subjects (spectators, audiences) within the terms of the "dominant ideology." Part of the appeal of this approach for media scholars rested in the weight the theory gave to ("relatively autonomous") language and "texts" (such as films and media products) as having real effects in society. To this extent, the approach was argued to represent a significant advance on previous theories of the media (including traditional Marxism), which had stressed the determination of all superstructural phenomena (such as the media) by the "real" economic "base" of the society, thus allowing no space for the conceptualization of the media themselves as having independent (or at least, in Althusser's terms, "relatively autonomous") effects of their own.

Undoubtedly one of screen theory's great achievements, drawing as it did on psychoanalysis, Marxism, and the formal semiotics of Christian Metz, was to restore an emphasis on the analysis of texts that had been absent in much previous work. In particular, the insights of psychoanalysis were extremely influential in the development of later feminist work on the role of the media in the construction of gendered identities and gendered forms of spectatorship.

Proponents of screen theory argued that previous approaches had neglected the analysis of the textual forms and patterns of media products, concentrating instead on the analysis of patterns of ownership and control—on the assumption, crudely put, that once the capitalist ownership of the industry was demonstrated, there was no real need to examine the texts (programs or films) themselves in detail, as they would only display minor variations within the narrow limits dictated by their capitalist owners. Conversely, screen theory focused precisely on the text and emphasized the need for close analysis of textual/formal patterns: hardly surprisingly, given the background of its major figures in English and literary studies. However, these theorists' arguments, in effect, merely inverted the terms of the sociological/economic forms of determinist theory that they critiqued. In screen theory, it was the text itself that was the central (if not exclusive) focus of the analysis, on the assumption that, since the text "positioned" the spectator, all that was necessary was the close analysis of texts, from which their "effects" on spectators could be automatically deduced, as spectators were bound to take up the "positions" constructed for them by the text (film).

The textual determination of screen theory, with its constant emphasis on the "suturing" (see Heath) of the

spectator into the predetermined subject position constructed for him or her by the text, thus allocated a central place in media analysis to the analysis of the text. As Moores puts it, "the aim was to uncover the symbolic mechanisms through which cinematic texts confer subjectivity upon readers, sewing them into the film narrative, through the production of subject positions" on the assumption that the spectator (or reading subject) is left with no other option but, as Heath suggests, to "make...the meanings the film makes for him/her."

Although film studies remains influenced by the psychoanalytic model (which has been usefully developed by Valerie Walkerdine in a way that attempts to make the paradigm less universalist/determinist), within communication and media studies it was Hall's encoding/decoding model that set the basic conceptual framework for the notable boom in studies of media consumption and the media audiences that occurred during the 1980s. To take only the best-known examples, the body of work produced in that period included David Morley's study of the *Nationwide* audience, Dorothy Hobson's study of *Crossroads* viewers, Tania Modleski's work on women viewers of soap opera, Janice Radway's study of readers of romance fiction, Ien Ang's study of *Dallas* viewers, John Fiske's study entitled *Television Culture*, Greg Philo and Justin Lewis's studies of the audience for television news, Sut Jhally and Lewis's study of American audiences for *The Cosby Show*, and the work of K. Schroder and Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz on the consumption of American television fiction in other cultures. Toward the end of the 1980s, much of the most important new material on media consumption was collected together in the published proceedings of two major conferences on audience studies—Phillip Drummond and Richard Paterson's collection *Television and Its Audience*, bringing together work on audiences presented at the International Television Studies Conference in London in 1986, and Ellen Seiter's collection *Remote Control: Television, Audiences, and Cultural Power*, based on the influential conference of that name held in Tübingen, Germany, in 1987.

During the late 1980s, a new strand of research developed in audience studies, focusing on the domestic context of television's reception within the household, often using a broadly ethnographic methodology and characteristically focusing on gender differences in TV viewing habits within the household or family. The major studies in this respect are Morley's *Family Television*, James Lull's *Inside Family Viewing*, Ann Gray's *Video Playtime*, Roger Silverstone's *Television and Everyday Life*, and, from a historical perspective, Lynn Spigel's *Make Room for TV*.

In recent years, a number of technological and market developments have transformed the terrain of media consumption. The rise of home video, with its capacity for "time shifting," has meant that viewers are no longer compelled to watch programs when they are broadcast but can integrate the shows more readily into their personal schedules. The remote control enables viewers to "graze" the broadcast schedules without rising from their armchairs, making audience members capable of "cannibalizing" what the broadcasters offer into their own customized/personalized viewing selections. At the same time, the development of cable and satellite services in many countries has led to the growth of multichannel viewing environments, where TV viewers now have a far wider range of choices.

Some observers have argued that these developments lead to the greater empowerment of the viewer/consumer in relation to the broadcasters. In combination with the dominant consumerist ideologies of the 1980s and 1990s, these technological and institutional changes have strengthened the development of what has come to be known as "active audience" theory. However, more recently some critics have urged caution, warning that audience activity should not be conflated with audience power, insofar as the media institutions continue to set the agenda (even if it is now broader and more readily time shifted and cannibalized by the viewer) from which audiences have to make their viewing choices.

One of the most significant issues that arises in this new technological and institutional context is that of the cultural consequences of the fragmentation of broadcast audiences. In this new situation, fewer people share a common broadcast experience as provided by a national broadcast channel. National broadcasting systems can no longer encourage social or cultural integration to the same extent that they did in the past. This trend continues with the rise of satellite broadcasting systems, which often bring together diasporic audiences across wide geographical territories, which transcend and cut across national communities and boundaries.

DAVID MORLEY

**See also Americanization; Children and Television; Demographics; Market; Ratings; Share; Violence and Television**

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## Audience Research: Reception Analysis

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Despite the (implicit) nominal link of "reception analysis," as defined in media studies, to the work on what is called "reception theory" within the field of literary studies, the body of recent work on media audiences commonly referred to by this name has, on the whole, a different origin than the work in literary theory—although there are some theoretical links between the two fields (see, for example, the work of Stanley Fish). In practice, the term "reception analysis" has come to be widely used as a way of characterizing the wave of audience research that occurred within communica-

tions and cultural studies during the 1980s and 1990s. On the whole, this work has adopted a "culturalist" perspective, has tended to use qualitative (and often ethnographic) methods of research, and has been concerned primarily with exploring the active choices, uses, and interpretations made of media materials by their consumers.

The single most important point of origin for this work lies with the development of cultural studies in the writings of Stuart Hall at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham,

England, in the early 1970s, and, in particular, Hall's widely influential "encoding/decoding" model of communications. Hall's model provided the inspiration, and much of the conceptual framework, for a number of the center's explorations of the process of media consumption, notably David Morley's widely cited study of the cultural patterning of differential interpretations of media messages among *The Nationwide's* audience and Dorothy Hobson's work on women viewers of the soap opera *Crossroads*. These works were the forerunners of a blossoming, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, of cultural studies analyses focusing on the media audience, including the influential feminist studies of Tania Modleski and Janice Radway on women consumers of soap opera and romance, and the work of Ien Ang, Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz, Kim Schroder, and Jostein Gripsrud on international, cross-cultural consumption of American drama series such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty*.

Much of this work has been effectively summarized and popularized, especially in the United States, by John Fiske, who has drawn on the theoretical work of Michel de Certeau to develop a particular emphasis on the "active audience," operating within what Fiske terms the "semiotic democracy" of postmodern pluralistic culture. Fiske's work has subsequently been the object of some critique, in which a number of authors, among them B. Budd, Celeste Condit, W. Evans, Jostein Gripsrud, and William Seaman, have argued

that reception analysts' emphasis on the openness (or "polysemy") of the message and on the activity (and the implied "empowerment") of the audience has been taken too far, to the extent that the original issue—the extent of media power—has been lost sight of, as if the "text" had been theoretically "dissolved" into the audience's (supposedly) multiple "readings" of (and "resistances" to) it.

In the late 1980s, many called for scholars to recognize a possible "convergence" of previously disparate approaches under the general banner of "reception analysis" (see, for example, Jensen and Rosengren), whereas Jay Blumler and his coauthors claimed that the work of a scholar such as Radway is little more than a "re-invention" of the "uses and gratifications" tradition—a claim hotly contested by K. Schroder. More recently, both James Curran and J. Corner have offered substantial critiques of "reception analysis"—the former accusing many reception analysts of ignorance of the earlier traditions of media audience research, and the latter accusing them of retreating away from important issues of macropolitics and power into inconsequential microethnographies of domestic television consumption. For a reply to these criticisms, see Morley, 1992.

DAVID MORLEY

#### Further Reading

See under "Audience Research: Overview."

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## Auf Wiedersehen, Pet

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*Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* was a critically acclaimed and popular drama series from 1983 about an ill-assorted group of British builders working on a German construction site. Perhaps one of the earliest examples of the comedy-drama genre in Britain, *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* fused gritty realism with wry humor to play out the personal tensions between the groups and the historical and football rivalries between England and Germany. Penned by the comedy writing team Ian La Frenais and Dick Clement, it produced a rogue's gallery of recognizable and lovable characters that resurfaced in two more series, one in 1986 and the other 16 years later in 2002.

The program was created by film director Franc Roddam after he visited his home village in the north-

east of England in the late 1970s, only to discover that many of the people he had grown up with were working as builders in Germany. He took the idea to La Frenais and Clement, who were particularly known for their working-class sitcom set in the northeast, *The Likely Lads* (1964–66), and its follow-up, *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads* (1973–74). The original aim was to make a two-hour film, but Central Television persuaded them to expand it into 13 hour-long episodes.

A cast of unknowns was gathered, many coming from the northeast region after producer Martin McKend and his directors Roger Bamford and Baz Taylor went to Newcastle to review people from local bands and theater groups. Once recruited, the mixed

group of actors practiced building crafts on set for a month before shooting began. Shooting took place over 18 months at Elstree Studios and on location in Frankfurt. The series was the first British drama to be shot abroad, and at the time this use of location video gave the program a visually distinctive and dynamic edge.

The series follows the exploits of the seven builders, who came from all over Britain to find work. They live in a squalid hut on the building site and have to brave rain and mud to get to the temporary ablutions hut. The camp mentality is ironically reminiscent of World War II prisoner-of-war films like *The Great Escape* (1963) and *The Colditz Story* (1955) as the characters squirm under German management, and much of the humor derives from the inevitable cultural misunderstandings that occur between the British and their hosts.

The humor is also derived from the relationships among a disparate group of people thrown together. Sharply observed with a witty script, the drama is also underscored by the regional differences between the characters. One of the most striking aspects of *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* is the use of language, especially working-class vernacular and regional dialects. The seven characters all conform to different types, such as Barry Taylor (Timothy Spall), the sensible but irritating bore from Birmingham, and Wayne Norris (Gary Holton), the Cockney "wide-boy" philandering his way through the young German women. Yet it is three "Geordies" who provide the lynchpin for the action ("Geordie" is a term for the working-class accent of the northeast of England and the people who live there). Dennis Patterson (Tim Healey) is the mature voice of reason; Neville Hope (Kevin Whately), whiny and homesick; and "Oz" Osbourne (Jimmy Nail), the large, loud, loutish oaf.

Although *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* can now be regarded as a comedy drama it was, at the time and at heart, a serious drama. Transmitted in 1983, it reflected a period of growing unemployment and economic depression in areas such as the northeast of England. Described in the press as *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982) with jobs, the series looked at what happened to those who left home to find work to feed their wives and families. The colloquialism of the title suggests this sequestration from home and community. The word "pet," a Geordie endearment, is appended to the German phrase for "goodbye," and thus alludes to the women left behind in Britain, and also perhaps in Germany. The lyricism of the language and regional affinity thus celebrates a sense of community, and thereby more powerfully evokes its loss.

Most of the cast members were propelled to success in their respective acting careers. Nail went on to take the lead role in *Spender* (1991–93) and *Crocodile*

*Shoes* (1994). Whately went on to play in a number of dramas but will perhaps be best remembered for playing Sergeant Lewis, the sidekick to John Thaw, in *Inspector Morse*. Timothy Spall went on to a career in film and television, notably turning up in works by Stephen Poliakoff such as *Shooting the Past* (1999) and *Perfect Strangers* (2001), and in films by Mike Leigh such as *Secrets and Lies* (1996)

The program returned in two more incarnations. The second 13-part series follows the group as they work on a villa in Spain owned by a gangster played by Bill Paterson. The production was tragically marked by the premature death of Gary Holton in 1985 from a heroin overdose. Production was sufficiently advanced, however, that there was enough footage of Holton to ensure the completion of the series.

After a break of 16 years, the third series came about by chance and was aired by the BBC. Whately, Nail, and Healey had reprised their characters for a charity stage show (for which La Frenais and Clement had written scenes) and news reached Roddam, who held the rights to the series. Roddam lived next door to BBC 1 Controller Alan Yentob, and a deal was made over the garden fence.

In the new six-episode series, the old gang is reunited by Oz to help move the Middlesborough transporter bridge to Arizona. La Frenais and Clement cleverly show how the characters have fared over the years, and Wayne is replaced in the series by his fictional long-lost son, played by Noel Clarke. The comeback was a critical success and a ratings triumph for the BBC. In May 2002 discussion was under way regarding a fourth series.

ROB TURNOCK

*See also Boys from the Blackstuff; La Frenais, Ian; Likely Lads, The*

#### Cast

Dennis Patterson	Tim Healey
Leonard "Oz" Osbourne	Jimmy Nail
Neville Hope	Kevin Whately
Brian "Bomber" Busbridge	Pat Roach
Wayne Norris	Gary Holton (1983, 1986)
Barry Taylor	Timothy Spall
Albert Moxey	Christopher Fairbank
Herr Grunwald	Michael Sheard (1983)
Dagmar	Brigitte Kahn (1983)
Ally Frazer	Bill Paterson (1986)
Wyman	Noel Clark (2002)
Jeffrey Granger	Bill Nighy (2002)

#### Creator

Franc Roddam

**Producers**

Martin McKeand (1983, 1986)  
Joy Spink (2002)

**Writers**

Ian La Frenais  
Dick Clement  
Stan Hey (1983, 1986)

**Programming History**

ITV	
1984–85	13 episodes
November 1984–January 1985	Friday 9:00–10:00
1986	13 episodes
February–May 1986	Friday 9:00–10:00
BBC	
2002	6 episodes
April–June 2002	Sunday 9:00–10:00

## Australia

Before the recent shift away from oligopoly, Australian television showed a pattern of “historical modernity.” The key features of this were as follows: a dual or mixed system consisting of private, commercial television broadcast networks as well as a public service sector; heavy reliance on American-style programming practices and, initially at least, equally heavy reliance on imported programs from the United States to fill the television schedule; the start-up of local programs on the commercial networks that, when coupled with imported programs, guaranteed the overall viewing popularity of this sector; a relatively weak public service sector, perpetually caught in the dilemma of attempting to hold its traditional minority audiences with innovative, local programs and attracting larger, entertainment-oriented audiences with more mainstream programs, often imported from the international paradigm of public broadcasters, the BBC. While this pattern has been generally true for local television, it has not, however, been a static one. In particular Australian television has followed a classic economic tendency of “import substitution” whereby, after an initial flood of U.S. programs, locally produced popular television programs soon appeared that displaced imported programs in the schedule. In other words, imports played an important role in the development of a local television production industry. However, in the present post-oligopoly era, broadcasters again find themselves heavily reliant on imports, this time in the shape of TV program formats.

These broad features—vigorous private commercial networks, weakened public service sector; ongoing substitution of locally produced programs for imports—are part of a more general international and historical pattern that is repeated elsewhere in the past

and the present. Hence there is a good deal of interest for television scholars generally in the historic trajectory of Australian television, both for its own sake and because of the comparative insights it offers. McLuhan once claimed that Canadian media developments were an “early warning system” for trends that would later appear elsewhere and Richard Collins has echoed this claim, warning pessimistically of the possible “Canadianization” of television in Europe and elsewhere. However, the Australian experience has been at once more complex, more interesting, and more positive. Given the linguistic and cultural barriers at work in countries in Europe and in other parts of the world, there are strong grounds for believing that “*Dallas*-ization” of international television, so much feared in the 1980s and early 1990s, was in fact a passing phase. Instead, the Australian experience of television, most especially that of “import substitution,” is likely to be repeated elsewhere.

**Structure**

Television broadcasting began in the 1950s (Sydney and Melbourne in 1956 and Brisbane and Adelaide in 1959), a time that links it with television start-ups in other “major minor” territories including Canada, Italy, and the Netherlands. In fact, however, the structure of the Australian system was set in place in 1950 when a newly elected conservative federal government reversed the decision of a postwar socialist government that television was to be a monopoly in the hands of a public service broadcaster. Instead, the new government decided that television was to be a dual system comprising a private, commercial sector and a public service one. This decision could be justified on the

structural grounds that Australian radio had been a dual system since 1932 when the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) had been established. (In point of fact the 1932 development had been intended to create a unitary, public service broadcasting system along the lines of the BBC, an outcome thwarted when private broadcasters bought out community radio licenses after surrendering their own to the government.)

This dual system of Australian television remained in place from 1956 until the licensing of community television stations in 1994 and the advent of a cable subscription service in 1995. This is not, however, to suggest that the channel choice of viewers remained the same over this period. In 1956 viewers in the larger cities had two commercial and one public service channel to choose from. By 1965 there were three commercial services available. In 1980 a second public service channel went on the air while the community channels of 1994 signaled both the advent of a third sector as well as the sixth channel in the system. In deciding on the shape of the commercial services the initial consideration was technical: how many transmitting frequencies could be made available in each center of population? The answer generally was one, although in larger centers it was two.

Commercial television licenses were awarded to two operators in the state capitals of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Adelaide, and one in Canberra, Perth, and Hobart. One commercial license was awarded in smaller cities and towns. This development occurred in several stages but by 1965 nearly 80 percent of the country came within the reach of television.

The granting of two licenses in the four most populous cities facilitated the development of networking arrangements across the east coast capital cities. Between 1956 and 1987, this system meant a combining together of local interests for the purposes of cost sharing for program buying and program production. With newspaper companies securing major shares in several of these stations, the first metropolitan networking arrangements built on long-term associations between different capital city press proprietors. Hence, for example, Frank Packer's TCN Channel 9 Sydney soon had links with HSV Channel 7 Melbourne. However, Packer had ambitions to establish a television network chain, applying unsuccessfully for commercial licenses in Brisbane and in country areas of New South Wales. In 1960 he bought GTV Channel 9 in Melbourne and the Nine Network was born. With some 35 percent of the national population, Sydney and Melbourne formed the hub of the network while Brisbane and Adelaide became satellites. The commercial stations with the designation "7" were forced into partnership but, lacking a common owner,

the Seven Network (which emerged later in the decade) was always a looser association.

The Packer buyout was permitted under a two-station ownership rule contained in the 1956 Broadcasting and Television Act and the Melbourne purchase highlighted the dominance of newspaper interests in Australian commercial television. Until the rule was changed in 1987, the Packer Consolidated Press group controlled TCN 9 and GTV 9, and the Herald & Weekly Times group operated HSV 7 while John Fairfax and Sons controlled ATN 7. The other notable press entrant was the young Rupert Murdoch, owner of the afternoon *Adelaide News*, who in 1958 gained the license for one of the first two commercial Adelaide television stations, NWS Channel 9.

In 1953 a Royal Commission had recommended that the ABC run the public service television service. The government accepted this advice and allocated one channel to the ABC. Single ABC television stations began in Sydney and Melbourne in 1956-57 and other ABC stations rippled out across the country over the next nine years. Under its long-serving general manager, Sir Charles Moses, the ABC gave little thought to the new medium. Instead it regarded television as an extension of radio, an attitude it shared with its great parent and model, the BBC. Thus by 1964, when Moses retired, the ABC's audience share was below 10 percent and badly in need of a shake-up.

## Programs

Early television owners and executives did not give a great deal of thought to program supply, concerned as they were with the capital cost of establishing and operating stations. Although several would-be licensees expressed commitment to the idea of locally produced programs both during the hearings of the 1954 Royal Commission on Television and the subsequent License Inquiries (1955-59), their initial practice did not encourage local production. Fortunately for them, the early 1950s had seen American television switch from the live production of network programs, including variety and drama, in New York and Chicago, to filmed-series production of fiction in Hollywood. Hence when television actually began in Australia, there was already a plentiful supply of high-quality fiction and other U.S. programming available and these soon dominated the prime-time schedule on the commercial stations. Owners and operators took advantage of this low-cost supply and quickly offset initial establishment capital costs of the system. Meanwhile, the ABC also achieved the same end through programs derived from the BBC.

Additionally these imports subsidized the production of local programs in several different genres. Variety/light entertainment programs represented an important investment in the early years of Australian television and programs such as *The Johnny O'Keefe Show*, *In Melbourne Tonight*, and *The Bobby Limb Late Show* rated extremely well in prime time. Other genres of local production included news, game shows, and sporting broadcasts. There was also a small amount of "live" fiction produced in this period although, generally, it did not rate sufficiently well to justify the costs involved.

The most interesting area of local production was, however, that of television commercials. In 1960 the federal government issued a requirement that 100 percent of all commercials be locally produced. Even more than the indigenizing of formats and formulas, already under way in game shows and light entertainment, this protectionist measure signaled that import substitution was under way. Shortly, it would spread to higher-cost genres, including fiction.

The initial functions of Australian television stations lay both in distribution/exhibition and in program production. Hollywood in the studio era with its vertically integrated structure offered an appropriate blueprint. In the Australian situation, the creation of television production soundstages was necessary because the fragile feature film production industry of the 1950s mostly lacked such infrastructure. In addition, owning these facilities would give television operators control over programs, deemed to be necessary given the often dictatorial practices advertisers had already demonstrated in radio.

The most notable stations for in-house production in this early period were ATN Channel 7 in Sydney, GTV Channel 9 in Melbourne, and the ABC in those two cities. GTV Channel 9's highly successful *In Melbourne Tonight* ran until 1975. Meanwhile, ATN persisted with in-house production until 1970, while the ABC only opened its doors to outside independent packagers in 1986.

### Development of the System

Australian television history can be divided into four periods, covering the years from 1956 to the present. These can be designated as eras of Live Television, Filmed-Series Television, "Quality" Television and New Television. Some of their features have been touched upon already but they can be outlined as follows.

#### *Live Television*

In the phase up to 1965, the period of Live Television, the institution was bounded in part by its technol-

ogy. Programs were either imported and therefore available on film, put live to air, or kinescoped as a filmed record of a live broadcast. The first video recorder was imported by Channel 7 Sydney in 1958, but, until around 1965, when other stations and production companies had video playback and editing facilities, the early machines made little difference to the practice of "live" television. A second technical feature was the local or regional character of the institution. Until 1964 there were no cable facilities that allowed the transmission of television signals from one capital city to another. Thus the continent consisted of a series of discrete, isolated television markets that often saw different local programs, regional schedules, and frequently geographically distinct commercials.

News programs, soap operas, and some early teenage music programs were a quarter-hour in length, although most programs ran for half an hour. A few imported fiction series, plays, and variety programs were longer, running 60 or 90 minutes. Schedules were dominated by half-hour programs such as *The Mickey Mouse Club*, *The Lone Ranger*, *Sergeant Bilko*, *Hancock's Half Hour*, *I Love Lucy*, and others. Dominant fiction genres included westerns, action and crime, and situation comedy. This period of live television was also marked by a minority popularity of the one-off television play. This came in two forms; the first, emanating from the BBC, was dominated by a West End conception of drama and theater. It favored the stage plays of famous British playwrights such as Shakespeare, Shaw, and, in the modern period, Noel Coward and Terence Rattigan. This model was the one adopted by ABC television. From the late 1950s it combined BBC imports with television versions of some famous Australian plays, generally adapting preexisting theatrical materials to television. The other kind came from US live television in programs such as *The U.S. Steel Hour* and *Playhouse 90*. The latter was adopted by ATN Channel 7 and its partner stations and led to several notable productions including *Other People's Houses*, *Tragedy in a Temporary Town*, and *Thunder of Silence*.

Meanwhile, the ascent of current affairs still mostly lay in the future, although there were two notable pioneers. *Four Corners*, modeled on the BBC's *Panorama*, did not begin on the ABC until 1961. In its earliest form it was more of a newsreel or news digest program, with miscellaneous items in each episode, rather than the hard-hitting investigative program it would later become. Its first producer left the ABC in 1963 and began a spinoff, *Project 63*, on TCN Channel 9, which ran for two years. Meanwhile, there was also little in the way of locally oriented documentary films.

The ABC did not establish a production facility (teams of cameramen available to news, documentary, and drama) until 1959. Instead, especially in news, there was an enormous reliance on overseas filmed material.

Any "Australian content" in this era occurred in lower-cost production genres such as variety and quiz shows. Indeed there was a boom in local variety shows. Programs such as *In Melbourne Tonight*, *In Sydney Tonight*, *Revue 60/61*, *Bandstand*, and *Six O'Clock Rock* were important landmarks. In the more peripheral cities of Brisbane and Adelaide, local "tonight shows" were hosted by figures such as George Wallace Junior, Gerry Gibson, and Ernie Sigley. Early successful local quiz shows included the imported *Concentration* and *Tic-Tac Dough*, all adapted for TCN Channel 9 by Reg Grundy.

A final feature of these years was the practice of switching various formats, programs, and personalities from radio. Local examples of this kind of adaptation included *Consider Your Verdict*, *Pick a Box*, and *Wheel of Fortune*, which all made successful transitions to the small screen. There was also an unsuccessful attempt to move soap opera from radio to television between 1958 and 1960 when ATN Channel 7 produced, first, *Autumn Affair* and, then, *The Story of Peter Gray*. The same pattern of success and failure was repeated with radio personalities. Bob Dyer, Graham Kennedy, and others all made triumphant moves to television although one notable casualty of the new medium was famous radio personality Jack Davey.

These local successes in variety, game shows, and more occasionally drama meant that, despite the overwhelming presence of imported material, Australian programs had a distinct place in the television schedule. Indeed, it was through the variety program, the paradigmatic form of this early live period, that Australian television was given a local look or flavor. The genre also played its part in the emergence of a scheduling practice, still with us in the present, that mixed imported high-cost programs with lower-cost local content. But in the case of the variety show cycle, these often had international guests. Therefore, although they qualified under local content rules as Australian, they had, nevertheless, a distinctly international flavor.

However, various developments were afoot in the television system. By 1965 it was clear that Australian television had changed markedly. The task of popularizing the new medium had been immensely successful. Advertisers and audiences had seemingly signed an apparently permanent contract with television that installed them both as continuing subjects at, as it were, different ends of the system. The overall result, so far

as the commercial broadcasters were concerned, was that owning a television station was akin to having a license to print money. However, influenced as always by the example of both U.S. and United Kingdom broadcasting, station owners came to wonder whether they might indeed follow the overseas lead and, as it were, print even more money. To do so, they needed to overhaul the existing system.

#### *Filmed-Series Television*

Two major changes in the institution at this time would bring about such an increase in profitability. First, an outsourcing of most production, particularly in the area of fiction, became a cost-stabilizing measure as stations farmed out production responsibility, especially labor budgeting, to independent producers. Thus, it is from around this time that we date the beginnings or consolidation of independent production companies. It is also no coincidence that at approximately the same time, ABC television drama was reorganized by the splitting of a composite radio and television department and the establishment of a separate TV drama division. Profitability was further boosted by a new form of routinization that revolved around the filmed series. For despite the drive toward financial rationality in the establishment period, the live television/magazine format had been financially unstable, capable of varying considerably so far as cost and quality were concerned. By contrast, the filmed-series use of recurring actors, sets and costume, stock footage, fictional formulas, and continuing characters helped establish this form as a more reliable guarantee of predictable costs and quality and, thus, the preferred form of Australian television programming. Consequently, the expensive, attention-grabbing variety shows and television plays of the early phase were less and less necessary as their "signature" function in the television schedule was increasingly usurped by filmed series.

At the level of corporate capital, television markets continued to be tightly controlled, mostly closed affairs although there was some negotiation of existing oligopolies when a third commercial station came on the air in the east coast capital cities and a second commercial station appeared in Perth. These new stations were partly brought about by the federal government's desire to introduce new players into the field of commercial television station ownership. Ansett, a major transportation group, secured the licenses of ATV 0 Melbourne and TVQ Brisbane while amalgamated wireless Australasia, a telecommunications manufacturing group, obtained the license of Ten 10 Sydney. The new stations formed themselves into the 0-10 Net-

work, so that east coast Australia now had three commercial networks. The newcomer was the weakest in terms of audience ratings—so much so that in 1973 a new federal labour government briefly contemplated revoking these licenses.

Apart from these difficulties, it was business as usual. The broadcasting stations endured as a modified vertically integrated business operation, deriving their program product both by making in-house and by buying-in from independent producers, retaining the core and most lucrative part of the business by distributing programs and commercials to the same wide and mostly captive audience that they had constituted in the earlier phase. Full program sponsorship declined as a broadcaster/advertiser practice in favor of magazine-type commercial “spotting” with the slots in question being increasingly filled by filmed rather than live commercials.

Meanwhile, the decision of stations to farm out program production to outside independent producers was an indication of just how confident in their own power they were in dealing with advertisers. In any case, the conditions of television production of filmed series favored them both in relation to advertisers but also in relation to the independent producers themselves. Not only did they continue to control finance but they also remained in charge of station facilities that constituted the below-the-line resources on most filmed series.

Like the establishment of a permanent coaxial cable between Sydney and Melbourne in 1964, the advent of the filmed series also helped reconfigure the size of television audiences. Now, as even smaller regional stations acquired videotape machines, regular program recording on videotape occurred, most especially with the more expensive forms of programs being produced in Sydney and Melbourne. In turn, two-inch tapes of these could be “bicycled” from one place to another across the country, thereby altering and improving production economies. Increasingly, the television market was not just that of one region but rather Australia wide.

With the exception of the Nine Network, there was no common ownership of Sydney and Melbourne stations. Nevertheless, loose networking arrangements remained in play so far as production cost sharing was concerned. Independent producers, led by Crawfords Productions, developed a production method that guaranteed to broadcasters the delivery of a standard-length half-hour or one-hour program episode each week. Producers set about their task by preshooting a certain amount of outside location film scenes and marrying this to station-produced indoor scenes. Some weeks later in the television station’s studios, this film

material was integrated with program segments staged in the studios with a composite being recorded on videotape. Although film was later to replace video for outside recording, this integrated system became a standard in Australian television fiction production from this point on, easily surviving the introduction of color in 1975.

This shift in the method of program output changed both the production system and the look of Australian television. Live television had drawn heavily on vaudeville, stage, and theatrical traditions. By contrast, the filmed series was based on the example of Hollywood. Under this new order, there was a change in the preferred style and subject matter of Australian television. Host, studio audience, and soundstage space were banished. Instead, the filmed series tied its segments together by dint of a continuous fictional space wherein its dramatic characters moved and acted. The form also offered greater generic variety. Hence the Australian television fiction output in this period included such types as the thriller, the action/adventure form including the Australian western, situation comedy, and children’s fiction. But the popularity and success of these genres and some individual programs were as nothing compared with that of the police crime series. Indeed, there is no better index of the enormous stability of Australian television at this time than the remarkable durability of this genre across the period and the fact that one company, Crawford, could turn out programs (*Homicide*, *Division 4*, and *Matlock Police*) for each of the commercial networks. These were sufficiently alike for programmers and viewers to be sure of what they were getting and sufficiently different for them to keep coming back for more.

Meanwhile the development of a “vernacular literature” in filmed series was not confined to fiction but also occurred in current affairs and documentary. After a shaky start, the weekly *Four Corners* settled down to a new kind of investigative journalism. In 1967 the ABC began a daily current affairs show, *This Day Tonight (TDT)*, modeled on the BBC series *Today Tonight*. The program had a hard-hitting journalistic drive that examined political and social issues in ways never imagined by earlier programs. It was a very big success for the ABC and markedly improved its ratings performance. These two programs were enormously influential in extending the range of current affairs television, on the ABC and commercial stations. Documentary series also brought the life of the nation within their scope. The ABC’s *Chequerboard* introduced cinema verité to Australian television, significantly expanding the range of social concerns and issues that could be examined. Meanwhile a second



documentary series, *A Big Country*, also enlarged the audience's sense of what constituted the nation.

However, the cancellation of the Crawford police series by the three networks within months of each other in 1975–76 indicated a crucial transformation overtaking the Australian television institution. The service was almost 20 years old and no longer an oddity or a newcomer but a permanent feature of the economic and social landscape. However, if television had become commonplace and taken for granted, this changed in 1975 with the advent of color. These changes (the end of the police cycle and the introduction of color transmission) signal a decisive shift in the Australian television institution.

### *"Quality" Television*

The new technology reinvented television's novelty and allure for broadcasters, advertisers, and viewers. Color led to a new boom in television advertising and in the sales of domestic receivers. A new drama serial, Crawfords *The Sullivans*, which began on the Nine Network in 1976, nightly reminded its viewers of this institutional shift. The program's opening credit sequence juxtaposed its fictional family frozen ineluctably in a black-and-white past as against their spontaneous movement and activity in the "living color" of the present. Indeed, the show's negotiation of a dramatic space between entertainment and quality marks the years between 1975 and around 1991 as a third period in the development of Australian television.

Without major disruption to the existing oligopoly, viewer choice was extended between 1976 and 1986 with the advent of new services and technologies. A new network, the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), came on the air in 1980, at first serving only Sydney and Melbourne but gradually spreading to the other capital cities. SBS Television was designed to increase the media services available to ethnic Australians and it did this with multilingual programming. But SBS, with developing strengths in the areas of news, current affairs, documentary, and foreign films, also appealed to English-language viewers. As a second public service television broadcaster, it extended the range of choice of the traditional ABC audience, giving it an alternative to the ABC just as commercial viewers had gained an alternative to the Nine and Seven Networks in the mid-1960s.

Meanwhile, commercial television was booming. A major move had been the reinvigoration of the Ten Network thanks to Rupert Murdoch's News Limited purchase of ATV Channel 0 Melbourne in 1978, and Ten Channel 10 Sydney in 1979. Determined to increase the network's ratings, Murdoch strengthened

Ten's program budget. The network scheduled heavily in the area of miniseries and feature films and these helped push the network ahead of Nine and Seven in the ratings.

Television networking arrangements continued and consolidated. Networking still meant cost sharing between partners but now, with common Sydney and Melbourne ownership in the case of two of the three, it also came to mean an increasing centralization of administrative, financial, and program power in these two capitals, most especially Sydney. And, in turn, this also meant a diminution of local autonomy in the other state capital stations. The public service networks were national in their agency and reach. Indeed, the newcomer, SBS TV, went further in centralizing its network in Sydney with a schedule and a content that was entirely national.

Seven, Nine, and Ten continued to service the east coast state capital cities although in 1987, as a sweetener to major changes in cross-media ownership rules, the federal government allowed them to spread their operations across regional television catchments. The upshot of these changes was the gradual emergence toward the end of this period of a single, unified, Australia-wide television market. And, in turn, this structural shift underwrote a rationalization of television production facilities among the state capital city members. The chief of these was television studio spaces. Network partners used these and related facilities in a systematic way invariably locating the production of higher-budget programs such as fiction series in Sydney and Melbourne. Other types of lower-cost content including game shows and children's television were usually allocated to studios in the outer state capital cities.

Advertising remained as the crucial element in the institution. As always, the fundamental and unchanging intention was to constantly maximize audience size to ensure that purchase rates for advertisers were as high as possible. Consistently too, networks needed to keep the frequency and volume of ads down in order to keep ad prices and audiences' patience up. Advertisers on the other hand continued to want to run as many commercials as possible, keeping them short, cheap, and distanced from each other. Shifting from sponsorship to "spotting" had facilitated a general increase in advertising revenue.

On the face of it, however, such revenue could not rise beyond a certain point so that a new strategy was necessary to generate additional financial returns. How then to print more money? The answer that the Australian networks derived from their U.S. counterparts was demographics. By the early to mid-1970s, moving away from programming designed to aggregate a mass

undifferentiated television audience, the broadcasters began developing finer demographic targeting, a strategy that could make some shows more expensive than the prevailing norm. The consequence was a new emphasis on programming that would attract varying demographics and thus generate further revenues within the system. Accordingly, as always, there were moves to vary repetition with difference, standardization with distinction, innocuousness with active attraction. The era of "quality" television had arrived.

"Stripping" became a major scheduling strategy on commercial networks. As vehicles for this kind of scheduling, three important programming forms emerged in 1971–72. These were the nightly current affairs program, the early evening game show shown five evenings a week, and the half-hour continuing soap opera. From a network programming point of view, each of these "stripped" forms was a variant of each other, performing the same task of offering viewers the regularities and the pleasures of a steady feed of routine and, within limits, novel pieces of content of various kinds. Of the three, the most original was the continuous soap opera. Although produced in the first place for a domestic Australian audience, the cycle of drama serials that runs from *Number 96* in 1972 to *Neighbors* and *Home and Away* achieved remarkable international sales success, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s.

Meanwhile, with these "bread and butter" forms in place, it became possible for the Australian television institution to develop a more complex hierarchy of programming types and reputations. Several fiction programs ceased to be anonymous industrial commodities. Hence, for example, some scriptwriters and producers became recognized names even outside the television industry. And, in turn, television series such as the ABC's *Scales of Justice* also became objects of sustained critical attention not only as entertainingly informative viewing but also as auteur-based dramatic investigations of serious social subjects and issues.

Indeed, with a convergence of sorts between an Australian art cinema and a kind of Australian (art) television, notable writers and directors were joined by other noted feature film producers including Hal and Jim McElroy and Anthony Buckley. But the most famous name above the title was to be that of Kennedy-Miller, responsible for the popular and critical international success of the *Mad Max* feature film trilogy. In the 1980s, this group turned its attention to television and the result was a cycle of five historical miniseries beginning with *The Dismissal* (1983) and ending with *Bangkok Hilton* (1989), which garnered both popular and critical success. Significantly, for this general project of a "quality" television, a Kennedy-Miller auteur television "style" was soon identified.

However, this moment was not to last, as changes to cross-media ownership rules in 1987 brought about, first, the sale of networks and, shortly thereafter, their bankruptcy. These disturbances only heralded more ongoing reconfigurations of the institutional field. Australian television is undergoing a sustained shift, away from an oligopolistic-based scarcity associated with broadcasting toward a more differentiated abundance associated with the present period of post-oligopoly. Thus, it is necessary to recognize that television has shifted into a fourth phase and needs to be labeled accordingly.

### *New Television*

With a proliferation of new and old television services, technologies, and providers, Australian television is rapidly becoming a multichannel environment. As the system becomes more differentiated, new institutional players are coming from within and without. Thus, a sixth free-to-air channel, presently dedicated to community use, came on the air in 1994–95 while a fourth commercial network has been scheduled to begin in 2007. That same year of 1995 also saw the commencement of cable television and a pay-TV service. Hence, the present field not only includes the older network interests but also several newcomers including FOX, Telstra, Optus, and AUSTAR. At the same time, in the wings and looking to extend their newspaper interests into broadcasting are other groups such as News Corporation and Fairfax. Meantime, new trade agreements are likely to encourage other groups, both local and international, to enter the television arena.

The new multichannel environment is served and stimulated by new distribution technologies such as satellite, cable, and microwave and new computer software including the Internet. Television is also characterized by a multiplying nonexclusivity of content, which is now becoming available through other modes including marketing and the World Wide Web. Additionally, the convergence with computers and mobile phones yields new forms of interactivity including electronic commerce, online education, and teleworking. Meantime, digital TV, Web TV, and personal video recorders may further strengthen a tendency toward niche and specialized programming.

Transfers, recycling, and franchising are rapidly becoming central features of the new Australian television landscape. At the same time, behind this proliferation of transfers is a set of new economic arrangements designed to secure a degree of financial and cultural insurance not easily available through other sources. Adapting already successful materials and content offers some chance of duplicating past and existing successes. Consequently, in Australian televi-

sion over the past decade, like television elsewhere, there has been an explosion in the number of locally produced programs whose format or basic blueprint was first developed elsewhere. Among the favored modes are reality programs, game shows, and lifestyle and talk shows.

Some of the circumstances surrounding two reality productions can be cited as examples of this trend. First, the fact that a local production company, Southern Star, signed a joint venture agreement in 2000 with the Dutch format giant, Endemol. In turn, this arrangement led to several seasons of the global television program *Big Brother* being made for Australian television from 2001 onward. Meanwhile, a locally based production and distribution company, Screentime, recognized the format possibility of a New Zealand documentary series that traced the making of a local pop band. Remade with a variety of multimedia spinoffs and revenue streams, *Pop Stars* was a popular success in Australia. Screentime then introduced it in over 30 other countries, forming United Kingdom, Ireland, and New Zealand chapters in the process.

However, despite these local developments, the popular and industrial success of particular genres including those of reality television comes at a price. Thus, it has been noted that there has been a significant downturn in the production of more expensive genres of content. Chief among these have been current affairs and fiction television. Thus, whereas previously Australian television achieved a distinctive place for itself in the area of international fiction exports, this is no longer the case. Instead, the industry in its most recent phase is a net importer of formats for the production of new series.

In summary then, certain key features in the structure and trajectory of Australian television are worth reiterating. Australia has in the past been relatively slow to innovate various technologies associated with television including the broadcast service itself, color transmission, and multichannel pay services. Nevertheless, despite these time lags, the system has exhibited a "historical modernity" in terms of its dual sections, weak public service, and strong independent commercial. In the years of the broadcasting oligopoly, substantial import substitution occurred leading to a vigorous television production industry that by the 1980s became a significant export earner. In the process the system spawned a number of successful companies and groups such as Murdoch's News Limited, Packer, and the Grundy Organization that have been important players both locally and internationally. However, in recent years Australian television has

been increasingly globalized in new ways including those of ownership, program content, and technology. This has also been a period of upheaval and transition and is still without an end in sight.

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**See also Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming**

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# Australian Production Companies

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## The Australian Broadcasting Corporation

As Australia's main public service broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) has always played a leading role in local program production, and it is arguably the single most significant force in Australia in one-off television drama, documentary, nature programming, and perhaps children's programming.

The ABC was virtually unrivaled in any category of drama until the mid-1970s. The period from 1968 until 1975 is often referred to as the "Golden Era" of the ABC, the time of long-running and popular series or acclaimed miniseries such as *Bellbird*, *Contrabandits*, *Certain Women*, *Rush*, *Marion*, *Ben Hall*, and *Power Without Glory*. Until the late 1980s, the ABC, like other public broadcasters around the world, was a vertically integrated producer-broadcaster. With the exception of a few coproductions (mainly with the BBC), all of the ABC's production was initiated, financed, and produced in-house. In the 1980s *Patrol Boat*, *1915*, *Spring and Fall*, *Scales of Justice*, *Palace of Dreams*, and *Sweet and Sour* broke new ground in Australian television drama and provided an arena for trying out new writers and attempts at formal or conceptual innovation. Innovative comedy, such as *Mother and Son*, strong investigative journalism, such as the weekly current affairs program *Four Corners* (in production since 1961), and quality drama continue to attract critical and audience approval.

In the early 1980s a period of confusion and demoralization followed in the wake of a major review, the *Dix Report*. Then, in 1986, the ABC head of drama, Sandra Levy, initiated a "revival" in network drama content, the aim of which was to increase output to at least 100 hours a year. A decision was made to move ABC productions more toward the "popular" end of the drama spectrum and away from programming regarded as more esoteric, eccentric, or specialized. At the same time, it was decided that the way to get quantity, quality, and spread was by concentrating on a mixture of long-running series and miniseries and by eschewing one-offs, which are usually deemed too expensive relative to the rather limited audience they are likely to attract. Finally, it was also decided that the only way to increase drama hours was by entering into coproduction arrangements with local producers who

could raise cash from the "10BA" tax-relief scheme and other government assistance schemes and from overseas presales, with the ABC contributing facilities and technical staff and as little cash as possible.

This strategy was immediately successful, at least in quantity and audience terms. Close to 100 hours of programming was achieved by 1988, and there was an immediate improvement in the ratings for miniseries and series, notably, in the latter category, the prime-time medical soap *GP*.

In the period 1988-91, the ABC coproduced and broadcast a large number of prestigious miniseries, all with local and overseas partners. Titles from this period include *Act of Betrayal* (with TVS), *A Dangerous Life* (with HBO in the United States and Zenith in the United Kingdom), *Eden's Lost* (with Central TV), *The Leaving of Liverpool* (with the BBC), *The Paper Man* (with Granada). Also during this period, *GP* began to be sold to a number of overseas buyers, although the series has never achieved a large success in foreign markets. The ABC's most successful situation comedy, both domestically and overseas, *Mother and Son*, was also sold during this period.

From 1992, the possibilities for financing programs in the British market diminished, and the ABC began to swing back toward the production of programs fully financed in-house. Examples are *Phoenix I and II*, *Seven Deadly Sins*, *The Damnation of Harvey McHugh*, *Heartland*, and *Janus*. In-house miniseries included *Come in Spinner*, *True Believers*, *Secret Men's Business* (with Southern Star), *Time and Tide*, *Marriage Acts* (with Beyond Reilly Pty. Ltd.); other parties hold the major rights to around 20 titles, including *Bodysurfer*, *Brides of Christ*, *Children of the Dragon*, *Frankie's House*, and *The Leaving of Liverpool*, most of which were coproduced with United Kingdom partners.

The success of ABC drama in the 1990s was in part due to the role of commissioning editor Sue Masters. Most notable productions were the 13-episode *RAW FM* in 1997 (with Generation Films Pty. Ltd.), *Fallen Angels* (1997), *A Difficult Woman* (1998, with Southern Star), *Grassroots* (1999), and the 2000 in-house production *Love Is a Four Letter Word*, about the lives of "twenty-somethings" in an inner-city pub environment. Masters's attempts to make ABC drama more innovative and relevant to a younger demographic were

derailed when she departed for Ten Network in 2001, following the appointment of Jonathan Shier as managing director of the national broadcaster. The ABC has continued to produce in-house drama, the most expensive recent outlay being *Changi* (2001), a story of prisoners-of-war internment at the hands of the Japanese in World War II, handled with a comedic touch. The move to outsourcing production saw the ABC link up in 2002 with Southern Star (*Bad Cop, Bad Cop*). Recent comedy series successes for the ABC were *The Games* (2000; produced with Beyond Productions), which benefited from the art-imitates-life antics of Sydney's Olympic Games management, and *The Micallef Pogram*, a coproduction with Red Heart Productions Pty. Ltd. (1998–2000).

### The Grundy Organization

Although it was bought in 1995 by the United Kingdom publishing and media conglomerate Pearsons, the history of the Grundy Organization is predominantly Australian, and its Australian operations remain the single biggest national contribution to its overall activities. The history of Grundy is of a radio game show producer in the 1950s that transformed into a television game show producer for the local market during the 1960s. In the 1970s the Grundy Organization expanded considerably as a local drama producer and consolidated its reputation as a leader in light entertainment.

Without maintaining any particular link to any one network, Grundy has built up a substantial catalog of game shows such as *Celebrity Squares*, *Wheel of Fortune*, *Family Feud*, *The Price Is Right*, *Blankety Blanks*, and *Sale of the Century* as well as such highly successful drama programs as *Young Doctors*, *Number 96*, *The Restless Years*, *Prisoner*, *Sons and Daughters*, and its flagship soap, *Neighbours*, which began production in 1984.

Grundy experienced a breakthrough success with *Neighbours* both in Australia and in Britain. While that platform was the base on which a number of serials and series produced by Grundy and other Australian companies were sold into the British market, it also was the impetus to develop the key globalizing strategy that Reg Grundy, founder and chairman, dubbed "parochial internationalism." Under this strategy, Grundy set up wholly owned local production companies to make programs that feature local people and are made by local Grundy staff who are nationals of the country in which the program is made.

By the mid-1990s, Grundy was producing about 50 hours of television a week worldwide. It sold in more than 70 countries worldwide, employed around 1,200

people in production and administration functions, and claimed to be the second-largest producer of light entertainment for television in the world until its takeover in 1995 by Pearsons, which was itself incorporated into the RTL Group and renamed Freemantle-Media in 2001. With Grundy now operating as Grundy Worldwide Ltd., Europe generates more production throughput for the organization than does Australia. In collaboration with the Producers Group, Grundy Australia was responsible for the children's miniseries *Escape of the Artful Dodger* in 2000.

Criticisms leveled at Grundy include the charge that the producers remained committed to innocuous formats (game and quiz shows) and safe drama renditions. However, programs such as *Prisoner* and the New Zealand soap opera *Shortland Street* were risky and innovative for their time and places of production, while a program like *Man O Man* represents an equally risky strategy in light entertainment.

### Village Roadshow and Roadshow, Coote, and Carroll

The Village Roadshow group of companies has been unique in Australia. First established in the 1950s as a drive-in theater operator, it is now the only completely integrated audiovisual entertainment company, involved in studio management, production of both film and television, film distribution and exhibition, television distribution, video distribution, and movie theme park management. The conglomerate is also moving into multimedia development and exhibition holdings in southeast Asia. Its approach to internationalization is also unique in that the main thrust of its strategy is to attract offshore productions to its Warner Roadshow Movieworld Studios, near the Gold Coast in southeast Queensland.

The studios were founded in 1988–89 by housing two offshore television productions for the Hollywood studio Paramount. These were *Dolphin Bay* and *Mission Impossible*. It is estimated that an hour of series drama can be made offshore at a cost about 30 percent lower than a comparable hour made in Hollywood.

Since 1989 the studio has attracted partial or whole production of several feature films, a mixture of Australian and overseas productions including *The Delinquents*, *Blood Oath*, *Until the End of the World*, and *Fortress*. It has also hosted a number of U.S. series, most of which have not been shown in Australia, including *Animal Park*, *Savage Sea*, and a new production of *Skippy*. In 1992–93 it housed the major U.S. series *Time Trax*, which, unlike *Mission Impossible*, used a considerable number of Australian creative personnel, including directors and postproduction people.

However, *Time Trax* was conceived in, scripted in, and entirely controlled from Hollywood.

Until 1995 Village Roadshow had a satellite production company, Roadshow, Coote, and Carroll (RCC), an outstanding boutique producer of midrange budget television such as *GP* and *Brides of Christ*. RCC was critically and culturally successful both locally and internationally, but it was not economically significant in the context of the whole conglomerate. This is because the huge investment in the studios depends totally on the success of Village Roadshow Pictures in attracting production to them. RCC is a very small organization with very little fixed infrastructure, and it finally broke away from the parent company in 1995 so that its principal, Matt Carroll, could pursue wholly independent projects.

The strategy, scale, and philosophy of RCC were at the opposite end of the spectrum from its parent company. Founded in 1984, RCC has chalked up an impressive list of television drama: *True Believers*, *Barlow and Chambers: A Long Way from Home*, *The Paper Man*, *Brides of Christ*, and *Frankie's House* as well as the long-running ABC series *GP*. Many of its projects have been coproduced with the ABC. It is a marriage made in heaven: the expertise of RCC combined with the reputation of the facilities-rich ABC.

RCC's bigger-budget productions, which cost about \$1.2 million (Australian) an hour, were typically financed one-quarter through Australian presale (usually to the ABC), one-quarter Film Finance Corp. (FFC) investment, one-third United Kingdom presale, and about one-sixth other investors (including the ABC).

*Brides of Christ* exemplified big-budget RCC productions. It rated 30 in Australia, making it, in ratings terms, the most successful drama ever broadcast by the ABC. The repeats did almost as well (it had a third run on the Ten Network), and it sold well on video. It also received uniform critical approval. In the United Kingdom, it also rated extremely well on Channel 4, gaining an audience of 6 million. Apart from Brenda Fricker (and an Irish orchestra playing the soundtrack music), all other aspects of the program were Australian. While its theme and mode of telling remained unambiguously Australian and the idiom and cultural feel of it were very local, its story of moral upheavals in the Catholic Church in the 1960s, set against the wider changes that were occurring during that era, was recognizable enough in other places for the program to gain wide acceptance internationally.

*Brides of Christ*, however, was an expensive miniseries, set up when the European television market was still buoyant. Changes in the European television environment since then have meant that RCC now orients itself toward cheaper 13-, 26-, and 39-part series.

While continuing with *GP*, they also developed *Law of the Land* for the Nine Network.

## Crawfords

Having been in existence more than 50 years, Crawfords is one of the oldest and most respected production companies in Australia. Before starting to produce television in 1954, it was Australia's most important producer of radio serials.

In the first 30 years of its existence as a television production company, Crawfords occupied a central place in Australian television. It pioneered popular police shows such as *Homicide*, *Division 4*, and *Matlock Police* in the 1960s and early 1970s; it made an early entry into soap opera with the long-running serial *The Box* (1974); in 1976 it innovated again with the World War II serial *The Sullivans*, which ran for 520 episodes and raised long-form drama to new heights of production values and cultural authenticity; and Crawfords was one of the earliest production companies to see the potential of 10BA as a vehicle for high-quality miniseries, with *All The Rivers Run* (1982). The company sailed through the early to mid-1980s on the back of productions like the glamorous *Carson's Law* and *Cop Shop*, another successful police serial, and further 10BA miniseries. Much of the Crawfords catalog has had great staying power; for example, both *The Sullivans* and *All the Rivers Run* continue to perform well around the world.

The company has always had its own extensive production facilities, unlike many newer production companies. In the late 1980s, keeping the facilities occupied became more difficult for Crawfords, and recent further investment in new studios may have been ill-advised given the constant pressure of keeping the existing facilities occupied. This was the height of the company's prosperity of recent times; *The Flying Doctors* was making excellent overseas sales (it was voted most popular drama in the Netherlands in 1992), and the Crawfords catalog had been sold to the Kirch Group and to other territories with a view to the company diversifying into coproductions with overseas partners, game shows, sitcoms, and made-for-television movies.

The results of this strategy include the popular and ground-breaking multicultural sitcom, *Acropolis Now*; the game show *Cluedo*, produced in association with Zenith Productions of the United Kingdom; a coproduced package of six television movies, called *The Feds*, with presales to the Nine Network, TVNZ, and a United Kingdom distribution guarantee; and the children's series *Halfway Across the Galaxy and Turn Left*, a 1991 coproduction with one of the Kirch sub-

subsidiaries, Beta-Taurus. The series became one of the most popular children's television programs on British television.

Despite the success of some of these programs, the cancellation of *The Flying Doctors* by the Nine Network in 1992, when it was still doing well in overseas markets, was a severe blow. It had a temporary stay of execution in 1993, when Crawfords were given a chance to revamp it as *RFDS* (for Royal Flying Doctor Service). The changes, although thorough, were not enough to save the program, and without the fallback of "volume television" such as that produced by Grundy, the viability of Crawfords has been questioned of late. Crawfords only real drama success in the late 1990s was *State Coroner* (1997). Other output of note from that era included the George Miller-directed miniseries *Tribe* and the children's series *The Saddle Club*, an Australian-Canadian coproduction with Protocol Entertainment, produced for the ABC.

### The Beyond International Group

A young company among leading Australian television producers, the Beyond International Group (BIG) began in 1984 when the public service broadcaster, the ABC, axed *Towards 2000*, a four-year-old popular science and technology program, because it was becoming too expensive. An independent production company was set up, and the new program, *Beyond 2000*, was sold to the Seven Network in 1984 and then the Ten Network in 1993.

BIG has progressed to become a highly focused boutique production and distribution house, whose corporate portfolio also includes merchandising, music publishing, corporate video, and separate media production groups in the United States and New Zealand. Since its inception BIG has produced and/or coproduced more than 1,800 hours of programming, including information and documentary programs, magazine and lifestyle series, dramas, children's shows, light entertainment, variety programs, comedies, and miniseries. The group's operating divisions include Beyond Productions Pty. Ltd. (television production), Beyond Distribution/Beyond Films Limited (feature film sales and international distribution), Beyond Online Pty. Ltd. (CD-ROM and Internet), and Beyond Entertainment Ltd. (feature film development and support). From the mid-1980s, what became Beyond International produced in differing formats, participated in international coproductions, and became involved in distribution domestically and internationally, but its resounding success was the *Beyond 2000* format, which has been sold in more than 90 countries, been dubbed in ten languages, and attracted an international audience of 50 million.

BIG has also involved itself in predominantly European coproduction partnerships. In 1989 BIG and the BBC embarked upon the coproduced *Climate in Crisis* and then the four-part series *Great Wall of Iron*, a documentary about the Chinese military. BIG has also ventured into the production of drama series, miniseries, and children's programming, with somewhat less success. The children's series *Bright Sparks* typifies the Beyond International strategy—animated robots take journeys around the world exploring science and technology. *Chances*, an adult drama series featuring nudity and outlandish storylines, was a failure. BIG's forays into local feature filmmaking virtually began and ceased with *The Crossing* in 1989. The failure of this film led the company to emphasize the more stable activity of distribution, and the distribution arm that began operation in 1990 became, along with Southern Star Distribution, one of two significant Australian-owned independent international distributors.

Beyond International has also moved into joint-venture relationships with leading Australian-content creators. In 1995 Beyond Simpson le Mesurier Pty. Ltd was formed, drawing on the creative expertise of Roger Simpson and Roger le Mesurier. The venture's primary output was police investigation, prime-time commercial television dramas including *Halifax f.p.*, *Good Guys Bad Guys*, and *Stingers* as well as the early evening serial *Something in the Air* for the ABC.

Liberty and Beyond, which began in 1995, saw Liberty Films come under the Beyond International banner. This company was created to make high-quality commercial film and television drama. Likewise Mullion Creek and Beyond was formed in 1998 to develop a wide variety of productions including television series, feature documentaries, and large-format films. Another company in the joint-venture production suite is Beyond Reilly Pty. Ltd, which has as its target commercial television ventures, building on the success of Gary Reilly Productions experience with sitcoms such as *The Naked Vicar Show* and *Kingswood Country*.

### Southern Star

Southern Star is a lean, diversified operation with an integrated approach to production and distribution through film, television and video, and merchandising. Like most front-running independents, this diversity enables Southern Star to balance higher-risk and lower-risk ventures. After a management buyout of the Taft-Hardie Group (whose major shareholders included the Great American Broadcasting Company and James Hardie Industries) in 1988 by Neil Balnaves, Southern Star reorganized into six operating units, including a



distribution arm; a Los Angeles-based animation unit responsible for programs such as *Berenstein Bears* and *Peter Pan and the Pirates*, made for the FOX Network; a video- and audiotape duplication division; a merchandising arm handling the BBC, Columbia TriStar, and Paramount material; and a home-video division.

Southern Star Entertainment is a broad corporate umbrella for established independent producers: Errol Sullivan/Southern Star Sullivan, Hal McElroy/Southern Star McElroy, and Sandra Levy and John Edwards/Southern Star Xanadu. The production arms run as partnerships with Southern Star meeting all running costs, producer and staff salaries, and finance and administration as well as publicity. McElroy and McElroy's *Last Frontier* (1986) was a model for programs that traveled internationally and promoted growth across the company through video release and a 22-hour series spin-off.

Many of Southern Star's major coproductions have been with the ABC and the BBC, including *Four Minute Mile* (1988), *Children of the Dragon* (1991), and *Police Rescue* (1990–96). The *Police Rescue* pilot was originally made for the BBC. The program was a coproduction between Southern Star Xanadu and the ABC, with presale to the BBC, which made a substantial contribution to the \$7 million budget. For their initial financial contribution to the series in 1990, the BBC maintained script, director, and cast control. The program was driven by its ongoing success in Australia, and its success was built on a recognized format, a variation of the cop show, but with a 1990s balance between action and personal storylines that showcased the natural and built environment of Sydney and the star profile of Gary Sweet. Southern Star has also been involved in a successful coproduction with China Central Television (CCTV), a 52-episode children's television series called *Magic Mountain*. This was sold to 60 countries. In all, 50 percent of Southern Star's TV sales revenues derive from cable and satellite channels outside Australia.

In 1993 the Southern Star Group was responsible for a new successful long-running series, *Blue Heelers*, set around a country police station in Victoria. The general feel of the program is very much *A Country Practice* revisited, and this seems to appeal to audiences. In 1994 it was the highest-rating Australian drama across all channels.

The most successful international product to emerge from the Southern Star stable to date has been the McElroy/Southern Star police/action drama *Water Rats* (1996– ), set on Sydney Harbor, with the landmark Harbor Bridge heavily featured. The program achieved the honor of being the most internationally distributed Australian television drama, sold to 168

countries. In 2001 Southern Star, in collaboration with John Edwards, Ten Network, and Channel 4 (United Kingdom), produced *The Secret Life of Us*, a "twenty-something" series set in a Melbourne apartment block. In 2000 Hal McElroy and Di McElroy, operating as McElroy TV, produced the innovative series *Going Home* for the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). Scripted and produced on a day-by-day schedule, and featuring an ensemble cast, this highly acclaimed short series allowed viewers to contribute to narrative development through a linked website.

### Film Australia

Currently a government-owned enterprise that is expected to generate up to two-thirds of its own revenue, Film Australia started life in 1911 as a production unit within the federal government, before becoming a government-owned film production company in 1945. In the period after 1945, it nurtured the documentary tradition, and a significant number of filmmakers who went on to play important roles in the film and television industries were trained there. In 1976 the Commonwealth Film Unit became a branch of the Australian Film Commission and took on its present name, Film Australia. In 1987 it was made a government-owned business enterprise working under the stricture to become partly self-sufficient from government.

The mission to produce films and programs "in the national interest" continues, and this is represented by the government's continuing to fund Film Australia under the so-called National Interest Program (NIP). This program is the core of Film Australia's business and the reason for it being a government-owned company. Both *Mini-Dragons* and *The Race to Save the Planet* used NIP money.

Outside of NIP projects, *The Girl from Tomorrow*, a fantasy/science fiction children's series, is one of Film Australia's most successful exports, and many countries that bought it also bought the sequel, *Tomorrow's End*. The preschool children's series *Johnson and Friends* has sold exceptionally well and in addition has become an international marketing phenomenon. Film Australia also does well with nature programs such as *Koalas: The Bare Facts* and the series *Great National Parks*. Other good sales have come from documentaries with an environmental or scientific angle, such as *After the Warming*, *The Loneliest Mountain*, *Mini-Dragons*, and *Roads to Xanadu*.

*Teachers of the World* was a 1992 seven-part documentary series that dealt with the life of a teacher in each of the contributing countries (Australia, Canada, the United States, Korea, and Poland). As a result of



the *Teachers of the World* coproduction, some of the partners came together again to produce a special documentary series called *Family* to celebrate the Year of the Family in 1994.

Film Australia's success lies in part in its specialization in those program categories with greatest international currency (nature, environmental, and science documentaries, and children's programming) and it has had the foresight to focus on the burgeoning markets of Asia with product that does not confront too many cultural hurdles. In addition, it is blessed with good facilities and the safety net of government funding.

### Granada Australia/Red Heart

In 1998 Granada Media assumed a prominent place on the Australian production landscape when it acquired a 9.1-percent stake in Channel 7, making it the second-largest individual shareholder behind Kerry Stokes. Following this, Granada bought a 50-percent stake in Artist Services Pty. Ltd, which was later rebranded as Red Heart Productions. Artist Services had initially specialized in sketch comedy in the early 1990s (*Fast Forward*, *Full Frontal*). Founded by Steve Vizard and Andrew Knight, it achieved wider brand recognition with its productions for the ABC: the miniseries *Simone de Beauvoir's Babies* (1997) and the popular television serial *Sea Change* (1998). It also produced feature films such as *Siam Sunset*, *Dead Letter Office*, and *The Sound of One Hand Clapping*.

By bringing together the resources of Granada, the rebranded Red Heart was intended to act as a conduit for the distribution of both British and Australian concepts and formats. However, the partnership with the Seven Network failed to deliver the benefits to both Granada and Red Heart, despite the successful Seven Network drama series *Always Greener*, a spin-off of the *Sea Change* concept.

### The Seven Network

The Seven and Nine Networks were the two original commercial broadcasters in Australia and until the late 1980s enjoyed stable ownership and management, which allowed them to build up a high degree of programming expertise and audience loyalty. One of Seven's greatest strengths has been its commitment to drama, whereas the Nine Network has been stronger in news and current affairs and sport, which are far less internationally tradable.

With its traditional emphasis on drama, the Seven Network was well positioned to take advantage of 10BA, and during the 1980s it produced a number of

high-quality miniseries with local and overseas partners. Series and serials sold by Seven on behalf of itself and the independent producers involved include *Rafferty's Rules*, *Skirts*, and *A Country Practice*. Some of the programs from the 1980s that were sold that way (and which still sell today) were *Land of Hope* and *The Fremantle Conspiracy*, *Jackaroo*, *Sword of Honour*, and *Melba*.

Two of the most successful programs of the early 1990s were *Home and Away* (which began in 1988 and still airs as of 2003) and *Hey Dad* (which ran for seven years, until 1994). The first is produced in-house by the Seven Network; the second was produced by Gary Reilly and Associates and sold jointly by them and the network through RPTA.

*Home and Away*, produced by Seven Network subsidiary Amalgamated Television Services Pty. Ltd., was developed in-house as an immediate response to the success of *Neighbours* on the Ten Network. Ironically, the latter had originally begun on Seven in 1985, but after indifferent ratings that network let it go. When *Neighbours* achieved such success on Ten, Seven realized the potential for youth-oriented soaps. *Home and Away* has gone on to achieve great popularity in both Australia, where it outrates its rival *Neighbours*, and in the United Kingdom, where in the late 1990s it was achieving audiences of 8 million for ITV (it was sold to Channel 5 in 2000).

By the mid-1990s, the Seven Network seemed well positioned to continue its strong record in commissioning and producing programs with strong export potential. The free-to-air service is flourishing, and Seven is exploring new markets in Asia and Eastern Europe, which, while not lucrative in the short term, have great potential in the future. Through its association with Granada Media, the Seven Network acquired international distribution for its local content and a stream of United Kingdom content. Seven has also invested in docu-soap coproductions (*Popstars*, *Temptation Island*). Seven is exploring pay television and other broadband services and it is safe to predict that it will remain a force in the Australian entertainment industry in the years to come.

### Children's Television Producers

Australia is a significant player in world children's television. Most major children's programs made in Australia recently have enjoyed international sales success, and critical acclaim for Australian programs is a regular occurrence.

The structure of regulation and production in Australia for children has strengths that, in some respects, are unmatched elsewhere in the world. Within the gen-

eral liberalization of broadcasting regulation seen in the Broadcasting Services Act 1992, the only mandated regulations that continued from the old Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT) were those for Australian content and for children, so that in the new regime the most-detailed imposed regulations pertain to children.

The Australian Children's Television Foundation (ACTF) dominates the field of Australian children's television. A body established as a result of both federal and Victorian government support and incorporated in 1982, the ACTF produces, commissions, and distributes children's television programming as well as acting as a kind of think tank and clearinghouse for children's television advocacy. ACTF has produced more than 150 hours of programming, which has been screened in more than 90 countries, and it has received many international awards. *Lift Off*, *Round the Twist*, and *Round the Twist 2* were all high-profile ACTF series that were very popular in the United Kingdom, and *Sky Traders* has sold into a diverse range of territories. In 1998 a third series of *Round the Twist* was made as well as a cyberspace, live-action drama called *The Crash Zone*, commissioned by Buena International and produced in association with the Seven Network.

Western Australia-based Barron Films concentrates on quality children's/family television series as well as social realist films and adult television drama, having made *Falcon Island*, *Clowning Around*, and *Ship to Shore*. Yoram Gross Film Studios, an established specialist producer of animated children's films, crossed successfully to television with the production and distribution of a 26-part television series based on its *Blinky Bill* films. Yoram Gross merged with the German-based EM-TV in 1999. The new company has consolidated its international distribution and coproductions in Europe, Canada, and the United States. International successes include *Flipper and Lopaka* (1999). Jonathan Shiff/Westbridge has specialized in children's television since 1988, its biggest production being the \$3 million series *Ocean Girl*, which sold to Disney in the United States and to the BBC for a record sum for a children's series in the United Kingdom. Roger Mirams/Pacific Productions, a Sydney-based producer of children's programming since the 1950s, shot the \$8 million *Mission Top Secret* in seven countries. Pacific Productions made *South Pacific Adventures* in 1990, and Media World Features, another company involved in animated features, made a miniseries based on its animated film *The Silver Brumby*.

Beyond International produced *Deepwater Haven*, a children's drama series with a curious mix of French

and New Zealand actors, in Auckland. Millennium Productions made *Miraculous Mellops*, a fantasy/science fiction family series, and Warner Roadshow has produced *The Adventures of Skippy* and *Animal Park*.

### Other Production Companies

JNP Productions established its reputation almost solely on its long-running and well-regarded series *A Country Practice*. The program ran as one of the major Seven Network dramas from 1981 to 1993, before being bought by the Ten Network in 1994. Despite a reworked format and setting, the new series on Ten failed; JNP has yet to produce anything as remotely successful.

Like JNP, Gannon Television/View Films has built its name on one major television product, *Heartbreak High*, a youth-oriented series noted for its high production values and its treatment of youth issues. The series suffered from scheduling changes imposed by the Ten Network but picked up important sales in the lucrative markets of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany to the extent that the series was produced on the basis of these sales, without any Australian network deal. In addition to several feature films, View Films has also produced two television miniseries: *Shout! The Story of Johnny O'Keefe* (1985), for the Seven Network; and *Shadow of the Cobra* (1988), for Zenith in the United Kingdom, the BBC, and the Seven Network. Gannon Television has collaborated with Foxtel, France 2, and Carlton International on a drama for the ABC called *Head Start*. Ben Gannon also teamed with Michael Jenkins to produce the acclaimed ABC police drama *Wildside* in 1997-98.

Working Dog Pty. Ltd., a company that evolved out of the 1988 *D-Generation* and 1992 *Late Show* skit comedies, went on to produce successful feature films *The Castle* and *The Dish*. Working Dog's most successful television programs include the television news satire *Frontline*; a late-night talk format featuring selected guests (*The Panel*); and a fishing docu-format, *A River Somewhere*.

The Special Broadcasting Service produces occasional innovative short series, such as *Going Home* (with McElroy TV) and risky cult comedy (*Pizza*). Through SBS Independent (SBSI), the service commissions documentaries from local filmmakers. One of the most successful productions has been the *Mary G Show*, an indigenous-affairs magazine produced in the town of Broome in Western Australia.

STUART CUNNINGHAM

See also Crawford, Hector; Grundy, Reg; Gyngell, Bruce; Murdoch, Rupert

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## Australian Programming

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The peculiarly Australian television program is still in the minority on Australian television screens, which remain dominated by the Hollywood product. Yet compared with the situation of the 1980s, Australian television programs today vie with Australian films in the search for markets worldwide. Australian soap operas such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* have achieved high ratings in such countries as England and Ireland, and while the Grundy Organization, Australia's largest producer of television shows in the late 20th century before being absorbed in 1995 into the United Kingdom-based conglomerate Pearsons (which, as of 2002, was itself a part of FremantleMedia), began by "borrowing" concepts and formats from U.S. game shows, it progressed to making a profitable business by selling recycled and rejuvenated American shows back to the country of their origin. *Sale of the Century* and *Wheel of Fortune* typified this genre. In Australia, the so-called reality shows of the *Survivor* and *Big Brother* genre, in their Australian derivatives, have attracted high ratings, as did *The Weakest Link*, a United Kingdom-derived quiz show. While the ultimate ownership of the Australian companies is today increasingly in the hands of multinational corporations, the Australian character of their television programs now seems established and production resides in Australia.

To outline the origin of this national character, however, one must examine the antecedent media. As in any other national context, television programming in Australia can be understood only by examining its origins in radio and film. As in the U.S. context, and unlike the British, the major impetus to radio programming in Australia came from the commercial sector with the explosive growth of commercial radio in the 1930s. From the soap opera to the singing com-

mercial, the Australian experience mimicked the American. While, as the American critic Norman Corwin has observed, Australia is one of the few places on the globe where radio drama was considered as an art form, the vast bulk of commercial radio dramatic product was of the soap opera variety. In its heyday, Australian radio succeeded brilliantly by its own commercial standards, meeting not only a domestic niche but also providing a steady stream of programs for export. It employed a small army of professional writers and production people who formed the nucleus of writers, actors, and producers for the infant Australian television industry when the new medium began in the mid-1950s.

Unlike the American, and like the British experience, however, since the beginning of the 1930s, Australia has also had a powerful national, publicly owned noncommercial broadcasting entity, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). (After 1983, "Commission" became "Corporation.") This corporation is recognized as the primary culture-making force in Australian national life. The ABC has, in fact, sponsored many nonbroadcasting aspects of public culture, from the establishment of symphony orchestras in all states, involvement in children's clubs, sporting activities, and advice to farmers, through specialized agricultural service and comment on markets and weather, to the explorations of the culture of the rural environment.

Still, it must be pointed out that despite the widespread misconception by commentators, the Australian Broadcasting Commission did not owe its origins to a simple amalgamation of the "good points" of American and British thinking. Rather, it arose from the exigencies of the indigenous experience—an Aus-

tralian response to an Australian requirement. Given its origins and its mandate, the programming from the ABC provided a contrast to the commercial television stations.

The early British broadcasting experience, was, however, very important in the formative years of the ABC. The impact on the ABC of the BBC's "Reithian ethic" of high moral purpose, nation building, and elevating popular tastes, can, in hindsight, hardly be overestimated. The ABC encouraged high culture through classical music programs and community building through popular music programs, which often featured Australian musicians performing the latest popular songs from overseas. Sporting programs, such as the dominant national pastime of horse racing and test cricket (in the early days especially with England), have been a broadcasting staple from the 1930s to the present time. These broadcasts set the pattern of national participation by the time television arrived in Australia in 1956, and the various programming categories and genres can be seen to derive from them.

Local programming by independent stations reached its heyday in the decade of the 1980s and exhibited patterns similar to that in other countries. It was relatively common for local stations to do a program on a local event or a car-club rally, but local stations became "aggregated" by government policy into networks not unlike the U.S. commercial system. Local programming then found it necessary to appeal to a geographically wider-spread audience, and by the 1990s began to fade away.

The generalization that the British programming on Australian television tends to be mostly on the ABC is valid. On the other hand, commercial stations sometimes take British programs, which have proven to be popular from ABC exposure, and rebroadcast them to achieve higher ratings. A range of programs, from the ubiquitous *Yes, Minister* series to the more vulgar *Are You Being Served?* type, vie with David Attenborough nature documentaries and similar British fare as might appear on PBS in the United States.

In sum, Australian television programming bears the marks of several systems that preceded it. Like many other systems, however, Australian TV continues to mold those influences in its own ways. Whether the specifically "Australian" character of television can withstand an onslaught from new economic configurations and new technologies that transcend national boundaries remains to be seen.

### Nonfiction Programming

Talk shows, music, morning programs, sports, news, and current affairs programs are all represented in the

Australian television lineup, and again, all derived from radio antecedents. As far as television is concerned, little about them is specifically Australian.

In the light entertainment talk shows, for example, the programming is decidedly derivative. *Tonight Live* with Steve Vizard in the early 1990s betrayed its lineage to David Letterman and Johnny Carson. Admittedly, there was an Australian strain of boyish irreverence inherited from the Australian stars such as Graham Kennedy and Bert Newton, but the sets, presentation, and overall style would be easily recognized by an American viewer. Most importantly, in the commercial medium, Vizard's success was due to the economic fact that his popularity allowed the Seven Network to extend prime time and charge premium rates for what was, comparatively, an inexpensively produced program.

### Music

High culture is typically provided on television through opera or symphony concerts simulcast on Sunday night by the ABC. At the other end of the scale, the ABC provided, in early morning hours, a simulcast of Triple J, the youth national radio network, which broadcast rock music accompanied by exceptionally raunchy dialogue. Music videos are broadcast at various times on both commercial and national television. For example, on the ABC, *Rage* can go from 6 to 10:30 on Saturday mornings and reappear on Sunday morning for an hour or so.

### Morning Television

In the very early morning hours, the ABC provides high-quality instructional television, which can be correlated with written instruction and tutorial interaction and taken for college credit. Language, biology, business, and other Open Learning subjects provide the casual viewer with exceptional, totally involving informational programming, most often of American origin.

Predictably, since the 1980s Channel 9 has aired the Australian *Today* show, with one male and one female host and providing a mixture of news, interviews, sports, and weather in a well-tested format. Variations of this theme have come and gone on competing networks. By the mid-1990s, for example, in the 9:00 A.M. slot, morning television featured *Good Morning Australia* with Bert Newton, another reference to an American programming format. Again, the interview is the feature of choice, with perhaps a lighter vein to vary the flavor. At least one station usually counterprograms these shows with cartoons for children.

## Sports

While watching sports on television had long been a favorite Australian pastime, the connection between sports and advertising was traditionally not as strong in Australia as in the United States. However, the televised presentation of sporting events is increasingly influenced by American programming strategies. The Australian broadcasting industry had long been poised for intensive activity surrounding the business of sports on television, and media moguls Kerry Packer and Rupert Murdoch vied for (and collaborated with on occasion) various contracts with players, licenses, and outlets for the advertising dollars and pay-TV subscriptions.

For example, the tradition of cricket had been inherited from the British Empire, where white-suited cricketers (divided into "gentlemen," who were amateurs, and "professionals," who were paid) took days to play a "test" match. By the 1970s, Packer was credited with promoting a game more suited to television coverage: played in one day, with colorful costumes, showbiz accoutrements, and players exhibiting enthusiasm rather than the old British "stiff upper lip." Similar transformations occurred in tennis, football, hockey, soccer, netball, and other sports. The trend toward Americanization was markedly increased with the introduction of Rupert Murdoch's Superleague, an entirely new combination of Rugby League teams, and with pay-TV sports programs, which were becoming more prevalent by the mid-1990s.

Through all these changes, the scheduling strategies have remained quite the same. A typical week's viewing would begin with the traditional Saturday afternoon when all channels present one sport or another. The same pattern holds for Sunday afternoon, with one commercial channel starting sports programming at 9:00 A.M. (The ABC has counterprogrammed a high-culture arts ghetto on Sunday afternoons, and the Special Broadcasting Service [SBS] also tends to eschew sports on Sunday afternoon.) The regular television news on Sunday nights tends to increase its sports coverage beyond the acceptable 30 percent for Australian television newscasts, and there are also irregular sports specials programmed in various prime-time slots.

While special football games of various codes are broadcast during one or two weeknights in Australia, American football tends to be consigned to late-night taped presentations on the ABC, except for the Super Bowl, which is broadcast live. Basketball is the fastest-growing sport in Australia, and, thanks to television, in one celebrated 1994 survey 11-year-old

Australians considered Michael Jordan to be the best sportsman.

The television sporting scene is also affected by the specialized narrowcasting of events to pubs and clubs across Australia by satellite transmission. Horse racing is perhaps the sport most associated with gambling, but with the advent of new technologies, and especially with the advent of sports on pay TV, the ubiquitous TABs (gambling shops) will undoubtedly evolve to exploit the new media.

With the Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000, the influence of commercial sponsorship of sport increased and the influence of television on the world of sports in Australia gathered more impetus.

## News

Australian radio news was available in the early days in a prototypical form with the stories taken from the newspapers. The newspaper proprietors, having already demonstrated their political clout by keeping the ABC from commercial taint (and revenues), were able to stifle radio news until the war years (1939–45). During World War II, a coalition government, pressured by the imminence of a Japanese invasion, decided that ABC Radio was crucial to the war effort. Once established, ABC News became one of the world's most professional news broadcasting services with bureaus worldwide.

Typically, ABC Television's nightly news is of half-hour duration, presented from each individual state with common stories from overseas feeds, and followed by a current affairs program. The presenter is of the BBC "Newsreader" variety and is not typically a practicing journalist. Richard Morecroft, who fronts the ABC TV 7:00 P.M. news in New South Wales (the state with the largest population), is perhaps the best exemplar of the ABC style.

The ABC format is boilerplate: local, state, national, and international news, plus sports and weather. The commercial stations tend to have similar formats, with quicker pacing and a more lurid selection of topics. Australian newscasts typically devote six or seven minutes of a 30-minute slot to sport, a proportion far greater than typical in the United States. Brian Henderson, the anchor of the Channel 9 (commercial) news, is the longtime champion in the news ratings and provides his network with the coveted high-rated lead-in position for the rest of the night.

The SBS, often admired for the quality of its television news, has an unmatched foreign coverage and tends to longer and more comprehensive stories. Besides the nightly news, there are shorter programs

throughout SBS's broadcast day, some being short updates.

### Documentary and Current Affairs

The prototypal Australian television documentary (or current affairs) program is the long-running *Four Corners* program (ABC), which is an institution in its Monday night slot at 8:30. Perhaps the finest hour in Australian television was the *Four Corners*' broadcast of "The Moonlight State" on May 11, 1987, when Australia's premier investigative journalist, Chris Masters, demonstrated on film existence of the illegal speakeasies, the prostitution, and the gambling dens that had all been long denied by the self-righteous government of the state of Queensland. Senior police officers went to jail and a government was overthrown following the subsequent inquiry triggered by the program.

Channel 9 presents a prestigious current affairs program, *Sunday*, on Sunday morning, and from time to time other commercial concerns have attempted to match 9 and the ABC with serious public affairs programming, but their efforts seem to vanish as management turns to more profitable programming.

SBS and the ABC both program several high-quality documentaries in any broadcasting week. Typical titles, chosen at random for illustration only, are *The Big Picture*, *That Was Our War*, *Documentary*, *Australian Biography*, *Great Books*, and *A Most Remarkable Planet*.

While a number of these presentations move toward television that is distinctively Australian, it is in fictional programming that the clearest and most powerful explorations of a national character and mode of representation have been established.

### Fictional Programming

Although the Gorton Liberal (conservative) government in the early 1970s initiated the process, Australia's great renaissance in motion picture and television programming really began with the free-spending Whitlam Labour government of 1973–75. Because the same people worked in film as worked in television, it is hard to separate out the histories of the different media. The technical infrastructure for movies was aided by the fact that, since 1960, imported commercials were banned from Australian TV. This meant that in the capital cities, especially in Sydney and Melbourne, motion picture laboratories developed a steady business and the technical expertise required to provide high-quality professional product

in the advertising arena. Until the advent of electronic newsgathering (ENG) in the 1970s (when tape began to be used instead of film), television news shot on 16-millimeter film also provided a steady source of supplementary business for the film labs.

The topics of television programming echoed those covered in the motion pictures. Australia, before the 1930s, had an economically viable silent film industry, which did not survive the advent of sound and the economic depression of the 1930s. Hollywood (and, to a lesser extent, British) product then dominated Australian cinema screens. Because film is a cultural artifact as well as being a salable commodity, the Australian audiences became saturated with American culture. Almost ten years after the advent of television in Australia, the American authority Wilson Dizard could make his famous statement: "The daily schedule of a typical Australian television station, particularly in prime listening hours, is virtually indistinguishable from that of a station in Iowa or New Jersey." And as late as 1967, the Australian Broadcasting Control Board required that only two hours of Australian drama be broadcast per month in prime time.

Thus deprived of Australian stories on the screen, when the 1970s renaissance occurred, the subject of the programming tended to be the indigenous classics as well as contemporary themes that imparted a distinctly Australian flavor. In 1976 the government decreed (with a "points system") that there be 50-percent Australian content between the hours of 4:00 P.M. and 10:00 P.M., and demanded compliance of commercial licensees. Despite their early protests, the commercial stations found that the Australian programs were very popular with Australian audiences.

Available for television a year or so after cinema release, Australian films became an important part of the indigenous programming, but the epitome of television programming art was seen to be in the miniseries.

### Miniseries

The miniseries brought important national myths and icons to the television screen. The quintessential Australian nation-building myth is that of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC). The ANZAC story is one of volunteer soldiers, who, in 1915, on behalf of the British war effort against Germany, invaded Turkish territory on the Gallipoli peninsula. The campaign was a defeat, but the valor of the soldiers, celebrated in a national day of commemoration (ANZAC Day, April 25), became a central theme of the Australian nation, representing a cause worth any sacrifice. The television miniseries *Anzacs* thus complemented

the major motion picture *Gallipoli* to tell the ANZAC story. The popularity of this story has proved robust. In the latter half of 2001, the ABC reran the 1982 miniseries *1915*, starring Sigrid Thornton. The nostalgic beginning lured the viewers into expecting a conventional love story. The ending, however, left the viewers confronting death, betrayal, and the facial and mental scarring of the protagonists. The concluding sets portrayed a prosperous and genteel Sydney harbor-side lifestyle and made no concessions to any romantic vision of warfare.

Similarly, following the nationalistic, nostalgic (and essentially mythic) impetus, another miniseries, *The Last Outlaw*, told the story of arguably the most famous Australian folk hero, Ned Kelly. He is (literally) an Australian icon; in his self-made steel body armor, he looked like a medieval knight, with six guns. Like his American contemporary, Jesse James, Kelly was a highway robber, but, unlike James, his behavior elicited considerable public sympathy, with large crowds protesting his hanging in 1880. Today his story is all-pervasive in Australian culture, with the Ned Kelly icon appearing in the high culture of Sidney Nolan paintings in the National Gallery in Canberra, and the armor and six guns featured as a logo for a brand of sliced bread. Yet beyond the Australian version of the Robin Hood image lies a historical reality. Because Kelly epitomizes for Australia the rebellious Irishman persecuted by British rule, his story ties in neatly with a long tradition of republicanism, which despite its recent repudiation by referendum still lurks in the wings.

The television miniseries *Against the Wind* (1978) depicts another important facet of Australian history that had been ignored while American stories had dominated the Australian television screens. This program, too, harks back to mythic origins, as Australia's convict past is evoked by the story of a spirited Irish girl who was transported to Australia as a political prisoner. She falls in love with a fine upstanding convict unjustly treated by a vicious system. The settings of the program resemble more the production values of Disney studios than the squalor portrayed by recent historical accounts of the 18th-century settlement, but the program fulfilled the requirements of standard founding myths requisite in all cultures.

A depiction of a 19th-century family saga, *Seven Little Australians* (ABC, 1973) provided a local version of the American *Little House on the Prairie* or Canadian *Anne of Green Gables* genre. Other miniseries covered well-known Australian legends, such as those relating to the sporting stories between the wars. *Bodyline* (1984) portrayed unsportsmanlike Englishmen attacking stalwart and long-suffering Australians

when playing the extremely popular sport of cricket. The title, *Bodyline*, made reference to a tactic of aiming at the batsman's body, rather than at the wicket (a tactic that worked). The English won the test series in 1936 and a number of Australians were, in fact, injured. The other casualty was Australian good feeling for the British, although the Australians took the high moral ground and did not reciprocate with the "bodyline" tactic. This material, clearly restricted in commercial terms to the "old empire" of cricket players, is the stuff of myth and legend, and as such proved popular with its intended market.

Similarly, the mythic imperative of coming to grips with former enemies was handled with the miniseries *Cowra Breakout* (1984). In 1944 Japanese prisoners of war (POWs) "broke out" of a POW camp in the remote Australian town of Cowra. By the early 1980s, when the program was made, Japan and Australia had experienced a quarter-century of mutual economic interest as trading partners, and Japan was the most important Australian market by far. The deaths of the brave but culturally incomprehensible Japanese were treated in this series in a way not unlike that of the pacifist film of the 1930s, *All Quiet on the Western Front*. By the end of 2001, the Australian wartime experience with the Japanese was crystallized in the six-part miniseries *Changi*. Much more sophisticated in style, than, for example, *1915*, the POW epic *Changi* is a narrative that travels from the bucolic to the brutal, with the Australian edition of *Time* magazine describing it in terms of Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. *Changi* was about the power of sense memory. Its title comes from the prison in Singapore where 130,000 Allied troops were housed for three and a half years. These soldiers were not defeated in battle but ordered to surrender, a fate not appreciated by their Japanese captors. The Australian POWs who survived maintained their spirits by presenting a carefree character, singing and joking their sufferings away. The story is told through the prism of the 60-year-old memories of six Australian veterans.

Clearly the initial outpouring of depictions of Australian history and culture resulted in part because of government production subsidies, provided as partial support for the requirement that holders of the lucrative television licenses broadcast Australian content. Then, when the ratings for the earliest of these miniseries demonstrated that such Australian stories were very popular with Australian audiences, it seemed tangible proof that a cultural imperative was also inherent in their acceptance by the indigenous audience.

By the 1980s, however, the economic climate changed. Broadcasting seemed dominated by takeovers of the major television networks. Furthermore, deregu-

lation and privatization, rather than activist nationalistic initiatives, seemed to capture the governmental imagination. Thus, by the end of the decade, the traditional mythical Australian themes of the tragic losers (Ned Kelly, the ANZACS, the bodyline cricketers, Les Darcy the boxer, and even Phar Lap the racehorse) were being superseded by a new type of Australian story. The audiences, satisfied by the availability of their indigenous stories, began to demand a change of programming, and the program makers began to look beyond the most obvious indigenous themes.

By the 1990s, the motion picture industry was tackling contemporary themes presented with high production values. For example, *The Heartbreak Kid* (1993) concerned an affair between a high school student and his young teacher. The milieu of Greek culture in Melbourne provided a conflict intermingling male dominance (the teacher's fiancé resorts to violence, and her father's role is stereotypical) and a depiction of conflicting loyalties. The television serial spin-off was called *Heartbreak High* (1994–99), with the same young male lead and an approximation of the cinematic verisimilitude in the sets. Produced around the same time was *Paradise Beach* (1993–94), in the tradition of *Baywatch*, with Surfers Paradise in Queensland standing for the California coast.

Traditional themes, however, remained a staple. For example, *The Man from Snowy River*, a 1982 motion picture derived from a poem by Banjo Patterson, the author of "Waltzing Matilda" (the Australian national song), had been a success in the 1980s. By 1994 a 13-part television miniseries entitled *Banjo Patterson's The Man from Snowy River* continued the genre. It is perhaps a sign of the maturity of the industry in Australia that the subjects and formats that secured the initial popularity for Australian programs with Australian viewers now are merely one type of program among many. By 2000 the national broadcaster captured a large audience with *Sea Change*, a story of a workaholic professional woman who, with the breakup of her marriage, quits her city job and relocates her family to a seaside village. Starring Sigrid Thornton, this highly rated program went for two seasons on Sunday night. It provided evidence for a sea change in Australian tastes. Former miniseries had a rousing, romantic, or uplifting message, yet *Sea Change* portrayed a rather rueful recognition of contemporary life.

### Soap Operas

As in the United States, soap operas are programmed in Australia during the day, and the typical commercial offering has a mixture of U.S. programming (*Days of Our Lives*, *The Bold and the Beautiful*, *The Young and the*

*Restless*) interspersed with Australian soap operas such as *Home and Away* and *Neighbours*. The basic rules of the daytime serials that were established in the 1930s radio era still apply, regardless of the racier themes and more topical situations. Perceptions of the "Australianness" of the indigenous soap operas vary and provide interesting perspectives on cultural productions. The general Australian opinion is that the lives of the protagonists in Australian soaps are mostly ordinary, everyday, and working class. Yet to European observers, the Australian soap opera is characterized by relatively healthy, happy beings who endure their endless travails in a fortunate sun-drenched situation. Regardless of these "Australian" traits, the Australian soap opera remains true to type, exhibiting, most significantly, the "endless narrative" that characterizes the genre worldwide.

### Comedy

Much of Australia's television comedy is derivative. For example, for several years the Channel 9's *Australia's Funniest Home Video Show* used the standard U.S. formula established in *America's Funniest Home Videos*.

Perhaps with a more indigenous flavor, the family situation comedy *Hey Dad!* (1986–94; in daytime reruns by the mid-1990s) followed the U.S.-sitcom formula but focused on the same everyday working-class context presented in the Australian soap operas. *Acropolis Now* (1989–92), a politically incorrect sitcom, made gentle fun of Australia's ethnic communities placed within a dominant Anglo culture.

On the ABC from 1983 to 1994, *Mother and Son* presented a genuinely challenging comic world. Veteran actors Ruth Cracknell and Gary Macdonald explored the tribulations of a man taking care of his mother, who is afflicted with Alzheimer's disease. The cult comedy *Frontline* (1994–97) starred Rob Sitch as Mike More, an unhinged, venal, television talking head. A send-up of a television current affairs program, this show was generally considered to be thinly disguised social commentary.

### Police Procedurals

The police serial in Australia began with Crawfords, a major production company in Melbourne. Crawfords came to prominence with *Homicide* (1964–75) and established a format with *Cop Shop* (1977–84). More recently the Australian police show genre has been exemplified by two programs, *Police Rescue* (1990–96) and *Blue Heelers* (1994– ). *Police Rescue*, with its star Gary Sweet as the lead Mickey, took place in an urban setting. With high production values (as befitted its ABC origins and overseas coproducers), *Police Rescue's*



storylines dealt with tensions of contemporary life in a city that was not necessarily recognizably Australian.

*Blue Heelers*, on the other hand, is set in mythical, bucolic, small-town Australia. Produced for Channel 7, *Blue Heelers* is constrained by a modest budget monitored by the creative guiding hand of leading Australian writer Tony Morphett. The program is clearly indigenous, and it is thus not as accessible to overseas audiences as *Police Rescue*. The very name, *Blue Heelers*, plays a word game recognizable to Australian audiences, yet which would escape viewers unaware of Australian nuances. It refers simultaneously to the standard blue uniforms that identify police in most of the English-speaking world and to a breed of cattle dog, the Queensland blue, notorious for sneaking behind unsuspecting people and nipping at their ankles. The star, John Wood, is positively avuncular, although the show has elements of action drama. While Australians are among the most urbanized people on Earth, the call of the small town, as exemplified by the long-running program *A Country Practice* (1981–94), seems to provide an appeal in national escapism as provided by television.

Both *Blue Heelers* and *Police Rescue* have been aimed at a family audience at 8:30 P.M. Both present continuing characters who constitute a “family” in the workplace. Both offer the usual recipe of conflict, violence, sexual attraction, and humor. Nevertheless the program set in the country is much more clearly mythical, Australian, and designed to reassure its audience. While Australian viewers, as the ratings attest, have enjoyed the restless camera and edgy performances of the American offerings *NYPD Blue* and *Law & Order*, just as they enjoyed *Hill Street Blues*. Australian producers have generally stayed with less gritty serials. On the other hand, police-based short series such as *Janus* (1994–95), produced by the ABC from its Melbourne studios, have explored a much darker vision for the policing profession than that exemplified by the prototypical *Blue Heelers* and *Police Rescue*.

MYLES BREEN

*See also Country Practice; Four Corners; Heartbreak High; Hey Hey It's Saturday; Homicide; Neighbours; Power Without Glory; Prisoner; Sale of the Century; Sex; Sylvania Waters*

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## Australian Programming: Indigenous

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Indigenous Australians have been very important to Australian television. As with many areas of Australian culture, the indigenous inhabitants have been co-opted in television's formation of an Australian sense of identity. Although less than 2 percent of the Australia population identifies itself as indigenous, it is unusual to watch an evening's television without encountering some representation of Aboriginality: in an advertisement for the Mitsubishi Pajero, a trailer for a Yothu Yindi concert, or a news item on the refusal of the prime minister to apologize for injuries done to indigenous populations. Aboriginal characters and issues have appeared in most genres of Australian television. Soap operas such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* have featured Aboriginal characters, as have children's programs like *Dolphin Cove* and *Kideo*, cop shows like *Wildside* and *Water Rats*, game shows such as *Wheel of Fortune* and *Family Feud*, and lifestyle programs such as *Australia's Funniest Home Videos*—with *The Great Outdoors* even featuring an Aboriginal presenter, Ernie Dingo.

In addition to these insistent, unsystematic images of Aboriginality, some parts of Australian television feature a greater amount of indigenous representation. This is true both in Aboriginal-produced and -circulated programming and in the arena of the broadcast mainstream.

In "mainstream" free-to-air broadcast television, there is a fairly consistent representation of indigenous Australians and issues on Australia's news and other nonfiction forms of programming (documentaries and current affairs). The greatest number of television news stories focus on issues of governance and the relations between imported and indigenous forms of social and political organization. In the early 1990s, many stories were about land rights and native title, indigenous attempts to gain some recognition that they owned the land of Australia before it was stolen by European invaders. In the second half of the 1990s, most public debate took place around the "Stolen Generations": that group of indigenous Australians who were removed from their families during the 20th century (up to the 1970s) as part of official and deliberate government policy aimed at "breeding out" indigenous Australians. The fact that, even after this policy had been subjected to public scrutiny, the prime minister at the time (John Howard) refused even to say "sorry" to these people

(many of whom now testified to having severe emotional difficulties due to the abuse associated with this process) became a matter of public concern. Most recently, media debate has focused upon the continuing poor health of indigenous communities, and the forms of governance best suited to addressing this problem.

There have also been avowedly indigenous programs on mainstream broadcast television. *First in Line* (Special Broadcasting Services [SBS], 1989) and *Blackout* (Australian Broadcasting Corporation [ABC], 1989) were both Aboriginal-produced and -presented magazine-style programs. *From Sand to Celluloid* (1995) was a series of short films by indigenous filmmakers, co-funded and broadcast by TV station SBS. *Bush Mechanics* (1998), a four part "whimsical" documentary, was produced by the Warlpiri Media Association and broadcast on the ABC. Perhaps most revolutionary in form was *The Mary G Show* (2001), which eschewed the magazine and art formats to produce "banal" indigenous Australian culture: a chat show presented by an indigenous drag queen. Despite their historical importance, none of these programs have been ratings successes.

The ABC miniseries *Heartland* (1994) retains its importance in the history of Australian television and remains worthy of a category of its own. This 13-hour-long drama presented a series of Aboriginal communities, rural and urban, and a wide range of characters, all contributing to a vastly increased range of available discourses on Aborigines. An entertaining, watchable piece of television, *Heartland* is truly distinctive in the history of Australian programming.

Ernie Dingo is a key figure in the history of indigenous televisual representation in Australia. He was responsible for a large amount of the Aboriginal representation on Australian television in the early 1990s. In addition to starring in *Heartland* and presenting *The Great Outdoors*, he has appeared on programs such as *Dolphin Cove*, *Clowning Around*, *Wheel of Fortune*, *GP*, *The Flying Doctors*, *Heartbreak High*, and many others. Recently, however, Dingo seems to have settled into his lifestyle work, while Aaron Pederesen—who first came to public attention as a host of the game show *Gladiators*—has become more visible. Deborah Mailman (star of the youth series *The Secret Life of Us*) is becoming a popular indigenous female presence on television.

Any consideration of indigenous programming must also cover the material that is made and distributed by Aboriginal groups and communities. Anybody interested in finding out about indigenous broadcasting is encouraged to visit, in the first instance, the website of the National Indigenous Media Association of Australia ([www.nimaa.org.au](http://www.nimaa.org.au)), which represents most indigenous broadcasting groups.

Broadcasting for Remote Areas Community Scheme (BRACS) is one of a series of projects set up by Australia's federal government to ensure that Aboriginal communities at a distance from the continent's urban centers can have access to broadcast television. BRACS is the successor of such projects as Remote Area Television Scheme (RATS), Self-Help Television Reception Scheme (STRS), Remote and Underserved Communities Scheme (RUCS), and the Self-Help Broadcasting Reception Scheme (SHBRS). Initially funded by the 1987–88 budget of the (then) Federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the purpose of BRACS was slightly different from that which had gone before. Rather than simply ensuring reception of broadcast television, BRACS would provide rebroadcasting and production facilities to allow Aboriginal communities to decide for themselves how much of the material received should actually be shown in their communities and to make their own material to replace that which they did not want. In order to make this possible, BRACS supplies the community with satellite reception equipment, a domestic quality video camera, two domestic video recorders (to allow for basic editing), and the equipment to rebroadcast to the community. The initial idea was that this would allow broadcast in little-used languages (some Aboriginal languages have less than 100 speakers) and allow deletion of offensive material.

The scheme has had varying degrees of success. Difficulties have included the lack of well-trained personnel to look after the equipment, the built-in obsolescence of domestic equipment, and equipment incompatibility with desert settings; a lack of consultation with Aboriginal communities as to whether they wanted the equipment; the limited-range capability of the rebroadcast equipment; and, underlying many of these other problems, the lack of recurrent national funding for the project. However, it seems that the scheme (available to over 110 indigenous communities by 2001) has at least taken into consideration the ways in which communities might want to use television.

Perhaps the most active examples of such local television production have been the indigenous communities in Ernabella and Yuendumu. Both of these towns preempted the government's BRACS scheme, estab-

lishing their own pirate television broadcasting well before BRACS legitimized the idea of Aboriginal TV production. In the latter community, the Warlpiri Media Association has produced hundreds of hours of programming: records of community life, travel tapes, the *Bush Mechanics* documentary noted previously, and *Manyu Wana*, an indigenous version of *Sesame Street* designed to teach local children the Warlpiri language. This community also takes part in the Tanami Network, which offers a state-of-the-art video conferencing facility privately run by four Aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal video and radio programs are also produced by some indigenous media groups, including Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), Townsville and Aboriginal Islander Media Association (TAIMA), Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association (TEABBA), Western Australian Aboriginal Media Association (WAAMA), Mount Isa Aboriginal Media Association (MIAMA), and Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal Media Association (TSIAMA). The radio programs are often carried on the networks of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Larger organizations than the media producers in the BRACS communities, these groups make material that is less locally oriented and that has an address wider than a single community.

Remote and rural areas of Australia receive their commercial television broadcasts on the AUSSAT satellite. Several Remote Commercial Television Service (RCTS) licenses were sold on this satellite; one is held by the CAAMA group. All of the bidders for these satellites were required to guarantee that their services would include material specifically commissioned for the Aboriginal people, who formed a relatively high proportion of their audiences (up to 27 percent in some cases). All did so, but none has done particularly well in keeping to those promises. The Golden West Network has one Aboriginal magazine program, *Milbindi*. Queensland Satellite Television broadcasts material provided by the governmental Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and the Queensland State government—programs that present carefully positive images of Aboriginality.

Imparja, the station owned by CAAMA, has found constraints of economy have made it difficult to produce broadcast-quality Aboriginal material. The amount of indigenous programming on the channel has varied. When it started broadcasting in 1988, Imparja featured an Aboriginal magazine-style program, *Nganampa Anwernekenhe*. By contrast, by the 1990s, the station's Aboriginal broadcasting consisted only of community service announcements.

In Australia there is a vast range of material encom-

passed by the term “indigenous broadcasting”: mainstream television on indigenous issues; indigenous programs broadcast on the mainstream; and indigenous-produced and -controlled broadcasting, which allows Aboriginal groups in Australia to interact assertively with new technologies, negotiating the places these will hold in their communities.

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### British Thriller

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Possibly Britain’s most successful television export, *The Avengers* (1961–69) was the last English-made television show to find a prime-time slot on U.S. network television. Originally *The Avengers* was designed to showcase the breakout star of *Police Surgeon* (1960), Ian Hendry, in the role of a doctor who, after the murder of his fiancée, joins forces with mysterious secret agent John Steed (Patrick Macnee). Six episodes were initially scheduled; 26 were made (three were videotaped) before Hendry left. Macnee continued to star in *The Avengers* for another eight years (136 episodes), finally resuming his role in 1976 in *New Avengers* (produced by Fennell and Clemens). During the subsequent five seasons, he was teamed with three female sidekicks: Cathy Gale (Honor Blackman), a widowed, leather-clad, martial arts expert with a Ph.D.; Mrs. Emma Peel (Diana Rigg), an aristocratic young widow, successful industrialist, psychologist, and skilled fighter; and, finally, Tara King (Linda Thorson), a young professional secret agent with less charisma or self-reliance than her amateur predecessors.

Once Macnee was teamed with Blackman, the show started to develop its characteristic flavor. Steed became more upper-class, dressed in increasingly dandified Edwardian fashion, while Gale represented a new vision of the strong, intelligent, active, and equal woman. Shot on multiple-camera video, these episodes did not display the same flair for the fantastic as the later filmed series (indeed, they look very much like the period’s realistic “kitchen sink” dramas), but the narratives did start to flirt with the bizarre and unexpected.

During this same period (1962–64), there was in-

creasing American interest in *The Avengers*, culminating in 1964 when ABC bought the series for the fall 1965 season. The network wanted a filmed series, so the show went on hiatus for nearly a year, reappearing on ITV in 1965 with new star Rigg. ABC chose to wait until 1967, when color episodes would be available rather than risk showing an imported black-and-white series while the U.S. networks were converting to all-color TV. After two seasons, Rigg left and was replaced by Thorson (1968–69). ABC canceled the show in 1969 because audiences sharply declined after it was scheduled against the new hit *Rowan and Martin’s Laugh-In*. Although *The Avengers* continued to garner top ratings in Britain and throughout Europe, production stopped (it was never officially canceled) because the production company, Associated British, now relied on U.S. money.

While *The Avengers* is often considered part of the James Bond/cold war cycle of espionage thrillers, it actually dealt less with international issues and more with changes in modern Britain. Narratives explicitly engaged with issues of colonialism, national heritage, and questions of imperial British history, often parodying the nation’s past, its institutions, and its stock stereotypes such as the English gentleman and the retired army major. This humorous reflection on national identity was combined with a fascination with space-age technology and an emphasis on modern femininity, a juxtaposition that recalled Britain’s own long emergence out of postwar deprivation into the new, trendsetting world represented by Carnaby Street and the Beatles.

MOYA LUCKETT

## Avengers, The



*The Avengers*, 1961–69; Patrick Macnee, Diana Rigg, 1966–69.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

**See also** Lumley, Joanna; Rigg, Diana; Spy Programs

### Cast

John Steed	Patrick Macnee
Dr. David Keel	Ian Hendry
Carol Wilson	Ingrid Hafner
One Ten	Douglas Muir
Cathy Gale	Honor Blackman
Venus Smith	Julie Stevens
Dr. Martin King	Jon Rollason

Emma Peel  
Tara King  
"Mother"  
Rhonda

Diana Rigg  
Linda Thorson  
Patrick Newell  
Rhonda Parker

### Producers

Leonard White, John Bryce, Julian Wintle, Albert Fennell, Brian Clemens

### British Programming History

161 50-minute episodes

ITV

January 7, 1961–December 30, 1961

September 29, 1962–March 23, 1963

September 28, 1963–March 21, 1964

October 2, 1965–March 26, 1966

January 14, 1967–May 6, 1967

September 30, 1967–November 18, 1967

September 25, 1968–May 21, 1969

### U.S. Programming History

ABC

March 1966–July 1966      Monday 10:00–11:00

July 1966–

September 1966      Thursday 10:00–11:00

January 1967–

September 1967      Friday 10:00–11:00

January 1968–

September 1968      Wednesday 7:30–8:30

September 1968–

September 1969      Monday 7:30–8:30

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Miller, Toby, *The Avengers*, London: British Film Institute, 1996

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## Azcarraga, Emilio Vidaurreta (d. 1972)

## Azcarraga, Emilio Milmo (1930–1997)

### Mexican Media Moguls

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There were two Emilio Azcarragas, both equally significant in the history of television in Mexico: Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta, the William Paley of Mexican broadcasting, and his son and heir, Emilio Azcarraga Milmo, the principal owner of the Mexican entertainment conglomerate Televisa. The elder Azcarraga created the first Mexican radio station in 1930 and soon took on a leading role in the development of Latin American broadcasting. He convened meetings of fledgling Latin American broadcasting entrepreneurs where it was decided that the region would follow the U.S. commercial model and not the noncommercial, government-supported, public service British model.

Azcarraga, already the sole Mexican agent for Victor/RCA Records and a successful theater owner, promoted Mexican artists (who were under exclusive contract to him) through his growing chain of radio stations, which included several along the U.S.-Mexican border. In 1950 he created Mexico's first television station, and, a decade later, he established the first U.S. Spanish-language television stations. The Televisa radio and television networks have, since their inception, been characterized by their close association with the Mexican ruling party, known by its Spanish initials, PRI. Televisa produces conservative, nationalistic entertainment programming and fawning, uncritical news coverage of the Mexican government. Partly as a result of this comfortable relationship, broadcasting in Mexico is virtually unregulated.

This situation continued through the stewardship of the second Emilio Azcarraga, known in Mexico as *El Tigre* (The Tiger), as much for the white streak in his hair as for his reputedly ferocious manner. Azcarraga expanded Televisa's monopolistic hold on Mexican broadcasting by buying media properties in other Latin American countries and selling Televisa programming throughout the world. For example, a Televisa *telenovela* (soap opera) was a huge hit in Moscow in the early 1990s. In 1993 Azcarraga acquired controlling interest of PanAmSat, a hemispheric communications satellite, further consolidating Televisa's position as

the world's largest producer of Spanish-language television programming.

In 1986 Azcarraga was forced to sell Televisa's U.S. subsidiary when it was found to be in violation of U.S. laws restricting foreign ownership. Just six years later, Azcarraga bought 25 percent of the U.S. network while continuing to provide the majority of its programming. In Mexico, Azcarraga diversified his holdings to include the largest stadium in the hemisphere, sports teams, publishing and recording companies, and even Mexico City real estate. Azcarraga maintained offices and homes in New York and Los Angeles as well as Mexico City and was featured on the cover of *Fortune's* 1994 issue on the world's richest men.

In the early 1990s, Televisa began to downplay its relationship with the PRI, presenting fairer political coverage. This trend coincided with a reduction of Televisa's market dominance, when a second broadcast network, TV Azteca, was launched in 1993 and MVS Multivision challenged Televisa's leading role in the satellite television and cable markets.

A month before his death in April 1997, Azcarraga relinquished control of Televisa to his 29-year-old son, Emilio Azcarraga Jean.

AMERICA RODRIGUEZ

*See also* Mexico; Spanish International Network; Univision

**Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta.** Married: Laura; children: Emilio, Laura, Carmela. Representative for Victor/RCA Records; began radio station XEW, Mexico City, 1930; built Churrubusco Studios, 1940s; creator and owner of Channel 2, 1950; became the first president of Telesistema Mexicano, 1955; involved in 92 different businesses by 1969; established Televisa, a production company for his stations. Died 1972.

**Emilio Azcarraga Milmo.** Born August 1930. Married four times; fourth wife: Paula Cusi; children include: Emilio Azcarraga Jean. Educated at Culver

Azcarraga, Emilio Milmo

Military Academy, graduated 1948. Worked in various positions in television; owner, Univision, a 12-station Spanish-language U.S. network, 1960s and 1970s; controlling shareholder of Televisa, S.A.; owner of *The National* U.S. sports daily, 1990–91; owner of major Mexican television stations; chair, Galavision; also involved in publishing, video, and real estate ventures. Died in Miami, Florida, April 16, 1997.

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- Deutschman, Alan, "Reclusive Tiger," *Fortune* (February 12, 1990)
- Fisher, Christy, "Azcarraga Again Prowls U.S. Media," *Advertising Age* (February 1, 1993)
- Malkin, Elisabeth, "The Rupert Murdoch of Mexico? Televisa's Azcarraga Wants to Crash the Global Major Leagues," *Business Week* (December 11, 1995)
- Millman, Joel, "El Tigre Pounces Again," *Forbes* (January 6, 1992)
- Stilson, Janet, "Hispanic Stations in Jeopardy: Staving Off Loss of TV Licenses," *Variety* (January 15, 1986)

# B

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## Baird, John Logie (1888–1946)

Scottish Inventor

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John Logie Baird pioneered early television with the mechanical scanning system he developed from 1923 to the late 1930s. He is remembered today as an inventor (178 patents) with considerable insight, who was in many ways ahead of his time. Among his pioneering ideas were early versions of color television, the video disc, large-screen television, stereo television, televised sports, and pay television by closed circuit. But he is also a tragic figure who often worked alone for lack of financial backing and lived to see his technical ideas superseded. He was forgotten by the time he died at the age of 58.

Baird did not select television as a field of endeavor so much as he backed into it. As a teen, he had toyed with the notion of pictures by wireless, as had others fascinated with the new technology. Later, having unsuccessfully tried innovation in several more mundane fields (socks, jams, glass razors, shoe soles), Baird traveled to Hastings (on England's south coast) in 1923 to see if the sea air would aid his always marginal health. During a series of long walks there, his mind returned to his earlier notions of how to send wireless images. But he was not well trained in electronics, and this lack of basic knowledge often limited his thinking and experiments.

Beginning in 1923 and continuing until 1939, Baird produced a series of mechanical video systems that could scan (and thus transmit and receive) moving images. These offered a crude picture (about 30 lines of

definition from 1929 to 1935, improving to about 240 before he broke off development) by means of a cumbersome system of large rotating discs fitted with lenses. Baird promoted initial public interest in television with the first public demonstrations (one in a London department store window) in 1925 and 1926, and long-distance transmissions by wire (between London and Glasgow in 1926) and short-wave (transatlantic from London to New York in 1927). By 1928 he was experimenting with "phonovision," a means of recording his crude images on a phonograph-like disc. His efforts at promotion and sale of "televisor" devices created considerable controversy among experts as to whether television was sufficiently developed to promote public viewing and purchase of receivers.

For many years the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) resisted his efforts to utilize its frequencies and studio facilities in his work. Under pressure from the British Post Office (then in charge of all wire and wireless transmission), the BBC reluctantly began to work with Baird in 1930. Several years of experiments culminated in a regular daily broadcast comparison of his 240-line system with an RCA-like, all-electronic 405-line system developed by Marconi-EMI in 1936–37. Baird's now outmoded approach was soon dropped in favor of the latter's vastly superior electronic system.

Baird continued developmental work on color television, now making use of cathode-ray technology,



and achieved 600-line experimental color telecasts by 1940. He continued his effort to perfect large-screen projection color television during World War II, along with some apparent work for the British military. But his health, never strong, gave out and he died in 1946.

Did Baird "fail"? He ignored or denied the growing value of the cathode-ray tube for too long (until the late 1930s) and held on to hopes for his mechanical alternative. His companies did not develop sufficient engineering depth and research capability beyond Baird himself. He kept no regular laboratory notes or records, making support for some of his claims difficult to find. And—perhaps most important as an indicator of impact—he achieved little commercial success. Still, there is growing appreciation of his pioneering if limited role among scholars of British television.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

See also **Television Technology**

**John Logie Baird.** Born in Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, Scotland, August 13, 1888. Attended Royal Technical College, Glasgow, and Glasgow University. Served as superintendent, Clyde Valley Electric Power Company; helped pioneer television transmission, successfully transmitting image of a Maltese cross several feet, 1924; gave scientists a demonstration of "Noctovision," a form of infrared television imaging, January 26 1926; succeeded with world's first transatlantic television transmission from London to New York and produced first television images in natural color, 1928; experimented with stereoscopic

television; the BBC adopted his 30-line, mechanically scanned system, 1929, used for the first televising of the Derby from Epsom, 1931. Recipient: first Gold Medal of the International Faculty of Science given to an Englishman, 1937. Died in Bexhill, Sussex, England, June 14, 1946.

**Publication**

*Sermons, Soap, and Television: Autobiographical Notes*, 1988

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## Bakewell, Joan (1933– )

British Broadcast Journalist

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Joan Bakewell is one of the most respected presenters and commentators on British radio and television, with a career that spans more than 30 years. At the start of her career in the 1960s, she was one of the first women to establish a professional reputation in what had previously been an almost exclusively male preserve. She has since consolidated her status as one of the more serious-minded and thoughtful of television's "talking heads," making regular appearances both with the BBC and the independent companies and also becoming

a regular writer for leading British broadsheet newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*.

Early appearances on such programs as BBC 2's *Late Night Line Up* provided evidence of her understanding of a range of subjects and her ability to extract from complex arguments the crucial issues underlying them. She also profited by her youthful good looks, which earned her the unwanted tag (initially bestowed by humorist Frank Muir) "the thinking man's crumpet." Gradually, however, Bakewell shook

herself free of the limitations of her physical description and went on to present a wide range of programs from current affairs, discussions of the arts, and questions of public and private morality (notably in her long-running series *The Heart of the Matter*) to the less intellectual territory inhabited by, for instance, *Film 73* and *Holiday*.

Always calm, Bakewell has sometimes been accused of having a somewhat "dour" and even cold personality; viewers have complained that only rarely has she been seen to smile with any conviction. Intent on getting to the bottom of a particular issue, she is never distracted by opportunities for light relief or lured into exploring the possibilities of a colorful tangential course. Even when presenting holiday reports from various exotic parts of the globe, she never gave the impression she was ready to abandon herself to anything resembling relaxed frivolity or other conventional "holiday-making" (she was consequently usually dispatched to report back from destinations with obvious cultural and artistic links).

This seriousness of purpose is, however, arguably dictated largely by the material Bakewell is usually associated with: weighty matters of relevance to consumers, voters, enthusiasts of the arts, and so on. Her unflurried, concerned tone of voice enables the viewer to concentrate upon the intellectual questions being raised during discussions of such emotional topics as providing funds for the treatment of terminally ill children—questions that in less-practiced hands could otherwise all too easily be swamped by sentimentality. There is nonetheless a lighter side to Bakewell's character, amply demonstrated by her contributions to the jovial BBC radio program *Newsquiz*, among other humorous productions.

DAVID PICKERING

**Joan (Dawson) Bakewell.** Born in Stockport, Cheshire, England, April 16, 1933. Attended Stockport High School for Girls, Stockport, Cheshire; Newnham College, Cambridge, B.A. Married: 1) Michael Bakewell, 1955 (divorced, 1972); children: Matthew and Harriet; 2) Jack Emery, 1975. Joined BBC radio as studio manager; subsequently hosted numerous arts, travel, and current affairs programs; television critic, *The Times*, 1978–81; associate, 1980–81, associate fellow, 1984–87, Newnham College, Cambridge; columnist, *Sunday Times*, since 1988; BBC television arts correspondent, 1981–87; has also written for *Punch* and *Radio Times*; president, Society of Arts Publicists, 1984–90; member, governing body, British Film Institute, since 1994; board member, Royal National Theatre, since 1996. Commander of the Order of the

British Empire, 1999. Recipient: Richard Dimbleby Award, 1994.

#### Television Series

1962	<i>Sunday Break</i>
1964	<i>Home at 4.30</i>
1964	<i>Meeting Point</i>
1964	<i>The Second Sex</i>
1965–72	<i>Late Night Line Up</i>
1968	<i>The Youthful Eye</i>
1971	<i>Moviemakers at the National Film Theatre</i>
1972	<i>Film 72</i>
1973	<i>Film 73</i>
1973	<i>For the Sake of Appearance</i>
1973	<i>Where Is Your God?</i>
1973	<i>Who Cares?</i>
1973	<i>The Affirmative Way</i>
1974–78	<i>Holiday</i>
1974	<i>What's It All About?</i>
1974	<i>Time Running Out</i>
1974	<i>Thank You, Ron</i> (producer, writer)
1974	<i>Fairest Fortune</i>
1974	<i>Edinburgh Festival Report</i>
1976	<i>Generation to Generation</i>
1976	<i>The Shakespeare Business</i>
1976	<i>The Brontë Business</i>
1976–78	<i>Reports Action</i>
1977	<i>My Day with the Children</i>
1979	<i>The Moving Line</i>
1980	<i>Arts UK: OK?</i>
1988–2000	<i>The Heart of the Matter</i>
1998	<i>Travels with Pevsner: Derbyshire</i>
2000	<i>My Generation</i>

#### Radio

*Away from It All*, 1978–79; *PM*, 1979–81; *Newsquiz: There and Back* (play; writer); *Parish Magazine* (play; writer); *Artist of the Week*, 1998–; *The Brains Trust*, 1998–.

#### Stage

*Brontës: The Private Faces* (writer), 1979.

#### Publications

*The New Priesthood: British Television Today* (with Nicholas Garnham), 1970  
*A Fine and Private Place* (with John Drummond), 1977  
*The Complete Traveller*, 1977  
*The Heart of "The Heart of the Matter,"* 1996

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## Ball, Lucille (1911–1989)

U.S. Actor, Comedian

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Lucille Ball was one of television's foremost pioneers and a preeminent woman in the history of television. As a young contract player for MGM, Ball began her career as a Goldwyn Girl, eventually moving up to become a moderately respected star of "B" movies. She came to television after nearly 20 years in motion pictures, having undergone a gradual transformation from a platinum blonde sex symbol to a wise-cracking redhead.

Her first television program, *I Love Lucy*, premiered October 15, 1951, and for the next 25 years Lucille Ball virtually ruled the airwaves in a series of situation comedies designed to exploit her elastic expressions, slapstick abilities, and distinct verbal talents. A five-time Emmy Award winner, the first woman inducted into the Television Academy's Hall of Fame, recipient of a Genii Award and a Kennedy Center Honor, Lucille Ball was perhaps the most beloved of all television stars, and certainly the most recognizable.

In all of her television series, the protagonist she played was at once beautiful, zany, inept, and talented. Her comedic skills were grounded in the style of the silent comics, and Buster Keaton, with whom she once shared an office at MGM, seems to have been particularly influential in the development of Ball's daring exploits, hang-dog expressions, and direct looks at the audience. Although she personally fueled the myth that much of her performance was ad-libbed, in actuality, every move was choreographed. An accomplished perfectionist, she spent days practicing a particular routine before incorporating it into her programs. So distinct were her rubbery facial expressions that scriptwriters for *I Love Lucy* referred to them with specific code word notations. For example, the cue "puddling up" directed the star to pause momentarily with huge tear-filled eyes and then burst into a loud wail. "Light bulb" was an indication to portray a sudden idea, while "credentials" directed the star to gape in astonished indignation. Her importance for future comedians such as Mary Tyler Moore, Candice Bergen, and Cybill Shepard was paramount; Ball demonstrated that a woman could be beautiful and silly, and that she could perform the most outrageous of slapstick routines and still be feminine. Ball's unusual use of props and her imaginative escapes from the most implausible

of situations influenced future sitcom stars such as Penny Marshall, Bronson Pinchot, Ellen Degeneres, and Robin Williams, whose comedic styles and series' storylines echoed her own.

But while her acting contributions are singularly laudable, it was Ball's role in redefining the very structure of television programming that makes her noteworthy. Her independence, popularity, and determination, coupled with her husband's technical and financial savvy, resulted in their co-ownership and control of one of the most successful television production studios in history.

*I Love Lucy* was one of the first television series to be produced live on film, using a multiple-camera technique in front of a studio audience. The filmed nature of the program granted it a permanency that allowed Ball and her husband, Desi Arnaz, to profit from reruns, syndication, and foreign distribution. The program was incomparably successful, reaching the number one position by February of its first season and remaining number one for four of its six years on the air, averaging a 67 share. Aired in more than 100 countries, the series quite literally financed the creation of Desilu Studios, where Ball and her husband reigned as vice president and president, respectively. Desilu went on to become the production headquarters for many of the greatest TV hits of the 1950s and 1960s, including *Our Miss Brooks*, *Make Room for Daddy*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Untouchables*, *Mission Impossible*, *Mannix*, and *Star Trek*. Indeed, it was Ball's clout with the CBS network that convinced its executives to pick up the latter three pilots.

Ball's first success with *I Love Lucy* allowed her a power denied most entertainers. She was one of the few 1950s television stars to successfully fight the Communist witch-hunts of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), when a 1953 Walter Winchell program attempted to derail her career. Established film stars, such as Orson Welles, William Holden, and Joan Crawford, who had previously shunned television, made guest appearances on Ball's program for the sake of appearing with the queen of prime time. Ball's popularity with the press and her fans forced CBS executives to acquiesce to her decision to reveal her real-life pregnancy during the show's



Lucille Ball.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

second season. This television first was monitored carefully by a trio of clergy who oversaw each script. While timid CBS executives insisted the word “expectant” be substituted for “pregnant,” seven episodes detailed the fictional Lucy’s pregnancy in near symmetry with the actress’s own physical condition. Backlogging five episodes for use while she convalesced from delivery, the program worked around Ball’s due date, so that her real-life Caesarean delivery coincided with the airing of her television delivery. The episode set a rating record of 71.1, with more viewers tuning in to witness the fictional Lucy Ricardo give birth than had seen Eisenhower’s inauguration.

With her 1962 buyout of Desilu from her by then ex-husband Desi Arnaz, Ball became the first woman to head a major television production studio. Through the mid-1970s she starred in three additional series for CBS, with her third series, *The Lucy Show*, earning the highest initial price ever paid for a 30-minute series (\$2.3 million for 30 episodes). In the mid-1960s, she sold Desilu to Gulf and Western for \$17 million, and she went on to form Lucille Ball Productions with her

second husband, Gary Morton, as vice president. Her final CBS series, *Here’s Lucy*, while not as critically acclaimed as her previous ventures, was responsible for launching the careers of her children Lucie Arnaz and Desi Arnaz Jr., and for bringing Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton into situation comedy.

By the mid-1970s, diffused lighting, surgical tape “face lifts,” skilled makeup, and a bright wig could not hide her diminishing physical flexibility or her increasing reliance on cue cards. A 1986 ABC series, *Life with Lucy*, seemed forced and stodgy and lasted a mere 13 weeks. But even in her decline there were flashes of brilliance. In 1985 she surprised critics and fans with her appearance as a homeless woman in the CBS made-for-TV movie *Stone Pillow*. With her death in 1989, she was eulogized by fans, network executives, and even the president of the United States, as “the first woman of television.”

For all her impact upon the very nature of television production, Ball is most vividly recalled as a series of black-and-white images. To remember Lucille Ball is to recall a profusion of universal images of magical mayhem—a losing battle with a candy conveyor belt, a flaming nose, a slippery vat of grapes—images that, unlike most American situation comedy, transcend nationalities and generations, in an absolute paradigm of side-splitting laughter.

NINA C. LEIBMAN

**See also Arnaz, Desi; Comedy, Domestic Settings; *I Love Lucy*; Gender and Television; Independent Production Companies**

**Lucille (Désirée) Ball (Lucy Montana, Diane Belmont).** Born in Jamestown, New York, August 6, 1911. Attended John Murray Anderson-Robert Milton Dramatic School, New York City. Married: 1) Desi Arnaz, 1940 (divorced, 1960); children: Lucie Désirée and Desi Jr.; 2) Gary Morton, 1961. Began her performing career in the 1920s under the name Diane Belmont, being hired for, then quickly fired from, Earl Carroll’s *Vanities* and the Schuberts’ *Stepping Stones*; had a walk-on role in *Broadway Thru a Keyhole*, 1933; selected as a Goldwyn Girl for film *Roman Scandals*, 1933; signed with Columbia, 1934; under contract to RKO, from 1935; moved to MGM 1943–46; played role on CBS radio program *My Favorite Husband*, 1947–50; co-starred with Bob Hope in *Sorrowful Jones*, 1949, and *Fancy Pants*, 1950; with husband Desi Arnaz established Desilu Productions, which began producing the *I Love Lucy* television series, 1951–57, and later series such as *The Ann Sothorn Show* and *The Untouchables*; with Arnaz, bought RKO studios and lot in 1957; debuted on Broadway in *Wild-*

## Ball, Lucille

cat, 1960; bought Arnaz's share of Desilu, 1962, which she managed until 1967; sold Desilu to Gulf and Western Industries, 1967; formed and managed Lucille Ball Productions, 1968; starred in film *Mame*, 1974; played a Manhattan bag lady in made-for-television movie *Stone Pillow*, 1985; starred in series *Life with Lucy*, 1986. Recipient: five Emmy Awards; Golden Apple Award, 1973; Ruby Award, 1974; Entertainer of the Year, 1975; Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1984. Died in Los Angeles, California, April 26, 1989.

### Television Series

1951-57	<i>I Love Lucy</i>
1957-60	<i>The Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz Show</i>
1962-65, 1967	<i>The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour</i>
1962-68	<i>The Lucy Show</i>
1968-74	<i>Here's Lucy</i>
1986	<i>Life with Lucy</i>

### Made-for-Television Movies

1974	<i>Happy Anniversary and Goodbye</i>
1976	<i>What Now, Catherine Curtis?</i>
1985	<i>Stone Pillow</i>

### Television Specials

1975	<i>The Lucille Ball Special Starring Lucille Ball and Dean Martin</i>
1975	<i>The Lucille Ball Special Starring Lucille Ball and Jackie Gleason</i>
1977	<i>Bob Hope's All-Star Tribute to Vaudeville</i>

### Films

*Bulldog Drummond*, 1929; *Broadway Thru a Keyhole*, 1933; *Blood Money*, 1933; *Roman Scandals*, 1933; *The Bowery*, 1933; *Moulin Rouge*, 1934; *Nana*, 1934; *Bottoms Up*, 1934; *Hold That Girl*, 1934; *Bulldog Drummond Strikes Back*, 1934; *The Affairs of Cellini*, 1934; *Kid Millions*, 1934; *Broadway Bill*, 1934; *Jealousy*, 1934; *Men of the Night*, 1934; *Fugitive Lady*, 1934; *The Whole Town's Talking*, 1934; *Carnival*, 1935; *Roberta*, 1935; *Old Man Rhythm*, 1935; *The Three Musketeers*, 1935; *Top Hat*, 1935; *I Dream Too Much*, 1935; *The Farmer in the Dell*, 1936; *Chatterbox*, 1936; *Follow the Fleet*, 1936; *Bunker Bean*, 1936; *That Girl from Paris*, 1936; *Winterset*, 1936; *Don't Tell the Wife*, 1937; *Stage Door*, 1937; *Go Chase Yourself*, 1938; *Joy of Living*, 1938; *Having Wonderful Time*, 1938; *The Affairs of Annabel*, 1938; *Room Service*, 1938; *The Next Time I Marry*, 1938; *Annabel Takes a Tour*, 1939; *Beauty for the Asking*, 1939; *Twelve Crowded Hours*, 1939; *Panama Lady*, 1939; *Five Came Back*, 1939; *That's*

*Right, You're Wrong*, 1939; *The Marines Fly High*, 1940; *You Can't Fool Your Wife*, 1940; *Dance, Girl, Dance*, 1940; *Too Many Girls*, 1940; *A Girl, a Guy, and a Gob*, 1941; *Look Who's Laughing*, 1941; *Valley of the Sun*, 1942; *The Big Street*, 1942; *Seven Days' Leave*, 1942; *Dubarry Was a Lady*, 1943; *Best Foot Forward*, 1943; *Thousands Cheer*, 1943; *Meet the People*, 1944; *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1944 (released 1946); *Without Love*, 1945; *Bud Abbott and Lou Costello in Hollywood*, 1945; *The Dark Corner*, 1946; *Easy to Wed*, 1946; *Two Smart People*, 1946; *Lover Come Back*, 1946; *Lured*, 1947; *Her Husband's Affairs*, 1947; *Sorrowful Jones*, 1949; *Easy Living*, 1949; *Miss Grant Takes Richmond*, 1949; *A Woman of Distinction*, 1950; *Fancy Pants*, 1950; *The Fuller Brush Girl*, 1950; *The Magic Carpet*, 1951; *The Long, Long Trailer*, 1954; *Forever, Darling*, 1956; *Critic's Choice*, 1963; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *Yours, Mine and Ours*, 1968; *Mame*, 1974.

### Radio

Phil Baker's show, 1938; Jack Haley's *Wonder Bread Show*, 1938; *Lux Radio Theatre*; *Suspense*; *Screen Guild Playhouse*; *My Favorite Husband*, 1947-50.

### Stage

*Dream Girl*, 1947-48; vaudeville tour with Desi Arnaz, 1950; *Wildcat*, 1960.

### Publication

*Love Lucy*, with Betty Hannah Hoffman, 1996

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Barbera, Joseph. *See* Hanna, William and Joseph Barbera

## Barney Miller

U.S. Comedy/Variety Program

*Barney Miller*, a gentle and witty comedy, was one of the most successful ensemble comedy series of all time. Co-created (with Theodore J. Flicker) and produced by Danny Arnold, who wrote other popular programs (*The Real McCoys*, *That Girl*, and *Bewitched*), the show was originally conceived as the story about a compassionate police officer. The pilot, *The Life and Times of Captain Barney Miller*, aired as part of the summer anthology series *Just For Laughs* (ABC, 1974), and the action was divided between the police captain's workplace and his home life with wife Elizabeth (Abby Dalton) and children Rachel and David (Anne Wyndham and Michael Tessier).

When the series premiered as a mid-season replacement (January 23, 1975), the action focused on the work environment. Earlier series such as *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (CBS, 1961-66) and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (CBS, 1970-77) depicted the workplace "family" in addition to the characters' home lives, but *Barney Miller* was the first domestic comedy to focus on the workplace and the activities taking place in the dingy 12th precinct station house in New York's Greenwich Village. Barney's family life was relegated to a much smaller role and, although Barbara Barrie succeeded Dalton as wife Elizabeth, the children were soon written out completely.

Few series before or since have achieved the ethnic and racial diversity featured in *Barney Miller*. The title character was a middle-aged Jewish man (played by Broadway veteran Hal Linden) with a paternal concern for the detectives serving under him. The detectives included the fiery Puerto Rican Chano Amenguale (Gregory Sierra), Nick Yemana (Jack Soo), a contemplative middle-aged Asian-American with a weakness for gambling and an inability to make a decent pot of coffee, Ron Harris (Ron Glass), a stylish African-American with grand ambitions to publish his detective novel (*Blood on the Badge*), Stanley Wojciehowicz (Max Gail), a Polish Catholic with a passion for fighting injustices, and sexagenarian Phil Fish (Abe Vigoda). The squad room also had its token female officer in the outspoken Janice Wentworth (Linda Lavin). Rounding out the cast were Fish's wife Bernice (Florence Stanley), the tough yet sentimental Frank Luger (James Gregory), and Scanlon of Internal Affairs (George Murdock). And, parading through each episode, were the "crazies, crooks, con men, hookers, juvenile muggers, and other street denizens" of the precinct, including one of television's first recurring gay characters, Marty (Jack DeLeon).



*Barney Miller.*  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives

Sierra and Lavin both left after the first season, and Vigoda's character was "retired" after the second to star in his own spinoff, *Fish* (ABC, 1977–78). Amenguale and Wentworth were replaced by the droll intellectual Arthur Dietrich (Steve Landesberg) and Carl Levitt (Ron Carey), a diminutive beat officer with aspirations to plainclothes duty. June Gable briefly joined the cast in the second season as Maria Baptista.

The use of the nontraditional extended family as the basis for this comedy is exemplified in the show's opening credits. In the style of many domestic comedies (e.g., *The Donna Reed Show*), each "family member" is introduced in the credits, acting in a way that reflects their individual personalities, for example, Barney stopping to listen to an officer, Harris working at his writing. The sense of family and ensemble extended to the actors themselves, and audiences felt that special bond. When actor Jack Soo died in January 1979, a special episode was aired the following May and featured the late actor in clips from past shows and

included reminiscences from the other cast members. At the end of the episode, the entire cast raised their coffee cups in heartfelt salute.

Unlike many comedy series, each episode featured two or three storylines, allowing the action to shift from one story to the other, similar to a one-act play. But the key to the success of the series was its low-key dialogue and underplayed reactions to the mayhem occurring around them. There are no car chases, no shoot-outs. The characters react like real police detectives. They take their time, they listen to the people who come in to file a complaint, and they deal with the mounds of paperwork. More importantly, the officers always exhibit their affection and understanding for human beings in trouble.

At a time when most comedy series emphasized being filmed in front of a live audience, *Barney Miller* was one of the few comedy series that was not, due mainly to long filming hours that often lasted well into the night (and very early into the following morning).

According to the actors, writer/producer Arnold was a perfectionist and constantly honed lines of dialogue. Linden said Arnold "did not want to put anything on the screen that wasn't as perfect as he could make it, and it kept us up until six o'clock in the morning very often."

After a dispute with the network, the series came to an end in 1982. Like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Barney Miller's* ending three-part episode dealt with the break-up of the familial unit. It is discovered that the station house was once Theodore Roosevelt's headquarters, when he served as New York Police Board president in the 1890s. Thus the building is declared a historic landmark, forcing the precinct to vacate the premises. And, even though Barney is finally promoted to Deputy Inspector and Officer Levitt finally achieves the rank of sergeant, the detectives of the "ole One-Two" are all reassigned to other precincts throughout the city.

Throughout its eight seasons on the air, the series never made the top ten in the Nielsen ratings, but it garnered multiple honors, including a total of 32 Emmy nominations, seven Golden Globe nominations, and an award from the Directors Guild of America.

The series continues in syndication and remains a cultural icon. Eleven pieces from the series are now part of the popular culture collection at the Smithsonian's Museum of American History: the squad room assignment board, the cell door and key, as well as the police badges of Miller, Luger, Harris, Wojciehowicz, Dietrich, Levitt, and Yemana, along with the latter's name plate and coffee cup.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

### See also **Police Programs**

#### Cast

Captain Barney Miller	Hal Linden
Det. Ron Harris	Ron Glass
Det. Stanley "Wojo" Wojciehowicz	Max Gail
Inspector Frank Luger	James Gregory
Elizabeth Miller	Barbara Barrie
Det. Sgt. Chano Amenguale	Gregory Sierra (1975-76)
Det. Phil Fish	Abe Vigoda (1975-77)
Det. Nick Yemana	Jack Soo (1975-78)

Det. Arthur Dietrich	Steve Landesberg (1976-82)
Officer Carl Levitt	Ron Carey (1976-82)
Bernice Fish	Florence Stanley (1975-77)
Det. Janice Wentworth	Linda Lavin (1975-76)
Det. Maria Baptista	June Gable (1976-77)
Lt. Ben Scanlon	George Murdock (1976-82)

#### Producers

Danny Arnold, Chris Hayward, Arne Sultan

#### Programming History

169 episodes	
ABC	
January 1975-January 1976	Thursday 8:00-8:30
January 1976-December 1976	Thursday 8:30-9:00
December 1976-March 1982	Thursday 9:00-9:30
March 1982-April 1982	Friday 8:30-9:00
April 1982-September 1982	Thursday 9:00-9:30

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- Fejes, Fred, and Rita J. Simon, "Real Police on Television Supercops," *Society* (September-October 1980)
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## Barnouw, Erik (1908–2001)

Historian

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Erik Barnouw, the preeminent historian of broadcasting in the United States, belongs to the New Deal generation of American progressive intellectuals whose coming of age in the Depression, wartime experience, and postwar work in public service influenced and inspired generations of students and activists after them. Born in 1908 in the Netherlands, Barnouw emigrated with his family to the United States in 1919. His father, Adriaan Barnouw, took a faculty position at Columbia University and Erik experienced the heady days of 1920s New York as a student at the Horace Mann School. While an undergraduate at Princeton, he became a member of the exclusive Triangle Club, and wrote a series of popular campus musicals, including *Zuider Zee* in collaboration with Joshua Logan. After brief stints as a theatrical stage manager, a writer for the fledgling *Fortune* magazine, and a world traveler funded by a Princeton fellowship, Barnouw returned in 1931 to a United States greatly changed by the Depression. He found himself among the ranks of the unemployed, until an encounter with a Princeton classmate in a speakeasy led to an offer of employment at the Erwin, Wasey advertising agency, working on the Camel cigarette account as director of *The Camel Quarter-Hour* on CBS.

The early, experimental years of sponsored network radio presented the equally inexperienced, experimental Barnouw with ample opportunity to flex his dramatic skills. He produced and directed series such as *The True Story Court of Human Relations* and *Bobby Benson of the H-Bar-O Ranch*. But, several years later, when offered a position of vice president in charge of programming at the agency, Barnouw resigned, and accepted an offer from Columbia University to teach a radio writing sequence.

The move to academe led to a growing reputation as a “serious” writer just as the networks moved into their first New Deal-era efforts at program uplift. This led to assignments to work on prestige programs such as *Cavalcade of America* and *Theater Guild of the Air*. In 1942 he moved to NBC as script editor of public service programs, an increasingly important area during the war, which led to an appointment as educational director with the Armed Forces Radio Service in

1944–45. In 1946 Barnouw resumed his faculty post at Columbia, now adding television to the curriculum in cooperation with NBC. During this period Barnouw became the president of the Radio Writers Guild, a labor union organized to stabilize and protect the rights of the often unacknowledged writers behind radio’s frenetic production.

Over the next 20 years, Barnouw’s career exhibited a stunning variety of accomplishments, including a barrier-breaking VD awareness campaign for the Public Health Service, co-founding the Writers Guild of America, producing and writing the film series *Decision: The Constitution in Action* as well as the groundbreaking documentary *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945*, and founding the Center for Mass Communication at Columbia. In 1959 he was commissioned by Oxford University Press to write a three-volume history of U.S. broadcasting. Barnouw produced the first volume, *A Tower in Babel*, in 1966, followed by *The Golden Web* in 1968 and *The Image Empire* in 1970.

It is hard to imagine the situation of broadcasting history in this country without the presence of Erik Barnouw’s overarching yet accessible account of the industry he knew so well. With access to many of the key players from the still-recent early days of radio, Barnouw’s project drew on, but also crucially added to, the Oral History Collection at Columbia, an invaluable resource. His compilation of documents, photographs, and recordings from stations, producers, writers, journalists, industry personnel, and his interpretation and analysis in such a lively and engaging narrative, has made the American broadcasting heritage accessible to generations of students and scholars.

As the one-volume condensation of the larger work, *Tube of Plenty*, as well as his more pointed summary *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate*, demonstrate, Barnouw’s primary allegiance is to the New Deal reformer’s philosophy that broadcasting’s problems lie primarily in its commercial basis. Though more open-minded than many, he reserves his approval—and in later volumes, most of his attention—for the “serious” side of public affairs, documentary and news broadcasting, reflecting his own background and experience as well as the unquestioned cultural hi-

erarchy of the New Deal Ivy League left, posing patriotic public service squarely in opposition to vulgar commercialism. No populist, yet not entirely comfortable with the elite disdain for popular culture found in much of the criticism of his contemporaries, a levity and wit run through his writings that often manages to insult all sides equally.

Erik Barnouw's long career includes over a dozen books, numerous scripts and film and video productions, and numerous articles. He served as Chief of the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress from 1978 until 1981, won numerous grants and awards for his work, was extremely active in unions, organizations, and scholarly activities throughout his life, publishing his last book, *Conglomerates and the Media*, in 1997 at the age of 89. He died on July 19, 2001, at the age of 93.

MICHELE HILMES

**Erik Barnouw.** Born in The Netherlands, June 23, 1908; moved to United States, 1919, naturalized citizen, 1928. Married: Dorothy Maybelle Beache June 3, 1939; children Jeffrey, Susanna, Karen. Education: Princeton University, A.B., 1929, University of Vienna, Reinhardt Seminar, 1930. Worked as program director and writer for Erwin, Wasey and Company, 1930–35; Arthur Kudner, Inc, advertising, 1935–37. Joined Columbia University faculty in 1937. Served as script editor at NBC 1942–44, and as educational director of the Armed Forces Radio Service 1944–45. Returned to Columbia University 1946; worked on *Calvacade of America* and *The Theatre Guild of the Air* 1946–49. President, Radio Writers Guild, 1947–49; Secretary of Authors League of America 1949–53; Co-founder, Writers Guild of America, 1954. Wrote "VD: The Conspiracy of Silence" campaign, 1948; producer-writer *Decision: The Constitution in Action* television series, 1957–59; producer *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, August 1945*, 1970; writer-producer *Fable Safe*, 1972, with Robert Osborn. Library of Congress, Chief of Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, 1971–81. Married Elizabeth Prince Allen, 1989. Died in Fair Haven, Vermont, July 19, 2001.

#### Awards

American Bar Association Gavel Award, 1959, for *Decision*; Fulbright Award, India, 1961; Guggen-

heim Fellowship, 1969; Bancroft Prize, 1971, for *The Image Empire*; John D. Rockefeller III Fund grant for research in Asia, 1972; Silver Dragon Award, Cracow Film Festival, for *Fable Safe*; Woodrow Wilson Fellow, Smithsonian Institution, 1976; Indo-American Fellowship, 1978; Eastman Kodak Gold Medal for Service to Film and Television, 1982; Litt. D. Columbia University, 1984; Vermont Peace Festival Award, 1985, for *Hiroshima-Nagasaki*; International Documentary Association scholarship and preservation award, 1985.

#### Publications (selected)

*Handbook of Radio Writing: An Outline of Techniques and Markets in Radio Writing in the United States*, 1928

*Radio Drama in Action* (editor), 1945

*Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film, Press: The Media and Their Practice in the United States of America*, 1956

*The Television Writer*, 1962

*Indian Film* (with S. Krishnaswamy), 1963

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## Bassett, John (1915–1998)

### Canadian Media Executive

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Few individuals in the history of Canadian television have inspired as much controversy as John Bassett, a founder of Toronto station CFTO and key figure in the formation of the CTV network, Canada's first privately owned television network. Bassett parlayed a career in journalism and his financial connections into a major ownership role in Canadian commercial television. Media historian Paul Rutherford identifies him as one of the architects of Canadian television. Bassett also was a player in national politics, and in the 1980s he was named chair of the Canadian Security Intelligence Review Commission and appointed to the Privy Council of Canada, an appointment that carried with it the title Honourable.

When in 1959 the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), reflecting the views of the recently elected Conservative government of John Diefenbaker, decided to allow an expansion of private telecasting in Canada, the most coveted market was Toronto, seen correctly as a potential gold mine. Many prominent business groups wanted the license and nine eventually applied. Bassett joined the Eaton family, owners of a large department store chain, and others in an enterprise known as BATON Broadcasting, which was awarded the Toronto rights. When the winner was announced, the decision was roundly criticized. Some critics alleged that Bassett, a party insider and (unsuccessful) candidate for the Progressive Conservative party, had capitalized on his political connections and personal relationship with the prime minister. The new licensee also owned the Toronto *Telegram*, an unashamedly right-wing supporter of the party. (The newspaper closed its doors in 1971.) This connection also aroused concerns about cross-media ownership. Bassett may have had some influence on the Diefenbaker government's decision to weaken the television monopoly held by the public network. However, historians report no evidence that the prime minister personally intervened in the BBG decision to award the license to BATON.

Conflict of interest was also suspected when the rights to televise Canadian professional football games went to BATON, rather than to the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) with its national audience. Bassett also owned the Toronto club

in the league at the time. Initially cool to Spence Caldwell's CTV network, Bassett was forced to come to an agreement with CTV—and the CBC—to reach a national audience for the then highly popular Canadian Football League telecasts. The national championship, known as the Grey Cup game, was a major national event, important to viewers and profitable for broadcasters with a national audience. Once in the fold, Bassett came to dominate the private network.

With its prime-time schedule filled with U.S. imports, CFTO was soon accused of renegeing on promises it made during the license hearings to promote Canadian content. Similar allegations were leveled at the entire CTV network, and the BBG was seen as either gullible or politically motivated in failing to enforce promises made during application hearings. During the BBG hearings, the BATON group had promised to fight the "battle of Buffalo," appealing to Canadian cultural concerns about U.S. domination. Bassett's promise was to compete with Buffalo, New York, television stations for Toronto viewers, many of whom had been watching U.S. programming for some years before Canadian stations came on the air.

Making matters worse, BATON agreed to sell stock to the U.S. network ABC, a move endorsed by the BBG in 1961. Condemnation of the sale was fierce and sustained. The BBG retracted its decision, but Bassett engineered a different arrangement whereby ABC would make a substantial loan to CFTO in return for a contract to provide "management services" and personnel. This issue arose from concerns about undue U.S. influence in the operation and development of Canadian television.

CFTO went on the air on January 1, 1961, and by the early 1970s it was extremely profitable. BATON was clearly the key force behind CTV and provided production services through Glen Warren Productions. Toronto was the center for CTV's limited Canadian production activities, and Bassett and his partners began to purchase other media assets, including shares in other CTV affiliates. At times, BATON's ambitions have collided with other partners in the network, producing friction with other ambitious owners. BATON finally gained full control of CTV in 1997, just four months before Bassett's death. (The network was sub-



John Bassett.  
 Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC  
 Collection

sequently sold to BCE, Inc., and became part of Bell Globemedia, which also owns the *Toronto Globe and Mail* newspaper.)

Bassett ran BATON from its inception until 1979, when he turned the day-to-day operations over to his

son, Douglas, who has overseen further expansion of BATON's activities. Well over six feet tall and projecting a "tough, arrogant" image, John Bassett was a major player in the development of commercial television in Canada and the erosion of the dominance of the CBC. Perhaps not surprisingly, given his newspaper background, Bassett's stations made their greatest contributions in news and public affairs programming.

FREDERICK J. FLETCHER AND ROBERT EVERETT

**John White Hughes Bassett.** Born in Ottawa, Canada, 1915. Began career in journalism; owner of CFTO-TV, Toronto, and the *Toronto Telegram*; significant leader in CTV, Canadian commercial television network cooperative from 1966; chairman of the Toronto Argonauts football team. Head of Canadian Security Intelligence Review, 1989–92. Commission Made an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1985; elevated to Companion of the Order of Canada, 1992. Member, Order of Ontario, 1988. Inducted posthumously into Canadian Association of Broadcasters Hall of Fame as a pioneer, November 2000. Died in Toronto, April 17, 1998.

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 Rayboy, Marc, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990  
 Siggins, Maggie, *Bassett*, Toronto: Lorimer, 1979

## Batman

### U.S. Action-Adventure Parody

Batman was created by Bob Kane in 1939 as a comic book hero. During his long career, the character was featured in the *Superman* radio series and in two movie serials produced during World War II. In 1966 the ABC network decided to produce the first *Batman* television series, and it became an immediate hit. Initially, the show aired twice a week. On Wednesdays Batman and his sidekick Robin would confront one of their archenemies and would end the episode in horrible

danger, only to save themselves at the beginning of the next episode on Thursdays. These cliff-hangers closely followed the tradition created by Kane in the comic books.

The television series also followed the comic books' plot. Bruce Wayne (played by Adam West) was orphaned in his teens when criminals killed his parents. He inherited a huge fortune and, obsessed with fighting the evil-doers who plagued Gotham City, became



*Batman*, Burt Ward, Adam West, 1966–68.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Batman, the Caped Crusader. Under his mansion, Batman constructed the Batcave, an elaborate laboratory used to fight crime. His young ward, Dick Grayson (played by Burt Ward), also orphaned due to evil-doers, became Robin, the Boy Wonder, under Batman/Wayne's tutelage. Together they defended the city against the sick-minded criminals that populated the underworld. The only person who knew their identity was Alfred (Alan Napier), Wayne's butler, who raised Bruce after his parents were killed. In the Batlab and at the Batcave, Batman and Robin were helped by the most advanced technology to fight their enemies. Police Commissioner Gordon (Neil Hamilton) could ask Batman for help either through the use of a searchlight, the Batsignal, or the Batphone, a direct line between the police station and Bruce Wayne's mansion. To defeat their enemies, Batman and Robin also used the Batmobile, their utility belts, and other Bat-devices.

The success of the series attracted several famous actors and actresses to play the villains. Among the most famous enemies were the Riddler (played first by Frank Gorshin and then John Astin), the Penguin (Burgess Meredith), the Joker (Cesar Romero), King Tut (Victor Buono), Egghead (Vincent Price), and Catwoman (played at different times by Julie Newmar, Lee Ann Meriwether, and Eartha Kitt).

*Batman* incorporated the expressive art and fashion of the period in its sets and costumes. It also relied excessively on technological gadgetry, transforming the show into a parody of contemporary life. It was this self-reflexive parody/camp of the comic character that boosted the ratings of the program to the top ten during its first season. The show was not to be taken seriously. The acting was intentionally overdone and the situations extremely contrived. In the fight scenes, ani-

mated "Bangs," "Pows," and "Bops" would fill the screen every time a blow was struck. However, these characteristics, besides displeasing many fans of the superhero, were not enough to save the show.

*Batman* came to television supported by a massive advertising campaign followed by heavy merchandising placement. Directed toward adults and children, this campaign cost millions of dollars. Originally scheduled to start in the fall of 1966, the show debuted earlier, in the middle of the spring season. ABC aired *Batman* in prime time from January 12, 1966, to March 14, 1968. By the fall of 1966, ratings were already falling. To offset this trend, in the fall season of 1967, the show was cut to once a week and Batgirl (Yvonne Craig) was introduced. This time, she came to save the show from falling ratings and not to protect Batman and Robin against accusations of a homoerotic relationship, as was the case for her creation by the comic book writers in the mid-1950s. Batgirl, the daughter of Commissioner Gordon and a librarian, fought crime on her own and was many times paired with the Dynamic Duo. Her debut, however, was not enough to save the series. The producers tried to enliven the plots with the new sexy heroine, but it did not work, and *Batman* went off the air in midseason in the spring of 1968.

In September 1968 CBS produced an animated version of *Batman* in which the super duo shared one hour with Superman (in separated segments). Even though the program introduced a less camp version of Batman and Robin, possibly in response to fan criticisms to the prime-time serial, the program lasted only two seasons. Between February and September 1977, CBS broadcast an animated version with the voices of Adam West and Burt Ward. In September of that year, CBS changed the *New Adventures of Batman* to *The Batman/Tarzan Hour*, in which Batman and Tarzan shared one hour back to back, in separate segments.

In the fall of 1992, FOX television released a new animated series capitalizing on publicity for the movie *Batman Returns*. This new series followed the stylistic changes in the comic book hero. The FOX series earned critical and popular acclaim for its high-quality graphics and action-packed storylines. Interestingly, as in two of the Batman movies released in the 1990s, this new animated series erased Robin from the scene, possibly responding to criticism of the homoerotic subtext between the two heroes. Originally shown every afternoon, the FOX series moved to the Saturday-morning FOX line-up in the spring of 1994. At the same time the series also brought Robin back, possibly responding to the word that a new Batman film (*Batman and Robin*, 1997) would again include Robin in its plot.

ANTONIO C. LA PASTINA

**Cast**

Bruce Wayne (Batman)	Adam West
Dick Grayson (Robin)	Burt Ward
Alfred Pennyworth	Alan Napier
Aunt Harriet Cooper	Madge Blake
Police Commissioner Gordon	Neil Hamilton
Chief O'Hara	Stafford Repp
Barbara Gordon (Batgirl)	
(1967-68)	Yvonne Craig

**Producers**

William Dozier, Howie Horwitz

**Programming History**

120 episodes  
 ABC  
 January 1966–August 1967      Wednesday and  
    Thursday 7:30–8:00  
 September 1967–March 1968      Thursday 7:30–8:00

**Further Reading**

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**BBC.** *See* British Television

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## BBM Canada

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BBM Canada is a cooperative, nonprofit Canadian audience research organization, which has at times struggled to survive in the face of increasing competition from the U.S.-based A.C. Nielsen Company (now known as ACNielsen), advances in electronic systems of audience measurement, and ambivalent support from the major Canadian broadcasters. BBM was created on May 11, 1944, on the recommendation of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, and granted a government charter a year later. Originally called the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM), its first president was Lew Phenner of Canadian Cellucotton Products. It had no paid staff initially but received administrative assistance from the Association of Canadian Advertisers and technical support from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The bureau's primary purpose in the beginning was to provide radio stations with reliable coverage estimates so that they could compete with the print media for advertising. The first BBM survey, released in October 1944, was conducted by the private ratings company Elliott-

Haynes, using the unaided mail-ballot technique developed by CBS; instead of checking stations from a prepared list, participants compiled their own lists of stations to which they had listened.

Although financed largely by broadcasters, BBM was controlled for many years by advertising interests; of the nine positions on the original board of directors, three were filled by advertisers, three by advertising agencies, and three by broadcasters. Shortly after the creation of BBM, a similar organization called the Broadcast Measurement Bureau (BMB) was established in the United States. As a result of the efforts of Horace Stovin, chairman of BBM's technical committee, the two organizations worked in concert for a few years, using the same mail-ballot technique and running their surveys simultaneously. This enabled advertisers to operate on either side of the border with equal facility. However, BMB was criticized for its methods, plagued by high costs, and thrown into disarray by the resignation of its president, Rugh M. Feltis. In 1950 it threw in the towel and left the U.S. station coverage

field to the A.C. Nielsen Company, which used an interview-aided recall method.

By the end of Phenner's presidency in 1951, BBM had increased the number of areas surveyed, introduced bilingual ballots in some areas, and more than doubled its broadcasting membership. However, a number of stations still refused to join, and in 1956 the CBC withdrew because of dissatisfaction with BBM's surveys. The same year, BBM began producing time-period ratings for radio and television using a panel-diary method pioneered in Canada by International Surveys Limited (ISL). The new surveys were initially conducted every spring and fall, with each member of participating households keeping a week-long diary of listening and viewing by half-hour periods. At the same time, the circulation surveys were increased from every other year to twice a year. However, the CBC remained critical of BBM operations and subscribed instead to the A.C. Nielsen Company, ISL, and McDonald Research. A 1962 CBC report criticized BBM's surveys for their "non-coverage, biased selection procedure, low response and poor quality of response." By then BBM was also coming under strong criticism from both advertisers and private broadcasters, and there was a danger that it might collapse.

Under Bill Hawkins of CFOS Owen Sound, BBM began to put its house in order. It revised its constitution so as to increase the representation of broadcasters, and in 1964 the bureau became the first ratings service in the world to introduce computerized sample selection. It also increased the number of surveys, redesigned the bilingual household diary, and switched its premium from a card of safety pins to a 50-cent coin. In terms of winning back confidence in the validity of its surveys, the most important step was taken in 1967, when BBM decided to switch from household diaries, which had usually been kept by the harried homemaker, to personal diaries sent to selected members of households—including children, although their diaries were filled out by an adult. This change increased the response rate for mailed diaries to almost 50 percent and facilitated the acquisition of demographic data. Within a few years, BBM became the only audience measurement service for radio in Canada, and in television the competition was reduced to Nielsen. Between 1963 and 1968, BBM increased its membership from 357 to 534, or about 90 percent of the broadcasting industry, including the CBC.

Unlike the original household diary, the new personal diary was used for both radio and television, largely for reasons of cost. In theory, however, the most reliable diary is the single-medium personal diary. In addition, the use of dual-media diaries irritated radio broadcasters, who argued that they provided

BBM with twice as much revenue as television broadcasters but only received the same benefits. In 1975, therefore, following several studies and considerable debate, BBM adopted separate diaries for each medium, including different samples and survey dates. This move greatly increased survey costs, however, so that in the mid-1980s BBM implemented household flooding or saturation sampling for both radio and television. Ironically, this development brought BBM almost full-circle back to its original household diary technique and illustrated the fact that audience measurement methods generally are determined as much by economic considerations as by the requirements for scientific validity.

In the mid-1970s, BBM began investigating electronic measuring systems. A committee was set up to develop a proposal for a meter-based system for television, and a contract was signed with Torpey Controls Ltd. for a prototype using existing circuitry and the vertical blanking interval. Despite successful test results, however, the cost of switching from diaries to meters was considered prohibitive, especially since diaries would still be required for radio and to supplement the data gathered for television. It was not until the advent of "electronic diaries," or Peoplemeters, by the A.C. Nielsen Company and others in the early 1980s that BBM gave serious consideration to replacing its traditional diary system for television. Unlike the original Nielsen Audimeter, the Peoplemeter measured viewing rather than mere tuning and could track audience flow much more precisely.

In 1984, while still testing its new meter technology in the United States, Nielsen announced its intention to launch a Peoplemeter service in Canada. In response, BBM turned initially to Audits of Great Britain for help but then decided to invite bids from other companies as well, including Nielsen. In November 1985, A.C. Nielsen Company and BBM reached a tentative agreement by which Nielsen would provide BBM with Peoplemeter data from 1,800 Canadian households, which BBM could then market as it saw fit. The agreement later fell through, however, and in September 1989 Nielsen launched on its own a Peoplemeter service for network television in Canada. BBM tried to develop its own electronic television audience measurement (TAM) system in conjunction with Les Enterprise Videoway, but the tests results were unsatisfactory. Late in 1990, BBM and Nielsen resumed talks for a joint venture to extend Peoplemeters from the national network level to local and regional broadcasting. The following year, however, a proposed deal again fell apart, because of the concerns of local and regional broadcasters about costs and various technical matters. In 1996 BBM created a New Media division to mea-

sure interactive media, and in 1998 the bureau launched an advanced TV Peoplemeter service in Vancouver with plans to expand nationally. In 1999, ComQUEST Research Inc., a subsidiary of BBM formed a decade earlier, joined with Media Metrix Inc. to form Media Metrix Canada.

ROSS A. EAMAN

### Further Reading

- Blankenship, A.B., C. Chakrapani, and W.H. Poole, *A History of Marketing Research in Canada*, Toronto: Professional Marketing Research Society, 1985
- Eaman, Ross A., *Channels of Influence: CBC Audience Research and the Canadian Public*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994

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## Beachcombers, The

### Canadian Family Drama Series

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*The Beachcombers*, in production for 19 years, was the longest running series drama in Canadian television history. Developed by Marc Strange, producer Phil Keatley, and a string of very good West Coast writers, this family series turned on the adventures of an ensemble of characters. Nick Adonidas (Bruno Gerussi) was a licensed beachcomber on the northwest coast of British Columbia. He was primarily involved with his young Native partner Jesse (Pat Johns) and his unscrupulous adversary and rival beachcomber Relic (Robert Clothier). Working out of the port of Gibson's Landing, Nick ran the *Persephone* into the inlets of the Sunshine coast, a setting filled with rugged individuals. The combination of characters, locations, and events strongly appealed to audiences abroad and was a driving force of the show's plot.

The format focused on physical action—boat chases, storms, rising tides, various rites of passage, a long-distance swim, taming a wild dog, a vision quest—but violence was largely confined to physical objects that break up or blow up or somehow threaten the characters. Comedy was part of almost every episode, and there was often a documentary flavor to the scenes of fishing, logging, and beachcombing. The show also used Canada's multicultural diversity. Germans, Italians, Japanese, Dutch, East Indians, Swedes, and even a Colonel Blimp from England, all provided opportunities for new plot developments.

Well-loved characters from the early seasons included the two children, Margaret and her older brother Hughie, and their "gran" who owned "Molly's Reach." As Jesse matured, he was joined by a younger sister, Sara, who also grew up on the show. He then married a widow, Laurel, whose son, Tommy, became the series' resident child. In *Beachcombers*, children of

both sexes were respected as human beings who had much to learn and to share. Other running characters were Gus McLoskey, Captain Joe, and teenage homeless lad, Pat O'Gorman. Constable John, the well-meaning, slightly klutzy member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) was one of the most popular of the continuing characters. He very seldom pulled a gun or even made an arrest.

The basic premise of *The Beachcombers* demanded that Nick remain a volatile Greek, unattached and available for many interesting women. Relic was his clever and unscrupulous antagonist for 19 years. Early on, his misanthropy was given a context in one of the best episodes, "Runt o' the Litter," written by Merv Campone. Born to a loveless Welsh coal-mining family, Relic is despised by his father—the father for whom he has nevertheless built fantasies of wealth in letters home. In this episode, Relic's "Da" is present, and in some sort of doomed attempt to win back the family's honor, he challenges Nick, 30 years younger, to an anchor pull. Others look on in horror as "Da" collapses in the sand, humiliated by yet another "failure." Relic, full of hatred and contempt, yet disappointed (every emotion to be read on the actor's face) grabs the rope, hauls the anchor across the line, and says bitterly to his father "go home." The old man weeps. The episode is a miniature tragedy. Such ambiguity and ambivalence appeared regularly in the show's early years, and writers and producers occasionally used noncomedic endings, resisting genre conventions.

The best episodes of the later years used two narrative strategies. The first was to continue the introduction of topical issues: the recurring issue of the confiscation of Japanese fishing boats during World War II, clear-cutting logging practices, or First Na-



tions' land claims. This last topic was treated primarily in stories involving "The Reach," enabling writers to focus the issue in familiar terms using Laurel and Jesse, characters whom viewers knew well. Nick's fictional surrogate family and the show's viewers were disturbed—and informed. The second narrative strategy of the series' later period continued to revolve around conflicts between Relic and various other characters. As the 1980s brought increasing awareness of cultural appropriation and rising political tensions, however, this distinctive thread almost disappeared.

In a late attempt to boost ratings, a displaced urban mom, Dana, and her son, Sam, took over "The Reach." But conflicts constructed around urban vs. small-town, or capable Westerner vs. effete Easterner seemed not to interest the audience. The writing became tired, and the plots heavily reliant on action sequences. The series ended with an elegiac but rather lifeless one-hour special. To this day, however, the reruns and worldwide syndication of *Beachcombers* represent Canada and Canadians to millions of viewers around the world.

MARY JANE MILLER

See also Gerussi, Bruno

#### Cast

Nick Adonidas  
Molly

Bruno Gerussi  
Rae Brown

Hughie  
Margaret  
Jesse  
Relic  
Constable John

Bob Park  
Nancy Chapple  
Pat Johns  
Robert Clothier  
Jackson Davies

#### Producers

Philip Keatley, Elie Savoie, Hugh Beard, Bob Fredericks, Don S. Williams, Brian McKeown, Gordon Mark, Derek Gardner

#### Programming History

324 episodes

CBC

November 1972–October 1983

Sunday 7:00–7:30

November 1983–October 1989

Sunday 7:30–8:00

November 1989–April 1990

Wednesday 7:00–7:30

#### Further Reading

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Miller, Mary Jane, *Rewind and Search: Conversations with the Makers and Decision-Makers of CBC Television*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996

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## Beaton, Norman (1934–1994)

British Actor

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Norman Beaton was one of those unique actors who managed to stand out in classical roles, yet excel in light comedies. From 1989 to 1994 he enjoyed nationwide popularity on British television with Channel 4's highly successful situation comedy series *Desmond's*. This show was described as an African-Caribbean equivalent of America's *The Cosby Show*. With sharp scripts by young black writer Trix Worrell, Beaton gave a brilliant performance as the manic owner of a South London barbershop.

Born in Guyana (then British Guiana), Beaton came to Britain in 1960. His reputation as an actor grew steadily. He progressed from regional theater to leading roles at the Old Vic, the National Theatre (where he played Angelo in a black-cast version of Shake-

speare's *Measure for Measure* in 1981), and the Royal Court Theatre. Apart from Shakespeare, his theater roles also encompassed Pinter, Beckett, Gilbert and Sullivan, Brecht, Moliere, and pantomime. In 1974 he established the Black Theatre of Brixton, which was instrumental in developing black theatre in Britain. During this period he also became one of Britain's leading television actors. Among his biggest successes were dramatic roles in *Afternoon Dancing* (1974); *Black Christmas* (1977); *Empire Road* (1978–79), Britain's first all-black soap opera; *Play for Today's "Easy Money"* (1981); *Nice* (1984); *Dead Head* (1986); *Playing Away* (1986); *Big George Is Dead* (1987); *When Love Dies* (1990); and *Little Napoleons* (1993). He was also interviewed in the documentary

*Black and White in Colour* (1992), a history of black people in British television.

Alongside Lenny Henry, Norman Beaton was the star of British television's first black situation comedy series, *The Fosters*, which ran for two seasons in 1976–77. But the actor will be best remembered for *Desmond's*. As a result of its popularity, African-American television star Bill Cosby invited him in 1991 to make a couple of guest appearances in *The Cosby Show*. Beaton readily accepted a role as a cricket-loving doctor, and Cosby was so taken by the actor that he wore Beaton's gift of a *Desmond's* baseball cap in the show. Shortly after he died in 1994 at the age of 60, Channel 4 aired *Shooting Stars* in the series *Black Christmas*, with a memorable appearance by Beaton reading a sonnet by Shakespeare.

STEPHEN BOURNE

**Norman (Lugard) Beaton.** Born in Georgetown, British Guiana (now Guyana), October 31, 1934. Attended local schools in Georgetown. Married and divorced three times; children: Jeremy, Norman, Jayme, and Kim. Made debut as actor while at teacher training college, 1956; enjoyed success as singer and recording artist, becoming Guyana Calypso Champion, 1956; settled in Britain, 1960, and worked as teacher, Liverpool; appeared in repertory theatre, Liverpool, Bristol, and Worthing, late 1960s, made television debut, 1966; subsequently stage, television, and radio performer; chair: Black Theatre of Brixton, 1975; events subcommittee (U.K.), World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, 1976; Minorities Arts Advisory Service, 1979; artistic director, Ira Aldridge Memorial Theatre Company, 1983. Member: Consultative Committee for the Arts Britain Ignores, 1975; Afro-Asian subcommittee, British Actors Equity, 1979; West Midlands Arts and Drama Advisory Panel, 1979. Recipient: Variety Club of Great Britain Film Actor of the Year Award, 1978; *Caribbean Post* Golden Sunshine Award, 1978. Died December 13, 1994.

#### Television Series

1976–77	<i>The Fosters</i>
1978–79	<i>Empire Road</i>
1985	<i>Dead Head</i>
1989–94	<i>Desmond's</i>
1994	<i>Little Napoleons</i>

#### Television Plays

1977	<i>A Black Christmas</i>
1980	<i>Growing Pains</i>
1986	<i>Playing Away</i>

#### Films (selected)

*Two for a Birdie; Pressure*, 1975; *Black Joy*, 1977; *Barbados* (narrator), 1978; *Eureka*, 1982; *Real Life*, 1983.

#### Radio

*I Come from the Sun*, 1966; *Blues for Mister Charlie*, 1974; *Finding Manbee*, 1974; *Home Again*, 1975; *Carnival in Trinidad*, 1975; *Margie*, 1975; *Pantomime*, 1978; *Play Mas*, 1979; *Alterations*, 1980; *The Fast Lane*, 1980; *Remembrance*, 1981; *The British Empire Part 2*, 1982; *The Comedians*, 1984; *No Get Out Clause*, 1985; *Ascension Ritual*, 1985; *Still Life*, 1985; *Cricket's a Mug's Game*, 1985.

#### Recording (selected)

*Come Back Melvina*, 1959.

#### Stage

*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (composer), 1956; *Jack of Spades*, 1965; *Cleo* (composer and narrator), 1965; *Bristol Fashion* (composer and narrator), 1966; *A Tale of Two Cities* (composer and narrator), 1966; *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*, 1968; *Richard Three* (composer and narrator), 1968; *The Merchant of Venice*, 1968; *Shylock X*, 1968; *Sit Down Banna* (writer); *The Country Wife* (also composer and narrator), 1968; *Bakerloo to Paradise*, 1968; *So You Think You're One of Us*, 1968; *The Tempest*, 1970; *Prometheus Bound*, 1971; *Arrest*, 1971; *Murderous Angels*, 1971; *Pirates*, 1971; *Tyger*, 1971; *The National Health*, 1971; *Cato Street*, 1971; *Two for a Birdie*, 1971; *The Three-penny Opera*, 1972; *Up the Chastity Belt*, 1972; *Signs of the Times*, 1973; *Talk Shop*, 1973; *Mind Your Head*, 1973; *Larry and Marian*, 1973; *Play Mas*, 1974; *Anansi and the Strawberry Queen* (director), 1974; *Jumbee Street March* (director), 1974; *The Black Mikado*, 1975; *Rum and Coca-Cola*, 1976; *Seduced* (director), 1978; *Sergeant Ola and His Followers*, 1979; *Nice*, 1980; *Samba*, 1980; *Measure for Measure*, 1981; *The Caretaker*, 1981; *The Night of the Day of the Imprisoned Writer*, 1981; *In the Mood*, 1981; *The Miser*, 1982; *The Sol Raye Variety Gala* (also director), 1982; *You Can't Take It With You*, 1983; *Cargo Kings*, 1983; *Jackanory*, 1983; *Blues for Railton*, 1985; *The Black Jacobins*, 1986.

#### Publication

*Beaton but Unbowed* (autobiography), 1986

### Further Reading

Bourne, Stephen, *Black in the British Frame: Black People in British Film and Television 1896–1996*, London and Washington, D.C.: Cassell, 1996; second edition, as *Black in the*

*British Frame: The Black Experience in British Film and Television*, London: Continuum, 2001

Pines, Jim, editor, *Black and White in Colour: Black People in British Television since 1936*, London: British Film Institute, 1992

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# Beavis and Butt-head

## U.S. Animated Series

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In March 1993 *Beavis and Butt-head* first aired on the U.S. cable network MTV. This show, which combined animation and music videos, was an example of the unique programming that MTV has consistently provided for its youthful demographics. The half-hour program alternated between a simple narrative, which focused on the exploits of two low-life adolescents, and clips from music videos, which the two teens commented on. Creator Mike Judge had penned the aimless duo for a festival of animation, and Abby Turkuhle, MTV's senior vice president picked up an episode for the network's animated compendium *Liquid Television*. MTV immediately contracted for 65 episodes from Judge, with Turkuhle as producer, and placed *Beavis and Butt-head* in the 7:00 and 11:00 P.M. weekday time slots.

The characters Beavis and Butt-head are rude, crude, and stupid and can be placed in the "dumb comedy" tradition, which includes Abbott and Costello, the Three Stooges, Cheech and Chong, *Saturday Night Live's* Wayne and Garth, and FOX's *The Simpsons*. When *Beavis and Butt-head* debuted, television critics differed in their opinions, with some praising the show for daring to present the stupidity of male "metal-heads" who watch too much television (effectively satirizing the core MTV audience), but others categorizing *Beavis and Butt-head* as another example of television's declining quality. *Beavis and Butt-head* did find an audience and began pulling in MTV's highest ratings, but the show was also quite controversial, instigating heated public debate on the interconnected issues of representations of violence in the media and generational politics surrounding youth subcultures.

In October 1993, a two-year-old Ohio girl was killed in a fire lit by her five-year-old brother. The children's mother said that her son was inspired by the pyromaniac proclivities of *Beavis and Butt-head*. This real-life event sparked the ire of media watchdog

groups, who claimed that there was a direct link between the television show and the violent act of this impressionable child. One psychiatrist proclaimed *Beavis and Butt-head* a "*Sesame Street* for psychopaths." Concurrent Senate hearings on television violence placed these issues at the forefront of American cultural politics. Because of this incident, and given the cultural climate, MTV eliminated all references to fire, pulled four episodes off the air, and moved the cartoon to 10:30 P.M. only. MTV executives insisted that they changed the time slot not because they believed the show was directly responsible for the incident, but because they felt that it was designed for an older audience, and that a different time slot would allow them to target that audience more effectively. Claiming that 90 percent of the program's audience was over 12 years of age, MTV attempted to move the discussion away from the children's television debate.

*Beavis and Butt-head* was especially popular with people in their 20s. Many observers found it bothersome that young people enjoyed the show and laughed at its two imbecilic boys, even if these fans were much more intelligent than Beavis and Butt-head. In this sense, *Beavis and Butt-head* raised the issue of generational taste cultures. Definitions of "taste," Pierre Bourdieu argues,

unite and separate, uniting those who are the product of similar conditions but only by distinguishing them from all others. And taste distinguishes in an essential way, since it is the basis of all that one has—people and things—and of all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others.

To the degree that taste cultures agree, they are brought together into a subcultural formation; but to this degree they are also separated from those with whom they differ. It was the "bad taste" of *Beavis and Butt-head's* audience that bothered many, and this brings to the



*Beavis and Butt-head*, Beavis, Butt-head, 1993–97.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

surface another one of the reasons why *Beavis and Butt-head* was so controversial.

Cultural critics, educators, and concerned parents gathered skeptically, sternly, and anxiously in front of the television set and passed judgment upon the “tasteless” *Beavis and Butt-head* show. Meanwhile, in an ironic reversal, *Beavis and Butt-head* countered by ascending the cultural hierarchy. The two youths channel-surfed, looking for videos that did not “suck” (i.e., those with heavy metal or hardcore rap, those that contained violence or encouraged genital response). In becoming the self-proclaimed Siskel and Ebert of music video, they served to evaluate pop culture with an unencumbered bottom line: does a music video “suck” or is it “cool”? As a television show, *Beavis and Butt-head* was certainly toward the lower end of traditional scales of cultural “quality,” but these two animated “slackers” evaluated other media, and so pronounced their own critical opinions and erected their own taste hierarchies. Beavis and Butt-head had their own particular brand of “taste”: they determined acceptability and unacceptability, invoking, while simultaneously upending, notions of “high” and “low” culture. In this manner, they entered that hallowed sphere of criticism, where they competed with others in overseeing the public good and preserving the place and status of artistic evaluation. They disregarded other accepted forms of authority, refusing to acknowledge their own limited perspectives. As with other critics, this attitude was an important part of their appeal. After all, critics

are sought out for straightforward opinion, not muddled oscillation.

In this recuperation of the critical discourse, Beavis and Butt-head joined with their audience, approximating the contradictory impulses of contemporary cynical youth, who mixed their self-delusion with self-awareness. In the case of fans of *Beavis and Butt-head*, these lines of demarcation indicated both a generational unity and the generation-based barriers between the “baby boomers” and the “baby busters.” The reputed cynicism of the “twentynothings” was on view as *Beavis and Butt-head* evoked both a stunted adolescence that was long past and an unsure and seemingly inaccessible future.

PAUL J. TORRE

#### Voices

*Beavis, Butt-head* Mike Judge

#### Producers

Abby Turkuhle, Mike Judge

#### Programming History

MTV  
1993–97 Various times

#### Further Reading

- Barrett, Wayne M., “*Beavis and Butt-Head*: Social Critics or the End of Civilization As We Know It?” *USA Today Magazine* (September 1994)
- Gardner, James, “*Beavis and Butt-head*,” *National Review* (May 2, 1994)
- Hudis, Mark, “Heh-Heh. Heh-Heh. That’s Cool. So You Thought *Ren and Stimpy* Was Tasteless: MTV’s *Beavis and Butt-head* Go Beyond Tasteless and Crude,” *MediaWeek* (August 2, 1993)
- Hulktrans, Andrew, “MTV Rules (for a Bunch of Wussies),” *Artforum* (February 1994)
- Katz, Jon, “Animated Arguments: Why the Show’s Critics Just Don’t Get It,” *Rolling Stone* (March 24, 1994)
- Leland, John, “Battle for Your Brain,” *Newsweek* (October 11, 1993)
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- Young, Charles M., “Meet the Beavis! The Last Word From America’s Phenomenal Pop Combo,” *Rolling Stone* (March 24, 1994)
- Zagano, Phyllis, “*Beavis and Butt-head*, Free Your Minds!” *America* (March 5, 1994)

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# Belgium

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Belgium is not the easiest media landscape to explain. The broadcasting market reflects the structure of the Belgian state and society, which has long been based on the segmentation in various sociopolitical and linguistic pillars. Each politico-ideological opinion organized itself as a separate microcosmos. The Flemish or Dutch-speaking Flanders and the Francophone Walloonia constitute two primary linguistic regions in Belgium. Within these regions, most of the early radio stations in the 1920s were directly linked to political parties representing the four main political tendencies. Catholic, Socialist, Liberal-conservative and Nationalist parties each had private radio stations. In 1930 a national, bilingual public corporation body, the INR-NIR (Institut National de Radiodiffusion—Nationaal Instituut voor Radio-omroep), was set up, fully funded and controlled by the government. After World War II, the INR-NIR was granted a monopoly and the private, ideological radio stations were incorporated within the structure of the national broadcasting corporation. Under the form of “guest” programs, the major political parties, management and trade unions, and religious factions were allocated airtime.

In 1960 the unified INR-NIR was split into two sections: the Flemish BRT (Belgische Radio en Televisie), later renamed VRT (Vlaamse Radio en Televisie), and the Francophone RTB (Radiodiffusion-Télévision Belge), later renamed RTBf. However, instead of giving each sociopolitical pillar its own channel (as was done in the Netherlands), the decision was made to create a system of so-called “internal plurality.” Belgian public broadcasting was supposed to provide for a proportionate representation of all political and philosophical opinions within one institute. Within such a setting the influence exerted by the political powers remained high. Political control was maintained as all top functions were prearranged and allocated, while the other jobs were also more accessible for party members or for people who had party support. This Belgian custom of preferring party loyalty over the qualities needed to do a job well is called politicization. While this system is gradually disappearing, it is not yet completely dispensed with. In critical moments, for instance on the eve of elections, most media still show their partisan colors.

Belgium can moreover be described as a country that is gradually evolving to a federalized structure. Simpli-

fying Belgium’s complicated structure, one could say that there are two main linguistic groups: a Flemish/Dutch-speaking majority (about 60 percent of the population) and a Walloon/French-speaking minority (about 40 percent of the population). The so-called “regionalization” Law of February 2, 1977, not only reinforced the differences between these “language” communities, but also complicated the Belgian media policy. The control of broadcasting, for instance, is in the hands of the Flemish and Walloon Ministers of culture or the media, who are part of the regional governments, while technical issues remain national matters. The two communities have also grown apart in the field of media policy. In part this results from their different political structures: in the Walloon region predominantly socialist and humanistic, in Flanders predominantly liberal-conservative and Catholic. The media policies also differ, however, because of external factors; for instance, the influence of the commercial Luxembourg-based TV station RTL on French-speaking Belgium forces the RTBf to different policy options than the Flemish stations. Therefore, one cannot speak of Belgian media, except with reference to the official law gazette (Belgisch Staatsblad/Moniteur Belge) and the national press agency Belga. All major newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations are either Flemish/Dutch or Walloon/Francophone, though some media in one community have links with media in the other linguistic community. Some media also cater to the other language communities living and working in Belgium.

As a consequence, the Francophone and Flemish television programs show a different visual culture. The presentation of the news broadcasts is different, as are entertainment programs, shows, and comedies. The distinction is even obvious in commercials. Moreover, the two linguistic communities have little interest in one another’s television programs. Flemish people hardly ever watch the Francophone RTBf or RTL-TVi, while Walloons watch the Flemish VRT or VTM even less. The ratings clearly show that viewing habits are predominantly linked with culture and language.

Furthermore, Belgium is the most densely cabled country in the world (94 percent of all households are connected to a cable network). In the beginning the cable companies only distributed the national programs, but very soon the programs of foreign television sta-

tions were also distributed. Therefore, the factual monopoly of the public broadcasters was indirectly undermined by the cable networks, which offered an increasing number of television stations (at least 25, often more than 50 channels). RTBf was losing viewers to RTL and the French channels, BRT to the Netherlands and to a certain degree to UK and international channels.

The major part of the Flemish population predominantly watches Dutch-language programs (including those of The Netherlands), with the BBC producing the second-most-watched programming. The Walloons almost exclusively tune in on the RTBf and other Francophone channels (including those of Luxembourg and France). Exception has to be made for popular sport programs, especially soccer, and to lesser degree for films. In those cases the more educated segments of the population also look beyond the language borders.

Another noteworthy shift, which took place in most European countries during the 1980s and 1990s, was of a commercial nature. Deregulation, commercialization, internationalization, privatization, and commodification changed the face of broadcasting (a "boom" of new channels and program genres and a crisis within the public broadcasting sector) but not its fundamental existing practices. In other words, this shift has to be seen in connection with the already mentioned politicization of the Belgian society. Politics have always been prominently present in the discussion on television, and the establishment of commercial television in Flanders was not the result of strictly economic but rather political pressure.

Already in the 1960s, public broadcasting was seen as vulnerable when traditional parties complained about the supposed lack of objectivity of the news on the public broadcasting corporation BRT. While extensive research showed little or no systematic distortion, politicians emphatically tried to meddle with the contents of media products. Gradually a direct censorship of broadcasting was replaced by more subtle forms of influencing and self-censorship.

The undermining of the public broadcasting monopoly was first begun by illegal local radio stations ("radio pirates"), which emerged in the late 1970s. In September 1981 these radio stations were legalized in Wallonia, and in May 1982 the same happened in Flanders. Advertising remained illegal at first, but under political and commercial pressure, the ban on radio advertising was lifted in December 1985.

In 1981 the coalition agreement between the Christian-democrats and conservative-liberals proposed a commercial television channel that would be placed in the hands of the press. The Flemish business world was reluctant about the proposal, which was ini-

tially met with extremely negative reactions from advertising companies and advertisers as well as from press companies. The first group preferred commercials on the BRT to a commercial channel that still had to be established. They argued that the BRT already reached the viewing public and that a new channel would not only be confronted with growing pains but would also have to compete with foreign channels. The press was divided. They were afraid that a commercial channel would drain away even more money from the press sector. They demanded guarantees from the government: a majority share of control for the Flemish publishers and an advertising monopoly for the commercial station VTM (Vlaamse TV Maatschappij).

Notwithstanding the fact that the European Commission objected to the Flemish broadcasting decree because of its advertising monopoly, the obligated majority participation of the press, and the obligated share of Flemish productions, the commercial station VTM started broadcasting on February 1, 1989. Contrary to all expectations, it was a success from the start.

In 1997 the government finally accepted the objections by the European Commission and promised to adapt its legislation. As a result VT4, a Britain-based affiliate of the American-Scandinavian media group SBS that transmits its Dutch-language programs through the Flemish cable network, had to become "Flemish."

The immense success of VTM forced the public broadcaster to reinvent itself, a process that took many years and put public television through a number of crises. Gradually, it regained most of the market share it lost to the commercial stations. Today the two public television channels seem to have a stable and even slightly growing audience share, even though they are now facing many commercial channels. Three of those channels belong to the Flemish VTM; another is VT4. Ten local commercial television stations, a handful of specialized channels (business, life style, travel, and music) and a few commercial radio networks complete the picture.

Consequently, channel proliferation has also led to viewer diversification and segmentation. The competition for highly specialized audience segments is becoming very sophisticated. As a result, market strategies have taken over the programming of most channels, including the public service providers. The situation in Wallonia is similar. Two public channels, two main private channels, and about a dozen local stations are competing on the television market. A particular feature of that market is the presence of French stations.

The newest digital "revolution," by which television converges with computer functions and multimedia fea-

## Belgium

tures, may change broadcasting itself. An interactive, multi-usable medium will replace one-way television and promises users the ability to communicate with each other, companies, and governments. Television won't just be for watching anymore, but it will also become a tool for shopping, working, and maybe even voting. Still, many legal, technological, financial, and content-related questions need to be answered, making any precise prediction about the future highly speculative.

With no clear view of who is authorized to lay down a digital policy, no legal framework concerning digital broadcasting and hardly any public debate about the issue, digital broadcasting in Belgium is somewhat of a non-event. So far, the VRT offers one digital audio package (using the DAB Eureka147-standard) with seven radio stations: the five national stations, the international service, and a brand new, digital-only channel called DAB Klassiek (round-the-clock classical music). Since almost no one in Flanders has a digital receiver yet, this is no more than an experiment.

Belgium faces its own kind of digital divide: one between Flanders and Wallonia. Indicators show that computer and Internet use in Flanders is more established than in Wallonia. Within each region the digital divide is threefold: an age gap, a gender gap, and an education gap. In short, older people, women, and less-educated people are lagging behind. The Flemish government, as part of its digital policies, has awarded the VRT the role of "bridge builder" to correct the digital divide. Therefore, the VRT is seen as a major player and ally in the Flemish government's plan to take the region into the digital future.

In sum, culture and media policies have never received priority treatment by the Belgian lawmakers. Many media laws have only confirmed situations that were already in existence. In other words, Belgium has followed a media policy of *laissez-faire*. Therefore, many media laws are ambiguous and can be interpreted in different ways. In recent years media policies have been strongly oriented toward deregulation and liberalization of the TV market: new private initiatives have been supported such as commercial radio, pay television, and new commercial television networks.

No measures have been taken against the increasing concentration of the media. International and national business interests get an increasing grip on the Belgian media landscape. The government policy is regularly dictated by economic and financial interests. That is why the government is often confronted with *faits accomplis*. As a result, Belgium is drifting toward a commercially dictated political and media reality.

JAN SERVAES

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# Bell Canada

## Canadian Telecommunications Company

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Bell Canada, a subsidiary of BCE Inc. of Montreal, is the largest of Canada's telecommunications companies. It provides telephone service to about 9 million customers in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and in portions of the Northwest Territories. Bell was created by federal act of Parliament in 1880 and since 1906 has been subject to regulation by a succession of federal regulatory agencies, currently by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

Bell Canada's involvement in broadcasting type services dates back to the earliest years of telephony in Canada. Bell's predecessor companies, controlled by Alexander Melville Bell (father of Alexander Graham Bell), offered point-to-mass content services over telephone lines as early as 1877: songs, duets, glees, and sermons, for example, were transmitted for reception by subscribers using ordinary telephone instruments as receivers. As in other jurisdictions, these experimental closed-circuit content services dwindled within a few

years, to re-emerge in the 1950s with the advent of cable television.

Bell entered Canadian broadcasting in 1922 by securing licenses for radio stations in Toronto and Montreal. These one-year licenses were allowed to lapse in 1923, however, when Bell signed a patent-sharing agreement with radio set manufacturers (Canadian Westinghouse, International Western Electric, and Canadian General Electric) and with a radio telegraph company (Marconi) whereby the signatories agreed to split the fields into exclusive domains: Bell henceforth was not to engage in broadcasting or in radio telegraphy, while the other parties agreed not to compete with Bell in telephony.

Resulting from this 1923 contract bifurcating communication into distinct broadcasting and telephone (telecommunication) sectors, unique regulatory frameworks arose for each. Broadcasting companies came to be regulated under the provisions of a succession of broadcasting acts, requiring that licensed broadcasting undertakings contribute to the Canadian cultural and political identity. Broadcasting undertakings, furthermore, were to retain full responsibility for all programming carried; as a practical matter this meant that broadcasting organizations or their affiliates produced themselves a large portion of their Canadian content.

The legal/regulatory paradigm governing the telephone industry differed markedly from that for broadcasting. Telephone companies, as common carriers, came to be precluded from influencing message content; their mandate, rather, was simply to relay any and all messages on a nondiscriminatory basis upon the request of clients and upon payment of government-approved tariffs. As well, telephony, unlike broadcasting, was presumed to be a "natural monopoly," whose prices and profits needed to be subject to regulatory supervision and approval.

Although precluded from engaging directly in broadcasting, telephone companies nonetheless figured prominently in the provisioning indirectly of broadcasting services. With the advent of network broadcasting, for example, telephone companies such as Bell Canada provided inter-urban transmission facilities interlinking stations regionally, nationally, and internationally. Telephone companies also served the cable television industry by providing independent cable firms with poles, ducts, rights-of-way, and with certain essential equipment such as coaxial cables. Initially telephone companies forced upon cable firms highly restrictive contracts intended to foreclose all possibility of competition in the provisioning of two-way, point-to-point telecommunication services. By the late 1970s, the CRTC had overturned most of these restrictive contractual provisions, however, requiring



*Courtesy of Bell Canada*

telephone companies under its jurisdiction to provide reasonable access to telco poles and rights-of-way.

Under Canadian law, cable TV constitutes a component of the broadcasting system, and the CRTC as of the mid-1990s had been unable and unwilling to license telephone companies to provide cable-type services. Bell Canada and other Canadian telephone companies for many years argued, however, that they should be permitted to own exclusively any and all communication wires into the home or office, including the cable TV connection. Telephone companies proposed leasing portions of the bandwidth of their (to be acquired) broadband facilities to licensed cable entities that would thereby provide cable TV service in the mode of a value-added carrier. These proposals have never met with government approval.

More recently Canadian telephone companies led by Bell, as part of an "information highway" initiative, have argued that the technological convergence of broadcasting, telecommunications, and computer communications not only erodes previously distinct industry demarcations, but as well makes anachronous regulatory policies premised on such distinctions. Bell has argued further that telephone companies should now be permitted to enter directly the cable television industry, whether by leasing bandwidth from cable companies or by interconnecting their own coaxial or fiber optic facilities with those of cable companies, in order to receive signals for retransmission from cable headends. Telephone companies have argued further that cable systems, if they should choose so to do, should be permitted to enter the domain of the telephone companies in the provisioning of two-way, point-to-point telecommunications services. Telephone companies wish also to engage in video program creation, distribution, storage, and related activities, for example the sale of advertising, long associated with broadcasting, and as well to enter emerging interactive, multimedia services.

Allowing telephone companies to enter cable TV and other content services would appear to be the likely next step in the CRTC's "pro-competitive" policy stance toward telecommunications. Indeed in



September 1994 the commission published its "Review of Regulatory Framework" decision, wherein it announced its intention to promote "open entry and open access" to the greatest extent possible for "all telecommunications services." In March 1995, in response to a request from the Canadian federal government, the CRTC held public hearings concerning, in part, the terms under which telephone companies should be allowed to enter cable and content services.

As competition increasingly penetrates more and more areas of communication, venerable regulatory techniques, principles, and goals are threatened. The principle of common carriage and the separation of content from carriage, for example, will be undermined if and when telephone companies are allowed to enter cable TV and other content creation markets. Likewise, the historical goal of safeguarding and promoting Canadian culture through broadcasting will prove to be increasingly elusive as internationally in-

terconnected information highways are put in place. Information highway is the apotheosis of convergence, and hence of deregulation, but in Canada market forces historically have militated against indigenous program production and distribution. A deregulated information highway, whether controlled or not by erstwhile telephone companies enhances the power of those who would further commoditize information, as opposed to formulating information policy for social, political, and cultural purposes.

ROBERT BABE

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## Bell Globemedia

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Bell Globemedia was created in January 2001 when BCE Enterprises, one of Canada's wealthiest publicly traded companies, finalized an agreement with the Thomson Corporation to establish a communications conglomerate of impressive size and scope. Headquartered in Toronto, the firm's communications assets include the country's principal private television network, CTV, an assortment of specialty analog and digital channels, the *Globe and Mail* (Canada's self-styled "national newspaper"), the direct-to-home content provider Bell ExpressVu, interests in Internet provider Sympatico and other interactive services, and Telesat, a satellite broadcast distribution service.

The empire built by BCE Enterprises grew on the foundation of Bell Canada, which held the local and long-distance telephone monopoly in much of the country before telecommunications were deregulated. BCE was transformed into a diversified entity, and has a robust investment arm, but remains focused on communications. Telephone utilities are prominent among its core assets.

BCE controls just over 70 percent of the shares in Bell Globemedia, with the remaining stock held by one-time newspaper giant Thomson Corporation and the personal investment company of Ken Thomson

(who continues to chair the board of the *Globe and Mail*). Convergence opportunities drove the deal, but Thomson also wanted to preserve the *Globe and Mail* after divesting other newspapers in a global chain founded by his father. He invested \$385 million (Canadian) in the joint venture, a significant amount that is nonetheless dwarfed by BCE's stake.

In a move that came to have profound consequences for the entire broadcasting system, BCE acquired CTV for \$2.3 billion early in the year of 2000. Thanks to a series of acquisitions and structural changes, CTV no longer resembled the loose network of its founding era of the 1960s. Eighteen of the network's 28 stations had been brought under a single corporate umbrella, along with six network-owned affiliates of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. At the time of the merger CTV also owned a number of cable channels and had purchased a majority of specialty channel player Netstar.

The takeover of CTV was but one in a string of such transactions during what was to become Canada's year of media convergence. A frenzy of mergers and acquisitions resulted in the consolidation of several media conglomerates. Bell Globemedia's fiercest challenger for private sector paramouncy, CanWest Global,

emerged at roughly the same point in time and with a similarly diverse communications portfolio. Lesser companies followed suit and entered into deals that resulted in a major reshaping of the broadcast industry in 2000.

The flurry of transactions alarmed critics. It was feared that Bell Globemedia and other exponents of convergence would seek to maximize profits at the expense of content and reduce workforces through the sort of rationalization that often follows on the heels of integrations. CTV had attracted criticism over the years for relying too heavily on imported American fare in prime time, and investing too meagerly in quality domestic programming. The network's nightly national newscast had long dominated ratings, and its supper-hour news programming has tended to eclipse the offerings of competitors in local markets. Did the merger herald an erosion of news and other fare on the broadcast side?

In December 2000 the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) formally approved the takeover of CTV by the budding Bell Globemedia partnership. The CRTC did attach a number of conditions to its decision that it claimed would result in a significant infusion of funds for Canadian programming. The CRTC ruling required that Bell Globemedia invest some \$230 million (roughly 10 percent of the transaction) in its broadcast holdings. Approximately 60 percent of the total was to be funneled into programming, the vast majority commissioned from domestic independent production companies. Bell Globemedia was also obliged to auction off Sportsnet, one of Canada's two main specialty sports channels available on cable, after CTV had purchased arch-rival The Sports Network.

There was another important, albeit indirect, outcome to the merger. BCE owned and operated Bell ExpressVu, one of two digital, direct-to-home satellite services in Canada. With the addition of CTV, the new Bell Globemedia would be in the position of both providing content and distributing it. Conventional analog cable operators argued that they, too, should be allowed to own channels as well. Advocacy groups such as the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting opposed this on the grounds that it would pave the way for greater concentration of ownership. Fearing that they would be disadvantaged when it came to favorable channel placement and marketing, specialty channel licensees not in the cable business also spoke out against this prospect.

In June 2001 the CRTC agreed with the cable com-

panies. In its ruling the CRTC did say that all channels should receive fair and equitable treatment and identified a number of concrete steps that should be taken to embody this principle. Critics were not mollified. To them, further concentration seemed inevitable and the CRTC had effectively blessed the entanglements that increasingly characterize broadcast media ownership in Canada.

Another controversial aspect of the creation of Bell Globemedia involved the propriety of uniting a prestigious newspaper with a major television network. Historically, cross-ownership of media enterprises has been frowned upon by media regulators in Canada. Sensitivities about the *Globe and Mail* have been especially acute given the newspaper's national reach and its influence on policymakers and other news media. Until the convergence boom, newspaper chains and broadcasting enterprises partnerships were generally kept apart or participated in informal ownership and content-sharing relationships. In August 2001 the CRTC agreed to extend CTV's license for a further seven years. In doing so it cited promising "journalistic synergies" between the newsrooms of CTV and the *Globe and Mail*, while insisting that editorial control was divided.

As of January 2002, the Bell Globemedia stable included its CTV network properties and CBC affiliates, together with interests in 13 specialty and pay channels and five digital specialty channels. Although primarily serving English-speaking audiences, Bell Globemedia has branched out to hold a stake in six French-language specialty and digital services. On a variety of indices, this roster makes Bell Globemedia the largest private-sector player in Canadian broadcasting.

ROBERT EVERETT

**See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation  
Newsworld; Canadian Television Network**

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## Bellamy, Ralph (1904–1991)

U.S. Actor

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Ralph Bellamy, the character actor of stage and film, began his career in 1922, when he joined a traveling troupe of Shakespearean players. Later that same year, Bellamy performed in stock and repertory theaters with the Chautauqua Road Company. In 1929 he made his Broadway debut in *Town Boy*, followed by a screen debut in 1931 in *The Secret Six*. In 1948 he made his television debut in the *Philco Television Playhouse*. He then went on to star in one of the medium's first crime series, *Man against Crime*, from 1949 to 1955.

In a career that spanned six decades on stage and screen, Bellamy played roles that fell into three broad categories: (1) the rich, reliable, but dull figure who is jilted by the leading lady; (2) the detective who always finds his prey; and (3) the slightly sinister but stylish villain. Usually appearing in supporting roles, Bellamy acted in more than 100 films. He starred in several "B" movies, notably four in which he portrayed the detective Ellery Queen. Bellamy often said he never regarded himself as a leading man, so no one else did either. He is best remembered on film and television as the "dull other man." It was on the stage that Bellamy made his mark as a strong actor, in plays such as *Tomorrow the World*, *State of the Union*, and, most notably, *Sunrise at Campobello*. It was in the latter play that Bellamy built his reputation as an actor, by portraying Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By delving into the history of Roosevelt the man and the politician, Bellamy came to an understanding of the personality and psyche of the character. He then spent weeks at a rehabilitation center learning how to manage braces, crutches, and a wheelchair so that his portrayal of Roosevelt after he was stricken with polio would be realistic and accurate. Character acting was defined and perfected by Ralph Bellamy. He won the Tony and New York's Critics Circle Award as best actor in *Sunrise at Campobella* and starred in the subsequent film version in 1960.

Bellamy appeared in several television series during the 1960s and 1970s, including *The Eleventh Hour* (1963–64), *The Survivors* (1969), *The Mostly Deadly Game* (1970), and *Hunter* (1976). He returned true to his roles as detective, villain, and other man in each of these series. It was in 1969 that Bellamy made a radi-

cal character shift by playing a diabolist in *Rosemary's Baby*. More recently, he played a benevolent shipping magnate in the 1990 movie *Pretty Woman* and a millionaire in *Trading Places* (1983). He again played Roosevelt in the television miniseries *The Winds of War* (1983) and *War and Remembrance* (1988).

A champion of actors' rights, Bellamy founded the Screen Actors Guild and served four terms as president of the American Actors' Equity between 1952 and 1964. He doubled the equity's assets within six years and established the first actors' pension fund. Bellamy guided the Actors' Equity through the political black-listing of the McCarthy era by forming a panel that established ground rules to protect members against unproved charges of being members of or sympathiz-



Ralph Bellamy.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ers with the Communist Party. He also actively lobbied for the repeal of theater admission taxes and for income averaging in computing taxes for performers.

"B" movie actor, the Ellery Queen of the 1940s, champion of actors' rights, a well-known name in the film and television industries, a portrayer of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1950s and 1980s, Bellamy was most noted as an actor for his roles as the "nice but bland other man." No one played love's loser better than Bellamy. "I never got the girl," he once recalled.

GAYLE M. POHL

#### See also Detective Programs

**Ralph Bellamy.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, June 17, 1904. Attended New Trier High School, Wilmette, Illinois. Married: 1) Alice Delbridge, 1922 (divorced, 1931); 2) Catherine Willard, 1931 (divorced, 1945); children: Lynn and Willard; 3) Ethel Smith, 1945 (divorced); 4) Alice Murphy, 1949. Formed acting troupe, North Shore Players, 1922; stage manager, Madison Stock Company, 1922–24; formed Ralph Bellamy Players, stock company, Des Moines, Iowa (later moved to Nashville, Tennessee), 1927; appeared on Broadway in *Town Boy*, 1929; founding member and member, first Board of Directors, Screen Actors Guild; president for 12 years of Actors' Equity; appeared in film, theater, and radio, 1940s; began television career in *Man against Crime*, live production, 1949–54. Presidential appointee, National Board of the United Service Organization (USO), 1958–60; chair, New York Regional National Council of Christians and Jews Brotherhood Week, 1963; Member: Presidential Commission on the 50th Anniversary of the Department of Labor, 1962; founding member, California Arts Commission; member, board of directors, People to People, Project Hope, Theatervision, 1972–73; Board of Governors, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 1982. Recipient: New York Drama Critics Award, 1958; Tony Award, 1959; Honorary Academy Award, 1986. Died in Santa Monica, California, November 29, 1991.

#### Television Series

1949–54 *Man against Crime*  
 1957–59 *To Tell the Truth* (quiz show panelist)  
 1961 *Frontier Justice* (host)  
 1963–64 *The Eleventh Hour*  
 1969–70 *The Survivors*  
 1970–71 *The Most Deadly Game*  
 1977 *Hunter*  
 1985–86 *Hotel*  
 1989 *Christine Cromwell*

#### Television Miniseries

1976 *Once an Eagle*  
 1976 *Arthur Hailey's The Moneychangers*  
 1977 *Testimony of Two Men*  
 1978 *Wheels*  
 1983 *The Winds of War*  
 1985 *Space*  
 1989 *War and Remembrance*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1967 *Wings of Fire*  
 1969 *The Immortal*  
 1970 *The Most Deadly Game*  
 1972 *Something Evil*  
 1974 *The Missiles of October*  
 1975 *Search for the Gods*  
 1975 *Murder on Flight 502*  
 1975 *The Log of the Black Pearl*  
 1975 *Adventures of the Queen*  
 1976 *Return to Earth*  
 1976 *Nightmare in Badham County*  
 1976 *McNaughton's Daughter*  
 1976 *The Boy in the Plastic Bubble*  
 1977 *Charlie Cobb: Nice Night for a Hanging*  
 1978 *The Millionaire*  
 1978 *The Clone Master*  
 1979 *The Billion Dollar Threat*  
 1980 *Power*  
 1980 *The Memory of Eva Ryker*  
 1980 *Condominium*  
 1984 *Love Leads the Way*  
 1985 *The Fourth Wise Man*  
 1989 *Christine Cromwell: Things That Go Bump in the Night*

#### Television Specials

1961 *Brief Encounter*  
 1962 *Saturday's Children*  
 1975 *The Devil's Web*

#### Films (selected)

*The Narrow Corner*, 1933; *Hands across the Table*, 1935; *His Girl Friday*, 1940; *Dance Girl Dance*, 1940; *Sunrise at Campobello*, 1960; *Rosemary's Baby*, 1968; *Oh, God!*, 1977; *Trading Places*, 1983; *Coming to America*, 1988; *Pretty Woman*, 1990.

#### Stage (selected)

*Town Boy*, 1929; *Tomorrow the World*; *State of the Union*; *Sunrise at Campobello*, 1958–59.

#### Publication

*When the Smoke Hit the Fan*, 1979

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## Ben Casey

U.S. Medical Drama

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*Ben Casey*, a medical drama about the "new breed" of doctors, ran on ABC from October 1961 to May 1966. James Moser, who also created the Richard Boone series *Medic*, created *Ben Casey*, and Matthew Rapf produced the program for Bing Crosby Productions. The show was very successful for ABC and broke into the top 20 shows for its first two years. A 1988 made-for-TV movie, *The Return of Ben Casey*, enjoyed only moderate success.

*Ben Casey* was one of two prominent medical dramas broadcast during the early 1960s. In *The Expanding Vista*, Mary Ann Watson characterizes this show as a "New Frontier character drama." Indeed, the title character often stood as a metaphor for the best and the brightest of his generation. Often the ills to which Casey attended were stand-ins for the ills of contemporary society. Symbolism was the stock-in-trade of *Ben Casey*, as evidenced by its stylized opening: a hand writing symbols on a chalk board as Sam Jaffe intoned, "Man, woman, birth, death, infinity."

County General Hospital was the setting for the practice of its most prominent resident in neurosurgery, Ben Casey, played by Vince Edwards. Edwards had been discovered by Bing Crosby, who saw to it that his protégé had a suitable vehicle for his talents. As Casey, Edwards was gruff, demanding, and decisive. Casey did not suffer fools lightly and apparently had unqualified respect only for the chief of neurosurgery, Dr. David Zorba (Sam Jaffe). The only other colleagues from whom he would seek counsel were anesthesiologist Dr. Maggie Graham (Bettye Ackerman) and Dr. Ted Hoffman (Harry Landers). Both Hoffman and Graham provided counterpoints of emotion and compassion to the stolid Casey. Virtually every episode in the entire first season of *Ben Casey* involved a patient with a brain tumor. But the nature of

the malady was merely a device that allowed Casey to interact with a panoply of individuals with unique problems, only one of which was their illness. Like many shows of its era (*Route 66*, *The Fugitive*), the core of *Ben Casey* could be found in the development and growth of the characters in any given episode. It was what Casey brought to a person's life as a whole that really drove the show.

Patients were not the only ones with problems. In *Ben Casey* the limits of medicine, the ethics of physicians, and the role of medicine in society were examined. The hospital functioned as a microcosm of the larger society it served. The professionals presented in *Ben Casey* were a tight group sworn to an oath of altruistic service. The majority of physicians in the employ of County General were not terribly inflated with self-importance. Their world was not so far removed from the world inhabited by those they helped. The problems that plagued the world outside the walls of County General could often be found within as well. During their work at County General, Casey and his colleagues came into contact with representatives from every level of society. Part of that contact was learning about and making judgments on certain societal issues and problems. Racial tension, drug addiction, the plight of immigrants, child abuse, and euthanasia were a few of the issues treated in *Ben Casey*.

The series followed an episodic format for its first four years. The final season saw Dr. Zorba replaced by Dr. Freeland (Franchot Tone) and a move to a serial, soap opera-like story structure. In so doing, *Ben Casey* moved away from the examination and possible correction of society's problems and toward a more conventional, character-driven drama. Vince Edwards, hoping to flex his creative muscles, directed several of the episodes of the last two seasons. Chiefly in these



*Ben Casey*, Steven Hill, Vince Edwards, 1961–66; “Legacy from a Stranger.”

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

ways, *Ben Casey* departed from the characteristics of the “New Frontier character drama” and more closely resembled an ordinary medical melodrama. In March 1966, ABC canceled the show.

The real value of *Ben Casey* was in its presentation of maladies of the body and mind as representative of larger problems that existed in society. The show was one of Hollywood’s reactions to Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minnow’s plea for better television. With the character of Ben Casey at the center of each episode, the show presented (often quite skillfully) the interrelationship of mental, physical, and societal health.

JOHN COOPER

### *See also* Workplace Programs

#### Cast

Dr. Ben Casey	Vince Edwards
Dr. David Zorba (1961–65)	Sam Jaffe
Dr. Maggie Graham	Bettye Ackerman
Dr. Ted Hoffman	Harry Landers
Nick Kanavaras	Nick Dennis
Nurse Wills	Jeanne Bates
Jane Hancock (1965)	Stella Stevens
Dr. Mike Fagers (1965)	Ben Piazza
Dr. Daniel Niles Freeland (1965–66)	Franchot Tone
Dr. Terry McDaniel (1965–66)	Jim McMullan
Sally Welden (1965–66)	Marlyn Mason

#### Producers

James E. Moser, John E. Pommer, Matthew Rapf, Wilton Schiller, Jack Laird, Irving Elman

#### Programming History

153 episodes

ABC

October 1961–September

1963

Monday 10:00–11:00

September 1963–September

1964

Wednesday 9:00–  
10:00

September 1964–March

1966

Monday 10:00–11:00

#### Further Reading

Alley, Robert S., “Media, Medicine, and Morality,” in *Understanding Television: Essays on Television as a Social and Cultural Force*, edited by Richard P. Adler, New York: Praeger, 1981

Turow, Joseph, *Playing Doctor: Television, Storytelling, and Medical Power*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989

Watson, Mary Ann, *The Expanding Vista: American Television in the Kennedy Years*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990

## Bennett, Alan (1934– )

British Actor

Alan Bennett has been a household name in British theatre ever since he starred in and coauthored the satirical review *Beyond the Fringe* with Dudley Moore, Peter Cooke, and Jonathan Miller, in 1960 at the Edinburgh Festival. Later, the same show played to packed houses in London's West End and in New York. Although Bennett started by writing and acting for the stage, he very soon turned his attention to writing plays for television.

Bennett's career, though less spectacular than those of his *Fringe* companions, has displayed great diversity and solid achievement. To many he is regarded as perhaps the premiere English dramatist of his generation. This is all the more surprising given the low-key themes and understated expression of the "ordinary people" who populate his dramatic world. Like the poetry of Philip Larkin (another Northerner whose writings he admires), his work frequently focuses on the everyday and the mundane: seaside holidays, lower-middle-class pretensions, obsessions with class, cleanliness, propriety, and sexual repression. Like Larkin, Bennett casts a loving but critical eye on the objects of his irony, revealing what underlies the apparently trivial language of his protagonists. In "Say Something Happened," the clichéd expression of Dad is shown to be more constructive than the social work jargon of his interviewer June, since it functions to set at ease his gauche interlocutor. While June clings to lexical propriety, Dad attends to the much more important level of the speech act. In *Kafka's Dick* and *Me—I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf*, Bennett pokes mischievous fun at Wittgenstein and the ordinary language philosophy of Austin, but his ear for telling dialogue reveals that he shares with those philosophers an awareness that language is a series of games, operating at different levels, whose rules can only be inferred from within. We cannot assume that we know what people mean by reference to our own usage.

Bennett's dramas are easier to enjoy than to categorize, and the writer himself is a dubious guide. In the introduction to the five teleplays written for London Weekend Television in 1978–79, *The Writer in Disguise*, Bennett identifies the silent central character in three of them as "the writer in disguise." To the five plays written for the BBC in 1982 Bennett supplies a

title *Objects of Affection*, but immediately disclaims he felt any such theme at the time of writing. The writer is not the center of attention: Trevor in *Me—I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf* is pathologically obsessed with not being noticed and yet somehow becomes the center of others' attentions. He becomes an absent center through whom other characters seek to make sense of their lives. Similarly, the Chinese waiter Lee, sent on a wild goose chase in search of a female admirer by a cruel fellow-worker, is a device to exhibit the casual xenophobia and fear of intimacy of the English lower-middle classes.

The occasion for a Bennett play is often a holiday, or at least a break from routine: these are suggested in the titles of *All Day on the Sands*, *One Fine Day*, *Afternoon Off*, "Our Winnie," *A Day Out*, and even "Rolling Home." The break serves to highlight the peculiar nature of ordinary living by providing a distanced view of it: in extreme instances the distance indicates a near breakdown, as the estate agent Phillips in *One Fine Day* takes to living in a tower block he is unable to let, overwhelmed by the inauthenticity of the language and values of his employment. Hospitals figure in "Rolling Home", "Intensive Care" and "A Woman of No Importance": here too, it is the intrusion of death that leads to a search for the significance of life, though frequently it is the lives of the visitors, not the patient, that are subjected to scrutiny, and Bennett's irony militates against any portentousness about life.

"A Woman of No Importance" marks an important step in Bennett's development: It is the first play featuring a single actress (Patricia Routledge), speaking directly to the camera with minimal scene changes, thus anticipating the format adopted for the six monologues of *Talking Heads*. The play is essentially a character study of a boring woman whose life revolves around the minutiae of precedence and status of canteen groupings. Peggy sees herself as creating happiness, order, and elegance in a shabby world, but the audience sees her as bossy, insensitive, and narrow-minded. Bennett's critique is subtle and sensitive as the gap between her and our vision of the world progressively narrows. Peggy is half-aware of the futility of her life, which endows her struggle to make significance out of trivia with a heroic pathos. A more blink-



Alan Bennett, 1965.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ered version of this character is to be found in Muriel in "Soldiering On" in *Talking Heads*, who refuses to acknowledge her son's embezzlement and husband's incest. Here, our sympathy for her gradual social and economic privation is offset by the damage to the family of her collusive blindness to its shortcomings. The most successful of *Talking Heads* is probably "Bed Among the Lentils," the narrative of an alcoholic vicar's wife (brilliantly played by Maggie Smith) who is restored to some sense of self-worth by an affair with an Asian shopkeeper. Possessed of greater intelligence and insight than her husband and his adoring camp-followers, she is, despite her wit and perceptiveness, a figure of pathos: marooned in a marriage and a social role she despises, but lacking the courage to abandon them or the belief that real change is possible. In Bennett's world those who succeed do so by unself-conscious egoism, energy, and lack of imagination, but are marginal to our attention; conversely, the failures exhibit insight and wit, but a crippling self-awareness that inhibits action.

While Bennett's "Englishness" and "Northerness" (terms by no means synonymous) are evident, they are no more nationalistic nor restricting than Chekhov's

"Russianness." The characters he writes about are rooted in a particular social environment, but the issues they highlight are of universal appeal: the essential isolation of human beings within the protective social roles they have adopted or have had thrust upon them, the gap between self-awareness and the capacity to change, the crippling power of propriety. All of these themes are relayed through a tone that is simultaneously ironic and tender.

BRENDAN KENNY

**Alan Bennett.** Born in Leeds, Yorkshire, England, May 9, 1934. Attended Leeds Modern School, 1946–52; Exeter College, Oxford, 1954–57, B.A. 1957. National service with Joint Services School for Linguists, Cambridge and Bodmin, 1957–59. Temporary junior lecturer in history, Magdalen College, Oxford, 1960–62. Stage debut at Edinburgh Festival, 1959; subsequently wrote and appeared in acclaimed comedy revue *Beyond the Fringe*, 1960; has since worked as writer, actor, director, and broadcaster for stage, television, radio, and films. D.Litt.: University of Leeds, 1990. Honorary Fellow, Exeter College, Oxford, 1987. Trustee, National Gallery, since 1994. Recipient: *Evening Standard* Awards, 1961, 1968, 1971, and 1985; Tony Award, 1963; Guild of Television Producers Award, 1967; Broadcasting Press Guild Awards, 1984 and 1991; Royal Television Society Awards, 1984 and 1986; Hawthornden Prize, 1989; Olivier Award, 1990.

#### Television Series

- 1966–67 *On the Margin* (also writer)  
 1987 *Fortunes of War*

#### Television Specials

- 1965 *My Father Knew Lloyd George*  
 (also writer)  
 1965 *Famous Gossips*  
 1965 *Plato—The Drinking Party*  
 1966 *Alice in Wonderland*  
 1972 *A Day Out* (also writer)  
 1975 *Sunset Across the Bay* (also writer)  
 1975 *A Little Outing* (also writer)  
 1978 *A Visit from Miss Prothero* (writer)  
 1978 *Me—I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf*  
 (writer)  
 1978 *Doris and Doreen (Green Forms)*  
 (writer)  
 1979 *The Old Crowd* (writer)  
 1979 *Afternoon Off* (writer)  
 1979 *One Fine Day* (writer)  
 1979 *All Day On the Sands* (writer)



- 1982 *Objects of Affection* ("Our Winnie," "A Woman of No Importance," "Rolling Home," "Marks," "Say Something Happened," "Intensive Care") (also writer)
- 1982 *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
- 1983 *An Englishman Abroad* (writer)
- 1986 *The Insurance Man* (writer)
- 1986 *Breaking Up*
- 1986 *Man and Music* (narrator)
- 1987 *Talking Heads* ("A Chip in the Sugar," "Bed Among the Lentils," "A Lady of Letters," "Her Big Chance," "Soldiering On," "A Cream Cracker Under the Settee") (also writer)
- 1987 *Down Cemetery Road: The Landscape of Philip Larkin* (presenter)
- 1988 *Dinner at Noon* (narrator)
- 1990 *Poetry in Motion* (presenter)
- 1990 *102 Boulevard Haussmann* (writer)
- 1991 *A Question of Attribution* (writer)
- 1991 *Selling Hitler*
- 1992 *Poetry in Motion 2* (presenter)
- 1994 *Portrait or Bust* (presenter)
- 1995 *The Abbey* (presenter)
- 1998 *Talking Heads 2*
- 2000 *Telling Tales*

#### Films

*Long Shot*, 1980; *A Private Function* (writer), 1984; *Dreamchild* (voice only), 1985; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*, 1986; *The Secret Policeman's Other Ball*, 1982; *Pleasure at Her Majesty's*; *Prick Up Your Ears* (writer), 1987; *Little Dorrit*, 1987; *Parson's Pleasure* (writer); *The Madness of King George* (writer), 1995.

#### Radio

*The Great Jowett*, 1980; *Dragon*, 1982; *Uncle Clarence* (writer), 1986; *Better Halves* (narrator), 1988; *The Lady in the Van* (writer, narrator), 1990; *Winnie-the-Pooh* (narrator).

#### Stage

*Better Late*, 1959; *Beyond the Fringe* (also co-writer), 1960; *The Blood of the Bambergs*, 1962; *A Cuckoo in the Nest*, 1964; *Forty Years On* (also writer), 1968; *Sing a Rude Song* (co-writer), 1969;

*Getting On* (writer), 1971; *Habeas Corpus* (also writer), 1973; *The Old Country* (writer), 1977; *Enjoy* (writer), 1980; *Kafka's Dick* (writer), 1986; *A Visit from Miss Prothero* (writer), 1987; *Single Spies* (*An Englishman Abroad* and *A Question of Attribution*) (also writer and director), 1988; *The Wind in the Willows* (writer), 1990; *The Madness of George III* (writer), 1991; *Talking Heads* ("A Chip in the Sugar," "Bed Among the Lentils," "A Lady of Letters," "Her Big Chance," "Soldiering On," "A Cream Cracker Under the Settee") (also writer), 1992.

#### Publications (selected)

*Beyond the Fringe* (with Peter Cook, Jonathan Miller, and Dudley Moore), 1962, 1963

*Forty Years On*, 1969

*Getting On*, 1972

*Habeas Corpus*, 1973

*The Old Country*, 1978

*Enjoy*, 1980

*Office Suite*, 1981

*Objects of Affection* (five teleplays), 1982

*A Private Function*, 1984

*The Writer in Disguise* (five teleplays and introduction), 1985

*Prick Up Your Ears*, 1987

*Two Kafka Plays*, 1987

*Single Spies*, 1989

*Talking Heads* (collection of six monologues), 1988, 1990

*The Wind in the Willows*, 1991

*Forty Years On and Other Plays* (collection), 1991

*The Madness of George III*, 1992

*Writing Home*, 1994

*The Laying on of Hands*, 2001

*The Clothes They Stood Up In*, 2001

#### Further Reading

Bergan, Roland. *Beyond the Fringe... and Beyond: A Critical Biography of Alan Bennett, Peter Cook, Jonathan Miller, and Dudley Moore*. London, 1990

Kendle, Burton S. "Alan Bennett," *Contemporary Dramatists*, edited by K.A. Berney, London and Detroit, Michigan: St. James, 1973; 5th edition, 1993

Wu, Duncan. *Six Contemporary Dramatists: Bennett, Potter, Gray, Brenton, Hare, Ayckbourn*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1995

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# Benny, Jack (1894–1974)

U.S. Comedian

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Jack Benny was among the most beloved American entertainers of the 20th century. He brought a relationship-oriented, humorously vain persona honed in vaudeville, radio, and film to television in 1950, starring in his own television series from that year until 1965.

Benny grew up in Waukegan, Illinois, and went on the vaudeville stage in his early teens playing the violin. The instrument quickly turned into a mere prop, and his lack of musicianship became one of the staples of his act. Benny's first major success was on the radio. He starred in a regular radio program from 1932 to 1955, establishing the format and personality he would transfer almost intact to television. Most of his films capitalized on his radio fame (e.g., *The Big Broadcast of 1937*), although a couple of pictures, *Charley's Aunt* (1941) and *To Be or Not to Be* (1942), showed that he could play more than one character.

Benny's radio program spent most of its run on NBC. In 1948 the entertainer, who had just signed a deal with the Music Corporation of America (MCA) that allowed him to form a company to produce the program and thereby make more money on it, was lured to CBS, where he stayed through the remainder of his radio career and most of his television years.

His television program evolved slowly. Benny made only four television shows in his first season. By the 1954–55 season, he was up to 20, and by 1960–61, 39. The format of *The Jack Benny Show* was flexible. Although each week's episode usually had a theme or starting premise, the actual playing out of that premise often devolved into a loose collection of skits.

Benny played a fictional version of himself, Jack Benny the television star, and the program often revolved around preparation for the next week's show—involving interactions between Benny and a regular stable of characters, which included the program's announcer, Don Wilson, and its resident crooner, Dennis Day. Until her retirement in 1958, Benny's wife, Mary Livingstone, portrayed what her husband termed in his memoirs "a kind of heckler-secretary," a wise-cracking friend of the family and of the television program.

The main point of these interactions was to show off Benny's onscreen character. The Jack Benny with

whom viewers were familiar was a cheap, vain, insecure, untalented braggart who would never willingly enter his fifth decade. Despite his conceit and braggadocio, however, Jack Benny's video persona was uniquely endearing and even in many ways admirable. He possessed a vulnerability and a flexibility few male fictional characters have achieved.

His myriad shortcomings were mercilessly exposed every week by his supporting cast, yet those characters always forgave him. They knew that "Jack" was never violent and never intentionally cruel, and that he wanted nothing (not even money) so much as love. The interaction between this protagonist and his fellow cast members turned *The Jack Benny Show* into a forum for human absurdity and human affection.

"Human" is a key word, for the Benny persona defied categorization. Benny had shed his Jewish identity along with his Jewish name on his way from vaudeville to radio. The character he and his writers sustained on the airwaves for four decades had no ethnicity or religion.

He had no strongly defined sexuality either, despite his boasts about mythical romantic success with glamorous female movie stars and his occasional brief dates with working-class women. In minimizing his ethnicity and sexuality, the Benny character managed to transcend those categories rather than deny them. Beneath his quickly lifted arrogant facade lurked an American Everyperson.

*The Jack Benny Show* further crossed boundaries by being the only program for decades that consistently portrayed Americans of different races living and working side by side. Jack Benny's ever-present butler/valet/nanny, Rochester (portrayed by Eddie Anderson), had first appeared on the Benny radio program as a Pullman porter but had pleased audiences so universally that he moved into Benny's fictional household. Unlike the popular African-American radio characters Amos and Andy, Rochester was portrayed by a black actor, Eddie Anderson, rather than a white actor in blackface.

Rochester's characterization was not devoid of racism. As Benny's employee, he was, after all, always in a nominally subservient position. Nevertheless, neither Rochester nor his relationship with his employer



Jack Benny.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

was defined or limited by race. Like the other characters on the program, Rochester viewed Benny with slightly condescending affection, and frequently got the better of his employer in arguments that were obviously battles between peers. Rochester was, in fact, the closest thing the Benny character had to either a spouse or a best friend.

The complex relationship between the two was typical of the Benny persona and its fictional formula, which relied on character rather than jokes. Benny sustained the persona and the formula in his regular half-hour program and in a series of one-hour specials, until both wore out in the mid-1960s. He returned to television from time to time thereafter to star in additional specials but never dominated American ratings as he had in the 1950s, when he spent several years in the Nielsen top 20s and garnered Emmy Awards year after year.

Off screen, Benny was apparently ambivalent about television. In his memoirs, *Sunday Nights at Seven*, posthumously published with his daughter as coauthor in 1990, he wrote, "By my second year in television, I saw that the camera was a man-eating monster. It gave a performer close-up exposure that, week after week, threatened his existence as an interesting entertainer."

Despite this concern, Jack Benny and American television clearly did well by each other.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

See also *Jack Benny Show, The*

**Jack Benny.** Born Benjamin Kubelsky in Waukegan, Illinois, February 14, 1894. Married: Mary Livingstone (Sadie Marks), 1927. Served in U.S. Navy, World War I. Worked in vaudeville as violinist in orchestra pit, 1909–14; after military service in World War I, returned to vaudeville, touring as comic and dancer under name Ben K. Benny; small-part actor in Broadway musicals during the 1920s; first film appearance, *Bright Moments* (short), 1928; role as the emcee in feature film *The Hollywood Revue of 1929*, 1929; worked on Broadway in successful *The Earl Carroll Vanities*, 1930; radio debut, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, 1932; own radio series, *The Jack Benny Show*, 1933–41; starring film roles in *Buck Benny Rides Again*, 1940, *Love Thy Neighbor*, 1940, and *Charley's Aunt*, 1941; notable performance in film *To Be or Not to Be*, 1942; had own television series *The Jack Benny Show*, 1950–64 (CBS), 1964–65 (NBC); later guest roles in films. Died in Beverly Hills, California, December 26, 1974.

#### Television Series

1950–64	<i>The Jack Benny Show</i>
1964–65	<i>The Jack Benny Show</i>

#### Films

*Bright Moments* (short), 1928; *The Hollywood Revue of 1929*, 1929; *Chasing Rainbows*, 1930; *Medicine Man*, 1930; *Mr. Broadway*, 1933; *Transatlantic Merry-Go-Round*, 1934; *Broadway Melody of 1936*, 1935; *It's in the Air*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1936; *College Holiday*, 1936; *Artists and Models*, 1937; *Manhattan Merry-Go-Round*, 1937; *Artists and Models Abroad*, 1938; *Man about Town*, 1939; *Buck Benny Rides Again*, 1940; *Love Thy Neighbor*, 1940; *Charley's Aunt*, 1941; *To Be or Not to Be*, 1942; *George Washington Slept Here*, 1942; *The Meanest Man in the World*, 1943; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *It's in the Bag*, 1945; *The Horn Blows at Midnight*, 1945; *Without Reservations*, 1946; *The Lucky Stiff*, 1949; *Somebody Loves Me*, 1952; *Who Was That Lady?*, 1962; *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *The Man*, 1972.

#### Radio

*The Jack Benny Show*, 1933–41.

**Stage**

*The Earl Carroll Vanities*, 1930.

**Publication**

*Sunday Nights at Seven: The Jack Benny Story* (with Joan Benny), 1990

**Further Reading**

Fein, Irving, *Jack Benny: An Intimate Biography*, New York: Putnam, 1976

*Jack Benny: The Radio and Television Work*, New York: Harper, 1991

Josefberg, Milt, *The Jack Benny Show*, New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1977

# Benson

## U.S. Situation Comedy

*Benson* premiered in August 1979 on ABC, a spin-off of the popular program *Soap*, which ran from 1977 to 1981. Robert Guillaume took the title role in the new series, joining a new cast of characters and moving from the home of a wealthy (if utterly absurd) family to a butler's position in a governor's mansion. The series ran for seven consecutive seasons, with a few minor cast changes and with Benson's promotions from his first assignment to state budget director and, finally, to lieutenant governor.

Although the storylines and the character of Benson poke fun at the incompetence of those in positions of wealth and power, the portrayal of an African-American man as a butler remained a strong stereotype that served to uphold racial power relations and reinforce social values in the neoconservative United States of the 1970s and 1980s. Despite conscious efforts of writers and actors, the main character's role remains problematic: why in contemporary television was an African-American man still portrayed as a servant? However lighthearted and fictitious *Benson* might have been, its significance in television history is both serious and real.

Comedy has long been a means of representing characters of color in both American film and television. Hollywood film picked up where minstrel shows left off, using stereotypes (and often white actors in blackface makeup) to portray African-American characters. One stereotype in particular that became nearly omnipresent in many classic Hollywood films is the figure of the black servant, a remnant of the antebellum American south. This stereotypical trope of the servant is seen time and time again, subtly suggesting the superior status of whites and simultaneously dictating to the viewing audience the position of African

Americans in society. The persistence of such representation in contemporary television demonstrates the continuing use of characters of color for racial demarcation and for comic relief.

As a source of humor, *Benson* is historically significant in television. Few American programs featuring characters of color have been dramas. Instead, beginning with *Beulah* and *Amos 'n' Andy* in the 1950s and continuing into the present, most programs with minority characters have fallen into the genre of situation comedy. Issues of race are to be addressed, it seems, through laughter. Although the character of Benson was indeed allowed to rise along the occupational ladder, this advancement was carefully contained within the realm of comedy. It was also controlled by the narrative, as evidenced in a 1983 episode in which the ghost of *Soap* character Jessica Tate (Benson's former, white employer) haunts Benson and reminds him of how far he has come.

The premise in the half-hour sitcom *Benson* is that the title character has been "loaned" by Jessica to her cousin, Governor James Gatling, after his wife passes away. This loan becomes permanent as Benson's utility becomes indispensable to the governor. Through his service in the governor's mansion—saving the governor from political blunders, managing both the political and domestic staff, and helping to raise the governor's daughter, Katie—Benson is seen as the source of not only composure and wisdom but also of warmth. At the same time, he is known for his sharp wit, often expressed at the expense of other characters on the show.

The critical view of *Benson* has generally been positive and, moreover, addresses the issue of Benson as a butler by arguing his is a "dignified" portrayal. Never-



*Benson*, Robert Guillaume, 1979–86.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

theless, the limitations of the role are clearly set in the way in which he is characterized. For example, the headlines of some reviews instruct their readers in specific ways: “*Benson* Moves Out and Up,” “*Benson* Butlers His Way into a Sensational Spin-off,” “ABC May Clean Up with *Benson*.” One critic describes Benson as the “smug, cocky and perennially bored black butler.” These descriptions and plays on words only emphasize the position that Benson is expected to occupy; his rise “out and up” is deemed unusual, irreverent, and ultimately funny. In this light, a “cocky” servant who is smarter than his masters is not a subversive portrayal, as some may wish to believe; it is exactly the opposite. The often overdetermined praise of Benson’s independence and sophistication perhaps reveals the effort on the part of critics to compensate for the fact that Benson is a servant. Unfortunately, arguing that these characteristics of an African-American man/butler are exceptional only further dictates what his place is supposed to be. To be “uppity” or insolent, as Benson is sometimes described, implies that he must somehow be put back down where he belongs.

This contradiction—Benson as the defiant, yet also stereotypical, character—seemed to have confused audiences. Although *Benson* was not among the top 10 shows (it was in the top 25 in its first year only), the program lasted for seven seasons. And although Robert Guillaume was nominated several times for an Emmy Award for Best Leading Actor during his years on *Benson*, he won only in the category of Best Supporting Actor for his work in *Soap*. While the producers and writers of the show worked consciously to make Benson’s character reflect the strides in civil rights that were made in the previous decades, they still chose to use the stereotype of the black servant. Hence, though far lower rated, the fact that *Benson* far outlasted such programs as *Taxi* and even its parent program, *Soap*, might suggest that American television audiences were ultimately sustaining and supporting the status quo.

Guillaume has taken a critical stance toward his own role, saying variously, “I will not go back to 1936”; “This is not going to be one of those plantation-darky roles”; “It was employer-employee, not master-servant.” Still, despite Guillaume’s talent and his determined attempts to bring substance and accuracy to his role, the long-standing cultural connotations of an African-American servant predominated the program. *Benson* is not derogatory or inflammatory and, in fact, can be quite entertaining. Nevertheless, the program stands as part of an ongoing practice of representing people of color in subordinate positions. Though liberal, the television industry is by no means revolutionary. Accordingly, *Benson* attempts to portray the life of an African American in a progressive and “dignified” manner, yet cannot escape the trappings of a deeply embedded cultural classification.

LAHN S. KIM

See also **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television; Soap**

**Cast**

Benson DuBois	Robert Guillaume
Gov. James Gatling	James Noble
Katie Gatling	Missy Gold
Gretchen Kraus	Inga Swenson
Marcy Hill (1979–81)	Caroline McWilliams
John Taylor (1979–80)	Lewis J. Stadlen
Clayton Endicott III (1980–88)	Rene Auberjonois
Pete Downey (1980–85)	Ethan Phillips
Frankie (1980–81)	Jerry Seinfeld
Denise Stevens Downey (1981–85)	Didi Conn
Mrs. Cassidy (1984–88)	Billie Bird
Sen. Diane Hartford (1985–88)	Donna Laurie

**Producers**

Paul Junger Witt, Tony Thomas, Susan Harris, Don Richetta

**Programming History**

158 episodes

ABC

September 1979–July 1980	Thursday 8:30–9:00
August 1980–March 1983	Friday 8:00–8:30
March 1983–April 1983	Thursday 8:00–8:30
May 1983–March 1985	Friday 8:00–8:30
March 1985–September 1985	Friday 9:00–9:30
October 1985–January 1986	Friday 9:30–10:00
January 1986–August 1986	Saturday 8:30–9:00

**Further Reading**

- Bretz, Mark, "Robert Guillaume Keeps Rolling Along as TV's Smug, Cocky Benson," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (July 24–25, 1982)
- Gelman, Steve, "Benson Soft-Soaps No One," *TV Guide* (September 15, 1979)
- Holsopple, Barbara, "Benson Moves Out and Up," *Pittsburgh Press* (July 22, 1979)
- Krupnick, Jerry, "Benson Butlers His Way into a Sensational Spin-off," *Newark Star-Ledger* (September 13, 1979)
- Miller, Ron, "Benson," *San Jose Mercury News* (January 24, 1985)
- Torrez, Frank, "ABC May Clean Up with Benson," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (September 13, 1979)

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## Berg, Gertrude (1899–1966)

U.S. Actor, Writer, Producer

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Gertrude Berg was perhaps the only woman to attain authorial control of a prime-time network television series during the 1950s, serving as the creator, principal writer, and star of her own weekly situation comedy, *The Goldbergs*. When the show came to television, she was already thoroughly identified in the public mind with her lifelong dramatic persona, Molly Goldberg, a Jewish-American mother she had developed into a quintessential stereotype on a long-running radio series. Public familiarity with the Molly character tended to obscure her career as a remarkably prolific writer.

Berg began writing and performing skits at her father's resort hotel in the Catskill Mountains, later studying playwriting at Columbia University. After selling several dramatic scripts to radio, her big break came in 1929 with the debut of her own series on NBC, *The Rise of Goldbergs* (later shortened to *The Goldbergs*). It was among the most popular programs of the radio era, often rivaling *Amos 'n' Andy*, another NBC series based on racial stereotypes, at the top of the national ratings. Fifteen-minute episodes of *The Goldbergs* aired Monday through Friday, placing the form of the program somewhere between the contemporary parameters of situation comedy and daytime soap opera. Berg wrote most of the episodes, which, after a 20-year production run, numbered more than 5,000. A pioneer in product tie-in concepts, the writer-

performer capitalized on the Molly Goldberg phenomenon with short stories, stage plays, a feature film, and even a cookbook.

*The Goldbergs* premiered on television as a CBS sitcom in 1949. During its five-season production run, the show would move around the dial to NBC, DuMont, and first-run syndication. A sentimentalized vision of melting-pot assimilation, *The Goldbergs* was "pure schmaltz," a mythic idealization of the American dreams and aspirations of a lower-class Jewish family in the Bronx. The differences between traditional shtetl values and middle-American values are consistently exposed as merely stylistic. The older members of the family, including Molly, her husband Jake, and Uncle David, all speak with thick Yiddish accents, while Molly's children, Rosalie and Sammy, sound more like the voices heard on *Ozzie and Harriet*. When it was becoming clear in the mid-1950s that ethnic sitcoms of this type were on the way out, Berg revamped the show by moving the family to the suburbs, renaming the series *Molly* (1954–55), and offering it in first-run syndication. These changes, however, could not save it.

For the next five years Berg was a frequent guest on comedy-variety shows, appearing with Perry Como, Kate Smith, Ed Sullivan, and others. She also played several dramatic roles on anthology showcases, such as *The U.S. Steel Hour* and *The Alcoa Hour*. In 1961



Gertrude Berg.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Berg attempted to return to situation comedy with *Mrs. G Goes to College* (also called *The Gertrude Berg Show*) on CBS. It was the first time she had appeared on series television as any character other than Molly Goldberg. The old assimilationist themes remained at the heart of Berg's work; she played Sarah Green, an elderly widow pursuing the education denied her by a poverty-stricken youth. Once again, Jewish values and American values were portrayed as distinguishable only in matters of style.

Berg's autobiography, *Molly and Me*, was published in 1961. Her papers, including many of her radio and television scripts, are collected at the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University. It is worth noting that Berg took a stand against the blacklist in 1951, refusing to fire her long-time costar Philip Loeb (he resigned to prevent the show's cancellation and later committed suicide).

DAVID MARC

See also *Goldbergs, The*

**Gertrude Berg.** Born Gertrude Edelstein in New York City, October 3, 1899. Extension courses in playwriting at Columbia University. Married: Lewis W. Berg, 1918; children: Harriet and Cherney Robert. First radio script, *Effie and Laura*, 1927; wrote, starred in, and produced the NBC radio series situation comedy, *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, starting 1929; *The Rise of the Goldbergs* cast and Goldberg toured vaudeville, 1934–36; half-hour radio serial *The House of Glass*, 1935; first film, *Make a Wish*, 1937; wrote and starred in Broadway reworking of the Goldberg saga, titled *Me and Molly*, 1948; wrote and starred in *The Goldbergs*, CBS television, 1949–54; with N. Richard Nash co-wrote the movie version, *Molly*, starring in the title role, 1951; starred in *The Goldbergs*, NBC-TV, 1952 and the summer of 1953, then locally on WABD (Channel 5), 1954; appeared in MGM's *Main Street to Broadway*, 1953; acted in non-Molly Goldberg roles in stage plays, from 1956; starred in television series *Mrs. G Goes to College*, later retitled *The Gertrude Berg Show*, 1961–62. Recipient: Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York Award, 1949; Emmy Award, 1950; Girls Clubs of America Radio and TV Mother of the Year; Antoinette Perry Award, 1959. Died in New York City, September 14, 1966.

**Television Series (as writer, star, and producer)**

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|---------|--|
| 1949–54 | <i>The Goldbergs (The Rise of the Goldbergs)</i>                                 |
| 1954–55 | <i>Molly</i>   |
| 1961–62 | <i>The Gertrude Berg Show</i> (originally titled <i>Mrs. G Goes to College</i> ) |

**Films**

*Make a Wish* (writer), 1937; *Molly*, 1951; *Main Street to Broadway*, 1953.

**Radio**

*Effie and Laura* (writer only), 1927; *The Rise of the Goldbergs* (star, producer), 1929–45; *The House of Glass* (star, producer), 1935.

**Stage**

*Me and Molly*, 1948; *The Solid Gold Cadillac*, 1956; *The Matchmaker*, 1957; *A Majority of One*, 1959; *Dear Me*, *The Sky Is Falling*, 1963.

**Publications**

*The Molly Goldberg Cookbook*, 1955  
*Molly and Me*, 1961

## Berle, Milton (1908–2002)

U.S. Comedian, Actor

Milton Berle's career was one of the longest and most varied in show business, spanning silent film, vaudeville, radio, motion pictures, and television. He started in show business at the age of five, appearing as a child in *The Perils of Pauline* and *Tillie's Punctured Romance*. Through the 1920s Berle moved up through the vaudeville circuit, finding his niche in the role of a brash comic known for stealing the material of fellow comedians. He also became a popular master of ceremonies in vaudeville, achieving top billing in the largest cities and theaters. During the 1930s Berle appeared in a variety of Hollywood films and further polished his comedy routines in night clubs and on radio.

Berle is best known for his role as host of *Texaco Star Theater*, television's most popular program during its early years. The show had begun on the ABC radio network in the spring of 1948, and Berle took part in a television test version for Texaco and NBC in June of that year. He was selected as host, and the first east coast broadcast of the TV series began in September. Within two months Berle became television's first superstar, with the highest ratings ever attained and was soon referred to as "Mr. Television," "Mr. Tuesday Night," and "Uncle Miltie." Restaurants, theaters, and nightclubs adjusted their schedules so patrons would not miss Berle's program at 8:00 P.M. on Tuesdays. Berle is said to have stimulated television sales and audience size in the same way *Amos 'n' Andy* had sparked the growth of radio.

Although the budget for each program was a modest \$15,000, many well-known entertainers were eager to appear on *Texaco Star Theater* for the public exposure it afforded, providing further viewer appeal and popularity for the program. The one-hour, live shows typically included visual vaudeville routines, music, comedy, and sketches. Other regular features included the singing Texaco station attendants and the pitchman commercials by Sid Stone. Berle was noted for interjecting himself into the acts of his guests, which, along with his opening appearance in outlandish costumes, became a regular feature. His use of sight gags, props, and visual style seemed well suited for the TV medium. In 1951 Berle signed a contract with NBC granting him \$200,000 a year for 30 years, providing he appear on NBC exclusively.

His was one of the first television shows to be promoted through merchandising, including Uncle Miltie T-shirts, comic books, and chewing gum. When other programs evolved to compete with Berle's popularity, his dominance of the television audience began to wane, and Texaco ended its sponsorship. In the 1953–54 season, the *Buick-Berle Show*, as it was retitled, was set into the 8:00 P.M. Tuesday time slot. Facing greater competition and sensing the need for more determined effort to compensate for the dwindling novelty of both the program and the medium, Berle's staff and writers changed focus from the zany qualities of the show's early days to a more structured format.



Milton Berle.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



Berle, Milton

Berle continued to attract a substantial audience, but he was dropped by the sponsor Buick at the end of the season in 1955. Hour-long variety shows had become more difficult to orchestrate due to higher costs, increasing salary demands, and union complications. Also, Berle's persona had shifted from the impetuous and aggressive style of the *Texaco Star Theater* days to a more cultivated, but less-distinctive personality, leaving many fans somehow unsatisfied. The show was produced in California for the 1955–56 season, but it failed to capture either the spirit or the audience of Uncle Miltie in his prime.

Berle was featured on *Kraft Music Hall* in the late 1950s and *Jackpot Bowling*, a 1960s game show. In 1965 he renegotiated his 30-year contract with NBC, allowing him to appear on any network. He later made guest appearances in dramas as well as comedy programs, earning an Emmy nomination for one of his last TV roles, a dramatic part on *Beverly Hills 90210*, when he was 87 years old. In addition to television, Berle's career in the later years included film, night club acts, and benefit shows. He was the subject of nearly every show business tribute and award, including an Emmy and TV specials devoted to his contributions and legacy in broadcasting. Because of declining health, Berle's television appearances in the final years of his life were limited to brief interviews. He died in his home in Los Angeles in March 2002.

B.R. SMITH

See also *Milton Berle Show*; **Variety Programs**

**Milton Berle.** Born Mendel Berlinger in New York City, July 12, 1908. Attended Professional Children's School. Married: 1) Joyce Mathews (twice; divorced twice); two children; 2) Ruth Gosgrove Rosenthal, 1953 (died, 1989); children: Vicki and Billy; 3) Lorna Adams. Began career by winning contest for Charlie Chaplin imitators, 1913; children's roles in Biograph silent film productions; cast member E.W. Wolf's vaudeville children's acts; in theater since *Floradora*, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1920, debuted in New York City with *Floradora*, 1920; in radio, 1930s; toured with Ziegfeld Follies, 1936; television series and specials from 1948; lyricist of more than 300 songs; contributor to *Variety* magazine. Honorary H.H.D., McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois, 1984. Recipient: Yiddish Theatrical Alliance Humanitarian Award, 1951; *Look* magazine TV Award, 1951; National Academy of Arts and Sciences Award, Man of the Year, 1959; AGVA Golden Award, 1977; Special Emmy Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1978–79. Died in Los Angeles, California, March 27, 2002.

### Television Series

- 1948–56 *Texaco Star Theater* (later called *The Milton Berle Show* and *Buick-Berle Show*)  
1958–59 *Milton Berle Starring in the Kraft Music Hall*  
1960–61 *Jackpot Bowling*  
1966–67 *The Milton Berle Show*

### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1969 *Seven in Darkness*  
1972 *Evil Roy Slade*  
1975 *The Legend of Valentino*  
1988 *Side by Side*

### Television Specials

- 1950 *Uncle Miltie's Christmas Party*  
1950 *Show of the Year* (host)  
1951 *Uncle Miltie's Easter Party*  
1955 *The Big Time* (cohost)  
1959 *The Milton Berle Special*  
1961 *The Chrysler Television Special*  
1962 *The Milton Berle Special*  
1972 *Opening Night: U.S.A.*  
1973 *A Show Business Salute to Milton Berle*  
1975 *Milton Berle's Mad Mad Mad World of Comedy*  
1976 *The First 50 Years* (cohost)  
1978 *A Tribute to "Mr. Television" Milton Berle*  
1986 *NBC's 60th Anniversary Celebration* (cohost)

### Films (selected)

Various Biograph silent productions; *New Faces of 1937*; *Radio City Revels*, 1938; *Tall, Dark, and Handsome*, 1941; *Sun Valley Serenade*, 1941; *Rise and Shine*, 1941; *A Gentleman at Heart*, 1942; *Over My Dead Body*, 1942; *Whispering Ghosts*, 1942; *Margin for Error*, 1943; *Always Leave Them Laughing*, 1949; *Let's Make Love*, 1960; *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *The Loved One*, 1965; *The Oscar*, 1966; *The Happening*, 1967; *Who's Minding the Mint?*, 1967; *Where Angels Go, Trouble Follows*, 1968; *For Singles Only*, 1968; *Can Hieronymus Merkin Ever Forget Mercy Humppe and Find True Happiness?*, 1969; *Lepke*, 1975; *The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *Broadway Danny Rose*, 1984; *Driving Me Crazy*, 1992; *Storybook*, 1995.

### Radio (selected)

*Texaco Star Theater*, 1939–48; *The Milton Berle Show*, 1939; *Stop Me if You've Heard This One* (co-

host); *Let Yourself Go*, 1944; *Kiss and Make Up*, 1946.

### Stage

*Floradora*, 1920; *Earl Carroll Vanities*, 1932; *Saluta*, 1934; *Life Begins at 8:40*, 1935; *See My Lawyer*, 1939; *I'll Take the High Road*, 1943; *Spring in Brazil*, 1945; *Seventeen*, 1951; *Top Banana*, 1963; *The Goodbye People*, 1968; *Two by Two*, 1971; *The Milton Berle Show*, 1971; *Last of the Red Hot Lovers*, 1970–71; *Norman, Is That You?*, 1973–75; *The Best of Everybody*, 1975; *The Sunshine Boys*, 1976.

### Publications

*Laughingly Yours*, 1939  
*Out of My Trunk*, 1945  
*Earthquake*, 1959  
*Milton Berle: An Autobiography* (with Haskel Frankel), 1974  
*B.S. I Love You*, 1987  
*Milton Berle's Private Joke File*, 1989

*More of the Best of Milton Berle's Private Joke File*, 1993

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"The Child Wonder," *Time* (May 16, 1949)

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## Berlusconi, Silvio (1936– )

### Italian Media Mogul, Prime Minister

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While still a student, Silvio Berlusconi, the son of a Milan bank official, displayed two of the main qualities that marked his later career as a media tycoon: business acumen and a penchant for performing. While preparing a dissertation on "The Newspaper Advertising Contract" for his honors degree in law from Milan University, he helped finance his studies by working as a singer on cruise ships.

Upon graduating, he was quick to recognize the entrepreneurial opportunities opened up by the wave of postwar affluence that rolled across Italy in the 1960s. He moved into the booming construction sector, and in 1969 borrowed 3 billion lire to build a prestigious dormitory suburb, Milano 2, on the edge of the city. His decision to install a cable network in the complex in 1974 was his first entry into a television marketplace that was about to undergo a massive expansion.

The historic monopoly over national broadcasting enjoyed by the public sector organization, RAI (Radio

Televisione Italiana) had been confirmed by Law 103, passed in 1975. But the following year, the Constitutional Court ruled that it did not extend to the local level. This decision legitimated the mushrooming "pirate" television operators and attracted new investors with around 700 commercial stations springing up around the country. Berlusconi was quick to see the enormous potential in this explosion of activity, and in 1975 he set up a holding company, Fininvest, to manage his expanding interests. In 1979 he established a major film library, renting titles to stations on the condition that they carried advertising purchased through his Publitalia subsidiary. He rapidly became the dominant force in a market that saw television increase its share of national advertising from 15 percent in 1976 to nearly 50 percent, ten years later. By 1983, Publitalia's advertising revenues had overtaken those of RAI, and by the end of the decade they accounted for around 70 percent of all television advertising expenditure.

His power within the new commercial television marketplace was further cemented by his own moves into station ownership. Between 1977 and 1980, he created a nationwide network, Canale 5, creating the illusion of a single channel by dispatching video tapes by courier for simultaneous transmission. Programming was unashamedly populist, relying heavily on imported films and soap operas and home produced game shows. In 1981 the Constitutional Court revised its earlier decision and ruled in favor of national private networks providing there were strong antitrust provisions. Berlusconi took full advantage of this opening, buying out one of his main competitors, Italia 1, in 1982, and acquiring his only other serious challenger, Rete 4, in 1984. These moves confirmed his domination of commercial television, earning him the nickname *Su' Emittenza* ("His Transmitter-ship," a pun on the traditional title for a cardinal).

His power did not go unopposed, however. In October 1984, magistrates ruled that his channels breached RAI's monopoly right to broadcast a simultaneous national service and shut them down. But he had powerful political friends, including the prime minister, Bettino Craxi, who returned from overseas early to sign a decree reopening them. Even in a climate of growing enthusiasm for deregulation, no other European government had allowed a single individual to accumulate such concentrated control over terrestrial television. This political support established an effective duopoly in national television for the rest of the decade, giving Fininvest's three commercial networks and RAI's three public channels an overall share of between 40 to 45 percent each.

Reviewing this situation in 1988, the Constitutional Court sent a warning to parliament urging them to introduce strong antitrust provisions at the earliest opportunity. Parliament's response, the Broadcasting Act of 1990 (known as the "Mammi Act" after the Post and Telecommunications Minister who presented it) fell way short of this. The parliamentary debate was bitter, with the former chair of the Constitutional Court arguing that the Act disregarded the Court's antitrust instructions and was far too sympathetic to private television power. The new law legitimated the status quo. Berlusconi was allowed to keep his three broadcasting networks, and Publitalia's domination of the television advertising market remained untouched. However, new cross-ownership rules did require him to sell 90 percent of his shares in the country's first pay-TV venture, Telepiu, and to divest his majority stake in the Milan daily newspaper, *Il Giornale Nuovo*, which passed to his brother Paolo. Critics of his communicative power were unimpressed, and in 1992 media workers mounted a strike to protest against Fininvest's domination of the advertising market.

Renewed pressure for tougher antitrust legislation coincided with a worsening financial situation within Fininvest, as the group absorbed the costs of recent acquisitions. In 1986 Berlusconi bought the soccer (football) club AC Milan and spent substantial sums on making it into the most successful Italian club of all time. In 1988 he acquired the La Standa department store chain, one of the largest in Italy. And, after an expensive and bitterly fought contest with Carlo de Benedetti of the computer company Olivetti, in 1990, he had made a major move into newspaper, magazine, and book publishing, with the purchase of the Mondadori group, giving him control of 20 percent of the domestic publishing market. These outlays led to a 12-fold increase in the group's debt, which stood at \$2 billion by 1994.

Faced with continuing demands for the break-up of his television empire, he seized the political initiative and, at the beginning of 1994, announced that he would contest the forthcoming general election. Luciano Benetton, head of the clothing group, spoke for many when he wryly observed that, "Silvio Berlusconi's love of politics is motivated by fear of losing his television interests." His vehicle was an entirely new party, *Forza Italia* (named after the football chant "Go Italy") in coalition with the federalist Northern League and the remnants of the neo-fascist MSI movement, renamed the National Alliance. During the campaign he relied heavily on orchestrated support from his press and television interests, leading the distinguished journalist, Indro Montanelli, to resign the editorship of *Il Giornale* in protest. He projected an image of a man untouched by the old corruption, in touch with the aspirations of young Italy, and in favor of low taxation, free markets, and personal choice.

His coalition of the right won 43 percent of the popular vote in the March 1994 election and formed a government with Berlusconi as prime minister. There were immediate allegations of conflicts of interest. He had tried to forestall these at the start of his election campaign by resigning from all managerial positions and handing chairmanship of his major company to his old piano accompanist, Fidele Confalonieri. But since he and his family still held 51 percent of the group's shares, critics were unconvinced. These suspicions, coupled with the defection of the Northern League, led to the fall of his administration after nine months.

His exit from office coincided with other shifts in his personal circumstances. In July 1995, he announced that he had sold a 20 percent stake in his new subsidiary, Mediaset (covering his television, advertising, film, and record interests) to three outside investors (including the German media magnate, Leo Kirch) for \$1.1 billion. More shares were sold later to banks and other institutions, reducing his holding to 72

percent. Then, two days before the April 1996 election, he announced a public flotation that would eliminate his majority control.

His political standing was also under threat. His carefully cultivated image of a man outside the corrupt old guard had been dented by revelations that in 1978 he had joined the secretive Masonic lodge, P2 (Propaganda 2) that had formed a powerful state within a state with connections to the armed forces, secret services, banks, and government. Then, in January 1996, he was called before magistrates in Milan to answer charges that he had bribed financial police to present a favorable tax audit of his corporate accounts.

This helped to sour his return to politics in the general election in April 1996. Although he was elected as a member of parliament, his right-wing bloc was forced to concede control of government to the Olive Tree Alliance, Italy's first successful center-left coalition since World War II.

Having spent the late 1990s reorganizing his party, he was once again elected prime minister on May 13, 2001. Berlusconi is the prime minister of Italy, leader of the *Forza Italia* party, head of the center-right coalition known as the House of Liberties, and the wealthiest man in Italy, with an estimated net worth of \$10.3 billion.

Whether he remains a central figure in Italian politics and business in the future, Berlusconi will be remembered as the man who in the space of just 25 years built a conglomerate that rose to dominate Italian commercial television and become Europe's second largest media empire (after Bertelsmann of Germany) and Italy's third biggest private company, and the man who used his communicative power and his flair for showmanship to launch a new political party that gathered enough votes to secure his election as prime minister in just four months. Overall, his career over the last 30 years stands as an impressive illustration and warning of the power of concentrated media ownership in a lightly regulated marketplace.

GRAHAM MURDOCK

### See also Italy

**Silvio Berlusconi.** Born in Milan, Italy, September 29, 1936. Educated at Milan University, degree in law 1971. Married: 1) Carla Dall'Oglio (divorced), children: Marina and Pier; 2) Veronica Lario, 1990. Founded real estate development companies Cantieri Riuniti Milanesi, 1962, and Edilnord, 1963; financed construction of suburbs Milano 2, 1969, and Milano 3, 1976; created Telemilano cable television system, 1974; established Canale 5 television network 1977–80; purchased television networks Italia 1, 1982, Rete 4, 1984; purchased movie theater chain, 1985; purchased Milan AC soccer club, 1986; acquired the La Standa department store chain, 1988; acquired interests in publishing conglomerate Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., 1990; formed political party Forza Italia, 1994; Prime Minister of Italy, 1994. Member: Masonic lodge Propoganda 2, 1978 (disbanded, 1981); Confindustria (Italian Manufacturers' Association). Honorary degree in managerial engineering from Calabria University, 1991. Recipient: Cavaliere del Lavoro, 1977; named Man of the Year by the International Film and Programme Market of Television, Cable, and Satellite, 1991.

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## Bernstein, Sidney (1899–1993)

### British Media Executive

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Sidney Bernstein was one of Britain's first television "barons," the least flamboyant but probably the most enduringly influential of a select number of show business entrepreneurs who won the first independent

commercial television franchises in the 1950s. As founding chair of the London-based Granada Group, and later of its famous subsidiary the Granada Television Network Ltd., Bernstein earned a considerable

reputation as a man sensitive to the frequently contradictory ideals of popular entertainment and public service. Today, Granada Television continues to thrive, nearly 50 years after its creation, reconciling its twin roles as a powerful purveyor of regional culture and a majority participant in a vigorous national network. It is one of the most profitable and highly respected television companies in Europe and the only British Channel 3 contractor still surviving in anything like its original form. In 1956, the first year of Granada's transmissions, the Granada Group posted pretax profits of \$364,930 (£218,204); by 1980 that figure had grown to over \$72 million (£43 million), while the operating profit for 2001 was around \$334 million (£200 million). Sidney Bernstein, socialist millionaire and "benevolent despot," is the visionary who brought this empire into being. As a consequence of TV ownership deregulation, Granada had, by 2001, acquired control of seven major British independent television (ITV) licenses, covering 35.7 million viewers in over 60 percent of homes.

Bernstein had developed a considerable show business organization long before his controversial entry into television. Inheriting from his father a modest interest in a handful of small London cinemas while in his early 20s, he went on to build, with his brother Cecil, a successful circuit of some 60 cinemas and theaters on the way to creating a diversified leisure group with interests in publishing, property, motorway services, retail shops, and bowling alleys, as well as the hugely profitable business of television rentals. It is said he chose the name Granada for his cinema chain, and later for his television company, because its Spanish reference connoted sun-drenched gaiety and flamboyance, the qualities he sought to have associated with his entertainment establishments, which tended in the early days of cinema to be decorated in the Spanish baroque style. Another story suggests that Bernstein, rambling in Andalusia while looking for a name for his company, visited the city of Granada and its exotic splendor suggested the name. Always considering himself first and foremost an unashamed showman (an attitude underlined by his unqualified admiration for Phineas T. Barnum, whose portrait hung symbolically in various parts of the Granada empire), Bernstein nevertheless possessed a seriousness of purpose. He introduced serious foreign films into his cinemas at a time when distribution outlets for them were scarce and was a founder of the British Film Society. More significantly for the future of independent television, he fought a crusade to equate popularity and accessibility with quality and depth.

Bernstein had been aware of the commercial potential of television from an early stage but his socialist

principles prevented him from questioning the BBC's monopoly. From 1948 he had been lobbying the government to give the cinema industry the right to produce and transmit television programs, not to individual homes as the BBC did, but to collective audiences in cinemas and theaters. Indeed, the evidence of Granada Theatres Ltd. to the Beveridge Committee of Enquiry into Broadcasting (report published 1951) fully acknowledged the sanctity of the public monopoly principle with respect to domestic broadcasting. All the same, Granada and Bernstein were quick to overcome their reservations when the resulting Television Act of 1954 signaled the end of the BBC's monopoly and permitted private companies to apply for the first regional commercial franchises.

The London-based Granada group surprised the establishment by bidding, not for a lucrative contract in the affluent southeast, but for the northern weekday license centered on Manchester in the industrial north and embracing an area which then extended geographically right across the north of England and Wales. Granada's evidence to the Pilkington Committee of Enquiry into Broadcasting in 1961 justified this decision thus: "The North and London were the two biggest regions. Granada preferred the North because of its tradition of home-grown culture, and because it offered a chance to start a new creative industry away from the metropolitan atmosphere of London." Bernstein himself shrewdly put it another way:

the North is a closely knit, indigenous, industrial society; a homogeneous cultural group with a good record for music, theatre, literature and newspapers, not found elsewhere in this island, except perhaps in Scotland. Compare this with London and its suburbs—full of displaced persons. And, of course, if you look at a map of the concentration of population in the North and a rainfall map, you will see that the North is an ideal place for television.

Despite certain objections to a commercial franchise being awarded to a company with overtly left-wing leanings, Granada commenced broadcasting from Manchester in May 1956, proudly proclaiming its origins with the slogan "From the North" and labeling its new constituency "Granadaland." The first night's programming began, at Bernstein's insistence, with a homage to the BBC, whose public broadcasting pedigree he had always admired, and closed with a worthy, public-spirited statement of advertising policy that suggested an initial ambivalence surrounding the commercial imperative. Already by January 1957, Granada was responsible for all the top-ten rated programs receivable in its region, and, in 1962, it became the first station to screen the Beatles to the British television audience. Bernstein's company soon came to be re-

garded as one of the most progressive of the independent television contractors and more consistently identifiable than most with the aspirations of its region. Its reputation for quality popular drama in the long-running serial *Coronation Street* and for high-profile current affairs and documentary in programs such as *World in Action* and *What the Papers Say* gave it early prestige and aligned it unmistakably with the ideals of its founder.

In the 1970s, Lord Bernstein finally relinquished stewardship of the television company and moved over to the business side of the Granada Group. He retired, after a long career, in 1979, and died in 1993, aged 94.

TONY PEARSON

*See also* **British Program Production Companies**

**Sidney Lewis Bernstein.** Born in Ilford, Essex, England, January 30, 1899. Married: Sandra Malone (died, 1991); children: one son and two daughters. Inherited control of cinema chain from his father, 1921; founding member, British Film Society, 1924; introduced Saturday morning film matinees for children, 1927; acquired control of some 30 cinemas by late 1930s; chair, Granada Group, encompassing films, television, and publishing, 1934–79; film adviser to British Ministry of Information, 1940–45; posted to

British Embassy, Washington, D.C., 1942; chief of film section, allied forces in North Africa, 1942–43, allied forces in Europe, 1943–45; collaborated as producer with film director Alfred Hitchcock, 1948–52; founder, with his brother Cecil, of Granada Television, part of Granada Entertainment Group, 1956; governor, Sevenoaks School, 1964–74; lecturer on film and international affairs, New York University and Nuffield Foundation, 1965–72; president, Granada Group, 1979–93; chair, Royal Exchange Theatre, Manchester, 1983–93. Fellow, British Film Institute, 1984. Created Baron Bernstein of Leigh, 1969. Recipient: International Emmy Directorate Award, 1984. Died February 5, 1993.

**Films (producer)**

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## Bertelsmann AG

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Bertelsmann AG is one of the largest media corporations in the world (fourth as of 2002). Headquartered in Gutersloh, Germany, Bertelsmann is an international media conglomerate with major investments in book, magazine, and newspaper publishing, recordings and music publishing, broadcasting, online services, and other allied entertainment and information products. Bertelsmann operates in 56 countries, employs more than 80,000 people, and had revenues of over \$20 billion in 2001.

A privately owned corporation dating back to 1835, Bertelsmann was revived after World War II by Reinhard Mohn, a fifth-generation member of the founding family. In the 1950s, Bertelsmann established itself as a major publisher through its book clubs. The company's publishing interests were enhanced in the 1970s with the purchase of majority interest in Gruner +

Jahr, a publisher of German newspapers and magazines including such titles as *Stern* and *Geo*, and the 1986 purchase of Bantam Doubleday Dell, the second-largest trade publisher in the United States. The publishing division still contributes the majority of Bertelsmann's revenues and includes additional imprints such as Random House, Knopf, Vintage, and the Modern Library. Bertelsmann's book clubs include the Book of the Month Club, the Literary Guild, and Quality Paperback Book Club.

The primary corporate divisions of Bertelsmann include the RTL Group, with 23 television and 17 radio stations in Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Australia; Random House, the world's leading trade book publisher; Gruner + Jahr, Europe's largest magazine publisher; Bertelsmann Music Group (BMG), record labels and music publishing; Bertelsmann-

**BERTELSMANN**  
*media worldwide*

*Courtesy of Bertelsmann, Inc.*

Springer, professional media specializing in science, technology, and medicine; Arvato, a media services provider; and DirectGroup, a direct-to-customer e-commerce company for Bertelsmann's book and music clubs.

The RTL Group was created in 2000 as a merger of CLT-UFA and Pearson TV, and is Europe's largest broadcaster. RTL Group properties include four stations in Germany (RTL, RTL II, SuperRTL, and VOX), as well as M6 in France, Channel 5 in the United Kingdom, RTL Klub in Hungary, Antena 3 in Spain, RTL TVI in Belgium, and RTL 4 and Yorin in the Netherlands. RTL is also Europe's largest television content producer, including FremantleMedia and UFA Film and TV Production companies.

Ever since the German television market opened its previously public-based system to commercial competition in 1985, Bertelsmann's strong financial position in the media marketplace has allowed it to become one of the dominant forces in the commercial television market. Bertelsmann's pan-European approach has also led the company to pursue horizontal and vertical integration strategies in relation to content production,

broadcasting, and the Internet. The RTL Group houses a New Media division that runs websites and Internet advertising in Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

With the rise of the Internet and e-commerce in the mid- to late-1990s, Bertelsmann sought to exploit its various book, music, and e-commerce divisions by creating DirectGroup in 2000 to handle online distribution of its book and music properties. DirectGroup, which includes BMG Music Service and CDNOW, also purchased a 52 percent option in Napster, the online file-sharing service, that same year. In April 2002, Bertelsmann offered to take control of Napster with an estimated \$20 million buyout of the company (despite the fact that Napster was at that time embroiled in lawsuits with much of the music industry over copyright disputes). Although Bertelsmann had maintained a joint-ownership stake in AOL Europe, it divested those interests in early 2002 by selling to AOL Time Warner. Bertelsmann's corporate strategy nevertheless continues to emphasize the potential for online marketing and distribution of its enormous media holdings.

JEFFREY P. JONES

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## Berton, Pierre (1920– )

Canadian Journalist, Broadcast Personality

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Pierre Berton is one of Canada's best-known personalities and arguably Canada's best-known living writer. He has also been an important television presence since the earliest days of Canadian television. For more than 30 years, he was rarely absent from the nation's television screens, and by the 1970s he was correctly described as "clearly Canada's best-known and most respected TV public affairs personality" by Warner Troyer in *The Sound and the Fury: An Anecdotal History of Canadian Broadcasting*. Berton was also

one of most highly paid personalities. During his career as a columnist and commentator, he has been a tireless defender of public broadcasting and the importance of Canadian content. In all of his many public roles, he has been a prodigious popularizer of the Canadian experience. He may be remembered most for his many books, mostly popular histories, but he has long had an arresting television presence.

Berton's first TV appearance was probably in 1952, as a panelist on *Court of Opinion*, soon after he arrived

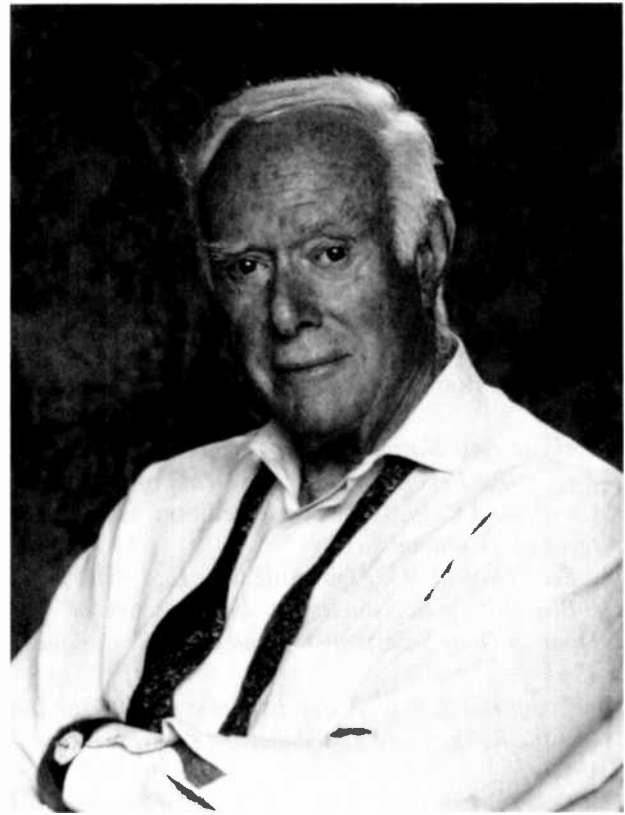
in Toronto from Vancouver, where he got his start as a student newspaper editor (*The Ubysssey*) and daily newspaper writer. Always well informed and opinionated, he provided a strong journalistic thrust to various CBC public affairs programs. In 1957 he became the host of the interview show *Close-Up* and joined the panel of *Front Page Challenge*, a long-running program that featured "mystery guests." The guests were connected with stories in the news, and the task of the panel was to identify them by asking questions and then to conduct a brief interview with the guest. After many years on the air, the program was finally canceled in 1995. In 1963, on the newly formed private network CTV, Berton premiered *The Pierre Berton Show* (also known as the *Pierre Berton Hour*), another talk show, which ran until 1973.

Berton's commitment to popular history led in 1974 to *My Canada* on a new, private television service, Global. The program made use of his formidable talents as a storyteller in order to present Canadian history to viewers. The program had few props and relied on Berton's ability to hold an audience with the story. Later, from 1986 to 1987, he was host of CBC Television's *Heritage Theatre*, a series of dramatizations of true Canadian stories.

Among Berton's major television triumphs was the 1974 CBC production of *The National Dream*. Based on his books, *The National Dream* and *The Last Spike*, the drama-documentary series consisted of eight hour-long programs on the opening of the Canadian west and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Berton wrote the series outline and served as on-air guide to the documentary and drama segments. The series premiered at 9:00 P.M., Sunday, March 3, 1974, and had 3.6 million viewers, a very large audience in English-speaking Canada, where, at that time, the average audience was 3.1 million. More recently, Berton's popular histories were an important resource for the monumental TV series *Canada: A People's History*, broadcast by the CBC (2000–2002). Two of Berton's titles, *The Invasion of Canada, 1812–13* and *Flames Across the Border, 1813–14*, are cited on the website for the series.

Over the course of his career, Berton has made a major contribution to Canadian television. Not surprisingly, he has been an ardent champion of public broadcasting and the CBC. Closely involved with the Canadian Radio and Television League, he helped found a successor organization, the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, which has been a critical supporter of the CBC and Canadian production. As a Canadian cultural nationalist, Berton has played a most notable role in the development of a distinctly Canadian approach to television.

FREDERICK J. FLETCHER AND ROBERT EVERETT



Pierre Berton.  
Photo courtesy of Pierre Berton

#### *See also Canada: A Peoples' History*

**Pierre Berton.** Born in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, Canada, July 12, 1920. Married: Janet; six children. Began career as reporter for the *Vancouver News Herald*, from 1942, and *Vancouver Sun*, 1945–47; managing editor, *Maclean's* magazine, 1947; editor/columnist, *Toronto Star* newspaper, 1958–62; writer of documentaries and plays for TV, film, and radio, as well as revue sketches and musical comedy for theater; author of more than 40 books. Member: Canadian News Hall of Fame. Recipient: Companion of the Order of Canada, three Governor General Awards for Creative Nonfiction; two National Newspaper Awards; two ACTRA Awards for broadcasting.

#### Television Series (selected)

1957–95	<i>Front Page Challenge</i> (weekly panelist)
1957–63	<i>Close-Up</i> (host)
1963–73	<i>The Pierre Berton Show</i> (host)
1974	<i>The National Dream</i> (writer/narrator)
1976	<i>Greenfell</i>
1979	<i>The Dionne Quintuplets</i> (writer)
1984–87	<i>Heritage Theatre</i> (story editor/host)



Berton, Pierre

1985 *Spirit of Batoche*  
1988 *The Secret of My Success*  
(writer/interviewer)

#### Film

*Klondike* (writer), 1960.

#### Publications (selected)

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*The Klondike Fever: The Life and Death of the Last Great Gold Rush*, 1958; revised edition, as *Adventures of a Columnist*, 1960  
*The Secret World of Og* (juvenile fiction), 1961  
*The Big Sell: An Introduction to the Black Arts of Door-to-Door Salesmanship and Other Techniques*, 1963  
*The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age*, 1965  
*The Cool, Crazy, Committed World of the Sixties: Twenty-one Television Encounters*, 1965  
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*Drifting Home*, 1973  
*The National Dream: The Great Railway, 1871–1881*, 1974  
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*The Impossible Railway: The Building of the Canadian Pacific*, 1984  
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*The Great Depression, 1929–1939*, 1990  
*Niagara: A History of the Falls*, 1992  
*My Times: Living with History, 1947–1995*, 1995  
*Farewell to the Twentieth Century*, 1996  
*1967: The Last Good Year*, 1997  
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## Betacam

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The rise and fall of Sony's Betacam as a dominant technology worldwide for more than two decades provides an opportunity to consider a range of technologies, industrial practices, and cultural factors in the development of television. Faced with the widespread

adoption of new digital formats, Sony finally discontinued manufacturing Betacam SP camcorders in the fall of 2001, but only after having sold 450,000 of these high-end units internationally. This market reach and longevity stand as anomalies in an industry de-

fined by technical incompatibilities and rapid obsolescence.

After its introduction in 1981, Betacam became the standard professional field camera for location video work. Its adoption on a wide scale was no small accomplishment, given the brutal competition that characterized the "format wars" in television equipment manufacturing—a high-stakes, capital-intensive struggle that produced scores of competing and incompatible high-end recording formats in less than a decade. The Panasonic Recam, Bosch QuarterCam, and RCA Hawkeye "alternatives" all proved costly losers to Sony in the race for the first successful broadcast-quality "camcorder," a single unit containing both camera and videocassette recorder.

Before Betacam, electronic news-gathering (ENG) utilized the  $\frac{3}{4}$ " U-matic cassette format introduced in 1973. While  $\frac{3}{4}$ " tape economies made 16mm news-film obsolete in the late 1970s, the video format was actually a step backward in terms of portability and ease of use. Whereas 16mm news-film cameras such as the CPI6R combined a magnetic sound-recording head within the camera head,  $\frac{3}{4}$ " videotape shooting required a separate video cameraperson, sound recordist, and videocassette recorder (VCR) operator—all tethered together by multipin camera/sound cables in a cumbersome relationship that made moving shots extremely difficult. The 20- to 30-pound weight of each loaded VCR and camera in the tethered system of the late 1970s made logistics and transportation crucial in any location news assignment. Add to this the fact that  $\frac{3}{4}$ " videotape was only marginally "broadcastable," and the system's limitations are apparent. While Ampex marketed a true broadcast-quality portable 1" system in the early 1980s (the 53-pound VPR-20) and producers had used AC-powered 1" type-C VTRs housed in trucks in the field, neither proved adequate solutions for those who sought to cover fast-breaking, spontaneous stories without being intrusive. At a mere 17.7 pounds, and in a configuration that combined both  $\frac{1}{2}$ " VCR and camera in an integrated unit on the shoulder of a single camera operator, the BVW-1 Betacam was widely hailed as a revolution.

Betacam's significance came in three areas: in new technologies that the format introduced; in broader technical improvements that Betacam simply incorporated; and in a number of new practices that developed alongside widespread adoption of the format. First, Betacam's defining edge resulted from rejecting the dominant system of "composite" recording—whereby electronic information is recorded as part of *one* combined signal. Betacam was engineered around "component" recording. By recording and manipulating

luminance (brightness) and chrominance (color) information separately throughout the production process, component recording aimed to solve one of the built-in flaws of the U.S. NTSC broadcast standard. Historically, NTSC was standardized for black-and-white recording and was more than adequate for live transmission. However, as approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the late 1940s, color was a troubling afterthought for the NTSC system. Engineers struggled to fit color information onto its existing and very limited black-and-white composite signal. The resulting compromise meant that interference between chroma and luminance, and color instability due to multiple generations or amplifications, became synonymous with the NTSC standard. Component engineers argued that the production process should not remain hostage to the limited bandwidth of broadcasters but could take advantage of superior—even if incompatible—alternatives, as long as the end product was compressed back to NTSC before broadcasting. Component recording, then, emerged as a production, rather than transmission, format. By maintaining the integrity of signal components throughout production, Betacam eliminated the cross-interference that degrades NTSC composite image quality, even as Sony hyped a "field look" that rivaled 1" or 2" "studio quality."

Apart from logistical benefits that came with Betacam's size and portability, and the enhancements that came with its shift to component processing, the camcorders that followed the BVW-1 and BVW-3 became, in the next 15 years, a veritable index of historical improvements in video technology. In 1983, for example, NEC first introduced charged coupled device (CCD) camera sensors. These solid-state chips eliminated the aberrations of traditional camera pick-up "tubes": blooming, burning, image variability, bulkiness, and high light levels. It was Sony, however, that quickly exploited the breakthrough. Upgraded with CCDs, Betacams became even smaller, yet allowed videographers film-quality contrast at extremely low light levels. Sony made the format "dockable" with high-end Ikegami cameras, added metal tape and the processing designation "SP" (for superior performance), and increased the camera resolution to 700+ lines. Betacam SP's visual sophistication made it the dominant rental camera in commercial production in the 1990s. The format was widely used in the field, in multicamera shoots, and in microwave uplinks for live news coverage.

Betacam also led to important changes in video postproduction. First, the advantages of component recording were only fully realized in editing systems that were also entirely component. While the shift was

expensive, the 1980s saw widespread changeover to all-component processing in editing suites across the United States. Second, the emergence of Betacam encouraged the development of "interformat" editing systems as well. Before Betacam, system source decks and master recorders typically utilized the same format. After the arrival of Betacam source tapes that equaled the quality of 1" online systems, however, "bumping" tapes up to 1" made no sense, given the inevitable loss in quality that resulted from copying. Third-party engineers quickly customized interformat suites that could exploit first-generation Betacam quality for 1" program masters. In 1994 Sony introduced Digital Betacam in order to compete with Panasonic's D-3 and D-5 digital tape formats, and analysts speculated that Sony's existing market share and Betacam "branding" would ensure the format's future.

While Betacam can be seen as a barometer of technical developments, the unit is also symptomatic of aesthetic changes in the medium. Betacam emerged along with a number of new genres in the late 1980s. Its accessible "broadcast quality" gave half-hour "infomercials" the affordable wall-to-wall quality control that the form needed. Its extreme low-light capability provided the gritty street look of the new "reality" shows that emerged from 1988 to 1990 (*COPS*, *Rescue 911*, *America's Most Wanted*). Its portability and collapsed crew size provided ample fragmentary fodder for the new tabloid shows (*Hard Copy*, *A Current Affair*). Even "higher" journalistic forms that disdained the tabloids—such as the prime-time news magazines that experienced explosive growth in the early to mid-1990s (*First Person*, *20/20*, *Dateline*)—made Betacam a bottom-line workhorse to fill prime-time hours. When several Betacams were stolen from the frenzied corps that covered the O.J. Simpson trial in 1995, police quickly theorized that the gear—essentially low-cost studios-in-a-package—was probably already being used in the pornographic video industry that flourished in the San Fernando Valley area near Los Angeles. Technologies do not "cause" changes in narrative or genre, but Betacam's proliferation in the 1980s and 1990s, alongside economic and institutional shifts, suggests that the system helped comprise the technical preconditions for one of television's most volatile stylistic periods.

The fate and decline of analog Betacam was tied to the development of three new and alternative imaging systems, and to new industrial practices that accompanied each: "DV" formats, digital television, and "24p." From 1996 to 2001, DV, DVCAM, and DVCPRO emerged as the first widely successful digital recording formats for consumer and industrial use, although DV was never intended (by Sony) as a replacement for Be-

tacam. DV's 4:1:1 compression scheme created more electronic "artifacts," or image errors, than Betacam's 4:2:2 compression and superior bandwidth. However, television stations worldwide immediately began adopting DVCAM and DVCPRO as replacements for their workhorse Betacam systems. At first, deployment of the new, small, digital formats was met with the standard benchmark expectations: were these technologies "as good as" or "better than Beta SP?" But such questions (like the earlier network "broadcast quality" barrier) proved irrelevant in the highly competitive, contemporary television marketplace. The performance-to-cost ratio of the new digital formats was simply impossible for Betacam's costly but proven quality to match.

Sony had weathered challenges from small-format alternatives before—with the use of Hi8mm by network news divisions in the 1991 Gulf War and after; and the use of small-format DV in the second coming of "reality" television that began in the late 1990s. However, the death knell may have finally come when the cable news channel CNN announced in May 2001 that it would no longer purchase \$35,000 Betacam SX camcorders for its ENG crews. In opting instead for Sony's \$3,500 "industrial" (prosumer) DSR150 DVCAM format cameras, CNN boasted of its plans to shift to two-person, rather than three-person, crews, helmed by new "multitalented" journalists who would somehow be able to shoot images first-person as well as report. Cynics of the stunt pointed out that the mini-camcorders brought with them immense cost savings; something much-needed at CNN in the fiscal crisis following the AOL Time Warner merger, after which CNN laid off 400 employees. Advocating for their professional constituencies, the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) and other labor representatives condemned the move, but it was clear that the DV technologies had a compelling logic in television's new industrial-economic order.

Whereas news operations opted for "lower" digital alternatives, prime-time dramas went to higher-resolution alternatives—to HDCAM and "1080i" (1,080 lines interlaced) to meet the new standards mandated for "digital television" by the FCC. Complicating matters further still, television's film origination community in Hollywood argued for its almost centuries-old frame rate (24fps) and began shifting productions from film to digital "24pHD" in 2000 and 2001. If HDTV eclipses Betacam's lower resolution, the current groundswell of support for the 24fps digital format will arguably complete the obsolescence of 30fps Betacam.

In retrospect, Betacam has played an important role

in the history of television technologies, in no small measure because of the integral role it played in altering and standardizing production methods and aesthetic practices over a 20-year period.

JOHN THORNTON CALDWELL

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## Betamax Case

### U.S. Legal Decision

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*Universal City Studios, Inc. et al. v. Sony Corporation of America Inc. et al.*, commonly known as the Betamax case, was the first concerted legal response of the U.S. film industry to the home video revolution. After nearly a decade of announcements and false starts by one U.S. company or another, Sony, the Japanese electronics manufacturing giant, introduced its Betamax video tape recorder to the U.S. consumer market in early 1976 at an affordable price. In its marketing strategy Sony promoted the machine's ability to "time shift" programming—that is, to record a television program off the air even while watching another show on a different channel.

The plaintiffs, Universal and Walt Disney Productions on behalf of the Hollywood majors, charged that the ability of the Betamax to copy programming off air was an infringement of copyright and sought to halt the sale of the machines. The studios were ostensibly trying to protect film and television producers from the economic consequences of unauthorized mass duplication and distribution. However, Universal might have also wanted to prevent Betamax from capturing a significant segment of the fledgling home video market before Universal's parent company, MCA, could introduce its DiscoVision laserdisc system, which was to be scheduled for test marketing in the fall of 1977.

The Betamax case was filed in the U.S. Federal District Court of Los Angeles in November 1976 and went to trial on January 30, 1979. In its defense, Sony asserted that a consumer had the absolute right to record

programs at home for private use. It drew an analogy to the audio cassette recorder, which was introduced in the 1960s and had made music tapers out of millions of American teenagers. Although the practice had not been tested in the courts, Sony believed a tradition had been established.

Handing down its decision in October 1979, the U.S. District Court ruled in favor of Sony, stating that taping off air for entertainment or time shifting constituted fair use; that copying an entire program also qualified as fair use; that set manufacturers could profit from the sale of VCRs; and that the plaintiffs did not prove that any of the above practices constituted economic harm to the motion picture industry.

These rulings pertained to the court's interpretation of the fair use doctrine as it applied to consumers. Addressing the matter of retailing of videocassettes, the court let stand the First Sale Doctrine of the 1976 Copyright Act, which stated that the first purchaser of a copyrighted work (e.g., a motion picture on videocassette) could use it in any way the purchaser saw fit as long as copyright was not violated by illegal duplication, etc. This right extended to the rental of videocassettes purchased from Hollywood studios. Until the arrival of the VCR, film companies had received a portion of the box office or a fee each time one of their films was shown. As holders of copyright on their pictures, the studios were legally entitled to these forms of remuneration. Since the court's interpretation of the First Sale Doctrine threatened to undermine Holly-

wood's control over the use of its product, Universal appealed the decision.

Although the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the lower court's decision in October 1981, the decision, if it were to stand, would have been impossible to enforce. The home video market had expanded enormously since the start of the case; annual VCR sales had increased from 30,000 sets in 1976 to 1.4 million in 1981. Meanwhile, Sony lost the lead to its Japanese rival Matsushita, which introduced a competing format—VHS (for "video home system")—recorder in 1977. Normally, Sony and Matsushita cross-licensed recording and playback equipment, but for the home video market, the two Japanese companies went their separate ways by marketing systems that were incompatible with one another. (The VHS cassette was larger than the Beta and had a longer recording capability.) VHS overtook Beta as the preferred format for home video, and by 1981 more than six Japanese manufacturers had entered the business both in their own names and as suppliers of VHS machines to U.S. firms. Starting out at around \$1,300, the price of the machine had been dropping steadily, enabling it to become a standard appliance for most middle-class Americans.

The Betamax case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reversed the appeals court decision on January 17, 1984. By 1986 VCRs had been installed in 50 percent of American homes, and annual videocassettes sales surpassed the theatrical box office. At first, the major studios believed that the only logical way to market videocassettes was direct sales, reasoning that consumers wanted to buy cassettes and create

"libraries" in much the same way as they acquired record albums. However, people preferred renting to buying, and as the situation stood, retailers and not film producers initially wrung most of the profits from the market. After purchasing a cassette for around \$40 wholesale, a retailer could rent it over and over at a nominal charge. In contrast, the film company's profit would be small, less than a few dollars after materials, duplication, and distribution costs had been covered.

In their struggle with retailers to capture a dominant share of the home video market, the major Hollywood companies formulated a two-tiered pricing policy. For the first six months after a new movie went on sale, it would be priced relatively high on the assumption that the overwhelming majority of transactions would consist of sales to video stores for rental purposes. Then as demand began to ebb, the same movie would be reissued at a much lower price to stimulate home sales. The majors used similar strategies overseas and soon became the principal beneficiaries of the new distribution technology.

TINO BALIO

See also **Time Shifting; Videocassette; Videotape**

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## Beulah

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Beulah*, the first nationally broadcast weekly television series starring an African American in the leading role, ran on ABC from 1950 to 1953. The role had originally been created by white male actor Marlin Hurt for the *Fibber McGee and Molly* radio program, and the character was spun off onto "her" own radio show in 1945. After Hurt's untimely death in 1946, Hattie McDaniel played the role on radio until her death in 1953. Ethel Waters played the character on television during its first two seasons and Louise Beavers in its third year.

A half-hour situation comedy, the program revolved around the whimsical antics of a middle-aged black domestic, Beulah, the so-called queen of the kitchen, and the white family for whom she worked—Harry and Alice Henderson and their young son, Donnie. Beulah's boyfriend Bill Jackson ran a fix-it shop but managed to spend most of his time hanging around Beulah's kitchen. Beulah's other black companion was Oriole, a feather-brained maid who worked for the white family next door. Storylines tended to involve Beulah coming



*Beulah*, Louise Beavers, 1950–53.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

to the rescue of her employers, by providing a great spread of Southern cuisine to impress Mr. Henderson's business clients, teaching the awkward Donnie how to dance jive and impress the girls, or saving the Hendersons' stale marriage. Beulah's other major obsession was trying to get Bill to agree to marry her. A regular comedic feature of the show involved Bill hyperbolically proclaiming his devotion to Beulah, while always finding a reason why the two could not wed just yet.

As one of the very few images of African Americans on prime-time television in this period, the program came in for a certain amount of criticism for perpetuating comic black stereotypes. The show was panned in the *New York Times* and condemned by widely syndicated television critic John Crosby, who singled out Ethel Waters for censure. Waters achieved great renown as a vocalist, an actress (particularly for her work in the Broadway production, *A Member of the Wedding*), and the author of a brutally honest rags-to-riches autobiography. Yet her work in *Beulah* was considered by Crosby, and some critics in the black press, as a betrayal of her other exemplary accomplishments. Actor Bud Harris, who had been contracted to play the role of Bill, quit the series a few months into its run, complaining that the show's writers were forcing him

to play the character as an "Uncle Tom" and engage in comic activity he found degrading to his race.

Despite these examples of controversy, *Beulah* never generated the amount of heated debate that *Amos 'n' Andy* provoked. The latter series joined the television airways a year after *Beulah* and became a flashpoint for organized protest. At its June 1951 annual convention, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People condemned both shows for depicting black people in a derogatory manner that "tends to strengthen the conclusion among uninformed or prejudiced peoples that Negroes and other minorities are inferior, lazy, dumb, and dishonest." The organization, however, chose to engage in a consumer boycott only of *Amos 'n' Andy's* sponsor, and not Procter and Gamble, the sponsor of *Beulah*.

*Beulah* is significant in that it was part of a phenomenon in early entertainment television programming that saw more diversity in ethnic and racial depictions than would be seen again at any time until the late 1960s. The portrayals may have been stereotyped—as they were in other early 1950s ethnic sitcoms such as *The Goldbergs* and *Life with Luigi*—but at least African Americans were visible in prime-time hours. After *Beulah* left the air in September 1953, no program would star a black woman again until 15 years later in 1968, when *Julia* appeared.

ANIKO BODROGHKOZY

### See also Waters, Ethel

#### Cast

Beulah (1950–52)	Ethel Waters
Beulah (1952–53)	Louise Beavers
Harry Henderson (1950–52)	William Post, Jr.
Harry Henderson (1952–53)	David Bruce
Alice Henderson (1950–52)	Ginger Jones
Alice Henderson (1952–53)	Jane Frazee
Donnie Henderson (1950–52)	Clifford Sales
Donnie Henderson (1952–53)	Stuffy Singer
Oriole (1950–52)	Butterfly McQueen
Oriole (1952–53)	Ruby Dandridge
Bill Jackson (1950–51)	Percy (Bud) Harris
Bill Jackson (1951–52)	Dooley Wilson
Bill Jackson (1952–53)	Ernest Whitman
Alice's Mother	Madge Blake
Harry's Mother	Ruth Robinson

#### Producer

Roland Reed

#### Programming History

ABC

October 1950–September 1953 Tuesday 7:30–8:00

### Further Reading

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## Beverly Hillbillies, The

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71, CBS) was the brainchild of Paul Henning, the cracker-barrel surrealist also responsible for *Petticoat Junction*, *The Real McCoys*, and, notably, *Green Acres*. Certainly the most popular sitcom in television history, and quite possibly the most successful network series ever, *The Beverly Hillbillies* ran more than 200 episodes, clocking in as the top-rated show of its premier season and remaining in the top ten throughout its nine-year tenure. Individual episodes almost always placed in the Nielsen Top 20 and, on occasion, rivaled the ratings of Super Bowls.

As explained in the opening montage and cadenced theme song, Jed Clampett (Buddy Ebsen) is an Ozarks mountaineer who, through epic fortuity and sheer ineptitude rather than the Protestant work ethic, falls into unfathomable wealth with the discovery of oil beneath his worthless Arcadian scrub oak. When a roving petrochemical concern gets wind, they buy him out for \$25 million, whereupon town sophisticate Cousin Pearl (Bea Benaderet) convinces him fabled Beverly Hills might provide a suitable beau for his daughter Elly May (Donna Douglas) and career opportunities for his wayward nephew Jethro Bodine (Max Baer Jr.). Taking their cue from *The Grapes of Wrath* (John Steinbeck via John Ford), they load up the truck and move to Beverly Hills, California—replete with a rocking chair up top to house Granny (Irene Ryan), the family's reluctant matriarch.

Despite his mystification at the newfangled trappings of luxury, and the craven depths to which almost everyone around him sinks, Jed remains a bastion of homespun wisdom—very much the Lincolnesque backroads scholar. Virtually recycling his George Russell character, the sidekick in Disney's *Davy Crockett* series from the mid-1950s, Ebsen eventually carried the Lincoln conceit over into his private life, authoring

a stage play in 1966 titled *The Champagne Generation*, in which he starred as the late president. (When Nancy Kulp, the birdwatching Vassar grad Miss Jane Hathaway, ran for a Congressional seat from Pennsylvania in the early 1980s, she lost only when Buddy Ebsen, a lifelong Republican, stepped in to actively campaign against her.)

Despite the silliness of much of its humor, *The Beverly Hillbillies* managed to bolster its credibility among its core audience with a kind of hillbilly authenticity. Bluegrass avatars Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs were enlisted for the theme song, which quickly became a number one hit on country-western charts, and they frequently appeared on the show as themselves (long before their music was appropriated for its native exoticism by the film *Bonnie and Clyde*). Cousin Pearl was a textbook recreation of Grand Ol' Opry mainstay Minnie Pearl, and Roy Clarke was an occasional guest before inheriting the show's constituency with his 20-year stint as host of *Hee Haw*. Even the series name was taken from a bluegrass band of the 1930s. And, of course, the characters of Jethro, Elly Mae, and Granny seemed to borrow more than casually from Li'l Abner, Daisy May, and Mammy Yokum, respectively.

Yet, turning up in the fall of 1962 as they did, the paradigmatic arrivistes, the Clampetts seemed to mirror almost perfectly another eccentric clan of uninvited backwoods arrivals, one which was thrust into the national spotlight—decisively and distastefully—with the Kennedy assassination. Suddenly, instead of glamorous Brahmins dictating the national agenda, the United States was headed by Texas crackers straight off the farm (whose political fortunes could be traced back to Texas Tea of their own). And long before Lyndon Johnson was known for his consummate political savvy and rattlesnake ruthlessness, he entered the pop-





*The Beverly Hillbillies*, Buddy Ebsen, Donna Douglas, Irene Ryan, Max Baer Jr., 1962–71.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



## Beverly Hillbillies, The

ular culture as a national embarrassment, remembered and endlessly ridiculed for turning off the lights in the White House to save electricity, or showing an incredulous nation his gallbladder scar.

By extension, the show became in certain quarters something of a public embarrassment as well, emblematic of the nation's having slipped another notch into pandering anti-intellectualism, a pervasive "bubbling crude" that stained all in its wake. By the time television had caught up with the changing times—the fall of 1971—youth culture and its built-in consumer demographic looked far more appealing to advertisers on the professional rut, and *The Beverly Hillbillies*, while still vastly successful, was caught in the same network purge that claimed Jackie Gleason, Red Skelton, and rural mainstays such as *Mayberry RFD* and Henning's own *Green Acres*. This was the same changing of the guard that ushered in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, and, ostensibly, social realism and the death of the 1960s. A made-for-television movie about *The Beverly Hillbillies* appeared on CBS in 1981, without Baer, and the series was later remade as a feature film in 1993 by the makers of *Wayne's World*, but neither did justice to the original.

PAUL CULLUM

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings**

### Cast

Jed Clampett	Buddy Ebsen
Daisy Moses (Granny)	Irene Ryan
Elly May Clampett	Donna Douglas
Jethro Bodine	Max Baer Jr.
Milburn Drysdale	Raymond Bailey
Jane Hathaway	Nancy Kulp
Cousin Pearl Bodine (1962–63)	Bea Benaderet
Mrs. Margaret Drysdale (1962–69)	Harriet MacGibbon
Jethrene Bodine (1962–63)	Max Baer Jr.
John Brewster (1962–66)	Frank Wilcox
Edythe Brewster (1965–66)	Lisa Seagram
Jasper DePew (1962–63)	Phil Gordon
Ravenswood, the butler (1962–65)	Arthur Gould Porter
Marie, the maid (1962–63)	Sirry Steffen
Sonny Drysdale (1962)	Louis Nye
Janet Trego (1963–65)	Sharon Tate

Lawrence Chapman (1964–67)	Milton Frome
Studio Guard (1964–66)	Ray Kellogg
John Cushing (1964–67)	Roy Roberts
Dash Riprock (nee Homer Noodleman)(1965–69)	Larry Pennell
Homer Cratchit (1968–71)	Percy Helton
Elverna Bradshaw (1969–71)	Elvia Allman
Shorty Kellems (1969–71)	George "Shug" Fisher
Miss Switzer (1969–70)	Judy Jordan
Helen Thompson (1969–71)	Danielle Mardi
Miss Leeds (1969)	Judy McConnell
Susan Graham (1969–71)	Mady Maguire
Gloria Buckles (1969–71)	Bettina Brenna
Shifty Shafer (1969–71)	Phil Silvers
Flo Shafer (1969–71)	Kathleen Freeman
Joy Devine (1970–71)	Diana Bartlett
Mark Templeton (1970–71)	Roger Torrey

### Producers

Paul Henning, Al Simon, Joseph DePew, Mark Tuttle

### Programming History

216 episodes	
CBS	
September 1962–September 1964	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
September 1964–September 1968	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
September 1968–September 1969	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
September 1969–September 1970	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
September 1970–September 1971	Tuesday 7:30–8:00

### Further Reading

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- Story, David, *America on the Rerun: TV Shows That Never Die*, Secaucus, New Jersey: Carol, 1993

# Beverly Hills 90210

## U.S. Serial Drama

Despite a slow start in its inaugural season on FOX in fall 1990, *Beverly Hills 90210* quickly became an important fixture on the network and in the popular discourse of adolescents and young adults. In that first season the show's main characters (Dylan, Kelly, Donna, Steve, David, Andrea, and twins Brandon and Brenda) all attended West Beverly Hills High School (zip code 90210). Transplants from Minneapolis, Minnesota, Brandon and Brenda Walsh and their parents were a stable nuclear family with strong values; their home was a safe haven for the whole gang and the center of much of the drama during the early years of the program. By its third season, the show's popularity had soared, and in 1993 it became available in syndication both in the United States and internationally. By 1996 the teenage characters in this highly rated show had graduated from high school; in subsequent seasons some went on to attend, and then graduate from, fictional California University. Over the history of the program, a number of original cast members left the program and new characters were introduced. Despite such changes, *Beverly Hills 90210* continually attracted a loyal viewership for ten seasons.

Produced by Aaron Spelling, who has seemed to have his finger on the pulse of popular television taste since the 1960s, *Beverly Hills 90210* was the first in a string of programs on FOX geared toward adolescent and young adult audiences. As fans were attracted to the show's glamour and attention to certain issues, *90210*'s popularity soared. Cast members were interviewed regularly on other television programs and in such magazines as *TV Guide*, *Seventeen*, *Rolling Stone*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*. Soon, *Beverly Hills 90210* dolls, books, and fan clubs were everywhere. The show set clothing and hairstyle trends for both male and female youth. Young women regularly sent letters to the character Brenda, asking her advice on their dating and other personal problems. Addressing topics of concern to adolescents in a way unlike any other teen drama to date, the series was soon taken seriously by parents, educators, and scholars as well. Plots involved learning disabilities, prejudice, divorce, date rape, sexuality, alcoholism, and drug use. In the first season it was revealed that one of the main characters, Dylan, had recurring drug and alcohol problems, while another, Kelly, had a drug- and

alcohol-abusing mother in recovery. Donna overcame a learning disability, and several others struggled through parental divorce and remarriage. Many of the show's adolescent characters were sexually active, and issues concerning safe sex and contraception were openly discussed on the program.

However, not everyone considered *90210* realistic. Some critics charged that the show offered unreal or stereotypical representations. The characters were almost all white and upper class. Nonwhites appeared almost exclusively in episodes dealing with prejudice or difference. They were also almost always lower income, from a zip code outside Beverly Hills. Of the main characters, Andrea was the only Jewish female, and she was portrayed as the brainy, less-attractive female, whereas Kelly, Donna, and Brenda were sexier and less intellectual. Most viewers could not identify with the high-income, mostly WASP background of the Beverly Hills teens. Yet in spite of criticisms and differences, *Beverly Hills 90210* retained a diverse youth audience.

Hoping to capitalize on the early success of *90210*, other FOX-Spelling collaborations followed. The first, *The Heights*, which was less glamorous but featured the same age group, did not last. Neither did the later *Models, Inc.*, set in the fashion industry, nor *Malibu Shores*, another show about rich adolescents, which lasted only nine episodes in 1996. However, *90201* spin-off *Melrose Place*, did become a hit. That program, also set in southern California, featured a cast in their 20s, working on careers and later-life issues such as marriage and divorce. *Melrose Place* differed from *Beverly Hills 90210* by being far less sincere or moralistic in treating issues. *Melrose Place* relationships and plots were more sensationalized, in a manner reminiscent of early 1980s prime-time serials, *Dynasty* and *Dallas*.

The rise of *Beverly Hills 90210* and its ilk coincided with changes in broadcast network television in an era of increased competition from cable television. Network program "narrowcasting" to the youth market represented an attempt to remain competitive with other television distribution outlets. It also signaled a renewed effort to take seriously issues of importance to young people, a large and lucrative niche market.

KATHERINE FRY



*Beverly Hills, 90210*, 1990–2000; Shannen Doherty, Luke Perry, Tori Spelling, Brian Austin Green, Jennie Garth, Jason Priestley, Gabrielle Carteris, Ian Ziering, 1991.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

**Cast**

- |                                     |                    |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Brandon Walsh (1990–98)             | Jason Priestley    |
| Brenda Walsh (1990–94)              | Shannen Doherty    |
| Kelly Taylor                        | Jennie Garth       |
| Donna Martin                        | Tori Spelling      |
| Dylan McKay (1990–95,<br>1998–2000) | Luke Perry         |
| Steve Sanders                       | Ian Ziering        |
| Andrea Zuckermann<br>(1990–95)      | Gabrielle Carteris |
| David Silver                        | Brian Austin Green |
| Scott Scanlon (1990–91)             | Douglas Emerson    |
| Jim Walsh (1990–95)                 | James Eckhouse     |
| Cindy Walsh (1990–95)               | Carol Potter       |
| Nataniel "Nat" Buccigio             | Joe E. Tata        |
| Clare Arnold (1993–97)              | Kathleen Robertson |

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Valerie Malone (1994–98)  | Tiffani-Amber Thiessen |
| Jesse Vasquez (1994–95)   | Mark D. Espinoza       |
| Ray Pruitt (1994–96)      | Jamie Walters          |
| Jackie Taylor             | Ann Gillespie          |
| Mel Silver                | Matthew Laurance       |
| Felice Martin (1991–2000) | Katherine Cannon       |
| Carly Molloy (1997)       | Hilary Swank           |
| Noah Hunter (1998–2000)   | Vincent Young          |
| Janet Sosna (1998–2000)   | Lindsay Price          |
| Matt Durning (1998–2000)  | Daniel Cosgrove        |
| Gina Kincaid (1998–99)    | Vanessa Marcil         |

**Producers**

Jessica Klein, Larry Mollin, Jason Priestley, Aaron Spelling, E. Duke Vincent, Paul Waigner, Steve Wasserman

**Programming History**

FOX	
October 1990–August 1992	Thursday 9:00–10:00
July 1992–May 1993	Wednesday 8:00–9:00
June 1993–August 1993	Tuesday 8:00–9:00
September 1993–May 2000	Wednesday 8:00–9:00

**Further Reading**

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- Freeman, Mike, "Worldvision Pitches Reps on Strength of 90210," *Broadcasting & Cable* (March 22, 1993)
- Rapping, Elayne, "The Year of the Young," *The Progressive* (February 1993)
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# Bewitched

U.S. Situation Comedy

*Bewitched*, a fantasy situation comedy featuring the suburban life of a witch housewife married to a mortal, aired on ABC from 1964 to 1972. In its first season, it was the highest-rated new series, and for its first five seasons, the program found itself consistently in

Nielsen's top 12. By 1968 its reruns had sold to ABC for \$9 million.

Set in Westport, Connecticut, *Bewitched* chronicles the difficulties Samantha (Elizabeth Montgomery) has negotiating between her supernatural powers and her

role as the suburban housewife of advertising executive Darrin Stevens (Dick York, replaced by Dick Sargent after the fifth season). Other major characters include Samantha's mother, Endora (Agnes Moorehead), who enjoys employing meddling witchcraft to complicate her daughter's marriage; a suspicious neighbor named Gladys Kravitz (Alice Pearce, later replaced by Sandra Gould); and Darrin's neurotic boss, Larry Tate (David White). Sporadically, Elizabeth Montgomery would appear as her cousin, Serena, embodied as a "teeny-bopper," counterculture type, with a knack for free-spirited and manipulative sorcery. Eventually, Samantha and Darrin have a daughter, Tabitha, and a son, Adam, both of whom display witchy powers. (In 1977 ABC attempted a spin-off called *Tabitha*, in which the now grown witch [Lisa Hartman] worked as assistant producer for a California news program, with Robert Urich as the anchorman. The spin-off failed before season's end.)

*Bewitched's* formula typically involves a disruption created by either Samantha's or Darrin's family, or by Darrin's boss, Larry. Samantha's responsibility for maintaining family harmony comes into conflict with her vow not to exercise witchcraft. Usually, the resolution does come about through witchcraft, but Samantha's role as a "good" wife undergoes re-inscription because she has performed her spells for the sake of her family.

Samantha generally exercises her witchcraft by twitching her nose and mouth (known at the time of the show as the "witch twitch"), or by casting verbal spells. Either method may result in making objects and people disappear or appear; or Samantha may grant unearthly powers to herself or others, or turn herself or others into various kinds of animals. Samantha constantly subordinates her supernatural powers at the request of her husband—he is particularly adamant that she not cheat her domestic duties. Samantha could easily have the entire house cleaned and dinner on the table with a single "witch twitch" but, for Darrin's sake, she chooses to perform the labor of housework herself.

At the same time, Samantha takes a keen interest in Darrin's job and gets him out of many a campaign jam with her "imagination" and "intuition"—sometimes attributed to her witchcraft, sometimes not. She often saves Darrin's job by producing sales concepts on the spot for his clients, sometimes even going to the extent of turning his clients into animals to prove a point or buy him time. Her mastery in this area includes shoring up Darrin's ego and making him feel that it is *his* ideas that saves the day. In this way, *Bewitched* addressed a host of pressing concerns for mid-1960s middle-class American culture, such as anxieties about women's place in the public and private spheres and general mistrust between the sexes: What is the appro-



*Bewitched*, Elizabeth Montgomery, Agnes Moorehead, Dick York, 1964–72.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

priate woman's role? How should a woman exercise her own agency to the best of her abilities? What do we do with female power, since it has been relegated to a place outside of culture for so long? Toward the end of the run of *Bewitched*, Samantha often traveled to far away places and times or interacted with historical figures, somewhat displacing the centrality of the home and middle-class suburban life.

Notably, Elizabeth Montgomery's real-life husband was William Asher, the director of the series (who also directed *I Love Lucy*, *The Danny Thomas Show*, and *The Patty Duke Show*). Asher and Montgomery owned a percentage of profits of *Bewitched* as well as a percentage of the merchandising rights, which involved the conception of a Samantha doll, jewelry, cosmetics, and a *Bewitched* ice cream flavor. The couple's first child was born three weeks before the production of the first episode, leading much of the popular press at the time to refer to the initiation of the show as a "birthing process."

That series premier remains one of *Bewitched's* most memorable episodes in many ways. When Samantha reveals to Darrin that she is a witch, he seeks the advice of others (best friend, doctor, bartender), each of whom refuses to take him seriously. So he returns home, resolving, "So my wife's a witch. Every married man has to make some adjustments." His conclusion rings true and continues to define much of the series—marriage may not be what it appears on the surface, and the commitment to marriage and family, certainly for late 20th-century Americans, meant confronting male fears about women's sexuality and otherness, women's power, and the changing social and cultural significance of domestic institutions.

CHRISTINA LANE

## Bewitched

### Cast

Samantha Stephens/Serena	Elizabeth Montgomery
Darrin Stephens (1964–69)	Dick York
Darrin Stephens (1969–72)	Dick Sargent
Endora	Agnes Moorehead
Maurice	Maurice Evans
Larry Tate	David White
Louise Tate (1964–65)	Irene Vernon
Louise Tate (1965–72)	Kasey Rogers
Tabitha Stephens (1966–72)	Erin and Diane Murphy
Adam Stephens (1971–72)	David and Greg Lawrence
Abner Kravitz	George Tobias
Gladys Kravitz (1964–66)	Alice Pearce
Gladys Kravitz (1966–72)	Sandra Gould
Aunt Clara (1964–68)	Marion Lorne
Uncle Arthur (1965–72)	Paul Lynde
Esmerelda (1969–72)	Alice Ghostley
Dr. Bombay (1967–72)	Bernard Fox

### Producers

Harry Ackerman, William Froug, Danny Arnold, Jerry Davis, Bill Asher

### Programming History

306 episodes	
ABC	
September 1964–January 1967	Thursday 9:00–9:30
January 1967–September 1971	Thursday 8:30–9:00
September 1971–January 1972	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
January 1972–July 1972	Saturday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

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# Big Brother

## International Reality Program Format

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*Big Brother* was a hugely popular international phenomenon that swept across Europe, North and South America, Africa, and Australia during the "reality" programming boom that began in the Netherlands in late 1999, with subsequent distinct culture-specific manifestations airing in about 20 different countries over the following two years. All of the various permutations have followed the same basic formula. Described by the Dutch production company Endemol, as a "real life soap," *Big Brother* is a hybrid genre: part verité documentary and part game show, with the ongoing daily rhythm of the soap opera, yet married in a new and different way to the webcasting capabilities of the Internet.

Based upon the Orwellian concept of a group of people subject to an all-seeing, all-knowing, and all-controlling power (in this case, the producers) the

premise is simple. Select ten participants who agree to be isolated together as a group in a fabricated "house" lined with not-so-hidden television cameras rolling around the clock for 12 weeks. Deprive them of contact with the outside world, and create opportunities for them to bond—or not—as they form a community. Present them with tasks and challenges that will either encourage teamwork or create competition. Create a way for contestants (euphemistically called "house-guests") to nominate their peers for "banishment," but in which the viewing audience actually gets the final vote as to which contestant is removed each week. Allow a special room in which the contestants can talk "privately" to the cameras and the producers to express their "feelings, frustrations, thoughts and nominations," all the while being filmed. Broadcast highlights from the daily lives and mundane interactions of the

contestants on television in prime time multiple nights of the week, while also creating a website with live streaming video feed from multiple cameras that interested fans can access 24 hours a day. Each week, have a studio-based show in which the "host" of the program talks to the contestants, announces who has been voted off, and then removes the banished contestant and interviews him or her as well as family and friends of the contestants in front of a studio audience. In this way, the number of contestants is slowly whittled down to the winner of the sizeable grand prize (250,000 Dutch guilders in the original version; \$500,000 in the first U.S. version, broadcast on CBS television network in the summer of 2000).

The first attempts at the Endemol reality formula in Europe were received with phenomenal popular success, both economically and in terms of stirring up a public discourse about cultural values, ethics, privacy, and the human condition. The popular press covered the "new reality TV" extensively, focusing on its potential to radically change the notion of television in our society. As they had in Europe, the upcoming U.S. adaptations of the reality television formulas in the summer of 2000 (notably *Survivor* and *Big Brother*) received extraordinarily heavy promotion.

The narrative "action" and interpersonal drama that take place in the *Big Brother* house are supposed to be naturally occurring, although the producers affect the drama through their casting of the "characters" and their structuring of the daily activities of the houseguests around a series of programmed tasks ("challenges"). A high degree of self-consciousness also curtails the spontaneity of the contestants' behavior, owing to their knowledge that everything they do or say is subject to national broadcast via web feed or television. On the viewing end, the experience is one that *Maclean's* contributor Robert Sheppard calls "orchestrated voyeurism."

The first U.S. version of Endemol Production Company's *Big Brother* was broadcast on CBS television with concurrent live online feeds in partnership with America Online (AOL). Unlike its European predecessors, it was described as a "ratings disappointment" for CBS despite its fairly consistent weekly placement in the Nielsen top 20; however, the most notable aspect of the *Big Brother* phenomenon was its remarkable crossover Internet presence and the strong and loyal online audience it created and maintained. It gained acclaim as an unprecedented, momentous hit on the Internet. America Online, which partnered with CBS and Endemol to provide the streaming web feed of the voyeuristic cameras, as well as setting up the program's official website, boasted about the overwhelming success of the on-

line ratings. In fact, this became the most remarkable aspect of the entire U.S. *Big Brother* venture. Journalist David Kronke reported that *Big Brother* "has changed the way television and new media can interact," while popular culture scholar Robert Thompson was quoted as saying that, because of this unprecedented convergence, "When the final history of TV is written, *Big Brother* will be considered more important than the better and more highly rated *Survivor*." News reports indicated that the AOL-sponsored site was the most visited new Internet site in July of 2000, the month the program premiered, with more than 4.2 million visitors. AOL's publicity articles touted the "unprecedented convergence between television and the Internet" achieved by the CBS-AOL *Big Brother* alliance as the "largest ongoing webcast in history," and claimed a "tenfold increase in participants [of] the streaming webcast during peak usage time in the first week."

*Big Brother* broke new ground in establishing a multiplicity of ways that a television program could reach its audience. In fact, one could argue that what we call *Big Brother* actually consists of several different programs, several distinct audiences, and multiple versions of its narrative. The *Big Brother* production, in its multimedia entirety, provides opportunities for viewers to engage with the narrative situation engendered by the program's premise in a variety of ways: all mediated, but to varying degrees and through different media discourses and structures. Moreover, the complexity of the phenomenon makes it difficult to even find the language to talk about it. Is it a television "show," a webcast, a form of performance art, a cultural phenomenon, an unfolding news event? In many important ways, it is all of these—and that will, ultimately, be *Big Brother's* lasting contribution to television history.

PAMELA WILSON

See also **Reality Programming; Survivor**

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## Billy Graham Crusades

### U.S. Religious Program

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Billy Graham is often at pains to distinguish himself from the band of preachers known as "televangelists," and his programs have typically been formulaic in the extreme. Still, no other evangelist has used television as efficiently, effectively, and, ultimately, as creatively as has Billy Graham.

The legendary preacher's initial experiment with television occurred in 1951, when he attempted to take his phenomenally successful radio program, *The Hour of Decision*, to the new medium. Some programs featured filmed segments from live crusades, where Graham was at his best, but most were studio productions that showed him in a study or living-room setting. They often included obviously rehearsed interviews and did not allow him to preach with the kind of intensity and effectiveness he could manifest before a large crowd. The program ran for nearly three years on the fledgling ABC network, but neither Graham nor his associates have ever regarded it as a particularly memorable effort. Years later he told an interviewer, "They are interesting films, but I can't find anyone who ever saw one! Prime time on Sunday nights on network TV, and no one remembers."

Graham's next attempt to fulfill the Great Commission via the cathode ray tube came in 1957, during his summer-long crusade at Madison Square Garden in New York City. At ABC's invitation, and with J. Howard Pew's financial guarantees, Graham began airing his Saturday-night services live from the Garden. The first broadcast, on June 1, posted an 8.1 Trendex rating, which translated into approximately 6.4 million viewers, more than enough to convince the evangelist of television's great promise as a vehicle for the gospel. A Gallup poll taken that summer revealed that 85 percent of Americans could correctly identify Billy Graham, and three-quarters of that number re-

garded him positively. In an innocent masterpiece of understatement, *Christian Life* magazine cautiously observed, "Undoubtedly, this fact will affect Graham's ministry."

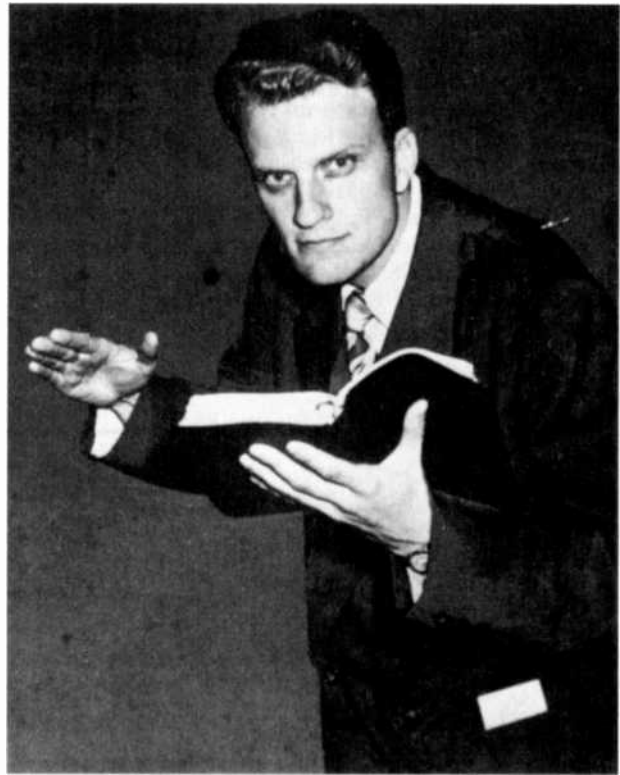
Those first telecasts were quite simple. Cliff Barrows led a huge chorus in familiar hymns. George Beverly Shea sang "How Great Thou Art"; a celebrity or two gave a testimony of the power of Christ in his or her life; Graham preached; and hundreds of people streamed toward him when he offered the invitation at the conclusion of his sermon. Remarkably, Graham has stuck to that same prosaic formula for more than 40 years. To be sure, production values have improved dramatically, viewers are sometimes treated to a brief tour of the host city, Graham has adjusted his speaking style and bodily movements to the smaller screen, and the programs are aired weeks after the crusades end rather than live—but the basic elements remain the same.

One key to Graham's success in using television was an early decision not to attempt a weekly Sunday morning program. As years of Nielsen and Arbitron ratings have demonstrated, his programs, usually aired in prime time in groups of three on a quarterly basis, draw audiences far larger than those for the syndicated Sunday programs of other religious broadcasters. This larger audience also appears to contain far more unchurched people than do the Sunday shows. No less important, 12 programs a year, filmed while he is doing what he would be doing anyway, cost less than a weekly studio program, minimize the risk of overexposure, and cause far less drain on the evangelist's time and energy. In recent years, the production team has filmed all services in a crusade and then blended the best segments into three composite programs.

In addition to reaching for a mass audience with an edited product, Graham has long used the television medium to carry crusade services live to audiences in locations far from the central arena. In 1954, during a 12-week effort that packed London's Haringay Arena, the sound from the crusade was carried to various sites by landline relay. Twelve years later, during his 1966 visit to London, Graham used Eidophor projection equipment to supply a television feed to beam his message into auditoriums and stadiums in British cities where the ground had been prepared as if he were going to be present for a full-scale live crusade. A similar effort, also in London, followed in 1967. In 1970 he used an ambitious and innovative television relay system to transmit a crusade in Dortmund, Germany, to theaters, arenas, and stadiums throughout western Europe and into Yugoslavia—"unscrambling Babel," as one aide put it—to reach speakers of eight different languages in ten nations.

In recent years, many of Graham's crusades, especially those outside the United States, have used satellite technology to elaborate on this means of multiplying the effectiveness of his crusades. Interestingly, the number of "inquirers" responding to Graham's invitation almost always match or exceed those registered at the central site. Encouraged by such results, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association launched an ambitious effort to reach virtually the entire world in a series of transmissions collectively known as *Mission World*. In 1989 Graham preached from London to more than 800,000 people gathered at 247 "live-link" centers throughout the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, and to an astonishing 16,000 sites in 13 nations of Africa. In most cases, the down-link was effected by means of low-cost portable satellite dishes. Another 20 African nations received the program by videotape a week or two later, usually after translation into one of nine different languages. The aggregate attendance at the African sites exceeded 8 million. In 1990 similar technology was used to beam Graham's sermons from Hong Kong to an estimated 100 million persons assembled at 70,000 locations in 26 countries of Asia. In 1991 a Buenos Aires satellite mission reached 5 million people at 850 locations in 20 countries. The European edition of *Mission World*, dubbed "ProChrist '93," transmitted services from Essen, Germany, to 386 remote sites in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland and beyond these to more than 1,000 venues in 56 countries or territories in 16 time zones.

The climax to these efforts and, in all probability, to Billy Graham's ministry, came in March 1995, when the 76-year-old evangelist's distinctive voice and fa-



Billy Graham.

Photo courtesy of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association

miliar message soared upward from his pulpit in Puerto Rico to a network of 30 satellites that bounced it back to receiving dishes in 185 countries in all 29 time zones, to be viewed at appropriate hours. With the possible exception of the Olympics, this may well have been the most technologically complex example of worldwide communication ever attempted. Plausible estimates indicate that, when network television telecasts and delayed videotape presentations were included, as many as 1 billion people heard at least one of Graham's sermons during this campaign, aptly titled *Global Mission*. In 1996 the Graham organization produced two World Television Series, in which approximately 1 million churches worldwide helped set up video house parties to which church members could invite their friends and neighbors.

Graham sees no contradiction between "the old, old story" and the newest means to transmit it. "It is time," he observed, "for the church to use the technology to make a statement that in the midst of chaos, emptiness and despair, there is hope in the person of Jesus Christ."

WILLIAM MARTIN

See also **Religion on Television**



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## Birt, John

### British Television Executive

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John Birt is certainly the most controversial and quite possibly the most significant director general of the BBC of the first 80 years of existence. A Tony Blair and Labour party supporter, he was appointed to clean up what was considered by the Conservative party to be a bureaucratically bloated quasi-governmental organization with a bias against right-wing policies. Birt's tenure at the helm of the world's largest broadcasting organization was supposed to bring about a slimmed down organization with ever greater creative control for its producers and directors. But critics now argue that Birt listened too much to management consultants who knew little about the principles and practices of what is arguably the greatest public service broadcasting organization in the world. Among the older generation of BBC producers, Birt's policies are considered to have led to a permanent weakening of the BBC. His short-term employment policies destroyed that sense of security that can lead to the best of creative work. While some BBC staff who left created successful new independent production companies, others whose commercial abilities did not match their creative ones were lost to broadcasting permanently.

Birt's successor, Greg Dyke, struggles to repair the damage and to eliminate all traces of "Birtism," but in fact the BBC of the 21st century is a less happy and less confident organization than the BBC that flourished in the great days of Directors General Hugh Carlton Green and Ian Trethowan.

John Birt received an engineering degree from Oxford University, joined Granada Television and then

London Weekend television and is partly credited with the success of LWT's political program "Weekend World." Birt's name first came to public attention when he coauthored an article in the *Times* that suggested that the treatment of politics on television created a "bias against understanding," and that political broadcasting needed to change.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, long critical of the BBC and its director general Alasdair Milne, appointed the right-wing former editor of the *Sunday Times*, Marmaduke Hussey, as chairman of the BBC. Hussey fired Milne and in 1987 employed Birt as head of news, with the understanding that Birt would replace the interim director general, Michael Checkland, in due course. For 60 years the chairmen of the BBC had not interfered with BBC management; it was argued that constitutionally, their role was to represent the interests of the public, not to manage. Hussey ignored tradition, and worked closely with Birt to remove most of the top management. Hussey and Birt used the U.S. management consultants McKinsey to introduce vast and ultimately wastefully bureaucratic plans like "producer choice," and fired or gave early retirement to all who objected. The average age of BBC employees fell from 40 to 28; almost the entire cadre of seasoned producers and directors were removed.

In defense of Birt, it was claimed that the BBC was too large and too expensive when Birt became director general in 1993. In 1996 Birt reorganized the BBC into six divisions. BBC Broadcast scheduled channels and

commission services, BBC Production developed BBC in-house radio and television, and BBC News was responsible for an integrated national and international news organization. BBC Worldwide was responsible for generating commercial income at home and abroad, and for the World Service. BBC Resources provided the facilities and expertise to serve and support BBC program-makers. And the BBC Corporate Center provided strategic services. Key executives like Jenny Abramsky, director of BBC Radio and Music, considered the changes disastrous; the money, and therefore the power, had been transferred to the broadcast division, and producers in the vast new production division (which included both radio and television) were mere suppliers, competing with the independent sector for work within the BBC. Suddenly BBC producers and their departments were forced to declare war on each other as they battled for commissions in order to keep their jobs. Departmental priorities were eroded; science producers could suggest programs on religion and vice versa. All producers felt undervalued and some felt they were being treated with contempt; radio producers suffered more than most. As cost cutting was the purpose of this whole vast reorganization, program editors were dismissed and production teams amalgamated. With many producers on short-term contracts, they abandoned adventurous new ideas, relying instead on the formulaic programming that could guarantee their jobs for the next six months. Their desperation to earn commissions led departments, espe-

cially in radio, to submit a host of underdeveloped ideas for every available slot, rather than concentrate on producing two or three quality proposals. One head of radio claimed that each producer in the drama department spent an average of 14 weeks of the year working up proposals, 90 percent of which were never commissioned.

Birt's introduction of "producer choice," while controversial, made BBC producers more financially accountable. His vision of the BBC as a 21st-century "information provider" was promising; he foresaw scores of new cable channels for many offshoots of BBC programming, a digital future similar to that envisaged by the AOL-Time Warner or Disney-ABC conglomerates. However, the BBC is not a truly commercial organization; its principal income came from its license fee, not commercial operations.

Little of Birt's BBC structure survived his departure. The new director general, Greg Dyke, was appointed in the year 2000 and dismantled and reorganized most of Birt's bureaucracy. Birt's concept of "bi-media" was swept away, and radio and television news were reinstated as separate production departments. Dyke believed that collaboration, not destructive internal competition, was needed to make a creative organization like the BBC thrive.

ANDREW QUICKE

*See also* **British Programming; British Television; Dyke, Greg**

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## Black Entertainment Television

### U.S. Cable Network

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Black Entertainment Television (BET) is the first and only television network in the United States primarily devoted to African-American viewers. Launched with a paltry \$15,000 investment in 1980, the black-owned, basic-cable franchise had grown into a diversified, \$61 million media enterprise by the mid-1990s. Despite this rather phenomenal growth, however, BET's audience reach continues to be overshadowed by larger cable-industry players (e.g., Home Box Office [HBO] and ESPN).

Based in Washington, D.C., BET has added about 2 million subscriber homes per year since 1984, reach-

ing more than 40 million cable households in 2,500 markets by 1995. Moreover, the network has more than tripled revenues since 1985; it reported profits for the first time in 1986, when it finally hit Nielsen ratings charts and attracted major advertisers. In 1991 BET Holdings, Inc. (BET's parent company) became the first black-owned company to be traded on the New York Stock Exchange.

From the very beginning, the heart and soul of BET programming was the music video. Predating MTV by a year, BET has offered as much as 18 hours of music videos a day, prompting many to perceive the 24-



Courtesy of BET

hour network as essentially a black-oriented music video service. Thus, while MTV was being criticized in 1983 for excluding black artists from its playlist (Tina Turner and the interracial group English Beat excepted), many viewers were tuning into BET for such offerings. Indeed, the network's flagship program, *VideoSoul*, has become a household name in many black communities.

As BET grew, however, the network began to diversify its program offerings and image. By its tenth anniversary in 1990, the network had initiated several original programs and projects, including *For the Record*, featuring members of the Congressional Black Caucus; *Teen Summit*, a Saturday afternoon show for youth; *Black Agenda 2000*, a series of forums on issues of interest to the black community; *Conversation with Ed Gordon*, an interview program with contemporary newsmakers; *Inside Studio A*, concerts and interviews taped before a live audience; *Personal Diary*, one-on-one interviews with prominent blacks; *On Stage*, plays written and performed by blacks; and *Our Voices*, a daily talk show.

More recent BET program schedules have included *ComicView*, a stand-up comedy review; *Screen Scene*, a black-oriented entertainment journal; *Jazz Central*, a jazz music program; and *Rap City*, a rap video program. From time to time, BET also airs sporting events featuring teams from historically black colleges and universities, and rounds out its schedule with reruns of popular black-oriented shows such as *Sanford and Son*, *What's Happening*, *Frank's Place*, and *Roc*. News and public affairs programs tend to be relegated to the weekends.

BET was the brainchild of Robert L. Johnson, who developed the idea for the network in 1979 while serving as vice president for governmental relations at the National Cable Television Association. Johnson, an African American, noted in 1989 that BET "should be for black media what Disney is to the general media or what Motown was to music." Industry observers have applauded Johnson's efficient management style and his aggressive plans to expand the company's product base and consumers.

Johnson argued in 1989 that industry racism had stunted BET's growth. In particular, he noted that many cable operators had been slow to carry BET (it was carried on only 1,825 of the nation's 7,500 systems in 1989), and that BET had been saddled with some of the lowest subscriber fees in the industry (e.g., BET earned only about 5 cents per subscriber in 1989, while other cable services typically earned between 15 and 20 cents per subscriber). Some analysts agreed with Johnson's charges of industry racism, but noted that many of BET's problems were due to the network's lack of resources and Johnson's corresponding inability to adequately market it.

Nonetheless, since its humble beginnings BET has become much more than just a basic-cable network. By 1995 BET Holdings owned and operated a broad array of black-oriented media products, including *Black Entertainment Television*, the basic-cable network; *YSB (Young Sisters and Brothers)*, a magazine targeted at black youths; *Emerge*, a magazine offering analysis and commentary on contemporary issues facing black America; Action Pay-Per-View, a national, satellite-delivered, pay-per-view movie channel based in Santa Monica, California; BET International, a provider of BET programming throughout Africa and other foreign markets; Identity Television, a London-based cable service targeting Afro-Caribbean viewers; BET Productions, a subsidiary providing technical and production services to outside companies; BET Radio Network, a radio service providing news and entertainment packages to affiliated stations across the United States; and BET Pictures, a joint venture with Blockbuster Entertainment Corporation to produce and distribute black, family-oriented films.

After successfully reverting BET back to private ownership in 1998, Johnson in late 2000 moved to merge his 20-year-old company with industry powerhouse Viacom. At the time of the proposed merger, Viacom owned MTV, VH1, CMT, the Box, MTV2, and dozens of radio stations. Critics in the African-American community bemoaned the loss of black control over what had become the largest African-American media company. Viacom and Johnson countered that BET would retain its African-American focus, adding that Johnson had agreed to a five-year contract with Viacom to run BET. Johnson became the second-largest individual stockholder in Viacom.

DARNELL M. HUNT

See also Johnson, Robert

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## Black and White in Colour

### British Documentary

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In 1992 BBC Television broadcast a season of programs celebrating the contributions black and Asian people have made to British television. Prior to the five consecutive evenings' special screenings, BBC 2 broadcast *Black and White in Colour* (June 26 and July 3, 1992), a two-part documentary tracing black participation in British television. The programs resulted, in part, from the British Film Institute (BFI) Race and Ethnicity Project. This project began in 1985 and aimed, through archival research, to examine black people's involvement in British television, both on and off the screen. The research emerged at a time when the debate about race and cultural representation was at its peak, and when there was increasing criticism of images of blackness on British television.

*Black and White in Colour* is a British Film Institute production, directed by the black British filmmaker, Isaac Julien. It examines both the sociopolitical context and on-screen developments, and in so doing, it effectively traces the shifts and contours of black British television history. The documentary, which uses rare archive footage, is narrated by the scholar Stuart Hall and includes interviews with actors, actresses, cultural critics, directors, and other key players in the making of black British television history.

The first part of *Black and White in Colour* begins by noting black American performers' contribution to British variety in the 1930s and 1940s. American entertainers such as Adelaide Hall, Buck and Bubbles, and Elisabeth Welch were some of the first images on TV that British people saw of black people. Compared to other genres, light entertainment was significantly advanced in celebrating black performers such as

Harry Belafonte and Shirley Bassey. *Black and White in Colour* goes on to discuss how the image of black person as social problem was developed in the postwar years, particularly in news and documentary programming. The late 1950s saw the emergence of some innovative drama focused on race and the black British experience—for example, John Elliot's *A Man from the Sun* (1956) and John Hopkin's *Fable* (1965). What *Black and White in Colour* highlights is that most pre-1970s programming quite clearly spoke about and referred to black people but this population was not directly addressed.

The second part of *Black and White in Colour* concentrates on black representation on British television from 1962 to 1992. It begins by describing how Enoch Powell and his 1968 "Rivers of Blood" speech influenced perceptions of black British people. The most popular program on British television at this time was Johnny Speight's sitcom *Till Death Us Do Part*, which, although it rarely featured black characters, gave space to the blatantly racist views of Alf Garnett (often described as Powell's alter-ego). *Black and White in Colour* points out that, generally speaking, the first part of the 1970s was an uncreative time in terms of images of blackness. A number of situation comedies during the 1970s, such as *Love Thy Neighbour*, *Mind Your Language*, and *Mixed Blessings*, claimed that they were diffusing racial tension by laughing at racism, but in fact these shows developed their own set of racist stereotypes. During the same period, the first programs that featured predominantly black casts began to emerge. *Empire Road* (1978–79) was the first black soap opera to be made for British television

screens. *Black and White in Colour* also examines off-screen developments at this time, when many black artists were beginning to complain and campaign for better roles on television. For example, the Equity's Coloured Artists Committee was established in 1974. In 1979 the Campaign against Racism in the Media critically assessed television's representation of race in *It Ain't Half Racist Mum*.

*Black and White in Colour* examines the impact of Channel 4 and the black British independent film movement on black cultural representation during the 1980s. Black programming was built into the structure of Channel 4, which began in 1982. Subsequently, black audiences were offered their own magazine programs, such as *Eastern Eye* and *Black on Black* and comedies such as *No Problem!*, *Tandoori Nights*, and *Desmond's*. The specifically black programs of the 1980s spurred a number of debates about black audiences, race, and television.

Although *Black and White in Colour* traces a history that reveals an improvement in images of blackness on British television since 1936, the analysis makes it

clear that representations of black people remained far from perfect and that many of the early patterns were still apparent. In that sense, the two-part documentary is more a retrospective than a celebration. Most importantly perhaps, *Black and White in Colour* manages to illustrate how much black artists and practitioners have had to struggle to gain access to the British television institution.

SARITA MALIK

#### Programming History

Documentary aired in two parts

BBC

June 26, and July 3, 1992

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## Black and White Minstrel Show, The

### British Music/Variety/Minstrel Show

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One hundred years after the "nigger minstrel" entertainment tradition had begun in London's music halls, the convention was revived on television in the form of *The Black and White Minstrel Show*. This variety series was first screened on BBC Television on June 14, 1958, and it was to stay on air for the next two decades. *The Black and White Minstrel Show* evolved from the "Swanee River" type minstrel radio shows. One year before it was first broadcast on television, George Inns produced the *1957 Television Minstrels* (BBC TV 2; September 1957) as part of the National Radio Show in London.

The occasional television specials soon developed into a regular series with a 45-minute nonstop format of Mississippi tunes and country-and-western songs. The series was devised and produced by Inns and featured music conducted by George Mitchell and the Television Toppers Dance Troupe. The series showcased the Mitchell Minstrels as well as solo performances from entertainers such as Tony Mercer, John

Boulter, and Dai Francis. During the early years, various comedians such as Lesley Crowther, Stan Stennett, and George Chisholm acted as "fillers" between the slick song-and-dance routines.

*The Black and White Minstrel Show* won the 1961 Golden Rose of Montreux. The variety series could almost always guarantee an audience of at least 16 million and frequently managed to top 18 million viewers. At a time when the variety show was a popular television genre for the whole family, *The Black and White Minstrel Show* established itself as one of the world's greatest musical programs on television. The music from the show broke sales records, and the stage show was equally popular. Robert Luff's production opened at the Victoria Palace Theatre in 1969 and established itself in *The Guinness Book of Records* as the stage show seen by the largest number of people. At this time, the creation had gained considerable international respect and kudos. *The Black and White Minstrel Show's* success was marked by its regular

Saturday night transmissions over a vast period. The program managed to maintain its freshness, its manic pace, and its nostalgic premise on a weekly basis.

What accounts for such immense popularity? Part of the explanation was undoubtedly the pleasure many received from the program, with its meticulously choreographed dance routines and popular songs and melodies. Inns combined white dancers with black-faced singers, and this was believed to be visually striking, particularly when color television was introduced in 1967. *The Black and White Minstrel Show* harked back to a specific period and location—the deep American South, where coy white women could be seen being wooed by docile, smiling black slaves. The black men were, in fact, white artists “blackened-up.” The racist implications of the premise of the program were yet to be widely acknowledged or publicly discussed, but it was this aspect that contributed significantly to the program’s eventual demise.

Many believed that a large part of “minstrel humor” is based on caricaturing black people and depicting them as being both stupid and credulous. This image was thought to be insensitive and inappropriate in an increasingly multiracial and multicultural Britain. *The Black and White Minstrel Show* is important in the context of British television because it outlines how racist representations became part of public debate and how performance is linked to social context. The program revealed tensions between the television controllers, critics, and audience. Many were angry because during this time there were very few other representations of black people on British television. On May 18, 1967, the Campaign against Racial Discrimination delivered

to the BBC a petition signed by both black and white people, which requested that the program be taken off television. Despite the controversy, the program continued until July 1, 1978. Ultimately, its removal from the air coincided with the demise of the popularity of the variety genre on British television.

SARITA MALIK

#### Regular Performers

Leslie Crowther  
George Chisholm  
Stan Stennett

#### Singers

The Mitchell Minstrels

#### Solo Performers

Tony Mercer  
Dai Francis  
John Boulter

#### Dancers

The Television Toppers

#### Producer

George Inns

#### Programming History

BBC  
June 1958–July 1978

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**Blackadder.** *See Atkinson, Rowan*

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## Blacklisting

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Blacklisting is the practice of refusing to hire or terminating from employment an individual whose opinions or associations are deemed politically inconvenient or commercially troublesome. In the U.S. tradition, the

term is forever linked to the fervent anticommunism of the cold war era, a time when government agencies, private newsletters, and patriotic organizations branded selected members of the entertainment indus-



# Red Channels



The Report of  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RADIO AND TELEVISION

Published June, 1950

By AMERICAN BUSINESS CONSULTANTS  
Publishers of  
**COUNTERATTACK**  
THE NEWSLETTER OF FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM  
55 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Cover of *Red Channels*.

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

try as (variously) card-carrying Communists, fellow travelers, pinkos, or unwitting dupes of Moscow. The rubric "McCarthyism" is often used as shorthand for the reckless accusations and limitations on free expression during the cold war, but from a media perspective, the term is something of a misnomer. The period of the blacklist predated and postdated the reign of the junior senator from Wisconsin, and Joseph R. McCarthy himself evinced little interest in the entertainment industry: his targets of choice were the Department of State and the U.S. Army. The blacklisting of directors, writers, and performers in film, radio, and television was the project of a much wider coalition of anticommunist forces, a web of interlocking agents that included government investigators (the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI), legislative committees (the House Un-American Activities Committee [HUAC] and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee), private interest groups (American

Business Consultants, AWARE, Inc.), and patriotic organizations (the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars). These forces applied pressure on, and worked in concert with, fearful and compliant studio heads, network executives, sponsors, and advertising agencies to curtail the employment opportunities and civil rights of targeted undesirables.

The convergence of two cultural historical factors abetted the blacklist. One of the legacies of World War II was a heightened sensitivity to the political impact of the popular media; one of the coincidences of history was that television's early days paralleled precisely the escalating intensity of the cold war in the years from 1946 to 1954. The contest between East and West, Soviet Communism and American democracy, found its domestic expression in impassioned debates over the subversive influence of the mass media. In June 1950, the atmosphere reached fever pitch with the arrest of the atomic spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the outbreak of the Korean War. That same month the editors of *Counterattack*, a four-page "newsletter of facts on communism," issued a special report titled *Red Channels, The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, a listing of 151 names of performers deemed to be Communist party members or to have like-minded opinions and associations (called "fellow travelers" in the argot of the day). The *Red Channels* report formalized an informal practice in effect since at least November 1947, when representatives from the major Hollywood studios pledged they would "not knowingly employ a communist" and "take positive action" on "disloyal elements." Though the scholarship of *Red Channels* was slipshod—the actors listed ranged from unapologetic Communist party members to mainstream liberals to bewildered innocents—its impact was immediate and long-lasting. CBS instituted in-house loyalty oaths; the advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn recruited executives to serve as security officers. A study on blacklisting in the entertainment industry published by the Fund for the Republic in 1956 concluded that *Red Channels* put in black-and-white what was previously an ad hoc practice and thus "marked the formal beginning of blacklisting in the radio-TV industry."

As an emergent medium subject to government oversight by the Federal Communications Commission, television was the most timorous of the mass media when confronted by state power. The scrutiny of legislative bodies concentrated the minds of network executives powerfully, notably the hearings held by the House Un-American Activities Committee in October 1947 and throughout the early 1950s and a kindred set of hearings on the "Subversive Influence of Radio, Television, and the Entertainment Industry" held by Senator McCarran's Internal Investigatory

Subcommittee in 1951. Moreover, as an advertiser-supported medium still in embryonic development, television was especially susceptible to protests from special interest groups threatening product boycotts, pickets, or public censure. Casting the widest commercial net possible, the networks aimed for "100 percent acceptability" and assiduously avoided alienating any group of potential viewers.

Though the effect of the blacklist was punitive, its rationale was preemptive. From the perspective of the networks, its purpose was less to rid the medium of subversive content than to avoid the controversy that ensued upon the appearance of a suspect individual. Rather than canceling the appearance of announced performers or firing known talent, the blacklist tended to operate off-camera, behind the scenes, by deleting or clearing talent in advance. Though the list in *Red Channels* was the founding document, other lists and publications (not to say rumors and innuendo) might also render an individual politically radioactive in the eyes of any one of the networks, sponsors, or advertising agencies.

For talent tainted with the Communist brush, the path to vindication was tortuous. Once accused, actors might suffer in silence, defy the accusations, or engage in rituals of public recantation or denial ("clearance") either before Congress, in the public press, or at the offices of *Counterattack* itself. Given the difficulty of proving a negative, the total number of people burned by the blacklist—careers permanently derailed, jobs lost, or energies squandered—is difficult to gauge, but hundreds were listed and investigated and thousands were singled by paranoia. Even allowing for the vagaries of memory and self-romanticization, the blacklist traumatized a generation of artists in the entertainment industry. One particularly tragic case may stand for many. Listed in *Red Channels*, Philip Loeb, who played the warm Jewish patriarch on *The Goldbergs* during the show's first television season in 1950–51, was replaced in the show's second season after General Foods with-

drew its sponsorship. An embittered and unemployed Loeb committed suicide in 1955.

In the wake of the TV-inspired downfall of McCarthy in 1954, some of the pressure to purge alleged subversive from the airwaves lifted, but the blacklist—both as a formal, institutionalized procedure and as an informal gentleman's agreement—endured well into the next decade. The motion picture industry began gingerly defying the blacklist in the late 1950s and by 1960 was giving screen credit to once-blacklisted writers. By contrast, television, ever cautious, kept well back in the ranks of defiance. Not until the fall of 1967, on *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, was black-listed folk singer Pete Seeger finally "cleared" for a return to network television.

THOMAS DOHERTY

*See also Censorship; Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The*

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## Bleasdale, Alan (1946– )

British Writer

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Alan Bleasdale is one of the most successful and influential writers working in British television today. Drawing on the traditions of realist television drama, he established his reputation with several powerful but

darkly comic screenplays set in the depressed cities of northern England.

Bleasdale's first success as a writer came with the development of the character of Scully, a Liverpool



youth whose anarchic adventures challenge the authority of those responsible for the impoverished society in which he lives. A series of stories about Scully was broadcast on BBC Radio Merseyside in 1971, while Bleasdale was still earning his living as a teacher. From 1974 to 1979, Bleasdale presented the *Franny Scully Show* on Radio City Liverpool; the character also appeared in a touring theater show, a television play called *Scully's New Year's Eve*, broadcast by the BBC in 1978; and two novels that became the basis of a Granada television series in 1984.

The ability to create characters who capture the popular imagination was also apparent in *Boys from the Blackstuff*, the series that firmly established Bleasdale as a key figure in British television in the 1980s. This project had its roots in a single play called *The Black Stuff*, broadcast by the BBC in 1980, dealing with the disastrous money-making efforts of a gang of road workers from Liverpool. With the support of producer Michael Wearing, Bleasdale was able to create a five-part series dealing with the effects of unemployment on the "boys" and their families after their return to Liverpool.

*Boys from the Blackstuff* was first shown in a late-night time slot on BBC 2 in 1982 but proved so popular that it was quickly repeated in prime time on BBC 1 in January 1983. Each episode centers on a different character, but their paths frequently cross and the action builds toward the final episode in which they all come together at the funeral of an old worker whose socialist ideals no longer inspire the men of Margaret Thatcher's Britain. The impact of the series grew out of its commitment to showing the experience of unemployment from the point of view of the unemployed. It drew on the conventions of northern working-class realism prevalent in British cinema and television since the 1960s but also included elements of black comedy (derived from Liverpool's traditional "scouse" humor) and grotesque nightmare images that expressed the psychological pressures of unemployment. This mixture of elements created an unsettling effect, but, despite its bleak vision, *Boys from the Blackstuff* promoted a sense of solidarity in viewers who faced similar problems. Catchphrases from the series were incorporated into chants by the supporters of the Liverpool soccer team.

Bleasdale has continued to write for television, as well as for film and theater, but the closest he has come to repeating the success of *Boys from the Blackstuff* has been with *GBH*, a seven-part serial broadcast on Channel 4 in 1991. Dealing with the takeover of a northern English city by a fascist organization, *GBH* was related to earlier serials, such as Troy Kennedy Martin's *Edge of Darkness* (1985) and Alan Plater's *A*

*Very British Coup* (1988), which blended science fiction and political thriller to address growing fears that the British democratic system was threatened with collapse. Bleasdale's political message was more explicitly stated here than in *Boys from the Blackstuff*, but the fiction was once again enriched by grotesque comedy, largely associated with the casting of Michael Palin, a member of the Monty Python troupe, as an unassuming school teacher who inadvertently becomes a symbol of resistance to the new order.

In 1994 Bleasdale took on a new role as producer of a series on Channel 4 called *Alan Bleasdale Presents*, using the influence made possible by the popular success of his work to give young writers a chance to demonstrate their talents. While the dramas presented in this series have adopted a variety of approaches, they owe much to Bleasdale's own achievement, grounded in the tradition of "naturalism" in British television drama but creating compelling fictions by gradually introducing disruptive elements drawn from popular genres.

In his two most substantial screenplays of the mid-to late 1990s, Bleasdale moved away from the northern working-class environments of his earlier work. *Jake's Progress* (Channel 4, 1995) was a six-part serial dealing with a crisis in a middle-class family, while *Oliver Twist* (ITV, 1999) was an eight-hour adaptation of Charles Dickens's novel. Both continued Bleasdale's efforts to push the boundaries of realism, filtering reality through the perceptions of a child for whom the adult world becomes a nightmare and often challenging viewers with highly disturbing images.

JIM LEACH

*See also* *Boys from the Blackstuff*

**Alan Bleasdale.** Born in Liverpool, England, March 23, 1946. Attended St. Aloysius Roman Catholic Infant and Junior Schools, Huyton, Lancashire, 1951-57; Wade Deacon Grammar School, Widnes, Lancashire, 1957-64; Padgate Teachers Training College (Teacher's Certificate), 1967. Married Julia Moses, 1970; children: two sons and one daughter. Teacher, St. Columbus Secondary Modern School, Huyton, Lancashire, 1967-71, King George V School, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 1971-74, and Halewood Grange Comprehensive School, Lancashire, 1974-75; resident playwright, Liverpool Playhouse, 1975-76, Contact Theatre, Manchester, 1976-78; joint artistic director, 1981-84, and associate director, 1984-86, Liverpool Playhouse. Liverpool Polytechnic, D.Litt. 1991. Recipient: Broadcasting Press Guild Television Award for Best Series, 1982; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Writers' Award, 1982; Royal Tele-

vision Society Writer of the Year, 1982; Pye Television Award, 1983; Toronto Film Festival Critics' Award, 1984; *London Standard* Best Musical Award, 1985; ITV Best British TV Drama of the Decade Award, 1989; Broadcasting Press Guild Television and Radio Award, 1991.

#### Television Series

1982 *Boys from the Blackstuff*  
 1984 *Scully*  
 1991 *GBH*  
 1994 *Alan Bleasdale Presents* (producer)  
 1995 *Jake's Progress*  
 1997 *Melissa* (also executive producer)  
 1999 *Oliver Twist* (also producer)

#### Television Specials

1975 *Early to Bed*  
 1976 *Dangerous Ambition*  
 1978 *Scully's New Year's Eve*  
 1980 *The Black Stuff*  
 1981 *The Muscle Market*  
 1986 *The Monocled Mutineer*  
 1991 *Julie Walters and Friends* (co-writer)

#### Film

*No Surrender*, 1986.

#### Stage

*Fat Harold and the Last 26*, 1975; *The Party's Over*, 1975; *Scully* (with others), 1975; *Franny Scully's Christmas Stories* (with Kenneth Alan Taylor), 1976; *Down the Dock Road*, 1976; *It's a Madhouse*, 1976; *Should Auld Acquaintance*, 1976; *No More Sitting on the Old School Bench*, 1977;

*Crackers*, 1978; *Pimples*, 1978; *Having a Ball*, 1981; *Young People Today*, 1983; *Are You Lonesome Tonight?*, 1985; *Love Is a Many Splendoured Thing*, 1986; *On the Ledge*, 1993.

#### Publications

*Scully* (novel), 1975  
*Who's Been Sleeping in My Bed?* (novel), 1977  
*No More Sitting on the Old School Bench* (play), 1979  
*Love Is a Many Splendoured Thing* (play), 1979  
*Scully* (play), with others, 1984  
*Scully and Mooey* (revised version of *Who's Been Sleeping in My Bed?*), 1984  
*Boys from the Blackstuff* (television play), 1985  
*Are You Lonesome Tonight?* (musical), 1985  
*It's a Madhouse / Having a Ball* (plays), 1986  
*The Monocled Mutineer* (television play), 1986  
*No Surrender: A Deadpan Farce* (screenplay), 1986

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# Blue Peter

## British Children's Program

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*Blue Peter* is one of British television's longest-running programs, regularly reaching 5 to 6 million children and teenagers. It takes its name from the blue-and-white flag hoisted by a ship leaving port on a voyage. The originator of the program wanted this to

suggest the voyage of discovery that the show would provide for its young viewers. The programming has a magazine format that involves a combination of studio presentation, interview, and demonstration with additional film report items. It is transmitted live from the

BBC's Television Centre after hectic rehearsal. The program was launched with its catchy "Barnacle Bill" signature tune in 1958 as a 15-minute slot, involving two presenters, described by Barnes and Baxter as "Chris Trace playing with trains and Lelia Williams playing with dolls." It became a twice-weekly, 30-minute program in 1963. A third presenter was later introduced, and its Monday/Thursday slots were changed to thrice-weekly transmission (Monday/Wednesday/Friday) in 1965. *Blue Peter* runs for a 40-week season from autumn to early summer with a 10-week break in which special overseas items are filmed. The program is broadcast between 17:05 and 17:35 hours, a bridging slot taking teenagers into an Australian soap opera and into "adult" early evening news. It has won more than 20 major television awards, including from BAFTA, the Sun Television, and the National Viewers and Listeners Association for excellence in children's programming.

*Blue Peter* is successful as a program because it has remained true to the basic format of its original creator, John Hunter Blair, but has accommodated itself to the social changes that have taken place over two generations of television viewing. Editorial continuity was achieved through the singular influence of long-standing editor Biddy Baxter, who worked on *Blue Peter* between 1962 and 1988. Baxter was a liberal, inventive, but demanding leader of the program team, with a very shrewd sense of how the developing medium could best be harnessed for a young audience. In the best tradition of British public service broadcasting, *Blue Peter* aims to inform, educate, and stimulate its target viewers with entertaining content, and it remains one TV program that parents encourage their children to watch.

In the 1960s many of the program's innovations were quickly imitated by rivals or adapted in later programs, such as ITV's *Magpie*, which aired from 1968 to 1980. In 1965, for instance, *Blue Peter* introduced a puppy to the program and then asked its viewers to send in suggestions for its name. Petra became the nation's first TV pet. Phenomenally popular, other pets, including cats and tortoises, were added to the program so that respect for animals and pet care tips could be passed on. The program actively encouraged the participation of its viewers by instituting a *Blue Peter* badge scheme (awarded for appearances on the program or special achievements), regular competitions, and an annual Christmas appeal to raise money for charity.

The studio items very often involve presenters trying new hobbies, cooking, making homemade toys from household rubbish (washing-up liquid bottles, wire coat hangers, and "sticky-backed plastic" being

favoured materials), or bringing talented youngsters into the studio to make their achievements more widely known. The overall ethos of the program encourages children by the example of the adult presenters to "have a go," to try something new and be inquisitive about the world around them. *Blue Peter* presenters with strong personalities involved in unforgettable exploits have impressed themselves on the popular memory of television viewers. The phrases of their scripted cookery demonstrations ("here's one I made earlier") and idiosyncratic expressions ("get down, Shep!") have become clichés and are parodied in pop songs. The show remains "live," which means that unplanned incidents occur, much to the delight of the viewers. One such moment has gone down in British television lore. It involved a baby elephant ("Lulu") departing from the script by defecating in the studio and running amok with its elderly zookeeper as the transmission came to a close.

Today's presenters follow in a long line of enthusiastic personalities who have played no small part in shaping the views of generations of viewers. Critics of the program suggest that *Blue Peter's* format, content, and presentation epitomize a "safe" agenda of middle-class attitudes, that it is patronizing toward young people, replicating a dominant ideology. The program's own audience research would suggest that on the whole its target audience do not feel patronized. Given the centrality of *Blue Peter* to its scheduling area, it is not surprising that it tends to reflect the values and aspirations of the institution from which it originates. It is more accurate to see *Blue Peter* as a barometer of social values and cultural change in Britain over the extended period of its existence. Like all successful programs, *Blue Peter* has had to deal with change and be flexible to a degree, but this has been uneven. Lewis Bronze, who succeeded Baxter in 1988, introduced Diane-Louisi Jordan, a black presenter, in 1990. The editorial team was quietly accepting and supportive of the unmarried status of Janet Ellis, who became pregnant, but shaken to find out that one of its ex-presenters, Michael Sundin, turned out to be gay. The significance of *Blue Peter* within British television history resides in its longevity, continued popularity, and institutional centrality. Within Children's BBC, *Blue Peter* is still, in the words of Anna Home, head of Children's Television, "very deliberately chosen as one of the foundation stones upon which the rest of the schedule can be built."

LANCE PETTITT

#### Presenters

Christopher Trace, Leila Williams, Valerie Singleton, Peter Purves, John Noakes, Diane Louisi-Jordan, Janet Ellis, Michael Sundin, and others

**Producer**

John Hunter Blair

**Programming History**

BBC

Various times, from 1958

**Further Reading**Baxter, B., and E. Barnes, *Blue Peter: The Inside Story*, London: BBC Books, 1989*The Blue Peter Annual*, London: BBC, 1964–Ferguson, Robert, "Black Blue Peter," in *Television Mythologies: Stars, Shows, and Signs*, edited by Len Masterman, London: Comedia, 1984

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## Bob Newhart Show, The/Newhart

### U.S. Situation Comedies

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*The Bob Newhart Show* and *Newhart* are both prime examples of the ensemble comedy that came into vogue in U.S. television during the 1970s and enjoyed continued popularity in the 1980s and 1990s. The two shows had much else in common (in addition to their star, Bob Newhart); both had sharp writing, well-drawn characters, and a distinctive style of humor that was intelligent and sophisticated, yet just a bit off-the-wall.

As with many 1970s ensemble sitcoms, such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The Bob Newhart Show* focused on career-oriented adults, mostly single, related by circumstance rather than blood. Newhart played Dr. Bob Hartley, a psychologist practicing in Chicago. He treated a variety of patients whose problems, no matter how eccentric, were played for laughs; the star among them was the misanthropic Elliott Carlin (Jack Riley). Bob's office mate was Dr. Jerry Robinson (Peter Bonerz), an orthodontist and typical 1970s "swinging single"; they shared the services of a quick-witted secretary-receptionist, Carol Kester (Marcia Wallace). Bob's wife, Emily—smart, funny, and sexy—was played by Suzanne Pleshette. The couple's neighbor and closest friend in their high-rise apartment building was Howard Borden (Bill Daily), a childlike airline navigator who ate most of his meals with the Hartleys and had them water his plants even when he was home; he was, in effect, the offspring they did not have. "That guy could lose an argument with a fern," was the caustic Carlin's comment on Howard.

A few lines and situations illustrate the show's deft and daft humor: Bob and Emily have a bicentennial party in 1976 and invite Carlin because, according to Bob, "He says he gets lonely every bicentennial"; Howard explains how spilling salt could be fatal—after Bob nearly falls down an elevator shaft and be-

comes obsessed with death; the Hartleys send Howard to a psychologist so he can become independent and responsible—but then want the old Howard back; Jerry comes into money, gives up his practice, and turns into "the village coot," who wants to do nothing but whittle and watch the sunrise.

These characters, even if defined by their specific quirks, developed and grew throughout the show's long run. Emily began as a substitute teacher, became a full-time teacher, and moved up to vice principal; Carol married a travel agent and also tried out some other careers, but always came back to Bob and Jerry; Howard was engaged for a time to Bob's sister Ellen, a newspaper reporter, but she went out of his life and off the show when she moved to Cleveland, Ohio, for a better job (and after she had a flirtation with Howard's visiting brother, game warden Gordon Borden). The show made creative use of running gags such as Bob's one-sided telephone conversations, which had been a popular part of Newhart's standup act; his habit of trying to explain situations by using analogies no one understood; and his bedtime conversations with Emily, when each would turn back on the light and make one more comment.

When Newhart retired the show, by choice, he expressed misgivings about the direction of situation comedy as the 1970s gave way to the 1980s. Broad physical comedy and obvious jokes seemed to be pushing out wit and sophistication. The subsequent success of *Newhart*, however, showed there was still a place for intelligent, eccentric comedy. In this series Newhart played Dick Loudon, a writer of how-to books who moved from New York to Vermont to realize his dream of running a country inn. His wife, again smart, funny, and sexy, was named Joanna and was played by Mary Frann. Again there were numerous



*The Bob Newhart Show*; B. Dailey, B. Newhart, M. Wallace, S. Pleshette, P. Bonerz, 1972–78.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

quirky supporting characters. Tom Poston, who had frequently guest starred on the earlier show, portrayed the inn's unhandy handyman, George Utley. Julia Duffy played the hilariously vain and spoiled Stephanie Vanderkellen, an heiress working as a maid at the inn (Stephanie replaced her less interesting cousin, Leslie, after the first season). Stephanie's boyfriend, Michael Harris (Peter Scolari), was an insufferable yuppie and producer of a local TV show, *Vermont Today*, which Dick began hosting a few years into *Newhart's* run. Perhaps the most memorable, and certainly the most unusual, characters were three bizarre back-woodsmen, of whom only one ever spoke (until the final episode). "I'm Larry, this is my brother Darryl, and this is my other brother Darryl," was their stock introduction. They could always be counted upon to enjoy any activity that would disgust most people. The show, like Newhart's earlier sitcom, weeded out weak characters and developed the strong ones as it went along.

*Newhart* closed its successful eight-year run with one of the best final episodes of any series. It involved



*Newhart*, Peter Scolari, Julia Duffy, Tom Poston, Bob Newhart, Mary Frann, 1982–90.  
©CBS/ Courtesy of the Everett Collection

everyone in town, except the Loudons, selling their property to a Japanese corporation, included a parody of *Fiddler on the Roof*, and ended with Newhart waking up in bed with Suzanne Pleshette, the woman who portrayed his wife on his previous show, and explaining that he had had a very strange dream (a parodic reference to the famous 1986–87 season of *Dallas*).

As this ending indicates, *The Bob Newhart Show* of the 1970s is especially fondly remembered, and there have been several other tributes to its enduring popularity. Marcia Wallace made a guest appearance on *Taxi* as the dream date of cabby Jim Ignatowski, who had nearly memorized every episode of *The Bob Newhart Show*. (Many members of the creative staff of *Taxi* had begun their careers at MTM Entertainment, the company that produced *The Bob Newhart Show*.) Newhart reprised Dr. Bob Hartley on a *Saturday Night Live* segment in the 1990s, with Hartley being the only voice of reason on a talk show panel. And when TV character Murphy Brown (as part of a continuing joke on the show of the same name) was finally assigned a competent secretary, it was again Marcia Wallace, playing Carol. At the end of the episode, however, Newhart showed up as Bob Hartley and, after reducing himself to begging, won Carol back from Murphy.

TRUDY RING

See also **Newhart, Bob**

**The Bob Newhart Show**

**Cast**

Robert (Bob) Hartley  
 Emily Hartley  
 Howard Borden  
 Jerry Robinson  
 Carol Kester Bondurant  
 Margaret Hoover (1972-73)  
 Dr. Bernie Tupperman  
 (1972-76)  
 Ellen Hartley (1974-76)  
 Larry Bondurant (1975-77)  
 Eliot Carlin  
 Mrs. Bakerman  
 Miss Larson (1972-73)  
 Michelle Nardo (1973-76)  
 Mr. Peterson (1973-78)  
 Mr. Gianelli (1972-73)  
 Mr. Vickers (1974-75)  
 Mr. Herd (1976-77)

Bob Newhart  
 Suzanne Pleshette  
 Bill Daily  
 Peter Bonerz  
 Marcia Wallace  
 Patricia Smith  
  
 Larry Gelman  
 Pat Finley  
 Will McKenzie  
 Jack Riley  
 Florida Friebus  
 Penny Marshall  
 Renee Lippin  
 John Fiedler  
 Noam Pitlik  
 Lucien Scott  
 Oliver Clark

**Producers**

Tom Patchett, Jay Tarses, David Davis, Lorenzo Music, Michael Zinberg

**Programming History**

138 episodes

CBS

September 1972-October 1976 Saturday 9:30-10:00  
 November 1976-September 1977 Saturday 8:30-9:00  
 September 1977-April 1978 Saturday 8:00-8:30  
 June 1978-August 1978 Saturday 8:00-8:30

**Newhart**

**Cast**

Dick Loudon  
 Joanna Loudon  
 Kirk Devane (1982-84)  
 George Utley  
 Leslie Vanderkellen (1982-83)  
 Stephanie Vanderkellen  
 (1983-90)  
 Larry  
 First Darryl  
 Second Darryl  
 Jim Dixo  
 Chester Wanamaker  
 Cindy Parker Devane (1984)  
 Michael Harris (1984-90)  
 Harley Estin (1984-88)

Bob Newhart  
 Mary Frann  
 Steven Kampmann  
 Tom Poston  
 Jennifer Holmes  
  
 Julia Duffy  
 William Sanderson  
 Tony Papenfuss  
 John Voldstad  
 Thomas Hill  
 William Lanteau  
 Rebecca York  
 Peter Scolari  
 Jeff Doucette

Elliot Gabler (1984-85)  
 Bev Dutton (1984-88)  
 Constable Shifflett (1985-89)  
 J.J. (1985-87)  
 Bud (1985-90)  
 Paul (1988-90)  
 Prudence Goddard (1989-90)  
 Art Rusnak (1989-90)

Lee Wilkof  
 Linda Carlson  
 Todd Susman  
 Fred Applegate  
 Ralph Manza  
 Cliff Bemis  
 Kathy Kinney  
 David Pressman

**Producers**

Barry Kemp, Sheldon Bull

**Programming History**

182 episodes

CBS

October 1982-February 1983	Monday 9:30-10:00
March 1983-April 1983	Sunday 9:30-10:00
April 1983-May 1983	Sunday 8:30-9:00
June 1983-August 1983	Sunday 9:30-10:00
August 1983-September 1986	Monday 9:30-10:00
September 1986-August 1988	Monday 9:00-9:30
August 1988-March 1989	Monday 8:00-8:30
March 1989-August 1989	Monday 10:00-10:30
August 1989-October 1989	Monday 10:30-11:00
November 1989-April 1990	Monday 10:00-10:30
April 1990-May 1990	Monday 8:30-9:00
May 1990-July 1990	Monday 10:00-10:30
July 1990-August 1990	Friday 9:00-9:30
September 1990	Saturday 9:00-9:30

**Further Reading**

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 Marc, David, *Demographic Vistas: Television in American Culture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984; 2nd edition, 1996  
 Marc, David, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989; 2nd edition, Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1997  
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## Bochco, Steven (1943– )

U.S. Writer-Producer

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Steven Bochco has created and produced some of the most acclaimed and successful American television drama series since the 1980s, and with series like *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and *NYPD Blue* has managed to make highly innovative yet popular programs.

In January 1980, Steven Bochco and Michael Kozoll pitched NBC an idea for an ensemble show set in a busy city hotel. But NBC wanted a cop show. This resulted in the series that would make Bochco's name: *Hill Street Blues* (1981–87). *HSB* was different from any American television dramatic series of its time. Its visual style, influenced by documentary police tapes, was dark, grainy and dense, and it was filmed with handheld cameras to provide a documentary-like feel, a feel further enhanced by the overlapping dialogues. The storytelling was also groundbreaking, with a large ensemble cast, characters with complex personal lives, several subplots and ongoing storylines: a form of storytelling that up to that point in American television was typical only of soap operas.

Following a first season in which the series performed badly in ratings terms it seemed that only the luck of circumstances saved the show from being canceled. However, a positive critical response worked in the show's favor. Moreover, NBC noted that the show did well among viewers who had cable television, indicating the cop drama was the type of show NBC and other networks needed to stave off the pay-TV threat. But probably the most important factor in *HSB* becoming the lowest rated show to be renewed for a second season was the fact that it picked up a record 21 Emmy nominations, and won eight. By its second season viewers finally tuned in to see what the excitement was all about and the show became, relatively speaking, a hit.

The success of *HSB* ran through television as many new drama series picked up its ensemble style—in fact, it can be argued that to this day every realistic cop show traces its dramatic roots to *HSB*—but Bochco's own follow up, *Bay City Blues* (1983), the story of a minor-league baseball team in Northern California, was short lived (nowadays it is worth noting that Sharon Stone was in the cast, and it also had TV's first full-frontal vomiting scene). The failure of this expensive series coupled with increasing costs on *HSB* was

the last straw for MTM, and Bochco was fired in 1985 (*HSB* stayed on the air until May 1987).

However, the direct negotiations Bochco had with NBC resulted in a promise for a series of his own, and this commitment became the long-running legal hit drama *L.A. Law* (1986–94) which he developed for Twentieth Century Fox. There were clearly similarities between *L.A. Law* and *HSB*, most notably the ensemble acting and overlapping, ongoing storylines, but *L.A. Law* was cheerful, bright, and populated by successful people; however, it, too, dealt with stories of a moral complexity unusual in mainstream television.

In 1987 Bochco created *Hooperman* (ABC, 1987–89) a half-hour comedy/drama series focused on a San Francisco police officer who also owned an apartment building. After this series, and following negotiations with all three networks, Bochco accepted ABC's unprecedented offer of a \$50 million deal, for ten series over a ten-year period, plus a \$5 million signing bonus. This deal was especially important to Bochco, who wanted to start his own production company based on stability and longevity.

Steven Bochco Productions was established in 1988, and its first series under the ABC deal was *Doo-gie Howser, M.D.*, a half-hour comedy/drama telling the story of a 16-year-old doctor. This hit series, co-created by Bochco and David E. Kelley, ran for four seasons. Next came Bochco's biggest critical and commercial failure *Cop Rock* (1990). The episodes of *Cop Rock* included, in a Dennis Potter-like manner, dramatic scenes interrupted by singing police officers, criminals, attorneys, and crooks. Although this was a bold experiment with the genre, critics and audiences were equally unimpressed and the show lasted only a few weeks.

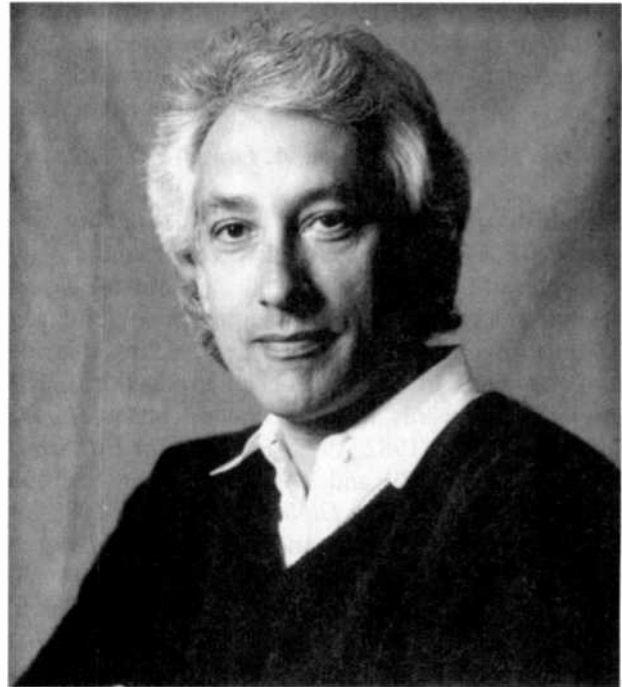
Bochco's next show for ABC was a prime-time cartoon series telling the story of mice living in the White House—*Capitol Critters* (1992)—that lasted just a few months. Next up was *Civil Wars* (1991–93) the story of a New York divorce attorney's office. Although this series lasted for two years, it too failed to achieve either high ratings or critical acclaim. Bochco's greatest hit was yet to come.

In the early 1990s, with so many television choices, Bochco realized that network TV drama was being

hurt, so much so that the common wisdom at the time was that the one-hour format was dead. It also became clear to him that network drama could no longer compete with the more explicit violence and sex on cable and pay TV, so he set out to develop what he referred to as an “R-Rated” cop drama that became *NYPD Blue* (1993–present). This series about homicide detectives in New York City resembled *HSB* in its serialized, unstable narrative development and visual style, but if *HSB* broke new ground for the 1980s, *NYPD Blue* attempted to expand the limits of network standards even further. The show was controversial even before its appearance on the schedule since it was announced in advance it would include partial nudity and more flavorful language than was common on television at the time. Conservative groups called for a boycott, and ABC and its affiliated stations were nervous. But the audience responded overwhelmingly. In fact, apart from high ratings, over the years the show has been nominated for and won numerous awards. However, some have noted that it actually broke little new ground as far as the genre’s conventions are concerned.

*Murder One* (1995–97), on the other hand, rewrote the rules of television by following a single murder story through an entire series. It was Bochco’s response to the O.J. Simpson trial, based upon his understanding that the Simpson trial changed the audience’s perception of the law. *Murder One* dealt with one case, looking closely at the strategies for both the prosecution and the defense and following it to the verdict and its aftermath. The series did not do well in the United States, probably due to it being slotted against NBC’s medical drama *ER* in its first season and NBC’s hit sitcom *Seinfeld* in its second season. And yet, in countries like Britain this series was highly regarded and relatively successful.

In the fall of 1999, national civil rights groups complained about the lack of representation of African Americans on television on the big four networks, especially as far as leading roles in drama series are concerned. CBS was able to promise immediate change with the hospital drama Bochco was developing at the time. While Bochco included African Americans in many of his previous series, *City of Angels* (2000) was the first truly all African-American drama. The show was surrounded by debates, with some arguing that its (few) white characters were depicted as ignorant or even evil. Be that as it may, the first season did not draw audiences, and it was renewed mainly due to the campaigning of black groups. Some changes were introduced and critics wrote about it more favorably, but the ratings remained low. The show was canceled in mid-season.



Steven Bochco.  
Photo courtesy of Steven Bochco

In 1999 Bochco also had some high profile battles first with Twentieth Century Fox, the distributors of his series, and then with ABC. In 2000, having left Twentieth Century Fox, he signed a five-year development deal with Paramount Television. The first show under the new contract was *Philly* (2001–2002), an irreverent fast-paced legal drama series, the story of a single mom who owns her own firm barely a year out of law school, steadily building her reputation as a tough no-nonsense defense attorney in the weathered courtrooms of Philadelphia’s city hall. It did earn some respectable reviews, but hardly the ratings successes that guarantee renewal into another season.

In 2003 HBO announced the start of production for *Marriage*, a Bochco coproduced series set entirely in and around the bedroom of a young married couple. Restricting the action to the bedroom, bathroom, and closet was meant to create “an intimate, almost voyeuristic sense of how a couple deals with each other and their marriage,” according to the press release, which also said the series would debut sometime in 2004. But after looking at the pilot, directed by the acclaimed Michael Apter (*The World Is Not Enough*, *Coal Miner’s Daughter*, and the *7 Up* documentaries) and the scripts for later episodes, HBO executives dropped the project.

In 1996 Bochco became the first television writer to receive the Writers Guild Foundation Annual Career



Achievement Award. At the time of this writing, it is unknown which Bochco project will be aired next, but it is certain to be a compelling, high-quality work.

ALINA BERNSTEIN

See also *Hill Street Blues*; *L.A. Law*; *NYPD Blue*

**Steven Ronald Bochco.** Born in New York City, December 16, 1943. Married: 1) divorced from first wife (daughter of Louis Blau) in 1966. 2) Barbara Bosson, actress; married in 1969; children: Jesse John and Melissa; divorced in 1999. 3) Dayna Kalins, married in 2000 (head of Steven Bochco Productions). His long list of awards includes, among others, *Emmy Awards*: in 1981, 1982, 1983, and 1984 for *Hill Street Blues*; in 1987, 1989, and 1990 for *L.A. Law*; in 1995 for *NYPD Blue*. *Golden Globe*: in 1981 and 1982 for *Hill Street Blues*; in 1986 and 1987 for *L.A. Law*; in 1993 for *NYPD Blue*. *People's Choice*: in 1994 and 1995 for *NYPD Blue*; in 1998 for *Brooklyn South*. *Writers Guild of America Award* in 1994 for *NYPD Blue* and in 1996 the Laurel Award (Career Achievement). In 1996 BAFTA for Best Foreign Television Program, *Murder One*. In 1997 the George Foster Peabody Award for *NYPD Blue*; Golden Satellite for *NYPD Blue*. In 1998 the David Susskind Lifetime Achievement in Television (the Producers Guild of America). In 1999 Directors Guild of America: Diversity Award.

#### Television Series

1967–75	<i>Ironside</i> (writer)
1968–72	<i>The Name of the Game</i> (writer)
1971	<i>Columbo</i> (story editor)
1971–76	<i>McMillan and Wife</i> (writer)
1974	<i>Griff</i> (writer-producer)
1976–77	<i>Delvecchio</i> (writer)
1978	<i>Richie Brockelman</i> (writer)
1979	<i>Turnabout</i> (writer)

1979–80	<i>Paris</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1981–87	<i>Hill Street Blues</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1983	<i>Bay City Blues</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1986–94	<i>L.A. Law</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1987–88	<i>Beverly Hills Buntz</i> (producer)
1987–89	<i>Hooperman</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1989–93	<i>Doogie Howser, M.D.</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1990	<i>Cop Rock</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1992	<i>Capitol Critters</i> (producer)
1991–93	<i>Civil Wars</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1993–	<i>NYPD Blue</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1994	<i>The Byrds of Paradise</i> (producer)
1995–97	<i>Murder One</i> (executive-producer, writer)
1996	<i>Public Morals</i> (executive producer)
1997	<i>Total Security</i> (executive producer)
1997–98	<i>Brooklyn South</i> (executive producer)
2000	<i>City of Angels</i> (executive producer)
2001–02	<i>Philly</i> (executive producer, writer)

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## Bogart, Paul (1919– )

U.S. Director

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Paul Bogart has enjoyed a career as a director in almost every medium of visual communication. Bogart is one of a handful of individuals who has directed live television productions of the "Golden Age," the tele-

film, the made-for-television movie, and the feature film.

Bogart's career began as a puppeteer and actor with the Berkeley Marionettes in 1946. From there he went

on to be stage manager and associate director at NBC, working on such Golden Age cornerstones as *Kraft Television Theater*, *Goodyear Playhouse*, and *Armstrong Circle Theater*. During the 1955–56 season, when *Goodyear Playhouse* was known as the *Alcoa Hour-Goodyear Playhouse*, Bogart directed an episode entitled “The Confidence Man” and an award-winning partnership began. This was the first time Bogart had directed for producer Herbert Brodtkin. Bogart would go on to direct many episodes of Brodtkin’s *The Defenders*, one of television’s most honored series, and garner his first Emmy Award for directing “The 700-Year Old Gang,” a two-part *Defenders* episode. Bogart worked almost exclusively for Brodtkin series during the early to mid-1960s (*The Defenders*, *The Nurses*, *The Doctors and Nurses*, and *Coronet Blue*).

After *The Defenders* period, the larger part of Bogart’s work was in long form—either television specials, television movies, or feature films. His work for *CBS Playhouse* was particularly noteworthy. Under that banner, Bogart won Emmys for his direction of “Dear Friends” (again with Brodtkin producing) and “Shadow Game.” During this period Bogart produced the 1966 television series *Hawk*, starring Burt Reynolds; he also directed the pilot and a handful of episodes for the series. For theatrical release he directed *Halls of Anger* (1968), *Marlowe* (1969), and *The Skin Game* (1971).

In the mid-1970s, Bogart began another long-term relationship with a single production unit. He directed scores of episodes of *All in the Family* for Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin’s Tandem Productions and in 1978 earned another Emmy for his work on the series. *The Golden Girls* brought Bogart yet another Emmy in 1986. In 1986, he directed *The Canterville Ghost* for television and *Torch Song Trilogy* for theatrical release.

Bogart has said that, in an ideal world, the feature film is his form of choice because the time constraints of television production are absent. Still, he is a singular talent among television directors. He has expressed a partiality for strong characters over a strong story. This preference takes advantage of the intimacy of the television medium, and allows those characters to reveal themselves to viewers through the nuance and subtlety of staging and blocking. These qualities are at a premium in entertainment television today, but because Bogart’s aesthetic sensibilities were developed early, in the theater and live television, the episodes he directs are graced by excellent staging and movement of characters. One need only carefully watch Bogart’s work for *The Defenders*, *All in the Family*, or *Nichols* to understand that this ability to place characters for the camera is one of the strongest characteristics of his work.



Director Paul Bogart (middle) with Pamela Payton-Wright and Timothy Bottoms in *Look Homeward, Angel* rehearsals, 1972. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

A second characteristic is that he directs like an editor. Bogart begins a directing assignment with a very clear idea of what the program should look like. He then creates the images he needs and pays particular attention to the way those images are linked to make a program. He has stated that, in his view, one of the most important aspects of visual expression is how one image follows another and contributes to the cumulative effect of those joined images. Bogart understands that the power of emotions and ideas can be reinforced or defeated by the manner in which shots are linked. The result is a directorial style that draws on the best elements of the editor’s art—the linking of carefully composed images for emotional and dramatic emphasis.

In 1991 Bogart was awarded the French Festival Internationale Programmes Audiovisuelle at Cannes, one of the few television directors to be recognized for a remarkable body of work. Many directors working in television today are members of a generation raised on television. The better of these directors are those who paid attention to the work of Paul Bogart.

JOHN COOPER

*See also All in the Family; Anthology Drama; “Golden Age” of Television; Golden Girls*

**Paul Bogart.** Born in New York City, November 21, 1919. Attended public schools in New York City. Married: Jane, 1941; children: Peter, Tracy, and Jennifer. Served in U.S. Army Air Force, 1944–46. Puppeteer-actor with the Berkeley Marionettes, 1946–48; TV stage manager and associate director, NBC television, 1950–52; director, installments of various live television dramas, 1950s–1960s; director, telefilm series and

## Bogart, Paul

made-for-television movies, from 1960s. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1965, 1968, 1970, 1978, 1986; Christopher Awards, 1955, 1973, and 1975; Golden Globe, 1977; French Festival Internationale Audio-visuelle, Cannes, 1991.

### Television Series (selected)

1947–58 *Kraft Television Theater*  
1949–55 *One Man's Family*  
1950–63 *Armstrong Circle Theatre*  
1951–60 *Goodyear Playhouse*  
1953–63 *U.S. Steel Hour*  
1961–65 *The Defenders*  
1962–65 *The Nurses*  
1966–76 *Hawk*  
1971–83 *All in the Family*  
1985–92 *The Golden Girls*  
1990 *Baghdad Café*

### Made-for-Television Movies

1966 *Evening Primrose*  
1970 *In Search of America*  
1972 *The House Without a Christmas Tree*  
1974 *Tell Me Where It Hurts*  
1975 *Winner Take All*  
1980 *Fun and Games*

1986 *The Canterville Ghost*  
1987 *Power, Passion and Murder*  
1987 *Natica Jackson*  
1992 *Broadway Bound*  
1992 *The Last Mile*  
1994 *The Gift of Love*  
1995 *The Heidi Chronicles*

### Television Specials

*Ages of Man; Mark Twain Tonight; The Final War of Ollie Winter; Dear Friends; Secrets; Shadow Game; Look Homeward, Angel; The Country Girl; Double Solitaire; The War Widow; The Thanksgiving Treasure; The Adams Chronicles.*

### Films

*Halls of Anger, 1968; Marlowe, 1969; The Skin Game, 1971; Class of '44, 1973; Mr. Ricco, 1975; Oh, God! You Devil, 1984; Torch Song Trilogy, 1988.*

### Further Reading

Wicking, Christopher, and Tise Vahimagi, *The American Vein: Directors and Directions in Television*, New York: Dutton, 1979

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## Bolam, James (1938– )

British Actor

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James Bolam has proved one of the most popular and enduring character stars of British television comedy and drama, capitalizing on his northern background and on his natural, pugnacious charm in a variety of roles over four decades. Bolam had the good fortune to begin his screen career at a time when there was a tremendous vogue in British theater, film, and television for working-class northern drama. With his punchy but vulnerable Geordie persona and undisguised accent, Bolam was a natural choice for such worthy though relatively plodding films as *The Kitchen*, which was based on the play by Arnold Wesker, and John Schlesinger's North Country feature *A Kind of Loving*. Subsequently, among other films, he supported fellow-northerner Tom Courtenay in *Otley* and played second lead to Alan Bates in Lindsay An-

derson's *In Celebration* (a David Storey play set in the mining towns of Nottinghamshire in which he and Bates had already appeared on the Royal Court stage).

It was as a favorite of television comedy and period drama audiences, however, that Bolam (a former trainee chartered accountant) was destined to make his mark. Cast as the girl-chasing, anti-establishment cynic Terry Collier opposite Rodney Bewes's diffident and socially aspiring Bob Ferris in the long-running and warmly realistic comedy series *The Likely Lads* (1964–66), written by Ian La Frenais and Dick Clement, Bolam cut a fine line between pathos and brash northern cockiness. In his scorn for Bob's middle-class pretensions, Bolam's work-shy proletarian Terry typified northern prejudice and aggression, but in his overt sensitivity to any rejection by his aspir-

ing childhood friend and drinking partner, he became both endearing and sympathetic, as much a victim of a hostile class system as Bob's soul companion. The friendship between the two characters was in many situations their only defense, coupled with a shared nostalgia for time-honored northern ways. The series, which relied heavily on the writing of Le Frenais and Clements as well as upon the innate charm of Bolam and Bewes, was significant in that it raised issues of greater relevance to the viewing public than was attempted by virtually any other sitcom of the time (and, indeed, by many in succeeding decades).

The underlying theme of nostalgia for the values of the old north, and the comedy inherent in two northern lads trying to keep their friendship alive while coming to terms with the realities of life, was underlined in the even better later series, *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* (1973–74), in which the pathos was strengthened by an awareness of time passing. This revival, which took up the lives of the two friends after Terry's return from four years in the army and Bob's assumption of bourgeois respectability (and engagement to the self-willed Thelma, played by Bridgit Forsyth), proved as well written and as pointed as the first series, the friendship tottering and swaying as the two men argued heatedly about their conflicting views on such issues as class, sexual equality, and self-advancement.

Though identified primarily with northern working-class characters, Bolam has managed to vary his diet by escaping from the straitjacket of television comedy on several occasions. Particularly notable was his success as the indomitable entrepreneur Jack Ford in the long-running between-the-wars period drama set in South Shields, *When the Boat Comes In*, which extended to four series and finally ended with Ford's death in the Spanish Civil War. Jessie Seaton, women's campaigner and Ford's love interest in the series, was played by Bolam's off-stage wife, Susan Jameson.

To underline Bolam's versatility, he also appeared with success in a BBC production of William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* and in the 1980s forged a new variation on the sympathetic but single-minded northerner theme as Trevor Chaplain, the inquisitive, jazz-loving schoolteacher investigating corruption in Alan Plater's *The Beiderbecke Affair* and its sequels.

A long-established favorite of low-brow television comedy, since the days of *The Likely Lads*, Bolam has continued to enjoy success in such unchallenging fare as *Only When I Laugh*, an unexceptional hospital sitcom that nevertheless lasted four series, *Room at the Bottom*, *Andy Capp*, *Executive Stress*, *Sticky Wickets*, *Eleven Men against Eleven* (a comedy thriller in which

Bolam played the beleaguered manager of an ailing Premier Division football team, under crooked chairman Timothy West), and *Pay and Display*. In 1996 his chilling performance as the evil Mr. Peters in the film *Stella Does Tricks* provided audiences with fresh evidence of his range as a performer.

DAVID PICKERING

See also *The Likely Lads*

**James Bolam.** Born in Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, England, June 16, 1938. Attended Bede Grammar School, Sunderland; Bemrose School, Derby. Married: Susan Jameson; one child: Lucy. Trained as actor at Central School of Speech and Drama, London; stage debut, Royal Court Theatre, London, 1959; established reputation as television star in the long-running series *The Likely Lads*, 1964–66, and the sequel *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, 1973–74; subsequently consolidated reputation as popular star of situation comedy as well as playing straight roles and acting in films.

#### Television Series

1964–66	<i>The Likely Lads</i>
1973–74	<i>Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?</i>
1976–81	<i>When the Boat Comes In</i>
1979	<i>The Limbo Connection</i>
1979–83	<i>Only When I Laugh</i>
1985	<i>The Beiderbecke Affair</i>
1986	<i>Executive Stress</i>
1987	<i>The Beiderbecke Tapes</i>
1987	<i>Room at the Bottom</i>
1987	<i>Father Matthew's Daughter</i>
1988	<i>The Beiderbecke Connection</i>
1988	<i>Andy Capp</i>
1991–93	<i>Second Thoughts</i>
1994	<i>Sticky Wickets</i>
1995	<i>Eleven Men Against Eleven</i>
1997	<i>Have Your Cake</i>
1997	<i>The Missing Postman</i>
2000	<i>Pay and Display</i>

#### Films

*The Kitchen*, 1961; *A Kind of Loving*, 1962; *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*, 1962; *HMS Defiant*, 1962; *Murder Most Foul*, 1965; *Half a Sixpence*, 1967; *Otley*, 1969; *Crucible of Terror*, 1971; *Straight on Till Morning*, 1972; *O Lucky Man!*, 1973; *In Celebration*, 1974; *The Likely Lads*, 1976; *The Great Question*, 1982; *The Plague Dogs* (voice only), 1982; *Clash of Loyalties*, 1983;

Bolam, James

*Clockwork Mice*, 1995; *Stella Does Tricks*, 1996;  
*End of the Affair*, 1999; *It Was an Accident*, 2000.

#### Radio

*Second Thoughts*, 1988.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Kitchen*, 1959; *Events while Guarding the Bofors Gun*, 1966; *In Celebration*, 1969; *Veterans*, 1972; *Treats*, 1976; *Who Killed 'Agatha' Christie?*, 1978; *King Lear*, 1981; *Run For Your Wife!*, 1983; *Arms*

*and the Man*, 1989; *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, 1989; *Victory*, 1989; *Jeffrey Bernard Is Unwell*, 1990; *Glengarry Glen Ross*, 1994; *Wild Oats*, 1995; *Endgame*, 1999; *Semi-Detached*, 1999; *Sick Dictators* (director), 2001.

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Ross, Deborah, "What Really Happened to the Likely Lads?" *Daily Mail* (July 17, 1993)

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## Bonanza

### U.S. Western

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*Bonanza*, the first western televised in color, premiered on a Saturday night in the fall of 1959. After *Gunsmoke*, *Bonanza* was the longest-running and most successful western in U.S. television, airing for 14 seasons. The series related the story of Ben Cartwright (Lorne Greene) and his three sons, Adam (Pernell Roberts), Hoss (Dan Blocker), and Little Joe (Michael Landon), prosperous ranchers in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada, in the mid-19th century, during the Civil War years and the discovery of the Comstock Silver Lode. The show was designed to appeal to a broad audience, crossing age and gender groups. The action elements catered to a more traditional audience for westerns, while dramatic issues and family values expanded the show's popularity to a more general audience. The careful photography presented beautiful scenery, and interiors resembled movies more than other contemporary television shows.

The Cartwrights were not a traditional nuclear family. The patriarch was a three-time widower, with a son from each wife. In the first few seasons, personality differences between the sons motivated most of the plot conflicts. Two years after its debut, *Bonanza* moved to Sunday night and its popularity soared. By this time, the three sons had worked out most of their differences and the show was about the dealings of a well-integrated all-male family as well as their problems with mining and ranch interests. Other characters would wander into the community and cause conflict, leading the members of the family individually or

communally as a group to restore the order. The oldest son, Adam, was the most serious of the three brothers, the potential patriarch. The middle son, Hoss, was the buffoon type, big and friendly, naive yet explosive. Little Joe was the impulsive and romantic member of the family.

*Bonanza* differed from other westerns in its relatively limited use of violence and "shoot-outs." Conflicts were resolved through dialogue between the main characters and guest stars. Generally, this one-hour show tackled topical issues (i.e., racial discrimination, voting, religion). Famous guest stars such as Yvonne De Carlo, Ida Lupino, Barry Sullivan, Ricardo Cortez, and Jack Carson added to the show's popularity. *Bonanza* was also the first show to introduce the ranch, in this case the thousand-acre Ponderosa, as an important element in the narrative, the fifth character, as producers referred to it. Brauer and Brauer argue that this emphasis on the "piece of land" was symbolic of a shift from emphasizing mobility, the lone wanderer with his gun and horse, to a focus on the settled landowner (see Brauer and Brauer). These changes also led to a restructuring of the leading characters' role in the community.

The cook at Ponderosa was Hop Sing (Victor Sen Yung), a Chinese immigrant. He was presented in the traditional subservient role reserved for minorities in the period the show was produced. He spoke with a heavy accent, wore generic Asian clothes, had long, braided hair, and always delivered words of wisdom.



*Bonanza*, Parnell Roberts, Michael Landon, Lorne Greene, Dan Blocker, 1959–73.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

In several episodes the family engaged in various conflicts with outsiders to protect Hop Sing against discrimination. In doing so, the show foregrounded racial discrimination of the historical period as well as the ongoing racial conflicts of the 1960s.

Between September 12, 1959, and January 16, 1973, a total of 440 episodes were produced. Those years witnessed several cast changes. Parnell Roberts left the series at the end of 1964–65 season, calling it “junk TV” and complaining about the glorified portrayal of wealthy ranchers. His character was eliminated from the series. Dan Blocker died before the beginning of the 1972–73 season. After his death, the show’s ratings started to fall, and it was canceled in 1973. A change from the traditional slot on Sunday to

Tuesday evening, after 11 years on the air, might also have caused the demise of the show. Even before the show was canceled, it was already being rerun, under the name *Ponderosa*, by NBC on Tuesday evenings. *Bonanza* was exported throughout the world and has aired in syndication in the United States.

In the mid-1980s there was an attempt to revive the series with a made-for-television movie entitled *Bonanza: The Next Generation*. None of the original cast of the series appeared in the show. Greene’s death forced the producer to cast another actor in the role of *Ponderosa*’s patriarch; in the movie John Ireland played Ben Cartwright’s brother. He could not control the ranch and it was almost taken over by miners and oil speculators. It was only when the sons of Little Joe

## Bonanza

and Hoss returned that the ranch experienced a new Bonanza.

ANTONIO C. LA PASTINA

See also **Western**

### Cast

Ben Cartwright	Lorne Greene
Little Joe Cartwright	Michael Landon
Eric "Hoss" Cartwright (1959–72)	Dan Blocker
Adam Cartwright (1959–65)	Pernell Roberts
Hop Sing	Victor Sen Yung
Sheriff Roy Caffee (1960–72)	Ray Teal
Candy (1967–70, 1972–73)	David Canary
Dusty Rhodes (1970–72)	Lou Frizzel
Jamie Hunter (1970–73)	Mitch Vogel
Griff King (1972–73)	Tim Matheson
Deputy Clem (1961–73)	Bing Russell

### Producers

Richard Collins, David Dortort, Robert Blees

### Programming History

440 episodes

NBC

September 1959–September  
1961

Saturday 7:30–8:30

September 1961–September  
1972

Sunday 9:00–10:00

May 1972–August 1972

Tuesday 7:30–8:30

September 1972–January 1973

Tuesday 8:00–9:00

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## Boone, Richard (1917–1981)

U.S. Actor

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Richard Boone was one of the television acting profession's gladiators, a craggy, determined, and almost menacing figure among the actors and directors who worked with him. His uncompromising commitment to his work often brought him into conflict with his fellow players and was also a constant source of frustration to the directors and producers who tried to control him. That his work for television eventually brought him critical acclaim and viewer popularity while he simultaneously alienated certain sections of the industry may be, perhaps, the hallmark of his genius.

In 1947 he traveled to New York and joined the well-known Actor's Studio (where his classmates included such then-unknowns as Marlon Brando, Karl Malden, Eva Marie Saint, and Julie Harris). He got his growth, he claimed, as an actor in some 150 live TV shows in New York between 1948 and 1950, after which he returned home to California. He was also reportedly a regular on the CBS children's program *Mr. I. Magination* in 1949 (when the program was a local New York show) and appeared as one of the reporters

in *The Front Page* series (1949–50) during its early days. Back in Los Angeles, he was put under contract to Twentieth Century Fox and his first feature film was *Halls of Montezuma*, directed by Lewis Milestone in 1950 (Milestone would later be invited to direct episodes of *Have Gun—Will Travel* and *The Richard Boone Show*). While at Fox, he was working for Jack Webb in his radio *Dragnet* when, still as an unknown bit player, around the summer of 1950, he did a single radio drama called *The Doctor* (written by *Dragnet* writer James Moser). This radio show turned out to be the forerunner of Boone's first starring TV role, *Medic*.

By 1954 the role of Dr. Konrad Styner, *Medic*'s host and narrator and a frequent participant in its stories made Boone a household name. Created and written by Moser, *Medic* (1954–56) employed a dramatic-documentary style, factual and educational in content but with a dramatic impact that few if any physician-centered programs achieved until the advent of *Ben Casey* in 1961. With Moser writing and generally steering the series, *Medic* developed a highly effective

semidocumentary technique similar to TV's popular *Dragnet*. The program took its stories from the files of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, real medical case histories showing inherent drama. Boone's stolid underplaying heightened the dramatic force of the series; however, there were critics and viewers at the time who thought his character too dour and gruff. When *Medic* came to an end, Boone found other parts elusive; although this had been his first real doctor role, casting directors had come to see him as a "doctor" character, and his strong screen association with the role of Dr. Styner left him typecast in the "he always plays doctors" file.

Boone's most memorable TV role, however, was set in a completely different genre, as he was featured as an 1870s San Francisco gentleman-adventurer who hired himself out as a mercenary gunslinger. As the impassive troubleshooter Paladin in the post-Civil War West of *Have Gun—Will Travel* (1957–63), Boone helped push the series to top-ten positions in the Nielsen ratings (numbers 3 and 4) during its first four seasons. The part was originally offered to Randolph Scott, who at the time had other commitments. After first turning down Boone for the role, CBS made a five-minute test film for New York executives still prepared to typecast him as a physician—and then signed him to a five-year contract. While *Have Gun—Will Travel* and Boone's popularity rose in the ratings and in the esteem of fans, his standing among people in the industry dropped significantly. His strict dedication to his work, which he also demanded of everyone around him, saw him all but legally take over the CBS production: scripts, actors, directors, even costumes, all had to receive his personal approval. From 1960 onward, Boone was particularly active in the series' director's chair, directing almost one in four episodes himself. "When I direct a show, I'm pretty arbitrary," he commented to *TV Guide* in early 1961. "If I have a fault, it's that I see an end and go for it with all my energy; and if I'm bugged with people who don't see it or won't go for it, it looks as though I'm riding all over them."

During this time, he continued appearing in multiple TV plays. Notable performances during this period came with David Shaw's acclaimed "The Tunnel" (1959; for *Playhouse 90*); in *The Right Man* (1960), for which he delivered a fine performance as Abraham Lincoln; and with his work as narrator for Stephen Vincent Benet's Pulitzer Prize-winning poem *John Brown's Body* (1962).

The repertory theater concept of *The Richard Boone Show* was first proposed by Boone in 1960 to CBS. When CBS executives suggested that they might find a slot for such a program on their Sunday afternoon



Richard Boone, 1963.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

schedule, Boone put the idea on a back burner until he had acquired his "go-to-hell money" (as he put it) from the millions of dollars he made during his years with *Have Gun—Will Travel* and, to a lesser extent, from *Medic*. It was not until his idea received the enthusiasm and support of the distinguished playwright Clifford Odets, the Goodson-Todman production company, and NBC president Robert Kintner that the television repertory company series started becoming a reality. *The Richard Boone Show* (1963–64) featured a workshop of ten actors whom Boone considered the best in the business: Robert Blake, Lloyd Bochner, Laura Devon, June Harding, Bethel Leslie, Harry Morgan, Jeanette Nolan, Ford Rainey, Warren Stevens, and Guy Stockwell. Boone himself starred at times and served as the regular host. With Odets as the program's script editor, the series' prestige was almost guaranteed. Unfortunately, after completing much of the preliminary work for the series, Odets died in August 1963. Before the 24 episodes had completed their run (and despite having just been voted "the best dramatic program on the air" in the 15th Annual Motion Picture Daily poll), the program was canceled in January 1964. Boone took the news hard. It had been a very personal project for him, and—as a result of a premature NBC press office re-



lease—he learned of his program's demise in a morning trade paper. Still, his anger was tempered by the knowledge that he was by that time already receiving \$50,000 a year for 20 years after selling out his interest in *Have Gun—Will Travel*; he was also to receive a reported \$20,000 a week for his now-defunct show, also on a deferred payment basis.

From 1964 to 1971 Boone lived a very comfortable life with his family in Honolulu, Hawaii, traveling to the mainland United States only for the occasional movie such as *Hombre* (1966) and *The Kremlin Letter* (1969). He also helped induce producer Leonard Freeman to film *Hawaii Five-O* in Honolulu instead of the intended San Pedro; Freeman even offered him the leading part of McGarrett, but Boone declined.

In 1971 Boone was offered the lead role in Universal TV/Mark VII's *Hec Ramsey* (1972–74) series (two seasons as one of four rotating 90-minute TV movies). The program, about a grizzled, turn-of-the-century lawyer with a fascination for the new science of criminology, was in its way, perhaps, a gentle monument to Boone's earlier TV performances: Hec Ramsey was Paladin grown older, with an accumulation of artfulness and astuteness along with a stockpile of barely contained impatience.

The latter part of Boone's career was taken up with such diverse made-for-TV movie plots and themes as the elaborate murder set-up of *In Broad Daylight* (1971), the espionage tale of *Deadly Harvest* (1972), the period private-eye spoof *Goodnight, My Love* (1972), the Depression-era drama *The Great Niagra* (1974), and the rather sorry fantasy adventure *The Last Dinosaur* (1977).

With his dedication to his work in television, Boone always gave an extraordinarily commanding performance, always straightforward, always the center of interest.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also *Have Gun—Will Travel*

**Richard (Allen) Boone.** Born in Los Angeles, California, June 18, 1917. Attended military school; Stanford University, 1934–37. Married: 1) Jane Hopper, 1937 (divorced, 1940); 2) Mimi Kelly, 1949 (divorced, 1950); 3) Claire McAloon, 1951; child: Peter. Served in U.S. Navy, 1941–45. Oilfield worker, 1930s; painter and short-story writer, 1930s; after World War II studied acting at the Neighborhood Playhouse and Actors Studio; studied modern dance with Martha Graham; stage debut as soldier and as understudy to John Gielgud's Jason, in Broadway staging of *Medea*, 1947; acted in radio drama *The Halls of Montezuma*, 1950; led to role in the movie version, 1951; film actor, 1951–79; starred in television series *Medic*, 1954–56;

starred in CBS Television's *Have Gun—Will Travel*, 1957–63; developed and directed repertory theater-style television series, *The Richard Boone Show* (also host and often the lead), 1963–64; in Hawaii, after *The Richard Boone Show* canceled, established movie company Pioneer Productions, and taught acting; starred in NBC Television's *Hec Ramsey*, one of four rotating series comprising the *Sunday Night Mystery Shows*, 1972–73; lectured on acting at Flagler College. Member: Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Three American Television Critics Best Actor Awards. Died in St. Augustine, Florida, January 10, 1981.

#### Television Series

1949	<i>Mr. I. Magination</i>
1949	<i>The Front Page</i>
1954–56	<i>Medic</i>
1957–63	<i>Have Gun—Will Travel</i> (also director)
1963–64	<i>The Richard Boone Show</i> (host; also director)
1972–74	<i>Hec Ramsey</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1971	<i>In Broad Daylight</i>
1971	<i>A Tattered Web</i>
1972	<i>Goodnight, My Love</i>
1972	<i>Deadly Harvest</i>
1974	<i>The Great Niagra</i>
1977	<i>The Last Dinosaur</i>
1977	<i>The Hobbit</i> (voice only)

#### Television Specials

1960	<i>The Right Man</i>
1960	<i>The Spirit of the Alamo</i>
1962	<i>John Brown's Body</i> (narrator)

#### Films

*The Halls of Montezuma*, 1950; *Call Me Mister*, 1951; *Rommel, Desert Fox*, 1951; *Kangaroo*, 1952; *Return of the Texan*, 1952; *Red Skies of Montana*, 1952; *Way of a Gaucho*, 1952; *Man on a Tightrope*, 1953; *City of Bad Men*, 1953; *Vicki*, 1953; *The Robe*, 1953; *Beneath the 12-Mile Reef*, 1953; *The Siege at Red River*, 1954; *Dragnet*, 1954; *The Raid*, 1954; *Man without a Star*, 1955; *Ten Wanted Men*, 1955; *Robbers' Roost*, 1955; *Battle Stations*, 1956; *Star in the Dust*, 1956; *Away All Boats*, 1956; *Lizzie*, 1957; *The Garment Jungle*, 1957; *The Tall T*, 1957; *I Bury the Living*, 1958; *The Alamo*, 1960; *A Thunder of Drums*, 1961; *Rio Conchos*, 1964; *The War Lord*, 1965; *Hombre*, 1967; *Kona Coast*,

1968; *The Night of the Following Day*, 1968; *The Arrangement*, 1969; *The Kremlin Letter*, 1969; *Madron*, 1970; *Big Jake*, 1971; *The Shootist*, 1976; *The Big Sleep*, 1978; *Winter Kills*, 1979; *The Bushido Blade*, 1979.

#### Radio

*Dragnet*, 1949; *The Halls of Montezuma*, 1950; *The Doctor*, 1950.

#### Stage

*Medea*, 1947; *Macbeth*, 1948; *The Man*, 1950; on tour, *The Hasty Heart*, 1959; *The Rivalry*, 1959.

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## Borrowers, The

### British Children's Series

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*The Borrowers*, an award-winning children's period drama fantasy series about a family of little people living undetected beneath the floorboards of a large English house, was produced for the BBC by Working Title Television and first screened in the United Kingdom as six half-hour episodes in November and December, 1992. A second series of six half-hour episodes followed toward the end of 1993. Based on a series of established classics of children's literature, it remains a faithful and loved screen adaptation, and is often included on lists of the best television series made for children.

The children's novel *The Borrowers* was published in 1952 by Mary Norton (who also authored *Bedknobs and Broomsticks*) and has remained enduringly popular ever since, winning the Library Association's Carnegie Medal, among other accolades. Mary Norton had spent her childhood in a large family house in Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, England, and conceived the notion of miniature people living their own parallel secret lives in the house from the games she played on the floor with small dolls. She called these six-inch-tall folk "Borrowers" because they relied upon salvaging discarded oddments from the "human beans" with whom they shared the house, to refashion as furniture and tools.

*The Borrowers* introduces the diminutive Clock family. Pod, Homily, and their daughter Arrietty live behind the kitchen clock, out of sight of the full-sized humans who occupy the house, entirely oblivious of the Clocks' existence. Trouble ensues after Arrietty befriends the human boy who lives upstairs. The adventures are continued in *The Borrowers Afield* (1955), in

which Pod and his family face the perils of the great outdoors after being obliged to leave their home, and in *The Borrowers Afloat* (1959), in which the Borrowers are made homeless once again until rescued by their equally tiny friend Spiller and installed in a new home by the river (a kettle). In *The Borrowers Aloft* (1961) the family think their troubles are over when they move into a new home in a model village, only to find themselves pursued by the wicked Mr. Platter, who wants live inhabitants for his own rival model village. The series ends with *The Borrowers Avenged* (1982), in which, after further adventures, the Borrowers have their revenge on the Platters and finally settle down in their perfect home.

As adapted for the small screen by Richard Carpenter, the first series followed the adventures of the Borrowers after they are first detected and, narrowly escaping the destruction of their home as well as death by rat poison and other threats, are forced to leave their home. The second series, shot on location at Chawton House in Hampshire and at Pinewood Studios, saw them end up at the model village. As in the original books, the underlying theme was the trust that develops between the various characters as they face the challenge of the unfamiliar dangers of the outside world together. The relationships between Arrietty and her parents and between Arrietty and the human boy lie at the heart of the story, which is essentially a fable about the process of growing up and facing the challenges of an alien adult world.

Transforming Mary Norton's books into a live-action television serial presented obvious technical difficulties, particularly as the makers did not have ac-

cess to the kind of computer technology that would have offered them more alternatives a few years later. The necessary miniaturization, achieved partly through superimposition of "reduced" live actors against full-sized backgrounds and through the judicious use of oversized props such as needles and matchboxes, was not perhaps always as convincing as it might have been with computer-enhanced technology, but what the series lacked in special effects (a problem exacerbated by the limited budget available) it made up for in the quality of the acting and the careful preservation of the charm and humor of Norton's writing. Norton's characters were colorful and complex, and the casting of the respected actors Ian Holm (as the pessimistic patriarch Pod) and his real-life wife Penelope Wilton (as the shrewish Homily) was crucial to the success of the series. The acting by the rest of the cast, which included Rebecca Callard (as Arrietty) and Sian Phillips (as Mrs. Driver), was equally assured. Some expressed doubts about the role of Richard Lewis, however, who acted as a sort of host, popping up somewhat incongruously at various points to comment upon the action.

The series was widely screened internationally and remains one of the most acclaimed of children's fantasy dramas for children, maintaining the BBC's reputation for quality period drama based on established literary classics. It was particularly admired for its visual qualities, being shot largely in a warm, misty glow which created an evocative, nostalgic atmosphere. The quality of the camerawork was formally recognized when the first series won BAFTA and Agfa awards for best television photography. The second series was again nominated for the same BAFTA award.

An earlier U.S. version of Mary Norton's books, starring Eddie Albert, Tammy Grimes, Judith Anderson, Beatrice Straight, and Barnard Hughes and also titled *The Borrowers*, was reasonably successful when screened by Twentieth Century Fox in 1973. The story

was given the Hollywood movie treatment, with the release of *The Borrowers* in 1997. Starring John Goodman, Jim Broadbent, Mark Williams, Hugh Laurie, Celia Imrie, and others and publicized under the slogan "Small is awesome," this latest transatlantic incarnation of Norton's adventures took full advantage of the special effects made possible by a budget of \$30 million and was received well enough by family audiences.

DAVID PICKERING

**See also Adaptations; British Programming; Children and Television**

**Cast**

Pod	Ian Holm
Homily	Penelope Wilton
Arrietty	Rebecca Callard
Mrs. Driver	Sian Phillips
Mildeye	Tony Haygarth
Uncle Hendreary	Stanley Lebor

**Additional cast for second series**

Paul Cross, Ross McCall, Pamela Cundell, Victoria Donovan, Bay White, John Tordoff.

**Director**

John Henderson

**Producers**

Grainne Marmion, Angela Beeching (executive producer, second series)

**Programming History**

BBC

November 8–December 13, 1992

November 14–December 19, 1993

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## Boyle, Harry (1915– )

Canadian Writer, Media Executive

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Harry Boyle made his career in broadcasting, but, given the ephemeral nature of radio and television productions, he may be remembered more as an author and humorist. Television historians, however, will

likely see his accomplishments as a broadcast regulator as the most significant aspects of his long career. Boyle started his career on a radio station in Wingham, Ontario, and after a brief detour into the newspaper

business, he joined the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1943 as a farm commentator. He advanced rapidly into executive ranks and joined the television service in the 1960s, serving as program director and executive producer. In both radio and television, he established a reputation as a creative programmer who launched the careers of many talented broadcasters, such as the comedy team of Wayne and Shuster, and the eclectic Max Ferguson. He was known for defending the independence of producers against management restrictions.

Boyle's career as a regulator began in 1967. While serving as program supervisor at CBC-Toronto, he was appointed by the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) to an 11-member consultative committee on program policy, the only member from the CBC. The committee issued its report in 1968, just as the BBG was abolished by the 1968 Broadcasting Act, to be replaced by a new, more powerful regulatory body, the Canadian Radio-television Commission (CRTC), later called the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission.

Boyle was appointed vice chair of the commission, led by the formidable Pierre Juneau. He served with Juneau until Juneau resigned in 1975. Boyle was named acting head and then confirmed in the role in 1976, but he left after a year, by some accounts disenchanted with his limited influence on programming.

Throughout his career, Boyle promoted a vision of Canadian identity as an expression of a sense of place, best realized in specific communities. He argued that in pursuing national audiences, the CBC, and Canadian broadcasting generally, neglected local, regional, and multicultural programming. Boyle once commented that he agreed to the CRTC appointment in the hope of pushing the CBC into providing such coverage.

The team of Juneau, dapper and precise, and Boyle, rumpled and disorganized, accomplished much more than anyone expected in carrying forward the ambitious goals of the 1968 Broadcasting Act. They safeguarded domestic ownership of Canada's broadcasting industry, produced a strong set of Canadian-content quotas for television (regulations that contributed significantly to the development of Canada's independent television production industry), supported the extension of the private network CTV, and formulated the first rules for the cable TV industry. Although rendered increasingly obsolete by new broadcast technologies, these initiatives provided important opportunities for Canadian expression.

Boyle's most controversial legacy was a report tabled by the Committee of Inquiry into the National Broadcasting Service in 1977. Boyle presided over the inquiry, which was launched shortly after the 1976



Harry Boyle.  
*Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection*

Quebec election, in which a party dedicated to a sovereign Quebec received a majority in the provincial government. Not surprisingly, the event added to concerns about Canadian unity and led to accusations that the French-language news services of the CBC were biased in favor of Quebec independence. It has been suggested that Boyle accepted the task to forestall a more politically motivated investigation. He may also have been motivated by the fact that the committee's mandate reflected his much-quoted view that Canada "exists by reason of communication." The report expressed concern about the centralization of the Canadian television system, the lack of programming from regions outside central Canada, and, in particular, the gulf between French and English audiences. Although supportive of the CBC, Boyle also expressed the hope that new communications technologies, formats, and programming would bridge the divisions in Canadian society. One example was the multichannel possibilities presented by cable television and pay-per-view programming. The report, with others, helped to lay the foundation for the expansion of cable services.

With respect to content, the report characterized the CBC as "biased to the point of subversiveness" for its

Boyle, Harry

failure, in the committee's view, to promote communication among the country's regional and linguistic communities. The report was not received favorably by CBC journalists—who contended that it was inaccurate and unfair—but it was successful in turning attention away from accusations of “separatist bias” to the extent to which the English and French networks reflected Canada as a whole. Debate about the latter issue has continued. In the politically charged atmosphere of 1977, however, the tack taken by Boyle helped to defuse French-English tensions a little.

Boyle's substantial personal archives have been deposited with York University in Toronto and will attract scholars interested in making sense of a crucial time in the development of Canadian television.

FREDERICK J. FLETCHER AND ROBERT EVERETT

**Harry Boyle.** Born in St. Augustine, Ontario, Canada, October 7, 1915. Attended St. Jerome's College in Kitchener, Ontario. Married: Marion McCaffery, 1937; children: Patricia and Michael. Worked for radio station CKNX, Wingham, Ontario, 1936–41; writer, *Beacon-Herald*, Stratford, Ontario, 1941–42; farm broadcaster, CBC, Toronto, Ontario, 1943; supervisor of farm broadcasts, 1943–45; program director, Trans-

Canada Network, 1946–52; regional program director, radio and television, 1952–55; supervisor of radio features, from 1955; television executive producer, from 1963; weekly columnist, *Toronto Telegram*, 1956–68; author of numerous books, from 1961; vice chair, Canadian Radio-television Commission, 1968–75; chair, 1976–77; columnist, *Montreal Star*, from 1978. Recipient: Stephen Leacock Medal for Humour, 1964; John Drainie Award, Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists, 1970; named to Canadian Newspaper Hall of Fame, 1979; Jack Chisholm Award, Canadian Film and TV Directors' Association, 1980.

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## Boys from the Blackstuff

### British Drama Series

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*Boys from the Blackstuff*, the first television series by Liverpool playwright Alan Bleasdale, was a technical and topical triumph for BBC English Regions Drama, capturing the public mood in 1982, at a time of economic recession and anxiety about unemployment. Set in a grimly recognizable Liverpool, it chronicled the disparate and sometimes dissolute attempts of five former members of a tarmac gang to find work in a city hit hard by mounting unemployment and depression. As an outwardly realist intervention into a serious social problem, its impact, sustained through its dramatic power and emotional truth, was comparable to that of *Cathy Come Home* 15 years earlier. With its ostensibly somber subject matter leavened by passionate direction and flashes of ironic Scouse wit, *Boys from the Blackstuff* overcame its regional setting and minority

channel scheduling (on BBC 2) to receive instant critical acclaim, winning an unprecedented repeat run only nine weeks later on BBC 1 and a BAFTA award for best drama series of 1982.

Bleasdale (who described it as “an absurd, mad, black farce”) originally conceived *Boys from the Blackstuff* in 1978 during filming for *The Black Stuff* (directed by Jim Goddard), his single play introducing the Boys as a tarmac gang (hence the title) and culminating in their sacking for “doing a foreigner” (non-contract job). But while technically a sequel, *Boys from the Blackstuff* was a deeper and darker investigation of character and circumstance consisting of five linked plays of varying lengths (from 55 to 70 minutes). As such, it proved difficult to fit into the production and budgetary system of English Regions Drama.

However, the delay to the production that this caused contributed significantly to the strength and originality of the final work, as well as providing a timely conjunction between its transmission and the apex of British unemployment.

To cut costs, the production was budgeted across two financial years, using newly available lightweight video equipment, except for one episode ("Yosser's Story") made on film with the unit's annual film budget. Unusually for the time, the video episodes were edited in postproduction, and the series' filmic qualities were further enhanced by Ilona Sekacz's specially composed music and by the replacement of Goddard (no longer available) with Philip Saville, through whose elegant and inventive shooting style Liverpool's dereliction took on a crumbling grandeur.

Of the five central characters, Chrissie (Michael Angelis) is the most ordinary (standing, perhaps, for Bleasdale himself), desperate for legitimate work and increasingly soured by the indignity and insecurity of life on the dole. Loggo (Alan Igbon), more defiant, stands as an ironic observer least affected by the experience. Dixie (Tom Georgeson), once the gang's foreman, has become embittered and unforgiving, his pride as a working man shattered. George (Peter Kerrigan), much the oldest, represented the dignity of labor, wise and greatly respected as a trade union official, refusing to give up hope even on the remarkable wheelchair ride through the decaying Albert Dock that precedes his death—a scene that includes an emotional speech based partly on Kerrigan's own experiences as a docker. But it was Bernard Hill's maniacally self-destructive Yosser, a colossal performance of incoherence, savagery, and pathos, who captured the public imagination. Deprived of his dignity and eventually of his children, he is reduced to butting authority figures with the bewildered declaration: "I'm Yosser Hughes!" Yosser's head-butts and his woeful "gizza job" became totems in the popular press.

The delay in production also benefited the series in enabling the script to develop through ruthless changes initiated by producer Michael Wearing. In the most extreme case, lamenting the absence of female and domestic perspectives on unemployment, Wearing returned the original episode 3 with an instruction to "write Angie." In the rewrite, Angie (Julie Walters), Chrissie's wife, emerged as a pivotal character. In an emotionally charged performance, she utters the lines that seem to sum up the series' message about Liverpool and the dole: "It's not funny, it's not friggin' funny. I've had enough of that 'if you don't laugh you'll cry.' I've heard it for years. This stupid soddin'

city's full of it.... Why don't you fight back, you bastard. Fight back."

As well as pricking the national conscience (helping to dissolve the popular characterization of the unemployed as "scroungers"), *Boys from the Blackstuff* confirmed Bleasdale as one of the nation's leading writers for stage and television, although his subsequent television work might have benefited from the editorial influence of Wearing. Equally important, it helped to put Liverpool on the map as a dramatic location of special significance, where brutality, decay, and poverty could serve as a backdrop for the expression, through darkly defiant wit, of the resilience and spirit of ordinary people. Its indirect influence is detectable in the proliferation of Liverpool-based television and film drama of the 1980s, including the sitcom *Bread*, resembling a travestied *Boys from the Blackstuff* stripped of its social conscience, and the long-running soap *Brookside*, which inherited its shooting style (single-camera shooting on lightweight video) as well as part of its milieu. Capitalizing on the success of such series and aided by the city's thriving Film Office, Liverpool's range of locations and local production expertise has brought it an international reputation as a location for the making of film and television drama.

PETER GODDARD

*See also* Bleasdale, Alan

#### Cast

Chrissie Todd	Michael Angelis
Loggo	Alan Igbon
Dixie Deans	Tom Georgeson
George Malone	Peter Kerrigan
Yosser Hughes	Bernard Hill
Angie Todd	Julie Walters

#### Producers

Alan Bleasdale, Michael Wearing

#### Programming History

Five episodes of varying length

BBC

October 10, 1982–November 7, 1982

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# Boys of St. Vincent, The

## Canadian Docudrama

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*The Boys of St. Vincent* (1993), directed by John N. Smith for the National Film Board of Canada, is a two-part docudrama that caused considerable controversy when it first appeared. At the time of its broadcast, the criminal trials of several Canadian priests accused of child molestation were in progress. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was not allowed to broadcast the film in Ontario or western Quebec, in case it should in some way interfere with fairness of the trials—even though a disclaimer, saying that the film is loosely based upon several different events and not any real individuals, was added. Part 1 of *The Boys of St. Vincent* deals with the brutalization and sexual molestation of several orphans under the care of a group of priests headed by brother Peter Lavin (Henry Czerny). Part 2, which takes place 15 years later, concerns the events surrounding Lavin's trial and the lives of the boys, who are now adults. *The Boys of St. Vincent* is a powerful, adult docudrama about a painful and largely repressed part of Canadian history.

The critic John Caughie locates the specificity of docudrama in the integration of two distinct discourses: the realist narrative drama (which I would in this case call *melodrama*), and the Griersonian documentary, from which the docudrama adopts two aspects—a strong desire for social education presented in a palatable form, and the need to reveal repressed histories. The melodramatic aspect attracts an audience and the documentary aspect serves to keep the narrative truthful. In effect, the documentary acts to “detrivialize” the melodrama—an essential function if the work's moral point is to be taken seriously. Some critics, such as Elaine Rapping, have taken the made-for-television movie seriously, but it is still widely castigated for its overly emotional representation of domestic disasters.

Unlike most American-made telefeatures, *The Boys of St. Vincent* does not have a hero. The two main characters, Kevin Reeny, who is one of the abused children, and Peter Lavin, the head of the orphanage, are not really figures with whom the audience can identify easily. In Part 1 Reeny is a badly abused child who barely speaks. Smith builds up tremendous sympathy for Reeny in Part 1, showing the child's desperate attempts to avoid the priest and escape from the orphan-

age. His youthfulness makes him an object of our compassion, particularly as he struggles to free himself and stand up to the predatory Lavin. Audience identification is much stronger with him in this part of the film. In Part 2 Reeny becomes a troubled man, unable to deal with his past. A loner given to bouts of violence, and clearly troubled in his relationship with his girlfriend, he is a closed and emotionally withdrawn character with whom it is possible to sympathize, but not really identify.

Peter Lavin is certainly the center of both the film's controversy and its insightful and troubling depiction of child molestation. The fact that Lavin is a handsome, intelligent, and charismatic man, as well as a brutal and overbearing pedophile is part of what makes *The Boys of St. Vincent* such a complex experience. In many child molestation films, the child molester is a villain, pure and simple. This is never the case with the Smith film. The film in fact asks the audience to understand Lavin, and even gives the audience his point of view as he molests Kevin. This is a shocking moment in the narrative. As the first scene of molestation begins, the camera is placed in an observer's position. But as the sequence develops, the camera moves close to Lavin's point of view as he fondles Kevin's body. When Kevin refuses the priest's advances, he is severely beaten and a statue of a wounded Jesus juts into the frame as if to comment upon what is taking place. The next morning as Brother Lavin watches the boys shower, the camera shows an aesthetically pleasing and sensuous depiction of their naked bodies. How is the spectator expected to respond to those pictures of desire—when the object of that desire is a beautiful, nude ten-year-old boy seen through the eyes of a pedophile? This highly charged and controversial sequence was cut when *The Boys of St. Vincent* was shown on the Arts and Entertainment (A&E) channel in the United States. This excision, however, undermines Smith's attempt to ask the audience to understand a pedophile rather than merely condemning him or turning him into a melodramatic villain.

Of further significance in *The Boys of St. Vincent* is Smith's critique of patriarchy as a whole, with its patterns of dominance and submission worked throughout the educational system and the religious and govern-

mental orders. We are shown boys literally owned by the church, brutalized not only physically but intellectually through the fear and guilt instilled in them in both church and classroom. Lessons are taught by hypocritical and tedious rote, and the boys are harshly disciplined for seemingly minor infractions. *Boys* is nothing if not a thorough critique of middle-class, patriarchal capitalism in its most brutalizing form. Interestingly, Smith shows that both the boys and the priests are all victims of this system, that in fact this kind of behavior is institutionalized and even traditional in orphanages.

Except for one of the older boys, the janitor, and one policeman, no one is much outraged by what has gone on. Through *The Boys of St. Vincent* we are kept thoroughly off balance, not only by Smith's style, which tends to throw us into situations with few establishing shots, but also by the difficulty of identifying with any of the damaged characters in the fiction. Nor does the ending of the film bring any relief. Although the priests are brought to trial, Brother Lavin is neither healed nor forgiven; ironically, he is only able to confess his sins in the confessional, where he may in fact be confessing to another child molester, and his confession never becomes public. We are never shown whether he has confessed his problems to his psychiatrist, and because the film ends before the verdict is given, we do not have the satisfaction of knowing what will happen to him. The film ends with Lavin's wife demanding to know if he has molested his own sons—and no answer is forthcoming here either. Kevin Reeny, who has resisted all attempts to speak up at the trial, finally manages to testify, but we are left with no sense of either triumph or revenge. One of the other boys, who has become a prostitute and a drug addict, overdoses and dies before the trial is complete. This film does not offer us any comfortable assurances about the future, and by avoiding closure, it implies that this kind of crime does not go away. In a film that consistently violates convention, this may be the most difficult of all to face, since no morally reassuring note is sounded at the film's conclusion.

*The Boys of St. Vincent* fully develops the potential of the made-for-television movie. Although it has a high-concept plot and is based upon a sensational news story, it violates many of the conventions of the U.S. telefeature. *Boys* mounts a damning condemnation of both the Catholic Church and the government of Newfoundland. It asks the audience to consider a child molester as a human being, not merely a depraved monster. By controlling the worst excesses of the melodrama and adopting documentary techniques, it manages to become a believable and powerful depiction of a serious social problem, proving that the sim-



*The Boys of St. Vincent.*  
Photo courtesy of Tele-Action

licity of the made-for-television movie does not have to equal simplemindedness, and that made-for-television movies can become sites for significant, but accessible social critique.

JEANNETTE SLONIOWSKI

See also **Canadian Programming in English; Docudrama**

#### Cast

Peter Lavin	Henry Czerny
Kevin Reeny	Johnny Morina
Kevin Reeny (at age 25)	Sebastian Spence
Brian Lunny	Ashley Billard
Brian Lunny (at age 30)	Timothy Webber
Billy Lunny	Jonathon Hoddinott
Steven Lunny	Brian Dodd
Steven Lunny (at age 25)	David Hewlett
Sheilah	Kristine Demers
Detective Noseworthy	Brian Dooley
Commission Lawyer	Sheena Larkin



Boys of St. Vincent, The

Chantal  
Lenora

Lise Roy  
Mary Walsh

**Producers**

Sam Grana, Claudio Luca

**Programming History**

CBC  
1993

**Further Reading**

Caughie, John, "Progressive Television and Documentary Drama," in *Popular Film and Television*, edited by Tony Bennett et al., London: British Film Institute, 1981  
Goodwin, Andrew, et al., *Drama-Documentary*, London: British Film Institute, 1983  
Rapping, Elaine, *The Movie of the Week: Private Stories, Public Events*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992

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# Brady Bunch, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

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When it premiered on ABC in 1969, *The Brady Bunch* garnered mostly negative reviews. From that date until 1974, its entire network run, the series never reached the top-ten ranks of the Nielsen ratings. Yet, the program stands as one of the most important sitcoms of American 1970s television programming, spawning numerous other series on all three major networks, as well as records, lunch boxes, a cookbook, and even a stage show and two feature films.

In an era in which situation comedies emphasized how social climates were changing, *The Brady Bunch* was one of the few series that hearkened back to the traditional family values seen in such sitcoms as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*. Executive producer Sherwood Schwartz conceived of the premise: a widower, father of three boys, marries a widow, mother of three girls. The concept worked as a springboard for dramatizations of an array of childhood and adolescent traumas. The cluster of children—Greg (Barry Williams), Marcia (Maureen McCormick), Peter (Christopher Knight), Jan (Eve Plumb), Bobby (Mike Lookinland), and Cindy (Susan Olsen)—provided male and female versions for three separate stages of youth. With this group, the show managed to portray the typical crises of orthodontia, first crushes, neighborhood bullies, and school plays, as well as such home-bound issues as sibling rivalry and problems with parental restrictions. Father Mike Brady (Robert Reed) was always there with a weekly homily that would explain to the children the lessons they had learned. Although mother Carol Brady (Flo-

rence Henderson) was initially written as a divorcée, and episodes of the first season did deal with the problems of children getting used to a new mother or father, the half-hour show repeatedly and firmly upheld the family as a tight unit of support, love, and understanding.

Unlike *All in the Family* or even *Julia*, *The Brady Bunch* tried to steer clear of the political and social issues of the day. Rarely were nonwhite characters introduced into the series. Women's liberation and gender equality were boiled down to brother-sister in-fighting. The counterculture of the 1960s was represented in random minor characters portrayed as buffoons—or in the scene of Greg trying to impress a girl with hippie jargon.

The series' representation of childhood as a time of blissful innocence was in marked contrast to what was happening off camera. Many of the boys and girls playing the Brady children dated each other secretly, making out in their trailers or in the doghouse of the Brady's pet, Tiger. The oldest boy, Williams, attempted to date Henderson and filmed at least one episode while high on marijuana. All these incidents (as well as Reed's homosexuality) were obscured behind closed doors, coming to light only in the years after the series originally aired.

The decided emphasis of the series on the Brady children made it very popular among younger audiences. ABC capitalized on this appeal, programming the show early on Friday evenings. This popularity also resulted in various attempts to create other prof-



*The Brady Brunch.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

## Brady Bunch, The

itable spin-off products: The Brady Kids, a pop rock group (patterned on the Archies and the Partridge Family), a Saturday morning cartoon called *The Brady Kids* (1972–74), and regular appearances of the young actors and actresses (particularly McCormick and Knight), in teen fan magazines.

Following its initial network run, *The Brady Bunch* became inordinately popular in rerun syndication. This success can be attributed in part to children's afternoon-viewing patterns. Often programmed as a daily "strip" in after-school time periods, the show found new viewers who had not previously seen the series. The age distribution of the cast may have created appeal among a range of young viewers, and as those viewers aged, they were able to take a more ironic viewing stance toward the entertainment of their childhood.

The ongoing success of the Brady characters has continually brought them back to television. *The Brady Bunch Hour*, produced by Sid and Marty Krofft from 1976 to 1977 on ABC, had the family hosting a vividly colored, disco-oriented variety series. *The Brady Brides*, on NBC in 1981, was a half-hour sitcom about Marcia and Jan as they dealt with their new husbands and the trials of being married. In December 1988, CBS aired the TV-movie *A Very Brady Christmas*, which became the network's highest-rated made-for-TV movie that season. This led in 1990 to a short-lived hour-long dramatic series called simply *The Bradys*.

Although the dramatic series faded quickly, a live-stage parody of the original series quickly became a national sensation after its debut in Chicago in 1990. Playing the original scripts as camp performance, *The Real Live Brady Bunch* seemed to tap into viewers' simultaneous love for and cynicism toward the values presented by the series. The stage show and the subsequent films *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995) and *A Very Brady Sequel* (1996) reveled in the kitsch taste of 1970s culture, complete with "groovy" bell bottoms and day-glo orange and lime-green color schemes. Yet, although the stage production and the films gleefully deconstructed the absurdity of the wholesomeness of the Brady family, an admiration remained. Many children who grew up with the show came from families of divorce, or were "latch-key" children with both parents working. Consequently, some of those amused at the naiveté of the series also admittedly envy the ideal nuclear family that they never had and that the Bradys represent.

Much like *Star Trek*, another Paramount-produced television series of the late 1960s, *The Brady Bunch* was underappreciated by critics and network executives, but fan loyalty has made the series a franchise for book deals, memorabilia, and feature films. A cultural throwback even in its time, the family led by "a lovely lady" and "a man named Brady" has become celebrated in part precisely for its steadfast obliviousness to societal change.

SEAN GRIFFIN

### See also Comedy, Domestic Settings

#### Cast

Mike Brady	Robert Reed
Carol Brady	Florence Henderson
Alice Nelson	Ann B. Davis
Marcia Brady	Maureen McCormick
Jan Brady	Eve Plumb
Cindy Brady	Susan Olsen
Greg Brady	Berry Williams
Peter Brady	Christopher Knight
Bobby Brady	Mike Lookinland

#### Producers

Sherwood Schwartz, Lloyd J. Schwartz, Howard Leeds

#### Programming History

117 episodes	
ABC	
September 1969–September 1970	Friday 8:00–8:30
September 1970–September 1971	Friday 7:30–8:00
September 1971–August 1974	Friday 8:00–8:30

#### Further Reading

- Bellafante, Gina, "The Inventor of Bad TV: What Would the '70s Have Been Without Sherwood Schwartz?" (interview), *Time* (March 13, 1995)
- Briller, Bert, "Will the Real Live Brady Bunch Stand Up?" *Television Quarterly* (Spring 1992)
- Williams, Barry, with Chris Kreski, *Growing Up Brady: I Was a Teenage Greg*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1992

## Bragg, Melvyn (1939– )

British Media Executive, Personality, Author

Melvyn Bragg is the most articulate spokesman for the arts in Britain on Independent Television (ITV). Presenter and editor of *The South Bank Show* since 1978, and controller of Arts Programs for London Weekend Television since 1990, he is now president of the National Campaign for the Arts and has arguably done more to advance the cause of arts programming on television and radio than anyone else.

Bragg was a working-class boy who won a scholarship to Wadham College, Oxford, before joining the BBC in 1961 as a radio and, later, television producer. Bragg has never forgotten his origins; he shares with his viewers his genuine delight in new artistic discoveries, and readers of his novels delight in his portraits of northern England. Bragg worked for the BBC Television flagship arts program, *Monitor*, under its brilliant editor Huw Wheldon, and in 1967 he became producer and editor of BBC 2's first arts program, *New Release*, as well as the program *Writers' World*. Interviewed in 1970, he explained that when he worked for the BBC in the 1960s, he had wanted to make arts programs current; he added that he wanted to put on the arts because

I think it's the only way that People, with a capital P, are going to find out about the things that I particularly like. Missionary is too strong a word for it and propaganda is the wrong word—but it's certainly to do with the fact that the people I was born and brought up among very rarely read books, but all of them look at television.

Bragg's tenure as the anchor of the BBC Radio 4 program *Start the Week*, as well as his editorship of *The South Bank Show*, have led to his being known as the "Arts Tsar" or "Arts Supremo." Critics have suggested that "any traffic between high art and mass taste had to pass through Bragg's custom post," as Henry Porter wrote in the *Guardian*. Bragg replied that in England if people get too big for their boots, they get cut off at the knees.

Bragg's long tenure as presenter of *The South Bank Show* has kept the flag flying for the arts on ITV, and Bragg claims that ITV shows more arts programming than the BBC does. Among the outstanding episodes of *The South Bank Show* that will go down in history

are Bragg's portrait of the English film director David Lean, and Bragg's moving 70-minute interview with the dying screenwriter Dennis Potter.

In the 1990s Bragg became the most articulate contributor to the "two cultures" debate since the late Lord Snow, and he proved himself equally at ease in the worlds of science and social science. In 1998 Bragg presented the BBC Radio 4 series on the history of science, *On Giant's Shoulders*, with his own book to accompany the series, and in 2001 he chaired the televised *Darwin Debate*, which examined the significance of evolution theory for human society on BBC 2. His 20-part television series on the history of Christianity, *Two Thousand Years* (ITV, 1999), demonstrates the breadth of his intellectual interests; he wrote two books to accompany the series. Bragg has also written screenplays for such dramas as *Isadora*, *Jesus Christ Superstar*, and, with Ken Russell, *Clouds of Glory*. Of his 19 novels, *A Time to Dance* was televised in 1992, and his novel *The Soldier's Return* won the W.H. Smith Writer's Award in 2000.

Bragg profited from his support of London Weekend Television's franchise-renewal application to the tune of several million pounds, and he also became chair of the ITV program contractor, Border Television, in 1990. Without his skills and dedication, it is possible that arts programs on ITV might have been marginalized in the same way that ITV religious programs have been. His presence and his promotional skills have ensured good time slots and good ratings for *The South Bank Show*. His clear-sighted integrity has endeared him to television makers, artists, and politicians alike. Bragg became chancellor of the University of Leeds in 1998, a well-deserved recognition from a university that has encouraged the interaction of the worlds of academia and television for many years. He currently hosts two programs on BBC Radio 4: *In Our Time*, in which he discusses key cultural and scientific topics with his guests, and *The Routes of English*, which traces the evolution and development of the language.

Established as an outstanding arts presenter, Bragg is also seen as a wise elder statesman commenting on the future of British television. In the 1990s he warned the government that British television was being



Melvyn Bragg with Dame Edna Everage, *The South Bank Show*.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

turned into a two-tier system, “telly for nobs and telly for slobs” and that the medium was being destroyed by a “class and cash” system whereby satellite and cable systems were able to siphon off prime material. Every newspaper reported his speech, and the *Daily Telegraph* devoted an editorial to the subject. Such leadership, all too rare in the independent sector, suggests that Melvyn Bragg will be remembered as one of the greatest of the ITV leaders in the 1980s and 1990s, and at the dawn of the 21st century.

ANDREW QUICKE

**Melvyn Bragg.** Born in Carlisle, Cumberland, England, October 6, 1939. Educated at Nelson-Thomlinson Grammar School, Wigton, Cumberland, 1950–58; Wadham College, Oxford, 1958–61, M.A. honors, 1961. Married: 1) Marie-Elisabeth Roche, 1961 (died, 1971); one daughter; 2) Catherine Mary Haste, 1973; one daughter and one son. General

trainee, BBC, 1961; producer and presenter numerous arts programs, 1963–67; writer and broadcaster, 1967–78; editor and presenter of *The South Bank Show*, since 1978; head of arts, London Weekend Television, 1982–90; deputy chair, Border Television, 1985–90; presenter, BBC Radio’s *Start the Week*, since 1988; controller of arts, London Weekend Television, from 1990; chair, Border Television, Carlisle, from 1990; chancellor, University of Leeds, since 1998; host, *In Our Time* and *The Routes of English*, BBC Radio 4. D.Litt.: University of Liverpool, 1986; University of Lancaster, 1990; Council for National Academic Awards, 1990; D.Univ.: Open University, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, 1987; LL.D., University of St. Andrew’s, 1993; D.CL., University of Northumbria, 1994. Fellow: Royal Society of Literature, 1970; Royal Television Society; Lancashire Polytechnic, 1987; St. Catherine’s College, Oxford, 1990. Member: Arts Council (chair, Arts Council Literature Panel, 1977–80); Cumbrians for Peace (president, since 1982); Northern Arts (chair, 1983–87); National Campaign for the Arts (chair, since 1986). Recipient: Writers Guild Screenplay Award, 1966; Rhys Memorial Prize, 1968; Northern Arts Association Prose Award, 1970; Silver Pen Award, 1970; Broadcasting Guild Award, 1984; Ivor Novello Musical Award, 1985; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Dimpleby Award, 1986; W.H. Smith Writer’s Award, 2000. Named Lord Bragg of Wigton, 1998.

#### Television Series

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1963–65 | <i>Monitor</i> (producer)                         |
| 1964–70 | <i>New Release/Review/Arena</i> (editor)          |
| 1967–70 | <i>Writers’ World</i> (editor)                    |
| 1964–70 | <i>Take It or Leave It</i> (editor)               |
| 1971    | <i>In the Picture</i> (presenter)                 |
| 1973–77 | <i>Second House</i> (presenter)                   |
| 1976–77 | <i>Read All about It</i> (editor and presenter)   |
| 1978–   | <i>The South Bank Show</i> (editor and presenter) |
| 1983    | <i>Melvyn Bragg’s Cumbria</i>                     |
| 1989–   | <i>The Late Show</i> (presenter)                  |
| 1995    | <i>Johnny and the Dead</i> (executive producer)   |
| 1998    | <i>The Sundays</i> (presenter)                    |
| 1999    | <i>Two Thousand Years</i>                         |
| 2000    | <i>Who’s Afraid of the Ten Commandments</i>       |

#### Television Specials (selected)

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1965 | <i>The Debussy Film</i> (writer, with Ken Russell) |
| 1970 | <i>Charity Begins at Home</i> (writer)             |

- 1972 *Zinotchka* (writer)  
 1978 *Clouds of Glory* (writer, with Ken Howard)  
 1979 *Orion* (writer, with Ken Howard and Alan Blaikley)  
 1982 *Laurence Olivier: A Life* (editor, presenter, and writer)  
 1989 *Norbert Smith: A Life*  
 1989 *A British Picture*  
 1991 *A Time to Dance* (writer)

**Films (writer)**

*Play Dirty*, with Lotte Colin, 1968; *Isadora*, with Clive Exton and Margaret Drabble, 1969; *The Music Lovers*, 1970; *Jesus Christ Superstar*, with Norman Jewison, 1973; *Clouds of Glory* (with Ken Russell), 1978; *The Tall Guy* (actor only), 1989; *Marathon: The Flames of Peace*, 1992.

**Radio (selected)**

*Robin Hood* (writer), 1971; *Start the Week* (presenter), from 1988; *On Giants' Shoulders*, 1998; *In Our Time*; *The Routes of English*.

**Stage (writer)**

*Mardi Gras*, with Alan Blaikley and Ken Howard, 1976; *The Hired Man*, with Howard Goodall, 1984; *King Lear in New York*, 1992.

**Publications (selected)**

*For Want of a Nail* (novel), 1965  
*The Second Inheritance* (novel), 1966  
*Without a City Wall* (novel), 1968  
*The Hired Man* (novel), 1969

*A Place in England* (novel), 1970  
*The Nerve* (novel), 1971  
*The Hunt* (novel), 1972  
*Josh Lawton* (novel), 1972  
*The Silken Net* (novel), 1974  
*A Place in England*, 1975  
*Speak for England: An Essay on England, 1900–1975*, 1976  
*A Christmas Child* (children's fiction), 1976  
*Autumn Manoeuvres* (novel), 1978  
*Kingdom Come* (novel), 1980  
*My Favourite Stories of Lakeland*, editor, 1981  
*Love and Glory* (novel), 1983  
*Land of the Lakes*, 1983  
*The Cumbrian Trilogy* (collection), 1984  
*Laurence Olivier*, 1984  
*Cumbria in Verse*, editor, 1984  
*The Hired Man* (play), 1986  
*The Maid of Buttermere* (novel), 1987  
*Rich: The Life of Richard Burton*, 1988  
*A Time to Dance* (novel), 1990  
*Crystal Rooms* (novel), 1992  
*Credo* (novel), 1996  
*Giants' Stories: Great Scientists and Their Discoveries from Archimedes to DNA*, 1998  
*Two Thousand Years*, 1999  
*The Soldier's Return* (fiction), 1999  
*The Adventure of English: The Biography of a Language*, 2004

**Further Reading**

Field, Michele, "Melvyn Bragg: The Author of a Biography of Richard Burton Finds That His Own Background Has Much in Common with That of His Subject," *Publishers Weekly* (February 3, 1989)

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## Brambell, Wilfrid (1912–1985)

### British Actor

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British character actor Wilfrid Brambell gained national fame late in his career as Albert Steptoe in the BBC's most popular and successful sitcom, *Steptoe and Son*, although the character he played was considerably older than he was. He was never one for starring roles but supplied reliable support in a variety of stage, screen, and television roles before Albert Steptoe

thrust him into the limelight. Television appearances included a variety of parts in adaptations of classic texts, including *The Government Inspector* (1958), *Bleak House* (1959), and *Our Mutual Friend* (1959), all for the BBC.

Writers Ray Galton and Alan Simpson wanted to use straight actors, rather than comedians, when cast-



Wilfrid Brambell.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ing the leads for their new BBC comedy *Steptoe and Son* in 1962. Harry H. Corbett was cast as Harold Steptoe, and Brambell given the role of his father Albert. Over the years to follow, the actors and writers together were to develop characters that found their way into the national consciousness.

Albert Steptoe is an old-time rag-and-bone man who inherited the family business of the title from his father and now runs it with his son Harold. Harold goes out on the cart to collect the junk, while Albert remains at home, ostensibly to run the administrative side of the business, but, in reality, to take it easy or go out to the cinema. Albert is a widower. He still has an eye for the ladies, and for the main chance, though generally espousing an old-fashioned morality. He is a veteran of the Great War and bemoans declining standards, but his own behavior is often gross and earthy in the extreme. He rarely washes and, when he does, is liable to eat his evening meal in the bath. His language and behavior are, in Harold's eyes in particular, uncouth, prompting the description, "You dirty old man!," the series' only catchphrase.

Brambell played Albert Steptoe as a grumpy old curmudgeon, capable of resorting to the most pathetic pleading to get his own way. The role of the scruffy old man could not have been further from the rather suave and cultured person Brambell was in real life.

*Steptoe and Son* ran for four seasons between 1962 and 1965. It regularly attracted audiences of over 20 million, from all sectors of society, and in 1963 a *Steptoe and Son* sketch was performed by Brambell and Corbett as part of that year's Royal Variety Performance. Between series and after Galton and Simpson brought it to an end, both Brambell and Corbett were in demand for movie parts because of their great popularity. Among Brambell's roles were those of Paul McCartney's grandfather in the Beatles film *A Hard Day's Night* and the White Rabbit in Jonathan Miller's 1966 television version of *Alice in Wonderland*.

*Steptoe and Son* was revived, in color, by the BBC in 1970 and ran for another four series between then and 1974. There were also two spin-off feature films. The characters and situations had not changed—nor had the quality of writing and performance or the popularity of the show.

STEVE BRYANT

#### See also *Steptoe and Son*

**Wilfrid Brambell.** Born in Dublin, Ireland, March 22, 1912. Attended schools in Dublin. Married: Molly (divorced, 1955). Stage debut as a child, entertaining troops during World War I, 1914; began professional acting career as an adult at the Gate Theatre, Dublin; toured with ENSA during World War II; first appearance on London stage, 1950; single appearance on Broadway, 1965; played character parts in theater and films before achieving fame as Albert Steptoe in long-running *Steptoe and Son* comedy series, 1962–74. Died in London, England, January 18, 1985.

#### Television Series

1962–65, 1970–74      *Steptoe and Son*

#### Films

*The 39 Steps*, 1935; *Odd Man Out*, 1946; *Another Shore*, 1948; *Dry Rot*, 1956; *The Story of Esther Costello*, 1957; *The Salvage Gang*, 1958; *The Long Hot Summer*, 1958; *Serious Charge*, 1959; *Urge to Kill*, 1960; *The Sinister Man*, 1961; *Jack's Horrible Luck*, 1961; *Flame in the Streets*, 1961; *What a Whopper!*, 1961; *The Grand Junction Case*, 1961; *In Search of the Castaways*, 1962; *The Boys*, 1962; *The Fast Lady*, 1962; *The Small World of Sammy Lee*, 1963; *Crooks in Cloisters*, 1963; *The Three Lives of Thomasina*, 1963; *Go Kart Go!*, 1963; *A*

*Hard Day's Night*, 1964; *San Ferry Ann*, 1965; *Alice in Wonderland*, 1966; *Where the Bullets Fly*, 1966; *Mano di Velluto*, 1966; *Witchfinder-General*, 1968; *Lionheart*, 1968; *Cry Wolf*, 1968; *The Undertakers*, 1969; *Carry On Again, Doctor*, 1969; *Some Will, Some Won't*, 1970; *Steptoe and Son*, 1972; *Steptoe and Son Ride Again*, 1973; *Holiday on the Buses*, 1973; *The Adventures of Picasso*, 1978; *High Rise Donkey*, 1980; *Island of Adventure*, 1981; *Death and Transfiguration*, 1983; *Sword of the Valiant*, 1983; *The Terence Davies Trilogy*, 1984.

#### Radio

*Steptoe and Son*.

#### Stage (selected)

*Blind Man's Buff*; *Stop It, Whoever You Are*; *The Canterbury Tales*; *The Ghost Train*; *Kelly*; *A Christmas Carol*.

#### Publication

*All Above Board* (autobiography), 1976

#### Further Reading

Burke, Michael, "You Dirty Old Man!" *The People* (January 9, 1994)

"How We Met: Ray Galton and Alan Simpson," *The Independent* (June 11, 1995)

## Branding

"Branding" has emerged as a central concern of the television industry in the age of digital convergence. Referring not simply to product or company names, titles, or the trademark designations created by marketers and advertisers, the ideal brand expresses a more holistic identity to viewers and consumers. "Brand-builders," as they are now called, aspire to bring to client corporations a set of recurrent goals and market ideals: a widely and easily recognizable image, a distinct personality among competitors, a consistency wherever the brand is encountered, and a confidence in the quality of the branded product. In what some term the "old economy" (which utilized market research to characterize its "average" customer), industry created brands by providing a level of quality and uniqueness for goods and services that would attract buyers to a product. Once a brand like Coca-Cola or Ford was established it could be efficiently "franchised" across a large market in order to exploit "economies of scale." The current mediascape no longer follows the once-trusted laws or "rationality" of Fordist-era industry, where appropriate pricing and (sometimes) heavy-handed advertising simply persuaded mass market buyers to use a product by changing their minds. Instead, producers of both consumer goods and media content today face more highly competitive and "flexible" post-Fordist markets and a culture defined by narrower "economies of scope." These economies are comprised of distinctive niche consumer taste-cultures, whose demographically-based consumption practices (which

include spending and viewing habits) form the basis for the kind of narrowcasting favored in the new world of cable and digital media. Given this change in context, a number of brand-builders now enjoin corporations in the digital age of information economies to shift from an older emphasis on product and pricing, to carefully targeted emotional, therapeutic and "relationship" branding strategies. For example, some argue (Gobe) that branding is no longer "about market share when it is really about mind and emotions share," while others (D'Alessandro) propose branding models based on intimate, interpersonal paradigms of "co-dependency." These general economic and marketing shifts—and the branding discourses attending them—have had a marked impact on cable and television as well.

Television and cable networks deploy branding (NBC's "peacock" in the 1960s), rebranding (NBC's "must see TV" in the 1990s and early 2000s), and co-branding (NBC and Microsoft's current cable news network MSNBC) strategies to differentiate their programming fare from competitors. Television/cable branding typically includes three components (Mullen, Turow): (1) the consistent use of logos and other on-screen components, (2) signature shows, and (3) "compatible" reruns. The programming and marketing departments of cable and television networks today typically have formal branding policies and preferences in each of these three areas. But this was not always the case. In stark contrast to the early years of television, for example, a far greater share of the aver-



age programming hour today is comprised of "self-promotions" produced and aired by the network or channel brand. This increasing promotional reflexivity is partly due to broad-based efforts to raise a network's programming above the clutter, and partly due to a fundamental shift in the ways that brands were talked about in relation to television.

During the postwar era, marketing departments and ad agencies spent considerable energy designing, developing, and promoting brands for their clients, who were mostly large manufacturers (Procter and Gamble, Colgate-Palmolive, Goodyear, GM, and other Fortune 500 companies) that successfully promoted their products by advertising on network television. In a few cases, such as DuMont, companies operated both as manufactured brands (of television sets) and as broadcasters (of programs), but this soon changed. The television networks that survived and prospered during this period, on the other hand (NBC, CBS, ABC), did so in part by promoting themselves to governmental policymakers and audiences not as manufacturers of proprietary, branded consumer products, but as enlightened stewards and caretakers of the airwaves. This successful promotion of the networks as trustees (rather than brands) protecting a vast public resource, helped legitimize and sanction a network "oligarchy" during the 1950s (one controlled by only three corporations who were referred to officially in abbreviated three-initial short-hand). But even as caretakers of the public trust, the same networks were always producers of content as well, and any time this reality surfaced in public discussions, tensions emerged among policymakers and industry management. These tensions typically resulted in the application of constraints to the television industry (such as limitations on syndication rights allowed the networks when they acted as producers). Such constraints were intended to ensure the free and open flow of trade and speech on the airwaves. But this situation slowly changed, as the major television networks (and then the federal government starting in the Reagan era) began to acknowledge the original networks less as public trustees than as corporations (and the branded manufacturers of content) fighting for market share. Early on the networks exploited one side of their dualistic identity (lobbying for trusteeship with regulators), even though they effectively and simultaneously sold themselves to viewers (as branded providers of entertainment). This tension between branding and trusteeship has existed in American network television from the start, but shifts in industry emphasis became even more dramatic in the 1980s and 1990s.

With the current proliferation of programming choices and the expansion of channel competition during the digital era, branding has shifted from its status

as an off-screen concern of marketing personnel and ad agency research, to a self-conscious form of promotional reflexivity that has also altered the very look and sound of contemporary television. The venerable "eye" of CBS and the once proud "peacock" of NBC easily ruled the roost of public consciousness as corporate symbols that stood above all sorts of lesser fare in the 1960s and 1970s.

Yet, by the mid-1990s, a large array of multichannel competitors had taken away the very viewership base that made the eye and the peacock almost universally recognized symbols in households across America. A few years earlier this decline in viewership and brand identity forced a boardroom shakeup at CBS, a takeover by GE of NBC, and a takeover by Capital Cities of ABC. A few years after that a second wave of takeovers and mergers followed when the same networks were the takeover targets of Viacom (CBS) and Disney (ABC). With upstarts like HBO, MTV, CNN, ESPN, FOX, WB, and UPN "cluttering" up corporate identities along with program choices in viewer living rooms, the major TV networks all embarked on public campaigns to "rebrand" themselves. CBS's and NBC's simple, stable, historic marquees of "quality" no longer seemed (to use Brandon Tartikoff's terms) to bring acceptable numbers of viewers "into the network tent."

Branding has been an obligatory marketing staple of corporate business strategies outside of broadcasting for many years. And while NBC once had the brand identity and loyalty of, say a Coca-Cola, it no longer did by the early 1990s. ABC garnered the lion's share of critical and public attention for branding in its "yellow campaign" starting in 1997. No longer even an issue of typography and logo, ABC simply plastered the color yellow on every promo in print, broadcast, or billboard, along with ironic and knowing tag lines that mocked everything from the uncool tastes of parents ("this is not your father's TV") to the exaggerated claims of mental decline (that TV is mind-numbing and lowers literacy) and physical decline (programs for couch-potatoes) attributed to television by concerned consumer advocates and liberal watchdogs. True postmodern irony might be the well-earned reputation of actual programs on and by MTV, for example, but even if it did not have comparably hip programs, the ABC corporation could still front itself as postmodern by making irony and pastiche a part of every institutional and promotional self-reference. ABC put itself front-and-center by making the network packagers (rather than the production community) the authoring source of irony, and it signaled this new and very visible ever-presence with a branded promotional hue.

While ABC's yellow campaign scored notoriety and

endless news-hits for rebranding—in everything from the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* to *Entertainment Tonight* and the tabloids—a comparably comprehensive on-screen overhaul of a network began in 1994 by NBC with its “NBC-2000” campaign (a campaign that set the standard for the subsequent rebranding initiatives at both CBS and ABC). NBC’s campaign involved far more than color and ironic tag lines. The smug confidence of the networks about their initial prowess in the multichannel flow had eroded to the point of crisis by the mid-1990s. With drastic loss in market share, the three major networks now needed a way to make not just audiences but also industry members aware of the power and benefits that came with the network “family.” The networks, that is, were in a state of crisis, with prognostications of demise or merger forming a steady rhetorical flow in the trades.

In 1995 and 1996, NBC counterattacked by borrowing former President Bush’s much maligned “thousand points of light” mythos. Research showed that the traditional four-letter station call-letters were simply too complicated for most viewers to remember. The response? Local stations *owned* by the national network were to drop the “K’s” and “W’s” nationally (as in “KNBC, Burbank”), and adopt the NBC plus channel number (“NBC-4, Burbank”) as a simpler, substitute designation and common logo. These nationally aired station/network IDs that focused on local *affiliate* stations, however, show the full extent to which anxiety about the network’s future ruled the corporate enterprise. As the camera scans a graphic map of the country in one set of NBC’s spots, hundreds of points of light mark the network’s “214 affiliates nationwide, including KJRH-2 Tulsa, Oklahoma.” This campaign, not illogically, followed soon after the much publicized “abandonment” of CBS by a number of long-time affiliate stations, which opted for the rising fortunes and hipper programming of the newer fourth network, FOX.

NBC’s celebration and symbolic construction of a network “family,” can be seen as a kind of preemptive corporate strike. It was, in essence, industry damage control aimed at vigorously reasserting the aura of network authority and quality. Not since the 1950s had the networks had to work this hard to teach viewers and stations about the *benefits* of national network affiliation. These kinds of mediating video texts also function as shorthand corporate reports for anxious affiliate stations that may have considered jumping ship. The top-down model of prestige programming (which includes Hollywood television and network news) has always promised to guarantee the welfare of the affiliate family members, broadcasting in the provinces.

The kind of aggressive, and heavy-handed, damage

control evident in these spots came as part of a broader range of marketing “innovations.” NBC had also induced consent on the part of program producers to include the NBC logo “inside” scenes from aired programs themselves. This gambit amounted to a very clever sort of blackmail, since program producers for years have complained that license fees from networks were never fair (that is, never paid for the actual cost of program production). These costs were ultimately only covered through later syndication revenues that went directly to the producers’ companies. NBC here was subtly coercing its partners to erect televised billboards inside episodes that NBC had not fully paid for. Apparently, the long-term financial prospects of NBC were both significant and enough in jeopardy that program providers realized that their fates were ultimately affected by the “health” of the network that first launched them. By eliminating commercial breaks between shows, and by asking for network IDs within diegetic scenes, the network could promise greater viewer carry-over from show to show. Program providers could certainly appreciate this, if the networks “hammocked” them between strong, proven shows. But the real lesson of these programming moves lies in public consciousness that the fates of program producers, the network, and the affiliate stations were all very much intertwined. Both the network “family-of-stations” ID campaign and the tactic of intra-diegetic branding with logos stand as very public ways that television mediates and negotiates changes, even as it mollifies insecurities in the industry.

In a moment of feigned nonpartisanship, *Today Show* host Katie Couric announced that viewers were about to see the network’s “most dramatic make-over ever.” Visual evidence that something had changed in the aesthetic ways that the major networks did business came in the segment that followed, which summarized NBC’s 1994 campaign to overhaul its corporate logo and identity. The makeover also initiated a proliferation of intermediary video forms, all designed to drive home and publicly “manage” the overhaul in the audience’s mind. NBC’s marketing machine, that is, simultaneously flooded the programming world with intermediary texts that both legitimized and analyzed their “new” look and “attitude.” The once staid and venerable NBC “commissioned” cutting-edge “post-modern” artists (who they described as “the baddest” and “biggest names in design and animation”) to draft, engineer, sculpt, and animate the avant-garde look that expressed its newfound attitude. In essence, NBC had finally stopped ignoring its cable competitors, and now earnestly emulated Viacom/MTV’s house style—an approach that featured its

ever-mutating brand-logo as a persistent part of each day's programming.

The majors (NBC, ABC, and then CBS), thus consented not to the old goal of a stable corporate "brand," but to the importance of something more volatile and lucrative—of "rebranding" as an evolving genre of "content," as a defining index of a network's personality, and as a media event in its own right. The imperative to rebrand was fueled in great measure by the growing sense that there now was simply not enough of an audience to go around; that is, not enough to share (profitably) with all of the competition. Although some critics (Lowry) counter that quality content (rather than a preoccupation with brands) will ultimately bring audiences back to the TV networks, the ratings and profits of those majors continue to decline. Others argue (Lindstrom and Andersen, Marriotti) that new digital technologies will endlessly splinter audiences and that innovative approaches to brand-building must necessarily be a central focus. Interactive-TV and dot-com startups continue to compete not just for viewers lost in the clutter, but for discrete "eye-balls" and "click-throughs" on the Internet as well. With no credible indicator of what will survive as the dominant economic model for profitability in interactive media (advertising, sponsorship, membership, or subscriptions), several other related trends have worked to counter the splintering. Corporate re-conglomeration, content multipurposing, and the possibilities of endless syndication have created new corporate aggregates (like Time-Warner-HBO-Turner-CNN, and Viacom-CBS-Paramount-UPN). These groups have essentially become "super-brands." Such

entities no longer attempt to standardize viewer-user taste into a mass demographic brand, but rather work to reaggregate potentially endless niche-tastes into branded "tiers" within the same conglomerate. In what some have wrongly termed the "post-network" age of television, innovative rebranding strategies stand at the center of current attempts to profitably "re-network" through mergers. These new networks intend to maintain (and capitalize on) heterogeneous audiences, but only within a single, newly branded conglomerate.

JOHN CALDWELL

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# Bravo

## U.S. Cable Network

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Among cable's most long-established networks, Bravo's history stands as both typical and exceptional—typical because, like most early networks, it had to adjust its programming plans to meet the expectations of audiences; exceptional because it did this without abandoning its founding mission. Launched in December 1980, Bravo was at the forefront of a wave of arts and culture networks that began largely in response to the utopian visions set for cable a decade earlier, during the

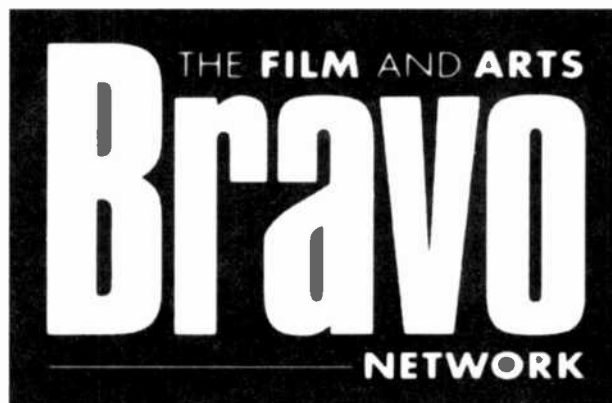
medium's "Blue Sky" years. One of these networks—CBS-Cable—failed at the outset. Two others—ABC-ARTS and The Entertainment Channel—redeveloped their respective goals and merged to form A&E (Arts & Entertainment), an advertising-supported, general interest "culture" channel. Bravo, however, managed to maintain its intended emphasis by broadening its definition of arts programming to include forms new to U.S. television. It also retained its commercial-free cachet.

Bravo was founded by Charles Dolan, who had brought cable service to Manhattan in the 1960s and gone on to launch Home Box Office in the 1970s. In 1973, after leaving HBO, Dolan founded Cablevision Corporation. Rainbow Media Group (RMG), a Cablevision programming subdivision, was formed in 1980, with Bravo as its first network. It should be noted that current RMG CEO Joshua Sapan had served as Bravo's president for a number of years. RMG went on to launch American Movie Classics, MuchMusic, Independent Film Channel, Romance Classics (which became WE: Women's Entertainment in 2001), and several regional SportsChannel networks. As of 2002, Bravo was RMG's second largest network (after American Movie Classics), reaching more than 60,000 cable households. RMG (along with its international partners) also operates Bravo channels in Canada and Brazil. Bravo's extensive website, [www.bravotv.com](http://www.bravotv.com), provides complete, annotated program schedules, as well as arts news and links to related merchandise such as VHS and DVD versions of the network's featured programming.

Bravo has been acclaimed within both arts and business circles for staying close to its original programming mission. Its ability to accomplish this, as well as to remain commercial-free, is due in large part to a gradual move from cable's premium tier to its less risky basic tier during the 1980s and early 1990s. Basic cable's per-subscriber (or "sub") fees offer a guaranteed income source for Bravo, since all basic tier subscribers of systems carrying the network must pay for the channel regardless of whether or not they actually watch it.

Bravo has also successfully tapped into public television-style corporate sponsorship. In 1992 Bravo signed an underwriting deal with Texaco that increased its performing arts budget by 20 percent. For Texaco, basic cable sponsorship held a similar appeal to PBS sponsorship: conveying an image of populist support for the arts. The first Texaco Showcase presentation, *Romeos and Juliets*, billed as a "modern interpretation of the Prokofiev ballet score," was aired less than a month after the sponsorship deal was signed. Other corporate underwriters, including Kodak and Mercedes-Benz, were to follow.

Initially committed to a schedule of costly live arts performances (notably theater, opera, ballet, classical music, and jazz), Bravo began early on to add foreign and independent films to its schedule, reaching a balance of 50 percent arts programming and 50 percent film by the mid-1990s. It began to develop shorter in-house studio programs, including the highly popular *Inside the Actors Studio*, as well as *Champlin on Film* and *Bravo Profiles* to complement its longer film and



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

arts offerings. Clearly this was a successful programming mix—and it no doubt brought many viewers to cable who otherwise would have seen little reason to subscribe. Bravo's programmers and marketers were aware that few parts of the United States outside of larger metropolitan areas offer regular access to arts events or even films other than mainstream Hollywood fare.

Indeed, so popular was this programming mix that in 1994, RMG launched a Bravo spin-off network, the Independent Film Channel (IFC), which is offered on both the expanded basic and premium tiers, as well as direct satellite. IFC focuses exclusively on films (including short films rarely seen on television) and film-related programs (such as *At the Angelika* and *Dinner for Five*, which feature interviews, chat, and previews). IFC's schedule and productions are guided by a Filmmakers Advisory Board made up of notable film industry figures Martin Scorsese, Robert Altman, Tim Robbins, Joel and Ethan Coen, Martha Coolidge, Jim Jarmusch, Spike Lee, Ed Saxon, Steven Soderbergh, and Jodie Foster.

In the tradition of more established premium cable networks such as HBO and Showtime, IFC began to invest in film production almost immediately so as to guarantee first television rights to new productions. IFC Entertainment has funded numerous independent theatrical films. The first, *Gray's Anatomy*, was released in theaters in 1997, and was shown on the television network a year later. More recent notable IFC productions have included Kimberly Peirce's Oscar-winning *Boys Don't Cry* and Karyn Kusama's *Girlfight*. Another division of IFC Entertainment, Next Wave Films, was established to provide finishing funds and other support to emerging filmmakers from the United States and abroad working on low-budget, feature-length films. IFC Entertainment also produces live coverage of film festivals and other special events.

As IFC continues to build its reputation as a home for foreign and independent films, Bravo has expanded farther into genres traditionally described as "quality television." Over the years, Bravo has featured critically acclaimed off-network dramas such as *Max Headroom*, *Twin Peaks*, *thirtysomething*, *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *Moonlighting*. In summer 2002, Bravo debuted the first-run series, *Breaking News*, an ensemble drama about a 24-hour news network. Another addition to Bravo's schedule is the popular British antique appraisal show, *Antiques Roadshow*.

Bravo also has provided a home for programming considered too risky or eclectic for more mainstream channels. For example, in June 1997, it aired productions of iconoclastic British playwright Dennis Potter's last two plays, *Karaoke* and *Cold Lazarus*. In summer 1999, it began airing episodes of controversial filmmaker and telejournalist Michael Moore's series, *The Awful Truth*. And in summer 2003, Bravo drew a great amount of attention from the broad television audience by introducing the comical and somewhat controversial program, *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*. *Queer Eye* features the antics of a team of gay men helping a hapless straight man get his life together (and hopefully win a woman's affections) through instruction in fashion, hairstyle, home decorating, and gourmet cooking.

Bravo also has been involved in public service initiatives. Its annual program, *Unfinished Stories*, has been a fundraiser for AIDS caregiving organizations. Bravo in the Classroom provides a combination of arts programming and resource materials for secondary schools. It was one of the founding members of Cable in the Classroom, educational programming provided free of charge to schools by local cable companies. Bravo's On with the Show (theater), Bravo for Books (reading), and Public Art Works (visual art) campaigns have offered support to various youth organizations.

Bravo has supported local arts groups through its Arts-Break, Community Cinema, and Arts Partnership programs, which give airtime to local arts and media productions.

In November 2002, in a \$1.2 billion transaction, NBC acquired Bravo from Cablevision Corp.—augmenting cable holdings that already included CNBC and MSNBC (IFC was not part of this transaction and remained part of Rainbow Media Holdings, a division of Cablevision). The merger facilitated the showing of shortened episodes of *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* during NBC prime time.

Bravo represents an extraordinary success story dating back to the early days of satellite cable. It quickly identified its programming goals and has strived resourcefully to adhere to those goals. While it can be said the contemporary version of this cable network represents a more broadly focused programming mix than the one initially envisioned, it must also be said that a large portion of this programming still is unlikely to be found elsewhere on U.S. television. Bravo, along with its sister channel, IFC, appears poised to hold its ground in the competitive multichannel cable/satellite television environment of the early 21st century.

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## Bravo! Canada

### Canadian Cable Network

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Bravo! Canada debuted in 1995 along with seven other services as part of the third wave of specialty channels to emerge in the country. Like its predecessor U.S. namesake, Bravo! Canada ranges over a broad spectrum of performing arts content. When it granted a li-

cense to Bravo! Canada in 1994, the federal regulator, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission expected that the channel would expose audiences in smaller Canadian communities to the performing arts while stimulating the independent

production industry across the country. It is widely available to cable subscribers and has found a stable and profitable niche within the expanding constellation of specialty and pay services in Canada. While Bravo!'s audience share is surpassed by many other specialty channels, it has exploited the advantage that comes from having no direct domestic competitors for its unique brand of programming.

Bravo! is fully owned by CHUM Limited of Toronto. CHUM's media properties, once confined to a handful of radio holdings until the early 1970s, began to expand when it acquired Toronto's CityTV. The company has grown to encompass 28 radio stations, 8 local television stations, and an additional 16 specialty channels. Although it shares a name and programming orientation with the American channel, there are no ownership ties between the two services. Some content is imported from the American channel. However, a condition of Bravo!'s original license, granted in 1994, stipulates that no more than 25 percent of its programming can originate with its U.S. counterpart. Bravo! is also required to broadcast at least 60 percent Canadian content during the broadcast year, with a minimum threshold of 50 percent domestically produced programming airing in prime time.

As with so many other enterprises under the CHUM banner, the genesis of Bravo! is generally traced to the fertile mind of the founding visionary behind CityTV, Moses Znaimer. Znaimer has been the guiding light behind a number of successful (and not infrequently controversial) innovations in Canadian and international broadcasting. Although financial struggles forced him to sell his shares in CityTV to CHUM, he continued to preside over the fortunes of the media company that coalesced and expanded around the station. One of his pet projects in the early 1990s was Bravo!, and he is billed as the executive producer of a number of the channel's offerings.

CHUM's television headquarters, located in a trendy neighborhood of Toronto, feature open "environments" where personalities and crews working for various channels are encouraged to roam about unhindered by traditional studio constraints, and even take to the streets. To make room for Bravo!, the building was renovated to include a small but acoustically sophisticated studio where, in this particular environment, artists' performances and reflections are recorded for various shows.

Bravo! bills itself as "Canada's 24-hour New-StyleArtsChannel" and, according to press releases issued by CHUM, is "dedicated to entertaining, stimulating and enlightening viewers who have a taste for a more complex television." The lineup has included Canadian-produced programs such as "Live at

the Rehearsal Hall" (performance and interviews), "Culture Warriors" (interview), "Bravo!News," "Bravo! Bulletin Board," and "Arts and Minds," a show dedicated to an examination of the creative process. Over the years (and especially at the outset) the independent Toronto production company Sleeping Giant has been responsible for developing programs for Bravo! Canada. The weekly schedule is organized around the themes of dance, music, drama, literature, cinema, great performances, and the visual arts.

One unique facet of the channel's license is the requirement that Bravo! must invest in Canadian content through a foundation now known as Bravo!FACT (originally the Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent in the Arts, or ArtsFACT). The idea had its origins in a similar initiative, called VideoFACT, that helped support the making of Canadian music videos for CHUM's MuchMusic channel. Film and video makers are eligible to apply to Bravo!FACT for a maximum of \$25,000 (Canadian) to defray up to half of the costs of a project. Bravo! also provides other assistance to successful grant applicants. The mandate is to "stimulate public interest in Canadian excellence in the arts, encourage the creation of new ways of presenting the arts on television, increase public recognition of Canadian artists and their works, and provide professional opportunities for film and video-makers."

As of 2002, the foundation had provided some \$4.5 million to more than 400 shorts aired on Bravo! Projects have also been screened, and earned awards, at film festivals and special events around the world. Although the investments seem impressive, and certainly make up one of the largest pools of funding for short works on serious topics in Canada, Bravo!'s support for independent film- and videomakers was the subject of some controversy when the channel's license was renewed in 2000. According to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Bravo! had fallen behind in its payments to the foundation. For this reason the Commissions' renewal was conditional upon Bravo! adding to the fund and meeting its future commitments (an annual expenditure of the greater part of \$600,000, or five percent of the previous fiscal year's gross revenues).

It is a rare feat for a Canadian specialty channel to claim a place among the top ten shows. Bravo! was able to accomplish this thanks to the popularity of its late-night American import *Sex and the City*. The program's devotees have boosted Bravo!'s subscriptions. According to Matthew Fraser of the *National Post*, the success of *Sex and the City* may be part of a wider phenomenon that has seen Canadian viewers seek out high-quality drama on specialty channels such as Bravo! while deserting the poorer nightly fare offered

up by conventional networks in the United States and simulcast in Canada. Fraser speculates that this trend, if it continues, may result in private Canadian networks diversifying their sources of content and even moving toward more in-house production after relying so heavily on American shows to fill prime-time slots. It would be ironic if an American show on a specialty channel accelerated the restructuring of Canada's television industry, but the history of the country's broadcasting system is full of contradictions and complications.

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See also *Citytv*; *MuchMusic*; *Sex and the City*; *Znaimer, Moses*

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## Brazil

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Brazil has one of the world's largest and most productive commercial television systems. Its biggest television network, TV Globo, is the fourth largest commercial network in the world. Brazil is also one of the largest television exporters within Latin America and around the world, particularly of *telenovelas*, the characteristic Latin American prime-time serials that have become popular in many countries.

Though Brazilian television began in 1950, it remained urban and elitist. Sets were expensive, programs were broadcast live, and transmitters covered only major centers. As in many other settings, that era of early television produced quite a bit of classic drama, and during this period local traditions in variety, news, drama, and *telenovelas* were established. The advent of videotape around 1960 opened Brazil to imported programs. Again, typical of countries then developing their television systems, the imports dominated programming for much of the decade, but their presence also stimulated some efforts at creating local networks. Two major early networks, TV Tupi and TV Excelsior, operated at that time.

Television became a truly mass medium in Brazil earlier than in most developing countries. The military governments that took power in 1964 saw televisual communication as a potential tool for creating a stronger national identity, creating a broader consumer economy, and controlling political information. The military pushed television deeper into the population by subsidizing credit for set sales, building national

microwave and satellite distribution systems, and promoting the growth of one network they chose as a privileged partner. TV Globo, which also started in 1964, created the first true national network by the late 1960s. Censorship of news was extensive under the military governments between 1966 and 1978, but they also encouraged national television program production. In the early 1970s, several government ministers pushed the commercial networks hard to develop more Brazilian programming and reduce reliance on imported programs, particularly those that contained violence.

The 1960s represented a formative period for genre development. Brazilian *telenovelas* had largely been patterned after those in other Latin American countries, even using imported scripts, but during these years they were developed into a considerably more sophisticated genre by TV Excelsior in São Paulo and TV Globo in Rio de Janeiro. A key turning point was the 1968 *telenovela*, *Beto Rockefeller*, a well-produced story reflecting a singular Brazilian personality, the Rio good-lifer or *boa vida*. By the 1970s, *telenovelas* were the most popular programs and dominated prime time on the major networks, TV Globo and TV Tupi. TV Globo, in particular, began to attract major writers and actors from both film and theater to also work in *telenovelas*. The Brazilian *telenovelas* became good enough, as commercial television entertainment, to be exported throughout Latin America and into Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Another major genre of the 1960s was the *show de auditório*, a live variety show mixing games, quizzes, amateur and professional entertainers, comedy, and discussion. The *shows de auditório* have been extremely popular with the lower-middle and lower classes, and, according to analyses such as Sérgio Miceli's 1972 *A Noite da Madrinha* (*Evening with the Godmother*), played an extremely important role in drawing them into television viewing.

The years 1968 to 1985 constitute Brazilian television's second phase. In this period TV Globo dominated both the audience and the development of television programming. It tended to have a 60 to 80 percent share of the viewers in the major cities at any given time. TV Globo was accused during this period of representing the view of the government, of being its mouthpiece. Other broadcast television networks found themselves pursuing smaller, more specific audience segments largely defined by social class. SBS (Sílvia Santos) targeted a lower-middle-class, working-class, and poor audience, mostly with variety and game shows. The strategy gained it a consistent second place in ratings in most of the 1980s and 1990s. TV Manchete targeted a more elite audience initially, with news, high budget *telenovelas*, and imported programs, but found the segment too small to gain adequate advertiser support. TV Bandeirantes tended to emphasize news, public affairs, and sports. All three ultimately wished to pursue a general audience with general appeal programming, such as *telenovelas*, but generally discovered that such efforts still did not gain an audience sufficient to pay for the increased programming costs.

Brazilian television since 1985 has gone through a third phase, marked by its role in the transition to a new civilian republic. In 1984 TV Globo initially supported the military government against a campaign for direct election of a civilian government, while other media, including other television networks, many radio stations, and most of the major newspapers supported the change. Perceiving that it might literally lose its audience to the competition, Globo switched sides and supported transition to a civilian regime, which was indirectly elected in a compromise situation. The new political circumstances immediately reduced political censorship and pressure on broadcasters.

The fourth phase of Brazilian television has been its internationalization. The importation of television programs into Brazil declined from the 1970s through the 1980s, as Brazilian networks produced more of their own material. TV Globo often filled 12–14 hours a day with indigenous productions. TV Globo and other networks also began to export programs, particularly *telenovelas*, and Brazilian exports of programming to

the rest of the world and soon became economically and culturally significant. Brazilian exports reached over 100 countries, and the programs have often proved great international successes. This is particularly the case with historical *telenovelas* such as *A Escrava Isaura* (*Isaura the Slave*), about the abolition of slavery in Brazil, a hit in countries as diverse as Poland, China, Cuba, and most of Latin America.

The fifth phase of Brazilian television is marked by the appearance of some new video distribution systems. The first new technology to diffuse widely in Brazil was the home videocassette recorder (VCR), which largely gave the middle and upper classes greater access to imported feature films. The new technology with the most effect on Brazilian electronic media, however, is the satellite distribution of television to small repeaters throughout the country. In the 1980s, thousands of small towns in rural Brazil purchased satellite dishes and low-power repeaters to bring in Brazilian television networks, effectively extending television to 99 percent of the population. Studies show that over 90 percent of the population probably has television sets. New video technologies entered the Brazilian television market in the 1990s, offering focused or segmented programming through additional advertising-supported UHF (ultra high frequency) channels or pay-TV systems such as subscription television (STV), cable TV systems, multichannel multipoint distribution systems (MMDS), and direct satellite broadcasting (DBS).

In this period three main approaches have so far been used to support programming and distribution: advertising-supported UHF, exemplified by the Brazilian adaptation of MTV, which features about 10–20 percent Brazilian music; over-the-air pay-TV systems, which usually rely on imported channels like CNN, ESPN, and HBO; and DBS (direct broadcast satellite) systems, which require subscription. So far only MTV has gained even a small share of the audience. Studies to date indicate that most satellite dishes and many cable connections are being used to secure better reception of Brazilian channels.

Even though the new technologies seem to threaten to bring in a new wave of largely U.S. programming, then, the audience studies so far do not indicate a strong audience response to them, except perhaps among a globalized elite and upper middle class. The dominant characteristic of Brazilian television still seems to be that of a strong national system with a distinct set of genres very popular with its own audience and in export.

JOSEPH STRAUBHAAR

*See also* **Telenovela**



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## Brideshead Revisited

### British Miniseries

*Brideshead Revisited* was made by Granada television, scripted by John Mortimer, and originally shown on ITV in October 1981. The 11-episode adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel of the same name helped set the tone of a number of subsequent screen presentations of heritage England, such as *Chariots of Fire* (1981), *The Jewel in the Crown* (1982), *A Passage to India* (1984), and *A Room with a View* (1986). These "white flannel" dramas, both on television and on the big screen, represented a yearning for an England that was no more, or never was. *Brideshead Revisited* opens in England on the eve of the World War II. Charles Ryder (played by Jeremy Irons), the main character and narrator, is presented as a rather incompetent officer in the British Army. He stumbles upon an English country house, which he had visited more than 20 years before. Upon seeing the house, Charles begins to tell the story of his years at Oxford, his meeting with Sebastian Flyte (Anthony Andrews), and his love for Julia (Diana Quick). This retrospective narrative is nostalgic in two senses. It is concerned with Charles's nostalgia for his affairs in the interwar period, but it is also concerned with a

nostalgia for a time before World War I—a longing for a lost way of life, for an Edwardian England.

The first five episodes focus on Charles's relationship with Sebastian, dealing candidly with homosexual passion. Parts six through eight portray Charles's "dead years," his ties to the Flyte family apparently severed. His growing love for Julia returns him to Brideshead. The final three parts follow the development and decline of this relationship and the death of Lord Marchmain.

The locations are centrally important in the drama. In the early episodes of the serial, Charles recounts his years at university in Oxford. Establishing shots of "dreaming spires" and college courtyards paint a picture of opulent, languid, summer days. Likewise, Brideshead Castle, the home of Sebastian and Julia, presents in stark symbolic form the once commanding heights of a now declining aristocracy. The stately home was actually Castle Howard in Yorkshire, the home of the then BBC chair, George Howard. These were deliberate signs of "quality." *Brideshead Revisited* visually displayed all the hallmarks of "quality



*Brideshead Revisited*. Anthony Andrews, Laurence Olivier, Jeremy Irons, 1982.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

television.” The cost of the serial, which lasted over 12 hours in total, was officially given by Granada television at £4.5 million, but other estimates put the figure closer to £11 million. Granada was committed to capturing an accurate atmosphere of Waugh’s original novel, and the high production values signaled a desire for authenticity. For example, filming on board the ocean liner the *Queen Elizabeth II* cost £50,000 per eight minutes of film. Other rich backdrops were provided by expensive location filming in Venice, Malta, and the island of Gozo. The large budget was justified by artful creation: “every frame a Rembrandt,” as Mike Scott put it. Viewers, taken with the obvious prestigious connotations of the production, frequently mistook the serial as originating from the British Broadcasting Corporation.

The visual lushness of the serial is matched by the excessive decadence of Sebastian and his various

friends. Waugh’s misogyny is revealed, and we are delivered a gathering of aristocratic men accustomed to each other’s company rather than to women. The myth of Edwardian England is fashioned through their clothes and manners. Sebastian is styled in cricket whites, Charles in tweed. The foppishness of their characters is matched by the flow of their loose-fitting wardrobes. All together, we are presented with a 1920s version of the Edwardian dandy—“tastefully” homoerotic. Sebastian’s teddy bear, Aloysius, which Sebastian clutches closely in the early episodes, became a popular icon in the early 1980s of a new breed of white-flannelled men. As the drama unfolds, Charles is caught within a more engulfing family romance. As Charles comes to know the family and comes to love Julia, Sebastian grows more melancholy and the idyllic images of Oxford and Brideshead Castle give way to a more disturbing ambience of loss and mourning.

## Brideshead Revisited

The elegance and nostalgia, the longing for a by-gone "Englishness" of empire and perceived stability led to *Brideshead* being widely attacked in cultural criticism. It was seen as a "Thatcherite text," part of a resurgence of regressive nationalism. It was criticized for its slow, reverential pace, for wallowing in inherited wealth, for being a glorified "soap." Nevertheless, the production is seen internationally as an example of what the British do best, a large-scale "quality" production of television drama.

DAVID OSWELL AND GUY JOWETT

See also **Adaptations; British Programming; Mini-series**

### Cast

Charles Ryder	Jeremy Irons
Lady Julia Flyte	Diana Quick
Sebastian Flyte	Anthony Andrews
Edward Ryder	John Gielgud
Anthony Blanche	Nikolas Grace
Nancy Hawkins	Mona Washbourne
Boy Mulcaster	Jeremy Sinden
Jasper	Stephen Moore
Sergeant Block	Kenneth Graham
Barber	John Welsh
Commanding Officer	John Nettleton
Lord Marchmain	Laurence Olivier

Cara  
Lady Marchmain  
Brideshead  
Cordelia  
Samgrass  
Wilcox  
Hayter  
Rex Mottram  
Nurse  
Hooper  
Dr. Grant

Stephane Audran  
Claire Bloom  
Simon Jones  
Phoebe Nicholls  
John Grillo  
Roger Milner  
Michael Bilton  
Charles Keating  
Mary McLeod  
Richard Hope  
Michael Gough

### Producers

Michael Lindsay-Hogg, Derek Granger

### Programming History

11 episodes  
Granada Television  
October 12–December 22, 1981

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# Briggs, Asa (1921– )

## British Historian

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Asa Briggs is the most important broadcasting historian in Britain. By writing about broadcasting as part of modern British social history, he has become a powerful advocate for the continuation of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

A Victorian historian of considerable note, Asa Briggs began his great work, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, in the 1960s. The first volume, entitled *The Birth of Broadcasting*, was published in 1961 and contained a marvelously evocative description of the birth of the BBC, and its founder John Reith, through 1927. The second volume, *The Golden Age of Wireless*, published in 1965, covered the period from 1927 to 1939 and received very favor-

able reviews. Volume three, *The War of Words*, covered the war years, 1939 to 1945. The fourth volume, entitled *Sound and Vision*, covered the period from 1945 to 1955, and the final volume, *Competition*, from the end of the BBC monopoly in 1955 to the mid-1970s.

Because independent television was not created in Britain until 1955, Briggs is primarily a historian of the BBC. However, in 1985 Briggs was commissioned by the independent British companies to write with Joanna Spicer an account of the way the Independent Broadcasting Authority organized the awarding of franchises in 1980. In this book, *The Franchise Affair*, Briggs's normal Olympian detachment from the poli-



Asa Briggs.

Photo courtesy of Asa Briggs

tics of broadcasting was dropped in a fascinating and often critical account of the development of independent TV. Cynics pointed out that Briggs had been a director of Southern Television, one of only two companies whose franchise was arbitrarily removed in 1980. *The Franchise Affair* was published by Hutchinson, a wholly owned subsidiary of London Weekend Television, which was re-awarded its franchise.

Made Baron Briggs of Lewes in 1976, Briggs is often seen as an establishment figure keen on preserving the status of the BBC. However, readers of his 1985 compilation volume, *The BBC: The First 50 Years*, were delighted to find that Briggs was not uncritical of the organization that sponsored his mammoth *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom* and paid for his offices in London.

Perhaps Briggs's greatest contribution to British broadcasting may not be his history books; it could be his role from 1978 to 1994 as chancellor of the Open University, a nonresidential institution that provides primary contacts with its students through radio and television broadcasts. The Open University has grown to become a major educational institution, awarding degrees for low fees, while maintaining high intellectual standards. Briggs has spent some of his prodigious energies fostering the growth of similar Open Universities of the Air in countries of the British Commonwealth.

As a member of the Campaign for Quality Television, Briggs has been a great defender of the BBC's charter, which came up for renewal in 1996. Thanks to the many defenders of the BBC's position in British society, not least to the Campaign for Quality Television, the BBC had its charter renewed for a further 15

years. Briggs was well satisfied with the result. Thanks to his influence, perhaps in the future some historian will be able to write a history of the first hundred years of the BBC. Briggs's contribution to broadcasting is that of historian and advocate. He has skillfully narrated the story of the most important of all British media enterprises.

ANDREW QUICKE

**Asa Briggs.** Born in Keighley, Yorkshire, England, May 7, 1921. Attended Keighley Grammar School; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1941; University of London, first-class B.S. in Economics, 1941. Married: Susan Anne Banwell, 1955; children: Katharine, Daniel, Judith, and Matthew. Served in Intelligence Corps, 1942–45. Fellow, Worcester College, Oxford, 1945–55; professor of history, Leeds University, 1955–61; professor of history, later vice chancellor, Sussex University, 1961–66; provost, Worcester College, Oxford, 1976–91; chancellor, Open University, Milton Keynes, 1979–94. Made Baron Briggs of Lewes, East Sussex, 1976. President: Social History Society, from 1976; Victorian Society, from 1983; Ephemera Society, from 1984; British Association for Local History, 1984–86; Association of Research Associations, 1986–88. Chair: Standing Conference for Study of Local History, 1969–76; European Institute of Education and Social Policy, Paris, 1975–90; Commonwealth of Learning, Vancouver, 1988–93; Advisory Board for Redundant Churches, 1983–89. Governor: British Film Institute, 1970–77. Trustee: Glyndebourne Arts Trust, 1966–91; International Broadcasting Institute, 1968–87; Heritage Education Group, 1976–86; Civic Trust, 1976–86. Member: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1970. Fellow: Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1968; Worcester College, Oxford, 1969; Saint Catherine's College, Cambridge, 1977; British Academy, 1980. Numerous honorary degrees. Recipient: Marconi Medal for Communication History, 1975; Médaille de Vermeil de la Formation, Fondation de l'Académie d'Architecture, 1979; Royal College of Anaesthetists Snow Medal, 1991.

#### Publications (selected)

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*Governing the BBC*, 1979

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## Brinkley, David (1920–2003)

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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David Brinkley and Chet Huntley debuted NBC's *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* in October 1956. A few months earlier, NBC producer Reuven Frank had put them together as a team to anchor the network's television coverage of the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions. Network news would never be the same. Nor would Sunday mornings a quarter of a century later, when Brinkley introduced on ABC, *This Week with David Brinkley*, which ran from 1981 until shortly before Brinkley's retirement from television in 1997 (the program continues, but without Brinkley as moderator and without his name in the title). From the mid-1950s on, Brinkley not only reported the news, he also helped to shape the industry of television news. His renowned wit, his singular delivery, and his superb TV news writing style made him an institution in broadcast journalism.

However, Brinkley was no star when he first went to NBC Radio in 1943. His talent for strong and clear writing became evident as he continually struggled to write for announcers who read only the words and seemed to miss the meaning. He also began to gain experience as a newscaster when he did ten-minute newscasts for the network. He was not yet famous when he became the Washington, D.C., reporter for John Cameron Swayze's *Camel News Caravan*, NBC's early TV news effort. However, as the 1956 political conventions came into focus for the U.S. TV audience, viewers came to see, hear, and to know Brinkley as a new breed of TV journalist.

Brinkley was one of the first journalists to be absolutely comfortable with this new medium of TV. As his boss at NBC, Reuven Frank, often said, Brinkley had wit, style, intelligence, and perhaps most importantly, a lean writing style filled with powerful declarative sentences that is very effective in TV news. Brinkley was aware that TV was made up of pictures and corresponding sounds. He understood that the reporter has to stop talking and let the news footage tell the story. "Brinkley writes silence better than anyone else I know," said Frank, and when this natural TV journalist was teamed with the California reporter Huntley, it proved to be a winning formula.

TV news before Huntley and Brinkley was a combination of dull film reports, similar to movie newsreels of the 1940s, and a radio reporting style similar to that of the World War II era. Huntley and Brinkley took TV news into a new age of electronic journalism. According to one of their main competitors, Don Hewitt of CBS, who produced Walter Cronkite and, later, *60 Minutes*, "They came at us like an express train." When Huntley spoke, it was clear the story was a global story. When Brinkley spoke, it was clear it was a story about Washington. They began with a 15-minute newscast, and in 1963 the program increased to 30 minutes per night. Audiences now take for granted the sight of different journalists in different cities talking to each other on TV, but it was *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* that began such techniques. The switching back and forth between Huntley in New York and Brinkley in Washington created the now famous final exchange from every newscast: "Good night, David" . . . "Good night, Chet." The order of the exchange alternated night by night—until their last newscast together in 1970, when Huntley's "Good night, David" brought the response, "Good-bye, Chet."

In that year, Huntley retired to a Montana ranch, and Brinkley became increasingly restless at NBC. His important role in *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* could not be matched, and he did not continue producing the excellent documentaries on *David Brinkley's Journal*. He became known as the grumpy older newsman in the NBC family. He did a series of programs for NBC, including *NBC Nightly News* and *NBC Magazine with David Brinkley*. However, he hated to go to New York to do the news, since he wanted Washington to be his news beat. Finally, in 1981, Roone Arledge hired Brinkley for ABC. All those years working on *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* had made Brinkley into the absolute Washington insider. When ABC gave him the Sunday program *This Week with David Brinkley*, he and his guests could talk among themselves and with all the other Washington insiders about the week's news event.

Brinkley asked his friend George Will to join him

on *This Week with David Brinkley*. ABC reporter Sam Donaldson joined as the resident “liberal” to confront Will’s avowed “conservative” stance. Besides the guests who were interviewed every week, other reporters such as National Public Radio’s Cokie Roberts joined Brinkley, Will, and Donaldson. (Roberts was later to become a permanent fixture on ABC’s Sunday morning news program, sharing the moderating duties with Donaldson for a period after Brinkley’s retirement.) Some critics deemed the program to be very opinionated; it could be cynically referred to as ABC’s op-ed page. However, there had traditionally been very little interpretation of news on U.S. TV, and *This Week with David Brinkley* seemed to fill the void at least partially. Because of Brinkley’s strong Washington ties, the show at times appeared to consist of one group of Washingtonians talking to another. Criticisms aside, with ABC’s *This Week with David Brinkley*, Brinkley’s enormous talents and his many decades of TV news experience were given free reign.

Following his retirement, some criticism was leveled at Brinkley for appearing in commercials for Archer-Daniels-Midland, the giant agribusiness company. The primary point of the criticism was the fact that ADM was a key sponsor for *This Week*. But Brinkley’s presence was also seen by some as blurring the boundaries between journalistic responsibility and commercialization of news and information.

Brinkley received many awards, most notably the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President George H.W. Bush. Also among Brinkley’s awards were ten Emmys and four Peabodys, including one in 1992 for reporting on the fiftieth anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. When asked what he thought his legacy to TV news would be, however, Brinkley told *Broadcasting* magazine, “Every news program on the air looks essentially as we started it [with *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*]. We more or less set the form for broadcasting news on television which is still used. No one has been able to think of a better way to do it.” David Brinkley passed away on June 11, 2003.

CLAYLAND H. WAITE

See also **Anchor; Huntley, Chet; News (Network)**

**David Brinkley.** Born in Wilmington, North Carolina, July 10, 1920. Educated at New Hanover High School, Wilmington; special student in English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1939–40; special student in English, Emory and Vanderbilt



David Brinkley.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

universities, 1941–43. Married: 1) Ann Fischer, 1946 (divorced); children: Alan, Joel, and John; 2) Susan Melanie Benfer, 1972; child: Alexis. Served in U.S. Army, 1941–43. Reporter at Wilmington, North Carolina, *Star-News*, 1938–41; reporter, bureau manager, United Press news service (later United Press International), various southern cities, 1941–43; radio news writer and nonbroadcast reporter, NBC, Washington, D.C., 1943; NBC-TV, from 1946; Washington correspondent, NBC, 1951–81; co-anchor, with Chet Huntley, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*, 1956–70; correspondent, commentator, *NBC Nightly News*, 1971–76; co-anchor, *NBC Nightly News*, 1976–79; anchor, ABC’s *This Week with David Brinkley*, 1981–97. Member: Cosmos Club, Washington; National Press Club, Washington; trustee, Colonial Williamsburg. Recipient: DuPont Award, 1958; Golden Key Award, 1964; four Peabody Awards; ten

Brinkley, David

Emmy Awards; Scholastic Bell Award; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1992. Died from complications due to a fall, June 11, 2003.

#### Television Series

1951–56 *Camel News Caravan* (correspondent)  
1956–70 *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*  
1961–63 *David Brinkley's Journal*  
1971–76 *NBC Nightly News* (commentator only)  
1976–79 *NBC Nightly News* (co-anchor)  
1980–81 *NBC Magazine with David Brinkley*  
1981–97 *This Week with David Brinkley*  
1981–97 *ABC's World News Tonight* (commentator)

#### Publications

*David Brinkley: A Memoir*, 1995  
*David Brinkley's Homilies*, 1996  
*Everyone Is Entitled to My Opinions*, 1997  
*Washington Goes to War*, 1999

#### Further Reading

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Frank, Reuven, *Out of Thin Air: The Brief Wonderful Life of Network News*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991  
Gunther, M., *The House That Roone Built: The Inside Story of ABC News*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1994

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## British Academy of Film and Television Arts

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The British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) developed from the British Film Academy (founded 1947) and the Guild of Television Producers and Directors (founded 1953). The two organizations amalgamated as the Society of Film and Television Arts in 1958; the Society assumed its present identity as BAFTA in 1976. BAFTA has over 5,000 members and is located in London, with branches in Scotland, North England, Wales, Los Angeles, and New York. Any person working within the film and television industries in Britain is eligible to join.

One of the Guild's stated aims was to provide awards of merit for outstanding work in television. The first of the Guild award ceremonies was held at the Television Ball of the Savoy Hotel in October 1954. The awards on this occasion were six in number, presented to actors (two awards), a writer, a producer, a designer, and a "personality." In 1957 the number of awards was expanded to nine to accommodate entries from Independent television, including one for "Light Entertainment Artist" which went to Tony Hancock. In 1960 the Desmond Davis award for "outstanding service to television" was added to commemorate a founding member and past chairman. The first recipi-

ent was the broadcaster Richard Dimbleby. The number and the categories covered increased and varied over the years, and by 1967 there were 17 Guild awards and three additional awards presented under the aegis of the Guild by Mullard Ltd., Shell International, and the National Institute of Adult Education. The total currently stands at 39 television awards and 23 film awards (or BAFTAs).

In 1998 the film and television awards ceremonies were separated. Since then, *Radio Times* has acted as sponsor of the television awards (the official name of the event is now The British Academy Television Awards sponsored by Radio Times). Orange (a mobile phone company) has sponsored the film awards since 1998, which are now formally known as The Orange British Academy Film Awards. BAFTA hosts five awards ceremonies annually. The film awards are held in February. Television production is honored in April, and television craft in May. In October the interactive entertainment awards ceremony is held (in 2003, this was split into two separate awards categories, interactive and games). Finally, the children's film and television awards are presented late in the year (November/December).



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# BRITISH ACADEMY OF FILM AND TELEVISION ARTS

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Nominations for awards are initially determined by suggestions from members, broadcasters, and producers. Before the announcement of nominations, voting members are responsible for determining the television nominations. After nominations are announced, the voting membership is asked to vote again, this time for the winners in the categories of actor, actress, entertainment performance, and comedy performance. All other awards are determined by a jury of industry-based individuals.

The BAFTA awards enjoy a high degree of credibility and prestige. Although not as influential as the American Academy Awards, the BAFTA awards are increasingly seen as enhancing the subsequent commercial success of films and programs. Televising of the awards ceremony in Britain is a media event second only to the Oscars, and keeps BAFTA awards in the public eye. Despite the benefits of awards, there has been little evidence in Britain of any lobbying to influence panel decisions.

Television awards are primarily devoted to British television. New categories of award are constantly emerging in response to developments within the media. A recent addition has been the Low Grade Audience Award (the People's Vote).

Film awards are international, although there is one reserved for best British film, the Alexander Korda Award. This category is increasingly difficult to determine given the prevalence of co-production arrangements, films made for television with prior release to cinema audiences (e.g. *FilmFour* by Channel 4), and films made in Britain with American backing.

Distinguished contributors to the shaping of the organization include Richard Cawston, Lord Attenborough, Sir Sydney Samuelson, and Sir David Puttnam.

BRENDAN KENNY

## Further Reading

[www.bafta.org](http://www.bafta.org)

British Academy of Film and Television Arts.

*The British Academy Award is based on a design by Mitzi Cunliffe*



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## British Programming

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The BBC provided the world's first public high-definition regular domestic television service from 3:00 P.M. on November 2, 1936. After the initial introductory speeches, the first program began with a cinema newsreel, followed by an international variety show involving British, U.S., and Chinese performers. After closing down at 4:00 P.M., the service resumed for another hour at 9:00 P.M., when a short documentary and a magazine program were screened; the newsreel was then repeated. In the three years until the closedown of British television on September 1, 1939 (due to the announcement of Britain entering World War II), a complete range of television programs had been transmitted on the fledgling service. These included newsreels, documentaries, dramas, magazine shows, light entertainment, and children's programs. Drama productions were almost solely theatrical productions of classics; on March 28, 1938, Cecil Madden established the Sunday night TV drama, beginning with the transmission of Pirandello's *Henry IV*.

From the earliest days, a mobile broadcast unit was used. The coronation of King George VI was covered in 1937, with a viewing audience of more than 10,000 people. The unit also covered other public occasions such as the Lord Mayor's Show, the Armistice Day Service, and a range of sporting events such as Wimbledon (tennis) and the FA Cup Final (association football). Undoubtedly the most popular offering was the twice-weekly one-hour magazine program of topical and general interest, *Picture Page*, which ran from 1936 to 1939 and then returned in 1946 for a further 300 editions until 1954.

The high cost of television reception equipment, and the fact that the service could only be received in the London area, meant that the programming was aimed at the well-to-do elements of society. Apart from a couple of documentary films about the service, no moving-image record of the programs from the prewar service exists.

The immediate postwar years saw the continuation of *Picture Page* and the broadcast of events such as the Victory Parade (June 8, 1946), and royal and sporting events such as tennis and test cricket. The largest such coverage of the 1940s was the televising of the XIVth Olympiad held in London in 1948.

Many plays were transmitted (including some written especially for television) although very few films

and filmed newsreels were broadcast, due to industry fears of supporting the competition. The few films that were shown were recognized classics such as D.W. Griffiths' *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), Josef von Sternberg's *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), and Marcel Carne's *Les enfants du paradis* (1945).

The early 1950s saw a rapid expansion of TV-set ownership, with the broadcast of the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II often cited as one of the driving causes. More than 2 million licenses were registered in 1953 (approximately 20 percent of all households). Licenses rose to over 10 million by the end of the decade. The coronation was broadcast for seven hours; it is estimated that 20 million people in the United Kingdom saw it before it was shipped for screenings in Europe, North America, and across the Commonwealth.

In the 1950s, the BBC's monopoly of television broadcasting ended. The government ushered in television funding through the sale of advertising revenue at the end of July 1954, with transmissions starting on September 22, 1955. Commercial television transformed the safe, traditional, and cozy world depicted in many programs produced by the BBC. The commercial news service, ITN, also challenged the BBC's establishment-oriented approach, and the Suez Crisis of 1956 saw an end to the deferential attitude of television toward government and politicians.

The early 1950s saw the production of the United Kingdom's longest running police series, *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC, 1955–76), created by Ted Willis, one of the world's most prolific creators of television series. *The Good Old Days* (BBC), an Edwardian-style variety show, ran from 1953 to 1983. *What's My Line?* (BBC, 1951–62, 1973–74; Thames, 1984–90) could be characterized as a quiz show but belongs to a typically British radio and TV genre that continues to this day. This genre is best described as a parlor game show played by guest celebrities. Other examples include *Face the Music* (BBC 1967–84), *A Question of Sport* (BBC, 1970– ), *Celebrity Squares* (ATV/Central, 1975–79; 1993–97), *Call My Bluff* (BBC 1965–88), and *Give Us a Clue* (Thames 1979–91).

Commercial television introduced new ideas and many new areas of programming. British television drama, for instance, was transformed by *Armchair Theatre* (ABC, 1956–69, Thames, 1970–74), which

served as an umbrella program for different productions by new writing talent (particularly under Canadian producer Sidney Newman) and introduced more working-class characters to the screen. A more North American-style of entertainment was also produced, such as the variety show *Sunday Night at the London Palladium* (ATV, 1955–67, 1973–74), and game shows such as *Double Your Money* (A-R, 1955–68) and *Take Your Pick* (A-R 1955–68). One example of the BBC buying an American format was *This Is Your Life* (BBC, 1955–64), although Thames took it over from 1969, though it returned to the BBC in 1995.

A very popular production was the science fiction/horror serial *The Quatermass Experiment* (BBC, 1953) from which there have been a number of spin-offs. It was the half-hour filmed period action series that became the most popular drama. These included *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (ABC/Sapphire/ITP, 1955–59), *The Adventures of Sir Lancelot* (Sapphire, 1956–57), *The Adventures of William Tell* (ITC-NTA, 1958–59), *The Count of Monte Cristo* (Vision Productions, 1958), *Ivanhoe* (Sydney Box Prods.-Screen Gems/ITC, 1958).

In comedy, the first edition of *The Benny Hill Show* was produced by the BBC in 1955. The BBC continued to produce it, with a one-year gap in 1967, until 1968. Thames (ITV) took it over in 1969 and ran it for the next 20 years. *Hancock's Half Hour* (1956–60) showcased the talents of Britain's best-loved radio comic, Tony Hancock, and Alfie Bass and Bill Fraser, the two main characters of the situation comedy *The Army Game* (Granada, 1957–61), featured in the spin-off *Bootsie and Snudge* (Granada, 1960–63). The American shows *The Phil Silvers Show* and *I Love Lucy* were very popular.

In the 1950s, ITV established the practice of buying American shows to supplement its own production. The most popular purchases were traditionally American genres: westerns such as *Gunsmoke/Gun Law*, *Wagon Train*, *Cheyenne*, *The Lone Ranger*, *Rawhide*, or fast-moving police series such as *Highway Patrol* and *Dragnet*. Gradually British TV began to imitate such police series and the first of these was *No Hiding Place* (A-R, 1959–67). *The Alfred Hitchcock* shows were also popular (*Alfred Hitchcock Presents* and *The Alfred Hitchcock Hour*). In light entertainment, *The Black and White Minstrel Show* (BBC 1958–78) ran for 20 years until eventually the offensiveness of white performers "blacking up" was finally acknowledged. *Opportunity Knocks!* (A-R, 1956; ABC, 1964–67; Thames, 1968–78) was a talent show—a genre that has continued in many guises since.

Popular music shows began with *Six-Five Special* (BBC, 1957–58) and was followed by *Oh Boy!* (ABC,

1958–59), *Juke Box Jury* (BBC, 1959–67; 1979; 1989–90), *Thank Your Lucky Stars* (ABC, 1958–59). The notorious *Eurovision Song Contest* began in 1956, and the United Kingdom has broadcast it from 1957 to the present day.

The first twice-weekly soap opera was set in a hospital (*Emergency Ward 10*, ATV, 1957–65) and was soon followed by the popular American import *Dr. Kildare*.

Current affairs began to develop as a key area of television broadcasting in the 1950s with the introduction of an early evening five-nights-a-week program *Tonight* (BBC, 1957–65). General arts programs were launched with *Monitor* (BBC, 1958–65). The 1950s also saw the introduction of a number of programs that still ran 40 years later. These include *Grandstand* (BBC, 1958–), the longest running live sports series on TV; *The Sky at Night* (BBC, 1957–), which is an astronomy program presented by Patrick Moore; and the range of programs with many titles fronted by Alan Whicker offering his idiosyncratic travelogues of the world. The children's program *Blue Peter* (BBC) also enjoyed surprising longevity, running from 1958 until the present day.

On April 21, 1964, the BBC launched its second channel, BBC 2. To the annoyance of the commercial TV companies (who were not allocated their second channel, Channel 4, for nearly two decades), the BBC could schedule some of its more specialist programming to this "minority" channel and therefore compete more directly with ITV by running the most popular programming on BBC 1.

To further restrict the commercial companies, in August 1965 the ITA instructed that from 8:00 to 8:55 P.M. Monday through Friday no more than two of five programs could be from the United States, and no more than three could be crime or western series. This was followed by the rule whereby only 14 percent of output could be originated in the United States with a further 2 percent allowed from the Commonwealth and 1.5 percent from Europe. These proportions were not changed until the development of cable and satellite in the 1980s, and still pertain to broadcast television.

On December 2, 1967, color TV was officially introduced on BBC 2. The 1960s saw some of the most innovative and imaginative programming in the history of broadcasting in Britain, reflecting the turbulent nature of that particular decade and causing a backlash in Mary Whitehouses's "clean up television" campaign. In the field of drama, the BBC introduced *The Wednesday Play* (BBC, 1964–70), which, like *Armchair Theatre*, was innovative and commissioned a number of controversial and subsequently famous plays. These

included Jeremy Sandford's *Cathy Come Home* (1966), Nell Dunn's *Up the Junction* (1965), and Dennis Potter's *Vote, Vote, Vote for Nigel Barton* (1965). Peter Watkins' *Culloden* (1964) covered an important battle in Scottish history, and *The War Game* (1966) dealt with the devastating results of nuclear war. *The War Game* was not transmitted for 25 years because it was considered too distressing. On the popular drama front, one of the most enduring shows was the espionage series *The Avengers* (ABC, 1961–69). Popular too was the BBC's production of the French novelist George Simenon's *Maigret* (BBC, 1960–63) and the medical series set in rural Scotland *Dr. Finlay's Casebook* (BBC, 1962–71), which STV revived as a new series in 1993.

The BBC also introduced a new form of gritty realism with the creation of *Z Cars* (BBC, 1962–78), a police show, which was supported with the spin-off *Softly, Softly* (BBC, 1966–70). Another highly successful espionage series was *Danger Man* (ATV/ITC, 1960–61; 1964–67), starring Patrick McGoohan. As a result of this success, McGoohan was allowed to produce the enigmatic *The Prisoner* (Everyman/ATV, 1967–68), which, although only 17 episodes long, became one of the great cult series. Roger Moore starred in two "mid-Atlantic" thrillers, *The Saint* (ATV, 1962–69), which was followed in the 1970s by the unsuccessful series, *The Persuaders!* (Tribune/ITC, 1971–72), co-starring Tony Curtis.

BBC's most successful series, *Doctor Who* (1963–89), a science fiction program about a time lord who travels through time, was designed for children but developed a cult status enjoyed by a huge and faithful adult audience. This was also the decade in which some major soap operas were created. In 1960 Granada TV launched *Coronation Street*, a representation of daily life in a northern working-class community, in the northwest but it was soon networked across the country. It still remains at the top of the audience ratings after over 35 years, and transmissions have been increased from twice to four times a week.

In 1964 ATV introduced the highly popular *Crossroads*, a soap set in a Midlands motel, which ran for 24 years and was revived in 2001. Until 1985, when the BBC introduced the highly successful *EastEnders*, the BBC did not fare well with its soaps. Two were experimented with: *Compact* (1962–65) was set in the offices of a magazine, and *The Newcomers* (1965–69) presented the story of a London family that moved to a country town.

In the 1960s *Comedy Playhouse* (BBC, 1961–74) was created. This was a premiere comedy showcase in which pilots written by writers such as Alan Simpson and Ray Galton were televised. A number of the pilots

went on to become some of the best loved comedy series on British TV. They included *Steptoe and Son* (BBC, 1962–65; 1970; 1972, 1974), and *Till Death Us Do Part* (BBC, 1966–68; 1972; 1974–75, which later became *In Sickness and in Health*, BBC 1985–1990). In the 1960s, there was a rise of satirical comedy shows such as *That Was the Week That Was* (BBC, 1962–63) and *Not Only—But Also...* (BBC, 1965–66; 1970), innovative shows such as *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (BBC, 1969–70; 1972–73), and the enduring favorite *Dad's Army* (BBC, 1968–77), a sitcom about a partially geriatric Home Guard in the early days of World War II. A number of Gerry Anderson's puppet productions were also produced: *Supercar* (ATV/AP/ITC, 1961–62), *Fireball XL5* (AP/ATV/ITC, 1962–63), *Stingray* (AP/ATV/ITC, 1964–65), *Thunderbirds* (ATV/AP/ITC, 1965–66), and *Captain Scarlett and The Mysterons* (ITC/Century 21 TV Prod, 1967–68).

Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise grew in popularity until they were a national institution. Their show, under different titles, ran from 1961 to 1983, regularly changing channels. In the pop music field, *Thank Your Lucky Stars* (ABC, 1961–66), *Ready, Steady Go!* (A-R, 1963–66) and the BBC's *Top of the Pops* was launched in 1964 and continues to the present day.

In the nonfiction field, a number of notable series were broadcast. In 1967 the BBC initiated David Attenborough's long-running *The World About Us* (BBC, 1967–86), a natural history series that resulted in the creation of the BBC's natural history unit at its Bristol studios. Sir Kenneth Clark's renowned *Civilization* (BBC, 1969) charted the history of western culture from the collapse of Greece and Rome to the 20th century.

In the area of news and topical journalism, ITN created the first half-hour evening news bulletin, *News at Ten*, in 1967. Granada TV's groundbreaking current affairs series *World in Action* (Granada, 1963–98) brought a fresh and campaigning approach to the coverage of domestic politics and overseas issues like Vietnam, while the BBC's contemporary documentary series *Man Alive* (BBC, 1965–82) tackled pressing issues of social concern.

Television in the 1970s moved away from the experiments of the 1960s into safer territory. For example, apart from *Play for Today* (BBC, 1970–84), original TV drama was replaced with period- and novel-based serials. These included such series as *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (BBC, 1970) and *Upstairs Downstairs* (LWT, 1971–75). It was also the decade of the major, solemn documentary series such as *The World at War* (Thames, 1973–74), *The Ascent of Man* (BBC, 1973), and *Life on Earth* (BBC, 1979).

Comedy moved more into the fairly bland with *Are You Being Served?* (BBC, 1973–83). There were, however, some notable exceptions such as *Fawlty Towers* (BBC, 1975; 1979), *Porridge* (BBC, 1974–77), *Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em* (BBC, 1973–75; 1978), *Rising Damp* (YTV, 1974–78), *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin* (BBC, 1976–79), *The Liver Birds* (BBC 1969–79), and *The Last of the Summer Wine* (BBC, 1973–). There was also the zany *The Goodies* (BBC, 1970–77; 1980) and the perennially popular *The Two Ronnies* (BBC, 1971–86).

American westerns virtually disappeared in the 1980s, and American crime series were in ascendance. However, programs such as *Kojak* were influential, and indirectly encouraged the development of more action-oriented British crime series. One company in particular, Euston Films Limited (a subsidiary of Thames TV), developed a portfolio of such programs for the ITV network. These included *Van der Valk* (Thames, 1972–73; Euston, 1977; Thames, 1991–92), *The Sweeney* (Euston, 1975–78), *Minder* (Euston, 1979–85; 1988–94), *Widows* (Euston, 1983; *Widows II*, 1985), *Reilly—Ace of Spies* (Euston, 1983). Series from other commercial companies included *The Professionals* (LWT, 1977–83) and two grittily realistic and much applauded serials made by the BBC, *Gangsters* (1976; 1978) and G.F. Newman's four-part *Law and Order* (1978).

There were also a number of highly successful drama series, two of which focused on courtroom situations—the daytime (three days a week) *Crown Court* (Granada, 1972–84), and the immensely popular *Rumpole of the Bailey* (Thames, 1978–79; 1983; 1987–88; 1991). There was also a highly successful serial set in a secondary school, *Grange Hill* (BBC, 1978–), devised by the ex-teacher Phil Redmond (who went on to found Mersey Productions and to produce Channel 4's equally successful soap *Brookside*).

On the soap front, Yorkshire TV produced a rural daytime serial, *Emmerdale Farm*, which began in 1972 and became increasingly popular as *Emmerdale*. The BBC also experimented with an all-black soap (written by a black author), *Empire Road* (1978–79).

In light entertainment, there was Bruce Forsyth's *Generation Game* (BBC, 1971–77), a very popular format that has continued on and off (with Larry Grayson taking over his role); the chat show *Parkinson* (BBC, 1971–82; 1996–) featuring Michael Parkinson; the long-running *That's Life* (BBC, 1973–94); *The Muppet Show* (ATV/Central, 1976–81); *Blankety Blank* (BBC, 1979–89). There were quiz shows ranging from *Mastermind* (BBC, 1972–), where contestants compete for a title by answering complex general-knowledge questions and obscure questions

about specialist areas of knowledge they possess, through *Sale of the Century* (Anglia, 1972–83), to the banal *Mr. and Mrs.* (ATV/Border, 1972–88).

There was a great deal of television activity in the 1980s. The commercial second channel, Channel 4, was launched on November 2, 1982, with a funding formula that freed it from commercial concern and gave it a remit to innovate. Breakfast television was introduced on three of the four channels. There was a massive growth in video recorder ownership. Cable and satellite networks were established. American soaps such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty* dominated the ratings, media coverage, and popular debate. Possibly the most disastrous attempt to compete with the United States head on was the production of *Chateaufallon* (1985), where five European networks attempted to produce a competitive equivalent to *Dallas*.

In programming terms, the 1980s represented a period when some very expensive classic drama was produced. This included *Death of a Princess* (ATV, 1980), which gained notoriety because it was about the public beheading of a Saudi princess and her lover. The Saudi government tried to stop its transmission and banned its importation to Saudi Arabia. Because of video technology, it was being clandestinely viewed in Saudi Arabia within 24 hours of first transmission in the United Kingdom. Almost as controversial was the BBC's *Boys from the Blackstuff* (BBC, 1982) about unemployment in Liverpool. Granada TV produced two hugely expensive, highly successful 13-part series: *Brideshead Revisited* (1981), from the Evelyn Waugh novel, and *The Jewel in the Crown* (1984), which was shot almost entirely in India. The BBC also produced the film-noir-style six-part drama, *Edge of Darkness* (1985), about the attempt to sabotage a nuclear power station, and Dennis Potter's complex masterpiece *The Singing Detective* (1986). The most significant development in television drama, however, was the decision by Channel 4 to make feature films, many of which played theatrically before being seen on television, rather than single plays. The success of this venture and the decision of other broadcasters to follow suit signaled the death of the single play, shot on video in the studio, on British television.

Police dramas proliferated in the 1980s. Both the BBC and ITV had female detectives, *Juliet Bravo* (BBC, 1980–85) and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT, 1980–84), respectively; there was a black detective, *Wolcott* (ATV 1981); a local radio detective, *Shoestring* (BBC, 1979–80); a Chinese detective, *The Chinese Detective* (BBC, 1981–82); a Scottish detective, *Taggart* (STV, 1983–); the long-running series set on the island of Jersey, *Bergerac* (BBC, 1981–91); the highly acclaimed series set in Oxford starring John

Thaw, *Inspector Morse* (Central, 1987–92); and literary private detectives: *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (Granada, 1984–85; *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, 1986–88; *The Casebook of Sherlock Holmes*, 1991; *Sherlock Holmes*, 1993) with Jeremy Brett offering what is currently considered to be the definitive performance of the great detective; and two famous Agatha Christie detectives, the BBC-produced *Miss Marple* (1984–92) and ITV's *Poirot* (LWT/Carnival 1989–).

Popular noncrime series included the BBC's *A Very Peculiar Practice* (1986 and 1988), set in a university health center; and two highly realistic long-running series, one based in a fire station, *London's Burning* (LWT, 1988–), and the other an equally long-running hospital series, *Casualty* (BBC, 1986–).

A number of new soap operas started in the 1980s. First there was Scottish TV's daytime soap *Take the High Road* (1980–); Channel 4's *Brookside* (Mersey, 1982–2003); the BBC's first successful soap that rivaled *Coronation Street* in the audience ratings *EastEnders* (1985–); and a police soap, *The Bill* (Thames, 1984–).

In the 1980s a range of highly successful and, in some cases long-running, sitcoms developed. There was Carla Lane's long-running *Bread* (BBC, 1986–91) and *Yes, Minister* (BBC, 1980, 1982) was successful enough for Paul Eddington (the minister) to return as the prime minister in *Yes, Prime Minister* in 1986 and 1988. *Hi-De-Hi!* (BBC, 1981–88), *'Allo, 'Allo* (BBC, 1984–92, and *Only Fools and Horses* (BBC, 1981–) are long-running series that, like *Dad's Army* and *Fawlty Towers*, continue to be regularly repeated. Over the decades the BBC has always been more successful with sitcoms than the ITV companies, but in the 1980s ITV enjoyed significant success in this field with Rik Mayall's *The New Statesman* (Yorkshire, 1987–92).

In the 1980s U.K. television produced its first all-black sitcom, *No Problem!* (C4, 1983–85), Rowan Atkinson in *Blackadder* (BBC, 1983–89), and Peter Fluck and Roger Law's award-winning satirical puppet show *Spitting Image* (Central, 1984–96). This last show has enjoyed significant international format sales.

In the area of light entertainment, the BBC's *The Lenny Henry Show* (BBC, 1984–85; 1987–88) and *French and Saunders* (BBC, 1987–88) were very successful, and Channel 4 enjoyed success with the innovative pop music show *The Tube* (Tyne, Tees 1982–87) and the even more original *Max Headroom* (Chrysalis, 1985).

A number of new game shows were introduced in the 1980s. *Bulleseye* (ATV, 1981–94), a show based on the game of darts, and Channel 4's *Countdown* (York-

shire, 1982–), a word game with which C4 opened transmissions. Two American formats were hugely successful: *The Price Is Right* (Central, 1984–88) and *Blind Date* (LWT, 1985–). In current affairs, the BBC introduced *Newsnight* (1980–), and LWT made the first ethnic minority current affairs programs for Channel 4, *Black on Black* (1982–85) and *Eastern Eye* (1982–85).

In the 1980s programs about cooking—for example, *Food and Drink* (BBC/Bazal, 1982–)—and holidays—for example, *Holiday* (BBC, 1969–), which has a number of rivals including ITV's *Wish You Were Here...?* (Thames, 1976–)—proliferated and became hugely popular.

The 1980s saw a large increase in channel output hours, and Channel 4's approach, combined with the introduction of cheaper, lightweight video equipment, gave a much rougher edge to the look of programs. At first this was regarded as unprofessional but later became the standard. The growth of the independent production sector during the years of the Thatcher government also allowed many more people, with a more businesslike approach, to enter the previously closed world of television production, as did the breaking down of old union restrictions.

The 1990s saw the increasing commercialization of British television after the 1990 Broadcasting Act, plus the development of satellite companies and the financial battle over the rights to major world sporting events, with Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB seeming to win most of the battles. It was also the decade that the Australian soaps such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* dominated the U.K. daytime schedules and the fifth terrestrial channel, Channel 5, began.

Although satellite and cable channels were a well-established part of the British television landscape by the early years of the 21st century, their impact on original programming is difficult to assess. The most successful channels were the ones that carried first-run movies or sports, and the latter, especially Sky Sports, with its exclusive live coverage of Premier League soccer and events like the Ryder Cup golf, certainly revolutionized sports coverage. Sky News also had a big impact, inspiring the creation of 24-hour news channels by the BBC and ITN. The BBC's channel was in place for the biggest domestic news story of all: the death and funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales, which replaced the published schedules on all channels for over a week in 1997. However, the satellite entertainment channels contained mostly imported or repeat material, and few original programs made an impact, with the exception of Sky One's *Ibiza Uncovered* (LWT for BSkyB, 1997), which led to a rash of programs exploring the racy behavior of young vacationers.

Back on the established channels, the major drama successes were *Prime Suspect* (Granada, 1991–2003), *The Darling Buds of May* (Yorkshire, 1991), *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* (BBC, 1990), *Between the Lines* (BBC, 1992–94), *Cracker* (Granada, 1993–95), *Our Friends in the North* (BBC, 1996) and  *Holding On* (BBC, 1997). Although many of these were critical and/or ratings successes, it was not a time amenable to original writing for television, and most channels concentrated their resources on expensive classic period dramas, such as the BBC's highly successful *Pride and Prejudice* (1995). However, the end of the decade saw a spate of contemporary comedy-dramas, inspired by the enormous success of Granada's *Cold Feet* (1997–2002).

Successful sitcoms included *One Foot in the Grave* (BBC, 1990–2000), Channel 4's set in a TV newsroom *Drop the Dead Donkey* (Hat Trick, 1990–98), *Absolutely Fabulous* (BBC, 1992–), and *The Royle Family* (BBC, 1998–2000). However, probably the most acclaimed comedy show of the decade was the wickedly funny *Have I Got News For You* (Hat Trick, 1990–), which is a panel game recorded the day before transmission to ensure its biting satire is completely topical. Experimental comedy also thrived, with a number of forays into the world of the surreal such as *Vic Reeves' Big Night Out* (Channel 4, 1990–91) (followed by the BBC's *The Smell of Reeves and Mortimer*, 1993–95), *Father Ted* (Channel 4, 1995–98), *The League of Gentlemen* (BBC, 1999–), and Chris Morris's *Jam* (Channel 4, 2000). *The Fast Show* (BBC, 1994–2000) took the sketch show in a new direction, while *The Office* (BBC, 2001–03) provided a sitcom in the style of a documentary.

The two most significant programming developments of this period, however, were the docusoap, such as the BBC's *Driving School* (1997), and the worldwide phenomenon of reality television, which dominated schedules in the early years of the 21st century. Possibly the biggest success, and the first in the field, was a format that came from Holland, *Big Brother* (Channel 4, 2000–), but British TV soon gave its own formats to the world, including *I'm a Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here* (2002–), which was a major success for ITV. Probably the biggest format exported from Britain, though, was the ITV prize quiz *Who Wants To Be a Millionaire?* (1998–), which in Britain transformed ITV's fortunes through strip scheduling

and was the most significant new game show in over a decade. It went on to worldwide success with exactly the same set, style, and music as used in Britain, thus providing the template for success in program format export for the subsequent years.

The beginning of the 21st century also saw the spread of widescreen digital terrestrial television in Britain, and with it an expansion of the BBC's service to seven channels, including two for children. BBC 3 provided youth entertainment programming from 2003, while BBC 4 was on air a year earlier with an outstanding mix of serious arts, documentary, and discussion programs. Many saw this as confirmation of the decline of BBC 2 and Channel 4, both of which had formerly provided such programming, but had moved away from it in the search for ratings.

STEVE BRYANT AND MANUEL ALVARADO

*See also Absolutely Fabulous; Avengers, The; Big Brother; Blackadder; Boys from the Blackstuff; Brideshead Revisited; Brookside; Civilization; Coronation Street; Cracker; Dad's Army; East-Enders; Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin, The; Fawlty Towers; Grange Hill; Have I Got News for You; Man Alive; Monty Python's Flying Circus; Not Only—But Also...; One Foot in the Grave; Only Fools and Horses; Our Friends in the North; Parkinson; Porridge; Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage; Quatermass; Ready, Steady, Go!; Rising Damp; Rumplole of the Bailey; Singing Detective, The; Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em; Spitting Image; Steptoe and Son; That Was the Week That Was; Till Death Us Do Part; Top of the Pops; Upstairs Downstairs; World at War; World in Action; Yes, Minister*

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# British Sky Broadcasting

## International Satellite Broadcasting Service

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British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB) is the first entrepreneurial venture of any significance to have challenged the hitherto closely regulated, four-channel, public service character of British television. As part of the international media empire that includes the Fox Network and Star TV, BSkyB has rapidly become a major player in the world broadcasting marketplace. It is a large commercial satellite network, available principally to viewers in the British Isles, although audiences anywhere within the European ASTRA satellite system footprint can receive it.

Owned 36.3 percent by News Corporation and successfully floated on the U.K. and U.S. stock exchanges at the end of 1994, BSkyB is immediately associated with the name of media tycoon Rupert Murdoch, who invested heavily in the venture from 1983, accepting enormous initial losses while awaiting the profit potential of satellite television in Britain. Initially with a purely analog service, and subsequently with a dual-illuminated digital/analog service, BSkyB has become the primary nonterrestrial broadcaster in the United Kingdom and is regarded by the terrestrial sector as the true commercial competition. In just a decade and a half of wide consumer access, the network has firmly established itself as the third force in British broadcasting.

The inauspicious origins of BSkyB can be traced to Murdoch's purchase in 1983 of a 65 percent share (subsequently increased to 82 percent) in a fledgling, London-based operation called Satellite Television Ltd., which, as the first European satellite television channel, had been transmitting programs for about a year to small audiences in western Europe over one of the earliest EUTELSAT satellites. Murdoch, who once famously described satellite television as "the most important single advance since Caxton invented the printing press," relaunched the company as the Sky Channel and commenced broadcasting a new programming mix in January 1984, receivable in Britain by cable households only (at that time no more than about 10,000). By 1987 Sky had achieved an 11.3 percent share of viewing in those homes capable of receiving it and had raised some £28 million in rights issues to fund its planned expansion into direct-to-home delivery.

Sky's expansion, widely criticized at the time as irresponsibly risky, began in February 1989, when the

company's new three-channel package went on air over the first Luxembourg-owned ASTRA satellite. Indeed, since U.K. broadcasting legislation did not then permit a satellite undertaking to uplink signals from British soil, Sky was only legally able to do so by virtue of its non-British transmission source. At first available unscrambled and free-of-charge, the original Sky package consisted of a premium film channel (Sky Movies), a 24-hour news channel (Sky News), and a general entertainment/family channel (Sky One). This package, however, experienced a very slow initial take-up by the British public for a number of reasons, the main one being that many potential customers were holding back in anticipation of the heavily advertised launch of a rival satellite service, British Satellite Broadcasting (BSB), which promised subscribers an attractive range of alternative benefits with a distinctly British cultural emphasis.

The rise and fall of BSB represents something of a fiasco in broadcasting deregulation, but in retrospect it can be seen as an unprecedented opportunity for the entrepreneurship of Murdoch's Sky. BSB, specially provided for in the British government's Broadcasting Act of 1990, was licensed as the official Direct Broadcast by Satellite (DBS) provider, legally enabled to uplink from British soil and established as the direct competitor of Sky. BSB was claimed to possess an enormous technological advantage over its rival in that BSB would use a much higher powered satellite, with the more technically sophisticated D-MAC transmission standard delivering a higher fidelity TV picture than Sky's inferior (but more affordable) PAL standard. BSB's two Marco Polo satellites (at an astronomical cost of some £500 million each) were duly launched from Cape Kennedy by space shuttles between August 1989 and early 1990, by which time Sky had been consolidating its audience for over a year. After several embarrassing delays, BSB launched on April 29, 1990. Its five-channel service competed uneasily with Sky throughout the summer and autumn of 1990 but was even slower than Sky to attract consumer interest. On November 2, 1990 (ironically, the day after the Broadcasting Act was finally passed), BSB suddenly collapsed, recognizing that the market could not sustain two such capital-intensive satellite operations



in competition. Without the permission of the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Sky immediately announced a merger with BSB to form the BSkyB network. Although this was, in effect, a serious breach of BSB's contract, the merger (in effect, a takeover) was allowed to proceed in the best interests of viewers, and transitional arrangements were put in hand to compensate dispossessed BSB subscribers so that a five-channel service, now provided by the new BSkyB organization, would continue to be available to them via Marco Polo until the end of 1992.

Freed from nonterrestrial competition, BSkyB was now in a position to rationalize its activities, especially in the area of subscription services. It immediately relaunched BSB's Movie Channel, having acquired the rights to an expanded cartel of Hollywood feature films, thus giving itself greater flexibility and market domination in movie scheduling. In October 1992, the company replaced a short-lived Comedy Channel experiment with a third movie channel, Sky Movies Gold, dedicated to classic films. Then, in September 1993, BSkyB introduced its most aggressive market move to date when it announced the "Sky Multichannels" subscription package, with various price options to suit viewer preference. By this point, a Sports Channel had been added to the network, later to be followed by Sky Sports 2, Sky Travel, and Sky Soaps. Interestingly, the Multichannels package also included a number of competing English-language ASTRA channels, such as Discovery, Bravo, Children's Channel, Nickelodeon, and QVC, which paid BSkyB a premium for the use of its patented Videocrypt decoding technology. Hence, BSkyB was cleverly generating revenue not only from its own programs but also from those of its immediate competitors.

Murdoch initially regarded the Sky satellite venture as a five-year risk to profitability from 1988. After gigantic early losses that would have deterred more timid investors, the company had already begun to move into profit by early 1992 and went on to build itself into an extremely valuable and powerful business, with an ever growing slate of channels and a steadily rising customer base. In 1998 BSkyB launched Sky Digital, the first digital TV proposition in the United Kingdom and the fastest, most successful rollout of any European digital service. By September 2001, Sky Digital had attracted 5.5 million direct-to-home subscribers out of BSkyB's total subscription population of 10.2 million.

The network's rise to its current preeminence has not been entirely without setbacks; management changes and the capital intensive roll-out of the digital service contributed to temporary downturns in profitability in the late 1990s. Nevertheless, by 1999, the company had

entered the list of the world's top 250 companies. In the six months ending December 31, 2001, revenue increased on the preceding half-year by 22 percent to £1.32 million (\$2.24 million) and operating profit by 39 percent to £70 million (\$119 million). This growth was achieved in the face of competition in the United Kingdom from both digital terrestrial and digital cable ventures. With more than 250 digital TV and radio channels (including some 75 pay-per-view options) available in 2001, BSkyB's Sky Digital offered an unparalleled choice of entertainment and information programming supported by a range of interactive services such as e-mail, home shopping and banking, online games, camera-angle selection, and over-the-air voting and betting. Subscribers could select from more than 90 different package options ranging from £10 to £37 per month. A new service, Sky +, was launched in September 2001, offering viewers the added facility of an integrated Personal Television Recorder and delivering new levels of control over the TV viewing experience.

Undoubtedly the leading digital player in the United Kingdom, BSkyB remains well positioned to respond to future technological and regulatory change. It has become so well established as part of an enormous vertically integrated international media empire that it is likely to maintain its market advantage unless cross-media ownership rules eventually place debilitating constraints on its potential.

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*See also* Murdoch, Rupert; Satellite

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# British Television

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## The Public Service Concept

Throughout much of its post-World War II history, British television has formed a recognizable if evolving system: principled, realistic, capacious, and flexible. Its goals, structures, and production practices have periodically been retuned to chime with shifting social needs, cultural tastes, and more pragmatic imperatives, including government policy requirements. Yet, amid its numerous adaptations to change, significant continuities of principle and approach have hitherto endured.

Can the same element of principled continuity be discerned today, when the pressures of change on British broadcasting are unprecedentedly far-reaching, challenging, and continuous? Is what is emerging from the present vortex of pressure, rethinking, and adaptation a system revamped but in fundamental respects still true to itself? Or is a quite different television system being born in Britain?

The crux of the answers to these questions lies in the fate of the public service idea in new and less-congenial conditions. Although until recently the British notion of "public service" was nowhere explicitly defined, it was widely understood to embrace purposes of programming range, quality, and popularity with the general viewing audience. Other emphases included universality of reception; reflection of national identity and community; provision of a civic forum, enabling debate and informing audiences on the key issues of the day; due impartiality in coverage of such issues; the editorial independence of program makers within the overall regulatory framework; respect for children's entire personality and development needs; special regard for minorities; avoiding offense to law and order, taste and decency; and, latterly, the promotion of intercultural awareness and understanding.

The sway of this idea of public service helps to explain many past programming strengths of British television:

- investment in news and current affairs programming, including treatment of election campaigns as transforming civic events
- an impressive tradition of children's television, including a wide range of entertainment, information, drama, and animation, not only on Saturday and Sunday mornings but also on midafternoon weekdays on the two most popular channels;

- provision of drama in a very wide range of formats, subject matter, and cultural levels;
- reading soap operas frequently laced with explorations of significant social issues and moral dilemmas;
- vigorous documentary strands;
- the cultural patronage role of arts coverage, including funding of a chorus and five large orchestras by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC);
- well-resourced programming in natural history, popular science, and technology;
- investment in a wide range of educational television (for schools, further and adult education, the Open University, and prime-time public awareness campaigns), social access programs, public access programs, and programs for immigrant communities.

The traditional role and influence of "public service," however, can no longer be taken for granted. Some broadcasting executives and knowledgeable commentators are even suggesting that it has reached its "sell-by date," although others still believe that it can be revised for meaningful application in current conditions.

Be that as it may, many of the props that used to support the classical version of public service broadcasting have been undermined by sociocultural and technological forces. On the one hand, audience tastes have shifted. Didacticism is less acceptable. Deference to cultural and political elites has evaporated. Interest in conventional politics has diminished. Audiences specifically for television news have declined, especially among younger viewers and listeners. Under these conditions, past ways of fulfilling the civic function of broadcasting appear less viable. On the other hand, advances in technology have given audience members more opportunities to choose programming in line with their tastes.

## The Structure of British Television

Until relatively recently, British television was a limited-channel, highly regulated, public service system that periodically admitted, while striving to contain, commercially competitive impulses. Three of its five terrestrial analog channels still have public service remits (BBC 1, BBC 2, and Channel 4); the fourth

(Channel 3 of Independent Television ([ITV], a federal grouping of 15 regionally based services, plus national companies of breakfast television and Independent Television News) has significant public service requirements; whereas the fifth (Channel 5, which was launched in 1997 and covers approximately two-thirds of the country) has more notional ones. Competition for larger audiences is principally waged between BBC 1 and ITV's Channel 3 (with the former overtaking the latter in 2001, after lagging behind in previous years).

The opening of Channel 4 in 1982 as an advertising-financed but nonprofit publisher (not a producer) of programs changed the prevailing television system in two ways. Legally required to be innovative, Channel 4 did pioneer new forms and styles of both factual and fictional programming. Structurally, it encouraged the growth of a large sector of some 900 independent program-making companies of diverse sizes and production specialties. This growth was strengthened by the Broadcasting Act of 1990, which obliged all terrestrial broadcasters to commission at least 25 percent of their output from such sources. As a consequence, the production arms of the ITV companies were scaled back, and a process whereby network controllers entertain or solicit program pitches from other companies became more common.

After an initially slow diffusion of cable and satellite offerings, British television is fast becoming a fully fledged multichannel system. Forty percent of the country's households can receive numerous channels via one of three methods: through locally based cable systems (mostly provided by Telewest and NTL, serving about 3 million subscribers in 2002); through a nationally distributed digital satellite system provided by BSkyB (which is 36 percent owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International Corporation and serves over 5 million subscribers); or through a terrestrial digital system provided by ITV Digital (owned by Carlton Communications and Granada Television, now the dominant companies of the ITV network, having acquired most of the others in successive takeovers and mergers; ITV Digital offers to just over 1 million subscribers somewhat fewer channels than its competitors).

At the end of 2001, channels other than the five terrestrial networks attracted a one-fifth share of total viewing. The main loser was ITV's Channel 3, the advertising revenue of which was squeezed as its share fell to 25 percent of the total audience. The BBC's share was nearly 40 percent (over 25 percent for BBC 1 and nearly 13 percent for BBC 2), while Channel 4 attracted 10 percent of the viewing audience (slightly down on previous years) and Channel 5 was watched by 6 percent (on a slight upward trend). A significant

slice of the nonterrestrial audience gravitates to BSkyB's premium sports and movie channels. Nevertheless, even in multichannel homes, the mainstream networks combined held almost 60 percent of the total viewing audience, and for the commissioning and financing of original fictional or factual programming, British television is still predominantly dependent on the BBC, ITV, and Channel 4.

## Governance

Three organizations have been central in the governance of British television. First, government responsibility for broadcasting is lodged with the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (previously termed the Department of National Heritage, succeeding the Home Office in 1992, which had taken over from the Postmaster General some years earlier). This department appoints the members of all regulatory bodies, oversees policy development (increasingly in collaboration with the Department of Trade and Industry), and initiates legislation and debates in Parliament.

Second, a board of 12 governors is appointed by the Queen in Council (in practice the government of the day) to direct the British Broadcasting Corporation in the public interest. The BBC is a large organization of approximately 24,000 employees and a £2.4 billion annual income, the bulk of which comes from an annual license fee (£104 in 2000–01) levied on every household with a television set. Fixed by negotiation between the BBC and the government, the level of the fee tended in the past to keep pace with the retail price index, but it is due to exceed that by 1.5 percent annually until 2006.

The BBC's obligations are outlined in a Royal Charter and Agreement, the present terms of which run until 2006. These spell out in some detail both the BBC's public service programming role and the governors' supervisory duties, and the charter also authorizes BBC involvement in commercial activities (which earned the corporation £100 million in 2000–2001). The governors appoint the BBC director general and, in consultation with him or her, an executive committee of 17 directors, including four individuals responsible for programming (drama, entertainment, and children's; factual and learning; sport; and news) plus a "new media" director, who is in charge of the BBC's increasingly entrepreneurial interactive and online services. Traditionally, senior management decided most matters of BBC policy and programming, with the governors serving more as a sounding board and ultimate authorizer, commenting only after the fact on individual broadcasts of which they approved or disapproved. From the 1970s, however, the governors became increasingly active, and in the late 1980s they

were a spur for fundamental organizational reform. More recently, they have come under pressure to demonstrate their independent ability to oversee the BBC in the "public interest," rather than its corporate interests.

The third governing body is the Independent Television Commission (ITC, known in previous incarnations as the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Independent Television Authority), which holds jurisdiction over all advertising-financed television. The ITC's writ has run over Independent Television's Channel 3; Channel 4, which is legally required to be innovative and to cater to different interests and tastes from those served by Channel 3; Channel 5; cable and satellite services originating in Britain; and, since 1997, a multiplex of digital terrestrial television.

The ITC's duties are set out in the Broadcasting Act of 1990, and its 12 members are appointed by the government. Its main tasks have been to franchise the commercial television companies by a process of first tendering for and then auctioning the licenses, and to enforce the license conditions thereafter. The Broadcasting Act posited a "quality threshold," which all applying companies had to cross before being admitted to the auction itself, at which the highest bidder would normally be the winner. From 1993, when the new Channel 3 licensees took over, the ITC was a relatively resolute regulator, holding the companies to their obligations (through directives, warnings, and fines as necessary), and annually reporting, sometimes critically, on their programming performances. As of late 2001, however, this system was poised to depend more heavily on self-regulation by the companies themselves.

Two other features of the system of governance should also be mentioned. First, elaborate codes of practice have been evolved to cover a wide range of matters on which programs could cause offense. The ITC has drawn up four such codes—on program sponsorship; advertising standards and practices; advertising breaks; and a so-called Program Code—and the ITV companies are required to introduce effective compliance procedures. The BBC has developed a 300-page booklet of Producers' Guidelines, oversight of which is vested in a separate Editorial Policy Unit. In addition, for the specific areas of violence, sexual display, taste, decency, and bad language, the government established in 1988 a Broadcasting Standards Council (now Commission) to issue a Code of Practice, which all broadcasters must take into account and in light of which viewers may submit complaints for Commission findings.

Second, public expectations of broadcasting and options for its future development have been shaped in the past by a series of comprehensive reviews by independent committees of inquiry appointed by the gov-

ernment. (The committees' main reports are listed in the Further Reading section of this entry.)

### **The History of the British Television System**

Thus, Britain hosts a complex and thoroughly mixed television system. From its inception, British television has progressed through five overlapping phases.

First, up to 1955, development of the medium was subordinated to the needs of radio. Having provided sound broadcasting since 1922, the BBC inaugurated the world's first television service in 1936, shut it down during World War II, and reopened it in 1946. In the early postwar years, however, television enthusiasts waged an uphill battle against those in higher BBC echelons who saw the medium as a cultural Trojan horse—committed predominantly to entertainment, brash and childish, not very civilized, and conducive to audience passivity. The balance began to shift in 1952, first, after the appointment as director general of Sir Ian Jacob, who realized that television had to be taken more seriously, and, second, with the striking success in June of that year of the televising of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth—a spectacle with great symbolic impact, audience reach, and appeal.

This phase came to an end through a characteristic political development, one that aimed to reconcile a cultural mission for broadcasting with chances to exploit the advertising potential of television and to upgrade the claims of popular taste. The Television Act of 1954 authorized creation of a new advertising-financed service, to be called Independent Television (purposely not "Commercial Television"), in competition with the BBC. Although the Beveridge Committee enquiry of 1951 had recommended renewal of the BBC's monopoly, the incoming Conservative government in that year adopted a minority report that proposed "some element of competition" in television. Bitterly challenged inside and outside Parliament, the government had to concede crucial safeguards against rampant commercialism: no sponsorship; only time spots of controlled length and frequency would be sold to advertisers who would have no say in program content; and creation of a new public corporation, an Independent Television Authority, to appoint the companies and supervise their performance in light of requirements specified in the act.

From the mid-1950s to the early 1960s, there followed a second phase, one of vigorous but creative competition between an insurgent ITV and a threatened BBC. Although it aroused doubts, fear, and dismay among some at the time, that competition is now widely regarded as having advanced the medium's programming powers and viewers' all-round enjoy-

ment. From the outset, ITV set its cap at neglected mass tastes, especially for entertainment, while cultivating a more informal and accessible presentation style and celebrating what one executive termed "people's television." After experiencing a dramatic loss of viewers (down to a 28 percent share at the nadir), the BBC fought back hard all across the programming board.

Many achievements ensued. Since ITV was based on separate companies in London and other parts of the country, British television catered for the first time to diverse regional interests in addition to metropolitan ones. Television news was transformed—with named news readers, pace, incisiveness, and eye-catching pictures. Inhibitions on political and election coverage were shed. Saturday afternoons were devoted to coverage of top sporting events. A host of memorable children's programs were developed. New forms of television drama were pioneered. New comedy stars (for example, Tony Hancock, Jimmy Edwards, Charlie Drake) emerged, served by high-profile writers. The BBC created an early evening topical magazine, *Tonight*, the sprightliness and irreverence of which broke sharply with the corporation's traditions. Yet the flag of authoritativeness was also flown in its weekly current affairs program, *Panorama*; a new arts magazine, *Monitor*; and an in-depth interview program, *Face to Face*.

In this phase, the British concern for blending potentially opposed impulses in its television system remained strong. For its part, the BBC had to become more competitive and seek a larger audience share to sustain its claim to license-fee funding and its status as Britain's national broadcaster. However, this was not to be its sole aim and was to be achieved through high standards of quality across a broad range of programming. Endorsing its record, the Pilkington Committee enquiry (1962) recommended that the BBC be awarded a second channel (BBC 2, which opened in 1966). Finding that ITV programming had become too commercial, trivial, and undemanding, the committee proposed stronger regulatory powers and duties for the ITA. The next television act accordingly instructed the Independent Television Authority to ensure a "proper balance and wide range of subject matter having regard both to the programmes as a whole and also to the day of the week on which, and the times of day at which, the programmes are broadcast," as well as "a wide showing of programmes of merit." The ITV companies were also obliged to submit their program schedules for advance approval to the ITA, which could direct the exclusion of any items from them.

In much of the 1960s and early 1970s, a third phase ensued, as hierarchical and consensual ties loosened and traditional institutions were criticized more often

in the name of modernization. Broadcasters became concerned to portray the different sectors of a pluralist society realistically in both fictional and factual programs, and to be more probingly critical themselves. For Hugh Greene, BBC director general from 1960 to 1969, public service implied putting an honest mirror before society, reflecting what was there, whether it was "bigotry...and intolerance or accomplishment and inspiring achievement." He also believed broadcasters had a duty to take account of changes in society, the challenges and options such changes posed, and where they might lead. He even regarded impudence as an acceptable broadcasting quality (a far cry from founding father John Reith's stress on dignity). Illustrative of this spirit were hard-hitting satire (*That Was the Week That Was*), anarchic comedy (*Monty Python's Flying Circus*), more forceful political interviewing, series set in northern towns (*Coronation Street*, *The Likely Lads*), realistic police series (*Z Cars*), social-issue drama (*Cathy Come Home*), and socially conscious comedy (*Till Death Us Do Part*, featuring a Cockney racist, and *Steptoe and Son*, featuring a rag-and-bone man and his son).

In a fourth phase, throughout much of the 1970s, British television increasingly acquired the image of an overmighty subject, attracting unprecedentedly sharp criticism and pressure to mend its ways. On balance, more of the fire was directed at factual than fictional programming. In 1971 politicians of all parties had been outraged by a BBC program about Labour in opposition, *Yesterday's Men*, deploring its flippant tone, lack of openness when interviewees were briefed about the intended approach, and questions put to former Prime Minister Harold Wilson that seemed beyond the pale (e.g., about earnings from his memoirs). Thereafter, the political establishment became more assertive of its interests, more organized in its pursuit and more vocal in its complaints. Spokespersons of other groups also voiced dissatisfaction over stereotypical portrayals and limited access. Traditional moralists (like the members of Mary Whitehouse's Viewers' and Listeners' Association) were deeply unhappy about what they regarded as increasingly permissive depictions of sex and violence in programs. Media sociologists chipped in with a series of studies purporting to undermine the pretensions of broadcasters to impartiality and objectivity, and to demonstrate how news coverage of social conflicts supported the ideological status quo. Other critics perceived a middle-ground convergence in BBC and ITV output that excluded unconventional perspectives and opinions. Behind these otherwise different reactions, there was a shared concern over the difficulties of holding broadcasters to account for their policies and performance.

ogy, the government proposed in its 2000 White Paper (*A New Future for Communications*) a radical overhaul of the regulatory system, which had hitherto relied on separate authorities for specific services. The five existing regulatory agencies (the Independent Television Commission, the Broadcasting Standards Commission, the Radio Authority, the Radio Communications Agency, and the Office for Telecommunications) will be merged into a single body, the Office for Communications (OFCOM)—modeled, some contend, on the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

As of early 2002, implementing legislation had not been introduced into Parliament. However, two features of the government's ideas are noteworthy and controversial. One is relaxation of the public service obligations of advertising-financed television. These would be overseen through a system of monitored self-regulation, depending heavily on annual statements by providers of how they intended to realize—and subsequently how they had fulfilled—those obligations. The second feature is retention of the Board of Governors as a separate regulator of the BBC, which would not be placed under OFCOM (although the BBC would possibly be open to sanctions by OFCOM for failure to uphold the corporation's public service remit).

### Looking to the Future

British television has thus been extensively revamped since the 1980s. The resulting system is very difficult to define. It conforms neither to classic public-service models nor to a U.S.-style fully commercial paradigm (merely allowing a market-supplementing public sector at the margin). Multichannel expansion plus digitally based new media seem to be spawning new kinds of television systems, which may prove more nationally idiosyncratic than previously.

In early 21st-century Britain, three differences from the past stand out. First, the competition for viewers is far less restrained, and it matters far more than it ever did to all big players in the system. Second, British broadcasting is becoming less closely regulated than it used to be. Third, different programming balances are being struck. For example:

- The early evening soap operas have been conscripted into heavy competitive service, appearing three to five nights a week on BBC 1, ITV, and Channel 4 (instead of only once or twice as in the past).
- Analytic documentaries on social and political issues have largely been displaced by historical, nature, and slice-of-life documentaries, as well as various "docudramas."

- The diversity of children's television has narrowed, with increased reliance on animation, entertainment, and imported programs from the United States.
- Certain "old-fashioned" public-service standbys of arts, current affairs, and religious programming have been moved out of prime-time into late-night, weekend, or minority-channel slots.
- Political programming is continually being reviewed and revised in the cause of popular accessibility.
- Certain program genres, which previously would have been regarded as unacceptable, now flourish, such as quizzes with huge rewards for winners, dating shows, confessional programming (even *Jerry Springer*), and a host of "reality" programs, featuring ordinary people in extraordinary, testing, or sensational situations.

Amid all these developments, the public service tradition remains influential in important ways. First, it continues to operate at the level of "high policy," in the government's commitment to a capacious, community-serving notion of public service and to the BBC as its keystone provider. This was reflected in the appointment in 2001 of Gavyn Davies, a staunch supporter of public service broadcasting, as chairman of the BBC Board of Governors. Second, the BBC demonstrates its commitment to the public service tradition in its decision to extend its public service presence into multichannel and multimedia settings. However, its multichannel portfolio is edging television provision toward a radio model, offering relatively bounded bodies of content to relatively segmented audiences. Third, the BBC, ITV, and Channel 4 continue to invest significant resources in a broad range of programming (including educational television and high-quality news), not concentrating them only on entertainment. Finally, the public service tradition is expressed in the abiding values and sources of creative motivation among many working producers, directors, and writers.

From such evidence, it may be concluded that a serious effort is being made in Britain to adapt public service principles to multichannel expansion, competitive exigencies, and the onset of a more selective, consumer-minded, less-deferential, and more skeptical viewing public. In this sense, British television is straining to be true to its past self.

Nevertheless, the role of "public service" in the British system is being appreciably modified. From an overarching creed that applied across the board of all genres, it has become a more singular one, jostling for influence amid the impact of many other imperatives (such as the need to beat the competition, the need to

be accessible, the need to be eye-catching, and the need to be exportable, as well as the need to fill time slots inexpensively with repeats or old movies). From a principle that shaped all channels similarly, the public service concept is being applied more unevenly (less present on the majority channels than on those serving minorities). As a consequence, "diversity," once a core value of British broadcasting, appears destined to become less a vertical and more a horizontal feature as the system evolves in coming years.

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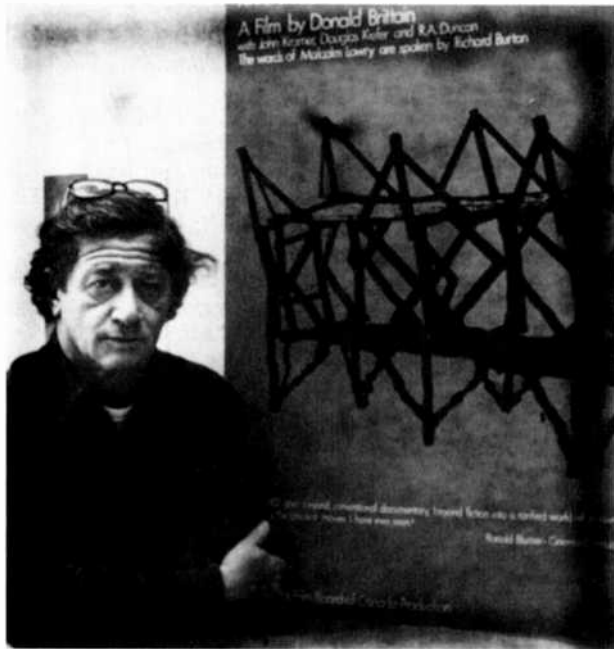
## Brittain, Donald (1928–1989)

### Canadian Documentary Filmmaker

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Donald Brittain is well known for his National Film Board documentaries, all shown on Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) television. In the 1980s, Donald Brittain directed *Running Man*, an early exploration of homosexuality in the CBC's topical anthology *For the Record*. He then created two biographical

docudramas: one about mobster and union boss Hal Banks, the two-hour docudrama special *Canada's Sweetheart: The Saga of Hal C. Banks* (1985); the other about Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, a six-hour miniseries, *The King Chronicles* (1987).



Donald Brittain.

Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

In *Canada's Sweetheart*, Brittain shows us, through the lens of the Seafarers' International Union, the primitive state of labor-management relations in Canada from the late 1940s to early 1960s. In *The King Chronicles*, he explores Canadian political culture from the days following World War I to the wrenching changes in society in the aftermath of World War II. Brittain spells out Canadian complicity in the activities of both men—an imported thug who controlled Great Lakes shipping and a prime minister who, to quote Brittain's narrative, was "a creature who cast no shadow though he ruled the land of the midnight sun."

*Canada's Sweetheart* incorporated interviews with survivors from those years, stills, newsreels, and dramatization. Brittain uses full color for the dramatized Royal Commission hearings, the interviews with real people, and some of the flashbacks. Black-and-white scenes include Banks's quiet entrance into Canada and his equally surreptitious exit, and union leader Jim Todd's futile challenge to an executive in a packed meeting hall. Some scenes that are particularly violent or menacing are given a specifically film noir treatment.

The film is also quite self-reflexive. Todd recalls how Banks's bully-boys came to his house one night while his wife was in the kitchen. The camera then discloses the hitherto silent Mrs. Todd, who tells us that "Friday is fish and chips night" and that when she

heard a commotion she went into the living room with a full pan of boiling fat in her hand. At her firm word "that dinner was ready," the thug left. Her understated telling of the situation is far more effective than a dramatization would be, a strong illustration of what happened when ordinary seamen and lock masters had finally had enough. In another sequence, Jack Pickersgill, a cabinet minister in St. Laurent's government, is filmed with a pet dog in his lap—a nicely ironic touch. He damns himself without knowing it. The episodic narrative then turns into one of the oldest forms of dramatic confrontation—the trial. However, in typically Canadian fashion, the drama ends not with the damning report of the Royal Commission but with Banks slipping out of the country with the implicit cooperation of cabinet ministers.

In *The King Chronicles*, Brittain dramatizes both the public records and the private diaries of Prime Minister King. As with Hal Banks, the public King is represented by news footage intercut with drama, often with ironic effect. For the private life of King (who was discovered, after his death, to have been a spiritualist who talked to his dead mother and his dead dog), Brittain uses recurring, visually lyrical motifs. Less successfully, he also uses grotesque fantasy sequences for King's visions.

The primary focus in each film is on power: how it is used for a variety of purposes, and how it changes the men who use it. Throughout both films, Brittain shows his viewers how Hal Banks and Willie King grappled with the necessity of maintaining an acceptable public face and how they managed to hide both their goals and methods and their eccentric and dangerous private personae.

Of course, he shows us King the manipulator, the obsessively vain and insecure politician, object of a hundred political cartoons, editorials, and sardonic poems. Yet there are enough glimpses of the man's ability to surprise us throughout the miniseries. Maury Chaykin as Banks and Sean McCann as King gave superb performances full of subtextual nuance covering a wide range of emotions. Each actor was physically brilliant in his gestures and body language.

Brittain has said he enjoyed "the tone of someone's voice combined with a certain visual setup against something that went before," an effect achieved in post-production. Editorial decisions such as splicing are crucial to his work. Brittain includes a sense of scale and of social context, a feel for curious juxtapositions, a sense of ironic detachment and black humor, and what has been called his signature, a "tart historical narrative."

In both these films, Brittain provides almost continuous voice-over, counterpointing the images on the screen with a highly personal interpretation of events.

This ironic inflection of the “voice of god” convention of early National Film Board of Canada documentaries was intended to signify an objective, omniscient perspective. These two films also stand within a tradition of docudrama at the CBC, one that included the very controversial modern adaptation of the Easter story told in the style of direct cinema, *The Open Grave* (1964), as well as massive 1970s projects such as the six-hour *The National Dream* and the critical look at Canada’s *October Crisis*. Brittain was one of the few who used television to tell memorable tales that redefined the life and times of the viewers.

MARY JANE MILLER

**Donald Brittain.** Born in Ottawa, Ontario, in 1928. Attended Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario. Journalist for the *Ottawa Journal*; member, National Film Board of Canada, 1954–68; worked for the Fuji Group, Japan, 1968; independent producer, from 1970; director, producer, and writer of theatrical and TV films of documentary and dramatic nature. Recipient: 15 Genie and CFA awards; ACTRA Awards, 1981 and 1983; two Geminis, 1985 and 1986. Died in Montreal, Quebec, September 11, 1989.

**Films and Made-for-Television Movies (selected; as writer, director, and producer)**

1963 *Bethune* (writer and coproducer)  
1965 *Ladies and Gentlemen... Mr. Leonard*

1975 *Cohen* (writer and codirector)  
1976 *His Worship, Mr. Montréal*  
1978 *Henry Ford’s America*  
1978 *The Dionne Quintuplets* (director and producer)  
1979 *Paperland: The Bureaucrat Observed*  
1981 *The Most Dangerous Spy*  
1981 *A Blanket of Ice*  
1983 *The Accident* (director)  
1983 *Something to Celebrate*  
1984 *The Children’s Crusade*  
1985 *Canada’s Sweetheart: The Saga of Hal C. Banks*  
1986 *The Final Battle* (also narrator)  
1987 *The King Chronicles*  
1988 *Family: A Loving Look at CBC Radio*  
1991 *Brittain on Brittain*

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## Broadband

Broadband refers to any high-capacity communications network capable of sustaining multiple independent channels for the simultaneous transmission of voice, data, and video signals. At present, the U.S. Federal Communications Commission defines broadband as a service with a two-way carrying capacity exceeding 200 kilobits per second (commercial ultra-high-speed networks have the carrying capacity of 100 megabits per second). Most media consumers today, however, associate broadband technology with the high-speed Internet connectivity offered through traditional copper telephone lines (via digital subscriber line [DSL] service), cable (both wired and wireless), satellite, and other wireless platforms. Broadband is significantly faster than the conventional

“narrowband” Internet access obtained through the dialup modem, which currently offers transmission speeds up to 56 kilobits per second. Narrowband continues to function as a medium for the transmission of noninteractive text (affectionately known as “brochureware”) and audio content, hence the tremendous popularity of Internet “radio.” However, with its increased carrying capacity and access speeds, broadband is more capable of handling the complex mix of audio and visual data traditionally associated with the everyday television experience. In addition, because of the bidirectional capacity of broadband networks, media programming can acquire the kind of personal customization hitherto unavailable to the home television viewer. The sheer “girth” of broadband’s pipeline—its





*Courtesy of Comcast*

high speed and prodigious carrying capacity—opens up possibilities for the transmission of multichannel digital programming, as well as new interactive media forms resulting from the convergence of the television and the personal computer.

The creation of hybrid multimedia content makes sense for the television industries in an age of competing media forms. The convergence of television and PC technologies, with the attendant promises of interactivity, has spurred the development of multimedia programming, particularly in statistics-heavy categories such as news, sports, and financial investment. Many major television and cable news networks around the world have a strong presence on the web, using streaming video and complementary programming to extend their brand recognition. Television network websites are increasingly designed as portals into a more general online experience, offering program guides, search engines, stock quotes, news, sports, and interactive game, chat, and e-mail functions. In addition, broadband offers multiple venues for existing programming content, whether a single program is broadcast across multiple outlets from television to the Internet or whether it is “repurposed” for online interactive engagement. Through the use of set-top boxes and various subscription schemes, the television viewer gains access to an array of additional programming services that build upon and enhance the primary broadcast. At the same time, there is a significant opportunity for the development of original programming for broadband distribution, including “parallel programming” that spins off from original broadcast content, and original programming like animated short films or the increasingly popular web soaps and reality-based webcam programs. Internet game shows, spun off from TV standards such as *Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy*, take advantage of “incomplete content,” where the user is prompted to fill in missing content such as the answer to a question. Here, the traditional back-and-forth of the game show (which dictates the textual parameters of the established television genre) can be maintained in a familiar, demarcated form of interactivity. At the same time, a company like Sony (which owns both game shows) can enter into alliances with interactive television companies to produce set-

top boxes designed to facilitate game interaction. While it offers possibilities for engagement with broader forms of electronic commerce—including video-on-demand, gambling, and multiplayer interactive gaming—broadband technology also affords the creation of new digital formats for television.

Programming designed for broadband delivery blurs traditional generic distinctions between the web page, the newspaper, and the television program. At the same time, because broadband operates at the effective juncture of the telephone, cable television and satellite, and computer software and hardware industries, its technology permeates traditional industrial boundaries. With business models garnered from a number of communication technologies—including traditional telephony service, pay television, Internet service providers, and hardware and software development—broadband involves the synergy of a vast array of network services. Not surprisingly, cable companies that also provide consumer broadband access are now developing set-top boxes, which bundle a number of these services together, providing digital video, high-speed data and Internet connectivity and, most recently, cable residential telephony.

Television broadcasters in many Western countries are updating to digital transmission (in the United States, they are mandated by law to do so). However, advertisers, broadcasting’s traditional source of revenue, are unwilling to subsidize the cost of modernization by paying higher rates. Instead, media corporations have focused on developing a “walled garden” of proprietary content with access based on subscription services, contributing to the gradual erosion of free-to-air broadcasting on a large scale. The commercial control of delivery conduits is the most crucial issue here, and content industries (like film and television studios) have entered into mergers with companies that have access to the pipelines of digital delivery. Coupling programming and delivery under the same corporate umbrella, so the commercial logic goes, subsidizes the unending task of technology development by using content that has already been tested in another media. The massive technological investment in broadband infrastructure is therefore supported by the use of established content providers in order to minimize risk and maximize subscriptions.

The worldwide climate of industrial deregulation, which allows for cross-ownership and vertical integration, has facilitated the “merger mania” that dominates the media trade today. For example, the merger of America Online (AOL) and Time Warner attests to the powerful presence of vertically integrated new media firms, merging AOL’s Internet portal services with access to both original content and Time Warner’s exten-

sive library of programming. AOL Time Warner also has an exclusive contract with RoadRunner, the second largest provider of residential broadband service in the United States. While broadband platforms for content distribution and exhibition might offer independent producers greater opportunities to showcase their product, smaller production companies have no way to deal with the tremendous leveraging power available to the newly merged new media conglomerate. In addition, the gradual shifting of the computer industry away from hardware manufacture and software development, and toward Internet service provider and multimedia content developer, is indicative of the synergistic logic of commercialized new media. In 1997, for example, Microsoft acquired a significant stake in Comcast, the third largest cable system operator in the United States. The same year, Microsoft also purchased the WebTV networks, a move clearly designed to bolster the penetration of web-based services into non-PC equipped households by providing Internet access to ordinary television sets via preexisting telephone connections.

Traditional television broadcasters in the United States and other countries have often viewed the streaming of television signals over computer networks with considerable skepticism, lobbying against the adoption of technological standards to make convergence a practical reality. Nevertheless, many in the industrial and regulatory community agree that a combination of compelling multimedia content and high-speed data connectivity will drive broadband subscriptions (many broadband developers insist that it is easier to design information services rather than produce entertainment programs). While the traditional television industries' ambivalent relationship to distributing over broadband networks is partly a function of intellectual property concerns, the Internet is increasingly important as a programming venue, especially when enabled by broadband connectivity. For the first time, Internet rights were negotiated separately from broadcast rights for the 2004 Olympics, which testifies to their centrality in the new media landscape.

The Internet is simultaneously a transmitter technology and a delivery conduit, an exhibition and point-of-purchase site, a distribution philosophy, a content gathering and talent differentiating device, an advertising platform, and a globally linked network of copying machines. These multiple (and sometimes divergent) forms of address signal the array of possibilities that the Internet makes available to the traditional television industries. Even the single act of viewing either parallel or repurposed programming can attach a number of different profitable schemes for the television

industry: from being a sale (the Internet as a point-of-purchase), to a broadcast (the Internet as transmitter technology), to a mechanical copy (the Internet as a copy clearance center) (see Mann, 2000). It is inevitable that the television networks will become even more interested in the "value-added" opportunities afforded by the Internet. Television and cable broadcasters can take advantage of a number of opportunities from the positioning of content delivered via broadband networks: tracking services (providing instant audience feedback and consumer mining capability), information management tools like electronic programming guides (EPGs), video-on-demand (built from preexisting audiovisual libraries), and personal video recording services (like TiVo). As digital television continues to fragment audiences in the multichannel environment, electronic program guides and other navigation aids become crucial sites for the recruitment and influence of audience preference.

However, the possibilities for ownership abuse are clear, and telecommunications regulators in Europe are on the watch for equal access to EPGs and other "conditional access" systems. Indeed, for all the technofuturist proclamations of radical technological and programming possibility, broadband invites the perennial issues that have accompanied the emergence of communications networks from the telegraph to the cable television: intellectual property, technological standards (particularly compression standards and backward compatibility), content regulation, and regulatory issues around the preservation of the public access versus the commercial logic of media ownership and delivery. Government intervention in the administration of broadband service is commonplace around the world, including the production of cultural heritage content for Canadian new media, the European Union's extension of "must carry" rules requiring that digital cable and satellite operators reserve space for consumers to access public service broadcasting, and calls for the Australian government's support of subsidies for universal broadband access and the facilitation of export opportunity.

Of course, any export of new media technology takes place on a terrain defined by uneven development on a global scale. Certainly, world PC sales were estimated at well over 80 million units in 1997, approaching the 120 million color TV sets sold the same year. Yet, of over 3.5 million homes with broadband connection worldwide in early 2000, over 2.5 million were in the United States, 500,000 in the Asia Pacific region, 340,000 in Western Europe (concentrated in the Netherlands and Austria), and 25,000 in Latin America. New research suggests that broadband users in the United States will surpass dialup users by

2007, with numbers growing from 10.8 million broadband users in 2001 to 41.7 million in 2007. Although 45 million U.S. households were online with dialup connections at the turn of the 21st century, with less than 5 million possessing either DSL or cable modem hookup, an estimated half of American television households were broadband-ready by mid-2004. Korea has the highest broadband penetration in the world, at around 10 percent, with adult entertainment and gaming offering the most common programming choices. Canada ranks second in broadband connectivity.

At the same time, there are tremendous and systemic inequalities in basic telecommunications access. For example, Africa is home to 12 percent of the world's population, but has only 2 percent of its telephone lines, and telephone penetration in India is .7 per 1,000 people. Clearly, there is a need for installation of noncommercial and nonhierarchical community infrastructures, the continued use of narrowband technologies that power tactical media networks and free and open-source software movements around the world, and even the social benefits of pirated hardware and software technologies (see Sundaram, 2000).

Convergence technologies are nothing new in the history of television. Television pictures were sent over telephone wires as early as 1927, and fiber optic technology has existed since the 1950s. By the mid-1990s, low-resolution video became available to dialup modem users using new video software. Now, compressed audiovisual (AV) data could be sent from an encoding site (e.g., an Internet server) to the consumer in real-time in buffered form. In this way, AV data can be played before the entire file is received, a close approximation of the traditional broadcasting experience. Rather than waiting for enormous files to be fully downloaded, the PC user equipped with the proper decoding software can now interact with the media as it "streams" onto their desktop, with enough material stored in a temporary buffer to allow smooth playback.

With broadband's capacity for greater data transmission rates, the corporate owners of intellectual property are also fond of the streaming format, since it does not involve the downloading of the full file onto a consumer's computer, which would make it more susceptible to piracy and retransmission. The fidelity and inexhaustible reproductive quality of the digital image have pushed the commercial media into a lobbying frenzy for the circumscription of viewer's rights, especially the strict maintenance of the bar between creators and users of new media. However, the televisual future

of broadband will be defined by three interrelated factors that have traditionally shaped the private consumption of image media: quality, cost, and malleability. This means that all the familiar issues are still in play: the development of genres and programming forms suited to the emergent technology and the fidelity of the transmitted image; the price of procuring the image, including transmission speed and the carrying capacity of its network; and, most importantly, the options available for the consumer to engage the image across a variety of delivery platforms and viewing occasions.

NITIN GOVIL

*See also Mergers and Acquisitions; Streaming; Time Warner*

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# Broadcasting

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Broadcasting is a means of distributing audio- and video-based information and entertainment to large audiences through systems that rely at least in part on the electromagnetic spectrum. Although cablecasting, satcasting (satellite broadcasting), narrowcasting, and other competing terms have been used over the years as alternative multichannel distribution technologies emerged, broadcasting remains a generally accepted expression for the process of transmitting sound and images from a centralized point for mass consumption.

Despite the encroachment of cable and satellite, owners of terrestrial broadcast stations remain a powerful force in the radio and television industries. By 2000 almost 80 percent of households in the United States subscribed to cable or satellite television, but broadcast stations are still highly valued commodities in a media marketplace defined by station ownership groups and media conglomerates. As of 2002, there were 1,712 broadcast television stations and 13,296 radio stations in the United States. These stations have been the focus of intense rounds of merger and consolidation struggles since the mid-1980s. Broadcasting has arguably maintained an even more dominant role in the United Kingdom, where five national public-service and commercial channels are distributed by terrestrial broadcast, supplemented by a relatively weak cable television industry (with 30 percent penetration), a more robust satellite broadcast sector, and a growing presence for digital multichannel broadcasting.

In the U.S. and U.K. contexts alike, the continued strength of terrestrial broadcast is largely the result of its ability to attract a mass audience more effectively than other means. Federal policies have ensured this advantage by requiring all cable and satellite systems to carry local broadcast channels, thereby giving broadcast-based national networks a higher “cumulative,” or potential, audience than any single cable channel, which may not be featured on all cable systems. The cumulative audience for the NBC television network, for example, was 81 percent of U.S. television households in 2000; this large audience is an expression of NBC’s combined reach as a broadcast and cable network. By contrast, one of the highest-rated cable networks, TBS Superstation, could be seen in only 43 percent of U.S. households in that year. These differences in reach are one basis for the contemporary distinction between broadcasting and narrowcasting; still, since even a low-rated cable network attracts a

national audience in the hundreds of thousands, the qualifiers “narrow” and “broad” should be taken as the relative terms they are. As a history of the term “broadcasting” further reveals, it is a complicated concept not fully explained by the generally accepted technological and industrial definitions.

## Invention

Not long after Guglielmo Marconi developed his wireless telegraph system in 1896, the term “broadcasting” entered the language. The U.S. Navy, an early adopter of Marconi’s wireless, popularized the term as the method by which it sent instructions to ships at sea, “broadcasting” orders across miles of open ocean to the entire fleet at once. The expression was borrowed from agriculture, after a method of sowing seeds in which farmers walked their fields throwing—or casting—seed over a large area with wide sweeps of the arm. It neatly captured the nature of wireless signaling, wherein an antenna sends signals in all directions, enabling instantaneous communication over long distances.

The promiscuous nature of the broadcast signal was a problem, though, for those who wanted to use the wireless for its commercial, public safety, or military applications. Security, privacy, and reliability are highly valued by businesspeople, public safety officials, and military strategists, but wireless offered none of these in its early incarnations. These failings were exacerbated when a new group of wireless users emerged: the amateurs. Using cheaply made crystal set detectors, wireless hobbyists constructed transmitters and began communicating informally with each other, creating a social network of listeners and talkers that was the forerunner of today’s ham radio. Amateurs eavesdropped on official communications and some broadcast their own signals to “jam” the original senders’ messages and promulgate hoaxes. Although disorganized and only loosely institutionalized by wireless clubs and the like, this subculture prefigured radio and television in important ways by using broadcasting, as Susan Douglas has written, “not by necessity, but for fun.”

The need to reduce interference and establish rules for using “the ether” led to the first government regulation of wireless, the Radio Act of 1912. World War I (1917–19) interrupted the public uses of radio in the United States, but within a year of the end of hostilities a convergence of popular interest, cheap and readily

available radio equipment, and institutional promotion led to the "broadcast boom" of 1920–22. Hundreds of radio stations went on the air with regular program schedules in this period. The most famous of these, KDKA, was funded by Westinghouse Corporation, an electric equipment manufacturer, and operated by Frank Conrad, a war veteran, Westinghouse engineer, and avid radio amateur.

Following the "broadcast boom," broadcasters struggled to find a means to finance regular radio service. Early broadcasting was characterized by the diversity of its practitioners, which included churches, municipalities, educational institutions, small businesses, large industrial concerns, and many others. Within a few years, though, many found the high costs of maintaining radio equipment, hiring a staff, and paying for radio content to be prohibitive. American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) found an early solution in "toll broadcasting," charging all comers for time on its stations, and this scheme quickly demonstrated radio's potential as a mass marketer. Soon the expanding advertising and marketing industry, led by firms such as J. Walter Thompson and N.W. Ayer, joined emerging broadcasters in exploiting the AT&T solution. This marked the beginning of the so-called "American model" of broadcasting, an advertiser-supported system in which networks and stations provided listeners with free content while selling commercial time to advertising agencies and sponsors. In other nations broadcasting was typically organized to allow a larger role for government agencies. Many European nations adopted the "public service model" wherein semi-independent or independent broadcasting agencies (such as the British Broadcasting Corporation) were funded by fees or taxes paid by the public. In contrast with the U.S. and public service models, nations with authoritarian governments often took firm control of broadcasting in this era, in some cases discouraging broadcasting within their borders entirely.

In the United States, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), General Electric, and the Westinghouse Corporation created two advertiser-supported radio networks in 1926 and 1927 under the banner of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC-Red and NBC-Blue). A competing network, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) was formed in 1927. The Radio Act of 1927 and its successor, the Communications Act of 1934, codified the American model of broadcasting and created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the government agency that still regulates broadcasting. The FCC forced RCA to sell NBC-Blue in 1943, and the network was renamed the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). Each of these radio networks would successfully make the transition to television after World War II.

## Television Broadcasting

Inventors and corporate laboratories pursued a method of television broadcasting through the 1920s and 1930s, resulting in numerous competing and incompatible systems. In 1938 inventor Allen B. DuMont founded the DuMont network to compete with NBC's and CBS's nascent television operations. The DuMont television network had difficulty competing with the better established networks and went out of business in 1955. NBC unveiled its system with a historic telecast of President Franklin D. Roosevelt opening the New York World's Fair in 1939. World War II interrupted the networks' plans for the introduction of television, but 1940 to 1952 was nonetheless a crucial period in the technological and institutional development of broadcast television. The National Television System Committee (1940) was founded to resolve competing technological standards, and the FCC produced numerous decisions that shaped the future television industry. For instance, the FCC suddenly stopped issuing television licenses from 1948 to 1952 to resolve persistent signal interference problems, among other issues. At the time of the so-called television freeze, 106 television stations had been licensed around the country and, although impeded considerably, the industry did not halt its development. Indeed, television underwent what Erik Barnouw called a crucial "laboratory period" in the freeze years, during which NBC and CBS solidified their advantage in the field of broadcasting and networks and stations experimented with adapting radio's staple genres—variety, situation comedy, and drama—to the new medium.

## Rise of the Network Era

When the FCC's *Sixth Report and Order* lifted the freeze in 1952, television quickly became a phenomenal success. The percentage of U.S. households with televisions rose from less than 1 percent in 1948, to 9 percent in 1950, to 87 percent by 1960, and in the process created what William Boddy has called "the world's largest advertising medium." By the end of the 1950s, the three broadcast networks dominated the television industry and, arguably, reshaped the economics and aesthetics of the film, radio, and music industries as well. The networks commanded about half of television's total revenues after 1953, using their profitability and powerful influence on popular culture to assume a commanding position in American culture and the entertainment economy for the next three decades.

For critics, programming in the network era represented the best and worst of television. Critics hailed live and telefilm dramas, public affairs programming,

and comedies such as *I Love Lucy* and *All in the Family*. However, they assailed game shows, soap operas, and violent action thrillers such as *The Untouchables* and sensational made-for-TV movies. The astonishing omnipresence of the medium troubled many, and the critics asked, as they had with radio before: Does television reflect society, or does society reflect television? As network programmers converged on the "Least Objectionable Programming" strategies of the 1960s, Newton Minow famously called the television schedule a "vast wasteland." Minow and others cited Edward R. Murrow's unflinching social critiques on *CBS Reports* as the model for quality television. Yet this was also the period of inspired weirdness in the *Twilight Zone*, crime dramas with the trashy glamour of *77 Sunset Strip* and the downtown cool of *Peter Gunn*, peripatetic Americana along *Route 66*, and law and order melodrama on *Gunsmoke*. A great deal of television programming was uninteresting, or worse. Still, as many critics have noted, the relentless invention and reinvention of television programming through the years of network dominance in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s only underscored the medium's seeming imperviousness to definitive conclusions about its social significance.

### Contemporary Television

Prior to 1980 the television sets that had come to occupy 98 percent of U.S. households could be seen as mere extensions of the broadcast networks. The "big three" distributed nearly all of the programming, news, and commercial announcements seen on television. In the late 1970s, television began a profound transformation. Cable networks offered original programming and drew more subscribers. Independent television stations proliferated. People began to use their televisions differently, as monitors for video game consoles and videocassette recorders (VCRs). In 1986 Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch launched FOX, a fourth broadcast television network. The WB and United Paramount Network followed in 1995. As new sources of programming and new uses for the television set multiplied, the economic power of broadcast networks eroded and they were swept up in the waves of consolidation that dramatically reconfigured the media industries between 1985 and 2000.

The multiplication of channels and networks has resulted in a new conception of the television audience. Cable networks such as Lifetime, Nickelodeon, and Spike increasingly attempt to create brand identities to better market themselves to niche audiences, and appeals to particular demographics have become a key element in programming strategies. For some ob-

servers, the fragmentation of the audience resulting from these changes is an alarming development that threatens to exacerbate social conflict in populations already divided by race, class, gender, and generational difference. Others see the multiplication of stories and characters on television as a fitting expression of modern, pluralistic society, one long-denied by the technological and economic limitations of the three-channel broadcast universe. Still other critics are more equivocal about the effects of such fragmentation, suggesting that television, even as it splinters, will do no better or worse than it ever has at reflecting the concerns and controversies of its national audiences.

Terrestrial broadcast may no longer be the dominant technological means of distributing television, but the advertiser-supported economic basis of television has remained largely the same. Cable and satellite companies have benefited from their ability to collect revenue through both subscription and advertising, and other business models have emerged over the years, such as those that underlie premium cable and pay-per-view events. New business models will develop to account for technologies such as personal video recorders and video-on-demand. Nonetheless, the advertiser-supported model continues to finance the vast majority of television in the United States, whether it is seen on broadcast, cable, or satellite. Since the Independent Television Authority (ITV) was established in the United Kingdom in 1955, commercial television has become increasingly prominent in that nation, and has been adopted in many other nations as well.

The continued presence of the commercial model links the early days of broadcasting with today's multi-channel universe. Today, even as programming and the audience seemingly fragment into hundreds of niches, most channels still interrupt programming periodically to hail the audience from the marketplace. Advertising on television generated \$54 billion in revenue in the United States alone in 2002, compared with \$44 billion in newspaper advertising and \$18 billion in radio. The consumerist "evangelism" of television, as David Marc has called it, is neither the whole of television's message nor an insignificant aspect of that message. However, it may represent our best contemporary definition of broadcasting, one that avoids the simplicities of the technological definition. That is, the broadcast media today are any that cast a signal for maximum dispersion to permit sponsors to better sell their wares and spread their ideas.

From terrestrial broadcast's heyday as the dominant entertainment medium, to the complex mix of broadcast, cable, and satellite in today's industry, broadcast television has remained the most widely viewed form of television. The persistence of broadcasting helps ex-

## Broadcasting

plain programmer's continuing search, in an age of supposed specialization, for television programs with broad popular appeal such as *Survivor*, *Law and Order*, and *Friends*. Even in nations where the public service model remains influential, the significance of reaching a broad audience still plays a role in programming decisions, due, at least in part, to institutional mandates to represent the public and its diversity of perspectives rather than, as in the U.S. model, responding to the marketplace and a range of consumer products. Audiences may never again rival the masses assembled by programs such as *I Love Lucy* or *Gunsmoke*, but in many ways the creators and managers of television still imagine it as a broadcast medium and its viewers as a mass audience.

CHRIS LUCAS

**See also American Broadcasting Company; Columbia Broadcasting System; Narrowcasting; National Broadcasting Company**

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# Broadcasting Standards Commission

## British Regulatory Commission

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Television has been described as a battleground for rival sets of moral perspectives and disputed assessments of the medium's power to influence its audiences. It enters the home, may trade in vivid and unexpected images, and appeals greatly to children. It presents both reassuring and disturbing impressions of values and behaviors prevalent in society. The propriety of its program standards is therefore continually debated in many countries.

In Britain the government responded to perceived public concerns of this kind by establishing a Broadcasting Standards Council, on a prestatutory basis in 1988 and as a statutory body under the Broadcasting Act of 1990. Its remit covered the portrayal in television and radio programs and in advertising of violence, sexual conduct, and matters of taste and decency. This was broadened when the Broadcasting Act of 1996 merged the Council with a Broadcasting Complaints Commission, which, since its statutory establishment in 1982, had considered complaints arising from al-

leged unfairness toward people appearing in or dealt with in programs, or from alleged invasions of privacy. The new body was called the Broadcasting Standards Commission (BSC).

The Broadcasting Act of 1996 confers three main tasks on the BSC: (1) to draw up, and from time to time review, codes giving guidance on the principles to be observed, and practices to be followed, relating to standards, fairness, and privacy, which it is the duty of all broadcasting organizations and other regulatory bodies to "reflect" (not adopt) in their own codes and program guidelines; the most recent version of the commission's codes was published in 1998; (2) to consider and adjudicate upon complaints about programs for violation of the principles concerned; (3) to monitor programs, commission research, and issue reports in the areas of its remit.

The BSC is not an instrument of censorship, for it has no authority to consider programs before transmission. Since its findings are essentially subjective judg-



ments (not determinations of fact within a framework of law), neither is it a judicial body. Any viewer or listener may make a complaint about the portrayal of violence, sex, or other issues of taste and decency (including bad language), but only those individuals with a direct interest in a broadcast may complain of unfair treatment or an unwarranted invasion of privacy. For the latter, the commissioners always study written exchanges of evidence and may hold a hearing with both the complainant and broadcaster present.

The BSC's powers are relatively limited. It may require broadcasters to supply tapes of programs and statements in response to complaints about them. It publishes its findings in a monthly Complaints Bulletin (which is widely reported in the press), and in serious cases it may require the offending broadcaster to do so on air or in print as well. The BSC is made up of 13 members, including a chair and deputy chair, appointed by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media, and Sport. It is served by a staff of 21 full-time posts, including a director, deputy director, and research director, and had a budget of £1.9 million in 2000–01.

The Broadcasting Standards Commission's role and approach may be summarized in five features. First, its remit is more wide-ranging than might be supposed. Although its Codes of Guidance cover the main areas of violence, sexuality, bad language, fairness, and privacy, they also deal with the stereotyping of women, men, the elderly, and ethnic minorities; disparaging treatments of the disabled and mentally ill; depictions of death, grief, bereavement, suicide, and disasters; and responsible presentations of alcohol, drugs, and smoking.

Second, the BSC's "philosophy" of standards is not one-sidedly illiberal. It aims to balance the claims of creativity, investigative journalism, and explorations of contemporary reality against those of respect for audience sensitivities.

Third, the commission does not apply the simple precepts of a black-and-white morality. Its Codes of Guidance read more like standards for editorial responsibility than a set of proscriptions. Very little is ruled out *per se*, and most code provisions and complaints findings are couched in a spirit of context-sensitivity. Conditioning factors when standards are at issue may include the channel and the time of scheduling, the program genre and viewers' expectations about what works in that genre tend to present, likely audience composition at the time of broadcast, whether advance warnings of sensitive material have been given, and the role of such material in the overall flow of the story or report. Among the contextual influences, much weight is given to a 9:00 P.M. "watershed," before which nothing that is unsuitable for children should be shown and after which it is acceptable to move to a more adult type of material. But

even after 9:00 P.M., *carte blanche* is not envisaged, and broadcasters are expected to move only gradually into more challenging waters. The main conditioning factor when an infringement of privacy is considered is whether such an invasion was justified by an overriding public interest in disclosure of the information concerned.

Fourth, although the BSC has had to deal with an increasing volume of complaints (rising in the case of standards from 512 in 1990–91 to 1,473 in 1993–94; 2,032 in 1994–95; and 3,123 in 2000–01, plus 80 complaints in that last year about fairness and privacy), its approach has not been draconian. In 2000–01, for example, 21 percent of fairness and privacy complaints and only 10 percent of standards complaints were upheld (compared with about 20 percent in the mid-1990s).

Fifth, aware that community standards are not fixed, the Broadcasting Standards Commission has largely based its work on an understanding of the broad limits and tolerances of British public opinion, including how these are evolving. To that end, it consulted a large number of organizations when drawing up its Codes of Guidance. Its members periodically travel on "road shows" to meet diverse groups in different parts of the country, exchanging views on broadcasting standards. Above all, it has commissioned and published the results of a great deal of high-quality, often-cited, and well-regarded research.

This research has included broad surveys over time of both program content and audience attitudes in the key remit areas. The results have drawn attention to the diversity of public opinion about the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable treatments of violence, sex, and other matters and have done justice to the complexity of people's views. This has supported the commission's emphasis on "context" when dealing with complaints. Other projects have included a review of research findings on violence and pornography effects; an inquiry into the future of children's television; an international review of approaches to media education; a study of delinquents' media-use patterns; in-depth studies of interpretations of screened violence by women, men, and victims of actual violence, the portrayal of ethnic minorities, perspectives on the portrayal of disabilities by both disabled and able-bodied viewers, and public attitudes to broadcasting regulation; as well as a several-sided examination of how the producers of "reality" programs and talk shows secure consent from and treat "ordinary" members of the public appearing in them. In recent years, much of the BSC's research has been cosponsored with other regulators, including a large-scale investigation of children's uses of the television screen in the new media environment. It also commissioned an independent analysis of the representative-



ness of those who submit complaints to it, suggesting that the complainants came from a relatively broad spectrum of the audience.

In its early days, critics objected to the role of this body on one of three grounds: for inducing caution among broadcasters; for imposing "fuddy-duddy" restrictions on a medium of expanding diversity and choice; and for a confusing overlap of jurisdiction with other regulators, particularly the Independent Television Commission (ITC), which has its own codes and procedures for handling complaints. The first two objections are rarely voiced nowadays, however, and the third will be met when both the BSC and the ITC are incorporated into the government's proposed new, integrated broadcasting and communications regulator, Office for Communications (OFCOM), along with the other three regulatory bodies (OfTel, the Radio Authority, and the Radiocommunications Agency). OFCOM was scheduled to be operational by the end of 2003.

JAY G. BLUMLER

See also **British Television**

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## Brodkin, Herbert (1912–1991)

U.S. Producer

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Herb Brodkin enjoyed a singular career in television because of his insistence on quality, his uncompromising standards, and his longevity. Brodkin, who served as executive producer or producer on some of television's finest moments, began his television career producing live television in its "golden age," and produced until his death in 1991.

Brodkin came to television with a background in theater and scenic design. He began working as a set designer for CBS in 1950. After three years, he was handling the production chores for no less than three anthology dramas. Brodkin continued to work in the anthology format during what has been generally termed the "golden years of television." These dramas, such as *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One*, were splendid vehicles for Brodkin's broad and varied theatrical experience. One telecast in particular would prove fortu-

itous for Brodkin and others. "The Defender" (February 28 and March 4, 1957), starring Ralph Bellamy and William Shatner, would serve as a model for one of Brodkin's cornerstone filmed series.

When the telefilm began to flourish in the 1950s and most filmed production came from Hollywood, Brodkin remained in New York, although he, too, changed from the live format to film. Brodkin brought a great deal of technical expertise to telefilm production, for he had made dozens of films for the Army Signal Corps. His first series, *Brenner*, focused on a father-son team of cops and was scheduled sporadically by CBS. Brodkin's next series was the landmark *The Defenders*. The series was based on the *Studio One* show and featured E.G. Marshall and Robert Reed as a father-son team of lawyers. The "Brodkin approach" of treating controversial issues with intelligence and

dispassion, developed during the live years, translated well to the filmed medium of television. Brodkin had always held the script in the highest esteem and consistently used writers of excellence—Ernest Kinoy, Robert Crean, and Reginald Rose. Though television was and is a medium that appeals largely to the emotions, Brodkin's productions consistently asked the viewer to think, to consider, and to weigh. Issues considered taboo, such as abortion, euthanasia, racial prejudice, and blacklisting, were familiar ground to Brodkin. CBS constantly battled affiliates that refused to clear *The Defenders*, and the network endured some financial hardship caused by advertisers pulling out from the series. Nevertheless, the hallmark of every Brodkin production was a thoughtful and even-handed examination of an issue in a dramatic context. *The Defenders* enjoyed a four-year run in which it garnered every major award for television drama.

Brodkin's filmed series work often used the settings of the legal and medical profession to explore a variety of very contemporary controversies. The series also used the convention of the mentor-student relationship. In *The Defenders* as well as *Brenner*, the protagonists are father and son. In the unsold pilot *The Firm*, written by long-time Brodkin associate Ernest Kinoy, the protagonists are father and daughter. Brodkin, and those who wrote for him, proved especially adept at balancing the maturity of the mentor and the intellectual enthusiasm of the student as a framework for examining the issues of the day.

In 1965 Brodkin shifted his attention from his Plautus Productions to his newly created Titus Productions (formed with Robert Berger), under whose banner some of his most memorable dramatic specials were produced. This was also the year of one of Brodkin's more metaphorical productions. *Coronet Blue* was a short series run by CBS in the summer of 1967. It chronicled amnesiac Michael Alden's search for his identity while being pursued by a shadowy band of assailants. The only clue to Alden's identity was the cryptic phrase, "coronet blue." The character of Alden can be seen as a metaphor for the angst-ridden youth of the 1960s. His search mirrored the search of the "counterculture" for its identity, its place in the world. The series was fairly well-received but could not be revived for regular production because Frank Converse, who played Michael Alden, was already signed for another series.

In 1981 Titus Productions was acquired by the Taft Entertainment Company. Both Brodkin and Berger remained to produce dramatic specials for Taft. Notable among those specials was *Skokie*, starring Danny Kaye as a Holocaust survivor who fights to keep a group of neo-Nazis from marching in Skokie, Illinois, and the



Herbert Brodkin.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

HBO special *Sakharov*, which featured Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson as Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner. In 1985 the Museum of Broadcasting in New York mounted a retrospective of Herbert Brodkin's career. In the words of television curator Ronald Simon, "the oeuvre of Herb Brodkin is an impressive collection of socially significant dramas." Herb Brodkin died in 1991, leaving a legacy of creative and intellectual integrity unparalleled in the annals of television.

JOHN COOPER

See also *Defenders, The*

**Herbert Brodkin.** Born in New York City, November 9, 1912. University of Michigan, B.A. 1934, Yale Drama School, M.A. 1941. Served in U.S. Army, 1943–46. Began career in theater as scene designer, Bucks County Playhouse, Pennsylvania, 1946–48; production manager, director, scenery designer, Westport Country Playhouse, Connecticut, 1946–50; set designer, City Center and Theatre Guild, New York, 1946–50; opera set designer, City Center, New York, 1946–50; began television career as producer and designer, *Charlie Wild, Private Detective*, 1950–52; pro-

Brodkin, Herbert

ducer of numerous live television productions; *The Defenders*, 1961–64; producer of made-for-television movies, from 1970s. Died 1991.

#### Television Series

1950–52	<i>Charlie Wild, Private Detective</i>
1953–55	<i>ABC Album</i>
1953–55	<i>The TV Hour</i>
1953–55	<i>The Motorola TV Hour</i>
1953–55	<i>Center Stage</i>
1953–55	<i>The Elgin Hour</i>
1955–56	<i>The Alcoa Hour</i>
1955–56	<i>Goodyear Playhouse</i>
1957	<i>Studio One</i>
1958–60	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1959–64	<i>Brenner</i>
1961–64	<i>The Defenders</i>
1962–65	<i>The Nurses</i>
1966	<i>Shane</i>
1967	<i>Coronet Blue</i>

#### Television Miniseries

1978	<i>Holocaust</i>
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#### Made-for-Television Movies

1970	<i>The People Next Door</i>
1981	<i>Skokie</i>
1982	<i>My Body, My Child</i>
1983	<i>Ghost Dancing</i>
1984	<i>Sakharov</i>
1985	<i>Mandela</i>
1988	<i>Stones for Ibarra</i>
1990	<i>Murder Times Seven</i>

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## Brokaw, Tom (1940– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Tom Brokaw serves as anchor and managing editor of *NBC Nightly News*, a position he is contracted to hold until the end of 2004. Sole anchor of the program since 1983, he had previously been anchor of *NBC News' Today Show* from 1976 to 1982 and had worked in a series of increasingly prominent assignments for NBC News. Brokaw's distinctively smooth style and boyish charm have made him a well-recognized star through the shifting stakes in television news in the 1980s and 1990s.

After an early position in Sioux City, Iowa, Brokaw's career in broadcast news began in earnest in 1962 when he worked in Omaha, Nebraska. He moved to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1965 to report on the civil rights movement, then joined NBC in Los Angeles as a reporter and anchor in 1966. From the west coast, Brokaw moved to Washington, D.C., eventually becoming NBC's White House correspondent during the Watergate era. In 1976 and 1980, he was a member of the NBC News team of floor reporters for the Democratic and Republican conventions. Since 1984 he has

served as anchor of all NBC News coverage of the primaries, national conventions, and presidential election nights. In the fall of 1987, Brokaw scored a number of high-profile successes, interviewing Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin, Ronald Reagan in the White House, and in December 1987 moderating a live, televised debate from Washington among all declared candidates for the presidential nomination from both parties. He also moderated the first debate among the declared Democratic candidates for president in December 1991.

Brokaw's opportunity to serve as anchor arose when, after being courted by ABC, NBC countered by teaming him with Roger Mudd (apparently attempting to replicate the Chet Huntley/David Brinkley pairing), and the two went on the air as co-anchors in April 1982. Mudd was soon dropped by NBC, and Brokaw took over as sole anchor in August 1983. At CBS Dan Rather had replaced Walter Cronkite in 1981; at ABC Peter Jennings, who had anchored from 1965 to 1968, returned to that position in 1983; and thus a three-man

race was put in place that continues to structure the national nightly news.

When each of the networks was bought by a large conglomerate in the mid-1980s (ABC by Capital Cities, CBS by Laurence Tisch's Loews Corporation, and NBC by General Electric), network news divisions became cost-accountable in new ways that also impinged on the importance of the anchor. While budgets and staffs were cut, promotional campaigns were expanded, and, increasingly, the center of those campaigns was the persona of the news anchor, who became a virtual corporate symbol.

Brokaw has been one of the most well-recognized participants in the trend toward expanding the role of the news reader into a prominent position of creative control and celebrity. Along with Rather and Jennings, Brokaw emerged in the 1990s as a kind of living logo, the image taken to be representative of an entire news organization. A number of critics have raised questions about the quality and integrity of news presentation in this increasingly star-driven climate, charging that on the national news broadcasts, journalism has become subordinate to entertainment. Brokaw was reportedly the model for William Hurt's Tom Grunick, the protagonist in James L. Brooks's 1987 film *Broadcast News*.

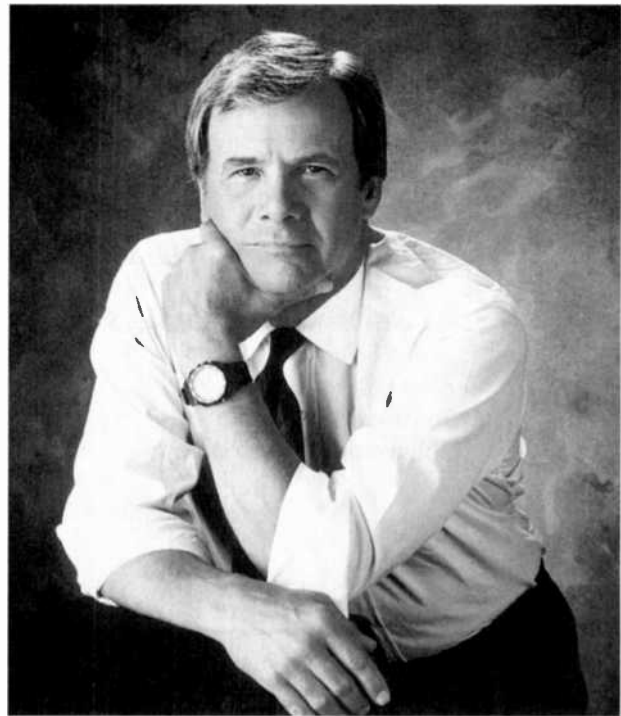
As an anchor, Brokaw is renowned for his globetrotting, and he has provided live coverage of such important events as the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, North Atlantic Treaty Organization attacks in Yugoslavia, and the events following the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City and the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. In addition to *NBC Nightly News*, Brokaw anchored, with Katie Couric, the nighttime program *Now with Tom Brokaw and Katie Couric* (1993–94) as well as the short-lived *Exposé*, a news magazine show on the order of *60 Minutes*.

He has also anchored a number of prime-time specials, including a January 1999 special on the "Greatest Generation." That program profiled some of the same people discussed by Brokaw in his books *The Greatest Generation* (1998), *The Greatest Generation Speaks* (1999), and *An Album of Memories* (2001). Each of these projects reflects Brokaw's abiding interest in the stories of Americans who grew up in the Depression, served in World War II, and participated prominently in shaping postwar U.S. society.

In May 2002, NBC announced that Brokaw will end his term as anchor of *NBC Nightly News* at the end of 2004, to be succeeded by CNBC's Brian Williams. Brokaw intends to continue as a contributor to NBC News after he leaves the anchor desk.

DIANE M. NEGRA

See also *Anchor*; *Dateline NBC*



Tom Brokaw, Anchorman for the *NBC Nightly News*, 1998.  
©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**Tom (Thomas John) Brokaw.** Born in Webster, South Dakota, February 6, 1940. Educated at University of South Dakota, B.A. in political science, 1962. Married: Meredith Lynn Auld, 1962; children: Jennifer Jean, Andrea Brooks, and Sarah Auld. Began career as newscaster, weatherman, and staff announcer KTIV, Sioux City, Iowa, 1960–62; morning news editor KMTV, Omaha, Nebraska, 1962–65; editor for 11:00 P.M. news, WSB-TV, Atlanta, Georgia, 1965–66; joined NBC news as anchor, KNBC-TV, Los Angeles, California, 1966; reporter and anchor, NBC, since 1966. Honorary degrees: University of South Dakota; Washington University; Syracuse University; Hofstra University; Boston College; Emerson College; Simpson College; Duke University, 1991; Notre Dame University, 1993; Fairfield College. Recipient: Seven Emmy Awards; two duPont Awards; Peabody Award, 1988; Honor Medal for Distinguished Service in Journalism, University of Missouri-Columbia School of Journalism, 1997; Fred Friendly First Amendment Award, 1998. Inducted into Broadcasting and Cable's Television Hall of Fame, 1997.

#### Television Series

1973–76	<i>NBC Saturday Night News</i> (anchor)
1976–82	<i>Today Show</i> (host)
1982–2004	<i>NBC Nightly News</i> (anchor)

Brokaw, Tom

1991 *Exposé* (anchor)  
1992– *Dateline NBC* (co-anchor)  
1993–94 *Now with Tom Brokaw and  
Katie Couric* (co-anchor)

#### Television Specials (selected)

1987 *To Be a Teacher*  
1987 *Wall Street: Money, Greed, and  
Power*  
1987 *A Conversation with Mikhail S.  
Gorbachev*  
1988 *Home Street Home*  
1988 *To Be an American*  
1999 *The Greatest Generation*

#### Publications

*The Greatest Generation*, 1998  
*The Greatest Generation Speaks*, 1999  
*An Album of Memories*, 2001

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Westin, Av, *Newswatch: How TV Decides the News*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982

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## Brooke-Taylor, Tim (1940– )

British Comedian, Writer

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Tim Brooke-Taylor has established himself as a familiar face on British television since making his first appearances in the early 1960s, when he was one of a celebrated generation of young new comedians and comedy writers to emerge from the famous Cambridge University Footlights Revue.

Brooke-Taylor began his television career working for *On the Braden Beat*, which was one of a flood of innovative new comedy shows to be created around 1962 to 1964. Subsequently he teamed up as a writer with star Eric Idle on *The Frost Report* and also contributed as writer and performer to the spin-off series *At Last the 1948 Show*, on which his collaborators were John Cleese, Marty Feldman, Graham Chapman, and Aimi Macdonald, under the leadership of David Frost as producer. This last show was a significant step in British television comedy, having a distinctly surreal air with its unconnected sketches and eccentric, often slapstick humor, which paved the way for the *Monty Python* series, among other successors.

After teaming up as straight man to Marty Feldman on *Marty*, Brooke-Taylor entered upon the most successful collaboration of his television career to date, completing a highly popular comedy trio with Graeme Garden and Bill Oddie in *The Goodies*. Oddie, Garden, and Brooke-Taylor had in fact already worked together

once before with some success, first developing their sparky three-man act in the series *Twice a Fortnight* in 1967. Anarchic, weird, and often hilarious, *The Goodies* sought to save the world from such bizarre threats as a marauding giant kitten and a plague of Rolf HARRISES. Pedaling into action on a beflagged three-seater bicycle, the trio were purveyors of a more slapstick, light-hearted brand of comedy than their counterparts in *Monty Python* and consequently appealed to a wider age range, with many fans in their teens or even younger.

Much of the humor in *The Goodies* evolved from the contrasting, and ludicrous, personalities of the three heroes. While Graeme Garden was the obsessive scientist who dreamt up all manner of wacky schemes to save the world and Bill Oddie was a short, scruffy hippy with a strong cynical streak, Tim Brooke-Taylor was the clean-cut patriot in Union Jack waistcoat, always ready with a rousing Churchillian speech when things looked bleak but first to bolt when danger reared its head. Targets of the humor included a range of contemporary fads and issues, from satirical swipes at the science fiction adventure serial *Dr. Who* to takeoffs of the Hollywood western.

The series was hugely successful, but ultimately it fell victim to the BBC's indecision about whether it should be scheduled for adult or younger audiences



Tim Brooke-Taylor.  
Photo courtesy of Jill Foster Ltd.

(despite pleas from the performers themselves, it was broadcast relatively early in the evening, thus restricting the adult content of the material). The team switched to London Weekend Television in 1981 in the hope that they might fare better there, but there was no real improvement and no more programs were made after 1982.

After *The Goodies*, the three stars went their more or less separate ways, Tim Brooke-Taylor managing to maintain the highest profile in subsequent years. As well as establishing himself as a prominent panelist on such long-running radio programs as *I'm Sorry, I Haven't a Clue*, he also developed a second television career in situation comedy, starring in several efficient but fairly unremarkable series in the 1980s and early 1990s. Perhaps the most successful of these latter efforts was *Me and My Girl*, in which Brooke-Taylor gave support as best friend Derek Yates to Richard Sullivan, an advertising executive struggling to bring up a teenage daughter on his own. Typical of other series that were greeted with only lukewarm praise was *You Must Be the Husband*, in which Brooke-Taylor was the startled uptight husband of a woman newly

revealed as the best-selling author of salacious romantic novels.

DAVID PICKERING

See also Cleese, John

**Tim(othy Julian) Brooke-Taylor.** Born in Buxton, Derbyshire, England, July 17, 1940. Attended Cambridge University. Married: Christine Wheadon, 1968; children: Ben and Edward. Actor, Cambridge Footlights Revue while at university; writer, various 1960s comedy series, costar, *The Goodies*, 1970–80, 1981–82; later appeared in situation comedies and consolidated reputation as radio performer.

#### Television Series (selected)

1962–67	<i>On the Braden Beat</i>
1966–67	<i>The Frost Report</i> (co-writer)
1966–67	<i>At Last the 1948 Show</i> (also producer)
1968	<i>Marty</i>
1970–80, 1981–82	<i>The Goodies</i>
1970–72	<i>His and Hers</i>
1984–88	<i>Me and My Girl</i>
1987–88	<i>You Must Be the Husband</i>

#### Films

*Twelve Plus One; The Statue; Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory.*

#### Radio

*I'm Sorry, I'll Read That Again; I'm Sorry, I Haven't a Clue; Hello Cheeky; Does the Team Think?; Loose Ends; The Fame Game; Hoax.*

#### Recordings

*Funky Gibbon; The New Goodies LP; The Goodies' Beastly Record; The Least Worst of Hello Cheeky; The Seedy Sounds of Hello Cheeky.*

#### Stage (selected)

*The Unvarnished Truth*, 1978; *Run for Your Wife; Not Now Darling; The Philanthropist; The Ladykillers*, 1999; *Why Me?*, 2001; *Bedside Manners*, 2001.

#### Publications

*Rule Britannia*, 1983  
*Tim Brooke-Taylor's Cricket Box*, 1986  
*Tim Brooke-Taylor's Golf Bag*, 1988  
*I'm Sorry, I Haven't a Clue* (with Barry Cryer, Graeme Garden, Willie Rushton, and Humphrey Littleton), 1999

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## Brooks, James L. (1940– )

U.S. Writer, Producer, Director

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James L. Brooks is one of television's most outstanding and successful writer-producers. He is also one of the few to have become a highly successful screenwriter and director of feature films. His work in both media has been recognized with numerous awards from peers and critics, and both television programs and films have been acclaimed by audiences.

Although Brooks's career in television began as a writer for series such as *My Three Sons*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *My Mother the Car*, he also worked in a very different arena. He was a writer for CBS News in New York from 1964 to 1966. In 1966, he moved to Los Angeles and became a writer and producer of documentaries for David Wolper at Wolper Productions. By 1968, however, Brooks and his partner, Allan Burns, had created the hit television show *Room 222*, where they served as executive story editors. This program broke new ground for television by focusing on the career of a black high school teacher, Pete Dixon (Lloyd Haynes). The show tackled tough issues such as drug use and racial conflict in a concerned, humane manner and won an Emmy as Outstanding New Series in 1969.

Much of the same style and tone carried over into Brooks's and Burns's next success, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. At MTM Entertainment, Brooks and Burns were among the first members of a large group of extremely talented individuals, all working in a creatively charged atmosphere established by executive producer Grant Tinker. Tinker's philosophy was to acquire the services of creative individuals and then assist them in every way possible to become even more productive. Brooks and Burns thrived under the system, working first on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, then creating or co-creating, *Rhoda*, *Paul Sand in Friends and Lovers*, *Taxi*, *The Associates*, and *Lou Grant*. On the basis of these successes, the team of Brooks and Burns became known as members of a new group of Hollywood television producers, often referred to as the "auteur" producers. They were the creative force behind their shows, imparting a recognizable, distinctive style and tone. Indeed, programs created at MTM have been referred to as the defining examples of "quality television."

The programs were noted not only for their wit and

quick jokes, but for establishing a focus on character. Most were built around groups of characters related by circumstance or profession rather than by family relations. They were quickly recognized by critics as something different from the earlier forms of television comedy focused either on zany "situations" or on domestic settings. These new programs were among the first and strongest of the "ensemble comedies" that were to dominate television for decades to come. Human frailty and the comfort of friends, professional limitations and the joy of co-workers, a readiness to take one's self too seriously at times, matched by a willingness to puncture excessive ego: these are the hallmarks of the Brooks style of ensemble comedy. While social issues might come to the foreground in any given episode, they were always subordinate to the comedy of human manners, and to character. In this way, the MTM shows were distinguished from the more overtly issue-oriented style of Norman Lear. This focus on character and ensemble has been passed down through professional and industrial relationships into the work of other producer-writers in shows as diverse as *ER* and *Hill Street Blues*, and programs such as *Cheers*, *Murphy Brown*, or *Seinfeld* are clear descendants of the work of Brooks and his various partners.

In 1978 Brooks began to shift his work toward feature films. He worked as writer and coproducer on the film *Starting Over* and in 1983 he wrote, produced, and directed *Terms of Endearment*, a highly successful film in terms of both box office and critical response. As writer, producer, or director he has continued his involvement with a string of box office successes, including *Jerry Maguire* (1996) and *As Good As It Gets* (1997). He has also been instrumental as a mentor to young writer-directors in film, most notably Wes Anderson, who paid "Special Thanks" to Brooks in the credits for his films *Rushmore* (1998) and *The Royal Tenenbaums* (2001).

In 1984 Brooks founded Gracie Films, his own production company, to oversee work on film and television projects. To date, the best known television programs developed at Gracie Films have been *The Tracey Ullman Show* and its immensely popular spin-off, *The Simpsons*. With some degree of irony, given



James L. Brooks.  
Photo courtesy of James L. Brooks

Brooks's career, these two shows are marvelously skewed views of television comedy. *The Tracey Ullman Show* was replete with send-ups of American TV "types" such as the housewife-mother, the bored "pink collar" worker, and the prime-time vamp. *The Simpsons*, using all the techniques of animation at its disposal, pokes fun at the idealized version of domestic comedy that has long been a television staple and, at the same time, serves as the site of some of television's sharpest commentary on contemporary social and cultural life. While Brooks's involvement with these shows remains primarily at the level of executive producer, the style and attitude he developed throughout his years in television comedy is clearly at work. In some ways he might be said to have inherited the mantle of Grant Tinker, discovering new talent, making a space for creative individuals, and changing the face of television in the process.

HORACE NEWCOMB

See also *Mary Tyler Moore Show*; *Room 222*; *Simpsons*, *The*

**James L. Brooks.** Born in Brooklyn, New York, May 9, 1940. Attended New York University, New York City, 1958–60. Married: 1) Marianne Katherine Morrissey, 1964 (divorced), child: Amy Lorriane; 2) Holly

Beth Holmberg. Began career at CBS television sports division; writer/producer, David Wolper Productions, 1966; co-creator, with Alan Burns, *Room 222*; writer/producer, MTM; founder, Gracie Films, 1984; film writer, producer, and director. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards; Golden Globe Awards; Peabody Awards; Humanitas Awards; Directors Guild Awards; Writers Guild of America Awards.

#### Television

1960	<i>My Three Sons</i> (writer, two episodes)
1960	<i>The Andy Griffith Show</i> (writer, two episodes)
1965	<i>My Mother the Car</i> (writer, two episodes)
1968–69	<i>Room 222</i>
1970–77	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i>
1974	<i>Paul Sands in Friends and Lovers</i>
1974–75	<i>Rhoda</i>
1976	<i>The New Lorenzo Music Show</i>
1977–82	<i>Lou Grant</i>
1978–83	<i>Taxi</i>
1978	<i>Cindy</i>
1979	<i>The Associates</i>
1986–90	<i>The Tracey Ullman Show</i>
1990	<i>The Simpsons</i>
1993	<i>Phenom</i>
1994 and 2000	<i>The Critic</i>
2001	<i>What About Joan</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1974	<i>Thursday's Game</i> (writer-producer)
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#### Films

*Starting Over* (writer, producer), 1979; *Modern Romance* (actor), 1981; *Terms of Endearment* (director, writer, producer), 1983; *Broadcast News* (director, writer, producer), 1987; *Big* (producer), 1988; *The War of the Roses* (producer), 1989; *Say Anything...* (executive producer), 1989; *I'll Do Anything* (director, writer), 1994; *Bottle Rocket* (executive producer), 1996; *Jerry Maguire*, 1996 (producer); *As Good As It Gets*, 1997 (producer); *Riding in Cars With Boys*, 2001 (producer).

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## Brookside

### British Soap Opera

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*Brookside*, produced independently by Mersey Television, was inextricably linked to the history of the British independent publishing channel, Channel Four. Founded in 1982, Channel Four's remit was to attract audiences to which other channels did not cater, and to innovate in form and style. In particular, *Brookside* attracted a young audience, who were essential to the serial's success.

Unlike earlier serial dramas, *Brookside* avoided the traditional television studio; the show was filmed on a small housing estate, built as part of a Liverpool housing redevelopment. The structure of the close itself, with small "two up, two down" working-class accommodations next to large detached houses for wealthier occupants, set the stage for confrontation between classes, with politically contentious issues dealt with in an upfront manner.

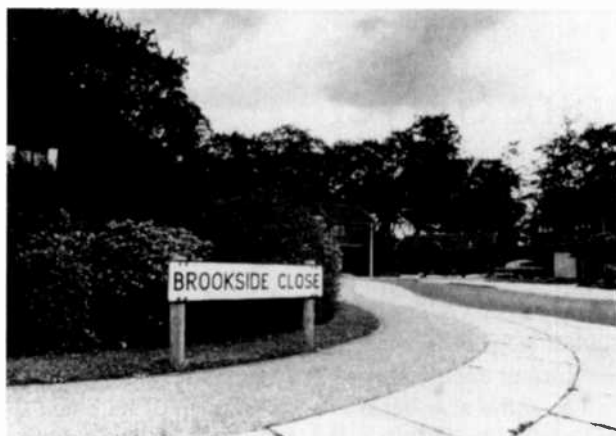
Whereas its competitor soaps were perceived to be "character-based," *Brookside*'s initial aim was a realism that directly tackled the social and political problems apparent in the Britain of the 1980s. This approach has been followed by the BBC's *Eastenders*, which also copied *Brookside*'s "weekend omnibus repeat" format. More recently, the pressing concerns of audience maximization led to a more sensationalist approach to social issues, with *Brookside* offering British television's first "on-screen" lesbian kiss, while late storylines focused on incest, rape, murder, and drug abuse. These developments led to suggestions that *Brookside*, in particular its Saturday omnibus edition, was unsuitable for "family audiences."

One crucial difference between the *Brookside* of the 1980s and other British soaps was the lack of a central community meeting point, such as a pub or corner shop, forcing characters to interact either on the close itself, or in scenes shot on location in and around Liverpool. However, the addition of a shopping develop-

ment to the set in later seasons led to more traditional interactions over the counter of a pizza parlor, or in the nearby hair salon, medical center, petrol station, bar, or nightclub.

Many of the main changes in *Brookside* were symbolized by the fate of the Grant family. Moving onto the close at the start of the program, the Grants symbolized the expansion in working-class property ownership encouraged by the Conservative governments of the 1980s. Bobby Grant, a trade unionist with a fierce attachment to socialist rhetoric, suffered unemployment; Damon Grant was murdered in London (with the death filmed as part of a *Brookside* spin-off titled *Damon and Debbie*, a format copied by Granada's *Coronation Street*); Karen Grant left home to study at university; and Sheila Grant left Bobby, symbolizing the breakdown of the traditional post-World War II family unit. Barry Grant gradually developed the role of a ruthlessly competitive young entrepreneur, encouraged by the boom-bust cycle of the British economy during the 1980s and 1990s. He continued with the series into the 1990s but gradually disappeared after murdering the wife and child of his lifelong best friend, Terry Sullivan. Murder and violence were no strangers to *Brookside*, which suffered numerous murders, several armed sieges, several violent rapes, and a fatal, cocaine-fueled car accident.

Channel Four broadcast three episodes a week of the soap, and *Brookside* was invariably the channel's most popular program, giving it a greater scope for minority-oriented programming elsewhere in the schedule. Over the course of *Brookside*'s history, gritty social realism gradually has given way to a more populist approach: whereas early episodes did their best to reflect the specific concerns of the northwest of England, more recently *Brookside* rarely referred to its



Brookside.

Photo courtesy of Mersey Television

Liverpudlian roots. In 2000 Phil Redmond, executive producer and creator of *Brookside*, suggested that Brookside required a major shake-up. However, despite rumors of a “back to basics” return to social realism, Redmond promised, “another mutation and another fresh intake of talent and ideas, and especially really interesting ones about terribly interesting people leading terribly interesting lives—but still occasionally raping, killing and betraying each other!”

In June 2003, Channel 4 announced that *Brookside* would cease production at the end of that year. After 21 years on the air, the program’s place in the history of the soap opera genre is assured.

STUART BORTHWICK

See also *British Programming; Coronation Street; EastEnders; Soap Opera*

#### Cast

Carl Banks	Stephen Donald
Eddie Banks	Paul Broughton
Rosie Banks	Susan Twist
Sarah Banks	Andrea Marshall
Anabelle Collins	Doreen Sloane
Gordon Collins	Nigel Crowley
Lucy Collins	Katrin Cartlidge
Paul Collins	Jim Wiggins
Jackie Corkhill	Sue Jenkins
Jimmy Corkhill (1986– )	Dean Sullivan
David Crosbie	John Burgess
Jean Crosbie	Marcia Ashton
D.D. Dixon	Irene Morot
Mike Dixon (1990– )	Paul Byatt
Ron Dixon (1990– )	Vince Earl
Max Farnham (1990– )	Steven Pinder
Jacqui Farnham (1990– )	Alex Fletcher

Patricia Farnham	Gabrielle Glaister
Ali Gordon (2002– )	Kris Mocherri
Kirsty Gordon (2002– )	Jessica Noon
Stuart Gordon (2002– )	David Lyon
Barry Grant	Paul Usher
Bobby Grant	Ricky Tomlinson
Damon Grant	Simon O’Brien
Karen Grant	Shelagh O’Hara
Sheila Grant	Sue Johnston
Heather Huntingdon	Amanda Burton
Roger Huntingdon	Rob Spendlove
Mick Johnson	Louis Emerick
Beth Jordache (1993– )	Anna Friel
Mandy Jordache (1993– )	Sandra Maitland
Rachel Jordache/Dixon (1993– )	Tiffany Chapman
Audrey Manners	Judith Barker
Mo McGee	Tina Malone
Bev McLoughlin (1993– )	Sarah White
Adele Murray (2000)	Katy Lamont
Anthony Murray (2000)	Raymond Quinn
Jan Murray (2002)	Helen Sheals
Marty Murray (2000)	Neil Cagle
Steve Murray (2000)	Steven Fletcher
Debbie McGrath	Gillian Kearney
Tim O’ Leary (1996)	Philip Olivier
Emma Piper	Paula Belle
Lance Powell (2000)	Mickey Poppins
Katie Rogers (1987)	Diane Burke
Sammy Rogers (1987– )	Rachael Lindsay
Sinbad	Michael Starke
Nikki Shadwick (1998– )	Suzanne Collins
Ruth Smith (2002– )	Lynsey McCaffrey
Sean Smith (2002– )	Barry Sloane
Gavin Taylor	Daniel Webb
Petra Taylor	Alexandra Pigg
Viv	Kerrie Thomas

#### Producers

Mel Young, Paul Marquess

#### Programming History

Channel Four (Brookside Productions)  
1982–2003

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# Buffy the Vampire Slayer

U.S. Drama

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The original opening voice-over for the television drama series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* at once signifies what makes this show unique even as it disguises what makes the series a hit with its fans. "In every generation, there is a chosen one. She alone will stand against the vampires, the demons, and the forces of darkness. She is the Slayer." Buffy Summers (Sarah Michelle Gellar), a 16-year-old girl living in Sunnydale, California, goes to high school during the day and fights demons and vampires by night. She is a superhero, and she is female. In March 1997, when *Buffy* (based on the 1992 movie *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*) first aired as a mid-season replacement on the new WB television network, shows featuring a physically and intellectually strong female were rare. The series quickly became a hit for this reason, but a major element of what kept the show a hit is the fact that Buffy does not work alone. Buffy's interesting (and constantly evolving) group of friends has made this series a largely female-oriented ensemble success.

Willow Rosenberg (Alyson Hannigan) and Xander Harris (Nicholas Brendon) are Buffy's best high school friends, privy to her "secret identity." Rupert Giles (Anthony Stewart Head) is Buffy's Watcher, a member of the Watcher's Council, educated to train and assist Slayers across time. As the series developed and the characters moved through high school and into college, other key allies (affectionately known as members of the "Scooby Gang") emerged, many of them played by women. Sunnydale High's lead cheerleader became unwillingly involved with Buffy's inner circle (Cordelia Chase, played by Charisma Carpenter); Buffy's mother found out that her daughter is the Slayer while she was still in high school (Joyce Summers, played by Kristine Sutherland); and another Slayer emerged in the third season (Faith, played by Eliza Dushku). In college, Willow began to date a female witch (Tara, played by Amber Benson); Xander became engaged to a former demon (Anya Emerson, played by Emma Caulfield); and Buffy suddenly had a younger sister (Dawn Summers, played by Michelle Trachtenberg). Other key characters included male romantic interests in high school for Willow (Oz, a werewolf played by Seth Green) and Buffy (Angel, a vampire with a soul played by David Boreanaz), and male romantic interests for

Buffy in her college years (Riley Finn, a government soldier played by Marc Blucas, and Spike, a vampire and former enemy played by James Marsters).

The show also became a hit because of its blend of generic modes. While technically classified as a drama by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, *Buffy* defies genre conventions. To begin with, Buffy Summers repeatedly holds her own in the most formidable of well-choreographed fight scenes. *Buffy* also incorporates aspects of fantasy/science-fiction with its use of demons, vampires, prophetic dreams, multiple realities, and magic. (For example, Buffy's sister was created by religious monks; "she" was originally pure cosmic energy of great power.) The show also has a strong comic streak. Relying heavily on verbal witticisms ("When the apocalypse comes... beep me") and creating humor out of situations as diverse as dating in high school and battling fashion-savvy evil goddesses in college, *Buffy* is rife with smart humor even as it develops intensely melodramatic and serious plotlines.

*Buffy* has pushed the television format to its limit in a number of unusual episodes. An especially notable episode was "Hush" (in the fourth season), which was conducted purely in silence for 28 minutes. The sixth season featured "Once More With Feeling," a musical episode, which featured the cast members singing and dancing.

This combination of a strong female hero, a stalwart ensemble cast, and a defiant blend of genre characteristics helped make *Buffy* an industrial and critical success as well as a cult favorite. Critics praised the acting (Sarah Michelle Gellar was nominated for a Golden Globe in 1999) and the writing (the show's creator and initial head writer, Joss Whedon, earned an Emmy nomination in 2000). Joss Whedon in particular has been singled out for creating a "teen show" that is distinguishable from other teen shows on the WB because of the intelligence with which it addresses topics relevant not only to teenagers but to adults as well. (The median age for *Buffy* viewers is 29.) The show has addressed how divorce affects children ("Nightmares"), date rape ("Reptile Boy"), relationship violence against women ("Beauty and the Beasts"), men stalking women ("Passion"), the ramifications of sexual intercourse ("Inno-

cence”), high school violence (“Earshot”), and the death of a parent (“The Body”).

*Buffy* has also been praised by lesbian, gay, and bisexual organizations for its representation of a lesbian relationship, which began in the show’s fourth season. While the series had already addressed teen female sexuality through the sexual relationship between Buffy and Angel (and to a lesser degree between Willow and Oz), when the Scooby Gang broke down and reformed in the first year after high school, the writers introduced Tara. After Willow and Oz broke up, Willow became involved with Tara through a Wicca group on their college campus. By the fifth season the writers were finally allowed by the WB network to depict an on-screen kiss (“The Body”); and when the series moved to another network (UPN) for its sixth season, Willow and Tara were clearly a sexually active couple (“Once More, With Feeling”). Without ever becoming a show that was “about” lesbians, *Buffy* nevertheless became the first prime-time series to feature a lead lesbian character in an open and committed relationship since ABC’s *Ellen*.

*Buffy*’s move to UPN in the fall of 2001 and the furor it caused indicates how much of a cultural phenomenon the show had become by its sixth season. *Buffy*’s strong WB ratings and marketing ties (Sarah Michelle Gellar, Alyson Hannigan, and Seth Green have been in financially successful films since *Buffy* began, and the series has spawned comic books and novels) prompted the WB to use the series as an anchor show for many of its subsequent hits, such as *Dawson’s Creek* and *Felicity*. As the show began its fourth season on the WB, it anchored a spin-off featuring Angel and Cordelia (*Angel*). *Buffy* and *Angel* remained together on the WB through *Buffy*’s fifth season; and then suddenly, in early spring of 2001, a bidding war erupted between the WB and UPN for rights to *Buffy* (which is produced by FOX).

The “issues” were largely financial, although “loyalty” was often bandied about in the press as a factor as well. *Buffy*, after all, had helped to solidify the WB as a viable network both critically and financially. The show had struggled with a tiny budget for its first five years, even as its stars and writers were becoming increasingly marketable both on television and in the movie industry. However, the WB network would not match UPN’s bid. *Buffy* was forced to move to UPN amid rumors that star Sarah Michelle Gellar would break her contract if this shift occurred (a rumor helped in no small way when, in the WB finale of the series, Buffy Summers died). More importantly, UPN was a smaller network than the WB, reaching fewer major markets and available in some major cities only via cable or satellite. This move also



*Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, David Boreanaz, Anthony Stewart Head, Seth Green, Alyson Hannigan, Sarah Michelle Gellar, Nicholas Brendon, Charisma Carpenter.

©20th Century Fox/ Courtesy of the Everett Collection

split *Buffy* from its spin-off, *Angel*, putting an end to crossover promotions. In spite of the move, both shows did well at their respective networks.

During *Buffy*’s seventh season, the producers and cast announced that they the show would conclude production at the end of the television season (spring 2003). Fans anticipated eagerly “the big finish” and watched throughout the season as Buffy and her friends dealt with the return of an ancient enemy known as “The First,” a penultimate form of evil that sought to end the world. Potential Slayers throughout the world were dying as The First sought to end the Slayer line, and Giles began bringing those who were still alive to Sunnydale, where Buffy began to train them for a final battle. Viewers learned more about how Slayers were created (unwillingly, through the force of men too cowardly to fight evil themselves) and had a full season to ponder the ramifications of Spike the vampire now having a soul, like Angel did. Willow struggled to recuperate from having murdered the killer of her lover, Tara (in the sixth season), frightened to use her magic skills for fear that she would become murderous again. Xander struggled to come to

## Buffy the Vampire Slayer

terms with having broken off his engagement with Anya the year before. With the Scooby Gang in such disarray, the apocalypse seemed imminent. Indeed, when Faith returned to Sunnydale to help the potential Slayers, Buffy's friends and family turned on Buffy, and she left them to face The First on their own.

In the end, however, Buffy discovered the way in which to best The First—a strategy that fit the history of the series as a TV show about female empowerment. With Willow's Wicca skills and the collective force of the potential Slayers on hand, Buffy defied the rules of her lineage and Willow cast a spell that allowed Buffy to share her Slayer powers and strength; all the potential Slayers became actual Slayers (and Willow became a goddess). "Every one of you, and girls we've never known, and generations to come...they will have strength they never dreamed of, and more than that, they will have each other. Slayers. Every one of us," Buffy explained in the finale ("Chosen").

SHARON MARIE ROSS

### Cast

Buffy Summers	Sarah Michelle Gellar
Willow Rosenberg	Alyson Hannigan
Xander Harris	Nicholas Brendon
Spike	James Marsters
Rupert Giles	Anthony Stewart Head (1997–2001; recurring thereafter)
Cordelia Chase	Charisma Carpenter (1997–99)
Angel	David Boreanaz (1997–99)
Oz/Daniel Osbourne	Seth Green (1998–99)
Faith	Eliza Dushku (1998–99)
Riley Finn	Marc Blucas (1999–2000)
Joyce Summers	Kristine Sutherland (1997–2001)
Dawn Summers	Michelle Trachtenberg (2000–03)
Anya Emerson	Emma Caulfield (1999–2003)
Tara	Amber Benson (1999–2002)

### Producers

Joss Whedon, Marti Noxon, David Solomon, David Fury, David Greenwalt, Gail Berman, Sandy Gallin

### Programming History

144 episodes

WB

March 1997–December

1997

Monday 9:00–10:00

January 1998–May

2001

Tuesday 8:00–9:00

UPN

October 2001–May

2003

Tuesday 8:00–9:00

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**Bulman.** *See XYY Man*

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## Bureau of Measurement

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The Bureau of Measurement is a cooperative, non-profit Canadian audience research organization that has struggled to survive in the face of increasing competition from the U.S.-based A.C. Nielsen company, advances in electronic systems of audience measurement, and ambivalent support from the major Canadian broadcasters. It was created on May 11, 1944, on the recommendation of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, and granted a government charter a year later. Originally called the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM), its first president was Lew Phenner of Canadian Cellucotton Products. It had no paid staff initially but received administrative assistance from the Association of Canadian Advertisers and technical support from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Its primary purpose in the beginning was to provide radio stations with reliable coverage estimates so that they could compete with the print media for advertising. The first BBM survey, released in October 1944, was conducted by the private ratings company Elliott-Haynes using the unaided mail ballot technique developed by CBS; instead of checking stations from a prepared list, participants compiled their own lists of stations to which they had listened.

Although financed largely by broadcasters, BBM was controlled for many years by advertising interests; of the nine positions on the original board of directors, three were filled by advertisers, three by advertising agencies, and three by broadcasters. Shortly after the creation of BBM, a similar organization called the Broadcast Measurement Bureau (BMB) was established in the United States. As a result of the efforts of Horace Stovin, chairman of BBM's technical committee, the two organizations worked in concert for a few years, using the same mail ballot technique and running their surveys simultaneously. This enabled advertisers to operate on either side of the border with equal facility. However, BMB was criticized for its methods, plagued by high costs, and thrown into disarray by the resignation of its president, Rugh M. Feltis. In 1950 it threw in the towel and left the U.S. station coverage field to A.C. Nielsen, which used an interview-aided recall method.

By the end of Phenner's presidency in 1951, BBM had increased the number of areas surveyed, intro-

duced bilingual ballots in some areas, and more than doubled its broadcasting membership. But a number of stations still refused to join, and in 1956 the CBC withdrew because of dissatisfaction with BBM's surveys. The same year, BBM began producing time-period ratings for radio and television using a panel-diary method pioneered in Canada by International Surveys Limited. The new surveys were initially conducted every spring and fall with each member of participating households keeping a week-long diary of listening and viewing by half-hour periods. At the same time, the circulation surveys were increased from every other year to twice a year. However, the CBC remained critical of BBM operations and subscribed instead to Nielsen, ISL, and McDonald Research. A 1962 CBC report criticized BBM's surveys for their "non-coverage, biased selection procedure, low response and poor quality of response." By then BBM was also coming under strong criticism from both advertisers and private broadcasters, and there was a danger that it might collapse.

Under Bill Hawkins of CFOS Owen Sound, BBM began to put its house in order. It revised its constitution so as to increase the representation of broadcasters, and in 1964 became the first ratings service in the world to introduce computerized sample selection. It also increased the number of surveys, redesigned the bilingual household diary, and switched its premium from a card of safety pins to a 50-cent coin. In terms of winning back confidence in the validity of its surveys, the most important step was taken in 1967, when BBM decided to switch from household diaries, which had usually been kept by the harried homemaker, to personal diaries sent to selected members of households—including children, although their diaries were filled out by an adult. This change increased the response rate for mailed diaries to almost 50 percent and facilitated the acquisition of demographic data. Within a few years, BBM became the only audience measurement service for radio in Canada, and in television the competition was reduced to Nielsen. Between 1963 and 1968, BBM increased its membership from 357 to 534 or about 90 percent of the broadcasting industry, including the CBC.

Unlike the original household diary, the new per-



## BBM Bureau of Measurement

BBM Bureau of Measurement.  
*Courtesy of BBM Bureau of Measurement*

sonal diary was used for both radio and television, largely for reasons of cost. In theory, however, the most reliable diary is the single-medium personal diary. In addition, the use of dual-media diaries irritated radio broadcasters, who argued that they provided BBM with twice as much revenue as television broadcasters, but only received the same benefits. In 1975, therefore, following several studies and considerable debate, BBM adopted separate diaries for each medium, including different samples and survey dates. This move greatly increased survey costs, however, so that in the mid-1980s BBM implemented household flooding or saturation sampling for both radio and television. Ironically, this development brought BBM almost full-circle back to its original household diary technique and illustrated the fact that audience measurement methods generally are determined as much by economic considerations as by the requirements for scientific validity.

In the mid-1970s, BBM began investigating electronic measuring systems. A committee was set up to develop a proposal for a meter-based system for television, and a contract was signed with Torpey Controls Ltd. for a prototype using existing circuitry and the vertical blanking interval. Despite successful test results, however, the cost of switching from diaries to meters was considered prohibitive, especially since diaries would still be required for radio and to supplement the data gathered for television. It was not until

the advent of "electronic diaries" or Peoplemeters by Nielsen and others in the early 1980s that BBM gave serious consideration to replacing its traditional diary system for television. Unlike the original Nielsen audimeter, the Peoplemeter measured viewing rather than mere tuning and could track audience flow much more precisely.

In 1984, while still testing its new meter technology in the United States, Nielsen announced its intention to launch a Peoplemeter service in Canada. In response, BBM turned initially to Audits of Great Britain for help, but then decided to invite bids from other companies as well, including Nielsen. In November 1985, Nielsen and BBM reached a tentative agreement by which Nielsen would provide BBM with Peoplemeter data from 1,800 Canadian households, which it could then market as it saw fit. The agreement later fell through, however, and in September 1989 Nielsen launched a Peoplemeter service for network television in Canada on its own. BBM tried to develop its own electronic television audience measurement system in conjunction with Les Entreprise Videoway, but the tests results were unsatisfactory. Late in 1990, BBM and Nielsen resumed talks for a joint venture to extend Peoplemeters from the national network level to local and regional broadcasting. But the following year, a proposed deal again fell apart because of the concerns of local and regional broadcasters about costs and various technical matters. Since then, BBM has continued to use its diary method of audience measurement for both radio and television.

The BBM continues to expand its staff and its services. Its website (<http://www.bbm.ca>) provides information on the full array of services provided by BBM.

ROSS A. EAMAN

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## Burnett, Carol (1933– )

U.S. Comedian, Actor

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The many honors awarded Carol Burnett attest to the approbation of her peers and the love of her public. Burnett has been Outstanding Comedienne for the American Guild of Variety Artists five times and the recipient of six Emmys. She received *TV Guide*'s award as Favorite Female Performer for three consecutive years in the early 1960s, and a Peabody award in 1963. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences proclaimed her Woman of the Year; a Gallup Poll found her to be one of America's 20 Most Admired Women in 1977. She received the first National TV Critics Circle Award for Outstanding Performance, the first Ace Award for Best Actress, and the Horatio Alger Award, conferred by the Horatio Alger Association of Distinguished Americans. The latter is, in many ways, most significant, as Burnett's personal style and endearing "everywoman" qualities resulted from a life filled with emotional abuse and the ravages of poverty. She was inducted into the Television Hall of Fame in 1985.

Her grandmother wanted her to go to secretarial school, with the objective of marrying a rich executive. Burnett wanted college and a degree in journalism. The odds were slim against her finding tuition and carefare of more than \$50, at a time when the family's rent was \$35 per month. When an anonymous donor placed a \$50 bill in the mailbox, she enrolled at the University of California, Los Angeles, quickly switching from journalism to theater arts. Eventually, she joined a musical comedy/opera workshop where she honed her skills in characterization, comic music, and acting. She became a campus star. But her family's poverty made her dreams of moving to New York City and playing on Broadway seem unattainable. A performance at a professor's home in a skit from the musical *Annie Get Your Gun* in 1954 offered her an unexpected break. A party guest gave Burnett and her boyfriend, Don Saroyan, each a grant of \$1,000 designed to jump-start their careers. The benefactor attached four stipulations to the money: Burnett must never reveal his identity, she must move to New York City to try her luck; she had to repay the loan within five years; and she was honor-bound to help other young people attain careers in the entertainment business. Within 18 months, she managed to fulfill two of these criteria. While living at New York's Rehearsal Club, the hotel haven for aspir-

ing actresses that had inspired the movie *Stage Door*, she made her own break by organizing the First Annual Rehearsal Club Revue, which showcased the myriad talents of her housemates. While others gained varying opportunities from the program, Burnett signed with the William Morris Agency and rapidly found outlets for her comedic and singing talents.

*The Winchell-Mahoney Show*, Paul Winchell's children's program, was Burnett's first break in television; for 13 weeks in 1955 she played comic foil for his ventriloquist dummies, where she sang but did little comedy. She played Buddy Hackett's girlfriend in NBC's short-lived 1956 sitcom, *Stanley*. A comedic nightclub act and her collaboration with writer/composer Ken Welch gave her more opportunities for exposure to television audiences. Welch wrote a song spoofing the Elvis Presley craze; Burnett's rendition of "I Made a Fool of Myself over John Foster Dulles" led to appearances on *The Tonight Show* with Jack Paar, *Toast of the Town* with Ed Sullivan, and an amazing amount of publicity as the dour secretary of state fielded questions regarding his "relationship" with Burnett. In 1956 she appeared on CBS-TV's morning show with Garry Moore, and from 1959 to 1962 was a regular on Moore's eponymous prime-time program. Critical and popular praise followed, as Burnett portrayed as many as five or six characters an hour in each show; ranked as America's Favorite Female Performer of 1961–62 by *TV Guide*, that season she received her first Emmy. She also made a television special based on her successful 1959–61 portrayal of Princess Winifred, the gangly, sensitive heroine of the off- then on-Broadway musical, *Once upon a Mattress*. She and Julie Andrews made an Emmy-winning special, *Julie and Carol at Carnegie Hall*. Burnett's popularity amply confirmed, CBS negotiated a ten-year contract which required her to perform in specials and guest appearances for the first five years. During the remaining five, Burnett was to dedicate herself to her own show.

*The Carol Burnett Show* debuted on September 11, 1967, and ran for 11 seasons. It gave Burnett the opportunity to integrate a vaudeville-inspired mélange of guest stars, music, and various comedic styles with her own unique blend of sophistication and folksiness. By filming the show live, with an in-studio audience and a





*The Carol Burnett Show*, Carol Burnett, circa late 1970's.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

recurring ensemble cast, *The Carol Burnett Show* fused the aura of live performance with the benefits of filmed production. Burnett's opening question-and-answer session with audience members showcased her congenial, unpretentious persona and illustrated her astonishing spontaneity in dealing with the unexpected. Bits and pieces of her life experience found their way into the show: her signature ear-tug, originally a signal to her grandmother; the working-class grace of her Charwoman character; her childhood fascination with movies and stars; and the painfully funny relationship between Burnett's Eunice character and Vicki Laurence's Mama in "Family" sketches. The show reached its ratings peak in 1972 but remained popular enough to carry it through 1978, when Burnett terminated the program before it became too stale.

After *The Carol Burnett Show*, Burnett continued to perform in all aspects of the entertainment industry, from television to Broadway. Highlights of her television career include the made-for-television movie, *Friendly Fire* (1979), which examined issues confronting families with sons in Vietnam, the miniseries

*Fresno* (1986), which lampooned such popular nighttime soap operas as *Dallas* by presenting comedic elements as if they were serious drama, and musical/opera specials with stars as diverse as Beverly Sills and Dolly Parton. In 1997 she received yet another Emmy for guest appearances in the NBC sitcom *Mad About You*. Burnett added playwright to her list when she and daughter Carrie Hamilton co-wrote *Hollywood Arms*, based on Burnett's memoirs and scheduled for debut during the 2002–03 season at Chicago's Goodman Theatre.

Burnett-as-performer is also known as Burnett-the-Crusader: in 1981, she won a lawsuit against *The National Enquirer* tabloid, which had slandered her in 1976 with an article suggesting that she was drunk and rowdy at a gathering of celebrities and international political figures. Burnett's diverse list of credits continue to grow, and even after a lifetime of success, this consummate professional remains true to the pledge she made to her anonymous benefactor—she continues to help others find their way into television, motion pictures, and legitimate theater.

KATHRYN C. D'ALESSANDRO

*See also Carol Burnett Show; Variety Programs*

**Carol Burnett.** Born in San Antonio, Texas, April 26, 1933. Attended the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), 1951–54. Married: 1) Don Saroyan, 1955 (divorced, 1962); 2) Joe Hamilton, 1963 (divorced, 1984); children: Carrie Louise, Jody Ann, and Erin Kate; 3) Brian Miller, 2001. UCLA summer stock, summer 1952 and 1953; moved to New York, 1954; hat-check girl, 1954–55; signed with William Morris Agency, 1955; in television from 1955; debuted on Broadway as lead in *Once upon a Mattress*, 1959; recorded first solo record album, 1961; toured Midwest in concert, summer 1962; signed with CBS-TV, 1962; in film, from 1963, debut, *Who's Been Sleeping in My Bed?*, 1963. Recipient: six Emmy Awards, 1962–97; five American Guild of Variety Artists Awards; TV Guide Award, 1961, 1962, and 1963; Peabody Award, 1963; National Television Critics Circle Award, 1977; San Sebastian Film Festival Award for Best Actress, 1978; 12 People's Choice Awards; two Photoplay Gold Medals; eight Golden Globe Awards; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Woman of the Year; Ace Award, 1983; Television Hall of Fame induction, 1985; Horatio Alger Award, 1988.

**Television Series**

- 1950–63 *Pantomime Quiz*
- 1953–64 *The Garry Moore Show*

1955 *The Winchell-Mahoney Show*  
 1956 *Stanley*  
 1964–65 *The Entertainers*  
 1967–78 *The Carol Burnett Show*  
 1990–91 *Carol and Company*  
 1991 *The Carol Burnett Show*  
 1995–99 *Mad About You*

**Television Miniseries**

1986 *Fresno*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1974 *6 RMS RIV VU*  
 1975 *Twigs*  
 1978 *The Grass Is Always Greener Over the  
 Septic Tank*  
 1979 *Friendly Fire*  
 1979 *The Tenth Month*  
 1982 *Life of the Party: The Story of Beatrice*  
 1983 *Between Friends*  
 1985 *Laundromat*  
 1988 *Hostage*  
 1994 *Seasons of the Heart*  
 1998 *The Marriage Fool*

**Television Specials**

1962 *Julie and Carol at Carnegie Hall*  
 1963 *Calamity Jane*  
 1963 *An Evening with Carol Burnett*  
 1964 *Once upon a Mattress*  
 1966 *Carol and Company*  
 1967 *Carol + 2*  
 1969 *Bing Crosby and Carol Burnett—Together  
 Again for the First Time*  
 1971 *Julie and Carol at the Lincoln Center*  
 1972 *Once upon a Mattress*  
 1975 *Twigs*  
 1976 *Sills and Burnett at the Met*  
 1978 *A Special Carol Burnett*  
 1979 *Dolly and Carol in Nashville*  
 1982 *Eunice*  
 1982 *Hollywood: The Gift of Laughter*  
 (cohost)  
 1984 *Burnett "Discovers" Domingo*

1985 *Here's TV Entertainment* (cohost)  
 1987 *Plaza Suite*  
 1987 *Carol, Carl, Whoopi, and Robin*  
 1987 *Superstars and Their Moms*  
 1988 *Superstars and Their Moms*  
 1989 *Julie and Carol—Together Again*  
 1991 *The Funny Women of Television*  
 1991 *The Very Best of the Ed Sullivan Show*  
 (host)  
 1993 *The Carol Burnett Show: A Reunion*  
 1994 *A Century of Women*  
 1994 *Men, Movies, and Carol*  
 1998 *CBS: The First 50 years*  
 2001 *The Carol Burnett Show: Show Stoppers*

**Films**

*Who's Been Sleeping In My Bed?*, 1963; *Pete 'n'  
 Tillie*, 1972; *The Front Page*, 1974; *A Wedding*,  
 1978; *Four Seasons*, 1981; *Chu Chu and the Philly  
 Flash*, 1981; *H.E.A.L.T.H.*, 1982; *Annie*, 1982;  
*Noises Off*, 1992; *Trumpet of the Swan* (voice),  
 2000.

**Stage**

*Once upon a Mattress*, 1959; *Fade Out—Fade In*,  
 1964; *Plaza Suite*, 1971; *I Do! I Do!*, 1973;  
*Same Time Next Year*, 1977; *Love Letters*, 1990;  
*Moon Over Buffalo*, 1995; *Putting It Together*,  
 1999.

**Publication**

*One More Time: A Memoir*, 1986

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Marc, David, "Carol Burnett: The Last of the Big-time  
 Comedy-Variety Stars," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*  
 (July 1992)  
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 1991)  
 "The Serious Business of Being Funny" (interview), *The New  
 Yorker* (August 21, 1995)  
 Taraborrelli, J. Randy, *Laughing Till It Hurts: The Complete  
 Life and Career of Carol Burnett*, New York: Morrow, 1988

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## Burns, Allan (1935– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Allan Burns moved to Los Angeles in 1956 intending to pursue a career as a cartoonist or commercial artist. After being laid off from his job as a page at NBC, he did begin earning a living as a cartoonist for greeting cards. He soon moved to television, employed in 1962 by Jay Ward on the cartoon series *Rocky and His Friends* and *The Bullwinkle Show*. Burns then formed a partnership with Chris Hayward, and they created *The Munsters*, perhaps an obvious next step for a cartoonist. Burns then moved on to the comedy series *He and She*, where he won the first of six Emmy Awards for his writing. Of that series Burns says, "That was my first great experience, creating character rather than gimmicks." On *He and She*, he met Jay Sandrich, who was directing the show.

Hayward and Burns then became story editors for *Get Smart*, where they worked with Mel Brooks and Buck Henry and where Sandrich also worked for a time as a producer. Following that experience, the Burns-Hayward partnership dissolved, and in 1969 Burns saw the pilot of *Room 222* (created by James L. Brooks), liked it, and began to write for the show. When Brooks took a leave to do a movie, Grant Tinker, the executive in charge of programming, asked Burns to produce *Room 222*.

At about this same time, Tinker received a 13-week commitment from CBS for an undeveloped series starring Mary Tyler Moore, to whom he was then married. CBS agreed that the project was to be under the complete control of Tinker and Moore; Tinker approached Burns and Brooks and asked them to collaborate to develop a show. As Burns remembers, "We had this remarkable situation where we had an office and an on-air commitment and nothing else."

The group rejected the idea of a domestic comedy and determined to portray a woman who was 30 years old, unmarried, and employed "somewhere." Burns recalls that they had to explain "30 and unmarried" to the network, so "We thought, 'Ah! here is our chance to do a divorce.'" CBS would have no part of that idea, however, and the executives in New York sent word to Tinker, "Get rid of those guys." He refused. Instead, the creators changed the plot to begin with Mary having just ended a failed love affair. The pilot was made,

with Sandrich directing, and one of television's landmark series, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, was on its way.

In 1977, when the show concluded after 168 episodes, most of the writing staff moved to Paramount with long-term contracts. Burns, however, decided to stay with Tinker and joined with Gene Reynolds to create *Lou Grant*. Despite the fact that it essentially reinvented the Lou Grant character, the series was a major success, and soon became part of the CBS Monday-night response to ABC football.

Burns also directed his talent to the writing of feature films, one being the highly praised *A Little Romance*, starring Laurence Olivier, for which Burns received an Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay Adaptation. Burns left MTM in 1991 after developing several other TV series.

Calm and persuasive, Allan Burns combines outstanding talent with an ability to work extremely well with a variety of competing personalities. Observing him on the set of a series in production, one senses that he quickly commands both trust and respect from those with whom he collaborates. Director Sandrich sums it up well, "Allan is the best."

ROBERT S. ALLEY

See also *Lou Grant*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*



Writer/director Allan Burns with Christine Lahti.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**Allan Burns.** Born in Baltimore, Maryland, May 18, 1935. Attended University of Oregon, 1953–56. Married: Joan Bailey, 1964, children: Eric C. and Matthew M. Screen and television writer from 1964. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1968, 1971, 1977, 1974, 1976, 1977; Writers Guild Award, 1970.

#### Television Series

1964–66 *The Munsters* (co-creator)  
 1965–70 *Get Smart* (head writer)  
 1967–68 *He and She* (head writer)  
 1969–74 *Room 222* (also director and producer)  
 1970–77 *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (also creator)  
 1974–75 *Paul Sand in Friends and Lovers* (creator and producer)

1974–78 *Rhoda* (also creator)  
 1977–82 *Lou Grant* (also creator)  
 1984 *The Duck Factory* (also creator)  
 1988 *Eisenhower and Lutz* (also creator)

#### Films

*Butch and Sundance: The Early Days*, 1979; *A Little Romance*, 1979; *I Won't Dance*, 1983; *Just the Way You Are*, 1984; *Just Between Friends* (also director and coproducer), 1986.

#### Further Reading

Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley. *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

## Burns, George (1896–1996)

U.S. Comedian, Actor

Over the course of his lengthy career, George Burns moved from serving as a vaudeville straight man to being one of the grand old men of American show business and an expert on the history of entertainment in the United States. The television program he shared with his wife, comedienne Gracie Allen, for eight years (1950 to 1958 on CBS) was central to Burns's professional life, chronologically and symbolically.

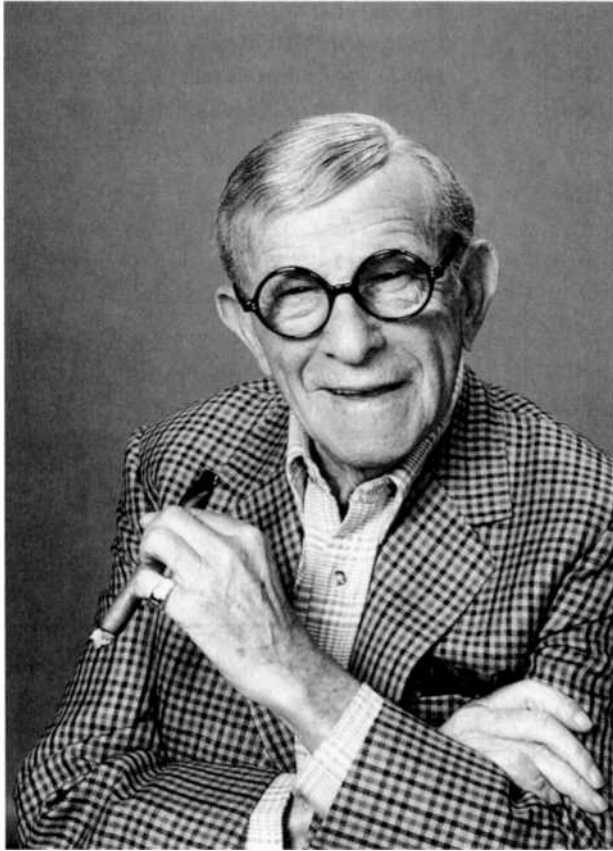
According to accounts of his early life (all of which originate from Burns himself), he was drawn to show business as a small child, singing on street corners with friends for pennies, and never seriously considered any other calling. Burns floundered in vaudeville for years, changing his act with great frequency, until he met Allen in 1922 (or 1923; accounts vary), and the couple inaugurated the straight-man/"Dumb Dora" pairing they would enact for more than four decades. The team moved successfully into film and radio in the early 1930s and finally into television in October 1950.

In *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, Burns and Allen played versions of themselves, a show-business couple living in Beverly Hills, California. As she had throughout their joint career, Allen acted as the comedian of the two, creating chaos through her misunderstandings of the world about her, while Burns served

as her straight man. He helped establish her elaborate humorous situations, set the timing for their conversations, and lovingly extricated his partner and wife from the fictional consequences of her "zany" personality—all the while maintaining a deadpan stance.

The pair were supported by Bea Benaderet playing their neighbor Blanche Morton, by a series of actors portraying Blanche's husband Harry, by their announcer (first Bill Goodwin, later Harry von Zell) playing himself, and eventually by their son Ronnie. The program was playful and sophisticated, relying more on linguistic than on physical humor. Although the character of Gracie was dumb in many ways, she never lost the respect and affection of her fellow cast members, particularly not of her husband. Her mistakes were never unkind, and her dumbness was in its own way brilliant. Perhaps more than any other couple-oriented situation comedy of its day, *Burns and Allen* presented an egalitarian marriage, in large part because George Burns as straight man was always dependent on his partner's comic abilities.

Burns used the new medium of television to expand his straight-man role, however. In *Gracie: A Love Story*, his 1988 biography of Allen, he jokingly explained his function in planning the show:



George Burns.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

My major contribution to the format was to suggest that I be able to step out of the plot and speak directly to the audience, and then be able to go right back into the action. That was an original idea of mine; I know it was because I originally stole it from Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town*.

Burns thus moved from merely setting up his partner's jokes to interpreting them, and indeed the entire action of the program, to the audience. Eventually, the program's writers (of whom Burns himself served as the head) gave the character George-as-narrator additional omniscience by placing a magic television set in his den. This device enabled him to monitor and comment on the plot even when he was not directly involved in it.

Television gave additional responsibilities to the off-screen George Burns as well as to his on-screen counterpart. Like many video stars of the 1950s, Burns owned the program in which he starred. His production company, McCadden, also produced or coproduced a number of advertisements and two other

situation comedies: *The Bob Cummings Show* (1955–59) and *The People's Choice* (1955–58).

The ever-busy Burns also used the *Burns and Allen* years to become an author. He produced his first volume of memoirs, *I Love Her, That's Why!*, with Cynthia Hobart Lindsay in 1955. The book enhanced Burns's reputation as a raconteur and staked his claim to authorship of the Burns and Allen team.

Unfortunately for Burns, he was soon to discover that he was still not the star of that team. When Allen retired from their act and from show business in 1958, he immediately reassembled his writers and his cast to churn out *The George Burns Show*, a situation comedy featuring all of *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*'s characters except Allen. The show foundered after one season.

Burns persevered, trying nightclub work alone and with other actresses. In the fall of 1964, attempting to recover from Allen's death earlier that year, he returned to television, costarring in *Wendy and Me* with Connie Stevens and producing *No Time for Sergeants*. Neither program lasted beyond the first season. The following year, he was back producing another short-lived program, *Mona McCluskey*.

Burns continued to move along on the edges of American show business until 1975, when, after the death of his close friend Jack Benny, he was given Benny's part in the film version of Neil Simon's comedy *The Sunshine Boys*. His success in this role led to other film work (including portrayal of the almighty in three *Oh, God!* pictures), television specials, and contracts for several more books—mostly memoirs.

His final book, *100 Years, 100 Stories*, was published in 1996. In many ways, this small and entertaining volume summed up the life and career of George Burns. It consisted of a number of often retold, highly repolished jokes. Its origins, like Burns's own ethnic roots, were obscured but oddly irrelevant-seeming. (Burns himself was in such poor health during the book's production that he clearly played little part in writing it; nevertheless, the stories were ones he had told for years and years.) Years after Allen's death, the book's content still depended heavily on Burns's relationship with his wife, who figured prominently in many of the stories. And coming out as it did in the weeks between its author's 100th birthday in January of 1996 and his death in March, this final volume exhibited the sort of timing for which George Burns was justly renowned.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

See also Allen, Gracie; *George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, *The*

**George Burns.** Born Nathan Birnbaum, in New York City, January 20, 1896. Married: Gracie Allen, 1926 (died, 1964); children: Sandra Jean and Ronald Jon. Early career in vaudeville as singer in children's quartet, then as dancer, roller skater, and comedian; formed comedy partnership with Gracie Allen, 1923; costarred with Allen in radio program, 1932–50; partnership moved to television in *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, 1950–58; continued as star of *The George Burns Show*, 1958–59; after death of Allen in 1964, continued to work in film, notably in *The Sunshine Boys*, 1976. Honorary degree: University of Hartford, 1988. Recipient: Academy Award, 1976; Kennedy Center Honor, 1988. Died in Beverly Hills, California, March 9, 1996.

#### Television Series

- 1950–58 *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*  
 1958–59 *The George Burns Show*  
 1964–65 *Wendy and Me*  
 1964 *No Time for Sergeants* (producer)  
 1965 *Mona McCluskey* (producer)  
 1985 *George Burns Comedy Week*

#### Television Specials (selected)

- 1959 *George Burns in the Big Time*  
 1976 *The George Burns Special*  
 1977 *The George Burns One-Man Show*  
 1981 *George Burns in Nashville*  
 1981 *George Burns' Early, Early, Early Christmas Show*  
 1982 *George Burns' 100th Birthday Party*  
 1982 *George Burns and Other Sex Symbols*  
 1983 *George Burns Celebrates 80 Years in Show Business*  
 1983 *Grandpa, Will You Run with Me?*  
 1984 *George Burns: An Hour of Jokes and Songs*  
 1984 *George Burns' How to Live to Be 100*  
 1986 *George Burns' 90th Birthday Party: A Very Special Special*  
 1988 *Disney's Magic in the Kingdom* (host)  
 1991 *George Burns' 95th Birthday Party*

#### Films

*Lamb Chops*, 1929; *Fit to Be Tied*, 1930; *Pulling a Bone*, 1930; *The Antique Shop*, 1931; *Once Over,*

*Light*, 1931; *One Hundred Per Cent Service*, 1931; *The Big Broadcast of 1932*, 1932; *Oh My Operation*, 1932; *The Babbling Book*, 1932; *Hollywood on Parade A-2*, 1932; *International House*, 1933; *Love in Bloom*, 1933; *College Humor*, 1933; *Patents Pending*, 1933; *Let's Dance*, 1933; *Walking the Baby*, 1933; *Six of a Kind*, 1934; *We're Not Dressing*, 1934; *Many Happy Returns*, 1934; *Here Comes Cookie*, 1935; *Love in Bloom*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1936*, 1936; *College Holiday*, 1936; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1937; *A Damsel in Distress*, 1937; *College Swing*, 1938; *Many Happy Returns*, 1939; *Honolulu*, 1939; *Two Girls and a Sailor*, 1944; *Screen Snapshots No. 224*, 1954; *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (narrator only), 1956; *The Sunshine Boys*, 1975; *Oh God!*, 1977; *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1978; *Going in Style*, 1979; *Just You and Me, Kid*, 1979; *Two of a Kind*, 1979; *Oh God! Book Two*, 1980; *Oh God, You Devil!*, 1984; *Eighteen Again*, 1988; *Radioland Murders*, 1994.

#### Recordings

*I Wish I Was Young Again*, 1981; *George Burns in Nashville*, 1981; *George Burns—Young at Heart*, 1982; *As Time Goes By* (with Bobby Vinton), 1993.

#### Publications

*I Love Her, That's Why!* (with Cynthia Hobart Lindsay), 1955  
*Living It Up, or, They Still Love Me in Altoona*, 1976  
*How to Live to Be 100: Or More! The Ultimate Diet, Sex and Exercise Book*, 1983  
*Dear George: Advice and Answers from America's Leading Expert on Everything from A to Z*, 1985  
*Gracie: A Love Story*, 1988  
*All My Best Friends* (with David Fisher), 1989  
*Wisdom of the 90s* (with Hal Goldman), 1991  
*100 Years, 100 Stories*, 1996

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## Burns, Ken (1953– )

U.S. Documentary Filmmaker

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Ken Burns is one of public television's most celebrated and prolific producers. He has already fashioned a record of 16 major Public Broadcasting System (PBS) specials, addressing a wide range of topics from U.S. history, such as *Brooklyn Bridge* (1982), *The Shakers: Hands to Work, Hearts to God* (1985), *The Statue of Liberty* (1985), *Huey Long* (1986), *Thomas Hart Benton* (1989), *The Congress* (1989), *The Civil War* (1990), *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio* (1992), *Baseball* (1994), *The West* (1996), *Thomas Jefferson* (1997), *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* (1997), *Frank Lloyd Wright* (1998), *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (1999), *Jazz* (2001), and *Mark Twain* (2002), all of which have won various awards and recognitions from both professional and scholarly organizations and at international film festivals.

Burns is a 1975 graduate of Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, where he studied under the photographers Jerome Liebling and Elaine Mayes, and received a degree in film studies and design. Upon graduation, he and two of his college friends started Florentine Films and struggled for a number of years doing freelance assignments, finishing a few short documentaries before beginning work in 1977 on a film based on David McCullough's book, *The Great Bridge* (1972). Four years later, they completed *Brooklyn Bridge*, which won several honors, including an Academy Award nomination, thus ushering Burns into the ambit of public television. While editing *Brooklyn Bridge* in 1979, Burns moved Florentine Films to Walpole, New Hampshire, surviving on as little as "\$2,500 one year to stay independent."

Much about Burns's career defies conventional wisdom. He operates his own independent company in a small New England village more than four hours north of New York City, hardly a crossroads in the highly competitive and often insular world of corporate-funded, PBS-sponsored productions. His television career is a popular and critical success story, beginning at a time when the historical documentary generally holds little interest for most Americans. His PBS specials so far are also strikingly out of step with the visual pyrotechnics and frenetic pacing of most reality-based TV programming, relying instead on

techniques that are literally decades old, although Burns reintegrates these constituent elements into a wholly new and highly complex textual arrangement.

Beginning with *Brooklyn Bridge* and continuing through *Mark Twain*, Burns has intricately blended narration with what he calls his "chorus of voices," meaning readings from personal papers, diaries, and letters; interpretive commentaries from on-screen experts, usually historians; his "rephotographing" technique, which closely examines photographs, paintings, drawings, daguerreotypes, and other artifacts with a movie camera; all backed with a musical track that features period compositions and folk music. The effect of this collage of techniques is to create the illusion that the viewer is being transported back in time, literally finding an emotional connection with the people and events of America's past.

At first, it may appear that Burns has embraced a wide assortment of subjects—a bridge, a 19th-century religious sect, a statue, a demagogue, a painter, Congress, the Civil War, radio, the national pastime, the United States' westward expansion, a founding father, two early explorers, an architect, two seminal feminists, a musical genre, and a writer—but several underlying common denominators bind this medley of Americana together. Burns's body of work casts an image of America that is built on consensus and is celebratory in nature, highlighting the nation's ideals and achievements. He suggests, moreover, that "television can become a new Homeric mode," drawing narrative parameters that are epic and heroic in scope. The epic form tends to celebrate a people's shared tradition in sweeping terms, while recounting the lives of national heroes is the classical way of imparting values by erecting edifying examples for present and future generations.

In this way, Burns's chronicles are populated with seemingly ordinary men and women who rise up from the ranks of the citizenry to become paragons of national (and occasionally transcendent) achievement, always persisting against great odds. The *Brooklyn Bridge*, for example, described by the "chorus of voices" in Burns's first film as "a work of art" and "the greatest feat of civil engineering in the world," is the "inspiration" of a kind of "Renaissance man," John A.

Roebing, who died as the building of the bridge was beginning, and his son, Washington Roebing, who finished the monument 14 years later through his own dogged perseverance and courage, despite being bedridden in the process.

Along with being an outstanding documentarian and popular historian, Burns, like all important cultural voices, is also a moralist. Taken as a whole, his series of films stand as morality tales, drawing upon epic events, landmarks, and institutions of historical significance. They are populated by heroes and villains who allegorically personify certain virtues and vices in the national character as understood through the popular mythology of modern memory. At the beginning of *Empire of the Air*, for instance, Jason Robards's narration explains how Lee DeForest, David Sarnoff, and Edwin H. Armstrong "were driven to create [radio] by ancient qualities, idealism and imagination, greed and envy, ambition and determination, and genius." Burns himself describes Huey Long as "a tragic, almost Shakespearean story of a man who started off good, went bad, and got killed for it."

Burns is best known of course, for his 11-hour documentary series *The Civil War*. The overwhelming popularity of this program, aired in September 1990, made him a household name. Much of the success of the series must be attributed to Burns's ability to make this 130-year-old conflict immediate and comprehensible to a contemporary audience. He adopted a similar strategy with *Baseball*. That documentary, he has stated, "is as much about American social history as it is about the game," as it examines such issues as immigration, assimilation, labor and management conflicts, and, most importantly, race relations. Burns explains that "Jackie Robinson and his story are sort of the center of gravity for the film, the Gettysburg Address and Emancipation Proclamation rolled into one." This 18.5-hour history of the sport debuted over nine evenings in September 1994, lasting nearly twice as long and costing twice the budget (\$7 million) of *The Civil War*.

Most remarkably, 70 million Americans have now seen *The Civil War*, while 50 million have watched *Baseball*; and all of Burns's other documentaries from the mid-1990s on have averaged an estimated 15 million viewers during their debut telecasts. "I've been working in two parallel tracks," Burns describes, "One has been a trilogy of three major series—*The Civil War*, *Baseball*, and *Jazz*—and in a parallel track, I've been working on a series of biographical portraits."

The cumulative popularity of Burns's biographical or quasi-biographical histories is striking by virtually any measure, and these films have over time redefined the place of documentaries on prime-time television.



Ken Burns.

Photo courtesy of Lisa Berg/General Motors/Florentine Films

*Jazz*, specifically, is fully representative of Burns's work at midcareer. This ambitious, multipart documentary confirms certain aesthetic and ideological priorities, honed by Burns over a quarter-century of producing and directing television specials for PBS. Approaching 19 hours (and more than 150 years of American history), the miniseries exhibits an epic storyline overflowing with historical people, places, and events.

Nielsen averages put *Jazz* at a 3.6 household rating and a 6 percent share of the national audience for the run of the ten episodes during four successive weeks in January 2001. These percentages are double the customary public television averages, translating into approximately 23 million viewers when calculated over the entire length of the miniseries. Given the aggregate numbers eventually amassed by both *The Civil War* and *Baseball*, *Jazz*'s U.S. audience is likely to double in the first decade of the 21st century and then expand.

Despite his long-standing and highly successful affiliation with noncommercial television in the United States, Burns still remembers his boyhood dream of becoming the next John Ford. It is likely that no one has ever done a better job of probing and revivifying the past for more Americans through the power and reach of prime-time television than Ken Burns.

GARY R. EDGERTON



Burns, Ken

See also *Civil War, The*

**Ken Burns.** Born in Brooklyn, New York, July 29, 1953. Educated at Hampshire College, B.A. in film studies and design, 1975. Married: Amy Stechler, 1982, children: Sarah and Lily. Cinematographer, BBC, Italian television, and others; president and owner, Florentine Films, since 1975; producer, cinematographer, and director of documentaries, since 1977. Member: Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; Society of American Historians; American Antiquarian Society; Massachusetts Historical Society; Walpole Society for Bringing to Justice Horse Thieves and Pilferers. Honorary degrees (selection): University of New Hampshire, L.H.D., Notre Dame College, Litt.D., Amherst College, Litt.D., 1991, Pace University, L.H.D., Bowdoin College, L.H.D., 1991, and CUNY, Ph.D. Recipient: Christopher Awards, 1973, 1987, 1990; two Erik Barnouw Awards; eight CINE Golden Eagle Awards; Producer's Guild of America's Producer of the Year Award, 1990; two Emmy Awards, 1991; People's Choice Award, 1991.

**Television Documentaries (producer, director, cinematographer)**

- 1982 *Brooklyn Bridge*
- 1985 *The Shakers: Hands to Work, Hearts to God* (also co-writer)
- 1985 *The Statue of Liberty*
- 1986 *Huey Long* (also co-writer)
- 1989 *The Congress*
- 1989 *Thomas Hart Benton*
- 1990 *Lindbergh* (executive producer only)
- 1990 *The Civil War* (also co-writer)
- 1991 *The Songs of the Civil War*
- 1992 *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio*
- 1994 *Baseball*
- 1996 *The West*

- 1997 *Thomas Jefferson*
- 1997 *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery*
- 1998 *Frank Lloyd Wright*
- 1999 *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*
- 2001 *Jazz*
- 2002 *Mark Twain*

**Publications**

- The Shakers: Hands to Work, Hearts to God* (with Amy Stechler Burns), 1987
- The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (with Ric Burns and Geoffrey C. Ward), 1990
- Baseball: An Illustrated History* (with Geoffrey C. Ward), 1994
- "Preface" (with Stephen Ives), *The West: An Illustrated History*, 1996
- "Preface," *Jazz: A History of America's Music*, by Geoffrey C. Ward, 2000

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## Burr, Raymond (1917–1993)

U.S. Actor

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Raymond Burr is so associated with his characterization of television lawyer/detective *Perry Mason* that his rich and varied career in film, radio, and television is often ignored. His face, in the words of *Perry Mason*

creator Erle Stanley Gardner, was cow-eyed. He was broad-shouldered, heavy, robust, but excelled at playing introverted rather than extroverted characters. This may be, in part, why Burr accomplished the rare televi-

sion feat in which actor becomes almost thoroughly identified with character, the performer inseparable from the role. Just as William Shatner is James Kirk, Peter Falk is Columbo, and Carroll O'Connor is Archie Bunker, Burr is Perry Mason.

Burr began as a stage actor who performed small roles in radio. His early film work was remarkable only in the sense that he rarely played anything other than the villain in such films as *Raw Deal* (1948). Burr even managed to play the “heavy” in comedies, such as the Marx Brothers’ *Love Happy* (1949). When he was in the courtroom drama *A Place in the Sun* (1951), he assumed the role of the relentless district attorney. During these movie years Burr continued to work in several radio series such as *Pat Novak for Hire* (1949) and *Dragnet* (1949–50). In 1954 he confirmed his villainous persona with his appearance as the menacing wife-killer Lars Thorwald in Alfred Hitchcock’s *Rear Window* (1954).

In 1955, when he learned that the lawyer/detective drama *Perry Mason* was being cast for television, Burr was requested to audition—but for the part of district attorney Hamilton Burger, another “villain.” As the story goes, the producers at Paisano Productions (the *Perry Mason* production company) allowed Burr to try for the title role simply to secure his audition for Burger. Erle Stanley Gardner, author of the original Mason novels and co-creator of the television series, is said to have taken a look at Burr during the audition and declared “He’s Perry Mason.” This was the role Burr played from 1957 to 1966 and reprised in a successful series of made-for-television movies from 1985 until his death in 1993.

At the time of *Perry Mason*’s popularity, Burr was one of the highest paid actors in series television, commanding a yearly salary of \$1 million. Yet he was well known for his philanthropy. Between television production seasons, he would take the time to journey to Vietnam on his own—not to perform but to meet and visit with those serving on the front lines. Burr was comfortable with self-deprecating humor and appeared in numerous television send-ups of his own career and characters on shows such as *The Jack Benny Show* and *The Red Skelton Show*.

What happened to Burr was a classic case of an actor being blended with a character he or she successfully plays. During his time on *Perry Mason*, Burr and his character gradually merged so much that when the series was recast in 1973, with Monte Markham in the title role, the audience refused to accept anyone else as Mason. The Markham version was canceled after 15 unsuccessful episodes. The Burr-Mason association was so strong that Burr even received an honorary law doctorate from the McGeorge School of Law in Sacramento, California.



Raymond Burr.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

This connection between character and actor was a burden to Burr. He continued to be associated with Mason, even when he starred as a wheelchair-bound policeman in another successful series, *Ironside* (1967–75). In this series, Burr portrayed Chief of Detectives Robert Ironside, crippled by an assassin’s bullet in the pilot episode. Although urged to retire, *Ironside* worked to ferret out criminals—this time from the prosecution’s side. The show was pure crime drama common to the late 1960s, mixed with “hip” dialogue and situations relevant to the time. As Richard Meyers argues in *TV Detectives* (1988), *Ironside* was the perfect “armchair detective.” It was still rational detection, in the *Perry Mason* mode, that was Burr’s strongest asset.

Burr tried several other series, but after the twin successes of *Perry Mason* and *Ironside* he was unable to capture the unity of character that a television series needs. In 1976, he had the title role of a lawyer in *Malory: Circumstantial Evidence*, a pilot that never went to series. Next he played an investigative reporter in *Kingston*, which aired as a series for less than a season 1977, and another lawyer in *The Jordan Chance* (1978), also a failed pilot. Through the early to mid-1980s Burr was a pitchman for a number of products such as the Independent Insurance Agents association.

Only when he revisited the role of Mason in the made-for-television movie *Perry Mason Returns* (1985) was he able to renew his success in American television. He also reprised his role as Chief Ironside in *The Return of Ironside* in 1993. The original cast returned for what was planned to be a new series of made-for-television movies, but only the first movie was completed. Burr finally succumbed to cancer on September 12, 1993.

To every character, Burr brought a cool calculation and intensity. In his three most notable roles—as Lars Thorwald in Hitchcock's *Rear Window*, Perry Mason, and Robert Ironside—his acting is introspective and low-key. He portrayed Thorwald as stony-faced and deliberate, thoroughly menacing. That same focus was present in his Mason and Ironside characters, but in those roles it transformed Burr into the hero rather than the villain. While his Thorwald could level a stare across a courtyard to frighten voyeurs looking out their rear window, his Mason could stare down a witness and bring a quick and heartfelt confession. Burr's stare still reveals more than the ranting and pacing of most other actors.

J. DENNIS BOUNDS

See also *Perry Mason*

**Raymond Burr.** Born in New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada, May 21, 1917. Attended Stanford University, University of California, Columbia University, and University of Chungking. Married: 1) Annette Sutherland, 1941 (died, 1943); children: Michael and Evan (died, 1953); 2) Isabella Ward, 1947 (divorced); 3) Laura Andrina Morgan, 1953 (died, 1955). Served in California Conservation Corp and Forestry Service. Began stage career as teenager, eventually performing on Broadway in *Crazy with the Heat*, 1941, and *The Duke in Darkness*, 1944; director, Pasadena Community Playhouse, 1943; started film career in 1946; cast often as villain, notably in *A Place in the Sun*, 1951, and *Rear Window*, 1954; television actor, appearing as title character in *Perry Mason*, CBS, 1957–66, and *Ironside*, NBC, 1967–75; returned to television as Perry Mason in 1985–86 made-for-television movie, which led to 25 subsequent Perry Mason made-for-television movies on NBC; started Royal Blue Ltd., television production company with business partner Robert Benevides, 1988. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1959 and 1961. Died in Dry Creek, California, September 12, 1993.

**Television Series**

- 1957–66 *Perry Mason*
- 1967–75 *Ironside*
- 1977 *Kingston: Confidential*

**Television Miniseries**

- 1977–79 *Park Ave*
- 1978 *Centennial*
- 1978 *The Bastard*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1967 *Ironside: Split Second to an Epitaph*
- 1971 *The Priest Killer*
- 1976 *Mallory: Circumstantial Evidence*
- 1977 *Kingston* (pilot)
- 1978 *The Bastard* (narrator)
- 1978 *The Jordan Chance*
- 1979 *Love's Savage Fury*
- 1979 *Disaster on the Coastliner*
- 1980 *Curse of King Tut's Tomb*
- 1980 *The Night the City Screamed*
- 1981 *Peter and Paul*
- 1985 *Perry Mason Returns*
- 1986 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Notorious Nun*
- 1986 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Shooting Star*
- 1987 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Lost Love*
- 1987 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Murdered Madam*
- 1987 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Scandalous Scoundrel*
- 1987 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Sinister Spirit*
- 1988 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Avenging Ace*
- 1988 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Lady in the Lake*
- 1989 *Perry Mason: The Case of the All-Star Assassin*
- 1989 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Lethal Lesson*
- 1989 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Musical Murder*
- 1990 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Desperate Deception*
- 1990 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Poisoned Pen*
- 1990 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Silenced Singer*
- 1990 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Defiant Daughter*
- 1991 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Maligned Mobster*
- 1991 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Ruthless Reporter*
- 1991 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Glass Coffin*
- 1991 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Fatal Fashion*

- 1992 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Fatal Framing Grass Roots*
- 1992 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Reckless Romeo*
- 1992 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Heartbroken Bride*
- 1993 *The Return of Ironside*
- 1993 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Telltale Talk Show Host*
- 1993 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Skin-Deep Scandal*
- 1993 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Killer Kiss*

### Films

*Without Reservations*, 1946; *San Quentin*, 1947; *Code of the West*, 1947; *Desperate*, 1947; *I Love Trouble*, 1947; *Fighting Father Dunne*, 1948; *Pitfall*, 1948; *Raw Deal*, 1948; *Ruthless*, 1948; *Sleep My Love*, 1948; *Station West*, 1948; *Walk a Crooked Mile*, 1948; *The Adventures of Don Juan*, 1948; *Abandoned*, 1949; *Black Magic*, 1949; *Bride of Vengeance*, 1949; *Love Happy*, 1949; *Red Light*, 1949; *Borderline*, 1950; *Key to the City*, 1950; *Unmasked*, 1950; *Bride of the Gorilla*, 1951; *His Kind of Woman*, 1951; *M*, 1951; *The Magic Carpet*, 1951; *New Mexico*, 1951; *A Place in the Sun*, 1951; *The Whip Hand*, 1951; *Horizons West*, 1952; *Mara Maru*, 1952; *Meet Danny Wilson*, 1952; *Bandits of Corsica*, 1953; *The Blue Gardenia*, 1953; *Fort Algiers*, 1953; *Serpent of the Nile*, 1953; *Tarzan and*

*the She-Devil*, 1953; *Casanova's Big Night*, 1954; *Gorilla at Large*, 1954; *Khyber Patrol*, 1954; *Passion*, 1954; *Rear Window*, 1954; *Thunder Pass*, 1954; *Count Three and Pray*, 1955; *A Man Alone*, 1955; *They Were So Young*, 1954; *You're Never Too Young*, 1955; *The Brass Legend*, 1956; *A Cry in the Night*, 1956; *Godzilla: King of the Monsters*, 1956; *Great Day in the Morning*, 1956; *Please Murder Me*, 1956; *Ride the High Iron*, 1956; *Secret of Treasure Mountain*, 1956; *Affair in Havana*, 1957; *Crime of Passion*, 1957; *Desire in the Dust*, 1960; *P.J.*, 1968; *Tomorrow Never Comes*, 1977; *The Return*, 1980; *Out of the Blue*, 1980; *Airplane II: The Sequel*, 1982; *Godzilla 1985*, 1985; *Delirious*, 1985.

### Stage

*Night Must Fall*; *Mandarin*; *Crazy with the Heat*, 1941; *The Duke in Darkness*, 1944.

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- Meyers, Richard, *TV Detectives*. San Diego, California: A.S. Barnes, 1988

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## Burrows, James (1940– )

U.S. Director, Producer

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James Burrows is one of the few television directors who has made the successful transition to producer. He became one of the top sitcom directors at MTM Productions, the company founded by Mary Tyler Moore and Grant Tinker. Later, while working as the resident director for *Taxi*, Burrows helped form the independent production company responsible for the long-running NBC series *Cheers*. His critically acclaimed directing and production talents have won numerous awards, including nine Emmys.

One of Burrows's first goals was to establish an

identity separate from that of his famous father, Abe, who had written the books for a number of successful musicals, including *Guys and Dolls* and *How To Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*. Interestingly, the senior Burrows had also written for the popular 1930s radio series *Duffy's Tavern*, which, like *Cheers*, was set in a bar. While this did not inspire the younger Burrows to duplicate that situation in *Cheers*, his father's work on a stage adaptation of Truman Capote's *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, which starred Mary Tyler Moore, did lead James Burrows to an informal meet-

ing with MTM President Grant Tinker. At that time, the younger Burrows was known simply as "Abe's kid."

In 1974, while directing theater in Florida, Burrows asked Tinker for a job at MTM. Tinker hired him to observe other MTM sitcom directors, with his first assignment being *The Bob Newhart Show*. Tinker recounts in his autobiography, *Tinker in Television*, that as Burrows became more comfortable with his role as observer, he began drawing closer to the action on the *Bob Newhart* set, causing Newhart to turn to his producer and demand, "Get that guy out of here. He makes me nervous."

This incident marked a significant turning point in Burrows's career, for Tinker responded by teaming Burrows with MTM's veteran director Jay Sandrich. The two hit it off immediately, and Burrows proved a quick study. Today he is considered as accomplished a director as Sandrich himself. Like Sandrich, he developed a directing style sensitive to the specific needs of the weekly sitcom format, which includes actors who already have a deep understanding of the characters they portray. Burrows's goal is to make his actors "director proof," so that subsequent directors do not erode the developed, established personae.

Burrows stayed with MTM until 1977, gaining directing experience on every sitcom they produced, including *The Bob Newhart Show*. He then joined MTM alumni James L. Brooks, Stan Daniels, David Davis, and Ed Weinberger on the series *Taxi*, for which he directed 76 episodes. Because *Taxi* had such a large set, Burrows became one of the first directors to use four cameras simultaneously, an adaptation of the three-camera system that had been a staple of sitcom production since *I Love Lucy*. A testament to his talent, Burrows won Emmys in both 1980 and 1981 for his *Taxi* efforts.

In 1982 Burrows, along with Glen Charles and Les Charles, formed the Charles-Burrows-Charles Company and then created and produced *Cheers*. Lasting into the 1990s, *Cheers* allowed Burrows, now in the role of producer, to carry on the tradition of quality television established two decades earlier at MTM. Although the Charles-Burrows-Charles Company disbanded after *Cheers* voluntarily retired, Burrows has continued working as a director for such comedies as *Wings*, *Friends*, *News Radio*, *Third Rock from the Sun*, *The Tracey Ullman Show*, and *Frasier*. He is executive producer of the NBC sitcom *Will & Grace*, and directed every episode of the first three seasons.

MICHAEL KASSEL

See also *Bob Newhart Show*, *The/Newhart*; *Cheers*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*; *Taxi*

**James Burrows.** Born in Los Angeles, California, December 30, 1940. Educated at Oberlin College, B.A.; Yale University, M.F.A. Director, some off-Broadway productions; worked at MTM Productions, 1974–77, directed episodes of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The Bob Newhart Show*, *Rhoda*, *Phyllis*, *Taxi*, and *Lou Grant* for MTM; with Glen and Les Charles, formed Charles-Burrows-Charles Company, 1982; co-creator and co-executive producer, as well as director of *Cheers*; other directing credits include *Dear John* (pilot), *Night Court*, *Wings* (pilot), as well as episodes of *Friends*, *News Radio*, *The Tracey Ullman Show*, *Third Rock from the Sun*, *Frasier*, and *Will & Grace*. Recipient: three Directors Guild of America awards for comedy direction; nine Emmy Awards; American Comedy Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1996.

**Television Series (as director of various episodes)**

1970–71	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i>
1972–78	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i>
1974–78	<i>Rhoda</i>
1975	<i>Fay</i>
1975–77	<i>Phyllis</i>
1976–83	<i>Laverne and Shirley</i>
1977	<i>Busting Loose</i>
1977–78	<i>The Betty White Show</i>
1977–82	<i>Lou Grant</i>
1978	<i>Husbands, Wives, and Lovers</i>
1978	<i>Free Country</i>
1978–83	<i>Taxi</i>
1979–80	<i>A New Kind of Family</i>
1979–80	<i>The Associates</i>
1980	<i>Good Time Harry</i>
1981–82	<i>Best of the West</i>
1982–93	<i>Cheers</i> (also co-creator, co-executive producer)
1984–92	<i>Night Court</i>
1986–88	<i>Valerie</i>
1986	<i>All Is Forgiven</i>
1987	<i>The Tortellis</i>
1987–90	<i>The Tracey Ullman Show</i>
1988	<i>Dear John</i> (pilot)
1990	<i>Wings</i> (pilot)
1990	<i>The Marshall Chronicles</i>
1990	<i>The Simpsons</i>
1991	<i>Flesh 'n' Blood</i>
1992–93	<i>Flying Blind</i>
1993–97	<i>Frasier</i>
1994–2004	<i>Friends</i>
1995–99	<i>Caroline in the City</i>
1995–99	<i>News Radio</i>
1995	<i>Partners</i>
1995	<i>Hudson Street</i>

1996–2001 *Third Rock from the Sun*  
 1996 *Pearl*  
 1996–97 *Men Behaving Badly*  
 1997 *Chicago Sons*  
 1997 *Fired Up* (pilot)  
 1997–98 *George and Leo*  
 1997–2002 *Dharma and Greg*  
 1997–2000 *Veronica's Closet*  
 1997 *Union Square*  
 1998–2001 *Will & Grace* (also executive  
 producer)  
 1998 *Conrad Bloom*  
 1998–2000 *Jesse*  
 1999 *Ladies' Man*  
 1999–2000 *Stark Raving Mad*  
 2000 *Madigan Men*  
 2000–01 *Cursed (The Weber Show)*  
 2002 *Good Morning, Miami* (pilot)  
 2002 *Bram and Alice* (pilot)  
 2003 *Two and a Half Men* (pilot)  
 2003 *The Stones*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1978 *More than Friends*  
 1981 *Every Stray Dog and Kid*  
 2002 *Dexter Prep Pilot*

**Film (director)**

*Partners*, 1982.

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 Van Hise, James, *Cheers: Where Everybody Knows Your Name*, Las Vegas, Nevada: Pioneer, 1993



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## Cable Modem

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Cable modem systems deliver broadband connectivity, providing constant high-speed Internet access to small businesses and residential users. In the 1990s, major community antennae television (CATV) vendors improved their networks using fiber-optic cable to provide greater bandwidth and allocating channels to allow upstream capability. These renovations and others allowed millions of subscribers to receive broadband Internet connectivity over their traditional regional cable system. The first cable modems were tested in 1995 and commercially deployed in late 1996. By 1998 half a million subscribers received interactive broadband service via their local cable networks. As of the December 2001, cable companies claimed 7.2 million modem subscribers. Cable modem manufacturers include Cisco Systems, Motorola, Toshiba, and Sony.

Early cable modem systems in the 1990s did not use hybrid fiber-coaxial networks, and they often had to rely on traditional telephone modems for upstream capability. Users could download media at speeds of up to 2 megabits per second—much faster than the dominant 28.8 kilobit telephone modem connections, but much slower than contemporary systems, which have potential download speeds of 10 or more megabits per second. Because customers share the cables in their local neighborhoods, speeds can vary according to the number and activities of other people in the customer's neighborhood.

Cable modem technology allows service providers to use a 6 megahertz slice of bandwidth, the same size as a television channel, for downstream data. Up to a thousand users can use this 6 megahertz connection with the Internet, and this one channel is capable of throughput speeds of 30 to 40 megabits per second—very high speed indeed, although this bandwidth is shared among the system's users. Online content comes over an Internet connection to the cable system's head end and is routed through the cable modem termination system (CMTS). The CMTS sends downstream data to all cable modem users in the system, whose individual networks act as gatekeepers, recognizing whether or not the data is meant for them. On the customer's premises, the cable is connected to the actual cable modem, which modulates and demodulates the signal. The cable modem can be internal or external to the user's computer, and it can also be part of a digital system's set-top box. Incoming data is demodulated, changed from a radio frequency signal to the binary format of digitized data, which is then sent to the user's computer. When the cable modem customer sends information upstream, the data is remodulated and converted from the computer's digital format to radio frequency signals.

Cable modems generally provide asymmetrical access, allowing only a 2 megahertz channel of bandwidth for upstream use, assuming that customers are likely to need most of the bandwidth for downloads.



Users sending data upstream send it in small bursts to the CMTS, where it is then uploaded to the Internet. Since most of these bursts of upstream data consist of mouse clicks and other small pieces of information, the narrow upstream channel is usually sufficient.

One of the earliest challenges for cable modem service was standardization. CableLabs, a nonprofit research and development consortium, established Data Over Cable Service Interface Specification (DOCSIS), as an internationally recognized standard in 1998. The adoption of DOCSIS1.0 smoothed the way for multiple vendors to enter the cable modem market, defining standard interfaces among cable modems and promoting interoperability for multiple system operators (MSOs) offering cable modem service. Currently, the industry is studying a new version, DOCSIS 1.1, which will allow cable modem service providers to offer tiered services and greater security.

Security has been a primary concern for cable modem customers, due to the shared nature of the local network nodes. Cable modem users in the same neighborhood share the local node, which can accommodate up to 500 customers. Because of this, subscribers with active file-sharing capability risk having their files viewed by other subscribers. The constant connectivity of cable modem technology compounds this risk, making it easier for others to access a customer's computer, and also making the customer's system more vulnerable to deliberate online attacks. While DOCSIS standard modems use data encryption to prevent other network users from reading private transmissions, other basic precautions include shutting off file-sharing capability and installing firewalls.

In 2001 the primary players in cable modem service included the largest cable MSOs, such as Time Warner, Comcast, AT&T, and Cox Cable. These systems offer broadband access via proprietary Internet service providers (ISPs) such as Time Warner's Roadrunner system. Increasingly, however, competing ISPs are being allowed to enter these previously exclusive markets.

Originally, MSOs offered cable modem service with no choice of ISP. This meant that customers of AT&T's system had to do business with @Home, AT&T's broadband network, and customers of Time Warner had to do business with Roadrunner, Time Warner's cable ISP. Other ISP companies protested this arrangement, arguing that cable modem networks should allow for competitive ISPs, allowing "open access" to the established cable networks. This suggestion was initially met with much resistance from traditional cable operators, who referred to the issue as one of "forced access" and argued that it was unfair for regulators to allow external ISPs to take advantage of MSOs' hardware investments. The Federal Communi-

cations Commission (FCC) and Federal Trade Commission (FTC) mandated open access requirements in December 2000 and insisted that AOL and Time Warner agree to these regulations in order to receive approval for the companies' 2001 merger. Since then, other large cable systems including AT&T and Comcast have agreed to participate in "managed access" agreements, providing a choice of ISPs to their customers while avoiding potential common carrier status. One of the most visible ISPs involved in such managed access contracts is EarthLink, formerly known as MindSpring, a national ISP.

In March 2002, however, the FCC announced that cable modem service would be classified as an interstate information service, subject to FCC regulation but distinct from telecommunications service and exempt from common carrier regulation. The National Cable and Telecommunications Association (NCTA) responded favorably to this announcement, suggesting that this classification, combined with the current competition in broadband services, will result in an atmosphere of regulatory restraint.

Traditionally, MSOs offer a standard package of broadband Internet access and cable modem rental for \$30 to \$50 per month. About 30 percent of this revenue goes to proprietary ISP partners, such as Roadrunner, but this billing system will change as multiple ISP choices are offered to the customer.

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*See also* **Broadband**

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# Cable Networks

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Cable networks are programming services that deliver packages of information or entertainment by satellite to local cable television systems. The cable systems then redistribute the network programs, through wires, to individual residences in their local franchise areas. The number of cable networks carried by any particular cable system varies and is based on the channel capacity of the system. Older cable systems may have as few as 20 channels whereas newer ones may have more than 300 channels. Local cable-system managers or executives at large corporations that own many cable systems decide which cable networks will be carried. They base such decisions on local and national government regulations, the cable system's own economic needs, and local audience preferences. One way to divide cable networks is into basic, pay, and pay-per-view networks.

## Basic Networks

The majority of channels on most cable systems are devoted to basic cable networks. These are termed "basic" because the subscriber can obtain a large number of them for a relatively low price. The following are some of the most popular basic cable networks in the United States:

- Arts and Entertainment (A&E): cultural fiction and nonfiction.
- Black Entertainment Television (BET): talk shows, children's programs, game shows, and other fare particularly aimed at people of color.
- Bravo: cultural programming.
- Cable News Network (CNN): 24 hours a day of news and information.
- Comedy Central: situation comedies, stand-up comedians, comedy movies, and similar fare.
- Consumer News and Business Channel (CNBC): primarily business news.
- Courtroom Television: coverage of cases being tried in the courts and other programming related to the justice system.
- C-SPAN: coverage of Congress and other political bodies and events.
- The Discovery Channel: documentaries and informational programming.
- E! Entertainment Television: programming by and about the entertainment industry.

- ESPN: 24-hour sports programming.
- The Family Channel: wholesome programming including reruns of older commercial TV series.
- The Food Channel: cooking shows and other information about food.
- The Learning Channel (TLC): formal college credit courses and general education material.
- Lifetime Television: information and entertainment shows aimed primarily at women.
- MTV: music videos and music-related material aimed at teenagers.
- Nickelodeon: children's and family programming.
- QVC Network: a home shopping service.
- Turner Network TV (TNT): old movies and some original programming.
- TVLand: reruns of previous network television shows.
- USA Network: a general service that includes network reruns, children's programs, and originally produced material.
- VH-1: primarily music videos and music shows aimed at postadolescent viewers.
- The Weather Channel: 24 hours a day of weather information.

Most basic cable networks charge the cable systems for their service. The fee is based on the number of subscribers the cable system has. A typical basic network charges a cable system an amount between 3 and 25 cents per month per subscriber, depending on its popularity. ESPN, for example, can charge more than TVLand.

The systems must recoup their expenses, and potentially garner some profit, by selling the cable TV service to consumer households. Most cable systems offer a "basic service" as a package to their subscribers. This includes all local origination and public access channels, all local broadcast stations, and all basic networks for a cost of about \$20 a month. Some cable systems divide this basic package into two or more "tiers." They offer local origination, public access, local broadcast stations, and some of the public service and less glamorous basic networks (C-SPAN, The Learning Channel) for a very inexpensive price, about \$5. The second, and more expensive, tier may include MTV, ESPN, USA, A&E, and other more entertainment-oriented basic networks.

Most basic networks sell advertising. As a result they have two sources of income: cable system sub-



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

scriber fees and fees paid by advertisers. Cable advertising rates are not as high as those for commercial U.S. networks such as NBC, ABC, or CBS because cable audiences are not as large. Most cable networks are delighted if they obtain a rating of 4, whereas commercial network program ratings tend to be in the 11-to-15 range. One reason cable network audiences are smaller is that many cable networks program for relatively specific audiences: Lifetime to women, ESPN to sports fans, Nickelodeon to children.

Among the basic networks, there is considerable variation in operating procedure. C-SPAN, which features the proceedings of the U.S. House and Senate, is noncommercial. All revenue comes from money paid to it by the cable systems. The home shopping networks, which make their money because viewers call in and buy the products shown, are usually provided to cable systems free of charge. As an initial enticement to try their material, networks sometimes pay systems to carry their programming. If the system later decides to carry the network on a regular basis, the system must start paying the network.

In addition to "moving picture" networks, other services are offered to cable systems as part of the basic package. These include digital sound services such as Music Choice and electronic text services such as news bulletins from Associated Press and Reuters.

Some basic channels produce most of their own programming. ESPN, for example, provides its own coverage of sporting events, and CNN produces its own newscasts. The same applies to C-SPAN, Courtroom Television, the Weather Channel, and the home shopping channels. Many networks, however, acquire programming from other sources. Lifetime, the Family Channel, Nickelodeon, and others often contract with independent producers to develop movies or series for them, a practice that has become more common as channels seek to provide original programming. Even sports, music, and court channels now sometimes offer original movies and series. Other channels obtain movies from the major motion picture studios. A&E and Discovery buy some of their programming from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Many

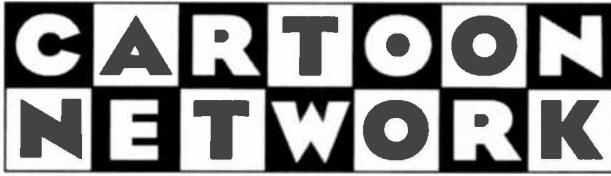


*Courtesy of Discovery Networks*

channels program old commercial network series. USA Network, for example, has programmed *Murder, She Wrote* and Lifetime has used *Cagney and Lacey* in addition to programming an expanding array of original movies and series. In a few instances, cable networks have picked up commercial series canceled by the major broadcast networks (*Paper Chase, The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*), produced new episodes, and aired them as a series.

### Pay Networks

Pay-cable networks, such as HBO, the Movie Channel, Showtime, and Cinemax, do not sell advertising. They derive all income from the cable systems that carry them. The systems, in turn, charge consumers subscription fees for each pay network, usually at a rate of \$10 to \$20 per month per pay service. In other words, the pay services are on a more expensive tier than basic services. The systems and the networks divide the consumer fee, usually about 50-50, but this ratio is subject to negotiation. Consumers who do not subscribe to the pay services receive scrambled signals on channels occupied by those services. To justify their additional monthly fees, pay channels must offer subscribers programming or services they cannot receive for free. Most of these channels present feature films. The pay networks purchase rights from motion picture studios that allow these channels to show feature films shortly after their theatrical runs and prior to their



*Courtesy of Cartoon Network*

availability to broadcast networks. Such networks show the films uncut and without commercial interruptions. To many viewers, this programming policy is worth the extra dollars they pay each month. Some pay channels also offer commercial-free specials such as sporting events, documentaries, miniseries, comedy specials, music concerts, and original movies created for the pay service. Some of the channels, primarily HBO and Showtime, cablecast their own television series, either by producing them in-house or by obtaining them from outside production companies. Such programs usually contain language or themes that commercial networks do not present to their larger, general audiences. Notable among these series are *The Sopranos*, *Sex in the City*, and *Six Feet Under*, all on HBO.

### Pay-per-View Networks

Of all forms of cable networks, pay-per-view networks are the newest, and therefore the most unsettled. With these systems, subscribers pay only for those programs they actually watch. If they have not paid for a particular program, a scrambled signal appears on the pay-per-view channel. The network and the system divide the subscriber fees, based on a negotiated percentage. The subscriber pays what the market will bear. Movies can be seen for a few dollars, while major sports events may have a price tag in the \$20-to-\$50 range.



*Courtesy of Comedy Central*



*Courtesy of Discovery Networks*

Most cable systems that offer pay-per-view programming employ addressable technology that allows for interaction. Viewers who want to see a particular program can press a button on a remote control device that sends a signal back through the wire to the cable system. The program is then unscrambled or otherwise made viewable by the consumer. A computer also notes that the subscriber should be billed for the program, and the cost is added to the monthly amount the subscriber must pay. Systems without addressable technology can operate pay-per-view options by having subscribers call a toll-free number to order a particular program, but the instant access provided by the remote control works better.

Some pay-per-view services program 24 hours a day. They mainly show newly released hit movies, but they also present sports and entertainment specials. Other pay-per-view networks cablecast on an as-needed basis. For example, VideoSeat Pay-Per-View shows only football games from some of the top universities. Playboy at Night cablecasts each evening and is the oldest of the services that are now pay-per-view. It was originally a pay-cable service, but many community groups objected to the "adult entertainment" content of the material. They pointed out that if parents subscribed to the Playboy Channel on a monthly basis, unsupervised children could easily tune in—accidentally or on purpose. As a pay-per-view option, each Playboy program must be specifically requested.

By the early 21st century, many pay-per-view networks were turning into near-video-on-demand (NVOD) services. These networks occupy a number of cable system channels, so they can show the same moves at different times, usually 15 minutes apart. That way a viewer who wants to see the movie but misses the 8:00 P.M. starting time on channel 48 can catch it on channel 49 starting at 8:15.

An even tighter programming form, video-on-demand (VOD), is in the experimental stages. With



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

this service, individual viewers can watch programs precisely when they want to. As of 2002, a large number of video-on-demand experiments were under way, most of which involved a large server at the cable system that contains an enormous amount of information: movies, TV programs, video games, and so on. When a consumer asks for a particular movie (or anything else), it is downloaded on one of the cable system channels into a digital box on top of the consumer's TV set. (The movie, of course, also remains in the cable server so that another customer can request and receive it.) The consumer can then play the movie, stop it, rewind, and fast-forward at will.

### Regional Networks

Regional networks that supply programming to a limited geographic area are fairly numerous in the cable world. Almost all of them are sports- or news-oriented (e.g., Home Team Sports, Madison Square Garden Network, and New York 1 News). Regional sports networks are active only when games are in progress, but most of the news services provide 24 hours a day of regional news information. Some of these news services are operated in conjunction with a local newspaper or local TV station.

Even though they contain advertisements, some regional sports networks are considered pay or pay-per-view services. The placement of such sports channels in the "basic" or "pay" category usually depends on the particular system. Some systems juggle regional sports networks between basic and pay. If the system can obtain greater revenue by offering a pay service, it may do so. If there is little interest among consumers, the network is placed in the basic tier.

### History

The first cable network was Home Box Office (HBO). This service was established in 1972 by Time, Inc., as a movie/special service for Time's local cable system in New York City. The company then decided to expand the service to other cable systems and set up a traditional broadcast-style microwave link to a cable system in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. In November 1972, HBO sent its first programming from New York to Wilkes-Barre. During the next several years, HBO expanded its microwave system to include about 14 cable companies. The venture was not overly successful, nor was it profitable for Time.

In 1975, however, shortly after domestic satellites were launched, Time used satellite transmission from Manila to program the Muhammad Ali–Joe Frazier heavyweight championship match for two of its U.S. cable systems. The experiment was technically and financially successful, and HBO decided to distribute all its programming by satellite. The satellite distribution system was easier and cheaper than the microwave system. It also made it possible for HBO signals to be received throughout the United States by any cable system willing and able to buy an Earth station satellite-receiving dish.

HBO began marketing its service to cable systems across the United States, but this effort initially was not very successful. Few local systems were willing to pay the almost \$150,000 required for the technology required to receive the signal. However, satellite technology changed quickly, and by 1977 dishes sold for less than \$10,000. Other pricing and programming problems had to be overcome as well, but once the service reached consumers, it was readily accepted. Viewers were willing to pay to watch uncut movies without commercial interruptions. By October 1977, Time was able to announce that HBO had turned its first profit.

Shortly after HBO beamed onto the satellite, Ted Turner, who owned WTBS, a low-rated UHF station in Atlanta, Georgia, decided to put his station's signal on the same satellite as HBO. Cable operators who had installed a receiving dish for HBO could now also place Turner's station, complete with network reruns and the Atlanta Braves baseball games, on one of their channels. A company transmitting the station charged cable operators 10 cents a month per subscriber for the signal, but the systems provided WTBS free to their subscribers. The rationale for presenting the station in this manner was that the extra program service would entice more subscribers. The charge to the cable companies did not cover WTBS's own costs, but the station was now able to set higher advertising rates because its audience was spread over the entire United States.



*Courtesy of E! Entertainment Television*

With two successful programming services on the satellite, the floodgates opened, and many other companies set up cable networks. Viacom launched a pay-cable service, Showtime, to compete with HBO. Like Time, Viacom owned various cable systems throughout the United States and had been feeding them movies and special events through a network that involved shipping the tapes by mail for microwave relay. Following the launch of Showtime, Warner Amex began the Movie Channel, a pay service that provided movies 24 hours a day. Not to be outdone, Time established a second network, Cinemax, a service that consisted mostly of movies, programmed at times complementary to HBO. Other pay services that sprung up were Galavision, a Spanish-language movie service; Spotlight, a Times Mirror movie service; Bravo and the Entertainment Channel, both cultural programming services; and Playboy, an adult service that entered the cable business by joining forces with an already established network, Escapade.

Services that accepted commercials (later to be known as basic services) also exploded in number. ESPN was an early entry, and its sports programming was much in demand. Other basic services that appeared by the early 1980s were CNN (also owned by Turner), the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN),

# SHOWTIME®

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

USA, MTV, and C-SPAN. Two basic cultural services were formed: one, owned by ABC, was called ARTS; the other was CBS Cable, a service very expensive for its broadcast-network owner because it featured a great deal of originally produced material. Satellite News Channel (SNC), a 24-hour news joint venture between Westinghouse and ABC, was established to compete with CNN. Daytime was a service geared toward women, and Cable Health Network programmed material dealing with physical and mental health.

For several years in the early 1980s, new pay and basic networks were announced at a rapid rate—sometimes several in one day. Some of these never materialized and some existed only for short periods, but many showed signs of longevity. The entire cable TV industry was growing. Revenues and profits increased by more than 100 percent a year.

Of course, this could not last forever. In the mid-1980s, cable growth began to decline and the entire cable industry went through a period of retrenchment. Many cable networks consolidated or went out of business. Both Galavision and Bravo converted from pay services to basic services. Spotlight went out of business. The Entertainment Channel turned its pay programming over to the basic network ARTS, which then became A&E. The Playboy Channel shifted programming between hard-core and soft pornography, caught between angry citizens who objected to televised nudity and a small but loyal group of viewers who wanted access to it. This shifting strategy angered its partner, Escapade, and the two parted company, with Playboy paying Escapade \$3 million. MTV's ownership changed from Warner Amex to Viacom, as did Nickelodeon's. Getty Oil, which owned ESPN, was purchased by Texaco. The new owner had no interest in the sports network and sold it to ABC. CBN changed from a strictly religious format to a broader, family-oriented format and became the Family Channel. Daytime and Cable Health Network joined to form Lifetime.

The most highly touted failure was that of the CBS-owned cultural channel, CBS Cable, which ended programming in 1983 after losing \$50 million. The service did not receive sufficient financial support from either subscribers or advertisers. Its demise was almost applauded by some cable companies that resented the encroachment of the broadcast networks

into their business. Another well-publicized coup occurred when Ted Turner's CNN bought out the Westinghouse/ABC Satellite News Channel. This transaction meant less competition for CNN, which proceeded on less tenuous financial footing. The Turner organization then established CNN2, a headline service that used the same writers and reporters as the original CNN.

Very few new U.S. cable networks were introduced in the mid- to late 1980s, in part because many cable systems had filled all their channels and had no room for newcomers. One notable exception was the Discovery Channel, launched in 1985, which became quite successful.

The U.S. cable network landscape changed somewhat in the 1990s. The downsizing of the late 1980s allowed for moderate growth in the next decade. In addition, in 1992 Congress passed a bill requiring cable networks to sell their programming to services in competition with cable, such as direct broadcast satellite (DBS) and multichannel multipoint distribution service (MMDS). Prior to this time, cable systems had tried to keep cable network programming to themselves. In fact, many cable system owners also owned all or part of cable networks, making it convenient and financially rewarding to make sure their cable networks provided content for their own cable systems. For example, TCI (Telecommunications, Inc.), at that time the largest cable system owner, had a financial stake in American Movie Classics, Black Entertainment Television, CNN, the Discovery Channel, the Family Channel, QVC Home Shopping, Turner Network TV, and WTBS.

Technology also improved in the 1990s and 2000s. A digitally based technology called "compression" allows video and audio to be squeezed into a much smaller space than previously possible. When compressed video is delivered over fiber optics, many more channels can be brought into the home, upwards of 500. Although not many cable systems have 500 channels, many have rebuilt their systems so that they have more than 100. The systems must find some way to fill all those channels, and with new markets and new technologies in mind, a number of companies launched new networks.

Although a few of the newer channels, such as the Military Channel, come from companies with no experience in the cable TV business, most of the channels are run by well-established companies that operate other channels. These companies have the infrastructure to develop and sell channels that will have only small numbers of interested viewers. For example, a new Do-It-Yourself channel that programs primarily information about remodeling homes was started by

the same company that owns the Food Channel. Noggin, an educational channel, comes from Viacom, which also has Nickelodeon.

Often, the channels are just repackaged programs of another channel. For example, Discovery has reorganized the material it has broadcast over the years into channels dealing with such subjects as science, health, animals, and children—each of which is a new channel. Lifetime created an offspring, Lifetime Movies, which shows various made-for-television movies previously shown on the parent channel.

Another way cable systems are looking to utilize their expanded channels is through video-on-demand and near-video-on-demand. Some pay-per-view channels, such as HBO, have a form of NVOD in that they distribute multiple versions of their programming over different channels. Some of this variation is to accommodate different time zones, but it also gives viewers flexibility as to when they watch the program material. True VOD is not widespread as yet, but it is on the horizon.

The changes in both technology and policy will continue to keep cable television services at the center of issues surrounding television. Just as early cable networks transformed the meaning and experience of television programming and viewing, the newer practices will undoubtedly continue to alter our understanding and use of the television medium.

LYNN SCHAFFER GROSS

*See also* American Movie Classics; Black Entertainment Television; Cable Networks; Canadian Cable Television Association; Cable News Network; Direct Broadcast Satellite; Distant Signal; Federal Communications Commission; Geography and Television; Home Box Office; Association of Independent Television Stations; Levin, Gerald; Mergers and Acquisitions; Midwest Video Corporation Case; Music Television; Must-Carry Rules; Narrowcasting; National Cable Television Association; National Telecommunications and Information Administration; News Corporation; Pay Cable; Pay Television; Pay-Per-View Cable; Prime Time Access Rule; Public Access Television; Satellite; Scrambled Signals; Star-TV (Hong Kong); Super Station; Telcos; Time Warner; Translator; Turner, Ted; Turner Broadcasting Systems

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## Cable News Network

### U.S. Cable Network

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Cable News Network (CNN) ranks as one of the most important—perhaps the most important—innovations in cable television during the final quarter of the 20th century. In 1984 CNN first began to earn widespread recognition and praise for its nearly around-the-clock coverage of the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions. By 1990 Ted Turner's 24-hour-a-day creation had become the major source for breaking news. Praise became so routine that few were surprised when a mid-1990s Roper survey found that viewers ranked CNN as the "most fair" among all TV outlets, and the Times Mirror's Center for the People and the Press found that viewers trusted CNN more than any television news organization.

However, success did not come overnight. Launched in June 1980 by the then-tiny Turner Broadcasting of Atlanta, Georgia, in the beginning CNN (mocked as the "Chicken Noodle Network") accumulated losses at the rate of \$2 million a month. Ted Turner transferred earnings from his highly profitable superstation TBS and slowly built a first-rate news organization. CNN set up bureaus across the United States and then around the world, beginning with Rome and London. Yet, at first Turner and his executives were not positive they would survive the stiff competition from rival Satellite News Channel (SNC), a joint venture of Group W Westinghouse and ABC. In January 1982, Turner let Satellite News Channel know he was serious and initiated a second CNN service, "Headline News." Through 1982 and most of 1983, CNN battled SNC. In October 1983, ABC and Westinghouse gave up and sold their news venture to

Turner for \$25 million, ending for a time effective competition for CNN in the United States.

CNN then took off. By 1985 it was reaching in excess of 30 million homes in the United States and had claimed its first profit. Turner added bureaus in Bonn, Moscow, Cairo, and Tel Aviv. Also, in the years before Court TV, CNN was the sole channel to televise celebrated trials such as the murder case against Claus von Bulow. In 1987, when President Ronald Reagan met Soviet premier Mikhail S. Gorbachev at a summit that would signal the end of the Cold War, CNN was on the air continuously with some 17 correspondents on-site. By 1989 CNN had 1,600 employees and an annual budget of about \$150 million, and the channel was available in 65 countries with such specialized segments as a daily entertainment report, *Show Biz Today*, and a nightly evening newscast, *The World Today*. Larry King had moved his interview show to CNN and become famous for attracting ambitious politicians and infamous celebrities. In 1991, as the only TV network in the world operating live from the very beginning of Operation Desert Storm, CNN reported everything the military permitted—from the first bombing of Baghdad to the tank blitz that ended the conflict. Indeed, at a press conference after the initial air bombing runs by the U.S. Air Force, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, admitted that they were getting much of their war information from CNN.

However, the fame of CNN's Gulf War coverage did not translate into corporate fortune, for the cost of cov-





*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

ering a wide-ranging set of battles had risen faster than advertising revenues. The peak in viewership came on the night of the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, when CNN captured 11 percent of the audience, as compared with the channel's usual 1 to 2 percent audience shares. Advertising time had already been sold.

As the late 1980s and early 1990s provided regular disasters, wars, and "media events," CNN enjoyed surges in interest and ratings. Viewers turned to the station to watch the confrontations at Tiananmen Square, the calamities of the San Francisco earthquake, and the long-awaited announcement of the verdict in O.J. Simpson's "trial of the century."

Whatever the news mix, CNN's prestige continued to grow. It became a basic component of how the new global village communicated. When U.S. troops invaded Panama in 1989, the Soviet foreign ministry's first call did not go to its counterpart in the U.S. diplomatic corps, but to the Moscow bureau of CNN, offering a statement condemning the action that could be read on camera. Turner proudly told anyone who would listen that Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand, Nancy Reagan, and Fidel Castro had all declared themselves faithful viewers of CNN.

However, as CNN moved well past 50 million households reached in the United States (and millions more abroad), all was not calm inside the organization. Staff members began to grumble about low wages and pressure not to unionize. Furthermore, by the early 1990s, Turner seemed to lose his innovative magic. In 1992 he heralded and launched an "Airport Channel" and a "Supermarket Channel," but neither added much in the way of new audience or profits. Also, as CNN reached more of the world, indigenous local news organizations began to publicly label Turner a "cultural imperialist."

Yet there was no doubt that, as CNN turned 15 in June 1995, it had surely become a prosperous and important part of the new world of cable television. CNN's yearly revenues neared \$1 billion, but growth stalled as advertisers concluded that the CNN audience was "too old" and "not as affluent" as could be found elsewhere.

The year 1995 was an especially eventful one. First, Turner sold his complete operation, including CNN, to media giant Time Warner, leading skeptics to grumble that a serious news organization would have difficulty functioning as part of such a corporate colossus. At the end of the year, Microsoft announced it would ally with NBC to form MSNBC to challenge CNN directly. Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, Inc., and Capital Cities/ABC also promised future 24-hour news services to contest CNN around the world.

In the late 1990s, the competitors MSNBC and FOX News (the latter owned by News Corporation) began to affect the fortunes at CNN. It stalled and seemed less innovative than its younger competitors. Thus, as Time Warner merged with America Online to form AOL Time Warner (the merger was announced in January 2000 but not formally approved and executed until January 2001), CNN began a series of radical changes. In March 2001, AOL Time Warner hired Hollywood veteran Jamie Kellner to supervise all Turner networks, including CNN's various editions. Kellner fired 400 employees, including the longtime symbol of CNN Headline News, Lynn Russell, bringing in actress Andrea Thompson, formerly of *NYPD Blue*, to replace her. Headline News's image suddenly came to look more like an Internet screen than a traditional anchored news service. Walter Isaacson, former managing editor of Time magazine, replaced longtime CNN president Rick Kaplan as head of the CNN division with its two U.S. news services, 14 other international and satellite news services, and a dozen CNN-related Internet sites. The executive shuffle continued at CNN with Isaacson's departure in early 2003 to head the Aspen Institute. Kellner soon followed, returning to Los Angeles and the WB television network, where he announced a retirement to be effective early in 2004. Isaacson's replacement, Jim Walton, former head of the CNN News Group, a veteran in the organization, oversaw cancellation of the *Connie Chung Show* and the creation of *Anderson Cooper 360°*, a news and commentary program that continues to draw viewers in 2004. In late 2003, Walton replaced Teya Ryan, executive vice president and general manager of CNN/U.S., with Princell Hair, a former vice president for Viacom Television's television station group, with primary responsibility for local news.

All these shifts and changes occurred in the context of continuing competition among 24-hour news services in which FOX News regularly drew more viewers than CNN. A new era had begun, with all three of the all-news cable networks battling for preeminence. Even though each of the competitors was backed by a wealthy media corporation, it was not clear that all three would survive.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also **Cable Networks; Kellner, Jamie; News, Network; Superstation; Turner Broadcasting Systems; Turner, Ted**

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## Cable Television: United States

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In its short history, cable television has redefined television in many ways. It became a cultural force that profoundly altered news, sports, entertainment, and music programming with services such as CNN (Cable News Network), HBO (Home Box Office), ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Network), and MTV (Music Television). It spawned a huge variety of "narrowcast" programming services, as well as new services with broad appeal. By 2002 national programming services numbered 308, according to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the industry's main professional association, the National Cable Television Association (NCTA). About 85 regional programming services also are available. The cable television industry has altered the structure of the programming industry by developing new markets for both very old and very new program types. It has become an entertainment service that has contributed to changed viewing practices, suggested by the now widespread use of remote controls to "surf" along the now extensive channel lineup, the onset of digital services, and a viewing environment of hundreds of "on-demand" services facilitated by personal video recorders (PVRs) such as TiVo. As of 2003, cable was the most widespread provider of household broadband Internet connections in the United States. Cable television also has inspired an important debate concerning the ability of citizens to control and contribute to local media. Cable's organizational development, economic relationships, and regulatory status have profoundly altered the video landscape in ways entirely unforeseen, and in the course of its growth and development many accepted notions about First Amendment rights of speakers and listeners/viewers, and about the functions and obligations of communication industries, have been challenged. The first of many communication systems to stretch the meanings and boundaries established in the

U.S. Communications Act of 1934, cable television has had a pivotal role in altering conceptions about television.

In the United States, the cable television industry eclipsed broadcasting's asset and revenue values in the late 1980s and passed broadcast TV's prime-time-viewer market-share levels in 2002. Now the dominant multichannel provider in the United States, cable television has contributed to a substantial drop in broadcast network viewing. From 1983 to 1994, weekly broadcast audience shares dropped from 69 to 52 while basic-cable networks' shares rose from 9 to 26, according to ACNielsen in 1995. By 2003, cable programming attracted an average prime-time audience share of 56.5 and a total day share of 58.3 as it continued to erode the networks' hold on television viewing.

Cable television service is available to 97 percent of all television households in the United States, and about 65.3 percent of all television households (68.8 million) subscribed to it as of the end of 2002, according to FCC data. More than 36 million households subscribe to premium cable services on top of their basic subscriptions. FCC statistics indicate that average cable system capacity was 666 megahertz as of July 2001, and two-thirds had facilities for 750 megahertz or above. This translates, approximately, into more than 80 channels delivered in a mix of analog and digital signals. Even with this number of channels, however, broadcast fare carried over cable is still heavily viewed.

Cable service comprises a collection of several industries. Primary among them are the distributors of video product, which are called either "operators" or, sometimes, "multiple system operators" (MSOs). Cable operators establish and own the physical system that delivers television signals to homes using coaxial cable or optical fiber. Operators also have become In-

ternet service providers (ISPs), offering cable-modem connections to the Internet. Programming services produce or compile programming and sell their services to cable as well as to direct broadcast satellite (DBS) and other multiple video program distributors. Other entities and institutions connected to the cable industry include investors underwriting distribution or production efforts, the creative community, and loosely coupled groups such as advertisers, local community access groups and producers, recording companies, equipment suppliers, satellite and terrestrial microwave relay companies, Internet companies, software companies designing interactive interfaces, and telephone companies (telcos).

Cable television service relies on three fundamental operations. The first is signal reception, using satellite, broadcast, microwave, and other receivers, at a "head end," where signals are processed and combined. Second, signals are distributed from that head end to the home, using coaxial cable or optical fiber (or a blend of the two) or microwave relays, abetted by amplifiers and other electronic devices that ensure signal quality. Third, components at or near the home are necessary, including converters (now generally already in television sets) that change cable signals into tunable television images; descramblers that decode encrypted programming; modems to allow computers to communicate with the cable network; and still other equipment that allows for delivery or control of services on demand through a process called "addressability." Cable television's traditional tree-and-branch-system network design typifies one-way delivery services, although in the late 1990s system modifications, particularly the installation of more optical fiber throughout the network and intelligent devices at the head end, began to support two-way delivery services such as broadband Internet connections and digital video, including video-on-demand (VOD) programming. Cable television's huge and always-growing channel capacity, or bandwidth, enables it to support a variety of programming services and leaves it favorably positioned to expand into other service areas, such as high-definition television (HDTV), compressed video, pay-per-view channels, Internet-based content, and even telephony.

Programming on cable television began with retransmitted broadcast fare but evolved to include services unique to cable, some targeted at specialized audience groups such as children, teenagers, women, or specific ethnic groups, and some providing only one type of programming, such as weather, news, or sports. Such "narrowcast" programming appeals to specific demographic groups, rather than to broadcast television's wide audience. Therefore, it attracts advertisers who require more targeted approaches.

Traditionally, cable operators have organized their programming into "tiers," with different subscriber charges accruing at different levels. The least expensive option is "basic tier," which includes retransmitted broadcast channels and public access channels. Moving up the price ladder, next comes special cable-only packages of channels, often called "expanded basic." On a more expensive tier are single-channel premium services such as HBO, Showtime, Cinemax, or Playboy, with separate fees for each premium service. Digital video and VOD programming occupy still another tier, one that requires that the household subscribe to digital services. As of 2002, some VOD services, such as reruns of older HBO movies, were available for a small monthly fee (about \$5), while contemporary movies could be available for one-off charges that rival those of video rental firms.

Since the early 1970s, cable television's surplus of channel space and low costs have helped to spawn several new formats, including infomercials, 24-hour news and weather services, music video services, home shopping channels, arts channels, children's channels, and a host of other narrowly targeted programming. Federal regulations of the 1970s that required cable operators to support community access channels dedicated to public, educational, and governmental programming likewise led in many cases to distinctive public service programming, even if that requirement has since lapsed. (As of 2002, only about 15 percent of cable systems carry public, educational or government access programming.) Upgrading to a digital plant has enabled systems to offer VOD and Internet connectivity.

Cable systems must lay cable in the ground or string it along telephone or electric poles; therefore, they must negotiate for the use of poles and rights-of-way. This is the crux of cable television's dependence on municipalities, since many states, cities, and towns control their own rights-of-way and sometimes also own the utility poles used by cable companies. Cable operators must negotiate franchises with municipalities that entitle them to use rights-of-way in exchange for fees (capped at 5 percent of revenues). A conventional franchise lasts 15 years. Because it uses public rights-of-way and deploys a capital-intensive network, conveys but does not create content, and bills subscribers on a monthly basis, cable television's utility-like aspects initially encouraged communities to treat it as they do other utilities. Generally, only one cable company would be franchised in a single municipality, effectively rendering that company a monopoly. Thus, rates charged to subscribers (and sometimes even companies' rates of return) were regulated by cities in the industry's early years, a practice largely eliminated by this point in time. One source

of long-standing friction between cities and cable companies concerns which specific services a municipality may expect a cable operator to provide (e.g., specialized channels for public, educational, or government access or numbers of ISPs linked to the cable network), or the service base on which franchise fees are calculated. These controversies are attributable, in part, to cable television's common-carrier or utility characteristics, as well as the community's expectation that monopoly-like services require some regulation.

Cable television, like home video, taps viewers' willingness to pay directly for programs, a source of revenue untouched by traditional broadcasters. Subscribers pay a monthly fee for programming to the operators, and the operators in turn pay programming networks, such as ESPN or MTV, for the right to use their services. The price of the programming depends on the specific programming (for example, ESPN is usually more expensive than the Discovery Channel) and the size (subscription) of the MSO or operator, although the very largest MSOs take advantage of their economies of scale to obtain smaller unit prices on programming. Most basic programming services carry advertisements and also allow local cable operators to insert ads (called "ad avails") during designated programming segments. Advertising revenues, both national and local, were initially slow to develop for cable programming services, as advertisers waited for significant subscriber levels and solid ratings data that could indicate viewer levels. Over time, however, ad revenues grew steadily, and commercials have proved to be an important part of programming services' revenues. Premium services such as HBO, Showtime, and the Disney Channel eschew ads and instead rely on higher, separate subscription fees assessed to subscribers. Cable-modem services likewise are assessed as separate fees.

Cable television's development was very dependent on the regulatory treatment and economic models developed for predecessor systems of telephony and broadcasting. As a hybrid communications system unanticipated in the Communications Act of 1934, cable television challenged regulators' conceptions of what it should be, how it should operate in a landscape already dominated by broadcasters, and how it might take advantage of its delivery system and capacity. The consequences of this uncertainty included some dramatic shifts in ideas of cable obligations to the public and to the communities it serves, and in the scope of cable television's First Amendment rights.

### The Four Phases of Cable's Development

Since its origins, cable television in the United States has passed through four distinct phases. The first, from

cable television's inception through 1965, was a slow-growth period predating any major regulatory efforts. During the second phase, from 1965 to roughly 1975, the FCC attempted to restrict cable television to nonurban markets and to mold it into a local media service. In the third phase, from 1975 to 1992, a series of judicial, legislative, and regulatory acts, including the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984, catalyzed cable television's expansion across the United States and promoted dozens of new satellite-delivered programming services. In the fourth phase, signaled by the Telecommunications Act of 1996, most communication industries were deregulated. New competitors to cable television appeared in the form of multichannel multipoint distribution services (MMDSs), direct broadcasting satellites, new telephone company ventures into video media, and Internet-based video content. Many of the companies behind those separate services merged. Cable television infrastructure from the 1990s and into the next decade moved toward higher-capacity, fiber networks that could transmit digital signals and offer subscribers interactive services. As cable television has entered an environment in which many different delivery systems can duplicate its services, its unique identity has begun to fade. Now, very large telephone/cable/Internet/entertainment conglomerates undertake digital programming and transmission that combine voice, video, and data.

### Phase One: Rural Roots and Slow Growth

Although cable television systems are now present in many regions of the globe, they began in the rural areas of North America. A product of both the geographic inaccessibility of terrestrial broadcast signals and a television-spectrum allocation scheme that favored urban markets, cable systems, also called "community antenna television" (CATV), grew out of simple amateur ingenuity. Retransmission apparatuses—such as extremely high antenna towers or microwave repeater stations, often erected by television repair shops or citizens groups—intercepted over-the-air signals and delivered them to households that could not receive them using regular VHF or UHF antennas. The earliest cable television systems, established in 1948, are usually credited to Astoria, Oregon, or Mahoney City, Pennsylvania, both mountainous, rural communities. Such retransmission systems spread across remote and rural parts of the United States throughout the 1950s and 1960s. According to *Television Factbook 1980–81*, there were 640 systems with 650,000 subscribers in 1960. By 1970 those numbers had grown to 2,490 systems with 4.5 million subscribers. The systems were generally mom-and-pop

operations with 12 channels at best, although the MSO form of cable system ownership, in which one company owned several cable-distribution systems in different communities, already was spreading under the impetus of certain visionary entrepreneurs such as Bill Daniels, Monty Rifkin, Glenn Jones, and John Malone.

When cable systems began importing signals from more distant stations using microwave links, broadcasters' objections to the new service escalated. Many broadcasters had never been happy with cable service, claiming that such systems "siphoned" their programming, since cable operators had no copyright liability and therefore never paid for the programming. In 1956 broadcasters petitioned the FCC to generate a policy regarding cable television. The commission initially declined; it did not possess clear regulatory authority over CATV (originally "community antenna television," now often "community access television," but more commonly, refers to cable television) because the technology did not use the airwaves. The agency reconsidered, however, and finally asserted jurisdiction over cable television in 1962 in the *Carter Mountain Transmission Corporation v. FCC* case. The FCC's rationale for regulating CATV focused on cable's impact on broadcasters: to the extent that cable television's development proved injurious to broadcasting (an industry the FCC was obligated to sustain and promote), cable television required regulation. While this justification sustained the FCC's position throughout the second phase of cable television's development, it later crumbled under judicial scrutiny.

### **Phase Two: Restricted Expansion and Localism, 1965–75**

While the Carter Mountain case addressed only the microwave and hence over-the-air portion of CATV service, the FCC eventually extended its authority to all aspects of cable television, and it issued two major policy statements: the "First Cable Television Report and Order" (1965) and the "Second Cable Television Report and Order" (1966). In these orders the FCC, hoping to prevent any deleterious effects on broadcasting, required cable operators to carry local broadcast signals under "must-carry" rules. With its ruling on "nonduplication," the commission required cable companies to limit imported programming that duplicated anything on local broadcast. By placing ownership prohibitions or limitations on television and telephone companies and by preventing cable television from entering the top 100 markets, a set of 1969 rules deliberately kept cable television from growing toward urban markets or from attaining the capital or benefits of en-

trenched industries. Federal programming mandates instituted channels for local public access and created a prohibition on showing movies less than ten years old and sporting events that had been on broadcast television within the previous five years. These rules were intended to promote cable's local identity and prevent it from obtaining programming that might interest or compete with broadcasters.

Although cable operators continued to press for limitations on the FCC's ability to impose such program obligations, the courts rebuffed their claims. For example, when Midwest Video Corporation challenged the FCC's requirement that the company originate local programming, the U.S. Supreme Court found in 1972 that such a rule was "reasonably ancillary" to the FCC's broadcasting jurisdiction (*U.S. v. Midwest Video Corp.*).

The net effect severely constrained the programming options for cable television operators, and in particular it diminished opportunities for a pay television service that would show movies or sports. During the 1960s, the FCC conceived of cable television as an alternative to broadcasting and promulgated the must-carry, nonduplication, and other rules; with such moves, the commission aimed to enhance cable television's community presence and possibilities and at the same time protect broadcasters from competition from the new delivery system. The agency positioned cable television as a hybrid common-carrier-broadcasting service, one limited to mandatory channels (the must-carry rules, local access channels, constrained nonlocal programming) with regulated rates. Such regulations fettered opportunities for networking, for national distribution, and for direct competition with broadcasters.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, more public interest in cable television—fueled by a coalition of community groups, educators, cable industry representatives, and think tanks such as the Rand Corporation—heralded cable television's potential for creating a wide variety of social, educational, political, and entertainment services beneficial to society. These constituencies objected to the FCC's policies because they seemed to inhibit the promise of the "new technology." Ralph Lee Smith's 1972 book *Wired Nation* presented scenarios of revolutionary possibilities cable television could offer if only it were regulated in a more visionary fashion, particularly one that supported developing the two-way capabilities of cable and moving it toward more participatory applications.

In 1970 and 1971, the White House's Office of Telecommunication Policy spearheaded a series of meetings among cable, programming, and broadcast companies that culminated in the FCC revising its ca-

ble rules. This 1972 "Cable Television Report and Order" issued new rules softening some of the restrictions on cable television's expansion to new markets, particularly with respect to importing distant signals ("leapfrogging"). However, it continued several rules and standards that the industry found onerous, such as mandatory two-way cable service in certain markets and local-origination rules requiring operators to generate programs. Still more programming restrictions on movies and sporting events adopted in 1975 chafed at the cable industry's desires to offer something new and appealing to subscribers.

### **Phase Three: Deregulation, National Networks, Rapid Development, 1975-92**

Nevertheless, in the wake of the 1972 "Report and Order," cable delivered more than just local broadcast signals to viewers by importing programs from distant markets via microwave, and its attractiveness and profitability grew. Two significant events spurred even more growth in the late 1970s. First, in 1975, HBO became a national service by using a communications satellite to distribute its signal, thereby demonstrating a way to bypass telephone companies' expensive network-carriage fees (commercial television networks depended on AT&T's lines for their national transmissions) and offering the possibility for many new program services to cost-effectively form national networks. Second, a series of judicial decisions sanctioned the cable industry's rights to program as it pleased, to enter the top television markets, and to offer new services. This third phase constituted cable television's greatest growth period.

As early as 1972, HBO had offered East Coast subscribers event programming, such as sports, on a "pay-cable" basis using a microwave relay, but with satellite feeds it could reach cable operators across the United States. HBO wanted to switch from microwave relays to the new RCA satellite Satcom I, which would take its signal across the entire country once the satellite launched in 1975. There were two major impediments to this plan. First, the FCC required each cable operator to use large, 9-meter dish antennas to receive a satellite feed, and these receiver dishes were expensive. Second, the restrictive FCC programming rules still prevented cable services from acquiring certain types of programming. HBO helped pay for the receiving dishes cable operators needed to receive its signal, and it became Satcom I's first television customer. Just two years later, 262 systems around the nation had HBO service, yet the best programming (current movies and sporting events) was still off-limits to cable programmers. HBO then took the commission to

court, claiming that the FCC had exceeded its jurisdiction in limiting programming options. Supporting HBO's position in *HBO v. FCC*, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals concluded that the FCC's broadcast protectionism was unjustifiable and, perhaps more important, that cable television service resembled newspapers more than broadcasting and consequently deserved greater First Amendment protections. This reasoning paved the way for the cable industry to argue against other government rules, which fell one by one after the strong message sent by the HBO case to the FCC.

Even as the agency stripped away federal syndicated exclusivity rules, reduced the size (and consequently the cost) of allowable satellite dishes, and eliminated remaining distant-signal importation rules, the courts underscored cable television's rights to expand as it wished and to use any programming it desired. On the heels of the HBO case, the Supreme Court declared in its 1979 *FCC v. Midwest Video Corp.* decision that the FCC's rules imposed unacceptable obligations on cable operators. This verdict undermined the earlier *Midwest Video* decision, as the court concluded that insofar as the commission required cable operators to function as common carriers with the access channels (operators had no control over the content of access channels and they had to carry community programs on a first-come, first-served basis), and insofar as it prescribed a minimum number of channels, the FCC violated cable operators' First Amendment rights. The industry claimed the court decision affirmed its status as an electronic publisher, and it has continued its fight against regulatory obligations under this banner ever since. The electronic-publisher label underscores cable's First Amendment protections: like print publishers, cable television selects and packages materials for exhibition, and, like print, it should be under no obligation to exhibit material prescribed by regulatory powers.

With the regulatory barriers to entry now reduced, cable systems experienced huge growth from the late 1970s through the early 1980s: in 1975 there were 3,506 systems serving nearly 10 million subscribers; a decade later, 6,600 systems served nearly 40 million subscribers. Programming services likewise emerged. Ted Turner's UHF station WTCG, renamed superstation WTBS (and later just TBS), followed HBO's lead in national satellite delivery in 1976. The Showtime movie service and the sports service Spotlight followed suit in 1978. Two other superstations (local broadcasters delivering signals nationwide), New York's WOR and Chicago's WGN, began around the same time. Warner launched the children's service Nickelodeon and the Movie Channel in 1979, while

Getty Oil began the Sports Programming Network (later called ESPN). Turner's Cable News Network launched in 1980. Other programmers rushed to satellite distribution, so that by 1980 there were 28 national programming services available, according to National Cable Television Association records.

As programmers developed new channels to view, cable operators moved quickly to claim new markets in suburban and urban areas. Their systems finally had something new to offer these urban areas already used to several over-the-air broadcast signals, and cable companies sought to wire the most lucrative areas as soon as possible. MSO owners bought out many independent cable systems, even as they sought new territories to wire. The period of time between roughly 1978 and 1984, often called the "franchise war" era, saw cable companies competing head-to-head with each other in negotiating franchises with communities, often promising very high capacity, two-way cable systems in order to win contracts, only to renege on those promises later. Warner Amex's QUBE system, a highly publicized but actually very limited two-way cable service that the company promised to develop in many of its markets, was one such casualty, as were security systems, special two-way institutional networks called I-Nets, and a host of other cost-inefficient services, including public access channels. Most large, urban markets were franchised during this time, and several were promised 100-channel systems with two-way capabilities plus extensive local access facilities. Few markets, however, ended up with such amenities. Companies such as Time's American Television and Communications Corporation; Warner Amex; TelePrompTer; Jones Intercable; Times Mirror; Canada-based Rogers; Cablevision Systems; Cox; United; Viacom; Telecommunications, Inc. (TCI); and other large MSOs garnered many of these franchises. Many such companies have since been purchased by or merged with other media businesses.

Expanded markets and new programming services abetted by favorable judicial decisions contributed to the cable industry's power to lobby for more favorable treatment in other domains. The industry's pleas met favorable response within the Reagan administration, and Mark Fowler, the Reagan-appointed chair of the FCC from 1981 to 1987, supported a marketplace approach to media regulation that essentially put cable on a more equal footing with broadcasting.

The Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 addressed the two issues that still hindered cable television's growth and profitability: rate regulation and the relative uncertainty surrounding franchise renewals. Largely the result of extensive negotiation and compromise between the National Cable Television Asso-

ciation (the cable industry's national organization) and the League of Cities representing municipalities franchising cable systems, the act provided substantial insurance regarding the future of the cable industry. Its major provisions created a standard procedure for renewing franchises that gave operators relatively certain renewal, and it deregulated rates so that operators could charge what they wanted for different service tiers as long as there was "effective competition" to the service. This was defined as the presence of three or more over-the-air signals, a standard that more than 90 percent of all cable markets could meet. The act also allowed cities to receive up to 5 percent of the operator's revenues in an annual franchise fee and made some minor concessions in mandating "leased access" channels to be available to groups desiring to "speak" via cable television. Other portions of the act legalized signal scrambling, required operators to provide lock boxes to subscribers who wanted to keep certain programming from children, and provided subscriber privacy protections. One year after the passage of the Cable Communications Policy Act, must-carry rules were overturned in *Quincy Cable TV v. FCC* (1985), and the cable industry's freedom from most obligations and regulatory restraints seemed final.

With rate deregulation and franchise renewal assured, the cable industry's value soared, and its organization, investments, and strategies changed. MSOs consolidated, purchasing more independent systems or merging, even as they expanded into new franchises, with large MSOs getting even bigger. The growth of TCI, shepherded by John Malone to become the largest MSO for many years, garnered a great deal of criticism. Several systems changed hands as large MSOs sought to "cluster" their systems geographically so they could reap the benefits of economies of scope by having several systems under regional management. After 1984 more finances poured into the industry, since its future seemed assured, and the industry's appetite for expansion made it a leader in the use of junk bonds and highly leveraged transactions—questionable financial apparatuses that Congress would later scrutinize. Many of the largest companies such as Time (later Time Warner), TCI, and Viacom acquired or invested in programming services, leading to a certain degree of vertical integration. The issues both of size and vertical integration became the subject of congressional inquiries in the late 1980s, but the inquiries resulted only in warnings to the industry. Investments in programming, operators argued, justified higher rates, and after 1984 rates jumped tremendously: according to Government Accounting Office surveys, an average of 25 to 30 percent from 1986 to 1988 alone, a pace far greater than the inflation rate. Subscription



charges increased so quickly that a backlash among consumer groups grew. As the industry's market penetration and control over programming escalated, its growth strategies targeted new markets, predominantly in Europe and Latin America, and also focused on thwarting new domestic competitors such as direct broadcasting satellites, terrestrial point-to-multipoint distribution service (MDS) and its offspring system, called multichannel multipoint distribution service (MMDS).

In this profitable decade, many new programming services were launched and flourished. The 28 national networks in 1980 grew to 79 in 1990. New systems were built, bringing cable television to 60 million television households by 1990; channel capacity expanded, making the 54-channel system common in about 70 percent of all systems. Although pay-service subscriptions leveled off as most U.S. households purchased videocassette recorders (VCRs), and although offerings such as pay-per-view (single programs or events subscribers could order for a premium fee on a onetime basis) did not work well technologically or economically, cable services quietly grew, so that by 1992 they were in more than 60 percent of all U.S. households.

However, several controversies simmered throughout the 1980s. One concerned the rate increases, which many consumers and policymakers felt escalated too rapidly. Another involved rural viewers who wanted to access programming at reasonable prices via their own satellite dishes. After the 1984 act legalized scrambling, such newly scrambled services were unavailable to rural customers, or were only available at what they considered very high prices (higher than those paid in cities), and this situation created an especially heated exchange in Congress and even protests in Washington by satellite dish-carrying vehicles from rural regions. As well, the size and vertical integration of several MSOs worried some policymakers, who contended that the companies had undue opportunities to exercise their power over a captive market. Broadcasters continued their cry for remuneration when cable television carried the three major network channels (ABC, CBS, and NBC); even though most cable subscribers still spent much of their viewing time with network channels, operators paid nothing for that programming. Moreover, as cable operators' power grew, concerns rose about the convention of municipalities authorizing only one cable system for a given territory, thus creating a de facto monopoly. TCI, for example, was singled out for criticism because its systems served more than half of all television households in some states. Finally, the growing deregulation of telephone companies made cable television services a target of the telcos' expansion desires.

A new set of regulations then slowed the cable industry's successful expansion. With the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992, Congress attempted to reinstate some review of cable prices. The act regulated rates for basic and expanded services and required that the FCC generate a plan (called must-carry/retransmission consent) by which broadcasters would receive compensation for their channels. The retransmission-consent portion of this legislation was the culmination of years of lobbying by the broadcast industry, and it effectively forced cable operators to financially acknowledge the importance of broadcast programming on their tiers. The act called for new definitions of effective competition and for supervised costing mechanisms for other aspects of cable service, such as installation charges, and it decreed that programming services must be available to third-party distributors such as satellite systems and MMDS providers. However, portions of this legislation, the only legislation during President George H. Bush's administration to command an override of his veto, ultimately succumbed to the considerable momentum behind reducing government regulation and promoting marketplace forces in industries such as telephony and its growing family of related services. Consequently, the 1992 law's significance was minor compared with the major push for deregulation in the last four years of the 20th century.

#### **Phase Four: Deregulation, a Maturing Industry, and Digital Services**

In the 1990s and early 2000s, the cable industry matured in at least three major ways. First, much of the industry invested in system upgrades to allow the plant to deliver digital signals, which facilitated providing Internet connections as well as digital and interactive television (e.g., video-on-demand). Second, programming services continued to expand and innovate, and viewers migrated to cable programming from commercial television networks. Premium service HBO produced series such as *The Larry Sanders Show* (1992–98), *Sex in the City* (1998–2004), *The Sopranos* (1999–), and *Six Feet Under* (2001–), which received highly favorable critical and audience response. Third, major deregulation legislation opened the way for numerous mergers among cable and other communication companies, the elimination of rate regulation, and improved opportunities for cable operators to offer new services such as broadband Internet access. That legislation, however, also prompted new questions about the roles and obligations of cable operators.

In the late 1990s, personal and business use of the Internet became a powerful impetus for the evolving tele-



phone, cable, and backbone networks crossing the United States (and, indeed, the world); it also complicated the definitions of services that various communication industries provided. The cable industry prepared its physical infrastructure for more digital and interactive services by investing extensively in hybrid fiber-coaxial cable plant in the 1990s. The goal of this upgrade was to be able to offer interactive services, including Internet connectivity and voice telephony (sometimes using Internet protocol) as well as digital television services, including video-on-demand. Compressed video allows digital cable networks to carry 4 to 12 video channels in the same channel capacity previously used to deliver just one analog channel. Transmissions from the head ends to local hubs were carried via optical fiber and then distributed in neighborhoods by cable. New set-top boxes were designed (without the benefits of an industry-wide standard) to allow digital and interactive services to be delivered to the analog televisions in most households. As the industry created more opportunities for generating revenue from existing and new programming by altering its network toward digital transmission capabilities, the entirely new service of broadband connectivity became a relatively easy service for cable television operators to provide. By 2002 about 16.8 million cable subscribers had digital plant capable of serving video, voice, and high-speed data, and a little more than seven million subscribed to cable-modem service. By 2003 cable television provided broadband Internet services to far more households than did telephone companies.

A deregulated legal and regulatory context influenced investment in new infrastructure and new programming and services. The Telecommunications Act of 1996, although primarily focused on restructuring the telephone industry, affected the cable industry and most other communication industries. The act was designed to encourage cable and telephone companies to compete in each other's markets. In that sense, it was a logical follow-up to the federally mandated breakup of AT&T's long-distance telephone monopoly 12 years earlier. Whereas that divestiture had created competition in the long-distance phone market, the 1996 act was supposed to create competition in the local calling market, as well as in other communication industries and services, particularly the provision of cable television. The 1996 act recognized the convergent capabilities of the many media systems that historically had been viewed as separate entities and consequently were regulated differently. By systematically reducing restrictions on company size, ownership, and types of services each medium could offer, the law (and judicial decisions subsequent to it) sought to encourage new providers and new services. For example, the

1996 law relaxed some of the 1992 Cable Act's rules; significantly, it determined that by 1999 rate regulation once again would be eliminated for all cable services except those in the basic tier. Rate deregulation for small cable operators went into effect immediately. A product of strong industry pressure and with scant input from citizen groups, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was landmark deregulatory legislation.

The cable industry's move into Internet services raised new questions about where certain services, such as providing Internet access, fit within the evolving industry definitions and regulations. Providing basic Internet service (e.g., dial-up service using telephone links) had been a very competitive offering from independent ISPs during the late 1980s and early 1990s, although as that market grew, it became dominated by America Online (AOL) and Microsoft. Few ISPs owned the actual lines delivering the service, however; rather, they leased them from telephone companies. As Internet applications became more bandwidth-hungry, with music and video file sharing escalating, the desire for broadband connections with their faster line speeds made cable-provided Internet connectivity desirable.

However, having cable companies provide such connections challenged ideas about what the service actually was: was the Internet connection a cable service that would be figured in the franchise fee? Would a cable operator be an ISP, or would it allow many ISPs to use its lines, much as telephone companies had been doing for years with independent ISPs such as AOL? Would providing Internet access be deemed a phone service, a decision that might require cable services to incur certain compensation requirements common in the telephone world? Complicating matters, language in the 1996 Telecommunications Act prescribing how telephone networks would be "unbundled" in order to facilitate competitors using telephone infrastructure was held up as a model for also unbundling cable networks.

The cable industry was loath to relinquish control of its privately owned plant and anxious not to have such a common-carrier-like obligation imposed on its Internet services. This dilemma prompted lawsuits from a handful of cities that wanted competing ISPs to offer broadband services over cable. Ultimately, the FCC defined ISPs as providing "information services," which are not subject to any regulation. Under this definition, local cable networks cannot be forced to become open-access platforms for numerous broadband vendors.

Since the passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, the lively, competitive marketplace for video programming anticipated by the act has not materialized. Instead, cable television in the United States dominates

in urban markets, although it faces some competition in suburban and rural markets from direct broadcast satellites. The FCC concluded in its 2002 Ninth Video Competition assessment that among the 33,000 U.S. cable communities, only a very small percentage have a wire-line competitor to cable. Satellite competition rarely amounts to radically different programming offerings. The Satellite Home Viewer Improvement Act of 1999 prompted a growth spurt in DBS subscriptions when it enabled the satellite systems to distribute local broadcast television stations within local markets.

Telephone companies have not entered the video market as anticipated by the 1996 law. In the 1990s, major deregulation initiatives, legislative and judicial, enabled telcos to move into new home-information and home-entertainment services but largely failed to generate competitive video offerings. Instead, companies have simply purchased each other, resulting in a more consolidated market with fewer major companies. For example, phone company US West purchased Continental Cable in 1996 to become the third-largest cable operator in the United States at that time. AT&T purchased the largest cable company, TCI, in 1999, and it later purchased MediaOne, another large MSO. It then spun off its cable unit into AT&T Broadband. In 2002 this unit in turn merged with the third-largest MSO, Comcast, to create a company serving about 32 million subscribers. Major cable programmer and MSO Viacom (owner of MTV, BET, Nickelodeon, and Showtime, among other cable channels) purchased CBS. Such mergers led the FCC to characterize the cable industry as highly "horizontally integrated."

The 1990s were marked by consolidation among operators, programmers, and other entertainment companies as a dominant organizational response to regulatory and technological opportunity. In light of Disney's acquisition of Capital Cities/ABC, Viacom's purchase of CBS, and the expansion of FOX across movie making, TV, cable services, and direct broadcast

satellites, the large, vertically integrated and multifaceted company with international holdings seems to be the new industry template for survival. The cable industry remade the television world of the "Big Three" networks, upsetting their hold on programming and viewers and initiating a 24-hour, tumultuous and changeable video domain. As the larger video-media industry changes, the cable industry's boundaries, roles, and influences will likewise be reshaped, but the historical legacy of its accomplishments will surely continue to be felt.

SHARON STROVER

**See also Communications Act of 1934; Federal Communications Commission; Home Box Office (HBO); Must-Carry Rules; Narrowcasting**

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## Caesar, Sid (1922– )

U.S. Comedian

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Son of a Yonkers restaurant owner, Sid Caesar learned firsthand the variety of dialects and accents he would later be known to mimic as a comedian. But his first

performing interest was as a musician. He studied saxophone at Julliard and later played with nationally famous bands (Charlie Spivak, Claude Thornhill, Shep



Sid Caesar, c. early 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Fields, Art Mooney). During World War II, Caesar was assigned as a musician in the Coast Guard, taking part in the service show "Tars and Spars," where producer Max Liebman overheard him improvising comedy routines among the band members and switched him over to comedy. Caesar went on to perform his "war" routine in the stage and movie versions of the review, and he continued in Liebman's guidance after the war, appearing in theatrical reviews in the Catskills and Florida.

Liebman cast Caesar in the Broadway review *Make Mine Manhattan* in 1948, and in 1949 he brought him to star on television in the big-budget variety show *Admiral Broadway Review*, which was simultaneously broadcast on both the NBC and DuMont networks. Caesar had appeared on Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater* the previous fall but became an enormous success on his own program, starring with the multitalented and splendid comedian Imogene Coca (who had appeared on TV as early as 1939), Mary McCarty, Marge and Gower Champion, and Bobby Van, among others. The series, produced and directed by Liebman, adopted the format of a Broadway review, with top-

name guest stars in comedy skits and big production numbers. It also introduced a savvy genre bending that would help to characterize Caesar's programs: the opening show closed with an elaborate parody of both opera and Billy Rose, called "No, No, Rigoletto." Seen in every city with television facilities in the United States (either live or by filmed kinescope), the show dominated Friday night viewing, the way Berle did on Tuesday and Ed Sullivan on Sunday. Its sponsor, Admiral, was a major manufacturer of television sets. Running an hour in length, the show lasted only 17 weeks, from January to June 1949.

Its successor, *Your Show of Shows*, was a Saturday night fixture for four years, adopting a similar format of comedy monologues, skits, and parodies of movies and plays. But this program was less a showcase for guest stars than for Caesar and Coca, ably supported by Carl Reiner (who replaced Tom Avera after the first season) and Howard Morris (who joined a season later). Writers Mel Tolkin, Lucille Kallen, and Mel Brooks, choreographer James Starbuck, set designer Frederick Fox, and conductor Charles Sanford were all *Admiral* alumni; the other writers completed a Who's Who of post-World War II American comedy—Larry Gelbart (*M\*A\*S\*H*, TV series), Bill Persky and Sam Denoff (*The Dick Van Dyke Show*), Neil Simon, and also Joe Stein (*Fiddler on the Roof*) and Mike Stewart (*Hello, Dolly* and *Bye, Bye Birdie*). The writing sessions were reputedly raucous and sometimes even violent, splitting up into groups of two or three who competed with one another, all fighting for attention and success—with the possible exception of Simon, whispering his suggestions to Reiner, who would repeat them to the group. It has long been reported that Woody Allen worked on the show, though this has recently been suggested to be untrue.

The show included a large cast of regular singers and dancers, and it was originally the New York half of a larger overall show, NBC's *Saturday Night Revue*. (Jack Carter hosted a Chicago portion an hour earlier.) At the end of the first season, Carter and the umbrella title were dropped, and Caesar and company went on to perform some 160 telecasts—all live, original comedy. Both raucous and urbane, the show combined revue and sketch comedy with a rather sophisticated sense of satire and parody, especially for early TV: how many other programs of this era would have conceived a spoof of Italian neorealist cinema?

Caesar, notorious for his deviations from the script, was skilled at mime, dialects, monologues, foreign language double-talk, and general comic acting. Whether alone, paired with Coca, or part of the four-man repertory group, he excelled. Not a rapid-fire jokester like Berle or Fred Allen, Caesar was often

compared in the press to the likes of Chaplin, Fields, or Raimu. The 90-minute show usually featured a guest host (who played a minor role), at least two production numbers, sketches between Caesar and Coca, the showcase parody of a popular film (e.g., "Aggravation Boulevard," "From Here to Obscurity"), further sketches (as many as ten per show), Caesar in monologue or pantomime (e.g., an expectant father in the waiting room, the autobiography of a gum-ball machine), and the entire company in a production number. The most famous characters included Charlie and Doris Hickenlooper, a mismatched married couple; the Professor, a Germanic expert scientist in everything and nothing; storyteller Somerset Winterset; jazz musicians Cool C's and Progress Hornsby; and the mechanical figures of the great clock of Baverhoff, Bavaria, striking one another in addition to the hour.

In the fall of 1954, Leibman went on to produce "Spectaculars" for NBC, Caesar began *Caesar's Hour* (with Reiner, Morris, and Nannette Fabray), which lasted three seasons, while Coca had her own half-hour show, lasting one season. Caesar and Coca reunited in 1958 on the short-lived *Sid Caesar Invites You*.

Building on the interest generated by a 1972 *Esquire* article about the show, Liebman compiled routines of several programs from 1950 to 1954 into a feature film, *Ten from Your Show of Shows* (1973). NBC had thrown away their copies of the program, but Caesar and Liebman had retained their kinescopes made during the show's original run. A series of 90-minute TV specials anthologized from the original shows were syndicated in 1976. By the mid-1970s, Caesar was seen only in occasional guest appearances, and later in diverse TV series and films (*Grease*, 1978). His autobiography, *Where Have I Been?*, was published in 1983. Caesar and *Your Show of Shows* served as the not-so-thinly-veiled inspiration behind the film *My Favorite Year* (1982).

MARK WILLIAMS

See also "Golden Age" of Television; Kinescope; Variety Programs; *Your Show of Shows*

**Sid Caesar.** Born in Yonkers, New York, September 8, 1922. Graduated Yonkers High School, 1939. Married: Florence Levy, 1943; children: Michele, Richard, and Karen. Studied saxophone and clarinet, New York City; played in small bands, then the orchestras of Charlie Spivak, Shep Fields, and Claude Thornhill; toured theaters and nightclubs as a comedian; appeared in film, on Broadway, and on television, from 1945; starred in several TV shows; returned to Broadway as star of *Little Me*, 1962–63; appeared in such films as *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963,

*Silent Movie*, 1975, and *Grease*, 1978; appeared in opera *Die Fledermaus*, 1987. Recipient: Best Comedian on TV Award from *Look* magazine, 1951 and 1956; Emmy Award, 1956; Sylvania Award, 1958.

#### Television Series

1949	<i>Admiral Broadway Review</i>
1950–54	<i>Your Show of Shows</i>
1954–57	<i>Caesar's Hour</i>
1958	<i>Sid Caesar Invites You</i>
1962–63	<i>As Caesar Sees It</i> (syndicated)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1976	<i>Flight to Holocaust</i>
1977	<i>Curse of the Black Widow</i>
1981	<i>The Munsters' Revenge</i>
1983	<i>Found Money</i>
1985	<i>Love Is Never Silent</i>
1988	<i>Freedom Fighter</i>
1988	<i>Side by Side</i>
1988	<i>Nothing's Impossible</i>
1995	<i>The Great Mom Swap</i>

#### Television Special

1959	<i>The Sid Caesar Special</i>
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#### Films

*Tars and Spars*, 1945; *The Guilt of Janet Ames*, 1947; *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *The Busy Body*, 1966; *The Spirit Is Willing*, 1966; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *Ten from Your Show of Shows*, 1973; *Airport 1975*, 1974; *Silent Movie*, 1975; *Fire Sale*, 1977; *Barnaby and Me*, 1977; *Grease*, 1978; *The Cheap Detective*, 1978; *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu*, 1980; *History of the World, Part I*, 1981; *Grease 2*, 1982; *Over the Brooklyn Bridge*, 1983; *Cannonball Run II*, 1983; *Stoogemania*, 1985; *The Emperor's New Clothes*, 1987; *The South Pacific Story*, 1991; *Vegas Vacation*, 1997; *The Wonderful Ice Cream Suit*, 1998.

#### Stage

*Make Mine Manhattan*, 1948; *Little Me*, 1962–63; *Die Fledermaus* (opera), 1987; *Does Anybody Know What I'm Talking About?* 1989.

#### Publications

*Caesar's Hours: My Life in Comedy, with Love and Laughter* (with Eddy Friedfeld), 2003  
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## Cagney and Lacey

### U.S. Police Series

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*Cagney and Lacey*, a U.S. police procedural with pervasive melodramatic overtones, is, deservedly, one of the most widely discussed programs in television history. The series aired on the CBS television network from 1982 to 1988 and presented a set of bold dramatic combinations, blending and bending genre, character, and narrative strategies. Though rated in the list of top 25 programs only once during those years, the show drew critical acclaim—and controversy—and established a substantial audience of fiercely loyal viewers who, on at least one occasion, helped save the program from cancellation by the network. As demonstrated by television scholar Julie D'Acci's outstanding study *Defining Women: Television and the Case of Cagney and Lacey*, the history of *Cagney and Lacey* provides a textbook case illustrating many issues pervasive in the U.S. television industry as well as that industry's complicated relationship to social and cultural issues.

Created in its earliest version by writer-producers Barbara Corday and Barbara Avedon in 1974, *Cagney and Lacey* was first designed as a feature film. Unable to sell the project, the women presented it to television networks as a potential series. Rebuffed again, they finally brought *Cagney and Lacey* to the screen as a 1981 made-for-television movie, coproduced by Barney Rosenzweig, then Corday's husband. The movie drew high ratings and led to the series, which premiered in 1982. The difficulties involved in the production history to this point were indicative of struggles encountered by women writers and producers in the film and television industries—especially when their work focused on women. Those difficulties, however, were merely the beginning of continuing contests.

As put by D'Acci, "the negotiation of meanings of *women, woman, and femininity* took place among a va-

riety of vested interests and with considerable conflict." Throughout the run of the series the "negotiations" continued, and the interests included the creative team for the series—producers, writers, actors, directors. They also included network executives and officials at every level, television critics, special interest groups, and the unusually involved audience that actively participated in ongoing discussions of the series' meanings and directions.

While many of these controversies took place on sets, in writers' meetings, and in boardrooms, one of the earliest spilled over into public discussion in newspapers, magazines, and letters. In the made-for-television movie, the character of Christine Cagney was played by Loretta Swit and that of Mary Beth Lacey by Tyne Daly. Unavailable to take on the Cagney role in the series because of her continuing work in *M\*A\*S\*H*, Swit was replaced by Meg Foster. Almost immediately discussion at CBS and in some public venues focused on potential homosexual overtones in the relationship between the two women. Foster, who had played a lesbian in an earlier television role, was cited as "masculine" and "aggressive," and after considerable argument CBS threatened to cancel the series and made Foster's removal and replacement a condition of continuing the show. The fall 1982 season began with Sharon Gless, presumably more conventionally feminine and heterosexual, portraying Cagney.

Similar, though not so visible, conflicts and adjustments continued throughout the history of the series. Questions of appearance—dress, body weight, hair styles—were constantly under consideration and negotiation. Story material, particularly when focused on issues of vital concern to women—rape, incest, abortion, breast cancer—often proved controversial and led

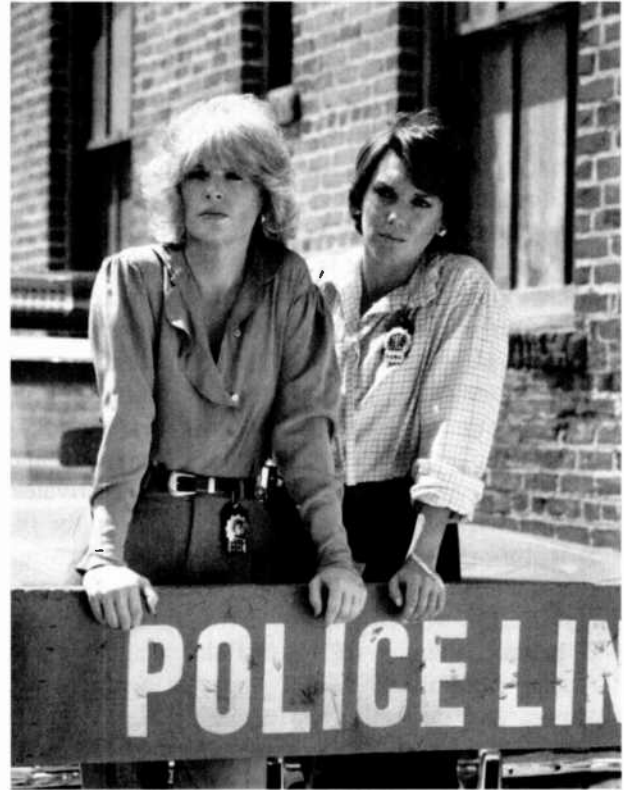
to continuing battles with the network standards and practices offices. Daly reported that even in the matter of sexual relations with her fictional husband, Harvey (John Karlin), differences of opinion flared into argument over how to present domestic sexual behavior.

In the spring of 1983, CBS executives had more straightforward matters to present to the producers of *Cagney and Lacey*; pointing to low audience ratings, they canceled the program. By this time, however, the producers and the production company for the series had mounted an impressive public relations campaign and letter writers from across the country mailed their protests to the company, the network, the producers—to anyone who would read and make use of them. The National Organization for Women took a lead role in the publicity campaigns. Newspaper critics called attention to the campaign. The series won numerous awards, Daly's Emmys for Best Actress in 1982–83 and 1983–84 among them. In the fall of 1983, CBS announced it would program seven “trial episodes” beginning in March 1984. *Cagney and Lacey* was back and remained on the air four more seasons.

All these difficulties were played out as the series developed narrative strategies that took best advantage of U.S. commercial television's abilities to present serious social and personal issues in the context of genre fiction. Two factors stand out among the techniques that distinguish *Cagney and Lacey*. One strategy, evidenced in many of the conflicts described above, is the series' ability to blend three areas of concern into single dramatic productions. First, most episodes of *Cagney and Lacey* dealt with the ongoing difficulties two women encounter in a male-dominant profession. This entailed far more than simply presenting gender conflicts in the workplace, though certainly there were many of those. Rather, this dramatic structure required a reconsideration of the entire generic structure of the “cop show.” As the two women dealt with issues such as violence, guns, male criminals, or the streets—all elements of police fiction—writer-producers as well as audiences were required to reflect on new resonances within the genre.

Second, each narrative usually focused on a particular crime and criminal investigation. The generic modifications were intertwined with rather conventional police matters, and the sense of strangeness caused by the gender shift was combined with the familiarity of crime drama.

Third, each story usually linked the crime drama to a social problem, the kinds of issues often explored in television drama throughout the history of the medium. Thus, the issues previously cited, often though not always definable as “women's issues,” formed a third aspect of the narrative triad structuring individual episodes.



*Cagney & Lacey*, Sharon Gless, Tyne Daly (TV Movie/Pilot), 1981.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

The series was at its best when these elements were “balanced,” that is, when it was not overly didactic regarding the social issue, nor utterly conventional as a police drama, nor submerged in the exploration of gender-inflected genre. If, as sometimes happened, one of these aspects did take over the story, the result was often a very thin examination of the element.

The second major narrative strategy of the series militated against this imbalance. This was the establishment of *Cagney and Lacey* as a “cumulative narrative.” Unlike serial dramas such as *Hill Street Blues*, or, in the more strictly melodramatic vein, *Dallas*, *Cagney and Lacey* did usually bring each episode to closure. Criminals were caught. Cases were solved. Sometimes, even the particular gender-related workplace issue was brought to a satisfactory solution.

But beneath these short-term narrative aspects of the series, the long-term narrative stakes were continually explored. More important, each of the closed episodes shed light on those ongoing matters. Thus, as viewers watched the Lacey children move from childhood into adolescence, they also saw strains appear in the Lacey marriage, the toll that strain took on professional commitments, the conflicts the strain caused in the inter-

personal relationship of the two women, and so on. Similarly, each small development could lead to new story possibilities, new inflections of character. Elements from past episodes could be brought into play. Features of character biographies could be revealed to explain events in a particular episode, then used to develop further characteristics in future episodes.

The cumulative narrative, one of television's strongest forms, was put to near perfect use in *Cagney and Lacey*. Evidence of the utility of this strategy, and the ways in which its methods of story elaboration can appeal to viewers, came in the latter years of the series. Though some critics see the series as diminishing its stronger feminist tonality in this period, it is also possible to see the growing emphasis on the "personal" and "the domestic" as a fuller union of public and private.

One of the most significant developments in the series in this period was the exploration of Christine Cagney's alcoholism. In addition to their own focus on this topic, the writer-producers have cited viewer letters calling attention to the fact that Cagney often turned to alcohol in times of stress. In a harrowing, two-part, award-winning performance, Sharon Gless portrayed Cagney's descent into "rock bottom" alcoholic behavior. What is significant about the development is that it altered not only the series present and future, but its history as well, and simultaneously altered the "triadic" structure of social issue, personal problem, and police drama.

*Cagney and Lacey* left network program schedules in 1988. But it continued for some time as a staple for the Lifetime network's programming aimed at female audiences. Critical and viewer responses to the series continue to be mixed even now. Most recently the series characters have been resurrected in the form of several made-for-television movies. Older, physically changed, perhaps "wiser," these fictional characters and the narratives in which they appear continue to explore complex issues and themes, and to experiment with narrative forms.

HORACE NEWCOMB

See also **Daly, Tyne; Gender and Television; Gless, Sharon; Police Programs**

**Cast**

Detective Mary Beth Lacey	Tyne Daly
Detective Chris Cagney (1982)	Meg Foster
Detective Chris Cagney (1982-88)	Sharon Gless
Lieutenant Bert Samuels	Al Waxman
Detective Mark Petrie	Carl Lumbly
Detective Victor Isbecki	Martin Kove

Detective Paul La Guardia (1982-85)	Sidney Clute
Deputy Inspector Marquette (1982-83)	Jason Benhard
Desk Sergeant Ronald Coleman	Harvey Atkin
Harvey Lacey	John Karlin
Harvey Lacey, Jr.	Tony La Torre
Michael Lacey	Troy Slaten
Sergeant Dory McKenna (1984-85)	Barry Primus
Inspector Knelman (1984-88)	Michael Fairman
Detective Jonah Newman (1985-86)	Dan Shor
David Keeler (1985-88)	Stephen Macht
Alice Lacey (1985-87)	Dana and Paige Bardolph
Alice Lacey (1987-88)	Michele Sepe
Detective Manny Esposito (1986-88)	Robert Hegyes
Detective Al Corassa (1986-88)	Paul Mantee
Josie (1986-88)	Jo Corday
Kazak (1986-87)	Stewart Coss
Beverley Faverty (1986-87)	Beverley Faverty
Tom Basil (1986-88)	Barry Laws
Verna Dee Jordan (1987-88)	Merry Clayton

**Producers**

Barney Rosenzweig, Barbara Corday, Barbara Avendon, Richard Rosenbloom, Peter Lefcourt, Liz Coe, Ralph Singleton, Patricia Green, P.K. Knelman, April Smith, Joseph Stern, Steve Brown, Terry Louise Fisher, Georgia Jeffries, Jonathan Estrin, Shelly List

**Programming History**

125 episodes	
CBS	
March 1982-April 1982	Thursday 9:00-10:00
October 1982-September 1983	Monday 10:00-11:00
March 1984-December 1987	Monday 10:00-11:00
January 1988-April 1988	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
April 1988-June 1988	Monday 10:00-11:00
June 1988-August 1988	Thursday 10:00-11:00

**Made-for-Television Movies**

*Cagney & Lacey: The Return*, November 6, 1994  
*Cagney & Lacey: Together Again*, May 2, 1995  
*Cagney & Lacey: True Convictions*, January 29, 1996  
*Cagney & Lacey: The Glass Ceiling*, September 5, 1996

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## Call Signs/Call Letters

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

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Call letters are used by television stations to identify themselves to the TV audience. The call letters usually consist of various combinations of four letters, sometimes followed by the suffix "TV": for example, WAAA-TV. Since many early television stations shared common ownership with radio stations, they often shared the same call letters. If the radio station call letters were WBBB, the TV station simply became WBBB-TV.

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regulations require that each TV station identify itself at least once each hour by call letters and by city of license. The announcement should be made at or close to the hour during a natural break in programming and can be made either visually or aurally. Stations have the option to insert their channel numbers between the call letters and the city of license, and virtually all stations follow this practice: for example, KRON-TV, channel 4, San Francisco. In advertising and promotional announcements, stations generally promote their channel assignments more vigorously than their call letters.

Some of the more ingenious call letters actually identify the channel either by word or by Roman numeral. These include KTWO, Casper, Wyoming; KFOR, Oklahoma City; WTEN, Albany, New York; and KTEN, Ada, Oklahoma. Two Roman numeral examples include WIXT, Syracuse, New York, and KXII, Ardmore, Oklahoma. Two other stations, WPVI, Philadelphia, and KPVI, Pocatello, Idaho, both use a P for their respective cities followed by Roman numerals to indicate their channel-6 assignments.

The procedures for assigning call letters have their

origin in the earliest days of radio. Blocks of initial letters were assigned to various countries following the London International Radiotelegraph Conference of 1912. The letters W, K, N, and A were assigned to the United States. W and K were used to designate commercial broadcasters, whereas N and A were allocated to military users of the radio spectrum. The initial letters C and X were assigned to Canada and Mexico, respectively, and are still used today to identify Canadian and Mexican television stations.

The first U.S. radio stations were allowed to select their own call letters beginning with either a W or a K. Also, early radio stations could select either a three-letter or a four-letter combination. Later, around 1928, the Federal Radio Commission formalized rules requiring that all stations use four-letter combinations. Further, those stations east of the Mississippi were required to use an initial W, while those stations west of the Mississippi were required to use an initial K.

Stations already on the air were allowed to keep their call letters regardless of number or location. Radio and, later, television stations such as KDKA, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; WGN, Chicago; WHO, Des Moines, Iowa; and WOW, Omaha, Nebraska, demonstrate their pioneer status and their unbroken ownership by being notable exceptions to the current rules. When WOR-TV, New York, was acquired by a new owner, the station was required to adhere to the four-letter requirement and became WWOR-TV.

Call letters often tell something about station ownership. New York stations WABC-TV, WCBS-TV, and WNBC-TV are each owned and operated by the respective networks contained within their call letters. So too



are Los Angeles stations KABC-TV, KCBS-TV, and KNBC-TV. Ted Turner's WTBS (Turner Broadcasting System) is still another example. A change in ownership will often, but not always, bring a change in call letters. When Philadelphia TV station WTAF was sold by Taft Broadcasting to another owner, it became WTXF.

Some TV call letters trace their origins to the slogans of their radio station predecessors. Examples include WGN (World's Greatest Newspaper), the Chicago station owned by the *Chicago Tribune*; WLS (World's Largest Store), the Chicago station originally owned by Sears Roebuck; WSM (We Shelter Millions), the Nashville, Tennessee, station originally owned by an insurance company; and WSB (Welcome South, Brother), the Atlanta, Georgia, station that conveys regional boosterism in its call letters.

Public television stations have continued this tradition. Chicago's WTTW (Windows to the World) and Philadelphia's WHYY (Wider Horizons for You and Yours) are two examples. Both WQED, Pittsburgh, and KQED, San Francisco, use the abbreviation for the Latin phrase *quod erat demonstrandum* (which was to be proven) in their call letters.

The growth of cable has increased the promotional value of call letters since some cable systems retrans-

mit TV signals "off-channel." For example, a VHF station that broadcasts on channel 10 might be carried on cable channel 5; a UHF station that broadcasts on channel 48 might be carried on cable channel 13. As a result, many TV stations continue to identify themselves by channel assignments but also promote their call letters more extensively than in the past.

When television stations broadcast a digital signal in addition to the traditional analog signal, they usually add DT to the call letters for that signal. Those stations broadcasting a high-definition signal may add an HD to their call letters.

NORMAN FELSENTHAL

*See also Networks; United States*

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## Camcorder

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"Camcorder" is a commercial name for professional and home video cameras that combine a camera and video recorder in one unit. Since the introduction of this technology in 1981, camcorders have become the tool of choice for local and national electronic news gathering. Consumer camcorders, introduced by Sony in 1985, have rendered Super 8 film for home movies obsolete. Moreover, some critics and academic media theorists claim the camcorder has democratized the media, as well.

Professional and consumer camcorders are based on several, incompatible formats. Ed Beta and MII are popular professional formats, while VHS, compact VHS, and ultra-compact 8 millimeter dominate among consumers. The 8-millimeter format led to significantly smaller cameras that can be operated with one hand (Sony uses the trade name Handycam to describe its 8-millimeter models). Super VHS (S-VHS) and Hi-8, which are compatible with their lower-resolution

counterparts, offer higher definition and color control when used with high-resolution playback equipment. S-VHS and Hi-8 are used by high-end consumers, as well as academic and industrial videographers. The camcorder has also led to a growing sophistication in ancillary equipment for the home video market, with numerous titlers, editors, and mixers available to both average and high-end users. Computer-based multimedia allows camcorder images to be incorporated in computer presentations for business and instructional use.

The camcorder came into prominence in early 1991, when Hollywood plumbing store manager George Holliday focused his camcorder on the beating of Rodney King by members of the Los Angeles Police Department. The tape, which Holliday submitted to KTLA, received international attention, and showed the power amateur video can wield over the national, indeed, world psyche. Previous to this, local stations,



A VHS camcorder.  
Photo courtesy of Magnavox

as well as cable news giant CNN, had solicited and used newsworthy amateur video. The popular ABC series *America's Funniest Home Videos* and similar television programs throughout the world are based on the existence of camcorders, as well.

The camcorder has also become an icon of numerous dramas and sitcoms, which commonly frame home and family scenes within the confines of a camcorder

viewfinder, replacing the very notion of "home movies" as a form of expression.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

**See also Experimental Video; Home Video; Public Access Video; Videocassette; Videotape**

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## Cameron, Earl (1915– )

Canadian Newsreader

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Earl Cameron was English Canada's first noteworthy TV news anchor, once known as "Mr. CBC News." Unlike his successors, however, Cameron was a presenter in the British tradition, not a journalist in the American tradition, and he fell victim to the professionalization of television news during the 1960s.

The news service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was created in the early years of World War II and modeled on the style of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The key figure was Dan McArthur, the first chief news editor, who believed that broadcast news should be delivered in a

calm, neutral fashion, free of any showmanship or editorializing. McArthur wanted the news to appear "authoritative"—meaning the news reader must act as an impersonal presenter of the news text.

Cameron was trained in this tradition. He had begun to deliver the National News Bulletin in 1944, the year he joined the CBC, and remained a top CBC radio announcer throughout the 1950s. Although he had little or no experience in television, he succeeded to the job of reading the nightly 11:00 P.M. TV news in 1959, probably because of his reputation as a top announcer.

For the next seven years, Cameron was almost unchallenged as the voice of the news, since the rival CTV News, born in 1962, lacked the resources to match the quality of CBC's *The National* (then called *CBC Television News*). He obeyed the rules laid down long ago by McArthur—he appeared solid, even bland, and spoke in measured, careful tones that avoided all hint of emotion or bias. "No matter what Earl Cameron reads," noted one critic, "he makes it sound less alarming than it sounds coming from someone else." Within a few years, *The National* had earned a reputation as more being reliable and believable than newspapers and radio.

As the 1960s progressed, however, Cameron looked increasingly outdated. He was not, in any sense of the word, a journalist: "I just read the words," he once told Knowlton Nash, who would later anchor *The National*. Such an attitude did not sit well with the new people who had entered the ranks of CBC News. First, Cameron was prohibited from narrating commercials, a task that had been common amongst staff announcers as a source of extra revenue. His participation in such a crass business as selling toothpaste apparently undermined the credibility of the news. Then Bill Cunningham, the executive producer of news and an admirer of Walter Cronkite, proposed a sweeping change in the character of the CBC news service along the lines common in the United States. He urged a longer newscast, 18 minutes instead of 13 during the week, more pictures and fewer talking heads, more coverage across Canada (rather than just Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto), and, above all, more "pizzazz." The changes would require that *The National* be delivered by a newscaster: only a journalist could properly convey the significance of the news to the viewing audience.

The argument was not wholly specious: it was true that viewers expected the anchor to understand the news. However, the key was the performance of the

anchor, his or her ability to act as a storyteller, to present the news items in a coherent and organized fashion that would serve to make clear what happened. An announcer could carry out this crucial task as well as, or better than, a journalist. Whatever the merits of Cunningham's argument, it apparently swayed CBC management. Cameron was replaced in 1966 by an actual journalist. Ironically, union regulations prevented his frustrated successor from writing or editing *The National*, a situation that was not remedied until many years later. Only a few of the recommendations of Cunningham's report were effectively implemented, and he himself was soon removed as executive producer.

Cameron did not immediately disappear from Canadian screens. He became the host of *Viewpoint*, a talking-head program that ran for about five minutes after *The National* as a vehicle for individual opinions on public issues. But, according to one of his compatriots, Cameron remained unhappy over his treatment and eventually took early retirement from the CBC, a victim of changing fashions.

PAUL RUTHERFORD

*See also National, The/The Journal*

**Earl Cameron.** Born in Canada, 1915. Began career as radio news announcer, 1944; moved to television as newsreader for *The National*, 1959–66; host of *Viewpoint* (a five-minute commentary).

#### Television Series

1959–66      *The National*

#### Radio (selected)

*National News Bulletin; CBC News Round-Up.*

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## Canada

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The story of Canadian television begins in 1952, with the launching of bilingual French-English broadcasts by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Montreal. Within a year, the CBC was well on its way to establishing two national television networks.

The CBC had been charged with setting up a public service television system following the study carried out by a wide-ranging royal commission on the arts, letters, and sciences, which reported in 1951. This procedure followed the tradition of an earlier royal commission on radio, which had recommended establishing a public broadcasting corporation along the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) model and had led to the creation of the CBC in 1936. However, radio in Canada developed during the 1930s and 1940s under "mixed" ownership, with public and private stations coexisting in a single system and competing for advertising. This model was to be repeated in television. While the CBC would enjoy a virtual monopoly for most of television's crucial first decade in Canada, private commercial television appeared in 1960. As of 1961, CTV, a national network linking private television stations, was on the air competing vigorously with the CBC.

The 1950s were critical in setting the tone for Canadian television, in both English and French. Distinctive Canadian news and current-affairs formats were developed, and, in French particularly, popular dramatic serials known as *téléromans* were established. *Hockey Night in Canada*, programmed in both official languages, became a national ritual that continues unto this day. In contrast, as in most other television systems, some important genres, such as live theater, remain strictly in the memory of the aging.

The basic legislation governing Canadian broadcasting was rewritten in 1958, following the election of a Conservative government friendly to the interests of the private broadcasting industry. Responding to a long-standing demand of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), an independent regulatory authority, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) was created, removing the regulation of private broadcasting from the responsibility of the CBC. Shortly thereafter, the BBG began to license private television stations.

Meanwhile, the CBC faced a series of political crises. On the English side, attempts by the govern-

ment to interfere with programming led to massive resignations among current-affairs staff in 1959. In the same year, a strike by French-language Radio-Canada producers paralyzed the French television service for more than two months and became an important symbolic reference point for the emerging Quebec nationalist movement.

During the 1960s, news and information programming continued to be a source of friction both within the CBC and in the corporation's relationship with the government. The unorthodox weekly program *This Hour Has Seven Days*, which rated the highest audience "enjoyment index" of any CBC show, provoked an internal management and authority crisis that eventually toppled the CBC's senior management while redefining Canadian television journalism. During the same period, French service news programs infuriated the government by paying serious attention to Quebec separatist politicians and issues, and in 1968 the law was rewritten, albeit with little effect, obliging the CBC to "contribute to national unity."

While the CBC led the way in Canadian programming, private television was slowly and steadily carving a place for itself, building an audience by consistently offering the most popular U.S. programs, competing with the CBC for the broadcasting rights to Canadian sports classics such as professional football's annual Grey Cup Game and emulating the CBC's successes in news and current affairs. By the late 1980s, the CBC's share of the Canadian television audience was down to around 20 percent in English and 30 percent in French.

The issue of maintaining a balance between Canadian and U.S. programs was tackled by the regulatory authority early on. Beginning in 1960, Canadian television broadcasters were required to offer 55 percent Canadian programs. (In 1970 the regulation was stiffened to 60 percent in prime time.) Canadian-content regulations remain a controversial and ongoing issue in Canadian television up to the present. Aside from the philosophical question surrounding the legitimacy of intervening in audience "choice," the effectiveness of content quotas in bringing Canadian programs to the screen and getting Canadians to watch them has been a subject of continual debate. Since the 1960s, however, there has been a general consensus that without Canadian-content requirements, commercial broad-

casters would have no incentive to produce Canadian programs when they could acquire U.S. exports for as little as one-tenth the cost. A more recent development has been the establishment by both the public and private sector of a number of television production funds in the 1980s and 1990s, leading to the rise of a Canadian independent production industry by increasing the pool of available capital and making it easier to get airtime. The notion of what constitutes "Canadian content" has also evolved over time.

The 1968 reform of the Broadcasting Act replaced the BBG with the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, or CRTC (which became the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission in 1976). The CRTC spent most of the 1970s developing a regulatory framework for the rapidly expanding cable industry, which had emerged in the 1950s as community antenna television serving remote areas. By retransmitting signals picked out of the air from U.S. border-town transmitters (for which Canadian cable companies paid no license fees until 1989), the Canadian cable industry built an attractive product for the Canadian television audience, which quickly developed a taste for the best of both worlds. To paraphrase the 1929 royal commission on broadcasting, Canadians wanted Canadian programming, but they wanted U.S. programming too.

Aware that the increasingly widespread cable model was undermining its policy to support and promote Canadian content, the CRTC moved to ensure that cable, as well, contributed to the overriding policy objective of delivering Canadian television to Canadians. Must-carry provisions ensured that every available Canadian over-the-air signal in any area was offered as basic service, along with a local community channel. In exchange, cable companies were authorized to distribute the three U.S. commercial networks, ABC, NBC, and CBS, as well as the U.S. public network, PBS. This was, for many years, the basic cable package available to Canadian cable subscribers, and on this basis, cable penetration grew to 76 percent of Canadian homes by 1992.

The CRTC was also charged with putting in place Canadian ownership regulations, limiting foreign participation in Canadian broadcasting companies to 20 percent. As a result, Canadian television today is entirely Canadian owned, with only a handful of operations having any proportion of foreign ownership at all. It has not affected the rise of Canadian media conglomerates along the lines of those known elsewhere, however, and the Canadian television industry is characterized by a high degree of concentration of ownership. The trend since the mid-1980s has been toward the takeover of private television outfits by cable companies. Since the late 1990s, cross-media convergence

combining press, broadcasting, and telecommunications outfits has led to the creation of multimedia conglomerates, which in some cases verge on monopoly. The best-known examples are Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE), owners of CTV and the national *Globe and Mail* newspaper as well as the country's largest telephone company; CanWest Global, owners of the Southam newspaper chain as well as the national Global Television network; Rogers Communications, Canada's largest cable company and owner of the Maclean Hunter chain of magazines; and Quebecor, owners of Vidéotron (Quebec's largest cable company), TVA (Canada's largest private French-language television network), as well as the *Sun* chain of newspapers. In 2002 all of these companies were reportedly in financial difficulty due to their ambitious recent acquisitions and attempts to establish themselves in new-media and other Internet-based activities.

An important shift in the ecology of Canadian television occurred in the 1970s, when the CRTC began to license second private stations in large metropolitan markets. Regional networks such as Global (in southern Ontario) and Quatre Saisons (in Quebec) grew out of this policy, which also saw the establishment of independent stations in many cities, including Toronto's highly successful CityTV. The resulting audience fragmentation contributed to the erosion of the CBC's audience share. Consequently, it also weakened important arguments that would legitimize the spiraling cost of public broadcasting to the public purse.

Although advertising had always been a component of CBC television, basic funding was provided by an annual grant from Parliament. By the late 1980s that grant had risen to more than \$1 billion (Canadian) annually. Advertising, meanwhile, represented more than 20 percent of the budget—enough to be an important consideration in every programming decision, but not nearly enough to take the pressure off the public treasury. The CBC's dilemma, particularly for services provided in English, has been how to maintain a distinctive television profile while competing commercially, and how to respond to the vast demands of an encompassing mandate in a context of government cutbacks. It has not been an easy process.

Private television, meanwhile, after two lucrative decades in the 1960s and 1970s, also began to experience the financial doldrums of a weak market in the 1980s. As a period of stagnating advertising revenues followed the earlier licensing boom, many private television operations became ripe for takeover, especially by cable companies.

Conventional broadcasters faced a further challenge with the introduction, in 1982, of pay-TV and later, in 1987, of a series of Canadian specialty channels. The CRTC had resisted pressure from the cable industry to

allow the importation of the new U.S. services such as HBO that came on the market in the mid-1970s. The commission opted instead to promote development of Canadian services along the same lines. In most cases, such as movies, sports, and rock videos, the Canadian services provide a range of programs similar to those of their American counterparts, but they are Canadian owned, subject to CRTC licensing, and they do offer at least a window for Canadian programs. In some cases, such as the CBC's 24-hour news service, *Newsworld*, or the international francophone channel, TV5, the first generation of Canadian specialty services licensed in 1987 represented a distinctive addition to the program offerings.

The financing of Canadian pay-TV and specialty channels provides an instructive example in the problems such entities have when competing with globally distributed television products in a small domestic market. The regulatory justification for creating Canadian pay-TV in 1982 was to provide an additional vehicle for Canadian feature films, but the actual percentage of Canadian films offered has never been statistically significant. At the same time, weak penetration of the cable market by film channels made such channels commercially unviable. Thus, when the CRTC decided to license a new series of specialty channels in 1987, it chose a different funding formula. This time, cable operators were authorized to provide the new range of services to all subscribers in their territory, and charge accordingly. The discretionary aspect was thus shifted from the consumer to the cable operator, who could calculate the economics of the deal with great precision. The cost to the consumer for each additional service was relatively low, and as rates were regulated, the market mechanism was essentially removed. At the same time, cable operators could still offer the available Canadian discretionary pay-TV channels, which the operators were by now packaging along with a range of authorized U.S. services not considered to be competitors of the Canadian offerings.

Since 1987, then, Canadian cable subscribers in most markets have received a 24-hour CBC news channel (at first in English and, since 1994, in French as well); channels featuring music videos, sports, weather, and children's programming (in either English or French); and the international francophone channel TV5. In addition, viewers could choose to subscribe to pay-TV movie channels, specialized channels in the other official language, and, depending where they lived, a range of U.S. channels including CNN (but not, for example, MTV, which was a direct competitor of the new Canadian equivalent).

By the early 1990s, combined viewing of all of these services accounted for less than 20 percent of the overall audience share. However, pressure to establish

even more Canadian services continued. It was grounded in discussions of the coming "500-channel universe" and the perceived need to maintain the attractiveness of a cable subscription for Canadian viewers and forestall their defection to direct broadcast satellites. Thus, as of January 1, 1995, a cable-ready Canadian household (now up to 76 percent) could receive, in addition to everything mentioned previously, a French-language CBC news channel; arts-and-entertainment channels in English or French (depending on the market); a science channel; a women's channel; a lifestyle channel; a Canadian country music channel; and a channel featuring old programs. The specific offer and funding formulas have become extremely complicated and vary from territory to territory according to the leeway provided by the CRTC to each cable operator. The initial response from consumers has been laced with confusion and frustration, for despite the concept of "consumer sovereignty" that supposedly accompanies increased channel capacity, the consumer finds that he or she is not really the one who has the choice. In all, between 1984 and 1999, the CRTC licensed six pay-TV and 48 specialty television services and added another 283 digital pay and specialty services in 2001.

In the mid-1990s, Canadian television was struggling to adjust to the new technological and economic environment characterized by the metaphor of the "information highway." The CRTC's regulatory regime was under review, the CBC faced increasingly radical budgetary restrictions, and private broadcasters were competing for dwindling advertising revenue. As in other Western countries, the conventional model of generalist television was increasingly in a state of siege. However, Canadian distribution undertakings—still protected from U.S. dominance under the cultural industries exemption within the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—were well positioned in the Canadian market, and, across the range of channels available, Canadian independent productions were finding an audience.

In addition, Canadian television provided some unique programming services in the form of its provincial government-supported educational broadcasters, community broadcasters, and autonomous undertakings run by northern and native broadcasters. Since 1932 broadcasting has been recognized in the Canadian Constitution as being under federal jurisdiction, but in the 1970s an exception was made for provinces seeking to establish educational broadcasters, provided that these organizations operated at arm's length from their respective provincial governments. This led to the establishment of Radio-Québec (now Télé-Québec), TVOntario, the Saskatchewan Communications Network, ACCESS Alberta (now ACCESS TV

and privately owned), and British Columbia's Knowledge Network of the West (KNOW). Canadian cable and satellite services boast a number of unique not-for-profit services, including a multifaith channel, Vision TV, and the world's first network entirely owned and operated by indigenous people, the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN).

Issues surrounding the future of public broadcasting, concentration of ownership, the role of the CRTC, and new media have been at the heart of television policy debates in the early 2000s. Indeed, talking about television continues to be an important aspect of public discourse in Canada. In all its facets, Canadian television has constituted a complex system that, in the spirit of the Broadcasting Act, has been seen as "a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty."

MARC RABOY

**See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld; Canadian Cable Television Association; Canadian Film and Television Production Association; Canadian Production Companies; Canadian Programming in English; Canadian Programming in French; Canadian Television Network; Citytv; First People's Television Broadcasting in Canada; Telefilm Canada; Television Northern Canada**

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## Canada: A People's History

### Historical Documentary Series

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The production statistics for *Canada: A People's History*, surely the most monumental production in the history of Canadian television, are staggering. A fully bilingual 17-part documentary on Canadian history from the prehistoric to the contemporary periods, the series was produced at a cost of \$25 million (Canadian) and broadcast in French and English versions simultaneously on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and its French-language arm Société Radio-Canada (SRC) in one 9-part and one 8-part series, the first beginning in autumn 2000 and the second beginning the following autumn. Broadcast on Sunday

nights, and rebroadcast on the CBC's Newsworld channel, more than half of the nation's citizens (some 15 million) watched all or some of the first nine episodes, with average viewership in the neighborhood of 2.2 million per episode. These are extraordinary numbers, more the kind generated for an important hockey match than for a CBC-produced historical documentary.

In addition to the 17 hours each of French and English documentary, the program was accompanied by a two-volume book set, which used many of the archival images researchers had collected for the series; a CD

recording of the series' original score; and a still-existing website addressed primarily to school children as an accompanying resource to the VHS and DVD versions of the series, which are themselves, according to the CBC, found in 80 percent of Canadian classrooms. These accompanying elements have in their own ways been as successful as the broadcast of the series itself, inasmuch as they made a significant impact on the national culture in Canada, with the book set, for example, achieving best-seller status, and—arguably due to the judgment of many historians as to the relative soundness of the version of history presented by the series, notwithstanding the numerous dissenting voices—with the educational and entertainment value of the production spurring strong sales of the VHS and DVD packages.

The chief problem posed by historical documentary, selection and omission, was especially acute for the producers of *Canada: A People's History* because of the enormity of a subject called "the history of Canada." Acknowledging this problem from the beginning of the undertaking, the series producers made much of their efforts toward inclusivity, especially as the historical treatment of Canada's native peoples, women, and ethnic minorities was concerned, and it was the issue of historical "accuracy," filtered through the lens of an inclusive "people's history," that dominated the significant discourse, both academic and in the popular press, that surrounded the series.

The history of Canada is presented in the series through means of reenactment; heavy reliance on archival images, including maps, drawings, paintings, photographs, and moving images; and narration and dialogue drawn only from words documented to have been written or spoken by actual historical figures—that is, without any "talking head" interviews or mediated commentary on the events, words, and images presented. While the narrative of the history presented is organized chronologically, a thematic organizational structure meant that there are temporal overlaps from episode to episode, whereby, for example, episode six, "The Pathfinders," covering the period 1670 to 1850, is concerned with the exploration of the continent, while episode seven, "Rebellion and Reform," covers the overlapping period 1815 to 1850 and is concerned with governance in the colonies of British North America, and especially with the rebellions that lead eventually to colonial self-rule.

Typical of historical surveys, the more distant past receives less attention than more contemporary events; thus, "When the World Began," the first episode, covers by far the largest swath of time (from the prehistory period, beginning about 15,000 B.C., up until European contact with the aboriginal peoples) while subsequent episodes generally cover much smaller time periods, with the last episode, "In an Uncertain World," covering a mere 14 years, 1976 to 1990.

The series pays significant attention to those historical moments generally held to have been formative for the nation, including the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the west to British Columbia and Canada's participation in World War I, with the nation's disproportionately high casualties seen as indicative of the maturation of the new country into a full participant in world affairs. Other important historical events, such as the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 and the conscription crisis of World War II, also receive due treatment, and some of the nation's more shameful moments are also aired, such as the virulent racism and anti-Semitism that has infected the nation.

The high profile of the series at the time of its original broadcast, and even the very fact of its existence on such a grand scale, can perhaps be attributed to an increasing sense of popular nationalism, especially as felt and expressed by young people, during the period. Canadian popular music and advertising of the period can be seen as examples of surging national pride, of which the grand production and broadcast of *Canada: A People's History* was a part.

Mark Starowicz, the series' executive producer, was a well-known figure in Canadian broadcasting and was the creator of a handful of very successful programs for the CBC including the innovative current-affairs radio program "As It Happens" and the popular and successful reorganization of the CBC television news into two connected parts, *The National*, the nightly newscast, and *The Journal*, a current-affairs segment that followed the newscast with interviews and/or news documentaries. Starowicz's reputation as a successful broadcast innovator and his devotion to the project was probably a contributing factor of the CBC management's decision to risk such a huge undertaking.

PETER URQUHART

See also Starowicz, Mark



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# Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld

## Canadian News Channel

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When it went on the air in August 1989, Canada's English-language all-news 24-hour channel, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld, followed CNN as the second such network in the world. News has historically been a strong suit on Canadian television, with many innovative programs including *CBC Newsmagazine*, *This Hour Has Seven Days*, and *The Journal*. Canadian audiences have consistently demonstrated a taste for news produced indigenously, reflecting local concerns, as well as for Canadian perspectives on international events. Unlike other areas of television, such as drama and situation comedy, news programming has been able to draw significant and reliable audience numbers. Consequently, the availability of only the U.S.-based CNN during the 1980s sparked an interest in the formation of a similar Canadian 24-hour news network.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) won the license for the all-news network in November 1987. Private broadcasters fought this decision made by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). In particular, Allarcom Ltd., whose own bid lost to CBC, contended that the national public broadcaster received undue favoritism. After a tough challenge in a Conservative parliament sympathetic to Allarcom's charges, the CRTC's decision was finally accepted, although not without delaying the network's start date for more than a year. Federal cabinet actions, however, modified the conditions of the license by insisting that CBC Newsworld involve the private sector in its operations and that it develop a similar French-language service.

The perception that CBC has a central Canadian bias, and therefore that it does not adequately reflect the diverse interests and locations of the nation as a whole, also surfaced as a criticism of the CRTC decision. In a bid to address the issue of the CBC's centralization in Toronto, CBC Newsworld began by situating its broadcast centers in Halifax, Nova Scotia; Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Calgary, Alberta.

CBC Newsworld's financing is entirely separate from that of the CBC. The cable channel's revenue comes from advertising and "pass-through" cable fees.

As part of basic cable service, the pass-through fee means that all cable subscribers have to pay for the service, whether they want it or not. The monthly cost to cable subscribers was 44.5 cents (Canadian) in 1989; it increased to 63 cents in 2000. Some cable operators, particularly around Montreal, initially refused to accept the service because the pass-through fee for an English-language service made no sense to their majority francophone subscribers.

Network operations are roughly one-tenth the size of CNN's, in terms of both budget and staff. Thus, CBC Newsworld has relied on other news gatherers (e.g., local CBC reports, CBC national news, and internationally packaged programming from the BBC and CNN) as well as partnerships with independent production companies. This need for inexpensive programming led toward the news-panel and phone-in format for many of the channel's productions (e.g., *Sunday Morning Live*, *Petrie in Prime*, *On the Line with Patrick Conlon*, and *Coast to Coast*). Current programming includes *Foreign Assignment*, *counterSpin*, *Culture Shock*, *Fashion File*, *Health Matters*, and *The National*. *Rough Cuts* and *The Passionate Eye* are prominent windows for documentary film. As of 2000, 90 percent of CBC Newsworld programming had Canadian content.

In 1994 the CBC French-language all-news service received its license. *Le Réseau de l'information* (RDI) went on the air in 1995, and like CBC Newsworld, it is part of the basic cable service in Canada. Received by 8.8 million households in Canada, CBC Newsworld reaches a wider audience than any other specialty channel in the country.

In association with Power Broadcasting, CBC made a repackaged version of its services, called *Newsworld International*, available to U.S. audiences in 1994. It is the only 24-hour channel focusing on international news in the United States and was bought by USA Networks in 2000. Despite the change in ownership, CBC Newsworld remains the content provider of this international branch. In January 2000, the CRTC renewed CBC Newsworld's license for another seven years.

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## Canadian Cable Television Association

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In 1957 Canada's fledgling cable operators formed the National Community Antenna Television Association of Canada to represent their collective interests to the public and various government bodies. In 1968, after the passage of the Broadcasting Act and the creation of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the cable industry changed the name of its umbrella organization to the Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTA). Over the last three decades Canada's cable operators have dramatically altered the character of Canadian television services by extending the range of programming and services available to Canadians and opening the door to the "500-channel universe."

The first Canadian cable television system was established in London, Ontario, in 1952 (though it was preceded by a Montreal cable system that delivered audio-only service until later the same year). Cable's original purpose was simply to improve the quality of over-the-air reception from local and regional TV stations. In London, Ontario, in 1952 the cable TV system delivered the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) signal from Toronto and the U.S. networks from border cities. In 1963, Canadian cable TV operators began using microwave technology to deliver services to rural and remote communities.

In the 1970s, cable subscriptions rose sharply. By 1977, the number of households subscribing to cable passed 50 percent. As of 2000, 95 percent of Canadian TV households were passed by cable and 74 percent of those households subscribed to cable services. Through microwave relay and satellite systems, cable TV services were available in more than 2,000 small and rural communities across Canada.

The cable business has been extremely lucrative for most CCTA members. Between 1983 and 1993, cable rates rose an average of 80 percent compared with a 31

percent increase in local telephone rates and a 47 percent increase in the consumer price index. Moreover, the CRTC only regulates the basic subscription rate charged by cable operators, but 96 percent of subscribers chose a package of channels known as extended basic, whose rate is unregulated.

Like other media industries, cable is now characterized by a significant level of corporate concentration; the six largest companies account for 90 percent of total subscribers. With just under 30 percent of all Canadian cable subscribers and close to 45 percent of all English-Canadian subscribers under its corporate banner, Rogers Communications is the dominant national firm. The other leading firms are Shaw Cablesystems, with 28 percent of total subscribers, and Vidéotron, with 18 percent of total subscribers.

The expansion of cable in Canada in the 1970s can be attributed to a number of regulatory decisions made by the CRTC. In 1969, after much public pressure and lobbying from the CCTA, the CRTC permitted cable systems operating at a distance from the U.S. border, as in Edmonton and Ottawa, to use microwave distribution technology to gather U.S. broadcast signals. Cable's success as a distribution technology was directly related to its ability to provide Canadian households with U.S. signals they either could not otherwise receive or received poorly with conventional rooftop antennas. In 1975, the CRTC declared that cable was a "chosen instrument of public policy" and developed detailed regulations concerning the signals and services that cable companies can or must provide, the rates charged subscribers, the provision of a community channel, and more.

In many respects, cable was the first of the much-ballyhooed new technologies. Aside from its early use of microwave technology, Canadian cable TV initiated the use of satellite-delivered services when, in the

1970s, it offered the House of Commons proceedings to subscribers across the country. Cable companies also developed the first alphanumeric television services in Canada. Home shopping and real estate services have been available in larger centers for several years. Some cable systems also offer travel information, electronic mail, video games, and instructional services. Cable companies are involved in a number of field trials to deliver broadband, interactive home services.

At the local level, the member companies of the CCTA have supported community channels for more than 25 years. In 1993, 225 community channels across the country provided more than 235,000 hours of programming. For all but the smallest cable companies, community channels are a condition of their license to operate. Cable companies must make available both space and equipment to community groups and individuals interested in producing television programming; the cable operators are legally responsible for all the material broadcast on the community channels. Although they were initially envisioned as a great experiment in citizen participation and democratic communication, the community channels have by and large developed into rather paternalistic institutions that avoid controversial and politically charged programming. Instead, local council meetings, local sports events, and multicultural information programming make up the bulk of the offerings on most community channels.

As Canada moves forward into the age of interactive information and entertainment services, the CCTA must contend with the looming possibility of competi-

tion from Canada's telephone companies. The CCTA has argued repeatedly that cable operators are better suited to provide Canadians with access to the information superhighway. CCTA companies are currently engaged in an elaborate project to improve the interactive, multimedia, transactional capabilities of cable systems, including a plan to establish national interconnection via cable. As of 2002, 7.9 million Canadian households subscribed to cable. The CCTA has also maintained that, unlike the telephone companies, cable operators are committed to protecting and supporting the production of Canadian material in the interests of reinforcing Canadian sovereignty and cultural identity.

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*See also* Canada

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## Canadian Film and Television Production Association

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The Canadian Film and Television Production Association (CFTPA) is a national, nonprofit association of more than 300 companies in Canada's independent production industry. The CFTPA is Canada's only national film producers' association, bringing together entrepreneurial companies engaged in film, television and video production, distribution, and the provision of facilities and services to the independent production industry. Member companies include Canada's leading

independent film and television producers, such as Alliance Atlantis and Corus Entertainment.

The CFTPA promotes the interests of its members by lobbying government on policy matters; negotiating labor agreements on behalf of independent producers (including a low-budget production agreement that entitles CFTPA members to discounts on ACTRA performers); sponsoring conferences, seminars, and workshops; and publishing a variety of material to as-

sist CFTPA members. The CFTPA is also the founding member of the Canadian Retransmission Collective, the body that claims royalties from Canadian cable companies on behalf of program creators.

The CFTPA is the latest incarnation of voluntary organizations that have represented Canada's independent film and television producers. The first such organization, the Association of Motion Picture Producers and Laboratories of Canada (AMPPLC), was established in 1948. The AMPPLC focused its lobbying efforts on reducing the role of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) and expanding opportunities for Canada's independent producers. Throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s, the AMPPLC challenged what it described as the NFB's "expansionist, monopolistic psychology" and repeatedly called for the contracting out of government film work. By the 1960s, the AMPPLC had also joined the growing chorus of organizations and individuals making the case for government subsidies for the production of private-sector feature films.

Since the 1960s, and especially since the establishment of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (now Telefilm Canada), the independent sector for film and television production in Canada has grown substantially. The industry employs more than 150,000 Canadians in direct and indirect positions. Total production volume reached \$5 billion in 2001, a figure that includes Canadian-certified production, broadcaster in-house production, and foreign-location production. Exports of Canadian film and television productions are now valued at well over \$150 million a year, more than double the value of exports in 1986.

CFTPA members benefit from a number of government programs and regulations designed to stimulate independent film and television production in Canada. Since 1968, the Canadian Film and Development Corporation has offered a combination of loans, subsidies, and grants to private-sector feature film production. In 1983, Telefilm Canada initiated the Canadian Broadcast Program Development Fund, earmarked especially for Canadian television productions. CFTPA members also make use of a wide range of provincial funding sources, the largest of which is the Ontario Film Development Corporation. As of 1993, the total annual amount of government funds available for private-sector film and television productions was \$340 million.

Aside from the availability of government funds to "prime the pump" of independent film and television production, CFTPA members also benefit from the Canadian-content regulations that are a condition of license for all Canadian broadcasters. Administered by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunica-

tions Commission, the Canadian-content regulations ensure that Canadian broadcasters do not operate merely as conduits for foreign programming, which is much cheaper to acquire. Since the early 1980s, traditional over-the-air broadcasters, such as CTV and Global, have made much greater use of product from the independent sector to fulfill their Canadian-content responsibilities.

CFTPA members have also benefited considerably from the licensing of new specialty cable and pay-TV channels in the 1980s. Indeed, the global expansion of new outlets for television programming has greatly enhanced the fortunes of CFTPA members. CFTPA members now export their product to markets around the world, and many of the larger firms have developed effective working relationships with foreign partners. Joint ventures with U.S. firms have become a mainstay of the industry, in part because of the savings in production costs that result from the relative value of the Canadian dollar.

The CFTPA plays a crucial role in ensuring a stable business climate for its members. In the midst of political pressure to reduce the level of government spending, the CFTPA has repeatedly lobbied on behalf of the efforts of Telefilm Canada, the provincial fund agencies, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (which is the major buyer of independent TV programs in Canada). The CFTPA has also been at the forefront of efforts to establish a refundable tax credit system for Canadian producers. Aside from issues related directly to the production of Canadian film and television, the CFTPA is also a vocal proponent of the need to maintain regulations that ensure a minimum level of Canadian content on new and proposed delivery systems, such as the information highway. Relatedly, the CFTPA has argued repeatedly for legislation that would enhance the role of Canadian film distributors by making it impossible for U.S. film distributors to treat Canada as part of their domestic market.

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*See also* **Telefilm Canada**

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## Canadian Morning Television

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Canadian morning television is partially defined by the perception that audiences use television differently at that time of day. Much morning programming is designed to fit into the patterns of everyday rituals; the discrete nature of programs and content that often defines prime-time programming breaks down in the patterns of morning television.

Historically, morning TV in Canada has been the location of the marginalia of television culture. Farm reports were regular features of morning television after the sign-on of local stations in the early 1960s, and some local religious programming was part of early regional television in a rotation that covered the principal Christian denominations. After 6:00 A.M., television became the province of news or children's programming. Children's programming generally divided along the lines of syndicated U.S. situation comedies and cartoons with live hosts who catered to the local market. In commercial television the early-morning hours were the province of the local station and rarely determined by network time organization. This resulted in a great variety of programs across the country. A morning movie could be part of one television market, while the *Junior Forest Rangers* part of another. Because the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) partially operated on a network of commercial affiliates, the early-morning hours were generally not programmed with CBC network feeds. One of the principal changes of early-morning television that moved it closer to its contemporary form was the shift away from this local focus to network programming.

In 1972 CTV, a private network established in 1960, introduced *Canada A.M.*, a program modeled on *Today*, a long-running U.S. program on NBC. *Canada A.M.* is a news and chat show—with regular bulletins of news, sports, and weather—that begins each day at 6:30 and runs until 9:00 A.M. In its live presentation

and with its relatively relaxed hosts who move seamlessly into softer news stories and entertainment gossip, *Canada A.M.* attempts to be an ambient program designed to be used during other preparations for the workday. The CBC also launched *CBC Morning News*, which provides a similar diet of bulletins and easy-listening banter among hosts and guests. The rest of the CBC's early-morning schedule is designed for preschool viewers, with programs such as the British Columbia-produced *Scoop and Doozie* and the Nelvana-made computer-animated cartoon *Rolie Polie Olie*. Regional networks such as Global in Ontario have counterprogrammed against this style of "flow" television with either reruns of children's cartoons (which provides needed Canadian content) or religious programming drawn from both Canadian and U.S. sources.

The pattern of morning network television shifts quite dramatically after 9:00 A.M.; the news flow model organized for the working audience transforms into something that targets those connected neither to work nor school, and the divide between the commercial stations and the public broadcasters becomes more obvious. Public stations generally engage in children's educational programming aimed primarily at the preschool age group. The provincially funded education networks such as TVO in Ontario and the Knowledge Network in British Columbia vary this diet with programs aimed at older students within the school and university system. With its larger mandate, the CBC's programs operate commercial free, providing a series of critically acclaimed and internationally successful children's series, which have included the long-running *Mr. Dress Up*, *Fred Penner's Place*, *Under the Umbrella Tree*, and *Theodore Tugboat*. These programs have followed in the tradition of *Chez Helene* (1959–72) and the *Friendly Giant* (1958–85) as staples of childhood experience in Canada. A Canadian ver-



*Canada A.M. hosts.  
Photo courtesy of CTV Inc.*

sion of *Sesame Street* has run on CBC since 1973, and inserts of Canadian puppets and stories (including French-language training) derived from Canadian city and country landscapes have increased from five minutes to 25 percent of the program content of this U.S. program. *Sesame Street* and the Canadian coproduc-

tion *Arthur*, an animated series about an aardvark and his family and friends, bookend the CBC's morning programming for children.

In contrast, the commercial free-to-air stations have provided almost exclusively adult-oriented programming during this same time period, with talk and game

shows predominating in the schedule. *Dini*, an hour-long talk show hosted by Dini Petty in the tradition of *Oprah* and *Donahue*, has had a successful Canadian run on CTV and BBS and made a brief appearance in the U.S. market. Peppered into the schedule are imported U.S. programs such as *Regis and Kelly*, which provide talk-celebrity shows better connected to the Hollywood circuit of stars, or issue talk shows such as Barbara Walters's talkfest *The View*. Exercise programs have on occasion been successful at either the pre- or post-9:00 A.M. slot. The most successful in terms of Canadian and U.S. syndication was the 1980s Citytv production *The Twenty-minute Workout*, which featured three female models performing aerobics routines to a *Miami Vice*-like synthesized backbeat soundtrack.

Religious programming is also presented on Canadian television to some degree. The most prevalent Canadian program to compete with U.S. productions is *100 Huntley Street*. Like the "infomercials," religious programs often buy blocks of time directly from the station and use them for their own forms of promotion. Because they are often out of the general flow of morning television, such programs are also placed further to the margins of early morning.

Weekend morning television presents another principal distinction in Canadian programming. On both Saturday and Sunday mornings, the commercial stations expand their children's programming to span virtually the entire time period. This focus on cartoons and hosted programs aimed at children gradually dissolves by late morning into sports programming. Sunday morning is divided among a variety of Canadian and U.S.-based religious programs and children's television. The religious programs are further subdivided between local production and more slickly produced syndicated shows.

The expansion of Canadian television channels since the 1980s has made the temporal designations in programming—such as the category of "morning television"—less valid. The patterns of morning television have instead been expanded into actual channels, where the former marginalia of television populate the entire broadcast day. For instance, CBC Newsworld, the 24-hour news channel, does alter its content

throughout the day, but the general pattern resembles breakfast television news programs that predated the channel's launch. Subtle differences can be seen in channels producing what could be described as micro-genres. MuchMusic, the nationally distributed cable music channel, organizes its morning into *Videoflow* and the retro-oriented mid-morning *ClipTrip*.

These channel orientations are complicated, however, by technological factors. Satellite distribution, unless it delays the signal—as it does for the more traditional networks of CTV and the CBC—means that programming strategies of the cable-to-satellite channels break down in their attempts to match the temporal flows of their viewers. Programming designed for morning television in Toronto would appear in its satellite feed as very early morning television in Vancouver. Partly as a result of these difficulties, one can discern a slight tendency to program for the most populous part of Canada, connected to Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto, all in the eastern time zone.

Nevertheless, what can be identified more generally is that morning television, as it is now presented through the more than 100 channels available on Canadian television, may be slipping into programs associated with other day parts and even other generations, or "eras," from previous years of television. Past television becomes the domain of channels such as Bravo, and the distinction between morning and prime time appears to dissolve. Cable channel advertising decisions now rotate commercials through the entire day of programming. Such a strategy indicates that the newer cable channels aim to gather their target audience through cumulative reach, rather than with the purchase of a particular prime-time moment at a premium rate.

Morning television, then, does continue to provide particular categories of viewing practices and has produced associated genres connected to this marginalized part of television. The emerging reality of multichannel television in Canada has made this sense of Canadian morning television and its connection to a temporal identification less distinct, but it is nevertheless a clear and continuing pattern in both programming and production practices.

P. DAVID MARSHALL

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# Canadian Production Companies

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Most Canadian production companies are relatively recent phenomena. Prior to 1983 and the creation of Telefilm Canada, the independent production sector was either extremely weak or virtually nonexistent. Since 1983, however, the sector has blossomed, and Canada now has a number of financially sound production companies. The largest production companies are Alliance Atlantis Communications, Astral Communications, and Corus Entertainment. Other companies include Nelvana, Barna-Alper Productions, Fireworks Entertainment, Cinar Corporation, and Sullivan Entertainment.

## Production before Telefilm

From 1952 to 1982, Canadian television production was dominated by the television networks themselves. This was especially true of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), which produced almost entirely in-house and was, until 1961, the only network in Canada. The dominance of network production has arisen from three main factors. First, unlike U.S. networks, Canadian networks are restricted neither from owning all of their affiliates nor from producing all of their content. As the owner of its affiliates, the CBC naturally seeks to fill their airtime with content that it produces in its fully owned facilities. Second, there existed in Canada no film industry similar to Hollywood, from which the nascent television networks could draw content, expertise, or ideas. Third, CBC television adopted its operational methods from CBC radio, where in-house production was the norm.

Consequently, the CBC—and, to a lesser extent, private networks (after 1961)—filled the need for content itself. The CBC thus became Canada's first major television production company, and, until the early 1980s, it dwarfed competitors and collaborators alike in terms of both the quantity and quality of its output.

The sheer volume of CBC production is difficult to characterize fairly, but we can point to certain structural features. As a public network, the CBC's production activities necessarily occur within the framework of its parliamentary mandate, which enjoins it to "reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions," and to "contribute to shared national consciousness and identity." Hence, CBC production must

provide for both mass and specialized audiences, while being "distinctively Canadian." Second, as the CBC is largely independent of commercial revenues, it has traditionally enjoyed the freedom to experiment and schedule material that is either challenging or of limited audience appeal. Third, the CBC's heavy reliance on in-house production has resulted in a recognizable network style across all program categories.

Nonetheless, since its inception, the CBC has produced not only news and public affairs, for which it has earned a well-deserved reputation, but also drama (*CBC Playbill*, *On Camera*, *For the Record*), variety (Anne Murray specials), comedy (*King of Kensington*, *Mosquito Lake*), science (*The Nature of Things*), game shows (*Front Page Challenge*, *Reach for the Top*), weekly serials (*Seeing Things*, *Traders*), talk shows (*Take 30*, *90 Minutes Live*), children's shows (*The Friendly Giant*, *Chez Hélène*, *Fred Penner's Place*), miniseries (*The Whiteoaks of Jalna*, *Empire Inc.*), arts programming (*Adrienne Clarkson Presents*), religious programming (*Man Alive*), cooking shows, do-it-yourself shows, numerous sports shows, and so on.

Four major aspects of CBC production stand out. The first is its stability. For example, the CBC continued to produce prime-time variety shows long after other North American broadcasters abandoned the genre. Likewise, the entrenchment of existing genres has made the CBC slow to respond to new trends, such as reality television. Additionally, many CBC shows remain in continual production for more than 20 years: *The Nature of Things* debuted in 1956 and is still in production (as of 2003); *Front Page Challenge* ran for 38 years (1957–95); comedians Wayne and Shuster appeared from 1952 until well into the 1980s; *The Beachcombers* ran uninterrupted for 18 years (1972–90). CBC production, then, runs on a longer cycle than U.S. production, largely because the CBC is responsive to social and cultural rather than commercial and economic imperatives.

The second notable aspect of CBC production is its variety. The CBC clearly attempts to produce for a much broader range of audience tastes and interests than virtually any other North American broadcaster. As a result, its production slate is perhaps the most highly varied in North America.

The third aspect concerns the nature of in-house production. Prior to 1983, this practice effectively pre-



cluded the emergence of an independent production sector. The CBC perceived no need to call upon outside resources since everything could be done in-house. Likewise, outside resources had few opportunities to break into the business since the CBC would not buy from them. As a result, the independent sector languished and CBC production, despite its abundance and variety, acquired a recognizable look. Independent producers were forced to depend on private broadcasters, which were financially weak and slow to develop. However, the 1983 requirement that the CBC purchase dramatic content from independent producers both altered the look and feel of CBC programming and greatly assisted the independent production sector.

The fourth distinctive aspect of CBC production concerns the way in which CBC programs attempt to meet the requirements of the Broadcasting Act. Systematically, they appeal to varied and various audiences, cover topics of broad appeal and specialist interest, are set in various regions of the country, cover different types of interest, are overwhelmingly pro-social, and deal with recognizably Canadian characters and situations.

In this respect, the most typical CBC genre may be the nature/adventure drama, of which outstanding examples include *The Forest Rangers* (1963–66), *Adventures in Rainbow Country* (1970), *The Beachcombers*, *Ritter's Cove* (1979–91), *Danger Bay* (1984–90), and others. The genre is highly durable and usually features children or adolescents surrounded by caring adults in a nature or wilderness setting. Each week, a problem arises that the young people, often accompanied by a favorite animal, attempt to solve through their own resources and the help of authoritative others, typically parents, the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment, or a native person.

The genre corresponds well to the objectives of the Broadcasting Act. By decentralizing production to nonurban locations, it shows Canada to Canadians and gives all regions a sense of representation. It also appeals to parents as nonviolent programming with potentially educational benefits. Furthermore, the genre's lower costs coincide with the resources of Canadian producers. Finally, as the child audience is both very forgiving and constantly renewed, the same programs can be reissued, thereby building up a profitable backlog of shows. For all of these reasons, independent producers have also shown a proclivity for this genre or elements of it.

The CBC's French-language network, Société Radio-Canada (SRC), shares some of the same characteristics as its English-language counterpart. The SRC was until 1961 virtually the only French-language pro-

ducer in Canada and, like the CBC, produced huge quantities of programs across an enormous range of categories. The SRC was bound by budgetary constraints, due to the size of its market (approximately 6 million viewers concentrated mainly in Quebec), and by the Broadcasting Act. However, it evolved quite differently than the CBC.

Television in Quebec was immediately embraced as a tool for shaping a cultural community. As a result, French-language productions enjoy a popularity and cultural status unimaginable for English-language productions. The very rapid development of an indigenous star system and advertising culture further reinforced the French productions' appeal. They address a loyal and voracious audience and are less concerned with "showing Canada to Canadians" than with representing and affirming French Canada's own culture. There is little crossover between French- and English-language productions.

The most popular and enduring genre of French-language TV is the *téléroman*. It is highly comparable to both the South American *telenovela* and the Australian "soapie" and represents a cross between American daytime soap opera, for production values, and prime-time drama, for audience interest, cultural impact, and prestige. *Téléromans* are frequently written by leading authors or playwrights and may possess a cultural status similar to an important play or novel.

Private networks (CTV, TVA) began to go to air in 1961. Their production activities, however, were much more limited than those of the CBC and tended to resemble the patterns of American TV. They typically produced news and sports but called upon outside producers to provide game shows (*It's Your Move*, *The Mad Dash*), the occasional sitcom (*The Trouble with Tracy*, *Pardon My French*, *Snow Job*), and some drama (*The Littlest Hobo*, *The Starlost*). They heavily supplemented their schedules with U.S. imports. On the French-language side, importation was more difficult, and broadcasters soon became producers. Hence, the French-language TVA network became an important production company in its own right, duplicating much of the SRC's output although with a heavier emphasis on populist representations. TVA has also come to rely on the *téléroman*.

The market represented by private networks, however, was sufficiently small that only a very few independent production companies could coexist. As a result, the private networks tended to draw heavily on a very small number of independent producers, thereby reproducing in the private sector a situation analogous to the public sector's use of in-house production.

This entire period is characterized, therefore, by the dominance of public networks, the prevalence of in-

house production or its analogue, a relatively small number of private broadcasters relying on U.S. imports, and the absence of a syndication market. Beginning in the early 1980s, the situation changed.

### Production after Telefilm

In 1983 the federal government established Telefilm Canada. Telefilm, in conjunction with the private sector, administers the Canadian Television Fund (CTF), which had an annual budget of some \$230 million (Canadian) in 2001. Telefilm also participates in other funding initiatives. This money is available for independent producers, and Telefilm invests in all phases of production: scriptwriting and preproduction, production, postproduction, dubbing, marketing, test-marketing, and distribution.

To receive funding, a project must satisfy Telefilm that it is financially viable by obtaining an up-front licensing agreement from a broadcaster. This draws broadcasters into Telefilm's strategies. The project must also be certified as "Canadian" according to the "point system" administered by the Canadian Audio-Visual Certification Office (CAVCO). Specifically, the rights must be owned and developed by Canadians; the project must be shot and set primarily in Canada; and the project must reflect Canadian themes and subject matter. Additionally, it must obtain ten points on the following scale: two points each for the director and screenwriter; one point for the highest-paid actor; one point for the second-highest-paid actor; and one point each for the art director, music composer, picture editor, and director of photography.

The criteria were drastically tightened in 1999–2000, when a run on the CTF emptied its coffers overnight, but satisfying them entitles producers to important tax concessions. Additionally, provincial governments have instituted parallel structures to support film and television production and attract activity to their territory. To date, Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal have emerged as the centers of a vigorous independent film and television production industry.

Telefilm is, therefore, the funding arm of a complex web of regulatory bodies: the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) sets Canadian-content quotas for broadcasters; broadcasters turn to producers for content that satisfies the quotas; the producers submit their content to CAVCO for certification and tax breaks; Telefilm funds the productions and directs money to the worthiest projects.

Telefilm's success, however, coincided with four other factors: the widening of the Canadian television industry, the emergence of a U.S. syndication market

for Canadian content, the development of a system of international coproductions, and the decline of the Canadian dollar.

The television market was widened in several ways. In 1983 the CBC was ordered to acquire entertainment programming from outside sources. A majority of its entertainment content now comes from independent producers. The CBC has therefore been transformed from a producer to a purchaser of programming, thereby creating opportunities for the independent production sector.

Additionally, since 1982, the CRTC has licensed more than 30 specialty and pay-TV channels, and more than 250 digital channels. These channels frequently require highly specialized content, thereby causing diversification within production companies or the emergence of parallel specialized producers. For example, music video channels obviously require musical content, and a fund, VideoFax, has been set aside for the production of Canadian music videos. Movie channels require a certain number of Canadian movies. YTV, the youth channel, has likewise spawned shows aimed at its target audience. All of these channels also provide a second life to many older shows, thereby capitalizing the earlier investments of production companies.

The CRTC also maintained its Canadian-content quotas, thereby creating a permanent domestic market for Canadian content. U.S. cable networks have also emerged as a syndication market for Canadian content. These networks have insatiable appetites for programming but are often restricted to smaller budgets than those of the major U.S. networks. As a result, they need content that is more affordable while still possessing acceptable production values. Consequently, they have turned to Canadian production companies, and it is estimated that up to 30 percent of original programming on U.S. cable networks comes from Canadian producers.

The success of cable networks using Canadian content has convinced not only the major U.S. networks but also major U.S. production companies to begin investing in Canada, where many American shows are now produced. This trend has been accelerated by the declining Canadian dollar, which was worth approximately 65 percent of the U.S. dollar in 2001, making it financially sound for many Hollywood productions to relocate to the proximity of Canada, where they find not only highly skilled, English-speaking crews intimately conversant with American television but also significantly lower costs and potential tax breaks and government subsidies. Although the attractiveness of Canada has generated within Hollywood the perceived crisis of "runaway production," total Canadian produc-

tion at the turn of the 21st century actually equaled less than 2 percent of Hollywood production.

Within Canada, the same phenomena have resulted in a "crisis" of their own. Some argue that targeting a market beyond Canada (principally the United States) results in content that is merely "industrially Canadian" (i.e., Canadian-made content), thereby damaging "genuinely Canadian" content (i.e., content reflecting/exploring Canadian cultures, history, and values). It was in response to this criticism, and to the perception that CTF funds were "industrially" used, that CAVCO criteria were tightened. Others, however, argue that the distinction is parochial and restricts the range of permissible "Canadian" topics to the most stereotypical.

Thus, several conditions have combined to transform the fortunes of Canadian production companies. On the one hand, new sources of funding have been created through the establishment of Telefilm Canada and tax deductions. Furthermore, the regulatory environment has contributed to Canadian production through the maintenance of content quotas and the CAVCO certification procedure. Finally, the market has expanded through the licensing of new channels and the emergence of a U.S. syndication market. Even the declining Canadian dollar has resulted in opportunities for Canadian producers by affording them high-profile exposure that they might not otherwise obtain. Together, these factors have given Canadian production companies two things much in demand: a track record and a backlog of marketable product.

On the other hand, the Canadian television market remains too small and too fragile to support the current scale of Canadian production. Indeed, in January 1995, Atlantis Communications reported that fully 80 percent of its license fees came from outside Canada. Hence, access to the wider North American and international markets constitutes the key to continued viability for Canadian production companies. They are therefore driven to seek additional sources of funding through international partnerships, and Canada has developed a highly elaborate system of "international coproductions."

Coproductions involve partners from Canada and another country contributing to the manufacture of a single film or television program. They occur within the framework of treaties signed by the governments of both countries and covering financial participation, mutual tax concessions, national treatment, creative control, and copyright. Canada is the world's leading coproducer.

The advantages of coproductions are higher production values, access to foreign markets, and opportunities for ongoing business relations between the

production partners. Their disadvantages are that they also create opportunities for conflict over financial and creative control, can be highly complex to administer, and can result in culturally unspecific content. The success of coproductions in their various markets is, of course, extraordinarily variable, but they have served the fundamental purposes of broadening the financial base of production companies and giving them international reach.

### **Production Companies and Their Structures**

An examination of some Canadian production companies reveals strategic differences and similarities.

Astral Media of Montreal was founded in 1961 as Angreen Photo. Its corporate name has since undergone many variations. Before becoming Astral Media in 2000, it was known principally as Astral Bellevue Pathé and Astral Communications. Until 1996, Astral was known chiefly as a service provider with some media interests. It owned a motion picture laboratory in downtown Montreal and more than 100 photographic stores, and it distributed audiovisual material and provided video duplication, postproduction, and dubbing services. It also manufactured compact discs. In fiscal 1997, media activities accounted for only 37 percent of Astral's revenue. Since then, it has become a pure-play media company, with media activity accounting for 100 percent of its revenue by the beginning of the 21st century. In television alone, Astral operates five pay and pay-per-view movie networks (TMN—The Movie Network, MOVIEPIX, Viewer's Choice, SuperEcran, Canal Indigo) and six French-language specialty channels (VRAK-TV, Canal D, Canal Vie, Historia, Séries1, Z). It owns the Family Channel, which manages the English and French Teletoon channels, and possesses 50 percent of Musique-Plus and MusiMax. With additional holdings in radio, outdoor media, and e-business, Astral's strength lies not in the content it produces, but in the distribution networks it controls and in its ability to market across media. Importantly, as with many Canadian production companies, Astral's television interests cover both the English- and French-language markets.

Alliance Atlantis Communications was formed in 1998 from the merger of two leading Canadian production companies, Alliance Communications and Atlantis Communications, both of Toronto. They bring together broadcasting assets, extensive production experience, and a catalog of film and television shows. The company is divided into a broadcast group, a television group, and a motion picture group, the latter being very active in film production and distribution. As of 2001, the Alliance Atlantis broadcast group owned

wholly or in part eight specialty channels: Showcase (100 percent), Life Network (100 percent), HGTV Canada (67 percent), History Television (88 percent), Séries1 (50 percent), Historia (50 percent), Headline Sports (48 percent), and Food Network Canada (51 percent). It is also the corporate sponsor for the U.S.-based Health Network, and it has expanded its existing franchises or formed partnerships for digital channels with BBC Canada, BBC Kids, National Geographic Channel, Showcase Diva, Showcase Action, IFC, and WebMD. The television group produces for Canada, the United States, and other countries, while adhering to the rule that 80 percent of all production costs must be covered by third-party commitments. In 2001 current productions included *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, *Beastmaster*, *Gene Roddenberry's Conflict Earth*, *Nuremberg*, *The Associates*, *North of 60*, and *Joan of Arc*. Like Astral, Alliance Atlantis is involved in both film and television. Unlike Astral, it not only distributes content but also produces and coproduces, for both the English- and French-language markets. Its production slate is a classic mixture of "industrial" and "genuine" Canadian, and its funding strategy makes full use of available resources. It has had success in placing its content not only in Canada but also on CBS (e.g., *CSI*, CBS's top-rated drama in 2001–02) and U.S. cable networks.

Paragon Entertainment Corporation was formed in 1985 and filed for bankruptcy in 1997. Although the company was based in Toronto, its chief executive officer and chairman, Jan Slan, was located in Los Angeles, and Paragon's strategy was not to rely on the Canadian market but to produce for the North American and international markets. It had been relatively successful, producing *Forever Knight*, *Lamb Chop's Play-Along*, *Kratts' Creatures*, and *Zoboomafoo*, among other programs. The "Canadian" element of these programs was to be found in their financial and creative control rather than in their thematic or stylistic content.

Nelvana Ltd. of Toronto was established in 1971 and has specialized in the traditional Canadian niches of animation and children's programming. Its productions include *Babar*, *Franklin the Turtle*, *Bob and Margaret*, *Rolie Polie Olie*, *Tintin*, and numerous others. *Babar*, *Franklin*, *Pippi Longstocking*, *Rupert*, and *Donkey Kong* have yielded profitable marketing tie-ins (toys, posters, etc.). Nelvana also owned 20 percent of the cartoon specialty channel Teletoon. In 2000 Nelvana was purchased by Corus (owned by Shaw Communications) for \$554 million (Canadian).

Cinar Films of Montreal has likewise targeted children with programs such as *Wimzie's House/La maison de Quimzie*. It has also sold *The Busy World of*

*Richard Scarry*, based on the popular children's book known around the world, and produced *Are You Afraid of the Dark?*, a horror/fantasy show for young people, for both Nickelodeon and YTV. It was successful in licensing merchandise based on its characters, but in 2000 it became embroiled in a government investigation and lawsuits over unaccounted-for funds. It eventually reached a settlement with the government.

Independent producer Kevin Sullivan has enjoyed enormous success, first with the two *Anne of Green Gables* miniseries, then with the weekly series *Road to Avonlea*, which ran for seven seasons, and finally with his TV movie *Butterbox Babies*. All of these ranked among the highest-rated Canadian television programs.

Interestingly, many independent production companies have attempted to locate at least some of their output in an area of traditional Canadian strength, the "family drama," which both incorporates and transforms elements of the nature/adventure genre. Like nature/adventure shows, family dramas usually involve children and families, although they possess few of the precocious or saccharine characteristics of U.S. sitcoms. They also systematically eschew violence in favor of cleverness or circumstance and foreground pro-social values. However, unlike nature/adventure shows, family dramas freely mix humor with drama, often fail to end happily, and jettison the requirement for wilderness settings and animals in favor of urban, frequently highly ironic plotlines.

The most celebrated example is probably *The Kids of Degrassi Street* (Playing with Time Productions), which spawned *Degrassi Junior High*, *Degrassi High*, and *Degrassi: The Next Generation*. Like nature/adventure shows, the *Degrassi* series are aimed squarely at a family audience, feature young people, and involve weekly dilemmas, but *Degrassi* casts these challenges in an urban setting with frequently unforeseen results, and these series are neither clearly drama nor comedy. Other independent productions include *Ready or Not* (Insight Productions), which followed the everyday lives of two young teenage girls; *Popstars* (Lone Eagle Entertainment), portraying the trials and tribulations of real teenagers who want to become pop singers; *The Pit Pony* (Cochran Entertainment), about a boy in turn-of-the-20th-century Cape Breton; and *Drop the Beat* (Back Alley Films/Alliance Atlantis), the story of a hip campus radio show in Toronto.

While Astral has been a publicly traded company since 1974, most other Canadian production companies only went public after 1993. Significantly, at the turn of the 21st century, they have tended toward consolidation into larger production units, as when Alliance Atlantis purchased Salter Street productions;

toward alliances with broadcasters, as when Shaw (through Corus) purchased Nelvana; and toward integration into production/distribution/broadcast units, as illustrated by the structure of Alliance Atlantis. Just as they have themselves absorbed other entities, it seems likely that many of these producers will become part of other companies, particularly broadcasters seeking production units.

In sum, Canadian production companies are relatively recent phenomena that produce for both film and television. They increasingly aim to control distribution outlets, thereby tending to make them integrated production/distribution houses on the CBC model, and they frequently attempt to acquire film libraries to feed their distribution networks and to market internationally alongside their own material. Relying heavily upon international markets but taking advantage of funding opportunities in Canada, their content is frequently "Canadian" from the point of view of creative

and financial control, rather than from the perspective of thematic and stylistic content.

PAUL ATTALLAH

*See also Degrassi; Kids in the Hall; North of 60; Road to Avonlea; Telefilm Canada*

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## Canadian Programming in English

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The term "Canadianization" is used by some Europeans as a metonym for their fear of the audience fragmentation new satellite technologies would bring to their orderly systems of state-supported public service broadcasting. But if the presence of alternative programming choices is this powerful, how did distinctive Canadian programming survive alongside the largest and most enclosed media giant in the world? Decades before cable and satellite, the majority of Canadians could flick a dial and find ABC, NBC, and CBS, plus dozens of local U.S. stations. In the 1970s and 1980s, Canadians had a cornucopia of specialty channels on cable, although the mix was controlled by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). By the mid-1970s, parts of southern Ontario rivaled New York City for television choices, and the number of choices throughout Canada has only grown in more recent years, especially when many digital channels were added in 2001. Yet here stands Canada—its electronic frontier as permeable as the world's longest unguarded border—still a separate nation-state. Canada's response to and appropriation of other sources of television may serve more as a success story for other national contexts than as a model of dire consequences.

In 1952, when the Canadian Broadcasting Company

(CBC) first went to air, thousands of Canadians along the border from coast to distant coast had already set their aerials to receive signals from the many U.S. stations within range. Even in those early days, American television genres shaped the expectations of Canadian viewers about the conventions of television. At the same time, however, these types of programs were beginning to differ significantly from the radio prototypes—variety shows, soaps, quiz and game shows—that had also been familiar beyond the northern border. Viewers were also enjoying the more televisual treatment of sports, documentaries, and dramas.

On American television, these program genres were usually clearly separated. However, the first CBC head of programming, the multitalented Mavor Moore, and his producers and directors (who were drawn from the National Film Board, the theater, radio, and off the street) were interested in experimenting with the forms of television. For example, on series such as *Horizon* and anthologies like Robert Allen's *Scope/Folio/Festival*, Daryl Duke's *Q for Quest*, and Mario Prizek's *Eyeopener*, they combined dramatization with panel discussions or documentaries or interviews.

After the early years of experimentation, the genres for the most part settled back into their self-defined places, and thus the history of Canadian broadcasting

can be summarized in terms of separate compartments, reflecting not only the sharpened distinctions made for the viewers but also the developing administrative empires.

In the first 15 years of CBC TV, arts and drama producers broadcast the first full-length opera and programmed evenings of jazz, poetry, and avant-garde drama (the outlawed American play *The Brig* and scripts by Harold Pinter, Edward Albee, Samuel Beckett, and Arrabal Anouilh). They adapted George Bernard Shaw and Anton Chekhov. They broadcast live the family serial *The Family Plouffe* in both French and English, wrote and broadcast musicals for television (*Anne of Green Gables* is still performed on stage), and trained writers new to television on half-hour adaptations of Stephen Leacock's *Sketches of a Sunshine Town*. They produced ballet, Gilbert and Sullivan shows, regular classical music, and folk and jazz concerts and made a quite successful *Hamlet* under severe limitations imposed by a tiny drama studio. Until 1967 almost all of the output was in black and white (color came late to Canada), and live or live-to-tape productions dominated until the late 1960s. CBC producers stirred up a major controversy (duplicated in the United Kingdom when the BBC bought the film) with Ron Kelly's direct cinema, experimental drama, *The Open Grave*. Kelly had the nerve to treat the Resurrection as a breaking news story, full of interruptions and improvisations, using familiar reporters from CBC News and the following scenario: the previous Friday, Joshua Corbett had been hanged for alleged terrorism, although in fact he has disrupted the war industries with his pacifist ideas. Now his grave is empty, and neither Mary Morrison, a ravaged, rather vague middle-aged prostitute, nor any of his other friends know where he is. The film, intended for broadcast on Easter Sunday, made the headlines for weeks.

In the United States, series from radio (soaps, westerns, cop shows, and situation comedies) were transferred to television, but, in contrast, for many years the CBC did not make series. On American television, viewers saw 1950s television anthologies such as *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One* fade to black in the 1960s, under the tide of strippable series filmed by major studios or independent producers in Hollywood. In the 1960s, the CBC introduced *RCMP* (with the title referring to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police) and *Seaway*, two moderately successful independent productions for an adult audience. These were followed in 1966 by Ron Weyman's hugely successful and innovative in-house CBC series about a coroner, *Wojeck*. However, the CBC also kept anthology drama alive for another three decades. With neither the inclination nor the resources to succumb to the "disease of the week"

or "murder of the week" staples of the popular American movies of the week, the CBC preferred to put a significant portion of its revenue into drama specials and the long-running topical drama anthology *For the Record*. This program was followed in the late 1980s and 1990s by explorations of Canada's regions with *The Way We Are* and ethnic communities with *Inside Stories*. Anthology disappeared from Canadian TV in the early 1990s, only to reappear with *Straight Up* (1997), *Twitch City* (1998), *Foolish Heart* (1999), and *Foreign Objects* (2000)—each one composed of six half-hour installments, all of which introduced experiments in structure, dramatic conventions, and cinematic techniques.

## Sports

*Hockey Night in Canada* was a staple of Saturday night radio in the 1930s and 1940s, with the well-loved voice of Foster Hewitt shouting, "He shoots...he scores!" from the gondola in Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. When hockey came to television, *Hockey Night in Canada* continued as a consistent ratings winner right up to the mid-1990s. What began as the "hot stove league" (commentary occurring between playing periods) became weekly tirades by the much-loved or much-hated Don Cherry. Initially, the expert camera work and the on-air commentary of the Toronto program spoiled Canadians for coverage from the expansion teams, but the gaps have closed—although Canadian viewers are bemused by the electronic pucks, cartoons, and other "explanations" of the game used in U.S.-based telecasts. By the early 21st century, specialty channels were making it possible to see every Canadian team in every game. New digital channels cover the National Hockey League (NHL) contests, as well as women's hockey and other women's sports.

Coverage of the short season of the Canadian Football League (CFL) contests, including the Grey Cup Championship Game, began in 1952, at a time when the league was immensely popular. However, the survival of the CFL, now tied to television revenues as well as an ill-advised expansion, has been in doubt since the 1990s. The national curling bonspiels were another regular sports feature on Canadian TV. First seen on the CBC in 1955, W.O. Mitchell's much-loved drama, *The Black Bonspiel of Wullie MacRimmon*, is still played in theaters around the country more than 40 years later, reflecting the Canadian affection for this purely amateur winter sport.

Baseball came late to national Canadian television, first with the Montreal Expos and then the Toronto Blue Jays. Although in two different leagues, these teams came to echo the traditional winter-hockey ri-

valry between the two cities—and between the two languages those cities represent.

As the Olympic coverage has expanded, other sports receive more regular coverage: from skiing and gymnastics, which are natural fits for television, to track and field, swimming, and rowing. There are also annual events, such as the rodeo competitions at the Calgary Stampede and the Queen's Plate, the oldest horse race on the continent. Women are used as color commentators in many of these sports; and they are also authoritative voices in women-only competitions, as well as sports where both sexes appear in one field of competitors, such as horse racing, dressage, and show jumping.

In recent years, with the introduction of hemi-, demi-, and semifinals that extend the NHL season into June, many Canadian viewers have complained that sports are dominating not only Saturday afternoons and nights and Sunday afternoons but also too much weeknight CBC prime time as well. Private broadcasters repeatedly urge the CRTC and the government to force the CBC out of this lucrative field. The CBC reply is direct. Government revenues have been cut in constant dollars from 1982 onward. Professional sports programming, particularly hockey, gets ratings, makes money—and thus subsidizes the coverage of amateur sports that the private networks such as CTV and Global/CanWest will not cover. The policy of displacing all other programming for ten weeks when the hockey playoffs get under way in April continues.

Figure skating specials have represented a very successful crossover between sports and entertainment. In the early 1980s, Toller Cranston was a pioneer in this type of programming, with *Strawberry Ice*. Noted skaters such as Brian Orser, Elizabeth Manley, Kurt Browning, Elvis Stojko, and others have followed with their own specials, which offer a little narrative, a lot of music and spectacle, other international medal-winning skaters and nonskating stars, and superb special effects to complement the skating.

### Religion

From the mid-1930s to 1995, both the CBC and the private networks were explicitly forbidden to sell time to radio and television evangelists. However, the CBC offers weekly a church service drawn from a variety of denominations, while individual stations program local church services or sell time to a few evangelists on late-night or early-morning television. In 1995 the CRTC did license a small evangelical station in Lethbridge, Alberta, and the regulator has more recently allowed a Christian "family viewing" channel on basic cable.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the CBC broadcast specific words-and-music or drama programming keyed to Christmas and Easter, notably the innovative dramas *The Hill* and *The Open Grave*. In today's more ecumenical and culturally diverse times, such specific observances outside of the church or synagogue have disappeared. However, *Man Alive*, a 30-year-old program on ethical and moral issues, continues (now broadcast on both the CBC and Vision) and is widely sold abroad.

A broadcasting initiative unique to Canada is Vision, a network run by a consortium of several faiths. It is financed by sales of weekend time to all kinds of groups from Christian televangelists to Ba'hai. This "Mosaic" programming, so identified, must conform to Canadian laws regarding defamation, and a few programs have been pulled from the air. Vision's weekday and prime-time programming offers a mix of documentaries, news, commentary, controversy, films, and series from other countries, as well as programs made by the marginalized, most of which offer an ethical perspective on the issues of the day as well as addressing more permanent issues raised by the human condition. These programs usually present more questions than answers. The network is provided on basic cable and also depends on viewer donations

### News and Current Affairs

Canadians take their news, news analysis, current affairs, and documentary programs very seriously. They demand the best, and they often get it. Since 1980, significant numbers have been willing to watch an hour of CBC news analysis and documentaries from 10:00 to 11:00 p.m., then switch to CTV at 11:00 p.m. for another half hour. CTV depends more on U.S. and British feed than the CBC and too often neglects the regions outside of central Canada, but on national stories the private network often does as well or better than the public one, finding fresh information or a different angle. Both newscasts attract significant numbers. However, when a national crisis such as the 1995 referendum looms, the CBC and CBC Newsworld (a separate, all-news and features network) combine forces to bring Canadians detailed and comprehensive coverage and analysis. In those circumstances, as the ratings indicate, the CBC is the first choice of Canadian viewers. In 2001 both the CBC and CTV offered 48 hours of commercial-free, round-the-clock coverage of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, with the CBC simulcast with Newsworld persisting longer and having more in-depth analysis and wider coverage of reactions around the world. The efforts of Global, whose



national news coverage was only a few weeks old at the time, were more sparse.

If someone from another country asks, "Who are the Canadian TV 'stars'?", the candidates are likely to appear among the ranks of reporters and anchors, rather than from the leads of a sitcom or cop show. The foreigner is also likely to be told how Knowlton Nash resigned as anchor of *The National* so that Peter Mansbridge would stay in Canada to replace him, rather than taking up a far more lucrative offer in the United States. However, no Canadian anchor or reporter has ever influenced his or her country's opinion on a national issue as profoundly as CBS anchor Walter Cronkite is said to have affected American views of the Vietnam War. Canadians accord no individual in broadcasting that kind of influence or impact, not even the late and much-lamented anchor of *The Journal*, Barbara Frum.

Throughout its history, Canadian television has emphasized news and current affairs; this is particularly true of the CBC, which is charged with that task as part of its public mandate. The nightly newscasts began in the early 1950s—with film clips rapidly gaining prominence. Anchors, many of whom were also reporters, have included Earl Cameron, Larry Henderson, Stanley Burke, Knowlton Nash, Peter Mansbridge, Lloyd Robertson (at both CBC and then CTV), Sandie Renaldo, Hana Gartner, Alison Smith, Pamela Wallin, Sheldon Turcotte, and Nancy Wilson.

From the 1970s on, the CBC has used men and women in all the hot spots and on most beats, with CTV adapting this practice at a later date. Well-known reporters include Peter Kent reporting from Cambodia; Anne Medina, an American who became an incisive Canadian voice from Lebanon; Brian Stewart from Ethiopia and Rwanda; Joe Schlosinger from all over the world; Bill Cameron; Anna-Maria Tremonti from Russia and Bosnia; senior Ottawa correspondents Jason Moscovitch and David Halton; Terry Malewski; Mary-Lou Finlay; Ian Hanomansingh; Eve Savory on social policy; and Der Ho Yen on economic policy.

Well-known CBC current-affairs and features series have included *Close-Up*, *Telescope Quarterly Report*, and the much-admired and feared 1960s "gotcha" journalism of *This Hour Has Seven Days*, whose cancellation in 1966 led to debate in Cabinet, a crisis in confidence between CBC management and producers, and a chilling effect on current affairs. After a hiatus in the late 1960s, the news and current-affairs department came back strongly in 1975 with *The Fifth Estate*. CTV answered with *W5*. Among the widely acclaimed 1960s documentaries were Beryl Fox's *cinéma vérité* treatment of Vietnam, *The Mills of the Gods*, and Larry Gosnell's *Air of Death*, on air pollution. For more than

30 years, the CBC has also offered a variety of analytic as well as descriptive programming about science and the natural world on the weekly series *The Nature of Things*.

In the 21st century, convergence has become an increasingly important factor in television news and information programming, with each network having ties with print media and large conglomerates. All networks now offer websites to publicize their news as well as much of their information programming.

### Morning, Noon, and Night Shows

Until quite recently, CTV has had the only national "morning show" in *Canada A.M.*—where lighter fare, news, and national weather were the backdrop for incisive questioning of national and international figures. Norm Perry, Pamela Wallin, Valerie Pringle, and Keith Morrison gave a jump-start to sluggish viewers heading out for work or into the day's work at home. In the 1980s, CityTV (Toronto) and some other local stations offered a lighter version of "breakfast television." CBC Newsworld offers full news and analysis to the country, updated hourly.

The CBC, again unlike the American networks, did not leave the afternoons completely to the soap opera and the rerun. From the early 1960s, *Take 30* used the considerable journalistic talents of hosts like Adrienne Clarkson and Paul Soles to provide women at home with a daily half hour of news, current affairs, personalities, reviews, interviews, and regular features, including by far the most thorough coverage at the time of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The program was replaced in 1994 by *Midday*, an hour at noon for the same audience, updated to include regular gardening features, analysis of popular culture, and minidocumentaries. However, *Midday* was chopped in the 2000 round of budget cuts and replaced with drama reruns.

*Tabloid* was an early (1953–63) national supper-hour show featuring personalities from politics and entertainment. With a chalk-tossing weatherman, Percy Saltzman, the show was hosted by the genial Dick MacDougal and hostess Elaine Grand, and later Joyce Davidson. For the most part, however, supper-hour shows of news, weather, sports, and features have been the territory of local stations. Under severe financial constraints and in some haste, the CBC closed some local stations in the late 1980s and ordered the stations that survived to cover a wider market with their supper-hour shows—a decision that devastated morale and resulted in much lower ratings in some areas. In 2000, retrenchment at the CBC cut those news hours to half hours and added a half hour of national news orig-



inating from Vancouver. Many local stations have been bought by CHUM, and their local programming has been modified to look like City's informal presentations for a younger, more urban demographic.

Basically, all stations in Canada, whether independently or publicly owned or part of a network, provide supper-hour shows as well as news, weather, and sports at 11:00 p.m. The quality varies enormously, but Toronto stations (with a potential market of 3 million) will cover transit policy, policing in the suburbs, and "what's on" in the nightclubs, while CKNX Wingham, Ontario (population 10,000 with a market of 50,000), will cover the day's prices for cattle, the problems of the Saugeen Valley water authority, and the "snowfest" in Durham.

### Children's and Youth Programming

Programming for children is specifically mentioned in the existing CBC mandate. The CBC has offered very creative, commercial-free, nonviolent programming on weekday mornings since its inception. Ed McCurdy, Raffi, Sharon Lois and Bram, and Fred Penner brought all kinds of music to kids. Puppets such as Uncle Chichimus and his friend Hollyhock, on the programs *Let's See* (1952–53) and *Uncle Chichimus Tells a Story*, were followed by somewhat more sophisticated, much-loved and very long-lived series such as *Mister Dress-Up* with his puppet friend Casey and *The Friendly Giant* with Rusty and his silent pal, the giraffe Jerome. *Romper Room* on CTV and *Polka Dot Door* on TVO (the Ontario educational network) were other popular programs for young children. Special segments in both French and English were made in Canada as inserts for *Sesame Street*. Since its inception in 1970, TVO has devised all kinds of award-winning children's series.

For older children viewing in prime time, there were 1960s adventure series on the CBC such as *Adventures in Rainbow Country* and *The Forest Rangers*. Both series were set in Canada's wilderness and structured around the usual gaggle of boys—and a girl or two—who get in and out of trouble, very little of it violent, with the help of parents or adult friends. Both programs are still shown in reruns.

The 1970s and 1980s belonged to *The Edison Twins*, who used science to solve domestic puzzles; CTV's well-written family series *The Campbells*, set just before the Rebellion of 1837; and the three CBC *Degrassi* series (*The Kids of Degrassi Street*, *Degrassi Junior High*, and *Degrassi High*), which followed basically the same group of young characters as they grew up. Using workshops and improvisational exercises, the series developed characters and plots reflecting the actors' own lives until the "kids" graduated

from high school. In 2001 CTV launched the series *Degrassi: The Next Generation*, which includes characters from the original series, now as parents and teachers to a new group of young adolescents. The success of the original *Degrassi* series led to the more gritty *Northwood* and Global's *Madison*, as well as the excellent "tween" show *Ready or Not*, which was widely sold in international markets.

A much more complex concept for the 1990s was the CBC's *The Odyssey*, which took its viewer from the regular "Upworld" of school and work, where the protagonist, Jay, lay in a coma, into the "Downworld," an adventure-filled realm inhabited entirely by children. In the mid-1990s, the CBC addressed youth audiences with *The Rez*, set on a First Nations reservation; *Liberty Street*, about young people in their first jobs; *Straight Up*, an urban, somewhat experimental anthology; and *Drop the Beat*, the story of a hip-hop DJ and his world. *Emily of New Moon* and *Pit Pony* are period series for families.

### Variety

In the 1950s and 1960s, variety shows combined singers, dancers, puppet shows, acrobats, animal acts, and comedy sketches—including recurring favorites on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, the Canadian team Wayne and Shuster. In Canada there were such copies of U.S. programs as *Cross-Canada Hit Parade* and *Show-Time*; and country-and-western shows like *Holiday Ranch* and, for 25 years, *The Tommy Hunter Show*. Light music shows starred homegrown favorites like everyone's "pet Juliette," who, on her program *Juliette*, sang pop tunes and ballads and always said good night to her mom. CTV responded to Canadian-content regulations requiring cultural diversity with an imitation English pub, *The Pig and Whistle*, and the homegrown *Ian Tyson Show*.

A special case was the much-loved down-East fiddle music of *Don Messer's Jubilee*. With Marg Osborne and Charlie Chamberlain, Messer and his Islanders flourished for years on radio and then on television—until the late 1960s music "revolution" persuaded the executives in Toronto to cancel the *Jubilee* for *Hullabaloo*, a limp imitation of similar American shows. Re-edited for the 1990s, *Don Messer's Jubilee* was a surprise hit. By 2000, however, the networks did not feature regular music programs, instead airing occasional musical specials with stars such as Shania Twain.

### Talk Shows and Game Shows

The nearly 40-year run of *Front Page Challenge* reflected the Canadian preference for hybrid form and an

emphasis on current affairs. Part quiz, part current-affairs show, its guests included domestic and foreign prime ministers, sports and entertainment celebrities, and ordinary citizens who had made the headlines. Most other Canadian quiz shows have been "Canadian-content fillers" (produced to meet requirements for Canadian content) and merely less expensive imitations of American game shows. On CTV, *Shirley*, *Dini Petty*, and, in a more serious vein, *Jane Hawtin Live* were successful daytime talk shows. *Pamela Wallin Live* on Newsworld was a 1990s prime-time success story, with a very wide range of guests and subjects and a few callers. Other cross-country call-in shows on Newsworld have been oriented toward public affairs. Newsworld's nightly program *counterSpin* includes contrarian views from people who do not ordinarily appear on television. Mike Bullard's *Open Mike* (CTV and Comedy Network) is the first successful Canadian late-night talk and music show.

### Comedy

For more than 50 years, Canadians have excelled in developing small companies that perform satirical, usually topical revue comedy on radio and television. The grandfather of them all was the Wayne and Shuster duo. The grandmother was the annual theatrical revue *Spring Thaw*. The proud children were *SCTV*, in the 1970s, and *The Royal Canadian Air Farce*, still going strong on television. The grandchildren are *CODCO* (and its stepchild *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*) and *Kids in the Hall*. With their gentle, literate, yet often slapstick parodies of both high and popular culture, edited reruns of *The Wayne and Shuster Hour* were popular in many countries. *SCTV* (also in reruns) was so self-reflexive that it became a cult favorite with a younger, media-literate generation, as did *Kids*, whose executive producer, Canadian Lorne Michaels, is closely connected to *Saturday Night Live*. In contrast to *Kids in the Hall*, *CODCO*'s much harder-hitting satire and complex, sustained characterizations were informed by the eloquence of Newfoundland speech and a more distinctly Canadian sense of values. Some of *CODCO*'s original members moved on to turn their biting wit on the week's news in *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*. Many Canadian and U.S. comic series are now rerun on the specialty Comedy Channel, which also cablecasts a few new programs, such as *Liography*. The CBC's *The Newsroom and More Tears* (Ken Finkleman's short satirical series on local and national news) and Rick Mercer's *Made in Canada* (satirizing the whole television industry) are sharply, often outrageously funny. Very different is the champion of duct tape from *Possum Lodge Green Red*.

### Drama

In the absence of any strong professional theater, the general policy for the first 20 years of the CBC TV drama department was that it should entertain, inform, and reflect national and regional concerns (which it did intermittently and with significant gaps). CBC drama was expected to experiment with television as a medium, show Canadians what classical and contemporary world theater looked like, and explore the relationship of the documentary and the fictional. From the 1960s, the drama department was also expected to inflect some forms of American popular culture (cop shows, mysteries, sitcoms) and ignore others, like soaps, and continue with anthology drama. Finally, in very occasional miniseries or films, the "single" play—whether a light comedy, a theater adaptation, a docudrama, or an intensely personal vision—would find a home.

### Biography

Throughout its history, the CBC has explored various dramatic forms to produce biographies. A mixture of voice-over commentary, selections from the subjects' works of fiction or paintings, sustained satire, and even musical numbers have been used to produce a nonstandard series of biographies: the mix of drama, documentary, and commentators in *The Baron of Brewery Bay*, with John Drainie playing Stephen Leacock; the lives of artists Tom Thompson and Emily Carr; Kate Reid as suffragist Nellie McLung; three versions of the life of feminist Emily Murphy; and the stories of prime ministers John A. Macdonald (several times) and William Lyon MacKenzie King (once as a satire, *Rexy*, once as a miniseries by Donald Brittain). Biographies of other, less well-known subjects included Brittain's *Canada's Sweetheart: The Saga of Hal Banks* (the imported thug who ran the waterfronts of Canada) and profiles of colorful newspaper editors and columnists like Bob Barker and "Ma" Murray. The CBC also presented the trials of the assassin of D'Arcy McGee twice and told the story of rebel/martyr Louis Riel two times, first as a two-part drama, then as a lavish, revisionist miniseries, shot in both French and English in 1979. Another telling of the latter story came in the 1990s, when Bob Rock, a Metis filmmaker, explored Riel and the Metis heritage in *The Missing Bell of Batoche*, for repeated viewing on Saskatchewan's educational network.

The lives of explorers, politicians, financiers, and engineers were treated in the hugely successful six-part adaptation of Pierre Berton's trilogy *The National Dream*. The miniseries combined contemporary narrative, shot by Berton on locations across Canada, with

dramatizations of the men who made it happen. In the 1980s *Some Honourable Gentlemen* also depicted a wide variety of historical figures—not all of them heroes. In 1998, the CBC ran a miniseries on *Big Bear*.

In 2000–01 the CBC presented a massive, very costly, and very popular series, *Canada: A People's History*. Supported by videos of each episode, an excellent website, and two books, and structured for later use in the schools, this was an epic, episodic look at Canada largely from the point of view of ordinary settlers, soldiers, people of the First Nations, and fur-trading explorers. Shot in English and French and shown on the CBC and the Société Radio-Canada (SRC; the French-language network of the CBC), the series garnered huge ratings—to everyone's surprise and the CBC's relief, as it had committed much of its slender resources to the project.

Notable experiments on the private networks include *The Life and Times of Edwin Alonzo Lloyd* (with veteran actor Gordon Pinsent) and Pierre Berton's inexpensive and fascinating half-hour vignettes on *Heritage Theatre*. In the 1990s and early 2000s, CTV and Global presented dramas on Sheldon Kennedy (the story of the physical abuse of a hockey player); murderer Evelyn Dick; James Mink (a successful African Canadian in the 19th century); falsely imprisoned Davis Milgaard; and a squad of peacekeepers in Bosnia.

### Docudrama

The perception that current events are raw material for the often-debased U.S. "docudrama" permeates U.S. society. Since the 1990s, in the North American context, it may be one of the most distinctive things about Canadian culture that front-page events are not yet seen as fodder for the movie-of-the-week mill, nor are Canadians, as they live their lives, perceived as featured players for next week's video releases.

In fact, Canadians still care very much about the differences between evidence, argument, reenactment, and the "make it up or leave it out, whichever makes a more entertaining television movie" approach. Canadian audiences can still distinguish between docudrama (real people are characters), topical drama (foregrounding a contemporary issue), and historical drama (a mixture of real and fictional characters set in a time when most viewers will not have firsthand knowledge of the "history" portrayed). The example of the very controversial coproduction with the National Film Board (NFB), *The Valour and the Horror*, illustrates the difference between Canadians and Americans. It is unimaginable that Americans in the United States would argue strenuously, as Canadians did, for

months on end about the verisimilitude of both the documentary and dramatized segments of three programs about World War II.

Jeanine Locke, a writer-producer of period and topical dramas, made many distinctive specials. Her programs include *Chautauqua Girl* (which looks at both 1930s prairie populism and the Chautauqua circuit), *You've Come a Long Way Katie* (about alcoholism—Katie dies), and *The Greening of Ian Elliot* (which combines the debate about the ordination of homosexual ministers in the Unified Church and the fight against the Aleimeda-Rafferty Dam).

From 1976 to 1985, the CBC presented an anthology of what R.L. Thomas, the first executive producer, called "journalistic dramas." Searching, topical, often controversial, innovative in subject matter and not usually too didactic, *For the Record* attracted the best talent in Canada, in front of and behind the cameras. Some of the most notable productions were *A Far Cry from Home*, *Ready for Slaughter*, *Blind Faith*, *Every Person Is Guilty*, *I Love a Man in Uniform*, *Maria*, *One of Our Own*, and *The Winnings of Frankie Walls*. Subjects included unemployment, the economic troubles of family farms, euthanasia, aboriginal injustice, televangelism, wife abuse, and a francophone/anglophone marriage at the time of the 1980 referendum.

When the CBC made *The Scales of Justice*, a 1990s series of drama specials about notable (sometimes sensational, sometimes only half-remembered) legal cases, they hired a well-known criminal lawyer to advise on the scripts and serve as an on-camera/voice-over guide through the intricacies of the law. The parts of the script based on testimony and those based on speculation, as well as the contradictions, were explicitly pointed out. *The Scales of Justice* appeared two or three times a year, presenting Canadian judicial and social history without losing track of the ethical questions involved in docudrama.

Miniseries of the late 1980s and 1990s also presented distinctive voices, sometimes dissonant to the English-Canadian culture under scrutiny: producer Bernard Zukerman's *Love and Hate* (1982) explored the personalities involved and also the cultural context of the terrorizing and murder of the wife of a well-known Saskatchewan political family. His *Conspiracy of Silence: The Story of Helen Betty Osborne* (1991) is a searching account of the racism in a northern community. He has also made *Dieppe* (1993), the story of an ill-fated raid by Canadian forces in World War II; *Million Dollar Babies* (1994), about the Dionne quintuplets; and *The Sleep Room* (1998), about unethical experiments in the 1950s on mentally ill patients.

The 1992 TV movie *Liar, Liar* looked at the possibility that a child may lie about child abuse, whereas

*Life with Billy* (1994) also examined wife and child abuse. *Butter Box Babies* recreated a period tale of neglect in an orphanage. Many of these docudramas have been ratings hits on American prime time.

John Smith's *The Boys of St. Vincent*, a 1993 CBC/NFB collaboration, is the best example of the survival of a distinctive English-Canadian television voice. It is also worth noting that, like *The Valour and the Horror*, *The Boys of St. Vincent* eluded efforts at censorship through a court injunction in Ontario and parts of Quebec because the NFB (partnered with an independent company with a broadcast window and input from the CBC) had the conviction and the resources to put these programs on cassette for sale or loan. The miniseries had a Canada-wide airing a few months later.

No such "state" institutions exist in the United States. More important is the fact that the commercial constraints on the independent television filmmakers and the American networks would have likely ensured that such programs were not made. When shown on the U.S. cable channel A&E in 1994, some of the scenes from *The Boys of St. Vincent*, scenes that made the viewer a potentially complicit spectator—a point vital to the moral challenge of the work—were simply cut. Unfortunately, this masterwork was not shown on the CBC without commercials on the "publicly owned broadcasting system." The effect was very damaging to the integrity of the work.

### Soap Opera

Some of the most popular U.S. genres have never taken hold on Canadian television. Unlike every other developed country and despite successful efforts in 1940s and 1950s radio, until the 1990s, there were no soap operas, no *téléromans* (a francophone long-serial form at which SRC excels), on English-Canadian television. There was only one brief, though seminal fling, in the 1960s, at short serials on film. There is a straightforward reason for the absence of this genre. In the early days the CBC had no interest. When CTV arrived in the early 1960s, soaps were "too expensive" because they involved a sustained commitment to TV drama. In the 1970s, CBC TV tried the longer-serial form, based on Mazo de la Roche's widely popular Whiteoaks novels. *Jalna* was shot using experimental techniques, multiple storylines and timelines—and it failed. In the same decade, the CBC also tried a twice-weekly nighttime soap called *House of Pride*. Reflecting the CBC mandate to show Canadians the five "regions" (a largely fictional, but still potent set of geopolitical myths dividing Canada into "the Atlantic provinces," Quebec, Ontario, "the West," and British

Columbia), *House of Pride* was set and taped in five cities across the country. Ahead of its time (*Dallas* was five years away), logistics and problems with the storylines killed the serial.

More than ten years after *House of Pride*, two half-hour daytime soaps appeared on the private networks, Global's *A Foreign Affair* and CTV's *Family Passions*, both coproduced with several other countries. CTV also aired two seasons of steamier adult sex and social issues in *The City*. Then the CBC tried to emulate the U.K. soap *Coronation Street* in *Riverdale*, initially a twice-weekly, early-prime-time serial. *Riverdale* was addictive to some and offered some good cultural observations, but it lasted only two seasons. In 2001 the specialty channel Showcase began offering *Paradise Falls*.

### Series

Most Canadian series are produced by the CBC and are inflections or sometimes hybrids of U.S. genres. Yet, in contrast to the U.S. programs of the same type, Canadian series show a different legal or medical system, different urban landscapes (no mean streets), very different ethnic mixes and attitudes, and are less violent. Canadian series are also often less confrontational, although not always, as illustrated by *Street Legal* and its mid-1980s rival, CTV's only high-quality series, *E.N.G.* In the 1990s, Global had its first adult hit with *Traders*, a high-energy, complex serial about stockbrokers, which aired in the evenings. In most of these series, we see actors who are comfortable working in ensemble, usually performing in less-extroverted ways than their U.S. cousins. The writers, producers, and executives of Canadian series have always been more comfortable than their U.S. counterparts with ambiguity in characterization, literate dialogue, sometimes-open endings, and often complex subtext.

The fact is, if Canadians created many U.S.-genre clones, such as CTV's action-adventure series *Counterstrike*, they could not compete with the production values or the stars and would not be worth watching when the originals are a channel-changer's zap away. However, it is also true that Canadians were delighted that the huge neighbor to the south broadcast in prime time—and then renewed midseason 1995–96—CTV's *Due South*, the "odd couple" comedy/cop show that featured a Mountie from the far north displaced to the streets of Chicago, and Ray, his cynical sidekick. (When coproduction partners withdrew, thus ending the program in the United States, CTV continued *Due South* for two more seasons in Canada.)

It is true that, when time and money are spent on it,

Canadian popular drama has always been competitive with "theirs." Note the success of *Wojeck*, *The Manipulators*, the much-loved period series *A Gift to Last*, *The Great Detective*, and sitcoms like *King of Kensington*, *Hangin' In*, *Max Glick*, and the wonderful hybrid mystery show *Seeing Things*. For that series, coproducers David Barlow and Louis DelGrande inflected the cop show to produce a unique protagonist, Louie Ciccone—a shortsighted newspaper reporter with glasses, who has visions of murders he would much rather ignore; does not drive or know which end of a gun is which; is rescued by a flying puck, a cake, and often by his wife, Marge. The series had a strong moral center and a lot of culturally specific topical satire, and it also worked as a good whodunit.

## Canada's Exports

### People

Canadians take rueful pride in the export of talent that has happened throughout their broadcast history: host Bernard Braden and many producers, including Sydney Newman, to the United Kingdom; actors Raymond Massey, Leslie Nielsen, Lorne Green, William Shatner, John Colicos, Martin Short, and John Candy, producer Lorne Michaels, writers Bernard Slade, Arthur Hailey, Anna Sandor, and Bill Gough, and literally dozens of others to the United States. In the 1980s, the independently made satire *The Canadian Connection* used several expatriates to explore the theory that Canadians were involved in a conspiracy to take over Hollywood—and thus all of American culture. It has been rerun several times.

### Programs

Why did Canada not simply export some of its entertainment programming to the United States instead of its talent? The answers are many. First, there was no star system in English-Canadian TV until the mid-1970s, and then only fitfully—no actor was "bankable." Since its beginning, Canadian television could not retain some of its major talent because it paid much less than competitors in other countries. When talented individuals stay—and many do—it is because of the life in Canada and the opportunities to do a very different kind of work.

Still, Canadian television has been shaped from the beginning by a steady exodus of its programming. The 19 seasons of *The Beachcombers* were among the CBC's most profitable exports. The U.S. network NBC bought the concept, writer, star, and much of the technical team of *Wojeck*, which, after being run through the network blender, aired as the barely recognizable

*Quincy*. Nearly 20 years later, to garner a summer prime-time run in the United States, the fairly gritty, and not overtly Canadian, CTV cop show *Sidestreet* (which had been scheduled by CBS at midnight, although run in Canada at 10:00 P.M.) featured American stars as guests on the series, while the scripts were made more straightforward with less allusion and ambiguity. In the case of *Danger Bay*, a popular 1980s family/adventure series set in part at the Vancouver aquarium, the CBC and its independent partner had to struggle with coproducers from Disney to allow a scene and a storyline featuring the live birth of a whale. One of the CBC's most successful exports, *Road to Avonlea*, featured at least one American or British guest star in most episodes because Disney was coproducer.

### Francophone and First Nations Populations and Canadian Television

The French presence in Quebec, the million Francophones outside Quebec, and the aboriginal nations scattered throughout Canada and dominant in the north have all been visible intermittently in English Canada's television drama. *La famille Plouffe* (1953–59 on CBC, 1952–59 on SRC) was broadcast live, sequentially, in both languages. There have also been a few efforts to reflect each culture to the other in the arts. *Festival* presented in English the works of a handful of Quebec playwrights, including Michel Tremblay's *Les Belles Soeurs*. In 1979 *For the Record* produced a contemporary drama on the topic of Quebec separatism, *Don't Forget: Je me souviens*. However, despite a near miss in the 1995 referendum on the issue, there has been no other drama on this subject on the CBC in the last couple of decades. This silence is notable, for television fiction can be a site where the conflicting discourses of society are made concrete, sometimes mediated, and sometimes exposed as unresolved.

As the CBC itself admitted in its 1978 submission to the CRTC, "the perception of the need to reflect the two linguistic communities to one another emerged in the CBC at about the same time as it emerged in the country—gradually over the last half of the 1960s and then early 1970s and then abruptly in the mid-1970s." In the 1980s and 1990s, the CBC presented Canada's fractious politics at length on *The Nation*, *The Journal*, *The Fifth Estate*, and in special "Town Halls."

Whereas the CBC represents English-French conflicts for its English-language audience, the SRC creates its own mythology: for example, by decontextualizing and repeating months later, over and over, the "rednecks stomp on the Quebec flag" episode during the Meech

Lake Accord fiasco of 1987. The SRC also regularly ignores the arts in the rest of Canada (as well as most Anglophone popular culture) with a nationalist fervor that creates a deafening silence.

There were a few "cross-cultural" dramas during and after the first Quebec referendum in 1980. Miniseries such as the French *Duplessis*, *Laurier*, and *Shehaweh*, as well as the very successful English *Empire Inc.* and the less successful *Chasing Rainbows* (all set in Montreal, all lavish period pieces), were dubbed into the other language. However, the story of hockey player Pierre Lambert, *Lance et Compte* (in English, *He Shoots! He Scores!*) (1986–88), which was shot in both languages, turned into a litmus test of both cultures. *Lance et Compte* started on the SRC with 1 million viewers and soon nearly tripled to 2.7 million, out of a total viewing population of 6 million. However, the same scripts in English, using the same actors, directors, producer, and crew drew only 750,000 viewers at its peak in a hockey-obsessed culture.

It is safe to say that at no time in its history did CBC English Television depend on a soupçon of French for a distinctive flavor to its stew. Although efforts in news and current affairs continue, if Quebec leaves Canada the opportunities for shared music, drama, news reporting, sportscasts, and documentaries on a daily basis that have been wasted over the previous five decades may be one of the clearest discernible reasons for the divorce. However, in recent years continual budget cuts have forced the CBC and the SRC to cooperate more closely.

A more consistently distinctive motif in Canadian television has been the representation of First Nations peoples. The subject was first fully explored by Philip Keately (producer/director) and Paul St. Pierre (writer), who created a 1960s anthology with recurring characters, *Cariboo Country*, a contemporary western that was as far away as it could get from the U.S. TV westerns so popular at the time. Representations of indigenous Canadians appeared sporadically in other places throughout the 1970s and 1980s: Claude Jutra's *Dreamspeaker*, *Where the Heart Is*, *A Thousand Moons*, *Loyalties*, many episodes of *Beachcombers*, a few episodes of *Danger Bay*, all of the short series for children *Spirit Bay*, and, most notably and controversially, *Where the Spirit Lives* (1989), a historical drama about residential schools, which was sold to PBS and around the world and rebroadcast in Canada four times.

Beginning in 1992, the CBC presented six full seasons of *North of 60*, set on a reservation in the North West Territories. *North of 60* does not use aboriginal people as an exotic backdrop. By the end of the second season, the two leads were aboriginal. A Cree

partner for Michelle, the leading character who is a recovering alcoholic, single mother, and RCMP corporal, was added in the last two seasons. Outsiders—such as hunters, an archeologist, an RCMP inspector, a bank manager, European fur designers, and oil and diamond explorers—are made to feel different. Even the continuing characters who are not aboriginals—the nurse, band manager, and storekeeper—are never fully part of the community, although deep friendships are formed. The series presented complex and sustained examinations of alcoholism; the effect of residential schools and forced acculturation on individuals and families; internal feuds and band politics; interference from government, anthropologists, and ill-informed animal-rights activists; the ongoing friendships and resentments among the white band manager, the storekeeper, the nurse, various chiefs, the treatment center staff, and visiting artists; housing shortages; and the conflict between traditional consensual ways and modern life and politics. Since the series ended, there have been three made-for-TV movies based on *North of 60: In the Blue Ground*, *Trial by Fire*, and *Dream Storm*.

Also in the 1990s, the CBC represented First Nations peoples in the half-hour drama/comedy series *The Rez*. Notable drama specials portraying First Nations peoples have included, from the 1980s, *Isaac Littlefeathers*, *Hunting Mary Marsh*, and *Conspiracy of Silence: The Helen Betty Osborne Story*; and, from the 1990s, *Spirit Rider* and *Medicine River*, the latter based on a novel by aboriginal writer Thomas King. However, stereotypes can still be found in reruns of the late-1980s *Bordertown*, the CTV western about a Mountie, a U.S. marshal, and a woman doctor from France (the series was a coproduction with France), or Global's steamy *Destiny Ridge*, and in the CBC's *Trial at Fortitude Bay* (1994).

Nevertheless, since the Oka crisis of 1990 (named for the Quebec village of Oka, a three-month-long standoff sparked by land rights and other issues, pitting Mohawks against Quebec police and federal troops) and in the midst of an ongoing debate about cultural appropriation, Canadians have changed what they watch on television and how they watch it. Meanwhile, the long-running and evolving aboriginal motif has now been claimed by those whose lives it reflects, although—with the exception of four half hours in a mini-anthology called *Four Directions*—in drama the dominant culture still prevails when presenting this complete subject. Since 1999, all Canadian cable systems have carried the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN). It offers a variety of aboriginal perspectives on all kinds of topics, in native languages, French, and English.

The future of the CBC remains uncertain. However, despite its proximity to the biggest media giants in the world, its "mixed" structure, and its inevitable ups and downs, Canadian television (and the CBC in particular) has retained a distinctive voice, supporting, amplifying, and sometimes defining a distinctive national culture.

MARY JANE MILLER

*See also Beachcombers; Boys of St. Vincent; Cariboo Country; CODCO; Degrassi; E.N.G.; Family Plouffe, La; Fifth Estate; For the Record; Front Page Challenge; Hockey Night in Canada; Kids in the Hall; Man Alive; Market Place; National; Nature of Things; North of 60; Quentin Durgens, M.P.; Road to Avonlea; Second City TV; Street Legal; This Hour Has Seven Days; Tommy Hunter Show; Valor and the Horror; Wayne and Shuster; Wojack*

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## Canadian Programming in French

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Television was embraced by French-language viewers more quickly than any other group in Canada. They bought TV sets more rapidly and watched more television than did their English-speaking counterparts. A majority of television households were concentrated among the working-class families of Montreal. From the beginning, La Société Radio-Canada, Canada's public francophone broadcaster, was the center of French programming in Canada.

As the only francophone television broadcaster, it enjoyed a monopoly position. Because it faced no competition either inside or outside Canada, and because it had to produce more than 75 percent of its own programming, Radio-Canada was able to craft programs intended to enlighten and educate as well as entertain its captive audience. The power of television was very quickly understood by Quebec's creative community and, unlike comparable groups in anglophone Canada, television production in Quebec drew upon some of the most creative and inventive minds in French-Canadian society. Historians and commentators generally describe francophone television's early years from 1952 to 1960 as a "golden age." Leading academics, artists, and intellectuals were quick to embrace the new medium, making television a powerful force in Quebec's Quiet Revolution.

In the realm of news and information, Radio-Canada was determined to keep its public well informed—not only about the country but about the entire world. Journalists such as Gerard Pelletier and André Laurendeau argued that television could be an instrument of modernity that would not only introduce the rest of the world to Quebec but serve to improve knowledge and raise the sense of national pride. Pelletier hosted *Les idées en marche* (1955-61), a public affairs show that featured debates and interviews with prominent intellectuals on domestic and international issues. Laurendeau presided over *Pays et merveilles* (1953-61), a world-travel series that featured film footage and guests who would discuss such issues as the Middle East. Other popular news and information shows included *Carrefour* (1958-59) and *Premier Plan* (1959-60), which were interview-based. But the most critically acclaimed news and information program was *Point de Mire* (1957-59), hosted by René Lévesque, the future premier of Quebec. This show attempted to popularize international issues such as the Algerian crisis and used maps, charts, film footage, and even a blackboard to educate and inform viewers. Only occasionally did the show address Quebecois or Canadian themes.

Other shows, such as *Panoramique* (1958-59), a se-



ries of historical documentaries from the French division of the National Film Board of Canada, drew viewers' attention to Canadian and Quebec historical issues. *Le roman de la science* was a docudrama about major scientific discoveries throughout history. *Je me souviens/Dateline* was a bilingual informational program on Quebec and Canadian history. *Explorations* (1956–61) was another history series that tried to bridge the Canadian cultural and linguistic divide. One segment from the series, "Two Studies of French Canada," was run on the English-language Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Hosted by Lévesque, this program tried to explain to anglophone Canadians the recent history and aspirations of French Canadians.

Variety and musical programs also carried an international flavor. *Music Hall* (1955–65), Quebec's alternative to *The Ed Sullivan Show*, hosted a lineup of international francophone stars that included Maurice Chevalier, Edith Piaf, Charles Aznavour, and well-known Canadian singers such as Monique Leyrac and Denise Filiatrault.

Radio-Canada provided a broad range of variety programs to suit all tastes. *Feu de joie* featured jazz; *Dans tous les cantons* ran traditional French-Canadian folk music; *Chansons vedettes* and *Chansons canadiennes* showcased contemporary popular artists. Despite this impressive lineup with extravagant costumes and lavishly produced numbers, the shows did not attract viewers. Variety programming was the least popular of all the types of television produced by Radio-Canada in the 1960s, and, unlike the CBC, the system never had a truly popular program such as those hosted on the CBC by Don Messer or Tommy Hunter. The only light-entertainment show that developed any following was the comedy-sketch series *Quelles nouvelles*, which had been a popular radio series and starred Jean Duceppe and Marjolaine Hébert.

Comedy was, however, a central feature of game shows. Cheap and easy to design and produce—particularly since they involved little prize money—quiz shows like *Le nez de Cléopâtre* (1953–57) and *Point d'interrogation* (1956–62) featured panels of well-known personalities given a limit of 20 questions in which to identify a person or object. Other shows, such as *Chacun son métier* (1954–59), were a French version of the popular American program *What's My Line?*

Radio-Canada's real strength was the novelty or fun show. Shows such as *La clef des champs* (1955–59) and *Le club des autographs* (1957–62) were popular with audiences as much for their comedy as for their contests. Both were based on simple premises: *La clef des champs* was a charades game, but the actor and co-

medians competed more for laughs than for prizes, while *Le club des autographs* invited celebrities to twist and shake in a comical dance contest. The audience's favorite, and the most extreme example of this kind of programming, was *La rigolade* (1955–58). Referring to itself as the "least serious broadcast on the air," it invited ordinary people to test their skills at the silliest contests the producers could invent. As the contests became zanier, critics decried it as a scandalous spectacle, and it was pulled off the air after only three seasons despite being among the top-ranked shows on Radio-Canada.

Francophone programmers were continually faced with trying to balance such popular programs with their cultural and educational mandate. Any kind of spectacle seemed to have a large audience. *La Lutte* (1952–59) and *La Boxe* (1952–55) broadcast weekly prize fights that attracted a large following (even among women). Sports were consistently in demand, especially *La soirée du hockey*, the most popular program on television. Though hockey had always been popular in Quebec, television made players like Rocket Richard, the star of the Montreal Canadiens, into national heroes. As many as 2 million fans watched each Canadiens' game. Richard had become such a cultural icon that when he was suspended from the playoffs in the spring of 1995, the city exploded into rioting. It was no accident that Richard made public television appeals to induce the crowds to end the violence.

This incident only added to the dilemma facing programmers as more and more viewers demanded more sports while the elites and the clergy condemned television for inciting and promoting violence. Television programmers tried to counteract these charges in the 1950s by scheduling most sportscasts on the weekends and by increasing television's broadcast of the performing arts.

Radio-Canada had always believed that television could stimulate and educate the viewer. Music, ballet, opera, and drama were presented several times a week in various anthologies. *L'heure du concert* (1954–66) was devoted to concerts, opera, and ballet. Initially, it offered a series of excerpts from various productions and provided brief lectures on various art forms. Theater also occupied the most prominent place in Radio-Canada's early programming, and despite the challenges, difficulties, and production costs involved with live television drama, CBFT produced as many as two dramas a week throughout the 1950s. A demand for local productions fueled an enormous expansion in the development of Quebecois literature. Initially, great classical works such as Cocteau's *Oedipe-Roi* had been presented, but these were quickly replaced



with local works. Soon short stories and even novels had to be adapted for television as more traditional works were soon exhausted. Eventually, Quebecois authors were commissioned to write specifically for television.

Between 1952 and 1960, Radio-Canada aired 435 plays, 80 percent of which were originally written or adapted by popular Quebecois writers such as Marcel Dubé, Hubert Aquin, Françoise Loranger, and Felix Leclerc. The majority of teleplays were showcased on *Le Téléthéâtre de Radio-Canada* (1953–66), which presented more than 160 works, and *Théâtre populaire* (1956–58), which presented more than 100 plays. Other series included *Théâtre d'été* (1954–61) and *En première* (1958–60), *Théâtre du dimanche* (1960–61), *Jeudi Théâtre* (1961–62), and *Théâtre d'une heure* (1963–66).

While the teleplays received great critical acclaim, they were far less popular than the téléromans, televised serials adapted from popular novels. Since the debut of Roger Lemelin's *La famille Plouffe* (1953–59), this television genre has been a mainstay of francophone programming. Usually broadcast in half-hour episodes in peak hours over the fall/winter schedule, the stories would generally be completed in two or three seasons, but two series lasted much longer than the norm. *Les Belles Histoires des pays d'en haut* went on for 14 years, while *Rue des Pignons* continued for 11 years. Other popular téléromans included *Quatorze, rue de Galais* (1954–57), *Le Survenant* (1954–57, 1959–60), *Cap-aux-sorciers* (1955–58), *La Pension Velder* (1957–61), *La Côte de sable* (1960–62), *De 9 à 5* (1963–66), and *Septième nord* (1963–67).

A producer's strike at CBFT in Montreal from December 1958 to March 1959 brought serious disruption to francophone programming and an end to the "golden age" of French-Canadian broadcasting. Not only did popular shows like *Point de Mire* and *La famille Plouffe* end their run, but many critically acclaimed programs were never to return to the airwaves. The strike has become part of the annals of Quebec's Quiet Revolution. Some of the province's most popular television personalities like René Lévesque abandoned careers in broadcasting, in Lévesque's case to launch himself into politics.

The strike and its aftermath reflected the changing realities that television faced. In 1960 Radio-Canada faced competition from a private broadcaster. Télé-Métropole, "le 10," promoted itself as the station for ordinary people. In 1971 it became part of the Télé-Diffuseurs Associés (TVA) network. Its programming relied heavily on foreign movies and dubbed American drama series. Quiz shows like *Quiz-O* and *Télé-poker* became mainstays on the schedule, along with hockey

broadcasts and variety programs that showcased Quebec's popular comedians and singers such as Robert Charlebois and Yvon Deschamps.

"Le 10" did produce a daily serial, *Ma femme et moi*, which ran in 1961, but it was only with *Cré Basile* (1965–68) that Télé-Métropole and the TVA network found critical acclaim for its television dramas. *Cré Basile* was Quebec's first sitcom, and for the first time, comedy was to become an integral part of francophone television drama. Télé-Métropole went on to develop other popular burlesque comedies—*Lecoq et fils* (1967–68), *Symphorien* (1974–78), *Les Brillant* (1979–80)—and situation comedies—*Dominique* (1977–80) and *Peau de banane* (1982–87). Télé-Métropole's programming was immediately popular. By 1966 it had 23 out of the top 25 shows and, in turn, spurred Radio-Canada to change many of its programs.

With competition, advertising revenues and sponsorships began to play a larger role in determining the television schedule. Radio-Canada's own internal surveys taken in 1960 had shown that viewers were little affected by the interruption in programming save for the loss of the téléromans. Feature films that had occupied much of the 1959–60 schedule had drawn as large an audience as its regular lineup. American imports were now available on film and could be easily translated and dubbed for a francophone audience. Not only were they cheaper than locally made productions, they were watched by more people and generated more revenue for their broadcasters. By the mid-1960s, Radio-Canada had virtually abandoned its notion of public service in favor of a more streamlined and entertaining schedule.

Performing arts broadcasts were the first victims of this change. *L'heure du concert* was cut back to bi-monthly broadcasts and presented only one performance per episode as it dropped all pretensions of educating the public. Teleplays were confined to 90 minutes per week or appeared only in summer anthologies. From a high of almost 100 broadcast hours per year, theater drama had dropped to 20 hours per year in the mid-1960s. By 1966 all music, opera, ballet, and theatrical programs were combined in the two-hour anthology *Les beaux dimanches*, which has remained as part of the Sunday lineup.

A shift to lighter programming affected all genres. Public affairs programming reflected this change with the introduction of *Appelle-moi Lise*, a late-night talk show with host Lise Payette, which became the new model for the interview format. Sports gained more prominence, and giveaway shows such as *La poule aux oeufs d'or* (1958–65), which had replaced *La rigolade*, were modeled on American quiz shows such as *The \$64,000 Question*. It was later joined by *Tous pour*

un (1963–64), which became the most watched program on Tuesday nights.

Téléromans, which had always been successes, remained as the backbone of Radio-Canada's production. They were joined by locally made comedies and sitcoms as the public broadcaster sought to win back viewers. *Moi et l'autre* (1966–71), *La p'tite semaine* (1972–76), *Du tac à tac* (1977–81), and *Poivre et sel* (1983–87) were just some of the lighter television series that competed with the private network.

When TVA launched its celebrated *Les Berger* (1970–78) series, francophone television added the new family saga genre to its drama repertoire. *Rue des Pignons* (1970–77), *Grand-Papa* (1976–85), and *Terre humaine* (1978–84) were part of the regular lineup on Radio-Canada that competed with TVA's *Le Clan Beaulieu* (1978–82), *Marisol* (1980–83), and *Les Moineau et le Pinsons* (1982–85).

A growing concern over the sharp decline in educational and cultural programming, as well as a sharp increase in dubbed American imports, prompted the Quebec provincial government to launch its own public broadcaster, Radio-Québec, in 1968. Its programming was, and still is, devoted to providing educational and cultural programs that reflect Quebecois society. Largely a community-based system, it did not begin to broadcast in the evening until the 1972–73 season. Its programming featured many documentaries and nature and science shows as well as broadcasts of the proceedings of the legislative assembly. In recent years, it too has developed its own series such as *Avec un grand A* (1985–92). It has also showcased some English-made series such as *Degrassi* but has remained committed to its educational mandate. Over half of its programming is educational, and very few of its programs are American imports.

With the development of cable systems and more private stations, fears that the airwaves would be overrun with American programming once again became an issue. Although studies had shown that foreign imports constituted only about 20 percent of all programming, they also showed that local productions were dominant only in the informational, sports, and educational genres. More alarming was the fact that over 80 percent of all drama and comedies were American-made imports.

This led to a call for a stronger commitment on the part of the province's two public broadcasters to producing more local dramas since the studies also indicated that when given a clear choice between imports and local shows, Quebecois viewers prefer to see their own artists and programs. The success of drama series such as *Lance et Compte*, *Les Filles du Caleb*, and the comedy hit *La Petite vie*, which have had huge followings both domestically and internationally, attest to Quebecois television's vitality and creativity.

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See also *Famille Plouffe, La; Téléroman*

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## Canadian Specialty Cable Channels

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The broadcasting of specialty services in Canada began in 1984 and increased dramatically in terms of number of channels, diversity of programming, and revenue throughout the decades. For the fiscal year 2001, specialty services collectively earned just less than \$1.2 billion (Canadian). Not counting pay-TV offerings, currently there are 45 analog specialty channels available to subscribers, as well as more than 50 digital specialty channels and hundreds of digital offerings that have been licensed by the Canadian Radio-

television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) but have yet to be launched. Overall, specialty services not only have proven to be the fastest-growing sector in the Canadian media industry but have garnered praise for their innovative, eclectic programming, hefty financial support for homegrown production, and showcasing of Canadian content.

The overall growth trend of specialty channels began on the shaky foundations laid by the launch of pay-TV in 1982. While pay-TV has remained an extra-

cost cable service generally offering movie channels and pay-per-view sporting events, specialty services have developed into a diverse array of themed channel destinations, with some channels included as part of the basic cable package. The first two channels to be licensed by the CRTC in 1984 were MuchMusic and The Sports Network (TSN), followed later that year by Teletatino, Chinavision, and the now defunct The Life Channel. The next spate of licenses issued by the CRTC, in 1987, included French services as well as family-, religious-, and youth-oriented options in the form of TV5, Canal Famille, Musique Plus, Réseau des Sports, MétéoMédia/Weather Now, Vision, Youth Television (YTV), and CBC Newsworld.

The 1990s saw a boom in specialty service offerings—mostly Canadian-owned channels that, by the latter end of the decade, accounted for approximately a quarter of English-language viewing and just under a fifth for the francophone sector. As of 1999, there were 43 specialty services. Overall revenue rose from 12.4 million in 1990 to \$30.2 million (Canadian) by the year 2000. Moreover, due in part to strategic regulation of the industry, by 1996, audience data indicated that Canadian-owned channels were easily outperforming foreign programming offerings for both English and French-Canadian specialty channels. The high-ratings earners at the end of the decade were TSN, YTV, and Teletoon, with audience shares of 3.7, 3.2, and 1.8 respectively.

By 1996, with the addition of 22 new channels, analog channel capacity was becoming increasingly scarce. As a result, both the industry and the CRTC pushed ahead with negotiations to implement digital services. Though limited digital offerings were previously available as far back as 1997 through such systems as direct-to-home (DTH) and multipoint distribution system (MDS), the official launch of digital cable came in September 2001. This initiative, with more than 50 operating channels and 283 licensed, stands as the world's largest coordinated launch of digital channels in the history of broadcasting.

There is a strong historical belief in Canada that film and television are cultural industries and representative of a shared cultural heritage. Boasting a 72 percent cable penetration rate into Canadian homes, specialty channels are not only high-revenue earners but also a staple of the Canadian televisual environment. Therefore, a Canadian specialty channel is differentiated from its U.S. counterpart by operating in a highly regulated environment. Regulations have allowed the channels to prosper (though some may claim to struggle) in an intensely competitive cable market. Sustaining a media industry next to the United States' overwhelming entertainment infrastructure, Canada's regulatory environment is geared toward protecting

homegrown interests while attempting to allow the advantages of a competitive, free-market approach. Regulations revolve around programming, packaging, and ownership concerns as well as ensuring access to the publicly owned broadcasting spectrum by licensed broadcasting services that include conventional television, radio, and specialty and pay television. Recognizing the close ties between the Canadian government and the television industry is key to understanding the successes and limitations of this complex and evolving sector.

Though they are private businesses, specialty channels and the cable and satellite companies that distribute them are primarily regulated by the Canadian government through the CRTC. Its dual role as both protector and regulator of the industry has often put it at odds with the profit-minded goals of distributors and broadcasters. To advocate for these sectors, the Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTA) represents cable companies—the distributors of specialty services—to the CRTC and cable stakeholders. The Specialty and PayTV Association (SPTV), now merged with the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), operates an advocate for specialty and pay television programmers' interests. Both the CCTA and CAB are a strong presence in the regulatory field. Among their many activities, they have helped to create a unique self-regulating system.

The CRTC's regulatory influence over content is extensive. The overarching programming standards for specialty services are expressed through three main documents. Each channel is issued a license, generally for seven years, which is a binding contract drawn up by the CRTC, thereby giving the programmer the authority to be distributed by a cable distribution company and played over Canadian airwaves. The license is issued with a document called a "condition of license" (COL), which is individually tailored to the particular content concerns for each service. For example, in the case of YTV, there are stipulations on genre, percentage of programming targeted to different ages, amount of advertising, and, since YTV is aimed at children and young adults, age of protagonists who appear in the programs. All COLs reflect the minimum amounts of Canadian content (usually between 20 and 50 percent) and the percentage amount of revenue to be spent on purchasing Canadian content, and they ensure that the channel adheres to the spirit of its original concept. COLs can be amended at the time of license renewal or through special request.

On a larger scale, the Broadcasting Act (1991) is the prime overarching legal statute for the industry that represents the general expectations for Canadian programmers and distributors. It is to the spirit of this all-encompassing act that all other regulations must

conform. The 1990 Specialty Services Regulations is a key document geared to specialty service providers. Other important documents are industry-adopted codes such as the Sex Role Portrayal Code (1990) and the Voluntary Code Regarding Violence in Television Programming (1993). In general, all documents reflect, depending on their focus, a commitment to Canadian support of homegrown content, programming that is sensitive to racial and gender portrayals, and programming that upholds the general ideals of cultural diversity, enrichment, and quality.

Specialty channels are affected as well by the regulations directed at the distributors that carry them (and who may own shares in various channels). Specialty services have historically been distributed through cable, though in the mid- to late 1990s new distribution systems, such as DTH satellite and MDS, became more important in this sector, particularly with digital services. Canada has well over a hundred cable companies, serving 8 million households, though giants like Rogers, Shaw, Vidéotron, and, to a lesser extent, Cogeco dominate the market. These cable companies follow the Broadcasting Distribution Regulations as well as numerous other CRTC rulings. Of particular importance to specialty services are tiering, linkage, and ownership.

"Tiering" is the bundling of specialty (and premium) services into different consumer packages to be sold at different prices. While the companies themselves decide on the final package, broadcast regulations dictate aspects of this packaging by regulating what gets included in a basic package or as an optional, also known as a discretionary, service. In the beginning, these services were offered on a discretionary basis. The tiers have since grown to include "optional-to-basic," a term used between 1987 and 1993 to indicate that services were basic unless the service itself opted for the discretionary tier. Services such as MuchMusic and TSN vied to amend their licenses in this manner in order to have the option to negotiate their placement on either a discretionary or basic tier in any given cable market.

The terms have since evolved to incorporate flexibility for the cable company, the channel, and the varied markets in which they operate. As of 2001, depending on each particular market in which it is operating, a cable distributor must distribute items from a list that includes offerings such as CBC Newsworld, YTV, and *Le Réseau de l'information*. However, this stipulation is made on the "dual status basis," meaning that the specialty service can opt to have it placed on a discretionary tier. For the discretionary tier, or "dual modified status," the list includes offerings like The Food Network Canada, Canal Vie, The Comedy Network, and CTV Newsnet. The rule here is that the list

of services can only be placed on basic with the mutual consent of the specialty programmer and the cable company. The upshot is that while being placed on the basic tier is desirable for a service, given the greater advertising reach (since more people subscribe to basic as the less expensive service), a sought-after service can potentially earn more on the higher-priced discretionary tier in terms of money charged to the cable company to pick up the channel and money earned by the cable company by selling a higher-priced service to the consumer.

"Linkage" is a term that describes the rules governing the distribution of foreign, often American, channels. Cable companies must give priority carriage to Canadian channels but can choose foreign programming from a list of eligible satellite services. Shrewdly packaging Canadian offerings with tried-and-tested American channels such as CNN, Canadian specialty services have lured audiences toward acquiring Canadian specialty services from the outset. Creating a list of "Eligible Satellite Services" from which distributors can apply for foreign programming, the CRTC originally dictated that non-Canadian channels could only be offered on a two-to-one basis per tier. This meant for every two foreign channels carried, there had to be one Canadian offering. This regulation was changed in 1993 and now the ratio is one to one. Moreover, no foreign service can overlap in content or theme with a Canadian channel. In the event that a new Canadian channel is licensed that somewhat matches an existing foreign channel's programming thrust, then the foreign service may have its license suspended. Most notably, this occurred in 1994 in the case of American-owned Country Music Television, Canada (CMT) and Canada's New Country Network (CNC), which exploded into a heated trade dispute that ended only with the last-minute partnering of the two companies.

Finally, ownership concerns affect both foreign ownership as well as Canadian cable companies, who have had a variable history in their ownership allowances. In short, the Canadian specialty landscape, unlike Canada's cinema exhibition system, is Canadian owned and operated. Foreign ownership is limited to 33.3 percent of media companies, but it generally is restricted to the 20 percent maximum shareholder allowance if the company holds a broadcast license, which it must do to operate a specialty service. A Canadian cable company, on the other hand, has had greater flexibility in ownership rules. From their inception cable companies were allowed to own specialty channels, although the regulations tightened in the mid-1990s in the wake of increasing media consolidation, whereupon only minority shareholder status was permissible. The regulations have since loosened, due somewhat to the recent CRTC ruling that allowed Bell

Canada Enterprise to own a satellite distribution company along with specialty channels through its CTV broadcasting network.

These types of regulations have met with success in creating a prosperous specialty sector. However, with the licensing of the new digital channels, also known as diginets, there have been some notable differences from their analog counterparts reflecting a more competitive, and less protected, market environment. Though Canadian content expectations are high (ranging between 35 percent and 50 percent) and Canadian ownership is essential for licensing, tiering does not follow suit in the digital environment. While the CRTC has licensed 21 Category 1 (or "must-carry") channels arranged as distinct genres, the other hundreds are a free-for-all in terms of packaging. However, all Category 1 channels have been carefully arranged not to have overlapping genres, and linkage rules remain in the one-to-one ratio with a mandate to not directly compete with Canadian offerings. Distributors, be they cable, DTH, or MDS, have no ownership restrictions for the channels. However, for every channel that they own, they are required to carry five channels in which they have no ownership claims, otherwise known as the five-to-one rule.

Within this complex regulatory environment in which distributors and programmers operate is the extremely competitive business side of specialty services. A specialty channel in Canada generates revenue through advertising and subscription fees, paid to the service by the distributor on a per-subscriber basis. Though historically deriving the approximately 70 percent of its profits from subscriber fees, advertising revenue is on the increase, reflected by the increased viability of niche marketing and the CRTC's increase for nearly all specialty channels in the latter 1990s of advertising from 8 to 12 minutes per hour.

Both the cable companies and specialty networks have obligations to fund Canadian programming through their revenues. In the case of a cable distribution, a small percentage of revenue is contributed to production funds. Of the percentage set aside for content funds, 80 percent goes toward the Canadian Television Fund (CTF). The other 20 percent is capital that the cable company may invest at its discretion toward other funding schemes. The CTF is a "public-private" fund that is dually financed by the federal government and cable industry to support Canadian production ventures. The specialty channels, however, are required to "shop Canadian," and a percentage of their revenue, outlined in their COL, is destined for purchasing Canadian programming. Since each channel is mandated to air a specified amount of Canadian programming, the system operates a consistent supply-and-demand market for Canadian content.

With an overloaded analog spectrum and a successful albeit fledgling digital distribution system, the landscape for Canadian television players has been indelibly altered. While this has resulted in broadening consumer choice, it has added further complexity to one of the world's most innovative television markets. However, the specialty landscape is one of Canada's cultural successes due in part to regulatory protection, active trade representation, and shrewd business management. The dawning digital era has been hopeful. As of March 2002, total subscribership for digital offerings stood at 2.9 million with a growth rate that is 4 percent higher than that in the United States. As an indication of Canada's commitment to establishing a digital environment, in January 2000, the CRTC ceased licensing analog channels, except in exceptional circumstances. How the sector will fare in the era of digital transmission is still uncertain though Canada's lead in this sector bodes well for the industry and consumers alike.

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**See also Cable Networks; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld; Canadian Cable Television Association; Canadian Television Network; Digital Television; MuchMusic; Youth Television**

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# Canadian Television Network

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The Canadian Television Network Ltd. (CTV) was incorporated in 1961 as Canada's first private television network. Its network structure has evolved significantly over the years.

CTV is the most popular Canadian network, attracting up to 15 percent or more of the English-speaking audience. It has been accused by cultural nationalists and regulatory agencies of airing U.S. imports in prime time and relegating its few, often inexpensive Canadian productions to off-peak hours. Although the network has produced relatively little drama or comedy, it has achieved some notable programming successes. In 1967 CTV launched the news magazine *W5*, which still enjoys excellent ratings. In 1972, it launched *Canada A.M.*, which became the prototype for ABC's *Good Morning, America*. CTV's news and sports programs have also enjoyed steady success, even at times surpassing the CBC. In the mid- to late 1980s, CTV coproduced such highly successful dramas as *Night Heat* and *E.N.G.* Ultimately, CTV's protestations that its achievements are underappreciated must be balanced against the view that it has failed to contribute fully to the development of national culture.

CTV's network structure has moved through four distinct phases. From 1961 to 1965, CTV was controlled principally by its founder, Spencer Caldwell. Having won the original license, he planned to supply affiliates with ten hours of programming per week: content acquired internationally, original content produced in the affiliates' stations, and content controlled by the affiliates but offered to the network. Caldwell hoped to increase the weekly hours until CTV rivaled the CBC.

Three factors prevented the realization of this plan. First, Caldwell underestimated the technological start-up costs and was forced to seek loans from the affiliates. Second, the affiliation agreements worked to the detriment of the network, since affiliates could demand network compensation even if the network had not managed to sell all of its airtime. Third, as CTV supplied only ten hours per week, the affiliates established a parallel acquisition service to fill another 24 hours. The ITO (Independent Television Organization) effectively competed against CTV and drove up prices.

By 1965, on the brink of bankruptcy, Caldwell sold out to the affiliates. Until 1993, CTV operated as a cooperative. As such, each affiliate became a shareholder in the network, each shareholder sat on the board of di-

rectors, and each held the power of veto over board decisions. Additionally, the network now provided 39.5 hours of programming per week, thereby obviating the need for the ITO, which was abolished in 1969. Finally, affiliates could no longer demand compensation for unsold airtime.

This structure introduced new tensions. First, the affiliates served highly differentiated markets and held correspondingly divergent views on appropriate programming. Second, as major local independents, affiliates derived as much profit from local market dominance as from network affiliation. Hence, they tended to put their own profitability before the network's health, treating it at times as a necessary evil and approving only minimal operating budgets. Third, although the larger affiliates attracted a larger share of the audience, and therefore contributed proportionally more to network profits, each of them had only one vote and could be overruled. Fourth, some shareholders acquired more than one affiliate but were nonetheless restricted to a single vote. As a result, some shareholders lobbied for changes to the network structure. Finally, some shareholders owned stations unaffiliated with CTV, thereby creating potential conflicts of interest, especially as these stations sometimes competed against CTV for both program acquisition and market share.

CTV therefore failed to develop as a powerful network. Its weakness as a network curtailed its ability to produce Canadian content and therefore to meet the expectations of the Broadcasting Act.

In 1986 CTV's corporate structure came to the attention of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which introduced new conditions at the network's license renewal hearings. For example, between 1987 and 1994, the CRTC instructed CTV (1) to spend \$403 million (Canadian) on Canadian programming; (2) to schedule 120 hours of Canadian dramatic features, miniseries, and limited series in prime time; (3) to provide 24 hours of Canadian musical programming; and (4) to provide a minimum of 1.5 hours of regularly scheduled Canadian programming in prime time, rising to 3.5 hours per week. CTV spent \$417 million, scheduled 126 hours of dramatic features, and programmed 40 hours of musical content, but it requested that the minimum number of regularly scheduled dramatic hours not exceed three per week.



Courtesy of CTV Inc.

Acting under the Canadian Business Corporations Act, CTV now consisted of seven shareholders who had each invested \$2 million in the network. Board decisions would be made by majority vote, with no party having a veto. Shares could be sold and transferred so long as they were first offered to the other shareholders. The network also undertook to provide 42.5 hours of programming per week and to purchase airtime from affiliates at a fixed annual sum.

This arrangement brought CTV closer to the U.S. network model although CTV still possessed no owned-and-operated stations and remained an alliance of shareholders who controlled important single stations or strings of stations throughout the country. Furthermore, beginning in 1993, a new sequence of events convulsed CTV. Between 1993 and 1996, one of the shareholders, Baton (a contraction of "Bassett" and "Eaton," the names of its two controlling families), undertook acquisitions, stock swaps, and mergers that effectively gave it control of CTV. As of 1997, therefore, CTV fully resembles a U.S.-style network, with unified management and owned-and-operated stations in key markets.

In 1996 CTV launched five specialty or cable channels: News1 (now CTV Newsnet), the Comedy Channel, the Discovery Channel, the Outdoor Life Network, and SportsNet. These gave CTV a strategic presence in the increasingly crowded broadcast and cable spectrum, diversified its income streams, multi-

plied its broadcast windows, and reinforced its relationship with production companies. In 1999, CTV acquired TSN, an all-sports specialty channel and the most profitable of all cable networks, and its French-language counterpart, RDS (Réseau des sports). However, with control of two sports channels—TSN and SportsNet—CTV will be required to dispose of one of them. In September 2000, CTV also launched Talk TV, a specialty channel. By 2000, CTV was the dominant Canadian television network.

In 2000 CTV was acquired by the telecommunications giant Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) for \$2.3 billion. However, in 2001, BCE also acquired the *Globe and Mail*, a widely respected and influential newspaper. This resulted in a new corporate entity, Bell GlobeMedia, and a new corporate structure: Jean C. Monty became chairman of the board of Bell GlobeMedia; Ivan Fecan is president of Bell GlobeMedia and chief executive officer of CTV; Trina McQueen is president and chief operating officer of CTV.

These events mirrored similar developments in the United States, as CTV sought both to consolidate well-known brand names and to develop synergies. In 2001 CTV's position was further strengthened by the launch of seven new specialty channels: WTSN (women's sports), CTV Travel, Info Sports, Animal Planet, Discovery Civilization, ESPN Classic Canada, and The NHL Network. In addition to the above, CTV also holds interests in ROB-TV (a spin-off of the *Globe and Mail's* "Report on Business" section) and CTV pay-per-view sports. It holds minority interests in Viewer's Choice Canada (pay-TV movies) and History Television.

PAUL ATTALLAH

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# Candid Camera

## U.S. Humor/Reality Program

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*Candid Camera*, the first and longest-running reality-based comedy program, premiered on ABC August 10, 1948, under its original radio title, *Candid Microphone*. The format of the program featured footage taken by a hidden camera of everyday people caught in hoaxes devised by the show's host, Allen Funt. In the world of *Candid Camera*, mailboxes talked to passersby, cars rolled along effortlessly without engines, little boys used X-ray glasses, and secretaries were chained to their desks, all to provoke a reaction from unsuspecting mechanics, clerks, customers, and passersby. In a 1985 *Psychology Today* article, Funt explained his move to television by saying that he "wanted to go beyond what people merely said, to record what they did—their gestures, facial expressions, confusions, and delights."

The program changed its name to *Candid Camera* when it moved to NBC in 1949, but it did not gain a permanent time slot until it finally moved to CBS in 1960. For the next seven years it was consistently rated as one of television's top ten shows before it was abruptly canceled. Funt was frequently joined by guest hosts such as Arthur Godfrey, Durward Kirby, and Bess Meyerson. A syndicated version of the program containing old and new material aired from 1974 to 1978. Aided by his son Peter, Funt continued to create special theme episodes (e.g., "Smile, You're on Vacation," "Candid Camera Goes to the Doctor," etc.) for CBS until 1990, when *The New Candid Camera*, advised by Funt and hosted by Dom DeLuise, went into syndication. Low ratings finally prevented King Productions from renewing the show for the 1992–93 season. However, in 1998, the program was revived again, with Peter Funt and Suzanne Somers as cohosts. New episodes of this version continued on the cable channel PAX in the early 21st century.

The scenarios designed and recorded by Alan Funt and his crew were unique glimpses into the quirks and foibles of human nature never before deliberately captured on film. The average scenario lasted approximately five minutes and was based on one of five strategies: reversing normal or anticipated procedures, exposing basic human weaknesses such as ignorance or vanity, fulfilling fantasies, using the element of surprise, or placing something in a bizarre or inappropri-

ate setting. As Funt noted, "You have to make lots of adjustments to create viewer believability and really involve the subject. You need the right setting, one in which the whole scenario will fit and make sense to the audience even when it doesn't to the actor." Finding the right setting and the right people for *Candid Camera* stunts was not always an easy task.

Early attempts to film *Candid Camera* were hampered by technical, logistical, and censorship difficulties. While they appeared simple, the staged scenes took many hours to prepare, and success was far from guaranteed. Approximately 50 recorded sequences were filmed for every four or five aired on the program. Funt and his crew had to contend with burdensome equipment that was difficult to conceal. The cameras were often hidden behind a screen, but the lights needed for them had to be left out in the open. Would-be victims were told that the lights were part of "renovations." Microphones were concealed in boxes, under tables, or, in a number of episodes, in a cast worn by Funt himself. In his book *Eavesdropping at Large* (1952), Funt also described his battles with network censors and sponsors who had never before confronted this type of programming and were often fickle in their decisions about what was and was not acceptable material for television at the time. Funt himself destroyed any material that was off-color or reached too deeply into people's private lives. A hotel gag designed to fool guests placed a "men's room" sign on a closet door. The funniest, but ultimately unaired, reaction came from a gentleman who ignored the obvious lack of accommodations and "used" the closet anyway.

*Candid Camera's* unique approach to documenting unexpected elements of human behavior was inspired in part by Funt's background as a research assistant at Cornell University. At Cornell, Funt aided psychologist Kurt Lewin in experiments on the behaviors of mothers and children. He also drew on his experiences in the Army Signal Corps, where he was responsible for recording soldiers' letters home. *Candid Camera* was different from other programming because of its focus on the everyday, and on the extraordinary things that happen in ordinary contexts. "Generations have been educated to accept the characterizations of the stage and screen," Funt noted in his chronicle of the





*Candid Camera*, Susan Storrs, Durward Kirby, Allen Funt, 1960–67.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

program's history. "Our audiences have to unlearn much of this to accept candid studies, although anyone can verify our findings just by looking around and listening."

*Candid Camera* spawned a new genre of "reality programming" in the late 1980s, including such shows as *America's Funniest Home Videos* and *Totally Hidden Video*. Television audiences were forced to become reflexive about their own role in the production of comedy and in thinking about the practices of everyday life. "We used the medium of TV well," Funt commented. "There were close ups of people in action. The audience saw ordinary people like themselves and the reality of events as they were unfolding. Each piece was brief, self-contained, and the simple humor of the situation could be quickly understood by virtually anyone in our audience." Conceived in a less complex era free of camcorder technology, *Candid Camera* used insight and humor to explore both the potential of television and the role of the TV audience.

AMY W. LOOMIS

**Original Host**

Allen Funt

**Cohosts**

- Arthur Godfrey (1960–61)
- Durward Kirby (1961–66)
- Bess Myerson (1966–67)
- Peter Funt (1990, 1998–)
- Dom DeLuise (1991)
- Eva LaRue Callahan (1991)
- Suzanne Somers (1998–)

**Producer**

Allen Funt

**Programming History**

ABC	
August 1948–September 1948	Sunday 8:00–8:30
October 1948	Sunday 8:30–8:45
November 1948–December 1948	Friday 8:00–8:30
NBC	
May 1949–July 1949	Sunday 7:30–8:00
July 1949–August 1949	Thursday 9:00–9:30
CBS	
September 1949–September 1950	Monday 9:00–9:30
NBC	
June 1953	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
July 1953	Wednesday 10:00–10:30
CBS	
October 1960–September 1967	Sunday 10:00–10:30
July 1990–August 1990	Friday 8:30–9:00
Syndication	
1991	various times
PAX	
1998–	various times

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## Cannell, Stephen J. (1941– )

U.S. Producer, Writer

Stephen J. Cannell emerged as one of television's most powerful producer-writers in the 1980s. A prolific writer, he would eventually also become a series creator, an executive producer, a director, a station owner, and the head of his own studio. He specializes almost exclusively in crime shows and action-adventures, and his work, by its sheer volume, has played a significant role in redefining the parameters of those genres. Early in his career, he created and produced programs with such other crime show auteurs as Jack Webb, Roy Huggins, William Link and Richard Levinson, and Steven Bochco.

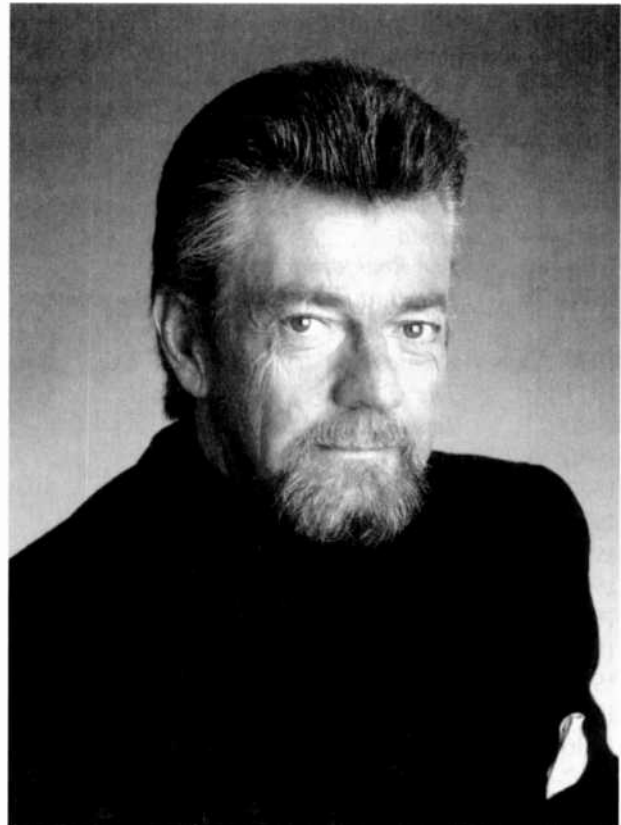
Like many other aspiring television artists in the 1960s, Cannell got his start at Universal Television, where he joined the writing staff of *Adam-12* in 1970. After a few years of writing for several of the company's other series, he began to create and produce his own shows for Universal, including *Chase*; *Baretta*; *Baa Baa Blacksheep*; *Richie Brockelman*, *Private Eye*; *The Duke*; and *Stone*. *The Rockford Files*, which won an Emmy for Outstanding Drama in 1978, was by far his most commercially and critically successful series of this period. The show exhibited all the trademarks of the Cannell style: a facile blending of comedy and drama, up-to-the-minute contemporary vernacular dialogue, and a protagonist who was a likable outsider, in this case an ex-convict.

In 1979 Cannell left Universal to form Stephen J. Cannell Productions. He won a Writers Guild Award for *Tenspeed and Brownshoe* and achieved some modest ratings success for *The Greatest American Hero*, but it was *The A-Team* that established the company as a major force in Hollywood in 1983. Adding a heavy dosage of cartoonlike action to the familiar Cannell themes, *The A-Team* made Nielsen's top ten in its debut season. Three years later, Cannell had six series on the network prime-time schedule, including *Hunter*, *Riptide*, and *Hardcastle and McCormick*.

Many critics who had praised *The Rockford Files* rejected this latest batch of Cannell's series, complaining that they were juvenile and overly formulaic. With the debut of *Wiseguy* in 1987, however, one of Cannell's shows once again earned critical respect for its intelligent dialogue, complex characterization, and occa-

sional treatment of timely issues. *Wiseguy* also employed an innovative new narrative structure, the "story arc," whereby the season was in effect divided into several multipart episodes.

In an effort to lower production costs, Cannell opened a major studio facility in Vancouver, British Columbia, toward the end of the 1980s. One of the first series shot there was *21 Jump Street*, the highest-rated show of the new FOX network's first season. *Scene of the Crime*, a mystery anthology series for CBS's late-night schedule, was also filmed in Vancouver and was hosted by Cannell himself.



Stephen J. Cannell.  
Photo courtesy of Stephen J. Cannell Productions, Inc.

Cannell, Stephen J.

Cannell Studios, the company he had set up in the mid-1980s to incorporate his production company and his many other diversified interests, was purchased by New World Communications in 1995. That same year, Cannell turned his attentions to a new career as a novelist. *The Plan*, a political thriller, was published in 1995 and became a best-seller. Since then, Cannell has written five other novels. As of late 2001, Cannell was developing projects for both film and television, including feature-film adaptations of *The A-Team* and *The Greatest American Hero*.

ROBERT J. THOMPSON

See also **Bochco, Steven; Huggins, Roy; Rockford Files**

**Stephen J. Cannell.** Born in Los Angeles, California, February 5, 1941. University of Oregon, B.A. 1964. Married: Marcia C. Finch, 1964; children: Derek (deceased), Tawnia, Chelsea, Cody. Began career as television writer in late 1960s, selling story ideas to Desilu Productions: head writer, Universal Studios, *Adam-12*, 1970; creator, writer, producer of other Universal action-adventure programs, through 1970s; founder, Stephen J. Cannell Productions, 1979. Recipient: Mystery Writers Award; four Emmy Awards; four Writers Guild of America Awards.

#### Television Series (writer-producer)

1970	<i>Adam-12</i>
1973	<i>Chase</i>
1973-74	<i>Toma</i>
1974-80	<i>The Rockford Files</i>
1976-78	<i>Baa Baa Blacksheep (The Blacksheep Squadron)</i>
1978	<i>Richie Brockleman, Private Eye</i>
1979	<i>The Duke</i>
1980	<i>Tenspeed and Brownshoe</i>
1980	<i>Stone</i>
1981-83	<i>The Greatest American Hero</i>
1982	<i>The Quest</i>
1983-84	<i>The Rousters</i>
1983-86	<i>Hardcastle and McCormick</i>
1983-87	<i>The A-Team</i>
1984-86	<i>Riptide</i>
1984-91	<i>Hunter</i>
1986	<i>The Last Precinct</i>
1986-87	<i>Stingray</i>
1987-88	<i>J.J. Starbuck</i>
1987-90	<i>21 Jump Street</i>
1987-89	<i>Wiseguy</i>

1988	<i>Sonny Spoon</i>
1989	<i>Unsub</i>
1989-90	<i>Booker</i>
1991-99	<i>Silk Stalkings</i>
1991	<i>The Commish</i>
1991-94	<i>Scene of the Crime</i>
1994-95	<i>Them</i>
1994-95	<i>Hawkeye</i>
1995	<i>Marker</i>
1996	<i>Profit</i>
1996	<i>Two</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1990	<i>I Love You Perfect</i>
1991	<i>Always Remember I Love You</i>
1991	<i>Living a Lie</i>
1992	<i>Highway Heartbreaker</i>
1993	<i>Jonathan: The Boy Nobody Wanted</i>
1993	<i>A Place for Annie</i>
1993	<i>Firestorm: 24 Hours in Oakland</i>
1995	<i>Jake Lassiter: Justice on the Bayou</i> (executive producer)
1995	<i>The Return of Hunter: Everybody Walks in L.A.</i> (executive producer)
1995	<i>The Rockford Files: Friends and Foul Play</i> (writer)
1995	<i>The Dog Hermit</i>
1996	<i>Wiseguy</i>
1996	<i>The Rockford Files: Crime and Punishment</i> (supervising producer)
1997	<i>The Rockford Files: Murder and Misdemeanors</i> (supervising producer)
1999	<i>The Rockford Files: If It Bleeds... It Leads</i> (writer)

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## CanWest Global Communications

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CanWest Global Communications Corporation (CWG) is one of Canada's leading diversified media conglomerates and an international presence in the production and distribution of film, radio, and television. Comprising major holdings in print publishing, marketing, Internet portals, and film and television production and distribution in Canada, CanWest also has interests in Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand as well as offices in London and Los Angeles. As of 2001, it commanded a 30 percent market share of the Canadian conventional TV market and had a potential reach to 97 percent of Canadian homes. CWG is also the leader in Canadian newspapers, holding 37 percent of the market. Headquartered in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and until recently headed by an outspoken owner and executive chair, the late Israel "Izzy" Asper, this family-run company stands as one of Canada's media giants and its first multimedia conglomerate.

Originating as CanWest Capital, the company began its rise as an international media company with the acquisition of a single television holding, a North Dakota station called KCND. After rearranging the call letters to CKND, and headquartering it in Winnipeg, CanWest was awarded a television license in 1974 by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). In 1977 CWG purchased a 40 percent interest in Toronto-based Global Television. By 1982 it owned a further 20 percent interest, and by 1984 the company had changed its name to CanWest Communications and was almost wholly owned by Asper. Since then, CWG has continued to acquire television, publishing, and Internet holdings, pursuing an overall trend toward diversification and vertical integration.

By 1989 Global Television was under complete ownership by Asper, who then modified the company name to its current version, CanWest Global Communications. Throughout the 1980s, CWG acquired television stations piecemeal across western Canada. Starting with the purchase of a Vancouver station in 1987 (since relinquished to one of its competitors) under the subsidiary company CanWest Pacific, other stations were acquired in Saskatoon and Regina, gaining licenses around the same time under the subsidiary SaskWest Television. Next came a station servicing the Halifax and St. John region, followed by a station in Quebec.

However, it was not until the acquisition of Western International Communication Ltd. (WIC) in 2000 that CWG became a full-fledged Canadian network, the third in Canada. Its direct competitors are Bell Canada Enterprises' (BCE's) subsidiary Bell Globemedia, which houses the CTV network, and the government-supported Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Considered one of the largest buyouts at the time, WIC's assets were divvied up between Shaw Communications Inc., CWG, and Corus (a subsidiary of Shaw). From this dissolution of WIC's assets, CWG obtained all of WIC's conventional television broadcasting undertakings, gaining nine television stations in the process (the ninth added in a separate negotiation from the other eight). CWG's gains did not happen without criticism from its competitor BCE and the lobby group Friends of Canadian Broadcasting (FSCB). The former felt that this acquisition would give CWG an unfair dominance in strong markets like Vancouver, and the latter felt that its new strength would be put to use purchasing more American pro-



## CanWest Global Communications Corp.

*Courtesy of CanWest Global Communications Corp.*

gramming, thus diminishing the presence of Canadian content. CWG attempted to allay these fears with the promise of an \$84.3 million (Canadian dollars) production fund package focusing on homegrown programming, cultural diversity, and media education. Though it was required by the CRTC that CWG divest itself of its then current holding CKVU in Vancouver, CWG's Global Network went from reaching 16 percent of the Canadian viewing audience in 1996 to 88 percent by the year 2000, and by 2002, it reached 97 percent of Canadian homes.

CWG's Canadian television assets now include 16 conventional television stations, 11 that make up its Global Network; three independent stations in Hamilton, Montreal, and Vancouver Island; and two CBC affiliate stations in Kelowna, British Columbia, and Red Deer, Alberta. Despite the rapid growth of Canada's specialty sector throughout the 1990s, the company holds only one analog cable interest, PRIME, which targets the 50-year-old-plus demographic with popular syndications such as *M\*A\*S\*H* and lifestyle shows like *Canadian Travel Show*. CWG was quicker to capitalize on the digital specialty licensing wave and has managed to obtain the licenses to 47 channels, though it has launched only six services to date. These digital channels are Men TV, a men's lifestyle network; Mystery; Deja View, showcasing predominantly American syndicated classics; Lone Star, a western-themed channel; FOX Sportsworld Canada, including sporting events from around the world; and X-treme Sports.

Meanwhile, CWG had been expanding its interests in foreign markets as well as its stake in the newspaper publishing sector. In 1991 CWG acquired 20 percent of TV3 New Zealand, a widely distributed network

with international programming that appeals to an 18-to-49-year-old demographic. By 1997 it owned 100 percent of this station and had, in the same year, launched TV4. CWG also has a stake in FM radio interests in New Zealand. In 1992 CWG turned its efforts toward Network Ten, Australia, holding a majority interest in the network and a 60 percent interest in Network Ten's advertising company Eye Corp, acquired in 2000. In both countries, these networks appeal to a young, hip audience with indigenously focused and imported programming. The Irish TV3 has a 45 percent CWG stake and is Ireland's first national private network. CWG also holds a 29.9 percent stake in North Ireland's UTV, as well as its subsidiary holding, UTV Internet. Despite spanning three countries, CWG's revenue from its international holdings generated only 8 percent of its sales in 2001.

Though CanWest's interests began in television and that remains its central concern, its largest acquisition to date has been Conrad Black's Hollinger's newspaper chain and Internet holdings. This development solidified CWG's place as the largest media company in Canada. It also stands as Canada's largest chain of newspapers, including a 50 percent stake (raised to 100 percent in 2002) in the fledgling national daily the *National Post*. The details of the acquisition sent shockwaves through the Canadian media industry, regulatory bodies, and the government: a \$2.1 billion (Canadian) transaction for hundreds of news sources as well as the Internet portal Canada.com. This merger has been closely monitored by the CRTC, CWG's competitors, as well as special interest groups, and it has spurred a slew of criticisms. Notable among these criticisms has been the newspaper's editorial bias, sparking a provocative debate in the various competing newspapers in early 2002.

The strategic advantage gained from the Hollinger acquisition was to create news-related content for its growing distribution outlets in television. However, the CRTC limited this potential integration for both CWG and BCE (which owns CTV and the national daily newspaper *The Globe and Mail*) at the time of their 2001 license renewal. For both companies, it was expected that the print and television newsrooms were to remain separate. As a compromise with the CRTC, each media company has committed to keeping its editorial managers separate but has requested to share news-gathering resources between the print and television holdings. In return, the companies will propose and follow voluntary codes of conduct for news delivery. The CRTC has also forced a commitment by each conglomerate to financially support an independent monitoring committee.

As part of creating a synergistic news-gathering structure, CWG needed to feed its growing distribution chains with entertainment content. During its growth in the 1990s, CWG's 1998 purchase of Fireworks Entertainment Inc., a Canadian film and television production company, consolidated its position as a content producer. This company was created in 1995 and since its acquisition has expanded to become the Toronto-based headquarters for Fireworks Television, Fireworks Pictures, and Fireworks International. With this purchase, CWG also acquired Skyvision Entertainment's library, a purchase Fireworks made in 1996. The Fireworks subsidiaries focus on film and television production, distribution, and financing projects and have offices based in Los Angeles and London.

In 2000 Fireworks bought the film library of Dutch-based ENDEMOL International Distribution (EID), doubling CWG's distribution rights for more than 1,200 hours of television programming. Between Fireworks and EID, CanWest now has access to television series such as *Beastmaster* and *Relic Hunter*, made-for-TV movies such as *The Audrey Hepburn Story*, as well as feature films such as *Johnny Mnemonic*, *Rules of Engagement*, and *An American Rhapsody*. Moreover, the same year as the EID acquisition, CWG entered into a joint venture with Samuel Goldwyn Films and Stratosphere Releasing, forming IDP Distribution.

As of 2002, CWG boasted a strategically built diversified media empire that dominated the Canadian market and had vertically integrated its strengths into its national and international interests. However, as a Canadian media company, it is subject to Canada's stringent rules and regulations concerning content, regulated by the CRTC, and to pursuing the mandates of the 1991 Broadcasting Act. CWG's Global Television network has been criticized over the years by lobbyists and competitors alike for renegeing on its Canadian-content obligations. A typical Global prime-time lineup is dominated by American first-run and syndicated shows including *The Simpsons*, *The X-Files*, and *Seinfeld*. Though CWG has counterargued that it has fostered some of the top-rated Canadian dramatic series, such as the show *Traders* (considered to be an underserved genre in the Canadian television landscape), FSCB has noted that CWG spends only 18 percent of its revenue buying CanCon.

However, CWG's television interests have fulfilled their obligations by servicing Canadians with local and regional news programming through CWG's stations. Moreover, in its annual report CWG announced that in the spring 2001 "sweeps" month, it was the top-rated network in Canada, averaging a 12 rating compared with a 6 rating for CTV, its closest competitor. PRIME, CWG's analog specialty channel, continues to grab audiences, showing increased ratings for 2001.

CWG has shown throughout its rise to conglomerate status that it is an ambitious, tenacious, and strategic player in the Canadian and international media landscape. Asper, who relinquished formal control in 1999 to son Leonard and passed away in October 2003, went on record stating that his goal for CanWest Global was to rival global media giants like Viacom Inc. and AOL-Time Warner Inc. It remains to be seen, given CanWest's \$4 billion (Canadian) debt since its Hollinger acquisition and the economic downturn in North America, whether CWG's current toeholds in its various markets will foster Asper's vision.

JULIA TAYLOR

#### **See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld; Canadian Television Network**

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# Captain Video and His Video Rangers

U.S. Children's Science Fiction Program

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*Captain Video and His Video Rangers*, which premiered June 27, 1949, on the DuMont Network, was the first science fiction, space adventure program on television and was to inspire a spate of similar offerings. As it combined many of the early staples of children's programming, such as the inclusion of inexpensive film clips and pointed moral lessons, *Captain Video* also capitalized on the public fascination with science and space and the technical elements of the new television medium to create the longest-running science fiction show in early television.

*Captain Video* was the creation of James L. Caddigan, a DuMont vice president. Set in the year 2254, the show was an ambitious undertaking: it was live, technically demanding, and programmed as a continuing serial appearing every evening from 7:00 to 7:30 P.M. The show was designed to take advantage of the new technology; dissolves, superimpositions, and crude luminance key effects were utilized to place Captain Video in fanciful surroundings and allow him to travel through space and time. Without the luxury of videotape and editing, however, scripts, written by Maurice C. Brock (a veteran radio scriptwriter for *Dick Tracy* and *Gangbusters*), had to contain a great deal of exposition in order to allow time to set up for short bursts of action.

The lack of sustained action was the reason given by creator Caddigan for using clips from the DuMont film library. In a typical program, as the conflict subsided for a moment, Captain Video (played by Richard Coogan, who later portrayed U.S. Marshal Matt Wayne on *The Californians*) would turn to his Remote Tele-Carrier, or, inexplicably, the show would switch to Ranger Headquarters, to show the exploits of other rangers (often cowboys such as Bob Steele and Sunset Carson in western films). These clips always involved action-oriented sequences and helped to pick up the pace of the show and allow time for the production crew to change sets and set up special effects.

Other breaks between scenes were filled with Ranger Messages. While messages on other children's programs would focus on children's issues such as safely crossing the street, Ranger Messages dealt with more global issues such as freedom, the Golden Rule,

and nondiscrimination. The sophistication of these messages seemed to anticipate an adult audience, but the shifts between space and western adventures were incomprehensible to many adults. The show was most popular with children, and by 1951 it was carried by 24 stations and seen by 3.5 million viewers, outdrawing its nearest competitor, *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*.

As the "Master of Science," Captain Video was a technological genius, who invented a variety of devices including the Opticon Scillometer, a long-range, X-ray machine used to see through walls; the Discastron, a portable television screen that served as an intercom; and the Radio Scillograph, a palm-sized, two-way radio. With public concerns about violence in television programming, Captain Video's weapons were never lethal but were designed to capture his opponents (a Cosmic Ray Vibrator, a static beam of electricity able to paralyze its target; an Atomic Disintegrator Rifle; and the Electronic Strait Jacket, which placed captives in invisible restraints). In testimony before Senator Estes Kefauver's subcommittee probing the connection between television violence and juvenile delinquency, Al Hodge, who had previously starred in radio's *Green Hornet* and became Captain Video in 1951, noted that he did not even use the word "kill" on the show.

In addition to the futuristic inventions, the plots featured sharply drawn distinctions between good and bad science. Although Captain Video, with the 15-year-old Video Ranger (played by Don Hastings, who later appeared in *The Edge of Night* and *As the World Turns*), battled a wide array of enemies, the most clever and persistent was the deranged scientist Dr. Pauli (originally portrayed by Bram Nossem, who could not sustain the grueling live schedule and was replaced by Hal Conklin). The battles were originally Earth-bound, with Captain Video circling the globe in his X-9 jet to thwart the plans of Dr. Pauli, who joined forces with other villains, such as the evil Heng Foo Sueeng. However, in response to other newly created science fiction competitors, in 1951 Captain Video began to patrol the universe and battle aliens in the spaceship *Galaxy*, under the auspices of the Solar Council of the Interplanetary Alliance. He encountered



*Captain Video & His Video Rangers*, Al Hodge, Don Hastings, 1951–55.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

such notable villains as clumsy McGee (played by Arnold Stang), an inept Martian; Norgola (played by Ernest Borgnine), who turned the sun's energy into magnetic forces; and television's first robot, Tobor ("robot" spelled backward), played by Dave Ballard.

The audience was exceptionally involved in the show, often writing to oppose plot developments or to suggest new inventions. For example, Tobor and Dr. Pauli were destroyed when their schemes backfired; however, the opposition of the viewers was great enough to bring them back in later episodes. Young viewers were also encouraged to join the Video Rangers Club and to buy Captain Video merchandise, including helmets, toy rockets, games, and records, although the show was not as extensively merchandised as some of its competitors. The show was supported, however, by large sponsors such as Skippy peanut butter and Post cereals. Fawcett also published six issues of *Captain Video Comics* in 1951. A 15-chapter movie serial, *Captain Video, Master of the Stratosphere* (released by Columbia Pictures in 1951, starring Judd Holdren and Larry Stewart), was the first attempt by Hollywood to capitalize on a television program. Du-

Mont also attempted to build on the popularity of the show by developing *The Secret Files of Captain Video*, a 30-minute, weekly adventure complete within itself, which ran concurrently with the serial from September 1953 until May 1954.

However, although Captain Video was "The Guardian of the Safety of the World," he was not able to escape the economic necessities of the industry nor prevent the demise of the DuMont network. When Miles Laboratories canceled its sponsorship of the Morgan Beatty news program, *Captain Video* remained as DuMont's only sponsored program between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M. Unfortunately, the income from that program was not large enough to justify the rental of the coaxial cable, and *Captain Video* left the air on April 1, 1955, with DuMont folding that same year.

SUZANNE WILLIAMS-RAUTIOLLA

#### Cast

Captain Video (1949–50)	Richard Coogan
Captain Video (1951–55)	Al Hodge
The Ranger	Don Hastings
Dr. Pauli (1949)	Bran Mossen
Dr. Pauli (1950–53)	Hal Conklin

#### Producers

Olga Druce, Frank Telford, James L. Caddigan, Al Hodge

#### Programming History

DuMont	
June 1949–August 1949	Tuesday, Thursday, Friday 7:00–7:30
August 1949–September 1953	Monday–Friday 7:00– 7:30
September 1953–April 1955	Monday–Friday 7:00– 7:15
February 1950–September 1950	Saturday 7:30–8:00
September 1950–November 1950	Saturday 7:00–7:30

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# Captioning

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Captioning is the display, in writing, of dialogue, narration, or other unspoken information on the screen. As an audiovisual medium, television makes extensive use of writing. Captions usually appear in two to three lines at the bottom of the screen.

Captions used for translating a foreign-language text or program are usually called "subtitles." While such "translation subtitling" is rarely used in some countries, including the United States, captioning in the same language is indispensable, especially in information programs such as news, documentaries, and weather reporting or in entertainment programs such as game shows. Captions are also used when intelligibility is reduced by poor voice quality, dialect, colloquialism, or other features of speech. Commercials make extensive use of captioning, sometimes with calligraphic expression. The written element enhances the spoken, visual, graphic, sound, or musical components of an advertisement or provides additional information.

Captions are either "open" (that is, appear on the screen without viewer control of their display) or "closed" (i.e., available for display at viewer's choice); closed captions can be "opened" with a decoder. An increasingly important use of closed captions is for making the spoken language of television available to hearing-impaired audiences. The first experiments with such captioning were initiated by PBS in the early 1970s and approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1976. PBS's Boston station, WGBH-TV, established a Caption Center, which set standards for captioned programming. Although a real success with hearing-impaired viewers who lobbied for more, some in the hearing audience complained about the distraction of open captions. The problem was solved when it became possible to assign line 21 of the vertical-blanking interval (VBI) for hiding captions, which could be conveniently opened up by a decoder. The nonprofit National Captioning Institute (NCI), formed in 1981, promoted the service and tried to gradually meet viewers' demands. In Britain, the 1990 Broadcasting Act stipulated the captioning of a minimum of 50 percent of all programs by 1998. In Canada, broadcasters raised public interest in this service by opening closed captions during a Captioning Awareness Week in 1995. In the United States, all television sets with

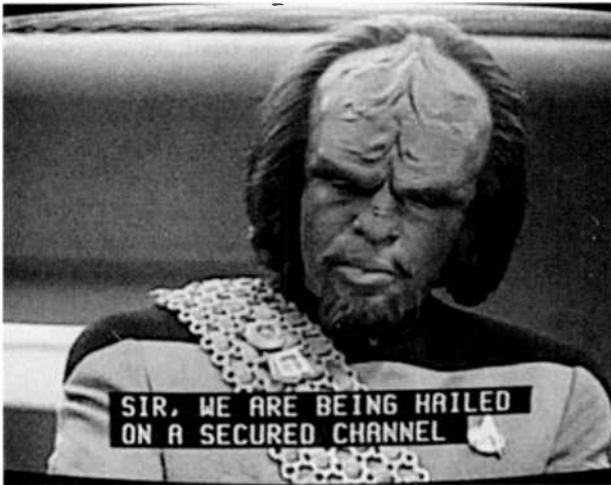
screens larger than 13 inches produced after 1993 were required to be equipped with decoders.

Nonstandardized technology is an obstacle to transnational exchange of closed-caption programs in countries speaking the same language. By the mid-1990s, there were some 3,000 captioned videos in the United States. However, NCI-captioned products in Britain could be viewed only with a decoder because the VBI lines used in the two countries are not compatible.

In both film and television, captioning began as a postproduction activity. Technological advances as well as a growing demand by hearing-impaired viewers have made it possible to provide real-time captioning for live broadcasting. This is done with the aid of a courtroom stenographer or shorthand machine; a high-speed stenographer can type no less than 200 words per minute, which is adequate for keeping up with the speed of normal conversation. Stenographed texts are not readable, however, because words are abbreviated or split into consonant and vowel clusters. While the stenographer strikes the keyboard, a computer transforms the keystrokes into captions and delivers them to the transmitting station, making it possible for the viewers to read the words seconds after they are spoken. Stenocaptioning was first tried in the early 1980s in Britain and the United States. The improved system was in use in North America in the mid-1990s, although alternative technologies were being developed in Europe.

While captioning allows millions of deaf and hard-of-hearing citizens access to television, it usually involves heavy editing of the spoken language. Screen space is limited, and captions can be displayed for only a few seconds. Thus, to allow viewers enough time to read the captions and watch the pictures, the dialogue or narration must be summarized; such editing entails change of meaning or loss of information. However, refined, although not yet standardized, styles have been developed to help the viewer get a better grasp of the spoken language. When more than one speaker is present, the captions may either be placed next to each speaker or marked by different colors. Moreover, codes or brief comments are used to indicate the presence of some features of the speech, music, and sound effects.

Captioning is a useful teaching aid in second-language learning, child or adult acquisition of liter-



An example of captioning.  
Photo courtesy of The Caption Center

acy, and in most types of educational programming. It also has a potential for creating new television genres and art forms. Digital broadcasting improves the pro-

duction and reception of captions by, for instance, allowing viewers to adjust text size and diversifying fonts and styles.

AMIR HASSANPOUR

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## Cariboo Country

### Canadian Drama Series

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*Cariboo Country*, one of the most imaginative, innovative, and evocative series ever broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), was a hybrid of anthology and series programming originating in Vancouver, British Columbia. It appeared on the CBC as a summer replacement from 1960 to 1967 and was among the first Canadian television dramas to be filmed on location. This meant that the team of producer Philip Keately and writer Paul St. Pierre, as well as the actors whose characters appeared in various episodes, all received direct and timely reactions from the ranchers and First Nations' peoples of the Cariboo, whose lives the series explored.

The series was a deliberate antithesis to the dominant North American television genre of the 1960s: the television western. It was set in the Chilcotin region of modern British Columbia. Guns were used for hunting only and were seldom seen. Horses and overused tractors shared the fields. The stories were told by a gently humorous narrator who ran the general store. Reflect-

ing Canada's different culture and history, there were no stagecoach robberies, range wars, or wagon trains fending off hostile Indians with the help of the cavalry. When the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were introduced in one episode, they were parodied. There were no prim school marms or whores with hearts of gold. The women were occasionally in the foreground but only as full partners to the men—and they never needed rescue.

The series introduced actor Chief Dan George as Ol' Antoine and was distinguished in the 1960s by the fact that all actors representing Indian characters were members of the First Nations. *Cariboo Country* was shot in black and white in documentary style without programmatic music or rapid edits. It used laconic but superbly allusive dialogue, marked by silences and honed by St. Pierre's ear for dialect.

Notable episodes included the historical flashback called "The Strong Ones," about the reaction of a young man to the fact that his Indian mother and her

children—who are involved in an “up-country” relationship with a successful rancher—are suddenly displaced by a “suitable” bride from the East. Another episode, “One Small Ranch,” documents the struggles of Smith, a recurring character, and his wife to survive harsh weather, low prices, and government interference on their marginal ranch. It also explains with ironic humor why they refuse to sell it to wealthy hunters from “outside.” In “Sarah’s Copper,” a young couple eventually refuse to sell a precious artifact—a “copper,” which signifies for Northwest Coast aboriginal peoples wealth, prestige, and an honorable history—to a white collector for his apartment wall. Their choice is made more difficult because it means they will have to do without a new truck. “All Indian,” like Keatley’s *Beachcombers*, tried to be authentic and responsive to concerns about cultural appropriation long before the term was widely used. This episode refuted the myth that “all Indians are the same” by showing a cross-cultural conflict between a husband from the Cariboo and his coast Salish wife who is “kidnapped” by her people to become a spirit dancer. The episode included a trailer pointing out that none of the dances shown were authentic. Other episodes looked at an old rancher who competes in the rodeo until it kills him, and at the conflict between a métis and his wife who bears him an imperfect child and then leaves him. Like most of the episodes of *Cariboo Country*, few of these had linear plots or neatly wrapped endings.

Three specials were developed from the series. The award-winning *The Education of Phyllistine* (pulled together from two half-hour episodes) not only explains the roots of the heedless racism that drives an Indian child out of a small rural school but also explores the relationship between the child and Ol’ Antoine, her grandfather. The second, *How to Break a Quarterhorse*, was commissioned for the prestigious anthology *Festival* during the 1967 centennial. It is a story of justice Cariboo style—the recent history of exploitation and racism that motivates a murder is taken into account when a fugitive surrenders after ten years on the run, and he is acquitted by a Cariboo jury. The story’s other plotline focuses on how Smith, Ol’ Antoine’s old friend, gets involved in the outcome of the case. After a less-successful third drama special, *Sister Balonika*, Keatley moved on to *Beachcombers*, while St. Pierre continued to write short stories about the Cariboo.

St. Pierre and Keatley enjoyed the freedom of being away from Toronto, production headquarters of English Canada, and were thus able to make filmed drama when it was not usually done. *Cariboo Country* was broadcast on CBC-owned stations only and then was presented as part of *The Serial* (despite the fact that each episode was self-sufficient). It remains one of the very best works of television created in English Canada on the CBC or the private networks.

MARY JANE MILLER

*See also Canadian Programming in English*

**Cast (irregular)**

Arch MacGregor	Ted Stidder
Ken Larsen	Wally Marsh
Smith	David Hughes
Norah Smith	Lillian Carlson
Morton Dillonbeigh	Buck Kendt
Mrs. Dillonbeigh	Rae Brown
Ol’ Antoine	Chief Dan George
Walter Charlie	Merv Campone
Sarah	Jean Sandy
Johnny	Paul Stanley
Frenchie	Joseph Golland

**Producers**

Philip Keatley, Frank Goodship

**Programming History**

CBC	
1959	two episodes
July 1960–September 1960	13 half-hour episodes
1964–66	mixture of various episodes, repeats and new, aired intermittently
1967	one 1-hour special
1969	one 90-minute special

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## Carney, Art (1918–2003)

U.S. Actor

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Art Carney's many noteworthy achievements as an actor will always be overshadowed by one role: Ed Norton. Carney made his reputation as the loyal but dopey neighbor, Ed Norton, opposite Jackie Gleason's Ralph Kramden in the classic sketches and series *The Honeymooners*. So complete was Carney's transformation into the loose-limbed, bumbling sewer worker that he won five Emmy Awards for his work with Gleason, including three consecutive awards as Best Supporting Actor from 1953 to 1955.

Carney got his start in show business doing imitations and comedy bits with Horace Heidt's orchestra. Stints in radio and bit parts in films led to Carney's first regular role on television on *The Morey Amsterdam Show*. When Jackie Gleason took over as host of the DuMont network's *Cavalcade of Stars*, Carney became a principal supporting player. He moved with the show to CBS in 1952, where it was rechristened *The Jackie Gleason Show* and "The Honeymooners" became a regular sketch.

Ed Norton may have been second banana to Ralph Kramden, but Carney's performance never took a backseat to Gleason's. Indeed, the pair created a symbiosis of comic styles so unique that when Carney left the show in 1957 "The Honeymooners" went on hiatus until his return almost ten years later. In contrast to Gleason's broad, blustery Kramden, Carney's Norton was the personification of nonchalance. His casual delivery could make any statement sound vacuous. Even his typical greeting, "Hey-hey, Ralphie boy," announced Norton's childlike amicability as well as his lack of intelligence. Carney's face drooped into a slack-jawed expression that was perpetually blank. Coupled with his feeble-minded manner was a body like a rubber band. It could be as slouched as the hat that was always perched on his head at one moment, then snapping into improbable contortions the next. Carney seemed to make up for Ed's lack of intelligence by investing the character with a host of broad physical tics that could turn a game of pool, a few moments on a pinball machine, or a mambo step, into a comic ballet. Much like the great silent comedians, Carney created a wholly original character who was recognizable at a glance. In Ed Norton we find the

pathos of Chaplin, the earnestness of Lloyd, and the physical grace of Keaton.

Even though the *Gleason Show* and the role of Ed Norton cemented Carney's success as a comedian, he was never content to be known as merely a comic actor. When the program moved to CBS, Carney's agent negotiated for the actor to have three out of every 13 weeks off to perform in noncompetitive shows. Carney built up a solid background as a dramatic performer on episodes of *Studio One*, *Suspense*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, and *Playhouse 90*, and in special events such as a telecast of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*. By the latter part of the decade, critics had come to take the excellence of Carney's dramatic performances for granted. When he appeared in the lead in Rod Serling's teleplay "The Velvet Alley" on *Playhouse 90*, the Vari-



Art Carney, c. late 1950s–early 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ety review of January 28, 1959, commented, "Carney achieved considerable stature as a dramatic actor with his remarkable performance."

In 1966 Carney returned to *The Jackie Gleason Show*, and the role of Norton. That same year, he captured one of the coveted slots as a guest villain ("The Archer") in ABC's wildly popular *Batman* series. He had achieved success on Broadway, creating the role of Felix Unger in the original run of Neil Simon's *The Odd Couple*. And he was maturing as an actor. Lacking any formal training in the profession, Carney drew from his own life to build performances. Overcoming battles with alcoholism and depression seemed to add depth and wisdom to his characterizations. His ability to convey a sense of loneliness and world-weary resignation tended to belie his relative youth. This was evident in his film work, including his Academy Award-winning portrayal as an old man traveling across the country with his cat in *Harry and Tonto* (1974), and as the aging hardboiled detective in *The Late Show* (1977). He also had impressive performances in television movies, such as his low-key portrayal of Robert Stroud, "the Birdman of Alcatraz," in *Alcatraz: The Whole Shocking Story* (1980). Despite a flourishing career for theatrical features, Carney continually returned to the medium that made him a star. He took the lead in the short-lived series *Lanigan's Rabbi* (1977), did guest appearances on shows such as *Alice* and *Fame*, and was featured in specials and telefilms. He won a sixth Emmy in a heartfelt performance as the loyal caretaker of an elderly boxing champion (played by Jimmy Cagney in his last role) in *Terrible Joe Moran* (1984).

Constant reruns of *The Honeymooners* and the packaging of the so-called lost "Honeymooners" sketches from *The Jackie Gleason Show* have guaranteed Art Carney's place in the pantheon of television comedians. But to be given his full due, Carney must be recognized as one of the most accomplished and multifaceted actors to emerge during television's "golden age."

ERIC SCHAEFER

See also *Gleason, Jackie*; *Honeymooners, The*

**Art Carney (Arthur William Matthew Carney).** Born in Mount Vernon, New York, November 4, 1918. Attended A.B. Davis High School, Mount Vernon, New York. Married: 1) Jean Myers (twice), 1940 (divorced, 1965) and 1977 (divorced); children: Ellen, Brian, Paul; 2) Barbara Isaac. Served in U.S. Army, 1944–45. Began entertainment career as member of the Horace Heidt Orchestra, 1936–39; vaudeville and club performer, 1939–40; radio performer, 1942–44, 1945–49; began television career on *The Morey Amsterdam Show*, 1948; featured performer in various

versions of *The Jackie Gleason Show*, 1952–70; various guest performances in television series from 1950s. Recipient: six Emmy Awards; two Sylvania Awards; Academy Award, 1974; Best Actor, National Society of Film Critics, 1977. Died in Chester, Connecticut, November 9, 2003.

**Television**

- 1948–50 *The Morey Amsterdam Show*
- 1952–59, 1966–70 *The Jackie Gleason Show*
- 1955–56 *The Honeymooners*
- 1966–68 *Batman*
- 1977 *Lanigan's Rabbi*
- 1986–89 *The Cavanaughs*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1972 *The Snoop Sisters*
- 1975 *Katherine*
- 1975 *Death Scream*
- 1976 *Lanigan's Rabbi*
- 1979 *Letters from Frank*
- 1980 *Alcatraz: The Whole Shocking Story*
- 1980 *Fighting Back*
- 1981 *Bitter Harvest*
- 1984 *Terrible Joe Moran*
- 1984 *The Night They Saved Christmas*
- 1984 *The Emperor's New Clothes*
- 1984 *A Doctor's Story*
- 1985 *The Undergrads*
- 1985 *Izzy and Moe*
- 1985 *The Blue Yonder*
- 1986 *Miracle of the Heart: A Boys Town Story*
- 1990 *Where Pigeons Go to Die*

**Films**

*Pot of Gold*, 1941; *The Yellow Rolls-Royce*, 1965; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *Harry and Tonto*, 1974; *W.W. and the Dixie Dancekings*, 1975; *Won Ton Ton, the Dog Who Saved Hollywood*, 1976; *Scott Joplin*, 1977; *The Late Show*, 1977; *Movie Movie*, 1978; *House Calls*, 1978; *Sunburn*, 1979; *Ravagers*, 1979; *Going in Style*, 1979; *Steel*, 1980; *Roadie*, 1980; *Defiance*, 1980; *Take This Job and Shove It*, 1981; *St. Helens*, 1981; *Better Late Than Never*, 1982; *The Naked Face*, 1984; *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, 1984; *Firestarter*, 1984; *Night Friend*, 1987; *Last Action Hero*, 1993.

**Stage**

*Harvey*, 1956; *The Rope Dancers*, 1957; *Take Her, She's Mine*, 1961; *The Odd Couple*, 1965; *Lovers*, 1968; *The Prisoner of Second Avenue*, 1972; *The*

*Odd Couple*, 1974; *The Prisoner of Second Avenue*, Long Island, New York, 1974.

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 Zolotow, Maurice, "The All-Out Art of Art Carney," *Reader's Digest* (October 1989)

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## Carol Burnett Show, The

### U.S. Comedy/Variety Show

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When *The Carol Burnett Show* aired in September 1967 on CBS, no one expected it to run 11 years. The show gave Carol Burnett, along with regulars Harvey Korman, Vicki Lawrence, Lyle Waggoner (who left in 1974), and Tim Conway (whose occasional guest appearances became permanent in 1975), an opportunity to fuse the best of live vaudeville-style performance with the creative benefits of time and tape. Burnett's ensemble quickly bonded into a tight unit of professionals who looked and acted as if performing on *The Carol Burnett Show* was the best fun an entertainer could have. In reality, the meticulously structured, musical-comedy program became one of the last, and one of the finest, prime-time variety shows to link the modern television age with Tin Pan Alley and the golden ages of motion pictures and television.

The show brought Carol Burnett's working-class persona into a unique relationship with her audience. There was a glamorous, celebrity-brushed side to her work: Burnett could wear exclusive Bob Mackie gowns, banter with popular celebrities, and illustrate her brilliant talent for physical and intellectual comedy in cleverly written and produced skits. Her musical abilities ranged from Shubert's Alley to more refined venues, and her voice could amuse and inspire. She vamped with Hollywood royalty: Lucille Ball, Liza Minnelli, Sammy Davis Jr. Even California governor Ronald Reagan joked and performed. On the other hand, Burnett's charwoman character; her dysfunc-

tional and beleaguered "family" member, Eunice; her zestful Tarzan call; and her weekly question-and-answer sessions with the studio audience gave her an accessibility and down-to-earth warmth that firmly reinstated her within the world of her viewers. The dichotomy between the two Carols (one homespun, the other neon-minted) gave *The Carol Burnett Show* a flavor and personality that showcased the idiosyncrasies of its eponymous star. Only later did Burnett reveal the source of that working-class quality—the talented comedian had lifted herself from appalling poverty, a dysfunctional family, and emotional abuse to become a beloved star. One of Burnett's insightful actions, as she constructed her characters and her persona, was to draw on the contradictions that informed her artistic evolution.

Throughout the show's run, Burnett maintained, and increased, her creative input and control. She worked closely with a team of writers, among them Ken Welch and his wife, Mitzi, who had a strong sense of Burnett's attributes and strengths. (Ken Welch had written the famous "I Made a Fool of Myself over John Foster Dulles" routine that had catapulted comic chanteuse Burnett to fame in 1956.) The show combined musical comedy with humorous sketches, using the ensemble of players as well as weekly guest stars, such as Jim Nabors, Cher, and Julie Andrews.

Burnett's three-tiered abilities—singer, actress, comedian—allowed the writers to create and sustain



*The Carol Burnett Show*, Harvey Korman, Vicki Lawrence, Lyle Waggoner, Carol Burnett, 1967–79.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

characters throughout the 11-year run. The charwoman, whose pantomimed mishaps often brought her into the shadow of greatness, became the show's trademark; a caricature of the dusty maid adorned credits and teasers for the program. Eunice, who was always under the abusive power of her mama, blended the kind of sharply sketched comedy and tragedy that marks the finest comedic characters. Eunice, Mama, and the rest of the working-class family members insulted, demeaned, and belittled one another in acrimonious skits that revealed the dark heart of a family in turmoil. Critics complained that Eunice became more disturbing, rather than amusing, as the show progressed. Eventually, the family skits were spun off into a situation comedy, without Burnett, titled *Mama's Family*, in which Vicki Lawrence reprised her role as the bilious Mama.

The *Carol Burnett Show* centered on Burnett, but its enduring qualities also arose from its talented ensemble of players, whose interactions contributed to the overwhelming sense of "live" performance exuded by the show. Vicki Lawrence was fresh out of high school when her resemblance to Burnett won her a role; her transformation from sprightly youth to dour Mama as-

tonished and delighted audience and cast. The infamous comic rivalry between perennially bemused Harvey Korman and the irrepressible Tim Conway remains one of the show's most distinctive features, as Conway's scripted and ad-libbed high jinks forced Korman to battle uncontrollable laughter during skits. Bits would halt as Korman struggled to stay in character; Conway would continue to pile on more egregious additions, trying to break up his costar. While the other cast members joined in unexpected breakups, the anarchic camaraderie of Korman and Conway became legendary.

These refreshing ad-libs often appeared during movie parodies, another of the show's trademarks. Burnett had been deeply influenced by classical Hollywood films during her childhood, and she and her writers drew from a copious knowledge of motion pictures to design film-related skits. Nothing was sacred: genres, films, actors, and characters from familiar and obscure pictures provided fodder for the ensemble. A takeoff of *Gone with the Wind* ("Went with the Wind") found Burnett dressed in Bob Mackie window drapes, complete with curtain rods doubling as shoulder pads, rolling down the stairs as she deconstructed one of the film's most famous moments, Scarlett's miscarriage during a fight with Rhett. "From Here to Maternity," "Sunnysset Boulevard," "Lovely Story": Burnett and her ensemble paid tribute to a bygone golden age with arch and loving comic elegies.

The show ended in 1978, still attaining decent ratings at a time when variety shows no longer attracted large audiences. Burnett wished to go on to other projects and wanted to close *The Carol Burnett Show* while it could still entertain its viewers. The show periodically appears in syndication as *Carol and Company*; in 1992 *Carol Burnett: A Reunion* brought highlights of the run back to CBS prime time, where the special did well in the ratings. Ultimately, *The Carol Burnett Show* represents a sophisticated fusion of music, comedy, drama, celebrity, parody, and slapstick that both resurrected and archived the traditions of America's vaudeville-variety past.

KATHRYN C. D'ALESSANDRO

See also **Burnett, Carol**

#### **Regular Performers**

Carol Burnett  
Harvey Korman (1967–77)  
Lyle Waggoner (1967–74)  
Vicki Lawrence  
Tim Conway (1975–79)  
Dick Van Dyke (1977)  
Kenneth Mars (1979)  
Craig Richard Nelson (1979)

**Music**

The Harry Zimmerman Orchestra (1967–71)  
The Peter Matz Orchestra (1971–78)

**Dancers**

The Ernest Flatt Dancers

**Programming History****CBS**

September 1967–May 1971	Monday 10:00–11:00
September 1971–November 1972	Wednesday 8:00–9:00
December 1972–December 1977	Saturday 10:00–11:00

December 1977–March 1978	Sunday 10:00–11:00
June 1978–August 1978	Wednesday 8:00–9:00
ABC	
August 1979–September 1979	Saturday 8:00–9:00

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## Carsey, Marcy (1944– )

U.S. Producer

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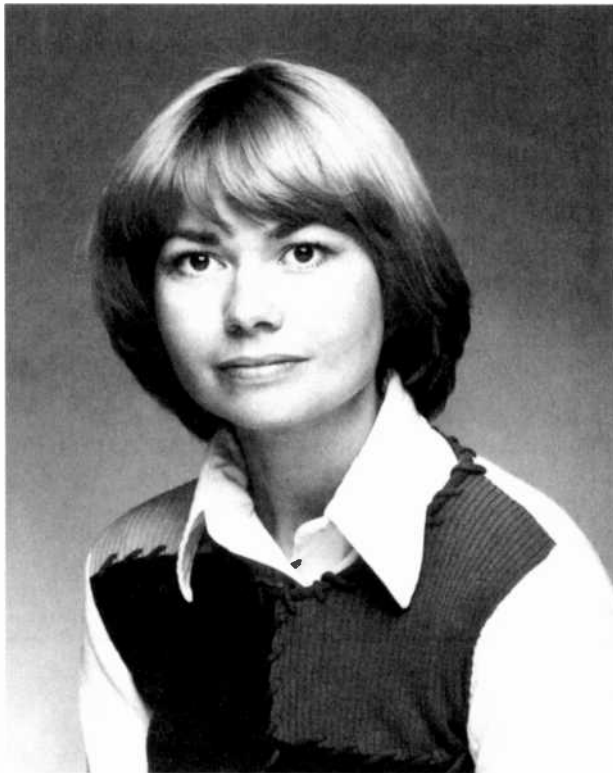
Marcy Carsey, one of the most successful situation comedy producers of the 1980s and 1990s, is co-owner of the Carsey-Werner Company, an independent television production company responsible for two of the most highly rated and longest running sitcoms on TV, *The Cosby Show* and *Roseanne*. Carsey has a number of notable accomplishments in the television industry: she developed the concept of building a sitcom around a single stand-up comedian; she established one of the first successful production companies to operate independently of the networks; and she is frequently named one of the most powerful women in show business.

Carsey began her career in television in the 1960s as a tour guide at NBC, later becoming a story editor for the Tomorrow Entertainment company. In 1974 she joined ABC as a program executive concentrating on comedy programming, rising to senior vice president of prime-time series in 1978. While at ABC, she developed some of the most successful shows of that era, including *Mork and Mindy*, *Soap*, and *Happy Days*. In 1980, she left ABC and in 1982 started Carsey Productions, an independent production company. She was joined in this venture a year later by Tom Werner, who had worked with her at ABC. They remain equal partners in the Carsey-Werner Company.

The programs produced by Carsey-Werner have been notable for their innovation in pushing the boundaries of traditional sitcom fare. *The Cosby Show*, the first sitcom about an African-American family to sustain wide, diverse, and enduring popularity, consistently led in the ratings for several years. It was Carsey-Werner's first hit show, employing the formula that helped to establish them as a television production powerhouse: building a family-based situation comedy around a popular, established stand-up comedian. *Cosby* aired in prime time for eight seasons and is currently in worldwide syndication. With virtually no track record when they sold *Cosby* to NBC, the company's success was firmly established, as well as its reputation as a source of programming.

In *Roseanne*, Carsey-Werner continued the concept of a show starring a well-known comedian, in this case Roseanne (then Roseanne Barr). *Roseanne* was a centerpiece of the ABC programming schedule from its debut in 1988 until it ceased production in 1997. In contrast to *Cosby*, which was about an upper-middle-class family, *Roseanne* featured a working-class woman with husband and children, a perspective not usually found in prime-time sitcoms. The character Roseanne was closely based on the persona evident in Barr's stand-up performances, which she derived from





Marcy Carsey, 1978.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

her personal experiences. Not only was the main character relatively authentic, the program received critical acclaim for the topics it addressed and the quality of the writing. It gained a reputation for scathing dialogue and controversial plotlines, while sustaining high ratings.

In addition to *Cosby* and *Roseanne*, Carsey and Werner have a number of other popular situation comedies to their credit, including *Grace Under Fire*, *A Different World*, and *Cybill*. Beginning with *The Cosby Show*, Carsey-Werner programs have emphasized nonmainstream, nontraditional, and ethnic family groupings. This can be seen in the flops as much as the hits—shows like *Chicken Soup*, starring Jewish comedian Jackie Mason, and *Frannie's Turn*, based on the life of a single working-class mother.

Carsey and Werner led the wave of independent production companies in the 1980s that resisted affiliation with a major network or distributor. Carsey-Werner shows have appeared on all three major broadcast networks. They retain (or have repurchased) control of syndication rights for reruns of their hit shows and have produced original programming for syndication—for example, a revival of the Groucho Marx quiz show *You Bet Your Life* hosted by Bill Cosby, which aired briefly in the early 1990s. In 1995 Carsey-Werner ventured into

the feature film industry by founding Carsey-Werner Moving Pictures. Carsey has been quoted as saying that the secret of the success of Carsey-Werner's shows has to do with their preference for thinking up "people and ideas together" and for "atypical casting."

Carsey has been touted as one of the few women in a high-level executive position in television and one of the most successful American women in show business. She has been on the board of directors of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences and is currently a member of the University of Southern California School of Cinema-Television's Executive Advisory Council.

KATHRYN CIRKSENA

*See also* *Cosby Show, The; Different World, A; Roseanne*

**Marcy Carsey (Marcia Lee Peterson).** Born in South Weymouth, Maine, 1944. Attended the University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire, B.A. in English literature 1966. Married: John Carsey, 1969; children: Rebecca and John. Program supervisor, William Esty advertising agency, 1960s; story editor, Tomorrow Entertainment, Los Angeles, 1971–74; program executive, later senior vice president for prime-time series, ABC Television, 1974–80; founder, Carsey Productions, Los Angeles, 1982; co-owner, Carsey-Werner Productions, Los Angeles, from 1982; producer of numerous prime-time television series, including *The Cosby Show*, *A Different World*, and *Roseanne*, from 1982. Won an Emmy Award in 1985 for *The Cosby Show*. Nominated again in 1986 and 1987. Nominated again in 1998 for *3rd Rock from the Sun*. Won a Crystal Award in 1990 and a Lucy Award in 2000. Inducted into the PGA Hall of Fame for *The Cosby Show* in 2000.

**Television (producer/executive producer)**

1983	<i>Oh, Madeline</i>
1984–92	<i>The Cosby Show</i>
1987–93	<i>A Different World</i>
1988–97	<i>Roseanne</i>
1989–90	<i>Chicken Soup</i>
1990	<i>Grand</i>
1991	<i>Davis Rules</i>
1992–93	<i>You Bet Your Life (starring Bill Cosby)</i>
1992	<i>Frannie's Turn</i>
1993–98	<i>Grace Under Fire</i>
1995–98	<i>Cybill</i>
1996	<i>Cosby</i>
1996	<i>Townies</i>
1996–2001	<i>3rd Rock from the Sun</i>
1998	<i>Damon</i>
1998–	<i>That 70s Show</i>

2000	<i>God, the Devil and Bob</i>
2000	<i>Normal, Ohio</i>
2001–	<i>Grounded for Life</i>
2001	<i>You Don't Know Jack</i>
2001	<i>The Downer Channel</i>
2002	<i>That 80s Show</i>
2002	<i>The Cosby Show: A Look Back</i>
2003–	<i>The Tracey Morgan Show</i>
2003–	<i>Whoopi</i>

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## Carson, Johnny (1925– )

U.S. Comedian, Talk Show Host

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Johnny Carson is best known as America's late-night king of comedy. For 30 years he hosted NBC television's *The Tonight Show*; his topical monologues, irreverent characters, comical double takes, and frivolous sketches entertained more people than any other performer in history. His late-night arena provided plugs for untold books, films, and products; created a springboard to stardom for an infinite number of new performers; and more than occasionally offered a secure refuge for aging legends.

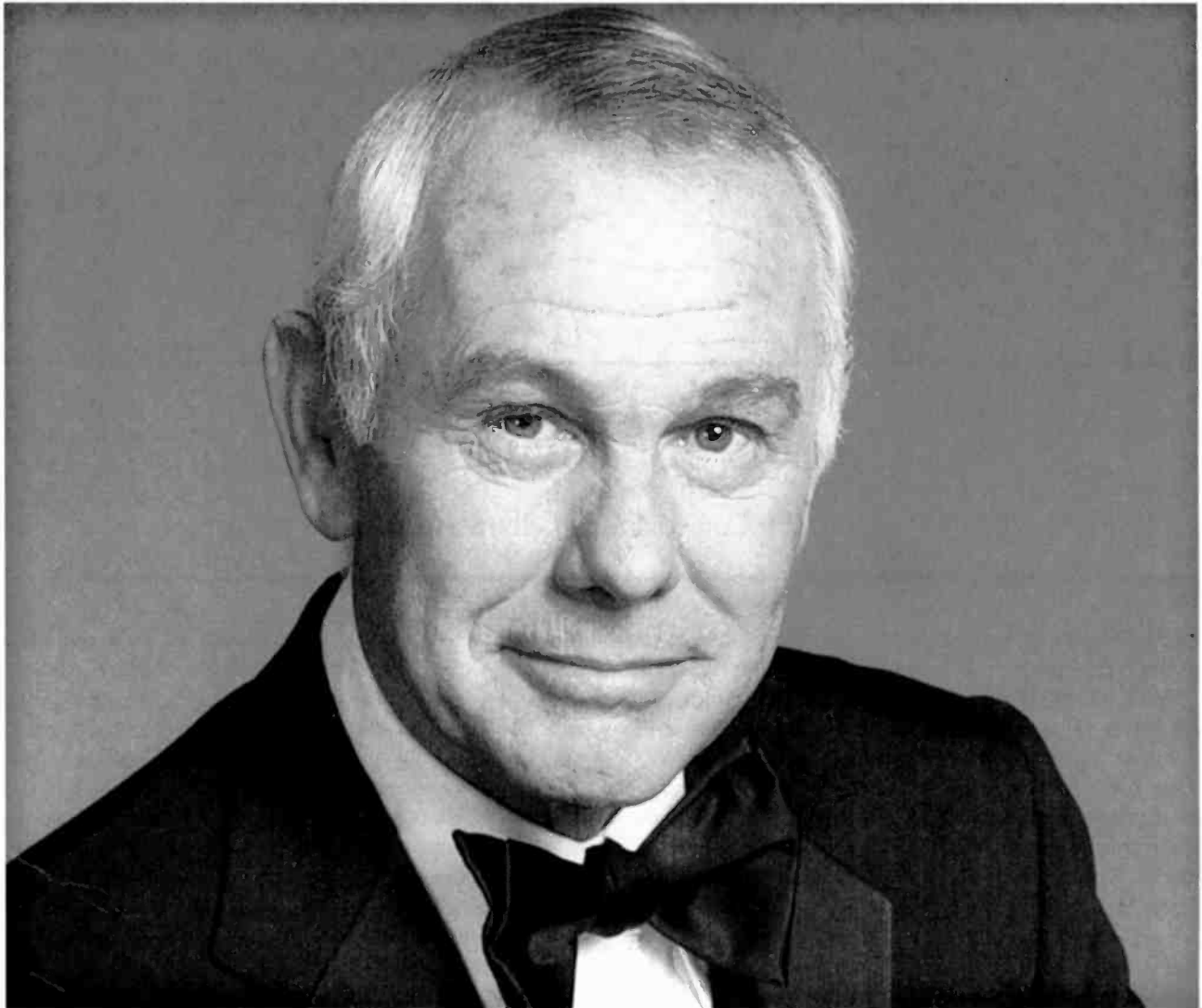
Carson began performing professionally at the age of 14 as a magician-comic, "The Great Carsoni," for the local Rotary Club in his hometown of Norfolk, Nebraska. After a two-year stint as a Navy ensign during World War II and four years as a radio-drama major at the University of Nebraska, he plunged headfirst into the world of broadcasting as a radio announcer/disc jockey. When WOW in Omaha began television operations in 1949, Carson was there to host his first video program, *The Squirrel's Nest*, a daily early-afternoon show. The young performer told jokes, conducted humorous interviews, and staged various skits with wacky comic characters and premises. *Squirrel's Nest* gave Carson the opportunity to develop a good portion of his public persona and adjust his performance style to the intimate visual medium.

Relocating to Hollywood in the early 1950s, Carson's television career took a step forward with his weekly low-budget series, *Carson's Cellar*, on CBS's KNXT. Performing monologues and satirical sketches reminiscent of his later work, Carson attracted the attention of such stars as Fred Allen, Groucho Marx, and Red Skelton—all of whom dropped by to appear on

the local show at no charge. Based on his work with *Carson's Cellar*, a more sophisticated *Johnny Carson Show* was created for regional broadcasts in the western United States. This program proved unsuccessful, and Carson subsequently began work for *The Red Skelton Show* as a writer.

Casting about for new on-air opportunities, Carson's first prime-time network television exposure happened in May 1954, as host of the short-lived quiz show *Earn Your Vacation*. Fortunately, working for Skelton provided more of a career boost. When Skelton was injured during a show rehearsal, the young Carson was thrust instantly into the limelight as substitute host. On the strength of this appearance, CBS created a new prime-time *Johnny Carson Show*, a traditional pot-pourri of comedy, music, dance, skits, and monologues. Working through seven writers and eight directors in 39 weeks, the troubled show left the air because of poor ratings.

As quizmaster of the ABC-TV daytime show *Who Do You Trust?* in 1957, Carson's career again took an upward turn. This highly rated daytime entry allowed Carson to display his engaging personality and quick wit through five years of continual give-and-take with a wide variety of guests. During this time, he also worked at extending his reputation and base of experience by appearing on a number of television musical variety shows and game shows, on Broadway, and as a guest actor in live television plays. Most importantly, Carson's successes brought him offers to substitute for Jack Paar as guest host on *The Tonight Show* and ultimately to replace Paar when the temperamental emcee retired.



Johnny Carson.  
*Photo courtesy of Carson Productions*

On October 1, 1962, Carson broadcast his first *Tonight Show* as permanent host. Less excitable and emotional than his predecessor, Carson's relaxed pace, more casual interviewing style, impeccable timing, and ability to play straight man for other guests proved instantly popular with his viewing audience. Comparing differences between Paar and Carson, *Time* magazine reported on May 28, 1965, that "Paar's emotionalism had made the show the biggest sleep stopper since caffeine. By contrast, Carson came on like pure Sanka. But soon his low-key, affable humor began to prove addictive. Paar generated new interest, but Carson is watched."

Within four months of assuming the *Tonight Show* reins, Carson surpassed Paar's old record night-time

ratings by nearly a half million viewers, adding approximately 20 stations to the NBC network—this despite heavy CBS competition from former *Tonight Show* host Steve Allen. Incredibly, over a 15-year period, with continual competitive threats from CBS and ABC, *The Tonight Show* doubled its audience. Observed Kenneth Tynan in his *New Yorker* portrait of Carson on February 20, 1978, this was "a feat that, in its blend of staying power and mounting popularity, is without precedent in the history of television."

Despite occasional contract squabbles, criticism over his numerous days off, marital conflicts, and assorted family problems, Carson continued to outdistance his competition for an additional 15 years. Without losing his timing, his unpredictability, or his

perfectionist work ethic, for 30 years he kept his finger on the pulse of mainstream America's moods, attitudes, and concerns. Combining his verbal dexterity with a well-stocked supply of facial expressions and gestures, he became the acknowledged master at lampooning the pretentious, salvaging the boring, or sharpening a nervous guest's performance for maximum effect.

Through the years, Carson hosted a number of network television specials, including the Academy Awards and Emmy Awards, and performed stand-up comedy at the top hotels in Las Vegas. But it was *The Tonight Show* that guaranteed his place in American history. For 30 years, he entered U.S. homes to provide commentary on the day's news, to help determine the next day's conversational agenda, and, of course, to entertain. Over time, his mild-mannered, Midwestern brand of humor became more politically biting and sexually frank but never demeaning or offensive. His well-known characters, like Carnac, Aunt Blabby, and Art Fern, so familiar to multiple generations of American families, remained brash, silly, and, somehow, consistently funny.

On May 22, 1992, at the age of 66, Johnny Carson left *The Tonight Show*—a remarkable 30-year run in more than a half century of comedy performance that raised him to the level of national court jester and national treasure. Expected to maintain a comparable level of visibility in retirement, Carson has surprised his public by turning down nearly all requests for television appearances and interviews. Exceptions to this include cameos on Bob Hope's 90th birthday special in 1993 and on the *Late Show with David Letterman* in 1994. Substituting tennis, boating, and travel for the national limelight, Carson has led a somewhat reclusive life but generated major publicity on the occasion of his successful quadruple-bypass heart surgery on March 19, 1999. He has also been noted for his generous contributions, totaling millions of dollars, for charitable causes in the United States and Africa.

JOEL STERNBERG

See also **Talk Show**; *Tonight Show*, *The*

**Johnny (John William) Carson.** Born in Corning, Iowa, October 23, 1925. Attended the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, B.A., 1949. Ensign, U.S. Navy, World War II. Married: 1) Jody Wolcott, 1948 (divorced, 1963), children: Chris, Ricky, Cory; 2) Joanne Copeland, 1963 (divorced); 3) Joanna Holland, 1972 (divorced, 1983); 4) Alexis Maas, 1987. Began career as radio announcer, KFAB, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1948; announcer, WOW and WOW-TV, Omaha, Nebraska;

announcer, KNXT-TV, Los Angeles, California, 1950; began television with *Carson's Cellar*, a comedy-variety-talk show, KNXT-TV, 1951; writer, *The Red Skelton Show*, on-air replacement for the injured Skelton, 1954; host-star of quiz show, *The Johnny Carson Show*, 1955–56; succeeded Jack Paar as host of *The Tonight Show*, October 1, 1962; last telecast May 22, 1992. Recipient: four Emmy Awards; Friar's Club Entertainer of the Year Awards, 1965, 1969; Harvard Hasty Pudding Club Man of the Year, 1977.

#### Television

1951–52	<i>Carson's Cellar</i>
1954	<i>Earn Your Vacation</i>
1955–56	<i>The Johnny Carson Show</i>
1957–62	<i>Who Do You Trust?</i>
1961–62	<i>To Tell the Truth</i>
1962–92	<i>The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1993	<i>The Positively True Adventures of the Alleged Texas Cheerleader-Murdering Mom</i>
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#### Film

*Looking for Love*, 1965

#### Publications

*Happiness Is... a Dry Martini*, 1965  
*Unhappiness Is... a Blind Date*, 1967

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# Carter, Thomas

U.S. Actor, Director, Producer

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Thomas Carter's award-winning career in television has included acting, directing, and producing. Carter also has directed major motion pictures such as *Metro* and *Save the Last Dance*. However, when Carter arrived in Hollywood in the mid-1970s, focused on an acting career, he claimed he could not find roles for African Americans like himself: "I had to learn to 'street it up' a bit to get work" (Gunther, p. C22).

Carter grew up in a small Texas town with no apparent hints of a regional accent, a result he credits to the voices he heard on TV. Ironically, after graduating from Southwest Texas State University, his career in television began by playing northern teenagers in two series, *Szyszyk* and *The White Shadow*. He also made guest appearances on such series as *M\*A\*S\*H*, *Good Times*, *Lou Grant*, and *Hill Street Blues*. Interestingly, Carter ended his acting career in a role requiring a rich Jamaican accent, playing Orderly John in the film *Whose Life Is It Anyway?*

Carter gave up acting to become one of television's most sought-after dramatic directors. Following his role of James Hayward on *The White Shadow*, he had directed episodes of the series: "*White Shadow* was what did it. Just being on that set. My film school was the set" (Hughes, p. 1). But after a string of successful pilots for award-winning television dramas such as *St. Elsewhere*, *Miami Vice*, *I'll Fly Away*, and *Equal Justice*, he became known as Thomas Carter, "television pilot king." He also directed the pilots for *Call to Glory* and *Midnight Caller* and episodes for such television series as *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, *Bret Maverick*, *Remington Steele*, *Amazing Stories*, and *Fame*. Despite these successful TV ventures, Carter still proclaimed, "I look at television and I don't see myself" (Gunther, p. C22), referring to a dearth of middle-class, mainstream, African-American characters on television. His production company created and produced episodes of excellent television series such as *Equal Justice* (1990-91). Though short-lived, this series included African-American characters such as Michael James, superbly played by Joe Morton.

By the mid-1990s, Carter had reached a high point and created *Under One Roof*, the first hour-long series to focus on the daily lives of an extended African-American family. The pilot received strong support at the African American Filmmakers Foundation in 1994. Picked up by

CBS a year later, the series debuted in March as a mid-season replacement. *Under One Roof* received considerable attention, and as creator and executive producer Carter acknowledged the historical significance of the series: "No African American family with this kind of breadth and complexity has even been shown on a weekly drama. Never has there been one with the amount of talent and experience that has gone into this show" (Braxton, p. 7). Although Carter wanted stories that applied to people, not races, he also wanted an African-American family that debunked the misconception that blacks live lives that are vastly different from those of white people. He chose, however, not to dwell on the show's historical importance, concentrating instead on making an honest, revealing, and compelling drama.

*Under One Roof* starred James Earl Jones, Joe Morton, and Vanessa Bell Calloway, who, like Morton, had also appeared in *Equal Justice*. Like *Equal Justice*, *Under One Roof* was long on quality but short on viewers. Although CBS did not renew the series after its six-episode run, Carter credited the network for putting the show on the schedule.

Carter's awards include a Directors Guild of America Award for Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Dramatic Shows for *Hill Street Blues* (1981). He has received two Emmys, one for Outstanding Directing in a Drama Series for *Equal Justice* (1990), the other for Outstanding Made for Television Movie for *Don King: Only in America* (1998), which also received a Peabody Award. He has been nominated for the Emmy Award six times.

Carter is an advocate for increased African-American participation in Hollywood. He believes the resistance to telling stories about African-American experiences results from decision makers at studios and networks whose perceptions are dominated by the limitations of their own experiences with white society. Yet he remains optimistic, in part because of his own success as a pioneer: "When more Blacks in the industry reach my position—where they can breed familiarity with the real power brokers—then we'll get more significant shots." In Carter's opinion, this business does not have a closed door: "You just have to make your own opportunities. It may be harder for us to break in, but we can do it" (Brown, p. 100).

DWIGHT BROOKS

**See also Racism, Ethnicity and Television****Television Series (director; miscellaneous episodes)**

*UC: Undercover*  
*Bronx County*  
*Michael Hayes*  
*Divas*  
*Under One Roof*  
*Equal Justice*  
*Midnight Caller*  
*A Year in the Life*  
*Under the Influence*  
*Heart of the City*  
*Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
*Amazing Stories*  
*Miami Vice*  
*Call to Glory*  
*St. Elsewhere*  
*Remington Steele*  
*Fame*  
*Bret Maverick*  
*Hill Street Blues*  
*The White Shadow*  
*Trauma Center*

**Acting Appearances**

1972 *Snatches*  
 1976 *Good Times* (Jerry)  
 1977 *Lou Grant* (Chris)  
 1977 *M\*A\*S\*H* (patient)  
 1977 *Szysnyk* (Ray Gun)  
 1978 *Lou Grant* (Chris)  
 1978–80 *The White Shadow* (James Hayward)  
 1982 *Hill Street Blues* (Donald Lilly)

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## Cartier, Rudolph (1904–1994)

British Producer, Director

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When Rudolph Cartier died in June 1994, his obituaries unanimously credited him as the "inventor of television drama" and "a television pioneer." He was a television drama director at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) from 1952 to the late 1960s (although the BBC preferred the title "producer" for their directors until the 1960s), and he was one of the first innovative television stylists working in British television during this period. The range of his 120 television productions (all for the BBC) stretched from the science fiction serial (*The Quatermass Experiment*, 1953; *Quatermass II*, 1955; *Quatermass and the Pit*, 1958), drama documentary (*Lee Oswald—Assassin*, 1966), and adaptations of classics (*Wuthering Heights*, 1953; *Anna Karenina*, 1961) to crime serials (*Maigret*, 1961, and *Z Cars*, 1963) and opera.

He was born Rudolph Katscher in Vienna in 1904 and studied to be an architect before attending classes

given by Max Reinhardt, which had an important impact on him. In 1929 he submitted a script to a film company in Berlin, which accepted it, and he was enrolled as a staff writer (paired with Egon Eis) scripting low-budget crime movies. He later moved on to writing for UFA and directed his first movie, *Unsichtbare Gegner*, in 1931. Cartier immigrated to Britain in 1935, but it was not until 1952 that he began work as a BBC television drama director. From this point until the mid-1960s, he directed more than 120 separate productions, most of them live studio plays, although he also had a penchant for televised opera adaptations.

Cartier did not expand the spectrum of BBC TV drama single-handedly, but he did offer some innovations both stylistically and thematically. BBC TV drama production has been perceived as consisting largely of adaptations of West End successes—theatrical, static stage performances respectfully and pas-

sively relayed by efficient BBC personnel—before Cartier’s arrival on the scene. This is a false perception, although it captures the sense of impasse felt by a drama department that during the late 1940s was starved of funds, studio space, and equipment. The transformation of BBC drama in the early 1950s was the result of various factors, not simply Cartier’s fortuitous arrival. By 1951 the expansion of television was under way: threats of a commercial competitor and increased funding for the TV department led to the acquisition of new studios, which were fitted with fresh equipment (new camera mountings, cranes, and so on). The largely ad hoc manner of production and training was formalized as training manuals and production courses were established.

The appointment of Michael Barry (a former drama director and an innovator in his own way, he had directed the first documentary-drama for the BBC) as head of drama established a continuity of drama policy that was to last a decade until Barry was replaced by Sydney Newman. Unlike his predecessors, Barry was convinced that TV drama had to rely less on dialogue and more on the “power of the image”; he contended that television had to be visibly televisual, not a discrete, passive relay medium. It was into this new, fertile environment that Cartier was employed, and he quickly took full advantage: “I said [to Barry] that the BBC needed new scripts, a new approach, a whole new spirit, rather than endlessly televising classics like Dickens or familiar London stage plays.” Barry was initially receptive to these suggestions (drama directors were given a relative amount of freedom in the selection of their material).

One way of changing traditional approaches to drama direction was to change the material; instead of using current or recent West End successes, Cartier drew upon the science fiction genre and European modernist theater as well as the pulp-detective genres he had worked on in Germany. Initially, Cartier directed more unconventional, European modernist drama: Berthold Brecht, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean Anouilh; later, he developed a partnership with the newly appointed BBC staff writer Nigel Kneale and directed works specifically written by Kneale for the medium, including the three *Quatermass* serials. Kneale later adapted George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* for television and Cartier directed.

The impact of that play (transmitted live and repeated live a few days later, as was the norm) cannot be overstated. Produced in 1954, as cold war ideologies were being constructed and reinforced, the play’s landscapes of totalitarian control resonated strongly with the public—some viewed the program as celebratory, as an anti-Soviet piece (an editorial in *The Times*

praised the play for clarifying for the British public the “Communist practice of making words stand on their heads”); others were disgusted by the graphic depiction of torture (one letter to the BBC reads, “Dear Sir, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was unspeakably putrid and depraved”). Questions were asked in Parliament about the tendency for BBC drama to “pander to sexual and sadistic tastes,” and Cartier himself received death threats from those who considered the play antifascist (the BBC provided bodyguards for him).

Hidden behind the furor is an important point. If the 1953 BBC live broadcast of the coronation proved that television had a mass audience that could be united by a spectacle of national rebirth, Cartier’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* proved television’s ability to influence, and frighten, a mass audience (one *Daily Express* headline read, “Wife Dies as She Watches”). It was the beginning of television’s role as an agency of pernicious influence.

The power of that production rests with Cartier’s explicit desire to influence and manipulate the television audience. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is an exemplary instance of his technique: the mixture of powerful close-ups and expanded studio space. Writing in 1958, Cartier cited the close-up as a key tool of the TV director: “When the viewer was watching these ‘horrific’ TV productions of mine, he was completely in my power.”

Another important element was his use of filmed inserts. The restrictive space of the Lime Grove studios meant that filmed inserts were usually location scenes introduced into the live studio action. In this way, scenery, camera, and costume changes could be made in the studio. But Cartier took this approach further; instead of filmed inserts for entire scenes, he often used telecine inserts (transfer of film to video) between shots, hence expanding the apparent studio space.

For example, a minor, almost unnoticeable case in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: Winston Smith (Peter Cushing) is walking down a corridor past another employee working at a console. This movement consists of three shots: In the first, live in the studio, Winston walks past. In the second, a filmed insert, Winston walks past another console (in fact, the same one, filmed earlier with another actor). In the third—with Cushing having the chance to reposition—Winston walks past the same console again: the corridor appears to be long, but takes only a few steps to complete! This is a minor example of how confidently Cartier combined both live and telecine material seamlessly.

One criticism of this technique made by television purists at the time was that the expansion of space gave the plays a cinematic, rather than a strictly televisual, feel. One critic described Cartier’s plays as “the trick

of making a picture on a TV screen seem as wide and deep as Cinemascope."

Furthermore, Cartier's desire to expand the scale of television often brought him into conflict with Barry. In 1954 Barry sent Cartier a warning that his productions were becoming ambitious and, more important, expensive. He cited Cartier's recent version of *Rebecca*:

I am unable to defend at a time when departmental costs and scene loads are in an acute state the load imposed by *Rebecca* on Design and Supply and the expenditure upon extras and costumes.... The leading performances were stagey and very often the actors were lost in the setting. Occasionally there were fine shots such as when Max was playing the piano with his wife beside him, and the composition of figures, piano top and vase made a good frame, but the vast area of the hall and the stairway never justified the great expenditure of effort required in building and one is left with a very clear impression of reaching a point where the department must be accused of not knowing what it is doing. (Michael Barry to Rudolph Cartier, memo, October 12, 1954, BBC Written Archives Centre, File number T5/424)

In effect, Barry was judging Cartier by the model of the small-scale "intimate style" espoused by many critics and television producers of the time—for them, television plays should be small with few characters, and nice close shots ("Max playing the piano with his wife beside him"). Cartier's television style was radically different: large spaces, long shots, and close-ups. Cartier responded to Barry: "the set should be large enough so that the small Mrs. de Winter should feel 'lost' enough and not 'cosy.'" Packed into this observation is the contrast between the early BBC drama style of directors such as Fred O'Donovan, George More O'Ferrall, Jan Bussell, and Royston Morley (longer-running shots, close-ups, the study of one or two characters), on the one hand, and Cartier and Kneale's conception of a wider canvas of shooting styles, a more integrated mixture of studio and film, larger sets, and multicharacter productions, on the other.

Cartier's difference from other directors did not simply lie in a greater use of film. His was a refusal to confine television within one essentialist style that required constant reference to its material base (intimate because the screen was small, the audience was at home, urgent because it was live, etc.). His use of film was not primarily dependent on the limitations of what could be achieved during live studio production; he used film as a material that could expand the space of the production.

Cartier never saw himself as a film director constrained by an imperfect medium; he preferred televi-

sion production (although he returned once to cinema in 1958 to direct a striking melodrama, *The Passionate Summer*). Writing in 1958, when his stature was confirmed, he noted, "If the TV director knows his medium well and handles it skillfully, he can wield almost unlimited power over his mass audience; a power no other form of entertainment can give him—not even cinema."

JASON J. JACOBS

See also *Quatermass*; *Z Cars*

**Rudolph Cartier.** Born Rudolph Katscher in Vienna, Austria, April 17, 1904. Attended the Vienna Academy of Music and Dramatic Art (Max Reinhardt's master-class). Married: Margaret Pepper, 1949; two daughters. Film director and writer, Berlin; immigrated to the United Kingdom, 1935; joined BBC, 1952, and remained for 25 years as producer and director. Recipient: Guild of Television Producers and Directors Award, 1957. Died in London, June 7, 1994.

#### Television Series

1953	<i>The Quatermass Experiment</i>
1955	<i>Quatermass II</i>
1958–59	<i>Quatermass and the Pit</i>
1961	<i>Maigret</i>
1962–78	<i>Z Cars</i>
1974	<i>Fall of Eagles</i>

#### Television Plays (selected)

1951	<i>Man with the Twisted Lip</i>
1952	<i>Arrow to the Heart</i>
1952	<i>Dybbuk</i>
1952	<i>Portrait of Peter Perowne</i>
1953	<i>It Is Midnight, Doctor Schweitzer</i>
1953	<i>L'Aiglon</i>
1953	<i>Wuthering Heights</i>
1954	<i>Such Men Are Dangerous</i>
1954	<i>That Lady</i>
1954	<i>Rebecca</i>
1954	<i>Captain Banner</i>
1954	<i>Nineteen Eighty-Four</i>
1955	<i>Moment of Truth</i>
1955	<i>The Creature</i>
1955	<i>Vale of Shadows</i>
1955	<i>The Devil's General</i>
1955	<i>Thunder Rock</i>
1956	<i>The White Falcon</i>
1956	<i>The Mayerling Affair</i>
1956	<i>The Public Prosecutor</i>
1956	<i>The Fugitive</i>
1956	<i>The Cold Light</i>
1956	<i>The Saint of Bleeker Street</i>



## Cartier, Rudolph

1956	<i>Dark Victory</i>	1965	<i>Ironhand</i>
1956	<i>Clive of India</i>	1965	<i>The Joel Brand Story</i>
1956	<i>The Queen and the Rebels</i>	1966	<i>Gordon of Khartoum</i>
1957	<i>Salome</i>	1966	<i>Lee Oswald—Assassin</i> (also writer)
1957	<i>Ordeal by Fire</i>	1967	<i>Firebrand</i>
1957	<i>Counsellor-at-Law</i>	1967	<i>The Burning Bush</i>
1958	<i>Captain of Koepenick</i>	1968	<i>The Fanatics</i>
1958	<i>The Winslow Boy</i>	1968	<i>Triumph of Death</i>
1958	<i>A Tale of Two Cities</i>	1968	<i>The Naked Sun</i>
1958	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	1968	<i>The Rebel</i>
1959	<i>Philadelphia Story</i>	1969	<i>Conversation at Night</i>
1959	<i>Mother Courage and Her Children</i>	1969	<i>An Ideal Husband</i>
1959	<i>Otello</i>	1969	<i>Shattered Eye</i>
1960	<i>The White Guard</i>	1970	<i>Rembrandt</i>
1960	<i>Glorious Morning</i>	1970	<i>The Bear</i>
1960	<i>Tobias and the Angel</i>	1970	<i>The Year of the Crow</i>
1961	<i>Rashomon</i>	1971	<i>The Proposal</i>
1961	<i>Adventure Story</i>	1972	<i>Lady Windermere's Fan</i>
1961	<i>Anna Karenina</i>	1973	<i>The Deep Blue Sea</i>
1961	<i>The Golden Fleece</i>	1976	<i>Loyalties</i>
1961	<i>Liars</i>	1977	<i>Gaslight</i>
1961	<i>Cross of Iron</i>		
1962	<i>The Aspern Papers</i>		
1962	<i>Doctor Korczuk and the Children</i>		
1962	<i>Sword of Vengeance</i>		
1962	<i>Carmen</i>		
1963	<i>Anna Christie</i>		
1963	<i>Night Express</i>		
1963	<i>Stalingrad</i>		
1963	<i>Peter the Lett</i>		
1964	<i>Lady of the Camellias</i>		
1964	<i>The Midnight Men</i>		
1964	<i>The July Plot</i>		
1965	<i>Wings of the Dove</i>		

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## Cartoon Network

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Cartoon Network, part of the AOL Time Warner Turner Broadcasting System's family of cable channels, is a 24-hour basic cable network specializing in animated programming. Since launching on October 1, 1992, Cartoon Network has remained one of advertisement-supported basic cable's highest-rated offerings. The network's programming comprises original series, acquisitions, and programs from the Warner Brothers and Hanna-Barbera libraries. Its corporate headquarters are based in Atlanta, Georgia, but in 2000, the network opened Cartoon Network Stu-

dios, a 45,000-square-foot production space in Burbank, California.

Spirited by its first president, Betty Cohen, and a core of creative talent, as well as the financial backing of the Turner Broadcasting System, Cartoon Network has grown exponentially in its short history. In the early years, before establishing its own original programming, Cartoon Network was able to challenge Nickelodeon, its greatest competition for the young-audience demographic, with little more than repackaged classic Warner Brothers and Hanna-Barbera

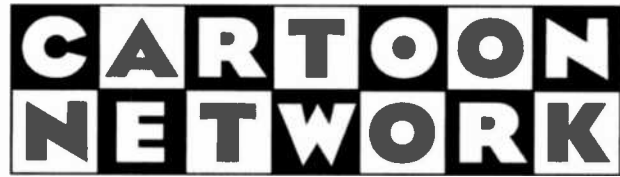
cartoons. Within two and a half years of its launch, the network had already begun to turn a profit and was attracting double the viewing time of any other new basic cable network. In November 1994, after the adoption of the FCC's "going forward" rules, virtually all basic cable channels increased their number of subscribers, but in 1995, Cartoon Network saw one of the largest increases in subscriptions. In 1994, Cartoon Network had 12.4 million viewers; in 2002, ten years after its launch, the network reached 80 million viewers nationally.

The network has had success internationally, as well, and in its first years the network often shared its international feeds with other Turner networks. In 1993 the network began broadcasting in Europe and Latin America. Already by 1994, Cartoon Network was broadcasting to 22 million homes in 29 countries in Europe alone. By 2001 Cartoon Network was running 24 hours and distributing internationally in 14 languages in 145 countries. International expansion has been easier for Cartoon Network than for many other American broadcast networks because its main programming products—animated shows—can be dubbed simply and inexpensively into a variety of languages.

Cartoon Network's core audience is children, ages two through 11. Like Nickelodeon, Cartoon Network quickly became known by children and their parents as a safe, 24-hour kid-friendly place on the dial. Some of its programs cater more to "tweens" (preteen children, approximately 9 through 12), an increasingly popular demographic for advertisers. And since its inception, a third of the network's viewers have been adults (18–34). While some of these are parents, a number of adults turn to Cartoon Network as loyal cult followers of classic favorites or of the network's more recent, innovative programming.

In 1991 Ted Turner purchased the Hanna-Barbera library, increasing a collection of animated programming that already included the MGM library, the Tom and Jerry cartoons, and pre-1950 Warner Brothers' Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck cartoons. In its first few years, Cartoon Network filled its schedule with programs from Turner's vintage cartoon library. The network invested the profits from library programming into original production, and in April 1994, Cartoon Network's first original program aired, *Space Ghost Coast to Coast*. Still in production, *Space Ghost Coast to Coast* is not a series built around original cartoon characters and their adventures but a "talk show" hosted by a 1960s Hanna-Barbera cartoon superhero and modeled on major television networks' late-night interview programs.

Cartoon Network's original programming has continued to aim for the fearless, zany, and visually com-



*Courtesy of Cartoon Network*

elling, but programs have ultimately been chosen for their success and their marketability. In 1995 Cartoon Network began *World Premiere Toons*, a program of original cartoon shorts created as pilots for original series. Using its own audience as a focus group, the network hosted a contest in which viewers voted for their favorite cartoons. The top four shorts picked by viewers—*Dexter's Laboratory*, *Johnny Bravo*, *The Powerpuff Girls*, and *Cow and Chicken*—were the first half-hour series launched by the network. *Dexter's Laboratory*, the network's first original series, has remained among the network's highest-rated programs since its debut in 1996. The series has been nominated for four Emmy Awards and has inspired a profitable line of licensed merchandise. The network has continued to use the Friday 7:30–11:00 P.M. time period as a key day-part for the launch and promotion of original programming.

The network's greatest success has come with its original series *The Powerpuff Girls*, created and co-produced by Craig McCracken. The program stars three doe-eyed, six-year-old sisters with super powers who frequently excuse themselves from kindergarten in order to save their city, Townsville, from an array of nefarious villains. Since its premiere in November 1998, *The Powerpuff Girls* has been one of the network's highest-rated programs among all its target demographics. The series has also become famous as a merchandising powerhouse: sales of *Powerpuff* merchandise exceeded \$350 million in 2000 alone. A film based on the series, *The Powerpuff Girls: The Movie*, is the first full-length feature based on a Cartoon Network original series; it was produced at the Cartoon Network Studios.

In 1995 Turner Broadcasting System, Cartoon Network's parent company, merged with Time Warner, which was itself purchased in 2000 by AOL. These mergers required an adjustment for Cartoon Network and for the entire TBS family of networks. Management changes included a structure in which network executives no longer reported directly to Ted Turner, and other changes affected programming and marketing possibilities. Still, the first merger gave Cartoon Network access to new Warner Brothers animation,

and both transitions provided new avenues for joint advertisement deals and programming diversity, including cross-platform entertainment.

The network's profitability can be attributed as much to its marketing strategies as its programming. By strongly branding itself through the use of extensive on- and off-air promotions, the treatment of its animated characters as celebrities, and the use of programming franchises, Cartoon Network has continued to increase its audience share. Through the use of savvy on-air promotions and franchised tie-ins, Cartoon Network has focused on making its audience dedicated, active fans. One campaign, "Dexter's Duplication Summer," garnered 35 million calls when the network asked audiences to vote by phone about whether to shift the program to a five-nights-a-week strip. The network has also put great effort into marketing campaigns with a number of its advertisers, tying its characters to packaged goods, fast food, clothing, and toys. Indeed, most Cartoon Network characters have their own line of licensed merchandise and many are used in promotions for the network or for tie-ins with commercial partners. Other marketing strategies for the network have focused on the treatment of animated characters as celebrities and the marketing of each program as an integrated entertainment experience. In recent years, the network has merged its advertising sales and promotions departments to provide a synergistic relationship for sponsors who may also wish to become promotional partners. In 1998 the same year its on-air promotional budget exceed \$53 million, the network was named *Advertising Age's* Cable TV Marketer of the Year.

In 2000 the network introduced "Cartoon Campaign 2000," a mock presidential campaign promoted as a way to teach kids about the electoral process but that also served as a method for the network to gauge the popularity of its programs and characters. Another strategy, the "Total Immersion Cartoon" events, use games and prizes to attract viewers onto the network's website. Cartoon Network has also been successful in using franchises, or particular packages of programming, to lure in viewers for a block of time, typically two to four hours. By combining a variety of programs from different studios, decades, and countries under a central theme and title, the network brands the programs as its own. "Toonami," Cartoon Network's weekday afternoon action-adventure lineup, for example, features a rotating series of Japanese animé. "Cartoon Theatre" is a twice-weekly presentation for contemporary animated films. And "Cartoon Cartoon Fridays," the network's Friday-night programming block, is designed to showcase back-to-back episodes of the network's original animated series.

The most recent franchise, "Adult Swim," is a new block of programming aimed at Cartoon Network's adult audience. This block, which premiered in September 2001 and airs on Saturday and Sunday nights, takes advantage of the one-third of its audience falling into the adult demographic. Saturday evening features a variety of action-adventure programming and Japanese animé series. Sunday nights are dedicated to comedy, including several original programs and popular acquisitions. This block is marketed as distinct from the rest of the network's programming, and often the types of advertisers represented reflect this more adult audience. With the help of "Adult Swim," Cartoon Network has recently jumped up two ranks, to number eight among all advertising-supported basic cable networks delivering adult audiences, ages 18 to 34.

Some of Cartoon Network's most recent original series have also earned both critical praise and ratings success, in part as the result of a \$500 million investment in 2001 to develop and expand its original programming over a five-year period. Two of its most popular new programs are *Samurai Jack* and *Justice League*. Conceived by Cartoon Network veteran Genndy Tartakovsky (creator of *Dexter's Laboratory* and coproducer of *The Powerpuff Girls*), *Samurai Jack* debuted in August 2001 and follows the adventures of an ancient warrior stuck in a time portal. Witty and rife with action, like many Cartoon Network programs, this series is distinctive for its cinematic storytelling and highly stylized visual design. *Justice League*, which premiered in November 2001, follows the premise and storyline of the DC Comics series of the same title. Beautifully stylized, the program brings together classic superheroes, including Batman, Superman, and Wonder Woman, to fight crime and quash evildoers.

Cartoon Network has more recently integrated some of its programming and promotions with its sibling station, Kids' WB, sharing programs and allowing certain franchises to migrate between the two networks. The network also continues to expand into the digital realm on its official website, and in April 2000 launched Boomerang, a companion digital network showing only classic cartoons from its expansive library of Hollywood-produced animation. This new network, which has attracted 4.5 million subscribers since its launch, is designed to target the baby-boomer generation eager to watch favorite cartoons from childhood. Cartoon Network also spent \$50 million redesigning its website in 2000 and expanded its presence within the America Online portal. For each of its series the website features unique areas that include short animations and games. Visitors to the site can also enter the "Department of Cartoons" and view storyboards, model sheets, and an animation primer explaining how

cartoons are created. The *Powerpuff Girls* section is the most popular area of the site, averaging more than 6 million page views a month in early 2002.

In July 2000, Betty Cohen, who first began at Turner Broadcasting System in 1988 as senior vice president/general manager of TNT, left her position as president of Cartoon Network Worldwide. Bradley Sigel, previously the president of general entertainment networks for TBS Inc., is currently president of Cartoon Network Worldwide.

MIRANDA J. BANKS

**See also** Cartoons; Children and Television; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting Systems; Turner, Ted

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## Cartoons

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Cartoons have long existed on the periphery of broadcast television, consigned to the shadowy regions of weekday afternoons, Saturday mornings, and, most recently, cable channels. Broadcast networks' prime-time programming has contained surprisingly few cartoon series. After *The Flintstones* (1960–66) went off the air, 23 years passed before *The Simpsons* (1989– ) proved that animation could be successful with a general audience. Due to the initial lack of made-for-television cartoons, many of the "television" cartoon characters with which we are the most familiar (Bugs Bunny, Mickey Mouse, Daffy Duck, Popeye) were not actually designed for television, but rather were initially exhibited in cinema theaters. On any given day, one may view a short history of theatrical film animation on television, as cartoons from the 1930s and 1940s are juxtaposed with more recent offerings.

Cartoons initially evolved in the second decade of the 20th century, but their development was slowed by their prohibitive cost. After all, 24 entire pictures had to be drawn for every second of film. Animation became more economically feasible in 1914 when Earl Hurd patented the animation cel. The cel is a sheet of transparent celluloid that is placed on top of a background drawing. By using cels, the animator need only redraw the portions of the image that move, thus saving considerable time and expense. The acceptance of the cel was slowed by legal wrangling, however, and comparatively few silent cartoons were made.

At the same time that sound and color film technologies were popularized, studios also found ways to streamline the animation process by using storyboards (small drawings of frames that represented different shots in the cartoon) to plan the cartoon and departmentalizing the steps of the process. Thus, something resembling an assembly line was created for animation, making it much more cost effective. Producer Walt Disney was a leader in using these technologies and devising an efficient mode of cartoon production. *Steamboat Willie* (1928) was the first significant cartoon with synchronized sound, whereas *Flowers and Trees* (1932) was the first to use the three-color Technicolor process (which became the cinema's principal color process in the late 1930s). Disney was so protective of these new technologies that he negotiated an exclusive deal with Technicolor; for three years, no other animators could use it.

The final key to the success of the cartoon was an effective distribution system. During the silent era, cartoons had been created by small studios with limited access to cinema theaters. In the 1930s, major studios such as Paramount, Warner, Universal, and MGM each signed distribution deals with the cartoon studios, or they created their own cartoon departments (the output of which they then distributed themselves). Since the studios also owned the preeminent theaters, and since the standard way of exhibiting films at the time was two feature-length films separated by a newsreel and a cartoon, the animation studios and departments had a



*Batman: The Animated Series, 1992–95.*  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

steady, constant demand for their product. The late 1930s to 1950s were a “golden era” for the cartoon, and it is from this era that most theatrical cartoons on television are drawn.

Cartoons started their emigration to television in the late 1940s, when one of the smaller studios (Van Beuren) began marketing their catalog to early children’s programs such as *Movies for Small Fry*. Other, larger studios were slower to take advantage of the electronic medium. In 1948 the major studios were forced by the U.S. Supreme Court to divest themselves of their theaters, which greatly weakened their ability to distribute their product. In this weakened state, the studios also had to compete with television for viewers. Disney, however, was among the first of the major cartoon studios to develop a liaison with television networks. When they premiered in the mid-1950s, Disney’s long-running programs *Disneyland* (later known as, among other things, *The Wonderful World of Disney*) and *The Mickey Mouse Club* included cartoons

among live-action shorts and other materials. The other studios soon followed suit, and, by 1960, most theatrical films and cartoons were also available to be shown on television.

Concurrent with these critical and, for the film studios, disastrous changes in the entertainment industry were significant transformations in the aesthetics of animation. Up until the 1950s, cartoonists, especially those with Disney, had labored under a naturalistic aesthetic, striving to make their drawings look as much like real-world objects as was possible in this medium. The apotheosis of this was Disney’s *Snow White*, which traced the movements of dancer Marge Champion and transformed her into Snow White. But post-World War II art movements such as abstract expressionism rejected this naturalistic approach, and these avant-garde principles eventually filtered down to the popular cartoon. In particular, United Productions of America (UPA), a studio that contained renegade animators who had left Disney during the 1941 strike, nurtured an aesthetic that emphasized abstract line, shape, and pattern over naturalistic figures. UPA’s initial success came in 1949 with the *Mr. Magoo* series, but its later, Academy Award-winning *Gerald McBoing Boing* (1951) is what truly established this new style.

The UPA style was characterized by flattened perspective, abstract backgrounds, strong primary colors, and “limited” animation. Instead of using perspective to create the illusion of depth in a drawing, UPA’s cartoon objects looked flat, like the blobs of color that they were. Instead of filling in backgrounds with life-like detail, as in, say, a forest scene in *Bambi*, UPA presented backgrounds that were broad fields of color, with small squiggles to suggest clouds and trees. Instead of varying the shades and hues of colors to imply the colors of the natural world, UPA’s cartoons contained bold, bright, saturated colors.

Most important for the development of television cartoons, UPA used animation that was limited in three ways. First, the amount of movement within the frame was substantially reduced. Rather than have a cartoon woman move her entire head in a shot, a UPA cartoon might have her just blink her eyes. Second, in limited animation, figure movements are often repeated. A character waving good-bye, for instance, might contain only two distinct movements; which are then repeated without change. Full animation, in contrast, includes many unique movements. Third, limited animation uses fewer individual frames to represent a movement. If, for example, Yosemite Sam were to hop off his mule in a movement that takes one second, full animation might use 24 discrete frames to represent that movement. Limited animation, in contrast, might



*Huckleberry Hound Show*; Huckleberry Hound, 1958–62.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cut that number in half. The result is a slightly jerkier movement.

UPA's changes in animation appear to have been aesthetically inspired, but they also made good business sense. Flattened perspective, abstract backgrounds, strong primary colors, and limited animation result in cartoons that are quicker and cheaper to produce. When animators began creating programs specifically for television, they quickly adopted these economical practices.

The first successful designed-for-television cartoon was not created for a TV network, but rather was released directly into syndication. *Crusader Rabbit*, created by Jay Ward (of *Rocky and Bullwinkle* fame) and Alexander Anderson, was first distributed in 1949. Network television cartooning came along eight years later. The networks' first cartoon series was *The Ruff and Reddy Show*, which was developed by the most successful producers of television cartoons, Bill Hanna and Joe Barbera. *The Ruff and Reddy Show* was also the first made-for-TV cartoon show to be broadcast nationally on Saturday mornings; its popularity helped establish the feasibility of Saturday-morning network programming. Hanna-Barbera was also responsible for

bringing cartoons to the prime-time network schedule, creating, in 1960, *The Flintstones*, prime time's first successful cartoon series.

With *Crusader Rabbit*, *The Ruff and Reddy Show*, and *The Flintstones*, the characteristics of the made-for-TV cartoon were established. UPA-style aesthetics (especially limited animation) were blended with narrative structures that developed in 1950s television. In particular, *The Flintstones* closely resembled live-action situation comedies and was often compared to Jackie Gleason's *The Honeymooners*. One final characteristic of the made-for-TV cartoon that distinguishes it from the theatrical cartoon is the former's emphasis on dialogue. Often dialogue in *The Flintstones* restates what is happening visually. Fred will cry out, "Pebbles is headed to the zoo," over an image of Pebbles's baby carriage rolling past a sign that reads, "Zoo, this way." Thus, television reveals its roots in radio. There is a reliance on sound that is missing from, say, *Roadrunner* or many other theatrical cartoons. Made-for-TV cartoons are often less visually oriented than theatrical cartoons from the "golden era."

Since the early 1960s, when cartoons became an established television feature, they have been the source of two major controversies: commercialization/merchandising and violence. These two issues have taken on special significance with the cartoon since so many of its viewers are impressionable children.

Commercialization and merchandising have been a part of cartooning since comic strips first began appearing in newspapers. The level of merchandising increased in the 1980s, however, as several cartoon programs were built around already-existing commercial products: *Strawberry Shortcake*, *The Smurfs*, and *He-Man*. Unlike the merchandising of, for instance, Mickey Mouse, these cartoon characters began as products, and thus their cartoons were little more than extended commercials for the products themselves. It became more and more difficult for child viewers to discern where the cartoon ended and the commercial began. The degree of cartoon merchandising did not lessen in the 1990s (as the popularity of the *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers* attested), but broadcasters did add short intros to the programs to try to better distinguish cartoon from commercial.

The complicated issue of violence on television and its potential impact on behavior has yet to be resolved, but in response to critics of cartoon violence, broadcasters have censored violent scenes from many theatrical films shown on television. Oddly enough, scenes that were considered appropriate for a general audience in a theater in the 1940s are now thought to be too brutal for today's Nintendo-educated children.

TV cartoons in the 1990s were dominated by the phenomenal success of Matt Groening's *The Simpsons*, which thrived after its series premiere in 1989 (having first appeared in 1988, in short form, on *The Tracey Ullman Show*). Its ratings triumph was largely responsible for establishing a new television network (FOX) and launching one of the biggest merchandising campaigns of the decade. In 1990 Bart Simpson was on t-shirts across the United States declaring, "Don't have a cow, man!" And yet, despite the trappings of success, *The Simpsons* was often a sly parody of popular culture, in general, and television cartoons, in particular—as was to be expected from Groening, who established himself as the artist of the satiric *Life in Hell* comic strip. The recurrent feature of "The Itchy and Scratchy Show," a cartoon within *The Simpsons*, allowed the program to critique violence in cartoons at the same time it reveled in the gore. In one episode, *The Simpsons* retold the entire history of cartooning as if Itchy and Scratchy had been early Disney creations.

*The Simpsons* proved that the market for cartoons extended beyond children. In 1993 MTV and Mike Judge capitalized on this new, young-adult market, with the debut of *Beavis and Butt-head* (1993–97). The program's title characters were two teenaged heavy-metal fans, who mostly sit around making rude comments about music videos. *Beavis and Butt-head* brought "adult" humor to television cartoons and established that cable networks could succeed with animated material that was too sexually explicit, scatological, and drug-oriented for broadcast networks. When Judge discontinued the program and developed *King of the Hill* (1997– ) for *The Simpsons'* network (FOX), Trey Parker and Matt Stone picked up where *Beavis and Butt-head* left off. Their creation, *South Park* (1997– ), on cable's Comedy Central, has touched on subjects as sensitive as child abuse and as offensive as a character made of feces.

*Beavis and Butt-head* and *South Park* exemplify the adult-oriented animation on cable networks, but by far the most common animation genre on television today is that which is developed for children and presented on such cable networks as Disney, Nickelodeon, and the Cartoon Network. For example, *Rugrats* (1991–94, 1997– ), which chronicles a group of mischievous babies, has been such a success for Nickelodeon that it has spawned several movies. *SpongeBob SquarePants*, which first aired in 1999 as Nickelodeon's original Saturday-morning cartoon, is notable as a cartoon that both children and adults embrace. By April 2002, the series had surpassed *Rugrats* as Nickelodeon's most popular program. With a substantial number of adults among its more than 50

million viewers, *SpongeBob* has showcased an irreverent style for grownups while still appealing to enormous numbers of children.

The 1990s also saw the debut of the first animated program that was entirely created on computer. When *ReBoot* appeared in 1994, computer-generated imagery (CGI) was mostly limited to experimental shorts and commercials. Indeed, *ReBoot* was released before the first entirely CGI feature film (*Toy Story* [1995]). The cost of creating entire programs on computer remains relatively high, but digital technology can also save animators time and money. Much of the repetitive work of traditional animators has been usurped by computers, leading to faster, cheaper productions. It seems clear that computer-assisted and computer-generated cartoons will become more common in the future.

JEREMY G. BUTLER

See also *Beavis and Butt-head; Flintstones, The; Simpsons, The; South Park*

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## Case, Steve (1958– )

U.S. Media Executive

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Steve Case, a former marketing and brand manager at Procter and Gamble and Pizza Hut, helped to build a small online services company into one of the world's largest single online service provider, America Online (AOL). At the peak of the market for high-technology stocks at the end of the 1990s, Case was able to parlay the high value of AOL stock into a friendly takeover of the then-largest media conglomerate, Time Warner, which was consummated in early 2001. Case expected AOL Time Warner to use its assets in online services, film, broadcasting, cable, publishing, and music to lead a trend toward technological convergence. In a speech to investors in 2001, Case claimed that AOL Time Warner would be well positioned to "build bridges to link technologies, to blur the lines between industries, . . . to drive a fundamental transformation of the media and communications industries."

Case, a taciturn, reserved executive who prefers to operate behind the scenes, was nicknamed "The Wall" at AOL for his affectless, calm demeanor. However, despite his introversion, Case's skills in identifying consumer interests and in developing the social and communicative aspects of online services helped to fuel the explosive growth of online services in the 1990s. In his early online experiences, Case had been excited but frustrated by technological difficulties and complexities. He then realized that "if you made [online services] easy to use, useful and fun, and affordable, someday it would become a mass market." Case found his first opportunity in the computing industry when his older brother Dan invested in a small company named Control Video Corporation, which then recruited Steve in 1983 to help build its video game business. In 1985 Steve Case, along with partners Jim Kimsey and Marc Seriff, took over, renamed the company Quantum Computer Services, and started an online service named Q-Link for Commodore computer users. Seeking to expand, Quantum made deals with Apple Computer and Tandy, but when Apple opted out, Case reconfigured the company, renaming it America Online in 1989.

Named president of AOL in 1990, Case oversaw a marketing campaign that undercut the basic principles then prevalent in the software industry: instead of sell-

ing its software, AOL gave it away in order to sell its subscription service instead. Seeking to widen its market rapidly, AOL used direct mail, magazine inserts, and retail promotions to provide free AOL software to as many potential customers as possible. The free software provided an incentive to stay online by subscribing. AOL's strategies for subscriber retention included convenience, user friendliness, and services such as e-mail, games, chat rooms, and messaging. AOL then also provided professionally produced content, organized in "channels" for ease of access, aiming for a hybrid form of magazine information and television entertainment that would appeal to new users. While other online services kept tight control over their subscribers' communications by banning certain forms of speech, AOL encouraged an open, freewheeling, user-controlled communications environment. As Case formulated it, AOL had to develop the "three C's" of "communication, community, and clarity" in order to personalize online experiences and build subscriber loyalty. Case said, "We wanted people to think they were members and not customers." And by spending hours online interacting with subscribers himself, Case helped build a corporate image of AOL as accessible, friendly, and human. To many subscribers, investors, and employees, Steve Case was AOL personified.

By the time AOL sold stock in its first public offering in 1992, it had overtaken its competitors Prodigy and CompuServe. When the World Wide Web developed in the early 1990s, AOL was redesigned to allow Internet access from inside AOL. In 1996, after AOL switched from hourly pricing to a flat-rate subscription plan, AOL reversed its long-standing arrangements with outside professional content providers and began to charge them for access to AOL screen space (that is, AOL subscribers' attention). AOL had discovered that most of its subscribers logged on not to read repurposed magazine articles but to communicate with other subscribers through e-mail, instant messaging, and chat room—services that subscribers could find only online, not in magazines or on television.

As AOL resisted friendly and unfriendly takeover attempts in the late 1990s, it used its highly valued stock to acquire businesses including Netscape,



MovieFone, ICQ, Winamp, and CompuServe, and also expanded into Europe, Japan, and Latin America. Having proved that online services could appeal to a mass market by being user friendly, Case began to look for partners in building his vision of a converged media environment. Time Warner was an attractive candidate. Its subsidiaries Warner Bros. Television, Warner Bros. Animation, HBO Productions, Lorimar, and Telepicture Productions are major television producers, distributors, and syndicators of programs such as *Friends*, *ER*, *The West Wing*, *The Drew Carey Show*, and *Gilmore Girls*. In addition to its broadcast network, The WB, Time Warner controlled many top cable networks, including Home Box Office, Cinemax, and the Turner Networks (Cable News Network, Turner Network Television, Turner Broadcasting System, Cartoon Network, and Turner Classic Movies). Time Warner assets also included the film studios Warner Bros. (*Harry Potter*) and New Line (*The Lord of the Rings*); Time Warner trade book publishing (Little, Brown); Warner Music Group (Madonna, Britney Spears); and Time magazines (*Time*, *People*, *Sports Illustrated*). Time Warner had tried to break into the new-media world through online and interactive media and, as these attempts were perceived as failures, was receptive to Case's overtures.

Case initiated merger talks with Time Warner in part because its cable operating systems, then the second largest in the United States, offered broadband access via cable modems, as well as addressable cable set-top boxes, and it was working on video-on-demand, interactive programming, home shopping, and streaming video and audio. In explaining his motivation for the merger, Case said, "Having assets in the Internet space, having assets in the television space, allows you to make a difference if, for instance, one of your goals is to re-invent television." Having marketed online computing as a medium as easy to use as television, Case hoped to "re-invent" television as a medium as interactive as online computing.

However prescient Case's vision of interactive media may prove to be, the first years after the merger of AOL and Time Warner were difficult. As AOL Time Warner's stock price fell, in part because of the overall reevaluation of technology and communications companies, most of the major architects of the merger were

forced out of the company. Case himself resigned as chairman of the board in 2003, his leadership contested by competing factions of the conglomerate. Although AOL Time Warner planned to build on the base of the millions of subscribers to its magazines, online services, and cable television to cross-promote broadband and interactive television services, as of this writing it has begun to divest some of its holdings, including AOL from its name. However, Case's idea of building a "synergistic" conglomerate that builds its online, cable, and broadband distribution services by offering user-friendly technologies and popular content brands may still yet be realized. As Case has insisted, "convergence is the wave of the future.... [I]t isn't science fiction, it's already happening."

CYNTHIA B. MEYERS

**See also Levin, Gerald; Media Conglomerates; Time Warner**

**Stephen McConnell Case.** Born in Honolulu, Hawaii, August 21, 1958. Married: 1) Joanne Barker (1985-96); three children; 2) Jean Villanueva (1996). B.A., political science, Williams College, 1980. Procter and Gamble, brand manager (1980-81 or 82); Pizza Hut, manager of new development (1981 or 1982-83); Control Video Corporation, marketing (1983-85); Quantum Computer Services, marketing director (1985-89); America Online, president (1990-93), CEO (1993-2001); AOL Time Warner, chairman of the board (2001-03).

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# Casualty

## British Hospital Drama

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Since it was launched in autumn 1986 as a 15-part series, the hospital drama *Casualty* has grown into one of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) most successful programs. Eventually running to 24 episodes a year (plus a repeat season), and with ratings second only to those for soap operas *EastEnders* and *Neighbours*, *Casualty* was to become a linchpin of the schedule and crucial to the corporation's confidence in the run up to the renewal of its charter in 1996.

The series began as the brainchild of Jeremy Brock, a young BBC script editor, and Paul Unwin, a director at the Bristol Old Vic Theatre. A visit to a Bristol accident and emergency ward and conversation with one of the charge nurses prompted the idea of a series that would deal with the working lives of casualty staff but that would also have a campaigning edge at a time when the National Health Service in Britain was under increasing financial and political pressure. The proposal was taken up by the head of BBC drama, Jonathan Powell, who was convinced that a medical series was essential to a healthy schedule. The Bristol hospital became Holby General and the nurse, Peter Salt, one of the program's medical advisers and a model for the longest-serving central character, charge nurse (later nursing manager) Charlie Fairhead.

The foregrounding of a male nurse was one of several ways in which *Casualty* set out to contest the traditional values of hospital drama. The gender stereotyping associated with sluice-room romances of popular medical fiction was inverted (if not always subverted) in storylines such as Charlie's passionate involvement with a female house officer and the protracted consequences of nursing officer Duffin's pregnancy by a feckless doctor. The series has also attempted to address racial underrepresentation by placing black characters at the center of the drama and has carried storylines on racial prejudice and abuse.

What *Casualty* sought to achieve in its first series was a gritty realism, bordering on documentary authenticity, capable of dealing with the day-to-day stresses of frontline emergency care, and the further difficulties of working in a system coming apart at the seams. Brock claimed to have been influenced by the high-octane style of MTM Entertainment Inc. shows,

especially *Hill Street Blues*, with their overlapping narratives and dialogue, rapid cutting, and wry humor, though the series never went for the sort of élan found in its U.S. counterparts. It began on a modest budget and was shot exclusively on video, with lightweight cameras to give it pace and fluidity: the technique of following dialogue down corridors and picking up on several overlapping conversations within the same take was to become a hallmark of the emerging production style.

The central storyline for the first two series was the campaign to keep the night shift open at Holby in the teeth of funding cuts. The shift also provided the setting and time frame for each episode and, improbably, a justification for focusing on the same eight members of staff. By the end of the first series, although another was in production, there was talk of *Casualty* being axed. There had been criticism of the show's stress-laden relentlessness and press coverage of protests from the medical professions about the disreputable image of staff conduct, though there was considerable support for the series' representation of health-service conditions. The program also came under attack from the ruling Conservative Party for its stand against such key Thatcherite policies as funding cuts and the contracting out of services and, along with news coverage of the bombing of Tripoli and the drama *The Monocled Mutineer*, was held up as an example of alleged left-wing bias at the BBC.

However, as audience figures for the second series began to climb to 8 million, the BBC started to invest more in it. New characters were brought in, and a sharper style began to emerge, particularly in the cross-weaving of storylines and the more honed gallows humor. By 1991 *Casualty* had an audience of 12 to 13 million and the formula was securely established: a basic structure created by the ten main characters' continuing stories, a major accident interwoven with six to eight further parallel storylines, and up to 80 short scenes per episode; a real-time feel based on the single-shift setting; sharp-cutting, mobile single-camera work; no background music; realistic lighting; an army of trauma-specific extras and models; and a range of 30 to 40 guest actors per series.

The casting of familiar, high-caliber performers in cameo roles was, for some time, one of the series' main attractions, along with its growing reputation for graphic authenticity in the depiction of injuries and their treatment. The series also shed its regional identity: although still shot in and around Bristol, this was no longer its ostensible setting and the characters came to reflect a more general population mix. A proposal by Powell, by now controller of BBC 1, to go to a twice-weekly, early-evening slot was rejected, but by this time, many would argue, the show had already softened into a standardized predictability. By 1993 audiences were peaking at 15.47 million and the program was tent-poling the Saturday evening schedule. A ruling in that year by the Broadcasting Standards Council concerning the pre-watershed unsuitability of a storyline about rent boys and male rape and further controversy over an episode showing teenagers rioting and burning down the ward forced the new BBC 1 controller, Alan Yentob, into a promise of greater "responsibility" in the handling of topical material. A year later, audiences stood at 17 million. By 2001, however, they had dropped to around 8 million. In January 1999, a spin-off series, *Holby Central*, was launched, set in the hospital's general wards and with some characters already established in *Casualty*.

Against the claim that *Casualty* had lost its earlier political abrasiveness, the producers would argue that public opinion had caught up with the program, that the once-controversial claims had become fact, and that the issues were more subtly woven into the fabric of the stories. By 1995, however, the series seemed to reach a final transformation into soap opera. It was the human-interest vignettes imported with each casualty case that now dominated, along with the lives and loves of the regular medical staff. Although the narratives have never fully lost their concern with the fabric of contemporary life, or with the social cohesion beyond the hospital doors, they have sometimes become more overtly theatrical. One later storyline followed two romantically involved characters to the Australian bush, while another dealt with a young, gay Asian male nurse whose HIV-positive status was leaked in the press and whose eventual departure was marked with a spirited gay wedding.

*Casualty* is a classic example of the intergeneric development of formula-based television fiction. All the attractions of hospital drama are there: life, death, and human vulnerability; institutional hierarchy; and personal and professional tensions. The show also chimes in with the ascendancy in the 1990s of a new genre of emergency service narrative on British television, from Carlton's drama *London's Burning* to such reconstruction programs as the BBC's 999. Beneath the

surface, however, the fictional structure rests on foundations tried and tested in the "cop-shop" police drama, and it is no coincidence that the background of founding producer Geraint Morris lay with series such as *Softly Softly* and *Juliet Bravo*. The accident and emergency ward, in particular the waiting area that provides the focal point of the production set, operates here as a classic frontline—a site of friction between the hospital community and life on the street, and a liminal space into which hundreds of individual cases are drawn, to be returned, in varying states of social and psychological repair, to the world beyond.

JEREMY RIDGMAN

#### Cast

Charlie Fairhead	Derek Thompson
Lisa (Duffy) Duffin	Catherine Shipton
Megan Roach	Brenda Fricker
Clive King	George Harris
Ewart Plimmer	Bernard Gallagher
Elizabeth Straker	Maureen O'Brien
Karen Goodlife	Suzanna Hamilton
Cyril James	Eddie Nestor
Dr. Andrew Bower	William Gaminara/Philip Bretherton
Martin (Ash) Ashford	Patrick Robinson
Adele Beckford	Doña Croll
Helen Chatsworth	Samantha Edmonds
Mike Barratt	Clive Mantle
Maxine Price	Emma Bird
Kenneth Hodges	Christopher Guard
Sandra Nicholl	Maureen Beattie
Dr. Robert Khalefa	Jason Riddington
Julian Chapman	Nigel le Vaillant
Dr. Beth Ramanee	Mamta Kaash
Dr. Lucy Perry	Tam Hoskyns
Dr. David Rowe	Paul Lacoux
Dr. Mary Tomlinson	Helena Little
Dr. Barbara "Baz" Samuels (Hayes)	Julia Watson
Alex Spencer	Belinda Davidson
Karen O'Malley	Kate Hardie
Andrew Ponting	Robert Pugh
Sandra Mute	Lisa Bowerman
Shirley Franklin	Ella Wilder
Keith Cotterill	Geoffrey Leesley
Frankie Drummer	Steven O'Donnell
Susie Mercier	Debbie Roza
Mie Nishi-Kawa	Naoko Mori
Josh Griffiths	Ian Bleasdale
Jane Scott	Caroline Webster
Liz Harker	Sue Devaney
Norma Sullivan	Anne Kristen
Kuba Trzcinski	Christopher Rozycki

Jimmy Powell  
 Kelly Liddle  
 Trish Baynes  
 Rachel Longworth  
 Kate Wilson  
 Jude Kocarnik  
 Daniel Perryman  
 Laura Milburn  
 Matt Hawley  
 Valerie Sinclair  
 Kate Miller  
 Simon Eastman  
 Mark Calder  
 Adam Cooke  
 Adam Osman  
 Alison McGrellis  
 Amy Howard  
 Anna Paul  
 Barney Wolfe  
 Brian Crawford  
 Chloe Hill  
 Colette Kierney  
 Dan Robinson  
 Dave Masters  
 Eddie Gordon  
 Elliot Matthews  
 Eve Montgomery  
 Finlay Newton  
 Gloria Hammond  
 Georgina (George)  
 Woodman  
 Helen Green  
 Holly Miles  
 Jack Hathaway  
 Will Mellor  
 Julie Stevens  
 Kiran Joghill  
 Lucy Cooper

Robson Green  
 Adie Allen  
 Maria Freedman  
 Jane Gurnett  
 Sorcha Cusack  
 Lisa Coleman  
 Craig Kelly  
 Lizzy McInnerny  
 Jason Merrells  
 Susan Franklyn  
 Joanna Foster  
 Robert Dawe  
 Oliver Parker  
 Stephen Brand  
 Pal Aron  
 Julie Graham  
 Rebecca Wheatley  
 Zitta Sattar  
 Ronnie McCann  
 Brendan O'Hea  
 Jan Anderson  
 Adjoa Andoh  
 Grant Masters  
 Martin Ball  
 Joan Oliver  
 Peter Guinness  
 Barbara Marten  
 Kwame Kwei Armah  
 Ganiat Kasumu  
 Rebecca Lacey  
 Maggie McCarthy  
 Sandra Huggett  
 Peter Birch  
 Jack Vincent  
 Vivienne McKane  
 Shaheen Khan  
 Jo Unwin

Mark Grace  
 Mary Skillett  
 Max Gallagher  
 Mel Dyson  
 Patrick Spiller  
 Penny Hutchens  
 Richard McCraig  
 Sadie Tomkins  
 Sam Colloby  
 Sean Maddox  
 Spencer  
 Derek (Sunny)  
 Sunderland  
 Tina Seabrook  
 Tom Harley  
 Tom Harvey  
 Tony Walker  
 Trevor Wilson

Paterson Joseph  
 Tara Moran  
 Robert Gwilym  
 Michelle Butterfly  
 Ian Kelsey  
 Donna Alexander  
 Gray O'Brien  
 Carole Leader  
 Jonathan Kerrigan  
 Gerald Kyd  
 Ben Keaton  
 Vincenzo Pellegrino  
 Claire Goose  
 David Ryall  
 Kieron Forsyth  
 Eamon Boland  
 Michael N. Harbour

**Producer**  
 Geraint Morris

**Programming History**  
 BBC  
 1986–

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## Cathy Come Home

British Docudrama

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*Cathy Come Home* was screened by BBC 1 on December 16, 1966, within the regular *Wednesday Play* slot. The program is a "drama-documentary" concerning homelessness and its effect upon families. Written by Jeremy Sandford, produced by Tony Garnett, and di-

rected by Ken Loach, *Cathy* has become a British TV "classic," regularly referred to by critics and researchers as well as by program makers themselves. Part of the status accorded to *Cathy* is undoubtedly due to its particular qualities of scripting, direction, and

acting, but part follows from the way in which the film has been seen to focus and exemplify questions about the mixing of dramatic with documentary material and, more generally, about the public power of television in highlighting social problems. After the screening, the issue of homelessness, and the various measures adopted by local authorities to deal with that problem, became more prominent in public and political discussion, and the housing action charity "Shelter" was formed. The more long-term consequences, in terms of changes to the kinds of conditions depicted in the film, remain much more doubtful, of course.

*Cathy* is organized as a narrative about a young woman who marries, has children, and then—following an accident to her husband that results in his loss of job and the subsequent impoverishment of their family—suffers various states of homelessness in poor or temporary accommodation until her children are taken into care by the social services. The program adopts an episodic structure, depicting the stages in the decline of Cathy and her family across a number of years. Both as a play and as a kind of documentary, *Cathy Come Home* is held together by the commentary of Cathy herself, a commentary that is given in a self-reflective past tense and that not only introduces and ends the program but is heard regularly throughout it, providing a bridge between episodes and a source of additional explanation to that obtained by watching the dramatic action.

One "documentary" element in *Cathy* is seen in the program's visual style. In addition, the play resembles a documentary in that a large amount of research on the problem of homelessness went into the writing of the script and because the script devotes considerable time to depicting aspects of this problem as it advances the storyline concerning Cathy and her family.

Stylistically, a number of scenes in the program are shot in the documentary mode of action-led camera, with events appearing to develop spontaneously and to be "caught" by the filming. The resultant effect is one of high immediacy values, providing the viewer with a strong sense of being a "witness." Where the script broadens its scope to situate Cathy's story in the context of homelessness as a more general problem, camera work and sound recording produce a scopic field and address to the viewer that resemble conventional reportage. For instance, in a scene in a crowded tenement block, we hear the anonymous voices of occupants on the soundtrack while various shots are combined to produce a montage of "place," of "environment." Similarly, toward the end of the film, when Cathy and her children enter the lowest class of hostel accommodation, the camera not only situates them in the crowded dormitory they have entered but offers "snapshot" case histories of some of the other women living there. Some

of this information comes through voice-over, some in speech to camera, as if addressed to Cathy herself. The documentarist element is more directly present in the use of commentary and brief "viewpoint" voice-over at several points in the film. These moments offer statistics on the housing situation and allow various perspectives on it to be heard in a manner that directly follows conventional documentary practice.

Thus, *Cathy* plays with the codes of reportage and merges them with those of realist drama. The developing story, however, often shown through an exploration of private, intimate space, requires that the film be organized principally as narrative fiction, moving outward to establish a documentary framing of context at a number of points and then closing back in on "story." Since the story is a particularization of the general problem, however, movement between "story" and "report" often involves no sharp disjunctions, substantive or stylistic.

The initial critical response to the program was generally positive, but public discussion tended to circulate around two issues—the possibility that the audience would be deceived into according a greater "truth" to *Cathy* than was warranted by its fictional status, and the way the account was a "biased" one, depicting officials as uncaring and often hostile in a way that would have been unacceptable in a conventional documentary.

It is hard to imagine a viewer so unskilled in the conventions of television as to believe that *Cathy* was "reality" footage, so extensively is it conceived of in terms of narrative fiction. However, doubt clearly existed in some viewers' minds as to whether it was a story based directly on a real incident or whether (as was actually the case) Cathy's tale was a construction developed from a range of research materials. Several commentators queried the legitimacy of combining the dramatic license to articulate a viewpoint through character and action, on the one hand, with the documentary requirement to be "impartial," on the other—a perspective that often revealed a certain amount of naiveté on the commentators' part about the veracity of "straight documentary."

Against these complaints, other critics defended the program makers' right to use dramatic emotional devices in order to engage the viewer with public issues, pointing to the way in which the program's view of officialdom was essentially the view held by Cathy herself—in their eyes, this was a perfectly proper use of character viewpoint from which audience members could measure their own empathetic distance.

In British television history, then, *Cathy Come Home* remains an important marker in the long-running debate about television and truth. This should

not be allowed to overshadow its own qualities as a work of social imagination, however, and as an exploration in "hybridized" forms that sometimes brilliantly prefigures much later shifts in the modes of address of factual television.

JOHN CORNER

See also *Docudrama*; Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken; Sanford, Jeremy; *Wednesday Play*

#### Cast

Cathy Carol White  
Ray Ray Brooks

#### Producer

Tony Garnett

#### Programming History

BBC  
December 16, 1966

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## Cavalcade of America

U.S. Anthology Drama

*Cavalcade of America* pioneered the use of anthology drama for company voice advertising. A knockoff of sponsor E.I. DuPont de Nemours and Company's long-running radio program, television's *Cavalcade* celebrated acts of individual initiative and achievement consistent with its sponsor's "Better things for better living" motto. The historical-documentary format especially fit the politically conservative DuPont Company, whose own history in the United States dated to 1802. The *Cavalcade* frequently touched on science and invention, often focusing its free-enterprise subtext on the early American republic. "Poor Richard," its first telecast on October 1, 1952, dramatized the wit and inventiveness of Benjamin Franklin. Developed from a back catalog of radio plays judged to have "picture qualities," the drama sent the "old and obstinate" Franklin to delay American surrender talks with the British, thereby allowing General George Washington to escape capture to fight another day. The denouement found Franklin "on his knees praying for Liberty and Peace and the ability to deserve them." Other first season telecasts reprised stories of *Cavalcade* favorites Samuel Morse, in "What Hath God Wrought"; electric motor inventor Thomas Davenport as "The Indomitable Blacksmith"; Samuel Slater in "Slater's Dream"; and Eli Whitney as "The Man Who Took a Chance."

For many viewers the *Cavalcade of America* was history on the air. DuPont Company publicist Lyman Dewey confidently asserted that the typical viewer

"abstracts [sic] the meaning for himself" without explicit statement from the company, identifying DuPont with the "rugged scene of America's struggle." Program specialists exercised the format's malleable historical and dramatic properties under maximum editorial control. A complete reliance on telefilms ensured the prescribed interpretation of scripts, expanded the scope of production limited by the television studio, and lent programs a finished look that specialists felt reflected the company's stature. The use of telefilms allowed for additional economies in the rebroadcast and syndication of programs. Shorn of the "Story of Chemistry" commercials that concluded each program, telefilms were then placed in circulation on the club-and-school circuit. Merchandising directed to the general viewing public leavened the series' educational purpose with entertainment values. Promotional material accompanying the *Cavalcade*'s second telecast, titled "All's Well with Lydia," for example, described "the Revolutionary War story of Lydia Darragh, American patriot and Philadelphia widow, who by her cleverness gained information instrumental in an American victory." Spot announcement texts supplied to local stations read, "Was she minx or patriot?" A second exclaimed, "Lydia Darragh's receptive ear, ready smile and pink cheek are more dangerous to British hopes than a thousand muskets!"

In a bid to freshen up the series' historical venue with the trend toward "actuals" then in favor on *General Electric Theater* and *Armstrong Circle Theatre*,

## Cavalcade of America

during the 1954–55 television season, *Cavalcade* introduced contemporary story subjects: “Saturday Story,” with the football team the Cleveland Browns’ Otto Graham, who played himself; “Man on the Beat,” a police drama; “The Gift of Dr. Minot,” the story of the 1934 Nobel laureate in medicine and his treatment of anemia; and “Sunrise on a Dirty Face,” a juvenile-delinquent drama. The favorable reception of stories of “modern American life” led to a change of title for the 1955–56 television season. Retaining an option on the historical past, the new *DuPont Cavalcade Theater* debuted with “A Time for Courage,” the story of “Nancy Merki and the swimming coach who led her to victory over polio and to Olympic stardom.” In subsequent weeks *Cavalcade* featured a mix of contemporary and historical stories, including “Toward Tomorrow,” a biography of Dr. Ralph Bunche; “Disaster Patrol,” an adventure story about the Civil Air Patrol; “The Swamp Fox,” featuring Hans Conried in the role of General Francis Marion; and “Postmark: Danger,” a police drama drawn from the files of U.S. postal investigators.

DuPont’s new interest in contemporary relevance, however, was occasionally misread by Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, its Madison Avenue advertising agency and program producer. Rejecting a *Cavalcade Theater* script titled “I Lost My Job,” a DuPont Company official testily explained to agency producers that

on *Cavalcade* or in any other DuPont advertising, we do not want to picture business in a bad light, or in any way that can be interpreted as negative by even a single viewer. It just seems axiomatic that we’d be silly to spend advertising money to tear down the very concept we’re trying to sell.

By the 1956–57 television season, that sale had moved to new settings and locations far from the *Cavalcade*’s

capsule demonstrations of free enterprise at work. Spurred by editorial confidence in the value of entertainment, the newly renamed *DuPont Theatre* all but abandoned the historical past, at least as an educational prerequisite for an evening’s entertainment. The following season the *DuPont Show of the Month* confirmed the trend with a schedule of 90-minute spectaculars, some in color, debuting September 29, 1957, with “Crescendo,” a musical variety program costarring Ethel Merman and Rex Harrison.

WILLIAM L. BIRD, JR.

*See also Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama; Armstrong Circle Theatre; General Electric Theater*

### Producers

Maurice Geraghty, Armand Schaefer, Gilbert A. Ralston, Arthur Ripley, Jack Denove, Jack Chertok

### Programming History

NBC

October 1952–June 1953      Wednesday 8:30–9:00

ABC

September 1953–June 1955      Tuesday 7:30–8:00

September 1955–June 1957      Tuesday 9:30–10:00

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**CBC.** *See Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld*

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**CBS.** *See Columbia Broadcasting System*

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# Censorship

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Conceptions of censorship derive from Roman practice in which two officials were appointed by the government to conduct the census, award public contracts, and supervise the manners and morals of the people. Today, the scope of censorship has been expanded to include most media and involves suppressing any or all parts deemed objectionable on moral, political, military, or other grounds. While most Americans are fiercely protective of First Amendment rights and resent government control, they are more tolerant of self-imposed censorship. This is one reason many media industries, in the face of mounting criticism, would rather devise "rating systems" of their own that classify the content of their product or warn viewers of objectionable material than subject themselves to external censorship.

With regard to television in the United States, censorship usually refers to the exclusion of certain topics, social groups, or language from the content of broadcast programming. While censorship has often been constructed against the explicit backdrop of morality, it has been implicitly based on assumptions about the identity and composition of the audience for U.S. broadcast television at particular points in time. The economic drive to maximize network profits has helped to inspire the different conceptions of the audience that broadcasters have held. At times, the television audience has been constructed as an undifferentiated mass. During other periods, the audience has been divided into demographically desirable categories. As the definition of the audience has changed over time, so has the boundary between appropriate and inappropriate content. At times, different sets of moral values have often come into conflict with each other and with the economic forces of American broadcasting. The moral limits on content stem from what might be viewed as specific social groups' social and cultural taboos, particularly concerning religious and sexual topics.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the networks and advertisers measured the viewing audience as an undifferentiated mass. Despite the lumping together of all viewers, broadcasters structured programming content around the "normal," dominant values of white, middle-class Americans. Therefore, content centered around the concerns of the nuclear family. Topics such as racism or sexuality, which seemingly had little di-

rect impact on this domestic setting, were excluded from content. Indeed, ethnic minorities were excluded, for the most part, from the television screen because they did not fit into the networks' assumptions about the viewing audience. Sexuality was a topic allocated to the private, personal sphere, rather than the public arena of network broadcasting. For example, during the mid-1960s, the sexual relationship between Rob and Laura Petrie in *The Dick Van Dyke Show* could only be implied. When the couple's bedroom was shown, twin beds diffused any explicit connotation that they had a physical relationship. Direct references to nonnormative heterosexuality were excluded from programming altogether. In addition, coarse language that described bodily functions and sexual activity or profaned sacred words was excluded from broadcast discourse.

However, conceptions about the viewing audience and the limits of censorship changed drastically during the early 1970s. To a large degree, this shift in censorship came about because techniques for measuring the viewing audience became much more refined at that time. Ratings researchers began to break down the viewing audience for individual programs according to specific demographic characteristics, including age, ethnicity, education, and economic background. In this context, the baby-boomer generation (younger, better educated, with more disposable income) became the desired target audience for television programming and advertising. Even though baby boomers grew up on television programming of the 1950s and 1960s, their tastes and values were often in marked contrast to that of their middle-class parents. Subjects previously excluded from television began to appear with regularity.

*All in the Family* was the predominant battering ram that broke down the restrictions placed on television content during the preceding 20 years. Frank discussions of sexuality, even outside of traditional heterosexual monogamy, became the focal point of many of the comedy's narratives. The series also introduced issues of ethnicity and bigotry as staples of its content. Constraints on the use of profanity began to crumble as well. Scriptwriters began to pepper dialogue with "damns" and "hells," language not permitted during the more conservative 1950s and 1960s.

While the redefinition of the desirable audience in



the early 1970s did expand the parameters of appropriate content for television programming, the new candor prompted reactions from several fronts and demonstrated large divisions within social and cultural communities. As early as 1973, the Supreme Court emphasized that community standards vary from place to place: "It is neither realistic nor constitutionally sound to read the First Amendment as requiring that people of Maine or Mississippi accept public depiction of conduct found tolerable in Las Vegas or New York City." Clearly, such a ruling leaves it to states or communities to define what is acceptable and what is not, a task that cannot be carried out to everyone's satisfaction. When applying community standards, the courts must decide what the "average person, in the community" finds acceptable or not, and some communities are clearly more conservative than others. These standards are particularly difficult to apply to television programming that is produced, for economic reasons, to cross all such regional and social boundaries.

In part as a result of these divisions, however, special-interest or advocacy groups began to confront the networks about representations and content that had not been present before 1971. For some social groups that had had very little, if any, visibility during the first 20 years of U.S. broadcast television, the expanding parameters of programming content were a mixed blessing. The inclusion of Hispanics, African Americans, and gays and lesbians in programming was preferable to their near invisibility during the previous two decades, but advocacy groups often took issue with the framing and stereotyping of the new images. From a contrasting perspective, conservative groups began to oppose the incorporation of topics within content that did not align easily with traditional American values or beliefs. In particular, the American Family Association decried the increasing presentation of nontraditional sexual behavior as acceptable in broadcast programming. Other groups rallied against the increased use of violence in broadcast content. As a result, attempts to define the boundaries of appropriate content have become an ongoing struggle, as the networks negotiate their own interests against those of advertisers and various social groups. Whereas censorship in the 1950s and 1960s was based on the presumed standards and tastes of the white, middle-class nuclear family, censorship in the 1970s became a process of balancing the often conflicting values of marginal social groups.

The proliferation of cable since the 1980s has only exacerbated the conflicts over programming and censorship. Because of a different mode of distribution and exhibition (often referred to as "narrowcasting") cable television has been able to offer more explicit

sexual and violent programming than broadcast television. To compete for the viewing audience that increasingly turns to cable television channels, the broadcast networks have loosened restrictions on programming content, enabling them to include partial nudity, somewhat more graphic violence, and the use of coarse language. This strategy seems to have been partially successful in attracting viewers, as evidenced by the popularity of adult dramas such as *NYPD Blue*. However, this programming approach has opened the networks to further attacks from conservative advocacy groups, which have increased the pressure for government regulation (i.e., censorship) of objectionable program content.

As these issues and problems indicate, most Americans, because of cherished First Amendment rights, are extremely sensitive to any form of censorship. Relative to other countries, however, the United States enjoys remarkable freedom from official monitoring of program content. Negative reactions are often expressed toward imported or foreign programs when they do not reflect indigenous norms and values. "Cutting of scenes" is practiced far more in developing countries than in Western countries. Americans may find it interesting to note that even European countries consider exposure to nudity and sex to be less objectionable than abusive language or violence.

Sydney Head, Christopher Sterling, and Lemuel Schofield point out that the control of media and media content is also related to the type of government in power in a particular country. They identify four types of governmental philosophy related to the issue of censorship: authoritarian, paternalistic, pluralistic, and permissive. Of the four types, the first two are more inclined to exercise censorship because they assume they know what is best for citizens. Anything that challenges this exclusive view must be banned or excluded. Since most broadcasting in such countries is state funded, control is relatively easy for the government to impose. Exclusionary methods include governmental control of broadcast stations' licenses, jamming external broadcasts, promoting indigenous programming, imposing restrictions on imported programs, excluding newspaper articles, cutting scenes from films, and shutting down printing presses.

Pluralistic and permissive governments allow for varying degrees of private ownership of broadcasting stations. Such governments assume that citizens will choose what they consider best in a free market where competing media companies offer their products. Such an ideal can be effective, of course, only if the competitors are roughly equal and operate in the interests of the public. To maintain this "balance of ideas" in the United States, the Federal Communications Commis-

sion (FCC) established rules that regulate the formation of media monopolies and require stations to demonstrate they operate in the interests of their audiences' good. Despite such intentions, recent deregulation has disturbed the balance, allowing powerful media conglomerates to dominate the marketplace and reduce the number of voices heard.

Pluralistic and permissive governments also assume that competing companies will regulate themselves. Perhaps the best-known attempt at self-regulation is conducted by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), which rates motion pictures for particular audiences. For example, the contents of "G" rated movies are considered suitable for all audiences and "PG" requires parental guidance, whereas "R," "X," and "NC17" are considered appropriate for adults only.

In the past, one of the arguments against censorship has been freedom of choice. Parents who object to offensive television programs can always switch the channel or choose another show. Unfortunately, parental supervision is lacking in many households. In the 1990s, this problem, coupled with political and interest group outrage against media producers, led many to debate the possibility of a self-imposed television rating system similar to that of the MPAA. To counter conservative criticism and government censorship, producers and the networks agreed to begin a ratings system that could be electronically monitored and blocked in the home. In 1996 the Telecommunications Act required new television sets sold in the United States to include the "V-chip," technology that allows home viewers to program their television sets to block reception of specific shows or of shows with particular ratings. In 1997 the U.S. television rating system—employing six grades that indicate the age-appropriateness of particular programs—was implemented, with the TV-Y (appropriate for very young children), TV-Y7 (suitable for children over 7 years), G (for general audiences), TV-PG (parental guidance suggested), TV-14 (not intended for children under 14 years), or TV-M (mature audiences only) symbol appearing on the upper-left-hand corner of the TV screen at the beginning of each program. In addition, to indicate whether the episode contains certain types of content, up to four additional symbols may be placed below the TV rating: V (violence), L (potentially offensive language), D (mature dialogue), and/or S (sexual situations). Ideally, with this technology and the ratings, parents could effectively censor programming they found unsuitable for their children, while still allowing the networks to air adult-oriented programming. However, the V-chip and the rating system have not been entirely successful, with some peo-

ple complaining that the information provided is confusing and insufficient. Furthermore, not all the networks fully implemented the rating policy: NBC, in particular, uses the age-related ratings but does not indicate specific types of content.

In the 1970s, an early attempt at a similar sort of regulation came when the FCC encouraged the television industry to introduce a "family viewing concept," according to which television networks would agree to delay the showing of adult programs until children were, presumably, no longer among the audience. The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) willingly complied with this pressure, but in 1979 a court ruled that the NAB's action was a violation of the First Amendment.

In the late 1990s, as networks relaxed corporate restrictions on content in their competition with cable and satellite programming, the early-evening hours once again took on special importance. In mid-1996, more than 75 members of the U.S. Congress placed an open letter to the entertainment industry in *Daily Variety*. The letter called on the creative community and the programmers to provide an hour of programming each evening that was free from sexual innuendo, violence, or otherwise troublesome material. Clearly, the question of censorship in television continues to vex programmers, producers, government officials, and viewers. No immediate solution to the problems involved is apparent. Indeed, the debate and struggle over censorship of programming will more than likely continue in the 21st century, as social groups with diverse values vie for increased influence over program content.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on New York and Washington, D.C., and the subsequent war in Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom) have brought issues of censorship into sharper focus. The events of September 11 precipitated an atmosphere of national vulnerability and defensiveness. At this time, the American public seemed willing to tolerate an invasive police presence and a high level of surveillance, in exchange for security. Censorship in a variety of forms has also been accepted, within and without the country, provided it is justified by national security. To increase national security, the George W. Bush administration found it necessary to create a Department of Homeland Security, with sweeping authority and jurisdiction.

Under great pressure to reveal what the government knew about the activities of terrorists prior to September 11 and the soundness of intelligence reports used to justify the Iraq war, President Bush asked a Congressional Committee on Intelligence to publish a detailed report. In the public sections, 28 pages that implicated members of the Saudi royal family were

censored. This action is allegedly to protect sensitive relationships that might affect the war effort.

Under the U.S.A. Patriot Act of 2001 and the Homeland Security Act, notice was given to librarians that the activities of library patrons, including their World Wide Web browsing, might be subjected to government surveillance without the knowledge or consent of those patrons. In response to this notice, many librarians voiced their strong opposition to provisions of those acts, claiming that they violated their professional ethics, undermined the privacy of individuals, and would have a chilling effect on research and the free flow of information.

Reporting during Operation Iraqi Freedom was handled in a methodical and open manner. Reporters "embedded" in the army were allowed to file reports directly from the battlefield, providing frontline accounts. At times these field reports placed reporters in great jeopardy and several died in the war. The Basra Sheraton Hotel, which was being used by al-Jazeera journalists as a base, was bombed. Apparently no one was hurt, but al-Jazeera complained to the Pentagon. The news organization claimed that it had provided the

Pentagon with all the relevant details about its reporters, as stipulated by international practice and conventions, governing the reporting of wars. An inquiry into this incident revealed that American forces may have believed sniper fire was coming from the building.

RICHARD WORRINGHAM AND ROBERT ERLER

*See also All in the Family; Narrowcasting; NYPD Blue; September 11, 2001; War on Television*

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## Channel 4

### British Programming Service

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The fourth British channel arrived on the scene in 1982 after extensive debate between proponents of public service television on the one hand and of commercial broadcasting on the other. The timing was crucial, for the commercially funded ITV network was starting to outstrip combined BBC 1 and BBC 2 in terms of audience numbers. Channel 4 (C4) was a compromise between the two principles: it was to be financed by advertising revenue from the existing private companies, but governed independently from them, with a brief to provide minority and complementary programming to the three existing channels. It would make none of its own programming, but rather "publish" work produced by outside production companies, and indeed, a host of small independent producers sprung up in its wake, peddling their ideas to a group of "commissioning editors." It would be innovative in program styles and working practices and would find new audiences.

Piloted in its first years by Jeremy Isaacs, a veteran of documentary and current affairs television produc-

tion who had given a noteworthy speech about his vision at an Edinburgh Television Festival, C4 saw its role as being "different, but not too different." It would stake its claim to being "alternative" by pioneering material new to British television (access, community, youth and minority programs), by catering to as-yet-untelevised sports and hobby enthusiasts (cycling, basketball, chess), and by giving new life to threatened genres like documentary, arts features, and independent film. Risk taking would include the first hour-long TV news and the first overtly "committed" current affairs magazines (*The Friday Alternative*). Dubbed "Channel Bore" by early critics put off by earnest late-night intellectual discussions, and afflicted with occasional censorship battles over certain programs that appeared overly partisan (toward the left), the channel saw its audience share gradually creep upward—though it never attained the 10 percent share it sought in a national television landscape as yet untouched by cable and satellite. Associated with yuppie and liberal

values, it boasted a 90 percent satisfaction rate among its selective audience.

Channel 4 did not neglect popular genres, creating its own early-evening serial (*Brookside*, Liverpool-set, remains its most popular program) and launching *Max Headroom* and other avant-garde—or at least less classical than existing—series. It showed quality series imported from the United States like *Hill Street Blues* and *Cheers* and launched some of Britain's alternative comedians (*Comic Strip Presents...*).

But its main success has been its feature film production; Channel 4 revitalized a moribund British film industry. It invested in a third of the feature films made in Britain in 1984, financing a number of low-budget films such as Stephen Frears's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (shot on 16 millimeter in 1985) and coproducing medium-budget ones such as *The Draughtsman's Contract* (Peter Greenaway) and *Dance with a Stranger* (Mike Newell). "Film on Four," under David Rose, wooed writers like David Hare and directors like Mike Leigh from the BBC and attracted new ones like Neil Jordan and Derek Jarman. In contrast to the BBC, C4 policy has been to address contemporary issues and use experimental storytelling. It has backed a number of projects aimed at the European art film market: Wim Wender's *Paris, Texas*; Agnes Varda's *Vagabond*; Andre Tarkovsky's *The Sacrifice*; and Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game*. "Film Four International" showcases independent filmmakers from around the world.

In 1988 chief executive Isaacs stepped down and was replaced by Michael Grade, formerly controller of BBC 1 and scion of a family distinguished in commercial entertainment. Despite fears that he would be forced by commercial pressures to take the channel down a vulgarian path, Grade proved a populist in the best sense of the word, importing more U.S. shows (e.g., *Oprah Winfrey*, *Roseanne*, *ER*), although the gamble on American content did not always pay off

(*Tales of the City*). The 1990 Broadcasting Act refined its remit to be "distinctive," that is, to include proportions that are European and are supplied by independent producers. More important, the act spun C4 off from the ITV companies by giving it the right to market its own advertising. Funding, like distribution, became a problem: Channel 4 has been so successful at marketing itself that subsidy is flowing the other way, as a share of its profits instead reverts back to the ITV companies' coffers—£38 million in 1994.

Channel 4 underwent significant organizational change under Grade. Under the 1990 Broadcasting Act, Channel 4 became a public cooperation. The service expanded under Grade's leadership. He stepped down in 1997.

Grade's successor, Michael Jackson, imbued the channel with a postmodern, pop cultural sensibility. During his tenure, several successful shows had their debuts, including *Da Ali G Show*, *Queer as Folk*, *So Graham Norton*, and the British version of *Big Brother*. Under Jackson, turnover was raised 30 percent in four years. Two new channels, Film Four and E4, were launched.

Since 2002, Mark Thompson has served as the current chief executive of Channel 4.

SUSAN EMMANUEL

See also **Grade, Michael; Isaacs, Jeremy; Jackson, Michael**

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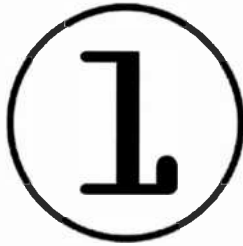
## Channel One News

### U.S. Proprietary Programming Service

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*Channel One News* is a 12-minute television news program targeted to teenagers and distributed via satellite to more than 12,000 middle and high schools across the United States each school day morning. This represents an audience of more than 8 million students, with

thousands of other schools currently on a waiting list to receive the program. *Channel One News* became, almost from its inception, a highly controversial educational program offering, primarily because two minutes of each program are devoted to advertising. Its



## Channel One News™

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critics came from both sides of the political spectrum and included such diverse and outspoken critics as Ralph Nader and Phyllis Schlafly.

*Channel One News* began its pilot phase in January 1989, originally as a production of Whittle Communications, Inc., in Knoxville, Tennessee, and was heavily promoted by the company's founder, Christopher Whittle. In 1995 Whittle Communications closed and sold *Channel One* to K-III Communications Corporation, a large diversified communications company focused on education, information, and magazine publishing. K-III Communications is now PRIMEDIA, Inc., a \$1.6 billion corporation currently trading on the New York Stock Exchange as PRM. On its corporate website, PRIMEDIA proclaims it is the "#1 special interest magazine publisher in the U.S., with 250 titles such as *Automobile*, *Motor Trend*, *New York*, *Fly Fisherman*, *American Baby*, *Telephony* and *American Demographics*; the #1 producer and distributor of specialty video with 18 satellite and digital video product lines, including Channel One Network."

In order for a school to receive *Channel One News*, it must sign a three-year agreement to carry the program in its entirety each school day and make the telecast available to at least 90 percent of the student body. In return, each school receives a satellite dish (TVRO), two videocassette recorders, one 19-inch television set per classroom, and all of the necessary cabling. No money is exchanged. In a recent enhancement, the school will also have access to more than 100 hours of curriculum-specific, satellite-delivered programming.

*Channel One News* content is geared to teenagers and delivered by anchors and reporters typically in their early to mid-20s. Program content includes the latest news as well as weeklong series for more depth on such topics as jobs, drug abuse, science and technology, and international politics. According to *Channel One News*, its news programming has "five educational goals":

1. to enhance cultural literacy,
2. to promote critical thinking,
3. to provide a common language and shared experience,
4. to provide relevance and motivation, and
5. to strengthen character and build a sense of responsibility.

*Channel One News* has received many awards, including the Advertising Council's Silver Bell Award for "outstanding public service" and a George Foster Peabody Award for the series *A Decade of AIDS*.

In addition to the daily news program, schools are also provided approximately 250 hours per school year of noncommercial educational programming (through an agreement with Pacific Mountain Network) designed to serve as a supplemental teaching tool to support existing curricula.

Many in the educational community and elsewhere have decried *Channel One News* on the basis that it commercializes the classroom environment, and some have expressed concern that there may be an implicit endorsement of the products shown. *Channel One News* characterizes its role as a positive partnership between the educational and business communities. It cites, for example, a three-year study of *Channel One News* by a team, commissioned by Whittle, from the University of Michigan. Among the study's findings were apparent increases in awareness and knowledge of current events by the audience and the judgment by a majority of teachers surveyed that they would recommend the program to other teachers. Other studies have found that *Channel One News*' stated commitment to community service is evidenced by a high percentage (about 15 percent) of the commercial time being given to public service announcements. And in a 1993 report published in *Educational Leadership*, 90 percent of teachers thought *Channel One News* included the "most important events of the previous day." Other teachers, critics, and evaluators, however, still find the idea of students viewing advertising in the classroom anathema. The debate continues.

THOMAS A. BIRK

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# Charles, Glen and Les

U.S. Writers and Producers

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When Glen and Les Charles watched television comedies in the early 1970s, they saw more than just clever entertainment and escape—they saw an opportunity to leave their unsatisfying jobs and become part of show business. While many people might share this dream, the Charles brothers had the talent, dedication, and luck to move from their sofa to behind the scenes of some of the most successful comedies in television history.

The Charleses were raised Mormon near Las Vegas, Nevada, exposed to the glitz of their hometown while absorbing their family's emphasis on education. They both received a liberal arts education at University of Redlands in Los Angeles. Les Charles followed in his mother's footsteps by teaching public school, while Glen Charles attended law school and eventually worked as an advertising copywriter. Neither brother was content in his job, and both dreamed of something more. On a Saturday night in 1974, they were watching their favorite night of television and they became inspired—instead of just watching CBS's Saturday lineup of *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Bob Newhart Show*, and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, they would write episodes for these television comedies.

They started by writing an episode of their favorite, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and sending it to MTM Productions. After receiving no response, they persisted, writing a sample episode of every television comedy they enjoyed and sending it to the producers on spec. Confident in their talents, they both quit their jobs to dedicate more time to their writing; Les Charles and his wife were living out of their van when the Charles brothers received notification of their first sold script. They lived off the money and excitement generated from seeing their episode of *M\*A\*S\*H* on the air, but no jobs followed immediately. Finally, after two years and dozens of unsolicited scripts, they received the phone call they had been waiting for—the producers at MTM had read their first script at last and offered them jobs as staff writers on the spin-off *Phyllis*.

Often referred to as "MTM Television University," MTM Productions was a training ground for young writers in the 1970s, offering a supportive atmosphere that emphasized talent and quality over commercial success and popularity. The Charles brothers quickly

climbed up the ranks in MTM, moving from story editors to producers at *Phyllis* and eventually getting the opportunity to produce one of the programs that had first inspired them, *The Bob Newhart Show*. While at *Phyllis*, the brothers met a colleague with whom they would form a long fruitful working partnership—James Burrows. The Charles brothers and Burrows "graduated" from MTM together when four MTM veterans created *Taxi* and hired this team to oversee the daily production of the show. Glen and Les Charles left MTM to become writer-producers for *Taxi*, while Burrows directed the series.

*Taxi* brought both success and acclaim to the Charles brothers, as the program won Emmy Awards for their writing in addition to TV's top honor in their category—Outstanding Comedy Series. But Glen and Les Charles and Jim Burrows all wanted to work on a series that was uniquely their own, not the concept of other writers and producers. Therefore, after three highly successful years at *Taxi*, the trio left the show to form Charles-Burrows-Charles Productions and create their own signature brand of television comedy. Luckily for them, Grant Tinker had just taken over NBC and was looking for "quality" programming to fill out the last-place network's schedule. Without even a concept or script in hand, Tinker gave Charles-Burrows-Charles a deal to produce a new comedy for NBC.

All three partners were fans of the British comedy *Fawlty Towers* and thought that setting the series in a hotel would be a good choice. Like the British series, theirs would feature odd guests passing through and associating with the series regulars. But after sketching out their ideas, they realized that most scenes took place in the hotel bar and they could streamline the show by eliminating the hotel altogether. Unlike the seedy atmosphere commonly associated with bars, they envisioned a classy neighborhood tavern based on a Boston pub. To avoid any implication that they were glorifying drinking, they made the owner of the bar a recovering alcoholic. After casting a group of unknowns, many of whom had been guest stars on *Taxi*, *Cheers* was born.

While *Cheers* certainly bore many of the marks of MTM shows and *Taxi*, there were aspects distinct to Charles-Burrows-Charles. Unlike most MTM shows,

there were no well-known actors on the show, which relied solely on the comedic talent of the cast and writing to draw in audiences. While *Taxi* had moved away from the middle-class and optimistic settings of MTM programs and toward a grittier and more pessimistic view of the world, *Cheers* found a middle ground—while no characters were truly happy with their jobs or circumstances, there was a contentedness in the bar where “everybody knows your name” that was never present in *Taxi*. The major adjustment the Charles brothers brought to *Cheers* was the presence of a long-term narrative arc concerning the tempestuous romance between Sam Malone and Diane Chambers; Glen and Les Charles wrote this aspect of the series in direct reaction to the static relationship between Mary Richards and Lou Grant, which never changed through the course of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*.

Luckily for the Charles brothers, Tinker was willing to give *Cheers* a chance to develop this long-term arc. The program’s first-season ratings were horrible (77th place), but both Tinker and his programming head Brandon Tartikoff were fans of *Cheers* and subsequently gave the show another chance. Emmy Awards followed, word of mouth grew, and the show gained in the ratings, but it was not until *The Cosby Show* found its place in the leadoff slot of NBC’s Thursday night lineup that *Cheers* turned into a blockbuster show. The Charles brothers moved away from writing individual episodes and served as general overseers of the program from their executive producer chairs. They attempted to develop a stable of programs by introducing the *Cheers* spin-off *The Tortellis* and *All Is Forgiven*, but both shows bombed; after this failure, Glen and Les Charles decided that they were not the “comedy factory” type of producers. They needed direct, day-to-day control of their programs. They stuck with *Cheers* as executive producers throughout its 11-year run and returned to the writing table to script the series’ final episode. Since *Cheers*, the Charles brothers have been inactive in television; their film work has been modest, featuring one produced screenplay, 1999’s “dramedy” *Pushing Tin*. But even if they never write another script for television, their rise from comedy fans to creators of one of the most successful and

acclaimed television series ever should be enough for a valued place in television history.

JASON MITTELL

*See also Bob Newhart Show, The; Cheers; M\*A\*S\*H; Taxi*

**Glen Charles.** Born in Henderson, Nevada. Attended University of Redlands, California, B.A. in English; San Francisco State University. Advertising copywriter; began television career as writer, with brother Les Charles; writer-producer, *The Bob Newhart Show*; formed Charles-Burrows-Charles production company with television director James Burrows, 1977; creator-producer, *Taxi, Cheers*.

**Les Charles.** Born in Henderson, Nevada. Attended University of Redlands, California, B.A. in English. High school English teacher; began television career as writer, with brother Glen Charles; writer-producer, *The Bob Newhart Show*; formed Charles-Burrows-Charles production company with television director James Burrows, 1977; creator-producer, *Taxi, Cheers*.

#### Television (Glen and Les Charles)

1972–78	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i> (writer-producers)
1972–83	<i>M*A*S*H</i> (writers)
1975–77	<i>Phyllis</i> (writers)
1978–83	<i>Taxi</i> (writers, coproducers)
1982–93	<i>Cheers</i> (writers, coproducers)
1986	<i>All Is Forgiven</i> (coproducers)
1987	<i>The Tortellis</i> (coproducers)

#### Film (writers)

*Pushing Tin*, 1999

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# Charlie's Angels

U.S. Detective Drama

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*Charlie's Angels*, the critically panned female detective series that heralded the age of "jiggle TV," aired on ABC from 1976 to 1981. The show, which featured three shapely, often scantily clad women solving crimes undercover for a boss they knew only as a god-like voice from a phone speaker, was an immediate sensation, landing the number five spot in the Nielsen ratings during the 1976–77 TV season. (This premiere-season record would remain unbroken until 1994–95, when NBC's new medical drama *E/R* finished number two for the year.) In its second year, following the departure of its most popular star, *Charlie's Angels* tied for number four with the critically acclaimed *60 Minutes* and *All in the Family*. However, by its third season, *Charlie's Angels* slipped out of the top ten, and by the 1980–81 season, the show's novelty had worn as thin as the Angels' slinky outfits; in that year *Charlie's Angels* placed 59 out of 65 shows and was canceled after 115 episodes.

Deemed "sexploitation" by its detractors, *Charlie's Angels* was the brainchild of producer Aaron Spelling, who in the early 1970s had found success in the TV detective genre with *The Mod Squad* and *The Rookies*, hip series shooting for young-adult audiences. With *Charlie's Angels*, Spelling spun a new formula that would attract desirable demographics among young men and women: he combined detective drama with the glamorous fantasy that would become his staple in the 1980s with *Dynasty* and the 1990s with *Beverly Hills, 90210* and *Melrose Place*. Not only were his Angels beautiful and sexy, they were smart and powerful heroines who used provocative attraction (and feminine, often feigned, vulnerability) to lure and capture unsuspecting male criminals. Although *Charlie's Angels* was among TV's first dramas to instill female characters with typically male "powers" via a dominant subject position, the show's critics, including infuriated feminists, countered that *Charlie's Angels* was little more than a patriarchal production that sexually objectified its characters.

The premise of *Charlie's Angels* placed the show's feminine heroes in a male-dominated workplace and a woman-as-victim society. The Angels—once "three little girls who went to the police academy"—worked

under the auspices of a patriarchal, narrative voice they called "Charlie" (the never-seen John Forsythe), who ran from remote locations the Charles Townsend Detective Agency in Los Angeles. Bosley, Charlie's asexual (and thus unthreatening) representative (played by David Doyle), helped direct the Angels to meet Charlie's desired ends. Working undercover in women's prison camps, as showgirls, as prostitutes, and in other sexually suggestive locales and professions, the Angels inevitably found themselves in jeopardy each week, victimized either by evil men or unattractive (which in Spelling's lexicon meant "bad") women who underestimated the Angels' smarts and their strengths as beautiful, seemingly frail decoys.

The three original Angels included two decoys—brunette Kelly Garret (played by Jaclyn Smith, the only Angel to remain through the series' entire run) and blonde Jill Munroe (played by Farrah Fawcett, whose fluffy, feathered hairstyle became a nationwide 1970s fad and whose sexy posters became best-sellers). By contrast, the third, less glamorous Angel, Sabrina Duncan (played by Kate Jackson, who also starred in Spelling's *The Rookies*), became known as "the smart one." Sabrina's impish qualities—independence, athleticism, adventurism, and asexuality—often kept her working behind the scenes with Bosley, helping to rescue other Angels, and consequently often kept her out of the bikinis, braless t-shirts, and tight dresses with plunging necklines that her coworkers opted to wear. Sabrina, Jill, and Kelly (a martial arts expert) all participated in the show's choreographed violence, which included karate chops, kicks to the groin, and other sanitized brutality (guns seldom were fired).

Fawcett (then Farrah Fawcett-Majors during her brief marriage to *Six Million Dollar Man* star Lee Majors) broke her contract and left the series after one season to become a movie star. She was replaced by blonde actress Cheryl Ladd, who played Jill's younger sister, Kris, also a decoy character. (As part of her exit agreement, Fawcett was forced to make guest appearances through the show's fourth season.) After two seasons and struggles to insert more meaningful characterizations into the show, Jackson also retired her





*Charlie's Angels*, Farrah Fawcett, Kate Jackson, Jaclyn Smith, 1976-81.

©Columbia Pictures/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

wings. She was replaced in 1979 by blonde actress Shelley Hack, who in 1980 was replaced by brunette actress Tanya Roberts for the show's final season. Throughout these cast changes, the formula remained consistent, save the loss of the impish Sabrina.

All six Angels, especially Fawcett, Smith, Jackson, and Ladd, became media icons whose faces—and heavenly bodies—were plastered on magazine covers, posters, lunch boxes, and loads of other toys and related merchandise. *Charlie's Angels* was undoubtedly a fantasy whose trappings appealed to males and females, young and old. Whether the show ultimately

helped or hurt female portrayals in TV drama remains debatable. But as pure camp, the show, highlighted by episodes with titles like "Angels in Chains," remains a cult classic. As the omniscient Charlie would say, "Good work, Angels."

CHRIS MANN

*See also Detective Programs; Forsythe, John; Gender and Television*

**Cast**

Sabrina Duncan (1976-79)	Kate Jackson
Jill Munroe (1976-77)	Farrah Fawcett-Majors
Kelly Garrett	Jaclyn Smith
Kris Munroe (1977-81)	Cheryl Ladd
Tiffany Welles (1979-80)	Shelley Hack
Julie Rogers (1980-81)	Tanya Roberts
John Bosley	David Doyle
Charlie Townsend (voice only)	John Forsythe

**Producers**

Leonard Goldberg, Aaron Spelling, Rich Husky, David Levinson, Barney Rosenzweig, Ronald Austin, James David Buchanan, Edward J. Lasko, Robert Janes, Elaine Rich

**Programming History**

108 episodes	
ABC	
September 1976–August 1977	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
August 1977–October 1980	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
November 1980–January 1981	Sunday 8:00–9:00
January 1981–February 1981	Saturday 8:00–9:00
June 1981–August 1981	Wednesday 8:00–9:00

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## Chase, David (1945– )

U.S. Writer, Producer, Director

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David Chase (born David DeCesare) once aspired to be a rock musician, but after studying at the School of Visual Arts in New York and acquiring a master's degree from Stanford University, he sought work in feature films. Despite some success in that arena, most of his work has been in television where, after 25 years as a writer, producer, director, and creator of some of the medium's most highly acclaimed series, he achieved "overnight" success as creator, writer, producer, and sometimes director of HBO's *The Sopranos*.

Chase's first writing credit was the adaptation of his story *The Still Life* as the low-budget horror film *Grave of the Vampire* (1972). Turning his attentions to television, his story *The Hunter* was adapted as the television film *Scream of the Wolf* (ABC, January 16, 1974). He worked as a story consultant/story editor for ABC's *Kolchak: The Night Stalker* (1974–75) and as a story consultant for *Switch* (CBS, 1975–78). As supervising producer for *The Rockford Files* (NBC, 1974–80) starring James Garner, Chase also wrote several episodes and in 1978 shared the Emmy for Outstanding Drama Series with fellow *Rockford* producers Stephen J. Cannell, Meta Rosenberg, and Charles Floyd Johnson. The series was also awarded a 1980 Golden Globe for Best Television Drama Series. That same year, Chase's teleplay for *Off the Minnesota Strip* (ABC, May 5, 1980) garnered him his first Emmy Award for writing as well as an award from the Writers Guild of America. Chase made his directorial debut on the 1985 revival of *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (NBC, 1985–86), directing two episodes he wrote himself ("A Very Happy Ending," February 16, 1986, and "Enough Rope for Two," March 9, 1986). The new version of the classic anthology series lasted only one season but aired two additional seasons on the USA network.

In the fall of 1988, Chase created, executive produced, wrote, and directed the critically acclaimed drama *Almost Grown* (CBS), but lackluster ratings caused the show's cancellation after only nine episodes. The series, about a couple on the brink of divorce, incorporated Chase's love of music, using popular songs to trigger flashbacks relating various points in the couple's 30-year relationship. Subsequent television projects continued to enhance his reputation as a producer of quality dramas. With John Falsey and

Joshua Brand he produced NBC's *I'll Fly Away* (1991–93), the story of a southern African-American woman in the midst of the 1950s civil rights movement. The series received numerous critical awards, and in 1993 Chase won the prestigious Golden Laurel from the Producers Guild of America as producer of the year. That same year he succeeded Falsey and Brand as executive producer of the popular *Northern Exposure* (CBS, 1990–95). In 1996 Chase wrote, produced, and directed the second TV film based on *The Rockford Files* (with James Garner reprising the title role), *The Rockford Files: Crime and Punishment* (CBS, September 18, 1996).

But it is his work as the creator, executive producer, writer, and sometimes director of HBO's *The Sopranos*, the story of a New Jersey mobster's relationship with his "families," that has brought Chase's name to the forefront of Hollywood. Like much of Chase's previous work, *The Sopranos* focuses on character rather than situation or action. The series is heavily influenced by his own fascination with 1930s gangster films and his New Jersey childhood. The characters are based on an amalgam of people he has known and he admits the family dynamics sometimes mirror his own. Although it depicts an organized crime family, the characters deal with human issues common to all families.

*The Sopranos* premiered on HBO on January 10, 1999. In its first season, the series began with a small cult following that eventually pulled in nearly 10 million viewers each week. The series has garnered Chase numerous nominations and awards, including one from the Directors Guild of America for directing the series' pilot episode, a Golden Globe Award for Best Television Drama Series, and Peabody Awards for quality television (2000 and 2001). In its first season, *The Sopranos* literally dominated the Emmy category Writing for a Drama Series (four out of five nominations, including one for Chase). In 2001 *The Sopranos* received 22 Emmy nominations, the third-highest number for any series in a single year, and a record-breaking number for a cable series.

Concerned that the quality of the show might deteriorate over time, Chase created a self-imposed limit of four seasons for the series. However, the show's enor-

Chase, David

mous popularity, coupled with Chase's intrigue with new storylines, prompted him to agree to a fifth season. Chase has plans to return to feature films and is currently slated to write and direct feature films for HBO and Sony Pictures Entertainment.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

See also *Sopranos, The*

**David Chase.** Born David DeCesare in Mount Vernon, New York, August 22, 1945. Educated at New York's School of Visual Arts and Stanford University. Recipient: Edgar Allan Poe Award nomination for Best Television Episode ("The Oracle Wore a Cashmere Suit," *The Rockford Files*), 1977; Emmy Award for Outstanding Drama Series (*The Rockford Files*), 1978; Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing in a Limited Series or Special (*Off the Minnesota Strip*), 1980; Producers Guild of America Award for Television Producer of the Year, 1993; Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing in a Drama Series ("College," *The Sopranos*), 1999; Directors Guild of America Award for Outstanding Directorial Achievement in a Dramatic Series (*The Sopranos*), 2000; Silver FIPA from the Biarritz International Festival of Audiovisual Programming (*The Sopranos*), 2000; Golden Laurel from the Producers Guild of America as Television Producer of the Year, 2000.

#### Television Series

1974-75 *Kolchak: The Night Stalker* (writer)  
1975-78 *Switch* (writer)  
1976-80 *The Rockford Files* (writer, producer)

1985 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (writer, director)  
1988 *Almost Grown* (co-creator, producer, director)  
1991-93 *I'll Fly Away* (producer, writer, director)  
1993-95 *Northern Exposure* (producer, writer)  
1999- *The Sopranos* (creator, producer, writer, director)

#### Television Films

1974 *Scream of the Wolf* (story)  
1980 *Off the Minnesota Strip* (writer)  
1982 *Moonlight* (writer)  
1996 *The Rockford Files: Crime and Punishment* (writer, producer, director)

#### Films

*Grave of the Vampire*, 1972; *Kounterfeit*, 1996.

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Carter, Bill, "The Roots of 'Sopranos' Grew from Cagney Film," *New York Times* (February 28, 2001)  
Carter, Bill, "Stringing Together Taut Episodes, Not Codas, on 'The Sopranos,'" *New York Times* (July 16, 2001)  
"David Chase," in *Current Biography*, New York: Bowker, 2001  
Kelly, Audrey, "Made Man: Hit After Hit, David Chase Ushers *The Sopranos* into the Big Time," *The Fade In* (2000)  
Rosenberg, Janice, "The Sopranos; David Chase," *Advertising Age* (June 26, 2000)

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## Chayefsky, Paddy (1923-1981)

U.S. Writer

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Sydney "Paddy" Chayefsky was one of the most renown dramatists to emerge from the "golden age" of American television. His intimate, realistic scripts helped shape the naturalistic style of television drama in the 1950s. After leaving television, Chayefsky succeeded as a playwright and novelist. He won greatest acclaim as a Hollywood screenwriter, receiving Academy Awards for three scripts, including *Marty* (1955), based on his own television drama, and *Network* (1976), his scathing satire of the television industry.

Chayefsky began his television career writing episodes for *Danger* and *Manhunt* in the early 1950s. His scripts caught the attention of Fred Coe, the dynamic producer of NBC's live anthology dramas the *Philco Television Playhouse* and the *Goodyear Television Playhouse*, which were alternating series. Chayefsky's first script for Coe, "Holiday Song," won immediate critical acclaim when it aired in 1952. Subsequently, Chayefsky bucked the trend of the anthology writers by insisting that he would write only



Paddy Chayefsky.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

original dramas, not adaptations. The result was a banner year in 1953. Coe produced six Chayefsky scripts, including "Printer's Measure" and "The Reluctant Citizen." Chayefsky became one of television's best-known writers, along with such dramatists as Tad Mosel, Reginald Rose, and Rod Serling.

Chayefsky's stories are notable for their dialogue, their depiction of second-generation Americans, and their infusions of sentiment and humor. They frequently draw on the author's upbringing in the Bronx, New York. The protagonists are generally middle-class tradesmen struggling with personal problems: loneliness, pressures to conform, blindness to their own emotions. The technical limitations of live broadcast suited these dramas. The stories take place in cramped interior settings and are advanced by dialogue, not action. Chayefsky said that he focused on "the people I understand; the \$75 to \$125 a week kind"; this subject matter struck a sympathetic chord with the mainly urban, middle-class audiences of the time.

"Marty," a typical Chayefsky teleplay and one of the most acclaimed of all the live anthology dramas, aired in 1953. Rod Steiger played the lonely butcher who believes that whatever women want in a man, "I ain't

got it." When Marty finally meets a woman, his friends cruelly label her "a dog." Marty finally decides that he is a dog himself and has to seize his chance for love. The play ends happily, with Marty arranging a date. Critics have compared "Marty" and other Chayefsky teleplays to the realistic dramas of Arthur Miller and Clifford Odets. In Chayefsky's plays, however, positive endings and celebrations of love tend to emerge from the naturalistic framework. The Chayefsky plays also steered clear of social issues, like most of the anthology dramas.

After *Marty* enjoyed phenomenal success as a Hollywood film, Chayefsky left television in 1956. His exit narrowly preceded the demise of the live dramas, as sponsors began to prefer prerecorded shows. Even while the live dramas were declining, however, Chayefsky's teleplays found new life, as Simon and Schuster published a volume of them, and three of them, in addition to *Marty*, became Hollywood films: *The Bachelor Party* (1957) and *Middle of the Night* (1959), adapted by Chayefsky, and *The Catered Affair* (1957), adapted by Gore Vidal.

In the 1960s, Chayefsky abandoned the intimate, personal dramas on which he had built his reputation. His subsequent work was often dark and satiric, like the Academy Award-winning film *The Hospital* (1971). *Network*, Chayefsky's send-up of television, marked the apex of his satiric mode. He depicted an institution that had sold its soul for ratings and become "a goddamned amusement park," in the words of news anchor Howard Beale, the movie's main character. Before Chayefsky's death in 1981, he wrote one more screenplay, *Altered States* (1980), based on his own novel. He refused a script credit, however, due to disagreements with the film's director, Ken Russell.

Chayefsky wrote only one television script after 1956, an adaptation of his 1961 play *Gideon*. His reputation as a television dramatist rests on the 11 scripts he completed for the *Philco* and *Goodyear Playhouse* series. His influence on the live anthologies was considerable, but he is just as notable for the career he forged after television.

J.B. BIRD

**See also Anthology Drama; Coe, Fred; "Golden Age" of Television; Robinson, Hubbell; Writing for Television**

**Paddy Chayefsky (Sidney Chayefsky).** Born in Bronx, New York, January 29, 1923. City College of New York, B.S.S., 1943; studied languages, Fordham University, New York. Married Susan Sackler, 1949; one son. Served in U.S. Army, 1943-45. Dramatist from 1944; printer's apprentice, Regal Press (uncle's

print shop), New York City, six months in 1945; wrote short stories, radio scripts full-time, late 1940s; gag writer for Robert Q. Lewis, late 1940s; with Garson Kanin, wrote documentary *The True Glory*, his first film, uncredited, 1945; first screenplay credit, for *As Young as You Feel*, 1951; adapted plays for *Theatre Guild of the Air*, 1952–53; first television script, “Holiday Song,” 1952; teleplay “Marty,” 1953; screenplay, *Marty*, 1955 (Academy Award for Best Screenplay and Best Picture); president, Sudan Productions, 1956; president, Carnegie Productions, from 1957; president S.P.D. Productions, from 1959; president, Sidney Productions, from 1967; president, Simcha Productions, from 1971; last screenplay, *Altered States*, credited under nom de plume Aaron Sydney, 1980. Member: New Dramatists’ Committee, 1952–53; Writers Guild of America; Screen Writers Guild; American Guild of Variety Artists; American Guild of Authors and Composers; Screen Actors Guild; Council, Dramatists Guild, from 1962. Recipient: Purple Heart, 1945; private fellowship from Garson Kanin, 1948; Sylvania Television Award, 1953; Screen Writers Guild Awards, 1954 and 1971; Academy Awards, 1955, 1971, and 1976; Palme d’Or, Cannes Film Festival, 1955; *Look Magazine* Award, 1956; New York Film Critics Awards, 1956, 1971, and 1976; Venice Film Festival Awards, 1958; Edinburgh Film Festival Award, 1958; Critics’ Prize, Brussels Film Festival, 1958; British Academy Award, 1976. Died in New York City, August 1, 1981.

#### Television Series

1948–55	<i>Philco Television Playhouse</i>
1950–55	<i>Danger</i>
1951–52	<i>Manhunt</i>
1951–60	<i>Goodyear Television Playhouse</i>

#### Television Plays (as episodes of anthology series; selected)

1952	“Holiday Song”
1953	“The Reluctant Citizen”
1953	“Printer’s Measure”
1953	“Marty”
1953	“The Big Deal”
1953	“The Bachelor Party”
1953	“The Sixth Year”
1953	“Catch My Boy on Sunday”

1954	“The Mother”
1954	“Middle of the Night”
1955	“The Catered Affair”
1956	“The Great American Hoax”

#### Films

*The True Glory* (uncredited, with Garson Kanin), 1945; *As Young as You Feel*, with Lamar Trotti, 1951; *Marty*, 1955; *The Catered Affair*, 1956; *The Bachelor Party*, 1957; *The Goddess*, 1958; *Middle of the Night*, 1959; *The Americanization of Emily*, 1964; *Paint Your Wagon* (with Alan Jay Lerner), 1969; *The Hospital*, 1971; *Network*, 1976; *Altered States*, 1980.

#### Radio Plays (adapter)

“The Meanest Man in the World,” “Tommy,” “Over 21,” for *Theater Guild of the Air* series, 1951–52.

#### Stage

*No T.O. for Love*, 1944; *Fifth from Garibaldi*, ca. 1944; *Middle of the Night*, 1956; *The Tenth Man*, 1959; *Gideon*, 1961; *The Passion of Josef D* (also director), 1964; *The Latent Heterosexual*, 1967.

#### Publications

“‘Art Films’: They’re Dedicated Insanity,” *Films and Filming* (May 1958)  
*Altered States* (novel), 1978

#### Further Reading

Brady, John. *The Craft of the Screenwriter*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981  
 “Chayefsky, Paddy,” *Contemporary Authors*, New Revision Series 18, Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research, 1983  
 Clum, John M., *Paddy Chayefsky*, Boston: Twayne, 1976  
 Considine, Shaun, *Mad as Hell: The Life and Work of Paddy Chayefsky*, New York: Random House, 1994  
 Frank, Sam, “Paddy Chayefsky,” *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 44, Detroit: Gale Research, 1986  
 Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson, *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America’s Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*, Boston: Little Brown, 1992  
 Sturcken, Frank, *Live Television: The Golden Age of 1946–1958 in New York*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1990

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# Cheers

## U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Cheers*, NBC's longest-running comedy series, aired Thursdays from 1982 to 1993. The show narrowly escaped cancellation during its first season and took several years to develop a strong following. By 1985, however, *Cheers* was one of television's most popular shows. It garnered top-ten ratings for seven of its 11 seasons and often earned the number-one ranking in the weekly Nielsens. The final episode, aired May 20, 1993, received the second-best Nielsen ratings of all time for an episodic program. Numerous awards complemented *Cheers*' commercial success, and the show boosted the careers of all its stars.

This popular situation comedy is often cited for successfully blending elements of romance and soap opera into the sitcom format. Fans of the show enjoyed its witty dialogue and comic situations but also followed the twists and turns in the lives of the main characters. Would Sam and Diane get together? Would Rebecca marry Robin? These sorts of plot questions strung together episodes and whole seasons, which often ended with summer cliff-hangers—at the time, a rare device for television comedy.

The show was set at Cheers, the Boston bar "where everybody knows your name." Bar owner Sam Malone (Ted Danson), a former pitcher for the baseball team the Boston Red Sox and an irascible womanizer, served up beers and traded one-liners with regular customers Cliff (John Ratzenberger) and Norm (George Wendt). Carla (Rhea Perlman), a feisty waitress with a weakness for hockey players, kept the men in check with her acerbic comments. Bartender "Coach" (Nicholas Colasanto) was the slow-witted and ironically funny straight man of the ensemble cast. When Colasanto passed away in 1985, Woody Harrelson joined the cast as Woody, a young bartender who took slow-wittedness to new heights.

Sam's on-again, off-again romance with cocktail waitress Diane (Shelly Long) exemplified the show's serial-comedy mix. In the first season, Diane despised Sam and constantly rejected his come-ons. In the second season, she started a torrid affair with him. They broke it off in the third season, and Diane took up with a neurotic psychiatrist, Frasier Crane (Kelsey Grammer). Diane almost went back to Sam after the fourth

season but then rejected his marriage proposal. The ongoing romantic tension allowed Sam and Diane to develop as characters. Flashbacks and references to past episodes gave the show a sense of continuous history, like an evening soap. Over the years, other characters developed their own plotlines. Rebecca (Kirstie Alley), who replaced Diane when actress Shelly Long left the show in 1987, pursued a futile romance with Robin Colcord (Roger Rees), a corporate raider who briefly owned the bar. Woody dated Kelly (Jackie Swanson), a wealthy socialite who matched him in naiveté. Frasier married Lilith (Bebe Neuwirth), an ice-cold psychiatrist who matched him in neurosis. Only Cliff and Norm remained essentially static, holding down the bar with their mutual put-downs.

The creators of *Cheers*, Glen Charles, James Burrows, and Les Charles, previously worked on various MTM Productions sitcoms, such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Phyllis*, and *The Bob Newhart Show*. Like *Taxi*, another of their creations, *Cheers* inherited the MTM emphasis on character development. Upscale audiences appreciated this emphasis—and advertisers appreciated the upscale audiences. *Cheers* was not politically correct: the main character was a womanizer; Rebecca pretended to be a career woman but really just wanted a rich husband; and the collegial atmosphere centered around drinking. Though several of the characters were working class, the show completely avoided social issues. Indeed, *Cheers* never preached to its audience on any subjects whatsoever. Even the poignant moments of personal drama that quieted the set from time to time were quickly counterbalanced by sardonic one-liners before any serious message could take hold.

In 1993 Paramount announced that *Cheers* would go off the air. The show was still highly rated, but production costs had soared to record numbers—\$65 million for the 1991–92 season. Star Ted Danson, who reportedly participated in making the decision to cancel the program, was earning \$450,000 per episode. The network orchestrated a rousing finale, which garnered a 45.5 rating and a 64 audience share. On the evening of the finale, many local newscasts aired segments from bars, where fans saluted *Cheers* from an appropriate



*Cheers*, Nicholas Colasanto, Ted Danson, Rhea Perlman, Shelley Long, 1982–93.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

setting. In 1994, Kelsey Grammer launched a spin-off, the long-running and highly rated *Frasier* (in which many *Cheers* characters have made appearances). George Wendt and Rhea Perlman have also starred in sitcoms, though to less success than Grammer. Woody Harrelson has landed numerous leading roles in Hollywood, following in the footsteps of his *Cheers* costars Alley and Danson. Both of them returned to television after *Cheers*, with Alley starring in the NBC sitcom *Veronica's Closet* and Danson playing the lead in two CBS sitcoms, the short-lived *Ink* and the more successful comedy *Becker*.

Over the years *Cheers* received 26 Emmy Awards and a record 111 Emmy nominations. Since the mid-1990s, it has been a major hit in syndication. As an inheritor of the MTM character-comedy tradition, *Cheers* pushed the “serialization” of sitcoms to new levels and was one of the most successful shows from the 1980s.

J.B. BIRD

See also **Burrows, James; Charles, Glen and Les; *Frasier***

**Cast**

Sam Malone  
 Diane Chambers (1982–87)  
 Carla Tortelli LeBec  
 Ernie “Coach” Pantousso  
 (1982–85)  
 Norm Peterson  
 Cliff Clavin  
 Dr. Frasier Crane (1984–93)  
 Woody Boyd (1985–93)  
 Rebecca Howe (1987–93)  
 Dr. Lilith Sternin (1986–93)  
 Evan Drake (1987–88)  
 Eddie LeBec (1987–89)  
 Robin Colcord (1989–91)  
 Kelly Gaines (1989–93)  
 Paul (1991–93)  
 Phil (1991–93)

Ted Danson  
 Shelley Long  
 Rhea Perlman

Nicholas Colasanto  
 George Wendt  
 John Ratzenberger  
 Kelsey Grammer  
 Woody Harrelson  
 Kirstie Alley  
 Bebe Neuwirth  
 Tom Skerritt  
 Jay Thomas  
 Roger Rees  
 Jackie Swanson  
 Paul Willson  
 Philip Perlman

**Producers**

Glen Charles, Les Charles, James Burrows

**Programming History**

274 episodes

NBC

September 1982–December

1982

Thursday 9:00–9:30

January 1983–December 1983

Thursday 9:30–

10:00

December 1983–August 1993

Thursday 9:00–9:30

February 1993–May 1993

Thursday 8:00–8:30

**Further Reading**Brooks, Tim, *The Complete Directory to Prime-Time Network TV Shows*, New York: Ballantine, 1992Carter, Bill, "Why *Cheers* Proved So Intoxicating," *New York Times* (May 9, 1993)Feuer, Jane, "Genre Study and Television," in *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled*, edited by Robert C. Allen, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992Hamamoto, Darrell Y., *Nervous Laughter: Television Situation Comedy and Liberal Democratic Ideology*, New York: Praeger, 1989Long, Rob, "Three Cheers," *National Review* (June 7, 1993)Marc, David, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989; 2nd edition, Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1997Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson, *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*, Boston: Little Brown, 1992Papazian, Ed, *Medium Rare: The Evolution, Workings, and Impact of Commercial Television*, New York: Media Dynamics, 1991Sackett, Susan, *Prime-Time Hits: Television's Most Popular Network Programs*, New York: Billboard, 1993

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# Cheyenne

## U.S. Western

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*Cheyenne* was the first successful television series to be produced by the motion picture studio Warner Brothers. Originally one of the three rotating series in the studio's showcase series, *Warner Brothers Presents*, *Cheyenne* emerged as the program's breakout hit and helped to fuel ABC's ratings ascent during the mid-1950s. ABC had fewer national affiliates than CBS and NBC, but in markets with affiliates of all three networks, *Cheyenne* immediately entered the top ten; by 1957 it had become the number-one program in those markets. Although clearly successful, *Cheyenne* never stood alone as a weekly series, but alternated biweekly with other Warner Brothers series: *Casablanca* and *King's Row* in *Warner Brothers Presents* (1955–56), *Conflict* (1956–57), and two spin-off series, *Sugarfoot* (1957–61) and *Bronco* (1958–62). *Cheyenne's* eight-year run produced only 107 episodes, an average of 13 per season.

Early network television was staked out by refugees from Hollywood's B-western backlots, who salvaged their careers by appealing to a vast audience of children. Cowboy stars Gene Autrey, Roy Rogers, and William "Hopalong Cassidy" Boyd made their fortunes in television with inexpensive little westerns made from noisy gunfights and stock-footage Indian raids. As television westerns were made to appeal to younger viewers, the movie industry shifted in the op-

posite direction, toward "adult" westerns in which the genre's familiar landscape became the setting for psychological drama or mythic allegory, as in *High Noon* (1952) and *The Searchers* (1956). With the 1955 premieres of *Cheyenne*, *Gunsmoke* (1955–75), and *The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp* (1955–61), the networks attempted to import the adult western into prime time by infusing the genre with more resonant characters and psychological conflicts.

*Cheyenne* starred Clint Walker as Cheyenne Bodie, a former frontier scout who drifts through the old West, traveling without any particular motivation from one adventure to another. Along the way he takes a number of jobs, working on ranches or wagon trains, taking part in cattle drives, or protecting precious cargo. Sometimes he works for the federal government; at other times he finds himself deputized by local lawmen. Essentially, the producers of *Cheyenne* changed the character's circumstances at will in order to insert him into any imaginable conflict. Indeed, several *Cheyenne* episodes were remakes of such earlier Warner Brothers movies as *To Have and Have Not* (1944) and *Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), with the character of Cheyenne Bodie simply inserted into the original plot.

With Walker as a lone redeemer wandering from community to community, *Cheyenne* had a thin,





*Cheyenne*, Clint Walker, 1955–63.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

though extremely adaptable, premise for generating episodic stories. With its virtually unrelated individual episodes, this type of series bears many similarities to the anthology format. In *Cheyenne*, each episode featured a new conflict involving new characters, with only the recurring character of Cheyenne Bodie to connect one episode with another. Each time Cheyenne enters a new community, he either witnesses or provokes a new story in which he can participate to varying degree—though he is always the force of moral order able to resolve any conflict. This structure is particularly suited to the western's violent resolutions, since only one continuing character must remain alive when the dust settles.

The series was held together not so much by its premise as by its charismatic star, Walker, who rose from obscurity to become one of the icons of the TV western. With his powerful physique and towering height, Walker commanded the small screen through sheer presence; his performance gained gravity simply from the way his body dominated the screen. Walker's personal strength extended beyond the screen to his dealings with Warner Brothers, which exercised tight control over its contract performers. In battling the stu-

dio, Walker made *Cheyenne* one of the more tempestuous productions in the history of television.

For the 1957–58 season, ABC offered to purchase a full season of 39 episodes of *Cheyenne*, but Warner Brothers declined. Since each hour-long episode took six working days for principle photography alone, the studio could not supply a new episode each week. Because Walker appeared in virtually every scene, it was also impossible to shoot more than one episode at a time. Consequently, Warner Brothers developed a second series, *Sugarfoot*, to alternate with *Cheyenne*.

In a gesture that would characterize creativity at Warner Brothers, the studio designed *Sugarfoot* as only a slight variation on the *Cheyenne* formula. In *Sugarfoot*, Will Hutchins played Tom Brewster, a kindhearted young drifter who travels the West while studying to become a lawyer. Toting a stack of law books and an aversion to violence, he shares Cheyenne Bodie's penchant for meddling in the affairs of others. But whereas Cheyenne usually dispatches conflicts with firepower, Tom Brewster replaces gunplay with a gift for rhetoric—though he knows how to handle a weapon when persuasion fails. The series was more lighthearted than *Cheyenne*, but it otherwise held close to the formula of the heroic loner.

In May 1958, Clint Walker demanded to renegotiate his contract before returning for another season. Walker had signed his first contract at Warner Brothers in 1955 as a virtual unknown and had received an initial salary of \$175 per week, which had risen gradually to \$1,250 per week. After the second season of *Cheyenne*, Warner Brothers capitalized on Walker's rising popularity by casting him in a feature film, *Fort Dobbs* (1958), and by releasing a musical album on which he sang. However, Walker was still merely a contract performer who worked on the studio's terms. Walker timed his ultimatum carefully, assuming that he had acquired some leverage because *Cheyenne* finished the 1957–58 season as ABC's second-highest-rated series. He requested more freedom from his iron-clad contract, particularly the autonomy to decide which projects to pursue outside the series. "Television is a vicious, tiring business," he informed the press, "and all I'm asking is my fair share."

When Warner Brothers refused to negotiate, Walker left the studio and did not return for the entire 1958–59 season. After meeting with ABC and advertisers, Warner Brothers decided to continue the *Cheyenne* series without its star. In his place, the studio simply substituted a new charismatic drifter, a former Confederate captain named Bronco Layne (Ty Hardin). Warner Brothers received some puzzled fan mail, but the studio sustained an entire season without Walker—and finished among the top 20 programs—by inter-

spersing Bronco Layne episodes with reruns of Walker episodes from previous seasons. If there was a difference between episodes of *Bronco* and *Cheyenne*, it was solely in the stars; otherwise, *Bronco* was a nearly identical clone.

Warner Brothers finally renegotiated Walker's contract after his boycott, and *Cheyenne* resumed with its star for the 1959–60 season. *Bronco* survived as a stand-alone series and alternated with *Sugarfoot* for the season. During the following season, the three shows alternated in *The Cheyenne Show*; occasionally, the characters would cross over into episodes of the other series.

By the end, the actors were numbed by the repetition of the scripts and by the dreary, taxing routine of production on series in which one episode was virtually indistinguishable from another. Even after returning from his holdout, Walker disliked working on *Cheyenne* and complained to the press that he felt "like a caged animal" pacing back and forth in a zoo. "A TV series is a dead-end street," he lamented. "You work the same set, with the same actors, and with the same limited budgets. Pretty soon you don't know which picture you're in and you don't care." Will Hutchins admitted hoping that *Sugarfoot* would be canceled. Its episodes, he complained, "are pretty much the same after you've seen a handful. They're moneymakers for the studio, the stations, and the actors, but there's a kind of empty feeling when you're through."

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

See also *Western*

### Cast

Cheyenne Bodie	Clint Walker
Toothy Thompson	Jack Elam

### Producers

William T. Orr, Roy Huggins, Arthur Silver, Harry Foster

### Programming History

107 episodes

ABC

September 1955–September 1959

Tuesday 7:30–8:30

September 1959–December 1962

Monday 7:30–8:30

April 1963–September 1963

Friday 7:30–8:30

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## Chicago School of Television

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During the late 1940s and early 1950s, broadcast television emanating from Chicago was noted for its original ideas, inventive production techniques, and significant contributions to the development of the new visual medium. Paying close attention to the problems of adjusting personal styles of writing, direction, and performance to television, and to the more theoretical questions of how television actually worked, Chicago broadcasters developed a style or technique that came to be known as the Chicago School of Television.

While all Chicago stations contributed to the school, most success with the distinctive approach to program-

ming is attributed to the NBC-owned and -operated station WNBQ. Under the leadership of station manager Jules Herbuveaux and program manager Ted Mills, the NBC outlet went furthest in developing formats and ideas that would capitalize on television's idiosyncrasies.

Simply stated, the Chicago School worked at creating inventive programs different from both New York's theatrical offerings and Hollywood's screenplay-based productions. Utilizing an almost totally scriptless-improvisational approach reliant on interpretive camera work and creative use of scenery, costumes, props, and lighting, Chicago School practitioners produced

successful programs in limited spaces with local talent and small budgets. Herbuveaux provided the freedom for his staff to create, and Mills theorized and experimented with a variety of ideas including Chinese opera, commedia dell'arte, and Pirandellian forms of reality in his search for new and effective television forms.

By late 1949, Chicago's low-cost television packages were making a ratings impact with such offerings as NBC's *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*, ABC's *Super Circus*, and the piano talents of DuMont's Al Morgan. By the spring of 1950, the major body of Chicago School work focused on such NBC-WNBQ variety offerings as *Garroway at Large*, the *Wayne King Show*, *Hawkins Falls*, and *Saturday Square*. Children's shows consisted of an extraordinary number of award-winning entries including *Zoo Parade*, *Quiz Kids*, *Mr. Wizard*, *Ding Dong School*, *Pistol Pete and Jennifer*, and the highly rated, low-budgeted cowboy film series, *Cactus Jim*. For comedy and drama there was Studs Terkel's *Studs' Place*, *Portrait of America*, *Crisis*, and *Reported Missing*. Actuality programming featured *Walt's Workshop*, *The Pet Shop*, and *R.F.D. America*. Local news offered the unique *Five Star Final* with weatherman Clint Youle, news anchor Clifton Utley, Dorsey Connors with consumer tips, sportscaster Tom Duggan, and, reflecting Herbuveaux's sense of showmanship, Herbie Mintz with musical nostalgia.

As critically acclaimed as it proved to be, elements of the Chicago School's decline were seen as early as 1950. Chicago programs were shortened and/or re-

moved from network schedules. Key personnel left Chicago to pursue more lucrative careers in New York and Los Angeles, and in 1953, with the opening of the coast-to-coast network cable, there was less and less need for Chicago productions. In 1953, 13 network programs originated from Chicago. By 1955, no Chicago-produced programs appeared on the DuMont network. CBS and NBC had no Chicago-network originations except occasional newscasts and a network radio farm program. The Chicago School of Television was becoming just a fond memory.

JOEL STERNBERG

*See also Allison, Fran; Garroway at Large; "Golden Age" of Television; Kukla, Fran, and Ollie; Tillstrom, Burr*

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## Children and Television

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Children devote much of their free time to watching television—seemingly enamored of the screen—and continuous contact is thought to influence the way they understand and interpret both television and the world in which they live. Although children have everyday contact with other media and many other forms of expression and communication, visual media alone are seen as speaking a "universal language," accessible regardless of age. In the United States questions about program content and its use by children, about television's influence on children's attitudes, knowledge, and behavior, and about the appropriate public policy toward children's television have been central to the

discussion of this medium throughout its half century as the electronic hearth.

### Children's Programming

In the 1950s, children's programs and the benefits that television could presumably bring to the family were highly touted selling points for television sets. By 1951 the networks' schedules included up to 27 hours of children's programs. Like much of television programming, offerings for children continued radio's tradition of action-adventure themes and a pattern of late-afternoon and evening broadcasts. An early re-

liance on movies as a program staple was lessened in favor of half-hour live-action shows such as *The Lone Ranger*, *Sky King*, or *Lassie*, and host/puppet shows such as *The Howdy Doody Show* and *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*. By the mid-1950s, programs had found their place on Saturday morning, and by decade's end the 30-minute, once-a-week format was established.

During the 1960s, almost all other forms gave way to animation. Reduced costs resulting from limited-action animation techniques and the clear appeal of cartoons to children transformed scheduling, and the institutionalization of Saturday-morning cartoons became complete—an unexpected lucrative time slot for the networks. Popular shows included *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons*, *Bullwinkle*, and *Space Ghost*.

The 1970s have been described as a video mosaic in which 60- or 90-minute shows incorporated a number of segments under umbrella labels such as *The New Super Friends Hour* or *Scooby Laff-a-Lympics*. These extended shows were designed to increase audience flow across the entire morning.

Children's programming in the 1980s was influenced by the "television revolution," as the growth of cable and VCR penetration began to erode the network audience, and international co-ventures began to change the production process. Cartoons remained the standard children's fare, but live-action shows began to increase in number. Cable networks such as Nickelodeon and Disney, devoted primarily to children, as well as cable networks with extensive children's programming like Discovery, Learning Channel, USA, TBS, the Family Channel, and Lifetime, have experimented extensively in programming for children. They have produced live-action programs, including game shows, puppet shows, magazine-format news and variety programs, and live-action drama/adventure shows frequently incorporating anthropomorphic creatures into the storyline.

The 1990s have been influenced by the Children's Television Act with many educational shows joining the available programming. Since 1990, for example, eight of the nine Peabody Awards for children's programs were for informational or educational programs.

While it is the case that most of the television viewed by children is of programs not specifically considered "children's shows," the production of children's programming is big business, often defined by the ways in which such children's shows are distinctive. Children's shows are those that garner a majority of a child audience, traditionally the Saturday-morning programs. These shows are almost always profitable. Because the child audience changes rapidly, and because children do not seem to mind watching reruns, the programs are shown as many as four times a year, a

factor that reduces production costs without reduction in program availability or profitability. Moreover, a strong syndication market for off-network children's shows adds to the profits.

For many of these reasons the major networks have traditionally exerted strong control over production in the five or six production houses they routinely use. Each network has a vice president for children's programming who uses other advisers and often relies on extensive marketing research, as do the Sesame Workshop and the Nickelodeon cable network.

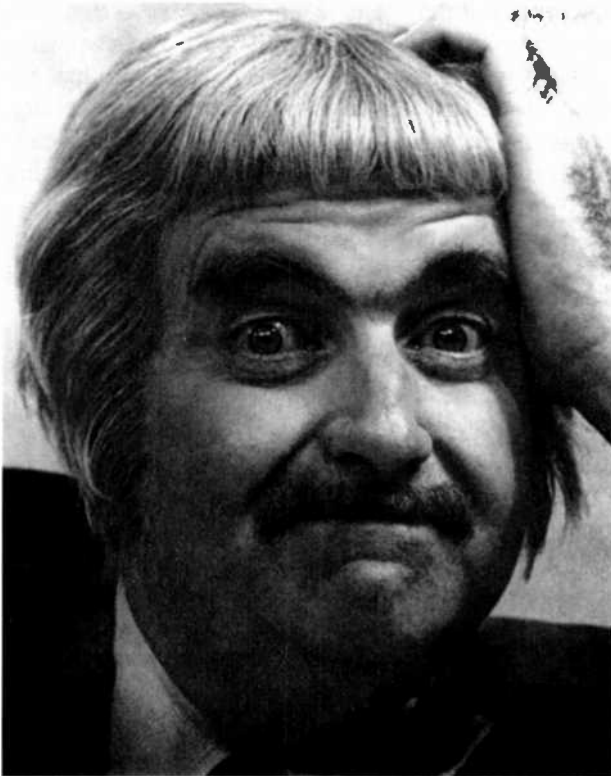
Both those who purchase and those who produce children's programs operate with assumptions about the child audience that, although changing, remain important. They assume, for example, that there are gender differences in preferences, but an important corollary is the assumption that while girls will watch "boys' shows," boys will not watch "girls' shows." They assume that older children control the set, an assumption related to the axiom that younger children will watch "up" (in age appeal) but that older children will not watch "down." Producers and purchasers assume that children have a short attention span, that repetition is a key to education and entertainment, and that children prefer recognizable characters and stories.

The body of television content emerging from these economic and industrial practices, and based on these and similar assumptions, has been a central component of "childhood" since the 1950s. Because they are seen as a special "class" or "group" of both citizens and viewers, great concern for the role of television in the lives of children has accompanied the development of the medium. As a result of this concern, issues surrounding children and television have often been framed as "social problems," issues of central concern to numerous groups. Large-scale academic research enterprises have been mounted to monitor, analyze, and explain relationships between television and children. Congress, regulatory agencies, advocacy groups, and the television networks have struggled continuously over research findings, public responsibility, and popular response. And significant policy decisions continue to be made based both on that research and on the political and economic power that is brought to bear on these issues.

### The Effects of Television Violence

Throughout all these policy debates, citizens' actions, and network responses, the issue of violence in television programming has been central to concerns regarding children and television. As an aspect of television content, violence has traditionally been measured





*Ding Dong School.*



quantitatively by researchers who count incidents of real or threatened physical injury. Gerbner and his colleagues have conducted such analyses yearly since 1967. Their violence index shows a fairly stable level of prime-time violence over the past 25 years. The question then becomes what is the effect of this type of programming on children.

In the 1960s, researchers used experimental methods to investigate the impact of media violence. Albert Bandura's social learning theory (also called observational learning or modeling theory) argued that children could easily learn and model behaviors observed on film or television. Sometimes known as the "Bobo doll" studies, these experiments demonstrated that children who viewed filmed violent actions were as likely to imitate those actions as were children who saw live modeling of those actions. Many extensions of this basic finding established that modeling was influenced by other attributes of the children such as their prior level of aggressiveness. Context and message, specifically the punishment or reinforcement of

the filmed aggressor and the presence of an adult in the viewing or imitation context, emerged as other significant factors in the modeling behavior. Later laboratory studies used more realistic measures of aggression and programming that more closely resembled prime-time television. Field experiments were also conducted, in which viewing in real-life situations (home, camps, schools) was manipulated.

In a series of experiments, two opposing theories, catharsis and stimulation, were investigated. Catharsis holds that viewing violence purges the individual of negative feelings and thus lessens the likelihood of aggressive behavior. Stimulation predicted the opposite. No support for the catharsis theory emerged from the research; stimulation was found to be more likely.

Taken together, the experimental studies demonstrated that the process of televisual influence on children is indeed complicated. Still, the results from laboratory experiments do demonstrate that shortly after exposure to violent programming, children are more likely to show an increase in their own levels of

(left) *Barney & Friends.*  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*



aggression. But how would these laboratory findings translate into real life?

Correlational studies, surveys, tell little about cause and effect, but they do avoid the artificiality of laboratory studies. If viewing is associated with television violence, then individuals who watch a great deal of violent television should also score high on survey scales that measure aggressive behavior. The results from a large number of such surveys are remarkably consistent: there is a small but consistent association between viewing violent television and aggressive tendencies. Yet another form of survey research, panel studies, tackles the question of causality by looking at the same individuals over time. In the case of television violence, the question is this: does television viewing at Time 1 relate to aggression at Time 2; or, conversely, could the causal linkage be reversed, suggesting that aggressive behavior leads to a propensity to view violent television content? Only a few such studies exist, but, again, the findings are generally consistent. Although the effect is small, watching television violence encourages aggression.

What conclusions can be reached from this large, ongoing body of research? Television does contribute to aggressive behavior—however, television is only one of many causes of aggression. Many other factors unrelated to television influence violence, and the precise impact of televised violence will be modified by age, sex, family practices, and the way violence is presented. One statement is frequently repeated: television has large effects on a small number of individuals, and modest effects on a large number of people. The questions and approaches continue to be refined, and currently, groups funded by both the cable and network industries are studying levels of violence and its appearance in context, in order to provide better information on the type of violence being shown.

### Television and Cognitive Development

While televisual violence is often the most visible and debated aspect of questions linking children and television, it is hardly the only topic that concerns researchers. Other inquiries focus on potential effects of the medium on patterns of thinking and understanding. Posed negatively, the question is this: does television mesmerize attention, promote passive or overstimulated children, while wrecking creativity and imagination? To explore such concerns, cognitive developmental approaches to television and children have typically examined attention, comprehension, and inference.

Children's attention to television has often been characterized as "active" versus "passive." Popular

concern about the "zombie" viewer suggests that children enter some altered state of consciousness when viewing television. But this generalization has received little research support. However, one notion that seems to underlie many implicit theories of children's attraction to the screen is that children's viewing is governed by the novelty of the visual stimulus—rapid formal features such as movements, visual complexity, cuts, pans, zooms, which produce an orienting reflex.

A theory of active television viewing suggests that attention is linked to comprehension. Thus, when visual or auditory features of television content suggest to the young viewer that it is designed "for children," attention is turned to that content. When material is no longer comprehensible or becomes boring, or when distractions occur, attention is deflected. This theory of child attentional patterns has received substantial support and has indicated specific stages. Attention to television is fragmentary before the age of two; visual attention increases during the preschool years, with a major shift in amount and pattern of attention occurring between 24 and 30 months. Frequently beginning around the age of eight, visual attention to TV decreases (presumably as the decoding of television becomes routine) and the attention pattern begins to resemble that of an adult.

With regard to perception and evaluation of television content, children clearly operate on different dimensions than adults who produce programs. Understanding television programming requires a fairly complex set of tasks for children, including selective attention to the events portrayed, perceiving an orderly organization of events, and making inferences about information given implicitly. Comprehension research has examined both verbal and visual decoding and determined that comprehension is a function of both cognitive development and experience. Younger children have difficulty with a number of tasks involved in understanding television programs: separating central from peripheral content, comprehending the sequence of events, recalling events and segments, and understanding causation. As well, they find it difficult to complete such inferential tasks as understanding intersections of motivation, action, and consequence, or evaluating the "reality" of programs and characters. The comprehension of forms and conventions—sometimes termed "formal features"—is similarly grounded in developmental stages, with surprisingly early recognition of the time-and-space ellipses of cuts or the part-whole relationship of zooms. Such complex storytelling functions as point-of-view shots or flashbacks, however, are unclear to children through much of the first decade.

### Television Within the Family

In most cases, this viewing and the development of skills and strategies occurs within a family context filled with other activities and other individuals. The average child watches television a little more than four hours a day. Childhood viewing peaks somewhere around 12 years of age and declines during adolescence to a little more than three hours per day. Children do most of their viewing during the weekday hours with only 10 percent of their viewing on Saturday and Sunday mornings. Viewing amount varies by gender and race, with studies showing that blue-collar families average more television viewing than white-collar families and that blacks view more than whites. Television provides the backdrop for growing up, and studies show that children often play, eat, do homework, and talk while "watching TV."

Viewing is not usually solitary. Children and adults view together and do many other things while watching. The family has a say in creating the context in which television will be consumed, a context involving who decides what to watch, sibling or parental conflict over viewing, and the rules for decision making. Although many families report few rules, there may be subtle as well as direct rules about television use. For example, children may not be allowed to watch until they have completed important tasks such as homework or chores, or there may be a requirement that television must be turned off at a certain time. When parents report rules, they report control of when younger children can watch; older children have rules about what they can watch.

Often this context is modified by processes of "mediation," a term used to refer to the role of social interaction in relation to television's use in the home and the potential impact of television within the family. Some mediation is direct and intentional—parents make specific comments about programs. Other mediation may be indirect or unintentional, as in general comments about alternative activities, discussions of social or personal issues generated by media content, and talk loosely tied to content. Parents and siblings may respond to questions with evaluative comments, interpretive comments, explanations of forms and codes, or discussions of morality or desirability of behavior.

One result related to the complexity of viewing practices has emerged very clearly from research conducted within a number of different contexts: interaction with parents during viewing increases comprehension and learning from television. In middle childhood, peer and sibling co-viewing involves talk about television action and evaluation of that action.

Parental comments on the importance, truthfulness, and relevance of media are common at this age.

### Learning from Television

In many ways general notions of how children learn from television and specific aspects of educational television were revolutionized by the premier of *Sesame Street* in 1969. Viewed by more than 6 million preschoolers every week in the United States and internationally, this production is also one of the most studied television programs. Research focused on *Sesame Street* has provided ample evidence to suggest that young children can learn skills from the show, and that these skills will contribute to their early educational success. Many other programs produced by the Sesame Workshop and by public broadcasting stations, independent producers, and state departments of education have been constructed to teach educational concepts ranging from reading to international understanding.

Related to these educational programs are pro-social programs that model socially valued responses for viewers. Pro-social behavior is usually defined as "good for persons and society" and may include lessons on the value of cooperation, self-control, helping, sharing, and understanding those who are different. *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood*, for example, is a classic pro-social program.

Even with the knowledge gained from research focused on television's ability to teach specific skills, the medium is frequently castigated for interfering in the education of children. Achievement, intellectual ability, grades, and reading show complex relationships with television viewing. For example, the relationship between television viewing and academic performance is not clear-cut. Children who spend a great deal of time watching television do poorly in school, but children who spend a moderate amount of time with TV perform better than nonviewers. The small negative relationship between IQ and television viewing masks some important subgroup differences, such as age (high IQ is positively correlated with viewing until the teens) and gender (with the negative relationship holding stronger for boys than for girls). Reading and television viewing are positively correlated up to a threshold of about ten hours of viewing per week. Only when television viewing rises above a certain level does it seem to be related to less reading. Overall, the data suggest that television has a small adverse effect on learning.

In addition to the many ways in which television can influence the learning of specific educational concepts, or the ways in which basic television behavior affects



other forms of learning, the medium can also teach indirect lessons. Socialization, especially sex-role socialization, has been a continuing concern, because television so frequently presents basic images of gender. In prime-time programming, men outnumber women two or three to one. Women are younger than men and tend to be cast in more stereotypical roles, and tend to be less active, more likely to be victimized, less aggressive, and more limited in employment than men. Children's programs are similarly sex stereotyped; women are generally underrepresented, stereotyped, and less central to the program. Cultivation analysis suggests that a relationship exists between viewing and stereotypical conceptions about gender roles. Nonetheless, some improvement has been made. Research on the impact of gender representation reveals that children do understand the images and want to be like same-sex television characters, and it seems clear that counterstereotypical images are helpful in combating stereotypes.

Some research examining race-role socialization shows similar patterns, suggesting that limited portrayals and stereotyped roles can contribute to skewed perceptions by race. Although African Americans have frequently been portrayed negatively, other minority groups such as Asians and Hispanics have simply been missing from the screen world—a process sometimes called symbolic annihilation.

Beyond the content of fictional representations, parents would agree that children learn from television advertising. Researchers initially assumed children had minimal comprehension of the selling intent of advertising, and children verbally described advertisement as an "informational service." Nonverbal measures, however, demonstrated that children understood that commercials persuaded them to buy products. Social scientists have studied a number of potential effects of advertising. These include the frequent requests for products, the modification of self-esteem, and the relations of advertising to obesity and to alcohol and cigarette consumption. This research has been dominated by a deficit model in which children are defined as unable to distinguish selling intent, or as easily misled by what they see.

### History and Policy

Such vulnerability on the part of children explains, in part, the designation of "children and television" as a specific topic for political as well as intellectual concern. Politicians and the public worried about the effects of media on children long before television, of course. Novels, movies, music, radio, and comic books all came under scrutiny for their potential negative

consequences on the behaviors and attitudes of the young. But in the 1950s, the spotlight turned to television.

The first congressional hearings, predictably, addressed violence on television; they were held in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee in June 1952. Network representatives were called to testify about television and violence before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency headed by Estes Kefauver in 1954 and 1955. In 1964 the same committee again held hearings and issued a report critical of television programming and concluding that television was a factor in shaping the attitudes and character of young people.

In the wake of the urban unrest and violence of the 1960s, a Presidential Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence was formed to examine the issues of violence in society. The report, basing its conclusions on a review of existing research, indicted television as part of the problem of violence. At the instigation of Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island, the U.S. Surgeon General commissioned a series of studies of televised violence and its effects on children. This work resulted in what is popularly termed the Surgeon General's Report of 1972, in which 23 research projects in five volumes focused on many issues surrounding television. The committee's main conclusion was that there was a causal link between viewing television violence and subsequent antisocial acts. Despite some initial confused reporting of the findings, the consensus that had emerged among the researchers was made clear in subsequent hearings. In 1982 a ten-year update of the Surgeon General's Report was released. It underscored the findings of the earlier report and also documented other areas in which television was having an impact, particularly on perceptions of reality, social relationships, health, and education.

During this long history of public regulatory debate on television, government commissions and citizen action groups were pursuing related agendas. Key to these interactions were the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), and citizens' advocacy and action groups. Always involved in these disputes, whether directly or indirectly, were the major television networks; their industry associations, usually the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB); and advertisers. Action for Children's Television (ACT) was the citizens' group most directly engaged in legal procedures and policy actions.

Founded in 1968 by Peggy Charren, Action for Children's Television was formed to increase availability of quality programming for children. Unsuccessful at obtaining cooperation from the networks

directly, ACT turned to political action. In 1970 the organization presented a petition to the FCC intended to change a number of FCC policies regarding children's programming. A resulting inquiry launched unprecedented response. Hearings were held, and in 1974 the *FCC Children's TV Report and Policy Statement* offered specific guidelines: a limit of nine and a half advertising minutes per hour in children's programs, the use of separation devices indicating divisions between commercials and programs, the elimination of host selling, and the directive that children's programs not be confined to one day (Saturday morning television had become synonymous with children's television). Later reviews suggested that the networks were not meeting these requirements or their obligations to serve children, but further regulatory action in the 1980s was blocked by the shift toward a deregulatory stance at the FCC and in the courts.

At the Federal Trade Commission, ACT was also at work, petitioning for the regulation of advertising directed at children. In 1977 the group presented a petition requesting that advertising of candy in children's programs be banned. The FTC responded with a notice that it would consider rule making to ban all ads to audiences too young to understand selling intent, to ban ads for sugared products, or to require that counter- and corrective advertising be aired in order to counteract advertising of sugared products. Hearings were held, but lobbying efforts by networks and advertisers were very strong. Congress passed a bill eliminating the power of the FTC to rule on "unfair" practices and restricting its focus to the regulation of "deceptive" practices. In 1981 the FTC issued a formal report dropping the inquiry. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, ACT was engaged with the FCC and FTC in many other ways, representing petitions dealing with matters such as the banning of program-length commercials (programs designed primarily to provide product exposure and create consumer demand) or the evaluation of individual ads deemed deceptive.

Other citizen action groups have also been involved with issues surrounding television. The National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV) has focused on television violence and efforts to educate the public and curb such content. The National Citizen Committee for Broadcasting monitored programs and identified companies that support television violence. The PTA threatened boycott of products and programs. The Coalition for Better Television (CBTV) was successful in pressuring some advertisers to boycott sponsors of programs with sexual themes.

But by the 1990s, the regulation of children's media was back on the legislative agenda. The 1990 Chil-

dren's Television Act was the first congressional act that specifically regulated children's television. Most importantly, it imposed an obligation on broadcasters to serve the educational and informational needs of children. These are further defined as cognitive/intellectual or social/emotional needs. Although no minimum number of hours was established as a requirement, the obligation of some regularly scheduled programming specifically designed for children was established. Stations were also mandated to keep a log of that programming and to make the log available in a public inspection file. In a 1992 move widely viewed as an effort to stave off a federally imposed ratings system for violence, the three networks announced new standards, forswearing gratuitous violence; later they agreed to include on-screen advisories prior to the presentation of strong programs. In spite of these proposals all the issues emerged again in the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

A major legislative package that rewrote the 1934 Communications Act, the many provisions of the act will take years to sort out. But, in February 1996, the Telecommunications Act was signed into law. Of relevance to the children and television arena were provisions requiring the installation of an electronic monitoring device in television sets, a "V-chip" that would "read" violence ratings and allow families to block violent programming. Moreover, the networks were charged with creating a self-designed and regulated ratings system, similar to that used by the Motion Picture Association of America, which would designate specific content depicting degrees of violence, sexual behavior, suitable language, and other controversial content. The bill includes the threat of a governmentally imposed system if the networks do not comply, but concerns about constitutionality and practicality of such a ratings system suggest that the issue will be under debate for many years.

In all these research and policy areas much of what we know comes from the study of children enjoying television as it has existed for almost half a century. But that traditional knowledge, like the traditional definition of television itself, is being challenged by emerging telecommunications technologies. Cable, video games, and VCRs (and later DVDs) changed the face of television within the home. The Internet, a 500-channel world, increasing international programming ventures, and regulatory changes will change the way children interact with electronic media. The special place of children in human societies ensures, however, that the concerns that have surrounded their interaction with television will remain central, even if they are shifted to new and different media.

ALISON ALEXANDER

**See also Action for Children's Television; Cartoons; Family Viewing Time; Howdy Doody Show; Kukla, Fran, and Ollie; Sesame Workshop**

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## Children's Television Workshop. *See Sesame Workshop*

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## China

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Since television emerged in China, the medium has experienced various drastic changes and become one of the largest and most sophisticated, advanced, and influential television systems in the world.

### Developments and Setbacks

China's first TV station, Beijing Television, began broadcasting on May 1, 1958. Within just two years, dozens of stations were set up in major cities like Shanghai and Guangzhou, although most stations had to rely on using planes, trains, or cars to send tapes and films from one to another.

The first setback for Chinese television came in the early 1960s, when the former Soviet Union withdrew economic aid from China. Many TV stations were closed, and the total number was reduced from 23 to five. The second setback derived from an internal factor, the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976. Beijing Television's regular telecasting was forced to a halt in January 1967 by the leftists of the Chinese Communist

Party led by Mao Zedong. All other local stations followed its lead. Television stations were criticized for their bourgeois direction and changed to a new, revolutionary direction as a weapon for class struggle and anti-imperialism, antirevisionism, and anticapitalism.

Beginning in the late 1970s with the end of the Cultural Revolution and the start of the country's reform, television became the most rapidly growing medium. On May 1, 1978, Beijing Television changed to China Central Television (CCTV); as China's only national network, CCTV had the largest audience in the world. From the 1980s through the 1990s, television developed swiftly. The total number of TV stations once exceeded 1,000, with one national network, dozens of provincial and major city networks, and hundreds of regional and local ones. The government reregulated the development of television when it became out of control and chaotic in the late 1990s. In 2000 China had a total of 651 TV stations that generated programming, 42,228 TV-transmitting-and-relaying stations, and 368,553 satellite-TV-receiving-and-relaying sta-

tions. By the early 21st century, China had 270 million TV sets, becoming the nation with the most TV sets in the world. Statistically, there is one television set for each Chinese family. The penetration rate of television in China has reached 92.5 percent, covering a population of 1 billion people.

Television broadcasting technology has also developed very quickly. A few major stations have started using high technology for production and broadcasting, such as virtual field production technology and high-definition technology. CCTV opened its webcast service in 1996 to the worldwide audience, providing text, audio, and photographic and video images. Digital broadcasting technology has been set as one of the priorities of China's "Tenth Five-Year Plan" for 2001 to 2005. Based on that plan, by 2005 all television programming will be transmitted via digital technology.

### System and Structure

The only form of television in China, as well as all other media in the country, is state owned. Neither privately owned nor foreign-owned television is allowed. Without government permission, receiving foreign TV programming via satellite is prohibited by law. There are no license fees for owning a TV set and no charge for viewing broadcast television. Until the late 1970s, Chinese television was not allowed to carry advertising. Instead, the medium was completely financed by the government.

Media theories undergirding the organization and uses of Chinese television flow directly from Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Mao Zedong, the founder and late chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, further embellished Marx's idea of the importance of the superstructure and ideological state apparatus and Lenin's concept of the importance of propaganda and media control, stressing that media must be run by the Communist Party and become the party's loyal eyes, ears, and mouthpiece. The current leadership of the Communist Party requires that broadcasting must keep in line with the party and serve the party's main tasks voluntarily, firmly, and in a timely manner.

Under these guidelines, television is regarded as part of the party's overall political machine. Television is used, to the greatest extent, by the party and state to impose ideological hegemony on the society. It is the party and the central government that set the tone of propaganda for television. Although TV stations provide news, entertainment, and educational programs, Chinese television's first function is to popularize party and government policies and motivate the masses in the construction of Communist ideology.

A tight control and administrative system has been

used to run television. The Communist Party is actually the owner, manager, and practitioner of television. All TV stations are under the dual jurisdiction of the Communist Party's Propaganda Department and the government's Radio and Television Bureau, while the party's Central Propaganda Department is under the supervision of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. The Propaganda Department sets propaganda policies, determines programming content and themes, and issues operational directives. Technological, regulatory, and administrative affairs are generally the concern of the Radio and Television Bureau. As media are crucial political organs of the Communist Party, virtually no independence of media is allowed or envisioned. Except for those years in the 1980s that were criticized later by the party as the period of "Western liberalization" and the period of "bourgeois spiritual pollution," neither open debate on ideology nor criticism of the party, government policies, or high-ranking officials has been permitted in communist China. The self-censorship policy has been long and extensively used. Routine material does not require approval from the party authorities, but important editorials, news stories, and sensitive topics all require official endorsement prior to their dissemination.

### Programming and Production

Television programming in China consists of five categories: news programs, documentary and magazine programs, educational programs, entertainment programs, and service programs. In 2000 roughly 10 percent of Chinese programming (in terms of total broadcasting hours) was news; 10 percent, documentary and magazine shows; 2 percent, educational; 60 percent, entertainment; and 18 percent, service oriented or advertising.

Although entertainment programs now occupy the bulk of the total broadcasting hours, before the reform in the late 1970s there were not many real entertainment programs. Prior to that period, most entertainment programs were just old films of revolutionary stories, with occasional live broadcast of modern operas about model workers, peasants, and soldiers. Newscasts from that era were mostly what the Chinese Communist Party's official newspaper, *The People's Daily*, and the official news agency, the *Xinhua News Agency*, reported. Production capability was low; production quality was poor; equipment and facilities were simple; and broadcasting hours, transmitting scales, and channel selections were limited. Television broadcast usually lasted three hours daily.

Television has developed explosively since the reform beginning in 1978. Many taboos were elimi-

nated, restrictions lifted, and new production skills adopted. Entertainment programs in the form of TV plays, soap operas, Chinese traditional operas, game shows, and domestic and foreign feature films have become routine. News programs have also changed substantially and expanded enormously. International news coverage and live telecasts of important news events are now often seen in news programs. Educational programs in particular have received special treatment from the government. In addition to the 2 percent of total broadcasting hours for educational programs, China now has two satellite TV channels (CETV-1, CETV-2) and one Beijing-based regional TV station (CETV-3) designated to broadcast educational programs only. Altogether, in 2000 the three educational TV stations broadcast 17,864 hours of programs, more than 50 hours per day. College courses offered by China Central Broadcasting and Television University make up 45 percent of this programming; education-related newscasts, 4 percent; general education and science education programs, 24 percent; social/public education programs, 11 percent; and service programs and advertising, 16 percent.

Production capability has been remarkably enhanced since the reform. CCTV expanded from two channels in 1978 to nine channels in 2000, with Channel 1 focusing on news; Channel 2, economy and finance; and Channel 3, culture, arts, and music. Channel 4 is dedicated to overseas Chinese and international audiences. Channel 5 shows sports; Channel 6, movies; Channel 7, social programs, including children's programs; and Channel 8, TV plays and series. Channel 9 is an English-language channel that broadcasts 24 hours a day, targeting an international audience. Channel 10 focuses on science. Another new channel that will focus on tourism is to be launched soon.

Most provincial and major city networks have also increased the number of their broadcasting channels and offered more programs. In 2000 alone, a total of 455 TV plays with 7,535 episodes were produced, plus 12 TV plays with 263 episodes jointly produced by Chinese and foreign TV organizations. In contrast, in the two decades from 1958 to 1977, only 74 TV plays were produced. In 2000, TV stations across China produced 164,834 hours of news programs, 18.9 percent of that year's total television productions.

Broadcasting hours have increased considerably as well. In an average week of the year 1980, 2,018 hours of programs were broadcast. The number went up to 7,698 in 1985; 22,298 in 1990; and 83,373 in 2000, reflecting a 3.5-fold increase in five years, an 11-fold expansion in ten years, and a 41-fold explosion in 20 years.

## Internationalization and Commercialization

One of the most important tokens of the internationalization of Chinese television is the change in the importation of programming. Before the reform of the late 1970s, TV imports were quantitatively limited and ideologically and politically oriented. From the late 1950s to the late 1970s, only the national network was authorized to import TV programs, and it did so under the tight control and close surveillance of the party and government. During those years, programs were imported almost exclusively from socialist countries, and the content usually concentrated on the Soviet Revolution and the U.S.S.R.'s socialist economic progress. Few programs were imported from Western countries, and those were restricted only to those that exemplified the principle that "socialism is promising, capitalism is hopeless."

During the reform period, the ban on most imports was gradually lifted. Today, although they still face various kinds of restrictions, central, provincial, regional, and even local television stations are all looking to other countries, mostly Western nations, as sources of programs. Moreover, import channels, import purposes, import criteria, import formats, and import categories have all changed, expanded, or developed significantly. In the early 1970s, imported programming occupied less than 1 percent of the total programming nationwide. The figure jumped to 8 percent in the early 1980s, to 15 percent in the early 1990s, and to around 25 percent in 2000. The Ministry of Radio, Film, and Television now dictates that, unless special permission is obtained, no imported programs are allowed to be shown during prime time (between the hours of 1900 and 2130) and that imported programs cannot fill more than 15 percent of prime time.

A second token of the internationalization of Chinese television is the organizing of TV festivals. In 1986, Shanghai Television held China's first international TV festival, with Sichuan Television organizing another festival in 1990. Since then, one international TV festival has been held in China each year. Recognized as the largest TV festival ever held in Asia, the 8th Shanghai International TV Festival (held October 2000) consisted of a programming competition, a program fair, an exhibition of television equipment and facilities, and an academic seminar on television. A total of 1,487 television organizations and companies from 47 countries attended the festival; 413 programs participated in the competition; and 9,328 episodes of programs were purchased.

A third token of internationalization is the effort to expand exportation of China-produced TV programs to other countries. Major Chinese TV stations have produced programs for the global TV program market

and have even become main programming suppliers of some television stations in other Asian countries. In addition to holding TV program fairs at TV festivals to promote program exportation, CCTV and a few major city networks have set up offices in the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, Egypt, Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, India, Thailand, and Australia to promote business. In addition, CCTV and a few other major Chinese TV stations have established joint-venture business with television stations in North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Oceania to broadcast programs via satellite. CCTV's international and English-language channels are now broadcast via China's own satellite and are available in most countries around the world.

In one sense, the most significant change in Chinese television since the reform is probably the medium's commercialization, that is, the resurrection of advertising on television and its impact on programming. Advertising was halted for three decades following the Communist Party ascent to power in 1949, but since the end of the Cultural Revolution, economic reforms have revived the importance of market forces and the power of advertising. Both domestic and foreign advertising were resurrected in the late 1970s. Throughout the 1980s, television's revenue from advertising increased at an annual rate of 50 to 60 percent and in 1990 reached 561 million Chinese yuan (about \$100 million at that time), compared with no revenue 12 years before. In the 1990s, television became the most commercialized and market-oriented medium in China and attracted a large portion of advertising investment from both domestic and foreign clients. For the hundreds of television stations across the country, advertising and other commercial activities now constitute the majority of programming revenue, ranging from 90 percent as the high end to 40 percent as the low. In 2000 the nationwide total TV advertising revenue was approximately 1.7 billion yuan (about \$2 billion), accounting for 23.7 percent of China's total advertising revenue. Among the top ten advertising revenue makers, four are television stations, with CCTV at number one on the list. In the 1990s, several fully commercialized television services, such as the Shanghai-based Oriental Television and the Guangzhou-based Zuijiang Delta Television, were established. Their operation is stripping away all state financial support. To a certain degree, fewer government subsidies may give TV stations more programming flexibility.

### New Trends and New Directions

Since the early 1980s, under the Communist Party's liberalization policies, Chinese television has become a most popular medium, a very technologically ad-

vanced broadcast system, and a service capable of highly professional performance. Moreover, Chinese television has also become much more open than before, unprecedentedly commercialized, and remarkably pluralized, except in political content. Both media practitioners and segments of the public have striven to make television a political forum, and their efforts have met with progress and setbacks, successes as well as failures. By and large, Chinese television in the early 21st century is still a state-owned and party-controlled political and ideological instrument. However, television in China has to a certain extent evolved to fulfill other purposes as well, serving not only the party and the state but also society and the public.

Both cable television and satellite television in China have developed rapidly since the early 1980s. During the 1980s and 1990s, cable television became an important presence in all provinces and major cities, and especially at the county level, as thousands of cable services were established. As both cable and satellite TV services swiftly grew, party and government officials came to worry that the state could not effectively administer, or politically and ideologically control, the expanding television industry. At the end of the 1990s, the central government restructured both the cable TV service and the satellite TV service. Many cable stations that generated small amounts of programming were forced to close by the government, a few satellite stations operating without government approval were stopped, and all remaining cable and satellite stations were merged into the main television stations in each place, forming one large TV unit.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Chinese television has undergone another profound shift, this time moving toward conglomeration, as China aims to become more competitive both in the domestic television market and in the global television arena. An ambitious multimedia, multidimensional, multilevel, and multi-function operation, the China Radio, Television, and Film Conglomerate was formed in 2001. It consists of China Central Television, China Central Radio, Beijing International Radio, China Film Corporation, and China Radio and Television Online, making it the largest and most powerful media entity in China's history. Following suit, a few economically advanced provinces and big cities, such as Shanghai, Guangdong, and Hunan, have also started the conglomeration process in the media sector, especially in the broadcast media sector.

JUNHAO HONG

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# China Beach

## U.S. War Drama

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Situated at the televisual intersection of the soap opera, medical show, and war drama, *China Beach* took the pursuit of serial ensemble drama to a self-conscious, provocative extreme. The program's premise was the exploration of personal and professional entanglements among American soldiers and civilians staffing a hospital and entertainment company during the Vietnam War. But the show's hybridization of filmic and televisual genres, rhetorically complex invocation of popular music, and pointed modernist-cum-postmodern reflexivity eventually shifted the emphasis from the story to the telling. Ultimately, the series approached a convergence of televisual narrative association with collectively shared cultural remembrance. *China Beach's* ensemble, the show ultimately implied, necessarily included the viewer inhabiting post-Vietnam America.

The program depicted issues familiar from such dark war comedies as *M\*A\*S\*H* and revisionist allegories like *Apocalypse Now*. Storylines explored the corruption or ineptitude of military authority; soldiers'

inability to function in "normal" interactions; the medical staff's necessary posture of mordant irony; and the war's sudden curtailment of friendship or romance.

However, the narration profoundly shifted the usual priorities of such plots by focusing on the women at the base, an emphasis fundamentally intended to undermine vainglorious heroism and to portray war instead, through "women's eyes," as a vast and elaborate conceit. Contemporary critics divided between those applauding the program's feminine deflation of war and those who regarded the characters and their orientations toward war as wholly stereotypical invocations of femininity. John Leonard, writing for *Ms.*, anticipated both camps in an early review: on the one hand, he identified the show's "war-movie foxhole principle of diversity-as-paradigm, which is to say that if you're stuck with all these women, one must be a Madonna, another a whore, a third, Mother Courage, and a fourth, Major Barbara." On the other hand, he reveled in the power of such stereotypes to multiply dramatic possibilities.





*China Beach*, 1988–89 Season.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Certainly *China Beach*'s two crucial protagonists amounted to carefully elaborated formulas. The camp's head nurse was the willful Colleen McMurphy, a woman proud of her composure and careful in her moral convictions, compassionate but capable of a

scathingly condemning glance. K.C. was the calculating madam, alluring but hard, for whom the war brought nothing but higher profits, better contacts, and escalating entrepreneurial opportunities. These two roles constituted an important dialectic not primarily



in character conflict but in the orientation viewers were asked to take at any given time. They were played by exceptional performers whose portrayals complicated the stereotypes by importing still other formulas. Rather than a distanced Madonna, Dana Delany's McMurphy proved to be a passionate woman who—as a feminized, Irish Catholic version of *M\*A\*S\*H*'s Hawkeye Pierce—found not mere escape but potential redemption in relationships. Rather than a whore with a heart of gold, Marg Helgenberger's K.C. emerged as chillingly objective, independent, self-isolated, and unaccountable, as formidable and unapologetic as any soap opera diva. If McMurphy sought to discover a sheltering and resilient humanity in the ensemble's reciprocities, K.C.'s continual interest was the manipulation of the ensemble's pitifully predictable foibles from without. McMurphy, K.C., and their supporting characters merged the sentimental education of women's melodrama, the life-and-death ethical discourse of medical dramas, and the lurid bathos of the apocalyptic war story in an ambitious format. Here the simultaneous development of serial plotlines created (as on *St. Elsewhere* and *Hill Street Blues*) an ongoing, organically changing, symbolically charged fictional world.

Both melodramatic sentiment and the psychic dislocation of war were conveyed not only through juxtaposed storylines and generic recombination but also through the show's evocative use of Vietnam-era soul, blues, and rock. *China Beach* frequently used such nostalgic music to frame the show's events as remembrances, laden with a sense of moral revisitation. Even more ambitiously, the program consistently invoked the audiences' feelings of nostalgic distance from the period in which the songs originated. That separation served as an analog for the feelings of distance that the protagonists, immersed in a war, were likely to feel from the society producing those songs. The viewer, like the dislocated combatant, was asked to yearn for the consolations of everyday 1960s American civilization (an invitation that drew on already prevalent revivals of 1960s counterculture among "baby boomers" and late-1980s youth).

In its final season, the show's convergence between the viewing audience and the protagonists took a considerable leap. The program now followed the characters into their postwar lives, reconstructing key events at *China Beach*—and the end of the war itself—through flashbacks. In an especially melodramatic plot, the show's narrative is controlled by the investigative efforts of K.C.'s dispossessed baby, now a film student whose handheld video camera (an instrument of 1980s culture) becomes the show's eye as she inter-

views her mother's acquaintances in an attempt to find where K.C. has gone. In this season, the original ensemble has dispersed geographically, historically, and socially. Their separation exacerbates the multiplicity of vantages that gestated at *China Beach* during the war and places the characters, sometimes disconcertingly and tragically, in situations that seem approachably contemporary with the viewing audience. Screen time became equally divided between fictive "past" and "present," making the entire narration an uprooted historical rumination. The viewer became implicated not just in a *Rashomon*-like reconstruction of the war, but in an equally segmented and self-conscious sense of present American society, and its shared reflections.

Formal complication was not confined to music or narrative. *China Beach* used self-conscious, often expressionist lighting, sets, sound, and camera movement, which could vary dramatically from subplot to subplot. The military company's role as an entertainment unit was sometimes exploited to set characters in ironic plays-within-the-show or to frame the allegorical dimension of musical performances.

For some critics, *China Beach* comprised, at its moment in the history of television production and viewership, a remarkable case of intrinsically televisual fiction. Others, however, regarded the program's overwrought televisual rhetoric differently. Such critics did not see *China Beach* as an exploration of the ethical and aesthetic possibilities of one of American culture's key sites for the fictional production of touchstone sentiments; rather, they interpreted the program to be a conceited diminishment of history. Richard Zoglin of *Time* (a considerable forge of collective memory in its own right) accurately perceived the show's postmodern efforts to collapse wartime tragedy into contemporary viewers' casual nostalgia. But he seemed to think he was indicting the show by suggesting it reflected "the way dissent [against Vietnam] has become domesticated in America; what were radical antiwar views in the '60s are now mainstream TV attitudes." His assessment was accurate but not necessarily lamentable. *China Beach* demonstrated the historical war's continuing ability to provoke special sentiments among contemporary audiences.

Zoglin and others' questionable worries over television's historical license were based in the assumption that *China Beach*'s version of the war would remain exclusive, definitive, and unrecognized as fiction. But television, with its multiple representations in fiction, documentary, and news programs dealing with Vietnam, clearly continues to deny that assumption.

MICHAEL SAENZ

*See also Vietnam on Television; War on Television*

**Cast**

Nurse Colleen McMurphy	Dana Delany
Cherry White (1988-89)	Nan Woods
Laurette Barber (1988)	Chloe Webb
Karen Charlene (K.C.) Koloski	Marg Helgenberger
Pvt. Sam Beckett	Michael Boatman
Dr. Dick Richard	Robert Picardo
Natch Austen (1988-89)	Tim Ryan
Maj. Lila Garreau	Concetta Tomei
Boonie Lanier	Brian Wimmer
Wayloo Marie Holmes (1988-89)	Megan Gallagher
Pvt. Frankie Bunsen	Nancy Giles
Dodger	Jeff Kober
Jeff Hyers (1989)	Ned Vaughn
Sgt. Pepper (1989-91)	Troy Evans
Holly the Donut Dolly (1989-90)	Ricki Lake

**Producers**

John Sacrett Young, William Broyles Jr.

**Programming History**

ABC	
April 1988	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
April 1988-June 1988	Wednesday 10:00-11:00
August 1988-September 1988	Wednesday 10:00-11:00

November 1988-March 1990	Wednesday 10:00-11:00
April 1990	Monday 9:00-10:00
July 1990-August 1990	Wednesday 10:00-11:00
August 1990-December 1990	Saturday 9:00-10:00
June 1991-July 1991	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
July 1991	Monday 9:00-11:00

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**Christian Broadcasting Network.** *See* ABC Family Channel

**Chung, Connie (1946- )**

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Connie Chung is one of a very small group of women who have achieved prominence in American network news. Along with Barbara Walters, Diane Sawyer, and Jane Pauley, Chung is one of the leading female jour-

nalists on television. Until 1995 she coanchored the *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather, as well as *Eye to Eye with Connie Chung*, a prime-time news hour. Following considerable controversy over her interviewing



Connie Chung.  
Photo courtesy of Connie Chung/Tony Esparza

style and reportorial skills, and during which it was reported that Rather had never been happy with the coanchor arrangement, Chung parted ways with CBS in 1995.

Chung began her journalism career in 1969 as a copyperson at WTTG-TV, Washington, D.C., a Metro-media affiliate, where she later became a newswriter and on-air reporter. She first joined CBS News in 1971, working as a Washington-based correspondent from 1971 to 1976, covering Watergate, Capitol Hill, and the 1972 presidential campaign. In 1976 she joined KNXT (now KCBS-TV), the CBS-owned television station in Los Angeles, working on both local and network broadcasts. In her seven years in Los Angeles, Chung coanchored three daily newscasts and was a substitute anchor for the *CBS Morning News* and CBS News' weekend and evening broadcasts. She also anchored CBS News' *Newsbreak* for the Pacific time zones.

Chung left CBS to join NBC News as a correspondent and anchor. Her assignments included anchoring the Saturday edition of the *NBC Nightly News*, *NBC News at Sunrise*, *NBC News Digest*, several prime-time news specials, and the newsmagazine *1986*. She was also contributing correspondent and substitute an-

chor on the *NBC Nightly News* broadcast. Chung served as political analysis correspondent and podium correspondent during the 1988 presidential campaign and political conventions.

When she joined Dan Rather as coanchor of the *CBS Evening News*, Chung became only the second woman to hold a network anchor job, following Barbara Walters's brief stint as coanchor with Harry Reasoner on ABC in the mid-1970s. The male-female anchor pairing, already a staple of local news, seemed designed also to capitalize on Chung's recognizability. In the Q-ratings (a set of measurements provided by a company called Marketing Evaluations, which gauge the popularity of people who appear on television), Chung has always scored extremely high. At the time she was named coanchor, she had one of the highest Q-ratings of any woman in network news. In 1990 she was chosen "favorite interviewer" in *U.S. News and World Report's* Best of America survey.

In unexpected ways, Chung has foregrounded issues of concern to working women. In 1990 she took the unusual step of announcing plans to postpone her magazine series *Face to Face with Connie Chung* in order to take time to conceive a child with her husband, syndicated daytime television talk-show host Maury Povich.

Chung has also been part of the trend toward using newscast anchors on prime-time programs. Her work on nighttime news shows has sometimes drawn criticism, as when the short-lived *Saturday Night with Connie Chung* was tagged as "infotainment" and charged with undermining the credibility of network news by using controversial techniques such as news reenactments. Chung was again involved in controversy in early 1995, when in an interview with Kathryn Gingrich, the mother of Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Chung urged her subject to whisper her son's comments about First Lady Hillary Clinton "just between us." The whisper was picked up by the microphone and used by Chung for broadcast, drawing attacks on Chung's journalistic integrity. This incident was followed by conflict over Chung's assignment to cover the Oklahoma City bombing incident and CBS's apparent plans to "demote" her to the position of weekend anchor and possibly to cancel her prime-time program *Eye to Eye with Connie Chung*. Accompanied by an almost palpable strain on the set of the *CBS Evening News*, as well as by the program's declining ratings, these events led to Chung's departure from CBS amidst charges of sexism and countercharges of a lack of journalistic seriousness.

In December 1997, Chung joined ABC as a correspondent in the news division. She moved from ABC to CNN in January 2002 and hosted her own prime-

time program, *Connie Chung Tonight*. However, CNN abruptly dropped the show in March 2003 in favor of more extensive coverage of the war in Iraq. Although the network asked Chung to stay on in another capacity, Chung declined the offer and left CNN.

DIANE M. NEGRA

**Connie Chung.** Born Constance Yu-Hwa Chung in Washington, D.C., August 20, 1946. Educated at University of Maryland, B.A. in journalism, 1969. Married: Maurice (Maury) Richard Povich, 1984; child: Matthew Jay. Reporter, WTTG-TV, Washington, 1969–71; correspondent, CBS News, Washington, 1971–76; anchor, KNXT-TV (CBS), Los Angeles, 1976–83; anchor, NBC News, 1983–89, and NBC news specials, 1987–89; anchor, *Saturday Night with Connie Chung*, CBS, *CBS Evening News* (Sunday), 1989–92; coanchor, *CBS Evening News*, 1993–95. Honorary degrees: D.J., Norwich University, 1974; L.H.D., Brown University, 1987. Honorary member: Pepperdine University Broadcast Club, 1981. Recipient: Metro Area Mass Media Award, American Association of University Women (AAUW), 1971; Outstanding Excellence in News Reporting and Public Service Award, Chinese-American Citizens Alliance, 1973; award for best TV reporting, Los Angeles Press Club, 1977; award for outstanding TV broadcasting, Valley Press Club, 1977; Emmy Awards, 1978, 1980, and 1987; Peabody Award, 1980; Newscaster of the Year Award, Temple Emmanuel Brotherhood, 1981; Portraits of Excellence Award, B'nai B'rith, Pacific S.W. Region, 1980; First Amendment Award, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1981. Fellow, Harvard University's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, 1997.

#### Television Series

1983–89 *NBC Nightly News* (anchor and reporter)

1983–89 *News Digest* (anchor and reporter)  
 1983–89 *NBC News at Sunrise* (anchor and reporter)  
 1985–86 *American Almanac* (cohost)  
 1985–86 *1986* (cohost)  
 1989–95 *CBS Evening News* (reporter)  
 1989–90 *Saturday Night with Connie Chung* (host)  
 1990 *Face to Face with Connie Chung* (host)  
 1993–95 *CBS Evening News* (coanchor)  
 1993–95 *Eye to Eye with Connie Chung*  
 2002–03 *Connie Chung Tonight*

#### Television Specials

1980 *Terra: Our World*  
 1987 *NBC News Report on America: Life in the Fat Lane*  
 1987 *Scared Sexless*  
 1988 *NBC News Reports on America: Stressed to Kill*  
 1988 *Everybody's Doing It*

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## Citytv

### Canadian Television Station

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Citytv, Toronto's fast-paced and image-driven independent television station, first aired on September 28, 1972, as a UHF channel. It was assured of financial security when the Canadian media giant CHUM Ltd.,

which had purchased a 45 percent interest in Citytv from Montreal-based Multiple Access in 1979, acquired the remainder of shares in the struggling station in 1981. ChumCity's total enterprise includes the cable

and satellite music-video channels MuchMusic and MusiquePlus (also franchised in Latin America as MuchaMusica), the national arts and culture channel Bravo!, and international syndication sales of Citytv's magazine programs (such as *The New Music*, *Fashion Television*, *Media Television*, and *The Originals*). Citytv is now a consistently top-ranked channel within what is perhaps North America's most competitive market (Toronto has 53 television stations).

Built on the programming keystones of news, music, and movies, Citytv found early notoriety by broadcasting *Baby Blue Movies*, a series of late-night, soft-core porn films. While the "Baby Blues" are now off the air, Citytv still broadcasts an average of five movies a day, many of which are world or Canadian premiers. Similarly innovative in music programming, Citytv first telecast *The New Music*, a forerunner to both MTV and MuchMusic, in 1979. However, Citytv's most notable distinction lies in a conceptual approach that consistently attempts to expand the mobility and function of the medium. As Canada's first all-videotape station, Citytv initiated the practices of electronic news gathering and single-person reportage. Such techniques are exercised in the local news program *CityPulse*, which foregoes anchor desks and news studios for an unconventional and tabloidlike momentum. The emphasis on process, locality, and informal interactivity is particularly evidenced in the ChumCity building, a refurbished 19th-century gothic structure in which there are no studios, sets, or control rooms. Instead, the entire complex is wired to "shoot itself" through a series of strategically placed electronic "hydrants." In this manner, cameras are enabled to roam anywhere—the roof, stairwells, or the street—and are often integrated into the shot. Viewers then watch camera operators at work setting up, watch themselves viewing programs in process through the building's large ground-floor windows, or see an interview through the eyes of an interviewee, via a second Hi-8 camera provided to the story subject. The concept

of public access is expanded through *Speaker's Corner*, a video booth where, for a charity-addressed dollar, passersby may confess their sins, declare their love, or sound off on pet peeves; the best of these are used as shorts between shows or collated into the weekly *Speaker's Corner* program.

Unlike many other Canadian networks or independent stations, Citytv does not bid for dramatic programs produced in the United States, with the exception of importing the contemporary *Star Trek* series (*The Next Generation*, *Deep Space Nine*, and *Voyager*) and the occasional made-for-TV movie or miniseries. Citytv does buy syndicated daytime talk shows from the United States, which it airs during its weekday schedule. There are no game shows, children's programs, soaps, sitcoms, or sports on Citytv. Saturday- and Sunday-morning schedules are given over to community ethnic programming.

While often favoring style and self-promotion over substance and self-reflexivity, Citytv's accomplished characteristic lies in its process-oriented format. This is evident not only within the programs per se but in the breaks between programs: station IDs, interstitials, and promotional spots are tailored to intervene, as well as interweave, within the overall effect and tenor of the show. In this respect, Citytv successfully capitalizes on the capacities of televisual "flow."

BETH SEATON

*See also* Canada; Canadian Production Companies; Canadian Programming in English; MuchMusic; Znamer, Moses

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## The Civil Rights Movement and Television

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American television coverage of the civil rights movement ultimately contributed to a redefinition of the country's political as well as its televisual landscape. From the 1955 Montgomery bus boycotts to the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic

City, New Jersey, technological innovations in portable cameras and electronic news gathering (ENG) equipment increasingly enabled television to bring the nonviolent civil disobedience campaign of the civil rights movement and the violent reprisals of



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks about his Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott arrest, ca. mid-1950s.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

southern law enforcement agents to a newly configured mass audience.

The landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), along with the brutal murder of 15-year-old Emmet Till in Mississippi and the subsequent acquittal of the two white men accused of

his murder, marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement in the United States. The unprecedented media coverage of the Till case rendered it a cause célèbre that helped to swell the membership ranks of civil rights organizations nationwide. As civil rights workers organized mass boycotts and civil dis-

obedience campaigns to end legal segregation and white supremacist terror in the South, white segregationists mounted a counteroffensive that was swift and too often violent. Medgar Evers and other civil rights activists were assassinated. Black churches, businesses, and residences with ties to the movement were bombed. Although this escalation of terror was intended to thwart the civil rights movement, it had the unanticipated effect of broadening local and global support for civil rights.

These events were unfolding at the same time that the percentage of U.S. homes equipped with television sets jumped from 56 to 92 percent. This was 1955, and television was securing its place at the center of American society. Network news shows were also beginning to expand from the conventional 15-minute format to 30 minutes, splitting the time between local and national issues. From the mid- to late 1950s, these social, political, technological, and cultural events began to converge. The ascendancy of television as the new arbiter of public opinion became increasingly apparent at this time to civil rights leaders and television news directors alike. Thus, television's coverage of the civil rights movement changed considerably, especially as the "antiestablishment politics" of the 1960s erupted. When television covered the consumer boycotts and the school desegregation battles in the early days of the civil rights movement, it was usually in a detached manner, with a particular focus on the most dramatic and sensational occurrences. Furthermore, the coverage of the movement in the late 1950s was intermittent, typically with a field reporter conducting a stand-up report from a volatile scene. Alternatively, an in-studio anchor man would narrate the unfolding events captured on film. Rarely, if ever, did black participants speak for themselves or address directly the United States' newly constituted mass television audience. Nevertheless, civil rights leaders understood how central television exposure was becoming to the success of the movement.

The desire to bring the struggle for civil rights into American living rooms was not limited to civil rights workers, however. The drama and sensationalism of peaceful civil rights protesters in violent confrontation with brutal agents of southern segregation were not lost on news producers. News programmers needed to fill their expanded news programs with live telecasts of newsworthy events, and the public clashes around the civil rights movement were too violent and too important to ignore.

For example, the most enduring images telecast from this period include shots of numerous boycotted buses driving down deserted Alabama streets in 1955; angry white mobs of segregationists squaring off

against black students escorted by a phalanx of federal troops in front of Ole Miss, the University of Mississippi (1957); and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leading a mass of black protesters across a bridge in Selma, Alabama (1965). Most memorable, perhaps, of all these dramatic video images is the 1963 attack on young civil rights protesters by the Birmingham, Alabama, police and their dogs, and the fire department's decision to turn on fire hydrants to disperse the young black demonstrators, most of whom were children. Television cameras captured the water's force pushing young black protesters down flooding streets like rubbish during a street cleaning. In contrast to the typical televisual landscape of formulaic game shows, "vaudeo" (video variety programs), westerns, and situation comedies, this was unquestionably compelling and revolutionary television.

By the early to mid-1960s, television was covering the explosive civil rights movement regularly and forcefully. It was at this time that the young, articulate, and telegenic Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., emerged from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as the movement's chief spokesman. Commenting on King's oratory skills, one reporter noted that his "message and eloquence were met with rapt attention and enthusiastic support." He was the perfect visual symbol for a new era of American race relations. During this period, television made it possible for civil rights workers to be seen and heard on an international scale. King's historic "I Have a Dream" speech was delivered on August 28, 1963, at the March on Washington rally. King's speech not only reached the 300,000 people from civil rights organizations, church groups, and labor unions who gathered at the nation's capital to demonstrate for unity, racial tolerance, and passage of the civil rights bill—with the aid of television, it reached Americans nationwide as well.

Later that same year, television covered the assassinations of civil rights leader Medgar Evers and President John F. Kennedy. These deaths devastated the civil rights community, and television coverage of both events ensured that the nation mourned these losses as well.

In 1964 Fanny Lou Hamer's televised speech at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City signaled a pivotal moment in the history of television's relationship to the civil rights campaign. Hamer's now famous "Is This America?" speech infuriated President Lyndon Johnson, emboldened the networks, rallied the civil rights troops, and riveted the nation. Even though Johnson directed the networks to kill the live feed carrying her speech on voting rights on behalf of the African-American Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the networks recognized the speech's powerful



appeal and aired Hamer's address in its entirety later that night. Thus, Hamer, a black woman and a sharecropper, became one of the first black civil rights activists to address the nation directly and on her own terms.

This phase of the movement also saw an influx of white, liberal college students and adults from across the United States into the Deep South, during the so-called Freedom Summer of 1964. Civil rights organizers encouraged the participation of white liberals in the movement because organizers understood that the presence of whites in the struggle would attract the television cameras and, by extension, the nation. No one was prepared for the tragic events that followed. As it turns out, television's incessant probing into the murders and subsequent monthlong search for the bodies of two white, northern civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, and black southerner James Chaney did have a chilling effect on the nation. Now, with the deaths of innocent white volunteers, television helped convince its suburban viewers across the United States that the civil rights movement did concern them as well, as it was difficult to turn on the television without news of the Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman search. From late June to August 4, 1964, television regularly and consistently transmitted news of the tragedy to the entire nation. Television ultimately legitimated and lent new urgency to the decade-long struggle for basic human and civil rights that the civil rights movement had difficulty achieving prior to the involvement of television. The incessant gaze of the television cameras on the murders and disappearance of Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman, following on the heels of the Evers and Kennedy assassinations, resulted in mobilizing national support for the civil rights movement. In fact, it was television's coverage of the movement's crises and catastrophes that became a prelude to the medium's subsequent involvement with and handling of the later social and political chaos surrounding the Black Power, antiwar, free speech, and second-wave feminist movements. As veteran civil rights reporters went on to cover the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy, as well as the ghetto uprisings of the late 1960s, a whole new visual and aural lexicon of "crisis television" developed, one that in many ways still defines how television news is communicated.

By 1968 it was clear that television's powerful and visceral images of the civil rights struggle had permeated many levels of American social and political reality. These images had helped garner support for such liberal legislation as the 1964 Voting Rights Act and President Johnson's "Great Society" and "War on Poverty" programs, all of which were legatees of the civil rights movement.

However, as volatile pictures of Detroit, Michigan; Washington, D.C.; the Watts neighborhood in Los Angeles; and other U.S. cities going up in smoke hit the television airwaves in the late 1960s, they provoked a strong reaction, marked by the presidential campaign slogans calling for law and order. Consequently, many of the very images that supported the movement simultaneously helped to fuel the national backlash against it. This anti-civil rights backlash contributed to the 1968 presidential election of conservative Republican Richard M. Nixon.

While television news programs strove to cover the historic events of the day, entertainment shows responded to the civil rights movement in their own fashion. With their concern over advertising revenues and corporate sponsorship, the networks' entertainment divisions decided on a turn to social relevance, although they did not tackle the controversy and social conflict of the civil rights movement directly. Instead, they took the cautious route of slowly integrating (in racial terms) fictional programming by casting black characters in roles other than the usual domestic and comedic stereotypes. Beloved characterizations of domesticated blacks in such popular television shows as *Beulah*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, *The Jack Benny Show*, and *The Danny Thomas Show*, for example, slowly gave way to integrated-cast programs depicting the network's accommodationist position on the "New Frontier" ideology of Kennedy liberalism, wherein black characters were integrated into American society as long as they supported American law and order. Among these shows were *East Side/West Side* (1963–64), *The Defenders* (1961–65), *Naked City* (1958–63), *The Nurses* (1962–65), *I Spy* (1965–68), *Peyton Place* (1964–69), *Star Trek* (1966–69), *Mission: Impossible* (1966–73), *Daktari* (1966–69), *NYPD* (1967–69), and *The Mod Squad* (1968–73), to name but a few. Rather than reflect the intense racial conflicts of bombed-out churches, blacks being beaten by southern cops, and massive demonstrations, these dramatic programs portrayed interracial cooperation and peaceful coexistence between black and white characters. For the first time on network television, many of the black characters in these shows were depicted as intelligent and heroic. Although some of these shows were criticized for their lone black characters who staunchly upheld the status quo, these shows, nevertheless, did mark a significant transformation of the televisual universe. By contrast, CBS's spate of all-white-cast television shows, mainly set in the rural South—*The Andy Griffith Show* (1960–68), *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71), *Petticoat Junction* (1963–70), and *Green Acres* (1965–71)—fictionalized lovable and hapless southern "hillbillies" that directly countered the real-



## The Civil Rights Movement and Television

life southern racists whose brutal repressions appeared nightly in network news coverage of the civil rights struggle. For mass audiences accustomed to traditional white and black shows, the civil rights movement brought a little more color to the television spectrum.

ANNA EVERETT

See also **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

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# Civil War, The

## U.S. Compilation Documentary

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*The Civil War* premiered on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) over five consecutive evenings (September 23 to 27, 1990), amassing the largest audience for any series in public television history. More than 39 million Americans tuned into at least one episode of the telecast, and viewership averaged more than 14 million viewers each evening. Subsequent research indicated that nearly half the viewers would not have been watching television at all if it had not been for *The Civil War*.

The widespread positive reaction to *The Civil War* was generally lavish and unprecedented. Film and television critics from across the country were equally attentive and admiring. *Newsweek* called the program “a documentary masterpiece”; *Time*, “eloquen[t]... a pensive epic”; and *U.S. News and World Report*, “the best Civil War film ever made.” David Thomson in *American Film* declared that *The Civil War* “is a film Walt Whitman might have dreamed.” And political pundit George Will wrote: “Our *Iliad* has found its Homer... if better use has ever been made of television, I have not seen it.”

Between 1990 and 1992, accolades for producer Ken Burns and the series took on institutional proportions. He won Producer of the Year from the Producers Guild of America; two Emmys (for Outstanding Information Series and Outstanding Writing Achievement); a Peabody; a DuPont-Columbia Award; a Golden Globe; a D.W. Griffith Award; two Grammys; a People's Choice Award for Best Television Mini-Series; and eight honorary doctorates from various U.S. colleges and universities, along with literally dozens of other recognitions.

*The Civil War* also became a phenomenon of popular culture. The series was mentioned on episodes of *Twin Peaks*, *thirtysomething*, and *Saturday Night Live* during the 1990–91 television season. Ken Burns appeared on *The Tonight Show*, and he was selected by the editors of *People* magazine as one of their “25 most intriguing people of 1990.” The series, moreover, developed into a marketing sensation. The companion volume, published by Knopf, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History*, became a runaway best-seller; as did the nine-episode videotaped version from Time-Life

and the Warner soundtrack, featuring the bittersweet anthem "Ashokan Farewell" by Jay Ungar.

Several interlocking factors evidently contributed to this extraordinary level of interest, including the documentary's accompanying promotional campaign, the momentum of scheduling Sunday through Thursday, the synergetic merchandising of its ancillary products, and, of course, the quality of production itself. Most significantly, though, the series examined the United States' great civil conflict from a distinct perspective. A new generation of historians had already begun addressing the war from the so-called bottom-up point of view, underscoring the role of African Americans, women, immigrants, workers, farmers, and common soldiers in the conflict. This fresh emphasis on social and cultural history had revitalized the Civil War as a subject, adding a more inclusive and human dimension to the traditional preoccupations with "great men," transcendent ideals, and battle strategies and statistics. The time was again propitious for creating a filmed version of the war between the states that included the accessibility of the newer approach. In Ken Burns's own words, "I don't think the story of the Civil War can be told too often. I think it surely ought to be retold for every generation."

Much of the success of Ken Burns's *The Civil War* must be attributed to the ways in which his account made the 19th-century conflict immediate and comprehensible to viewers in the 1990s. The great questions of race and continuing discrimination, of the changing roles of women and men in society, of big government versus local control, and of the individual struggle for meaning and conviction in modern life all form essential parts of Burns's version of the war. In this way, *The Civil War* serves as an artistic attempt to better understand these enduring public issues and form a new consensus around them, functioning also as a validation for the members of its principal audience (which was older, white, male, and upscale in the ratings) of the importance of their past in an era of unprecedented multicultural redefinition. In Ken Burns's own words, "I realized the power that the war still exerted over us."

To define and present that power on television, Burns employed 24 prominent historians as consultants on the project. He melded together approximately 300 expert commentaries and another 900 first-person quotations from Civil War-era letters, diaries, and memoirs. Excerpts from these source materials were read by a wide assortment of distinguished performers, such as Sam Waterston, Jason Robards, Julie Harris, and Morgan Freeman, among many others.

Often these remarkable voices were attached to specific historical characters—foot soldiers from both



*The Civil War*, Shelby Foote, Ken Burns, 1990.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

armies, wives or mothers left behind, slaves who escaped to fight on behalf of their own freedom. One of Burns's extraordinary techniques was to follow some of these individuals through long periods of time, using their own words to chronicle the devastating sense of battle weariness, the loneliness of divided families, and both the pain and joy of specific moments in personal histories.

Just as significantly, he attached pictures to these words. Using a vast collection of archival images, some rarely seen, the primary visual production technique was the slow movement of the camera over the surfaces of still photographs. Audiences were allowed to move in for close-ups of faces and eyes, to survey spaces captured in more panoramic photos, and to see some individuals at different stages of their war experiences. The visual component of *The Civil War* also compared historical photographs of places with contemporary filmed shots of the same locations. The "reality" of bluffs over Vicksburg, a Chancellorsville battlefield, or the Appomattox Courthouse was established by these multiple pictorial representations.

All these visual and aural techniques combined in a

special sort of opportunity for the audience. The series invited one into a meditation more than an analysis, an intimate personal consideration of massive conflict, social upheaval, and cultural devastation.

Ken Burns, a hands-on and versatile producer, was personally involved in researching, fund-raising for, co-writing, shooting, directing, editing, scoring, and even promoting *The Civil War*. The series, a production of Burns's Florentine Films in association with WETA-TV in Washington, D.C., also boasted contributions by many of the filmmaker's usual collaborators, including his brother and coproducer, Ric Burns, writer Geoffrey C. Ward, and narrator David McCullough. Writer, historian, and master raconteur Shelby Foote emerged as the on-screen star of *The Civil War*, peppering the series with entertaining anecdotes during 89 separate appearances.

*The Civil War* took an estimated five years to complete and cost nearly \$3.5 million, garnered largely from support by General Motors, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. By any standard that has gone before, *The Civil War* is a masterful historical documentary. Through reruns and home videos, more than 70 million Americans have now seen the program. International audiences have also numbered in the tens of millions.

Burns now laughs about the apprehension he felt on the evening *The Civil War* premiered on prime-time television and changed his life forever. He remembers thinking long and hard about the remarks of several reviewers who predicted that the series would be "eaten alive," going head-to-head with network programming. He recalls being "completely unprepared for what was going to happen" next, as the series averaged a 9.0 rating, an exceptional performance for public television. Ken Burns admits, "I was flabbergasted! I still sort of pinch myself about it. It's one of those rare instances in which something helped stitch the country together, however briefly, and the fact that I had a part in that is just tremendously satisfying."

GARY R. EDGERTON

**See also Burns, Ken; Documentary**

### **Producers**

Ken Burns, Ric Burns

### **Coproducers**

Stephen Ives, Julie Dunfey, Mike Hill, Lynn Novick

### **Programming History**

PBS

September 23–27, 1990

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# Civilisation: A Personal View

## British Arts Program

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Kenneth Clark's 13-part series *Civilisation: A Personal View*, produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation's Channel 2 (BBC 2) in 1969 and released in the United States in 1970 on public television, remains a milestone in the history of arts television, the Public Broadcasting System, and the explication of high culture to interested laypeople. The series offers an extended definition of the essential qualities of Western civilization through an examination of its chief monuments and important locations. While such a task may seem both arrogant and impossible, Clark's views are always stimulating and frequently entertaining. Civilization, he suggests, is energetic, confident, humane, and compassionate, based on a belief in permanence and in the necessity of self-doubt.

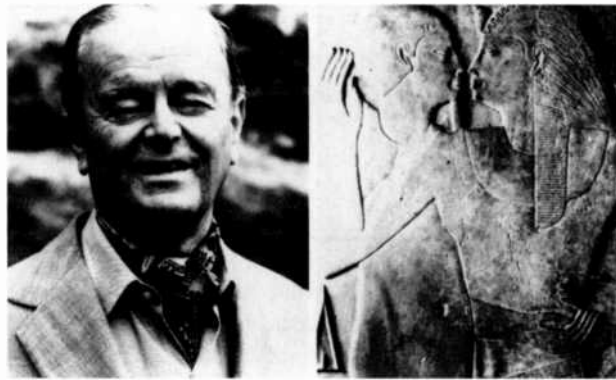
As Clark would readily acknowledge, civilization is not always all of these things at once, which gives his chronological tour considerable drama inasmuch as episodes speak to each other; Abbot Suger enters into dialogue in the viewer's mind with Michelangelo, Beethoven, and Einstein. A self-confessed hero worshiper, Clark arranged each episode around one or more important figures, illustrating his Carlylean view that civilization is the product of great men. Given his exploration of the visual possibilities of television (not always utilized in previous arts programming) and his particular intellectual biases, the program draws its evidence primarily from art history but takes a wider view than that description might suggest. In his memoir *The Other Half*, Clark comments that "I always . . . based my arguments on things seen—towns, bridges, cloisters, cathedrals, palaces," but adds that he considers the visual a "poin[t] of departure" rather than a final destination: "When I set about the programmes I had in mind Wagner's ambition to make opera into a *Gesamtkunstwerk*—text, spectacle, and sound all united."

Clark's qualifications for the series included his position as a leading art historian and, beginning in 1937, his career as a pioneer of British television arts programming. He had also served in the Ministry of Information during World War II, an experience that seems to have contributed to his philosophy of arts television. "The first stage was to learn that every word must be

scripted; the second that what viewers want from a programme on art is not ideas, but information; and the third that things must be said clearly, energetically and economically," he wrote. Thus, his first successful television series, *Five Revolutionary Painters* (which aired on ITA and which he discusses briefly in *The Other Half*), allowed him to test his theory that the viewing public wanted to learn about individual artists while also serving as a kind of dress rehearsal for the more ambitious *Civilisation*. As Clark noted, "I might not have been able to do the filmed sequences of *Civilisation* with as much vivacity if I had not 'come up the hard way' of live transmission."

Following the social and political upheavals that marked 1968 in both Europe and the United States, *Civilisation* teaches that hard times do not inevitably crush the humane tradition so central to Clark's view of Western civilization. Indeed, when David Attenborough suggested the title for the series, Clark's typically self-deprecating response was "I had no clear idea what [civilization] meant, but I thought it was preferable to barbarism, and fancied that this was the moment to say so." That the program offers a *personal* (and in some ways idiosyncratic) look at nine centuries of European intellectual life is thus a crucial part of its appeal, inasmuch as it argues that following cultural matters—and caring about them—is within the reach of television viewers.

Clark appreciated the fact that television remains a performer's medium even when it deals with the abstract. This conception of the medium established the pattern for later pundit programs such as Alistair Cooke's *America* and Jacob Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, which were, like *Civilisation*, directed by Michael Gill. In all three programs, the cultural cicerone and his locations are the stimulus for the presentation of ideas. "I am convinced that a combination of words and music, colour and movement can extend human experience in a way words alone cannot do," Clark remarks in the foreword to the book version of *Civilisation*. His series aired only two years after BBC 2 switched to full-color broadcasting and was intended in part as a dramatic introduction to the possibilities of the new technology.



*Civilisation: A Personal View.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

*Civilisation* came at an opportune time for U.S. public television, appearing in that venue after the BBC had tried in vain to place the series with the commercial networks. The program was underwritten by Xerox, which also provided \$450,000 for an hour-long promotional program (produced by the BBC) to drum up business for the multipart broadcast. The nascent Public Broadcasting System received plaudits for carrying the program, and Clark undoubtedly found his largest audience in the United States. The series' reach in that country was demonstrated by the precedent-setting Harper and Row tie-in book, which became a best-seller despite its \$15 price tag. Thus, in addition to promulgating its comforting message about the survival of a high culture besieged for a millennium by

the forces of darkness, *Civilisation* had in the United States the serendipitous effect of demonstrating that high-culture television could in fact draw significant numbers of viewers.

ANNE MOREY

See also **Attenborough, Richard**

**Host**

Kenneth Clark

**Producers**

Michael Gill, Peter Montagnon

**Programming History**

BBC 2

13 episodes

February 23–May 18, 1969

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## Clark, Dick (1929– )

U.S. Producer, Media Personality

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With a career spanning more than 50 years, Dick Clark is one of television's most successful entrepreneurs of program production. Often acknowledged more for his youthful appearance than for his business acumen, Clark nevertheless has built an impressive production record since the 1950s with teen dance shows, prime-time programming, television specials, daytime game shows, made-for-television movies, and feature films.

As a teenager, Clark began his career in broadcasting in 1945 in the mailroom of station WRUN in Utica,

New York, working his way up to weatherman and then newsman. After graduating from Syracuse University in 1951, Clark moved from radio into television broadcasting at station WKTU in Utica. Here, Clark hosted *Cactus Dick and the Santa Fe Riders*, a country-music program that became the training ground for his later television hosting persona. In 1952, Clark moved to Philadelphia and radio station WFIL as a disc jockey for *Dick Clark's Caravan of Music*. At that time, WFIL was affiliated with a televi-

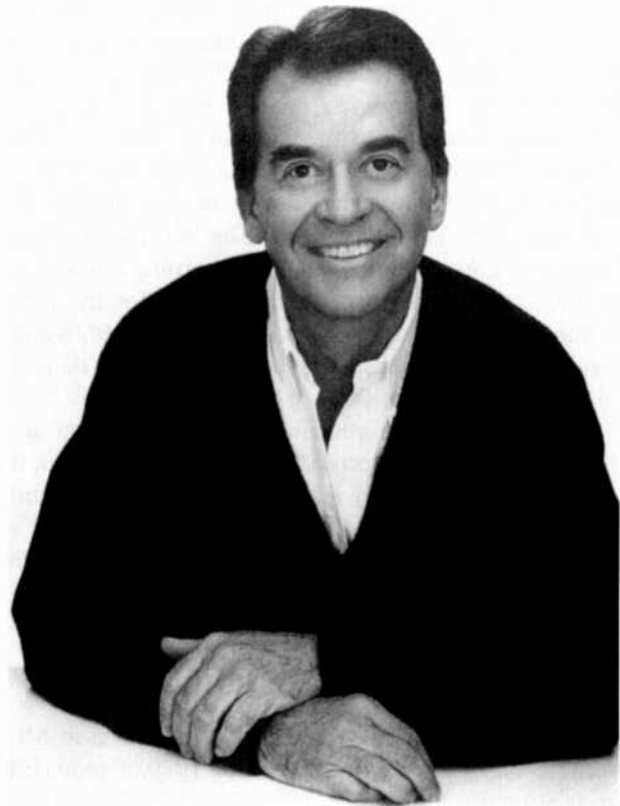
sion station that carried *Bandstand*, an afternoon teen dance show. Clark often substituted for Bob Horn, the show's regular host. When Horn was jailed for drunken driving in 1956, Clark took over as permanent host, boosting *Bandstand* into Philadelphia's best-known afternoon show. From that point on, he became a fixture in the American television broadcasting arena.

In 1957 the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) picked up the program for its daytime schedule, changing the name to *American Bandstand*. As a cornerstone of the afternoon lineup through 1963, the program was a boon for ABC, an inexpensively produced success for the network's target audience of youthful demographics. From 1963 through 1987, *American Bandstand* ran on a weekly basis to become one of the longest-running shows in broadcast television.

In addition to Clark's hosting and producing duties for *American Bandstand*, he began to diversify in the 1950s by moving into the music publishing and recording industries. However, by the end of 1959, the federal government began to scrutinize Clark for a possible conflict between his broadcasting interests and his publishing and recording interests. At that time, payola, the practice of music industry companies paying radio personalities to play new records, was widespread in radio broadcasting. Clark, with the cultural scope of his network television program, became the prime target of the congressional investigation into this illegal activity. Pressured by ABC to make a choice between broadcast and music industry interests, Clark opted for the former, divesting himself of his publishing and recording companies. Even though Clark was cleared of any illegal behavior, he had to testify before the congressional committee on payola practices in 1960.

Given the present state of cross-corporate links among the recording, broadcasting, cable, and film industries, Clark's persecution would be highly unlikely now. Indeed, even at the time of the payola scandals, the networks and film studios, such as ABC and Disney, were already inextricably connected with program production, broadcasting, and profits. In retrospect, Clark's problems stemmed as much from his embrace of a somewhat raucous, interracial youth culture and his involvement in the conflict between ASCAP, representing the old guard of the music publishing business, and BMI, representing the new breed of rock-and-roll songwriters.

A somewhat tarnished reputation did not hinder Clark's further success in the area of broadcast programming and film production with Dick Clark Productions (DCP). DCP produced *Where the Action Is*, another daily teenage music show, during the late



Dick Clark.

Photo courtesy of Dick Clark Productions, Inc.

1960s, as well as feature exploitation films such as *Psych-Out*, *The Savage Seven*, and *Killers Three*. At this time, Clark also moved into the game show arena with *Missing Links* and *The Object Is*, culminating in the late 1970s with *The \$25,000 Pyramid*.

In addition, DCP produced *Elvis*, *Murder in Texas* and *The Woman Who Willed a Miracle*, made-for-television movies that garnered impressive audience ratings. The latter won an Emmy Award. On a more lowbrow level, DCP also introduced *TV's Bloopers and Practical Jokes*, another inexpensive but extremely popular recurring television special. Clark also produces award shows, the *American Awards* and *The Golden Globe Awards*.

Often criticized for the lack of quality in DCP programs, Clark points to the networks and the audiences as the index of that quality. He gives them what they want, declaring in an interview in *Newsweek* magazine in 1986, "If I were given the assignment of doing a classical-music hour for PBS, it would be exquisite and beautifully done."

Clark shows little sign of slowing down in either his role as on-air personality or program producer. Indeed, Dick Clark Productions has now moved into the realm

Clark, Dick

of special events planning, often building corporate conferences around the theme of *American Bandstand*. At the dawn of the 21st century, DCP continues to produce *Your Big Break* and *Beyond Belief: Fact or Fiction*, both syndicated programs, as well as the broadcast favorite *TV's Bloopers and Practical Jokes*. In 2001 Clark took on the patriarchal role on the all-male panel for *The Other Half: The World of Women Through the Eyes of Men*, an NBC morning talk show. In 2002, he became executive producer for the new drama *American Dreams*, which is set in the 1960s and revolves around Meg, a 15-year-old girl who dances on *American Bandstand*.

Despite the boyish good looks and charm that are the identifying characteristics of this American icon, it is Clark's economically efficient business savvy and his uncanny ability to measure the American public's cultural mood that have been his most important assets in television broadcasting.

RODNEY A. BUXTON

See also *American Bandstand*; **Music on Television**

**Dick Clark (Richard Wagstaff Clark).** Born in Mt. Vernon, New York, November 30, 1929. Graduated from Syracuse University, 1951. Married: 1) Barbara Mallery, 1952 (divorced, 1961); child: Richard Jr.; 2) Loretta Martin, 1962 (divorced, 1971); children: Duane and Cindy; 3) Karen Wigton, 1977. Announcer, station WRUN, Utica, New York, 1945–50; staff announcer, station WOLF, Syracuse, New York, 1950; announcer, WRUN, 1951; announcer, station WKTV, Utica, 1951; announcer, station WFIL, Philadelphia, 1952; host, *American Bandstand*, 1956–89; formed Dick Clark Productions, 1956, producing more than 7,500 hours of television programming, including more than 30 series and 250 specials, and more than 20 movies for theatrical release and television. Founder: Dick Clark Media Archives. Inductee: Hollywood Walk of Fame, 1976; Broadcasting Magazine Hall of Fame, 1992; Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame, 1993; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1993. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1979, 1983, 1985, 1986, and Daytime Emmy, Lifetime Achievement Award, 1994; MTV Award, 1987; Grammy National Trustees Award, 1990; named International Person of Year, NAPTE, 1990; Distinguished Service Award, National Association of Broadcasting, 1991; American D.J. Association, Lifetime Achievement Award, 1995; Person of the Year, Philadelphia Advertising Club.

**Television Series (selected)**

1951 *Cactus Dick and the Santa Fe Riders*  
(host)

1956–89 *American Bandstand* (host, executive producer)  
1958–60 *The Dick Clark Saturday Night Beechnut Show* (host)  
1959 *Dick Clark's World of Talent* (host)  
1959 *The Record Years* (host, executive producer)  
1964 *Missing Links* (host)  
1964 *The Object Is* (host)  
1973–74 *Dick Clark Presents the Rock and Roll Years* (host, executive producer)  
1973–75 *In Concert* (executive producer)  
1973–89 *\$10,000 Pyramid* (host)  
*\$20,000 Pyramid* (host)  
*\$25,000 Pyramid* (host)  
*\$50,000 Pyramid* (host)  
*\$100,000 Pyramid* (host)  
1981 *The Krypton Factor* (host)  
1984–86, 1988 *TV's Bloopers and Practical Jokes*  
(executive producer)  
1985–88 *Puttin' on the Hits* (executive producer)  
1988 *Live! Dick Clark Presents* (host, executive producer)  
1990–91 *The Challengers* (host, executive producer)  
1995 *Tempest* (executive producer)  
2001– *The Other Half: The World of Women Through the Eyes of Men*  
2002– *American Dreams* (executive producer)

**Made-for-Television Movies (executive producer)**

1979 *Elvis*  
1979 *Man in the Santa Claus Suit*  
1979 *Birth of the Beatles*  
1981 *Murder in Texas*  
1983 *The Demon Murder Case*  
1983 *The Woman Who Willed a Miracle*  
1985 *Copacabana*  
1988 *Promised a Miracle*  
1988 *The Town Bully*  
1988 *Liberace*  
1989 *A Cry for Help: The Tracy Thurman Story*  
1991 *Death Dreams*  
1993 *Elvis and the Colonel: The Untold Story*  
1994 *Secret Sins of the Father*

**Television Specials (selected; executive producer)**

1965–67 *Where the Action Is*  
1966 *Swinging Country*  
1968–69 *Happening*  
1970 *Get It Together*  
1970 *Shebang*

1972– *Dick Clark's New Year's Rockin' Eve*  
 1977 *Dick Clark's Good Ol' Days*  
 1978 *Dick Clark's Live Wednesday*  
 1980 *The Sensational, Shocking Wonderful Wacky 70's*  
 1981 *Whatever Became Of...?*  
 1981 *I've Had It Up to Here*  
 1982 *Inside America*  
 1983 *Hollywood's Private Home Movies*  
 1983 *The 1/2-Hour Comedy Hour*  
 1984 *Hollywood Stars Screen Test*  
 1984 *You Are the Jury*  
 1985 *Reaching for the Stars*  
 1985 *Rock 'n' Roll Summer Action*  
 1985 *Live Aid—An All-Star Concert for African Relief*  
 1985 *American Bandstand's 33 1/3 Celebration*  
 1985 *Dick Clark's Nighttime*  
 1986 *America Picks the #1 Songs*  
 1986 *Alabama... My Home's in Alabama*  
 1987 *Keep on Cruisin'*  
 1987 *Superstars and Their Moms*  
 1987 *In Person from the Palace*  
 1987 *Getting in Touch*  
 1988 *Sea World's All-Star Lone Star Celebration*  
 1989 *Freedom Festival '89*  
 1991, 1993 *Super Bloopers and New Practical Jokes*  
 1992 *1992 USA Music Challenge*  
 1992 *American Bandstand's 40th Anniversary*  
 1992 *The World's Biggest Lies*  
 1992 *A Busch Gardens/Sea World Summer Safari*  
 1992 *Golden Greats*  
 1992 *Olympic Flag Jam*  
 1993 *The Return of TV Censored Bloopers*  
 1993 *The Academy of Country Music's Greatest Hits*  
 1993 *The Olsen Twins Mother's Day Special*  
 1993 *American Bandstand: One More Time*  
 1993 *Caught in the Act*  
 1993, 1994 *Sea World/Busch Garden Summer Celebration*  
 1993–95 *The Jim Thorpe Pro Sports Awards*  
 1994 *Taco Bell's Battle of the Bands*  
 1994 *How I Spent My Summer Vacation*  
 1994 *Chrysler American Great 18 Golf Championships*  
 1994 *American Music Awards 20th Anniversary Special*  
 1994 *Golden Globes 50th Anniversary Celebration*

1994 *Hot Country Jam '94*  
 1994 *American Bandstand's Teen Idols*  
 1994 *American Bandstand's #1 Hits*  
 1994 *Universal Studios Summer Blast*  
 1994, 1995 *Will You Marry Me?*  
 1995 *We're Having a Baby*  
 1995 *The Making of the Adventures of Mary Kate and Ashley*  
 1995 *Christmas at Home with the Stars*  
 1995 *When Stars Were Kids*  
 1995 *Rudy Coby: The Coolest Magician in the World*  
 1995 *Sea World/Busch Gardens Party for the Planet*  
 1995 *All Star Ultra TV Censored Bloopers*  
 1995 *TNN Country Series*

### Films

*Because They're Young* (actor), 1960; *The Young Doctors* (actor), 1961; *Wild in the Streets*, 1968; *Killers Three*, 1968; *Psych-Out* (producer), 1968; *The Savage Seven* (producer), 1968; *The Dark* (producer), 1970; *Remo Williams: The Adventure Begins* (producer), 1985.

### Radio

*Dick Clark's Caravan of Music*; *Dick Clark's Music Machine*; *Dick Clark's National Music Survey*; *Dick Clark's Rock, Roll, and Remember*; *Dick Clark's U.S. Music Survey*.

### Publications

*Your Happiest Hears*, 1959  
*To Goof or Not to Goof*, 1963  
*Rock, Roll, and Remember*, with Richard Robinson, 1976  
*Dick Clark's Program for Success in Your Business and Personal Life*, 1980  
*Looking Great, Staying Young*, with Bill Libby, 1980  
*Dick Clark's The First 25 Years of Rock 'n' Roll*, with Michael Usland, 1981  
*The History of American Bandstand*, with Michael Shore, 1985  
*Dick Clark's Easygoing Guide to Good Grooming*, 1985

### Further Reading

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 "Dick Clark on Dick Clark: The Flip Side," *Broadcasting* (May 1, 1989)



Miller, Holly G. "Dick Clark's Role After Rock," *Saturday Evening Post* (July–August 1995)

Schipper, Henry, "Dick Clark," *Rolling Stone* (April 19, 1990)  
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*Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Eighty-Sixth Congress, Second Session on Payola and Other Deceptive Practices in the Broadcasting Field*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960

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## Clarkson, Adrienne (1939– )

### Canadian Television Personality

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Adrienne Clarkson has been a major cultural force in Canada for more than 35 years. She began her career in broadcasting in 1965 as a book reviewer on CBC-TV. She then became interviewer and host of the long-running CBC daytime magazine show *Take Thirty*. After ten years there, she spent seven years as host of *The Fifth Estate*, another long-running magazine program, this one in prime time.

In 1982 Clarkson was appointed agent general for Ontario in France, a high-level government position in which she promoted the province and acted as a cultural liaison between the two countries. When she returned to Canada in 1987, she became president and publisher of McClelland and Stewart, one of Canada's most prestigious publishing firms, where she maintained her own imprint, Adrienne Clarkson Books. At the same time, she resumed her work in television as host and executive producer of her own CBC program—*Adrienne Clarkson's Summer Festival*—in 1988. Its successor, *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, was a prime-time cultural affairs series on which Clarkson offered profiles of Canadian and international figures from the worlds of opera, ballet, folksinging, and the other arts.

Despite the variety of her work in journalism, news, the arts, and cultural policy, Clarkson has been perceived as an elitist. For many years, she was lampooned by Canadian comics such as those of the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* and *Double Exposure*. In one skit, a haughty, modulated voice introduces itself, "I'm Adrienne Clarkson... and you're not." Because her most recent programs were arts oriented and because she was involved in arts activities and posts of distinction, Clarkson was regarded as having limited commercial appeal. Indeed, like most arts programs, hers did not garner high ratings, but they were highly regarded by critics.

Clarkson won numerous television awards, including three Association of Canadian Television and Ra-

dio Artists (ACTRA) Awards for *Take Thirty* and *The Fifth Estate*. In 1993 she was the recipient of a Gemini Award (which succeeded the ACTRA Awards as the national television awards) for Best Host in a Light Information, Variety, or Performing Arts Program for *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*.

In 1992 Clarkson wrote, produced, and directed her first film, a full-length drama-documentary for television, called *Artemisia*, about the 17th-century Italian painter Artemisia Gentileschi, whose rape by an artist friend of her father's informed her work. Clarkson was passionately involved in this production, which premiered at the 1992 Toronto International Film Festival and was then aired on Clarkson's series. She then wrote and directed three other documentaries for television between 1994 and 1996.

From 1995 to 1999, Clarkson was chairwoman of the board of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec. In 1999 Clarkson was appointed Canada's Governor General (representative for the queen of the British Commonwealth), a post she continues to hold; since this appointment, she no longer hosts or produces television programs.

JANICE KAYE

*See also Fifth Estate, The*

**Adrienne Clarkson.** Born in Hong Kong, February 10, 1939. Educated at Trinity College; University of Toronto, B.A., 1960, M.A., 1962; Sorbonne, Paris, France, 1963–64. Married: author John Ralston Saul. Lecturer, University of Toronto, 1964–65; host and interviewer, *Take Thirty*, 1965–75; host, *Adrienne at Large*, 1975; host, *The Fifth Estate*, 1975–82; appointed agent general, France, 1982–87; producer and host of her own TV programs, 1988–98; president and publisher, McClelland and Stewart, 1987–88; pub-



Adrienne Clarkson, 1989.  
Courtesy of CBC/Fred Phipps

lisher, Adrienne Clarkson Books, McClelland and Stewart, 1988; chairwoman of the board of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec, 1995–99; appointed governor general, 1999. Honorary degrees: Dalhousie University, Lakehead University, Acadia University. Recipient: Gordon Sinclair Award, 1979; ACTRA Awards, 1974, 1975, 1976; Order of Canada, 1992; Gemini Award, 1993.

#### Television Series

1965–75 *Take Thirty*  
 1974–75 *Adrienne at Large*  
 1975–82 *The Fifth Estate*  
 1988–98 *Adrienne Clarkson's Summer Festival*  
 (became *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*)

#### Television Specials

1992 *Artemisia*  
 1994 *Borduas and Me*  
 1995 *The Lust of His Eye: The Vision of James Wilson Morris*  
 1996 *Black and White to Color: The Making of the English Patient*

#### Publications

*A Lover More Condoling*, 1968  
*Hunger Trace*, 1970  
*True to You in My Fashion*, 1971

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**Class.** See *Social Class and Television*

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## Clearance

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

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The term "clearance" as applied in the context of U.S. broadcasting refers to the acceptance by a local station of a program provided by a broadcasting network or a supplier of syndicated programming. Ideally, an affiliate will carry a program when the network specifies.

The number of clearances determines the potential audience size of a program. Networks hope to clear their programs with as many stations as possible. This will ensure greater advertising revenues. Clearance of a network program by an affiliate is thus crucial to the

network's profitability. Likewise, affiliates that frequently reject network offerings risk their survivability if they are dropped by the network. Networks provide programming certain to compete successfully with programs provided by the other local stations. Moreover, the networks compensate affiliates for carrying their programs. The practice of program clearance best illustrates the symbiotic nature of the network-affiliate relationship, a relationship established in law as well as in economic practice.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) recognized the problems inherent in "chain broadcasting" as early as 1943, when the Supreme Court attempted to clarify the role of networks as program suppliers in the "Network Case" (*NBC, Inc. et al. v. United States et al.*). To further prevent anticompetitive practices, the FCC implemented rules such as clearance and the Prime Time Access Rule. These regulations grant programming autonomy to affiliate stations, while in practice the stations are dependent on other program suppliers.

Clearances vary according to the part of the day to which they apply. Prime time commands the highest number of clearances by affiliates. The stations can charge high rates for advertising time during top-rated network programs. Low-rated programs run a greater risk of being rejected by stations. Because more commercial spots are available in a film, for example, than in a low-rated network offering, it might be more lucrative for an affiliate to substitute the movie for the network program.

An affiliate station will also sometimes reject a prime-time network program because of controversial subject matter. To appease the tastes and attitudes of their local communities, affiliates may not air particular programs, despite their potential for high ratings. In 1993, for example, the program *NYPD Blue* was re-

jected by 57 ABC affiliates before it aired because of objectionable material. It is an affiliate's legal right to reject any program in an attempt to serve the public interest. The choice to reject a program may prove most profitable to independent stations that opt to carry the "taboo" programs.

Preemption occurs when an affiliate cancels a program it has agreed to carry, or when a network interrupts a "cleared" program to broadcast a special event or breaking news story. Because of lost advertising time, such preemptions can prove costly to both parties.

Affiliates give low clearances to network programs during morning, late-afternoon, early-evening, and late-night segments of the day. During these times, the predominant source of programming is syndicated material, often consisting of older network programs with proven audience appeal.

Clearance of a syndicated program involves acceptance through purchase. To be truly profitable, syndicators must "clear" (sell) a program in enough markets to represent at least 70 percent of all television households.

SHARON ZECHOWSKI

See also **Networks: United States**

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- Kahn, Frank J., editor, *Documents of American Broadcasting*, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1968; 4th edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984.

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## Cleese, John (1939– )

British Actor

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John Cleese belongs to a tradition of university humor that has supplied a recognizable strand of comedy to British television and radio from *Beyond the Fringe* in the late 1950s to *Blackadder* and beyond. The brilliance of his writing, the dominant nature of his performances (due largely to his extraordinary height), and

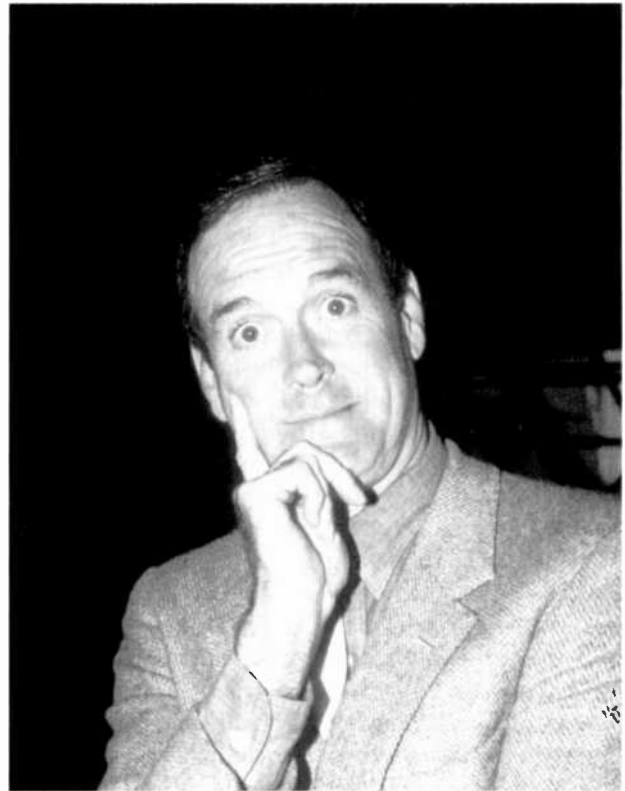
the variety of his successes have made him undoubtedly the most influential figure of this group. He has always shown an unerring instinct for how far to go with any one project or idea, with the result that there is little in his large body of work that could be counted as failure, although he is also highly critical, in hind-

sight, of anything he regards as not having worked precisely as he might have wanted it to.

Following the success of Cambridge Circus, the Cambridge University Footlights Club revue to which he contributed and which toured Britain and the world between 1963 and 1965, Cleese made his first big impact on television by writing and performing sketches on David Frost's *The Frost Report*, airing on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (Cleese had already written material for *That Was the Week That Was*, the seminal BBC satire show that had launched Frost's career.) Fellow performers included Ronnie Barker and Ronnie Corbett, with whom Cleese created the classic "class" sketch, and the show won the Golden Rose of Montreux in 1966. Cleese's written contributions were created in collaboration with his writing partner Graham Chapman, then still a medical student at Cambridge. At the same time, Cleese was also writing and performing in the cult BBC radio series *I'm Sorry, I'll Read That Again*, together with such Cambridge Circus colleagues as Tim Brooke-Taylor and Bill Oddie. There were a total of eight series of this show between 1964 and 1973, probably the only thing Cleese ever overdid.

Cleese was now much in demand, and his next major project, produced by David Frost for Rediffusion, was *At Last the 1948 Show*, a sketch-comedy series written and performed in collaboration with Chapman, Brooke-Taylor, and Marty Feldman, two series of which were transmitted in 1967. Although not seen throughout the country, the show gained a cult following for the brilliance and unpredictability of its comedy and the innovative nature of its structure, in which the show was linked by a dumb blonde called the Lovely Aimi MacDonald. Cleese was now developing a full range of comic personae, including manic bullies, unreliable authority figures (especially lawyers and government ministers), and repressed Englishmen, all of which were later to gel in the character of Basil Fawlty. The quality of invention in *At Last the 1948 Show* was consistently high, and it gave the world of television comedy one of its most enduring pieces—the "Four Yorkshiremen" sketch. It was also the recognized precursor to the series that remains, in spite of all his own retrospective criticism, Cleese's most significant contribution to television comedy, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (BBC).

Beginning in 1969, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* teamed Cleese and Chapman with three other university comedians, Michael Palin and Terry Jones, who wrote together and had also contributed to *The Frost Report*, and Eric Idle. The team was completed by American animator Terry Gilliam. Four series were made between 1969 and 1974, though Cleese did not



John Cleese.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

appear in the fourth, contributing only as a writer. This was probably the main reason for the comparative failure of the final series, because Cleese was clearly the dominant figure in the *Python* team and appeared in the sketches that made the greatest impact, thus becoming the figure most associated with the series in the public mind.

Two sketches in particular stand out in this regard: the "Dead Parrot" sketch, in which Cleese returns a defective pet bird to the shop where he bought it; and the "Ministry of Silly Walks" sketch, in which Cleese used his angular figure to startling effect. He was to be constantly exasperated in future years by people asking him to "do the silly walk." In *At Last the 1948 Show*, Cleese's appearances with Marty Feldman have a particular resonance. In *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, his work with Michael Palin was similarly memorable.

The overall impact and influence of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* is difficult to overestimate. The intricate flow of each show, the abandonment of the traditional "punch line" to a sketch, the knowing experimentation with the medium, and the general air of silliness combined with obscure intellectualism set a standard—one that comedians thereafter found hard to get away from.

Producers such as John Lloyd and writer-performers such as Ben Elton acknowledge the enormous influence of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* on their own work. The word "pythonesque" entered the language, being used to describe any kind of bizarre juxtaposition.

Although there were no more series of *Monty Python* on television after 1974, largely because Cleese had had enough, the team continued to come together occasionally to make feature films, of which *Monty Python's Life of Brian* is the best and most controversial, given its religious theme. Cleese's discussion of the film with religious leaders on the chat show *Friday Night... Saturday Morning* in 1979 remains a television moment to cherish. The untimely death of Graham Chapman from cancer in 1989 put an end to the team for good.

By then, Cleese, having altered the world of sketch comedy forever, had done the same for the sitcom. He was no stranger to sitcoms, having written episodes of *Doctor in Charge* together with Chapman. For *Fawlty Towers*, he teamed up with his American wife Connie Booth to create a comedy of character and incident that is almost faultless in its construction. The "situation" is a small hotel in the genteel English resort of Torquay, run by Basil Fawlty (Cleese), his wife Sybil (Prunella Scales), the maid Polly (Booth), and the incompetent Spanish waiter Manuel (Andrew Sachs). Each episode is so packed with comic situations and complex plot developments, often bordering on farce, that it is no surprise that there were, in all, only 12 episodes ever made, in two series of six each from 1975 and 1979. Basil Fawlty is the ultimate Cleese creation—a manic, snobbish, repressed English stereotype with a talent for disaster, whether it be trying to dispose of the dead body of a guest or coping with a party of German visitors. In 2000 a poll of the British television industry, organized by the British Film Institute, voted *Fawlty Towers* the best British TV program of all time.

Cleese's television work after *Fawlty Towers* was sporadic and included the role of Petruchio in Jonathan Miller's production of *The Taming of the Shrew* for the BBC Television Shakespeare series and a guest appearance on the U.S. sitcom *Cheers*, as well as the two funniest *Party Political Broadcasts* (for the Social Democratic Party) ever made. He concentrated more on esoteric projects such as the comic training films he made through his own company, Video Arts, and books on psychotherapy written in collaboration with Dr. Robin Skynner. He also pursued his work in feature films, enjoying great success with *A Fish Called Wanda*, in which he returned to one of his favorite subjects—the differences between English and American

characters—already explored in one memorable episode of *Fawlty Towers*. The film also saw him play the role of a lawyer, the profession he had lampooned throughout his career and that he had originally studied to join. In 2001 Cleese returned to British TV screens as the presenter of the documentary series *The Human Face*, which he also wrote. In 2002 he became a costar in a new U.S. sitcom, *Wednesdays 9:30 (8:30 Central)*, a satirical look at work life at a television network with Cleese playing the owner of the fictional network. ABC canceled the comedy after only two episodes. In 2003 and 2004, he had a recurring guest role on the U.S. sitcom *Will & Grace*.

STEVE BRYANT

*See also Fawlty Towers; Monty Python's Flying Circus*

**John (Marwood) Cleese.** Born in Weston-super-Mare, Somerset, England, October 27, 1939. Attended Clifton Sports Academy; Downing College, Cambridge. Married: 1) Connie Booth, 1968 (divorced, 1978); child: Cynthia; 2) Barbara Trentham, 1981 (divorced, 1990); child: Camilla; 3) Alyce Faye Eichelberger, 1992. Appeared in London's West End, and later on Broadway, as member of the Cambridge Footlights company, 1963; first appeared on television in *The Frost Report* and *At Last the 1948 Show*, 1966; leading comedy star in *Monty Python* television series and films, from 1969, and subsequently as television's Basil Fawlty, *Fawlty Towers*; founder and director, Video Arts Ltd., company making industrial training films, 1972–89. LLD, University of St. Andrews. Recipient: Golden Rose of Montreux, 1966; *TV Times* Award for Funniest Man on TV, 1978–79; Emmy Award, 1987; British Academy of Film and Television Arts for Best Actor, 1988; Screen Actors Guild Jack Oakie Award, Outstanding Achievement in Comedy, 1994.

#### Television Series

1966–67	<i>The Frost Report</i>
1966–67	<i>At Last the 1948 Show</i>
1969–74	<i>Monty Python's Flying Circus</i>
1975–79	<i>Fawlty Towers</i>
2001	<i>The Human Face</i>
2002	<i>Wednesday 9:30 (8:30 Central)</i>
2003–04	<i>Will &amp; Grace</i> (recurring guest role)

#### Television Specials

1977	<i>The Strange Case of the End of Civilization as We Know It</i>
1980	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>
1998	<i>Lemurs</i>

**Films**

*Interlude*, 1968; *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom*, 1968; *The Best House in London*, 1968; *The Rise and Rise of Michael Rimmer* (also co-writer), 1970; *The Magic Christian*, 1970; *The Statue*, 1970; *The Bonar Law Story*, 1971; *And Now for Something Completely Different* (also co-writer), 1971; *It's a 2' 6" Above the Ground World (The Love Ban)*, 1972; *Abbott and Costello Meet Sir Michael Swann*, 1972; *The Young Anthony Barber*, 1973; *Confessions of a Programme Planner*, 1974; *Romance with a Double Bass*, 1974; *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (also co-writer), 1975; *Pleasure at Her Majesty's*, 1976; *Monty Python Meets Beyond the Fringe*, 1978; *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (also co-writer), 1979; *Away from It All* (voice only), 1979; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*, 1979; *Time Bandits*, 1981; *The Great Muppet Caper*, 1981; *The Secret Policeman's Other Ball*, 1982; *Monty Python Live at the Hollywood Bowl*, 1982; *Monty Python's The Meaning of Life*, 1983; *Yellowbeard*, 1983; *Privates on Parade*, 1984; *The Secret Policeman's Private Parts*, 1984; *Club Paradise*, 1985; *Gonzo Presents Muppet Weird Stuff*, 1985; *Silverado*, 1985; *Clockwise*, 1986; *S.D. Pete*, 1986; *The Secret Policeman's Third Ball*, 1987; *A Fish Called Wanda* (also executive producer and writer), 1988; *The Big Picture*, 1988; *Erik the Viking*, 1989; *Bullseye!* 1990; *An American Tail: Fievel Goes West* (voice only), 1991; *Splitting Heirs*, 1992; *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein*, 1994; *Rudyard Kipling's The Jungle Book*, 1994; *The Swan Princess*, 1994; *The Fine Art of Separating People from Their Money*, 1996; *Ferocidade Máxima*, 1997; *The Wind in the Willows*, 1997; *George of the Jungle* (voice), 1997; *Fierce Creatures*, 1997; *The Out-of-Towners*, 1999; *The World Is not Enough*, 1999; *Isn't She Great*, 2000; *Rat Race*,

2001; *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, 2001; *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, 2002.

**Stage**

*Cambridge Footlights Revue*, 1963; *Half a Sixpence*, 1965.

**Publications**

*The Strange Case of the End of Civilization as We Know It*, with Jack Hobbs and Joe McGrath, 1970  
*Fawlty Towers*, with Connie Booth, 1979  
*Families and How to Survive Them*, with Robin Skynner, 1983  
*The Golden Skits of Wing Commander Muriel Volestrangler FRHS and Bar*, 1984  
*The Complete Fawlty Towers*, with Connie Booth, 1988  
*Life and How to Survive It*, with Robin Skynner, 1993

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## Clinton Impeachment Trial

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On December 19, 1998, the U.S. House of Representatives approved two articles of impeachment against Democratic President William Jefferson Clinton in connection with Clinton's obstruction of justice and perjury about his relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. On February 12, 1999, Clinton was acquitted of the two articles of impeachment by the U.S. Senate. While Clinton was not

the first president to be impeached by the House and acquitted by the Senate (President Andrew Johnson suffered a similar fate in 1868), the Clinton impeachment was uniquely marked by the characteristics of a powerful late-20th-century force: the electronic mass media.

The imprint of the electronic media on the impeachment of Clinton began when rumors of an affair be-

tween Clinton and Lewinsky appeared in an Internet gossip column, the *Drudge Report*, on January 19, 1998. The column alleged that *Newsweek* magazine had postponed running a piece on the relationship, and the Drudge website is reported to have received up to 300,000 hits per day as a result of this column (up from the typical 60,000 at that time). Television network news programs first aired the story on January 21, 1998, and television coverage would play a pivotal role in informing Americans about the fate of Clinton's presidency for the next 14 months.

The investigation of Clinton, and the Clinton-Lewinsky affair, prompted considerable television attention. During the summer of 1998, the Clinton investigation was the top news story, receiving more coverage than all other prominent events at that time combined (e.g., the civil war in Kosovo, the Russian economic crisis, the Asian economic crisis, the monitoring of Iraqi weapons, the crash of Swissair Flight 111, the U.S. retaliation for East African bombings, the campaign finance investigation, and baseball's home run record).

Burgeoning 24-hour cable news channels also allocated resources to this story, and one new cable network, MSNBC, was dubbed "all Monica, all the time" for its extensive treatment of the investigation. To prevent losing viewers to cable news stations, the network news programs expanded their evening coverage to a full hour, the first time since the Gulf War in 1991.

Late-night television comedians and reporters told a considerable number of jokes about the scandal. President Clinton was reported to be the subject of 1,712 jokes in 1998, more than in any other year of his presidency (*Media Monitor*, January–February 1999). When jokes about all individuals involved in the investigation of the Clinton scandal were tallied (Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Monica Lewinsky, Linda Tripp, and Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr), 2,461 jokes about the scandal were shared on television (*Media Monitor*, January–February 1999).

Research on the quality of the coverage reveals that few sources were employed in reports on the investigation. Lawrence Grossman found that many of the allegations by major television programs, newspapers, and magazines "were not factual reporting at all...but were instead journalists offering analysis, opinion, speculation, or judgment." Jeff Elliott reported the findings from another study that found that only about half of the news in the *New York Times* came from a named source and that anonymous sources were used 84 percent of the time by the *Washington Post*. After the impeachment, journalists admitted that they had a difficult time finding sources that would go on the record on this sensitive story.

Those who did go on the record largely critiqued the

president. A *Media Monitor* study (September–October 1998) discovered that more than 1,000 sources criticized Clinton on the evening news shows in a period of less than two months in 1998. Moreover, reporters' comments on Clinton were seven times more negative than positive. A primary reason for the negative coverage, according to communications scholar Kathleen Hall Jamieson, is that the investigation team was building a case against Clinton and was selective in the evidence it shared with the media; exculpatory material was not offered by the investigation team, so it did not appear in news reports on the Clinton scandal.

An irony throughout the investigation of Clinton was that he was the most publicly shamed president of modern time and also one of the most popular. After the first month of coverage, Clinton's public approval ratings increased in the Gallup poll from 60 to 67 percent. Over the course of the next year, citizens learned about his personal transgressions, and became even more adamant that he was performing well in office. Political pundits often doubted the president's approval in public opinion polls, suggesting that Clinton's public opinion ratings would decrease as citizens learned more about the scandal. This was not the case. Approval for Clinton in March 1999 hovered around 65 percent, a paradox that has been explained by several factors. Political scholars believe that despite 14 months of damaging news coverage, the American public approved of Clinton's moderate policies, rewarded him for the relative peace and prosperity of the late 1990s, questioned the motive of his accusers, disliked his accusers more than they disliked him, understood the pattern of lying about intimate sexual relations, and viewed the exhaustive coverage as an invasion of his privacy.

SHARON E. JARVIS

See also **Political Processes and Television**

#### **Timeline of Key Televised Events in the Clinton Investigation and Impeachment**

January 21, 1998	Television news stations broadcast rumors posted to the Internet that Clinton had an affair with a White House intern.
January 26, 1998	Clinton delivers a public statement claiming, "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky."
March 15, 1998	Kathleen Willey appears on CBS's <i>60 Minutes</i> television program accusing Clinton of harassment.
April 30, 1998	Clinton holds first televised

- August 17, 1998 news conference since the Lewinsky scandal broke. Clinton tells the nation he had an inappropriate relationship with Lewinsky after testifying before a grand jury.
- September 21, 1998 Television networks air more than four hours of Clinton's videotaped grand jury testimony released by the House Judiciary Committee featuring detailed information about the affair between Clinton and Lewinsky; the networks preempt their daily schedule of soap operas and talk shows to air Clinton's testimony, and their audience increases 32 percent; CNN reaches a record audience of its own, scoring its highest daytime rating of the year.
- December 19, 1998 Television news programs broadcast that the U.S. House of Representatives approved two articles of impeachment, charging President Clinton with lying under oath to a federal grand jury and obstructing justice.
- January 7, 1999 The perjury and obstruction of justice trial begins in the U.S. Senate.
- January 25, 1999 Senators hear arguments about dismissing the charges against Clinton and then deliberate in secret.
- February 12, 1999 Clinton is acquitted of the two articles of impeachment: on the first charge of perjury, ten Republicans and all 45 Democrats voted not guilty; on the charge of obstruction of justice, the Senate was split 50–50.

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## Closed Captioning

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Closed captioning involves the display of subtitles superimposed over a portion of the television picture. These subtitles or captions are created to represent the audio portion of the television signal. Although initially developed for the hearing impaired, closed captioning can also be used as a teaching device by viewers learning a second language and by children, and even adults, who are learning to read.

Closed captioning can even be used as a convenience device by viewers who mute their TV to take a phone call but activate closed captioning to continue the program dialogue. Some newer television receivers

automatically display this captioning when the mute button is pushed.

Perhaps the most novel use of closed captioning occurs in restaurants and bars where television sets are on but the audio portion is muted. Many bars will have multiple sets tuned to one or more channels of interest to their clientele. These channels might include the cable sports network ESPN, the cable news outlets CNN and CNBC, or various local stations.

The captions are "closed" to the general viewing audience because television producers believe that a continuous display of alphanumeric data across a TV



screen is distracting and bothersome to the majority of viewers who are capable of following the dialogue aurally. Any viewer can choose to "open" the closed captioning, either by activating a switch on newer television sets or by using a separate decoder with older television sets that do not include the necessary decoder circuitry.

The decoder circuitry is designed to "read" the closed captions embedded in the vertical blanking interval. The vertical blanking interval is that 21-line portion of the 525-line National Television Systems Committee (NTSC) television signal that does not contain picture information. Various lines are used to carry technical data, and one of these lines is specifically reserved for closed captioning. The Advanced Television Systems Committee (ATSC) digital television signal carries closed captions as part of that signal's data bit stream.

The concept for closed captioning was conceived in 1971 by engineers at the National Bureau of Standards. Further development involved WGBH-TV, the Boston public television station; Gallaudet University, the leading U.S. university for the hearing impaired; and the National Technical Institute in Rochester, New York. In 1976 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) formally authorized the use of line 21, the last line of the vertical blanking interval, for this purpose.

Closed captioning received a major boost with the passage of the Television Decoder Circuitry Act of 1990. This law mandated the inclusion of closed-captioned circuitry in every television receiver with a screen of 13 inches or more that was manufactured, assembled, imported, or shipped in interstate commerce beginning July 1, 1993. Most receivers sold prior to that date did not include the circuitry, and viewers who wanted to access closed captions were required to purchase a separate decoder box for approximately \$160.

The National Captioning Institute, an independent, nonprofit corporation, worked with engineers to develop an inexpensive electronic chip that could perform the same function as the cumbersome decoder boxes. This chip, if included in every TV receiver, would cost as little as \$5, and this expense would presumably be absorbed into the total production cost of the sets. Citizen groups representing the hearing impaired lobbied Congress to enact legislation requiring the inclusion of a decoder chip in all receivers. Some opposition from manufacturers' groups was voiced during congressional hearings, but the overwhelming number of those testifying supported the legislation. The bill passed both the House and the Senate and was signed into law October 15, 1990.

Closed captioning is program dependent, and not all programs are captioned. Most network and syndicated programs are captioned, however, and the percentage continues to grow. Locally produced programs are less likely to be captioned since stations lack the technical and financial resources to provide this service. Most cities do have one or more local newscasts with captions. Initially, the cost of this service was underwritten by a local health care provider or a charitable foundation. More recently, a number of advertisers have been willing to underwrite the cost in exchange for an announcement or credit at the end of the program.

Captions appear in either "roll-up" or "pop-up" fashion. The captions roll up the screen if the program is being aired live. Live captioning is done by skilled professionals using court stenographic techniques who can transcribe speech as rapid as 250 words per minute. The lag time between the spoken word and the caption is one to five seconds. The captions are not always word-for-word transcripts, but they do closely approximate the verbal message.

Pop-up captions are used for prerecorded programs and for commercials. These captions can be prepared more leisurely and are timed to match the flow of dialogue on the TV screen. Also, an attempt is made to place the caption under the person speaking at the time. In a two-person dialogue, the caption would pop-up on either the left or right half of the screen depending on the position of the speaker. Various icons are used to symbolize sounds; for example, a musical note is placed next to the caption when a person is singing.

The most challenging captions involve live sports coverage since there is no way to anticipate what program participants will say. Newscasts are less difficult because the same TelePrompTer that cues on-air talent also cues the person preparing the captions.

Since the captions are encoded as part of the electronic signal, a closed-captioned program may be transmitted in any form: over-the-air broadcast, satellite, cable, video cassette, or video disc. Programs containing captions are noted with a (CC) following the program title in *TV Guide* and similar listings.

NORMAN FELSENTAL

*See also* **Language and Television**

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## Closed-Circuit Television

Closed-circuit television (CCTV) is a television transmission system in which live or prerecorded signals are sent over a closed loop to a finite and predetermined group of receivers, either via coaxial cable or as scrambled radio waves that are unscrambled at the point of reception.

CCTV takes numerous forms and performs functions ranging from image enhancement for the partially sighted to the transmission of pay-per-view sports broadcasts. Although cable television is technically a form of CCTV, the term is generally used to designate TV systems with more specialized applications than broadcast or cable television. In the United States, these specialized systems are not subject to regulation by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), although CCTV systems using scrambled radio waves are subject to common carrier tariffs and FCC conditions of service.

CCTV has many industrial and scientific applications, including electron microscopy, medical imaging, and robotics, but the term "closed-circuit TV" refers most often to security- and surveillance-camera systems. Other common forms of CCTV include live, on-site video displays for special events (e.g., conventions, arena sports, rock concerts); pay-per-view telecasts of sporting events such as championship boxing matches; and "in-house" television channels in hospitals, airports, racetracks, schools, malls, grocery stores, and municipal buildings.

The conception of many of these uses of CCTV technology dates back to the earliest years of television. In the 1930s and 1940s, writers such as *New York Times* columnist Orrin Dunlap predicted that closed-circuit TV systems would enhance industry, education, science, and commerce. Dunlap and other writers envisioned CCTV systems for supervising factory workers and for visually coordinating production in different areas of a factory, and they anticipated CCTV systems replacing pneumatic tubes in office communications. In the world of science, closed-circuit television was heralded as a way of viewing dangerous experiments as they took place; in the sphere of education, CCTV was seen as a way of bringing lessons simultaneously to different groups of students in a school or university.

Many of today's CCTV systems were first implemented in the years following World War II. For exam-

ple, pay-per-view closed-circuit sports broadcasts can be traced back to a postwar Hollywood invention known as "theater television," a CCTV system used for viewing sports in movie theaters that became a lucrative source of ancillary revenue for boxing promoters in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. With the growth of cable television and satellite delivery systems, CCTV telecasts have become an integral part of the business of sports today, not only in the boxing industry but also in horseracing, baseball, and golf.

Educational TV and video advertising in retail stores are other CCTV applications that originated in the post-World War II period. The controversial *Channel One News*, a commercial CCTV news program for schools founded in the 1980s, is only the latest of several CCTV experiments in education dating back to the 1950s. Today's "on-site" media industry, which places video advertising monitors in grocery stores, shopping malls, and other retail sites, dates back to a series of tests involving closed-circuit advertising in department stores that took place in the 1940s.

Although all of these applications of CCTV are fairly common, perhaps the most pervasive use of CCTV is for surveillance. Security cameras are now a



Mrs. Hal Roach Jr., Shari Roach, Howard Duff watch closed circuit broadcast of Notre Dame-Southern California football game at the Palm Springs Racquet Club, 1953.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

ubiquitous feature of many institutions and places, from the corrections facility to the convenience store, from the traffic stop to the Super Bowl. In prisons, CCTV systems reduce the costs of staffing and operating observation towers and make it possible to maintain a constant watch on all areas of the facility. CCTV is also used as a means of monitoring performance in the workplace; in 1992, according to an article in *Personnel Journal*, there were 10 million employees in the United States whose work was monitored via electronic security systems. Retail stores often install CCTV cameras as a safeguard against theft and robbery, a practice that municipal authorities have adopted as a way of curtailing crime in public housing and even on city streets. In the United Kingdom and United States, for example, police in several cities have installed closed-circuit cameras in busy public areas. Similar measures are taken to deter or detect terrorist attacks at major sporting events and other crowded gatherings.

These uses of CCTV technology are not neutral; indeed, they are often a matter of some controversy. These controversies center on the status of legal evidence acquired via closed-circuit TV and on the Orwellian implications of constant perceived surveillance. Police use of CCTV security cameras has led to charges of civil liberties violations. A 1978 survey on the topic of CCTV in the workplace found that 77 percent of employers interviewed supported the use of CCTV on the job. However, it also found that a majority of employees felt that CCTV in the workplace constituted an unwarranted intrusion and favored the passage of laws prohibiting such surveillance. The ascendancy of other sophisticated electronic employee surveillance technologies, such as keystroke monitoring of information workers, can sometimes render CCTV somewhat less important as a visual management technology.

In addition to these civil liberties issues, another controversy surrounding security cameras concerns their effectiveness in crime prevention. The purpose of CCTV surveillance is usually deterrence of, rather than intervention in, criminal acts. Many security cameras go unmonitored and are thus ineffective as a means of halting crimes in progress. This fact was forcefully demonstrated by a highly publicized juvenile murder case in England in 1992. After the discovery of the victim's body and the apprehension of the perpetrators, police discovered that the initial abduction had been recorded by a shopping center's security cameras.

Another controversy surrounding CCTV is its use in the courtroom. In 1985 the state of California passed a law allowing children to testify via CCTV in child mo-

lestation cases. In response to a similar ruling, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that this method of testimony was unconstitutional, as it violated a defendant's right to confront his or her accuser.

Although this particular case reflects a concern that the camera can somehow "lie" and that it is not equivalent to face-to-face interaction, the latest trends in CCTV applications seem to rely precisely on the equation of closed-circuit television with actual presence. New technological developments that seem to base themselves on this premise include "teleconferencing," an audiovisual communications form designed to allow individuals in different places to interact via CCTV hookups, and "virtual reality," imaging systems that use CCTV "goggles" in conjunction with advanced computer graphics and input devices to create the illusion of a three-dimensional, interactive environment for the viewer.

ANNA MCCARTHY

*See also Channel One News*

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CNN. See Cable News Network

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## Cock, Gerald (1887–1973)

British Broadcasting Executive and Producer

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Gerald Cock was appointed by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1935 to run its first television service (under the title "director of television"). At the time many BBC executives were skeptical about the value and potential of the new medium, and Cock's achievement during his short reign—the pre-World War II service began in November 1936 and was closed in September 1939—was to push for the expansion of the television service in the face of the BBC's reluctance to fund adequately what became known as the "Cinderella Service." Unlike many senior BBC executives, Cock regarded television as a natural successor to radio, rather than as a luxury or novelty.

Before joining the BBC during the 1920s, Cock spent a colorful youth in the Americas, gold mining and ranching in Alaska, Utah, and Mexico; he also worked as an extra in Hollywood. He started working for BBC radio during the 1920s and was appointed director of the Outside Broadcasts Department in 1925, where he encouraged the deployment of new technology and the development of new program forms, while often dealing with a competitive press.

The Selsdon Report of 1935 recommended that the BBC be given responsibility for the development of a regular high-definition television service; at the time television's potential as a medium of live immediacy meant that Cock's experience in the Outside Broadcasts Department—which aspired to be topical and

contemporary—made him an obvious choice to head the new division.

The service began regular transmissions in 1936 from Alexandra Palace. Despite few staff and two small studios, Cock was able to build up an effective and successful repertoire of program achievements—including the live televising of the coronation of George VI, tennis from Wimbledon, and even a program where Cock himself answered viewers' phoned-in questions. In fact, every type of program that was to become popular after the war was already attempted during these prewar years, in part because of the freedom to experiment that Cock allowed his producers.

The programming policy of the prewar service was overseen by Cock. He instigated a policy of "variety and balance," which was coordinated through Cecil Madden, program organizer and chief liaison with the producers. This policy was congruent with Cock's realization that television's main attraction was that it allowed viewers to "see at a distance" contemporary events. For him, this aspect of the medium was relevant not only to the relay of current showbiz personalities and sporting events but also to early television drama. As he put it in a 1939 *Radio Times* article:

Television is essentially a medium for topicalities. . . . An original play or specially devised television production might be a weekly feature. If a National Theatre were in being, close co-operation between it and the BBC might

have solved an extremely difficult problem. Excerpts from plays during their normal runs, televised from the studio or direct from the stage, with perhaps a complete play at the end of its run would have attractive possibilities as part of a review of the nation's entertainment activities. But, in my view television is from its very nature more suitable for the dissemination of all kinds of information than for entertainment.

Cock's view of television was clearly inflected by his previous career as director of Outside Broadcasts for BBC radio, where the broadcasts were conceived as informative and enabling rather than as entertainment; hence, the broadcast of "scenes" from current plays, congruent with Cock's overall attitude, served as informative views on the nature of contemporary drama and performance, while also providing a "what's on" function. Cock regarded television's function to be as a relay service, its key benefits and attractions provided by the Outside Broadcast. For Cock, therefore, there was no need for large studios to house spectacular drama productions.

However, the "Theatre Parade" relay of "scenes" from the West End theater was far less popular than the studio production of complete plays. This meant that the demands on studio time and space were heavy, demands that were exacerbated as the ambitions of producers and the length of programs increased.

Cock's vision for a topical television service was also undermined by underfunding and a general distrust of television by sports promoters and theater managers; contrary to received history, outside broadcasts of West End plays and scenes from plays were the exception after 1937, and the prewar television service largely consisted of what would later be considered studio-based light entertainment.

Unfortunately—and despite Cock's determined enthusiasm—current-affairs television was not developed until the mid-1950s, and BBC Television News in vision was not introduced until 1954 (this was because senior executives assumed that seeing the news announcer in vision would distract the viewer from important information).

However, Cock himself was indirectly responsible for the gradual development of current-affairs television. When the television service was closed in 1939,

Cock went on to work as North American representative for the BBC in New York and California. He later gave evidence to the Hankey Committee, which was appointed to consider the resurrection of the television service after the war, and he wrote a key 1945 document, "Report on the Conditions for a Post-War Television Service," which stressed that news and current affairs should be "a main feature of the new service." However, senior BBC management were to disregard Cock's suggestions for another ten years.

By the late 1940s, Cock was seriously ill. In 1948 a young radio producer, Grace Wyndham Goldie, had been offered a post in the television service; at the time she was working for the prestigious and highbrow Third Programme. Despite discouragement from two senior radio executives, it was Cock who encouraged her to work in television. Goldie was to become the single most important personality in the development of British current-affairs television, overseeing the development of programs such as *Panorama* and *Tonight*—precisely the kind of programs that Gerald Cock had envisaged as the sine qua non of television programming.

JASON J. JACOBS

#### *See also* **British Television**

**Gerald Cock.** Born in 1887. Educated at Tonbridge School; Seaford Park. Commissioned Royal Engineers, BEF, France, and Belgium, 1915–20; served as captain, 1917. Traveled in United States, British Columbia, Mexico, working various jobs, including gold mining and ranching, 1909–15; returned to United Kingdom, 1915; conducted business in London, 1920–24; first director of Outside Broadcasts, BBC, 1925; appointed first director of television, 1935; organized and directed first television service to be established in Europe, 1936–39; served as North American representative, BBC, 1940–41; Pacific Coast representative, BBC, 1942–45; retired, 1946. Member: Reform Club; Royal Victorian Order, 1935. Died November 10, 1973.

#### **Publication (selected)**

"Looking Forward, a Personal Forecast of the Future of Television," *Radio Times* (October 29, 1936)

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# Codco

## Canadian Sketch-Comedy Satire

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The name *Codco*, short for Cod Company, makes humorous reference to the origins of the TV show's cast and its production roots on the Canadian East Coast. Founded as a theatrical revue in the early 1970s in St. John's, Newfoundland, *Codco* drew on the island province's cultural history of self-deprecating "Newfie" humor, adopting the cod-fishing industry as local, fringe identity. From these theatrical and regional roots, the cast subsequently developed the half-hour, television comedy program of the same name, produced in the regional studio of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and on location in St. John's.

*Codco* was produced and nationally broadcast on the CBC for six seasons. In 1991 the program underwent a marked change without losing its satirical edge. In that year, Andy Jones, an original *Codco* theater co-founder and TV show member, left the TV cast to pursue solo theatrical projects. In 1993, just months before Tommy Sexton's death from AIDS-related causes, and Greg Malone's own departure, *Codco* went off the air. The death of the boyish, talented Sexton was a subject of national news and reflection on the role of humor in the television and cultural life of Canada from a Newfie point of view. The remaining core members of TV's *Codco*, Mary Walsh and Cathy Jones, teamed up with two fresh faces, East Coast writer-actors Rick Mercer and Greg Thomey, and returned in the 1993–94 season in a revamped half-hour newsmagazine satire, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*.

*Codco's* satire took aim at regional differences and national assumptions within Canada, attacking politics and politicians, sexism and gender roles, and the gay subtext of straight characters in television genres. The format for *Codco's* satire was sketch comedy, with sets, costumes, and makeup mimicking the sources under attack. The *Codco* members' theatrical roots trained them to develop detailed caricatures, performed with nuances that dismantled the source subjects, the CBC, and television itself as a medium compromised by commercialization. Spun from the collective writing and acting skills of the members, and ably directed by the experienced John Blanchard and David Acomba, *Codco* sketches revealed the tightness of well-rehearsed scene studies, exceeding the loose burlesque of *Saturday Night Live's* broad spoofs.

All four *Codco* cast members continued to cross-dress as they made the transition from regional theater company to national television show, and their ability to traverse sex roles played to *Codco's* long interest in social transgression and critique. Cathy Jones and Walsh portrayed a variety of males, from macho through wimpy, along with their femme fatales, "loud feminists," and pesky middle-aged, bingo-bent matrons. The sketches featuring the homely, dateless "Friday Night Girls" satirized the isolation of lone women who lack the glamour of the women they view on television. Walsh's Dakey Dunn, "Male Correspondent," replete with gold chain, hairy chest, cigarette, and beer in hand, might explain the local dilemma facing the Friday Night Girls. In one monologue, Dakey admits to not completing high school and, in crude English, lays out a macho view of economic and cultural matters as if his type is a male standard within Newfie life. Malone's Queen Elizabeth and Sexton and Malone's gay barristers personified a Canadian colonial condition and gay-rights emergence that only satire could accommodate on broadcast television.

In November 2001, nine years after Sexton's death, the CBC aired a retrospective biography, *Tommy: A Family Portrait*, chronicling Sexton's comedic legacy and struggle as gay son, valued sibling, and alternative performer working in the lively arts and music scene of St. John's. Part of Sexton's wider legacy includes the CBC special *The National Doubt* (1992), a collaboration with Malone and musical-theater satirist John Gray. *The National Doubt* featured two medieval characters (played by Sexton and Malone) crossing Canada to take the country's national pulse amid the regional climate that had developed since the Expo '67 celebrations 25 years earlier in Montreal.

Ivan Fecan, once the CBC's "wunderkind" and former director of television programming, nurtured *Codco's* place on the network, first in a late-night slot and later in prime time. Placed back-to-back with *Kids in the Hall* to constitute a prime-time hour of "adult" CBC programming (9 to 10 P.M.), the satiric heft of *Codco* and the *Kids* was enhanced by this yoking of the two shows. Both were driven by sharp comedic misbehavior—prominently, in the hour before the CBC's flagship newscast, *The National*.

JOAN NICKS

Codco

### Performers

Tommy Sexton  
Greg Malone  
Cathy Jones  
Mary Walsh  
Andy Jones

### Programming History

CBC  
63 episodes  
1987-93

### Further Reading

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## Coe, Fred (1914-1979)

U.S. Producer

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A prolific television, theater, and film producer and director, Fred Coe is closely identified with the "Golden Age" of live television. His television career started in 1945, when he became production manager for NBC in New York and worked with Worthington Miner on *Studio One*. In 1948 Coe began production of NBC's *Philco Television Playhouse*, a live dramatic-anthology series broadcast on Sunday evenings from 9:00 to 10:00. From 1951 to 1955, *Philco Television Playhouse* alternated with *Goodyear Television Playhouse* and became one of the top-rated programs of the early 1950s. Live programming of this type was used by NBC's programming chief Pat Weaver to differentiate television from motion pictures, to strengthen the network's ties with its affiliates, and to enlarge the audience for TV sets (manufactured by NBC's parent company, RCA).

Coe was noted for using unknown writers and directors who were able to create works tailored for the new medium: the writers included Paddy Chayefsky, Tad Mosel, Horton Foote, Gore Vidal, J.P. Miller, and Robert Alan Arthur; and the directors included Delbert Mann, Arthur Penn, and Vincent Donehue. Setting anthology drama on a course that established it as the most prestigious format on live television, Coe relied at first on TV adaptations of Broadway plays and musicals, then on literary classics, biographies, and old Hollywood movies, and finally on original television drama. The *Philco* series opened on October 3, 1948, with a one-hour version of George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber's *Dinner at Eight*. In 1952 Coe produced

the first play of the first playwright to achieve fame in television. The playwright was Paddy Chayefsky, and the play, *Holiday Song*. In 1953 Coe produced Chayefsky's *Marty*, with Rod Steiger in the title role. Directed by Delbert Mann, *Marty* became the most popular anthology drama of the period, winning many awards and even initiating a Hollywood production trend of films based on TV drama. The film *Marty*, produced by Harold Hecht and released through United Artists in 1955, won Academy Awards for Best Picture, Best Actor (Ernest Borgnine), Direction (Delbert Mann), and Original Screenplay (Paddy Chayefsky). Other notable Coe productions included Chayefsky's *The Bachelor Party*, Horton Foote's *The Trip to Bountiful*, and Tad Mosel's *Other People's Houses*. Productions such as these earned Coe and the *Philco Playhouse* the George Foster Peabody Award in 1954 and many other honors.

In 1954 Coe began producing *Producer's Showcase*, a 90-minute anthology series that aired every fourth Monday for three seasons. One aim of the series was to broadcast expensive color spectaculars to promote RCA's new color television system. The best example of this strategy was *Peter Pan*, a successful Broadway production of Sir James M. Barrie's fantasy that Coe brought to television almost intact. Starring Mary Martin, *Peter Pan* was broadcast on March 7, 1955, and was viewed by an estimated 65 to 75 million people, becoming the highest-rated show in TV's brief history. As a result of this memorable production and adaptations of such plays as Sherwood Anderson's *The*



Fred Coe.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

*Petrified Forest* (1955), which starred Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall in their TV dramatic debuts, and Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, which starred Paul Newman and Eva Marie Saint, Coe was awarded an Emmy for Best Producer of a Live Series in 1955.

NBC's programming strategies radically changed after 1956 to rely on the routines of series programming produced by West Coast suppliers on film. In 1957 Coe departed the network for CBS, where he produced *Playhouse 90* for three seasons. Among the best productions of the series were *Days of Wine and Roses* (1958), *The Plot to Kill Stalin* (1958), and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1959). Thereafter, Coe worked sporadically in television, producing specials for all three networks in the late 1960s and 1970s and producing and directing several episodes of *The Adams Chronicles* for PBS in 1976.

Anticipating the decline of live anthology drama on television, Coe brought anthology drama to Broadway by producing theatrical versions of TV plays by TV writers, among them William Gibson's *Two for the Seesaw* (1958) and *The Miracle Worker* (1959), Tad Mosel's *All the Way Home* (1960), and Herb Gardner's

*A Thousand Clowns* (1962). Coe even converted two TV plays into films—*The Miracle Worker* (1962) and *A Thousand Clowns* (1966). Coe's legacy is a tradition of programming demonstrating television's unique aspects as a medium of dramatic expression.

TINO BALIO

*See also Anthology Drama; Chayefsky, Paddy; "Golden Age" of Television; Goodyear Playhouse; Mann, Delbert; Peter Pan; Philco Television Playhouse; Playhouse 90*

**Fred Coe.** Born in Alligator, Mississippi, December 23, 1914. Attended Peabody Demonstration School, Nashville, Tennessee; attended Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville; studied at Yale Drama School, New Haven, Connecticut, 1938–40. Married: 1) Alice Griggs, 1940 (divorced), children: John and Laurence Anne; 2) Joyce Beeler, 1952; children: Sue Anne and Samuel Hughes. Ran community theater in Nashville; presented radio dramas on station WSM; production manager, NBC, New York (producing more than 500 hour-long teleplays), 1945; producer, *Philco-Goodyear Playhouse*, NBC, 1948–53; executive producer, *Mr. Peepers* series, 1952–53; producer, *Producers' Showcase*, 1954–55; producer, *Playwrights '56*, 1956; producer and director, *Playhouse 90*, CBS, produced such Broadway shows as *Two for the Seesaw*, *A Trip to Bountiful*, and *The Miracle Worker*; coproducer and director, various Broadway shows. Recipient: Writers Guild of America Evelyn Burkey Award; Peabody Award, 1954; Emmy Award, 1955. Died in Los Angeles, California, April 29, 1979.

#### Television Series

1948–53	<i>Philco Television Playhouse</i> and <i>Goodyear Television Playhouse</i>
1952–53	<i>Mr. Peepers</i> (executive producer)
1954–55	<i>Producers' Showcase</i>
1956	<i>Playwrights '56</i>
1956–61	<i>Playhouse 90</i> (also director)

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1979	<i>Miracle Worker</i> (producer)
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#### Teleplays (selected)

1949	<i>Philco Television Playhouse: What Makes Sammy Run?</i>
1949	<i>Philco Television Playhouse: The Last Tycoon</i>
1953	<i>Philco Television Playhouse: Marty</i>
1955	<i>Producers' Showcase: Peter Pan</i>



Coe, Fred

### Films

*The Left-Handed Gun* (producer), 1958; *Miracle Worker* (producer), 1962; *This Property Is Condemned* (writer), 1966.

### Stage

*Two for the Seesaw*; *A Trip to Bountiful*; *The Miracle Worker*; *All the Way Home* (coproducer); *A Thousand Clowns* (coproducer and director).

### Further Reading

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## Cole, George (1925– )

British Actor

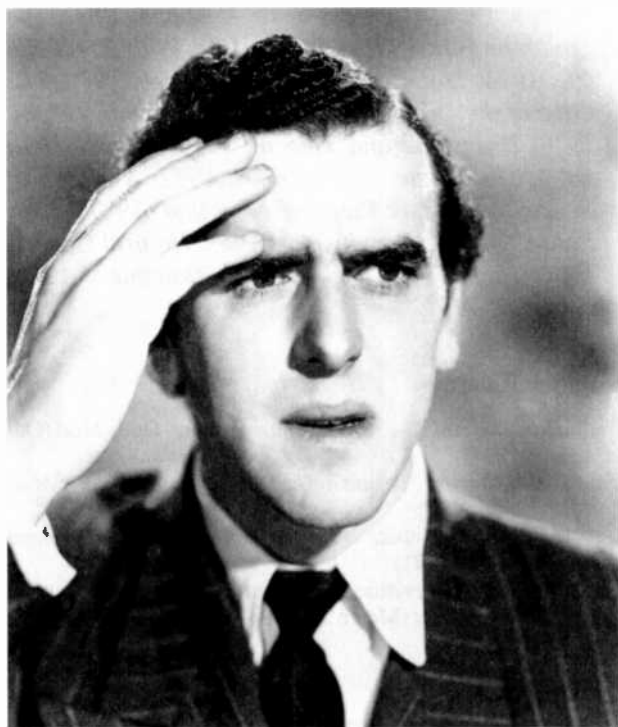
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George Cole, as his alter ego Arthur Daley in the long-running series *Minder*, is to countless British viewers the quintessence of the cockney spiv, a mischief-causing small businessman always with an eye to the main chance and often caught treading on the toes of the law. Endearingly convinced against all the evidence of his own cunning, and equally often driven to distraction by the comical collapse of his schemes, the irrepressible Daley, with his salesman's patter and naive pretensions as a big-time wheeler and dealer, became an icon for the 1980s, representing the materialist sub-yuppie culture that was fostered under the capitalist leadership of Margaret Thatcher. Every episode of the comedy series, which costarred Dennis Waterman as Daley's dim-witted but resolutely honest bodyguard-cum-assistant Terry McCann, featured the launch of another of Daley's shady schemes, or "nice little earners" as he called them, and culminated in the hapless secondhand car salesman and would-be executive being exposed for some fiddle or other and having to be rescued from arrest, physical assault, or worse by his long-suffering minder. Other troubles in Daley's life, from which he took refuge in his drinking club, the Winchester, came from "'Er indoors," the formidable Mrs. Daley, who was never seen.

*Minder*, written by Leon Griffiths and filmed in some of the less picturesque parts of London, was not an instant success. The first two series failed to con-

vince audiences, who welcomed Cole but were confused at the sight of tough-guy Dennis Waterman, fresh from the police series *The Sweeney*, taking a comic part. Thames Television persevered, however, and the public were gradually won over, the two stars becoming the highest-paid television actors in Britain. After six series, each billed as the last, Waterman finally withdrew to concentrate on other work, but Cole continued just a little longer, now with his nephew Ray (played by Gary Webster) as Terry's replacement.

The part of Arthur Daley was perfect for Cole, who had in fact been playing variations of the character for years on both the large and small screen (he made his film debut as early as 1941). He had been schooled in the finer points of comic acting as the protégé of the film comedian Alistair Sim and as a young man made a memorable impression as the cockney spiv Flash Harry, an embryonic Daley figure complete with funny walk, loud suits, catchy signature tune, and suitcase bulging with dodgy merchandise, in the *St. Trinian's* films of the 1950s. His television career took off in 1960, when he was seen as David Bliss in *A Life of Bliss*, which had started out as a radio series. Subsequently, he continued to be associated chiefly with similar cockney roles, as in *A Man of Our Times*, in which he played the manager of a small furniture store, although in reality he has played a much wider variety of parts—including an aspiring playwright in *Don't Forget to Write*, a dedicated com-



George Cole.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

munist in *Comrade Dad*, the aristocratic and much put-upon Sir Giles Lynchwood in Tom Sharpe's hilarious *Blott on the Landscape*, Henry Root in *Root into Europe*, and the absentminded central character in *Dad*, among other assorted characters.

It is, however, as the ever-likable if sometimes unscrupulous Arthur Daley that George Cole, an officer of the British Empire, is best known. Such is his identification with the part that the actor reports that he frequently has trouble getting people to accept his checks, fearing that they will not be honored by the banks because of his on-screen reputation. The extensive use of cockney rhyming slang by Daley in the 70-odd episodes that were made of *Minder* is also said, incidentally, to have done much to keep this linguistic oddity from extinction.

DAVID PICKERING

See also *Minder*; *Sweeney, The*

**George Cole.** Born in Tooting, London, England, April 22, 1925. Attended Surrey County Council Secondary School, Morden. Married: 1) Eileen Moore, 1954 (divorced, 1966); one son and one daughter; 2) Penelope Morrell, 1967; children: Tara and Toby. Served in Royal Air Force, 1943–47. Began career as stage actor in *The White Horse Inn* on tour, 1939; dis-

covered by Alistair Sim in 1940 to play a cockney evacuee in the film *Cottage to Let*, 1941; subsequently specialized in chirpy cockney roles, notably Flash Harry in the *St. Trinian's* films; established reputation on television with the role of David Bliss in *A Life of Bliss*, 1960–61; best known to television audiences as Arthur Daley in the long-running series *Minder*. Order of the British Empire, 1992.

#### Television Series

1960–61	<i>A Life of Bliss</i>
1968	<i>A Man of Our Times</i>
1977–79	<i>Don't Forget to Write</i>
1979–85	<i>Minder</i>
1982–83	<i>The Bounder</i>
1984–85	<i>Heggerty Haggerty</i>
1984, 1986	<i>Comrade Dad</i>
1985	<i>Blott on the Landscape</i>
1988–94	<i>Minder</i>
1992	<i>Root into Europe</i>
1995–96	<i>My Good Friend</i>
1997–99	<i>Dad</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie (selected)

1985	<i>Minder on the Orient Express</i>
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#### Films

*Cottage to Let*, 1941; *Those Kids from Town*, 1942; *Fiddling Fuel*, 1943; *The Demi-Paradise*, 1943; *Henry V*, 1944; *Journey Together*, 1945; *My Brother's Keeper*, 1948; *Quartet*, 1948; *The Spider and the Fly*, 1949; *Morning Departure*, 1949; *Gone to Earth*, 1949; *Flesh and Blood*, 1951; *Laughter in Paradise*, 1951; *Scrooge*, 1951; *Lady Godiva Rides Again*, 1951; *The Happy Family*, 1952; *Folly to Be Wise*, 1952; *Who Goes There?*, 1952; *Top Secret*, 1952; *The Clue of the Missing Ape*, 1953; *Will Any Gentleman*, 1953; *Apes of the Rock*, 1953; *The Intruder*, 1953; *Our Girl Friday*, 1953; *Happy Ever After*, 1954; *The Belles of St. Trinian's*, 1954; *An Inspector Calls*, 1954; *Where There's a Will*, 1955; *A Prize of Gold*, 1955; *The Constant Husband*, 1955; *The Adventures of Quentin Durward*, 1955; *It's a Wonderful World*, 1956; *The Weapon*, 1956; *The Green Man*, 1956; *Blue Murder at St. Trinian's*, 1957; *Too Many Crooks*, 1958; *Don't Panic Chaps*, 1959; *The Bridal Path*, 1959; *The Pure Hell of St. Trinian's*, 1961; *The Anatomist*, 1961; *Cleopatra*, 1962; *Dr. Syn Alias the Scarecrow*, 1963; *One Way Pendulum*, 1964; *The Legend of Young Dick Turpin*, 1965; *The Great St. Trinian's Train Robbery*, 1966; *The Green Shoes*, 1968; *The Right Prospectus*, 1970; *The Vampire Lovers*, 1970; *Girl in the Dark*,

Cole, George

1971; *Fright*, 1971; *Take Me High*, 1973; *Gone in 60 Seconds*, 1974; *The Blue Bird*, 1976; *Double Nickels*, 1978; *Mary Reilly*, 1996.

#### Radio

*A Life of Bliss* (series); *Sexton's Tales*, 1996, 1997.

#### Stage (selected)

*The White Horse Inn*, 1939; *Cottage to Let*, 1940; *Goodnight Children*, 1942; *Mr. Bolfry*, 1943; *Dr. Angelus*, 1947; *The Anatomist*, 1948; *Mr. Gillie*, 1950; *A Phoenix too Frequent*, 1951; *Thor with Angels*, 1951; *Misery Me*, 1955; *Mr. Bolfry*, 1956; *Brass Butterfly*, 1958; *The Bargain*, 1961; *The Sponge Room*, 1962; *Squat Betty*, 1962; *Meet Me on the Fence*, 1963; *Hedda Gabler*, 1964; *A Public Mischief*, 1965; *Too True to Be Good*, 1965; *The Waiting Game*, 1966; *The Three Sisters*, 1967; *Doubtful*

*Haunts*, 1968; *The Passionate Husband*, 1969; *The Philanthropist*, 1971; *Country Life*, 1973; *Déjà Revue*, 1974; *Motive*, 1976; *Banana Ridge*, 1976; *The Case of the Oily Levantine*, 1977; *Something Afoot*, 1978; *Brimstone and Treacle*, 1979; *Liberty Hall*, 1980; *The Pirates of Penzance*, 1982; *A Month of Sundays*, 1986; *A Piece of My Mind*, 1987; *Peter Pan*, 1987; *The Breadwinner*, 1989; *Natural Causes*, 1993; *Theft*, 1995; *Lock Up Your Daughters*, 1996; *Heritage*, 1997.

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Truss, Lynne, "Television Workhorses Finally Put Out to Grass," *The Times* (March 10, 1994)

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## Colgate Comedy Hour, The

### U.S. Variety Show

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For approximately five and a half seasons, NBC's *Colgate Comedy Hour* presented big-budget musical variety television as head-to-head competition for *Ed Sullivan's Toast of the Town* on CBS. Featuring the top names in vaudeville, theater, radio, and film, this live Sunday-evening series was the first starring vehicle for many notable performers turning to television. Reflecting format variations by host, *The Colgate Comedy Hour* initially offered musical comedy, burlesque sketches, opera, and/or nightclub comedy revues.

In his autobiography *Take My Life*, comedian Eddie Cantor recalled proposing to NBC that he was prepared to host a television show but only once every four weeks in rotation with other comics. Colgate-Palmolive-Peet picked up the tab for three of the four weeks, and *The Colgate Comedy Hour* was born with Cantor, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, and Fred Allen as hosts. The fourth show of the month was sponsored originally by Frigidaire and appeared for a short time under the title *Michael Todd's Revue*, with Todd producing and comic Bobby Clark scheduled to alternate with Bob Hope as host.

Cantor premiered *The Colgate Comedy Hour* on September 10, 1950, to rave reviews. Working the thread of a storyline into the show for continuity, the veteran performer took his material out of the realm of vaudeville and turned it into more of a legitimate Broadway attraction. Martin and Lewis met with similar success. Dominating their hour, the energetic duo created a nightclub setting whose intimacy and ambience the trade press found continuously funny. Allen, on the other hand, found the large-scale theatrical nature of the format too demanding and out of character for his more relaxed style of humor. Attempting to transfer elements of his successful radio show to video, he met only with disappointment. This was especially true when the characters of his famous Allen's Alley were foolishly turned into puppets. A kindly *Time* magazine reviewer noted in the October 2, 1950, issue of the magazine that the show did sizzle "with much of Allen at his best," but, realistically, it also "fizzled occasionally with some of Allen at his worst." Allen showed improvement on subsequent telecasts but was retired from the series after his fourth broad-

cast. Bitter about his experience, he promised he would not return to television unless provided a low-key format comparable to Dave Garroway's Chicago-based *Garroway at Large*. Clark produced better ratings and reviews than Allen, but ultimately he and the *Michael Todd Revue* suffered a similar fate.

Premiering with Jackie Gleason in its second season, *The Colgate Comedy Hour* was the highest-budgeted single-sponsor extravaganza on television, with Colgate-Palmolive-Peet picking up a \$3 million a year talent-production-time tab. Back for their second year were Cantor and Martin and Lewis with Gleason, Abbott and Costello, Spike Jones, Tony Martin, and Ezio Pinza slotted as starters. Ratings remained high for the original hosts, but the Sullivan show began producing high-budget specials that chipped away at the Colgate numbers when the new hosts appeared.

During the second season, *The Colgate Comedy Hour* also became the first commercial network series to originate on the West Coast when Cantor hosted his program from Hollywood's El Capitan Theatre on September 30, 1951. Two years later, on November 22, 1953, a Donald O'Connor *Comedy Hour* became the first sponsored network program to be telecast in color. In an FCC-approved test of RCA's new compatible color system, several hundred persons monitored the broadcast in specially equipped viewing booths at a site distant from the Colgate production theater.

Despite an annual budget estimated at more than \$6 million, during the 1953–54 season *The Colgate Comedy Hour* began to experience problems. Many performers, hard pressed to generate new material continually, were considered stale and repetitious. Cantor and Martin and Lewis were still highly rated regulars, but Cantor was feeling stressed. The diminutive showman had suffered a heart attack after a *Comedy Hour* appearance in September 1952, and now nearly 60 years of age, he felt the work too demanding. This would be his last season. To attract and maintain an audience, new hosts, including the popular Jimmy Durante, were absorbed from NBC's faltering *All Star Revue*. Occasional "book" musicals, top-flight shows such as *Anything Goes* with Ethel Merman and Frank Sinatra, were produced. *The Comedy Hour* also began to tour, providing viewers with special broadcasts from glamorous locations—New York seen from the deck of the *SS United States*, among others.

During the 1954–55 season, the Sullivan show made significant inroads on *The Colgate Comedy Hour's* ratings. Martin and Lewis made fewer appearances, and an emphasis was placed on performers working in big settings such as the Hollywood Bowl and Broadway's Latin Quarter. During the summer, Colgate collabo-



*The Colgate Comedy Hour.*

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

rated with Paramount Pictures, the latter supplying guest stars and film clips from newly released motion pictures. The show moved away from comedy headliners; actor Charlton Heston hosted as did orchestra leader Guy Lombardo and musical star Gordon MacRae. To reflect these differences, the show's name was changed to the *Colgate Variety Hour*, but despite the changes, for the first time in its history, the series dropped out of the top 25 in Nielsen ratings while Sullivan moved into the top five.

A feuding Martin and Lewis kicked off the last season of the *Colgate Variety Hour* to good reviews, but subsequent shows proved it had become increasingly difficult to sustain acceptable ratings for a series of this budget magnitude. On December 11, 1955, Sullivan drew an overnight Trendex of 42.6. The *Variety Hour's* salute to theatrical legend George Abbott came in a distant third with a dismal 7.2. Two weeks later, on December 25, 1955, the Colgate series quietly left the air following a Christmas music broadcast by Fred Waring and his Pennsylvanians. Replaced with the poorly conceived *NBC Comedy Hour*, featuring unlikely host Leo Durocher, one of the most lavish, entertaining, and

## Colgate Comedy Hour, The

at times extraordinary musical variety series in television history was just a memory. In May 1967, NBC presented a *Colgate Comedy Hour* revival, but it was a revival in name only—not in format or in star value.

JOEL STERNBERG

### Principal Hosts

Eddie Cantor (1950–54)  
Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis (1950–55)  
Fred Allen (1950)  
Donald O'Connor (1951–54)  
Lou Abbott and Bud Costello (1951–54)  
Bob Hope (1952–53)  
Jimmy Durante (1953–54)  
Gordon MacRae (1954–55)  
Robert Paige (1955)

### Producers

Charles Friedman, Sam Fuller

### Programming History

NBC

September 1950–December 1955 Sunday 8:00–9:00

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## Collins, Bill (1935– )

### Australian Television Personality

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Bill Collins has been described as “Mr. Movies of Australia.” He has presented films on television and on video since 1963 and has come to seem like a trusted and enthusiastic guarantor of whatever film he happens to be presenting. As a high school English teacher, long interested in the cinema and its possible role in the classroom, he completed a master’s degree in education (studying the role of film in education) and took a position as a lecturer in English at the Sydney Teachers College. He regularly introduced trainee teachers to the place of film in the high school English curriculum.

In 1963, he made his first appearance on television, producing and presenting a series of filmed segments on film appreciation. That same year he compiled a weekly column in the better of Australia’s television guides, *TV Times*, titled “The Golden Years of Hollywood.” The column consisted of a series of reviews of upcoming Hollywood films to be screened on Australia’s three commercial networks as well as the public broadcaster, the ABC. Collins’s reviews were invariably to the point and reliable in their production credits at a time when that kind of information was not

so easily available as it is nowadays. To write his reviews, Collins was having to preview many of the films. It seemed quite logical, then, when TCN Channel 9 (owned by Consolidated Press, which copublished *TV Times* with the ABC) decided to have Collins host a Saturday-night movie, with the generic name of *The Golden Years of Hollywood*. Collins continued to host the Saturday-night movie on Channel 9 in Sydney until 1975, when he moved to the Seven Network. Channel 9 disputed that Collins had the legal right to call his Saturday-night movie program *The Golden Years of Hollywood*, and so the Seven program became *Bill Collins’ Golden Years of Hollywood*. The change suited Collins because his career as a movie host was now taking off. His Saturday-night movie was now increasingly seen nationally, and as his earnings increased Collins quit his teaching job to concentrate full time on his television work. At Seven, Collins began to host a Sunday daytime film, *Bill Collins’ Picture Time*, and also a more general program featuring film clips and promotion for new releases, *Bill Collins’ Show Business*.

Collins moved yet again in 1980 in a move that made him even busier. Rupert Murdoch had recently acquired the third commercial network, which he re-named Network Ten. The latter had always lagged in the ratings, and Murdoch was determined to change this situation even if it meant spending a lot of money—to hire Collins away. Collins now became a national figure to the point that other movie hosts on regional stations ceased to have any importance and little recognition. By this time he seemed to be everywhere. Not only did he host a double feature on Saturday night under the old title of *The Golden Years of Hollywood*, a double feature on Sunday lunchtime and afternoon, the midday movie during the week on a capital-city-by-capital-city basis but also an afternoon book review and promotion program. Thanks both to the size of his program budgets as well as his commercial standing, Collins was able to do live interviews with major Hollywood actors, including his favorite, Clint Eastwood. He also published two books, lavishly illustrated, on his favorite films. In addition Collins hosted his own series of Hollywood feature films on video: *Bill Collins' Movie Collection*. Collins also made professional visits to fans across the country, these taking the form of breakfasts and lunches. To carry out these massive commitments, Collins now had a staff of researchers and his own press and publicity agents. In 1987, because of the introduction of new cross-ownership rules in Australian media, Murdoch sold off Network Ten. Collins continued there until 1994. The network suffered from financial problems, so there was a curtailment of his programs. However, in 1995, he in effect rejoined the Murdoch camp when he began presenting films on Australia's first cable network, Foxtel, owned and operated by Murdoch's News Corporation and Telstra Corporation. Collins now hosts films produced by Twentieth Century Fox on Foxtel Channel.

There is no gainsaying the achievement of Bill Collins. He appeared on Australian television at a time when Hollywood films, not only of the 1930s and 1940s but also of the 1950s, were becoming available for television programming. He has helped to make Hollywood films popular with generations who were born after the Hollywood studio era. As befits a former teacher, his introductions to particular films are invariably interesting, enthusiastic, and well researched. He will often display a still or a poster, brandish the book on which a film is based (he has an extensive collection of these, often extremely rare books), or play some of a film's theme music. All of these ploys are in the service of not only giving the audience particular



Bill Collins.  
Photo courtesy of Bill Collins

features to look for in the upcoming film but also contextualizing the film in terms of such frames as the biography of one of the leading figures. Nor has Collins been afraid to expose his audience to some of the fruits of more critical research with references to such material as a critical study of John Ford or an article in the U.S. film studies journal *The Velvet Light Trap*. Altogether Bill Collins is one of the most durable and valuable figures in the history of Australian television.

ALBERT MORAN

**Bill Collins.** Born in Sydney, Australia, 1935. Educated at Sydney University, B.A., M.A., Dip.Ed., and M.Ed. Taught in high school for four years; university lecturer; began reviewing movies in print (*TV Times*) and on television (ABC Television), 1963; moved from ABC to commercial station TCN Channel 9, 1967–75; movie host, ATN Channel 7 Sydney, 1975–79; presented movies nationally on the Network Ten, 1980–94; currently presenting movies on the Foxtel movie network. Awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for his services to film and television in 1987.

## Color Television

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The early stages of color television experimentation in the United States overlap with the technological development of monochromatic television. Color television was demonstrated by John Logie Baird as early as 1928, and a year later by Bell Telephone Laboratories. Experimental color broadcasting was initiated in 1940, when the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) publicly demonstrated a field-sequential color television broadcasting system. This system employed successive fields scanned one at a time in one of three colors: red, blue, or green. On the receiver end, a mechanical color wheel was used to reconstitute these three colors in sequence enabling reproduction of the colors in the original scene. In their 1941 report confirming the National Television Systems Committee (NTSC) monochromatic standards, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) noted the potential benefits of the CBS color system but concurred with the NTSC assessment that color television required further testing before it could be standardized.

Further refinement of color television was temporarily suspended during World War II. After the war, work on the development of color TV resumed, and engineers were able to design a system that would operate within the 6-megahertz channel allocation that had been established for black-and-white service. In a hearing that began on September 26, 1949, and lasted for 62 days, CBS petitioned the FCC for commercialization of its 6-megahertz, 405-line, 144-fields-per-second field-sequential color system. Because of the higher scanning rate, such a system was not compatible with the existing monochromatic standard.

The economic costs of adopting an incompatible system were a major factor in the FCC deliberations. If adopted, it appeared that consumers would carry the cost of modifying the existing 2 million monochrome receivers to follow the higher field-sequential scanning rates and reproduce color signal transmissions in monochrome. The projected costs of this modification varied, with a low figure of about \$25. In addition, it was also argued that when broadcasters elected to begin color service, they would lose that portion of the audience that had not yet modified their monochrome receivers.

At the hearings, work on several experimental electronic color systems designed to be compatible with the existing monochrome system was presented to the com-

mission. Color Television, Incorporated (CTI) demonstrated its line-sequential color system, which assigned the color portion of the signal to the successive lines of the image. In the first field, the uppermost line was scanned in green, the next line in blue, the next in red, and so on until the first field was complete. The second field was scanned in a similar manner, and the combination of the two fields produced a complete picture in color. The system operated at 525 lines, and 60 fields a second, corresponding to the existing monochrome service. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) demonstrated its dot-sequential color system in which color is assigned to successive picture elements, or dots, of the image. With this system, each line of any field is composed of dots in the colors of red, blue, and green. The scanning system for this color design (525/60) was also identical to the existing monochrome standard. Both the CTI and RCA color system were formally proposed to the commission as potential standards. In addition to these proposals, preliminary development of several other color systems were also presented. To many of the industry witnesses appearing before the commission, the demonstrations and discussions indicated that a satisfactory compatible system could be developed in a reasonable period of time, and they urged that a decision regarding color be postponed.

Examining the various proposed color systems, the FCC determined that the shortcomings of the compatible systems were fundamental and noted that if a viable alternative compatible system could not be developed and the field-sequential color system was eventually adopted, the costs of modifying an even greater number of monochrome receivers would be prohibitive, denying the public color service altogether. The commission therefore concluded that it was unwise to delay the decision and on October 10, 1950, decided that the adoption of the color field-sequential system proposed by CBS was in the public interest. RCA appealed this decision all the way to the Supreme Court, but the commission's actions were upheld. The CBS station in New York began regular color broadcasts on June 25, 1951. However, because of the military demands of the Korean War and the reallocation of resources toward the war effort, color receiver production could not be dramatically increased. On October 19, 1951, CBS discontinued color broadcasts due to the limited numbers of color receivers.

It was in this context that the NTSC, the entity that played a key role in setting monochrome standards in the United States, was reactivated to investigate the status of compatible color systems. On July 21, 1953, two years after its first meeting, the second NTSC approved a compatible all-electronic color television dot-sequential system (a modified version of RCA's system) and petitioned the FCC for adoption. On December 17, 1953, the FCC formally adopted a compatible color standard.

After the color standard was set in 1953, broadcasting stations were fairly quick to upgrade their transmission facilities to provide for color programming. Of the 158 stations operating in the top 40 cities, 106 had adopted color capabilities by 1957. Color programming offerings, however, remained fairly limited for quite some time. Although NBC increased its output of color programming to help its parent company, RCA, sell color receivers, the other major networks were not as supportive of this new innovation. As late as 1965, CBS provided only 800 hours of color programming for the entire year, and ABC only 600 hours. In addition to the limited programming, early sets were somewhat cumbersome to adjust for proper color reception, receiver prices remained fairly high, and manufacturers were reluctant to promote color receivers until the lucrative black-and-white market had

been saturated. Consequently, consumers were fairly slow to adopt color technology. As of 1965, only 10 percent of U.S. homes had a color set. It was not until the late 1960s, more than a decade after the standard was set, that color TV sales rose significantly. Today, approximately 95 percent of all U.S. homes have color television.

DAVID F. DONNELLY

*See also* **Technology, Television**

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## Colorization

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Colorization is a computerized process that adds color to a black-and-white movie or TV program. The process was invented by Wilson Markle and was first used in 1970 to add color to monochrome footage of the moon from the Apollo mission. In 1983 Markle founded Colorization, Inc. The word "colorization" soon became a generic name for the adding of color to black-and-white footage.

The process of colorizing a movie begins with a monochrome film print, preferably a new print struck from the original negative. From the film print, a high-quality videotape copy is made. Technicians, aided by a computer, determine the gray level of every object in every shot and note any movement of objects within shots. A computer adds color to each object, while keeping gray levels the same as in the monochrome original. Which color to use for which object is determined through common sense (green for grass, blue

for the ocean) or by investigation. For example, movie studio photographs or costume vaults may provide guidance as to what color a hat should be. In cases where no such guidance is available, colorists pick their own colors, presumably with some aesthetic sensibility.

Colorization is an expensive and time-consuming process. *Popular Mechanics* reported in 1987 that colorizing a movie cost more than \$3,000 per minute of running time. The economic justification for such an expenditure lay in audience demand. *Variety* estimated in 1988 that while it cost \$300,000 to colorize an old movie, the revenue generated by the release of the colorized version was \$500,000. This revenue came mostly from television syndication, although videocassette release was also important in some cases. Another important consideration was the opportunity to claim new copyrights on old films, thus



extending the film's potential life as a profit center for the owner.

Colorization became extremely controversial in the late 1980s, especially with regard to "classic" monochrome films such as *Citizen Kane* (which ultimately was not colorized), *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, and *It's a Wonderful Life*. With some exceptions, the dispute pitted film directors and critics (who opposed colorization) against copyright owners (who favored it). Among its opponents, TV critic Eric Mink viewed colorization as a "bastardization" of film. The Writers Guild of America West called it "cultural vandalism."

The case against colorization is most often couched in moral terms. According to this reasoning, colorization violates the moral right of the film director to create a work of art that has a final, permanent form and that will not be subject to alteration years later by unauthorized parties. Moral rights of artists, recognized in other countries, have no standing in U.S. law, which gives preference to the *property* rights of copyright holders. In film and television, the copyright holder is almost always a large film studio or production company, which employs the director as an author-for-hire, so to speak. To an extent, the battle over colorization was an attempt by directors and other creative artists to prevent further erosion of their power to control their own work.

This position was often framed, somewhat spuriously, in more high-minded terms. For example, it was argued that colorization is an affront to film history. According to this line of thinking, the color version of a film drives the original monochrome version out of circulation, with the result that some viewers may not understand that *Casablanca* was shot in black and white. Similarly, as Stuart Klawans notes, the viewer might erroneously conclude that a color film such as *Gone with the Wind* was originally shot in monochrome and later colorized. If colorization can deceive to this extent, it must have a fairly convincing appearance, and, indeed, image quality and craftsmanship were probably the least-often-heard objections to colorizing.

As more movie "classics" became involved, the reaction against colorization took on the flavor of a moral panic. With colorization frequently the object of ridicule, the case in favor of the process became largely a defensive one: colorization does not harm the black-and-white original, and in fact it encourages restoration of the original film and the striking of new prints; colorization is no more meddlesome than other, generally accepted practices in the televising of movies, such as interruption for commercials, editing for TV, cropping, time compression, and panning and

scanning (not to mention the reduction in image size and the possibility of watching a color movie on a monochrome TV set); finally, any viewer who is offended by the color image can turn off the chroma on the TV set and watch in black and white.

It is worth emphasizing that the product of colorization is a video recording, not a film print. When a movie is colorized, nothing bad happens to the original film print, and the colorized version can only be watched on TV. Ultimately, the greatest impact of colorization may be upon old, monochrome TV series, if and when colorization loses its stigma. Indeed, one of the original ideas behind colorization was the creation of quasi-new TV series. As Earl Glick put it in 1984, "You couldn't make *Wyatt Earp* today for \$1 million an episode. But for \$50,000 a segment, you can turn it into color and have a brand new series—with no residuals to pay." As logical as this may sound, only *McHale's Navy* and a few other series have been colorized.

The controversy surrounding colorization rapidly died down after the late 1980s. Demand for colorized movies declined drastically. Ted Turner, owner of hundreds of MGM, Warner Bros., and RKO titles and colorization's most outspoken advocate at the height of the controversy, quietly stopped releasing colorized movies. As of 2001, existing colorized versions of movies and TV programs are only rarely aired on TV, and not many titles are available in video stores. The main legacy of colorization is the National Film Registry, established by Congress in 1988 in response to the colorization controversy. The registry is a list of films, selected by experts and expanded annually, that, if colorized, will have to be labeled with a disclaimer. As Klawans points out, the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on compiling the registry would be much better spent on actual film (not to mention television) preservation.

GARY BURNS

#### See also **Movies on Television**

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## Coltrane, Robbie (1950– )

British Actor

Robbie Coltrane is one of Britain's most popular and versatile actors. During the 1980s, he became a household name following a succession of spirited comedic stage, cinema, and small-screen appearances. In the 1990s, Coltrane's celebrity developed internationally, with his acting repertoire maturing to include dramatic roles, as befitted his more mellow temperament and professional confidence.

In the mid-1970s, Coltrane became involved in repertory theater in Edinburgh, before a brief stint in New York, where he participated in several experimental films. Returning to England, Coltrane achieved his first major stage success in *The Slab Boys*, a bitter-sweet trilogy about Glaswegian youth written by ex-college mate John Byrne. Relocating to London in the early 1980s, Coltrane became associated with the city's burgeoning, politically charged stand-up comedy movement. There he headlined alongside the likes of Rik Mayall, Jennifer Saunders, Ade Edmondson, and Dawn French—to name only a few of the talents who would soon become, collectively and individually, the core of British broadcasting's "alternative" comedy. Coltrane's first television credits were earned in various programs, taking first sketch then narrative forms, centered around the satirical humor generated by this new-wave troupe. He costarred in *A Kick Up the Eighties* and *Laugh??? I Nearly Paid My Licence Fee*; he was a regular in *The Comic Strip Presents*; and he frequently appeared as minor characters in shows such as *Blackadder's Christmas Carol*.

Effortlessly humorous, yet sharply critical, Coltrane proved to be an immediate audience favorite. Full-bodied and unpretentious, the Scotsman was often bracketed with his fellow comedic social commentator Alexei Sayle. But whereas Sayle was manic and edgy, constantly exposing his personal identity, Coltrane's exuberant delivery was channeled into his role-playing and his amazing ability to parody the self-righteous

through imitation. The Scot's capacity to produce more mainstream material is evident in his prodigious work record, his marketability as a celebrity endorser of commercial products, and his mass appeal across a variety of audiences and age groups.

Coltrane's enthusiasm for his performances is unassailable. His own personal passions and vices—chain-smoking, 1950s cars, an appreciation for the style (if not the substance) of Chandleresque masculinity—have become recurrent motifs that function as backdrops to his stage and screen personae. Since the mid-1980s, Coltrane has rapidly progressed from supporting roles in such successful feature films as *Mona Lisa* and *Defence of the Realm* to made-to-measure, screen-stealing leads in *Henry V* (an homage to Orson Welles amid a tribute to Sir Laurence Olivier), *Nuns on the Run*, and *The Pope Must Die!* Occasionally miscast as a genial funnyman, Coltrane has starred in his share of lightweight comedies. However, as a known box-office property, he is now able to choose his Hollywood offers more selectively—for example, electing to play the villain in the James Bond revivals *Goldeneye* (1995) and *The World Is Not Enough* (1999), and taking on the role of Hagrid the giant caretaker in the blockbuster *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001; U.S. release as *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*).

Coltrane's maturity as a thespian has been achieved less in cinema than on the stage and in his television performances, where his ability to convincingly portray complex characters and convey contradictory emotions has more fully developed. His own enigmatic personality (jocular and acutely perceptive, sensitive, forthright, both worldly and down-to-earth) combined with his penchant for panache (with its mixture of grand style and garish display) often surface in his TV roles. As Danny McGlone in the hit 1987 miniseries *Tutti Frutti*, Coltrane portrayed the endearing,



Robbie Coltrane.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

egotistical front man of the Majestics, a group of aging rock 'n' rollers touring Scotland in search of newfound fame and fortune. The critical and popular acclaim accorded this black comedy was due in large measure to the affectionately self-mocking tone of John Byrnes's screenplays. He and Coltrane again collaborated several years later on the seriocomic historical adaptation *Boswell and Johnson's Tour of the Western Isles*. Coltrane's theatrical versatility, comedic range, and gallery of accents were evident in his interpretation of Dario Fo's antiestablishment satire *Mistero Buffo*. Juggling the anger, hostility, and humor of the numerous characterizations required in this one-man show, Coltrane performed the play at British venues in 1990, prior to its broadcast as a BBC miniseries.

That year marked a turning point for the Scotsman, who married and retreated to the more sedate pace of a

converted Stirlingshire farmhouse. Proclaiming his hell-raising years to be over, Coltrane consciously sought dramatic roles. In a part written for him by social realist Jimmy McGovern, Coltrane played Dr. Eddie Fitzgerald, a forensic psychologist for the Manchester police force, in Granada TV's *Cracker*. "Fitz" applies his incredible mental agility to outwit suspects and solve a series of heinous crimes, all the while evidencing shortcomings of his own brought on by personal overindulgence and "deviant" behavior (drinking, smoking, debt, domestic ruin). Extremely well received in Britain and North America, *Cracker*'s nine stories represent Coltrane's most accomplished screen performance to date—one rewarded with numerous industry honors, including the British Academy of Film and Television Arts' Award for Best Television Actor in 1995.

MATTHEW MURRAY

See also *Cracker*

**Robbie Coltrane.** Born Anthony McMillan in Rutherglen, Glasgow, Scotland, March 31, 1950. Attended Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire; Glasgow School of Art. One son with partner Rhona Irene Gemmell. Began career as actor with the Traverse Theatre Company and Borderline Theatre Company, Edinburgh; worked briefly as stand-up comedian in the United States, late 1970s, then returned to England to appear in various alternative television comedy shows and dramas; subsequently established reputation as character actor in films; returned to the United States to develop film career, 1989. Recipient: Montreux Television Festival Silver Rose Award, 1987; *Evening Standard* Peter Sellers Award, 1991; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1993, 1994, 1995; Monte Carlo Silver Nymph Best Actor Award, 1994; BPG Best Actor Award, 1994; Royal Television Society Best Actor Award, 1994; FIPA (French Academy) Best Actor Award, 1994; Cable Ace Best Actor Award, 1994; Cannes Film Festival Best Actor Award, 1994.

#### Television Series

1981–84	<i>A Kick Up the Eighties</i>
1987	<i>Tutti Frutti</i>
1992	<i>Coltrane in a Cadillac</i>
1993	<i>Boswell and Johnson's Tour of the Western Isles</i>
1993–96	<i>Cracker</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1991	<i>Alive and Kicking</i>
1997	<i>Ebb Tide</i>
2000	<i>Alice in Wonderland</i>

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1981 *81 Take 2*  
 1982–92 *The Comic Strip Presents* (“Five Go Mad in Dorset,” “Beat Generation,” “War,” “Summer School,” “Five Go Mad on Mescaline,” “The Strike,” “Gino: Full Story and Pics,” “GLC,” “South Atlantic Raiders,” “Demonella,” “Jealousy”)  
 1983 *The Crystal Cube*  
 1985 *Laugh??? I Nearly Paid My Licence Fee*  
 1986 *Hooray for Hollywood*  
 1988 *Blackadder’s Christmas Carol*  
 1990 *Mistero Buffo*  
 1992 *Open to Question*

**Films**

*Flash Gordon*, 1980; *Subway Riders*, 1981; *Krull*, 1983; *Chinese Boxes*, 1984; *Ghost Dance*, 1984; *Loose Connections*, 1984; *Scrubbers*, 1984; *The Supergrass*, 1985; *Revolution*, 1985; *National Lampoon’s European Vacation*, 1985; *Defence of the Realm*, 1985; *Mona Lisa*, 1986; *The Secret Policeman’s Third Ball*, 1987; *Caravaggio*, 1986; *Absolute Beginners*, 1986; *Eat the Rich*, 1987; *The Fruit Machine*, 1988; *Wonderland*, 1988; *Slipstream*, 1989; *Danny, the Champion of the World*, 1989; *Lenny—Live and Unleashed*, 1989; *Let It Ride*, 1989; *Henry V*, 1989; *Bert Rigby, You’re a Fool*, 1989; *Where the Heart Is*, 1990; *Nuns on the Run*,

1990; *Perfectly Normal*, 1990; *The Pope Must Die!* (U.S.: *The Pope Must Diet!*), 1991; *Triple Bogey on a Par 5 Hole*, 1992; *Oh, What a Night*, 1992; *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 1993; *Goldeneye*, 1995; *Buddy*, 1997; *Montana*, 1998; *Frogs for Snakes*, 1998; *Message in a Bottle*, 1999; *The World Is Not Enough*, 1999; *From Hell*, 2001; *On the Nose*, 2001; *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (U.S. release as *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone*), 2001; *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, 2002; *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*, 2004.

**Stage (selected)**

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# Columbia Broadcasting System

## U.S. Network

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The network Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), traditionally referred to as the “Tiffany network” among major television broadcasting systems, has in recent years come more and more to resemble Wal-Mart. Ironically, this often prestige-laden television institution began almost as an afterthought. In 1927, when David Sarnoff did not see fit to include any of talent agent Arthur Judson’s clients in his roster of stars for the new NBC radio networks, Judson defiantly founded his own network—United Independent Broadcasters. Soon merged with the Columbia Phono-

graph Company, the network went on the air on September 18, 1927, as the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting Company. Within a year, heavy losses compelled the sale of the company to Jerome Louchheim and Ike and Leon Levy, the latter the fiancée of the sister of William Paley. Paley, who had become enamored of radio as a result of advertising the family’s La Palina brand cigars over a local station, bought the fledgling network, then consisting of 22 affiliates and 16 employees, for \$400,000 on January 18, 1929, and renamed it the Columbia Broadcasting System.



*Courtesy of CBS Worldwide, Inc.*

Relatively untested as a business executive, Paley immediately showed himself a superb entrepreneur. He ensured the success of the new network by offering affiliates free programming in exchange for an option on advertising time, and he was extremely aggressive in gaining advertising for the network. Paley's greatest gift, however, was in recognizing talent. He soon signed singers such as Bing Crosby, Kate Smith, and Morton Downey for the network. Unfortunately, as soon as some of them gained fame at CBS, they were lured away by the far richer and more popular NBC.

This pattern of losing talent to the competition was not to be repeated in the news realm. Starved for programming, Paley initially allowed his network to be used by the likes of the demagogic Father Charles Coughlin. By 1931, however, Paley had terminated Coughlin's broadcasts, and under the aegis of former *New York Times* editor Edward Klauber and ex-United Press reporter Paul White, he began building a solid news division.

CBS News did not come of age, however, until Klauber assigned the young Edward R. Murrow to London as director of European talks. On March 13, 1937, at the time of the Anschluss, Murrow teamed with former newspaper foreign correspondent William L. Shirer and a number of others to describe those events in what would become the forerunner of *The CBS World News Roundup*. Subsequently, during World War II, Murrow assembled a brilliant team of reporters, known collectively as "Murrow's Boys," including Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, Howard K. Smith, Winston Burdett, Richard K. Hottelet, and Larry LeSueur.

In 1948 Paley turned the tables on NBC and signed some of its premier talent, including Jack Benny, Red Skelton, and George Burns and Gracie Allen. He also stole a march on his rival in what NBC considered its undisputed realm—technology—when his CBS Research Center, under the direction of the brilliant inven-

tor Peter Goldmark, developed the long-playing (LP) phonograph recording technique and color television.

Even with this success, Paley was still loathe to enter television broadcasting. However, with prodding from Frank Stanton, whom he had appointed CBS president in 1946, and his growing awareness of how rapidly television was expanding, Paley began increasing CBS investment in television programming. Indeed, with the talent that CBS had taken from NBC and homegrown artists and programming such as *I Love Lucy*, *Ed Sullivan*, *Arthur Godfrey*, and *Gunsmoke*, CBS dominated in the audience ratings race for almost 20 years.

The postwar years were hardly an undisturbed triumphal march for CBS. During the McCarthy era, the network found itself dubbed the "Communist Broadcasting System" by conservatives. Nor did CBS distinguish itself by requiring loyalty oaths of its staff and hiring a former FBI man as head of a loyalty clearance office. These actions were, however, redeemed to a large extent by Murrow's March 9, 1954, *See It Now* broadcast investigating Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Unfortunately, Murrow's penchant for controversy tarnished him in the eyes of many CBS executives, and shortly thereafter, in 1961, he resigned to head the U.S. Information Agency.

More and more the news division, which thought of itself as the crown jewel at CBS, found itself subordinate to the entertainment values of the company, a trend highlighted at the end of the 1950s by the quiz show scandals. Indeed, Paley, who had taken CBS public in 1937, now seemed to make profits his priority. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this development occurred when Fred Friendly, one of Murrow's closest associates and then CBS News division president, resigned after reruns of *I Love Lucy* were shown instead of the 1966 Senate hearings on the Vietnam War.

This tendency to emphasize entertainment over news was only exacerbated in the 1960s, when, despite almost universal critical disdain, *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, and *Petticoat Junction* were CBS's biggest hits. However, in the early 1970s, CBS abruptly shifted away from these programs, as programming executives Robert Wood and Fred Silverman inaugurated a series of sitcoms such as *All in the Family*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *M\*A\*S\*H*. These changes had less to do with any contempt for the rural idiocy of the "barnyard comedies" than the network's need to appeal to a younger, urban audience with larger disposable incomes. However, the newer programs, with their socially conscious themes, garnered both audience and critical acclaim.

During these years, profits increased to such an extent that by 1974 the Columbia Broadcasting System

had become CBS, Inc., and consisted not only of radio and TV networks but a publishing division (Holt, Reinhart, and Winston), a magazine division (*Woman's Day*), a recording division (Columbia Records), and even for a time the New York Yankees (1964–73). Nevertheless, CBS, Inc., was hardly serene. Indeed, it was quite agitated over the question of who would succeed Paley.

In violation of his own rule, Paley refused to retire. He did, however, force the 1973 retirement of his logical heir, Stanton. Paley then installed and quickly forced the resignation of Arthur Taylor, John Backe, and Thomas Wyman as presidents and chief executive officers of CBS. Anxiety about the succession at CBS began to threaten the network's independence. Declining ratings left the company vulnerable. The biggest threat came from a takeover bid by cable mogul Ted Turner. To defend itself against a takeover, CBS turned to the president of the Loew's chain of movie theaters, Laurence Tisch, who soon owned a 25 percent share in the company and became president and CEO in 1986.

Within a year, Tisch's cuts in personnel and budget, and his sale of assets such as the recording, magazines, and publishing divisions, had alienated many. Dan Rather, who had succeeded the avuncular Walter Cronkite as the anchor on *The CBS Evening News* in 1981, wrote a scathing *New York Times* commentary called "From Murrow to Mediocrity." By 1990, the year of Paley's death, *The CBS Evening News*, which had led in the ratings for 18 years under Cronkite, and for a long period under Rather, fell to number three in the rankings.

After what seemed a brief ratings resurrection resulting from the success of the 1992 Winter Olympics, and the 1993 coup of wresting late-night host David Letterman away from NBC, CBS was outbid for the television rights to National Football League (NFL) games by the fledgling FOX network and watched the defection of 12 choice affiliates to the same company. Despite repeated denials that the company was for sale, Tisch shopped it to prospective buyers such as former Paramount and FOX president Barry Diller. In November 1995, CBS was sold to the Westinghouse Corporation for \$5.4 billion, effectively bringing to a close CBS's history as an independent company.

In 1996 Westinghouse, under the leadership of its CEO Michael Jordan, merged with Infinity Broadcasting Corporation. The CEO of Infinity, Mel Karmazin, became the largest shareholder in the merged company, which was renamed CBS Corporation in 1997. In 1998 CBS reacquired the rights to NFL football for eight years for \$4 billion dollars. The price of CBS stock fell as a result of this deal, and Karmazin supplanted Jordan as the CEO of the company. Realizing

that the company was too small to stand on its own in an era of media megamergers such as that of Disney and ABC-TV, Karmazin successfully concluded a deal with Viacom's CEO Sumner Redstone to sell CBS for \$37.3 billion in 1999. Karmazin became the chief operating officer of Viacom. Because Viacom already owned a network, the fledgling United Paramount Network (UPN), the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) carefully scrutinized this deal before finally permitting the duopoly.

Viacom's purchase of CBS coincided with an increase in the network's ratings. Despite Wall Street's misgivings, the NFL deal turned out to be profitable. In addition, in the summer of 2000, CBS introduced a miniseries called *Survivor*, which quickly was dubbed "reality TV." The program involved a group of people selected by the producers, such as the mephistophelean Richard Hatch, who were placed on a remote Pacific island and then tested with various trials that pitted one group against another until only one person remained. This individual was then awarded \$1 million. The final episode of the first series received Super Bowl-like ratings and launched a trend of reality TV shows on virtually every network. While later editions of *Survivor* have not matched the hype or the ratings of the first version, they have performed well against stiff competition, such as NBC's hit sitcom *Friends*. In addition to *Survivor*, CBS's programming chief, Leslie Moonves, can also take credit for scheduling sitcoms such as *Everybody Loves Raymond* and *Becker* and dramas such as *C.S.I.* and *Judging Amy* that helped raise CBS's ratings in the early 21st century. In another key move to keep CBS's entertainment division healthy, Moonves managed to sign David Letterman in 2002 to a multiyear contract, thereby thwarting a highly publicized attempt by ABC to lure away the host of *The Late Show*.

Unfortunately for its network, in the early 2000s, CBS News continued to languish in third place in the network news race. However, *The CBS Evening News* under the aegis of Rather regarded itself as a "hard news" show that did not indulge in the soft features such as health, entertainment, and lifestyle news that appeared so frequently on its rivals. This dedication to hard news was most prominently on display during the summer of 2001, when *The CBS Evening News* stood out in its determination not to indulge in the media frenzy that surrounded the possible involvement of California congressman Gary Condit in the disappearance of Chandra Levy, who interned in Condit's Washington office. Needless to say, it was efforts such as these that helped restore some of the sheen to the reputation of CBS that it had lost during the Tisch years.

ALBERT AUSTER

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# Columbo

## U.S. Police Drama

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*Columbo* was a popular detective series featuring Peter Falk as Lieutenant Columbo. The character (who never had a first name) and the series were a creation of the writing/producing team of Richard Levinson and William Link. *Columbo* ran as a television series from 1971 to 1978, but the character had appeared in a short story, a live-television broadcast, and a stage play before making his first network television appearance in the made-for-television movie *Prescription: Murder* (1968). Originally written for Bing Crosby, the Columbo role went to Falk when Crosby opted not to end his retirement.

The series' original run was not in weekly hour-long episodes, but as a 90-minute "spoke" in the *NBC Mystery Movie* "wheel" concept: each week, one of three different series was shown on a rotating basis. *Columbo* was interspersed with *McMillan and Wife* (starring Rock Hudson and Susan St. James) and *McCloud* (starring Dennis Weaver). This suited Falk and the producers just fine since the pace of production would be much slower than was usually the case with weekly series. The 90-minute program length also allowed each episode to be more intricate than the typical one-hour installment, and intricacy was stock in trade for the character.

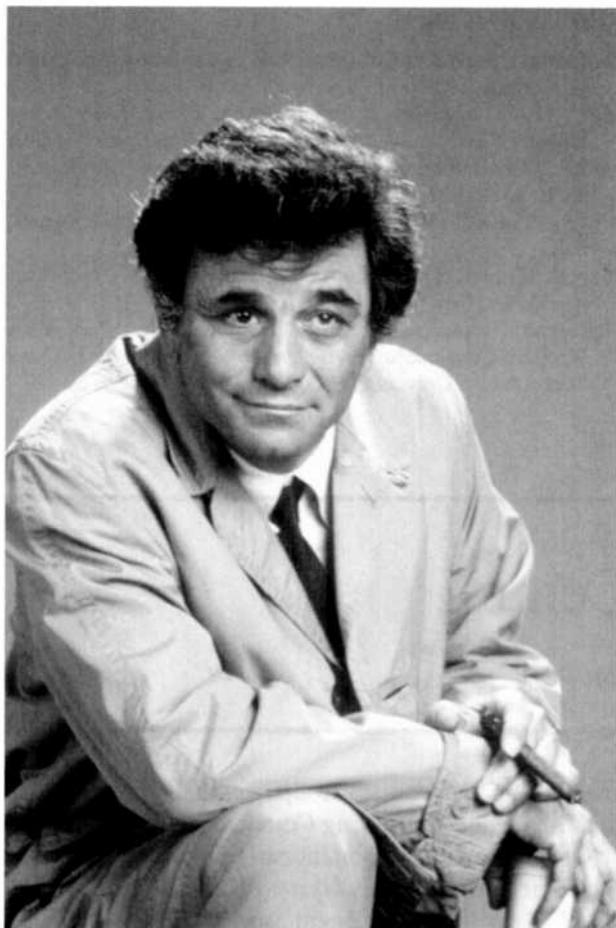
*Columbo* was not a whodunit. Indeed, the most distinguishing aspect of the series is the plot structure itself. Although this structure is just as rigid and successful as that in *Perry Mason*, *Dagnet*, or *The Rockford Files*, each episode is actually an inversion of the classic detective formula. In the classic formula, the

crime is committed by an unknown person, a detective comes onto the case, clues are gathered, the detective solves the crime with the aid of his or her assistants, and the ability of the detective is proven true. In each *Columbo* plot, the crime and the culprit are shown in great detail. The audience sees the murder planned, committed, and covered up by the murderer. Since the audience knows who did it and how, the enigma becomes "How will Columbo figure it out?" The methods of the murderer are presented with such care that there is little doubt that the horrible crime will go unpunished—little doubt until Columbo comes onto the scene.

With his rumpled overcoat, stubby cigar, tousled hair, and (apparently) confused attitude, Columbo rambles around in his old Peugeot, doggedly following the suspect of a homicide. The attitude and behavior, however, are all an act. Columbo is not confused but acutely aware, like a falcon circling its prey, waiting for a moment of weakness. Columbo bumbles about, often interfering with the activities of the uniformed police and gathering what seem to be the most unimportant clues. All the while, he constantly pesters the person he has pegged as his central suspect.

At first, even the murderer is amused at the lieutenant's style and usually seems inclined to assume that if this is the best the Los Angeles police can offer, the murder will never be found out. But whenever the suspect seems to be rid of the lieutenant, Columbo turns with a bemused remark, something like "Oh, there's just one more thing . . ." By the end of the episode, Columbo has taken an apparently mi-





*Columbo*, Peter Falk, 1971–93.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

nor discrepancy in the murderer's story and wound it into the noose with which to hang the suspect. Conclusions often feature a weary, yet agreeable, criminal admitting to his or her guilt as Columbo, in the form of some imaginative turnabout, delivers the final blow. If the suspect is a magician, the lieutenant uses a magic "trick." If the crime was done by knowledge of movie special effects, Columbo uses similar special effects.

Columbo is the only regular character in the series. There is no grizzled police commissioner, no confidant with whom the case could be discussed. For Columbo, each guest villain becomes something of an ironic "Watson." Columbo and the murderer spend most of the story playing off each other. The lieutenant discusses the twists and turns of the case, the possible motives, the implications of clues with his primary suspect, always rich, powerful, and arrogant, always happy to match wits with the apparently witless policeman on the doorstep. In the end, the

working-class hero overcomes the wealthy, privileged criminal.

Many writers, directors, and producers influential in the 1980s and 1990s worked on this series. Stephen J. Cannell (*The Rockford Files*, *The A-Team*, *Wiseguy*), Peter S. Fisher (*Murder, She Wrote*), and Steven Bochco (*L.A. Law*, *Hill Street Blues*) were writers. Dean Hargrove (*Matlock*, *Perry Mason*) and Roland Kibbee (*Barney Miller*) were producers. The premiere episode was directed by a very young Steven Spielberg. Each episode featured a well-known character actor or minor star as the murderer. Robert Culp and Jack Cassidy had the highest number of returns as guest villain (three each).

*Columbo* won seven Emmys over the first run of the series, including three for Falk and one for the series itself. *Columbo* spawned only one spin-off, NBC's short-lived *Mrs. Columbo* (name later changed to *Kate Columbo*, *Kate the Detective*, and *Kate Loves a Mystery*) with Kate Mulgrew in the title role. This series played against *Columbo* in several ways. Instead of *Mrs. Columbo* being absent each episode (as she was from the original series), the lieutenant was "unavailable." And here the plot followed the traditional detective format instead of the inverted one. It is not clear what caused this series to fail, but *Mrs. Columbo* was ill-fated and ill-advised. Both Link and Levinson disavowed it, and Falk disliked the concept.

Following the success of Raymond Burr's return as Perry Mason in a series of made-for-television movies, Falk returned to *Columbo* on February 6, 1989, for a new "mystery wheel" concept (this time on ABC and alternating with Burt Reynolds in *B.L. Stryker* and Lou Gossett, Jr., in *Gideon Oliver*). Just as he left Rock Hudson and Dennis Weaver behind during his original run, the rumpled detective was the only one of the new "wheel" to survive. Indeed, like the character, *Columbo* always seems to be coming back as if to say, "Oh, there's just one more thing . . ."

J. DENNIS BOUNDS

See also **Falk, Peter; Link, William**

#### Producers

Richard Levinson and William Link, Dean Hargrove, Roland Kibbee, Richard Alan Simmons

#### Programming History

43 episodes in original series

NBC

September 1971–September 1972

Wednesday 8:30–10:00

September 1972–July 1974 Sunday 8:30–10:00



## Columbo

August 1974–August 1975	Sunday 8:30–10:30
September 1975–September 1976	Sunday 9:00–11:00
October 1976–September 1977	Sunday 8:00–9:30
ABC	
February 1989–May 1989	Monday 9:00–11:00
August 1989–July 1990	Saturday 9:00–11:00
August 1990	Sunday 9:00–11:00
January 1992–May 1992	Thursday 8:00–10:00
November 1992–February 1993	Saturday 8:00–10:00

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# Comedy Central

## U.S. Cable Network

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The first generation of cable channels in the United States focused on niche-programming genres—news, sports, religion, and music—all of which proved successful. By the late 1980s, two media companies believed the same could be true for comedy. On November 15, 1989, Time Warner, through its HBO subsidiary, launched The Comedy Channel with a subscriber base of 4.2 million. On April 1, 1990, Viacom, through its MTV Networks, launched HA!: The TV Comedy Network with 4 million subscribers. Both part-time networks (each network aired only 12 hours of programming a day, while also repeating a large portion of their programming several times each day) faced the same problem: few cable system operators found two comedy channels necessary. The two networks merged in a 50-50 joint ownership agreement between Viacom and Time Warner on April 1, 1991, becoming CTV: The Comedy Network and later renamed Comedy Central, with 12.5 million subscribers.

Early programming on the channel generally consisted of off-net reruns, stand-up comedy routines, British imports, and old movies. The acquisition-heavy lineup included programs such as *Monty Python*, *Dream On*, *The Tracey Ullman Show*, *Fawlty Towers*, *It's Gary Shandling's Show*, *Bob and Mary*, and *Saturday Night Live*. Two of the most popular acquisitions in the early years of the network were *Absolutely Fabulous*, a farcical series featuring two boozing, pill-popping middle-aged British women and their social excesses, and *Kids in the Hall*, a sketch-comedy series

from a Canadian comedy troupe originally produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Company, CBS, and HBO.

One of the most important early programs appearing on Comedy Central was *Mystery Science Theater 3000* (*MST3K* to its fans). Beginning on HBO's Comedy Channel in 1989 with an original two-hour license fee of \$125,000, the low-budget show featured a smart-mouthed janitor and his two robot pals condemned to watch, and offer running commentary on, cheesy B-grade sci-fi movies. The show won a Peabody Award in 1994, and it was nominated for two Emmys and six CableACEs over its seven-year run on the network. As a quirky low-budget show, however, *MST3K* had limited potential for attracting a mass audience.

In order to distinguish itself as a channel worthy of carriage and viewers, the network needed original programming. A cheap programming solution resulted in the network becoming more "topical," developing programming based on news and political events. One of the first efforts was its controversial satirical treatment of President George Bush's 1992 State of the Union Address, presented as the speech was being delivered. Titled "*State of the Union—Undressed*," a panel of "commentators" (comedians) offered their humorous opinions during the natural pauses and breaks for applause throughout the speech (similar in format to an *MST3K* episode). The broadcast was a success, for the network not only doubled its January ratings but also garnered high-profile press coverage from the First Amendment-related controversy.

By April, the network had decided to continue its satirical treatment of politics by covering both the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions to be held that summer. Labeled “*Indecision '92*” (the first of similar broadcasts during the 1996 and 2000 presidential elections), the network aired two hours of coverage each night of the Democratic and Republican conventions, offering what it called a “raised eye brow approach” to the proceedings for interested but bored convention viewers (Du Brow).

Though television critics and viewers warmly received these efforts, special-event coverage was not enough to convince many cable operators to include the channel in their lineup. Executives at the network were still clamoring for a signature show that would give the network an identity and get people talking about the network. In 1993 the network achieved that success with *Politically Incorrect*, a political discussion show hosted by comedian Bill Maher. *Politically Incorrect* was an original twist on two existing talk show genres, the political pundit and entertainment-variety talk shows. Featuring Maher and four nonexperts on politics discussing current events, the show garnered favorable reviews from critics as a smart, original, and daring contribution to American public discourse. The show became the network’s flagship program in its search for brand identity (while continuing its success with political satire) and eventually ran for four seasons on Comedy Central before moving to the ABC network in early 1997—one of the first instances of programming moving from cable to a broadcast network.

Knowing that *Politically Incorrect* would depart at the end of the 1996 season, CEO Doug Herzog and programming chief Eileen Katz, both newly arrived from tenures at MTV, sought not only to find a replacement for *Politically Incorrect* but also to direct the network’s focus to a younger audience. The first significant step in that regard was *The Daily Show*, a caustic news and talk show hosted by former ESPN SportsCenter anchor Craig Kilborn. *The Daily Show* is, as one critic described it, the network’s “half-hour send up of news programs in general and sanctimonious news programs in particular” (Strum). Comedian Jon Stewart replaced host Kilborn in 1999, and the show received a Peabody Award in 2001.

With *The Daily Show* as its programming anchor, the network began a series of innovative and popular original programming moves under the tenure of Herzog (1995–98). On July 28, 1997, the game show *Win Ben Stein’s Money* premiered, featuring the dry-witted Ben Stein, a former Nixon speechwriter, as host and co-contestant in a trivia game show. Almost two



*Courtesy of Comedy Central*

months later, the animated series *South Park* appeared. Developed by former University of Colorado at Boulder students Trey Parker and Matt Stone, the show featured potty-mouthed elementary school children in some of television’s most biting social satire. The program became a breakout hit for the network, with \$300 million in merchandising revenue in 1998 and a feature movie, *South Park: Bigger, Longer, & Uncut*, in 1999. The program also became one of the highest-rated shows on cable, garnering an 8.2 households (HH) rating in 1998, while helping the network achieve an additional 5 million subscriber homes in just six months’ time (Lerman).

By 1999 programming consisted of a 50-50 split between original and acquired shows. With males making up 60 percent of its viewing audience, and 63 percent of the audience between the ages of 18 and 49, the network launched *The Man Show* in 1999, hosted by Jimmy Kimmel (formerly with *Win Ben Stein’s Money*) and Adam Corrolla (from MTV’s *Loveline*). Featuring scantily clad women and beer-drinking hosts and audience members, the show is, as one critic described it, “an unapologetic look at things men think, like and do” (Turegano). In terms of acquisitions, the network also began buying rights in 2000 to edgy new film comedies with marginal box office success (such as *Being John Malkovich*, *The Man on the Moon*, *Cecil B. Demented*, *Rushmore*, and *High Fidelity*).

In 2001 the network sought to combine its own history as a smart and daring political animal with the success of *South Park* by offering *That's My Bush!*, a live-action sitcom by *South Park* creators Trey Parker and Matt Stone. The program was a parody that placed newly elected President George W. Bush and his family in a sitcom setting. Though poking fun at Bush as a dim-witted but affable president, the program was also a send-up of the sitcom genre in general, with "typical" sitcom characters, plotlines, music, and so on. At \$1 million an episode, it was the most expensive program in the network's history; it garnered marginal ratings and ran for only eight episodes. The series was daring and controversial, however, for parodying a sitting president and his family in such a scathing manner.

Comedy Central has consistently sought a provocative, edgy, and over-the-top position in the television programming landscape. Network executives contend, however, that they offer more than simply the comedic. "Comedy Central is not a lifestyle channel," one executive stated. "Dare to watch our programs and you might think in a different way" (Endrst). Whether such high-minded posturing is merited is questionable. Nevertheless, Comedy Central has proven to be one of

the best locations on television for significant sociopolitical commentary as well as downright base and trivial entertainment.

JEFFREY P. JONES

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings; *South Park***

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## Comedy, Domestic Settings

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As was the case with many program formats, television inherited the situation comedy from radio. And again following the patterns of radio, TV sitcoms soon explored generic variations within the form. The two most identifiable versions could be classified as workplace comedies (*The Phil Silvers Show*) and domestic or family comedies (*Leave It to Beaver*). This division follows the underlying appeal of the "situations" themselves, with domestic comedies focused on the drama of family comportment, while workplace comedies deal often with sexual exploration. The latter are driven by sexual chemistry rather than occupational specificity, and routinely focus on characters and relationships rather than workplace situations as such, especially after successful seasons that extend the narrative arc of the series (*Taxi*, *Cheers*, *Drop the Dead Donkey*).

From the outset, domestic comedies explored identity and individual roles within the family rather than in the contexts of sexual relationships. In some ways,

the form complements the soap opera genre, which specialized in neighborly comportment and focused on the drama among families. Soap opera covered the street, neighborhood, pub, or mall, while in domestic comedies, the point of social congregation was the living room couch (Hartley, p. 172). Like soaps, however, family comedy taught identity formation and life skills (how to talk rather than fight). Interestingly, while domestic comedy remained primarily a prime-time genre, its efficiency in the matter of family role-play and wish fulfillment, and its characterization of the family as a place of leisure, refuge, and talk rather than productivity, danger, and work, also made it a major component of children's TV.

Domestic comedy was well suited for broadcast television production methods, using a studio with one or at most two sets (living room and kitchen) and few or no film inserts. Stable characters in a given situation meant that it could be produced in-house in industrial quantities. It was tolerant of commercial imperatives,



*The Munsters*, Beverly Owen, Fred Gwynne, Al Lewis, Butch Patrick, Yvonne De Carlo, 1964–66.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*The Donna Reed Show*, Shelly Fabares, Carl Betz, Donna Reed, Paul Petersen (in back), 1958–66.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

allowing for segment-length acts, interrupted by commercial breaks, fitting into the TV hour or, more commonly, half hour. It could produce spin-off shows, such as *Rhoda* from the *Mary Tyler Moore* show, *Frasier* from *Cheers*, or *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* from *The Likely Lads*. It was flexible enough to remain recognizable as a genre despite the variety of “situations”—from prehistoric grunts with a Welsh accent in the *Gogs* (S4C in the United Kingdom; FOX Family in the United States; ABC in Australia) to the almost imperially classy *Cosby Show*.

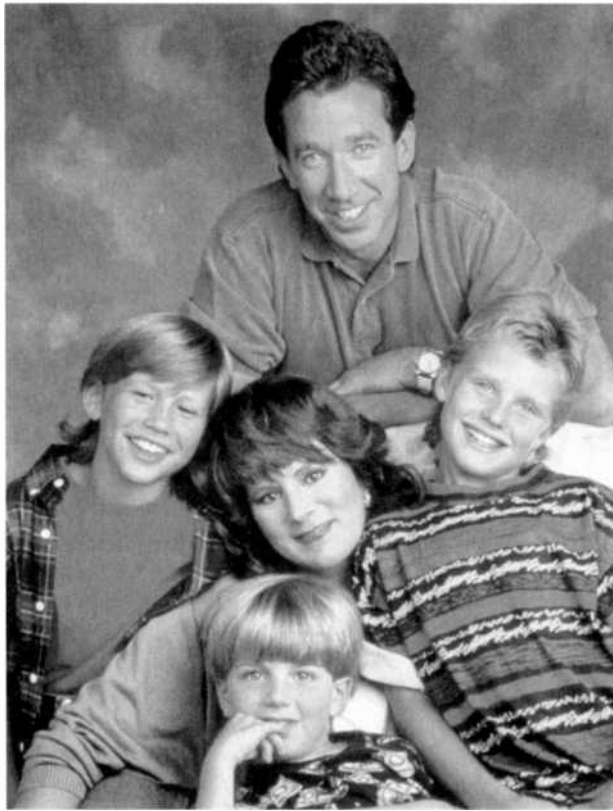
Minority TV channels rarely attempted domestic comedy for general audiences, unless the situation in question was an affront to everything held dear in “normal” families, as in U.K. Channel 4’s *The Young Ones* or Fox’s *The Simpsons*. Indeed, one of the pleasures of watching “normal” sitcoms was to observe how bizarre some of the family setups were, no matter what their surface smiles suggested about family values. After the pioneering and patriarchal *Father Knows Best*, traditional nuclear families became rarer: solo father and sons in *My Three Sons*; father, uncle, friend, and daughters in *Full House*; father and sons melded with mother and daughters in *The Brady*

*Bunch*—with never an on-screen sexual frisson among them, and no talk of divorce to account for family melding. “Blood families” were monsters (*The Munsters*), witches (*Sabrina the Teenage Witch*, *Bewitched*), or aliens (*My Favorite Martian*, *Mork and Mindy*, *Alf*). This tendency suggests that like modernity, progress, science, and reason themselves, the modern suburban family was shadowed by darker and mostly unspoken “others” from premodern and irrational traditions (Spigel).

Within the sphere of everyday ordinariness, then, families were fractured at best. *Cybill* was divorced, *Ellen* was gay, and *Murphy Brown* was a single parent. *One Foot in the Grave* was about a grouchy old man. Where families were intact they were dysfunctional, as in *Married... with Children*, the British *2.4 Children* and *My Family*, and *The Simpsons*, which combined cultural savvy and underlying decency with the most dysfunctional family situations imaginable. Homer Simpson’s philosophy of family aspiration (“aim low and miss”) began as a comment on the role model fathers of classic sitcoms. Perversely, it made him a more plausible model for many real families than the fathers who “knew best.”

*The Simpsons* joined a long line of animated sitcoms going back to *The Flintstones* and *The Jetsons*, showing how the format could migrate happily away from live action and yet still improve the genre. There were animatronic family comedies too, notably *Dinosaurs*—which correctly identified the god of contemporary family life in its “Fridge Day” episode (see Hartley, pp. 99–107).

Sitcoms’ attention to the downside of family life,



*Home Improvement*, (top) Tim Allen, Jonathan Taylor Thomas, Patricia Richardson, Zachery Ty Bryan, (bot) Taran Noah Smith, TV, 1992 (1991–99).  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*Kate & Allie*, Jane Curtin and Susan Saint James, 1984–89.  
©Reeves Entertainment Group/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and to some of the grittier issues lurking under suburban consumerism (even as audiences lived in it and endorsed it at elections), made them active in cultural politics. Classic in this respect was *Till Death Us Do Part*, making a national hero out of a working-class bigot whose sexist, racist, xenophobic chauvinism and insularity were mercilessly lampooned by writer Johnny Speight. Speight thought he was inoculating the English against some of their nastier cultural heritage. But they loved Alf Garnett in their millions. In an early example of “re-versioning,” Garnett crossed the Atlantic to become Archie Bunker in Norman Lear’s *All in the Family*, which also politicized both traditional family values and the sitcom format. *Ellen* sparked public debate about gay and lesbian issues in families just as *Murphy Brown* did about single parents. *Roseanne* put working-class life and nonidealized body shapes into the prime-time sitcom.

Domestic comedies waxed and waned, hitting a low period in the 1980s (before *Cosby*) only to reemerge a little darker and wilder in the 1990s. In the meantime the format gravitated to television for children and ado-

lescents. Here there seemed to be a need to delete the mother from the family in order to propel the situation. The family was intact in *Clarissa Explains It All*, but the perspective was that of the teenage daughter, not the parents (see Hartley, pp. 181–85). In *Sister Sister* the main characters were (and were played by) African-American twins who were supposed to have been brought up separately by different parents not married to each other. The white version of this was *Two of a Kind*, played by the Olsen twins (who debuted as the baby in *Full House*), whose mother was absent. In the highly successful *Sabrina* (Melissa Joan Hart), the central character lived with two witch aunts. *Moesha* featured an all-black leading cast, with a teenage girl (Brandy Norwood) having to deal with her father’s new partner and the absence of her natural mother.

Although ethnic diversity was apparent in some more recent programs and was introduced very early through Lucille Ball’s marriage to Cuban-American Desi Arnaz, the sitcom family tended to be monocultural (white or black) and rarely mixed or foreign. Minority identities were slow to appear in domestic comedies, but eventually black and Hispanic (although not Asian, indigenous, or mixed-race) shows proliferated on U.S. TV, leading Herman Gray to comment on the sitcom as “a site of some of the most benign but persistent segregation in American public culture” (Gray, p. 123).

In some cases sitcoms hybridized, joining aspects of the domestic sphere (a focus on living together and the home) with those of the workplace (presence of those beyond the family, presence of sexuality, flirting). *Friends* and *Seinfeld* are classic examples of this development. These 20- and 30-something heterosexual home-building shows sometimes eventually placed

their characters in romantic relationships (such as in *Mad About You*). Significantly, many workplace sitcoms reproduced the family formula, such as *Just Shoot Me!*, where boss and employee are also father and daughter. In other programming strategies, many domestic comedies required a novel situation to appeal to younger audiences. For example, in the British *Game On*, the “family” was composed of three young flat-sharers who talked constantly about sex (as did characters in workplace sitcoms) but who lived in an internally celibate household.

Some sitcoms seemed so full of raw new energy that they could be viewed as products of Research and Development for the genre itself, renewing its very form for a new generation of writers, performers, and audiences. *The Young Ones* achieved this status in the United Kingdom, *The Simpsons* and *South Park* in the United States. More recently, *The Royle Family* managed the same rare trick of being “about” TV as well as life, testing its genre and any vestigial faith we may have had in the family.

Meanwhile, the family was redeemed in an unexpected way. Domestic comedy was invaded by reality TV. As the drama of family comportment, reality took the form of *The Osbournes*—MTV’s fly-on-the-wall docudrama of life with Black Sabbath lead singer Ozzy Osbourne and his family. Its “actors” played it deadpan, but the combination of the family’s underlying sensible good-heartedness with Ozzy’s spectacularly feral appearance was pure domestic comedy,

giving a new twist to Bill Cosby’s famous catchphrase of the 1980s: “I just hope they get out of the house before we die.”

JOHN HARTLEY

*See also All in the Family; Bewitched; Brady Bunch, The; Cheers; Comedy, Workplace; Cosby Show, The; Ellen; Father Knows Best; Flintstones; Frasier; Friends; I Love Lucy; Leave It to Beaver; The Likely Lads; Married... with Children; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The; Murphy Brown; My Three Sons; One Foot in the Grave; Phil Silvers Show, The; Reality Programming; Roseanne; Royle Family; Seinfeld; Simpsons, The; South Park; Taxi; Till Death Us Do Part*

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## Comedy, Workplace

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Workplace comedies provide a convenient vehicle for the writers and producers of the television program to access all the essential components of series drama. The workplace frame adapts to changes in the production context, gives the characters a continuing mandate for action, provides the dramatic tension of continuing relationships among persons of different backgrounds, and offers the opportunity to introduce additional or visiting characters. The significant structural weakness of the workplace comedy is that it is deprived of the interaction between youth and maturity often central to situation and domestic comedy in television. But even this arrangement can be addressed by creating a work situation devoted to child nurturing or by introducing

the workers’ family members, who can appear regularly or randomly at the will of producers.

In pragmatic industrial terms, the workplace series provides a flexible format that can adapt to changes in the real-world production context. With the workplace series, the departure of a cast member allows a new performer to assume the job responsibility and simultaneously introduce a new interpersonal dynamic to the ensemble—as with the departures of McLean Stevenson (Lt. Colonel Henry Blake) and Wayne Rogers (Capt. John [Trapper John] McKenzie) on *M\*A\*S\*H*. The characters introduced by Harry Morgan (Col. Sherman Potter) and Mike Farrell (Capt. B.J. Hunnicut) did not simply replace the job functions of



*WKRP in Cincinnati*, Richard Sanders, Frank Bonner, Gordon Jump, Loni Anderson, Gary Sandy, Howard Hesseman, Tim Reid, Jan Smithers, 1978–82.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

their predecessors; they created new personalities that varied the mix of relationships within the ensemble. The death of Nicholas Colasanto (Coach) was mourned on *Cheers* and his character was replaced by the much younger Woody Harrelson (Woody Boyd), who portrayed a naive Indiana farm boy who had been taking a mail-order bartending course from Coach. *Cheers* writers and producers dealt with the departure of Shelley Long (Diane Chambers) with the introduction of Kirstie Alley's Rebecca Howe and an increased emphasis on the Kelsey Grammer (Dr. Frasier Crane) and Bebe Neuwirth (Dr. Lilith Stern) characters.

As these strategies indicate, the humor in the workplace comedy may come from the personalities of the characters, the interaction of the characters, or the situations encountered by the characters. The successful series draw on all these elements, but the balance differs from program to program. Some shows emphasize character relationships, others are best at creating comedic situations, and still others offer characters who are individually funny in their own right (often



*Alice*, Polly Holiday, Linda Lavin, Beth Howland, 1976–85.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the case when a series is developed specifically to showcase the talents of a stand-up comedian). *The Office*, a BBC comedy set in a paper-supply office in Slough, England, draws most of its overt laughs from the office manager, David Brent, played by the English comedian Ricky Gervais. Brent has a fondness for jumbled corporate-speak that borders on the nonsensical. However, the supporting cast members highlight the humor inherent in the pettiness and absurdity that mark daily office life. However, they also subtly emphasize the bonds that form there (such as in the poignant, stifled attraction between secretary Dawn and frustrated sales representative Tim).

Series like *Our Miss Brooks*, *Newhart*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, *Night Court*, *Frasier*, and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* drew many of their laughs from the antics of a few eccentric characters. Some of the comic characters were objects of ridicule, some were simply out of step with their surroundings, and some were so superior to their surroundings that they were humorous. Richard Crenna's dim-witted Walter Denton was often a source of amusement on *Our Miss Brooks*; Don Knotts made the bumbling Barney Fife a laugh getter on *The Andy Griffith Show*; and *Newhart*'s Larry, Darryl, and Darryl needed only to appear on screen to





*Car 54, Where Are You?*, Fred Gwynne, Joe E. Ross, 1961–63.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*Night Court*, Marsha Warfield, Charles Robinson, Harry Anderson, Richard Moll, Markie Post, John Larroquette, 1984–92.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

draw anticipatory giggles from many viewers. Even *Rhoda*'s unseen Carleton the Doorman acquired a unique comedic persona. On *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, the pompous Ted Baxter, acerbic Sue Ann Nivens, and ditzy Georgette Franklin Baxter were all ridiculous characters who inspired varying degrees of sympathy.

Workplace comedies can also draw on references to the popular forms they parody. The incompetent spy of *Get Smart* and the bumbling policemen of *Car 54, Where Are You?* developed the comedy line by contradicting the premise of a strong, competent leading character. *The Wild, Wild West* and *The Rockford Files* parodied the western and detective forms so well that they are generally categorized with those genres, respectively, as opposed to comedy.

Persons in a work situation are granted a franchise to action by the nature of their work—the job requires them to deal with problems or participate in events related to their work. Professions such as law enforcement, medicine, and media provide ready-made opportunities to place the characters in varied situations and involve them with a wide range of characters.

*WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Barney Miller*, *ER*, and *Taxi* often found their strength in creating bizarre situations, then letting the established characters play out the story. Episodes such as the *WKRP* Thanksgiving story in which Herb Tarlek and Mr. Carlson dropped live turkeys from a helicopter as a promotional gimmick take logical premises and carry them to illogical extremes.

The workplace setting facilitates interaction among characters of varied origin. Despite their diverse backgrounds, the characters on a workplace comedy are united by a common goal and are required to maintain even difficult relationships. Diahann Carroll's *Julia* was the first series to place a professional black woman in a starring role, but many other series have drawn humor from contrasting characters of different race, gender, ethnicity, class, or regional origin. *Barney Miller*'s Ron Glass, as Harris—a literate, urbane African-American man—constantly reminded his coworkers of racial stereotyping and his own departure from those stereotypes; Jack Soo as Yemana similarly made ironic reference to his Asian background. On



*Designing Women* there were frequent references to the "hillbilly" background of Jean Smart's Charlene, and Meschach Taylor's Anthony often made mention of his race. In *M\*A\*S\*H*, Corporal Walter (Radar) O'Reilly's rural background and Major Charles Emerson Winchester's upper-class Boston upbringing were frequent sources of humor.

In some instances, workplace comedies require that individuals who are not merely different but actually hostile to one another maintain a relationship, and the resultant tension provides humor. In *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Richard Deacon's character—the pompous producer Mel Cooley—was the butt of endless jokes by the writing staff. Robert Guillaume's *Benson* was constantly engaged in combat with Inga Swenson, who portrayed the cook Gretchen, and a truce between Craig T. Nelson's Hayden Fox and the women's basketball coach, Judy, in *Coach*, would have removed a consistent source of humor from that series.

The ability to introduce guest or visiting characters is another advantage of the workplace comedy. The criminals and complainants who visited the police station in *Barney Miller* or the varied defendants who appeared in *Night Court* all contributed to the general atmosphere of those series. Similarly, the patients on *The Bob Newhart Show* and *ER* added interest and facilitated the development of new plotlines. In some cases, guest performers appeared only once; others became semiregulars who would appear unexpectedly to add further complications to their stories. Such is the case with *Scrubs*, in which Dr. Perry Cox's (John C. McGinley) ex-wife, Jordan Sullivan (Christa Miller Lawrence), is initially introduced primarily to cause a rift between Cox and his protégé, intern J.D. (Zach Braff). However, as the series progresses, she comes into her own as a character, eventually becoming pregnant and reuniting romantically with Cox (which simply causes another set of problems to be addressed).

In some workplace series, the families and friends of the working group also participate in the storylines. In the case of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Mary's friend Rhoda and landlady Phyllis became such important characters that each was given a spin-off series of her own. *Murphy Brown*'s resident housepainter Eldin became a significant component of the series, and *The Andy Griffith Show* drew heavily on Andy's relationships with Aunt Bea and son Opie. Even *Get Smart* assumed a family aspect when Smart and Agent 99 were married and became the parents of twins. The relationship between Gabriel and Julie Kotter was frequently the focus of *Welcome Back, Kotter* episodes, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show* in-

cluded numerous segments dealing with Rob and Laura Petrie's home life.

The workplace comedy, like the society it portrayed, has both evolved and gone through cyclical changes. The form of the series has definitely evolved. Contrasting one of the earliest workplace comedies, *Private Secretary*, with more recent series shows changes in casting, relationships, and narrative structure. *Private Secretary* centered around the activities of Susie McNamara, a private secretary in a New York City talent agency, a vehicle that provided for the introduction of numerous guest characters who appeared as clients. All the cast members were middle-class and upper-middle-class whites. Although the relationship between Susie and her boss was congenial, there was no doubt that Susie was by no means as intellectually or emotionally competent as the male authority figure for whom she worked. While the men carried out business, the women worried about relationships—especially that special relationship that would take them out of the office and into a blissful married life. Susie was central to every episode, and each episode came to closure, bringing with it no memory of previous episodes and leaving no character or situation changes to affect subsequent episodes.

By contrast, more recent series portray a broad range of racial and ethnic characters. The cast of *Whoopi* includes an African-American hotel owner, her brother, his white girlfriend, and an Iranian handyman. On *Scrubs*, the white J.D.'s best friend, Chris Turk (Donald Adeosun Faison), is African American, and Turk's fiancée, Carla Espinosa (Judy Reyes), is Latina.

Along with this broader range of characters comes a broader distribution of storyline emphases. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and subsequent MTM productions are often cited as a turning point in the evolution of series structure, with their refinement of the ensemble cast. Rather than focusing every episode on the actions of one clearly defined lead character, the ensemble allows any of several central characters to provide the story focus. In some series—for example, *Murphy Brown*—a central character will provide the stimulus for the actions of the featured character, but that character is still the focus of the storyline.

The narrative structure has made distinct changes with the move to more open stories, allowing growth and change. The series is allowed memory of previous events, and stories are no longer required to return the situation to its state at the opening of the play. Episodes no longer require complete closure, and some problems require multiple episodes to reach resolution or may even continue indefinitely.

Topics addressed by the workplace comedy have

experienced cyclical popularity, influenced by the dominant concerns of the society and by the economic influence of other popular forms. Comedy has often addressed social concerns, and the workplace comedy has assumed that joint opportunity and responsibility. From direct confrontation—as when Mary Richards learned her male predecessor had been more highly paid—to implicit endorsement of the abilities of underrepresented groups—as in Benson's steady rise to gubernatorial candidacy—the workplace comedies provide a forum for the expression of social issues and offer opportunities to consider new ideas and challenges to the existing order. At the same time, television comedies are a commercial form, directly influenced by the need to remain commercially viable. Examining the popular topics for the workplace comedy reinforces Steve Allen's charge that "imitation is the sincerest form of television." Series do tend to borrow ideas from the headlines, from other media, and from one another. These notions receive broad attention for a time; some are then integrated into the form, and others disappear. In this process, the television workplace series operates in the same manner as many other elements of modern culture, evolving slowly in the process of contested change.

KAY WALSH

*See also* **Amen**; **Andy Griffith Show, The**; **Bob Newhart Show, The/Newhart**; **Dad's Army**; **Desmonds'**; **Fawlty Towers**; **Frank's Place**; **Get Smart**; **It's Garry Shandling's Show/Larry Sanders Show, The**; **M\*A\*S\*H**; **Mary Tyler Moore Show, The**; **Murphy Brown**; **Taxi**; **Yes Minister**

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**Commercials.** *See* Advertising

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# Communications Act of 1934

## U.S. Communications Policy Legislation

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The Communications Act of 1934 remains the cornerstone of U.S. television policy nearly seven decades after its initial passage. Though often updated through amendments, and itself based on the pioneering Radio Act of 1927, the 1934 legislation that created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has endured remarkably well through an era of dramatic technical and social change.

Congress first specifically regulated broadcasting with the 1927 Radio Act, which created a Federal Radio Commission designed to regulate in "the public interest, convenience, or necessity." But federal regulation of communications was shared by the Department of Commerce and the Interstate Commerce Commission. By 1934 pressure to consolidate all telecommunications regulation for both wired and wireless services prompted new legislation with a broader purpose.

President Franklin Roosevelt's message requesting new legislation was published in January 1934; the Senate held hearings on several days in March; the House of Representatives held a single day of hearings in April; a conference report melding the two differing bills together appeared in early June; and the act was passed on June 19. The act generated little controversy at the time it was considered. Few proposed substantial alteration of the commercially based broadcast system encoded in the 1927 law. Some critics expressed concern about educational radio's survival—and although Congress mandated the new FCC to consider setting aside some frequencies for such stations, this occurred only in 1941 with approval of FM service.

In its original form, the act's text runs some 45 pages in the standard government-printed version and is divided into several dozen numbered sections of a paragraph or more, which are arranged in six parts called titles. The first title provides general provisions on the FCC; the second is devoted to common-carrier regulation; the third deals with broadcasting (and is of primary concern here), the fourth with administrative and procedural matters, the fifth with penal provisions and forfeitures (fines), and the sixth with miscellaneous matters (in 1984, a seventh title concerning cable television was added).

The act has been updated through amendment many

times—chiefly with creation of public television in 1967 (provisions on the operation and funding of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting expanded title III) and the cable act of 1984 (which, as noted previously, created a new title devoted to cable regulation, sections of which were expanded in cable legislation of 1992).

Attempts to update substantially or replace totally the act have arisen in Congress several times, most notably during a series of "rewrite" bills from 1977 to 1982, and again in the mid-1990s. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 became the most extensive set of amendments to the 1934 law. Although focused largely on common-carrier concerns, the new amendments also extend broadcast station licenses to eight years and greatly ease ownership restrictions. Such efforts to change the law are driven partly by frustration with legislation based on analog radio and telephone technology still in force in a digital era of convergence. They are driven as well by increasing rivalries among competing industries—broadcast, cable, telephone, and others. They are also driven by political ideology that argues government should no longer attempt to do all things for all people, and by economic constraints that force government to operate more efficiently. Despite—or perhaps because of—its many amendments, the 1934 act has survived decades of technical, economic, and policy changes to remain at the heart of U.S. telecommunications.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

*See also Allocation; Education Television; "Freeze" of 1948; License; Ownership; Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity; U.S. Policy: Telecommunications Act of 1996*

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## Communications Satellite Corporation

The Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) was created in 1962 with the passage of the Communications Satellite Act. The act authorized the formation of a private corporation to administer satellite communications for the United States. COMSAT was given responsibility for many activities, including the development of a global satellite communications system, the acquisition and maintenance of ground stations around the world, and the development of new satellite technologies. COMSAT is governed by a board of directors elected by the company's shareholders and the president of the United States. Half of the company's shares are owned by major communications companies such as AT&T, ITT, and Western Union, and the rest are held by members of the public. COMSAT has offices worldwide, and its headquarters are located in Washington, D.C.

COMSAT emerged amid a public controversy staged in a series of congressional hearings in 1961 and 1962. During these hearings, public advocates and private businesses struggled for control over satellite communications in the United States. Senators Wayne Morse and Estes Kefauver and Representative Emanuel Celler formed an alliance against the privatization of COMSAT and rallied support from the American Communication Association—a union of telecommunications workers—as well as Assistant Attorney General Lee Loevinger and communications scholars Dallas Smythe and Herbert Schiller. Concerned that the privatization of COMSAT would strengthen the private sector's control over public airwaves, they called for further public participation in the hearings and government ownership of satellite communications. Senator Robert Kerr, on the other hand, formed an alliance led by major communications companies such as RCA and AT&T and proposed a bill that called for the privatization of satellite communications. Kerr insisted that space communication offered new business opportunities that would benefit the pri-

vate sector, the nation, and the world. Pressure from both sides ultimately culminated in the creation of a "government corporation" designed to operate as a private business and yet act in the public interest. Throughout its history, COMSAT has faced the difficult challenge of negotiating the often contradictory interests of private enterprise and the public good. The organization has historically favored the business end of its mandate.

COMSAT was established as a "carrier's carrier." This meant that COMSAT could not sell satellite circuits directly to broadcasters, news agencies, or other customers for overseas communication. Rather, the company could only sell circuits wholesale to other communications carriers and allow them to resell them. COMSAT must pursue customers to buy satellite time in order to recover the high cost of developing new satellite systems. Its customers range from national governments to common carriers. COMSAT maintains liaisons with private businesses and national governments around the world, but at the same time, it must fill its mandate to conduct business negotiations in the interest of the American public.

In 1964 COMSAT representatives participated in international negotiations that led to the creation of Intelsat—the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization. Intelsat still exists today and is a global satellite network that provides developing nations access to communications satellites for domestic com-



*Photo courtesy of COMSAT Corporation*

munications. The United States owns more than 50 percent of Intelsat, and COMSAT has managed the organization since 1964.

In 1965 COMSAT launched Early Bird—the first commercial communications satellite. Early Bird relayed common-carrier network traffic, telephone, television, telegraph, and digital data, as well as voice bandwidth analog data such as facsimile and wire photo transmittals. The satellite was deployed to evaluate the viability of synchronous satellites for commercial communications and to supplement the capacity of transatlantic cables. In 1980 COMSAT formed a subsidiary company called the Satellite Television Company (STC) to design and launch the United States' first direct broadcast satellite. Despite the STC's efforts, its domestic satellite system was thwarted when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) denied its application because of the STC's failure to demonstrate how satellite programming would differ from that offered by cable or network television.

COMSAT operates as the U.S. signatory to Intelsat and Inmarsat (International Maritime Satellite Organization). The company still sells satellite circuits to pri-

vate companies and governments around the world for national and international communication. COMSAT laboratories located in Clarksburg, Maryland, have been responsible for a variety of technical developments in satellite and wireless communications, including coding and transmission, networking and multiple access, space-qualified electronics and power sources, antennas, and many others.

LISA PARKS

*See also* **Satellite**

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## Computers in Television

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The advent of computers has had a tremendous effect on the television and the video industry. Smaller, faster personal computers and computer chips have reduced camera sizes, revolutionized editing, and brought the process of video production to the desktop.

Cameras have benefited from the increased computer power and decreased chip size. Computer chips, called charged coupled devices (CCDs), have replaced tubes as image-processing devices in video cameras. Because CCDs are small and provide good resolution, high-quality cameras have become smaller, more portable, and better able to provide good pictures in low-light situations. Other types of computer chips are also used to control some studio cameras. These cameras have an internal memory that automatically retains the correct camera settings, ensuring accurate synchronization between camera and the camera control unit and allowing easy registration and alignment. Other cameras even have remote control capabilities that allow the camera operator to preload shots during

rehearsal and then recall them at the appropriate moment with the touch of a button.

Computers have also enhanced other production equipment. Still-stores and frame stores, devices that capture one frame of video and store it in memory for future use, rely on computers. Still-stores and frame stores are often used to generate the graphics that accompany news anchors as they introduce news stories. Digital video effects, such as rotating images, morphing (when one image turns into another), and image stretching, previously sent out to specialty shops, can now be done on the premises, for less money, with a computer.

Computer-generated imaging is also on the rise and is used widely in a variety of applications such as computer graphics, titles, paint systems, and three-dimensional animation. Technology enables computer-generated images often to look "real" or to be so well integrated in postproduction that they appear to be a part of the camera-generated images. This area is likely to continue to increase in sophistication.



An example of computers used in television production.  
Photo courtesy of Avid Technology, Inc.

Computerization has also allowed more automation. At NBC network studios, satellite feeds to affiliates and master control of programming are largely in the hands of a computer. Some local television stations also use computers to keep track of their air traffic and master control.

Perhaps the biggest change in the television production process has come in postproduction. The change began when computers were found to be useful in controlling videotape recorders using timecode. By adding a character generator and a switcher and using a computer-generated edit decision list, a new online editing process was born. Timecode and the computer provided an accuracy not achieved before.

Nonlinear editing has progressed beyond computer-controlled videotape recorders. Nonlinear editing is performed with a personal computer outfitted with hardware and software that enable it to digitize the video and audio and store them on computer disk. Nonlinear editing is often referred to as "random access editing" because it provides the editor with random access to the source material stored on a computer disk. Therefore, it is not necessary to wait for the source tape to fast-forward or rewind to a desired scene. One of the biggest advantages of nonlinear editing is that if the timing of an edit is unacceptable, it can be changed easily. Unlike linear editing, segments can be tightened or extended without revising subsequent edit points. Segments can also be effortlessly added, deleted, and moved around within the program. At present, nonlinear editing is most often used for offline editing because a high-quality digital-to-analog converter is needed to convert the finished product to a broadcast-quality product. Generally, an edit decision

list is generated and online editing is done in a computer-controlled editing suite. However, companies such as Avid are developing high-quality online nonlinear editing systems.

In general, the introduction of computers to the television and video industry has demystified the industry and made it possible for individuals to produce video at a relatively affordable price. "Desktop video" has become a viable production process especially for independent and corporate producers. Small, portable, high-quality cameras and desktop editing systems can cost as little as \$10,000 total. Macintosh-based systems such as Adobe Premiere and Avid Media Suite Pro provide special effects, transitions, filters, and a means for digitizing video. Similar systems exist for other platforms. Of particular note is the Video Toaster, which is on Commodore's Amiga platform and was specifically designed to interface with video systems. This system is capable of performing many functions of traditional video production and does not have the problems with conversion to analog that other systems have. However, because the Commodore is not a popular platform, the market for the Toaster is not very large and its future is unclear. What is clear is that the future of desktop video is bright. Television and video are no longer confined to the broadcast industry. Video on the computer, in educational settings, games, and other applications, will become even more commonplace. As interactive television and the information superhighway continue to develop, television, television equipment, and television production will continue to change.

PATTI CONSTANTAKIS-VALDES

See also **Technology, Television**

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## Conglomerates. *See Media Conglomerates*

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## Congress. *See United States Congress and Television*

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# Convergence

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Convergence describes the combination of previously separate communication media, including telecommunications, television, and personal computing. This confluence of formats and capabilities creates technological and industrial convergences. As digitalization makes content delivery increasingly independent of traditional television, radio, or other media delivery formats, the media industry is also consolidating. Companies such as NewsCorp and Time Warner have interests in a variety of communication media—from television to the Internet and traditional newspapers—and technological convergence allows these historically disparate media services to come together, transmitted via fiber-optic cable or satellite. The trend of convergence is especially significant for television, as illustrated by the appearance of interactive television services such as video-on-demand, WebTV, and digital video recorders (DVRs), using technology like TiVo.

Although media convergence is often associated with digitalization, traditional media formats were already beginning to blend prior to the widespread diffusion of digital media platforms. The videocassette recorder (VCR) brought theatrical films to the television screen, eroding traditional media boundaries while allowing interactivity in the form of rewinding, pausing, and fast-forwarding. This sense of control and interactivity continues to be a primary characteristic of convergent media. With the diffusion of digital technologies, traditionally discrete media have continued to merge while allowing increased control for the user.

Nicholas Negroponte (among other media scholars) suggests that digitalization has reduced print, film, and video to a universal format of binary data, so that the only real difference among media is the choice of display technology. As these previously disparate media are digitized, image and text are translated into lines of ones and zeros, becoming a flexible stream of information to be transmitted through wireless satellite and microwave technologies, fiber-optic cables, or the copper wires of traditional telephone lines. The information can then be displayed on a television screen, a personal computer (PC), or a cellular phone. The primary limitations on this process are the storage capacity of the receiving device and the bandwidth of the transmission channel. With the ongoing diffusion of broadband technologies such as fiber-optic cable and wireless satellite transmission, it is increasingly easy for the media consumer to interact with a variety of formats over a single network. Digital cable service, for example, offers video-on-demand (VOD) as well as a plethora of video and audio channels, and the home consumer can also hook up a network-ready game console, such as Microsoft Xbox or Sony PlayStation, to use their television as a gaming display, while playing with distant users on the network. These digital networks allow both upstream and downstream data transmission and allow the user more control over the media product, whether through digital video recording, VOD, or access to information services. DVRs allow the television viewer to manipulate television content, skipping commercial breaks even while a pro-

gram is still being broadcast, and later burn the edited program to a digital video disc (DVD) for future viewing. Home media servers integrate DVR technology with PCs, so that users can transmit movies, television, audio, and still-image programs to displays throughout the house from a single computer.

Efforts to market convergent technology to the home consumer include WebTV, DVR products such as TiVo and ReplayTV, and PC media servers. WebTV, founded in 1995 and purchased by Microsoft in 1997, was marketed as a device that would bring Internet connectivity to the television, bypassing the PC. To bring interactive television content to consumers, Microsoft formed an agreement with the CBS network to integrate interactive capabilities into dramas, sports programming, and reality shows, such as *CSI* and *Survivor*. Still, as PC prices fell in the late 1990s, there was little customer interest in using the television as an Internet interface. WebTV, now called MSN TV, has been considered a commercial failure. Microsoft's next attempt at converging television and Internet technologies was UltimateTV, a product that offered both DVR capabilities and Internet access via a satellite receiver. By 2000, however, other DVR products such as TiVo and ReplayTV were already on the market.

ReplayTV and TiVo decks were first available to consumers in spring 1999. With 10 gigabytes of hard drive space, these products could record 14 hours of video, providing the ability to pause and rewind a television program as it was broadcast. Both devices cost about \$700, but TiVo became more commercially successful, possibly because of its enhanced capacity to learn the user's viewing preferences and record appropriate programs automatically. The user would connect the TiVo unit through the phone line or a broadband connection, allowing the unit to download and update program information. By choosing a particular program, the user could ensure that all new episodes of the selected program or similar programs would be automatically recorded.

In 2003 TiVo storage capacity had increased to 80 hours on the basic DVR model and TiVo had formed an agreement with DirecTV, the largest satellite television service in the United States. This connection to DirecTV helped TiVo revenues grow by almost 75 percent in the third quarter of 2003, and it is credited with adding 150,000 new subscriptions for TiVo in that quarter, out of a total of 209,000. In late 2003, TiVo was estimated to get about half of its subscribers from DirecTV customers, so that TiVo was expected to reach 1 million customers total by the end of 2003. This agreement with DirecTV has benefited TiVo substantially, but may lapse if NewsCorp follows through

on its proposal to purchase DirecTV from its corporate parent, Hughes Electronics, in 2003. NewsCorp, which owns a rival DVR service, NDS, could either drop TiVo in favor of its own DVR technology or use this leverage to purchase TiVo at a reduced cost.

TiVo has also been unable to form an agreement with a major cable provider. Thus far, multiple system operators (MSOs) have been reluctant to commit to offering premium DVR services, although some MSOs, such as Time Warner Cable, do offer generic DVR capability with devices manufactured by companies such as Panasonic, Samsung, Toshiba, and Hitachi. These "generic" DVRs, like their brand name counterparts, are equipped with hard drives so that users can record television programs onto the drive, edit programs, and even write the finished program to a DVD for long-term storage. In addition, users can watch a program while it is still recording but are unable to access the program listings features provided by TiVo. Some of these hardware companies are also producing set-top boxes for TiVo and DirecTV use, allowing up to 120 hours of media storage, as well as DVD-recording capabilities. Meanwhile, other forms of interactive television are chiefly of the "two-screen" variety. Viewer surveys demonstrated that television program websites received a high number of hits during the actual broadcast, and in response, shows such as the CBS network's *CSI Miami* have included a variety of interactive activities targeted at audience members as they are watching the program. The interactivity is two-screen, because the user accesses both the television screen and the screen of the PC.

Media servers are another type of home entertainment technology taking advantage of convergence. Examples of these devices include products from Hewlett-Packard, Sony, and Prismiq. These servers tap into the home Ethernet network or can function through WiFi wireless networks. The user attaches such devices to a PC and makes it into a media server, sending videos and music to the home television and stereo. In addition, some products also allow the user to go online to check e-mail, weather, theater times, and other information services. Because some media servers only work with videos and music already purchased by the user, there is no subscription fee, as there is for TiVo or other similar DVRs receiving signals over cable or satellite. These media server devices incorporate digital-rights-management software and will not allow media from unrecognized sources to be displayed even if those sources are not illegal copies. This digital-rights-management code also will not break the encryption commonly used on DVDs, so such films cannot be shown on some of these devices. However, many media servers do make use of DVR technology,



so the user is able to record, edit, and store television programs. In addition, many digital media servers and DVRs will now allow content to be delivered to any TV in the house, offering networked media services between multiple set-top boxes. In 2003 the cost for basic models of media servers was between \$200 and \$300. While some media server products are sold separately, to be hooked up to an already-purchased PC, Hewlett-Packard, Gateway, and other companies are also marketing PCs with built-in media server components, offering similar capabilities. The market for convergent television technology is expected to grow significantly in the next several years. In 2003 only about 1.5 percent of television viewers used personal video-recording technology, but market research firms such as the Yankee Group and Forrester Research predict that within four years, nearly a fourth of television households will have DVRs, many through cable and satellite providers.

The diffusion of convergent media products in the home creates new problems and opportunities for traditional media models. Two pressing issues surrounding DVR technology are the increasing ability for viewers to skip commercials and the problem of audience measurement, as fewer viewers watch shows in real time. According to surveys by Forrester Research, 60 to 70 percent of DVR users skip ads during playback. TiVo released information on viewing habits of 700,000 users in fall 2003, showing that prime-time advertisements, the most costly to purchase, are also the most likely to be skipped. According to the company research, over three-fourths of viewers who record shows to watch at a later time edit these commercials. The TiVo report also showed that about 60 percent of the DVR's use is for timeshifting, or recording shows for viewers to watch at a later time. Among programs typically viewed live, such as news and sports, only 17 percent of viewers use their TiVo devices to skip commercials.

Advertisers and television sales executives have responded to this perceived threat with a variety of strategies. Product placement is one option, as advertised products are integrated directly into the content of the programs, but this is not considered an adequate replacement for traditional commercials. Another possible strategy is for advertisers to sponsor entire shows, and in 2003, TiVo formed an agreement with Coca-Cola to sponsor an entire series of short programs on this model. Other broadcaster-oriented solutions include technology that prevents the user from fast-forwarding through the commercial or only allows the user to compress the advertisement, and not eliminate it entirely. However, DVR and VOD technologies also offer new opportunities for target marketing, so

that in the future commercials may be selected and programmed by zip code or other similarly narrow parameters.

Technological convergence, primarily through the diffusion of digital networks and content, has produced a variety of new consumer products and may introduce new models for media sales, as subscription-based consumer relationships and target marketing become increasingly common. The phenomenon of convergence goes beyond technology, however, also characterizing industrial strategies. As media formats become less distinct and broadband networks become more common, many traditional media companies have merged with or purchased Internet firms, hedging their bets against the future of digitalization and convergent media. Relaxed regulatory structures have also enabled a spate of mergers, leading to the clustering of TV stations and cable systems, as well as increased cross-ownership of various media formats, such as television, print, and Internet sites. There are a variety of reasons for these mergers. The popularity and perceived importance of the Internet has led to fears of little future growth in mature, established media industries. Also, media firms are increasingly concerned with maintaining and building their appeal to advertisers. Mergers that bring together a variety of media enable conglomerates to offer a wide breadth of media properties as advertising platforms. One example of this desired breadth is ABC Unlimited, the cross-platform unit of the ABC network and its parent Disney properties, which includes a television network, cable networks like ESPN, radio, magazines, and cruise ships. With this broad variety of platforms, ABC Unlimited can offer advertisers diverse opportunities to purchase airtime and space. Media company mergers are justified by emerging models of programming economics, which dictate that breadth is desirable, hopefully leading to synergistic relationships between diverse media properties. Merger trends include efforts to buy out program suppliers and content and pursuit of paid-on-demand revenue models to supplement traditional advertising income, since this income may be threatened by the diffusion of DVR and VOD technology. These growing conglomerates (the results of multiple mergers) may also be a significant competitive threat to single-revenue-source media, such as the local broadcast affiliates of the conglomerates. Advertising income is increasingly siphoned off to cable systems, which are often part of the cable networks, owned, in turn, by the local affiliates' parent networks.

Some early attempts at embracing convergence earned poor financial returns. In the late 1990s, Michael Armstrong of AT&T focused on the strategy

of buying up cable systems, assuming they would be an important broadband link to the home consumer. Investing \$110 billion in these systems, AT&T overextended itself and was forced to begin selling off other parts of the massive corporation. AT&T's drive to enter the broadband market may have helped motivate another gigantic merger, that of Time Warner and America Online. The AOL-Time Warner merger of 2000—combining the impressive media library of Time Warner with the online acumen and reach of AOL—was based on hopes of convergence and the imminent combination of the computer and television. However, this allegedly strategic merger led to a loss of billions of dollars for the two companies within two years. There are a variety of explanations for the failure of these efforts at industrial convergence. Although huge media conglomerates may be able to spread risk more effectively, they may not be able to adapt as quickly to changing economic or technological conditions. In hindsight, these mergers have been viewed as unsuccessful, as the resulting firms have been unable to surmount the challenge of getting various parts of the newly formed conglomerate to act in harmony between multiple media platforms.

In 2002 there was little merger and acquisition activity, but this trend increased in 2003 and is expected to continue in 2004. Proposed acquisitions include NewsCorp's intended investment in DirecTV, the General Electric/NBC purchase of entertainment conglomerate Vivendi-Universal, and Spanish-language media company Univision's intended purchase of the Hispanic Broadcasting Company. NewsCorp's proposed investment in DirecTV has drawn some attention from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which has questioned whether NewsCorp's planned purchase of a controlling stake in DirecTV would allow the company undue influence over its cable competitors and affiliates. The National Association of Broadcasters, filing with the FCC, suggest that NewsCorp's FOX network would be dangerous to local broadcasters, in that FOX would be capable of shifting programming from local affiliates to DirecTV. Previously, the FCC blocked a proposed 2002 merger between consumer satellite services EchoStar and DirecTV because it would have virtually eliminated competition in the direct satellite industry. This decision is credited with creating the subscriber war between the two companies in 2003, where each service was using DVR as a means to attract customers.

The NBC/GE and Vivendi-Universal transaction is valued at about \$14 billion, with Vivendi getting 20 percent of the new conglomerate and GE receiving control of the remaining 80 percent. Vivendi may be at a disadvantage in this agreement for a variety of rea-

sons. It will not be allowed to begin selling its stake until 2006, when the total value of the company may have decreased. Meanwhile, GE's NBC will get control of the USA and Sci-Fi Channel cable television brands, and it will get Universal's film and television production business. The acquisition puts NBC in a better position to create, distribute, and cross-promote media content, taking advantage of synergy and advertising opportunities across a breadth of diverse media properties, as do other conglomerates such as Viacom and Time Warner.

With the merger of Univision and the Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation, Spanish-language media giant Univision moves into the radio medium, owning 53 Spanish-language television stations and 63 radio stations. Already, Univision's holdings are reflective of contemporary industrial convergence; they include a top Spanish-language website, a cable channel, and a record label. A minority of the FCC has been concerned that the merger could create anticompetitive conditions. Univision is dwarfed by media goliaths such as Time Warner and Viacom, but it is a powerful force in the Spanish-language media industries.

The current atmosphere of deregulation and media convergence leads many industry analysts to predict a variety of other mergers between conglomerates vying for strategic positions on the shifting terrain of the media landscape. This industrial convergence is facilitated by shifts in federal communications policy and a general trend toward deregulation. Whereas traditional policy has dictated a variety of market-entry rules, many restrictions surrounding cross-ownership and levels of concentration within national and regional markets have recently been loosened.

One of the primary arguments for deregulation in the 1980s and 1990s appealed to technological innovation and convergence. Theorists such as Ithiel de Sola Pool have argued that the convergence of traditional media models of broadcasting, print, and telecommunications necessitated deregulatory policy. As technological convergence changed the media landscape, traditional restrictions were no longer relevant, and were even harmful, to ongoing innovation and competition. The 1996 Telecommunications Act removed many of the historical limits on cross-ownership and market penetration, allowing a flurry of mergers between media companies. While these new policies were meant to promote competition between traditionally separate media formats, such as cable and telephony, the deregulation produced greater consolidation among media firms, with giants such as Time Warner and NewsCorp purchasing a variety of subsidiaries.

In June 2003, the FCC attempted to loosen market restrictions further, allowing newspaper and broad-

casting cross-ownership within regional markets, allowing control of two or even three television stations in a single market, and permitting television station groups to reach up to 45 percent of the national audience. Although public interest groups and members of Congress protested that this shift would increase the potential for news monopolization in most U.S. media markets, proponents of the deregulation argued that online news content offers enough diversity to balance any increased concentration in news ownership. The FCC decision was blocked by a federal appeals court, and it remained a subject of controversy in Congress in late 2003.

KAREN GUSTAFSON

See also **AOL–Time Warner Merger; News Corporation, Ltd.; Univision; Vivendi Universal**

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## Cooke, Alistair (1908–2004)

U.S. Journalist, Television Personality

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During some eras of history, significant individuals may serve as important cultural and social links of communication between countries. In the years following World War II and for many decades after, Alistair Cooke filled such a role. He served as British correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United States and as host of both British and American shows that revealed some of the finer aspects of American life.

As British correspondent for the BBC, Cooke lived in the United States and reported on American affairs, both political and cultural for half a century. In so doing, he became a kind of 20th-century Alexis de Tocqueville, noting those qualities of American life that only a foreigner could describe with such unique insight. In the early 19th century, Tocqueville marveled over a land of wonders where everything was in constant motion, and in his own time Cooke observed American life with a similar precision, but using tools common to that era—radio and television.

Cooke first achieved notice in Great Britain, for his weekly radio series on the BBC, *Letter from America*. The program continued for many decades, providing British audiences with perspectives unavailable from other sources and perhaps some appreciation for the

American ethic. His real influence, however, came with his efforts to bring a refinement to American television. The program was *Omnibus*, and Cooke served as host and narrator. The program turned out to be the longest-running cultural series on U.S. commercial television. First seen on CBS in 1952, the show was scheduled for late afternoon and early evening on Sundays. In the era before Sunday afternoon/evening football and other sports, *Omnibus* served as a respite from the commercial chatter of the weekdays. It offered time to reflect at a leisurely pace on the cultural, historical, and artistic heritage of American society, aspects of American life rarely noticed by television.

*Omnibus* later moved to ABC, which scheduled the program from 9:00 to 10:00 P.M. on Sunday. Still later, NBC picked up the series and programmed it earlier, on Sunday afternoons. Cooke remained the host as *Omnibus* thus became one of the few programs to make the rounds to all three commercial U.S. networks. Although the program never achieved high ratings, it proved that a portion of the American television audience could appreciate program elements different from most television fare, elements traditionally thought of as part of high culture. *Omnibus* ended in 1961, having established an image of thoughtfulness



Alistair Cooke.

Photo courtesy of WGBH-TV/Boston

and wisdom for Cooke and earning him enormous respect.

Cooke returned to television as narrator and sometimes writer for the NBC program *America*. The program, a series of 13 one-hour documentaries, told the fascinating story of the growth of a country from its inception during colonial times into the then-current scene of the 1970s. Cooke regarded the series as a "personal history of America," and he told it in a way that was both entertaining as well as educational. He made it a point to examine events, individuals, locations, and controversies from both close and distant perspectives. He insisted on being on the scene, walking the paths where history was made. We see his face, we look at his hands handling objects; it was, indeed, a personal history. It carried his trademarks, his reminiscences, his feelings about his memories, and his knowledge.

Cooke also insisted on producing for "the box," for television's small screen. In order for television viewers to see the objects, there were many close-ups. In order for them to understand concepts, there were careful, unhurried examinations of ideas. Cooke brought together the words, sights, and sounds in a way that was to be recognized by the industry: he won an Emmy Award in 1973 for Individuals Contributing to Documentary Programs. Later, *America* would run on public television, one of the few programs originally produced for U.S. commercial television to do so.

During the years that *America* was broadcast, Cooke also appeared on television as host for a number of British productions shown on U.S. public television under the umbrella title *Masterpiece Theatre*. The program premiered in the United States in 1971. *Masterpiece Theatre* offered to American viewers adaptations of British and American novels (Jane Austen's *Emma* and Henry James's *The Golden Bowl*, for example) as well as original productions such as *Elizabeth R* and *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*. It is often remembered for its popular continuing serials such as *Upstairs, Downstairs*, which ran from 1974 until 1977.

Cooke acted as the host who introduced the program, making a few off-the-cuff observations about the style of the production or the ideas about British culture found therein. He referred to his role on *Masterpiece Theatre* as "headwaiter." "I'm there to explain for interested customers what's on the menu, and how the dishes were composed. But I'm not the chef." Nevertheless, in 1974 he won another Emmy Award for his role on the program as Special Classification of Outstanding Program and Individual Achievement. Cooke remained in this role for 22 years, until 1992, when he retired at 83. He continued to write and produce his weekly BBC *Letter from America* until shortly before his death in March 2004.

VAL E. LIMBURG

**Alfred Alistair Cooke.** Born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, November 20, 1908; became U.S. citizen, 1941. Attended Blackpool Grammar School; Jesus College, Cambridge, B.A. in English, 1930; Commonwealth Fund Fellow, Yale University, 1932–33; Harvard University, 1933–34. Married: 1) Ruth Emerson, 1934; one son; 2) Jane White Hawkes, 1946; one daughter. BBC film critic, 1934–37; BBC commentator on U.S. affairs, from 1938; NBC London correspondent, 1936–37; special correspondent on U.S. affairs, *London Times*, 1938–42; U.S. feature writer, *Daily Herald*, 1941–43; U.N. correspondent, 1945–48, and chief U.S. correspondent, 1948–72, *Manchester Guardian*; best known for *Letter from America*, the world's longest-running solo radio feature program, first broadcast in 1946. Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1973. Honor Fellow: Jesus College, Cambridge, 1986. LLD: University of Edinburgh, 1969; University of Manchester, 1973. Litt.D: St. Andrew's University, 1976; Cambridge University, 1988; Yale University, 1993. Recipient: Peabody Awards, 1952, 1983; Writers Guild of Great Britain Award for Best Documentary, 1972; Society of Film and Television Arts Dimbleby Award, 1973; Royal Society of Arts Benjamin Franklin Medal,

Cooke, Alistair

1973; four Emmy Awards; Yale University Howland Medal, 1977. Died in New York City, March 30, 2004.

#### Television Series

- 1938–43 *The March of Time* (narrator)  
1948 *Sorrowful Jones* (narrator)  
1952–61 *Omnibus* (host)  
1957 *Three Faces of Eve* (narrator)  
1961–67 U.N.'s International Zone program  
(host and producer)  
1971–92 *Masterpiece Theatre* (host)  
1972–73 *America: A Personal History of the U.S.* (writer and narrator)  
1973 *Hitler* (narrator)

#### Radio

*Letter from America*, 1946–2004.

#### Publications (selected)

*Garbo and the Night Watchmen* (editor), 1937  
*Douglas Fairbanks: The Making of a Screen Character*, 1940

*A Generation on Trial: USA v. Alger Hiss*, 1950  
*Christmas Eve*, 1952  
*A Commencement Address*, 1954  
*Around the World in Fifty Years*, 1966  
*Talk About America*, 1968  
*Alistair Cooke's America*, 1973  
*The American in Europe: From Emerson to S.J. Perelman*, 1975  
*Six Men*, 1977  
*Above London*, with Robert Cameron, 1980  
*Masterpieces*, 1981  
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## Cooking Shows

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Cooking programs have been integral, if often peripheral, to American television since its earliest postwar expansion. These shows usually assumed a pedantic mode of address, featuring an expert chef who offered instructive tips and recipes. *I Love to Eat*, part of NBC's inaugural 1946 season, introduced James Beard, TV's first celebrity chef. In 1947 the network offered *In the Kelvinator Kitchen*, and in 1948 CBS aired the similar *To the Queen's Taste*, which brought viewers into the kitchen of the Cordon Bleu restaurant in New York. More often, though, cooking programs have been scarce on prime-time network schedules, relegated instead to daytime syndicated slots and public and cable networks. Julia Child's *The French Chef* premiered on Boston's WGBH in 1963, and her subsequent programs have been public television staples for decades. A prominent symbol of PBS's "safely splendid" middlebrow programming, Child has become a cherished icon not only of contemporary American cooking but also of the cultural possibilities of educational television, earning her TV kitchen set a place in the Smithsonian Institution.

Child helped pave the way for the popular syndicated program *The Galloping Gourmet*, which ran from 1968 to 1971. The program's host was chef and nutritionist Graham Kerr, who has since created several other food-related programs for public television and cable. Similarly, Jeff Smith's *The Frugal Gourmet* began at a small public television station and eventually reached national prominence. Dozens of local, regional, and national programs have followed suit, often focusing on particular ethnic or regional cuisines and/or on the challenges of preparing home-cooked food quickly and inexpensively.

The number and range of food-related programs in the United States exploded with the creation of the Food Network cable channel in 1993. Initially, the channel targeted principally middle-class working mothers and "foodies"—serious cooks and restaurant fans. For its first two seasons, the network developed a small but dedicated audience through a mix of original programming and reruns of older favorites (including *The Galloping Gourmet* and Julia Child's various PBS

shows). By 1996, the network began to air a number of series that challenged the pedantic conventions of traditional cooking shows, which nearly always featured a chef guiding viewers through a particular recipe or meal on a set equipped as a kitchen. *Two Fat Ladies* followed the exploits of a pair of happily indulgent motorcycle-riding middle-aged English women, while *Ready-Set-Cook* offered a game-show-like cooking competition hybrid, and Alton Brown's *Good Eats* enthusiastically explained the science behind particular techniques. Among the network's most remarkable departures from PBS-derived educational conventions is *Iron Chef*, a dubbed Japanese-cooking-competition program. Created in 1993 by Tokyo's Fuji-TV, *Iron Chef* pits chefs from around the world against one of the program's eponymous experts. In a 60-minute duel set in the torch-lit Kitchen Stadium, they each prepare a multicourse meal around a mystery theme ingredient. Borrowing equally from the stylistic conventions of video games, professional wrestling, Japanese game shows, and traditional cooking programs, the show abandons cooking shows' generic formula of instructive daytime lessons for women, instead embracing hypermasculine competition, intertextuality, and camp.

Cooking shows more typically navigate a path between discourses of expertise and certified technique and those of familial comfort. In a way that often mirrors other talk programs' use of experts, this tension takes an explicit gendered form of address, as the shows' hosts move between an often overtly masculine world of chefs and cooking schools and the implicitly feminized space of the domestic kitchen. This split was manifest in the very earliest programs on the air. NBC's 1949 TV adaptation of the radio program *The Mystery Chef*, for example, encouraged women to take a break from their daytime soaps to develop sophisticated but manageable meals, entreating them to "always be an artist at the stove, not just someone who cooks." The presumptive audience for many of these shows was middle-class women who didn't work outside the home, a mode of address succinctly lampooned by "The Happy Homemaker"—the fictional program produced on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, in which Betty White reminded her viewers that "a woman who does a good job in the kitchen is sure to reap her rewards in other parts of the house."

Extending this gendered convention is Martha Stewart, who built a synergistic media empire in the 1990s around cooking and home improvement. Her syndicated program *Martha Stewart Living* offers ex-

pert instruction on cooking, home decor, gardening, and crafts, all while constructing a soft-focus vision of upper-middle-class leisure and domestic femininity. As is the case with many other celebrity chefs and TV hosts, Stewart's television program is cross-promoted with a line of magazines, websites, cookbooks, and consumer products—a marketing arrangement with the Kmart discount chain offers moderately priced linens and housewares. From Julia Child forward, though, the neat gendered logic that equates cooking on television with normative femininity has never been uncomplicated. Child herself disrupted the largely masculine culture of professional chefs, as have more recent women television chefs like Sara Moulton, who trained at the Culinary Institute of America.

In its attempts to broaden its audience, the Food Network has both exploited and slightly shifted the gendered discourses surrounding food preparation. British cookbook author and self-described "domestic goddess" Nigella Lawson's *Nigella Bites* infuses cooking with sex appeal, and *Emeril Live* features chef Emeril Lagasse cooking for a rapt live audience. Though he is a professionally trained restaurateur, Lagasse eschews precise recipes in favor of carefree enthusiasm. Seemingly far from the effete world of professional chefs, Lagasse adopts a working-class machismo, treating cooking as a fun hobby. Similarly, *The Naked Chef* follows young British chef Jamie Oliver around London as he shops for produce, relaxes with friends, and listens to the latest club music. Both shows embrace working-class masculinity as a way to deflect anxieties about the potentially feminizing act of cooking. This strategy has apparently worked; half of the audience for the network's top-rated *Emeril Live* is men, and a significant portion of the network's overall audience reportedly is not interested in cooking at all.

MICHAEL KACKMAN

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## Cooney, Joan Ganz (1929– )

U.S. Producer, Media Executive

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Joan Ganz Cooney was the chief driving force behind the creation of Children's Television Workshop (CTW, now Sesame Workshop) and the most successful children's television show in the history of either commercial or educational television, *Sesame Street*. Before *Sesame Street*, successful children's programs were entertainment oriented and appeared on commercial television; educational programs were thought to be boring and pedantic, and they appeared on public television, which garnered a small, more affluent audience. Cooney recognized that television could do more than entertain; it could provide supplementary education at a fraction of the cost of classroom instruction. She demonstrated that quality educational programming could attract and hold a mass audience and established an organization that continues to produce innovative programming for all ages. And, through *Sesame Street*, a larger, more diverse audience discovered public television, bringing it to the forefront of the national consciousness.

Cooney had an early interest in education, earning a B.A. degree in education from the University of Arizona in 1951, but she gravitated toward the mass media in part as a result of the influence of the Christophers, a religious group that emphasizes utilizing communication technologies for humanitarian goals. Although she began her career as a reporter for the *Arizona Republic* in 1952, she moved into television in 1954, joining the NBC publicity department in New York. By 1955, she was handling publicity for the prestigious *U.S. Steel Hour*. However, public television offered greater opportunity to do in-depth analyses of major issues, and she moved to the noncommercial WNDT-TV (now WNET-TV) in New York in 1962, where she produced a number of documentaries, including *A Chance at the Beginning*, a Harlem precursor of Project Head Start, and the Emmy Award-winning *Poverty, Anti-Poverty, and the Poor*.

At a 1966 dinner party at her apartment, Lloyd N. Morrisett, vice president of the Carnegie Corporation, wondered aloud whether television could be a more effective educator. Realizing that she could continue to produce documentaries without having a lasting effect on the disadvantaged, Cooney undertook a study called "The Potential Uses of Television in Preschool Education." This vision was the genesis of a proposal

she submitted to Carnegie in February 1968, a proposal that resulted in the establishment of CTW and the creation of *Sesame Street*. Morrisett was particularly active in developing the proposal and raising the initial funds, and he remains a guiding force of CTW, as chair of the board of directors. But it was Cooney who articulated the creative vision and established the organization that brought it to reality.

Cooney proposed taking advantage of commercial production techniques, such as the fast pacing and repetition of advertisements and the multiple formats of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, to give life to the curriculum. Although she hoped the program would educate all preschool children, she stated that if the needs of disadvantaged children were not met, the program would be a failure.

Cooney also recognized that educational programs often fail because they are planned by educators and implemented by production personnel. Shortly after the creation of CTW in March 1968, therefore, she established a series of seminars in collaboration with Gerald S. Lesser (a Harvard educational psychologist who became chairman of the board of advisers). Production personnel (under David D. Connell, executive producer) worked with educators, child development experts, and research personnel (under Edward L. Palmer, director of research) to plan the show. Cooney, as executive director of CTW, established the guidelines, stressing the importance of exploiting the unique features of television to present a well-defined curriculum designed to supplement rather than replace classroom activity. She indicated that there was to be no star but rather a multiracial cast including both sexes and that the primary goal was to produce an excellent program, not more academic research. The working environment she established was one that fostered mutual confidence and participation among its diverse members.

Once her vision was articulated, Cooney developed an organization that guaranteed the production team the freedom to focus on the creative task. Although required by funding agencies to establish an affiliation with National Educational Television (NET), CTW remained semiautonomous and self-contained, utilizing some administrative functions of NET, but retaining all rights to the program. Cooney traveled the country,





Joan Ganz Cooney.  
Courtesy of Sesame Workshop

ensuring morning airtime for the new show. CTW also used unprecedented means of informing the potential audience, enlisting commercial networks in promotional efforts. Those efforts were coupled with more personal means of reaching disadvantaged families—using sound trucks and door-to-door representatives, for example.

*Sesame Street* first aired in November 1969, on nearly 190 public and commercial stations, and by all measures has been a continuing success. In large-scale studies, the Educational Testing Service of Princeton concluded that *Sesame Street* generally reached its educational goals. The show also rapidly gained a mass audience, which it currently maintains. And there have been numerous critical measures of success, including a Peabody Award and three Emmys after the first year and 58 Emmys to date.

After the first successful season, CTW dissolved its relationship with NET, and Cooney became its president. The impetus was there to develop other projects, so Cooney guided the fund-raising and creative vision for a second show, airing in 1971, called *The Electric Company*. This program provided basic reading instruction for 8-to-12-year-old children. Although by

1973 Cooney described her work as mostly administrative, her vision of using the unique features of television coupled with methodical planning and research to produce programming to address identified needs was evident in other innovative CTW productions, including *Feelin' Good* (1974), *The Best of Families* (1977), *3-2-1 Contact* (1980), and *Square One TV* (1987).

Since the role of foundations is usually to provide start-up money, and since government support of public television has declined, Cooney has extended the influence of CTW productions and ensured the organization's survival by guiding the licensing of an array of commercial products and developing foreign distribution and production agreements. Product and international revenues have often provided as much as two-thirds of the budget, helping to sustain CTW and provide money for new projects. Cooney has also led CTW down the narrow road between commercial and public television, developing tax-paying subsidiaries that operate in commercial broadcasting, such as Distinguished Productions, which produced *Encyclopedia* in 1988 in collaboration with HBO.

In 1990 Cooney stepped down as president to become chair of the CTW executive committee, thus allowing her more time for creative development. Still actively involved in the creation of *Sesame Street*, she also focuses on strategic planning, with more recent projects involving interactive software and a multimedia project titled *Ghostwriter*, which debuted in 1992.

Cooney has enriched children's television with her vision, altered public perception and introduced record-setting audiences to public television, and raised the level of expectation for children entering school.

SUZANNE WILLIAMS-RAUTIOLLA

*See also Children and Television; Sesame Street; Sesame Workshop*

**Joan Ganz Cooney.** Born in Phoenix, Arizona, November 30, 1929. University of Arizona, B.A. in education, 1951. Married: 1) Timothy J. Cooney, 1964 (divorced, 1975); 2) Peter G. Peterson, 1980. Reporter, *Arizona Republic*, Phoenix, 1952–54; publicist, NBC, 1954–55; publicist, *U.S. Steel Hour*, 1955–62; producer, Channel 13, New York City, 1962–67; TV consultant, Carnegie Corporation, New York City, 1967–68; executive director, Children's Television Workshop (producers of *Sesame Street*, *Electric Company*, *3-2-1 Contact*, *Square One TV*, and *Ghostwriter*), New York City, 1968–70, president and trustee, 1970–88, chair and chief executive officer, 1988–90, chair, executive committee, since 1990; director, John-



son and Johnson, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Trustee: Channel 13/Educational Broadcasting Corporation; Museum of Television and Radio; Columbia Presbyterian Hospital. Member: President's Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, 1971-73; National News Council, 1973-81; Council on Foreign Relations, since 1974; Advance Committee for Trade Negotiations, 1978-80; Governor's Commission on International Year of the Child, 1979; President's Commission for Agenda for the 1980s, 1980-81; Carnegie Foundation National Panel on High Schools, 1980-82; National Organization for Women (NOW), National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, National Institute of Social Sciences, International Radio and TV Society, American Women in Radio and TV. Honorary degrees: Boston College, 1970; Hofstra University, Oberlin College, Ohio Wesleyan University, 1971; Princeton University, 1973; Russell Sage College, 1974; University of Arizona and Harvard University, 1975; Allegheny College, 1976; Georgetown University, 1978; University of Notre Dame, 1982; Smith College, 1986; Brown University, 1987; Columbia University and New York University, 1991. Recipient: Christopher Award, 1970; National Institute for Social Sciences Gold Medal, 1971; Frederick Douglass Award, New York Urban League, 1972; Silver Satellite Award, American Women in Radio and TV; Woman of the Decade Award, 1979; National Endowment for the Arts, Friends of Education Award; Kiwanis Decency Award; National Association of Educational Broadcasters Distinguished Service Award; Stephen S. Wise Award, 1981; Harris Foundation Award, 1982; Emmy Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1989; named to Hall of Fame Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1989; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1995. Inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame, 1998.

#### Television (publicist)

1955-62 *U.S. Steel Hour*

#### Television Documentaries (producer)

1962-67 *Court of Reason*  
*A Chance at the Beginning*  
*Poverty, Anti-Poverty, and the Poor*  
1968-90 *Children's Television Workshop*  
(executive)

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## Coproduction, International

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"Coproduction" is a generic term that covers a variety of production arrangements between two or more companies undertaking a television (or film or other video) project. "International coproduction" refers to the situation of two or more organizations from different countries undertaking such projects. It encompasses everything from a straightforward cofinancing arrangement, in which one partner provides partial funding while another company undertakes the actual

production, to more complex arrangements that involve joint creative control over projects. In all cases, the allocation of distribution rights and other after-market rights is a standard element of the negotiation. Complex coproduction agreements generally involve more permutations in such matters. While coproductions in film have a history dating from the 1920s, in television they were rarely popular until the 1980s. They now appear to be more and more common, as the

cost of production rises and as international markets for television change through deregulation and the rise of a digital, multichannel environment in which the same media operators straddle several countries.

Simple coproductions (those that provide financing in return for distribution rights) offer significant advantages to the production partners and have been undertaken for many years. Having multiple partners means more money for a project, and in an era of escalating production costs, the financial needs of television production can be tremendous, particularly for certain genres. Most coproduction arrangements address the level and source of resource contributions, what each partner receives (such as distribution rights in certain territories), the controls and approvals each partner can wield (such as choice of actors and locations), and how the venture's credits will appear on the final product.

Coproductions have been especially popular with television networks that require long-format programs or films but do not have a sufficiently large budget to produce programs of their own. In the United States, for example, coproductions first became common between the public broadcasting stations in major markets (Boston, Maryland, New York City) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Coproductions offered U.S. public television stations the opportunity to produce high-quality products at a fraction of the costs of creating such programs independently. In return, the arrangements offered the BBC, with its huge expenditures on production facilities, a means of stretching its budget with no threat to its other distribution rights or its own primary market, the United Kingdom. The first such coproduction, a 1971 U.S. public broadcaster/BBC venture called *The First Churchill*, was a BBC period saga that won an Emmy. Since then, such ventures have become common fare for PBS stations.

In the 1990s coproductions also became popular production vehicles for numerous U.S.-based cable services such as A&E (Arts and Entertainment), Bravo, TLC (The Learning Channel), and Discovery. Since many of those networks have sister operations based in numerous countries, their use of international coproductions is increasingly common. Similarly, as so many American commercial broadcasters have merged with other companies and become integrated into global enterprises, international production arrangements have become more common. U.S. commercial television producers have typically partnered with other English-language broadcasting systems, but since the late 1990s, U.S. TV producers also have turned to partners from non-English-language coun-

tries, notably Germany and Japan, to stretch finances and reach broader markets.

Coproduction treaties serve to regularize the government benefits that accrue to undertaking international coproductions. Such treaties establish terms that, when met, enable productions to qualify for various forms of government support. While the specifics of such treaties vary, they generally ensure that creative, technical, and financial contributions will be balanced, over time, among the participating countries; the treaties may scrutinize crew composition, investment, actors, sites, and perhaps even the language of the production. For countries such as Canada and France, as well as other European Union (EU) members, coproduction treaties ensure that the resulting product qualifies as "domestic," a category crucial in meeting legally established quotas determining allowable amounts of imported television content. The treaties also ensure that coproduced material is eligible for government financing or investor tax credits in terms of the national policies. Organizations such as Eurimages, a Council of Europe production fund, have been created specifically to foster increased coproductions among European countries, thereby encouraging the vitality of filmmaking throughout the continent.

The increase in cable, satellite, and commercial television channels that occurred around the world in the 1980s and 1990s prompted an intensified search for affordable programming and made coproductions even more attractive for maximizing production and distribution. The international aspects of television programming now receive greater scrutiny from the outset of program planning; no longer are domestic markets the sole or even necessarily the primary consideration in the planning process. Making television programs that can cater to multiple audiences across national boundaries increasingly requires care and an awareness of audiences as well as broadcasting conventions around the globe. France's Canal Plus is a leader in this effort, crafting production arrangements with numerous European pay-TV operations as well as Hollywood ventures.

Another notable consequence involves the range of content accommodations that coproductions entail when the products must satisfy different national audiences. A great deal of scholarly interest and some attention by policymakers have been directed at the perceived threat to "national" television that international coproductions may represent. In its most extreme version, this threat invokes a scenario of homogeneous, global programs driving out national television production that caters to and captures what is meaningful to local audiences. In a sense, some concern over coproduction joins the worry focused on

"Americanization" or "cultural imperialism" of international television programming. Selection of the primary language in which to record dialogue and the choice to dub or subtitle also figure into this issue. The response of the European Union to such problems to date has included a loosely worded 1989 Broadcasting Directive urging members to ensure that at least 50 percent of their television programming originated from within the EU. The EU also established several programs (such as the MEDIA program) to support and invigorate the production and exhibition infrastructure within member countries. In 2001, for example, the European Commission and the European Investment Bank assembled a \$445.2 million financial support package to nurture the European film industry for a few years, and one initiative that received funding was the digitization of film archives belonging to Canal Plus. The program specifically did not request that the financiers retain copyright to the funded projects, a possible sticking point in encouraging production.

As financing vehicles, coproductions have emerged as particularly significant means for smaller-market countries to ensure that some local production remains possible. Insofar as the television schedules in many countries rely heavily on films (indeed, in certain countries, such as France, broadcasters are major investors in film), the financial clout available through coproduction is almost mandatory for film production destined for television airing. The ability to produce high-budget feature films is moving out of the reach of single companies, but with partners from several countries or companies the opportunities still exist.

One consequence of the demand for more video product has been intensified competition for coproduction partners, a factor that has driven up the cost of coproductions and threatened arrangements for financially strapped public broadcasting in the United States. Moreover, the process of coproducing is itself not without problems. On the one hand, coproductions offer a mechanism for films and higher-budget television to garner the capital they require, as well as ways to penetrate other markets, but coproductions may also create production headaches emerging from the very difficult process of being accountable to multiple funders and multiple audiences. Coproductions also must deal with issues related to multiple styles and cultures among the cast and crew. Many efforts have floundered when partners could not agree on script, production technique, cast, or postproduction issues. One of the earliest and most notorious failed coproduction efforts was *Riviera*, a \$35 million project involving several European broadcasters. This soap opera, set on the

Côte d'Azur, ultimately pleased none of its backers (nor their audiences), and it has gone down in history as a costly lesson in the frailties of joint production efforts. On the other hand, when coproductions use known actors and actresses and have a firm hand guiding their creative effort, tremendous success can be achieved. The 1999 production of *The Count of Monte Cristo*—a \$20 million miniseries sponsored by France's TFI, Germany's KirchGroup, and Italy's Mediaset, and starring well-known French actor Gerard Depardieu and Italian actress Ornella Muti—was a huge success in its European markets and an ideal example of the pan-European production and distribution network arrangements that are becoming popular in the early 21st century.

Coproductions will continue to figure into the growth of international media corporations looking for ways to maximize their investments in productions; partnering with local media companies in various countries has become a way to guarantee broad distribution, as well as a method of obviating certain national restrictions on "imported" television product, and that trend shows no evidence of slowing. However, coproduction does seem to be yielding some production lessons, with the consequence that partners and contracts are more carefully initiated now than was perhaps the case in earlier years. The "Euro-puddings" and failed efforts that garnered trade press headlines in the late 1980s have given way to growing understanding that coproduction makes most sense only under certain conditions, and only for certain types of projects.

Coproduction's partner vehicle, format licensing, has also become more popular since the 1980s, and it is now pursued actively by many networks with active production schedules. Format licensing represents a useful scheme for adapting tested, lower-budget formula programming (especially quiz shows, such as *Jeopardy* or *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, and soap operas) for new markets in a way that allows such programs to be tailored to local tastes and styles. For example, Skyquest Television of Miami, Florida, produced the telenovela *A Todo Corazón* for broadcast in Venezuela and later sold the format to television networks in Argentina and Spain, which hired their own actors but used Skyquest's directors and sets. Format licensing eliminates many of the production problems coproduction may present and effectively domesticates a successful content and a format originated and tested elsewhere.

SHARON STROVER

*See also Geography and Television*

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# COPS

## U.S. Reality Series

*COPS* has become one of the most successful and long-running television reality series of all time. Premiering on the FOX network on March 11, 1989, *COPS* changed the face of crime programming and helped fuel a global thirst for reality-based shows. From its video vérité form to its continual top spot in the ratings, *COPS* has become an icon in the reality television genre.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, *COPS* was instrumental in shaping a new form of reality television programming, reality crime television. In the basic format for the show, video crews follow police officers on their daily beat, capturing events in each tour of duty. Shoulder-held cameras capture high-speed chases, drug busts, domestic disputes, and traffic stops. There are no reporters or narrators to provide context for or information about the images being seen. The only explanations given are the occasional observations made by the police officers featured in each episode. Thus, *COPS* allows viewers to witness the gritty and dangerous life of police work from the comfort of their couch. The daily events and experiences are heavily edited, however, into what the series presents as "real-life drama and adventure of crime fighting cops."

*COPS* is unlike its predecessors, *Unsolved Mysteries* and *America's Most Wanted*, which utilize an interactive element in which viewers call in with information, and thus participate in apprehending criminals. Rather, *COPS* employs a passive format. Viewers do not watch *COPS* to help solve a crime, but merely to gaze at police procedures and practices and at criminal behavior and its potential consequences.

The voyeuristic format of *COPS* has been strongly criticized from its inception. Much of the criticism surrounding *COPS* stems from the show's content, blurring the line between information and entertainment. In an attempt to make the program entertaining for viewers, hours of video, which show police officers merely sitting in their squad car or filling out paperwork, are edited out or not recorded at all. In addition, because *COPS* is a highly successful program, often achieving number-one ratings in its time period for key adult demographics, ontological incongruities and their potential effects on society are of great concern for critics. *COPS* has the power to shape how society views crime, criminal behavior, and police officers. Studies conducted on reality crime programs, like *COPS*, have shown that violent crimes, such as murder, rape, and assault, are overemphasized. This mis-



*COPS*, 1989–present, Los Angeles police officer with a suspect.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

representation of reality, researchers warn, could be harmful to society by reinforcing false notions of crime and criminal behavior. Additional criticism is directed at the characterizations constructed for both law enforcement professionals and criminals, characterizations that often fall along lines of social class. These depictions tend to reinforce certain stereotypes, with the frequently inebriated criminals exhibiting violent behavior and strongly expressed antisocial attitudes.

Not only does *COPS* have the ability to affect society's views of the criminal justice system, it has also affected the criminal justice system itself. The possible effect of having cameras present at real-life crime scenes has been a heated topic and has even been subject to judicial debate. At issue are the property rights of the videographic evidence taken at the scene of a crime as well as the protection of privacy rights for the alleged criminals who unknowingly become the stars of reality crime shows. As a consequence of court battles, such programs now face stricter guidelines and scrutiny over how they obtain their graphic docu-cop footage.

Despite its critics, *COPS* continues to enjoy tremendous success. The first-run syndicated series has featured more than 104 different U.S. cities. In addition, *COPS* has ventured outside the United States. Episodes have featured police in London, Hong Kong, Central and South America, Leningrad, and even Moscow, where *COPS* became the first American television show allowed to follow the police in the former Soviet Union. The format has also been marketed on a global scale, increasing its popularity and significance in the reality television genre. *COPS* also achieved critical recognition in 1993 when the show was named the Best Reality Show by the American Television Awards. The series has also

regularly received Emmy nominations throughout its 14 seasons on the air.

The popularity of the *COPS* series has stretched into other media ventures. First, the demand for more *COPS* footage spawned the *COPS* home video market. Several videos, including *COPS: Too Hot for TV*, *COPS: Caught in the Act*, *COPS: In Hot Pursuit*, and *Best of COPS*, feature highlights from the show or exclusive footage that was edited out for television. In addition to video sales, the *COPS* series has produced several spin-offs including *CODE 3* (FOX) and *Cop Files* (UPN).

LISA JONIAK

### *See also Reality Television*

#### **Creators**

Malcomb Barbour and John Langley

#### **Executive Producer**

John Langley

#### **Producer**

Murray Jordan

#### **Production Company**

Barbour/Langley Productions

#### **Distribution**

Twentieth Television

#### **Musical Theme**

"Bad Boys" performed by Inner Circle, music and lyrics by Ian Lewis

#### **Programming History**

500-plus episodes

FOX Broadcast Network

March 1989– Saturday 8:00–8:30

Saturday 8:30–9:00

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## Copyright Law and Television

Copyright law is the economic linchpin of the television broadcasting business. In nearly every country of the world, the domestic law permits the owner of the copyright in a literary or artistic work to prevent that work from being copied, broadcast, or communicated to the public. The copyright owner can then license other parties to use the work on either an exclusive or a nonexclusive basis. As broadcasting becomes ever more international in scope and reach, the international framework of copyright law has become as important as the national laws themselves.

### The International Framework

The basic principles governing copyright protection at the international level have been laid down in the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which was last revised in 1979. The convention implements the minimum requirements for the national laws of all signatory states. At the time of this writing, at least 150 countries are members of the Berne Convention, which is administered by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). A second international convention, the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC), was drawn up to establish a system of international copyright protection under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1952. The Berne Convention offers far more copyright protection than the UCC. In essence, the UCC merely says copyright owners in any member country have whatever rights local citizens have in other countries. The Berne

Convention, on the other hand, sets minimum standards for copyright protection, requiring each member country to provide at least that much protection.

There is another international convention, the Rome Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms, and Broadcasting Organizations, which dates from 1961 and extends protection to performers, record producers, and broadcasters. This convention, ratified by 76 countries so far, extended copyright protection to neighboring rights: performing artists enjoy rights over their performances, producers of phonograms over their recordings, and radio and television organizations over their programs. A key reason for negotiating the Rome Convention was to afford international protection to holders of neighboring rights, including broadcasters. By protecting the rights of performers, as well as those of phonogram producers and broadcasters, however, the Rome Convention gave performers rights that many countries, such as the United States, considered excessive. Such countries have therefore declined to ratify the Rome Convention.

Finally, a chapter protecting Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) is included in the WTO Agreement, which was accepted in 1994 and is administered by the World Trade Organization. The TRIPS Agreement was developed to ensure the provision of proper standards and principles concerning intellectual property rights, and at the same time to foresee means for the enforcement of such rights. The TRIPS Agreement includes some, but not all, of the provisions of the Rome Convention. It only protects

performers against the unauthorized recording and broadcasting of live performances (i.e., bootleg recordings and broadcasts). However, the main reason for establishing a parallel system of protecting intellectual property rights within the TRIPS Agreement was to strengthen enforcement procedures for protecting intellectual property rights. Each country must ensure that its laws provide enforcement procedures that are backed by rapid and effective action. Judicial authorities must be given powers to serve an injunction requiring an alleged infringer to desist and to require the destruction of infringing goods or the tools and materials with which the infringing activities were carried out. They must also require the infringer to pay damages and costs to the right holder. Furthermore, under the most-favored-nation clause of the TRIPS Agreement, each country must afford equal, immediate, and unconditional protection to nationals from all other signatories. Finally, any dispute as to the implementation of the provisions of the TRIPS Agreement must be settled under its dispute settlement procedures. This is a new departure, as there are no enforceable dispute procedures in other conventions.

### Copyright and Broadcasts

In general, the owner of a literary or artistic work—copyrighted work—has the exclusive right to reproduce the copyrighted work, to create derivative work based on it, and to distribute copies of or perform or display the work to the public. As most broadcasts include literary or artistic works, the broadcaster must normally acquire these exclusive rights to license the work to be produced or broadcast in advance. In the television, music, and motion picture industries, complex business arrangements have been developed to compensate the copyright owners of literary and artistic works that go into television productions.

When recorded music is used, the broadcaster is required to acquire a separate neighboring right in the sound recording of the performance; and in many countries performers also have a separate right in their performance. Therefore, broadcasters wishing to use the music as part of their programming usually enter into an agreement with copyright holders of the music, and they mostly pay them a license fee for the music used in programming. The fee paid is based on the market size of the medium and the amount of music used. If a cinematographic recording is used during a broadcast, the broadcaster must also acquire its broadcasting right. By acquiring the broadcasting rights in all the constituent literary or artistic works that are included in a broadcast, the broadcaster can thus protect the broadcast itself from being copied, broadcast, or communicated to the public.

The broadcaster has five key issues to negotiate when acquiring a license to broadcast a literary or artistic work: (a) the territories for which the right should be acquired; (b) the period of time for which the right should be acquired; (c) whether the right should be licensed on an exclusive or nonexclusive basis; (d) whether to acquire any ancillary rights, such as cable rights; and (e) whether payment to the original right holders should be made immediately or stage by stage with each successive broadcast. Thus, once the broadcaster has acquired the constituent rights in the broadcast, these can form the basis of protection for the broadcast itself.

In some broadcasts, however, there may be no constituent literary or artistic work. The broadcaster cannot rely therefore on the licenses to the constituent works to protect the broadcast itself. Two typical examples would be a live broadcast of a sports event or a discussion program. In common law countries, the broadcaster is normally granted a copyright in the broadcast itself. But in Roman law countries, a broadcaster is only given a neighboring right. Therefore, the international protection afforded by the Berne Convention does not extend to these broadcasts. Under the Berne Convention, states are required to provide copyright protection for a term of the life of the author plus 50 years. However, the convention permits parties to provide for a longer term of protection. Recently, the duration of copyright protection has been extended in both the European Union and the United States. In 1993 the European Union issued a directive on harmonizing the term of copyright protection. The goal was to ensure that there was a single duration for copyright protection across all EU countries. The directive chose the term of Germany, which had the longest copyright term of any EU country, lasting 70 years after the death of the author.

In order to facilitate international trade in television programs, a number of European states used the umbrella of the Council of Europe to establish the European Agreement Concerning Program Exchanges by Means of Television Films in 1958 and the European Agreement to Protect Television Broadcasts in 1960. But in the following year, broadcasters were also afforded more limited, although more widespread, protection by the Rome Convention for the Protection of Performers, Phonogram Producers, and Broadcasting Organizations. Even so, broadcasters that are established in states that are not signatories to the Rome Convention may have to rely for protection on bilateral agreements between the country where they are established and that where protection is claimed. Elsewhere, the broadcaster's only protection could depend on the terms of the contract between the broadcaster and the foreign user.



To bring U.S. law into conformity with that of many European countries, the United States also extended the term in the Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act of 1998. The basic term now is the author's life plus 70 years, or 95 years for works created for hire, which means most corporate copyrights are valid for 95 years.

### The Collective Administration of Rights

For many broadcasters, the time and effort in negotiating copyright clearance for all the literary, musical, and artistic works used in their broadcasts is potentially extremely expensive and time-consuming. Conversely, many copyright owners have neither the means nor the ability to monitor the use of their work by broadcasters. In practice, therefore, many rights are collectively administered by collecting societies. These collecting societies are effectively cooperatives between different categories of rights holders.

Originally, this form of administration was mainly confined to musical works. But when sound recording and radio broadcasting arrived, composers and music publishers soon realized that the performing rights of their works in gramophone recordings and radio broadcasts would far outstrip sales of sheet music. They therefore transferred the right to authorize the use of their works to a collecting society. The collecting society can, in turn, authorize recording companies and broadcasters to use a wide range of music in one general contract. Depending on the agreement, the fee the broadcaster has to pay may either be standard or vary according to some agreed criterion, such as the broadcaster's net advertising revenue. The collecting society then passes its revenues back to its members, after deducting its administration costs. On the other hand, broadcasting licenses for cinematographic or musical works are still normally acquired by individual negotiation and the payment of a specific fee.

In the United States, broadcasters and cable operators pay a license fee to the three major music performing rights organizations: the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), and SESAC (formerly Society of European Stage Authors and Composers).

Founded as an international organization in 1926, the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC) has provided an international framework of cooperation and financial exchange between national collecting societies. In many countries, similar collecting organizations, or sometimes the same ones, have also been established to license the recording rights for musical works. A parallel international bureau of societies administering those rights, BIEM, has also been set up, which nego-

tiates model agreements with broadcasters and others that serve as the basis for licensing recordings throughout many parts of the world. Today collecting societies administer collectively the author's rights and neighboring rights for broadcasting, the public reception of broadcasts, and cable transmission (including retransmission of broadcasts). In Europe, the simultaneous cable transmission of broadcasts, both domestic and foreign, has led to the formation of "supercollectives," which are able to grant licenses on behalf of several different collective licensing organizations.

### Cable Relays of Broadcasts

Once a television program has been broadcast, it is technically possible to capture it and relay it to new audiences by cable. In the early days of the technology, cable was often used to improve signal reception, particularly in the so-called shadow zones, or to distribute the signal through large buildings. The Berne Convention permits states to determine the conditions under which authors of literary and artistic works may exercise their rights to communicate their works to the public by wire, provided that those conditions are prejudicial neither to the moral rights of the author nor to the right to receive equitable remuneration. Many states therefore impose compulsory licenses on the cable rights of literary and artistic works that were incorporated in broadcasts.

The Rome Convention affords even less protection. It denies a performer the right to prevent a performance from being communicated to the public by cable when the performance is already part of a broadcast; and it only allows a broadcaster a separate cable right in its television broadcasts if they are relayed to places where the public must pay an entrance fee. In many countries, therefore, cable operators can relay both domestic and foreign broadcasting services to their subscribers without a sublicense from the original broadcaster.

The U.S. Supreme Court originally held that it was not an infringement of copyright to relay broadcasts to paying subscribers. But the 1976 Copyright Act drew a distinction between "secondary transmissions," which simultaneously retransmit network programs or programs within the local service area of a broadcaster, and the retransmission of far-away nonnetwork programs. The former are deemed to have no adverse economic effect on the copyright owners, whereas the latter are determined to have such an effect, since they distribute the broadcast to a new audience that the original right owner did not anticipate when the works were first licensed. Each distant signal is therefore given a "distant signal equivalent," with different values for independent station networks and educational stations.



In the United States, the compulsory license originally provided for semiannual royalty payments by cable operators to the Copyright Royalty Tribunal (CRT). In 1993 Congress passed legislation to abolish the CRT. As a result, royalty rates are now determined by binding arbitration. The royalties are set by an entity within the U.S. Copyright Office, the Copyright Arbitration Royalty Panel. Every six months, cable operators must provide the Copyright Office with information about retransmitted broadcast signals and the system's gross subscriber receipts from secondary retransmission of local and distant broadcast signals.

In Europe the situation is variable. The United Kingdom permits licensed cable operators to retransmit the broadcasts of British broadcasting organizations. But in Germany, copyright owners are fully protected against their works being retransmitted by cable. In addition, both broadcasters and cable operators have a 25-year neighboring right against rebroadcasting and retransmission. In Austria, complete and unaltered transmissions of the public broadcaster ORF can be retransmitted throughout the country. On the other hand, cable retransmissions of foreign broadcasts are subject to copyright under a statutory license that sets out the remuneration criteria.

A cable operator can now pick up a broadcast signal from a foreign satellite and relay it to its domestic subscribers. In its Council Directive on the coordination of certain rules concerning copyright and rights related to copyright applicable to satellite broadcasting and cable retransmission (93/83), the European Union harmonized the rules for the internal market between its 15 member states. When a program from another member state is retransmitted by cable, the applicable copyrights and related rights must be observed. Any retransmission must be licensed by individual or collective contractual arrangements between cable operators and the relevant right holders. But this provision does not automatically apply to cable retransmissions of broadcasts from countries outside the European Union. Furthermore, although there are several European states that are members of the Council of Europe but not of the European Union, the parallel convention of the Council of Europe (the European Convention Relating to Questions of Copyright Law and Neighboring Rights in the Framework of Transfrontier Broadcasting by Satellite) does not cover the simultaneous, complete, and unchanged retransmission of satellite broadcasts by terrestrial means.

### Satellite Broadcasting

Satellite technologies recently have made transfrontier broadcasting possible. In some situations, the signals

are broadcast direct to home; elsewhere they are relayed by cable. Some channels, financed by advertising and sponsorship, broadcast open signals. Others, which are financed by subscription, broadcast encrypted signals. But in practice, every satellite service also has to negotiate the appropriate copyright clearances, both for the literary and artistic works in the program and for the broadcast itself.

The Rome Convention of 1961, which for the first time dealt with related or neighboring rights, made no reference to satellite broadcasting. Instead, the 1974 Brussels Convention Relating to the Distribution of Program-Carrying Signals Transmitted by Satellite dealt with the protection of satellite signals by which programs are transmitted between broadcasting organizations or between such organizations and cable distributors. As of this writing, while only 24 countries signed on to the Brussels Convention, the relevant jurisdiction for a transfrontier broadcast is a key issue that the international community has still to resolve.

In 1999 the United States passed legislation enacting the Satellite Home Viewer Improvement Act, which amended the copyright and communications law with respect to satellite delivery to subscribers of over-the-air television broadcast stations. The act provides satellite carriers with a royalty-free copyright license to clear the copyrights to local television broadcast programming in all television markets across the United States. As a result, some satellite carriers have already begun to offer packages of local network stations in certain markets.

### Home Taping

While broadcasters and program producers have been battling over copyright protection, another intense battle has been waged over the advent of new technologies such as home video recording and the exchange of copyrighted material on the Internet. Ordinary television audiences can now tape television programs off air, to be stored and replayed at a later time. Many educational institutions also tape broadcasts off air for educational use. There is still no firm agreement at the international level as to whether these activities are a breach of copyright. There are two distinct, but related, issues. First, does the act of making a video or audio recording infringe copyright? And second, does the replaying of the recording infringe copyright?

The Berne Convention allows countries to permit the reproduction of literary and artistic works "in certain special cases, provided that such reproduction does not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and does not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author" (Article 9); and there is a

parallel provision for broadcasts in the Rome Convention (Article 15). Therefore, it is not necessarily an infringement of copyright to make an off-air video recording, provided that the manner in which the recording is used does not conflict with the normal exploitation of the work and does not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author.

In general, common law countries, such as the United States, permit video recording for domestic use. In the United States, for example, the home videotaping of broadcast television programs was deemed to be fair use by the Supreme Court. In *Sony Corp. v. Universal Studios Inc.* (1984), the Court held that non-commercial in-home use of videotaped programs was not copyright infringement. This case has been referred to as the Betamax case, so named because of Sony's tape format at the time. The decision in the Betamax case opened the door to legal home videotaping of broadcast programs and spurred the purchase of home videotape recorders in the 1980s.

Since the United States is in the midst of moving toward digital television (DTV), there is a far-reaching legal debate about copyright protection in the digital age. As of the time of writing, the "broadcast flag" system is now the subject of a major rule-making proceeding at the Federal Communications Commission. The broadcast flag proposal is a combination of technical standards and federal regulations designed to prevent unauthorized redistribution of digital television broadcasts. It is a set of regulations requiring that DTV receivers and devices that receive content from them—such as TV sets, computers, DVD recorders, and other digital video recorders—be built to protect DTV content marked by digitally encrypted code called the "flag." Overall, a consensus is emerging among industry groups that the digital hardware will include provisions to prevent home videotaping once the DTV transition is complete.

Although most countries in continental Europe consider video recording to be a breach of the author's right, they simultaneously recognize that they cannot prevent the onward march of technology. Many therefore impose a levy, either on the sale of video recorders or on the sale of blank recording tape, or both, to "compensate" right owners for their "lost" revenues. As emerged first in Germany and spread to other states, currently, 12 EU member states have put in place a levy system. Conversely, many right owners consider these levies to be a compulsory license that has been imposed on their right to license the video recordings of television broadcasts of their works. In some countries, however, these levies are also used to subsidize the domestic film production industry. The principles on which such levies have been established

and the levels at which they have been set have often been ambiguous.

The regulations governing the educational use of video recordings are even more confused. The Berne Convention allows states to permit the use of literary or artistic works by way of illustration in broadcasts or visual recordings for teaching, provided such use is compatible with fair practice. In the United States, the fair use doctrine, outlined in Section 107 of the U.S. Copyright Act, states that under certain conditions, copyrighted works may be used for teaching, research, scholarship, criticism, or similar purpose without specific permission of the copyright holder. The federal fair use guidelines for off-air recording cover the recording of off-air programs simultaneously with broadcast transmission (including simultaneous cable transmission), which serve as primary criteria when courts assess fair use in cases involving off-air videotaping for educational purposes. Although they do not have the force of law, the guidelines have been considered a safe harbor for educational use. If a particular instance of off-air videotaping is not covered by a specific negotiated agreement with the copyright holder, the fair use guidelines for off-air recording may apply. These guidelines apply to off-air recording by non-profit educational institutions only.

The policy differences between individual states carry significant implications for domestic educational policies, but some degree of international harmonization may emerge. The EU Commission has prepared a draft directive to introduce a system of blank tape levies in all member states, although at the time of this writing, this proposal has not commanded the consent of a qualified majority in the Council of Ministers. Furthermore, a producer state could choose to use the stronger mechanism for resolving international disputes set down in the TRIPS Agreement in order to challenge a lax interpretation by a user state of the ambiguous provisions in the Berne Convention regulating off-air recording.

VINCENT PORTER AND SEUNG-HWAN MUN

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## Corbett, Harry H. (1925–1982)

British Actor

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British actor Harry H. Corbett is best remembered for the single role that dominated his career: Harold Steptoe in the BBC's popular and successful sitcom *Steptoe and Son*. Corbett added the "H" to his stage name to distinguish himself from the children's entertainer Harry Corbett (creator of *Sooty*). He did not display any particular leaning toward comedy in his early career, which consisted both of supporting and lead roles in film and television. His bulky frame made him a natural to play tough-guy roles. Corbett appeared regularly in ABC's groundbreaking anthology drama series, *Armchair Theatre*, contributing at least two performances to each season between 1957 and 1961. Notable productions included the death row drama *The Last Mile* (1957), directed by Philip Saville, and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1958).

When creating *Steptoe and Son* in 1962, writers Ray Galton and Alan Simpson wanted to cast straight actors, rather than comedians, in the lead roles of Harold and Albert Steptoe. Wilfrid Brambell was cast as Albert, and Corbett given the role of his son Harold. Corbett was later to claim credit for altering Galton and Simpson's original conception by lowering the ages of these characters, making Harold a man approaching his 40s (his own age).

Albert and Harold Steptoe run the business referred to by the show's title. Albert is a widower and Harold does most of the work. But Harold has dreams of ad-

vancement; he wants to be sophisticated, to get out of the business he is in, marry, and, most of all, get away from his father. However, these remain dreams, and he knows that his life will not change, and the struggle with his father will go on. The pilot episode, "The Offer," ends with Harold pitifully failing to drag his belongings away to a new life on the back of a cart, a heavily symbolic scene that set the tone for the series as a whole. Over the next four seasons of *Steptoe and Son*, Harold had all his dreams shattered by Albert, whether it was his cultural pursuits (classical music, antiques, and foreign films) or his romantic involvements.

Harry H. Corbett brought great dramatic pathos to the part of Harold, creating a character who struck a nerve in the audience. He had ambitions and pretensions beyond his abilities and social position and was often left bitterly disappointed, but he remained a decent and honest man. Corbett enriched Galton and Simpson's scripts and gave them a character to develop further as the series progressed. His own comic timing also developed with his character, particularly his delivery of the predictable catchphrase "You dirty old man!" when his father displayed his more earthy characteristics.

Between series, and when Galton and Simpson brought *Steptoe and Son* to an end in 1965, both Corbett and Brambell were sought for movie roles because



Harry H. Corbett.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

of their popularity, although Corbett's starring roles in *Ladies Who Do*, *The Bargee*, and *Rattle of a Simple Man* are barely remembered today. Corbett also became a regular on the chat show scene, particularly as a frequent guest on the *Eamonn Andrews Show*. The audience expected him to be funny and he knew it, but his failure only pointed up the fact that Harold Steptoe was his career.

Fortunately, the BBC brought *Steptoe and Son* back for another four seasons, in color, between 1970 and 1974, and there were two *Steptoe and Son* movies as well. The new episodes simply took up where the series had left off and achieved the same level of popularity and quality as before.

STEVE BRYANT

*See also Steptoe and Son*

**Harry H. Corbett.** Born in Rangoon, Burma, February 28, 1925. Attended schools in Manchester. Married: 1) Sheila Steafel (divorced); 2) Maureen Blott;

two children. Served in Royal Marines during World War II. Trained as radiographer before embarking on career as an actor; joined the Chorlton Repertory Company, later recruited by Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop in Stratford East, London; acted extensively in the theater and in films before achieving fame as Harold Steptoe in long-running *Steptoe and Son* comedy series, 1962–65 and 1970–75. Officer, Order of the British Empire, 1976. Died in Hastings, Kent, United Kingdom, March 21, 1982.

#### Television Series

1962–65, 1970–75	<i>Steptoe and Son</i>
1967	<i>Mr. Aitch</i>
1969	<i>The Best Things in Life</i>
1979–83	<i>Potter</i>
1980	<i>Grundy</i>

#### Films

*The Passing Stranger*, 1954; *Floods of Fear*, 1958; *Nowhere to Go*, 1958; *In the Wake of a Stranger*, 1959; *Shake Hands with the Devil*, 1959; *The Shake-down*, 1960; *Cover Girl Killer*, 1960; *The Big Day*, 1960; *The Unstoppable Man*, 1960; *Marriage of Convenience*, 1960; *Wings of Death*, 1961; *Time to Remember*, 1962; *Some People*, 1962; *Sparrows Can't Sing*, 1963; *Sammy Going South*, 1963; *Ladies Who Do*, 1963; *What a Crazy World*, 1963; *The Bargee*, 1964; *Rattle of a Simple Man*, 1964; *Joey Boy*, 1965; *Carry on Screaming*, 1966; *The Vanishing Busker*, 1966; *The Sandwich Man*, 1966; *Crooks and Coronets*, 1969; *Magnificent Seven Deadly Sins*, 1971; *Steptoe and Son*, 1972; *Steptoe and Son Ride Again*, 1973; *Percy's Progress*, 1974; *Hardcore*, 1976; *The Chiffy Kids*, 1976; *Adventures of a Private Eye*, 1977; *Jabberwocky*, 1977; *What's Up Superdoc*, 1979; *Silver Dream Racer*, 1980; *The Moles*, 1982.

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*Steptoe and Son*.

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## Corday, Barbara (1944– )

U.S. Television Producer

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Barbara Corday is one of several dozen women who first entered the television business in the early 1970s. She began her entertainment career with a small theatrical agency in New York and later worked there as a publicist. In 1967 she moved to Los Angeles and joined Mann Scharf Associates.

In 1972 she met Barbara Avedon, who had been a television writer for several years, at a political activist group. They began discussing writing and Corday sensed that her experience gave her a certain discipline and ability to tell a story succinctly and "in a kind of a linear fashion." She and Avedon became writing partners and came up with a project that "got us in the door" and that became their calling card. This led to their being hired as a writing team to do several projects, and as freelance writers they wrote numerous episodes for television series and a few pilots from 1972 to 1979.

It was during that period that the two women developed the idea for their best-known television creation, *Cagney and Lacey*. They began the project in 1974 as a theatrical film intended as a comedy feature. Written in a year when "buddy" movies had become popular, their project was a crazy comedy featuring two women, originally planned as a spoof of the police genre. Unable to get the movie made as a feature, they tried to sell it as a television series—and all three networks rejected it. Nobody wanted a television series about two women cops. But when they tried to sell it as a television movie, CBS said "maybe," and the two women rewrote the script completely, adjusting for budget and language and story. As Corday noted, "Here we had written this insane, irreverent feature with all kinds of chases and things exploding and clearly we couldn't do that for television. We retained a lot of what we thought was the feminist point of view."

However, there was a vast difference between what they created in 1974 and what it became by 1982. As Corday commented in an interview, "By the time the show went on as a television series, it was no longer necessary to say a lot of the things we had started out saying; and I think the show became far more intelligent and sensitive and interesting. The characters deepened and broadened and became much more real." Produced by Barney Rosenzweig, *Cagney and*

*Lacey* first appeared as a TV movie in 1981 and then was scheduled as a CBS series beginning in 1982.

In 1979 Avedon returned to freelancing on her own. Corday had by then determined that she was not able to sit down at the typewriter and create without the incentive of a particular show or episode. She liked going into the studio every day and working on projects that kept her really busy. A neighbor, an executive at ABC, offered her a position at the network. Corday surmised that the company wanted someone experienced in production and writing who could deal with writers and producers making shows for ABC. She took the job as vice president of comedy series development at ABC, where she remained for three years.

In 1982 she was offered a position with Columbia Pictures, where she started her own production company, Can't Sing, Can't Dance Productions. Having demonstrated that she could bring projects to completion, she was appointed president of Columbia Pictures Television in 1984, and in March 1987 took on the additional duties of overseeing another Coca-Cola television subsidiary, Embassy Communications. She became president and chief operating officer of Columbia/Embassy Television, overseeing production and development at both units. In October of that same year, she resigned as president.

In July 1988, Corday was named vice president of prime-time programs at CBS. The appointment, announced by network entertainment president Kim LeMasters, placed her in the number-two position behind LeMasters in overseeing the prime-time schedule and gave her broader programming responsibilities than any other woman had ever had at one of the three major television networks. By December 1989, LeMasters resigned after CBS failed to climb out of the third-place position in the ratings, and Corday left shortly thereafter.

In the spring of 1992, Lorimar Television hired Corday to be co-executive producer of the CBS evening serial *Knots Landing*. In the fall of 1993, she was appointed president of New World Television, where she was to create programming for first-run syndication. Following a managerial shakeup, Corday resigned after ten months. In 1996 she was named chair of the film and television production division at the Univer-

sity of Southern California School of Cinema-Television. She stepped down from the position in 2003, but continues to teach at the university.

Corday is a founding member of the Hollywood Women's Political Committee and a member of the Board of Governors of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. An outspoken advocate of equality in the workplace, she is one of the most articulate television executives. Her perceptive assessment of the role of women in the television industry coupled with her executive skills has earned her wide respect among her peers.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

See also *Cagney and Lacey*

**Corday, Barbara.** Born in New York City, October 15, 1944. Married: 1) Barney Rosenzweig, 1979 (divorced, 1990); 2) Roger Lowenstein, 1992. Began career as publicist in New York and Los Angeles; switched to TV writing; vice president for comedy series development, ABC-TV, 1979–82; co-creator (with Barbara Avedon), *Cagney and Lacey* TV series; president, Columbia Pictures TV, 1984–87; executive vice president, prime-time programming, CBS Entertainment, 1988–90; producer, *Knots Landing* TV series, 1992; president, New World Television, 1993–94; for-

merly chair of film and television production division, School of Cinema-Television, University of Southern California. Member: Caucus of Writers, Producers and Directors; founding member, Hollywood Women's Political Committee.

#### Television Series

- 1979 *American Dream* (writer for pilot)  
 1981 *Cagney and Lacey* (co-creator)  
 1992 *Knots Landing* (producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movie

- 1980 *Cagney and Lacey*

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## Coronation Street

### British Soap Opera

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*Coronation Street*, the longest-running and most successful British soap opera, was first transmitted on ITV on Friday, December 9, 1960. Made by Granada Television, a Manchester-based commercial company, the *Street*, as it is affectionately known, has been at the top of the British ratings for more than 30 years.

The program is perhaps best known for its realistic depiction of everyday working-class life in a northern community. Set in a fictional area of Weatherfield in a working-class region of northwest England, it grew out of the so-called kitchen sink drama style popularized in the late 1950s. The series, originally called *Florizel Street* by its creator, Tony Warren, began as a limited 13 episodes, but its cast of strong characters, its northern roots, and its sense of community immediately created a loyal following. These factors, com-

bined with skillfully written and often amusing scripts, have ensured its continued success.

From its opening titles with scenes of terraced houses, there is a strong sense of regional and local identity, which is echoed in the language of its characters. Set in a domestic existence of various homes, pubs, and shops, which are all set out to be part of everyday life, *Coronation Street* is imbued with a definite feeling of community. Through its account of supposedly everyday life, the program shows a high degree of social realism. A close parallel is made between the fictional world of Weatherfield and the everyday world inhabited by its audience, whose loyalty is encouraged by the sense of close community, the predictability of plot, and the regular transmission times.

The storylines of *Coronation Street* tend to concen-



*Coronation Street.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

trate on relationships within and between families rather than on topical or social issues, as is the case with the newer soaps such as *Brookside* and *East-Enders*. Critics might argue that the celebration of a mutually supportive community has more than a touch of nostalgia, whilst its fans would argue that the program reflects shifts in social attitudes in Britain.

Early episodes were recorded live without editing, requiring a high standard of performance. This theatrical style of production has influenced the character of the program, resulting in a reliance on good writing and ensemble performance. For many years *Coronation Street* was produced on a studio set and shot on multicamera with few exterior film inserts. The advent of the social realism soaps and introduction of lightweight video cameras have resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of exterior scenes. The *Street* itself has been expanded to incorporate such filming

with a specially constructed exterior set, although interior filming is still multicamera.

The *Street*, in common with other soaps, has always been noted for its independent and assertive women characters, such as Ena Sharples, Elsie Tanner, Annie Walker, and more recently Bet Lynch and Rita Fairclough. Even a more downtrodden character such as Hilda Ogden produced a huge amount of affection from the program's audience. The men in the cast often seem weak by comparison. The viewer of *Coronation Street* is often encouraged to make a moral judgment on the behavior of a particular character, and it is generally the stronger women characters who set the tone. Tony Warren summed up the program as "a fascinating freemasonry, a volume of unwritten rules.... *Coronation Street* sets out to explore these values and in doing so, to entertain."

Only two characters have remained on the program



since its launch—Ken Barlow, played by William Roache, and Emily Bishop, née Nugent, played by Eileen Derbyshire. However, the program has been the ground for many actors who have gone on to greater fame, such as Davy Jones (later of the Monkees), Joanna Lumley, and Ben Kingsley. The *Street* has also nurtured many novice writers such as Jack Rosenthal and Jimmy McGovern, while the award-winning, feature-film director Michael Apted has also been part of the production team.

The deaths and departures in recent years of several well-established characters combined with the introduction of *EastEnders*, *Brookside*, and the Australian soaps have resulted in a shift toward the lives of its younger characters.

The success of *Coronation Street* has resulted in a series of merchandising and promotional ventures by Granada, many of them focused around the soap's local pub and center of gossip, the Rover's Return. By providing a secure economic base through high ratings, *Coronation Street* has enabled Granada to build a wide range of programs. Because of the long-standing cultural ties and familiarity with the world it evokes, *Coronation Street* has also built up a sizable audience in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

In 1989 the *Street* went from two to three episodes a week, and in autumn 1996 this was increased to four. Granada was confident that a more pressurized production line would not affect *Coronation Street's* reputation for quality writing. Instead, it planned to develop secondary characters more strongly. *Corona-*

*tion Street* celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2000 and continues to top the ratings with an average audience of 16 million. Its longevity and success are testament to the firm place it holds in the hearts of the British public.

JUDITH JONES

#### *See also Soap Opera*

#### **Producers**

Stuart Latham, Derek Granger, Tim Aspinall, Harry Kershaw, Peter Eckersley, Jack Rosenthal, Michael Cox, Richard Doubleday, John Finch, June Howson, Leslie Duxbury, Brian Armstrong, Eric Prytherch, Susi Hush, Bill Podmore, Pauline Shaw, Mervyn Watson, John G. Temple, Carolyn Reynolds, H.V. Kershaw, Richard Everitt, David Liddiment

#### **Programming History**

Granada Television  
1960–

#### **Further Reading**

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## Cosby, Bill (1937– )

U.S. Comedian, Actor

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Bill Cosby is a successful comedian, product representative, television producer, storyteller, author, and film and television actor. His work in the media has been recognized by his peers and critics, and acclaimed by audiences.

Cosby began his career as a stand-up comedian and in that arena developed his trademark of using “raceless” humor to capture audience appeal. His “humor for everyone” cast him less as a jokester than as a storyteller, commenting on the experiences of life from a personal point of view. Immensely popular on the nightclub circuit, Cosby translated his act to phono-

graph recordings and won five Grammys and seven gold records for his comedy albums.

His first starring role on television, however, came not in comedy but in the 1960s action-adventure series *I Spy* (1965–68). Producer Sheldon Leonard fought network hesitance to cast him as costar for Robert Culp, making Cosby one of the first African-American players to appear in a continuing dramatic role on U.S. television. More than the faithful sidekick to the star, Cosby's role developed into an equal partner, winning him three Emmy Awards. His portrayal in this series introduced viewers to an inoffensive African-



American feature character who seldom addressed his blackness or another character's whiteness.

When Cosby began to produce his own comedy series, however, this disassociation with black culture ended. The programs he produced were noted not only for their wit but for introducing a side of African-American life never portrayed on the small screen. Cosby's comedies share several common characteristics. Each has been a trendsetter, has included characters surrounded by family and friends, and has specialized in plots with universal themes and multidimensional characters.

As Chet Kincaid in *The Bill Cosby Show* (1969–71), Cosby defied the typical image of the militant black man depicted on 1960s television by expressing his blackness in more subtle, nonverbal ways. Starting with the opening music by Quincy Jones, the program created a black ambience unique to the African-American experience. The character Kincaid wore dashikis, listened to black music, and had pictures of Martin Luther King and H. Rap Brown and prints by black artist Charles White hanging on the walls of his home. He worked with less-privileged children and ordered "soul" food in black restaurants. Kincaid was pictured as a colleague, friend, teacher, and member of a close, supportive family unit. Audiences experienced his failures and successes in coping with life's everyday occurrences.

*Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids* (1972–77) was the first animated show to include value-laden messages instead of the slapstick humor used in most cartoons to that time. Plots featured Fat Albert and the Kids playing, going to school, and sharing experiences. After the success of *Fat Albert* on CBS, ABC and NBC also added children's shows to the Saturday-morning schedule that presented specific value-oriented material.

Cosby's most notable success in series television, *The Cosby Show* (1984–92), departed from familiar sitcom formulas filled with disrespectful children and generational conflict; it presented instead a two-parent black family in which both partners worked as professionals. In the Huxtable household, viewers were exposed to the existence and culture of historically black colleges and universities. Prints by black artist Varnette Honeywood decorated the walls. The music of African-American jazz artists was woven into the background or featured for discussion. Events in black history and signs calling for an end to apartheid became elements of plots. Just as Chet Kincaid and the Cosby Kids portray their frailties and personality traits, the Huxtables followed this Cosby pattern by depicting imperfect but likable people in realistic situations.

Even when he turned to the police genre with *The Cosby Mysteries* (1994–95), Cosby continued his exploration and presentation of his fundamental con-

cerns. His use of nonverbal symbols (e.g., pictures, magazines, a fraternity paddle) attached his character, Guy Hanks, a retired criminologist (who recently won the lottery), to African-American culture.

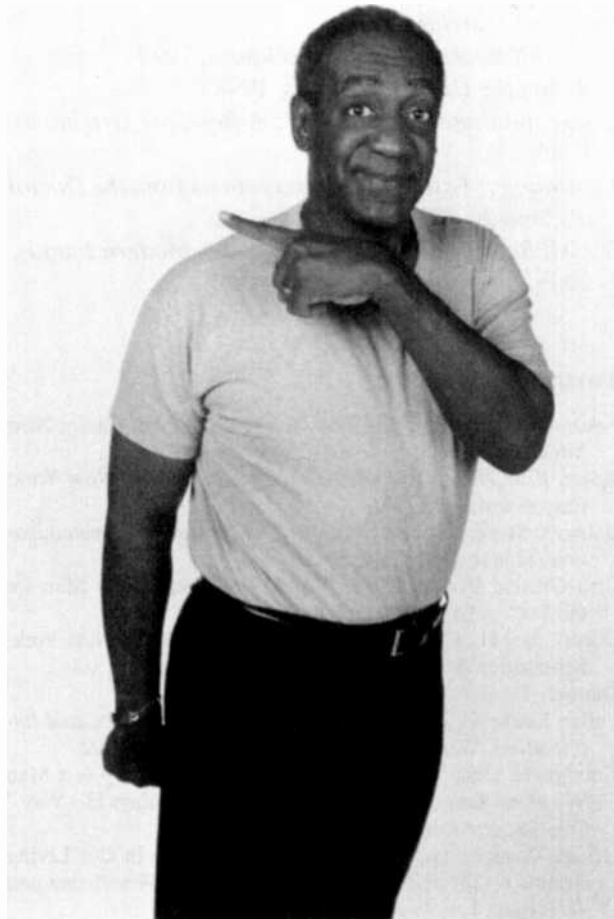
To ensure that universal themes were depicted in his series, Cosby hired professionals to serve as consultants to review scripts. *A Different World* (1987–93) was the spin-off series from *The Cosby Show* that portrayed life on the fictional Hillman College campus. It floundered during its first year on the air, and Cosby hired director and choreographer Debbie Allen to lend her expertise to focus and give direction to writers and actors. The ratings improved significantly, and *A Different World* became a top 20 program for the 1991 season.

*Cosby* premiered in September 1996 to solid ratings. CBS Television executive Leslie Moonves credited the series with helping to spark a turnaround at the network. Cosby portrayed Hilton Lucas, a curmudgeon and cranky-but-lovable airline employee, forced to readjust when he was laid off, after 30 years, when the company decided to downsize. Lucas spent his days sitting home complaining to his wife Ruthie, who patiently listened to his gripes. Frequent visitors to the Lucas household included grown daughter and law school graduate Erica, Ruthie's friend Pauline, and next-door neighbor Griffin.

The series, based on a British sitcom, *One Foot in the Grave*, initially met with harsh reviews. Some critics felt the Lucas character was too far removed from America's favorite father depicted on *The Cosby Show*. Others believed the storylines were lethargic and the characters poorly developed. After the original writer and executive producer, Richard Day, was fired, the series changed and began to look more like a traditional Cosby sitcom. The Lucas character softened and stopped complaining; upbeat and brighter storylines aired; children appeared in the cast; and a more congenial relationship developed between Lucas and Griffin. The series, though not a ratings winner comparable to *The Cosby Show*, still survived four seasons before going off the air in 2000.

In the 1990s, Cosby also starred in new versions of two old television favorites: *You Bet Your Life*, originally hosted by Groucho Marx, and Art Linkletter's *Kids Say the Darndest Things*. Neither was a hit.

Commercials began to interest Cosby in the mid-1970s, and he has become one of the most respected and believable product spokespersons on television. He has represented Coca-Cola, Jello, Ford Motor Company, Texas Instruments, and Del Monte Foods. Marketing Evaluations, Inc.'s TVQ index, the U.S. television industry's annual nationwide survey of a performer's popularity with viewers, and Video Storyboard Tests, a firm that ranks the most persuasive entertainers in television commercials, rated Cosby the



Bill Cosby.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

number-one entertainer for five consecutive years during the 1980s.

In 1974 Cosby teamed with Sidney Poitier in the film *Uptown Saturday Night*. This duo was so popular with audiences that two sequels followed, *Let's Do It Again* (1975) and *A Piece of the Action* (1977). Cosby has also starred in a number of other movies, but his Everyman character, so successful on the small screen, has not translated into box office revenues in theatrical releases.

As a creative artist, Cosby's forte is the half-hour comedy. In this form his application and exploration of universal themes and multidimensional characters create situations common to audiences of all ages and races. He counters the accepted practice of portraying African Americans as sterile reproductions of whites, as trapped in criminality, or as persons immersed in abject poverty performing odd jobs for survival. Instead, he creates black characters who are accepted or rejected because they depict real people, rather than "types." These characters emanate from his own expe-

rience, not through reading the pages of 18th-century literature or viewing old tapes of *Amos 'n' Andy*. *The Bill Cosby Show* presented a more realistic image of the black male than had been seen previously. *Fat Albert* significantly altered Saturday-morning network offerings. And with *The Cosby Show*, a standard was set to which all television portrayals of the black family and African-American culture will be compared. Cosby's personal style is stamped on all his products, and his creative technique and signature are reflected in each book he writes or series he produces. As the 21st century begins, Cosby remains one of the few African-American television stars with the clout to determine his destiny on and off the small screen.

BISHETTA D. MERRIT

See also *Cosby Show, The; Different World, A; I Spy*

**Bill Cosby.** Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, July 12, 1937. Served in U.S. Navy, 1956–60. Attended Temple University; University of Massachusetts, M.A., 1972, Ed.D., 1977. Married: Camille Hanks, 1965; children: Erika Rane, Erinn Chalene, Ennis William, Ensa Camille, and Evin Harrah. Worked as stand-up comedian through college; appeared on *The Tonight Show*, 1965; starred in TV's *I Spy*, 1965–68; guest appearances on shows, including *The Electric Company*, 1971–76; host and voices, *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids*, 1972–79; star and producer, various television programs, since 1984. Recipient: four Emmy Awards; eight Grammy Awards for comedy recordings.

#### Television Series

1964–65	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>
1965–68	<i>I Spy</i>
1969–71	<i>The Bill Cosby Show</i>
1971–76	<i>The Electric Company</i>
1972–73	<i>The New Bill Cosby Show</i>
1972–77	<i>Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids</i>
1976	<i>Cos</i>
1981	<i>The New Fat Albert Show</i>
1984–92	<i>The Cosby Show</i>
1987–93	<i>A Different World</i> (executive producer)
1992–93	<i>You Bet Your Life</i>
1992–93	<i>Here and Now</i> (executive producer)
1994–95	<i>The Cosby Mysteries</i>
1996–2000	<i>Cosby</i>
1998	<i>Kids Say the Darndest Things</i> (host)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1971	<i>To All My Friends on Shore</i>
1978	<i>Top Secret</i>
1994	<i>I Spy Returns</i>

### Television Specials

- 1968 *The Bill Cosby Special*  
1969 *The Second Bill Cosby Special*  
1970 *The Third Bill Cosby Special*  
1971 *The Bill Cosby Special, Or?*  
1972 *Dick Van Dyke Meets Bill Cosby*  
1975 *Cos: The Bill Cosby Comedy Special*  
1977 *The Fat Albert Christmas Special*  
1977 *The Fat Albert Halloween Special*  
1984 *Johnny Carson Presents The Tonight Show Comedians*  
1986 *Funny*

### Films

*Hickey and Boggs*, 1972; *Man and Boy*, 1972; *Uptown Saturday Night*, 1974; *Let's Do It Again*, 1975; *Mother, Jugs, and Speed*, 1976; *A Piece of the Action*, 1977; *California Suite*, 1978; *The Devil and Max Devlin*, 1981; *Bill Cosby, Himself*, 1982; *Leonard: Part VI*, 1987; *Ghost Dad*, 1990; *The Meteor Man*, 1993; *Jack*, 1996; *Men of Honor* (executive producer), 2000.

### Recordings

*Bill Cosby Is a Very Funny Fellow... Right!; I Started Out as a Child; Why Is There Air?; Wonderfulness; Revenge; To Russell My Brother with Whom I Slept; Bill Cosby Is Not Himself These Days; Rat Own Rat Own Rat Own; My Father Confused Me; What Must I Do? What Must I Do?; Disco Bill; Bill's Best Friend; Cosby and the Kids; It's True It's True; Bill Cosby—Himself; 200 MPH; Silverthroat; Hooray for the Salvation Army Band; 8:15 12:15; For Adults Only; Bill Cosby Talks to Kids About Drugs; Inside the Mind of Bill Cosby.*

### Publications

*The Wit and Wisdom of Fat Albert*, 1973  
*Bill Cosby's Personal Guide to Tennis Power*, 1975  
*Fatherhood*, 1986

*Time Flies*, 1988  
*Love and Marriage*, 1989  
*Little Bill Books* (series for children), 1997–  
*Kids Say the Darndest Things*, 1998  
*Congratulations! Now What?: A Book for Graduates*, 1999  
*Cosbyology: Essays and Observations from the Doctor of Comedy*, 2001  
*It's All Relative: A Field Guide to the Modern Family*, 2001

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## Cosby Show, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Cosby Show*, one of the biggest surprise hits in American television history, dominated Thursday evenings from 1984 to 1992. Focusing on the every-

day adventures of an upper-middle-class black family, the series revived a television genre (situation comedy), saved a beleaguered network (NBC), and

sparked controversy about race and class in the United States.

*The Cosby Show* premiered September 20, 1984, and shot to the top of the ratings almost immediately. The series finished third in the ratings its first season (1984–85) and first for the next four seasons. *The Cosby Show* fell from the very top of the ratings only after its sixth season (1989–90), when it finished second behind another family-oriented situation comedy, *Roseanne*.

*The Cosby Show* was almost not to be. NBC recruited Marcy Carsey and Tom Werner to develop the sitcom after a Bill Cosby monologue about child rearing on NBC's *Tonight* show impressed the network's entertainment chief, Brandon Tartikoff. However, despite Cosby's widespread popularity—he had registered one of the highest audience appeal ratings in history as a commercial pitchman—programmers initially viewed his star potential with suspicion. His television career history was mixed. After costarring in the hit series *I Spy* (1965–68), Cosby appeared in a string of ratings failures: *The Bill Cosby Show* (1969), *The New Bill Cosby Show* (1972), and *Cos* (1976). While NBC fretted over questions concerning Cosby's viability as a television star and situation comedy's status as a dying genre, Carsey and Werner presented the idea to ABC. That network was not interested. At the last minute, just in time for inclusion in the fall schedule, NBC gave a firm commitment to Carsey and Werner to produce a pilot and five episodes for the sitcom. The extraordinary success of the show quickly propelled also-ran NBC into first place in the prime-time ratings.

Set and taped before a studio audience in Brooklyn, New York, *The Cosby Show* revolved around the day-to-day situations faced by Cliff (Bill Cosby) and Clair Huxtable (Phylicia Ayers-Allen, later Phylicia Rashad) and their five children. This family was unlike other black families previously seen on television in that it was solidly upper-middle-class: the Huxtables lived in a fashionable Flatbush brownstone; the father was a respected gynecologist; and the mother a successful attorney. Theo (Malcolm Jamal-Warner), the only son, was something of an underachiever who enjoyed a special relationship with his father. The oldest daughter, Sondra (Sabrina LeBeauf), was a college student at prestigious Princeton University. The next-oldest daughter, Denise (Lisa Bonet), tested her parents' patience with rather eccentric, new-age preoccupations. Denise left the series after the third season to attend the fictitious, historically black Hillman College; her experiences there became the basis of a spin-off, *A Different World* (1987–93). The two younger daughters, Rudy (Keisha Knight Pulliam) and Vanessa (Tempestt Bledsoe), were cute preteens who served admirably as foils to Cosby's hilarious child-rearing routines. Se-

cure in a cocoon of loving parents and affluence, the Huxtable kids steered clear of trouble as they grew up over the series' eight-year run. Indeed, *TV Guide* compared the Huxtables' lifestyle with that of other black families in the United States and described the family as the most "atypical black family in television history."

For many observers, *The Cosby Show* was unique in other ways as well. For example, unlike many situation comedies, the program avoided one-liners, buffoonery, and other standard tactics designed to win laughs. Instead, series writers remained true to Cosby's vision of finding humor in realistic family situations, in the minutiae of human behavior. Thus, episodes generally shunned typical sitcom formulas, featuring instead a rather loose story structure and unpredictable pacing. Moreover, the soundtrack was sweetened with jazz, and the Huxtable home prominently featured contemporary African-American art. Several observers described the result as "classy."

In many respects, *The Cosby Show* and its "classy" aura were designed to address a long history of negative portrayals of blacks on television. Indeed, Alvin Poussaint, a prominent black psychiatrist, was hired by producers as a consultant to help "recode blackness" in the minds of audience members. In contrast to the families in other popular situation comedies about blacks—for example, those in *Sanford and Son* (1972–77), *Good Times* (1974–79), and *The Jeffersons* (1975–85)—the Huxtables were given a particular mix of qualities that its creators thought would challenge common stereotypes of African Americans. These qualities included a strong father figure; a strong nuclear family; parents who were professionals; affluence and fiscal responsibility; a strong emphasis on education; a multigenerational family; multiracial friends; and low-key racial pride.

This project, of course, was not without its critics. Some observers described the show as a 1980s version of *Father Knows Best*, with the Huxtables as a white family in blackface. Moreover, as the show's debut coincided with President Reagan's landslide reelection, and as many of the Huxtables' "qualities" seemed to echo key Republican themes, critics labeled the show's politics as "reformist conservatism." The Huxtables' affluence, they argued, worked to obscure persistent inequalities in the United States—especially those faced by blacks and other minority groups—and to validate the myth of the American Dream. One audience study suggested that the show "strikes a deal" with white viewers, absolving them of responsibility for racial inequality in the United States in exchange for inviting the Huxtables into their living room. Meanwhile, the same study found that black viewers tended to embrace the show for its positive portrayals of blackness but ex-



*The Cosby Show*, Sabrina LeBeauf, Keshia Knight Pulliam, Lisa Bonet, Malcolm-Jamal Warner, Phylicia Rashad, Bill Cosby, Tempestt Bledsoe, 1984–92.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

pressed misgivings about the Huxtables' failure to regularly interact with less-affluent blacks.

On an April evening in 1992—when the United States was being saturated with images of fires and racial and economic turmoil from Los Angeles—many viewers opted to tune in to the farewell episode of *The Cosby Show*. In Los Angeles, at least, this viewing choice was almost not an option. KNBC-TV's news coverage of the civil unrest seemed certain to preempt the show, much as news coverage would preempt other network affiliates' regular prime-time programming that evening. But as Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley worked to restore order to a war-torn city, he offered, perhaps, the greatest testament to the social significance of the series: he successfully lobbied KNBC-TV to broadcast the final episode as originally scheduled.

DARNELL M. HUNT

See also *Cosby, Bill; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television*

#### Cast

Dr. Heathcliff (Cliff) Huxtable	Bill Cosby
Clair Huxtable	Phylicia Rashad
Sondra Huxtable Tibideaux	Sabrina Le Beauf
Denise Huxtable Kendall	Lisa Bonet
Theodore Huxtable	Malcolm-Jamal Warner
Vanessa Huxtable	Tempestt Bledsoe
Rudy Huxtable	Keisha Knight Pulliam
Anna Huxtable	Clarice Taylor
Russel Huxtable	Earl Hyman
Peter Chiara (1985–89)	Peter Costa
Elvin Tibideaux (1986–92)	Geoffrey Owens
Kenny ("Bud") (1986–92)	Deon Richmond
Cockroach (1986–87)	Carl Anthony Payne II
Denny (1987–91)	Troy Winbush
Lt. Martin Kendall (1989–92)	Joseph C. Phillips
Olivia Kendall (1989–92)	Raven-Symone
Pam Tucker (1990–92)	Erika Alexander
Dabnis Brickey (1991–92)	William Thomas, Jr.

#### Producers

Marcy Carsey, Tom Werner, Caryn Sneider, Bill Cosby

#### Programming History

200 episodes

NBC

September 1984–June 1992

Thursday 8:00–8:30

July 1992–September 1992

Thursday 8:30–9:00

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# Cost-per-Thousand and Cost-per-Point

## Media Efficiency Measurement Ratios

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Cost-per-thousand (CPM) and cost-per-point (CPP) are two methods of evaluating media efficiency. CPM is a ratio based on how much it costs to reach 1,000 people. CPP is a ratio based on how much it costs to buy one rating point, or 1 percent of the population in an area being evaluated.

Cost-per-thousand is calculated by using the following formula:

Cost of advertising schedule purchased  
$$\text{CPM} = \frac{\text{Cost of advertising schedule purchased}}{1,000 \text{ gross impressions}}$$

Cost-per-point is calculated by using the following formula:

Cost of advertising schedule purchased  
$$\text{CPP} = \frac{\text{Cost of advertising schedule purchased}}{\text{gross rating points (GRPs or "grips")}}$$

Some explanations: The area being evaluated might be a country, such as the United States, or a television market, such as New York. The major networks cover virtually all of the United States, and their audiences are measured by ACNielsen, the company that provides television networks, television stations, and advertisers with audience measurement, or rating, information.

Television markets typically cover an area inside a circle with a radius of about 75 miles from television stations' transmitter sites plus those homes reached by cable television systems that carry local TV station signals. Such an area is referred to as a "designated marketing area" (DMA) by ACNielsen. DMAs can encompass several counties and many cities and are usually designated by the largest city in the area. For example, the New York market includes Newark, New Jersey; Long Island and White Plains, New York; and Stamford, Connecticut.

The average television network program achieves about an 11.0 rating, which means it reaches 11 percent of the 94 million homes in the United States with television sets, or approximately 10.3 million homes. If an advertiser were to buy 10 commercials each with a rating of 11.0 on a network (ABC, for example), then it would make 10 times 10.3 million, or 103 million gross impressions. If ABC charged an average of \$150,000 per 30-second commercial (the typical tele-

vision commercial length), the total cost of a 10-commercial schedule would be \$1.5 million. The CPM of the schedule would be:

\$1.5 million

$$\text{CPM} = \frac{\$1.5 \text{ million}}{103,000} \text{ (103 million gross impressions } \div \text{ 1,000)}$$

$$\text{CPM} = \$14.56 \text{ (\$1.5 million divided by 103,000; the cost of making 1,000 impressions)}$$

Advertisers and their advertising agencies and media-buying services evaluate television networks based on CPM because it is a good comparative measure of media efficiency across several media. Thus, the efficiency of reaching 1,000 viewers with the above theoretical schedule on ABC could be compared, for example, with how much it cost to reach 1,000 readers with an ad in *Cosmopolitan*.

There are two primary buying methods, or markets, in which advertising time is purchased on network television. These are referred to as the "upfront" market and the "scatter" market. The upfront buying market is usually active in the spring of each year. Advertisers place orders for commercials that will appear in television programs run during the television season beginning in the fall of each year. By buying in advance and committing for a full network season (which runs until roughly the second week in April) advertisers are given lower prices than they would pay in the later, scatter, market. The scatter market is active at a period much closer to the actual time when the advertising is to appear. Advertisers may purchase time in September, for example, in order for their ads to run during a fourth-quarter schedule, from October through December.

The networks give advertisers CPM guarantees for buying in the upfront market. If a network does not deliver the guaranteed ratings, it will run free commercials, called "make-goods," to compensate for the rating shortfall.

In the past, CPMs for television networks have been based on the number of households watching. However, the use of newer technologies such as VCRs and cable television networks has increasingly fragmented the television audience. Recognizing this change, ad-



vertisers have tended to evaluate and compare network schedules based on persons reached rather than on households. Even more specifically, they have based their analysis and spending on numbers of persons within demographic groups. The two most desirable demographics for advertisers are women 18 to 49 years old and all adults 25 to 54.

Advertisers evaluate local television stations based on cost-per-point because the method provides a good comparative measure of media efficiency within a broadcast medium. Rating points are also used by advertising agency media departments as a planning tool to make very rough estimates of how many times an average viewer might be reached by a particular advertisement placed within the television schedule. For example, a media plan might call for

300 rating points to be purchased in a television market with the hope that 100 percent of the viewers in the market might see a commercial three times (a frequency of three). Thus, using rating points and CPP serves both an evaluative function and a planning function.

CHARLES WARNER

*See also* **Market; Ratings; Share**

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## Country Music Television

### U.S. Cable Network

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Country Music Television (CMT), a 24-hour, advertiser-supported music video channel that airs videos exclusively on basic cable systems, has emerged in recent years as one of the fastest growing cable channels in the United States. In a symbiotic relationship with record companies and radio stations, CMT has become the most influential aspect in the introduction and popularity of new artists in the country music entertainment field. CMT is also credited with creating the "young country" format that many radio stations have adopted, and with shaping other new trends in the country music genre.

The channel went on the air in March 1983 with about 20 videos and a very small audience. Many observers in the country music industry did not take the channel seriously because they were too concerned about the image already created by Music Television (MTV), an image decidedly at odds with that created by the country music establishment in Nashville. After several years of struggle, CMT was acquired in 1991 by Gaylord Communications and Group W Satellite Communications. In 1999 it was

purchased by Viacom, Inc., in a group deal for MTV Networks.

In 1992 CMT was launched in Europe. It went on the air in the Asia-Pacific region in 1994 and in Latin America in 1995. According to the ACNielsen ratings service, CMT now reaches almost 57 million domestic subscribers. CMT also offers an extensive Internet website designed for a younger audience featuring artist appearances, play lists, reviews, and television schedules.

The popularity of country music was not truly realized until the use of Soundscan, a computerized tabulation technique. This system, which reads a barcode and counts the actual number of record, cassette, and compact disc sales, is used at discount stores such as Wal-Mart and Kmart, where a significant number of purchases of country music are made. ACNielsen reports that CMT is the number-one choice for cable programming among women aged 18 to 49.

Based in Nashville, CMT has become a major influence in the success of country music artists and their records. The network features live specials including



the Farm Aid benefit concert and sponsors the popular Fan Fair in Nashville annually. CMT develops original programming and houses a library of 4,000-plus music videos. Its promotional fleet includes several 53-foot promotional trucks that regularly promote special events and enhance more than 1,200 local events across the United States.

*The Gavin Reports*, a music industry publication, noted that much of the popularity of country music artists is attributed to CMT and the impact it has had on the marketing of country music. Another indication of this effect is evidenced through the tracking of CMT's "pick hits," videos selected each week to receive additional play. In 1993, 68 percent of the

recordings supported by pick hit videos reached the top ten charts of *Radio and Records*, a major music industry trade publication.

MARGARET MILLER BUTCHER

*See also* MTV; Music on Television

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## Country Practice, A

### Australian Drama Series

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*A Country Practice*, one of Australia's longest-running and most successful drama series, aired on Australian Television Network (Channel 7) in Sydney and networked stations across Australia from 1981 to 1994. Produced by Sydney-based company JNP, the series consistently drew high ratings in Australia and also screened on the ITV network in Britain, on West German cable television, and on the European satellite system Sky TV, as well as in the United States, Italy, Sweden, New Zealand, Ireland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malta, and Hong Kong. In the mid-1980s, executive producer James Davern estimated an audience worldwide of between 5 and 6 million people.

In their comprehensive, book-length treatment of the series, John Tulloch and Albert Moran identify *A Country Practice* as "quality soap." While produced on a modest budget, it was noted for the high priority given to creative script development and its sometimes provocative treatment of topical social issues. It was particularly important in the context of Australian television for staking a position somewhere between the high-cultural production values of the government-funded Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the often narrow commercialism of Australian drama screened on the privately owned networks.

Set in Wandin Valley, a fictional location in rural New South Wales, the series focused on a small medical practice, a site that provides a window into the life of the wider community. Key founding characters were Dr. Terence Elliott (Shane Porteous); his junior partner, Dr. Simon Bowen (Grant Dodwell); the doctors' receptionist, Shirley Dean (Lorraie Desmond); and her daughter Vicky (Penny Cook), a local vet. The mainstay of narrative development was romance, the most notable instance being the evolving relationship of Simon and Vicky, which culminated, at the high point of the series' ratings, in their wedding in 1983. Against this background and the general peace of the rural community, disruptive and confrontational episodes often dealt with illnesses or deaths encountered in the medical practice but also took up issues such as youth unemployment, the problems of aging, or the position of aboriginal people in Australian society.

Much of the interest of the series was generated by the ongoing tension between romanticism and realism. On the one hand, it was a conscious policy, as producer James Davern put it, "to reinforce the positive values of human relationships." The series rarely featured violence, frankly presenting itself as an es-



*A Country Practice.*  
*Photo courtesy of JNP Films Pty. Ltd.*

cape from the harsher realities of news and current affairs, and implicitly distancing itself both from the dominant strain in imported U.S.-produced drama and from other long-running Australian series such as *Prisoner* and *Homicide*. The rural setting provided ample opportunity for midrange shots of outdoor scenes as well as the inclusion of animals. It also established the series within the tradition that has been most successful in giving Australian audiovisual products international exposure, a tradition that includes feature films such as *Picnic at Hanging Rock*, *The Man from Snowy River*, and *Crocodile Dundee*. More recently, the international appeal of Australian settings as a site of innocence and harmonious community has been spectacularly demonstrated by the success of *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* in the United Kingdom.

On the other hand, the series became widely recognized for its topicality on medical and social issues and responded closely to the immediate concerns of its largely urban audience. Material for episodes was often directly inspired by news or current-affairs stories or by suggestions from viewers and organizations such as the Australian Medical Association. Particularly in the medical area, *A Country Practice* was overtly pedagogical, providing basic information on problems such as heart failure, leukemia, epilepsy, alcoholism, and leprosy. Working from the relative safety of this base of technical expertise, it also took positions on more controversial issues—for example, suggesting in one notable episode that unemployment cannot be blamed on a lack of motivation of the unemployed themselves. The series employed naturalistic dialogue, sets, and action, and it strove to avoid what is often identified in Australia as “Hollywood” sentimentality.

*A Country Practice* ceased production in 1993, largely as a result of staff losses. In the history of Australian television, it remains a landmark for its success in overseas markets and for setting a standard in quality, low-budget production.

MARK GIBSON

**Cast**

Ben Green	Nick Bufalo
Alex Fraser/Elliott	Di Smith
Jo Loveday/Langley	Josephine Mitchell
Cathy Hayden/Freeman	Kate Raison

Matt Tyler	John Tarrant
Lucy Gardiner/Tyler	Georgie Parker
Dr. Chris Kouros	Michael Muntz
Jessica Kouros	Georgina Fisher
Julian “Luke” Ross	Matt Day
Dr. Terence Elliott	Shane Porteous
Sister Shirley Dean/Gilroy	Lorraie Desmond
Sgt. Frank Gilroy	Brian Wenzel
Vet Vicky Dean/Bowen	Penny Cook
Dr. Simon Bowen	Grant Dodwell
Melissa “Molly” Jones	Anne Tenney
Brendan Jones	Shane Withington
Vernon “Cookie” Locke	Syd Heylen
Bob Hatfield	Gordon Piper
Miss Esme Watson	Joyce Jacobs
Nurse Judy Loveday	Wendy Stretlow
Matron Sloan	Joan Sydney

**Producers**

James Davern, Lynn Bayonas, Marie Trevor, Bruce Best, Forrest Redlich, Bill Searle, Denny Lawrence, Robyn Sinclair, Peter Dodds, Mark Callam

**Programming History**

1,058 episodes  
 Seven Network  
 November 1981–January 1982 Monday and Thursday  
 7:30–8:30  
 February 1982–March 1987 Tuesday and  
 Wednesday 7:30–  
 8:30  
 March 1987–April 1993 Monday and Tuesday  
 7:30–8:30  
 29 episodes  
 Ten Network  
 April 1994–May 1994 Wednesday 7:30–8:30  
 June 1994–July 1994 Saturday 7:30–8:30  
 July 1994–November 1994 Saturday 5:30–6:30

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## Couric, Katie (1957– )

U.S. Anchor

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Katie Couric became a national celebrity on April 5, 1991, the day she began her tenure as the female coanchor on NBC's *Today*. Her arrival in that position was also tinged with notoriety, as she replaced Deborah Norville, then on maternity leave with some expectation of returning to the post. Barbara Walters, Jane Pauley, and Norville had previously filled the same position, with Walters and Pauley each spending 13 years welcoming viewers to the peacock network's morning news and talk show. Couric is expected to outlast her predecessors. In December 2001, she agreed to stay with *Today* until 2006 and will earn more than \$13 million per year. When the contract was signed, Couric became the highest-paid woman in television news.

Historically, *Today* has garnered more viewers than its chief competitor, ABC's *Good Morning America*. *Today*'s ratings plunged when Pauley left, however, and for 34 weeks, while Norville served as *Today* coanchor with Bryant Gumbel, ABC attracted a larger audience at 7 A.M. than NBC. Soon after Couric began her hosting duties, Gumbel left for vacation. That week, *Today* overtook *Good Morning America* as the nation's most-watched morning show. Since then, Couric has helmed *Today* through a cohost change (when Gumbel departed the show), guest anchored the *Nightly News*, and provided coverage for NBC's sports, newsmagazines, and parades.

Katherine Anne Couric was born January 7, 1957, in Arlington, Virginia, to Elinor and John Couric, a journalist. She majored in American studies at the University of Virginia, graduating with honors. Twenty-two-year-old Couric impressed veteran television journalist Sam Donaldson, who appointed her as a desk assistant at ABC network news. A year later, she joined Cable News Network (CNN) in a behind-the-scenes capacity. CNN transferred Couric between venues and eventually gave her on-air exposure. She worked at WTVJ in Miami from 1984 to 1986 as a general assignment reporter.

Couric changed employers again in 1987, moving to Washington, D.C.'s NBC affiliate, WRC-TV. While there, Couric won both a local Emmy and an Associated Press award for a feature about a dating service for the handicapped. In 1989 NBC promoted her to the post of

deputy Pentagon correspondent. She joined *Today* as its first national news correspondent in 1990 and in January 1991, became interim host of *Today*. Three months later she accepted the permanent anchor position.

Viewers found Couric to be a compelling personality. The *Washington Journalism Review* named her Best in the Business in 1993, and *Glamour* magazine recognized her as a Woman of the Year. In 2001 the Harris Poll asked a national sample of men and women, "Who is your favorite TV personality?" Couric ranked ninth. In feature articles, she is frequently categorized in terms of her energy and attitude. *Salon Magazine* called her "a chipper everywoman," the *Boston Globe* said Couric was "both impish and assertive," and a satirist described her as "the queen of perky."

NBC capitalized on Couric's popularity by extending her exposure within prime-time news programming. Her assignments included stints as coanchor for *Dateline NBC*, the network's coverage of the XIX Winter Olympic Games from Salt Lake City, and the defunct shows *Now, with Tom Brokaw and Katie Couric* and cable channel MSNBC's interview program *Internight*. Couric has been nominated for 12 national Emmys and has won the award five times for hosting Macy's Thanksgiving Day parades.

Couric has interviewed many of the nation's leading newsmakers. More notable interviewees included Supreme Court justice Sandra Day O'Connor; Colin Powell in 1993 just after his stint with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and again as secretary of defense on September 12, 2001; Reverend Billy Graham; Bill Gates; and Amazon.com's Jeff Bezos. Couric conducted Hillary Clinton's initial TV interview as First Lady and John Kennedy Jr.'s final interview prior to his death in July 2000. Often, however, her subjects are common people faced with extraordinary challenges.

Couric has guest-starred as herself on the television programs *Murphy Brown* and *Will & Grace*; she played a prison guard in the 2002 movie *Austin Powers in Goldmember*. Couric also has publishing credits. She coauthored the children's book *The Brand New Kid*, about how school children interact with classmates from other ethnic groups. Couric penned an introduction for *Life Magazine*'s photograph collection



Katie Couric.  
Courtesy of Allison Gollust/NBC

*Life with Mother*, and she also wrote the foreword for *Childhood Revealed: Art Expressing Pain, Discovery, and Hope*, a collection of drawings from adolescents with emotional, mental, or physical problems.

Couric's personal life has been a success story laden with profound family tragedies. In 1988 she met Washington, D.C., attorney John Paul "Jay" Monahan III, and they married in 1989. The couple had two children, Elinor born in 1990 and Caroline born in 1996. Monahan was diagnosed with colorectal cancer in

1997 and died nine months later in January 1998. Couric's eldest sister, Virginia state senator Emily Couric, died of pancreatic cancer in October 2001.

When Couric's husband began his health struggle, she became a champion for colon cancer awareness, testing, and research. With the Entertainment Industry Foundation and philanthropist Lilly Tartikoff, Couric founded the National Colorectal Cancer Research Alliance (NCCRA). In 2001 she won a George Foster Peabody Award for televising her own colonoscopy examination. In 2002 Couric spoke with cancer survivor and activist Molly McMaster on *Today*. The show premiered public service announcements about the disease prepared at Couric's request by top New York, Boston, and Austin advertising agencies and to be used throughout the United States.

Besides her advocacy on *Today*, Couric has used her connections to influence government policy. In 1998 Hillary Rodham Clinton hosted a White House event focusing on colorectal cancer awareness and screenings. Prior to her death, Couric's sister Emily sponsored a new Virginia law that requires insurance companies to pay for colon cancer screenings. In 2000 Couric testified before Congress about how the disease has affected her life.

It is likely that Katie Couric will be remembered in years to come as an energetic and intelligent woman, someone who used her strength to ask newsmakers tough questions and her compassion to champion children's literacy, intercultural understanding, and cancer education.

JOAN STULLER-GIGLIONE

See also **Morning Television Programs**

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## Courtroom Television

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In the United States, the question of whether to permit television coverage of court proceedings has evolved from a tension created by conflicting rights in the First and Sixth Amendments to the Constitution. Among its several guarantees, the First Amendment dictates that the Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press. The Sixth Amendment grants

citizens accused of committing a crime the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of their peers drawn from the state and district where the crime has taken place. Additionally, the accused is to be informed of the basis for the accusation, is allowed to be confronted by any witnesses testifying against her or him, has the right to secure witnesses on her or his be-

half, and can have the assistance of legal representation to counsel her or his case.

At first examination, these rights may not appear to clash. However, the sensational press coverage practiced by the tabloids during the late 19th century, combined with the development of the flash camera in the early 20th, led to the inevitable legal test of these competing rights. Most legal historians refer to the Lindbergh kidnapping trial in 1935 as initiating the hostility to cameras in the courts. Bruno Hauptmann was accused of kidnapping and killing the 18-month-old son of aviation hero Charles Lindbergh. While only a small number of cameras were actually permitted inside the courtroom and photographers generally followed the court order prohibiting taking pictures while court was in session, a few years after the trial's conclusion the American Bar Association (ABA) passed Canon 35 of the association's Canons of Professional and Judicial Ethics, recommending cameras be banned from trials. Although Canon 35 did not have the weight of law, such ABA recommendations are often consulted by state legislatures, state bar associations, and judges writing case opinions. Radio was similarly barred by the ABA in 1941, and television cameras were added to the list in 1963.

As television became a part of life in the United States in the 1950s and early 1960s, most states continued to prohibit any form of camera coverage in their courts. By 1962 only a couple of states permitted television coverage of courtroom trials. In Texas that year, the pretrial hearing of accused scam artist Billie Sol Estes played to live television and radio coverage. Broadcast equipment jammed the courtroom to the degree that, by the time Estes's actual trial began, the judge restricted television cameras to a booth in the back of the courtroom. Live coverage was allowed only periodically, and most trial coverage was done during news reports. Despite these precautions, Estes appealed his conviction by claiming his Sixth Amendment rights had been denied him because of the broadcast coverage. In 1965 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled five to four in Estes's favor. On retrial, Estes was again convicted.

In *Estes v. Texas*, the court majority ruled the Sixth Amendment guarantee to a fair trial was paramount in relation to the press's right to cover the proceeding. Four of the five majority justices wrote that they believed the Sixth Amendment was violated simply by the presence of the television cameras. The majority stated cameras caused a distraction, had a negative impact on testimony, presented mental and physical distress for defendants, placed additional burdens on judges, and allowed judges to utilize televised trials for political purposes.

Many of these concerns were evident to the justices

the following year when the Supreme Court addressed the negative influence of media coverage in *Sheppard v. Maxwell* (1966). This was the celebrated case where Dr. Sam Sheppard was accused of murdering his wife in their suburban Cleveland, Ohio, home. Sheppard maintained his innocence throughout, claiming he had wrestled in the bedroom with a shadowy intruder, who knocked the doctor unconscious. According to Sheppard, when he awoke his wife was already dead, bludgeoned to death on the bed. The case, and the ensuing nationwide publicity it received, later provided the basis for the popular television series *The Fugitive*.

Sheppard was arrested and tried in the press even before the coroner's inquest, which was held in a high school gymnasium in front of live broadcast microphones to accommodate media coverage and public interest. The Supreme Court ruled that during both the inquest and trial proceedings, the coroner and judge failed to ensure Sheppard's Sixth Amendment rights by their inability to control the media, jurors, and court officers, as well as by allowing the release of information to the press during the actual trial. The judge, who was up for reelection, was also rebuked for failing to shield jurors from pretrial publicity. While live television coverage of the trial itself was prohibited, the labyrinth of cable and extra lighting needed to cover the trial snaked throughout the courthouse and contributed to the case's carnival atmosphere.

While the Sheppard courtroom was not affected by television coverage to the degree seen in the *Estes* case, the Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Justice Tom Clark, was explicit when it came to setting forth guidelines judges should follow to ensure a fair trial. These instructions provided the foundation for states and their courts to follow in the future to guarantee proper use of television cameras in courtrooms. As specified by Justice Clark, judges sitting on highly publicized cases in the future were instructed to adopt strict rules governing courtroom use by the media by considering the following: (1) The number of reporters in the courtroom itself should be limited at the first sign that their presence would disrupt the trial. (2) The court should insulate prospective witnesses from the news media. (3) The court should make some effort to control the release of leads, information, and gossip to the press by proscribing extrajudicial statements by police, counsel for both sides, witnesses, and officers of the court. (4) The judge could continue the case or transfer it to another county whenever "there is reasonable likelihood that prejudicial news prior to trial will prevent a fair trial." (5) The judge should discuss with counsel the feasibility of sequestering the jury. In the end, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Sheppard deserved a retrial. He was eventually found not guilty.

In the years following *Sheppard*, television technol-



The Menendez trial.  
Photo courtesy of CourtTV

ogy improved dramatically as cameras became more portable and required less light to obtain broadcast-quality pictures. While these improvements were being implemented and refined, in 1980 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Richmond Newspapers v. Virginia* that members of the public and the media have a constitutionally guaranteed right to attend criminal trials. This opinion reflected an ongoing trend in the states to open their courts by experimenting with television coverage. By December 1980, 22 states allowed cameras into their court systems to some degree, with 12 more studying such implementation.

In 1976 Florida had led the way by attempting to allow camera coverage of civil and criminal trials. The initial guidelines necessitated agreement from all trial participants, however, and this requirement stifled television coverage in most instances. In July 1977, the Florida State Supreme Court began a one-year study that placed responsibility for opening a trial to television coverage solely on the presiding judge. The state guidelines specified the type of equipment to be used. Additionally, no more than one television camera and camera operator were permitted, and broadcasters could only use a courtroom's existing audio recording system for sound pickup. Broadcast equipment was to remain stationary; no extra lighting beyond existing light in the courtroom was allowed; and film, videotape, and lenses could not be changed while court was in session. The lone camera was to serve as a pool camera if more than one television station desired footage.

After the year-long program was completed, a study discovered that the presence of a television camera was generally not a problem. This conclusion and the state's guidelines were challenged by two Miami

Beach police officers who had been found guilty of conspiring to burglarize an area restaurant. Because the case involved two local law enforcement officers who were caught by luck when a local amateur radio operator accidentally overheard them planning the heist, the case drew above-average media attention. The officers' attorney requested Florida's new courtroom rules (Canon 3A(7)) be declared unconstitutional, but the state Supreme Court declined to decide on grounds the rules were not directly relevant to the criminal charges against the officers. Eventually, the trial was held and the defendants found guilty. An appeal was filed claiming the officers had been denied a fair trial because of the trial's television coverage. They were denied appeal throughout the Florida system, but the case was scheduled for hearing by the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Chandler v. Florida* (1981), Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote, "the Constitution does not prohibit a state from experimenting with the program authorized by revised Canon 3A(7)." The Florida procedures provided restrictions on television coverage that worked with technological advances to ensure defendants a fair trial, and since the U.S. Supreme Court found no constitutional issues threatened by Florida's guidelines, the request for a new trial was found lacking.

Shortly following the *Chandler* decision, the majority of states decided to allow camera coverage of some levels of their court systems. By 2001 all 50 states had decided to permit some form of camera coverage of their courts while proceeding to define those contexts in which a camera's presence violates a defendant's rights, especially since this issue was not clarified by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Estes* or *Chandler*.

Broadcast journalists gained entry to most state courts as a result of the latter decision, but they still faced closed doors to the federal court system. On March 12, 1996, the Judicial Conference of the United States voted 14 to 12 to allow cameras to cover federal appeals court cases. The decision allowed each of the 13 federal appellate circuits to determine whether to admit coverage. At the same time the conference voted not to open federal district courtrooms to television. The change of heart by the conference allowed for television coverage of civil cases but left broadcast journalists uncertain whether they could gain access to federal criminal cases.

One change at the U.S. Supreme Court level occurred during the Court's hearings regarding the contentious Florida vote counts in the 2000 presidential election. While not opening the courtroom itself to live video coverage, the justices chose to make available to the media audio transcriptions of oral arguments al-



most immediately following their conclusion in *Bush v. Gore* (2000).

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Chandler* came at a time when cable television entered a phenomenal growth phase. As the 1980s progressed, cable television networks were created to serve an increasing variety of programming niches. By the decade's conclusion, many cable systems looked like the electronic equivalent of a well-stocked magazine rack, providing special interest material on almost any subject imaginable. Such special interest programming was evident in the July 1991 launch of the Courtroom Television Network (Court TV). The brainchild of Steven Brill, legal journalist and editor of *The American Lawyer*, the channel initially programmed its day to emphasize two or three courtroom trials from around the country. During evening prime time, Court TV's schedule provided a summary of the day's court cases and various original materials. During the weekend, trial highlights from the preceding week were paired with special programming oriented specifically for lawyers. Criticized by some for the "play-by-play" commentary by the channel's legal experts during trial coverage, the service developed a reputation for aggressive trial reporting while fulfilling its mission of demystifying the national court system for the public.

The channel's ratings were often moribund, however, especially when there were no trials available for coverage that caught the public's imagination. In addition, ownership of the channel began changing hands when NBC acquired Cablevision's percentage of Court TV in 1995. In February 1997, Time Warner bought out Steven Brill's stake, with Brill leaving the network he had founded. Time Warner and Liberty Media then purchased NBC's interest in May 1998, becoming equal partners. The key to the channel's revival took place during the fall of 1998, when ex-lawyer Henry Schleiff was brought in as chairman and chief executive officer after stints with Viacom and Studios USA. Schleiff's vision for the service paired daytime's live coverage of trials with off-network crime-and-justice dramas during the evening. At the same time, funding was made available for producing what became the highly acclaimed documentary miniseries *Brooklyn North Homicide Squad*. The new owners' commitment to original programming has been supplemented with purchases of synergistic fare such as reruns of the dramatic crime series *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *NYPD Blue*, while also establishing Internet sites that have proven to be among the best sampled in the cable television universe. These programming changes led to Court TV being named cable's fastest-growing network in

2001 and being established as *the* cable channel for law buffs.

Cable network presence in well-publicized trials was established in the 1980s by Ted Turner's Cable News Network. CNN provided coverage ranging from the Klaus von Bulow attempted murder case and the William Kennedy Smith rape trial to the network's lengthy presentation of the O.J. Simpson murder case. The legal issues discussion show *Burden of Proof*, created during the Simpson trial, became a part of CNN's schedule of specialty news-related fare.

The rise of Court TV, CNN's live coverage of trials, and the use of courtroom footage by local and network television news organizations have brought up issues beyond the constitutional ones posed by the First and Sixth Amendments. Many judges and attorneys still question the effect a television camera's presence has on witnesses, jury members, and counsel during a trial and how these often-subtle nuances contribute to a trial's outcome. Others are concerned that television coverage of cases may be incomplete and contribute to rioting or public misperception and trivialization of crucial issues affecting a case, rather than positively informing viewers about the court system. At the same time, court journalists point out their cameras often act as the public's representative at a trial, while helping the news media provide oversight of the nation's judicial system.

ROBERT CRAIG

#### *See also* Cable Networks

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## Cousteau, Jacques (1910–1997)

French Scientist and Television Producer

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Jacques Cousteau was television's most celebrated maker and presenter of documentaries about the underwater world. Setting the standard for such programs for decades to come, he had a profound influence upon succeeding generations of television documentary makers around the world.

Cousteau was the virtual creator of the underwater documentary, having helped to develop the world's first aqualung diving apparatus in 1943 while a lieutenant in the French Navy and having pioneered the process of underwater television. The aqualung afforded divers a freedom underwater that they had not hitherto enjoyed, and the arrival of equipment to film underwater scenes opened the door to documentary makers for the first time (he also had a hand in the development of the bathyscaphe, which allowed divers to descend to great depths).

Founder of the French Navy's Undersea Research Group in 1946, Cousteau became commander of the research ship *Calypso* (a converted minesweeper) in 1950, and most of his epoch-making films were subsequently made with this vessel as his base of operations (he made a total of some 30 voyages in all). Cousteau's early films were made for the cinema, and he earned Oscars for *The Silent World*, *The Golden Fish*, and *World Without Sun*, as well as other top awards such as the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival. Later documentaries were made for television, and such series as *Under the Sea*, *The World About Us*, and *The Cousteau Odyssey* consistently attracted large audiences when shown in the United Kingdom. *The World of Jacques Cousteau*, first broadcast in 1966, proved internationally successful, running for some eight years (later retitled *The Undersea World of Jacques-Yves Cousteau*) and drawing fascinated audiences of millions all around the globe. When this series ended

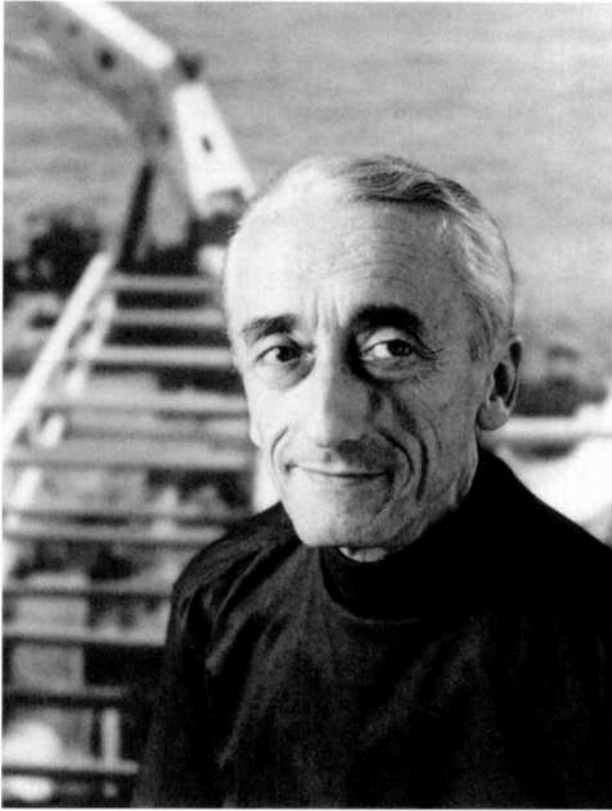
in 1976, Cousteau concentrated on one-off specials on selected subjects (titles including *Oasis in Space*, *The Cousteau/Amazon*, and *Cousteau Mississippi*).

The appeal of Cousteau's films was not limited to the subject matter, for Cousteau's narrative, delivered in his distinctive nasal, unremittingly French accent, was part of the character of his work. His narration was occasionally humorous and tended to personalize the species under discussion, with fish being described as "cheeky" or "courageous." The inclusion of members of his family, his wife, Simone, and his two sons (one of whom later died), in his films also added a humanizing touch. Such an approach did much to rouse awareness of the richness of life beneath the waves and underlined the responsibility humankind has toward other species.

The winner of numerous accolades and awards over the years, Cousteau was also respected as an outspoken commentator on a range of environmental issues, particularly noted for his uncompromising stand on such matters as nuclear waste and oil pollution. He also wrote numerous books based on his research and was until 1988 director of the Oceanic Museum of Monaco (a similar institution opened in Paris in 1989 failed to prosper and closed its doors two years later).

DAVID PICKERING

**Jacques-Yves Cousteau.** Born in Saint-Andre-de-Cubzac, Gironde, France, June 11, 1910. Educated at Stanislas Academy in Paris, Bachelier, 1930; Ecole Navale in Brest, France, 1933. Married: Simone Melchior, 1937 (died, 1990); children: Diane, Elizabeth, Pierre-Yves Daniel, Phillipe (died, 1979). Served in the French Navy, entering as a second lieutenant, 1933; assigned to the naval base at Toulon; served as a gunnery officer, 1939–40; active in the French under-



Jacques-Ives Cousteau, naturalist and undersea explorer, undated.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

ground resistance; founded and became head of the French Navy's Undersea Research Group, 1946; resigned from French Navy, 1956. Co-invented the first aqualung, 1943; set a world's free-diving record, 1947; founded and became president, Campagnes Oceanographiques Francaises, 1950, and the Centre d'Etudes Marines Avancees, 1952; as scientific leader, conducted field expeditions aboard his oceanographic research vessel named *Calypso*, 1950–96, and *Calypso II*, from 1996; director, Oceanographic Institute and Museum, Monaco, 1957–88; promoted the Conshelf Saturation Dive Program, 1962; general secretary, International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean (ICSEM), 1966; author of numerous books, from 1953; author and producer of numerous documentary films and television series; environmental advocate; inventor of turbosail system, 1985. Member: National Academy of Sciences; Académie Française. Recipient: Academy Awards, 1957, 1959, 1965; Cannes Film Festival, Gold Palm Award, 1959; Potts Medal of the Franklin Institute, 1970; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1985;

inducted into the Television Hall of Fame, 1987; National Geographic Society's Centennial Award, 1988; numerous Emmys and Oscars; the Legion of Honor. Died in Paris, June 25, 1997.

#### Television Series

- 1966–68 *The World of Jacques Cousteau*  
 1968–76 *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*  
 1977 *Oasis in Space*  
 1977–81 *The Cousteau Odyssey*  
 1982–84 *The Cousteau/Amazon*  
 1985–91 *Cousteau's Rediscovery of the World I*  
 1992–94 *Rediscovery of the World II*

#### Television Specials (selected)

- The Tragedy of the Red Salmon*  
*The Desert Whales; Lagoon of Lost Ships*  
*Dragons of Galapagos; Secrets of the Sunken Caves*  
*The Unsinkable Sea Otter*  
*A Sound of Sea Dolphins*  
*South to Fire and Ice*  
*The Flight of Penguins*  
*Beneath the Frozen World*  
*Blizzard of Hope Bay*  
*Life at the End of the World*  
*Jacques Cousteau's Calypso's Legend*  
*Lilliput Conquers America*  
*Outrage at Valdez*  
*Lilliput in Antarctica*

#### Films (selected)

- The Silent World*, 1956; *The Golden Fish*, 1959; *World Without Sun*, 1965.

#### Publications (selected)

- The Silent World*, with Frederic Dumas, 1952  
*The Living Sea*, with James Dugan, 1963  
*World Without Sun*, edited by James Dugan, 1965  
*The Shark: Splendid Savage of the Sea*, with Phillippe Cousteau, 1970  
*Diving for Sunken Treasure*, with Philippe Diole, 1971  
*The Ocean World of Jacques Cousteau* (21 vols.), 1973  
*Jacques Cousteau's Calypso*, with Alexis Sivirine, 1983  
*Jacques Cousteau's Amazon Journey*, with Mose Richards, 1984

Cousteau, Jacques

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*Cousteau's Great White Shark*, with Mose Richards, 1992  
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# Cracker

U.K. Detective Drama

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*Cracker* arrived on British screens in September 1993, a new addition to a schedule already crowded with crime drama. At a time when the genre was dominated by the comfortable whodunit formula of *Inspector Morse* and the soap-opera-like *The Bill*, the series, alongside the contemporary (and similarly impressive) *Between the Lines*, marked a more hard-edged and less flattering approach to the police than had typically been seen in British television drama. Despite an initially lukewarm critical response, the series was a surprise hit, and two further series (24 episodes in all) were made for Granada before the show was retired in 1996.

The series benefited from the inspired casting of Robbie Coltrane, a Scottish actor known chiefly for comic roles (and his recent turn as Hagrid in the *Harry Potter* films), who brought a vicious wit and an imposing physical presence to the part of Fitz, the overweight, arrogant, hard-drinking, chain-smoking, compulsive gambler who was the series' unlikely hero. Detectives with troubled personal lives have been a staple of crime fiction, but it is hard to imagine any so abundantly dysfunctional. Fitz's personal inadequacies, however, were balanced by a razor-sharp mind and an uncanny ability to pinpoint character and to locate the weak spots of his opponents, qualities that placed him in the lineage of Sherlock Holmes.

Fitz was a triumph of characterization for Coltrane and for series creator Jimmy McGovern. But the key to *Cracker's* success was the fact that its rotund hero was not a policeman at all, but a criminal psychologist. This gave McGovern a distance from the police that enabled a more critical approach. Writers like Conan Doyle, Chandler, and Hammett had previously used an

independent detective as a device to make a dig at police incompetence, but the savagery of McGovern's critique was unusual.

The first two stories of the first series, dealing respectively with an apparent case of amnesia and a latter-day Bonnie and Clyde, introduced Fitz's chaotic home life, including a tempestuous relationship with his wife, Judith (admirably played by the underrated Barbara Flynn), and the prolonged psychological cross-examinations that were to be the program's stock-in-trade. Such scenes were a showcase for Fitz's combative interrogation style and his incisive intelligence, but they also illustrated an attention to criminal motivation and psychology that was unusual in a genre that typically prefers its villains two-dimensional.

It was the third and final story of the first season, "One Day a Lemming Will Fly," in which the latent anger in McGovern's writing was given full expression. The story begins with the sexual murder of a sensitive young boy, the suspicion falling on a socially awkward teacher at his school. In an atmosphere of mounting tension, and with a mob outside the police station baying for blood, Fitz secures a confession, only to find that the suspect is actually innocent and the true killer is still at large. The police, however, are satisfied that the case is closed, despite Fitz's protests.

The story was a ferocious piece of social criticism, railing against the police, media, and public hysteria surrounding pedophilia and demonstrating how the search for justice is sacrificed in the cynical pursuit of a "result" to satisfy a political leadership obsessed with statistics and a public thirsty for revenge. Perhaps most extraordinary, the writer calls into question his hero's own previously faultless professional judgment.

Equally powerful was “To Be a Somebody,” in which a disturbed young man (memorably played by Robert Carlyle) attempts to avenge the 1986 Hillsborough disaster (in which 96 soccer fans, many of them children, were crushed to death as a result of serious errors in police crowd control, compounded by the insensitivity of some tabloid newspapers). A particularly memorable scene had Christopher Eccleston’s Detective Chief Inspector Bilborough, stabbed and slowly bleeding to death, delivering his testimony by radio while his horrified colleagues listen helplessly. McGovern would return to this subject in his 1996 documentary-style drama *Hillsborough*.

McGovern also brought to *Cracker* a fascination with Catholicism, which he would continue to explore in his later work, notably in his screenplay for the feature film *Priest* (directed by Antonia Bird, 1994) and in the BBC series *The Lakes* (1997). McGovern situated *Cracker* in Manchester (a city with a strong Catholic tradition, in part due to its historical ties with Ireland) and themes of guilt, confession, and redemption echo through the series. The villain in one story pretends to be a priest, while another has a priest covering up his brother’s crime. Other characters, including the boorish and emotionally unstable Irish policeman Beck (Lorcan Cranitch), struggle with issues of faith and morality. Moreover, Fitz is himself a Catholic-turned-atheist, but when he interrogates suspects he explicitly offers redemption through confession.

Similarly intriguing was the awkward relationship between Fitz and the ambitious but undervalued detective Penhaligon (Geraldine Somerville). Coltrane and Somerville created a tangible sexual chemistry, despite their apparent mismatch in size and temperament. Their relationship, growing from an initial mutual hostility and thriving on a shared intellectual combativeness, was a refreshing departure from conventional representations of sexual attraction.

The brilliance of the early stories proved difficult to sustain, but nevertheless the series continued to offer surprises. Particularly impressive was the unraveling of Beck following Bilborough’s death, culminating in his rape of Penhaligon. Other issues tackled in later stories included a murderous Christian sect and a mixed-race rapist driven by insecurity about his ethnicity.

Following McGovern’s departure, writers included Paul Abbott, initially one of the show’s producers and subsequently creator of the excellent blue-collar drama series *Clocking Off*. Directors included Michael Winterbottom, who has since become one of Britain’s most consistently innovative film directors with credits including *Welcome to Sarajevo* (1997) and *Wonderland* (1999), and Simon Cellan Jones, who also moved into feature films with *Some Voices* (2000).



*Cracker*, Robbie Coltrane, Clive Russell, 1993–95.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

A one-off special set in Hong Kong failed to recapture the success of the early episodes, and Fitz was retired from British screens in 1996. The following year, an attempt was made to recreate the series, retitled *Fitz*, for an American audience, but, although well written and performed, the show failed to find a large audience.

MARK DUGUID

*See also* Coltrane, Robbie; Detective Programs; *Hillsborough*; McGovern, Jimmy

#### Cast

Fitz	Robbie Coltrane
Judith Fitzgerald	Barbara Flynn
DCI Bilborough (1993–94)	Christopher Eccleston
DS Beck (1993–95)	Lorcan Cranitch
DS Penhaligon	Geraldine Somerville
DCI Wise (1994–96)	Ricky Tomlinson

Cracker

**Producers**

Sally Head, Neal Gub, Paul Abbott, Hilary Bevan Jones

**Writers**

Jimmy McGovern, Ted Whitehead, Paul Abbott

**Production History**

24 episodes  
ITV (Granada)

1993-96 Mondays 9:00-10:00 (except October 22, 1995: Sunday 9:00-10:00)

**Further Reading**

Crace, John, *Cracker: The Truth Behind the Fiction*, London: Boxtree in association with Granada Television, 1994  
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Page, Adrian, *Cracking Morse Code: Semiotics and Television Drama*, Luton, England: University of Luton Press, 2000

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## Craft, Christine (1943- )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Christine Craft is a broadcast journalist who will be remembered not for what she said on the air but rather for what she said, and what was said about her, in a federal district courtroom. It was there that she challenged the different standards by which male and female on-air broadcast news anchors were being judged in the U.S. media industries.

Craft's broadcast career began in 1974, when, at the age of 29, she took a job as a weather reporter with KSBW-TV in Salinas, California. During her tenure at Channel 8 in Salinas, as well as her next position at KPIX-TV, the CBS affiliate in San Francisco, Craft filled every on-air position in the newsroom, from weather to sports to news reporting.

In 1977 Craft was hired by CBS Television to do features on women athletes for a *CBS Sports Spectacular* segment titled "Women in Sports." According to Craft, this was her first experience with being "made over," and she hated it. Among the physical characteristics that were altered was her hair, bleached so that she appeared on camera as a platinum blonde. After a year at CBS, Craft returned to California, where she again worked in several news positions including coanchor for the ABC affiliate in Santa Barbara, KEYT-TV.

Her life inexorably changed when she received a phone call from the Metromedia, Inc., ABC affiliate in Kansas City, Missouri, KMBC-TV Channel 9. According to Craft, a consulting firm had made a tape of her without her permission or knowledge and marketed it around the country. Executives at KMBC saw the tape

and called her to Kansas City for an interview and audition. Given her experience at CBS, Craft stated that she told the station management that she "showed signs of her age and experience" and was not willing to be made over. She interviewed and auditioned in the KMBC studios and was hired as coanchor with a two-year contract. Eight months later, in July 1981, Craft was informed that she had been demoted to reporter because focus group research had indicated that she was "too old, too unattractive, and wouldn't defer to men." Craft decided to challenge the action of management, and when asked for a comment on why she was no longer anchor, she told a Kansas City newspaper what had occurred.

Craft left the station in Kansas City and returned to television news in Santa Barbara, where for two years she prepared a breach-of-contract lawsuit against Metromedia. In August 1983, a ten-day trial was held at Federal District Court in Kansas City, at the conclusion of which the jury unanimously returned a verdict in favor of Craft, awarding her \$500,000 in damages. U.S. District Court judge Joseph E. Stevens Jr., then threw out the verdict and called for a second trial in Joplin, Missouri. After a six-day trial in 1984 in Joplin, the jury again returned a verdict in favor of Craft. Metromedia appealed, and the 8th Circuit Court threw out the second verdict. When the U.S. Supreme Court would not hear the case, Craft's years of litigation ended.

In 1986 Craft wrote *Too Old, Too Ugly, Not Deferential to Men* about her experiences. She practices law

and continues to appear as a broadcast journalist on both radio and television, most recently in the San Francisco Bay area.

THOMAS A. BIRK

See also *Anchor*

**Christine Craft.** Born in 1943. Graduated from the University of the Pacific McGeorge School of Law, 1995. Competitive surfer and teacher; weather reporter, KSBW-TV, Salinas, California, 1974; reporter, KPIX-TV, San Francisco; worked at KEYT-TV, Santa Barbara, California; coanchor, KMBC-TV, Kansas City, Missouri, 1981; returned briefly to KEYT-TV, 1983; lecturer, 1983–84; cur-

rently works as radio talk show host and attorney in San Francisco Bay area.

#### Publications

*Christine Craft: An Anchorwoman's Story*, 1986  
*Too Old, Too Ugly, Not Deferential to Men*, 1986

#### Further Reading

Smith, S.B., "Television Executives Upset by Kansas City Finding," *New York Times* (August 9, 1983)  
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"Woman in TV Sex Bias Suit Is Awarded \$500,000 by Jury," *New York Times* (August 9, 1983)

## Craig, Wendy (1934– )

British Actor

In the 1970s and 1980s, Wendy Craig emerged as one of the most familiar faces of British domestic situation comedy, starring in a string of series in which she typically played a self-searching housewife and mother struggling to cope with the various demands made by her family, her home, and life in general.

Craig began a career on the stage as a very young child and later entered films before establishing herself as a television performer. *Not in Front of the Children* was the first of the sitcoms in which she was cast in the role of harassed mother, a role she was later to make peculiarly her own. Resilient and yet sensitive (or, according to critics of the program and its successors, simpering and middle class), her character, Jennifer Corner, held the family together through crises both trivial and serious. The character appealed to thousands of real women whose days were similarly filled. Newly widowed Sally Harrison in *And Mother Makes Three* (later retitled *And Mother Makes Five* after Sally remarried) and Ria Parkinson in Carla Lane's *Butterflies* were essentially extensions of the same character; only the members of the families and the details of the kitchen decor changed.

*Butterflies*, with Carla Lane's fluent scripts, was perhaps the most assured of the sitcoms in which Craig was invited to explore the state of mind of a flustered contemporary housewife facing a midlife crisis. Sup-

ported by the lugubrious but always watchable Geoffrey Palmer as her husband and the up-and-coming Nicholas Lyndhurst as one of her two sons (the other was played by Andrew Hall), Craig played the part at a high pitch—sometimes arguably overhysterically—as she debated ways to break out of the confinements of the life imposed upon her by her family (chiefly through seemingly endless contemplation of an affair with the smooth and wealthy businessman Leonard Dunn, played by Bruce Montague). The comedy was often obvious (Ria's failure to cook anything without destroying it risked becoming tiresome), the pathos was sometimes painful, and the central character's self-absorption and inability to help herself was irritating to many more liberated viewers, but the skillful characterizations and the pace at which events were played, together with the quality of the support, kept the series fresh and intriguing and ensured a large and faithful audience.

*Nanny*, about the experiences of a children's nanny in the 1930s, represented something of a variation upon the matriarchal roles with which Craig had become associated. The story of nanny Barbara Gray, caring for the children of the rich and well connected, was in fact Craig's own idea, submitted and accepted under a pen name after she got the idea while flicking through advertisements for children's nurses in *The*



Wendy Craig, *Nanny*, 1981–83.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Lady* magazine. The program eschewed comedy for a straighter dramatic approach. Comparisons between Craig's enlightened nanny Gray adding a helping hand to obviously dysfunctional upper-crust families and cinema's Mary Poppins were inevitable but did not detract from the success of the series, and an increase in the numbers of girls planning careers as nannies was duly reported as a result.

Since the late 1980s, perhaps reflecting changes in society in general, Craig's matriarch has largely disappeared from the screen. *Laura and Disorder*, which Craig and her real-life son had a hand in writing, depicted her as an accident-prone divorcée newly returned from the United States, but this program proved

weak and was only short-lived. Even more misjudged was the attempt to make a British version of the highly acclaimed U.S. comedy series *The Golden Girls*, under the title *Brighton Belles*, with Craig cast as Annie, the equivalent of Rose in the original. The scripts failed entirely to match the wit and vivacity of the U.S. original, and the project was quickly abandoned. Craig has remained busy as a stage actress and in 2001 was cast as Aunt Juley in a major remake of the classic television serial *The Forsyte Saga*.

DAVID PICKERING

**Wendy Craig.** Born in Sacriston, County Durham, England, June 20, 1934. Attended Central School of Speech and Drama, London; Ipswich Repertory Theatre. Married: Jack Bentley; children: Alaster and Ross. Won first acting award at the age of three; popular star of domestic situation comedy series. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1968; Variety Club TV Personality of the Year Awards, 1969 and 1973; *TV Times* Readers' Funniest Woman on TV, 1972–74; BBC Woman of the Year, 1984.

#### Television Series

1964	<i>Room at the Bottom</i>
1967–70	<i>Not in Front of the Children</i>
1971–74	<i>And Mother Makes Three</i>
1974–76	<i>And Mother Makes Five</i>
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1981–83	<i>Triangle</i>
1981–83	<i>Nanny</i>
1989	<i>Laura and Disorder</i> (also co-writer)
1993	<i>Brighton Belles</i>

#### Films

*Room at the Top*, 1959; *The Mind Benders*, 1963; *The Servant*, 1963; *The Nanny*, 1965; *Just Like a Woman*, 1966; *I'll Never Forget Whatshisname*, 1967; *Joseph Andrews*, 1977; *Kindergarten Cop*, 1990; *Blown Away*, 1994; *A Family Thing*, 1996; *Girl, Interrupted*, 1999.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Secret Place*, 1957; *Heart to Heart*, 1962; *Late Summer Affair*, 1962; *Room at the Top*; *Easy Virtue*, 1999; *The Rivals*, 2000.

# Crawford, Hector (1913–1991)

## Australian Producer and Media Executive

Hector Crawford was a Melbourne-based producer of radio and television programs. The most nationalist of Australian producers, his company was a family company not only in the sense of being dominated by the Crawford family but also in the sense of being vertically organized so that every production was controlled from the top of the company. The company was also family oriented in terms of the values esteemed in many of its programs: respect for authority, espousal of domestic values, celebration of Australian history and society. However, these were old-fashioned values and practices, and they were found especially wanting in the 1980s when Crawford was to lose control, some years before his death, of the company he founded.

Hector Crawford was born in 1913 in Melbourne, where he acquired a musical training. While working as a clerk in the late 1930s, he began the *Music for the People* outdoor concerts, which were broadcast by the *Herald and Weekly Times*' own radio station 3DB. In 1940 he became music and recording director of Broadcast Exchange, an Australian recording and radio production company, and in 1942 he rose to the position of managing director. His sister, Dorothy Crawford, trained at the Melbourne Conservatorium and was a professional singer. She worked for the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) in radio and drama productions before joining Broadcast Exchange in 1944 as drama producer. With the encouragement of 3DB, the two set up their own radio program production company, Hector Crawford Productions, in 1945.

Thanks to its special relationship with 3DB and sister stations in the Major Network, Crawford's was very successful in radio. In addition, the market for local radio programs, which had developed considerably in wartime, continued to expand, and by 1950 the company was one of the largest in radio. The company's radio output specialized in music and drama series and features. Some of its important programs were *Melba*, *Melba Sings*, *The Blue Danube*, *John Turner's Family*, *D24*, and *No Holiday for Halliday*.

When HSV Channel 7 (owned by the *Herald and Weekly Times* newspaper group) went to air on television in late 1956, Crawford Productions was producing a quiz/game show, *Wedding Day*, for the station within a week. However, between 1956 and 1960,

HSV Channel 7 bought little except for some quiz shows and a modest sitcom series, *Take That*. In 1961 the company's fortunes improved, with HSV committing itself to the courtroom drama series *Consider Your Verdict*. Its modest success helped pave the way for Crawford's next major development. In 1964 the company sold the police series *Homicide* to HSV and the Seven Network. *Homicide* spawned two other Crawford police series, *Division 4* and *Matlock Police*. These, together with other company series such as *Ryan*, *Showcase*, and *The Box*, made Crawford Productions a veritable "Hollywood on the Yarra." The company employed hundreds and had construction departments, sound stages, and its own studios. Crawford's hiccuped briefly in 1975, with the cancellation of the three police series, but in late 1976, *The Sullivans* began on the Nine Network. It was the quintessential Crawford series, notable for its good production values and solid entertaining drama that treated traditional institutions—most especially the Australian family in wartime—with great respect. The company was less successful with serials such as *Carson's Law*, *Skyways*, *Holiday Island*, and *Good Vibrations*. However, Crawford's was much more successful with two other serials, *Cop Shop* and *The Flying Doctors*. In 1983 Crawford's made its first miniseries, the enormously successful *All the Rivers Run*. Other miniseries included *The Flying Doctors*; *Alice to Nowhere*; *My Brother Tom*; *Whose Baby?*; *All the Rivers Run II*; *This Man, This Woman*; and *Jackaroo*. In addition, Crawford's made several films for theatrical release. It also made two children's series, *The Henderson Kids* and *The Zoo Family*.

In 1974 Dorothy Crawford retired from the company because of ill health. Her son, Ian, then shared executive producer credits with Hector Crawford on all Crawford programs.

The larger companies in television drama packaging in Australia have weathered periods of financial difficulty not only because of the cash flow from past successes but also because of other sources of financial stability. In the case of Crawford's, it was sustained by the special relationship it enjoyed with HSV Channel 7 and the Seven Network, which bought a large number of programs from the company. The *Herald and*





Hector Crawford.  
Photo courtesy of Crawford Productions Pty. Ltd.

*Weekly Times* was also ready to help Crawford's with loans in times of need.

In 1972, for example, Hector Crawford privately sold the company to the *Herald and Weekly Times*, only to buy it back a year later. Again, in 1985 Crawford sold 40 percent of shares to the group, as well as a further 10 percent to Gordon and Gotch. This was the situation in early 1987, when Rupert Murdoch's News Ltd. bought out the *Herald and Weekly Times* group and, already owning Gordon and Gotch, found itself owning half of Crawford Productions. With the special relationship with HSV Channel 7 at an end, in poor health after a throat operation, and deciding to capitalize on Crawford's extensive library, Hector Crawford sold the company to Ariadne, a property and tourist company in 1987. Hector Crawford continued as honorary chair and died early in 1991.

ALBERT MORAN

See also *Australian Production Companies; Homicide*

**Hector Crawford.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, August 14, 1913. Studied at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music. Married: Glenda Raymond, 1950; two children. Began career as a choral conductor at the Conservatorium; musical and recording director of radio broadcasting house, Broadcast Exchange of Australia, 1940, managing director, 1942; formed Hector Crawford Productions with older sister, Dorothy, 1945; began producing musical radio programs such as *Music for the People*, *Opera for the People*, *The Melba Story*, *The Amazing Oscar Hammerstein*, *The Blue Danube*; produced dramatic radio shows *Sincerely Rita Marsden*, *My Imprisoned Heart*, *A Woman in Love*, *Inspector West*, and *Lone Star Lannigan*; entered Melbourne television with game show productions, 1956; produced first one-hour drama series, *Consider Your Verdict*, 1961, followed by the immensely successful police series *Homicide*, 1964; production expanded, at one time having five one-hour drama series playing on all three of the Australian commercial television networks, 1974; sold controlling interests in Crawford Productions, 1985; retired in 1989. Member: Australian Film Commission, 1974; Australian Film and Television School, 1972-76. Died in Melbourne, March 11, 1991.

**Television Series (selected)**

1961-64	<i>Consider Your Verdict</i>
1964-75	<i>Homicide</i>
1966-68	<i>Hunter</i>
1974-77	<i>The Box</i>
1976-82	<i>The Sullivans</i>

**Television Miniseries (selected)**

1983	<i>All the Rivers Run</i>
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**Radio**

*Music for the People; Opera for the People; The Melba Story; The Amazing Oscar Hammerstein; The Blue Danube; Sincerely Rita Marsden; My Imprisoned Heart; A Woman in Love; Inspector West; Lone Star Lannigan; Consider Your Verdict.*

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## Criticism, Television (Journalistic)

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From the early 1900s, U.S. newspapers carried brief descriptions of distant reception of wireless radio signals and items about experimental stations innovating

programs. After station KDKA in Pittsburgh inaugurated regular radio broadcast service in 1920, followed by hundreds of new stations, newspaper columns

noted distinctive offerings in their schedules. In 1922 the *New York Times* started radio columns by Orrin E. Dunlap Jr. From 1925, Ben Gross pioneered a regular column about broadcasting in the *New York Daily News*, which he continued for 45 years. Newspapers across the country added columns about schedules, programs, and celebrities during radio's golden age in the 1930s and 1940s. During those decades experiments in "radio with pictures" received occasional notice; attention to the new medium of television expanded in the late 1940s as TV stations went on the air in major cities, audiences grew, and advertisers and stars forsook radio for TV networks.

Chronicling those early developments were Jack Gould of the *New York Times* and John Crosby of the *New York Herald Tribune*, in addition to reviewer-critics of lesser impact in other metropolitan areas. From 1946 to 1972, Gould meticulously and evenhandedly reported technical, structural (networks, stations), legal (Congress and Federal Communications Commission), economic (advertising), financial, and social aspects of TV as well as programming trends. Crosby began reviewing program content and developments in 1946 with stylistic vigor, offering a personalized judgment that could be caustic. As the medium matured in the 1960s and 1970s, Lawrence Laurent of the *Washington Post* joined the small group of influential media critics writing for major metro newspapers. He explored trends and causal relations and reported interrelations of federal regulatory agencies and broadcast corporations while also appraising major program successes and failures. On the West Coast, where TV entertainment was crafted, the *Los Angeles Times*' Hal Humphrey and Cecil Smith covered the creative community's role in television, emphasizing descriptive reviews of individual programs and series. Other metro dailies and their early, influential program reviewer-critics included the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s Terrence O'Flaherty, *Chicago Sun-Times*' Paul Malloy, and *Chicago Tribune*'s Larry Wolters.

Meanwhile most newspapers carried popular columns about daily program offerings, reported behind-the-scenes information, and relayed tidbits about TV stars. Some referred to this kind of column as "racing along in shorts," a series of brief items each separated by three dots. Complementing local columns were syndicated wire services, featuring a mix of substantive pieces and celebrity interviews. Among long-time syndicated columnists, in addition to *New York Times* and *Washington Post* columnists distributed nationally, were the Associated Press's Cynthia Lowrey and Jay Sharbut.

Weekly and monthly magazines also published analyses of broader patterns and implications of television's structure, programming, and social impact.

They featured critics such as *Saturday Review*'s Gilbert Seldes and Robert Lewis Shayon, *Time*'s "Cyclops" (John McPhee, among others), John Lardner and Jay Cocks in *Newsweek*, Marya Mannes in *The Reporter*, and Harlan Ellison's ideosyncratic but trenchant dissections in *Rolling Stone*. Merrill Panitt, Sally Bedell Smith, Neil Hickey, and Frank Swertlow offered serious analysis in weekly *TV Guide*; often multipart investigative reports, those extended pieces appeared alongside pop features and interviews, plus think-pieces by specialists and media practitioners all wrapped around massive TV and cable local listings of regional editions across the country. Reporter-turned-critic Les Brown wrote authoritatively for trade paper *Variety*, then the *New York Times*, then as editor of *Channels of Communication* magazine. Weekly *Variety* published critical reviews of all new entertainment and documentary or news programs, both one-time-only shows and initial episodes of series; the news-magazine's staff faithfully analyzed themes, topics, dramatic presentation, acting, sets, and scenery, including complete listings of production personnel and casts. Reflecting shifting perspectives on the significance of modern mass media, Ken Auletta (*Wall Street Journal*, *New Yorker*) monitored in exhaustive detail the media megamergers of the 1980s and 1990s.

In the 1950s, TV columnists tended to be reviewers after the fact, offering comments about programs only after they aired, because almost all were "live." (Comedian Jackie Gleason quipped that TV critics merely reported accidents to eye witnesses.) They could also appraise continuing series, based on previous episodes. As more programs began to be filmed, following *I Love Lucy*'s innovation, and videotape was introduced in the late 1950s for entertainment and news-related programs alike, critics were able to preview shows. Their critical analyses in advance of broadcast helped viewers select what to watch. Producers and network executives could monitor print reviewers' evaluations of their product. Those developments increased print critics' influence, though their authority never approached New York drama critics' impact on Broadway's theatrical shows. Typically, many of a season's critically acclaimed new programs tend to be driven off the schedule by mass audience preferences for other less challenging or subtle programming. Praised, award-winning new series often find themselves canceled for lack of popular ratings. Some might apply to television movie-critic Pauline Kael's aphorism about films; she cynically described the image industry as "the art of casting sham pearls before real swine."

Television critics often use a program or series as the concrete basis for examining broader trends in the industry. Analyzing a new situation comedy or action-

adventure drama or documentary-like news magazine is more than an exercise in scrutinizing a 30- or 60-minute program; it serves as a paradigm representing larger patterns in media and society. The critical review traces forces that shape not only programming but media structures, processes, and public perceptions. Often reviewers not only lament failures but question factors influencing success and quality. They challenge audiences to support superior programming by selective viewing just as they challenge producers to create sensitive, authentic depictions of deeper human values. Yet Gilbert Seldes cautioned as early as 1956 that the critic must propose changes that are feasible in the cost-intensive mass media system; this would be "more intellectually honest and also save a lot of time" while avoiding pointless hostility and futility.

Over the decades studies of audiences and program patterns, and surveys of media executives, have generally discounted print media criticism as a major factor in program decision making, particularly regarding any specific program content or scheduling. But critics are not wholly disregarded. Those published in media centers and Washington, D.C., serve as reminders to media managers of criteria beyond ratings and revenues. Critics in trade and metropolitan press are read by government agency personnel as well, to track reaction to pending policy moves. The insightful comments of critics have come in many forms: courteous and cerebral (veteran John O'Connor and Walter Goodman, longtime columnists at the *New York Times*), stylistically sophisticated and witty (Tom Shales, still the lead critic at the *Washington Post*), sometimes abrasive (Ron Powers, formerly of the *Chicago Sun-Times*), even cynical (Howard Rosenberg, who recently left the *Los Angeles Times*). Each of these may have illuminated lapses in artistic integrity or "good taste" and prod TV's creators and distributors to reflect on larger aesthetic and social implications of their lucrative, but ephemeral, occupations. Those published goadings enlighten readers, serve as a burr under the saddle of broadcasters and creators, and provide an informal barometer to federal lawmakers and regulators.

At the same time television criticism published in print media serves the publisher's primary purpose of gaining readership among a wide and diverse circulation. That goal puts a premium on relevance, clarity, brevity, cleverness, and attractive style. The TV column is meant to attract readers primarily by entertaining them, while also informing them about how the system works. And at times columns can inspire readers to reflect on their use of television and how they might selectively respond to the medium's showcases of excellence, plateaus of mediocrity, and pits of mere-

tricious exploitation and excess. Balanced criticism avoids blatant appeals and gratuitous savaging of media people and projects. The critic serves as a guide, offering standards or criteria for judgment along with factual data, so readers can make up their own minds. A test of successful television criticism is whether readers enjoy reading the articles as they grow to trust the critic's judgment because they respect his or her perspective. The critic-reviewer's role grows in usefulness as video channels proliferate; viewers inundated by dozens of cable and over-air channels can ensure optimum use of leisure viewing time by following critics' tips about what is worth tuning in and what to avoid.

Reflecting the quality of published television criticism in recent years, distinguished Pulitzer Prizes have been awarded to Ron Powers (1973), William Henry III (1980, *Boston Globe*), Howard Rosenberg (1985), and Tom Shales (1988). Early on, influential *Times* critic Jack Gould set the standard when in 1957 he won a special George Foster Peabody Award for his "fairness, objectivity and authority." Prerequisites for proper critical perspective outlined by Lawrence Laurent three decades ago remain apt today: sensitivity and reasoned judgment, a renaissance knowledge, coupled with exposure to a broad range of art, culture, technology, business, law, economics, ethics, and social studies all fused with an incisive writing style causing commentary to leap off the page into the reader's consciousness, possibly influencing their TV behavior as viewers or as professional practitioners.

In the late 1970s, the Television Critics Association (TCA) was formed in the United States to represent professional critics in relations with the television industry. In part the association was formed to offset criticism that critics could be swayed by favors—travel, meetings, interviews—provided by the television industry. The TCA now coordinates annual visits by members to Los Angeles and other industry sites. There they have access to network programmers and other executives, to producers, and to stars of television programs, all seeking publicity and commentary from the critics. Press tours are scheduled for two and a half weeks in July, when networks and studios present new programs for review prior to placement on the regular television schedules. A second tour is arranged in January to review "midseason" alterations in the schedule. In addition to attending presentations in major hotel settings, the TCA tours now include visits to sets and discussions with businesses ancillary to the primary television providers. The association has also established the TCA Awards and recognizes television programs and personalities in a variety of categories.

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## Cronkite, Walter (1916– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Walter Cronkite is the former *CBS Evening News* anchorman whose commentary defined issues and events in the United States for almost two decades. Cronkite, whom a major poll once named the "most trusted figure" in American public life, often saw every nuance in his nightly newscasts scrutinized by politicians, intellectuals, and fellow journalists, looking for clues to the thinking of mainstream America. In contrast, Cronkite viewed himself as a working journalist, epitomized by his title of "managing editor" of the *CBS Evening News*. His credo, adopted from his days as a wire service reporter, was to get the story, "fast, accurate, and unbiased"; his trademark exit line was, "And that's the way it is."

After working at a public relations firm, for newspapers, and in small radio stations throughout the Midwest, in 1939 Cronkite joined United Press (UP) to cover World War II. There, as part of what some reporters fondly called the "Writing 69th," he went ashore on D-Day, parachuted with the 101st Airborne, flew bombing missions over Germany, covered the Nuremberg trials, and opened the UP's first postwar Moscow bureau.

Though he had earlier rejected an offer from Edward R. Murrow, Cronkite joined CBS in 1950. First at CBS's Washington, D.C., affiliate and then over the national network, Cronkite paid his dues to the entertainment side of television, serving as host of the early CBS historical recreation series, *You Are There*. He even briefly cohosted the *CBS Morning Show* with the puppet Charlemagne. In a more serious vein, he nar-

rated the CBS documentary series *The Twentieth Century*. Earlier, Cronkite had impressed many observers when he anchored CBS's coverage of the 1952 presidential nominating conventions.

In April 1962, Cronkite took over from Douglas Edwards the anchorman's position on the *CBS Evening News*. Less than a year later, the program was expanded from 15 to 30 minutes. Cronkite's first 30-minute newscast included an exclusive interview with President John F. Kennedy. Barely two months later, Cronkite was first on the air reporting Kennedy's assassination, and in one of the rare instances when his journalist objectivity deserted him, Cronkite shed tears.

Cronkite's rise at CBS was briefly interrupted in 1964, when the network, disturbed by the ratings beating *CBS Evening News* was taking from NBC's Huntley and Brinkley, decided to replace him as anchor at the 1964 presidential nominating conventions with the team of Robert Trout and Roger Mudd. Publicly accepting the change, but privately disturbed, Cronkite contemplated leaving CBS. However, more than 11,000 letters protesting the change undoubtedly helped convince both Cronkite and CBS executives that he should stay on. In 1966, Cronkite briefly overtook the *Huntley-Brinkley Report* in the ratings, and in 1967 his newscast took the lead. From that time until his retirement, the *CBS Evening News* was the ratings leader.

Initially, Cronkite was something of a "hawk" on the Vietnam War, although his program did broadcast

controversial segments, such as Morley Safer's famous "Zippo lighter" report. However, returning from Vietnam after the Tet offensive, Cronkite addressed his massive audience with a different perspective. "It seems now more certain than ever," he said, "that the bloody experience of Vietnam is a stalemate." He then urged the government to open negotiations with the North Vietnamese. Many observers, including presidential aide Bill Moyers speculated that Cronkite's views were a major factor contributing to President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision to offer to negotiate with the enemy and not to run for president in 1968.

A year later Cronkite was one of the foremost boosters of the United States' technological prowess, anchoring coverage of the flight of Apollo XI. Again his vaunted objectivity momentarily left him as he shouted, "Go, Baby, Go," when the mission rocketed into space. For some time Cronkite had seen the space story as one of the most important events of the future, and his coverage of the space shots was as long on information as it was on his famed endurance. In what critics referred to as "Walter to Walter coverage," Cronkite was on the air for 27 of the 30 hours that Apollo XI took to complete its mission.

By the same token, Cronkite never stinted on coverage of the Watergate scandal and subsequent hearings. In 1972, following on the heels of the *Washington Post's* Watergate revelations, the *CBS Evening News* presented a 22-minute, two-part overview of Watergate that is generally credited with keeping the issue alive and making it intelligible to most Americans.

Cronkite could also influence foreign diplomacy, as evidenced in a 1977 interview with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, in which he asked Sadat if he would go to Jerusalem to confer with the Israelis. A day after Sadat agreed to such a visit, an invitation came from Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin. It was a step that would eventually pave the way for the Camp David accords and an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.

Many have criticized Cronkite for his refusal to take more risks in TV news coverage. Others have argued that his credibility and prestige had greater impact because of his judicious display of those qualities. Cronkite was also criticized for his preference for short "breaking stories," many of them originating from CBS News' Washington bureau, rather than longer "enterprisiers," which might deal with long-range and non-Washington stories. In addition, many have contended that Cronkite's demand for center stage—an average of six minutes out of the 22 minutes on an evening newscast focused on him—took time away from in-depth coverage of the news. Some have referred to this time in the spotlight as "the magic."

In 1981, in accord with CBS policy, Cronkite retired. Since then, however, he has hardly been inactive. His annual hosting of PBS's broadcast of the Vienna Philharmonic has become a New Year's Eve tradition. He has also hosted PBS documentaries on health, old age, and poor children. In 1993 he signed a contract with the Discovery Channel and the Learning Channel to do 36 documentaries in three years. He followed that deal with the publication in 1996 of his autobiography, *A Reporter's Life*. This endeavor was succeeded by an eight-part series on the Discovery Channel titled *Cronkite Remembers*, which was dubbed "Walter's Greatest Hits." In 1998 Cronkite returned, albeit briefly, to the anchor's chair to coanchor CNN's coverage of the return to Earth from space of the then 70-year-old former astronaut turned U.S. senator, John Glenn.

Cronkite's legacy of separating reporting from advocacy has become the norm in television news. His name has become virtually synonymous with the position of news anchor worldwide—Swedish anchors are known as *Kronkiters*, while in Holland they are *Cronkiters*.

ALBERT AUSTER

**See also Anchor; Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral; News, Network; Space Program and Television**

**Walter Cronkite.** Born in St. Joseph's, Missouri, November 4, 1916. Attended University of Texas, 1933–35. Married: Mary Elizabeth Maxwell, 1940; three children. News writer and editor, Scripps-Howard, also United Press, Houston, Texas; Kansas City, Missouri; Dallas, Austin, and El Paso, Texas; and New York City; United Press war correspondent, 1942–45, foreign correspondent, reopening bureaus in Amsterdam, Brussels; chief correspondent, Nuremberg war crimes trials, bureau manager, Moscow, 1946–48, manager and contributor, 1948–49, CBS News correspondent, 1950–81, special correspondent, since 1981; managing editor, *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*, 1962–81. Honorary degrees: American International College; Harvard University; LL.D., Rollins College, Bucknell University, Syracuse University; L.H.D., Ohio State University. Member: Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (president, national academy, New York chapter, 1959, Governor's Award, 1979); Association Radio News Analysts. Recipient: several Emmy Awards; Peabody Awards, 1962 and 1981; William A. White Award for journalistic merit, 1969; George Polk Journalism Award, 1971; Gold Medal, International Radio and Television Soci-

ety, 1974; Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia University Award in Broadcast Journalism, 1978 and 1981; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1981.

#### Television Series

1953–57 *You Are There*  
 1957–67 *The Twentieth Century*  
 1961–62 *Eyewitness to History*  
 1961–79 *CBS Reports*  
 1962–81 *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* (managing editor)  
 1967–70 *21st Century*  
 1980–82 *Universe* (host)  
 1991 *Dinosaur!*

#### Television Specials (selected)

1975 *Vietnam: A War That Is Finished*  
 1975 *In Celebration of US*  
 1975 *The President in China*  
 1977 *Our Happiest Birthday*  
 1984 *Solzhenitsyn: 1984 Revisited*  
 1994 *The Holocaust: In Memory of Millions* (host)

2000 *Fail Safe* (host)  
 2000 *Good Grief, Charlie Brown: A Tribute to Charles Schultz* (host)  
 2001 *Korean War Stories* (host)

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## C-SPAN

### U.S. Cable Network

Founded in 1979 by Brian Lamb with the support of the cable industry, C-SPAN (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network) is now available on three 24-hour cable channels and on WCSP, as well as satellite radio. C-SPAN 1, with a primary mission to cover the House of Representatives when in session, can be seen in more than 86 million homes and is available in all of the top 100 television markets. Brought online in 1986 to cover Senate proceedings, C-SPAN 2 reaches 98 percent of the top 100 markets and is accessible in 72 million households. Launched in 2001, C-SPAN 3 is a national digital network carrying events live on weekdays and long-form programming in the evening and on weekends. It has a potential audience of 7 million and can be seen in 54 percent of the top 100 markets.

Unique in the world of American television, C-SPAN is the only unfiltered national public affairs net-

work available to the public. In a news world too often devoted to sound bites and instant analysis, it stands virtually alone as an example of long-form, noncommercial television. What began in a small office in Crystal City, Virginia, with four employees and no ability to pick up the signal it sent into 3.5 million homes has now become a fixture on cable television and in American politics.

C-SPAN owes its origin to the confluence of three forces, each with different missions and needs. As the cable industry developed in the 1970s it sought programming, visibility, and respect. The quality and content of cable programming had caused concern among certain civic groups and the legislators they supported. The House of Representatives, disappointed by network television's emphasis on presidential politics, searched for a way to become more visible. Televising sessions from the floor offered a possible solution, so

# C-SPAN®

*Courtesy of C-SPAN*

long as those doing the televising did not turn hours of debate into sound bites.

Motivated by what he saw as the broadcast networks' stranglehold on the news, Brian Lamb (then the Washington bureau chief for *Cablevision* magazine) managed to soothe congressional concerns about how they would be covered while giving the cable industry the respect it needed on the hill. Lamb was no stranger to the world of Washington politics or to its coverage in the media. As a naval officer he had served as a White House social aide and as a Pentagon press spokesman. During the Nixon administration, he became assistant to the director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy. As a result, he knew leaders in the cable industry well.

Industry support freed C-SPAN from the responsibility of delivering eyeballs to advertisers. In time, it extended its reach, without having to sell itself to sponsors. In 2001 C-SPAN reached more cable and satellite homes than MTV. An estimated 28.5 million people tune in to C-SPAN weekly. While just over half of all American voters went to the polls in the 2000 presidential campaign, 90 percent of C-SPAN viewers did.

Known for its gavel-to-gavel coverage, C-SPAN actually devotes more time to public policy forums, special events, and signature programming. Only 13 percent of the network's time is spent covering House sessions. *The Washington Journal*, C-SPAN's regularly scheduled version of a call-in program, illustrates the network's mission and its presentational style. Its objective is to give viewers the opportunity to both learn from and question politicians, policymakers, and those who cover them in the news. Hosts are schooled to stay out of the way of the conversation. Constant efforts are made to balance points of view both in guest selection and in access to those on the air. Still there are always callers from both the right and the left who are sure they detect bias in programming. Long-term, long-form coverage of presidential campaigns too has become a C-SPAN hallmark. Its signature program, *The Road to the White House*, first took to the campaign trail during the 1988 election. Coverage broad-

ened during each of the following contests. *Booknotes*, another signature program, first aired in 1989. The hour-long in-depth interviews with authors of serious nonfiction books is unique in American television. The interest generated by it within and without C-SPAN led to the development of a network within a network, *Book TV*, carried weekends on C-SPAN 2. As the network has continued to grow so too has interest in developing series exploring the American past. From its first effort, coverage of the reenactment of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, to its ten-month series *American Writers: A Journey Through History*, C-SPAN has used the format to broaden its appeal to the viewing audience. One thing is certain: C-SPAN does more than carry signals from the House and Senate floors.

In spring 2004, C-SPAN turned 25. Over the years it had gathered more than a handful of awards from the cable industry for programming and service. Its series *American Presidents: Life Portraits* won a prestigious Peabody Award. In 2002 its chairman became the 13th recipient of the National Press Club's Fourth Estate Award, given annually to an individual who has achieved distinction for a lifetime of contributions to American journalism, joining Walter Cronkite and Theodore White on the list of winners. A year later, Brian Lamb was one of eight individuals to receive a National Humanities Medal from President Bush. Still, a not-for-profit network supported by a nickel-a-month fee from subscribers is always subject to the unintended effects of legislation and FCC regulation designed for the major players in a commercial industry. Media consolidation and technological developments can shift the playing field and, in doing so, threaten C-SPAN as viewers now see it. Almost from the beginning citizen's groups have formed to protect the network. Its work has changed the landscape of American politics and given citizens wider access to the ways in which government works. Its impact on the world of journalism is undoubted. C-SPAN is a unique network in the world of commercial television.

JOHN SULLIVAN

*See also Cable Networks; Lamb, Brian*

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**CTV.** *See* Canadian Television Network

## Cuba

The history of television in Cuba is generally missing from the contemporary bibliography surrounding telecommunications and media studies. Few are aware of the groundbreaking role Cuba has played in Ibero-America and its major role in world broadcasting.

### The Beginning of Commercial TV in Cuba

Development of the telecommunications sector in Cuba is best understood within historical, political, and economic contexts, such as relations between Cuba and the United States, laws regulating specific sectors of communications in Cuba, and the geographic proximity of Cuba to the United States. These factors contributed to the situation in which, during the first decade of Cuban television broadcasting, countless elements of the industry were imported. Among them were capital financing and technologies such as television transmitters and receivers, professional organizational patterns, marketing practices, and commercial communication and market research strategies applied to electronic communications media. In terms of content, TV programs and news from U.S. networks were imported, as were assorted models of programs created in the United States, which were then converted into Spanish-language versions.

Cuba became, in some ways, a unique laboratory for the United States. Experiments involving technologies, TV program genres, and the practices surrounding production, communication, and trade were carried out in Cuba—a small market but one that represented

Spanish-speaking culture. These strategies were later generalized to the Caribbean and Latin American region by different means. Among these were the application of transnational structures of TV stations, the use of international publicity agencies, and the presence of Cuban artists and technicians in the creation and development of TV stations in different countries throughout Ibero-America.

These developments were first seen during one week in December 1946, when station CM-21P transmitted an experimental broadcast of a live TV show between two distant points of La Habana (Havana) city. This broadcast displayed the possibilities of the new audiovisual electronic technique. By 1950, Cuba had become the third country in Latin America with regular TV broadcasts. This was an initiative of private enterprises that, like those in the United States, were financially based on the marketing and commercial practices of TV, a system of sponsors and advertisers. Most of the earliest television managers came from radio and, to a lesser extent, from the film industry, other productive sectors of the economy, and even some posts in the national government.

The first TV channel, Union Radio TV (Channel 4), was arranged and directed by Gaspar Pumarejo Such, then general director of the radio network of the same name. Union Radio TV was supported by RCA representatives in Cuba and other participants in the commercially based national communications sectors. The station began television test-broadcasting with interviews and shows October 14, 1950. Its official opening



took place with the broadcasting of a ceremony via remote control from the Presidential Palace (now the Museum of the Revolution) on October 24, 1950. Later, this TV station would be affiliated with DuMont, a U.S. television network.

On December 18, 1950, the second Cuban TV channel, CMQ-TV (Channel 6), began experimental broadcasting. It was directed by Goar Mestre Espinosa, also chief executive of CMQ S.A., which at the same time owned the CMQ radio network. It was officially inaugurated on March 11, 1951, and later became affiliated with the U.S. television network NBC.

Other channels—CMBF-TV (Channel 7); CMBA-TV, Telemundo (Channel 2); and TV Caribe (Channel 11)—were established in 1953. Telemundo later joined the CBS network (U.S.). In 1955 TV Habanera (Channel 10) appeared and also soon became an associate of NBC. Gaspar Pumarejo was again a pioneer when his Channel 12, Telecolor S.A., began in 1957 to broadcast daily for more than 16 hours. This commercial, color television station continued the daily broadcast in La Habana for almost two years.

This concentration of channels broadcasting from the capital city of Cuba unleashed a frenzy of competition for the television market. Competition centered on TV networks in La Habana, and later in the provincial capitals, but it also involved the remaining media-announcers, publicity firms, and U.S. producers of TV transmitters and receivers, most of them represented in Cuba at that time.

This multiple participation within the exceptional 1950s economic-cultural environment in La Habana led to a heavy financial investment and a rapid increase in commercial channels. The channels supported their positions in the competitive mix with an emphasis on designing TV programs, experimenting with technological systems and communications equipment, and/or developing commercial communication practices and market research. These experiments contributed to Cuba's role as a leader in developing diverse TV technologies in Ibero-America and throughout the world.

Notable developments and innovations in the history of television in Cuba include the following:

- 1950: Two Cuban commercial TV channels begin broadcasting from La Habana in the same quarterly time frame.
- 1952: A video network covering the main provincial capitals, CMQ-TV, Channel 6, is established.
- 1952: Regular use of the kinescope at CMQ-TV, Channel 6.
- 1954: CMQ-TV, Channel 6, transmits a live TV program (Major League Baseball's World Series) between two countries using an airplane as a relay.

1954: The teleprompter is used regularly as an assisting device for dramatic and news programs in Gaspar Pumarejo's organization, then on Channel 2.

1957: Direct transmission of regular, live TV signal between the United States and Cuba (sometimes vice-versa) occurs, using the Over the Horizon System on CMQ-TV, Channel 6.

1957: Local color, commercial TV channel, Telecolor S.A., Channel 12, broadcasts 16 hours daily.

1958: Videotape is used experimentally.

The overall design of Cuban television programs favored not only entertainment, variety shows, and commercials but also other cultural forms. Despite its heavy commercial focus, television looked for settings for actors and communications and economic agents, providing opportunities in the specific environment of the new medium. Many scriptwriters, adapters, producers, directors, actors, and technicians came to television from varying backgrounds, including the radio, theater, and film industries. These opportunities developed because La Habana was one of the leading cultural industry locations; this centrality offered unique conditions for assimilating the most deeply rooted cultural patterns of Cuba, for speeding up the creation of an audience for program design and commercial messages, and for increasing the number of consumers of TV receivers. The migration to the new medium became prominent early in the Cuban television industry, which though it broadcast typical commercial programs, poured into Cuban television the different cultural expressions and genres deeply rooted in the audience. Among these are *bufo* and zarzuela (types of operetta); universal, classic, and contemporary theater; ballet; opera; humor; music; and sports. In fact, some television genres and programs that later evolved into worldwide paradigms were created and broadcast first in Cuba.

Examples of these developments include the following:

- 1950: A complete baseball game, with full remote control, is broadcast from a stadium, as TV programs from two early channels developed from that very year to the most diverse sports programming.
- 1950: Images of a surgical operation performed in a La Habana hospital are broadcast to different parts of the capital city.
- 1952: A Spanish-language *telenovela* (soap opera) is broadcast every afternoon, Monday through Saturday, on CMQ-TV, Channel 6.
- 1953: The Miss Universe pageant is sponsored by and broadcast on Union Radio TV, Channel 4.
- 1953: A telethon is first broadcast as a fund-raising device by Union Radio TV, Channel 4.

## Public Service Television

In 1960 the Cuban government took over the administration of communications media, shifting their focus to public service. Since May 24, 1962, the activities of electronic media have been coordinated by the Radio and TV Coordination Office, the predecessor of the Cuban Broadcasting Institute (Instituto Cubano de la Radiodifusión, ICR), which was officially renamed the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television (Instituto Cubano de Radio y Televisión, ICRT) in 1976. Today this organization constitutes the strongest public radio and television system in the Ibero-American region. The first decade of public service television in Cuba also established decisive links among historical, political, economic, and technological factors.

Amid a radical social transformation of television, La Habana became a network stronghold. Some networks had repeaters at main province capitals, but their entire coverage only reached 50 percent of the Cuban territory through use of a transmitting-receiving technology imported mainly from the United States and a microwave network mostly controlled by radio and television consortiums. With the beginning of the U.S. economic blockade in 1962, however, and the breaking of commercial, political, and financial ties, the bulk of available, U.S.-derived technology grew obsolete.

The main challenge of Cuban public service television has always been to serve increasing demands concerning coverage, technological diversification, and programming content—for the state as well as every other aspect of Cuban society—without taking into account ideal technological and financial resources to fulfill these aims. In the 1960s, electricity reached the most remote areas of the country, and the number of television sets owned by people increased. Meanwhile, the basis of a national-coverage broadcast system (including Isle of Youth, formerly the Isle of Pines), and rural and/or mountain range zones, had to be implemented with the least financial investment, the highest efficiency, and technological and communicative effectiveness.

The reorganization, rationalization, and centralization process of Cuban television at a national level of technological and enterprise infrastructure led to the redistribution of television transmitters, which were transferred to the Ministry of Communications in 1967. It also led to the merging of existing TV channels and networks and the creation of new operational structures.

## TV Station and Producing Houses

By this time, the Cuban television system was made up of two national networks, Channels 6 and 2. A third system, Telerebelde, was created later, having a re-

gional character. Telerebelde broadcast from the eastern province of Santiago de Cuba, sending its own programs to the five surrounding eastern provinces. Some time later, Canal 2 was renamed Telerebelde and Santiago de Cuba's channel became a territorial center of the system.

An important step in the expansion of the national system of Cuban television was the progressive creation of the Regional Network of 15 territorial television stations, which today covers all 14 provinces and the Isle of Youth, a special municipality. These territorial channels, or *telecentros*, produce and make their own programming according to the informational needs and unique traditions of their respective audiences. These programs are broadcast during a set schedule, in the assigned area, and when they sign off, their frequency is transferred to national networks. A selection of the aforementioned regional programming also feeds national networks.

The international Cuban TV satellite channel Cubavision Internacional began operation in 1986. Its assorted cultural and informative programming concerning Cuba was initially oriented toward Cuban students and workers living temporarily in Africa. Today, its 24-hour coverage has been widened to North America, Latin America, and Africa, and its content has been diversified with other dramatic and regular genres from Cuban television.

TV Serrana, a UNESCO and ICRT joint project, began in 1993 at the San Pablo del Yao, Buey Arriba, Sierra Maestra mountain range (Granma province) in the eastern part of the country. TV Serrana is both a producer and community territorial cultural center, opening its production and video exhibits (documentary and news reports) on diverse themes concerning the community and its environment to community inhabitants who also work as creators of these audiovisual productions. Its productions are also screened in international events and festivals, as well as in national TV programming.

In November 2001, the third Cuban national network, Canal Educativo, began broadcasting from La Habana. In its first stage its signal covered La Habana's two provinces; by 2002 the entire national territory was covered. This network produces and disseminates direct and indirect educational content, from TV classes for every educational level to didactic programs such as *Mi TV* (for child audiences) and *Universidad para Todos* (general population). It also airs foreign and domestic documentaries and reports on arts, history, nature, and languages. The opening of a second network also specializing in educational themes is expected in the first quarter of 2004.

MAYRA CUE SIERRA

## Curtin, Jane (1947– )

U.S. Actor

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Comic actor Jane Curtin made her mark in television with three successful series each begun in and representative of a different decade. Her first two series coincided with and participated in the revival and redefinition of two familiar televisual forms: live comedy-variety and situation comedy. The former resurgence was initiated by Curtin's show NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) in 1975. The later revival encompassed many new sitcoms in 1984, among them *Kate and Allie*, in which Curtin played divorced homemaker-mom Allie Lowell. Then, in 1996, capitalizing on the audience's support of science fiction in film and television, situation comedy's proven endurance, and Curtin's proven record, *Third Rock from the Sun* debuted, casting Curtin as colleague, then love interest, to the (undercover) commander of a troupe of alien visitors to Earth.

One of the original "Not-Ready-for-Prime-Time Players" on SNL, Curtin had the distinction of being the only cast member producer Lorne Michaels hired cold. Though she had, like other cast members, worked in improvisational theater ("The Proposition"), Michaels had not met her or worked with her before, as he had with the rest of the cast. Less facile with physical comedy than Chevy Chase, less disposed to creating the broad characters of Gilda Radner, with a less elastic face than John Belushi, Curtin's perfect posture, cool, sophisticated demeanor, and classic strong-boned beauty made her a fitting choice for many "straight" parts. While Curtin would do a fair share of absurd characters (e.g., the nasal Mrs. Loopner, the mother in the Big Butts family; Prymaat Conehead, the mother in a family from another planet), more often than other women in the cast from 1975 to 1980 she played the "serious" roles (e.g., weekend anchor, Shana Alexander-type political combatant to Dan Akroyd's James Kilpatrick). Where Gilda Radner would outrageously parody journalist Barbara Walters (as Baba WaWa), Jane Curtin would do a deadpan imitation of liberal commentator Shana Alexander, maintaining her élan even as Akroyd's conservative Kilpatrick character began his rebuttal with the infamous line, "Jane, you ignorant slut." Yet, despite her cool, square-jawed stoicism, Curtin could instantly

abandon herself to riotous slapstick, using the break in her persona to comic effect. This yin-yang style became something of a trademark in scenes from all three series.

In an interview with James Brady years later Curtin was asked how she would rate her experience on SNL. She said on a scale of one to ten, it was a ten. Curtin was nominated for two Emmy Awards for her work on SNL before she left the show in 1980. She did not return to a television series until 1984.

*Kate and Allie*, premiering in March 1984, was a part of a resurgence in the sitcom genre. The family consisted of two divorced mothers, Kate McArdle and Allie Lowell, who decide to rent an apartment and raise their three children together. Once again Curtin played the more conventional character: abandoned traditional wife and mother Allie.

During the program's six-year run, Allie grew from a shy homebody through a returning college student to an entrepreneur running her own catering business through her domestic culinary and organizational skills. Thus, Curtin was again playing a many-sided woman who seemed easily stereotyped at first glance but exhibited hidden resources. She won two Emmy Awards for her portrayals for the 1983–84 and the 1984–85 seasons. She stayed with the show until it ended in 1990.

Curtin worked on stage and appeared in a number of movies, both for the big screen and for television, during and after *Kate and Allie*, and she tried another series that was not successful (*Working It Out*, 1990). It wasn't until January 1996 that she again "hit" with a program that drew on both sitcom formula and the growing popularity of science fiction TV programs, *Third Rock from the Sun*.

The premise of *Third Rock* was reminiscent of the Coneheads, as a group of aliens land on Earth and live as a human family. The leader, played by John Lithgow, posed as a professor colleague of anthropologist Mary Allbright (Curtin). The interplay between the characters drew on Curtin's past style. Her Dr. Allbright, a conventional professional academic with a sober exterior, often broke character to partake in the absurd behaviors of the aliens (e.g., breaking into show tunes in a



Jane Curtin.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

diner, getting aroused by a slap in the face). *Third Rock from the Sun* ran from January 1996 to May 2001.

Curtin has done a number of straight dramatic roles on stage and in made-for-television movies. Those arenas were bridged in 2003 when she took part in the Westport County Playhouse production of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, which aired on Showtime and PBS. The play, starring Paul Newman, featured Curtin in a supporting role. Praised for her understated performance and comic timing, Curtin seemed to have found yet another milieu in which to mix and rebalance her comic and dramatic talents.

Meanwhile, *Saturday Night Live*, *Kate and Allie*, and *Third Rock from the Sun* play in perpetual syndica-

tion, making the programs, and Jane Curtin, an enduring part of television.

IVY GLENNON

See also *Kate & Allie*; *Saturday Night Live*

**Jane (Therese) Curtin.** Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 6, 1947. Attended Elizabeth Seton Junior College, A.A., 1967; attended Northwestern University, 1967–68. Married Patrick F. Lynch, 1975; one child: Tess. Began comedy career as company member of “The Proposition” comedy group, 1968–72; contributing writer and actor in off-Broadway production *Pretzels*, 1974–75; original cast member of *Saturday Night Live*, NBC-TV, 1975–80; roles in several stage productions and TV programs. Recipient: Emmy Awards 1983–84 and 1984–85.

#### Television Series

1975–80	<i>Saturday Night Live</i>
1978	<i>What Really Happened to the Class of '65</i>
1984–89	<i>Kate &amp; Allie</i>
1990	<i>Working It Out</i>
1996–2001	<i>3rd Rock from the Sun</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1982	<i>Divorce Wars: A Love Story</i>
1987	<i>Suspicion</i>
1988	<i>Maybe Baby</i>
1990	<i>Common Ground</i>
1995	<i>Tad</i>
2000	<i>Catch a Falling Star</i>
2003	<i>Our Town</i>

#### Theatrical Releases

*Mr. Mike's Mondo Video*, 1979; *Bob & Ray, Jane, Laraine, & Gilda*, 1979; *How to Beat the High Cost of Living*, 1980; *O.C. & Stiggs*, 1985; *Coneheads*, 1993; *Antz*, 1998.

#### Stage

“The Proposition” (comedy group), 1968–72; *Pretzels*, 1974–75; *Candida*, 1981; *The Last of the Red Hot Lovers*; *Our Town*, 2002.

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## Czech Republic, Slovakia

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From its inception in 1953, television in Czechoslovakia was a tool of communist propaganda. In the late 1960s, state-owned Czechoslovak Television played an important role in the gradual liberalization of the totalitarian state, which culminated in the short-lived period of media freedom during the "Prague Spring" of 1968. After the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, which stopped the liberalizing reforms, Czechoslovak Television was again turned into a mouthpiece of communist, progovernment propaganda for two more decades. After the fall of communism in 1989, attempts were made in Czechoslovakia to produce a dual, public service/commercial television broadcasting system, according to West European (primarily British) examples. The majority of these attempts have not been successful. Because of legal and regulatory problems, Czech and Slovak television broadcasting has continued to experience difficulties.

The first experiments with television broadcasting were made in Czechoslovakia by Jaroslav Šafránek in the period before World War II, on an amateur basis. After the war, television broadcasting was shown to the Czechoslovak public at the 1948 International Radio Exhibition. Public television broadcasting began in Prague on May 1, 1953, within the framework of state-owned Czechoslovak Radio. In subsequent years, television broadcasting was extended throughout Czechoslovakia, and the country had nationwide television broadcasting from 1958 onward. Nevertheless, the impact of television was considerably smaller than that of radio, since only about half of the households owned a TV set still in the 1960s. In 1957–58 state-run Czechoslovak Television was instituted as an entity separate from Czechoslovak Radio. State-owned Czechoslovak Television enjoyed a broadcasting monopoly, confirmed by Czechoslovak Law No. 18/1964.

In the early years of its existence, Czechoslovak Television did not broadcast its own television news; at 7:00 P.M., the main evening radio news was transmitted while the television picture showed a test card. From October 1, 1956, the occasional current-affairs program *Televizní aktuality a zajímavosti* (*Topical Newsitems*) was broadcast daily. On January 1, 1958, nightly *Televizní noviny* (*Television News*) went on the air at 7:00 P.M. The programming schedule was set thus: after the main evening news at 7:00 P.M., a docu-

mentary was usually shown at 7:30, and a feature film followed at 8:00. Czechoslovak Television advertised itself as "Your Small Cinema at Home."

From the mid-1960s, the communist regime in Czechoslovakia found itself on the defensive. Reformers within the system, mostly writers, artists, and intellectuals, initiated a sustained push for freedom, using contemporary literature and culture as an instrument of democratization. From the mid-1960s, Czechoslovak Television, at least in certain areas of its broadcasting, freed itself of strict ideological censorship, especially in entertainment, where it broadcast its own popular drama (*Jaroslav Dietl*), and, partially, also in the area of current affairs. Thus, for instance, on April 22, 1966, Czechoslovak Television aired a special program, *Spor* (*Argument*), in which an "indictment," drafted by members of the younger generation criticizing the older generation and their Stalinist activism of the early 1950s, was debated. Although the program could not openly discuss the crimes committed by the ruling Communist Party in the 1950s, the broadcasting of *Spor* was interpreted by the Czechoslovak public as a signal that democratic debate was now possible. The program produced a large response from viewers. However, a follow-up debate, titled *Porota* (*The Jury*), made a few months later, which openly criticized Communist Party policy, was banned by the government and could not be broadcast until the period of the Prague Spring, in March 1968.

The campaign for democratic reform culminated in the Prague Spring, a period that lasted from March until August 1968, when Czechoslovakia enjoyed an almost absolute freedom of expression and engaged in an intensive debate about the totalitarian excesses of its immediate past and the alternatives for its political future. This was a remarkable period in the history of the Czech media: newspapers, radio, and television provided professional and highly sophisticated coverage of the issues under debate. A number of leading broadcasters emerged as figures of national importance. Czechoslovak Television, under its then-director Jiří Pelikán, a reformist communist, played a significant role in this period.

Equally remarkable was the work of the Czechoslovak media during the first week of Soviet occupation following the Warsaw Pact military invasion of August 21, 1968, which put an end to the Prague Spring. From

the early hours of the invasion, the media went underground, defying the invading forces and provided a round-the-clock, independent news service, calling for sensible, peaceful resistance and preventing chaos and bloodshed. While Czechoslovak television attempted to broadcast in certain regions during the invasion, sometimes directly from television transmitters, the occupying armies mostly managed to silence those broadcasts. It was the voice of "Free Czechoslovak Radio" that the invading armies failed to silence and that became the focus of national resistance.

There was a postinvasion "interregnum" after August 1968 because the occupying authorities did not manage to bring Czechoslovakia fully to heel until the spring of 1970. In spite of a certain amount of censorship (it was not possible to mention the invasion or to criticize the Soviet Union), Czechoslovak Television remained a strong voice of freedom throughout the autumn of 1968, in both its political and entertainment programming, and it again played a major role during the crisis of January 1969, when Jan Palach, a Prague university student, immolated himself in protest against the Warsaw Pact invasion and when about a million people attended his funeral.

The Soviet Union threw the country into a harsh, neo-Stalinist mode within a couple of years after the invasion and instigated a direct assault on the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. The media were purged of all the reformists and turned into a machine that produced emotional, ideological propaganda, the intensity of which remained practically unchanged until the fall of communism in 1989. Political purges took place in Czechoslovakia from 1969 through 1971, and some three quarters of a million supporters of democratic reform were sacked from their jobs.

Most professional journalists had to leave Czechoslovak Television and were replaced by ideological zealots who were at first so unprofessional that for a period of time after the purges, the new presenters of the evening news were incapable of broadcasting live and the news bulletin had to be prerecorded earlier in the day. In the mid-1970s, the Communist Party ordered Czechoslovak Television to move its evening news from 7:00 to 7:30 P.M. in order to increase its viewing figures (which peaked at about 8:00 P.M. when the feature film of the night started). This strategy also allowed them to compete with the evening news on Austrian Television, which was broadcast at 7:30 and which people in the border areas in Czechoslovakia watched in large numbers, as an antidote to communist propaganda.

In the 1970s, there were ties between Czechoslovak Television's News and Current Affairs Department and the Czechoslovak secret police (STB). Czechoslovak

Television occasionally broadcast programs, based on secret police material, that scandalized the banned democratic reformers and human rights activists. Czechoslovak Television also transmitted popular, consumerist entertainment in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Second Program of Czechoslovak Television began broadcasting on May 10, 1970; from May 9, 1973, the Second Program broadcast in color. The First Program started broadcasting in color on May 9, 1975. From 1983 onward, Czechoslovakia showed the first program of Russian television for the occupying Soviet troops. In the late 1980s, when reform began in the Soviet Union, Russian television broadcast many programs that questioned the authoritarian communist establishment. The occupation regime in Czechoslovakia would have never allowed such programs on its own indigenous TV channels (many Czechs understand Russian since the two Slavic languages are related). Thus, paradoxically, Russian television broadcasts became a voice of freedom in Czechoslovakia in the late 1980s.

After the fall of communism, state-owned Czechoslovak Television was turned into a public service system. From 1992 there was a federal, Czechoslovak channel and separate Czech and Slovak television stations. In May 1990, the Soviet TV channel in Czechoslovakia was temporarily turned into an "open channel," OK3, which broadcast a selection of international satellite programming until the end of 1992. After the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993 into Czech Republic and Slovakia, Czech Television retained two nationwide terrestrial channels: the mainstream program ČT 1 and the cultural program ČT 2. In Slovakia, Slovak Television also retained two nationwide terrestrial channels: STV 1 and STV 2.

Attempts have been made since the fall of communism to turn the former Czechoslovak Television into a public service station, but they have not been on the whole successful. During the semiauthoritarian government of Vladimír Mečiar and his Movement for Democratic Slovakia, Slovak public service television sided with the government, producing propaganda for them.

From 1993 to 1998, Czech Television's chief executive, Ivo Mathé, continued to place emphasis on entertainment. News and current affairs remained relatively undeveloped. In the first half of the 1990s, Czech Television reporters and interviewers also often sided with the government. In the wake of Mathé's departure, several attempts have been made since 1998 to professionalize Czech TV, in particular its news and current-affairs department, and to open up its finances to public scrutiny. Between 1998 and 2001, Czech Television had four different chief executives.

A fourth attempt at reform failed spectacularly in

December 2000 and January 2001, when the Council for Czech Television, a regulatory body, appointed a former BBC journalist, Jiří Hodač, as Czech Television's chief executive. This appointment resulted in a rebellion by Czech TV employees, led by the news and current-affairs department, whose members turned an internal labor dispute into a public political struggle.

In December 2000, upon learning of Hodač's appointment, the TV rebels began to transmit emotional broadcasts, hijacking the output of the station for their own ends. Defending their working practices, they aligned themselves with an opposition political party (the Freedom Union) and used popular discontent with the government to urge some 80,000 people to demonstrate in the streets of Prague against an alleged government attempt to stifle the independence of Czech TV. The new chief executive was deposed within a matter of days. The Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting characterized the Czech TV rebellion as "probably the most serious crisis since the fall of communism in 1989" and imposed the highest possible fine (2 million Czech crowns) on Czech TV for the behavior of its employees during the TV rebellion.

A number of well-known Prague cultural figures supported the Czech TV rebellion, fearing with some justification that the opening of the finances of Czech Television might compromise the often informal, sub-contractors' infrastructure on which many filmmakers and other cultural workers were financially dependent. They feared that the role of Czech Television as the only major surviving source of cultural subsidy supporting the work of Prague artists and intellectuals might be threatened.

In 1993 the regulatory authority, the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting, awarded a free television license for a commercial, culturally oriented nationwide terrestrial television station to CET 21. This company was a consortium of six Czech and Slovak individuals, headed by Vladimír Železný, and Ronald Lauder's American company Central European Development Corporation, which later became Central European Media Enterprises (CME). The new commercial television station, Nova TV, operated by Česká nezávislá televizní společnost (ČNTS, Czech Independent Television Company), began broadcasting on February 4, 1994. From its inception, it dropped the cultural remit and went aggressively for downmarket, tabloid broadcasting, including pornography. The station was financially very successful. According to estimates, in the first years of its existence it was watched by some 70 percent of the Czech audiences. In the third year of its broadcasting, Nova TV recorded an operational profit of \$45 million

(U.S.) on the basis of a turnover of \$109 million (U.S.). In 1995 a dividend of \$12 million (U.S.) was paid out by the TV company. Vladimír Železný, chief executive of Nova Television, used his TV station for the support of his own political and business interests, in particular in his weekly program *Volejte řediteli* (*Call the Director*), broadcast on Saturdays at lunchtime. He often lambasted his political and business opponents, providing no opportunity for them to respond.

The American company CME bought out the participation interest in ČNTS from the original Czech and Slovak founders of the station, achieving 99 percent ownership. At the same time, CME made it possible for Vladimír Železný to acquire a 60 percent majority in CET 21, the license holder, hoping that he would always represent CME's interests. But from 1998, Železný began secretly to act against the interests of CME, and in April 1999, he was fired from the post of chief executive of ČNTS. Železný then found indigent financial backers in the Czech Republic, and in August 1999, he took the American-backed Nova TV (ČNTS) off the air, replacing it with his own Nova TV Mark 2 with funds that are still characterized by mysterious origins. CME sued Železný and the Czech Republic at the international chamber of commerce in Amsterdam and the Czech side lost. Železný is to repay CME \$28 million, and the Czech Republic is to pay CME \$500 million in damages. Information about the ultimate owners of Nova TV is not available: their identities are covered by a number of front organizations. In June 2002, CET 21, the company controlling Nova Television, attempted to sack Vladimír Železný from the post of chief executive of Nova TV for alleged financial irregularities.

Another commercial TV broadcaster in the Czech Republic, TV Prima (on air in its present form from January 1997), apparently has close ties with the CET 21 television empire and takes over some of its programming. TV Prima developed from a regional broadcaster and was temporarily owned by the Czech Investment and Postal Bank (IPB). This bank had succumbed to corruption and had to be renationalized by the Czech government. The true identity of the owners of the station is not known, but in spring 2001, problems arose between the bank, which now controls IPB, and Domeana, the firm that represents the current owners of TV Prima.

In Slovakia, the U.S. company Central European Media Enterprises launched Markíza TV (Marchioness TV) as a nationwide television station on August 31, 1996, using the model of Czech Nova TV. Markíza TV immediately made significant inroads in the viewing



figures of public service Slovak Television. CME owns an 80 percent noncontrolling economic interest and a 49 percent voting interest in Slovenská Televizná Spoločnosť (STS, Slovak Television Company), which operates Markíza TV. The Slovak director of Markíza TV, Pavol Rusko, openly uses the TV station for his own political and business ends, having founded his own political party, Ano ("Yes"), which is supported by Markíza TV. A number of Rusko's collaborators held posts also in the public service Slovak Television in 2002, which assumed a hostile attitude toward the current right-of-center Slovak government coalition. On March 2, 2002, the Czech company CET 21, then still headed by Vladimír Železný, launched Joj TV in Slovakia. Joj TV has been mostly transmitting Nova TV repeats, and its viewing figures were only some 7 percent throughout the spring of 2002.

JAN ČULÍK

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Aubrey, James T.  
Audience Research: Cultivation Analysis  
Audience Research: Effects Analysis  
Audience Research: Industry and Market Analysis  
Audience Research: Overview  
Audience Research: Reception Analysis  
*Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*  
Australia  
Australian Production Companies

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- Australian Programming  
Australian Programming: Indigenous  
*Avengers, The*  
Azcarraga, Emilio, and Emilio Azcarraga Milmo
- Baird, John Logie  
Bakewell, Joan  
Ball, Lucille  
Barney Miller  
Barnouw, Erik  
Bassett, John  
*Batman*  
BBM Canada  
*Beachcombers, The*  
Beaton, Norman  
*Beavis and Butt-head*  
Belgium  
Bell Canada  
Bell Globe Media  
Bellamy, Ralph  
Ben Casey  
Bennett, Alan  
Benny, Jack  
*Benson*  
Berg, Gertrude  
Berle, Milton  
Berlusconi, Silvio  
Bernstein, Sidney  
Bertelsmann AG  
Berton, Pierre  
Betacam  
Betamax Case  
*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
*Big Brother*  
*Billy Graham Crusades*  
Birt, John  
Black Entertainment Television  
*Black and White in Colour*  
*Black and White Minstrel Show, The*  
Blacklisting  
Bleasdale, Alan  
*Blue Peter*  
*Bob Newhart Show, The/Newhart*  
Bochco, Steven  
Bogart, Paul  
Bolam, James  
*Bonanza*  
Boone, Richard  
*Borrowers, The*  
Boyle, Harry
- Boys from the Blackstuff*  
*Boys of St. Vincent, The*  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
Bragg, Melvyn  
Brambell, Wilfrid  
Branding  
Bravo  
Bravo! Canada  
Brazil  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
Briggs, Asa  
Brinkley, David  
British Academy of Film and Television Arts  
British Programming  
British Sky Broadcasting  
British Television  
Brittain, Donald  
Broadband  
Broadcasting  
Broadcasting Standards Commission  
Brodtkin, Herbert  
Brokaw, Tom  
Brooke-Taylor, Tim  
Brooks, James L.  
*Brookside*  
*Buffy the Vampire Slayer*  
Bureau of Measurement  
Burnett, Carol  
Burns, Allan  
Burns, George  
Burns, Ken  
Burr, Raymond  
Burrows, James
- Cable Modem  
Cable Networks  
Cable News Network (CNN)  
Cable Television: United States  
Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
Call Signs/Call Letters  
Camcorder  
Cameron, Earl  
Canada  
*Canada: A People's History*  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld  
Canadian Cable Television Association  
Canadian Film and Television Production  
Association  
Canadian Morning Television  
Canadian Production Companies  
Canadian Programming in English  
Canadian Programming in French



- Canadian Specialty Cable Channels  
 Canadian Television Network  
*Candid Camera*  
 Cannell, Stephen J.  
 CanWest Global Communications  
*Captain Video and His Video Rangers*  
 Captioning  
*Cariboo Country*  
 Carney, Art  
*Carol Burnett Show, The*  
 Carsey, Marcy  
 Carson, Johnny  
 Carter, Thomas  
 Cartier, Rudolph  
 Cartoon Network  
 Cartoons  
 Case, Steve  
*Casualty*  
*Cathy Come Home*  
*Cavalcade of America*  
 Censorship  
 Channel Four  
 Channel One News  
 Charles, Glen and Les  
*Charlie's Angels*  
 Chase, David  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
*Cheers*  
*Cheyenne*  
 Chicago School of Television  
 Children and Television  
 China  
*China Beach*  
 Chung, Connie  
 Citytv  
 Civil Rights Movement and Television, The  
*Civil War, The*  
*Civilisation: A Personal View*  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clarkson, Adrienne  
 Clearance  
 Cleese, John  
 Clinton Impeachment Trial  
 Closed Captioning  
 Closed Circuit Television  
 Cock, Gerald  
 Codco  
 Coe, Fred  
 Cole, George  
*Colgate Comedy Hour, The*  
 Collins, Bill  
 Color Television  
 Colorization  
 Coltrane, Robbie  
 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)  
*Columbo*  
 Comedy Central  
 Comedy, Domestic Settings  
 Comedy, Workplace  
 Communications Act of 1934  
 Communications Satellite Corporation  
 Computers in Television  
 Convergence  
 Cooke, Alistair  
 Cooking Shows  
 Cooney, Joan Ganz  
 Coproduction, International  
*COPS*  
 Copyright Law and Television  
 Corbett, Harry H.  
 Corday, Barbara  
*Coronation Street*  
 Cosby, Bill  
*Cosby Show, The*  
 Cost-Per-Thousand and Cost-Per-Point  
 Country Music Television  
*Country Practice, A*  
 Couric, Katie  
 Courtroom Television  
 Cousteau, Jacques  
*Cracker*  
 Craft, Christine  
 Craig, Wendy  
 Crawford, Hector  
 Criticism, Television (Journalistic)  
 Cronkite, Walter  
 C-SPAN  
 Cuba  
 Curtin, Jane  
 Czech Republic, Slovakia

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- Da Vinci's Inquest*  
*Dad's Army*  
*Dallas*  
 Daly, Tyne  
*Danger Bay*  
 Dann, Michael

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*Dark Shadows*  
*Dateline NBC*  
Davies, Andrew  
*Day After, The*  
Day, Robin  
*Death on the Rock*  
*Defenders, The*  
*Degrassi*  
Demographics  
Dench, Judi  
Denmark  
DePoe, Norman  
Deregulation  
*Desmond's*  
Detective Programs  
Development  
Development Communication  
*Dick Van Dyke Show, The*  
*Different World, A*  
Digital Television  
Digital Video Recorder  
Diller, Barry  
Dimbleby, Richard  
*Dinah Shore Show, The (Various)*  
Dingo, Ernie  
Direct Broadcast Satellite  
Director, Television  
Disasters and Television  
Discovery Channel  
Discovery Channel (Canada)  
Disney, Walt  
Distant Signal  
*Dixon of Dock Green*  
*Doctor Who*  
Docudrama  
Documentary  
Docusoap  
Dolan, Charles F.  
Donahue, Phil  
Dowdle, James Charles  
Downs, Hugh  
*Dr. Kildare*  
*Dragnet*  
Dramedy  
Drew, Robert  
Dubbing  
DuMont, Allen B.  
Dyer, Gwynne  
Dyke, Greg  
*Dynasty*  
  
E! Entertainment Network  
*Early Frost, An*  
  
*East Side/West Side*  
*EastEnders*  
Ebersol, Dick  
*Ed Sullivan Show, The*  
Educational Television  
Egypt  
Eisner, Michael  
Elderly and Television, The  
*Ellen*  
Ellerbee, Linda  
Emerson, Faye  
*E.N.G.*  
English, Diane  
*Englishman Abroad, An*  
Entertainment Tonight  
Equal Time Rule  
*Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)*  
Ethics and Television  
European Audiovisual Observatory  
European Broadcasting Union  
European Commercial Broadcasting Satellite  
European Union: Television Policy  
Eurovision Song Contest  
Experimental Video  
*Eyes on the Prize*  
*Eyewitness to History*  
  
Fairness Doctrine  
Falk, Peter  
*Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin, The*  
*Famille Plouffe, La*  
*Family*  
Family on Television  
*Family Ties*  
Family Viewing Time  
Farnsworth, Philo T.  
*Father Knows Best*  
*Father Ted*  
*Fawlty Towers*  
*FBI, The*  
Fecan, Ivan  
Federal Communications Commission  
Federal Trade Commission  
*Fifth Estate, The*  
FilmFour/ Film on Four  
Financial Interest and Syndication Rules  
Finland  
*Fireside Theatre*  
First People's Television Broadcasting in Canada  
Fisher, Terry Louise  
*Flintstones, The*  
*Flip Wilson Show, The*  
Flow  
Fontana, Tom

- Food Network  
 Foote, Horton  
*For the Record*  
 Ford, Anna  
 Format Sales, International  
*Forsyte Saga, The*  
 Forsythe, John  
*Four Corners*  
 FOX Broadcasting Company  
 France  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Frank N. Magid Associates  
 Frank, Reuven  
 Frankenheimer, John  
*Frank's Place*  
*Frasier*  
 Frederick, Pauline  
 Freed, Fred  
 "Freeze" of 1948  
 French, Dawn  
 Friendly, Fred W.  
*Friends*  
*Front Page Challenge*  
*Frontline*  
 Frost, David  
 Frum, Barbara  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Furness, Betty
- Garner, James  
 Garnett, Tony  
*Garroway at Large*  
 Gartner, Hana  
 Gelbart, Larry  
 Geller, Henry  
 Gender and Television  
*General Electric Theater*  
 Genre  
 Geography and Television  
*George Burns and Gracie Allen Show, The*  
 Germany  
 Gerussi, Bruno  
 Get Smart  
 Gleason, Jackie  
 Gless, Sharon  
 Globalization  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
*Goldbergs, The*  
 "Golden Age" of Television  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldenson, Leonard  
 Goldie, Grace Wyndham  
*Good Times*  
 Goodson, Mark, and Bill Todman
- Goodyear Playhouse*  
 Grade, Lew  
 Grade, Michael  
*Grandstand*  
*Grange Hill*  
*Great Performances*  
 Greece  
*Green Acres*  
 Greenberg, Harold  
 Greene, Lorne  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, Andy  
 Griffiths, Trevor  
 Grundy, Reg  
*Gunsmoke*  
 Gyngell, Bruce
- Hagman, Larry  
 Haley, Alex  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Hancock's Half Hour*  
 Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera  
*Happy Days*  
 Harding, Gilbert  
 Harris, Susan  
*Have Gun—Will Travel*  
*Have I Got News for You*  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
*Hazel*  
*Heartbreak High*  
 Hemsley, Sherman  
 Henning, Paul  
 Hennock, Frieda Barkin  
 Henry, Lenny  
 Henson, Jim  
 Hewitt, Don  
*Hey Hey It's Saturday*  
 High-Definition Television  
*Hill Street Blues*  
 Hill, Benny  
*Hillsborough*  
 Hill-Thomas Hearings  
 Hird, Thora  
 History and Television  
*Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy, The*  
*Hockey Night in Canada*  
 Hodge, Patricia  
 Holbrook, Hal  
 Hollywood and Television  
*Holocaust*  
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*Homicide*

*Homicide: Life on the Street*

*Honey West*

*Honeymooners, The*

Hong Kong

Hood, Stuart

Hooks, Benjamin Lawson

Hope, Bob

Hopkins, John

*Hour Glass*

*Howdy Doody Show, The*

Howerd, Frankie

Huggins, Roy

Hungary

Huntley, Chet

*I Claudius*

*I Love Lucy*

*I Spy*

Iceland

Iger, Robert

Independent Production Companies

Independent Television Service

India

*Inspector Morse*

Interactive Television

International Telecommunications Union

International Television Program Markets

Ireland

Isaacs, Jeremy

Israel

Italy

*It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show*

*I've Got a Secret*

Jackson, Gordon

Jackson, Michael (British)

Jaffrey, Madhur

Jaffrey, Saeed

James, Sid

Japan

Jason, David

*Jeffersons, The*

Jenkins, Charles Francis

Jennings, Peter

*Jeopardy!*

*Jewel in the Crown, The*

Johnson, Lamont

Jones, Quincy

*Julia*

Julien, Isaac

Juneau, Pierre

*Kate and Allie*

Keeshan, Bob

Kellner, Jamie

Kendal, Felicity

Kennedy, Graham

Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral

Kennedy, Robert F.: Assassination

Kennedy Martin, Troy

Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debates, 1960

Kenya

*Kids in the Hall*

Kinescope

King, Larry

King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr.: Assassination

*King of Kensington*

Kinnear, Roy

Kinoy, Ernest

Kintner, Robert E.

Kirck, Harvey

Klein, Paul

Kluge, John

Knowledge Network

Koppel, Ted

Kovacs, Ernie

*Kraft Television Theatre*

*Kukla, Fran and Ollie*

Kuralt, Charles

Kureishi, Hanif

*L.A. Law*

*La Femme Nikita*

La Frenais, Ian

La Plante, Lynda

Lamb, Brian

Lambert, Verity

Landon, Michael

Lane, Carla

Language and Television

Lansbury, Angela

*Lassie*

*Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with*

*David Letterman)*

*Laverne and Shirley*

*Law & Order*

*Lawrence Welk Show, The*

Laybourne, Geraldine

Le Mesurier, John

Lear, Norman

*Leave It to Beaver*

Leno, Jay

Leonard, Herbert B.

Leonard, Sheldon

*Leslie Uggams Show, The*

Letterman, David

Levin, Gerald

Levinson, Richard

*Liberace Show, The*

License  
 License Fee  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Life on Earth*  
 Lifetime  
*Likely Lads, The*  
 Link, William  
*Little House on the Prairie*  
 Littlefield, Warren  
 Loach, Ken

Local Television  
*Lone Ranger, The*  
*Loretta Young Show, The*  
*Lou Grant*  
 Low Power Television  
 Lumet, Sidney  
 Lumley, Joanna  
 Lupino, Ida  
 Lyndhurst, Nicholas

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*Magic Roundabout, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Malone, John C.  
*Mama*  
*Man Alive*  
*Man From U.N.C.L.E., The/The Girl From*  
     *U.N.C.L.E.*  
 Mann, Abby  
 Mann, Delbert  
 Mansbridge, Peter  
 Marchant, Tony  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Market  
*Marketplace*  
*Married... With Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martin, Quinn  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mass Communication  
*Mastermind*  
*Maude*  
*Maverick*  
*Max Headroom*  
 McDonald, Trevor  
 McGovern, Jimmy  
 McGrath, John  
 McKay, Jim  
 McKern, Leo  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McQueen, Trina  
 Media Conglomerates  
 Media Events  
*Medic*  
 Medical Video  
*Meet the Press*  
 Melodrama  
 Mercer, David

Mercer, Rick  
 Mergers and Acquisitions  
 Messer, Don  
 Mexico  
*Miami Vice*  
 Microwave  
 Midwest Video Case  
 Miller, J.P.  
*Milton Berle Show, The*  
*Minder*  
 Miner, Worthington  
 Miniseries  
 Minow, Newton  
 Mirren, Helen  
*Miss Marple*  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Monkees, The*  
 Monkhouse, Bob  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
*Moonlighting*  
 Moonves, Leslie R.  
 Moore, Garry  
 Moore, Mary Tyler  
 Moore, Roger  
*Morecambe and Wise*  
 Morning Television Programs  
 Motion Picture Association of America  
 Movie Network, The  
 Movie Professionals and Television  
 Movies on Television  
 Moyers, Bill  
 MSNBC  
 MTV  
 MuchMusic  
 Munroe, Carmen  
*Muppet Show, The*  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
 Murdoch, Rupert K.  
*Murphy Brown*

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- Murphy, Thomas S.  
Murrow, Edward R.  
Music Licensing  
Music on Television  
Must Carry Rules  
*My Little Margie*  
*My Three Sons*
- Naked City*  
*Naked Civil Servant, The*  
*Name of the Game, The*  
Narrowcasting  
Nash, Knowlton  
*Nat "King" Cole Show, The*  
Nation, Terry  
*National, The/The Journal*  
National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences  
National Asian American Telecommunications Association  
National Association of Broadcasters  
National Association of Television Program Executives  
National Broadcasting Company (NBC)  
National Cable and Telecommunications Association  
National Education Television Center  
National Telecommunication and Information Administration  
*Nature of Things, The*  
*NBC Mystery Movie, The*  
*NBC Reports*  
*NBC White Paper*  
*Neighbours*  
Nelson, Ozzie and Harriet  
Netherlands, The  
Networks: United States  
New Zealand  
Newhart, Bob  
Newman, Sydney  
News Corporation, Ltd.  
News, Local and Regional  
News, Network  
Nichols, Dandy  
Nick at Nite/TV Land  
Nielsen, A.C.  
Nixon, Agnes  
*North of 60*  
*Northern Exposure*  
Norway  
*Not the Nine O'clock News*  
*Not Only... But Also...*  
*NYPD Blue*
- O'Connor, Carroll  
*Odd Couple, The*
- Ohlmeyer, Don  
*Old Grey Whistle Test, The*  
Olympics and Television  
*Omnibus*  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Foot in the Grave*  
*Only Fools and Horses*  
Open University  
*Original Amateur Hour, The*  
Ouimet, Alphonse  
*Our Friends in the North*  
*Our Miss Brooks*  
Ovitz, Michael  
Ownership  
Paar, Jack  
Paik, Nam June  
Paley, William S.  
Palin, Michael  
Palmer, Geoffrey  
*Panorama*  
Park, Nick  
Parker, Everett C.  
*Parkinson*  
Parkinson, Michael  
Parliament, Coverage by Television  
*Partridge Family, The*  
Pauley, Jane  
PAX Television  
Pay Cable  
Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand  
Pay Television  
Peck, Bob  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
*Pennies from Heaven*  
*Perry Mason*  
*Person to Person*  
Pertwee, Jon  
*Peter Gunn*  
*Peter Pan*  
*Peyton Place*  
*Phil Silvers Show, The*  
Philbin, Regis  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
Phillips, Irna  
Pierce, Frederick S.  
Pilot Programs  
Pittman, Robert W.  
*Playhouse 90*  
Poland  
*Poldark*  
Police Programs  
*Police Story*  
Political Processes and Television  
*Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher*

- Pool Coverage  
*Porridge*  
 Post, Mike  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
*Power without Glory*  
 Presidential Nominating Conventions  
 Press Conference  
*Prime Suspect*  
 Prime Time  
 Prime Time Access Rule  
*Primetime Live*  
 Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner*  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Producer in Television  
 Programming  
 PROMAX  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Public Access Television  
 Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity  
 Public-Service Announcement  
 Public-Service Broadcasting  
 Public Television  
 Puerto Rico
- Quatermass*  
 Quebecor Media  
*Queer As Folk*  
*Quentin Durgens, M.P.*  
 Quiz and Game Shows  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Racism, Ethnicity and Television  
 Radio Corporation of America  
 Radio Television News Directors Association  
 Randall, Tony  
 Rather, Dan  
 Ratings  
*Ready Steady Go*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*
- Reality Television  
*Red Green Show, The*  
*Red Skelton Show, The*  
 Redmond, Phil  
 Redstone, Sumner  
 Rees, Marian  
 Reid, Tim  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Reith, John C.W.  
 Religion on Television  
 Remote Control Device  
 Reruns/Repeats  
 Reynolds, Gene  
*Rich Man, Poor Man*  
 Rigg, Diana  
 Riggs, Marlon  
 Rintels, David W.  
*Rising Damp*  
 Rivera, Geraldo  
*Road to Avonlea*  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robinson, Hubbell  
*Rockford Files, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rogers, Fred McFeely  
 Rogers, Ted  
*Room 222*  
*Roots*  
 Rose, Reginald  
 Roseanne  
*Roseanne*  
 Rosenthal, Jack  
*Route 66*  
*Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*  
*Royal Canadian Air Farce, The*  
 Royalty and Royals on Television  
*Royle Family, The*  
 Rule, Elton  
*Rumpole of the Bailey*  
 Rushton, William  
 Russell, Ken  
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- St. Elsewhere*  
 Sagansky, Jeff  
 Salant, Richard S.  
*Sale of the Century*
- Sandford, Jeremy  
 Sandrich, Jay  
*Sanford and Son*  
 Sarnoff, David

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*Saturday Night Live*  
Saunders, Jennifer  
Sawyer, Diane  
Scales, Prunella  
Schaffner, Franklin  
Schorr, Daniel  
Schwartz, Sherwood  
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Science Programs  
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Scrambled Signals  
Second City Television  
Secondari, John H.  
*See It Now*  
*Seeing Things*  
*Seinfeld*  
Sellers, Peter  
*Selling of the Pentagon, The*  
Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
Sesame Workshop  
Sevareid, Eric  
*Sex*  
*Sex and the City*  
Sexual Orientation and Television  
Share  
Shatner, William  
Shaw, Bernard  
Sheen, Fulton J.  
*Sherlock Holmes*  
Shore, Dinah  
Showtime Network  
Silliphant, Stirling  
Silverman, Fred  
Silvers, Phil  
*Simpsons, The*  
Simulcasting  
*Singing Detective, The*  
*Siskel and Ebert*  
*Six Wives of Henry VIII, The*  
*60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II*  
*\$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge*  
Skelton, Red  
*Skippy*  
Smith, Howard K.  
*Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The*  
*Soap*  
Soap Opera  
Social Class and Television  
Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers

*Some Mothers Do 'ave 'em*  
Sony Corporation  
*Sopranos, The*  
*Soul Train*  
South Africa  
South Korea  
*South Park*  
Southeast Asia  
Space Program and Television  
Spain  
Spanish International Network  
Special/Spectacular  
Speight, Johnny  
Spelling, Aaron  
Spin-Off  
*Spitting Image*  
Sponsor  
Sports and Television  
Sportscasters  
Spriggs, Elizabeth  
Spy Programs  
Standards  
Standards and Practices  
Stanton, Frank  
Star, Darren  
*Star Trek*  
Starowicz, Mark  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
Station and Station Group  
Steadicam  
*Steptoe and Son*  
*Steve Allen Show, The (Various)*  
Streaming Video  
*Street Legal*  
Street-Porter, Janet  
Studio  
*Studio One*  
Subtitling  
Sullivan, Ed  
Super Bowl  
Superstation  
*Survivor*  
*Suspense*  
Susskind, David  
Sustaining Program  
Suzuki, David  
Swallow, Norman  
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*Sweeney, The*  
Switzerland  
Sykes, Eric  
*Sylvania Waters*  
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- Tabloid Television in the United States  
 Taiwan  
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*Talking Heads*  
 Tarses, Jay  
 Tartikoff, Brandon  
*Taxi*  
 Teaser  
 Technology, Television  
 Teenagers and Television in the United States  
 Telcos  
 Telecommunications Act of 1996  
 Telefilm Canada  
 Telemundo  
 Telenovela  
 Teleroman  
 Teletext  
 Telethon  
 Television Studies  
 Terrorism  
*That Girl*  
*That Was the Week That Was*  
 Thaw, John  
 Theme Songs  
*thirtysomething*  
*This Hour Has Seven Days*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Tony  
*Thorn Birds, The*  
*Three's Company*  
*Thunderbirds*  
 Tiananmen Square  
*Till Death Us Do Part*  
 Tillstrom, Burr  
 Time Shifting  
 Time Warner  
 Tinker, Grant  
*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*  
 Tisch, Laurence  
*Tiswas*  
*Tommy Hunter Show, The*  
*Tonight*  
*Tonight Show, The*  
*Top of the Pops*  
*Touched By an Angel*  
*Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A*  
 Trade Magazines  
 Translators and Boosters  
 Tribune Broadcasting  
 Trodd, Kenith  
 Troughton, Patrick  
 Turkey  
 Turner Broadcasting Systems  
 Turner, Ted  
*20th Century, The*  
*20/20*  
 24-Hour News  
*Twilight Zone, The*  
*Twin Peaks*  
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 227  
  
*Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception, The*  
*Undercurrents*  
 Unions/Guilds  
 United States Congress and Television  
 United States Presidency and Television (Historical  
     Overview)  
 Universal (NBC-Universal, Vivendi Universal)  
*University Challenge*  
 Univision  
*Untouchables, The*  
 UPN Television Network  
*Upstairs, Downstairs*  
  
*Valour and the Horror, The*  
 Van Dyke, Dick  
 Variety Programs  
*Very British Coup, A*  
*Victory at Sea*  
 Video Editing  
 Videocassette  
 Videodisc  
 Videotape  
 Videotex and Online Services  
*Vietnam: A Television History*  
 Vietnam on Television  
 Violence and Television  
*Voice of Firestone, The*  
 Voice-Over  
  
 W (formerly Women's Television Network)  
*Wagon Train*  
 Wales  
*Walking with Dinosaurs*  
 Wallace, Mike  
 Walsh, Mary  
 Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)  
 Walters, Barbara  
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*War Game, The*  
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*Watch with Mother*

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Watergate  
Waterman, Dennis  
Waters, Ethel  
Watkins, Peter  
Watson, Patrick  
Wayne and Shuster  
WB Network  
Wearing, Michael  
Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)  
Webb, Jack  
*Wednesday Play, The*  
Weinberger, Ed  
Weldon, Fay  
Welland, Colin  
Wendt, Jana  
Western  
Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse  
Weyman, Ron  
*Wheel of Fortune*  
Wheldon, Huw  
Whicker, Alan  
White, Betty  
Whitfield, June  
*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*  
*Widows*  
*Wild Kingdom*  
Wildlife and Nature Programs  
Wildmon, Donald  
Williams, Raymond  
Wilson, Flip  
Winant, Ethel  
*Wind at My Back*  
Windsor, Frank  
Winfrey, Oprah  
Winters, Jonathan  
Wiseman, Frederick  
Witt, Paul Junger  
*Wojeck*  
Wolf, Dick  
Wolper, David L.  
*Women of Brewster Place, The*  
*Wonder Years, The*  
Wood, Robert  
Wood, Victoria  
Woodward, Edward  
Woodward, Joanne  
Workplace Programs  
*World at War, The*  
*World in Action*  
Worrel, Trix  
Wrather, Jack  
Wrestling on Television  
Wright, Robert C.  
Writer in Television  
Wyman, Jane  
  
*Xena: Warrior Princess*  
*X-Files, The*  
*XYY Man, The*  
  
Yentob, Alan  
*Yes, Minister*  
Young, Loretta  
Young, Robert  
*Your Hit Parade*  
Youth Television  
  
Z Cars  
Zapping  
Ziv Television Programs, Inc.  
Znaimer, Moses  
*Zorro*  
Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz  
Zworykin, Vladimir

# D

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## Da Vinci's Inquest

Canadian Coroner/Detective Series

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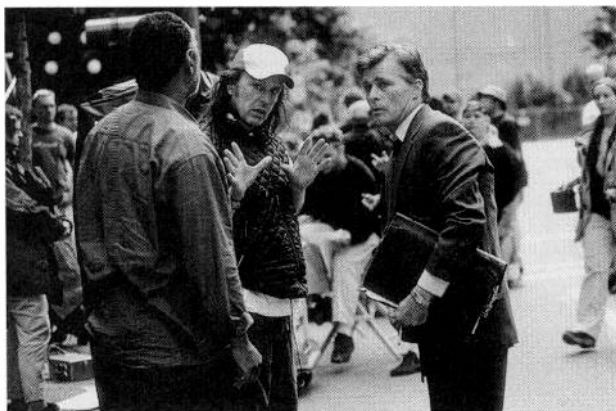
Created by Chris Haddock and coproduced in Vancouver by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Haddock Entertainment, *Da Vinci's Inquest* has completed five broadcast seasons. This popular series also airs in over two dozen European, Latin American, and Middle Eastern countries. Coroner Dominic Da Vinci (Nicholas Campbell) is pivotal to the generic mix of investigative drama and social issue themes.

Campbell's extensive acting skills and personal "bad boy" appeal lend Da Vinci the energy and competence the role requires. In his signature raincoat, he fits the show's local setting, Vancouver, which is depicted as rainy and drab yet alive with a street culture of transient and marginal figures. His investigations are marked by his candid and incisive observations and procedures as investigative coroner with a mission. A plain talker and recovered alcoholic, he has experienced loss (his father's death, divorce, and an inability to overcome alcoholism). Obsessive in his concern with injustices and lapses in the Social Service system, Da Vinci has an amiable rapport with his ex-wife (Gwynyth Walsh), chief pathologist in the coroner's office, and is a worthy dad to his teenage daughter.

Typically, Da Vinci is on the move, carrying the minimal tools of his trade to crime scenes: a brief case or shoulder tote containing camera and rubber gloves, a cell phone, and often a file tucked under one arm. He thinks out loud as he reviews and debates the circum-

stances of the death in question with cops and colleagues on the scene. He is interested in the truth of the matter but also forgoes protocol to follow his instincts; as a colleague reminds him of his iconoclastic snooping, "Isn't this a little beyond the coroner's mandate?" In an episode featuring a seemingly open-and-shut case of teen suicide, he rightly suspects the family doctor of malpractice that resulted in the youth's death. By badgering the doctor on his rounds and earning the mother's trust, Da Vinci figures out that similar medical negligence was the cause of the youth's father's death a month earlier.

Da Vinci is a sociable loner with collegial links to all the show's continuing characters. Unlike Da Vinci, the continuing characters have a professional or personal counterpart. Mick (Ian Tracey), the younger detective, and Leo (Donnelly Rhodes), who is nearing retirement, work as an investigative team. Leo is an "old-school" thinker, with a homophobic streak, and is burdened by his wife's decline from Alzheimer's disease. The two women pathologists, Da Vinci's ex-wife and a younger woman (Suleka Mathew) of East Indian heritage, are independent women and compatible professionals. The younger woman has had a fitful intimate relationship with Mick. Mick's brother Danny is rehabilitating himself from shady drifter to undercover operative "Bobby." On the right side of the law, Danny regains his brother's respect while he strives to revive the affection of the smart, if sometimes unethical, de-



*Da Vinci's Inquest.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

tective Angie (Venus Terzo). In a recent episode, Danny confronts Angie for her deceitful ploy with a woman implicated in murder. Angie leads the woman to believe that a witness protection program might be forthcoming in exchange for testimony against the husband.

*Da Vinci's Inquest* thrives on exceptional writing and nuanced performances and camera work. The well-crafted narratives and ensemble characters are located in Vancouver's street life with its ethnic and racial mix of Asians, East Indians, blacks, aboriginals, and recent immigrants. In a CBC interview, Campbell lauded the show's intelligent camera work: "It feels so real to the audience and yet has this loving touch to it... because of David Frazee's [director of photography] eye." The concluding scene of an episode near the end of the 2001-02 season, for example, is a tour de force of camera work that meshes characters and local setting. Within several city blocks, the camera captures a series of ambling conversations. Da Vinci emerges from an alleyway, and a teen contact catches up with him. The teen retreats, then a detective emerges from a tackle shop, extolling the art of "catch and release" fly-fishing. At the next alleyway, detectives Mick and Leo bump into the two men, and the foursome continues to stroll and discuss fishing and an unresolved immigration case. Through five minutes of continuous camera work, without editing, an aesthetic integrity more common to observational documentary than television is constructed.

Vancouver is as individuated a cityscape in *Da Vinci's Inquest* as Baltimore was in *Homicide: Life on*

*the Street*. Familiar streets, skyline, docks, and dull weather shape the show's urban textures, with realist narrative glimpses of Vancouver's immigrant heritage, bag ladies, marginal citizens, and junkies.

Episodes are richly structured with dovetailing plots. Social issues and philosophical debates are injected into running conversations. One episode has Da Vinci debating, with a young female police officer, the negative effects of installing surveillance cameras to control local street crime. He recalls Galileo's suspicion of new technology ("Every technological advancement is greeted by a howl of horror") and argues for human vigilance over technical surveillance. Episodes rarely offer pat conclusions, even when cases are solved. In an episode featuring a jailed teenager whose baby dies, Da Vinci concludes that he doesn't "believe anybody"—not the girl, the prison guards, or the medical team. Nor does he perceive a cover-up conspiracy; rather, systemic failure and lacking communication by all parties are the culprits.

As realist drama, *Da Vinci's Inquest* has addressed the disappearance and unsolved murders of numerous Vancouver prostitutes. It has alluded to the maltreatment of "very young aboriginal women" who, some twenty years ago, were given tubal ligations by a now elderly doctor. As Da Vinci's ex-wife reports to him, the doctor's "selective amnesia" makes it impossible to investigate this injustice. Such stories are known to observers of Canadian social history. *Da Vinci's Inquest* keeps them visible within television drama.

JOAN NICKS

#### Cast

Dominic Da Vinci	Nicholas Campbell
Chick Savoy	Alex Diakun
Rose Williams	Kim Hawthorne
Dr. Sunny Ramen	Suleka Mathew
Bob Kelly	Gerard Plunkett
Sgt. Sheila Kurtz	Sarah-Jane Redmond
Detective Leo Shannon	Donnelly Rhodes
Helen	Sarah Strange
Detective Angela Kosmo	Venus Terzo
Detective Mick Leary	Ian Tracey

#### Executive Producer and Writer

Chris Haddock / Haddock Entertainment, Inc.

#### Programming History

CBC Sunday 9:00

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# Dad's Army

## British Situation Comedy

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The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) comedy series *Dad's Army* was the creation of one of the most successful British television comedy writing and production teams, Jimmy Perry and David Croft. They created 81 half-hour episodes between 1968 and 1977, with audiences of 18.5 million in the early 1970s. The program has developed a TV nostalgia popularity among its original audience, as repeat transmissions (in 1989 for instance) and sales of home videocassettes testify. One of the key factors in the program's success lay in its historical setting during the early years of World War II.

*Dad's Army* features the comic ineptitude of a Home Guard platoon in Walmington-on-Sea, an imaginary seaside resort on the south coast of England. The Land Defence Volunteers were formed in 1940 as a reserve volunteer force made up of men who did not meet the standards of age and fitness required for regular military service. These units were soon officially renamed the Home Guard, but they also attracted the somewhat derisory nickname of "Dad's Army."

Perry and Croft's scripts, based on vivid memories from the period, won them professional recognition with a screenwriting BAFTA Award in 1971, and their subsequent work has secured them a central place within popular British television comedy. They went on to produce *It Ain't 'Alf 'Ot Mum!* (1976–81), set in a British Army entertainment corps posted in Burma during World War II, and *Hi-de-Hi* (1980–94), set in Maplins Holiday Camp in 1959. In their own way, these programs have tapped into, and contributed to, television's myths about wartime Britain and the immediate postwar period of the 1950s. All three series feature ensemble casts of misfit characters brought together under a quasi-authoritarian order (a volunteer army, concert corps, or holiday camp staff) and whose weekly crises demand that the group pulls together against adversity.

The longevity and endearing appeal of *Dad's Army* in particular is explained in part by the way in which the series successfully constructs myths of British social unity and community spirit that were so sought after in the years following the revolutionary moment of the late 1960s. The revival of the series in the late 1980s pointed up the starker, more divided nature of

contemporary British life, riven by class, racial, and national identity tensions. *Dad's Army* depicts with humor—but obvious underlying affection—the “bulldog” spirit of Britain popularly taken to characterize public morale during the Blitz and its immediate aftermath (1940–41). Britain alone against the threat of Hitler's Nazi army occupying Europe is the subject of the program's signature tune lyrics, “Who do you think you are kidding, Mr. Hitler, if you think old England's done,” written by Perry and sung by wartime entertainer Bud Flanagan in a clever recreation of a 1940s sound. The opening credit sequence depicts a map of Europe with advancing Nazi swastikas attempting to cross the English Channel. In its production style, *Dad's Army* exemplified the BBC's reputation for period detail, and many episodes featured exterior sequences shot on rural locations in southeast England. This film footage was mixed with videotape-recorded interior scenes, and a live studio audience provided laughter for the final broadcast version.

The humor of *Dad's Army* derives from a combination of ridiculous task or crisis situations, visual jokes, and a gentle mockery of English class differentiation. Perry and Croft's skill was to script dialogue for a talented ensemble of character actors constituting the Walmington-on-Sea platoon, led by the pompous Captain Mainwearing (Arthur Lowe), the manager of the local bank. The other main characters include his chief clerk, Sergeant Wilson (John Le Mesurier); Frank Pike (Ian Lavender), the junior bank clerk; and Lance Corporal Jones (Clive Dunn), the local butcher. The platoon's rank and file are made up of privates Frazer, the Scots undertaker (John Laurie); Godfrey (Arnold Ridley), a retired gentleman who lives with his two maiden sisters in a cottage; and Walker (James Beck), a “spiv” who deals in contraband goods. Mainwearing's main rival authority in Walmington is the chief air-raid warden, Mr. Hodges (Bill Pertwee), a local greengrocer. They frequently battle over use of the church hall and office of the long-suffering camp vicar (Frank Williams) and his toadying verger (Edward Sinclair).

Perry and Croft's world in *Dad's Army* is largely male, but women do feature, albeit in their absence or marginality. Underlying the appearance of the middle-

class proprieties of marriage are dysfunctional relationships. Mainwearing's agoraphobic wife (Elizabeth) never appeared in the series (except once as a lump in the top bunk of their Anson air-raid shelter). They obviously share a loveless marriage with her firmly in control over domestic arrangements. Similarly, Mrs. Pike (Janet Davies) is a young widow who entertains the debonair Sergeant Wilson, and although Frank refers to him as "Uncle Arthur," there is some suspicion that the lad is their illegitimate son. The amorous, larger-than-life Mrs. Fox (Pamela Cundell) gives her matronly attentions freely to the platoon's men, and she eventually marries the elderly but eligible Corporal Jones.

*Dad's Army* is particularly significant in its comic treatment of English class tensions. Through narrative and character, Croft and Perry revisit a time when the war was being fought partly in the belief that the old social class divisions would give way to a more egalitarian postwar meritocracy. The chief manifestations of such tensions occur in exchanges between Captain Mainwearing and Sergeant Wilson. In a clever reversal of expectations, Croft made the captain a grammar school-educated, bespectacled, and stout man whose social status has been achieved through hard work and merit. His superiority of rank, work status, and self-important manner are nevertheless constantly frustrated by Wilson's upper-class pedigree, public school education, and nonchalant charm. Mainwearing's middle-class snobbery, brilliantly captured by Arthur Lowe, is also reflected in his attitudes toward the lower classes. A member of the managerial class, he looks down at uncouth tradesmen: "He's a greengrocer with dirty finger nails," he says of his archrival Hodges. Although *Dad's Army* is comic because it mocks such pretension, it is essentially a nostalgic look back to a social order that never existed in this form. The program celebrates values such as "amateurism," "making do," and muddling through, values that in this presentation remain comic but appear quaint to later generations of television viewers.

LANCE PETTITT

See also **British Programming**

**Cast**

Capt. Mainwearing	Arthur Lowe
Sgt. Wilson	John Le Mesurier

Lance Cpl. Jones	Clive Dunn
Private Frazer	John Laurie
Private Walker	James Beck
Private Godfrey	Arnold Ridley
Private Pike	Ian Lavender
Chief Warden Hodges	Bill Pertwee
Vicar	Frank Williams
Verger	Edward Sinclair
Mrs. Pike	Janet Davies
Private Sponge	Colin Bean
Private Cheeseman	Talfryn Thomas
Colonel	Robert Raglan
Mr. Blewitt	Harold Bennett
Mrs. Fox	Pamela Cundell

**Producer**

David Croft

**Programming History**

81 half-hour episodes; 1 1-hour episode; 1 insert  
BBC

July 1968–September 1968	6 episodes
March 1969–April 1969	6 episodes
September 1969–October 1969	7 episodes
October 1969–December 1969	7 episodes
September 1970–December 1970	13 episodes
December 1970	Christmas special
December 1971	Christmas special
October 1972–December 1972	13 episodes
October 1973–December 1973	7 episodes
November 1974–December 1974	6 episodes
September 1975–October 1975	6 episodes
December 1975	Christmas special
December 1976	Christmas special
October 1977–November 1977	6 episodes

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# Dallas

## U.S. Serial Melodrama

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*Dallas*, the first of a genre to be named “prime-time soap” by television critics, established the features of serial plots involving feuding families and moral excess that would characterize all other programs of the type. Created by David Jacobs, *Dallas*’s first five-episode pilot season aired in April 1978 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), getting poor reviews, but later high ratings put it in the top ten by the end of its limited run. The central premise was a *Romeo and Juliet* conflict, set in contemporary Texas. Pamela Barnes and Bobby Ewing were the young lovers whose two families perpetuated the feud of their elders, Jock Ewing and Digger Barnes, over the rightful ownership of oil fields claimed by the Ewings.

In the pilot episodes and the 12 full seasons that would follow, the Ewing family remained the focus of *Dallas*. Indeed, the Ewing brothers, their wives, their offspring, and all the assorted relatives passing through would continue to live under one roof on Southfork, the family ranch. Bobby’s older brother J.R., played with sly wit by Larry Hagman, would become a new kind of villain for television because of his centrality to the program and the depth both actor and writers gave to the character. Abusive to his alcoholic wife Sue Ellen and ruthless and underhanded with his nemesis Cliff Barnes and any other challenger to Ewing Oil, J.R. was nevertheless a loyal son to Miss Ellie and Jock and a devoted father to his son and heir, John Ross. Hagman’s J.R. soon became the man viewers loved to hate.

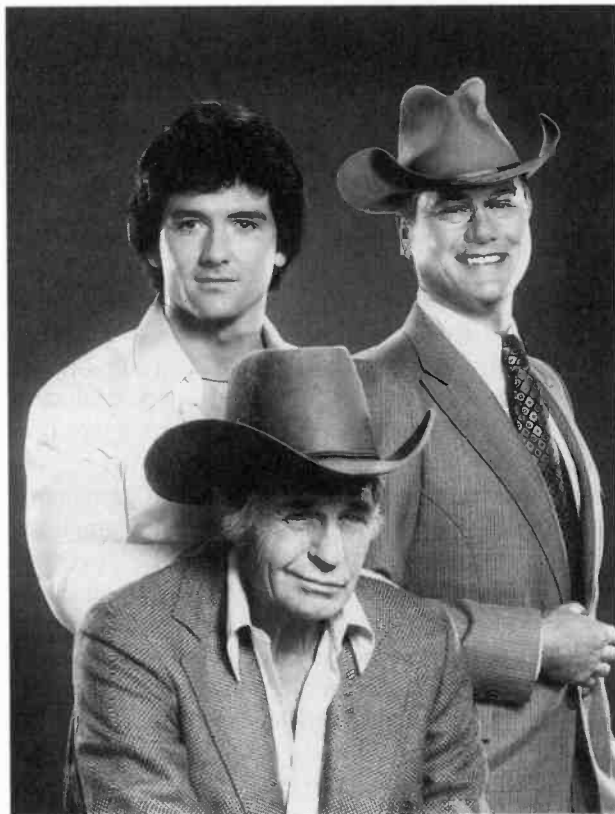
For prime time in the late 1970s, *Dallas* was sensational, featuring numerous acts of adultery by both J.R. and Sue Ellen; the revelation of Jock’s illegitimate son, Ray Krebs, who worked as a hired hand on Southfork; and the raunchy exploits of young Lucy, daughter of Gary, the third, largely absent Ewing brother. It was the complicated stuff of daytime melodrama, done with big-budget glamour—high-fashion wardrobes, richly furnished home and office interiors, and exteriors shot on location in the Dallas area.

During the 1978–79 season, writer-producer Leonard Katzman turned the prime-time drama into the first prime-time serial since *Peyton Place*, as Sue Ellen Ewing found she was pregnant, her child’s paternity

uncertain. The generic formula was complete when that same season concluded with a cliff-hanger: Sue Ellen was critically injured in a car accident, and both her fate and the fate of her baby remained unresolved until September. Cliff-hanger episodes became highly promoted Friday night rituals after the following season, which ended with a freeze-frame of villain-protagonist J.R. lying shot on the floor of his office, his prognosis and his assailant unknown. “Who Shot J.R.?” reverberated throughout popular culture that summer, culminating in an episode the following season that broke ratings records, as 76 percent of all U.S. televisions in use tuned to *Dallas*. Even after 1985, when the program’s ratings sagged, cliff-hanger episodes in the spring and their resolutions in the fall would boost the aging serial back into the top ten.

In the midst of an ever-expanding cast of Ewings and Barnes, scheming mistresses, high-rolling oilmen, and white-collar henchmen, the primary characters and relationships changed and evolved over the course of the serial. Bobby and Pam’s marriage succumbed to J.R.’s plots to pull them apart, and both pursued other romances. After J.R. and Sue Ellen’s marriage produced an heir, Sue Ellen stopped drinking and went on the offensive against J.R. Both Pam and Sue Ellen acquired careers. Ray Krebs rose from hired hand to independent rancher, always apart from the Ewing clan but indispensable to it.

Like its daytime counterparts, *Dallas* adapted to the comings and goings of several of its star actors. When Jim Davis, who played Jock Ewing, died in 1981, his character was written out of the show, with Jock’s plane disappearing somewhere over South America. The character was never recast, though several plotlines alluded to his possible reappearance, and his portrait continued to preside over key scenes in the offices of Ewing Oil. Barbara Bel Geddes, the beloved Miss Ellie, asked to be relieved from her contract for health reasons in 1984, and Donna Reed stepped into the role for one season, only to be removed when Bel Geddes was persuaded to return. During the 1985–86 season, Bobby Ewing was dead, at the request of actor Patrick Duffy, but the character returned when Duffy wanted back on the show. Bobby was resurrected when his



*Dallas*, Patrick Duffy, Jim Davis, Larry Hagman (Season 1), 1978–91.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

death and all the rest of the previous season were redefined as Pam's dream. Linda Gray left the show in 1989, and her character, Sue Ellen, exited as an independent movie mogul whose final act of vengeance was to produce a painfully accurate film about J.R. The serial concluded in May 1991, with J.R. alone and forced to relinquish Ewing Oil to Cliff Barnes. In the final episode, J.R. holds a drunken dialogue with the Devil (played by Joel Grey), ending with a gunshot. J.R.'s apparent suicide would prove otherwise in *Dallas: J.R. Returns*, the first of two TV movies for CBS aired after the serial's conclusion, in 1996 and 1998.

In the early 1980s, other serials joined the internationally successful *Dallas* on the prime-time schedule, each in some way defining itself in relation to the original. Among them, *Knots Landing* began as a spin-off of *Dallas*, featuring Gary Ewing and his wife, Valene, transplanted to a California suburb. The American Broadcasting Company's (ABC's) *Dynasty* both copied the *Dallas* formula and stretched it to outrageous proportions. On the other hand, hour-long dramas, most notably *Hill Street Blues*, began grafting *Dallas*'s successful serial strategy onto other genres.

Among the 1980s generation of prime-time soaps, only *Knots Landing* outlasted *Dallas*. In the 1990s, *Beverly Hills 90210* (FOX), *Melrose Place* (FOX), and *Dawson's Creek* (WB) pitched the genre to a younger generation of viewers. The short-lived *Models, Inc.* (FOX) and *Titans* (National Broadcasting Company [NBC]) featured *Dallas* alumni Linda Gray and Victoria Principal, respectively. Most recently, the multigenerational, business-and-family serial formula has been merged with the gangster genre in HBO's *The Sopranos*. *Dallas* continues in syndication internationally and has a fan-based presence on the Internet.

SUE BROWER

See also **Hagman, Larry; Melodrama; Spelling, Aaron**

**Cast**

- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| John Ross (J.R.) Ewing, Jr.                              | Larry Hagman       |
| Eleanor Southworth (Miss Ellie) Ewing (1978–84, 1985–90) | Barbara Bel Geddes |
| Eleanor Southworth (Miss Ellie) Ewing (1984–85)          | Donna Reed         |
| John Ross (Jock) Ewing (1978–81)                         | Jim Davis          |
| Bobby Ewing (1978–85, 1986–91)                           | Patrick Duffy      |
| Pamela Barnes Ewing (1978–87)                            | Victoria Principal |
| Lucy Ewing Cooper (1978–85, 1988–90)                     | Charlene Tilton    |
| Sue Ellen Ewing (1978–89)                                | Linda Gray         |
| Ray Krebbs (1978–88)                                     | Steve Kanaly       |
| Cliff Barnes   | Ken Kercheval      |
| Julie Grey (April 1978)                                  | Tina Louise        |
| Willard "Digger" Barnes (1978)                           | David Wayne        |
| Willard "Digger" Barnes (1979–80)                        | Keenan Wynn        |
| Gary Ewing (1978–79)                                     | David Ackroyd      |
| Gary Ewing (1979–81)                                     | Ted Shackelford    |
| Valene Ewing (1978–81)                                   | Joan Van Ark       |
| Liz Craig (1978–82)                                      | Barbara Babcock    |
| Willie Joe Garr (1978–79)                                | John Ashton        |
| Jeb Amos (1978–79)                                       | Sandy Ward         |
| Kristin Shepard (1979–81)                                | Mary Crosby        |
| Mrs. Patricia Shepard (1979, 1985)                       | Martha Scott       |
| Dusty Farlow (1979–82, 1985)                             | Jared Martin       |
| Alan Beam (1979–80)                                      | Randolph Powell    |
| Dr. Ellby (1979–81)                                      | Jeff Cooper        |
| Donna Culver Krebbs (1979–87)                            | Susan Howard       |



- Dave Culver (1979–82,  
1986–87)  
Harve Smithfield  
Vaughn Leland (1979–84)  
Connie (1979–81)  
Louella (1979–81)  
Jordan Lee (1979–90)  
Mitch Cooper (1979–82)  
John Ross Ewing III  
(1980–83)  
John Ross Ewing III  
(1983–91)  
Punk Anderson (1980–87)  
Mavis Anderson (1982–88)  
Brady York (1980–81)  
Alex Ward (1980–81)  
Les Crowley (1980–81)  
Marilee Stone (1980–87)  
Afton Cooper (1981–84,  
1989)  
Arliss Cooper (1981)  
Clint Ogden (1981)  
Leslie Stewart (1981)  
Rebecca Wentworth  
(1981–83)  
Craig Stewart (1981)  
Jeremy Wendell (1981,  
1984–88)  
Clayton Farlow (1981–91)  
Jeff Farraday (1981–82)  
Katherine Wentworth  
(1981–84)  
Charles Eccles (1982)  
Bonnie Robertson (1982)  
Blair Sullivan (1982)  
Holly Harwood (1982–84)  
Mickey Trotter (1982–83)  
  
Walt Driscoll (1982–83)  
Jarrett McLeish (1982–83)  
Thornton McLeish  
(1982–83)  
Eugene Bullock (1982–83)  
Mark Graison (1983–84,  
1985–86)  
Aunt Lil Trotter (1983–84)  
Roy Ralston (1983)  
Serena Wald (1983–85,  
1990)  
Peter Richards (1983–84)  
Paul Morgan (1983–84,  
1988)  
Jenna Wade (1983–88)  
Charlie Wade (1983–88)
- Tom Fucello  
George O. Petrie  
Dennis Patrick  
Jeanna Michaels  
Megan Gallagher  
Don Starr  
Leigh McCloskey  
  
Tyler Banks  
  
Omri Katz  
Morgan Woodward  
Alice Hirson  
Ted Gehring  
Joel Fabiani  
Michael Bell  
Fern Fitzgerald  
  
Audrey Landers  
Anne Francis  
Monte Markham  
Susan Flannery  
  
Priscilla Pointer  
Craig Stevens  
  
William Smithers  
Howard Keel  
Art Hindle  
  
Morgan Brittany  
Ron Tomme  
Lindsay Bloom  
Ray Wise  
Lois Chiles  
Timothy Patrick  
Murphy  
Ben Piazza  
J. Patrick McNamara  
  
Kenneth Kimmins  
E.J. Andre  
  
John Beck  
Kate Reid  
John Reilly  
  
Stephanie Blackmore  
Christopher Atkins  
  
Glenn Corbett  
Priscilla Presley  
Shalane McCall
- Edgar Randolph (1983–84)  
Armando Sidoni (1983–84)  
Sly Lovegren (1983–91)  
Betty (1984–85)  
Eddie Cronin (1984–85)  
Pete Adams (1984–85)  
Dave Stratton (1984)  
Jessica Montfort (1984,  
1990)  
Mandy Winger (1984–87)  
Jamie Ewing Barnes  
(1984–86)  
Christopher Ewing  
(1984–91)  
Scotty Demarest (1985–86)  
Jack Ewing (1985–87)  
Angelico Nero (1985–86)  
Dr. Jerry Kenderson  
(1985–86)  
Nicholas (1985–86)  
Grace (1985–86)  
Matt Cantrell (1986)
- Martin E. Brooks  
Alberto Morin  
Deborah Rennard  
Kathleen York  
Fredric Lehne  
Burke Byrnes  
Christopher Stone  
  
Alexis Smith  
Deborah Shelton  
  
Jenilee Harrison  
  
Joshua Harris  
Stephen Elliott  
Dack Rambo  
Barbara Carrera  
  
Barry Jenner  
George Chakiris  
Marete Van Kamp  
Marc Singer
- Producers**  
David Jacobs, Philip Capice, Leonard Katzman
- Programming History**  
330 episodes  
CBS  
April 1978 Sunday 10:00–11:00  
September 1978–  
October 1978 Saturday 10:00–11:00  
October 1978–  
January 1979 Sunday 10:00–11:00  
January 1979–  
November 1981 Friday 10:00–11:00  
December 1981–May 1985 Friday 9:00–10:00  
September 1985–May 1986 Friday 9:00–10:00  
September 1986–May 1988 Friday 9:00–10:00  
October 1988–March 1990 Friday 9:00–10:00  
March 1990–May 1990 Friday 10:00–11:00  
November 1990–  
December 1990 Friday 10:00–11:00  
January 1991–May 1991 Friday 9:00–10:00
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## Daly, Tyne (1947- )

U.S. Actor

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Tyne Daly, best known as half of the female cop team that formed *Cagney and Lacey*, won recognition for her role as the New York City detective who was also a wife and mother. With a background in the theater, Daly brought a cultivated artistry to the working-class role of Mary Beth Lacey. As written, the character was multifaceted—a tough cop, a loving wife, a committed mother, a loyal friend. As played by Daly, Mary Beth was even more complex—innocent, compassionate, and at times funny but clear-eyed and confrontational in her dealings with both the “perps” and her best friend and partner, Christine Cagney (Sharon Gless). As Mary Beth, Daly created a female character for television who was smart though not college educated, sexy without being glamorous. Mary Beth’s marriage with Harvey Lacey (John Karlen) offered what Daly called “a love story” that marked a true departure from TV marriages—a lusty, devoted partnership.

It is Mary Beth’s partnership with Christine, however, that has drawn the attention of most feminist critics for its twist on the countless pairs of male partners and buddies that have populated television. The professional and personal sides of Mary Beth and Christine’s relationship often blurred; feelings inevitably got involved. Though seemingly the “softer” of the two, Mary Beth’s more rational approach to her job served as ballast in the twosome’s investigations.

In addition to the ongoing themes of marriage and women’s relationships, Daly was given the opportunity to explore a number of other women’s issues. In

1985, Mary Beth discovered a lump in her breast that proved to be cancerous. As a method actor, Daly “lived” with the illness during Mary Beth’s diagnosis and treatment, which involved a lumpectomy and radiation rather than the disfiguring mastectomy. She told one reporter, “I realized that as long as there are women being led astray by the medical establishment, women getting hacked into pieces, it’s important that I tell the story, and it’s important that I face the music.” The following season, Daly’s pregnancy was written into the series. The episode in which Mary Beth gave birth to Alice aired on the same day that Daly gave birth to her daughter.

As the series came to a close, Daly commented, “I played the hell out of [Lacey]. I knew everything there was to know about her.” Between 1982 and 1988, Daly’s craft was recognized with four Emmys for best actress in a dramatic series.

Besides her work in *Cagney and Lacey*, Daly is best known for her performance as Mama Rose in Broadway’s revival of *Gypsy*, for which she received the Tony Award as best actress in a musical. Daly also continues to work in television movies and series, choosing roles of social significance. She played the mother of a child with Down syndrome in *Kids Like These* (1987), a homeless woman in *Face of a Stranger* (1991), and a prostitute, beaten and left for dead, who resolves to bring her attacker to justice in *Tricks* (1997). She has also done more comic turns on *Wings* (which stars her brother Tim Daly) and on



*Judging Amy*, Tyne Daly as Maxine Gray.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Sharon Gless's series *The Trials of Rosie O'Neill*, in which she played an "old friend" who had more in common in looks and manner with the brash Mama Rose than with shy, frumpy Mary Beth.

Daly and Gless have also reprised their roles in several *Cagney and Lacey* made-for-television-movies, two-hour presentations in which the characters, their friendship, and their professional relationship move further into midlife complexity. Beginning in 1999, Daly returned to series work for the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *Judging Amy*, in which she plays the title character's strong-willed mother, social worker Maxine Gray.

SUE BROWER

See also *Cagney and Lacey*

**Tyne Daly.** Born in Madison, Wisconsin, 1947. Attended Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts; American Music and Dramatic Academy. Married: Georg Stanford Brown (divorced); three daughters. Performed at American Shakespeare Festival; made television debut in *The Virginian*; appeared in film *The Enforcer*, 1976; starred in television series *Cagney and*

*Lacey*, 1982–88; appeared on Broadway in revivals of *Gypsy*, 1990 and 1991. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1988, 1994; Tony Award, 1990.

#### Television Series

1982–88 *Cagney and Lacey*  
1994–95 *Christy*  
1999– *Judging Amy*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1971 *In Search of America*  
1971 *A Howling in the Woods*  
1971 *Heat of Anger*  
1973 *The Man Who Could Talk to Kids*  
1974 *Larry*  
1975 *The Entertainer*  
1977 *Intimate Strangers*  
1979 *Better Late Than Never*  
1980 *The Women's Room*  
1981 *A Matter of Life and Death*  
1983 *Your Place or Mine*  
1987 *Kids Like These*  
1989 *Stuck with Each Other*  
1990 *The Last to Go*  
1991 *Face of a Stranger*  
1992 *Columbo: A Bird in the Hand*  
1994 *Cagney and Lacey: The Return*  
1994 *The Forget-Me-Not Murders*  
1995 *Cagney and Lacey: Together Again*  
1995 *Cagney and Lacey: The View through the Glass Ceiling*  
1995 *Bye, Bye Birdie*  
1996 *Cagney and Lacey: True Convictions*  
1997 *Tricks*  
1997 *Student Affair*  
1998 *Vig*  
1999 *Three Secrets*  
1998 *Execution of Justice*  
1999 *Absence of the Good*  
2001 *The Wedding Dress*

#### Films

*John and Mary*, 1969; *Angel Unchained*, 1970; *Play It As It Lays*, 1972; *The Adulteress*, 1973; *The Enforcer*, 1976; *Telefon*, 1977; *Speedtrap*, 1978; *Zoot Suit*, 1982; *The Aviator*, 1985; *Movers and Shakers*, 1985; *The Lay of the Land*, 1998; *Autumn Heart*, 1999; *The Simian Line*, 1999; *A Piece of Eden*, 2000.

#### Stage

*Gypsy*; *The Seagull*; *Call Me Madam*; *Come Back Little Sheba*; *Ashes*; *Black Angel*; *Gethsemane*

*Springs; Three Sisters; Vanities; Skirmishes; The Rimers of Eldritch; Birthday Party; Old Times; The Butter and Egg Man; That Summer That Fall; Mystery School.*

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# Danger Bay

## Canadian Family Adventure Series

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A half-hour dramatic series coproduced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Disney Channel, *Danger Bay* was a family adventure series set in Canada's scenic west coast. It starred Donnelly Rhodes as Dr. Grant Roberts, a veterinarian and marine specialist at the Vancouver Aquarium who was also busy raising his children, Jonah and Nicole, played by Chris Crabb and Ocean Hellman.

The aquarium and nearby coastal waters off Vancouver provided the exotic backdrop for many of the show's adventures, which often focused on the children but always involved the whole family. Plots usually presented some kind of peril or violence to the animals at the aquarium or surrounding area, and each week the strong and daring "Doc" Roberts would foil the greedy and selfish schemes of poachers, hunters, or developers who posed a threat to the animals and environment.

*Danger Bay* was fairly formulaic, filled with elements that were conventional to family series. It presented a strong father figure in Donnelly Rhodes and a motherly figure in Joyce, Dr. Robert's girlfriend (played by Deborah Wakeham), and young viewers could identify with Jonah and Nicole. Moral and psychological tensions were also muted, reflecting the Disney producers' reluctance to deal with controversial issues such as sex, drugs, or alcohol, as did the other contemporary Canadian teenage drama series, *Degrassi Junior High*. Instead, dramatic tension in *Danger Bay* usually involved a morality lesson related to subjects such as lying or cheating and were always resolved with the help of patient fatherly advice. The series did, however, try to reflect a more sensitive attitude toward the environment, women (Joyce was a bush pilot), and visible minorities, but such issues very rarely drew any direct attention in the plots.

*Danger Bay* reflected the basic characteristics of wholesomeness and adventure. Its formulaic nature and rather innocent perspective led some Canadian critics to see it as an example of the "Disneyfication" of Canadian

television drama, and it was sharply criticized for its timidity. Defenders of the series have argued that the show provided fast-paced action and fun for a young viewing audience. Nevertheless, as Canadian television drama historian Mary Jane Miller points out, it remains "a blend of action and fathering with lots of running, chasing, fixing, rescuing." *Danger Bay* ended its run on Canadian television after six seasons in the spring of 1990, at the same time that another Canadian television drama series, *Beachcombers*, ended after 19 seasons on the CBC.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

### Cast

Dr. Grant Roberts	Donnelly Rhodes
Jonah Roberts	Chris Crabb
Nicole Roberts	Ocean Hellman
Joyce	Deborah Wakeham

### Producers

Philip Saltzman, Mary Elits

### Programming History

123 episodes

CBC

November 1984–February 1985	Monday 8:30–9:00
November 1985–March 1986	Monday 8:00–8:30
November 1986–March 1987	Wednesday 7:30–8:00
November 1987–March 1990	Monday 7:30–8:00

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## Dann, Michael (1921– )

### U.S. Network Executive

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Michael Dann was one of the most successful programming executives in U.S. network television during the 1950s and 1960s. He was known as a “master scheduler” and spent his most successful years at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) working in tandem with CBS President James Aubrey. He began his television career shortly after World War II as a comedy writer and in 1948 joined the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), where he stayed for the next ten years. Initially hired to work in publicity, he soon moved to the programming department and eventually served as head of NBC Entertainment under David Sarnoff. In 1958, he moved to CBS as vice president of programs in New York. In 1963, he was promoted to head of programming and in 1966 was appointed senior vice president of programs. During most of his tenure, CBS consistently ranked as the number one network in prime-time audience ratings.

Dann held the head programming position at CBS longer than anyone else (from 1963 to 1970), serving under five different CBS presidents. His success was attributable, in part, to an uncanny ability to gauge CBS owner William Paley’s probable reaction to most program ideas. Dann was often referred to as “the weathervane” for changing his opinions to match those of his bosses. Despite this reputation, Dann was not one to avoid controversy. Arthur Godfrey, a long-time audience favorite at CBS, had two prime-time programs ranked in the top ten; during the 1950s, he did not get along with Dann and left CBS as a result. (The fact that Godfrey disappeared from public view suggests that Dann was probably correct in his assessment that Godfrey was “over the hill.”)

Dann was also able to restore and establish good and long-lasting relationships with talent producers and advertisers—an area in which CBS had suffered. He felt that viewers preferred escapist television to realist television and thought that the half-hour situation comedy was the staple of any prime-time schedule. He also believed the network should renew any program with ratings high enough to produce a profit.

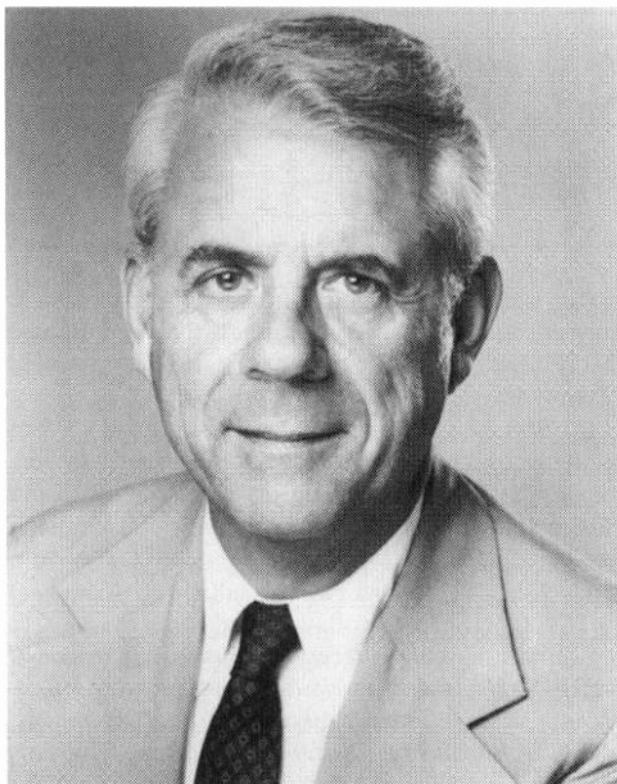
Another development during Dann’s regime was a significant increase in the number of specials aired. While the staple of prime-time programming was, and remains, the weekly series, Dann believed that liberal

use of special programming at strategic times would only enhance the network’s ratings. One could argue that he was the innovator of what has come to be called “event television.”

In 1966, he recognized that television (and CBS in particular) faced a major crisis—the networks were running out of first-run theatrical movies. As a result, CBS bought the old Republic Pictures lot, turned it into the CBS Studio Center, and went into feature film production. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and NBC soon followed suit.

Among the many successful programs introduced under Dann’s leadership were *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The Carol Burnett Show*, *Mission: Impossible*, *Mannix*, *Hawaii Five-0*, and *60 Minutes*. These program development and programming skills were put to the test in one particular instance. For years CBS had trouble competing in the very important 9:00–10:00 slot on Sunday evenings despite a very strong lead-in program (*The Ed Sullivan Show*). NBC had *Bonanza*, the highly successful series, in that time period, and CBS had failed with its previous counterprogramming attempts (*The Judy Garland Show*, *The Garry Moore Show*, *Perry Mason*). Dann chose a new series for this slot, a series he believed would attract a younger audience, *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*. The move proved quite successful. The Smothers Brothers’ show became a hit, though not without its share of controversy. The most notable conflict arose over a 1967 episode involving folk singer Pete Seeger, who was scheduled to sing his antiwar song “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy.” Dann wanted Seeger to delete one stanza of the song. When Seeger and the Smothers refused, Dann had the song deleted from the telecast. In February 1968, Seeger was again scheduled to appear. This time the song aired in its entirety.

Dann’s conservative attitudes toward social and cultural standards appeared again when CBS decided to air *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Dann had the producers make one change—Mary could not be a divorced woman. He felt that premise too controversial and forced James L. Brooks and Allan Burns to rewrite the character as a woman who had recently broken off a long-term engagement.



Michael Dann.  
Photo courtesy of Broadcasting & Cable

Dann's power at CBS began to wane in the late 1960s, as did the ratings of some of the shows he had developed and scheduled. His new boss, Robert Wood, wanted innovation, not sameness. Dann was forced out when he opposed cancellation of hit "rural" series: *The Red Skelton Show*, *The Jackie Gleason Show*, *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, and *Hee Haw*. These shows were replaced by series such as *All in the Family*, which were deemed more socially relevant and, perhaps more important, more appealing to a younger age-group whose greater spending power attracted advertisers. The public explanation for Dann's departure was the ever-available and undefined "health reasons." His successor was his protégé, Fred Silverman, who would go on to head the programming departments of all three networks.

MITCHELL E. SHAPIRO

See also **Columbia Broadcasting System; Paly, William S.; Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The**

**Michael Dann.** Born in Detroit, Michigan, September 11, 1921. Educated at the University of Michigan, B.A. in economics 1941. Married: 1) Joanne Himmell, 1949 (divorced, 1973); children: Jonathan, Patricia, and Priscilla; 2) Louise Cohen, 1973. Comedy writer, 1946–47; public relations staff, New Haven Rail Road, 1947–48; trade editor, NBC press department, 1948–49, coordinator of program package sales, 1949–50, supervisor, special telecasts, 1950–52, manager, television program department, 1952–54, director, program sales, 1954–56, vice president, television program sales, 1956–58; vice president, network programming, CBS, 1958–63; vice president, programs, CBS, 1963–66, senior vice president, 1966–70; vice president and assistant to president, Children's Television Workshop, 1970s; consultant, Warner Cable, planning programming for QUBE, 1974; developed concepts for Disney's Epcot Center; senior program adviser, ABC Video Enterprises, 1980; visiting lecturer in American studies and guest fellow, Yale University, 1973–78.

#### Publication

"Foreword," *The Gatekeeper: My Thirty Years as Network Censor*, by Alfred R. Schneider, 2001

#### Further Reading

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# Danny Kaye Show, The

U.S. Comedy/Variety Program

*The Danny Kaye Show*, which premiered on September 25, 1963, was designed as a showcase for the multi-talented entertainer who, before appearing on television, was already a veteran of the vaudeville circuit, the Broadway stage, film, radio, and nightclubs. The variety series was not Kaye's first foray into television: a 1957 *See It Now* program, entitled *The Secret Life of Danny Kaye*, documented Kaye entertaining children around the world on behalf of UNICEF, an organization for which he worked for many years. In 1960, Kaye signed a \$1.5 million contract for three annual special programs (*An Hour with Danny Kaye*, October 30, 1960; *The Danny Kaye Special*, November 6, 1961, and November 11, 1962) that would set the pattern for his later series. Although these specials were not critically successful, audience ratings (and two Emmy nominations for his second special with Lucille Ball) were sufficient for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to offer the entertainer his own weekly series. That same season, veteran performers Jerry Lewis and Judy Garland also premiered variety series but faded quickly.

Unlike comedians such as Red Skelton or Bob Hope, whose series highlighted their monologues, Kaye's variety hour was similar in scope to Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows* and *Caesar's Hour*. Kaye's series was a mixture of sketches and special musical material that showcased his inimitable talents. The series attracted prominent guests who helped Kaye demonstrate his own versatility. He sang scat with Louis Armstrong and calypso with Harry Belafonte, danced with Gene Kelly, and performed in sketches with such stars as actor José Ferrer and comedian Dick Van Dyke.

Kaye's strength was his ability to work with a live studio audience. Most episodes included a "quiet" segment highlighting Kaye's ability to work one on one with his audience and provide a sense of intimacy. In this portion, Kaye would sit on a chair at the edge of the stage; then he might tell a story that would showcase his talent for dialects or tongue-twisting dialogue. On other occasions, he would engage in conversation with a child (Laurie Ichino or, later, Victoria Meyerink) or tell tales to a group of children.

The series was produced by Perry Lafferty, who had previously produced variety series for Arthur Godfrey and Andy Williams. Writers for the series included

Larry Gelbart (who later created *M\*A\*S\*H*) and Mel Tolkin, both of whom had also written for *Caesar's Hour*. Although Kaye's supporting cast did not appear on a weekly basis, they included Harvey Korman, Gwen Verdon, Joyce Van Patten, the Earl Brown Singers, the Clinger Sisters, and the Tony Charmoli Dancers.

In its first season, *The Danny Kaye Show* garnered three Emmy Awards, including one for the show and one for its star. That same season, the series also received a George Foster Peabody Award as one of the best entertainment programs for the year. During the series' four-year run, it accumulated a total of ten Emmy nominations.

Despite Kaye's enormous talents and popularity, the series failed to gain a wide audience and never achieved



*The Danny Kaye Show*, Clint Eastwood, Buddy Ebsen, Danny Kaye, Fess Parker, 1963–67.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

critical success. Considering Kaye's popularity among younger viewers, his late time slot (10:00–11:00 P.M.) may have been a major reason for his show's mediocre ratings. A lack of direction in the show's format and average material often resulted in childlike antics that some critics felt were inappropriate. In addition, competition from other network programs, such as the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) *Wednesday Night at the Movies* and *I, Spy*, contributed to the variety show's low ratings.

However, Kaye remained popular with his audience and legions of fans. In fact, the variety series was imported to the United Kingdom in 1964 for the premiere of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC 2) channel and ran there for three seasons.

After his show's cancellation in 1967, Kaye returned to television in a number of special programs, mostly aimed at younger viewers, including Rankin-Bass's *The Enchanted World of Danny Kaye* (CBS, February 20, 1972), Hallmark Hall of Fame's *Peter Pan* (NBC, December 12, 1976), and *Pinocchio* (CBS, March 27, 1976). In 1976, he hosted the Emmy Award-winning *Danny Kaye's Look at the Metropolitan Opera* (CBS).

His last television appearances were in the Emmy-nominated *Live from Lincoln Center: An Evening with Danny Kaye and the New York Philharmonic* (Public Broadcasting Service [PBS], 1981) and the CBS docudrama *Skokie* (CBS, November 7, 1981). For both these performances, Kaye was presented with another Peabody Award "for virtuoso performances and versatility as a superb clown and as a sensitive dramatic actor." Kaye died in Los Angeles on March 3, 1987.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

See also **Kaye, Danny**

### Regular Performers

Danny Kaye  
Harvey Korman (1964–67)  
Joyce Van Patten (1964–67)  
Laurie Ichino (1964–65)  
Victoria Meyerink (1964–67)

### Music

The Johnny Mann Singers (1963–64)  
The Earl Brown Singers (1964–67)  
Paul Weston and His Orchestra

### Dancers

The Tony Charmoli Dancers

### Producers

Perry Lafferty, Robert Tamplin

### Programming History

96 episodes  
CBS  
September 1963–June  
1967  
Wednesday 10:00–11:00

### Further Reading

Freedland, Michael, *The Secret Life of Danny Kaye*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985  
Gottfried, Martin, *Nobody's Fool: The Lives of Danny Kaye*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994  
Gould, Jack, "Danny Kaye Brightens Home Sets," *New York Times* (September 26, 1963)  
Singer, Kurt Deutsch, *The Danny Kaye Story*, New York: Thomas Nelson, 1958  
"Soliloquy," *Newsweek* (6 November 1961)  
"The Wednesday Question: Want to Watch Danny Kaye?," *Newsweek* (December 23, 1963)

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## Dark Shadows

U.S. Gothic Soap Opera

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This enormously popular half-hour gothic soap opera aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) from 1966 until 1971 and showcased a panoply of supernatural characters including vampires, werewolves, warlocks, and witches. During its initial run, the series spawned two feature-length motion pictures, *House of*

*Dark Shadows* (1970) and *Night of Dark Shadows* (1971), as well as 32 tie-in novels and assorted comic books, records, Viewmasters, games, models, and trading cards. Fans of the show included both adults and children (it aired in a late-afternoon time slot, which allowed young people the opportunity to see it after



school), and many of these fans began to organize clubs and produce fanzines not long after the show was canceled. These groups were directly instrumental in getting *Dark Shadows* rerun in syndication on local stations (often public broadcasting stations) throughout the 1970s and 1980s and in persuading series creator Dan Curtis to remake the show as a prime-time weekly drama on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1991. Although the new show did not catch on with the public, the entire run of *Dark Shadows*, both the original series and the remake, are available on videotape. Fans continue to hold yearly conventions, write their own *Dark Shadows* fanzines, collect memorabilia, and lobby the entertainment industry.

Set in Collinsport, Maine, the original series focused on the tangled lives and histories of the Collins family. Matriarch Elizabeth Collins Stoddard (well-known classical Hollywood movie star Joan Bennett) presided over the ancestral estate, Collinwood, along with her brother Roger Collins (Louis Edmonds). The show was in danger of being canceled after its first few months on the air until the character of Barnabas Collins, a 172-year-old vampire, was introduced. As played by Jonathan Frid, Barnabas was less a monster and more a tortured gothic hero, and he quickly became the show's most popular character. Governess Victoria Winters (Alexandra Moltke), waitress Maggie Evans (Kathryn Leigh Scott), and Elizabeth's daughter Carolyn (Nancy Barrett) became the first few women to fall sway to the vampire's charms. Dr. Julia Hoffman (Grayson Hall) attempted to cure him of his affliction, although she too subsequently fell in love with him. Barnabas was protected during the day by his manservant Willie Loomis (John Karlen), although Roger's son David (David Henesy) almost discovered his secret.

One of the series' most innovative developments was its use of time travel and parallel universes as narrative tropes that constantly reshuffled storylines and characters, enabling many of the show's most popular actors to play different types of characters within different settings. The first of these shifts occurred when governess Victoria Winters traveled back in time (via a séance) to the year 1795 so that the series could explore the origins of Barnabas's vampirism. The witch Angelique (Lara Parker) was introduced during these episodes, as was the witch-hunting Reverend Trask (Jerry Lacy). After the 1795 sequence, Angelique returned to present-day Collinwood as Roger's new wife Cassandra; she continued to practice witchcraft under the direction of warlock Nicholas Blair (Humbert Allen Astredo). Other classic gothic narratives were soon pressed into service, and the 1968 episodes also featured a werewolf, a Frankenstein-type creation, and a pair of ghosts à la *The Turn of the Screw*.



*Dark Shadows*.  
Photo courtesy of Dan Curtis Productions, Inc.

Those ghosts proved to be the catalyst to another time shift, this time to 1897, wherein dashing playboy Quentin Collins (David Selby) was introduced. His dark good looks and brooding sensuality made him a hit with the fans, and his popularity soon began to rival that of Barnabas. The 1897 sequence marked the height of the show's popularity, and the writers created intricately interwoven stories about vampires, witches, gypsies, zombies, madwomen, and a magical Count Petofi (Thayer David). Quentin was turned into a werewolf, only to have the curse controlled by a portrait, as in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. When the show returned to the present time once again, it began working a storyline liberally cribbed from H.P. Lovecraft's "Cthulu" mythos. Through various time shifts and parallel universes, the show continued to rework gothic classics (including *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *The Turn of the Screw*, *Rebecca*, *Wuthering Heights*, and *The Lottery*) until its demise in 1971. Ingénues came and went, including pre-*Charlie's Angels* Kate Jackson as Daphne Harridge and Donna McKechnie (*A Chorus Line*) as Amanda Harris.

The popularity of *Dark Shadows* must be set against the countercultural movements of the late 1960s: interest

in alternative religions, altered states of consciousness, and paranormal phenomena such as witchcraft. *Dark Shadows* regularly explored those areas through its sympathetic supernatural creatures, while most of the true villains of the piece turned out to be stern patriarchs and hypocritical preachers. (The show did come under attack from some fundamentalist Christian groups who dubbed the series "Satan's favorite TV show.") Monstrous characters as heroic or likable figures were appearing elsewhere on TV at this time in shows such as *Bewitched*, *The Addams Family*, and *The Munsters*. Many fans of those shows (and *Dark Shadows*) apparently looked to these figures as playful countercultural icons, existing in a twilight world somewhere outside the patriarchal hegemony. Furthermore, since the show was shot live on tape and mistakes were rarely edited out, the series had a bargain-basement charm that appealed both to spectators who took its storylines seriously and to those who appreciated the spooky goings-on as camp. The range of acting styles also facilitated a camp appreciation, as did the frequently outlandish situations, costumes, and makeup. Despite these technical shortcomings, the gothic romance of the show appears to be one of its most enduring charms. Fan publications most regularly try to recapture the tragic romantic flavor of the show rather than its campiness, although some fans faulted the latter-day NBC remake for taking itself too seriously. Whatever their idiosyncratic reasons, *Dark Shadows* fans remain devoted to the property, and its characters remain popular icons in U.S. culture.

HARRY M. BENSHOFF

*See also Soap Opera*

**Cast**

Joe Haskell/Nathan Forbes	Joel Crothers
Victoria Winters	Alexandra Moltke
David Collins	David Hennessy
Elizabeth Collins	Joan Bennett
Barnabas Collins	Jonathan Frid
Roger Collins	Louis Edmonds
Dr. Julia Hoffman	Grayson Hall
Maggie Evans	Kathryn Leigh Scott
Carolyn	Nancy Barrett
Quentin Collins	David Selby
Daphne Harridge	Kate Jackson
Angelique	Lara Parker
Nicholas Blair	Humbert Allen Astredo
Reverend Trask	Jerry Lacy
Count Petofi	Thayer David
Willie Loomis	John Karlen

**Producers**

Dan Curtis, Robert Costello

**Programming History**

ABC  
June 1966–April 1971 Non–prime time

**Cast (prime-time series)**

Barnabas Collins	Ben Cross
Victoria Winters/Josette	Joanna Going
Elizabeth Collins	
Stoddard/Naomi	Jean Simmons
Roger Collins/Reverend Trask	Roy Thinnes
David Collins/Daniel (age 8)	Joseph Gordon-Levitt
Dr. Julia Hoffman/Natalie	Barbara Steele
Prof. Woodward/Joshua	Stefan Gierasch
Angelique	Lysette Anthony
Willie Loomis/Ben	Jim Fyfe
Mrs. Johnson/Abigail	Julianna McCarthy
Sheriff Patterson	Michael Cavanaugh
Joe Haskell/Peter	Michael T. Weiss
Sarah Collins	Veronica Lauren
Carolyn Stoddard	Barbara Blackburn

**Producer**

Dan Curtis

**Programming History**

NBC	
January 1991	Sunday 9:00–10:00
January 1991	Monday 9:00–10:00
January 1991	Friday 10:00–11:00
January 1991–	
March 1991	Friday 9:00–10:00
March 1991	Friday 10:00–11:00

**Further Reading**

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# Dateline NBC

## U.S. Newsmagazine Show

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After 15 failed attempts by NBC News to develop and sustain a newsmagazine series, success began on March 31, 1992, with *Dateline NBC*, co-anchored by Jane Pauley and Stone Phillips. The series' growth and contraction was erratic. A second edition, *Dateline NBC Wednesday*, started in June 1994 when the news division co-opted *Now*, a magazine series co-anchored by Tom Brokov and Katie Couric, making them "contributing anchors" on *Dateline NBC*. A third edition began in fall 1994, a fourth edition during the 1997–98 season, and a fifth edition in the summer of 1999. After maintaining five editions a week from mid-1999 through most of 2000, the series immediately shifted to three editions, with intermittent *Dateline NBC* special reports, until NBC canceled the flagship Tuesday night edition in the fall of 2003, signaling the series' inadequacy in the present landscape of network programming.

*Dateline NBC* grew slowly as the news division tested new editions in different time slots during the spring and summer before making a seasonal commitment. Even after establishing a time slot, new editions were temporarily shifted on the schedule or were preempted for short periods, causing producers to fear losing viewers. But NBC strategically capitalized on the demographic flow of preceding programs, locating and building a specific audience base on different nights before an edition took a permanent or constant position on the schedule.

A significant staff change occurred in 1993 at NBC News that influenced the series' leadership and direction. General Motors discovered that *Dateline NBC* placed and ignited incendiary devices under General Motors' light trucks during test crashes to vividly illustrate design dangers of side-saddle gas tanks. Michael Gartner, president of the news division, was forced to resign in March. He was replaced by Andrew Lack, once executive producer of the flashy CBS News series *West 57th* and Neil Shapiro became the series' executive producer, a position Steve Friedman, executive producer of *Nightly News*, held with the title "executive in charge of *Dateline NBC*."

Referred to as a factory, franchise, or, according to NBC publicity releases, a "multinight franchise," *Dateline NBC* was the first newsmagazine "clone,"

propagating and radically changing the programming strategies of the network newsmagazine. *Dateline NBC* established brand power by "stripping" editions, an entertainment division strategy that placed a program in the same time slot every week night. When adding new editions, NBC News conceptualized, formatted, and promoted *Dateline NBC* as one series with several editions, not distinct or separate hourly programs. After reaching three editions a week, more programming options helped build audience anticipation from one edition to the next. Stories could air over multiple editions in several parts, an edition could contain five or six stories, or one hour could be dedicated to a special topic. *Dateline NBC* could offer celebrities or figures in an investigation an interview over two editions. Reinforcing the series as interconnected hourly editions, most editions promoted future stories and regularly updated past stories.

When Executive Producer Shapiro literally "put the news back into newsmagazines," the series shattered conventions. At three nights a week, *Dateline NBC* started covering breaking news, securing viewers rarely visiting network evening news programs. Breaking news segments had an urgent, sensational tone, building suspense from edition to edition as stories unfolded over weeks or months. From 1995 through 1999, *Dateline NBC*'s rapid growth period, these stories included the killings at Columbine High School, the aftermath of Swissair Flight 111, the destruction and rebuilding process after hurricanes and tornadoes, new evidence or rumors concerning the death of Jon Benet Ramsey, the Unabomber, Princess Diana's death, the explosion of TWA Flight 800, the Oklahoma City bombing, and the flight and death of Andrew Cunanan. *Dateline NBC* became a phenomenal success by the end of 1999, with at least one edition consistently ranking in the top ten. Breaking news stories are still part of the series' formula, but critics attribute their early success to recontextualizing these news stories into a more compelling form for magazine programs, the astounding and thrilling nature of the stories, and uniqueness of breaking news in a magazine format.

*Dateline NBC* reconceptualized the news division's image, projecting a unified community of journalists

on broadcast and cable television. Anchors and correspondents appeared regularly on MSNBC and CNBC with condensed stories from the series, especially when Jane Pauley hosted *Time and Again* on MSNBC from 1996 to 2001. Katie Couric reports stories and briefly announces others on *Today*. Tom Brokaw hosts several *Dateline NBC* specials each year, increasing visibility for *Nightly News*. Producers added correspondents to *Dateline NBC* from NBC-affiliated stations, generating audience appeal in different markets.

Shapiro aggressively differentiated *Dateline NBC* from competitors by introducing "signature" segments, produced by the unit or with media organizations such as *People* magazine, Court TV, and *Good Housekeeping*. "Signature" segments, such as "Dateline Feedback," "Dateline Poll," and "Dateline Timeline," facilitated viewer participation, while other segments, such as "Picture of the Week," "State of the Art," "Dateline Survivor," "Dateline/Court TV," "Dateline People," and "Dateline/Consumer Reports," focused on specific subject matter. The longest-lasting and most popular signature segment, "Dateline Timeline," still quizzes viewers on the year that a group of historical events occurred. By combining signature segments, coverage of breaking news, regular updates of past stories, two- or three-part investigative and consumer report segments, and interviews, *Dateline NBC* retained viewers with the suspense that bridged three or four editions and audience anticipation of the unpredictable content of the next edition. NBC News attributed this formula to the series' success.

David Corvo, vice president of NBC News since 1995, became executive producer in 2001, developing documentaries with the Disney Channel, History Channel, Court TV, and Discovery Health. Segments from documentaries sometimes appeared on *Dateline NBC*, but these alliances placed the series' "brand" and image throughout the media terrain.

Populism remains central to most *Dateline NBC* stories. A six-part series on firehouses in the United States in 2002 shunned investigating the institution but chronicled the emotional journeys of individual firefighters. Producers dedicated over a year preparing stories on important issues, such as cancer drug trials and adoption of severely abused children, but the program's news qualities receded as correspondents intimately probed the emotions and psychology of participants. This was not always the primary perspective, with the series producing award-winning reports after yearlong investigations on important social conditions in the United States, such as migrant workers. But on a regular basis, segments shifted story perspective to facilitate the audience's emotional attachment to the stories' characters.

*Dateline NBC* became infamous for its steady stream of stories on private suffering, pain, and grief of family members. The news division defended these as investigations of "personal hardships," and reviewers denounced them as exploitive and torturous to watch. Although different circumstances tore families apart every week, these families triumphed in small ways against impossible odds.

*Dateline NBC* coveted consumer advocate stories, alerting the public to the horrific dangers of products and the unimaginable behavior of professionals in everyday life. That your child might be wearing recycled braces sent fear through American families. "Tired" or "old" consumer alert stories, such as credit card fraud and bacteria-infected or outdated meat reaching supermarket shelves, were invigorated with extensive use of hidden cameras, sometimes over several editions. By 1999, segment titles began with the words "Dateline Hidden Camera Investigation." Many investigations were compelling and newsworthy and provided the impetus for change, including examinations of collusion between the real estate industry and housing inspectors to the detriment of buyers and sellers and factory-enclaved children overseas producing silk for the United States. But when reverting to hidden cameras to depict aggressively impolite airline employees or to gaze at babysitters abusing children, *Dateline NBC* signaled a willingness to secure ratings from shocking and voyeuristic stories.

In 1999, the series began interactive stories where viewers voted on a website, maintained by MSNBC for *Dateline NBC*, on such circumstances as whether to convict or acquit a woman in the death of her boyfriend or whether to charge a doctor with manslaughter for falling asleep in the operating room, causing a child's death. Viewer tallies of "guilty" or "not guilty" crawled across the bottom of the television screen every 15 seconds. Interactive stories became more complex and potentially troubling with "Interactive Dateline Mystery: Shadow on the Stairs" (January 2002) after the 1989 murder of Janice Johnson was reopened with her husband, Clayton, as the primary suspect. With different evidence and witness testimonies available, at every commercial break viewers requested over the Internet evidence they needed after the break to continue evaluating the case, in essence controlling the content and direction of a serious news investigation. The series still offers these highly interactive and involving story structures.

*Dateline NBC*'s visual style targets younger viewers while reaching out to the voyeuristically inclined. Events are reconstructed with shaky handheld cameras, sometimes slightly out of focus, from the point of view of a murderer or an imminent victim. Other stylistic

techniques include rapid editing, dramatic music, exaggerated sound effects, shifting from black-and-white to color footage, and arresting and disconcerting camera angles. Shapiro defended *Dateline NBC*'s less-than-orthodox practices and subject selection, claiming that the series represented audience desires and fascination with headline news. Because newsmagazines competed with prime-time entertainment programs, Shapiro believed that formulating valuable public information into entertaining dramatic packages did not demean the importance or integrity of news.

Skepticism that *Dateline NBC* could preserve news as a valuable public commodity was raised in February 2003, when Corvo, on a directive from NBC's entertainment division, expanded a profile of Michael Jackson to two hours, hoping to ride the rating success of a competitor's exposé. Corvo characterized this decision as "all part of the game." A year earlier, Corvo accepted a commission from NBC's entertainment division for several fascinating and involving two-hour *Dateline NBC* specials.

When Jane Pauley retired as co-anchor in May 2003, the series' underlying goals became more transparent when the press noted the long-standing resentment by NBC News at Pauley's decision not to partake in the unpleasant and uncivilized battles with other networks for the big money-making star interview.

*Dateline NBC* radically shook up and reconfigured network newsmagazines. They were responsible for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) introducing *60 Minutes II* and for the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) adding new editions of *20/20*. *Dateline NBC*'s influence was so strong that *60 Minutes II* started even after Don Hewitt, executive producer of *60 Minutes*, said that a clone would never start while he was at CBS and led to Hewitt's announcement that to "shore up ratings," *60 Minutes* would introduce breaking news stories, ultimately unsuccessfully, in the spring of 1996. During certain times from 1997 through 2000, up to 11 hours of newsmagazine programs aired weekly. As *Dateline NBC* became an economic success and an invaluable asset to the brand image of NBC News, it created an intense competitive marketplace that critics feared would inevitably spawn moments of unethical and unprofessional broadcast journalism. Needing more prime-time newsmagazine segments, the networks loosened journalistic standards, placing false dramatic story configurations on news and information to compete with entertainment programs. Ironically, Corvo attributed the reduction of *Dateline NBC* to two weekly editions and weaker but still economically strong ratings to viewers demanding reality programs.

RICHARD C. BARTONE

*See also* **Brokaw, Tom; Couric, Katie; National Broadcasting Company; News, Network; Pauley, Jane**

#### **Anchors**

Stone Philips (1993–)  
Jane Pauley (1993–2003)

#### **Contributing Anchors**

Tom Brokaw (1994–)  
Katie Couric (1994–)  
Bryant Gumbel (1994–97)  
Maria Shriver (1994–2002)

#### **Correspondents/Reporters**

Michelle Gillen (1992–93)  
Arthur Kent (1992–93)  
Brian Ross (1992–94)  
Deborah Roberts (1992–95)  
Faith Daniels (1993–95)  
John Larson (1994–)  
Dennis Murphy (1994–)  
Lisa Rudolph (1994–)  
Mike Boettcher (1995–96)  
Jon Scott (1995–96)  
Elizabeth Vargas (1995–96)  
Bob McKeown (1995–2002)  
Les Cannon (1995–)  
Victoria Corderi (1995–)  
Keith Morrison (1995–)  
Chris Hansen (1995–)  
Lea Thompson (1995–)  
Ed Gordon (1996–2000)  
Dawn Fratangelo (1996–)  
John Hockenberry (1996–)  
Sarah James (1996–)  
Josh Mankiewicz (1996–)  
Ann Curry (1997–)  
Rob Stafford (1997–)  
Mike Taibbi (1997–)  
Bob Costas (1997–2000)  
Steve Daniels (1998–99)  
Dr. Bob Arnott (1998–)  
Hoda Kotb (1998–)  
Margaret Larson (1998–)  
David Gregory (1999–)  
Edie Magnus (1999–)  
Robert Bazelle (2002–)

#### **Producers**

Steve Friedman (1993); Neil Shapiro (1993–2001);  
David Corvo (2001–).

**Programming History**

Fall 1992 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Fall 1993 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Wednesday 9:00–10:00; began in  
January 1994)  
Fall 1994 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Wednesday 9:00–10:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 1995 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Wednesday 9:00–10:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 1996 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Spring 1996 adds 7:00–8:00 edition  
Fall 1997 Monday 10:00–11:00  
Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 1998 Sunday 7:00–8:00  
Monday 10:00–11:00  
Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Wednesday 8:00–9:00  
Friday 8:00–9:00  
Fall 1999 Sunday 7:00–8:00  
Monday 10:00–11:00  
Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Wednesday 8:00–9:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 2000 Sunday 7:00–8:00  
Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 2001 Sunday 7:00–8:00

Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 2002 Sunday 7:00–8:00  
Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00  
Fall 2003 Sunday 7:00–8:00  
Friday 9:00–10:00

**Further Reading**

Adalian, Josef, "'Dateline' Timeline Reaches 10th Year," *Variety* (April 29, 2002)  
Carter, Bill, "The Man Reshaping Prime Time," *New York Times* (June 8, 1998)  
Consoli, John, "All the News That Fits," *Media Week* (June 1, 1998)  
Dugard, M., editor, *Dateline Survivors: Tales of Extraordinary Heroism by Everyday People*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1999  
Gay, Verne, "Send in the Clones," *Media Week* (September 22, 1997)  
Greppi, Michele, "Decade Old 'Dateline' Counts Its Blessings," *Electronic Media* (April 22, 2002)  
Greppi, Michele, "Keeping NBC News in Top Form," *Electronic Media* (January 7, 2002)  
Justin, Neal, "Glossy and Sometimes Paper-Thin, Newsmagazines Shows are Proliferating on Prime-Time TV," *Star Tribune* (December 23, 1997)  
Smillie, Dirk, "Newsmagazines Woo Viewers as Must-See TV Dramas," *Christian Science Monitor* (February 20, 1998)  
Turner, Richard, and Mark Hosenball, "The Datelining of TV," *Newsweek* (May 4, 1998)  
Willens, Michele, "Sweet Sixteen?: After Misfiring with 15 Other Newsmagazines, NBC Believes It Has an Attractive Formula for Its 'Dateline' Show," *Los Angeles Times* (March 22, 1992)

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## Davies, Andrew (1936– )

British Writer

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Andrew Davies is an incredibly prolific award-winning writer and adapter. He began his career in 1960 writing radio plays, moving into television, stage plays, children's books, novels, and films. He combined writing with his work as a teacher, then university lecturer, until the age of 50. Both professions inform some of his writing, such as his highly autobiographical *Bavarian Night* (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] *Play for Today*), which deals with a parent-teacher association evening, and the hugely successful series *A Very Peculiar Practice*, about general practitioners on a university campus.

Davies has long been recognized as writing good roles for women. He created the character Steph Smith as a vehicle for his "early feminist plays" for radio. Steph was a factory worker aspiring to the life of the sales representative. Davies's first play for television, *Who's Going to Take Me On?* (on *Wednesday Play*) also featured Steph.

The mainstay of his television work has been for the BBC. Initially, he felt himself in danger of being regarded solely as a writer of BBC naturalistic material and turned to nonnaturalistic writing, such as *Fearless Frank Harris*, in the early 1970s. His other original

television work includes *A Very Polish Practice*, a one-off sequel to his series, and the pilot for the London Weekend Television series *Anna Lee*.

Davies is also well known for a great many adaptations and dramatizations that have won him a string of awards. Following dramatizations of R.F. Delderfield's *To Serve Them All My Days* and *Diana*, he has adapted a host of very high-profile dramas for the BBC. After the success of dramatizations of Michael Dobbs's *House of Cards* and its sequel, *To Play the King* (for which he was accused of a left-wing bias), he was commissioned for the much-heralded, expensive and extensive version of George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, the BBC's most costly drama serial to that date. *Middlemarch* was praised in the trade press as a fast-moving, faithful adaptation of the original.

Having suggested that adapting Jane Austen would be a thankless task since so many viewers know her books word for word, Davies dramatized *Pride and Prejudice*. This BBC serial was another great popular and critical success despite the fact that it was preceded by strong reactions from tabloid newspapers over the possibility that it might feature nudity.

Davies enjoys adapting other authors' work, grateful for the existing plot in which to exercise his own humor and explore his preoccupations. There are also those originals he admires to the extent that he wishes solely to do them justice. In this category, he cites *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* and *The Old Devils*. He was involved in a very public struggle to get screen time for *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes*, attacking ITV's "flexipool" (or "indecision pool") in the process. It was then commissioned on the back of discussions regarding "quality."

As well as writing numerous children's books, Davies is also an award-winning writer of children's television. He wrote two original series of *Marmalade Atkins* for Thames TV and dramatized *Alfonso Bonzo* as a six-part serial from his own children's novel. He has also written feature film screenplays, including *Circle of Friends* and *Bridget Jones's Diary*.

GUY JOWETT

**Andrew (Wynford) Davies.** Born in Rhiwbina, Cardiff, Wales, September 20, 1936. Attended Whitchurch Grammar School, Cardiff; University College, London, B.A. in English 1957. Married: Diana Huntley, 1960; children: one son and one daughter. Began career as teacher at St. Clement Danes Grammar School, London, 1958–61, and Woodberry Down Comprehensive School, London, 1961–63; lecturer, Coventry College of Education, 1963–71, and University of Warwick, Coventry, 1971–87. Wrote first play for radio, 1964; television and film writer; author of several stage plays and fiction aimed at both young and adult audiences. Recipient: *Guardian* Children's Fic-

tion Award, 1979; *Boston Globe-Horn* Book Award, 1980; Broadcast Press Guild Awards, 1980, 1990; Pye Colour TV Award, 1981; Royal Television Society Award, 1987; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards, 1989, 1993; Writers Guild Awards, 1991, 1992; Primetime Emmy Award, 1991.

#### Television Series and Miniseries (selection)

1980	<i>To Serve Them All My Days</i>
1986–88	<i>A Very Peculiar Practice</i>
1989	<i>Mother Love</i>
1990	<i>House of Cards</i>
1993	<i>To Play the King</i>
1994	<i>Middlemarch</i>
1995	<i>Game On</i> (with Bernadette Davis)
1995	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>
1995	<i>The Final Cut</i>
1996	<i>Wilderness</i>
1998	<i>Vanity Fair</i>
1999	<i>Wives and Daughters</i>
2001	<i>The Way We Live Now</i>
2002	<i>Dr. Zhivago</i>
2002	<i>Daniel Deronda</i>
2004	<i>He Knew He Was Right</i>

#### Television Plays and Movies (selection)

1967	<i>Who's Going to Take Me On?</i>
1970	<i>Is That Your Bod, Boy?</i>
1973	<i>No Good unless It Hurts</i>
1974	<i>The Water Maiden</i>
1975	<i>Grace</i>
1975	<i>The Imp of the Perverse</i>
1976	<i>The Signalman</i>
1976	<i>A Martyr to the System</i>
1977	<i>Eleanor Marx</i>
1977	<i>Happy in War</i>
1977	<i>Velvet Glove</i>
1978	<i>Fearless Frank</i>
1978	<i>Renoir My Father</i>
1981	<i>Bavarian Night</i>
1983	<i>Heartattack Hotel</i>
1984	<i>Diana</i>
1985	<i>Pythons on the Mountain</i>
1987	<i>Inappropriate Behaviour</i>
1988	<i>Lucky Sunil</i>
1988	<i>Baby, I Love You</i>
1991	<i>Filipina Dreamers</i>
1992	<i>The Old Devils</i>
1992	<i>Anglo-Saxon Attitudes</i>
1992	<i>A Very Polish Practice</i>
1993	<i>Anna Lee</i>
1993	<i>Harnessing Peacocks</i>
1994	<i>A Few Short Journeys of the Heart</i>

- 1996 *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders*  
1998 *Getting Hurt*  
1998 *A Rather English Marriage*  
2001 *Take a Girl Like You*  
2002 *Othello*  
2002 *Tipping the Velvet*  
2003 *Boudica*

#### Films

*The Hospitalization of Samuel Pellett*, 1964; *Getting the Smell of It*, 1967; *A Day in Bed*, 1967; *Curse on Them, Astonish Me!*, 1970; *Steph and the Man of Some Distinction*, 1971; *The Innocent Eye*, 1971; *The Shortsighted Bear*, 1972; *Steph and the Simple Life*, 1972; *Steph and the Zero Structure Lifestyle*, 1976; *Accentuate the Positive*, 1980; *Campus Blues*, 1984; *Circle of Friends*, 1995; *The Tailor of Panama*, 2001; *Bridget Jones's Diary*, 2001; *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason*, 2004.

#### Stage

*Can Anyone Smell the Gas?*, 1972; *The Shortsighted Bear*, 1972; *Filthy Fryer and the Woman of Ma-*

*ture Years*, 1974; *Linda Polan: Can You Smell the Gas?*, *What Are Little Girls Made of?*, 1975; *Rohan and Julia*, 1975; *Randy Robinson's Unsuitable Relationship*, 1976; *Teacher's Gone Mad*, 1977; *Going Bust*, 1977; *Fearless Frank*, 1978; *Brainstorming with the Boys*, 1978; *Battery*, 1979; *Diary of a Desperate Woman*, 1979; *Rose*, 1980; *Prin*, 1990.

#### Publications (selection)

*The Fantastic Feats of Doctor Boox*, 1972  
*Conrad's War*, 1978  
*Marmalade and Rufus*, 1979  
*Poonam's Pets*, with Diana Davies, 1990; 1990  
*B. Monkey*, 1992

#### Further Reading

"Pride and Prurience (Andrew Davies' Racy Adaptation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*)," *The Economist* (London) (November 3, 1990)  
Rafferty, Frances, "Always One Page Ahead," *Times Educational Supplement* (London) (November 8, 1991)

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## Day After, The

### U.S. Made-for-Television Movie

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*The Day After*, a dramatization of the effects of a hypothetical nuclear attack on the United States, was one of the biggest media events of the 1980s. Shown on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) on Sunday, November 20, 1983, *The Day After* was watched by approximately half the U.S. adult population, the largest audience for a made-for-TV movie to that time. The movie was broadcast after weeks of advance publicity, fueled by White House nervousness about the program's antinuclear "bias." ABC had distributed half a million "viewer's guides," and discussion groups were organized around the country. A studio discussion, in which the U.S. secretary of state took part, was conducted following the program. The advance publicity was unprecedented in scale, centered on the slogan, "*The Day After*—Beyond Imagining. The starkly realistic drama of nuclear confrontation and its devastating effect on a group of average American citizens."

The show was the brainchild of Brandon Stoddard, then president of the ABC Motion Picture Division, who had been impressed by the theatrical film *The China Syndrome*. Directed by Nicholas Meyer, a feature film director, *The Day After* went on to be either broadcast or released as a theatrical feature in more than 40 countries. In Britain, for example, an edited version was shown on the ITV commercial network three weeks after the U.S. broadcast, with the U.K. airing accompanied by a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament recruitment drive. In a country that had yet to transmit Peter Watkins's film on the topic of nuclear war, *The War Game*, most British critics dismissed *The Day After* as a travesty, a typically tasteless American treatment of this major theme.

Wherever it was shown, *The Day After* raised questions about genre and about politically committed TV and its ideological effects. Was it a drama-documentary,





*The Day After.*  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives

a combination of fact and fiction (how do you depict a catastrophe that has not yet happened?), or was it a disaster movie? Some argued that the program stretched the limits of the medium, in the tradition of *Roots* and *Holocaust*, manipulating a variety of prestige-TV and -film propaganda devices to raise itself above the ratings war in order to attempt to address a universal audience about a 20th-century nightmare.

ABC defined the production in terms of realism (for example, rosters of scientific advisers helped design the special effects used during the depictions of missiles and the blast), and the network defined it in terms of art, as a surrealist vision of the destruction of Western civilization as it affected a midwestern town (Lawrence, Kansas) and a family (graphically represented in the movie poster). Network executives were particularly aware of the issue of taste and the impact of horror on sensitive viewers (they knew that Watkins's film had been deemed "too horrifying for the medium of television"); however, it was assumed that the majority of the audience was already inured to depictions of suffering. The delicate issue of identification with victims and survivors was handled by setting the catastrophe in a real town and using a large cast of relatively unknown actors (although John Lithgow, JoBeth Williams, Steve Guttenberg, and Amy Madigan would eventually become established, well-known actors) and a horde of extras, while at the center of the story stood the venerable Jason Robards as a doctor. *Time* magazine opined that "much of the power came from the quasi-documentary idea that nuclear destruction had been visited upon the real town of Lawrence, Kansas, rather than upon some back lot of Warner Brothers." Scriptwriter Edward Hume decided to downplay the more inflammatory, political aspects of the scenario: "It's not about politics or politicians or

military decision-makers. It is simply about you and me—doctors, farmers, teachers, students, brothers, and kid sisters engaged in the usual love and labor of life in the month of September." (This populist dimension was reinforced when the mayor of Lawrence sent a telegram to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov.)

There is an American pastoralism at work in the depiction of prairie life. Director Nicholas Meyer (*Star Trek II*) was aware of the danger of lapsing into formulas and wrote in a "production diary" for *TV Guide*,

The more *The Day After* resembles a film, the less effective it is likely to be. No TV stars. What we don't want is another Hollywood disaster movie with viewers waiting to see Shelley Winters succumb to radiation poisoning. To my surprise, ABC agrees. Their sole proviso: one star to help sell the film as a feature overseas. Fair enough.

Production proceeded without the cooperation of the U.S. Defense Department, which had wanted the script to make it clear that the Soviet Union started the war.

Despite sequences of *cinéma vérité* and occasional trappings of realism, the plot develops in soap opera fashion, with two families about to be united by marriage. The movie evolves, however, to present an image of a community of survivors that extends beyond the family, centered on what is left of the local university and based on the model of a medieval monastery.

Although November was a "sweeps" month, ABC decided to air no commercials after the point in the story in which the bomb fell. Even so, *The Day After's* critics categorized the film as just another made-for-TV movie treating a sensational theme. Complained a *New York Times* editorial, "A hundred million Americans were summoned to be empathetically incinerated, and left on the true day after without a single idea to chew upon." Other critics found the movie too tame in its depiction of the effects of nuclear attack (abroad, this was sometimes attributed to American naïveté about war), a reproach anticipated in the final caption, "The catastrophic events you have witnessed are, in all likelihood, less severe than the destruction that would actually occur in the event of a full nuclear strike against the United States." Some critics did appreciate *The Day After's* aesthetic ambitions. Since the program aired, no network has successfully attempted to match this hybrid between entertainment and information, between a popular genre like disaster and an address to the enlightened citizen.

SUSAN EMMANUEL

#### Cast

Dr. Russell Oakes	Jason Robards
Nancy Bauer	JoBeth Williams
Stephen Klein	Steve Guttenberg

## Day After, The

Jim Dahlberg	John Cullum	Tom Cooper	Arliss Howard
Joe Huxley	John Lithgow	Dr. Wallenberg	Rosanna Huffman
Eve Dahlberg	Bibi Beach	Cleo Mackey	Barbara Iley
Denise Dahlberg	Lori Lethin	TV Host	Madison Mason
Alison Ransom	Amy Madigan	Cody	Bob Meister
Bruce Gallatin	Jeff East	Mack	Vahan Moosekian
Helen Oakes	Georgann Johnson	Dr. Landowska	George Petrie
Airman McCoy	William Allen Young	2nd Barber	Glenn Robards
Dr. Sam Hachiya	Calvin Jung	1st Barber	Tom Spratley
Dr. Austin	Lin McCarthy	Vinnie Conrad	Stan Wilson
Reverend Walker	Dennis Lipscomb		
Dennis Hendry	Clayton Day	<b>Producers</b>	
Danny Dahlberg	Doug Scott	Robert Papazian, Stephanie Austin	
Jolene Dahlberg	Ellen Anthony	<b>Programming History</b>	
Marilyn Oakes	Kyle Aletter	ABC	
Cynthia	Alston Ahearn	November 20, 1983	8:00–10:35
Professor	William Allyn		
Ellen Hendry	Antonie Becker	<b>Further Reading</b>	
Nurse	Pamela Brown	Boyd-Bowman, Susan, "The Day After: Representations of the Nuclear Holocaust," <i>Screen</i> (July–October 1984)	
Julian French	Jonathan Estrin		
Aldo	Stephen Furst		

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## Day, Robin (1923–2000)

British Broadcast Journalist

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Sir Robin Day was admired as one of the most formidable of political interviewers and commentators in British television and radio. An aspiring politician himself in the 1950s, he subsequently acquired a reputation for challenging questions and acerbic resistance to propagandist responses that made him the model for virtually all political interviewers who came after him.

As a student at Oxford, Day became president of the Oxford Union debating society and subsequently trained for the bar before realizing that a career in the media was ideally suited to his talents. With athlete Chris Chataway, he was one of the first two newscasters for the fledgling Independent Television News (ITN) and created a considerable impact with his forceful personality and style of delivery, which was in marked contrast to the stuffer and more formal style

of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) presenters. He also developed his skills as a political interviewer for the small screen; in 1957, for instance, while working for ITN's *Roving Report* at a time when Britain and Egypt were still technically at war over the Suez crisis, he scored a notable coup when he managed to secure an interview with Egypt's President Nasser.

After his own bid for Parliament (as a candidate for the Liberals) failed in 1959, Day moved to the BBC as a reporter and presenter of *Panorama*, which under his leadership (carrying on from that of Richard Dimbleby) consolidated its reputation as the corporation's most influential political program. Respected and indeed feared by politicians of all parties, Day became a national institution, instantly familiar with his breath-



Robin Day.  
Photo courtesy of Robin Day

sucking speech, large black-rimmed spectacles, and flamboyant spotted bow ties—and a favorite subject of impersonators.

Interviewees were rarely allowed to wriggle off the hook by the relentless Day, who showed scant respect for rank and title, and on several occasions guests were bludgeoned into making disclosures that would doubtless have otherwise remained unrevealed (some viewers were appalled at Day's brusque persistence and called him rude and insensitive).

After 13 years with *Panorama*, Day hosted his own *Newsday* program and also presented radio's *The World at One* for several years. In 1979, he was the first chair of the popular *Question Time* program, based on radio's *Any Questions?*, in which prominent members of parliamentary and public life were invited to field questions on topical issues from a studio audience. Under Day's eagle eye, the program quickly established itself as the best of its kind and attracted a huge audience under both him and successive presenters. Following his departure from the program, after some ten years in the chair and by now a veteran of some 30 years of television experience and knighted in

acknowledgment of his achievements, he confined himself largely to occasional work for the satellite and regional television stations.

Some politicians found Day's dogged—even belligerent—style of questioning too much to take, and on several occasions notable figures lost their temper. Defense Secretary John Nott was a particularly celebrated victim of the master interviewer's attacks, snatching off his microphone and storming out of a television interview with Day at the time of the Falklands crisis after taking offense at Day's questions.

DAVID PICKERING

**Robin Day.** Born in London, October 23, 1923. Attended Bembridge School; St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, B.A. with honors in jurisprudence 1951; Middle Temple, M.A.; Blackstone Entrance Scholar, 1951; Harmsworth Law School, 1952–53. Served in Royal Artillery, 1943–47. Married: Katherine Ainslie, 1965 (divorced, 1986); children: Alexander and Daniel. Called to the bar, 1952; worked for British Information Services, Washington, 1953–54; freelance broadcaster, 1954; radio talks producer, BBC, 1955; newscaster and parliamentary correspondent, ITN, 1955–59; columnist, *News Chronicle*, 1959; worked on various ITV programs, 1955–59; ran unsuccessfully for Parliament as a Liberal, 1959; hosted numerous BBC radio and television current affairs programs, including *Panorama*, *Newsday*, and *Question Time*, from 1959; retired as regular presenter, 1989, but subsequently worked on satellite and regional television. LL.D.: University of Exeter, 1986; Keele University, 1988; University of Essex, 1988. Honorary Fellow, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, 1989; Honorary Bencher, 1990. Member: Trustee, Oxford Literary and Debating Union; Phillimore Committee on Law of Contempt, 1971–74; chair, Hansard Society, 1981–83. Knighted, 1981. Recipient: Guild of TV Producers' Merit Award, Personality of the Year, 1957; Richard Dimbleby Award for factual television, 1974; Broadcast Press Guild Award, 1980; Royal Television Society Judges' Award, 1985. Died in London, August 5, 2000.

#### Television Series

1955–59	Independent Television News
1955–59	<i>Tell the People</i>
1955–59	<i>Under Fire</i>
1957	<i>Roving Report</i>
1959–72	<i>Panorama</i> (presenter, 1967–72)
1976	<i>Newsday</i>
1979–89	<i>Question Time</i>
1992	<i>The Parliamentary Programme</i>
1992	<i>The Elder Statesmen</i>

Day, Robin

### Radio

*It's Your Line*, 1970–76; *Election Call*, 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987; *The World at One*, 1979–87.

### Publications (selected)

*The Case for Televising Parliament*, 1963  
*Day by Day* (autobiography), 1975

*The Grand Inquisitor* (autobiography), 1989  
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## Death on the Rock

### British Investigative Documentary

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“Death on the Rock” is the title of a program in the current affairs series *This Week*, made by Thames Television and broadcast on the ITV network on April 28, 1988. The program investigated the incident, on Sunday, March 6, 1988, when three members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), sent to Gibraltar on an active service mission, were shot and killed by members of British special forces. The incident, and subsequently the program about it, became controversial as a result of uncertainty and conflicting evidence about the manner in which the killing was carried out and the degree to which it was an “execution” with no attempted arrest. The program interviewed witnesses who claimed to have heard no prior warning given by the Special Air Service (SAS) troops and to have seen the shooting carried out “in cold blood.” Furthermore, when defenders of the special forces’ actions contended the IRA team might, if allowed time, have had the capacity to trigger by remote control a car bomb in the main street, that assertion was also criticized by an army bomb disposal expert, among others.

Claiming that its transmission prior to the official inquiry was an impediment to justice, the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, attempted to stop the program from being broadcast by writing to the chairman of the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Lord Thomson of Monifieth. Lord Thomson refused to prevent transmission, noting that “the issues as we see them relate to free speech and free inquiry which underpin individual liberty in a democracy.” Following transmission, there was widespread criticism in sections of the press of the program’s investigative stance

(such as “Storm at SAS Telly Trial,” *Sun*; “Fury over SAS ‘Trial by TV,’” *Daily Mail*; “TV Slur on the SAS,” *Daily Star*). Subsequently, a number of papers, notably the *Sunday Times* and the *Sun*, attempted to show not only that the program’s procedures of inquiry were faulty but also that the character of some of its witnesses was dubious (in one case, a woman subjected to this latter charge successfully pursued a libel action against the newspapers that made it).

The debate that developed around the program intensified when one of its witnesses subsequently repudiated his testimony, and so an independent inquiry was conducted at the behest of Thames Television. This inquiry was undertaken by Lord Windlesham, a former government minister with experience as a managing director in television, and Richard Rampton, a barrister specializing in defamation and media law. The inquiry’s findings, which were published as a book in 1989, largely cleared the program of any impropriety, although it noted a number of errors.

Any assessment of the “Death on the Rock” affair has to note a number of constituent factors. The hugely emotive and politically controversial issue of British military presence in Northern Ireland provides the backdrop. For much of the British public, the various bombing attacks of the IRA (many of them involving civilian casualties) seemed to give the incident in Gibraltar the character of a wartime event whose legitimacy was unquestionable. At a more focused level, the Windlesham/Rampton report analyzed, in unusual detail, the narrative structure of current affairs exposition—its movement between interview and presenter



"Death on the Rock."

Courtesy of ©FremantleMedia Enterprises

commentary, its use of location material, and its movements of evaluation. It also probed further back into the way in which the program was put together through the contacting of various witnesses and the investigations of researchers. This analysis was set in the context of long-standing tension between the Conservative government and broadcasters, particularly investigative journalists, on the matter of "national interest" and on the "limits" that should be imposed (preferably self-imposed) on work that brought into question the activities of the state.

There is obviously little space here to look at the program's form in any detail, but a number of features in its opening suggest something of its character. The program starts with a pretitling sequence featuring two of its principal witnesses, Carmen Proetta and Stephen Bullock, in "sound bites" from the longer interviews. These go as follows:

- Witness 1: "There was no exchange of words on either side, no warning, nothing said; no screams, nothing; just the shots."  
 Witness 2: "I should say they were from a distance of about four feet and that the firing was continuous; in other words, probably as fast as it's possible to fire."

After the titles, the program is "launched" by the studio-based presenter (Jonathan Dimbleby):

The killing by the SAS of three IRA terrorists in Gibraltar provoked intense debate not only in Britain but throughout the world—and especially in the Republic of Ireland and the United States. There are perhaps those who wonder what the fuss is about, who ask, "Does it really matter when or how they were killed?"; who say "They were terrorists, there's a war on; and we got to them before they got us." However, in the eyes of the law and of the state, it is not so simple. . . . The question which goes to the heart of the issue, is this: did the SAS men have the law on their side when they shot dead [photo stills] Danny McCann, Sean Savage, and Mairead Farrell, who were unarmed at the time? [photo of bodies and ambulance] Were the soldiers acting in self-defence or were they operating what has become known as a "shoot to kill policy"—simply eliminating a group of known terrorists outside the due process of law, without arrest, trial or verdict?

Dimbleby concludes his introduction by promising the viewer something of "critical importance for those who wish to find out what really happened."

This use of a "shock" opener, followed by the framing of the report in terms that anticipate one kind of popular response but set against this expectation the need for questions to be asked, gives the program a strong but measured start. Its conclusion is similarly balanced, anticipating at least some of the next morning's complaints, by attempting to connect its own inquiries to the due process of the law:

That report by Julian Manyon was made, as you may have detected, without the cooperation of the British government, which says that it will make no comment until the inquest. As our film contained much new evidence hitherto unavailable to the coroner, we are sending the transcripts to his court in Gibraltar, where it's been made clear to us that all such evidence is welcomed.

Given the political debate it caused, there is little doubt that "Death on the Rock" is established as a marker in the long history of government-broadcaster relationships in Britain.

JOHN CORNER

### Programming History

ITV

April 28, 1988

### Further Reading

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 Windlesham, P., and R. Rampton, *The Windlesham/Rampton Report on "Death on the Rock,"* London: Faber, 1989

# Defenders, The

## U.S. Legal Drama

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*The Defenders* was American television's seminal legal drama and perhaps the most socially conscious series the medium has ever seen. The series boasted a direct lineage to the age of live television drama but also possessed a concern for topical issues and a penchant for social comment that were singularly resonant with New Frontier liberalism. With its contemporary premise and its serious tone, *The Defenders* established the model for a spate of social issue programs that followed in the early 1960s, marking a trend toward dramatic shows centered on nonviolent, professional "heroes" (doctors, lawyers, teachers, and politicians).

The series had its origins in a 1957 *Studio One* production titled "The Defender," written by Reginald Rose, one of the most prominent writers from the age of live anthology dramas. Having collaborated with Rose on the original two-part "Defender" teleplay and other productions, veteran anthology producer Herbert Brodtkin teamed again with the writer to oversee the series. Brodtkin and Rose were able to attract a large number of anthology alumni as writers for the series, including Ernest Kinoy, David Shaw, Adrian Spies, and Alvin Boretz. Although Rose authored only 11 of *The Defenders'* 130 episodes, Brodtkin, the cast, and the writing staff always acknowledged that Rose, as senior story editor, put his own indelible stamp on the show. *The Defenders'* creators went against the overwhelming tide of Hollywood-based programs, following the tradition of the live anthologies—and the more recent police drama *Naked City*—by mounting their show in New York. Although *The Defenders* was primarily a studio-bound operation, with minimal location shooting, its success proved to be a key contributor to a small renaissance in New York-based production in the early 1960s.

The series concerned the cases of a father-and-son team of defense attorneys, Lawrence Preston (E.G. Marshall), the sharp veteran litigator, and his green and idealistic son Kenneth (Robert Reed). (Ralph Bellamy and William Shatner had originated the roles, then named Walter and Kenneth Pearson, in the *Studio One* production.) During the series' four years on the air, Ken Preston became more seasoned in the courtroom, but, for the most part, character development

took second place to explorations of the legal process and contemporary social issues.

As Rose pointed out a 1964 article, "The law is the *subject* of our programs: not crime, not mystery, not the courtroom for its own sake. We were never interested in producing a 'who-done-it' which simply happened to be resolved each week in a flashy courtroom battle of wits." Rose undoubtedly had in mind the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) other celebrated series about a defense attorney, *Perry Mason* (1957–66), when he wrote these words. Although both were nominally "courtroom dramas" or "lawyer shows," *Perry Mason* was first and foremost a classical detective story whose climax played out in the courtroom, while *The Defenders* focused on the machinery of the law, the vagaries of the legal process, and system's capacity for justice. Although the Prestons took on their share of murder cases, their aim in such instances was to mount a sound defense or plead for mercy, not unmask the real killer on the witness stand.

Certainly, *The Defenders* exploited the inherent drama of the courtroom, but it did so by mining the complexity of the law, its moral and ethical implications, and its human dimensions. Rose and his writers found much compelling drama in probing the psychology of juries, the motives of clients, the biases of opposing counsel, the flaws of the system itself, and the fallibility of their own lawyer-heroes. The series frequently took a topical perspective on the U.S. justice system, honing in on timely or controversial legal questions: capital punishment, "no-knock" search laws, custody rights of adoptive parents, the insanity defense, and the "poisoned fruit doctrine" (admissibility of illegally obtained evidence) as well as immigration quotas and Cold War visa restrictions. *The Defenders* avoided simple stances on such cases, instead illuminating ambiguities and opposing perspectives and stressing the uncertain and fleeting nature of justice before the law.

Rose declared in *The Viewer* magazine, "We're committed to controversy," and, indeed, the series often went beyond a strict focus on "the law" to probe the profound social issues that are often weighed in the courtroom. *The Defenders'* most controversial case was "The Benefactor" (1962), in which the



*The Defenders*, Robert Reed, E.G. Marshall, Lee Grant, 1961–65.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Prestons defend an abortion provider—and in the process mount an unequivocal argument in favor of legalized abortion (a decade before the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision). Although the series regularly nettled some sponsors and affiliates, this particular installment marked a major crisis, with the series' three regular sponsors pulling their support from the episode. Another advertiser stepped in at the 11th hour and sponsored the show, and the network reported that audience response to the program was 90 percent positive. As one CBS executive recalled to author Robert Metz, "Everybody survived, and that was the beginning of *The Defenders* dealing with issues that really mattered." While not all of the Prestons' cases were so politically charged, the show took on current social concerns with some frequency. One of the series' most acclaimed stories, "Blacklist," offered a quietly powerful indictment of Hollywood blacklisting; in other episodes, the Prestons defended a schoolteacher fired for being an atheist, an author accused of pornography, a conscientious objector,

civil rights demonstrators, a physician charged in a mercy killing, and neo-Nazis.

*The Defenders* tended to take an explicitly liberal stance on the issues it addressed, but it offered no easy answers, no happy endings. Unlike *Perry Mason*, courtroom victories were far from certain on *The Defenders*—as were morality and justice. "The law is man-made, and therefore imperfect," Larry tells his son near the end of "Blacklist." "We don't always have the answer. There *are* injustices in the world. And they're not always solved at the last minute by some brilliant point of law at a dramatic moment." With all their wisdom and virtue, the Prestons were fallible, constrained by the realities of the legal system, the skill of their opponents, the whims of juries, and the decisions of the bench. Yet if *The Defenders'* view of the law was resigned, it was also resilient, manifesting a dogged optimism, acknowledging the flaws of the system, but affirming its merits—that is, its ability to change and its potential for compassion. The Prestons wearily admitted that the system was not perfect, but



they returned each week to embrace it because of its potential for justice—and because it is the only system “we” have (a point that has become almost a cliché on such subsequent legal dramas as *L.A. Law* and *Law and Order*). It was this slender thread of optimism that enabled the defenders to continue their pursuit of justice one case at a time.

As a serious courtroom drama, *The Defenders* series meshed well in the early 1960s with network aims for prestige in the wake of the quiz show scandals and charges of creeping mediocrity in TV fare. The dramatic arena of the courtroom and the legal system allowed for suspense without violence and the avoidance of formula plots characteristic of traditional crime and adventure drama. With consistently strong ratings and a spate of awards unmatched by any other series of its day, *The Defenders* proved that controversy and topicality were not necessarily uncommercial. The series was in the works well before Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow’s 1961 “vast wasteland” speech, but there is little doubt that the new Minow-inspired regulatory atmosphere augured well for the rise of such programming. The show’s success supported the development of a number of social issue and political dramas in the following years, notably *Slattery’s People* and *East Side, West Side*, and gave further impetus to a shift in network programming from action-adventure to character drama. But most significant of all, it grappled with larger ethical and political questions, pulling social problems and political debate to center stage, presenting a consistent, ongoing, and sometimes critical examination of contemporary issues and social morality. In the episode titled “The Star-Spangled Ghetto” (written by Rose), a judge takes the elder Preston to task for invoking the social roots of his clients’ acts as part of his defense: “The courtroom is not the place to explore the questions of society.” Lawrence Preston responds, “It is for me.” So was the television courtroom for Reginald Rose and the writers of *The Defenders*.

In 1997 and 1998, *The Defenders* was revived as a series of three made-for-cable movies on Showtime: *The Defenders: Payback* (1997), *The Defenders: Choice of Evils* (1998), and *The Defenders: Taking the First* (1998). The first two films found E.G. Marshall back in court as an even more seasoned Lawrence Preston, now joined by younger son Don (Beau Bridges) and Kenneth’s daughter M.J. (Martha Plimpton). In the third movie, made after Marshall’s death, Bridges and Plimpton reprised their roles.

MARK ALVEY

See also **Bellamy, Ralph; Kinoy, Ernest; Rose, Reginald; Studio One**

### Cast

Lawrence Preston	E.G. Marshall
Kenneth Preston	Robert Reed
Helen Donaldson (1961–62)	Polly Rowles
Joan Miller (1961–62)	Joan Hackett

### Producers

Herbert Brodtkin, Robert Maxwell, Kenneth Utt

### Programming History

132 episodes

CBS

September 1961– September 1963	Saturday 8:30–9:30
September 1963– November 1963	Saturday 9:00–10:00
November 1963– September 1964	Saturday 8:30–9:30
September 1964– September 1965	Thursday 10:00–11:00

### Further Reading

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- Rose, Reginald, “Law, Drama, and Criticism,” *Television Quarterly* (Fall 1964)
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- “Three Sponsors Withdraw from Program Dealing with Abortion; CBS to Show Drama As Scheduled,” *New York Times* (April 9, 1962)
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# Degrassi (The Kids of Degrassi Street; Degrassi Junior High; Degrassi High; Degrassi Talks; Degrassi: The Next Generation)

Canadian Drama Series

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During the 1980s, three *Degrassi* drama series appeared on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's public television network. The programs, all in a half-hour format, began with *The Kids of Degrassi Street*, followed by *Degrassi Junior High*, then *Degrassi High*. Central *Degrassi* actors reappeared in the CBC's 1991–92 season as roving interviewers and hosts of *Degrassi Talks*, a youth magazine program. This program featured such pertinent topics as sex, work, and abuse, all examined from the perspectives of Canada's youth. This point of view was in keeping with the precredit program statement, "Real kids talking to real kids from the heart." The federal government's Health and Welfare Canada was an advocacy sponsor of *Degrassi Talks*, suggesting official recognition and support of a distinct youth culture and an agenda of intentional socialization, using CBC television and the well-known *Degrassi* cast as teaching agents.

A two-hour television movie special, *School's Out!* (1992), completed the original coming-of-age cycle of three dramatic series and the magazine show. Programmed into a CBC Sunday evening slot, in early fall *School's Out!* was scheduled to coincide with the beginning of the school year. In the movie, various *Degrassi* characters are confronted with the transitions that follow high school graduation: the anticipation of attending university, the dissolution of a high school romance, a tragic highway accident, rootlessness, work prospects, and, ultimately, a fall reunion at the wedding of a long-standing couple.

An outgrowth of the original *Degrassi* project was *Liberty Street*, which featured only one former cast member, Pat Mastroianni, who played a different character than before but with a similar cocky persona. *Liberty Street* continued the *Degrassi* coming-of-age chronology, focusing on "20-something" characters struggling for independence in a downtown Toronto warehouse-apartment building that required chronic upkeep and so afforded dramatic situations demanding personal negotiations. Launched on the CBC as a series in the 1994–95 season, the *Liberty Street* characters were introduced in an earlier television movie

special, *X-Rated*, a title that recalls writer Douglas Coupland's term for disenfranchised youth, popularized by his book *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* (1991). Linda Schuyler is credited as the creator and executive producer of *Liberty Street* in association with the CBC.

The first three *Degrassi* series had been created and produced by collaborators Schuyler and Kit Hood and their Playing with Time (PWT) Repertory Company in association with CBC drama departments and the support of Telefilm Canada. Eventually, the series drew support from associate producing entities, such as WGBH-Boston, the U.S. Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).

The three series achieved international success and sales and were programmed at various times on cable systems, including HBO, Showtime, and the Disney Channel as well as PBS. However, these international opportunities sometimes involved divergent national broadcasting and censorship standards, which revealed cultural differences between Canada and the United States. A two-part *Degrassi High* episode concerning abortion, for example, was truncated by PBS for U.S. audiences. This was not the case, however, with the CBC, which ran the complete version. PBS edited out a fetal icon from the episode's open-ended narrative designed to engage television audiences in the moral and physical complexities facing teens who seek abortion. PBS's editing decision raised public discussion in the arts and entertainment sections of major Canadian newspapers. In the short term, Canadian media coverage of PBS's action shored up the CBC's open attitude toward audiences. The corporation was willing to trust teens and their parents to make their own judgments on options presented in the complete version of the episode.

Yan Moore, head writer of the *Degrassi* series, tailored the scripts with the vital participation of the repertory cast, young people drawn from schools in the Toronto area. The situations, topics, and dialogue were vetted in regular workshops involving the young actors. In the interest of constructing valid actions and responses for the characters, consultation ensured that



*Degrassi Junior High* (top, l to r): Duncan Waugh, Stacie Mistysyn, Siluck Saysanasy, Pat Mastroianni, Amanda Stepto; (bottom, l to r): Christopher Charlesworth, Neil Hope, Anais Granofsky (Season 2), 1986–91.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the *Degrassi* series would remain youth centered and that the durable, realistic manner of the dramas would avoid the plasticity common to television's generic sitcom families. Even as the actors grew within their roles over the first three series and as new characters were added, a naturalistic acting style prevailed. If the acting at times appears untutored, it remains closer to the look and speech of everyday youths than the per-

formances of precocious kids and teens common to Hollywood film and television sitcoms.

From *The Kids of Degrassi Street* through *Degrassi High*, various schools served as narrative settings, although the dramatic situations mostly pivoted on action outside the classroom: in the corridors, around lockers and yards, to and from school, at dances and other activities, and in and around latchkey homes,

with parents usually absent or at the edges of the situations to be managed by the youths themselves. These unofficial spaces outside the jurisdiction of authority figures maintained the youth-culture themes.

The backdrop for *Degrassi Talks* was a school bearing a "Degrassi High School" sign. From that location, specific *Degrassi* actors introduced the week's topic. This sense of a familiar locale hearkened back to *The Kids of Degrassi Street*, filmed on Toronto's Degrassi Street in an inner-city neighborhood. In *Degrassi Talks*, the physical references to the school and to the actors who portrayed *Degrassi* characters carried forward the history of the earlier series. The actors appeared to have graduated into role models of youth, with interspersed dramatic clips from past series serving as proof of their apprenticeship.

The evolutionary *Degrassi* series established high standards for representing youth on television, and these programs influenced the development of other mature-youth series for public and private Canadian television, such as CBC-West's *Northwood* and CanWest-Global's *Madison*. By integrating sensitive issues into the characters' narrative worlds and by foregrounding and backgrounding various continuing characters (as opposed to the convention of "principle" and "secondary" figures), the *Degrassi* series developed depth, unlike topic-of-the-week formulas. Abortion, single parenthood, sex, death, racism, AIDS, feminism, gay issues: these became conditions the characters had to work through, largely on their own individual or shared terms, within the serialized narrative structures.

A generation of Canadian kids could be said to have grown up with the *Degrassi* series. The narrative themes held out implicit lessons for the targeted youth audiences and for parental viewers. This teaching/learning ideology befitted the educational basis of the entire project as well as the cultural mandate of the CBC. With ethical lessons coded into the narratives, the characters were motivated to make mistakes, not merely choices, appropriate to them.

What made the *Degrassi* project more than a mere projection of ethical lessons in episodic-series form was the media consciousness that invited young viewers to ponder the dramatic futures of characters even when presented in genre-based television. The frequent use of freeze-frames at the ends of episodes suspended closure on dramatic topics and themes in keeping with open-ended serialization. Over time, the maturity of the writing and the character development in the *Degrassi* series brought a rich dovetailing of plots and subplots, often threaded with nondramatic cultural asides (youth gags, humor, and media allusions) that drew attention to the aesthetics of television construction and the need for informed viewership.

A useful example is "Black and White" (1988), an

episode of *Degrassi Junior High* about the topic of interracial dating between a white female and a black male. Subtly, the female teen's parents reveal their primary fear of miscegenation. The two teens come to make their own choices in a climate of parental over-reaction (for their daughter's "own good") and arrive at a solution for their prom-night date. In subsequent episodes, the couple faces an ethical dilemma of their own making. The young man avoids revealing to his white girlfriend that he is attracted to another young woman and has in fact been dating this black teen during the summer holiday. Jealousy follows deceit. The emotive complexity pushed viewers to recall the series' narrative past in order to contextualize the dilemma among the teens. The story thus becomes distinct from and more complex than the original plot about parental objections to interracial dating.

*Degrassi: The Next Generation* is an attempt to revive some of the social and ethical themes of the earlier *Degrassi* series for early 21st-century adolescent viewers shaped by new media. A series of 13 half-hour episodes was launched in October 2001 on CTV, with a one-hour special that brought original *Degrassi* characters (predominantly Joey, Caitlin, Snake, Lucy, and Spike) to the newly named Degrassi Community School for their 10-year high school reunion. The new generation is exemplified by the character Emma, 12-year-old daughter of a caring and conservative Spike who, in her adult reinvention, embodies middle-class values, unlike her working-class struggle as a *Degrassi* teen raising a baby, attending school, and working for sexist bosses.

Middle-class values shape *The Next Generation's* narratives and characters. The episode "Secrets and Lies," for example, features a "yuppified" family with "tweens" (youths between 10 and 14 years of age) named Ash, Page, and Liberty and a dad named J.T., who admits he is gay and has a partner with whom he is in love. The transparent moral lesson concerns a father's dishonesty with his daughter and himself, but the lifestyle rhetoric and fail-safe romanticism are soap opera familiar. The camera style, which independent filmmaker Bruce McDonald established for the series' other directors, displays a polish common to prime-time TV drama but not McDonald's independent rebel filmmaking.

Executive producer/co-creator Schuyler and head writer Moore developed *The Next Generation* with Canadian private network CTV in partnership with television producer Epitome Pictures and new media producer Snap Media. This mix of production players is telling, and the CTV website emphasized the series' uniqueness as a convergent TV/Internet project. The series' narratives portray the Degrassi Community School as a wired environment for its computer-literate adolescent users. Emma and her friends spend time around the computer in her bedroom, which facilitates

new moral lessons about parental control of computer access. A pedophile, posing on the Internet as romantic tween soul mate, lures Emma to a hotel room, where he attempts to molest her, with a video camera set up to record the assault. It is the wiser adults (Spike and Snake) from the original *Degrassi* series who rescue an unharmed but shaken and chastened Emma.

Convergence through CTV's interactive website allows young viewers to share their points of view and perhaps their experiences as they relate to the problem solving embedded in episodes. The website is also a tool for measuring a tween fan base built from wired activity. One key issue for television is whether convergence, in practice and in the case of this series, does create a virtual "community" of adolescent viewers or whether it largely appeases or "masters" this audience to sustain production.

JOAN NICKS

See also **Children and Television**

### The Kids of Degrassi Street

#### Cast

Tina Sheldon	Lisa Barry
Squeeze	Shawn Bisio
Connie Jacobs	Danah-Jean Brown
Benjamin Martin	Christopher Charlesworth
Casey Rothfels	Sarah Charlesworth
Noel Canard	Peter Duckworth- Pilkington II
Chuck Riley	Nick Goddard
Karen Gillis	Anais Granofsky
Sophie Brendakis	Stacey Halberstadt
Cookie	Dawn Harrison
Robin "Griff" Griffiths	Neil Hope
Pete Riley	John Ianniou
Duke Griffiths	Dave James
Irene	Nancy Lam
Rachel Hewitt	Arlene Lott
Norman	Jason Lynn
Fred Lucas	Allan Melusi
Lisa Canard	Stacie Mistysyn
Ida Lucas	Zoe Newman
Martin Schlegel	Jamie Summerfield
Billy Martin	Tyson Talbot
Leon Schlegel	Shane Toland
Dodie	Heather Wall

#### Producers

Kit Hood, Linda Schuyler

#### Programming History

CBC

26 episodes

1979-86

### Degrassi Junior High/Degrassi High

#### Cast

Bryant "BLT" Lester	Dayo Ade
Thomas	David Armin-Parcels
Claude Tanner	Sara Ballingal
Melanie Brodie	Steve Bedernjak
Clutch	John Bertram
Mr. Lawrence	Michael Blake
Paul	Kirsten Bourne
Tessa Campinelli	Stefan Brogren
Archie "Snake" Simpson	Danah-Jean Brown
Trish	Darrin Brown
Dwayne	Tammy Campbell
Trudi Owens	Michael Carry
Simon Dexter	Tory Cassis
Blaine	George Chaker
Nick	Andy Chambers
Luke	Christopher Charlesworth
Scott "Scooter" Webster	Sarah Charlesworth
Susie Rivera	Amanda Cook
Lorraine "LD" Delacourt	Irene Courakos
Alexa	Trevor Cummings
Bartholomew Bond	Adam David
Mr. Walfish	Angela Deiseach
Erica Farrell	Maureen Deiseach
Heather Farrell	Sabrina Dias
Jyoti	Byrd Dickens
Scott	Craig Driscoll
Rick Munro	Chrissa Erodolou
Diana Economopolous	Marsha Ferguson
Cindy	Michelle Goodeve
Karen Avery	Anais Granofsky
Lucy Fernandez	Rebecca Haines
Kathleen Mead	Sara Holmes
Allison	Neil Hope
Derek "Wheels" Wheeler	Krista Houston
Joanne Rutherford	Ken Hung
Wai Lee	Jacy Hunter
Amy	Dean Ifill
Bronco Davis	John Ioanniou
Alex Yankou	Andy Jekabson
Mark	Michelle Johnson-Murray
Tabi	Samer Kamal
Mahmoud	Anna Keenan
Rainbow	Cathy Keenan
Liz O'Rourke	Niki Kemeny
Vula	Colleen Lam
Vivan Wong	Kyra Levy
Maya	Deborah Lobban
Doris Bell	Andrew Lockie
Casey	Arlene Lott
Nancy Kramer	Pat Mastroianni
Joey Jeremiah	Maureen McKay
Michelle Asseth	

Caitlin Ryan  
Mr. Garcia  
Louella Hawkins  
Shane McKay  
Yick Yu  
Vicky Friedland  
Christine "Spike"  
Nelson  
Stephanie Kaye  
Jason Cox  
Patrick  
Dorothy  
Arthur Kobalowsky  
Nora-Jean Rivera  
Tim O'Connor  
Max  
Joy  
Mr. Raditch

Stacie Mistysyn  
Roger Montgomery  
Susin Nielsen  
Bill Parrot  
Siluck Saysansay  
Karryn Sheridan  
  
Amanda Stepto  
Nicole Stoffman  
Tyson Talbot  
Vincent Walsh  
Annabel Waugh  
Duncan Waugh  
Lea-Helen Weir  
Keith White  
Joshua Whitehead  
Lisa Williams  
Daniel Woods

**Producers**

Kit Hood, Linda Schuyler

**Programming History**

CBC

**Degrassi Junior High**

January 1987–March 1987	Sunday 5:00–5:30 (13 episodes)
January 1988–March 1988	Monday 8:30–9:00 (13 episodes)
November 1988–March 1989	Monday 8:30–9:00 (16 episodes)

**Degrassi High**

November 1989–March 1990	Monday 8:30–9:00 (15 episodes)
November 1990–March 1991	Monday 8:30–9:00 (13 episodes)

**Degrassi Talks**

**Hosts**

Rebecca Haines  
Neil Hope  
Pat Mastroianni  
Stacie Mistysyn  
Siluck Saysansay  
Amanda Stepto

**Producers**

Kit Hood, Linda Schuyler

**Programming History**

CBC

6 episodes 1991–92

**Degrassi: The Next Generation**

**Cast**

Liberty Van Zandt	Sarah Barrable-Tishauer
Dylan Michalchuk	John Bregar
Archibald "Snake" Simpson	Stefan Brogren
Sean Hope Cameron	Daniel Clark
Paige Michalchuk	Lauren Collins
James Tiberius "J.T." Yorke	Ryan Cooley
Ms. Hatzilakos	Melissa DiMarco
Craig Manning	Jake Epstein
Ellie Nash	Stacey Farber
Tobias "Toby" Isaacs	Jake Goldsbie
Jimmy Brooks	Aubrey Graham
Mr. Armstrong	Michael Kinney
Gavin "Spinner" Mason	Shane Kippel
Kendra Mason	Katie Lai
Hazel Aden	Andrea Lewis
Miss Kwan	Linlyn Lue
Joseph "Joey" Jeremiah	Pat Mastroianni
Emma Nelson	Miriam McDonald
Ashley Kerwin	Melissa McIntyre
Caitlin Ryan	Stacie Mistysyn
Chris Sharpe	Daniel Morrison
Marco del Rossi	Adamo Ruggiero
Terri MacGregor	Christina Schmidt
Manuella "Manny" Santos	Cassie Steele
Angela Jeremiah	Alex Steele
Christine "Spike" Nelson (Simpson)	Amanda Stepto
Principal Raditch	Dan Woods
Nadia Jamir	Mony Yassir

**Producer**

Linda Schuyler

**Programming History**

CTV

October 2001–

**Further Reading**

Devins, Susan, "New Kids on the Block," *Cinema Canada* (April 1986)  
Magder, Ted, "Making Canada in the 1990s: Film, Culture, and Industry," in *Beyond Quebec: Taking Stock of Canada*, edited by Kenneth McRoberts, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995  
Miller, Mary Jane, "Will English Language Television Remain Distinctive? Probably," in *Beyond Quebec: Taking Stock of Canada*, edited by Kenneth McRoberts, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995

## Demographics

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The term "demographics" is a colloquialism that derives from demography, "the study of the characteristics of human populations." Professional demographers, such as those who work at the U.S. Census Bureau, are concerned primarily with population size and density, birth and death rates, and in- and out-migration. However, the practice of describing human groups according to distributions of sex, age, ethnicity, educational level, income, or other such characteristics has become a commonplace in many domains. These categories are called "demographics."

In the television industry, demographics are used in various ways, most of which can be characterized as either descriptive or analytic. First, demographics can be used to describe an audience. Such descriptive uses may be applied to an actual audience (for example, 54 percent female, 62 percent white, average age of 44 years), or demographics may be used to describe a desired audience, as in "younger" or "higher income."

Second, demographics can be used to sort data about people for purposes of analysis. For example, data may be available from a study designed to assess people's evaluations of an evening newscast anchor. Researchers may be interested in the average evaluation across the entire audience, in the evaluations of specific subgroups of people, or in the differences between the evaluations of specific subgroups. For either of the latter two purposes, one would divide the data according to the demographic categories of interest and calculate averages within those categories. It would then be possible to report the evaluations of women as distinct from those for men, those for higher- and lower-education groups, and so on.

Advertisers' interest in demographics arises from market research or advertising strategies that emphasize certain types of people as the target audience for their advertising. Therefore, commercial broadcasters, who earn their living by providing communication services to advertisers, are interested in demographics because the advertisers are. Because advertisers are more interested in some demographic categories than others, the commercial broadcasters have a financial interest in designing programming that appeals to people in those more desired demographic categories.

These interests result in programming artifacts, such as the low incidence of programs focused on African Americans or other racialized groups, on "neutral" constructions of matters such as religious belief, or on

certain patterns of programming schedules, such as "sports on weekends when men are viewing." The increased number of distribution channels that has emerged with greater capacity for cable programming, especially when multiplied by digital capabilities, has led to some more "targeted" programming and to some increased programming options for specific groups. Thus, more programming for children is now available than in earlier periods, and some networks, such as The WB or UPN, developed specific audiences with programs focused on African Americans. The increase in programming devoted to wrestling or NASCAR automobile racing, the success of the Lifetime cable network's focus on women's topics, and Music Television's (MTV's) attention to "youth" markets can all also be linked to programmers' reliance on demographic analysis.

Independent of the specific advertising connection, demographic categories may also be used whenever generalizations are more important than precision. National television programmers must think in terms of audiences of several million people at a time, so their work is characterized by reliance on such generalizations as women like romance, men like action, and young people will not watch unless we titillate them. For other media, such as radio, magazines, cable television, and the Internet, audiences are smaller, and more information may be available about them. Yet the convenience as well as the established habit of thinking in terms of demographic generalizations continues to hold sway.

Uses of demographics to define and generalize about people is an instance of social category thinking. The rationale is that the available social categories, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and educational level, are associated with typical structures of opportunity and experience that in turn produce typical patterns of disposition, attitudes, interests, behaviors, and so on. The application of social category thinking often extends beyond that sensible rationale to include any instance where differences in a variable of interest can be associated with conveniently measured demographic differences. Age, for example, is easy to measure, amenable to being categorized, and associated with a great variety of differences in tastes and activities. No one, of course, supposes that aging causes people to watch more television, but older adults do watch more than younger adults. The convenience of

that knowledge outweighs the need for precision in the television industry.

ERIC ROTHENBUHLER

**See also Audience Research; Market; Programming**

### Further Reading

- Becker, Lee B., "Racial Differences in Evaluation of the Mass Media," *Journalism Quarterly* (Spring 1992)  
 Horovitz, Bruce, "A Case for Different Strokes: Black's TV Choices Differ from General Public, Ad Study Shows," *Los Angeles Times* (April 7, 1992)

- Lehmkuhl, D.C., "Seeing beyond Demographics," *Marketing and Media Decisions* (July 1983)  
 Mann, Judy, "Television Makes a Discovery (Orient Programs toward Women)," *Washington Post* (November 17, 1989)  
 Maxwell, Robert, "Videophiles and Other Americans," *American Demographics* (July 1992)  
 Merriam, John E., "Clues in the Media," *American Demographics* (February 1991)  
 Moshavi, Sharon D., "Study Shows Network's Demographic Strengths," *Broadcasting* (November 30, 1992)  
 Roth, Morry, "See Zip Codes a New Key to Demographics," *Variety* (May 28, 1990)  
 "TV and Cable Programming (U.S. Demographics)," *Television Digest* (June 21, 1993)

## Dench, Judi (1934– )

British Actor

One of the leading classical actors of her generation, Judi Dench is unique in having sustained a television career that, in both breadth and depth, more than matches her work for the stage. The three roles for which she received, in the same year, a clutch of best actress awards—a cancer ward sister in the single drama *Going Gently*, Ranyevskya in *The Cherry Orchard*, and the gauche but capable Laura in the situation comedy *A Fine Romance*—epitomize the versatility of this distinctive and popular performer and the range of work with which she has been associated across a career spanning more than four decades and dozens of parts. She was made a Dame Commander of the British Empire in 1988 and, in 2001, was awarded the prestigious Fellowship of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts.

Educated at a Quaker school, the spiritual discipline of which she has suggested deeply influenced her life and work, she trained at the Central School from 1954 to 1957. Her first television appearance, a small part in a live broadcast of the thriller *Family on Trial*, came within two years of her graduation and was followed soon after by the title roles in a six-part serialization of Arnold Bennett's *Hilda Lessways* and a production by Stuart Burge of *Major Barbara*. She also played the part of a young tearaway in an early episode of *Z Cars* by John Hopkins, a character that became the basis of the disaffected daughter Terry, created for her by Hopkins in his groundbreaking family quartet *Talking to a Stranger* and for which she received the British Guild of Directors Award for Best Actress.

Dench has given notable performances in television presentations of Shakespeare. She played Katherine of France in the cycle of histories *An Age of Kings* in 1960 and at the end of the 1970s was in two screenings of Royal Shakespeare Company productions, as Adriana in *The Comedy of Errors* and opposite Ian McKellan in Trevor Nunn's landmark chamber production of *Macbeth*. In 1984 she appeared in John Barton's series of practical workshops for Channel 4, *Playing Shakespeare*. Her classical work for television also includes a substantial number of period dramas and serialized novels, but it is in her commitment to a range of largely antiheroic parts in contemporary television drama that she has most consistently won both popular and critical acclaim and where she has most effectively demonstrated her capacity for conveying what one critic called "transcendent ordinarieness." In 1979 she played the real-life role of Hazel Wiles, the world-weary adoptive mother of a thalidomide child, in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) play *On Giant's Shoulders*, and in 1981 she brought depth and complexity to the comparatively small role of Sister Scarli in *Going Gently*. In David Hare's *Saigon: Year of the Cat*, she played the reserved figure of Barbara Dean, an expatriate bank official caught up in a brief, passionate affair during the final days of the U.S. presence in Vietnam—a performance described by Hare in his introduction to the published script as "silkenly sexy and intelligent, as only she can be."





Judi Dench.  
Photo courtesy of Judi Dench

Indeed, one of Dench's most instantly recognizable features is a vocal timbre so husky that an early commercial for which she had provided the voice-over had to be withdrawn because it was too suggestive. Other writers and directors have remarked not only on her vocal technique but on the subtlety and insight of her approach to character. Her physical appearance—stocky and soft but strongly featured (she was told at a film audition early in her career that she had everything wrong with her face)—might lend itself to comedy, but she has never fallen into the trap of comfortable typecasting. Her performance as Bridget, the ill-treated divorcée returning to play havoc with her husband's marriage to a younger woman in the four-part serial *Behaving Badly*, trod a fine line between dowdy despair and spirited heroism. In two long-running situation comedies, *A Fine Romance* (in which she played opposite her husband Michael Williams) and *As Time Goes By*, she brought to her characters the same quizzical intelligence that epitomizes her more serious work.

These two popular hits sealed Dench's reputation as one of the few classical actors able to move with ease between the differing disciplines of stage and television acting and, as was proved by the unexpected West End success of the somber stage play *Pack of Lies* in

1983 (in which she and Williams also played opposite each other), confirmed the often neglected synergy that exists between the two performance media. In 1991 she played the lead in the BBC's production of Rodney Ackland's rediscovered play *Absolute Hell*, later reprising the role on stage to great acclaim; and her performance in the National Theatre's 1996 production of *A Little Night Music* demonstrated a remarkable balance between the theatrical projection required by the musical form and the finely timed minutiae of emotional insight that had become the hallmark of her work for television. In 2000, after an absence from television (apart from several voice-overs) during which she took on a succession of major film and stage roles, Dench brought these two qualities together in Alan Plater's one-off drama *The Last of the Blond Bombshells*. Starring alongside Leslie Caron, Olympia Dukakis, and Cleo Laine, she played a former saxophonist in a World War II-era all-girl dance band attempting to reunite the old band members.

JEREMY RIDGMAN

**Judi Dench.** Born Judith Olivia Dench in York, England, December 9, 1934. Attended the Mount School, York; Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art, London. Married: Michael Williams, 1971 (died 2001); child: Tara. Stage debut, Old Vic Theatre, London, 1957; Broadway debut, 1958; actor, Old Vic Company, 1957–60; joined Royal Shakespeare Company, 1961; first television appearances, 1965; actor, dramas and situation comedies, from the early 1980s; debut as stage director, Renaissance Theatre Company, 1988. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1970; Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1988. Member: Royal Shakespeare Company (associate), from 1969; board of the Royal National Theatre, 1988–91. D. Litt.: University of Warwick, Coventry, 1978; University of York, 1983; University of Birmingham, 1989, University of Loughborough, 1991; Open University, Milton Keynes, 1992. Recipient: Paladino d'Argentino Award, Venice Festival, 1961; *Variety* London Critics Award, 1966; Guild of Directors Award, 1966; *Plays and Players* Award, 1980; Society of West End Theatre Awards, 1980, 1983, 1987; *Evening Standard* Drama Awards, 1980, 1983, 1987; British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) Awards, 1965, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1997; 1998; *TV Times* Funniest Female on Television, 1981–82; American Cable Award, 1988; Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress, 1998; National Society of Film Critics for Best Supporting Actress, 1998; Tony Award for Best Actress in a Play, 1999; Golden Globe for Best Actress in a Mini-Series or Motion Picture Made for Television, 2000; Fellowship of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts, 2001.



**Television Series**

- 1981–84 *A Fine Romance*  
 1992– *As Time Goes By*

**Television Plays**

- 1959 *Family on Trial*  
 1959 *Hilda Lessways*  
 1960 *An Age of Kings*  
 1960 *Pink String and Sealing Wax*  
 1962 *Major Barbara*  
 1963 *The Funambulists*  
 1963 *Made for Each Other (Z Cars)*  
 1964 *Parade's End*  
 1966 *Talking to a Stranger*  
 1966 *Days to Come*  
 1968 *On Approval*  
 1978 *The Comedy of Errors*  
 1978 *Langrishe Go Down*  
 1979 *Macbeth*  
 1979 *On Giant's Shoulders*  
 1979 *A Village Wooing*  
 1980 *Love in a Cold Climate*  
 1981 *Going Gently*  
 1981 *The Cherry Orchard*  
 1983 *Saigon: Year of the Cat*  
 1984 *Playing Shakespeare*  
 1985 *Mr. and Mrs. Edgehill*  
 1985 *The Browning Version*  
 1986 *Ghosts*  
 1989 *Behaving Badly*  
 1990 *Can You Hear Me Thinking?*  
 1990 *The Torch*  
 1991 *Absolute Hell*  
 2000 *The Last of the Blond Bombshells*

**Films**

*The Third Secret*, 1964; *A Study in Terror*, 1966; *He Who Rides a Tiger*, 1966; *Four in the Morning*, 1966; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1968; *The Angelic Conversation* (voice only), 1973; *Luther*, 1973; *The Third Secret*, 1978; *Nela* (voice only), 1980; *Dead Cert*, 1985; *Wetherby*, 1985; *A Room with a View*, 1985; *84 Charing Cross Road*, 1987; *A Handful of Dust*, 1987; *Henry V*, 1990; *Jack and Sarah*, 1994; *Hamlet*, 1995; *Goldeneye*, 1995; *Mrs. Brown*, 1997; *Tomorrow Never Dies*, 1997; *Shakespeare in Love*, 1998; *The World Is Not Enough*, 1999; *Tea with Mussolini*, 1999; *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (narrator), 2000; *Chocolat*, 2001; *Iris*, 2001; *The Shipping News*, 2001; *The Importance of Being Earnest*, 2002; *Die Another Day*, 2002; *The Chronicles of Riddick*, 2004; *Ladies in Lavender*, 2004.

**Stage (actor; selected)**

*Hamlet*, 1957; *Measure for Measure*, 1957; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1957; *Twelfth Night*, 1958; *Henry V*, 1958; *The Double-Dealer*, 1959; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1959; *As You Like It*, 1959; *The Importance of Being Earnest*, 1959; *Richard II*, 1960; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1960; *She Stoops to Conquer*, 1960; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1960; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1961; *Measure for Measure*, 1962; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1962; *A Penny for a Song*, 1962; *Macbeth*, 1963; *Twelfth Night*, 1963; *A Shot in the Dark*, 1963; *The Three Sisters*, 1964; *The Twelfth Hour*, 1964; *The Alchemist*, 1965; *Romeo and Jeannette*, 1965; *The Firescreen*, 1965; *Private Lives*, 1965; *The Country Wife*, 1966; *The Astrakhan Coat*, 1966; *St. Joan*, 1966; *The Promise*, 1966; *A Little Night Music*, 1966; *The Rules of the Game*, 1966; *Cabaret*, 1968; *A Winter's Tale*, 1969; *Women Beware Women*, 1969; *London Assurance*, 1970; *Major Barbara*, 1970; *The Merchant of Venice*, 1971; *The Duchess of Malfi*, 1971; *Toad of Toad Hall*, 1971; *Content to Whisper*, 1973; *The Wolf*, 1973; *The Good Companions*, 1974; *The Gay Lord Quex*, 1975; *Too True to Be Good*, 1975; *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1976; *The Comedy of Errors*, 1976; *King Lear*, 1976; *Pillars of the Community*, 1977; *The Way of the World*, 1978; *Cymbeline*, 1979; *Juno and the Paycock*, 1980; *Village Wooing*, 1981; *A Kind of Alaska*, 1982; *The Importance of Being Earnest*, 1982; *Pack of Lies*, 1983; *Mother Courage*, 1984; *Waste*, 1985; *Mr. and Mrs. Nobody*, 1987; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1987; *Entertaining Strangers*, 1987; *Hamlet*, 1989; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1989; *The Sea*, 1991; *The Plough and the Stars*, 1991; *Coriolanus*, 1992; *The Gift of the Gorgon*, 1992; *The Seagull*, 1994; *Absolute Hell*, 1995; *A Little Night Music*, 1996; *Amy's View*, 1997; *The Royal Family*, 2001.

**Stage (director)**

*Much Ado about Nothing*, 1988; *Look Back in Anger*, 1989; *The Boys from Syracuse*, 1991; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1993.

**Further Reading**

Eyre, Richard, *Utopia and Other Places*, London: Bloomsbury, 1993; revised edition, London: Vintage, 1994  
 Jacobs, Gerald, *Judi Dench: A Great Deal of Laughter*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985  
 Miller, John, *Judi Dench: With a Crack in Her Voice*, New York: Welcome Rain, 2000

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# Denmark

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Since the late 1980s, Danish television has experienced a revolutionary transition from a system of public service broadcasting monopoly to a multichannel system with satellite delivery, national private stations, public service stations, and local stations. This transition caused fundamental changes. The public service tradition historically was rooted in the public sphere, where politicians, citizens' interests groups, and artists took an active role in determining the structure and content of television. In the new television system, these aspects of television are influenced by far more market-oriented concerns.

The first Danish television experiments started in the late 1940s in the radio monopoly Statsradiofonien, later renamed Danmarks Radio and later again *DR*, and for a trial period from 1951 until 1954, there were three hours of transmission weekly. In 1954, television was inaugurated officially in Denmark. The main reason for this delay was a tight economic situation in the postwar period. The minister of finance in the liberal-conservative government was against spending money on television until the electronics industry had convinced him that domestic broadcasting would support the export of television sets. Thus Danish television was conceived as part of industrial and financial policy. In 1953, a new Social Democratic government removed the remaining opposition against television by referring to the "threat" of cultural influence from German television, and since then television policy has indisputably been considered a matter of cultural policy.

Television developed slowly in Denmark because of the economic situation and very high prices of television sets. In 1953, the number of licensed viewers was 800; in 1956, 16,000; and in 1959, 250,000. In the beginning, Statsradiofonien used every opportunity to broadcast popular programs as a tool to attract new viewers in order to increase the revenue derived from license fees on sets. The transmission time per week was extended from 10 hours in 1954 to 25 hours in 1961. From the mid-1960s, television was well established with about one million set owners, and gradually the programming policy was changed to one of more classical public service programming.

Throughout these developments, television has been seen as a powerful medium, and the political parties have wanted to control television as they had controlled radio. Therefore, the existing radio monopoly was ex-

tended for the provision of television. The main ideology was, and to a certain extent still is, that television should be used as a public service in the interest of the citizens in a democratic society. The Social Democratic Party, the labor movement, and strong popular movements have all seen radio and television as a great opportunity for enlightenment, as media that could pass on art and culture to all people in an egalitarian society. In the 1960s and 1970s, television was an integrated part of the development of the Danish welfare state model. Even though the idea of public service television has changed over time because of cultural, political, and management transformations, Danish television has been ruled by some basic public service principles.

Public service television has to be available nationwide to all at an equal, low price (the cost of the license fee and an antenna). Public service television is also obliged to provide a many-sided and manifold programming policy. An overall ambition has been to enlighten the audience culturally and to serve the public with sufficient information so that citizens can participate in the democratic process. Programming must be critical and put all authorities and institutions under scrutiny, and the programming must cater to various interests and needs of small as well as large population groups.

The public service station is obliged to broadcast a substantial amount of nationally produced programs, to participate actively in the creative arts, and to promote artistic and cultural innovation. These principles are important in a relatively small country like Denmark with 5.2 million inhabitants because national programs are much more expensive than imported fare.

Public service has to be independent of all vested interests as well as of specific political interests. Historically, this goal has led to problems. The main issue has been the conflict between the Parliament's legitimate right to create certain general obligations in the public interest and the attempts of the government and the different parties to cultivate specific interests. The demand of independence from all vested interests resulted in the prohibition against any advertising in Danish television until 1988, when the second Danish terrestrial channel, the publicly owned TV 2, started out as a partly commercial and partly license fee-financed station.

Apart from the more classical public service programs, informative, educational, art, and high culture, Danish television from the very beginning broadcast

entertainment such as quiz shows, variety shows, sports, and foreign popular drama. The two types of programming have been broadcast side by side, but in the public debate popular entertainment has generally been depreciated.

Programming in the monopoly era consisted mainly of single programs from among various genres. Only the news was scheduled at the same time every day. People checked the schedule and turned on the set whenever they found something of interest and as a natural choice turned off the set afterward. Concepts such as scheduling, program flow, and formats played no significant role. The concept of the program was the decisive factor in terms of its content, form, and duration, and only a small part of the schedule was serialized. The popularity of a program was secondary to the program idea, and even successful series were scheduled for only 6 or 12 shows—or as long as the producers enjoyed producing them.

Even though public service television in many ways succeeded in Denmark in the monopoly era and even though there has in general been political consensus for maintaining public service television in Denmark, the programming policy has been discussed fiercely within a political and a cultural framework. The formal responsibility for the programming policy in Danmarks Radio was placed in a Radio Council, where the members were appointed by the political parties in accordance with their representation in the Parliament. This organizational construction resulted in a politicized television environment both externally and internally. Danmarks Radio had a privileged position and therefore was under constant monitoring, especially in terms of news coverage and journalistic programs. Politicians from both the right and the left complained over what they perceived as a biased programming policy, and there were continuous debates over whether a given single program should be impartial or whether it was the total output that should be balanced. This question was never solved, and after some fierce battles in the Radio Council in the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, it seemed that the producers gave up progressive ideas and began to practice forms of self-censorship in order to avoid further trouble.

Further, Danmarks Radio developed a paternalistic attitude toward the audience that caused a cultural conflict. Under shelter of the public service obligations to educate, enlighten, and give the public access to a unified culture, the station presented the middle- and high-brow stance of the cultural elite in Copenhagen, and the station showed contempt for the popular culture and the popular products from the entertainment industry. Another contributory cause of this form of paternalism was that the general public was not the pri-

mary audience for the TV stations. It was instead the politicians, who decided the size of the license fee, and the critics and public opinion makers, who gave the only public feedback. The general public was rarely heard, and there were no regular ratings. This attitude and a bureaucratic organization caused some difficulties for Danmarks Radio in adjusting to the new competitive television situation in which the audience is addressed as consumers in a market instead of as citizens in a democratic society.

The transition from a monopoly to a multichannel system began in 1982, when satellite television was introduced in Europe. The “threat” from the sky caused the Danish politicians to strengthen the national terrestrial output as a protection against the influence from foreign TV stations.

When TV 2 was conceived in 1987, the right-wing politicians wanted a private alternative to the monopoly, which in their view was biased in favor of the Social Democratic Party. After a fierce political fight, the right-wing government succeeded in breaking the monopoly but had to compromise on the financial aspect, and TV 2 was launched in 1988 as a nonprofit public service station financed partly by commercials and partly by license fees. The rules for advertising on TV 2 were strict, and even though they have been modified several times, commercials still may appear only between programs.

TV 2 was immediately an innovative force in Danish television with a commercially inspired programming strategy and a more forthcoming attitude toward the audience. As a result, the channel has been a popular success. The most significant rating successes have been persistent scheduling of standardized commercial formats, national and local news, and a variety of Danish entertainment and factual programs. TV 2 had a Danish version of the game show *Wheel of Fortune* airing almost daily since its launch in 1988 until 2001. Furthermore, TV 2 has a great variety of programs and extensive regional programming, so the service has in broad outline fulfilled its public service obligations even though the station lacks sufficient national drama and other expensive program types.

The Danish television model with two competing public nonprofit public service stations has been successful in containing the influence from foreign television stations. The transnational satellite stations have established only a marginal position, even though the cable and satellite penetration increased from 58 percent in 1992 to 70 percent in 2003. In the early and mid-1990s, Danmarks Radio and TV 2 were able to establish a kind of duopoly situation with a combined audience share in 1992 of 75 percent. Danish television viewers want to watch national programs because of

the languages and the cultural heritage. Still, subtitled foreign programs (American and British) are a significant and popular part of the program supply on the national channels.

The main challenge to the public service stations has instead come from private satellite channels aimed at the Danish market and from a network of local stations. The most successful provider has been the Swedish-owned TV3 (Modern Times Group [MTG], a daughter company of Kinnevik). The channel was launched in 1987 from England under British jurisdiction and is therefore allowed to broadcast commercials within single programs. In the beginning, TV3 consisted mainly of American series, some high-profile sports events, and less than 10 percent Danish programs. MTG has over the years launched several channels, and in 2003 the service offers two channels, TV3 and TV31, providing mainly entertainment and sport programs, one all-sports channel (Viasat Sport), and two pay channels with movies. Gradually, TV3 and TV31 have increased the national output of cheaply produced but very popular entertainment shows based mostly on international formats. The biggest successes have been a Danish version of the game show *Robinson*, soccer's Champion League, and Danish soccer. The other significant player is the American-owned Scandinavian Broadcasting System (SBS), which controls a terrestrial network of local stations, TVDanmark 2, with 80 percent national coverage. The local stations provide local programming for one to two hours daily, and the rest is networked entertainment. In 2000, SBS launched a satellite channel from England, TVDanmark 1, with entertainment and sports programs.

DR and TV 2 have responded to the challenge from the commercial channels by launching supplementary satellite channels. DR2 was launched in 1996 using a varied programming strategy with many programs targeting small population groups. A main goal was to relieve the main channel of some of the public service obligations so that the main channel could be more

streamlined. Initially, DR2 was criticized for breaking one of the basic public service principles because the station was not available terrestrially. In 2000, TV 2 launched Zulu, targeting the commercially attractive age-group of 15 to 30 years with mainly entertainment programs.

In 2002, the two public service stations continuously were the most popular with a combined audience share of 70 percent—DR1 had 28%, DR2 4 percent TV 2 35 percent, and Zulu 3 percent. The MTG and SBS channels were taking the lion's share of the remaining viewing time (11 and 7 percent, respectively). The plethora of transnational satellite channels and stations from neighboring countries have established only a marginal position with around 12 percent of the viewing time.

Throughout the revolutionary changes in the Danish television situation, the so-called Danish model, with two nonprofit public service stations, has been very successful in finding a significant new cultural role in the marketplace for modernized public service programming. To the satisfaction of the Danish viewing public, it has been possible to maintain a significant part of the Danish television system within the framework of cultural policy. The public service stations will face new political, technological, and economic challenges in the coming years. The current right-wing government has decided to privatize TV 2 in 2004 as part of a general liberalization of the media market. A privatized TV 2 will, to a large extent, still be prescribed to fulfill the existing public service obligations. The government wants the private TV 2 to continue the current programming policy, even though the financial conditions will be changed dramatically. In 2002, TV 2 had U.S.\$87 million in license fees and \$160 million in advertisement revenues out of a total television advertisement market of \$262 million, so a new private owner of TV 2 will face tremendous financial challenges in an ever-increasing competitive television market on the brink of digitalization.

POUL ERIK NIELSEN

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## DePoe, Norman (1917–1980)

Canadian Broadcast Journalist

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Norman DePoe was a pioneering figure in Canadian television news reporting, one of the heroic figures of frontline journalism. He was among the first of the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC-TV's) high-profile television correspondents and helped establish the traditions of television journalism in



Norman DePoe.

Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

Canada. In the 1960s, he was a national institution, his gruff voice heard in almost every major news report on CBC-TV, when the public broadcaster dominated Canadian television news.

DePoe began his broadcasting career with CBC Radio in 1948, moved to the fledgling television service in 1956, joined the CBC-TV parliamentary bureau in 1959. He was named chief Ottawa correspondent in 1960. He became the first television reporter admitted to the parliamentary press gallery and helped provide legitimacy to the handful of broadcasters (five in 1959) whose attempts to gain admission to the gallery had been strenuously resisted by many newspaper writers. As media historian Allan Levine has put it in *Scrum Wars: The Prime Ministers and the Media* (1993), "DePoe was the first television journalist who could compete on an intellectual level with the other stars of the gallery." He was well read and a skillful writer. Years after he had left the air in 1975, DePoe's hard-edged reporting style continued to set the standard for broadcast journalists. Politicians were quicker than print reporters to identify DePoe as a key player in the gallery and to foresee the dominance of television news in politics.

DePoe's physical features were assets on the screens of the 1960s but in a way that would make him ill suited to the glamorized television newsroom that came later. Raspy voiced and rumped, wrinkled and weary, DePoe cut an oddly romantic figure in the Humphrey Bogart mold. He possessed a prodigious memory and a healthy disregard for those in power, whether they were in political offices, government bureaucracies, or the management suites of the CBC. DePoe was famously contemptuous of producers and was not above criticizing them on air. For him, political reporting was a solitary exercise and at times a splendid joust with those he covered. His contributions to national newscasts were much-envied models of economical incisiveness.

Even during his spell as the principal reporter on national affairs, DePoe was assigned to cover significant political stories in the United States and elsewhere in the world. An unabashed patriot, his comments about U.S. politics could be biting. The visibility afforded by foreign assignments only added to his reputation as an authoritative commentator on politics for the English-language television audience in Canada. For many Canadians in the late 1950s and 1960s, especially rural audiences served by few other national media, he was perhaps the most credible authority on political affairs in Ottawa and elsewhere. It is estimated that he gave some 5,000 television news reports, including coverage of 31 elections, several leadership conventions, and other major political events.

Although DePoe was widely revered, there was another side to his career. He led a romanticized life in journalism, full of the kind of carousing bellicosity often stereotyped in American cinematic treatments of news work. According to a successor in the Ottawa post, he was visibly inebriated during a live stand-up on at least one occasion, and the memoirs of contemporaries are replete with candid anecdotes or unmistakable hints about his rough-edged lifestyle. With respect to gossip about his drinking, he once remarked that "90 percent of the stories are just not true." He fell out of favor with assignment editors in the early 1970s, and in 1975 he returned to radio news, finally retiring in 1976.

At the time of his death in 1980, DePoe was remembered by Knowlton Nash, another of the CBC's well-known correspondents and one-time head of CBC News, as "the most memorable reporter of our lifetime... the most enjoyable, most charismatic, most effective electronic reporter Canada has ever seen, with a colorful, irrepressible style." DePoe was regarded with wary respect by political leaders for his standard of integrity, his toughness, and his incisive reporting.

FREDERICK J. FLETCHER AND ROBERT EVERETT

**Norman DePoe.** Born in Portland, Oregon, May 4, 1917. Educated at the University of British Columbia, 1934–38; University of Toronto, 1946–49. Married: 1) Madeline Myra, 1942, seven children; 2) Mary Elizabeth, 1974. Served as captain, the Royal Canadian Signal Corps, 1938–46. Reporter in CBC's overseas unit, war and postwar reports, 1939–52; joined CBC's News Department, 1948; news editor, *Graphic*, 1956; CBC television parliamentary correspondent, 1952–69; host, *The Public Eye*, 1965–69; interviewer, *Weekend*, 1969–72; host, *Newsmagazine* (later *CBC Newsmagazine*), 1973–75; retired from CBC, 1976. Died in 1980.

#### Television Series

1965–69      *The Public Eye*  
1969–72      *Weekend*  
1973–75      *Newsmagazine*

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## Deregulation

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When applied in the United States, the concept of “deregulation” describes most American electronic media policy of the past three decades. Largely a bipartisan effort, this fundamental shift in the approach of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to radio and television regulation began in the mid-1970s as a search for relatively minor “regulatory underbrush” that could be cleared away for more efficient and cost-effective administration of the important rules that would remain. Congress largely went along with this trend and initiated a few deregulatory moves of its own. The arrival of the Reagan administration and FCC Chairman Mark Fowler in 1981 marked a further shift to a fundamental and ideologically driven reappraisal of regulations long held central to national broadcasting policy. Ensuing years saw removal of many long-standing rules, resulting in an overall reduction in FCC oversight of station and network operations. Congress grew increasingly wary of the pace of deregulation, however, and began to slow the FCC's deregulatory pace by the late 1980s.

Specific deregulatory moves, some undertaken by the FCC and some by Congress, include (a) extending television station licenses from three to five years in 1981 and to eight in 1996; (b) expanding the number of television stations any single entity could own from the long-traditional 7 to 12 in 1985, 18 in the early 1990s, and a larger but not clearly determined number after 1996; (c) loosening restrictions on the number of stations one owner can control in a single market; (d) abolishing guidelines for minimal amounts of non-

entertainment programming in 1985; (e) elimination of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987; (f) dropping in 1985 FCC guidelines on how much advertising could be carried; (g) leaving technical matters largely in the hands of station licensees rather than the FCC; and (h) considerable post-1980 deregulation of cable television, affecting its ownership, rates charged, programs carried, and public interest requirements.

Proponents of deregulation do not perceive station licensees as “public trustees” of the public airwaves, required to provide a wide variety of services to many different listening groups. Instead, broadcasting has been increasingly seen as just another business operating in a commercial marketplace, an industry that did not need its management decisions questioned by government overseers. Opponents argue that deregulation violates key parts of the Communications Act of 1934—especially the requirement that broadcasters operate in the public interest—and allows broadcasters to seek profits with little public service programming required in return. These opponents further contend that certain postderegulation changes in the television industry (the growing number of stations on the air, the increasing number of television networks, and the considerable expansion of cable and other competing services) all provide evidence to support their contentions about deregulation's harmful effects—presumably, the television industry would not have expanded so dramatically if profit-seeking businesses thought they would incur significant costs by serving the public. Backers of deregulation argue, however, that this

growing plethora of competing service options will do more for the public interest than any government policy ever could.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996, although concerned only in small part with electronic media issues, greatly accelerated the pace of deregulation. Furthermore, the George W. Bush administration (beginning in 2001) appeared ready to do away with many of the few remaining television restrictions.

American deregulation has been widely emulated in other countries in spirit if not in detail. Developed and developing countries have introduced local stations to supplement national services; have begun to allow (if not encourage) competing media, such as cable, satellite services, and videocassettes; and have sometimes loosened regulations on traditional radio and television. Advertising support along the lines of the American model has become more widely accepted in other nations, especially as television's operating costs rise. However, the American example of relying on competition more than regulation also threatens many countries' traditional public service broadcasting, which must meet increasing competition for viewers by offering more commercially appealing programs, usually entertainment, rather than culture-based programming.

Since the late 1990s, the dramatic expansion of the Internet has increased the pressure on traditional broadcasters as more consumers turn to web-based information and entertainment resources, often instead of television. The availability of the Internet's many suppliers and services also gives new force to arguments for the deregulation of older services; such a

move, deregulation proponents contend, will allow television to better compete with new media forms.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

*See also* **Federal Communications Commission; License; United States: Cable**

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## Desmond's

### British Situation Comedy

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Produced by Charlie Hanson and Humphrey Barclay, *Desmond's* was first broadcast on Channel 4 in 1989 and finally came to an end in December 1995, a short time before its leading star, Norman Beaton, died. The half-hour weekly program has often been referred to as an "ethnic sitcom" in the sense that it featured a black family and their predominantly black friends. However, the series managed to reach a mainstream audience and thus appeal to viewers of all ages and cultures in Britain. It has also been popular in the Caribbean

and in the United States, where it has been broadcast on the cable network Black Entertainment Television.

*Desmond's* was also distinguished by its West Indian writer, Trix Worrell, previously an actor and graduate from the National Film and Television School in Britain. Although Worrell went on to direct *Desmond's*, the series was initially coproduced and directed by Charlie Hanson. Hanson had previously been an originator and producer for *No Problem!*, Channel 4's first "black comedy" (1982-85). Many have argued that the

*Desmond's* comic formula was more successful than previous "ethnic sitcoms." Although the series has often been compared to *The Cosby Show*, it can be seen as the first light entertainment program to embrace fully the black community within a British context.

The series was based in Desmond's, a barbershop in Peckham. A core group of characters used the shop as a social meeting place. Norman Beaton played Desmond, a West Indian traditionalist, and Carmen Munroe played his loving and supportive wife, Shirley. Together they ran the southeast London barbershop, where their children and friends would often congregate. The couple's children were Gloria (Kim Walker), Sean (Justin Pickett), and Michael (Geff Francis). The dynamics and relationships among these various characters formed the basis of the comedy.

The setting of the program was unique—a black sitcom based in the workplace. The series' antecedents, such as *No Problem!* and *The Fosters*, tended to focus on black family relationships within the family home. The cast of *Desmond's* were not passive characters in a stagnant setting but socially mobile people in multi-racial Britain. In this context, the comedy introduced new types of protagonists, such as Desmond, the black entrepreneur, and his two sons, one an aspiring bank employee and the other a bright student. The characters in *Desmond's* were quite distinct types, neither caricatures nor stereotypes. Worrell was very keen to emphasize differences within the African-Caribbean diaspora, and so the audience was witness to racism and prejudice between, for example, the African eternal student Matthew (Gyearbuor Asante) and the West Indian characters. The series depicted a myriad of types, spanning across generations, lifestyles, and politics, thus dispelling any notion of there being an essential black British subject. Indeed, generational and other differences among characters often triggered the hilarity.

*Desmond's* had its own unique method of team writing. To some extent, it became a training ground for young, multicultural, creative talent. Many aspiring

writers, producers, directors, and production staff members gained experience on the program by learning how to create a long-running fresh situation comedy. Although the series lasted for five years on British television, those involved in the production often mentioned the pressures of producing what was generally perceived as a black comedy. Both Worrell and Hanson have spoken of the expectations placed on them, simply because there were so few other black comedies on television. In the 1992 television documentary *Black and White in Colour*, Hanson commented that "Black situation comedy comes under the microscope far more than any other situation comedy on television." At the same time, the program marked a progression in that most black British sitcoms have tended to focus on dysfunctional families and social problems. Carmen Munroe sees *Desmond's* as a landmark program; in *Black and White in Colour*, she notes that "we have successfully created a space for ourselves, where we can just be a real, honest, loving family, with problems like lots of people, and we can present that with some degree of truth and still not lose the comedy."

SARITA MALIK

#### Cast

Desmond	Norman Beaton
Shirley	Carmen Munroe
Gloria	Kim Walker
Sean	Justin Pickett
Michael	Geff Francis
Matthew	Gyearbuor Asante

#### Producers

Charlie Hanson, Humphrey Barclay

#### Programming History

Channel 4  
1989–95

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## Detective Programs

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Detective programs have been a permanent presence on American television; like their more numerous siblings, police shows, their development enacts in miniature many aspects of the larger history of the medium as a whole. They began as live programs, recycling

prose fiction, movies, and radio shows, the earliest of them such as *Man against Crime* (1949–56, Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], National Broadcasting Company [NBC], Dumont) and *Martin Kane, Private Eye* (1949–54, NBC) conceived and produced in New



York City by advertising agencies. Erik Barnouw's history of American broadcasting discloses that the tobacco sponsors of *Man against Crime* prohibited fires and coughing from all scripts to avoid negative associations with their product and also describes the technical and narrative crudity of these early programs. The length of radio episodes could be gauged accurately by counting the words in the script, but the duration of live action on TV was unpredictable, varying treacherously from rehearsal to actual broadcast. To solve this problem, Barnouw writes, every episode of *Man against Crime* ended with a search that the hero (played by Ralph Bellamy) could prolong or shorten, depending on the time available.

Even the earliest detective shows can be subdivided into recognizable subgenres. *Man against Crime* and *Martin Kane* are simple versions of the hard-boiled private eye, a figure invented in the 1920s in stories and novels by Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler and reincarnated in the movies of Humphrey Bogart and other tough-guy actors. Other 1950s series recycle detectives in the cerebral, puzzle-solving tradition of Agatha Christie and Arthur Conan Doyle, author of the Sherlock Holmes stories. The character Holmes makes his first appearance on American television in 1954 in a syndicated filmed series that lasts only a single season. Ellery Queen, an American Sherlock Holmes, is born in a cycle of popular novels beginning in 1929, transfers to radio a decade later in a long-running weekly program, and migrates to television in 1950 in a live series, *The Adventures of Ellery Queen* (1950–51, Dumont; 1951–52, American Broadcasting Company [ABC]). This is the first of four series devoted to Ellery Queen, a mystery writer and amateur detective who is the direct inspiration for Angela Lansbury's long-running character in *Murder, She Wrote* (1984–96, CBS). The classic whodunit pleasures of *Ellery Queen*—as well as its relative indifference to social or psychological realism—are crystallized in its structure: Queen's adventures in all media usually conclude with a summary of the story's clues and a challenge to the reader or viewer to solve the mystery before Ellery himself supplies the answer in the epilogue.

A third subgenre of the detective story also makes an early appearance in the new medium. A hybrid of screwball comedy and mystery, this format usually centers on the adventures of a married or romantically entangled couple, amateurs in detection who are often distracted in the face of villainy and mortal danger by their own erotically charged quarrels. Examples include *Boston Blackie* (1951–53, syndicated), *Mr. and Mrs. North* (1952–53, CBS; 1954, NBC), and, a bit later, *The Thin Man* (1957–59, NBC). Each of these escapist half comedies placed more emphasis on interpersonal badinage than on the realities of urban crime,

although the social whirl of the modern city was often a background in all three series.

Like most television detectives of the 1950s, these protagonists had originated in older media. A durable embodiment of disreputable and elegant self-reliance, Blackie first appears in American magazine stories at the turn of the century, a jewel thief who moves easily in high society and has served time in prison but now prevents crime instead of committing it. Surreptitious and resilient, he turns up in silent films and reappears in sound movies and on radio in the 1940s. Still quick with a wisecrack, he is more respectable in his TV incarnation than his prototypes in the older media, according to several commentators, and, aided by a girlfriend named Mary and a dog named Whitey, is said to have been remodeled in the image of the movie version of Nick Charles, hero of *The Thin Man*, who is also in partnership with a woman and a dog.

*Mr. and Mrs. North* has a similar mixed-media ancestry, originating in prose fiction in 1940 by a writing couple, Richard and Frances Lockridge, then in the very next year is thrice reborn—in a Broadway play, in a Hollywood movie starring Gracie Allen as Mrs. North, and, most durably, in a weekly radio series that runs on CBS and later NBC until 1956, outlasting the TV series to which it gave rise. Gracie Allen's presence in this catalog is a decisive clue to the stereotype of the lovably addled female on which *Mr. and Mrs. North* relies.

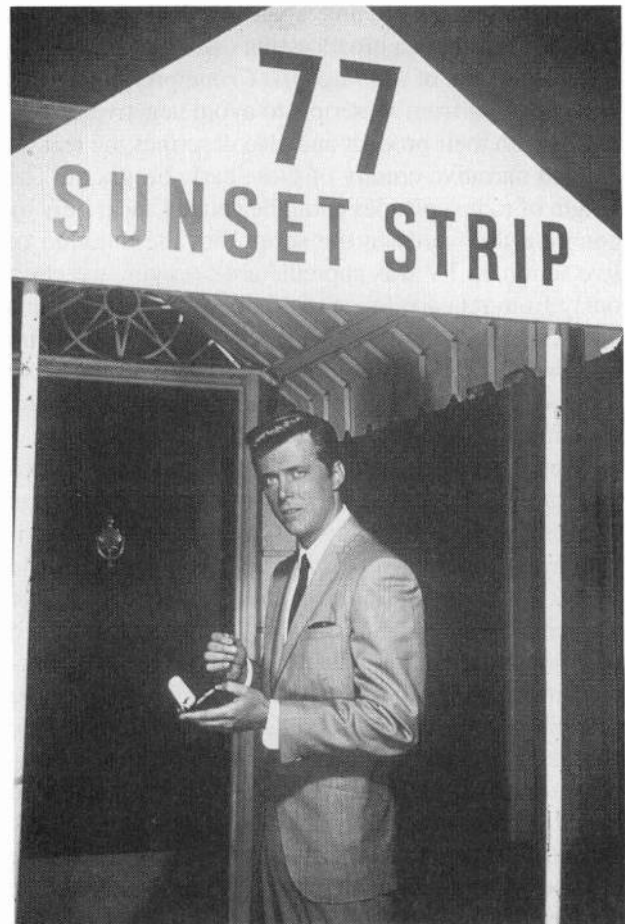
No such stereotype mars *The Thin Man*, but despite an energetic performance by Phyllis Kirk as Nora, the TV version is a mere derivative echo of its famous predecessors, Hammett's 1934 novel and especially the series of five MGM movies starring William Powell and Myrna Loy as Nick and Nora Charles (1934, 1936, 1939, 1941, 1944). The Kirk character hints at what comes across with charming serious authority in Myrna Loy's definitive Nora: unlike her imitators and competitors, this woman is no mere sidekick but rather her detective husband's true moral and intellectual equal: a rare female in this masculine genre.

Following the success of *I Love Lucy* (1951–61, CBS) and *Dragnet* (1952–59; revived, 1967–70, NBC; and yet again 2003–, ABC), both filmed in Hollywood, production shifts to film and to the West Coast, and the economic structure of the new medium is stabilized: production companies sell programs to the networks, which peddle commercial slots to advertisers who have no direct creative control over programming. The standard format for crime shows changes from 30 minutes to an hour in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and crime series begin to exhibit a richer audiovisual texture, learning to exploit such defining features of television as its reduced visual field and the mandatory commercial interruptions.

Such an embrace of some of television's distinctive features surely helps explain the success of the Raymond Burr *Perry Mason* (1957–66, CBS), one of the first TV series to achieve greater complexity—and popularity—than the books and radio episodes from which it derives. An American version of the whodunit, the program is a kind of primer on the uses and gratifications of genre formulas. Both a courtroom melodrama and a detective story, its appeal to viewers and its power as drama are grounded in TV-specific features. Its highly segmented narrative structure, for example, exploits the commercial interruptions, organizing the plot in predictable units that offer viewers the simultaneous pleasures of recognizable variations (different performers, settings, motives, and so on) within a familiar, orderly pattern. Every episode begins with a minidrama, establishing a roster of plausible suspects for the murder in which it culminates. Every episode dramatizes the arrest and imprisonment of Perry's client, known to be innocent by the very fact that Perry has taken on the defense. The second half hour of every episode is always a courtroom trial in which Perry's deductive genius and brilliance in cross-examination combine to force a confession from the real murderer. Every episode contains an explanatory epilogue, often at table in a restaurant or other convivial space signifying the restoration of normality and order, in which Perry discloses the chain of reasoning that led him to the truth. This intensification of the structural constraints inherent in the format of the weekly series strengthens what must be called the mythic or ritual content of *Perry Mason*: an endlessly renewing drama of murder, justice perverted, and justice redeemed.

The very title sequence of *Perry Mason* signals something of the way TV drama by the late 1950s had begun to develop an appropriately minimized audiovisual vocabulary: a confident, swooping camera glides through a courtroom to a close-up of the hero, its graceful dipping motion a visual tracing of the rhythms of Fred Steiner's dramatic theme music.

Similar audiovisual effects are intermittently present in two notable series created by Blake Edwards, *Richard Diamond, Private Detective* (1957–60, CBS, NBC) and *Peter Gunn* (1958–61, NBC, ABC), both of which center on wisecracking heroes whose sexual bravado is more important to their appeal than their brains or their marksmanship. *Richard Diamond's* place in TV history is secured by two of its cast members: the protagonist was played by a young David Janssen, smooth faced, not furtive, and just learning to mumble, in rehearsal for his memorable work in *The Fugitive* (1963–67, ABC) and *Harry O* (1974–76, ABC), and the role of *Diamond's* throaty secretary belonged briefly in 1959 to Mary Tyler Moore, who received no billing in the credits and, in keeping with the macho ob-



*77 Sunset Strip*, Edd Byrnes as Kookie, 1958–64.  
©Mark Marmor/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

jection of women common in detective mythology, was shown on camera only from the waist down.

Especially in its music, *Peter Gunn* was a more compelling program than *Richard Diamond*, though its plots were reductive and often as violent as those of *The Untouchables* (1959–64, ABC), notorious even in its own day for its surfeit of murder. Henry Mancini's original jazz variations (later collected in two best-selling albums) provided an elegant, haunting accompaniment to the show's moody, film-noirish editing and camera work. Gunn himself, portrayed in a minimalist physical style by Craig Stevens, often repaired to a nightclub called "Mother's," where his girlfriend Edie Hunt (Lola Albright) sang jazz (and wore extreme décolletage) for a living.

*Peter Gunn* had a genuine individuality, but its half-hour episodes, photographed in black and white, must have seemed obsolete by the end of the decade. Hour-long series, shot in glossy, high-key color in exotic locales and filled with physical action became the standard during the 1960s. In a sense, this trend was part of the industry project of finding ways to adapt action-

adventure material to the exigencies of the small screen. Car chases and acrobatic action were not impossible on television, though such things could never be as riveting here as in the movies. But artful editing and clever camera placement—emphasizing action in depth that moved toward or away from the camera and avoided trajectories that ran across the screen into its confining borders—could create plausibly exciting effects. Glossy production values, then, often as an end in themselves, set the tone for most TV detectives of the 1960s.

One of the founding programs in this gloss-and-glamour mode was *77 Sunset Strip* (1958–64, ABC), produced by Warner Brothers and created by Roy Huggins from his own 1946 novel. The theme music and lyrics for the show aimed for a tone of jive, youthful “cool” and included the sound of snapping fingers. The show appealed strongly to younger viewers, primarily through the character of a jive-talking parking lot attendant called “Kookie” (Edd Byrnes), who was perpetually combing his luxuriant wavy hair and trying to persuade the detective heroes, played by Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., and Roger Smith, to let him work on their investigations. The series title named the agency’s upscale Hollywood address, but many episodes required travel to exotic foreign locales where the camera could ogle wealth and pulchritude. Roger Smith wrote and directed the most memorable episode of the series, “The Silent Caper” (first telecast June 3, 1960), in which the hero learns about a mob kidnapping from newspaper headlines in the opening sequence and proceeds to rescue the distressed damsel in a series of heroic improvisations, the entire adventure unfolding without a single line of dialogue.

In this period of what might be called technical exploration, the private-eye genre, like other forms of action-adventure, remains essentially plot driven, and despite the fact that the protagonist returns each week for new adventures, every episode remains self-contained, void of any memory of prior episodes. Often subtle visually but superficial in content, some of these programs even differentiated their heroes by strangely external and implausible attributes. *Cannon* (1971–76, CBS), played by William Conrad, was balding and fat, but his excessive weight and his fittingly cumbersome Lincoln Continental did not noticeably inhibit his scriptwriters, who provided fisticuffs and races by foot and by vehicle sufficient to challenge an Olympic athlete or Grand Prix driver. Even more implausibly, James Franciscus’s *Longstreet* (1971–72, ABC) was blind and brought his seeing-eye dog and a special electronic cane to all investigations.

*Barnaby Jones* (1973–80, CBS) starred an aged Buddy Ebsen at the end of a long career that had apparently culminated in the role of Jed Clampett, patriarch of *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71, CBS). The

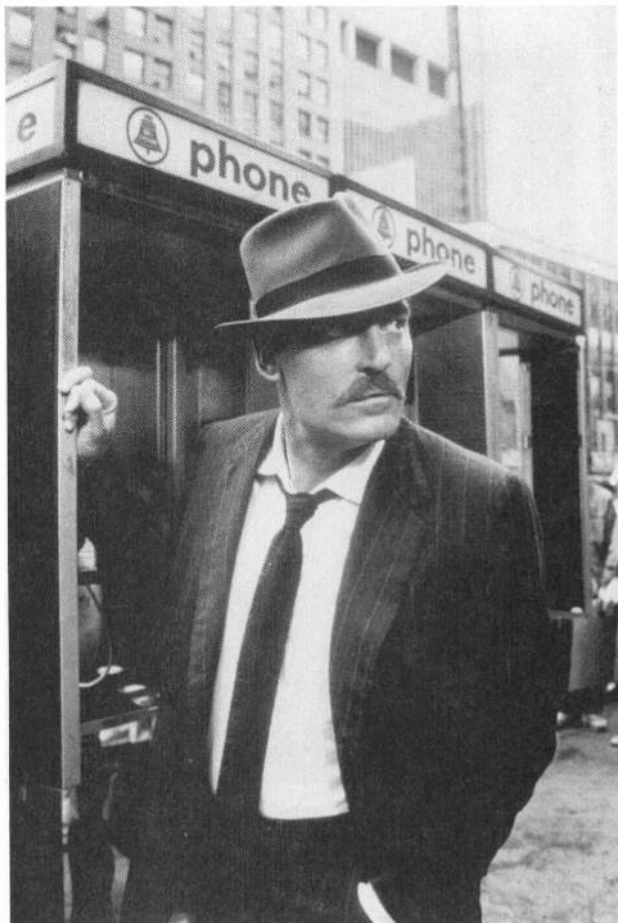


*Honey West*, Anne Francis, 1965–66.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

later detective series turned its protagonist’s geriatric aura to some use by emphasizing his country slyness and old-fashioned integrity, but there was unintended irony, a reminder of Ebsen’s visible decrepitude, in this remark by his policeman friend Lieutenant Biddle (John Carter) in an episode first broadcast in 1976: “Barnaby, if I ever get to heaven I expect I’ll find you there first, checking out the pearly gates for me.”

*Mannix* (1967–75, CBS) was perhaps the representative private-eye series of the era. Played by the rugged and athletic Mike Connors, Mannix was not physically challenged, but one might be tempted to doubt his brainpower, for he was quick to the punch and seemed to conduct most of his investigations by assault and battery. This thoughtless tough-guy element was so pronounced that, as Brooks and Marsh report, it incited the radio comedians Bob and Ray to create a continuing parody of the program, titled *Blimmix*, “in which the hero always held a polite conversation with some suspect, calmly agreeing that mayhem was the only answer, and then was invariably beaten to a pulp.”

Finally, in its third or “mature” stage, roughly corresponding to the mid-1970s and beyond, the private-eye series combines the visual subtlety achieved over more than 25 years of such programming with a new complexity in content. The best detective shows develop a



Mike Hammer: *Private Eye*, Stacy Keach, 1984–87.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

memory, the hero's prior adventures bear on his current ones, and characters from earlier episodes or seasons reappear, adding complexity to themes and relationships. In the richest such programs, character, not violent action, drives the story, and the subject matter itself engages reality more seriously and topically than the muscle-flexing violence of earlier shows had generally allowed.

*Harry O* (1974–76, ABC) and *The Rockford Files* (1974–80, NBC) are the primary examples of these principles of accretion and refinement. Equivalent instances among police shows are *Police Story* (1973–77, NBC), *Hill Street Blues* (1981–87, NBC), *NYPD Blue* (1993–, ABC), *Law and Order* (1990–, NBC) and *Homicide* (1993–1999, NBC). But a significant minority of other detective series beginning in the 1970s and after also achieve new levels of excellence and imaginative energy, combining memorable acting with elegant cinematography and, often, superior writing to become, at the least, provocative entertainment.

*Columbo* (1971–77, NBC; continuing as an occasional TV movie), was technically a *policier* but in spirit one of American television's wittiest variations on the mystery-puzzle format: the detective as triumphant (and dogged) rationalist as well as working-class avenger, writer-producers Richard Levinson and William Link's most memorable creation. *Tenafly* (1973–74, NBC) was a short-lived but thoughtful series centered on a black private eye, played by James McEachin, whose gentleness and husbandly decency undermine many media stereotypes.

*Magnum, PI* (1980–88, CBS) starred Tom Selleck as an engaging and self-deprecating Vietnam veteran living in the guest cottage on a picturesque estate in an even more picturesque Hawaii; Magnum's character deepened as the series continued, and some episodes explored the show's relation to its detective-story ancestry with modesty and wit. *Moonlighting* (1985–89, ABC) was a frequently brilliant though also abrasive postmodern variation on the *Thin Man* formula, with Bruce Willis and Cybill Shepherd trading insults and cracking wise through the run of the series.

But *Harry O* and *Rockford* are the most compelling private detectives in television history. Both series are the work of writers, directors, and producers with long experience in the crime genre and a specific history of collaboration with their stars. Janssen's creative ensemble included Howard Rodman, creator of the show and writer of the two pilot films that led to the series; producer-director Jerry Thorpe; directors Paul Wendkos, Richard Lang, and Jerry London; and writers Michael Sloan, Robert C. Dennis, Stephen Kandel, and Robert Dozier. Garner's collaborators included his former agent-turned-executive producer Meta Rosenberg and such TV veterans as Roy Huggins, Stephen J. Cannell, Juanita Bartlett, Chas. Floyd Johnson, and David Chase, some of whom had worked with him in movies and in his earliest jobs in television. (Chase joined the show as a producer in 1976 and wrote or co-wrote 18 episodes, several of which deal with New Jersey mobsters who are clear ancestors of the characters in *The Sopranos*, the landmark Home Box Office [HBO] series Chase created in 1999.)

Antiheroic in tone, both series draw creatively on their stars' previous work and also reflect something of the legacy of the antiwar movement and the broad social turmoil of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In a way, both Harry and Rockford are adult dropouts, living unpretentiously along the beaches of southern California. (Rockford's minimal domicile is actually a mobile home.) But both protagonists are a generation older than the youthful protestors of that era, and they project a wariness and skepticism that seem to originate not in naïveté or adolescent discontent but in part



*Kojak*, Telly Savalas, 1973–78.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

in the muddles, disillusionments, even the physical humiliations of middle age.

Janssen's Orwell especially is a figure of pain and diminished expectations, divorced and solitary, living on a disability pension from the San Diego Police Department. Fitting himself with rueful slowness into his broken-down toy of a sports car, middle aged and sagging like its owner, or stiffly climbing the wooden steps of his rickety beach house, he seems a subversively modest hero, the fugitive grown older and wiser.

Less melancholy and wincing than *Harry O*, *Rockford* is unpretentious and decent, equally postheroic, probably the only TV detective to spend more time nursing his own injuries than inflicting hurt on others. Both *Rockford* and *Orwell* are great wheedlers, more likely to coddle or flatter information out of their sources than to threaten them. "Why should I answer you?" asks an officious bureaucrat in one episode of *Harry O*. Janssen's response is characteristic, a half-audible mumble, delayed for a moment as he settles on the edge of the bureaucrat's desk: "Because my feet hurt?"

*Rockford* is the richer, more various and more playful text, partly because it had the advantage of lasting six years, while *Harry O* was canceled abruptly after its second season despite reasonably strong ratings, possibly a casualty of the crescendo of complaints against media violence that developed in the mid-1970s.

Like the police series that appear in the same "late" period of the network era, *Rockford* is something of a hybrid, combining elements of comedy and the daytime continuing serial with the private-eye format. Though *Rockford's* adventures are self-contained, usually concluding within the confines of a single episode, his father "Rocky" (Noah Beery) and a wide circle of friends and professional colleagues are recurring characters, and the momentum of their lives as well as their unstable, shifting intimacy with *Rockford* himself deepen and complicate the program. The recurring women in *Rockford*—Jim's tough, competent lawyer Beth Davenport (Gretchen Corbett); the blind psychologist Megan Dougherty (Kathryn Harrold), a client who becomes Jim's lover; and Rita Capkovic (Rita Moreno), a resilient, loquacious prostitute who enlists *Rockford's* help in changing her life—exhibit qualities of intelligence, moral courage, and independence rare in women characters in our popular culture and virtually nonexistent among the dolls and molls of detective stories.

"I hope these nuances are not escaping you, Orwell," says Lieutenant Trench (Anthony Zerbe), *Harry's* police contact, in a typically abrasive encounter during his second season. *Harry* shakes his head. For viewers of *Harry O* and *The Rockford Files*, his answer ramifies: "I'm very good at nuances."

Private-eye series were scarce in the television of the affluent 1980s and 1990s, the years of Reagan and Clinton and the Internet stock market bubble, though police shows continued to thrive. As the broadcast era yielded to the dubious plenitude of cable and satellite television, the prime-time schedule came to be dominated by "reality programming," and the old genres, at least for a time, fell into disrepute. Moreover, the medium's preference for law-and-order heroes working for the police or government agencies was much intensified after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Loner protagonists sympathetic to underdogs and suspicious of authority disappeared even from the reruns.

The only notable private detective of the early years of new millennium, *Monk* (USA 2002– ) rejects even the modest subversions of *Harry O* or *Rockford*. Wonderfully acted by Tony Shaloub (who won an Emmy Award in 2003 for best actor in a comedy series for his portrayal of *Monk*), *Monk* is a former cop on medical leave, suffering from obsessive-compulsive disorder. A variation of the *Columbo* formula, though less carefully scripted than its classic ancestor, *Monk* is a private-eye

show in name only, for its protagonist works as a special consultant for the San Francisco Police Department on cases that are cerebral puzzles or locked-door mysteries. The detective's character is compelling in this escapist series, and the plots are routine and derivative. Afraid of heights, germs, physical contact, and compulsively driven to straighten, repair, and disinfect the world's disorder, Monk cannot function without his nurse-protector Sharona (Bitty Schram), a female Watson for this phobic, American Sherlock Holmes.

Valuable as a corrective to the still-widespread notion that TV programs and especially crime shows are interchangeable and entirely ephemeral, the essentially internal history proposed here must be complicated and supplemented by other perspectives. Cultural studies or anthropological approaches would understand the TV detective show as part of a larger project in which the conventions of genre function in part as enabling devices, their reassuring familiarity licensing an exploration of topics that might otherwise be too disturbing or threatening to acknowledge or discuss openly. On this view, all television programs, and particularly the prime-time genres, collectively sustain an open-ended, ongoing conversation about the nature of American culture, about our values and the norms of social life. Cop and private-eye shows are fables of justice, heroism, and deviancy, symbolically or imaginatively "policing" the unstable boundaries that define public or consensus ideas about crime, urban life, gender norms, and the health or sickness of our institutions. The progression, that is, from *Dragnet* to *Hill Street Blues* and thence to the *Law and Order* spin-offs and surveillance fables generated by the terror of September 11, discloses aspects of a social history of our society. But this is not a simple affirmation of such stories or of some comforting progress myth. For our genre texts carry and rehearse and diffuse the lies, the prejudices, and the self-delusions of our society as well as its ideals. *Harry O* and *Rockford* share the

prime-time schedule with *Mannix* and *Charlie's Angels* (1976–81, ABC). Inevitably ambivalent, in conflict with themselves, genre stories reflect and embody cultural divisions.

A chief virtue, then, of television's most fundamental of all programs, the series, is precisely that it is continuing and, theoretically, endless. In this, the TV series embodies a useful truth: that culture itself is a process—not any fixed thing at all but a shifting, ongoing contention among traditional and emerging voices, forces, and ideologies.

DAVID THORBURN

*See also Columbo; Hill Street Blues; Homicide: Life on the Street; Law and Order; Magnum, PI; Moonlighting; Murder, She Wrote; NYPD Blue; Perry Mason; Police Story; Rockford Files, The*

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## Development

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The term "development" refers to the process in U.S. television program production (usually involving prime-time dramatic series) whereby a network pays an outside program supplier or the program producer to develop a potential series. This often involves an elaborate step deal, beginning with a verbal pitch of

the series concept by the supplier. If the network is interested, it provides funds with which to develop story and script and eventually the actual production of a pilot or the originating episode of the series. The network may or may not choose to air the pilot; if the pilot is run and performs satisfactorily, the network may de-



cide to “pick up” the series for its regular schedule. The networks develop far more programs than they can possibly air, and thus program development clearly favors the networks despite the mutual dependency between buyers and suppliers. Indeed, program development well indicates the networks’ long-standing control over television programming, which they maintain today, even in the age of cable.

This was not the case in the early years of U.S. network television, when the industry relied primarily on the “radio model” of program development. As in network radio, television programs were conceived and produced by advertising agencies on behalf of sponsors. The agencies also decided which network would air the program and in many cases the actual time slot on the network schedule. The radio model proved untenable in the burgeoning TV industry, however, for three principal reasons. First, the increasing cost and complexity of TV series production made it difficult for sponsors to underwrite shows and for ad agencies to produce them. Second, the heavy emphasis on ratings and on scheduling meant that the ad agency’s and sponsor’s notion of an appropriate program and time slot might not (and often did not) jibe with the network’s strategy for attracting and maintaining the largest possible audience during the crucial evening hours. And third, it was becoming ever more obvious that syndication (off-network reruns) would generate huge revenues for the companies that owned the programs and controlled their off-network afterlife. Thus, the networks gradually took control of programming and scheduling in the late 1950s, which had significant impact on TV program development.

Network control of programming was severely undercut in the early 1970s, however, which had a tremendous impact on the process—and the standardization—of program development. In the 1972–73 season, the networks’ collective control of the television industry was challenged, primarily on antitrust grounds, by the Justice Department, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The most significant of these challenges in terms of programming (and development) were the FCC’s so-called fin-syn (financial interest and syndication) regulations, which restricted the networks’ right to finance and syndicate programs. As a direct result, program development quickly evolved from a haphazard, informal process to a standardized and heavily regulated set of procedures. With most prime-time dramatic series production now being farmed out, development became the primary focus of the industry—particularly the growing ranks of mid-management “development executives” at both the networks and the program suppliers.

Program development under fin-syn regulations was a rule-bound, pitch-to-pilot ritual. The pitch had to be verbal since anything in writing required a contractual agreement. If the network-buyer was sufficiently interested in the pitch, the supplier was contracted to develop the concept into a story treatment (synopsis), then into one or more scripts, and then into an actual series pilot. Depending on the supplier’s track record and clout with the network, there might be guarantees with regard to airing the pilot or even picking up the series—a so-called play-or-pay deal. But for the most part, series development was a high-cost, high-risk venture, with the supplier sharing the risk because the costs for producing a pilot often exceeded what the network paid. In most cases, this investment was simply lost since even successful TV producers could expect only about 10 percent of the series they developed to actually be picked up by a network.

Suppliers were more willing than ever to take the risks since fin-syn assured them the ownership and syndication rights to their series. The potential syndication payoff also increased dramatically in the late 1970s because of cable, which created a surge in the number of independent television stations and thus a wider market for off-network reruns. The emergence of cable networks and superstations in the 1980s further complicated program development by increasing the number of program buyers and also by enhancing the off-network currency of even moderately successful series. Moreover, cable brought back the first-run syndicated dramatic series (most notably via *Star Trek: The Next Generation* in 1986), which had been phased out in the 1960s. These factors, along with the network penchant for “quick-yank” cancellation of weak series after only a few episodes, rendered development an even more crucial and pervasive aspect of the industry in the cable era. By the early 1990s, according to *Broadcasting* magazine, “70% to 80% of a network’s costs [were] tagged to program development.”

Program development persisted in the mid-1990s, although a number of trends in the television and cable industries, and in the “entertainment industry” at large, may very well increasingly affect the process in the new millennium. One trend has been the move by several studios (FOX, Warner Brothers, and Paramount) to create their own broadcast or cable networks, thereby serving not only as program suppliers but as buyers and distributors as well. A related trend involves the recent wave of mergers and acquisitions as media conglomerates move into every phase of production, distribution, and exhibition. Yet another related trend involves the deregulation of the television industry, most notably the 1995 scaling back of the FCC’s fin-syn regulations.

Now that the networks again can finance and syndicate their own programs, merging with suppliers is not only logical but inevitable.

Nevertheless, program development persists for a number of reasons. First, development has been part of the industry's entrenched bureaucracy since the 1970s, and it will not be easily or readily dismantled. Second, although the networks clearly favor their in-house suppliers, the highly competitive nature of television programming necessarily will encourage the networks to look outside for fresh ideas or, even more likely, for top talent—especially proven writer-producers and established stars who wish to maintain a degree of independence. Finally, and perhaps most important, the networks have grown accustomed to developing far more programs than they actually can purchase or schedule. This enables them to keep their options open, to test-market potential series, and to share the risks of development. Program suppliers continue to accommodate the networks because the long-term syndication payoff is still much higher for a series that has aired on a major broadcast network. Thus, program development remains a buyer's market and a routine industry practice even in the era of cable, deregulation, and me-

dia mergers, with the networks enjoying considerable industry power.

THOMAS SCHATZ

**See also Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; Media Conglomerates; Mergers and Acquisitions**

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## Development Communication

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Communication for development involves the strategic application of communication processes and technologies to advance socially beneficial goals. These interventions are implemented by development agencies and social movement organizations in their efforts to engage social change. Although development projects typically transfer resources from wealthy nations to those with fewer financial means, these strategies are appropriately used in any community involved in social change.

Building on a broad understanding of television as a dominant social and cultural force in our societies, development planners attempt to use this tool in their strategic interventions. Early development communication scholars encouraged the introduction of television systems as a symbol of modernity. As many countries began to gain their political sovereignty following World War II, national politicians used development assistance to build media systems, seen as a way to disseminate national development agendas. Television and other media systems were assumed to

help foster empathy among individuals as a precursor to democratic participation and economic entrepreneurship. The underlying model of media effects advocated in this approach assumed that television would help diffuse information to a receptive audience.

One of the earliest examples of television used in development communication comes from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)-India Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE). Indian and U.S. space agencies coordinated satellite television service to more than 2,000 villages in the mid-1970s. Television programming on these channels was designed to address a number of development concerns, such as family planning, agriculture, education, national integration, and health.

Television continues to be frequently used in social marketing and entertainment education strategies, two dominant models of development communication practice. In the first approach, public service commercials are created to disseminate information to targeted



audiences. The marketing orientation is differentiated from advertising in its emphasis on audience behavior change rather than exposure to the mediated message. Advertisements produced by nonprofit organizations, promoting topics such as family planning, nutrition, and vaccinations, fit this social marketing model.

Entertainment education programs differ from social marketing campaigns in that they incorporate socially beneficial messages into longer narratives rather than rely on short segments between other programs. Entertainment education projects attempt to appeal to audiences interested in fictional programs while offering strategic messages designed to change knowledge, attitudes, or behaviors. Indian television, for example, devoted a serial, *Hum Log*, to addressing family issues, such as limiting fertility and promoting gender equity.

Many of these development interventions are designed to diffuse information to targeted audiences. The hierarchical nature of this dominant diffusion model has been critiqued on both ethical and efficacy grounds. These critiques inspired the growth of a participatory approach to development communication based on the principle that communities should share in the definition and resolution of social problems rather than be mere receptacles of information determined by external development agencies.

How participation actually becomes interpreted in development projects can vary greatly. Development institutions interested in creating efficient and effective projects understand participation as formative research or needs assessments. Social marketing projects, for example, involve extensive interviews and conversations with intended beneficiaries in project planning stages. A television advertisement would be created only after beneficiaries had been consulted in their understanding of the problem and possible solutions and in their reactions to types of messages, sources, visuals, and other aspects of the campaign. These types of interventions utilize participation as a means toward an end, defined by the institution itself.

Other development institutions concerned with the ethical aspects of participation are more likely to conceive of participation as an end in itself regardless of project outcomes. Community members are encouraged to define their own social problems and to engage actively in their resolution. Some projects, for example, teach video production skills so that local participants can create their own mediated texts, building on what came to be known as the "Fogo Process" after Canadian development strategies implemented it in the mid-1980s.

Another form of development communication engages media as a site for resistance against dominant power structures and ideologies. Social movement or-

ganizations may actively use television channels to mobilize supporters, gain public support, counter dominant ideas, and offer alternative frames. Media advocacy strategies target television news, along with other channels, to draw attention to particular issues. In an early example, a media advocacy campaign contrasted actual with toy guns, with little discernible difference between them, producing compelling visuals that were then used in television news stories.

Across many different approaches to development communication, television is a popular medium. This channel may be a particularly effective means of reaching audiences for whom televisions are affordable. In areas where access to television is limited, however, any benefits accrued through televised campaigns remain with the elite. Current enthusiasm regarding interactive and computer-integrated television formats must again be subject to this concern with access. Given that fewer than one-quarter of the world's population have access to computer technologies, television's interactive potential remains a privileged resource.

Traditional evaluations of development communication projects assess a hierarchy of effects, charting exposure to the disseminated message, knowledge gained, attitudes formed, and behavior changed. With adequate political and economic support, along with appropriate theoretical understanding of the issues and communities engaged, development communication projects have the potential to contribute to social change. The first step requires that the targeted audiences have access to the information. This does not necessarily require that televisions be individually owned but that people have some place to watch them, even in a community setting. Some campaigns specifically target knowledge, such as teaching modes of HIV transmission, whereas others focus on attitudes, such as reinforcing more equitable gender roles. Others build on knowledge and attitudes to encourage behavior change, such as the cessation of smoking, boiling water, or using condoms. Although changing behavior occurs considerably less frequently in response to communication campaigns than contributing to knowledge or reinforcing attitudes, this level of success is possible particularly when communities identify with the concern addressed and have the appropriate means suggested for the problem's resolution. Evaluations on the effects of these communication campaigns demonstrate that limited success can occur if social and cultural circumstances warrant the campaign and if political and economic resources adequately support it.

In addition to considering the possible manifest and latent consequences of interventions, communication for development needs to be understood within politi-

cal and economic processes and structures. As a discourse, development communicates the agenda of a powerful few, with the ability to define problems and create knowledge toward their resolution. Development intervention allocates resources and articulates ideologies across cultural and political boundaries within a global sphere. It is important to question how television works to facilitate or constrain development communication.

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**Diana.** See **Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage**

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## Dick Van Dyke Show, The

U.S. Situation/Domestic Comedy

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Even more than *I Love Lucy* or *The Honeymooners*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, which ran from 1961 to 1966 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), ushered in the golden age of the situation comedy, poised as it was on the threshold between the comedy-variety star vehicles of the 1950s (frequently still grounded in vaudeville) and the neorealist sociocomedies of the early 1970s (whose mainstay Mary Tyler Moore carried *The Dick Van Dyke Show's* pedigree). It was among the first network series to bring itself electively to closure in the manner of *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *Cheers* and has proven one of the most resilient in syndication. As social document, it managed to operate largely contemporaneously with the New Frontier and the thousand days of the Kennedy presidency.

The show was largely the autobiographical exegesis of Carl Reiner, whose previous tenure in workaday television had been with the legendary stable of writers surrounding *Your Show of Shows* and the Sid Caesar sketch vehicles of the mid-1950s. This same group went on to literally redefine American humor: on the

Broadway stage (Neil Simon), on the high and low roads of screen comedy (Woody Allen and Mel Brooks, respectively), and in television, both early and late (Larry Gelbart, *M\*A\*S\*H*). But first and foremost was *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, based loosely on Reiner's 1958 novel *Enter Laughing* (he directed a tepid screen version in 1967), in which his Alan Brady is a thinly veiled Caesar—a comic monster, sporadically seen but ubiquitously felt.

Brady's writing staff comprises the college-educated Rob Petrie (the eponymous Dick Van Dyke), assigned to interject new blood into his team of more experienced subordinates, Buddy Sorrell (Morey Amsterdam) and Sally Rogers (Rose Marie), loosely patterned after *Show of Shows* writers Mel Brooks and Selma Diamond. This sense of autobiography even stretched to the Petries' New Rochelle address (Reiner's own, save for a single digit) as well as his immediate family (his son Rob Reiner in turn became the archetypal early 1970s postadolescent as Michael Stivic on *All in the Family*, raising certain intriguing Freudian possibilities in the evolution of the sitcom

genre). Rounding out the domestic American Century optimism is Rob's wife, Laura (Mary Tyler Moore).

As author David Marc has noted, for all intents and purposes, the movies destroyed vaudeville once and for all and, as a form of penance, made it into a kind of "biblical era of modern mass culture." This impulse was inherited wholesale by television of the 1950s (a quick survey of *I Love Lucy* reruns should suffice to illustrate this point), and it was in turn carried forward rather elegiacally in the many blackouts built into this show within a show. Van Dyke, a gifted physical performer, never missed an opportunity to reprise his mewling Stan Laurel or engage in a bit of Catskills shtick (invariably veiled in nostalgia). Entire episodes were given over to aging radio scribes or vaudeville fixtures who had been brushed aside by the space-age wonder of broadcast TV. Even sidekicks Buddy and Sally, real-life vaudeville veterans, often seemed little more than human repositories of the history of formalist comedy ("Baby Rose" Marie was a child singer on radio; Amsterdam, a cello prodigy whose act recalled Henny Youngman or Jack Benny, cohosted the *Tonight Show* forerunner *Broadway Open House* in 1950 and—in a bit of New Frontier prescience—wrote the paean to U.S. imperialism "Rum and Coca-Cola" for the Andrews Sisters).

Yet perhaps to counterbalance these misted reveries, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* just as often displayed an aggressive, Kennedy-era sophistication and leisure-class awareness. Initially competing for the central role were Van Dyke and that other Brubeck hipster grounded squarely in midwestern guilelessness, Johnny Carson (and if truth be known, another prominent casualty of after-hours blackout drinking). Meanwhile, all the hallmarks of the Kennedy zeitgeist are somewhere in attendance: Laura as the Jackie surrogate, attired in capri pants and designer tops; the Mafia, via the imposing Big Max Calvada (executive producer Sheldon Leonard); Marilyn Monroe, represented by the occasional *Alan Brady* guest starlet or lupine voluptuary; and intelligence operatives who commandeer the Petries' suburban home on stakeout. Camelot references abound, with a Robert Frost-like poet, a Hugh Hefner surrogate, Reiner as a Jackson Pollack-modeled abstract painter, or Laura's praise for baby guru Dr. Spock.

Sophisticated film homages appear throughout: *Vertigo*'s "Portrait of Carlotta" becomes "the Empress Carlotta brooch," and *Citizen Kane*'s "Rosebud" turns up as son Ritchie's middle name. (According to confidante Peter Bogdanovich, Orson Welles reportedly took a break every afternoon to watch the show in reruns.) Civil rights are often squarely front and center as well, with Leonard claiming that one racially



*The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Mary Tyler Moore, Dick Van Dyke, 1961–66.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

themed episode, "The Hospital," specifically allowed him to cast *I Spy* with Bill Cosby, in turn the medium's first superstar of color. Even Van Dyke's own little brother, Jerry Van Dyke, is afforded a brief nepotistic berth from which to triumph—in his case, over painful shyness, social ineptitude, and a somewhat pesky somnambulism rather than innate ruthlessness and the reputation as White House hatchet man. And for purists, there is even a working conspiracy of sorts—the name "Calvada" is scattered portentously throughout (Big Max "Calvada," "Drink Calvada" scrawled on a billboard, and the name of their production company); the term is, in fact, a modified acronym for the show's partners: CA-rl Reiner, Sheldon L-eonard, Dick VA-n Dyke, and DA-nny Thomas.

Serving as more than vague inspiration, the Kennedys directly participated in the show's genesis. In 1960, Reiner wrote a pilot titled *Head of the Family*, virtually identical to the *Dick Van Dyke Show* in every way, save for casting himself in the lead role. The package made its way to Rat Pack stalwart Peter Lawford, a burgeoning producer and brother-in-law of the future president. Family patriarch Joseph P. Kennedy, seeking to oversee family business during the cam-

## Dick Van Dyke Show, The

paign, read the pilot personally and volunteered production money. Although the pilot was unsuccessful, its recasting led directly to the later series.

In 1966, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* ended with a final episode surveying Rob's "novel"—a collection of favorite moments from the five-year run—which Alan Brady dutifully agrees to adapt as a TV series, thus re-upping the autobiographical subtext one more level and providing Reiner the last laugh. The termination of the show was perhaps in light of CBS's decision to enforce a full-color lineup the following season. As such, the series' cool, streamlined black and white mirrors perfectly the news images of the day and functions as one of the few de facto time capsules on a finite and much-celebrated age.

PAUL CULLUM

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Moore, Mary Tyler; Van Dyke, Dick**

### Cast

Rob Petrie	Dick Van Dyke
Laura Petrie	Mary Tyler Moore
Sally Rogers	Rose Marie
Maurice "Buddy" Sorrell	Morey Amsterdam
Ritchie Petrie	Larry Mathews
Melvin Cooley	Richard Deacon
Jerry Helper	Jerry Paris
Millie Helper	Ann Morgan Guilbert
Alan Brady	Carl Reiner
Stacey Petrie	Jerry Van Dyke

### Producers

Carl Reiner, Sheldon Leonard, Ronald Jacobs

### Programming History

158 episodes

### CBS

October 1961–December 1961	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
January 1962–September 1964	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
September 1964–September 1965	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
September 1965–September 1966	Wednesday 9:30–10:00

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# Different World, A

## U.S. Situation Comedy

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*A Different World*, a spin-off of the top-rated *The Cosby Show*, enjoyed a successful run on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from 1987 to 1993. The half-hour, ensemble situation comedy was the first to immerse an American audience in student life at a histor-

ically black college. Over the course of its run, the show was also credited with tackling social and political issues rarely explored in television fiction and opening doors to the television industry for unprecedented numbers of young black actors, writers, producers, and directors.



*A Different World.* Darryl Bell, Lou Myers, Cree Summers, Glynn Turman, Sinbad, Charnele Brown, Jasmine Guy, Kadeem Hardison, Dawnn Lewis (Season 3), 1987–93. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Set at Hillman College, a fictitious, historically black college in the South, the series began by focusing on the college experiences of sophomore Denise Huxtable (Lisa Bonet)—one of the four daughters featured on *The Cosby Show*. Denise’s attempts to adjust to life away from her family’s upper-middle-class nest and her relationships with her roommates typically fueled the plot of each episode. One of those roommates, Jaleesa Vinson (Dawnn Lewis), was a young divorcée who considered Denise to be something of a spoiled snob. Another roommate, Maggie Lauten (Marisa Tomei), was one of the few white students on the mostly black campus; for her, as it was for much of the show’s audience, Hillman was indeed “a different world.” Other recurring characters were added throughout the course of the first season: Whitley Gilbert (Jasmine Guy) was a rich southern belle, Dwayne Wayne (Kadeem Hardison) was a fast-talking but studious New Yorker, Ron Johnson (Darryl Bell)

was Dwayne’s scheming sidekick, and Warren Oates (Sinbad) was the dorm director and gym teacher. Bonet and her character, Denise, left the show after the first season because of Bonet’s real-life pregnancy.

Despite dismal initial reviews, *A Different World* capitalized from its Thursday at 8:30 P.M. time slot on NBC—between *The Cosby Show* and the ever-popular sitcom *Cheers*—and finished second in the ratings its first season. The show and its creative staff were revamped for the second season, leading to third- and fourth-place finishes for the 1988–89 and 1989–90 seasons, respectively. Among black viewers, the show consistently ranked first or second throughout most of its run.

As *The Hollywood Reporter* noted, the series was transformed “from a bland *Cosby* spin-off into a lively, socially responsible, ensemble situation comedy” only after Debbie Allen took over as producer-director following the first season. Allen, a prominent black dancer, choreographer, and actress—and a graduate of historically black Howard University—drew from her college experiences in an effort to reflect accurately in the show the social and political life on black campuses. Moreover, Allen instituted a yearly spring trip to Atlanta, Georgia, where series writers visited two of the nation’s leading black colleges, Morehouse and Spelman. During these visits, ideas for several of the episodes emerged from meetings with students and faculty. Perhaps symbolizing the show’s transformation between the first and second seasons, “the queen of soul,” Aretha Franklin, was chosen in season two to replace Phoebe Snow as vocalist for the title theme.

During Allen’s tenure, casting changes also transformed the look and feel of the series. Several new characters were added, while certain characters from the first season were featured more prominently in order to add some spice. A cafeteria cook, Mr. Gaines (Lou Meyers), was added to give the series a flavor of southern culture. A hardworking, premedical student, Kim Reese (Charnele Brown), was also introduced as a foil for Whitley; she worked for Mr. Gaines in the cafeteria and eventually found herself caught in an on-again, off-again romantic relationship with Ron, one of the original characters. Similarly, Dwayne became entangled in a love-hate relationship with Whitley. Their eventual marriage became a major event in the storyline. Other new characters included Col. Taylor (Glynn Turman), the campus ROTC commander; Freddie Brooks (Cree Summer), an environmental activist with metaphysical leanings; Terrence Taylor (Cory Tyler), the son of Col. Taylor; and Lena James (Jada Pinkett), a feisty freshman from a Baltimore, Maryland, housing project. Each new season brought an incoming class of freshmen and new featured characters. In short, following the departure of Bonet’s character af-

ter the first season, the series became a true ensemble situation comedy.

*A Different World* is also notable for its attempts to explore a range of social and political issues rarely addressed on television—let alone in situation comedies. Featured characters regularly confronted such controversial topics as unplanned pregnancy, date rape, racial discrimination, AIDS, and the 1992 Los Angeles uprisings. Many observers also commended the series for extolling the virtues of higher education for African-American youth at a time when many black communities were in crisis.

In the final analysis, *A Different World* might best be remembered for its cultural vibrancy, its commitment to showcasing black history, music, dance, fashion, and attitude. This quality, no doubt, was due in large measure to the closeness of the series' creative staff to the material: the series featured a black woman as producer-director (Allen), another as head writer (Susan Fales), and several other people of color (male and female) in key creative positions. Few series in the history of television can claim a comparable level of black representation in key decision-making positions.

DARNELL M. HUNT

See also *Cosby Show*, *The*

### Cast

Denise Huxtable (1987–88)	Lisa Bonet
Whitley Gilbert	Jasmine Guy
Jaleesa Vinson	Dawnn Lewis
Dwayne Wayne	Kadeem Hardison
Ron Johnson	Darryl Bell
Maggie Lauten (1987–88)	Marisa Tomei
Millie (1987–88)	Marie-Alice Recasner
Stevie Rallen (1987–88)	Loretta Devine
J.T. Rallen (1987–88)	Amir Williams
Gloria (1987–88)	Bee-be Smith
Allison (1987–88)	Kim Wayane
Walter Oakes (1987–91)	Sinbad
Lettie Bostic (1988–89)	Mary Alice
Col. Clayton Taylor (1988–93)	Glynn Turman
Terrence Johann Taylor (1990–92)	Cory Tyler
Winifred "Freddie" Brooks (1988–93)	Cree Summer
Kim Reese (1988–93)	Charnele Brown
Vernon Gaines (1988–93)	Lou Myers

Ernest (1988–90)	Reuben Grundy
Julian (1990–91)	Dominio Hoffman
Lena James (1991–93)	Jada Pinkett
Charmaine Brown (1992–93)	Karen Malina White
Gina Devereaux (1991–92)	Ajai Sanders
Byron Douglas III (1992)	Joe Morton
Shazza Zulu (1992)	Gary Dourdon
Clint (1992–93)	Michael Ralph

### Producers

Marcy Carsey, Tom Werner, Anne Beatts, Thad Mumford, Debbie Allen, George Crosby, Lissa Levin

### Programming History

144 episodes

NBC

September 1987–June 1992	Thursday 8:30–9:00
July 1991–August 1991	Monday 8:30–9:00
July 1992–November 1992	Thursday 8:00–8:30
November 1992–January 1993	Thursday 8:30–9:00
May 1993–June 1993	Thursday 8:00–8:30
July 1993	Friday 8:00–8:30

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# Digital Television

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Increasingly, digital technology has been applied to television in the process of producing and transmitting television programming. Television was developed as an "analog" medium, but the replacement of analog technology with digital technology throughout the television production and transmission process promises to increase the capabilities of the medium.

The term "digital" refers to a type of electronic signal in which the information is stored in a sequence of binary numbers ("on" or "off," representing one and zero, respectively) rather than in a continuously varying signal (known as an analog signal). Almost all naturally occurring communication media, including sound and light waves, are analog signals. Because these signals are composed of waves, they are extremely susceptible to interference, as the waves of external, extraneous signals can interact with a specific signal, altering the shape of the wave. Digital signals are much less susceptible to interference because a slightly altered sequence of "on" and "off" can still be read as the original sequence of ones and zeroes.

The primary attributes of a digital signal are the sampling frequency and the bit rate. In order to convert an analog signal to digital, the signal must be "sampled" by measuring the height of the analog signal at discrete points in time. The "sampling frequency" is a measure of how many samples are taken to represent the analog wave. A higher sampling frequency indicates more samples, providing a more faithful reproduction of the analog signal. But doubling the sample rate means doubling the amount of data needed to represent the original analog signal. Bit rate refers to the number of different "bits" (zero/one values) used to represent each sample. A higher bit rate results in a greater number of values for the signal and hence a higher resolution. (Each additional bit doubles the number of values for each signal, so that an eight-bit signal has twice the resolution of a seven-bit signal.) Most digital audio signals use eight or 16 bits of information for each sample.

Digital signals have a number of advantages over analog signals. The primary advantage is that they allow for perfect copies (and perfect copies of copies and so on). Digital signals may also be manipulated by computers, allowing for elaborate modifications of both video and audio signals. The primary drawbacks of digital versus analog signals are that it takes a great

deal more space to store digital than it does analog signals and that extra equipment is needed to convert analog video and audio signals to digital and later convert the digital signals back to analog.

Digital technology was first applied to television to create special video effects that were impossible using analog technology. The analog images were digitized, and mathematical algorithms processed the resulting data, allowing a picture to be blown up, shrunk, twisted, and so on. The next innovation was the creation of digital video recorders, which stored television signals as a sequence of binary numbers. Digital video recording is extremely complicated because the sequence of numbers used to represent a single picture required much more storage space than the corresponding analog signal. However, copies of digital signals are exactly the same as the original, enabling higher-quality pictures during the editing process, especially when many signals have to be "layered" together to create a single picture or sequence.

The television production process is gradually moving from a system that interconnects a variety of digital sources with analog equipment to the use of an all-digital environment. Along the way, analog and digital tape formats have been replaced by new digital recording devices similar to computer disk drives, allowing random access to any portion of a recording.

Digital technology has also been applied to the process of transmitting television signals. The bandwidth required for high-definition television required development of a means of transmitting up to five times the video information of a traditional television signal in the same bandwidth. The solution was the application of digital compression technology. Digital compression is the process by which digital signals are simplified by removing redundancy. (For example, each of the 30 individual pictures used to create one second of video is quite similar to the previous picture. Instead of transmitting the entire picture again, some compression algorithms transmit only the parts of the picture that change from one picture to the next.) There are two general types of digital compression: "lossless" compression, in which the decompressed signal is exactly the same as the uncompressed signal, and "lossy" compression, in which the decompressed signal contains less information (or less detail) than the original, uncompressed signal.

The flexibility of digital signals has led many engineers to develop uses for digital broadcasting other than high-definition television. The use of digital compression will allow the transmission of at least four, and perhaps eight or more, standard-definition channels of programming in the same bandwidth required for a single analog channel. Furthermore, the fact that digital signals are less susceptible to interference will eventually allow more television stations on the air in a market. (Interference problems with analog signals requires wide spacing of television stations transmitting on the same or adjacent channels, resulting in the use of only a few channels in most cities to protect stations in nearby cities.)

The flexibility of digital signal transmission has led to the development of 18 varieties of digital television transmission in the United States, ranging from standard-definition images that are comparable to traditional, analog television to high-definition images that provide clarity comparable to 35-millimeter film. In choosing among the 18 formats, U.S. broadcasters must consider tradeoffs between the number of different signals they can transmit simultaneously and the quality of each individual signal. The more signals

transmitted, the less information—and lower quality—is available for each channel.

From the viewer's perspective, the primary drawback of digital broadcasting is that it will require viewers to either buy new receivers or obtain adapters to convert digital signals to analog form for viewing on a traditional television receiver. Many cable television subscribers have digital converter boxes that perform such a conversion for digital signals transmitted through a cable television system. Ultimately, the use of television by consumers may be revolutionized as they begin buying digital receivers and digital video recorders and enjoy the quality and flexibility provided by digital technology.

AUGUST GRANT

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## Digital Video Recorder

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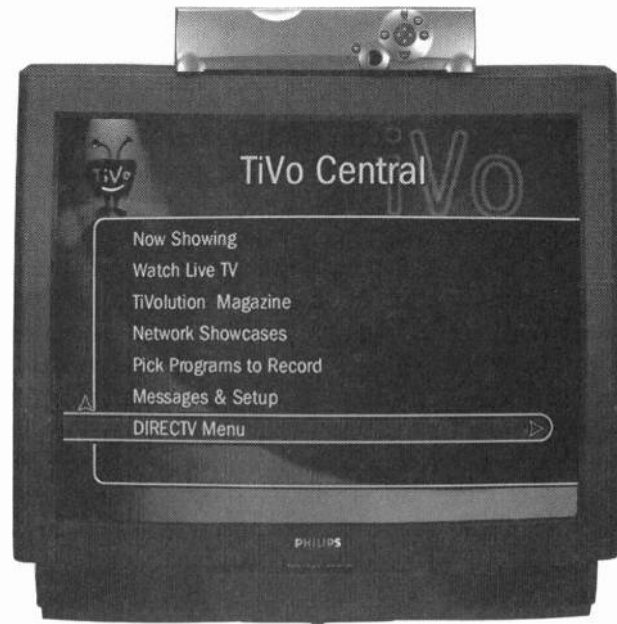
The brief history to date of the digital video recorder in the United States provides a vivid illustration of the ways in which the prospect of technological innovation can call into question the fundamental business models and cultural assumptions undergirding commercial television. This new digital device combines the time-shifting capabilities of the VCR with the ability to pause or replay the incoming television signal as well as to search for and record programs through an interactive electronic program guide connected by modem to the digital video recorder's provider. Introduced in the United States in 1998 via direct sales from small start-up manufacturers TiVo and Replay TV, the digital video recorder moved to the mass market the following year in the forms of stand-alone set-top boxes sold through consumer electronics retailers and of embedded devices within decoder boxes supplied by satellite broadcasters EchoStar and DirecTV. Contrary to wildly optimistic sales estimates from some early observers, the number of digital video recorders sold through the middle of 2002 was modest (an esti-

mated 1–2 million units), especially compared to the phenomenal commercial success of the DVD player and the growing sales of digital television sets during the same period. However, the digital video recorder's slow penetration into American living rooms has not discouraged extravagant and often apocalyptic predictions of the device's eventual effect on the commercial television industry and on the wider economic assumptions of mass marketing. The slower-than-expected diffusion of the digital video recorder has already provoked new alliances and rivalries within the U.S. television industry and between it and consumer electronics and personal computer industries. For many executives and media pundits, the digital video recorder promised (or threatened) to radically alter the economic value of the traditional 30-second TV commercial, the nature of TV viewing, the expectations of personal privacy, and even the place of the live television broadcast as token and tool of national identity. Given its contested status, it is not surprising that the digital video recorder has been greeted by threatened



and actual lawsuits from Hollywood studios and commercial networks and by attempts to draft federal legislation to restrict its use.

To many observers, the relatively slow consumer acceptance of the digital video recorders reflected the difficulty of marketing a genuinely new domestic appliance, one distinguished by several distinct and unprecedented features. The digital video recorder, despite its name, is not a simple functional replacement for the VCR, which was found in 90 percent of U.S. homes by 2002. Despite the VCR's long-standing capacity to time-shift broadcast programs, most households use the device nearly exclusively for the playback of prerecorded tapes (only 4 percent of total TV viewing time in the United States is devoted to the playback of recorded television programs). Thus, while U.S. sales of DVD players exceeded those of VCRs for the first time in 2001, suggesting that the VCR's role as a playback platform for prerecorded material was in eclipse, the technological shift of the VCR's time-shifting function to the digital video recorder is less certain. Much of the debate about the economic and cultural implications of the digital video recorder concerns the extent to which consumers will take up the novel features of the new digital device, including the ability to pause and perform "instant replays" of an incoming TV signal, instantaneously scan through commercials of recorded programs, and seek out and record programming via an interactive electronic program guide that can learn and anticipate viewing habits (and sell such information to advertisers). While the commercial-scanning capabilities of the traditional VCR are already familiar, recently enhanced by the widely licensed Commercial Advance technology, which automatically speeds through recorded commercials on playback, when Replay TV's manufacturer announced that its 2002 model would be equipped with the same licensed feature, it was sued by a group of TV networks and production studios even before the new digital video recorders hit the market. Although the number of digital video recorder-equipped homes is still quite small, survey data suggest that most consumers routinely use the devices to evade commercials, and a large percentage report watching much less "live" TV generally. Likewise, the diffusion of the digital video recorder is widely expected to undermine the economic value of a network brand identity and challenge conventional notions of program flow, schedule, and day part as viewers select programs without regard to the channel or hour they are offered. More broadly, some observers have worried that the decline of "live" reception at the hands of the digital video recorder would weaken network broadcasting's traditional function as agent of



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national identity and community. Many observers have argued that the ease with which viewers armed with digital video recorders might avoid viewing traditional TV commercials would lead to a proliferation of more invasive advertising techniques, including product placement, banner ads, and advertiser-supplied programming, though more sanguine observers argue that TV viewers will remain interested in viewing commercials that are more carefully designed to appeal to them. They point to TiVo's announcement that the segment of the 2002 Super Bowl broadcast that TiVo users most frequently selected for instant replay was not the last-minute winning field goal or any on-field action but instead a halftime Pepsi commercial featuring performer Britney Spears. In any event, the patterns of use among today's early adopters of the digital video recorder may be of little predictive power as the technology becomes more widely diffused.

Meanwhile, the business models and hardware platforms on which the digital video recorder will eventually be based remain unsettled. TiVo, the U.S. market leader, draws on distinct revenue paths of monthly subscriptions, manufacturing and licensing royalties, and advertising revenues generated from its electronic program guide and dedicated advertising programming. The experience of the U.S. computer software giant Microsoft suggests the uncertain market for the digital video recorder; Microsoft integrated digital video recorder capability into its existing WebTV service in

the 2001 launch of its Ultimate TV service, only to retreat from the market in the face of consumer indifference at the beginning of 2002. Replay TV, like TiVo, a late 1990s Silicon Alley start-up, burned through its original capital before being acquired by Sonic Blue in 2001, and its products have not yet been successful in mass-market terms. Internationally, the only other significant market for the digital video recorder to date has been the United Kingdom, where the devices are found in less than 1 percent of homes both in the form of TiVo stand-alone models and as part of enhanced set-top boxes from Rupert Murdoch's Sky satellite service. One fundamental unsettled issue in the digital video recorder market in the United States and abroad is whether the technology will reach consumers as single-purpose devices or be integrated into the set-top boxes provided by satellite broadcasters and cable operators or instead be integrated into DVD players, video game consoles, personal computers, new "home entertainment servers," or simply TV sets themselves. In fact, by the middle of 2002, the largest single supplier of digital video recorders in the United States was the satellite broadcaster EchoStar, which was expected to place 1 million recorders in the homes of its 6 million satellite TV subscribers. At this point in the product cycle, the crucial market for digital video recorder manufacturers may be less the electronics retailer and individual consumer than the handful of major cable operators who are currently rolling out enhanced digital cable backbones and household devices for millions of U.S. homes. In sum, while the ultimate consumer appeal of the unique fea-

tures of the digital video recorder seems ensured (as does the digital video recorder's potential to supply broadcasters and advertisers a more targeted audience), the specific mix of industry players, revenue models, and hardware platforms associated with the device are still unresolved. Furthermore, the validity of the often-extravagant predictions of the economic and social impact of the technology will take some time to be fully tested. Even if those effects turn out to be slower and more diffused than the most alarmist observers have predicted, they promise to revise the way in which commercial television is funded and consumed in the United States in significant ways.

WILLIAM BODDY

**See also Advertising; Digital Television; Interactive Television; Satellite; Videocassette; WebTV**

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## Diller, Barry (1942– )

U.S. Media Executive

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For more than four decades, Barry Diller has played a prominent role in redefining the television industry. Widely regarded as both an innovative programmer and an expert deal maker, Diller's influence on the media industries has been widely felt. Among his impressive list of accomplishments, he has helped developed new television formats, launched the careers of several leading executives including Michael Eisner and Jeffrey Katzenberg, and created a viable fourth network, FOX, which went on to challenge the dominance of

the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

Diller began his career in 1961, when he dropped out of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and began work in the mail room of the William Morris agency. He moved up the ranks quickly, becoming an assistant and then junior agent for the talent firm. In 1966, he began his first job in the television industry as an assistant to Leonard Goldberg at ABC. At the age of

26, he became head of programming, responsible for negotiating with the major studios for broadcast rights to feature films.

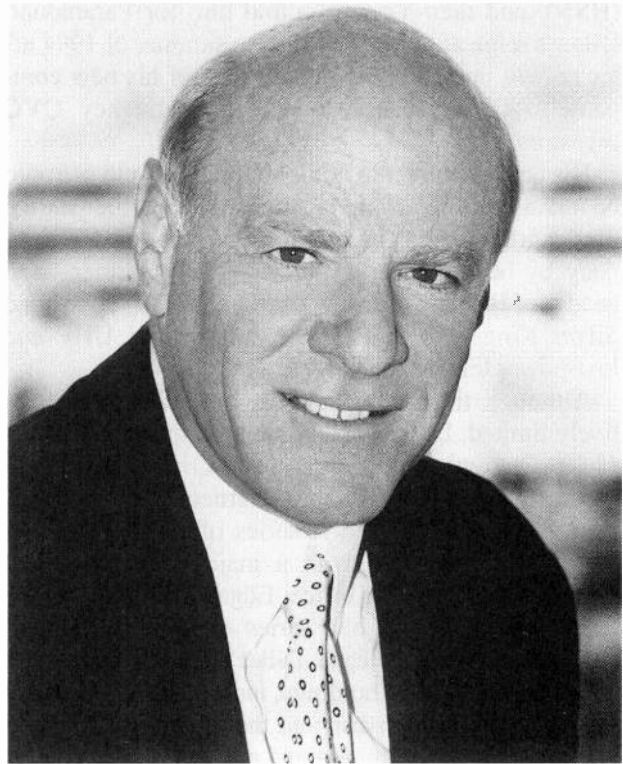
In 1969, Diller inaugurated ABC's *Movie of the Week*, a regular series of 90-minute films made exclusively for television. Made-for-television movies (MFTs) had aired sporadically since the mid-1960s; however, it was with Diller's influence that they became a regular fixture on ABC's schedule. Under his supervision, MFTs focused increasingly on social issues, such as homosexuality (*That Certain Summer*, 1972), the Vietnam War (*The Ballad of Andy Crocker*, 1969), and drugs (*Go Ask Alice*, 1973). In addition to providing a huge ratings boost to ABC, MFTs could be produced quickly and cheaply. A typical program was made for approximately \$350,000—and often fared better in the Nielsen ratings than a theatrically released film.

Diller remained at ABC through the early 1970s, moving up to become vice president of entertainment. In addition to his supervision of MFTs, Diller also became involved in the development of the network's miniseries. Prior to his departure from ABC in 1974, he approved the production of the ambitious courtroom drama *QB VII*. Shortly thereafter, Diller moved on to become chair of Paramount Pictures, where he supervised the studio's film and television divisions.

During his ten years at the Gulf 1 Western subsidiary Paramount Pictures, Diller managed a studio operating at its peak. Diller and his top-rate executive staff—which included Jeffrey Katzenberg, Don Simpson, and Michael Eisner—generated an impressive list of critical and commercial successes, including *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), *Grease* (1978), *Star Trek* (1979), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *Reds* (1981), *Terms of Endearment* (1983), and *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984). The company had an equally remarkable string of television hits; its programs included *Laverne and Shirley* (1976–83), *Taxi* (1978–83), *Family Ties* (1982–89), and *Cheers* (1982–93).

Following the death of Gulf 1 Western's head, Charles Bluhdorn, and the ascension of Martin S. Davis, Diller left Paramount to become chair of 20th Century-Fox. On arriving at FOX, Diller found the studio to be a financial mess. Matters were worsened by the unwillingness of the company's owner, Marvin Davis (no relation to Martin), to put the necessary funds back into the studio. Diller subsequently turned to Australian newspaper mogul Rupert Murdoch for financial support; Murdoch ultimately assumed full ownership of the studio in 1985.

With Murdoch's backing, Diller not only put the studio back on solid financial ground but also spearheaded the company's launch of a fourth broadcast network. Whereas Gulf 1 Western had previously



Barry Diller.  
Photo courtesy of USA Interactive

blocked Diller's efforts to create a fourth network, Murdoch enthusiastically provided him with the means to buy major market television stations, recruit experienced executives, and compensate top creative figures. Though the new network's early years were bumpy, by the time Diller left the company in February 1992, the FOX network had become competitive with the "Big Three." With younger-skewing hit programs such as *In Living Color*, *Married...with Children*, and *The Simpsons*, FOX had successfully branded itself as the "alternative" network.

Despite the fact that he was the only executive at the time to oversee both a movie studio and a television network, ultimately Diller wanted more. Shortly after his 50th birthday, he left FOX to become an entrepreneur who owned his "own store." Diller spent the next several months traveling across the United States, visiting with numerous executives from computer, cable, and high-tech firms. His travels ended with his arrival at home shopping channel QVC, where he invested \$25 million and became chair of the company. Though publicly professing his newfound faith in the future of "transactional" television, his own business transactions were repeatedly aborted during his time at QVC. First, antitrust concerns halted his ef-

fort to merge QVC and the Home Shopping Network (HSN), and then Viacom outbid him for Paramount. Diller's reign at QVC ended in the summer of 1994 after he was unable to complete a sale of his new company to CBS because of objections by key QVC investors.

His next venture into home shopping would prove to be much more enduring. In August 1995, Diller started the lengthy process of building his next media company by becoming a 20 percent equity partner—and head—of HSN. In this new position, he also controlled Silver King Communications, a group of UHF and low-power television stations.

Although the initial holdings of HSN were relatively limited, Diller quickly began acquiring an interest in a variety of media companies, including Savoy Pictures Entertainment, the Internet Shopping Network, and Ticketmaster. A series of relatively minor purchases culminated with a major deal with Seagram's chief executive office, Edgar Bronfman, in the fall of 1997. Through a series of complicated exchanges of assets and cash, Diller's company acquired Seagram's television holdings, including the Universal television production arm and the USA and Sci-Fi cable channels. Seagram retained a 45 percent interest in the newly formed operation, which was called USA Networks. In discussing his rationale for making the deal, Bronfman explained that it was "the only way I could be in business with Barry Diller."

At the helm of USA Networks, Diller continued to explore the relationships that could be forged between broadcasting and cable, production and distribution, and new media and old. He repeatedly spoke of the need for a fresh business model for media in which revenue would be generated from a combination of advertisements, subscriptions, and direct sales. Recognizing the increasing fragmentation of the marketplace, he sought to develop brands that could be promoted across a number of different media holdings. In television, his vision was realized with the Universal-produced *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*. Original episodes of the program aired on NBC and then were re-aired less than two weeks later on the USA cable channel.

Diller's involvement with USA proved profitable. In 2000, Vivendi acquired Universal from Seagram, thereby assuming the 45 percent stake in USA Networks. Then, in December 2001, Diller sold back the Universal assets to Vivendi for \$10.3 billion, thereby getting back more than double the amount he had originally paid. Despite Diller's earlier declarations that he would never work for anyone again, he continued to remain on Vivendi's payroll, serving as chief executive of the newly formed Vivendi Universal Entertainment. At the same time, he also remained in control of his own company, which was rechristened USA Interac-

tive and focused almost exclusively on accumulating Internet assets.

The relationship between Diller and Vivendi Universal became more complex as Vivendi faced mounting financial difficulties. Management shake-ups at Vivendi led Diller to assume the title of interim chief executive officer during late 2002. He retained this position until March 2003, when he resigned to focus on USA Interactive (which was then renamed InterActiveCorp). His involvement with Universal continued indirectly, as InterActive held a 5.4 percent stake in its assets and Diller personally held a 1.5 percent interest.

As of early 2003, Diller had departed from television industry, only to emerge as a vocal critic of its trade practices. He issued a general call for re-regulation as a means of combating what he perceived to be excessive media concentration. In addition, Diller argued for the return of the financial interest and syndication rules—the very rules that he had been integral in helping eliminate during his time at FOX in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

With television behind him, Diller attended to building InterActive, which continued to expand its role in information and services, e-commerce, and travel-oriented online properties. By developing such holdings as Expedia, Hotels.com, Match.com, CitySearch, and Lending Tree, InterActive ranked first growth among Fortune 500 companies—surpassing Amazon.com, eBay, and Yahoo! in revenue and standing as one of the few online companies to consistently turn a profit.

ALISA PERREN

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Eisner, Michael; FOX Broadcasting Company; Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; Home Shopping; Movies On Television; Murdoch, Rupert K.; Vivendi Universal*

**Barry Diller.** Born in San Francisco, California, February 2, 1942. Married: Diane von Furstenberg. Mail room, William Morris agency, 1961; assistant to agent, William Morris agency, 1964; assistant to vice president in charge of programming, ABC, 1966; executive assistant to vice president in programming and director of feature films, ABC, 1968; vice president, feature films and program development, ABC, 1969; created TV movies of the week and miniseries as vice president, feature films, Circle Entertainment, division of ABC, 1971; vice president, prime-time entertainment, ABC, 1973; board chair and president, Paramount Pictures, 1974; president, Gulf 1 Western Entertainment and Communications Group (while retaining Paramount titles), 1983; resigned from Paramount and joined 20th Century-Fox as board chair and chief executive officer, 1984; chair and chief executive officer, Fox, Inc., 1985;

named to board, News Corp. Ltd, June 1987; resigned from 20th Century-Fox, February 1992; chairman and chief executive officer, QVC Network, 1992; resigned from QVC, December 1994; chairman of board, Home Shopping Network, August 1995; chairman and chief executive officer of HSN, Inc. (formed by merger of Silver King Communications, Home Shopping Network, and Savoy Pictures Entertainment), December 1996; chairman and chief executive officer, USA Networks, February 1998; chairman and chief executive officer, Vivendi Universal Entertainment (while retaining title of chair and chief executive officer of reformulated USA Networks, renamed USA Interactive and operating as a stand-alone entity), December 2001; Interim co-chief executive officer, Vivendi Universal (while retaining previous titles), November 2002; resigned from Vivendi Universal positions, March 2003; chairman and chief executive officer, InterActiveCorp (renamed from USA Interactive), 2003. Board of directors: the Washington Post Company; the Coca-Cola Company; Conservation International; Channel 13/WNET. Trustee:

New York University. Executive board: Medical Sciences at UCLA. Board of Councilors, School of Cinema-Television, University of Southern California.

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## Dimbleby, Richard (1913–1965)

### British Broadcast Journalist

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Richard Dimbleby was the personification of British television current affairs broadcasting in the 1950s and early 1960s, and he set the standard for succeeding generations of presenters on the network, by whom he was recognized as the virtual founder of broadcast journalism. After working on the editorial staff of several newspapers, he joined the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as a radio news observer in 1936. When war broke out three years later, he became the BBC's first war correspondent, and, as such, within the constraints of often stifling official censorship, he brought the reality of warfare into homes throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Notably graphic broadcasts included dispatches from the battlefield of Al-Alamein and from the beaches of Normandy during the D-Day landings and a report sent back from a Royal Air Force bomber on a raid over Germany (in all, he flew as an observer on some 20 missions). He was also the first radio reporter to reach the concentration camp at Belsen, from which he sent a moving account of what he saw, and he was the first to enter Berlin.

After the war, Dimbleby worked as a freelance broadcaster and made the switch to television, in time becoming the BBC's best-known commentator on current affairs and state events. Among the important state occasions he covered were the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953 and the funerals of John F. Kennedy and Sir Winston Churchill. The coronation broadcast was a particular personal triumph, establishing Dimbleby as the first-choice commentator on all state events and, incidentally, promoting television sales by some 50 percent. Other milestones in his career included his participation in 1951 in the first Eurovision television relay and, in 1961, his appearance in the first live television broadcast from the Soviet Union.

In 1955, Dimbleby was selected as anchor for the much-respected current affairs program *Panorama*, and it is with this show that his name is usually associated. Quizzing politicians of all colors with equal severity on behalf of the nation, he was praised by many as a defender of the public interest and became almost synonymous with the BBC itself as a bastion of fairness

and perspicuity in political debate. Under Dimbleby's direction, *Panorama* established itself as the current affairs program par excellence, the weekly showing almost a political event itself, raising issues that Parliament hastened to address in order to show that it was responsive to the electorate thus represented.

Viewers hung on the presenter's every word and besieged him with letters, begging him to use his evident influence to intervene personally in political issues of all kinds, from proposals for new roads to the Cuban missile crisis. One rare remark that did not go down so well was an infamous aside, "Jesus wept," which was unfortunately picked up by the microphone and prompted a stream of letters criticizing him for blasphemy.

Dimbleby did, however, also tackle lighter fare and was much loved as chair of the radio program *Twenty Questions* and as presenter of the homely *Down Your Way* series, in which he sought out prominent members of a given locality and passed the time of day with them. His standing with the British listening and viewing public was officially honored in 1945, when he was made an Officer of the British Empire, and again in 1959, when he was promoted to Companion of the British Empire.

Dimbleby's premature death from cancer at the age of 52, shortly after broadcasting to 350 million people on the state funeral of Winston Churchill, was regretted by millions of viewers, and subsequently the annual Richard Dimbleby lectures were established in his memory. These were not his only legacy, however, for two of his sons, David and Jonathan, pursued similar careers in current affairs broadcasting and in their turn became two of the most familiar faces on British screens, earning reputations as fair but tough-minded interrogators of the political leaders of their generation. David Dimbleby emulated his father by, in 1974, becoming anchorman of *Panorama*, while Richard Dimbleby has occupied a similar role on such current affairs programs as *This Week* and *First Tuesday*.

DAVID PICKERING

#### See also **Panorama**

**Richard Dimbleby.** Born in Richmond-upon-Thames, London, England, May 25, 1913. Attended Mill Hill School, London. Married: Dilys, 1937; children: Jonathan, David, Nicholas, and Sally. Began career with the family newspaper, *The Richmond and Twickenham Times*, 1931; subsequently worked for the *Bournemouth Echo* and as news editor for *Advertisers Weekly*, 1935–36; joined BBC Topical Talks department as one of the first radio news reporters, 1936; accompanied British Expeditionary Force to France as first BBC war correspondent, 1939; reported from front line in Middle East, East Africa, the Western Desert, and Greece, 1939–42; flew about 20 missions with Royal Air Force Bomber Command and was first reporter to enter Belsen concentration camp, 1945; after war, became foremost commentator on state occasions, including coronation of Elizabeth II, 1953, and funeral of Winston Churchill, 1965; managing director, Dimbleby newspaper business, from 1954; presenter of BBC's *Panorama*, 1955–63. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1945; Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1959. Died in London, December 22, 1965.

#### Television Series

1955–63 *Panorama*

#### Radio

*Twenty Questions; Down Your Way; Off the Record.*

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## Dinah Shore Show, The (Various)

### U.S. Music-Variety Show

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A popular radio and television performer for more than 40 years, Dinah Shore was known for the warmth of her personality and for her sincere, unaffected stage presence. Television favored her natural, relaxed style,

and like Perry Como, to whom she was often compared, Shore was one of the medium's first popular singing stars. Even though by her own admission Dinah Shore did not have a great voice, she put it to good

advantage by enunciating lyrics clearly and singing the melody without distracting ornamentation. The result was the very definition of "easy listening."

By the time Shore first appeared on television, she was already well known as a big-band singer and radio performer. In 1952, she was chosen most popular female vocalist by a Gallup poll. She was also appearing in the best nightclubs, making motion pictures, and selling approximately 2 million phonograph records per year. Shore's subsequent two decades of television work merely enhanced her already remarkable career.

Dinah Shore first appeared on television in 1951, when she began a twice a week program over the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). This 15-minute show was broadcast on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 7:30. Jack Gould, the *New York Times* radio and television critic, enthused about the program, "Last week on her initial appearance, she was the picture of naturalness and conducted her show with a disarming combination of authority and humility."

The 15-minute program was produced by Alan Handley, who made a special effort to make the musical production numbers interesting. The imaginative backdrops he provided for Shore's songs were inspired by travel posters, *New Yorker* cartoons, history, literary classics, and Hollywood. Handley often checked department store window displays and went to the theater to get ideas for these numbers. On one occasion, he used a Georgia O'Keefe painting of a bleached cattle skull as a backdrop for a song called "Cow Cow Boogie." On another occasion, he made a living Alexander Calder-inspired mobile out of his vocal quintet "The Notables" by suspending them from the ceiling of the studio.

In 1956, Shore began a one-hour program on NBC, *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show*. The program was extremely popular, and its theme song, "See the USA in Your Chevrolet," always ending with Shore's famous farewell kiss to the television audience, remains a television icon. The high production values of her 15-minute program continued on the 60-minute show. The lineup usually contained two or three guests drawn from the worlds of music, sports, and movies. Shore was able to make almost any performer feel comfortable and could bring together such unlikely pairings as Frank Sinatra and baseball star Dizzy Dean.

*The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* was produced in Burbank, California, by Bob Banner, who also directed each episode. The choreographer was Tony Charmoli, who occasionally danced on camera. Often the production numbers took advantage of special visual effects. For "76 Trombones," Banner used prisms mounted in front of the television cameras to turn 12 musicians into several dozen. The number was so popular that it was repeated on two subsequent occasions. For "Flim



*The Dinah Shore Show*, Dinah Shore, 1951–56.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Flam Floo," Banner used the chromakey so that objects appeared and disappeared, and actors floated through the air without the aid of wires. In his review of the opening show of 1959, Gould called the program "a spirited and tuneful affair." Shore, he wrote, "sang with the warmth and infectious style that are so distinctly her own," and he judged that she "continues to be the best-dressed woman in television."

Shore's musical variety program went off the air in May 1963. After that time, she appeared in a number of specials and later did a series of interview shows in the 1970s, including *Dinah!*, *Dinah and Friends*, *Dinah and Her New Best Friends*, and *Dinah's Place*. Throughout her career, Shore remained one of the great women of the entertainment world.

HENRY B. ALDRIDGE

See also **Shore, Dinah**

### The Dinah Shore Show

#### Regular Performers

Dinah Shore

The Notables, quintet (1951–55)

The Skylarks, quintet (1955–57)

Dinah Shore Show, The (Various)

**Music**

Ticker Freeman, Piano  
The Vic Schoen Orchestra (1951–54)  
The Harry Zimmerman Orchestra (1954–57)

**Producer**

Alan Handley

**Programming History**

NBC  
November 1951–July 1957      Tuesday and  
   Thursday 7:30–7:45

**The Dinah Shore Chevy Show**

**Regular Performers**

Dinah Shore  
The Skylarks, quintet (1956–57)  
The Even Dozen (1961–62)

**Dancers**

The Tony Charmoli Dancers (1957–62)  
The Nick Castle Dancers (1962–63)

**Music**

The Harry Zimmerman Orchestra (1957–61,  
1962–63)  
Frank DeVol and His Orchestra (1961–62)

**Producer**

Bob Banner

**Programming History**

NBC  
October 1956–June 1957      Friday 10:00–11:00  
October 1957–June 1961      Sunday 9:00–10:00  
October 1961–June 1962      Friday 9:30–10:30  
December 1962–  
May 1963                              Sunday 10:00–11:00

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## Dingo, Ernie (1956– )

Australian Actor

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Ernie Dingo is an aboriginal Australian actor who has had an extensive career in film and television. Best known to international audiences through his film roles as Charlie in *Crocodile Dundee II* and as the Australian detective who chases William Hurt around the globe in Wim Wenders’s *Until the End of the World*, Dingo has also become a familiar and popular figure on Australian television.

Dingo’s television career is particularly significant for the way it has broken new ground in the medium’s presentation of cultural difference. Initially taking roles scripted specifically for an aboriginal actor by white writers and directors, he has worked consistently to broaden expectations of what aboriginality can include and to introduce and popularize an understanding of aboriginal perspectives on Australian life.

Ernie Dingo grew up around the small Western Australian town of Mullewa, where the local aboriginal people still speak the traditional Wudjadi language. He first moved into acting in Perth when a basketball team to which he belonged formed a dance and cultural performance group, Middar. From there, he moved into stage roles in plays by Western Australian aboriginal playwright Jack Davis before gaining a role in the television miniseries *Cowra Breakout* (1985) by Kennedy Miller for the Channel 10 network. Dingo’s background in traditional and contemporary aboriginal culture have been important to his work in television because, as he points out, working as an aboriginal actor frequently involves working also (usually informally) as a consultant, cultural mediator, co-writer, and translator.



Dingo's first major screen roles were in film in *Tudawali* (1985), *Fringe Dwellers* (1986), and *State of Shock* (1989), all of which had white script writers and directors but dealt sympathetically with problems of racism and disadvantage encountered by aboriginal people. All three were small-release productions designed substantially for television adaptation and/or distribution. In 1988, he was awarded the Special Jury Prize at the Banff Television Festival for his powerful performance as one of Australia's first aboriginal screen actors, Robert Tudawali, in *Tudawali*.

One of Dingo's main skills as an actor is an ability to engage audiences with an open, easy screen presence and use of humor while also capturing serious moods dramatically and convincingly. It is perhaps this versatility, above all, that has made him highly effective as a cross-cultural communicator. Dingo's ability with lighter roles was first demonstrated by his performances in children's drama series, including *Clowning Around* (1992) and *A Waltz through the Hills* (1990), for which he received an Australian Film Institute award for best actor in a telefeature for his performance as an aboriginal bushman, Frank Watson.

However, his first emergence as a popular figure of mainstream commercial television occurred with his inclusion in the comedy-variety program *Fast Forward*. He is particularly remembered for his comic impersonation of prominent financial commentator Robert Gottlieb, in which he imitated Gottlieb's manner and appearance but translated his analysis of movements in share prices and exchange rates into colloquial aboriginal English.

From *Fast Forward*, Dingo has moved on to roles in other popular programs, such as *The Great Outdoors* and *Heartbreak High*. The latter two roles, as well as his role in *Fast Forward*, are significant because they are not clearly marked as specifically aboriginal. In *The Great Outdoors*, Dingo appears alternately with other well-known Australian television personalities as a compere, or master of ceremonies, in light feature stories about leisure, travel, and the environment. In *Heartbreak High*, he appeared as Vic, a media studies teacher at multicultural Hartley High. Both roles have done much to normalize the appearance of aboriginal people on Australian television and have provided an important counter to the often-fraught treatment of aboriginal issues in news and current affairs.

Dingo has also continued with serious dramatic roles with a major role as an aboriginal police liaison officer, Vincent Burruga, in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's highly acclaimed drama series *Heartland*. The series was in many ways groundbreaking, not only in its inclusion of aboriginal people in

script writing and production and frequent adoption of aboriginal perspectives but also for its naturalistic treatment of a cross-cultural romance between Vincent and white urbanite Elizabeth Ashton (Cate Blanchett). The series' ability to negotiate issues of cultural and political sensitivity was significantly dependent on Dingo's skills and magnetic screen presence.

Ernie Dingo has been acclaimed by some as one of Australia's finest contemporary actors. In addition, he has established a place as a major figure in extending mainstream awareness and understanding of aboriginal Australia.

MARK GIBSON

See also *Heartbreak High*

**Ernie Dingo.** Born July 31, 1956. Married to Sally Dingo; two children: Willard and Jurra. Began career as part of the Middar Aboriginal Dance Theatre, 1978; had various stage roles; in television, from 1985; appearances in episodes of *The Flying Doctors*, *Relative Merits*, *Rafferty's Rules*, *The Dirtwater Dynasty*, and *GP*; in film, from 1985; currently host of travel magazine television series, *The Great Outdoors*. Recipient: Banff Television Festival special prize; Australian Film Institute Award, 1990; National Aboriginal and Islander Day of Observance (NAIDOC) Aboriginal of the Year, 1994. Order of Australia, 1990.

#### Television Series

1987	<i>Relative Merits</i>
1990	<i>Dolphin Cove</i>
1989-93	<i>Fast Forward</i>
1992	<i>Clowning Around</i>
1993	<i>The Great Outdoors</i>
1994	<i>Heartland</i>
1994-95	<i>Heartbreak High</i>

#### Television Miniseries

1985	<i>Cowra Breakout</i>
1990	<i>A Waltz through the Hills</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1986	<i>The Blue Lightning</i>
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#### Films

*Tudawali*, 1985; *The Fringe Dwellers*, 1986; *Crocodile Dundee II*, 1988; *Cappuccino*, 1988; *State of Shock*, 1989; *Until the End of the World*, 1991; *Blackfellas*, 1993; *Mr. Electric*, 1993; *Deadheart*, 1996; *The Echo of Thunder*, 1998.

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## Direct Broadcast Satellite

### Satellite Delivery Technology

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Direct Broadcast Satellite (DBS) is one of two direct-to-home (DTH) satellite-delivered program services meant for home reception. DTH programming is, in most respects, the same as that available to cable television subscribers. However, DTH subscribers access their programs not from terrestrial cable systems but rather directly from telecommunications satellites stationed in geosynchronous orbit approximately 22,000 miles above the Earth. Like cable systems, DTH program suppliers package a variety of program service channels and market them to prospective DTH subscribers for a monthly fee.

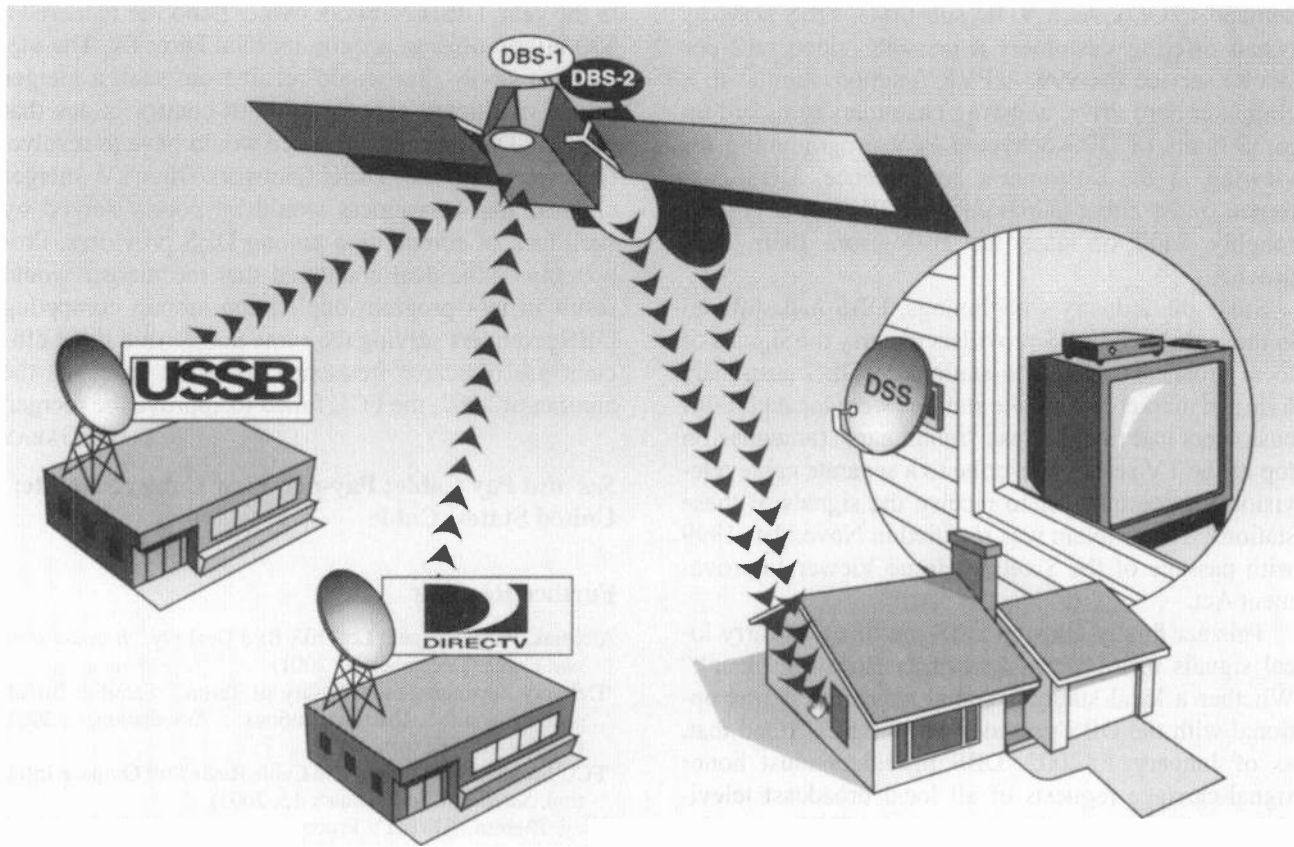
The second DTH service, and the older of the two, was originally referred to as TVRO (for "television receive only"), but now it is more commonly known as "C-band" service. C-band households (of which there were approximately 1 million in 2001) receive programming via a satellite dish that measures between six and eight feet in diameter; this programming is transmitted from a satellite transponder at low power (10-17 watts) in the 3.7- to 4.2-GHz frequency range, a range that occupies a portion of the frequency spectrum known as the C-band. C-band customers receive some unscrambled programming but may also subscribe to a package of scrambled (called "encrypted") program services for a monthly fee. Some 250 program channels provided by about 20 satellites were available to C-band customers in 2001.

DBS is the newer DTH service and by far the most popular, comprising a U.S. customer base (in 2001) of nearly 16 million households. Two DBS providers—DirecTV, owned by Hughes Electronics, and the DISH Network, owned by EchoStar Communications—provide similar program packages to their customers, all available via a receiving dish that measures about 18 inches in diameter. DBS programming is delivered by satellite transponders operating in the 12.2- to 12.7-

GHz portion of the frequency spectrum (called the Ku band) and transmitted at a power range that may exceed 100 watts. The higher power allows a more directed satellite-to-receiver signal and, thus, requires a much smaller receiver dish than is required for C-band reception.

The origins of DBS date to 1975, when Home Box Office (HBO) first utilized a satellite to deliver its program service to local cable television systems. Numerous individuals, especially those living in rural areas beyond the reach of cable television, erected TVRO dishes on their property and accessed whatever programming they wanted as it flowed from satellites. Program suppliers soon objected to free receipt of their product by TVRO owners. As a result, HBO and similar services began scrambling their signals in 1985. TVRO owners thereafter were required to pay a subscription fee to receive such programming.

The first effort to create a true DBS service in the United States occurred in 1980, when the Satellite Television Corporation (STC) proposed such a service to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The FCC approved STC's proposal and invited other companies to propose DBS services. Of the 13 companies that responded to the FCC, proposals from eight of them (including such electronics industry giants as Western Union and Radio Corporation of America [RCA]) eventually were approved. By the early 1990s, however, the high start-up cost of establishing a DBS service (estimated at more than \$1 billion) had forced many of the original DBS applicants either to delay or to abandon their projects altogether. DBS companies were uncertain that program suppliers that heretofore had provided programming exclusively to cable systems would extend their services to DBS. That matter was settled when the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992 prohibited cable



How DBS works: DBS programming is beamed from broadcast centers to DBS satellites. Digital programming is then beamed down from satellites to the 18-inch satellite dish attached to the side of a home. A set-top receiver picks up the programming signals.

*Illustration courtesy of DIRECTV*

program suppliers from refusing to sell their services to DBS operators.

FCC permission to launch DBS services included satellite transponder (or transmitter) assignment and DBS orbital slot assignment. Satellites providing a DBS service are allowed to occupy eight orbital slots positioned at 61.5, 101, 110, 119, 148, 157, 166, and 175 degrees west longitude.

A consortium of cable television system owners launched the first-generation DBS service, called Primestar, in July 1991. Ten years later and after the appearance and subsequent merger of several upstart DBS companies, only DirecTV, serving some 10 million customers, and DISH Network, serving some 6 million customers, were operating. However, the customer base of these two DBS services combined now accounted for a nearly 16 percent share of the national multichannel video program distribution (MVPD) market. Cable TV systems controlled about 80 percent of that market, but cable has been losing market share

over the years to its more aggressive DBS competitor. DBS subscribership, in fact, grew at nearly three times cable's growth rate between June 1999 and June 2000. DBS growth has been most pronounced in rural areas where cable has not yet penetrated and among disenchanted former cable customers or customers new to the MVPD marketplace. Significant numbers of C-band customers also have been moving to DBS in recent years.

The cost for DBS service will vary somewhat, but the cost of equipment purchase and installation (in 2001 figures) is about \$300, and the monthly subscription fee is approximately \$55 for a 130-channel program package. Both DirecTV and DISH Network subscription fees and program packages are comparable. DBS customers also have access through broadband capabilities to high-definition television (HDTV) as well as high-speed connection to the World Wide Web. DBS does offer pay-per-view (PPV) programming, but it is not yet capable of providing video-on-

demand (VOD). As a VOD substitute, DBS services began offering customers a personal video recorder (PVR) service in 1999. A PVR functions similar to a computer hard drive, allowing customers to record up to 35 hours of DBS-delivered PPV programming for viewing at the customer's convenience. DBS customers must either purchase their PVR at a cost of roughly \$400 or lease the PVR from their DBS provider.

Since the industry's beginnings, DBS had suffered in the inability of DBS providers to carry the signals of local broadcast television stations to DBS customers living in markets where the stations were located. DBS customers had to either use "rabbit ears" (antennae on top of the TV set) or subscribe to a separate cable television service in order to receive the signals of these stations. The problem was rectified in November 1999 with passage of the Satellite Home Viewer Improvement Act.

This act finally allowed DBS providers to carry local signals in a process known as "local-into-local." Whether a local station's signal was carried was optional with the DBS provider, but the FCC ruled that, as of January 1, 2002, DBS providers must honor signal-carriage requests of all local broadcast television stations in markets where the DBS provider elected to carry the signal of at least one station. The FCC rule, known as the "carry one, carry all" rule, did allow DBS providers to decline carriage of a local station's signal if the quality of that signal was deemed unacceptable. The FCC also allowed some local stations, generally those associated with the four major broadcast television networks (the National Broadcasting Company [NBC], the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], the American Broadcasting Company [ABC], and FOX), to request payment for carriage by DBS providers. By early 2001, either DirecTV or DISH Network or both were providing local-into-local service in at least 40 major television markets.

The DBS industry's corporate structure stood on the brink of major change as 2001 neared an end. Earlier

in the year, DISH Network owner EchoStar tendered a \$30 billion offer to acquire its rival DirecTV. The virtual monopoly that would result from such a merger raised significant concentration-of-control issues that the U.S. Department of Justice would have to resolve. Opponents of the DISH Network/DirecTV merger claimed that consumers would be poorly served by such lack of competition among DBS providers. Proponents of the deal countered that the merger would result in less program duplication among competing DBS providers serving the same market and more efficient use of scarce frequency spectrum space. In the autumn of 2002, the FCC failed to approve the merger.

RONALD GARAY

*See also Pay Cable; Pay-per-View Cable; Satellite; United States: Cable*

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## Director, Television

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The television director, who sits atop the chain of command of the crew during the actual filming or taping of the show, is responsible for the visualization of the TV program, selecting the different camera angles and compositions that will be used. Beyond this most general

definition, however, the nature of the director's job and the relative importance of the director's creative contribution to the finished product vary greatly among different forms and genres of television.

One basic distinction in TV production exists be-

tween single-camera (film-style) and multicamera work. In single-camera production, each shot is staged individually, allowing precise camera positioning and lighting. Repeated "takes" are shot until the director is satisfied with the results. The action is filmed or taped out of sequence, based on a logic of setups for camera and lighting. Actors must break their performance into noncontinuous bits that still appear coherent when assembled later in the editing room. In this type of production, then, performance is adjusted to fit the visual scheme. Virtually all prime-time television dramas, programs generally one hour or longer, are produced in this manner. Common genres include action-adventure, crime, medical, courtroom, melodrama, and "prime-time soap opera." The television drama is the format in which the TV director has the most control and the most creative input and operates most like a feature film director. Yet even here, the director's role is more limited than a film director's. The series nature of television necessitates an exceptionally demanding production schedule and a rigid organization of labor, giving the director certain responsibilities, removing or restricting others.

In the production of films for theatrical exhibition, directors frequently devise and initiate their own projects. Many film directors, such as Oliver Stone and Quentin Tarrantino, write their own screenplays. Even in cases where the director is hired after a producer has initiated a project and a script has already been commissioned, the director has great leeway to interpret the material in his or her own way. In addition to controlling visual style, the director may also develop the themes, work with actors on characterizations, and even participate in the rewriting of the script.

Television directors, however, work on a per-episode basis. Because of the highly compressed production schedule, any series will employ several different directors during a season. When the director arrives on the scene, the characterizations, themes, and basic style of the show have already been established by previous episodes. In fact, such creative decisions were often made by the show's producer in the development of the series, and they remain the province of the producer during the run of the show. The director, then, takes an existing, basic aesthetic setup and works out the details for the episode at hand. When film directors such as Steven Spielberg, Michael Mann, and David Lynch work in television, they generally act as producers because from that position the more important creative choices are made.

Nevertheless, the direction of TV drama episodes still offers excellent opportunities for creative expression. A number of TV drama directors, including Spielberg, have gone on to become film directors. This was even more the case in the 1950s and 1960s, when

television served as a training ground for some of the most prominent directors to work in the U.S. film industry. Arthur Penn, Sidney Lumet, Sam Peckinpah, Delbert Mann, Robert Altman, and other directors moved from television to the big screen. This path became less common by the late 1980s, and by the turn of the millennium, Hollywood was more likely to recruit new directors of feature films from the world of music video production than from series television. In the 1990s, the connection between film and TV directing occasionally flowed in the other direction, as established film directors could be found directing an episode of series television now and then. This was especially true where the director was also the program's producer, as with Lynch and *Twin Peaks* or Barry Levinson and *Homicide*. In the spring of 1995, Tarantino elected to direct the concluding episode of the first year of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) series *E.R.* because he found the show compelling.

In contrast to single-camera style, multicamera television production requires that the visual scheme be adjusted around the performance. The on-camera talent deliver their performances in real time, and the visualization is created by switching among a series of cameras trained on the unfolding event (and, in many cases, among several channels of electronically stored graphics). All "live" programs, including news and sports broadcasts, are produced this way. So, too, are talk, discussion, and game shows, which are shot "live-to-tape," then later broadcast with minimal editing. Directing in these genres offers less opportunity for creativity. The multicamera style in itself introduces great technical limitations, but these are often less restricting than the constraints defined by the forms themselves—how much visual flair is desirable in a shot of ABC News anchorman Peter Jennings reading a report of the latest Mideast conflict? Usually, then, the visual elements in presentational "event" programs, such as news, talk, or sports, generally follow a rigid, preset pattern. This is a necessity given that the production needs to be created almost instantaneously, with little or no time to prepare for the specifics of the particular episode. (Indeed, much of the visual excitement in "live" events such as sports derives from technical features such as instant replay.)

Directing this type of production is more a craft than an art. Although it requires great skill, the demands are mostly technical. Directors of multicamera television productions generally sit in a control room, viewing a bank of monitors on which the images from each camera and graphics source are displayed. They do not operate any studio controls, as they must keep their eyes glued to the monitors. They should not even look away to check notes or a script; instead, they must simply

know how the program should unfold and be able to keep their mind ahead of the developing action. The director of an American football game must be ready for the cut to the downfield camera before the quarterback throws the pass, for example, whereas the talk show director should anticipate an outburst of audience response. This intensity must be maintained for long periods, with commercials serving as brief breaks from the action. In some ways, multicamera direction is a verbal art form. The director literally "talks" the show into existence, calling out cues for edits, camera movements, effects, and audio transitions while different specialized crew persons, listening via headset, execute these commands.

During the 1950s, television drama specials and anthology series were shot in this multicamera style and often broadcast live. Directing in this context was especially challenging, requiring the dramatic skill of a stage director, the visual skills of a film director, and the technical skills of a live-TV director. These programs were often intimate psychological dramas. They called for relatively exacting visuals, which necessitated complicated camera-and-actor blocking schemes. For example, a primary camera and the lead actor had to be precisely positioned in order to get the required close-up without obstructing a second camera's view of the lead actress for the next shot. All these movements, of both cameras and actors, had to be executed perfectly in real time. It is easy to understand why, once the major film studios opened their facilities for TV productions, prime-time narrative shows quickly turned to film-style production. The producers were then able to establish considerably more control over the production process.

Daytime drama (soap opera in the United States) is a different story. Because multicamera production can be completed much more quickly and is therefore much less expensive than film-style production, soaps are still shot live-to-tape using multiple cameras. With little time for preproduction or rehearsal, the director must establish a visual sequence that can be executed essentially in real time. Yet that visual design must also serve the dramatic needs of the show. This task is made somewhat easier by the formulaic nature of the genre, but the combination of technical and aesthetic challenges makes directing the soap opera one of television's more difficult and underappreciated tasks. This technique has been adopted for the production of prime-time serials throughout Europe, for the *téléroman* in Quebec, and for *telenovelas* throughout Latin America.

The one other contemporary TV genre that employs the multicamera technique is the situation comedy. Until the 1960s and early 1970s, most sitcoms were shot in single-camera film style, with the laugh track dubbed in later. Beginning with *All in the Family*,

however, comedy producers adopted multicamera production techniques. This enabled actors to perform complete scenes before a live audience, generating natural laughter. In some cases, it also allowed the producer to schedule two performances of the same script, which enabled the selection of the "biggest" laughs for use in the soundtrack.

Sitcom production is actually a hybrid form, more likely to be shot with film cameras than video cameras. When this is the case, instead of cutting between cameras in real time with a switcher, all the cameras record the entire scene from different angles, and edits are made in postproduction, as in film-style work. Generally, the shows are performed not from beginning to end in real time but rather scene by scene, with breaks and retakes as needed. (The live audiences are apparently willing to laugh at the same joke more than once.) Still, this type of production is more a version of filmed theater than pure moving-picture work, and a sitcom director operates more like a stage director. Sitcom visualization is usually very simple—lots of long shots to catch the physical nature of the comedy are intercut with a few close-up reaction shots. More extensive use of close-ups would be out of place since the actors usually employ broad gestures and strong vocal projection to communicate the performance to the back row of the live audience. The overall effect of this form is the creation of a "proscenium style," as in the theater. The camera serves as the surrogate audience and establishes a "fourth wall" that is rarely crossed.

In this production style, the director concentrates on working with the actors on timing and execution, and successful sitcom directors are known primarily for their ability to communicate with the stars of their shows. In many cases, these directors work with a single show for its entire run, directing almost all the episodes. Jay Sandrich, for example, is noted for his work on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *The Cosby Show*, and James Burrows is equally acclaimed for his direction of *Cheers*.

In many countries other than the United States, the television director is afforded a role of greater prominence, much more akin to that of the film director. In most cases, this situation holds because television productions have been limited to one or two episodes or to the miniseries. This role may change, however, as more and more television systems come to rely on regular schedules built around series production, with its attendant demand for tight production schedules and minimal preproduction opportunities. It is this industrial organization, itself the result of particular economic imperatives, that has defined the present role of the American television director, a role in which par-

participation in the creative process is often secondary to that of the producer.

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**See also Allen, Debbie; Almond, Paul; Cartier, Rudolph; Mann, Delbert; Producer in Television; Schaffner, Franklin**

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**DirectV.** *See* **Covergence**

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## Disasters and Television

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Natural and human-made disasters are ideal subjects and settings for television, which continually seeks the dramatic, the emotionally charged, and even the catastrophic in order to capture audience attention. In the process, the medium sometimes serves a vital function, informing and instructing viewers in matters pertaining to safety and recovery.

This article focuses primarily on natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, blizzards, and drought, and technological accidents of a dramatic scale, such as fatal plane crashes, nuclear reactor failures, oil or chemical spills, and similar emergencies. While they are less emphasized here, human conflicts such as riots and political coups cannot be strictly segregated from the notion of "disaster." The chaos and drama inherent in these forms of violence

are certainly as intriguing to television as "acts of god," and television often frames them in ways that parallel the medium's interpretations of natural disasters. Furthermore, coverage of violent conflicts at times becomes inextricably linked to the coverage of "natural" catastrophes. For instance, reporting on the Rwandan civil wars involved coverage of the massive problems of disease and famine to which those wars contributed. Likewise, in the time since the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, much media attention has been cast on the suffering caused by the ongoing drought in Afghanistan and its implications for political stability in that nation and around the world.

During the actual moments of a disaster, television plays multiple roles. It is purveyor of information, sto-



ryteller, and sometimes agent of change. It can impart news of impending disaster, convey the effects of events that have taken place or are unfolding, and assign meaning. The use of particular camera angles, editing techniques, and added special effects render televised disaster footage ever more visually stunning, dramatic, and sensational. All this is possible by virtue of the medium's technology, its aesthetic, and its cultural authority.

Actual disasters have been the topic of numerous TV genres and forms, including made-for-TV movies, programming on specialized cable channels (such as the Weather Channel), public service announcements for relief organizations such as the Red Cross, and entertainment-oriented musical relief efforts such as the Live Aid concert/telethon or the Band Aid music video. Yet while the range of television genres employed in framing disasters has broadened, by far most attention to disasters is still found in the news.

It has been argued that people are psychologically drawn to disaster news because it feeds an innate voyeuristic tendency. Whether or not that is the case, natural and technological disasters are "newsworthy" because they are out-of-the-ordinary events, because they wreak havoc, and, particularly important in television, because they are the stuff of interesting, dramatic video footage. The way a disaster is reported on television depends on the characteristics of the disaster itself, but it also depends on characteristics of television news practice and television technology.

Television news is often a useful means of relaying information about stages of disasters as they develop. Natural disasters, such as hurricanes and tornadoes, can be reasonably predicted because of available sophisticated meteorological technology. In such instances, television may serve as a warning mechanism for residents of an area about to be hit by severe weather. In contrast, some natural events, such as earthquakes, are difficult to predict, and it can be virtually impossible to predict specific technological disasters, such as plane crashes or oil spills. However, even without the benefit of warning, television is capable of transmitting news of a disaster as it unfolds. In the aftermaths of the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in California, the 1994 Los Angeles earthquake, the 1994 crash of the Delta Airlines shuttle outside Chicago, and the 1996 crash of TWA flight 800, television news provided immediate, up-to-the-minute reports about the extent of damage and the cleanup and investigative efforts under way. In some cases, such as the September 11, 2001, collapse of the World Trade Center towers in New York City, television news captured the disaster as it was taking place, transmitting live the image and sounds of that catastrophe. The challenge for televi-

sion news in such cases is to provide information continuously while trying to make sense of sudden chaos. While earthquakes and plane crashes are relatively confined in both space and time, other disasters are more widespread and unfold over a much more slowly. In 1993, the great flood in the midwestern United States developed throughout the summer and traveled south with the overflowing rivers. The drought and famine in Somalia and Ethiopia were also widespread and were covered by television over a period of months, even years. The challenge for television news in such ongoing disasters is to search continually for fresh angles from which to report and new and interesting video to shoot. For example, during the 1993 flood, on one night, network television news might devote a news segment to the disaster's effects on farmers; on another night, another segment would cover the effects on small businesses; and then a story on local and national relief efforts would be reported on yet another evening. All the while, the news would regularly update the audience on the progress of rising floodwaters.

The role of television news in disasters is also spatially varied. In local settings or in the immediate area within which disaster has struck or is striking, television news is one of the primary means of disseminating information that may be vital to the physical and emotional health and safety of community residents. Television provides information about the risks communities are under, where residents can go for relief, and who they should contact for specific needs. At times, television becomes a conduit for personal messages. When severe weather conditions or the need for immediate access make television the only viable means of communication, individuals may use the medium to let others know they are safe or where they can be found.

In other situations, a disaster may have a profound impact on an area far from its epicenter. In such cases, television is often the fastest way to convey personal information to affected viewers. Shortly after the December 1988 crash of Pan Am flight 103 in Lockerbie, Scotland, local television newscasters in Syracuse, New York, quickly obtained passenger lists to read over the evening news because many of the passengers were students at Syracuse University and most of their friends and relatives were unsuccessful in confirming passenger information with Pan Am. One of the greatest challenges to the local newsroom during periods of disaster is to coordinate efforts with local safety and law enforcement officials so that accurate and necessary information is conveyed to the public in an efficient manner. Local television news staffs also find that they must abandon typical daily routines in favor





The aftermath of the *Exxon Valdez* disaster.  
 Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos

of quick action and greater flexibility in fulfilling tasks.

National television news plays a different role in reporting disaster. A national newscast crosses local boundaries and shares disaster stories with a nationwide audience, evoking empathy, community, solidarity, and, sometimes, national action. Hurricane Andrew, which struck the southeastern United States in 1993; the 1993 and 1997 Midwest floods; the January 1994 Los Angeles earthquake; and a number of raging forest fires in the northwestern United States during the late 1990s and early 2000s all developed as “national” disasters by virtue of the network television coverage they received. Network news reported daily on the damaging effects of these disasters. Network news anchors traveled to and reported from the disaster sites, helping to convey, even create, a sense of national significance. The effect of this type of coverage can be a national outpouring of sympathy and grassroots relief efforts. Daily footage of damage and homelessness brought on by a storm, flood, fire, or earthquake can prompt residents from distant parts of the nation (or the world) to coordinate food and clothing drives to help the recently victimized communities.

National disaster coverage can also lead to political action. TV coverage of the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in Alaska’s Prince William Sound in March 1989, particularly the pictures of damage to wildlife and the ecosystem, brought attention to a technological disaster and stoked the outrage of environmental groups such as Greenpeace. The action of environmentalists in their cleanup efforts and their battles with Exxon became significant angles in the development of that disaster news story.

However, television also has the power to divert audiences from these more complex questions of politics and responsibility. On January 17, 1994, for example, immediately after the Los Angeles earthquake, all the U.S. networks sent news teams to Los Angeles. Each shot scene after scene of the most devastating effects of this seismic tragedy: broken water mains, exploding gas lines, dismantled freeway systems, and the horrified, panicked, and awestruck faces of the earthquake victims. Larger issues, however, went unexplored. Working under the time constraints of broadcast news and emphasizing the pictorial chaos of disaster, television typically cannot or does not develop other aspects of a disaster, such as related governmental or policy problems, or the event’s historic implications.

Yet another type of political consequence may emerge from news reports of distant international disasters, especially when they involve U.S. coverage of disasters in developing nations. Critics have charged the U.S. press with geographic bias in covering disasters from developing nations. Their argument, supported by detailed content analysis of news stories broadcast in the United States, points out that much of the reporting from these nations focuses on disasters and political upheaval. This practice is seen as creating distorted images of these nations as chaos ridden and prone to disaster, representations that support and perpetuate unequal power relations between dominant and developing nations.

Critics also argue that U.S. broadcasters often decide which disasters should receive airtime according to the perceived connections between a given disaster and the interests of the United States. Those disasters in which Americans or American interests are harmed tend to receive prominent coverage by the U.S. press (including on television), while other disasters may be given minor coverage or be overlooked altogether. All these charges speak to television’s ability to construct and assign meaning to the events it covers, including disasters.

In this context, then, television news does not merely convey information about disasters. It has the power to *define* disaster. Television’s penchant for striking visual content encourages news gatherers to

use the camera lens and various camera angles and shot lengths to frame numerous images of drama and chaos and then to edit footage together in such a way as to represent and redefine the drama and chaos. As a result, television coverage of natural disasters is often framed in such a way as to convey hopelessness, presenting them as battles between powerless humans and powerful nature, whereas coverage of technological disasters is typically framed to convey humanity's profound powerlessness over technologies of all sorts.

This power to create and assign meaning demonstrates television's central role in contemporary societies. Consider, for example, the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster in the Soviet Union. One line of analysis suggests that the accident would never have been international news had it not been for television and emphasizes the contrast between the international coverage and that seen on domestic Soviet television, where, by carefully choosing which images would be included on the news, the Soviet government failed to warn its citizens adequately about the effects of the disaster. However, U.S. news groups covering the disaster were themselves duped by outside agents, as when news producers accepted videotape of what they believed was actual footage from Chernobyl—footage that turned out to be scenes shot somewhere in Italy. Such incidents speak both to the power of television and to the power of those who can control it to serve their own interests.

Besides framing disasters a certain way, assigning them a certain meaning, television producers also have some power to decide which disasters will be of significant interest to those outside the immediate area affected. For example, earthquakes that affect a large number of people, whether within a nation's borders or abroad, tend to receive far more coverage than earthquakes that register the same measurement on the Richter scale but do not wreak the same social havoc.

The importance of disasters as defined by television has even reached beyond news coverage, moving increasingly into entertainment television. Real-life disasters have become fodder for entertainment, and since the mid-1980s the line between fact and fiction, news and entertainment, has been increasingly blurred on TV. For example, the 1985 Live Aid rock concert/telethon, an international relief effort for famine victims in Ethiopia, was produced by Bob Geldof and transmitted internationally via satellite television. In this case, television first defined an international disaster through news coverage, then offered its own televised "solution" to the disaster by airing the Live Aid concert for relief.

Real-life disasters also can be the subject of made-for-TV movies. Sometimes called "virtual disasters,"

TV movies based on actual disasters became more common from the early 1990s onward. *Triumph over Disaster: The Hurricane Andrew Story* is an example of television's efforts not only to capitalize on disaster for ratings points but also to define the order of reality.

As the example of Live Aid suggests, television coverage of disasters can be used to raise money. The Red Cross has employed images of disaster in televised public service announcements, editing together news footage of recent hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes into 30-second spots that urge viewers to contribute money so that the charity can fund relief for disaster victims. Not all efforts to make money from disaster footage are philanthropic; some cable channels, such as the Weather Channel, air specials on significant and dramatic natural disasters and then sell videos of these programs to consumers.

The power of television as a tool for information, for making money, and for defining reality can be witnessed throughout the coverage of natural and technological disasters. As television becomes more competitive, the drama guaranteed by disaster images practically ensures an audience across increasingly blurred genres.

KATHERINE FRY

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# Discovery Channel

## U.S. Cable Network

Higher-education consultant John S. Hendricks founded Discovery Channel (DC) in 1982 to provide documentary programming on cable television that "enlightens as it entertains" (*PR Newswire*, 1985). Two decades later, Discovery Communications, Inc. (DCI), comprises five analog cable networks and five digitally tiered channels reaching 650 million subscribers in 155 countries through 33 languages. To promote the networks and extend the brand, DCI operates 170 Discovery Channel retail stores, online services, theme-park attractions, and publishing, video, outdoor apparel, and multimedia product lines.

In the three years before DC's June 17, 1985, launching to 2 million households through 100 local cable systems, Hendricks attracted \$4.5 million in venture capital and an agreement with Group W Satellite Communications to distribute the channel. A ready supply of inexpensive international documentary programming and a deregulatory cable TV environment in the United States facilitated DC's launching. While few documentaries could be found on U.S. television in the 1980s, documentary programming prospered in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where a fuller commitment to state-subsidized educational television existed. At this time, 60 percent of DC's programs were imported from these countries for \$250 to \$400 per film hour.

This informational programming proved valuable to U.S. cable operators who were looking to add additional channels to justify substantial subscriber rate increases after the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 lifted rate restrictions. This encouraged four major multisystem cable operators (Tele-Communications Inc., Cox Cable Communications Inc., United Cable Television Corp., and Newhouse Broadcasting Corp.) to take a 10 percent stake each in DC. As Cox Cable

president remarked, "The Discovery Channel becomes a very useful marketing and community relations tool as we in the cable industry approach deregulation" (*PR Newswire*, 1986). With vertical ties to the largest cable operators, a national advertising revenue-sharing plan with all cable affiliates, and an advertiser-desired "up-scale" target audience, DC grew quickly to 9 million U.S. subscribers in the first year, 50 million by 1990, and 82 million by 2001, the second most widely distributed cable network behind Turner Broadcasting System (TBS).

In its first four years, DC organized its wholly acquired programming into topical blocks (the natural world, science and space, geography, exploration, and history), with periodic, high-profile themed weeks, including *Science and Technology Week*, and the ongoing summer franchise *Shark Week*. In 1990, expanded distribution brought revenues that DC used to produce or coproduce original programs for half its schedule. By 1995, a \$110 million programming budget produced 400 hours of original programs filling 60 percent of the schedule, with 30 percent acquired from overseas and 10 percent from U.S. producers. Refinements to DC's 18-hour-per-day schedule include a morning hour of commercial-free educational programming called Assignment Discovery (1989) and home improvement/decorating series in the late morning and afternoon with hosts Lynette Jennings (1991) and Christopher Lowell (1996). Undifferentiated prime-time nature, science, and historical programming was gradually shaped into branded nightly series, including the nature-themed *Wild Discovery* (1995), the science anthology *Sci-Trek* (1995), and the behind-the-scenes-oriented *On the Inside* (1999). Special-event series include the extreme adventure race *Eco-Challenge* (1996) and *Expedition Adventure*



Courtesy of Discovery Networks

(1997), which partially funds and films expeditions, including the shipwrecked *Titanic* (1998), the recovery of the Mercury space capsule *Liberty Bell 7* (1999), and a French archaeological exhumation of a woolly mammoth (2000). DC's most substantial coproduction partner is BBC Worldwide, the commercial branch of the U.K. public broadcasting network. In 1998, a five-year deal worth \$565 million included network partnerships in the United States (Animal Planet and BBC America) and Latin America (People 1 Arts and Animal Planet Latin America) and coproduced computer graphic designed specials, including *Walking with Dinosaurs*, and nature spectaculars, such as *Blue Planet: Sea of Life*.

Low-cost programming and broad distribution brought surplus revenues and carriage leverage that DCI used to launch and/or acquire additional nonfiction cable networks. In 1991, DCI purchased the Learning Channel from the Financial News Network, excised its for-credit telecourses and daytime infomercials, and focused programming on "the world of ideas," a somewhat distinct focus from the "experiential, physical world" of DC programs. In 1996, DCI launched Animal Planet, a network dedicated to wildlife documentaries and domestic pets. The analog network expanded quickly as DCI moved the wildly successful nature franchise *Crocodile Hunter* from DC to Animal Planet and paid cable/satellite distributors a substantial fee for carriage. DCI also acquired Travel Channel in 1997, launched Discovery Health in 1999, and acquired the Health Network from FOX Cable Networks Group in 2002. In anticipation of digital compression technologies, in 1995 DC planned to create dozens of digital "clubs," such as "Astronomy Club" or "Science Club," that would function as separate pay-per-view services offering on-demand programs rather than additional multiplexed niche channels. The initiative, an offshoot of a more ambitious project to create a broader video-on-demand system called "Your Choice TV," gave way to the creation

of four digitally tiered channels in 1996 (Discovery Home and Leisure, Discovery Civilization, Discovery Science, and Discovery Kids) and a fifth in 1998 (Discovery Wings).

The growth of cable/satellite infrastructures internationally facilitated DCI's rapid expansion into the following regions: in 1989, DC Europe (Benelux, Scandinavia); in 1994, DC Asia (Brunei, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Singapore), DC Latin America (Central America, South America, and the Caribbean), and the Middle East; in 1995, Canada, India, and Australia/New Zealand; in 1996, Africa, Italy, and Germany; and in 1997, Japan and Turkey. Discovery Networks International (DNI), DCI's subsidiary for international expansion, typically partners with local and regional cable/satellite carriers to share risk, resources, and local expertise and to satisfy foreign ownership restrictions. Often the regional channels are initially offered free to cable/satellite carriers to secure distribution, then small per-subscriber fees are charged. Because little advertising is sold on most of these channels as yet, most of the revenues come from subscriber fees, and as of 2001, only DC Europe has turned a profit. DNI's professed commitment to "localizing" each channel typically begins with locally produced promotional campaigns, then a gradual splitting of feeds for language/dialect diversification. For example, the Miami-based DC Latin America began in 1994 as a single Spanish-subtitled channel and then in 1996 added the Portuguese-language DC Brazil. By 1999, DNI had created separate Spanish-language feeds for the southern cone of Latin America, Spain, and the U.S. Hispanic market. The bulk of DC's programming remains panregional, and special-event programs are designed for global promotion and reach, such as "Watch with the World" events, which are shown in all regions simultaneously in prime time, including *Cleopatra's Palace: In Search of a Legend* (1999), *Raising the Mammoth* (2000), and *Inside the Space Station* (2000).

In 1985, *Science* magazine described the newly arrived DC as "something like a Sorbonne of the tube—a loosely structured, informal university where you can take in whatever classes or lectures interest you" (Meyer, p. 90). In the new millennium, DCI rather resembles a globally integrated media conglomerate where branded content designed for international markets drives programming decisions. As DCI President Judith McHale boasted with reference to *Raising the Mammoth*, "Our wide reach lets us extend this global media event across our worldwide network of branded channels, in concert with our many other content and retail platforms" (*PR Newswire*, 2000). DCI sold prehistoric-themed merchandise through its retail stores,

Discovery.com offered online sweepstakes, the Travel Channel promoted "Discovery-branded" trips to archaeological digs, and all companion networks produced "complementary" programs to promote the event.

JOHN MCMURRIA

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## Discovery Channel (Canada)

### Canadian Cable Network

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Canada's Discovery Channel was granted a license in June 1994 and made its debut on New Year's Eve later that year as a national, English-language specialty channel. Like its American namesake, Discovery Canada offers a mix of content dedicated to science, technology, nature, the environment, and adventure. The Canadian offshoot was among the first international Discovery franchises in what has become a globe-spanning media brand.

The license was originally held by a partnership called "Adventure Unlimited" uniting Labatt breweries and a number of smaller Canadian investors with Discovery Networks International (DNI), the American parent corporation of Discovery, which exercised its option to purchase 20 percent of the enterprise. Majority ownership ultimately passed to a media consortium called NetStar. Then, in early 1999, Canada's largest private broadcaster, CTV, purchased 80 percent of NetStar. A year later, CTV itself was taken over by Bell Globemedia, the media subsidiary of giant BCE Inc., amid a wave of takeovers in Canada that brought Discovery under the umbrella of the country's largest media conglomerate.

The advent of the digital era in Canada in the 1990s and the subsequent proliferation of services licensed by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission presented DNI and its sundry partners with opportunities to expand and diversify the Discovery line. As a result, DNI also holds shares in Discovery Civilization and Animal Planet (also in conjunction with Bell Globemedia), Discovery Health (in

partnership with Alliance Atlantis), and Discovery Kids (with Corus Entertainment). Many of these newer channels are available only in digital mode, and their potential and actual audiences are relatively small. Discovery Canada is the undisputed ratings champion within the Canadian branch of the extended family.

The founding president of the Discovery Channel was Trina McQueen. Lured away from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) after helping to launch the all-news channel Newsworld, McQueen is a leading television executive and a pioneering woman broadcaster in Canada. Her surprise departure from CBC represented something of a coup for Discovery. Reflecting on the early years of Discovery Canada, McQueen took pride in helping to establish popular domestic programming. She believed that Discovery's winning formula was based on being "cool" and therefore attractive to cable subscribers (and, not insignificantly, to advertisers.) She boasted that the service had been able to maintain credibility with the scientific community even as it cultivated and entertained a diverse audience.

Many other conventional and specialty channels provide at least some space for content similar in kind to the programs offered by Discovery. Writing in *Marketing*, Muriel Draaisma noted that McQueen has emphasized that Discovery is not an "educational or instructional" service. She prefers to describe Discovery's mandate in terms such as "curiosity," "drama," and "exploration." Discovery Canada is also differentiated by theme weeks in which different aspects of a particular topic are in scope on successive weekday evenings.

Discovery has been among the industry leaders since its inception and is well positioned in terms of both average hours of viewing by adults and reach (its rating are the highest among the batch of seven services that debuted in 1994). The channel takes pains to report that viewer surveys point to impressive levels of viewer satisfaction.

A typical weekly rotation for Discovery includes a good deal of content originating with the American channel and other foreign producers, especially in the peak hours of prime time. However, the original condition of license (successfully renewed in 2001) obliges Discovery to invest 45 percent of its annual revenues in domestic content. The result has been the production of a number of acclaimed series that have appeared in syndication on other services at home and abroad. Discovery must also present at least 60 percent domestic content overall (50 percent in the prime evening hours). Short documentary films, a staple for which Canadians are often said to have a particular fondness, occupy much of the schedule.

The flagship show on Discovery is *@discovery.ca*. Airing nightly in the prime 7:00 P.M. slot, it is billed by the channel as the "world's first and only daily science and nature news magazine." It is one of the service's most popular programs. According to a profile in the *Ryerson Journalism Review* by Rebecca Davey, in 1997 approximately 1.5 million viewers tuned into *@discovery.ca* at least once during the week, and, surprisingly, one-third of the audience is composed of women over the age of 18. In a reverse of the customary south-to-north flow of content, the Canadian show was picked up by Discovery Science in the United States.

The series is produced and presented by well-known science popularizer Jay Ingram, an award-winning radio host, television personality, print journalist, and former university educator. He joined Discovery prior to the ser-

vice's launch and helped design the show. His presence infuses the evening showcase with eclectic and witty perspectives on topical science stories. On any given night, the segments range across live remote interviews with astronauts in space or scientists in their labs, quizzes for both viewers and professionals, scientific demonstrations, and minidocumentaries. The pace is fast, and the banter between Ingram and his on-air partners is bright. One of the features is an interactive segment called "You Asked For It," in which viewers can make special feature requests or pose questions of experts.

Discovery's programming is complemented by an ambitious website. The site was a first for Canadian television. Launched simultaneously with the channel in 1994 with the prosaic address of [www.discovery.ca](http://www.discovery.ca), the site was rechristened EXN (Explorer Network) in 1996. Users are able to access a wide variety of information on the site, including archived video and text material along with entries in "Jay's Journal," a sampling of Ingram's typically engaging investigations of scientific curiosities.

ROBERT EVERETT

See also **McQueen, Trina**

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## Disney, Walt (1901–1966)

U.S. Animator, Producer, Media Executive

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Walt Disney was a visionary filmmaker who brought his film library, his love of technology, and his business sense to American television in the mid-1950s. His groundbreaking television program, *Disneyland*, helped establish fledgling network ABC, pointed the way to-

ward that network's increasing reliance on Hollywood-originated filmed programming, and provided much-needed financing for Disney's pioneering theme park.

From the late 1920s on, Disney was a public figure, Hollywood's best-known independent studio head. He

first achieved success with animated short subjects starring the character with whom he is best associated, Mickey Mouse. In 1937, his studio produced the first full-length animated motion picture, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. In the late 1940s, beginning with *Song of the South* (1946), the Disney studio also branched out into live-action films, but it was associated, then as now, primarily with animation.

Unlike many other studios, Disney's did not prosper during World War II, when it devoted much of its energies to producing films for the U.S. government. Indeed, the Disney studio had never made a great deal of money because of the time- and labor-intensive nature of animation work. After the war, Walt Disney hoped to expand his enterprises. The key to this expansion, according to Christopher Anderson in *Hollywood TV* (1994), was diversification. Disney was ready to set his sights beyond the film industry.

Disney flirted with the new medium in the early 1950s, producing a one-hour special for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1950 and another in 1951. He discussed a possible series with both NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), but only the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the third-place network, was willing to give him what he wanted in exchange—funding for the amusement park he dreamed of opening in Anaheim, California. ABC executives were desperate to obtain programming that would enable them to compete with their more established rivals and were particularly interested in courting the growing family market in those baby-boom years.

Walt Disney and his brother Roy convinced the network to put up \$500,000 toward the construction costs for the park, to be called (like the television program) Disneyland, and to guarantee its bank loans. In exchange, ABC would obtain 35 percent of the park and would receive profits from Disneyland concessions for ten years. Even more important to the network, Disney would deliver them a weekly, hour-long television program that would take advantage of his family-oriented film library.

The program *Disneyland* debuted on October 27, 1954, and quickly became ABC's first series to hit the top ten in ratings. A number of early episodes showed old Disney films or promoted new ones. (A documentary chronicling the filming of the upcoming *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* added to the audience for that film and also earned Disney his first Emmy Award, for best documentary.)

The program's success was clinched in December 1954 with the introduction of the first of three episodes focusing on Davy Crockett. The day after the December 15 telecast of "Davy Crockett, Indian Fighter," Crockett mania swept through the country.



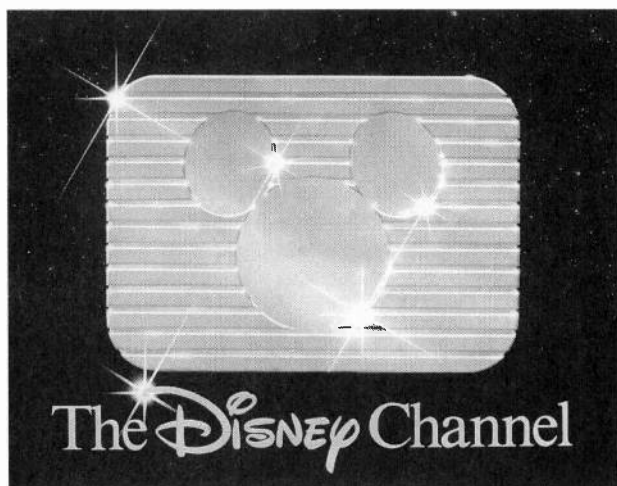
Walt Disney, c. 1950s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The "Davy Crockett" episodes established another new Disney tradition. Not only would Disney move his feature films to television, but he would also reverse the process. Although ABC broadcast only in black and white, the Disney studio shot the "Davy Crockett" episodes in Technicolor. After telecasting each of the three hours twice during the winter and spring months of 1954 and 1955, the studio edited them into a film, which it released to theaters nationally and internationally in the summer of 1955. The film's high attendance increased the visibility of the *Disneyland* television program—and of all Disney's enterprises, including his new park.

When the park opened in July 1955, ABC aired a live special honoring the new tourist mecca of the United States and its founder. Within a year, millions of viewers whose amusement appetites had been whetted by Disney's television program poured into Disneyland. In its first year, it grossed \$10 million. Walt Disney and his company had shaped two new entertainment forms—and had made more money than ever before.

Disney himself served as the affable host of his program. In light of its success, his studio quickly gener-





Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ated other youth-oriented television shows for ABC. *The Mickey Mouse Club*, a daily daytime program featuring a likable group of youngsters known as the Mouseketeers, premiered a year after *Disneyland* and lasted for four seasons. *Zorro*, an adventure series about a masked, swashbuckling Spaniard in 19th-century California, ran from 1957 to 1959.

Disney continued to be best known, however, for the weekly program he hosted. In 1959, this show changed its name to *Walt Disney Presents*. In 1961, it moved to NBC and changed its name to *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color*. NBC's parent company, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), offered the Disney studios an appealing sponsorship deal, hoping that Disney's colorful telefilms would help market color-television receivers.

Disney was still the host of this version of the program at the time of his death in December 1966. His avuncular on-screen personality had endeared him to viewers of all ages. And his re-creation of American recreation through the dual marketing of the two Disneylands had forged new patterns in American cultural history, inextricably linking television to the film and amusement industries.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

**Walt (Walter) Elias Disney.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, December 5, 1901. Attended McKinley High School, Chicago; Kansas City Art Institute, 1915. Married Lillian Bounds, 1925; children: Diane and Sharon. Served in France with Red Cross Ambulance Corps, 1918. Became commercial art apprentice to Ub Iwerks, 1919; joined Kansas City Film Advertising Company, producing, directing, and animating com-

mercials for local businesses, 1920; incorporated Laugh-o-Gram Films, 1922; went bankrupt, 1923; moved to Hollywood and worked on several animated series, including *Alice in Cartoonland*, 1923; ended *Alice* series and began *Oswald the Lucky Rabbit* series, 1927; formed Walt Disney Productions, 1927; created *Steamboat Willie* (first cartoon to use synchronized sound and third to feature his creation Mickey Mouse), 1928; began distributing through Columbia, 1930; *Flowers and Trees* released through United Artists, first cartoon to use Technicolor and first to win Academy Award, 1932; began work on *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, his first feature-length cartoon, 1934; Disney staff on strike, 1941; Disney developed several TV programs, 1951–60; formed Buena Vista Distribution Company for release of Disney and occasionally other films, 1954; hosted *Disneyland* TV series; opened Disneyland, Anaheim, California, 1955; premiered numerous television shows, including *The Mickey Mouse Club* and *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color*; Walt Disney World opened, Orlando, Florida, 1971. Recipient: Special Academy Award, 1932, 1941; Irving G. Thalberg Award, 1941; Best Director (for his work as a whole), Cannes Film Festival, 1953; two Emmy Awards. Died in Los Angeles, California, December 15, 1966.

#### Television Series

1954–58	<i>Disneyland</i>
1955–59	<i>The Mickey Mouse Club</i>
1958–61	<i>Walt Disney Presents</i>
1961–66	<i>Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color</i>

#### Films (director, animator, and producer)

*Newman Laugh-o-Grams* series, 1920; *Cinderella*; *The Four Musicians of Bremen*; *Goldie Locks and the Three Bears*; *Jack and the Beanstalk*; *Little Red Riding Hood*; *Puss in Boots*, 1922; *Alice's Wonderland*; *Tommy Tucker's Tooth*; *Martha*, 1923; *Alice* series (12 episodes), 1924; *Alice* series (18 episodes), 1925; *Alice* series (9 episodes), 1926; *Alice* series (17 episodes), 1927; *Oswald the Lucky Rabbit* series (11 episodes), 1927; *Oswald the Lucky Rabbit* series (15 episodes), 1928.

#### Films (as head of Walt Disney Productions; coproduced with Ub Iwerks)

*Steamboat Willie*, 1928; *Mickey Mouse* series (12 episodes), 1929; *Mickey Mouse* series (3 episodes), 1930; *Silly Symphonies* series, 1929; *Night*, 1930; *The Golden Touch*, 1935.



**Films (as head of Walt Disney Productions)**

*Flowers and Trees*, 1932; *Three Little Pigs*, 1933; *The Tortoise and the Hare*, 1934; *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 1937; *Ferdinand the Bull*, 1938; *Fantasia*, 1940; *Pinnocchio*, 1940; *The Reluctant Dragon*, 1941; *Dumbo*, 1941; *Bambi*, 1942; *Victory Through Air Power*, 1943; *The Three Caballeros*, 1944; *Make Mine Music*, 1946; *Song of the South*, 1946; *Fun and Fancy Free*, 1947; *Melody Time*, 1948; *So Dear to My Heart*, 1948; *Ichabod and Mr. Toad*, 1949; *Cinderella*, 1950; *Alice in Wonderland*, 1951; *The Story of Robin Hood and His Merrie Men*, 1952; *Peter Pan*, 1953; *The Sword and the Rose*, 1953; *Rob Roy, the Highland Rogue*, 1953; *Toot, Whistle, Plunk and Broom*, 1953; *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*, 1954; *The Littlest Outlaw*, 1954; *Lady and the Tramp*, 1955; *Davy Crockett and the River Pirates*, 1955; *The Great Locomotive Chase*, 1956; *Westward Ho the Wagons!*, 1956; *Johnny Tremain*, 1957; *Old Yeller*, 1957; *The Light in the Forest*, 1958; *Sleeping Beauty*, 1958; *Tonka*, 1958; *The Shaggy Dog*, 1959; *Darby O'Gil and the Little People*, 1959; *Third Man on the Mountain*, 1959; *Toby Tyler, or Ten Weeks with a Circus*, 1959; *Kidnapped*, 1960; *Pollyanna*, 1960; *Ten Who Dared*, 1960; *Swiss Family Robinson*, 1960; *One Hundred and One Dalmatians*, 1960; *The Absent-Minded Professor*, 1960; *Moon Pilot*, 1961; *In Search of the Castaways*, 1961; *Nikki, Wild Dog of the North*, 1961; *The Parent Trap*, 1961; *Grayfriar's Bobby*, 1961; *Babes in Toyland*, 1961; *Son of Flubber*, 1962; *The Miracle of the White Stallions*, 1962; *Big Red*, 1962; *Bon Voyage*, 1962; *Almost Angels*, 1962; *The Legend of Lobo*, 1962; *Savage Sam*, 1963; *Summer Magic*, 1963; *The Incredible Journey*, 1963; *The Sword in the Stone*, 1963; *The Misadventures of Merlin Jones*, 1963; *The Three Lives of Thomasina*, 1963; *A Tiger Walks*, 1964; *The*

*Moon-Spinners*, 1964; *Mary Poppins*, 1964; *Emil and the Detectives*, 1964; *Those Calloways*, 1964; *The Monkey's Uncle*, 1964; *That Darn Cat*, 1965; *The Ugly Dachshund*, 1966; *Lt. Robin Crusoe, U.S.N.*, 1966; *The Fighting Prince of Donegal*, 1966; *Follow Me, Boys!*, 1966; *Monkeys, Go Home!*, 1966; *The Adventures of Bullwhip Griffin*, 1966; *The Gnome-Mobile*, 1966; *The Jungle Book*, 1967.

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## Distant Signal

### Cable Television Transmission Technology

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The term "distant signal" refers to a television station transmission made available to one or more local cable systems by means other than off-air reception. Traditionally, distant signals have been imported via terrestrial

microwave relays; today, however, communications satellites are also used for distant signal importation.

The earliest cable systems of the late 1940s and early 1950s, then known as CATV (Community An-

tenna Television), were little more than very tall community antennas connected by wire to homes within a given community. Under these conditions, retransmission of distant signals was limited to communities no more than approximately 100 miles from the nearest television stations. Consequently, many communities, particularly small communities in sparsely populated states of the western United States, were unable to benefit from community antennas.

By the mid-1950s, however, a number of these western towns had CATV systems served by microwave relays. The relays made it possible to retransmit broadcast signals over many hundreds of miles. The first such system, launched in 1953, brought a Denver, Colorado, signal to Casper, Wyoming. Within the next decade, microwave relays—many of which had been connected to form networks—covered a large portion of the West.

Eventually, microwave technology began to be used as more than simply a substitute for community antenna service. By the late 1950s, some cable operators were using microwave-carried signals to supplement signals received off the air. As improved technology brought about increased CATV channel capacity, operators began to seek extra programming options in order to make their service more attractive to potential subscribers. In the early 1960s, independent stations from large cities such as New York and Chicago became popular CATV channel options because of the quantity of movies and local sports in their schedules.

Also, in the mid- to late 1950s, some operators began using microwave relays to bypass local or nearby signals entirely in order to provide their subscribers with more popular stations from distant cities. In most cases, the program quality of a local station serving only several thousand people could not be expected to equal that of a station serving millions, and with the technical capability to carry distant stations, CATV operators had little incentive to use the lower-quality local programming. An outcry arose from the small-market broadcasters, who felt that CATV would draw viewers away. As local viewership decreased, they argued, so would advertising revenues. Hearings on this issue were held throughout the late 1950s by both Congress and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), but no decisive regulatory action was taken to limit this type of CATV competition with broadcasters until a landmark 1963 Supreme Court decision.

In this case, *Carter Mountain Transmission Corp. v. FCC*, a small Wyoming broadcast station challenged the FCC's licensing of a microwave company that intended to deliver distant signals to a CATV system in a community where the station's signal could be re-

ceived off air. The FCC ultimately denied the microwave license because the microwave outfit not only refused to guarantee the local station protection against program duplication on imported stations but also refused to require the CATV to carry the local station's signal. The commission reasoned that, because microwave threatened to destroy a local broadcaster, it also threatened the loss of television service to a substantial rural population without access to CATV as well as to any other CATV nonsubscribers. To grant the microwave company a license unconditionally would have been in direct conflict with the commission's policies favoring localism in broadcasting.

The *Carter Mountain* decision set in motion a series of FCC decisions on the status of CATV, culminating in its 1965 First Report and Order and the 1966 Second Report and Order. These two rulings recognized that CATV had become more than simply a retransmission medium for areas not served by broadcast television. It was beginning to enter broadcast markets, sometimes replacing local signals with distant signals. Even when local stations were offered in addition to distant stations in these markets, subscribers often would watch the distant rather than local stations. Thus, the two rulings focused on setting guidelines for the carriage of local signals by CATV systems and on restricting the duplication of the local stations' programming by channels that carried imported distant stations. In addition, the 1966 rules temporarily limited the growth of CATV in the nation's top 100 broadcast television markets, a provision strengthened by a 1968 FCC ruling that completely froze growth in the top 100 markets, pending further study of cable developments.

The 1972 Cable Television Report and Order, the next major FCC ruling regarding cable, also focused in large part on the importation of distant signals into broadcast markets. This extensive ruling contained one provision that affected the importation of distant independent stations and another that protected local stations' exclusive rights to syndicated programming. The latter, known as "syndicated exclusivity" or "syndex," became increasingly difficult to enforce as the number of cable program services grew, especially after satellites were introduced to the cable industry in the mid-1970s. Still, pressure from broadcasters continued to focus regulators' attention on the issue, and in 1990 an updated version of the syndex rules was enacted. Since then, cable operators have been obligated to black out any syndicated programming on distant signals that duplicates syndicated programs offered by local stations.

Distant signal importation has been important to the growth of the cable industry in that it has allowed cable operators some degree of selection in the types of broadcast signals they retransmit to their subscribers.

The most popular distant signals used by modern cable systems are satellite-carried superstations, such as WGN in Chicago, WOR in New York, and Ted Turner's WTBS in Atlanta, Georgia.

MEGAN MULLEN

See also **Microwave; Must Carry Rules; Superstation; Translators; United States: Cable**

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## Dixon of Dock Green

### British Police Series

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Beginning in 1955 and finally ending in 1976, *Dixon of Dock Green* was the longest-running police series on British television. Although its homeliness would later become a benchmark to measure the "realism" of later police series, such as *Z Cars* and *The Bill*, it was an enormously popular series. *Dixon* should be seen as belonging to a time when police were generally held in higher esteem by the public than they have been subsequently. The series was principally set in a suburban police station in the East End of London and concerned uniformed police engaged with routine tasks and low-level crime. The ordinary, everyday nature of the people and the setting was further emphasized in early episodes of the series with the old, British music-hall song "Maybe It's Because I'm a Londoner"—with its sentimental evocations of a cozy community—being used as the series theme song.

Unlike later police series, *Dixon* focused less on crime and policing and more on the family-like nature of life in the station with Dixon, a warm, paternal, and frequently moralizing presence, as the central focus. Crime was little more than petty larceny. However, as the 1960s and the early 1970s brought ever more realistic police series from both sides of the Atlantic to the British public, *Dixon of Dock Green* would seem increasingly unreal, a rosy view of the police that seemed out of touch with the times. Yet the writer of the series maintained to the end of the program's time on air that the stories in the episodes were based on fact and that *Dixon* was an accurate reflection of what goes on in an ordinary police station.

Police Constable (PC) George Dixon was played by veteran actor Jack Warner. The figures of both Dixon and Warner were already well known to the British public when the series was launched. Warner had first

played the figure of Dixon in 1949 in the Ealing film *The Blue Lamp*. A warm, avuncular policeman, his death at the end of the film at the hands of a young thug (played by Dirk Bogarde) was memorably shocking and tragic. British playwright Ted Willis, who, with Jan Read, had written the screenplay for *The Blue Lamp*, subsequently revived the figure of Dixon for a stage play and then wrote a series of six television plays about the policeman. Thus, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) took little chance in spinning off the figure and the situation into a television series.

If Dixon was well known to the public, the actor Jack Warner was even better known. Born in London in 1900, Warner had been a comedian in radio and in his early film career. Starting in the early 1940s, he had broadened his range to include dramatic roles, becoming a warmly human character actor in the process. However, in addition to playing in films with dramatic themes, such as *The Blue Lamp*, Warner continued to play in comedies, such as the enormously successful Huggett family films made between 1948 and 1953.

In *Dixon of Dock Green*, Dixon was a "bobby" on the beat—an ordinary, lowest-ranking policeman on foot patrol. With the inevitable heart of gold, Dixon was a widower raising an only daughter Mary (Billie Whitelaw in the early episodes, later replaced by Jeanette Hutchinson). Other regular characters included Sergeant Flint (Arthur Rigby), PC Andy Crawford (Peter Byrne), and Sergeant Grace Millard (Moirá Mannon). From 1964, Dixon was a sergeant.

The series was the creation of writer Ted Willis, who not only wrote the series over its 20 years on British television but also had a controlling hand in the production. Long-time producer of the series was Douglas

## Dixon of Dock Green

Moodie, whose other television credits include *The Inch Man* and *The Airbase*. *Dixon* was produced at the BBC's London television studios at Lime Green. The show began on the BBC in 1955 and ran until 1976. Altogether, some 439 episodes were made, at first running 30 minutes and later 45 minutes. The early episodes were in black and white, while the later ones were in color.

The BBC scheduled *Dixon* in the prime family time slot of 6:30 P.M. on Saturday night. At the time it started on air in 1955, the drama schedule of the BBC was mostly restricted to television plays, so that *Dixon of Dock Green* had little trouble in building and maintaining a large and very loyal audience. In 1961, for example, the series was voted the second-most-popular program on British television, with an estimated audience of 13.85 million. Even in 1965, after three years of the gritty and grimy procedural police work of *Z Cars*, the audience for *Dixon* still stood at 11.5 million. However, as the 1960s wore on, ratings for *Dixon* began to fall, and this factor, together with health questions about Warner, led the BBC to finally end the series in 1976.

ALBERT MORAN

### Cast

George Dixon	Jack Warner
Andy Crawford	Peter Byrne
Mary Crawford	Billie Whitelaw/Jeanette Hutchinson
Sgt. Flint	Arthur Rigby
Insp. Cherry	Stanley Beard/Robert Crawdon
PC Lauderdale	Geoffrey Adams
Duffy Clayton	Harold Scott
Johnny Wills	Nicholas Donnelly
Tubb Barrell	Neil Wilson
Grace Milard	Moira Mannion
Jamie MacPherson	David Webster
Chris Freeman	Anne Ridler
Bob Penney	Anthony Parker
Alex Jones	Jan Miller
PC Jones	John Hughes
Kay Shaw/Lauderdale	Jacelyne Rhodes
Michael Bonnet	Paul Elliott
Jean Bell	Patricia Forde
Bob Cooper	Duncan Lamont
PC Swain	Robert Arnold
Liz Harris	Zeph Gladstone
Shirley Palmer	Anne Carroll
Betty Williams	Jean Dallas

PC Burton  
DS Harvey  
PC Roberts  
Insp. Carter  
Ann Foster  
Brian Turner  
DC Pearson  
PC Newton  
DC Webb  
Sgt. Brewer  
Alan Burton  
Len Clayton

Peter Thornton  
Geoffrey Kean  
Geoffrey Kenion  
Peter Jeffrey  
Pamela Bucher  
Andrew Bradford  
Joe Dunlop  
Michael Osborne  
Derek Anders  
Gregory de Polney  
Richard Heffer  
Ben Howard

### Producers

Douglas Moodie, G.B. Lupino, Ronald Marsh, Philip Barker, Eric Fawcett, Robin Nash, Joe Waters

### Programming History

154 30-minute episodes; 285 45-minute episodes  
BBC

July 1955–August 1955	6 episodes
June 1956–September 1956	13 episodes
January 1957–March 1957	13 episodes
September 1957–March 1958	28 episodes
September 1958–March 1959	27 episodes
September 1959–April 1960	30 episodes
October 1960–April 1961	30 episodes
September 1961–March 1962	27 episodes
September 1962–March 1963	27 episodes
October 1963–March 1964	26 episodes
September 1964–March 1965	26 episodes
October 1965–April 1966	31 episodes
October 1966–December 1966	13 episodes
September 1967–February 1968	20 episodes
September 1968–December 1968	16 episodes
September 1969–December 1969	16 episodes
November 1970–March 1971	17 episodes
November 1971–February 1972	12 episodes
September 1972–December 1972	14 episodes
December 1973–April 1974	16 episodes
February 1975–May 1975	13 episodes
March 1976–May 1976	8 episodes

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# Doctor Who

## British Science Fiction Program

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*Doctor Who*, the world's longest continuously running television science fiction series, was made by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) between 1963 and 1989 (with repeats being shown in many countries thereafter and a made-for-television movie broadcast on both the BBC and the U.S. network FOX in 1996). *Doctor Who's* first episode screened in Britain on November 23, 1963, the day after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Consequently, this first episode of a low-budget series was swamped by "real life" television and became a BBC institution quietly and by stealth in the interstices of more epic television events. Similarly, in the first episode, the central character is a mysterious ("Doctor Who?") and stealthy figure in the contemporary world of 1963, not even being seen for the first 11 and a half minutes and then appearing as an ominous and shadowy person who irresponsibly "kidnaps" his granddaughter's schoolteacher in his time machine (the Tardis). This mystery was the hallmark of the series for its first three years (when William Hartnell played the lead), as was the antihero quality of the Doctor (in the first story he has to be restrained from killing a wounded and unarmed primitive).

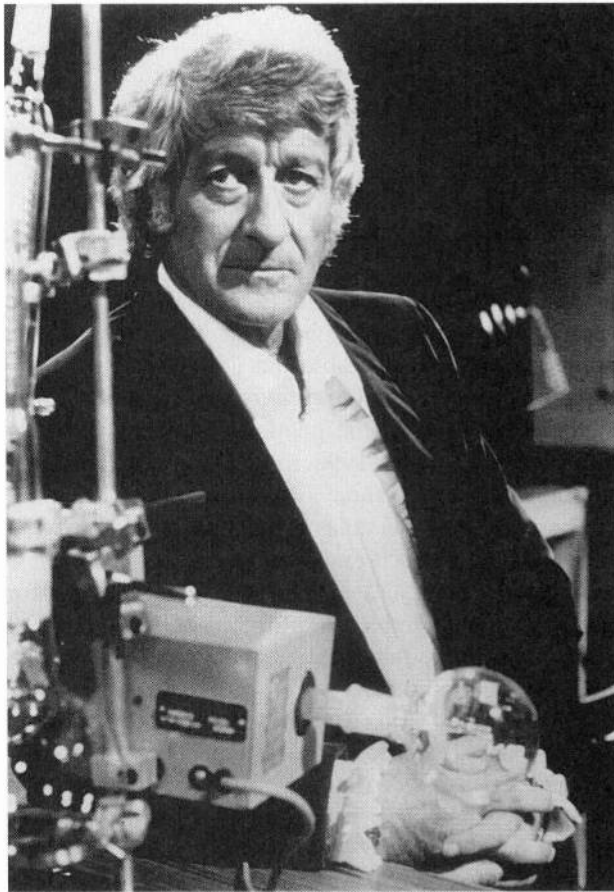
The Doctor was deliberately constructed as a character against stereotype: a "cranky old man" yet also as vulnerable as a child, an antihero playing against the more obvious "physical" hero of the schoolteacher Ian (played by the well-known lead actor in commercial television's *Ivanhoe* series). Its famous, haunting signature tune was composed at the new BBC Radiophonic Workshop, adding a futuristic dimension to a series that would never be high on production values. The program always attracted ambitious young directors, with (the later enormously successful) Verity Lambert as its first. The decision to continue with the series in 1966 when Hartnell had to leave the part and to "regenerate" the Doctor on screen allowed a succession of quirkily different personas to inhabit the Doctor. When it was decided in 1966 to reveal where the Doctor came from (the Time Lord world of Gallifrey), the mysteriousness of the Doctor could be carried on in a different way—via the strangely varied characterization. Following Hartnell, the Doctor was played by the Chaplinesque "space hobo" Patrick Troughton; the

dignified "establishment" figure of Jon Pertwee; the parodic visual mix of Bob Dylan and Oscar Wilde, Tom Baker; the vulnerable but "attractive to young women" Peter Davison; the aggressive and sometimes violent Colin Baker; the gentle, whimsical Sylvester McCoy; and, in the 1996 movie, the romantic and emotional Paul McGann.

These shifts in personas were matched by shifts in generic style, as each era's producers looked for new formulas to attract new audiences. The mid-1970s, for example, under producer Philip Hinchcliffe, achieved a high point in audience ratings and was marked by a dramatic gothic-horror style. This led to a "TV violence" dispute with Mary Whitehouse's National Viewers and Listeners Association. The subsequent producer, Graham Williams, shifted the series to a more comic signature. This comedy became refined as generic parody in 1979 under script editor Douglas Adams (author of *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*). *Doctor Who's* 17th season, for which Adams edited scripts and wrote certain episodes ("The Pirate Planet" and "The City of Death"), became notorious with the fans, who hated what they saw as the self-parody of *Doctor Who* as "*Fawlty Towers* in space" (John Cleese appeared briefly in a brilliantly funny parody of art critics in "The City of Death").

Throughout *Doctor Who's* changes, however, the fans have remained critically loyal to the series. Fiercely aggressive to some producers and to some of the show's signature players, the fans' intelligent campaigns helped keep the program on the air in some of the more than 100 countries where it has screened; and in the United States, huge conventions of fans brought *Doctor Who* a new visibility in the 1980s. However, the official fans have never amounted to more than a fraction of the audience. *Doctor Who* achieved the status of an institution as well as a cult.

*Doctor Who's* reputation attracted high-level, innovative writers; its formula to educate and entertain encouraged a range of storylines from space opera through parody to environmental and cultural comment. Its mix of current technology with relatively low budgets attracted ambitious young producers and led to what one producer called a "cheap but cheerful" British show that fascinated audiences of every age-



*Doctor Who*, Jon Pertwee, 1963–89.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

group worldwide. Above all, its early, ambiguous construction opened the show to innovative, often bizarre, but always dedicated acting. With so many different characterizations and acting styles, the program, like the Doctor, was continuously “regenerating” and so stayed young.

JOHN TULLOCH

**See also Lambert, Verity; Nation, Terry; Newman, Sidney; Pertwee, John; Science Fiction Programs; Troughton, Patrick**

**Cast**

The Doctor (first)	William Hartnell
The Doctor (second)	Patrick Troughton
The Doctor (third)	Jon Pertwee
The Doctor (fourth)	Tom Baker
The Doctor (fifth)	Peter Davison
The Doctor (sixth)	Colin Baker
The Doctor (seventh)	Sylvester McCoy
The Doctor (eighth)	Paul McGann

Susan Foreman	Carole Ann Ford
Barbara Wright	Jacqueline Hill
Ian Chesterton	William Russell
Vicki	Maureen O'Brien
Steven Taylor	Peter Purves
Katarina	Adrienne Hill
Sara Kingdom	Jean Marsh
Dodo Chaplet	Jackie Lane
Polly Lopez	Anneke Wills
Ben Jackson	Michael Craze
Jamie McCrimmon	Frazer Hines
Victoria Waterfield	Deborah Watling
Zoe Heriot	Wendy Padbury
Liz Shaw	Caroline John
Jo Grant	Katy Manning
Sarah-Jane Smith	Elizabeth Sladen
Harry Sullivan	Ian Marter
Leela	Louise Jameson
Brigadier Lethbridge-Stewart	Nicholas Courtney
K9	John Leeson
Romana (first)	Mary Tamm
Romana (second)	Lalla Ward
Adric	Matthew Waterhouse
Nyssa	Sarah Sutton
Tegan Jovanka	Janet Fielding
Turlough	Mark Strickson
Perpugilliam Brown	Nicola Bryant
Melanie Bush	Bonnie Langford
Ace	Sophie Aldred
Master (1971–73)	Roger Delgado
Master (1981–89)	Anthony Ainley
Master (1996)	Eric Roberts
Doctor Grace Holloway	Daphne Ashbrook

**Producers**

Alex Beaton, Peter Bryant, Philip Hinchcliffe, Matthew Jacobs, Verity Lambert, Barry Letts, Innes Lloyd, John Nathan-Turner, Mervyn Pinfield, Derrick Sherwin, Peter Ware, John Wiles, Graham Williams II, Jo Wright, Philip Segal, Peter Wagg, Jo Wright

**Programming History**

BBC	
679 approximately 25-minute episodes	
15 approximately 50-minute episodes	
1 90-minute special anniversary episode	
1 90-minute made-for-television movie	
November 1963–September	
1964	42 episodes
October 1964–July 1965	39 episodes

September 1965–July 1966	45 episodes	September 1986–December 1986	14 episodes
September 1966–July 1967	43 episodes	September 1987–December 1987	14 episodes
September 1967–June 1968	40 episodes	October 1988–January 1989	14 episodes
August 1968–June 1969	44 episodes	September 1989–December 1989	14 episodes
January 1970–June 1970	25 episodes	May 27, 1996	90-minute made-for-television movie (first aired in U.S. on FOX, on May 14, 1996)
January 1971–June 1971	25 episodes		
January 1972–June 1972	26 episodes		
December 1972–June 1973	26 episodes		
December 1973–June 1974	26 episodes		
December 1974–May 1975	20 episodes		
August 1975–March 1976	26 episodes		
September 1976–April 1977	26 episodes		
September 1977–March 1978	26 episodes		
September 1978–February 1979	26 episodes		
September 1979–January 1980	20 episodes		
August 1980–March 1981	28 episodes		
January 1982–March 1982	26 episodes		
January 1983–March 1983	22 episodes		
November 25, 1983	90-minute anniversary special		
January 1984–March 1984	22 25-minute episodes, 2 50-minute episodes		
January 1985–March 1985	13 50-minute episodes		

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- Rickard, Graham, *A Day with a TV Producer*, Hove, England: Wayland, 1980
- Road, Alan, *Doctor Who: The Making of a Television Series*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1982
- Tulloch, John, and Manuel Alvarado, *Doctor Who: The Unfolding Text*, London: Macmillan, 1983
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## Docudrama

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The docudrama is a fact-based representation of real events. It may represent contemporary social issues—the “facts-torn-from-today’s-headlines” approach—or it may deal with older historical events. U.S. television examples include *Brian’s Song* (1971), the biography of Brian Piccolo who played football for the Chicago Bears and died young from cancer; *Roots* (1977), the history of a slave and his family; *Roe v. Wade* (1989), the history of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion; *Everybody’s Baby: The Rescue of Jessica McClure* (1989), the rescue of an 18-month-old baby from a well; and three versions of the Amy Fisher and Joey Buttafuoco affair (1993). The sources of the form derive from 19th- and 20th-century journalism, movies, and radio.

In most cases, a docudrama is produced in the manner of realist theater or film. Thus, events are portrayed

by actors in front of an invisible “fourth wall,” shooting techniques obey the conventions of mainstream film or television (that is, establishing shots with shot/reverse shots for dialogue, lighting constructed in a verisimilar manner, nonanachronistic mise-en-scène), no voice-over narrator comments on the actions once the events begin, and little or no documentary footage is interspersed. Unlike mainstream drama, however, the docudrama does make claims to provide a fairly accurate interpretation of real historical events. In other words, it is a nonfictional drama.

Thus, the docudrama is a mode of representation that, as its name reflects, combines categories usually perceived as separate: documentary and drama. This transgression, however, is not an actual one. Texts that claim to represent the real may be created out of vari-



*Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years*, Edward Herrmann, Jane Alexander, 1977.  
©ABC/Everett Collection

ous sorts of documents, such as photographs, interviews, tape recordings of sounds, printed words, drawings, and narrators who attempt to explain what happened. Nonfictional texts may also use actors to reenact history. In all cases, the real is being represented and is thus never equal to the reality it represents. Some people point out that having any filmic recording of an event is a “text” with the same status as these other types of documents: film footage is necessarily taken from a particular angle and thus is an incomplete representation of an event.

The docudrama should be distinguished from fictional dramas that make use of reality as historical context but do not claim that the primary plotline is representing events that have actually occurred. An example of such a fictional use of history would be an episode in *Murphy Brown* in which Brown insists on questioning President Bush at a press conference and is then thrown out. The use of the real person Bush as backdrop to a fictional plot creates a “reality effect” for the fictional program but would not qualify the episode to be a docudrama.

Docudramas do not have to conform to the previously mentioned aesthetic conventions. An early U.S. example of a series devoted to reenacting past events is *You Are There*. *You Are There* derived from the radio program *CBS Is There*, which ran from 1947 through 1950. On television it appeared from February 1953 through October 1957. *You Are There* violated the traditional taboo of avoiding anachronisms by having contemporary television reporters interview historical figures about the events in which they were supposed to have been participating, for example, during the conquest of Mexico.

The *You Are There* form for a docudrama, however, is very unusual. Most docudramas employ standard dramatic formulas from mainstream film and television and apply them wholesale to representing history. These conventions include a goal-oriented protagonist with clear motivations, a small number of central characters (two to three) with more stereotyping for secondary characters, causes that are generally ascribed to personal sources rather than structural ones (psychological traumas rather than institutional dynamics), a dramatic structure geared to the length of the program (a two-hour movie might have the normal “seven-act” structure of the made-for-television movie), and an intensification of emotional ploys.

The desire for emotional engagement by the viewers (a feature valuable for maintaining the audience through commercials) produces an inflection of the docudrama into several traditional genres. In particular, docudramas may appeal to effects of suspense, terror, or tears of happiness or sadness. These effects are generated by generic formulas, such as those used in the detective, thriller, or horror genre. Although the outcome was known in advance, *Everybody's Baby* operates in the thriller mode: how will Baby Jessica be saved? Judicial dramas such as *Roe vs. Wade* or murder dramas such as *Murder in Mississippi* (the death of three civil rights workers) use suspense as a central affective device. Examples of terror are docudramas of murders or attempted murders by family members or loved ones or of larger disasters, such as the Chernobyl meltdown or plane crashes.

One of the most favored effects, however, is tears, produced through melodramatic structures. Some critics point out that docudramas tend to treat the “issue of the week” and that such a concern for topical issues also produces an interest in social problems that might have melodramatic resolutions. Docudramas have treated incest, missing children, wife or child abuse, teenage suicide, alcoholism and drug addiction, adultery, AIDS-related deaths, eating disorders, and other “diseases of the week.” The highly successful *Brian's Song*, which won five Emmys and a Peabody, is an ex-



cellent example of this subtype of docudrama. Its open sentimentality and use of male-buddy conventions, along with the treatment of an interracial friendship, uses the event of an early death by cancer to promote images of universal brotherhood. *The Burning Bed* (1984) and *The Karen Carpenter Story* (1989) wage war against pressures producing, respectively, domestic violence and anorexia nervosa.

Such implicitly or explicitly socially conscious programs, however, raise the problem of interpretation. Indeed, docudramas, like other methods of representing reality, are subject to controversy regarding their offer of historical information through storytelling. Although historians now recognize how common it is to explain history through dramatic narratives, they are still concerned about what effects particular types of dramatic narratives may have on viewers. Debates about docudramas (or related forms, such as "reality TV") include several reservations.

One reservation is related to "dramatic license." In order to create a drama that adheres to the conventions of mainstream storytelling (particularly a sensible chain of events, a clear motivation for character behavior, and a moral resolution), writers may claim they need to exercise what they call dramatic license—the creation of materials not established as historical fact or even the violation of known facts. Such distortions include created dialogues among characters, expressions of internal thoughts, meetings of people that never happened, events reduced to two or three days that actually occurred over weeks, and so forth. Critics point out that it is the conventions of mainstream drama that compel such violations of history, while writers of docudramas counter that they never truly distort the historical record. Critics reply that the dramatic mode chosen already distorts history, which cannot always be conveniently pushed into a linear chain of events or explained by individual human agency.

Another reservation connected to the first is the concern that spectators may be unable to distinguish between known facts and speculation. This argument proposes not that viewers are not sufficiently critical but that the docudrama may not adequately mark out distinctions between established facts and hypotheses and that, even if the docudrama does mark the differences, studies of human memory suggest that viewers may be unable to perceive the distinctions while viewing the program or remember the distinctions later.

A third reservation focuses on the tendency toward simplification. Critics point out that docudramas tend toward hagiography or demonization in order to compress the historical material into a brief drama. Additionally, complex social problems may be personalized so that complicated problems are "domesticated."

Adding phone numbers to call to find help for a social problem may be well intentioned but may also suggest that sufficient solutions to the social problem are already in place.

Outside the United States, many of these problems have been addressed in different but related ways, and while the term "docudrama" is often used in a generic fashion, it may be applied to a range of forms. In the United Kingdom, for example, *Cathy Come Home* (1966) stands as one of the earliest and strongest explorations of the problem of homelessness. Created by writer Jeremy Sandford, producer Tony Garnett, and director Ken Loach, this program refuses the more conventional structures of dramatic narrative, inserting a strong "documentary" style of photography into the presentation and using "Cathy's" own voice as narrator-analyst for the harsh social situation in which she finds herself. Another voice, however, presents factual information in the form of statistics and other information related to the central topic of the piece. *Cathy Come Home* has been described as a "documentary-drama," a term that seeks to emphasize the serious and factual qualities of the show against the more conventional docudrama.

In Australia, versions of docudrama have often been used to explore social and national history. Productions such as *Anzacs*, *Gallipoli*, and *Cowra Outbreak* have focused on Australian participation in both world wars and, in some views, are crucial texts in the construction of national identity.

In Canada, critics have applied the docudrama designation to a broader range of production styles, including works such as *The Valour and the Horror*, which combined documentary exploration with dramatized sequences. This program led to an ongoing controversy over the nature of the "real" and the "true." Because the presentation challenged received notions of Canadian involvement in World War II (notions themselves constructed from various experiences, memories, and records), the conflict took on an especially public nature. So, too, did arguments surrounding *The Boys of St. Vincent*, which dealt with child molestation in a church-run orphanage. The dramatization in this case was more complete but clearly paralleled a case that was still in court at the time of production and airing.

What all these examples suggest is, on the one hand, that docudrama is a particularly useful form for television, whether for advertising profit, the exploration of social issues, the construction of identity and history, or some combination of these ends. On the other hand, the varied examples point to an ongoing aspect of television's status as a medium that both constructs narratives specifically defined as "fiction" and purports to

somehow record or report "reality." *You Are There* mixed "news," history, and fiction, categories often (and uncritically) considered distinct and separate. The mixture, the blurred boundaries among the conventions linked to these forms of expression and communication, and the public discussions caused by those blurrings and mixings remain central to any full understanding of the practices and the roles of television in contemporary society.

All these concerns came to the fore in late 2003 in the United States, when the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) declined to air *The Reagans*, a docudrama based on the lives and careers of President Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy. Although the network had commissioned the work and, presumably, had been aware of its content and approach throughout the production process, Leslie Moonves, chief executive officer of CBS, made the decision not to air the program on the prime-time schedule after strong objections were raised in various quarters. Some of the response came from political groups aligned with the Republican Party. Some came from conservative critics who charged that the docudrama was a left-wing attack on a beloved president. Another line of critique cited the casting of Mr. James Brolin, husband of Ms. Barbra Streisand, as Ronald Reagan. This criticism pointed to Ms. Streisand's strong support of the Democratic Party. Moonves's personal explanation claimed that he found the work "unbalanced" and that his decision was a "moral call." Although the program was not aired on CBS, it was made available on

Showtime, a premium cable network also owned by Viacom, parent company of CBS. In addition to the docudrama itself, in its complete and original form, Showtime presented a panel discussion in which historians and media critics discussed the project. The network also conducted a poll of viewers. Those who responded split almost evenly between those who felt that the controversy was "very warranted" (34 percent) and those who felt that it was "not at all warranted" (37 percent). Previously in the same year, CBS aired *Hitler: The Rise of Evil*. While this docudrama also raised questions (and eyebrows) regarding the use of actual events in television dramatic productions, it proved modestly successful and was also sold widely to other television organizations throughout the world.

JANET STAIGER AND HORACE NEWCOMB

See also *Cathy Come Home; Power Without Glory; Six Wives of Henry VIII; Valour and the Horror, The*

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## Documentary

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A documentary is defined as a nonfiction report that devotes its full-time slot to one thesis or subject, usually under the guidance of a single producer. Part of the fascination with documentaries lies in their unique blend of writing, visual images, soundtracks, and the individual styles of their producers. In addition to their particular contribution to the television medium, documentaries are notable because they have intertwined with wrenching moments in history. These characteristics have inspired some to describe documentaries as among the finest moments on television and as a voice of reason, while others have criticized them as inflammatory.

TV documentaries, as explained by A. William Bluem in the classic *Documentary in American Television*, evolved from the late 1920s and 1930s works of photojournalists and film documentarians, such as Roy Stryker, John Grierson, and Pare Lorentz. Bluem writes, "They wished that viewers might share the adventure and despair of other men's lives, and commiserate with the downtrodden and underprivileged." The rise of radio in World War II advanced the documentary idea, especially through the distinguished works of writer Norman Corwin of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the reporting of Edward R. Murrow. In 1946, Murrow created the CBS documen-

tary unit, which linked documentary journalism with the idea that broadcasters owed the public a news service in exchange for lucrative station licenses.

Technology has also been a force in the documentary's evolution. The editing of audiotape on the 1949 CBS record *I Can Hear It Now* facilitated the origin of the radio documentary. On National Broadcasting Company (NBC) radio, the *Living* series (1949–51) used taped interviews and helped move the form away from dramatizations and toward actualities.

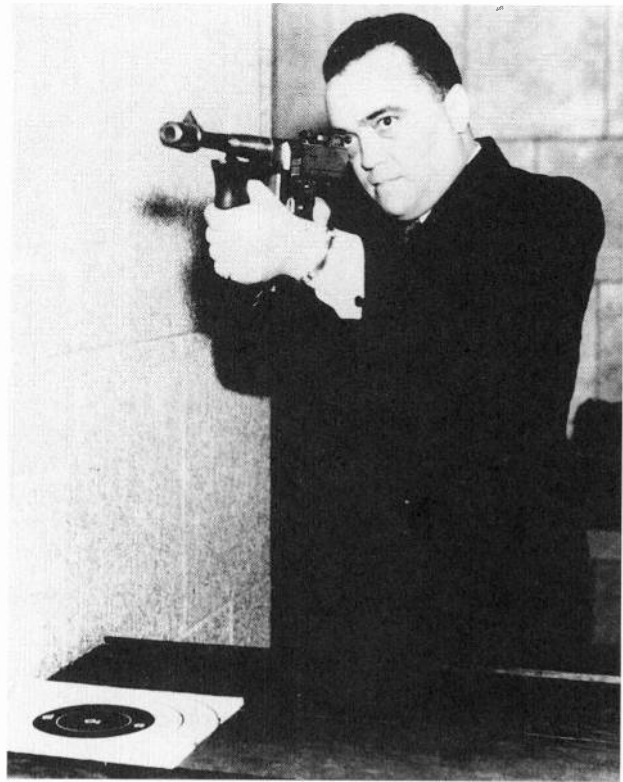
The genesis of the American TV documentary tradition is attributed to the CBS series *See It Now*, started in 1951 by the legendary team of Murrow and Fred Friendly. *See It Now* set the model for future documentary series. Producers shot their own film rather than cannibalize other material, worked without a prepared script and allowed a story to emerge, avoided using actors, and produced unrehearsed interviews. This independence contributed to the credibility of *See It Now*'s voice, as did Murrow and Friendly's courage in confronting controversy.

The most notable of the *See It Now* programs include several reports on McCarthyism, an episode that illustrates the uneasy association that exists between controversial documentaries, politics, and industry economics. The Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) sought to sponsor *See It Now*, which featured the esteemed Murrow, to improve its image following antimonopoly decisions by the courts.

As McCarthyism increasingly damaged innocent reputations, Murrow and Friendly used their series to expose the groundless attacks. "A Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" in 1954 employed the senator's own words to discredit his false claims. Such programs made CBS and Alcoa uneasy. Alcoa refused to publicize or pay for some of the productions. Changing market conditions forced the company to withdraw sponsorship at the end of the 1955 season, and the program lost its weekly time period.

In June 1955, CBS began airing *The \$64,000 Question*, which greatly increased revenues for its time slot as well as for adjacent periods. In a climate that included political pressure on the network and its sponsor, coupled with economic pressures that favored revenues over prestige, support for *See It Now* waned, and the program was scaled back to occasional broadcasts that lasted until the summer of 1958.

Other notable series of the 1950s include television's first major project in the compilation tradition, *Victory at Sea* (1952–53). Produced by Henry Solomon, this popular NBC series detailed World War II sea battles culled from 60 million feet of combat film footage. It was a paean to freedom and the overthrow of tyranny. Another popular series ran on CBS



*Frontline*: "The Secret File on J. Edgar Hoover."  
Photo courtesy of Photo Assist

from 1957 to 1966. *The Twentieth Century* was a history class for millions of American TV viewers, produced throughout its entire run by Burton (Bud) Benjamin.

The absence of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) as a major presence in the documentary field in the 1950s is a telling indicator of television history. ABC was the weak, third network, lacking the resources, affiliate strength, and audience of its rivals. Since CBS and NBC dominated the airwaves, each could counterprogram the other's entertainment hits with documentaries. The more the industry tended toward monopoly, the better the climate for documentaries.

Documentaries soared in quality and quantity during the early 1960s, a result of multiple factors. In *The Expanding Vista: American Television in the Kennedy Years*, Mary Ann Watson articulates how the confluence of technology with social dynamics energized the television documentary movement. Following the quiz show scandals, pressure on the industry to restore network reputations spurred the output of high-quality nonfiction programming.



*Against the Odds*: "The Artists of the Harlem Renaissance, William Henry Johnson."  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

The May 1961 "Vast Wasteland" speech by Federal Communications Commission (FCC) chairman Newton Minow and the "raised eyebrow" of government further motivated the networks to accelerate their documentary efforts as a way of protecting broadcast-station licenses and stalling FCC hints that the networks themselves should be licensed. President John F. Kennedy was also an advocate of documentaries, which he felt were important in revealing the inner workings of democracy.

The availability of lightweight 16-millimeter film equipment enabled producers to get closer to stories and record eyewitness observations through a technique known as *cinéma vérité*, or direct cinema. A significant development was the wireless synchronizing system, which facilitated untethered, synchronized sound-film recordings, pioneered by the Drew Associates.

*Primary* (1960) was a breakthrough documentary. Produced by Robert Drew and shot by Richard Leacock, the film featured the contest between Senators John Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey in the 1960 Wisconsin primary. For the first time, viewers of Time-Life's four television stations followed candidates through crowds and into hotel rooms, where they awaited polling results. Through the mobile-camera technique, *Primary* achieved an intimacy technique never before seen and established the basic electronic news-gathering shooting style. In *Crisis: Behind a*

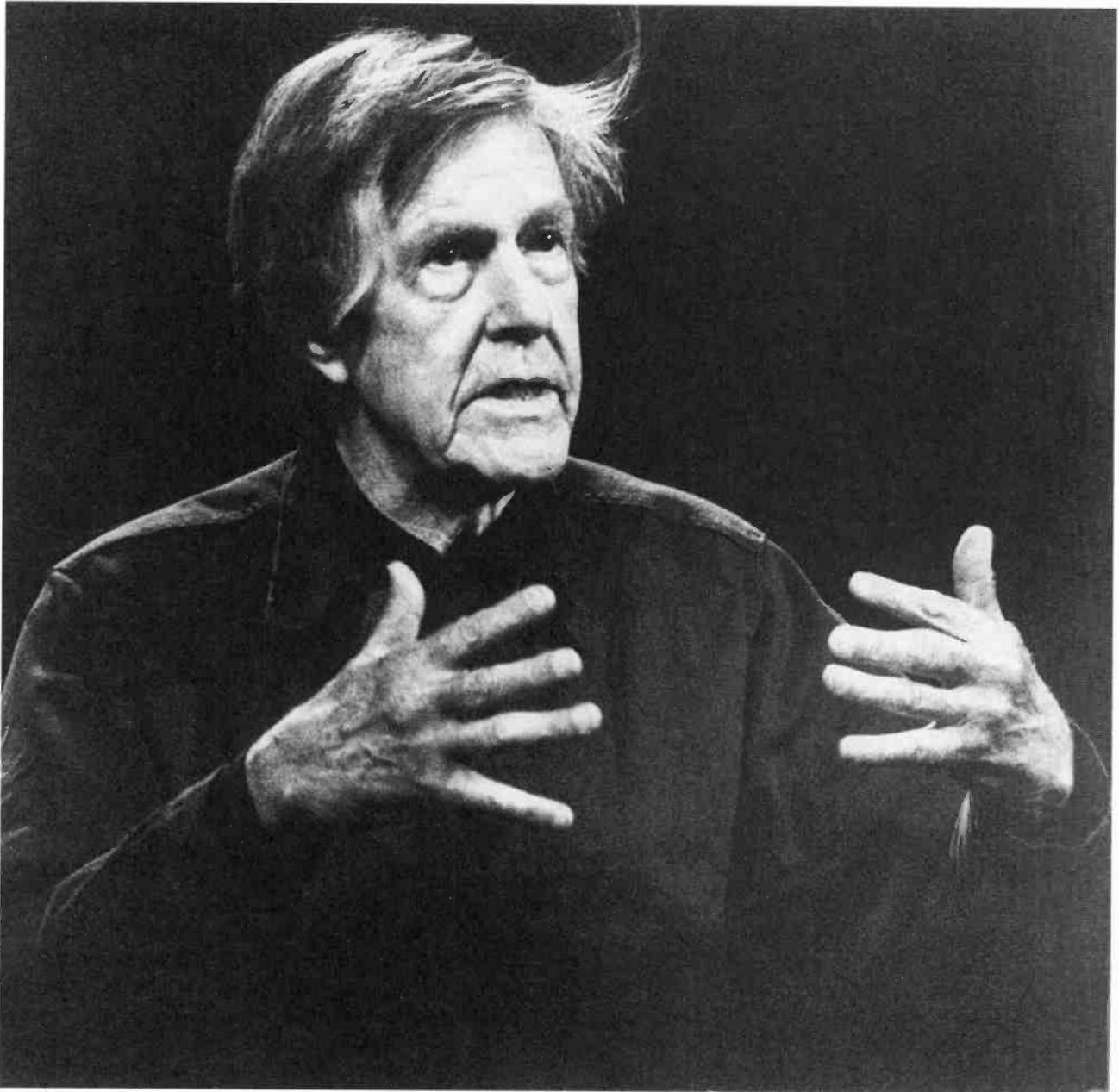
*Presidential Commitment*, Drew Associates producer Gregory Shuker took cameras into the Oval Office to observe presidential meetings over the crisis precipitated by Alabama Governor George Wallace, who authorized the use of physical force to block the entry of two African-American students to the University of Alabama. The program aired in October 1963 on ABC and triggered a storm of protest over the admission of cameras into the White House.

The peak for TV documentary production was the 1961-62 season, when the three networks aired more than 250 hours of programming. Each network carried a prestige documentary series. *CBS Reports*, produced by Friendly, premiered in 1959 and became a weekly documentary series in the 1961-62 season. *NBC White Paper*, produced by Irving Gitlin, first aired in November 1960 and immediately thrust itself into hotly contested issues, such as the U-2 spy mission and the Nashville, Tennessee, lunch-counter sit-ins. The *White Paper* approach featured meticulous research and analysis.

At ABC, the job of developing a documentary unit fell to John Secondari. Since sponsor Bell and Howell produced film cameras and projectors, the artistic quality of the filmed presentation was important and engendered an attention to aesthetics that carried over in later years on ABC News documentaries. Like others of the period, the *Bell and Howell Close-Up!* series, which also aired productions by Drew Associates, dealt with race relations ("Cast the First Stone" and "Walk in My Shows") and Cold War themes ("90 Miles to Communism" and "Behind the Wall").

Minow's emphasis on the public service obligations of broadcast licensees also spurred network affiliates to increase documentary broadcasts. Clearances for *CBS Reports* jumped from 115 to 140 stations. The production of local documentaries surged, creating a favorable environment for independent producers. David Wolper, whose Wolper Productions enjoyed a growth spurt in 1961, said, "Maybe we should thank Newton Minow for a fine publicity job on our behalf." Wolper's unique contributions to syndicated TV documentaries include "The Race for Space" (1958) and the series *Biography*, the *National Geographic Society Special*, and *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*.

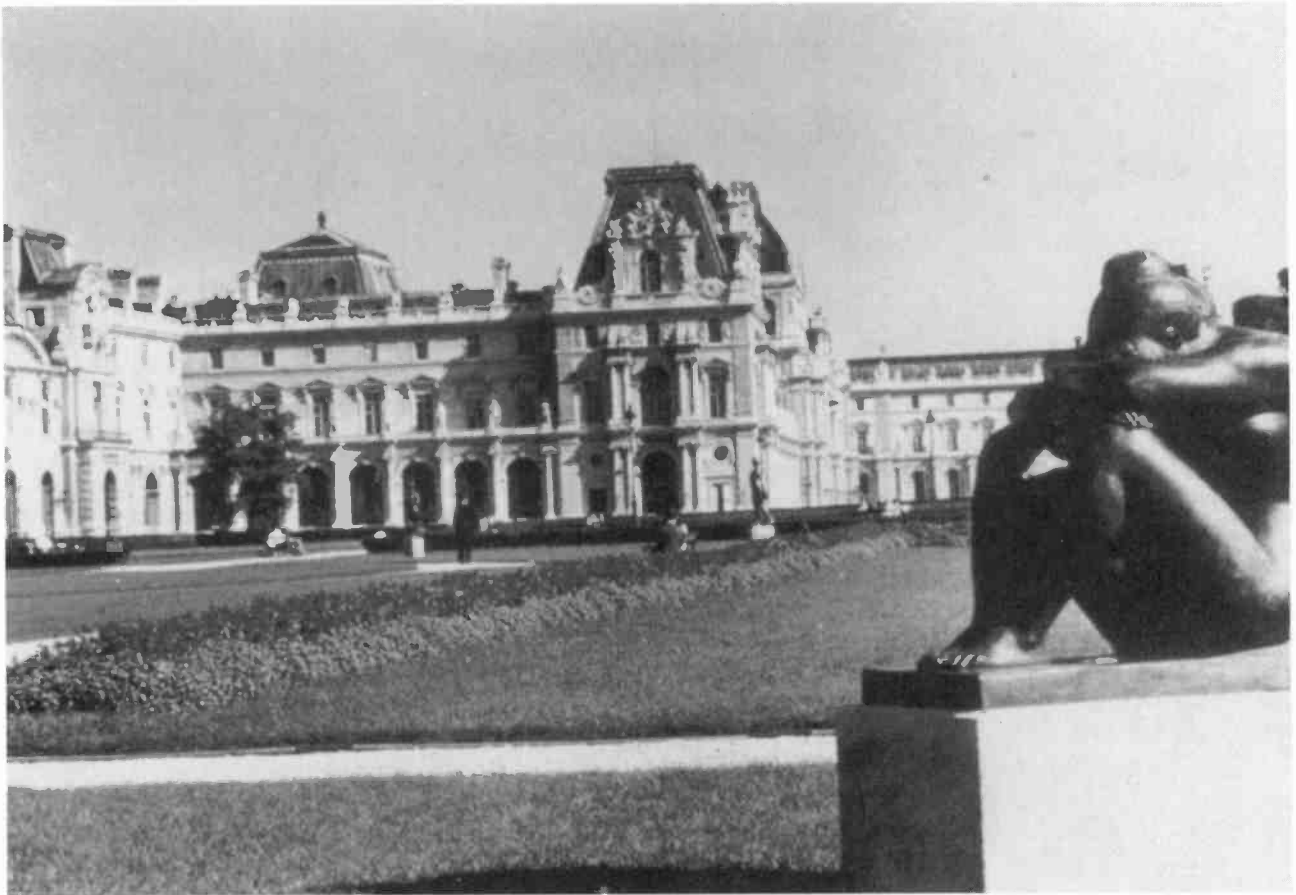
The favorable climate for TV documentaries in the Kennedy era also nurtured an international collaboration that began in late 1960. *Intertel* came into being when five groups of broadcasters in the four major English-speaking nations formed the International Television Federation. The participants were Associated Rediffusion, Ltd, of Great Britain, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and, in the United States, the National



*American Masters*—John Cage: “I have nothing to say and I am saying it.”  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Educational Television (NET) and Radio Center and the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company. In the United States, *Intertel* was piloted by NET’s John F. White and Robert Hudson and by Westinghouse Group W executives Donald McGannon and Richard M. Pack. *Intertel* sought to foster compassion for the human problems of member nations—to teach countries how to live together as neighbors in a world community, which Bluem characterized as “the greatest service which the television documentary can extend.”

In a speech reported in *Television Quarterly*, historian Erik Barnouw characterized the documentary as a “necessary kind of subversion” that “focuses on unwelcome facts, which may be the very facts and ideas that the culture needs for its survival.” Throughout the turbulent 1960s, documentaries regularly presented “unwelcome facts.” ABC offered a weekly series beginning in 1964 called *ABC Scope*. As the Vietnam War escalated, the series became “Vietnam Report” from 1966 to 1968. NBC aired *Vietnam Weekly Re-*



*The Louvre: A Golden Prison.*  
Photo courtesy of Monterey Home Video and Lucy Jarvis

view. CBS launched an ambitious seven-part documentary in 1968 called *Of Black America*.

The year 1968 also marked a change in the influence of network news and a drop in TV documentary production. Affiliate stations bristled over network reports on urban violence, the Vietnam War, and anti-war protests. The Nixon administration launched an assault on the media and encouraged station owners to complain about news coverage in exchange for deregulation. TV coverage of the Democratic National Convention triggered protests against network news.

During this social, political, and economic revolution, network management experimented with less controversial programs. Each network introduced a newsmagazine to complement evening news and documentaries. Ray Carroll reports that the newsmagazine became a substitute for documentaries in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s and that the number of long-form reports dropped. *60 Minutes* on CBS premiered in 1968, and, after a slow start for several

years, it achieved unparalleled success. NBC followed in 1969 with *First Tuesday*.

ABC's answer was *The Reasoner Report*, launched in 1973, the same year the network resurrected the *CloseUp!* documentary series. In the 1970s, ABC's entertainment programs began to attract large audiences. To establish itself as a full-fledged network, ABC strengthened its news division and added the prestige documentary series *ABC CloseUp!*, produced by Av Westin, William Peters, Richard Richter, and Pam Hill. Under Hill's guidance, the *CloseUp!* unit excelled in documentary craft, featuring artfully rendered film, poetic language, and thoughtful music tracks.

The three-way competition for prime-time audiences reduced airtime for documentaries. However, ABC's reentry into the documentary field forced competitors to extend their documentary commitment, a rivalry that carried into the Reagan years. Pressure continued to mount against documentaries, however, in the 1970s. In the most celebrated case, the 1971 CBS documentary *The Selling of the Pentagon* re-



sulted in a congressional investigation into charges of unethical journalism.

Network documentaries virtually disappeared during the Reagan years; in 1984, there were 11. Under Mark Fowler, the FCC eliminated requirements for public service programming. Competition from cable, independents, and videocassettes eroded network audiences. The Reagan administration advocated a society based on individualism; economics became paramount, while support for social programs declined.

Documentaries also suffered from controversies over the CBS programs *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception* and *People Like Us*, from an increase in libel suits, and from deregulation, which offered financial incentives to broadcasters in lieu of public service programming. In this environment, the network documentary, which was rooted in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt era and frequently endorsed collective social programs, became an anachronism. The documentary's decline in the Reagan years is one indicator of the ebbing of the New Deal influence on American culture.

After the three network sales in the mid-1980s, the new owners required news divisions to earn a profit. The most successful experiments were the 1987 NBC Connie Chung lifestyle documentaries, *Scared Sexless* and *Life in the Fat Lane*. These programs demonstrated that a combination of celebrity anchor, popular subjects, and updated visual treatments could appeal to larger audiences. In time, as entertainment costs rose and ratings fell, these "infotainment" programs evolved into a stream of popular newsmagazines, which became cost-effective replacements for entertainment shows.

As the documentary presence continued to recede at the commercial networks, the best place for American viewers to find documentaries on free, over-the-air television was on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as a new generation of producers committed themselves to prolonging long-form programs. As of 2002, *NOVA*, the science documentary series, was still on the air after more than 25 years. In 1983, PBS launched *Frontline*, an investigative series produced by David Fanning. *Frontline* is regarded as the flagship public affairs series for PBS and "the last best hope for broadcast documentaries." *The American Experience* first appeared in 1988, led by Judy Crichton and others, who created lush portrayals of memorable events and people in American history. *P.O.V.* gave opportunities to independent producers whose works did not fit into series' themes.

Several notable PBS documentary series examined specific periods in American history. The 13-hour *Vietnam: A Television History* aired in 1983. In 1987, the network broadcast *Eyes on the Prize*. Produced by Henry Hampton, this moving series chronicles the

story of the modern civil rights movement from the beginnings of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The success of the first *Eyes on the Prize* series failed to translate into easier fund-raising for the second series, which was more controversial.

Whereas commercial broadcast documentaries were ephemeral, many of those appearing on PBS became available to viewers and scholars through postbroadcast products. One of the dominant figures using this technique in the 1990s was Ken Burns. Burns carved a niche as a filmmaker able to tackle large sweeps of history in multipart documentaries such as *The Civil War*, *Baseball*, and *Jazz*. These programs also enjoyed commercial success through the sale of companion books, videotapes, and compact discs. Burns offered serious, in-depth research; careful use of expert consultants; and exquisite use of photography, sound, narration, fluid camera, and other techniques to make the past vivid. Programming of this style also benefited from enough historical distance to skirt controversy of the type raised by the *Vietnam* series or Hampton's second series of *Eyes on the Prize*. His brother Ric Burns employed similar techniques in such PBS series as *New York: A Documentary Film*. Consequently, both Burns brothers were able to attract large corporate sponsors to support their work on public television. In the fall of 2002, many of Ken Burns's documentaries were presented in a retrospective series devoted to his works. For this special presentation, the films were remastered and offered in superb visual quality not always available in the original airings. Michael Apted has also maintained a presence on PBS with projects such as *7 Up*, in which he followed a group of individuals to document the progressions in their lives at seven-year intervals. Another Apted series, *Married in America*, aired in 2002.

A leading documentary producer on cable television is Bill Kurtis. Kurtis, a former Chicago newsman and national correspondent for CBS News, founded Kurtis productions and began producing investigative, long-form series for the A&E cable television network, as well as PBS, in 1991. Home Box Office, the Discovery Channel, the Learning Channel, the History Channel, and the Cable News Network (CNN) give cable viewers a wide selection of documentary programs and independent films, including extended series. CNN produced the 24-part *Cold War* in 1998, and the History Channel telecast series such as *A History of Britain*, with six parts in 2000 and another five installments in 2001. A recent development in documentary programming is the access to information beyond the telecast on specially designed sites of the World Wide Web.

During five decades of documentary television, some patterns have emerged. Documentary series have been used to give in-depth attention to major cultural issues but also as a publicity device to raise the visibility of a network. Broadcast and cable networks have used documentary programming to raise their credibility. Certain individuals have become prominent within the industry because of their association with, or innovations in, documentaries. On public television, the popularity of documentary series has become a marketing tool for attracting contributions from viewers and corporate sponsors.

Within this environment are two recurring tensions. One relates to economics. In early times, documentaries were more expensive to produce than regular news programs, but the expense was outweighed by prestige and evidence of public service. In later years, documentaries continued to be more expensive than news but became less expensive than entertainment programs. This characteristic led to the development of a niche for news in prime time on commercial broadcast television as well as inexpensive programming for filling hours of cable network schedules. When a network cannot afford entertainment programming, cannot be without a visible public service commitment, or cannot lose its viewer base (as on PBS), it relies on documentary programming.

The other tension relates to controversy, politics, and timing. When controversial documentaries butted heads with declining powers, they were acclaimed. *See It Now* succeeded in its indictments of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy in part because McCarthy's career was waning. CBS prevailed in the controversy over *The Selling of the Pentagon* in part because, by the 1970s, the Vietnam War had reduced the clout of the military in public affairs. In the 1980s, a shift in the political climate hindered government support for public television and for aggressive commercial network documentaries. Political conservatives objected to what was perceived as a liberal bias in this kind of programming. In the commercial arena, the threat or act of litigation, often supported by conservative interest groups, put pressure on executives responsible for documentary programming, which resulted in a lowering of the networks' documentary voices. In the public television arena, attacks by conservative politicians on controversial documentaries created a disincentive to embrace the form.

The one sweeping change in documentary programming since its inception on American television is that it was once provided without regard for its profitability. However, that is no longer the norm. Documentaries produced today are, by and large, expected to attract money directly.

TOM MASCARO

*See also Black and White in Color; Burns, Ken; Civilisation; Death on the Rock; Drew, Robert; Eyes on the Prize; Eyewitness to History; Fifth Estate; NBC Reports; NBC White Papers; Secondari, John; Selling of the Pentagon; Sylvania Waters; This Hour Has Seven Days; Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy; Uncounted Enemy, The; Valour and the Horror; Vietnam: A Television History; World in Action*

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## Docusoap

"Docusoap" is the partly descriptive and partly pejorative name given to a broad subgenre of popular factual entertainment that first appeared mostly in Britain and Europe (but not exclusively there) during the 1990s. Docusoaps can be seen as one strand of "reality television," another loose category that indicates a whole range of popular factual formats to appear on television since the 1980s. Among these formats, the first developments appeared in the form of factual shows focusing on the work of police and emergency services, with FOX's *America's Most Wanted* (1988) and *Rescue 911* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] 1989–) providing classic early examples on U.S. television. Among the later developments are the highly formatted game-documentaries in the line of *Big Brother* (Endemol 1999–) and the British *Pop Idol* (ITV 2002–) and its American counterpart, *American Idol* (FOX 2002–). Somewhere in the middle, although nearly all the varieties of reality television continue to be active in European television, comes the docusoap.

Docusoaps are generally a "quiet" form of reality television, using show-length narratives in series format to follow a selected group of people through the events and interactions of mundane, mostly occupational life. The "casting" of such shows can be compared with that of soap operas and sitcoms, but docusoaps have generally also drawn extensively on the tradition of observational filmmaking on location, within whose terms an unfolding plane of action and speech is accorded firm roots in nontelevisual reality. High-profile family-based series such as *An American Family* (Public Broadcasting Service [PBS] 1973) and *The Family* (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] 1974) provide an important part of the lineage here. However, it is work rather than family life that goes on in most docusoap: hotel staff keep their establishments running, airport desk clerks process passengers, vets attend sick animals, and parking wardens give offending motorists fines (to cite a few British examples).

This raises important questions about the degree of directorial intervention at all stages of the production, but it makes the programs distinct from series such as *The Real World* (Music Television [MTV] 1992–) and *Big Brother*, where the artificial terms of the protelevi-sual situation is an open condition of the programs' making and imposes constraints (as well as providing possibilities) for all that follows.

The appeal of docusoap to the audience's sense of ordinary life, a life portrayed without any clear propositional intent (for instance, there is no framing of what is observed in terms of larger problems and issues), connects strongly with the British and European tradition of soap opera fictions that focus on working-class families and situations rather than following the U.S. emphasis on the wealthy and privileged. However, whereas soaps in most countries has stayed centrally and sometimes exclusively with the themes of family relationships within the small community, docusoaps have successfully exploited the interest and entertainment potential of people at work or people being trained. Thus, an interest in private lives and in the world of feelings is connected to an interest in routine working settings, relationships, and encounters. This is doubly innovative, although there are clearly precedents for the televising of the mundane.

In tracing the history of the docusoap in Britain, the success of the BBC's series *Vet's School* (1996) and *Driving School* (1997) are important. The first series had drawn on the unexpectedly high ratings for the BBC series *Animal Hospital* in 1994, connecting the sick-animal theme outwards to issues of professional training and allowing stronger narrative and character development to figure, shadowing fiction at points in its construction. *Driving School* became a national phenomenon through its portrayal of one particular trainee in her bid to gain a license. These early series suggested the further possibilities of using an observational style to follow people in everyday situations outside the do-

mestic frame. The requirement was a small "cast" to give character continuity and growing audience familiarity and a relatively stable workplace setting to give continuity of action, space, and time across the edited episodes. Sheer fascination with the kinds of activity observed carried the viewing experience. Stylistically, the format could incorporate both voiced-over commentary (essential to provide background information and useful in strengthening the comic development) and interview sequences (mostly informal, perhaps spoken while the subject was undertaking an occupational task). It could work with lengthy sections in real-time duration and yet also crosscut across different locations and time collapses as the material suggested.

Shows developed in the docusoap format within Britain and elsewhere in Europe varied considerably in the recipe by which they combined their more obvious "soap" factors with the exploration of the spaces and routines of work. Some, such as the BBC's *Hotel* (1997), looking at the working lives of a small group of people in a Liverpool hotel, seem to carry substantial documentary value, whatever shaping interventions are brought to bear in order to ensure that the audience is entertained. And it is easy to see the appeal of both the BBC's *Airport* (1997) and ITV's *Airline* (1998) in the context of general public fascination with the procedures and processes associated with air travel and the various problems and tensions that can arise.

To some of those working in documentary departments, the docusoaps seemed to threaten the integrity of their craft. They were seen to do this by a very relaxed approach to "staging" at every level, a preoccupation with what could be seen as the trivial, and a level of audience success that threatened to take the funding and scheduling opportunities away from more serious projects. All these charges have a measure of truth, particularly the final one. However, other pro-

ducers and directors saw the success of docusoaps as opening up the possibilities for more imaginative documentary ventures in a serious vein and as reconnecting the broad documentary approach with a popular audience. The issue was the subject of intensive debate within the television industry during the period 1995–2000, after which point the mutated varieties of docusoap seemed to be more or less fully absorbed within national television systems. As the novelty effect waned, commissioning and prime-time scheduling dropped back.

British newspapers carried a run of stories in the late 1990s about the "scandal" of docusoaps, particularly their sometimes dubious practices of preshoot preparation and action management, which often aligned them very closely with fictional productions. However, the audience seemed to regard them with a mixture of quiet disdain and casual affection rather than seeing them as a threat to the integrity of the medium itself. While they did not undercut the core practices of documentary output (as some critics feared and some hoped), they did significantly modify the terms of popular factual representation in ways that will continue to be active in television culture.

JOHN CORNER

*See also* **Big Brother; Real World, The; Reality Programming**

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## Dolan, Charles F. (1926– )

U.S. Media Executive

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Charles F. Dolan is one of the least known but most powerful moguls in the modern cable television industry in the United States. In early 1995, his corporate creation, Cablevision Systems Corporation, ranked as the fifth-largest operator in the United States, serving some 2.6 million subscribers in 19 states, about 1.5

million of them in the New York metropolitan area. "Chuck" Dolan's Cablevision Systems also owns and controls a number of noted cable television networks, headed by the popular and influential American Movie Classics (AMC). In 1995, the *New York Times* estimated Dolan's net worth at \$175 million.

Headquartered in Long Island, New York, Dolan organized Cablevision Systems in 1973. He had started in the cable TV business a decade earlier with Sterling Television, an equipment supplier, which acquired the cable franchise for the island of Manhattan in the 1960s. Then, in 1970, he founded Home Box Office (HBO). When Time Life Inc. purchased HBO and Sterling Manhattan Cable, Dolan used the substantial proceeds from the deal to buy some Long Island systems that he turned into Cablevision Systems.

Dolan correctly figured that the action for cable would move to the suburbs and turned the locus of Cablevision Systems to the millions of potential customers living in areas surrounding New York City, particularly in Long Island's close-in Nassau and Suffolk counties. In time, Dolan also acquired franchises controlling 190,000 customers in Fairfield, Connecticut; 250,000 more in northern New Jersey; and 60,000 in Westchester County, New York. He also purchased or built cable TV systems across the United States, in Arkansas, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio.

In 1988, Dolan added the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as a minority partner. General Electric had recently purchased NBC and prior to that had helped Dolan finance the expansion of Cablevision Systems. After that, Dolan, with help from NBC, moved into cable network programming in a major way. He crafted AMC into the top classic movie channel on cable. Building through grassroots marketing, AMC quietly became one of the fastest-growing cable networks of the early 1990s. Soon the *New York Times* was lavishing praise on AMC:

It's more than nostalgia. It's a chance to see black-and-white films which may have slipped through the cracks. It's wall-to-wall movies with no commercials, no aggressive graphics, no pushy sound, no sensory MTV overload, no time frame. There's a sedate pace, a pseudo-PBS quality about AMC. It's the *Masterpiece Theater* of movies.

Dolan has also done well with sports programming, but on a regional basis. Dolan's regional sports channels broadcast all forms of sports to millions of subscribers to his and other cable systems in the New York City area. The New York Yankees and New York Mets baseball games are particularly successful. By 1994, Dolan had done so well that he partnered with billion-dollar conglomerate ITT to purchase Madison Square Garden for \$1 billion. Suddenly, Cablevision Systems was the major player in sports marketing in the New York City area, owning the Knicks basketball team, the Rangers hockey team, the Madison Square Garden cable TV network, and the most famous venue for indoor sports in the United States. However, Dolan's



Charles F. Dolan.  
Courtesy of Cablevision Systems Corporation

other great experiments, 24-hour local news on cable TV and the Bravo arts channel, were not as profitable.

Local around-the-clock news began in 1986 as News 12 Long Island. This niche service came about because New York City's over-the-air TV stations seemed unable to serve Long Island. Viewers appreciated not only News 12's basic half-hour news wheel but also its multipart reports that ran for a half hour or more. Under current economic constraints, New York City television stations could never telecast such programs.

With prize-winning series on breast cancer, drug abuse, and Alzheimer's disease, News 12 Long Island established a brand image. During election campaigns, the channel regularly staged candidate debates, and local politicians loved having their faces presented there. But little money came in to pay for these features, and only after a decade did it seem that News 12 would finally make money.

The same difficult economic calculus affected the arts-oriented Bravo channel. It was popular with well-off consumers, but too few of these tuned in on a regular basis. In the mid-1990s, Bravo seemed doomed, but when it partnered with NBC, its fortunes improved, doing well through the opening of the 21st century.

Dolan's accomplishments have been considerable. Though not well known to the general public, he helped establish cable television as an economic, so-

cial, and cultural force in the United States during the final quarter of the 20th century. He represents the TV entrepreneur in the true sense of the word, comparable to more publicized figures who started NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), David Sarnoff and William S. Paley.

Dolan continues to look to the future, seeking significant positions for his menu of cable programming networks and franchises on the "electronic superhighway." Like other cable entrepreneurs of the late 20th century, he pledged to make available 500 channels, movies on demand, and interactive video entertainment and information. However, not all such promises have been fulfilled. By 2001, Dolan had turned most of the day-to-day operations to his son James, and for its core profits, the company still depended on its 2.9 million cable TV subscribers in the suburbs of New York City. As the 21st century began, Cablevision System's high-speed Internet plans were proceeding very slowly. Having acquired The Wiz electronics stores and the Clearview Cinema chain in the late 1990s, the company, like many other new media corporations, seems unsure where to find the next television breakthrough.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

**Charles F. Dolan.** Born in Cleveland, Ohio, October 16, 1926. Attended John Carroll University. Married:

Helen; children: MariAnne, Theresa, Deborah, James, Patrick, Thomas. Served briefly in the U.S. Air Force at the end of World War II. Worked at a radio station during high school, writing radio scripts and commercials; operated sports newsreel business; joined Sterling Television, 1954; built first urban cable television system, in New York City, 1961; president, Sterling Manhattan Cable, 1961-72; creator, Home Box Office pay movie service, 1970; sold interests in Manhattan cable service and HBO to Time Life, Inc., 1973; created and served as chair and chief executive, Cablevision Systems, one of the country's largest cable installations, since 1973; developed first local all-news channel for cable; created Rainbow Program Enterprises, operator of regional and national cable networks, including American Movie Classics, Bravo, and SportsChannel; elected chair of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1996.

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## Donahue, Phil (1935- )

U.S. Talk Show Host

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In recent years, the talk show has become the most profitable, prolific, and contested format on daytime television. The sensationalist nature of many of these shows has spawned much public debate over the potential for invasion of personal privacy and the exploitation of sensitive social issues. In this environment, Phil Donahue, who is widely credited with inventing the talk show platform, appears quite tame. But in the late 1960s, when *The Phil Donahue Show* first aired on WLW-D in Dayton, Ohio, Donahue was considered a radical and scintillating addition to the daytime scene.

Working at the college station KYW as a production assistant, Donahue had his first opportunity to test his on-air abilities when the regular booth announcer

failed to show up. Donahue claims it was then that he became "hooked" on hearing the transmission of his own voice. The position he took after graduation, news director for a Michigan radio station, allowed him to try his hand at broadcast reporting and eventually led to work as a stringer for the *CBS Evening News* and an anchor position at WHIO-TV in Dayton in the late 1950s. There he first entered the talk show arena with his radio show *Conversation Piece*, on which he interviewed civil rights activists (including Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X) and war dissenters.

After Donahue left WHIO and worked a subsequent three-month stint as a salesman, the general manager of WLW-D convinced him to host a call-in TV talk show. The show would combine the talk-radio format

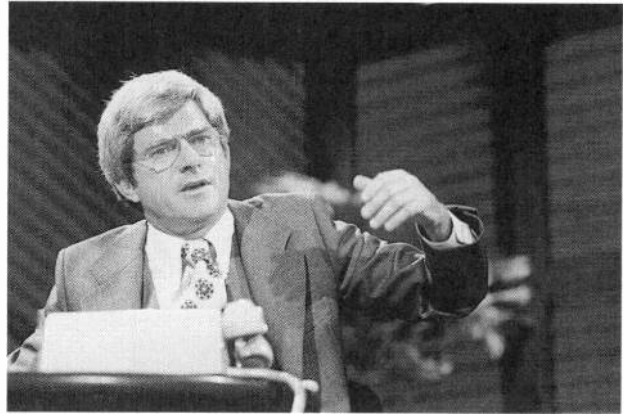
with television interview show. However, *The Phil Donahue Show* would start with two major disadvantages: a small budget and geographic isolation from the entertainment industries, preventing it from garnering star guests. In order to attract an audience, Donahue and his producers had to innovate—they focused on issues rather than fame.

The first guest on *The Phil Donahue Show* was Madalyn Murray O’Hair, an atheist who contended that religion “breeds dependence” and who was ready to mount a campaign to ban prayer in public schools. During that same week in November 1967, the show featured footage of a woman giving birth, a phone-in vote on the morality of an anatomically correct male doll, and a funeral director extolling the workings of his craft. The bold nature of these topics was tempered by Donahue’s appealing personality. He was one of the first male television personalities to exude characteristics of “the sensitive man” (traits and behaviors further popularized in the 1970s by actors such as Alan Alda), acquired through his interest in both humanism and feminism.

Donahue’s affinity with the women’s movement, his sincere style, and his focus on controversial topics attracted a large and predominantly female audience. In 1992, he told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter that his show

got lucky because we discovered early on that the usual idea of women’s programming was a narrow, sexist view. We found that women were interested in a lot more than covered dishes and needlepoint. The determining factor [was], “Will the woman in the fifth row be moved to stand up and say something?” And there’s a lot that will get her to stand up.

Donahue attempted to “move” his audience in a number of ways, but the most controversial approach involved educating women on matters of reproduction. Shows on abortion, birthing techniques, and a discussion with Masters and Johnson were all banned by certain local affiliates. According to Donahue’s autobiography, WGN in Chicago refused to air a show on reverse vasectomy and tubal ligation because it was “too educational for women . . . and too bloody.” Nevertheless, Donahue’s proven success with such a lucrative target audience led to the accumulation of other major Midwest markets as well as the show’s eventual move to Chicago in 1974 and then to New York in 1985 (the show’s name was shortened to just *Donahue* when production moved to Chicago). By then, the range of topics had broadened considerably, even to include live “space bridge” programs. Cohosted with Soviet newscaster Vladimir Pozner, these events linked U.S. and Soviet citizens for live exchanges on issues common to both groups.



Phil Donahue.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

By the 1980s, however, the increasing popularity of *Donahue* had led to a proliferation of local and nationally syndicated talk shows. As competition increased, the genre became racier, with less emphasis on issues and more on personal scandal. Donahue retained his niche in the market by dividing the show’s focus, dabbling in both the political and the personal. He was able to provide interviews with political candidates, explorations of the AIDS epidemic, and revelations of the savings-and-loan crisis, alongside shows on safe-sex orgies, cross-dressing, and aging strippers.

In 1992, with 19 Emmy Awards under his belt, Donahue was celebrated by his fellow talk show hosts on his 25th anniversary special as a mentor and kindly patriarch of the genre. Fellow talk show host Maury Povich was quoted in *Broadcasting and Cable* as saying at the event, “He’s the granddaddy of us all and he birthed us all.” Phil Donahue broadcast out of New York, where he lives with his wife, actress Marlo Thomas, until 1996. Early in that year, he announced that television season would be his last. Ratings for *Donahue* were declining, and a number of major stations, including his New York affiliate, had chosen to drop the show from their schedules. In the spring of 1996, Donahue taped his final show, an event covered on major network newscasts, complete with warm sentiment, spraying champagne, and expected yet undoubted sincerity.

After the ending of this hugely successful run for a syndicated program, Donahue retired from television work, dedicating himself to political causes and public service while remaining in the public eye as a spokesman for organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and a supporter of third-party presidential hopeful Ralph Nader. Then, in April 2002, Donahue surprised many by agreeing to return to the television arena, signing a contract with the struggling

Donahue, Phil

cable news network MSNBC to host a prime-time current events program scheduled opposite the FOX News Channel's *The O'Reilly Factor* and the Cable News Network's (CNN's) new show, *Connie Chung Tonight*. The latest program to be called *Donahue* debuted in July 2002. After six months of faring poorly in the ratings, however, the show was canceled on February 25, 2003.

SUSAN MURRAY

See also **Talk Show**

**Phil (Phillip) John Donahue.** Born in Cleveland, Ohio, December 21, 1935. Educated at the University of Notre Dame, B.B.A. 1957. Married: 1) Marge Cooney, 1958 (divorced, 1975); children: Michael, Kevin, Daniel, Jim, Maryrose; 2) actress Marlo Thomas, 1980. Began career as announcer, KYW-TV and AM, Cleveland, 1957; bank check sorter, Albuquerque, New Mexico; news director, WABJ radio, Adrian, Michigan; morning newscaster, WHIO-TV, where interviews with Jimmy Hoffa and Billy Sol Estes were picked up nationally; hosted *Conversation Piece*, phone-in talk show, 1963–67; debuted *The Phil Donahue Show*, Dayton, Ohio, 1967, syndicated two years later; relocated to Chicago, 1974–85; host, *Donahue*, 1974–96; relocated to New York City, 1985; host of cable program, also called *Donahue*, July 2002–February 2003. Recipient: 20 Emmy Awards; Best Talk Show Host, 1988; Margaret Sanger Award, Planned Parenthood, 1987; Peabody Award, 1980.

#### Television Series

- 1969–74 *The Phil Donahue Show* (syndicated; from Dayton, Ohio)  
1974–85 *Donahue* (syndicated; from Chicago)  
1985–96 *Donahue* (syndicated; from New York)  
2002–03 *Donahue* (MSNBC)

#### Publications

- Donahue: My Own Story*, 1980  
*The Human Animal*, 1985

#### Further Reading

- Carbaugh, Donald A., *Talking American: Cultural Discourses on Donahue*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 1988  
Haley, Kathy, "From Dayton to the World: A History of the Donahue Show," *Broadcasting* (November 2, 1992)  
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Kurtz, Howard, "Father of the Slide," *The New Republic* (February 12, 1996)  
McConnell, Frank, "What Hath Phil Wrought?," *Commonweal* (March 22, 1996)  
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Priest, Patricia Joyner, *Public Intimacies: Talk Show Participants and Tell All TV*, Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton, 1996  
Unger, Arthur, "I Cannot Be the BBC in an MTV World!" (interview), *Television Quarterly* (Spring 1991)

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## Dowdle, James Charles (1934– )

First President and Chief Executive Officer of the Tribune Broadcasting Company

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James Charles Dowdle is credited with the significant growth and diversification of the Tribune Company's broadcast efforts in programming and station acquisitions. On his promotion to executive vice president of Tribune Media Operations, Dowdle was responsible for the Tribune Company's newspaper publishing, broadcasting, and entertainment businesses, including the Chicago Cubs baseball franchise.

In 1962, Dowdle joined KWTW in Oklahoma City as national sales manager. Two years later, he joined Hubbard Broadcasting's KSTP in Minneapolis as national sales manager and, in 1973, was promoted to vice president and general manager of Hubbard's inde-

pendent WTOG in Tampa, Florida. He remained in Tampa until 1981, when he rejoined the Tribune Company as president and chief executive officer of the newly formed Tribune Broadcasting Company. In that capacity, Dowdle was responsible for the company's owned-and-operated television and radio stations and its subsidiary Tribune Entertainment Company, which was founded in 1982. Within four years, he was elected to the Tribune board of directors.

Visionary in his approach to media and dedicated to the concept of growth, from the outset Dowdle worked at moving Tribune to new and ever more profitable levels. The Chicago Cubs were purchased by Tribune in

the summer of 1981. Approximately two years later, in combination with Viacom Enterprises, he formed TV-NET, a prime-time program service aimed at monthly distribution of major theatrical films not seen on network television. But, most important, under Dowdle's direction, by early 1985 Tribune had increased its ownership of independent stations from three to five with top-ranked independents in Chicago, Denver, and New Orleans and second-ranked independents in New York and Atlanta. Then, on May 16, 1985, the Tribune announced plans to buy Los Angeles-based KTLA-TV for a reported \$510 million (reputedly the highest price ever paid for a single television station). KTLA was targeted at revenues of approximately \$100 million in 1985 and would expand Tribune's reach to 19.6 percent of all U.S. television households.

The KTLA acquisition, reported *BusinessWeek* on June 13, 1985, was "crucial to Dowdle's ambitious plan to use the combined viewership of his stations as a captive customer base for his own programming." To that end, he pursued various joint ventures in program production in various formats, signed the controversial Geraldo Rivera in 1987 for a daily daytime talk show that culminated in a successful 11-year run, and in April 1990 signed a 10-year contract with Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN). Under terms of the arrangement, Tribune stations would become CNN affiliates, and the two companies would coproduce documentaries, miniseries, and news specials.

In 1991, Dowdle was directing the operations of six television stations, four radio stations, and a variety of subsidiaries that produced and distributed programming for both media. Earlier in the year, the Tribune had also launched ChicagoLand Television (CLTV) under the banner of Tribune Regional Programming, Inc., a service dedicated to Chicago-area news, sports, and information utilizing the resources of the *Chicago Tribune*, WGN radio, WGN television, and the Chicago Cubs. Within two years, Tribune Regional Programming combined with Tele-Communications, Inc. (TCI), to provide CLTV to TCI's 300,000 cable customers in the Chicago metropolitan area 24 hours a day.

For his efforts, Dowdle was named a corporate vice president of the parent Tribune Company in July 1991. Then, in 1994, at the age of 60, he was appointed executive vice president of Tribune Media Operations. Overseeing publishing, broadcasting, and entertainment, Dowdle was responsible for approximately 90 percent of the more than \$2 billion in company revenues. In this position, he worked to direct expansion and media crossover strategies, improve operational efficiencies, and increase new services for the advertiser who wanted to use print and broadcast simultaneously. He also continued to direct the 24-hour local CLTV news service.

On November 2, 1993, *PR Newswire* carried Dowdle's announcement that the Tribune Broadcasting Company would join with Warner Brothers to create The WB, a new prime-time television network slated to begin operations in the fall of 1994. Tribune television stations in New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Denver, and New Orleans were initially slotted as affiliates, and the network, emphasizing programming for 18- to 49-year-olds in prime-time evening slots, would instantly cover 85 percent of American households. Then, in 1996, Tribune added six new television stations to its stable for a total of 16 when it agreed to buy Renaissance Communications Corporation for \$1.13 billion. Including a station that it managed in Washington, D.C., Tribune was now broadcasting in nine of the country's top 11 markets.

Dowdle stepped down from his position as executive vice president of the Tribune Company effective December 31, 1999, and was succeeded by Tribune Broadcasting's president, Dennis FitzSimons.

JOEL STERNBERG

*See also* **Cable News Network (CNN); Rivera, Geraldo; Turner, Ted; WB Television Network**

**James C. Dowdle.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, March 12, 1934. Education: B.S., University of Notre Dame, accounting, 1956. Married: Sally. Served as officer in U.S. Marines. Worked for *Chicago Tribune*, automotive advertising sales, Chicago, 1956; after military service returned to Edward Petry Company, sales staff, Chicago; Katz Company, sales staff, Chicago; KWTV, national sales manager, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1962-64; KSTP, national sales manager, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1964-73; WTOG, vice president and general manager, Tampa, Florida, 1973-81; Tribune Broadcasting, president/chief executive officer, Chicago, 1981-97; Tribune Company Board of Directors, Chicago, 1985-2000; Tribune Company, corporate vice president, Chicago, 1991-99; Tribune Media Operations, executive vice president, Chicago, 1994-99. Retired, December 31, 1999. Has served as director on boards of Chicago's Loyola University, Loyola University Health System, the Advertising Council, the Television Operators Caucus, Television Bureau of Advertising, Television Information Office, the Chicago Museum of Broadcast Communications, and Maximum Service Television Inc. Trustee on Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry and served as director for such charitable and civic-minded causes as Junior Achievement of Chicago, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, the Chicago Center for Peace Studies, and Catholic Charities Big Shoulders campaign. Inducted into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame (1992); named Person of the Year by

Chicago's Broadcasting Advertisers Club (1994); received the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Trustees Award (1995), the United States Marine Corps Semper Fidelis Award (1995), the Hazelden Chicago Distinguished Leadership Award (1997), and the National Association of Broadcasters Distinguished Service Award (1998).

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- Ziemba, Stanly, "Tribune Co. Reaches an Agreement to Add 6 TV Stations for \$1.1 Billion," *Chicago Tribune* (July 2, 1996)

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## Downs, Hugh (1921– )

### U.S. Television Host

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A venerable and extremely affable television host, Hugh Downs is known for his intelligence, patience, and decency. The *Guinness Book of World Records* reports that Downs, among the most familiar figures in the history of the medium, has clocked more hours on television (10,347 through May 1994) than any other person in U.S. TV history.

Downs began his broadcasting career as a radio announcer at the age of 18 in Lima, Ohio, moving later to NBC Chicago as a staff announcer. In 1957, he became well known to U.S. audiences as Jack Paar's sidekick on *The Tonight Show*, and he remained in that spot through 1962. In 1958, he began hosting the original version of *Concentration*, helping to establish his niche of doing more serious and thought-provoking television even within the game show format.

He served as the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) utility host for many of the network's 1950s and early 1960s news, information, and entertainment programs. He added *The Today Show* to his list of network assignments, replacing John Chancellor, who had served for just 15 months as Dave Garroway's replacement on the original *Today Show*.

Downs was the primary host of the *Today Show* for nine years.

Downs's reassuring, professional manner in the roles of announcer, sidekick, host, and anchor has been unrivaled in U.S. television. He has said that he tries to be the link between what goes on behind and in front of the camera and the audience at home, hoping that he serves as an "honest pipeline to the audience." He believes that television works best when a familiar presence is there to help guide viewers in and out of features and stories, however abbreviated that function may be. From 1978 to 1999, he demonstrated that commitment as the anchor or co-anchor of the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC's) *20/20*, a job he came out of retirement to take after a nearly disastrous premier almost kept the show off the air.

His great affability and smooth manner have made it possible for Downs to get along well with whomever he has been paired. For example, he repeatedly took the edge off some of the sharper moments with Jack Paar, who was well known for his outbursts, tantrums, and eccentricities. Downs proved his diplomacy once again in 1984, when Barbara Walters took the position





Hugh Downs.  
©ABC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

across from him on *20/20*, just after a major brouhaha had developed because she had been asked to leave her position as the first female network news co-anchor, paired unsuccessfully with Harry Reasoner. The chemistry between Walters and Downs was right, and the two worked together successfully from 1984 until Downs left *20/20*.

Intimates refer to Downs as one of the last “renaissance men.” He is a proficient sailor and aviator—even though he is color blind. He has composed, published, and had orchestral pieces performed; has hosted *Live from Lincoln Center* for the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) since 1990; and is exceptionally knowledgeable about science and health. One of his special interests is the U.S. space program. Another focuses on issues surrounding aging, and he has earned a post-graduate certificate in geriatric medicine while hosting *Over Easy* for PBS, the first successful television program in the United States about aging. Always modest, Downs shuns the “renaissance” label, preferring instead to call himself “a champion dilettante.”

Downs is the author of numerous books, including *Perspectives*, a collection of his 10-minute radio commentaries for ABC Radio; an autobiography; a collec-

tion of his science articles (on astronomy and the environment); an account of a sailing voyage across the Pacific; and several books on the subjects of aging, health, and psychological maturity. Downs’s public service commitments are also notable. He is chairman emeritus of the board of the United States Committee for UNICEF, chair of the Board of Governors of the National Space Society, an elected member of the National Academy of Science, and a past member of NASA’s Advisory Council. He received an award from the American Psychiatric Association for his work on the ABC News special *Depression: Beyond the Darkness*, and he received an Emmy for his work on *The Poisoning of America*, about damage to the environment. He was named broadcaster of the year by the International Radio and Television Society in 1990. In 1995, he was honored with a special salute ceremony by the Museum of Broadcast Communications in Chicago.

In 1999, Downs began a very active retirement, leaving ABC and *20/20* after 21 years and after 62 years in broadcasting. The same year, Arizona State University named the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication for Downs. He occasionally lectures there. Downs has also branched out to the Internet, creating and “appearing” on the web-based network iNEXTTV’s Executive Branch TV channel in the programs *My Take with Hugh Downs* and *Conversations with Hugh Downs: Values in America*. Downs also recently composed a musical piece for cellist Yo-Yo Ma and had it performed by Ma, accompanied by a 98-piece orchestra.

ROBERT KUBEY

*See also Talk Show, 20/20*

**Hugh (Malcolm) Downs.** Born in Akron, Ohio, February 14, 1921. Attended Bluffton College, Ohio, 1938–39; Wayne State College, 1940–41; Columbia University, 1955–56. Married: Ruth Shaheen, 1944; children: Hugh Raymond and Deirdre Lynn. Began career as staff announcer and program director, WLOK, Lima, Ohio, 1939–40; staff announcer, WWJ, Detroit, Michigan, 1940–42; staff announcer, NBC-Radio, Chicago, Illinois, 1943–54; in television, from 1949; chairman, board of directors, Raylin Productions, Inc., from 1960; special consultant to United Nations on refugee problems, 1961–64; science consultant to Westinghouse Laboratories and the Ford Foundation. Member: Actors’ Equity Association; Screen Actors Guild, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; National Space Institute; chair, U.S. Committee for UNICEF; Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Recipient: Emmy Award.

### Television Series

- 1949 *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* (announcer)  
1950 *Hawkins Falls*  
1951–55 *American Inventory*  
1951 *Your Luncheon Date* (announcer)  
1954–57 *The Home Show* (announcer)  
1956–57 *Sid Caesar's Hour* (announcer)  
1957–62 *The Jack Paar Show* (announcer)  
1958–68 *Concentration* (emcee)  
1962 *The Tonight Show* (announcer)  
1962–72 *The Today Show* (host)  
1972 *Not for Women Only* (host)  
1974 *Variety* (host; pilot only)  
1977–83 *Over Easy*  
1978–99 *20/20* (anchor)  
1985 *Growing Old in America* (host)

### Made-for-Television Movie

- 1976 *Woman of the Year*

### Television Specials

- 1975 *Broken Treaty at Battle Mountain: A Discussion* (moderator)  
1986 *Liberty Weekend Preview* (reporter)  
1986 *NBC's 60th Anniversary Celebration* (reporter)  
1987 *Today at 35* (reporter)

### Films

*Nothing by Chance* (documentary; executive producer and narrator), 1974; *Oh God! Book II*, 1980.

### Radio

WLOK, Lima, Ohio, 1939–40; WWJ, Detroit, Michigan, 1940–42; NBC Radio, Chicago, Illinois, 1943–54.

### Publications

*A Shoal of Stars*, 1967  
*Rings around Tomorrow*, 1970  
*Potential: The Way to Emotional Maturity*, 1973  
*Thirty Dirty Lies about Old Age*, 1979  
*The Best Years Book: How to Plan for Fulfillment, Security, and Happiness in the Retirement Years*, 1981  
*On Camera: My Ten Thousand Hours on Television*, 1986  
*Fifty to Forever*, 1994  
*Perspectives*, 1995

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"Hugh Downs: TV's Marathon Man," *Broadcasting* (February 5, 1990)

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# Dr. Kildare

## U.S. Medical Drama

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*Dr. Kildare*, the award-winning series that aired on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from September 28, 1961, through August 30, 1966, was one of television's most popular and influential medical dramas. The show was loosely based on a series of MGM films, also titled *Dr. Kildare*, written by Max Brand and starring Lew Ayres in the title role. However, the television series departed from its film predecessor in several significant ways.

Norman Felton, the show's producer, capitalized on the familiarity of the Dr. Kildare name but created a new formula for medical series, one that stressed the compassion of doctors and followed a young intern's

passage into the practice of medicine. *Dr. Kildare* maintained the older doctor–younger doctor dynamic of the film version but sought to add a more realistic dimension to the depiction of medicine and the intern's life.

Each Thursday night, NBC viewers could tune in to watch Dr. Kildare at Blair General Hospital, where he worked as a gifted and caring intern, training under the expert tutelage of Dr. Leonard Gillespie. Together they offered healing and comfort to patients who arrived at the hospital in moments of stress and crisis. Throughout the course of the show's five-year run, Dr. Kildare and Dr. Gillespie dealt intimately and personally with



Richard Chamberlain as Dr. Kildare, 1961–66.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

issues ranging from alcoholism and malpractice to suicide and mental illness. These stories informed the audience about the ailment of the week as they entertained millions of viewers. Episodes included a non-stop stream of guest stars, from William Shatner and Peter Falk to Robert Redford, all of whom contributed to the popularity and freshness of the show.

Beyond the appeal of its compelling stories, many viewers tuned to *Dr. Kildare* to watch the handsome young actor Richard Chamberlain in the title role. From the pilot episode, viewers showed intense interest in Chamberlain, whose good looks made him especially popular with female viewers. Chamberlain was also portrayed in the press in a way that conflated his own attributes with those of the fictional Dr. Kildare. He was said to be “good,” “high-minded,” and “trustworthy,” and it was noted that he looked up to Raymond Massey, the actor who played Dr. Gillespie, in much the same way that the young intern admired his

mentor. For many viewers, Chamberlain’s face became the face of medicine, and magazine and newspaper stories often focused on the phenomenon of fans writing to Chamberlain for medical advice or stopping him in Central Park to ogle him.

Chamberlain and *Dr. Kildare* shared the medical stage with Vince Edwards of *Ben Casey*, the American Broadcasting Company’s (ABC’s) medical drama that ran from 1961 to 1966 on Monday nights. The two shows were different in emphasis and style, however, with Edward’s Dr. Casey a less “user-friendly” hero for the small screen, a difficult and hotheaded doctor who at times allowed his temper to get the better of him. Edwards and Chamberlain were frequently compared in the press, with descriptions of their personalities mirroring those of the characters they played on television.

Producer Felton’s conception of *Dr. Kildare* stressed the human elements over medical accuracy. Guided by the American Medical Association (AMA), whose imprimatur appeared at the end of every program, the series did use on- and off-set technical advisers to maintain “cutting-edge” procedures. But producers were willing to gloss over some details when a storyline demanded more drama. And other “opposing forces” were also at work. Media executives, advertisers, and the AMA all had an effect on the end product, and innovative medical techniques were tempered with compassion, personality, and even humor.

Not all the compromises garnered praise, however. During the period of *Dr. Kildare*’s run, the practice of medicine was itself changing. Hospital strategies no longer focused on a one-on-one approach but more frequently relied on teams of doctors, specialists, nurses, and administrators working in concert. Costs were escalating, and the Kennedy administration was proposing Medicare to help senior citizens pay for health care. The AMA was opposed to Medicare, and several critics in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* charged that the AMA’s association with *Dr. Kildare* prohibited the show from exploring any aspect of what was often referred to as “socialized medicine.” Indeed, the AMA and the advisory board for the show did want to maintain *Dr. Kildare* as a promotion for mainstream medicine. For the most part, the show’s agenda received little criticism, and the AMA’s gamble paid off.

JOSEPH TUROW AND RACHEL GANS

See also *Ben Casey*

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# Dragnet

U.S. Police Drama

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From the distinctive four-note opening of its theme music to the raft of catchphrases it produced, no other television cop show has left such an indelible mark on American culture as *Dragnet*. It was the first successful television crime drama to be shot on film and one of the few prime-time series to have returned to production after its initial run. In *Dragnet*, Jack Webb, who produced, directed, and starred in the program, created the benchmark by which subsequent police shows would be judged.

The origins of *Dragnet* can be traced to a semidocumentary film noir, *He Walked by Night* (1948), in which Webb had a small role. Webb created a radio series for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) that had many similarities with the film. Not only did both employ the same Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) technical adviser, but they also made use of actual police cases, narration that provided information about the workings of the police department, and a generally low-key, documentary style. In the radio drama, Webb starred as Sgt. Joe Friday, and Barton Yarborough played his partner. The success of the radio show led to a *Dragnet* television pilot that aired as an episode of *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* in 1951 and resulted in a permanent slot for the series on NBC Television's Thursday night schedule in early 1952. Yarborough died suddenly after the pilot aired and was eventually replaced by Ben Alexander, who played Officer Frank Smith from 1953 to the end of the series in 1959.

*Dragnet* was an instant hit on television, maintaining a top-ten position in the ratings through 1956. The series was applauded for its realism—actually a collection of highly stylized conventions that made the show an easy target for parodists and further increased its cultural cachet. Episodes began with a prologue promising that “the story you are about to see is true; the names have been changed to protect the innocent,” then faded in on a pan across the Los Angeles sprawl. Webb's mellifluous voice intoned, “This is the city. Los Angeles, California,” and usually offered statistics about the city, its population, and its institutions. Among the show's other “realistic” elements were constant references to dates, the time, and weather conditions. Producing the series on film permitted the use of stock shots of LAPD operations and location shooting in Los Angeles. This was a sharp contrast to

the stage-bound “live” detective shows of the period. *Dragnet* emphasized authentic police jargon, the technical aspects of law enforcement, and the drudgery of such work. Rather than engaging in fistfights and gunplay, Friday and his partner spent much screen time making phone calls, questioning witnesses, or following up on dead-end leads. Scenes of the detectives simply waiting and engaging in mundane small talk were common. To save on costly rehearsal time, Webb had actors read their lines off a TelePrompTer. The result was a clipped, terse style that conveyed a documentary feel and became a trademark of subsequent series produced by Webb, including *Adam-12* and *Emergency*. *Dragnet* always concluded with an epilogue detailing the criminal's fate, accompanied by a shot of the character shifting about uncomfortably before the camera.

*Dragnet's* stories, many written by James Moser, ran the gamut from traffic accidents to homicide. Other stories played on critical middle-class anxieties of the post-war period, including juvenile delinquency, teenage drug use, and the distribution of “dirty” pictures in schools. Moral complexity was eschewed for a crime-doesn't-pay message sketched in stark, black-and-white tones. Friday put up with little from lawbreakers, negligent parents, or young troublemakers. Program segments often concluded with the sergeant directing a tight-lipped homily to miscreants coupled with a musical “stinger” and an appreciative nod from his partner.

By 1954, *Dragnet* was watched by over half of U.S. television households. This success prompted Warner Brothers to finance and distribute a theatrical version of *Dragnet* (1954), signaling the rise of cross promotion between film and television. Further evidence of the show's popularity was found in the number of TV series that imitated its style, notably *The Lineup*, *M Squad*, and Moser's *Medic*, based on cases from the files of the Los Angeles County Medical Association. Conversely, other series such as *77 Sunset Strip* and *Hawaiian Eye*, featuring younger, hipper detectives, were developed to provide an antidote to *Dragnet's* dour approach to crime fighting. As *Dragnet* neared completion of its initial run in 1959, Friday was promoted to lieutenant, and Smith passed his sergeant's exam. Seven years later the show was revived by NBC as *Dragnet 1967*. Until it was canceled in 1970, *Dragnet* was always followed by the year to distinguish the



*Dragnet*, Jack Webb, Harry Morgan, 1967–70.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

new series from its 1950s counterpart. In the new series, Friday was once again a sergeant, now paired with Officer Bill Gannon (Harry Morgan). Though the style and format of the show remained the same, the intervening years and the rise of the counterculture had changed Friday from a crusading cop to a dyspeptic civil servant, alternately disgusted by the behavior of the younger generation and peeved at his partner's prattle about mundane topics. The program's conservatism was all the more apparent in the late 1960s, as Friday's terse warnings of the 1950s gave way to shrill lectures invoking god and country for the benefit of hippies, drug users, and protestors.

Webb's death in 1982 did not prevent another revival of *Dragnet* from appearing in syndication during the 1989–90 season. Two younger characters filled in for Friday and his partner, but the formula remained the same. This little-seen effort failed quickly in part because series such as *Hill Street Blues* and *COPS* had significantly altered the conventions of realistic police dramas. Those programs, and such others as *NYPD Blue*, must be considered the true generic successors to the original *Dragnet*. As the archetypal television police drama, *Dragnet* has remained a staple in reruns

and continues to be an object of both parody and reverent homage.

ERIC SCHAEFER

See also **Police Programs; Webb, Jack**

#### Cast

Sgt. Joe Friday	Jack Webb
Sgt. Ben Romero (1951)	Barton Yarborough
Sgt. Ed Jacobs (1952)	Barney Phillips
Officer Frank Smith (1952)	Herb Ellis
Officer Frank Smith (1953–59)	Ben Alexander
Officer Bill Gannon (1967–70)	Harry Morgan

#### Producer/Creator

Jack Webb

#### Programming History

1952–59	263 episodes
1967–70	100 episodes
NBC	
January 1952–December 1955	Thursday 9:00–9:30
January 1956–September 1958	Thursday 8:30–9:00
September 1958–June 1959	Tuesday 7:30–8:00
July 1959–September 1959	Sunday 8:30–9:00
January 1967–September 1970	Thursday 9:30–10:00

#### Further Reading

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- "Detective Story," *Newsweek* (January 14, 1952)
- Hubler, Richard G., "Jack Webb: The Man Who Makes *Dragnet*," *Coronet* (September 1953)
- "Jack, Be Nimble!" *Time* (March 15, 1954)
- Luciano, Patrick, and Gary Coville, "Behind Badge 714: The Story of Jack Webb and *Dragnet* (Part One)," *Filmfax* (August–September 1993)
- Luciano, Patrick, and Gary Coville, "Behind Badge 714: The Story of Jack Webb and *Dragnet* (Part Two)," *Filmfax* (October–November 1993)
- Tregaskis, Richard, "The Cops' Favorite Make-Believe Cop," *Saturday Evening Post* (September 26, 1953)

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## Dramedy

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"Dramedy" is best understood as a television program genre that fuses elements of comedy and drama. According to R. Altman, new genres emerge in one of two ways: "either a relatively stable set of semantic

givens is developed through syntactic experimentation into a coherent and durable syntax, or an already existing syntax adopts a new set of semantic elements." "Semantic elements" are the generic "building blocks"



*The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*, Maureen Anderman, William Converse-Roberts, James Greene, Blair Brown, David Strathairn, Allyn Ann McLerie, 1987–91.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

out of which of program genres are constructed—those recurring elements such as stock characters, common traits, and technical features such as locations and typical shots. “Syntax,” or “syntactic features,” describes the ways in which these elements are related and combined. The recurring combination of semantic and syntactic elements creates a conventional type or category of program called a genre.

As a commercial enterprise, television piques audience members’ interest and attracts viewers, at least in part by offering innovations on familiar genre forms. Thus, while dramedy may have taken the final step from invention to genre evolution in the 1980s, several series during the 1970s occasionally experimented with individual “dramedic” episodes, including *M\*A\*S\*H* (1972–83), *Barney Miller* (1975–82), and *Taxi* (1978–83). After *Moonlighting* (1985–89) had garnered both popular success and critical acclaim, a number of television producers turned to dramedy’s unique duality as a means of attracting audiences. Other television series that some critics have called

dramedies include *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* (1987–91), *Hooperman* (1987–89), *The Wonder Years* (1988–93), *Northern Exposure* (1990–95), *Brooklyn Bridge* (1991–93), *Sports Night* (1998–2000), and *Ally McBeal* (1997–2002).

Arguably one of the clearest examples of the dramedy genre emerged in 1985 and 1986, when the Directors Guild of America nominated the hour-long television series *Moonlighting* for both best drama and best comedy, an unprecedented event in the organization’s previous 50 years. *Moonlighting* combined the semantic elements or conventions of television drama (serious subject matter, complex and rounded central characters, multiple interior and exterior settings, use of textured lighting, and single-camera shooting on film) with the conventional syntactic features of television comedies (four-act narrative structure, repetition, witty repartee, verbal and musical self-reflexivity, and hyperbole).

Not all dramedies, however, are an hour long. For example, the half-hour series *Frank’s Place* (1987–88) and *Sports Night* dealt with serious issues; had rounded and complex central characters, textured lighting, and multiple interior settings; and featured single-camera shooting on film with no studio audience or canned laugh track. However, given the economic organization of the American television schedule, in which “half-hour” is usually equated with “comedy” and “hour-long” with “drama,” creators of dramedies have frequently had some difficulty persuading television networks to air their half-hour genre hybrids without laugh tracks. In the case of *Sports Night*, for example, producer Aaron Sorkin and director Thomas Schlamme spent much of the series’ first season trying to persuade the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) that the laugh track the network demanded was destroying the series.

Television, like most popular culture forms, is strongly generic; audiences come to television program viewing experiences with definite expectations about genre conventions; indeed, according to Robert Warshaw, audiences welcome originality “only in the degree that intensifies the expected experience without fundamentally altering it.” So, too, do the networks. *Frank’s Place* lasted only one season, while *Sports Night* lasted only two. In the case of the latter program, however, as *New Yorker* critic Ted Friend noted, producer Aaron Sorkin and director Thomas Schlamme managed during those two years “to take the half hour visually, where Steven Bochco had taken the hour with *Hill Street Blues*.”

*Ally McBeal*, an hour-long dramedy on the FOX network, featured one of the most innovative settings on television—prime time’s first unisex bathroom—as well as the series’ self-reflexive visual special effects

(such as Ally fantasizing herself and her high school/college/law school lover sharing a steamy kiss in a giant coffee cup and Ally's breasts growing to the point where her bra bursts as she looks in the mirror and acknowledges to herself that she does wish her bustline were a little bigger).

Critics have praised television dramedies' sophistication and innovation, calling these innovative series "quality television" for "quality audiences," and have suggested that the appearance of such creative hybrids whose self-reflexivity and intertextual references require a substantial degree of both popular and classic cultural literacy from viewers for full appreciation of their allusions and nuances signifies a change in the relationships among television, audiences, and society and indicates that television has "come of age" as an artistic medium.

LEAH R. VANDE BERG

See also *Ally McBeal*; *Moonlighting*

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## Drew, Robert (1924– )

U.S. Documentary Film Producer

Robert Drew is a documentary producer who, during the late 1950s and 1960s, pioneered a new documentary form for application in the network news departments. This form, which Drew dubbed "candid drama," also known as "*cinéma vérité*" or "direct cinema," did not, ultimately, reshape news programming, but it did provide the medium with a radically different way of covering historical and cultural events.

"Candid drama," according to Drew, is a documentary filmmaking technique that reveals the "logic of drama" inherent in almost all human situations. In sharp contrast to typical television documentaries, which are simply "lectures with picture illustration"

(and for that reason usually are "dull"), the candid drama documentary eschews extensive voice-over narration, formal interviews, on-air correspondents, or other kinds of staged and framed television formulae. Instead, through the slowly acquired photography and long, single takes—called real-time photography—of *vérité* technique, the details and flavor of a scene become the important elements: the fatigue experienced by candidates on a campaign trail (*Primary*) or the fervid concentration of a race car driver (*On the Pole*) captures our attention as much as the factual information about a campaign or the Indianapolis 500. According to Drew, the purpose of candid documentary is to



engage the viewer's "senses as well as his mind." Over a career that spans more than 30 years, Drew has produced over 100 films and videotapes, most of which employ the theory and methods of *vérité* technique; and unlike other practitioners of the form, he has also tried to procure a regular slot for *vérité* on prime-time network programming.

Drew was first introduced to the power of documentary photography just after World War II while demonstrating a new fighter plane for a *Life* magazine reporter and photography team (Drew had served as a fighter pilot during the war). Struck by the power of the resulting article, Drew, at the age of 22, became a staff reporter for *Life*. In 1955, he accepted a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard to formally pursue the problem of an alternative news theory in the medium of film. It was a time of rigorous talk, study, and analysis, according to Drew, and on his return to *Life*, he began making films as well as reporting. Some of these early experiments premiered on *The Ed Sullivan Show* and *The Jack Paar Show*. In 1960, Drew moved to Time's broadcast division, where, with the backing of Wes Tullen, vice president in charge of television operations, he obtained the funds for his first project and the means necessary to develop lightweight portable equipment. The engineering of the first small sync sound and picture camera unit, which he undertook with filmmaker Richard Leacock, has undoubtedly had an enormous impact on numerous documentarians working both for the major networks and independently. Sensitive and ephemeral moments could now be more easily captured than with the cumbersome camera, large camera crew, and lighting system that had been used in news coverage to date.

Also at this time, Drew formed his company, Drew Associates, which enabled him to hire freelance cameramen and filmmakers, some of whom, such as D.A. Pennebaker, Richard Leacock, and Albert Maysles, have since gone on to establish celebrated careers of their own. By March 1960, Drew was ready to select their first subject and settled on the Democratic presidential primary in Wisconsin, which pitted the young John Kennedy against Hubert Humphrey. For the last week of the campaign, three two-man crews tracked both Kennedy and Humphrey as they made their rounds of the hustings, photo sessions, and the rare, private moments in between.

*Primary*, as this first film was named, still stands today as one of Drew Associate's best-known and celebrated works. It won the Flaherty Award for best documentary and the Blue Ribbon at the American Film Festival while in Europe, according to Drew, "it was received as a kind of documentary second-coming." (The rough immediacy of the handheld camera is



Robert Drew.  
Photo courtesy of Drew Associates, Inc.

said to have influenced Goddard's *Breathless*.) Kennedy, on viewing *Primary*, liked it so much that he consented to Drew's request to make further candid films in his role as president. "What if I had been able to observe F.D.R. in the 24 hours before he declared war on Japan?" he said. And indeed, Drew Associates gained permission to film the president during a period of crisis. Called *Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment* (1963), this documentary chronicles the showdown between Alabama Governor George Wallace and the federal government over the integration of the University of Alabama. As in *Primary*, domestic and personal details of the two main protagonists (Wallace and then-Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy) are intercut with the film's history-making moments—Wallace's initial refusal to back down and the government's decision to employ state troops. To Drew's great chagrin, however, the films were not broadcast over the networks. While regional outlets were found on occasion, the regular scheduling of these films and the many others he produced proved an elusive goal.

However, a joint sponsorship between Time, Inc., and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) allowed Drew Associates to produce a series of films in 1960 for television, including a portrait of Indianapolis race driver Eddie Sachs, *On the Pole*, and *Yanki No!*, about Latin American reaction to American foreign policy in the region. These two films prompted a Time, Inc.–ABC liaison to offer Drew a contract for a regular supply of candid documentary. In rapid-fire succession, the company made about a half dozen more. They form a diverse list, including a profile of Nehru (which grew to a 20-year documentary relationship



with the Nehru "dynasty," with subsequent films on Indira Gandhi and her son, Rajiv). Yet the first season's series was to be the last produced under the arrangement; again, the regular scheduling of the films, which Drew had made the bedrock of his candid drama theory, did not materialize.

The reasons proffered for the ambivalence of the television industry include the political infighting that arose between Time and ABC and the growing difficulty of attracting a single sponsor for the projects; but perhaps the most compelling reason was the networks' unshakable preference for correspondent-hosted or narrated reporting. The predictable (and containable) effects of a regular news anchor has prevailed, with exceptions, over more poetic candid documentary. (Moments of *vérité* reporting have nonetheless been produced in a few instances by the networks, Drew maintains, most notably the network coverage of American troops in Vietnam.) Once the first season of programming was complete, the three-way contractual relationship between Drew Associates, Time, and ABC formally ended. The production company since then has managed to survive and produce prolifically on an independent contractual basis with a variety of sponsors, including ABC, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), corporations, and government agencies, as well with its own Drew Associates funds as an independent producer.

The resulting oeuvre consists of a wide variety of historical and high-profile moments, intermingled with scenes of the ordinary in modern life. *Jane* (1962) shows us a young Jane Fonda at her Broadway debut. *A Man Who Dances* (1968), produced as part of series on the arts for Bell Telephone, about ballet dancer Edward Villella, won Drew an Emmy. Many have dealt with subjects the networks have hesitated to tackle in house; responding to a request by Xerox Corporation for a film "that the networks won't touch," Drew made *Storm Signal* (1966), a documentary on drug addiction; a three-part series on gangs, produced for PBS's *Frontline* (1983–84) delves into the world of gangs and an inner-city high school. A full ten years later, Drew Associates completed *L.A. Champions*, also for PBS, about the basketball teams that play the streets of South Central Los Angeles, which, like Drew's first films, unobtrusively follows its main characters and without a word of narration tells a stirring story.

SUSAN HAMOVITCH

#### See also Documentary

**Robert Lincoln Drew.** Born in Toledo, Ohio, February 15, 1924. Served in U.S. Army Air Force, 1942.

Reporter for *Life*, 1946, Detroit bureau chief, 1949, assistant picture editor, New York, 1950, Chicago correspondent, 1951; documentary filmmaker for film and television. Recipient: Nieman Fellowship from Harvard University, 1954; American Film Festival, Blue Ribbon Award, 1961 and 1978; Venice Film Festival, First Prize, 1964, 1965, and 1966; Council on International Non-Theatrical Events, Cine Golden Eagle, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969 (twice), 1970, 1975, 1976, 1977 (twice), 1978, 1980, 1982, 1985, 1986, and 1991; International Cinema Exhibition, Bilbao, First Prize, 1967 and 1968; International Documentary Film Festival, First Prize, 1967; Emmy Award, 1969; Chicago Film Festival, Silver Hugo, 1978; Peabody Award, 1982; American Bar Association, Silver Gavel Award, 1983; International Film and TV Festival of New York, Gold Award, 1983; Education Writers Association, First Prize, 1985; DuPont-Columbia Award, Best Documentary, 1985–86.

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## Dubbing

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Dubbing has two meanings in the process of television production. It is used to describe the replacement of one soundtrack (music, sound effects, dialogue, natural sound, and so on) by another. The technique is used in the production of both audio and audiovisual media. It is a postproduction activity that allows considerable flexibility in "editing" the audio component of the visual. Dubbing includes activities such as the addition of music and sound effects to the original dialogue, the omission or replacement of unwanted or poorly recorded audio, or the re-recording of the entire dialogue, narration, and music. Much like literary editing, dubbing allows considerable freedom to re-create the product. Synonymous terms include postsynchronizing, looping, revoicing, re-recording, and electronic line replacement.

Dubbing is also one of the two major forms of "language transfer," the translation of audiovisual works. Dubbing, in this sense, is the replacement of the dia-

logue and narration of the foreign or source language (SL) into the language of the viewing audience, the target language (TL).

Inherited from cinema, dubbing is extensively used for translating other-language television programs. Some countries and cultures prefer dubbing to subtitling and voice-over. In Europe, for example, the "dubbing countries" include Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland.

Dubbing, unlike subtitling, which involves a translation of speech into writing, is the oral translation of oral language. However, unlike "interpretation," in which the SL speaker and the TL interpreter are separate persons talking in their own distinct voices, dubbing requires the substitution of the voice of each character on the screen by the voice of one actor. It is, thus, a form of voice-over or revoicing. Dubbing is, however, distinguished from voice-over by the for-

mer's strict adherence to lip synchronization. In order to seem "natural" or authentic, the performed translation in a dubbed program must match, as closely as possible, the lip movements of the speaker on the screen. Moreover, there should be a strict though easy-to-achieve equivalence of extralinguistic features of voice, especially gender and age. The matching of other markers of speech, such as personality, class, and ethnicity, is most difficult because these features are not universally available or comparable. Another requirement of successful dubbing is the compatibility of the dubber's voice with the facial and body expressions visible on the screen.

Lip synchronization is usually seen as the strongest constraint on accurate translation. The script editor modifies the "raw translation" of each utterance in order to match it with the lip movements of the person seen on the screen. Given the enormous differences between even closely related languages such as English and German, it is difficult to find TL words that match the SL lip movements; this is especially the case when speakers are shown in close-up. It has been argued, however, that a word-by-word or sentence-by-sentence translation is not needed, especially in entertainment genres such as soap operas. Lip synchronization can be better performed with a more pragmatic "plot-oriented translation." If translation aims at conveying the general tone of each scene rather than locating meaning in each sentence, there will be more freedom to find appropriate words for lip synchronization. Moreover, it is important to seek the equivalence of not only word and sentence meanings but also genres, text quality, character, and cultural context. This approach is consistent with the claims of pragmatics, a new field of study that examines language use in social interaction. In either case, it would be more realistic to view dubbing, like other forms of language transfer, as an activity involving a re-creation of the original text.

As the transnationalization of television and film increases the demand for language transfer, the controversy about the aesthetics, politics, and economics of dubbing and subtitling continues in exporting and importing markets and in multilingual countries where language transfer is a feature of indigenous audio-visual culture. The polarized views on dubbing/subtitling highlight the centrality and complexity of language in a medium that privileges its visuality. Audience sensitivity to language can even be seen in the considerable volume of intralanguage dubbing. The miniseries *Les filles de Caleb*, for example, produced in the French language of Quebec, was dubbed into the French standard for audiences in France. Latin American producers and exporters of *telenovelas* have generally adopted a Mexican form of Spanish as their standard, following the lead of the earliest successful programs. Thus, dialect also acts as a barrier in the transnationalization of television within the same language community and highlights the complex issues surrounding this apparently simple industrial process.

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## DuMont, Allen B. (1901–1965)

U.S. Inventor and Media Executive

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In 1931, Allen B. DuMont founded Allen B. DuMont Laboratories, Inc., in his garage with \$1,000—half of it borrowed. The company achieved its initial success as the primary U.S. manufacturer of cathode-ray tubes,

which had become critical to the electronics industry. DuMont entered into television broadcasting—first experimentally, then as a commercial venture—in 1938. In fact, the only way to receive NBC-RCA's historic



Allen B. DuMont.  
Photo courtesy of the Museum of Broadcast Communications  
(MBC)

public broadcast of television outside the company's 1939 World's Fair pavilion was on sets made by DuMont Labs.

DuMont first became involved in broadcasting by building a radio transmitter and a transmitter and receiver out of an oatmeal box while suffering from polio. In 1924, he received an electrical engineering degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. After graduation, he joined the Westinghouse Lamp Company as an engineer at a time when 500 tubes a day were being produced. Later, DuMont became supervisor and initiated technical improvements that increased production to 5,000 tubes per hour. In 1928, he worked closely with Dr. Lee DeForest on expanding radio but left later to explore television.

DuMont achieved a number of firsts in commercial television practice, but with little success. He tried to expand his network too rapidly in terms of both the number of affiliates and the number of hours of programming available to affiliates each week. Even as DuMont was developing into the first commercial television network, the other networks, most notably the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), were preparing

for the time when rapid network expansion was most feasible—experimenting with various program formats and talent borrowed from their radio networks as well as encouraging their most prestigious and financially successful radio affiliates to apply for television licenses.

Prime-time programming was a major problem for DuMont. The network would not or could not pay for expensive shows that would deliver large audiences, thereby attracting powerful sponsors. When a quality show drew a large audience in spite of its budget, it was snatched by CBS or NBC. DuMont televised the occasional successful show, including *Cavalcade of Stars* (before Jackie Gleason left), *Captain Video*, and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's *Life Is Worth Living*. However, the network never seemed to generate enough popular programming to keep it afloat—possibly because it lacked the backing of a radio network.

The NBC, CBS, and American Broadcasting Company (ABC) radio networks provided financial support for their television ventures while the fledgling industry was growing—creating what the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) deemed “an ironic situation in which one communications medium financed the development of its competitor.” DuMont's only outside financial assistance came from Paramount Studios between 1938 and 1941. The company created and sold class-B common stock exclusively to Paramount for \$1 per share and a promise to provide film-quality programming that was never delivered. The sale was performed to offset heavy investments in research, development, and equipment manufacture, but as a result, Allen DuMont relinquished half interest in his company, and Paramount gained a strong measure of “negative” control—with its board members able to veto motions and withhold payment of funds.

Although it ceased financially assisting DuMont in 1941, Paramount maintained a presence on DuMont's board of directors. The FCC ruled in 1948 that DuMont and Paramount must combine the number of stations they owned under ownership rules, hurting DuMont's ability to secure exclusive network owned-and-operated programming outlets. One question that remains unanswered is the amount of control Paramount actually did have over the DuMont organization. In 1949, the number of Paramount-controlled DuMont board-of-directors positions was reduced from four to three, but the FCC decision on Paramount control was not reversed.

The FCC “freeze” from 1948 to 1952 hurt the DuMont Network because DuMont could add few additional affiliates during a period when the company was financially capable of expansion due to profits from

TV set sales. DuMont did claim a large number of affiliates compared to the other networks, but many of these appear to have taken only a few shows per week from DuMont and relied primarily on an affiliation with CBS and NBC. Analysts have suggested that DuMont's lack of primary affiliates was a key factor in the network's demise.

One important factor contributing to the demise of the DuMont Network was Allen B. DuMont himself. Many people thought of him as a "bypassed pioneer" with no head for business. Major stockholders began to question publicly the soundness of his decisions, especially his desire to keep the TV network afloat despite major losses. In 1955, concerned holders of large blocks of DuMont stock began to wrest control from the company founder.

When the fiscally weakened DuMont corporation spun off its television broadcasting facilities in 1955, *BusinessWeek* claimed that DuMont had been forced into television programming in order to provide a market for his TV receivers. No evidence has been found to support this claim, however. In markets where licenses for television stations were being granted during the postwar period, there were sufficient license applicants to provide audiences with programming to stimulate set sales. One reason DuMont television sales lagged behind those of other manufacturers was that his sets were of higher quality and consequently much more expensive. In fact, in 1951, DuMont cut back television set production by 60 percent—although profits from this division had been subsidizing the TV network—because other manufacturers were undercutting DuMont's prices.

After the DuMont Television Network and its owned-and-operated stations were spun off into a new corporation, there remained only two major divisions of Allen B. DuMont Laboratories, Inc. In 1958, Emerson Electric Company purchased the DuMont consumer products manufacturing division. DuMont was no longer employed by his own company when the last division—oscilloscope and cathode-ray tube manufacturing—was sold to Fairchild in 1960. DuMont was hired by Fairchild as group general manager of the A.B. DuMont Division of Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation until his death in 1965.

DuMont may have remained in television broadcasting despite fiscal losses in order to uphold the title once given him, "the father of commercial television." His company pioneered many important elements necessary to the growth and evolution of the industry. DuMont engineers perfected the use of cathode-ray tubes as TV screens, developed the kinescope process as well as the "magic eye" cathode-ray radio-tuning indicator, and the first electronic viewfinder. DuMont was an intelligent and energetic engineer who took risks

and profited financially from them—becoming history's first television millionaire. But when the big radio networks entered the field of television, DuMont was unable to compete with these financially powerful, considerably experienced broadcasters.

PHILIP J. AUTER

*See also Army-McCarthy Hearings; United States: Networks*

**Allen B(alcom) Dumont.** Born in Brooklyn, New York, January 29, 1901. Educated at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, B.S. in electrical engineering 1924. Married: Ethel; children: Allen B., Jr., and Yvonne. Began career with the Westinghouse Lamp Company; conducted TV experiments in his garage, 1920s; developed an inexpensive cathode-ray tube that would last for thousands of hours (unlike the popular German import tube, which lasted only 25 to 30 hours), DeForest Radio Company, 1930; left to found his laboratory, 1931; incorporated DuMont Labs, 1935; sold a half interest to Paramount Pictures Corporation to raise capital for broadcasting stations, 1938; DuMont Labs was first company to market home television receiver, 1939; granted experimental TV licenses in Passaic, New Jersey, and New York, 1942; DuMont Television Network separated from DuMont Labs, sold to the Metropolitan Broadcasting Company; Emerson Radio and Phonograph Corporation purchased DuMont's television, phonograph, and stereo producing division, 1958; remaining DuMont interests merged with the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation, 1960; named group general manager of DuMont divisions of Fairchild, 1960; named senior technical consultant, 1961. Honorary doctorates: Rensselaer and Brooklyn Polytechnic Institutes. Recipient: American Television Society, 1943; Marconi Memorial Medal for Achievement, 1945; several trophies for accuracy in navigation and calculations in power-boat racing. Died in Montclair, New Jersey, November 16, 1965.

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## Dyer, Gwynne (1943– )

Canadian Journalist, Producer

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Gwynne Dyer is a Canadian journalist, syndicated columnist, and military analyst. He is best known for his documentary television series *War*, which echoed the peace movement's growing concern over the threat of nuclear war in the early 1980s. Nominated for an Oscar in 1985, *War* was based on his own military experience and extensive study.

After serving in the naval reserves of Canada, the United States, and Britain, Dyer completed his doctoral studies in military history at King's College, University of London, in 1973. He lectured on military studies for the next four years before producing a seven-part radio series, *Seven Faces of Communism*, for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1978. This quickly led to other radio series, including *War*, in six parts, in 1981. Based on this series, he was invited by the National Film Board of Canada, the country's public film producer, to enlarge the project into a seven-part film series in 1983. On release to critical acclaim, the series was broadcast in 45 countries.

*War* was a reflection of Dyer's own growing concern about the proliferation of new technology, its impact on the changing nature of warfare, and the growing threat of nuclear annihilation. Filmed in ten countries and with the participation of six national armies, it examined the nature, evolution, and consequences of warfare. It featured interviews with top-level North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Warsaw Pact military leaders and strategist, many of whom spoke to the Western media for the first time. The series argued that in an era of total war, professional armies were no longer able to fulfill their traditional roles. The growth of nationalism, conscript armies, and nuclear technology had brought the world perilously close to Armageddon. *War* offered the

unique perspective of the soldier, from the rigorous training of young U.S. Marine recruits at the Parris Island Training Depot in South Carolina to the field exercises conducted by NATO and Warsaw Pact countries in Europe. It presented military officers from both sides talking frankly about how nuclear technology had changed their profession and followed them as they vividly described how any superpower conflict would inevitably lead to an all-out nuclear war. Dyer argued that the danger posed by the explosive mix of ideology and nuclear technology could be mitigated only by a total elimination of nuclear arsenals.

This award-winning series was soon followed by another production for the National Film Board of Canada in 1986, *The Defence of Canada*, an examination of Canada's military role on the international scene. Following arguments similar to those postulated in *War*, Dyer called for Canada to set an example by rethinking its position in NATO and the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD). He maintained his ties in the Soviet Union and from 1988 to 1990 produced a six-part radio series, *The Gorbachev Revolution*, which followed the thunderous changes occurring in Eastern Europe. He served as a military commentator in Canada during the Gulf War, and in 1994 his series *The Human Race* was broadcast nationally on the CBC. It was a personal inquiry into the roots, nature, and future of human politics and the threat posed by tribalism, nationalism, and technology to the world's environment. The next year, his television documentary on the war in Bosnia, *Protection Force*, aired.

Dyer continues to write a syndicated column on international affairs, which is published in 150 newspapers in 30 nations. He also lectures frequently on military history and global instability in the current world.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

**Gwynne Dyer.** Born in St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, April 17, 1943. Educated at Memorial University of Newfoundland, B.A. in history, 1963; Rice University, Houston, Texas, M.A. in military history 1966; King's College, University of London, Ph.D. in military and Middle Eastern history 1973. Served as reserve naval officer, Royal Canadian Naval Reserve, 1956–64, 1966–68; U.S. Naval Reserve, 1964–66; British Royal Navy Reserve, 1968–73. Lecturer in military history, Canadian Forces College in Toronto; senior lecturer in war studies, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, England, 1973–77; producer of various radio and television special series, since 1978; syndicated columnist, international affairs, since 1973. Recipient: International Film Festival Awards; International Film Festival Awards, 1984; Best Writing Gemini for *The Space Between*, 1986.

#### Television Documentaries

- 1983 *War* (co-writer and host)  
1986 *The Defence of Canada*

- 1994 *The Human Race* (host)  
1995 *Protection Force*

#### Films

*The Space Between* (co-writer/host), 1986; *Harder Than It Looks*, 1987; *Escaping from History* (writer), 1994; *The Gods of Our Fathers* (writer), 1994; *The Tribal Mind* (writer), 1994; *The Bomb under the World* (writer), 1994.

#### Radio

*Seven Faces of Communism*, 1978; *Goodbye War* (writer and narrator), 1979; *War*, 1981; *The Gorbachev Revolution*, 1988–90; *Millennium*, 1996.

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## Dyke, Greg (1947– )

### British Media Executive

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As director general of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Greg Dyke heads one of Britain's best-known institutions and largest employers and is custodian of the nation's most important cultural body. In April 2000, Dyke was named to succeed Sir John Birt at the BBC, which at that time had an annual income of \$4.5 billion and a staff of 23,000. Clearly, the BBC governors chose Dyke because he had previously proven himself to be a genius in supplying popular, widely watched television for independent companies. Dyke had been one of the most powerful leaders among the British independent television companies, having headed TV-AM, Television South, and London Weekend Television (LWT). His 1995 departure from network television to become head of the television interests of the Pearson Group and member of the board of the satellite-delivered television group British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB) signaled a shift of his considerable influence from mainstream television to the new multichannel systems. In 2000, his friend Sir Christopher Bland, who had been promoted from chairman of

LWT to chairman of the BBC's board of governors, called Dyke back to the mainstream in order to boost BBC ratings. Bland has said of Dyke, "Television is a mass medium and Greg understands that. You have to have a mass audience if you are going to succeed."

Dyke's success in the industry has proved that it is no longer necessary for top British television people to come from "Oxbridge" (Oxford and Cambridge Universities) and start their careers with the BBC. Unlike most BBC executives, Dyke had a varied career after leaving grammar school at age 16: he worked for various local papers and gained a politics degree at York University as a mature student.

Dyke's television career began when he joined *The London Program* in the 1970s, and he rapidly rose to become producer of *Weekend World* and deputy editor of *The London Program*. In 1981, he was given command of his own creation, *The Six O'clock Show*, an energetic magazine program. Dyke proved to his production teams that he was an inspirational manager and able administrator.

Dyke's greatest success in the early chapters of his television career came when he, almost single-handedly, saved TV-AM. The 1981 franchised breakfast company was heading for bankruptcy when Dyke was called in to bring back its audience. Dyke took the ailing breakfast show "down-market," signaling this move with the introduction of bingo numbers, horoscopes, and a clueless puppet called Roland Rat. Viewership rose from 200,000 to 1.8 million in 12 months, and the eventual gain was 20-fold. Better ratings were regarded as more important than cultural qualities.

Dyke eventually resigned from TV-AM because of a conflict over budget cuts, and he was quickly hired by Television South as director of programs; from that appointment, he returned to LWT as director of programs and then chief executive. Perhaps his most significant promotion was to replace his good friend and former colleague Birt on the ITV Program Controllers' group. When Dyke rose to become chair of that vital group, he effectively orchestrated the ITV companies' scheduling against the BBC.

By 1993, Dyke was chief executive of London Weekend Television Holdings, chair of the ITV Association, and chair of ITV Sport. Under his command, LWT flourished as never before, with excellent programs such as *Blind Date* and *Beadle's About*. But successful companies always risk the danger of being taken over unless they are protected by government regulation, as was the case for ITV companies. When the Conservatives abolished these restrictions in 1993, LWT was at risk. Granada swallowed LWT for \$900 million in 1994, and Dyke resigned rather than work under Granada control. With \$1.75 million in stock options, Dyke made a \$12 million profit from the Granada bid.

Dyke is perhaps the outstanding ITV "baby boomer": generous, perennially optimistic, and very widely experienced. His friends say that he is motivated and streetwise and understands popular TV. His critics suggest that he is a lightweight, with a tendency to speak out quickly, an impression that is fostered by his blue-collar London accent and approachable personality. Certainly his impact on ITV was considerable. His move to Pearson and BSkyB illustrated

clearly that the traditional ratings war between ITV and the BBC is no longer the only competition in the British television market. As head of the largest terrestrial broadcaster in the United Kingdom, the BBC, he must protect its share of the market from both ITV and cable and satellite programming.

Dyke's first two years with the BBC yielded mixed results; among the low points, he lost the Match of the Day Premiership Football highlights to commercial interests in 2001. Dyke has been faced with correcting the overly bureaucratic approach to management promoted by the previous director general, his ex-LWT colleague Birt. Dyke's plans for "One BBC" included reducing the amount of money spent on running the BBC from 24 to 15 percent of its total income, freeing up an additional \$300 million for programming. He described this scheme as "more leadership, less management... our aim is to create one BBC, where people enjoy their job and are inspired and united behind the common purpose of making great programs and delivering outstanding services." The key change under this plan has been the creation of three programming divisions: Drama, Entertainment, and Children; Factual and Learning; and Sport. Each programming division reports directly to the director general and has a seat on the new executive committee.

ANDREW QUICKE

#### **See also British Production Companies; British Sky Broadcasting**

**Greg(ory) Dyke.** Born May 20, 1947. Attended Hayes Grammar School; University of York, B.A. in politics. Two sons and two daughters. Had varied career, 1965-83, before being appointed editor in chief, TV-AM, 1983-84; director of programs, TVS, 1984-87; director of programs, 1987-91, deputy managing director, 1989-90, managing director and subsequently group chief executive, 1990-94, London Weekend Television; director, Channel 4 Television, 1988-91; chair, ITV Council, 1991-94; director, BSkyB, 1995-2000; chair, Pearson Television, 1995-2000; director general of the BBC since 2000.



# Dynasty

U.S. Serial Melodrama

Premiering as a three-hour movie on January 12, 1981, the prime-time soap opera *Dynasty* aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) until 1989. *Dynasty* quickly worked its way into the top-five rated programs, finishing fifth for the 1982–83 season and third for the 1983–84 season. It was the number one ranked program for the 1984–85 season but rapidly began losing viewers. By its final season (1988–89), *Dynasty* finished tied for 57th place and was unceremoniously dumped from ABC's roster leaving numerous dangling plotlines. These plotlines were tied up in a two-part, four-hour movie, *Dynasty: The Reunion*, which aired on ABC on October 20 and 22, 1991, some two years after the series' cancellation.

The soap opera focused primarily on the lives and loves of Blake Carrington (John Forsythe), a wealthy Denver, Colorado, oil tycoon; his wife Krystle (Linda Evans); ex-wife Alexis (Joan Collins); daughter Fallon (Pamela Sue Martin, Emma Samms); sons Steven (Al Corley and Jack Coleman); and Adam (Gordon Thomson), as well as numerous extended family members and associates, including Fallon's husband/ex-husband Jeff Colby (John James) and Krystle's niece and Steven's wife/ex-wife Sammy Jo (Heather Locklear).

The program relied on both camp and excess for its appeal. Its characters and plotlines were sometimes absurd and broadly drawn, but it was the trappings of wealth, glamour, and fashion that drew viewers in some 70 countries to the program. With a weekly budget of \$1.2 million (\$10,000 of which went for clothing alone, including at least ten Nolan Miller creations per episode), *Dynasty* placed more emphasis on style than on plot.

The plotlines of this prime-time soap opera often resembled those of its daytime counterparts: kidnapped babies, amnesia, pregnancy, infidelity, and treachery. In fact, *Dynasty* made extensive use of one soap opera staple: the return to life of characters presumed dead. Both Fallon and Steven Carrington were killed off, only to return in later seasons played by different actors.

Just as often, however, *Dynasty's* plots leaned toward the campy and absurd. One of the most talked about and ridiculed plots was the 1985 season-ending cliffhanger, which saw the Carringtons gathered for a wedding in the country of Moldavia. Terrorists

stormed the ceremony in a hail of machine-gun fire, but when the smoke cleared (at the start of the next season, of course), all the primary characters were alive and basically unscathed.

While often criticized for its weak and at times absurd plots, *Dynasty* did provide juicy roles for women, notably Joan Collins's characterization of Alexis. Her character—scheming, conniving, and ruthless—was often referred to as a “superbitch” and was the quintessential “character you love to hate.” Alexis was set in opposi-



*Dynasty*, Linda Evans, Pamela Bellwood, Heather Locklear, Pamela Sue Martin, Joan Collins, and John Forsythe, 1981–89. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Dynasty

tion to Krystle, who was more of a "good girl"—sweet, loyal, and loving. One of the best-known scenes in *Dynasty's* history was the 1983 "cat fight" between Alexis and Krystle, in which they literally fought it out in a lily pond. Alexis met her match in the character of wealthy singer and nightclub owner Dominique Devereaux (Diahann Carroll), the first prominently featured African-American character on a prime-time soap opera.

During its nearly nine-year run, *Dynasty* spawned the short-lived spin-off *Dynasty II: The Colbys* (1985–87) and gave rise to numerous licensed luxury products, including perfume, clothing, and bedding. Never before had television product licensing been so targeted to upscale adults.

When *Dynasty* left the air in 1989, it also marked the demise of the prime-time soap opera, which had been a staple of television programming through the 1980s. Produced in part by Aaron Spelling, whose programs (such as *Charlie's Angels*; *The Love Boat*; *Beverly Hills, 90210*; and *Melrose Place*) have emphasized beauty, wealth, and glamour, *Dynasty* had proved the perfect metaphor for 1980s greed and excess. In declaring *Dynasty* the best prime-time soap of the decade, *TV Guide* asserted that the program's "campy opulence gave it a superb, ironic quality—in other words, it was great trash."

SHARON R. MAZZARELLA

See also *Dallas*; *Forsythe, John*; *Melodrama*

### Cast

Blake Carrington	John Forsythe
Krystle Jennings Carrington	Linda Evans
Alexis Carrington Colby	Joan Collins
Fallon Carrington Colby (1981–84)	Pamela Sue Martin
Fallon Carrington Colby (1985, 1987–89)	Emma Samms
Steven Carrington (1981–82)	Al Corley
Steven Carrington (1983–88)	Jack Coleman
Adam Carrington/Michael Torrance (1982–1989)	Gordon Thomson
Cecil Colby (1981–82)	Lloyd Bochner
Jeff Colby (1981–85, 1987– 89)	John James
Claudia Blaisdel (1981–86)	Pamela Bellwood
Matthew Blaisdel (1981)	Bo Hopkins
Lindsay Blaisdel (1981)	Katy Kurtzman
Walter Lankershim (1981)	Dale Robertson
Jeannette	Virginia Hawkins
Joseph Anders (1981–83)	Lee Bergere
Kirby (1982–84)	Kathleen Beller
Andrew Laird (1981–84)	Peter Mark Richman

Sammy Jo Dean	Heather Locklear
Michael Culhane (1981, 1986–87)	Wayne Northrop
Dr. Nick Toscani (1981–82)	James Farentino
Mark Jennings (1982–84)	Geoffrey Scott
Congressman Neal McEane (1982–84, 1987)	Paul Burke
Chris Deegan (1983)	Grant Goodeve
Tracy Kendall (1983–84)	Deborah Adair
Farnsworth "Dex" Dexter (1983–89)	Michael Nader
Peter de Vilbis (1983–84)	Helmut Berger
Amanda Carrington (1984– 86)	Catherine Oxenberg
Amanda Carrington (1986– 87)	Karen Cellini
Dominique Devereaux (1984–87)	Diahann Carroll
Gerard (1984–89)	William Beckley
Gordon Wales (1984–88)	James Sutorius
Luke Fuller (1984–85)	William Campbell
Nicole Simpson (1984–85)	Susan Scannell
Charles (1984–85)	George DiCenzo
Daniel Reece (1984–85)	Rock Hudson
Lady Ashley Mitchell (1985)	Ali MacGraw
Danny Carrington (1985–88)	Jameson Sampley
Joel Abrigore (1985–86)	George Hamilton
Garrett Boydston (1985–86)	Ken Howard

### Producers

Richard and Ethel Shapiro, Aaron Spelling, E. Duke Vincent, Philip Parslow, Elaine Rich, Ed Ledding

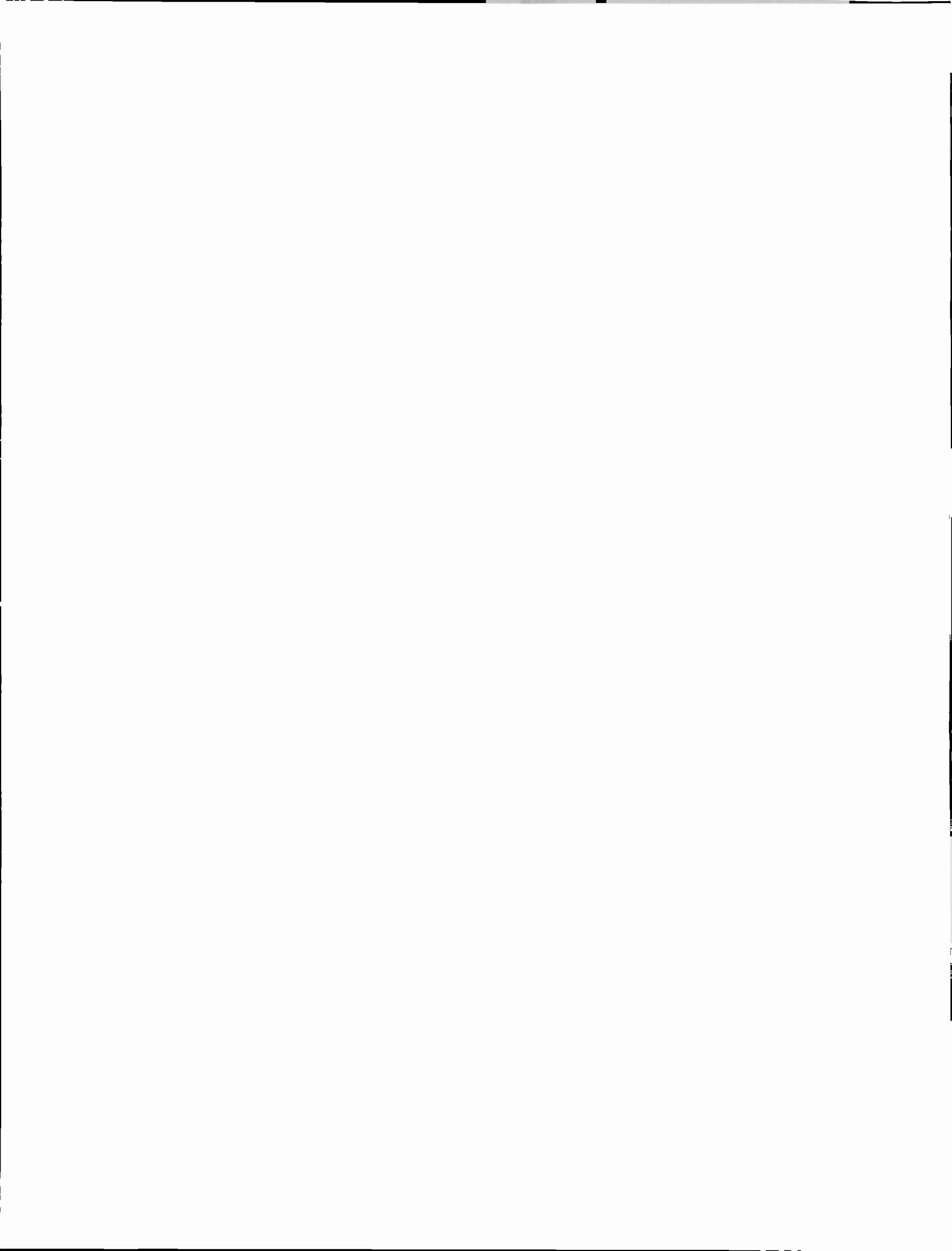
### Programming History

ABC	
January 1981–April 1981	Monday 9:00–10:00
July 1981–September 1983	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
September 1983–May 1984	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
August 1984–May 1986	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
September 1986–May 1987	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
September 1987–March 1988	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
November 1988–May 1989	Wednesday 10:00–11:00

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# E

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## E! Entertainment Network

U.S. Cable Network

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E! Networks launched E! Entertainment Television in 1990 as the only 24-hour network with programming dedicated to the world of entertainment. Now majority owned by Comcast Communications Corporation and available in more than 80 million Nielsen homes, E! has become a mainstay for adult audiences who want the latest news on celebrities, Hollywood, and the scandals that intermittently afflict the rich and famous. As the largest producer and distributor of entertainment and lifestyle-related programming, E! offers a scheduling mix of entertainment news, celebrity interviews, docudramas, reality programming, behind-the-scenes specials, comedy, movie previews, and extensive coverage of the entertainment industry's award shows.

E! emerged in 1990 when Time Warner and Home Box Office (HBO), acting as the managing partner for five major cable operators, sought to transform the floundering cable network Movietime into one providing 24-hour coverage of the entertainment industry. Movietime was subsequently revamped and relaunched under a new name and logo, E! Entertainment Television, which premiered that year as the only 24-hour network with original, short-form programming dedicated to the world of entertainment. Long-form programming production began at E! in 1991 with *Talk Soup*, a daily, half-hour parody of America's daytime talk show phenomenon. Hosted by

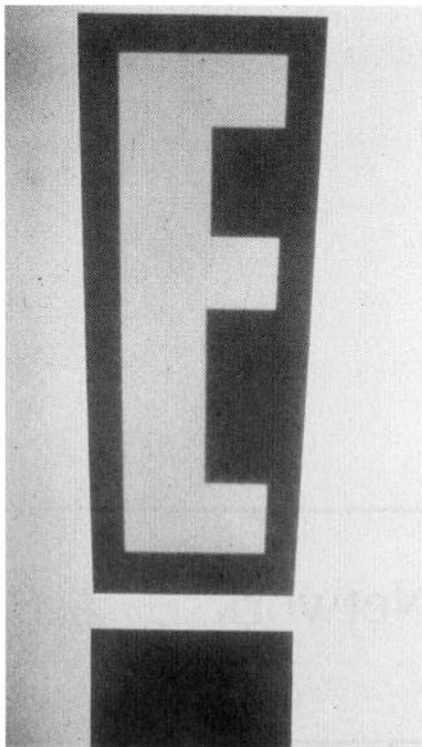
Greg Kinnear, *Talk Soup* became the network's first major hit.

Capitalizing on the nation's increasing hunger for round-the-clock access to celebrities, E!'s first Oscar guide show premiered in 1991, setting the stage for E!'s signature program *Live From the Red Carpet*. In 1994, comedian Joan Rivers became the host of E!'s live Oscar telecast, transforming the coverage into a ratings bonanza and establishing a decade-long network franchise.

Several months after Rivers's debut with *Live From the Red Carpet*, E! launched *Howard Stern*, a nightly, half-hour show featuring a compilation of raunchy sketches from the shock jock's morning radio program. *Howard Stern* quickly became one of the network's top-rated series, albeit a perennially controversial one.

E! benefited from more controversial programming the following year when it ran full, gavel-to-gavel coverage of the O.J. Simpson murder trial. The network's trial coverage posted huge ratings gains and cemented the network's reputation for bold, irreverent, and revealing programming.

Seeking to further brand itself as the leading source on television for the inside scoop on celebrity lifestyles, in 1996 E! launched the docudrama, *The E! True Hollywood Story*, as a one- and two-hour exposé into the real-life dramas of the rich and famous. *True*



Courtesy of E! Entertainment Television

*Hollywood Story*, with celebrity profiles including Demi Moore, Martha Stewart, Diana Ross, Eminem, Anna Kournikova, and Michael Jackson, became a nightly prime-time program in 1999. That same year, *Rolling Stone* named the Emmy-nominated program as one of the decade's most influential shows.

Other significant recent E! programming ventures include *Revealed* and *It's Good to Be*. *Revealed* debuted with host Jules Asner in 2001 as a one-hour series that sheds light on the lives of A-List celebrities, including Julia Roberts, Jennifer Lopez, George Clooney, and Halle Berry. *It's Good to Be* debuted on the network soon thereafter and turns the spotlight on celebrities' financial assets and extravagant spending habits.

As it has since its inception, E! continues to target the prized 18-to-49 adult demographic and remains one of the most recognizable brands in cable television for this age-group, ranking in the top 15 out of more than 100 established cable networks in brand awareness. The network has increasingly struggled, however, to maintain a healthy share of this audience in the

face of mounting competition from rival cable channels such as Music Television (MTV) and Video Hits 1 (VH1) and new and highly successful reality programming ventures from the broadcast networks.

In order to maintain and expand its share of style-conscious, entertainment-oriented young adults, E! developed its own reality-programming roster with entries such as *The Anna Nicole Smith Show*, which debuted in the summer of 2002 to favorable ratings and critical infamy. *The Anna Nicole Smith Show* ran for two seasons as a weekly, half-hour reality sitcom featuring the life of outlandish model/playmate/pop culture sensation Anna Nicole Smith and her unique circle of family and friends. More recent E! forays into reality programming have included *Celebrities Uncensored* and *Wild On*.

Leveraging its strength in the fashion sector of entertainment and by repurposing shows such as *Fashion Emergency*, a groundbreaking makeover program, E! launched the Style Network in 1998 as the only 24-hour network devoted to lifestyle programming. The Style Network features original series covering a broad range of categories within the lifestyle genre, including appearance, home, food and entertainment, and leisure. Style Network currently covers more than 30 million Nielsen homes.

E! Networks controls production for both E! Entertainment Television and the Style Network from its Los Angeles-based headquarters. Advertising and affiliate sales offices for the network are based in New York with additional affiliate sales offices in Connecticut. Both networks maintain websites, and E! Online—which provides entertainment news, original features, gossip, reviews, games, live-event coverage, and E!-branded merchandise—averages more than 100 million page views per month.

The Comcast Communications/Walt Disney Company partnership assumed 80 percent control of E! Entertainment Network in 1997, with 50 percent of that block solely owned by Comcast. Comcast, the largest cable operator in the United States, remains the network's largest shareholder with Disney and Liberty Media holding significant stakes as well.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH

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# Early Frost, An

U.S. Television Movie

*An Early Frost*, broadcast on November 11, 1985, on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), was the first American made-for-television movie and the second prime-time dramatic program to acknowledge the presence and spread of AIDS in the 1980s. Because the movie was about the potentially controversial topic of homosexuality and the impact of AIDS on the beleaguered community of gay men, much care went into the preproduction process. First, for more than a year, there was much interaction between writers Dan Lipman and Ron Cowen and NBC's Broadcast Standards and Practices department about the script. Such thorough development is highly unusual for most made-for-television movies. This interaction attempted to ensure a delicate balance in the presentation of sensitive subject matter. In addition, NBC gathered a cast of actors—Aidan Quinn, Gena Rowlands, Ben Gazzara, and Sylvia Sidney—who were most often associated with theatrically released films. The network also secured the service of Emmy Award-winning director Jon Erman for the project. These choices, they hoped, would enhance the production's aura of quality and deflect any criticism about exploitation of the tragic pandemic.

Scriptwriters Lipman and Cowen consciously framed the narrative about AIDS in the generic conventions of the family melodrama. Strategically, this approach provided a familiar, less threatening environment in which to present information and issues surrounding gay men and the disease. At one level, the narrative of *An Early Frost* exposes the tenuous links that hold the middle-class Pierson family together. On the surface, life appears to be idyllic. Nick Pierson is the successful owner of a lumberyard. He and his wife Kate have reared two seemingly well-adjusted children in a suburban neighborhood. Son Michael is a rising young lawyer in Chicago. Daughter Susan has replicated her parents' lifestyle, married with one child and expecting a second.

Under the surface, however, several familial fissures exist. Nick's upwardly mobile class aspirations are stalled. Kate's creative talent as a concert pianist has been sublimated into the demands of being a wife and mother. Susan acquiesces to her own husband's demands rather than follow her own desires. Unknown to the family, Michael, a closeted gay man, lives with his

lover Peter. The fragile veneer of familial stability bursts apart when Michael learns he has AIDS, exposing all the resentments that various family members have repressed.

The script also includes a parallel narrative thread exploring the conflicts in the gay relationship between Michael and Peter. Their relationship suffers from Michael's workaholic attitude toward his job. Conflict also grows out of Peter's openness about his homosexuality and Michael's inability to be open about his sexuality. The tension between the two is further exacerbated when Michael discovers that Peter has been unfaithful because of these conflicts.

When broadcast, *An Early Frost* drew a 33 share of the viewing audience, winning its time slot for the



*An Early Frost*, Ben Gazzara, Gena Rowlands, Aidan Quinn, 1985.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

evening's ratings and thus suggesting that the American public was ready to engage in a cultural discussion of the disease. Even so, the ratings success did not translate into economic profits for NBC. According to Perry Lafferty, the NBC vice president who commissioned the project, the network lost \$500,000 in advertising revenues because clients were afraid to have their commercials shown during the broadcast. Apparently, advertisers believed that the subject matter was too controversial because of its homosexual theme and too depressing because of the terminal nature of AIDS as a disease.

These concerns inhibited further production of other made-for-television scripts about AIDS until 1988. Ironically, the production quality of *An Early Frost* became a hallmark by which members of the broadcasting industry measured any subsequent development of movie scripts about AIDS. Arthur Allan Seideman, director of an NBC afternoon school-break special about AIDS titled *An Enemy among Us*, has stated, "There was some concern after *An Early Frost* was done that 'How many more things can you do about AIDS?'" Any new scripts had to live up to and move beyond the standard set by Cowen and Lipman's original made-for-television movie. Although providing the initial mainstream cultural space to examine AIDS, *An Early Frost* also hindered, in some ways, increased discussion of the disease in prime-time American broadcast programming precisely because it achieved its narrative and informational goals so well.

RODNEY A. BUXTON

See also **Sexual Orientation and Television**

#### Cast

Nick Pierson	Ben Gazzara
Michael Pierson	Aidan Quinn
Katherine Pierson	Gena Rowlands
Beatrice McKenna	Sylvia Sidney
Susan Maracek	Sydney Walsh
Bob Maracek	Bill Paxton
Victor DiMato	John Glover
Peter Hilton	D.W. Moffett
Dr. Redding	Terry O'Quinn
Christine	Cheryl Anderson

#### Producer

Perry Lafferty

#### Programming History

NBC

November 11, 1985

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## East Side/West Side

U.S. Drama

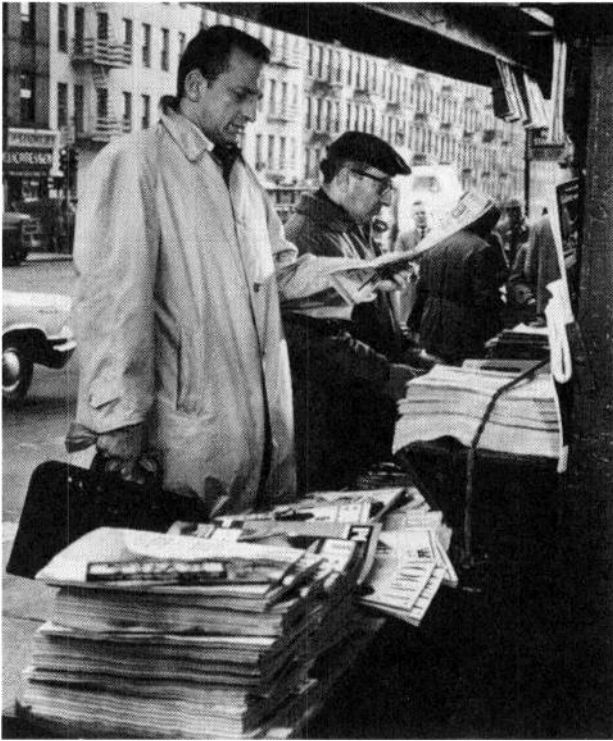
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*East Side/West Side*, an hour-long dramatic series, first appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in September 1963. Though it lasted only a single season, it is a significant program in television history because of the controversial subject matter it tackled each week and the casting of black actor Cicely Tyson in a recurring lead role as secretary Jane Foster.

During the Kennedy years, with an increased regulatory zeal emanating from the Federal Communications Commission, the networks attempted to deemphasize

the violence of action-adventure series. One result was an increase in character dramas. There was a trend toward programs based on liberal social themes in which the protagonists were professionals in service to society. As one producer of that era explained, "The guns of gangsters, policemen, and western lawmen were replaced by the stethoscope, the law book, and the psychiatrist's couch." This new breed of episodic TV hero struggled with occupational ethics and felt a disillusionment with values of the past.





*East Side/West Side.*  
Photo courtesy of CBS Worldwide, Inc.

Unlike action-adventure series in which heroes often settled their problems with a weapon, the troubles in New Frontier character dramas were not always resolved. Writers grappled with issues such as poverty, prejudice, drug addiction, abortion, and capital punishment, which do not lend themselves to tidy resolutions. Although the loose ends of a plot might be tied together by story's end, the world was not necessarily depicted as a better place at the conclusion of an episode.

*East Side/West Side*, produced by David Susskind and Daniel Melnick, was among the best of the genre and won instant acclaim. The program, about a New York social worker, appealed to sophisticates because, according to Lawrence Laurent of the *Washington Post*, it violated "every sacred tenet for television success." Typical TV heroes all had a similar look, said Laurent, "short straight noses, direct from a plastic surgeon, gleaming smiles courtesy of a dental laboratory." But, observed Laurent, Neil Brock (played by George C. Scott) was "hooknosed and disheveled."

An exemplary episode of *East Side/West Side* titled "Who Do You Kill?" aired on November 4, 1963. The story portrays how a black couple in their early 20s living in a Harlem tenement face the death of their infant daughter, who is bitten by a rat while in her crib. Diana Sands played the mother who works in a neighborhood

bar to support the family. Her husband, played by James Earl Jones, is frustrated by unemployment and grows more bitter each day.

The week after the broadcast, Senator Jacob Javits, a liberal, pro-civil rights Republican, moved that two newspaper articles be entered into the *Congressional Record*: "A CBS Show Stars Two Negroes: Atlanta Blacks It Out," from the *New York Herald Tribune*, and, from the *New York Times*, "TV: A Drama of Protest." Javits praised CBS for displaying courage in airing "Who Do You Kill?" and told his Senate colleagues he was distressed that not all southern viewers had the opportunity to see the drama. The program, Javits said, "dealt honestly and sensitively with the vital problems of job discrimination, housing conditions, and the terrible cancerous cleavage that can exist between the Negro and the white community." "Who Do You Kill?" he said, was "shocking in its revelations of what life can be like without hope."

The stark realism of the series was discomfiting. Most viewers did not know what to make of a hero who was often dazed by moral complexities. For CBS, the series was a bust; one-third of the advertising time remained unsold, and the program was not renewed. A few years later, David Susskind reflected on the ratings problem of *East Side/West Side*: "A gloomy atmosphere for commercial messages, an integrated cast, and a smaller Southern station lineup, all of these things coming together spelled doom for the show. I'm sorry television wasn't mature enough to absorb it and like it and live with it."

MARY ANN WATSON

#### Cast

Neil Brock	George C. Scott
Frieda Hechlinger	Elizabeth Wilson
Jane Foster	Cicely Tyson

#### Producers

David Susskind, Don Kranze, Arnold Perl, Larry Ar-  
rick

#### Programming History

26 episodes

CBS

September 1963–September  
1964

Monday 10:00–11:00

#### Further Reading

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# EastEnders

## British Soap Opera

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*EastEnders* is one of Britain's most successful television soap operas. First shown on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC 1) in 1985, it enjoys regular half-hour prime-time viewing slots, originally twice, later three times a week, and since August 2001 four times weekly, and it is repeated in an omnibus edition on the weekend. Within eight months of its launch, it reached the number one spot in the ratings and has almost consistently remained among the top ten programs ever since (average viewing figures per episode are around 16 million, ranging, since 1997, from 12 million to up to 24 million for episodes where strong storylines climax). A brief dip in audience numbers in the summer of 1993 prompted a rescheduling masterstroke by the then BBC 1 controller, Michael Grade, in order to avoid the clash with ITV's more established soap, *Emmerdale Farm*. The brainchild of producer Julia Smith and script editor Tony Holland, *EastEnders* is significant in terms of both the survival of the BBC and the history of British popular television drama.

In an increasingly competitive struggle with independent television to present quality programs and appeal to mass audiences, the BBC claimed to have found in *EastEnders* the answer to both a shrinking audience and criticisms of declining standards. The program is set in Walford, a fictitious borough of London's East End, and it focuses on a number of predominantly working-class, often interrelated, families living in Albert Square. The East End of London was regarded as the ideal location for an alluring and long-running series since its historical significance in Britain renders it instantly recognizable; the location was also thought to be illustrative of modern urban Britain because it possesses a mix of individuals who are, according to Smith and Holland, "multi-racial, larger-than-life characters." Much of the action takes place in and around the local pub, the Queen Vic, traditionally run by the Watts—originally villainous Den and his neurotic wife Angie and later by their estranged adoptive daughter, Sharon, who after a few years' absence took it over again from strong-minded Peggy Mitchell.

The main characters were connected originally with the closely knit Fowler/Beale clan, specifically, Pauline and Arthur Fowler and their eldest children,

Mark, an HIV-positive market trader, and Michelle, a strong-willed, single mother, together with café owner Kathy Beale, her son Ian, and the long-suffering Pat Butcher. The Butcher/Mitchell clan has been expanding through the years, providing the show with some of its strongest characters and storylines: for example, overprotective mum Peggy divorced naughty husband Frank Butcher, who renewed his love for ex-wife Pat and almost ruined her marriage with his business partner Roy Evans, and bully son Phil Mitchell cheated on his brother Grant with Grant's wife Sharon, became an alcoholic, sold stolen cars for a living, and eventually got shot by pregnant ex-girlfriend Lisa. Additional figures and families come and go, illustrating the view that character turnover is essential if a contemporary quality is to be retained. At any one time, around eight families, all living or working in Albert Square, will feature centrally in one or another narrative.

*EastEnders* exhibits certain formal characteristics common to other successful British soap operas (most notably, its major competitor, Granada's *Coronation Street*), such as the working-class community setting and the prevalence of strong female characters (Pauline, Peggy, Rosa, Bianca, Mo, Melanie, Kat, Janine, and Sonia). In addition, a culturally diverse cast strives to preserve the flavor of the East End, while a gender balance is allegedly maintained through the introduction of various "macho" male personalities (Grant, Phil, Beppe, Dan, and Nick). The expansion of minority representation signals a move away from the traditional soap opera format, providing more opportunities for audience identification with the characters and hence a wider appeal. Similarly, the program has come to include more teenagers and successful young adults in a bid to capture the younger television audience. The program's attraction, however, is also a product of a narrative structure unique to the genre. The soap opera has been described as an "open text," a term relating primarily to the simultaneous development and indeterminate nature of the storylines and the variety of issue positions presented through the different characters. Such a structure invites viewer involvement in the personal relationships and family lives of the characters without fear of repercussions through recognition of "realistic" situations or personal dilem-



*EastEnders.*  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

mas rather than through identification with a central character. *EastEnders* is typical of the soap opera in this respect, maintaining at any one time two or more major and several minor intertwining narratives, with cliff-hangers at the ends of episodes and (temporary) resolutions within the body of some episodes.

To fulfill its public service remit, the program aims to both entertain and educate. The mystery surrounding the father of Michelle's baby and the emotional weight of the AIDS-related death of Mark's girlfriend Jill, the controversy around Dot Cotton's mercy killing of sick friend Ethel, and the moral dilemma of school-girl Sonia saying good-bye to baby Chloe all illustrate how a dramatic representation of social issues in contemporary Britain successfully combines these elements. Throughout *EastEnders'* long history, issues such as drug addiction, abortion, AIDS, breast cancer, homosexuality, death, euthanasia, racial and domestic violence, murder, theft, stabbings, adoption, divorce, infidelity, betrayal, and teenage pregnancy have graced the program's social and moral agenda. *EastEnders* strives to be realistic and relevant rather than

issue led, with the educational element professed as an incidental outcome of the program's commitment to realism. Such endeavors have been attacked, with criticisms of minority-group tokenism, depressing issue mongering, and, paradoxically, lapses into Cockney stereotyping. However, over the past few years, the number of "overly diagrammatic characters" such as "Colin the gay" (so described by Andy Medhurst in *The Observer*) appears to have decreased, with new characters being introduced for their dramatic contribution rather than their sociological significance.

As with other British soaps, *EastEnders* differs from American soaps by its relentless emphasis on the mundane and nitty-gritty details of working-class life (no middle-class soap has yet succeeded for long in Britain) among ordinary-looking (rather than attractive) and relatively unsuccessful people. This potentially depressing mix is lightened by a dose of British humor and wit, by the dramatic intensity of the emotions and issues portrayed, and by the nostalgic gloss given to the portrayal of solidarity and warmth in a supposedly authentic community. In terms of the im-

age of "ordinary life" conveyed by the program, *EastEnders* is again typical of the soap opera for its ambivalences: showing strong women who are nonetheless tied to the home, a community that tries to pull together but a relatively disaffected youth, and a romantic faith in love and marriage and yet a series of adulterous affairs and divorces. For its audience, *EastEnders* is highly pleasurable for its apparent realism, its honesty in addressing contentious issues, and its cozy familiarity.

A regular feature of the weekly schedules, *EastEnders* has become a fundamental and prominent part of British television culture. Public and media interest extends beyond plot and character developments to the extracurricular activities of cast members. While maintaining the essential soap opera characteristics, *EastEnders* distinguishes itself from the other major British soaps, appearing coarser, faster paced, and more dramatic than *Coronation Street* yet less controversial and more humorous than *Brookside*. In the words of Medhurst of *The Observer*, "*EastEnders* remains the BBC's most important piece of fiction, a vital sign of its commitment to deliver quality and popularity in the same unmissable package." Although *EastEnders* is in many ways typical of the genre, the obvious quality, cultural prominence, and audience success of the program has established the soap opera as a valued centerpiece of early prime-time broadcasting in Britain.

DANIELLE ARON AND SONIA LIVINGSTONE

See also **British Programming; Brookside; Coronation Street; Soap Opera**

#### Cast

Ian Beale	Adam Woodyatt
Laura Beale (Dunn)	Hannah Waterman
Lucy Beale Casey	Anne Rothery
Peter Beale	Joseph Shade
Steven Beale	Edward Savage
Jim Branning	John Bardon
Bianca Butcher (Jackson)	Patsy Palmer
Frank Butcher	Mike Reid
Janine Butcher	Charlie Brooks
Ricky Butcher	Sid Owen
Dot Cotton	June Brown
Nick Cotton	John Altman
Zoe Cotton	Tara Ellis
Beppe di Marco	Michael Greco
Joe di Marco	Jake Kyprianou
Sandra di Marco	Clare Wilkie
Barry Evans	Shaun Williamson
Natalie Evans (Price)	Lucy Speed
Pat Evans (Harris, Beale, Wicks, Butcher)	Pam St Clement

Roy Evans	Tony Caunter
Mark Fowler	Todd Carty
Martin Fowler	James Alexandrou
Pauline Fowler (Beale)	Wendy Richard
Mo Harris	Laila Morse
Garry Hobbs	Ricky Groves
Robbie Jackson	Dean Gaffney
Sonia Jackson	Natalie Cassidy
Asif Malik	Ashvin Luximon
Kim McFarlane	Krystle Williams
Mick McFarlane	Sylvester Williams
Billy Mitchell	Perry Fenwick
Jamie Mitchell	Jack Ryder
Peggy Mitchell (Butcher)	Barbara Windsor
Phil Mitchell	Steve McFadden
Trevor Morgan	Alex Ferns
Melanie Owen (Healy)	Tamzin Outhwaite
Steve Owen	Martin Kemp
Terry Raymond	Gavin Richards
Lisa Shaw	Lucy Benjamin
Charlie Slater	Derek Martin
Harry Slater	Michael Elphick
Kat Slater	Jessie Wallace
Lynne Slater	Elaine Lordan
Maureen "Little Mo" Slater	Kacey Ainsworth
Zoe Slater	Michelle Ryan
Dan Sullivan	Craig Fairbrass
Anthony Trueman	Nicholas R. Bailey
Patrick Trueman	Rudolph Walker
Paul Trueman	Gary Beadle
Sharon Watts (Mitchell)	Letitia Dean

#### Producers

Julia Smith, Mike Gibbon, Corinne Hollingworth, Richard Bramall, Michael Ferguson, Pat Sandys, Helen Greaves, Leonard Lewis, Matthew Robinson, Nigel Taylor, Lorraine Newman, Nicky Cotton, John Yorke

#### Programming History

BBC  
February 1985–

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## Ebersol, Dick (1947– )

U.S. Media Executive

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In his various executive positions, Duncan Dickie Ebersol has contributed several innovations to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). He shepherded *Saturday Night Live* onto the air, then returned as producer to "rescue" the show in the early 1980s. As president of NBC Sports, he pursued several inventive and sometimes risky programming packages, such as the Olympics "Triple Cast" and the Baseball Network. Throughout his career, he has been recognized as one of television's more creative programmers.

Ebersol became hooked on television sports when he saw the debut of ABC's *Wide World of Sports* in 1963. Later, when that show was shooting in his area, he got errand jobs with the crew. By the winter of 1968, he was working as a research assistant for the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC's) coverage of the winter Olympics in Grenoble, France, and while finishing his studies at Yale, he worked full-time as a segment producer. In 1971, following graduation, he became an executive assistant and producer with Roone Arledge, vice president of ABC Sports and creator of *Wide World of Sports*.

NBC tried to hire Ebersol in 1974 by offering to name him president of their sports division, but at the age of 27, he decided he was not ready to compete against Arledge. Instead, he moved to NBC with a new title: director of weekend late-night programming. At that time, the programming slots following the Saturday and Sunday late news were a dead zone for all three networks. Affiliates made more money with old movies than with network offerings—in NBC's case, reruns of *The Tonight Show*. The network charged Ebersol with finding something, anything, to replace the Carson reruns.

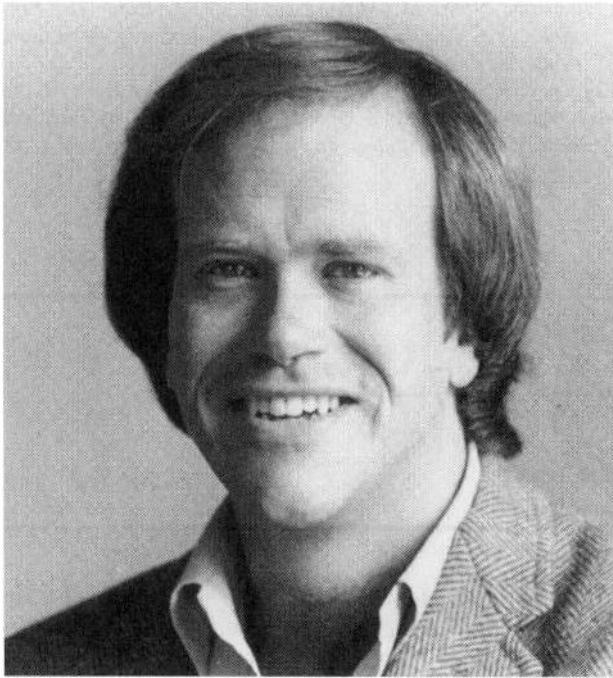
Ebersol conceived of a comedy-variety revue aimed at young adults, an audience generally thought to be

away from home—and television—on weekends. He assumed that enough of them would stay home to watch a show featuring "underground" comedians such as George Carlin and Richard Pryor, especially when supported with a repertory cast picked from new improv-based, television-savvy comedy groups, such as Second City, the National Lampoon stage shows, or the Groundlings. Ebersol also discovered Lorne Michaels, a former writer for *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, who had produced specials for Lily Tomlin and Flip Wilson and had been lobbying for just the kind of program Ebersol was thinking of.

As Michaels assembled the cast and writers, Ebersol ran interference for *Saturday Night Live* before nervous network management and affiliates. The pair spurned NBC's suggestions for safe hosts such as Bob Hope and Joe Namath and secured Pryor, Carlin, and Tomlin for that role. As *Saturday Night Live* took off, NBC promoted Ebersol to vice president of late-night programs, with an office in Burbank and responsibility over every late show that did not belong to Johnny Carson. Ebersol had become, at 28, the youngest vice president in NBC history.

By 1977, he had become head of NBC's comedy and variety programming. Unfortunately, this was a fallow time for comedy, especially for NBC. Ebersol has said that his only success in this period was hiring Brandon Tartikoff away from ABC to be his associate. After a confrontation with new programming director Fred Silverman, Ebersol quit his position at NBC, and Tartikoff replaced him. He went into independent production, taking over *The Midnight Special* and various sports programming. Shortly afterward, however, NBC asked him to rescue *Saturday Night Live*.

Lorne Michaels had left *Saturday Night Live* after the 1979–80 season, and the original cast and writing



Dick Ebersol, 1987.  
Photo courtesy of National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

staff left as well. Replacement producer Jean Doumanian's tenure proved a disaster: the show's daring, edgy satire went over the edge with sketches such as "The Leather Weather Lady." NBC executives had seen enough with Doumanian's 12th show, when cast member Charles Rocket absent-mindedly said "fuck" on the air. Doumanian was fired, and Ebersol agreed to produce the show if NBC would end *Midnight Special*.

Ebersol took *Saturday Night Live* off the air for a month of "retooling." Following this hiatus, only one show was broadcast before a writers' strike in early 1981 halted production until fall. Meanwhile, he fired all the cast except rising stars Joe Piscopo and Eddie Murphy and hired Christine Ebersole (no relation), Mary Gross, and Tim Kazurinsky. He also brought back the head writer from the first season, the brilliant but intimidating Michael O'Donoghue (who was fired by the following January).

Critics considered Ebersol's *Saturday Night Live* an improvement over the previous season, but the ratings were still lower than in the Doumanian era. The show's guest hosts devolved from hip comedians to NBC series players or stars of current movies.

In 1983, No Sleep Productions, Ebersol's production house, had brought *Friday Night Videos* to NBC, where Michael Jackson's groundbreaking "Thriller" video debuted. The next year, Ebersol took over *Fri-*

*day Night Videos* full time and shared the reins on *Saturday Night Live* with Bob Tischler. For the 1984–85 season, the two shored up *Saturday Night Live*'s ratings with experienced comics such as Billy Crystal, Harry Shearer, Christopher Guest, and Martin Short. Afterward, Ebersol quit to spend more time at home, and Brandon Tartikoff, now his boss, hired Lorne Michaels as producer.

Ebersol continued to produce *Friday Night Videos* for NBC, while his wife, the actress Susan St. James, starred in the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *Kate and Allie* with Jane Curtin. In 1985, he produced *The Saturday Night Main Event*, a series of World Wrestling Federation matches, to rotate in *Saturday Night Live*'s off weeks. In 1988, he produced the very late-night *Later with Bob Costas*.

Ebersol returned to NBC in April 1989 as president of NBC Sports. That July, he was also named senior vice president of NBC News, a position that paralleled the situation of his mentor, Roone Arledge, at ABC. As the executive for the *Today Show*, Ebersol presided over Jane Pauley's removal from the anchor desk in favor of Deborah Norville. He took the heat for the resulting bad publicity and was relieved of his *Today Show* duties.

Ebersol has enjoyed much greater success in sports programming. He helped NBC snare several Super Bowl contracts, then brought the National Basketball Association back to network television at the height of its popularity. NBC's coverage of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona received excellent ratings, but the network lost money, largely from its "Triple Cast" coverage offered on three pay-per-view cable channels. Corporate parent General Electric expressed its commitment to the Olympics, though, when they announced that Ebersol would be executive producer of the 1996 Atlanta games.

Ebersol aided in the formation of the Baseball Network, an unusual joint venture between NBC, ABC, and Major League Baseball. The league produced its own coverage of Friday or Saturday night games; ABC or NBC alternated scheduling *Baseball Night in America*, and affiliates chose games of local interest to carry. The Baseball Network opened after the 1994 All-Star Game but was cut short by that year's players' strike. In 1995, as the delayed baseball season opened without a labor agreement and no guarantee against another strike, both networks pulled out of the venture.

In 1998, Ebersol was named chairman of NBC Sports and NBC Olympics. The following year, he gained the rights to NASCAR coverage for NBC, with a six-year contract starting in 2001. With the World Wrestling Federation, NBC under Ebersol cofounded the XFL, a professional football league that was both a

critical and a popular failure and that folded after only one season. In 2002, Ebersol's division suffered another blow when the 12-year relationship between NBC and the National Basketball Association came to end; in 2003, professional basketball games began to be aired on ABC and Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN).

MARK R. McDERMOTT

See also **Arledge, Roone; *Saturday Night Live*; Sports and Television**

**Dick Ebersol.** Born in Torrington, Connecticut, 1947. Graduated from Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1971. Married: Susan St. James, 1982; three children. Began broadcasting career as researcher, ABC Sports, 1967; segment producer, ABC Sports, 1969; executive assistant to Roone Arledge, ABC Sports, 1974; director, late-night weekend programming, NBC-TV, 1974; vice president, late-night weekend programming, NBC-TV, 1975; vice president, comedy, variety, and event programming, NBC-TV, 1977; independent producer, 1979; executive producer, *Saturday Night Live*, 1981; president, NBC Sports, since 1989; senior vice president, NBC News, since 1989; chairman of NBC Sports since 1998.

#### Television Series (executive producer)

1981–85	<i>Saturday Night Live</i>
1983	<i>Friday Night Videos</i>
1985	<i>The Saturday Night Main Event</i>
1988	<i>Later with Bob Costas</i>

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## Ebert and Roeper at the Movies. See **Siskel and Ebert**

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# Ed Sullivan Show, The

U.S. Variety Show

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*The Ed Sullivan Show* was the definitive and longest-running variety series in television history (1948–71). Hosted by the eponymous awkward and fumbling former newspaperman, the show became a Sunday night institution on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). For 23 years, Sullivan's show fulfilled the democratic mandate of the variety genre: to entertain all the audience at least some of the time.

In the late 1940s, television executives strove to translate the principles of the vaudeville stage to the new medium, the amalgamation referred to as "vaudeo." As sports reporter, gossip columnist, and master of ceremonies of various war relief efforts, Ed Sullivan had been a fixture on the Broadway scene since the early 1930s. He had even hosted a short-lived radio series that introduced Jack Benny to a national audience





*Ed Sullivan Show*, Ed Sullivan, Louis Armstrong, 1948–71; 1961 episode.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

in 1932. Although Sullivan had no performing ability (comedian Alan King quipped, “Ed does nothing, but he does it better than anyone else on television”), he understood showmanship and had a keen eye for emerging talent. CBS producer Worthington Miner hired him to host the network’s inaugural variety effort *The Toast of the Town*, and, on June 20, 1948, Sullivan presented his premiere “really big shew,” in the lingo of his many impersonators who quickly parodied his wooden stage presence and multitudinous malapropisms.

The initial telecast served as a basis for Sullivan’s inimitable construction of a variety show. He balanced the headliner, Broadway’s Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein (who, like most headliners to follow, were unassailable legends), with up-and-coming stars—on the opening program, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, fresh from the nightclubs in their television debut. He also liked to juxtapose the extreme ends of the entertainment spectrum: the classical—here pianist Eugene List and ballerina Kathryn Lee—with the novel—a group of singing New York City fireman and six of the original June Taylor Dancers, called the Toastettes.

From the beginning, Sullivan served as executive editor of the show, deciding in rehearsal, in consultation with producer Marlo Lewis, how many minutes each act would have during the live telecast. In 1955, the title was changed to *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

Sullivan had a keen understanding of what various demographic segments of his audience desired to see. As an impresario for the highbrow, he debuted ballerina Margot Fonteyn in 1958 and later teamed her with Rudolf Nureyev in 1965, saluted Van Cliburn after his upset victory in the Tchaikovsky competition in Moscow, and welcomed many neighbors from the nearby Metropolitan Opera, including Roberta Peters, who appeared 41 times, and the rarely seen Maria Callas, who performed a fully staged scene from *Tosca*. As the cultural eyes and ears for middle America, he introduced into the collective living room such movie and Broadway legends as Pearl Bailey, who appeared 23 times; Richard Burton and Julie Andrews, in a scene from the 1961 *Camelot*; Sammy Davis, Jr., with the *Golden Boy* cast; former CBS stage manager Yul Brynner in *The King and I*; Henry Fonda reading Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address; and the rising star Barbra Streisand singing “Color Him Gone” in her 1962 debut. Occasionally, he devoted an entire telecast to one theme or biography: “The Cole Porter Story,” “The Walt Disney Story,” “The MGM Story, and “A Night at Sophie Tucker’s House.”

What distinguished Sullivan from other variety hosts was his ability to capitalize on teenage obsession. His introduction of rock and roll not only brought the adolescent subculture into the variety fold but also legitimized the music for the adult sensibility. Elvis Presley had appeared with Milton Berle and Tommy Dorsey, but Sullivan’s deal with Presley’s manager, Colonel Tom Parker, created national headlines. The sexual energy of Presley’s first appearance on September 9, 1956, jolted the staid, Eisenhower conformism of Sullivan’s audience. By his third and final appearance, Elvis was shot only from the waist up, but Sullivan learned how to capture a new audience for his show, the baby-boom generation.

In 1964, Sullivan signed the Beatles for three landmark appearances. Their first slot on February 9, 1964, was at the height of Beatlemania, the beginning of a revolution in music, fashion, and attitude. Sullivan received the biggest ratings of his career, and, with a 60 share, that episode was one of the most watched programs in the history of television. Sullivan responded by welcoming icons of the 1960s counterculture into his arena, most notably the Rolling Stones, the Doors, Janis Joplin, and Marvin Gaye. One performer who never appeared was Bob Dylan, who walked off when



CBS censors balked at his song "Talkin' John Birch Society Blues."

Although called "the great stone face" on screen, Sullivan was a man of intense passion off camera. He feuded with Walter Winchell, Jack Paar, and Frank Sinatra over his booking practices. He wrangled with conservative sponsors over his fondness for African-American culture and openly embraced black performers throughout his career, including Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Ethel Waters, Louis Armstrong, and Diana Ross. He also capitulated to the blacklisting pressures of *Red Channels* and denounced performers for pro-communist sympathies.

Sullivan saw comedy as the glue that held his demographically diverse show together and allowed a nation to release social tension by laughing at itself. He was most comfortable around Borscht Belt comics, as seen by the funnymen he most often enlisted: Alan King (37 times), Myron Cohen (47 times), and Jack Carter (49 times). When Sullivan's son-in-law Bob Precht took over as producer in 1960, there was a movement to modernize the show and introduce a new generation of comedians to the American audience, led by Mort Sahl, Woody Allen, Richard Pryor, and George Carlin. The comic act that appeared most on the Sullivan show was the Canadian team of Johnny Wayne and Frank Shuster (58 times); the parodic sketches of Wayne and Shuster assured Sullivan a sizable audience north of the border.

Sullivan was always on the lookout for novelty acts, especially for children. His interplay with the Italian mouse Topo Gigio revealed a sentimental side to Sullivan's character. He also was the first to introduce celebrities from the audience and often invited them on stage for special performances. Forever the sports columnist, he was particularly enthralled by athletic heroes and always had time on the show to discuss baseball with Mickey Mantle or Willie Mays and learn golf from Sam Snead or Ben Hogan.

*The Ed Sullivan Show* reflected an era of network television when a mass audience and, even, a national consensus seemed possible. Sullivan became talent scout and cultural commissar for the entire country, introducing more than 10,000 performers throughout his career. His show implicitly recognized that the United States should have an electronic exposure to all forms of entertainment, from juggling to opera. The Vietnam

War, which fractured the country politically, also helped splinter the democratic assumptions of the variety show. By 1971, *The Ed Sullivan Show* was no longer a generational or demographic mediator, and it was canceled as the war raged on. Later in the decade, the audience did not require Sullivan's big tent of variety entertainment any longer; cable and the new technology promised immediate access to any programming desired. The Sullivan library was purchased by producer Andrew Solt in the 1980s and has served as the source of network specials and programming for cable services. In 2001, *The Ed Sullivan Show* began airing on public television, fulfilling, according to one executive, the educational mandates of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).

RON SIMON

*See also* Sullivan, Ed; Variety Programs

#### Host

Ed Sullivan

#### Music

Ray Bloch and His Orchestra

#### Dancers

The June Taylor Dancers

#### Producers

Ed Sullivan, Marlo Lewis, Bob Precht

#### Programming History

##### CBS

June 1948	Sunday 9:00–10:00
July 1948–August 1948	Sunday 9:30–10:30
August 1948–March 1949	Sunday 9:00–10:00
March 1949–June 1971	Sunday 8:00–9:00

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## Educational Television

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Broadcasting in the United States evolved as a commercial entity. Within this system, efforts to use the medium for educational purposes always struggled to survive, nearly overwhelmed by the flood of entertainment programming designed to attract audiences to the commercials that educated them in another way—to become active consumers. Despite its clear potential and the aspirations of pioneer broadcasters, educational television has never realized its fullest potential as an instructional medium. Educational television (ETV) in the United States refers primarily to programs that emphasize formal, classroom instruction and enrichment programming. In 1967, ETV was officially renamed “public television” and was to reflect new mandates of quality and diversity as specified by the Public Broadcasting Act. Public television incorporated “formal” (classroom) and “informal” (cultural, children’s, and lifelong learning) instructional programming into a collective alternative to commercial television. Despite commercial dominance, however, educational initiatives in American television continue to change with the introduction of new telecommunications technology. Cable and new media challenge and enhance the traditional definition of ETV in the United States.

Interest in ETV was expressed early. Educators envisioned television’s potential as an instructional tool and sought recognition by Congress. The short-lived Hatfield-Wagner amendment proposed to reserve one-fourth of the broadcast spectrum for educational stations. But the Communications Act of 1934 became law without this specification, although the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) promised to conduct further inquiry into ETV.

The immediate postwar years created a deluge of requests for broadcast licenses. So overwhelmed, the FCC initiated a “television freeze” in 1948 (forbidding the issuance of new licenses) in order to reorganize the current system and to study the ultra-high-frequency (UHF) band. The period of the “TV freeze” was an ideal opportunity to resurrect the debate over allotment of spectrum space for educational channels.

The FCC’s commissioner, Freida Henneck, led the crusade. She understood that this would be the only opportunity to reserve spectrum space for ETV. When educators would be financially and technically prepared for television experiments, spectrum space might be unavailable. Henneck raised the conscious-

ness of educators and citizens alike and convinced some of them to form the first ad hoc Joint Committee for Educational Television (JCET). Financial assistance from the Ford Foundation provided legal expertise and enabled the JCET to successfully persuade the FCC to reserve channel space for noncommercial ETV stations. In 1953, the FCC allotted 242 channels for education. KUHT in Houston, Texas, was the first non-commercial television licensee.

Although this was a major victory, the development of ETV was a slow process. The majority of educators did not have the financial or technical capabilities to operate a television station. Commercial broadcasters recognized their dilemma as a lucrative opportunity.

Commercial broadcasters lobbied against the reservation of channels for education. Although they claimed they were not opposed to ETV as a programming alternative, they were opposed to the “waste” of unused spectrum space by licensees who were financially unable to fill broadcasting time. Persuaded in part by the argument for economic efficiency, the FCC permitted the sale of numerous ETV stations to commercial broadcasters. Many universities, unable to realize their goals as educational broadcasters, profited instead from the sale of their unused frequencies to commercial counterparts.

From its inception, then, ETV was continually plagued with financial problems. As a noncommercial enterprise, ETV needed to rely on outside sources for funding. Federal funding created the potential for programming biases, and private foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, would not be able to sustain the growing weight of ETV forever. In 1962, the Educational Television Facilities Act provided temporary relief. Thirty-two million federal dollars was granted for the creation of ETV stations only. Programming resources were still essential, however.

The establishment of the Carnegie Commission in 1965 was critical to the survival of ETV. For two years, the commission researched and analyzed the future relationship between education and television. Some of their proposals included increasing the number of ETV stations, imposing an excise tax on all television sets sold, the interconnection of stations for more efficient program exchange, and the creation of a “Corporation for Public Television.” These mandates prompted Congress to enact the 1967 Public Broad-

casting Act as an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934.

The evolution of ETV into "public television" forever changed the institution. The ETV curriculum of formal instruction was too narrow to entice sweeping federal recognition. As a result, ETV was endowed with a new name and a new image. The mandate of public television was diversity in programming and audience. Public television promised to educate the nation through formal instruction and enrichment programming emphasizing culture, arts, science, and public affairs. In addition, it would provide programming for "underserved" audiences (those ignored by commercial broadcasters), such as minorities and children. Ultimately, public television promised to be the democratization of the medium. Sadly, however, these public service imperatives could never flourish as originally intended in a historically commercial system.

Educational television provides programming that emphasizes formal instruction for children and adults. Literacy, mathematics, science, geography, foreign language, and high school equivalency are a few examples of ETV's offerings. The most successful ETV initiatives in the United States are public television's children's programs. Staples such as *Barney*, *Sesame Street*, *3-2-1 Contact*, *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, and *Reading Rainbow* teach children academic fundamentals as well as social skills.

Higher-education initiatives in television, "distance learning," boasts an impressive but modest history. Distance learning programs, while significantly more intensive abroad, have been integral to realizing the American ETV "vision." Nontraditional instruction via telecourse is an alternative learning experience for adults who cannot or do not choose to attend a university.

Closed-circuit TV (CCTV) was used as early as the 1950s by universities to transmit classroom lectures to other locations on campus. The Pennsylvania State University CCTV project is an early example. In 1952, the Pennsylvania State CCTV system (sponsored by the Ford Foundation) was created to offer introductory college courses via television in order to eliminate overcrowded classrooms and faculty shortages. Although moderately successful in achieving these goals, overall the CCTV system proved unpopular with students because of the absence of student-teacher contact and the lackluster "look" of the programs, especially in comparison with the familiar alternative of commercial television. This experiment made clear a continuing reality; the appeal of an instructional program is often dependent on its production quality.

The Chicago Television College was a more suc-

cessful endeavor. Teacher training was another initiative undertaken by the Ford Foundation in the early days of ETV, and in 1956 the Chicago Television College was created as a cost-effective way to accomplish this task. Approximately 400 students earned their associate of arts degrees from the college. The majority of graduates were inmates from particular correctional facilities and home-bound physically challenged individuals.

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is a significant participant in distance learning. Its Adult Learning Service (ALS) distributes telecourses to universities nationwide that are broadcast by participating PBS stations. In conjunction with ALS is the Adult Learning Satellite Service (ALSS), which provides a more efficient delivery system of telecourses. Similarly, the Instructional Television Fixed Service (ITFS) transmits college courses to high school students via satellite and microwave relay. Workbooks and examinations often supplement the video "lessons." The ITFS also transmits its signals to social service centers, correctional facilities, and community colleges.

Formal instruction efforts by commercial broadcasters are historically scarce. A notable example, however, was the CBS/New York University collaboration titled *Sunrise Semester*. For nearly three decades, a New York University lecture would air at 6:00 A.M. for the edification of early risers.

Adult learners are not the only beneficiaries of ETV's instructional programs. Preschool, elementary, and secondary school students are all target audiences of ETV services. The National Instructional Television Satellite Schedule (NISS) is a primary distributor of such programming. *3-2-1 Contact* (science), *Futures* (math), and *American Past* (history) are just a few examples of NISS offerings. Enrichment programs such as these are used to enhance, not replace, traditional classroom instruction.

*Sesame Street* is the ETV staple of preschool children internationally. Heralded for its ability to successfully combine education and entertainment, *Sesame Street* is an anomaly. No other broadcast or cable program has seriously rivaled its formula for success. (It is even used in Japan to teach high school students English.)

Educational television is not unique to the home and classroom. More specialized uses have proliferated. For example, CCTV is frequently used by medical institutions as a more effective means to demonstrate surgical procedures to doctors and medical students, and workplace programming is often used by corporations for training purposes or to teach safety procedures. Distance learning, classroom instruction, and workplace programming represent part of the ETV

mosaic, which is generally defined by programming that emphasizes formal and informal learning.

But ETV also includes "enrichment" programming emphasizing culture, the arts, and public affairs as an alternative to commercial choices. Popular entertainment programs such as *Masterpiece Theater*, public affairs and news programs such as *Frontline* and *The MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour*, and nature programs such as *Nova* all attempt to meet the requirements of ETV as defined by broadcast law in the United States.

The expansion of the telecommunications environment has also yielded additional outlets for ETV. The surge of cable television has been the most significant challenge to ETV as it is defined and provided by public television. Public television has always justified its very existence in the United States in terms of its role as the sole provider of educational programming. However, the emergence of cable services such as Bravo, A&E, the Learning Channel, Discovery, and Nickelodeon have challenged public television's position. These outlets provide viewers with the same quality programming as public television. Often, cable networks compete with public stations for the rights to the same programs, from the same program suppliers.

Advocates of public television will often justify its existence with two words: *Sesame Street*. Noncommercial programming, availability in all households, and quality children's programming such as *Sesame Street* are the examples used by public broadcasters to warrant their claims to federal and viewer support. Cable television's contribution cannot be completely ignored, however.

Indeed, the vision of ETV is perhaps best exemplified by cable's public, educational, and government (PEG) access channels. While not mandatory, most cable companies are willing to provide these channels as part of their franchise agreements. They point to the existence of PEG channels as examples of their philanthropy. PEG channels demonstrate a grassroots approach to television. Public access encourages individual program efforts that often contribute to the enlightenment of the immediate community. Paper Tiger Television is one example of such video "activism."

Education provided on access channels offers much of the same formal instruction as public television. The Cable in the Classroom organization distributes programs created by various cable networks (e.g., A&E, the Cable News Network [CNN], and The Learning Channel [TLC]) for classroom use. The programs are commercial free. Like public television, educational access offers formal instruction and distance learning. One of its most recognized services is the Mind Extension University, which offers credit for college courses taken at home.

Government access channels supply viewers with the discussion of local and national policy debates. City council and school board meetings are presented here. For a national/international perspective, most cable systems offer C-SPAN and C-SPAN II in their basic service. PEG channels foster localism and serve the public interest. They are valid interpretations of broader concept of ETV.

Globally, ETV plays a more significant role than in the United States. Most international broadcasting systems developed as noncommercial public service organizations. Public service broadcasters or state broadcasters are supported almost exclusively by license fees—annual payments made by owners of television receivers. Because the community directly supports the broadcaster, there is a greater commitment by the broadcaster to meet their multitudinous programming needs. As a result, these systems more effectively exemplify the mandates of the American public television system: quality and diversity.

Sweeping deregulation, increased privatization, and the introduction of cable television have posed new problems for the public service monoliths, however. The introduction and proliferation of commercially supported television casts doubt on the need for license fees. Public service broadcasters must find new ways to compete, to sustain their reputations as cultural assets. Educational television and its relationship to higher education is most developed and more successful as a learning device in what has been called the "open university" system. The lack of higher-education opportunities in many countries has contributed to the validation of distance learning. Open universities are provided by public (service) broadcasters on every continent. The British Open University is the most notable example, existing as an archetype for similar programs worldwide. Created in 1969, the Open University confers college degrees to students enrolled in telecourses. Programs are supplemented by outside exams and work/textbooks. Degrees from the Open University are as valued as traditional college diplomas.

The University of Mid-America (UMA) was a failed attempt by public broadcasters in the United States to emulate the British system. In existence from 1974 to 1982, UMA attempted to provide traditional higher education through nontraditional methods. Funding problems, coupled with a society unreceptive to the open university culture, hastened UMA's demise.

Educational television is similar throughout the industrialized world. The combination of formal classroom instruction and enrichment programming defines the genre. Educational television in the developing world also includes programming that directly affects the quality of life of its viewers. For example, in areas

where television penetration is very low, audiences may gather at community centers to view programs on hygiene, literacy, child care, and farming methods. In this respect, ETV provides the group with practical information to improve living standards. Such programming best exemplifies the global aims of ETV.

The Internet is impacting ETV. Subtle nuances continue to emerge as a result of new technologies and the combination of old ones. Satellite technology has already provided a more effective delivery system for programming. Interactivity has revitalized instructional television in particular. Teleconferencing, for example, links classrooms globally. These services not only provide access to traditional learning but also enhance the cultural literacy of students worldwide.

PBS has recognized the primacy of the Internet in education with its popular children's program *Cyberchase*. The show features a "good guy," Motherboard, and the evil Hacker. Child viewers help Motherboard via mathematics and logic games.

The relationship between education and television in the changing telecommunications environment continues to evolve. As television becomes more "individualized," providing, for example, "menus" of lessons, applications, and experiments, ETV may become the programming of choice. The synergisms between the significant players (broadcasters and cablecasters, telephone, hardware and software companies, educators, and government) will ultimately determine new outlets for ETV across the globe, but audiences—students and users—will reap the ultimate benefits.

SHARON ZECHOWSKI

*See also Blue Peter; Children and Television; National Education Television; Public Service Broadcasting; Sesame Street; Sesame Workshop*

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## Egypt

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Egypt began its television system, considered one of the most extensive and effective among all undeveloped countries of Asia and Africa, in 1960. Because of a well-financed radio service and film industry already in existence, Egypt, unlike other Arab countries, was able to start television production without importing engineering staff from abroad. Even with this beginning, however, the development of television in Egypt has been complicated by many social and cultural factors.

In the late 1950s, following the 1952 revolution, President Gamal Abdel Nasser realized television's potential for helping to build Egypt into a new nation. Although the decision to start television service had been

made earlier, the joint British–French–Israeli Suez invasion delayed work until late 1959. Egypt then signed a contract with Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to provide the country with a television network and the capacity to manufacture sets. After the RCA contract was signed, Egypt began construction of a radio and television center, completed in 1960, and the first television pictures appeared on July 21, 1960, using the 625-line European standard.

From the start, Egypt did everything on a grand scale. Thus, while most nations began their systems modestly with one channel, Egypt began with three. Initially, the government totally subsidized the entire

system, through a direct grant made every year. In 1969, however, an annual license fee of \$15 per set was introduced, and after 1979, revenue from advertising and from the sales of programs to other countries also helped in financing. At the present time, a surcharge that goes to the broadcasting authority is added to all electricity bills and provides additional funding for the system.

Egyptian television began its multichannel operation under the control of the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, an organization that figured prominently in the Nasser regime from the start and that used radio and television broadcasting to disseminate propaganda in support of the ruling regime. Television's role in the culture was heightened following the June 1967 war with Israel, which resulted in an Egyptian defeat that was militarily, economically, and psychologically devastating to that nation. Immediately after the war, there was a decrease in the amount of foreign programming shown. The third channel, over which much programming had been telecast, was eliminated, and the British and U.S. programs that constituted the bulk of imported programs were deemed unacceptable because of the break in diplomatic relations with those countries. Almost all forms of programming on television placed less emphasis on Egypt's military capability, tending instead toward the nationalistic, the educational, and the religious. Moving closer to the country's new military supplier, the former Soviet Union, television began showing films about Soviet and Eastern European life. These programs were either provided free of charge or inexpensive to purchase or lease.

The general technical quality of Egyptian television declined between 1967 and 1974, a period when there was less money for new equipment. Generally, however, the change in government after Nasser's death and Anwar al-Sadat's ascendancy to the presidency in 1970 did not appear to have much effect on television programming or the structure of the federation. On August 13, 1970, radio, television, and broadcast engineering were established as separate departments under the Ministry of Information. The new decree formally established the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU) and created four distinct sectors—radio, television, engineering, and finance—each of which had a chairman who reported directly to the minister.

Following the October 1973 war, the various Egyptian media took very different approaches to the national situation. Television programming, which took longer to produce and air than radio information, was somewhat more upbeat. As good news came in, television reflected confidence in an Egyptian recovery. After the Egyptian-Israeli engagement, Egyptian television

shows dealt more often with the United Nations, European countries, the United States, and Israel. Agreements regarding military disengagements received a high priority for broadcast on the air. More than any other Egyptian mass medium, television was set to reflect the changing international political orientation of the country. Sadat's government gradually changed Egypt during the 1970s from a socialist orientation to one that was more hospitable to free enterprise and decidedly pro-West. After 1974, the door was formally opened to the West. Consequently, the number of Western programs on Egyptian television schedules increased.

The television organization decided during this time to continue the development of color technology. Although some believed that color television was a luxury that Egypt could not afford, the favorable attitude toward it among broadcasting officials prevailed. The French government had been successful in persuading Egypt to adopt the French color system (SECAM) and had installed its equipment in one of the Egyptian studios before the 1973 war. After the war, the decision was made to convert both production and transmission facilities to color, an action that improved the technical quality of Egyptian television by discarding the monochrome equipment that had been installed by RCA long before 1970. Older switchers and cameras, which were becoming difficult to repair or to purchase, were replaced. The new equipment was necessary for the production of programs to be sold to other countries that were also converting to color, and after 1974 television revenues derived from advertising and from program sales to other Arab countries increased significantly. The Egyptian broadcasting authority changed from the SECAM system to PAL, however, in both studio and transmission in 1992.

Because of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel, a number of Arab countries sought to isolate Egypt, remove it from the Arab League, and boycott its exports. Many of these countries broke diplomatic relations with Egypt or reduced the size of their diplomatic missions in Cairo. Nations that supported the boycott no longer purchased Egyptian television programs, stating that they did not need to buy directly from Egypt because so much quality material was available from Egyptian artists living outside Egypt's borders. One response held that "the boycott organizers are interested in drawing the distinction between the Egyptian people and the Egyptian government." Indeed, many Egyptian producers moved to Europe to produce programs for sale to the Arab countries. However, Egyptian television program sales to the Arab world did not decrease as a result; they actually increased.

During this period, the Egyptian government was very seriously considering plans for a new satellite system. Technical staff personnel had already been sent to be trained in the United States. This undertaking, called the Space Center Project, was designed mainly for the distribution of television signals that would link the country through ground stations that would receive and rebroadcast programming to the villages. The proposal became active when the Egyptian president signed a document for the beginning, in 1995, of Nile Satellite (Nilesat), a satellite operation that not only covers the Egyptian state but also services the larger Arab community.

In addition to the two centralized television networks, a new strategy to decentralize the television broadcasting system was introduced in 1985 during President Hosni Mubarak's era. The policy was implemented by starting a third television channel that covers only the capital city. This was followed in 1988 by Channel 4, which covers the Suez Zone. Yet another channel was added in 1990 to cover Alexandria, and in 1994 Channel 6 was created to cover the Middle Delta. Most recently, in late 1994, Channel 7 was introduced in southern Egypt. In 1990, Egypt became the first Arab state to start an international television channel when the Egyptian Space Channel was introduced to the Arab world and later to Europe and the United States. Egypt was also the first to start a foreign national network, Nile TV, to serve expatriates in Egypt as well as to promote tourism in English and French languages.

In part as a result of these available channels, a television set has become a priority for any young Egyptian couple getting married. Most prefer buying a television set to purchasing other important things for the house. A color TV set is considered a normal part of the household in middle-class families, and the number of such sets has increased greatly since 1970. The price of television sets purchased in Egypt, however, reflects high import taxes, sometimes reaching 200 percent. This expense has led most Egyptians to buy their sets from abroad. Most Egyptian people working outside the country, especially in Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states, return to Egypt with television sets because of the lower prices in the Gulf countries. Others acquire secondhand sets from individuals or from dealers who sometimes help finance such transactions. Egyptian shops do carry a variety of television receivers. These include foreign brands as well as sets assembled in Egypt, but the imported sets have a reputation of being more reliable. The government is attempting to reduce prices of locally made sets. In 1995, the number of television sets in Egypt was estimated at 6.2 million.

## Programming

From the beginning, Egyptian television has had strong ties with Arab culture. Historical, religious, geographical, political, and linguistic bonds linked Egypt to the Arab countries. Egyptian television was influenced Arab literature, religion, philosophy, and music. The producers of the first programs—influenced to some extent by the example of contemporary programs from the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, which were heavily cultural in content—quite naturally regarded Egyptian television programs as a proper vehicle for Arab literature and the arts. Egyptian television thus performs the function of reinforcing and enhancing Arab culture, which is defined as a heritage in creative endeavor and thought. Its programs also raise the cultural level of the ordinary viewer by presenting refined items covering scientific, literary, and artistic fields as well as a great deal of Arab music and drama on traditional themes.

Television is an ideal medium for disseminating Egyptian culture because that culture is family oriented and tends to center much of its education and entertainment around the home. Nevertheless, the content and style of television broadcasting available to these viewers has changed over time. The government still owns and operates the medium and sometimes uses it to convey political messages, but programming is now characterized by somewhat less politically motivated programming than was typical in the 1960s and 1970s. Contemporary Egyptian television contains more entertainment and popular culture, and the Ministry of Information is trying to stress these aspects and reduce the amount of political content.

Entertainment programs such as Egyptian soap operas and Egyptian music and songs are very popular. Foreign programs are also popular, especially those from Europe and the United States, which provide Egypt with many series, such as *The Bold and the Beautiful*, *Knots Landing*, *Love Boat*, and *Knight Rider*. The famous American series, *Dallas*, however, was banned from Egyptian television because officials thought it conveyed immoral messages to the public, especially to youth and children.

News is an important aspect of programming in Egypt because of the country's regional position and the fluctuating nature of political alignments in the Arabic-speaking area. As previously suggested, the 1960s, especially the events surrounding the 1967 war, was an era of crisis. Egyptian television penetrated the region. It was important for the government to maintain a strong news front in order to present its particular point of view. Newscasts in Egypt included a segment of official "commentary" when there was

some special concern to be articulated. From these news broadcasts, as well as other programs, the policies of President Nasser were clear to the viewer, as were the identities of those who were considered the enemies of those policies.

Compared to the beginning of the 1960s, there was a significant increase in the emphasis on education at the beginning of the 1970s. It had taken almost the entire previous decade for the Ministry of Education to be convinced of the value of educational programs. Moreover, the educational programs were run first under the initiative of the broadcasters, who resisted turning any time over to the ministry. However, enlightenment programs remain important in the schedule of Egyptian television and have increased measurably through the years.

Religion, of course, carries great weight in Egypt, an Islamic center. Readings from the Koran have always been broadcast on a regular basis by Egyptian television, and religious commentaries or advice on proper moral and ethical behavior are featured. Coverage of the rituals of the Muslim Holy Day is presented as part of the attempt to maintain Islamic traditions and values. During the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, Egyptian television is exceptionally active in religious programming, exhorting the faithful and explicating the pertinence of Islamic history. In the period from 1980 to 1985, a close observer could notice an increase in religious programs.

Children's programming, which formerly was completely of foreign origin, has changed to suit the Egyptian culture. Almost all Egyptian programs for youth and women and programs dealing with art and literature have been given increased time on the television schedule.

### **The Current Broadcasting Industry**

Egyptian information media have always been closely tied to politics. Television in Egypt is typically a monopoly under direct government supervision, operation, and ownership. There are several reasons for this. First, the minimum cost of establishing a radio or television system is far greater than the minimum cost of establishing a newspaper, for example, and thus far beyond the capability of nearly all private persons in a developing country. Second, this high cost encourages the pooling of resources, or a monopoly. In addition, because the broadcast media reach beyond borders and literacy barriers, the government has a much greater interest in controlling them or at least keeping them out of hostile hands. Anyone with a printing press has the technical capability of reaching the literate elite, and while this is seen by the government as a potential

threat, it is not nearly as great a political liability as a monopoly radio station broadcasting to millions. Radio and television, which have the potential of instantaneously reaching every single person in the country and many outside it, are regarded by the Egyptian government as too important to be left to private interests. Third, radio and television are newer media, and the trend is toward greater authoritarian control over all media.

In October 1990, cable television made an entry to Egypt when the government approved the establishment of Cable News Egypt (CNE) in a cooperative arrangement with the Cable News Network (CNN) to extend for 25 years. The main purpose of CNE was to retransmit Cable News Network International (CNNI) in Egypt. At the end of 1994, CNE underwent a major change. Cable News Egypt, the name of the original company, was changed to be Cable Network Egypt. The renamed company then made an agreement with a South African-based company, MultiChoice Africa, to market CNE in Egypt. Within the framework of this agreement, MultiChoice began selling a new decoder and introduced new services such as CNN; Music Television (MTV); the Showtime channel; MNet, a movie channel that carries mostly American movies and was rated first among the other networks in terms of popularity from CNE subscribers; KTV, a children's channel carrying mostly American children's television programs as well as movies; and Super Sports.

Around the turn of the 21st century, Egypt launched its first generation of Nilesat digital satellites, the state-of-the-art *Nilesat-101* (operational June 1998) and *Nilesat-102* (operational September 2000). Although the cost of the Nilesat project is almost \$158 million, the country is looking forward to gaining maximum benefits from it in many different areas. Each satellite carries 12 transponders, each with a capability of transmitting a minimum of eight television channels. Transmitting across North Africa and the Arabian peninsula, the Nilesat satellites beam down more than 160 digital television channels and 40 radio channels. The ERTU is making use of many of Nilesat's channels, which gives Egypt the chance to produce and broadcast its own specialized channels for the first time. As of 2001, ERTU broadcast from the satellites the Nile TV specialized package, which includes Nile Drama (made-for-television movies, soap operas, and drama), Nile News, Nile Sports, Nile Culture, and Nile Children as well as educational channels. In addition to these channels, the Nile TV ShowTime package offers CNN, the Movie Channel, Discovery, and Nickelodeon, among other networks. Arab Radio and Television (ART), a Saudi network, also has a package, called 1st NET, on Nilesat. Through this combination of packages, Nilesat



is intended to serve both Arabic- and English-language audiences.

It is expected that as a national satellite, Nilesat will save Egypt a great deal of money, the estimated \$3.5 million that has been spent annually to transmit the Egyptian Satellite Channel. The project is being supervised by a joint stock company, the Egyptian Company for Satellites; as of 2001, around 40 percent of the shares of this company belonged to ERTU, with the rest being held by Egyptian banks and foreign investors.

Founded in 1992 and still expanding a decade later, the Egyptian Media Production City (EMPC) is a product of the government efforts to attract international investors and media companies to its "Media Free Zone," in which the state offers tax and customs exemptions to private media entities that produce in the zone but still regulates editorial content through ERTU. Located in Sixth of October City, southwest of Cairo, EMPC has three production complexes: two built by EMPC and comprising 11 studios with indoor-filming, production, and postproduction facilities and one called the Mubarak International Media Complex, which contains 18 individual television studios. In addition, 11 outdoor shooting locations are located within the Media City.

A continuing challenge for Egyptian television concerns its staffing levels. State-run Egyptian television employs almost 14,000 people. Obviously, this large number of television workers is far above that required to produce programs and fill broadcasting time, and there are more workers than necessary for efficient operation of the two centralized television channel services. The figure is especially excessive for a country with limited financial resources.

Along with advertising revenue and license fees (added monthly to the electricity bill), Egypt depends on sales of Egyptian programs to other countries as the main resource to finance television. Since the peace treaty with Israel, many Arab countries have boycotted Egypt's exports, including media products; however, Egyptian television is still the most influential in the region.

Despite recent technological advances and changes in strategy, the financing of radio and television broadcasting will continue for some time to be a serious problem for the Egyptian government. Although the state recognizes the importance of electronic media industry to the internal and external political success of Egypt, funds to disseminate that industry's services have become increasingly scarce, especially as the educational and health needs of the country have grown more significant. It is obvious, then, that Egypt must continue to struggle and compromise to find funds needed to continue national broadcasting services.

HUSSEIN Y. AMIN

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## Eisner, Michael (1942– )

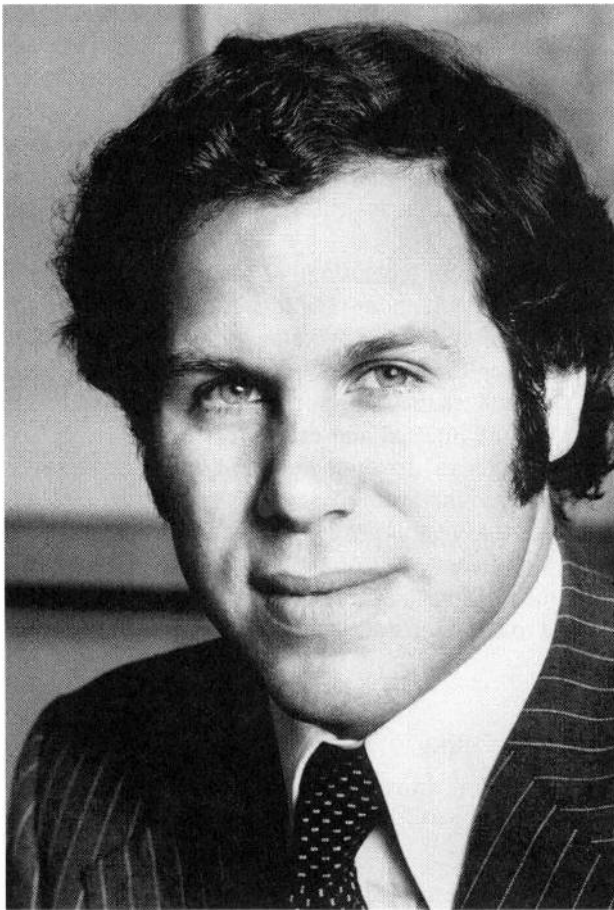
### U.S. Media Executive

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Michael Eisner joined the Disney Company in 1984 and helped recraft it throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In the process, he helped make Disney into a television powerhouse, climaxing those efforts with a takeover of Capital Cities-ABC (American Broadcasting Company) on the last day of July 1995. Through the final sixth of the 20th century, the Disney Company, with its ever increasing profits, was held up as a quintessential

American business success story. It produced popular culture fare embraced around the world. Yet when Michael Eisner assumed leadership of the company, Disney was in trouble. It was Eisner and his staff who turned the ailing theme-park company into a media powerhouse.

Eisner brought a rich base of executive experience to Disney. He had begun his career at the ABC televi-



Michael Eisner, 1977.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

sion network and then moved to Paramount under former ABC boss Barry Diller. The two men made Paramount the top Hollywood studio during the late 1970s and early 1980s. By 1978, just two years after Diller and Eisner arrived, Paramount had moved to the head of the major studio race. Led by *Grease*, *Saturday Night Fever*, and *Heaven Can Wait*, Paramount took in one-quarter of the Hollywood box office in that year.

When Eisner moved to Disney, he immediately sought to revitalize the company. He hired Hollywood's new "Irving Thalberg," Jeffrey Katzenberg, then barely 30 years old, to make movies under two new "brand names": Touchstone Pictures and Hollywood Pictures. (Eisner and Katzenberg worked well together until 1994, when Katzenberg moved to Dream Works, with new partners Steven Spielberg and David Geffen.)

The new Disney turned out hit feature films, including *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* and *Ruthless People*. In 1987, when *Three Men and a Baby* pushed beyond \$100 million in box office gross, it became the

first Disney film ever to pass that vaunted mark. *Three Men and a Baby* represented a quintessential example of the new Disney, drawing its stars, Ted Danson and Tom Selleck, from the world of television.

From the base of solid feature-film profits, Eisner then began to remake Disney into a TV power. The studio quickly placed hits such as *Golden Girls* on prime-time schedules. By the early 1990s, Disney's *Home Improvement* and *Ellen* consistently ranked in TV's prime-time top ten. Disney also expanded into the TV syndication business. The company created a very successful syndicated program by hiring film critics Gene Siskel and Roger Ebert to review movies, including those produced by Disney.

Not all Disney moves into television have prospered. In 1986, Eisner revived Disney's family-oriented Sunday night TV show in a prized 7:00 P.M. time slot on ABC, with himself as host. However, he proved not to be "Uncle Walt," and he was forced to cancel *The Disney Sunday Movie*, for which he also served as executive producer, in 1988. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) then picked up a modified version of the program, now called *The Magical World of Disney*; with Eisner as executive producer and host, this Sunday evening program aired for two years, 1988 to 1990, before succumbing to the fate of its ABC predecessor. Like many before and after him, it seemed that Eisner could not compete successfully with the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *60 Minutes*. Seven years later, however, Eisner returned to executive produce and host yet another edition of this show, *The Wonderful World of Disney*, for ABC on Sunday nights. This program may not beat *60 Minutes* in the ratings, but it has fared well with a mixture of original made-for-television movies, such as the musical *Annie* and the drama *Ruby Bridges*, and broadcasts of Disney features, such as *Babe* and *The Princess Diaries*.

Some of Disney's TV syndication efforts also failed to mint gold. *Today's Business* was an early-morning show that, although it aired initially in half the television markets in the United States, lasted but a few painful months in 1985. The Walt Disney Company pulled out, suffering a \$5 million loss.

Eisner had more success with cable TV as he expanded efforts to make the Disney Channel a pay-cable TV power. Using a seemingly infinite set of cross-promotional exploitation opportunities, the Disney Channel began to make money by 1990. By that year, the channel could claim 5 million subscribers (out of a population of some 60 million cable households).

Eisner may have had the most early success in home video. He accomplished this in spades by packaging and proffering the "classics" of Disney animation in

the expanding home-video market. These video revenues provided an immediate boost to the corporate bottom line. In 1986 alone, home-video revenues added more than \$100 million of pure profit. In October 1987, when *Lady and the Tramp* was released on video, the Disney company had more than 2 million orders in hand before it ever shipped a copy. By the late 1980s, *Bambi* and *Cinderella* were added to the list of the all-time best-sellers on video. Eisner placed *Bambi* and even *Fantasia* into "video sell through" so every family could buy and own a copy. *Aladdin* and *The Lion King* created even more profit and made the Disney operation Hollywood's leader in home-video sales.

With all this, Eisner made the Disney balance sheets glow. From mid-1985 through late 1990, the company broke profit records for more than 20 straight quarters. Based on the good times of the 1980s, operating margins and cash flow tripled. It was no wonder that, in order to underscore their thriving new corporate colossus, Eisner and company president Frank Wells changed the company name from Walt Disney Productions to the Walt Disney Company.

By 1991, the Walt Disney Company had become a true corporate power. Specifically, as 1991 began, it ranked in the top 200 of all U.S. corporations in terms of sales and assets, an outstanding 43rd in terms of profits. In terms of its stock value, Disney had grown into a \$16 billion company, with mind-boggling sales of \$6 billion per annum and profits approaching \$1 billion per year. This was a media corporate giant, of a rank comparable to that of Time Warner or Paramount, no marginal enterprise anymore.

It came as no surprise in July 1995 that Disney announced its most important move in television, the takeover of a broadcast television network. What was surprising, however, is that the network chosen by Disney was ABC, then the leading network, and its parent company, Capital Cities. Additional surprise came from the quiet, unsuspected nature of the deal making. As the story is reported, Eisner and Capital Cities President Thomas Murphy began their negotiations only days before the final deal was struck—and managed to keep it from reporters. For an announced \$19 billion, Disney had suddenly become one of the world's major media conglomerates. A few weeks later, the surprise continued when Michael Ovitz, head of the Creative Artists Agency—who was at that time often referred to as the most powerful man in Hollywood—became president of the new company.

For all his successes, Eisner has been well rewarded. In 1990 surveys of the best-paid corporate executives in the United States, he ranked in the top ten. From 1986 to 1990, he had been paid nearly \$100

million for his efforts. In 2000, Eisner received a stock options bonus worth nearly \$38 million despite the fact that during the previous three years company profits fell by half. The Disney Company hit a publicity apex in May 1989, when it was revealed that Michael Eisner was the highest-paid executive in the United States for 1988, at more than \$40 million. Michael Eisner must be credited with creating in the Disney Company one of the true media powerhouses of the late 20th century. However, the dawn of the 21st century proved unkind to Eisner. During the summer of 2001, Disney's blockbuster *Pearl Harbor* did not do as well as expected at the box office. Around the same time, conservatives attacked Eisner for his liberal policies regarding homosexuals. Then the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon devastated the theme-park business.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Walt Disney Programs*

**Michael Eisner.** Born in Mt. Kisco, New York, March 7, 1942. Educated at Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey, and Denison University, Granville, Ohio, B.A., 1964. Married: Jane Breckenridge; three sons: Michael (Breck), Eric, and Anders. Began career in programming department of CBS; assistant to national programming director, ABC, 1966–68, manager, specials and talent, director of program development, East Coast, 1968–71, vice president, daytime programming, 1971–75, vice president, program planning and development, 1975–76, senior vice president, prime-time production and development, 1976; president and chief operating officer, Paramount Pictures Corp., 1976–84; chairman and chief executive officer, Walt Disney Company, since 1984.

#### Television Series

1986–88	<i>The Disney Sunday Movie</i>
1988–90	<i>The Magical World of Disney</i>
1997–	<i>The Wonderful World of Disney</i>

#### Publication

*Work in Progress*, with Tony Schwartz, 1998

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## Elderly and Television, The

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The elderly, defined here as individuals 65 years old and above, represent a significant portion (12.4 percent) of the total U.S. population. According to the United States Census of 2000, this population segment had increased by 12 percent from the previous decade, numbering more than 35 million and growing. As of 2000, the Center for Disease Control estimated that the average life expectancy for males was 74.1 years, 79.5 years for females. With advancements in the surgical and pharmaceutical fields, life expectancy will increase, creating greater numbers of individuals beyond the population's median age. Thus, the elderly category will expand, generating a larger television viewing audience of older Americans.

### The Elderly Audience

Seniors now average more hours of television watching per week than any other age category. Many use television as a critical source of information, enabling them to actively participate in public issues on a local, state, or federal level. Local and national network news reports as well as dedicated news channels, such as C-SPAN, the Cable News Network (CNN), and MSNBC, help older individuals stay abreast of pending legislation that may impact their quality of life. Most recently, for example, topics such as social security and health care have received wide coverage. By staying informed through the television medium, which sometimes allows for immediate interactivity via the call-in format, older citizens have the ability to remain or become active.

In addition to boosting political interest, television provides cultural stimulus through the broadcasting of concerts, theater performances, bibliographies, and cultural documentaries. The elderly audience generally favors these types of programming, found in the United States on channels such as the Public Broad-

casting Service (PBS), A&E, The Learning Channel (TLC), the Discovery Channel, the History Channel, and even the Food Network. These offerings enable elderly individuals, who may be confined to their homes for health or economic reasons, to virtually explore the world and its peoples.

Television's audio component can also provide a type of companionship in the home for older women and men who find themselves alone. Not only is the noise from television a comfort, but viewers often feel a connection with television personalities. Historically, favorite characters and personalities of this age-group include mystery sleuths such as Perry Mason, Columbo, and Jessica Fletcher (*Murder, She Wrote*); performers such as Lawrence Welk, Lucille Ball, and Carol Burnett; and game show hosts Pat Sajak and Vanna White (*Wheel of Fortune*), Alec Trebek (*Jeopardy*), and Bob Barker (*The Price Is Right*). Further, aging viewers tend to prefer characters, storylines, and formats that reflect and reinforce their existing ideologies rather than exploring more radical options. For instance, the character Jessica Fletcher is well liked because she is successful, conventionally moral, and intelligent and is an older character. Additionally, older adults tend to prefer stories that are resolved within a single episode (with the exception of traditional soap operas), as opposed to plotlines that run throughout the series.

### Representation of Elderly Characters

Often, older characters are depicted as feisty grouches, such as Grannie (*Beverly Hillbillies*), Archie Bunker (*All in the Family*), Frank Costanza (*Seinfeld*), or Frank Barone (*Everybody Loves Raymond*). Otherwise, they are portrayed as scatterbrained, as exemplified by Edith Bunker (*All in the Family*) and Rose Nylund (*Golden Girls*). Seniors are repeatedly shown

to be feeble, as seen in the popular "Help! I've Fallen and I Can't Get Up!" commercial of the 1980s. Further, there is little racial or ethnic diversity among older characters. The vast majority is Caucasian. There are exceptions, such as Fred Sanford (*Sanford and Son*), but even this character fell victim to some stereotypes of black Americans. Still, as channel and programming options increase, a greater diversity of representation across all age categories, races, and socioeconomic groups may emerge.

Perhaps many of these issues are exemplified in one program that focused completely on elderly characters, *The Golden Girls*. This situation comedy ran from 1985 to 1992 and featured four females in their senior years, each exhibiting a distinct background and persona. The women were shown to have active lifestyles, including dating (many jokes centered around sex), and to face serious concerns (characters dealt with housing issues and health emergencies). This very popular show, filled with humor and touching moments, represents one of the few series that afforded a great deal of attention to the often disregarded elderly community.

It is likely that the elderly community is largely ignored in series television because the group is also frequently overlooked as a demographically defined target market. Nevertheless, elderly individuals are consumers as well as viewers. Average annual expenditures for Americans between the ages of 65 and 74 years were more than \$32,000 in 2001, according to the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. Yet advertisers, other than those selling products made specifically for aging adults such as denture cream or pharmaceuticals, tend to focus on the 18-to-34 demographic. The U.S. network capitalizing most extensively on elderly viewership is the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). With programs that are popular among older audiences, such as *Touched by an Angel* and *60 Minutes*, CBS has become known as the only major network catering to senior viewers.

Home shopping, however, is also a potential site at which television addresses the elderly and provides a different approach to financial interaction. The Home Shopping Network (HSN) and QVC are popular among elderly buyers because these stations allow them to make purchases without leaving their homes, and the phone-in format, as opposed to Internet shopping, is easier for some elderly consumers. Further, the hosts of these shows, who often use direct address of the camera to attract the viewer, can serve as companions in the homes of isolated audience members.

Television use cannot, of course, be studied solely on the basis of age categories. Education and economic status, individual tastes, and cultural background all certainly influence viewing choices and behaviors. While researchers have found that the elderly as a demographic group generally favor certain genres, formats, and characters, elderly viewers are a diverse group who ultimately live with the medium according to their own distinct, individual needs.

STACY ROSENBERG

*See also Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); Columbo; Golden Girls; Murder, She Wrote; Perry Mason; 60 Minutes; Touched by an Angel*

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## Ellen

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Ellen*, which premiered as *These Friends of Mine* in March 1994, was a situation comedy in the *Seinfeld* mold: built around successful stand-up comic Ellen

DeGeneres, it focused on a 30-something woman and her group of friends. Although its premise was unremarkable, *Ellen* entered television history in the spring



*Ellen DeGeneres.  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives*

of 1997 when its title character came out as a lesbian, making the show the first to feature a gay lead character, a move that received heightened publicity because of Ellen DeGeneres's virtually simultaneous coming out in mass media.

In the first season, Ellen Morgan was a bookstore manager in Los Angeles who endured the vicissitudes of life and love with her roommate, Adam Greene (Arye Gross), a slob and aspiring photographer, and her friends Holly (Holly Fulger) and Anita (Maggie Wheeler). By the 1994 fall season, the show's name had changed, Ellen owned the bookstore (*Buy the Book*), and she had a new supporting cast. Although her roommate Adam remained for one more year, her new friends included Joe Farrell (David Anthony Higgins), a co-worker who ran the coffee bar at the bookstore, and her glamorous and self-centered childhood friend Paige Clark (Joely Fisher), a film executive. In the 1995–96 season, *Buy the Book* had been destroyed in an earthquake; after rebuilding it, Ellen sold out to a chain, although she remained as manager. By the end of the season, another new character, Ellen's annoyingly naive friend Audrey Penney (Clea Lewis), had been added, and Adam had been replaced by a new roommate, Spence Kovak (Jeremy Piven), Ellen's cousin and a former doctor who had moved to Los Angeles to start a new life. Ellen's parents, Lois and Harold Morgan (Alice Hirson and Steven Gilborn), as well as her gay friend Peter (Patrick Bristow) also made occasional appearances.

The sitcom's tone was a combination of the "single woman on her own" premise originally popularized by *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and a kind of physical comedy reminiscent of *I Love Lucy*, featuring DeGeneres's talent for physical antics and sight gags. Indeed, one review of the show's first season referred to DeGeneres as a combination of Mary Richards and Lucy Ricardo. Much of the humor revolved around Ellen's active but unsuccessful dating life. Although it performed respectably, the show was never an unqualified ratings success. By the end of its first season, there was speculation that the sitcom's seemingly unrelenting focus on Ellen Morgan's lack of success at romance was the problem and that Ellen lacked chemistry with men because she was gay, an interpretation bolstered by her somewhat androgynous style and by the way the comedy milked her clear discomfort and ineptitude at dating for laughs. Joyce Millman, television critic for the *San Francisco Examiner*, wrote, "As a single gal sitcom, *Ellen* doesn't make any sense at all, until you view it through the looking glass where the unspoken subtext becomes the main point. Then

*Ellen* is transformed into one of TV's savviest, funniest, slyest shows. Ellen Morgan is a closet lesbian."

Speculation about DeGeneres's own sexuality also was a factor in rumors about the sitcom. DeGeneres was notoriously private, refusing to speak about her personal life in public, but allusions to her sexuality in the press were more frequent by 1996. In the summer of that year, DeGeneres began to discuss the implications of coming out with her publicist. A story in a September 1996 issue of *TV Guide* noted that the producers of *Ellen* were considering a storyline about Ellen Morgan's coming out in the 1996–97 season, and the show itself began to feature comic allusions to the possibility in its fall episodes.

Fearing the reaction of conservative groups and advertisers, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and Touchstone Television (which produced *Ellen* and was a subsidiary of Disney, ABC's parent company) proceeded carefully, admitting that a coming-out episode was planned but might not necessarily be aired. Once the decision was made, ABC scheduled the episode during the 1997 spring sweeps and moved the show to a later hour in the schedule, presumably to avoid targeting an audience with young children. In April 1997, DeGeneres was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine with a photo caption that read, "Yep, She's Gay," discussed her coming out and the sitcom in appearances on both *20/20* and *Oprah* shortly before the episode was broadcast, and both she and her parents appeared in an episode of ABC's *Prime-Time Live* immediately after the coming-out episode (referred to as "The Puppy Episode," a jokey allusion to the idea that the "real" news of the episode was that Ellen was getting a puppy).

The coming-out episode that aired on April 30, 1997, focused on Ellen Morgan's own realization that she might be gay. It drew the largest audience of the week, a phenomenon traceable to its enormous publicity and its roster of guest stars, such as lesbian icons k.d. lang and Melissa Etheridge as well as Oprah Winfrey (who played Ellen's therapist) and Laura Dern (who played Ellen's love interest). Two more episodes in the spring season dealt with coming-out issues; one focused on Ellen coming out to her parents, and the other centered on Ellen coming out to her boss at the bookstore. In the fall of 1997, *Ellen* won two Emmys for "The Puppy Episode," one for editing and another for writing. It also received a Peabody Award for the episode.

Despite the initial favorable reaction to the coming-out storyline, the 1997–98 season of *Ellen* was troubled. The high ratings for the coming-out episode were

## Ellen

not sustained, and, as Ellen Morgan began to explore her new identity through a romantic relationship with a woman, complaints that the show was "too gay" began to surface. ABC placed parental advisories before the episodes and gave them a TV-14 rating, prompting protests from both DeGeneres and gay rights organizations. By the spring of 1998, ABC had cancelled the sitcom. There were accusations from DeGeneres that the network had not been supportive of the show, claims from ABC executives that the sitcom had turned into her personal soapbox, and arguments from television critics and commentators that it had simply ceased to be funny. Regardless, there was widespread agreement that *Ellen* had changed the face of television by introducing a gay lead character, a view that gained strength from the large number of programs with gay themes that followed in its wake and that faced little controversy.

BONNIE J. DOW

### Cast

Ellen Morgan (1994–98)	Ellen DeGeneres
Adam Greene (1994–96)	Arye Gross
Holly (1994)	Holly Fulger
Anita (1994)	Maggie Wheeler
Joe Farrell	David Anthony Higgins
Paige Clark	Joely Fisher
Audrey Penney (1995–98)	Clea Lewis
Spence Kovak (1995–98)	Jeremy Piven
Peter	Patrick Bristow
Lois Morgan	Alice Hirson
Harold Morgan	Steven Gilborn

### Producers

Ellen Degeneres (producer), David Flebotte, Alex Herschlag, Mark Wilding (coproducers), Mark Driscoll, Eileen Heisler, DeAnn Heline, Vic Kaplan, Dava Savel (executive producers), Lawrence Broch, Matt Goldman (co-executive producers)

### Programming History

108 episodes	
ABC	
March 1994–May 1994	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
August 1994–September 1994	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
September 1994–March 1995	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
March 1995–April 1995	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
April 1995–May 1995	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
May 1995–September 1995	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
September 1995–November 1996	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
December 1996–February 1997	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
March 1997–April 1997	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
April 1997–March 1998	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
May 1998–July 1998	Wednesday 9:30–10:00

### Further Reading

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## Ellerbe, Linda (1944– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Linda Ellerbe, respected and outspoken broadcast journalist, has functioned as a network news correspondent, anchor, writer, and producer. She is cur-

rently president of her own production company, Lucky Duck Productions. Gaining fame in the 1970s and 1980s for her stints as an NBC News Washington





Linda Ellerbee.  
Photo courtesy of Gittings/Skipworth, Inc.

correspondent, *Weekend* co-anchor, reporter, and co-anchor of *NBC News Overnight*, Ellerbee came to represent a distinctive type of reporter: literate, funny, irreverent, and never condescending. Her personal style attracted a diverse and dedicated following of viewers for her stories, which covered everything from politics to pop culture. "And so it goes" is her trademark broadcast tagline as well as the title of her 1986 best-seller "*And So it Goes*": *Adventures in Television*, an amusing and candid look at the realities of the profession.

Ellerbee's 12-year career as a correspondent and anchor at NBC News climaxed with her appointment as co-anchor of an overnight news broadcast, *NBC News Overnight*. Although the program failed with audiences, Ellerbee and the concept were critical successes. The duPont Columbia Awards cited *Overnight* as "possibly the best written and most intelligent news program ever." She left the network news business in 1986, after serving a stint as anchor for ABC News' short-lived *Our World*.

Ellerbee's television production company, Lucky Duck Productions, has a reputation as a supplier of outstanding children's programming. Ellerbee writes and hosts the weekly *Nick News* and the quarterly *Nick News Special Editions* (the Nickelodeon news-

magazine for children and young people), both produced by Lucky Duck Productions. These shows have given Lucky Duck a reputation for introducing quality news journalism on a broad range of subjects to its audience. These series have been honored with the Peabody, duPont Columbia Awards, the recognition of the National Education Association, and the Parents Choice Awards. The Peabody citation given in 1991 notes the award was given for presenting news in a thoughtful and noncondescending manner for both children and adults. Other Lucky Duck productions for such clients as Nickelodeon, Music Television (MTV), Home Box Office (HBO), FOX, and Time-Life include several projects for young adults and documentary or news shows for all viewers.

In 1996, Ellerbee was again involved in expanding and experimenting with media forms. She began writing and hosting a monthly online public affairs interview program, *On the Record*, produced by Microsoft and Lucky Duck Productions, which combined print, television, and computer technology. She continues to write, following up her 1991 best-seller *Move On* with an eight-part series for middle-school children titled *Get Real*. A breast cancer survivor, Ellerbee also travels the country giving inspirational speeches about her life and her challenges. In 1999, she was awarded a Peabody for her accomplishments on *Nick News*.

ALISON ALEXANDER

See also **Children and Television; Nickelodeon**

**Linda Ellerbee (Linda Jane Smith)**. Born in Bryan, Texas, August 15, 1944. Educated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1962–64. Married: 1) Mac Smith, 1964 (divorced, 1966); 2) Van Veselka, 1968 (divorced, 1971); children: Vanessa and Joshua; 3) Tom Ellerbee, 1973 (divorced, 1974). Disc jockey, WSOM, Chicago, 1964–65; program director, KSJO, San Francisco, 1967–68; reporter, KJNO, Juneau, Alaska, 1969–72; news writer, Associated Press, Dallas, Texas, 1972; television reporter, KHOU, Houston, Texas, 1972–73; general assignment reporter, WCBS-TV, New York City, 1973–76; reporter, Washington bureau of NBC News, 1976–78; co-anchor, network newsmagazine *Weekend*, 1978–79; correspondent, *NBC Nightly News*, 1979–82; co-anchor, *NBC News Overnight*, 198–84; co-anchor, *Summer Sunday*, 1984; reporter, *Today*, 1984–86; reporter, *Good Morning, America*, 1986; anchor, ABC news show *Our World*, 1986–87; commentator, Cable News Network (CNN), 1989; president, Lucky Duck Productions, since 1987; producer, writer, and host, *Nick News*, since 1991; writer and founder, host, *On the Record*, online production with Microsoft, from 1996. Recipient: Peabody Awards, 1991, 1998.

Ellerbee, Linda

### Television Series

1978–79 *Weekend*  
1979–82 *NBC Nightly News*  
1982–84 *NBC News Overnight*  
1984 *Summer Sunday*  
1984–86 *Today*  
1986–87 *Our World*  
1991– *Nick News*

### Television Specials (selected)

1997 *Addicted*  
1998 *The Other Epidemic: What Every  
Woman Needs to Know About Breast  
Cancer*  
2001 *Turning Ten: A Nick News Celebration*  
2002 *Faces of Hope: The Children of  
Afghanistan*

### Film

*Baby Boom*, 1987.

### Radio

*The Lives of Children*, 1995.

### Publications

*"And So It Goes": Adventures in Television*, 1986  
*Move On: Adventures in the Real World*, 1991  
*Girl Reporter Blows Lid Off Town!*, 2000  
*Girl Reporter Sinks School!*, 2000  
*Girl Reporter Stuck in Jam!*, 2000  
*Girl Reporter Snags Crush!*, 2000  
*Ghoul Reporter Digs Up Zombies!*, 2000  
*Girl Reporter Rocks Polls!*, 2000  
*Girl Reporter Gets The Skinny!*, 2001  
*Girl Reporter Bytes Back!*, 2001

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"Linda Ellerbee: Telling Her Own Stories," *Broadcasting & Cable* (September 11, 1995)  
Orenstein, Peggy, "Women on the Verge of a Nerve Breakdown," *Mother Jones* (June 1989)

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## Emerson, Faye (1917–1983)

### U.S. Television Personality

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Faye Emerson was one of the most visible individuals in the early days of U.S. television. A "television personality" (meaning talk show host and more), her omnipresence during the infant days of TV made her one of the most famous faces in the United States and earned her the unofficial titles of "Television's First Lady" and "Mrs. Television."

Before television settled into stricter genre forms, when prime time was dominated by more presentational types of programming, "personalities" prospered. Variety shows abounded, as did low-cost, low-key talk shows that took advantage of TV's intimate nature. While the hosts of some of these shows were men—Ed Sullivan, Garry Moore, and Arthur Godfrey are among the better-known "personalities"—the majority were female: Ilka Chase, Wendy Barrie, Arlene Francis, and others.

Emerson had been a marginally successful film and stage actress before she embarked on her second career in television. After noticing her in a local theater pro-

duction, a talent scout offered Emerson a contract with Warner Brothers, and she starred or costarred in various "A" and "B" movies. Her career took an upswing in 1944, when she married for a second time, to Elliot Roosevelt, son of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The studio's publicity machine used this union to bring her greater fame and expanded Emerson's nonacting opportunities. As a "first daughter-in-law," she took part in presidential ceremonies and, with her husband, staged a successful trip to the Soviet Union in the late 1940s. She also acted on Broadway and on radio.

Emerson made her first television appearance of note in 1949 as a panelist, with her husband, on a game show. Her quick wit and breadth of knowledge—which upstaged her husband to such a degree that she apologized on his behalf on air—made her something of a sensation. Later that year, actress Diana Barrymore was forced by illness to drop out of her soon-to-premiere local New York talk show. The producers phoned Emerson to take over, and she accepted.



Faye Emerson.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*The Faye Emerson Show* premiered in October 1949 and went national over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) the following March. It quickly gained a following, snagging an average 22 rating. One month after that program's national debut, Emerson began a second talk show, this time on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). This made her one of the first people to have two shows simultaneously on two networks.

The late-night talk show of its day, Emerson frequently welcomed celebrity guests (actors, authors, and other personalities). Sometimes the show was more free form. Sometimes it was simply Faye talking about her life and goings-on about town.

In retrospect, Emerson seemed a natural for early television, a medium that had to bridge the gap between the art of live drama and the appeal of wrestling. Emerson's combination of Hollywood good looks and social connections—along with her old-fashioned common sense, her pleasant personality, and her friendly conversations about peoples, places, and parties—made audiences want to welcome her into their homes. Adding to her appeal were her much-talked-about designer gowns featuring plunging necklines. It was believed such décolletage helped her attain much of her male viewership. (One wit would later say that Faye Emerson put the “V” in “TV.”) The topic was such hot copy for a time that it inspired fashion/photo

spreads in *Life* and other magazines. Finally, to move past it, Emerson brought it to a vote on her show. She asked viewers what she should wear. Ballots ran 95 percent in favor of Emerson's style staying as it was.

However, Emerson was more than just window dressing. During the height of her fame, she was a frequent substitute host for Edward R. Murrow on *Person to Person* and for Garry Moore on his show. She took part in so many game shows that a magazine once labeled her “TV's peripatetic panelist.”

Emerson's omnipresence as a television performer should not be underemphasized. Before cable and satellites, the average household was lucky to receive a handful of channels. As she hosted various shows on various networks for much of the 1950s meant, even the most infrequent of audiences had to be aware of Emerson as one of TV's first citizens. A viewing of her work today reveals a pleasant, largely unflappable but somewhat stiff talent. Still, she radiates glamour and remarkable camera presence.

In 1950, after divorcing Roosevelt, Emerson announced on her evening program her plans to marry musician Lyle C. “Skitch” Henderson. (It is believed that she was the first person ever to make such an announcement on television.) In 1953, the two teamed for the show *Faye and Skitch*. Earlier, in 1951, Emerson began hosting one of the medium's most expensive programs, *Faye Emerson's Wonderful Town*, in which she traveled the United States and profiled different cities.

As the 1950s came to a close, TV “personalities” found themselves with fewer opportunities. Some, like Arlene Francis, brilliantly reinvented themselves; others found themselves relegated to guest appearances before moving into retirement. Emerson was in this latter group. She continued to make TV appearances until 1963, when, rich and weary of show business, she sailed off for a year in Europe. Finding it to her liking, she seldom returned to the United States and died abroad in 1993.

Several factors explain why Emerson, “Mrs. Television,” did not endure on the small screen but her masculine counterpart, “Mr. Television” (Milton Berle), did. Perhaps most important, those individuals such as Emerson who fit the role of TV personality never had a single marketable trait: neither comic nor singer, they were more like the good host at a private, intimate party. By the late 1950s, as talk shows left prime time, the party was over. TV production moved out of New York and left Emerson's kind of glamour behind. In contrast, a variety-show performer such as Berle could adapt more easily as television evolved as an entertainment media. Still, it is worth remembering that, at its beginnings, television needed a friendly, unifying factor, a

Emerson, Faye

symbol to initiate audiences into its technology—and for millions of viewers that envoy was Faye Emerson.

CARY O'DELL

**Faye Emerson.** Born in Elizabeth, Louisiana, July 8, 1917. Married: 1) William Wallace Crawford, Jr., 1938 (divorced, 1942); one child: William Wallace III; 2) Elliot Roosevelt, 1944 (divorced, 1950); 3) Lyle C. "Skitch" Henderson, 1950 (divorced, 1958). In films from 1930s; in television from 1949 as host, guest performer, panelist. Died in Deyva, Spain, March 9, 1983.

#### Television Series

1949–52      *With Faye*  
1950          *The Faye Emerson Show*  
1951–52      *Faye Emerson's Wonderful Town*  
1953–54      *Faye and Skitch*

#### Films

*Bad Men of Missouri*, 1941; *Wild Bill Hickok Rides*, 1941; *Nine Lives Are Not Enough*, 1941; *The*

*Nurse's Secret*, 1941; *Lady Gangster*, 1942; *Murder in the Big House*, 1942; *Secret Enemies*, 1942; *Juke Girl*, 1942; *The Hard Way*, 1942; *Find the Blackmailer*, 1943; *Destination Tokyo*, 1943; *Air Force*, 1943; *The Desert Song*, 1943; *Between Two Worlds*, 1944; *The Mask of Dimitrios*, 1944; *Crime by Night*, 1944; *Very Thought of You*, 1944; *Hotel Berlin*, 1945; *Danger Signal*, 1945; *Her Kind of Man*, 1946; *Nobody Lives Forever*, 1946; *Guilty Bystander*, 1950; *A Face in the Crowd*, 1957.

#### Stage

With St. James Repertory Company, Carmel, California, from 1935; *The Play's the Thing*, 1948; *Back to Methuselah*, 1958; *The Vinegar Tree*, 1962.

#### Further Reading

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**Emmy.** See Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

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## E.N.G.

### Canadian Drama

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*E.N.G.*, a Canadian television drama series set in the news studio of a local television station, ran successfully on the private CTV network for five seasons from 1989 to 1994. After a slow start, which almost led to its cancellation at the end of the first season, the series steadily gained in popularity as audiences responded to its blend of personal and public issues. It was sold to many countries and well received when it appeared on the Lifetime cable network in the United States and on Channel 4 in the United Kingdom.

The letters in the title stand for "Electronic News Gathering" and were often seen on black-and-white

images of news footage supposedly viewed through the monitors of handheld video cameras. Through its depiction of news gathering and studio production work, the series was able to respond to topical issues and comment on the role of the media in contemporary culture. The news stories were framed by the personal and professional relationships of the news makers as the objectivity demanded of news reporting collided with the subjective feelings of the reporters or with commercial or political pressures.

The series began with the arrival of Mike Fennell (Art Hindle) to take over as news director, a position to

which the executive producer, Ann Hildebrand (Sara Botsford), had expected to be promoted. As these two characters endeavored to establish a professional relationship amid the various crises of the newsroom, Ann carried on a supposedly secret affair with Jake Antonelli (Mark Humphrey), an impetuous cameraman who often broke the rules and found himself in dangerous situations. In the course of the series, Mike and Ann became personally involved, and the final episodes left them trying to balance their careers and their relationship after the station's owners decided to adopt a "lifestyles" format.

The major significance of *E.N.G.* stems from its attempt to negotiate between the traditions of Canadian television and the formulas of the popular American programs that dominate CTV's schedule. In media coverage of the series, it was often compared with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) *Street Legal*, which began two years earlier and which set its personal and professional entanglements in a Toronto law office. Both series were compared to such American hits as *L.A. Law* and *Hill Street Blues*, but both presented recognizably Canadian situations and settings. Since most original Canadian television drama has been produced by the CBC, a public corporation, the success of *E.N.G.* raised hopes that the private networks would offer more support to Canadian producers.

*E.N.G.* did have one foot in the Canadian tradition associated with the CBC and the National Film Board, a tradition of documentary realism and social responsibility, and the series gave work to a number of veteran film and television directors. Yet the major project of the series was clearly to deliver the pleasures of "popular" television, using a formula that owed more to the melodramatic structures of the daytime soaps than to traditional Canadian suspicion of "crisis structures." When *E.N.G.* began, it used a fairly strict series format, each episode presenting a complete story with little cross-reference between episodes. The later seasons saw a movement toward a serial format as the personal lives of the characters assumed more importance.

However, the basic formula remained the same throughout. A number of loosely connected stories were interwoven, offering viewers a variety of characters and situations and inviting them to make connections among the stories and to activate memories of other episodes in the series (and to make comparisons to other similar series). In "The Souls of Our Heroes" (March 1990), for example, the main story dealt with competing accounts of the events in Tiananmen Square, while Ann received an unexpected visit from a childhood friend and her two children and a producer attempted to enliven the Crime Catchers segment of the news with fictional reenactments. "In the Blood" (January 1991) used the motif of "blood" to link its two main stories: an attempt to cap-

ture a day in the life of an AIDS victim and an investigation into an alleged miracle involving a bleeding statue of Jesus. In these episodes, and most others, the focus was on the implications of the way the news is reported for the news makers themselves, for the people on whom they are reporting, and for the community that watches the final product.

Although *E.N.G.* was clearly indebted to similar American series, its ability to blend melodrama with a serious treatment of topical issues was not shared by *WIOU*, a short-lived series with a remarkably similar premise that appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the fall of 1990.

JIM LEACH

See also **Canadian Programming in English**

#### Cast

Mike Fennell	Art Hindle
Ann Hildebrand	Sara Botsford
Jake Antonelli	Mark Humphrey

#### Producer

Robert Lantos

#### Programming History

CTV/Telefilm  
1989-94



*E.N.G.*

Photo courtesy of Alliance International

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## English, Diane (1948– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Diane English is in the enviable position of having several successful shows to her credit, a credit often shared with coproducer and husband, Joel Shukovsky. In addition to the programs—*Murphy Brown*, *Love and War*, and the earlier *Foley Square* and *My Sister Sam*—their company also manages a lucrative eight-figure multiseries contract with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The couple started their careers in public television (New York City's WNET) with English's adaptation of *The Lathe of Heaven*, and English went on to write nine TV movies before being offered the opportunity to "create-write-produce" the pilot for *Foley Square*, which, like her later shows, featured a strong female central character.

In a demanding profession, however, English's career has not been without controversy. *Murphy Brown* was attacked by Vice President Dan Quayle in the summer of 1992 when the main character on the series, a single professional woman played by Candice Bergen, decided not to terminate her unplanned pregnancy. Quayle's primary criticism was that the series mocked the importance of fathers by having a woman bear a child alone and call it "just another lifestyle choice." Quayle and English engaged in a heated and prolonged dispute through the media, which made the series, and English herself, a household word. Some industry experts called the incident the single most important element contributing to the long-term ratings success of the show. For advertisers, in the following season, *Murphy Brown* was the most expensive show in television, with 30-second commercials on the show costing an average \$310,000. Syndication sales were said to exceed \$100 million. Because of her unusual combination of business and creative skills, English is often mentioned as the only woman in television now capable of taking over the entertainment division at a major network.

CHERYL HARRIS

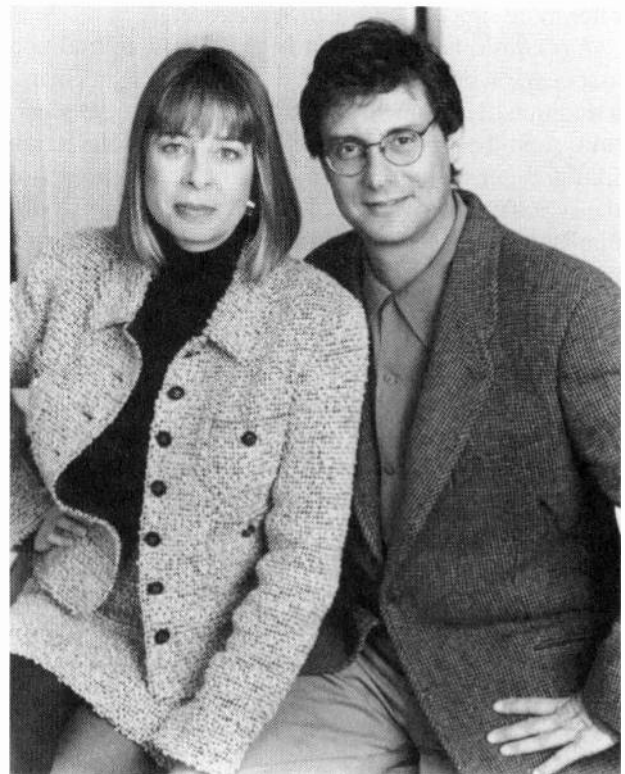
See also *Murphy Brown*

**Diane English.** Born in Buffalo, New York, 1948. Graduated from Buffalo State College, 1970. Married: Joel Shukovsky. High school English teacher, Buffalo,

New York, 1970–71; WNET-TV, New York City, 1970s; columnist, *Vogue* magazine, New York City, 1977–80; in commercial television from 1985; creator, writer, producer, *Murphy Brown*, 1988–98. Recipient: Writers Guild Award, 1990; Genie Award, American Women in Radio and Television, 1990; Commissioners' Award, National Commission on Working Women.

### Television Series

1985–86	<i>Foley Square</i>
1986–87	<i>My Sister Sam</i>
1988–98	<i>Murphy Brown</i>



Diane English and Joel Shukovsky.  
Photo courtesy of Schukovsky/English Entertainment

1992–95 *Love and War*  
 1995 *Double Rush*  
 1996–97 *Ink*  
 1998 *Living in Captivity*

### Further Reading

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 DeVries, Hibry, "Laughing Off the Recession," *New York Times* (January 3, 1993)

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## Englishman Abroad, An

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This award-winning 65-minute drama from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC; 1983) brought together writer Alan Bennett and director John Schlesinger, who created a film around the British spy Guy Burgess, one of the so-called Cambridge spies of the 1930s to 1950s. Burgess, although not under suspicion, defected to the Soviet Union with fellow spy Donald Maclean in 1951.

The film's origins are curious, as indicated in its epigraph: "Although some incidents are imaginary . . . this is a true story. It happened to Coral Browne in 1958" (ellipsis in original). In that year, the Anglo-Australian actress Coral Browne was performing in a British touring production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* that was visiting Moscow. There, by chance, she encountered Burgess, visited his apartment for lunch, and, on returning to London, undertook his requests to have clothes ordered from his tailor and shoemaker. In the television piece, Browne, 25 years on, plays herself and reenacts a version of these events. From Browne's personal history, Bennett and Schlesinger constructed a deft television drama, permeated by two overriding and overlapping themes: the issue of identity (national, ideological, and cultural) and the nature of loyalty.

It begins in the middle of a performance of *Hamlet*, with Browne on stage and an evidently unwell Burgess (played by Alan Bates) in the audience, attempting to leave his seat. In (crumpled) evening dress and bow tie, attempting to excuse himself in a poor mixture of Russian and English, he already seems out of step with the Muscovites around him. While trying to locate his old Cambridge University friend (playing Claudius) during the interval, Burgess is forced to dive into the nearest doorway—that of Browne's dressing room—to be sick. So begins the unlikely encounter, and the first scenes conclude with Burgess stealing Browne's soap, English cigarettes, and vodka: some small but telling luxuries in the Soviet Union in the 1950s.

Accepting Burgess's invitation to lunch the next day, Browne struggles to locate the address, and a visit to the British Embassy is of little assistance. In the part of the film where, one suspects, Bennett's characterization had the freest reign, Browne struggles to get help from a double act of arrogant, youthful diplomats whose mannerisms and puerility seem to perpetuate a vision of diplomatic life as a continuation of Oxbridge college life. Their behavior and repartee, as they seek to persuade Browne not to visit Burgess, smacks of the university revue or the music hall; but they also serve to put into context, albeit in a caricature fashion, a set of class and gender prejudices (for they also belittle their female secretary) that help the viewer make sense of Burgess's struggle with his background.

Once at Burgess's drab, messy apartment in a run-down block, Browne spends longer than anticipated in his eccentric company, for he is not allowed to leave home until he gets a call from, as he puts it, "my people." She declines "lunch" (a couple of tomatoes), measures him up for his clothes, and listens to music, and they discuss England, communism, gossip, and gay sex, all with Burgess's verbal sprightliness. While they are funny and light, these central scenes are also where the film's purple passages occur.

Bates's Burgess, in his disheveled eccentricity and shabby charm, seems to shy away from much that might be called earnestness. Yet in his finely judged performance and in Bennett's sharp script, the questions of loyalty and identity emerge but are never labored. This "Englishman abroad" encapsulates the paradoxes of someone who has politically and ideologically rejected his national and class background while being a social and cultural product of it. Spurred on by Burgess's sense of irony, Browne makes the mistake of wondering what there is to admire in the Soviet Union. Burgess responds calmly but forcefully: "the system—though being English, you wouldn't be inter-



ested in that." He frequently comments on the society and the social class he has left, where seemingly minor details, such as going to the right tailor or having the right school tie, establish who one is rather than one's beliefs. He rails against those who want to change England, but, as a spy (someone whose *raison d'être* is to subvert the nation and the system), his view of his native country is deeply conflicted:

So little, England; little music, little art, timid, tasteful, nice. Yet one loves it. You see, I can say I love London, I can say I love England. I can't say I love my country. I don't know what that means.

It would be easy to overstress the sentimental and nostalgic layers of *An Englishman Abroad*. On one level, Bates's Burgess may seem to evade reaching conclusions about the fundamental sadness (as Browne sees it) of his condition, rather like the characters of Bennett's *Talking Heads* monologues. There is considerable evidence for such a view: he punctuates his banter with the phrase "the Comrades, though splendid in every other respect..." to introduce yet another deficiency of Soviet life; he is shadowed constantly by secret police, and his movements are restricted; his life is immeasurably poorer materially; he struggles with a half-understood language, a harsh winter, no meaningful social context, and no family (the camera passes over a photo of his mother in England); and he even wonders whether his Russian lover/partner is part of the surveillance operation.

Yet when Browne upbraids Burgess for presenting his treason as a merely a kind of Wildean social transgression, she implicitly highlights the lifelong role manipulation that has characterized Burgess's life, and viewers must be cautious about the conclusions they draw. Burgess later insists, "I do like it here—don't tell anyone I don't"; and at one level of this complex personality, that must be taken at face value. At this level, the chaos of his life masks someone who, as history documents and he himself avers, took politics and ideas so seriously as to define the course of his life by them because "at the time I thought it was the right thing to do."

Given the film's gay writer and gay director and the indiscreet homosexuality of Burgess before his defection, one might expect the theme of homosexual identity (the sexual outsider) to be aligned with that of the political outsider. However, this is not the case: homosexuality is here a secondary, even a neutral, factor in the English upper-middle-class context. In contrast to Burgess, the gay subversive, the British establishment, in the guise of the two diplomats, is effeminate and misogynistic.

Visually, Schlesinger harks back to the British television tradition of the documentary and to his own

early working-class realist films. Although the film is shot in color, the handheld camera work, in conjunction with the extraordinarily effective mock-Moscow scenes (provided by the bleak landscapes of Dundee), provide the very opposite of a glossy period reconstruction.

The film's settings and themes are also conveyed by telling musical choices. A soundtrack of atmospheric, occasionally discordant tones with Russian elements establishes geographical context and ambience. This is interspersed by specific and telling musical references to give resonance to the "Englishman abroad" theme. Burgess intones a classic English hymn ("Oh God Our Help in Ages Past") in the theater lavatory: a striking mismatch of music and physical context. Browne is treated to Burgess's one and only record, played on a windup gramophone: Jack Buchanan's "Who Stole My Heart Away," a wistful popular evocation of pre-war lost love, made more relevant by Coral Browne's real-life romantic involvement with Buchanan ("we were almost married," she comments). Burgess and his Russian partner even do a bizarre intercultural Gilbert and Sullivan rendition on balalaika and piano. And in the film's most openly emotional scene, Burgess is moved to tears by the choir at an Orthodox church.

Music also dominates the final images of *An Englishman Abroad*. A newly resplendent Burgess, fitted out in his pristine London-made suit, hat, and shoes, strides out into the Moscow snow, a dapper object of consternation to the Muscovites. This is overlaid with more Gilbert and Sullivan, from *HMS Pinafore*, as a rousing chorus sings:

But in spite of all temptations  
To belong to other nations,  
He remains an Englishman!  
He remains an Englishman!

MARK HAWKINS-DADY

*See also* **Bennett, Alan**

#### Cast

Guy Burgess	Alan Bates
Coral Browne	Coral Browne
Toby (diplomat)	Douglas Reith
Giles (diplomat)	Peter Chelsom
Tolya (Burgess's partner)	Alexei Jawdokimov

#### Screenplay, Direction, Production

Director	John Schlesinger
Screenplay	Alan Bennett
Music	George Fenton
Producer	Innes Lloyd
Production Company	BBC
Director of Photography	Nat Crosby



**Programming History**

Single television film, 1983

**Further Reading**

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(contains the later stage versions of *An Englishman Abroad*)

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Goode, I., "A Pattern of Inheritances: Alan Bennett, Heritage and British Film and Television," *Screen*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2003)

Wolfe, Peter, *Understanding Alan Bennett*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998

## Entertainment Tonight

*Entertainment Tonight*, or *ET*, as it has dubbed itself, has proven an influential leader in the way television looks, setting a style-conscious, flashy tone that has influenced not only a proliferation of similar programming but also the overall look of television in the multichannel universe.

For more than 20 seasons, *ET* has aired in first-run syndication (in November 2000 it aired its 5,000th show), maintaining consistently high ratings and clearance in 95 percent of the American markets (already secured in several through 2009) as well as more than 70 countries worldwide. It debuted on September 14, 1981, ideally suited for local stations looking to program a half hour of their federally mandated prime-access daypart (the hour slot preceding prime time). The brainchild of Al Masini, otherwise known for creations such as *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous*, *Solid Gold*, and *Star Search*, *ET* is an "infotainment" magazine presenting news-style coverage focused on the world of entertainment. This narrow-focus news approach was novel in 1981, as was the innovative strategy of satellite delivery it helped pioneer. Since very few local stations owned satellite dishes at the time, some reports credit *ET*'s distribution partner with promising stations free satellite dishes in exchange for licensing the series. Then, rather than receive the show physically (on tape, say, via courier), local stations could tape the satellite broadcast of the show and air it at their convenience anytime that same day. This meant that the show had the "up-to-the-minute" feel of a newscast. Such timeliness was not previously associated with nonnetwork programming, and *ET* played it up by modeling its look and presentation on the news (complete with two anchors—one of each gender—introducing stories from a desk in a studio) and emphasizing the freshness, indeed the date, of each program (with such features as "today's" celebrity birthdays).

For local stations, the show was thus fresher than off-network, syndicated *ET* reruns while being much

cheaper than producing their own programming for the prime-access daypart. For national advertisers, *ET* became an alternative to networks for the airing of time-sensitive spots, including, not coincidentally, ads for music, television, and feature films—the very subject matter of *ET*'s enthusiastic reporting. Indeed, *ET* has so successfully branded itself a crucial entertainment news outlet that press agents consider it a promotional must-stop, and, as one station rep remarked, "if you're advertising a movie you have to be in there." The cheerful, uncontroversial, and promotional atmosphere thus marks the program in ad-speak as "family friendly" and therefore "basically ad friendly"—so much so that recent estimates suggest the program makes as much as \$90 to \$100 million per year.

Despite this appealing strategy, *ET* experienced a tumultuous first season, going through four executive producers in one year. Two of the original three anchors were also quickly replaced. Soap actor Tom Hallick left in the first month. Former Miss World Marjorie Wallace was replaced with Dixie Whatley the next month. By the start of the second season, current anchor Mary Hart had in turn replaced Whatley. This early turmoil resulted in part from what has continued to be if not the animating tension of the show then at least a sore spot: negotiating between serious journalism and gossipy promotion. The show began by attempting to present a pleasing atmosphere of celebrity-driven news while simultaneously acting as an industry "watchdog." Thus, early shows presented investigative reports on the Moral Majority's media influence or the "Washington-Hollywood connection," while the same episodes also went "behind the scenes" of soon-to-be-released Hollywood films. *ET* thus takes its news gathering seriously (the Associated Press cites the show as a source, and longtime anchor Mary Hart has been inducted into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame) but recognizes that the "puff" pieces are what makes the show attractive.

Another source of attraction stems from the innovative way in which the show packages its content. Eager to attract and hold viewers, each show begins with a tightly produced teaser of that day's stories, leading into a garish title sequence before revealing the two smiling anchors. Throughout each show, dazzling bumpers tease the viewer with upcoming stories. The celebrated graphics of the title sequence won the show an Emmy in 1985, and the overproduced look of the show (set, graphics, lighting, editing, and so on) is constantly updated. The successful *ET* formula has proven style itself to be a crucial production strategy. Along with the latest entertainment news, the viewer experiences the latest in televisual production techniques. In this way, the show's emphasis on promotion extends first and foremost to itself, exemplifying what television scholar John Thornton Caldwell has termed "televisuality," an intentional production strategy of "stylistic exhibitionism" that emerged (along with *ET*) in the early 1980s as a means of attracting attention amidst an increasingly crowded array of viewing options.

Indeed, utilizing the latest technology in its distribution and production, *ET* not only has covered the explosion of a conglomeratized media universe since its inception but is itself a living product of it. Originally produced as a collaboration between such companies as Paramount, a Hollywood studio, and Cox Broadcasting, a conglomerate with production and cable interests, the show was financially positioned from the start outside the network system. A harbinger of deregulated changes in the industry, *ET* is now wholly owned by Paramount (who had bought out its partners' interests by 1997), itself now a subsidiary of Viacom.

*ET*'s success has not been warmly received by all. Critics cite the show for the tabloidization of the media, inspiring a host of programming such as *Access Hollywood*, *Extra*, *Hard Copy*, *Inside Edition*, *A Current Affair*, the Cable News Network's (CNN's) *Showbiz Today*, even the cable channel E! Entertainment Network. As such, *ET* is blamed for encouraging a culture of gossip and scandal where distinctions between politics, entertainment, gossip, and news are blurred and celebrity and entertainment have been "elevated" to the status of news.

Despite these concerns, the show can be credited with (or blamed for) fostering a new kind of entertainment consumer, one informed by a certain kind of economic understanding of the industry (budgets and box office), the minutiae of production concerns, the pitfalls of celebrity, and a "behind-the-scenes" understanding of the products offered by the industry. Certainly the show has catalyzed changes in the way the entertainment industry promotes its products. The

innovative behind-the-scenes features, reporting of TV ratings, movie box office returns, and album sales numbers it initiated in a popular context are now all standard promotional techniques.

SHAWN SHIMPACH

*See also* **E! Entertainment Network; Prime-Time Access Rule; Satellite; Syndication Tabloid Television; Television Aesthetics**

### Credits

#### Current Reporting Staff

Mary Hart: Anchor (joined show in 1982)

Bob Goen: Anchor (joined show in 1993, assumed anchor in 1996)

Jann Carl: Weekend anchor/correspondent (joined show in 1995)

Mark Steines: Weekend anchor/correspondent (joined show in 1995)

Leonard Maltin: Film historian/correspondent (joined show in 1982)

#### Former Anchors

Tom Hallick (1981), Marjorie Wallace (1981), Ron Hendron (1981–84), Dixie Whatley (1981–82; weekends, 1982–84), Steve Edwards (weekends, 1982–83), Alan Arthur (weekends, 1983–84), Robb Weller (1984–86; weekends 1984–89), Leeza Gibbons (weekends, 1984–95), Julie Moran (1995–2001), John Tesh (1986–96)

#### Former Correspondents and Commentators

Rona Barrett, Bill Harris, Pat O'Brien, Ron Powers, Scott Osborne, Jeanne Wolf, Richard Hatch, among others

#### Current Executive Producer

Linda Bell Blue (1995–)

#### Former Producers

Andy Friendly (1981), Vin Di Bona (1981–83), James Bellows (1981–83), George Merlis (1983–84), Jim Van Messel (1989–95)

#### Programming History

Syndicated, 1981–present

Produced by Paramount Domestic Television. First aired September 14, 1981. Continues in first-run syndication five days a week in half-hour slot. In addition, a weekend version called *Entertainment*

*This Week* aired from 1981 to 1999 as an hour-long recap. Since 1999, it has been called *Entertainment Tonight Weekend*.

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# Equal Time Rule

## U.S. Broadcasting Regulatory Rule

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The equal time rule is the closest thing in broadcast content regulation to the "golden rule." The equal time—or, more accurately, equal opportunity—provision of the U.S. federal government's Communications Act requires radio and television stations and cable systems that originate their own programming to treat legally qualified political candidates equally when it comes to selling or giving away airtime. Simply put, a station that sells or gives one minute to candidate A must sell or give the same amount of time with the same audience potential to all other candidates for the particular office. However, a candidate who cannot afford time does not receive free time unless his or her opponent is also given free time. Thus, even with the equal time law, a well-funded campaign has a significant advantage in terms of broadcast exposure for the candidate.

The equal opportunity requirement dates back to the first major broadcasting law in the United States, the Radio Act of 1927. Legislators were concerned that without mandated equal opportunity for candidates, some broadcasters might try to manipulate elections. As one congressman put it, "American politics will be largely at the mercy of those who operate these stations." When the Radio Act was superseded by the Communications Act of 1934, the equal time provision became Section 315 of the new statute.

A major amendment to Section 315 came in 1959, following a controversial Federal Communications Commission (FCC) interpretation of the equal time provision. Lar Daly, who had run for a variety of public offices, sometimes campaigning dressed as Uncle Sam, was running for mayor of Chicago. Daly de-

manded free airtime from Chicago television stations in response to the stations' news coverage of incumbent mayor Richard Daley. Although the airtime given to Mayor Daley was not directly related to his reelection campaign, the FCC ruled that his appearance triggered the equal opportunity provision of Section 315. Broadcasters interpreted the FCC's decision as now requiring equal time for a candidate whenever another candidate appeared on the air, even if the appearance was not linked to the election campaign.

Congress reacted quickly by creating four exemptions to the equal opportunity law. Stations who gave time to candidates on regularly scheduled newscasts, news interviews shows, documentaries (assuming the candidate was not the primary focus of the documentary), or on-the-spot news events would not have to offer equal time to other candidates for that office. In creating these exemptions, Congress stressed that the public interest would be served by allowing stations the freedom to cover the activities of candidates without worrying that any story about a candidate, no matter how tangentially related to his or her candidacy, would require equal time. The exemptions to Section 315 have also served the interests of incumbent candidates since by virtue of their incumbency they often generate more news coverage than their challengers.

Since 1959, the FCC has provided a number of interpretations to Section 315's exemptions. Presidential press conferences have been labeled on-the-spot news, even if the president uses his remarks to bolster his campaign. Since the 1970s, debates have also been considered on-the-spot news events and therefore exempt from the equal time law. This has enabled stations

or other parties arranging the debates to choose which candidates to include in a debate. Before this ruling by the FCC, Congress voted to suspend Section 315 during the 1960 presidential campaign in order to allow Richard Nixon and John Kennedy to engage in a series of debates without the participation of third-party candidates. The FCC has also labeled shows such as *Oprah* and *Good Morning, America* as news interview programs. However, appearances by candidates in shows that do not fit under the four exempt formats will trigger the equal opportunity provision, even if the appearance is irrelevant to the campaign. Therefore, during Ronald Reagan's political campaigns, if a station aired one of his films, it would have been required to offer equal time to Reagan's opponents.

Another provision of Section 315 prohibits a station from censoring what a candidate says when he or she appears on the air (unless it is in one of the exempt formats). Thus, a few years ago when a self-avowed segregationist was running for the governorship of Georgia, the FCC rejected citizen complaints regarding the candidate's use in his ads of derogatory language toward African Americans. More recently, the FCC has also rejected attempts to censor candidate ads depicting aborted fetuses. However, the FCC has permitted stations to channel such ads to times of day when children are less likely to be in the audience.

The equal opportunity law does not demand that a station afford a state or local candidate any airtime. However, under the public interest standard of the Communications Act, the FCC has said that stations should make time available for candidates for major state and local offices. With regard to federal candidates, broadcast stations have much less discretion. A 1971 amendment to the Communications Act requires stations to make a reasonable amount of time available to federal candidates. Once time is made available under this provision, the equal time requirements of Section 315 apply.

The 1971 amendments also addressed the rates that

stations can charge candidates for airtime. Before 1971, Congress only required that the rates charged candidates be comparable to those offered to commercial advertisers. Now Section 315 commands that as the election approaches, a station must offer candidates the rate it offers its most favored advertiser. Thus, if a station gives a discount to a commercial sponsor because it buys a great deal of airtime, the station must offer the same discount to any candidate regardless of how much time he or she purchases. As with any advertiser, the rate charged to the candidate is time sensitive; therefore, candidates wishing to advertise in prime viewing or listening periods will face higher costs for airing those messages.

HOWARD KLEIMAN

*See also* **Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; Political Processes and Television**

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## Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)

U.S. Comedy/Variety Program

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In a few brief years in the 1950s, there were actually a number of different Ernie Kovacs shows. The first, *Ernie in Kovacsland*, originated in Philadelphia, Penn-

sylvania, and appeared on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from July until August 1951. *The Ernie Kovacs Show* (first known as *Kovacs Unlimited*)



*The Ernie Kovacs Show.*  
*Photo courtesy of Edie Adams Archive*

was programmed on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from December 1952 to April 1953, opposite Milton Berle on NBC. Yet another *Ernie Kovacs Show* aired on NBC from December 1955 to September 1956. The existence of these separate shows is testament to both the success and the failure of Ernie Kovacs. A brilliant and innovative entertainer, he was a failure as a popular program host; praised by critics, he was avoided by viewers.

Kovacs was one of the first entertainers to understand and utilize the television as a true “medium,” capable of being conceived of and applied in a variety of ways. He recognized the potential of live electronic visual technology and manipulated its peculiar qualities to become a master of the sight gag. Characters in pictures on the walls moved, sculptures undulated, and pilots flew away without their planes. For one gag that lasted only a few seconds, he spent \$12,000: when a

## Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)

salesman (played by Kovacs) slapped the fender of a used car, the car fell though a platform. According to Kovacs, "Eighty percent of what I do is in the category of sight gags, no pantomime. I work on the incongruity of sight against sound."

Television was a new toy to Kovacs, a fascinating array of potential special effects. He created an invisible girlfriend who gradually disappeared as she undressed. He cut a girl in half with a hula hoop. As another young lady relaxed in a bathtub, a succession of characters climbed out through the soap bubbles. Ernie taped an orange juice can to a kaleidoscope, placed the can in front of a camera lens, turned a flashlight into the lens, and created what might be the first psychedelic effect on TV. Kovacs loved the unusual, the unexpected. He tilted both the television camera and a table so that as a character seated at the table attempted to pour milk, the milk appeared to defy gravity and flow to the side.

Many of Kovacs's effects were remarkably simple. He used his face to illustrate the effects of the horizontal and vertical controls of a television set. As he adjusted the vertical, his face grew longer; as he adjusted the horizontal, it stretched side to side. To aid viewers who had black-and-white television sets, Kovacs labeled each piece of furniture on the set so viewers would know its color. As he opened a book, sound effects illustrated the plot. As he prepared to saw in half a woman inside a cabinet, two voices were heard from within.

Many of his characters were also simplistic. Percy Dovetonsils drank martinis and read poetry. The three apes of the Nairobi Trio never spoke: one played the keyboard, one directed the music, and the third hit the director with a set of drumsticks. Eugene, perhaps Kovacs's most memorable character, never spoke but managed to sustain a 30-minute program and win Kovacs an Emmy.

He did not neglect sound but used it in its proper place, as a compliment to the visuals. He captured the sound of a bullet rolling inside a tuba. He used music to accompany the movements of office furniture: filing cabinets opened and closed, typewriter keys typed, telephone dials rotated, and water bottles gurgled, all to the rhythm of music.

The influence of the Ernie Kovacs shows has been extensive. Dan Rowan, one of the hosts of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, said that many of that show's ideas came from Ernie Kovacs. On *Saturday Night Live*, another show directly influenced by the earlier comic, sight gags were so much a staple that when Chevy Chase received an Emmy for his performance on the show, he thanked Kovacs. And Kovacs's character "The Question Man," who supplied questions to answers submitted by the audience, reappeared as "Carnac" on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*.

The Ernie Kovacs shows were products of the time when television was in its infancy and experimentation was acceptable. It is doubtful that Ernie Kovacs would find a place on television today. He was too zany, unrestrained, and undisciplined. Perhaps Jack Gould of the *New York Times* said it best: for Ernie Kovacs, "the fun was in trying."

LINDSY E. PACK

*See also* **Kovacs, Ernie**

### **Ernie in Kovacsland**

#### **Regular Performers**

Ernie Kovacs  
The Tony DeSimone Trio  
Edith Adams

#### **Producer**

Ned Cramer

#### **Programming History**

NBC  
July 1951–August 1951

### **The Ernie Kovacs Show (Kovacs Unlimited)**

#### **Regular Performers**

Ernie Kovacs  
Edie Adams  
Ernie Hatrack  
Trigger Lund  
Andy McKay

#### **Programming History**

CBS  
December 1952–April 1953

### **The Ernie Kovacs Show**

#### **Regular Performers**

Ernie Kovacs  
Edie Adams  
Bill Wendell (1956)  
Peter Hanley (1956)  
Henry Lascoe (1956)  
Al Kelly (1956)  
Barbara Loden (1956)

**Producers**

Barry Shear, Jack Hein, Perry Cross

**Programming History**

NBC

December 1955–September 1956

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## ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Network).

See **Sports and Television; Sportscasters**

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## Ethics and Television

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Television ethics are derived from early professional codes of broadcasting that began in the late 1920s and are grounded in problems and issues identified in early radio. For U.S. television, these ethical systems came into their own and grew rapidly, in conjunction with the development of the new medium, during the 1960s. However, they now no longer exist as they once did.

Like radio for a previous generation, television has the ability to penetrate the private home, and its potential obtrusiveness has been the subject of concern. It is, after all, a "guest" in the home, and in that capacity it is able to serve the public interest—informing, instructing, and enlightening. It also has the power, recognized early on, to serve private interests driven by the desire for economic gain. The keen awareness of potential confrontation between service on the one hand and the desire for laissez-faire operation on the other historically led to another set of possible conflicts—between self-regulation and regulation by government. The U.S. broadcasting industry placed its faith and its interests in self-regulation.

The industry created its own Code of Broadcasting, which consisted of eight "rules." Four had to do with advertising and concern over "overcommercialization." The other rules dealt with general operations and responsible programming: no "fraudulent, deceptive,

or obscene" material. Many of these same ideas and even the language appeared again in the Television Code established in the early 1950s.

Early on, a vexing problem for the code, a potential problem in any ethical system, surfaced. It was the issue of penalties for violating the code. As in any system of self-regulated ethics, there was little room for harsh sanctions. The only penalty called for violators to be investigated and notified. Later, the penalty was strengthened by adding notification of violations to the broadcast community—the threat of ostracism among colleagues. When television came on the scene, American radio had recently experienced rapid growth in its commercialization. With that growth came continuing threats of further, more far-reaching regulation from the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. In an effort to keep the government regulators at bay, the broadcasters' Code of Good Practice became more definitive. One of the main elements focused on regulation of the amount of time that should be devoted to commercials.

The evolution of the code can be seen by examining the use of commercial time in the 1930s. While there could be some advertising (of a goodwill nature) before 6:00 P.M., according to the code, "commercial announcements, as the term is generally understood,

*should not* be broadcast between 7 and 11 P.M.” That restriction then evolved to allow increased broadcasting of commercial messages to 5 minutes, then 10, and then 18 by 1970. When television assumed a dominant place in broadcasting, beginning in the early 1950s, the rules affecting commercial time in that medium evolved the same way, increasing the allowed time slowly over the years.

Although the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) created a separate set of ethical guidelines for television, distinct from radio, the existing concerns were applied to the newer medium: time limits of advertising, types of products advertised, fraud (especially in advertising), and special sensitivity to programming and advertising directed to children. Other program themes, obviously taboo in their times, such as sexual suggestiveness and explicit violence, were also addressed.

At the same time, each U.S. network installed its own staff for network Standards and Practices (S and P) to enforce the network’s particular policies for advertising and programming. These were the offices and individuals often thought of as “network censors.” Large corporations also created statements of policies concerning their professional ethics as related to broadcasting.

These network and company rules for self-regulation were supplementary to the NAB’s continuation of its two nationally visible codes, one for radio and one for television. These codes, however, were becoming unwieldy. A dozen or so pages of the Television Code of Good Practice contained a long list of programming prohibitions: hypnotism, occultism, and astrology as well as obscene, profane, or indecent material and programs that ridiculed those with disabilities.

Still, the NAB codes remained an important public relations device for the industry. At the apex of the codes’ use, NAB President Vince Wasilewski stated, “Our Codes are not peripheral activities. No activity of NAB is closer to the public.”

As social mores changed and social and cultural climates became more permissive, so too did television programming. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the code seemed hopelessly outdated, continually violated, unenforceable, and generally ignored by the broadcasters.

In 1982, when advertisers were lined up for a limited amount of available time on the television networks, it appeared that the networks gave favor for its best time slots to the largest advertisers. Displeased, one of the smaller advertisers pointed out this practice to the U.S. Justice Department, claiming unfair competitive practices, a violation of antitrust laws. The Justice Department took action against the NAB because, it said, the NAB code, which limited the amount

of available commercial time, was responsible for the network practice. The court agreed and ordered the NAB to purge that part of the code. After some initial hesitancy, the NAB agreed.

For eight years, from 1982 to 1990, neither radio nor television in the United States had a code of professional ethics. During that period, research showed that although the networks and some large corporate broadcasters had their own codes (or standards and practices), there still seemed to be no universal guidance. One study, based on a national sample of broadcast managers, suggested that broadcasters preferred self-regulation rather than government regulation. It also suggested some concern that without such self-regulation, government regulation might increase.

In 1990, the NAB issued a new “Statement of Principles of Radio and Television Broadcasting,” designed as a brief, general document intended to reflect the generally accepted standards of American broadcasting. The statement encouraged broadcasters to write individually their own specific policies. It also encouraged responsible and careful judgment in the selection of material for broadcast rather than forming a list of prohibitions, as was the case with the old code. Caution was advised in dealing with violence, drugs and substance abuse, and sexually oriented materials, but there was also positive encouragement for responsible artistic freedom and responsibility in children’s programming. The statement made it clear that these principles are advisory rather than restrictive. Finally, the 1990 statement mentioned First Amendment rights of free speech and encouraged broadcasters to align themselves with the audiences’ expectations and the public interest. In sum, the new philosophy concerning ethics in broadcasting reveals that (1) they are advisory rather than prohibitive; (2) they should be centered in individual stations or corporations rather than a national organization like the NAB; (3) since there is no provision for monitoring and enforcement on the national level, any concerns about ethics should come from individual stations and listeners/viewers; and (4) the decentralization of ethics may be indicative of a pluralistic society, where values and mores reflect distinct group perspectives rather than a national standard.

Some observers bemoan the fact that there is no nationally visible standard—no way of measuring whether the language of a daring new television program is actually on the “cutting edge” or merely “bravado bunk.” Yet since the broadcast industry itself has been largely deregulated, the question remains whether this means there is now room for more self-regulation or whether self-regulation itself should also be deregulated.

VAL E. LIMBURG



See also **National Association of Broadcasters**

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**Ethnicity.** See **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

## European Audiovisual Observatory

The European Audiovisual Observatory is an information service network for the audiovisual profession. It was initiated by professional media practitioners in conjunction with government authorities to meet increasing information needs in the audiovisual sector. These groups expressed a common commitment toward improved flow and access to information and toward more transparent information related to the television, cinema, video/DVD, and new media sectors of the media industries. The observatory was set up to provide reliable information services and also to improve the infrastructure of information collection and dissemination in Europe.

Established in December 1992, the observatory's membership in 2002 included 35 European states and the European Community (represented by the European Commission). With its headquarters in Strasbourg, France, the observatory was created under the auspices of Audiovisual Eureka and functions within the framework of the Council of Europe.

A unique European public service organization, the observatory provides information services to the European television, cinema, video, and new media industries. In particular, the observatory serves the information needs of the decision makers of production, broadcasting, and distribution. Public administrators, consultants, lawyers, researchers, and journalists

needing information on the audiovisual sector are all target user groups of its services.

The observatory provides market, economic, legal, and practical information relevant to audiovisual production and distribution. In particular, it aims to direct those requesting information to the best information available, and it coordinates pan-European work to collect and analyze data in ways that foster insightful comparisons across national boundaries.

The observatory has several core services. These services provide rapid response to daily information needs as well as to long-term development needs for better data collection methods. The information service desk handles individual requests for information. It is designed to answer questions quickly and accurately and covers all three information areas of the observatory: market, legal, and practical information.

In addition, the observatory disseminates several publications, including an annual *Statistical Yearbook: Cinema, Television, Video, and New Media in Europe*; a monthly journal, *IRIS—Legal Observations of the European Audiovisual Observatory*; and studies such as *Public Aid Mechanisms for the Film and the Audiovisual Industry in Europe*, which offers comparative information about sources of government funding for production in various European nations. Available from the observatory's online publications department

are numerous documents on such topics as industrial taxes, copyright law, television–film coproduction contracts, advertising aimed at children, digital television's development, licensing laws in specific nations, and supply and demand in European Internet usage. The observatory's website further provides copies of its press releases and many links to additional sources of information and to directories of industry contacts.

To fulfill its objective to coordinate the establishment of transparent European data, the observatory advises on questions relating to data collection and the accessibility of information sources, and it organizes expert workshops seeking improved and more comparable European data in the audiovisual sector. Furthermore, as part of its 2000–02 "action plan," the observatory has placed high priority on creating online databases providing integrated data to researchers.

The information services of the observatory are based on its network of partners and correspondents. Covering greater Europe, this cooperative network currently includes hundreds of information providers: public and private research and information organizations, universities, consultants, individual experts, ministries and administrations, and regional network organizations in the media field. By centrally coordinating this multitude of sources, the observatory gives access to the most reliable and updated information on the European audiovisual industry.

Partners are information or research organizations that have an established track record of providing reli-

able information in the audiovisual field on the European or the global level. Each partner has a specific responsibility or thematic area regarding information collection and provision. Partners help the observatory perform its services and play an essential role in assisting the observatory in its work toward harmonization of European audiovisual information.

Correspondent organizations are professional information organizations, and they complement and assist the observatory and its partners in collecting information from the member states. Correspondent organizations also advise on data collection and on the accuracy and relevance of the information from their specific country. In each member state, there are different correspondents for legal, market and economic, and practical information.

European professional organizations are widely represented in the observatory's advisory committee. Some of these organizations collect and maintain databases from their own areas of interest in the audiovisual sector. These organizations have also agreed to collaborate with the observatory in collecting and providing the most reliable data in their field of specialty.

ISMO SILVO AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

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## European Broadcasting Union

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The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) is the largest professional association of national public service broadcasters in the world. It acts as a broker through which broadcasters in the European region and worldwide can exchange radio and television services and, in particular, news footage and complete programs via Eurovision for television and Euroradio for radio. It stimulates and coordinates coproductions and provides a full range of other operational, commercial, technical, legal, and strategic services.

The EBU has its administrative headquarters in Geneva, where it also maintains the Eurovision control center. It has TV news coordination bureaus in New York, Washington, and Moscow and an office in Brussels, which represents the interests of public service

broadcasters before the European institutions. Its much smaller and younger counterpart, the Association of Commercial Television in Europe (ACT), caters to the interests of commercial/private broadcasting stations in Europe.

The EBU was founded on February 12, 1950, by 23 mainly Western European broadcasting stations at a conference in the Devonshire coastal resort of Torquay, England. Following the political changes in Eastern Europe, in 1993 the EBU merged with the International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT), the former umbrella organization of radio and TV services in Eastern Europe. The EBU now has 71 active full members from 52 countries in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East and 45 associate members

in 28 more countries. Members are radio and television companies, most of which are public service broadcasters or privately owned stations with public missions. Full active members are based in countries from Algeria to the Vatican, including almost all European countries. Associate members are not limited to those from European countries and the Mediterranean but include broadcasters from Australia, Canada, Japan, Mexico, Brazil, India, and Hong Kong as well as many others. Associate members from the United States include the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. At a global level, EBU works in close collaboration with sister unions on other continents: the Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU), the North American Broadcasters' Association (NABA), the Union of National Radio & Television Organizations of Africa (URTNA), the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU), and the Organización de la Televisión Iberoamericana (OTI).

Based in Geneva, the EBU is a nongovernmental international association governed by Swiss law and its own statutes. It is the successor to the first international association of broadcasters, the International Broadcasting Union (1925), which was also based in Geneva. Its principal aims are to promote cooperation between members and with broadcasting organizations throughout the world and to represent its members' interests in the legal, technical, and programming fields.

The EBU is administered by a general assembly that meets annually and elects an administrative council composed of 15 active members. A president and two vice presidents are chosen by the assembly from among the representatives of the members making up the council. Council membership is for four years, with reelection permitted. Because the EBU is based in Switzerland, the Swiss member, Société Suisse de Radiodiffusion et Télévision (SSR), has a permanent seat on the council. Four permanent committees—the Radio Department, the Television Department, the Legal Department, and the Technical Department—report to the council on their working and ad hoc groups. Day-to-day operations are carried out by the Permanent Services staff, headed by the secretary-general.

One of the major activities of the EBU is the Eurovision scheme, consisting of program pooling and joint purchasing operations. Eurovision was the idea of Marcel Bezençon, once director of the SSR and president of the EBU. Eurovision was and is a television program clearinghouse that facilitates the exchange of programming between national networks throughout Europe. One of the early successes of the EBU was the relay on June 2, 1953, of the transmission of the coro-



© EBU

nation of Queen Elizabeth II to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. The official birth of Eurovision as an international television network occurred on June 6, 1954, when the Narcissus Festival from Montreaux, Switzerland, opened a series of live transmissions, the "Television Summer Season of 1954."

Today the Eurovision permanent global network (of up to 50 digital channels on five different satellites) carries constant exchanges of news and programs. Each year, around 30,000 news items and 4,000 programs are transmitted. The EBU is often the operator of the only generally available broadcasting facilities in crisis situations, such as during the Gulf War or the conflicts in Rwanda, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The news exchange began on a trial basis in 1958 and became regularized in 1961. It has been supplemented by a multilingual channel known as Euronews, which began broadcasting in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish on January 1, 1993, from Lyon, France. Euronews is designed to provide Europeans with world and local news coverage from a European viewpoint. The individual coverage of television channels (members and non-members) also transmits via the Eurovision network. In 2001, the EBU's operational staff routed more than 120,000 transmissions.

Another major Eurovision activity is cultural and sports programming. Approximately 12,000 hours of sports and cultural programs are transmitted on an annual basis. Eurovision operates a joint purchasing scheme for international sporting events such as the Olympic Games and the World Soccer Championships. When members from two or more EBU coun-

tries are interested in a sporting event, they request coordination from the EBU, which either carries on negotiations itself or deputizes a member to do so on behalf of the EBU. Members may not carry out negotiations for national rights after joint negotiations have commenced, unless the joint negotiations fail. If the joint negotiations succeed, the rights are acquired on behalf of the interested members, who share the rights.

Television cooperation is also important in other areas ranging from educational programs, documentaries, and coproductions of animation series to competitions for young musicians, young dancers, and screenwriters as well as traditional light entertainment, such as the Eurovision Song Contest.

Radio collaboration is a multifaceted activity covering music, news, sports, youth programs, and local and regional stations. The Euroradio satellite network carries, on average, some 2,000 concerts and operas, 400 sports events, and 120 major news events each year. In 1998, the EBU launched the first interbroadcaster European music channel, specializing in classical music (Euroclassic-Notturmo). The EBU's next goal is to become a major player in popular contemporary music. The new Eurosonic unit is developing partnerships

with artists and record labels and acquiring broadcasting rights to major rock and pop festivals.

Cooperation in the technical sphere is another of the EBU's major activities. The EBU is at the forefront of research and development of new broadcast media and digital online services and has led or contributed to the development of many new radio and TV systems: radio data system (RDS), digital audio broadcasting (DAB), digital video broadcasting (DVB), and high-definition TV (HDTV).

JAN SERVAES

*See also Eurovision Song Contest*

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## European Commercial Broadcasting Satellite

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ASTRA, the first independent European commercial satellite broadcasting system, commenced transmissions via a single satellite in early 1989. By 1995, with four satellites operative, it had already achieved penetration of more than 60 million households (more than 150 million people) in 22 European countries. This equaled 35 percent of the estimated 160 million TV households within the geographical target area and a 15 percent increase since 1993. By September 2001, coverage had increased enormously to 12 satellites, offering 53 analogue (PAL or D2Mac standard) and 595 digital television channels, plus 415 analog and digital radio channels, together reaching more than 89 million households.

The ASTRA system is owned and operated by SES ASTRA (originally Société Européen des Satellites), which began as a private company incorporated in Luxembourg and trading under a 25-year renewable franchise agreement with the Grand Duchy, which retains a 20 percent interest. Founded in March 1985

with the backing of private commercial interests all over Europe, SES ASTRA has headquarters at the Château de Betzdorf in Luxembourg. From there, it uplinks TV and radio signals to the orbiting satellite craft that constitute the system. The company's revenue is generated largely by leasing satellite transponders—effectively the equivalent of channel slots—to broadcasting organizations that pay annual rentals reputedly as high as £5 million per transponder. In 2001, there were as many as 176 separate transponders on the system, which continues to expand with the addition of further craft. Despite the challenges of economic recession, media deregulation, audience fragmentation, and the rise of the Internet, SES ASTRA has found no shortage of potential customers, with transponder availability on each new satellite subject to heavy demand from broadcasters willing to gamble high investment costs and short-term unprofitability for healthier returns later.

The ASTRA satellite system began as an analog-

only enterprise but has progressively moved over to digital technology. The very first satellite, *ASTRA 1A*, was launched in December 1988 from the European Space Center in Kourou, French Guiana, aboard an *Ariane 4* rocket. It became operational in February 1989, 35,975 kilometers above the equator at its geostationary orbital position of 19.2 degrees east longitude. This was the first commercial European satellite specifically dedicated to television and radio transmission. The system was subsequently augmented by the launch of *ASTRA 1B* in March 1991, while *1C* followed in May 1993, *1D* in November 1994, and *1E* in October 1995, all co-located at the same orbital position and with an active life span of 10 to 12 years. The “footprint,” or geographical universe, of this satellite constellation extends from Iceland and Norway in the north to coastal Morocco, Sardinia, and Belgrade in the south and from the Canary Islands in the west to Warsaw and Budapest in the east, with some reception possible even as far east as Helsinki.

*ASTRA 1D* inaugurated a significant new phase of technological development, for it was the first satellite in the system capable of operating in the Broadcast Satellite Services (BSS) frequency band reserved for digital transmissions. As such, it provided capacity for the first European digital test transmissions conducted in collaboration with key hardware manufacturers and programmers. Additional satellites carrying digital capability were progressively added to the system—*1F* in 1996, *1G* in 1997, and *1H* in 1999—with the initial series of satellites co-located at 19.2 degrees east, due for completion with the launch of *1K* in 2002. Meanwhile, SES ASTRA had begun to open up new orbital slots with a second series of powerful broadcasting satellites: *ASTRA 2A* was launched into position at 28.2 degrees east in August 1998, to be followed in September 2000 by *2B*, in December 2000 by *2D*, and in June 2001 by the delayed *2C*, bringing the system up to a total of 12 satellites. A third orbital slot at 23.5 degrees east was used for the inauguration of the third series, with the launch of *ASTRA 3A* in 2002.

The available services are accessed via one of three methods of delivery, the most visible being an individual, direct-to-home dish antenna (DTH), which can be fixed or motorized and which, for successful reception in the footprint’s central belt, can be as small as 60 centimeters in diameter for analog signals or even smaller for digital ones. Alternatively, in the case of viewers in multioccupancy dwellings, reception is via communal, satellite master antenna systems (SMATV). Many other viewers, including a large proportion in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, receive satellite-originated signals relayed over cable networks.



*Courtesy of ASTRA*

A major factor in the early success of SES ASTRA was Rupert Murdoch’s 1988 decision to become ASTRA’s first commercial client, taking four transponders initially on *ASTRA 1A* for his incipient Sky Television Service (subsequently renamed British Sky Broadcasting, or BSkyB), aimed principally at English-speaking audiences in the United Kingdom and western Europe. A considerable number of German broadcasting interests also migrated early to ASTRA’s evolving system, which was soon enabling diverse program services in a wide variety of languages, ushering in a new era of themed private television and radio channels as alternatives to the general entertainment models commonly associated with terrestrial broadcasting. Many of these channels are transmitted in encrypted or scrambled form, available only to contracted subscribers possessing the necessary decoding device. Movies, sports, music, news, children, documentary, nostalgia, and shopping channels are the most consistently popular, while a large number of “adult” channels broadcast late at night.

Networks and program providers were quick to respond to the digital delivery options presented by SES ASTRA in the 1990s. In November 1994, the profitable French subscription channel Canal Plus concluded a long-term agreement with SES ASTRA,

covering six transponders for digital transmission of the channel's program bundle to the various European-language markets. In 1998, BSkyB began its Sky Digital service via the second series of ASTRA satellites while beginning progressively to phase out analog transmissions. Hundreds of television and radio channels can be accessed via the BSkyB Electronic Programme Guide (EPG), made possible by the compression ratio available under ASTRA's digital technology. In addition to regular subscription offerings, pay-per-view and interactive program services have become commonplace, while new program propositions (including the British Broadcasting Corporation's [BBC's] new digital channels) continuously vie for audience attention.

Being first to market has helped SES ASTRA achieve a position of increasing dominance, to the extent that it has developed into a truly global media player. In 1998, the company completed its initial offering on the Luxembourg Stock Exchange. A year later, it acquired a 34 percent stake in AsiaSat and went on to purchase extensive holdings in Nordic Satellite and Embratel Satellite, thereby extending its reach to the Scandinavian and Latin American markets. In 2001, SES ASTRA combined with GE Americom to create a worldwide satellite operation and restructured itself as a wholly owned company of SES GLOBAL. The company's activities have diversified with the rapid development of broadband Internet and positioned it at the forefront of multimedia by satellite. Its ASTRA-NET platform enables content-rich data to be delivered at high speeds to personal computers in businesses and homes, allowing Internet service providers to offer conventional Internet access via existing digital satellite antennas. Another SES ASTRA project, the

Broadband Interactive System, provides send-and-receive capability for data, video, and audio at speeds of up to 2 megabits. In less than two decades, a modest Luxembourg-based private company has successfully pioneered the distribution of nonterrestrial television across Europe and evolved into a public multimedia enterprise of international significance.

TONY PEARSON

See also **British Sky Broadcasting**

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## European Union: Television Policy

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The process of European integration was launched on May 9, 1950, when France officially proposed to create "the first concrete foundation of a European federation." Six countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) joined from the very beginning. In 2002, after four waves of accessions (1973: Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom; 1981: Greece; 1986: Spain and Portugal; 1995: Austria, Finland, and Sweden), the European Union (EU) has 15 member states and is preparing for the ac-

cession of 13 eastern and southern European countries. Among the most important objectives for the founding of a European Federation were the creation of a common market and an increase in economic integration among the member states.

Television policy in the EU reflects the underlying purpose of promoting European integration and abolishing national barriers to the free movement of goods and services within the common market. By decision of the European Court of Justice in *Sacchi* (1974), a tele-

vision signal is considered a provision of services under Articles 59 and 60 of the Treaty of Rome, and national barriers to cross-frontier broadcasting or the establishment of broadcasters from one member state in another are intended to be abolished in most circumstances.

The EU's audiovisual policy is based on regulations and financial instruments. In a matter of about ten years, this policy has gained a firm footing both internally, with the so-called Television Without Frontiers (TWF) Directive, the MEDIA Plus program, and the intervention of the European Investment Bank and externally with its position in World Trade Organization negotiations. The EU's single most important initiative in audiovisual policy is the promotion of a single EU audiovisual market, the TWF Directive of October 3, 1989. It secures access for viewers and listeners in all member states to broadcasting signals emanating from any other member state and regularizes EU broadcast advertising standards.

The European Parliament's Hahn Report on Radio and Television Broadcasting in the EC (1982) laid the groundwork for the formal TWF Directive. The Hahn Report advocated establishment of a unified European television channel and saw satellite television technology leading to a reorganization of the media in Europe and breaking down of the boundaries of national television networks.

The original TWF Directive was amended on June 30, 1997, to "increase the legal certainty and update the wording of the Directive." As of 2003, the directive is undergoing another revision in order to assess the impact of technological and market developments. The main issues in the debate on the TWF Directive revolve around the following:

- Programming quotas: broadcasters should, where practicable, reserve a majority of airtime for European programs. Additionally, 10 percent of a broadcaster's schedule should be programs made by independent producers.
- Advertising: there are detailed rules on the content of television advertising (e.g., concerning children), the duration (15 percent of daily broadcasting time, 20 percent per hour), the methods of program interruptions, the form of natural breaks, and ethical considerations (particularly for children). Advertising that promotes discrimination on grounds of race, sex, or nationality; that is offensive to religious beliefs; or that encourages behavior prejudicial to health, safety, or the protection of the environment is prohibited or restricted.

In addition, the TWF Directive lays down minimum standards that, if met by any television program, allow

it to freely circulate within the EU without restriction, provided that it complies with the legislation of the country of origin. The directive contains chapters devoted to promotion of television program production and distribution, protection of minors, television sponsorship, access of the public to major (sports) events, and right of reply. A right of reply is accorded to any person or organization whose legitimate interests have been damaged by an incorrect assertion of fact in a television program. Therefore, the European Consumers' Organization (BEUC) wants clear provisions concerning an effective processing system for complaints while ensuring that the rights of consumers in their own country are not unduly infringed on by television broadcasts from other countries.

The TWF Directive also lays down two other policies that have an effect similar to the establishment of quotas on broadcasting in the EU. First, the directive requires member states to ensure "where practicable" and by "appropriate means" that broadcasters reserve for "European works" a majority of their transmission time, exclusive of news, sports events, game shows, advertising, and teletext services. This is intended to protect 50 percent or more of transmission time so defined from foreign (non-EU) competition. The second quota, designed to stimulate the production of European drama work, requires broadcasters to reserve 10 percent or more of their transmission time (as above) or, alternatively, 10 percent of their programming budget for European works created by producers who are "independent of broadcasters" (TWF Directive, art. 5). The time between a film being released and being broadcast on television shall be two years and one year for films coproduced with radio.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, concern developed in Europe that a single market in television was an economic threat to national broadcasting markets and national media as well as a threat to cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe. The threat is seen to derive from English-language services and productions in that only the United States is considered to have film and television industries organized on a scale large enough to take advantage of the single market. However, according to the 2001 Eurofiction poll, national works account for 75 percent of TV fiction broadcast during prime time in France, 56 percent in Germany, 51 percent in Spain, and 43 percent in Italy, even though American productions still represent 50 percent for the day's transmission time as a whole on most European channels.

Therefore, concern at the European level for the protection and aid of European programming has led to audiovisual industry subsidy programs, such as the European Commission's MEDIA Action Plan for Ad-

vanced Television and MEDIA Plus programs and the Council of Europe's Eurimages fund. These are collectively intended to support and stimulate independent production and distribution networks for European works that are currently considered noncompetitive with U.S. programming imports.

The EU's television policy thus simultaneously pursues the economic objective of creating a single market in broadcasting along with the fostering of cultural pluralism and protection of existing national and sub-national broadcasting markets and institutions. The TWF approach, rooted in the fundamental purpose of the EU, has so far had more impact than other protectionist policies. However, there are sharp differences between member states that could ultimately lead to less economic integration and more cultural and economic protectionism.

In addition, the European Commission is advocating a more integrated approach to audiovisual and digital technologies. To this end, it has launched a number of programs under the overall heading of the European Information Society.

JAN SERVAES

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## Eurovision Song Contest

### International Music Program

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The Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) is a live, televised music competition that has received widespread ridicule since its debut in 1956. Certainly this has been true of the contest's reception in the United Kingdom, which informs the perspective from which this entry is written. Yet, as its longevity indicates, the program's importance within European television history is undeniable. While critics plead for the plug to be pulled on this annual celebration of pop mediocrity, the ESC continues unabated, extending its media reach (if not its musical scope) from year to year. The competition is truly massive in terms of its logistical and technical requirements, the audience figures and record sales it engenders, and the significance of the popular cultural moments it produces.

The ESC is the flagship of Eurovision light-entertainment programming. Eurovision is the television network supervised by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and was established in the early 1950s to serve two functions: to share the costs of programming

with international interest among the broadcasting services of member nations and to promote cultural appreciation and identification throughout western Europe. At the time of the first Eurovision broadcast in 1954, there were fewer than 5 million television receivers on the whole continent (90 percent of these were in England). The network now stretches into northern Africa, the Middle East, and eastern Europe, with most transmissions conveyed via satellite to the receiving stations of member nations for terrestrial broadcast.

The overwhelming majority of Eurovision transmissions have fallen into the sports, news, and public affairs categories. In the 1950s, EBU officials, perceiving the need for the dissemination of popular cultural programming to offset the influence of the U.S. media, decided to extend Italy's San Remo Song Festival into a pan-European occasion. This became the ESC, with the first competition being held in Lugano, Switzerland, and relayed to fewer than 20 na-





Sertab Erener, representing Turkey, winner of the 2003 Eurovision Song Contest.  
© EBU

tions. Since that time, the contest has developed into a spring ritual now viewed by around 600 million people in more than 30 countries, including several in Asia, the Middle East, and the Americas (some of these nations do not even send representatives to the competition).

The ESC is a long, live Saturday-evening showcase of pop music talent that typically ranges from the indescribably bad, through the insufferably indifferent, to a few catchy little numbers. Contestants are chosen by their respective nations during preliminary stages. The duly nominated acts, as cultural ambassadors for their countries, then attend the big event and perform their tunes.

Conventionally, the host nation is determined by the winner of the previous year's contest. For example, Gigliola Cinquetti's triumph of 1964, "Non ho l'età," resulted in Radiotelevisione Italiana playing host in 1965. When an Estonian duo, Tanel Padar and Dave Benton, won in 2001, there was some question as to whether Estonia's economically troubled public televi-

sion channel, ETV, had the funds to produce the program (or any other programming) in 2002. In the end, ETV secured a government loan and decided that the publicity for the nation was worth the expense.

The ESC is designed to be a grand affair, with expensive sets, full orchestra accompaniment, and a "special night out" atmosphere. Best behavior is expected from all concerned. Following the performances, panels of judges from each nation submit their point allocations to the central auditorium where the contest is taking place, and a "high-tech" scoreboard tabulates the cumulative scores. As even the most ardent of critics will attest, this is a special moment for home viewers—one where elements particular to the ESC (technological accomplishment, anticipation induced by the live event, and intercultural differences) combine for curious effect. Will your country's representatives beat the competition and incur the envy of other Europeans? Will the juries throw objectivity to the wind and vote according to national prejudice? Or will, as occurred to Norway's hapless Jahn Teigen on

that unforgettable May night in 1978, a contestant endure the humiliating fate of receiving no points whatsoever?

Like its late-lamented Eurovision companion, *Jeux Sans Frontières* (JSF), the ESC pays homage to clean, amateur fun and the elevation of the unknown to the status of national hero. Unlike the excessively carnivalesque JSF, however, the ESC attempts to avoid the very absurdity and mockery it unwittingly generates. For its first decade, the ESC was a wholesome, formal affair: the amorous ballads it featured helped create a chasm between the competition's cultural mission and that of rock music that has never been bridged. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, youth orientation became a primary factor in determining victory. The 1968 winner, "La la la..." from Spain's Massiel, inspired a succession of entries incorporating childish lyrics that avoided identifiable linguistic origins in order to garner wide jury appeal. A similar delve into formulism was initiated by the British Sandy Shaw the following year: "Puppet on a String" evoked a generically pan-European musical heritage with its oompah brass and circus-ground melodies. In their triumphant international debut on the ESC in 1974, Abba opted to perform in English and sang about a continentally recognizable historical event in a song titled "Waterloo." The Swedish quartet's glam sensibilities and subsequent commercial success multiplied the contest's kitsch quotient tenfold and launched a string of two-girl/two-boy combos in its wake. Indicating its own concern over the increasingly imitative nature of the competition, the EBU stipulated various edicts that generated a spate of regional, folk-influenced entries in the late 1970s, all of

which scored poorly with the judges. The 1980s witnessed the ascension of overchoreographed performance and more explicit attempts to excite juries and viewers with soft, sanitized sex appeal. Efforts to resuscitate the ESC as a viable musical forum have resulted in more recent efforts to modernize the look and style of the contest and to encourage a more professional approach to promotion through the participation of the corporate music industry.

In estimating the significance of the ESC, perhaps less attention should be given to its bloated festivity or the derivative nature of the contenders' music. While its cultural merits are dubious, the event has become a television landmark. Its durability and notoriety have led the EBU to support the Eurovision Competition for Young Musicians and the Eurovision Competition for Young Dancers in order to further promote Eurocentric cultural understanding through televised stage performance.

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See also **European Broadcasting Union**

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## Experimental Video

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Experimental video, video art, electronic art, alternative TV, community video, guerrilla television, computer art: these are a few of the labels that have been applied to a body of work that began to emerge in the United States in the 1960s. Arguably, the most important of these labels is "experimental." The dominant goal of this video movement over the past 30 years has been change, achieved through the strategy of experimentation. The consistent target for this change has been television—commercially supported, network broadcast, mainstream television—whose success with mass audiences was the result of the repetition of

proven formulas rather than aesthetic, ideological, or industrial innovation or experimentation. It is perhaps commercial television's ability to interpret the uncertain world within the context of familiar conventions that makes it an essential part of everyday life in America. And it is this body of familiar interpretations that became the challenge of experimental video artists.

In his book *Expanded Cinema* (1970), media visionary Gene Youngblood states that "commercial entertainment works against art (experimentation), exploits the alienation and boredom of the public, by perpetuating a system of conditioned response to formulas."

Youngblood's manifesto goes on to argue that any community requires experimentation in order to survive. He concludes, "The artist is always an anarchist, a revolutionary, a creator of new worlds imperceptibly gaining on reality."

One of the earliest of the video revolutionaries was Korean-born artist Nam June Paik. When he landed in the United States in 1964, Paik was already anxious to lead the experimental video revolution. One of his earliest works, *TV Magnet* (1965), challenged the viewing public to reexamine "television." Paik took a piece of furniture, the TV set, and changed its meaning by presenting it as sculpture. He demystified television by altering the magnetic polarity of the cathode-ray tube, demonstrating that the lines of light on the screen were clearly controlled by the large magnet sitting on top of the set rather than by some magical connection to the "real world." Most significant, he changed the viewers' role as passive consumers to active creators by allowing them to interact with the piece by moving the magnet, thereby participating in the creation of the light patterns on the screen.

Paik is also credited with purchasing the first Sony Portapak, the first truly portable videotape recorder, in 1965. Usually, the Sony Portapak and not the altered TV set has been identified with the beginning of experimental video. For the first time, the low cost of the Portapak and its portability gave the experimental artists access to the means of producing television. Legend has it that Paik met a cargo boat in New York harbor, grabbed a Portapak, rode through the city in a cab shooting video, and that night showed his street scenes, including the visit of Pope Paul VI, in Cafe a Go Go.

But Paik was not operating alone. In 1964, the same year Paik moved to the United States, Marshall McLuhan published *Understanding Media*. His declaration that "the medium is the message" became key passwords for Paik and a generation of experimental video makers who hoped to design and build a "Global Village" through alternative uses of telecommunications.

Many of these video artists followed the tradition of avant-garde filmmakers, seeking to define the unique properties of their medium. By the early 1970s, experimental video makers were trying to find ways to isolate the unique properties of video's electronic image. A profusion of technical devices began to appear, most notably among them a variety of color synthesizers. Paik developed one synthesizer in collaboration with Shuya Abe. Concurrently, Stephen Beck, Peter Campus, Bill and Louise Etra, Stan VanderBeek, and Walter Wright built their own versions. These synthesizers allowed artists to work directly with the materials of the TV machine. They brought into the foreground TV's glowing surface composed of tiny points called

pixels. By controlling voltages and frequencies, artists could change the color and intensity of the phosphorous pixels. In the process, they pushed the viewer away from the representational properties of TV and toward its powers of abstraction, to forms and patterns akin to those of modern painting.

None of the experimenters was more systematic in their pursuit of the unique properties and language of video than Steina and Woody Vasulka. The Vasulkas founded a studio/exhibition hall/meeting place, The Kitchen, in New York City as a locus of experimentation in video, dance, and music. As a teacher at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Woody Vasulka established a video class that included the mathematics of television. Working first with the analog signal and then learning to digitize the electronic signal, Vasulka and his colleagues created a dialogue between the artist's imagination and the inner logic of the TV machine. Slowly, an electronic vocabulary and grammar began to emerge and to shape to works such as *The Commission* (1983), in which electronic imaging codes are used to render the virtuosity of violinist Niccolò Paganini into visual narrative elements.

For many other video experimenters, however, the essence of the video revolution did not lie inside the machine, in its technical or formal qualities. These "video anarchists" responded instead to the Marxist call for the appropriation of the means of production. Their interpretation of McLuhan's famous phrase was that control of the medium determined the meaning of the message and that as long as corporate American controlled the commercial TV, the message would be the same—"consume." The Sony Portapak gave these video makers a chance to produce. It did not matter that the Portapak produced low-resolution black-and-white images, that the tape was almost impossible to edit, or that the equipment was sold by a large corporation. It was cheap, it was portable enough for one person to operate, and it reproduced images instantly. It was finally a technology that gave the constitutional guarantee of "freedom of speech" a place on TV. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) boosted the vision of a media democracy by requiring cable television companies to provide free public access channels in order to obtain franchises, and these access channels often provided the distribution and exhibition sites for experimental video makers.

Charismatic leaders such as George Stoney, who had worked in Canada's Challenge for Change program, rallied young video activists to the cause of media democracy. Throughout the 1970s, public access centers, media centers, and video collectives sprung up across the country. Their names suggest their utopian intentions: Top Value TV (TVTV), People's Video

Theater, the Alternate Media Center, Videofreex, Global Village, Video Free America, Portable Channel, Videopolis, and Paper Tiger. These groups and many others nurtured the movement. Global Village started a festival, The Kitchen hosted the First Women's Video Festival, and Paper Tiger organized a cable network of 400 sites linked via satellite. Deep Dish Television, as the network is called, still continues, airing controversial programs on such issues as censorship of the arts, the Gulf War, and AIDS.

As the United States moved into a more conservative social climate in the 1980s and 1990s, the idea of giving distribution access to the people has lost much of its influence on public policy. The FCC eliminated the public access requirements, and the Telecommunications Act of 1996 leaves the notion of public access greatly weakened.

Nevertheless, neither the movement to explore the TV machine nor the movement to create more democratic media went unnoticed by the more mainstream forms of television. In fact, the U.S. system of public television, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), takes as part of its mission the provision of a site for alternate voices, innovation, and the airing of controversy. These directives, it would seem, made PBS a natural forum for experimental video. Experience has proven otherwise.

In the early 1970s, WGBH producer Fred Barzyk created the New Television Workshop in Boston. Barzyk offered artists the use of non-broadcast quality half-inch video (the Portapak did not meet FCC blanking requirements) and then showed their work on *Artists' Showcase*. Other PBS venues followed, such as WNET's TV Laboratory in New York, KQED's Center for Experiments in Television in San Francisco, KTCA's *Alive from Off Center* in Minneapolis, and the syndicated series *P.O.V.* These programs flourished in the 1970s and early 1980s, yet most shut down because PBS station programmers across the country were always ambivalent about experimental media. They felt that their public trust required them to respond to ratings as did their counterparts in the commercial arena, and ratings for the experimental showcases were never large.

The commercial networks have made their own forays into the experimental movement. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), for example, explored the possibility of producing a show called *Subject to Change* with Videofreex. In the end, executives decided the show was "ahead of its time." The National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) *Today* show did hire Jon Alpert, codirector of the Downtown Community Television Center in New York City. Alpert's handheld, personal, vérité-style technique made him one of the

few experimental artists who could move back and forth between the mainstream and alternate TV forums. He received both praise and criticism for doing so, as did others, such as John Sanborn, who made music videos for Music Television (MTV), and William Wegman, who presented his famous dogs on David Letterman's programs. Michael Shamberg and the Raindance Corporation, in their publication *Guerrilla Television* (1971), had admonished "anyone who thinks that broadcast-TV is capable of reform just doesn't understand the media. A standard of success that demands 30 to 50 million people can only tend toward homogenization." The question for many experimenters, then, was whether Wegman's dogs, who had seemed so unique in half-inch black and white, had been turned into "stupid pet tricks" by David Letterman.

As this example indicates, throughout the past three decades, the dilemma for experimental video artists has been to work with the substance of mass media without being swallowed by it. For many of them, working inside the networks has proven less satisfying than "making television strange" by placing it in new contexts, such as museums, alternate spaces, and shopping malls.

Nam June Paik and his conceptual artists group Fluxus had led the way in the 1960s with their "de-collage" method that started with the removal of the TV set from its familial context in the home. Probably the most famous image of the experimental movement, however, is Ant Farm's *Media Burn* (1975). In this piece, a futuristic-looking Cadillac drives headlong through a burning pyramid of TV sets. Even viewers who missed the actual performance and have seen only a photograph of *Media Burn* could not miss Ant Farm's satirical stab at the power and influence of commercial television.

During the early years of the experimental video movements, the Everson Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Long Beach Museum of Art, and the Walker Art Center initiated video exhibition programs. Many of these works, often known as "video installations," were multichannel. Gary Hill's *Inasmuch as It Is Always Already Taking Place* (1990) was a 16-channel installation with 16 modified monitors recessed in a wall. The multichannel capability allowed the artist to create new environments and contexts for the viewer. In their *Wraparound* (1982), Kit Fitzgerald and John Sanborn wanted to give the viewer the "everyday task of assimilating simultaneous information and eliminating the unwanted." In a measure of how far the artist intended to go to shake viewers out of their TV habit, Bill Viola placed a small TV set next to a pitcher and glass of water in what was depicted as a *Room for St. John of the Cross* (1983). Vi-

ola's ambition was to rediscover—in the context of the age of television—the experience of “love, ecstasy, passage through the dark night, and flying over city walls and mountains” that the 16th century mystic described in his poetry.

All these works have taken the artists away from the low-cost and low-tech Portapak. Instead, they have embraced the advances, especially in three-quarter-inch color video, computer editing, and mixing. Moreover, the budgets required for many of the installation works had put the artists back in contact with mainstream corporate America. El Paso Gas Company and the Polaroid Corporation, for instance, had contributed to the creation of Viola's *Room for St. John of the Cross*. No project symbolized more the ambition and frustrations of the experimental video artists learning to work with the commercial world than Dara Birnbaum's video wall constructed for the Rio Shopping Complex in Atlanta. A brilliantly conceived design related to Birnbaum's background in architecture and video, the wall, made up of 25 monitors, was a giant electronic bulletin board in the middle of the Rio mall's town square. The content of the monitors was triggered by the motion of the shoppers in the square and contained images that included news coming out of the Atlanta-based Cable News Network (CNN) as well as reflections on the natural landscape that existed before the construction of the mall. The record of the contract negotiations involved in the creation of this project gives an indication of the struggle between a real estate developer and an artist to find a common language for their project. Beginning with the concept that the “art was a work for hire,” the negotiations eventually reversed the point and concluded that the artist should retain the rights to the art and license it to the developer. In the end, developer Charles Ackerman told *Business Atlanta* magazine “this center will just smack you in the face with the idea that it is different. When you look at, you will think there is no limit to the imagination. Things don't have to be the way they always are.”

By the 1980s and 1990s, experimental video attracted a whole new generation of artists. Many of the best of these were women, black, Hispanic, Asian, or gay. Most brought to their work a social or political agenda. Specifically, they challenged the white male power structure that dominated myth, history, society, the economy, the arts, and television. They questioned the whole narrative framework with its white male heroes conquering dark antagonists who threatened helpless females. Starting with the camera lens—which they described as an extension of the male gaze directed at the commodified woman—they deconstructed the whole apparatus of image making and image consuming.

Speaking for these artists, the narrator in Helen DeMichiel's *Consider Anything, Only Don't Cry* (1988), lays out their strategy:

I rob the image bank compulsively. I cut up, rearrange, collage, montage, decompose, rearrange, subvert, re-contextualize, deconstruct, reconstruct, debunk, re-think, recombine, sort out, untangle, and give back the pictures, the meanings, the sounds, the music, that are taken from us in every moment of our days and nights.

In DeMichiel's portrait of a woman trying to discover both her personal and her culture identities, the intention was to produce a video quilt made up of images ranging from home movies to commercial ads. Indeed, the quilt, a favorite metaphor for the feminists' communal approach to art, produced in the viewer a perception of many pieces being stitched together rather than the perception of monolithic unity derived from conventional narrative. The video quilt invited viewers into the making of the work by patching in their own associations stimulated by the personal and public images rather than asking them to uncover the message of the author.

Joan Braderman, in *Joan Does Dynasty* (1986), assumed the role of the viewer by skillfully layering a masked image of herself into scenes with *Dynasty* star Joan Collins. Once “in” the scene, Braderman carried on her own commentary about Alexis's plot to wrest power from the Carrington patriarchy. Unlike Fluxus's appropriation of the TV set, Braderman did not want to leave the familiar grounds of popular television. She wanted in, but on her own terms—with her own lines and her own images. In effect, she wanted to rearrange “television.”

The challenge to the hegemony of white males spread rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s. Rea Tajiri and Janice Tanaka produced tapes to reclaim their memory and history that lay forgotten in the internment of Asian Americans during World War II. In *Itam Hakin Hopit* (1984), Victor Masayesva used cutting-edge technology to celebrate the relevance of the Hopi's worldview. Edin Velez, in his *Meta Mayan II* (1981), used slow motion to enhance the effect on the American audience of the return gaze of a Mayan Indian woman. In 1991, African-American artist Philip Mallory Jones launched his *First World Order Project*, designed to take advantage of the global “telecommunity” that had been created by technologies such as the satellite and the Internet. Jones's project focused on the knowledge and wisdom that rise out of the differences that exist in “others.”

By the summer of 1989, the “differences” in “others” was too much for the establishment. Conservative political and cultural groups targeted the National En-

dowment for the Arts and its support of "morally reprehensible trash." The most famous examples were Robert Mapplethorpe's photos of brutal and extreme homosexual acts. The most infamous experimental film/video was *Tongues Untied* by African-American and gay artist Marlon Riggs. Campaigns were mounted against this critically acclaimed work, which was to air on the PBS series *P.O.V.* in the summer of 1991. In the end, 174 PBS stations refused to show the film. Marlon Riggs summed up the reaction of many in the experimental art field when he stated that "a society that shuts its eyes cannot grow or change or discover what's really decent in the world."

In *Expanded Cinema*, Gene Youngblood called for the "artist [to be] an anarchist, a revolutionary, a creator of new worlds imperceptibly gaining on reality." Experimental artists from Nam June Paik to Marlon Riggs responded. Scholars such as Youngblood look on the experimental movement as a protean force, constantly taking new shapes and revealing additional facets of life and humanity. Critics view it as a many-headed Hydra; each head when cut off is replaced by two others.

In 1984, Paik titled his live satellite broadcast between Paris, New York, and San Francisco *Good Morning, Mr. Orwell*. The technology of Big Brother had arrived. Of course, the playful Paik's ambition was to demonstrate to Orwell how ridiculous technology was and how easily it could be humanized. In his book *Being Digital* (1995), Nicholas Negroponte supports Paik's optimism about human beings actively appropriating technology to achieve change:

The effect of fax machines on Tiananmen Square is an ironic example, because newly popular and decentralized tools were invoked precisely when the government was trying to reassert its elite and centralized control. The Internet provides a worldwide channel of communication that flies in the face of any censorship and thrives

especially in places like Singapore, where freedom of the press is marginal and networking ubiquitous.

This is finally the proper context in which to judge the American experimental video movement. It is the desire to be free that has driven the experiments of American video artists, and it is the possibility of liberating the full potential of all human beings that will lead them into experimental collaborations in the future.

ED HUGETZ

See also Paik, Nam June

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## Eyes on the Prize

### U.S. Documentary Series

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*Eyes on the Prize*, a critically acclaimed 14-part series dealing with the U.S. civil rights movement, was broadcast nationally by the Public Broadcasting Service. The first six programs, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years* (1954-65), were aired in

January and February 1987. The eight-part sequel, *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads* (1965-85), was broadcast in 1990.

Produced over the course of 12 years by Blackside, Inc., one of the oldest minority-owned film and televi-



*Eyes on the Prize*, The 1963 March on Washington, 1987.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

sion production companies in the country, the series received over 23 awards, including two Emmys (for Outstanding Documentary and Outstanding Achievement in Writing), the duPont Columbia Award, the Edward R. Murrow Brotherhood Award for Best National Documentary, the International Documentary Association's Distinguished Documentary Award, Program of the Year and Outstanding News Information Program by the Television Critics Association, and the CINE Golden Eagle.

In addition to its positive receptions from television critics and professionals, *Eyes on the Prize* was also lauded by historians and educators. Using archival

footage and contemporary interviews with participants in the struggle for and against civil rights, the series presented the movement as multifaceted. Watched by over 20 million viewers with each airing, it served as an important educational tool, reaching a generation of millions of Americans who have had no direct experience with the historic events chronicled. Though the series included such landmark events as the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955–56; the 1963 March on Washington; and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, it also documented the workings of the movement on a grassroots level, presenting events and individuals often overlooked.

*Eyes on the Prize I*, narrated by Julian Bond, was launched by the episode titled "Awakenings." It documents two events that helped focus the nation's attention on the oppression of African-American citizens: the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 and the Montgomery bus boycott, motivated by the arrest of Rosa Parks, who refused to relinquish her seat on a public bus to a white person. Parts 2 through 6 covered such topics as the key court case *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the nationwide expansion of the movement, James Meredith's enrollment at the University of Mississippi, the Freedom Rides, and the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

Despite the critical and popular success of the first six episodes, executive producer Henry Hampton had a difficult time raising the \$6 million needed to fund the sequel. The reticence of both corporate and public granting organizations is attributed to the subject matter of *Eyes II*: the rise of the Black Panther Party, the Nation of Islam, the black consciousness movement, the Vietnam War, busing, and affirmative action.

FRANCES K. GATEWARD

### **See also Documentary; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

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# Eyewitness to History

## U.S. News Program

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CBS News conceived *Eyewitness to History* to cover U.S. presidential diplomacy and the Soviet Union during the last five months of 1959. Before the series settled into its Friday 10:30 to 11:00 P.M. period in September 1960, 16 of 28 programs were brought to the public before 8:30 P.M., with only two covering stories unrelated to President Dwight Eisenhower, Premier Nikita Khrushchev, President Charles de Gaulle, and the summits in Paris. In September 1961, the series returned as *Eyewitness*, with the narrow, original focus gone but the same need to cover late-breaking national and international news. For four seasons, *Eyewitness to History* stood as the center of growth at CBS News and made a 30-minute daily news program feasible in the eyes of network executives.

In the spring of 1963, *Eyewitness* was canceled after the news division was given permission for a 30-minute nightly newscast. It was canceled not just to return time to the network schedule but also to shift executive producer Leslie Midgley and many of his producers to work on the *CBS Evening News*, assisting Don Hewitt, executive producer of the new program.

Midgley took pride in airing on Friday stories that would appear in the national newsmagazines on Monday. The series pioneered construction of a program with combinations of live telecast, videotape, and film and broke through many self-imposed limitations of news reporting. For the first time, video cameras were shipped and used overseas, covering Eisenhower. Unfortunately, the bulky nature of these cameras, difficult to move once optimally positioned, posed problems when crowds did not cooperate. In the United States, video cameras were used extensively to cover Khrushchev's visit in 1959, but the use of cameras in crowds again disrupted coverage on such historic programs as "Khrushchev on the Farm." The series also struggled with the early uses of two-inch videotape. The tape was fed to New York with specific time cues signaling when to start and stop. Unable at that time to edit two-inch tape electronically, film editors would actually cut two-inch tape, compiling the necessary sections. According to the producers, what initially made the series as historic as the events themselves was the use of a jet air-

plane to ship back tape and film of Eisenhower in Italy, India, Brazil, West Germany, England, Paris, Iran, Greece, and Japan.

As the series pushed for coverage of events with multidimensional background stories, the production crew developed appropriate strategies. Editors cut negative film and projected it directly over the air by reversing the polarity in the control room. Certain stories aired only because the unit employed a two-projector system, switching between one projector, the studio camera, the other projector, and sometimes the video projector. Realizing the historical value of the two-inch tape, Midgley asked Sig Mickelson, president of CBS News, to start a tape archive. He refused, preferring to reuse the tape—and part of the video record of significant historical, social, and cultural events was lost.

In its second season, the series quickly gained a reputation for changing the announced topic, sometimes as late as Friday morning. Midgley began to send "field producers," a term that included unit members with other official titles, to different locations, sometimes holding open the possibility of any one of five stories. The series production relied heavily on news judgments of the field producers, who included Bernie Birnbaum, Russ Bensley, John Sharnick, Av Westin, and Philip Scheffler, individuals who would go on to major roles in the television news industry. Their decisions led to crucial alterations in plans and schedules. Twice, for example, in the second season, last-minute developments growing out of tension over school integration in New Orleans, Louisiana, were given precedence over already developing stories. Similarly, on the day when the production unit was taping John F. Kennedy's announcement and introduction of cabinet appointments, two jet airliners crashed over New York City, and Midgley decided to cover the crash. The resulting journalism illustrated the production unit's expert response to such events—they were faster than units in news divisions in New York. Even late-breaking international stories received the unit's attention. They covered Yuri Gagarin orbiting the Earth, causing cancellation of two shows on the Adolf Eichmann trial in Israel, and another on



the events surrounding the Bay of Pigs and the return of prisoners. When antigovernment factions seized the cruise ship *Santa Maria* off the coast of Brazil, Charles Kuralt was dispatched on another ship to intercept and film the incident, providing coverage for two weeks. If events surrounding a story halted, as they did during negotiations with the hijackers of *Santa Maria*, or if two events were simultaneously breaking, the series sometimes aired two 15-minute segments. After the second year, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television network illustrated to potential advertisers the timeliness of the program by citing listings of the stories the series was preparing to cover.

Although the title changed, *Eyewitness* remained committed to covering presidential trips and diplomacy, keeping the production unit on tight deadlines according to the president's schedule. Certain shows, such as "Spring Arrives in Paris" and "The Big Ski Boom," were prepared over a two- or three-week period and were aired on the basis of the happenstance of events unfolding and the logistics needed to cover the president. After the title change, coverage of diplomacy changed only slightly, as the flow of events became placed in something of a larger context, such as "En Route to Vienna" and "The President in Mexico." This shift was made possible by the developing expertise of the unit.

During its first year, *Eyewitness to History* highlighted correspondents Robert Pierpoint, Alexander Kendrick, Robert Trout, David Schoenbrun, Lou Cioffi, Ernest Leiser, Daniel Schorr, and especially Charles Collingwood, assigned to accompany the president. With Walter Cronkite as anchor in New York, two or three additional correspondents appeared in programs, from Washington, D.C., and from different parts of the world determined according to an event's implications. This structure remained constant throughout the series for coverage of presidential trips as well as for international incidents, such as "The Showdown in Laos" and "India at War." Midgley utilized CBS reporters around the world, even those assigned to the *CBS Evening News*, setting the stage for *Eyewitness's* own cancellation and the unit's reassignment as a support mechanism for Walter Cronkite's 30-minute broadcast.

Network politics at this time occasioned a period of instability with regard to the anchor seat. Charles Kuralt was named anchor for the second season of *Eyewitness to History*. Midgley and others inside CBS perceived Kuralt as following in the footsteps of Edward R. Murrow. But James Aubrey, president of CBS, disliked Kuralt's on-camera appearance and convinced

Midgley to return Cronkite as anchor in January 1961. Cronkite's role as New York correspondent provided a scope of credibility absent from his other projects. When Cronkite went to the *CBS Evening News* on April 16, 1962, Charles Collingwood became anchor of *Eyewitness*.

At the series start, a critical dimension was added to the objective task of presenting news, with Howard K. Smith's commentary on programs focused on diplomacy. In covering certain issues, the distinct perspectives and arguments between producer and reporter became evident, as in the case of "Diem's War—Or Ours" and other reports on Vietnam.

Critics and the public were engaged by the urgency and depth *Eyewitness* brought to contemporary issues. Even when considering the new trend in jazz music, bossa nova, the producers presented a "critical look" at jazz. Even so, the announcement of the program "Who Killed Marilyn Monroe?" brought such an outcry from Hollywood that Midgley changed the title to "Marilyn Monroe, Why?"

For three years, *Eyewitness to History* aggressively pursued such topics as changes in the labor movement, government fiscal policy, the medical establishment, and U.S. foreign relations. It was the training and proving ground for television journalists whose careers spanned most of the second half of the century they covered. And the series signaled CBS's turn to prominence in network television journalism.

RICHARD BARTONE

#### See also **Documentary**

#### **Anchors**

Charles Kuralt	1960–61
Walter Cronkite	1961–62
Charles Collingwood	1962–63

#### **Programming History**

##### **CBS**

August 1959–December 1959	Irregular schedule of specials
September 1960–June 1961	Friday 10:30–11:00
September 1961–August 1963	Friday 10:30–11:00

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## Fairness Doctrine

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

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The policy of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) known as the “Fairness Doctrine” is an attempt to ensure that all coverage of controversial issues by a broadcast station be balanced and fair. In 1949 the FCC took the view that station licensees were “public trustees” and as such had an obligation to afford reasonable opportunity for discussion of contrasting points of view on controversial issues of public importance. The commission later held that stations were also obligated to seek out actively issues of importance to their community and air programming that addressed those issues. With the deregulation sweep of the Reagan administration during the 1980s, the commission dissolved the Fairness Doctrine.

This doctrine emerged when a large number of applications for radio stations were being submitted but the number of frequencies available was limited. It was intended to ensure that broadcasters did not use their stations simply as advocates with a singular perspective. Rather, they were supposed to allow all points of view. That requirement was to be enforced by FCC mandate.

From the early 1940s, the FCC had established the “Mayflower Doctrine,” which prohibited editorializing by stations. However, that absolute ban softened somewhat by the end of the decade, allowing editorializing only if other points of view were aired, balancing that of the station. During these years, the FCC had established dicta and case law guiding the operation of the doctrine.

In ensuing years the FCC ensured that the doctrine was operational by laying out rules defining such matters as personal attack and political editorializing (1967). In 1971 the commission set requirements for the stations to report, with their license renewal application, efforts to seek out and address issues of concern to the community. This process became known as “Ascertainment of Community Needs” and was to be done systematically and by the station management.

The Fairness Doctrine ran parallel to Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, which required stations to offer “equal opportunity” to all legally qualified political candidates for any office if they had allowed any person running in that office to use the station. The attempt was to balance—to force an evenhandedness. Section 315 exempted news programs, interviews, and documentaries. The doctrine, however, would include such efforts. Another major difference should be noted here: Section 315 was federal law, passed by Congress. The Fairness Doctrine was simply FCC policy.

The FCC fairness policy was given great credence by the 1969 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc. v. FCC*. In that case, a station in Pennsylvania, licensed by Red Lion Co., had aired a “Christian Crusade” program wherein an author, Fred J. Cook, was attacked. When Cook requested time to reply, in keeping with the Fairness Doctrine, the station refused. Upon appeal to the FCC, the commission

declared that there had been a personal attack in the program and the station had failed to meet its obligation. The station appealed, and the case wended its way through the courts and eventually to the Supreme Court. The court ruled for the FCC, giving sanction to the Fairness Doctrine.

The doctrine, nevertheless, disturbed many journalists, who considered it a violation of First Amendment rights of free speech/free press, which should allow reporters to make their own decisions about balancing stories. Fairness, in this view, should not be forced by the FCC. In order to avoid the requirement to go out and find contrasting viewpoints on every issue raised in a story, some journalists simply avoided any coverage of some controversial issues. This "chilling effect" was just the opposite of what the FCC intended.

By the 1980s, many things had changed. The "scarcity" argument, which dictated the "public trustee" philosophy of the commission, was disappearing, and an abundant number of channels became available on cable TV. With many more voices in the marketplace of ideas, there were perhaps fewer compelling reasons to keep the Fairness Doctrine. This was also an era of deregulation, when the FCC took on a different attitude about its many rules, which were seen as an unnecessary burden by most stations. The new chairman of the FCC, Mark Fowler, appointed by President Reagan, publicly avowed to kill the Fairness Doctrine.

By 1985 the FCC issued its *Fairness Report*, asserting that the doctrine was no longer having its intended effect, might actually have a "chilling effect," and might be in violation of the First Amendment. In a 1987 case, *Meredith Corp. v. FCC*, the courts declared that the doctrine was not mandated by Congress and the FCC did not have to continue to enforce it. The FCC dissolved the doctrine in August of that year.

However, before the commission's action, in the spring of 1987, both houses of Congress voted to put the Fairness Doctrine into law—a statutory fairness doctrine that the FCC would have to enforce, like it or not. President Reagan, in keeping with his deregulatory efforts and his long-standing favor of keeping government out of the affairs of business, vetoed the legislation, however, and there were insufficient votes to override the veto. Congressional efforts to make the doctrine into law surfaced again during George H.W. Bush's administration. As before, the legislation was vetoed, this time by Bush.

The Fairness Doctrine remains just beneath the surface of concerns over broadcasting and cablecasting, and some members of Congress continue to threaten to pass it into legislation. Currently, however, there is no required balance of controversial issues as mandated by the Fairness Doctrine. The public relies instead on the judgment of broadcast journalists and its own reasoning ability to sort out one-sided or distorted coverage of an issue. Indeed, experience over the past several years since the demise of the doctrine shows that broadcasters can and do provide substantial coverage of controversial issues of public importance in their communities, including contrasting viewpoints, through news, public-affairs, public-service, interactive, and special programming.

VAL E. LIMBURG

*See also* **Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; Political Processes and Television**

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## Falk, Peter (1927– )

U.S. Actor

Most notable for his role as television's preeminent detective, Lieutenant Columbo, Peter Falk has developed a long and distinguished career in television and film. For his efforts, Falk has received numerous Emmy Awards for a detective role that has taken its place alongside other legendary literary sleuths. Since the late 1970s Falk has continued to appear in feature films as well as reprise his Columbo character on television.

One of Falk's earliest roles was in *The Untouchables*, a series that launched a number of stars, including Robert Redford. Falk became a popular dramatic actor appearing in several anthology programs, including *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater* and *The DuPont Show of the Week*. He won his first of several Emmys in 1962, for his portrayal of Dimitri Fresco in *The Dick Powell Show's* presentation of the teleplay *The Price of Tomatoes*.

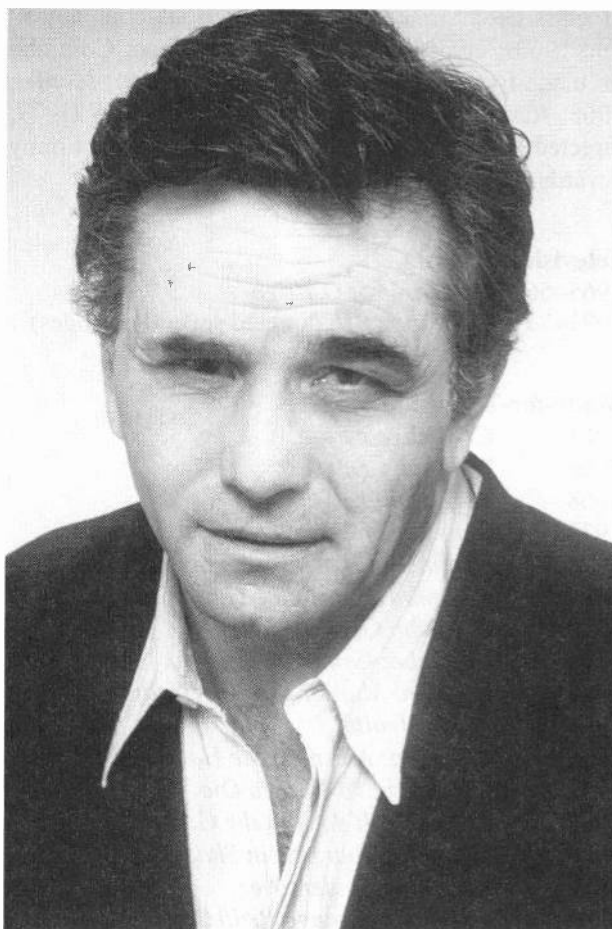
In 1965 Falk landed the title role in the CBS series *The Trials of O'Brien*. A precursor to the Columbo character, O'Brien acted diligently in his professional duties yet slovenly in his personal life. The series lasted one season before cancellation. During the 1960s, Falk also appeared in a number of feature films, including *Murder, Inc.*, which garnered him an Oscar nomination.

The Columbo character, brainchild of veteran television producers Richard Levinson and William Link, came to Falk quite by accident. According to Mark Dawidziak, author of *The Columbo Phile*, Levinson and Link had experimented with the Columbo persona when they were writing for NBC's *Chevy Mystery Theater*. In that and subsequent versions, Columbo was always portrayed by an elderly gentleman. Thus, in 1968, when Levinson and Link approached Universal television with the idea for a TV movie based on their stage play *Prescription: Murder*, the writers hoped to enlist Lee J. Cobb or Bing Crosby as Columbo. Falk, a friend of Levinson and Link, had seen the script and was interested; when Cobb and Crosby refused the part, Falk won it.

NBC was interested in turning the film into a series, but neither Falk nor Levinson and Link wanted to do weekly episodic television at the time. Three years later, when NBC promised to package *Columbo* in rotation with two other series in the *NBC Mystery Movie*,

Falk and Levinson and Link agreed. The series enjoyed a successful run from 1971 to 1977; much of that success is due to Falk's brilliant portrayal of Columbo. According to Dawidziak, "Everything clicked—the disheveled appearance, the voice, the squint caused by his false right eye. It was all used to magnificent advantage in Falk's characterization."

In 1989 Falk reprised the Columbo role, this time for the *ABC Mystery Movie*; new *Columbo* episodes have been produced since. Between 1971 and 1990, Falk won four Emmy Awards for his role as Columbo.



Peter Falk.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Falk, Peter

Since 1978 Falk has also appeared in both feature films and made-for-television movies focused on Columbo.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

*See also Columbo*

**Peter Michael Falk.** Born in New York City, September 16, 1927. Educated at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York; New School for Social Research, New York, B.A. 1951; Syracuse University, M.A. in public administration 1953. Married: 1) Alyce Mayo, 1960 (divorced, 1976); two daughters; 2) Shera Danese, 1976. Served 18 months as cook in merchant marine, 1945–46. Management analyst, Connecticut State Budget Bureau, 1953–55; began acting career with Mark Twain Maskers, Hartford, Connecticut; studied acting under Eva La Gallienne, White Barn Theater, Westport, Connecticut, 1955; moved to New York to pursue theatrical career, 1955; professional stage debut in Moliere's *Don Juan*, New York, 1956; studied acting with Jack Landau and Sanford Meisner, 1957; made film debut in *Wind across the Everglades*, 1958; considered for Columbia contract but rejected because of glass eye; formed Mayo Productions company in mid-1960s; created character of Lieutenant Columbo in made-for-television movie *Prescription: Murder*, 1968; starred in television series *Columbo*, 1971–77; directed several *Columbo* episodes. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1962, 1972, 1975, 1976, and 1990.

#### Television Series

- 1965–66 *The Trials of O'Brien*  
1971–77 *Columbo* (also directed several episodes)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1961 *Cry Vengeance*  
1966 *Too Many Thieves*  
1968 *Prescription: Murder*  
1971 *Ransom for a Dead Man*  
1976 *Griffin and Phoenix: A Love Story*  
1989 *Columbo Goes to the Guillotine*  
1990 *Columbo Goes to College*  
1991 *Columbo: Grand Deception*  
1991 *Caution: Murder Can Be Hazardous to Your Health*  
1992 *Columbo: A Bird in the Hand*  
1992 *Columbo: No Time to Die*  
1993 *Columbo: It's All in the Game*  
1994 *Columbo: Butterfly in Shades of Grey*  
1994 *Columbo: Undercover*  
1995 *Columbo: Strange Bedfellows*  
1995 *The Sunshine Boys*  
1997 *Columbo: A Trace of Murder*

- 1997 *Pronto*  
1998 *Columbo: Ashes to Ashes*  
2000 *A Storm in the Summer*  
2000 *Columbo: Murder with Too Many Notes*  
2001 *A Town without Christmas*  
2003 *Columbo: Columbo Likes the Nightlife*  
2003 *Finding John Christmas*  
2003 *Wilder Days*

#### Television Miniseries

- 2001 *The Lost World*

#### Television Specials

- 1961 *The Million Dollar Incident*  
1966 *Brigadoon*  
1971 *A Hatfull of Rain*  
1986 *Clue: Movies, Murder and Mystery*  
1995 *Cassavetes: Anything for John*  
1997 *Frank Capra's American Dream*  
2000 *'70s: The Decade That Changed Television*  
2001 *The 100 Greatest TV Characters*

#### Films

*Wind across the Everglades*, 1958; *Pretty Boy Floyd*, 1959; *The Bloody Broad*, 1959; *Murder, Inc.*, 1960; *The Purple Reef*, 1960; *Pocketful of Miracles*, 1961; *Pressure Point*, 1962; *The Balcony*, 1962; *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *Robin and the Seven Hoods*, 1964; *Italiana brava gente*, 1964; *The Great Race*, 1965; *Penelope*, 1966; *Luv*, 1967; *Lo sbarco di Anzio*, 1968; *Gli Intoccabili*, 1968; *Castle Keep*, 1969; *Rosolino paterno, soldato*, 1969; *Husbands*, 1970; *Step Out of Line*, 1970; *Machine Gun McCann*, 1970; *The Politics Film* (narrator), 1972; *A Woman under the Influence*, 1974; *Mikey and Nicky*, 1976; *Murder by Death*, 1976; *Opening Night*, 1977; *The Cheap Detective*, 1978; *The Brink's Job*, 1978; *The In-Laws*, 1979; *The Great Muppet Caper*, 1981; *All the Marbles*, 1981; *Sanford Meisner: The Theater's Best Kept Secret*, 1984; *Big Trouble*, 1986; *Happy New Year*, 1987; *Duenos del silencio*, 1987; *Wings of Desire*, 1987; *The Princess Bride*, 1987; *Rattornas Vinter*, 1988; *Vibes*, 1988; *Cookie*, 1989; *In the Spirit*, 1990; *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*, 1990; *Tune in Tomorrow*, 1990; *My Dog Stupid*, 1991; *The Player*, 1992; *Roommates*, 1994; *Cops 'n' Robbers*, 1995; *Vig*, 1998; *Enemies of Laughter*, 2000; *Lakeboat*, 2000; *Hubert's Brain*, 2000; *Made*, 2001; *Corky Romano*, 2001; *Undisputed*, 2002; *Shark Tale*, 2004 (voice).

### Stage

*Don Juan*, 1956; *The Changeling*, 1956; *The Iceman Cometh*, 1956; *St. Joan*, 1956; *Diary of a Scoundrel*, 1956; *Bonds of Interest*, 1956; *The Lady's Not for Burning*, 1957; *Purple Dust*, 1957; *Comic Strip*, 1958; *The Passion of Josef D*, 1964; *The Prisoner of Second Avenue*, 1971; *Light Up the Sky*, 1987; *Glengarry Glen Ross*, 1985.

### Further Reading

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"Interview," *Photoplay* (January 1979)  
"Peter Falk," *Conversations* by Don Shay, New York: Kaleidoscope, 1969

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## Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin, The

U.K. Sitcom

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Madness was the central theme of this 1970s sitcom that used flights of fantasy and dream sequences to further its serial story of an office worker becoming increasingly disillusioned with his lot. At the start of the story, Reggie is barely holding his life together, balancing the routine of the office with the routine of his home life. But already cracks are beginning to appear, and as he veers dangerously toward a nervous breakdown, we see both his professional and personal life unravel before our eyes. But the show is not just about Reggie's mental issues; it also dealt with the lunacy of office life, and the casual insanity of his fellow workers.

Reggie works in an executive position for confectionary company Sunshine Desserts. His boss is CJ, a superior type whose use of business jargon and metaphors may seem impressive on the surface but is in fact meaningless, empty corporate lingo. His often repeated claims of "I didn't get where I am today . . ." followed by some ludicrous example of what he did or did not do, are equally ridiculous. CJ is a walking bundle of clichés and inconsistencies, his air of sophistication and worldliness in direct opposition to his penchant for the whoopee cushion, omnipresent on the seat of visitors to his office. Reggie's other colleagues are no better. Tony and David are would-be whiz kids, who converse solely in superficial banter (Tony: "Great!"; David: "Super!") and, despite their surface differences (Tony always confident; David forever on the verge of panic), are in fact two sides of the same coin. The firm's ancient doctor, Morrisey, is an incompetent fool. The only light on Reggie's horizon is his secretary, Joan, a loyal, efficient woman who forever seems on the verge of throwing herself on

Reggie in a sudden fit of passion. When they are alone together the air fairly crackles with sexual tension. At home Reggie has his equally loyal wife, Elizabeth, and endures visits from his terminally dull son-in-law (Tom) and eccentric ex-military brother-in-law Jimmy.

Reggie's life is mind-numbingly repetitive (the same hellos to the same acquaintances on the way to the station, the same train, which is always precisely 11 minutes late, the same welcome at the office), which propels the midlife crisis that sees him gradually losing his grip on sanity and taking drastic actions to stop himself from descending into total madness. His solution is extreme but perhaps understandable in the circumstances. He fakes his own death (by leaving a suicide note and all his clothes on a beach) and re-enters the world as Martin Welbourne, a bearded, exaggerated version of himself. Unable to resist attending his own funeral, he finds himself once again falling in love with his his wife, Elizabeth, newly appealing as a widow.

But Reggie's descent into lunacy is not to be thwarted so easily. In the second series of the show, he brings himself back from the dead and attempts to change his lifestyle rather than his identity. Soon, in a bout of seeming insanity, which turns out to be a stroke of genius, he opens a shop called Grot, which is dedicated to selling useless things. To everyone's astonishment, it is hugely successful, and later—when a crisis hits Sunshine Desserts—Reggie employs his former colleagues. A third series sees Reggie, launching Perrins, a commune for middle-class, middle-aged men where a harmonious lifestyle and generous philosophy help counteract midlife crises.

*The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin* was a complex, thoughtful comedy, with each of the three series based on a different book written by David Nobbs and then adapted (by the author) for television. The themes of the midlife crisis and the nervous breakdown resonated throughout the episodes, but as the story progressed, it became clear that it was the world, not Reggie, that was insane. Nobbs cast a jaundiced eye on the vacuous lives of those working in highly regarded positions in companies that produced little of significance. The fact that the Grot shop intentionally sold useless things and was so successful was an unsubtle but nonetheless telling comment on a society obsessed with material things.

The series was brilliantly written and rib-achingly funny, benefiting from a sensational performance by Leonard Rossiter in the title role. His intense, convincing portrayal of a man on the edge, combined with his fine instinct for comedy, ensured that the series was elevated even further beyond mainstream sitcom fare.

A U.S. version, *Reggie*, appeared in 1983 (ABC) with Richard Mulligan in the title role. Although Mulligan was a good choice for Reggie and the show appeared promising, something was certainly lost in the translation. The U.S. version lacked subtlety, with Reggie's breakdown treated hastily and conveyed by wide-eyed caricature. The following year, a series on Channel 4 in the United Kingdom, *Fairly Secret Army* (also written by Nobbs), recounted the adventures of a character very similar to Perrin's brother-in-law Jimmy and played by the same actor (Geoffrey Palmer).

In 1996 the BBC presented a new Perrin series, *The Legacy of Reggie Perrin*, once again based on a Nobbs book. It took place after Reggie's death, and after the death of the actor Leonard Rossiter. Many of the original cast members returned in a story that saw Reggie's influence over his friends, relatives, and colleagues extend from beyond the grave. He left them a vast fortune in his will, on the condition that they each do something utterly ludicrous. Unfortunately, *The Legacy of Reggie Perrin* was a misguided idea, devoid of the charm of the original and a sad epitaph to a marvelous series.

DICK FIDDY

### Cast

Reginald Perrin/Martin	Leonard Rossiter
Welbourne	Pauline Yates
Elizabeth Perrin	John Barron
CJ	Sue Nicholls
Joan Greengross/Webster	Trevor Adams
Tony Webster	Bruce Bould
David Harris Jones	John Horsley
"Doc" Morrissey	Geoffrey Palmer
Jimmy Anderson	

### Producers

Gareth Gwenlan, John Howard Davies (1 episode),  
Robin Nash (1 episode)

### Writer

David Nobbs

### Programming History

#### *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin*

22 episodes

BBC

September 1976–January 1979 (+ 1 Christmas Special, 1982)

Series 1: September 8–  
October 20, 1976, BBC 1      Wednesday 9:25–9:55

Series 2: September 21–  
November 2, 1977, BBC 1      Wednesday 9:25–9:55

Series 3: November 29, 1978–  
January 24, 1979, BBC 1      Wednesday 9:35–10:05

#### *The Legacy of Reginald Perrin*

7 episodes

BBC

September–October 1996

September 22–October 31, 1996, BBC 1 mostly Sunday at approximately 8:30

### Further Reading

Lewisohn, Mark, *The Radio Times Guide to TV Comedy*, London: BBC, 1998, 2002



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# Famille Plouffe, La

## Canadian Serial Drama

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*La famille Plouffe* was created in 1953 in response to a lack of Francophone television programming in Canada. Unlike its counterpart in English Canada, which could pick up shows from U.S. stations, the Francophone division of the CBC, la Société Radio-Canada (SRC), was compelled to develop with very few resources its own programs. The early programs grew out of Quebec's strong tradition of radio drama, a tradition grounded in serial narratives. One such serial, *Un homme et son péché*, was heard by nearly 80 percent of the Quebec audience. It was only natural that such a formula would find its way to television. Telero-mans, as these serials were called, were launched in the fall of 1953 with the debut of *La famille Plouffe*, which was broadcast live every Wednesday night. It was an instant hit, and its phenomenal success prompted Radio-Canada to develop more shows of this genre, which came to dominate the weekday prime-time schedule.

*The Family Plouffe/La famille Plouffe* chronicled the daily life of a Quebec working-class family in the postwar era. It was an extended family that included Théophile, the father, a former provincial cycling champion who had traded in his bicycle—and his youth—for work as a plumber; Joséphine, the naive and kindhearted mother who doted on her adult children like a worried mother hen; Napoléon, the eldest child and protector of his siblings, who mentored his younger brother Guillaume's dream of one day playing professional hockey; Ovide, the intellectual of the family, whose education and love of art and music gave him an arrogant demeanor; and Cécile, the only daughter, who, like many women in the postwar era, was faced with the choice between the traditional marriage, children, and security, on the one hand, and new aspirations of career independence, on the other.

Plots were generally cast in the form of quests—for love, career advancement, security, or a sense of personal and national identity. These themes were woven with the daily problems and choices that confronted members of the family. Some commentators have argued that the Plouffes reflected the common experience of the “typical” French Canadian family and that viewers in Quebec could easily identify with the char-

acters, their aspirations, the plots, and the settings. As nostalgic as this view may be, the Plouffes were still fictional. Moral ambiguities were almost always resolved to fit the conventional values of postwar Quebec. Women were expected to be homemakers, wives, and mothers. Those women who strayed from these norms, such as Rita Toulouse, were often depicted as wily and unpredictable. Men were expected to be good providers and strong patriarchs, as symbolized by the fact that Théophile let his treasured bicycle fall into disrepair. It was only to be expected that Cécile would opt for marriage to Onésime Ménard and that Ovide would reconcile his elitist aspirations with his working-class environment.

A year after the successful premiere of the original series, CBC programmers decided to launch an English version. The version was essentially the same as its French counterpart, though modifications were made in the script to remove profane and vulgar language and any references to sex. The scripts were written by Roger Lemelin, the original and only French author, and the same cast of actors were used for the live broadcasts, which were aired later in the week.

This decision was a unique experiment. Using the magic of television, all Canadians were able to follow the same story, and although *The Family Plouffe* received good ratings in some smaller Canadian centers, the CBC's own internal surveys showed that the experiment to create a common Canadian cultural icon was a failure. In large cities where viewers had access to U.S. stations, Anglophone Canadians preferred to watch American programming. By the end of the 1958–59 season, the CBC had abandoned the practice of broadcasting language-versioned programming.

*La famille Plouffe/The Family Plouffe* was a unique “made-in-Canada” live drama. Nostalgic memories of its success prompted a return in 1982 to the family kitchen in a television special, *Le crime d'Ovide Plouffe*, which was also versioned and broadcast to Anglophone Canadians. After more than two decades of separate programming, another attempt was made to broadcast a series to both English and French audiences in the late 1980s. The series *Lance et compte/He Shoots, He Scores* (1987–88) was intended to appeal to

## Famille Plouffe, La

Canadians' common love of hockey, but like earlier experiments, ratings demonstrated that Francophone and Anglophone viewers wanted very different kinds of programs. The true legacy of *La famille Plouffe* was its influence in the development of the *telerman*, which was and has remained a uniquely "made-in-Quebec" television genre.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

### Cast

Théophile Plouffe	Paul Guèvremont
Joséphine Plouffe	Amanda Alarie
Napoléon Plouffe	Emile Genest
Ovide Plouffe	Jean-Louis Roux, Marcel Houben
Guillaume Plouffe	Pierre Valcour
Cécile Plouffe	Denise Pelletier
Gédéon Plouffe	Doris Lussier
Démérisse Plouffe	Nana de Varennes
Onésime Ménard	Rolland Bédard
Rita Toulouse	Lise Roy, Janin Mignolet
Blanche Toulouse	Lucie Poitras
Jeanne Labrie	Thérèse Cadorette
Stan Labrie	Jean Duceppe
Révérant Père Alexandre	Guy Provost
Martine Plouffe	Margot Campbell
Aimé Plouffe	Jean Coutu
Flora Plouffe	Ginette Letondal
Agathe Plouffe	Clémence Desrochers
Rosaire Joyeux	Camille Ducharme
Jacqueline Sévigny	Amulette Garneau
Alain Richard	Guy Godin

Hélène Giguère  
Alphonse Tremblay

Françoise Graton  
Ernest Guimond

### Directors

Guy Beaulne; Jean Dumas; Jean-Paul Fugère (both versions)

### Programming History

194 episodes

Société Radio-Canada/CBC

French version

November 1953–May 1959

Wednesdays 8:30–9:00

English version

November 1954–May 1955

Thursdays 8:00–8:30

November 1955–May 1956

Fridays 10:00–10:30

November 1956–May 1958

Fridays 8:30–9:00

November 1958–May 1959

Fridays 9:30–10:00

### Further Reading

Raboy, Marc, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990

Rutherford, Paul, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952–1967*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990

Trofimenkoff, Susan, *The Dream of Nation*, Toronto: Gage, 1983

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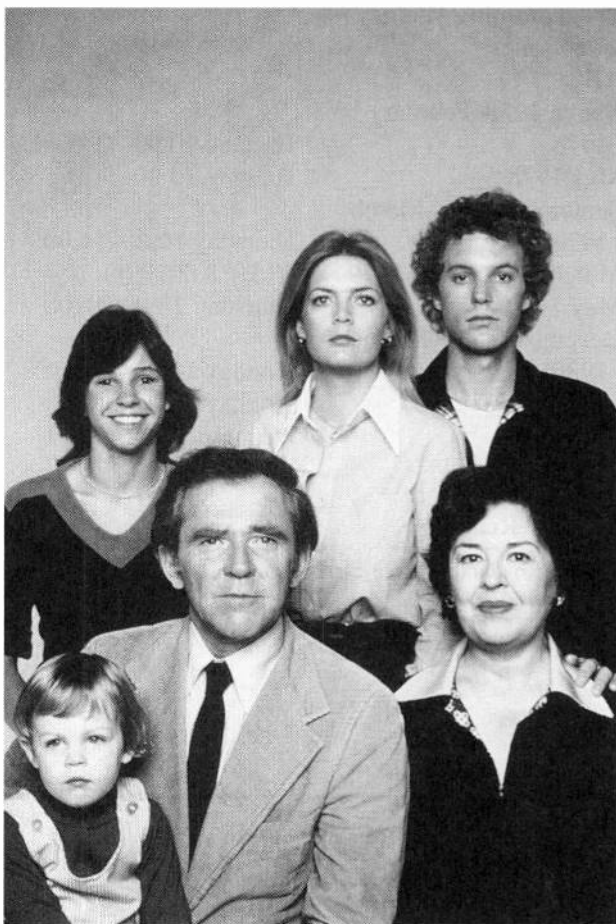
# Family

## U.S. Domestic Drama

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*Family*, a weekly prime-time drama about a southern California suburban family, ran from 1976 to 1980 on ABC. The show's pilot, which became the first episode of a six-part miniseries that aired in March 1976, was created by novelist and screenwriter Jay Presson Allen (*Forty Carats*), directed by film director Mark Rydell (*On Golden Pond*), and produced by film director Mike Nichols (*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*; *The Graduate*) as well as television moguls Aaron Spelling and Leonard Goldberg (*Charlie's An-*

*gels*; *Starsky and Hutch*). The success of the miniseries—it recorded an astonishing 40 shares in the ratings—led ABC to pick up *Family* as a regular series for the network's 1976–77 season. During its five seasons, *Family* received 17 Emmy Award nominations, 3 of them for Outstanding Drama Series. The show won four awards in acting categories: Outstanding Lead Actress in a Drama Series (Sada Thompson in 1977), Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Drama Series (Kristy McNichol in 1976 and 1978), and Out-



*Family.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

standing Supporting Actor in a Drama Series (Gary Frank in 1976).

Despite their impressive credentials, the creative forces behind *Family* had to fight for three years (beginning 1973) before convincing ABC to give the series a chance. As Rowland Barber has explained, during development ABC found the family portrayed in the series “at various critical times...too well-educated and too well-dressed...too true to life for Family Viewing Time...and...simply ‘too good for television’ ” (see Barber). These attempts to dismiss the project were discarded once the miniseries proved to be a hit both with audiences and critics.

*Family* also benefited from a renewed interest in dramatic shows during the mid-1970s (as witnessed by the huge popularity of the miniseries *Rich Man, Poor Man*). In general, police/detective shows such as *Police Woman*, *Charlie’s Angels*, *S.W.A.T.*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Switch*, and *Kojak* dominated the televisual panorama of the 1975–76 season. The appearance of nonviolent, well-crafted, and well-acted programs like

*Family* constituted a refreshing alternative to the predominant action-packed TV scene and were readily embraced by TV audiences.

*Family* follows the saga of the Lawrences, a white, middle-class family from Pasadena, California. The clan consists of the parents, Kate and Doug (played by Sada Thompson and the late James Broderick), and their three offspring: Nancy, a divorced mother of an infant, Timmy, and a lawyer (originally played in the miniseries by Elaine Heilveil; portrayed in the regular series by Meredith Baxter-Birney); Willie, a high school dropout and a talented and idealistic aspiring writer (played by Gary Frank); and free-spirited teenager Letitia, better known as “Buddy” (played by Kristy McNichol). During its 1978–79 season, a new regular character joined the series: Annie Cooper, an 11-year-old orphan girl whom the Lawrences decide to adopt (played by Quinn Cummings).

Throughout its five seasons, the series engaged a range of contemporary social issues within the parameters of its melodramatic structure. For example, the miniseries opened with a pregnant Nancy divorcing her husband, Jeff (played by John Rubinstein), after finding him in bed with one of her girlfriends. This development allowed the series to explore, through the character of Nancy, issues related to the social position of a divorced, professional woman who is also a mother. On a couple of occasions, the show dealt with issues pertaining to homosexuality. In one episode, Willie’s best friend comes out of the closet, forcing Willie to reconsider his positions about both friendship and homosexuality. In a similar vein, Buddy faces issues about bigotry when a teacher she admires is to be fired because that teacher is a lesbian. On several occasions, the Lawrence matriarch, Kate, finds herself in difficult social, moral, and ethical positions related to her social situation as a middle-aged woman. In one instance, an older-than-40 Kate faces the dilemma of possibly having to have an abortion because she is expecting a child at an age when risks and complications related to pregnancy are higher than they are for younger women. In another episode, Kate confronts her insecurities and fears when she decides to take a job outside the house. At a different point in the series, she deals with having breast cancer.

*Family* not only reclaimed a place for hour-long (melo)dramatic series dealing with everyday topics affecting middle-class Americans during an age when action series ruled; it also prepared the ground for the prime-time soap operas centered around affluent and glamorous nuclear families—shows such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, *Knots Landing*, and *Falcon Crest* that exploded in popularity during the late 1970s and 1980s.

GILBERTO M. BLASINI

## Family

See also **Melodrama; Spelling, Aaron**

### Cast

Kate Lawrence	Sada Thompson
Doug Lawrence	James Broderick
Nancy Lawrence Maitland (1976)	Elayne Heilveil
Nancy Lawrence Maitland (1976–80)	Meredith Baxter-Birney
Willie Lawrence	Gary Frank
Letitia "Buddy" Lawrence	Kristy McNichol
Jeff Maitland	John Rubinstein
Mrs. Hanley (1976–78)	Mary Grace Canfield
Salina Magee (1976–77)	Season Hubley
Annie Cooper (1978–80)	Quinn Cummings
Timmy Maitland (1978–80)	Michael David Schackelford

### Producers

Aaron Spelling, Leonard Goldberg, Mike Nichols

### Programming History

94 episodes	
ABC	
March 1976–February 1978	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
May 1978	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
September 1978–March 1979	Thursday 10:00–11:00
March 1979–April 1979	Friday 8:00–9:00
May 1979	Thursday 10:00–11:00
December 1979–February 1980	Monday 10:00–11:00
March 1980	Monday 9:00–10:00
June 1980	Wednesday 8:00–9:00

### Further Reading

Barber, Rowland, "Three Strikes and They're On," *TV Guide* (January 21, 1978)

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## Family on Television

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The introduction of television after World War II coincided in the United States with a steep rise in mortgage rates, birthrates, and the growth of mass-produced suburbs. In this social climate, it is no wonder that television was conceived as, first and foremost, a family medium. Over the course of the 1950s, as debates raged in Congress over issues such as juvenile delinquency and the mass media's contribution to it, the three major television networks developed prime-time fare that would appeal to a general family audience. Many of these policy debates and network strategies are echoed in the more recent public controversies concerning television and family values, especially the famous *Murphy Brown* incident in which Vice President Dan Quayle used the name of this fictional unwed mother as an example of what is wrong with the cultural values of the United States. As the case of Quayle demonstrates, the public often assumes that television fictional representations of the family have a strong impact on actual families in the United States. For this reason, people have often also assumed that these fictional households ought to mirror not simply family life in general, but their own personal values regarding

it. Throughout television history, then, the representation of the family has been a concern in Congress, among special-interest groups and lobbyists, the general audience, and, of course, the industry that has attempted to satisfy all of these parties in different ways and with different emphases.

In the early 1950s, domestic life was represented with some degree of diversity. There were families who lived in suburbs, cities, and rural areas. There were nuclear families (such as that in *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*) and childless couples (such as the Stevenses of *I Married Joan* or Sapphire and Kingfish of *Amos 'n' Andy*). There was a variety of ethnic families in domestic comedies and family dramas (including the Norwegian family of *Mama* and the Jewish family of *The Goldbergs*). In addition, anthology dramas such as *Marty* sometimes presented ethnic working-class families. At a time when many Americans were moving from cities to mass-produced suburbs, these programs featured nostalgic versions of family and neighborhood bonding that played on sentimentality for the more "authentic" social relationships of the urban past. Ethnicity was typically popular so



*An American Family*, *The Loud Family* (Top row: Lance, Michelle; Middle row: Kevin, Delilah, Grant; Front row: Pat, Bill), 1971.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

long as it was a portrayal of first-generation European immigrants; the lives of black, Hispanic, and Asian families were almost never explored. When minorities were represented, it was generally to provide humor or to play upon racist stereotypes; examples include the Cuban Ricky Ricardo, with his Latin temper, or the African-American Beulah, with her job as the happy maid/mammy in a white household.

Meanwhile, in 1950s documentaries and in fiction programming, the family often served as the patriotic reason “why we fight” communism, much as it served as a source of patriotism in the Norman Rockwell magazine covers of World War II. Action-adventure programs, such as the syndicated series *I Led Three Lives*, included numerous episodes in which communists infiltrated families and threatened to pervert American youth. Paradoxically, however, the family also provided a reason why Americans should fight the more extremist versions of anticommunism, especially that espoused by Senator Joseph McCarthy. In 1952 Edward R. Murrow’s *See It Now* presented “The Case of Milo Radulovich,” about an air force pilot who was suspected of communist sympathies. Murrow used interviews with Radulovich’s sister and father to convince viewers that he was not a communist but instead a true American with solid family values. From the outset, the family on television served both sentiment-

tal and political/ideological functions, which were often intertwined.

By the mid-1950s, as television production moved to Hollywood film studios and was also controlled by Hollywood independent production companies such as Desilu, the representation of family life became even more standardized in the domestic comedy. By 1960, the ethnic domestic comedies and dramas disappeared, and the suburban domestic comedy rose to prominence. Programs such as *The Donna Reed Show*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and *Father Knows Best* presented idealized versions of white middle-class families in suburban communities that mirrored the practices of ethnic and racial exclusion seen in U.S. suburbs more generally. Even while these programs captured the American imagination, there was a penchant for social criticism registered in 1950s science fiction/horror anthologies (such as *The Twilight Zone*’s “Monsters on Maple Street,” which explored the paranoid social relationships and exclusionary tactics in American suburban towns).

Within the domestic comedy form itself, the nuclear family was increasingly displaced by a counterprogramming trend that represented broken families and unconventional families. Coinciding with rising divorce rates in the 1960s, numerous shows featured families led by a single father (including comedies such as *My Three Sons* and *Family Affair* and the western *Bonanza*), while others featured single mothers (including comedies such as *Julia* and *Here’s Lucy*, and the western *The Big Valley*). In all these programs, censorship codes demanded that the single parent not be divorced; instead the missing parent was always explained through a death in the family. By 1967 the classic domestic comedies featuring nuclear families were all canceled, while these broken families, as well as a new trend of “fantastic families” in programs like *Bewitched* and *The Addams Family* accounted for the mainstay of the genre.

At the level of the news, these fictional programs were met by the tragic breakup of the U.S.’s first family, as the coverage of President John F. Kennedy’s funeral haunted American television screens. It could be argued that the proliferation and popularity of broken families in television entertainment genres provided a means for American society to respond to, and aesthetically resolve, the loss of the nation’s father and the dream or nuclear family life that he and his family represented.

As the nation mourned, other program genres showed cause for more general sorrow. Despite the fact that domestic comedy families were well-to-do, the 1960s also included depictions of the American underclass in hard-hitting socially relevant dramas

such as the short-lived *East Side/West Side*, which explored issues of child abuse and welfare in New York slums. Television also presented documentaries such as *Hunger in America* and *Harvest of Shame*, which depicted underprivileged children, while other documentaries such as *Middletown* or *Salesmen* chronicled the everyday lives of typical Americans, demonstrating the impossibility of living up to the American family ideal. This trend toward social criticism was capped off in 1973, when PBS aired *An American Family*, which chronicled the everyday life of Mr. and Mrs. William Loud and their suburban family by placing cameras in their home and surveying their day-to-day affairs. As the cameras watched, the Louds filed for divorce and their son came out as a homosexual. The discrepancies between these documentary/socially relevant depictions of American families and the more idealized images in the domestic comedy genre were now all too clear.

More generally, the 1970s were a time of significant change, as the portrayal of family life became more diverse, although never completely representative of all American lifestyles. Network documentaries continued to expose the underside of the American Dream, while other genres took on the burden of social criticism as they attempted to reach a new demographic of young urban professionals, working women, and a rising black middle class. Programs such as Norman Lear's *All in the Family*, *Maude*, and *The Jeffersons* flourished. *All in the Family* presented a working-class milieu and drew its comedy out of political differences among generations and between genders in the household; *Maude* was the first program to feature a divorced heroine, who, in one two-part episode, also had the first prime-time abortion. African-American families were presented in shows ranging from *The Jeffersons*, who had, as the opening theme song announced, finally got "a piece of the pie," to programs set in ghettos such as *Good Times*. Interracial families such as *Webster* depicted white parents bringing up black children (although the reverse was never the case). From the mid-1970s through the present, these new family formations have included programs featuring single moms (who were now often divorced or never married) such as *Kate and Allie*, *One Day at a Time*, and *Murphy Brown*. Drawing on previous working-girl/mother sitcoms like *Our Miss Brooks* or *Here's Lucy*, the MTM studio precipitated a shift from literal biological families to a new concept of the family workplace. Here, in programs such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, coworkers were also codependents, so that relationships were often ambiguously collegial and familial. Despite these innovations, the 1970s and early 1980s still featured sentimental versions of fam-

ily life including daytime soap operas, family dramas such as *Family* and *Eight Is Enough*, historical-family dramas such as *The Waltons* and *Little House on the Prairie*, and the popular comedy *The Brady Bunch*.

Over the course of the 1980s, the genre of prime-time soap opera served as television's answer to the Reagan-era dream of consumer prosperity. Programs such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty* presented a world of high fashion, high finance, and, for many, high camp sensibilities. Despite their idealized upper-class settings, these programs, like daytime soaps or the 1960s *Peyton Place*, dealt with marital infidelity, incest, rape, alcoholism, and a range of other issues that pictured the family as decidedly dysfunctional. Perhaps because these families were extremely wealthy, audiences could view their problems as a symptom of upper-crust decadence rather than a more general failure in American family life experienced by people of all social backgrounds. Wealth was also apparent in the enormously popular *The Cosby Show*, which featured black professionals living an ideal family life. Unlike *Dallas* or *Dynasty*, however, which were widely appreciated for their escapist fantasies and/or camp exaggeration, *Cosby* was often taken to task for not being realistic enough.

In addition to prime-time soaps and family comedies, other programs of the 1980s and 1990s showcased dysfunctional families and/or families in crisis. Made-for-TV-movies such as *The Burning Bed* detailed the horrors of spousal abuse. In addition, during this period, the television talk show took over the role of family therapist as programs such as *Geraldo*, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, and *The Jerry Springer Show* feature real-life family feuds with guests who confess to incest, spousal abuse, matricide, codependencies, and a range of other family perversions. Unlike the daytime soap operas, these programs lack the sentiment of family melodrama and thus appear more akin to their contemporary cousin, the TV tabloid. These syndicated "tabloid" shows such as *COPS* or *America's Most Wanted* offer a range of family horrors as law enforcement agencies and vigilantes apprehend the outlaws of the nation. Tabloids not only demonstrate how to catch a thief and other criminals, they also engage in didactic editorializing that either explicitly or implicitly suggests that crimes such as robbery, prostitution, or drug dealing are caused by dysfunctional family lives rather than by political, sexual, racial, or class inequities.

Still, in other instances, the family remains "wholesome," especially in the age of cable when the broadcast networks often try to win a family audience by presenting themselves as more clean-cut than their cable competitors. (For example, in various seasons on different nights, ABC and NBC have both fashioned

lineups of family-oriented programs aimed at mothers and children.)

Over the course of the 1980s and through the present, innovation on old formats has also been a key strategy. Programs such as the popular sitcom *Family Ties* reversed the usual generational politics of comedy by making the parents more liberal than their conservative, money-obsessed son. In the later 1980s, the new FOX network largely ingratiated itself with the public by displaying a contempt for the "white-bread" standards of old network television. Programs such as *Married...with Children* parodied the middle-class suburban sitcom, while sitcoms such as *Living Single* and the prime-time soap *Melrose Place* presented alternate youth-oriented lifestyles. ABC's *Roseanne* followed suit with its highly popular parody of family life that included such unconventional sitcom topics as teenage sex, spousal abuse, and lesbian romance. In 1994 ABC broadcast *All-American Girl*, the first sitcom to feature the generational conflicts in a Korean family.

Parody and unconventional topicality were not the only solutions to innovation. If portrayals of contemporary happy families seemed somewhat disingenuous or at best cliché by the end of the 1980s, television could still turn to nostalgia to create sentimental versions of family togetherness. For example, family dramas such as *The Wonder Years* and *Brooklyn Bridge* presented popular memories of the United States during the baby boom. Both nostalgia and parody are also the genius in the system of the cable network Nickelodeon, which is owned by Viacom, the country's largest syndicator. Its prime-time lineup, which it calls "Nick at Nite," features Viacom-owned reruns of mostly family sitcoms from television's first three decades, and Nick advertises them through parodic slogans that make fun of the happy shiny people of old TV. Other cable networks have also premised themselves on the breakdown of nuclear family ideology and living arrangements by, for example, rethinking the conventional depictions of home life on broadcast genres. For instance, MTV's Generation X and Y serialized programs under the general title *The Real World* chronicle the real-life adventures of young people from different races and sexual orientations living together in a house provided by the network. Nevertheless, cable has also been extremely aware of ways to tap into the ongoing national agenda for family values and has turned this into marketing values. Pat Robertson's Family Channel is an example of how the Christian Right has used cable to rekindle the passion for a particular kind of family life, mostly associated with the middle-class family ideals of the 1950s and early 1960s. In this regard, it is no surprise that the Family

Channel showed reruns of *Father Knows Best*, but without the parodic, campy wink of Nick at Nite's evening lineup.

More generally, the rise during the 1990s of multi-channel cable TV has meant that audience shares for any one show are much lower than in the past. By the new millennium, what is often called "postnetwork" television presented a host of different kinds of family shows aimed at smaller "niche" audiences' varying tastes and different lifestyles. The Christian family values of WB's drama *7th Heaven* attracted one audience, while sitcoms like NBC's *Seinfeld* or Comedy Central's *Strangers with Candy* either ironically mocked or else openly rejected the premises of nuclear family life. While some critics have deplored these contemporary "no family" sitcoms, others have championed them as a welcome relief to our culture's narrow definition of what a family is and should be.

So too, numerous shows in the 1990s began to feature gay and lesbian households, presenting lifestyles predicated on the rights of individuals to form families with same-sex partners. In 1997, when Ellen DeGeneres's character came out as a lesbian on the ABC sitcom *Ellen*, she followed a longer line of network flirtations with lesbian characters (ranging from lesbian episodes of such shows as CBS's *All in the Family* to NBC's *The Golden Girls* to ABC's *Roseanne*). Yet, unlike these earlier examples, which flirted with lesbian lifestyles in a single episode/storyline of a series, *Ellen* was the first major sitcom to feature a lesbian as a continuing lead character. In this regard, *Ellen* represented a clear sign that lesbian love was beginning to be depicted as part of the mainstream of television entertainment (if only because advertisers felt there was money to be made in that market). Since 1998 NBC has aired the popular *Will & Grace*, which centers on the extremely close relationship between a heterosexual woman and her best friend, a gay man.

Although television has consistently privileged the family as the "normal" and most fulfilling way to live one's life, its programs have often presented multiple and contradictory messages. At the same time that a sitcom featured June Cleaver wondering what suit to buy the Beaver, a documentary or news program showed the underside of family abuse or the severe poverty in which some families were forced to live. Because television draws on an enormous stable of representational traditions and creative personnel, and because the industry has attempted to appeal to large nationwide audiences, the medium never presents one simple message. Instead it is in the relations among different programs and genres that we begin to get a view of the range of possibilities. Those possibilities have, of course, been limited by larger social ideolo-

gies such as the racism or homophobia that affects the quality and quantity of shows depicting nonwhite and nonheterosexual households. Despite these ongoing exclusions, however, it is evident that the family on television is as full of mixed messages and ambivalent emotions as it is in real life.

LYNN SPIGEL

*See also Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet; Amos 'n' Andy; Bewitched; Bonanza; Brady Bunch; Cosby Show; Dallas; Dynasty; Family Ties; Father Knows Best; Goldbergs; Good Times; I Love Lucy; Jeffersons; Julia; Kate and Allie; Leave It to Beaver; Married... with Children; Mary Tyler Moore Show; Maude; My Three Sons; Peyton Place; Roseanne; Waltons; Wonder Years*

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## Family Ties

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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Few shows demonstrate better than *Family Ties* the resonance between the collectively held fictional imagination and what cultural critic Raymond Williams has called "the structure of feeling" of a historical moment. Airing on NBC from 1982 to 1989, this highly successful domestic comedy explored one of the intriguing cultural inversions characterizing the Reagan era: a conservative younger generation aspiring to wealth, business success, and traditional values serves as inheritor to the politically liberal, presumably activist, culturally experimental generation of adults who had experienced the 1960s. The result was a decade, paradoxical by the United States' usual post-World War II standards, in which youthful ambition and social renovation came to be equated with pronounced political conservatism. "When else could a boy with a briefcase become a national hero?"

queried *Family Ties*' creator Gary David Goldberg, during the show's final year.

The boy with the briefcase was Alex P. Keaton (Michael J. Fox), a competitive and uncompromising, baby-faced conservative whose absurdly hard-nosed platitudes seemed the antithesis of his comfortable, middle-class, white, midwestern upbringing. Yet Alex could also be endearingly (and youthfully) bumbling when tenderness or intimacy demanded departure from the social conventions so important to him. He also could be riddled with self-doubt about his ability to meet the high standards he set for himself. During the course of the show, Alex aged from a high school student running for student council president to a college student reconciled to his rejection by Princeton University.

Alex's highly programmatic views of life led to continual conflict with his parents Steven (Michael Gross)





*Family Ties*, Tina Yothers, Justine Bateman, Michael Gross, Meredith Baxter-Birney, Michael J. Fox, 1982–89.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and Elyse (Meredith Baxter-Birney). Former war protesters and Peace Corps volunteers, these adults now found fulfillment raising their children and working, respectively, as a public television station manager and as an independent architect. If young Alex could be comically cynical, his parents could be relentlessly cheerful do-gooders, whose causes occasionally seemed chimerical. Yet (especially with Elyse) their liberalism could also emerge more authoritatively, particularly when it assumed the voice, not of ideological instruction, but of parental conscience and loving tolerance. And so *Family Ties* explored not just the cultural ironies of politically conservative youth, but the equally powerful paradox of liberal conscience. Here, that conscience was kept alive within the loving nuclear family, a social form so constantly appropriated by conservatives as a manifestation of their own values.

Significantly, the show's timely focus on Alex and his contrasts with his parents was discovered rather than designed. *Family Ties*' creator Goldberg was an ex-hippie whose three earlier network shows had each been canceled within weeks, leading him to promise that *Family*

*Ties* would be his last attempt. He undertook the show as a basically autobiographical comedy that would explore the parents' adjustments to 1980s society and middle-aged family life. The original casting focused on Gross and Baxter-Birney as the crucial Keatons. Once the show aired, however, network surveys quickly revealed that audiences were more attracted by the accomplished physical comedy, skillful characterization, and good looks of Fox's Alex. Audience reaction and Fox's considerable, unexpected authority in front of the camera prompted Goldberg and his collaborators to shift emphasis to the young man, a change so fundamental that Goldberg told Gross and Baxter-Birney that he would understand if they decided to quit. The crucial intergenerational dynamic of the show thus emerged in a dialogue between viewers, who identified Alex as a compelling character, and writers, who were willing to reorient the show's themes of cultural succession around the youth. Goldberg's largely liberal writers usually depicted Alex's ideology ironically, through self-indicting punch lines. Many audiences, however, were laughing sympathetically, and Alex Keaton emerged as

a model of the clean-cut, determined, yet human entrepreneur. *Family Ties* finished the 1983 and 1984 seasons as the second-highest-rated show on television and finished in the top 20 for six of its seven years. President Ronald Reagan declared *Family Ties* his favorite program and offered to make an appearance on the show (an offer pointedly ignored by the producers). Fox was able to launch a considerable career in feature films based on his popularity from the show.

Alex had three siblings. Justine Bateman played Mallory, the inarticulate younger sister who, unwilling to compete with the overachieving Alex, devoted herself to fashion and boyfriends, including the elder Keaton's nemesis, junkyard sculptor Nick (played by Scott Valentine). Tina Yothers played the younger daughter, Jennifer, an intelligent observer who could pronounce scathingly on either Alex's or the parents' foibles. During the 1984 season, a baby boy named Andrew joined the Keaton family; this character was played by three separate children, as, by the next season, he quickly developed into a toddler.

Both *Family Ties*' creator and its production style are products of a specific set of events in Hollywood that, in the mid-1980s, granted promising writer-producers unusual opportunity and resources to pursue their creative interests. Goldberg's first jobs in television were as a writer and writer-producer for MTM Productions, the independent production company founded by Grant Tinker and Mary Tyler Moore. The company was initially devoted to the production of "quality" comedies and known for the special respect it accorded writers. In the early 1980s the booming syndication market and continued vertical integration prompted Hollywood to consider writers who could create new programs as important long-term investments. Paramount Studios raided MTM for its most promising talents, among them Goldberg. Like many of his cohorts, Goldberg was able to negotiate for a production company of his own, partial ownership of his shows, and a commitment from Paramount to help fund his next project—all in exchange for Paramount's exclusive rights to distribute the resulting programs. Goldberg applied the methods of proscenium comedy production he had learned at MTM, developing *Family Ties* as a character-based situation comedy, sustained by imaginative dialogue, laudable acting, and carefully considered scripts that were the focus of a highly collaborative weekly production routine. (*Inside Family Ties*, a PBS special produced in 1985, shows actors, the director, and writers each taking considerable license to alter the script; Goldberg mentions that he

takes it for granted that 60 percent of a typical episode will be rewritten during the week.) Each episode was shot live before a studio audience, to retain the crucial excitement and unity of a stage play.

In *Family Ties*' third season, the program played an unprecedented role in the production industry's growing independence from the declining broadcast networks. Paramount guaranteed syndicators that it would provide them with a minimum of 95 episodes of *Family Ties*, though only 70 or so had been completed at the time. Anxious to capitalize on the booming syndication market, Paramount was, in effect, agreeing to produce the show even if NBC canceled it—a decision anticipating Paramount's later, successful distribution of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* exclusively through syndication.

MICHAEL SAENZ

**See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television**

**Cast**

Elyse Keaton	Meredith Baxter-Birney
Steven Keaton	Michael Gross
Alex P. Keaton	Michael J. Fox
Mallory Keaton	Justine Bateman
Jennifer Keaton	Tina Yothers
Andrew Keaton (1986–89)	Brian Bonsall
Irwin "Skippy" Handelman	Marc Price
Ellen Reed (1985–86)	Tracy Pollan
Nick Moore (1985–89)	Scott Valentine
Lauren Miller (1987–89)	Courteney Cox

**Producers**

Gary David Goldberg, Lloyd Garver, Michael Weinthorn

**Programming History**

180 episodes	
NBC	
September 1982–March 1983	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
March 1983–August 1983	Monday 8:30–9:00
August 1983–December 1983	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
January 1984–August 1987	Thursday 8:30–9:00
August 1987–September 1987	Sunday 8:00–9:00
September 1987–September 1989	Sunday 8:00–8:30

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## Family Viewing Time

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Prompted by widespread public criticism, in 1974 the United States Congress exhorted the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to take action regarding the perennial issues of alleged excesses of sex, crime, and violence in broadcast programming. Early in 1975 FCC chairman Richard E. Wiley reported to Senate and House Communications and Commerce Subcommittees recent steps taken by the FCC. They included discussions with corporate heads of television networks that resulted in four strategies for addressing the issues. The network heads adopted a self-declared "family viewing" hour in the first hour of network evening prime time (8:00–9:00 P.M., Eastern time). Actions by the National Association of Broadcasters' Television Code review board expanded that "family hour" forward one hour into local station time (7:00–8:00 P.M.). The NAB also proposed "viewer advisories" related to program content that might disturb members of the audience, especially younger people. And the FCC made further efforts to define what it construed as "indecent" under the law, in a case involving Pacifica's WBAI(FM), New York.

Arthur R. Taylor, president of CBS Inc., had championed more acceptable early-evening programming but could only do so at CBS if competing networks followed suit. FCC chairman Wiley urged reluctant executives to adopt these actions. But to avoid intercorporate collusion they felt the professional association (NAB) could best orchestrate the effort through its self-regulatory Industry Code of Practices. Enacting the code led to several results. Some early-evening shows with comedy and action deemed less suited for young viewers were displaced to later hours. West Coast producers, directors, and writers claimed the new structure infringed on their creative freedom and First Amendment rights. Later scheduling also led to lower audience ratings, partly from the stigma attached to some programs as inappropriate for viewing by families. Popular sitcom *All in the Family* suffered from the ruling; its producer Norman Lear protested against the policy and with celebrity colleagues and professional guilds mounted a lawsuit against it. Meanwhile some public-interest groups, including major religious organizations, objected to the policy for not going far enough; they claimed it sanitized only an hour or two of TV programming, leaving the rest of the 24-hour schedule open to "anything goes."

After extensive hearings U.S. district court judge Warren Ferguson ruled that, while the concept might have merit, the FCC had acted improperly in finessing the result by privately persuading the three network representatives to marshal the NAB's code provisions. Normal FCC procedure was to openly announce proposals for rulemaking, then hold public hearings to develop a record from which federal rulings might be developed. Thus the Family Viewing policy was scuttled, apparently to the satisfaction of not only the creative community that produced programs but to most network personnel who had the complicated task of applying the principle to specific shows and time slots, with direct impact on ratings and time sales for commercial spots. Syndicators of off-network reruns also were relieved because the early-evening "fringe time" programmed by local stations had been brought into the ambit of the code's provisions, limiting the kinds of shows aired then. But the reversal was frustrating to many members of Congress, to FCC chairman Wiley, and to CBS chief Arthur Taylor. Dubbed by many the "father of Family Viewing," Taylor had proclaimed the policy as the first step in 25 years to reduce the level of gratuitous TV violence and sex. John Schneider, president of the CBS/Broadcast Group, issued a statement after the court's decision: "The Court recognizes the right of an individual broadcaster to maintain programming standards, yet it denies this same right to broadcasters collectively, even though these standards are entirely voluntary. . . . To rule that broadcasters cannot, however openly and publicly, create a set of programming standards consonant with the demonstrated wishes of the American people leaves only two alternatives: no standards for the broadcasting community or standards imposed by government, which we believe would dangerously violate the spirit of the First Amendment. CBS's belief that family viewing is an exercise of broadcaster responsibility in the public interest is confirmed by its popular acceptance" reported by a major publication's two national polls.

The episode demonstrated the daunting task of guiding a complex mass entertainment medium in a pluralistic society with varied perspectives and values. Through the decades television came under increasing scrutiny for alleged permissiveness in drama and comedy programs. The theme of excessive "sex and violence" was sounded regularly in congressional ses-

sions from Senator Estes Kefauver in the 1950s to Senator Thomas Dodd in the 1960s and Senator John Pastore in the 1970s. By 1975 House Communications Subcommittee chairman Torbert MacDonald, fearing the Family Viewing plan was no more than a public relations ploy, raised the perennial threat of licensing the source of national program service, the commercial networks. Meanwhile, the FCC sought to clarify the U.S. Code provision (Title 18, §1464) prohibiting obscene, indecent, or profane language, to extend explicitly to visual depiction of such material.

The issue joined, of course, is the broadcaster's freedom to program a station or network without censorship by governmental prior restraining action (or by ex post facto penalty that constitutes implied restraint against subsequent actions). That freedom is closely coupled with the diverse public's right to have access to a wide range of programming that viewers freely choose to watch. The other side of that coin is the audience's right to freedom *from* what some consider offensive program content broadcast over a federally licensed airwave frequency defined by Congress in 1927 and 1934 as a "natural public resource" owned by the public. The problem arises from the medium's pervasiveness (the Supreme Court's wording) that reaches into homes and beyond to portable receivers, readily available to young children often unable to be supervised around the clock by parents. FCC chairman Wiley explained to the Senate

Commerce Committee in 1975: "we believe that the industry reforms strike an appropriate balance between two conflicting objectives. On the one hand, it is necessary that the industry aid concerned parents in protecting their children from objectionable material; on the other hand, it is important that the medium have an opportunity to develop artistically and to present themes which are appropriate and of interest to an adult audience." The issue recurred, as deregulation of broadcast media in the 1980s and growing permissiveness of program content on proliferating cable channels was succeeded in the 1990s by widespread calls for "family values" in media. Senator Paul Simon engineered a waiver of antitrust provisions enabling major networks and cable companies to collaborate on voluntary self-regulatory practices, to preclude threatened government enactments.

JAMES A. BROWN

*See also* **Censorship, Programming**

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## Farnsworth, Philo T. (1906–1971)

U.S. Inventor

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Philo T. Farnsworth has been called the forgotten father of television. Those who knew him said he was a genius from birth. At the age of 13, he won a prize offered by the *Science and Invention* magazine for developing a thief-proof automobile ignition switch. Most remarkable from his high school experience was the diagram he drew for his chemistry teacher. This drawing established the pattern for his later experiments in electronics and was instrumental in Farnsworth winning a patent interference case pitting him against Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Farnsworth's work spanned the continent. His first laboratories were in his Hollywood home; later he and his family moved to San Francisco, Philadelphia, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Salt Lake City, Utah. In 1926 he established his

first corporation, in San Francisco, Everson Gorrell and Farnsworth Inc. The first patents for the Farnsworth television system were filed in January 1927. In 1929 the corporation became Television Laboratories Incorporated. Among the first television images created from the Farnsworth system were laboratory smoke, a single dimension line, a dollar sign printed on glass. The first woman to appear on television was Elma G. Farnsworth, Philo's wife. Her photograph was transmitted in the San Francisco Green Street laboratory on September 19, 1929.

In 1931 Farnsworth moved to Philadelphia to establish a television department for Philco. By 1933 Philco decided that television patent research was no longer a part of its corporate vision, and Farnsworth created

Farnsworth Television Inc. In August 1934 this company provided the world's first public demonstration of an all-electronic television system, which ran for ten days at the Philadelphia Franklin Institute. In 1938 Farnsworth established the Farnsworth Television and Radio Corporation. This research and manufacturing company created defense technology throughout World War II and was later purchased by the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (IT&T), which still stands in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Farnsworth's work for IT&T included both television and nuclear fusion.

In December 1938 Farnsworth moved to Salt Lake City to organize his last venture: Philo T. Farnsworth and Associates. Its purpose was to continue the work he started at IT&T on fusion, which was expected to be inexpensive alternative energy source. This work ended at this death.

Farnsworth was an independent experimenter, a charismatic scientist, an idea person who was able to initiate ideas and convince investors. However, his primary focus was always in the laboratory. He was a workaholic and often left the business, investment, and management responsibilities of his corporations to others as his experiments continued. He was so immersed in his inventions that he reportedly would forget to eat. His health proved to be a challenge throughout his life.

Farnsworth's wife worked constantly at his side and helped maintain his health. She worked in the earliest labs as a technician and a bookkeeper. Farnsworth himself said, "my wife and I started television." After he died, it was his wife who worked to ensure he was recognized for his inventions and his place in history. In many ways, Farnsworth's posthumous awards recognize the bygone era of independent inventors that he represented. He was the recipient of numerous awards from scientific and honors societies, and a 1983 U.S. postage stamp commemorates the inventor. In 1981 a historical marker was placed on the San Francisco Green Street building where the first Farnsworth television image was projected. In 1990 a statue was dedicated in Washing-

ton's Statuary Hall: the inscription reads "Philo Taylor Farnsworth: Inventor of Television."

DONALD G. GODFREY

*See also* **Television Technology**

**Philo T(aylor) Farnsworth.** Born in Beaver Creek, Utah, August 19, 1906. Educated at Rigby Idaho High School; attended Brigham Young University, 1923–25. Married Elma "Pem" Gardner, 1926, four children. Research director, Crocker Research Labs, 1926; founded Television Laboratories Incorporated, 1929; organized television department for Philco, 1931–33; vice president, founder, and director of research and engineering, Farnsworth Television and Radio Corporation, 1938; researcher in television and nuclear fusion, International Telephone and Telegraph Company, from 1949; president and director of research, Farnsworth Research Corporation, 1957; president and director, Philo T. Farnsworth and Associates, Inc., 1968. Honorary doctorates of science from the Indiana Institute of Technology, 1951; Brigham Young University, 1968. Member: American Physics Society. Named to the National Inventors Hall of Fame, 1968. Died in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1971.

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## Father Knows Best

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*Father Knows Best*, a family comedy of the 1950s, is perhaps more important for what it has come to represent than for what it actually was. In essence, the series was one of a number of middle-class family sitcoms,

representing stereotypical family members. Today, many critics view it, at best, as high camp fun, and, at worst, as part of what critic David Marc once labeled the "Aryan melodramas" of the 1950s and 1960s.



*Father Knows Best*, Lauren Chapin, Elinor Donahue, Robert Young, Jane Wyatt, Billy Gray, 1954–60.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The brainchild of the series' star Robert Young, who played insurance salesman Jim Anderson, and producer Eugene B. Rodney, *Father Knows Best* first debuted as a radio sitcom in 1949. In the audio version, the title of the show ended with a question mark, suggesting that father's role as family leader and arbiter was dubious. The partners' production company, Rodney-Young Enterprises, transplanted the series to television in 1954—without the question mark—where it ran until 1960, appearing at various times on each of the three U.S. networks (CBS reran it from 1960 to 1962; ABC broadcast reruns from 1962 to 1963).

Young and Rodney, friends since 1935, based the series on experiences each had with wives and children; thus, to them, the show represented "reality." Indeed, careful viewing of each of the series' 203 episodes reveals that the title was actually more figurative than literal. Despite the lack of an actual question mark, father did not always know best. Jim Anderson occasionally lost his temper, and he was not always right. Although wife Margaret Anderson, played by Jane Wyatt, was stuck in the drudgery of domestic servitude, she was nobody's fool, often besting her husband and son, Bud (played by Billy Gray). Daughter Betty Anderson (Elinor Donahue), known affectionately to her father as

Princess, could also take the male Andersons to task, as could the precocious Kathy (Lauren Chapin), the baby of the family, who was also called "Kitten."

Like *Leave It to Beaver* creators Bob Mosher and Joe Connelly, Young and Rodney were candid about their attempts to provide moral lessons throughout the series. While none of the kids experienced the sort of social problems some of the real-life actors faced (Young was an alcoholic and the adult Chapin became a heroin addict), this was more the fault of television's then-myopic need for calm than Young and Rodney's desire to sidestep the truth. The series certainly avoided the existence of the "Other America," as did most other American institutions.

Young won two Emmy Awards for his role, and Wyatt won three. A well-known film actor before his radio and television days, Young went on to later success in the long-running series *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, which may have been more appropriately called "Doctor Knows Best." After *Father Knows Best* moved into prime-time reruns in 1960, Donahue played Sheriff Andy Taylor's love interest, Miss Ellie, on *The Andy Griffith Show*. In 1977 NBC brought the Andersons back in two reunion specials, *Father Knows Best: The Father Knows Best Reunion* (May 1977) and *Father Knows Best: Home for the Holidays* (December 1977).

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

**See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television; Young, Robert**

**Cast**

Jim Anderson	Robert Young
Margaret Anderson	Jane Wyatt
Betty Anderson (Princess)	Elinor Donahue
James Anderson, Jr. (Bud)	Billy Gray
Kathy Anderson (Kitten)	Lauren Chapin
Miss Thomas	Sarah Selby
Ed Davis (1955–59)	Robert Foulk
Myrtle Davis (1955–59)	Vivi Jannis
Dotty Snow (1954–57)	Yvonne Lime
Kippy Watkins (1954–59)	Paul Wallace
Claude Messner (1954–59)	Jimmy Bates
Doyle Hobbs (1957–58)	Roger Smith
Ralph Little (1957–58)	Robert Chapman
April Adams (1957–58)	Sue George
Joyce Kendall (1958–59)	Jymme (Roberta) Shore

**Producers**

Eugene Rodney, Robert Young

**Programming History**

203 episodes

CBS  
 October 1954–March 1955 Sunday 10:00–10:30  
 NBC  
 August 1955–September  
 1958 Wednesday 8:30–9:00  
 CBS  
 September 1958–September  
 1960 Monday 8:30–9:00

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## Father Ted

### British Sitcom

*Father Ted* managed the difficult feat of being a comic triumph for two cultures. As a British-produced show it was exciting and innovative, scored a massive cult success, and gave Channel 4 its only real classic sitcom. As an Irish comedy it signaled a new cultural confidence to match the economic “Celtic tiger” of the 1990s—a not entirely unaffectionate debunking of national stereotypes and sacred cows.

Graham Linehan and Arthur Mathews, who had previously penned an unsuccessful sitcom, *Paris*, wrote the series. Geoffrey Perkins, head of comedy at British Independent producer Hat Trick, commissioned *Father Ted*, its series about three hopeless priests: the elderly, hideously debauched and incoherent Father Jack Hackett, the childlike young idiot priest Father Dougal McGuire, and the central protagonist, middle-aged Father Ted Crilly. The trio live on the remote and backward Craggy Island with their overhospitable housekeeper, Mrs. Doyle, who lives for tea-making and servitude.

Like many great sitcoms, the show consists of a group of ill-matched characters thrown into a situation they cannot escape. These are not simply physical confines, however, but a prison of their own making. The priests have been banished to the island by their nemesis, Bishop Brennan, for heinous crimes: Jack for general depravity, Dougal for accidental carnage involving nuns, and Ted for financial irregularities.

Linehan has said that he and Mathews thought of the series as being in the British sitcom tradition, and there are certainly familiar elements—the enclosed situation, a circular narrative structure, and the ability to eke out laughter from every aspect of human failure and natural disaster. However, there is also a wild cre-

ative surrealism through which every episode is caught up in a whirlwind of madness, whether it is a plague of rabbits, an invasion of zombiefied housewives, or the priests winning the Eurovision Song Contest. *Father Ted* is like Monty Python blended with the Irish literary tradition of Samuel Beckett and Flann O’Brien. While apparently anything can happen, in fact everything has its own logic based on how the characters react to particular circumstances. Events and actions are merely just taken to their ultimate bizarre conclusions.

Jack, Dougal, and Mrs. Doyle quickly became cult favorites across Britain and Ireland. Playgrounds and offices rang out with catchphrases: Jack’s “Drink!!!!” and “Girls!” and Mrs. Doyle’s pleas of “Ah go on, go on, go on.” Their extreme physical comedy is hugely pleasurable, but they are essentially one-note characters—caricatures that by their nature lack subtlety or development.

The real joy of the series is Ted himself. He alone is played straight, as the calm center amid the chaos. Ted thinks he is the only normal person present and sees himself as a man of intelligence and discernment surrounded by idiots. But in the best comic tradition, he is perhaps the biggest idiot of all. Ted is only too susceptible to earthy pleasures beyond his calling, particularly to the possibility of acquiring large amounts of cash. The “financial irregularities” that consigned him to the island are the subject of much mirth. Any allusion to this leads to Ted fiercely protesting, “That was a routine relocation of funds. That money was just resting in my account.” But as Dougal says, “It was resting for a long time, Ted.”

Ted’s dishonesty is matched only by his capacity for lying. Much of the comic energy derives from Ted’s



## Father Ted

inability to admit the slightest mistake or endure the smallest embarrassment. Instead he invents the most bizarre, contorted lies to try and escape the situation. Inevitably they just catapult the story further and further into pandemonium.

Yet Ted is not portrayed as a venal monster, nor is he a smart amoral operator like Sergeant Bilko in *The Phil Silvers Show* or Norman Fletcher in *Porridge*. Rather, he is all too much like us—he tries his best to be good but is hopelessly flawed. This reality is summed up best in the final episode, when Ted is offered a parish in Los Angeles. He asks the American priest recruiting him, “Tell me, is it really as false and artificial as they say it is?” When assured this is the case, he says wistfully, “I’d love that.”

*Father Ted*'s anarchic brand of humor was deceptively gentle, but it managed to aim some fairly sharp blows at the Catholic Church. Not only are the Craggy Island priests utterly dysfunctional, corrupt, and less than spiritual, their colleagues in the cloth are no better. The complacency, sexism, and corruption of the Church are mercilessly, if subtly, mocked (coinciding with a massive decline in its influence in Ireland).

Linehan and Mathews decided to end the show after three series, while it was still at the height of its powers. Just after the last episode was filmed, Dermot Morgan, who played Ted, died of a heart attack. But *Father Ted*'s popularity remains undimmed. Videos have sold well and Channel 4 has the series on virtually continual rerun.

PHIL WICKHAM

See also **Channel 4; Ireland; Religion on Television**

### Cast

Father Ted Crilly	Dermot Morgan
Father Dougal McGuire	Ardal O'Hanlon

Father Jack Hackett	Frank Kelly
Mrs. Doyle	Pauline McLynn
Bishop Brennan	Jim Norton
Father Noel Furlong	Graham Norton

### Writers

Graham Linehan and Arthur Mathews

### Directors

Declan Lowney (series 1 and 2 and Christmas special), Andy de Emmony (studio director, series 3), Graham Linehan (location director, series 3)

### Producers

Mary Bell (executive producer), Geoffrey Perkins (series 1), Lissa Evans (series 2 and 3 and Christmas special)

### Programming History

Hat Trick Productions for Channel 4	
24 episodes and 1 Christmas special	
April 1995–May 1995	6 episodes
March 1996–May 1996	10 episodes
Christmas special 1996	
March 1998–May 1998	8 episodes

### Further Reading

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Fennel, Nicky, “Drink! Girls! Feck!,” *Film West* 25 (Summer 1996)

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# Fawlty Towers

British Situation Comedy

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Considered to be one of the finest and funniest examples of British situation comedy, *Fawlty Towers* became a critical and popular success throughout the world to the extent that all 12 of its episodes now stand as classics in their own right. The series succeeded in combining the fundamentals of British sitcom both

with the traditions of British theatrical farce and with the kind of licensed craziness for which John Cleese had already gained an international reputation in *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. Comic writing of the highest quality, allied to painstaking attention to structure and detail, enabled *Fawlty Towers* to depict an ex-



traordinarily zany world without departing from the crucial requirement of sitcom—the maintenance of a plausible and internally consistent setting.

As with so many sitcoms, the premise is simple, stable, and rooted in everyday life (reputedly being based on the proprietor of a genuine Torquay hotel in which Cleese and the *Monty Python* team stayed while shooting location footage). Basil Fawlty (Cleese) and his wife, Sybil (Prunella Scales), run the down-at-heel seaside hotel of the title, hampered by a lovingly drawn cast of believable characters embellished in varying degrees from comic stereotype. Yet *Fawlty Towers* stands out from the commonplace through its intensity of pace and exceptional characterization and performance, with the result that otherwise simple narratives are propelled, through the pandemonium generated by Basil and Sybil's prickly relationship, to absurd conclusions.

Cleese plays Basil as a man whose uneasy charm and resigned awkwardness scarcely contain his inner turmoil. An inveterate snob, Basil is trapped between his dread of Sybil's wrath and his contempt for the most of the hotel's guests—the “riffraff” whose petty demands seem to interfere with its smooth running. In Sybil, Prunella Scales created a character who is the equal of Basil in plausible idiosyncrasy—more practical than him but entirely unsympathetic to his feelings, a gossiping, overdressed put-down expert who can nevertheless be the soul of tact when dealing with guests.

*Fawlty Towers* turns on their relationship—an uneasy truce of withering looks and acidic banter born of her continual impatience at his incompetence and pomposity. For Basil, Sybil is “a rancorous coiffeured old sow,” while she calls him “an aging brilliantined stick insect.” With Basil capable of being pitched into wild panic or manic petulance at the slightest difficulty, the potential is always present for the most explosive disorder.

Powerless against Sybil, Basil vents his frustrations on Manuel (Andrew Sachs), the ever-hopeful Spanish waiter, whom he bullies relentlessly and with exaggerated cruelty. Manuel's few words of English and obsessive literalism (“I know nothing”) draw on the comic stereotype of the “funny foreigner” but reverses it to make him the focus of audience sympathy, especially in later episodes. When the final show reveals Manuel's devotion to his pet hamster (actually a rat!), it is gratifying to find it named “Basil.”

Connie Booth, co-writer of the series and Cleese's wife at the time, completed the principal characters as Polly, a beacon of relative calm in the unbalanced world of *Fawlty Towers*. As a student helping out in the hotel, her role is often to dispense sympathy, ameliorating the worst of Basil's excesses or Manuel's misunderstandings.



*Fawlty Towers*, John Cleese, Connie Booth, 1974–79.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Such was Cleese's reputation, however, that even the smaller roles could be cast from the top drawer of British comedy actors. Among these were Bernard Cribbins, Ken Campbell, and, most notably of all, Joan Sanderson, whose performance as the irascible and deaf Mrs. Richards remains her most memorable in a long and successful career.

Beyond the tangled power relations of its principal characters, a large part of the comic appeal of *Fawlty Towers* lay in its combination of the familiar sitcom structure with escalating riffs of *Pythonesque* excess. The opening of each episode (with hackneyed theme tune, stock shots, and inexplicably rearranged name-board) and the satisfying circularity of their plotting shared with the audience a “knowingness” about the norms of sitcom. Yet it was this haven of predictable composition that gave license to otherwise grotesque or outlandish displays that challenged the bounds of acceptability in domestic comedy. Basil thrashing his stalled car with a tree branch, concealing the corpse of a dead guest, or breaking into Hitlerian goose-stepping before a party of Germans were incidents outside the traditional capacity of the form, which could have been disastrous in lesser hands.

The British practice of making sitcoms in short series gave Cleese and Booth the luxury of painstaking

attention to script and structure, which was reflected in the show's consistent high quality. An interval of nearly four years separated the two series of *Fawlty Towers*, and some episodes took four months and as many as ten drafts to complete. Perhaps as a result, the preoccupations of the series reflected those of the authors themselves. Basil's character is a study in the suppression of anger, a subject later explored in Cleese's popular psychology books. This, together with an acute concern with class, contributes to the peculiarly English flavor of the series and may have had its roots in his boyhood. A long-standing fascination with communication problems seems to have been the motivation for the creation of Manuel and is characteristic of much of the interaction in the show (as well as being the title of the episode involving Mrs. Richards).

*Fawlty Towers* has been shown repeatedly throughout the world. In the 1977–78 season alone, it was sold to 45 stations in 17 countries, becoming the BBC's best-selling program overseas for the year, although the treatment of Manuel caused great offense at the 1979 Montreux Light Entertainment Festival, where *Fawlty Towers* was a notorious flop. More recently, however, it has successfully been dubbed into Spanish, with Manuel refashioned as an Italian, and in 2001, with references to Hitler tactfully changed, the show was remade with a German cast—a project that involved Cleese as a consultant. In Britain *Fawlty Towers* has almost attained the status of a national treasure, and Basil's rages and many of his more outlandish outbursts (“He’s from Barcelona”; “Whatever you do, don’t mention the war”; “My wife will explain”) have passed into common currency.

PETER GODDARD

See also **British Programming; Cleese, John; Scales, Prunella**

#### Cast

Basil Fawlty	John Cleese
Sybil Fawlty	Prunella Scales
Manuel	Andrew Sachs
Polly	Connie Booth
Major Gowen	Ballard Berkeley
Miss Tibbs	Gilly Flower
Miss Gatsby	Renee Roberts

#### Producers

John Howard Davies, Douglas Argent

#### Programming History

12 30-minute episodes

BBC

September 19, 1975–October 24, 1975

February 19, 1979–March 26, 1979

#### Further Reading

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Skyner, Robin A.C., and John Cleese, *Families and How to Survive Them*, London: Methuen, 1983

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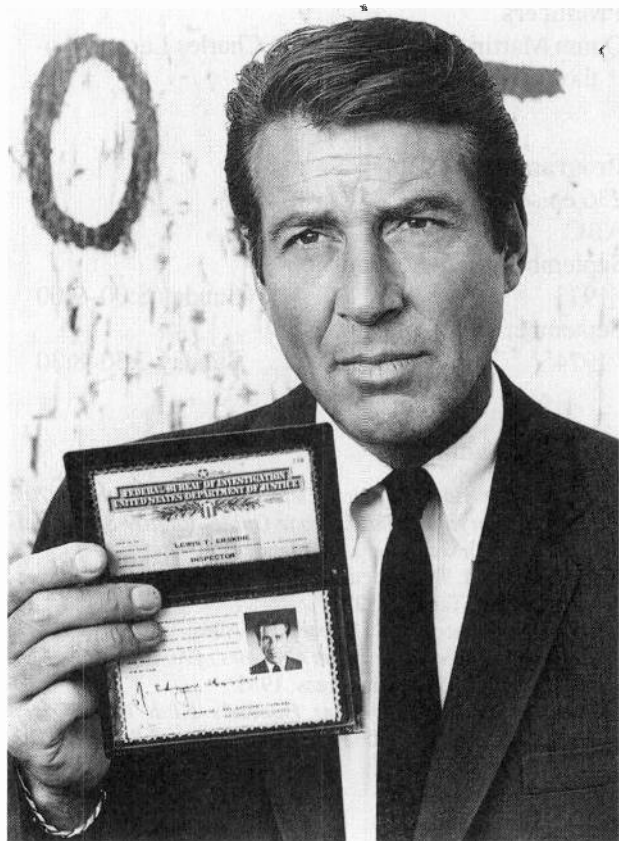
## FBI, The

### U.S. Police Procedural

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*The FBI*, appearing on ABC from 1965 to 1974, was the longest-running series from the prolific offices of QM Productions, the production company guided by the powerful television producer Quinn Martin. Long-time Martin associate and former writer Philip Saltzman produced the series for QM with the endorsement and cooperation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). As Horace Newcomb and Robert Alley report in

*The Producer's Medium*, Martin professed that he did not want to do the show, primarily because he saw himself and the FBI in two different political and philosophical camps (see Newcomb and Alley). However, through a series of meetings with FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and other bureau representatives, and at the urging of ABC and sponsor Ford Motor Company, Martin proceeded with the show.



*F.B.I.*, Efrim Zimbalist Jr., 1965–74.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*The FBI* marked the first time QM Productions chronicled the exploits of an actual federal law enforcement body, and each episode was subject not only to general bureau approval but also the personal approval of Hoover himself. Despite this oversight, Martin reported to Newcomb and Alley that the bureau never gave him any difficulties regarding the stories produced for the show. The FBI's only quibbles had to do with depicting the proper procedure an agent would follow in any given situation.

*The FBI* featured Inspector Lewis Erskine (Efrim Zimbalist, Jr.). For the first two seasons, Agent Jim Rhodes (Stephen Brooks) was Erskine's associate and boyfriend to his daughter, Barbara (Lynn Loring). Agent Tom Colby (William Reynolds) was Erskine's sidekick for the remainder of the series. All the principals answered to Agent Arthur Ward (Philip Abbot). Erskine was a man of little humor and a near-obsessive devotion to his duties. Haunted by the memory of his wife, who had been killed in a job-related shoot-out, Erskine discouraged his daughter from becoming involved with an FBI agent, hoping to spare her the same pain. However, his capacity for compassion ended there. This lack of

breadth and depth set Erskine apart from other protagonists in QM programs, but neither he nor his partners allowed themselves to become emotionally involved in their work, which focused on a range of crimes, from bank robbery to kidnapping to the occasional communist threat to overthrow the government.

Martin's attempts, with his team of writer-producers, to develop a multidimensional Lewis Erskine were met with resistance from the audience. Through letters to QM and ABC, viewers expressed their desire to see a more stoic presence in Erskine—one incapable of questioning his motives or consequences from his job. Erskine, Ward, Rhodes, and Colby were asked to view themselves simply as the infantry in an endless battle against crime. The audience, apparently in need of heroes without flaws, called for and received assurance in the form of these men from the bureau. A female agent, Chris Daniels (Shelly Novack), appeared for the final season of the show.

The series drew critical scorn but was very successful for ABC, slipping into and out of the top-20 shows for the nine years of its run, and rising to the tenth position for the 1970–71 season. Shortly after the series left the air, Martin produced two made-for-television films, *The FBI versus Alvin Karpis* (1974), and *The FBI versus the Ku Klux Klan* (1975).

In spite of the critics' negative attitude toward the series, *The FBI* was Quinn Martin's most successful show. Media scholars point to the program as most emblematic of QM's approval and advocacy of strong law enforcement. The period from the late 1960s into the early 1970s was one of significant political and social turmoil. *The FBI* and other shows like it (*Hawaii Five-O*, *Mission: Impossible*) proposed an answer to the call for stability and order from a video constituency confused and shaken by domestic and international events seemingly beyond its control.

Despite this social context, however, the series differed from other QM productions in its steady avoidance of contemporary issues of social controversy. *The FBI* never dealt substantively with civil rights or domestic surveillance or the moral ambiguities of campus unrest related to the Vietnam War. One departure from this pattern was sometimes found in the standard device that concluded many shows: Zimbalist would present to the audience pictures of some of the most wanted criminals in the United States and request assistance in capturing them. One of the more prominent names from this segment was James Earl Ray, assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Within the dramatic narrative of *The FBI*, however, a resolute Erskine would pursue the counterfeiter or bank robber of the week bereft of any feelings or social analysis that might complicate the carrying out of his

## FBI, The

duties. For Martin, a weekly one-hour show was not the forum in which to address complex social issues. He did do so, however, in the made-for-television movies mentioned above.

*The FBI* occupies a unique position in the QM oeuvre. It is one of the most identifiable and recognizable of the QM productions. It is also representative of the genre of law-and-order television that may have assisted viewers in imposing some sense of order on a world that was often confusing and frightening.

JOHN COOPER

See also **Martin, Quinn; Police Programs**

### Cast

Inspector Lewis Erskine	Efrem Zimbalist, Jr.
Arthur Ward	Philip Abbott
Barbara Erskine (1965–66)	Lynn Loring
Special Agent Jim Rhodes (1965–67)	Stephen Brooks
Special Agent Tom Colby (1967–73)	William Reynolds
Agent Chris Daniels (1973–74)	Shelly Novack

### Producers

Quinn Martin, Philip Saltzman, Charles Larson, Anthony Spinner

### Programming History

236 episodes

ABC

September 1965–September 1973

Sunday 8:00–9:00

September 1973–September 1974

Sunday 7:30–8:30

### Further Reading

Martindale, David, *Television Detective Shows of the 1970s: Credits, Storylines, and Episode Guides for 109 Series*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1991

Meyers, Richard, *TV Detectives*, San Diego, California: Barnes, and London: Tantivy, 1981

Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983

Powers, Richard Gid, *G-Men: Hoover's F.B.I. in American Popular Culture*, Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1983

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**FCC.** See **Federal Communications Commission**

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## Fecan, Ivan (1954– )

Canadian Television Programming Executive

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For years, Ivan Fecan was known to the Canadian broadcasting industry as TV's controversial "wunderkind." In 1985, when he was 31 years old, the Toronto native was recruited by the U.S. television network NBC as the new vice president of programming under then-programming chief Brandon Tartikoff. NBC and CBC had the Canadian comedy series *Second City TV* in common at that time, and Fecan met with Tartikoff to discuss new program ideas. Im-

pressed with the young man, Tartikoff, himself a young executive, offered Fecan the NBC job.

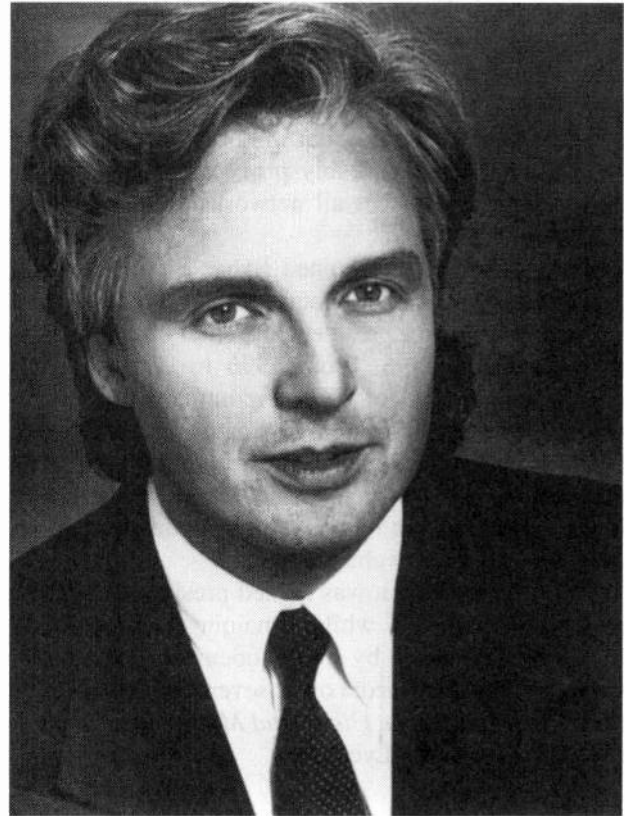
After two years at NBC, the head of English-language CBC, Denis Harvey, brought Fecan home as director of programming, where he began to institute program development, especially in comedy. He moved the award-winning young people's series, *Degrassi Junior High*, to Monday nights in prime time, where it flourished. He also hired a Canadian script

doctor at CBS, Carla Singer, to work with the producer on *Street Legal*, the drama series about a group of Toronto lawyers. Although it started out with weak scripts and pedestrian directing, the series found its legs, became much more professional—some would say more “American”—and lasted eight years.

Fecan’s rise to the highest levels of the industry can indeed be described as meteoric. Fecan began as a producer of the popular and respected three-hour radio magazine show, *Sunday Morning*. Moses Znaimer recognized his talent and took him away to be news director of Citytv, the hip new upstart local station. Two years later he became program director at CBC’s Toronto station, CBLT. He updated that flagship station by bringing in electronic news gathering (ENG) equipment, two-way radios, and more reporters. Leaving news for the entertainment side of the business, Fecan spent 16 months as head of CBC-TV’s Variety Department. He is said to have renewed variety programming there by using more independent producing talent.

Fecan’s goals were to make CBC programming break even, to attain an all-Canadian schedule, and to produce high-quality shows that audiences wanted to see. There are two schools of thought on his tenure as CBC’s director of programming. One is that he brought polish and quality to the national network while boosting Canadian-produced shows; the second is that he turned the public broadcaster into a veritable clone of the American networks. What is not in dispute is that he shepherded some of the finest TV movies during his leadership, including *The Boys of St. Vincent*, *Conspiracy of Silence*, *Love and Hate*, *Glory Enough for All*, *Where the Spirit Lives*, *Life with Billy*, *Princes in Exile*, *Dieppe*, and *Liar, Liar*. In fact, *Love and Hate* (about the true story of a Saskatchewan politician who murdered his ex-wife) was the first Canadian movie of the week to be aired on a major U.S. network (NBC). The series *Kids in the Hall*, *The Road to Avonlea*, *North of 60*, *Scales of Justice*, *9B*, *Degrassi High*, *The Odyssey*, and *Northwood* came into existence because of Fecan. *Kids in the Hall* went on to become a hit on American television and *The Road to Avonlea* won awards all over the world and ran for seven years. In addition to *Kids in the Hall*, in the comedy arena, he launched *The Royal Canadian Air Farce*, *CODCO*, and *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*.

Fecan made professional use of competitive scheduling and programming tools he had learned from Tartikoff and Grant Tinker at NBC. Negotiating that delicate balance between Canadian content and American revenues that has so often been a problem, he programmed American series in prime time to help bring in much-needed money—*Kate and Allie*, *Hoop-*



Ivan Fecan.  
Photo courtesy of Ivan Fecan

*erman*, *The Golden Girls*, and *The Wonder Years*. Some argued that *Street Legal* had become too Americanized, like *L.A. Law*, its counterpart, despite the obvious Toronto locations and the Canadian legal traditions and local issues. (The shows were developed and coincidentally went on air about the same time.) *Street Legal* also, however, began to draw more than a million viewers a week, a hit by Canadian standards, after two seasons of mediocrity.

A much more risky and dubious decision was to create *Prime Time News* at 9:00 P.M. to replace the Canadian tradition of *The National* and *The Journal* at 10:00 P.M. It turned out to be an unwise move and *The National* was soon returned.

Such shows as *Adrienne Clarkson Presents*, Harry Rasky’s world-famous documentary specials, the documentary anthology *Witness*, and Patrick Watson’s *The Struggle for Democracy* illustrate Fecan’s commitment to Canadian production that is neither American-style nor draws large audiences. Canadian content grew from 78 percent to 91 percent under Fecan’s direction, and the amount of U.S. programming dropped. Although criticized for concentrating too much on the national network instead of on regional

programming, Fecan strengthened the main network in a time when local stations were about to be cut or closed altogether by severe budget restraints not in his control. It has been claimed that CBC's audience share declined over his tenure, but in boom years for cable and pay, his work probably prevented much greater declines in ratings that all networks, even the three U.S. majors, suffered.

Fecan left CBC and joined Baton Broadcasting in January 1994 as senior group vice president and became executive vice president and chief operating officer in January 1995. From 1996 to 2001, he was president and CEO of CTV, a commercial, national network overseen by Baton. During his tenure at CTV, Fecan carried out significant restructuring programs, acquisitions, and mergers, which turned CTV into a leading player in the realms of both traditional broadcasting and specialty channels.

In 2000 Ivan Fecan was named president and CEO of Bell Globemedia, while remaining CEO of CTV, Inc., which is owned by Bell Globemedia. In addition to CTV, Bell Globemedia owns several other Canadian brands, including *The Globe and Mail*, Globe Interactive, and Sympatico-Lycos.

JANICE KAYE

*See also Canadian Programming in English; Citytv; CODCO; Degrassi; Kids in the Hall; National; North of 60; Road to Avonlea; Royal Canadian Air Farce; Second City TV; Street Legal*

**Ivan Fecan.** Born in Toronto, Canada, 1954. Educated at York University, Toronto, B.A. in fine arts. Producer, *Sunday Morning* radio show; news director, Citytv; program director, CBC, Toronto, head of network Variety department; moved to Hollywood as vice president of creative development, NBC, 1985; director of television programming, CBC, 1987; vice president, Baton Broadcasting, 1994, chief operating officer, 1995.

#### Radio

*Sunday Morning* (producer).

#### Further Reading

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## Federal Communications Commission

### U.S. Regulatory Commission

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The U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC), created by an act of Congress on June 19, 1934, merged the administrative responsibilities for regulating broadcasting and wired communications under the rubric of one agency. Created during "The New Deal" with the blessings of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the commission was given broad latitude to establish "a rapid, efficient, Nation-wide, and world-wide wire and radio communication service." On July 11, 1934, seven commissioners and 233 federal employees began the task of merging rules and procedures from the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Postmaster General into one agency. The agency was organized into three divisions: Broadcast, Telegraph, and Telephone. As of 2002, the FCC employed approximately 2,000 people and operated on a \$245 million annual

budget. The commission has extensive oversight responsibilities in new technologies such as wireless, satellite, and microwave communications.

#### The 1934 Communications Act and the Organization of the FCC

The FCC is an independent regulatory government agency. It derives its powers to regulate various segments of the communications industries through the Communications Act of 1934. Government radio stations are exempt from FCC jurisdiction. Congress appropriates money to fund the agency and its activities, although recently the FCC also has raised revenues through an auction process for the frequency spectrum. Divided into titles and sections, and amended numerous times since 1934, the Communications Act enu-

merates the powers and responsibilities of the agency and its commissioners.

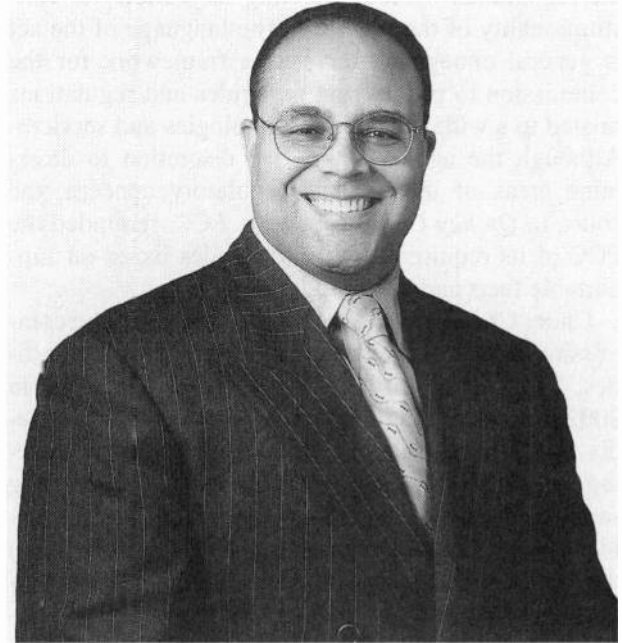
Title I describes the administration, formation, and powers of the FCC. The 1934 Act called for a commission consisting of seven members (reduced to five in 1983) appointed by the president and approved by Senate. The president designates one member to serve as chairperson. The chair sets the agenda for the agency and appoints bureau and department heads. Commissioners serve for a period of five years. The president cannot appoint more than three members of one political party to the commission. Title I empowers the commission to create divisions or bureaus responsible for various specific work assignments.

Title II concerns common-carrier regulation. Common carriers are communication companies that provide facilities for transmission but do not originate messages, such as telephone and microwave providers. The act limits FCC regulation to interstate and international common carriers, although a joint federal-state board coordinates regulation between the FCC and state regulatory commissions.

Title III of the act deals with broadcast station requirements. Many determinations regarding broadcasting regulations were made prior to 1934 by the FRC, and most provisions of the Radio Act of 1927 were subsumed into Title III of the 1934 Communications Act. Sections 303–307 define many of the powers given to the commission with respect to broadcasting. Other sections define limitations placed upon the commission. For example, section 326 within Title III prevents the commission from exercising censorship over broadcast stations. Provisions in the U.S. code also link to the Communications Act. For example, 18 U.S.C. 1464 bars individuals from uttering obscene or indecent language over a broadcast station. Section 312 mandates access to the airwaves for federal candidates, whereas section 315, known as the Equal Time Rule, requires broadcasters to afford equal opportunity to candidates seeking political office who wish to air campaign messages. Previously, section 315 also included provisions for rebuttal of controversial viewpoints under the contested fairness doctrine. However, in October 2000 the commission relaxed the political-attack rules related to section 315.

Title V enumerates the powers of the commission to impose fines and forfeitures. Title VI describes provisions related to the cable regulation. Title VII enumerates miscellaneous provisions and powers, including the power of the president to suspend licenses and transmission during times of war.

Many of the alterations to the Communications Act since its passage in 1934 have come in response to the numerous technological changes in communications



Chair Michael K. Powell.  
*Photo courtesy of the FCC*

that have taken place during the FCC's history, including the introduction of television, satellite and microwave communications, cable television, cellular telephone, digital broadcasting, and personal communications services (PCS). As a result of these and other developments, new responsibilities have been added to the commission's charge. The Communications Satellite Act of 1962, for example, gave the FCC new authority for satellite regulation. The passage of the Cable Act of 1992 and the Telecommunications Act of 1996 required similar revisions to the 1934 law. Nonetheless, it has been the flexibility incorporated into the general provisions that has allowed the agency to survive for seven decades. In 1996 the passage of the Telecommunications Act provided a congressional mandate for the FCC to develop policies that would accelerate technological innovation and competition within various segments of the communications industry.

The FCC has broad oversight over all broadcasting regulation. The commission licenses operators for a wide variety of services and has used auctions as a means of determining who would be awarded licenses. The commission enforces various requirements for wire and wireless communication through the promulgation of rules and regulations. Major issues can come before the entire commission at monthly meetings; less important issues are "circulated" among commissioners for action. Individuals or parties of interest can challenge the legitimacy of



the regulations without affecting the validity or constitutionality of the act itself. The language of the act is general enough to serve as a framework for the commission to promulgate new rules and regulations related to a wide variety of technologies and services. Although the agency has broad discretion to determine areas of interest and regulatory concern, the court, in *Quincy Cable TV, Inc. v. FCC*, reminded the FCC of its requirements to issue rules based on supportable facts and knowledge.

Under Chairman Michael Powell (2001– ), the commission's bureaus were reorganized under function titles. The newly formed Media Bureau, created in 2002, combines the functions of the former Mass Media and Cable Bureaus, with the new bureau overseeing the licensing and regulation of broadcasting services and the enforcement of provisions of the Cable Act of 1992. Telephone services are split between the Wireless Telecommunications Bureau, which handles wireless and PCS services, and the Wireline Competition Bureau, which promulgates rules related to long-distance and other wireline services. The Consumer and Governmental Affairs Bureau provides linkage to consumers, states, and other governmental organizations. The Enforcement Bureau oversees the Investigations and Hearings Division and resolves complaints related to implementation of regulations promulgated by the commission. The International Bureau represents the commission in matters related to satellite and international communication. The Field Operations Bureau carries out enforcement, engineering, and public outreach programs for the commission. Ten offices within the FCC support the bureaus. The Office of Engineering and Technology provides engineering expertise and knowledge to the commission and tests equipment for compliance with FCC standards. The Office of Plans and Policy acts like the commission think tank.

### **The FCC and Broadcasting**

Scholars differ on whether the FCC has used its powers to enforce provisions of the Communications Act wisely. Among the broad responsibilities placed with the FCC under section 303 are the power to classify stations and prescribe services; assign frequencies and power; approve equipment and mandate standards for levels of interference; make regulations for stations with network affiliations; prescribe qualifications for station owners and operators; levy fines and forfeitures; and issue cease-and-desist orders.

The most important powers granted to the commission are powers to license, short-license, withhold, fine, revoke, or renew broadcast licenses and con-

struction permits. The exercise of these powers is based on the commission's own evaluation of whether the station has served in the public interest, although a provision of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has made it more difficult for the FCC to withhold the license of a broadcast station that fulfills its minimum obligations. Historically, therefore, much of the debate over the FCC's wisdom has focused on the determination of what constitutes fulfillment of a broadcast licensee's responsibilities under the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" standard. Definitions and applications of this standard have varied considerably depending upon the composition of the commission and the mandates given by Congress. Although the FCC can wield the life-or-death sword of license revocation as a means of enforcing its regulations, the commission has rarely used this power in its 70-year history.

Indeed, critics of the FCC argue that it has been too friendly and eager to serve the needs of large broadcast interests. Early FCC proceedings, for example, illustrate a pattern of favoring business over educational or community interests in license proceedings. And yet, the FCC has at times taken action against big broadcast interests by promulgating Duopoly, Prime-Time Access Rules (PTARs), and Syndication and Financial Interest Rules, all aimed at reducing the influence of large multiple-license owners. However, recent mergers and acquisitions allowed by the FCC, and made possible as a result of ownership changes specified in the Telecommunications Act of 1996, suggest that the Congress is interested in allowing economies of scale to work within the broadcasting and telecommunications industry.

The commission has restated the public-interest requirements numerous times over its 70-year history. The Blue Book, the 1960 Programming Policy Statement, and the Policy Statement Concerning Comparative Hearing were examples of FCC attempts to provide licensees with guidance as to what constituted adequate public service. In the early 21st century, the FCC's reliance on "marketplace forces" to create competitive programming options for viewers reflects the belief of the congressional majority that economic competition is preferable to behavioral regulation in the broadcast industry. Implementation of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has focused on reducing unnecessary regulation for an industry that is largely regarded as mature. A biennial review process, mandated by Congress, is used to ensure that regulation is not over-burdensome.

Viewed over its 70-year history, FCC decision making is generally seen as ad hoc. As economic and technological conditions warranted changes in regulatory



policy, the commission has issued decisions that have frequently reversed the direction of its policymaking. Before the present era of deregulation, the FCC had promulgated extremely complex and detailed technical and operating rules and regulations for broadcasters, but it also gave licensees great latitude to determine what constituted service in the public interest based on local needs under its Ascertainment Policy. Once a station was licensed, the operator was required to monitor the technical, operational, and programming aspects of the station. Files on all aspects of station operations had to be kept for several years. As of 2002, under the general guidance of the “market,” filing and renewal requirements for broadcasters have been greatly reduced. Previously, when two or more applicants competed for the same license, or when a Petition to Deny challenge was mounted, the commission made a determination as to which of the competing applicants was best qualified using a comparative hearing process. In the past, license challenges and competing applications frequently dragged on for years, costing interested parties thousands of dollars in legal fees. In 1993 the courts ruled the comparative process was arbitrary and capricious, and in 1997, Congress mandated that the FCC utilize a competitive bidding process in awarding broadcast licenses.

Reliance on “the marketplace rationale” began under Chairman Charles D. Ferris (1977–81), when the FCC embraced a new perspective on regulation and began licensing thousands of new stations in an effort to replace behavioral regulation with the forces of competition. Chairman Mark Fowler (1981–87) endorsed the marketplace model even more willingly than his predecessor. Still, despite the flood of new stations, the Scarcity Rationale, based on limitations of the electromagnetic spectrum, remained a primary premise for government regulation over electronic media. However, new technologies have reduced the validity of the scarcity principle in recent years, although the federal government still warehouses a large portion of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Broadcast licensees do not enjoy the same First Amendment rights as other forms of mass media. Critics have charged that entry regulation—either through utilizing the concept of “natural monopoly” or severely limiting the number of potential licenses available—effectively uses the coercive power of government to restrict the number of parties who benefit from involvement in telecommunications. Recently, broadcasters have sought to limit the introduction of new broadcast services, such as low-power FM, citing spectrum crowding and increased competition from other nonbroadcast services. Steven Breyer and Richard Stewart note that, “Commissions operate in

hostile environments, and their regulatory policies become conditional upon the acceptance of regulation by the regulated groups. In the long run, a commission is forced to come to terms with the regulated groups as a condition of survival.” Critics say both the FRC and the FCC became victims of client politics, as these two regulatory agencies were captured by the industries they were created to regulate; however, recent analysis suggests political influence is also an important factor in decision making.

### **Broadcast Regulation and FCC Policy Decisions**

Throughout its history, a primary goal of the FCC has been to regulate the relationship between affiliated stations and broadcast networks, because the Communications Act does not grant specific powers to regulate networks. When the commission issued Chain Broadcasting regulations, the networks challenged the commission’s authority to promulgate such rules and sued in *National Broadcasting Co., Inc. et al. v. United States*. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the 1934 Act and the FCC’s rules related to business alliances, noting the broad and elastic powers legislated by Congress. The FCC has used the network case as a precedent to ratify its broad discretionary powers in numerous other rulings.

On another front, at various times the commission has promulgated rules to promote diversity of ownership and opinion in markets and geographical areas. The Seven-Station Rule limited the number of stations that could be owned by a single corporate entity. Multiple-ownership and cross-ownership restrictions dealt with similar problems and monitored multiple ownership of media outlets—newspapers, radio stations, television stations—in regions and locations. Rules restricting multiple ownership of cable and broadcast television were also applied in specific situations. However, as more radio and television stations were licensed, restrictions limiting owners to few stations, a limitation originally meant to protect diversity of viewpoint in the local market, made less sense to the commission. The FCC made changes to ownership rules in 1985 and again in 1992, but Congress mandated a broad relaxation of ownership rules with the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. In the early 21st century, broadcasters are not limited by the number of stations they can own, although the FCC enforces a market cap that limits the number of stations that can be owned within each market. Restrictions on ascertainment, limits on commercials, ownership, antitrafficking, and syndication and financial interest rules also have been eased as

well. Recent waivers with regard to ownership and duopoly rules suggest that further deregulation is likely.

Still, it is the issue of First Amendment rights of broadcasters that has generated more public controversy in the history of the Communications Act of 1934 than any other aspect of U.S. communication law. Since the earliest days of regulation the FRC and then the FCC insisted that because of "scarcity," a licensee must operate a broadcast station in the public trust rather than promote only his or her point of view. The constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine and Section 315 was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC* (1969). Broadcasters complained that the doctrine produced a "chilling effect" on speech and cited the possibility of fighting protracted legal battles in Fairness Doctrine challenges. Generally, though, the FCC determined station "fairness" based on the overall programming record of the licensee. The court reaffirmed the notion that licensees were not obligated to sell or give time to specific opposing groups to meet Fairness Doctrine requirements as long as the licensee met its public trustee obligations. However, as commissioners embraced deregulation, they began looking for ways to eliminate the Fairness Doctrine. In the 1985 Fairness Report, the FCC concluded that scarcity was no longer a valid argument and the Fairness Doctrine inhibited broadcasters from airing more controversial material. Two cases gave the commission the power to eliminate the doctrine; in *TRAC v. FCC* (1986), the court ruled that the doctrine was not codified as part of the 1959 Amendment to the Communications Act as previously assumed. Second, the FCC applied the Fairness Doctrine to a Syracuse, New York, television station after that station ran editorials supporting the building of a nuclear power plant. Meredith Corporation challenged the doctrine and cited the 1985 FCC report calling for the doctrine's repeal. The courts remanded the case back to the commission to determine whether the doctrine was constitutional and in the public interest. In 1987 the FCC repealed the doctrine, with the exception of the personal-attack and political-editorializing rules. Then, in 2000, the courts ordered the FCC to rescind the personal attack and political editorializing rules.

Other First Amendment problems facing the commission include enforcing rules against indecent or obscene broadcasts (*FCC v. Pacifica* [1978]). After *Pacifica*, the FCC enforced a ruling preventing broadcasters from using the "seven dirty words" enumerated in comedian George Carlin's "Filthy Words" monologue on the air. However, "shock jocks" (radio disc jockeys, such as Howard Stern, who routinely test the

boundaries of language use) and increasingly suggestive musical lyrics moved the FCC to take action against several licensees in 1987. In a formal Public Notice, the FCC restated a generic definition of indecency, which was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals. Spurred by Congress, the commission stepped up efforts to limit the broadcast of indecent programming material, including the graphic depiction of aborted fetuses in political advertising. As of 2002, the FCC enforces a "safe harbor" restriction for broadcast material. Indecent programming is limited to times when children are not likely to be in the audience (10 P.M. until 6 A.M.).

Other perennial areas of concern for the commission include television violence, the number of commercials broadcast in given time periods, the general banality of programming, and many issues related to children's television. Several FCC chairmen and commissioners have been successful in using the "raised eyebrow" as an informal means of drawing attention to problems in industry practices. Calling television "a vast wasteland," a phrase adopted by many critics of television, FCC chairman Newton Minow (1961-63) challenged broadcasters to raise programming standards. In 1974, under Richard Wiley (1972-77), the commission issued the Children's Television Programming and Advertising Practices policy statement, thereby starting a review of industry practices. Alfred Sikes (1989-92) called for "a commitment to the public trust" when he criticized television news coverage. William Kennard (1997-2001), the FCC's first African-American chairman, encouraged minority ownership of media and equality of services in new technologies. Chairman Michael Powell has pushed for voluntary standards as a way to speed the development of digital television.

Interest in children's television was further renewed in 1990 by the passage of the Children's Television Act, which reinstated limits on the amount of commercial time broadcast during children's programming and required the FCC to consider programming for children by individual stations when those stations seek license renewal. Television stations must air at least three hours of prosocial programs for children every week. The commission, under Chairman Reed Hundt (1993), adopted a new Notice of Inquiry on compliance in this area. In 1996 Congress became increasingly interested in reducing the amount of violence on television. Industry representatives agreed to development of a ratings system that could be used in conjunction with V-Chip technology available in modern televisions.

The contemporary FCC has many critics who contend that the agency is unnecessary and the Communi-

cations Act of 1934 outdated. Calls to move communication policymaking into the executive branch, through the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), or to reform the FCC have been heard from both industry and government leaders. Congress has grappled with FCC reform through the legislative process in its most recent sessions. Also, the FCC has refocused its regulatory priorities as a result of the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. Digital radio and television authorizations, deployment of broadband telecommunications services, and media ownership are among the items that required the FCC to promulgate new rules in order to meet its mandates. Legislative initiatives have provided the FCC with a substantial agenda of items over the past decade, and the creation of new telecommunications services through spectrum auctions has provided substantive revenues for the government. However, concerns over the growth of a "digital divide" (inequity in the deployment of telecommunications services among rural and urban users), have prompted watchdog organizations to charge the FCC with inadequate oversight and probusiness rule-making. Convergence of telephone and broadcasting technologies could make the separate service requirements under Titles II and III difficult to reform. Whether the commission will be substantially changed in the future is uncertain, but rapid changes in communications technology are placing new burdens on the commission's resources.

FRITZ J. MESSERE

**See also Allocation; Censorship; Children and Television; Deregulation; Equal Time Rule; Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; Hennock, Frieda B.; Hooks, Benjamin Lawson; License; Ownership; Political Processes and Television; Prime-Time Access Rule; Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity; Station and Station Groups; Telcos; U.S. Policy: Communications Act of 1934; U.S. Policy: Telecommunications Act of 1996**

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## Federal Communications Commission

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# Federal Trade Commission

## U.S. Regulatory Agency

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In 1914 Congress passed the Federal Trade Commission Act (FTCA), thereby creating the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). The commission was given the mission of preventing "unfair methods of competition" (Pub. L. No. 203, 1914) and was designed to complement the antitrust laws. As such, the FTC originally was conceived as a protector of business and competition, with no direct responsibility to protect consumers.

In some of its first decisions, however, the commission found that the two interests were not mutually exclusive, since it was possible to steal business from a competitor by deceiving consumers. In fact, the FTC used this justification to protect consumers during its first 15 years of operation. But in 1931 the Supreme Court announced that the FTCA did not permit the commission to protect consumers, except where protection was a mere by-product of protecting competitors (*FTC v. Raladam*, 283 U.S. 643). Consequently, in 1938, Congress amended the FTCA to enable the commission to protect both competitors and consumers, by adding power over "unfair or deceptive acts or practices" to the FTC's authority (Pub. L. No. 447).

Today, the FTC is the primary federal agency responsible for preventing citizens from being deceived, or otherwise injured, through advertising and other marketing practices. This responsibility applies to broadcast and print media, as well as any other means

of communicating information from seller to buyer. In accord with its original mission, it also protects businesses from the unfair practices of competitors and, along with the Justice Department, enforces the anti-trust laws. Each of these areas of commission jurisdiction touches the broadcast industry.

The FTC and the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department have an agreement to inform each other about their investigations and expected litigation, to avoid duplication of effort. The general mission for both is to preserve the competitive process, so that it functions in the most economically efficient manner possible and best serves the interest of the public.

The phrase "unfair methods of competition" is not defined in the FTCA, because it was designed to allow the FTC to adapt to an ever-changing marketplace. Courts have determined this power to be quite extensive. Consequently, the commission's oversight of competition generally involves enforcement of the Sherman and Clayton Acts, as well as the Robinson-Patman Act.

Thus, FTC antitrust actions can arise in cases of vertical restraints, entailing agreements between companies and their suppliers that might harm competition, and in cases of horizontal restraints, where direct competitors enter into a competition-limiting agreement. Those agreements can be subject to regulation whether their primary impact is on prices or on some nonprice

aspect of competition. This means that the FTC may intervene in situations intentionally designed to reduce competition, such as mergers and buyouts, or in circumstances where competition may be unintentionally affected, as where a professional association adopts a "code of ethics" agreement.

During the 1970s, the FTC was perceived as being particularly aggressive at enforcing the antitrust laws. Some critics felt it also was somewhat inconsistent in its decisions. But under the Reagan administration, in the early 1980s, the agency's regulatory philosophy changed. At President Reagan's direction, the agency experienced an infusion of "Chicago School" economists committed to deregulation and the belief that some of the commission's previous actions were actually injurious to consumer welfare. The result has been less regulation of vertical restraints and price restrictions, and a greater focus on the benefits and costs to society in regulating horizontal restraints. Any contract or other agreement between competing businesses, even through a trade association, may be subject to FTC scrutiny. However, no regulation is likely unless the agency believes the harms to competition will outweigh the benefits.

With regard to television, the FTC's role in antitrust activity has focused on the flurry round of mergers and acquisitions taking place in the 1980s and 1990s. The commission paid close attention to the purchase of Capital Cities/ABC television network by the Disney company, and to the merger of AOL and Time Warner.

In the realm of advertising regulation the FTC has authority over both "deceptive" and "unfair" advertising and other marketing practices. For television, the commission's focus is on the content and presentation of commercials.

The "unfairness" power never was used extensively and, as a response to criticism that the power was too broad and subjective, it was somewhat limited by Congress between 1980 and 1994. But in 1994 Congress amended the FTCA to define "unfairness" and thereby circumscribe the commission's authority in that area.

The newer definition of unfairness permits the commission to regulate marketing practices that (1) cause or are likely to cause substantial injury to consumers, (2) are not reasonably avoidable by consumers, and (3) are not outweighed by countervailing benefits to consumers or to competition.

By far, most regulation of advertising and marketing practices is based on the commission's "deceptive-

ness" power. As in the antitrust arena, advertising regulation experienced a shift in FTC philosophy during the Reagan presidency. The flow of Chicago School economists into the agency at that time led to a widespread perception that the FTC was engaged in less advertising regulation than it had been in earlier years. And in 1983, when the commission redefined the term "deceptive" (*Cliffdale Associates*, 103 F.T.C. 110), many observers felt the new definition greatly diminished protection for consumers.

Under that new definition, the FTC will find a practice deceptive if (1) there is a representation, omission, or practice that (2) is likely to mislead consumers acting reasonably under the circumstances, and (3) is likely to affect the consumer's choice of, or conduct regarding, a product. The first requirement is obvious, and the FTC generally assumes that the last requirement is met. The second requirement, therefore, is the essence of this definition. The issue is not whether an advertising claim is "false." The issue is whether the claim is likely to lead consumers to develop a false belief.

The previous definition required only a "capacity or tendency" to mislead, rather than a "likelihood" and allowed protection of consumers who were not "acting reasonably." These changes were what bothered critics. But after a few years criticism virtually disappeared, and this definition continues to be FTC policy.

JEF RICHARDS

### *See also Advertising*

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# Fifth Estate, The

## Canadian Public-Affairs Program

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In an attempt to mirror the huge success of the U.S. program *60 Minutes*, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1975 inaugurated its weekly public-affairs program *The Fifth Estate*. Following the “four estates” of the clergy, nobility, the legislature, and print journalism, the “fifth estate” refers to the role of electronic broadcasting in society.

At the outset, the program’s stated format and mandate was to be a weekly hour of innovative and inquisitive personal journalism. As such, the program adapted the American style of segmenting individual stories, introduced and narrated, and from time to time produced, by one of the program’s hosts. Dubbed a magazine-type show, *The Fifth Estate* typically runs three such segments per show. Although based on American forms of public-affairs programs, *The Fifth Estate* maintains a distinct link with Canada’s tradition of documentary filmmaking. In particular, as a CBC-produced program whose mandate is to foster Canadian national identity, *The Fifth Estate*’s subject matters are drawn from all regions of the country. The program, therefore, also serves to educate Canadians about their own nation, its distinctive geography, cultures, languages, and social problems.

The show is under the public-affairs section of CBC programming, and its stories are framed within the language of contemporary news journalism. Not unlike the evening news or beat reporter, *The Fifth Estate* sees its role as a watchdog of government and public policy. And not surprisingly the program’s hosts are usually drawn from the ranks of Canada’s metropolitan daily newspapers. Similarly, hosts such as Hana Gartner have used the program as a stepping-stone to prestigious anchor positions with the network’s flagship newscast, *The National*.

The journalistic experience on *The Fifth Estate*’s staff has resulted in an aggressive and topical approach to public affairs in both Canada and abroad. From time to time this stance has raised the ire of individuals in question. In September 1993, for example, *The Fifth Estate* made front-page news when an entrepreneur unsuccessfully petitioned a Canadian court to place an injunction banning the broadcast of the prime-time program. At the international level, *The Fifth Estate*’s documentary segment “To Sell a War,” originally broadcast in December 1992, received widespread attention and acclaim for its

detailing, in no uncertain terms, the Citizen’s for a Free Kuwait misinformation campaign in the months leading up to the Gulf War. In 1993 “To Sell a War” was awarded the International Emmy for Best Documentary, one of the dozens of awards won by the show and its journalists. In the same decade, other notable stories on *The Fifth Estate* included two covering the life of Ty Conn, a criminal who was first profiled on the program in 1994, when his life served as a case study in a story about the consequences of child abuse. After that story aired, *The Fifth Estate* journalist Linden MacIntyre and producer Theresa Burke maintained a friendly relationship with Conn, and soon after he escaped from a maximum security prison in 1999, he called them. While on the telephone with Burke, 32-year-old Conn fatally shot himself. The events became the subject of another story on *The Fifth Estate*, and MacIntyre and Burke co-authored a book about Conn’s life and death.

GREG ELMER AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

### Interviewers/Hosts (selected)

Adrienne Clarkson (1975–82)

Eric Malling (1976–90)

Bob McKeown (1981–90)



*The Fifth Estate.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

Peter Reilly (1975–77)  
 Warner Troyer (1975–76)  
 Ian Parker (1978–81)  
 Hana Gartner (1982–95, 2000– )  
 Sheila MacVicar (1988–90)  
 Victor Malarek (1990–2000)  
 Stevie Cameron (1990–91)  
 Gillian Findlay (1990–91)  
 Lynden MacIntyre (1991– )  
 Bob Johnstone  
 Anna Maria Tremonti (1997– )

### Producers

Glenn Sarty, Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor

### Programming History

CBC

September 1975– One hour weekly, fall/winter  
 season

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## FilmFour/Film on Four

### British Film Series

The series *Film on Four* was announced on the opening night of Channel 4 in November 1982 and helped to immediately draw attention to the distinctions between this and the three existing British television channels. Ostensibly, *Film on Four* occupies a curious position within British television. It was established by Jeremy Isaacs, Channel 4's first chief executive, following a European model, to encourage mainly new, independent filmmakers by offering funding for fictional, mainly feature-length films. This was intended to lead to cinema distribution in many cases, where a film might gain a reputation before transmission on Channel 4. *Film on Four* is often considered to be particularly significant within film culture for providing vital financial support and for commissioning many films that have gained high regard. Indeed, Isaacs's film investment policies made little economic sense in strictly television terms. He managed to secure around 8 percent of Channel 4's total programming funds and allocated it to fictional one-offs that would fill only 1 percent of airtime. However, it would be constrictive to overlook *Film on Four*'s integral position within television culture.

Traditionally the BBC had been the prime producer and supporter of television drama. However, in the period leading up to the early 1980s, it became increasingly difficult for the BBC to produce the single play for reasons involving changing production values, censorship, and declining resources. The first head of *Film on Four*, David Rose, whose background was in BBC regional drama, commissioned a series of films that collectively represent a renaissance of highly contemporary drama. The films Rose promoted followed a

writerly formula of neorealism with socially displaced characters firmly positioned in a regional landscape. The resultant work, including Neil Jordan's *Angel* (1982) and Colin Gregg's *Remembrance* (1982), has been defined as being uncompromised by television's institutional modes of representation or by cinematic demands of impersonal spectacle.

*Film on Four*'s only early success in the cinema was Peter Greenaway's *The Draughtsman's Contract* (1982), and, although the series had been established to encourage new ideas, in the early years the media argued that most of its products brought little that was innovative to television. Media support, credibility, and international acclaim started to be gained three years on, primarily by Rose's investment in Wim Wender's art-house classic *Paris, Texas* (1984) and his funding of the surprise success *My Beautiful Launderette* (Stephen Frears, 1984). Rose was awarded a special prize at Cannes (1987) for services to cinema and was heralded in Britain as the savior of the film industry. *Film on Four*'s successful output began to multiply with films such as *A Room with a View* (1985), *Hope and Glory* (1987), *Wish You Were Here* (1987), and *A World Apart* (1987), doing well at both the domestic and international box office. In addition to promoting new directors such as Stephen Frears and Chris Menges, *Film on Four* encouraged the work of established filmmakers including Peter Greenaway, Derek Jarman, and Agnès Varda. After touring the festival circuit and cinema distribution, the films were transmitted on television to respectable, although by no means outstanding, view-





*Film on Four: Shallow Grave.*  
Photo courtesy of Channel Four

ing figures—audiences averaged 3 million per film in 1990.

As only a minority of *Film on Four* products succeeded in returning any money to Channel 4, a general agreement was reached at the end of the 1980s that a large portion of the budget needed to be diverted to higher-rated, long-form drama. Rose was succeeded by David Aukin, who continued to implement the recent policy of deliberate undercommissioning. With its much reduced budget, *Film on Four* could not keep up with massive inflation in production costs. Additionally, a sense of a general decrease in the quality of new projects and emerging talent surrounded the organization. Aukin showed less interest in promoting the film industry than in television itself and aimed to concentrate on films a television audience would want to watch, rather than cinema award winners.

In 1994 Channel 4 had a worldwide hit with the film *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994). In the wake of this success, Channel 4 increased *Film on Four*'s annual budget to £16 million. The successful streak initiated by *Four Weddings and a Funeral* continued with the critically acclaimed *Shallow Grave* (1994), *Sense and Sensibility* (1995), and *Secrets and Lies* (1996).

David Aukin stepped down in 1997. The chief executive of Channel 4, Michael Jackson, introduced FilmFour Ltd., a production studio headed by Paul Webster. With doubled investments in filmmaking, FilmFour produced another hit, *East is East* (1999), which took £10 million at the U.K. box office.

Despite these successes in the 1990s, the early 2000s have been difficult. In 2000, FilmFour signed a three-year deal with Warner Brothers. However, the first film produced under this deal, *Charlotte Gray* (2002), was a critical and box office failure. This was a blow for FilmFour, given its lack of a hit since 1999.

Under Mark Thompson, who replaced Michael Jackson as chief executive of Channel 4 (Jackson left at the end of 2001), FilmFour Ltd. was closed. The focus has been returned to airing films on television, under the name FilmFour.

NICOLA FOSTER

See also **Channel 4; Isaacs, Jeremy; Jackson, Michael**

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# Financial Interest and Syndication Rules

## U.S. Broadcasting Regulations

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The Financial Interest and Syndication Rules (Fin-Syn), or more precisely their elimination, altered the U.S. television and film entertainment landscape as much as any event in the 1990s. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) implemented the rules in 1970, attempting to increase programming diversity and limit the market control of the three broadcast television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). The rules prohibited network participation in two related arenas: the financial interest of the television programs they aired beyond first-run exhibition, and the creation of in-house syndication arms, especially in the domestic market. Consent decrees executed by the U.S. Justice Department in 1977 solidified the rules and limited the amount of prime-time programming the networks could produce themselves.

The rationales for Fin-Syn were numerous. The FCC was concerned that vertical integration (control of production, distribution, and exhibition) unfairly increased the power of the networks. By taking away the long-term monetary rights to programs created by the networks, and severely restricting their participation in syndication, the FCC eliminated incentives for the networks to produce programs, thus separating production from distribution. Those in favor of Fin-Syn hoped that the rules would benefit independent television producers by giving them more autonomy from the networks (because financial interest would be solely in the hands of the production company), and by allowing the producers to benefit from the lucrative syndication market. Proponents believed that by privileging independent producers in this way, the rules would cultivate more diverse and innovative television content. Another potential advantage of the rules was that independent television stations would benefit from the separation of the networks from syndication. If the networks owned the syndication rights to off-network programs, they might “warehouse” their programs or steer popular reruns to network-owned-and-operated stations and network affiliates in order to make those stations stronger in a particular market.

From the very beginning, however, the Fin-Syn Rules were controversial and contested. The networks contended that Fin-Syn was unfair and did not solve the problems the policy was intended to fix. One argu-

ment against Fin-Syn noted that the expense of starting a national broadcast network—the financial barriers to entry—much more significantly explained the networks’ control of television than their vertical integration. Others argued that the Fin-Syn Rules undermined the role of independent producers rather than enhanced them. Small independent producers, for example, often cannot afford to engage in the “deficit financing” required by the networks. Deficit financing involves receiving a below-cost payment from the networks during the first run of a program. Large production organizations—such as the Hollywood-connected Warner Television—are much more financially able than smaller companies to cope with the necessary short-term losses in revenue, hoping to strike it rich in syndication. Critics of Fin-Syn therefore noted that Hollywood studios, rather than independents, grew stronger because of Fin-Syn, and that the smaller independents tended to produce conventional, but inexpensive, programs like talk shows and game shows rather than innovative programs.

In 1983 the FCC, swayed by these arguments against Fin-Syn and the general political climate favoring deregulation in many arenas, proposed eliminating most of the rules. However, a massive lobbying effort by Hollywood production organizations—efforts helped by a former Hollywood actor, President Ronald Reagan—kept the rules in place.

In the early 1990s other arguments were levied against Fin-Syn. When the rules were first implemented in the 1970s, before cable and the launching of the fourth network (FOX), the networks’ combined share of the television audience was around 90 percent. By the early 1990s, this share had dropped to roughly 65 percent because of the new forms of competition. Fin-Syn opponents also argued that the presence of vertical integration among other media companies—including organizations with television production arms such as Time Warner—was unfair.

In 1991 the FCC relaxed the Fin-Syn Rules after an intense lobbying war pitting the major television producers (for Fin-Syn) against the major television distributors (against Fin-Syn). Appeals courts later relaxed the rules even further, in essence eliminating all traces of Fin-Syn by November 1995.

The elimination of the Fin-Syn Rules has had several long-term consequences for television. The first consequence has been the merging of production organizations with distribution organizations. One example of this is increased in-house production by the "Big Three" networks (ABC, CBS, NBC). By 1992, for example, NBC was the single largest supplier of its own prime-time programming. In addition to the distribution firms of television becoming more involved in production, production firms have gotten more involved in distribution. The creation of three new broadcast networks from 1986 to 1995 illustrates this development. FOX Broadcasting, supported by its direct relationship with a Hollywood studio, was an early innovator here. In fact, the spark that led to the Fin-Syn elimination was FOX Broadcasting's 1990 request for Fin-Syn revisions. FOX, both a major producer and a mininetwork, wanted its transition to full network status to be unimpeded by Fin-Syn. Once the rules against the merging of production and distribution were on their deathbed, Viacom (owner of Paramount) and Time Warner (owner of Warner Brothers) soon joined FOX in forming studio-based television networks (UPN and the WB, respectively). Studios also bought established networks in blockbuster deals in the mid- and late 1990s, including Disney's purchase of Cap Cities/ABC in 1995 and Viacom's purchase of CBS a few years later. With the latter deal, the Viacom entertainment corporation was now owner of two national television networks, CBS and UPN.

The future of independents—both independent producers and independent stations—may also be significantly affected by the demise of Fin-Syn. Independent producers worry that, at worst, the networks will no longer require their services and, at best, the networks will demand a share of syndication rights to programs and will privilege in-house productions with the best time slots. With the networks involved in the production of over half of their prime-time programs by 2000, many industry observers have wondered if the disappearance of Fin-Syn also means the disappearance of independent production and diverse programming sources. Groups such as the Coalition for Program Diversity, made up of both large and small independent program producers, lobbied the FCC and Congress in 2003 to reinstate mandatory percentages for non-network production, but their request was denied. Independent stations worry that the networks will warehouse their best off-network programs, now that they will own the syndication rights. As early as 1994, some television observers charged that "self-dealing" and warehousing were the motivations behind syndicating *The Simpsons* (which airs in first run on the FOX net-

work) to approximately 70 FOX affiliates. Such potential favoritism led to high-profile lawsuits. David Duchovny, former star of FOX's *The X-Files* and a point participant in that program's syndication revenues, sued FOX for favoring FOX-affiliated stations and cable outlets, arguing that the corporation was sacrificing maximum syndication revenue for affiliate loyalty and corporate promotion.

Finally, other critics note the dangers to programming diversity and advertising interference that may result from the deregulation. Now that the networks may benefit from syndication, for example, will they have an incentive to put on programs with high syndication potential, such as situation comedies? Some critics believe the networks have privileged critically panned and unimpressively rated sitcoms (such as NBC's mid-1990s programs *Suddenly Susan* and *Veronica's Closet*) because of the financial stake in production that the networks hold. Also, during the Fin-Syn era, prime-time network producers were at least superficially insulated from advertiser influence because of the separation of production from distribution. Advertisers paid the networks rather than the producers of TV content. Because the categories of production and distribution have collapsed together after Fin-Syn, advertisers may have more direct access to network production because they now write checks directly to organizations that produce as well as distribute. For example, CBS is a participant in the Survivor Entertainment Group, the production company of the reality-based program *Survivor*. In its early installments, that program featured significant advertiser involvement, including product placement by such sponsors as Doritos and Pontiac, with these brands of snack foods and cars featured prominently in several episodes.

Changes in the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules illustrate the significance of communication policy in affecting the daily menu of television choices available to the public. As much as alterations in technologies, techniques, and personalities, changes in the Fin-Syn Rules had an immediate, significant effect on the television industry and television audiences.

MATTHEW P. MCALLISTER

**See also Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; FOX Broadcasting Company; Programming; Reruns; Syndication**

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## Finland

In terms of television, Finland belongs to the Scandinavian and North European pattern, with a strong public-service system coexisting with commercial channels. However, the Finnish television system also offers some distinctive characteristics: an unusual combination of public and private systems; a radical view of the role of broadcasting in society; and the unique influence of television across the cold war border between Finland and Estonia.

The first regular television transmissions seen in Finland came from the Soviet Union, extended to the Estonian capital Tallinn in 1954, just 40 miles south of Finland's capital Helsinki, across the Baltic Sea. The Leningrad transmitter reached Finnish communities behind the border in the southeastern part of the country. The spillover signal encouraged Finns to buy receivers and put out antennas using the standards applied in the Soviet Union.

This happened at a time when little progress was being made regarding the establishment of national television in Finland. Beginning in the late 1940s, some experimental initiatives with the new medium had taken place in technical circles under the auspices of the state-dominated public-service broadcasting corporation YLE. But the Parliament-controlled management of YLE was reluctant to take rapid steps while its political attention and financial resources were occupied by an ambitious project to cover the wide but sparsely populated country with an FM radio network

(among the first in the world). Most politicians dismissed proposals to use advertising as an additional income for the new medium, either because of concerns that this would reduce advertising revenues for the printed press, or due to the principle that public broadcasting should remain free from commercialism.

However, the prospects of an expanding Soviet television in a Western country began to galvanize politicians, especially when NATO embassies in Helsinki began to report their concern. Like the German "threat" in Denmark some years earlier, the Soviet "threat" in Finland became an argument (skilfully used by the technical lobby) to persuade hesitant decision makers to enter the television era in 1957. Another, even stronger argument for an official introduction of television in Finland was the fact that the technical and private interests, spearheaded by the radio laboratory of the Helsinki University of Technology, had already started experimental transmissions in the mid-1950s. These enthusiasts were frustrated by the slow action of YLE, and as with the introduction of radio in the 1920s, private initiatives served as catalysts to mobilize the public sector. Administratively this was not difficult to carry out, because Finland did not have a legally based state monopoly of broadcasting; even YLE operated under a license from the government.

YLE television started with a transmitter (made in the United States) in the highest tower in Helsinki, fed by an old AM radio station remodeled into a TV studio.

After nearly a year of experimental transmissions, the beginning of 1958 brought regular programs—five days a week excluding a summer break—in both of the official languages, Finnish and Swedish (the latter spoken by 6 percent of the population). Program production was divided between YLE and a subsidiary company created for dealing with advertising, made up of major advertisers, advertising agencies, film companies, and YLE itself. The motive was to ensure financing of the new medium, but the arrangement also brought along additional programs in separate time blocs designated for the commercial subsidiary called MTV (in Finnish “Mainos-TV” for “Advertising TV”).

MTV soon accounted for 20–30 percent of the total programming time, and about the same share of costs. The costs of television for YLE grew rapidly, along with the building of new transmitters throughout the country. Both the studios and transmitters were operated by YLE. MTV hired time for the use of these facilities with the income acquired from the advertisers. Additional revenues for YLE were raised by a new viewing fee for households with a TV set, along with a traditional radio-listening fee.

The expansion of television in the early 1960s was quite rapid, both in terms of transmitter coverage throughout the country, and the number of homes with television sets. With its visible and popular share of the program supply, MTV became an integral part of this success story. YLE alone was allowed to send news and current affairs, while MTV specialized in entertainment. YLE and MTV both created independent productions and imported foreign programs, especially American serials such as *Highway Patrol* and *Peyton Place*. The parent YLE and the subsidiary MTV shared the same channel, MTV having its clearly marked time blocs, partly within prime time and partly in the later hours (for movies).

Accordingly, commercial television entered Finland quite smoothly, without notable opposition—neither from the print media (which did not, contrary to initial fears, lose advertising), nor from political circles (which were skillfully handled by the commercial lobbies). Its introduction was carried out as a series of pragmatic steps. Commercial television in Finland was further strengthened by the independent TV pioneers, which continued transmissions in Helsinki and extended them to the next largest cities of Tampere and Turku, effectively creating a parallel private network financed by advertising. However, this network was doomed to lose the market to the nationally expanding YLE-MTV conglomerate, and in 1965 these stations were sold to YLE. This led to the establishment of the second channel, with its studios and personnel located in Tampere, and its mission directed toward the

provinces, which were soon reached by a rapidly growing transmitter network. Apart from news, which was centralized to the main channel, the second channel had a full profile of programming, including documentary and drama productions of its own. And MTV had its commercial time blocs in this public service channel as well.

The Finnish case led to a peculiar duopoly, in which a public-service corporation coexisted with a commercial company, the latter having a monopoly on television advertising. Although Finnish commercial television had some limitations (operating under YLE’s license; no news and current affairs programs; no membership in EBU), it was more profoundly commercial than most European systems, because it not only had advertising (and not just in bulletins between programs but in breaks within programs); it also constituted a whole program production and purchasing organization, which made it into a real empire (MTV) within an empire (YLE). As a whole, the YLE-MTV conglomerate had grown by the 1970s to provide the Finnish public with a more abundant supply of programs than the other Nordic countries could, with their public-service monopolies operating on a single channel. Finnish television was not only more commercial, but also more American than other Scandinavian television, especially because MTV bought many series and movies from the United States.

The YLE-MTV duopoly was a symbiosis of public-service and commercial systems, at first natural, if uneasy, but later filled with strain and conflicts. YLE wanted more income, while MTV wanted more status; YLE continued to take MTV literally as its subsidiary, while MTV had growing ambitions to become a truly independent commercial company.

MTV was granted permission to launch its own news program in the mid-1980s, and in 1993 it was finally given its own operating license and a channel. Channel 3 was developed after five years of experimenting with a hybrid channel jointly owned by YLE, MTV, and Nokia (originally a manufacturer of rubber and electronic products, later specializing in mobile phones). With its own channel, it adopted a new name (distinguishing it from the international Music Television): MTV3. This fully independent commercial television company was bought by the second-largest print media group in the country, Alma Media, which is 20 percent owned by the Bonniers group in Sweden. Technically there was still space for yet a fourth channel, and it was granted to a subsidiary of Finland’s largest print media group, SanomaWSOY, founded when the leading newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, merged with the largest book publisher WSOY and entered the European magazine market.

The Finnish story would be incomplete without mention of the “informational broadcasting policy” as elaborated at YLE in the late 1960s. The stated objective of this policy was to promote democracy and a well-informed public through the mass media in general and television in particular. It abandoned the conventional establishment-dominated and entertainment-oriented approach and advocated an active role for broadcasting as a participant in the political and cultural life of society. Its call to cover social reality in all of its aspects was meant not only to be truthful but also to fight ignorance and prejudice.

The new policy classified media systems into three types: (1) confessional, in which information from around the world is selected for presentation on the basis of how well it fits in with a preestablished belief system; (2) commercial, in which information is selected based on how well it sells and brings profit; and (3) informational, in which information follows neither the logic of faith, nor a logic of market, but is based on the principle of turning people’s worldview maximally truthful. This classification has a clear anti-commercial bias, which served as ammunition in YLE’s conflict with MTV.

The informational broadcasting policy was, in many respects, a reform plan resembling that prepared by Edward R. Murrow for President Kennedy. However, unlike similar U.S. plans, the Finnish initiative was actually implemented—to a degree. The new policy was developed by a brain trust of YLE’s top management between 1966 and 1968, when the institution was headed by a group of cultural liberals and the political environment in the country was dominated by a left-wing majority in the Parliament, with a center-left coalition government. At that time, Finnish society underwent a dynamic change not only due to the rapid spread of television, but because of drastic shifts in economic and demographic structures while the country was shifting from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

The reform policy resonated with the new generation of television program makers (producers not only of news and current affairs programs, but also of entertainment and drama programs), and new ideas were put into practice so energetically that a liberal-democratic approach was sometimes replaced by a dogmatic-elitist form of radicalism. By the end of the 1960s, the promising reform had turned into a political backlash against YLE, which was used by conservative forces of all kinds as a scapegoat for practically all problems affecting the country. The informational broadcasting policy went out of fashion and suffered a bad reputation, although a significant portion of its ideas has survived as a key aspect of Finnish public-service television in the new millennium.

It is within the contexts of this history that the YLE-MTV duopoly was replaced by a classic dual system in the late 1990s. On the one hand, there is the public-service corporation, which is legally still a limited company. Although 98 percent is owned by the state, it no longer requires a government license due to a 1993 law passed by Parliament. YLE operates two noncommercial TV channels, in addition to a number of radio channels, all including services in the minority language of Swedish.

On the other hand, there are two commercial TV companies, fiercely competing in the advertising market. Two unique features separate the Finnish media landscape from normal dual systems: first, cross-media ownership is the rule rather than an exception; and second, the commercial companies pay an annual “public-service fee” that is used to partially finance YLE.

Despite an abundant supply of television programs, the Finnish public has watched them only in moderate numbers. Since the 1960s the daily viewing time has remained at the average level of two hours per person per household; by 2000 it had reached three hours. Radio, newspapers, magazines, books, and other media (including the Internet) occupy together twice the time devoted to television. The share of all media advertising moneys channeled into television remains significantly lower in Finland (just over 20 percent) than the European average (around 30 percent).

The audience is divided fairly evenly between the two public-service channels and the two commercial channels: YLE 1 and 2 together take typically 44 percent of the audience, while MTV3 takes 38 percent and Channel 4 takes 11 percent. Cable and satellite channels together take just 6 percent; they have never gained a major audience in Finland. The profile of YLE’s programming is more versatile, with higher diversity indices than those measured in the commercial channels, but even the latter receive rather high scores when compared internationally.

The analogue full-service television is complemented with new digital thematic channels. The Finnish choice has been to build the digital terrestrial distribution infrastructure, and to give this task to YLE. After postponements, digital TV broadcasting began in 2001 and the share of households of digital receivers has since grown steadily, amounting to some 8% at the end of 2003. YLE has its own multiplex with two simulcast and three new specialized channels, whereas two multiplexes are for commercial operators. In principle, digital television is free to air, but commercial channels have developed some pay-TV services.

The unique cross-border influence between Finland and Estonia during the cold war era should be briefly mentioned. This unusual situation not only played a

role in the early history of Finnish television—it became an even more significant factor in the 1970s and 1980s, when the Finnish television signal was clearly and reliably received in northern Estonia. Estonians, who speak a language closely related to Finnish, tuned in to Finnish television more frequently than Soviet-Estonian television, until the period of glasnost in the late 1980s, when emancipated Estonian television became an instrument of an exciting political struggle. Finnish television—YLE as well as MTV—had a significant political and cultural impact on Estonian society during the last decades of Soviet rule. Estonia was the first Soviet republic to break away from the USSR in the 1990s, and it is not just a joke to say that one of the strategic factors that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union was Finland's television.

KAARLE NORDENSTRENG

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## Fireside Theatre

### U.S. Anthology Series

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*Fireside Theatre* was the first successful filmed series on American network television. In an era when live television dominated network schedules, the series demonstrated that filmed programming could be successful, and from the fall of 1949 to the spring of 1955, it was one of the ten most-watched programs in the United States. Following *The Milton Berle Show* on Tuesday nights on NBC, *Fireside* was an anthology drama that presented a different half-hour story each week. In 1955 the series' name was changed to *Jane Wyman Presents the Fireside Theatre*, and although it soon became a distinctly different series under the title, *Jane Wyman Theater* (1955–58), the title *Fireside Theatre* usually refers to the entire run of the series.

For the first two years of network series television (1947 to 1949), all television shows were broadcast live from New York and many were anthology dramas, presenting weekly, hour-long plays. *Kraft Television Theatre*, *Studio One*, and *Philco Television Playhouse*

are outstanding examples of the form that dominated network schedules through the early 1950s. Videotape would not be available until 1956, and film was initially thought to be too expensive for weekly television production. For television critics working during the early years of the medium, the hour-long anthology dramas, with their adaptations of literary classics, serious dramas, and social relevance, represented the best of television. The worst was cheap, half-hour, Hollywood telefilms that did not, in the critics' view, aspire to so-called serious drama or social relevance. *Fireside Theatre* fit this latter category.

The television series most often cited as the innovator in filmed programming is *I Love Lucy* (which was produced in Hollywood). However, when *I Love Lucy* premiered on CBS in 1951, *Fireside Theatre* had already been on the air for two years. To the show's sponsor and owner, Procter and Gamble, film offered several distinct advantages over live production. It



*Fireside Theatre*, Angela Lansbury, William Lundigan, Martha Vickers, George Brent, 1949–55; “The Indiscreet Mrs. Jarvis,” 1955. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

made possible the creation of error-proof commercials. It allowed for closer control of content and costs. It created opportunities for added profits from syndication when programs were sold for repeated airing. And it enabled cost-effective distribution to the West Coast, not yet hooked into the coaxial cable network that linked East Coast and Midwest stations.

Producer, director, writer, and host Frank Wisbar is often considered the reason for *Fireside Theatre*'s success. Frank Wisbar Productions was the sole production company from 1951 to 1955, and for the show's first several seasons, Wisbar produced and directed most episodes, even serving as host in the 1952–53 season. To control costs, he wrote many episodes himself and used public domain and freelance stories. Writers such as Rod Serling and Budd Schulberg saw

their stories produced, and then-little-known and second-string movie actors such as Hugh O'Brian, Rita Moreno, and Jane Wyatt appeared on the series.

When *Fireside Theatre* premiered in April 1949, it began a three-month experimental period. Some of the 15-minute episodes were live and some were filmed. Genres were mixed and included comedies, musicals, mysteries, and dramas. A half-hour format that presented two 15-minute filmed stories per episode was chosen for the 1949–50 season. These early episodes were often mysteries, reflecting Wisbar's background in horror and mystery moviemaking. (When these episodes were first shown in syndication, they were called *Strange Adventure*.) Later seasons presented half-hour dramas, and while the stories continued to vary in genre (westerns,



## Fireside Theatre

comedies, melodramas, mysteries), family remained the central theme.

From 1953 to 1955 film actor Gene Raymond served as host, but by the end of the 1954–55 season, as ratings declined, *Fireside Theatre* was completely overhauled—it became a different series. The title and theme music changed. Most significantly, film star Jane Wyman became host and producer. Wyman chose the scripts and acted in many of the episodes and her company, Lewman Productions, produced the series. It was now Wyman's show, which would remain on NBC until 1958.

*Fireside Theatre* established its place in the history of television by being the first successful filmed network series in the era of live broadcasting. It was also the first successful filmed anthology series in an era of prestigious live anthology dramas. Scorned by critics, it was, for most of its seven seasons, a top-ten show on U.S. television.

MADelyn M. RITROSKY-WINSLOW

See also **Anthology Drama; Wyman, Jane**

### Hosts

Frank Wisbar (1952–53)  
Gene Raymond (1953–55)  
Jane Wyman (1955–58)

### Producers

Frank Wisbar, Jane Wyman

### Programming History

268 episodes

NBC

April 1949–June 1957      Tuesday 9:00–9:30

September 1957–May

1958

Thursday 10:30–11:00

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# First Peoples Television Broadcasting in Canada

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First Peoples of Canada have become internationally recognized as having the most advanced and fair indigenous broadcasting system in the world, based on a legislated recognition (1991) of their collective communications and cultural rights as Peoples with a special status ("First Peoples" represents an inclusive term referring to the Inuit, known in Alaska and elsewhere as "Eskimos," the Métis, and the Amerindian populations, the latter of whom are also known as First Nations). Aboriginal-initiated Canadian television has had a relatively long history when compared with Fourth World/indigenous communities elsewhere. The stages through which this broadcasting history have evolved were initiated by First Peoples themselves as they struggled for their inclusion in the national policy and practice decisions pertaining to broadcasting services to be received by their communities, first in the North (north of 55th latitude line) and then in the rest of the country. The inclusion of aboriginal television in Canada's technical and programming infrastructure, as well as its legislation, has contributed to it being a model of media resistance against the overwhelming forces of continental integration in North America.

Until the launching of the Anik satellite in 1972, northern regional radio was limited and television service was nonexistent except for the local circulation of videos. In 1973 the North was hooked up to the South through radio and television services and for the first time, Inuit, Métis, and First Nations were able to have access to the images, voices, and messages that United States and metropolitan-based Canadians produced with southern audiences in mind. The parachuting in of southern, culturally irrelevant television programming into northern communities by the CBC Northern Service acted as a catalyst for indigenous constituency groups to organize broadcasting services in their own languages (dialects), reflecting their own cultures. Almost immediately after its initial mystique dissipated, First Peoples and their southern supporters began to lobby for culturally relevant radio and television programming and network services. They wanted participatory and language rights, as well as decision-making responsibilities about programming and southern service expansion. By the mid-1970s, First Peoples across the country had secured funding, had established Native Communications Societies (NCS) to be



the responsible administrative entity for their communications activities, and had begun operating local community radio and television projects.

Beginning in 1976, in response to First Peoples clearly articulated demands, the federal government made large grants available to native organizations to be used for technical experiments with the Hermes (1976) and Anik B satellites (1978–81). In 1976 the Alberta Native Communications Society and Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated (TNI) of Northern Quebec received this money to do interactive audio experiments with the Hermes satellite. In 1978 funding was provided to Inuit Tapirisat [Brotherhood] of Canada (ITC has recently changed its name to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, which means "Inuit are united") of the Northwest Territories and TNI to complete a more sophisticated interactive series of technical, community development, and educational experiments on audio/video using Anik B. By 1981, after the establishment of five northern television production studios, after two and a half years of staff training, and after six months of experimental access, it was unquestionably demonstrated that TNI and ITC were capable of:

1. organizing complex satellite-based audio/video interactive experiments involving five communities;
2. managing five production centers and satellite uplink/downlink ground stations;
3. coordinating a large staff in different locations, as well as a budget of over 1 million dollars;
4. producing hundreds of hours of high-quality television program output;
5. documenting technical data related to satellite experimentation and viable uses of the satellite for northern interactive communications; and, finally,
6. documenting the whole process as evidence of their credibility as a potential television broadcasting licensee.

In 1981, based on the positive results of its Anik B demonstration project "Inukshuk," the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was licensed as a northern television service by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC—Canada's regulatory agency) to provide Inuktitut-language services to the Northwest Territories, Northern Quebec, and Labrador. In this same period, other NCS across the North were at varying stages of radio and television development, also in preparation for the licensing process and all in support of the establishment of a legislated recognition of their media demands as a distinct constituency group within the Canadian state.

At this time, the federal government undertook a one-year consultation and planning process, the outcome of which was the Northern Broadcasting Policy (1983), and an accompanying program vehicle, the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP). These policy and funding decisions became the foundation for both the eventual enshrinement of aboriginal broadcasting in the 1991 Broadcasting Act and for the establishment of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (1999).

The Northern Broadcasting Policy set out the principle of "fair access" to production and distribution of programming by aboriginal northerners in their territories and ensured a process of consultation with First Peoples before southern-based decisions were to be made about northern telecommunications services. By 1983, 13 regional NCS had been established to be the recipients of funding from the NNBAP administered by the Department of the Secretary of State (Native Citizens Directorate). NNBAP coordinators were mandated to distribute \$40.3 million over a four-year period to be used for the regional production of 20 hours of radio and 5 hours of aboriginal television per week. Funding has eroded annually, but the program is still operational.

After an initial "honeymoon" period, it became apparent that fair distribution of radio and television programming was a key problem because of the implicit assumption within the Northern Broadcasting Policy that this task would be taken care of by either CBC Northern Service or by CANCOM (Canadian Satellite Communications Inc.), a private northern program distributor. In both cases, negotiations between NCS and broadcasters had become bogged down over prime time access hours and preemption of national programming.

In 1988 the federal government responded to persistent native lobbying by the National Aboriginal Communications Society (a lobby group representing the interests of the NCS groups) for more secure distribution services by laying out \$10 million toward the establishment of a dedicated Northern satellite transponder (channel). In 1991 a new Broadcasting Act was passed in which aboriginal programming was enshrined. Soon after, there followed a public hearing in Hull (October 28, 1991) where the CRTC approved the Television Northern Canada (TVNC) application for an aboriginal television license to serve northern Canada's cultural, social, political, and educational programming needs (Decision CRTC 91-826). By doing so, the commission recognized the importance of northern-based control over the distribution of aboriginal and northern programming. By 1992 TVNC was on the air and became the vehicle through which First

Peoples began to represent themselves and their concerns to the entire North. They would no longer be restricted by geography or technology to local or regional self-representation and identity building. In this sense, the licensing of TVNC constituted de facto recognition of the communication rights of the First Peoples in the North.

Owned and programmed by 13 aboriginal broadcast groups, plus government and education organizations located in the North, TVNC was a pan-Arctic satellite service that distributed 100 hours of programming to 94 Northern communities as a primary level of service. TVNC was not a programmer, but a distributor of its members' programming whose service covered an area of over 4.3 million kilometers (one-third of Canada's territory). In 1995 TVNC applied for permission from the CRTC to be placed on the list of eligible channels to be picked up by cable operators in the South. This approval was granted, making it possible for TVNC to become available in a variety of southern Canadian markets, as part of cable's discretionary packages. It was already accessible on an off-air basis to those who owned satellite dishes because its signal was not scrambled.

Obstacles to TVNC becoming a national network included financial barriers, cross-culturally sensitive issues such as programs showing the hunting and killing of animals, and the cost of acquisition of rights for broadcasting in the South, which would multiply due to the expansion of target audiences. Despite these challenges, TVNC's Pan-Northern successes convinced its board of directors and staff to aggressively pursue a nationwide network by soliciting support from the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and other national aboriginal organizations.

In January 1998 TVNC hired Angus Reid (a public opinion consulting firm) to conduct an audience survey among a representative cross section of 1,510 adult Canadians regarding the desirability of establishing a national aboriginal broadcasting undertaking. Results indicated that 79 percent, or two out of three Canadians, supported the idea of a national aboriginal TV network, even if it would mean displacing a currently offered service (APTN Fact Sheet, 1999).

By February 1998, the CRTC called for TVNC's application for a "programming service to reflect the diversity of the needs and interest of aboriginal peoples throughout Canada" (TVNC Newsletter, March 1998, p. 1). In June 1998 the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network application was submitted. To be economically viable, it was to be a mandatory service, available to nearly 8 million households with cable, as well as those with direct-to-home and wireless service providers, including ExpressVu, Star Choice, and

Look TV (APTN Fact Sheet, 1999, p. 1). The service targeted both aboriginal and nonaboriginal audiences of all ages with a wide range of programming consisting of educational and animation shows, cultural and traditional programming, music, drama, dance, (inter)national films, news and current affairs, as well as live coverage of special events and interactive programming. Initially, APTN promised 90 percent Canadian content with the remaining 10 percent consisting of indigenous programming from around the world, including the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Central and South America (APTN Fact Sheet, 1999, p. 2). This has been modified to a more realistic Canadian content level of approximately 65 percent.

On February 22, 1999, the CRTC approved TVNC's application to become APTN and granted it mandatory carriage on basic cable throughout Canada. To provide continuity of service to the 96 communities in the North, a separate feed was to be established to ensure that special programming, including legislative coverage and special events, would be broadcast in the North on an ongoing basis at no cost (TVNC, March 1999, p. 1).

In the South, APTN provides access only for cable subscribers. It attracts niche, not mass audiences. In trying to figure out how to maintain secure funding over long periods of time, the CRTC introduced a social cost to cable operators for carriage of APTN. Subscriber costs of \$ .15 per month are paid to cable operators who then transfer the money to APTN to be used for television production costs in communities that are not economically viable enough to sustain their media economies. To complement this funding strategy, APTN carries advertising and receives external funding from CTV/BCE for the establishment and maintenance of a network of regional news centers located in the Atlantic, Toronto, British Columbia, Montreal, Ottawa, and Northern regions as part of their social benefits package. When Bell Canada Enterprises acquired CTV, a private national network, the CRTC required that it pay a social cost for its acquisition in the form of subsidizing the development of APTN's news and current affairs departments. This allowed APTN to expand its regional coverage across the country and gave it a more reasonable budget with which to work. This is an emergent financial model by which states can ensure the sponsorship and sustenance of public-service programming that might be otherwise unaffordable.

APTN began broadcasting on September 1, 1999. Until programming surpluses could be created, programs were repeated three times daily. Broadcast language content is 60 percent English, 15 percent French, and 25 percent in a variety of aboriginal languages.

As the sole international broadcaster in the world that carries exclusively indigenous programming, APTN is a hybrid between what has traditionally been defined as public and private broadcasting, although it models its programming style after public-service television. It is multilinguistic, multicultural, and multi-racial in content and production staff and management. It attempts to be both local and global. It does a small amount of original production, such as a daily news and current affairs show, but mainly distributes local and regionally produced programming, as well as (inter)nationally acquired aboriginal programs. The board of directors hopes to eventually expand APTN's international scope enabling it to become comparable to channels such as CNN and BBC World Service, but with an aboriginal perspective.

Despite challenges for more secure, long-term funding and improved access at no cost to any of its viewers, that is, a first-tier placement on the channel grid, First Peoples of Canada have established themselves as pioneers in the development of cross-cultural television links across the vast Canadian territory. Technical advances in local, regional, and national telecommunications services, conjoined with the social and cultural goals of First Peoples broadcasters, have demonstrated that it is possible to use media in a sensitive manner to express cultural heterogeneity, rather than homogeneity. First Peoples have refashioned Canadian television broadcasting. They have indigenized it, transforming it into an inclusive tool for the improvement of intercommunity and cross-constituency relations. They have utilized television

programming as a vehicle of mediation into their own historically ruptured pasts and as a pathway into more globally integrated networks and futures. Much can be learned by international minority groups from the cross-cultural infrastructures and pathways that First Peoples of Canada have set in place.

LORNA ROTH

**See also Canadian Programming in English; Canadian Programming in French; Racism, Ethnicity and Television**

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## Fisher, Terry Louise (1946– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Terry Louise Fisher began her career not in television but as a lawyer in the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office. She later sidestepped into a specialty in entertainment law and in 1982 wrote for and produced the Emmy Award-winning series *Cagney and Lacey*. Other shows followed: *Cutter to Houston* and *The Mississippi* for CBS, the television movies *This Girl for Hire* and *Your Place or Mine?* (all 1983). But she is best known for her work as cocreator (with Steven Bochco) and supervising producer of *L.A. Law* from 1986 to 1988. *L.A. Law*, which ended its run in 1994,

was considered the quintessential example of 1980s "appointment television," perfectly capturing the greed, glitz, and power-seeking of the decade, and capturing in the process of its narratives an audience intrigued by those very elements.

The power struggles among the show's law partners were echoed in Fisher's 1987 legal battle with Bochco, when a negotiation for Fisher to take over from Bochco as executive producer failed and he banned her from the set. Since then Fisher has published two novels, has produced other series and several made-for-

Fisher, Terry Louise

television movies, and in the mid-1990s she co-wrote *Cagney and Lacey: The Return* (1994) and *Cagney and Lacey: Together Again* (1995). She also participated in a pilot for *Daughters of Eve*, the first international prime-time soap opera, starring Sophia Loren and financed by Procter and Gamble.

CHERYL HARRIS

See also *Cagney and Lacey*; *L.A. Law*

**Terry Louise Fisher.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, 1946. Entered law school at University of California, Los Angeles, 1968. Married and divorced. Worked as trial lawyer, Los Angeles District Attorney's Office; switched to entertainment law; worked on *Cagney and Lacey* series, 1982–85; supervising producer, *L.A. Law*, 1986–88; independent producer, made-for-television movies and television series, from 1988. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1987 and 1988.

#### Television Series

1982–88     *Cagney and Lacey*  
1983        *Cutter to Houston*  
1983        *The Mississippi*

1986–94     *L.A. Law*  
1987        *Hooperman* (co-writer)  
1992        *2000 Malibu Road* (creator)  
1995        *Daughters of Eve* (pilot)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1983        *Your Place or Mine?*  
1983        *This Girl for Hire*  
1987        *Sister Margaret and the Saturday Night Ladies*  
1990        *Blue Bayou*  
1994        *Cagney and Lacey: The Return*  
1995        *Cagney and Lacey: Together Again*

#### Publications

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*Good Behavior* (novel), 1979

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## Flintstones, The

### U.S. Cartoon Comedy Series

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*The Flintstones* was the first animated situation comedy shown in prime-time television. Premiering on ABC on September 30, 1960, it gained high ratings in its first season, thus establishing animation as a viable prime-time format. Produced by Hanna-Barbera (William Hanna and Joseph Barbera), *The Flintstones* was patterned after Jackie Gleason's *The Honeymooners*. Designed as a program for the entire family, *The Flintstones* was not categorized as "children's television" until its rebroadcast by NBC in 1967. Scheduled in the 8:30 P.M. Friday time slot, its popularity with teenagers, however, presaged the late 1960s move to animation as the preeminent format for children's programming.

Fred and Wilma Flintstone and their best friends, Barney and Betty Rubble, lived in the prehistoric city of Bedrock but faced the problems of contemporary working-class life. After a day at the rock quarry, Fred

and Barney arrived home in a vehicle with stone wheels and a fringe on top. Their lives revolved around their home, friends, and leisure activities: a world of drive-ins, bowling, and their "Water Buffalo" lodge. A baby dinosaur and a saber-toothed tiger replaced the family dog and cat. In 1962 and 1963, Pebbles and Bamm Bamm appeared as the daughter and adopted son of the Flintstones and Rubbles, respectively.

In addition to being the first animated series made for prime time, *The Flintstones* also broke new ground in that each episode contained only one story that lasted the full half hour. Until the 1960s, cartoons were generally only a few minutes long. Half-hour animated programs used three or four shorts (three- to four-minute cartoons) and a live "wraparound," usually presented by a friendly "host," to complete the program. In another innovation, Hanna-Barbera produced *The Flintstones* using limited animation techniques. This



*The Flintstones*, Wilma Flintstone, Bam Bam Rubble, Barney Rubble, Betty Rubble, Pebbles Flintstone, Fred Flintstone, 1960–66.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

assembly-line method of creating drawings, combined with reduced and simplified body movement, made it possible to manufacture animation cells more cheaply. Because of the lowered cost and the appeal of animation to children, limited animation became the format of choice for children's television in the 1960s, a decade in which children's programming became almost entirely animated.

*The Flintstones* helped establish Hanna-Barbera Productions as a major Hollywood animation studio, and by the late 1960s the company was the world's largest producer of animated entertainment films. *The Flintstones* also launched a multimillion-dollar merchandising business, with hundreds of toys and novelties placed on the market. Perhaps the most enduring product developed in this ancillary line was Flintstones Vitamins, also used as a sponsor for the program. Citing the difficulties children might have in distinguishing cartoon characters from the products

made in their likenesses, critics attacked the practice of advertising vitamins to children, and such ads were withdrawn in 1972. The *Flintstones* characters still appear in commercials for Pebbles-brand cereals, and other tie-ins include films (live-action motion pictures in 1994 and 2000), traveling road shows, toys, and other children's products.

*The Flintstones* played on ABC in prime time for six seasons (166 episodes) through September 1966. The series was rebroadcast on Saturday mornings by NBC from January 1967 through September 1970. Various spin-offs and specials also appeared on the CBS or NBC Saturday morning lineup throughout most of the 1970s, and they continue to reappear. *The Flintstones* is still available almost daily on cable channels such as The Cartoon Network.

ALISON ALEXANDER

**See also** **Cartoon; Children and Television; Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera**

#### Cast (Voices)

Fred Flintstone	Alan Reed
Wilma Flintstone	Jean Vander Pyl
Barney Rubble	Mel Blanc
Betty Rubble (1960–64)	Bea Benaderet
Betty Rubble (1964–66)	Gerry Johnson
Dino the Dinosaur	Mel Blanc
Pebbles (1963–66)	Jean Vander Pyl
Bam Bam (1963–66)	Don Messick

#### Producers

William Hanna, Joseph Barbera

#### Programming History

166 episodes	
ABC	
September 1960–September 1963	Friday 8:30–9:00
September 1963–December 1964	Thursday 7:30–8:00
December 1964–September 1966	Friday 7:30–8:00

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# Flip Wilson Show, The

## U.S. Comedy Variety Program

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*The Flip Wilson Show* was the first successful network variety series with an African-American star. In its first two seasons, its Nielsen ratings placed it as the second-most-watched show in the United States. Flip Wilson based his storytelling humor on his background in black clubs, but he adapted easily to a television audience. The show's format dispensed with much of the clutter of previous variety programs and focused on the star and his guests.

Clerow "Flip" Wilson had been working small venues for over a decade when Redd Foxx observed his act in 1965 and raved about him to Johnny Carson. As a result, Wilson made more than 25 appearances on the *Tonight Show*, and in 1968 NBC signed him to a five-year development deal.

Wilson made guest appearances on shows such as *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* and the first episode of *Love, American Style*. On September 22, 1969, he appeared with 20 other up-and-coming comics in a Bob Hope special, which was followed by a *Flip Wilson Show* special, a pilot for the series to come. Wilson's special introduced many distinctive elements that would be part of the series, the most striking element being the small, round stage in the middle of the audience, from which Wilson told jokes and where guests sang and performed sketches with minimal sets.

For his opening monologue on that special, Wilson told a story about a minister's wife who tried to justify her new extravagant purchase by explaining how "the Devil made me buy this dress!" The wife's voice was the one subsequently used for all his female characters, whether a girlfriend or Queen Isabella ("Christopher Columbus going to *find* Ray Charles!"). Later in the special, he put a look to the voice in a sketch opposite guest Jonathan Winters. Winters played his swinging granny character, Maudie Frickert, as an airline passenger, and when Wilson donned a contemporary stewardess's outfit—loud print miniskirt and puffy cap—Geraldine Jones was born. The audience howled as Winters apparently met his match.

Encouraged by the special, NBC decided to go forward with a regular series, and *The Flip Wilson Show* joined the fall lineup on September 17, 1970. Wilson appeared at the opening and explained that there was no big opening production number, because it would have cost \$104,000. "So I thought I would show you

what \$104,000 looks like." Flashing a courier's case filled with bills before the camera and audience, he asked, "Now, wasn't that much better than watching a bunch of girls jumping around the stage?"

That monologue illustrated the sort of chances Wilson and his producer, Bob Henry, took. They did away with the variety show's conventional chorus lines, singers, and dancers, and allowed the star and his guests to carry the show. The creative gamble paid off as *The Flip Wilson Show* defeated all other programs airing in its time slot and won two Emmy Awards in 1971: as Best Variety Show and for Best Writing in a Variety Show.

The show was also a landmark in the networks' fitful history of integrating its prime-time lineup. Nat "King" Cole had been the first African American to host a variety show, which NBC carried on a sustaining basis in 1956. Despite appearances by guests such as Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett, and Harry Belafonte, that program could neither attract sponsors nor obtain sufficient clearances from affiliates. Cole left the air at the end of 1957. Later, NBC was more successful with Bill Cosby in *I Spy*, and Diahann Carroll as *Julia*. The week after *The Flip Wilson Show's* premiere, ABC debuted its first all-black situation comedy, an unsuccessful adaptation of Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park*.

During the run of his show, Wilson created several other characters who flirted with controversy. There was the Reverend Leroy, of the Church of What's Happenin' Now, whose sermons were tinged with a hint of larceny; Freddy the Playboy, always, but unsuccessfully, on the make; and Sonny, the White House janitor, who knew more than the president about what was going on.

However, Geraldine Jones was by far the most popular character on the series. Wilson wrote Geraldine's material himself and tried not to use her to demean black women. Though flirty and flashy, Geraldine was no "finger-popping chippie." She was based partly on Butterfly McQueen's character in *Gone with the Wind*: unrefined but outspoken and honest ("What you see is what you get, honey!"). She expected respect and was devoted to her unseen boyfriend, "Killer." It also helped that Flip had the legs for the role and did not burlesque Geraldine's build, though NBC Standards and Practices did ask him to reduce slightly the size of Geraldine's bust.

Another aspect of the show's appeal was its variety of guests. Like Ed Sullivan, Wilson tried to appeal to



*The Flip Wilson Show*, Flip Wilson, Hank Aaron, 1970–74.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

as wide an audience as possible. The premiere saw James Brown, David Frost, and the *Sesame Street* Muppets. A later show offered Roger Miller, the Temptations, Redd Foxx, and Lily Tomlin, whom Freddy the Playboy tried to pick up. Roy Clark, Bobby Darin, and Denise Nicholas joined Wilson for a “Butch Cassidy and the Suntan Kid” sketch.

*The Flip Wilson Show* turned out to be one of the last successful variety shows. CBS’s 1972 offering *The Waltons* became a surprise hit, winning the Thursday time slot in which *The Flip Wilson Show* aired. By the 1973–74 season, it was John-Boy and company who had the second-most-popular show of the season. NBC put Wilson’s show to rest, airing its last episode on June 24, 1974.

MARK R. McDERMOTT

See also **Variety Programs; Wilson, Flip**

### Regular Performers

Flip Wilson  
The Jack Regas Dancers  
The George Wyle Orchestra

### Producer

Bob Henry

### Programming History

NBC  
September 1970–June 1971      Thursday 7:30–8:30  
September 1971–June 1974      Thursday 8:00–9:00

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## Flow

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The concept of flow as it relates to television and television theory has its origins in the writings of Welsh cultural theorist Raymond Williams (1974). It was provoked by his startled introduction to the experience of watching American television. He was struck by the way that the on-screen sequence was organized to per-

suade the viewer to “go with the flow” and stay tuned. Watching television was just that:

In all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organization, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow. This phenomenon, of planned flow, is then perhaps the defining characteristic



of broadcasting, simultaneously as technology and cultural form. (Williams, p. 86)

For one trained in the literary criticism of high modernist theater (Williams wrote *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*), this “defining characteristic” was new, since theater, like literature, was traditionally experienced in highly bounded performances of single works.

Williams coined the term “planned flow,” but he did not originate the concept. It was propounded by another British literary critic, Terence Hawkes, in a 1967 radio talk published in *The Listener* (June 8, 1967), which was Williams’s own vehicle for TV criticism (Hawkes, pp. 229–41; O’Connor, 1989). Hawkes proposed that the “television experience” included “plays, . . . news bulletins, comedy shows, music, and other diverse activities, *in the same unit*.” Reception defined television: “the basic and irreducible constituent of the medium is *not* the . . . individual programme . . . but the much larger unit . . . that emerges from the receiving set”—as shaped by other shows and by the home and family context of reception (p. 234). He argued that “detailed analysis of a text” was not appropriate to television, and that “television’s ephemerality in fact forms part of its nature, as an element in its grammar that relates directly to the structure of its units” (pp. 237–38).

Planned flow had occurred before television. Popular cinema had evolved a programming repertoire in which a session contained comedy cartoons, cliff-hanger serials, newsreels, travelogues, B and A features—the “cultural form” that Williams ascribed to television. Radio broadcasting had been defining itself for more than half a century, and audiences were habituated to planned flow in the home. Even TV’s theatrical antecedents, such as music hall, were hybrid forms with internal segmented flow, which transferred directly to television (e.g., the long-running *Sunday Night at the London Palladium* and *Royal Variety Shows*).

Thus, flow was not a new or newly noticed phenomenon when Williams leant his weight to it. His intervention was important because it marked a change in theoretical perspective. Television simply defeated high modernist textual empiricism (Hawkes, pp. 235–37), not least because some of its most important textual content was the “television that wasn’t there,” such as advertisements, trailers, station Ids, and other gaps between the programs that produced the flow (Hartley, ch. 11). Analysis of single shows could not lead to an understanding of television. Rather, it was necessary to relate the organization of production and distribution (i.e., the “planned” aspect of planned flow) to the family home context of viewing, the experience

of consumption, and the identity or subjectivity of audiences. The flow that they were thought to experience cleared the necessary theoretical ground for a turn away from textual analysis to the subsequent flood of audience ethnographies in TV studies.

Television criticism, as an attempt to educate audiences in civic virtues or aesthetic values, was abandoned. Instead, television studies arose as an attempt to specify the relation between producers and audiences in terms of power. Audiences were not seen as having the freedom to form their own opinions and conclusions regarding what they saw on television. On the contrary, the notion of planned flow allowed the consumer experience to be thought of in the most general and abstract terms, as subject to the plans of broadcasters—namely, to be an ideological practice. Analyzing actual flows as experienced by individual viewers was rarely undertaken, because Williams had installed planned flow as a defining characteristic of television, not as a hypothesis to be tested against evidence.

Television was watched in households and nations, both highly fraught and ideological institutions where gender, class, race, and other aspects of identity were constantly in contention and pervaded by power, whether power was understood in Marxist terms (as struggle) or in Foucault’s (as the administration of life). Individuals’ experience of flow did not interest investigators (unless it was their own), because they already knew what it meant as an instance of abstract power relations. In this respect flow was not unlike other “fabulous powers” (Ian Connell’s phrase) that people have attributed to electronic media throughout modernity. Jeffrey Sconce made the connection: “fantastic conceptions of media presence” (grounded in a “metaphysics of electricity”) “have often evoked a series of interrelated metaphors of ‘flow,’ suggesting analogies between electricity, consciousness and information” (p. 7).

Flow became prominent via its uptake in cinema studies just as that field was going through a highly abstract theory-oriented phase. But even as they paid their respects to Williams, film theorists could not bring themselves to agree with his concept of flow. Thus John Ellis in the United Kingdom and Jane Feuer in the United States, among many others, refined and redefined the concept. Ellis determined that the “smallest signifying unit” of television was the segment, which led to “segmented flow.” Feuer pointed out that there was no such thing as pure flow, only a dialectic between segmentation and flow. Previously, Hawkes had drawn attention to the fact that watching television could result in “disconcerting juxtaposition” (the opposite of flow) when shows or segments were in jar-



ring contradiction to one another. For example, he mentioned having seen *The Black and White Minstrel Show* followed immediately by a news program marked by a main story of race riots in the United States (Hawkes, p. 238; see also Corner, chs. 5–6). John Caldwell mounted an especially spirited critique of the concept of flow in his book *Televisuality* (Caldwell, pp. 158–64, 264).

People do not remember flows; they only remember shows. But once installed as a founding concept in television theory, flow remained available for application to new media to which it was even less suited, that is, interactive and computer-based media. Ellen Seiter, for instance, suggested that in the hands of commercial and advertising “programmers” the Web resembled television; here, planned flow consisted of the attempt to “guide the user through a pre-planned sequence of screens and links.” But at best the new interactive media could only claim “flow, interrupted,” since the “cultural form” of interactivity meant that users could not be carried along uncontrollably (though they could follow a planned sequence if they chose to). Therefore, the concept has limited application to new media and serves mostly as a reminder of the period when ideology theory required users who were passive and uncritical, at the mercy of the persuasive blandishments of the marketing com-

munication that wants them to stay tuned, during prime time, at any price.

JOHN HARTLEY

*See also* **Television Studies**

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## Fontana, Tom (1951– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Since 1982 Tom Fontana has emerged as one of the most creative and influential forces in television. Fontana has been at the center of some of the most widely acclaimed and daring dramatic series in television history, including *St. Elsewhere* (1982–1988), *Homicide: Life on the Street* (1993–1999), and *Oz* (1997–2003).

Growing up in Buffalo, New York, he enrolled at the State University of New York at Buffalo, graduating in 1973 with a degree in theater. In 1975 he moved to New York City to pursue a career as a playwright, and by the early 1980s he had secured a position as the playwright-in-residence at the Williamstown Theater. Fontana continues to be active in the theater: several of his plays have been produced in New York City, San

Francisco, Cincinnati, and Buffalo. He recently served as the playwright-in-residence at The Writer’s Theater in New York City.

While at the Williamstown Theater, one of Fontana’s plays, *The Spectre Bridegroom*, attracted the attention of television producer Bruce Paltrow, who was then producing *The White Shadow* at MTM Enterprises and was about to go into production on a new MTM show, *St. Elsewhere*. Paltrow offered Fontana a job as a writer on *St. Elsewhere*, where he stayed for the next six years. Like *Hill Street Blues*, another MTM series, *St. Elsewhere* was an ensemble drama with a large cast, set in a broken-down urban institution: in this case a hospital in a blighted section of Boston. *St. Elsewhere* and its writers became known

not only for often stunningly moving stories, but also for a dark, irreverent wit and a willingness to play fast and loose with genre and character. Fontana's writing on the series earned him two Emmy Awards, a Humanitas Prize, and a Writers Guild Award.

Following the departure of *St. Elsewhere* from the television schedule in 1988, Fontana teamed up with Paltrow for two more series: *Tattlingers* (1988–89) and *Home Fires* (1992). *Tattlingers* was initially an hour-long comedy-drama set in a New York restaurant and filmed on location in Manhattan. The series was canceled in midseason, retooled, and brought back three months later as a half-hour sitcom called *Nick and Hillary*. The series was canceled permanently after only two weeks in the new format. *Home Fires* was a situation comedy that revolved around a middle-class suburban family who began each episode in therapy. Neither of these series caught on the way that *St. Elsewhere* did, and neither lasted into the next season.

In 1992 Fontana received word from Barry Levinson that he was going to be developing a cop show and wanted to meet with Fontana about coming on board as an executive producer. Though skeptical of the possibility of improving on what *Hill Street Blues* had already accomplished in the police genre, Fontana agreed to meet with Levinson. *Homicide: Life on the Street* was conceived as an hour-long series based on the book, *Homicide: A Year on the Killing Streets*, by David Simon, a crime reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*. Levinson told Fontana that *Homicide* would be a different kind of cop show: there would be no car chases or gun battles or other melodramatic mainstays of the genre. Thinking the whole project impossible, but looking for a challenge, Fontana signed on to the series. *Homicide* was indeed a different kind of cop show. It used shaky handheld cameras and jump cutting to add visual punch to a series that was more interested in the way the detectives thought and talked than how good they were with guns. With Fontana at the helm (developing story ideas, writing scripts, and having the final word on each episode), the series went on to become one of the most critically acclaimed dramas of the 1990s, gaining three Peabody Awards, and earning Fontana another Emmy Award for writing, along with two Writers Guild Awards.

By the time *Homicide* was nearing the end of its network run, Fontana had emerged as one of the most powerful players in television drama. He had formed his own production company, Fatima Productions and, together with Levinson, had formed The Levinson/Fontana Company; in 1997 they had production deals for new series at NBC, ABC, and HBO.

Nevertheless, Fontana's network efforts in the waning days of *Homicide* proved to be less than totally

successful. Three pilots (one for each of three major networks), ABC's *Philly Heat*, CBS's *Firehouse*, and NBC's *The Prosecutors* all failed to be picked up as series. Only *The Beat*, a cop series produced for UPN during the 1999–2000 season, and based on two young uniformed officers in New York City, made it on to the schedule. *The Beat* took the stylistic ticks of *Homicide* to the level of edgy excess, careening between fairly standard compositions shot on film, and grainy video footage with an abundance of canted angles shot with a wide-angle lens. The series failed to connect with the younger UPN audience and was unceremoniously removed from the network's lineup after only a handful of episodes.

When it seemed Fontana's reign as one of television's premiere innovators was being threatened, HBO picked up his idea for a serial drama set inside a maximum-security prison. While HBO had already ventured into series programming with *The Larry Sanders Show*, *Oz* represented the cable network's first foray into the hour-long drama format. The series quickly earned a reputation as one of the most daring and provocative programs on television and helped launch HBO as perhaps the most important force in television at the turn of the century, setting the stage for HBO's blockbuster hit, *The Sopranos*. As the series' guiding force, Fontana wrote the entire first season (eight episodes) entirely on his own. Writing for HBO freed Fontana from the frustrating constraints imposed by network censors and allowed him to explore in grim and honest detail the kinds of stories that would likely emerge in a prison environment. *Oz* is known for its graphic violence, nudity, profanity, and its exceptional writing. While *Oz* has not received the same kind of industry accolades as its HBO brethren *The Sopranos* and *Six Feet Under*, the series and its creator helped open the door to a new era in television drama.

This commitment to innovation most adequately describes Fontana's personality as a writer and producer. Perhaps because he is the beneficiary of the tutelage he received from Bruce Paltrow, Fontana is known for his generosity in helping to develop young writers. His willingness to engage the human condition in all of its toughness, oddity, darkness, and humor has placed him among the ranks of television's most important and innovative storytellers.

JONATHAN NICHOLS-PETHICK

*See also* HBO; *Homicide: Life on the Street*; *Sopranos*, *The*; *St. Elsewhere*

**Tom Fontana.** Born in Buffalo, New York, September 12, 1951. Educated at State University of New York at Buffalo, B.A. in theater, 1973. Served as playwright in

residence at the Writers Theatre in New York City, 1975–90. Playwright-in-residence at the Williamstown Theatre Festival, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1978–80. Member of the board of directors, American Writers Theatre Foundation, 1975–90. Writer and producer of various television series since 1982. Founder of Fatima Productions; cofounder, The Levinson/Fontana Company. Recipient: Emmy Awards for Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series, 1984, 1986, 1993.

#### Television Series (writer and executive producer)

- 1982–88 *St. Elsewhere* (writer and producer)  
 1988–89 *Tattlingers*  
 1989 *Nick and Hillary*  
 1991–92 *Home Fires*  
 1993–99 *Homicide: Life on the Street*  
 1997– *Oz*  
 2000 *The Beat* (also creator)

#### Television Movies (writer and executive producer)

- 1996 *The Prosecutors*  
 1997 *Firehouse*  
 2000 *Homicide: The Movie*  
 2000 *Path To War* (producer)

#### Television Specials

- 1985 *The Fourth Wiseman* (writer)  
 1999 *Barry Levinson on the Future in the 20th Century: Yesterday's Tomorrows* (executive producer)

#### Stage

*Johnny Appleseed: A Noh Play*, 1970; *This Is On Me: Dorothy Parker*, 1971; *An Awfully Big Adventure: An Entertainment*, 1975; *One/Potato/More*, 1975; *Nonsense!*, 1977; *The Underlings*, 1978; *The Overcoat, or Clothes Make the Man*, 1978; *Old Fashioned*, 1979; *The Spectre Bridegroom*, 1981; *Movin' Mountains*, 1982; *Mime*, 1982; *Imaginary Lovers*, 1982.

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# Food Network

## U.S. Cable Network

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Food Network offers one of the best examples of how cable television can fulfill its promise of narrowcasting—that is, catering to specialized audience and advertiser interests. Although narrowcasting has long been articulated as a major advantage of cable, it was not until the mid-1990s that a group of networks began to demonstrate how this could be done successfully in a commercially driven television environment. Among the critical factors were solid financial backing, a favorable regulatory climate, a program category with established popularity, and a program schedule that could be linked to a large number of viewer interests and advertised products. Food Network met these criteria at the start and went on to develop even more successful programming and scheduling practices.

Food Network, known in its first incarnation as Television Food Network (TVFN), was the brainchild of Reese Schonfeld, a veteran of cable television programming who had been one of the founders of CNN in the early 1980s. Schonfeld first began to develop the Food Network concept in 1993, in partnership with the Providence Journal Company. He has been quoted widely for his idea that a cable network dedicated to food preparation and consumption is not really catering to a specialized audience, since "everybody eats." Even so, it was made clear from the beginning that the primary target was young to middle-aged women—a market niche considered to be underrepresented on cable.

The cable programming market had become fairly competitive by the time TVFN was ready to launch, with

many new start-up ventures competing for the small amount of “shelf space” left over after local cable operators had filled their lineups with established favorites such as USA, MTV, CNN, and Nickelodeon. In this climate, TVFN benefited from the passage of the 1992 Cable Act and its retransmission consent provisions, which mandated that cable systems compensate local broadcast stations—financially or otherwise—for the use of their signals. Schonfeld immediately observed the success with which broadcast networks used their own major-market affiliate stations (O & O’s) as leverage in drawing subscribers for their start-up cable ventures (such as FX, America’s Talking/MSNBC and ESPN2), and thus formulated a plan to help build TVFN’s subscriber base. He successfully approached the Chicago Tribune Company, a major television station owner, with an offer of a 20 percent ownership in TVFN in exchange for their retransmission rights—guaranteeing TVFN access to 10 million homes at its start.

Among TVFN’s early programs were *Essence of Emeril* with Emeril Lagasse, *Molto Mario* with Mario Batali, *Chillin’ and Grillin’* with Bobby Flay, *Too Hot Tamales* with Mary Sue Milliken and Susan Feniger, *Chef du Jour* featuring a variety of celebrity chefs, *How to Feed Your Family on a Hundred Dollars a Week* with Michelle Urvater, and *Food News & Views* with Donna Hanover and David Rosengarten. Reruns of Julia Child’s classic, *The French Chef*, purchased for \$500,000, helped to boost TVFN’s recognition. This lineup proved solid overall, and many of the personalities from the network’s early years continued to populate its schedule as of 2003.

TVFN was quietly sold to Belo Broadcasting in 1995 (Schonfeld retained a 5 percent ownership stake), with virtually no change in programming practices. Then in October 1997, the E.W. Scripps Company took over control of TVFN. Scripps had acquired 56 percent of the network from Belo in exchange for two broadcast stations in San Antonio (Scripps’s ownership had increased to 68 percent by the end of 2001). Scripps was best known for its holdings in newspapers and television stations, but already was a player in cable narrowcasting, having launched the Home and Garden Television (HGTV) network in 1994.

One of Food Network’s major success stories—both before and since the Scripps takeover—has been the cultivation of its star chef, Emeril Lagasse. New Orleans chef Lagasse was hired at the launch of TVFN at \$300 an episode for his first show, *Essence of Emeril*. While this was a traditional-style television cooking show, with the chef host preparing recipes behind a kitchen console, Emeril’s boisterous personality clearly set the program apart from its predecessors. His blue-collar dialect, jabs at elite food culture, and trademark

exclamations “Bam!” and “Let’s kick it up a notch!” endeared him to the widest possible cross section of the television audience. TVFN began capitalizing on this appeal with promos featuring raucous groups of home viewers, including male sports fans. A logical next step was the creation of *Emeril Live!*, a cross between traditional cooking show and late-night talk show that features a studio audience and a house. It seems clear that Emeril owes his celebrity—indeed the very concept of television chef as superstar—to Food Network. Emeril currently appears Fridays on *Good Morning America* and also starred in the short-lived 2001 NBC sitcom, *Emeril*. He also markets a product line, including his trademark Essence seasoning.

Following in Emeril’s footsteps, other chefs have attained national recognition through their Food Network programs. Sara Moulton (also executive chef at *Gourmet* magazine) has a populist appeal not unlike that of Emeril; this comes across most poignantly in *Cooking Live*, a show in which Moulton often downplays her own expertise in order to accept the advice of audience members who call in. Other chefs, such as Wolfgang Puck, have used Food Network to boost existing celebrity status. And homemaking guru Martha Stewart has linked Food Network to her marketing empire via the popular program, *From Martha’s Kitchen*. The presence of known—and widely cross-promoted—personalities such as these, in turn, builds Food Network’s reputation.

By the end of 2001, Food Network reached 76.4 million homes, up from 59 million two years earlier and 28 million at the time of its acquisition by Scripps. While celebrity chefs play a critical role in Food Network’s programming, surely the network also owes much of this success to the ways in which it has broadened its programming niche. Recent additions to the schedule include *Food Finds*, which seeks out unique prepared food products (most available by mail order) from across the United States, and *Good Eats*, part instructional cooking show and part science education. Imports have also contributed to Food Network’s popular programming mix—including British shows *Two Fat Ladies* and *The Naked Chef*, and the Japanese cult favorite, *Iron Chef*.

MEGAN MULLEN

*See also* Cable Networks; Narrowcasting

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## Foote, Horton (1916– )

American Writer

Horton Foote is one of America's most successful and honored dramatists for television, cinema, and the theater. He is an award-winning writer from television's Golden Age of live drama, best known perhaps for the teleplays *The Trip to Bountiful* (1953) and *The Traveling Lady* (1957) and his adaptations of William Faulkner's *Old Man* (1958 and 1997) and *Tomorrow* (1960 and the 1972 version). He is also the recipient of Academy Awards for his screenplays of *To Kill a Mockingbird* in 1962 and *Tender Mercies* in 1983.

Born in Wharton, Texas (which he immortalized as the fictional town of Harrison in his plays), Foote decided in his youth to become an actor, with his father financing his early training in Dallas and Pasadena. This onstage ambition led him to New York, where he eventually discovered that he was better suited to writing. By the time his *Only the Heart* reached Broadway in 1944, it was clear that his writing was much more highly regarded than his acting.

Foote's first professionally produced play, *Texas Town* (1942), heralded the subject matter for all his later work (the themes of home and a sense of belonging, populated by realistic characters that are vulnerable to all sorts of human foibles). His early career in writing for the theater segued into writing for television, with dramas for such early anthology showcases as *Kraft Television Theatre*, *Philco TV Playhouse*, *Playhouse 90*, and *U.S. Steel Hour*. His teleplays include adaptations of his own stage plays and of works by southern authors, most notably William Faulkner.

During television's formative years in the early 1950s, Foote, in the company of such outstanding writers as Paddy Chayevsky and Rod Serling, helped usher in the Golden Age of live television drama. Horton Foote's first successful teleplay was *The Trip to Bountiful* (for *Philco TV Playhouse*), a simple and touching story about an old lady who is bullied and nagged by her overbearing daughter-in-law, and who runs away for a last glimpse of her old home in the now-deserted hamlet called Bountiful. During this time Foote also enjoyed success on Broadway, with *The Traveling Lady* with Kim Stanley, followed by *The Trip to Bountiful* with Lillian Gish.

His television work in the 1950s with producer Fred Coe (often in tandem with director Arthur Penn) illu-

minated and enhanced the small-screen theater strand with its emotional dramatics and its poignant tales. *A Young Lady of Property* (*Philco*) featured Kim Stanley as an adolescent girl in a Southern town whose mother is dead and whose father is about to marry again. *The Oil Well* (*Philco*), with fine performances by E.G. Marshall and Dorothy Gish, presented an atmospheric piece about a Texas farmer who believes there is oil on his property.

*Gulf Playhouse: 1st Person* featured the unusual (but apt) use of a subjective camera to tell its stories from the viewpoint of a central character. Two of Foote's original teleplays were produced for this fascinating *1st Person* form. *Death of an Old Man* told a sensitive story about the man of the title (who was never seen, but his thoughts were articulated by the voice of William Hansen) who had spent his life helping others and consequently has no material wealth, lying on his deathbed worrying about the welfare of his unmarried daughter. *The Tears of My Sister*, with the first-person narrative provided by Kim Stanley, presented a moving drama about a young girl forced to marry a much older, and unwanted, man so that she could provide for her mother and sister. Although it was the subjective camera around which the development of the drama was structured, these *1st Person* teleplays were considered fine additions to Foote's television body of work. As a *Variety* (August 19, 1953) reviewer noted, "Foote is building up a fictional Texan world that is approaching the stature as well as volume of William Faulkner's Mississippi work."

In 1957 Kim Stanley (a tirelessly inventive Foote interpreter) repeated her earlier Broadway role of a Texas-traveling wife whose life is being shattered by a wastrel, drunken husband reverting to type while on parole in Foote's *The Traveling Lady* for *Studio One*.

Often compared with Faulkner as a perceptive chronicler of southern Americana, Foote is also regarded as one of Faulkner's most fluent translators, his adaptations conveying a sensitive, moving, and noble expression to the work. Foote's adaptation of Faulkner's *Old Man* for *Playhouse 90*, a powerful tale of a convict rescuing a stranded, pregnant woman during a Mississippi flood, made "a memorable 90 minutes of overwhelming drama" (*Variety*, November 26,

1958); for this presentation, Foote received an Emmy nomination for Best Writing of a Single Drama. Faulkner's warmly old-fashioned love story between a deserted pregnant wife and a hired hand in *Tomorrow* was adapted by Foote for another *Playhouse 90* presentation in 1960, and again as a screenplay for the 1972 feature *Tomorrow* starring Robert Duval.

When filmed television drama superseded live, original production, Foote turned to Hollywood, where he was rewarded with an Academy Award for his eloquent adaptation of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*. But then, some two years later, when *Baby the Rain Must Fall* (an adaptation of his own *The Traveling Lady*) was released to lukewarm reviews, he started to grow somewhat disillusioned with the Hollywood treatment of his work (particularly with the 1966 feature version of *The Chase*, from a screenplay adaptation by Lillian Hellman).

Foote withdrew to New Hampshire, an escape from both Broadway and Hollywood. It was during the 1970s that he created *The Orphans' Home Cycle* (1974–77), nine plays chronicling the life of a Texas family from 1902 to 1928, a semiautobiographical look at his family. To date, five of these nine plays have been filmed for both cinema and television.

Over his long and varied career, Horton Foote has distinguished himself as a major American voice and has been honored by the Writers Guild of America, receiving its 1962 award for *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, with its 1997 Emmy Award for *William Faulkner's Old Man* (Outstanding Writing for a Miniseries or a Special).

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also **Anthology Drama; Golden Age of Television Drama; Playhouse 90**

**Horton Foote.** Born in Wharton, Texas, March 14, 1916. Graduate, Wharton High School; attended Pasadena Playhouse School Theatre, California; Tamara Daykarhanova School of Theatre, NYC. Married: Lillian Vallish. Actor, American Actors Theatre, NYC, 1939–42; Theatre Workshop, King-Smith School of Creative Arts, Washington DC, 1944–45; manager, Productions Inc, Washington DC, 1945–48. Pulitzer Prize in Drama, 1995; American Academy of Arts and Letters Gold Medal for Drama, 1998; PEN/Laura Pels Awards for Drama, 2000; National Medal of Arts, 2000.

#### Television Plays

- 1948 *Only the Heart* (Kraft Television Theatre)  
 1952 *The Travelers* (Goodyear TV Playhouse)  
*The Old Beginning* (Goodyear TV Playhouse)

- 1953 *The Trip to Bountiful* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*A Young Lady of Property* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*The Oil Well* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*The Rocking Chair* (The Doctor)  
*Expectant Relations* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*Death of the Old Man* (Gulf Playhouse: 1st Person)  
*The Tears of My Sister* (Gulf Playhouse: 1st Person)  
*John Turner Davis* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*The Midnight Caller* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
 1954 *The Dancers* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
*The Shadow of Willie Greer* (Philco TV Playhouse)  
 1955 *The Roads to Home* (U.S. Steel Hour)  
 1956 *Flight* (Playwrights '56)  
*Drugstore Sunday Noon* (Omnibus)  
 1957 *A Member of the Family* (Studio One)  
*The Traveling Lady* (Studio One)  
 1958 *Old Man* (Playhouse 90)  
 1960 *Tomorrow* (Playhouse 90)  
*The Shape of the River* (Playhouse 90)  
 1961 *The Night of the Storm* (DuPont Show of the Month)  
 1964 *Gambling Heart* (DuPont Show of the Month)  
 1978 *The Displaced Person* (American Short Story)  
 1980 *Barn Burning* (American Short Story)  
 1983 *Keeping On* (American Playhouse)  
 1987 *The Orphan's Home* (American Playhouse)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1992 *The Habitation of Dragons*  
 1996 *Lily Dale*  
 1997 *William Faulkner's Old Man* (aka *Old Man*)  
*Alone* (aka *Horton Foote's Alone*)

#### Films

*Storm Fear* (from novel by Clinton Seeley), 1955; *To Kill a Mockingbird* (from novel by Lee Harper), 1962; *Baby the Rain Must Fall* (from own original play *The Traveling Lady*), 1964; *Hurry Sundown* (coscreenplay with Thomas C. Ryan from novel by KB Gilden), 1967; *Tomorrow*, 1972; *Tender Mercies*, 1983; *1918*, *The Trip to Bountiful*, 1985; *On Valentine's Day*, 1986; *Convicts*, 1991; *Of Mice and Men* (from novel by John Steinbeck), 1992.

#### Stage (as writer; selected)

*Texas Town*, 1942; *Only the Heart*, 1944; *Celebration*, 1948; *The Chase*, 1952; *The Trip to Bountiful*,

1953; *The Traveling Lady*, 1954; *The Dancers*, 1963; *Gone With the Wind*, 1971; *The Widow Claire*, 1986; *The Young Man from Atlanta*, 1995.

### Publications

*The Chase*, 1956  
*Three Screenplays: The Trip to Bountiful; Tender Mercies; To Kill a Mockingbird*, 1989

*Farewell: A Memoir of a Texas Childhood*, 1999  
*Beginnings: A Memoir*, 2001

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## For the Record

### Canadian Dramatic Anthology Series

*For the Record* was one of the most successful series ever produced and broadcast by the CBC. It used an anthology format, offering four to six new episodes each year linked only by the series title and a documentary-style approach to topical stories. Many episodes proved controversial, but the series was critically acclaimed for its thoughtful and intense treatment of difficult issues.

The idea for the series originated with John Hirsch, who was appointed head of television drama at the CBC in 1974. He felt that CBC drama should have the same urgency and relevance as the network's well-regarded current affairs programming and recruited Ralph Thomas as executive producer of a new series, which would become *For the Record*.

Although the producers and writers contributed a great deal to the success of the series, one of the key decisions made by Thomas was to hire directors who had contributed to the growth of Canadian cinema in the 1960s and early 1970s. These filmmakers were part of Canada's "direct cinema" movement of low-budget feature films based on documentary techniques developed at the National Film Board. In the mid-1970s Canadian film moved toward the production of supposedly more commercial imitations of Hollywood style, and, as a result, leading filmmakers, both Anglophone and Francophone, were pleased to find an outlet for their talents in a television series that stressed its difference from the U.S. network programs that dominated Canadian television screens.

The series officially got under way in 1977, but the basic approach was established in the previous season

when five topical dramas were broadcast under the title *Camera '76*. These included "Kathy Karuks Is a Grizzly Bear" (written by Thomas and directed by Peter Pearson), about the exploitation of a young long-distance swimmer, and "A Thousand Moons" (directed by prolific Quebec filmmaker Gilles Carle), about an old Métis woman who lives in a city but dreams of returning home to die. Six new programs were broadcast in the following season, when the series got its permanent name: two ("Ada" and "Dreamspeaker") were contributed by another Quebec director, Claude Jutra, while documentary filmmaker Allan King directed "Maria," about a young Italian-Canadian who attempts to unionize a garment factory. The most controversial production of the 1977 season was undoubtedly "The Tar Sands," written and directed by Pearson, which provoked a libel suit because of its depiction of recent dealings between the oil industry and politicians in Alberta.

By the end of the 1977 season, the format and possibilities of the series had been firmly established, but these did not fit comfortably into existing categories of television programming. The episodes were presented as television dramas, but the location shooting made them seem more like films. After the legal problems with "The Tar Sands," the CBC disavowed the term "docudrama" that had been applied to the series and suggested instead "journalistic drama" or "contemporary, topical drama that is issue oriented."

Whatever the term, the series did allow for a range of approaches. Dramatized treatments of specific topical events (such as "The Tar Sands") were rare, al-

though viewers could often relate the fictional stories to similar stories recently in the news. More common were episodes (such as "Maria") that dealt with an identifiable "social problem" in terms of its impact on characters seen as both individual and representative. While the "social problem" was a necessary ingredient, some episodes, notably those directed by Carle and Jutra, took on a poetic dimension with subjective fantasy sequences emerging from their social realism.

Some memorable episodes from later seasons dealt with rape ("A Matter of Choice," 1978), hockey violence ("Cementhead," 1979), separatism ("Don't Forget 'Je Me Souviens,'" 1979), television evangelism ("Blind Faith," 1982), farm bankruptcies ("Ready for Slaughter," 1983), gender discrimination ("Kate Morris, Vice President," 1984), and the beauty myth ("Slim Obsession," 1984).

The series was praised for its refusal to allow personal dramas to obscure the social implications of the issues. Whatever the outcome for the characters, the endings did not create the impression that the issues had been resolved, implying that solutions still needed to be sought in reality. Supporters of public broadcasting in Canada pointed to *For the Record* as an alternative to the formulas of commercial television, with its demand for clearly defined conflicts and happy endings, and there was a widespread agreement that the series fulfilled the CBC's mandate to provide insight into Canadian society and culture. Its cancellation in

1985 could be seen as a response to commercial and political pressures on the CBC, although the public network has continued to broadcast similar realist dramas exploring topical issues.

JIM LEACH

*See also Canadian Programming in English*

#### **Producer**

Ralph Thomas

#### **Programming History**

CBC

1976-85

#### **Further Reading**

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Gervais, Marc, "Lightyears Ahead: *For the Record*," *Cinema Canada* (March 1977)

Henley, Gail, "On the Record: *For The Record's* 10 Distinctive Years," *Cinema Canada* (April 1985)

Miller, Mary Jane, *Turn Up the Contrast: CBC Television Drama since 1952*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987

Morris, Peter, *The Film Companion*, Toronto: Irwin, 1984

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## Ford, Anna (1943- )

British Broadcast Journalist

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Anna Ford was independent television's first female newsreader and in time became one of the most popular and experienced of female news presenters in British television. Critics ascribed her early success as a newsreader primarily to her attractive looks, but she subsequently demonstrated even to her detractors that she was more than competent as a presenter and furthermore ready to brave controversy (something she was well used to even as a student, due to her committed socialist views).

Before her recruitment as ITN's (Independent Television News) answer to the BBC's popular, though less-vivacious, newsreader Angela Rippon in the late 1970s, Ford had already amassed some experience as a

television presenter through her work as a reporter for *Reports Action*, *Man Alive*, and other programs. Reflecting her early training in education (e.g., she taught social studies to Irish Revolutionary Army internees in Belfast's Long Kesh prison), she had also worked on broadcasts for the Open University and had then presented *Tomorrow's World* for a time before resigning because, she explained, she had no wish to become "a public figure." Ironically, this is exactly what she was shortly afterward fated to become as a high-profile newsreader for *News at Ten*.

The most controversial stage in Ford's career opened in the early 1980s, when she was one of the "Famous Five" celebrities behind the launching of the





Anna Ford.  
Photo courtesy of Anna Ford

ill-starred TV-AM company, for which she presented the breakfast program *Good Morning Britain*. When the new enterprise failed to attract the required audiences, Ford (and Rippon) were unceremoniously sacked, and it was speculated that her career in television was over. Ford's response to this was to pour a glass of wine on her former employer, Member of Parliament Jonathan Aitken—an incident that hit the headlines and only confirmed Ford's reputation for belligerence.

Similarly controversial was Ford's widely reported refusal to wear flattering makeup on television to disguise the effects of aging, in protest, she said, of the "body fascism" of television bosses who insisted that female newscasters were only there to provide glamour. Critics of her stand attacked her for being aggressive and overtly feminist (they also expressed shock that she sometimes read the news while not wearing a bra), but many more admired her for her forthrightness. Those who had automatically written her off as "just a pretty face" were obliged to think again. It was a mark of her success in the argument that, some six years after the TV-AM debacle, Ford—then age 45—was readmitted to the fold as a newsreader for the BBC's prime-time *Six O'Clock News*. She has also

continued to present occasional programs on a wide range of educational and other issues.

DAVID PICKERING

**Anna Ford.** Born in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, England, October 2, 1943. Attended Minehead Grammar School and White House Grammar School, Brampton; Manchester University. Married: 1) Alan Brittles in 1970 (divorced, 1976); 2) Mark Boxer, 1981 (died, 1988); children: Claire and Kate. Taught at Open University in Belfast for two years before joining Granada Television as researcher, 1974; moved to BBC, 1976; newscaster, ITN, 1978–82; also worked as researcher and presenter of school programs; founder-member of TV-AM, 1980; freelance broadcaster and writer, 1982–86; newscaster, BBC, 1989; chancellor, University of Manchester, 2001. Trustee, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1995. Recipient: TV Times Most Popular TV Personality (Female), 1978.

#### Television Series

1974	<i>Reports Action</i>
1976–77	<i>Man Alive</i>
1977–78	<i>Tomorrow's World</i>
1978–80	<i>News at Ten</i>
1983	<i>Good Morning Britain</i>
1984	<i>Did You See...?</i>
1986	<i>Understanding Adolescents</i>
1987–89	<i>Network</i>
1987	<i>Understanding Families</i>
1987	<i>On Course</i>
1989–99	<i>Six O'Clock News</i>
1999–	<i>One O'Clock News</i>

#### Television Specials

1984	<i>West End Stage Awards</i>
1985	<i>Starting Infant School</i>
1985	<i>Communication</i>
1985	<i>Handicapped Children</i>
1985	<i>Children's Feelings</i>
1985	<i>Starting Secondary School</i>
1985	<i>Approaching Adolescence</i>
1985	<i>Warnings from the Future?</i>
1985	<i>Have We Lived Before?</i>
1986	<i>London Standard Film Awards</i>
1986	<i>Television on Trial</i>
1986	<i>Puberty</i>
1987	<i>Richard Burton Drama Award</i>
1987	<i>The Search for Realism</i>
1987	<i>The Struggle for Land</i>
1987	<i>The Price of Marriage</i>
1987	<i>Veiled Revolution</i>
1987	<i>ITV Schools: Thirty Years On</i>

1987 *Kimberley Carlile—Falling through the Net*  
1988 *Harold Pinter*  
1988 *Wildscreen 88*  
1988 *Fight to Survive?*  
1988 *Network in Ireland*  
1989 *British Academy Awards*  
1989 *Mary Stott*  
1992 *Edvard Munch: The Frieze of Life*

1992 *Family Planning Association*  
1994 *Against All Odds*  
1994 *Evening Standard British Film Awards 1993*  
1994 *Understanding the Under-12s*

**Publication**

*Men: A Documentary*, 1984

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## Format Sales, International

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“Format” is the term used in television industries to describe a set of program ideas and techniques already successfully used in one market and subsequently adapted—usually under license—to produce programs elsewhere. Many past examples of such program mimicking come to mind. In radio’s heyday, for example, NBC’s *What’s My Line?* was remade by the BBC. A decade later, the United Kingdom’s *Till Death Us Do Part* was adapted for U.S. television as *All In The Family*. Typically, the business arrangements concerning these and many other program translations tended to be informal, ad hoc, and undertaken on a one-off basis. Not surprisingly, there was also a good deal of international borrowing of formats that involved neither authorization nor the payment of fees. Numerous unauthorized U.S. format adaptations turned up in The Netherlands, Australia, and many South American countries. However, the most significant case was the New Zealand remake of the U.K. game show *Opportunity Knocks*. In 1989, Hughie Green, U.K. format originator/producer, brought legal action against the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation. Charges included infringement of format copyright. However, the charges were not upheld in New Zealand and a U.K. appeal to the Privy Council was also dismissed.

Despite this doubt about whether formats enjoyed copyright protection, the past ten years have seen an explosion in global traffic in TV program formats. One main reason for such an increase lies in the worldwide expansion of television channels thanks to deregulation, new technology and the advance of laissez-faire economic policies. Faced with an ever more desperate struggle for ratings success, TV producers and broad-

casters frequently prefer to adapt an already successful program format, rather than take a chance on an original, untried format.

This increase in the volume of format adaptation has been accompanied by a determined attempt to ensure that players stick to a set of rules. Several elements are at work here. First, the fact that format trade now occurs at such industry conventions as MIPCOM rather than by overseas producers, surreptitiously recording off-air in L.A. hotel rooms, means that at least some parts of the trade are controlled. In addition, producers continue to believe that formats do carry legal protection. Paying according to rules helps maintain business reputations. Further, format licensing fees tend to be relatively modest, being partly determined by the kind of asking price that might be set for the broadcasting of an imported version of the same program. Additionally, to dissuade producers from plagiarizing a format off-air, an owner also usually makes available a series of important ancillary elements as part of the format licensing package. These can include: titles and other software; set designs, production schedules, and so on; scripts; videotapes of on-air episodes; confidential ratings and demographic information; and consultancy services. Finally, there is always the threat of legal action such as, for instance, occurred in 1999 when the U.K. producer of the reality program *Survivor* undertook a lawsuit against Endemol, producer of *Big Brother*, alleging format infringement.

One further sign of an attempted regularization of exchange in television program formats has been the organization of a trade association. In 2000, the Format Recognition and Protection Association (FRAPA)

was established in London. FRAPA's functions are threefold. First, it has established a system of dispute arbitration between members to avoid legal action, which is often unpredictable, costly, and usually slow. Second, it acts as an information clearinghouse. Third, it hopes to lobby sympathetic national governments to enact format protection legislation. Not surprisingly, FRAPA has succeeded in signing up the major agencies in the international field of format trade, including Endemol, Pearson, Columbia TriStar, King World, Distraction, Mentorn International, Action Time, Hat Trick Productions, Celador, and Expand Images.

Harry de Winter, head of Dutch IDtv, believes that the international TV program format business will ultimately end up in the hands of two or three giants with smaller independent companies being the ones that actually generate the ideas. The U.K.'s FremantleMedia (formerly Pearson Television) and Endemol from The Netherlands are likely to be the central agencies in the format trade of the near future.

Pearson Television was an arm of the U.K.-based Pearson media group. Already owner of Thames Production, the company set out to acquire an extensive program format catalogue in the early 1990s. In 1995 it took over Grundy Worldwide, thereby acquiring a library in the areas of game shows and drama. The 1997 acquisition of All American Fremantle International gave it control of the Mark Goodson library of game shows including such classics as *The Price Is Right*, *Family Feud*, and *Card Sharks*. Successful Grundy drama formats were already on the air in Australia, The Netherlands, and Germany with new adaptations of formats such as *Sons and Daughters* and *Prisoner* appearing more recently in Sweden, Finland, Germany, and Greece. In turn, Pearson also acquired additional formats through the takeover of a string of small production companies in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and South Africa. To concentrate on Spanish markets in the United States and in Latin America, it established a production company in Miami in 1999.

With an extensive format catalogue at its disposal, it was inevitable that Pearson would see strategic market advantage in joining a vertically integrated media group. From 1997, Pearson was part of the U.K. Channel 5 broadcasting consortium and in 2000 merged with the German based CTL-UF to form the RTL Group. The company changed its name to FremantleMedia in 2001. By that point, the company had over

160 programs in production in 35 different territories with particular production strengths in the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, the United States, and Australia.

Endemol was created in 1993 with the merger of two independent Dutch companies, Joop van den Ende Productions and John de Mol Productions. It was floated as a public company on the Amsterdam stock exchange in 1996 and the capital inflow this has created has led to an aggressive expansion. Endemol now has companies in 17 different territories in Western and Eastern Europe, the United Kingdom, Australia, South Africa, the United States, and Argentina. In 2000, it linked with the Telefonía group, the largest supplier of telecommunications and Internet services in the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking worlds. It now provides content for broadcasting companies as well as for Internet, third-generation cellular telephones, and other distribution platforms. The basis of Endemol's remarkable expansion has been its catalogue of TV formats, which now numbers over 400 titles. These include not only some of the older pre-1993 formats such as *Forgive Me* and *All You Need Is Love* but also more recently originated ones, especially *Big Brother*. Indeed, the latter format has provided the basis for a comprehensive franchising operation involving the systematic exploitation of rights in relation to new distribution platforms that may be a significant clue to future directions in the format business.

Finally, it is important to note that, despite FRAPA's efforts, many producers outside the United States and Western Europe refuse to accept any rules. This is particularly the case in the People's Republic of China, where the state does not support the notion of intellectual property. Even in other parts of the world where rules are in play, it is still often difficult to distinguish between a format infringement and general generic imitation.

ALBERT MORAN

*See also All in the Family; Reality Programming; Survivor; Till Death Do Us Part*

#### Further Reading

Moran, Albert, *Copycat TV: Globalisation, Program Formats and Cultural Identity*, Luton, United Kingdom: University of Luton Press, 1997

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# Forsyte Saga, The

British Serial Drama

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*The Forsyte Saga*, one of the most celebrated of British period drama series ever made, was first shown in 1967 and subsequently in many countries around the world, to universal acclaim. Based on the novels of John Galsworthy, the series was made in black and white and comprised 26 episodes covering the history of the aristocratic Forsyte family between the years 1879 and 1926 (actually rather longer than the period covered in the novels themselves).

The project was the brainchild of producer Donald Wilson, who first conceived the idea in 1955 and spent years planning the series and getting the necessary backing for it. The series finally got the go-ahead on the strength of the distinguished cast who were signed up for it. They included Kenneth More (Jolyon Forsyte), Eric Porter (Soames Forsyte), Nyree Dawn Porter (Irene Forsyte), Fay Compton (Ann Forsyte), Michael York ("Jolly" Forsyte), and newcomer Susan Hampshire (Fleur Forsyte). The plot revolved around the feuds and machinations of the Forsyte family and their London merchants' business (paving the way for such glossy soap operas of the 1980s as *Dallas* and *Dynasty*). Each episode culminated in a "cliff-hanger" ending designed to persuade viewers to tune in once again the following week. Among the most famous scenes was one in which the hapless Irene, unloved by her cold and possessive husband, Soames, was brutally raped by him as their marriage fell apart. The scene was rendered even more convincing by bloodstains on Irene's dress (Eric Porter had inadvertently cut his hand on her brooch when tearing off her bodice).

The series enjoyed vast audiences, the first showing, on BBC 2, attracting some 6 million viewers and the second showing, now on BBC 1, attracting some 18 million. Publicans and vicars alike complained that they might just as well shut up shop on Sunday evenings as everyone stayed at home to see the next episode of the gripping saga. Similar success greeted the series in other parts of the world, including the United States, and *The Forsyte Saga* also earned the distinction of being the first BBC series to be sold to the Soviet Union. The worldwide audience was estimated as something in the region of 160 million.

The success of the series, which won a Royal Television Society Silver Medal and a BAFTA award for Best Drama, prompted the BBC to invest further resources into similar blockbusting "costume" dramas, a policy that in ensuing years was to produce such results as *The Pallisers* (which was also produced by Donald Wilson) and *Upstairs, Downstairs*. In the United States, *Forsyte's* success promoted the development of the miniseries in competition with the open-ended perpetual drama serial. Indeed, the bosses of one U.S. television station decided its viewers could not be expected to wait for the next episode and showed the entire series in one chunk, which lasted 23 hours and 50 minutes.

In 2001 Granada Television Ltd. put a remake of *The Forsyte Saga* into production, with Rupert Graves as Young Jolyon, Gina McKee as Irene, Damian Lewis as Soames, Corin Redgrave as Old Jolyon, Wendy Craig as Aunt Juley, and Ioan Gruffud as Bosinney.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Adaptations; Miniseries*

## Cast

Jolyon Forsyte	Kenneth More
Irene Forsyte	Nyree Dawn Porter
Soames Forsyte	Eric Porter
Old Jolyon	Joseph O'Connor
Fleur	Susan Hampshire
Jon	Martin Jarvis
Montague Dartie	Terence Alexander
Michael Mont	Nicholas Pennell
Winifred	Margaret Tyzack
"Jolly"	Michael York

## Producer

Donald Wilson

## Programming History

26 episodes

BBC 2

January 1967–July 1967



*The Forsyte Saga*, Kenneth More, Eric Porter, 1967.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

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## Forsythe, John (1918– )

U.S. Actor

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With his tanned, handsome mien, silver hair and urbane style, John Forsythe has been a recognizable television personality associated with suavity and upper-class elegance since the 1950s. He has made his mark chiefly in debonair paternal parts in several long-running television series. The actor's distinctive voice and precise diction have also served him well, particularly in parts where the actor was never seen on-screen, as in the 1970s Aaron Spelling hit *Charlie's Angels*, in which Forsythe voiced the role of Charlie Townsend, the eponymous employer of a trio of female detectives.

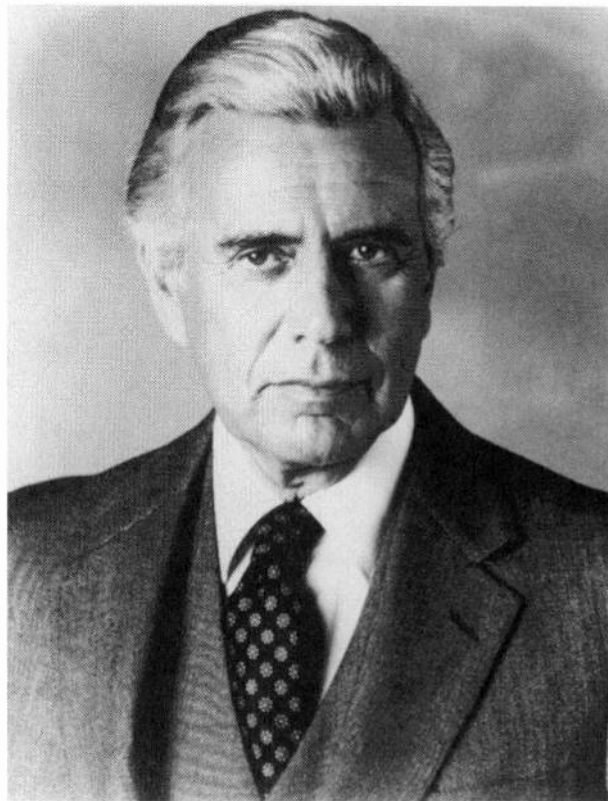
Forsythe's first roles permitted him to hone and showcase his vocal talents. After studying at the University of North Carolina, he began his career as a sports announcer for the Brooklyn Dodgers at Ebbets Field and then segued into acting in radio soap operas. Subsequent appearances on Broadway led to a motion picture contract with Warner Brothers and a Hollywood debut with Cary Grant in the film *Destination Tokyo*.

After World War II Forsythe went on to starring roles in a number of Broadway productions. While still in New York, he appeared in many of the live television shows based there, such as *Studio One*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, *Robert Montgomery Presents*, and *Schlitz Playhouse of Stars*. He subsequently moved to Los Angeles and took a starring role as a playboy Hollywood attorney responsible for raising his orphaned niece in the television series *Bachelor Father*, which was broadcast from 1957 to 1962. Forsythe was nominated for an Emmy for this television role, his first as a father figure, and he would be nominated again for his portrayal of the head of the Carrington clan in the hit show *Dynasty* in the 1980s.

ABC's answer to hit CBS show *Dallas*, *Dynasty* featured Forsythe in the role of patriarch Blake Carrington, head of a wealthy Denver, Colorado, family, plagued by a scheming ex-wife, a bisexual son, and other tribulations. The show, which ran roughly in tandem with the Reagan era, was known for its opulent atmosphere, lavish sets and costumes, and typical preoccupation with the problems of the wealthy, ranging from murder and greed to lust and incest. The show, which hit its ratings peak in 1984–85, solidified

Forsythe's "nice guy" image even in the role of a ruthless oil magnate, exploring plotlines focusing on his emotional reactions to Joan Collins's villainy, his son's sexuality, and his attempts to maintain the family. Blake Carrington even pitched his own line of cologne in advertisements featuring his love for his wife, who, in a commercial narrative extending from *Dynasty*, had the fragrance designed for him.

Forsythe won two Golden Globe Awards for Best Actor in a Dramatic Television Series for his work in *Dynasty*. Since the series ended in 1989, he has recreated his role as Blake Carrington in a reunion movie and appeared as the on-camera host for *I Witness Video*. He also starred in a 1992–93 series, a political



John Forsythe.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

satire sitcom called *The Powers That Be* and reprised his television role of Charlie for the feature film version of *Charlie's Angels* in 2000.

DIANE M. NEGRA

See also *Charlie's Angels*; **Comedy, Domestic Settings**; *Dynasty*

**John Forsythe (John Lincoln Freund)**. Born in Penn's Grove, New Jersey, January 29, 1918. Educated at the University of North Carolina and the New York Actor's Studio. Married: 1) Parker McCormick (divorced); one child: Dall; 2) Julie Warren (died, 1994); two children: Page and Brooke. Served in U.S. Army Air Corps. Public address announcer, Brooklyn Dodgers at Ebbets Field; appeared in radio soap operas; acted on stage, since early 1940s, actor in films, since 1944; actor on television, since 1947; host of Hollywood Park Feature Race, 1971–74. Member: United Nations Association; American National Theatre and Academy. Recipient: Golden Globe Awards, 1983, 1984.

#### Television Series

1957–62 *Bachelor Father*  
 1965–66 *The John Forsythe Show*  
 1970–82 *World of Survival*  
 1971 *To Rome with Love*  
 1976–81 *Charlie's Angels* (voice)  
 1981–89 *Dynasty*  
 1992–93 *The Powers That Be*  
 1993–94 *I Witness Video*  
 1998 *People's Century* (narrator)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1964 *See How They Run*  
 1968 *Shadow of the Land*  
 1971 *Murder Once Removed*  
 1973 *The Letters*

1973 *Lisa: Bright and Dark*  
 1974 *Cry Panic*  
 1974 *The Healers*  
 1974 *Terror on the 40th Floor*  
 1975 *The Deadly Tower*  
 1976 *Amelia Earhart*  
 1977 *Tail Gunner Joe*  
 1977 *Never Con a Killer*  
 1978 *Cruise into Terror*  
 1978 *The Users*  
 1978 *With This Ring*  
 1980 *A Time for Miracles*  
 1981 *Sizzle*  
 1982 *The Mysterious Two*  
 1987 *On Fire*  
 1990 *Opposites Attract*  
 1991 *Dynasty: The Reunion*

#### Films

*Destination Tokyo*, 1944; *The Captive City*, 1952; *It Happens Every Thursday*, 1953; *The Glass Web*, 1952; *Escape from Fort Bravo*, 1953; *The Trouble with Harry*, 1956; *The Ambassador's Daughter*, 1956; *The Captive City*, 1962; *Kitten with a Whip*, 1964; *Madame X*, 1966; *In Cold Blood*, 1968; *Topaz*, 1969; *The Happy Ending*, 1970; *Goodbye and Amen*, 1977; *And Justice for All*, 1979; *Scrooged*, 1988; *Stan and George's New Life*, 1991; *Hotel de Love*, 1997; *Charlie's Angels*, 2000.

#### Stage

*Dick Whittington and His Cat*, 1939; *Vickie*, 1942; *Yankee Point*, 1942; *Winged Victory*, 1943; *Yellow-jack*, 1945; *Woman Bites Dog*, 1946; *All My Sons*, 1947; *It Takes Two*, 1947; *Mister Roberts*, 1950; *The Teahouse of the August Moon*, 1953; *Detective Story*, 1955; *Weekend*, 1968; *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, 1971; *Sacrilege*, 1995.

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## Four Corners

### Australian Current Affairs Program

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*Four Corners* is Australia's longest-running current affairs program and is often referred to as the "flagship" of the government-funded Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). *Four Corners* has gone to air con-

tinuously on the ABC since 1961 and has established itself not only as an institution of Australian television but more widely of Australian political life. The program has frequently initiated public debate on impor-





Liz Jackson, host of *Four Corners*.  
Courtesy of Australian Broadcasting Corporation

tant issues as well as precipitated governmental or judicial inquiries and processes of political reform.

*Four Corners* was originally conceived as a program with a magazine format offering an informed commentary on the week's events. It filled a space on Australian television roughly comparable to the British Broadcasting Commission's *Panorama* (from which it often borrowed material in the 1960s) or the early current affairs programming developed by Edward R. Murrow for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the United States. It was also notable for providing the first truly national orientation on news and current affairs in Australia, either on television or in print.

Stylistically, *Four Corners* has been an innovator in documentary strategies for Australian television and film. The program frequently presents itself as frankly personalized and argumentative. The narrator has generally appeared on-screen, a significant break with the off-screen "voice-of-God" narration that was the dominant convention in 1950s documentary. The involve-

ment of the narrators-reporters with their subject, usually on locations, gives the program an immediacy and realism, while also opening up subjective points of view. As Albert Moran argues in "Constructing a Nation: Institutional Documentary since 1945," these developments paralleled the emergence in the 1960s of direct cinema and cinema vérité, as well as an increasing cultural pluralism reflected in documentary subject matter.

Since the mid-1970s the program has developed the format of a 45-minute topical documentary introduced by a studio host, occasionally varied with studio debate. The most frequently cited examples are investigative reports that have had a direct impact on political institutions, such as a 1983 program, "The Big League," which disclosed interference in court hearings of charges laid against prominent figures in the New South Wales Rugby League, or the 1988 program "The Moonlight State," which revealed corruption at high levels in the Queensland police force. However, the program has also been important for its "slice of life" portrayals of the everyday worlds of social relations, work, health, and leisure, which have increased awareness of social and cultural diversity. *Four Corners* was very early to represent Australia as a multicultural society, with a report, for example, in 1961 on the German-speaking community in South Australia.

*Four Corners* made an early reputation for testing the boundaries of expectations of television as a medium, as well as the limits of political acceptability. At a time when television current affairs genres were still unfamiliar, this sometimes involved little more than taking the camera outside the controlled space of the studio or the inclusion of unscripted material. A 1963 program on the Returned Servicemen's League (RSL), for example, stirred controversy for showing members of the organization in casual dress drinking at a bar, rather than exclusively in the context of formally structured studio debate. However, controversy extended also to the kinds of political questions that were raised. The story on the RSL directly challenged the organization on its claim to political neutrality. Another story from the same period drew attention to the appalling living conditions and political disenfranchisement of aboriginal people living on a reserve near Casino in rural New South Wales, an issue that had almost no public exposure at the time.

*Four Corners* has consistently been accused of political bias, particularly of a left-wing orientation, and critics charge it with failing to abide by the ABC's charter, which requires "balance" in the coverage of news and current affairs. The program is generally defended by its makers, ABC management, and support-



ers on the grounds that the importance of open public debate outweighs the damage that might be caused to interested parties and that, while the program may be argumentative, it is not unfair.

The program is also a frequent point of reference in debates over government-funded broadcasting. *Four Corners* has never achieved high ratings by the standards of the commercial networks and is often contrasted in content and style to commercial rivals such as the Nine Network's *Sixty Minutes*, which is able to claim much wider popular appeal. Despite increasing pressure on the ABC to become more commercially oriented, however, the program has continued to articulate values that are distinct from considerations of popularity—the importance of representing the positions and points of view of minorities, the necessity of forcing public institutions to accountability, and a place for television current affairs that performs an educative role. In doing so, *Four Corners* is often taken as representative of the position and identity of publicly funded broadcasting as a whole.

MARK GIBSON

#### Presenters

Michael Charlton (1961–63)  
 Gerald Lyons (1963)  
 Frank Bennett (1964)  
 John Penlington (1964)  
 Robert Moore (1964–67)  
 John Temple (1968)  
 Michael Willessee (1969–71)  
 Brian King (1971)  
 David Flatman (1972)  
 Peter Ross (1972)  
 Caroline Jones (1972–81)  
 Andrew Olle (1985–94)  
 Liz Jackson (1995)

#### Reporters

Keith Smith  
 Bob Sanders (1963)  
 Robert Moore (1964–67)  
 Bill Peach (1966)  
 Peter Reid (1967–73)  
 Richard Oxenburgh (1964– )  
 John Penlington (1963–71)  
 Jim Downes (1967–83)  
 Peter Couchman  
 Brian King (1969–72)  
 John Temple (1970–83)  
 David Flatman (1971– )  
 Richard Carleton (1972)

Stuart Littlemore (1972)  
 Alan Hogan (1972–78)  
 Peter Ross (1973–83)  
 Pat Burgess (1974)  
 Gordon Bick (1971– )  
 Ken Burslem (1973–76)  
 Jeff Watson (1974–80)  
 Ray Martin (1974–78)  
 Brian Davies (1975– )  
 Maryanne Smith (1975–81)  
 Kerry O'Brien (1975–77)  
 Peter Luck (1975–76)  
 Paul Lyneham (1976–81)  
 Andrew Olle (1977–78)  
 Bob Pride (1977– )  
 Jeff McMullen (1977–83)  
 Charles Wooley (1979– )  
 Bob Hill (1978–81)  
 Mark Colvin (1979)  
 Noel Norton (1980–81)  
 Peter Wilkinson (1980–81)  
 Geoff Herriot (1980)  
 Chris Sweeney (1980–84)  
 Pamela Paddon (1981)  
 Richard Palfreyman (1981)  
 Jack Pizzey (1982–83)  
 Mary Delahunty (1983)  
 Chris Masters (1983– )  
 Jenny Brockie (1983–86)  
 David de Vos (1984–84)  
 Allan Hogan (1984)  
 Tony Jones (1984–91)  
 Kerry O'Brien (1985–86)  
 Sarah Wall (1985–86)  
 David Marr (1985)  
 Clare Petre (1985–87)  
 John Beeston (1985)  
 Marian Wilkinson (1987–89)  
 Paul Barry (1987–89)  
 Peter Couchman (1987–89)  
 Pamela Bornhorst (1987–88)  
 Mark Colvin (1987–91)  
 Neil Mercer (1988–92)  
 John Millard (1989)  
 Deborah Snow (1989–90)  
 John Budd (1990)  
 Walter Hamilton (1990)  
 Jenny Brockie (1990)  
 David Marr (1991)  
 Paul Barry (1991, 1993–94)  
 Ross Coulthart (1991– )  
 Jonathan Holmes (1991, 1994)  
 Deb Whitmont (1992, 1998– )  
 Frank McGuire (1992)

Mark Westfield (1992)  
Deb Richards (1993)  
Marian Wilkinson (1993)  
Liz Jackson (1994- )  
Murray Hogarth (1994- )  
Sally Neighbour (1995- )  
David Hardaker (1995-98)  
Murray McLaughlin (1995-98)  
Andrew Fowler (1995- )  
Mick O'Donnell (1995)  
Margo O'Neill (1996-98)  
Mark Davis (1998-99)  
Geoff Parish (1998-99)  
Peter George (1998-99)  
Tony Jones (1998)  
Quentin McDermott (1999- )  
Stephen McDonnell (2000- )  
Jill Colgan (2000)  
Ticky Fullerton (2001)

#### Executive Producers

Bob Raymond (1961-63); Allan Ashbolt (1963-64);  
Ivan Chapman (1964); Gerald Lyons (1963); John  
Power (1964); Robert Moore (1965-67); Sam Lip-  
ski (1968); Allan Martin (1968-72); Tony Ferguson  
(1973); Peter Reid (1973-80); Brian Davies

(1980-81); Paul Lyneham (1980-81); John Pen-  
lington (1980-81); John Temple (1980-81);  
Jonathan Holmes (1982-85); Peter Manning  
(1985-88); Ian Macintosh (1989-90); Marian  
Wilkinson (1991-92); Ian Carroll (1992-95);  
Harry Bardwell (1995); Paul Williams (1995);  
John Budd (1995-99); Bruce Belsham  
(1999- )

#### Programming History

Australian Broadcasting Corporation

August 1961–November 1981	Saturday 8:30–9:20
March 1982–December 1984	Saturday 7:30–8:20
March 1985–June 1985	Tuesday 8:30–9:20
July 1985–	Monday 8:30–9:20

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## FOX Broadcasting Company

### U.S. Network

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The FOX television network was established amid shock, controversy, legal wrangling, and uncertainty in 1985. The historic significance of this event may be judged by six interrelated factors: the daring prime mover, Rupert Murdoch; the economic environment at the time; the complacency of the major television networks; disenchanted affiliate stations; the Federal Communications Commission (FCC); and the volatile nature of television programming.

In 1984 Murdoch purchased half ownership of the Twentieth Century Fox film corporation. The following year he acquired the remaining half of the corporation. These two purchases, totaling \$575 million gave him control over an extensive film library and rights to numerous television series (e.g., *L.A. Law* and *M\*A\*S\*H*).

With this enormous programming potential in hand, he was in a good position to form a television network, the FOX Broadcasting Company. In October 1985 Murdoch bought six independent, major market stations (WNEW-TV, New York; KTTV-TV, Los Angeles; WFLD-TV, Chicago; WTTG-TV, Washington, DC; KNBN-TV, Dallas; KRIV-TV, Houston). Later he acquired WFXT-TV in Boston. These stations enabled him to reach about 20 percent of all television households in the United States. For the first time since the 1960s the major networks were to experience a kind of aggressive competition that would threaten their very existence.

The founding of the FOX Broadcasting Company must be placed within a context of the general economic uncertainty and decline of network television.



*Courtesy of Fox Broadcasting Company*

According to Sydney Head and Christopher Sterling, 1985 was the first year that network revenues fell slightly. By 1987 total revenues of ABC, CBS, and NBC had dropped to \$6.8 billion. For the first time ever, CBS recorded a net loss for the first quarter. As a result, all three networks adopted austerity measures, cutting budgets, laying off personnel, and dumping affiliates.

To the big three networks, the competition of the FOX network could hardly have occurred at a worse time. FOX itself was not spared financial hardship. In 1988 the company lost \$90 million and in 1989, \$20 million. To hedge against increased profit erosion the three networks began to diversify their interests in cable television and shore up their owned and operated stations.

Economic uncertainty also affected network affiliate relationships. ABC, NBC, and CBS tended to dominate the powerful and lucrative VHF stations throughout the United States, with the less profitable UHF stations being in the hands of independents. With the advent of the FOX network, a number of the VHF stations, previously affiliated with the major networks, jumped ship, providing a lucrative advantage to Murdoch. Some claim that Murdoch's exclusive National Football League contract was an added incentive to switch their allegiance. In one agreement with station group owner New World, the FOX network gained 12 new stations, which ended their affiliation with "Big Three" networks. Such "fickle behavior" on the part of affiliates sent shock waves through the established networks, which had complacently relied upon their loyalty.

Opposition to Murdoch's aggressiveness did not go unchallenged. The FCC licensing regulations specified that only American citizens could own broadcasting stations. The FCC also regulated cross-ownership of media companies to avoid antitrust abuses. In an at-

tempt to thwart Rupert Murdoch's growing influence, the FCC, spurred on by NBC and the NAACP, investigated his citizenship and the ownership structure of the FOX network. Murdoch became an American citizen in 1985, just prior to the founding of the FOX network. He also disclosed that FOX would assume virtually all economic risk for and reward of acquired stations. His disclosures were backed by sworn declarations of key FCC staffers and the independent legal counsel of Marvin Chirelstein of Columbia Law School. Nevertheless, some reports claimed the disclosures were deceptive. Murdoch's Australia-based News Corporation owned 24 percent of the FOX voting stock (just below the legal limit of 25 percent); the remaining 76 percent belonged to Barry Diller (Twentieth Century Fox) who was an American citizen. In fact, News Corporation indirectly owned 99 percent, a reality that the FCC either ignored or failed to see. Still, in keeping with deregulation trends, and despite temporary congressional freezes, the FCC found in favor of Murdoch. This decision was a great victory for Murdoch and a major disappointment to the networks.

The new FOX network strengthened its position with several strategies. By reducing the number of prime-time hours offered each week and by providing no morning shows or soap operas, FOX has given its affiliates much more freedom to schedule their own shows and commercial announcements. Rather than compete with the major networks using counterprogram strategies, FOX has tried to offer entertaining, low-cost shows to its affiliates. Some late-night programs fringe (such as the talk shows hosted by Joan Rivers and Chevy Chase) have fared poorly, but others such as *Married...with Children*, *21 Jump Street*, *The Tracy Ullman Show*, *Beverly Hills 90210*, and *The Simpsons* have been successful. The probable reason for these successes is that they target younger viewers devoted to light entertainment. In addition to this trendsetting, somewhat controversial program strategy, Murdoch has spent lavishly to obtain the rights to National Football League football, a major coup.

FOX's vertically integrated structure (a combination of Twentieth Century Fox, FOX network, and FOX stations) is also well suited to produce and distribute a large number of quality shows. The substantial collection of films in the vaults of Twentieth Century Fox remains a rich resource, still to be developed.

Early in the new millennium, the FOX network appeared to be taking advantage of the vertical integration of its corporate structure and the convergence of its constituent media partners and affiliates through the Internet. News Corporation, the parent company of the FOX network, declared a profit of \$370 million as of June 30, 2003. This is a great improvement over the previous year's loss of \$1.74 for the same period (the

loss was attributed to the write-off of an investment in Gemstar-TV Guide International Inc., whose founder was accused of securities fraud).

In comparison with the mainline networks, FOX remains a loosely connected and frugal network that is controversial and cutting-edge. At times it appears to revel in its challenging, unorthodox, and politically incorrect stance, which may be the reason for its continued popularity. In addition to the abrasive lineup of animated cartoon shows such as *The Simpsons*, *King of the Hill*, and *Futurama*, FOX was the home of the paranoid drama *The X-Files*. It currently hosts offbeat sitcoms such as *Malcolm in the Middle* and *Arrested Development*.

RICHARD WORRINGHAM

See also **Murdoch, Rupert**

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## France

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In no other country in Europe have the audiovisual media been a greater stake in political struggles than in France, despite the fact that television, in particular, was very late in getting started and slow to develop in that nation. This lag may be attributed to both French anxiety about image-based culture and uncertainty about new technology. Within the public-service tradition administered by a Jacobin state, television was tightly controlled and part of electoral spoils. Its informational and educational programs achieved a high standard before deregulation in the 1980s, while popular programming languished in the shadow of American imports and the low cultural esteem in which they were held on the "audiovisual landscape." Television, unlike the cinema, was never considered part of the national culture, and so French program makers contributed little to the international circulation of programs, nor did intellectuals make much contribution to media theory.

French television's origins were not propitious. A few experiments in the 1930s culminated in the first regular programming in 1939, transmitted from the

Eiffel Tower to a limited number of sets in Paris only. The postwar government revoked the Vichy law conceding broadcasting to the private sector, and the resulting state monopoly would remain unchallenged for four decades. Heavy regulation and a centralized bureaucracy explain the slow development of a network compared with the United Kingdom or Germany. Studios were built in a suburb of Paris, and for many years the "Buttes-Chaumont" label connoted a heavily dramatic style, then scorned by the young *cinéphiles* in the sway of the *Nouvelle Vague*. Television was perceived as the refuge of classical academicism and the untalented; it was not until the 1980s that the pioneer "*réaliateurs de télévision*" began to receive their critical due. There were still only 3.5 million sets by 1963, but the figure was increasing dramatically each year of the "30 Glorieuses" in the Gaullist period, often stimulated by international broadcast events (the Eurovision Song Contest, World Cup football). The evening news at 8:00 became a national ritual, "*la grande messe*."

Under the Fifth Republic, television legislation mutated every four to five years on average, as govern-

ments pondered how best to govern what its intellectuals considered a monster in the living room, undermining literate culture and opening the way to commercial influences from abroad. But the government and the opposition distrusted TV, each believing it favored the other. Under the control of Ministers for Information, then for Culture, and occasionally for Communication itself, there was no accountability, little audience research, and scarcely any cultural legitimacy. Employees of state broadcasting had the status of civil servants, which made their right to free expression precarious. During the Algerian War, President Charles DeGaulle became the first head of state to use TV to justify his policy, but the government openly interfered with the news coverage of the conflict, and many journalists quit or were dismissed. Legislation in 1959 transformed Radio-Télévision de France into a body (ORTF) with industrial and commercial objectives, but rejected both private TV and any protection against the threat of censorship.

A new breed of professionals came to the medium in the mid-1960s, when French television experienced something of a golden age under the ethos that the medium could make culture accessible to the people. The television diet leaned toward turgid studio productions of classic plays and novels (the spicy history serial *Les Rois Maudits* is remembered as refreshing in this context) and pedagogic series of "initiation" (*Lectures pour Tous*, *Le Camera Explore le Temps*). In the way of entertainment, there were variety shows, often associated with the popular crooner Guy Lux, and slapstick games shows like the French-originated *Jeux sans Frontières*, but little middlebrow fare, except for the *Inspecteur Maigret* mysteries. A brief period of liberalization occurred after 1964 when a second channel (A2) was created, despite the fear of where competition might lead. (The new 615-line technical system was noncompatible with the rest of Europe, but was propagated to the Soviet bloc.) A third channel (FR3) was created in 1973 with a regional structure. An ORTF strike coincided with the events of May 1968, and 200 staff were fired. Less noticed that year was the first authorization of advertising, which would lead to a slow increase in the number of advertising minutes per hour, to the collection of ratings, and in turn to the breakup of ORTF.

In 1973 President Georges Pompidou was able to proclaim that television was the "voice of France" at home and abroad. It was the only country with three public-service channels, none of which was autonomous from the government or in competition with each other for viewers. It was considered axiomatic that removing the monopolistic structure would lead to

mediocrity. Neither the political left nor right was committed to freedom of communication, each for its own reasons. By 1974 there were 14 million sets receiving 7,400 program hours a year produced by 12,000 staff at ORTF. That year, the decision was finally taken to break up the ORTF; its functions were divided among seven autonomous bodies, but the government still drew the line on private broadcasting and maintained its right to appoint broadcast executives. In fact, the production wing would still get 90 percent of program commissions; there was very little independent production; and executives were still chosen for their political docility. Experimentation was left to INA, the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, which also managed the archives and professional training. (Jean-Christophe Averty is usually singled out as the first producer to forge a specifically televisual style, one relying heavily on chroma-key effects.) Programs remained much as before, and studio programs seemed even more boring and didactic. Imports from Britain (*The Forsyte Saga*) and the United States (*Roots*, *Holocaust*) merely raised the alarm among cultural elites about the public taste for serial fiction and about a marked decline in domestic quality programming. Television investment had become a major factor in film production.

President Giscard d'Estaing's government also launched France into telecommunications research and development in 1979, with a DBS satellite agreement with Germany, one of the first efforts to counter United States' and Japanese hegemony in this field. The D2MAC format, an intermediate step toward high definition, would prove an expensive mistake ten years later, another unfortunate consequence of the technocratic hold over the media.

Paradoxically, in the light of the Socialists' historical opposition to private ownership of the airwaves, it was under Socialist president François Mitterrand that deregulation finally occurred. In 1981 the Moinot Commission, charged with examining the state of affairs since the breakup of ORTF in 1974, found that decentralization and competition between the three channels were illusory and not promoting creative programming; serious programs were being pushed to the edges of the schedules, in favor of a high quotient of popular imports, a trend for which *Dallas* became the inflammatory example. A 1982 law abolished the state monopoly and "freed" communications: the prime channel, TF1, was sold outright; and licenses for two more were granted, including the pay channel Canal Plus, which quickly became a major player in the audiovisual industries, spinning off its own feature film production company. Meanwhile, a belated attempt to cable the

major cities got under way. Political controversy dogged the attribution of these private channels (Italian media mogul Silvio Berlusconi won one franchise) as well as the appointment of directors of the increasingly beleaguered state channels. The composition and powers of a relatively feeble regulatory agency changed with almost every government. The private TF1 quickly became the channel of reference, with almost half the general audience, while the revenues and audience share of France 2 and France 3 (as the state channels were renamed in 1994) gradually shrank.

At the international level, France had become the leading exponent of protectionist quotas for film and television, as well as of the view that the audiovisual market could be a way of creating—or defending—a common European cultural identity. France eschewed both cost-sharing initiatives with foreign partners and involvement in experiments in pan-European television, although it was increasingly worried about satellite penetration. Instead it chose the path of “Francophony,” with the TV5 satellite channel in partnership with French-speaking countries, and conducted a lobbying effort within the European parliament to endorse a European channel.

Surrounded by bitterness among socialist supporters that the government had surrendered the media to private interests, Culture Minister Jack Lang exploited both a lingering anti-Americanism and a revived Europeanism in order to launch a new public-service channel with the habitual mission of exploiting new technologies and a cultural remit. *La Sept*, initially a wholly French channel lodged on the frequency of a bankrupt private channel, became ARTE when Germany became an equal partner in 1991.

The French view that cultural and political identity are necessarily linked predominated in European audiovisual policy; the debates on “world image battles” led to the European Community White Paper *Television without Frontiers*, which tackled the problem of English-language domination of the world image market by enjoining its member states to ensure, by all necessary means, that at least half the content of their television channels was of European origin. France’s own quota was higher—60 percent—but the irony is that whatever its status as proponent of the European public cultural space, its domestic broadcasting policy has run in the direction of deregulation, to such an extent that the national regulatory body (Conseil

Supérieur Audiovisuel) has been unable to enforce these quotas or to inhibit French investors from putting up money for English language films, ranging from *The Piano* to *Under Siege*. In fact, certain aspects of American production—like the use of multiple scriptwriters—have gradually been adopted in France. Nevertheless, the various governments under President François Mitterrand, even the conservative ones, consistently proclaimed the importance of national and high cultural goals. France continued to argue for protectionism, as in the GATT discussions in 1993, when a lobby of intellectuals helped to secure the exclusion of film and TV from the treaty.

The state of French television in the mid-1990s was a mixed but unbalanced system, with the private TF1 and Canal Plus becoming major players in the international media market. The audiences for FR2 and FR3 shrunk slightly each year, as the *redevance* (license fee) did not keep pace with rising program costs and was widely flouted by viewers turning to the growing cable sector. The Franco-German cultural channel ARTE shared a wavelength with a daytime educational channel, which seemed to perpetuate the same intellectual values that have always characterized French TV: didactic and avant-garde offerings, especially “authored” documentaries and “personal” films, made by the elites for the masses.

The following channels are currently operative in France: TF1, France 2, France 3, La 5ème, M6, Arte, Canal1, and Canal Satellite. They offer a variety of programming, including news, sports coverage, music programs, family programs, and films.

SUSAN EMMANUEL

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## Francis, Arlene (1908–2001)

U.S. Talk Show Host, Performer

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Arlene Francis played a key role in television's first decades as performer, talk show host, and guest star, appearing on many shows and proving herself to be one of the medium's most durable personalities. At the height of her popularity in the mid-1950s, she was rated the third-most-recognized woman in the United States.

Francis had a diverse and successful career on television, preceded by a versatile career as "femcee," actress, and radio performer. Her film career began in 1932 with *Murders on the Rue Morgue*. In the collection of the Museum of the Television and Radio in New York, one can listen to her work as an actress on radio as early as 1936 on the Columbia Radio Workshop. During World War II she was the "femcee" of a radio show called *Blind Date*, a forerunner of *The Dating Game*. She was the first female game show host on ABC. During this time she also worked regularly as a featured actress on the Broadway stage, before coming to television in the early 1950s. She appeared in a simulcast version of *Blind Date* from 1949 to 1952, and also on such shows as *By Popular Demand* and *Prize Performance*, but it was as a regular panelist on the popular quiz show *What's My Line?* that Francis became a household name on television. Known for her elegance and good humor, Francis would trade repartee each week with such figures as columnist Dorothy Kilgallen, publisher Bennet Cerf, and poet Louis Untermeyer.

Although *What's My Line?* was her bread-and-butter show over the next 25 years, versatility continued to mark Francis's career. In September 1950, shortly after she joined the panel of that word-and-wit show, she became the first "mistress" of ceremonies for NBC's *Saturday Night Revue: Your Show of Shows*, and she appeared frequently on other television shows in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

Francis also made a major contribution to the history of television talk as host and managing editor of NBC's *Home* show. *Home* was the afternoon show teamed with *Today* and *Tonight* in NBC president Sylvester "Pat" Weaver's trilogy of daily talk on NBC in the 1950s, each show anchored by a "communicator." Network executives knew that women represented a major part of the daytime audience and were

key decision makers on consumer purchases. *Home* was NBC's attempt to capture that audience. To quote from the 1954 film *On the Waterfront*, Francis "coulda been a contender" as a titan of television talk had she continued on *Home*. She was certainly one of the foremost talk show hosts on television in the 1950s, and if her show had continued into the 1960s, her national status as a major talk show host would have been assured. But *Home*, despite great popularity among its audience, was canceled after three and a half years when Weaver was forced out of NBC by network founder David Sarnoff. Ultimately, Francis's career as a national talk show host was a casualty of forces that were moving network television away from strong women hosts, serious topics, sustaining shows, and public service, and toward immediate bottom-line profits—the same forces that drove Edward R. Murrow from the air at CBS.

As host of *Home*, Francis established patterns of daytime talk that are still with us today. This daytime talk "magazine" of the air was designed to provide intelligent conversation and up-to-date information for a largely female audience, although men were in the audience as well. Indeed, from 1954 to 1957, Francis was, along with Arthur Godfrey, Murrow, Dave Garroway, and Jack Paar, one of the founders of television talk. It was not until Phil Donahue rose to national syndication prominence two decades later that another national talk show host would make a similar appeal to women audiences. With more support from NBC management, or if Weaver had been able to continue as president, the *Home* show might have continued to build an audience and sustained itself as *Today* and *Tonight* did. As it is, the story of Francis's role on *Home* reveals the limitations placed on women talk show hosts in the male-dominated world of 1950s television.

The tensions placed on Francis's life as the managing editor and "boss" of her show were reflected in a 1957 *Mike Wallace Interview* on ABC. Wallace began his interview with Francis by saying that a lot was being said and written about "career women" in the United States. "What," he asked her, "is it that happens to so many career women that makes them so brittle? That makes them almost a kind of third sex?" Francis replied:



Arlene Francis.  
Courtesy of Peter Gabel

Well, what happens to some of [the women] who have these qualities you've just spoken of, is that I suppose they feel a very competitive thing with men and they take on a masculine viewpoint and forget primarily that they are women. . . . Instead they become aggressive and opinionated. While men do it, it is part of the makeup of a man, and a man has always done it all his life. I do not think it is a woman's position to dominate.

Yet when NBC came to Francis toward the end of Dave Garroway's long reign to ask her to cohost *Today* with Hugh Downs, but not host her own show, she refused. Unresolved issues of power, issues that Barbara Walters was to struggle with and resolve in the 1960s and 1970s, limited Francis's options in the mid-1950s. By the end of her life, Francis was considerably more reflective about her dilemma. In her autobiography, she wrote that she had come to realize "how deeply my inability to express myself without becoming apprehensive about what 'they' might think had affected me. In short, my 'don't make waves' philosophy had inhibited my life to an incalculable extent. . . . I had forgotten that a few waves are necessary to keep the water from becoming stagnant."

In the later 1960s and 1970s, it was Francis's friend Walters, the person who did take the cohost position

with Downs on the *Today* show, who became the pre-eminent national woman host of public affairs and news talk on television.

When Arlene Francis died on May 31, 2001, the tributes and accolades from family, friends, colleagues, and fans poured in. One of the most useful and fitting memorials was a beautifully designed website ([www.arlenefrancis.com](http://www.arlenefrancis.com)) containing biographical highlights, tributes, a timeline with photographic illustrations of her remarkable and prolific career, and much other valuable information.

BERNARD M. TIMBERG

See also **Talk Shows; Weaver, Sylvester "Pat"**

**Arlene Francis.** Born Arline Francis Kazanjian in Boston, Massachusetts, October 20, 1908. Attended Finch Finishing School and Theatre Guild School, New York City. Married: 1) Neil Agnew, 1935 (divorced, 1945); 2) Martin Gabel, 1946; one child: Peter. Actress in film and radio from 1932; debuted on stage, 1936; took time off in World War II to sell war bonds; hosted and starred in television shows from 1949; regular panelist on *What's My Line?*, 1950–67; host and editor-in-chief, NBC-TV's daytime talk show *Home*, 1954–57. Died in San Francisco, California, May 31, 2001.

#### Television Series (selected)

1949–55	<i>Soldier Parade</i>
1949–53	<i>Blind Date</i>
1950	<i>By Popular Demand</i>
1950	<i>Prize Performance</i>
1950	<i>Saturday Night Revue (Your Show of Shows)</i>
1950–67	<i>What's My Line?</i>
1953–55	<i>Talent Patrol</i>
1953	<i>The Comeback Story</i>
1954–57	<i>Home</i>
1957–58	<i>The Arlene Francis Show</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1972	<i>Harvey</i>
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#### Films

*Murders in the Rue Morgue*, 1932; *Stage Door Canteen*, 1943; *All My Sons*, 1948; *One Two Three*, 1961; *The Thrill of It All*, 1963; *Fedora*, 1979.

#### Radio (selected)

*45 Minutes From Hollywood*; *March of Time*; *The Hour of Charm*; *Cavalcade of America*; *Portia Blake*; *Amanda of Honeymoon Hill*; *Mr. District At-*



*torney; Betty and Bob; Central City; What's My Name?; Helpmate; Blind Date; It Happens Every Day; The Affairs of Ann Scotland; The Arlene Francis Show; Emphasis; Monitor; Luncheon at Sardi's; Fun for All.*

*Jerusalem; Doughgirls; The Overtons; The French Touch; Once More With Feeling; Tchin-Tchin; Beekman Place; Mrs. Daily; Late Love; Dinner at Eight; Kind Sir; Lion in Winter; Pal Joey; Who Killed Santa Claus?; Gigi; Social Security.*

#### Stage

*One Good Year; The Women; Horse Eats Hat; Danton's Death; All That Glitters; Journey to*

#### Publication

*Arlene Francis: A Memoir*, with Florence Rome, 1978

## Frank N. Magid Associates

Although little known by the public at large, Frank N. Magid Associates is one of the most successful and influential television and entertainment consulting companies in existence. Founded in 1957 by a young social psychologist, the company has grown to more than 350 employees and serves clients around the world. The first broadcasting client was television station WMT (now KGAN) in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The company is still headquartered in neighboring Marion, Iowa, but has 37 worldwide locations, including full-services offices in New York, Los Angeles, and London.

Magid Associates emphasizes custom research on audience and client attitudes and behavior, and this specifically tailored work is designed to answer questions about business strategy. For local television, the company operates in considerably more than the top-100 markets in the United States. In each market, it provides consulting to one television station. It also provides various services for each of the U.S. networks and many studios and syndicators. Magid's services have been extended to clients elsewhere in the entertainment industries, such as record companies and movie producers, and the company contracts with any other businesses desiring marketing or survey research. It is increasingly employed by international clients in television and other media.

A significant part of Magid operations, indeed the work for which they are best known, is consulting with the news departments of local television stations. The company became the leading news consultant of the 1970s, amid growing controversy over its influence. Magid is often credited—or blamed—for design of the "Action News" format, and the sameness of local news broadcasts from station to station and city to city is

seen as a result of their advice and that of similar news consulting firms. This sameness is produced by the repetition of news presentation techniques. The formulas include the use of coanchors, a reliance on short news stories with time for chatting and expressing emotional reactions between items, an emphasis on graphics and live shots irrespective of their contribution to the news story, special attention to the looks and clothes of the news presenters, and the use of lighter stories and positive news in a mix with sensational crime and accident stories.

On the other hand, Magid does consistently emphasize the importance of local news. It claims that its client stations win more journalism awards than their competitors, and it promotes the generalization that stations that lead their markets in news usually also lead in overall ratings. This perspective provides a rationale for localism in a business—network TV—that often ignores local issues. Certainly, the news presentation styles that Magid Associates promote have attracted an audience and been successful for television as a business. From the financial perspective, it is important that local news broadcasts include as many or more minutes of local advertising time as any other programming activity. The news programs are a major source of direct income, making the profitability of the local news one of the most important factors in the business success of a television station.

A typical news consulting operation involves a meeting of a team of consultants, researchers, and the management of a television station to identify the concerns of the local managers. The consultants' primary research method is the telephone survey, sometimes interviewing people who have agreed ahead of time to watch the newscast in question and compare it with the

newscast they regularly watch. The consultants may also mail videotapes to selected interviewees or use focus groups for trial broadcasts. The newscast in question is subjected to expert critique and compared with the competitors' newscasts, national trends, and leading newscasts in other markets. Finally, the consultants offer advice on anything from personnel hiring and firing, through story selection and news scriptwriting, to set design, graphics, promotions, lighting, camera angles, on-camera demeanor, clothes, makeup, and hairstyles.

Using similar research techniques, which emphasize data gathered from audience members asked to make evaluative comparisons, Magid Associates consult on any aspect of television station operations of concern to the client, on program evaluations, or on marketing research. The basic rationale of Magid's consulting is that television stations and other entertainment businesses will be more successful if they attract and hold

a sizable audience; that the best way to do this is to give the audience what it finds attractive; and finally, that since audience members are not often articulate about what they want, researchers and expert consultants are needed to identify what the audience will find attractive.

ERIC ROTHENBUHLER

*See also Market; News, Local and Regional*

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## Frank, Reuven (1920– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist, Producer, Executive

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In a career that parallels the rise and ebb of network television journalism, Reuven Frank helped shape the character of NBC News through his work as a writer and producer, a documentary and newsmagazine pioneer, a news division president, and especially through his innovative coverage of national party conventions. In 1956 Reuven Frank teamed Chet Huntley with David Brinkley to coanchor the political conventions, a move that catapulted the two correspondents and NBC News to national fame.

Beginning with his first job at NBC in 1950, Reuven Frank realized he had an affinity for the process of film editing and an appreciation for the visual power of television, which became the signature of his career in TV news. The process of shaping film clips into coherent stories left an indelible impression on Frank. Competitor CBS News had built its strong reputation in radio, which emphasized words. *Camel News Caravan*, NBC's original 15-minute evening news program, on which Frank served as a writer, evolved from the newsreel tradition. An early partisan of television, Reuven Frank sought to exploit the medium's advantage over newspapers and radio to enable the audience

to see things happen. "Pictures *are* the point of television reporting," he wrote.

This visual sense is clearly evident in the coverage of political conventions. Frank developed a method for orienting a team of four floor reporters—all but lost in a sea of convention delegates—toward live cameras. He established a communication center that simultaneously controlled news gathering, reporting, and distribution. The filter center, linked to the entire crew, advised the decision level when a report was ready for air. On cue from the decision level, the technical team would air the report. This tiered system of communication control became the industry standard.

*The Huntley-Brinkley Report* premiered in October 1956, with Reuven Frank as producer, and lasted until Huntley's retirement in 1970, when the report was renamed *The NBC Nightly News*. Frank was the program's executive producer in 1963 when the report was expanded from 15 to 30 minutes. In a memo to his staff, Frank outlined NBC News policies for gathering, packaging, and presenting news reports. The guiding principle for developing NBC newscasts was based on Frank's belief that "the highest power of television

journalism is not in the transmission of information but in the transmission of experience.”

The early years of television provided Frank with opportunities to develop his ideas and to experiment with half-hour weekly series. In 1954 he introduced *Background*, which featured “history in the making” through specially shot films, expert commentary, and the newly designed process of electronic film editing. The documentary-style series went through several iterations, including *Outlook*, *Chet Huntley Reporting*, *Time Present...Chet Huntley Reporting*, and *Frank McGee Reports*.

A fierce advocate of free speech, Reuven Frank staunchly defended television’s right and obligation to deliver unsettling news. He supported rival CBS in controversies over the documentaries *Harvest of Shame* (1960) and *The Selling of the Pentagon* (1971). He championed network coverage of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Frank also produced the acclaimed NBC documentary *The Tunnel*, which depicts the escape of 59 East Germans beneath the newly constructed Berlin Wall in 1962. NBC aired the program over objections by the U.S. State Department, which delayed the broadcast because it came on the heels of the Cuban missile crisis. *The Tunnel* is the only documentary ever to win an Emmy Award as Program of the Year.

*The Tunnel*, as well as other programs, exemplified one of Reuven Frank’s lasting contributions to the content of NBC News reports, his attention to narrative structure and visual images. In the 1963 operations memo to his staff, Frank wrote,

Every news story should, without sacrifice of probity or responsibility, display the attributes of fiction, of drama. It should have structure and conflict, problem and denouement, rising and falling action, a beginning, a middle, and an end. These are not only the essentials of drama; they are the essentials of narrative. We are in the business of narrative because we are in the business of communication.

Among Frank’s other innovative series are *Weekend* and *NBC News Overnight*. *Weekend* was a 90-minute late-night, youth-oriented newsmagazine introduced in 1974, which alternated with rock concerts and *Saturday Night Live*. *Weekend* evolved from *First Tuesday* (later called *Chronolog*), NBC’s answer to *60 Minutes*. Later, in response to competition from the innovative all-news-network CNN’s late-night news feeds, Frank developed *Overnight*, a program hosted by Lloyd Dobyns and Linda Ellerbee and produced on a shoestring budget in a newsroom carved out of studio space. *Overnight* was a literate magazine show that af-



Reuven Frank.  
Photo courtesy of Tom Mascaro

ected a wry, thoughtful, and highly visual presentation of the news.

The title of Reuven Frank’s memoir, *Out of Thin Air: The Brief Wonderful Life of Network News*, reflects his sense and appreciation of fortuitous timing. Frank credits former NBC president Robert Kintner for elevating the status of NBC News:

Those early years with Kintner emphasized news programs as never before, or since, on any network. There was money for reporters; there was money for documentaries; there was money for special programs. In his seven years as president, Kintner placed his stamp upon NBC as no one else in my four decades.

Reuven Frank left his mark on one of American television’s premier news reporting services. After advancing through several roles and contributing to the development of a worldwide TV news network, Frank became president of NBC News in the tumultuous year of 1968. He held that position through the coverage of watershed events in the history of TV news, until 1973 when he returned to producing special projects for

NBC News. In 1982 Frank was asked again to head the News Division, which he did until 1984. Robert E. Mulholland, then president of NBC, said of Frank's contributions, "Reuven wrote the book on how television covers the political process in America, has trained more top broadcast journalists than anyone alive, and simply embodies the very best professional traditions of NBC News."

Frank produced documentaries for NBC News under a contract that expired in December 1986. At that time, network executives were cutting costs to maximize profits, and many loyal and experienced employees were let go, including Frank. He still comments on the television industry in radio features for *All Things Considered* on National Public Radio, *Marketplace* on Public Radio International, and as a columnist for *The New Leader*, a New York-based public-affairs magazine.

TOM MASCARO

**Reuven Frank.** Born in Montreal, Quebec, December 7, 1920. Educated at Harbord Collegiate Institute, Toronto; University College of the University of Toronto, 1937-40; City College of New York, B.S. in social science 1942; Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, M.S. 1947. Married: Bernice Kaplow, 1946; children: Peter Solomon and James Aaron. Served in the U.S. Army, 1943-46. Reporter, rewrite man, and night city editor, Newark *Evening News*, 1947-50; news writer, NBC News, 1950; news editor and chief writer, *Camel News Caravan*, 1951-54; supervised experiments in half-hour news forums such as *Background*, *Outlook*, and *Chet Huntley Reporting*, 1954 to early 1960s; executive vice president of NBC News, 1967-68, president, 1968-72, senior executive producer, and various other positions, 1972-82. Member: National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Writers Guild of America. Recipient: Sigma Delta Chi television news writing award, 1955; several Emmy Awards; Yale University Poynter Fellow, 1970.

**Television Series (selected)**

- 1954-55 *Background* (managing editor)
- 1956-70 *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* (producer)
- 1958-63 *Chet Huntley Reporting* (producer)
- 1956-58 *Outlook* (producer)
- 1960 *Time Present... Edwin Newman Reporting* (producer)
- 1974-79 *Weekend* (producer)
- 1982-83 *NBC News Overnight*

**Television Specials (producer)**

- 1953 *Meeting at the Summit*
- 1955 *The First Step into Space*
- 1956 *Antarctica: The Third World*

- 1958 *Kaleidoscope* ("The S-Bahn Stops at Freedom")
- 1958 *Kaleidoscope* ("The American Stranger")
- 1959 *Kaleidoscope* ("Our Man in the Mediterranean")
- 1959 *Kaleidoscope* ("The Big Ear")
- 1959 *Back to School*
- 1959 *Too Late for Reason*
- 1960 *World Wide '60* ("Freedom Is Sweet and Bitter")
- 1960 *World Wide '60* ("The Requiem for Mary Jo")
- 1960 *World Wide '60* ("Where Is Abel, Your Brother?")
- 1961 *Our Man in Hong Kong*
- 1961 *Berlin: Where the West Begins*
- 1961 *The Great Plane Robbery*
- 1962 *Our Man in Vienna*
- 1962 *The Land*
- 1962 *Clear and Present Danger*
- 1962 *The Tunnel*
- 1962 *After Two Years: A Conversation with the President*
- 1963 *The Trouble with Water... Is People*
- 1963 *A Country Called Europe*
- 1965 *The Big Ear*
- 1966 *Daughters of Orange*
- 1973 *If That's a Gnome, This Must Be Zurich*
- 1980 *If Japan Can... Why Can't We?*
- 1981 *America Works When America Works*
- 1985 *The Biggest Lump of Money in the World*
- 1986 *The Japan They Don't Talk About*
- 1987 *Nuclear Power: In France It Works*

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## Frankenheimer, John (1930–2002)

U.S. Director

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John Frankenheimer is sometimes likened to a “wunderkind in the tradition of Orson Welles” because he directed numerous quality television dramas while still in his 20s. He was also one of a handful of directors who established their reputation in high-quality, high-budget television dramas and later moved on to motion pictures.

As with other television directors of the 1950s, Frankenheimer began his training in the theater, first with the Williams Theater Group at Williams College and then as a member of the stock company and director at Highfield Playhouse in Falmouth, Massachusetts. He later moved to Washington, D.C., where he acted in an American Theater Wing production. While in Washington, he both acted in and directed radio productions and began working at WTOP-TV.

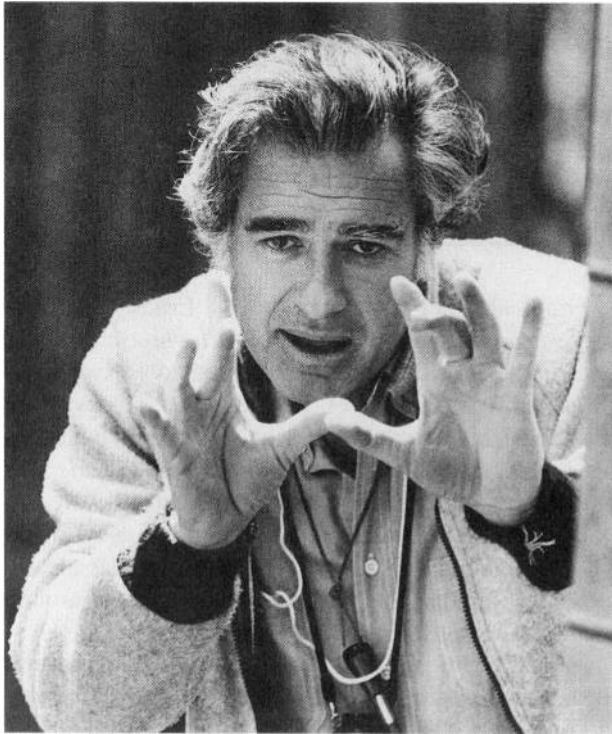
After a stint with the U.S. Air Force, during which he directed two documentaries, Frankenheimer began his television career as an assistant director at CBS. He worked on weather and news shows, and moved on to *Lamp unto My Feet*, *The Garry Moore Show*, and Edward R. Murrow’s *Person to Person*. As his career advanced, Frankenheimer directed dramatizations on *See It Now* and *You Are There* (working under director Sydney Lumet). He also directed episodes of the comedy series *Mama* (CBS, 1949–57, based on John Van Druten’s play *I Remember Mama*), but it was his directorial efforts on television anthologies where Frankenheimer made his mark.

Frankenheimer began directing episodes of the suspense anthology series *Danger* in the early 1950s. Producer Martin Manulis hired Frankenheimer as a codirector on the critically acclaimed *Climax!* (CBS, 1954–58), an hour-long drama series that originally aired live. When Manulis moved on to CBS’s *Playhouse 90* in 1954, he brought Frankenheimer with him. Over the next few years, Frankenheimer directed 140 live television dramas on such anthologies as *Studio One* (CBS), *Playhouse 90*, *The DuPont Show of the Month* (CBS), *Ford Startime* (NBC), *Sunday Showcase* (NBC), and *Kraft Television Theatre* (NBC). He directed such productions as *The Days of Wine and Roses* (October 2, 1958), *The Browning Version* (April 23, 1959; Sir John Gielgud’s television debut), and *The Turn of the Screw* (October 20, 1959; Ingrid Bergman’s television debut).

Frankenheimer’s production of Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (*Playhouse 90*) was one of the first dramas to be presented in two parts (March 12 and 19, 1959) and, at \$400,000, was the most expensive production at that time. Unlike most of his other productions, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was taped for presentation because the actors were involved in other theatrical productions in New York. The production’s intensive five-week rehearsal and ten-day shooting schedule had to be organized around the actors’ other theatrical appearances.

Most directors of live television came from a similar theatrical background and, as such, used a static camera and blocked productions in a manner similar to a live stage play. A firm believer that a production is the sole creative statement of its director, Frankenheimer was one of the first directors of the “Golden Age” to utilize a variety of camera angles and movement, fast-paced editing, and close-ups to focus the audience’s attention. However, some critics have labeled his technique as gimmicky or contrived. Frankenheimer’s most famous use of the camera appears in his 1962 film *The Manchurian Candidate*, in which one shot is slightly out of focus. Ironically, the shot, which has been widely acclaimed as artistically brilliant, was, according to the director, an accident and merely the best take for actor Frank Sinatra.

Frankenheimer went on to make other memorable films, such as *The Birdman of Alcatraz* (which, in 1955, he had wanted to do as a live *Playhouse 90* production), *Seven Days in May*, *Grand Prix*, *The Fixer*, and *The Iceman Cometh*. Personal problems and a decline in the number of quality scripts offered him forced Frankenheimer to take a leave from the industry. Returning to television in the 1990s, Frankenheimer directed the original HBO production *Against the Wall* (March 26, 1994) about the 1971 Attica Prison riot. Always drawn to intimate stories and psychological portraits, in this production Frankenheimer explored the relationship between an officer taken hostage and the inmate leader of the uprising. More recently, he directed the miniseries *Andersonville* (March 3 and 4, 1996) and *George Wallace* (August 24 and 26, 1997) for TNT, and in May 2002 his final television project, *Path to War*, about the escalation of the Vietnam War during the Johnson administration, aired



John Frankenheimer.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

on HBO in May 2002. Two months later, on July 6, Frankenheimer died of a stroke due to complications from spinal surgery.

Frankenheimer received nine Emmy nominations for his directorial work on television: *Portrait in Celluloid* (1955, *Climax!*, CBS), *Forbidden Area* (1956, *Playhouse 90*, CBS), *The Comedian* (1957, *Playhouse 90*), *A Town Has Turned to Dust* (1958, *Playhouse 90*), *The Turn of the Screw* (1959, *Ford Startime*, NBC), *Against the Wall*, *The Burning Season* (1994, HBO), *Andersonville*, and *George Wallace*.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

**John (Michael) Frankenheimer.** Born in Malba, New York, February 19, 1930. Williams College, B.A. 1951. Married: 1) Carolyn Miller, 1954 (divorced, 1961); two daughters: Elise and Kristi; 2) Evans Evans, 1964. Served in Film Squadron, U.S. Air Force, 1951–53. Began career as actor, 1950–51; assistant director, later director, CBS-TV, New York, from 1953; director, *Playhouse 90* television series, Hollywood, 1954–59; directed first feature film, *The Young Stranger*, 1957; formed John Frankenheimer Productions, 1963. Recipient: Christopher Award, 1954; Grand Prize for Best Film Director, 1955; Critics Award, 1956–59; Brotherhood Award, 1959; Acapulco Film Festival Award, 1962. Died in Los Angeles, California, July 6, 2002.

#### Television Series (selected)

1948–58	<i>Studio One</i>
1950–55	<i>Danger</i>
1953–57	<i>You Are There</i>
1954–58	<i>Climax!</i>
1954–59	<i>Playhouse 90</i>

#### Television Miniseries

1996	<i>Andersonville</i>
1997	<i>George Wallace</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1982	<i>The Rainmaker</i>
1994	<i>Against the Wall</i>
1994	<i>The Burning Season</i>
2002	<i>Path to War</i>

#### Films (selected)

*The Young Stranger*, 1957; *The Young Savages*, 1961; *The Manchurian Candidate* (also coproduced), 1962; *All Fall Down*, 1962; *Birdman of Alcatraz*, 1962; *Seven Days in May*, 1963; *The Train*, 1964; *Grand Prix*, 1966; *Seconds*, 1966; *The Extraordinary Seaman*; 1968; *The Fixer*, 1968; *The Gypsy Moths*, 1969; *I Walk the Line*, 1970; *The Horsemen*, 1970; *L'Impossible Objet (Impossible Object)*, 1973; *The Iceman Cometh*, 1973; *99 44/100 Dead*, 1974; *French Connection II*, 1975; *Black Sunday* (also bit role as TV controller), 1976; *Prophecy*, 1979; *The Challenge*, 1982; *The Holcroft Covenant*, 1985; *52 Pick Up*, 1986; *Across the River and into the Trees*, 1987; *Dead Bang*, 1989; *The Fourth War*, 1989; *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, 1996; *Ronin*, 1998; *Reindeer Games*, 2000; *Ambush* (short), 2001.

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## Frank's Place

### U.S. Dramey

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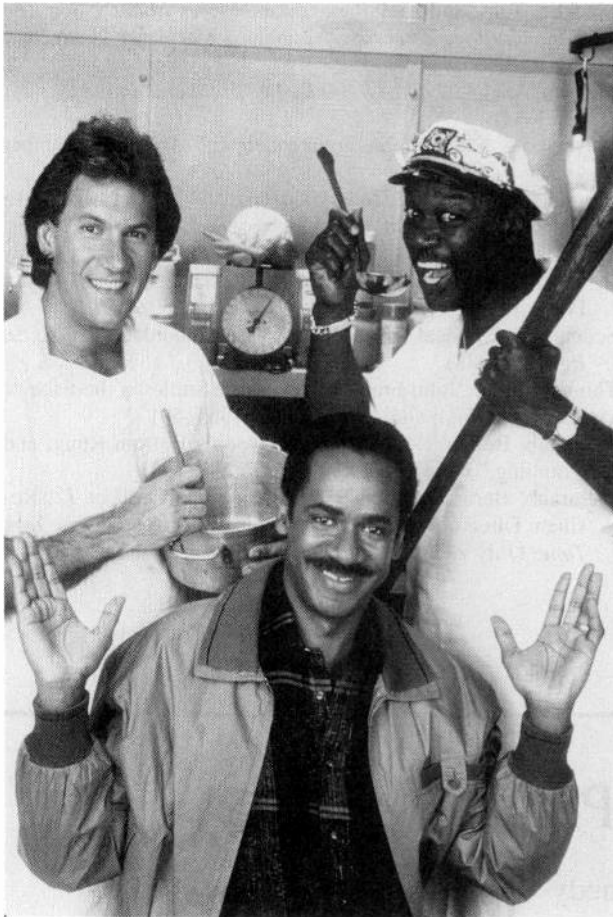
*Frank's Place*, an exceptionally innovative half-hour television program sometimes referred to as a "dramey," aired on CBS during the 1987–88 television season. The program won extensive critical praise for its use of conventions of situation comedy to explore serious subject matter. As *Rolling Stone* writer Mark Christensen commented, "rarely has a prime-time show attempted to capture so accurately a particular American subculture—in this case that of blue-collar blacks in Louisiana."

In 1987 *Frank's Place* won the Television Critics Association's Award for Outstanding Comedy Series. One 1988 episode, "The Bridge," won Emmy Awards for Best Writing in a Comedy Series (with the award going to writer and coexecutive producer Hugh Wilson) and Outstanding Guest Performance in a Comedy Series (Beah Richards). Tim Reid, star and coexecutive producer, received a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Image Award. In spite of its critical success, however, the show did not do well in the ratings and was not renewed by CBS.

*Frank's Place* was developed by Wilson and Reid from a suggestion by CBS executive Kim LeMasters.

Wilson, an alumnus of the heyday of MTM Productions, had previously produced *WKRP in Cincinnati*, a sitcom favorite in which Reid played supercool disc jockey Venus Flytrap. The premise for their new show centered on Frank Parrish (played by Reid), an African-American college professor from Boston who inherits a New Orleans restaurant from his estranged father. Wilson, who had directed for film as well as television, decided against using the standard situation comedy production style, that of videotaping with three cameras in front of a live audience. He opted instead for film-style production, using a single camera and no laugh track. Thus, from the beginning, *Frank's Place* looked and sounded different from other television fare. The broad physical humor and snappy one-liners that characterize most situation comedies were nowhere to be found. They were replaced with a more subtle, often poignant humor, as Frank encounters situations his formal education has not prepared him for. He is the innocent lost in a bewildering world, a rich and complex culture that appears both alien and increasingly attractive to him, and he is surrounded by a surrogate family, who wish him well but know he must ultimately learn from his mistakes.





*Frank's Place*, Don Yesso, Tim Reid, Tony Burton, 1987.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The ensemble cast included Hannah Griffin (played by Daphne Maxwell Reid), a mortician who becomes a romantic interest for Frank, and Bubba Weisberger (Robert Harper), a white Jewish lawyer from an old southern family. The restaurant staff included Miss Marie (Frances E. Williams), the matriarch of the group, Anna-May (Francesca P. Roberts), the head waitress, Big Arthur (Tony Burton), the accomplished chef who rules the kitchen, Shorty La Roux (Don Yesso), the white assistant chef, Tiger Shepin (Charles Lampkin), the fatherly bartender; and Cool Charles (William Thomas, Jr.), his helper. Reverend Deal (Lincoln Kilpatrick), a smooth-talking preacher in constant search of a church or a con-man's opportunity, was another regular.

Frank's journey into the world of southern, working-class African Americans begins when he visits *Chez Louisiane*, the Creole restaurant he has inherited and plans to sell. The elderly waitress Miss Marie puts a voodoo spell on him to ensure that he will continue to

run the restaurant in his father's place. After Frank returns to Boston, his plumbing erupts, telephones fail him, the laundry loses all his clothes, his girlfriend leaves him, and his office burns. Convinced he has no choice, he returns to New Orleans, to the matter-of-fact welcome of the staff, the reappearance of his father's cat, and the continuing struggle to turn the restaurant into a profitable venture.

Storylines in many episodes provide comic and pointed comments on the values and attitudes of the dominant culture. In one story, college recruiters bombard young basketball star Calvin with virtually identical speeches about family and tradition and campus life. Calvin's naive expectations of becoming a professional athlete contrast with Frank's concern about academic opportunities. In another episode, the chairman of a major corporation stops in for a late-night dinner. Commenting on efforts to oust him, he eloquently condemns speculators who use junk bonds to buy companies about which they know nothing and with which they create no real value or service. The plot takes an ironic turn when this chairman realizes his partners may have made mistakes in plotting the takeover and he enthusiastically schemes to thwart them.

Class and race issues emerge in many storylines. On Frank's first night back in New Orleans, he wonders why there are so few people in the restaurant. Tiger explains with a simple observation: their clientele are working people who eat at home during the week, and white people are afraid to come into the neighborhood at night. In a later episode, Frank is flattered when he is invited to join a club of African-American professionals. Not until Anna-May pulls out a brown paper bag and contrasts it with Frank's darker skin does he understand that those who extended the invitation meant to use him to challenge the light-skin bias of the club members.

Throughout the series, tidy resolutions are missing. A group of musicians from East Africa, in the United States on a cultural tour, stop at Frank's Place. One of them, who longs to play the jazz that is forbidden at home, decides to defect. Frank refuses to help him, and he is rebuffed by jazz musicians. In the closing scene, however, as he sits listening in a club, the would-be jazz artist gets an inviting nod to join the musicians when they break. The final frame freezes on a close-up of his face as he rises, suspended forever between worlds. In another episode, a homeless man moves into a large box in the alley and annoys customers by singing and begging in front of the restaurant. Nothing persuades him to leave until one evening Frank tries unsuccessfully to get him to talk about who he is, where he is from, and the reasons for his choices.



When Frank steps outside the next morning, the man is gone. A final image, of Frank dusting off the hat left on the sidewalk, resonates with a recognition of kinship and loss. Visual sequences in many episodes suggest the loneliness of Frank's search for father, self, and his place in this community.

Various explanations have been offered for the decision to cancel *Frank's Place* after one season. In spite of a strong beginning, the show's ratings continued to drop. Viewers who expected the usual situation comedy formula were puzzled by the show's style. Frequent changes in scheduling made it difficult for viewers to find the show. CBS, struggling to improve its standing in the ratings, was not willing to give the show more time in a regular time slot to build an audience. The large ensemble and the film-style techniques made the show expensive to produce. In the end, it was undoubtedly a combination of reasons that brought the series to an end.

*Frank's Place*, however, deserves a continuing place in programming history. As Tim Reid told *New York Times* reporter Perry Garfinkel, it did present blacks not as stereotypes but as "a diverse group of hard-working people." Wilson attributed this accuracy to the racially mixed group of writers, directors, cast, and crew. Authenticity was heightened by the careful researching of details. Individual stories were allowed to determine the style of each episode. Some were comic, some serious, some poignant. All of them, however, were grounded in a compelling sense of place and a respect for those who inhabit *Chez Louisiane* and its corner of New Orleans.

LUCY A. LIGGETT

**See also Comedy, Workplace; Dramedy; Racism, Ethnicity and Television; Reid, Tim**

#### Cast

Frank Parish	Tim Reid
Sy "Bubba" Weisburger	Robert Harper
Hannah Griffin	Daphne Maxwell Reid
Anna-May	Francesca P. Roberts
Miss Marie	Frances E. Williams
Mrs. Bertha Griffin-Lamour	Virginia Capers

Big Arthur  
Tiger Shepin  
Reverend Deal  
Cool Charles  
Shorty La Roux

Tony Burton  
Charles Lampkin  
Lincoln Kilpatrick  
William Thomas, Jr.  
Dan Yesso

#### Producers

Hugh Wilson, Tim Reid, Max Tash

#### Programming History

##### CBS

September 1987–November 1987	Monday 8:00–8:30
December 1987–February 1988	Monday 8:30–9:00
February 1988–March 1988	Monday 9:30–10:00
March 1988	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
July 1988–October 1988	Saturday 8:30–9:00

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**Franz, Dennis.** *See NYPD Blue*

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# Frasier

U.S. Situation Comedy

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When *Frasier* debuted on September 16, 1993, as a *Cheers* spin-off, it faced tremendous odds against succeeding. One *Cheers* spin-off, *The Tortellis*, had already failed, as had other spin-off programs such as *After M\*A\*S\*H*. As it turned out, *Frasier* fared more like another spinoff, *Lou Grant*, whose character of the same name had moved to a different town and career at the conclusion of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Like *Cheers*, *Frasier* focuses tremendously on character humor.

Dr. Frasier Winslow Crane (Kelsey Grammer), erstwhile psychiatrist and graduate of Oxford and Harvard, was not an original *Cheers* character, but became a regular in the third season as Diane Chambers's (Shelley Long) psychiatrist and love interest. Chambers sought psychiatric assistance after one of many clashes with her lover, bar owner Sam Malone (Ted Danson). Chambers later left Frasier at the altar, but he continued frequenting the bar. He later married (1988), and subsequently divorced (1992), fellow psychiatrist Dr. Lilith Sternin (Bebe Neuwirth), nicknamed "Dr. Sigmund Frost" by *Cheers* regulars. Their son, Frederick, was born in November 1989. He lives in Boston with his mother and occasionally visits Frasier in Seattle. Unbeknownst to Lilith, Frasier was previously married to children's entertainer Nanny Gee.

On *Frasier*, the divorced Dr. Crane moved back to his hometown of Seattle, trading his bar stool and psychiatric practice for talk radio. As on *Cheers*, Frasier encountered a cast of characters who frequently attacked his pomposity. *Frasier* revolves around his social life, apartment, and job at KACL 780-AM. Instead of a bar, Frasier relaxes at Café Nervosa, a coffee shop where he meets his brother, coworkers, and friends.

*Frasier's* producers faced some dilemmas at the outset. Frasier variously told *Cheers* regulars he was an only child and his parents were research scientists and/or were dead. Yet, Dr. Hester Crane (Nancy Marchand), Frasier's mother, was featured in *Cheers* episode 52, which aired November 22, 1984, although she never again appeared on the show. In Seattle, we discover Frasier's mother was indeed dead, but he had a living father, Martin Crane (John Mahoney), and a younger brother, Dr. Niles Crane (David Hyde

Pierce), also a psychiatrist. Martin, a down-to-earth retired cop, came to live with Frasier in his magnificent, trendy apartment with a panoramic view of Seattle's skyline. Martin enjoys drinking beer and watching sports at the neighborhood bar or on television, from his beloved recliner (which is held together with duct tape). He also enjoys walking Eddie (Moose), his Jack Russell terrier. Martin, whose hip was disabled when he was shot on the job, stands in direct contrast to his prissy sons, with their intellectual pretensions. Martin brought along England native Daphne Moon (Jane Leeves), his live-in, semipsychic physical therapist.

The character of snobby, competitive Niles was modeled on an idea of what Frasier would be like if he had not moved to Boston and hung out at Cheers. To prepare for his part, Pierce studied early *Cheers* episodes. As with Norm's wife on *Cheers*, Niles was married for several years to Maris, whom viewers hear about, but never see. Niles spent six years secretly in love with Daphne. After numerous twists involving other relationships, marriages, and engagements, including his quickie marriage to Dr. Melinda "Mel" Karnofsky (Jane Adams), Niles finally revealed his true feelings to Daphne at her foiled wedding to divorce lawyer Donny Douglas (Saul Rubinek). At the end of the ninth season, Niles and Daphne married.

At KACL-AM, Frasier's primary foils are his producer, Roz Doyle (Peri Gilpin), and characters that either manage the station, host their own program, or call the *Frasier Crane Show*. Roz is more than Frasier's coworker; she is a friend who has grown progressively closer to him over the years. She enjoys her relationships with men and does not shy away from talking about them. She had a baby by one of her younger lovers, which forced her to become more mature, responsible, and reliable. Early on, one of Frasier's coworkers and chief tormentors was Robert "Bulldog" Briscoe (Dan Butler), macho and aggressive host of KACL's *Gonzo Sports Show*. After the first few seasons, Bulldog lost his job and the character was phased out. Other KACL hosts include food critic Gil Chesterton, traffic reporter

Chopper Dave, green grocer Ray, and auto lady Bonnie Weems.

Callers to KACL's *Frasier Crane Show* are actually celebrities who are paid scale to call their lines into the studio from all over the world. It is fun for both the celebrities and viewers, who anxiously look for callers' names in the credits. Each *Frasier* episode begins with an animated view of Seattle's skyline featuring a small twist, such as lights, fireworks, an aircraft, or a rising moon. The show ends with a theme song, which features a different closing line each time.

*Frasier* is the first comedy series to win five consecutive Emmys for Outstanding Comedy Series, one more than four-time winners *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *All in the Family*, and *Cheers*. *Frasier*, its actors, writers, and producers have won 21 Emmys overall, a Peabody Award, the Humanitas Prize, People's Choice Awards, Golden Globes, Screen Actors Guild (SAG) Awards, Television Critics Association Awards, and others. Grammer has been Emmy-nominated 12 times for his portrayal of Frasier Crane on *Cheers* and *Frasier*. David Hyde Pierce holds the record for the most SAG award nominations at 15, followed closely by Grammer's 14 nominations. Producer David Angell died in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, but *Frasier* continued, as perhaps television's most intelligent situation comedy.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also *Cheers*

#### Cast

Dr. Frasier Crane	Kelsey Grammer
Dr. Niles Crane	David Hyde Pierce
Retired Police Officer Martin Crane	John Mahoney
Physical Therapist Daphne Moon	Jane Leeves
Rosalind "Roz" Doyle	Peri Gilpin
Robert "Bulldog" Briscoe	Dan Butler
Eddie	Moose the Dog
Frederick Crane (1996– )	Trevor Einhorn
Nanette Stewart	Karen Ann Genaro
Café Nervosa Waitress	Luck Hari
Bebe Glazer	Harriet Sansom Harris
Gil Chesterton (1994– )	Edward Hibbert
Noel Shempsky (1994– )	Patrick Kerr
Weird Bruce	Garett Maggart

Sherry Dempsey (1996–1997)	Marsha Mason
Station Manager Kenneth "Kenny" Daly (1997– )	Tom McGowan
Dr. Lilith Sternin-Crane (1994– )	Bebe Neuwirth
Donny Douglas (1998– )	Saul Rubinek
Station Manager Kate Costas (1995)	Mercedes Ruehl
Lorna Lenley/Lana Gardner (1999– )	Jean Smart
Simon Moon (2000– )	Anthony LaPaglia
Mrs. Gertrude Moon (2000– )	Millicent Martin
Dr. Melinda "Mel" Karnofsky (1999–2000)	Jane Adams

#### Producers

David Angell, Peter Casey, David Lee, Dan O'Shannon, Kelsey Grammer, Rob Hanning

#### Programming History

251 Episodes (2003)

NBC

September 1993–August

1994

Thursday 9:30–10:00

September 1994–May 1998

Tuesday 9:00–9:30

September 1998–May 2000

Thursday 9:00–9:30

September 2000–Present

Tuesday 9:00–9:30

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- Javna, John, *The Best of TV Sitcoms*, New York: Harmony Books, 1988
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- Sackett, Susan, *Prime-Time Hits: Television's Most Popular Network Programs 1950 to the Present*, New York: Billboard Books, 1993

## Frederick, Pauline (1908–1990)

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Pauline Frederick's pioneering broadcast career covered nearly 40 years and began at a time when broadcasting was virtually closed to women. During these decades, she was the primary correspondent covering the United Nations for NBC and was the first broadcast newswoman to receive the coveted Peabody Award for excellence in broadcasting.

Frederick began her career as a teenager, covering society news for the *Harrisburg Telegraph*. She turned down a full-time position there in favor of studying political science at American University in Washington, D.C. Later she received her master's degree in international law and, at the suggestion of a history professor, combined her interests in journalism and international affairs by interviewing diplomats' wives. She broke into broadcasting in 1939 when NBC's director of women's programs, Margaret Cuthbert, asked her to interview the wife of the Czechoslovakian minister shortly after Germany overran that country.

Her interviews continued until the United States joined World War II. She then worked a variety of jobs for NBC, including scriptwriting and research. After touring Africa and Asia with other journalists—over the protests of her male boss at NBC who thought the trip too difficult for a woman—she quit her job with NBC and began covering the Nuremberg trials for ABC radio, the North American Newspaper Alliance, and the Western Newspaper Alliance.

Denied a permanent job because she was female, she worked as a stringer for ABC, covering "women's stories." Her break came when she was assigned to cover a foreign ministers' conference in an emergency: her male boss had two stories to cover and only one male reporter. In a few months, the United Nations became her regular beat, and in 1948 ABC hired her permanently to cover international affairs and politics. In 1953 NBC hired her to cover the United Nations.

Over the next two decades, she covered political conventions, the Korean War, Middle Eastern conflicts, the Cuban missile crisis, the cold war, and the Vietnam War. After retiring from NBC, she worked for National Public Radio as a commentator on international affairs. Frederick received many honors, including election to the presidency of the United Nations Correspondents

Association, being named to Sigma Delta Chi's Hall of Fame in 1975, and 23 honorary doctorate degrees in journalism, law, and the humanities.

Of her life, Frederick once said, "I think the kind of career I've had, something would have had to be sacrificed. Because when I have been busy at the United Nations during crises, it has meant working day and night. You can't very well take care of a home when you do something like that, or children." Through her work she advanced the position of women in broadcast news and became an important role model for news-women everywhere.

LOUISE BENJAMIN



Pauline Frederick, 1954.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

**Pauline Frederick.** Born in Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, February 13, 1908. Educated at American University in Washington, D.C., B.A. in political science, M.A. in international law. Married: Charles Robbin, 1969. Feature writer for newspapers and magazines, from late 1930s; radio interviewer, NBC, 1938–45; war correspondent, North American Newspaper Alliance, 1945–46, political reporter, ABC, 1946–53; reporter and interviewer, NBC, 1953–74; foreign affairs commentator, National Public Radio, 1974–90. Recipient: Peabody Award, 1954; Paul White Award from the Radio-Television News Directors Association, 1980; Alfred I. duPont Awards' Commentator Award. Died in Lake Forest, Illinois, May 9, 1990.

#### Television

1946–53	ABC News (reporter)
1953–74	NBC News (reporter)

#### Radio

NBC (reporter) 1938–45; National Public Radio (commentator), 1974–90.

#### Publication

*Ten First Ladies of the World*, 1967

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 Hosley, David, and Gayle Yamada, *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism*, New York: Greenwood, 1987  
 Nobile, Philip, "TV News and the Older Woman," *New York Times* (August 10, 1981)  
 Talese, Gay, "Perils of Pauline," *Saturday Evening Post* (January 26, 1963)

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## Freed, Fred (1920–1974)

### U.S. Documentary Producer

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Fred Freed was a leading practitioner of prime-time documentary during the genre's heyday of the 1960s. Working on the network flagship series *NBC White Paper*, he produced close to 40 major documentaries, which earned him seven Emmy and three Peabody Awards. Describing himself as an "old-fashioned liberal," Freed believed that documentary could stimulate change by providing audiences with detailed information about pressing social issues. Yet Freed was also a prominent member of a generation of documentary producers who courted mass audiences with narrative techniques that would later spread to network news reporting and television magazine programs.

Freed began his media career after a stint in the navy during World War II. Starting out as a magazine editor, he moved to radio and ultimately, in 1956, to network television. One year later, he joined CBS as a documentary producer working under Irving Gitlin, the head of creative projects in the news and public-affairs division. During the late 1950s, CBS News was well endowed with talented personnel and the competition for network airtime was extremely fierce. The CBS evening schedule almost exclusively featured enter-

tainment fare, with the exception of irregularly scheduled broadcasts of *See It Now*, produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly. The cancellation of this series in 1958 generated intense dissatisfaction among the news and public-affairs staff, many of them frustrated with the marginal time periods devoted to information fare. Partly in response to internal dissension, CBS management in 1959 announced the inauguration of a new prime-time documentary series, *CBS Reports*. Gitlin and his colleagues were disappointed to learn, however, that Friendly had been tapped for the slot of executive producer. Shortly thereafter, Gitlin, Freed, and producer Albert Wasserman were wooed away by NBC president Robert Kintner, who promised them a prestigious prime-time series of their own.

Beginning in 1960, *NBC White Paper* was a central component of the "peacock" network's efforts to dislodge CBS from its top billing in broadcast news. A former journalist, Kintner was a vigorous supporter of the news division, believing it essential to both good citizenship and good business. Over the next several years, NBC News grew rapidly and its documentary efforts earned widespread acclaim from critics and



Fred Freed.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/ CSU Archives

opinion leaders. Under Gitlin's leadership, Freed and Wasserman produced numerous programs focusing on significant foreign policy issues, then a key concern of the Kennedy administration and Federal Communications Commission (FCC) chair Newton Minow. Programs on the U-2 debacle, the Berlin crisis, and political unrest in Latin America received prominent attention. Yet all three documentarians were also determined to use narrative techniques in an effort to make such issues accessible to a broad audience. At the time Freed commented, "In a world so interesting we always manage to find ways of making things dull. This business of blaming audiences for not watching our documentaries is ridiculous."

With this credo in mind, Freed produced documentaries about "The Death of Stalin" and "The Rise of Khrushchev," which featured tightly structured storylines with well-developed characters. Similarly, his analyses of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban missile crisis were built around dramatic moments in which historical figures struggled against Promethean odds. Freed's increasingly creative use of audio and vi-

sual elements is conveyed in a tightly edited opening sequence of the latter documentary in which a nuclear missile ominously emerges from its silo accompanied by the piercing sound of a military alarm claxon. Much like a feature film, the editing of the visual imagery dramatically sets the terms for the story that follows.

Freed and his documentary colleagues also experimented during the early 1960s with camera framing techniques that would later become standard conventions of television news. For example, Freed would have his camera operator zoom in for tight close-ups during particularly emotional moments of an interview. This was a significant break from the standard head-and-shoulders portrait shots then used on nightly news and Sunday talk shows. It was intended to engage viewers on both an affective and intellectual level.

Despite these dramatic techniques, network documentaries only occasionally generated ratings that were comparable with entertainment fare. By the middle of the decade, all three networks trimmed back their commitment to the genre for a variety of reasons, and producers Wasserman and Gitlin moved on to other opportunities. Yet Freed remained with *White Paper* and continued to play a leading role with the series into the 1970s. He made major documentaries about the urban crisis, gun control, and environmental issues. He also produced numerous instant specials on breaking news events as well as three superdocumentaries, which featured an entire evening of prime time devoted to a single issue. This concept, which was distinctive to NBC, originated in 1963 with a program on civil rights. It was followed in 1965 by Freed's 20-year survey of U.S. foreign policy, and in 1966 by his program on organized crime. In 1973 he produced NBC's last superdocumentary, an evening devoted to "The Energy Crisis." One year later, in the midst of a busy schedule of documentary production, Freed succumbed to a heart attack at the age of 53. His passing also marked the demise of *NBC White Paper*, for the network mounted only three more installments before the end of the decade. Although *White Paper* has very occasionally returned to prime time since then, it lacks the autonomy, prestige, and resources that were characteristic of the series during the Freed era.

MICHAEL CURTIN

*See also NCB White Paper*

**Fred Freed.** Born August 25, 1920. Began career as magazine editor and writer; in broadcasting from 1949; managing editor, NBC-TV, for the daytime program *Home*, 1955; documentary producer, CBS-TV, late 1950s; producer, NBC's *Today Show*, 1961; exclusively in documentary production later. Recipient:

three Peabody Awards; two duPont-Columbia Awards; seven Emmy Awards. Died March 1974.

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1961 *NBC White Paper: Krushchev and Berlin*
- 1962 *NBC White Paper: Red China*
- 1962 *The Chosen Child: A Study in Adoption*
- 1962 *Dupont Show of the Week: Fire Rescue*
- 1963 *Dupont Show of the Week: Comedian Backstage*
- 1963 *Dupont Show of the Week: Miss America: Behind the Scenes*
- 1963 *NBC White Paper: The Death of Stalin: Profile on Communism*
- 1963 *NBC White Paper: The Rise of Krushchev: Profile on Communism*
- 1964 *Dupont Show of the Week: The Patient in Room 601*
- 1964 *NBC White Paper: Cuba: Bay of Pigs*
- 1964 *NBC White Paper: Cuba: The Missile Crisis*
- 1965 *NBC White Paper: Decision to Drop the Bomb*
- 1965 *American White Paper: United States Foreign Policy*
- 1965 *NBC White Paper: Oswald and the Law: A Study of Criminal Justice*
- 1966 *NBC White Paper: Countdown to Zero*
- 1966 *American White Paper: Organized Crime in America*
- 1967 *The JFK Conspiracy: The Case of Jim Garrison*

- 1968 *NBC White Paper: The Ordeal of the American City: Cities Have No Limits*
- 1968 *NBC White Paper: The Ordeal of the American City: The People Are the City*
- 1969 *NBC White Paper: The Ordeal of the American City: Confrontation*
- 1969 *Who Killed Lake Erie?*
- 1969 *Pueblo: A Question of Intelligence*
- 1970 *NBC White Paper: Pollution Is a Matter of Choice*
- 1971 *NBC White Paper: Vietnam Hindsight: How It Began*
- 1971 *NBC White Paper: Vietnam Hindsight: The Death of Diem*
- 1973 *NBC Reports: And Now the War Is Over... The American Military in the 1970s*
- 1973 *NBC Reports: Murder in America*
- 1973 *NBC Reports: But Is This Progress?*
- 1974 *NBC White Paper: The Energy Crisis: American Solutions*

**Further Reading**

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- Yellin, David, *Special: Fred Freed and the Television Documentary*, New York: Macmillan, 1973

## "Freeze" of 1948

On September 30, 1948, the Federal Communications Commissions (FCC) of the United States announced a "freeze" on the granting of new television licenses (those already authorized were allowed to begin or continue operations). The commission had already granted more than 100 licenses and was inundated with hundreds of additional applications. Unable to resolve several important interference, allocation, and other technical questions because of this rush, the FCC believed that the freeze would allow it to hold

hearings and study the issues, leading to something of a "master blueprint" for television in the United States. This "time-out" was originally intended to last only six months, but the outbreak of the Korean War, as well as the difficult nature of some of the issues under study, extended the freeze to four years. During this time, there were 108 VHF television stations on the air and more than 700 new applications on hold. Only 24 cities had two or more stations; many had only one. Most smaller and even some major cities

(e.g., Denver, Colorado, and Austin, Texas) had none at all.

Ultimately, five major, not unrelated, issues became the focus of deliberations: (1) the designation of a standard for color television; (2) the reservation of channel space for educational, noncommercial television; (3) the reduction of channel interference; (4) the establishment of a national channel allocation map or scheme; and (5) the opening up of additional spectrum space.

With the April 14, 1952, issuance of the commission's *Sixth Report and Order*, the freeze was finally lifted. This document presented to an anxious broadcast industry and impatient viewers the resolutions to the five questions.

The decision on color came down to a choice between an existing but technologically unsophisticated CBS mechanical system, which was incompatible with existent television receivers (i.e., "color" signals could not be received on black-and-white television sets) and an all-electronic system proposed by RCA, which was compatible with black-and-white TV sets but still in development. The commission approved the CBS system, but it was never implemented because the television set manufacturing industry refused to build what it considered to be inferior receivers. The FCC rescinded its approval of the CBS system in 1950, and in 1953 it accepted the RCA system as the standard.

The reservation of channel space for noncommercial, educational television was spearheaded by FCC commissioner Frieda B. Hennock. When the channel reservation issue was raised for radio during the deliberation leading up to the Communications Act of 1934, the industry view prevailed. Broadcasting was considered too valuable a resource to entrust to educators or others who had no profit motive to spur the development of the medium. Absolutely no spectrum space was set aside for noncommercial (AM) radio. Hennock and others were unwilling to let history repeat in the age of television. Against heavy and strident industry objection (*Broadcasting* magazine said such a set-aside was "illogical, if not illegal"), advocates of noncommercial television prevailed. Two hundred and forty-two channels were authorized for educational, noncommercial television, although no means of financial support was identified. The commission acquiesced because it reasoned that if the educators succeeded, the FCC would be viewed as prescient; if the educators failed, at least the commission had given them an opportunity. Additionally, Hennock and her forces were a nuisance; the noncom-

mercial channel issue was helping keep the freeze alive and there were powerful industry and viewer forces awaiting its end.

Channel interference was easily solved through the implementation of strict rules of separation for stations broadcasting on the same channel. Stations on the same channel had to be separated by at least 190 miles (some geographic areas, the Gulf and northeast regions, for example, had somewhat different standards). A few stations had to change channels to meet the requirements.

Channel allocation took the form of city-by-city assignment of one or more channels based on the general criterion of fair geographic apportionment of channels to the various states and to the country as a whole. The "assignment table" that was produced gave some cities, such as New York and Los Angeles, many stations. Smaller locales were allocated fewer outlets.

The question of opening up additional spectrum space for more television stations was actually the question of how much of the UHF band should be utilized. Eventually, the entire 70-channel UHF band was authorized. Therefore, the television channels then available to U.S. broadcasters and their viewers were the existing VHF channels of 2 through 13 and the new UHF channels of 14 through 83.

KIMBERLY B. MASSEY

**See also Allocation; Color Television; Educational Television; Federal Communications Commission; Hennock, Frieda B.; License**

### Further Reading

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## French, Dawn (1957– )

### British Actor

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Dawn French is one-half of Britain's top female comedy duo, French and Saunders, as well as a highly successful writer, comedian, and actress in her own right. She and partner Jennifer Saunders have become an outstanding double act while also pursuing successful solo careers.

French's television debut was an auspicious one, as a member of a group of "alternative" comedians known as the Comic Strip, on the opening night of Britain's fourth TV channel, Channel 4, in 1982. "Five Go Mad in Dorset," a spoof of author Enid Blyton's popular children's adventure books, clearly showed that French was a comic actress to watch. The following two years saw two series of *The Comic Strip Presents* in which French played everything from housewives to hippies.

In 1985 French approached the kind of comedy that she and Saunders would eventually make very much their own. *Girls on Top*, a sitcom about four bizarre young women sharing a flat in London, gave French, as costar and co-writer, a chance to develop further the type of character she loves to play. Amanda was an overgrown teenager, sexually inexperienced and yet aware of the sexual powers of woman. A second series followed in 1986, as did appearances with Saunders on Channel 4's cult late-night comedy show *Saturday Live*, but in 1987 French and Saunders moved as a double act to the BBC for their own co-written series, *French and Saunders*. This was broadcast on BBC 2, the nurturing ground for so much of Britain's new generation of comic talent. This first series took the form of a cheap and badly rehearsed variety show, hosted by the two women. Saunders was the rather grumpy, irritable half of the partnership, with French portraying a bouncy, enthusiastic, schoolgirlish character. This format was dropped for the second series, and instead the programs were a mixture of sketches and spoofs.

With an uncanny ability to pick up on the foibles and fears of childhood, and particularly teenage girlhood, French always played the fervent, excitable girl, generally leading the more sullen and awkward Saunders into mischief. This ability to draw on universal but commonplace memories of what now seem petty and trivial matters of girlhood (such as crushes on boys) and turn them into fresh and original comedy is one of the things that has set French and her partner above virtually all other

female performers except, perhaps, Victoria Wood. Further series of *French and Saunders* have seen their transfer from BBC 2 to BBC 1. While their inventiveness has increased, there has been no diminution in their ability to latch on to the way women behave with each other. In particular they have become skilled at extraordinarily clever film spoofs, with French playing Julie Andrews in *The Sound of Music* one week and Hannibal Lecter in *Silence of the Lambs* the next.

French's first solo starring role came in 1991 with *Murder Most Horrid*, a series of six comic dramas with a common theme of violent death, in which she played a different role every week. The series was commissioned for French and enabled her to play everything from a Brazilian au pair in "The Girl from Ipanema" to a naive policewoman in "The Case of the Missing." Further series of *Murder Most Horrid* have seen the roles becoming even more ambitious.

If there had been any doubt about French's acting ability, this had been dispelled the previous year, 1993, in the BBC Screen One drama *Tender Loving Care*. In this work, French played a night nurse in the geriatric ward of a hospital. There, she helped many of her charges "on their way" with her own brand of tender loving care, believing that by killing them she is doing them a service. It was a beautifully understated and restrained performance.

After the General Synod of the Church of England voted to permit women to become priests, one *French and Saunders* sketch concerned French's receipt of a vicar's outfit after having received permission to become the first female comedy vicar, complete with buck teeth and dandruff. This soon proved prophetic, when French was cast as the Reverend Geraldine Granger, "a babe with a bob and a magnificent bosom," in Richard Curtis's *The Vicar of Dibley*. French's portrayal of a female vicar sent to a small, old-fashioned, country parish is possibly her most popular to date. The public quickly took this series to their hearts, and French shone even within an ensemble cast of experienced character actors.

French's influence can probably be felt in other areas of British comedy too. She is married to Britain's top black comedian, Lenny Henry, and is often quoted as having influenced him during the early stage of their relationship to abandon his then somewhat self-



*French and Saunders*, Dawn French and Jennifer Saunders.  
1987–present.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

deprecating humor, in order to explore what it is like to be a black Briton today.

French and Saunders currently have an exclusive contract with the BBC that gives them a wide scope for expanding beyond the confines of their double act. Their first project, *Dusty*, a documentary about Dusty Springfield, was not entirely successful, and the sitcom *Let Them Eat Cake*, set during the French Revolution, was not well received by either critics or public. Further solo projects, such as *Ted and Alice* and *Wild West*, have not found favor with the public either. However, the now all-too-infrequent special editions of *French and Saunders* are as fresh and funny as ever, with the movie spoofs including *Harry Potter* and *The Lord of the Rings*. French also remains a stalwart of the BBC's biannual fund-raising for the charity Comic Relief. There can be no doubt that whether it is as part of a double act or as a solo actress, Dawn French can be assured of a place at the heart of British television for a considerable number of years.

PAM ROSTRON

See also Saunders, Jennifer

**Dawn French.** Born in Holyhead, Wales, October 11, 1957. Attended St. Dunstan's Abbey, Plymouth; Central School of Speech and Drama, London. Married: Lenny Henry, 1984; child: Billie. Met Jennifer Saunders at Central School of Speech and Drama and formed alternative comedy partnership with her, appearing at the Comic Strip club, London, from 1980; participated with Saunders in the Channel 4 *Comic Strip Presents* films and then in own long-running *French and Saunders* series; has also acted in West End theater.

#### Television Series

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 1982–92     | <i>The Comic Strip Presents</i> (“Five Go Mad in Dorset,” “Five Go Mad on Mescaline,” “Slags,” “Summer School,” “Private Enterprise,” “Consuela,” “Mr. Jolly Lives Next Door,” “The Bad News Tour,” “South Atlantic Raiders,” “GLC,” “Oxford,” “Spaghetti Hoops,” “Le Kiss,” “The Strike”) |
| 1985        | <i>Happy Families</i>  |
| 1985–86     | <i>Girls on Top</i> (also co-writer)   |
| 1987–       | <i>French and Saunders</i>   |
| 1991; 1994– | <i>Murder Most Horrid</i>  |
| 1993        | <i>Tender Loving Care</i>  |
| 1994        | <i>The Vicar of Dibley</i>   |

#### Film

*The Supergrass*, 1985; *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*, 2004

#### Stage (selection)

*When I Was a Girl I Used to Scream and Shout*; *An Evening with French and Saunders*; *The Secret Policeman's Biggest Ball*; *Silly Cow*.

#### Publication

*A Feast of French and Saunders*, 1992

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## Friendly, Fred W. (1915–1998)

U.S. Broadcast Journalist, Media Commentator

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Fred W. Friendly, a pioneering CBS News producer and distinguished media scholar, enjoyed a 60-year career as remarkable for its longevity as for its accomplishments. As the technically creative and dramatically in-

spired producer for CBS correspondent Edward R. Murrow, Friendly helped enliven and popularize television news documentary in the decade after World War II, when television news was still in its infancy. After



Fred W. Friendly.  
Photo courtesy of Fred Friendly

resigning from CBS as its news division president in 1966, Friendly found a second career as an author and as creator of a series of moderated seminars on media and society.

Friendly got his start in broadcasting during the Great Depression with a staff position at a small radio station in Providence, Rhode Island. It was as a successful radio producer that Friendly was teamed with Murrow in the late 1940s to create a series of documentary albums entitled *I Can Hear It Now*. When Murrow made the jump to television reporting, he brought Friendly with him as his principal documentary producer. Armed with a flair for the dramatic and his experience as a technical innovator in radio, Friendly set out to do for television what he had already done for radio documentaries. The result, in 1952, was the debut of the highly acclaimed *See It Now*, a weekly series hosted by Murrow that broke new ground with its intrepid probing into subjects of serious sociopolitical significance and its stunning visual style. The successful combination of Friendly's energy and Murrow's stature hit its professional peak in 1954, with

their decision to broadcast a documentary attack on Senator Joseph McCarthy that helped change the tide of popular opinion against the anticommunist demagogue.

In his later years at CBS, Friendly was given broader responsibility to create a variety of news programs, including the landmark hourly documentary series, *CBS Reports*, and a political forum that would later be known as *Face the Nation*. As president of CBS News in the mid-1960s, Friendly struggled to keep his news division independent of profit-conscious and entertainment-oriented corporate decision making at CBS Inc., which he considered a threat to the autonomy and integrity of his news operations. In March 1966 Friendly argued vociferously to management that CBS had a journalistic obligation to carry extensive live coverage of the first Senate hearings to question U.S. involvement in Vietnam. When the network opted instead to air reruns of *I Love Lucy*, Friendly resigned from CBS in protest.

In his post-CBS years Friendly turned his interests to writing and teaching about media and law. In a span of 20 years, Friendly traced the history of people involved in landmark Supreme Court cases in books including *Minnesota Rag*, *The Good Guys*, *The Bad Guys and the First Amendment*, and *The Constitution: That Delicate Balance*. At the Ford Foundation in the mid-1970s and, later, as the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Broadcast Journalism at Columbia University, Friendly collaborated with some of the nation's leading lawyers, journalists, and politicians to create a series of roundtable debates on media and society. Now known as *The Fred Friendly Seminars*, these Public Broadcasting Service programs remained under Friendly's stewardship until shortly before his death in 1998.

MICHAEL M. EPSTEIN

*See also Army-McCarthy Hearings; Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; Person to Person; See It Now*

**Fred W. Friendly.** Born Ferdinand Friendly Wachenheimer in New York City, October 30, 1915. Educated at Cheshire Academy and Nichols Junior College. Married: Ruth W. Mark; two sons, one daughter (from previous marriage), and three stepsons. Served in U.S. Army, Information and Education Section, 1941–45. Broadcast producer, journalist for WEAN radio, Providence, Rhode Island, 1937–41; wrote, produced, and narrated radio series *Footprints in the Sands of Time*, 1938, later, at NBC, *Who Said That*, quiz based on quotations of famous people; collaborated with Edward R. Murrow in presenting oral history of 1932–45 (recorded by Columbia Records under title *I Can Hear It Now*); *I Can Hear It Now: The Sixties* with Walter Cronkite; editor and correspondent in India, Burma, and China for CBI Roundup, 1941–45; coproducer, CBS radio series

Friendly, Fred W.

*Hear It Now*, 1951, and CBS TV series *See It Now*, 1952–55; past executive producer, with Edward R. Murrow, CBS TV show *CBS Reports*, 1959–60; president, CBS News, New York, 1964–66; Edward R. Murrow professor emeritus broadcast journalist Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, and director, Seminars on Media and Society, from 1966; adviser on communications, Ford Foundation, 1966–80; director, Michele Clark Program for minority journalists, Columbia University, 1968–75; member, Mayor's Task Force on CATV and Telecommunications, New York City, 1968; distinguished visiting professor, Bryn Mawr College, 1981; visiting professor, Yale University, 1984; commissioner, Charter Revision Committee for City of New York, 1986–90; Montgomery fellow, Dartmouth College, 1986. Honorary degrees: Grinnell College, University of Rhode Island; New School for Social Research; Brown University; Carnegie-Mellon University; Columbia College, Chicago; Columbia University; Duquesne University; New York Law School; University of Southern Utah; College of Wooster, Ohio; University of Utah. Member: American Association of University Professors; Association for Education in Journalism. Military awards: Decorated Legion of Merit and four battle stars; Soldier's Medal for heroism. Recipient: 35 major awards for *See It Now*, including Overseas Press Club, Page One Award, New York Newspaper Guild, and National Headliners Club Award, 1954; 40 major awards for *CBS Reports*; 10 Peabody Awards for TV production; numerous awards from journalism schools; DeWitt Carter Reddick Award, 1980. Died in New York City, March 3, 1998.

#### Television Series

1952–55	<i>See It Now</i>
1958–59	<i>Small World</i>
1959–60	<i>CBS Reports</i>

1980–98	<i>Media and Society Seminars</i>
1986	<i>Managing Our Miracles: Healthcare in America</i> (moderator)
1989	<i>Ethics in America</i>

#### Radio

Producer, reporter, correspondent: WEAN, Providence, Rhode Island, 1937–41; NBC Radio, 1932–45; CBS Radio, 1951

#### Publications

*See It Now*, edited with Edward R. Murrow, 1955  
*Due to Circumstances beyond Our Control*, 1967  
*The Good Guys, The Bad Guys, and The First Amendment: Free Speech vs. Fairness in Broadcasting*, 1976  
*Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press*, 1981  
*The Constitution: That Delicate Balance*, with Martha J.H. Elliott, 1984

#### Further Reading

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Boyer, Peter J., *Who Killed CBS?: The Undoing of America's Number One News Network*, New York: Random House, 1988  
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## Friends

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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In 1994 NBC introduced a new situation comedy that would prove a mainstay for its popular "Must See TV" Thursday night lineup and would spark both marketing and generic crazes. Initially scheduled between the successful *Mad About You* and *Seinfeld*, *Friends* was

intended to serve as a bridge for maintaining the young hip audiences already loyal to these two shows. Shot live on video, the show was directed by situation comedy veterans such as James Burrows (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Taxi*) and Michael Lembeck (*Coach*,

*Ellen*—he took home a 2000 Emmy for *Friends*' "The One That Could Have Been"). It would quickly establish itself as the anchor for the successful Thursday night NBC schedule that has included other successful shows such as *ER*, *Frasier*, *Scrubs*, and *Will & Grace*.

The first successful television series to address the Generation X phenomenon, *Friends* chronicles the loves and lives of six cool, quirky 20-somethings living in New York City and spending an inordinate amount of time hanging out in their local coffeehouse, Central Perk: nerdy paleontologist Ross Geller (David Schwimmer), his obsessive-compulsive chef sister Monica Geller (Courteney Cox-Arquette), wisecracking, hapless number cruncher Chandler Bing (Matthew Perry), hunky Italian-American actor Joey Tribbiani (Matt LeBlanc), spoiled ex-prom queen Rachel Green (Jennifer Aniston), and spacey massage therapist Phoebe Buffay (Lisa Kudrow, who garnered the 1998 Emmy for Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Comedy Series). In the wake of Nirvana and *Reality Bites* (1994), the *Friends* ensemble depicted and hailed this desirable demographic while simultaneously eliminating the alienation, apathy, despair, and cynicism often associated with the group. With Chandler and Joey living across the hall from Monica and Rachel, their apartments often served as a site for the group to meet and bond as the characters developed into a strong family unit, helping one another through the trials faced by young adults at the end of the 20th century (romance, careers, family, etc.).

Though the creators transformed the grunge aesthetic associated with Generation X into one of unrealistic conspicuous consumption (their spacious and well-decorated apartments would not be viable options for people sliding in and out of marginally lucrative jobs), each character was a charming combination of glamorous movie star and everyman. Episodes largely dealt with light topics such as finding Ross's lost monkey, discovering that urine is the only cure for a jellyfish sting, or deciding what to do when you realize you have free porn. Titles such as "The One With Chandler's Work Laugh," "The One With the Racecar Bed," and "The One Where Phoebe Hates PBS" illustrate the levity of each individual episode.

However, the lasting popularity of the show, which aired for ten seasons, can partially be attributed to the show's efficient combination of long-term and short-term stakes. While each episode effectively stands alone as a piece of entertainment, the show also followed the lead of earlier series such as *Cheers* and *Murphy Brown* by developing recurring plotlines. Ross's pregnant wife left him for another woman prior to the first episode, and consequently the first several seasons dealt with his neurosis regarding his wife's les-

bianism (including television's first lesbian wedding), the birth of their son, Ben, and attempts to raise him in an unconventional family. In addition, anticipation mounted as the characters became more than just platonic friends. Several seasons engaged the "will they or won't they" quandary regarding Ross and Rachel's on-again, off-again romance (which continued into the show's final seasons, when Rachel and Ross, after an alcohol-induced night together, had a baby) and Monica eventually cured Chandler's recurring fear of commitment as season six climaxed in a candlelit marriage proposal. These ever-changing relationships converted the traditional amnesic plotlines of the situation comedy into ones akin to episodic drama. With seasonal cliff-hangers, *Friends* maintained its audience from one season to the next by providing escapist comedy alongside exciting soap-operatic romantic developments.

As the seasons carried on and recurring plotlines surfaced and abated, the show's creators integrated various techniques to keep the show fresh. The common inclusion of guest stars provided the network grounds for dubbing episodes "special." Elliot Gould and Christina Pickles frequently resurfaced as Ross and Monica's parents, while television's *That Girl*, Marlo Thomas, played Rachel's mother. Along with celebrities such as Tom Selleck, Susan Sarandon, and Bruce Willis (who took home a 2000 Emmy for Outstanding Guest Actor in a Comedy Series), Cox-Arquette's and Aniston's real-life husbands David Arquette and Brad Pitt made appearances, and fellow NBC contemporaries Noah Wyle and George Clooney of *ER* appeared as versions of their prime-time alter egos. Additionally, when the "reality television" craze began to threaten the show's Nielsen position, a practice of occasionally "supersizing" episodes was implemented. During February of 2001, at the height of the ratings battle with the popular show *Survivor*, NBC aired four 40-minute *Friends* episodes followed by miniepisodes of *Saturday Night Live*, *Friends* outtakes, and other supersized NBC sitcoms. The practice was occasionally revived in the following seasons.

Not only was America obsessively watching the show (it continuously ranked in the top ten, seldom dropping below number four), but also they were wearing it, drinking out of it, and dancing to it. Within a couple of seasons, American women fully embraced Rachel and Monica's "shag" haircuts, and the cast's wardrobes represented various factions of cool youth. In addition, the production company hawked a successful line of *Friends* merchandise (hats, T-shirts, oversized coffee mugs, etc.) in its chain of Warner Brothers mall shops. Number 35 in sales and 1 in airplay, the show's theme "I'll Be There For You" rocketed the heretofore-obscure band The Rembrandts into

## Friends

overexposure, as MTV and VH1 showed the cast members goofing off in the music video.

The show's popular and critical success translated into both a financial jackpot and hailstorm. Following *Seinfeld's* and *Mad About You's* immense salary negotiations, the young, previously little-known *Friends* actors fought Warner Brothers for escalating salaries. Initially earning around \$22,000 per episode, the cast successfully held out for \$75,000 in 1997, eventually earning as much as \$750,000 per episode in 2002. However, while the show brought Warner Brothers headaches, it also proved to be a syndication bonanza. Expected to eventually surpass *Seinfeld's* projected 2 billion dollars, *Friends* grossed approximately 1.5 billion in its first six-year syndication cycle. Its second run is expected to push the numbers over three billion.

This sweeping success brought about an immediate wave of *Friends* clones. In an attempt to capitalize on the Generation X craze and marketing boom, the networks scrambled to present young Americans with varying incarnations of everyone's favorite *Friends*. Shows such as *Dweebs*, *Partners*, *Can't Hurry Love*, and *Coupling* (originally a British show, which was successful, although a U.S. version failed) flooded in and out of the network schedules, while select shows such as *The Drew Carey Show* and *Caroline in the City* successfully hailed their desired youth audience and lasted past their freshman season. Regardless, *Friends* successfully takes its place as the show that best personified popular notions of Generation X and contributed to the changing face of situation comedy narrative.

KELLY KESSLER

See also **Burrows, James**; *Seinfeld*; *Survivor*

### Cast

Monica Geller	Courtney Cox-Arquette
Ross Geller	David Schwimmer
Rachel Green	Jennifer Aniston

Joey Tribbiani  
Chandler Bing  
Phoebe Buffay

Matt LeBlanc  
Matthew Perry  
Lisa Kudrow

### Producers

Kevin Bright, David Crane, Marta Kauffman

### Programming History

1994–2004	242 episodes
NBC	
September 1994– February 1995	Thursday 8:30–9:00
February 1995–May 1995	Thursday 9:30–10:00
September 1995–May 2004	Thursday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

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- Carter, Bill, "*Friends* Cast Bands Together to Demand a Salary Increase," *New York Times* (July 16, 1996)
- Grego, Melissa, "What's 2 Bil Among *Friends*?" *Variety* (April 23, 2001)
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- LaFranco, Robert, "Comedy Cash-In: Dig Out Those Old Joke Books from the Attic—There's Never Been a More Lucrative Time to Be Funny," *Forbes* (September 23, 1996)
- Rice, Lynette, "Funny Money," *Entertainment Weekly* (May 26, 2000)
- Tomashoff, Craig, "The Joy of Six," *People Weekly* (April 27, 1995)
- Wild, David, "Six Lives on Videotape," *Rolling Stone* (May 18, 1995)
- Wild, David, "Television the Buddy System: The Networks' New Fall Shows Ask, 'Can't We All Be *Friends*?'" *Rolling Stone* (September 7, 1995)

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# Front Page Challenge

## Canadian Panel Quiz/Public-Affairs Program

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*Front Page Challenge*, television's longest continuously running panel show, was one of the most familiar landmarks on the Canadian broadcasting landscape. During much of its 38-season run on the Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), from 1957 to 1995, it was among Canadian television's most popular programs, regularly drawing average audiences of 1 to 2 million in the small Canadian market; toward the end,



*Front Page Challenge.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

however, viewership dropped, numbering about 500,000 in the show's final season. A book was published in 1982 to mark the show's 25th anniversary.

*Front Page Challenge* was first born as a summer fill-in show; at the time, it was one of many quiz shows on the air, a genre popular because of the low production costs involved, and *Front Page Challenge* was in fact named after a U.S. quiz favorite of the time, *The \$64,000 Challenge*. A half-hour program, *Front Page Challenge* featured four panelists, usually well-known journalists, who would ask yes-or-no questions in an attempt to correctly identify a mystery challenger connected to a front-page news item, as well as the news item itself. After the panelists had guessed correctly—or been stumped—they would proceed to interview the challenger.

Equal parts quiz show and current affairs panel, *Front Page Challenge*'s hybridization of televisual genres drew in not only audience members attracted by the entertainment value of the quiz show format but also viewers who were curious about who the week's mystery

challengers would be and eager to hear them interviewed by *Front Page Challenge*'s panel of crack journalists. Long before current affairs programs like *CBC News-world* or all-news channels such as CNN began to offer similar fare, *Front Page Challenge* provided Canadians with a humane look at the newsmakers they read about in their morning papers. Over the years, some of the show's guests included figures as diverse as Indira Gandhi, saying she would never go into politics; Eleanor Roosevelt; hockey player Gordie Howe; Tony Bennett; and Errol Flynn, along with Mary Pickford, a Canadian and one of cinema's first stars. Walter Cronkite even announced his new job as CBS anchor on the program.

As a television program noted for its attention to the newspaper, *Front Page Challenge* panelists were almost exclusively eminent Canadian newspaper workers. For most of the show's run, well-known reporter Gordon Sinclair and journalist-writer Pierre Berton joined actress Toby Robins to form the panel, with a guest panelist making a fourth, and Fred Davis hosting



the show. Broadcaster Betty Kennedy replaced Robins in 1961, and upon Gordon Sinclair's death in 1984, he was replaced by author and columnist Alan Fotheringham. Another prominent reporter, Jack Webster, was added as a permanent fourth panelist in 1990.

That *Front Page Challenge* pointed not to the everyday world, but to other points within the media universe—the television program's very name evokes the newspaper—is significant as more than a sign of the times. By building a show in which competence in recalling newspaper headlines is the most important attribute, *Front Page Challenge* helped reinforce the social importance attached to what is reported in the media. The show's use of the newspaper as a frame of reference for significant events had the effect of perpetuating the idea that news happens in the real world, and that the media simply reflect these goings-on. As much research has shown, however, what we read in the newspaper is as much the result of the institutionalized conditions of newspaper reporting as it is of what goes on "out there"—the news is constructed by the media. *Front Page Challenge*, then, was an early example of the proliferation of television programs that recycle media content as news—*Entertainment Tonight* is perhaps the best-known example—and demonstrates how this type of programming tends, among other things, to contribute to the "aura" of media, in which the media world comes to stand in for the lived world.

As the product of the quiz show genre popular in the 1950s and 1960s, *Front Page Challenge* stood both within and outside of that television format, and thus provides a unique vantage point from which to look at the quiz or game show. Whereas the game show is characterized by its catapulting unknown, everyday individuals from the private sphere into the public sphere of television—providing home viewers with an easy locus of identification—*Front Page Challenge* featured only well-known public figures or newsmakers. Indeed, the only way an ordinary viewer might hope to participate in the program, other than becoming involved in a news event, was by successfully writing to *Front Page Challenge* and suggesting a front-page story to be used. Unlike other game or quiz shows, there was little competition—the panel worked together as a team—and almost no prizes to be won. Even the home viewers themselves were positioned in an unorthodox way on *Front Page Challenge*: whereas in other game shows the viewer plays along with the contestants, often shouting out the answer in her or his living room before it emerges from the television speaker, the *Front Page Challenge* viewer was actually able to see the mystery challenger, who stood behind the panelists, hidden from their eyes, but in full view of the camera.

Eliminating the elements of the quiz show genre seen as crass or vulgar helped to provide *Front Page*

*Challenge* with an air of legitimacy and respectability that the straight quiz show did not enjoy; the show's evocation of the newspaper's seriousness, its panelists, and its location on the state broadcasting network marked it as a "quality" television program. This controlled distance from what was seen as "American mass culture" helped distance it considerably from the quiz show scandals that plagued U.S. broadcasting in the 1960s—including *The \$64,000 Challenge*.

When *Front Page Challenge* was taken off the air in 1995, a move emblematic of major restructuring at the CBC, it signaled the end of an era in Canadian television broadcasting. The program's mixing of quiz show and public affairs, its lending of journalistic credence to the game show genre, and the interest with which audiences tuned in to hear and watch newsmakers of the day all exemplified television's ability to convey the humane qualities and attributes of those who were in the news.

BRAM ABRAMSON

*See also* Berton, Pierre; Canadian Programming in English

### Hosts

Win Berron, Fred Davis

### Panelists

Toby Robbins, Alex Barris, Gordon Sinclair, Betty Kennedy, Pierre Berton, Alan Fotheringham, Jack Webster

### Moderators

Win Barron, Alex Barris, Fred Davis

### Producers

Harvey Hart, James Guthro, Andrew Crossan, Don Brown, and others

### Programming History

CBC

1957–95                      Weekly half-hour

### Further Reading

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- Gould, Terry, "Front Page Challenged," *Saturday Night* (July–August 1995)
- Knelman, Martin, "The Eternal Challenge," *Saturday Night* (March 1992)
- Stam, Robert, "Television News and Its Spectator," in *Regarding Television*, edited by E. Ann Kaplan, Frederick, Maryland: American Film Institute, 1983
- Tuchman, Gaye, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1978
- Valpy, Michael, "No More *Front Page Challenge*. No More Canada?" *The Globe and Mail* (April 15, 1995)



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# Frontline

## U.S. Public-Affairs Program

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The Public Broadcasting System's series *Frontline* has served as one of the major documentary and public-affairs program on American television since its debut in 1983. Emerging at a time when the U.S. television networks were dramatically cutting back on documentary and public-affairs television, producer David Fanning and his team have produced a series of award-winning programs on issues ranging from programs on the Gulf War, Afghanistan, and Iraq, to producer Ofra Bikel's investigation of the Little Rascals sexual abuse case to Martin Smith and Lowell Bergman's chronicle of America's drug wars.

Originating from PBS's WGBH Boston affiliate, *Frontline* has won all of the major awards for broadcast journalism, including Emmy Awards, Peabody Awards, George Polk Awards, and DuPont Columbia University Awards. The series has specialized in current affairs documentaries, producing programs on U.S. military interventions in the Reagan era and on the Panama invasion and Gulf War during the presidency of George H.W. Bush. There have also been documentaries on the presidential candidacies, and the lives of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole (*The Choice*, 1996) and on Al Gore and George W. Bush in 2000.

*Frontline* has also produced many provocative documentaries on the U.S. economy and political system, such as the investigations of the savings and loan scandal, *Other People's Money* and *The Great American Bailout*. Its probing investigative studies of the bank BCCI (*The Bank of Crooks and Criminals*) and the examination of the *Exxon Valdez* Alaskan tragedy, *Anatomy of an Oil Spill*, are also noteworthy.

The series creator and senior executive producer is David Fanning. In 2002 Michael Sullivan was promoted to executive producer for special projects after serving as the series senior producer. Sullivan has supervised the production of many major *Frontline* projects, including *Faith and Doubt at Ground Zero* in 2002, a probing examination of theological questions regarding the existence of God and good and evil in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001. Under Sullivan's supervision, the program continued to produce the high-quality documentaries for which it is renowned—including *Cyber War!* on hi-tech warfare, *Truth, War, & Consequences* on the chaotic aftermath

of the Iraq war, and *Chasing the Sleeper Cell* on the Islamic terrorism—into the 2003–04 season.

*Frontline's* excellent website makes available transcripts and streaming videos of many of its programs (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/>). For instance, one can access *Truth, War, & Consequences* from the website. The program is divided into sections, much like a DVD, with textual commentary surrounding the screen. The program's website also makes accessible transcripts of interviews with the characters in the documentary, textual analysis of the material and issues in the program, and links to other Internet resources. Thus *Frontline* continues its tradition as a top documentary and public-affairs television series, while providing cutting-edge educational material on the Internet.

*Frontline* has won numerous awards for several of its productions, including Peabody Awards, Emmy Awards, Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards, and Edward R. Murrows Awards. In 1995 *Frontline* received the Distinguished Achievement in Journalism Award from the Journalism Alumni Association of the University of Southern California.

DOUGLAS KELLNER

See also **Documentary; Public Television**

### Senior Executive Producer

David Fanning

### Executive Producer for Special Projects

Michael Sullivan

### Programming History

1983–

PBS



Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Frost, David (1939– )

British Broadcast Journalist, Producer

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David Frost is an outstanding television presenter, political interviewer, and producer, who is successful on both sides of the Atlantic. The awards recognizing his achievements in television include two Golden Roses from the Montreux international festival (for *Frost over England*), as well as two Emmy Awards (for *The David Frost Show*) in the United States. His long career was recognized when he was granted a knighthood in 1993.

Frost was one of the first generation of university graduates who bypassed print journalism and went straight into television. While at Cambridge he showed his satirical talent in the *Footlights Revue* and edited the university newspaper, *Granta*. In 1961 he moved to London to work for ITV during the day and perform in cabarets at night. His nightclub performance drew the attention of BBC producer Ned Sherrin, who invited him to host *That Was the Week That Was*, often called *TW3*. In the "satire boom" of the early 1960s the irreverent, topical, and politically oriented *TW3* introduced satire to television in Britain. Among others topics, the program poked fun at the Royal family, the Church, high politics, and the respectable tenets of British life. *TW3* brought the divisions of British society to the surface, and the ensuing controversy made the BBC discontinue it. From 1964 to 1965 Frost cohosted the next, milder satirical program, *Not So Much a Programme, More a Way of Life*. At its most successful, this program bore significant resemblance to *TW3* and reached the same end.

The success of *TW3* made Frost a transatlantic commuter, after NBC bought the rights to the program and aired the American version (1964–65) with executive producer Leland Hayward. The shorter, less political, and less outspoken program never had the same impact as its British counterpart, but it nevertheless made Frost's name in the United States.

Back in Britain, the BBC's new show *The Frost Report* (1966–67) focused on one topic per program and tackled social and contemporary issues, as opposed to the political and topical focus of *TW3* and *Not So Much*. Drawing on the talents of John Cleese, Ronnie Barker, and Ronnie Corbett, the program brought humor to the topics of education, voting, and the like.

The working environment provided for the development of a new humorous trend in Britain, and five of the comedians went on to form *Monty Python's Flying Circus*.

From 1966 to 1968, *The Frost Programme* at ITV showed the beginning of Frost's transition from comedian to serious interviewer. Frost pioneered such TV techniques as directly involving the audience in the discussions and blending comedy sketches with current affairs. From this time on, Frost's mixture of politics with entertainment would draw mixed responses from critics. At this time his "ad-lib interviewing" style, as he calls it, was characterized by rather remorseless fire on well-chosen subjects and led to his label as the "tough inquisitor."

From anchorman to executive producer, Frost filled many different roles in the television business. In 1966 he founded David Paradine Ltd., and as an entrepreneur he put a consortium together to acquire the ITV franchise for London Weekend Television (LWT) in 1967. LWT's programming did not live up to its franchise undertaking in the long run and was criticized in Britain for emphasizing entertainment to the detriment of substantial programming.

On the strength of his British chat shows, Group W (the U.S. Westinghouse Corporation television stations) selected Frost to anchor an interview daily from 1969 to 1972. Frost kept his London shows and fronted *The David Frost Show* in the United States. He used more one-to-one interviews than before and managed to mix friendly conversation with confrontation. Throughout these endeavors, Frost's instinct for television, his handling of the audience, and his ability to put guests at ease and make them accessible justified the moniker "The Television Man," given him years earlier by the BBC's Donald Baverstock.

Frost's television personality status and ability to market himself well enabled him to attract prominent interviewees. He has interviewed every British prime minister since Harold Wilson, as well as leading politicians and celebrities from a number of different countries. His U.S. television specials *The Next President* (1968, 1988, 1992) featured interviews with presidential candidates in the run-up for the presidency. The

most famous of the big interviews characterizing Frost's recent focus were *The Nixon Interviews* (1977). This program offered the only televised assessment Richard Nixon gave about his conduct as president, including the Watergate affair. The interviews were syndicated on a barter basis and were subsequently seen in more than 70 countries.

When interviewing leading public figures, Frost retains his persistence, but he has refined his style into an apparently soft interrogative method where the strength of a question is judged more by the range of possible responses. As a result, he has sometimes been criticized for "toadying," presenting an overly sympathetic ear to his influential guests. Unlike his entertainment-oriented shows, which were often followed by rows over questions of bias, the big interviews are usually judged as fair and balanced.

On the way to fame as a serious political interviewer, Frost had a new chance to combine politics and satire. As executive producer, he helped to launch the British program *Spitting Image* in 1984. This show, a scathing satire, picked up on already existing perceptions of politicians and highlighted them in puppet caricatures. When Margaret Thatcher was portrayed as a bald man who ate babies and lived next door to Adolf Hitler, the life-size puppets were thought to be as dangerous to politicians as *TW3* had been. As a result, before the 1987 U.K. elections, the program was not broadcast. In another transatlantic parallel, this popular program also made it into the United States. In 1986 NBC carried *Spitting Image: Down and Out in the White House*, hosted by David Frost, and in 1987 *The Ronnie and Nancy Show* appeared on U.S. television screens.

In 1982 Frost successfully bid for a commercial breakfast television franchise, TV-AM, and became director of the new venture. Despite the five famous flagship presenters, TV-AM as a whole faced the same criticism as London Weekend Television. Its leisurely approach to hard news, especially during the Gulf War, was thought to cost it the franchise in 1991.

After losing TV-AM, Frost moved to the BBC to front a weekly interview program, *Breakfast with Frost*. Despite years of success, the value of the program for the channel is currently being examined. In addition, Frost's ten-week ITV documentary *Alpha: Will It Change Their Lives?* about a popular evangelical introduction to Christianity for yuppies stirred controversy in the summer of 2001.

In the United States, Frost signed a contract with the Public Broadcasting Service in 1990 to produce *Talking with David Frost*, a monthly interview program. Frost took advantage of newly declassified documents and



David Frost.  
Photo courtesy of David Paradine Television, Inc.

made a two-part documentary, *Inside the Cold War with Sir David Frost*, in 1998. On cable, he is currently presenting *One-on-One with David Frost* for Arts and Entertainment, and *Millennium Monday*, a series of historical documentaries, for the National Geographic Channel. In 2000 he signed a deal with Newsplayer.com, a website that offers subscription access to archived newsreel footage, to make his interviews available on the Web.

Frost's business ventures also include filmmaking, where he acts as executive producer. The satirical *The Rise and Rise of Michael Rimmer* (1970), featuring Peter Cook taking over the prime ministership, and the documentary *The Search for Josef Mengele* (1985) exemplify the variety of films he has produced. Most recently, in 1999, he produced *Rogue Trader*, based on the story of Nick Leeson who brought down Barings Bank. As a writer, Frost draws on his commuter observations. Along with other writings, he has published his autobiography (1993).

In Britain, Frost has often been criticized for his mannerisms and his apparent ability to use the fame bestowed by television to further his career in a number of different fields. Nevertheless, his flair for television and his ability to produce high-quality current affairs and interview programs are widely recognized. His excellent political interviews show how television is able to provide insights into political decisions and contribute to the historical record. Throughout his long career, Frost has always been ready to experiment with something new. His personal contributions to satire and political programs, as well as his business ventures, make him a prominent figure of broadcasting.

RITA ZAJACZ

See also **British Programming; Spitting Image; That Was the Week That Was**

**David (Paradine) Frost.** Born in Tenderden, Kent, England, April 7, 1939. Attended Gillingham Grammar School; Wellington Grammar School; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, M.A. Married: 1) Lynne Frederick, 1981 (divorced, 1982); 2) Carina Fitzalan-Howard, 1983; children: Miles, Wilfred, and George. Served as presenter of Rediffusion specials, 1961; established name as host of *That Was the Week That Was*, 1962–63; later gained reputation as an aggressive interviewer on *The Frost Programme* and other shows; cofounder, London Weekend Television; chair, David Paradine Group of Companies since 1966; served on British/U.S. Bicentennial Liaison Committee, 1973–76, and has hosted shows on both sides of the Atlantic; interviewed Richard Nixon for television, 1977; director, TV-AM, from 1981; helped launch TV-AM commercial breakfast television company, 1982. L.L.D., Emerson College, Boston. President, Lord's Taverners, 1985, 1986. Order of the British Empire, 1970; knighted, 1993. Recipient: Golden Rose of Montreux (twice); Royal Television Society Silver Medal, 1967; Richard Dimbleby Award, 1967; Emmy Awards, 1970, 1971; Guild of Television Producers Award, 1971; TV Personality of the Year, 1971; Religious Heritage of America Award, 1971; Albert Einstein Award, 1971.

**Television Series**

1961 *This Week*  
 1961 *Let's Twist on the Riviera*  
 1962–63 *That Was the Week That Was*  
 1963 *A Degree of Frost*  
 1964–65 *Not So Much a Programme, More a Way of Life*

1966–67 *The Frost Report*  
 1966–67 *David Frost's Night Out in London*  
 1966–68 *The Frost Programme*  
 1967 *At Last the 1948 Show* (producer)  
 1967–70 *No—That's Me Over Here!* (producer)  
 1968 *The Ronnie Barker Playhouse* (producer)  
 1968–70 *Frost on Friday*  
 1969–72 *The David Frost Show*  
 1971–73 *The David Frost Revue*  
 1973 *A Degree of Frost*  
 1973 *Frost's Weekly*  
 1974 *Frost on Thursday*  
 1975–76 *We British*  
 1976 *Forty Years of Television*  
 1977 *The Frost Programme*  
 1977–78 *A Prime Minister on Prime Ministers*  
 1977–78 *The Crossroads of Civilization*  
 1978 *Headliners with David Frost*  
 1979–82 *David Frost's Global Village*  
 1981–86 *David Frost Presents the International Guinness Book of World Records*  
 1981–92 *Frost on Sunday*  
 1982 *Good Morning Britain*  
 1986–88 *The Guinness Book of Records Hall of Fame*  
 1987–88 *The Next President with David Frost*  
 1987–88 *Entertainment Tonight*  
 1987–93 *Through the Keyhole*  
 1989 *The President and Mrs. Bush Talking with David Frost*  
 1991–98 *Talking with David Frost*  
 1993– *Breakfast with Frost*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1975 *James A. Michener's Dynasty*  
 1978 *The Ordeal of Patty Hearst*

**Television Specials (selected)**

1966 *David Frost at the Phonograph*  
 1967 *Frost over England*  
 1968 *Robert Kennedy, The Man*  
 1970 *Frost over America*  
 1972–77 *Frost over Australia*  
 1973–74 *Frost over New Zealand*  
 1973 *That Was the Year That Was*  
 1975 *The Unspeakable Crime*  
 1975 *Abortion: Merciful or Murder?*  
 1975 *The Beatles: Once Upon a Time in America*  
 1975 *David Frost Presents the Best*

- 1976 *The Sir Harold Wilson Interviews*  
 1977 *The Nixon Interviews*  
 1978 *Are We Really Going to Be Rich?*  
 1979 *A Gift of Song: Music for Unicef Concert*  
 1979 *The Bee Gees Special*  
 1979 *The Kissinger Interviews*  
 1980 *The Shah Speaks*  
 1980 *The American Movie Awards*  
 1980 *The 25th Anniversary of ITV*  
 1980 *The Begin Interview*  
 1980 *Elvis: He Touched Their Lives*  
 1981 *The BAFTA Awards*  
 1981 *Show Business*  
 1981 *This Is Your Life: 30th Anniversary Special*  
 1981 *The Royal Wedding*  
 1981 *Onward Christian Soldiers*  
 1982 *The American Movie Awards*  
 1982 *A Night of Knights: A Royal Gala*  
 1982 *Rubinstein at 95*  
 1982 *Pierre Elliott Trudeau*  
 1982 *The End of the Year Show*  
 1982–83 *Frost Over Canada*  
 1983 *David Frost Live by Satellite from London*  
 1983 *The End of the Year Show*  
 1984 *David Frost Presents Ultra Quiz*  
 1985 *That Was the Year That Was*  
 1985 *The Search for Josef Mengele*  
 1985–86 *Twenty Years On*  
 1986 *Spitting Image: Down and Out in the White House*  
 1987 *The Ronnie and Nancy Show*  
 1987 *The Spitting Image Movie Awards*  
 1987–88 *The Spectacular World of Guinness Records*  
 1988 *ABC Presents a Royal Gala*  
 1991 *The Nobel Debate*  
 1998 *Inside the Cold War with Sir David Frost*  
 2000 *The Debate of a Lifetime*  
 2000 *Ross Meets Frost*  
 2000 *Elizabeth Taylor: A Musical Celebration*  
 2001 *Alpha: Will It Change Their Lives?*

#### Films (producer)

*The Rise and Rise of Michael Rimmer*, 1970; *Charley One-Eye*, 1972; *Leadbelly*, 1974; *The Slipper and*

*the Rose*, 1975; *The Remarkable Mrs. Sanger*, 1979; *Rogue Trader*, 1999

#### Radio

*David Frost at the Phonograph*, 1966, 1972; *Pull the Other One*, 1987– .

#### Stage

*An Evening with David Frost*, 1966.

#### Publications

- That Was the Week That Was*, 1963  
*How to Live Under Labour: Or at Least Have As Much a Chance As Anybody Else*, 1964  
*To England with Love*, 1967  
*The Presidential Debate*, 1968  
*The Americans*, 1970  
*Whitlam and Frost*, 1970  
*I Gave Them a Sword: Behind the Scenes of the Nixon Interviews*, 1978  
*I Could Have Kicked Myself*, with Michael Deakin, 1982  
*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*, with Michael Deakin, 1983  
*David Frost's Book of the World's Worst Decisions*, with Michael Deakin, 1983  
*David Frost's Book of Millionaires, Multimillionaires, and Really Rich People*, with Michael Deakin, 1984  
*The Mid-Atlantic Companion*, with Michael Shea, 1986  
*The Rich Tide*, with Michael Shea, 1986  
*David Frost: An Autobiography (Part One: From Congregations to Audiences)*, 1993  
*Billy Graham in Conversation*, 1998

#### Further Reading

- Briggs, Asa, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Volume V: Competition*, London: Oxford University Press, 1995  
 Frischauer, Willi, *Will You Welcome Now... David Frost*, London: Michael Joseph, 1971  
 Tinker, Jack, *The Television Barons*, London: Quartet, 1980

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# Frum, Barbara (1937–1992)

Canadian Broadcast Journalist

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Barbara Frum was one of Canada's most respected and influential woman journalists. She began her career in journalism as a freelance writer and commentator for various CBC Radio programs. She quickly branched out into the print media, writing various columns for national newspapers such as the *Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, and a television column for the *Saturday Night* magazine. In 1967 she made a brief foray into television as a cohost for an information program, *The Way It Is*, but it was in radio that she first gained fame.

In the fall of 1971 she took on the cohosting duties of *As It Happens*, a new, innovative newsmagazine show on CBC Radio that followed the 6:00 P.M. news. At a time when the national broadcaster was struggling to develop programs that would keep its listeners beyond the supper-hour newscast, the show's young producer, Mark Starowicz, proposed a format based largely on newsmaker interviews that would provide an in-depth examination of the stories behind the headlines. Through the use of long-distance telephone and radio, listeners were connected to world events. In this format, Frum shone. She quickly gained the reputation as a tough, incisive, and well-informed interviewer. For ten years she interviewed numerous world leaders, national politicians, and other newsmakers, as well as those affected by the news. Frum was honored with numerous awards during her tenure, most notably the National Press Club of Canada Award for Outstanding Contribution to Canadian Journalism in 1975; Woman of the Year in the literature, arts, and education category of the Canadian Press in 1976; and the Order of Canada in 1979.

In the 1980s CBC Television decided to move its national newscast, *The National*, from its traditional 11:00 P.M. time slot to 10:00 P.M. The news division of CBC Television had long been considering such a move, hoping to capture a larger audience, since studies had shown that a large number of viewers retired to bed prior to 11:00 P.M. Realizing that it was a huge gamble, CBC executives appointed Starowicz, the producer of *As It Happens*, to translate his radio success to the newsmagazine program, *The Journal*. He, in turn, looked to Frum, who had been instrumental in the success of *As It Happens*. After months of preparation, the new current affairs program, *The Journal*, was launched on January 11, 1982. In the weeks that fol-

lowed, it became the most watched and highly respected newsmagazine show in Canada.

*The Journal* featured many innovations and made use of the latest electronic news gathering technology. Features, such as field reports and short documentaries, public forums, and debates, as well as a series of reports on business, sports, arts and entertainment, and science news were interwoven with the interview portion of the program. The show featured two female hosts. Frum was joined by Mary Lou Finley in the hosting duties, and a higher profile was assigned to women reporters and journalists than on most other stations.

The show relied heavily on Frum's skill as an interviewer. The interview portion of *The Journal* accounted for 60 percent of the program. She remained the dominant and permanent presence on a show that saw many new cohosts. All of Canada was deeply saddened by the news of her sudden death on March 26, 1992, from complications of chronic leukemia. Tributes poured in from colleagues, coworkers, and the public at large. Months following her passing, the CBC announced that it would move its newscast and newsmagazine program, *The National* and *The Journal*, from 10:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. Once again, executives argued that studies showed that aging baby boomers were retiring to bed at an earlier time. This move proved to be less successful than the first endeavor, and two years later the CBC was forced to reverse itself after ratings had fallen off by half. Amid these changes and reversals, *The Journal* was transformed into the *Primetime News*. *As It Happens* continues its run, having celebrated more than three decades on the air.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

*See also Canadian Programming in English; National, The/The Journal; Starowicz, Mark*

**Barbara Frum.** Born in Niagara Falls, New York, September 8, 1937. Married: Murray, 1957; children: David, Linda, Matthew. Educated at University of Toronto, Canada, B.A. in history 1959. Began career as radio commentator and writer of reviews and magazine articles; worked briefly in television, 1961; cur-



Barbara Frum.  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/ CBC Collection

rent affairs interviewer in radio, CBC, 1971–82; co-host, *The Journal*, television news magazine, 1982–92. Recipient: four ACTRA Awards; National Press Club of Canada Award, 1975; Order of Canada, 1979. Died in Toronto, March 26, 1992.

#### Television Series

1967        *The Way It Is*  
1981–92    *The Journal* (host-interviewer)

#### Radio

*Weekend* (interviewer-contributor), 1969–72; *As It Happens* (associate), 1971–82; *Barbara Frum* (host), 1974–75; *Quarterly Report* (cohost), 1977–82.

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Taras, David, *The Newsmakers: The Media’s Influence on Canadian Politics*, Toronto: Nelson, 1990

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## Fugitive, The

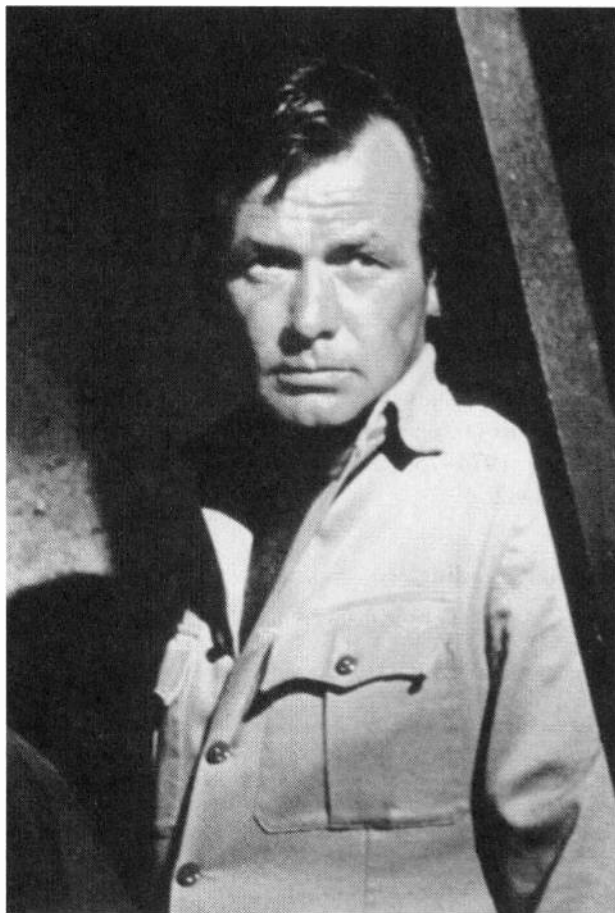
U.S. Adventure/Melodrama

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Popularly known as the longest chase sequence in television history, the original series of *The Fugitive* ran through 118 episodes before a climactic two-part episode brought this highly regarded program to a close, with all the fundamental story strands concluded. The wrap-up ending was a rather rare and unusual decision on behalf of the producers as well as something of a television “first.” Premiering on ABC on Tuesday September 17, 1963, *The Fugitive* went on to present some of the most fascinating human-condition dramas of that decade, all told in a tight, self-contained semidocumentary style. By its second season, the program was ranked fifth in the ratings (27.9) and later received an Emmy Award for Outstanding Dramatic Series of 1965. For its fourth and final sea-

son, the program was produced in color, having enjoyed three years of suitably film-noir-like black-and-white photography, ending on a high note that drew the highest TV audience rating (72 percent) up to that time.

Based on a six-page format, inspired by Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, by writer-producer (and *Maverick* and *77 Sunset Strip* creator) Roy Huggins, ABC brought in executive producer Quinn Martin to supervise the project. He in turn brought on board line producer Alan Armer (who went on to oversee 90 episodes) and hired David Janssen to play the title character. While Huggins’s original outline saw the wrongly convicted character behave like an oddball, since society was treating him like one anyway, Mar-



*The Fugitive*, David Janssen, 1963–67.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tin's concept of the character was something less bizarre: a put-upon but basically decent person. At first, however, ABC executives worried that perhaps viewers would feel the only honorable thing for Kimble to do would be to turn himself in. Martin's production expertise, evidenced in the footage the executives viewed, changed their minds. In the pilot episode, "Fear in a Desert City," the audience was introduced to the story of Dr. Richard Kimble, arriving home in the fictional town of Stafford, Indiana, to witness a one-armed man running from his house, leaving behind Kimble's murdered wife. In the same episode, "blind justice" saw fit to charge Kimble himself with the murder and sentence him to death. This narrative immediately aroused viewer sympathy and interest. That the train en route to the prison where Kimble was to be executed was accidentally derailed, rendering his captor Lieutenant Philip Gerard unconscious and thus allowing Kimble to escape, propelled the hero into a "willed irresponsibility without a concomitant sense of guilt," as Roy Hug-

gins put it. In other words, the (mid-1960s) TV viewer felt perfectly at ease with this particular "outlaw" because what was happening was not his fault.

Not unlike the hero of the western, which U.S. television had embraced since the 1950s and with which it still had something of an infatuation, Kimble had the appeal of the rootless wanderer whose commitments to jobs, women, or society were temporary, yet who at the same time deserved the viewer's sympathy as something of a tragic figure. The series' and the introspective character's success rested largely with the appeal of actor David Janssen's intense portrayal (Janssen's first television hit had been as the lead in the slick *Richard Diamond, Private Detective* series of the late 1950s). The drama of the stories derived not so much from the transient occupations of the fleeing hero (such as sail mender in Hank Searls's "Never Wave Good-bye" or dog handler in Harry Kronman's "Bloodline") but from the dilemma of the Kimble character himself, something Janssen was able to convey with an almost nervous charm.

The other principal members of the cast were Canadian actor Barry Morse as the relentless, Javert-like Lieutenant Gerard, who only appeared in about one out of four stories but who seemed always ominously present; Jacqueline Scott as Kimble's sister, Donna Taft; Diane Brewster as Kimble's wife, Helen (in occasional flashbacks); and the burly Bill Raisch as the elusive one-armed man, Fred Johnson. Raisch, who had lost his right arm during World War II but nevertheless went on to become a stand-in for Burt Lancaster, may have been the prime motivation for Kimble to stay one step ahead of the law, but his character was rarely seen on-screen; during the first two years of production, Raisch worked on the program only four days.

Using the general format of an anthology show, but with continuing characters (in the manner of the contemporary Herbert Leonard series *Naked City* and *Route 66*), the producers, writers, and directors were given license to deal with characters, settings, and stories not usually associated with what was in essence a simple man-on-the-run theme. Under various nondescript aliases (but most frequently as "Jim"), Kimble traversed the United States in pursuit of the one-armed man, and along the way became involved with ordinary people who were usually at an emotional crossroads in their lives. The opportunities for some magnificent guest performances as well as interesting locations were immense (in the early years of production, the crew spent six days on each episode with about three of those days on location): Sandy Dennis in Alain Caillou and Harry Kronman's "The Other Side of the Mountain" (West Virginia), Jack Klugman



in Peter Germano and Kronman's "Terror at High Point" (Salt Lake City, Utah), Eileen Heckart in Al C. Ward's "Angels Travel on Lonely Roads," parts one and two (Revenna, Nevada, and Sacramento, California), Jack Weston in Robert Pirosh's "Fatso" (Louisville, Kentucky). The series also featured a number of interesting directors, including Ida Lupino, Laslo Benedek, Walter Grauman, Robert Butler, Richard Donner, Mark Rydell, Gerd Oswald, and Joseph Sargent; Barry Morse even had an opportunity to direct an episode.

Then, on Tuesday, August 29, 1967, "the running stopped." So declared actor William Conrad in his final *Fugitive* narration after four years of keeping viewers tuned in to Kimble's circumstances and thoughts. By the fourth year of production, Janssen was physically and emotionally exhausted. When ABC, which had grossed an estimated \$30 million on the series, suggested a fifth year, Janssen declined the offer and Quinn Martin, in a move quite unorthodox to series television, decided to bring Kimble's story to a conclusion. The definitive two-part episode, "The Judgment," written by George Eckstein and Michael Zagor, and directed by Don Medford, saw Kimble track the one-armed man to an amusement park in Santa Monica, California, where in a climactic fight, with Kimble about to be killed, the real murderer is shot down by Gerard. The final episode pulled a Nielsen score of 45.9. Now, with Kimble exonerated, both he and Gerard were free to pursue their own paths. Janssen, too, continued his own career. After *The Fugitive* he starred in *O'Hara, U.S. Treasury* (1971-72) and *Harry O* (1974-76).

While other series with similar themes followed (*Run for Your Life*; the comedy *Run, Buddy, Run*), it is to *The Fugitive*'s credit that it remains one of the more fondly remembered drama series of the 1960s. Harrison Ford starred as an energetic Kimble in Warner Brothers' successful 1993 feature remake, *The Fugitive*, with Tommy Lee Jones as Gerard. Jones was recalled for the unfortunate film sequel-of-sorts, *U.S. Marshals* (1998), reprising his character Chief Deputy Marshal Sam Gerard. The only actual connection of this movie to the original television series was the statement "based on characters created by Roy Huggins" in the film's credits. Two years later, in October 2000, CBS premiered a remake of *The Fugitive* series. Warner Brothers Television chose the 1993 movie as the source, rather than the 1960s drama original, and the resulting program shared little more than the motions of the original premise, lacking a comparably deep exploration of the characters. The new version lasted only one season.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also Janssen, David; Martin, Quinn

#### Cast (1963-67 version)

Dr. Richard Kimble	David Janssen
Lieutenant Philip Gerard	Barry Morse
Captain Carpenter (1963-64)	Paul Birch
Donna Taft	Jacqueline Scott
Fred Johnson (the one-armed man)	Bill Raisch

#### Narrator (1963-67 version)

William Conrad

#### Producers (1963-67 version)

Alan A. Armer (1963-66), Wilton Schiller (1966-67),  
George Eckstein (1966-67)

#### Cast (2000-01 version)

Dr. Richard Kimble	Tim Daly
Lieutenant Philip Gerard	Mykelti Williamson
The One-Armed Man	Stephen Lang

#### Producers (2000-01 version)

D. Scott Easton, David Ehrman, R.W. Goodwin,  
Vladimir Steffoff

#### Programming History

120 episodes	
ABC	
September 1963-August 1967	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
22 episodes	
CBS	
October 2000-May 2001	Friday 8:00-9:00

#### Further Reading

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- Robertson, Ed, *The Fugitive Recaptured*, Los Angeles: Pomegranate, 1993

## Furness, Betty (1916–1994)

U.S. Actor, Media Personality, Consumer Reporter

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Betty Furness—whose first regular television appearances were in 1945 and whose last were in 1992—enjoyed one of the most diverse, remarkable careers in U.S. television, both as a commercial spokeswoman and, later, as a pioneering consumer reporter.

Born Elizabeth Mary Furness in New York City in 1916, Furness was raised in upper-class fashion by a Park Avenue family. Her first job was in 1930 when, at the age of 14, she began modeling for the Powers Agency. Her pert and pretty looks, and her educated speaking voice, soon gained the attention of Hollywood. She was signed by RKO movie studios in 1932 and moved with her mother to California. While taking her senior year of school on the studio lot, Furness starred in her first film. She would go on to act in more than 30 films, the majority of them forgettable. After seeking greater fulfillment in stage roles on the West Coast, and after the birth of her daughter and the failure of her first marriage, Furness journeyed with her daughter to New York, hoping to land theater parts. A self-described “out of work actress,” Furness found herself able and willing to break into the very infant medium of television.

For a few months in the spring of 1945, Furness endured the blistering heat of the lights needed to illuminate the set, and the inconveniences of other primitive technologies, to host DuMont’s *Fashions Coming and Becoming*. By 1948 she was in front of the television cameras again, as an actress for an episode of *Studio One*, an anthology program sponsored by Westinghouse appliances. In that era of live television, many commercials were also done live, frequently performed to the side of the main set. Furness was unimpressed with the actor hired to perform the commercial and offered to take a stab at it. Company executives were impressed and offered her \$150 per week to pitch their products. Following her philosophy of never turning down a job, Furness signed on.

At this point in the history of television, audiences had not yet grown jaded about TV commercials and the people who appeared in them. Furness’s blend of “soft sell” and common sense was soon moving the merchandise. Her delivery was always smooth and memorized (she refused cue cards), her tone pleasant and direct, and her look pretty and approachable. In lit-

tle time, the company signed her to be its sole pitch-woman, and soon her pitches were selling out stores and she was receiving, on average, 1,000 pieces of fan mail a week.

Furness’s place in the popular culture canon was assured after her work for Westinghouse at the 1952 national political conventions. Westinghouse was the conventions’ sole sponsor, and, as the company spokesperson, Furness was in every ad. By the end of the conventions, she had logged more airtime than any speaker from either party and made her tagline, “You can be SURE if it’s Westinghouse,” into a national catchphrase. From January to July 1953, Furness hosted *Meet Betty Furness*, a lively, informative daily talk show—sponsored by Westinghouse—on NBC. Later she acted as hostess on the Westinghouse-sponsored *Best of Broadway* and made regular appearances on *What’s My Line?* and *I’ve Got a Secret*.

Furness’s affiliation with Westinghouse ended (by mutual agreement) in 1960. Though financially well-off, Furness wanted to keep working. She attempted to obtain jobs at the networks as an interviewer but found the going rough. Furness was facing the challenge of putting her commercialized past behind her—an experience shared by Hugh Downs and Mike Wallace. While waiting for another break in TV, Furness worked in radio and for Democratic political causes. She also entered the last of her three marriages when she married news producer Leslie Midgely in 1967.

While preparing for that wedding, Furness received a call from President Lyndon B. Johnson. Familiar with her work on behalf of Democrats, and impressed with her work ethic, Johnson offered her the job of special assistant for consumer affairs. Furness, again following her job philosophy, took the position and with it transformed herself from actor-spokeswoman into political figure. She later recalled it as the best decision of her life.

Still in the public mind as the “Westinghouse lady,” consumer groups voiced criticism of her appointment. However, Furness threw herself into learning consumer issues, testifying before Congress, and traveling the country. Within the year she had silenced her critics and won over such forces as Ralph Nader and the influential consumer affairs magazine *Consumer Re-*



Betty Furness.  
Photo courtesy of Westinghouse Electric Corporation

ports. Furness held her White House position until the end of the Johnson administration in 1969. Later she headed the consumer affairs departments of both New York City and New York State. Then she reentered broadcasting for the second act of her television career. She was signed by WNBC in New York specifically to cover consumer issues, the first full-time assignment of its kind. At age 58, Furness found herself pioneering a new type of TV journalism.

Over the next 18 years, Furness took a hard line against consumer fraud and business abuse. Her reports criticized Macy's and Sears department stores, and the women's clothing chain Lane Bryant, among other businesses. She was also the first to report on the Cabbage Patch Doll craze and on defective Audi automobiles. In 1977 her local show *Byline: Betty Furness* won the Peabody Award.

Earlier, in 1976, Furness filled in as cohost on *Today*, between the tenures of Barbara Walters and Jane Pauley. From that time on, she contributed regular consumerist pieces to the program. Furness made her last TV appearances in 1992. Since battling cancer in 1990, Furness had abbreviated her workweek to four days. NBC used that reason to oust her, and she was

given notice in March in one of the most blatant examples of ageism in media history. Both *Today* and WNBC aired tributes to her during her last week, but Furness did not keep her frustration out of the press, nor did she hide her desire to keep working. A reemergence of cancer prevented the resumption of her career, however, and she passed away in April 1994.

It is hard to place Furness's career in a historical context because it was so eccentrically one of a kind. Of the legions who pitched products from the 1950s and 1960s, hers remains the only name still very much a part of popular history. In her movement from political insider to TV commentator, she laid the groundwork for Diane Sawyer and Mary Matalin. In her work as a consumer advocate, she predated John Stossel and others who have since adopted that as their beat.

In assessing the career of Furness, one stumbles upon a feminist retelling of the Cinderella story: a smart, savvy woman who turned her back on TV make-believe and soft sell to embrace hard news and tough issues. That one individual's life encompasses such breadth and depth speaks well not only for the far-reaching talents of one woman but also for the progression of women's roles in the latter half of the 20th century and for the dynamic development of television.

CARY O'DELL

See also *Today Show*

**Betty Furness.** Born in New York City, January 1916. Attended Brearly School, New York City, 1925–29; Bennett School, Millbrook, New York, 1929–32. Married: 1) John Waldo Green, 1937 (divorced, 1943); daughter: Barbara Sturtevant; 2) Hugh B. Ernst, Jr., 1945 (died, 1950); 3) Leslie Midgley, 1967. Began career as teenage model, John Robert Powers Agency; movie picture actor, 1932–39; appeared in stage plays, including *Doughgirls*, 1937–60; appeared on CBS Radio, *Ask Betty Furness*, 1961–67; columnist, *McCall Magazine*, 1969–70; special consumer affairs assistant to U.S. president, 1967–69; worked for Common Cause, 1971–75; joined WNBC-TV as consumer reporter, 1974, and weekly contributor to *Today*, 1976. Honorary degrees: L.L.D., Iowa Wesleyan College, 1968, Pratt Institute, 1978, Marymount College, 1983; D.C.L., Pace University, Marymount College Manhattan, 1976. Died in New York City, April 2, 1994.

#### Television Series

1950–51	<i>Penthouse Party</i>
1951	<i>Byline</i>

Furness, Betty

1953 *Meet Betty Furness*  
1954–55 *The Best of Broadway* (host,  
spokesperson)  
1976–92 *Today Show*

**Films (selected)**

*Renegades of the West*, 1932; *Scarlet River*, 1933;  
*Headline Shooter*, 1933; *Crossfire*, 1933; *Midship-  
man Jack*, 1933; *Professional Sweetheart*, 1933;  
*Emergency Call*, 1933; *Lucky Devils*, 1933; *Beg-  
gars in Ermine*, 1934; *Life of Vergie Winters*,  
1934; *A Wicked Woman*, 1934; *The Band Plays  
On*, 1934; *Aggie Appleby*, 1934; *Beggars in Er-  
mine*, 1934; *Gridiron Flash*, 1935; *Calm Yourself*,  
1934; *McFadden's Flats*, 1935; *Here Comes  
Cookie*, 1935; *Keeper of the Bees*, 1935; *Magnifi-*

*cent Obsession*, 1935; *Mister Cinderella*, 1936;  
*All-American Chump*, 1936; *Swing Time*, 1936;  
*The President's Mystery*, 1936; *Mama Steps Out*,  
1937; *They Wanted to Marry*, 1937; *Fair Warning*,  
1937; *North of Shanghai*, 1939.

**Radio**

*Dimensions*, 1962; *Ask Betty Furness*, 1961–67.

**Stage (selected)**

*Doughgirls*.

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# G

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Game Shows. *See Quiz and Game Shows*

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## Garner, James (1928– )

U.S. Actor

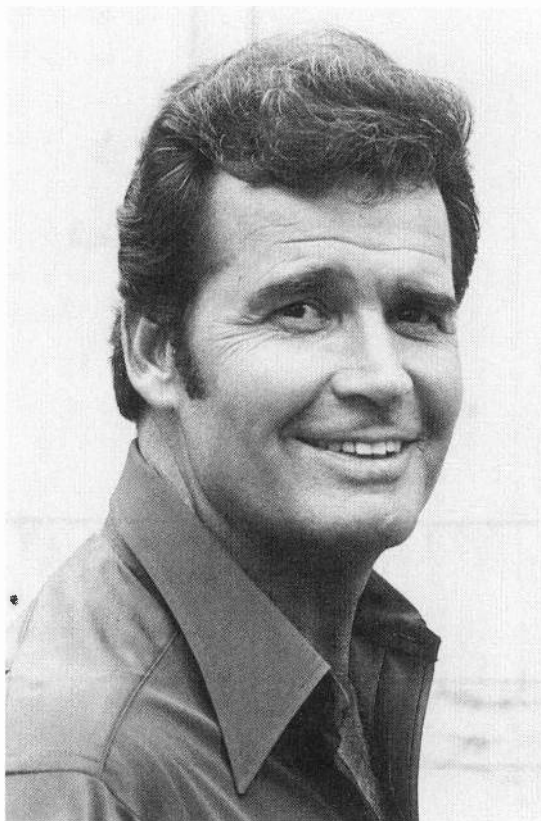
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James Garner has been called the United States' finest television actor; he has been compared more than once to Cary Grant but also has been deemed dependably folksy. Possessed of a natural gift for humor, a charm that works equally well for romantic comedy and tongue-in-cheek adventure, Garner patented the persona of the reluctant hero as his own early in his career but also exhibited an understated flair for drama that has deepened with age. Garner began his television career in the 1950s, becoming a movie star in short order, and still maintains an active presence in both media.

Transplanted to Hollywood after a knockabout adolescence and stints in the merchant marine and Korea, the strapping Oklahoman came to acting almost by chance, at the urging of an old friend-turned-talent agent. Although his first job, in a touring company of *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, was a nonspeaking role, it enabled the 25-year-old actor to work with—and learn from—Henry Fonda and led to a bigger part in a second national tour of the play. Spotted by Warner Brothers producers, he was hired for small parts on two episodes of the western series *Cheyenne*,

after which the studio signed him to a contract. After a turn as a con man in an installment of the anthology *Conflict* and small parts in two Warner features, Garner landed a major role as Marlon Brando's pal in *Sayonara*. On the heels of this breakthrough, Garner was signed as the lead in *Maverick*, a new western series created by Roy Huggins. As wandering gambler Bret Maverick, Garner perfected a persona that would remain with him throughout his career: the lovable con man with a soul of honor and a streak of larceny. *Maverick* put more emphasis on humor than gunplay, but while Bret and brother Bart (Jack Kelly) were a bit more pragmatic (not to say cowardly) than most TV heroes, the series was not a wholesale satire on westerns, although it did parody the genre, and TV favorites like *Bonanza*, on occasion.

Immediately upon signing as *Maverick*, Garner found himself cast in leading roles in Warner Brothers features. He made three routine films for the studio during breaks from the series—but he was still being paid as a television contract player. When Warner suspended the young star in 1960 during a writers' strike,



James Garner.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Garner walked off the series and out of his contract. The studio sued, and lost, and Garner would not return to television, apart from guest shots in comedy-variety shows, or golf tournaments, for a decade.

Garner made a comfortable transition to features, becoming a bankable box-office name in the early 1960s. He made 18 features during the decade, a mix of adventures (*The Great Escape*), westerns (*Duel at Diablo*), and romantic comedies (*The Thrill of It All*). Garner tested his dramatic muscles in downbeat psychological thrillers like *Mister Buddwing* and made a calculated turn against type as a grim, vengeful Wyatt Earp in *Hour of the Gun*, but his most successful films emphasized his innate charm and flair for irony. Save for a boost from the tongue-in-cheek western *Support Your Local Sheriff*, by the late 1960s Garner's drawing power as a movie star was in decline.

Garner returned to form, and to television, in 1971 with the turn-of-the-century western *Nichols*. The series also marked Garner's return to Warner Brothers, this time as a partner and coproducer (through his Cherokee Productions) rather than an employee. *Nichols* was an affectionate depiction of the death of

the old west, with Garner cast in the title role as the sheriff of a small Arizona town (also called Nichols), circa 1914. Nichols was an unwilling lawman, who did not carry a gun and who rode a motorcycle instead of a horse; he was amiably shady à la *Maverick*, but more greedy and less honorable. An innovative concept peopled with offbeat characters, *Nichols* premiered to mediocre ratings that were not aided by schedule juggling. The network, theorizing that Garner's character was too avaricious and unlikable, decreed a change: Sheriff Nichols was murdered in the last episode aired and replaced by his more stalwart twin brother Jim Nichols. Before the strategy could be tested in additional episodes, or an additional season, the program was canceled. It remains the actor's favorite among his own series.

After returning to the big screen for a few fairly undistinguished features (e.g., *They Only Kill Their Masters*), in 1974 Garner was cast in what might be called the second defining role of his television career, as laid-back private detective Jim Rockford in *The Rockford Files*. A product of writer-producers Roy Huggins and Stephen J. Cannell, *Rockford* was in some ways an updated version of *Maverick*, infusing its mysteries with a solid dose of humor, and flirting with genre parody. At the same time, however, thanks to fine writing and strong characters, the series worked superbly as a realistic private-eye yarn in the Raymond Chandler tradition. Garner left *Rockford* in 1980, in the middle of the series' sixth season, suffering from the rigors of its action-packed production. Soon after, Universal sued the actor for breaching his contract, but in 1983 Garner, ever the maverick off-screen, brought a \$22.5 million suit against the studio for using creative accounting to deprive him of his *Rockford* profits; six years later Universal settled for an undisclosed, reportedly multimillion dollar, sum.

Garner had dusted off his gambler's duds in 1978 for two appearances as Bret Maverick in the pilot and first episode of a short-lived series. *Young Maverick* (same concept as the first series, now featuring a young cousin as the wandering hero). A year after exiting *Rockford*, Garner revived his original roguish alter ego once more in a new series, *Bret Maverick*, with the dapper cardsharp now older and more settled as a rancher and saloon owner in an increasingly modern west. Despite good ratings, the show was canceled after one season, ostensibly because its demographics skewed too old.

Garner took on the occasional movie role throughout the 1980s, in such hits as *Victor, Victoria* (1982) and *Murphy's Romance* (1985)—which earned him an Oscar nomination—and such misses as *Tank* (1984) and *Sunset* (1988). But feature work became almost a

sideline for the actor as he entered a new phase of his career, cultivating his dramatic side in a succession of made-for-television movies and miniseries. Apart from a fairly pedestrian role in the soap-epic miniseries *Space*, Garner's performances in *The Long Summer of George Adams*, *The Glitter Dome*, *My Name Is Bill W.*, and *Decoration Day* allowed him to explore and expand his palette as a character actor. He earned some of the best notices of his career (and two Emmy nominations) for his performances in *Heartsounds*, as a physician facing his own mortality, and *Promise*, as a self-involved bachelor faced with the responsibility of caring for his schizophrenic brother. Garner also won praise as Joanne Woodward's curmudgeonly husband in *Breathing Lessons*, and for his portrayal of the taciturn Woodrow Call in *Streets of Laredo*, a miniseries sequel to Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove*.

The affable charmer Garner did not completely abandon the light touch, however. In 1991 he returned to series television in the half-hour comedy *Man of the People*, as a gambler and con man appointed by corrupt politicians to fill the city council seat of his late ex-wife. Independent and honorable (in his way), Councilman Jim Doyle managed to confound his patrons and do some good for the community while lining his own pockets. (Shades of *Nichols*, low ratings prompted producers to try to make the character "warmer" after a few months, but the tinkering did not help and the show was canceled at midseason.) Two years later Garner was cast as RJR-Nabisco executive Ross Johnson in HBO's *Barbarians at the Gate*, in large part to ensure that at least one character in the cast of corporate cutthroats would have some likability. When *Maverick* was reincarnated as a theatrical film in 1993 (with Mel Gibson as Bret), Garner was there as an aging lawman who turns out to have more than a passing connection to the *Maverick* legend. And P.I. Jim Rockford returned, his relaxed attitude and wry antiheroics intact, in a series of made-for-television *Rockford Files* movies airing between 1994 and 1999. Between *Rockfords* there were more features, more TV movies, and then it was back to series television in 2000, as the voice of God in the animated comedy *Bob, the Devil, and God*, and in a recurring role as a hospital administrator in *Chicago Hope*. In 2002 he began costarring in a new CBS series about the U.S. Supreme Court, *First Mondays*, playing the chief justice. With more feature films and television projects in the pipeline, Garner has never been busier—or better. As he enters his fifth decade as an actor, Garner demonstrates true maturity at his craft (he would undoubtedly call it a "job").

Described as "amiable" and "lovable" in countless career profiles, Garner's warmth and likability are best

suited, perhaps, to the intimacy of television's small screen and serial storytelling forms. And yet from the very beginning, his career has constituted a unique exception in the hierarchy of Hollywood stardom, as he has passed back and forth with relative ease between television and feature work. Like many of Hollywood's greatest actors, he tends to play an extension of himself—like Jimmy Stewart, Spencer Tracy, Cary Grant, and his mentor Henry Fonda. Like them, Garner is affecting not because of his ability to obliterate himself and become a character, but because of his ability to exploit his own personality in creating a part. Admittedly, it is a different sort of talent than that of a Robert De Niro or Robert Duvall. Yet, as Jean Valley has written in *Esquire*, De Niro is probably unsuited to television stardom—he may not be the kind of star we want to see in our living room. "On the other hand," Valley argues, "you love having Garner around. He becomes part of the fabric of the family. You really care about him." Where De Niro impresses us with his skill, Garner welcomes us with his humanity. Which is why he may indeed be the quintessential TV actor, and why he surely will be remembered by television audiences as he has said he wishes to be: "with a smile."

MARK ALVEY

See also *Maverick*; *Rockford Files*

**James Garner.** Born James Scott Baumgarner in Norman, Oklahoma, April 7, 1928. Attended University of Oklahoma; studied acting at Herbert Bergof Studios, New York. Served with U.S. Merchant Marines in Korean War (awarded Purple Heart). Married: Lois Clark, 1956; children: Greta, Kimberly, and Scott. Began career with stage production *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, early 1950s; offered contract with Warner Brothers, 1956; film debut, *Toward the Unknown*, 1956; title role in *Maverick*, 1957–62; title role in *The Rockford Files*, NBC-TV, 1974–80. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1977 and 1986.

#### Television Series

1957–62	<i>Maverick</i>
1971–72	<i>Nichols</i>
1974–80	<i>The Rockford Files</i>
1981–82	<i>Bret Maverick</i>
1991	<i>Man of the People</i>
1994	<i>Chicago Hope</i>
2000	<i>God, the Devil and Bob</i>
2002	<i>First Monday</i>

#### Television Miniseries

1985	<i>Space</i>
1993	<i>Barbarians at the Gate</i>

- 1995 *Larry McMurry's Streets of Laredo*  
 1999 *Shake, Rattle, and Roll: An American Love Story*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1974 *The Rockford Files*  
 1978 *The New Maverick*  
 1981 *Bret Maverick*  
 1982 *The Long Summer of George Adams*  
 1984 *Heartsounds*  
 1984 *The Glitter Dome*  
 1986 *Promise* (also producer)  
 1989 *My Name Is Bill W.* (also producer)  
 1990 *Decoration Day*  
 1994 *Rockford Files: I Still Love L.A.*  
 1994 *Breathing Lessons*  
 1995 *The Rockford Files: A Blessing in Disguise*  
 1996 *Rockford Files: If the Frame Fits...*  
 1996 *Rockford Files: Friends and Foul Play*  
 1996 *The Rockford Files: Godfather Knows Best*  
 1996 *The Rockford Files: Crime and Punishment*  
 1997 *Dead Silence*  
 1997 *The Rockford Files: Murder and Misdemeanors*  
 1998 *Legalese*  
 1999 *The Rockford Files: If It Bleeds... It Leads*  
 1999 *One Special Night*  
 2000 *The Last Debate*  
 2002 *Roughing It*

**Films**

*Toward the Unknown*, 1956; *The Girl He Left Behind*, 1956; *Shoot-Out at Medicine Bend*, 1957; *Sayonara*, 1957; *Darby's Rangers*, 1959; *Up Periscope*, 1959; *Cash McCall*, 1959; *Alias Jesse James*, 1959; *The Children's Hour*, 1961; *Boy's Night Out*, 1962; *The Great Escape*, 1963; *The Thrill of It All*, 1963; *The Wheeler Dealers*, 1963; *Move Over, Darling*, 1963; *The Americanization of Emily*, 1964; *36 Hours*, 1964; *The Art of Love*, 1965; *Mister Buddwing*, 1965; *A Man Could Get Killed*, 1966; *Duel at Diablo*, 1966; *Grand Prix*,

1966; *Hour of the Gun*, 1967; *How Sweet It Is*, 1968; *The Pink Jungle*, 1968; *Marlowe*, 1969; *Support Your Local Sheriff*, 1969; *A Man Called Sledge*, 1970; *Support Your Local Gunfighter*, 1971; *Skin Game*, 1971; *They Only Kill Their Masters*, 1972; *One Little Indian*, 1973; *The Castaway Cowboy*, 1974; *H.E.A.L.T.H.*, 1979; *The Fan*, 1981; *Victor, Victoria*, 1982; *Tank*, 1984; *Murphy's Romance*, 1985; *Sunset*, 1988; *The Distinguished Gentleman*, 1992; *Fire in the Sky*, 1993; *Maverick*, 1994; *My Fellow Americans*, 1996; *Twilight*, 1998; *Space Cowboys*, 2000; *Atlantis: The Lost Empire* (voice only), 2001; *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*, 2002; *The Notebook*, 2004.

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 Murphy, Mary, "Meet a James Garner You'll Hardly Recognize," *TV Guide* (December 13, 1986)  
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 Torgerson, Ellen, "James Garner Believes in Good Coffee—and a Mean Punch," *TV Guide* (June 2, 1979)  
 Valley, Jean, "The James Garner Files," *Esquire* (July 1979)  
 Ward, Robert, "Never Play Poker with James Garner," *GQ* (March 1984)  
 Willens, Michelle, "James Garner: On Being a Barbarian," *TV Guide* (March 20, 1993)



# Garnett, Tony (1936– )

## British Producer

Tony Garnett, producer, was a central figure in the group (including writer Dennis Potter and director Ken Loach) that revolutionized British television drama in the 1960s, creating something of a golden age.

Originally an actor, Garnett was recruited by Sidney Newman in 1963 as a script editor for a new BBC drama series, *The Wednesday Play*. British television drama in the 1950s had been dominated by classic theatrical texts done in the studio, normally live, with occasional 35 mm film inserts. The coming of videotape meant only that these productions were done live-to-tape. *The Wednesday Play*, with a commitment to new talent and new techniques, changed all this. Influenced by the theater of Joan Littlewood (*Oh What a Lovely War*) and the cinema of Jean-Luc Goddard (*A bout de souffle*), Garnett sought contemporary, overtly radical scripts for the series, which he was producing by 1964.

In 1966 he produced, with Loach directing, *Cathy Come Home*. Many British viewers were complacent that their nation's welfare system was among the best in the world, and this documentary-style film of the devastating effects of homelessness on one young family had enormous impact. It was the first of many controversies. Between 1967 and 1969, Garnett mounted 11 productions ranging in subject from the plight of contemporary casualized building workers (*The Lump* by Jim Allen, directed by Ken Loach) to aristocratic corruption in Nazi-era Germany (*The Parachute* by David Mercer, directed by Anthony Page). Garnett's productions became TV "events."

In the 1970s the pace slowed but not the combative quality of the work. In 1975 *Days of Hope*, a Jim Allen miniseries, rewrote the history of the decade before the 1926 General Strike as a betrayal of the working class by its own leaders. In 1978 another Allen miniseries, *Law and Order*, caused an uproar by treating professional criminals as just another group of capitalist entrepreneurs trying to turn a profit.

The Cockney criminal slang in *Law and Order* was so authentic that the BBC program guide had to provide a glossary. The language and northern accents in *Kes*, Garnett's first feature script, produced in 1969, were also so authentic that this story of a disadvantaged boy and a kestrel (small falcon) had to be subtitled.

Uncompromising politics ("self-righteous idealism" as Garnett recalls it) and rigorous authenticity created a passionate, if completely uncommercial, oeuvre. But Garnett then discovered the critical importance, the "disciplines," of popular genres during the 1980s, a decade he spent in Hollywood. Here he learned "a movie should never be about what it's about." Thus, for example, in *Sesame Street Presents Follow That Bird* (1985) and *Earth Girls Are Easy* (1988), he produced two films about racial prejudice disguised as, respectively, a *Sesame Street* adventure and a comedy about space aliens.

In the 1990s, back in England, Garnett revisited the subjects of earlier work, but now in popular genre form. *Between the Lines* was a hit crime series that focused on police corruption and set in the internal investigation department of the force. *Cardiac Arrest* was a bitter examination of the state of Britain's socialized medical system but in the form of a black situation comedy series. Garnett, characteristically, continued to rely heavily on new talent.

Tony Garnett has been, and remains, one of the major shaping intelligences of British television drama.

BRIAN WINSTON

**Tony Garnett.** Born in Birmingham, West Midlands, April 3, 1936. Attended local primary and grammar schools; University of London. Began career as assistant manager and, briefly, actor; script editor for producer James McTaggart on *The Wednesday Play* series, BBC, meeting longtime collaborator Ken Loach, 1964; first collaboration as producer with Loach, on *Cathy Come Home*, 1966; cofounded, with Loach, Kestrel Films, 1969; debut as film director, 1980. Chairman, World Productions since 1990. Visiting professor of Media Arts, Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2000.

### Television Series (selected)

1975	<i>Days of Hope</i>
1978	<i>Law and Order</i>
1992–94	<i>Between the Lines</i>
1994–96	<i>Cardiac Arrest</i>
1996–2001	<i>Ballykissangel</i>

Garnett, Tony

1996–97      *This Life*  
1998–        *The Cops*  
2000         *Attachments*

#### Television Plays

1962         *Climate of Fear*  
1962         *The Boys*  
1965         *Up the Junction*  
1966         *Cathy Come Home*  
1966         *Little Master Mind*  
1967         *The Lump*  
1967         *In Two Minds*  
1967         *The Voices in the Park*  
1967         *Drums along the Avon*  
1967         *An Officer of the Court*  
1968         *The Golden Vision*  
1968         *The Gorge*  
1968         *The Parachute*  
1969         *Some Women*  
1969         *The Big Flame*  
1970         *After a Lifetime*  
1972         *The Gangster Show: The Resistible*  
               *Rise of Arturo Ui*  
1973         *Hard Labour*  
1973         *Blooming Youth*  
1974         *Steven*  
1974         *The Enemy Within*

1975         *The Five-Minute Films*  
1976         *The Price of Coal*  
1978         *The Spongers*  
1979         *Black Jack*  
1980         *The Gamekeeper*  
1991         *Born Kicking*  
1997         *Hostile Waters*

#### Films (selected)

*Kes* (also writer), 1969; *The Body*, 1970; *Family Life*, 1971; *Prostitute* (also director), 1980; *Deep in the Heart/Handgun* (also director and writer), 1983; *Sesame Street Presents Follow That Bird*, 1985; *Earth Girls Are Easy*, 1989; *Fat Man and Little Boy/Shadowmakers*, 1989; *Beautiful Thing*, 1996.

#### Publications (selected)

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“Recipe for a Dust-up,” *Sight and Sound* (1998)  
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## Garroway at Large

### U.S. Musical Variety Show

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*Garroway at Large* was the definitive program series emanating from the Chicago School of Television during the late 1940s and early 1950s. An intimate, low-budget musical variety program, this critically acclaimed series allowed its host, Dave Garroway, to wander the NBC studio “at large” during the actual telecast. In the process, the show combined a number of elements later defined as being in the Chicago style: improvisation, a lack of scripts, and interpretive camerawork.

Garroway began his career in broadcasting in 1938, when he landed a \$16-a-week page position at NBC New York. Enrolling in the network’s announcer school, he placed an unimpressive 23rd out of a class

of 24 but did manage to find work as a special events announcer at Pittsburgh’s KDKA. In September 1939 he joined the announcing staff at NBC Chicago’s WMAQ radio outlet.

From the opening strains of “Sentimental Journey” to his trademark expression of “peace,” Garroway’s “hip,” esoteric broadcasting persona developed and crystallized on Chicago radio. His local *11:60 Club*, jazz music and conversation at midnight, led him into network radio with his Sunday evening *Dave Garroway Show* and his daytime *Reserved for Garroway*. From there he moved quickly into network television. *Garroway at Large* premiered on April 16, 1949, within four months of NBC television beginning operations in Chicago.

Taking advantage of Garroway's intellect, unique personality, and relaxed, intimate broadcasting style, *Garroway at Large* scripts were more conceptual than specific and placed minimal emphasis on elaborate production. Under the watchful eye of producer Ted Mills, writer Charles Andrews, and directors Bob Banner and Bill Hobin, the show worked to create illusions and gently shatter them with the reality of the television studio. In the best tradition of Chinese Opera, commedia dell'arte, or the Pirandellian manipulation of reality, Garroway would wander in and out of scenes or from behind sets, stopping to hold quiet conversations with occasional guest celebrities, the home viewing audience, technicians, and cast members (vocalists Connie Russell, Bette Chapel, and Jack Haskell; comic actor Cliff Norton; and orchestra leader Joseph Gallicchio). Using raised eyebrows, slight gestures, and knowing shrugs, he communicated eloquently and brought a cool, glib, offbeat humor to prime-time television.

*Garroway at Large* broadcast its last show from Chicago on June 24, 1951. On January 14, 1952, NBC's *Today* show premiered in New York with Garroway as host. *Garroway at Large* was revived, but working under the production pressures of New York, the show lost much of the charm of the Chicago version and left the air after one season.

Through the 1950s, Garroway's workload increased to between 75 and 100 hours per week. In addition to his efforts on *Today*, he hosted NBC's *Wide, Wide World* (1955–58) and NBC radio's *Monitor* series. An exhausted Garroway left the *Today* show in 1961, and, while he continued to appear on television in various shows and formats, he never again achieved comparable success or popularity. Dave Garroway died on July 21, 1982, at the age of 69.

JOEL STERNBERG

See also **Chicago School of Television**

### Regulars

Dave Garroway  
Jack Haskell  
Cliff Norton  
Bette Chapel (1949–51)  
Carolyn Gilbert (1949)  
Connie Russell (1949–51)  
Jill Corey (1953–54)  
Shirley Harmer (1953–54)  
Songsmiths Quartet (1949)  
The Daydreamers (1950)  
The Cheerleaders (1953–54)

### Dancers

Russell and Aura (1950–51)  
Ken Spaulding and Diane Sinclair (1953–54)

### Orchestra

Joseph Gallicchio (1949–51)  
Skitch Henderson (1953–54)

### Producer

Ted Mills

### Programming History

NBC  
April 1949–July 1949      Saturday 10:00–10:30  
July 1949–June 1951      Sunday 10:00–10:30  
October 1953–June 1954      Friday 8:00–8:30

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## Gartner, Hana (1948– )

Canadian Broadcast Journalist

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Hana Gartner is cohost of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) major evening newscast, *Prime Time News*. Her long broadcasting career has made her one of the most visible journalists in Canada.

In 1970 Gartner worked for Montreal radio station CJAD as both an interviewer and a features reporter. She subsequently joined Standard Broadcast News, a syndicated radio news service, as parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa, the federal capital. In 1974 Gartner made her first switch to television. She returned to Montreal as cohost of *The City at Six*, CBC Montreal's local daily news hour. The following year, she relocated to Toronto for a position as host of *In Good Company* on CBC Toronto television. In 1976, however, Gartner returned briefly to radio to host the CBC's signature network radio program, *This Country in the Morning*.

The movement between radio and television, and among various cities, is typical of CBC journalists. Not only does it contribute to their training, but also it allows the CBC to use its various radio and television stations as "farm teams" for network programming. This system has also helped launch many Canadian journalists on successful international careers.

In 1977 Gartner made her second and decisive switch to television when she joined CBC Toronto's local news hour, *24 Hours*, as cohost and interviewer. She also became host of a CBC television network daytime interview program, *Take 30*.

In 1982 Gartner was selected to cohost CBC television's flagship public-affairs news and investigation program, *The Fifth Estate*, which is best known for breaking new stories and for presenting complex issues in compelling narrative style. In this capacity, she has reported from around the world on a huge range of topics. In 1978 she was given her own summer series, *This Half Hour*.

Gartner's interview style combines toughness, honesty, and sympathy. She is capable of uncomfortable directness, and even irony, in her questioning of subjects; however, she does not stray into gratuity or nastiness. She is capable of revealing a personal attitude or orientation toward an issue without betraying journalistic objectivity. On the contrary, these qualities win

the sympathy of viewers who identify with her. As is characteristic of Canadian news and information programming generally, the overall tone of Gartner's work is sober, with a focus on issues and their intricacies rather than personality or glamour.

In 1985 Gartner won the Gordon Sinclair Award for excellence in broadcast journalism. In 1994 she was given a CBC series of special interviews, *Contact with Hana Gartner*. In 1995 she became cohost of *Prime Time News*, the most visible journalistic position in Canada.

PAUL ATTALLAH

*See also Canadian Programming in English; Fifth Estate; National, The/The Journal*

**Hana Gartner.** Born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1948. Educated at Loyola College (now Concordia



Hana Gartner.  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/ CBC Collection

University), Montreal, Quebec, B.A. in communications 1970. Married: Bruce Griffin, 1987; two children. Began career as radio show host, CJAD, Montreal, 1970; began television career at CBC, Montreal, 1974; host, interviewer, reporter, various television and radio programs. Recipient: Gordon Sinclair Award, 1985; three Geminis.

#### Television Series

1977–82 *Take 30* (host)  
 1978 *This Half Hour*  
 1982–95, 2000– *The Fifth Estate* (host)  
 1995– *Prime Time News* (cohost)  
 1995– *The National Magazine*

#### Television Special

1994 *Contact with Hana Gartner* (host)

#### Radio

CJAD Montreal (interviewer), 1970; *This Country in the Morning*, 1976.

#### Further Reading

“Gartner to Join Mansbridge: The Current Host of *The Fifth Estate* Will Replace Wallin on Prime Time News,” *Globe and Mail* (June 3, 1995)  
 “The *National*’s New Face: Hana Gartner Brings Gutsy Style to CBC TV,” *Maclean’s* (September 18, 1995)  
 “Star Power Gets in the Way (for Hana Gartner),” *Globe and Mail* (June 22, 1993)

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## Gelbart, Larry (1923– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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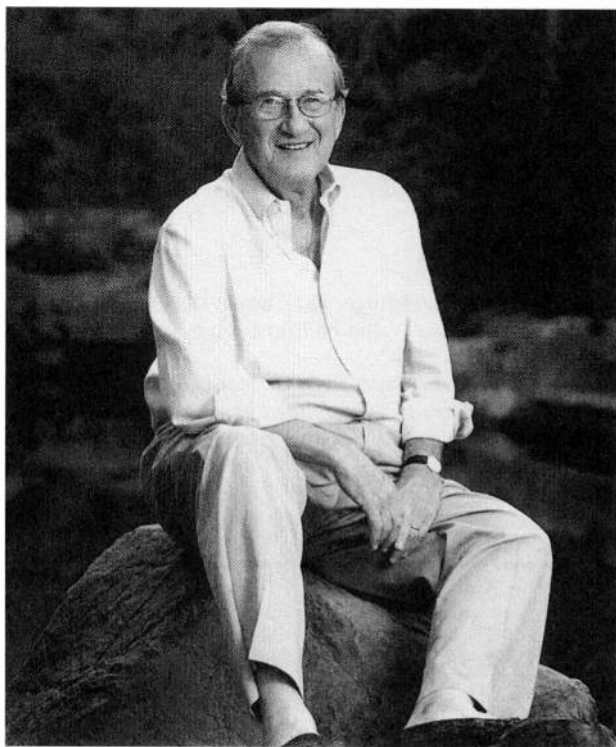
As producer of *M\*A\*S\*H*, Larry Gelbart provided numerous contributions to one of television’s most innovative and socially aware sitcoms. Beyond this accomplishment, he has been a dynamic force in broadcasting for more than 40 years. Gelbart has written for radio, television, film, and the stage. After leaving television in the early 1980s, Gelbart went on to produce feature films, including *Oh, God!* (1977) and *Tootsie* (1982). In the 1990s he returned to television to write a trio of notable made-for-cable movies for HBO: *Mastergate* (1992), an adaptation of his stage play parodying a congressional hearing about events reminiscent of the Iran-Contra scandal; *Barbarians at the Gate* (1993), which is based on the true story of F. Ross Johnson’s attempt to purchase the Nabisco corporation and serves as a commentary on 1980s corporate culture; and *Weapons of Mass Distraction* (1997), a satire about media executives’ greed as they battle to own a professional football team. Gelbart also served as executive producer for the latter project.

During the 1940s Gelbart began working as a writer for Fanny Brice’s radio show, and as a gag writer for Danny Thomas. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army, where he wrote for Armed Forces Radio, Gelbart joined the writing staff of *Duffy’s Tavern*, a popular radio program. He also wrote for Bob Hope, whom he followed to television.

In the early 1950s Gelbart became part of the extraordinarily talented crew of writers on Sid Caesar’s *Your Show of Shows*. This group, which included Carl Reiner, Howard Morris, Mel Brooks, and Woody Allen, helped define the medium in its earlier days. Shortly after becoming head writer for *The Pat Boone Show*, Gelbart became disgusted by broadcasting’s communist witch hunts and moved to England. While in London, he continued to work in British film and television.

In the early 1970s Gene Reynolds, who was developing a television version of the film *M\*A\*S\*H*, enticed Gelbart to write the pilot script. Gelbart was leery about returning to American television, but he became interested when he learned that CBS was willing to allow the series to depict the horrors of war realistically. When CBS picked up the series in 1972, Gelbart became its creative consultant. One year later, Gelbart joined Reynolds as coproducer.

Gelbart provided numerous innovations to an idea that had already been covered in a best-selling novel and a box office hit. Recalling a Lenny Bruce bit on draft dodgers, Gelbart created Corporal Klinger, a character who dressed in women’s clothing in hopes of getting a “Section Eight” discharge. Written as a one-time character, Gelbart’s Klinger, played by Jamie Farr, became central to the long-running series. When



Larry Gelbart.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

actor McLean Stevenson decided to leave the series, Gelbart was involved in the decision to “kill off” Stevenson’s character, Colonel Henry Blake. This was the first time a series regular had met such a fate. Furthermore, Gelbart is credited with “The Interview” episode, an innovative script in which journalist Cleve Roberts, playing himself, interviews the doctors of the *M\*A\*S\*H* unit. Produced with a cold opening (no teaser, lead-in, or commercial), filmed in black and white, and shot in documentary style, this episode paved the way for the numerous innovations carried out by later *M\*A\*S\*H* producers. After four seasons with *M\*A\*S\*H*, Gelbart became worried he would grow repetitive and left the series.

In 1973 Gelbart and Reynolds created *Roll Out*, a disappointing series about an army trucking company set in World War II. Gelbart’s last outing with series television, the highly touted *United States*, also failed to score with the public. One of television’s first stabs at dramatic sitcoms (dramedy), it fizzled out two months after its March 1980 debut.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also *M\*A\*S\*H*

**Larry Gelbart.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, February 25, 1923. Served U.S. Army, 1945–46. Married: Pat Marshall, 1956; children: Cathy, Paul, Becky, Adam, and Gary. Began career as radio writer, *Danny Thomas (Maxwell House Coffee Time)*, 1945; television writer for Bob Hope, 1948–52; best known for *M\*A\*S\*H* series, 1972–76; artist-in-residence, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1984–85. Honorary degree: LittD, Union College, 1986. Member: Motion Picture Association of Arts and Sciences; Writers Guild of America; Writers Guild of Great Britain; ASCAP. Recipient: Sylvania Award, 1958; Emmy Awards, 1958 and 1973; Tony Awards, 1963, 1990 (twice); Peabody Awards, 1964 and 1975; Montreaux Television Festival Golden Rose Award, 1971; Humanitas Award, 1976; Edgar Allen Poe Awards, 1977 and 1990; Writers Guild of America Awards, 1977, 1978, and 1982; Christopher Award, 1978; Laurel Award, 1981; Los Angeles Film Critics Award, 1982; New York Film Critics Award, 1982; Pacific Broadcasting Pioneer Award, 1987; Lee Strasberg Award, 1990; Outer Critics Circle Awards, 1990 (twice); New York Drama Critics Circle Award, 1990; Beverly Hills Theater Group Award, 1991.

**Television Series (writer or writer-producer)**

- 1952            *The Red Buttons Show*
- 1953            “Honestly, Celeste!” (*The Celeste Holm Show*)
- 1954–62        *The Patrice Munsel Show*
- 1954            *The Pat Boone Show*
- 1955–57        *Caesar’s Hour (Your Show of Shows)*
- 1958–59        *The Art Carney’s Specials*
- 1963            *The Danny Kaye Show* (consultant)
- 1971            *The Marty Feldman Comedy Machine*
- 1972–83        *M\*A\*S\*H* (also directed several episodes)
- 1973–74        *Roll Out*
- 1975            *Karen*
- 1980            *United States*
- 1983–84        *After M\*A\*S\*H*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1992            *Mastergate*
- 1993            *Barbarians at the Gate*
- 1997            *Weapons of Mass Distraction* (also executive producer)
- 2003            *And Starring Pancho Villa as Himself*

**Television Specials**

- 1985, 1986    *Academy Award Show*

**Films**

*The Notorious Landlady*, 1962; *The Thrill of It All*, with Carl Reiner, 1963; *The Wrong Box*, with Burt Shevelove, 1966; *Not with My Wife, You Don't*, with Norman Panama and Peter Barnes, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *A Fine Pair*, 1969; *Oh, God!*, 1977; *Movie, Movie*, 1977; *Rough Cut* (as Francis Burns), 1978; *Neighbors*, 1981; *Tootsie*, 1982; *Blame It on Rio*, 1984; *Bedazzled*, 2000; *C-Scam*, 2000.

**Radio**

*Danny Thomas (Maxwell House Coffee Time)*, 1945; *The Jack Paar Show*, 1945; *Duffy's Tavern*, 1945–57; *The Eddie Cantor Show*, 1947; *Command Performance (Armed Forces Radio Service)*, 1947; *The Jack Carson Show*, 1948; *The Joan Davis Show*, 1948; *The Bob Hope Show*, 1948.

**Recordings**

*Peter and the Wolf*, 1971; *Gulliver*, 1989.

**Stage**

*My L.A.*, 1948; *The Conquering Hero*, 1960; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962; *Jump*, 1971; *Sly Fox*, 1976; *Mastergate*, 1989; *City of Angels*, 1989; *Power Failure*, 1991.

**Further Reading**

- Dennison, Linda T., "In the Beginning . . ." (interview), *Writer's Digest* (April 1995)
- Frutkin, Alan James, "When at First You Do Succeed, Try, Try Again," *New York Times* (May 5, 2002)
- Kalter, Suzy, *The Complete Book of M\*A\*S\*H*, New York: H.N. Abrams, 1984
- Reiss, David S., *M\*A\*S\*H: The Exclusive, Inside Story of TV's Most Popular Show*, Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1983
- Rothstein, Mervyn, "Is There Life After M\*A\*S\*H?" *New York Times Magazine* (October 8, 1989)

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## Geller, Henry (1924– )

### U.S. Telecommunications Legal Expert

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Henry Geller is a telecommunications attorney and law professor with a distinguished career in U.S. communications policymaking and regulation. He worked at the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) at several intervals from 1949 until 1973, serving as general counsel for six years (1964–70) and then becoming assistant to FCC chair Dean Burch. He later served as administrator of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) for three years (1978–81) during the Carter presidency. Geller's contributions to national telecommunications policymaking led to the National Civil Service Award in 1970.

Geller has since served as a telecommunications adviser for a number of nongovernmental organizations, including Duke University's Washington Center for Public Policy Research, the Rand Corporation, and the Markle Foundation. His advice on policy matters was solicited because of his experience as a Washington telecommunications insider, and because of his iconoclastic views on communications spectrum issues.

Geller has long espoused that the electromagnetic spectrum allocated for telecommunications purposes is a finite national resource, and that fees should be collected from all users of that spectrum. In 1979, while at the NTIA, Geller first broached the idea of auctioning spectrum for then-new technologies such as cellular telephony and wireless cable (MMDS). Free users of this resource such as radio and television broadcasters were adamantly opposed to such proposals, claiming that they (the broadcasters) were serving the public interest by providing news and other informative programming.

Geller felt that broadcasters, especially at the local level, had neglected their public-interest programming obligations, and that the FCC should eliminate all "public fiduciary" regulation in favor of a fee-for-spectrum arrangement. The benefits of such a system, as Geller described it, would involve an end to the lackluster provision of public-affairs and children's programming, and would allow the public, rather than the buyers and sellers of existing broadcast licenses, to



Henry Geller.

Photo courtesy of Henry Geller/ Ankers Photographers, Inc

benefit from spectrum auctions. He proposed that funds raised from spectrum auctions be dedicated to the development of public broadcasting services—much like the traditional British model of public support for national programming.

The irony of Geller's position on spectrum auctions is that the FCC now conducts such auctions for emerging communications technologies such as Personal Communications Services (PCS). However, the revenues collected are allocated for federal deficit reduction instead of supporting public broadcasting. Henry Geller is a well-informed critic of the status quo in telecommunications policymaking, and the recent adoption of the spectrum auctions in the United States reaffirms a position that he has long advocated for the benefit of the public, rather than private, interest.

PETER B. SEEL

*See also National Telecommunication and Information Administration*

**Henry Geller.** Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, February 14, 1924. Educated at University of Michigan, B.S., 1943; Northwestern Law School, J.D. Law

clerk for Illinois Supreme Court Justice Walter V. Schaffer, 1950; attorney, Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 1949–50, 1952–55, and 1961–73; general counsel, FCC, 1964–70; special assistant to the chair, 1970; helped write cable television rules and definitive explication of the Fairness Doctrine, 1972; worked on projects concerning communications law, Rand Corporation, 1973–74; Communications Fellow, Aspen Institute Program on Communications and Society, 1975; consultant, House Communications Subcommittee, 1976; assistant secretary, Communications and Information and Administrator of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), U.S. Department of Commerce, functioned as chief adviser to President Jimmy Carter on telecommunications policy, 1978–81; founder and director of the Washington Center for Public Policy Research, 1981–89; professor (of practice), Duke University, 1981–89; communications fellow, John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, from 1990; senior fellow, Annenberg Washington Program, 1991–96. Recipient, National Civil Service Award, 1970.

#### Publications (selected)

*The Fairness Doctrine in Broadcasting*, 1973

*Newspaper-Television Station Cross Ownership: Options for Federal Action*, with Walter S. Baer and Joseph A. Grundfest, 1974

*A Modest Proposal to Reform the Federal Communications Commission*, 1974

*The Mandatory Origination Requirement for Cable Systems*, 1974

*Charging for Spectrum Use*, with D. Lambert, 1989

"Looking Not Far into the Future," *Society* (July–August 1989)

"Baby Bells As Information Servers," *New York Times* (November 27, 1991)

*Fibre Optics: An Option for a New Policy*, 1991

*1995–2005: Regulatory Reform for Principal Electronic Media*, 1994

"Fairness and the Public Trustee Concept: Time to Move On," *Federal Communications Law Journal* (October 1994)

#### Further Reading

Jessell, Harry A., "The Government Can't Do Quality... At All" (interview), *Broadcasting and Cable* (August 15, 1994)

"Regulation, Deregulation, and the Future of Communication Policy: At New York Seminar, Media Watchers Assess the Regulatory Climate," *Broadcasting* (November 21, 1988)

"Turmoil over Takeovers: The Subject of Takeovers—Long Simmering on Washington Burners—Came to a Boil Last Week," *Broadcasting* (July 15, 1985)



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## Gender and Television

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In a two-part article written for *TV Guide* in 1964, Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, claimed that television represented the American woman as a “stupid, unattractive, insecure little household drudge who spends her martyred, mindless, boring days dreaming of love—and plotting nasty revenge against her husband.” Almost 30 years later, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Susan Faludi suggested that the practices and programming of network television in the 1980s were an attempt to get back to those earlier stereotypes of women, thereby countering the effects of the women’s movement that Friedan’s messages had inspired in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Although the analyses of Friedan and Faludi are undeniable on many levels, it is important to remember that television provides less-than-realistic stereotypes of men as well (although these stereotypes embody qualities—courage, stoicism, rationality—that society values), and the images of femininity justifiably disturbing to Friedan and Faludi are not necessarily read by female viewers in the ways intended by program producers and advertisers. Recent scholarship has studied not only female fan groups that rework television texts in their own writings but has also suggested that narratives and images are polyvalent and dependent on contextual situations for meaning. For example, television scholar Andrea Press studied women’s responses to *I Love Lucy*, finding that middle-class women drew strength from Lucy Ricardo’s subversion of her husband’s dominance and Lucille Ball’s performing talents, while working-class women tended to find Ball as Lucy Ricardo funny, but thought the character was silly, unrealistic, and manipulative.

While scholarship such as Press’s, motivated by an agenda of understanding cultural products and practices, attempts to understand how audiences negotiate the meanings of gender and class in their encounters with television, commercial broadcasting also has a history of research into audience composition and desires. Of course its agenda is mainly focused on understanding the audience as consumers, since the economic basis of commercial broadcasting is selling products to consumers. As early as the late 1920s, market research suggested to advertisers the importance of the middle-class female consumer in terms of her primary role in making decisions regarding family purchases. Early radio programs included some targeted

to the female listener. Advertisers found success with how-to and self-help programs that could highlight the use of a food, cosmetic, or cleaning product in their generous doses of advice patter. By the early 1930s, household product advertisers successfully underwrote serialized dramas (“soap operas”) in the daytime hours, and their assumptions that women were the primary listeners during those hours meant that narratives often revolved around central female characters and that segmentation of story and commercial must conform to the working woman’s activities as she listened.

Several of the popular radio soap operas made the transition to television, with many new ones created for the medium that would eventually eclipse radio in audience numbers. As with their radio predecessors, these shows were programmed for the daytime hours and featured commercials aimed at the housewife, that “drudge” Friedan described as the stereotype of the postwar American culture. Daytime hours on television also included game and talk/advice shows, whose rhetorical strategies assumed women’s capacity as caretaker of the family’s economic and emotional resources. The makeup of daytime programming on the broadcast networks has stayed remarkably the same over the years, although soap opera plots seem to take into account the presence of male viewers (not only making male characters more important, but mixing action genre ingredients into the narratives). Perhaps even more significant as programming strategy, game shows have given way on the schedule to talk shows.

This latter trend began with the tremendous success of *Donahue*, which started in 1967 as a local Dayton, Ohio, call-in talk show aimed at women. Host Phil Donahue was interested in serving the needs of the woman at home who was intelligent and politically sophisticated, but unrecognized by other media. Appearing at a time of considerable political and gender unrest and change, by 1980 *Donahue* was carried on 218 stations around the country, delivering the “right numbers” to advertisers—women aged 18 to 49. Oprah Winfrey also started locally (in Chicago) and two years later, in 1986, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* went national, not only beating *Donahue* in the ratings, but also becoming the third-highest-rated show in syndication. Winfrey is now one of the wealthiest working women in the country and has her own production company to produce theatrical and television films, of-



*The Ann Sothorn Show*, Ann Sothorn, 1958–61.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*I Dream of Jeannie*, Barbara Eden, 1965–70.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ten about African-American women. Like Donahue, Winfrey aims her show at intelligent women at home, but she attempts more intimacy with her viewers by relating her guests' problems to her own difficulties with weight, drugs, and sexual abuse. The success of Donahue and Winfrey led to a glut of talk shows on daytime television, and the fierce competition among them has resulted in an exploration (some would say exploitation) of once-unspoken or repressed experiences of gender and sexuality (transvestitism, homosexuality, prostitution, incest, adultery, abortion, etc.).

Ironically, prime-time television, once considered more "serious" than daytime programming, has continued to cause controversy in the 1980s and 1990s when dealing with issues (abortion, homosexuality) now regularly discussed on daytime talk shows. Prime-time television has been considered by the networks and media critics and historians as more serious because of the presumably "adult" dramas, mostly with male characters as central figures, scheduled during the late, 9:00–11:00 P.M. time slots. Of course, the unspoken assumption here is that these shows are serious because they appeal to male viewers, who are stereotyped as more interested in violence, the law, and the sometimes socially relevant aspects of nighttime drama.

Many prime-time dramas of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s drew on the "masculine" emphasis of genres successful in other, prior media forms—novels, films, and radio. The western, the detective/police thriller, science fiction, and the medical drama featured controlling male characters, having adventures, braving danger, solving problems through reason and/or violence. Many critics have pointed to the goal-oriented nature of these generic forms, as opposed to the more open-ended, process orientation of the serialized melodrama assumed to appeal to the female viewer. Yet the prime-time dramas addressing the male audience have never precluded the development of characters and community. Some of the primary pleasures of westerns, such as *Gunsmoke* and *Wagon Train*, derived from their emphasis on community and the "feminine" values of civilization over the male hero alone in the wilderness. Yet, *Wagon Train* and two other long-running westerns, *Rawhide* and *Bonanza*, had no regular female characters. Likewise, medical dramas of the period, such as *Dr. Kildare*, *Ben Casey*, and *Marcus Welby*, had rational male doctors diagnosing hysterical female patients and, as in the western *Bonanza* or the sci-fi show *Star Trek*, whenever a serious relationship developed between a female character and one of the



*Charlie's Angels*, Jaclyn Smith, Kate Jackson, Farrah Fawcett, 1976–81.

© Columbia Pictures/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

shows' heroes, she would usually die before the episode concluded.

The detective and cop thriller tended to fit most securely within the action-oriented, goal-driven narrative form assumed to be compatible with stereotypes of masculine characteristics. From the police procedural *Dragnet* to the buddy cop thrillers *Starsky and Hutch* and *Streets of San Francisco*, women were usually criminals or distractions. In many ways, these were men's worlds.

This trend was borne out in the statistics gathered by media researchers: in 1952, 68 percent of characters in prime-time dramas were male; in 1973, 74 percent of characters in these shows were male. These kinds of numbers, as well as the qualities of the portrayals of women, spurred the National Organization for Women (NOW) to action in 1970. NOW formed a task force to study and change the derogatory stereotypes of women on television, and in 1972 they challenged the licenses of two network-owned stations on the basis of their sexist programming and advertising practices. Although they were unsuccessful in this latter strategy, NOW and other women's groups provided much



*Cagney and Lacey*, Tyne Daly, Meg Foster, 1982–88.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

needed pressure when CBS tried to cancel *Cagney and Lacey*, a "buddy" cop show and the first prime-time drama to star two women. Conceived in 1974 by Barbara Corday and Barbara Avedon, two women inspired by critic Molly Haskell's study of women's portrayal in film, *Cagney and Lacey* was originally turned down by all three networks, only getting on the air after eight years. Producer Barney Rosenzweig worked closely with organized women's groups and female fans to support the show during threats of cancellation, after CBS fired the first actress to portray Christine Cagney because she was not considered "feminine enough," and during periods when the show aired controversial episodes on such topics as abortion clinic bombings.

Despite the controversy over *Cagney and Lacey*, by the time it got on the air, there were already other changes in prime-time dramas that reflected the impact of the women's movement and the networks' increasing desire to capture the female market in prime time. *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, even the detective thriller *Magnum, P.I.*, with its Vietnam vet hero, had begun to emphasize characters' emotional developments over action, with the former two programs adopting the serialized form once more common in the

daytime soap operas (*NYPD Blue* and *Homicide* inherited these changes in the 1990s). Made-for-television movies, scheduled almost every night of the week during the 1970s and 1980s often featured female characters in central roles, causing many critics to suggest that they filled the void of women's pictures now vanished from the theatrical feature film world. In the mid- to late 1980s, shows such as *China Beach* (about nurses in Vietnam), *Heartbeat* (women doctors at a women's health clinic), and *L.A. Law* (with both male and female law partners) suggested new trends in prime-time drama. Yet, in 1987, 66 percent of characters in prime time were still male.

The situation comedy, which filled the early prime-time hours from the early fifties to the present, has tended to be more hospitable to female characters, at least in terms of numbers. Because most comedy shows focused on the family, women were mainly seen as wives, mothers, and daughters. Within that context, the programs might center on the value of the mother's nurturance and work, as in *Mama* or *The Goldbergs* (which star Gertrude Berg produced), or marginalize her in decision making about the family's resources and children, as in *Leave It to Beaver* (the mother in *The Brady Bunch* of the late 1960s–1970s is heir to June Cleaver in that regard). Zany wives, who continually acted against their husband's wishes, were featured in *I Love Lucy*, *I Married Joan*, and *My Favorite Husband*; while *Private Secretary* and *Our Miss Brooks* represented single working women as only slightly less irrational. It would be wrong to suggest that these shows ignored gender tensions—some of the programs were fraught with them. In *Father Knows Best*, for example, although father Jim Anderson is the moral center of the show, his intelligent wife, Margaret, and ambitious daughter Betty are confronted in more than one episode with some of the agonies of the polarized choices (wife and mother or career) women faced in the 1950s. Likewise, Donna Stone of *The Donna Reed Show* questions the connotations of the media's use of "housewife" in one episode, and Lucy Ricardo of *I Love Lucy* is probably the most ambitious and dissatisfied woman in all of television history.

In the 1960s restlessness with domesticity appears in shows where the female characters have to literally use magic to leave their roles, as in *Bewitched* and *I Dream of Jeannie*, or in the girlish pretensions of would-be actress Ann Marie in *That Girl*. Although critics now point to her idealized feminine looks and her sometimes subservient response to boss Mr. Grant, Mary Richards of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was a refreshing relief from the frustrated women in sitcoms of the 1950s and 1960s. Coming on the air the same year NOW organized its task force, this show still

stands out in not compromising Mary's single status, in its development of her career as a news producer, in its portrayal of a character basically happy as a non-married, working woman. Her smart and sarcastic friend Rhoda was so popular with viewers that she starred in a spin-off show. While producer Norman Lear's *All in the Family* more successfully satirized male stereotypes than female, other Lear productions like *Maude* and *One Day at a Time* worked against earlier portrayals of wives and mothers. These women were married more than once, raised children, stood up for their rights and beliefs. *Maude* even had an abortion in one of the most controversial programs in television history.

Although sitcoms of the 1980s and 1990s, such as *Kate and Allie*, *Designing Women*, *Golden Girls*, *Roseanne*, *Murphy Brown*, and *Grace Under Fire* continued the trend of the 1970s in representing working women, female friendships, and nontraditional family formations, television producers during this period persisted in creating family sitcoms that banished mothers. Although in reality a statistically small number of households involve single fathers, *Full House*, *My Two Dads*, *Empty Nest*, *Blossom*, *The Nanny*, and *I Married Dora* featured men as both mothers and fathers (who sometimes have a great housekeeper/nanny). The mother was present in *The Cosby Show*, but some critics suggested she was too present, claiming the program hardly captured the reality of a working attorney who was also a mother of five. The show's depiction of Claire Huxtable as free from the tensions of career versus motherhood caused some critics to label her character "postfeminist." At the opposite end of the spectrum, *Murphy Brown* and *Roseanne* have come under fire for depicting motherhood in too "nontraditional" ways.

While current broadcast network programming arguably presents a greater variety of representations of women than in previous decades due to changes in gender roles in society since the women's movement, this is as much because the "new woman" is recognized as a consuming audience member as it is because networks feel a responsibility to break down cultural stereotypes. Such marketplace-driven political correctness even motivated the creation of Lifetime, a cable network for women, in 1984. At first relying mostly on acquired programming, which included many prime-time reruns from the broadcast networks, in the late 1980s the channel began producing original TV movies and programs appealing to women on the basis of central female characters and behind-the-camera female personnel, such as director-actress Diane Keaton directing a TV movie. When NBC canceled *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*, a "dramedy" about a wistful, divorced, working woman, Lifetime acquired the reruns and produced 30

original episodes of its own. While this decision did not generate the ratings hoped for, it was a great public relations move and raised awareness of the channel. Morning hours concentrate on advice shows for young mothers, and the rest of daytime hours are filled with reruns of shows with proven appeal to women, such as *Cagney and Lacey*, *The Tracy Ullman Show*, and *L.A. Law*. Although the channel refuses to identify itself as feminist—it only admits to avoiding programming that “victimizes” women—its existence does suggest that women are far from ignored by television.

Currently, the greatest gaps in television programming's representation of women probably reside in sports and news. Broadcast networks rarely cover women's sports (newer sports cable channels do a little better if only because they have 24 hours of coverage to fill), and when they do, media scholars have noted that the sportscasters often refer to female athletes by their first names and use condescending or paternal adjectives in describing them. Female TV news journalists have had their own problems in getting airtime and are usually submitted to sexist biases about feminine appearance. Women in television news divisions, both behind and in front of the camera, organized groups in the 1970s and 1980s to pressure executives to give women in these areas more power and representation. There were well-publicized sex discrimination and sexual harassment suits at this time, but change has come slowly. But CNN, a cable channel needing to fill 24 hours, has put more women on the air (including an all-women news show, *CNN and Co.*), and the profitability of increasing the number of “newsmagazines” on the air prompted the broadcast networks to include more female anchors in the early 1990s. Yet women are used as experts on news shows only about 15 percent of the time, an issue of representation as important as their presence as news anchors. Many media critics look to an increase in the use of women as experts as a possible catalyst for change in all areas of television programming. When women are seen as authority figures in our culture, their representation in fiction as well as nonfiction media forms will perhaps change for the better.

MARY DESJARDINS

*See also Bewitched; Cagney and Lacey; Donahue, Phil; I Love Lucy; Lifetime; Mary Tyler Moore Show; Murphy Brown; Roseanne; That Girl; Winfrey, Oprah*

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## General Electric Theater

### U.S. Anthology

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*General Electric Theater* featured a mix of romance, comedy, adventure, tragedy, fantasy, and variety music. Occupying the Sunday evening spot on CBS following the *Toast of the Town/Ed Sullivan Show* from February 1, 1953, to May 27, 1962, *General Electric Theater* presented top Hollywood and Broadway stars in dramatic roles calculated to deliver company-voice advertising to the largest possible audience.

Despite a long technical and practical experience with television production, previous attempts by General Electric (GE) to establish a Sunday evening company program had fared poorly. In the fall of 1948, General Electric entered commercial television for the first time with the *Dennis James Carnival*, a variety show dropped after one performance. A quiz program entitled *Riddle Me This* substituted for 12 weeks and was also dropped. In April 1949 GE returned to Sunday evenings with the musical-variety *Fred Waring Show*. Produced by the Young and Rubicam advertising agency under the sponsorship of GE's Appliance, Electronics, and Lamp Divisions, the program occasionally included company-voice messages. In November 1951 GE transferred television production to the Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn (BBDO) advertising agency, under whose direction the *General Electric Theater* debuted February 1, 1953, as an "all-company project" sponsored by GE's Department of Public Relations Services.

The first two seasons of *General Electric Theater* established the half-hour anthology format of adaptations of popular plays, short stories, novels, magazine fiction, and motion pictures. "The Eye of the Beholder," for example, a Hitchcock-like telefilm thriller starring Richard Conte and Martha Vickers, dramatized an artist's relationship with his model from differing, sometimes disturbing, psychological perspectives.

The addition of Ronald Reagan as program host at the start of the third season, beginning September 26, 1954, reflected GE's decision to pursue a campaign of continuous, consistent company-voice advertising. Reagan's role as program host and occasional guest star brought needed continuity to disparate anthology offerings. The casting of Don Herbert of TV's *Watch Mr. Wizard* fame in the role of "General Electric Progress Reporter" established a clear-cut company identity for commercials. "Outstanding entertainment" became the watchword of GE's public and employee relations specialists. Reagan, in the employ of BBDO, helped market the concept within the company itself. In November 1954 the first of many promotional tours orchestrated by BBDO and the GE Department of Public Relations Services sent Reagan to 12 cities with GE plants to promote the program idea, further his identity as spokesman, and become familiar with company people and products. By the time *General Electric Theater* concluded its eight-year run in 1962, Reagan claimed



to have visited GE's 135 research and manufacturing facilities, meeting some 250,000 individuals. In later years, Reagan's biographers would look back upon the tour and the platform it provided as an opportunity for the future president of the United States to sharpen his already considerable skill as a communicator.

By December 1954, after only four months on the air with Reagan as program host, the new *General Electric Theater* achieved Nielsen top-ten status among all programs and was television's most popular weekly dramatic program. The format accommodated live telecasts originating from both coasts, as well as the increasing use of telefilms by Revue Productions, the motion picture production company of the Music Corporation of America (MCA). During Reagan's tenure as president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) in 1952, and again in 1954, SAG granted unprecedented talent waivers to MCA-Revue. These waivers allowed MCA-Revue to dominate the fledgling telefilm industry, as the studio could now simultaneously represent artists *and* employ them in telefilms it produced. MCA's stars appeared on Revue's *General Electric Theater*, and ratings soared. Many made television debuts in dramatic roles. Joseph Cotten starred in "The High Green Wall," an adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's *A Handful of Dust*; Jack Benny starred in "The Face Is Familiar," a comedy about a man whose face no one could remember; Alan Ladd starred in "Committed," a mystery about "an author who advertises for trouble and finds it." Joan Crawford made her only 1954 television appearance in "The Road to Edinburgh," a story of "terror on a lonely road." "The Long Way Around" featured Ronald Reagan and Nancy Davis Reagan, who solved "a unique marital problem to reunite a family." In a direct dramatic tie-in with a company-voice theme, Burgess Meredith portrayed "Edison the Man," a telecast coinciding with GE's commemoration of "Light's Diamond Jubilee."

*General Electric Theater* saturated its audience with Reagan's genial progress talk in introductions, segues, and closing comments, and with Herbert's commercials. From the viewpoint of its sponsors, the program's entertainment component seemed less important than audience "recall scores," "impact studies," and the "penetration" of company messages that culminated with the motto, "Progress is our most important product." Commercials from the 1954 fall season, for example, included "Kitchen of the Future," "Lamp Progress," "Jet Engine Advancement," "Turbocharger Progress," "Sonar Development," "Atomic Safety Devices," and so on. "Kitchen of the Future" achieved the highest impact score (90 percent audience recall) recorded to date by the polling firm of Gallup-



*General Electric Theater* "Tell Me Where It Hurts."  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

Robinson, whose specialists reported the *General Electric Theater* as "the leading institutional campaign on television for selling ideas to the public." Following a 1956 Herbert "progress report" on the subject of steam turbine generators and their contributions to "progress toward a fuller and more satisfying life," Reagan reiterated, "In the meantime, remember: from electricity comes progress; progress in our daily living; progress in our daily work; progress in the defense of our nation; and at General Electric, progress is..."

By 1957 *General Electric Theater* had hit its stride with a top-rated program package that was equal to the company's early technical proficiency in television. While GE's product divisions developed individual sponsorships to reach appliance, lamp, and electronics consumers via *The Jane Froman Show*, *The Ray Milland Show*, *I Married Joan*, *Ozzie and Harriet*, and *Today*, the *General Electric Theater* aspired to the overarching sale of "Total Electric" living. One telecast featuring Jimmy Stewart, for example, celebrated the first anniversary of the electric utilities' "Live Better Electrically" campaign and "National Electric Week." The closing commercial featured Nancy and

## General Electric Theater

Ronald Reagan in the kitchen of a Total Electric home. "When you live better electrically," Reagan told viewers, "you lead a richer, fuller, more satisfying life. And it's something all of us in this modern age can have." In his 1965 autobiography, *Where's the Rest of Me?*, Reagan recalled that GE installed so many appliances in his home in Pacific Palisades, California, that the electrical panel needed to serve them soon outgrew the usual pantry cupboard and had to be relocated in a 3,000-pound steel cabinet outside the house. *General Electric Theater* was no less loaded with the corporate stewardship of personal and social improvement, expressed over and over by Reagan: "Progress in products goes hand in hand with providing progress in the human values that enrich the lives of us all."

In 1962 *General Electric Theater* left the air in a welter of controversy surrounding the U.S. Justice Department's antitrust investigation of MCA and the SAG talent waivers granted to MCA-Revue. The hint of scandal lessened Reagan's value as company spokesman and program host. As SAG president in 1952, Reagan had, after all, signed one of the waivers, and he later benefited from the arrangement as a *General Electric Theater* program producer himself. The suggestion of impropriety fueled Reagan's increasingly antigovernment demeanor on tour, and his insistence upon producing and starring in episodes combating communist subversion in the final season of *General Electric Theater*.

WILLIAM L. BIRD, JR.

See also **Anthology Drama; Reagan, Ronald**

### Host

Ronald Reagan (1954–62)

### Producers

Harry Tugend, William Morwood, Joseph Bantman, Stanley Rubin, William Frye, Mort Abrahams, Bob Mosher, Joe Connelly, Gilbert A. Ralston, Joseph Siström, Arthur Ripley

### Programming History

200 episodes

CBS

February 1953–September 1962 Sunday 9:00–9:30

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## Genre

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Genre is one of the most useful concepts for understanding television from a wide variety of perspectives. Drawn from literary and film studies to distinguish between major types of narratives, television genres have become important categorizing tools for television critics, creators, executives, and audiences. Genre studies have intersected with major trends in critical television studies, drawing upon ritual theories, ideological analysis, and cultural studies. Even at the level of everyday viewers or *TV Guide*, the useful categorization of programming into genres like science fiction or soap operas is a central component of how television is understood and experienced around the world.

The origin of genre studies dates back to the ancient Greeks, as Aristotle's theory of literature distinguished between major categories like epic, tragedy, and comedy. As literary studies developed in the modern era, scholars looked at genre fiction as a facet of popular culture, considering categories like romances and mystery as key popular genres. Film scholars adopted this approach, examining the underlying structure and cultural meanings of important film genres like westerns and musicals. As television developed into the prevalent storytelling medium it is today, genre categories like sitcoms and game shows became part of a broader generic vocabulary.

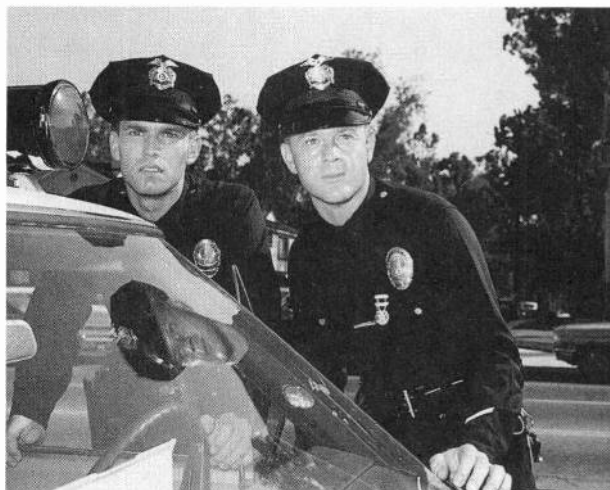
Genres may be categorized by a broad range of cri-



teria; probably the most central approach focuses on narrative structure. Thus the detective genre is predicated on a puzzling criminal disruption of the status quo, which the detective hero investigates and eventually solves. Likewise, romances and thrillers are dependent on their own familiar narrative structures. Another important way genres have been defined focuses on setting and iconography. Westerns, for example, might have a variety of plots (some even resembling detective stories or romances), but they are all set in a common era and locale, featuring horses, guns, and frontier décor. Medical shows, legal dramas, science fiction, workplace comedies, and espionage programs are all distinguished by their common set of locations, characters, and iconography. Other genres may be categorized by their intended audience reaction: the goal of comedy is laughter, while horror wishes to provoke a frightened reaction.

Television challenges these differing modes of categorization. Unlike film and literature, the television schedule regularly features both narrative and nonnarrative programs, and both fictional and nonscripted shows. A key aspect of genre categorization that transects both scripted and nonscripted programming is a reliance on particular *conventions*. Some of these conventions are tied to plot (such as the overheard misunderstandings typical of many sitcoms) while others are rooted in the setup of a given genre (game shows featuring prizes and contests of luck and skill). Thus a talk show might be identified by a number of conventions such as the empathetic (or controversial) host, an active studio audience, guest experts, and sensationalist issues. But there is little uniformity in what types of conventions are relevant across genres, as the importance of conventions like setting or intended emotional affect in one genre may have no relevance in another.

On the one hand, these different criteria for categorization are easily understood. Once viewers see enough of any genre, they can identify the common ground without even noticing inconsistencies between genre categories, as they soon learn to identify typical traits as part of a general set of expectations. But problems can arise with these various modes of categorization. For example, how might genre critics examine a program like *The X-Files*? The narrative follows detective story structures, but the setting draws upon science-fiction traditions, while the audience reaction often invites horror (and even occasionally comedy). Does the show belong to all of these genres? Or is it a program that makes genre categories irrelevant? In some ways both are true. Like many programs, *X-Files* mixes genres to a point that it cannot be viewed as a pure case of any one genre, but it still draws upon



*Adam 12*, Kent McCord, Martin Milner, 1968–75.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

genre traditions to play with the form and formulas that are commonplace across television. To understand some of the show's more creative moments, it is important for viewers to be familiar with the conventions of horror, detective shows, and science fiction that *X-Files* tweaks in original ways.

This points to one of the functions of genre within television: it allows producers and programmers to more efficiently create and schedule television shows. Given the sheer number of hours that any network or channel must program, shortcuts are essential. Genres provide a shorthand set of assumptions and conventions that producers can draw upon to make a new program familiar to audiences and easier to produce. Some critics see this facet of television in a negative light, pointing to the formulaic nature of television programming and devaluing its creativity and originality. For example, Todd Gitlin has argued that television programming is inherently "synthetic," featuring originality primarily in the "recombination" of formulas and conventions. It is undoubtedly true that genres often serve as baseline formulas for producers, creating a core set of assumptions and patterns that can be drawn upon to make the production of so many hours of original programming more efficient and streamlined. Producers face the tension between originality and sameness, needing to rely upon formulas to make programs accessible and recognizable to fickle audiences, while still making shows original enough to distinguish themselves from the pack.

However, many of the finest works of popular culture have been rooted in genre traditions, from Sher-



*Little House on the Prairie*, Matthew Laborteaux, Melissa Gilbert, Michael Landon, Karen Grassle, (behind Grassle) Dean Butler, Lindsay Greenbush, Melissa Sue Anderson, Linwood Boomer, 1974–83.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

lock Holmes detective stories to John Ford's cinematic westerns. This is true for television as well, as classic sitcoms like *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, detective dramas like *The Rockford Files*, and science fiction like the multiple *Star Trek* series all accepted the conventions of their genres and sought to explore the creative possibilities within generic boundaries. Even programs that seem to rebel against strict genre categorization, like *The X-Files*, use the conventions of their multiple genres to elicit and often contradict audience expectations. Thus a celebrated "art" program like *Twin Peaks* does not dismiss genres in exchange for a purer, original creative vision, but rather plays with the assumptions and conventions of soap operas, detective dramas, and supernatural horror to highlight the limits of formulas, while still embracing some of their conventional pleasures. It is hard to imagine television programming that operates outside of the system of genre, not because all television is too formulaic and unoriginal, but because genre categories are immensely useful to both the industry and audience.

The question of what meanings genre categories

have for audiences and their broader cultural contexts has been the focus of much genre analysis from a variety of theoretical positions. One school of thought follows the pejorative vision of genres, pointing to the ways in which particular genres embody cultural ideologies and dominant norms. Following this ideological approach, genres serve as factory-produced formulas that standardize culture and limit the possibilities of both artistic expression and viewer stimulation. This position stems from the Frankfurt School theories primarily of Theodor Adorno, who asserted (before the era of television) that mass culture is inherently formulaic, repetitive, and lacking in social uplift and intellectual engagement. An ideological analysis of a genre like sitcoms would point to its inherent conservatism, as trite problems are treated as major crises and then unrealistically solved over the course of a half-hour narrative, often by promoting dominant ideals like consumerism and traditional familial structures. Ideological analyses of genres have looked at narrative structures as a central means of perpetuating dominant ideals through repetition and conventions,

while some have considered nonnarrative genres like game shows as formulaic celebrations of capitalism and consumer culture.

Ideological approaches to genre assume a one-way flow of meaning from producers to programming and into collective audience consciousness. Other approaches pose the question of what uses genres serve for audiences themselves. An important development in television criticism focused on the ritual facet of genres, working through the particular cultural anxieties of a society through the repetitive narratives of a given genre. Horace Newcomb pioneered this ritual approach, examining a number of genres to explore their cultural function for American television viewers. He argues that, while sitcoms may feature exaggerated narrative closure that could reinforce dominant ideologies, this may not be their central appeal to audiences. Rather, the particular disruptions to the status quo offered by sitcoms serve as an arena or “cultural forum” to debate various positions concerning anxieties over assumed gender roles, generation gaps, and the balance between domestic and office life. Newcomb contends that the narrative closure may not be the dominant appeal for audiences. Instead, the ritualistic working through of cultural issues allow genres to function as sites of social engagement rather than escape.

This audience-centered approach has been developed further under the theoretical rubric of “cultural studies.” Under this paradigm (as explored by John Fiske), television programs are viewed as open to multiple interpretations; while they often present a dominant ideological message, most viewers do not accept those meanings in full, as they make little sense to their own lives and contexts. Instead, the majority of viewers negotiate with the meanings encoded in programming, accepting some as relevant and rejecting others out of hand. A sitcom viewer might accept the consumerist messages in her favorite programs, but disregard the family values presented if they seem out of touch with her own contexts. Research on actual audience practices have often supported these theories, as people rarely see the messages of television genres as completely compelling and accurate depictions of their worlds; instead, most viewers pick and choose the facets of programs and genres that they find most pleasurable and relevant to them, while rejecting other messages as unrealistic or unpleasant. Cultural studies acknowledges that both ideological and ritual readings can be accurate for some contexts, but that to truly understand the possible meanings offered by a genre, we must look at the wide-ranging practices of diverse audiences.

The cultural studies perspective highlights one of the pitfalls of genre analysis: it is easy to overstate the

uniformity of any genre category. As genres are a shorthand highlighting the similarities between shows—and thus glossing over differences—genre programs can often be misread as more consistent and uniform than they actually are. Looking at a genre historically is one key corrective to this position. The evolution of the American police drama demonstrates the wide range of differences possible within this seemingly uniform category. Programs from the 1950s, such as *Dragnet* and *Highway Patrol*, highlighted a fully functional criminal justice system, effectively upholding law and order with little personality or conflict. By the 1970s, the conventions of the maverick cop, bucking the unyielding system to more effectively dole out justice in unconventional terms, found its way onto programs like *Baretta* and *Starsky and Hutch*. The genre mixing of *Hill St. Blues* incorporated melodramatic serial storytelling into its gritty vision of urban crime, both humanizing the individual officers and the system itself, which teetered on the edge of breakdown for many seasons. The 1990s returned to more procedural concerns, with *Law and Order* and *Homicide: Life on the Street* focusing on the casework of humanized police, while questioning simplistic divisions between criminal and legal behaviors. All of these programs clearly belong to the police drama genre, yet they offer widely divergent meanings, conventions, and assumptions as to what the police drama says about its cultural context. Genre analysis has to look at the historical evolution of genres, rather than thinking of genre categories as transhistorical unchanging definitions.

One way of thinking about genres that alters the terms of the debate somewhat is to consider how genres operate as categories themselves, rather than as shorthand for their collected programs. Thus instead of examining the evolving meanings of police shows, we might examine how the television industry, critics, and audiences have made sense of the category of “police drama” throughout different contexts—whether police dramas are assumed to be critical or supportive of social norms, tied to real-life cases or functioning as escapist fantasies. Obviously these cultural assumptions filter into programs, as producers shape their work to convey their own take on the genre, and successful programs then reshape the assumptions linked to genre categories. But genre categories can be shaped outside of the process of production as well. Jason Mittell considers how the cartoon genre has shifted throughout its history on television via practices like scheduling on Saturday mornings in the 1960s and channel branding through the creation of Cartoon Network in the 1990s. As a set of assumed meanings and values, the cartoon

genre changed from a mass-audience component of theatrical film bills in the 1940s, to a lowbrow, highly commercialized kids-only genre in the 1960s, to a hip, nostalgic facet of Americana in the 1990s, even when the actual cartoons themselves were consistent, as with Bugs Bunny shorts created in the 1940s. The study of television genres should look beyond just programs categorized by genre labels to consider how the categories themselves are constituted, challenged, and changed by audiences, industries, and critics.

One case study that synthesizes many of these approaches to television genre is Robert C. Allen's seminal analysis of the soap opera. At the formal level, Allen considers how the serialized narrative structure of the soap opera is its core definitional attribute, arguing that this structure elicits a particular form of generic pleasure for its audiences: witnessing the effects of narrative events on a community of relationships across the fictional world. To understand this generic pleasure, he suggests critics must take a viewer-centered perspective, seeing as soap opera fans regularly watch "their stories" for decades and thus experience the genre from a position quite different from detached critics. Yet Allen acknowledges that the genre is not solely a product of the programs themselves, noting how the genre term "soap opera" is itself a pejorative label, given by critics in the 1930s who dismissed the genre's dual facets of melodrama and commercialism. He explores how the institutional basis of the genre differs from viewers' experiences, and how these categorical definitions change over time, especially with the growing serialization of prime-time television, making soap operas a component of more mainstream and less stigmatized programming. Allen's example points to the importance of analyzing genres both from within the programs they categorize and in broader circulation among viewers, programmers, and critics, all as tied to historical contexts.

There is no doubt that genre remains an important

facet of television programming and practices to this day. Even as many programs incorporate mixed genres to appeal to broad audiences and explore innovation through recombination, the importance of genre conventions and assumptions remains central. The rise of narrowcasting has foregrounded genres as a branding mechanism to label channels unified by their dedication to specific genres, from news to music videos, sports to science fiction. New technological developments, like digital program guides incorporated into cable, satellite, and digital video recorders, allow for genres to be used as a searching and sorting mechanism to find desirable programming, suggesting the continued importance of genres as an organizing principle for both the television industry and audience. Understanding the ways in which genre categories and programming continue to be used by producers, critics, industries, and audiences is crucial to the development of television into the 21st century.

JASON MITTELL

*See also* **Detective Programs; Narrowcasting; Police Programs; Soap Opera; X-Files, The; Western**

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## Geography and Television

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The importance of a geographical understanding of television lies in recognizing that television always has been produced for, has circulated across, and has been engaged through particular sites and different scales. In the 19th century, decades before the invention of the

cathode-ray tube, "tele-vision" was an ideal and objective accompanying the development of telegraphy and telephony—technologies for distributing (through networks) sounds and images over distance. Collectively, tele-technologies and tele-communication became in-

struments of modernization, conducting commercial transactions and transporting people, goods, and information over increasingly great distances. In this respect, the idea of television emerged as a response to spatial questions and to modern ways of imagining and representing geography and mobility.

Is there such a thing as a geography of television? Since the 19th century the "televisual" never has been a discrete object but the assemblage and reassemblage of technologies within and across different social spaces and environments. Although one may choose to talk about the distinctive properties of television (e.g., as an industry, a technology, a narrative or cultural form, an audience), it is just as necessary to recognize that any definition draws strategically on examples of practices from particular locations where televisuality has been assembled, instituted, and made to matter in particular ways. Similarly, any such definition risks ignoring how these distinctive properties have always been site-specific, complexly conjoined, along with other practices, to particular environments and on different scales. Considering the televisual in this way makes untenable the notion that television has a single history and emphasizes instead that TV has been developed and deployed unevenly around the world, and that TV is as much a product of as a contributing factor to the redefinition of social space and territoriality. If, therefore, television can be said to have a geography, it is a geography produced, deployed, and made to matter in different and changing ways in and across different places and social spaces.

There are several interrelated ways to consider the televisual as a product of and as productive of social space. One concerns the commercial and institutional sites and networks of television production and broadcasting. Given that broadcast television emerged through the established national and local centers of radio broadcasting, its early geography of production followed radio's. Over the 1950s in the United States, for instance, national television production moved from New York (the center of national radio production) to Los Angeles (the center of film production), while various U.S. cities (more rapidly than anywhere in the world) developed and broadcast programming for their local populations. By the early 1950s most cities in the United States had at least one television station that was formed out of one of the city's radio stations and that was affiliated with a national broadcasting network whose central location was one of that nation's most prominent commercial and cultural centers. The capability, since the early 1950s, of remote broadcasting, and, by the mid-1960s, of remote recording by video, however, has meant that television, like radio, has not always had a fixed, centralized site of

production. Over the late 1980s and early 1990s, the video "camcorder" (in conjunction with videocassette recorders for households) transformed the domestic sphere into a site of production for the television monitor; refashioned the television set as a technology of self, family, and domestic life; provided a portable accoutrement for personal travel; and occasionally became a resource for commercial television networks (e.g., clips on *America's Funniest Home Videos*, tornado-chaser videos for weather channels, and the infamous video of Rodney King's beating at the hands of the Los Angeles police).

Besides having been organized through commercial and institutional sites, the televisual has organized physical places and concrete environments, and their relation to one another. Some of this has occurred through televisual representations (visual and narrative constructions) of places and landscapes. There is, for instance, a difference between watching a sports event in a stadium and watching it on a television screen, even though the former activity has been coordinated with the latter in the age of television. The regularization of TV images and narratives also has shaped widely held assumptions about particular landscapes and places (the household, suburb, the city, the nation) and their relation to one another. For example, since the late 1980s, the ivy-covered outfield fence and brick walls of Wrigley Field, the "home" of the Chicago Cubs, and the oldest professional baseball stadium in the United States, have become through televised broadcasts (distributed nationally via WGN) one of the most widely recognized images of Chicago. Television has been instrumental in reshaping and renegotiating conventionalized representations of places. Television coverage of the collapse of the World Trade Center and of the "reclamation" of the site, for instance, has been instrumental in refashioning the identity of New York since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

While television has been one of many technologies involved in an ongoing process of constructing the identity of places and of remapping the relation among places, television also has aspired to and/or claimed the role of cultural atlas, a compendium of places (old and recent) that have mattered for those cultures that television has organized. Televisual representations of place, as a technology of touring, most recently have been organized in the United States through channels devoted exclusively to travel and tourism (e.g., the Travel Channel), although travel and tourism-oriented programs have become integral to other channels devoted to lifestyles (e.g., MTV, E!, the Disney Channel, the Food Channel), to weather (e.g., the Weather Channel), and to the popularization of scientific explo-

ration (e.g., the Discovery Channel, Animal Planet, MSNBC's "National Geographic Explorer").

The televisual also has contributed to the organization and physical construction of places and concrete environments, and their relation to one another. There are very specific features of television's material infrastructure and circulation: the location of studios and transmitter towers; the use of microwave relay or satellite stations; cable strung from poles or buried underground; the uneven reliance upon antennae, cable, or satellite dishes for reception in the same neighborhood and in different parts of the world; and the local, regional, national, and global scales of broadcasting systems. Television sets, as an accoutrement of households and other interior spaces, have contributed to the design and organization of domestic and leisure spaces. The portability of television, not only within interior spaces but also outdoors (away from electrical outlets) or in automobiles and planes, has accompanied a broad renegotiation of mobility and of the relation between private and public activity spaces. In one respect, then, television viewing has been about one's relation from an inside to an outside, to somewhere else—that is, a tour from one's home, residential district, city, nation, or hemisphere. In another respect, however, the increased portability of the video camera and the television monitor has involved television's integration into technologies of travel and transport. Television viewers have formed cognitive maps of environments they inhabit in part through their engagements with particular televisual mappings of social space from particular places and through their capacity for moving about with portable forms of screen media such as television. Furthermore, through the circulation and consumption of representations of places, and through networks of distribution, the televisual has been instrumental in shaping concrete, material relations among places: for example, as a technology of mass suburbanization and "mobile privatization" during the 1950s and 1960s; as a burgeoning national network that realigned regions (as when the three major U.S. television networks broadcast civil rights demonstrations occurring in the South during the early 1960s while southern stations instigated local blackouts of those national broadcasts); and as a basis during the 1980s for the emergence of certain cities, such as Atlanta, Georgia, as new centers within a national and global cultural and tourism-oriented economy.

The spread and containment of the televisual have been fraught with political conflicts and inspired legislation over a variety of sites, borders, and kinds of territory. Campaigns to regulate the consumption of pornography, for example, have found television's place in the domestic sphere to be particularly alarm-

ing. In this case, regulating television involves politics and technologies for regulating the relation of the domestic sphere to an outside. In the case of the nation-state, the implementation of national coding of broadcast signals (e.g., NTSC, PAL, or SECAM) has served as an invisible border against the international flow of television broadcasting, or (as in the case of Latin America) as a means of facilitating the transnational circulation of Spanish-language television. In Western Europe, for instance, where there was a significant diversity of broadcast frequency codes, these televisual borders began to erode with the increased reliance upon satellite broadcasting, which occurred concurrently with efforts to organize a European Union. Still, language and other cultural differences have deterred a European televisual formation, and the difficulties faced in legislating and regulating the cultures of a "European television" have been a recurring impediment to actualizing the European Union or of treating television as merely another commodity in a European common market. The uses of television among Australian aboriginal communities have not only raised issues of autonomy, territoriality, and governance within and among these communities but have been the subject of the Australian government's efforts to implement policy regarding "national" broadcast space. And along with the impact of transnational televisual flows on the collapse of the Soviet Union, the televisualization of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 attested to the capability of television to conjoin a global audience in an event that signaled a profound transformation in geopolitical borders. Moreover, that event also served as an occasion for national commentators and audiences to reformulate national cultural maps of the world. As these instances affirm, the location of television is organized through emerging and residual social and cultural formations, of which the televisual is one. However, the location of television is also organized through policies and commercial interests bent on preserving, or dismantling, residual formations or on nurturing or containing emerging ones—or on co-opting both.

The history of the televisual, then, is a history of how various sites and environments—domestic, urban, rural, regional, national, or global space—have shaped and been shaped through the place of television in a broad array of everyday activities. Emphasizing the sites and (overlapping or conflicting) territories of the televisual makes it impossible to conceive of a uniform and universal history of television. For instance, the televisual only became central to the formation of social relations and to everyday life after World War II, a period characterized by a broad restructuring of cities and of the relation between domestic space and the

outside world. As Raymond Williams has noted, the expansion of cities and the proliferation of suburbs hastened at this time. The developments were sustained by technologies such as telephony, a greater reliance upon automobile travel, and broadcasting, all of which were supposed to facilitate flows to and from these new settlements. Williams's observations describe a general set of conditions, however, that were more common in North America, Britain, and Australia during the 1950s and 1960s than in other parts of the world. That is, the observations explain why television became more quickly and deeply embedded in the everyday life of some places, amid certain historical convergences, rather than others.

To say that the televisual lacks a discrete, continuous history is not to ignore that there have in fact been certain historically parallel, converging, and interdependent developments. For instance, the televisual developed through certain spatial logics and arrangements that had underpinned geopolitics since the 1920s. Television technology, along with the development of telephony and radio technology, all continued to be crucial in the social organization and conceptualization of national territory and sovereignty after World War II, such that the "national" could be defined as a networked space with a single center of cultural production (as London was to Britain, Hollywood to the United States, or Rome to Italy). Although the geographic connection between Hollywood film and television production after World War II deepened the global paths for distributing U.S. television programs, the global distribution of U.S. television was relatively meager before the 1980s because of the nationalized structures of broadcasting around the world. The rapid and widespread reliance upon cable and satellite technologies after the mid-1970s contributed to the erosion of a geography of broadcasting that had remained relatively intact since the 1920s. Throughout the 1980s, national broadcasting systems' competition, often with expanding local, regional, or "private" foreign companies, began to reconfigure that model of the nation. During the 1980s, some cities became equally or more aligned to flows outside their national boundaries than had previously been the case. And while in the early 21st century the increased reliance upon Internet sources of news and upon extranational television news sources have challenged the prerogative of national broadcasting systems as arbiters of "national representations," national television broadcasting (most notably the efforts in Western national television broadcasting after September 11, 2001, to brand al-Jazeera television as an unreliable source of news, while simultaneously relying on its images and news accounts to help cover the "war on terrorism") continues to occupy a position

of authority grounded in the historical experience of viewers as well as broadcasters.

Since the late 1940s the development of the televisual has occurred through a changing set of relations between the home and other sites and spaces, through making certain environments available and open to certain populations (TV as a technology of settlement and "home"), through practices of social segregation (TV as a technology for maintaining distance and the "proper" place of populations, social classes, and identities), and through the maintenance of a broad social arrangement (a distribution/agreement) as televisual community. In part, this has been a process of linking the home to a circuit and assemblage of sites, vectors, and spaces (TV as a technology that matters in shaping a broad social arrangement). It has also been a process of aligning new domestic spaces, in new settlements, with already built (but, in the wake of resettlement, changing) places and spheres of community. The role of television in colonizing and expanding the domestic sphere and of mediating new and old places (and other flows between them) has not just involved the material networking of homes. It has also been contingent upon television audiences' investment in and mobility between the home and other sites. Such an investment has only partially to do with "watching television," but everything to do with television's role in mediating the places of everyday life. It has occurred in part through television narratives about settlement and domesticity. These narratives have mythologized certain architectural ideals of domestic space and domestic space's relation to other spheres.

The set design of ranch homes in TV westerns in the United States during the early 1960s, in series such as *Bonanza*, *High Chaparral*, *The Virginian*, or *The Big Valley*, contributed, for instance, to concrete and imaginary relations of suburban homes to suburban settlement. These sets drew upon the western genre's mythology of settlement for an era of planned development, appropriating the postwar ideals of other domestic narratives and domestic design magazines to valorize a "ranch" style (on a grander scale than most early postwar "ranch homes") for 1950s and early 1960s suburban "settlers." Television comedies produced in the United States from the late 1950s to the early 1960s rarely involved characters who abandoned or ventured too far outside the suburbs. Contemporaneous crime series, such as *Peter Gunn*, were set in an inner city where vice and eccentricity were made to seem beyond the realm of everyday life in the suburbs but, through television, having a vital connection to the domestic, suburban domain. At other times, U.S. television narratives (indeed whole series) have been about displacement and resettlement—a televisual dis-



course about television's changing relation to a changing material and symbolic environment (e.g., the Goldbergs' move to suburbia during the early 1950s on *The Goldbergs*; the Clampetts' move from a "simple," rural America to the suburban dream-world of Beverly Hills, California, in the early 1960s on the sitcom *The Beverly Hillbillies*; or the Jeffersons' move "up" and out from Queens, New York, to Manhattan in the mid-1970s on the sitcom *The Jeffersons*).

That television has played a mediating role amid the flows of people reshaping cities has also been evident in the postcable/postsatellite era when television became an invaluable instrument in the "revitalization" projects of certain cities. Particularly in the United States, where cable/satellite broadcasting first became widely established, Chicago and Atlanta transformed local network affiliates (Chicago's WGN and Atlanta's WTBS) into "superstations," capable of broadcasting across the United States via satellite and the rapidly expanding cable companies. Through sports broadcasting in particular, these superstations maintained a circuit of fans and thus of potential tourists to cities that were concurrently attempting to "rehabilitate" their old commercial centers as new tourist sites/sights through "restoration" projects. Wrigley Field became a nationally circulating image of a presuburban Chicago, and Turner Broadcasting's ownership of and regular recycling of *Gone With the Wind* functioned similarly for the contemporaneous "restoration" of the area surrounding Atlanta's Peachtree Street as a retail/tourist center. In both instances, the televisual worked to spatially redefine and to reimagine the relation of current development to an urban past. Since the 1970s the modifications to these cities have developed alongside the construction of Disney World in Orlando, Florida, and the initiation of the Disney Channel that promoted the theme park, and alongside the Nashville Network's promotion of the city of Nashville, Tennessee, as country-music mecca and museum. Through television, these cities emerged as "new" centers of national popular culture (after New York and Los Angeles), while their reproduction of an urban past already partially constituted as televisual and cinematic past. These urban "revitalization" projects precipitated and were fueled by a reterritorialization of national and global economic flows, by the movement of people (as "settlers" or "tourists") to these cities, and by broadcasts from them.

The flow of television broadcasting via cable, fiber optics, and satellites has affected the geographic features of the televisual and its environment in a variety of ways. It has brought traditional broadcast television into close relations with the paths and flows of telecommunications and telematics, although these

convergences have been fraught with commercial and political conflicts over territory. It has occurred amid a redistribution of people and economic/cultural capital. Not every home and not every nation and few rural areas are equally connected to these potentially global flows. To the extent that new modes of transmission and new industry alliances have made the televisual a global formation, this formation is at best tenuously sustained through various conjunctions and divisions among the domestic, the urban, the rural, the regional, and the national. Furthermore, recognizing only the global flow of television risks ignoring how the movement of people from one part of the world to another often involves their "assimilation" into a new environment, shaped politically, economically, and culturally, at least in part, through televisual mediation of their new sense of place and/or their relation to their former homeland. This has occurred through Spanish-language television broadcasting across the Western Hemisphere; through television produced by and for Iranian exiles in Los Angeles; through television broadcast via satellite by the Italian RAI foreign service to Italian-American audiences in New York; through video rentals and pirating for video playback where there are no broadcasts for immigrant audiences; or through audiences whose sense of place is bound up with their consumption of television that arrives from abroad (e.g., Europeans watching *Dallas* or Australian aborigines watching *Diff'rent Strokes*).

The televisual has always been appended to particular sites and located within particular environments, mediating various spheres of sociality. However, the current interdependence of television with telecommunication and telematics suggests that what has been known so far as "the televisual" was composed of spatial formations and forms of spatial modeling whose effectivity belonged to a vanishing set of environmental conditions. In certain respects, the first wave of televisual technologies emerged within established infrastructures, networks, and environmental conditions. Through these conditions the televisual flourished as a means of spatially organizing social relations. However, the flow of images and the formation of discourses through the current technological convergence have already been predicated upon changing concentrations and dispersals of economic and cultural capital, and cultural capital, after all, is the basis for accessing these flows, as opposed to merely inhabiting an environment conditioned by them. Despite the enthusiastic proclamations about the democratizing potential of new technological convergences, then, access to global media flows is still unequally distributed at the level of home and region. The televisual thus remains as a residual formation, still an organiz-



ing feature of homes, cities, and nations, even as their relations are once again being redefined spatially through technologies appended to television. In another sense, however, the emergence of Internet technologies involves a deepening of concerns about managing distance that has made televisuality an ideal and objective since the 19th century.

JAMES HAY

*See also Coproductions, International; Satellite; Superstation*

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## George Burns and Gracie Allen Show, The

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, which premiered on October 12, 1950, was one of the first comedy series to make the successful transition from radio to television. Similar in format to the radio program in which George Burns and Gracie Allen played themselves, the CBS domestic comedy was set in their home and was the first television series to depict the home life of a working show-business couple.

The half-hour series was broadcast live for the first two seasons. The first six episodes were broadcast from New York, but the show soon moved to Hollywood, making it only the third CBS series to emanate from the West Coast (after *The Ed Wynn Show* and *The Alan Young Show*). On Burns's insistence, the show was broadcast on alternate weeks in order to provide sufficient time for rehearsals and alleviate some of the pressures of live broadcasts. During its biweekly period, the series alternated with the anthology series *Starlight Theater* and, later, with *Star of the Family*. After two seasons of live performances, the series switched to a weekly filmed broadcast. Although not filmed before a studio audience, the final filmed product was previewed to an audience and their reactions recorded. At a time when many series relied on mechanically reproduced ("canned") laughter, Burns

claimed that his series only "'sweetened' the laughter when a joke went flat and there was no way of eliminating it from the film." Even then, "we never added more than a gentle chuckle."

Like other television pioneers such as Desi Arnaz and Jack Webb, Burns must be credited for his contributions behind the scenes. *Burns and Allen* incorporated a number of television "firsts," although Burns noted that "television was so new that if an actor burped, everyone agreed it was an innovative concept and nothing like it had ever been done on television before." Burns was the first television performer to use the theatrical convention of "breaking the fourth wall" between the audience and the performer. He frequently stepped out of a scene and out of character to address the audience, then rejoined the story. This convention was later imitated by others, but not used effectively until *It's Garry Shandling's Show* in the 1980s.

The staff writers for the series were those who had written for the *Burns and Allen* radio program or worked with the team in vaudeville, including Paul Henning (who later created *The Beverly Hillbillies*), Sid Dorfman (who later wrote for *M\*A\*S\*H* and produced *Good Times* for Norman Lear), Harvey Helm, and William Burns (George's younger brother). To



*George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, George Burns, Gracie Allen, 1950–58.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

keep dialogue and situations consistent with the characters' personalities and ages, the *Burns and Allen* writers adhered to policies and practices established during their radio show. The stories stayed away from topical humor, fantastic characters, and absurd situations, focusing instead on more universal aspects of daily life. Plots were simple (e.g., Gracie attempting to learn Spanish) and, like the couple's vaudeville routines, the comedy emanated from Allen's uniquely skewed interpretation of the world and the resulting confusion. Burns played the quintessential straight man to the giddy, scatterbrained Allen.

Each episode began with Burns standing, trademark cigar in hand, before the proscenium surrounding the living room set. He presented a brief monologue and offered the audience a few comments regarding the situation they were about to see.

Allen's success, and her enormous popularity, emanated from her ability to underplay her character. Her convincing sincerity makes illogical premises, such as sewing buttons on her husband's shirttails so no one would notice if he lost one, seem logical.

Episodes ended with a Burns and Allen dialogue reminiscent of their vaudeville routines. At the conclu-

sion of every episode, Burns would turn to Allen and say, "Say goodnight, Gracie," to which Allen would obligingly turn to their audience and fondly bid them, "Goodnight."

The supporting cast continued in roles established in the original *Burns and Allen* radio program. Bea Benaderet and Hal March played the Burns' neighbors, Blanche and Harry Morton. Bill Goodwin, as himself, played the show's announcer and friend of the family, and Rolfe Sedan played mailman Mr. Beasley, with whom Gracie gossiped. During the run of the series, the role of Harry Morton was subsequently played by John Brown, Fred Clark, and Larry Keating. In the second season, announcer Goodwin left to host his own variety series for NBC (*The Bill Goodwin Show*) and was replaced by Harry Von Zell. A musical entr'acte entertainment was provided by the Singing Skylarks. The Burns' son Ronnie later joined the cast as himself.

Although *Burns and Allen* was never among the top-rated series, it maintained consistently high ratings throughout its eight seasons. The show garnered a total of 12 Emmy nominations: four for Best Comedy Series, six for Allen as Best Actress and Comedienne, and two for Bea Benaderet as Best Supporting Actress.

On September 22, 1958, the series ended, following Allen's decision to retire from show business. Burns continued working in a revamped version of the show, *The George Burns Show* (NBC, October 21, 1958, to April 14, 1959), in which he again played himself, now in the role of a theatrical producer. Bea Benaderet and Larry Keating reprised their roles as Blanche and Harry Morton, but now portrayed Burns's secretary and accountant, and Harry Von Zell repeated his role as Burns's announcer. The series lasted only one season.

After Allen's death (August 24, 1964), Burns returned to series television as producer and star of *Wendy and Me* (ABC, September 14, 1964, to September 6, 1965), in which he played an apartment building owner who narrated and commented on the action. Burns's McCadden Productions continued to produce other situation comedies, such as *Mr. Ed*, *The Bob Cummings Show*, *The People's Choice*, and *The Marie Wilson Show*. At age 89, Burns hosted the short-lived half-hour comedy anthology series *George Burns Comedy Week* (CBS, September 18, 1985, to December 25, 1985). He died on March 9, 1996, at age 100.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

*See also Allen, Gracie; Burns, George*

#### Cast

George Burns	Himself
Gracie Allen	Herself
Blanche Morton	Bea Benaderet

Harry Morton (1950–51)	Hal March
Harry Morton (1951)	John Brown
Harry Morton (1951–53)	Fred Clark
Harry Morton (1953–58)	Larry Keating
Bill Goodwin (1950–51)	Himself
Harry Von Zell (1951–58)	Himself
Mr. Beasley, Mailman	Rolfe Sedan
Ronnie Burns (1955–58)	Himself
Bonnie Sue McAfee (1957–58)	Judi Meredith

### Producers

Fred DeCordova, Al Simon, Ralph Levy, Rod Amateau

### Programming History

239 episodes

CBS

October 1950–March 1953 Thursday 8:00–8:30

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## Germany

### Origins

Television in Germany began as an integrated part of an existing public broadcasting system. Although it took seven years in the 1950s to establish fully TV as a mass medium, its history started before World War II. The first tests with wireless transmission of television pictures without sound were regularly offered by the German Reichpost in 1929. As a result of these tests, the first made-for-television movie, *Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund* (*The Early Bird Catches the Worm*), was produced in 1930. It was not until 1934, however, that programs combining pictures and sounds were produced.

The National Socialist Party enforced further technical developments in order to create a new instrument for propaganda. The first regular television network, "Paul Nipkow," began operation on March 22, 1935, under control of Reichssendeleiter Eugen Hadamovsky. To fulfill the propaganda function, reception was made

available only in public television rooms. These venues, which operated quite similarly to movie theaters and presented programs three nights a week, were set up in Berlin. The first highlight, shown in 28 television rooms, was live coverage of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Private reception of television was made technically possible by the *Deutsche Fernseh-Einheitsempfänger*, but the system could not be introduced to the market because of the beginning of World War II. Television programming adapted to the situation, and by 1941 a series of variety shows, *Wir senden Frohsin—Wir spenden Freude* (*We Broadcast Joy—We Spend Happiness*), were broadcast for injured soldiers in Berlin. Following the presentation of programs in Hamburg, television was also broadcast in occupied Paris from 1942 until 1944. The same programs produced for the injured soldiers were aimed in French at the inhabitants of Paris.

## West German Television

The development of television in Germany following World War II began when the Western Allies founded new networks in their occupied areas, patterned on the network systems of their home countries. A common aim of the Western Allies was to prevent the future abuse of broadcasting by the German government. Thus, the different regional networks were placed under control of the state governments of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG; West Germany): NWDR (northern and west Germany, which were split, during the 1950s, into NDR and WDR); Radio Bremen (Bremen); BR (Bavaria); HR (Hessia); SR, SDR, and SWF for southwest Germany.

In 1948 the British Allies allowed the NWDR to broadcast television programs for the northern part of Germany. A general television programming test phase, organized by Werner Pleister, started on September 25, 1950. Pleister and members of a television committee traveled to the United States and several European countries to become more familiar with television standards. In 1950 the NWDR presented a two-hour program between 8:00 and 10:00 P.M., which included news, variety shows, movies, and television plays. In 1951 additional programs for children (*Television's Children's Hour with Ilse Obrig*) and women (*Television's Tea Hour with Eva Baier Post*) were broadcast in the afternoon. Further gaps in the daily schedule were filled during the 1950s, and, in addition to the NWDR, other federal networks also started to develop television programs.

In the time of the test phase, between 1950 and 1952, it seemed necessary to promote the new medium by pointing out the technical differences that distinguished television from its "big brothers," radio and film. By presenting live reports with both visual and sound components, television was described as the fifth wall in the living room, or as the "Miracle Mirror." Television was celebrated as the "window to the world," which transferred directly into German homes. Two major events assisted in efforts to change television into a mass medium—the live coverage of the coronation ceremony of Queen Elizabeth II on June 2, 1953, and the final game of the soccer World Cup in Switzerland on July 4, 1954. Many Germans who did not yet own a television set watched these events in pubs.

In 1954 a regular television schedule began through the cooperation of all federal networks, which had formed an association named *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der oeffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (ARD). ARD was financed by

license fees paid by the audience and, after 1956, with a few minutes of commercials presented in the early evening. During the 1950s the basic television genres in the central areas of entertainment, information, and education were established, and television plays developed as television's own specific art form. Because of the lack of a recording technique, these plays, as well as other types of shows, were presented live. In 1954 the first family series, *Unsere Nachbarn heute Abend: Familie Schoelermann* (*Our Neighbors Tonight: The Schoelermann Family*), appeared. The lifestyle depicted on the program served as an ideal for the audience, which resulted in many letters expressing gratitude for helpful advice. Documentaries, under the heading *Zeichen der Zeit* (*Sign of the Time*), also gave direct insights into several parts of German society.

Improvements in the technical quality of television sets, reduced prices, and better programs resulted in a steady increase in license holders, and their number reached 1 million on October 1, 1957. This success and new, still unused frequencies motivated Konrad Adenauer, chancellor of the West German government, to increase his influence by founding a second channel, "Free Television," financed by the industry and with the central goal of presenting government opinions. The federal governments protested against these activities, and they were finally stopped by a court ruling in 1961. The ARD also presented a second schedule of programs from January 1, 1961, until January 4, 1963. In addition, the federal governments allowed the several ARD networks to found regional third channels, which, from 1964, presented educational and cultural programs in addition to local information.

The ZDF (Second German Television) was founded by the FRG in 1963 as the long-promised second national network. In contrast to the ARD, whose networks distributed several radio programs as well, the ZDF was centrally organized solely for the production of television programs. According to a decision by the federal governments, programming had to be planned in cooperation with the ARD, with the aim of presenting contrasting elements on the two channels. Still, the well-established ARD perceived the ZDF as a competitor and reacted to it by offering viewers enhanced news coverage and several international reports. New political magazine programs such as *Panorama* created controversial public discussions as a result of their investigative journalism. The ZDF did not yet have enough journalists to cover these areas with the same standard. Instead, it increased its efforts in presenting entertainment in order to gain a larger audience. The arrival of color TV in 1967 increased the presentation of popular programs for both ARD and ZDF, whose

schedules by then included many U.S. series, such as *Bonanza*. With the increasing influence of popular television shows, the star system also became far more significant. Still, as in the 1950s, the highlight of the era came in the form of live coverage—especially the images of the first man on the moon on July 21, 1969.

Serials dominated prime-time television broadcasts in the 1970s. In the early years of the decade, the liberalization movements initiated by students started to influence television. In 1971 Wibke Bruhns became the first female news anchor. *Wuensch Dir was (Desire Something, 1969–72)* was the first game show intended to improve social behavior of the contestants. The first German sitcom series, *Ein Herz und eine Seele (One Heart and One Soul, 1973)*, criticized the conservative attitude and the chauvinistic behavior of its protagonist, Ekel Alfred. Television plays tried to present realistic daily life routines in the tradition of Egon Monk's *Wilhelmsburger Freitag (Friday in Wilhelmsburg, 1964)*. Even television series such as Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Acht Stunden sind kein Tag (Eight Hours Don't Form a Day, 1972)* followed realistic dramaturgy in order to present the necessity of political engagement. This aim also influenced informational programs, which were mainly presented in magazine format, and, in addition to political magazines, there were also magazines for seniors, car owners, and others. Politics was approached from another direction when the election campaign in 1976 was used to develop new formats for the presentation of political items, and television debates between the main candidates were established.

In the late 1960s the government founded a commission to analyze possible influences of new media technologies, but the commission did not present its report until 1976. It made clear that cable technology made new, commercially financed television channels possible. Although a 1981 legal decision guaranteed the audience further educational and information programs supplied from public television, this period saw major changes resulting from the rise of commercial broadcasting that was made possible by these new technologies.

With the foundation in 1984 of privately organized pilot projects in Ludwigshafen, Berlin, and Dortmund, the media landscape in West Germany, long dominated by public television, changed rapidly. Ratings, instead of quality, now formed the basic criteria for assessing the success of programming. ARD and ZDF, the state-supported competitors to the commercial systems, altered their schedules in attempts to secure their financial situation. The general public-service goal of integrating social minorities through the development

and broadcasting of special programming was now supplanted by the dominance of economic measurements. Public television systems did produce their own series with specific regional orientations. This programming—for example, *Landarzt (Country Doctor)*, broadcast in a coastal region of northern Germany—was quite successful.

### East German Television

From the postwar division of Germany into two nations until the collapse of the Berlin Wall, television broadcasting in the German Democratic Republic (GDR; East Germany) remained under government control and served as a propaganda instrument for socialistic ideals. Regular programming officially started on March 3, 1956, as an alternative to West German television, but it reached only few regions across the border. By contrast, ARD broadcasts could be seen in most parts of the GDR.

As in West Germany, there had been a test phase in the GDR, begun on June 3, 1952, under the control of Hermann Zille. TV officials traveled to Moscow to gain insight into socialist models for television practices. For political reasons, Zille was fired in 1953 and replaced by Heinz Adameck in June 1954, who remained as head of the system until 1989. The first East German television play was an adaptation of E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Des Vetters Eckfenster (The Cousin's Corner Window, January 22, 1953)*.

The purpose of television was to form the morality of socialist people. Television shows and old DEFA movies were presented as entertainment in order to keep the audience from watching West German channels. In the 1960s TV novels were popular, presenting historical plots in miniseries format. The news *Aktuelle Kamera (Current Camera)* was directly controlled by members of the government. *Der Schwarze Kanal (The Black Channel)*, with anchorman Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, reacted directly to West German news coverage with propaganda material.

In response to the West German television landscape, a second program schedule, presented in color, was founded in 1969 to complement the original schedule. In its early period, this channel presented color versions of programs the audience already knew from the first schedule. Additionally, the leaders of Soviet troops in the GDR demanded a series of Russian movies, *Fuer die Freunde der Russischen Sprache (For Friends of the Russian Language)*, which were presented in the original language. In the late 1970s the second schedule began several educational and cultural programs.

During the 1980s, East German television tried to react against commercial tendencies in West Germany. More movies and popular series were placed in the schedules to keep citizens from watching West German channels. By the 1989–90 season, following political changes in East Germany and the unification of East and West Germany, the central issue for television was the matter of news coverage. Journalists of the ARD claimed to have encouraged the political changes with their information policy. In essence, East German television was adapted to the West German broadcasting system, with various services integrated in the ARD.

### Television Since Reunification

From the mid-1980s on, the steadily increasing number of channels in Germany created a growing demand for programs. It was quite expensive to produce programming, but the prices for licenses exploded as well. Many Hollywood movies and U.S. series, such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *The A-Team*, were broadcast. The commercial networks RTL and SAT.1 established the form of the daytime series with productions like *The Springfield Story*. Game show and talk show formats were both successful and inexpensive to produce. RTL tried to gain public attention by breaking existing taboos—*Tutti Frutti* (1990) was the first striptease show presented on German TV. Soft news dominated the information sector. Instead of seriously discussing a topic, RTL talk shows were based on the principle of “confrontainment.”

At the beginning of the 1990s, RTL and SAT.1 improved their financial situation. Simultaneously, ARD and ZDF, as public networks, experienced a financial crisis because of the decreasing number of commercials they carried. With their new prominence, RTL and SAT.1 started several campaigns to improve their image. They promised a higher percentage of self-produced made-for-television movies and series, more information, and less sex in future programming. They brought in stars in order to deepen the identification between the viewers and their networks. ARD and ZDF increasingly adapted the successful formats of their competitors, which had themselves already taken up popular public-television formats such as folklore programs.

From 1992 to 1994 “reality TV” shows were a successful format on every channel. The blurred lines between reality and fiction in these programs created controversial public discussions and led to their slow disappearance during the later 1990s. Several forms of emotionalized shows like *Ich bekenne* (*I Confess*) or *Verzeih mir* (*Pardon Me*) presented weeping guests comforted by weeping hosts. Flirtation and love shows such as *Traumhochzeit* (*Dream Wedding*) offered ex-

citing possibilities for finding a partner or even for marriage in front of studio cameras.

During the 1990s, several specialty channels were created. In addition to news (N-TV), sports (DSF), and music channels (Viva I and Viva II), local channels (HH1, Puls TV) were founded. Even more new channels are expected in the future as digital television technologies make more networks possible.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Leo Kirch, head of KirchMedia, one of the two main media conglomerates dominating the German network television market (along with Bertelsmann), tried to strengthen his company’s financial resources by establishing several forms of pay-TV, beginning with the program bouquet of DF1, which was later combined with Premiere World. Kirch also invested a large amount of money to buy world rights for the live coverage of sporting events, particularly soccer matches (including the World Cup) and Formula One automobile races. However, despite such appealing offerings, German viewers still generally refused to pay for television programs, and KirchMedia became mired in debt, with Leo Kirch resigning from the company in April 2002 after it filed for insolvency.

Around the same time that Kirch was expanding and then collapsing, U.S. cable entrepreneur John C. Malone also tried to enter Germany’s pay-TV market, striking a \$4.7 billion deal in 2001 to acquire from the German telecommunications company Deutsche Telekom its interest in cable television services reaching the majority of German households with cable. However, Malone’s efforts were thwarted in 2002 by German regulators, who cited concerns that the deal would ultimately lead to higher prices for cable subscriptions and thus harm the interests of consumers. Other foreign investors, such as Rupert Murdoch, continue to seek inroads into the German television market.

In 2000 the reality show *Big Brother* was the biggest television event in Germany. On this program and via its Internet site, viewers could observe ten people living together in a household where every room was observed by cameras. The high ratings of *Big Brother* encouraged the production of many more reality shows until this trend was stemmed by the success of quiz shows in 2001.

It remains to be seen whether the new, combined German system of television will continue a familiar path of creating new channels to serve viewer interests, or become something quite different. Throughout the world, television as medium of “mass” communication has begun to fragment into several forms of individual communication. New possibilities for interactive television try to change viewers into active users. Still, it is likely that many of those now sitting before the televi-

sion set will cling to this medium as a favorite source for information, stories, and human insights.

JOAN KRISTIN BLEICHER

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## Gerussi, Bruno (1928-1995)

### Canadian Actor

After an extensive career in stage, radio, television, and film, Bruno Gerussi became one of Canada's most highly recognizable actors and television personalities. Despite the diversity of his career, the Canadian-born Gerussi is best known for his role as Nick Adonidas on Canada's longest-running television series, *The Beachcombers* (1972-90).

Gerussi began his acting career on the stage, where he performed both supporting and leading roles in Canadian Players and Stratford Festival productions such as *Twelfth Night*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *The Crucible*. The exposure and experience provided in the theater allowed Gerussi to make a smooth transition into the expanding arena of Canadian television production of the late 1950s and early 1960s. During this time the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) developed a number of televised dramas, including *The Crucible* (1959), *Riel* (1961), and *Galileo* (1963), in which Gerussi assumed important dramatic roles.

After a two-year stint (1967-68) with his own nationally broadcast midmorning CBC radio show, *Gerussi, Words and Music*, Gerussi won the lead role on the popular CBC family-adventure series *The Beachcombers* created by Marc and Susan Strange (produced by Philip Keatley and Derek Gardner). Gerussi portrayed Nick Adonidas, the Greek-born owner of Nick's Salvage Company and father figure for a set of characters who inhabited the fishing village of Molly's Reach. Although largely consistent with the family-adventure genre, *Beachcombers* (*The* was dropped from the title in 1988) stretched the limitations of the form sufficiently to allow the various characters to evolve and the series to stay fresh during its

extensive run. Over the course of the series, for example, the romantic, free spirit nature of Gerussi's character became increasingly responsible and fatherly toward his substitute family.

A total of 324 half-hour *Beachcomber* episodes were produced over a 19-year period. At its peak in 1982, the series attracted an audience of 1.94 million (25 percent of the available audience) during the "CBC Sunday night family hour" (7:30 P.M. time slot). *Beachcombers* was one of the few Canadian productions of its time to be widely exported, broadcast in a single season in as many as 34 countries, including Greece, Australia, Italy, and Britain. The location of the production, Gibson's Landing, a small fishing village on the coast of British Columbia, generated upwards of 100,000 tourists a year as a result of the show's popularity.

Despite the international appeal of *Beachcombers*, the program was often interpreted by Canadians as the quintessential Canadian program. This was true both in terms of its economic development—a relatively low-budget product of the publicly subsidized CBC, as well as culturally, in the sense that it presented a relatively innocent, unglamorous group of characters and storylines, which distinguished the series from much of the U.S. prime-time programming distributed on Canadian airwaves. Ironically, CBC management attempted to revamp the series in its last years by increasing the level of action and violence in the storylines, decreasing the contrast with its competition. This move was publicly criticized by longtime cast members, particularly Gerussi, who saw this as an "Americanization" of Canadian programming. By the 1988-89 season, *Beachcombers'* audience fell to



Bruno Gerussi.  
Photo courtesy of Bruno Gerussi

990,000, and the program was canceled the following year.

From the 1970s, Gerussi accumulated dozens of television credits as a guest character on various Canadian and U.S.-Canada coproductions, including *E.N.G.*, *McQueen*, *Seeing Things*, *Hangin' In*, *Wojeck*, *Wiseguy*, and CBC's *Side Effects*. Gerussi was often cast in roles that took advantage of his "larger than life" persona. For example, Gerussi acted as the host of the Canada Day telecast, and the opening of the Canada's National Arts Centre. Gerussi also hosted his own CBC afternoon cooking program for four years entitled *Celebrity Cooks*. This weekday production, often shot in one take, drew on the host's personality and ability to interact with the celebrities who acted as guest chefs. Through his association with the *Beachcombers* series, and his decision to locate his career permanently in Canada rather than in the larger U.S. market, Gerussi developed a particularly strong link to Canada and its television industry.

KEITH C. HAMPSON

**See also *Beachcombers*; Canadian Programming in English**

**Bruno Gerussi.** Born in Medicine Hat, Alberta, 1928. Educated at the Banff School of Fine Arts. Joined the Stratford Festival and the Canadian Players as a stage actor, mid-1950s; star of morning CBC radio show *Gerussi, Words and Music*, 1967-68; star of CBC television adventure series *The Beachcombers*, 1972-90; host of afternoon show *Celebrity Cooks*, 1975-79. Died in Vancouver, British Columbia, November 21, 1995.

**Television Series (selected)**

1972-90        *The Beachcombers*  
1975-79        *Celebrity Cooks*

**Television Special**

1995            *Artisans de notre histoire* (actor)

**Films**

*Alexander Galt: The Stubborn Idealist*, 1962; *The Stage to Three*, 1964; *Do Not Fold, Staple, Spindle, or Mutilate*, 1967.

**Radio**

*Gerussi, Words and Music*, 1967-68.

**Stage (selected)**

*Twelfth Night*; *Romeo and Juliet*; *Julius Ceasar*; *The Crucible*.

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"Gerussi Moves On, But Still Pines for *The Beachcombers*," *Vancouver Sun* (September 20, 1991)  
"Stormy Weather on the Sunshine Coast: Bruno Gerussi Has His Doubts about Head Office," *Globe and Mail* (August 1, 1989)



# Get Smart

## U.S. Spy Parody

The premise of this cult-classic television comedy series is that an evil organization, KAOS, is attempting to take over the world. The forces of good, symbolized by the organization CONTROL, constantly battle KAOS to preserve order in the world. Maxwell Smart (Don Adams) is CONTROL Secret Agent 86. Yet Smart is anything but smart. A stupid, self-centered man, he is the antithesis—and parody—of everything conventionally represented by secret service agents in popular culture.

Smart's immediate superior is the Chief (Ed Platt), the head of the Washington Bureau of CONTROL. In his fight against KAOS, Smart is assisted by his sidekick, Agent 99, played by former model Barbara Feldon. Unfailingly faithful to Maxwell Smart and always willing to let him take credit for her proficiency, 99's admiration of Smart goes well beyond professional respect. It is obvious to anyone, except of course Maxwell Smart, that Agent 99 is in love with him, and, indeed, in a later show they marry.

The success of *Get Smart* has been linked to three primary factors. The first was the spy craze that was all the rage in early 1960s popular culture. Second was the talent of persons involved in the production of the series both in front of and behind the camera. And third was the more tenuous sense of a new mood in the American public, a willingness to accept television humor that went beyond sight gags and family situation comedies. In the aftermath of 1950s McCarthyism, the civil rights movement, and increasing criticism of U.S. policy in Vietnam, these newer forms of television humor included satiric jabs at an increasingly questioned status quo.

In the mid-1960s, spies were hot: *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* aired on NBC in 1964. *I Spy* appeared in 1965. *The Avengers*, a British production, came to U.S. television in March 1966. *Burke's Law* premiered in 1963 but in the 1965 season changed its name to *Amos Burke—Secret Agent*. In the same year *The Wild, Wild West* appeared on the small screen. *Honey West*, a *Burke* spin-off, featured Anne Francis as a female private detective who depends on technological marvels—tear-gas earrings and garters that convert

into gas masks—to solve crimes. CBS imported *Secret Agent* from Britain, and ABC aired *The FBI*.

In this context, Mel Brooks (whose film credits include *The Producers*, *Blazing Saddles*, *Spaceballs*), Buck Henry (*The Graduate*, *Saturday Night Live*), Jay Sandrich (director of *Soap*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *The Cosby Show*), and Carl Reiner (*Mary Tyler Moore*) were brought together by Dan Melnick and David Susskind. Melnick and Susskind owned Talent Associates, the company that had produced the highly acclaimed television series *East Side/West Side* (1963–64). Brooks and Henry developed the idea for *Get Smart*.



*Get Smart*, K-9 (Fang), Don Adams, 1965–70.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Don Adams had played a house detective on *The Danny Thomas Show* before signing on as Agent 86. His ability to deliver memorable lines was uncanny. On several occasions, for example, after being asked if he understands that his current assignment means he will be in constant danger, be unable to trust anyone, and face torture or even death, Smart, assuming a cavalier stance, responds with, "And loving it." Another catchy phrase, "Sorry about that, Chief," was usually uttered when Smart accidentally caused his boss some problem.

Finally, the mood of the American public seems to have contributed to the success of a program like *Get Smart*. In 1965 protests against the war in Vietnam, riots by African Americans in many urban centers, organized efforts by Mexican and Mexican-American migrant workers to strike for higher wages, and an increase in new political activism on the part of women eventually led to a questioning of fundamental assumptions about the role of the U.S. government in domestic and world affairs. A television series such as *Get Smart* was able to make pointed—some might say subversive—statements about many political issues in a nonthreatening, humorous way. In her book on the series, Donna McCrohan identifies one example of *Get Smart*'s political dialogue as "probably the strongest anti-bomb statement made by situation comedy up to that time" (see McCrohan). The exchange she cites takes place between Smart and Agent 99 in the episode titled "Appointment in Sahara." Behind the two characters is an image of a mushroom cloud:

- 99: Oh, Max, what a terrible weapon of destruction.
- Smart: Yes. You know, China, Russia, and France should outlaw all nuclear weapons. We should insist upon it.
- 99: What if they don't, Max?
- Smart: Then we may have to blast them. That's the only way to keep peace in the world.

*Get Smart* is credited with paving the way for other comedy programs and broadening the parameters for the presentation of comedy on television. While it was on the air from 1965 to 1970, a total of 138 half-hour episodes of the series were produced.

In the 1994–95 television season, an attempt was made to revive the series with some of the original actors. This time Don Adams was cast as the Chief, Barbara Feldon was a congresswoman, and Secret Agent Smart was their son. The series lasted only a few episodes; its jokes, and perhaps its cast, unable to attract a large audience.

RAUL D. TOVARES

*See also* **Spy Programs**

**Cast**

Maxwell Smart, Agent 86	Don Adams
Agent 99	Barbara Feldon
Thaddeus, The Chief (1965–70)	Edward Platt
Agent 13 (1965–70)	Dave Ketchum
Carlson (1966–67)	Stacy Keach
Conrad Siegfried (1966–69)	Bernie Kopell
Starker (1966–69)	King Moody
Hymie, the Robot (1966–69)	Dick Gautier
Agent 44 (1965–70)	Victor French
Larrabee (1967–70)	Robert Karvelas
99's Mother (1968–69)	Jane Dulo

**Producers**

Leonard B. Stern, Jess Oppenheimer, Jay Sandrich, Burt Nodella, Arnie Rosen, James Komak

**Programming History**

138 episodes	
NBC	
September 1965–September 1968	Saturday 8:30–9:00
September 1968–September 1969	Saturday 8:00–8:30
CBS	
September 1969–February 1970	Friday 7:30–8:00
April 1970–September 1970	Friday 7:30–8:00

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## Gleason, Jackie (1916–1987)

U.S. Comedian, Actor

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Jackie Gleason must be counted alongside Milton Berle, Sid Caesar, and Red Skelton among the small group of creative comedy-variety stars who dominated, and to some degree invented, early television. Perhaps more than any of the others, Gleason explored the limits of broad physical gesture and loud verbal bombast in the contextual frame of the small screen. His highly stylized and adroitly choreographed blustering, prancing, smirking, and double-taking led Gilbert Seldes to describe Gleason as “a heavy man with the traditional belief of heavy men in their own lightness and grace.” Gleason’s work in the 1950s constitutes a vital contribution to the invention of television comedy.

Born in a poor section of Brooklyn, New York, and abandoned by an alcoholic father, he dropped out of school at an early age and supported himself as a pool hustler, professional boxer, and carnival barker before establishing himself as “Jumpin’ Jack” Gleason, a nightclub comic and vaudeville emcee known for his spirited exchanges with hecklers. Following a brief, unsuccessful stint in Hollywood as a Warner Brothers contract player, Gleason’s career reached an apparent plateau. He worked as a stand-up comic and a master of ceremonies in venues ranging from middle-level nightspots to seamy dives in the New York area.

In 1949, at age 33, he landed the title role in a TV adaptation of *The Life of Riley*, a popular radio series about a culturally displaced Brooklyn factory worker who follows his job to a new life in a southern California suburb. The plodding, moralistic narrative structure of the sitcom, however, obscured Gleason’s verbal rancor and physical comedy. The series was not renewed; however, it was successfully revived several years later when its radio star, William Bendix, was freed from a movie contract that had enjoined him from appearing on television.

Gleason was once again called on as a substitute when Jerry Lester, the host of DuMont’s *Cavalcade of Stars*, suddenly quit the show in 1950. This time it turned out to be the break of his career. The live-from-New York, comedy-variety format played directly to Gleason’s strengths, allowing him to wisecrack as emcee, engage in off-the-cuff chats with guests, and move in and out of short sketch material that emphasized

physical humor rather than narrative resolution. The show became DuMont’s biggest success.

It was on *Cavalcade* that Gleason originated most of the sketch characters he would play for the rest of his career: the absurdly ostentatious millionaire Reginald Van Gleason, III; the Poor Soul, a pathetic street character played in pantomime; the hapless, bumbling Bachelor; and, his greatest creation, Ralph Kramden, a bus driver tortured by a life that will not support his ego. All were to some degree autobiographical fantasies, personal visions of despair and grandeur culled from his poverty-stricken Brooklyn childhood, meditations on who the comedian could, would, or might have been. It was on the DuMont show that Gleason created his persona of The Great One; he also began his life-long association with Art Carney, a *Cavalcade* regular.

Impressed by Gleason’s performance on the screen and in the ratings, William Paley personally wooed the star away, offering him five times his DuMont salary and the far greater market coverage of CBS. *The Jackie Gleason Show* debuted in 1952, quickly propelling the comedian into national stardom. By 1954 Gleason was second only to Lucille Ball in the ratings. Taking advantage of this success, he secured rights that allowed him to dominate thoroughly every aspect of production, from casting to set design to script approval.

Glitz was Gleason’s watchword. The June Taylor Dancers opened each show with a high-stepping chorus-line dance number that always included at least one overhead kaleidoscope shot of the Busby Berkley variety. A troupe of personally auditioned beauties, known as the Glea Girls, escorted the star around the stage and brought him “coffee” (he always sipped it as if were something stronger) and lit his cigarettes on camera. Unable to read music, Gleason composed his own musical theme, “Melancholy Serenade,” which he hummed out for a professional songwriter. (Gleason also produced several gold albums of romantic music this way in an LP series titled *For Lovers Only*.) The show ended each week with an unprecedented but justifiable personal credit: “Entire production supervised by Jackie Gleason.”

Riding high, the comedian paid little attention to the relationship between his sudden rise in fortune and the medium that had facilitated it. The Gleason style was



Jackie Gleason.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

utterly suited to 1950s comedy-variety: the vaudeville trappings, including a live audience; the emphasis on slapstick, constant close-ups, blackout segues, splintered segments, and so on. But ever the *arriviste*, the star remained extremely defensive about his talents and status, yearning to prove himself in “higher” forms, especially the movies.

Attempting to make time for new ventures, he came up with a radical format for retaining his CBS Saturday night hour in the 1955–56 season. Gleason repackaged the most popular feature of his show, “The Honeymooners,” into a 30-minute sitcom, while the second half of the hour was contracted to the Dorsey Brothers for a big-band musical program. The best of the old Ralph Kramden sketch material was reworked into the 39 *Honeymooners* episodes that have run in continuous syndication ever since.

For pure economy of style and setting, *The Honey-*

*mooners* has never quite been equaled. Often using only a single set, rarely employing more than the four regular characters, each episode is completely dependent upon the bravura performances of the show’s stars: Gleason, as Ralph Kramden, the incorrigible egoist who, when not being teased about his weight, is repeatedly humiliated by his failed get-rich-quick schemes; Art Carney, as Ed Norton, a best friend and sidekick whose physical and mental slowness play foil to Gleason’s mania in a kind of TV variation on Laurel and Hardy; and Audrey Meadows as Alice, the stoic, sensible wife who is forced to function as parent as much as spouse. Signature lines and gestures, such as Ralph’s threats to send Alice “to the moon,” or Ralph’s throwing Norton out of his apartment, are ritually repeated to extraordinary comic effect.

Unfortunately that season marked the end of Gleason’s most creative period. He would continue to hold down a prime-time slot (with some gaps) until 1970, but he never created any new noteworthy characters or elaborated further on the style he had developed. Casting about for a fresh format in which he could demonstrate versatility, he hosted a game show (*You’re in the Picture*, 1961), conducted a one-on-one talk show (*The Jackie Gleason Show*, 1961) and returned to comedy-variety, promising (but not delivering) an innovative social satire approach (*Jackie Gleason and His American Scene Magazine*, 1962–66). The results were all critically disappointing, though the last of the three did prove that he could still deliver a top-20 audience with a comedy-variety format.

In 1964 all pretense was dropped, and the Saturday night hour with relaunched as *The Jackie Gleason Show*, a reprise of the familiar comedy-variety form of a dozen years earlier. Gleason spent much of the rest of his TV career doing increasingly tiresome replays of *The Honeymooners* and his other 1950s creations. Perhaps the only notable feature of the final series is that it was the only show in prime time not made in Los Angeles or New York—Gleason had moved his home and his show to Miami Beach, Florida.

Jackie Gleason’s career illustrates much about the lot of television comedians. A small-timer with an erratic career, Gleason found a medium perfectly suited to his talents. He refused, however, to respect either the medium or the genre that had made him. Rather than pursue further depth as a TV sketch artist, he tried to prove that his talents transcended medium and genre. Others who would make this mistake include Dan Aykroyd, Katherine O’Hara, Chevy Chase, and Joe Piscopo. Gleason finally did achieve some popular success in the movies playing a southern sheriff in the three *Smokey and the Bandit* films made between 1977 and 1983.

DAVID MARC

See also *Honeymooners*, *The*

**Jackie Gleason (Herbert John Gleason).** Born in Brooklyn, New York, February 26, 1916. Married: 1) Genevieve Halford, 1936 (divorced, 1971); children: Geraldine and Linda; 2) Beverly McKittrick, 1971 (divorced, 1974); 3) Marilyn Taylor Horwich, 1975. Began career by winning stand-up comedy contest at age 15, 1931; master of ceremonies, Halsey Theater, Brooklyn, 1931; worked and toured in variety of entertainment jobs, including carnival barker, master of ceremonies, bouncer, amateur boxer, and disc jockey, 1935–38; signed to Warner Brothers, 1940; prominent television career beginning with *Cavalcade of Stars*, 1950; “The Honeymooners” debuted as segment on *Cavalcade of Stars*, 1951; wrote and recorded six albums of mood music, *Music for Lovers Only*. Recipient: “Best Comedian of the Year,” *TV Guide*, 1952; Television Hall of Fame, 1985; Antoinette Perry (Tony) Award for “Best Actor,” 1960. Died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, June 24, 1987.

#### Television Series

1949–50	<i>The Life of Riley</i>
1950–52	<i>Cavalcade of Stars</i>
1952–55	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1953	<i>The Laugh Maker</i>
1955–56	<i>The Honeymooners</i>
1957–59	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1959	<i>Time of Your Life</i>
1961	<i>You're in the Picture</i>
1961	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1961	<i>The Million Dollar Incident</i>
1962–66	<i>Jackie Gleason and His American Scene Magazine</i>
1964–70	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1985 *Izzy and Moe*

#### Films

*Navy Blue*, 1941; *Springtime in the Rockies*, 1942; *The Desert Hawk*, 1950; *The Hustler*, 1961; *Gigot* (wrote, starred in, and composed music), 1962; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1962; *Soldier in the Rain*, 1963; *The Time of Your Life*, 1963; *Papa's Delicate Condition*, 1966; *Skidoo*, 1968; *How to Commit a Marriage*, 1969; *Don't Drink the Water*, 1969; *How Do I Love Thee?*, 1970; *Mr. Billion*, 1977; *Smokey and the Bandit*, 1977; *Smokey and the Bandit II*, 1980; *The Toy*, 1982; *Sting II*, 1983; *Smokey and the Bandit III*, 1983; *Fools Die*, 1985; *Nothing in Common*, 1986.

#### Stage

*Hellzapoppin'*, 1938; *Keep Off the Grass*, 1940; *Follow the Girls*, 1944; *Artists and Models*, 1943; *Along Fifth Avenue*, 1949; *Take Me Along*, 1959–60; *Sly Fox*, 1978.

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## Gless, Sharon (1943– )

U.S. Actor

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Sharon Gless, who worked primarily in supporting roles for a number of series and TV movies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, rose to stardom as Christine Cagney in the female cop show *Cagney and Lacey* (1982–88).

Two of her more prominent roles before *Cagney and Lacey* anticipated aspects of the Cagney character. In a short-lived NBC sitcom, *Turnabout* (1979), Gless

played Penny Alston, whose mind and spirit are exchanged with those of her husband. Gless's character thus explored gender differences through the split between a feminine exterior and masculine motivations. Three years later, Gless was tapped to take over the costarring role in *House Calls* when Lynn Redgrave was forced out of the series.



Sharon Gless.  
Photo courtesy of Sharon Gless

It was the experience of trying to take over in the wake of a popular actor's departure that made Gless hesitate when she was offered the role of Christine Cagney. In the TV movie, Cagney had been played by Loretta Switt, and in the first season of the series, the character had been portrayed by Meg Foster. A CBS executive touched off a protest from fans, however, when he made a statement suggesting Foster was not feminine enough for the role, making the team of Chris Cagney and Mary Beth Lacey (played by Tyne Daly) look like "a pair of dykes." Renewal of the series was contingent on replacing Foster with someone "softer." Though initially seen by fans as a sellout to the network, Gless soon gained acceptance from the devoted audience of *Cagney and Lacey*. Ironically, she developed a substantial following among lesbian viewers, according to critic Julie D'Acci.

Not only did Cagney contrast with her married, working-class partner, but, as played by Gless, Christine Cagney embodied a number of contradictions in class and gender. Her soft blonde beauty played against the tough shell she maintained both on the job and in many of her personal encounters. Her working-class Irish cop identity, inherited from her father, clashed with the sleek, upper-crust veneer she had ac-

quired from her mother. Her career success contrasted with a string of unhappy romances in her personal life.

Although Gless has said she considers herself primarily a comedian, *Cagney and Lacey* provided the opportunity for her to grow as a dramatic actor. In the first three years of the series, Gless was nominated for an Emmy, but Daly received the award for Best Actress in a Dramatic Series. The following two years, however, the Emmy went to Gless, and in the final year of the series, the Emmy went back to Daly. Gless took pride in her contribution to the substance and quality of the series: "We're pioneering," she said in a story for *McCall's*. "We're showing women who can do a so-called man's job without ever forgetting that they are women."

Since the end of *Cagney and Lacey* in 1988, Gless has married Barney Rosenzweig, who created another series for her, *The Trials of Rosie O'Neill* (1990–91). In the role of the title character, Gless again portrayed a single, upscale character connected with the law—this time a newly divorced, well-healed lawyer, working in the cramped, underfunded offices of Los Angeles public defenders. Gless won a Golden Globe Award for her work in the series before it was canceled. In the 1990s she joined Tyne Daly in four *Cagney and Lacey* reunion movies and has appeared in a number of other TV and theatrical movies. In 2001 Gless returned to series work, in a departure from her upscale roles, as Debbie Novotny, Michael's waitress mother, in *Queer As Folk* for Showtime.

SUE BROWER

See also *Cagney and Lacey*

**Sharon Gless.** Born in Los Angeles, California, May 31, 1943. Attended Gonzaga University. Married Barney Rosenzweig, 1991. Actress in television from 1973. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1986 and 1987; Golden Globe Award, 1985 and 1990; Coalition for Clean Air Crystal Airwaves Media Award, 1987; Viewers for Quality TV Best Actress Award, 1988; Milestone Award, 1988; SI Award, 1991; Gideon Media Award, 1992; Distinguished Artist Award, 1992.

#### Television Series

1973–74	<i>Faraday and Company</i>
1974–75	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>
1975–78	<i>Switch</i>
1979	<i>Turnabout</i>
1981–82	<i>House Calls</i>
1982–88	<i>Cagney and Lacey</i>
1990–91	<i>The Trials of Rosie O'Neill</i>
2001–	<i>Queer As Folk</i>

**Television Miniseries**

- 1978 *The Immigrants*  
 1978 *Centennial*  
 1979 *The Last Convertible*  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 1970 *Night Slaves*  
 1972 *All My Darling Daughters*  
 1973 *My Darling Daughters' Anniversary*  
 1976 *Richie Brockelman: The Missing 24 Hours*  
 1978 *The Islander*  
 1978 *Crash*  
 1979 *Kids Who Knew Too Much*  
 1980 *Moviola: The Scarlett O'Hara Wars*  
 1980 *Revenge of the Stepford Wives*  
 1980 *Hardhat and Legs*  
 1981 *The Miracle of Kathy Miller*  
 1983 *Hobson's Choice*  
 1984 *The Sky's No Limit*  
 1985 *Letting Go*  
 1989 *The Outside Woman*  
 1991 *Tales of the Unexpected*  
 1992 *Honor Thy Mother*  
 1994 *Separated by Murder*

- 1994 *Cagney and Lacey: The Return*  
 1995 *Cagney and Lacey: Together Again*  
 1995 *Cagney and Lacey: The View through the Glass Ceiling*  
 1996 *Cagney and Lacey: True Convictions*  
 1998 *The Girl Next Door*

**Films**

*Airport 1975, 1974; The Star Chamber, 1983; Ayn Rand: A Sense of Life* (narrator), 1997; *Smoke and Mirrors: A History of Denial* (narrator), 1999; *Bring Him Home, 2000.*

**Stage**

*Watch On the Rhine, 1989; Misery, 1992–93; Chapter Two, 1995.*

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## Globalization

Television is perhaps the most global of all mass media, at times extending its services to vast audiences around the world regardless of age, gender, literacy, nationality, or income. By comparison, newspapers usually serve local or in some cases national subscribers. Magazines, although national or in some cases international in reach, tend to cater to niche groups of readers. Radio transcends the literacy barrier, which is especially important in poor countries, yet increasing access television in these societies tends to displace the primacy of radio, and consequently to fragment the audience. As for the Internet—a medium that provides rapid communication around the world, regardless of political or regulatory constraints—its explosive growth over the past decade has been restricted to elite, well-educated users. Only movies come close to television as a global competitor, yet even blockbuster movies are more commonly viewed on a TV screen (via broadcast, cable, videotape or DVD) than in a theater.

Television is a pervasive presence in wealthy societies around the world, and even in relatively poor countries, such as India and People's Republic of China, TV viewing is now a common experience among the majority of the population. Television is also the popular medium of choice during historically significant moments, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center. At such times, huge audiences turn to television news services both for information and for cultural engagement, seeking somehow to participate in momentous events with global significance. Furthermore, television is the purveyor elaborately staged media events, including political campaigns, beauty pageants, the Olympics, and the Academy Awards. Some critics even include major military campaigns among such staged events, arguing that the Gulf War and the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan were elaborately choreographed in order to cater to global television audiences. For the first time in human history, vast num-



bers of people participate in such public events on a global basis. What is more, television facilitates the global circulation of performers, narratives, and program formats, thereby creating a loosely shared repertoire of popular cultural forms. Television heightens one's sense of connection to ideas and events from near and far, fostering tentative inklings of global connectedness, and perhaps even global community.

No matter how inchoate these feelings may be, and despite the fact that this sense of community is fraught with cultural differences and political tensions, television nevertheless makes possible widespread awareness of the global context in which human events and cultural forms unfold. Yet it would be folly to contend that the technology of television is the driving force in globalization. It is instead one element in a complex process of social change that stretches back at least 500 years. Television at once is a barometer of change and a contributor to change. Furthermore, television has its own distinctive histories and institutional logics. Consequently, we might explore the significance of global television by examining it from three perspectives: institutional, historical, and intellectual.

Institutionally, one can discern significant changes in the medium over the course of its history. Originally television, like radio before it, emerged as a quintessentially national medium. In almost every country, the state played an active role in its deployment, hoping that television would serve purposes of national integration, social development, public enlightenment, and popular entertainment. Using their power to grant broadcasting licenses and therefore limit the number of national network broadcasters, governments carefully controlled access to the airwaves either by creating public-service broadcast systems that served the interests of the state or by licensing domestic commercial broadcasters who pledged to serve the national interest. In fact, with the exception of the Western Hemisphere, most nations around the world opted for public-service television during early years of the medium. In countries like France, the government organized powerful, centralized television networks that focused on the promotion of national culture, while in poorer countries like India and China, television was mobilized to address pressing concerns related to economic and social development. Whether a commercial or public service, audiences in most countries had few channels to choose from during this classical era of national network television and broadcasters consequently placed their first priority on serving a mass audience.

During the 1980s, however, television institutions began to change dramatically. For example, economic reversals in Europe put great pressure on the budgets

of public-service broadcasters as government subsidies and license revenues began to decline. Attempts to justify increased public expenditures to support these beleaguered institutions were met with challenges from groups who traditionally were marginalized by national networks. Women's organizations, labor unions, peace groups, environmental advocates, and ethnic and regional political movements all criticized state broadcast institutions for focusing on mass audiences and failing to represent a diverse range of perspectives.

This crisis of legitimacy came at the very moment when transnational entrepreneurs with access to new sources of capital began to develop satellite/cable services that fell outside the domain of national broadcast regulation. Business leaders supported these initiatives since it would expand the availability of television advertising time and diminish government control over the airwaves. The resulting licenses for new commercial channels initially targeted two groups: transnational niche viewers (e.g., business executives, sports enthusiasts, and music video fans) and subnational niche groups who were not being served by public broadcasters (e.g., regional, local, or ethnic audiences). Similar trends emerged outside of Europe in countries such as India, Australia, and Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the countries dominated by commercial broadcasting systems, market forces drove the development of new services as the number of satellite/cable channels began to expand rapidly, challenging the hegemony of the existing national broadcast oligopolies.

During this era of change, a new generation of corporate moguls—such as Rupert Murdoch (News Corp.), Ted Turner (CNN), and Akio Morita (Sony)—aspired to build media empires that realized global synergies through horizontal and vertical integration of their television, music, motion picture, video game, and other media enterprises. These new conglomerates aim to serve a wide variety of mass and niche markets in both information and entertainment. Although national audiences continue to play an important role in their calculations, companies such as News Corp. increasingly strategize about transnational and subnational audiences, hoping to find new markets and potential synergies among their diverse operations.

Besides contributing to the growth of global media conglomerates, this "neo-network era" of multiple channels and flexible corporate structures has also engendered new local services, such as Zee TV in India and Phoenix TV in China. It has also forced global television services to adapt their content for local and regional audiences. For instance, MTV now operates eight distinctive channels in Asia alone, offering various mixes of global, regional, and local programming.



Thus, globalization has paradoxically fostered the production and promotion of transnational media products as well as localized niche products aimed at subnational audiences, such as teenage music fans. Unlike the classical network era, when television networks tended to focus exclusively on national mass audiences, media conglomerates today are flexibly structured to accommodate marketing strategies aimed at a variety of audiences, sometimes without regard to national boundaries. The scale and competitive power of these new television institutions have seriously undermined public broadcasting in some countries, such as Italy. But in other countries such as India, competition with satellite TV has encouraged Doordarshan—the public-service broadcaster—to improve program quality, conduct systematic audience research, and diversify its services, targeting new channels at local and niche viewers, many of whom were previously marginalized by the national broadcast monopoly. The globalization of television can in large part be explained by these changes in media institutions, audience configurations, and production practices. Yet it is also part of a broader historical transformation that has been going on for at least 500 years, beginning with the European voyages of discovery and conquest.

From a historical perspective, television is but one component of an ongoing process of globalization. This process refers on the one hand to the increasing speed and density of interactions among people and institutions around the world, a trend that manifests itself in the dynamic interdependence of global financial markets, the transnational division of labor, the interlocking system of nation-states, the establishment of supranational institutions, and the interconnection of communication and transportation systems. On the other hand, globalization also refers to changing modes of consciousness, whereby people increasingly think and talk about the world as an entity. Sociologist Roland Robertson suggests that rather than the world just being itself, we increasingly imagine the world being “for itself.” We speak of global order, human rights, nuclear disarmament, and world ecology as shared experiences and collective projects. We reflect upon information from near and far and we often deliberate as if we have a stake in both domains. Not everyone joins in these conversations, and certainly all voices are not equal, but these discussions nevertheless span greater terrain and include more people than ever before and the outcomes of these interactions often have effects that transcend local and national boundaries.

All of the trends just outlined have accelerated in the past 150 years with the help of communication technologies like the telegraph, telephone, radio, cinema, television, and computer. Moreover, the development

and deployment of these technologies have been linked to specific historical projects—European expansion and colonization, the cold-war-era struggle between the superpowers, and most recently neoliberal, supranational capitalism. This last project, which emerged after the decline of authoritarian communist regimes, is most centrally concerned with trade liberalization, as countries around the world are being pressed to eliminate import tariffs on goods and services, as well as cultural products. Consequently, no society today can confidently say that it stands outside the field of global financial markets and transnational corporate operations. A similar observation might be made about popular culture and television, since the commercial flow of goods and ideas around the world has escalated dramatically in recent times. Thus the globalization of television is part of a longer historical trajectory. It builds upon previous developments, yet it also has contributed significantly to the escalating pace of change.

Finally, from an intellectual perspective, one can see that debates about transnational flows of popular culture predate the emergence of global TV by almost a century. As early as the 1920s, national broadcast systems, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), were put in place as a bulwark against foreign media influences, particularly Hollywood films and U.S. popular music. Throughout the 20th century, preserving and promoting national culture over the airwaves was characterized as a key element of national sovereignty in Europe, Latin America, and especially in the newly independent states of the postcolonial world, such as Ghana, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Scholars such as Herbert I. Schiller, Dallas Smythe, and Armand Mattelart were especially strong critics of U.S. TV exports, claiming that they played an important role in sustaining an international structure of economic and political domination. They furthermore contended that the huge flood of media messages exported from the core industrialized countries specifically served the interests of a Western ruling class by squeezing out authentic local voices and instead promoting a culture of consumption that sustains the profitability of capitalist enterprise. This media imperialism thesis emerged in the 1960s and prevailed through the end of the 1980s. Although many scholars still adhere to its central tenets, others have commented upon significant changes in television institutions, audiences, and programs since the 1980s.

Joseph Straubhaar, for example, questions the emphasis on Western dominance of TV schedules around the world by pointing out that in Latin American countries and the Caribbean, national or local programs generally tend to draw larger audiences than imported

products. Even though Hollywood continues to be the world's dominant exporter of television programs, most U.S. shows are broadcast in off-peak hours, with the heart of prime time reserved for local productions. Moreover, scholars point to the increasing amount of television trade within particular regions of the world, and note that when audiences tune to a foreign program, they generally prefer a show that has been imported from a country with a similar language and/or culture. In Venezuela, for example, viewers are most likely to prefer a show imported from a regional producer like Mexico's Televisa or Brazil's Globo rather than a Hollywood production. Likewise, Taiwanese audiences seem to prefer Japanese or Hong Kong serial dramas over Western fare, and Kuwaiti audiences prefer dramas from producers in Cairo. In recent years, the one-way program flows from Hollywood to the rest of the world have been displaced by more complicated patterns of distribution.

One indication of these new patterns of TV flow can be gleaned from the emergence of global media capitals, such as Bombay, Cairo, and Hong Kong. Such locales have become centers of the global television industry that have specific logics of their own, ones that do not necessarily correspond to the geography, interests, or policies of particular nation-states. For example, Hong Kong television is produced, distributed, and consumed in Taipei, Beijing, Amsterdam, Vancouver, Bangkok, and Kuala Lumpur. The central node of all this activity is Hong Kong, but the logics that now motivate the development of the Hong Kong television are not necessarily governed by the interests of the Chinese state or even the Special Administrative Region. Likewise, Bombay, once the home of the national Indian film industry, is now the center for transnational enterprises that operate across the film, television, and music industries. For example, Zee TV—South Asia's most popular Hindi-language commercial satellite channel—also provides a satellite service to Europe, distributes music videos in Los Angeles, and mounts film productions targeted at audiences around the globe. As numerous critics have noted, Bollywood has gone global, seeking out new audiences, new financing, and fresh sources of creative talent. Although U.S. programs continue to play a powerful role in media markets around the world, their long-term domination of global markets is far less certain given the emergence of competing media capitals.

Moreover, even in countries where Hollywood programs make their way into prime time, their impact on viewers is uncertain. Cultural studies researchers such as David Morley, Ien Ang, Marie Gillespie, and James Lull have shown how audiences make unanticipated uses of television programming, often reworking the meanings of transnational texts to accommodate the

circumstances of their local social context. These findings raise questions about the presumed ideological effects of Hollywood television programs as they circulate around the world. Rather than simply absorbing U.S. capitalist ideology, "active audiences" fashion meanings and identities that are hybrid and complex. It is therefore difficult to argue that the medium is little more than an instrument of capitalist domination. Moreover, investigations of the institutional practices of media organizations find that, contrary to widespread anxieties about cultural homogenization, television services around the world increasingly compete with Hollywood imports by developing programming that is adapted to the needs and interests of specific local audiences.

The media imperialism thesis has been challenged on other accounts as well. Critical studies of nationalism delineate the historical and contested qualities of modern nation-states, showing how power relations *within* countries are often as exploitative as power relations *between* countries. Consequently, the media imperialism thesis, which tends to venerate national media, may rush too quickly to the defense of countries with internal politics deserving of greater scrutiny. National media systems have often been insensitive to the interests of minority groups. In India, for example, Doordarshan, the national media monopoly, provided few benefits to Tamil or Telugu or Muslim populations prior to the introduction of satellite TV competitors. Indeed, pressures of globalization unexpectedly opened the door to new services, voices, and contexts for public deliberation. Likewise, in mainland China, the national television system has grown more responsive to local cultures and languages as it attempts to respond to the pressures of transnational television flows.

Finally, although the media imperialism thesis claims that "authentic" local cultures are disappearing under the avalanche of American popular culture, recent research in the humanities and social sciences—especially in the field of anthropology—questions the prior existence of "pure" or "authentic" cultures. Even before the advent of modern mass media, cultures were always in flux and often shaped, albeit more slowly, by outside influences. Rather than portraying local culture as an integrated, organic way of life that has only recently been violated by the intrusion of global television, recent scholarship suggests that it is more productive to understand culture as a dynamic site of social contest and interaction. Thus television should be understood as a site of struggle between competing social factions and forces. It is a terrain of interaction in which power relations clearly manifest themselves, yet it is also a dynamic sphere of discourse and social practice, with complex and often unintended outcomes. Consequently, careful attention must

be paid to the diverse local contexts of television programming and institutions around the world.

These challenges to the media imperialism thesis have formed the foundation of globalization studies of television, while opening the door to new critical perspectives. John Tomlinson suggests, for example, that a critique of global capitalist modernity is perhaps a more salient analytical project for television scholars. Such an approach would still be alert to questions of power and dominance, but it would no longer fetishize local cultures of the pretelevision era, nor would it make sweeping assertions about the function of the medium as an unqualified tool of capitalist domination. Television does not instrumentally shape or homogenize human consciousness; rather, it alters the ways in which we reflect upon our environment—near and far—and the quotidian choices that we make. Tomlinson contends that the emergence of a “glocal” of popular culture may in fact lay the foundations for nascent transnational political movements around issues such as labor, ecology, and human rights.

Similarly, Ien Ang advocates television research that explores the global/local dynamics of the medium, arguing that the very indeterminacy of communication processes in a world of media conglomerates is perhaps the central question that researchers must address. The play of power in global television is to be found in the ways that media conglomerates attempt to set structural limits on the production and circulation of meaning and contrarily on the ways in which viewers both comply with and defy these semiotic limits. This play of power requires an understanding of industries and audiences, as well as the diverse social contexts in which the contest over meaning arises.

In conclusion, the study of global TV invites us to examine the emergence of transnational programming, audiences, and institutions, but it also encourages us to consider the longer trajectory of globalization as a social process and to reflect upon the relatively recent

human encounter with a global communication medium. During the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan hyperbolically heralded the arrival of a “global village.” Perhaps more modestly, one might suggest that television facilitates a process whereby villages around the world increasingly perceive their circumstances in relation to global issues, forces, and institutions, as well as local and national ones.

MICHAEL CURTIN

*See also* **McLuhan, Marshall; Murdoch, Rupert K.; News Corporation, Ltd.; Satellite; Television Studies; Turner, Ted**

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## Godfrey, Arthur (1903–1983)

U.S. Variety Show Host

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Arthur Godfrey ranks as one of the important on-air stars of the first decade of American television. Indeed, prior to 1959 there was no bigger TV luminary than this freckled-faced, ukulele-playing host and pitch-

man. Through most of the decade of the 1950s, Godfrey hosted a daily radio program and appeared in two top-ten prime-time television shows, all for CBS. As the new medium of television was invading U.S.



Arthur Godfrey, 1951.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

households, there was something about Godfrey's wide grin, his infectious chuckle, his unruly shock of red hair that made millions tune in, not once, but twice a week.

To industry insiders, Godfrey was television's first great master of advertising. His deep, microphone-loving voice delivery earned him a million dollars a year, making him one of the highest-paid persons in the United States at the time. He blended a southern folksiness with enough sophistication to charm a national audience measured in the millions through the 1950s. For CBS-TV in particular, Godfrey was one of network television's most valuable stars, generating millions of dollars in advertising billings each year, with no ostensible talent save being the most congenial of hosts.

After more than a decade on radio, Godfrey ventured onto prime-time TV in December 1948 by simply permitting the televising of his radio hit *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. The formula for *Talent Scouts* was simple enough. "Scouts" presented their "discoveries" to perform live before a national radio and television audience. Most of these discoveries were in fact struggling professionals looking for a break, and the quality of the talent was quite high. The winner, chosen by a fabled audience applause meter, often joined

Godfrey on his radio show and on *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* for some period thereafter.

Through the late 1940s and 1950s Godfrey significantly assisted the careers of Pat Boone, Tony Bennett, Eddie Fisher, Connie Francis, and Patsy Cline. An institution on Monday nights at 8:30 P.M., *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* always functioned as Godfrey's best showcase and through the early 1950s was a consistent top-ten hit.

A month after the December 1948 television debut of *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* came the premiere of *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*. In that program Godfrey employed a resident cast that at times included Julius La Rosa, Frank Parker, Lu Ann Simms, and the Cordettes. Tony Marvin was both the announcer and Godfrey's "second banana," as he was on *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. The appeal of *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* varied, depending on the popularity of the assembled company of singers, all clean-cut young people lifted by Godfrey from obscurity. Godfrey played host and impresario, sometimes singing off-key and strumming his ukulele, but most often leaving the vocals to others.

As he had done on radio, Godfrey frequently kidded his sponsors, but always "sold from the heart," only hawking products he had actually tried or regularly used. No television viewer during the 1950s doubted that Godfrey really did love Lipton Tea and drank it every day. He delighted in tossing aside prepared scripts and telling his audience: "Aw, who wrote this stuff? Everybody knows Lipton's is the best tea you can buy. So why get fancy about it? Getcha some Lipton's, heat the pot with plain hot water for a few minutes, then put fresh hot water on the tea and let it just sit there."

Godfrey perfected the art of seeming to speak intimately to each and every one of his viewers, to sound as if he were confiding in "you and you alone." Despite all his irreverent kidding, advertisers loved him. Here was no snake-oil salesman hawking an unnecessary item, merchandise not worth its price. Here was a friend recommending the product. This personal style drove CBS efficiency experts crazy. Godfrey refused simply to read his advertising copy in the allocated 60 seconds. Instead he talked—for as long as he felt necessary to convince his viewers of his message, frequently running over his allotted commercial time.

CBS owner William S. Paley detested Godfrey but bowed to his incredible popularity. CBS president Frank Stanton loved Godfrey because his shows were so cheap to produce but drew consistently high ratings. In 1955 when *Disneyland* cost \$90,000 per hour, and costs for a half hour of *The Jack Benny Show* totaled more than \$40,000, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*

cost but \$30,000. This figure was more in line with the production of a cheap quiz program than fashioning a pricey Hollywood-based show on film.

In his day Godfrey accumulated a personal fortune that made it possible for him to own a vast estate in the Virginia horse country, maintain a huge duplex apartment in Manhattan, and fly back and forth in his own airplanes. In 1950 he qualified for a pilot's license; the following year he trained to fly jets. Constantly plugging the glories of air travel, Godfrey, according to Eddie Rickenbacker, did more to boost aviation than any single person since Charles Lindbergh.

Godfrey's end symbolized the close of the era of experimental, live television. But he should be remembered for more than his skill in performing for live television. Perhaps even more significant is that he taught the medium how to sell. In terms of the forces that have shaped and continue to shape the medium of television, Godfrey's career perfectly illustrates the workings of the star system. Here was a person who seemed to have had "no talent" but was so effective that through most of the 1950s he was "everywhere" in the mass media. In the end, times and tastes changed. In 1951 Arthur Godfrey stood as the very center of American television. Eight years later, he was back on radio, a forgotten man to all but the few who listened to the "old" medium.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also *Arthur Godfrey Shows*; **Dann, Michael**

**Arthur Godfrey.** Born in New York City, August 31, 1903. Educated at Naval Radio School, 1921; Naval

Radio Materiel School, 1929; various correspondence courses. Married: Mary Bourke, 1938; children: Richard (from previous marriage), Arthur Michael, Jr., and Patricia Ann. Served in the U.S. Navy, receiving radio training and becoming a radio operator on destroyer duty, 1920–24; served in the U.S. Coast Guard, 1927–30. Radio announcer and entertainer, WFBR, Baltimore, Maryland, 1930; staff announcer, NBC, Washington, D.C., 1930–34; freelance radio entertainer, from 1934; joined CBS Radio, 1945; CBS television host, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1948–58; television host, *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*, 1949–59; national radio host, *Arthur Godfrey Time*, 1960–72; starred in films, 1963–68. Member: National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, and Citizen's Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality. Died in New York City, March 16, 1983.

#### Television Series

1948–58      *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*  
1949–59      *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*

#### Films

*Four For Texas*, 1963; *The Glass Bottom Boat*, 1966;  
*Where Angels Go... Trouble Follows*, 1968.

#### Radio

*Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1945–48; *Arthur Godfrey Time*, 1960–72.

## Goldbergs, The

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

In many ways, the program that Gertrude Berg devised in 1928 and sold to NBC radio the following year was unique. No other daily serial drama reflected so explicitly its creator's own ethnic background, and few other producers retained such close control over their work. Until the late 1930s, Berg herself wrote all the scripts, five to six 15-minute stories per week, and even after hiring outside writers continued to act as producer; she performed the role of the main character herself throughout the show's 30-year history on radio and television.

*The Rise of the Goldbergs* began as skits produced at her family's Catskills hotel for the rainy-day entertainment of guests. Originally centered around the comic character Maltke Talzinitzky, Maltke became Molly and Talzinitzky modulated to Goldberg, while Berg herself ventured into writing theatrical and commercial continuities. On November 20, 1929, the first episode of *The Rise of the Goldbergs* aired as a sustaining program on WJZ, flagship of the NBC Blue network, no doubt building on the success of ra-

dio's first network dramatic serial, *Amos 'n' Andy*, introduced in August 1929. Early scripts concerned themselves explicitly and intimately with an immigrant Jewish family's assimilation into American life. The cast consisted of "Molly" herself, playing the wise and warmhearted wife of Jake (James R. Waters) and mother of Rosalie (Roslyn Silber) and Sammy (Alfred Ryder/Alfred Corn). Uncle David (Menasha Skulnik) filled the role of resident family patriarch. Molly, Jake, and Uncle David spoke with heavy Yiddish accents, while the children favored standard American with a goodly dash of the Bronx. Much humor derived from Molly's malapropisms and "Old World" turns of phrase, drawing on the vaudeville ethnic dialogue tradition. The first season's scripts deal with such issues as the difficulties of raising children in an American environment that sometimes clashed with old world traditions, and the immigrant family's striving for economic success and security. Molly's conversations up the airshaft with her neighbor ("Yoo hoo, Mrs. Bloo-oom") and frequent visitors in their small apartment vividly invoke New York tenement life. The success of this slice of specifically ethnic, but far from atypical, American experience resulted in 18,000 letters pouring into NBC's office when Berg's illness forced the show off the air for a week.

*The Rise of the Goldbergs* aired sporadically for its first few seasons, then more regularly from 1931 to 1934, sponsored by Pepsodent and appearing from 7:45 to 8:00 every day except Sunday. After a hiatus, it returned in 1936 as a late afternoon serial, running five days a week from 5:45 to 6:00 on CBS under the sponsorship of the Colgate-Palmolive-Peet company via the Benton and Bowles agency. At this point, it was renamed simply *The Goldbergs*. Procter and Gamble took over the program in 1938.

In 1939 the show's setting shifted from the Bronx to the Connecticut town of Lastonbury, in keeping with its narrative of American assimilation. Yet Berg never lost sight of the specifically Jewish ethnic background that made the Goldbergs unique in network radio and television. One memorable episode, aired April 3, 1939, invoked Krystallnacht and the worsening situation in Nazi Germany as the Goldberg's Passover Seder was interrupted by a rock thrown through their living room window. Other stories referred to family members or friends trying to escape from Eastern Europe ahead of the Holocaust. Most plot lines, however, avoided head-on discussion of anti-Semitism or world politics, concentrating instead on family and neighborhood doings, with the occasional crime or adventure story to liven up the action. Molly continued to supervise her family's activities, Jake experienced business



*Goldbergs*, Larry Robinson, Gertrude Berg, Arlene McQuade, 1949–55; 1952 episode.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

setbacks and successes, Rosalie and Sammy grew up, got married, and went off to war, as American families in the show's loyal listening audience followed a similar trajectory.

In 1946 the show suspended production, during which time Berg adapted it to the Broadway stage as a play called *Me and Molly*, which ran for 156 performances. In 1949 *The Goldbergs* moved to television with a new cast (except Molly), sponsored on CBS by General Mills' Sanka Coffee, which dropped the program in 1951 when Philip Loeb, then playing Jake, was blacklisted in the infamous Red Channels purge. Reappearing without Loeb and with a different sponsor and network in 1952, the television *Goldbergs* ran on NBC from February 1952 through September 1953, then on DuMont from April to October 1954. These early seasons were all performed live and featured the Goldberg family back in the Bronx (with the children once again teenagers). In 1955 they moved to the New York suburb of Haverville in a version filmed for syndication; this lasted one season.

Combining aspects of the family comedy and the daytime serial, *The Goldbergs* pioneered the character-based domestic sitcom format that would become television's most popular genre. Its concern with ethnicity, assimilation, and becoming middle class carried it through the first three decades of broadcasting and into the postwar period but ultimately proved out of place in the homogenized suburban domesticity of late 1950s TV.

MICHELE HILMES

**See also Berg, Gertrude; Family on Television; Gender and Television; Racism, Ethnicity and**

**Television**

**Cast**

Molly Goldberg	Gertrude Berg
Jake Goldberg (1949–51)	Philip Loeb
Jake Goldberg (1952)	Harold J. Stone
Jake Goldberg (1953–56)	Robert H. Harris
Sammy Goldberg (1949–52)	Larry Robinson
Sammy Goldberg (1954–56)	Tom Taylor
Rosalie Goldberg	Arlene McQuade
Uncle David	Eli Mintz
Mrs. Bloom (1953)	Olga Fabian
Dora Barnett (1955–56)	Betty Bendyke
Carrie Barnett (1955–56)	Ruth Yorke
Daisy Carey (1955–56)	Susan Steel
Henry Carey (1955–56)	Jon Lormer

**Producers**

Worthington Miner, William Berke, Cherney Berg

**Programming History**

CBS

January 1949–February 1949 Monday 8:00–8:30

March 1949–April 1949	Monday 9:00–9:30
April 1949–June 1951	Monday 9:30–10:00
NBC	
February 1952–July 1952	Monday, Wednesday, Friday 7:15–7:30
July 1953–September 1953	Friday 8:00–8:30
DuMont	
April 1954–October 1954	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
First-run syndication 1955–56	

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## “Golden Age” of Television Drama

The “Golden Age” of American television generally refers to the proliferation of original and classic dramas produced for live television during the United States’ postwar years. From 1949 to approximately 1960, these live dramas became the fitting programmatic complements to the game shows, westerns, soap operas, and “vaudeo” shows (vaudeville and variety acts on TV) that dominated network television’s prime-time schedule. As the nation’s economy and population expanded, and demographic patterns shifted, television and advertising executives turned to dramatic shows as a programming strategy to elevate the status of television and attract the growing and increasingly important suburban family audience. Golden Age dramas quickly became the ideal marketing vehicle for major U.S. corporations seeking to display their products favorably before a national audience.

In the early years, Golden Age drama programs such as *The Actors’ Studio* (ABC/CBS, 1948–50) originated from primitive but innovative two-camera television

studios located primarily in New York City, although some broadcasts, such as *Mr. Black* (ABC, 1949), a half-hour mystery anthology series, were produced in Chicago as well. Ranging in duration from 30 minutes to an hour, these live dramas were generic hybrids uniquely suited to the evolving video technology. Borrowing specific elements from the stage, network radio, and the Hollywood film, the newly constructed dramas on television (“teledramas”) fashioned a dynamic entertainment form that effectively fused these high- and low-cultural expressions.

From radio these teledramas inherited the CBS and NBC network distribution system, sound effects, music, theme songs, and the omniscient narrator, who provided continuity after commercial message breaks. From film, teledramas borrowed aging stars and emerging personalities, camera stylistics, mobility, and flexibility. Imported from the theater were Broadway-inspired set designs; contemporary stage acting techniques (i.e., realist and “method” acting), which imparted a sense of immediacy and reality to small-



screen performances; and, finally, teleplay adaptations of classic and middle-brow literature. In a statement that clearly expresses the debt owed by television dramas to the stage, Fred Coe, producer of the weekly *NBC Television Playhouse* (1948–55), remarked that "all of us were convinced it was our mission to bring Broadway to America via the television set."

Ironically, however, it was live tele dramas that helped television to displace radio, the stage, and film as the favorite leisure-time activity for the nation's burgeoning suburban families in the late 1940s to the mid-1950s. This postwar demographic shift from urban to suburban centers is often credited with creating the new mass audience and the subsequent demand for the home-theater mode of entertainment that network television, boosted by the high-quality drama programs, was uniquely capable of satisfying.

The first so-called Golden Age drama program to appear was the *Kraft Television Theatre*, which premiered on May 7, 1947, on the NBC network. The *Ford Theater* (CBS/NBC/ABC, 1948–57), *Philco and Goodyear Television Playhouses* (NBC, 1948–55), *Studio One* (CBS, 1948–58), *Tele-Theatre* (NBC, 1948–50), and *Actors Studio* (ABC/CBS, 1948–49) followed the very next year. In 1951 network television was linked coast to coast, and in 1950 *Hollywood Theater Time* (ABC) became one of the first dramatic anthology shows to originate from the West Coast (although transmitted to the East Coast via kinescopes—inferior copies of shows filmed directly from the television screen).

Several important factors contributed to the rise of Golden Age dramas by the mid-1950s. First, the U.S. Congress issued more station licenses and allocated more airtime and frequencies to the nation's four networks, NBC, CBS, ABC, and DuMont. Consequently, this major expansion of the television industry necessitated a rapid increase in the number of new shows. Because this early video era preceded the advent of telefilm and videotape, the live television schedule was a programming vortex with an inexhaustible demand for new shows, 90 percent of which were broadcast live. The remaining dramas were transmitted (usually from the East Coast to the West Coast) via kinescopes. Location on the television schedule was also a key element in the success of anthology dramas during this early phase. Because the sponsors, and not the networks, generally controlled the programs, tele dramas were not restricted to a particular network or time schedule. As a result of this programming flexibility, it was not unusual for shows either to rotate around the dial or to remain firmly entrenched, all in search of the best possible ratings. In 1953 the *Kraft Television Theatre* aired at 9:00 P.M. on Wednesdays over the NBC

network and aired a second hour under the same series title on Thursdays at 9:30 P.M. on ABC. The venerable *Ford Television Theater* appeared on all three networks during its nine-year run. The anthology format itself, which demanded a constant supply of actors, writers, directors, and producers, and was quite different from the episodic series structure featuring a stable cast, always offered something new to viewers. And since anthology dramas provided plenty of work to go around, many actors got their first starring roles in live dramas, while others gained national exposure that was not possible on the stage or eluded them on the big screen.

This rotating system of anthology-drama production resulted in a creative environment for television that many television historians consider as yet unsurpassed. The fact that these shows dramatized many high-quality original works as well as adaptations of high- and middlebrow literature gave advertisers cost-effective reasons for underwriting the relatively high production values that characterized many of the top-notch anthology programs. Many, in fact, were consistent Emmy Award winners. The *Texaco Star Theater* won the 1949 Emmy for "Best Kinescope Show." *U.S. Steel Hour* won two Emmys in 1953, its debut year, and *Studio One* received three Emmys during the 1955 season for its production of *Twelve Angry Men*.

As the genre matured and traded its amateur sets for professionally designed studios, it looked good, and by extension, so did its sponsors. Accordingly, the growing prestige of live dramas enabled established and fading stars from the Broadway stage and Hollywood films to be less reticent about performing on television, and many flocked to the new medium. In fact, some actors even lent their famous names to these anthology drama programs. *Robert Montgomery Presents* (ABC, 1950–57) was one of the first anthology series to rely on Hollywood talent. Montgomery's star-driven program was later joined by the *Charles Boyer Theater* (1953), and in 1955 silent film star Conrad Nagel hosted his own syndicated anthology drama entitled *The Conrad Nagel Theater*. Bing Crosby Enterprises produced *The Gloria Swanson Show* in 1954, with Swanson as host and occasional star in teleplays produced for this dramatic anthology series. More commonly, however, it was the sponsor's name that appeared in the show titles, with stars serving as narrators or hosts. For example, from 1954 to 1962 Ronald Reagan hosted CBS's *General Electric Theater*.

As crucial as these elements were, perhaps the most important reason leading to the success of this nascent television art form was the high caliber of talent on both sides of the video camera. Whereas many well-known actors from the stage and screen participated in live television dramas as the 1950s progressed, it was



the obscure but professionally trained theater personnel from summer stock and such university theater programs as Yale’s Drama School who launched the innovative teletheater broadcasts that we now refer to as television’s Golden Age.

In 1949, 24-year-old Marlon Brando starred in *I’m No Hero*, produced by the *Actors’ Studio*. Other young actors, such as Susan Strasberg (1953), Paul Newman (1954), and Steve McQueen, made noteworthy appearances on the *Goodyear Playhouse*. Among some of the most prominent writers of Golden Age dramas were Rod Serling, Paddy Chayefsky, Gore Vidal, Reginald Rose, and Tad Mosel. Serling stands out for special consideration here because, in addition to winning the 1955 Emmy for “Best Original Teleplay Writing” (*Patterns on Kraft Television Theatre*), he also won two teleplay Emmys for *Playhouse 90* (1956 and 1957), as well as three “Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama” Emmys: two for *Twilight Zone* (1959 and 1960) and one for *Chrysler Theater* in 1963. Serling’s six Emmys for four separate anthology programs over two networks unquestionably secures his position at the top of the Golden Age pantheon. For television, it was writers like Serling and Chayefsky who became the auteurs of its Golden Age. Gore Vidal sums up the opportunity that writing for television dramas represented in this way: “one can find better work oftener on the small gray screen than on Broadway.” Chayefsky was more sanguine when he stated that television presented “the drama of introspection,” and that “television, the scorned stepchild of drama, may well be the basic theater of our century.”

In addition to actors and writers, some of the most renowned Hollywood directors got their big breaks on television’s anthology dramas. John Frankenheimer directed for the *Kraft Television Theatre*, Robert Altman for *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, Yul Brynner and Sidney Lumet for *Studio One*, Sidney Pollack for *The Chrysler Theater* (1965 Emmy for “Directorial Achievement in Drama”), and Delbert Mann for *NBC Television Playhouse*. These are but a few major directors who honed their skills during television’s Golden Age.

By 1955 Golden Age dramas had proven so popular with national audiences that they became important staples of the network television schedule. Some of the anthologies were now produced on film, but they maintained the aesthetic and psychological premises of the live productions that tutored their creators and their audiences. These drama series aired on the networks each day except Saturdays, and on some days, there were up to four separate anthology shows airing on one evening’s prime-time schedule. One instance of such a programming pattern occurred on Thursday nights during the 1954–55 TV season. In one single

evening, viewers could choose between *Kraft Television Theatre* (ABC, 1953–55), *Four Star Playhouse* (CBS, 1952–56), *Ford Theater* (NBC, 1952–56), and *Lux Video Theater* (NBC, 1954–57). Dramatic anthologies came in various generic formats as well, including suspense (*Kraft Suspense Theatre* [NBC, 1963–65] and *The Clock* [NBC/ABC, 1949–51]); mystery (*Mr. Arsenic* [ABC, 1952] and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* [CBS/NBC, 1955–65]); psychological (*Theater of the Mind* [NBC, 1949]); legal (*They Stand Accused* [DuMont, 1949–54]); science fiction (*Twilight Zone* [CBS, 1959–64]); military (*Citizen Soldier* [syndicated, 1956]); and reenactments (*Armstrong Circle Theater* [NBC/CBS, 1950–63]).

As these various titles suggest, the dramas staged on these anthology programs were remarkably diverse—at least in form, if not in substance. In this regard, critics of the so-called Golden Age dramas have noted what they consider to be major problems inherent in the staging of plays for the commercial television medium.

Much of the criticism of these live television dramas concerned the power sponsors often exerted over program content. Specifically, the complaints focused on the mandate by sponsors that programs adhere to a “dead-centerism.” In other words, sponsored shows were to avoid completely socially and politically controversial themes. Only those dramas that supported and reflected positive middle-class values, which likewise reflected favorably the image of the advertisers, were broadcast. Critics charge the networks with pandering to the expectations of southern viewers in order not to offend regional sensibilities. Scripts exploring problems at the societal level (e.g., racial discrimination, poverty, and other social ills) were systematically ignored. Instead, critics complain, too many Golden Age dramas were little more than simplistic morality tales focusing on the everyday problems and conflicts of weak individuals confronted by personal shortcomings such as alcoholism, greed, impotence, and divorce. While there is no doubt that teleplays dealing with serious social issues were not what most network or advertising executives considered appropriate subject matter for predisposing viewers to consume the advertised products, it is important to note that the Golden Age did coincide with the cold war era and McCarthyism, and that cold war references, including many denigrating communism and celebrating the United States, were frequently incorporated in teleplays of the mid- to late 1950s.

Most of the scripts in the live television dramas, however, were original teleplays or works adapted from the stage, ranging from Arthur Miller’s *Death of a Salesman* and Eugene O’Neill’s *The Iceman Cometh*

to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, among many others. This menu of live television dramas, especially when compared with popular Hollywood films, the elite theater, or commercial radio, presented American audiences with an extraordinary breadth of viewing experiences in a solitary entertainment medium. Moreover, this cultural explosion was occurring in the comfort of the new mass audience's brand-new suburban living rooms. While the classics and the writings of some contemporary popular authors provided material for the teleplays, these sources were not enough for the networks' demanding weekly program schedules. Moreover, the television programmers were often thwarted by Hollywood's practice of buying the rights to popular works and refusing to grant a rival medium access to them, thereby foreclosing the television networks' ability to dramatize some of the most popular and classic plays. In response, the networks began cultivating original scripts from young writers. Thus, the majority of the dramas appearing on these anthology shows were original works.

Perhaps the quintessential Golden Age drama is Chayefsky's *Marty*. On May 24, 1953, Delbert Mann directed Chayefsky's most renowned teleplay for NBC's *Philco Television Playhouse*. Starring Rod Steiger and Nancy Marchand as the principals, *Marty* is a love story about two ordinary characters and the mundane world they inhabit. *Marty* is important because its uncomplicated and sympathetic treatment of Marty, the butcher, and his ability to achieve independence from his demanding mother and embrace his uncertain future, resonated with many suburban viewers, who were, themselves, facing similar social and political changes in postwar American society. *Marty* was an ideal drama for the times, leading one reviewer to write that it represented "the unadorned glimpse of the American middle-class milieu." The suburban viewers, like the fictional "Marty" they welcomed into their living rooms, had become willing participants in an emerging national culture no longer distinguishable by intergenerational and interethnic differences. What further distinguishes *Marty* is the fact that it signaled a trend in the entertainment industry whereby teleplays were increasingly adapted for film. Shortly after its phenomenal television success, *Marty* became a successful feature film.

Some of the most successful and critically acclaimed dramatic anthology programs of the Golden Age were *Armstrong Circle Theater* (13 seasons), *Kraft Television Theatre* (11 seasons), *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (10 seasons), *Studio One* (10 seasons), *The U.S. Steel Hour* (10 seasons), *General Electric Theater* (9 seasons), *Philco Television Playhouse* (7

seasons), *Goodyear Playhouse* (6 seasons), *Playhouse 90* (4 seasons), and *Twilight Zone* (4 seasons, revived from 1985 to 1988). In present times, only *Hallmark Hall of Fame* (first broadcast in 1951) survives from the heyday of television's Golden Age. With the advent of videotape and telefilm, the shift to Hollywood studios as sites of program production, and the social upheavals of the 1960s, live anthology dramas fell victim to poor ratings and changing social tastes.

ANNA EVERETT

*See also Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama: Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; Frankheimer, John; Goodyear Playhouse; Kraft Television Theatre; Mann, Delbert; Playhouse 90; Programming; Rose, Reginald; Serling, Rod; Studio One*

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# Golden Girls, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

The popular song “Thank You for Being a Friend” was not only the weekly thematic prelude to the situation comedy *The Golden Girls*; its title/opening line also came to represent the sensibility that sprang from the heart of this delightful program. With *The Golden Girls*, NBC brought to television one of the first representations of senior women coming together to create a circle of friends that functioned as a family. The program centers around four main characters: Dorothy Zbornak (Bea Arthur), a divorced schoolteacher; Sophia Petrillo (Estelle Getty), Dorothy’s elderly, widowed mother; Blanche DeVereaux (Rue McClanahan), a widow and owner of the Miami home in which all of the women live; and Rose Nylund (Betty White), a widow and an active volunteer in the community. Aside from the mother-daughter relationship between Dorothy and Sophia, no other family relations exist between the women, yet they share their daily lives, dreams, fears, and dilemmas as a unit. The group life of the characters enables expression of diverse opinions and approaches to problems the women face as individuals.

The south Florida setting adds a warmth and lightness to the show, reflected in the tropical furniture and clothing favored by the women. The vivid colors and the light that floods the production visually represents the vibrancy of the lives of the characters.

On *The Golden Girls*, the main characters are in their late-middle age or beyond, but they are presented as full of life, working, capable, and energetic. Even Sophia, the elderly mother, is often in plays, taking trips, going on dates, and doing charity work. Blanche, the youngest of the women, is known for her fondness for men. (Blanche’s sexual adventures are always a topic of conversation, but they are never actually portrayed on the program.) Rose, the storyteller of the group, boasts about her roots in St. Olaf, Minnesota, and is presented as much more conservative than the passionate Blanche. Much of the comedy in the program stems from the absurdity of Rose’s stories of her “simple” hometown. These rambling narratives are often utterly inane, but eventually—after the nonsense Dorothy shouts in frustration, “The point, Rose, get to the point!”—the story offers warmhearted

advice or a perceptive viewpoint on the problem at hand. Sophia often aims her sharp and sarcastic wit at Rose’s stories, making fun of her in a critical, but kind, way. Dorothy, the working schoolteacher and the voice of reason, generally plays against the more extreme, often comical perspectives of the other women. Despite individual eccentricities, each woman is wise in her own way, and each values the others’ experiences and sage advice. Each plays her part in the maintenance of friendships and family bonds that result from their cohabitation.

*The Golden Girls* valued women and put special emphasis on the importance of women’s networks, friendships, and experiences. The series was inclusive enough to showcase the concerns and escapades of



*The Golden Girls.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Golden Girls, The

four distinctive, aging women, yet balanced enough to combine their individual experiences into a positive picture of four senior citizens functioning together to make the most of life.

Despite the success of the program, NBC dropped *The Golden Girls* from the prime-time lineup at the end of the 1992 season, when Bea Arthur decided to leave the show. CBS picked up the program and renamed it *The Golden Palace*, setting it in a hotel run by Blanche, Rose, and Sophia. It was a failure, and after its swift cancellation, the character Sophia returned to NBC to do occasional walk-ons on *Empty Nest*, a *Golden Girls* spin-off.

DAWN MICHELLE NILL

See also **Arthur, Beatrice; Harris, Susan; Thomas, Tony; Witt, Paul Junger**

### Cast

Dorothy Zbornak	Bea Arthur
Rose Nylund	Betty White
Blanche Devereaux	Rue McClanahan
Sophia Petrillo	Estelle Getty

### Producers

Paul Junger Witt, Tony Thomas, Susan Harris

### Programming History

180 episodes

NBC

September 1985–July 1991      Saturday 9:00–9:30

August 1991–September 1992      Saturday 8:00–8:30

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# Goldenson, Leonard (1905–1999)

U.S. Media Executive

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As the founder of a major U.S. network, Leonard Goldenson is perhaps not as famous as David Sarnoff of NBC or William S. Paley of CBS. Starting in 1951, over a 30-year period, Goldenson created the modern ABC (American Broadcasting Company) television network. He did not have the advantage of technological superiority, as NBC had from its owner, Radio Corporation of America (RCA). He did not have the advantage of an extraordinary talent pool, as CBS did from its radio contract. Yet Goldenson should be given credit as one of the modern corporate chieftains who shaped and led television in the United States into the network era, and beyond. The last of the old TV network tycoons, Leonard Goldenson snatched ABC from the brink of irrelevance as a minor radio network and by the 1980s had transformed the company into one of the top broadcasting networks and a leading site for advertising in the world. Goldenson's considerable accomplishments include luring the big Hollywood movie studios into the TV production business;

repackaging sports and making it prime-time fare with *Monday Night Football* and Olympic coverage; and leading the networks into the era of made-for-TV movies and miniseries.

After graduating from the Harvard Business School in 1933, Goldenson was hired to help reorganize the then near-bankrupt theater chain of Hollywood's Paramount Pictures. So skillful was his work at this assignment that Paramount's chief executive officer, Barney Balaban, hired Goldenson to manage the entire Paramount chain. In 1948, when the U.S. Supreme Court forced Paramount to choose either the theater business or Hollywood production and distribution, Balaban selected the Hollywood side and handed over the newly independent United Paramount theater chain to Goldenson. Goldenson then sold a number of movie palaces. Looking for a growth business in which to invest these funds, he selected ABC.

Goldenson finalized the ABC takeover in 1953, which came with a minor network and five stations.

Given the ownership restrictions defined by the Federal Communication Commission's Sixth Report and Order, Goldenson worked from the assumption that only three networks would survive. Only in 1955, with the failure of the DuMont television network, was ABC really off on what would become its successful quest to catch up with industry leaders, CBS and NBC.

As late as 1954, only 40 of the more than 300 television stations then on the air were primarily ABC-TV affiliates. More affiliates for ABC-TV were so-called secondary accounts, an arrangement through which an NBC or CBS affiliate agreed to broadcast a portion (usually small) of the ABC-TV schedule. When DuMont went under, ABC-TV could claim only a tenth of network advertising billings; NBC and CBS split the rest.

Goldenson developed a specific tactic: find a programming niche not well served by the bigger rivals and take it over. Thus, for a youth market abandoned by NBC and CBS, ABC set in motion *American Bandstand*, *Maverick*, and *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Goldenson found early ABC stars in Edd "Kookie" Byrnes, James Garner, and Ricky Nelson. Controversy came with the premiere of *The Untouchables*, as critics jumped on an apparent celebration of violence, but Goldenson rode out the criticism and lauded the high ratings to potential advertisers.

When necessary, Goldenson would also copy his competition. In the 1950s there was no greater hit than CBS's sitcom *I Love Lucy*. Goldenson signed up Ozzie Nelson and Danny Thomas, and in time *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* would run 435 episodes on ABC, whereas Danny Thomas's *Make Room for Daddy* would air 336.

Goldenson was able to convince Hollywood, in the form of Walt Disney and Warner Brothers, to produce shows for ABC. A turning point—for the network and for all of television—came when Walt Disney agreed to supply ABC with TV shows. In exchange ABC sold its movie palaces and loaned the money to Disney to build a new type of amusement park. Disney had approached any number of banks, but he could not convince their conservative officers that he really did not want to build another "Coney Island." Repeatedly, the financial institutions passed on "Disneyland." So, too, did NBC and CBS, thus missing out on the opportunity to program *The Mickey Mouse Club* and *The Wonderful World of Disney*.

ABC's first Disney show went on the air on Wednesday nights beginning in October 1954; the program moved to Sunday nights in 1960 and would remain a Sunday night fixture for more than two decades. ABC-TV had its first top-20 ratings hit and made millions from its investment in Disneyland. In particular, a De-



Leonard Goldenson, 1984.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cember 1954 episode entitled "Davy Crockett" created a national obsession, fostering a pop music hit, enticing baby boomers to beg their parents for coonskin caps, and making Fess Parker a TV star.

With the Warner Brothers shows (*Cheyenne*, *77 Sunset Strip*, *Surfside 6*, and *Maverick*) the ABC television network began making a profit for the first time. By the early 1960s ABC was airing the top-rated *My Three Sons*, *The Real McCoys*, and *The Flintstones*, which was television's first animated prime-time series. In the more turbulent late 1960s, ABC-TV mixed the traditional (*The FBI* and *Marcus Welby, M.D.*) with the adventuresome (*Mod Squad* and *Bewitched*). But it was not until the 1976–77 season that ABC-TV finally rose to the top of the network ratings; its prime-time hits that season were *Happy Days*, *Laverne and Shirley*, and *Monday Night Football*.

In sports telecasting ABC-TV soon topped NBC and CBS as a pioneer. ABC led the way with not only its Monday night broadcasts of National Football League games but also with *ABC Wide World of Sports* and coverage of both the summer and winter Olympics. In the late 1970s ABC's miniseries *Roots* set ratings records and acquired numerous awards for its 12 hours

of dramatic history. The TV movie was also an innovation of ABC-TV, and in time the "alphabet" network received top ratings for airing *Brian's Song*, *The Thorn Birds*, and *The Winds of War*.

By the mid-1980s Leonard Goldenson had passed his 80th birthday and wanted out of the day-to-day grind of running a billion-dollar corporation. In 1986 Capital Cities, Inc., backed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway investment group, bought ABC for \$3.5 billion. Capital Cities, Inc., had long been an award-winning owner of a group of the most profitable television stations in the United States. "Cap Cities" chief executive officer, Thomas Murphy, inherited what Leonard Goldenson had wrought. Leonard Goldenson then gracefully retired. On December 27, 1999, Goldenson died at his home in Longboat Key, Florida, near Sarasota. At age 94, having written his autobiography, he was honored with obituaries in all major media as a founder of modern television in the United States.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also **American Broadcasting Company; Disney, Walt; Networks; Warner Brothers Presents**

**Leonard Goldenson.** Born in Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, December 7, 1905. Educated at Harvard College, B.S., 1927; Harvard Law School, LL.B., 1930. Married: Isabelle Weinstein, 1939; children: Genise Sandra, Loreen Jay, and Maxine Wynne. Served as law clerk to a railroad attorney, early 1930s; worked in reorganization of Paramount's New England theaters, 1933-37; assistant to the executive in charge of Paramount theater operations, 1937; head, Paramount theater operations, 1938; vice president, Paramount Pictures, Inc., 1942; president and director, Paramount Theatres Service Corporation, 1944; president, chief executive officer, and director, United Paramount Pic-

tures, Inc., 1950, and American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Inc., 1953; chair of the board and chief executive officer, American Broadcasting Companies, Inc., until 1986; chair of the executive committee and director, Capital Cities/ABC, Inc., from 1972. Honorary chair of the Academy of TV Arts and Sciences. Member: International Radio and Television Society; National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Broadcast Pioneers; Motion Picture Pioneers; graduate director of the Advertising Council, Inc.; director, Research America; trustee emeritus, Museum of Broadcasting. Died in Longboat Key, Florida, December 27, 1999.

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## Goldie, Grace Wyndham (1900-1986)

BBC Television Producer

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Long considered the first lady of British television, Goldie had transferred from BBC Radio to the BBC Television Service in 1948. She was working on BBC's popular Third Program but soon became responsible for the advent of news and public-affairs

programming at the "Television Service." Goldie became the first woman to head a television production department and later became head of BBC Talks and Current Affairs. News-related programs like *Tonight*, *Monitor*, *Panorama*, and the highly controversial *That*

*Was the Week That Was* were projects headed by Goldie and her staff. As early as 1937, Grace Wyndham Goldie had written that television had a decided advantage over radio as a broadcast medium. She wrote, "Television has a vividness which you cannot get from radio broadcasting and a combination of reality and intimacy which you cannot get from cinema." She further exemplified her excitement over television's possibilities when she told members of Parliament that television was "a bomb about to burst" shortly after her appointment to the Television Service.

As a rule, the Television Service had not offered news programming to its audiences. Then director-general of the BBC, Sir William Haley did not believe that television was a good enough medium for news. Prime Minister Clement Attlee disliked television in general, as did Sir John Reith, grand architect of the BBC. Before Goldie's influence, the only televised offering was *Television Newsreel*, which began broadcasting after World War II. The program relied upon the style of the cinema newsreels, a format moviegoing Britons were familiar with. Since the programs were not topical, the same show would repeat weekly. Goldie's subsequent decisions on news content and focus often tested the Service's relationship with management, Parliament, the prime minister, and audiences.

Goldie is remembered for her initiation of the first televised General Elections. Election broadcasts had begun on radio in 1924, but the BBC had determined parties were not interested in using television. In February 1950 Goldie managed to convince the Television Service to let her create a program that would report election results as they came in. She worked closely with future BBC 1 controller Michael Peacock and well-known broadcaster Richard Dimbleby. The main presenter of the program was Chester Wilmot, who had come from radio. For commentary on the overall process, Grace Wyndham Goldie relied upon Oxford academic R.B. McCallum who had written a book on the 1945 election. In an era when the government regulated television's hours of broadcasting, the elections became one of the few occasions when Britons had overnight to breakfast-time television.

With increased immigration from the West Indies after World War II, race was rapidly becoming a major social issue in England. In response to this timely issue, Goldie organized a series of "Race Programs" for the BBC in 1952. The first program in the series would study scientific misconceptions about racial differences. The presenter of the program, Ritchie Calder, would interview scientists conducting anthropological research in Africa. The program entitled "The Scientists Look at Race" included examinations of "Jews, Negroes, Latins, and Aryians, the Island race (British

and European (as opposed to non-European)."

As with other aspects of Goldie's career, the program was highly controversial.

In 1953 Her Majesty the Queen was intrigued by the idea of televising her coronation, against the wishes of the cabinet. Goldie oversaw the project. In this same year, Goldie began a program in which journalists interviewed leading politicians, called *Press Conference*. Cabinet ministers had to get permission from the prime minister to appear on it. Another program called *Panorama* appeared in the schedules, featuring some political discussions in between arts reviews. Critics panned the program, yet *Press Conference* featured a "who's who" of politicians and newsmakers.

Near the end of 1956, the government ended the practice of blanking television screens between six and seven every evening so that parents could put their children to bed (the "Toddler's Truce"). In February 1957 Goldie used this time slot to launch *Tonight*. Hosted by Cliff Michelmore, *Tonight* came on at ten to seven every weekday evening and soon developed an audience of 8 million viewers. On Sunday, February 2, 1958, another Grace Wyndham Goldie news program went on the air, *Monitor*. The program, which relied heavily upon filmed interviews and documentaries, employed neophyte film directors like John Schlesinger, Ken Russell, and others.

Though Goldie retired in 1965, she continued to serve the BBC as Special Advisor to the Director of Television. As a vanguard of public information, she was often a harsh critic of contemporary television programming. In two newspaper articles published in 1967, Goldie assailed the docudrama genre (aka documentary drama form). Her principal concern was that audiences would blur the lines between factual events and melodrama. She especially targeted the family drama *Cathy Come Home* that addressed mothers on public assistance.

In 1973 the 27th British Film Awards awarded Goldie with an Academy Fellowship based upon her service and commitment to the field. In 1977 Goldie published the book *Facing the Nation Television & Politics 1936-76*. The work is considered to be an excellent "insider's look" at the Service and underscores Goldie's commitment to public information. Goldie also continued to serve as a member of the Association of Charity Affairs for the United Kingdom.

Shortly after her death in 1986, the BBC established a trust fund in her name. The fund offers financial assistance to those who have worked in radio or television, and his or her dependents. The largest grants pay a portion of children's education costs, including travel, school books, and clothing.

DARRELL MOTTLEY NEWTON



Goldie, Grace Wyndham

See also **British Television**

**Grace Wyndham Goldie.** Born in England's Western Highlands, March 3, 1900. Her family was headed by her father, a Scots engineer who worked in railroading. She spent a great deal of her childhood living in Egypt before attending a French school in Alexandria. Later she attended the prestigious Cheltenham Ladies' College and Somerville. She married famed British actor Frank Wyndham Goldie and worked with the Board of Trade before accepting a positioning with the BBC in 1944. Died June 3, 1986.

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## Good Times

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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Evictions, gang warfare, financial problems, muggings, rent parties, and discrimination were frequent elements in the television program *Good Times*, which aired on CBS from February 1974 to August 1979. The program was created by Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin, a highly successful team of independent producers who enjoyed unmitigated success during the 1970s and 1980s with a number of hit television shows including *Maude*, *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons*, and one of television's most controversial sitcoms, *All in the Family*.

*Good Times* was a spin-off show of *Maude*. On *Maude* Esther Rolle played the title character's black maid/housekeeper, Florida, whose family became the center of *Good Times*. In addition to Florida, the spin-off featured her unemployed but always looking-for-work husband, James Evans (John Amos); their teenaged son, J.J. (Jimmy Walker); a daughter, Thelma

(BernNadette Stanis); and a younger son, Michael (Ralph Carter). The Evans' neighbor, a 40ish woman named Willona (Ja'net DuBois), made frequent appearances. A very young Janet Jackson later joined the cast as Willona's adopted daughter, Penny.

*Good Times* earned its place in television history for a number of reasons. The program is significant for its decidedly different view not only of black family life but of American family life in general. Unlike the innocuous images served up in early television shows such as *Father Knows Best* and *Julia*, *Good Times* interjected relevancy and realism into prime-time television by dealing with the pressing issues of the day.

*Good Times* was also noteworthy in its portrayal of an African-American family attempting to negotiate the vicissitudes of life in a high-rise tenement apartment in an urban slum—the first show to tackle such a scenario with any measure of realism. The program ex-





*Good Times*, Ralph Carter, Bern Nadette Stanis, Ja'net DuBois, John Amos, Esther Rolle, Jimmie Walker, 1974–79.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ploited, with comic relief, such volatile subject matter as inflation, unemployment, and racial bigotry. Along with *The Jeffersons*, *Good Times* was one of the first television sitcoms featuring a mostly black cast to appear since the controversial *Amos 'n' Andy* show had been canceled some 20 years previously.

*Good Times* was initially successful in that it offered solace for both blacks and whites, who could identify with the difficulties the Evans family faced. The program appeared on prime-time television in a period of history that included the Watergate scandal, the atrocities of the Vietnam War, staggeringly high interest rates, and growing unemployment. The James Evans character made clear his dissatisfaction with current government policies, and the show became a champion for the plight of the underclass.

The show also highlighted the good parenting skills of James and Florida. In spite of their difficult situation, they never shirked from their responsibility to

teach values and morality to their children. The younger son, Michael, was thoughtful, intelligent, and fascinated with African-American history. He frequently participated in protest marches for good causes. J.J. was an aspiring artist who dreams of lifting his family from the clutches of poverty. In one episode, the family's last valuable possession, the television set, was stolen from J.J. on his way to the pawn shop to obtain a loan that would pay the month's rent. Somehow the Evans family prevailed, and they did so with a smile. Their ability to remain stalwart in the face of difficult odds was an underlying theme of the show.

*Good Times* is also significant for many layers of controversy and criticism that haunted its production. Both stars, Rolle and Amos, walked away and returned as they became embroiled in various disputes surrounding the program's direction. A major point of disagreement was the J.J. character, who metamorphosed into a "coon" stereotype reminiscent of early Ameri-

can film. His undignified antics raised the ire of the black community. With his toothy grin, ridiculous strut, and bug-eyed buffoonery, J.J. became a featured character with his trademark exclamation, "DY-NO-MITE!" J.J. lied, stole, and was barely literate. More and more episodes were centered around his exploits. Forgotten were Michael's scholastic success, James's search for a job, or anything resembling family values.

Both Rolle and Amos objected to the highlighting of the J.J. character. When both stars eventually left the program in protest, abortive attempts were made to soften the J.J. character and continue the program without James and Florida. "We felt we had to do something drastic," Rolle said later in the *Los Angeles Times*, "we had lost the essence of the show."

Even with a newly fashioned (employed and mature-acting) J.J. character, ratings for *Good Times* plummeted. With some concessions, Rolle rejoined the cast in 1978, but the program failed and the series was canceled. The program went on to enjoy success in syndication.

*Good Times*, with its success and its critics, remains an important program in television history. As the product of the highly successful Lear-Yorkin team, it stretched the boundaries of television comedy, while breaking the unspoken ban on television shows with mostly black casts.

PAMALA S. DEANE

See also **Lear, Norman; Maude; Racism, Ethnicity and Television**

**Cast**

Florida Evans (1974-77, 1978-79)	Esther Rolle
James Evans (1974-76)	John Amos
James Evans, Jr. (J.J.)	Jimmie Walker
Willona Woods	Ja'net DuBois
Michael Evans	Ralph Carter
Thelma Evans Anderson	BernNadette Stanis
Carl Dixon (1977)	Moses Gunn
Nathan Bookman (1977-79)	Johnny Brown
Penny Gordon Woods (1977-79)	Janet Jackson
Keith Anderson (1976-79)	Ben Powers

Sweet Daddy (1978-79) Theodore Wilson

**Producers**

Norman Lear, Allan Mannings, Austin Kalish, Irma Kalish, Norman Paul, Gordon Mitchell, Lloyd Turner, Sid Dorfman, George Sunga, Bernie West, Dohn Nicholl, Viva Knight

**Programming History**

120 episodes	
CBS	
February 1974-September 1974	Friday 8:30-9:00
September 1974-March 1976	Tuesday 8:00-8:30
March 1976-August 1976	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
September 1976-January 1978	Wednesday 8:00- 8:30
January 1978-May 1978	Monday 8:00-8:30
June 1978-September 1978	Monday 8:30-9:00
September 1978-December 1978	Saturday 8:30-9:00
May 1979-August 1979	Wednesday 8:30- 9:00

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## Goodson, Mark (1915–1992), and Bill Todman (1918–1979)

U.S. Producers

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Mark Goodson and Bill Todman were among television's most successful producers of game shows. They refined celebrity panel quizzes with *What's My Line?* and *I've Got a Secret* and created games that lasted for years. Some, like *The Price Is Right*, became even more popular in revived versions. Many of their shows have been adapted for production in television systems outside the United States.

In 1939 Goodson created his first game, *Pop the Question*, for San Francisco radio station KFRC. In *Pop the Question*, players threw darts at balloons to collect prizes inside. Goodson left for New York City in 1941, with an introduction from Ralph Edwards, an alumnus of University of California, Berkeley, where Goodson was also educated. While working several announcing and writing jobs, Goodson met Todman, a radio writer, director, and advertising copywriter. The two found a shared love of games and set to work on their first quiz show. They developed the methods that would serve them throughout their careers: Goodson refined the format, while Todman tested possible flaws in the rules and worked out the financial angles. CBS Radio finally picked up the game, *Winner Take All*, after World War II, and the two also partnered to create four local radio quizzes: *Hit the Jackpot*, *Spin to Win*, *Rate Your Mate*, and *Time's a Wastin'*. *Winner Take All* used a lockout buzzer system and was the first quiz show to pit two contestants against each other, rather than against the quizmaster one at a time. It was also first to have winners return each week until they were defeated. *Winner Take All* became the first Goodson and Todman show on CBS's new television network, debuting July 8, 1948.

Quiz shows had been popular on radio through the 1940s, and they were equally popular with TV executives: they cost little to produce, and merchandise prizes, so scarce during the war, were furnished free by manufacturers in return for plugs. An oft-repeated story had the partners carrying prizes for *Winner Take All* from their office to the studio. Todman slipped, sending small appliances clattering to the sidewalk. Writer Goodman Ace witnessed the accident and shouted, "Hey, Todman, you dropped your script!"

Most popular radio quizzes did not survive on television. Straight quizzes proved visually dull and failed to involve the audience. Before the rise and fall of the big-money shows, Goodson and Todman found their success by going in two different directions: celebrity panel shows and celebrations of ordinary people.

Their first panel show began in 1949 with Bob Bach, a staffer who had bet the partners that he could deduce the occupations of total strangers. This wager inspired a proposal called "Occupation Unknown," which CBS bought in 1950 and renamed *What's My Line?* Bach became its associate producer as a reward for creating the basic concept for the program, a custom that continued at Goodson-Todman. *What's My Line?* brought tuxedo-wearing bon vivants into viewers' homes for parlor games. These wits seemed amazed and amused by the occupations of ordinary working people. There was also a chance for suggestive exchanges: when questioning a guest whose "line" was "sells mattresses," Arlene Francis innocently provoked gales of laughter by asking, "If Bennett Cerf and I had your product, could we use it together?"

*Beat the Clock*, meanwhile, let ordinary folk attempt difficult, wacky stunts, which often involved whipped cream, mashed potatoes, or water balloons. This was the only Goodson-Todman show to join the trend in "big-money" games, as the prize for completing the stunts rose from \$100 to \$5,000 by 1958.

In 1950 CBS gave Goodson and Todman a shot at live drama when the producers of the popular anthology *Suspense* abruptly announced they were taking a summer hiatus. With just four weeks to the first air date, their studio put together *The Web*, an anthology of stories focused on people caught in a "web" of situations beyond their control. The show stayed on the air until 1954, and, like many New York-produced dramas, it featured several future Hollywood stars. James Dean made his television debut on *The Web* and later worked as a "stunt tester" for *Beat the Clock*. He proved so well coordinated, however, that his times at completing stunts could not be used to gauge average contestants. Dean was obliged to seek his fortune elsewhere. Goodson and Todman made a few other forays



Bill Todman (right) and Mark Goodson.  
Photo courtesy of Mark Goodson Productions

into drama, with the westerns *Jefferson Drum*, *The Rebel*, and *Branded*. They also produced *Philip Marlowe* and a repertory anthology, *The Richard Boone Show*.

In its second season, the format and panelists of *What's My Line?* jelled, and CBS had a hit that would last for 18 seasons, the longest-running game show in prime time. Goodson and Todman continued to prepare more panel shows, such as *The Name's the Same* (ABC; 1951–55), in which celebrity panelists met ordinary people with famous or unusual names (e.g., George Washington, Mona Lisa, A. Garter).

Two unemployed comedy writers, Allan Sherman and Howard Merrill, created *I've Got a Secret* for Goodson-Todman, and when it debuted in 1952, Sherman became its producer. He managed prodigious booking feats such as locating the nearest phone to Mt. Everest in order to be the first to contact Edmund Hillary following his historic ascent. He requested the U.S. Air Force to attempt to break the flight speed record from Los Angeles to New York on a Wednesday so the pilot could be a guest that evening; that stunt gave audiences their first look at John Glenn.

*I've Got a Secret* caught a whiff of the quiz show scandals with its celebrity segment: since few celebrities in those days wanted to admit their real secrets, the writing staff created some of them. Thus, Boris Karloff's "secret" was that he was afraid of mice, whereas Monty Wooley "revealed" that "I sleep with my beard under the covers." Asked by Henry Morgan whether that was really true, Wooley shot back, "Of course not, you bloody idiot! Some damn fool named Allan Sherman told me to say so." (Sherman later became famous for his song parodies, especially "Hello Muddah, Hello Fadduh!")

The third of Goodson and Todman's long-running panel shows, *To Tell the Truth*, was created in December 1956 by Bob Stewart, a former advertising agency man, who later packaged game shows on his own, including *The \$10,000 Pyramid*. Stewart also contributed *Password* in 1961, the first quiz show in which "civilians" teamed up with celebrities. In total airtime, however, Stewart's most enduring creation has been *The Price Is Right*. When *Price* debuted in 1956, it was a sponsor's dream. Contestants won fabulous prizes as rewards for knowing their retail prices, a skill prized in the 1950s consumption-oriented society. During the quiz show probes, it was revealed that contestants were sometimes furnished with ceiling prices over which they should not bid, but all the contestants had shared the information. *The Price Is Right* continued in daytime until 1965 and ran in prime time from 1957 to 1964. When the show was revived in 1972, it put contestants through several flashy games, but with the same object of guessing prices. *The New Price Is Right* continues to this day (now just called *The Price Is Right*), an hour each weekday on CBS, and it has spun-off syndicated versions.

By 1956 Goodson-Todman Productions was the biggest producer of game shows in the United States, but after the quiz show scandals, the thirst for new games had cooled considerably, and they were coasting on earlier successes. Their last winner in that period was another celebrity panel show, *The Match Game*. The prime-time audiences for *What's My Line?*, *I've Got a Secret*, and *To Tell the Truth* had grown older, and CBS retired the shows in 1967. By 1970 the networks swept nearly all their game shows from their daytime lineups as well.

A new window opened in 1971 with the implementation of the Prime-Time Access Rule, and Goodson-Todman produced new syndicated versions of nearly all their old shows. They even purchased *Concentration* from Barry and Enright after NBC canceled it in 1973 and issued a syndicated edition.

*The New Price Is Right* was part of the networks' attempt to return to daytime game shows in the early

1970s. Most shows of the period used more lights, flashy scoreboards, and high-tech, moving sets, but substance was lacking and the shows had short runs. Goodson-Todman had its share of gadget-filled failures, but they also struck gold with *Family Feud* and *Card Sharks*.

Goodson and Todman sold *What's My Line?* to CBS in 1958, and *I've Got a Secret* to CBS and program host Garry Moore in 1959. The sales helped reduce their capital gains tax burden and netted \$3 million. They established the Ingersoll Newspaper Group, a chain of 8 dailies and 25 weeklies, and served as vice presidents.

The partnership continued until Todman's death in 1979, after which time the company was renamed Mark Goodson Productions. Goodson died in 1992, and his son, Jonathan, succeeded him as president and chief executive officer of Mark Goodson Productions, while Howard Todman served as treasurer. In December 1994 the company joined with Merv Griffin Enterprises to launch the Game Show Network, a cable outlet offering old game shows from a library of 41,000 episodes, and new shows allowing home viewers to play along for prizes via interactive controllers.

MARK R. McDERMOTT

*See also Quiz and Game Shows*

**Mark Goodson.** Born in Sacramento, California, January 24, 1915. Educated at the University of California at Berkeley, B.A. 1937. Married: 1) Bluma Neveleff, 1941; children: Jill and Jonathan; 2) Virginia McDavid; children: Marjorie; 3) Suzanne Waddell. Acted in small amateur theater productions as a child; worked in the Lincoln Fish Market, Berkeley, mid-1930s; disc jockey, KJBS in San Francisco, 1937–39; announcer, newscaster, and station director, Mutual Broadcasting System's KFRC station in San Francisco, 1939–41; freelance radio announcer, New York City, 1941–43; created the ABC dramatic series *Appointment with Life*, 1943; directed the U.S. Treasury Department's war bond-selling show *The Treasury Salute*, 1944–45; cofounder, Goodson-Todman Productions, 1946 (renamed Mark Goodson Productions after partner William Todman's death, 1979); with Todman, created and marketed radio shows, 1946–50; served as producer on television series, including *The Rebel* and *Branded*. Trustee, Museum of Broadcasting (now Museum of Television and Radio), from 1985. Member, board of directors, American Film Institute from 1975. Member: Academy of TV Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1951 and 1952; Great Britain's National TV Award, 1951. Died in New York City, December 18, 1992.

**William S. Todman.** Born in New York City, July 31, 1918. Graduated from Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1938. Married: Frances Holmes Burson; one daughter and one son. Freelance radio writer following college; writer and producer, radio station WABC, New York; cofounder, with Mark Goodson, Goodson-Todman Productions, 1946, which produced game shows for television; expanded Goodson-Todman enterprises to form Capital City Publishing, which included Ingersoll newspaper group and other publishing holdings. Died in New York City, July 29, 1979.

**Television Series (selected)**

1948–50	<i>Winner Take All</i>
1950–54	<i>The Web</i>
1950–67	<i>What's My Line?</i>
1951–54	<i>It's News to Me</i>
1951–55	<i>The Name's the Same</i>
1952–67	<i>I've Got a Secret</i>
1953–54	<i>Two for the Money</i>
1956–67	<i>To Tell the Truth</i>
1956–72, 1974	<i>The Price Is Right</i>
1958–59	<i>Jefferson Drum</i>
1958–63	<i>Play Your Hunch</i>
1958–73	<i>Concentration</i>
1959–60	<i>Phillip Marlowe</i>
1959–61, 1962	<i>The Rebel</i>
1962–67	<i>Password</i>
1963–64	<i>The Richard Boone Show</i>
1965–66	<i>Branded</i>
1972–75	<i>The New Price Is Right</i>
1973–79	<i>The Match Game</i>
1974–78, 1982–84	<i>Tattletales</i>
1977–85, 1988–	<i>Family Feud</i>
1984–85	<i>Now You See It</i>

**Radio (Goodson)**

*Pop the Question*, 1939–40; *The Jack Dempsey Sports Quiz*, 1941; *The Answer Man*, 1942; *Appointment with Life*; *Battle of the Boroughs*, 1945–46; *Stop the Music*.

**Radio (Todman)**

*Connie Boswell Presents*; *Anita Ellis Sings*; *Treasury Salute Dramas*.

**Radio (Goodson and Todman)**

*Winner Take All*, 1946; *Time's a Wastin'*, 1948; *Spin to Win*, 1949.

### Further Reading

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# Goodyear Playhouse

## U.S. Dramatic Anthology

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*Goodyear Playhouse*, a highly prestigious American program of live, one-hour plays, appeared on NBC from 1951 to 1957. Its original title, *Goodyear TV Playhouse*, was changed in 1955. The program shared its time slot in alternating weeks with *Philco Television Playhouse* and later with *The Alcoa Hour*. The varying titles referred to specific corporate sponsorship from week to week, but all three series were produced by the same people, and at times all three series were referred to simply as NBC's *Television Playhouse*.

*Goodyear Playhouse* was among several anthology dramas that many television critics associate with television's "Golden Age." Like other anthology programs, each episode of *Goodyear Playhouse* featured different actors and stories, many of which were developed from Broadway plays and short stories. New stories were also written especially for *Goodyear Playhouse* by writers who had little or no previous television experience. Because programs were produced live, on small sets, and for 9-inch television screens, they tended to rely upon close-ups and dialogue for dramatic impact. Stories necessarily took place indoors so that sets would seem more realistic. Partly because of such constraints, the plays usually had a strong psychological emphasis, concentrating upon characters rather than action.

During its brightest years (1951–55), *Goodyear Playhouse* was produced by Fred Coe, who had made a name for himself in experimental television productions in the late 1940s. Coe encouraged several young authors to write for the series, allowing them an un-

usual amount of freedom in their scripts. The writers included Paddy Chayefsky, Tad Mosel, Robert Alan Arthur, Horton Foote, David Shaw, and Gore Vidal, each of whom continued to write for other media as well as television. Similarly, because the series was performed in New York, Coe made ample use of stage actors who later became well-known television and screen stars, Grace Kelly, Rod Steiger, and Leslie Nielsen among them. Although neither actors nor writers were paid much for performing on *Goodyear Playhouse*, many enjoyed the excitement of live television and the national exposure the series offered. Coe also trained many directors, including Delbert Mann, Arthur Penn, and Sidney Lumet, who would later make names for themselves in television and film.

Although *Goodyear Playhouse* and other anthology dramas received more critical praise than most television fare of the day, they—like all commercial television productions—were constrained in their content and production styles by desires of advertisers, who were careful not to sponsor anything that might offend consumers. Hence, rather than suggest that the source of postwar problems was found in social inequities, television plays rooted problems within individual characters, who usually managed to overcome their problems by the denouement. Furthermore, television plays were bound by temporal limitations inherent in commercial television. While Coe argued that two commercial breaks were beneficial in that they allowed actors to rest and also simulated stage theater's three-act structure, the 60-minute format meant that the timing of productions was to a large extent predetermined.

Despite their limitations, the stories presented on *Goodyear Playhouse* were often impressive, featuring strong acting and direction. The most famous of this anthology's plays was Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty* (May 24, 1953), starring Rod Steiger as a middle-aged, lonely butcher, and Nancy Marchand as an unattractive schoolteacher whom he meets at a dance. *Marty* was perfectly attuned to the limitations placed upon live television drama, subtly and sensitively exploring the emotions of a man torn between family commitments and his need for personal maturation. *Marty* was later made into an Oscar-winning film starring Ernest Borgnine. In addition to *Marty*, other notable *Goodyear Playhouse* premiers include Chayefsky's *The Bachelor Party* (1955) and Gore Vidal's *Visit to Small Planet* (1955).

In 1954 and 1955 anthology sponsors began to demand more control of their programs. Gloomy personal problems faced by anthology characters did not seem to mesh with bright, optimistic commercials. Sponsors were increasingly turning to series television productions filmed in Hollywood. These factors signaled the demise of anthology programs, including *Goodyear Playhouse*. Fred Coe left NBC when his ideas no longer generated sponsor interest.

When Coe left the series in 1955, ratings dropped, and *Goodyear Playhouse* was canceled two years later. The series was reprised somewhat from 1957 to 1960 by a half-hour, taped program called the *Goodyear Theater*. *Goodyear Theater* was similar in content to its predecessor and again alternated with *Alcoa Theater* on NBC.

*Goodyear Playhouse*, along with other live anthology series such as *Omnibus* and *Playhouse 90*, set a standard for excellence in television production despite industrial limitations placed upon these programs. Just a few years after the end of *Goodyear*

*Playhouse*, television writers, directors, and critics lamented the loss of the creative freedom that anthology dramas offered in contrast to series television. Today, complaints continue to be made by television reformers who contrast present programming with television's Golden Age.

WARREN BAREISS

*See also Anthology Drama; Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; "Golden Age" of Television; Philco Television Playhouse*

### Programming History

NBC

October 1951–September 1957	Sunday 9:00–10:00
September 1957–September 1960	Monday 9:30–10:00

### Further Reading

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- Bourjaily, V., "The Lost Art of Writing for Television," *Harper's* (September 1959)
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- Gianakos, L.J., *Television Drama Series Programming: A Comprehensive Chronicle, 1947–1959*, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1980
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## Grade, Lew (1906–1998)

British Television Producer, Executive

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The eldest of three brothers, Lew Grade (originally Louis Winogradsky) emigrated with his parents to Britain from Russia in 1912, when he was six, and settled in London's East End, where his father set up as a tailor. He and his younger brother Boris (later the the-

atrical manager Baron Bernard Delfont of Stepney) went on to establish a reputation initially as dancers, Lew becoming World Charleston Champion in 1926 and subsequently turning professional. In 1933 he became an agent for European circus acts and switched





Lew Grade.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

to a new career in theatrical management. Together with his youngest brother, Leslie, he set up his own theatrical agency and subsequently managed many of the most popular variety acts of the 1940s and 1950s. Stars represented by the Grades included such luminaries as Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud, Ralph Richardson, Norman Wisdom, and Morecambe and Wise.

Grade gave up his agency work in 1955, by which time he had recognized the possibilities of the emerging commercial television industry. He formed a consortium to bid for one of the ITV franchises then on offer and his company, called Associated Television (ATV), won Midlands weekday and London weekend ITV contracts and came to dominate the ITV network from the 1950s to the 1970s. He also set up the Independent Television Corporation (ITC) to produce films to be screened by ATV and to be sold to other networks.

An ebullient and irrepressible character, instantly recognizable with his bald head and ever-present trademark ten-inch cigar, Grade was a pioneer of commercial television in the United Kingdom and exerted a massive influence over early television scheduling through ATV and ITC. Grade never pretended that he had a mission to educate or “improve” his public. His sole ambition was to provide the kind of entertainment

he instinctively understood viewers wanted, which led to the development of a schedule largely based on a mixture of popular variety shows, action adventure series, and soap operas. He realized from the outset that the key to international and financial success lay in making programs that would appeal to both British and U.S. networks, and many of his most successful series, churned out on a “factory” basis modeled on U.S. practice, were of a deliberately transatlantic character.

Grade’s first major international success came early, with *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, starring Richard Greene, Britain’s first costume adventure series and the first of Grade’s programs to be sold in the United States. Over the ensuing decades he worked much the same formula over and over again, producing adventure series that would appeal to audiences throughout the English-speaking world. Such series as *The Saint*, which was based on the thrillers of Leslie Charteris and starred a suave Roger Moore as the eponymous hero Simon Templar, *The Avengers*, and the puppet action adventures of Gerry Anderson (notably *Thunderbirds*) were huge commercial successes and are now regarded as enduring classics. Others, such as *The Baron*, *Man in a Suitcase*, and *The Persuaders* failed to make much of an impact with U.S. audiences and are now largely forgotten, despite changes made to introduce U.S. characters and contexts. (In *The Baron*, for instance, the aristocratic reformed English gentleman-thief of the original John Creasey novels on which the series was based was transformed into a Texan-born ranch owner based in London.)

As well as promoting early adventure series with appeal to transatlantic audiences, Grade also oversaw the screening of television’s first medical soap opera, *Emergency Ward 10*, which started in 1957 and (broadcast twice weekly) ran for ten years. The series pioneered the mix of surgery, melodrama, and romance that was to provide the staple fare of numerous similar series in the future. Grade decided to axe *Emergency Ward 10* in 1967 because of a drop in ratings, but later identified this as one of his biggest mistakes and in 1972 attempted (though with only modest success) to revive the series in the form of the inferior *General Hospital*. Another major foray into soap opera was the long-running *Crossroads*, which ran for 24 years—despite criticisms of the acting and the sets—and was subsequently revived.

Other programs from the Grade organization ranged from the enigmatic cult series *The Prisoner*, which Grade axed after just 17 of a planned 36 episodes (either because of the cost or because of controversy aroused over drug references), and the historical drama series *Edward the Seventh*, which was filmed in various royal locations with permission of the Queen, to



*The Muppet Show* and adaptations of the romantic novels of Barbara Cartland. The success of many of these projects was a testament to Grade's personal judgment and understanding of what would work: several series were commissioned, and indeed sold, by him on the strength of a synopsis or a few brief rushes.

Perhaps Grade's greatest success was the two-part film *Jesus of Nazareth*, directed by Franco Zeffirelli. The pope himself had suggested the idea to Grade (a Jew), when introduced to the latter and his wife (a Christian). Kathie Grade nagged her husband to make the film and he agreed, on condition that it would be equally accessible to people of all religions. Starring Robert Powell as Jesus, Laurence Olivier, Ralph Richardson, Peter Ustinov, Rod Steiger, James Mason, and Olivia Hussey, it cost £9 million and was nicknamed "The Most Expensive Story Ever Told." Few expected it to be good, but it won wide critical acclaim, and Grade himself called it "the best thing I will ever do." With a repeated airing in the 1980s, it was estimated to have been seen by approximately 500 million people worldwide.

Always energetic and hardworking, Grade was Britain's most celebrated postwar showbiz mogul. His friendly and disarming, persuasive manner meant he had few, if any, enemies. He was also a dominant figure in theater and film, in which he became increasingly active from the 1970s. Concentrating on feature films that would appeal to family audiences, he had his successes, but on the whole his career in cinema was less lucrative than it might have been. His most expensive flop on the big screen was *Raise the Titanic*, a hugely ambitious project that cost \$36 million to make but returned only \$8 million on release, prompting Grade's famous quip "It would have been cheaper to lower the Atlantic." Undaunted by increasing financial difficulties, he carried on making films for both the large and small screens until his death at the age of 91. His nephew is the television executive Michael Grade (son of Leslie), who became director of programs at the BBC (1986–88), then chief executive officer of Channel 4 (1988–97).

DAVID PICKERING

See also *Avengers, The; Grade, Michael; Muppet Show, The; Prisoner, The; Thunderbirds*

**Lew Grade (Baron Grade of Elstree).** Born Louis Winogradsky in Tokmak, near Odessa, Ukraine, December 25, 1906. Emigrated to Great Britain, 1912. Attended Rochelle Street School, London. Married Kathleen Sheila Moody, 1942; children: one adopted son, Paul. Worked as a music hall dancer, 1926–34, before embarking on a career as a theatrical agent and impresario, moving into television in 1955. Joint man-

aging director, Lew and Leslie Grade Ltd., until September 1955; chairman and managing director, Independent Television Corporation (ITC) Entertainment Ltd., 1958–82; managing director, Associated Television (ATV), 1962; Chairman, Stoll Moss Theatres Ltd., 1969–82; chairman and chief executive, Associated Communications Corporation Ltd., 1973–82; president, ATV, 1977–82; chairman, Bentrax Investments Ltd., 1979–82; chairman and chief executive, Embassy Communications International Ltd., 1982–85; chairman, The Grade Company, from 1985; director, Euro Disney SCA, Paris, 1988. Governor, Royal Shakespeare Theatre. Fellow, BAFTA, 1979. KCSS, 1979. Knighted, 1969; created baron, 1976. Died December 13, 1998.

#### Television Series (selected)

1955–60	<i>The Adventures of Robin Hood</i>
1955–67	<i>Sunday Night at the Palladium</i>
1957–67	<i>Emergency Ward 10</i>
1961–69	<i>The Avengers</i>
1963	<i>The Plane Makers</i>
1963–68	<i>The Saint</i>
1964–88	<i>Crossroads</i>
1965	<i>The Power Game</i>
1965–66	<i>Secret Agent</i>
1965–66	<i>Thunderbirds</i>
1966	<i>Mrs. Thursday</i>
1966–67	<i>The Baron</i>
1967	<i>The Prisoner</i>
1967–68	<i>Man in a Suitcase</i>
1969	<i>Secret Service</i>
1969	<i>The Englebert Humperdinck Show</i>
1969–71	<i>This Is Tom Jones</i>
1971–72	<i>The Persuaders</i>
1972–74	<i>The Protectors</i>
1972–79	<i>General Hospital</i>
1974	<i>Moses the Lawgiver</i>
1974–76	<i>Space 1999</i>
1975	<i>Edward the Seventh</i>
1976	<i>Clayhanger</i>
1976	<i>George and Mildred</i>
1976–81	<i>The Muppet Show</i>
1977	<i>Jesus of Nazareth</i>
1978	<i>Will Shakespeare</i>

#### Films (selected)

*Journey to the Far Side of the Sun*, 1969; *The Possession of Joel Delaney*, 1971; *The Tamarind Seed*, 1974; *Return of the Pink Panther*, 1975; *Farewell My Lovely*, 1975; *Voyage of the Damned*, 1976; *March or Die*, 1977; *The Cassandra Crossing*, 1977; *Autumn Sonata*, 1978; *The Medusa Touch*,

1978; *The Boys from Brazil*, 1978; *Movie Movie*, 1978; *Firepower*, 1979; *The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *From the Life of the Marionettes*, 1980; *The Legend of the Lone Ranger*, 1980; *Raise the Titanic*, 1980; *Green Ice*, 1981; *On Golden Pond*, 1981;

*Sophie's Choice*, 1982; *Something to Believe In*, 1998.

#### Publications

*Still Dancing* (autobiography), 1987

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## Grade, Michael (1943– )

### British TV Executive

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Unlike most of his contemporaries in the top executive positions of British television, Michael Grade did not progress through the usual route of program making, but rather through the entertainment business, which colored his approach to the commissioning and scheduling of programs, at which he was the acknowledged master.

Grade came from a family steeped in show business. His uncles were Lew Grade, the flamboyant businessman who ran the ITV franchise ATV among many entertainment interests, and Bernard Delfont, the theatrical impresario who ran the London Palladium. His father, Leslie Grade, was a talent agent. It was into this branch of the family business that Michael first moved, after a brief career as a sports journalist with the *Daily Mirror* in the early 1960s.

It was in this capacity that Michael Grade came into contact with the world of television, learning a great deal about the business from the sidelines. He worked with the Grade Organisation from 1966 to 1969 and with London Management and Representation, where he was joint managing director, from 1969 to 1973. His job included negotiating with TV entertainment controllers, including Bill Cotton, Jr., at the BBC. Indeed, Cotton was an old family friend, as Grade's father had been Cotton's father's agent, and Cotton was to play a significant role in bringing Grade to the BBC later in his career.

It was therefore no surprise when he moved into television entertainment himself, becoming deputy controller of programs (Entertainment) at London Weekend Television in 1973, later moving to the post of director of programs (and board member) from 1977 to 1981. Grade's big problem at LWT was that, as the London weekend franchise holder, LWT was responsible for only three nights a week, and those nights, especially Saturday, were the ones on which the

BBC was at its strongest. Although he gained his reputation for populism and entertainment at LWT, it should not be forgotten that, as director of programs, he also initiated the arts series *The South Bank Show*, which remains ITV's most important contribution to arts programming.

In 1981 Michael Grade moved to Hollywood, as president of Embassy Television, the independent Hollywood production company founded by Norman Lear, but the experience was not a happy one. He found American television too economically competitive, and he eagerly returned to Britain in a key role at the BBC in 1984.

He became controller of BBC 1 at a time when the corporation was losing the ratings war with ITV, using his scheduling skills and inside knowledge of ITV to turn the situation around to the BBC's advantage. The scheduling and success of the soap opera *Eastenders* was the most vital pillar in Grade's strategy. In 1986 Grade became BBC TV director of programs, with responsibility for rejuvenating the schedule across both networks. Again, despite his reputation as a populist, the period also saw some of the BBC's most respected landmarks, including the drama series *Edge of Darkness* and *The Singing Detective*, as well as controversy over the World War I drama *The Monocled Mutineer*, which Grade wrongly defended as factually correct. However, the act for which he is most remembered in some circles is the cancellation of the cult sci-fi institution *Doctor Who*.

In 1987 Grade was interviewed for the job of BBC director-general but lost out to Michael Checkland. Checkland brought in John Birt as his deputy and it was the expansion of Birt's influence, at Grade's expense, which led Grade to leave the BBC.

At the beginning of 1988 he became the second chief executive of Channel 4. It was a surprise appoint-

ment, because Grade's reputation for populism did not seem to fit Channel 4's intellectual and minority image. Indeed, the channel's outgoing first chief executive, Jeremy Isaacs, was publicly critical of Grade's appointment and famously threatened to "throttle" him if he altered the channel's remit.

Yet again, Grade's populism was tempered by his commitment to quality and public service. His approach at Channel 4 was to apply the remit for innovation to entertainment and comedy, introducing programming like *Vic Reeves' Big Night Out*. Grade's Channel 4 also maintained its reputation for controversy, with strands like *Eurotrash* and *The Word*, and the sexual nature of some of the more high-profile offerings led the conservative tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, to dub him "Britain's pornographer-in-chief." Nevertheless, dramas like *Traffik* maintained Channel 4's reputation for quality.

The most important change, however, was organizational. Having previously proposed the privatization of the channel while at the BBC, Grade found himself on the other side of the argument when the 1990 Broadcasting Act considered Channel 4's future funding method. The eventual solution—Channel 4 became a public corporation selling its own airtime and with a

renewed remit for innovation and minority programming—suited Grade's approach of maximizing audiences with innovative programming and scheduling. The 1990s were a time of great expansion for the channel under his leadership.

Grade left Channel 4 in 1997 and took on a variety of jobs outside television, notably with National Lottery organizer Camelot, but rumors regularly link him with top television jobs; his career in the medium cannot be said to be over.

STEVE BRYANT

*See also Channel 4; Grade, Lew*

**Michael Ian Grade.** Born March 8, 1943. Married: 1) Penelope Jane Levinson, 1967 (divorced, 1981); one son and one daughter; 2) Sarah Lawson, 1982 (divorced, 1991). Trainee journalist, *Daily Mirror*, 1960; sports columnist, 1964–66; theatrical agent, Grade Organisation, 1966–1969; joint managing director, London Management and Representation, 1969–73; deputy controller of programs (Entertainment), LWT, 1973–77; director of programs, LWT, 1977–81; president, Embassy Television, 1981–84; controller, BBC1, 1984–86; director of programs, BBC TV, 1986–87; chief executive, Channel 4, 1988–97.

## Grandstand

### British Sports Program

The BBC's flagship sports program, *Grandstand* has been broadcast in Britain since the autumn of 1958. This enduring and resourceful program runs for approximately five hours every Saturday afternoon, pulling together discrete sporting events under one program heading.

*Grandstand* was conceived by Bryan Cargill, then a sports producer within the BBC, with the idea of unifying the corporation's live Outside Broadcasts within a single sports omnibus. The sports magazine format had its precedents in both BBC radio and television, and *Grandstand* joined its sister programs *Sportsvie* (a midweek sports magazine that was presented by Peter Dimmock from 1954 and later became known as *Sportsnight*) and *Sports Special* (a Saturday evening program of filmed highlights, presented by Kenneth Wolstenholme, which aired from 1955 to 1964, when

it was replaced by *Match of the Day*, a program exclusively dedicated to soccer). These provided a comprehensive sports portfolio without comparison among the ITV companies.

It was Dimmock, then the head of BBC Television Outside Broadcasts, who presented the initial two programs. He was soon replaced by the sports journalist David Coleman, who from 1958 to 1968 brought a vibrant style and meticulous sporting knowledge to the program in a decade that saw televised sport in Britain come of age. The role of the anchor has been central to the success of *Grandstand*, whose structure changes from week to week and, on occasion, hour to hour, or even minute by minute. As the public end of a finely tuned production team, the anchor knits together and makes coherent the live and recorded material that alternates between various sports and locations. Since

Coleman left the program in 1968 it is a role only a few broadcasters have been privileged to undertake: Frank Bough (1968–83); Desmond Lynam (1983–93), Steve Ryder (1993– ), Ray Stubbs (1996– ), and ex-tennis star Sue Barker (1999– ).

One of the guiding principles of *Grandstand* has been to appeal to a family audience, despite being male dominated in terms of its selection of presenters, commentators, and sports covered. Indeed, it is between the dichotomy of the sports fan (viewed as predominantly male) and the casual viewer (the family audience) that the presenters and commentators seek to appeal, and their efforts have given the aforementioned anchors of the program recognition as talented broadcasters beyond the genre of televised sport. Similarly, the sports commentators, many of whom joined the BBC in the 1950s and 1960s, have become household names in Britain: Peter O'Sullivan (horse racing), Murray Walker (motor racing), Bill McLaren (rugby union), Peter Allis (golf), Richie Benaud (cricket), John Motson (soccer), David Coleman (athletics), Ted Lowe (snooker), Dan Maskell (tennis), and Harry Carpenter (boxing). These commentators are among the most enduring names in British broadcasting, and although the latter three practitioners of the lip microphone retired from broadcasting in the early 1990s, all remain familiar to the armchair sports fan.

The individuals who have taken on the challenge of presenting the program have been aware of the need to produce the illusion of a seamless flow of sports entertainment, with continuity and slickness being key production values. Without any definitive script, without knowing what is going to happen next, the fronting of *Grandstand* is recognized as one of the toughest jobs in British television. Yet the complexity of directing several Outside Broadcasts in one afternoon, mixing events and making sure everything significant is captured, has been made to look easy.

Although soccer does not feature as one of the alternating live Outside Broadcasts, due to a historical fear on the part of the soccer authorities that live coverage would affect actual attendance on Saturday afternoons, the sport does figure strongly within the overall news values of the program. Starting with "Football Focus," a review and analysis of the previous week's games and an outlook toward the afternoon's matches, *Grandstand* provides a continual update of the latest scores for its viewers. "Final Score," which concludes the program, provides a soccer results service that emphasizes up-to-the-minute production values, formatively utilizing the technology of what affectionately became known as the "teleprinter" (later replaced by the "videprinter"). "Final Score" was introduced to the program not only as a means of informing soccer fans

of their teams' success or failure on a particular Saturday afternoon but also to provide news of success or failure to the hundreds of thousands of British people who gamble on the football pools. In this respect, *Grandstand* was the first television program to take the sports gambler seriously, specifically with regard to horse racing, which is a staple diet of the program. The show combines the coverage of racing events with analysis of race form, betting odds, and results.

Between 1965 and 1985 *Grandstand* had to compete with ITV's sports magazine program *World of Sport*. Initially launched in a joint operation between ATV and ABC, and subsequently produced by LWT, *World of Sport* took up the same scheduling time as *Grandstand*. Instead of alternating between Outside Broadcasts, it televised sports within a far more structured approach. Its demise was due to the problem of overcoming the regional system of the ITV network and its failure to encroach on the BBC's stranglehold on the television rights to the main sporting events. Of central importance here has been the BBC's predominance in the coverage of the "Listed Events": a set of sporting occasions that have been sidelined since 1954 by the postmaster general to maintain nonexclusivity in the broadcasting of Wimbledon tennis, the FA Cup Final, the Scottish Cup Final, the Grand National, the Derby, Test Cricket in England, the Boat Race, soccer's World Cup Final, the Olympic Games, and the Commonwealth Games. *Grandstand* has been the vehicle for the coverage of all these events. Therefore, not only has the program established Saturday as a day of televised sport, it has also created a seasonally shifting, broadcasting calendar of sport, ubiquitously known and familiar throughout the nation.

With the introduction of satellite and cable delivery systems in Britain, and the emergence of sports narrowcasting (most notably Sky Sports), the BBC has found it increasingly difficult to compete for television rights to sport as prices inflate. The loss of Formula One motor racing and the Saturday-evening highlights package of the FA Premier League to rivals ITV and, most dramatically, the loss of TV rights to English Test Cricket to Channel 4 from 2000 have severely damaged the BBC's reputation as the number one broadcaster of sports. However, the BBC has maintained its commitment to sports and introduced *Sunday Grandstand* (originally called *Summer Grandstand* when it began in 1981) as a means of extending its scheduled hours of sport, under a title that has become synonymous with quality sports programming. Additionally, the growth of BBC Online has given the corporation's coverage of sport a new lease of life, providing background information to *Grandstand* and other areas of BBC sports programming.

RICHARD HAYNES

*See also Sports on Television***Anchors**

David Coleman (1958–68)  
 Frank Bough (1968–83)  
 Desmond Lynham (1983–93)  
 Steve Ryder (1993–)  
 Ray Stubbs (1996–)  
 Sue Barker (1999–)

**Programming History**

BBC

1958– Saturday afternoons, non prime time

**Further Reading**

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# Grange Hill

## British Children's Serial Drama

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*Grange Hill* is a successful children's soap opera set in a fictional East London comprehensive school. More controversial than traditional BBC children's dramas, *Grange Hill* examines how social and political pressures directly affect Britain's schoolchildren, rupturing cherished and long-held images of sheltered youth and innocence.

The first two seasons concentrated on the lives of a group of mostly working-class 11-year-old students who started at Grange Hill Comprehensive in 1978. Bad boy Tucker Jenkins (Todd Carty) was the show's working-class antihero. His best friend, Benny Green (Terry Sue Patt), a sweet-tempered black boy, battled with the dual problems of racial prejudice and poverty (his father was unemployed as a result of an industrial injury). Although he was a skilled footballer, Benny was stigmatized by poverty as teachers constantly reprimanded him for wearing the wrong school uniform or old gym shoes.

When Tucker and friends reached their third year in school, a new generation of children entered Grange Hill. Every two years after this, a new class of younger students would share the limelight with their veteran classmates. The second group of Grange Hill pupils included another antihero, Zammo, the Tucker of his generation. A few years later, in the midst of national panic about drug abuse in schools, Zammo became addicted to drugs and engaged in glue-sniffing. This narrative was conceived in conjunction with a national

antidrug awareness scheme, which was featured on other BBC children's programs such as *Blue Peter* to educate children on the dangers of illegal drugs.

Generally, *Grange Hill* was not well received by parents or critics, who condemned its images of worldly, disrespectful, and disillusioned students. Children, on the other hand, found the series a little too idealistic. After the first season, producer Phil Redmond changed the tone of the show in response to children who complained that "things weren't tough enough." In all probability, the show would have been controversial as it engaged with an issue at the forefront of public debate: comprehensive schools. Labour government policy mandated that these mixed-ability schools would replace the two-tier system of grammar and secondary modern schools by 1980. Comprehensive schools came to represent both utopian and dystopian visions of the nation's future. At the center of it all were the children, a disenfranchised group unable to participate in the molding of their future. Throughout the years, *Grange Hill* has explored this theme, the idea that children engage with and are affected by politics even though the public tries to protect them or deny their interest in social matters.

Redmond's *Grange Hill* spin-offs continued to explore how government policy affected Britain's youth. *Tucker's Luck* (BBC 2, 1983–85) was aimed at slightly older children and teenagers and dealt with the problems facing working-class youth with few academic

## Grange Hill

qualifications (like Tucker and his friends) in a world of growing unemployment. This series was neither as popular as nor as controversial as *Grange Hill*, largely because it was shown against the early evening news on both BBC 1 and ITV.

MOYA LUCKETT

See also **Redmond, Phil**

### Producers

Anna Home, Colin Cant, Susi Hush, Kenny McBain, Ben Rea, Ronald Smedley, David Leonard, Albert Barber

### Creator

Phil Redmond

### Programming History

BBC1

Feb. 8, 1978— various times

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# Great Performances

## U.S. Performing Arts Program

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*Great Performances* is the longest-running performing arts series in the history of television. Produced by the public television station WNET (Channel 13 in New York), *Great Performances* debuted on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) in 1972 as an on-air venue for opera and concerts; before long, theater, dance, adaptations of literary works in short-form series, and (more recently) documentary portraits of filmmakers and other artists came under its umbrella, as well. Still one of public television's most popular programs, *Great Performances* has been around almost as long as PBS, and, in many ways, its history reflects the broader history of public television in the United States.

*Great Performances*' executive producer, Jac Venza, started his career as a theater designer in New York City in the 1940s. In the 1950s he moved into designing for television at CBS, eventually producing and directing, too. In 1964 Venza left CBS to work for the Ford Foundation-funded alternative to commercial television known as National Educational Television (NET), becoming the broadcasting system's executive in charge of drama and dance. After the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 and the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)—and then PBS—NET became WNET, a giant among local public television stations and a major producer of programs for PBS. Through the late 1970s, WNET provided more than half of the programming for public television in the United States.

As WNET's executive producer of cultural pro-

grams, Venza was in a position to define the role of the arts on public television. Whereas the old educational television approach would have been to interview an artist about his or her work, Venza was determined to show the work itself, to broadcast theater, opera, dance, and concerts in performance. He insisted that television's cultural offerings could be entertaining as well as educational. Through *Great Performances*, viewers across America would see the best of performance from New York City and around the world, and regional American companies would reach a broader audience.

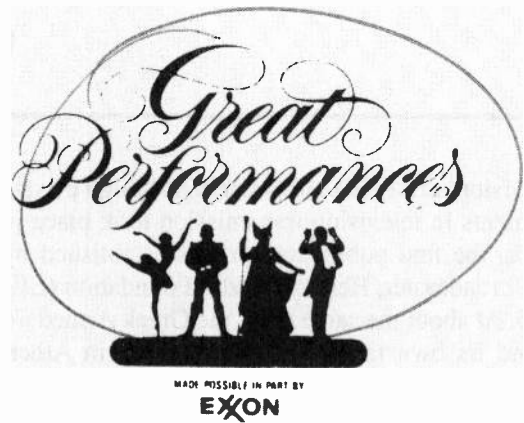
Highlights over the years have included: *The Rimers of Eldritch* (1972), a play by Lanford Wilson starring Rue McClanahan, Susan Sarandon, and Frances Sternhagen, initiating a tradition of showcasing American plays for public television; *Dance in America: Choreography by Balanchine, Parts III and IV* (1978), featuring Mikhail Baryshnikov; *Brideshead Revisited* (1982), an 11-part adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel; *Koyaanisqatsi* (1985), a performance of Philip Glass's avant-garde film score; *Tosca from Rome* (1993), with Plácido Domingo and Catherine Malfitano; and *Chuck Jones: Extremes and In-Betweens, A Life in Animation* (2000), a celebration of the legendary Warner Brothers cartoonist, to name just a few.

*Great Performances* had its beginnings in the Great Society idealism of the 1960s, a moment when American culture—high as well as popular—captivated the world, and the government professed a renewed sense of responsibility for funding a variety of social initia-

tives, including public television and the arts. And the series has evolved over the years along with public television's changing circumstances. *Great Performances* is an expensive series to produce; it is also one of PBS's most popular. From the beginning, public television has not received enough federal and state funds to support even a fraction of its programming, and corporate sponsors have been an important funding source and an influential factor in the development of individual programs. *Great Performances* has relied on several different corporate sponsors over the years. For their part, these sponsors have tended to see *Great Performances* as an ideal vehicle for their ultimate purpose in supporting public broadcasting: to access an elite, affluent audience they might not reach through advertising on commercial television. Venza has always asserted that attention to quality, not ratings, should determine what sorts of arts programs are produced for television. In a sense, this attitude jibes perfectly with that of corporate sponsors, who, at least from the 1980s onward, have been less interested in reaching the widest possible audience than they have been in reaching a smaller, "quality" audience—one understood to gravitate to opera, classical music, theater, and literature—with greater spending power.

With such a great portion of its funding coming from corporate sponsors, *Great Performances'* fate has been forever dependent, to a degree, on the whims of the market and the prejudices of corporate executives. In 1986 Exxon, which had been a major sponsor since the series' inception, announced that it would begin phasing out its support for *Great Performances* due to a decline in oil industry profits. In 1992 another sponsor, Texaco, ended its corporate underwriting, citing the series' move away from traditional classical programming and toward more contemporary music and drama. At the time, some speculated that this decision was based at least in part on *Great Performances'* decision to broadcast an adaptation of David Leavitt's *The Lost Language of Cranes*, a novel with a homosexual theme. Though Texaco executives and *Great Performances'* producers denied the latter explanation, it was nevertheless clear that *Great Performances'* funding did rely, to an extent, on its sponsors' approval of the program's content.

Another important source of funding for *Great Performances* has been individual viewers, to whom public television stations reach out during pledge drives. The average donor is understood to be cautious and conservative, with middlebrow tastes. Over the years, some of *Great Performances'* programs have been criticized as pandering to this profile. Thus, on one side, critics charge that the program is elitist, attending to the highbrow tastes of a tiny minority with avant-garde material; on the other, critics reproach *Great*



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

*Performances* for "dumbing down" its offerings to garner pledges. What is more important—serving a minority of (elite) viewers who might not find what they're looking for elsewhere, or reaching out to the widest and most diverse audience possible? This question has been with *Great Performances*—and public television—from the start.

BETH KRACKLAUER

#### *See also* **Public Television**

#### **Executive Producer**

Jac Venza

#### **Programming History**

PBS

1972– More than 600 episodes

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## Greece

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Television arrived late in Greece. Although private experiments in television transmission took place in the 1950s, the first public station was established by the state broadcaster, Hellenic Radio Foundation (EIR), in 1965. At about the same time, the Greek Armed Forces started its own television broadcasting in Athens. It had greater success than EIR, because it used army film crews and facilities and was given technical assistance by the U.S. government.

The first official telecasts by EIR started in 1966, consisting of news and travelogues. Meanwhile, Armed Forces Radio expanded its television broadcasts to three nights per week. This station inaugurated the practice of selling time to producers whose programs included commercials. The station's first sponsored program was *Mission Impossible*.

When the military took over the government in 1967, one of the first buildings to be seized was the EIR building. The junta realized the medium's propaganda potential and started developing a more extensive television network to help it gain public support. Regular nightly programming was started in November 1968 by the armed forces, and in April 1969 by EIR.

In 1970 the junta replaced EIR with the Hellenic Radio-Television Foundation (EIRT). The same year, it created the Armed Forces Information Service (YENED) to take over armed forces broadcasting and to provide "national, moral, and social education" to the armed forces and the public. The junta wanted to "reeducate" the Greek public; to that end it controlled all broadcasting.

From 1968 to 1973, YENED had the more popular and profitable television station, as it carried popular commercial programs, as well as propaganda. On the other hand, EIRT had budget deficits, while its programming was more informative. In 1974 civilian rule was once again restored, and a new constitution was put in place, which put radio and television "under the immediate control of the state." Furthermore, the constitution states that

Radio and television shall aim at the objective transmission, on equal terms, of information and news reports as well as works of literature and art; The qualitative level of programs shall be assured in consideration of their social mission and the cultural development of the country.

At the same time a new broadcasting law (230/1975) created Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) to replace EIRT. As a public corporation, ERT's activities are supervised by an administrative council. However, the true authority of ERT rests with the government.

The purpose of ERT is to provide "information, education, and recreation for the Greek people (through) the organization, operation and development of radio and television." Law 230/1975 states that "ERT programs must be imbued with democratic spirit, awareness of cultural responsibility, humanitarianism and objectivity, and must take into account the local situation." Finally, the law states that "The transmission of sound or pictures of any kind by radio or television by any natural person or legal entity other than ERT and the Armed Forces Information Service shall be prohibited." This brought an end to private broadcasting in Greece. Meanwhile, color arrived to Greek television in 1979, as the government selected the French SECAM system for use.

The legal structure of ERT was one of the targets of the opposition socialist party, PASOK, before it came to power in 1981. It promised to change this structure, because it was used to promote only the party in power. However, following its election PASOK merely made more airtime available to other political parties.

In 1982 PASOK enacted law 1288/1982, which took away the broadcasting privileges of the armed forces. It transformed YENED into ERT-2, and ERT into ERT-1. In 1987 law 1730/1987 unified all broadcasting operations under the Hellenic Radio-Television (ERT). ERT is made up of Hellenic Television 1 (ET-1), formerly ERT-1; Hellenic Television 2 (ET-2), formerly ERT-2; and Hellenic Radio (ERA). This law established ERT as a public, state-owned, nonprofit corporation. ERT's purpose is to provide "information, education and entertainment to the Greek people." It is governed by an administrative council, whose president is the company's chief executive officer, but the company is under the jurisdiction of the minister of the press and mass media. Each successive government, until very recently, had been unwilling to distinguish between what the Constitution provides—broadcasting under "the immediate control of the state" to be used for the common good—and what actually takes place, namely, broadcasting under the immediate control of the party in power.



In 1989 a coalition government made up of conservatives and leftists enacted law 1866/1989, which allowed for the establishment of private television stations. This law also created the National Radio-Television Council (NRTVC) as the means through which the state controls broadcasting. The council is also charged with facilitating freedom of expression and promoting quality broadcasting.

However, even with the creation of NRTVC, the government has not been willing to hand over its authority over broadcasting, and the powers of the council remain primarily advisory. The council can levy penalties on those violating broadcast laws, but it can only make recommendations to the minister of press and mass media on other important matters. For example, the NRTVC must approve license applications for private radio and television stations, but licenses are granted by the ministry. Furthermore, each succeeding government changed the composition and even the number of members of the council, so that their own supporters would have the majority vote. Currently, the NRTVC has 9 voting members selected by a special parliamentary committee from a list of 18 proposed by the minister.

In 1991 the NRTVC established a Code of Journalism Ethics, Programming and Advertising Standards. This code deals with purposes of broadcast programming, crime and terrorism coverage, news coverage of political demonstrations, quiz and game shows, arousal of panic and fear, news objectivity, protection of children, and violence.

Broadcast law 1866/1989 allowed the establishment of private television stations, but did not deal with the important issue of the number of frequencies available. The law stated that the government, with the consent of the NRTVC, may grant corporations and local governments the right to operate television stations. The law further stated that corporate owners of TV stations must publish the names of all their shareholders. Furthermore, no one shareholder or family may own more than 25 percent of the shares of such corporation, nor more than one license.

According to law 1866/1989, television station licenses are renewable every seven years and granted only after consideration is given to the applicant's character, experience, and to the quality and variety of proposed programs. Licenses can be revoked by the NRTVC for law violations, and private stations must adhere to limits on advertising and to political campaign guidelines that also apply to ERT.

Another relevant law (1941/1991) outlined penalties for violation of broadcast laws, for operating without a license, and for interfering with air transport frequencies. Even this law, however, was amended later in

1991, to require NRTVC's consent in fines and license revocations. Nevertheless, this and other relevant laws are not strictly enforced.

By early 2002, a legal framework for permanent licensure had not yet been implemented. The government has indicated that there are 108 TV frequencies available for 150 competing private channels. Six licenses will be granted for nationwide coverage, even though in 2002 there were at least eight private channels broadcasting nationwide. Part of the reason for the government's inaction has been its inability to decide which strong political and/or economic interests will be denied a broadcasting license.

The introduction of private television to Greece was not only an event of economic importance, but one with great political importance as well. Those who built the first major television stations were allowed to do so because they wielded great political and economic power. The owners of the first private television station, Mega Channel, represent powerful interests in shipping, construction, and/or the media industries. The other major private television station, Antenna TV, is principally owned by M. Kyriakou, whose main business is shipping. Generally, broadcast station owners have used their stations for political leverage in gaining favor with the government for their other businesses. Law 2328/1995 attempted to solve this problem by prohibiting station stockholders from having interests in other companies doing business with the government. However, this ban is very broad and unenforceable. In 2002 the government considered prohibiting only those who have at least a 5 percent stake in a broadcast company from doing business with the government.

The first station completely controlled by a political party was 902-TV. This Communist Party-owned station went on the air in November 1991 and carries mostly news and information, as well as cultural programs.

In addition to Mega and Antenna, there are three other private stations and three ERT stations broadcasting nationwide. In 1988 ERT established ET-3 as a regional service for northern Greece, but it slowly became a national channel. Besides the stations already mentioned, there are at least 18 other channels currently broadcasting in the Athens area. These include stations Tempo, Alter, Polis, Alpha, Extra, Star, MAD, Tileora, Seven, and the Cyprus Radio Foundation's (RIK) station, which retransmits in Athens. Under a reciprocal agreement, ET-1 is also being retransmitted in Cyprus. In addition, a handful of satellite channels are being retransmitted terrestrially in the Athens area, such as RAI, Eurosport, CNN, and MTV. ERT has an agreement with U.S. satellite channels MTV and

CNN, which allows it to retransmit them without remuneration. Similarly, ERT stations, Mega, and Antenna are available via satellite in North America and Australia.

In Greece's second-largest city, Thessaloniki, there are a number of private stations broadcasting besides the ERT channels, RIK, and the major Athenian channels. The major local channel is Makedonia TV. Overall, it is estimated that more than 180 private and municipal television stations are operating throughout the country.

Furthermore, two digital television subscription services serve the nation. They also make their main signal and an additional package of stations available on satellite for the relatively few DBS subscribers in Greece. Nova Digital offers viewers the main terrestrial stations, Cartoon Network, CNN, Discovery Channel, and its own channels devoted to movies, sports, and children's programs. Alpha Digital's offerings include sports channels, CNBC Europe, Playboy Channel, Reality, and Spice.

In 2002 the three ERT stations had a smaller audience than in the past. Although initially they tried to compete with private channels through more popular programming, since 1997 they have attempted to become more quality television stations. Generally, ET-1 offers the more diverse programming, broadcasting almost 24 hours daily. It carries sitcoms, soap operas, informational and cultural programs in the early evenings, followed by news, series, and Greek movies and foreign movies.

ET-2, which was renamed New Hellenic Television (NET) in 1997, is the serious television alternative for Greek audiences. It broadcasts about 24 hours daily carrying children's educational programs, documentaries, news and information, and other cultural programs. ET-3 has a more limited program schedule starting around noon each day. Its focus is northern Greece, and it carries a variety of programs, including news, informational, and cultural programs.

Greek television has historically offered a variety of television programming, much of it imported. Generally, the public channels imported about one-third of their programs. American programs traditionally took up the bulk of foreign programming, sometimes making up over 60 percent of all entertainment programs. In the last few years, however, the public stations have decreased their appetite for foreign programs.

Nevertheless, Greek television in general has much more foreign programming, simply because there are many more stations, and the demand for inexpensive programming cannot be satisfied by Greek producers. At the same time, there are no limits as to the amount of imported programs, other than European Union di-

rectives, which are not enforced. As such, most major private stations carry an extraordinary amount of foreign programming, although less so during prime time.

The two major private stations broadcast primarily entertainment programs. Over 60 percent of the programming on both channels consists of movies, reality and game shows, and series/serials. Most private stations also carry political discussion programs.

Provincial stations broadcast from late afternoon until midnight each day. They carry mostly information programs, interview shows, news, and movies. Many of the movies shown are low-budget Greek video movies. Furthermore, even news clips they broadcast are often taken off satellite channels without permission.

There are three television audience measurement companies in Greece: AGB Hellas, Focus, and Icap Hellas. AGB uses the people meter in the Athens and Thessaloniki areas. Focus surveys the whole nation for television viewing by half-hour segments.

The most popular Greek television programs have traditionally been Greek movies, sports, Greek series, and one or two foreign (usually American) series or serials. In 2001 the most popular show on Greek television was the reality series *Big Brother*.

Sports programs have also historically been very popular on Greek television, and the emergence of two powerful private channels has created competition for this type of programming as well. Up until 1990, ERT had a monopoly over televised sporting events. However, the traditional popularity of sports in general, and the emerging popularity of basketball in the 1980s in particular, made sports a great target for private stations. Generally, Greeks watch about 3.5 hours of television per day. Heavy viewers are those over 45 years old and those who live in the provinces.

The introduction of new media in Greece also introduced piracy. Not only are videotapes pirated, but television stations broadcast illegally obtained programs. In the past, new television stations sometimes simply rented a tape from their local video club and broadcast it. The Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) estimates its damages are about \$23 million from pirated videotape rentals, and \$12 million for over-the-air piracy. It is estimated that about 45 percent of all videotapes rented in the Athens area and 65 percent in Greek provinces are pirated tapes. In 2001 Greece and the United States signed an agreement that obligates the Greek government to provide adequate legal protection for intellectual property and to actually enforce recently enacted Greek copyright laws.

Greek private television stations are financed primarily through advertising, although some industrialists subsidize their stations because of the political

power they yield. Advertising expenditures are increasing parallel to the increase in the number of multinational advertising agencies in the country. Over 60 percent of all advertising expenditures go to multinational advertising agencies, while advertising expenditures increased at a yearly rate of 25 percent from 1980 to 1995. As advertising expenditures increased, so did television's share of these expenditures. During 2001 television's share of total advertising expenditures was 45 percent, down from a high of 60 percent in 1991.

The only items not advertised on Greek television are tobacco products. The nation has adopted the European Union's limits on advertising minutes and commercial interruptions. Periodically the NRTVC levies fines on stations that violate such guidelines, but the council's small staff cannot adequately regulate Greek broadcasting.

Despite increasing advertising revenues, most private stations today are losing money, except possibly for Mega Channel and Antenna TV. ERT stations have also been losing money, not only because of the new competition, but also because of their responsibilities as public stations. For example, they provide free advertising for public welfare campaigns. However, as public bureaucracies, they often mismanage advertising traffic and have additional waste and fraud.

The financial status of ERT is troublesome to the government. ERT television receives most of its revenues from a special fee collected from all households through monthly electricity bills. The average household pays about \$2.50 per month for ERT radio and TV, while ERT also receives periodic government subsidies. Generally, the infrastructure of ERT is weak. It has too many employees, is not well organized, and is

a victim of the political patronage system, resulting in a heavy bureaucracy and a civil service mentality by many of its employees.

Although the finances and the quality of Greek state television has stabilized following the financial and ratings dive after the introduction of private television, its future is uncertain. Periodic big events it broadcasts, such as the Olympics and World Cup Soccer, give it a financial boost, but it cannot count on ongoing subsidies. It may be that three television channels are too many for the state to afford.

The future of private television in the country will necessarily reach some form of maturation. From a financial perspective, the country of 11 million people cannot afford so many television stations. At some point, political leaders will find the will to create an adequate infrastructure and to enforce relevant laws and regulations regarding television. The country is being transformed in order to successfully host the 2004 Olympics. Toward that end, all elements of society are being reorganized and updated, and television is no exception.

THIMIOS ZAHAROPOULOS

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## Green Acres

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Green Acres* (1965–71, CBS) is, in the words of author David Marc, "as utterly self-reflexive as any program ever aired on network TV." The product of television mastermind Paul Henning, who made his name and fortune on *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres* was a spin-off created in conjunction with Jay Sommers, based on his original radio series *Granby's Green*

*Acres*. Despite its folksy origins, and in an age that routinely produced garrulous nags, crusty aliens, flying nuns, suburban witches, maternal jalopies, and coconut-powered shortwaves, *Green Acres* stands proudly as the furthest point on the edge of television's psychedelic era.

*Green Acres* reversed the narrative hook of *The*

*Beverly Hillbillies*, which was that of city folks moving to the country. Prestigious lawyer Oliver Wendell Douglas (Eddie Albert) and his socialite wife, Lisa (Eva Gabor), trade in their exhausting Park Avenue existence for the simple country pleasures, which they imagine await them wrapped in a cloak of Jeffersonian idealism, glorious sunrises, and the smell of new-mown hay. What they find instead is a consensus reality that flies in the face of Cartesian logic, Newtonian physics, and Harvard-sanctioned positivism. Albert, who made his film debut in *Brother Rat* opposite Ronald Reagan, takes refuge in the same reductionist platitudes his former costar eventually learned to trade on quite deftly, but those platitudes ultimately prove no match. Meanwhile, Gabor (who with her sisters Zsa Zsa and Magda had by this time been dubbed "mythological" by Dorothy Parker) embraces this new order with a circular instinct worthy of Gracie Allen herself (Henning's longtime employer). Against all odds, Lisa flourishes, coaxing the chickens to lay square eggs, bringing a world-class symphony conductor to Hooterville, establishing a state-of-the-art beauty salon in Sam Drucker's General Store, and, of course, perfecting her signature biological weapons-grade hotcakes.

Also populating this wrinkle in critical reason are a healthy cross section of supporting eccentrics. These include Mr. Haney (Pat Buttram), the hornswoggling con man whose bargains invariably cost the Douglases several times their face value. Buttram once served as Gene Autry's sidekick and claimed he based his character loosely on Colonel Tom Parker, Elvis Presley's legendary shadowy manager, whom he had known as a carnival entrepreneur in the 1940s, where he ran a booth featuring dancing chickens. County agent Hank Kimball's "discourses on plant and animal husbandry rival those of a semiotics professor" (according to Marc), and this character played by Alvy Moore personifies a kind of infinite regress, where every empirical statement branches into multiple statements that in turn preclude it, spiraling each new observation back and away from itself like an inductive Escherism. Fred and Doris Ziffle (Hank Patterson and Barbara Pepper; later Fran Ryan) are the beaming parents of Arnold, a 250-pound adolescent pig, which watches television, is writing a book, visits Washington on scholarship, and ultimately falls in love with Mr. Haney's pet basset hound.

*Green Acres* was canceled in 1971 when CBS consciously targeted a younger demographic audience and

purged its so-called rural comedies. Its user-friendly absurdism became one of the cornerstones of the mock-patriotic revivalism of the Nickelodeon Channel's "Nick at Nite" lineup in the early 1990s.

PAUL CULLUM

#### Cast

Oliver Wendell Douglas	Eddie Albert
Lisa Douglas	Eva Gabor
Mr. Haney	Pat Buttram
Eb Dawson	Tom Lester
Hank Kimball	Alvy Moore
Fred Ziffle	Hank Patterson
Doris Ziffle (1965-69)	Barbara Pepper
Doris Ziffle (1969-70)	Fran Ryan
Sam Drucker	Frank Cady
Newt Kiley (1965-70)	Kay E. Kuter
Alf Monroe (1966-69)	Sid Melton
Ralph Monroe (1966-71)	Mary Grace Canfield
Darlene Wheeler (1970-71)	Judy McConnell

#### Producers

Paul Henning, Jay Sommers

#### Programming History

170 episodes

CBS

September 1965-September 1968	Wednesday 9:00-9:30
September 1968-September 1969	Wednesday 9:30-10:00
September 1969-September 1970	Saturday 9:00-9:30
September 1970-September 1971	Tuesday 8:00-8:30

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# Greenberg, Harold (1930–1996)

## Canadian Media Executive

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Harold Greenberg was one of Canada's leading television and film entrepreneurs. As chief executive officer and majority owner of Montreal-based Astral Communications, a leading provider of specialty television services, he was responsible for some of Canada's most significant successes in television and film production, processing, and delivery.

Starting in the photofinishing business, Greenberg moved into film processing and sound production through an acquisition of Canada's largest motion picture laboratory in 1968. The processing laboratories, Astral Bellevue-Pathé, established strong ties to major U.S. studios. This purchase represented the beginnings of the diversified structure of Greenberg's operations as well as its links to Hollywood. First forays into film production range from the faux-American *The Neptune Factor* (Daniel Petrie, 1973) to the critically acclaimed *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (Ted Kotcheff, 1974). Greenberg also produced *Porky's* (Bob Clark, 1981), still Canada's highest-grossing film of all time. After producing over 30 motion pictures, Greenberg became interested in developing a Canadian pay-TV movie channel. In this way, Greenberg came to television via photo and film processing and production, all of which still play a central role in Astral's diversified interests.

Astral Communications is a vertically integrated corporation, involved in production, processing, duplication, and distribution of film, television, and video. It plays a leading role in Canadian specialty channels. Its first were two premium film channels, the Movie Network (formerly First Choice) and the French-language Super Ecran in 1983. Since then Astral's English-language broadcasting ventures in Canada have come to include Viewer's Choice Canada Pay Per View, the Family Channel, and MoviePix, a pay-TV venue featuring films of previous decades. French-language broadcasting includes Le Canal Famille, Canal Vie, and Canal D, which offers arts and entertainment programming. The company also owns 50 percent of two French-language music channels, MusiquePlus and MusiMax. Astral's involvement in radio includes nine FM and three AM stations in Quebec. These cross-media interests are

expected to expand with further acquisitions and plans for additional specialty channels. Astral continues to provide an array of postproduction and technical services, including dubbing, processing, and printing of film, video, and compact discs. In 1994 Astral opened a compact disc and video replication plant in Florida. The company has duplication and distribution agreements with Buena Vista, HBO, and Barney Home Video for Canada and French-language markets. Distribution deals with U.S. majors have made Astral the Canadian distributor for some popular U.S. programs. Astral has historically used its Montreal location as a way to bridge both English- and French-language markets, eventually giving the company a credible foothold in European ventures (e.g., coproduction agreements with TF-1, France 3, and Canal Plus in France; RAI-2 in Italy; and Europool in Germany, in addition to a minority holding in France's Canal En-fants).

Despite his internationalist outlook, Greenberg was chair of the Canadian Communications and Cultural Industries Committee, a lobby group of industry leaders who view their operations as fundamental to Canadian cultural sovereignty. In this capacity, Greenberg repeatedly supported the cultural exemption clause for Canada in the North American Free Trade Agreement. This brought him into conflict with some U.S. industry figures, including Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America. Astral's interest in ExpressVu, a Canadian direct-to-home satellite service, echoed Greenberg's corporate nationalism. Greenberg claimed that support for the Canadian service over offerings from Power DirectTV, a subsidiary of the U.S. DirectTV service, was fundamental to the protection of Canadian cultural interests. After a brief period of monopoly for ExpressVu, granted by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), Parliament overturned the federal regulator's decision in April 1995 and opened the way for competition in the direct-to-home market, potentially from U.S.-controlled services.

Before his death, Greenberg received numerous awards and honors, including the Order of Canada and France's *Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur*. The

Harold Greenberg Fund, established in 1986, offers loans and equity investments to Canadian film production and script development and has been an important source of support for the Canadian film industry. Astral Media is a distinct example of contemporary convergence in the film and television sectors, as well as the synergy developing between broadcasting and theatrical production in Canada.

CHARLES ACLAND

**Harold Greenberg.** Born in Montreal, Quebec, January 11, 1930. Quit school at 13 to work in uncle's camera store; purchased half of Pathé Humphries Laboratory, 1966; took over Astral Films with help from the Bronfmans and merged them into Astral Bellevue Humphries, a communications empire of production, distribution, and pay-TV, 1974; producer and executive producer, pay-TV and films; chair of the board, First Choice Canadian Communications Corp. and Premier Choix TVEC. Recipient: Presidential Proclamation Award, SMPTE, 1985; International Achievement Award, World Film Festival, 1989; Air Canada Award, Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, 1990; Golden Reel Award. Died in Montreal, July 1, 1996.

#### Television Series (selected)

- 1982 *Mary and Joseph* (coexecutive producer)
- 1983 *Pygmalion* (coexecutive producer)
- 1983 *Draw!* (coexecutive producer)

#### Television Miniseries

- 1978 *A Man Called Intrepid* (coexecutive producer)

#### Films

- City on Fire* (coexecutive producer), 1978; *Terror Train* (producer), 1979; *Death Ship* (coproducer), 1979; *Tulips* (coexecutive producer), 1980; *Hard Feelings* (coexecutive producer/producer), 1980; *Hot Touch* (coexecutive producer/producer), 1980; *Porky's* (executive producer), 1981; *Tell Me That You Love Me* (coexecutive producer), 1982; *Porky's II* (coexecutive producer), 1982; *Porky's Revenge* (executive producer), 1984.

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## Greene, Lorne (1915–1987)

### Canadian Actor

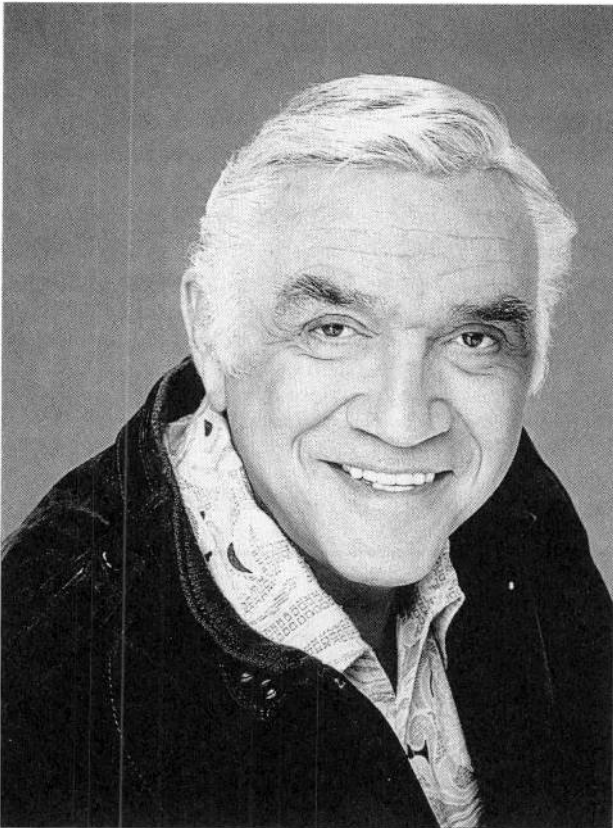
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Long before millions of Americans knew Lorne Greene on the popular western series *Bonanza*, he was known to Canadians as the "Voice of Doom," an epithet he acquired as the chief radio announcer for CBC Radio from 1939 to 1942, the height of Canada's darkest days of World War II.

Greene's interest in acting and media began in his hometown of Ottawa and gained further impetus when he joined a drama club while studying engineering at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. Always seeking a challenge, he joined CBC Radio, where his distinctive voice soon propelled him into newscasting. After finishing his military service in 1945, he decided not to return to his job as chief announcer at CBC Radio and pursued other interests, which eventually led him to cofound the Academy of Radio Arts in Canada and the Jupiter Theatre.

In 1953, like many of his contemporaries, Greene migrated south to pursue his acting career in the burgeoning television industry. He made numerous appearances on various U.S. telecasts such as *Studio One*, *Climax*, and *Playhouse 90*. He also made three movies, *The Silver Chalice*, *Tight Spot*, and *Autumn Leaves*. After a role in the Broadway production of *The Prescott Proposals*, he was offered the part in the movie *The Hard Man* in 1957. In spite of his friends' concerns that a western would limit his appeal, he accepted the role as a way of exploring the genre. It quickly led to another western, *The Last of the Fast Guns*, and eventually to the small screen and *Wagon Train*. It was after seeing him in *Wagon Train* that producers selected him to play Ben Cartwright in the pilot episode of *Bonanza*.

The show became a hit despite formidable competi-



Lorne Greene.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tion. A Sunday night standout on NBC for 14 years, from 1959 to 1973, *Bonanza* rode the television western's biggest wave of popularity. Its stories focused on the lives of widower Ben Cartwright and his three sons (all with different mothers) Adam (Pernell Roberts), Hoss (Dan Blocker), and Little Joe (Michael Landon). Each week the family would defend the Ponderosa, the most prosperous ranch outside Virginia City, or some helpless person against unscrupulous outsiders. The formula was common in U.S. television westerns, though *Bonanza* did differ somewhat from its competitors. Indeed, many critics consider the series to be more a "western soap opera" since it downplayed the violent action and moral ambiguity that characterized "adult westerns" such as *Gunsmoke* or *Cheyenne*.

*Bonanza* was engaging and had a large following, particularly among women, who could perhaps find among the Cartwrights a man to appeal to all types. Ben Cartwright was a tough yet wise father who exuded a balance between ruggedness and compassion. Adam was a suave lady's man. The huge Hoss was dim-witted but lovable. All three kept an ever watchful eye on the fresh-faced and hot-tempered Little Joe. It was a suc-

cessful pattern that outdrew audiences for dozens of competing shows. *Bonanza's* "family-oriented" themes also made it popular when the medium was under criticism during congressional hearings on TV violence.

After the end of *Bonanza* and the collapse of the western's television popularity, Greene starred briefly in 1978 in the ill-fated *Battlestar Galactica*, a science-fiction television series about a flotilla of human refugees voyaging to Earth while hunted by the evil Cylons. Despite the interest generated by *Star Wars*, the series failed to catch on. In the 1980s Greene devoted his energies to wildlife and environmental issues. He collaborated with his son Charles and hosted a television series, *Lorne Greene's New Wilderness*, to promote environmental awareness.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

See also *Bonanza*; *Westerns*

**Lorne Greene.** Born in Ottawa, Ontario, February 12, 1915. Educated at Queen's University, Canada; studied on fellowship at Neighborhood Playhouse, New York. Married: 1) Rita Hands, 1940 (divorced, 1960); two children; 2) Nancy Deale, 1961. Joined Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1939; principal radio news reader, 1939–42; established the Academy of Radio Arts and the Jupiter Theatre; actor, U.S. television series, from 1950s. Recipient: NBC Radio Award, 1942; Canadian Man of the Year, 1965; Order of Canada, 1969; Outstanding Service Award, International Fund for Animal Welfare, 1983. Died in Santa Monica, California, September 11, 1987.

#### Television Series

1953–81	<i>Newsmagazine</i> (host)
1957	<i>Sailor of Fortune</i>
1959–73	<i>Bonanza</i>
1973–74	<i>Griff</i>
1978–79	<i>Battlestar Galactica</i>
1981–82	<i>Code Red</i>
1981–86	<i>Lorne Greene's New Wilderness</i> (executive producer and host)

#### Television Miniseries

1976	<i>The Moneychangers</i>
1977	<i>Roots</i>
1977	<i>The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1969	<i>Destiny of a Spy</i>
1971	<i>The Harness</i>
1975	<i>Nevada Smith</i>
1977	<i>SST: Death Flight</i>
1980	<i>A Time for Miracles</i>

Greene, Lorne

1980 *Conquest of the Earth*  
1981 *Code Red*  
1987 *Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory*

**Television Documentary**

1974–79 *Lorne Greene's Last of the Wild* (host)

**Films (selected)**

*The Silver Chalice*, 1954; *Tight Spot*, 1955; *Autumn Leaves*, 1956; *The Hard Man*, 1957; *Peyton Place*, 1957; *The Last of the Fast Guns*, 1958; *The Gift of Love*, 1958; *The Buccaneer*, 1958; *The Trap*, 1959; *Nippon Chinbotsu (Japan Sinks)*, 1973; *Earthquake*, 1974; *Klondike Fever*, 1980; *Ozu no Mahot-*

*sukai (The Wizard*, U.S. version only, voice); *Vasectomy: A Delicate Matter*, 1986.

**Stage (selected)**

*The Prescott Proposals*; *Julius Caesar*; *Othello*.

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## Griffin, Merv (1925– )

U.S. Talk Show Host, Producer

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Merv Griffin had a series of overlapping careers in show business as a singer and band leader, then as a talk show host and developer of game shows for television. Griffin's career as a television talk show host was associated from the beginning with that of Johnny Carson, the reigning "king of late-night talk" from the 1960s through the 1980s. Griffin's first daytime talk show on NBC began the same day as Carson's reign on *The Tonight Show*, and if Carson was consistently rated number one as national talk show host, Griffin was for significant periods of time clearly number two.

Carson's approach to the television talk show had been forged in the entertainment community of Los Angeles in the mid-1950s. Griffin, who came to New York to sign a record contract with RCA in the early 1950s, was subject to other influences. He watched such shows as Mike Wallace's *Night Beat* and David Susskind's *Open End* and socialized with New York's theater crowd. On his own first ventures into network talk in the mid- and late 1960s, Griffin capitalized on the ferment of the era. As surprising as it might be to those who knew him only from his later tepid shows on Metromedia, the Merv Griffin of the 1960s and early 1970s thrived on controversy. Broadcast historian Hal Erickson may have been somewhat hyperbolic when he credited Griffin with using his "aw-shucks style to accommodate more controversy

and makers of controversy than most of the would-be Susskind's combined," but it is true that Griffin booked guests such as journalist Adele Rogers St. John, futurist Buckminster Fuller, writer Norman Mailer, critic Malcolm Muggeridge, and a number of controversial new comedians, including Dick Gregory, Lily Tomlin, Richard Pryor, and George Carlin. In a 1965 Griffin special aired from London, when English philosopher Bertrand Russell issued the strongest indictment up to that time of the growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Griffin chided the audience for booing and not letting the English war critic be heard.

As the late-night television talk show wars heated up between Carson, Joey Bishop, Dick Cavett, and David Frost, Griffin entered the fray in 1969 as CBS's candidate to take on Carson in his own time slot. Griffin immediately ran afoul of network censors with controversial guests and topics. Concerned with the number of statements being made against the war in Vietnam in 1969, CBS lawyers sent Griffin a memo: "In the past six weeks 34 antiwar statements have been made and only one pro-war statement, by John Wayne." Griffin shot back: "Find me someone as famous as Mr. Wayne to speak in favor the war and we'll book him." As Griffin recalls in his autobiography, "The irony of the situation wasn't wasted on me; in 1965 I'm called a traitor by the press for presenting



Bertrand Russell, and four years later we are hard-pressed to find anybody to speak in favor of the Vietnam war." In March 1970 antiwar activist Abbie Hoffman visited the show wearing a red, white, and blue shirt that resembled an American flag. Network censors aired the tape but blurred Hoffman's image electronically so that his voice emanated from a "jumble of lines." The censors interfered in other ways as well, insisting Griffin fire sidekick Arthur Treacher because he was too old, or that he not use 18-year-old Desi Arnaz, Jr., as a guest host because he was too young. In each case Griffin resisted the censors, but the effort took its toll.

By the beginning of 1972, Griffin had had enough. He secretly negotiated a new syndication deal with Metromedia, which gave him a daytime talk show in syndication the first Monday after any day he was fired. (In addition, a penalty clause in his contract with CBS would give him \$1 million if he were fired.) With his ratings sagging, CBS predictably lowered the boom, and Griffin went immediately to Metromedia where his daytime talk show ran for another 13 years. In 1986 he retired from the show to devote his time to highly profitable game shows.

Having learned some hard lessons about controversy, it was in the second arena of the daytime game show that Merv Griffin once again exerted a major influence on commercial television. A self-proclaimed "puzzle freak" since childhood, he began to establish his reputation as a game show developer soon after he launched his network talk show career. *Jeopardy!*, produced by Griffin's company for NBC in March 1964, became the second-most-successful game show on television. The most successful game show on television, with international editions licensed by Griffin in France, Taiwan, Norway, Peru, and other countries by the early 1990s, was *Wheel of Fortune*.

*Wheel* premiered in January 1975. It is a game show in which three contestants take turns spinning a large wheel for the chance to guess the letters of a mystery word or phrase. The show's first host was Chuck Woolery. Pat Sajak took over in 1982, assisted by Vanna White. Sajak and White have gone on to become household names in the world of television game shows.

In a largely unflattering portrait, biographer Marshall Blonsky describes Griffin as a financially successful but artistically limited individual. The key to Griffin's character, according to Blonsky, is a desperate drive to be accepted by the rich and powerful, and much of his financial success he owes to his financial manager, Murray Schwartz, whom he has never credited and with whom he parted ways in the late 1980s.



*The Merv Griffin Show*, Merv Griffin, 1962–86.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

However that may be, Merv Griffin did provide controversy and significant competition for Carson and other talk show hosts during his long career on television and has demonstrated what even Blonsky acknowledges to be a genius for creating game shows for television.

BERNARD M. TIMBERG

**See also Format Sales; Quiz and Game Shows; Talk Shows**

**Merv Griffin.** Born in San Mateo, California, July 6, 1925. Educated at San Mateo Junior College and the University of San Francisco, 1942–44. Married Juliann Elizabeth Wright, 1958 (divorced, 1976); child: Anthony Patrick. Singer, San Francisco radio station KFRC, 1945–48; vocalist, Freddy Martin's Orchestra, 1948–51; appeared in motion pictures for Warner Brothers, 1953–54; headlined quarter-hour, twice-weekly musical segments, CBS, 1954–55; hosted CBS's *Look Up and Live*, 1953; radio show host, ABC, 1957; host of daytime game show *Play Your Hunch*, 1958–61, host of *Merv Griffin Show*, 1962–63; founded Merv Griffin Enterprises, which began producing *Jeopardy!*, 1964, and the Griffin-hosted *Word*

## Griffin, Merv

for *Word*, 1963; hosted the *Merv Griffin Show* for Westinghouse, 1965–69, CBS, 1969–72, and syndication, 1972–86; sold production company, Merv Griffin Enterprises, to Columbia Pictures for \$250 million, 1986, while retaining title as executive producer of *Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy!* Chairman of the Griffin Group, which owns hotels, clubs, spas, Merv Griffin Entertainment, and Merv Griffin Productions (producer of special events and parties). Recipient: 15 Emmy Awards; inducted in Broadcast and Cable Hall of Fame, 1994. Honorary L.H.D. from Emerson College, 1981.

### Television Series

- 1951 *The Freddy Martin Show*  
1953 *Look Up and Live*  
1954 *Summer Holiday* (regular)  
1958–61 *Play Your Hunch*  
1959–60 *Keep Talking*  
1962–63 *Merv Griffin Show*  
1963 *Word for Word*  
1963 *Talent Scouts*  
1964–75,  
1978–79,  
1984– *Jeopardy!* (creator and executive producer)  
1965–69 *Merv Griffin Show* (Westinghouse)  
1969–72 *Merv Griffin Show* (CBS)  
1972–86 *Merv Griffin Show* (syndicated)

- 1975– *Wheel of Fortune* (executive producer)  
1979–87 *Dance Fever* (producer)  
1990 *Monopoly* (producer)

### Television Specials

- 1960 *Biography of a Boy*  
1968 *Merv Griffin's Sidewalks of New England*  
1968 *Merv Griffin's St. Patrick's Day Special*  
1973 *Merv Griffin and the Christmas Kids*  
1989 *The 75th Anniversary of Beverly Hills*  
1991 *Merv Griffin's New Year's Eve Special*

### Films

*By the Light of the Silvery Moon*, 1953; *So This Is Love*, 1953; *Boy from Oklahoma*, 1953; *Phantom of the Rue Morgue*, 1954; *Hello Down There*, 1968; *Two Minute Warning*, 1976; *Seduction of Joe Tynan*, 1979; *The Man with Two Brains*, 1983; *The Lonely Guy*, 1984; *Slapstick of Another Kind*, 1982.

### Publication

*Merv: An Autobiography*, with Peter Barsocchini, 1980

### Further Reading

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## Griffith, Andy (1926– )

U.S. Actor

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Andy Griffith is one of television's most personable and enduring of star performers. He is perhaps best known as Andy Taylor, the central character in *The Andy Griffith Show*, which aired on CBS from 1960 to 1968 and consistently ranked among the top-ten shows in each of its eight seasons. As a "down home" attorney in the even longer running *Matlock* (1986–95), Griffith added another memorable character to television Americana.

*The Andy Griffith Show* began as a "star vehicle" for Griffith, who had achieved his initial success with recordings of humorous monologues based on a "hill-billy" persona (*What It Was Was Football*, *Romeo and*

*Juliet*), which led to an appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. He next played the leading role in the Broadway production of *No Time for Sergeants*, as well as in the film and TV versions. His film debut was in the critically acclaimed *A Face in the Crowd* (1957), directed by Elia Kazan, followed by *Onionhead* and the film version of *Sergeants* (both in 1958).

Having informed the William Morris Agency that he was ready to try television, Griffith was put in contact with Sheldon Leonard, producer of *The Danny Thomas Show*. A *Danny Thomas* episode was built around Thomas getting stopped for speeding by Griffith, and this show served as the pilot episode for the



Andy Griffith.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Griffith* show. Astutely, Griffith negotiated for 50 percent ownership of the new program, which enabled him to be a major player in the program's creative development. Griffith's creative vision inspired him to take a very distinctive approach to TV comedy, in which place, pace, and character were equal and essential contributors to the overall effect. Scenes were allowed to play out with almost leisurely timing, with character development occurring alongside the humor. Another key element to the program's success was the casting of Don Knotts as Deputy Barney Fife. As the inept but lovable sidekick, Knotts took on the key comic role, enabling Griffith to play a more interesting and useful "straight man" role. In this capacity, Griffith's "Lincolnesque" character was allowed to develop—a character more appropriate to the role of single-parent father and, by extension, father to the small town of Mayberry. The Griffith-Knotts team became the driving comic relationship of the show, and the writers built most of the humorous situations around it.

Griffith left the show in 1968, feeling that he had contributed all he could to the character of Andy Taylor. Ironically, the program reached the number one

position that year. The show's sponsor, General Foods, was not ready to relinquish the successful vehicle, however, and a transitional program aired, introducing a new lead character and a new name: *Mayberry, RFD*. Griffith remained as a producer, and the ratings strength continued as several of the supporting characters stayed on. The program was canceled in 1971, when CBS decided to abandon its rural programming for more "relevant" shows targeted at younger viewers.

Griffith's career subsequently stalled. Two series attempts, *The Headmaster* and *The New Andy Griffith Show*, did not make it past their initial runs. A number of made-for-TV movies followed, many of which involved crime scenarios (and some in which he even played the villain). In 1981 Griffith received an Emmy nomination for *Murder in Texas*, in which he played a father who presses a court case against the son-in-law accused of murdering his daughter. Griffith played a prosecuting attorney in the miniseries *Fatal Vision* (1984), a performance that so impressed NBC's Brandon Tartikoff that a series was proposed utilizing an attorney as the main character. A pilot film for the show, *Diary of a Perfect Murder*, aired on NBC on March 3, 1986, and *Matlock* began airing in September 1986. Griffith played Ben Matlock in the hour-long crime drama, a criminal defense lawyer whose folksy demeanor belies his considerable investigative and courtroom abilities. Many of the regulars from *The Andy Griffith Show* made appearances on *Matlock*, continuing a Mayberry legacy spanning over 30 years. *Matlock* ran for 195 episodes, ending in 1995.

JERRY HAGINS

#### See also *Andy Griffith Show*

**Andy Griffith.** Born Andrew Samuel Griffith in Mount Airy, North Carolina, June 1, 1926. University of North Carolina, B.A. in music 1949. Married: 1) Barbara Edwards, 1949 (divorced); children: Sam and Dixie Nan; 2) Cindi Knight, 1983. Teacher and variety performer, 1949–51; recorded hit comedy monologue *What It Was Was Football*, 1953; debuted as monologist on television's *Ed Sullivan Show*, 1954; debuted on Broadway in *No Time for Sergeants*, 1955; also in the television version and the film version, 1958; films debut *A Face in the Crowd*, 1957; appeared in commercials for Ritz Crackers and AT&T; various television series, guest appearances, since 1960, including star, *The Andy Griffith Show*, 1960–68; *Matlock* series and made-for-television movies, 1986–95. Recipient: Theater World Award; Tarheel Award, 1961; Distinguished Salesman's Award, 1962; Advertising Club of Baltimore's Outstanding TV Personality of the Year, 1968.

**Television Series**

- 1960–68 *The Andy Griffith Show*
- 1968–71 *Mayberry, R.F.D.* (executive producer)
- 1970–71 *The Headmaster*
- 1970 *The New Andy Griffith Show*
- 1979 *Salvage One*
- 1986–95 *Matlock*

**Television Miniseries**

- 1977 *Washington Behind Closed Doors*
- 1978 *Centennial*
- 1979 *From Here to Eternity*
- 1979 *Roots: The Next Generations*
- 1984 *Fatal Vision*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1972 *Strangers in 7A*
- 1973 *Go Ask Alice*
- 1974 *Pray for the Wildcats*
- 1974 *Savages*
- 1974 *Winter Kill*
- 1976 *Street Killing*
- 1977 *Deadly Game*
- 1979 *Salvage*
- 1981 *Murder in Texas*
- 1982 *For Lovers Only*
- 1983 *Murder in Coweta County*
- 1983 *The Demon Murder Case*
- 1985 *Crime of Innocence*
- 1986 *Diary of a Perfect Murder*
- 1986 *Return to Mayberry*
- 1986 *Under the Influence*
- 1987 *Matlock: The Power Brokers*
- 1987 *Matlock: The Billionaire*
- 1989 *Matlock: The Thief*
- 1990 *Matlock: Nowhere to Turn*
- 1991 *Matlock: The Witness Killings*
- 1991 *Matlock: The Suspect*
- 1991 *Matlock: The Picture*
- 1992 *Matlock: The Vacation*
- 1992 *Matlock: The Fortune*
- 1993 *Matlock: The Kidnapping*
- 1993 *Matlock: The Fatal Seduction*
- 1994 *Matlock: The Idol*

- 1994 *Gift of Love*
- 1995 *Gramps*
- 1998 *Scattering Dad*
- 2001 *A Holiday Romance*

**Television Specials**

- 1965 *The Andy Griffith-Don Knotts-Jim Nabors Show*
- 1993 *The Andy Griffith Show Reunion*

**Films**

*A Face in the Crowd*, 1957; *No Time for Sergeants*, 1958; *Onionhead*, 1958; *Second Time Around*, 1961; *Angel in My Pocket*, 1969; *Adams of Eagle Lake*, 1975; *The Treasure Chest Murder*, 1975; *Hearts of the West*, 1975; *The Girl in the Empty Grave*, 1977; *Rustler's Rhapsody*, 1985; *Spy Hard*, 1996; *Daddy and Them*, 2001.

**Stage (selection)**

*No Time for Sergeants*, 1955; *Destry Rides Again*, 1959–60.

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## Griffiths, Trevor (1935– )

British Writer

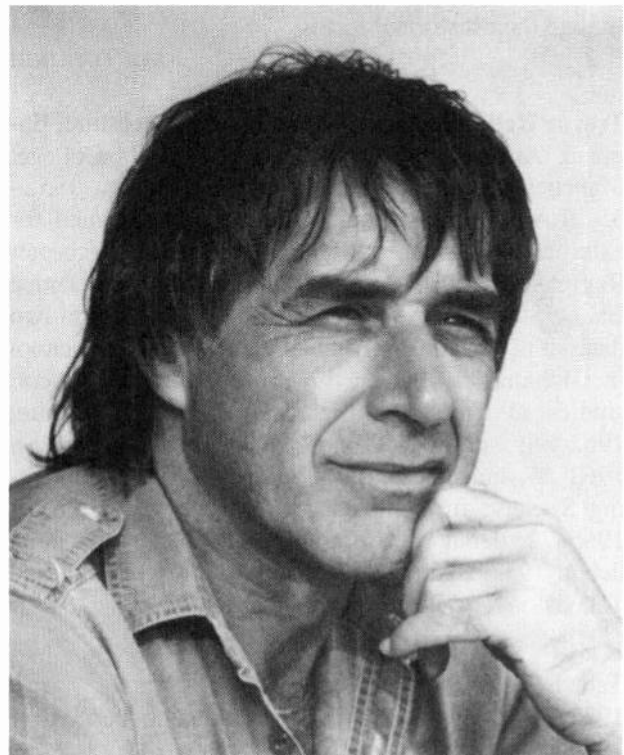
Trevor Griffiths is one of Britain's most politically incisive television dramatists. He has combined television and film writing with a highly regarded theater career because he has wanted to reach the maximum possible audience with his socialist values.

Never a political propagandist or polemicist, Griffiths has been the leading international television proponent of "critical realism." This distinguishes between what Griffiths calls the "materialism of detail" (the surface appearance of the world) and the "materialism of forces" (the dynamic structure of a world determined by differences of power between genders, classes, and ethnicities). Thus, for example, in his miniseries *The Last Place on Earth* (or *Scott of the Antarctic*, screened on commercial television in Britain), Griffiths incorporated the familiar surface details of the competitive quest between Robert Falcon Scott and Roald Amundsen to reach the South Pole, within the deep structure of what his script calls the "historical conjuncture" of 1910. On the one hand, Griffiths imagines Scott's journey as among the dying throes of a failing British Empire (with parallels between the "heroic defeats" of Scott and the World War I fields of Flanders and Gallipoli). On the other hand, Amundsen's journey is related to the nationalism of a newly independent nation constructing its identity out of its successful explorers.

Griffiths's commitment has always been to reinventing form (the country house, hospital, and "high art" genres, for example), while at the same time revealing the real agencies and structures of history. This genuinely creative radicalism has led to many conflicts with Hollywood (he came close to taking his name off the feature film *Reds* after disagreements with co-writer/producer/director/star Warren Beatty), as well as to differences of opinion with other socialist television workers (Ken Loach). However, in a group of extraordinarily and critically creative British television dramatists who began work in the 1960s, Griffiths is unquestionably paramount in the systematic intelligence with which he has blended critical theory and popular television.

The intellectual clarity of Griffiths's work has also offered television scholars the unusual opportunity of

tracing the quite specific transformations this dramatist's work undergoes as it encounters the generally more conservative and conventional work practices of set and costume designers, directors, producers, and so on. The analysis of the production of Griffiths's adaptation of D.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* by Mike Poole and John Wyver, for example, indicates the way in which Griffiths's counterreading of Lawrence's classism was itself subverted by the unthinkingly naturalistic assumptions of costume design, as well as the "high art" visual flourishes of directors making "BBC classics" (see Poole and Wyver). Similarly, Tulloch, Burvill, and Hood have explored the problematic path of Griffiths's adaptation of Anton Chekhov's *The*



Trevor Griffiths.  
Photo courtesy of Trevor Griffiths

*Cherry Orchard* through conventions of acting, lighting, and set design.

During the late 1980s and 1990s, an increasingly conservative British institutional establishment made it harder for Griffiths to bring his projects to air. Also, the fragmentation of television through pay-TV and the proliferation of channels led to some change in his view that television was the vehicle of mass public education. In response, Griffiths worked less for television and made important returns to the theater (with formally innovative plays about the Gulf War and Margaret Thatcher's Britain). However, he continued to work in television, with a play on Danton, *Hope in the Year Two*, using the moment of the play's production (the breakdown of communism) as a stimulus to rethink issues of socialism by going back beyond "one revolutionary wave" (the Russian Revolution, where he focused some of his earlier works) to another, the French Revolution. This resistance to the stale "common sense" conventions of the media via new historical and formal exploration is typical of Griffiths. Like his unflinchingly tough lead character of *Comedians*, Gethin Price, Trevor Griffiths retains an undiminished energy for investing any interstices within popular culture with new and unsettling forms. As such, he continues to be a master of "strategic penetration" as politics, media institutions, and television genres continuously change their historical forms.

JOHN TULLOCH

**Trevor Griffiths.** Born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, April 4, 1935. Attended St. Bede's College, Manchester, 1945–52; Manchester University, 1952–55, B.A. in English and literature 1955; studied for external M.A. from 1961. Served in the Manchester Regiment, British Army, 1955–57. Married: Janice Elaine Stansfield, 1960 (died, 1977); one son and two daughters. Taught English and games at private school in Oldham, Lancashire, 1957–61; lectured in liberal studies at Stockport Technical College, Cheshire, 1962–65; co-editor, *Labour's Northern Voice*, 1962–65, and series editor, Workers Northern Publishing Society; further education officer, BBC, Leeds, 1965–72; debut as writer for stage, 1969; television debut, 1972. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Writer's Award, 1982.

#### Television Series

- 1972 *Adam Smith* (under pseudonym Ben Rae)  
 1976 *Bill Brand*  
 1981 *Sons and Lovers* (adapted from D.H. Lawrence's novel)  
 1985 *The Last Place on Earth*

#### Television Plays

- 1973 *The Silver Mask* (part of *Between the Wars* series)  
 1974 *All Good Men*  
 1974 *Absolute Beginners* (part of *Fall of Eagles* series)  
 1975 *Don't Make Waves* (part of *Eleventh Hour* series, with Snoo Wilson)  
 1975 *Through the Night*  
 1977 *Such Impossibilities*  
 1979 *Comedians*  
 1981 *The Cherry Orchard* (adapted from Anton Chekhov's play)  
 1981 *Country: A Tory Story*  
 1982 *Oi for England*  
 1988 *The Party*  
 1994 *Hope in the Year Two*  
 1997 *Food for Ravens* (also director)

#### Films

- Reds*, with Warren Beatty, 1981; *Fatherland*, 1986; *Oeroeg (Going Home)*, 1993.

#### Radio

- The Big House*, 1969; *Jake's Brigade*, 1971.

#### Stage

- The Wages of Thin*, 1969; *The Big House*, 1975; *Occupations*, 1970; *Apricots*, 1971; *Thermidor*, 1971; *Lay By* (with others), 1971; *Sam, Sam*, 1972; *Gun*, 1973; *The Party*, 1973; *Comedians*, 1975; *All Good Men*, 1975; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1977; *Deeds* (with others), 1977; *Oi for England*, 1982; *Real Dreams*, 1984; *Piano*, 1990; *The Gulf between Us: The Truth and Other Fictions*, 1992; *Thatcher's Children*, 1993; *Who Shall Be Happy?*, 1996.

#### Publications (selected)

- The Big House/Occupations*, 1972  
*The Party*, 1974  
*Comedians*, 1976  
*All Good Men/Absolute Beginners*, 1977  
*Through the Night/Such Impossibilities*, 1977  
*The Cherry Orchard*, 1978  
*Apricots/Thermidor*, 1978  
*Occupations*, 1980  
*Sons and Lovers*, 1981  
*Oi for England*, 1982  
*Judgment over the Dead: The Screenplay of the Last Place on Earth*, 1986  
*Fatherland*, 1987

*Real Dreams*, 1987  
*Collected Plays for Television*, 1988  
*Piano*, 1990  
*The Gulf between Us: The Truth and Other Fictions*,  
 1992  
*Hope in the Year Two*, 1994  
*Thatcher's Children*, 1994  
*Food for Ravens*, 1998

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## Grundy, Reg (1923– )

### Australian Media Executive

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Australia has produced few media moguls, and even fewer who are known beyond Australia. The most remarkable has undoubtedly been Rupert Murdoch, but not far behind is the figure of Reg Grundy. Like Murdoch, Grundy found that global expansion could turn a media kingdom into an empire. Born in Sydney, he worked in commercial radio as a sporting commentator, station personality, and time salesman. Grundy developed a radio game show, *Wheel of Fortune*, which he adapted to television in 1959. As with the radio version, he worked as both master of ceremonies and producer on this first TV venture. Despite the coincidence of sharing this title with a U.S. counterpart, *Wheel of Fortune* was Grundy's own invention. However, he quickly discovered that he did not have the time or capacity to develop new quiz programs. Instead, realizing that U.S. network television could serve as a ready source of ideas, he began adapting programs such as *Concentration* and *Say When* for Australian television. However, in the 1960s he twice suffered simultaneous cancellation of all his shows.

But by around 1970, he had rebounded. Selling to all three commercial networks, the business empire was taking shape. Game shows were the foundation, and the advent of stripped nightly programs such as *Money Movers* and *Great Temptation* in 1971–72 meant that his company was starting to turn a handsome profit. For Reg Grundy Enterprises, the economies of television game shows were such that it was possible to sell variants of a show on a regional or state basis as well as on a national basis. By now Grundy was displaying the two qualities that made him

unique among Australian television packagers. The first was a capacity to spot and hire talented workers who would serve him well as managers and producers. As his company grew, he turned much of the day-to-day concerns over to them.

The second element of his business genius lay in his ability to recognize the value of particular program formats so far as scheduling and audience appeal were concerned. Increasingly Grundy himself concentrated on quality control on current shows and on searching for new formats. As always, American television was the key source although he also began looking to the United Kingdom.

By the late 1970s international adaptation of program formats was becoming more regularized. Grundy established an ongoing relationship with the Goodson-Todman group in the United States and had first call on their many television game show formats for adaptation in Australia and the Pacific. By now, the company, now known as the Grundy Organization, began buying game show formats in its own right. Among the first was a mildly successful U.S. program from the 1960s, *Sale of the Century*, which Grundy was to adapt in over 20 territories worldwide, including 20 years on-air in Australia.

Meanwhile, from 1974, the company had also become established in drama. Its first effort was *Class of '74*; this was soon joined by a clutch of others including *The Young Doctors*, *The Restless Years*, *Prisoner*, *Sons and Daughters*, and *Neighbors*. Having this second cash cow made the company enormously secure and it began thinking of international expansion. Hav-





Reg Grundy.  
*Photo courtesy of Grundy Television Pty Ltd*

ing long outgrown its Sydney base and produced game shows for broadcasters right across the continent, there seemed no reason why the company should not seek new markets overseas. After all, the fact that many of its game shows had come from elsewhere meant that the company always had an implicit internationalism. To facilitate world distribution, most especially for its drama serials and, more occasionally, documentaries and feature films, Grundy appointed an independent agent to this task and later set up its own distribution arm. Additionally, the company was also building up its catalogue of formats, both through purchase from elsewhere as well as those of its own devising.

The 1980s and the 1990s is the story of Grundy as an increasingly transnational organization. The company set up a production office in Los Angeles in 1979, and by 1982 had programs in production in the United States, Hong Kong, and Brunei. However, the establishment of permanent offices in multiple territories was not part of its long-term goal. After all, in Aus-

tralia, it had opened and closed offices in different centers as the demands of production dictated. The same logic operated internationally. Here, the key was ownership and control of formats both in game shows and drama serials. Typically, in any territory, the company sought a local production partner, as this coproduction strategy had several benefits. It allowed Grundy to act in a quality-control role; it helped guarantee a necessary "indigenisation" of a program format; and it enabled Grundy to retain control of the format for other territories. Meanwhile, distributing its large packages of drama serials, especially those produced in Australia, ensured that the company had a "calling card" when it looked to enter new territories.

Nevertheless the company found it important to establish central offices in key regions. In 1983 the organization was restructured with Grundy World Wide, headquartered in Bermuda, as the new parent. To serve its European operation—the most important sector of its activities—Grundy established a permanent office in London. It also set up offices in Chile to anchor its Latin American operation and one in Singapore that serviced Asia. Meanwhile, its Los Angeles office had a major function in developing new game show formats for the United States and elsewhere.

But where was Reg Grundy himself in all of this? Until very recently he was the driving force behind the very highest officers in his company, always aware that good executives and new, attractive formats were the lifeline of his organization. Unlike Rupert Murdoch, however, he had no offspring to groom as a successor. Although his was a private company, some others did hold a minority of shares. Therefore, in 1995 he liquidated this asset, selling Grundy World Wide to the Pearson International group for \$386 million (U.S.). His executive team remained in place, continuing to expand the company inside Pearson. Although the larger organization has now become Fremantle Media, nevertheless the Grundy name remains in place for various branches, most especially in Australia, where it is known simply as Grundy Television.

Meanwhile, from his home in Bermuda, Reg Grundy continues as a very active (if remote) figure in Australian media through his private investment company, RG Capital. His private company owns several FM radio stations and has shares in others. He is also reported to have significant shares in Southern Star Endemol, ironically one of Grundy Television's main Australian rivals.

ALBERT MORAN

*See also Australia; Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Murdoch, Rupert K.; Neighbours; Wheel of Fortune*



**Reg Grundy.** Born in Sydney, Australia, 1923. Educated at St. Peter's College. Married: Joy Chalmers. Sports commentator and time salesman, Sydney radio station 2CH; host, radio quiz show, 1957, which he subsequently took to television TCN 9, 1959; founder, Reg Grundy Enterprises, 1960; leading producer of game shows in Australian television; expanded into production of drama serials, from 1973; company reorganized as Grundy Organization, 1978; opened its first overseas office in Los Angeles, 1979; Grundy relocated company to Bermuda, 1982; sold the television company to Pearson Television, United Kingdom, 1995.

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**Guilds.** *See Unions/Guilds*

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## Gunsmoke

U.S. Western

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*Gunsmoke*, America's longest-running television western, aired on CBS from 1955 to 1975. In 1956, its second season on the air, the series entered the list of top-ten programs on U.S. television and moved quickly to number one. It remained in that position until 1961 and in the top 20 until 1964. Following a shift in its programming time in 1967, *Gunsmoke* returned to prominence within the top 20 for the next seven years, dropping out only in its final year. From 1987 to the present there have been four *Gunsmoke* "reunion" programs, presented as two-hour, made-for-television movies. With the addition of more and more cable television channels, *Gunsmoke* continues to appear in reruns, introducing new generations of television viewers to the potential for powerful drama in generic fiction.

This exceptionally successful program is often referred to as the medium's first "adult western." The term is used to indicate differences between the Hollywood "B" westerns and versions of the genre designed for the small screen in the 1950s and 1960s. Without

recourse to panoramic vistas, thundering herds of cattle, and massed charges by "Indians" or the United States Cavalry, the television western often concentrated on character relationships and tense psychological drama. *Gunsmoke* set the style and tone for many of these shows.

Set in Dodge City, Kansas, in the 1890s, the series focused on the character of United States Marshal Matt Dillon, played by James Arness. The part was designed for John Wayne, who chose not to complicate his still-successful film career with commitment to a long-term television contract. Wayne, who appeared on-air to introduce the first episode of *Gunsmoke*, suggested the younger actor for the lead role. The tall, rugged-looking Arness, who until this time had played minor film roles, became synonymous with his character during the next 20 years.

Surrounding Dillon were characters who became one of television's best-known "workplace families." Kitty Russell (Amanda Blake) owned and managed a local saloon, The Longbranch, and over the years de-

veloped a deep friendship with Dillon that always seemed to border on something more intimate. Doc Adams (Milburn Stone) represented science, rationality, and crusty wisdom. His medical skills were never questioned, and he patched up everyone on the show, often more than once. Dennis Weaver portrayed tenderhearted and gullible Chester Goode, deputy marshal. Chester's openness and honesty were often played against frontier villainy, and his loyalty to Dillon was unquestionable. When Weaver left the show in 1964 he was replaced by Ken Curtis as Festus Hagen, a character equally adept at providing humor in the often grim world of Dodge and a foil to the taciturn and sometimes obsessive professionalism of Dillon. Burt Reynolds appeared on *Gunsmoke* from 1962 to 1965 in the role of Quint Asper.

While *Gunsmoke* had its share of shoot-outs, bank robberies, cattle rustlings, and the like, the great strength of the program was the ongoing exploration of life in this community, with these people, in this place, at this time. In *Gunsmoke*, Dodge City stands as an outpost of civilization, the edge of America at the end of a century. It is one of the central images of the western in any of its media creations—a small town, a group of professionals, perhaps a school and a church, surrounded by the dangers of the frontier, its values of peace, harmony, and justice always under threat from untamed forces. Such a setting becomes a magnified experiment for the exploration of fundamental ideas about American culture and society. Issues faced by the characters and community in *Gunsmoke* ranged from questions of legitimate violence to the treatment of minority groups, from the meaning of family to the power of religious commitment. Even topics drawn from American life in the 1950s and 1960s were examined in this setting. The historical frame of the western and television's reliance on well-known, continuing characters allowed a sense of distance and gave producers the freedom to treat almost any topic.

The dramatic formula for the series, particularly in later years, was simple. Some type of "outsider"—a family separated from a wagon train, an ex-Confederate officer, a wandering theater troupe—entered the world of the regular characters. With the outsiders came conflict. With the conflict came the need for decision and action. If violence was called for, it was applied reluctantly. If compassion was the answer, it was available. Often, no solution so simple solved the problems. Many sides of the same issue could be presented, especially when moral problems, not action and adventure, were the central concerns. In such cases *Gunsmoke* often ended in ambiguity, requiring viewers to ponder the ideas and issues. As the series progressed into its last seasons, it became highly

self-conscious of its own history. Characters explored their own motivations with some frequency, and memories became plot devices.

In the history of American popular culture, *Gunsmoke* has claimed a position of prominence. Innovative within traditional trappings, it testified to the breadth and resilience of the western genre and to television's ability to interweave character, idea, and action into narratives that could attract and compel audiences for decades.

HORACE NEWCOMB

See also **Gender and Television; Westerns**

#### Cast

Marshal Matt Dillon	James Arness
Dr. Galen (Doc) Adams	Milburn Stone
Kitty Russell (1955–74)	Amanda Blake
Chester Goode (1955–64)	Dennis Weaver
Festus Hagen (1964–75)	Ken Curtis
Quint Asper (1962–65)	Burt Reynolds
Sam, the bartender (1962–74)	Glenn Strange
Clayton Thaddeus (Thad) Greenwood (1965–67)	Roger Ewing
Newly O'Brien (1967–75)	Buck Taylor
Mr. Jones (1955–60)	Dabbs Greer
Louie Pheeters	James Nusser
Barney	Charles Seel
Howie	Howard Culver
Ed O'Connor	Tom Brown
Percy Crump	John Harper
Hank (1957–75)	Hank Patterson
Ma Smalley (1962–75)	Sarah Selby
Nathan Burke (1964–75)	Ted Jordan
Mr. Bodkin (1965–75)	Roy Roberts
Mr. Lathrop (1966–75)	Woody Chamblis
Halligan (1967–75)	Charles Wagenheim
Miss Hannah (1974–75)	Fran Ryan

#### Producers

Charles Warren, John Mantley, Phillip Leacock, Norman MacDonald, Joseph Drackow, Leonard Katzman

#### Programming History

233 half-hour episodes; 400 one-hour episodes  
CBS

September 1955–September 1961	Saturday 10:00–10:30
September 1961–September 1967	Saturday 10:00–11:00
October 1961–June 1964	Tuesday 7:30–8:00

September 1967–September 1971 Monday 7:30–8:30  
 September 1971–September 1975 Monday 8:00–9:00

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## Gyngell, Bruce (1929–2000)

### Australian Media Executive

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Bruce Gyngell is best known by the general public in Australia for being the first face on television. When the commercial station Channel 9 in Sydney made its first broadcast in September 1956, Gyngell was the announcer who appeared to report the fact that television had arrived. His career was a remarkable and unique one in that he trained in the United States, operated in all spheres of the industry in Australia, and also played a significant role in television in the United Kingdom.

Gyngell's remarkable career cannot be understood without understanding the structure of television in Australia. From 1956 until 1980, when the national multicultural network SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) was established, the Australian television system was divided into two sectors. The ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission, later Corporation) was modeled loosely on the BBC. A commercial sector first consisted of two networks (Nine and Seven) and later, in a controversial move, was joined by a third, the Ten

Network. Because Australia had a small population (then around 15 million) spread over a very large land mass, three commercial networks were thought to be too many to be viable. Two of the commercial systems were owned by print media barons from their beginnings, and in 1980 the third, Network Ten, also fell into the hands of a print media owner, Rupert Murdoch. While there was fierce competition among the three commercial networks, there was also collusion. For example, programs were acquired from U.S. suppliers in a manner that would not drive up prices for any individual broadcaster. Ultimately, Australia has been able to maintain all three commercial networks because traditionally there has been a high level—until recently, more than 50 percent—of imported programming. However, foreign programming does not by itself make for popularity. It has been the mix of local and overseas material that has led to strong ratings, and Gyngell's skill as a programmer contributed to the



Bruce Gyngell.  
Photo courtesy of Bruce Gyngell

successes of the stations with which he was involved.

Having trained in the United States in the mid-1950s, Gyngell became programming director at Channel 9 Sydney in November 1956. Always the showman, he helped to make the Nine Network the dominant force in Australian commercial television. Gyngell's contribution was built upon a keen sense of audience tastes and an enthusiasm for catering to them. He scheduled a judicious mix of hit U.S. shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Mickey Mouse Club*, and *Father Knows Best* alongside such popular and long-running Australian-made programs as *Bandstand* and *In Melbourne Tonight*. Gyngell developed very strong links with U.S. program suppliers in those years, and his U.S. contacts and strong commercial instincts remained strong assets throughout his television career.

Gyngell became managing director of Channel 9 in 1966 and remained there until 1969, when a programming dispute with the owner, Sir Frank Packer, drove him to Network Seven. There he became managing director and led the so-called Seven Revolution, a programming strategy successfully designed to put his

new network ahead of Nine in the ratings. In 1971, after three years at Seven and at the age of 42, he moved to the United Kingdom and became involved with Sir Lew Grade's ATV, then a leading U.K. company holding the lucrative Midlands franchise. Gyngell was also deputy managing director of ITC Entertainment, Grade's production company. From this position, Gyngell supported the production of the first episodes of *The Muppet Show*, which the U.S. network CBS was unwilling to finance wholly. Between 1975 and 1977 Gyngell was a freelance producer, working between the United States and Australia.

In 1977, in a move that was extremely controversial, Gyngell was appointed to be the first chair of a new broadcasting regulatory authority, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, established as a result of an inquiry organized by the conservative Fraser government. The former regulator, the Australian Broadcasting Control Board, had itself been replaced because it was seen to have been captured by the industry. Thus, Gyngell's complete identification with commercial television resulted in a great deal of criticism from observers worried about media concentration, the amount of Australian content, and the need for quality on television.

Gyngell was a controversial and high-profile chairman. Under his tenure the promotion of children's television improved—a committee to advise the tribunal on programs suitable for children was established and quotas for such programming reinforced. But Gyngell also presided over the award of the Ten Network to Rupert Murdoch, a bitterly contested decision. Because of Murdoch's already substantial media holdings, there was fear of his domination of both print and broadcasting media. Gyngell argued the legislation did not permit him to refuse approval of Murdoch's acquisition, but other commentators saw the incident as affirming Gyngell's closeness to commercial broadcasters and his disregard for the public interest. At the present time, there has been no sober reassessment of this period of Australian broadcasting history; the jury is thus still out on Gyngell's tenure as chair of the tribunal.

In 1980 Gyngell moved yet again to a new sector of the Australian broadcasting scene. Responding to determined "ethnic" lobbying, the Fraser government had established multicultural broadcasting in Australia in the late 1970s. When the first television station dedicated to this service was established in 1980, Gyngell was called upon to be its managing director. Given his lack of experience with either multicultural policy or public-service broadcasting, this was another controversial appointment.

The beginnings of the SBS, as the new service was called, were naturally fraught with difficulty. The ethnic communities and the government probably expected that the television station would be like the multiethnic radio station—an access channel for which ethnic groups could make their own programs. Gyngell had quite a different idea. Instead of a low-grade, well-meaning but amateurish channel, he envisioned a top-class station that would show the best of television from around the world. With programming skills well honed from watching hundreds of programs at the annual Los Angeles buying sprees, Gyngell set out to acquire programs mainly from European sources. He programmed SBS with quality programs from Italy, France, Germany, and Spain as well as from the Middle East and Asia. And he attempted as far as possible to match the nationality of the programs with the composition of the ethnic audience in Australia.

SBS television is generally deemed a success story, although its audience has never topped 2–3 percent. In its early days, its appeal was limited by its poor transmission conditions (a weak signal on UHF whereas all other television was on VHF), which made it accessible only to part of the population. Although it has remained controversial over the years, and although the very late advent of pay-TV in Australia in 1995 is likely to change its role considerably, the direction generally set by Gyngell has been adhered to and has led to SBS occupying a permanent place in Australia's broadcasting mix.

Bruce Gyngell's next big career move was to become managing director of Britain's first breakfast television service, TV-AM. The franchise was awarded to TV-AM in 1984, and at the end of its first year of operation, when Gyngell arrived, it had accumulated losses of £20 million. He applied the experience he had gained in the more competitive environment of Australian television and began trimming costs, which had the desired effect of turning around the financial fortunes of the service. However, Gyngell's tenure at TV-AM was as controversial as his ventures in Australia. Many observers saw the service's profitability being won at the expense of quality. There was no doubt that TV-AM was the most tabloidlike of any of the British franchises, but the material found a willing audience.

The controversy surrounding Gyngell deepened when, in 1987, he took on the broadcasting unions in much the same manner as his compatriot, Rupert Murdoch, had challenged the print unions. Needing to trim the coast of his regional studios, Gyngell wanted to replace workers with automated studios. The unions went on strike, and for many months Gyngell and

other managers ran the service, replacing local programming with a high dose of repeat imported programs. Gyngell eventually broke the strike by installing automated equipment and recruiting new, untrained staff whom he trained quickly, winning in the process a Department of Industry Award for innovations in staff development. No doubt, these maneuvers were the basis of his reputed high standing with then-British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. When TV-AM failed to bid successfully for the breakfast franchise in the 1992 round of allocations, Thatcher sent Gyngell a personal letter of commiseration.

After TV-AM's removal from the British broadcasting scene, Gyngell returned to Australia to become executive chair of his old company, Network Nine. This position was largely ceremonial, however, and he returned to the United Kingdom in 1995 to become chair of the newly merged Yorkshire Tyne Tees service in Britain. He remained in this position until Yorkshire Television was taken over by Granada Media in 1997. In 1998 he was made Network Nine's international chairman, holding that post until his death from cancer in September 2000.

Bruce Gyngell was a consummate television executive who played a significant role in television in both Australia and Britain. He worked in both the commercial and public-service sectors and as a regulator. He was an influential figure in Australian television since its foundation and brought to it a showman's flair, a deep love of the medium, and a keen sense of how to please audiences. It is no accident that when pay-TV finally arrived in Australia in 1995, his was once again the first face to be seen. He was recalled from Britain to announce the arrival of a new era of television.

ELIZABETH JACKA

**Bruce Gyngell.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, July 8, 1929. Educated at Sydney Grammar School; studied medicine at Sydney University. Married: 1) Ann; two children; 2) Kathryn, 1986; children: Adam and Jamie. Pilot with the Citizen's Air Force. Trainee radio announcer, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1950; radio announcer, ABC, United States, 1950–55; in television at NBC and KGMB Hawaii, 1955–56; joined Sydney's TCN 9 as program manager, opening first commercial television broadcast in Australia, 1956; general manager, 1966–69; managing director, Seven Network, 1969–71; producer and programmer, ATV Network, 1971, deputy chairman and director, ATV Network, from 1973; manager of ITC Films U.K., from 1974; freelance producer, 1975–77; the first chair of the new regulatory body, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1977–80; chief executive of

Gyngell, Bruce

the new fifth Australian television channel, SBS Television, 1980–84; returned to London as managing director of TV-AM, 1984–92; returned to Australia as chief executive, TCN 9, from 1993 to 1995; director of Yorkshire Tynetees Television, England, from 1995. Member: Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations. Died in London, September 7, 2000.

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## Hagman, Larry (1931– )

U.S. Actor

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Larry Hagman is best known for his role as J.R. Ewing, the unscrupulous heir to a Texas oil fortune, in the long-running *Dallas*, the blockbuster night-time soap opera that still defines the genre. Less well known is the actor's earlier work in a variety of media.

The son of musical star Mary Martin, Hagman moved to England as a member of the cast of his mother's stage hit *South Pacific* after a variety of early theatrical experiences. He remained in England for five years, producing and directing shows for U.S. servicemen, before returning to the United States and appearing in a series of Broadway and off-Broadway plays.

Hagman's first television experience began with various guest appearances on such shows as *Playhouse 90*. He was then cast in the daytime soap opera *The Edge of Night*, in which he appeared for several years. In 1965, he became a television star playing Major Tony Nelson, astronaut and "master" to a beautiful blonde genie, in the comedy series *I Dream of Jeannie*, which ran from 1965 to 1970. He subsequently appeared in *The Good Life* and *Here We Go Again* and was a frequent guest star on a variety of television programs, until undertaking the career-making role of the crafty, silkily charming villain J.R. Ewing in 1978.

Hagman's role as the ruthless good old boy of Southfork would become indelibly associated with American cultural and economic life of the early 1980s. Over the course of 330 episodes, *Dallas* featured an American family beset by internal problems,

many originating in the duplicitous schemes of its central figure, J.R. Ewing, who was a far cry from television's previous patriarchs. Viewers who tuned in could expect a weekly dose of greed, family feuds, deceptions, bribery, blackmail, alcoholism, adultery, and nervous breakdowns in the program that became, for a time, the second-longest-running dramatic hour in prime-time history (after *Gunsmoke*). The show's blended themes of sex, power, and money also sold well worldwide. When J.R. was shot in March 1980, the audience totaled 300 million in 57 countries.

Particularly noteworthy was the way in which *Dallas* made use of the cliff-hanger ending. With the "Who shot J.R.?" season-end cliff-hanger (the first ever in prime time), fans were left to speculate all summer over the fate of the man they loved to hate and ponder the question of which one of his many enemies might have pulled the trigger. The speculation grew to become an international cause célèbre, with the first show of the 1981 season generating Nielsen ratings comparable to *M\*A\*S\*H's* season finale, and pointing to the overlooked profitability of high-stakes serial narratives in prime time. Hagman's J.R. was influential in making greed and self-interest seem seductive, and the characterization inspired countless other portrayals (both male and female) on spin-off shows such as *Knots Landing*, and other night-time soap operas such as *Melrose Place*.

Since the end of the *Dallas* series, Hagman has reprised the role of J.R. in a couple of made-for-



Larry Hagman.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

television movies about the further adventures of the Ewing clan, and he has acted in several other film and television projects. He has also been active in anti-smoking campaigns, producing a videotape entitled *Larry Hagman's Stop Smoking for Life*, whose proceeds went to the American Cancer Society. In 1995 the actor was diagnosed with a liver tumor and later underwent a successful liver transplant. In 2001 he published a memoir, *Hello Darlin'*.

DIANE M. NEGRA

*See also Dallas*

**Larry Hagman.** Born in Weatherford, Texas, September 21, 1931. Attended Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. Married: Maj Axelsson, 1954; children: Heidi and Preston. Began career acting in Margo Jones Theatre in the Round, Dallas, Texas; later acted off-Broadway, then Broadway; motion picture debut in *Ensign Pulver*, 1964; starred in TV series *I Dream of Jeannie*, 1965–70, and *Dallas*, 1978–91.

#### Television Series

- 1956–84 *The Edge of Night*  
1965–70 *I Dream of Jeannie*

- 1971–72 *The Good Life*  
1973 *Here We Go Again*  
1978–91 *Dallas*  
1993 *Staying Afloat*  
1996 *Orleans*

#### Television Miniseries

- 1977 *The Rhinemann Exchange*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1969 *Three's a Crowd*  
1971 *Vanished*  
1971 *A Howling in the Woods*  
1971 *Getting Away from It All*  
1972 *No Place to Run*  
1973 *What Are Best Friends for?*  
1973 *Blood Sport*  
1973 *The Alpha Caper*  
1974 *Sidekicks*  
1974 *Hurricane*  
1974 *The Big Rip-Off*  
1975 *Sarah T: Portrait of a Teenage Alcoholic*  
1976 *Return of the World's Greatest Detective*  
1977 *Intimate Strangers*  
1978 *The President's Mistress*  
1978 *Last of the Good Guys*  
1982 *Deadly Encounter*  
1986 *Dallas: The Early Years*  
1993 *Staying Afloat* (also executive producer)  
1994 *In the Heat of the Night: Who Was Geli Bendl?* (director)  
1996 *Dallas: J.R. Returns* (also executive producer)  
1997 *The Third Twin*  
1998 *Dallas: The War of the Ewings* (also executive producer)  
2000 *Doing Dallas* (documentary)

#### Films

*Ensign Pulver*, 1964; *Fail Safe*, 1964; *In Harm's Way*, 1965; *The Group*, 1966; *The Cavern*, 1965; *Up in the Cellar*, 1970; *Beware! The Blob* (also director), 1972; *Antonio*, 1973; *Harry and Tonto*, 1974; *Stardust*, 1975; *Mother Jugs and Speed*, 1976; *The Big Bus*, 1976; *Checkered Flag or Crash*, 1977; *The Eagle Has Landed*, 1977; *Superman*, 1978; *S.O.B.*, 1981; *Nixon*, 1995; *Primary Colors*, 1998; *Toscana*, 1999.

#### Stage

*God and Kate Murphy*, 1959; *The Nervous Set*, 1959; *The Warm Peninsula*, 1959–60; *The Beauty Part*, 1962–63.



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(April 4, 1988)  
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## Haley, Alex (1921–1992)

U.S. Writer

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Alex Haley is best known as the author of the novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, from which two television miniseries, *Roots* and *Roots: The Next Generation*, were adapted. The novels, loosely based on Haley's own family, presented an interpretation of the journey of African Americans from their homeland to the United States and their subsequent search for freedom and dignity. The novel was published in 1976, when the United States was celebrating its bicentennial.

During the last week of January 1977, the first *Roots* miniseries was aired by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). Its phenomenal success surprised everyone, including Haley and the network executives who had “dumped” the program into one week, fearing the subject matter would not attract an audience. Instead, *Roots* garnered one of the largest audiences for dramatic television in the U.S. history of the medium, averaging a 44.9 rating and a 66 share.

The success of *Roots* went far beyond attracting a large audience, however. The miniseries, and Alex Haley, became a cause célèbre. In a cover story, *Time* magazine reported that restaurant and shop owners saw profits decline when the series was on the air. The report noted that bartenders were able to keep customers only by turning the channel selector away from basketball and hockey and tuning instead to those stations carrying *Roots*. Parents named their children after characters in the series, especially the lead character, Kunta Kinte.

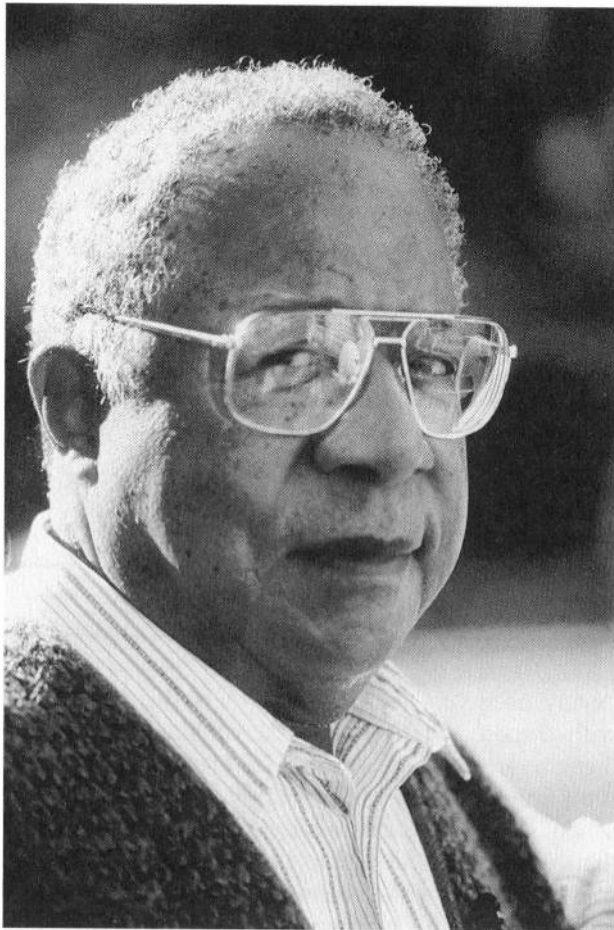
The airing of *Roots* raised issues about the effects of television. There were debates about whether the television miniseries would ease U.S. race relations or exacerbate them. A *Time* magazine article explained that

“many observers feel that the TV series left whites with a more sympathetic view of blacks by giving them a greater appreciation of black history.” The same article, however, reported that white junior-high-school students were harassing African Americans and that black youths assaulted four white youths in Detroit, Michigan, while chanting, “Roots, roots, roots.”

Haley began his writing career through assignments from *Reader's Digest* and *Playboy* magazine, for which he conducted interviews. During this time he met Malcolm X, then one of the followers of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the African-American Muslim organization the Nation of Islam. Later Haley was asked by Malcolm X to write his life's story. The result of that collaboration, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, was published in 1965 and sold 6 million copies.

*Roots*, Haley's next best-seller, was a fictionalized version of his own search for his ancestral past, which led him to the African village of Juffure, in Gambia. Haley described *Roots* as “faction,” a combination of fact and fiction. Although criticized by some for taking too many liberties in the telling of his journey into his ancestral past, Haley maintained that “*Roots* is intended to convey a symbolic history of a people.”

In the 1980s, Leslie Fishbein reviewed previous studies concerned with the inaccuracies found in both the book and television series and noted that Haley glossed over the complicity of Africans in the slave trade. Fishbein also analyzed an inherent contradiction in Haley's work—it centers on the family as an independent unit that isolates itself from the rest of the community and is thus unable to fight effectively the forces of slavery and racism.



Alex Haley.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Debates about *Roots* continued into the 1990s. Researchers Tucker and Shah have argued that the production of *Roots* by a predominantly white group led to decisions that resulted in an interpretation of race in the United States reflecting an Anglo-American, rather than an African-American, perspective. They also criticized the television version of *Roots* for transforming the African-American experience in the United States into an “immigrant” story, a narrative model in which slavery becomes a hardship, much like the hardships of other immigrant groups, which a people must experience before taking their place alongside full-fledged citizens. When slavery is simplified in this fashion and stripped of its context as a creation of social, economic, and political forces, they contended, those who experienced slavery are also stripped of their humanity.

The tremendous success of *Roots* can only be appreciated within its social context. The United States was moving away from what have come to be known as the

“turbulent 60s” into an era when threats from outside forces, both real and imagined, such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC, blamed for the mid-1970s oil crisis), and instability in Central America, especially Nicaragua, contributed to the need for a closing of ranks.

On one level, then, the program served as a symbolic ritual that helped bring African Americans into the national community. At another, more practical level, it represents the recognition on the part of television executives that the African-American community had become a significant and integral part of the larger mass audience. As Wilson and Gutiérrez have written, “In the 1970s, mass-audience advertising in the United States became more racially integrated than in any time in the nation’s history.” These writers point out that during this time blacks could be seen much more frequently in U.S. television commercials.

The importance of Alex Haley and the impact of his work on television history should not be underestimated. To fully appreciate the contribution he made to the medium, the African-American community, and the United States, his work must be examined within a context of changing demographics, historical events in the United States and elsewhere, and most importantly, the centuries-long struggle of a people to be recognized as full-fledged members of their national community.

RAUL D. TOVARES

#### *See also Roots*

**Alex (Palmer) Haley.** Born in Ithaca, New York, August 11, 1921. Attended Elizabeth City Teachers’ College, North Carolina, 1936–37. Married: 1) Nannie Branch, 1941 (divorced, 1964); two children: Lydia Ann and William Alexander; 2) Juliette Collins, 1964; one daughter: Cynthia Gertrude. Served in the U.S. Coast Guard 1939–59, ship’s cook during World War II, and chief journalist. On retirement from the Coast Guard, became fulltime writer, contributing stories, articles, and interviews to *Playboy*, *Harper’s*, *Atlantic*, and *Reader’s Digest*; based on interviews, wrote *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 1965; author, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, 1976, which was adapted as television miniseries, 1977. Recipient: Pulitzer Prize, 1977. Died in Seattle, Washington, February 10, 1992.

#### **Television**

- 1977 *Roots*
- 1980 *Palmerstown, U.S.A.* (producer)
- 1993 *Alex Haley’s Queen*

**Publications**

*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, with Malcolm X, 1965

*Roots*, 1976

*A Different Kind of Christmas*, 1988

*Alex Haley's Queen: The Story of an American Family*, 1993

*The Playboy Interviews*, 1993

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Dates and William Barlow, Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990

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# Hallmark Hall of Fame

## U.S. Anthology Drama

Created by Hallmark Cards to be a showcase around which to market its greeting cards, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* has become one of the most valued treasures in the history of quality television programming in the United States. *Hallmark Hall of Fame* made its debut on NBC on December 24, 1951, with *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, the first opera (by Gian-Carlo Menotti) to be commissioned for television, and continued as a weekly series until 1955. The half-hour series was called *Hallmark Television Playhouse* during its first two years. Sarah Churchill served as the host of the program during this early period.

Since 1955, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* has been a series of specials (appearing four to eight times a year throughout the 1960s, two to three times a year thereafter). *Hallmark Hall of Fame* has usually aired around holiday times, in order to coincide with the sale of greeting cards. These specials usually have been in 90-minute or 120-minute form, and many are adaptations of works by major playwrights and authors (e.g., William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, and George Bernard Shaw), as well as original drama by established television writers such as Rod Serling. *Hallmark Hall of Fame* specials often have featured the leading stage actors and actresses from Great Britain and the United States (e.g., Maurice Evans, Dame Judith Anderson, Alfred Lunt, and Jessica Tandy).



*Sarah, Plain and Tall*, Christopher Walken, Glenn Close, 1991.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



Hallmark Hall of Fame, 1951–present; James Donald, Julie Harris in *Pygmalion*, 1963.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Hallmark Hall of Fame* ran exclusively on NBC from 1951 until 1979. The parting was a mutual one for NBC and Hallmark, as NBC was disappointed with the low ratings the specials routinely received, and Hallmark was disappointed with poor time slots allotted to it. With the promise of better time periods, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* moved to CBS for the 1979–80 season. Despite a brief switch to PBS in 1981, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* continues to air twice a year on CBS. In the 1988–89 season, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* made its appearance on ABC for the first time, thereby having appeared on all three of the major television networks, as well as PBS.

*Hallmark Hall of Fame* is one of the most honored programs in the history of U.S. television, having won more than 50 Emmy Awards, including 10 Emmys for best dramatic program of the year: *Little Moon of Al-*

*ban* (1958–59), *Macbeth* (1960–61), *Victoria Regina* (1961–62), *The Magnificent Yankee* (1964–65), *Elizabeth the Queen* (1967–68), *Teacher, Teacher* (1968–69), *A Storm in Summer* (1969–70), *Love Is Never Silent* (1985–86), *Promise* (1986–87), and *Caroline?* (1989–90). In addition, Hallmark Cards has won the Trustees Award in 1960–61 and the ATAS Governors Award in 1981–82. Judith Anderson won her first Emmy for her portrayal of Lady Macbeth in the *Hallmark Hall of Fame* presentation of *Macbeth* in 1954 and would win again for the same role when *Hall* remade *Macbeth* in 1960–61. Also of note, in 1971, one month after he refused to accept his Academy Award for his portrayal of General Patton, George C. Scott accepted his Emmy for his performance in Arthur Miller's *The Price*.

Some other notable *Hallmark Hall of Fame* produc-



*Amahl and the Night Visitors*, Andrew McKinley, Leon Lishner, Chet Allen, 1951.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tions have included *Hamlet* (1953) with Maurice Evans, *Moby Dick* (1954) with Victor Jory, *Alice in Wonderland* (1955) with Elsa Lanchester, *Man and Superman* (1956) with Maurice Evans, *Twelfth Night* (1957) with Maurice Evans and Rosemary Harris,

*Cyrano de Bergerac* (1962) with Christopher Plummer and Hope Lange, *Inherit the Wind* (1966) with Ed Begley and Melvyn Douglas, *Anastasia* (1967) with Julie Harris, *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1972) with Orson Welles and Lee Remick, *Beauty and the Beast* (1976) with George C. Scott and Trish Van Devere, *The Last Hurrah* (1977) with Carroll O'Connor, *Return Engagement* (1978) with Elizabeth Taylor, *Gideon's Trumpet* (1980) with Henry Fonda, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1981) with Anthony Hopkins, *The Marva Collins Story* (1982) with Cicely Tyson, *My Name Is Bill W.* (1989) with James Garner and James Woods, *Decoration Day* (1990) with James Garner and Ruby Dee, and *Sarah, Plain and Tall* (1991) with Glenn Close and Christopher Walken. In 2001 Hallmark ventured into cable by purchasing the Odyssey cable network and renaming it the Hallmark Channel. This new venue provided an outlet for the vast library of previous Hallmark Hall of Fame telecasts, as well as reruns of many old network series.

MITCHELL E. SHAPIRO

See also *Anthology Drama; Rees, Marian*

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## Hancock's Half Hour

### British Comedy

Tony Hancock became the premier radio and TV comic of his generation, due mainly to the long-running radio and TV series that both bore the name *Hancock's Half Hour*. Hancock's career as a comedian began with performances when he was 16 and continued on radio the following year, before he joined the Royal Air Force in 1942. Following the war, he returned to the stage and eventually worked as resident comedian at the Windmill,

a famous London comedy and striptease club in which many of Britain's favorite comedians of the period worked. He reappeared on radio in 1950 in a famous variety series, *Variety Bandbox*, but it was the following year when he joined the cast of radio's *Educating Archie* that he really came to public notice. His success on the show eventually led to him being offered his own starring series on radio, from 1954, on *Hancock's Half Hour*.



Tony Hancock.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

For *Hancock's Half Hour*, Hancock was paired with the script-writing team Ray Galton and Alan Simpson; with the comedian, they created one of Britain's best-loved and enduring comic characters. The Tony Hancock of the series was a slightly snobbish type with delusions of grandeur and a talent for self-deception. The sharp scripts were complemented by the contribution of the supporting cast (Hattie Jacques, Kenneth Williams, Bill Kerr, and Sid James) and immeasurably from Hancock himself. He proved a master of comic timing, instinctively knowing how long to hold a pause for maximum effect (similar to Jack Benny in the United States). In 1956 the show transferred to BBC Television, and Hancock went on to even greater success.

The television *Hancock's Half Hour* was a landmark in British television and became the yardstick by which all subsequent sitcoms were measured. On TV, many of the episodes were virtual double-handers between Tony Hancock and costar Sid James, who appeared as a down-to-earth type, though still a shady character always with an eye on the main chance. Their partnership proved enormously popular with viewers and critics alike. On TV, Hancock displayed a marvelous talent for facial comedy; by rolling his eyes, creasing his brow in deep concentration, sucking on his lips, or puffing out his cheeks, he could suggest any number of internal wranglings. When these expres-

sions were combined with his superb timing, he managed to wring big laughs from the thinnest of lines. But the lines were rarely thin; Galton and Simpson's writing was constantly improving, and the series, unlike many in the genre, continued to grow from strength to strength. After making 57 episodes of the TV series from July 6, 1956 to May 6, 1960, Hancock decided he wanted a change in the format. Always convinced he could do better, Hancock was rarely happy with the work he was doing. Against the advice of his writers and producer (Duncan Wood), he insisted that James be written out of the series because he thought they had fully explored the double-act potential. Finally, his position was accepted, and the series returned, now simply called *Hancock*, for six more episodes. To emphasize the change in format, the first episode featured Hancock alone in his room delivering a desperate rambling monologue as he struggled to pass the time.

Against all the odds, *Hancock* was a roaring success, and those six episodes stand out as the highlight of Hancock's career. One in particular, "The Blood Donor," is perhaps the best-remembered episode of any British sitcom. Hancock, however, remained unimpressed and finally split with his writers Galton and Simpson, complaining they were writing his character as being too poor, too hopeless. (Intriguingly, for their next major project, the writers went even further "down market" with the rag-and-bone man sitcom *Steptoe and Son*.)

Hancock never found the perfection he was seeking, and often sought solace in alcohol. After struggling to make his mark in films and other TV series, his bouts of depression deepened and eventually he committed suicide in Australia on June 25, 1968.

DICK FIDDY

#### Regular Performers

Tony Hancock  
Sid James

#### Supporting Performers

Irene Handl  
Warren Mitchell  
Kenneth Williams  
Hattie Jacques  
Hugh Lloyd  
Arthur Mullard  
John Le Mesurier  
Mario Fabrizi  
Johnny Vyvyan  
Frank Thornton  
Patricia Hayes  
June Whitfield



Patrick Cargill  
 Pat Coombes  
 Terence Alexander  
 Dick Emery

September 1959–November 1959	10 episodes
March 1960–May 1960	10 episodes
May 1961–June 1961	6 episodes
ATV	
January 1963–April 1963	13 episodes

**Producers**

Duncan Wood, BBC; Tony Hancock, Alan Tarrant, ATV

**Programming History**

BBC	
July 1956–September 1956	6 episodes
April 1957–June 1957	6 episodes
September 1957–December 1957	12 episodes
December 1958–March 1959	13 episodes

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# Hanna, William (1910–2001), and Joseph Barbera (1911– )

## U.S. Television Animators

The joint efforts of William Hanna and Joseph Barbera have had a powerful and lasting impact on television animation. Since the late 1950s, Hanna-Barbera programs have been a staple of television entertainment. Furthermore, a great many of the characters originally created by Hanna and Barbera for the small screen have crossed the boundaries into film, books, toys, and all manner of other media, becoming virtually ubiquitous as cultural icons.

The careers of comedy writer Bill Hanna and cartoonist Joe Barbera merged in 1940, when both were working in the Cartoon Department at MGM Studios. Their first joint effort was a Tom and Jerry cartoon entitled *Puss Gets the Boot* (1940). Dozens of Tom and Jerry episodes were to follow. When MGM closed its cartoon unit, nearly two decades after Hanna and Barbera began working there, the two decided to try their collaborative hand at creating material for television. In 1957, already having gained a solid reputation as animators working in film, the pair successfully approached Columbia's Screen Gems television studio with a storyboard for *Ruff and Reddy*, a cartoon tale about two pals, a dog and a cat.

The ensuing success of *Ruff and Reddy* as wrap-around segments for recycled movie cartoons (including Tom and Jerry) proved to be the beginning of a lengthy partnership in television animation. In late 1958, Hanna and Barbera launched *Huckleberry Hound*, the first cartoon series to receive an Emmy Award. This half-hour syndicated program featured, in addition to the title character, such cartoon favorites as Yogi Bear, Pixie and Dixie, Augie Doggie, and Quick Draw McGraw. This latter character, like numerous others who began their "careers" in one Hanna-Barbera creation, went on to an enormously successful series of his own.

In 1960, when a survey revealed that more than half of *Huckleberry Hound's* audience comprised adults, Hanna and Barbera turned their efforts toward creating a cartoon for prime time. The result was *The Flintstones*, a series that drew on and parodied conventions of popular live-action domestic sitcoms, most specifically in this case Jackie Gleason's *The Honeymooners*. The comical premise of a "typical" suburban family living in a cartoon "Stone Age," with home appliances represented as talking prehistoric animals and frequent



William Hanna (left) and Joseph Barbera.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

celebrity guest stars (authentic voices with caricatured bodies) enabled *The Flintstones* to attract both child and adult audiences during its initial run on ABC (1960–66). *The Jetsons*, a “space-age” counterpart to *The Flintstones*, joined its predecessor in prime time in 1962.

Unlike *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons* would last only one season in ABC’s evening schedule. However, in the late 1960s both programs became extremely popular in Saturday morning cartoon line-ups and subsequently in syndication. The programs were so successful as reruns that in the 1980s, 51 new episodes of *The Jetsons* were produced, as were TV specials and movies based on both *The Flintstones* and *The Jetsons*. *Flintstones* spin-off series for children, including *Pebbles and Bamm-Bamm* (1971–72 and 1975–76), *The Flintstones Comedy Hour* (1972–74), and *The Flintstones Kids* (1986–90), also have appeared since the original series ceased production.

Other popular Hanna-Barbera series have included children’s cartoons such as *Scooby-Doo, Where Are You?* (1969, plus a number of subsequent *Scooby-Doo* series); *The Smurfs*, a concept based on a Belgian car-

toon series and first brought to Hanna-Barbera by network executive Fred Silverman (1981); *Pac-Man* (1982); *Pound Puppies* (1986), and *Captain Planet* (1994).

A series of ownership changes began for Hanna-Barbera Productions in the 1990s. First, the company was acquired by Turner Broadcasting Systems (TBS) in 1991. TBS itself was then acquired by Time-Warner in 1995. As part of the huge media conglomerate that is now AOL Time-Warner, Hanna-Barbera has combined resources with its longtime rival Warner Bros., producers of Looney Toons cartoons. Hanna-Barbera and Looney Toons fare accounts for the bulk of the programming on the popular Cartoon Network cable service. Since the 1970s, Hanna-Barbera has produced, in addition to the cartoons, a number of films and specials for television, including *The Gathering* (1977), *The Stone Fox* (1987), and *Going Bananas* (1984), as well as live-action feature films, including *The Jetsons: The Movie* (1990), *The Pagemaster* (1994), *The Flintstones* (1994), and *The Flintstones in Viva Rock Vegas* (2000).



Prior to William Hanna's death in 2001, the long and productive partnership between him and Joseph Barbera yielded some of television's most successful and enduring programs. Cartoon series such as *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons*, and *Huckleberry Hound* are as popular with audiences today as they were when first shown. While this is evidence of the timeless entertainment value of animated programming, it also reflects the astute business sense of Hanna and Barbera and their ability to recognize trends in the entertainment industry.

After decades of exposure to audiences worldwide, many individual Hanna-Barbera animated characters have become so familiar to audiences that they have to some extent transcended their original program contexts. An obvious example is the Flintstones characters, which have achieved international recognition through television series, specials, theatrical film, and their display on every imaginable consumer product (most licensed by Hanna-Barbera).

MEGAN MULLEN

See also **Cartoons**; *Flintstones*, *The*

**William Denby Hanna.** Born in Melrose, New Mexico, July 14, 1910. Studied journalism and engineering. Married: Violet Wogatzke, 1936; children: David William and Bonnie Jean. Engineer, California, 1931; story editor and assistant to Harman-Ising unit, Warner Brothers, 1933–37; director and story editor (Joseph Barbera was hired a few weeks later), MGM Studios, 1937; director, first animated film *Blue Monday*, 1938; began collaborating with Barbera as directors of animated shorts for Warners, making primarily Tom and Jerry shorts, 1940; co-head, with Barbera, animation department, 1955–57; cofounded Hanna-Barbera Productions, 1957, producing *The Flintstones*, the first-ever animated prime-time show, with half-hour storyline, which aired 1960–66; executive producer, *Once Upon a Forest*, a 20th Century-FOX release, 1993; directed the ABC specials *I Yabba-Dabba Do!* and *Hollyrock-A-Bye Baby*; executive producer, *The Flintstones* movie, 1994; director (his first solo directorial effort since 1941), Cartoon Network's *World Premiere Toons* project of the original cartoon short *Hard Luck Duck*, 1995. Charter member, Boy Scouts of America. Recipient: seven Oscars; eight Emmy Awards; Governor's Award, Television Arts and Sciences; Hollywood Walk of Fame Star, 1976; Golden IKE Award, Pacific Pioneers in Broadcasting, 1983; Pioneer Award, BMI (Broadcast Music Inc.), 1987; Iris Award–NATPE Men of the Year, 1988; Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1988; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Governors Award, 1988; Jackie Coogan

Award for Outstanding Contribution to Youth through Entertainment Youth in Film, 1988; Frederic W. Ziv Award for Outstanding Achievement in Telecommunications, Broadcasting Division, College-Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 1989; named to Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1991. Died in Los Angeles, March 23, 2001.

**Joseph Barbera.** Born in New York City, March 24, 1911. Attended American Institute of Banking. Children from first marriage: Jayne, Neal, and Lynn; married: Sheila. Banker, Irving Trust, New York City; changed career path after he sold drawing to *Collier's* magazine to earn extra money; sketch artist and storyboard writer, Van Buren Studio; animator, Terrytoons; moved from New York to Hollywood, 1937, and worked in animation department, MGM Studios, where he met William Hanna; started working with Hanna on their first collaboration, the cartoon *Puss Gets the Boot*, which led to the Tom and Jerry shorts; continued collaborating with Hanna as directors of animated shorts for Warners; co-head, MGM cartoon department, 1955–57; cofounded Hanna-Barbera Productions, 1957, which began to make cartoons directly for the small screen, launching its first production, *Ruff and Reddy*, 1957, and producing the first-ever animated prime-time family sitcom show, with half-hour storyline, *The Flintstones*, which aired 1960–66; creative consultant for animated feature film *Tom and Jerry: The Movie*; producer and executive producer for the syndicated Hanna-Barbera/FOX Children's Network show *Tom and Jerry Kids*; directed the Flintstones snorkassaurus Dino in two shorts, *Stay Out* and *The Great Egg-Scape*, for the World Premier Toons project (48 7-minute cartoon shorts), which began airing on Cartoon Network in 1995. Recipient: seven Oscars; eight Emmy Awards; Hollywood Walk of Fame Star, 1976; Golden IKE Award, Pacific Pioneers in Broadcasting, 1983; Pioneer Award, BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.), 1987; Iris Award–NATPE Men of the Year, 1988; Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1988; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Governors Award, 1988; Jackie Coogan Award for Outstanding Contribution to Youth through Entertainment Youth in Film, 1988; Frederic W. Ziv Award for Outstanding Achievement in Telecommunications, Broadcasting Division, College-Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 1989; named to Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1991.

**Television Series (selected)**

1957–60	<i>Ruff and Reddy</i>
1958–62	<i>Huckleberry Hound</i>

- 1959–62 *Quick Draw McGraw*  
 1960–66 *The Flintstones*  
 1960–62 *Snagglepuss*  
 1961–63 *The Yogi Bear Show*  
 1961–72 *Top Cat*  
 1962–63 *The Jetsons*  
 1964–65 *Jonny Quest*  
 1967–70 *Fantastic Four*  
 1969–93 *Scooby Doo*  
 1971–72,  
 1975–76 *Pebbles and Bamm-Bamm*  
 1972–75 *The Flintstones Comedy Hour*  
 1973–75 *Yogi's Gang*  
 1973–86 *Superfriends*  
 1978–79 *The New Fantastic Four*  
 1981–90 *The Smurfs* (coproduction with  
 Sepp Int.)  
 1982–84 *Pac-Man*  
 1985 *The Jetsons*  
 1985 *Funtastic World of Hanna Barbera*  
 1986 *Footfur*  
 1986 *Pound Puppies*  
 1986–90 *The Flintstone Kids*  
 1986 *Wildfire*  
 1987 *Snorks*  
 1987 *Sky Commanders*  
 1987 *Popeye and Son*  
 1993 *Captain Planet*  
 1994 *The New Adventures of Captain Planet*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1977 *The Gathering*  
 1979 *The Gathering, Part II*  
 1984 *Going Bananas*  
 1987 *The Stone Fox*

#### Animated Television Specials (selected)

- 1966 *Alice in Wonderland*  
 1967 *Jack and the Beanstalk*  
 1972 *The Last of the Curlews*  
 1974 *The Runaways*  
 1974 *Cyrano*  
 1979 *Caspar's First Christmas*  
 1979 *The Popeye Valentine Special:  
 Sweethearts at Sea*  
 1982 *My Smurfy Valentine*

- 1982 *Yogi Bear's All-Star Comedy  
 Christmas Caper*  
 1985 *Smurfily-Ever-After*  
 1986 *The Flintstones' 25th Anniversary  
 Celebration*  
 1989 *Hagar the Horrible*  
 1993 *I Yabba-Dabba Do!*

#### Television Specials

- 1974 *The Crazy Comedy Concert*  
 1975 *Yabaa-Dabba Doo! The Happy  
 World of Hanna-Barbera*  
 (documentary, with Marshall Flaum)  
 1979 *Yabba-Dabba Doo!* (documentary,  
 with Robert Guenette)

#### Films

*Blue Monday*, 1938; *Anchors Aweigh*, 1945; *Holiday  
 in Mexico*, 1946; *Neptune's Daughter*, 1949; *Dan-  
 gerous when Wet*, 1952; *Invitation to Dance*, 1956;  
*Hey There, It's Yogi Bear*, 1964; *A Man Called  
 Flintstone*, 1966; *Project X*, 1967; *Charlotte's Web*,  
 1973; *Heidi's Song*, 1982; *Gobots: Battle of the  
 Rock Lords*, 1986; *Jetsons: The Movie*, 1990; *The  
 Pagemaster*, 1994; *The Flintstones*, 1994.

#### Publications

Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera, with Ted Sen-  
 nett, *The Art of Hanna-Barbera: Fifty Years of Cre-  
 ativity*, 1989  
 Barbera, Joseph, *My Life in "Toons": From Flatbush  
 to Bedrock in Under a Century*, 1994  
 Hanna, William, *A Cast of Friends*, 1996

#### Further Reading

Cawley, John, and Jim Korkis, *Cartoon Superstars*, Las Vegas,  
 Nevada: Pioneer, 1990  
 Erickson, Hal, *Television Cartoon Shows: An Illustrated Ency-  
 clopedia, 1949–1993*, Jefferson City, North Carolina: Mc-  
 Farland, 1995  
 Gelman, Morrie, "Hanna and Barbera: After 50 Years, Oppo-  
 sites Still Attract," *Variety* (July 12, 1989)  
 Maltin, Leonard, *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American  
 Animated Cartoons*, New York: New American Library,  
 1987

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# Happy Days

U.S. Comedy

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*Happy Days* originated in 1974 as a nostalgic teen-populated situation comedy centered on the life of Richie Cunningham (Ron Howard) and his best friend Potsie (Anson Williams), both students at Jefferson High School in 1950s Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The character of Arthur Fonzarelli, or Fonzie, with whom the show is now most associated, was originally only fifth-billed. But his leather-jacketed, "great with the girls," biker profile unexpectedly captured the imagination of viewers. Fonzie increased the popularity of the show and of the actor who portrayed him, Henry Winkler, and by 1980 "the Fonz" had achieved top billing.

The show presented a saccharine perspective on American youth culture of the 1950s. With rock and roll confined to the jukebox of Al's Diner, the kids worried over first loves, homecoming parades, and the occasional innocuous rumble. The Cunninghams represented the middle-class family values of the era. Minor skirmishes erupted between parents and children, but dinner together was never missed—prepared and served by mother, Marion (Marion Ross), or daughter, Joanie (Erin Moran). There was no inkling of the "generation gap" discourse that was beginning to differentiate youth from their parents in the 1950s, which exploded in the 1960s, and which was still active in the mid-1970s when the show was created.

One episode pits Richie and his friends against Richie's father, Howard (Tom Bosley), by virtue of the latter's support of a business plan that would send a freeway through the teen make-out spot, Inspiration Point. Civil disobedience is suggested by the teenagers' organization of petitions and picket signs to protest the plan. Fonzie even chains himself to a tree at the site. Yet generational harmony is restored when Richie makes Howard realize that he, too, participated in the culture of Inspiration Point when he was young.

Fonzie's lower-class status, his black leather clothes, motorcycle, propensity to get into fights, and apparent sexual exploits with multiple women take advantage of the code of delinquency that social scientists of the period fashioned under the rubric of deviancy studies. But again, Fonzie's representation had none of the hard edge or angst of a James Dean or Marlon Brandon character and was played more for laughs than social critique. Yet his popularity on the show may have tapped into deeper audience identifications.

His image of an impervious, highly testosteroneed male, albeit with modicum of vulnerability and hyperbole as acted by Winkler, was overtly rewarded in the show. It took only a snap of his fingers to have women do his bidding or grown men cower in fear of being pummeled by an out-of-control Fonzarelli. So male-identified was his character that the men's restroom in Al's Diner was referred to as his "office." The Fonz's courting of many women at once meant he was never subject to the kind of romantic involvement and inevitable heartbreak that characterized Richie's relationships with women.

The Fonz's style, "my way" bravado, working-class ethos, and loner sensibility differed from the mainstream Cunninghams and was in direct opposition to the upwardly mobile, college-bound, leadership-quality Richie. Richie, audiences knew, would someday outgrow Milwaukee and leave it behind, but Fonzie had fewer choices and would stay. And perhaps the tension between these two worlds and life-directions kept audiences watching through the show's ten-year run, during which time Richie and his pals go to college, join the army, and even get married.

Despite these contrasts, however, Fonzie and the Cunningham family were never involved in overt conflict. Indeed, by the end of the show, Fonzie had moved into the Cunningham's garage apartment, and though the bemused Howard Cunningham often wondered what was happening "up there," Fonzie was, by this time, a thoroughly domesticated character. His role not only paralleled that of Mr. Cunningham, but those of countless sitcom fathers before him, and he was as likely to dispense careful, family-oriented wisdom as to suggest rebellion of the slightest sort. But this wisdom was always proffered with Winkler's parody-delinquent sense of style, a style that continues to appeal to youngsters in syndicated rerun throughout the world.

*Happy Days* stands as the first of a string of extremely successful spin-off comedies from producer Garry Marshall. *Laverne and Shirley*, *Mork and Mindy*, and other shows helped propel the ABC television network into first place in the ratings battles and enabled Marshall to move from television to feature-film direction.

LISA A. LEWIS



*Happy Days*, Ron Howard, Henry Winkler, Tom Bosley, Erin Gray, Marion Ross, 1974–84.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

See also *Laverne and Shirley*; Marshall, Garry

**Cast**

Richie Cunningham (1974–80)	Ron Howard
Arthur “Fonzie” Fonzarelli	Henry Winkler
Howard Cunningham	Tom Bosley
Marion Cunningham	Marion Ross

Warren “Potsie” Webber (1974–83)	Anson Williams
Ralph Malph (1974–80)	Donny Most
Joanie Cunningham	Erin Moran
Chuck Cunningham (1974)	Gavan O’Herlihy
Chuck Cunningham (1974–75)	Randolph Roberts
Bag Zombroski (1974–75)	Neil J. Schwartz
Marsha Simms (1974–76)	Beatrice Colen
Gloria (1974–75)	Linda Purl
Wendy (1974–75)	Misty Rowe
Trudy (1974–75)	Tita Bell
Arnold (Matsuo Takahashi) (1975–76, 1982–83)	Pat Morita
Charles “Chachi” Arcola (1977–84)	Scott Baio
Lori Beth Allen Cunningham (1977–82)	Lynda Goodfriend
Eugene Belvin (1980–82)	Denis Mandel
Bobby (1980–84)	Harris Kal
Jenny Piccalo (1980–83)	Cathy Silvers
Roger Phillips (1980–84)	Ted McGinley
Flip Phillips (1982–83)	Billy Warlock
K.C. Cunningham (1982–83)	Crystal Bernard
Ashley Pfister (1982–83)	Linda Purl
Heather Pfister (1982–83)	Heather O’Rourke
Officer Kirk	Ed Peck

**Producers**

Garry Marshall, Thomas Miller, Edward Milkis, Lowell Ganz, Brian Levant, Fred Fox, Jr., Tony Marshall, Jerry Paris, William S. Bickley, Gary Menteer, Walter Kempley, Ronny Hallin

**Programming History**

256 episodes  
 ABC  
 January 1974–September 1983 Tuesday 8:00–8:30  
 September 1983–January 1984 Tuesday 8:30–9:00  
 April 1984–May 1984 Tuesday 8:30–9:00  
 June 1984–July 1984 Thursday 8:00–8:30

## Harding, Gilbert (1907–1960)

British Television Personality

Gilbert Harding was an outspoken English panelist, quiz master, and broadcaster, known as “the rudest man in Britain.” A former teacher, police constable,

and journalist, he began working with the BBC’s Monitoring Service in 1939 as a subeditor. In 1944, he went to Canada for three years to work with the BBC’s

Toronto office. On returning to Britain in 1947, he began making appearances as a question master in the popular BBC radio panel game show *Round Britain Quiz*. He also introduced BBC radio's *The Brains Trust* and *Twenty Questions*. From 1951, he became part of the postwar British way of life with his appearances as a grumpy panelist in the highly successful, long-running television panel game show *What's My Line?* Every week he entertained and shocked viewers with his intellect, sharp wit, and rudeness. He often bullied innocent guests if they gave evasive answers or did not speak perfect English. After one clash between Harding and chair Eamonn Andrews, the BBC received more than 175 phone calls and 6 telegrams from viewers complaining about Harding's appalling behavior. For over a decade, *What's My Line?* was an institution on British television, and Harding became a national celebrity.

In 1960 Harding agreed to be interrogated by journalist John Freeman on a live television interview program called *Face to Face*. Harding was reduced to tears in front of millions of viewers when Freeman asked about the recent death of his mother. This was, in fact, a deliberate and tactless attempt to "out" him as gay at a time when homosexuality was still illegal in Britain. Harding admitted nothing, but clearly the interview was a distressing experience for him. He confessed on-screen that "my bad manners and bad temper are quite indefensible...I'm almost unfit to live with...I'm profoundly lonely...I should be very glad to be dead." John Freeman later admitted his lack of sensitivity, but Harding died shortly after the program's transmission. He was 53.

Owen Spencer Thomas described him on BBC Radio London's documentary *Gilbert Harding* in 1979 as "that enigmatic man...[he] was bad tempered and

rude, yet his friends counted him as one of the kindest, and most generous."

STEPHEN BOURNE

**Gilbert (Charles) Harding.** Born in Hereford, Herefordshire, England, June 5, 1907. Attended Cambridge University. Taught English in Canada and France and worked as a police officer in Bradford, West Yorkshire, before settling in Cyprus as a teacher and *Times* correspondent; returned to England in 1936, and joined the BBC monitoring service in 1939, through his skills as a linguist; subsequently worked for BBC as overseas director in Toronto after World War II; host of and regular guest on radio and television panel shows, 1950s. Died November 16, 1960.

#### Television Series

1951–60 *What's My Line?*

#### Radio (as host)

*Round Britain Quiz; The Brains Trust; Twenty Questions.*

#### Publication

*Along My Line* (autobiography), 1953

#### Further Reading

Howes, Keith, *Broadcasting It: An Encyclopaedia of Homosexuality on Film, Radio, and TV in the UK 1923–1993*, London: Cassell, 1993

Medhurst, Andy, "Every Wart and Pustule: Gilbert Harding and Television Stardom," in *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*, edited by John Corner, London: British Film Institute, 1991

Rayburn, Wallace, *Gilbert Harding: A Candid Portrayal*, Brighton, England: Argus and Robertson, 1978

## Harris, Susan

U.S. Writer, Producer

Watching television as she grew up in the 1950s in New York, Susan Harris concluded, as do many viewers, that "anybody could write this." Unlike most who make the claim, however, she persisted in preparing work for television, and by 1969 she found a way to present it to the creator of *Then Came Bronson*, a short-lived NBC series. The show needed a script and

she sold one. In 1970 Garry Marshall brought her to the anthology series *Love, American Style*, for which she wrote ten scripts. There she met Norman Lear and ended up writing scripts for his breakthrough series *All in the Family*, taking her son with her to the story meetings. Following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized abortion in the



Susan Harris.  
Courtesy of Witt-Thomas-Harris Productions

United States, Lear decided to address the highly charged abortion issue in *Maude*, a spin-off from *All in the Family*. Susan Harris wrote the script for "Maude's Abortion," a sensitive and sensible examination of a married couple's choices in light of the court's decision. She received the Humanitas Award for her efforts. The Catholic Church, expectedly, disapproved of the story, not the last time Harris would hear from that institution.

During those years she met producers Paul Junger Witt and Tony Thomas, and with them formed an independent television production company, Witt/Thomas/Harris, in 1976. For the new company Harris created and wrote *Fay*, starring Lee Grant, a series essentially canceled by NBC before it aired. (Grant described the NBC executives as the mad programmers.) Harris's next effort was no less controversial, but far more successful. In 1977 she was the sole writer of the series *Soap*, which was attacked by *Newsweek* magazine, Southern Baptists, and Roman Catholics before any of them had seen it. The butler in *Soap* was spun off in a new series, *Benson*, and Harris then went on to create and write *I'm A Big Girl Now*, *Hail to the Chief*, *The*

*Golden Girls*, *Empty Nest*, and *Good and Evil*. After retiring from television, she commented in 1995 that her favorite series was *Soap*.

Harris recalled that on most of the shows with which she was associated before creating her own company, men were writing about women. *Maude*, she noted, had an all-male staff. By the time she received the Emmy Award for *The Golden Girls* in 1987, Harris had literally changed the face of television comedy. Her female characters were well defined and represented an array of personality types. Working alone, she sparked a revolution as a woman writing about women, while providing insight into male personalities as well. On the cutting edge, she drew the wrath of self-styled moralists even as she used wit, satire, and farce to provide a new kind of television.

Since its founding in 1976, Witt/Thomas/Harris has grown to become the largest independent producer of television comedy in the United States. Married to her partner, Paul Witt, Susan Harris is now active in community projects and an avid art collector.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also All in the Family; Golden Girls, The; Soap; Witt, Paul Junger*

**Susan Harris.** Born in Mount Vernon, New York. Married: Paul Junger Witt. Writer for various television series, from 1969; cofounder, Witt/Thomas/Harris TV production company, 1976; creator, writer, and producer, various TV series from 1977; assistant producer of film *Heart and Souls*, 1993. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1986-87.

#### Television Series

1969-79	<i>Then Came Bronson</i> (writer for selected episodes)
1969-74	<i>Love, American Style</i>
1971-79	<i>All in the Family</i>
1977-81	<i>Soap</i>
1985	<i>Hail to the Chief</i> (also creator and producer)
1985-92	<i>The Golden Girls</i> (also creator and producer)
1988-95	<i>Empty Nest</i>
1991	<i>Good and Evil</i> (also creator and producer)
1991-94	<i>Nurses</i> (also creator and producer)
1992-93	<i>The Golden Palace</i> (also creator and producer)
1993-94	<i>Brighton Belles</i>
1995	<i>Platypus Man</i> (script supervisor)
1998	<i>The Secret Lives of Men</i> (producer)

# Have Gun—Will Travel

U.S. Western

*Have Gun—Will Travel* transplanted the chivalric myth to television's post-Civil War West. The hit CBS series aired from 1957 to 1963 and was centered on Paladin, an educated knight-errant gunslinger who, upon payment of \$1,000, would leave his well-appointed suite in San Francisco's Hotel Carlton to pursue whatever mission of mercy or justice a well-heeled client commissioned. Paladin was played by Richard Boone, an actor who had risen to TV fame in 1954 with his intense portrayal of Dr. Konrad Styner, the host/narrator of the reality-based hospital drama *Medic*.

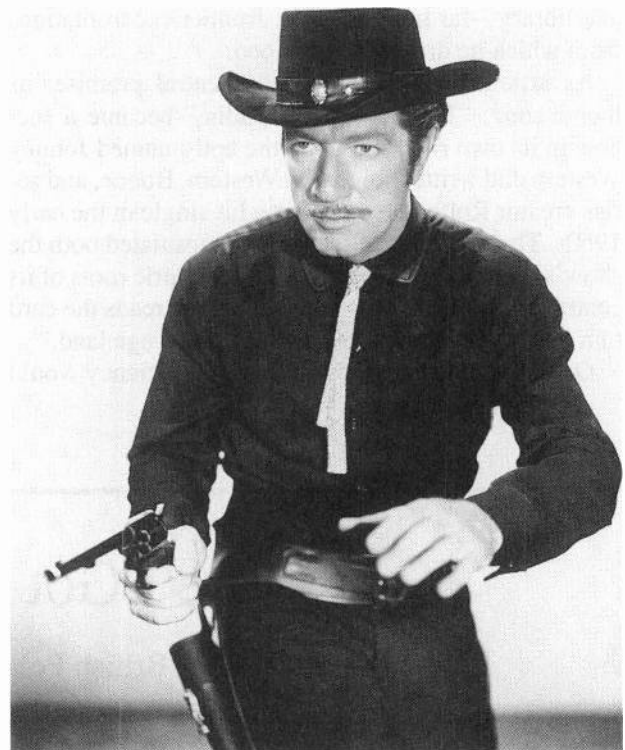
*Have Gun* was created by Sam Rolfe and Herb Meadow, two innovative ex-radio writers who had been tipped that CBS was in the market for a cowboy show with a "different" twist. They thereupon fashioned the first truly adult TV Western—a story centered on a cultured gunfighter who had named himself Paladin after the legendary officers of Charlemagne's medieval court. A gourmet and connoisseur of fine wine, fine women, and Ming Dynasty artifacts, Paladin would quote Keats, Shelley, and Shakespeare with the same self-assurance that he brought to the subjugation of frontier evildoers.

Because the concept revolved entirely around Paladin, its success hinged on the ability of the actor portraying him to, in creator Rolfe's words, "play a high-I.Q. gunslinger and get away with it" (see Edson). When Western movie icon Randolph Scott (the first choice for the role) was unavailable, the producers turned to Richard Boone who, they were overjoyed to find, actually could ride a horse. Boone's intimidating growl, prominent nose, and pock-marked visage physically distanced him from the standard fresh-faced cowboy hero in the same way that his character's cultured background distinguished him from those prairie-tutored rustics. After watching Paladin muse about Pliny and Aristotle, one television critic marveled, "Where else can you see a gunfight and absorb a classical education at the same time?" (see Edson).

The show's identifying graphic was Paladin's calling card—bearing an image of the white knight chess piece and the inscription, "Have Gun—Will Travel... Wire Paladin, San Francisco." The responses that these cards generated were brought to Paladin by the show's only

other continuing character—an Asian hotel minion named Hey Boy (Hey Girl in 1960–61 when actress Lisa Lu temporarily replaced actor Kam Tong who had moved to another series). Without an ensemble cast, the entire weight of the series rested on Richard Boone's shoulders. Paladin's mannerisms and motivations had to be what propelled and interlocked the show's episodes from week to week and season to season.

A descendent of Kentucky frontiersman Daniel Boone, method actor Richard successfully met this challenge both on camera and off, directing several dozen of the later episodes himself. The sophisticated elegance of his character also brought him more loyal fan mail from females than was received by any of his more photogenic cowboy contemporaries. The show's off-beat quality was further enhanced by its practice of



*Have Gun—Will Travel*, Richard Boone, 1957–63.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

using mainly new writers who had not been drilled in conventional saddle-soap story lines. *Have Gun* became an immediate hit, ranking among the top five shows in its first season, and was the consistent number three program from 1958 to 1961. By early 1962, however, Boone was growing weary of the project and felt it had run its course. "Every time you go to the well, it's a little further down," he lamented to a *Newsweek* reporter. "It's sad, like seeing a [Sugar] Ray Robinson after his best days are past. You wish he wouldn't fight any more, and you could just keep your memories."

*Have Gun's* distinctive inversion of the television horse opera provided many memories to keep. In virtually every episode, Paladin would be seen in ruffled shirt, sipping a brandy or smoking a 58¢ cigar before or after embarking on his latest paid-in-advance assignment to the hinterland. Like Captain Marlowe from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, he was always the brooding observer as well as the valiant, if somewhat vexed, participant. Unlike the archetypal Western hero, Paladin wore black rather than white, complete with an ebony hat embellished by a band of silver conches and a holster embossed with a silver chess knight. He sported a villain's mustache and was not enamored of his horse, declining even to justify its existence with an appealing name. And he seemed to relish the adventures of the mind—his chess matches and library—far more than the frontier confrontations from which he drew his livelihood.

As articulator of *Have Gun's* central premise, its theme song, "The Ballad of Paladin," became a success in its own right. Sung by the aptly-named Johnny Western and written jointly by Western, Boone, and series creator Rolfe, the tune was a hit single in the early 1960s. The first lines of the lyric encapsulated both the show's motivating graphic and the chivalric roots of its central character: "*Have gun, will travel* reads the card of a man, A knight without armor in a savage land."

Occasionally, this unshielded self-sufficiency would

cause Paladin (again like Conrad's Marlowe) to turn on his employers when he determined them to be the unjust party. For a nation that, in 1957, was just becoming politically aware of cowering conformity's injustices, this may have been *Have Gun's* most potent, if most understated, element.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also **Boone, Richard; Westerns**

#### Cast

<i>Paladin</i>	Richard Boone
<i>Hey Boy</i> (1957–60; 1961–63)	Kam Tong
<i>Hey Girl</i> (1960–61)	Lisa Lu

#### Producers

Frank Pierson, Don Ingalls, Robert Sparks, Julian Claman

#### Programming History

156 episodes  
CBS  
September 1957–  
September 1963      Saturday 9:30–10:00

#### Further Reading

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- Shulman, Arthur, and Roger Youman, *How Sweet It Was*, New York: Bonanza, 1966
- West, Richard, *Television Westerns: Major and Minor Series, 1946–1978*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1987
- "... Will Travel," *Newsweek* (January 22, 1962)
- Yoggy, Gary A., *Riding the Video Range: The Rise and Fall of the Western on Television*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1994

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## Have I Got News For You

### British Political Quiz Show

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Having made their television breakthrough with Channel 4's improvisational comedy *Whose Line Is It Anyway?*, Hat Trick Productions steamrolled into

mainstream popular culture in Britain with a glut of lucrative and long-running comedic game shows. Without a doubt, the granddaddy of them all is *Have I Got*



*News For You*, a panel quiz show focusing on politics and current events. However, rather than a serious competition, the primary point of the program is to lob as many cutting comments as possible at figures in the news, the guest participants, and even the regular host and panel members.

*Have I Got News for You* was originally hosted by Angus Deayton, with Ian Hislop and Paul Merton acting as regular panel members and opposing "team captains." Hislop and Merton are each joined by a new guest participant every week, thus forming two teams. The guests are generally familiar figures from British popular culture: politicians, musicians, actors, or comedians.

The show is always recorded the night before transmission for maximum retention of essential topicality (older programs are rerun under the title *Have I Got Old News For You*). The format was gleefully lifted from Radio 4's *The News Quiz* and given an anarchic make-over. The show presents a no-holds-barred attack on the powerful, famous and simply famously irritating. The modern-day equivalent of a traditional, grotesque-laden political cartoon, the show delights in the most base and insulting comment. Indeed, the oft-repeated and feebly inapt tag-line of "allegedly!" after the most nearly libelous comments has not only become a by-word for the program, but has seeped into the national consciousness.

Scripted and mocked proceedings were steered through the muddy waters of political intrigue and scandal by the host Angus Deayton until October 2002. He adopted a pseudo-John Cleese loftiness, and his quick comic manner is not averse to the odd, spontaneous gem. During an episode first aired in 1995, when the discussion lightly turned to thoughts of a possible Beatles reunion, Member of Parliament Teresa Gorman commented on the stupidity of the story: "isn't one of them dead?". Looking directly into the camera, Deayton muttered: "You heard it here first!"

The rival team captains are Ian Hislop, editor of the satirical magazine *Private Eye*, and Paul Merton, who had performed impressively on Hat Trick's *Whose Line Is It Anyway?* Merton was given his own Channel 4 sketch show and, for a brief period in 1996, was tempted away from the program entirely.

The rounds are designed to allow for as much mocking of political figures and events as possible; actual score-keeping is a secondary concern. Innuendo, implication, and mockery of Deayton himself were high on the agenda, with the missing-word round having produced such Merton quotable classics as "Queen Beats Spice Girls in Lesbian Mud Bath" and "Any Fool Can Host a TV News Quiz." In later seasons, the

mix has been boosted with the regular feature of "this week's guest publication" which could deal with anything from egg-cup collecting to pig farming.

Politicians and celebrities in the news are not the only objects of ridicule. Perhaps the most hard-hitting (and, in terms of viewing figures, attractive) element of the program is the unbridled lampooning of the guest panelists themselves. The guest players generally divide into two clear camps: the professional wag, and the newsworthy target. Journalists and critics valiantly attempt to beat the regulars in the laughter-generating competition, sometimes with breath-taking and dexterous results. The newsworthy targets, on the other hand, are simply sacrificial lambs, there for the sake of a joke. Almost immediately cut down to size by Merton's charming, lackluster observations or Hislop's less complicated, forthright abuse, they are ritually humiliated throughout the program. Some, such as Princess Diana's beau James Hewitt, survive by charm and polite manners, while others, such as Sir Elton John, avoid humiliation by not turning up at all. However, these guests then risk facing the equally humiliating situation of a hired look-a-like to sit in his place and play the game. The show's most celebrated and lauded guest of this type was the infamous tub of lard which replaced the Labour Member of Parliament Roy Hattersley, who got cold feet at the last minute and cancelled his planned June 4, 1993 appearance on the show. The presence of the tub of lard as a stand-in for Hattersley was explained as logical, because "they possessed the same qualities and were liable to give similar performances." Finally, some guests, such as the late Paula Yates, miss the satirical slant of the show completely, and take it far too seriously (her furious condemnation of Hislop as the "sperm of the devil" has passed into television history).

In 2002, host Angus Deayton became the recipient of the most mockery when it was widely reported that he had engaged in drug use with prostitutes. Hislop and Merton teased Deayton mercilessly on the show, and in October of that year he was asked to resign. The show has been hosted by a different guest each week since Deayton's departure.

ROBERT ROSS

### Programming History

A Hat Trick Production, produced by Harry Thompson.

Two series of 8 episodes per year.

BBC2

September 1990–September 2000

BBC1

October 2000– Friday, 9:30–10:00

### Further Reading

Deayton, Angus, Ian Hislop, Paul Merton, Colin Swash, and Harry Thompson, *Have I Got News For You*, London: BBC Books in association with Hat Trick Productions, 1994

Deayton, Angus, Ian Hislop, Paul Merton, Mark Burton, Robert Fraser Steele, John O'Farrell, and Colin Swash, *Have I Got 1997 For You*, London: BBC Books in association with Hat Trick Productions, 1997

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# Hawaii Five-O

## U.S. Police Drama

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*Hawaii Five-O* ran continuously on the CBS network from September 1968 to April 1980, making it the longest-running police drama in U.S. TV history. The program also ran in 80 countries, and is still often shown on cable and satellite TV services.

*Hawaii Five-O* was shot almost entirely on location in the Hawaiian islands, and it had much of the same cast throughout all twelve seasons. The "Five-O" police squad was headed by the hands-on, no-nonsense police detective Steve McGarrett, played (with never a shirt untucked or a hair out of place) by Jack Lord (born John Joseph Patrick Ryan in Brooklyn, N.Y. in 1920), with James MacArthur as his sidekick Danny ("Danno") Williams. It also featured what were arguably the most compelling opening credits in the history of television.

The opening credits to *Hawaii Five-O* commenced with a perfectly breaking wave from a Hawaiian surfing spot, accompanied by traditional Islander drums and Western drums and cymbals. The soundtrack then introduces multiple brass instruments, as trumpets riff on a high-tempo beat, backed by a string accompaniment that provides a counterpoint to the brass section. Visually, the opening credits offer a series of images that became synonymous with Hawaii for audiences worldwide: surfers catching 20-foot waves, Islander men vigorously paddling a straw canoe, dancing women with floral leis around their necks and rapidly gyrating hips, and Steve McGarrett (Jack Lord) atop a beachside high-rise apartment balcony.

The musical score for the opening credits was composed by Morton Stevens, who also composed much of the incidental music for the early series. Stevens also composed the theme music for TV series such as *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.* (1964), *Police Woman* (1977), *Knight Rider* (1982), and *Matlock* (1986). But none of these were as evocative as the *Hawaii Five-O* theme music, covered by artists as diverse as comedian

Bill Murray (as Nick the Lounge Singer on *Staturday Night Live* in 1977), to the Australian punk band Radio Birdman, whose 1978 single "Aloha Steve and Danno" was a paean to the program, marked by a remarkable section where the band do a guitar-based rendition of the theme music.

The Radio Birdman song ends with repetition of the line "Book him Danno. Murder one," which is apt, because after the opening credits, it is this closing line that most people remember about the program. In terms of classical narrative theory (Kozloff 1992), *Hawaii Five-O* had an extremely regular and predictable narrative structure. The first third of the program established the presence of criminality on the island, frequently arising from someone arriving in Hawaii from elsewhere, such as the U.S. mainland or a communist state. The second third of the program would involve McGarrett establishing the presence of criminality on the island, and developing a strategy (usually unsuccessful) to stake out the criminals, such as the ever-popular A.P.B. (All Points Bulletin). In the final third of the program, tragedy would often ensue for gullible locals who got caught up in the criminals' schemes, as Steve and Danno pursued and apprehended the criminals, leading to the famous final line "Book him Danno. Murder one."

Although *Hawaii Five-O* was produced throughout the 1970s, it never adopted the character-driven style of police dramas such as *Hill Street Blues* that emerged shortly after. Its focus was essentially plot-driven rather than character-driven. The only thing that the audience needed to know about Steve McGarrett was that he is responsible for enforcing the law in Hawaii. If one were to use the language of Lacanian psychoanalysis, McGarrett is the law in Hawaii, which is perhaps why criminality is so often presented on *Hawaii Five-O* as arriving from outside the islands.

*Hawaii Five-O* was a highly progressive program

in the late 1960s in terms of its commitment to racial and ethnic diversity. It had characters of Hawaiian Islander background as members of the police force, such as Gilbert Kauhi (Zulu) who played Kono, and it also acknowledged Hawaii's large Chinese community, with characters such as Detective Chin Ho, played by actor Kam Fong. However, its racial and ethnic diversity was not matched by any commitment to gender equality: after a brief period in the first series where there was a female detective, the detectives of *Hawaii Five-O* remained resolutely male.

After the final episode of *Hawaii Five-O* screened on U.S. television on April 5, 1980, Jack Lord remained in Hawaii, which had become his adopted home, and which had certainly adopted him and the program. When he died on January 22, 1998, Stanley Fong, President of the Hawaiian Chamber of Commerce, observed that "It was the original TV show that brought Hawaii to the fore of people who wanted to visit. . . . It was a marketing bonanza for us" (quoted in Adams 1998). *Hawaii Five-O's* ongoing significance lies in the unique way in which it packaged Hawaii as a site of cultural consumption for global audiences, its regularized narrative structure, and its compelling opening credits and theme music.

TERRY FLEW

See also *Hill Street Blues*; **Police Programs**

#### Cast

Steve McGarrett	Jack Lord
Danny ("Danno") Williams	James MacArthur
Kono Kalakaua	Zulu (Gilbert Kauhi)
Chin Ho Kelly	Kam Fong

The Governor  
The Attorney-General  
Ben Kokua  
Edward (Duke) Lukela  
Wo Fat

Richard Denning  
Morgan White  
Al Harrington  
Herman Wedemeyer  
Khigh Dheigh

#### Producers

Franklin Barton, Bill Finnegan, Leonard Freeman, Joseph Gantman, Douglas Green, Stanley Kallis, Leonard Kaufman, Philip Leacock, Sidney Marshall, Richard Newton, William Phillips, Bob Sweeney.

#### Programming History

CBS	
September–December 1968	Thursday 8:00–9:00
December 1968–September 1971	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
September 1971–September 1974	Tuesday 8:30–9:30
September 1974–September 1975	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
December 1975–November 1979	Thursday 9:00–10:00
December 1979–January 1980	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
March–April 1980	Saturday 9:00–10:00

#### Further Reading

Adams, Wanda, "Show 'Brought Hawaii to the Fore,'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 22, 1998  
Kozloff, Sarah, "Narrative Theory and Television," in *Channels of Television, Reassembled*, edited by Robert C. Allen, London: Routledge, 1992

## Hazel

### U.S. Situation Comedy

*Hazel*, starring Shirley Booth as Hazel Burke, the live-in housekeeper of the Baxter family, premiered on NBC in 1961. For the program's first four seasons, Hazel worked for lawyer George Baxter, his wife Dorothy, and their son Harold. In the fifth and final season, Hazel began to work for George's brother and his family (George and Dorothy were "transferred" to

the Middle East for George's work), taking Harold with her from one household to another and from NBC to CBS.

Critics generally found *Hazel* mildly amusing, though they complained that it was often contrived and repetitive. Despite the mixed reviews, the program stayed in the top 25 for the first 3 years of its 5-year



*Hazel*, Don DeFore, Whitney Blake, Shirley Booth, 1961–65; 'Hazel and the Stockholder's Meeting.'  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

run. It ranked number 4 in 1961–62; number 15 in 1962–63; and number 22 in 1963–64. It also held some value with at least a few network producers, since after NBC dropped the show, CBS quickly picked it up. Perhaps CBS was relying too much on the capabilities of stage actress Booth. Nevertheless, *Hazel* held the attention of the American public.

Based upon the popular *Saturday Evening Post* cartoon strip, *Hazel* presents stories of Hazel's humorous involvement in both the professional and household business of George Baxter. In the television version, Hazel becomes the figure who, though seemingly innocuous, ultimately holds the household together: the servant, though in a marginalized position, is at the same time central to marking the well-being of the nuclear family. George, the father figure, competes with Hazel, who often ending up being "right." Dorothy, described by one critic as "dressing like and striking the poses of a high fashion model," follows in the tradition of glamorous TV moms living in homes where the housework often gets done by the maid. Also keeping with television tradition is Harold, who plays the part of the "all-American" kid. Completing this family

portrait is Hazel. She is characterized as "meddling" and as causing "misadventures" in her attempts to run the household, but ultimately it is her job to keep order, both literal and ideological, in the house.

Following in the footsteps of *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*, *Hazel* also proffers an American tale of the suburban family. Furthermore, in the decade that saw more American families bring televisions into their homes than any other, perhaps *Hazel* brought a sense of stability and appeasement, for this was also a decade of great civil and women's rights advancements.

Throughout television history (as well as the history of film), the representation of the American family is often made "complete" by the presence of the family housekeeper figure. Generally, the "American" family is specifically white American, although a few exceptions have existed, such as *The Jeffersons* and *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, in which African-American families employ an African-American maid and an African-American butler, respectively. For the most part, however, "family" has been portrayed as white and therefore the ideology of the family has also been conceived in terms of dominant, white social values. The presence of a household servant, therefore, serves to reinforce the status (i.e., both economic and racial) of the family within society.

The significance of *Hazel*, then, is that it stands in a long history of television programs focused on American families and including their household servants. Beulah in *Beulah*, Mrs. Livingston in *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, Hop Sing in *Bonanza*, Florida in *Maude*, Alice in *The Brady Bunch*, Nell in *Gimme a Break*, Mr. Belvedere in *Mr. Belvedere*, Dora in *I Married Dora*, and Tony in *Who's the Boss?* are all characters who occupy the servant's role. Differences in connotation among the various television servants serves to mark the status of the family for whom they work. More specifically, there are differences between a British butler and an Oriental houseboy, between a Euro-American nanny and a woman of color working as a domestic, marking subtle lines of hierarchy within the family and, ultimately, within the larger community. *Hazel* is yet another program in which the household servant demarcates the different roles played within the family according to such factors as gender, age, race, and class.

A popular program of the 1990s, *The Nanny* continued this tradition. In this series a Jewish-American woman worked for a wealthy British man and his three children living in New York City. Unlike either maids of color or white maids older than their employers, this household servant was portrayed as fashionable, attractive (though still a bit loud), and more significantly,

as a potential mate for her employer (indeed, the nanny and her employer were married and had a child by the series finale). It will be interesting to observe and analyze the continuing representation of servants in American television, because, although shifting in form and style, the servant continues to mark the status of a house and the roles of the people working and living under its roof.

LAHN S. KIM

#### Cast

Hazel Burke	Shirley Booth
George Baxter (1961–65)	Don DeFore
Dorothy Baxter (1961–65)	Whitney Blake
Rosie	Maudie Prickett
Harvey Griffin	Howard Smith
Harold Baxter	Bobby Buntrock
Harriet Johnson (1961–65)	Norma Varden
Herbert Johnson (1961–65)	Donald Foster
Deidre Thompson (1961–65)	Cathy Lewis
Harry Thompson (1961–65)	Robert P. Lieb
Mona Williams (1965–66)	Mala Powers
Millie Ballard (1965–66)	Ann Jillian

Steve Baxter (1965–66)	Ray Fulmer
Barbara Baxter (1965–66)	Lynn Borden
Susie Baxter (1965–66)	Julia Benjamin

#### Producers

Harry Ackerman, James Fonda

#### Programming History

154 episodes

NBC

September 1961–July 1964 Thursday 9:30–10:00

September 1964–September 1965 Thursday 9:30–10:00

CBS

September 1965–September 1966 Monday 9:30–10:00

#### Further Reading

Brooks, Tim. and Earle Marsh, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, 1946–Present*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1992  
 “It’s Good-By, Mr. B . . . As Hazel Adopts a New Family,” *TV Guide* (August 14, 1965)

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**HBO.** See Home Box Office

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**HDTV.** See High-Definition Television

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## Heartbreak High

Australian Drama Series

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An Australian drama series, *Heartbreak High* aired on the Ten Network from 1994 to 1995 and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) from 1997 to 1999.

It also appeared on television systems in more than 30 other countries, including Britain, France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, South Africa, Indonesia,

## Heartbreak High

and Israel. The series was particularly successful in Europe, where it gained a loyal fan base.

*Heartbreak High* was notable for breaking with the established formula for successful Australian audiovisual exports. Unlike feature films such as *The Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee*, or television dramas such as *A Country Practice* and *Neighbours*, the series did not employ the themes of a perceived Australian innocence and harmonious community. It emerged from an early 1990s shift in Australian film and television toward the presentation of a grittier, urban, multicultural picture of contemporary Australian life.

The series was a television spin-off of the feature film *The Heartbreak Kid* (1993) by the same production company (Ben Gannon Productions). Like *The Heartbreak Kid*, *Heartbreak High* was set in an ethnically diverse inner-city high school and explored the pleasures and problems of young people growing up in such an environment. It was the first Australian television drama to make a central feature of multiculturalism and so extend to television a trend developed in films such as *Death in Brunswick*, *The Big Steal*, and *Strictly Ballroom*, as well as *The Heartbreak Kid*.

Set in Hartley High, a fictional school in suburban Sydney, *Heartbreak High* interwove narratives based on teen romance, conflicts of young people with teachers and parents, and social problems such as racism, teenage pregnancy, alcohol abuse, gay bashing, and abortion. A key character in early episodes was Nick (Alex Dimitriades), an impulsive teenage "heartthrob" from a Greek family background. Nick was a central romantic interest but also faced problems such as grief over the loss of his mother in a car accident.

Other major characters were Jodie (Abi Tucker), who came from a broken home but was a talented singer with ambitions to develop a career in the music industry; Rivers (Scott Major), a disruptive, anti-authority figure among the students; Con (Salvatore Coco), a "joker" who provided a comic focus; Steve (Corey Page), who found that he had been adopted and set out to find his birth mother; and Danielle (Emma Roche) who had an affair with Nick after he broke up from a longer relationship with Jodie. Among the teachers, the key characters were Yola Futoush (Doris Younane), the school counselor, who became closely involved with her students as she helped them overcome problems; and Bill Southgate (Tony Martin), a conservative authoritarian figure against whom the students rebelled. In the second series, these teachers were joined by Vic (Ernie Dingo), an Aboriginal teacher in media studies. Popular with the students, he taught them about more than the content of the official curriculum.

Stylistically, *Heartbreak High* was a fast-paced, realist drama that employed naturalistic dialogue. While teenage romance was an important narrative element,

it was structured into rapid sequences and frequently intercut with "harder" content that maintained a strong sense of immediacy and action. Similarly, the series' emphasis on contemporaneity and relevance to a youth audience was rarely openly stated or didactic. Its topicality rested more on capturing the texture of life of young people than a fictionalization of issues taken directly from news or current affairs.

In its rhythm and editing techniques, *Heartbreak High* took its reference from the American-produced action or situation comedy genres, while at the same time taking on more "serious" content generally associated with the slower-paced genres of British or more traditional Australian television drama. *Heartbreak High* might therefore be seen as a "hybrid" televisual product that achieved commercial success while presenting a picture of an urban, multicultural Australia that had not previously had widespread international exposure.

Although successful internationally, *Heartbreak High* always struggled to gain solid backing from Australian broadcasters. A patchy programming history made it difficult to build consistent ratings. Production of the program ceased in 1998 after a decision by the ABC not to commit to further investment.

MARK GIBSON

*See also Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Dingo, Ernie*

### Cast

Ruby	Jan Adele
Graham	Hugh Baldwin
Lucy	Alexandra Brunning
Hilary Scheppers	Tina Bursill
Effie	Despina Caldis
Con	Salvatore Coco
Anita Scheppers	Lara Cox
Nick	Alex Dimitriades
Charlie Byrd	Sebastian Goldspink
Ronnie Brooks	Deni Gordon
Helen	Barbara Gouskos
Chaka	Isabella Gutierrez
Rose	Katherine Halliday
Ryan Scheppers	Rel Hunt
Roberto	Ivor Kants
George	Nick Lathouris
Mai Hem	Nina Liu
Rivers	Scott Major
Southgate	Tony Martin
Sarah Lambert	Christina Milano
Drazic	Callan Mulvey
Jack	Tai Nguyen
Katerina	Ada Nicademou
Deloraine	Stephen O'Rourke
Steve	Corey Page

Matt	Vince Poletto
Danielle	Emma Roche
Les Bailey	Peter Sumner
Stella	Peta Toppino
Jodie	Abi Tucker
Irini	Elly Varrenti
Sam	Kym Wilson
Yola	Doris Younane
Vic	Ernie Dingo

**Producers**

Ben Gannon, Michael Jenkins

**Programming History**

Ten Network	
February 1994–May 1994	Sunday 6:30–7:30
June 1994–November 1994	Wednesday 7:30–8:30
May 1995–November 1995	Sunday 5:30–6:30
Australian Broadcasting Corporation	
February 1997–November 1999	Monday 6:00–7:00

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## Hemsley, Sherman (1938– )

U.S. Actor

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African-American actor Sherman Hemsley is recognized mainly for his portrayal of the feisty George Jefferson character in the hit television show *The Jeffersons*, a program in which he starred for ten years. Earlier in his life, Hemsley aspired to be an actor, but he was too level-headed to quit his job as a postal worker to pursue his craft exclusively. Holding on to his job, he managed to maintain affiliations with local dramatic organizations, appearing in various children's theater productions. Eventually, Hemsley obtained a transfer to a position with the post office in New York. Here, he became a member of the famed Negro Ensemble Company. He began taking acting lessons, but became discouraged at his lack of progress. Then, in 1969, he earned the plum role of Gitlow in the highly successful musical version of *Purlie Victorious*.

In 1973 Hemsley was Cat in the successful stage play *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope*. It was during the run of this show that he was "discovered" by independent producer Norman Lear. Lear, along with his collaborator Bud Yorkin, produced a string of hit television shows during the 1970s, including *Maude*, *Good Times*, and the decade's most notable U.S. sitcom, *All in the Family*.

In 1973 Lear cast Hemsley to play the part of Archie Bunker's upwardly mobile and militantly black neighbor, George Jefferson, in the series *All in the Family*. The response to this character was so favorable that two years later, Hemsley was cast in the spin-off series *The Jeffersons*. That series became a top-rated television program, which aired in prime time for ten years.

The program focused on the lives of a successful African-American couple, George and Louise Jefferson. A thriving businessman, a millionaire, and the owner of seven dry-cleaning stores, George lived with Louise in a ritzy penthouse apartment on Manhattan's fashionable and moneyed East Side.

Along with *Good Times* and *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons* was one of three highly successful 1970s television sitcoms to star African Americans at the head of mostly black casts—the first such series since *Amos 'n' Andy* in the 1950s. Conceptualized as a black equivalent of Archie Bunker, George was intolerant, rude, and stubborn; a bigot, he referred to white people as "honkies."

Hemsley as a person is quite unlike the high-strung characters he popularized on television. He is a private individual who has managed, even with success, to keep his life away from the glare of public scrutiny. During the height of *The Jeffersons*' popularity, he spoke of his sudden fame, simply stating that he was "just getting paid for what I did for free in Philadelphia."

When *The Jeffersons* was canceled in 1985, Hemsley went on to star in the 1986 sitcom *Amen*. In typical Hemsley style, he portrayed a feisty Philadelphia church deacon, Ernest Frye. Like George Jefferson, the Frye character was loud, brash, and conceited. *Amen* lasted five years on prime-time television, and Hemsley continues to be active as a performer. He was the lead in the short-lived sitcom *Goode Behavior* in 1996 and has appeared as an occasional character or guest in several television programs, including the long-



Sherman Hemsley.  
Photo courtesy of Sherman Hemsley

running *Family Matters*. He has also acted in a number of films and been a commercial spokesman for Old Navy clothing stores and the Denny's restaurant chain, appearing in these ads as a George Jefferson-like character opposite the actress who portrayed George's wife, Louise (Isabel Sanford).

Although known mostly for his television work, Hemsley's acting credits include the motion picture *Love at First Bite* (1979) and the made-for-TV version of *Purlie* (1981). Years after its cancellation, *The Jeffersons* still enjoys success in syndication.

PAMALA S. DEANE

See also *All in the Family*; *Amen*; *Jeffersons*, *The*

**Sherman Hemsley.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 1, 1938. Educated at the Philadelphia Academy of Dramatic Arts; studied with Lloyd Richards in New York. Served in the U.S. Air Force. Worked eight years for the U.S. Postal Service; active in the advanced workshop Negro Ensemble Company, New York City; appeared in various stage productions; starred in local television comedy series *Black Book*, Philadelphia; Broadway debut in *Purlie*, 1970; star, several television series, and motion pictures, since 1979; owner, Love Is, Inc., production company. Recipient: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Image Award, 1976 and 1987; Golden Globe Award.

#### Television Series

1973–75     *All in the Family*  
1975–85     *The Jeffersons*  
1986–91     *Amen*  
1991–94     *Dinosaurs* (voice)  
1996         *Goode Behavior*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1981         *Purlie*  
1985         *Alice in Wonderland*  
2000         *Up, Up, and Away!*

#### Films

*Love at First Bite*, 1979; *Stewardess School*, 1987; *Ghost Fever*, 1987; *Mr. Nanny*, 1993; *Home of Angels*, 1994; *The Miserly Brothers*, 1995; *Sprung*, 1997; *Senseless*, 1998; *Screwed*, 2000.

#### Stage (selected)

*The People vs. Ranchman*, 1968; *Alice and Wonderland*, 1969; *Purlie Victorious*, 1970; *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope*, 1973; *I'm not Rappaport*, 1987.

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## Henning, Paul (1911– )

U.S. Producer

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Throughout the 1960s, Paul Henning was the creative mastermind behind three of the most successful sitcoms then on television—*The Beverly Hillbillies*

(1962), *Petticoat Junction* (1963), and *Green Acres* (1965)—all of which shared narrative characteristics, and the first of which was perhaps the most successful



network series on U.S. television. A perpetual Midwesterner who spent 30 years in Hollywood in both radio and television, Henning's basic country mouse/city mouse formula never veered far from his rural roots. Once those roots were deemed passé by the demographics avatars, his exile from television was both sudden and emphatic.

When a radio spec script Henning had written on a whim was accepted by *Fibber McGee and Molly*, he began a 15-year career as a series staff writer, culminating with *Burns and Allen* on radio and then television, where he became a protégé of future *Tonight Show* director Fred de Cordova. On TV Henning launched both *The Bob Cummings Show* (1955–59, all three networks), in which a pre-*Dobie Gillis* Dwayne Hickman assimilates the Southern California decadence of his starlet-addled bachelor uncle through a filter of Midwestern verities.

But he made both his name and fortune with *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71, CBS). Equal parts John Steinbeck and absurdism, the nouveau-riche-out-of-water Clampetts populated the top-rated program of their premier season, remained in the top ten throughout the rest of the decade, and had regular weekly episode ratings that rivaled those of Super Bowls.

The Clampett clan initially hailed from an indeterminate backwoods locale somewhere along (in author David Marc's words) "the fertile crescent that stretches from Hooterville to Pixley and represents Henning's sitcomic Yoknapatawpha." As explained in the opening montage and theme song, Lincolnesque patriarch Jed (Buddy Ebsen) inadvertently stumbles onto an oil fortune languishing just beneath his worthless tract of scrub oak and brambles and pursues his destiny westward to swank Beverly Hills, California, in the interest of finding suitable escorts for daughter Elly May (Donna Douglas) and employment prospects for wayward nephew Jethro (Max Baer, Jr.). In tow (in a sight gag from *The Grapes of Wrath*, no less) is Granny (Irene Ryan), carried out to the truck at the last second in her favorite rocker. In this way, the Clampetts inadvertently echoed the fascination of a rural population newly wired for television with the purveyors of TV's content—at least partially accounting for their own corresponding popularity.

Meanwhile, Henning quickly moved to fashion several spin-offs with characters in common. *Petticoat Junction* (1963–70, CBS) featured long-time Henning player Bea Benaderet as Kate Bradley, proprietress of the Shady Grove Hotel, a homey inn situated along a railroad spur between Hooterville and Pixley, with her three growing daughters providing ample latitude for farmer's daughter jokes. The show was canceled in 1970 following Benaderet's death.

Then, into this homespun idyll, Henning dropped *Green Acres* (1965–71, CBS), a flat-out assault on



Paul Henning.  
Photo courtesy of Paul Henning

Cartesian logic, Newtonian physics, and Harvard-centric positivism. Lawyer Oliver Wendell Douglas (Eddie Albert) and his socialite wife Lisa (Eva Gabor) come to Hooterville in search of the greening of America and a lofty Jeffersonian idealism. What they discover instead is a virtual parallel universe of unfettered surrealism, rife with gifted pigs, square chicken eggs, and biogenetic hotcakes—a universe that Lisa intuits immediately, but by which Oliver is constantly bewildered.

In their later stages, these three worlds were increasingly interwoven, so that by the time of the holiday episodes where the arriviste Clampetts return to Hooterville to visit kith and kin, including the laconic Bradleys, and intersect with the proto-revisionist Douglasses—using Sam Drucker's General Store as their narrative spindle—television had perhaps reached its self-reflexive pinnacle.

Despite high ratings, both *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *Green Acres* were canceled in 1971 by CBS president James Aubrey in the same purge that claimed *Mayberry RFD* and shows starring Jackie Gleason and Red Skelton (which aired for a final season on NBC). The push to cultivate a consumer base of advertising-friendly 18- to 34-year-olds was the same one that ushered in *M\*A\*S\*H*, *All in the Family*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and, ostensibly, political conscience.

Yet, viewed in retrospect, the canceled shows perhaps perfectly mirrored the times. A pervasive argument against television has always been that its hermetic nature removes it from a social context: idealized heroes or families and their better-mousetrap worlds seem all but impervious to the greater ills of the day. Nowhere is this more evident or egregious (so the argument goes) than in 1960s sitcoms, where a decade that was a watershed in politics and society elicited programming that seemed downright extraordinary in its mindlessness. But who better than garrulous nags, crusty aliens, maternal jalopies, suburban witches, subservient genies, gay Marines, or bungling Nazis to dramatize the rend in the social fabric, or typify the contradictions of the age? If so, no one was more adept at manipulating this conceit, nor pushed the envelope of casual surrealism further, than Henning.

PAUL CULLUM

See also *Beverly Hillbillies*, *The*; *Green Acres*

**Paul Henning.** Born in Independence, Missouri, September 16, 1911. Graduated Kansas City School of Law, 1932. Married: Ruth Margaret Barth, 1939; children: Carol Alice, Linda Kay, Paul Anthony. Began career as staff member at radio station KMBC Kansas City, 1933–37; writer and co-writer of radio programs 1937–50; writer-producer of television programs 1950–71; writer of feature films, 1961–88.

#### Television

1950–58 *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show* (writer)

1952 *The Dennis Day Show* (writer)  
1953 *The Ray Bolger Show* (writer)  
1955–59 *The Bob Cummings Show* (writer and producer)  
1962–71 *The Beverly Hillbillies* (creator, writer, and producer)  
1963–70 *Petticoat Junction* (creator and producer)  
1965–71 *Green Acres* (executive producer)

#### Films (writer)

*Lover Come Back*, 1961; *Bedtime Story*, 1962; *Dirty Rotten Scoundrels* (co-writer), 1988.

#### Radio

*Fibber McGee and Molly* (writer), 1937–39; *The Joe E. Brown Show*, 1939; *The Rudy Vallee Show*, 1940–51; *The Burns and Allen Show* (writer).

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## Hennock, Frieda Barkin (1904–1960)

U.S. Attorney, Media Regulator

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Frieda Barkin Hennock served as a Federal Communications Commissioner from 1948 to 1955. Appointed by President Harry S Truman, she was the first woman to serve as a commissioner on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). In this position she was instrumental in securing the reservation of channels for noncommercial television stations, an FCC decision that enabled the development of the system of public broadcasting that exists in the United States today.

Before her nomination to serve on the FCC, Hennock had been practicing law in New York City. She had, as she told the Senate Committee during her confirmation hearings, no experience in broadcasting other than using radio to raise money for the political campaigns of Franklin Roosevelt and other Democratic candidates. After her confirmation in 1948, she quickly began to study the technical questions and policy issues facing the FCC, issues that would shape the

future of the broadcast industry. Several systems for broadcasting color television were vying for FCC approval. Plans to use UHF frequencies were under discussion. Interference was being reported between signals from the 16 television stations already on the air. It was clear that more formal allocation plans were needed to ensure that all parts of the country would have access to television broadcasts. To allow time to study these issues and others, the FCC announced a freeze on awarding television licenses.

In addition to the technical issues she faced as a commissioner, Hennock became convinced that television had the power to serve as an important educational tool. As the proposed table of television channel assignments was developed during the freeze, however, there were no assignments reserved for educational stations. Hennock was determined that the opportunity to use television for educating the audience not be lost. She wrote a strong dissenting opinion and became an outspoken advocate for channel set-asides.

Anticipating that commercial interests would quickly file for all the available television licenses, Hennock understood the need to alert the public. She consulted with members of the Institute for Education by Radio and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. She accepted invitations to speak to many civic groups and wrote articles for *The Saturday Review of Literature* and other publications. After she appeared on radio and television programs to discuss the importance of using television for educational purposes, listeners and readers responded with a flood of letters supporting her position. Educators formed the Joint Committee on Education Television and prepared to testify at the FCC hearings.

Hearings on the television allocation plan were held in the fall of 1950. Commercial broadcasters testified that reservations for noncommercial stations were not needed because the commercial programs served the educational needs of the audience. Educators produced the results of studies monitoring those programs. The studies found few programs that could be considered educational except in superficial ways.

Hennock was able to use these monitoring studies and other evidence presented during the hearings to build a strong case for channel reservations. When the FCC published its notice of rule-making in March 1951, it included channel reservations for education. Still, it was not clear that these were to be permanent. Hennock wrote a separate opinion urging that reservations for noncommercial stations should be permanent.

In June 1951 President Truman nominated Hennock for a federal judgeship in New York. The nomination proved to be controversial. In spite of strong support from her fellow FCC commissioners and several bar



Frieda B. Hennock.

*Photo courtesy of Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University*

associations, confirmation by the Senate seemed unlikely and Hennock asked that her name be withdrawn.

Back at the FCC, Hennock renewed her commitment to educational television. When the FCC issued the Sixth Report and Order in April 1952, the allocation plan included 242 specific channel reservations for noncommercial stations. Hennock encouraged universities and communities to apply for these non-commercial licenses. She provided guidance on procedural matters, suggested ways to gain the support of community leaders and organizations, and enlisted the cooperation of corporations in providing grants to help these new stations buy equipment. Her belief in educational broadcasting was being realized. In June 1953 the first educational television station began to broadcast. KUHT-TV in Houston, Texas, invited Hennock to speak during its inaugural program. By mid-1955, 12 educational stations were on the air and more

than 50 applications for noncommercial licenses had been filed.

Hennock was not surprised when her term as FCC commissioner was not renewed. Many of the positions she had taken were unpopular with powerful broadcasters. An outspoken critic of the practices of commercial networks, she criticized violence in television programming and warned about the growth of monopolies in the broadcast industry. She wrote many dissenting opinions questioning FCC actions. However, as her assistant Stanley Neustadt told oral historian Jim Robertson, when she took a position on an issue, "she was ultimately—sometimes long after she left the Commission—ultimately shown to be right." At the end of her term as FCC commissioner, Hennock returned to private life and private law practice.

LUCY A. LIGGETT

**See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; Educational Television; National Education Television Center**

**Frieda Barkin Hennock.** Born in Kovel, Poland, December 27, 1904. Educated at Brooklyn Law School, LL.B. 1924. Self-employed criminal lawyer, 1926–27; corporate lawyer, law firm of Silver and Hennock, 1927–34; independent lawyer and assistant counsel of the New York State Mortgage Commission, 1935–39; lawyer for Choate, Mitchell, and Eli, 1941–48; served as first woman member of the Federal Communica-

tions Commission, 1948–55; private practitioner in Washington, D.C., 1955–60. Died June 20, 1960.

### Publications

- "The Free Air Waves: An Administrative Dilemma," *Women Lawyers Journal* (Fall 1950)  
"TV 'Conservation'," *The Saturday Review of Literature* (December 9, 1950)  
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"Educational Opportunities in Television," *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (March 15, 1951)  
"Television and Teaching," *Educational Outlook* (May 1951)

### Further Reading

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*Public Television's Roots Oral History Project*, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982  
Robertson, Jim, *Televisionaries*, Charlotte Harbor, Florida: Tabby House, 1993

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## Henry, Lenny (1958– )

British Comedian, Actor

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In 1976, at the age of sixteen, Lenny Henry won the British television talent show *New Faces*, as a comic and impressionist, and he became one of Britain's best-known personalities. The transitions in his career are indicative both of his personal development and of the changing cultural climate in Britain since his emergence. Henry began with stand-up comedy which often included racist jokes and impressions. Managed by Robert Luff, he entered the British variety circuit, touring with *The Black and White Minstrel Show* and the comedy duo *Cannon and Ball*. Although this was good

show-business experience, the press tended to focus more on the "novelty value" of Henry's blackness rather than on his actual stage performances.

In 1976, Henry was offered a part in *The Fosters* (LWT 1976–77), British television's first black television situation comedy. Working alongside established black actors such as Norman Beaton, Carmen Munroe, and Isabelle Lucas, Henry learned more about acting and the dynamics of television. When Henry began to make regular appearances on the Saturday morning children's program *Tiswas* and its adult equivalent

*OTT (Over the Top)*, his anarchic, irreverent style of comedy gained popularity. Henry was recruited by BBC producer Paul Jackson for a prime-time sketch show *Three of a Kind* (1981–83), in which he appeared with Tracey Ullman and David Copperfield.

By the 1980s, Henry's gift for creating comic characters and witty vignettes of West Indian life in Britain was firmly established. The nuances of his comedy were gradually changing from straight jokes and blatant impressions to more farcical and chaotic comedy. This was partly influenced by other young rising comics of the time such as Alexei Sayle, Adrian Edmondson, Rik Mayall, and Dawn French. At this time, however, Henry was best known for his caricatures such as the African television host Josh Arlog, the cartoonish Rastafarian Algernon, and black politician Fred Dread, all with widely-imitated catch phrases. Many of Henry's character creations caused controversy and raised the question of whether Henry, as a black comedian, was actually reinforcing already-existing stereotypes of black people. Henry admits that some of the material he was doing at the time "was very self-deprecating, very self-detrimental."

Henry created a myriad of familiar caricatures but the most popular one earned him his own series, *The Lenny Henry Show* (BBCTV 1984–88). Set in a pirate radio station, the series featured Delbert Wilkins, a Brixton wide-boy, a character created at the same time as the real-life Brixton riots. Henry was influenced by comedians from the United States such as Richard Pryor, Steve Martin, and Bill Cosby, and became the first British comedian to make a live stand-up comic film, *Lenny Henry Live and Unleashed* (1989), in the tradition of U.S. comics such as Robin Williams and Eddie Murphy. His live tours are renowned for being chaotic, noisy, and daring, but also for relying on the same collective of characters such as the extravagant soul singer Theophilus P. Wildebeeste and the old West Indian man Grandpa Deakus.

By the late 1980s, Lenny Henry began to broaden his repertoire even further. He became increasingly interested in "serious" acting roles and starred in the BBC's Screen Two production *Coast to Coast*. In 1990, he was signed by Disney on a three-film deal, the first of which was *True Identity* (1991), a comic-drama about mistaken identity. Later that year, Henry starred in *Alive and Kicking*, a BBC drama in which he played a drug dealer alongside Robbie Coltrane as a drug counselor. The film was awarded the Monaco Red Cross and the Golden Nymph Award at the Monte Carlo Television Festival in February 1992.

Henry has extended his ambition to other areas, including his own production company, Crucial Films. The company was established to launch film and com-

edy projects, but particularly to encourage black performers and film practitioners. He initiated "Step Forward" comedy-writing workshops in conjunction with the BBC, which led to the comedy series *The Real McCoy*, consisting of selections of sketches and songs and stand-up comedy from a black perspective. Crucial Films also led to a series of ten-minute dramas entitled *Funky Black Shorts*.

In the 1990s, Henry created and starred in *Chef!* (BBC, 1993–1996), an exceptional series in which he played the erratic Head Chef Gareth Blackstock. The series has been highly critically acclaimed for its production values, its comic-drama scripts and its lead performances. Henry plays a character that also just "happens to be black" and is married to a black woman; the fact of their blackness does not limit either the narrative or the audience the series reached. A similar level of success and critical acclaim was gained through Henry's next television venture, *Hope and Glory* (BBC, 1999) in which he played head teacher Ian George, in an inner-city comprehensive school. After this relatively "straight" role, Henry returned to his comedy roots with his sketch show, *Lenny Henry in Pieces* (BBC, 2000–2002), in which he presented a range of comic characters. The comedy series won the Golden Rose of Montreux Award at the 2000 Montreux Television Festival.

Since the mid-1970s, Lenny Henry has risen from being a talent-show hopeful to being the most popular black British light entertainer. He has won numerous awards including the Radio and Television Industry Club Award for BBC Personality of the Year in 1993, and the Edric Connor Inspiration to Black People Award in 2002. Although Henry does not see himself as a specifically black comedian, he does believe that being black enriches his work. The development in his work and the breadth of his appeal signifies the different contexts within which he has managed to sustain his popularity and credibility as one of the key players in British entertainment.

SARITA MALIK

*See also* Beaton, Norman; Munroe, Carmen; Tiswas

**Lenny (Lenworth George) Henry.** Born in Dudley, England, August 29, 1958. Attended Bluecoat Secondary Modern School; W.R. Tewson School; Preston College. Married: Dawn French, 1984; child: Billie. Made television debut on *New Faces* at the age of 16, 1975; subsequently established reputation as popular stand-up comedian and as character comedy actor; head of Crucial Films independent production company.

Henry, Lenny

#### Television Series

1975 *Tiswas*  
1976–77 *The Fosters*  
1981–83 *Three of a Kind*  
1982 *OTT*  
1984, 1985,  
1987, 1988,  
1995 *The Lenny Henry Show*  
1986 *Lenny Henry Tonite*  
1993–96 *Chef!*  
1999 *Hope and Glory*  
2000–02 *Lenny Henry in Pieces*

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selection)

1984 *Coast to Coast*  
1990 *Alive and Kicking*

#### Films

*The Secret Policeman's Third Ball*, 1987; *Lenny Henry Live and Unleashed*, 1989; *Double Take*, 1984; *Work Experience*, 1989; *True Identity*, 1990

#### Publications

*Quest for the Big Woof*, 1991  
*Charlie and the Big Chill*, 1995  
*Charlie, Queen of the Desert*, 1996

#### Recording

*Stand Up, Get Down.*

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## Henson, Jim (1936–1990)

U.S. Muppeteer, Producer

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Jim Henson's most significant contribution to television culture was his imaginative ability. His creative talents are responsible for some of the most recognizable and beloved television characters in television history, the puppet/marionette hybrids better known as the Muppets. For more than four decades, the Muppets have entertained children and adults in myriad pop culture arenas; however, they are most associated with the television program known as *Sesame Street*.

As an adolescent, Henson was fascinated with television. His desire to work for the blossoming industry was inadvertently realized through the craft he considered a mere hobby—puppetry. His first puppet creations premiered on a local television station, an NBC affiliate in Maryland, which picked up Henson's five-minute puppet show and ran it prior to *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* and *The Tonight Show*. This exposure proved to be a tremendous opportunity.

Henson developed an innovative art form that was perfectly suited for television. His Muppets (some say this name is derived from a combination of the words "marionette" and "puppet") were ideal for the new medium because they perpetuated its "seamlessness." Muppets are stringless (unlike marionettes) and appear to move on their own (unlike traditional hand-puppets). This characteristic of "realness" made the Muppets readily accepted by the television audience.

*Sam and Friends*, Henson's first network program, aired for several years. The Muppets amassed a loyal following by appearing in commercials and performing in popular venues such as *The Ed Sullivan Show*. However, it was the character of Rowlf the Dog (a regular on *The Jimmy Dean Show*) that propelled the popular fascination with Henson's creations.

It was not until 1969 (and the commencement of a public television experiment called *Sesame Street*) that Henson and his Muppets became well known. *Sesame Street* was the brainchild of Joan Ganz Cooney. Frustrated by the lack of quality children's programming, Cooney proposed a television program especially for preschoolers that would incorporate the stylistic devices of advertisements (such as jingles) to "sell" learning. Although *Sesame Street* was designed for all preschool children, it was particularly targeted at inner-city youths. In many ways the program symbolized the idea of a televisual panacea, an entertainment offering with an educational and pro-social agenda.

It was Jon Stone, the first head writer for *Sesame Street*, who suggested Henson's Muppets for the project, and it has been suggested that if there were no Muppets, there would be no *Sesame Street*. The Muppets are largely responsible for the colossal success of this program. In skits, songs, and other performances, they have epitomized the social skills fundamental to

*Sesame Street's* mission—cooperation, understanding, tolerance, and respect.

Henson's Muppets are abstractions: most are animals, some are humans, and others a combination of both, all of different sizes, shapes, and colors. Their appearances are foreign, but their personalities are very familiar. Each member of the *Sesame Street* ensemble personify characteristics inherent in preschoolers. Through Ernie's whimsy, Big Bird's curiosity, Oscar's grouchiness, Grover's timidity, or the Cookie Monster's voracity, children experience an emotional camaraderie. However, Kermit the Frog (often referred to as Jim Henson's alter ego) is the Muppet most representative of the human spirit. Kermit's simple reflections often echo the philosophical complexities of everyday life.

Jim Henson's Muppets are a global phenomenon. The internationalization of *Sesame Street* is indicative of their cross-cultural appeal. *Sesame Street* is an anomaly within the realm of American children's television, and the unique qualities of the Muppets are somewhat responsible for this distinction.

Still, the immediate success of *Sesame Street* was a bitter-sweet experience for Henson. He felt stymied that the Muppets were branded "children's entertainment." He knew the wit and charm of the Muppets transcended all questions of age. In 1976, owing much to the implementation of the Financial Interest and Syndication (Fin-Sin) Rules, the syndicated variety program *The Muppet Show* began and offered a venue more in keeping with Henson's larger vision for his creations. The Fin-Sin Rules opened time slots in local television markets for non-network programming. Henson quickly took advantage of this need for syndicated programming with his new production. The half-hour show featured celebrity guests who participated in the Muppet antics. *The Muppet Show* was hosted by Kermit the Frog, the only *Sesame Street* character permitted to cross genre boundaries (except for guest appearances and/or film cameos). The series spawned a new generation of characters for its predominantly adult demographic. "Animal," "Doctor Teeth," "The Swedish Chef," and "Fozzie Bear" still appealed to both children and adults, but now the Muppets were more sophisticated and less pedagogical. The romantic relationship between Kermit and a porcine diva known as "Miss Piggy" established the dramatic potential of the Muppets. Miss Piggy was inspired by Frank Oz, Henson's lifelong colleague.

The success of *The Muppet Show* provoked Henson to explore the medium of film. His cinematic endeavors include *The Muppet Movie*, *The Great Muppet Caper*, *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, and *Treasure Island*.

The Muppets have permeated all media: television, film, animation, music, and literature. Their generative ability is notably manifest in a variety of past and present TV series, such as *Fraggle Rock*, *The Muppet Babies*, *Dinosaurs*, and *Bear in the Big Blue House*. The empire known as Jim Henson Productions has spawned numerous production companies—all infused with the imaginative potential of their creator. It is interesting to note that Henson's "Muppet-less" projects, feature films such as *The Dark Crystal* and *Labyrinth*, were not widely successful. Perhaps this is because they lacked the cheerfulness that has defined most of Henson's work.

Jim Henson died on May 16, 1990, from an untreated bacterial infection. His vision and creative spirit are immortalized by the Muppets and the future projects his legacy inspires.

SHARON ZECHOWSKI

*See also Children and Television; Cooney, Joan Ganz; Muppet Show, The; Sesame Street; Sesame Workshop; Tillstrom, Burr*

**Jim (James Murry) Henson.** Born in Greenville, Mississippi, September 24, 1936. Educated at the University of Maryland, B.A. 1960. Married: Jane Anne Nebel, 1959; children: Lisa, Cheryl, Brian, John, and Heather. Producer-performer, *Sam and Friends*, Washington, D.C., 1955–61; creator of the Muppets, combination marionettes and puppets, 1959; regular appearances on *The Jimmy Dean Show*, 1963–66; *Sesame Street*, from 1969; *The Muppet Show*, 1976–81; creator, *Fraggle Rock*, 1983–90; writer, producer, director, and muppeteer of various films, 1979–90. Member: Puppeteers of America (president, 1962–63), AFTRA, Directors Guild of America, Writers Guild of America, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, Screen Actors Guild, American Center of Union Internationale de la Marionette (president, board of directors), 1974. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1958, 1973–74, 1975–76; Entertainer of the Year Award; American Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Award, 1978; Peabody Awards, 1979 and 1987; Grammy Award, 1981; President's Fellow Award, Rhode Island School of Design, 1982. Died in New York City, May 16, 1990.

#### Television Series

1955–61	<i>Sam and Friends</i> (muppeteer)
1969–	<i>Sesame Street</i> (muppeteer)
1976–81	<i>The Muppet Show</i> (muppeteer, producer)
1983–90	<i>Fraggle Rock</i> (creator)
1984–	<i>The Muppet Babies</i> (producer)
1987	<i>The Storyteller</i> (producer)

Henson, Jim

### Television Specials

- 1977 *Emmet Otter's Jug-Band Christmas*  
(muppeteer, director, producer)
- 1986 *The Tale of the Bunny Picnic*  
(muppeteer, director, producer)
- 1990 *The Christmas Toy* (muppeteer,  
producer)

### Films

*The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *The Great Muppet Caper*, 1981; *The Dark Crystal*, 1982; *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, 1984; *Into the Night*, 1985; *Sesame Street Presents Follow That Bird*, 1985; *Labyrinth* (also writer), 1986; *Muppet\*vision 3-D*, 1991.

### Publications

*The Sesame Street Dictionary: Featuring Jim Henson's Sesame Street Muppets*, 1980

*The World of the Dark Crystal*, 1982  
*In and Out, Up and Down*, 1982  
*Muppets*, 1986  
*Favorite Songs from Jim Henson's Muppets*, 1986  
*Baby Kermit and the Dinosaur*, 1987

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Culhane, John, "Unforgettable Jim Henson," *Reader's Digest* (November 1990)

Finch, Christopher, *Of Muppets and Men: The Making of the Muppet Show*, New York: Knopf, 1981

Finch, Christopher, *Jim Henson: The Works, The Art, the Magic, the Imagination*, New York: Random House, 1993

"Jim Henson: Miss Piggy Went to Market and \$150 Million Came Home (Jim Henson Sells Muppet Empire to Walt Disney Co.)," *American Film* (November 1989)

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Herskovitz, David. *See* Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz

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## Hewitt, Don (1922– )

U.S. Producer

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Don Hewitt is a genius at what he does, and he does *60 Minutes*. However, Hewitt has done more in his TV career than act as the founder and executive producer of that enormously successful program. It was Hewitt who directed Edward R. Murrow's early TV experiment of bridging the U.S. continent with television. It was Hewitt who, while producing and directing the first Kennedy-Nixon debate in 1960, attempted to advise Nixon to use appropriate make-up to cover his wan appearance. Nixon did not listen, lost the debate, and lost the election. Thirty-three years later, Hewitt ventured (unsuccessfully) into cable-based home shopping.

Hewitt began his work in the world of print journalism, but he quickly moved to CBS TV, where he has

spent the entirety of his career. He not only produced and directed *Douglas Edwards with the News* from 1948 to 1962 but also the first year (1962–63) of the trendsetting *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. These two programs had a tremendous influence on the general development of television news programming, as well as on CBS's own nightly news. Hewitt was also responsible for CBS's coverage of the national political conventions between 1948 and 1980, and he directed *Conversations with the President* (with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson), programs that were pooled for all three networks. Among this significant body of work, however, his most notable, profitable, and successful venture was the creation of *60 Minutes* in 1968.



*60 Minutes* has been one of the premier programs produced by CBS, which counts the profits from this show to be significantly in excess of \$1 billion. Such profits bring independence and power to Hewitt. He does not hesitate to attack network executives as being deficient in foresight and fortitude, and he reportedly has the most favorable employment contract in the history of U.S. network broadcasting.

The unparalleled success of Hewitt's *60 Minutes* has led to considerable speculation regarding the programming strategies that have allowed the series to achieve high ratings. Some surmise that the program benefited from following National Football League (NFL) games on CBS for so many years. However, when the NFL moved to the FOX television network in 1994, *60 Minutes* continued to flourish (as it had in the seasons before it followed the games). Reuven Frank, formerly of NBC, who clearly suffered under the success of Hewitt's *60 Minutes*, called the show "star journalism," a form in which reporters such as Mike Wallace are the heroes whose questions are more important than the subsequent answers. The Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) of the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) has also been credited with contributing to *60 Minutes*' success. The PTAR limited network offerings from 7:00 to 8:00 P.M. (EST) on Sunday to public affairs or children's programming. When Hewitt's program moved to this time slot in 1975, the argument goes, there was no real competition from entertainment programming, and CBS began raking in huge audiences, hungry advertisers, and giant profits. Most observers, however, give Hewitt the credit for the success of *60 Minutes*. As Peter Jennings of ABC put it, the success of *60 Minutes* is a "testimony to Don Hewitt's imagination and his editing."

Hewitt has an extraordinary news judgment and editing ability. He creates stories in a manner that appeals to the average person. He admits he is not college educated, is not especially intellectual in his inclinations, and that he identifies with the middle-of-the-road American. He knows what the average person likes to watch on TV. His formula for *60 Minutes* stories is not complex. He simply understands that the audience wants the hero (for example, Mike Wallace) to drive the bad guys out of town. These people have been known in the TV industry as Hewitt's "anchor monsters."

Despite these formidable skills, Hewitt is not always known as a nice or likeable person. His handling of *60 Minutes* producers and staff is, at best, volatile and heavy-handed. When Harry Reasoner, one of the first and best-liked anchors of the program, was dying of cancer, Hewitt reportedly removed him from the program with little apparent sensitivity to Reasoner or



Don Hewitt.

*Photo courtesy of Don Hewitt*

other staff. On the other hand, as Andy Rooney of *60 Minutes* has observed of Hewitt, "I don't think the show would last without him."

Hewitt's accomplishments have earned him countless honors and awards, including a place in the Television Hall of Fame. Perhaps the greatest recognition came from one of his colleagues, who said, Don Hewitt "invented the wheel" in the business of television news.

CLAYLAND H. WAITE

*See also CBS; 60 Minutes*

**Don Hewitt.** Born in New York City, December 14, 1922. Attended New York University, 1941. Married: 1) Mary Weaver (died, early 1960s); 2) Frankie Hewitt (divorced); children: Jeffrey, Steven, Jill, and Lisa; 3) Marilyn Berger, 1979. Served as merchant marine correspondent and war correspondent for *Stars and Stripes* during World War II. Office boy and head copy boy, New York *Herald Tribune*, 1941; night editor, Associated Press, Memphis, Tennessee; editor, Pelham *Sun*, New York, 1946; night telephoto editor, Acme News Pictures, 1947; associate director, *CBS TV News*, 1948; sole producer-director, *Douglas Edwards with the*

Hewitt, Don

*News*, 1948–62; executive producer, *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*, 1962–63; produced CBS documentaries, 1965–68; creator and executive producer, *60 Minutes*, since 1968. Recipient: eight Emmy Awards; numerous honorary degrees; gold medal, International Radio and TV Society, 1988; Broadcaster of the Year Award, 1980; Peabody Award, 1989; named to Hall of Fame, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1990; Producers Guild of America Lifetime Award, 1993; Founders Emmy of the International Council of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1995; the Fred Friendly First Amendment Award, Quinnipiac College, 2000; the Carr Van Anda Award (for contributions to journalism) of the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism, Ohio University, 2001; the Director's Guild Association Honor for contributions to American culture, 2002; the Spirit Award (a lifetime achievement award from the National Association of Broadcasters), 2003; the American Federation of Television and Radio Actors George Heller Lifetime Achievement Award, 2003.

**Television Series (producer)**

1948–62      *Douglas Edwards with the News*

1962–63      *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*  
1968–      *60 Minutes*

**Publications**

*Minute by Minute*, 1985  
*Tell Me a Story: 50 Years and 60 Minutes in Television*, 2002

**Further Reading**

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Flander, J., "Hewitt's Humongous Hour," *Washington Journalism Review* (April 1991)  
Madsen, A., *60 Minutes: The Power and the Politics of America's Most Popular TV News Show*, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1984  
Wallace, Mike, and G.P. Gates, *Close Encounters: Mike Wallace's Own Story*, New York: William Morrow, 1984

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## Hey Hey It's Saturday

### Australian Variety Program

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*Hey Hey It's Saturday*, a variety program, began as a Saturday morning children's show, but, like other children's shows in Australia, it developed a curious adult following and became a durable feature of Australian television history. Programmed on Saturday nights from 6:30 to 8:30, it was a consistent ratings winner for Network Nine, outlasting almost every challenge the other networks threw at it until it ended in 1999. By that time the show was finally showing signs of tiredness, becoming a little repetitive and suffering from the loss of such key comic characters as Ossie Ostrich.

Television variety such as *Hey Hey* emerges from Australia's robust history of music hall, vaudeville, and revue on the stage and in radio. Vaudeville featured singers, dancers, comedians, acrobats, magicians, ventriloquists, male and female impersonators, and animal acts. In revue, a thin storyline was used to connect a series of comedy sequences, backed by

song-and-dance numbers. It included an orchestra, ballet dancers and showgirls, and a comedienne. But the comedian was always the star of the show.

From such traditions great comedians, such as George Wallace and the legendary "Mo" (Roy Rene), emerged before the days of television. Australia's greatest TV comedian, Graham Kennedy, in his long-running variety program *In Melbourne Tonight*, adapted such vaudeville traditions for television, where they continued to thrive in specifically television terms. The compere of *Hey Hey It's Saturday* was Darryl Somers, a comedian who was perhaps the successor to Graham Kennedy on Australian television. While he may not have been so much a king of comedy, he remained a noteworthy lord of misrule. One of Kennedy's writers at *In Melbourne Tonight*, Ernie Carroll, provided another connection between *Hey Hey It's Saturday* and the earlier tradition. He became the

producer of *Hey Hey* and also the arm and voice for its resident puppet figure, Ossie Ostrich, retained from the children's show version.

*Hey Hey* differed from 19th- and 20th-century vaudeville in not having showgirls or animal acts. It did for a period have a character called Animal, who silently wandered about the set, a walking icon of a crazy world, purely visual signifier of the ludic, of a world upside-down. The show did continue vaudeville and revue tradition in having an orchestra (a rock band) and, for a long period, a resident comedienne, Jacky MacDonald. She portrayed an apparent naïf, telling sly risqué jokes with wide innocent eyes.

Although Darryl Somers, with Ossie Ostrich sitting beside him, guided the show, *Hey Hey* was decentered comedy, dispersed through the various figures and performers, who often include the production crew. The show also contained various (changing) segments. "Media Watch" presented mistakes in TV commercials, or funny items, usually taken from the provincial press. "Red Faces" offered amateur acts. "Ad Nauseum" invented a quiz show with questions about TV ads. "What Cheeses Me Off" was a complaints column, and "Beat It" a music quiz.

*Hey Hey* used all the technical and audiovisual resources of TV itself to make everyone and everything in the show part of the comedy. For example, viewers rarely saw John Blackman, but he was a regular voice off-screen, doing impersonations, being ironic and sarcastic about guest acts and cast members, or making dry jokes and performing "insult comedy." This visual "absence" was countered by the highly visual cartoon jokes flashed on the screen at any moment. When "Media Watch" speculated on possible mistakes in TV commercials, a camera might suddenly focus on a producer. Surrounded by cameras and cords, he held a microphone and said what he thought, though he would earn derision if the others thought he got it wrong. Puppet Ossie Ostrich would comment on everything dryly and ironically. The other puppet, Little Dickie (a blue head held on a stick, with a raspy voice provided by John Blackman), might suddenly rush forward and be rude about someone or something. In turn, in one show Ossie commented of Little Dickie that his stick had "terminal white ant."

The show reveled in the festive abuse that Mikhail Bakhtin has identified as a feature of carnival in early modern Europe. In a society where, he suggests, people were "usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, professions, and age," festive abuse overturned hierarchy in social relations, creating an atmosphere of equality, freedom, and familiarity—*Hey Hey* exactly.

In *Hey Hey* all was chaos and anarchy, the reverse of structured sequences guided by the straight person and

chief comedian. Darryl Somers as compere was, instead, a relatively still space across which all the mad traffic of jokes, the different comic contributions and voices, traversed and clashed and commented on each other. If he maintained an ongoing program, he was never a central voice of authority, a ringmaster. His strength was in his alertness to what was going on about him as much as in his own comic contributions.

Traditional stage variety entertainment thrived on familiarity and audience involvement. Similarly, *Hey Hey* actively drew on the vast and intimate knowledge that its audience (in the studio and at home) had of the media, of the rest of popular commercial TV. Like *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in the early 1970s, *Hey Hey* was variety for the electronic age. The media were often the material for the comedy: parodying Lotto in "Chook Lotto," the media in "Media Watch," talent shows in "Red Faces," or testing knowledge of pop music in "Beat It."

Involvement by the studio audience was always encouraged. If, for example, a show was declared a 1960s or a Science Fiction night, Darryl and Jacky and Ossie would wear extravagant uniforms and masks. The audience would also dress up—a touch of the masks and disguises of carnival of old, taking people out of their ordinary life and circumstances. In "Red Faces," perennially one of *Hey Hey's* most popular segments, the audience could override Red's gong if it liked an act.

Clearly, in *Hey Hey* there was an extreme self-reflexivity; viewers saw camera people with their cameras and crew with mikes and cords going everywhere. For television culture, this built on a very long tradition of self-reflexivity in popular culture and theater. The festive abuse of *Hey Hey* reminded viewers that a great deal of popular culture, from carnival in early modern Europe to music hall and vaudeville in the 19th century and into the 20th, featured parody and self-parody. This was more than a way of mocking received attitudes and official wisdom. It was a philosophical mode, a cosmology, a way of questioning all claims to absolute truth—including its own. To the degree that our own "wisdom" is drawn from and dependent upon the media, *Hey Hey It's Saturday* suggested we should look on that knowledge with a wary eye.

JOHN DOCKER

See also **Australian Programming; *Monty Python's Flying Circus***

#### Hosts

Darryl Summers

"Ozzie Ostrich"/Ernie Carroll (1971–94)

## Hey Hey It's Saturday

### Producers

Bob Phillips, Pam Barnes

### Programming History

Nine Network

October 1971–

September 1973 Saturday 8:30–11:30 A.M.

October 1973–

December 1977 Saturday 8:00–11:00 A.M.

March 1979–

December 1983 Saturday 8:00–11:00 A.M.

March 1984–May

1985 Saturday 9:30 P.M.-12:00  
midnight (as *Hey Hey It's  
Saturday Night*)

June 1985–November

1999

Saturday 6:30–8:30 P.M.  
(with title reverting to *Hey  
Hey It's Saturday*)

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# High-Definition Television

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High-Definition Television (HDTV) is an arbitrary term that applies to any television production, transmission, or reception technology with a scanning rate that exceeds the 525 lines of the present U.S. NTSC standard or the 625 lines of the PAL or SECAM standards. Most U.S. HDTV television displays have at least 720 scanning lines, a wide-screen 16:9 image aspect ratio, and six-channel audio capability. When viewed on a large television tube, a flat-screen display, or projected on a wall screen, digital HDTV images are demonstrably sharper than that of conventional analog television displays.

The first commercial HDTV system was Hi-Vision/MUSE developed by NHK laboratories in Japan in the 1970s. After abortive Japanese attempts to have High-Vision/MUSE adopted as a de facto world television standard in 1986, a European consortium developed an alternative incompatible standard with 1,250 scanning lines.

In 1987, the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) created an Advisory Committee on Advanced Television Service (ACATS) to conduct a testing program to select an American HDTV standard. After eight years of development and testing, the FCC adopted a digital scheme that includes 18 types of advanced television production and transmission technology. American broadcasters will be able to transmit both HDTV and SDTV (lower-quality Standard Defi-

nition) programming via terrestrial towers, over cable television systems, and from broadcast satellites.

The FCC mandated a ten-year conversion period (1997–2006) for the transition from terrestrial analog broadcasting to a system based on all-digital technology. Most large market television stations are transmitting their programming in both analog and digital formats, but many small-market stations and public broadcaster affiliates have yet to make the conversion.

U.S. television networks are simulcasting prime time programming in both analog and digital HDTV formats. Cable television and satellite services are increasing the amount of HDTV programming they transmit as the number of digital television sets sold to consumers increases. A key driver of set sales and cable/satellite HD programming subscriptions are sporting events and feature films transmitted in high-definition. HDTV sets are available at retail prices between \$1,000 and \$2,000, and prices continue to fall as more consumers purchase advanced television models.

Japan is also making the conversion to digital broadcasting, but HDTV adoption is proceeding more slowly in Europe and other regions of the world. The future of global television technology features digital production and transmission with increasing use of wide-screen displays and multi-channel audio playback that replicates that found in motion picture the-

aters. Home theaters featuring HDTV image and sound technology will be commonplace in the United States as the technology is adopted by viewers of all socio-economic groups. It is uncertain if the FCC's deadline of 2006 for full digital conversion will be

met, but HDTV technology will continue to make gradual but steady gains in adoption as users make the decision to switch to the new viewing option.

PETER B. SEEL

See also **Digital Television; Television Technology**

## Hill, Benny (1925–1992)

British Comedian

Benny Hill was born in Southampton in the south of England in 1925. His family was lower-middle class; Hill's father was the manager of a medical appliance company. Hill was attracted early to the stage and saw many live stage shows at the two variety theatres in Southampton. Hill served in the army in the later years of World War II; it was there that he began to perform as a comedian. After demobilization, Hill began working in variety theater, where he slowly learned his craft. In 1956, Hill starred in the feature film comedy *Who Done It?* (Ealing Studios) as a hapless, bungling private detective. The film was only mildly funny, although Hill did display touches of the comic slapstick and characterization that were to become part of his genius. The film was moderately successful but did nothing to further Hill's career. Instead, it was in the new medium of television that he was to shine.

Hill's career as a British comedian fits between that of earlier figures such as Tony Hancock and later performers such as Frankie Howerd. Whereas Hancock established his definitive comic persona in radio and then extended this to television, Hill was created by television. Yet Hill was also the most traditional of comedians and his programs had strong roots in variety theater, revolving around comic songs, routines, and sketches rather than an on-going comic characterization and situation. And although Hill had his own show on the BBC as early as 1955, his career was actually launched by the 1960s vogue for comedy on British television. Other British comedians such as Ken Dodd, Charlie Drake, and Frankie Howerd also gained their own shows around the same time, but none had the comic genius and stamina of Hill.

Part of this genius lay in his writing. Hill wrote all his own material, a grueling task that helps explain the relatively small number of programs produced. Under

his later contract with Thames Television, Hill was given full control of his program, allowing him to delay making a program until, in his opinion, he had accumulated enough comic material. Hill also had a hand in producing some of the offshoots of *The Benny Hill Show* such as the 1970 half-hour silent film *Eddie in August*.

Although all his material was original, Hill nevertheless owed a comic debt to U.S. entertainer Red Skelton. Like Skelton, Hill worked in broad strokes and sometimes in pantomime with a series of recurring comic personae. Hill even adopted Skelton's departing line from the latter's show that ran on network television from 1951 to 1971: "Good night, God bless." However, Hill was without Skelton's often-maudlin sentimentality, substituting instead a ribald energy and gusto. Hill's humor was very much in a broad English vaudeville and stage tradition. The Socialist writer George Orwell once drew attention to the kind of humor embodied in the English seaside postcard—hen-pecked and shrunken older men and randy young men, both attracted to beautiful young women with large breasts, and an older, fatter, unattractive mother—and some of these archetypes also fed into Hill's television comedy, just as it was to feed into the *Carry On* feature films.

While Hill's publicity often portrayed him as a kind of playboy who liked to surround himself with beautiful, leggy showgirls, this was an extension of his television persona and had nothing to do with his private life. In fact, Hill never married and lived alone in what would have been a lonely life had it not been for the heavy work demands imposed by the television show.

Hill's humor, with its reliance upon vulgarity and double-entendres, was never entirely acceptable to the moral standards of some, and his sexism made him



Benny Hill.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

seem increasingly old-fashioned. The forces of political correctness finally had their way in 1989, when Thames Television canceled the program due not only to complaints about its smuttiness, but also because its old-fashioned sexism had become increasingly intolerable. In his last television appearance, in 1991, he appeared as himself, the subject of the BBC arts documentary series, *Omnibus*. Although over the last three years of his life, Hill talked in interviews about a comeback, it was the end of his career. He died in hospital, suffering from a chest complaint, in 1992. Benny Hill once told an interviewer that, like Van Gogh, he would be appreciated in 100 years' time. The statement implied that he was not recognized as a great comedian and was belied by the enormous international popularity of his program and by the fact that in the 1970s and 1980s he was several times voted the Funniest Man in the World by the British television audience.

ALBERT MORAN

See also *Benny Hill Show*, *The*

**Benny Hill.** Born Alfred Hawthorn Hill in Southampton, Hampshire, England, January 21, 1925. Attended local schools in Southampton. Served with Royal Engineers during World War II. Began as amateur entertainer in Southampton, while also working in shops and as milkman; assistant stage manager and actor, East Ham Palace, London, 1940; made TV debut, 1949; became popular radio guest, early 1950s; had his own BBC television show, 1955; made film debut, 1956; comedy star of his own long-running comedy sketch show; moved from BBC to Thames Television, 1969–89. Recipient: *Daily Mail* TV Personality of the Year, 1954; *TV Times* Hall of Fame, 1978–79; *TV Times* Funniest Man on TV, 1981–82; Charlie Chaplin International Award for Comedy, 1991. Died in Teddington, London, April 19, 1992.

#### Television Series

1949	<i>Hi There</i>
1952	<i>The Service Show</i>
1953	<i>Show Case</i>
1955–89	<i>The Benny Hill Show</i>

#### Films

*Who Done It?*, 1956; *Light Up the Sky*, 1960; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965; *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, 1968; *The Italian Job*, 1969; *The Waiters*, 1969; *The Best of Benny Hill*, 1974; *To See Such Fun*, 1977; *Benny Hill: The Motion Picture*, 1979; *The Unedited Benny Hill*, 1983; *Le Miracle*, 1986; *The Benny Hill Special*, 1987.

#### Radio

*Educating Archie*; *Archie's the Boy*.

#### Stage (selection)

*Stars in Battledress*, 1941; *Paris by Night*; *Fine Fettle*.

#### Recording

*Ernie (the Fastest Milkman in the West)*, 1971.

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# Hill Street Blues

U.S. Police Procedural/Melodrama

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*Hill Street Blues*, one of the most innovative and critically acclaimed television series in recent television history, aired on NBC from 1981 to 1987. Although never highly rated, NBC continued to renew *Hill Street* for its “prestige value” as well as the demographic profile of its fiercely loyal audience. Indeed, *Hill Street* is perhaps the consummate example of the complex equation in U.S. network television between “quality programming” and “quality demographics.” *Hill Street Blues* revolutionized the TV cop show, combining with it elements from the sitcom, soap opera, and *cinéma vérité*-style documentary. In the process, it established the paradigm for the hour-long ensemble drama: intense, fast-paced, and hyper-realistic, set in a densely populated urban workplace, and distinctly Dickensian in terms of character and plot development.

*Hill Street*'s key antecedents actually were sitcoms, and particularly the half-hour ensemble workplace comedies of the 1970s such as *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *Barney Miller*. *M\*A\*S\*H* was influential not only as a medical series set in a literal “war zone” (versus the urban war zone of *Hill Street*), but also for the aggressive cinematic style adapted from Robert Altman's original movie version. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*'s influence had to do primarily with its “domesticated workplace,” a function of Mary's role as nurturer as well as the focus on the personal as well as the professional lives of the principals. The influence of *Barney Miller*, an ensemble sitcom set in a police precinct, was more direct. In fact the genesis of *Hill Street* resulted from NBC's Fred Silverman suggesting that the network develop an hour-long drama blending *Barney Miller* and the documentary-style anthology drama, *Police Story*.

To develop the series, NBC turned to Grant Tinker's MTM Enterprises, which in the early 1970s had specialized in ensemble sitcoms (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Bob Newhart*, and others) before turning to the hour-long ensemble drama in 1977 with *Lou Grant*. *Hill Street* was created by Steven Bochco and Michael Kozoll, two veteran TV series writers with extensive experience on various crime series. The two had collaborated on the short-lived police drama *Delvecchio* in 1976–77 before joining MTM, and they had little interest in doing another cop show unless they were

given considerable leeway to vary the form. NBC agreed, and *Hill Street* debuted as a mid-season replacement in January 1981.

The basic *Hill Street Blues* formula was simple enough. The series was set in the Hill Street station, a haven of controlled chaos in a crime-infested, racially torn ghetto within an unnamed industrial metropolis. Each episode invariably charted a “day in the life” on the Hill, from the early-morning “roll call” to a late-night rehash of the day's events.

In the hands of Bochco and Kozoll, who teamed for much of the writing in the first two seasons, this formula provided the framework for a remarkably complex and innovative series—qualities which were evident from the opening roll call. This daybreak ritual was conducted “below decks” in the precinct house by the desk sergeant—most memorably Sgt. Phil Esterhaus (Michael Conrad from 1981 until his death in 1984), who always closed with the trademark line: “Let's be careful out there.”

A deft expositional stroke, the roll call served a range of narrative functions. It initiated the day-long trajectory; it provided an inventory not only of the current precinct case load but also the potential plot lines for the episode; it reintroduced most of the principal characters, whose commentary on the cases reestablished their individual personalities and professional attitudes. And technically, it set *Hill Street*'s distinctive *vérité* tone with its hand-held camera, continual re-framing instead of cutting, multi-track sound recording, and edgy, improvisational feel.

After the roll call, the cops filed upstairs to begin their assignments, which set the episode's multiple crime-related plot lines in motion. Most of the series regulars who worked “out there” on the streets were partners: Hill and Renko (Michael Warren and Charles Haid), Coffey and Bates (Ed Marinaro and Betty Thomas), LaRue and Washington (Kiel Martin and Taurean Blacque). Other notable street cops were Lt. Howard Hunter (James Sikking), the precinct's SWAT team leader; Mick Belker (Bruce Weitz), a snarling, perpetually unkempt undercover detective; and Norm Buntz (Dennis Franz), an experienced, cynical, street-wise detective prone to head-strong, rule-bending tactics.





*Hill Street Blues*, Michael Conrad, Daniel J. Travanti, Veronica Hamel, 1981–87.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

With the episode thus set in motion, the focus shifted to Captain Frank Furillo (Daniel Travanti), the professional touchstone and indisputable patriarch of the precinct work-family, and the moral center of *Hill Street's* narrative universe. Furillo adroitly orchestrated his precinct's ceaseless battle with the criminal element. He also did battle with bureaucrats and self-serving superiors, principally in the character of Chief Fletcher Daniels (Jon Cypher). And on a more personal level, he battled his own demons (alcoholism, a failed marriage) and the human limitations of his officers, ever vigilant of the day-to-day toll of police work in a cesspool of urban blight whose citizenry, for the most part, was actively hostile toward the "police presence."

Furillo also battled Joyce Davenport (Veronica Hamel), a capable, contentious lawyer from the Public Defender's office. Their professional antagonism was countered, however, by an intimate personal relationship—the two were lovers. Their affair remained clandestine until the third season, when they went public and were wed. And through all this, Furillo also main-

tained a troubled but affectionate rapport with his ex-wife, Fay (Barbara Bosson).

The Furillo-Davenport relationship was *Hill Street's* most obvious and effective serial plot, while also giving a dramatic focus to individual episodes. As professional adversaries, they endlessly wrangled over the process of law and order; as lovers they examined these same conflicts—and their own lives—in a very different light. Most episodes ended, in fact, with the two of them together late at night, away from the precinct, mulling over the day's events. This interplay of professional and personal conflicts—and of episodic and serial plot lines—was crucial to *Hill Street's* basic narrative strategy. Ever aware of its "franchise" as a cop show, the series relied on a crime-resolution formula to structure and dramatize individual episodes, while the long-term personal conflicts raised the dramatic stakes and fueled the serial dimension of the series.

*Hill Street's* narrative complexity was reinforced by its distinctive cinematic technique. As Todd Gitlin suggests, "*Hill Street's* achievement was, first of all, a matter of style." Essential to that style was the "density of look and sound" as well as its interwoven ("knitted") plot lines, which created *Hill Street's* distinctive ambience. "Quick cuts, a furious pace, a nervous camera made for complexity and congestion, a sense of entanglement and continuous crisis that matched the actual density and convolution of city life." *Hill Street's* realism also extended to controversial social issues and a range of television taboos, particularly in terms of language and sexuality.

This realism was offset, however, by the idealized portrayal of the principal characters and the professional work-family. Whatever their failings and vulnerabilities, Furillo and his charges were heroic—even tragic, given their fierce commitment to a personal and professional "code" in the face of an insensitive bureaucracy, an uncaring public, and an unrelenting criminal assault on their community. But the Hill Street cops found solace in their work and in one another—which, in a sense, was all they had, since the nature of their work precluded anything resembling a "real life."

Not surprisingly, considering its narrative complexity, uncompromising realism, and relatively downbeat worldview, *Hill Street* fared better with critics than with mainstream viewers. In fact, it was among TV's lowest-rated series during its first season but was renewed due to its tremendous critical impact and its six Emmy Awards, including Outstanding Drama Series. *Hill Street* went on to win four straight Emmys in that category, while establishing a strong constituency



among upscale urban viewers. It also climbed to a respectable rating, peaking in its third season at number 21; but its strength was always the demographic profile rather than the sheer size of its audience.

Thus *Hill Street* paid off handsomely for NBC, and its long-term impact on TV programming has been equally impressive. In a 1985 *TV Guide* piece, novelist Joyce Carol Oates stated that the series was as "intellectually and emotionally provocative as a good book," and was positively "Dickensian in its superb character studies, its energy, its variety; above all, its audacity." Critics a decade later would be praising series like *NYPD Blue*, *Homicide*, *ER*, *Chicago Hope*, and *Law and Order* in precisely the same terms, heralding a "new golden age" of television drama—a golden age which owes a considerable debt to *Hill Street Blues*.

THOMAS SCHATZ

See also **Bochco, Steven**

#### Cast

Capt. Frank Furillo	Daniel J. Travanti
Sgt. Phil Esterhaus (1981–84)	Michael Conrad
Officer Bobby Hill	Michael Warren
Officer Andy Renko	Charles Haid
Joyce Davenport	Veronica Hamel
Det. Mick Belker	Bruce Weitz
Lt. Ray Calletano	Rene Enriquez
Det. Johnny (J.D.) LaRue	Kiel Martin
Det. Neal Washington	Taurean Blaque
Lt. Howard Hunter	James Sikking
Sgt./Lt. Henry Goldblume	Joe Spano
Officer/Sgt. Lucille Bates	Betty Thomas
Grace Gardner (1981–85)	Barbara Babcock
Fay Furillo (1981–86)	Barbara Bosson
Capt. Jerry Fuchs (1981–84)	Vincent Lucchesi
Det./Lt. Alf Chesley (1981–82)	Gerry Black
Officer Leo Schnitz (1981–85)	Robert Hirschfield
Officer Joe Coffey (1981–86)	Ed Marinaro
Chief Fletcher P. Daniels	Jon Cypher
Officer Robin Tataglia (1983–87)	Lisa Sutton
Asst. D.A. Irwin Bernstein (1982–87)	George Wyner
Jesus Martinez	Trinidad Silva
Judge Alan Wachtel	Jeffrey Tambor

Det. Harry Garibaldi (1984–85)	Ken Olin
Det. Patricia Mayo (1984–85)	Mimi Kuzyk
Mayor Ozzie Cleveland (1982–85)	J.A. Preston
Sgt. Stanislaus Jablonski (1984–87)	Robert Prosky
Lt. Norman Buntz (1985–87)	Dennis Franz
Celeste Patterson (1985–86)	Judith Hansen
Sidney (The Snitch) Thurston (1985–87)	Peter Jurasik
Officer Pagtrick Flaherty (1986–87)	Robert Clohessy
Officer Tina Russo (1986–87)	Megan Gallagher
Officer Raymond (1987)	David Selburg

#### Producers

Steven Bochco, Michael Kozoll, Gregory Hoblit, David Anspaugh, Anthony Yerkovich, Scott Brazil, Jeffrey Lewis, Sascha Schneider, David Latt, David Milch, Michael Vittes, Walon Green, Penny Adams

#### Programming History

NBC	
January 1981	Thursday/Saturday 10:00–11:00
January 1981–April 1981	Saturday 10:00–11:00
April 1981–August 1981	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
October 1981–November 1986	Thursday 10:00– 11:00
December 1986–February 1987	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
March 1987–May 1987	Tuesday 10:00–11:00

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Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983

## Anita Hill–Clarence Thomas Hearings

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The Hill–Thomas Hearings, conducted by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate Professor Anita Hill's allegations of prior sexual harassment by Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, were televised nationally on American television from October 11 to October 13, 1991. Although the hearings themselves had no legal significance, to many observers they symbolized a public referendum on sexual harassment and other gender inequities in late 20th-century America. As such, they have been widely credited with increasing public awareness about gender discrimination, and with motivating female voters during the 1992 congressional elections.

As President George Bush's nominee to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court, Thomas had been the subject of confirmation hearings in September 1991; however, the Senate Judiciary Committee was unable to make a recommendation to the full Senate after these hearings. Thomas's appointment seemed further jeopardized by reports in *Newsday* and on National Public Radio on 6 October that he allegedly sexually harassed a co-worker from 1981 to 1983. These charges, made by Anita Hill during interviews with the FBI, were apparently leaked to the press just days before the Senate's final vote on Thomas' appointment. Responding to demands from feminist organizations and seven female Democratic members of the House of Representatives, the Senate delayed the vote in order to hear more about Hill's allegations.

During the three days of televised hearings, the senators and the viewing public heard testimony from both Hill and Thomas, as well as their supporters. Hill referred to specific incidents of Thomas's behavior, including repeated requests for dates and references to pornographic material. Thomas vehemently denied Hill's allegations and responded with outrage, at one point calling the hearings "a national disgrace... a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves." So adamant was each sides' accounts that many observers in the press labeled the hearings an example of "He Said, She Said," with both parties offering such vastly differing recollections of events that many wondered if the hearings could ever reveal the truth.

Two days after the hearings ended, with no clear resolution of the discrepancies between Hill's and

Thomas's accounts, the Senate voted on Thomas's confirmation. Due to the media coverage of the hearings, public interest in the vote was unusually high, as evidenced by a barrage of phone calls and faxes sent to the capital on this issue. Although opinion polls reported evidence of debate and division among minority groups, including African Americans and women, they also indicated that a majority of voters supported Thomas. Ultimately, the Senate voted 52 to 48 in favor of Thomas's confirmation.

The visual imagery and political symbolism of the hearings may be their most important legacy. In this regard the hearings take their place alongside other



Anita Hill.  
©CJ Contino/Everett Collection

memorable television events, including the Army–McCarthy Hearings and the Watergate Proceedings. These events exemplify television’s ability to galvanize a national audience around matters of crucial social significance, and often they stand as historical markers of significant social and cultural shifts.

Indeed, many feminist groups refer to Anita Hill as the mother of a new wave of awareness of gender discrimination, particularly given the attacks on her credibility that she withstood from the white male senators. To witness a composed, articulate law professor being questioned about her mental state (some senators and Thomas supporters had theorized that Hill was “delusional”) offended many female viewers who themselves had experienced sexual harassment. Harriett Woods, then president of the National Women’s Political Caucus, commented that “Anita Hill focused attention on the fact that there were no women in that Senate panel making decisions about people’s lives.”

As is true for so many cultural memories in the United States, the televised Hill-Thomas hearings etched some clear and unforgettable images into the minds of the American public. To those observers who did not believe Hill’s claims, the hearings represented the gravity of such allegations in a society where gender politics can be divisive. To Hill’s sympathizers, the memory of a lone woman reluctantly speaking out about past painful experiences to a room full of bewildered and unsympathetic men may have been one reason why an unprecedented 29 women were elected in the subsequent congressional elections.

VANESSA B. BEASLEY

### See also U.S. Congress and Television

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## Hillsborough

### British Docudrama

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*Hillsborough* was a highly acclaimed docudrama about the 1989 Hillsborough soccer stadium disaster, which claimed the lives of 96 football fans. Scripted by the renowned writer Jimmy McGovern, the 1996 program was a searing criticism of the police in charge at the time of the disaster, and a trenchant attack on the establishment for its appalling handling of the victims’ families and their demands for justice in the aftermath. Described by the TV reviewer Stuart Jeffries as “one of the most upsetting two hours of television you are

likely to see,” the program won several international awards and was heralded as a crucial factor in the government’s decision to order a new judicial inquiry into the event.

The tragedy itself took place on Saturday April 15, 1989 when fans descended on Sheffield Wednesday’s Hillsborough soccer stadium for the Football Association (FA) Cup semi-final between teams Liverpool and Nottingham Forest. As crowds built up in the stadium, there was a late surge of Liverpool supporters entering

the back of a standing area, causing those at the front to be pushed against the wire fence separating them from the pitch; 96 fans were killed. Both the soccer community and the city of Liverpool were stunned by the event, and in the week that followed around a million people filed through the gates of Liverpool's football ground to leave flowers, football scarves, and messages.

In the immediate aftermath, police in charge of crowd control at the match blamed the disaster on drunken Liverpool fans, and this was reported in sections of the tabloid press. In the following coroner's inquest a verdict of "accidental death" was recorded on the victims, and the public inquiry set up to investigate the event, though critical of crowd management, failed to indict the police officers in charge at the time.

The idea to dramatize the event for television evolved after McGovern had touched on the tragedy in a storyline for Granada Television's psychological police fiction series *Cracker* (1993–96). In a three-part episode titled "To Be a Somebody," the actor Robert Carlyle played a man driven to murder in revenge for the Hillsborough disaster. Concerned that the fictional depiction of a survivor's reaction might cause distress, the TV company arranged a special screening for victims' families. The response was very positive and the Hillsborough Families Support Group (HFSG), which had been campaigning for justice after the event, invited McGovern to tackle the subject head on.

With a commission from Granada (a company known for investigative journalism and groundbreaking drama) and the help of a team of researchers, McGovern set about writing the drama based on documented evidence and witness statements. A former schoolteacher from Liverpool, McGovern was no stranger to controversial subject matter, having tackled homosexuality in the Catholic church in *Priest* (1994), and discord in education in *Hearts and Minds* (1995). With *Hillsborough* he set out to do two things: to show that it had been police incompetence that had led to the disaster, and not drunken fans; and to show the grievous injustice the families of the deceased had suffered after the event. Contentiously, the program claimed to provide new evidence, notably that CCTV video tapes which would have demonstrated police failings had gone missing, and that police officers had changed statements and interfered with witnesses.

Yet it was the human drama that made Hillsborough such compelling and upsetting viewing. The story focused on three families who lost teenage children in the disaster, including Trevor Hicks—who went on to become chairman of the HFSG—and his wife Jenni, who lost their two teenage daughters, Sarah, aged 19, and Vicki, aged 15.

The program started with families seen joyfully receiving their tickets, and then the drama quickly moved to the match day itself. As Stuart Jeffries suggests, McGovern's consummate skill as a scriptwriter made even the advertisement breaks work for him. The first break was placed just as the crowds began to build up at the stadium. Immediately after the break, a father of one of the dead says to camera, "All they had to do was close off the tunnel like they normally did and we would have all had to go round the sides into the pens with plenty of space." This had the double impact of pointing the finger of blame, while at the same time avoiding a harrowing reconstruction of the crush itself.

*Hillsborough* followed the families learning the news of the tragedy, the horror of identifying bodies, and the insensitivity of police questioning. The rest of the two hours was filled with the painful aftermath, and the costs of bereavement, including the separation of Trevor and Jenni Hicks, the families' fight for justice, and the frustration, pain, and anger at the coroner's inquest and public inquiry.

*Hillsborough* featured a strong cast, including Ricky Tomlinson and Christopher Eccleston, a regular of McGovern's dramas. It was directed by Charles McDougall, who had not only previously made an award-winning football-related short film, *Arrivederci Millwall* (1990), but had also been on the terraces with the Liverpool fans on the day of the tragedy. Members of the cast met with the families before shooting, and the families themselves watched the completed program prior to broadcast, in private screenings.

The first transmission, on December 5, 1996, was watched by approximately 7 million people and made for difficult viewing. It had been sympathetically trailed in the press beforehand and was critically applauded afterwards. The docudrama reinvigorated public debate about the event, and the following summer, after the election of a new Labour government, a judicial inquiry was announced to look at the issues and evidence raised by the campaigners and the program. *Hillsborough* went on to win a clutch of awards from the Royal Television Society, the British Academy, and won the grand prize at the Banff Television Festival. It also won a prize of £18,000 at the Munich Film Festival; Granada pledged the money to the appeal for the victim's families.

In February 1998 the government declined a new public inquiry after a judge ruled that the supposed new evidence put forward by campaigners and the program did not add anything significant to the material available at the original inquiry.

ROB TURNOCK

See also *Cracker*; *Docudrama*; McGovern, Jimmy

**Cast**

Trevor Hicks	Christopher Eccleston
John Glover	Ricky Tomlinson
Jenni Hicks	Annabelle Apsion
Theresa Glover	Rachel Davies
Eddie Spearritt	Mark Womack
Jan Spearritt	Tracey Wilkinson
Joe Glover	Scot Williams
Chief Supt. David Duckenfield	Maurice Roëves
Sarah Hicks	Sarah Graham
Victoria Hicks	Anna Martland

**Producer**

Nicola Shindler

**Programming History**

ITV December 5, 1996	9:00–10:00, 10:40–11:40
ITV February 24, 1998	Unscheduled repeat

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## Hird, Thora (1911–2003)

British Actor

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Dame Thora Hird was one of Britain's finest character actors. Her career spanned nearly 90 years, from her earliest stage appearance at the age of 8 weeks to her death in 2003; it encompassed work in a range of media, including radio broadcasting and appearances in more than 100 films. In television, she appeared both in her capacity as actress, and as presenter of the popular *Your Songs of Praise Choice* (later renamed *Praise Be!*). She also wrote her autobiography, as well as a number of books on prayer.

Hird's durability was due to both her versatility, revealed by her work in a number of television genres, and paradoxically, her ability to remain distinctly unique and individual. Her work for television included an early drama for BBC TV, *The Queen Came By*, about life in a draper's store, set in Queen Victoria's jubilee year. In the play, her characterization of Emmie Slee proved very popular. She also appeared as the long-suffering wife in the comedy series *Meet the Wife*, with Freddie Frinton; the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* for the BBC in 1967; Billy's overbearing mother in the situation comedy *In Loving Memory* (1979–86), set in a funeral parlor; and the tragicomic character in *A Cream Cracker under the Settee*, one of the acclaimed series of *Talking Heads* monologues written by Alan Bennett, and broadcast in 1988. Hird also starred in one of the second series of Bennett's *Talking*

*Heads* monologues, *Waiting for the Telegram* (1998), and she played leading roles in ITV's *Wide-Eyed and Legless* (1994) and its sequel *Lost for Words* (1999). In 2001 Hird was visible on British television in a nonacting capacity, serving as spokeswoman in a public service campaign encouraging pensioners to request their full government entitlements.

Many of her television roles offered Hird the opportunity to exercise her particular brand of Lancastrian wit, which was firmly located within the music-hall-based tradition of northern, working-class comedy, characteristically "down to earth," anecdotal, and always constructed in opposition to the "pretentious and privileged" south of England. In much the same vein as the seaside postcards of her Morecambe birthplace, Hird's typical roles were as an all-seeing boarding-house landlady, a gossiping neighbor, or a sharp-tongued mother-in-law, in each case the "eyes and ears" of the (female) community. And, just as the veneer of the garishly painted seaside piers cracks to reveal the old and slightly rotten wood beneath, so Hird's skillful characterizations offered a hint of the underlying sadness and pathos that is often found beneath the proud facade.

Hird earned considerable recognition and respect within her profession, as well as critical and audience acclaim for many of her roles, and she was the subject

of a *South Bank Show* monograph in 1995. However, her contributions to television have not been the subject of significant scholarly attention. This neglect may be due to the fact that she tended to play roles that are located within genres such as situation comedy, which is afforded a lowly status in many aesthetic and critical hierarchies. Potentially, however, there is much critical currency in exploring how these roles or types represent working-class women, and indeed, how older actresses may often be subject to typecasting.

NICOLA STRANGE

**Thora Hird.** Born in Morecambe, Lancashire, England, May 28, 1911. Attended the Misses Nelson's Preparatory School, Morecambe. Married: James Scott, 1937 (died, 1994); child: Janette. Followed parents into the theater as a child; gained early experience with the Royalty Theatre Repertory Company, Morecambe, before establishing name on London stage in *Flowers for the Living*, 1944; film debut, 1940; subsequently played a range of classical and contemporary roles on the stage and also acted in films and on television, starring in several comedy series. Honorary D.Litt., University of Lancaster, 1989. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1983; Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: Pye Female Comedy Star Award, 1984; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2000. Royal Television Society Awards, 1999 and 2000. International Emmy Award, 1999. Died March 15, 2003, Brinsworth House, Twickenham, England, following a stroke.

**Television Series (selected)**

- 1956 *The Jimmie Wheeler Show*
- 1964-66 *Meet the Wife*
- 1968-69 *First Lady*
- 1969-70 *Ours Is a Nice House*
- 1979-86 *In Loving Memory*
- 1980 *Flesh and Blood*
- 1983-84 *Hallelujah*
- 1986 *The Last of the Summer Wine*
- 1993 *Goggle Eyes*
- 1998 *The Queen's Nose* (mini-series)

**Television Plays (selected)**

- 1962 *A Kind of Loving*
- 1966 *Who's a Good Boy Then?*
- 1967 *Romeo and Juliet*
- 1975 *When We Are Married*
- 1977 *The Boys and Mrs B*
- 1979 *Afternoon Off*
- 1982 *Say Something Happened*

- 1982 *Intensive Care*
- 1988 *Talking Heads: A Cream Cracker under the Settee*
- 1992 *Memento Mori*
- 1994 *Wide-Eyed and Legless*
- 1994 *Pat and Margaret*
- 1998 *Talking Heads: Waiting for the Telegram*
- 1999 *Lost for Words*

**Films**

*Spellbound*, 1940; *The Black Sheep of Whitehall*, 1941; *The Foreman Went to France*, 1941; *Next of Kin*, 1942; *The Big Blockade*, 1942; *Went the Day Well?*, 1942; *Two Thousand Women*, 1944; *The Courtneys of Curzon Street*, 1947; *My Brother Jonathan*, 1948; *Corridor of Mirrors*, 1948; *The Weaker Sex*, 1948; *Portrait from Life*, 1948; *Once a Jolly Swagman*, 1948; *A Boy, a Girl and a Bike*, 1949; *Fools Rush in*, 1949; *Madness of the Heart*, 1949; *Maytime in Mayfair*, 1949; *Boys in Brown*, 1949; *Conspirator*, 1949; *The Cure for Love*, 1950; *The Magnet*, 1950; *Once a Sinner*, 1950; *The Galloping Major*, 1951; *The Frightened Man*, 1952; *Emergency Call*, 1952; *Time Gentlemen Please!*, 1952; *The Lost Hours*, 1952; *The Long Memory*, 1952; *The Great Game*, 1953; *Background*, 1953; *Turn the Key Softly*, 1953; *Personal Affair*, 1953; *Street Corner*, 1953; *A Day to Remember*, 1953; *Don't Blame the Stork*; *For Better*, 1954; *For Worse*, 1954; *The Crowded Day*, 1954; *One Good Turn*, 1954; *Love Match*, 1955; *The Quatermass Experiment*, 1955; *Tiger by the Tail*, 1955; *Lost*, 1955; *Women without Men*, 1955; *Sailor Beware!*, 1956; *Home and Away*, 1956; *The Good Companions*, 1957; *These Dangerous Years*, 1957; *Further Up the Creek*, 1958; *The Entertainer*, 1960; *Over the Odds*, 1961; *A Kind of Loving*, 1962; *Term of Trial*, 1962; *Bitter Harvest*, 1963; *Rattle of a Simple Man*, 1964; *Some Will, Some Won't*, 1969; *The Nightcomers*, 1971; *Consuming Passions*, 1988; *Julie and the Cadillacs*, 1999.

**Stage (selected)**

*No Medals*, 1944; *Flowers for the Living*, 1944; *The Queen Came by*, 1948; *Tobacco Road*, 1949; *Dangerous Woman*, 1951; *The Happy Family*, 1951; *The Same Sky*, 1952; *The Trouble-Makers*, 1952; *The Love Match*, 1953; *Saturday Night at the Crown*, 1957; *Come Rain Come Shine*, 1958; *Happy Days*, 1958; *Romeo and Juliet*; *No, No, Nanette*; *Me, I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf*; *Afternoon Off*.

**Publications**

*Scene and Hird* (autobiography), 1976  
*Thora Hird's Praise Be! Notebook*, 1991  
*Thora Hird's Praise Be! Year Book*, 1991  
*Thora Hird's Praise Be! Christmas Book*, 1991  
*Thora Hird's Praise Be! Book of Prayers*, 1992  
*Thora Hird's Praise Be! I Believe*, 1993

*Happy Days: A Thought for Every Day*, 1994  
*Thora Hird's Little Book of Home Truths*, 1994  
*Sing with Praise!: Hymns, Prayers and Readings for Help the Aged*, 1995  
*Is It Thora? My Autobiography*, 1996  
*Thora Hird's Book of Bygones*, 1998  
*Not in the Diary* (autobiography), 2000

## History and Television

As a productive cultural force, television is involved in projecting new modes and forms of historical understanding. These forms do not always follow from traditional scholarly or professional ideas about history. On the contrary, for a number of reasons, television has been widely seen as contributing to the disappearance or loss of history in the contemporary postmodern condition. The emphasis on television's "liveness," based in its technology and its common discursive and rhetorical strategies, has led some theorists to the conclusion that television plays a central role in erasing a sense of the past, and eliminating a common, coherent linear sense of cultural and social development.

It is certainly the case that conventional history is increasingly hard to identify in mass culture, especially in the form of coherent linear narratives, a clear set of major historical players, or readily identifiable class struggles. At the same time, however, television seems obsessed with defining itself in relation to history. Television's ubiquity suggests that its conceptions of history—both its representations of specific events and its appropriation of history as a way of understanding the world—must be taken seriously. Television does not supplant, but rather coexists with, familiar ideas about how we know the past, what we know of the past, and the value of such knowledge. In the process, television produces everyday forms of historical understanding.

As a result, it is probably more accurate to propose that television is contributing to a significant transformation and dispersion of how we think about history, rather than to the loss of historical consciousness. Television offers forms of history that are simultaneously more public than traditional professional history, and more personal and idiosyncratic. This is because the medium's historical narratives are available to mass

viewing publics, but also engage viewers in diverse, and even highly idiosyncratic ways. While history may be conceived in both broadly social and intensely personal terms, television has transformed the ways in which individuals understand and position themselves in relation to either of these definitions.

In the case of the United States, it is nearly impossible to think about American culture and its global influence today without including everyday media culture as an integral part of this history. Significant historical events and conjunctures of postwar 20th-century American history—the Vietnam war, the assassination of John F. Kennedy, civil rights and student protests, the Challenger explosion, the first Persian Gulf War, September 11, 2001, the "War on Terrorism"—can hardly be imagined without the television images which carried them into American (and other) homes. Similar conditions, events, and moments, such as the collective memory of the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth for British viewers, exist in other nations of the world which have also had a long experience with television. As these examples suggest, for some established nation-states television can actually connote national identity through a televisual history. Other nations and regions, particularly in the postcolonial world, have yet to see representations of their national identity consistently emerge on their television screens. And yet another group of nations and regions, such as post-apartheid South Africa, are experiencing a transformation of the historical representation of their televisual national identity.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the idea of "video diplomacy" also has increasing importance in a world linked by telecommunications technology and covered by international television news organizations. Indeed, television news—with its emphasis on

being live and up to date—is one of the key places where television most insistently promotes its historical role. The rapid growth of television in the postcolonial world, coincident with the end of the Cold War (since 1989, sets in use worldwide have doubled, with most of that growth in the postcolonial world) suggests that the impact of televisual history first experienced in the United States will now be seen on a world scale. The live televising of coups and crises in post-Soviet Russia is one example of the globalizing trend of television and historical consciousness. Other indicators include the unprecedented global circulation of war reporting, of political journalism, and of the lives and misfortunes of celebrities.

In other contexts, television links history to world-historical events, often before they have even begun. The term “history” is regularly used to designate events before, during, and after they occur. In this vein, television casts all sorts of events as history, including the Middle East peace summit in Madrid; the fall of the Berlin Wall; the annually occurring World Series (baseball); Michael Jordan’s return to basketball; the O.J. Simpson trial; the impeachment proceedings against U.S. President Bill Clinton; and the primetime airing of the final episode of *Seinfeld*. From the apparently sublime to the apparently inexplicable, “history” is a term and a conceptual field that television often bandies about with surprising frequency and persistence. In the process conventional ideas of history as a distinctive temporal and narrational discourse are dispersed. “History” becomes a process wherein events and people in the present (and future) are simultaneously implicated in a social, political, and cultural heritage.

Television routinely correlates liveness and historicity in the form of equivalence, alibi, reversals, and identity, especially in the area of news and public affairs/documentary programming. In the context of news coverage, especially events that warrant live coverage, it is not unusual to hear that the events thus presented are “historic.” At the same time, the very presence of television at an event constitutes a record for posterity. In this sense, television acts as an agent of history and memory, recording and preserving representations to be referenced in the future. The institution of television itself becomes the guarantor of history, even as it invokes history to validate and justify its own presence at an event.

Another factor at work in this array is the long-term search by broadcasters for a recognition of their own legitimacy as social institutions. Many critics of television have linked the rise of a televisual historical consciousness and the aggressive self-promotion of the broadcasting industry when criticizing television for

its supposed failure to fully advance public ideals. Even while driven by the lure of significant profit, American television broadcasters are often desperate to dissociate themselves from discourses presenting television as a vast wasteland. As part of a spirited defense against their many detractors they point to their unique ability to record and represent history. The “high culture–low culture” debate, so prevalent in analyses of American media, has sunk its roots into this issue as well.

In much of the rest of the world, by contrast, government investment in broadcasting has meant that questions of legitimation, and subsequent defense through claims of unique historical agency, have been less urgent. However, following the worldwide wave of privatization of media outlets, which began in the 1980s, television broadcasters throughout the world may begin to mimic their American predecessors. They, too, may protect their self interests by turning the production of “history on television” and “television as history” into a useable past.

As a result of all these activities, it is possible to see how forms of historical consciousness purveyed by television get transformed in the process of representing current events that are all equally “historic.” Television promotes ideas about history that involve heterogeneous temporal references—past, present, and future. But actual historical events are unstable combinations of public and private experiences, intersecting both global and local perspectives. By proposing combinations and permutations of individual memory and official public document, television produces a new sense of cultural and social identity among its viewers.

For example, in relation to past events, television frequently addresses viewers as subjects of a distinctive historical consciousness: Americans of various ages are all supposed to remember where they were when they first heard and saw that John F. Kennedy was shot, that the space shuttle *Challenger* had exploded, or when the first plane hit the north tower of New York’s World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The drama of the everyday can be similarly historicized when, for example, television promotes collective memories of Kathy Fiscus for one American generation or Baby Jessica for another. By addressing viewers in this way, television confirms its own central role as the focal point of the myriad individual experiences and memories of its individual viewers. In the process the medium brings sentimental domestic drama into direct relation with public, domestic, and global histories.

In all these instances, television’s ideas of history are intimately bound up with the history of the medium itself (and indirectly with other audiovisual recording



media), and with its abilities to record, circulate, and preserve images. In other words, the medium's representations of the past are highly dependent on events that have been recorded on film or video, such that history assumes the form of television's self-reflection. The uses of available still photography and audio recordings can also, on occasion, play a significant role in this regard. The medium's own mechanisms—its prevailing technologies and discourses—become the defining characteristics of modern historiography. Similarly, the television journalist—particularly the news anchor—can become an embodied icon of television's ability to credibly produce and represent history. Many nations have (or have had) a number of individuals achieve this status typically associated with an American reporter like Walter Cronkite. Now television journalists seem on the cusp of achieving this at transnational and transcultural levels. Television may in the process also begin to produce a new sense of global histories, along with national and personal histories.

This self-reflective nature of television's historiography develops in relation to both public events and in relation to the medium's own programming. American television routinely celebrates its own past in an array of anniversary, reunion, and retrospective shows about its own programs, and even in "bloopers" specials which compile outtakes and mistakes from previously aired programs. Programs of this ilk serve multiple functions, and have various implications with regards to ideas of history. Self-promotion, in the form of inexpensive, recycled programming, is one obvious motivation for these shows, especially as the multi-channel environment means that more "old" shows are rerun on broadcast and cable services. This also becomes a kind of self-legitimation, by means of retrospective logic. For if American programs such as *The Tonight Show*, *The Brady Bunch*, or *Laverne and Shirley* warrant celebratory reunion or retrospective celebration, even years after they are no longer in production, this could mean they are important cultural artifacts/events.

Television thus continually rewrites its own past in the form of "history" as a way of promoting itself and its ongoing programming as a significant, legitimate part of culture. In the process, postwar American popular culture is held up as the measure of social-cultural history more generally. All viewers are enjoined to "remember" this heritage, whether they experienced it first-hand, in first-run, or not. This can even lead to the production of instant nostalgia, when special programs herald popular series' final episodes (such as occurred with *Cheers* and *Friends*), just as those final new episodes air in primetime. This sort of self-promotional and self-reflective hype (in network

specials, as well as on talk shows, entertainment news programs, and local news programs around the country) proposes that these programs have been absorbed into a common popular cultural historical heritage from the very moment they are no longer presenting new episodes in primetime.

Programming schedules and strategies in themselves adopt and offer these new ideas about history, especially in terms of popular culture. This is increasingly apparent in the multi-channel universe, as television becomes something of a cultural archive, where movies and television programs from the past are as readily accessible as new programs. This can even be made self-conscious, as in the case of Nick at Nite (a programming subdivision of Nickelodeon, an American cable network), which features American sitcoms from the 1960s and 1970s, and promotes itself as "celebrating our television heritage." In 1995 Nickelodeon developed a second network, called TV Land, programmed exclusively with old television shows. Once again, the history in question is the medium's own history, self-referentially reproducing itself as having cultural value and utility.

Beyond these strategic constructions of the historical significance of television as medium, a specific sense of history also pervades television's fiction programs. Because of the nature of American commercial television programming, individual programs develop and project a sense of history in direct proportion to their success—the longer they stay on the air, the more development there is over time. Characters and the actors who portray them not only age, but accrue a sense of density of experience, and viewers may establish variable relationships with these characters and their histories. This sense of continuity and history, linking and intersecting fictive worlds with the lives of viewers, seems strongest and most explicit in serial melodrama, but equally affects any successful, long-running series. It is also complicated by the question of syndication and reruns where the interplay of repetition and development, seriality and redundancy leads to the sense that history is malleable and mutable, at least at the level of individual, everyday experience. While many European television programs intentionally have a limited run of episodes, other long-running programs, such as *East-Enders*, indicate that this tendency toward open-endedness is not unique to American television. Furthermore, complicated historical issues can certainly be involved in limited-run series, as suggested by mini-series such as *Roots* in the United States or *Yearnings* in China.

As suggested above, many of these ideas about history are powerfully played out in the context of serial melodrama, a genre which may seem as far removed from "history" in the conventional sense as anything on

television. These "soap operas" offer stories that may continue for decades, maintaining viewer allegiances in the process, even though the stories are punctuated by redundancies on the one hand, and unanticipated reversals on the other. These narrative conventions are some of the very things for which the genre is often derided—slow dramatic progress, the ongoing breakups of good relationships, the routine revival of characters presumed dead, and sudden revelations that characters were switched at birth, or the product of previously unrevealed affairs, leading to major reconstructions of family relations. These characteristic narrative strategies also produce a subtle and sophisticated sense of historicity and temporality, in the context of the accumulation of a long-term historical fiction and long-term viewing commitments. Among other things, they encourage a persistent reexamination of conventional assumptions and attitudes in patriarchal culture about lineage, and about family and community relations. In the process, they also offer a sense that the force and weight of the past is important, but not always readily transparent, requiring the active interpretive involvement and participation of the most ordinary people, including soap-opera viewers. Complex and contradictory ideas about temporality and narrative contribute to a popular historical consciousness because they have everything to do with individuals' actual relations to and ideas about historicity. One example is found in the various *telenovelas* produced and aired in Brazil during the downfall of the Collor presidency in 1992; these *telenovelas* were read by audiences as socio-political texts imbued with the twists and turns that eventually led to Collor's resignation.

Television also produces ideas about history through historical fictions, in particular in primetime dramas and historical miniseries. These offer particular revisions and interpretations of the past, often inflected by a sense of anachronism. It is not surprising that many controversial social issues continue to be readily explored in the context of historical narrative. For viewers, the historical fictions provide the alibi of a safe distance and difference in relation to situations they might encounter in the present. A range of programs have thus explored ideas about race, gender, and multiculturalism in anachronistic historical contexts, allowing the past to become the terrain for displacing and exploring contemporary social concerns. In this way, particular historical moments, however fictionalized, may be revived in conjunction with contemporary social issues. This occurred, for example, in such programs as *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman, I'll Fly Away*, and *American Dreams*.

While these historical frames permit an opportunity for exploring issues that might otherwise be consid-

ered overly controversial (especially in the present), they also propose that the issues are not necessarily of current or topical concern, since they are retrospectively projected into the past. In this context, it is also interesting to examine which periods of the past become fertile territory for reexamination. Television often focuses on periods that are based in the recent past and thus overdetermined in their familiarity; or, the chosen moments are widely recognized as eras of national transition or upheaval, providing opportunity for the exploration of many socially charged topics. Even within particular programs dealing with these particular periods, however, the idea of a stable linear historicity is not necessarily the rule.

In various ways, then, television situates itself at the center of a process wherein it produces and reconstructs history for popular consumption. For if the things it reports are historic, sometimes before they have even occurred, and if early television programs are our common cultural heritage, then the medium itself is the agent of historical construction. This reaches extremes when the medium's presence at an event becomes the "proof" of the event's historical importance, a tautological process that tends to encourage self-absorption, self-referentiality, and self-legitimation. Watching television and being on television become twin poles of a contemporary cultural experience of historicization. Viewers are likely to get caught up in this process.

There is, for example, the case of a young woman standing in a crowd on an L.A. freeway overpass in the summer of 1994, waiting for O.J. Simpson to pass by in a white Ford Bronco, trailed by police who were trying to arrest him. A reporter from CNN asked her why she was there. She explained that she had been watching it all on television, and realized that O.J. would pass near her house and, she said, "I just wanted to be a part of history." In the logic of contemporary television culture she achieved her goal, because she was on television and was able to write history in her own voice, live, with her presence and participation in a major televised event.

MIMI WHITE AND JAMES SCHWOCH

*See also* **Civil Rights Movement and Television, Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral; Vietnam on Television; War on Television**

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## Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy, The

### British Science Fiction Comedy

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*The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* is a book, television program, radio series, record, cassette, video, and proposed feature film. The six-part BBC Television adaptation of its own original radio comedy is only one small part of a whole universe of merchandising that has sprung from this saga of angst and despair—from illustrated book versions to T-shirts and towels.

The story centers on an Earthman, Arthur Dent, one of a handful of survivors who remain when the planet is demolished to make way for a hyperspace bypass. Arthur travels through the galaxy with a group of companions: his friend Ford Prefect; Zaphod Beeblebrox, two-headed ex-president of the galaxy; a pretty young astrophysicist called Trillian; and a copy of *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, a woefully inaccurate electronic tourist guide.

The tale is a despair-ridden one. Our world, traditionally the center of our "Earthnocentric" view of the universe, becomes "an utterly insignificant blue/green planet," orbiting a "small, unregarded sun at the unfashionable end of the Western spiral arm of the galaxy." Indeed, the entire *Hitchhiker's Guide* entry for "Earth" says nothing more than "Mostly Harmless." In the course of the plot, it is repeatedly made clear just how meaningless the universe is. For exam-

ple, when Deep Thought, the greatest computer of all time, discovers the answer to "Life, the Universe, and Everything," it turns out to be "Forty-Two." Indeed, Earth is in fact a huge computer, built to discover the real Question of Life, the Universe, and Everything to which "Forty-Two" is the answer. On discovering this, Arthur Dent exclaims that this explains the feeling he has always had, that there is something going on in the universe which nobody would tell him about. "Oh no," says Zaphod Beeblebrox, "That's just perfectly normal paranoia. Everyone in the universe has that." This whole tone of angst is emphasized by the title sequence of the television program: a single spaceman falls, isolated, against a backdrop of distant stars, while a melancholy mandolin plays in the background.

The form of all the incarnations of this story, not least the television version, is comedy-science fiction. A sparsely populated category even in literature, it is even rarer to find films or television programs that twist the logic of the genres involved to provide innovative science fiction that is also very funny. Films such as *Spaceballs*, for example, take rules from established comedy genres (in this case, satire) and use a science fiction iconography as little more than a backdrop. *Red Dwarf*, the BBC's other successful science



*The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy.*  
Copyright © BBC Photo Library

fiction comedy, relies on well-known science fiction standard scenarios done over as comedy. None of these, were the comedy removed, would stand as notable science fiction in their own right.

Removing the comedy from *Hitchhiker* would also be harmful, but this is because it is a part of the science fiction context, and vice versa. The humor in the program comes from puncturing portentous science fiction themes. For example, there are extraterrestrial beings, but far from being all-knowing or enlightened, they are concerned mainly with drinking and sex. Similarly, Earth is under threat from aliens, not for reasons of power or resources, but simply because it is in the way of a planned bypass.

This comic deflation is an important part of the program's feeling of despair. The jokes build up expectations of transcendent truths, then knock them down with the realization that everything is meaningless after all. *Hitchhiker's* is a consistently comic dystopia.

It is also worth noting that the only constant name through all the manifestations of *Hitchhiker* was one of its original authors, Douglas Adams, who died in 2001. It is possible to make an auteur reading of the program in terms of Adams's other work. He was also a script editor of the BBC's long-standing science fiction series *Doctor Who*. Over the 26 seasons of that program, its style changed considerably, according to its producer and script editor: from space opera to gothic horror, adventure program to serious science fiction. While Adams was working on the program, he edited and wrote some of the most explicitly humorous episodes in that program's history. "City of Death," for example, features an alien creature forcing Leonardo da Vinci to paint multiple copies of the *Mona Lisa* to be sold on the black market; "Shada" was written almost as sitcom, with lines such as, "I am Skagra and I

want the globe!—Well, I'm the Doctor, and you can't have it."

Focusing on Adams's authorship underlines other aspects of *Hitchhiker*. The story has been reused across several different formats. The great efficiency of Adams's recycling is also evident in his earlier work—material from his *Doctor Who* stories "Shada" and "City of Death," for example, is brought wholesale into his other major enterprise: mystery stories about a "holistic" detective called Dirk Gently.

The most distinctive things about the television production of *Hitchhiker* are the sections of the program that come from "the book"—the fictional *Hitchhiker's Guide* itself. As Arthur encounters the various wonders of the Universe, the live action stops and there are short sections of what is essentially comic monologue—the disembodied voice of the *Guide* talks, while its comments are illustrated by "computer graphics" (illustrated line drawings). The structure of these programs is somewhat like that of the musical, in that the narrative stops for a short performance. This gives a unique comic feel to the program.

Ultimately, the most impressive fact about *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* is that so much has so repeatedly been made of so little. This is not to belittle the program in any way, but simply to point out that basically the same narrative was reworked and reissued over more than a decade, consistently finding, with new media, new audiences. This is surely worthy of some respect if for nothing else than being an impressive feat of environmentally sound narrative recycling.

ALAN MCKEE

#### Cast

The Book	Peter Jones (voice)
Arthur Dent	Simon Jones
Ford Prefect	David Dixon
Trillian	Sandra Dickinson
Zaphod Beeblebrox	Mark Wing-Davey
Marvin	Steven Moore

#### Producer

Alan Bell

#### Programming History

Six 35-minute episodes  
BBC

January 5, 1981–February 9, 1981

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# Hockey Night in Canada

## Canadian Sports Program

*Hockey Night in Canada (HNIC)* is one of sports broadcasting's longest-running and most groundbreaking programs. The contractual foundation for the series was established on an Ontario golf course in 1929 with a handshake between Toronto Maple Leafs boss Conn Smythe and advertising agency owner Jack MacLaren. The agreement granted MacLaren and his General Motors client the radio rights to Leafs games once Maple Leaf Gardens had been built. The inaugural *General Motors Hockey Broadcast* subsequently aired on November 12, 1931, soon after the Gardens was completed, with Foster Hewitt calling a Leafs/Chicago Black Hawks match-up. That same night, a Montreal contest between the Canadiens and the New York Rangers was also transmitted. By the start of 1933, a 20-station hook-up relayed broadcasts in English from both Toronto and Montreal. A telephone survey estimated the combined per-game audience at just under 1 million—in a country of less than 10 million people, many of whom did not even own radio sets. A coast-to-coast ad hoc network for the program was in place by the end of the 1933–34 season.

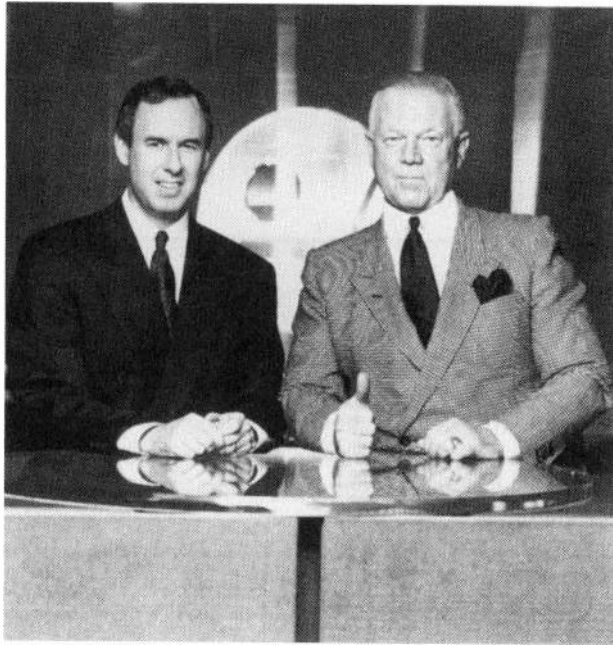
From 1936 to 1937, Imperial Oil (another MacLaren client) replaced General Motors when GM of Canada's new president, freshly transferred from the United States, declared that he "did not believe hockey would sell cars." Meanwhile, on January 1, 1937, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was launched as a public network and assumed national carriage of the program. Sometime thereafter, the series began to be identified as *Hockey Night in Canada*.

*HNIC's* first publicly televised game originated from Montreal on October 11, 1952. The initial Toronto telecast followed on November 1. The Toronto broadcasts were supervised by George Retzlaff, a 30-year-old technical director from Winnipeg, Manitoba, who had just finished his CBC cameraman's training when he was named head of CBC Sports and producer of *HNIC*. Retzlaff's flair for cogent camera angles and sensitivity to the sound factors of a telecast proved to be vital assets in his new job. Meanwhile, Gerald Renaud, a 24-year-old newspaper sports editor from Ottawa, Ontario, taught himself television and secured the job of Montreal sports producer. Renaud remarked, "The basic principle for the camera positions I wanted to have was an ideal seat from which to

watch the game." *HNIC* broadcasts originally utilized three overhead cameras. In 1956 Renaud introduced a fourth "goal camera" at ice level to catch the action around one of the nets. This was a natural extension of his daring method for shooting a game and pioneered a tighter, more adventurous school of hockey directing. Toronto's Retzlaff was an innovator as well. Anticipating the videotape replay, he used a new "hot processor" in 1955–56 to develop a kinescope (film) recording of a goal within 30 seconds for "almost instant" replay. Separately, and in their own ways, Retzlaff and Renaud taught telecasters how to convey the hockey drama. In these early years, Retzlaff was also a master at keeping both the CBC and MacLaren Advertising happy—an essential factor in *HNIC's* fiscal stability.

Throughout the 1950s the national feed game alternated weekly between Toronto and Montreal, with the opposite game downgraded to regional status for airing within Ontario or Quebec respectively. Because there was no real liaison between the two units, tensions and differences in coverage styles developed. In 1966, therefore, Ted Hough (whose MacLaren vice presidency made him administrative head of *HNIC*) hired TV football director Ralph Mellanby to be executive producer of all *HNIC* telecasts. To make the coverage more interesting, Mellanby began by requiring staff to ledger every stoppage in play and justify what the production featured during each stoppage. He introduced dramatic scripted openings to sell the personality of each particular game in the same way that teasers were used in entertainment series. Mellanby also brought in directional microphones to catch the sounds of crunching bodies and ricocheting pucks and (once colorcasting began after a March 1965 test) put the home team in white uniforms so that succeeding weeks' matches would benefit from the changing hues of different visitors' bright road jerseys.

For many years the television production of *HNIC* dovetailed with the radio coverage. Thus, the series aired on Saturday evenings (with some regional Wednesday games continuing into the 1970s) until Stanley Cup playoff time, when coverage could be almost nightly. However, because of CBC scheduling constraints, the early telecasts did not begin until 9:00 P.M.—the middle of the games' second period. In



*Hockey Night in Canada.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Sports

1963–64, sign-on was moved up to 8:30 (near the first period's end) and in 1967–68, an 8:00 start inaugurated full-game coverage. In 1995 a Saturday double-header pattern began, featuring two regional matches at 7:30 followed by a 10:30 nationwide feed from a western venue.

Financial aspects of the series also evolved. In 1958, the Molson family bought controlling interest in the Montreal Canadiens and used this as leverage to acquire part of the *HNIC* sponsorship for their Molson Breweries. By 1963 their sponsorship share equaled that of Imperial Oil. Ford of Canada also came aboard, initially to air "cover" commercials in provinces where beer advertising was prohibited. Imperial Oil pulled out of partner sponsorship in 1976, as oil shortages made advertising redundant (though it left behind the postgame ritual of picking the "three stars"—a practice begun to promote Imperial's "Three Star" brand of gas). The CBC then assumed Imperial's equity, creating a struggle for control with MacLaren's Canadian Sports Network, the entity that actually produced *HNIC*. Ultimately, Molson chose to eliminate the MacLaren middleman, setting the stage for a 1988 Molson/CBC pact that kept the series out of the hands of eager independent network CTV, and officially retitled it *Molson Hockey Night in Canada on CBC*. The CBC thereby solidified its technical and transmission control of the series while Molson subsidiary Molstar Communications strengthened its role as the propri-

etary producer and holder of exclusive contracts with the key on-air personalities. Ten years later, brewer Molson's archrival supplanted it as lead sponsor and the program became *Labatt Hockey Night in Canada on CBC*.

Over the years, *HNIC*'s air talent have been among the most famous people in Canada. Pioneering sportscaster Foster Hewitt was joined by son Bill when television coverage was added. Once *HNIC* outgrew radio-TV simulcasts, the elder Hewitt let his son handle the bulk of the TV side while he concentrated on his first love, radio. Foster Hewitt's ability to call a play and anticipate where it was going set the standard for the *HNIC* personalities who have followed him. Among them is Bob Cole, who replaced the ailing Bill Hewitt in 1973. Cole's style is to build his voice in a compelling series of plateaus as a play develops to its climax. Another broadcaster, former Vancouver and Detroit coach Harry Neale, inserts pithy lines into his games ("Turnovers in your own end are like ex-wives. The more you have, the more they cost you"). Dick Irvin, Jr., whose father coached both the Maple Leafs and the Canadiens to Stanley Cups, imbues the broadcasts with a genteel sense of heritage. And commentator and ex-coach Don Cherry is a volatile legend himself. Together with adroit foil and master punster Ron MacLean, Cherry's between-periods *Coach's Corner* often attracts more audience than the game itself, as he rails against the "pukes" and "LA-LA land sissies" who would outlaw on-ice fighting and as he draws blustery, unfavorable comparisons between European players and "good Canadian boys who play hockey the way it's supposed to be played."

PETER B. ORLIK

#### *See also Sports and Television*

#### **Hosts/Announcers/Commentators**

Ward Cornell (1959–72)  
Steve Armitage  
Dave Hodge (1972)  
Ron MacLean (1986–)  
Scott Russell (1989–)  
Don Cherry (1980–)  
Bob Cole (1973–)  
Marc Crawford  
Chris Cuthbert  
John Davidson (1984–86, 1999–)  
Patrick Flatley  
Danny Gallivan  
Foster Hewitt  
Kelly Hrudey  
Dick Irvin, Jr. (1967–)  
Mark Lee

Harry Neale (1977–)  
 Scott Oake  
 Don Wittman (1979–)  
 Bill Hewitt  
 Greg Millen

**Programming History**  
 CBC  
 October 11, 1952–

### Further Reading

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 Dryden, Steve, "Harry Neale's Off-Ice Gag Lines and Punch Lines," *The Hockey News* (November 25, 1994)  
 Duplacey, James, and Joseph Romain, *Toronto Maple Leafs: Images of Glory*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1990  
*Hockey Hall of Fame Magazine: Inaugural Issue* (1993)  
 Young, Scott, *The Boys of Saturday Night*, Toronto: Macmillan, 1990

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## Hodge, Patricia (1946– )

British Actor

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Patricia Hodge is a versatile and familiar face in British television comedy and drama. Her credits extend from the situation comedy  *Holding the Fort*  to supporting roles in long-running drama serials, such as  *Rumpole of the Bailey* , and leading parts in specials and miniseries like  *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* .

Hodge's abilities as an actress were evident even before she completed her training at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art, where she won the Eveline Evans Award for Best Actress. Prior to establishing herself in television and film, she gathered valuable stage experience, appearing in major productions of plays as varied as  *Rookery Nook* ,  *Two Gentlemen of Verona* ,  *Hair* , and  *Look Back in Anger* . With her vivacious good looks, half-closed eyes, and distinctive sharp-lined mouth, she proved herself equally adept at playing sultry temptresses and outraged harpies with a cruel streak, among other contrasting roles. The one factor common to the majority of her characters has been their patently aristocratic birth.

As a television performer, Hodge was warmly received as well-spoken barrister Phyllida Trant in support of a rascally Leo McKern in  *Rumpole of the Bailey* , a role in which she reappeared many times. Her first starring parts came in the situation comedies  *The Other 'Arf* , in which she was Member of Parliament John Standing's snobbish, spurned partner Sybilla Howarth, and  *Holding the Fort* , a somewhat lackluster series in which she was paired with Peter Davison as a newly married young mother experimenting with role reversal, going back to work while her restless husband stayed at home to do the chores.

By now established as a player of ladies of distinctly elevated backgrounds, Hodge was an obvious choice for Lady Antonia Fraser's aristocratic amateur sleuth Jemima Shore in  *Jemima Shore Investigates* , sniffing out crimes among the nobility. Hodge's playing was widely recognized as the best feature of an otherwise very ordinary effort, which, despite her contribution, was fated to be only short-lived. Also wealthy and well-connected was her character in Fay Weldon's far more successful  *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* : the arrogant and man-stealing best-selling novelist Mary Fisher finally brought low by the vengeful Ruth Patchett (played by Julie T. Wallace). Also worthy of note have been her performances as Julia Merrygrove in  *Rich Tea and Sympathy*  and guest appearances in shows ranging from  *Softly, Softly* ,  *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* , and  *Inspector Morse* , to  *Victoria Wood: Staying In*  and  *The Full Wax* , in which she showed a refreshing readiness to allow herself to be made the target of jokes.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Naked Civil Servant, The; Rumpole of the Bailey*

**Patricia Hodge.** Born in Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire, England, September 29, 1946. Attended Wintringham Girls' Grammar School, Grimsby; St. Helen's School, Northwood, Middlesex; Maria Grey College, Twickenham; London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. Married: Peter Owen, 1976; children: Alexander and Edward. Worked as a teacher; stage debut,  *Traverse*





Patricia Hodge.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Theatre, Edinburgh, 1971; popular leading lady in television drama series.

#### Television Series

- 1978–90 *Rumpole of the Bailey*  
1978 *Edward and Mrs. Simpson*  
1979–82 *Holding the Fort*  
1979–80,  
1981 *The Other 'Arf*  
1980 *Nanny*  
1981 *Winston Churchill: The Wilderness  
Years*  
1982 *Jemima Shore Investigates*

- 1986 *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil*  
1991 *Rich Tea and Sympathy*  
1992 *The Cloning of Joanna May*  
1996 *The Legacy of Reginald Perrin*  
2003 *Sweet Medicine*

#### Television Specials

- 1975 *The Girls of Slender Means*  
1975 *The Naked Civil Servant*  
1978 *The One and Only Phyllis Dixey*  
1984 *Hay Fever*  
1985 *The Death of the Heart*  
1986 *Hotel du Lac*  
1988 *Heat of the Day*  
1989 *The Shell Seekers*  
1989 *Spymaker: The Secret Life of Ian  
Fleming*  
1996 *The Moonstone*  
1999 *The People's Passion*  
2002 *The Falklands Play*

#### Films

*The Disappearance*, 1978; *Rosie Dixon—Night Nurse*, 1978; *The Waterloo Bridge Handicap*, 1979; *The Elephant Man*, 1980; *Heavy Metal*, 1981; *Riding High*, 1981; *Betrayal*, 1983; *Behind Enemy Lines*, 1985; *Dust to Dust*, 1985; *Skin*, 1986; *The Second Stain*, 1986; *92 Grosvenor Street*, 1987; *Sunset*, 1987; *Falcon's Maltester*, 1987; *Thieves in the Night*, 1988; *Just Ask for Diamond*, 1988; *The Leading Man*, 1996; *Jilting Joe*, 1997; *Lies and Whispers*, 1998; *Before You Go*, 2002.

#### Stage

*No-One Was Saved*, 1971; *Rookery Nook*, 1972; *Popkiss*, 1972; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1973; *Pippin*, 1973; *Hair*, 1974; *The Beggar's Opera*, 1975; *Pal Joey*, 1976; *Look Back in Anger*, 1976; *Then and Now*, 1979; *The Mitford Girls*, 1981; *As You Like It*, 1983; *Benefactors*, 1984; *Lady in the Dark*, 1988; *Noël and Gertie*, 1989–90; *Shades*, 1992; *Separate Tables*, 1993; *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, 1994; *A Little Night Music*, 1995; *Heartbreak House*, 1997; *Money*, 1999; *Summerfolk*, 1999.



## Holbrook, Hal (1925– )

U.S. Actor

Hal Holbrook is a highly respected actor whose career in the television medium began in the 1950s when he appeared on daytime soap operas. However, his creation of the stage play *Mark Twain Tonight!* in 1954 was the endeavor that really admitted him into a highly respected career as a television, film, and stage actor. He has since performed onstage as Twain more than 2,000 times.

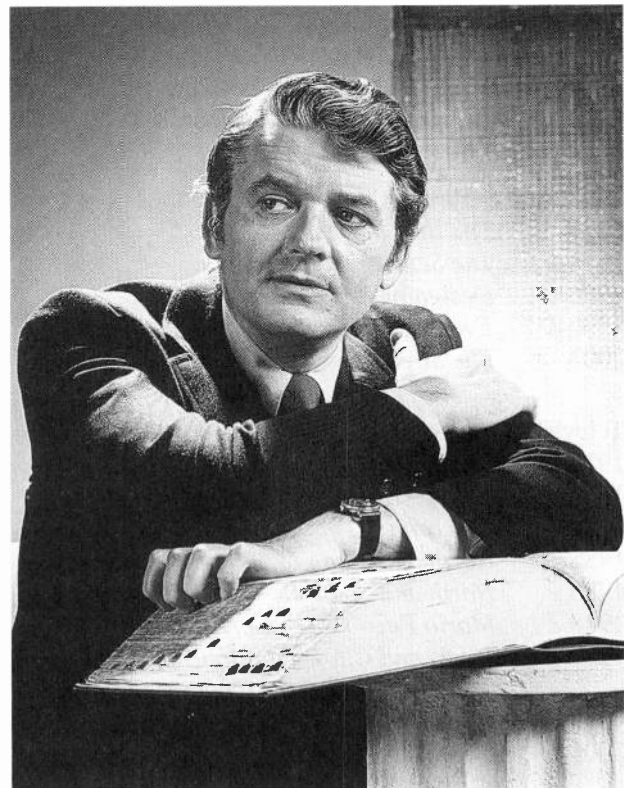
Holbrook is known to many TV viewers for his regular supporting role in *Evening Shade*, in which he played a cantankerous older man, a newspaper editor whose son-in-law was played by Burt Reynolds. Holbrook is also known for his portrayal of the cunning lawyer Wild Bill McKenzie in the NBC made-for-TV *Perry Mason Mystery* movies of the 1990s. In these movies, Perry Mason is out of town, and Holbrook's McKenzie handles court cases for him. Another regular recurring role introduced Holbrook to television audiences as Reese Watson, boyfriend of the rambunctious Julia Sugarbaker on *Designing Women* (1986–93). Dixie Carter, who portrayed Julia, is Holbrook's wife. However, Holbrook's acting experience is much more expansive than these television excursions indicate.

Holbrook began his acting career on Broadway in the 1950s, when his characterization of Mark Twain won him international recognition. The one-man drama *Mark Twain Tonight!* premiered on Broadway in 1959, and Holbrook won a Tony Award for the play in 1966. He performed the act on network TV and has continued its performance. He also has acted in many other plays and locations. In 1993, for example, he played Shakespeare's *King Lear* at the Old Globe Theatre in San Diego, California, winning both critical and popular acclaim. While touring with *Mark Twain Tonight!*, Holbrook began acting in cinema. He first appeared in *The Group* (1966) and *Wild in the Streets* (1968).

Holbrook began acting on TV as he simultaneously toured *Mark Twain Tonight!* and acted in film. In 1969 he appeared in the made-for-TV movie *The Whole World Is Watching*. This was followed by a quick succession of other TV movies, such as *A Clear and Present Danger*, *Travis Logan, D.A.*, *Suddenly Single*,

*Goodbye, Raggedy Ann*, and *That Certain Summer*. Most of his best acting on TV has been in single appearances rather than in series. Many of these performances have been based on historical figures (such as Twain, Lincoln, and Commander Lloyd Bucher of the ship *Pueblo*). He has won Emmy Awards for *The Senator*, *Pueblo*, and *Sandburg's Lincoln*. His TV credits include working as the sometime-host of *Omnibus* and acting in miniseries such as *North and South*.

Holbrook's work in the theater has been of enormous benefit to his TV performances. He has learned the craft of acting primarily on the stage. In theater, says Holbrook, the actor is responsible for his/her success or failure. Thus, Holbrook's acting has improved



Hal Holbrook.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

over several decades due to his professional theater work. However, he has consistently come back to the mass medium of TV to entertain audiences in movies and historical dramas, bringing well-crafted acting, intelligent characterizations, and award-winning performances. As he continues his work in TV and film, he also receives acclaim for his work on stage, winning, for example, the 1998 William Shakespeare Award for Classical Theater.

CLAYLAND H. WAITE

**Hal (Harold Rowe, Jr.) Holbrook.** Born in Cleveland, Ohio, February 17, 1925. Educated at Suffield Academy, 1933–37, Culver Military Academy, 1938–42; Denison University, B.A. with honors, 1948. Married: 1) Ruby Elaine Johnson, 1945 (divorced), children: Victoria and David; 2) Carol Rossen (divorced), child: Eve; 3) Dixie Carter, 1984. Early career in summer stock; developed solo performance, *Mark Twain Tonight!*, 1954; has toured widely in the United States and abroad; in film and television since 1960s. Member, Committee on International Cultural Exchange; National Council of Arts and Government; Mark Twain Memorial Association. Recipient: Vernon Rice Memorial Award, 1959; Outer Circle Award, 1959; Special Citation, New York Drama Critics Circle, 1966; Tony Award, 1966; Torch of Liberty Award, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai Brith, 1972; Emmy Awards, 1970, 1973, 1975; William Shakespeare Award, Shakespeare Theater, Washington, D.C., 1998.

**Television Series**

- 1954–59 *The Brighter Day*
- 1970–71 *The Senator*
- 1986–93 *Designing Women*
- 1990–94 *Evening Shade*
- 2003 *The Street Lawyer*

**Television Miniseries**

- 1974 *Sandburg's Lincoln*
- 1984 *George Washington*
- 1984 *Celebrity*
- 1985 *North and South*
- 1986 *North and South II*
- 1988 *Mario Puzo's "The Fortunate Pilgrim"*
- 1997 *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* (documentary narrator)
- 2001 *Founding Fathers*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1966 *The Glass Menagerie*
- 1969 *The Whole World Is Watching*

- 1970 *Travis Logan, D.A.*
- 1970 *A Clear and Present Danger*
- 1971 *Suddenly Single*
- 1971 *Goodbye, Raggedy Ann*
- 1972 *That Certain Summer*
- 1973 *Pueblo*
- 1978 *The Awakening Land*
- 1979 *When Hell Was in Session*
- 1979 *Murder by Natural Causes*
- 1979 *The Legend of the Golden Gun*
- 1980 *Our Town*
- 1980 *Off the Minnesota Strip*
- 1981 *The Killing of Randy Webster*
- 1984 *The Three Wishes of Billy Grier*
- 1985 *Behind Enemy Lines*
- 1986 *Under Siege*
- 1986 *Dress Gray*
- 1987 *Plaza Suite*
- 1988 *I'll Be Home for Christmas*
- 1988 *Emma: Queen of the South Seas*
- 1989 *Sorry, Wrong Number*
- 1989 *Day One*
- 1990 *A Killing in a Small Town*
- 1993 *Bonds of Love*
- 1994 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Lethal Lifestyle*
- 1994 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Grimacing Governor*
- 1995 *She Stood Alone: The Tailhook Scandal*
- 1995 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Jealous Joker*
- 1996 *Innocent Victims*
- 1997 *All the Winters That Have Been*
- 1997 *The Third Twin*
- 1998 *Beauty*
- 1999 *My Own Country*
- 2000 *A Place Apart*
- 2001 *Haven*
- 2001 *The Legend of the Three Trees* (voice only)

**Television Special (selected)**

- 1967 *Mark Twain Tonight!*

**Films (selected)**

*The Group*, 1966; *Wild in the Streets*, 1968; *The People Next Door*, 1970; *The Great White Hope*, 1970; *They Only Kill Their Masters*, 1972; *Magnum Force*, 1973; *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, 1973; *The Girl from Petrovka*, 1974; *Midway*, 1976; *All the President's Men* (voice), 1976; *Julia*, 1977; *Rituals*, 1978; *Capricorn One*, 1978; *Natural Enemies*, 1979; *The Kidnapping of the President*, 1980; *The*

*Fog*, 1980; *Creepshow*, 1982; *The Star Chamber*, 1983; *Girl's Night Out*, 1984; *Wall Street*, 1987; *The Unholy*, 1988; *Fletch Lives*, 1989; *The Firm*, 1993; *Cats Don't Dance* (voice), 1996; *Carried Away*, 1996; *Hercules* (voice), 1997; *Eye of God*, 1997; *Operation Delta Force*, 1997; *Hush*, 1998; *Judas Kiss*, 1998; *The Florentine*, 1999; *The Bachelor*, 1999; *Waking the Dead*, 2000; *Men of Honor*, 2000; *The Majestic*, 2001; *Purpose*, 2002; *Shade*, 2003.

#### Stage (selected)

*Mark Twain Tonight!*, 1954–; *Do You Know the Milky Way*, 1961; *After the Fall*, 1964–65; *Marco Millions*, 1964; *Incident at Vichy*, 1964–65; *Tartuffe*,

1965; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1965; *Man of La Mancha*, 1965–71; *The Apple Tree*, 1966–67; *I Never Sang For My Father*, 1968; *Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?*, 1969; *King Lear*; *An American Daughter*, 1997.

#### Publication

*Mark Twain Tonight: An Actor's Portrait, Selections from Mark Twain*, 1959

#### Further Reading

Richards, David, "Secret Sharers: Solo Acts in a Confessional Age," *New York Times* (April 14, 1991)

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## Hollywood and Television

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The history of the vital relationship between Hollywood and television began in the 1920s, as radio broadcasting created new opportunities for showmanship and entertainment. Film entrepreneurs eagerly pursued the possibilities that radio awoke for various aspects of the film business, including production, promotion, and exhibition. One of the earliest pioneers was Samuel L. Rothafel, manager of the Capitol Theater in New York City, owned by the Loews Corporation. "Roxy," as he was known, took to the air on November 19, 1922, over WEAF as host of *The Capitol Theater Gang*, a regular Sunday night broadcast of the Capitol Theater's prefeature stage show. Roxy soon became one of radio's first celebrity personalities, and Loew's flagship theater and films received the benefit of national promotion as WEAF became the central hub of the fledgling NBC network. This mutual publicity and benefit showed what a strategic alliance of the two media could accomplish.

Samuel L. Warner parlayed his interest in sound-film technology into a Warner Brothers radio station, KFNB, in 1925, proposing that other studios recognize the potential in this new medium as well. Loew's New York station, WHN, provided one of the few consistent venues for black jazz musicians in the 1920s and early 1930s. Despite some exhibitors' objections, both Paramount and MGM announced their intention to form radio networks in the late 1920s. Paramount

eventually became half-owner of CBS, until the studio was forced to sell back its stock in 1932; MGM went on to participate in radio program origination with *The Maxwell House Showboat* in the 1930s; and in a reversal of this pattern RCA, parent of NBC, acquired its own film studio, RKO, in 1929.

With the entry of advertising agencies into radio production in the early 1930s, the somewhat stuffy "potted-palm" aesthetic of NBC gave way to Hollywood-based showmanship, and film stars and film properties made up an increasing proportion of radio's daily schedules. Hollywood became a major broadcast production center in the mid-1930s, with such programs as *Hollywood Hotel*, the *Lux Radio Theater* (hosted by Cecil B. DeMille), and most major variety shows featuring Hollywood talent originating from the West Coast studios of NBC, CBS, and major agencies.

In turn, as radio developed its own roster of stars, the studios capitalized on a long series of radio pictures, from Amos and Andy's *Check and Double Check* in 1932 and the *Big Broadcast* films to the Bob Hope and Bing Crosby "road" movies of the 1940s. The studios also capitalized on the promotional capacity of radio in the form of spot advertising, using audio-only trailers as an important part of film promotion.

This lucrative and mutually beneficial relationship, combined with Federal Communications Commission

(FCC) regulation, kept Hollywood from developing its potential for competition with network broadcasting by restricting the use of recorded material for syndication. Not until the advent of television did film itself present a strong alternative to provision of live programming via networks. Paramount, Warner Brothers, Loew's-MGM, and 20th Century-FOX had all opened stations or applied for television station licenses in the late 1940s, but indications from the FCC that movie studios would not be looked upon favorably in post-freeze allocations led to experimentation with other methods of capitalizing on the television medium.

Hollywood studios plunged into television on three fronts: first, in the development of pay television systems in the late 1940s, designed to provide feature films on a box-office basis; second, in experiments with theater television, a method for projecting television onto movie theater screens; and third, in direct production for television, both network and syndicated. Paramount experimented with its Telemeter pay-per-view system, along with Zenith's Phonevision and the Skiatron Corporation's over the air technology; FCC discouragement of this potentially powerful competition to network broadcasting prevented pay television from becoming a reality and allowed the cable industry to find a foothold. Both FOX and Paramount attempted to develop theater television, but the expansion of individual TV set sales, combined with the FCC's refusal to allocate part of the mostly unused UHF band for transmission, brought this short-lived technology to a halt. By the early 1950s the studios had turned to television production, led by Hollywood independents but culminating in the Disney/ABC alliance that produced *Disneyland* in 1954. Warner Brothers and MCA/Universal followed, as network expansion and consolidation allowed a shift from live programming to filmed series. By 1960, 40 percent of network programming was produced by the major Hollywood studios and the proportion continued to grow.

The FCC's institution of the Financial Interest and Syndication (Fin-Syn) Rules in the mid-1970s finally allowed the production companies to break free of network dominance of the lucrative syndication market. Combined with the growth of cable, where the federal Must-Carry Rule helped provide new audiences for independent stations, the market for Hollywood-produced series, specials, miniseries, and movie packages skyrocketed in the 1980s. Pay-cable companies such as HBO and Showtime provided new funds for production capital.

By the late 1980s, history had come full circle, as Rupert Murdoch's vertically integrated Twentieth Century-FOX corporation formed the first successful

fourth network in U.S. broadcasting history. The new FOX network capitalized on a ready supply of in-house programming, newly powerful independent stations, niche marketing to youth, and favorable FCC regulation in order to prove that the Hollywood film industry and network television broadcasting had only remained separate for 40 years as a result of heavy legislative intervention.

Paramount and Warner Brothers were not slow to take heed, starting up two new networks, the United Paramount Network (UPN, which drew on the success of the syndicated *Star Trek* series) and the WB (geared primarily to adolescent audiences), in January 1995. That same year, a wave of mergers hit the industry as Westinghouse Corporation bought the CBS network and Time Warner merged with Turner Broadcasting. Disney's purchase of ABC in 1996 confirmed the studio-network alliance. This alliance also relied on the rewriting of ownership rules in the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which loosened caps on the number of stations an individual or company could own.

By the late 1990s, as cable, telephone, computer and broadcasting companies struggled for favorable alliances with Hollywood-based creative organizations, the relationship of Hollywood and television continued its cruise at warp speed into the integrated and interactive sphere of cyberspace. Upstart Internet provider America OnLine (AOL) purchased entertainment behemoth Time Warner to become AOL Time Warner, a merger which ultimately failed. The potential for high-speed cable access at least partially drove the deal; AOL controlled 54 percent of the Internet access market, while Time Warner Cable reached over 20 percent of the U.S. public with valuable broadband connections. Viacom Corporation, the cable, film, and television production empire and parent of Paramount, purchased CBS in 1999, finally bringing CBS and Paramount together in the networking business again. However, since ownership of more than one television network was illegal under current ownership restrictions, Viacom (which already owned UPN) at once set about lobbying for a further relaxation of the rules, and in 2001 it received permission from the Federal Communications Commission to own both entities. Networks vied for the most prominent web presence, from Warner Brothers' leading position on AOL to Disney's purchase of the web portal SNAP in 1998, and ABC/Disney's creation of the Go Network, a new portal launched in 1999. However, both Warner and Disney had retreated from the portal business by 2001, even as the new synergy produced glossy websites featuring current film and television productions.

Synergy could have unanticipated results. For example, Twentieth Century-FOX attracted notoriety

early in 2000 when it sought to curb websites featuring its popular series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *The Simpsons*, and *The X Files*, as fans began to circulate their own video clips, audio segments, and transcripts of the show. These and many other ownership, copyright, and competitive issues promised to trouble the now fully integrated film and television industries of the United States in the 21st century, even as those industries continue to expand across the globe.

MICHELE HILMES

See also **FOX Broadcasting Company; Time Warner; UPN Television Network; WB Network**

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# Holocaust

## U.S. Miniseries

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*Holocaust* first aired on NBC from April 16–19, 1978. The most obvious comparison for this nine-and-a-half-hour, four-part series was with *Roots*, which had aired on ABC a year earlier and on which *Holocaust*'s director, Marvin Chomsky, had worked. Like *Roots*' saga of American slavery, *Holocaust*'s story of Jewish suffering before and during World War II apparently flew in the face of network programming wisdom, which advised against presenting tales of virtually unrelieved or inexplicable misery. While *Holocaust* was a smaller ratings success than was *Roots* (it drew a 49 audience share to *Roots*' 66), NBC estimated after the 1979 rebroadcast that as many as 220 million viewers in the United States and Europe had seen *Holocaust*.

Produced by Herbert Brodtkin, *Holocaust* contrasts the interlocking fates of two German families, the Jewish Weisses and the Nazi Dorfs. At the time of the series' first airing, critics sniped at the improbability of the proposition that so small a cast of characters would be witnesses to so great a number of the major milestones in the destruction of European Jewry, among them the confabulations of the architects of Hitler's Final Solution, the slaughter at Babi Yar, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and the liberation of Auschwitz. In another sense, however, this emphasis on blood ties conforms to this drama's major artistic strategy, the employment (overemployment, James Lardner complained in the *New Republic*) of symbol and archetype. Thus, the Holocaust is, in this conception, the destruction of a family within Europe, just as the infamous smokestacks of the death camps may be emblemized by a moment when the small daughter of Nazi bureau-

crat Erik Dorf stuffs a sheaf of Weiss family photographs into the parlor stove and shuts the door firmly upon them.

On its U.S. debut, *Holocaust* met with a generally positive response but not with unanimous approbation. Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel protested in the *New York Times* that it was "untrue, offensive, cheap." Reviewers generally applauded the cast (which included Meryl Streep, Ian Holm, Fritz Weaver, Rosemary Harris, and Michael Moriarty, who won an Emmy for his portrayal of Dorf) and praised Gerald Green's script, an overnight best-seller when published in novel form as a tie-in. Still, several critics described a curious "emptiness" at the drama's heart, emanating from what they identified as excessive melodrama and flat characters who seemed designed to represent particular classes and types more than individuals. Moreover, many viewers were particularly dismayed by the content of the commercial interruptions, which at best seemed to strike a cheerfully vulgar note inappropriate to the subject matter of the series and at other times appeared, horrifyingly, to parody it, as in the juxtaposition of a Lysol ad alerting viewers to the need to combat kitchen odors, with a scene in which Adolf Eichmann complains that the crematoria smells make dining at Auschwitz unpleasant.

When the series aired in West Germany on the Third (Regional) Network in January 1979 (a forum apparently designed to lessen its impact), however, viewer response was little short of stunning. According to German polls intended to measure audience reaction before, immediately after, and several months after



*Holocaust*, Meryl Streep, 1978.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Holocaust* appeared, this single television event had a significant effect on West Germans' understanding of this episode in the history of their country. Despite strong opposition to the broadcast before it aired, some 15 million West Germans (roughly half the adult population) tuned in to one or more episodes, breaking what Judith Doneson calls "a thirty-five-year taboo on discussing Nazi atrocities." Among those who saw the series, the number favoring the failed German-resistance plot of 20 July 1944 to assassinate Hitler rose dramatically. *Variety* reported that "70 percent of those in the 14 to 19 age group declared that they had learned more from the shows about the horrors of the Nazi regime than they had learned in all their years of studying West German history." Such was the public response that the West German government promptly canceled the statute of limitations for Nazi war crimes, formerly scheduled to expire at the end of 1979.

The mixture of prime-time commercialism and emotional commitment that informed *Holocaust* goes far to explaining both its wide appeal (and, often, powerful effect) and the disappointment it represented for its detractors. Filmed, unlike *Roots*, on location—in Mauthausen concentration camp, among other places—and reportedly a shattering experience for those who made

it, especially for the actors portraying Nazis, the series allowed its producers to take pride in the quality of the research involved; they were creating, they noted, a major television event designed to shape the historical perceptions of millions. But ultimately, it would seem, the critiques of the series arise from the fact that it is no more than the "major television event" that NBC assuredly achieved.

ANNE MOREY

**See also Docudrama; History and Television; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Cast**

Adolph Eichmann	Tom Bell
Rudi Weiss	Joseph Bottoms
Helena Slomova	Tovah Feldshuh
Herr Palitz	Marius Goring
Berta Weiss	Rosemary Harris
Heinrich Himmler	Ian Holm
Uncle Sasha	Lee Montague
Erik Dorf	Michael Moriarty
Marta Dorf	Deborah Norton
Uncle Kurt Dorf	Robert Stephens
Inga Helms Weiss	Meryl Streep
Moses Weiss	Sam Wanamaker
Reinhard Heydrich	David Warner
Josef Weiss	Fritz Weaver
Karl Weiss	James Woods
Hoefle	Sean Arnold
Hans Frank	John Bailey
Anna Weiss	Blanche Baker
Frau Lowy	Kate Jaenicke
Dr. Kohn	Charles Kavin

**Producers**

Herbert Brodtkin, Robert "Buzz" Berger

**Programming History**

NBC	
April 16, 1978	8:00–11:00
April 17, 1978	9:00–11:00
April 18, 1978	9:00–11:00
April 19, 1978	8:30–11:00

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## Home Box Office

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In the mid-1980s, FOX Broadcasting's Barry Diller announced somewhat hyperbolically that if someone didn't do something soon, Home Box Office (HBO) would take over Hollywood. Former HBO executive George Mair describes the company as "The Cash Cow That Almost Ate Hollywood." How did a pay cable company, which did not exist fifteen years before, suddenly come to this position of power in the century-old American audio-visual entertainment industry?

Home Box Office, now a subsidiary of AOL Time Warner, currently delivers movies, sports, and original series programming to 35 million households in the United States. This is about a third of the audience for broadcast network television, which currently reaches approximately 100 million households. The difference, however, is that the HBO households pay over \$10 per month for the service, generating some \$4 billion in revenue every year. For this reason, HBO is able to finance a tremendous percentage of Hollywood films each year.

In addition, HBO produces some of the highest-gloss series in the history of American television, including its break-out sitcoms (*The Larry Sanders Show*, *Sex and the City*, and *Curb Your Enthusiasm*) and hour-long dramas (*Oz*, *The Sopranos*, and *Six Feet Under*). HBO's in-house programming ranges from high-profile miniseries (*From the Earth to the Moon* and *Band of Brothers*) to Made-For-TV movies (*Conspiracy*, *The Laramie Project*). Along with PBS's *Frontline*, HBO represents the industry standard in documentaries. Under the direction of Sheila Nevins, HBO's "America Undercover" series provides American documentary filmmakers with a showcase for their work. HBO's sports documentary shows—*On the Record with Bob Costas* and *Real Sports with Bryant Gumbel*—represent the only critical examinations of sports in American life on American televi-

sion. With the departure of ABC's *Wide World of Sports*, boxing coverage on HBO (and pay-cable rival Showtime) is a remaining remnant of what used to be a centerpiece of American broadcasting. HBO's long-standing commitment to stand-up comedy is maintained via stand-up performance records of all major American comedians (including Jerry Seinfeld, Larry David, and Ellen DeGeneres) and *The Dennis Miller Show*.

The basic idea for what has become the HBO empire began with Chuck Dolan, owner of Sterling Manhattan Cable, who believed he could deliver movies and sports programming to cable subscribers via what he then called "the Green Channel." In November 1972, under the direction of Gerald Levin, this dream came to fruition, when HBO delivered a National Hockey League game broadcast from Madison Square Garden and the 1971 Paul Newman film, *Sometimes a Great Notion*, to a handful of cable subscribers in Wilkes-Barre, PA. In the early 1970s, as a program broker (delivering Hollywood films from the studios to cable subscribers), HBO struggled, relying on the few films it could afford, playing them repeatedly throughout each month of service. As a result, HBO's business model was crippled by "churning," a term describing the high turn-over rate for dissatisfied subscribers. For every two new subscribers HBO would sign on, only one would remain at the end of the month.

The turning point came in September 1975, when the company was the first to effectively make use of satellite technology for program delivery. HBO revolutionized the industry by using the RCA satellite, SATCOM I, to deliver "The Thrilla in Manila" (the World Heavyweight title fight between Joe Frazier and Muhammad Ali, fought in Manila) to a national audience in the United States. Previously, network televi-

sion had to film such a sporting event, fly the film to the United States, and broadcast it days later. With the satellite technology, the cable programmer was able to deliver the Ali-Frazier fight live.

The prescient use of satellite technology rapidly pushed HBO to prominence. In October 1977, HBO turned its first profit for its parent company, Time Inc. With a stable financial position, the cable network began shifting its business model from one of program brokering to program development and production. As early as 1975, HBO had begun original television programming, with its innovative comedy shows, *Standing Room Only* and *On Location*, which gave stand-up comics Robin Williams and Steve Martin their early breaks. In 1978, HBO began "pre-buy" financing of Hollywood movies, which entailed providing significant production up-front financing to independent film producers, with the proviso that HBO would have exclusive rights to the film's run on pay cable television. Using this business model, HBO has become the single largest financier of movies in Hollywood.

In the 1980s, HBO's financial position was threatened by the increasing market penetration of the videocassette recorder. Earlier release dates of Hollywood films to videotape, available for rental at local video stores, threatened to render HBO, primarily a movie supplier, obsolete. Rather than fight the trend, as did most of the other players in Hollywood, HBO rebuilt its business model to incorporate home video to its advantage. First, HBO intensified its role in production of feature-length films. In 1983, HBO produced *The Terry Fox Story*, the first made-for-pay-TV movie. Secondly, HBO moved into the video business itself, as a way of releasing its original productions. Third, HBO began to intensify its role in original series television production.

It is this last strategy that became most noteworthy in the 1990s. HBO began such original series programming with sitcoms, the staple genre of American network television. *Dream On* premiered in July 1990, but it was with *The Larry Sanders Show* (1992-98) that HBO achieved, in Deborah Jaramillo's words, its "flagship series." Coupled with its increasing prominence in made-for-pay-television movies (including *Barbarians at the Gate* and *Stalin*), HBO won 17 Emmys in 1993 (the second-highest awarded network that year, NBC, received 16).

HBO's strategy for competing with network television sitcoms first involved summer counter-programming. *Dream On*'s 1990 first season ran from July to October, and *The Larry Sanders Show*'s 1993 second season ran from June to September, thus exhibiting new episodes against the network's summer re-runs.

By the late 1990s, HBO had perfected a full-blown counter-programming strategy, featuring seasons with 13 episodes only. Equally important, HBO series explicitly featured content not available on network television, as in the frank sexuality of *Sex and the City*.

In July 1997, HBO premiered its first foray into hour-long drama, with Tom Fontana's *Oz*, a violent and graphic depiction of life inside a prison. It was with *The Sopranos*, however, that HBO solidified its reputation in hour-long drama. Debuting in January 1999, *The Sopranos* brought a cinematic genre—the gangster film—to television, hybridizing this with a melodrama about the private lives of a mafia family. HBO used the break-out success of the show to announce itself as delivering a product distinct from network television, best exemplified in their motto, "It's Not TV, It's HBO."

Under Chris Albrecht, head of original programming, HBO continues to glean tremendous critical acclaim for its series television. At the 2000 Emmy awards, 42 percent of all nominations went to HBO shows. In October 2000, *Curb Your Enthusiasm* featured Larry David, the co-creator of *Seinfeld*, in an experimental mockumentary sit-com format, replaying in his "real" life the comedic situations that had formed the central narrative content of *Seinfeld*. In the summer of 2001, HBO debuted its third hour-long drama, *Six Feet Under*, filmmaker Alan Ball's melodrama about a family living and working in a funeral home.

The fact of the matter is that these shows are much more complexly linked to network television than HBO's marketing scheme suggests. The shows are outstanding sitcoms and dramas, comparable to such historically significant programs as *Hill Street Blues* and *St. Elsewhere*, and defined by academic critics as "quality television." However, HBO exploits its difference from network television as an issue of quality only when it is critically advantageous to do so. In other venues—as in the soft-core porn series *G-String Divas*—such a distinction is used for titillation. This is not to say that *Divas*, which represents the lives of pole-dancing strippers, is indefensible. Unlike puritanical network television, the women on *Divas* refreshingly discuss sexuality-as-performance in straightforward, non-censorious terms.

However, most of the HBO original series—most crucially *Sex and the City*—are caught in this contradiction. On the one hand, the series is a continuation of the strain of television melodrama begun by Darren Star on FOX's critically reviled *Melrose Place*. Yet despite *Sex and the City*'s requisite featuring of breasts and unbridled sexual activity, the show does examine,



in complex ways, a post-feminist, consumerist female community of friends.

Thus, HBO offers programs as interesting as anything on network television (but not necessarily more so). Delivered without commercials, the programs perhaps seem of higher quality, less poisoned by the crass commercialism of their network peers. The fact that one is paying over \$10 a month for the privilege of viewing these television shows is, of course, the repressed term in this equation.

WALTER METZ

*See also Cable Networks; Pay Cable; Sex and the City; Sopranos, The*

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## Home Shopping

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The concept of home shopping originated in 1977 by chance. An advertiser on WWQT, an AM radio station in Clearwater, Florida, could not pay his bill and, in lieu of cash, the station owner agreed to accept 112 electric can openers, which he auctioned off on the air. The can openers sold out quickly, and the station realized they were onto something. WWQT was owned by Lowell "Bud" Paxson, who created a regularly scheduled radio show that, in 1981, gave birth to a Tampa Bay-based cable access television show called the Home Shopping Channel. In 1982, the Home Shopping Channel held a permanent spot on the Tampa Bay television system. By 1986, the Home Shopping Channel evolved into the publicly traded Home Shopping Network and a multi-billion dollar industry.

The key to the success of the Home Shopping Network and its competitors, QVC and Value Vision, is that they are experts at selling materials to people, said Jack Kirby, president of HSNi (the interactive division of the Home Shopping Network). Josh Bernoff, a principal analyst at Forrester Research, says that the home shopping networks use hosts who are successful salespeople, appealing and effective screen layouts, reasonable and accurate pricing, and techniques that are very effective at turning viewers into buyers.

A particular challenge for the television retailer is to convince a viewer to buy. Doug Rose, vice president of brand merchandising and development for QVC, says the real task is to create trust between the viewer, the host, and the network. The customer needs to be confi-

dent they will like the item once they receive it at home. Rose stresses that home shopping networks need to be advocates for consumers. Quality assurance processes, fact-checking items and torture-testing items to make sure they will stand up to their warranties is absolutely vital to a home shopping industry. This means that creating a level of trust with the consumers can turn them into repeat customers. Of course, offering an interesting selection of goods and creative packaging is also important.

Home Shopping Network (HSN), QVC, and Value Vision are the three largest networks in home shopping. The sales figures for these three networks combined are approximately \$5 billion, and they reach more than 250 million households worldwide.

HSN is a division of USA Networks Inc's Interactive Group. Barry Diller is USA Networks' Chairman and CEO. In 2001, HSN celebrated its 25th anniversary. Today, HSN is a multi-channel retailer with a thriving television, catalog, and web business (at [www.hsn.com](http://www.hsn.com)). The company's e-commerce website, launched in September 1999, became profitable within three months by giving consumers an incremental shopping platform to the already existing television and direct mail channels.

HSN has international networks in Spain, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

HSN offers products in the following categories: home and entertainment, health and beauty, fashion and jewelry, and electronics. They have also formed



Home Shopping Network.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

partnerships and strategic alliances to offer customers a greater variety of goods. The alliances include: sports (NFL, NBA, NASCAR, PGA); entertainment (Nickelodeon, Universal); technology (Intel, IBM, Sharp, Sony, Hewlett Packard); fashion (Marie Claire, Randolph Duke); and media services (Vica, MCI, Time, Inc).

The second home shopping network to appear on television was QVC, Inc. Joseph Segel, founder of the Franklin Mint, founded the company in 1986. QVC established a new record in American business history for first full year fiscal sales by a new public company, with revenues over \$112 million. By 1993, QVC, based in West Chester, Pennsylvania, had become the number one televised shopping service in sales and profits in the United States by reaching over 80 percent of all U.S. cable homes and three million satellite dishes. By 2000, its turnover had reached more than \$3.5 billion. QVC claims to be the world's largest electronic retailer.

QVC is a virtual shopping mall, where customers can and do shop at any hour, at the rate of two cus-

tomers per second. Themed programs are broadcast live 24 hours a day, seven days a week to 77 million households in the United States. Related channels in the group also broadcast to some 8.2 million households in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, and more than 27 million households in Germany.

QVC employs more than 100 buyers source new products from around the world—at least 250 new products are introduced on air each week. The channels' categories include home and kitchen goods, consumer electronics, and jewelry—the latter category accounts for 32 percent of screen time, and has made QVC one of the largest retailers of gold and silver jewelry in the world.

QVC's current customer base spans all socioeconomic groups, linked only by the fact that they have a cable service subscription. Because the audience for each QVC program is driven by product, demographics vary significantly from one hour to the next. The total customer base is about 20 million people in four countries.

Value Vision is currently the third-largest home shopping network, and is based in Minneapolis. In 1999 it recorded sales of \$274.8 million, reaching £470 million in 2001. In 1997, NBC bought a 36 percent stake in the company, becoming Value Vision's negotiator with cable operators. Since Value Vision's reach is less than half of QVC's, the company relies on affiliating with a local broadcaster to take advantage of the must-carry provision of the 1992 Cable Act. The must-carry rules require cable operators to carry all stations within their community that meet certain required criteria, which includes historic carriage of the station on the system, a station's local service to the cable community, carriage of other similar stations in the market, and evidence of viewership in the community.

Cable operators, which use analog systems with limited available space, argued that home shopping channels were not operating in the public interest. Because of this, they contended that these local broadcast stations, which for the most part had weak signals and small audiences, did not qualify for must-carry status. The FCC ruled that stations carrying home shopping channels—assuming they deliver the requisite signal strength and meet all the other requirements for must-carry—were operating in the public's interest and were eligible for carriage.

In June 2001, Value Vision was renamed SHOPNBC. NBC announced a deal with Wink Communications, Inc. that gives viewers the option to buy merchandising by clicking their remote control any time of the day or night, activating a purchase using a pre-authorized credit card. SHOPNBC pays Wink a fee for each transition. It is up to Wink to determine how it shares that cut with its direct-broadcast satellite or cable-operator affiliates. This interactive-television partnership is currently available in more than 3 million homes, the majority of which are DirecTV Inc. subscribers. DirecTV does not presently handle commerce purchases in real time, so SHOPNBC does not make all of its items available for purchase via remote.

The Enhanced Broadcast Technologies group at SHOPNBC has also produced interactive content for programs on the NBC broadcast network, including *The Tonight Show* and *Will & Grace*. NBC also produces blocks of programming for companies that want to sell products themselves, presumably going after existing NBC advertisers.

In 2002, SHOPNBC bought FanBuzz, which will move the network into sports-merchandise sales. FanBuzz operated the website [www.teamstore.com](http://www.teamstore.com) and the CustomFan service, allowing online sales of sports clothing. About 90 percent of the business was in ful-

fillment sales for other clients, including ESPN, CNN, *Sports Illustrated* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

When the World Wide Web emerged in the mid-1990s, home shopping channels were fearful that the television retailing business would decrease. However, the networks found that the television growth rate accelerated as a result of Internet sales, and both modes of selling have become profitable. The core of the business, however, remains television.

The largest expenses for the home shopping networks are the payments to cable operators and marketing expenses. In 2001, these networks paid an average of \$4.1 million to cable operators, which increased to \$35.9 million in 2002.

GAYLE M. POHL

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## Home Video

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In the early 1960s, major players in the U.S. electronics and entertainment industries began making plans to develop some form of home video system. All of these projects conceived of home video as a playback-only system, employing some kind of disc. The basic assumption was that consumers would purchase copies of programs on videodiscs just as they purchased phonograph records. In this way, the program producers could retain strict control over the duplication and sale of their copyrighted material. A machine that recorded could only mean one thing: piracy of valuable rights. To U.S. interests, videotape was strictly a professional medium.

Japanese corporations, however, sought to develop video recorders for consumer use. Sony was the leader in this effort, making brief attempts to open the home market with open-reel videotape recorders (VTRs) in the mid-1960s, and 3/4-inch U-Matic video cassette recorders (VCRs) in the early 1970s. These formats had been developed with home video in mind, and although they were either too crude, complex, cumbersome, or costly to catch on with consumers, both were successes in educational and industrial markets, allowing Sony to continue development work.

The U.S. video ventures tended to be over-promoted and under-engineered—more hype than substance. RCA began making grand pronouncements about its soon-to-be released videodisc in 1969, yet the device did not reach the market until 1981. One of the factors that plagued the development of videodisc systems was the chicken-and-egg nature of the relationship between software and hardware. Hardware producers were unwilling to invest major efforts if software was not available, and software producers were unwilling to commit production to an untried system.

Sony did not have this problem. Sony CEO Akio Morita had long contended that video's consumer potential lay in its ability to free viewers from the rigid time constraints of the broadcast schedule. "People do not have to read a book when it's delivered," he argued, "Why should they have to see a TV program when it's delivered?" In 1975 Sony introduced the Betamax VCR with an ad campaign positioning it as a product with a unique single purpose: time-shift viewing.

Sony did not suggest that viewers might then save the tapes, and begin building a library of programs.

However, this prospect occurred almost immediately to MCA president Sidney Sheinberg when he saw the first Betamax ads. MCA, the parent company of Universal studios, was a major entertainment copyright holder—and was also seeking to develop its own videodisc system. MCA sued Sony, arguing that the Betamax encouraged copyright infringement, and seeking to have the VCRs withdrawn from the market.

The Betamax VCR system soon faced opposition in the market as well. Sony's more powerful Japanese competitors, Matsushita (the parent company of Panasonic) and Hitachi, developed their own video cassette recording devices, this time using the VHS system, a format that was developed by JVC and was incompatible with the Sony system.

Although early VCRs in any format were expensive luxury items restricted mainly to the relatively well-to-do, they sold well enough for the manufacturers to expand production, and worry the domestic videodisc forces. In 1978, inside buzz in the consumer electronics industry held that RCA was about to ship disc players with prices so cheap, and with so much software and marketing power behind them, that the Japanese upstarts would be sent packing, and VCRs would go the way of 8-track tape players. It did not happen. Instead, RCA, General Electric, Magnavox, and other domestic companies entered the video business by marketing VCRs manufactured by Matsushita and Hitachi. These companies were willing to slap U.S. brand names on their machines because they could garner significant sales without spending large sums on promotion or establishing new dealer networks.

The verdict in the original Betamax case was delivered in 1979. Sony won. MCA appealed, backed by the larger forces of the Motion Picture Association of America and a coalition of copyright holders in other media. In 1981 the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the earlier decision, but it did not order the Betamax withdrawn, leaving the matter of penalty to be decided later. Although still not common household items, VCRs had by this time won enough favor with the public that it would have been politically unwise to prohibit them. No action was taken, pending Sony's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

When RCA finally released its long-awaited videodisc player that same year, the cost was near that of a VCR, the picture was mediocre, and the discs be-

gan to wear out after a number of plays. The public reacted with a collective yawn. The RCA videodisc was the only home video product created directly by a major U.S. corporation ever to reach the market.

Although a number of bills dealing with VCR development and use had been introduced in Congress, none passed. In 1984 the Supreme Court reversed the Appeals Court decision in the Betamax case, ruling in Sony's favor on the grounds that home video recording fell under the "fair use" provisions of copyright law. However, Sony's legal triumph was tempered by setbacks in the market. Almost all the U.S. companies marketing VCRs had opted for the VHS format, and Betamax machines had steadily lost market share.

VCR use continued to move away from mere time-shifting, and in the format wars between the Beta and VHS systems, software was the deciding factor. And software in this case meant movies. When the Betamax appeared, the movie industry had little interest in releasing old films on videocassette. After all, the studios and trade organizations were supporting the suit to get rid of the Betamax, and still had visions of videodiscs dancing in their heads.

Nevertheless, a Michigan entrepreneur named Andre Blay decided to start a pre-recorded videocassette business. He began soliciting the studios, seeking to purchase the rights to distribute films on tape. All but one rejected him. Strapped for cash at the time, Twentieth Century Fox signed on, and in late 1976 Blay began selling tapes through a video club arrangement advertised in *TV Guide*. The promotion was an instant success. Blay and Fox made more money than they had imagined, and the other film companies slowly but surely followed them to this new source of profit.

Because the first films on video were prepared for an untested market, they were produced on a small scale and were quite expensive. Like the first VCRs, they seemed to be luxury items with a limited market. However, another entrepreneur struck on the idea of acquiring a library of tapes and renting them out for a reasonable fee. This seemed like a good idea to many would-be small businesspeople, and video rental businesses quickly spread across the United States. "Mom and pop" video shops seemed to appear on every local corner.

For all the power of the large corporations that created the hardware, this grassroots phenomenon of tape rental was the key to the diffusion of the VCR. With inexpensive software readily available for rent, VCR ownership became more desirable. Rising VCR sales drew more video titles into release and lowered rental prices, which helped VCR sales grow again, and so on.

Unfortunately for Sony, the fact that a majority of VCR sales were VHS units led video-shop owners to

stock more VHS titles, which led to even more VHS sales. The Beta format was left on the wrong end of the economic spiral. By 1986, with basic models priced under \$200 in discount stores, the VCR was no longer a luxury, but a household staple, a piece of the common culture. As the decade turned, Sony quietly folded Beta production and began manufacturing VHS machines.

Ironically, perhaps, most VCR owners in North America rarely use the machines for time-shifting (and their VCR clocks will do nothing but blink "12:00" on into eternity). Instead, consumers there use VCRs primarily for the purpose intended for the failed disc players—that is, to play back pre-recorded material. Another irony is that, despite all the entertainment industry's fears of piracy, prerecorded videocassette sales proved to be a major source of revenue; the VCR helped save the studios instead of helping destroy them. The Japanese triumph in the video wars was the last straw in the collapse of the U.S. consumer electronics industry and signaled the development of new global relations in the entertainment business. A final irony was that in the early 1990s Matsushita purchased MCA (only to sell it in 1995, perhaps an indication that the manufacturer is a stronger force in the creation of hardware than software).

The cultural impact of home video is not as easy to gauge as the economic. When the VCR first arrived, some social thinkers enveloped it in utopian promise. By putting technology in the hands of the people, their argument went, humans finally had the mechanism to enable true media diversity that would replace an imposed, top-down mass culture. Indeed, videotape distribution does not require the economies of scale necessary for large-scale network or even local broadcasting. Thus, theoretically, home video opens the television medium to a host of small, noncorporate voices. The utopian promise grew with the advent of portable VCRs and video cameras, later refined into the low-cost compact camcorder. With this technology almost anyone could become a producer!

Yet home video did not lead to a great democratic decentralization of television. In the early days of the video business, a number of tapes from non-mainstream producers became widely available, but these were largely pornography and low-grade slasher films. Even these disappeared as the mom and pop video stores were displaced by the clean corporate hegemony of Blockbuster Video and other chain distributors. The pre-recorded tapes most VCR users pop into their machines are mainstream products of an increasingly monopolized culture industry. What home video *has* enabled is the phenomenon of "cocooning," the ability to participate in cultural consumption with-

out going out in public. Even the camcorder remains a largely private phenomenon, restricted by most users to home movies of family events (with all cute-kid outtakes shipped off to *America's Funniest Home Videos*, of course).

In the late 1990s, new technology enabled consumers to enhance their home-video cocoons in several ways. DVD players began to achieve wide acceptance. The DVD format delivers much better video quality than VHS tapes, and DVD releases of feature films are generally offered "letter-boxed" in the original wide-screen aspect ratio, rather than the "pan-and-scan" maskings used in most VHS releases, which cut off the edges of the original image in order to fill the TV frame. The premise behind letter-boxing is that viewers will have large-screen sets, and, indeed, TV sets have gotten bigger. In the 1980s, 20" sets were most common, and a 27" set was considered large. At the turn of the 21st century, however, 27" sets are the norm and large TVs run 35" or more. DVDs also generally have soundtracks engineered for 5-speaker surround-sound. Surround-sound audio systems allow a film's sound to appear to come from all sides and even behind the viewer, and include a subwoofer for seat-rattling bass effects. The advent of bigger screens and sophisticated audio playback systems must be attributed more to desires stemming from home video use than from viewing broadcast television. Watching *Star Wars* at home is clearly a different matter than watching a situation comedy or talk show. High-tech "home theater" rooms go hand in hand with a mainstream cinema ever more dependent on spectacle and special effects.

Still, while home video has had no revolutionary effect on the cultural mainstream, it has enabled new ac-

tivity at the margins. Independent, experimental, or alternative tapes of all sorts do get made and distributed. For example, *Cathode Fuck* and other scabrous works of culture-criticism-on-video circulate more freely and widely than the avant-garde films from which they descended. On another front, DVDs are allowing viewers a deeper engagement with the mainstream, in that DVD releases often contain "bonus features" such as behind-the-scenes documentaries, storyboards, and audio commentary tracks by the director. These materials can provide fascinating glimpses into both the "why" and "how" of filmmaking and offer new pleasures to movie fans and film scholars alike.

In all, the history of home video indicates that technology does not so much change society as better enable people to pursue their existing interests, be it the few who experiment with media alternatives, or the many who seek Hollywood thrills and romance from the comfort of their living room sofas.

DAVID J. TETZLAFF

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## Homicide

### Australian Crime Series

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*Homicide* was one of the first drama series produced in Australia, and one of its most historically significant and successful. First broadcast in 1964, *Homicide* ran for 509 episodes until production ceased in 1975, establishing the police drama as a staple of Australian-made TV in the 1960s and 1970s, and revealing an enthusiasm among Australian TV viewers for local

programming, of which there had been very little prior to the success of *Homicide*.

*Homicide* was produced for the Seven Network by the Melbourne-based Crawfords Productions, whose founder Hector Crawford has been a pivotal figure in Australian radio and television. With *Homicide*, Crawfords pioneered long production runs for serialized



*Homicide.*

Photo courtesy of Crawford Productions Pty. Ltd.

drama on modest budgets, and established the importance of the external production house as a source of local drama material for the commercial networks. Crawfords also pioneered outdoor location filming in Australia, which was an important part of *Homicide's* popularity with Australian audiences, who for the first time saw drama taking place in familiar urban locations.

*Homicide* was an episodic crime drama, invariably involving a murder, with most episodes following closely a narrative structure in which the detective team investigates and, in the final segments, resolves the murder and arrest the perpetrators. The program was thus "realist" in both narrative and visual representation. Still, the team of male detectives was detached from their social environment. They were always presented as part of a stable hierarchy; they were bound by thorough professionalism, and no consideration was given to their private lives. These factors place *Homicide* in an older tradition of TV police drama. Here dichotomies between law and crime, the police and the society in which they operate, their professional work and private lives, and the relationship of hierarchical authority to individual initiative remain stable and largely uncontested. *Homicide* can be seen as a program that defined the generic conventions of police drama in Australia, drawing upon the codes and conventions established in police dramas such as *Dragnet* in the United States and *Z Cars* in Britain, with more emphasis upon the narrative of crime-

solving than on the development of character and the generation of conflict.

The peak years of *Homicide* were also the peak years of police drama on Australian TV, with it and other similar programs consistently rating highly with local, particularly male audiences. When production of *Homicide* ceased in 1975, the police drama had already declined in significance in programming schedules and popularity, giving way to the rise of the serial drama and, later, the miniseries.

The significance of *Homicide* to Australian television perhaps lies less in its textual innovations than in certain institutional factors. It demonstrated a capacity to present familiar environments and character types to Australian audiences on TV for the first time. It created an environment more conducive to policy measures that promoted local drama production and restricted imported material. And it exemplified the innovations in program production necessitated by the need to produce an on-going drama series. In many ways, the program demonstrates that Australia's international reputation as a country with a competitive advantage in low-budget strip programming has its origins in the production techniques developed at Crawfords in the 1960s.

TERRY FLEW

**See also Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Crawford, Hector**

#### Cast

Inspector Jack Connolly	John Fegan
Detective Frank Bronson	Terry McDermott
Detective Rex Fraser	Lex Mitchel
Senior Detective David Mackay	Leonard Teale
Senior Detective Bill Hodson	Leslie Dayman
Senior Detective Peter Barnes	George Malleby
Senior Detective Bert Costello	Lionel Long
Inspector Colin Fox	Alwyn Kurts
Senior Detective Jim Patterson	Norman Yamm
Senior Detective Bob Delaney	Mike Preston
Senior Detective Phil Redford	Gary Day
Inspector Reg Lawson	Charles Tingwell
Senior Detective Pat Kelly	John Stanton
Senior Detective Harry White	Don Barker
Senior Detective Mike Deagan	Dennis Grosvenor

#### Producers

Ian Crawford, Paul Eddey, Paul Karo, Nigel Lovell, David Stevens, Igor Auzins, Don Battye

#### Programming History

507 one-hour episodes

## Homicide

2 ninety-minute episodes  
1 two-hour episodes  
1 ninety-minute documentary  
Seven Network

October 1964–January 1977	Tuesday 7:30–8:30
October 21, 1975	Tuesday 7:30–9:00
February 5, 1976	Tuesday 7:30–9:00
June 5, 1976	Tuesday 7:30–9:30

November 21, 1970  
(documentary)

Tuesday 7:30–9:00

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# Homicide: Life on the Street

U.S. Police Drama

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Airing on NBC from 1993–1999, *Homicide* emerged in the middle of the cycle of gritty, urban police dramas inaugurated by *Hill Street Blues*, and became one of the most acclaimed series in the history of the genre in the United States. Loosely based on the true-crime book, *Homicide: A Year on the Killing Streets* by David Simon (a former crime reporter for *The Baltimore Sun*), *Homicide* was an ensemble drama built around a group of detectives in the Baltimore police department's homicide unit and shot on location in Baltimore. Through a unique blend of documentary realism and the pseudo-avant-garde stylings of MTV, the series charted a heady and daring course, challenging the cop genre's narrative obsession with moral authority as well as its devotion to a narrow stylistic realism. *Homicide* also illuminates the ever-present tensions between creativity and commerce in the current media landscape, and demonstrates how the strategies for developing and maintaining series have changed at the networks over the past two decades.

*Homicide* was first introduced to the viewing public immediately following the 1993 Super Bowl—a strategy designed to announce the series as a significant television event. NBC's initial promotion of the series emphasized its cinematic pedigree: namely, the presence of Academy Award winning director (and Baltimore native) Barry Levinson as one of the executive producers, and director of the pilot episode. In addition, screenwriter Paul Attanasio (*Quiz Show*, *Donnie Brasco*), was commissioned to write the pilot episode and was credited as the series creator. The correlation between Hollywood and *Homicide* continued to be

fruitful over the years, as an impressive number of feature film directors and actors appeared both behind and in front of the cameras. The series also boasted impressive television credentials, particularly in the person of Tom Fontana. Fontana, already a veteran writer and producer whose previous experience included NBC's critically acclaimed drama *St. Elsewhere*, was brought in to oversee the daily operations of production, and emerged as the major creative force behind the series as a whole.

Though the exigencies of network television precluded the series from attacking its subject matter with the same kind of daunting grit and detail found in David Simon's lengthy account, the series always strove to chart the same territory as that of the book: the cynical squad room digressions; the morbid corpse-side manner adopted as a defense mechanism, and the small personal and interpersonal battles waged by the detectives as they faced the brutal realities of life and death in the inner city. The series was shot entirely on location in Baltimore, and the city itself also played a crucial role in the narrative, lending it a richness and flavor not often found in studio back lots.

No real formula ever emerged over the course of the series. Like *Hill Street Blues*, each episode was a mixture of episodic plotlines and cumulative narratives. Individual cases provided the basic contours of each episode, but were always set against a range of ongoing personal and professional conflicts being faced by the detectives and their partners. The increasingly close partnership between detectives Tim Bayliss (Kyle Secor) and Frank Pembleton (Andre Braugher)



quickly became the centerpiece of the series—described by Tom Fontana, with some hyperbole, as the “greatest love story in the history of television.” Bayliss’s arrival on the squad marked the beginning of the series, and his growth, both professional and personal, comprised the primary arc of the serial narrative. Pembleton was perhaps the brightest and most enigmatic detective on the squad, known for the artistry of his interrogation technique, his philosophical approach to policing, and his strained Catholicism. Other pairs from the first season included Bolander and Munch (Ned Beatty and Richard Belzer), Felton and Howard (Daniel Baldwin and Melissa Leo), and Lewis and Crosetti (Clarke Johnson and Jon Polito). The squad was overseen by Lieutenant Al Giardello (Yaphet Kotto), described by Tod Hoffman as “sometimes moved to rage, often frustrated, but frequently just bemused.” In this sense, Giardello’s character was emblematic of the series as a whole.

But unlike most police series, *Homicide* was a show as much about its victims as its heroes. Quite often, the victims whose names hung in red and black on “the board” in the squad room were the dealers, thieves, and pushers that have bedeviled the genre from the beginning. But rather than revel in their untimely demise, the series worked to place their lives and deaths in the larger context of a society at odds. The process of investigation typically provided more questions than answers, and arrests rarely served as resolutions to the bigger problems at hand, especially when it came to issues of race. As Christopher Campbell has suggested, *Homicide* was frequently at its best when it placed race on the center stage and then refused to give easy answers, “leaving audiences to grapple with the subtleties and impact of contemporary racism.”

Audiences were also left to grapple with the style of *Homicide*, which took a complicated approach to the realist aesthetic so important to the police genre. The look of *Homicide* was a complex blend of stylistic and cultural references working together both to set the series apart in the crowded market of prime-time drama, and to sharpen its critical edge. As if springing forth from the unlikely union of Frederick Wiseman and MTV, the series used elements of montage (jump-cuts and rapid repeat cuts) along with a swooning hand-held camera to both heighten the documentary feel of the series and to self-reflexively call attention to the highly constructed quality of all media images, especially those found on the evening news or on “reality” shows such as *COPS*.

Alongside its camerawork and editing, *Homicide* was also known for its use of popular music as a central narrative and stylistic tool. Like *Miami Vice* in the



*Homicide.*

Photo courtesy of Crawford Productions Pty. Ltd.

1980s, *Homicide* frequently used popular music to supply a certain amount of stylistic energy. And in both series the music also underscored important points in the story, often complicating the narrative by offering a second level of commentary on the action. But the music in *Homicide* often acted as a critical reversal of the documentary aesthetic as well: an ironic counterpoint to the claims to realism presented by the *vérité* style.

Perhaps because of its flamboyant style, the series never achieved widespread popular appeal, never appearing in the top 20 shows during its seven seasons. But it did enjoy nearly universal praise from media critics. Most impressively, perhaps, the series received an unprecedented three Peabody Awards (1993, 1995, and 1997), making it the most decorated dramatic program in the history of that award. Despite the Peabody accolades, however, the industry itself was slightly less generous. Though the series, along with its cast and crew, were regularly nominated for Emmys, *Homicide* actually won only three Emmy Awards in any category over the course of its seven seasons.

While its daring stylistic and narrative approach may have puzzled viewers, the lack of high ratings for the series may also be attributed to network programming strategies. When *Homicide* first appeared, NBC was mired in third place behind CBS and ABC and approached the series in a somewhat guarded fashion. As a testament to NBC’s ongoing indecision and appre-

hension regarding the series, *Homicide's* first two seasons consisted of a mere 13 episodes combined (nine in the first and four in the second). Additionally, the show was moved from Sunday to Wednesday and then to Thursday in this short span, and was simply difficult to locate or anticipate on the schedule until it finally settled on Fridays for its third season. The third season consisted of 20 episodes, but after it proved a ratings disappointment, the cast and crew were forced to wait until May to find out whether or not they would be back for a fourth the following fall.

Once the network's fortunes began to turn in the mid-1990s, the under-performing *Homicide* was placed under much less pressure to generate revenue. Even though the series continued to finish third in its time-slot, behind ABC's *20/20* and CBS's *Picket Fences*, the network responded with a full order of 22 episodes for the fourth season, and then granted the series a two-year lease for its fifth and sixth seasons (1996-97 and 1997-98). But while the series managed to survive the lean years, the network's generosity always came with a mandate to clean up the series look (including the cast) and to focus more expansive and dramatic stories built around "red balls"—cases and situations that demanded the attention and effort of the entire squad.

The end finally came for *Homicide* after the seventh season (1998-99). NBC held off making its final decision until after the production company had wrapped up shooting for the season and, consequently, the final episode was shot with two possible endings: a season finale and a series finale. The multiple endings seem fitting for a series perpetually threatened with cancellation, and for which the end was always in sight, but repeatedly deferred.

As a final testament to *Homicide's* troubled relationship to the increasingly unstable fortunes of the network, NBC brought *Homicide* back for a two-hour movie during March sweeps in 2000. The series that existed perpetually on the cancellation bubble, unable to attract a significant audience for advertisers, and continually finishing third in its time slot, was brought back to represent the network in the sweeps battle that helps determine advertising rates. On the one hand, bringing the series back for a 2-hour movie allowed the producers to wrap up some of the most important narrative arcs, something they were unable to do previously, given the cloud of uncertainty that haunted the final season. But, perhaps more significantly, NBC's actions regarding *Homicide* were a telling indication of the chaotic state of network programming at the turn of the century.

JONATHAN NICHOLS-PETHICK

*See also* **Detective Programs; Fontana, Tom; Hill Street Blues; Police Programs**

**Cast**

Det. Tim Bayliss	Kyle Secor
Det. John Munch	Richard Belzer
Det. Meldrick Lewis	Clarke Johnson
Lt. Al Giardello	Yaphet Kotto
Det. Frank Pembleton (1993-98)	Andre Braugher
Det./Sgt. Kay Howard (1993-97)	Melissa Leo
Det. Stanley Bolander (1993-95)	Ned Beatty
Det. Beau Felton (1993-95)	Daniel Baldwin
Det. Steve Crosetti (1993-94)	Jon Polito
Lt. Capt. Meghan Russert (1994-96)	Isabella Hoffman
Det. Mike Kellerman (1995-98)	Reed Diamond
J.H. Brodie (1995-97)	Max Perlich
Dr. Julianna Cox (1996- 98)	Michelle Forbes
Det. Laura Ballard (1997-99)	Callie Thorne
Det. Paul Falsone (1997-99)	Jon Seda
Det. Terri Stivers (1997-99)	Toni Lewis
Det. Stuart Gharty (1997-99)	Peter Gerety
Det. Rene Sheppard (1998-99)	Michael Michele
Agent Mike Giardello (1998-99)	Giancarlo Esposito
Dr. Scheiner (1993-97)	Ralph Tabakin
Dr. Carol Blythe (1993-94)	Wendy Hughes
Dr. Alyssa Dyer (1994-97)	Harlee McBride
ASA Ed Danvers	Zeljko Ivanek
Col. George Barnfather	Clayton LeBoeuf
Det./Capt. Roger Gaffney (1994-99)	Walt MacPherson
Mary Wheaton Pembleton (1993-99)	Amy Brabson
Beth Felton (1995)	Mary B. Ward

**Producers**

Barry Levinson, Tom Fontana, Henry Bromell, David Simon, Julie Martin, James Yoshimura, Jim Finnerty, Gail Mutrux, Debbie Sarjeant, Eric Overmeyer, Anya Epstein, Lori Mozilo, Jorge Zamacana.

**Programming History**

NBC	
January 1993	Sunday 10:25-11:25

February 1993–March 1993    Wednesday 9:00–10:00  
 January 1994    Thursday 10:00–11:00  
 October 1994–August 1999    Friday 10:00–11:00

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## Homosexuality. *See Sexual Orientation and Television*

## Honey West

### U.S. Detective Program

*Honey West* is significant as the first American network television series in which a woman detective appears as the central character. While women had portrayed investigators, police reporters, FBI agents, and undercover operatives in crime drama formats from the earliest days of television, they typically shared billing as sidekick characters, worked at occupations more commonplace than detective, or were cast in secondary roles. Examples would include, among others, journalist Lorelei Kilbourne in the series *Big Town* (1950–56), international art gallery owner turned sleuth, Mme. Lui-Tsong, in *The Gallery of Mme. Lui-Tsong* (1951), and girl Friday Maggie Peters in *The Investigators* (1961). Honey West took this activity to another level. Her principal work was operating a detective agency and, unquestionably, she was the star of her show. Featuring actress Anne Francis in the title role, the ABC series was broadcast for one season (1965–66) and broke ground for other female detective/spy programs to follow, such as *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* (1966–67), *Get Christie Love* (1974–75), and *Police Woman* (1974–78).

The character of Honey West was created by hus-

band-and-wife writing team Skip and Gloria Fickling (also known as G.G. Fickling) in a series of novels published in the late 1950s to early 1960s. On April 21, 1965, the character was introduced to television audiences in a *Burke's Law* episode, "Who Killed the Jackpot?," and, true to form, Honey outwitted the dapper detective played by Gene Barry. Producer Aaron Spelling spun the character off into a separate series of 30-minute episodes that premiered September 17, 1965.

Operating her late father's detective agency, Honey West used many talents in her fight against crime. She was expert at judo and held a black belt in karate. Beautiful and shapely, her feminine wiles were accentuated by form-fitting black leather jumpsuits, a sexy mole on her right cheek, tiger coats, and "Jackie O" sunglasses. Like James Bond, she also owned an arsenal of weapons filled with "scientific" gadgets, including a specially modified lipstick tube and martini olives that camouflaged her radio transmitters.

For undercover work, Honey and her admiring partner, Sam Bolt (John Ericson), drove a specially equipped van labeled "H.W. Bolt and Co., TV Ser-



*Honey West*, Anne Francis, 1965–66.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vice.” Her principal base of operation was her Los Angeles apartment, complete with secret office behind a fake living-room wall. Bruce, her pet ocelot, and Meg West (Irene Hervey), her sophisticated aunt, also lent assistance and comfort as necessary.

*Honey West* premiered to reasonably good reviews. Citing the show’s sensual aspects, smooth production values, and Honey’s ability to bounce Muscle Beach types off the wall with predictable regularity, *Variety*’s 1965 evaluation predicted some success “as a short-subject warm-up to *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*” Season-opening Nielsen ratings ranked the show in a tie for 19th place, but this level of viewership proved short-lived, as the show’s CBS competition, *Gomer Pyle*, knocked it quickly out of the top 40.

Contrasted with *Variety*’s review, Jon Lewis and Penny Stempel note that while the “*Honey West* concept was good and the character deserves credit for working in a man’s world, the series suffered from unimaginative plots and poor production quality.” In fact, say Lewis and Stempel, *Honey West* is “mostly memorable for the fight scenes in which a man with a

blonde wig was quite obviously wheeled in to do the stunts.”

Often compared to Emma Peel, the character played by Diana Rigg in the British series *The Avengers* from 1965–67, Honey West simply did not have Miss Peel’s style or longevity and lasted a total of 30 episodes. Providing a notable change to the male-dominated detective genre so prevalent from the earliest days of network television, *Honey West* broadcast its last original show on April 8, 1966.

JOEL STERNBERG

#### Cast

Honey West	Anne Francis
Sam Holt	John Ericson
Aunt Meg	Irene Hervey

#### Producers

Jules Levy, Arthur Gardner, Arnold Laven, Alfred Perry, Richard Newton, Mort Warner, William Harbach

#### Programming History

30 episodes

ABC

September 1965–September 1966 Friday 9:00–9:30

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# Honeymooners, The

U.S. Situation/Sketch Comedy

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*The Honeymooners* is one of U.S. network television's most beloved and influential series. Although *The Honeymooners* ran for only one season as a half-hour situation comedy (during the 1955–56 season on CBS), Jackie Gleason presented the sketch numerous times during his various variety series. In fact, perhaps no premise has been seen in so many different guises in the history of U.S. television—aired live, on film, and on tape; in black-and-white and color; as sketch comedy, situation comedy, and musical. It has succeeded on network, syndicated, and cable television. Whatever the form, audiences have continued to embrace the loudmouthed bus driver Ralph Kramden, Gleason's most resonant creation, as an American Everyman, a dreamer whose visions of upward mobility are constantly thwarted.

*The Honeymooners* stands in stark contrast to the prosperous suburban sitcoms of the 1950s. The battling Brooklynites, Kramden and his sarcastic wife Alice (Audrey Meadows, the best known of the several women who played the role), are trapped on the treadmill of lower-middle-class existence. Their spartan apartment is one of the most minimal and recognizable in television design. A functional table, a curtainless window, and an antiquated ice box signal their impoverishment. Most of the comedy revolves around Ralph's schemes to get rich quick (such as his infomercial for the Handy Housewife Helper in "Better Living through TV"). The tempestuous Ralph is assisted by his friend and upstairs neighbor Ed Norton (agilely and always played by Art Carney), a dimwitted sewer worker. *The Honeymooners* quartet is rounded out by Trixie Norton (most notably played by Joyce Randolph), Ed's loyal wife and Alice's best friend. Unlike most couples in situation comedy, both the Kramdens and the Nortons were childless, and rarely talked about their situation in a baby-booming United States.

Gleason introduced "The Honeymooners" sketch on October 5, 1951, during his first variety series, *Cavalcade of Stars*, broadcast live on the DuMont network. Kramden directly reflects the frustrations and yearning of Gleason's upbringing; the Kramdens' address on Brooklyn's Chauncey Street was the same as the star's

boyhood home. *The Honeymooners* began as a six-minute sketch of marital combat. The battered wife was realistically played by veteran character actress Pert Kelton. A cameo was provided by Art Carney as a policeman. Viewers immediately identified with Ralph and Alice's arguments, and further sketches were written by Harry Crane and Joe Bigelow. Early on, they added the Nortons; Trixie was first played by Broadway actress Elaine Stritch. These early drafts were a starkly realistic insight into the compromises of marriage, a kind of kitchen-sink comedy of insult and re-creation.

In September 1952 Gleason and his staff were lured to CBS by William Paley to star in a big-time variety series, again on Saturday night. Audrey Meadows, who performed with Bob and Ray, replaced Kelton, who suffered from heart problems and political black-listing. "The Honeymooners" sketches were mostly less than ten minutes during the first CBS season. During the next two years, the routines grew increasingly longer, many over 30 minutes. Most were marked with the familiar catchphrases—Ralph's blustery threats ("One of these days, Pow! Right to the Kisser!") and the assuring reconciliations with Alice at the end ("Baby, you're the greatest").

For the 1955–56 season, Gleason was given one of the largest contracts in show business history to produce *The Honeymooners* as a standard situation comedy. Gleason formed his own production company and experimented with the Electronicam technology, which enabled him to film and edit a live show with several cameras, a precursor of three-camera videotape recording. Gleason filmed two shows a week at the Adelphi Theater in New York, performing to more than 1,000 spectators. Gleason's stable of writers felt hemmed in by the regular format, and Gleason noticed a lack of fresh ideas. When the ratings of *The Honeymooners* sitcom plummeted out of the top ten shows (in the previous season, *The Jackie Gleason Show* ranked number two), Gleason decided to return to the variety format. Gleason later sold these "classic" 39 films of *The Honeymooners* to CBS for \$1.5 million, and they provided a bonanza for the network in syndication.



*The Honeymooners*, Jackie Gleason, Audrey Meadows, Art Carney, Joyce Randolph, 1952–70.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

“The Honeymooners” remained a pivotal sketch during Gleason’s variety show the following season. The writers created a few new wrinkles, including a musical trip to Europe that covered ten one-hour installments. When Carney left the show in 1957, Gleason dropped the sketch entirely.

He resurrected his big-time variety show in 1962 and moved the production permanently to Miami Beach, Florida, in 1964. He sporadically revived “The Honeymooners” when Carney was available. Since Meadows and Randolph did not want to relocate, Sue Ann Langdon (Alice) and Patricia Wilson (Trixie) took over as the wives. Meadows returned for a one-time special reenactment of “The Adoption,” a 1955 sketch in which Ralph and Alice discuss their rarely heard feelings about parenthood. During the 1966–67 season, Gleason decided to remake the “Trip to Europe” musicals into color spectaculars with 40 new numbers. Sheila MacRae and Jean Kean were recruited for the roles of Alice and Trixie.

Gleason’s variety show ended in 1970, but he was reunited with Carney and Meadows for four one-hour *Honeymooners* specials during the late 1970s. The specials, broadcast on ABC, revolved around such family celebrations as wedding anniversaries, Valentine’s Day, and Christmas. With Jean Kean as Trixie, *The Honeymooners* remained two childless couples, the most basic of family units on television.

The filmed episodes of *The Honeymooners* have been one of the great financial successes in syndication. A local station in New York played them every night for over two decades. The 39 programs, with their almost ritualistic themes and incantatory dialogue, have inspired cultic worship, most notably the formation of the club RALPH (Royal Association for the Longevity and Preservation of the Honeymooners). For years, the live sketches were considered lost. When the Museum of Broadcasting discovered four complete variety programs featuring the Kramdens and the Nortons, Gleason revealed that he had more

than 80 live versions in his Miami vault. He sold the rights of the "lost episodes" to Viacom and the live *Honeymooners* found an afterlife on cable television and the home video market. In 2001 museum screenings and network specials marked the 50th anniversary of the program.

*The Honeymooners* remain one of the touchstones of American television, enjoyable on many levels. Critics have compared the richness of Gleason's Ralph Kramden to such literary counterparts as Don Quixote, a character from Charles Dickens, or *Death of a Salesman's* Willy Loman. Although *The Honeymooners* did not tackle any social issues throughout its many incarnations, the comedy evokes something very essential to the national experience. The Kramdens and Nortons embody the yearnings and frustrations of the postwar, urban United States—the perpetual underdogs in search of a jackpot. When such producers as Norman Lear in *All in the Family* or Roseanne in her own series have sought to critique the flipside of the American Dream, *The Honeymooners* has been there as a source of inspiration.

RON SIMON

See also **Carney, Art; Gleason, Jackie**

#### Cast (the series)

Ralph Kramden	Jackie Gleason
Ed Norton	Art Carney
Alice Kramden	Audrey Meadows
Trixie Norton	Joyce Randolph

#### Producers

Jack Philbin, Jack Hurdle

#### Programming History

39 episodes

CBS

October 1955–February

1956

Saturday 8:30–9:00

February 1956–September

1956

Saturday 8:00–8:30

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## Hong Kong

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With the potential to articulate identities, to provide information, to serve as a foundation for political exchange, or to operate as an industry, television in Hong Kong appears more dominated by economic factors than its political, social, or cultural possibilities. At this juncture in Hong Kong's history, television maintains its position as a profitable commercial venture and as a dominant social force in a new era of People's Republic of China (PRC) governance, just as it had during British colonial rule.

Television continues to be one of the most popular forms of leisure in Hong Kong. In the territory, almost all homes have at least one television, and on a typical

evening, about one-third of the population watches prime-time programming. Dramas appear to be the most popular genre for Hong Kong viewers. Most television programming is produced in Hong Kong and broadcast in Cantonese, the dialect of Chinese spoken in Hong Kong and southern China. Local programming helps to perpetuate a sense of local Hong Kong identity, at times distinct from and at times integrated with a larger identification with a Chinese community. Most residents see this cultural identification with a Chinese community separately from their political identification with the PRC.

The pervasive influence of television in Hong Kong



was evident in the mediated political transition from the territory's colonial status as a subject of the British empire to its current status as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) within the PRC. Most Hong Kong residents participated in this hand-over at midnight on July 1, 1997 through viewing the ceremonies on television. The ceremony itself, orchestrated carefully for media coverage, moved from Prince Charles, declaring Britain's responsibilities to Hong Kong, to President Jiang Zemin, pronouncing Hong Kong's need for a strong PRC government. Hong Kong itself was remarkably absent from this televised account. No representative from Hong Kong, as a third party, graced the stage with British and Chinese dignitaries, neatly divided as outgoing and incoming political administrations. No flag of Hong Kong flew separately, but instead only in tandem with British and Chinese flags. Moreover, not a word of Cantonese entered this official ritual. English and Mandarin, languages representing the former colonial and current political powers, dominated the ceremony. Hong Kong media coverage of the event hinted at the mixture of pride and concern felt by many viewers, who felt aligned with a cultural Chinese community but at odds with the particular political regimes purporting to represent them.

This political transition, on the surface a rather peaceful, televised event, structures the more formal political boundaries within which Hong Kong residents must work. According to policies established prior to this historical event, Hong Kong should be administered by the PRC's "one country, two systems" policy, as stipulated in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Prior to this transition, Hong Kong served as a British colony for more than 150 years. As a result of the Anglo-Chinese wars in the mid-19th century, Hong Kong Island and the southern tip of the Kowloon peninsula were ceded by China to Britain through the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the Convention of Peking in 1860; northern Kowloon was then leased to the British government for 99 years in 1898.

The television industries in Hong Kong have continued to prosper, despite economic difficulties experienced in the late 1990s. Although Hong Kong's official governance system is contingent upon the PRC as its dominant political authority, Hong Kong's economic status as an arena favoring private enterprise and free trade has not diminished. In keeping with the capitalist economic climate of the territory, all television stations continue to be run as commercial enterprises.

Subsequent to the transition to PRC rule, broadcasting regulation has actually become more *laissez-faire*, rather than less. Focusing on attracting investment, particularly in response to losing some international televi-

sion providers to Singapore, current broadcasting ordinances have relaxed previous rules regarding nonresident and cross-media ownership. In addition, prior royalties on subscription and advertising profits are no longer being charged to television service providers. Many more applicants are being awarded pay-television licenses as well, thus creating the possibilities for many more pay-television services.

Free television in Hong Kong has remained in the hands of two terrestrial television stations, Asia Television Limited (ATV) and Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB). Each of the terrestrial stations transmits two channels. TVB broadcasts the Jade channel in Cantonese and the Pearl channel mostly in English, while ATV broadcasts the Home channel in Cantonese, and the World channel mostly in English. On the English-language stations, movies (on TVB Pearl) and documentaries (on ATV World) attract more viewers than other types of programming. Together, these stations produce 550 hours of television each week, reaching 6.5 million viewers. Controlled by a private corporation, the Lai Sun Group, ATV offers a service similar to that of its competitor, although its programming is not as popular, nor the station as wealthy, as TVB.

TVB is by far the dominant station within the Hong Kong community. During prime-time hours, it is estimated that TVB's two stations, Jade and Pearl, command more than three-quarters of the market share of Hong Kong's viewing public. Jade, producing most of its own programming in the local language, enjoys by far the greater part of this popularity. Initiating broadcasting in 1967, TVB was the first television station in the territory. In 1971 TVB produced its first local television program in color, a musical variety show known as *Enjoy Yourself Tonight*. Since then, the station has developed its technological capacity to improve the appeal of foreign programming to the Hong Kong audience. TVB operates its own Chinese character generator for subtitling and has employed a localized NICAM (Near Instantaneously Compounded Audio Multiplex) system since 1991, offering viewers with equipped television sets the choice of viewing designated programs in different languages (typically, Cantonese, Mandarin, or English).

TVB not only produces most of the programming for its Jade channel but also distributes Chinese-language programs globally. TVB claims to be the largest producer of Chinese-language television programming in the world, distributing its products to more than 30 countries. This company has also invested in satellite broadcasting systems (a joint venture with MEASAT Broadcast Systems), in Internet



ventures (TVB.com Limited), and in cable news services, particularly popular in Taiwan. TVB, like other television companies, is also looking toward mainland China as a future profitable market.

The government of Hong Kong does not have its own television station, but instead requires the two terrestrial stations, TVB and ATV, to carry programming and advertisements in the public interest (APIs) that its agency, Radio-Television Hong Kong (RTHK), produces. RTHK stipulates the blocks of time within which these public programs and APIs must be aired. RTHK attempts to maintain editorial independence in its programming. Its shows tend to be informative in nature, illustrated in programs such as *Media Watch* and *The Week in Politics*.

Although the free domestic television services have remained relatively constant, pay-television options have expanded a great deal. The Hong Kong Broadcasting Authority (BA) has granted licenses to five domestic pay-television services and six nondomestic pay-television services. Among the domestic services, Hong Kong Cable TV Limited carries 31 channels on fiber-optic service and another 16 on microwave service, including news, films, sports, and other channels. More than half a million households subscribe to this cable service. Nielsen ratings estimate about 1.4 million viewers of cable television during prime-time hours. Most cable programming is transmitted in Cantonese, or subtitled in Chinese if produced in another language.

Other domestic services include a video-on-demand channel (through PCCWW VOD); satellite television (Galaxy Satellite Broadcasting Limited) through TVB, including entertainment channels in both Cantonese and Mandarin; and two digital television services (Pacifica Digital Media [HK] Corp Limited and Yes [HK] Television Limited). The Pacific Century Cyberworks (PCCW) illustrates a growing trend toward integrating different media services. Initiated by Richard Li, PCCW is attempting to create a satellite-based broadband Internet network with television services, beginning by broadcasting satellite television channels with web content.

Other licenses have been awarded to nondomestic pay-television service providers (such as Galaxy, APT Satellite Glory Ltd., Starbucks [HK] Ltd., Asia Plus Broadcasting Ltd., and MAT Limited), the most prominent being Star TV. Hutchinson Whampoa launched this commercial system in 1991, mostly as an English-language service to the Asian region. When Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation purchased this station in 1993, approximately one-fifth of the households in Hong Kong had the capability to receive these

satellite television services. Star TV's popularity grew as more local programming was introduced. From its base in Hong Kong, Star TV reaches approximately 38 countries from Egypt to Japan, and from Indonesia to Siberia. In Hong Kong, approximately 700,000 viewers watch Star TV prime-time programming, according to recent Nielsen ratings. Star TV offers Chinese programming (from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the PRC, and Japan), sports, entertainment (mostly Western programs), and a music video channel. Originally, an Asian version of Music Television (MTV) was part of the Star TV package, but this was later replaced by a local Asian broadcast known as Channel V, which divided into a Mandarin-dominated music video service for northern Asia and a Hindi-dominated music video service for western Asia. In addition to broadcasting regional productions, Channel V broadcasts videos supplied by global corporations, such as Warner Music, EMI, PolyGram, Sony, and BMG.

Star TV had also offered the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World News Service, but this channel was dropped subsequent to Murdoch's purchase, reflecting both Murdoch's bitter rivalry with the BBC in Britain and the objections raised by the PRC over a documentary the BBC had produced about the reign of Mao Zedong. Broadcast in Britain in 1993, this documentary addressed sufferings caused by Mao's failed economic policies, as well as his alleged relations with young girls. In response, the PRC government extended new restrictions on BBC operations within China. Moreover, this film was not broadcast on television in Hong Kong, despite being purchased by TVB and being approved by public censors representing the Hong Kong Film Censorship Ordinance (even though this very ordinance prohibits screening films that might damage relations with other countries). Instead, private organizations broadcast this documentary to community groups within the territory.

In addition to canceling the BBC news channel, Murdoch's News Corporation has made other overtures toward the PRC government. It invested in the PRC's central newspaper, the *People's Daily*, in 1995, and a few years later forced its subsidiary HarperCollins to withdraw its contract to publish former Hong Kong governor Chris Patten's book, which was to include a critique of the PRC government. In addition, the Star TV service is carried through Asiasat, which serves as a source of income for the PRC government. With these political concessions News Corporation intends to ensure entry into a potentially profitable market.

Echoing Star TV's strategy toward appeasing the state in the interest of profit, TVB has advocated simi-

larly politically cautious approaches to its programming. In addition to choosing not to air the controversial BBC documentary on Mao it had purchased, TVB produced and broadcast a documentary chronicling Hong Kong's history that was sympathetic to PRC interests. In contrast to more politically direct programming in Taiwan, TVB programming in Hong Kong tends to avoid controversial subject matter. These strategies may be designed to pacify the government with control over potential revenue. Although many local cable operators in southern China are able to receive and relay popular TVB broadcasts, they tend to substitute local advertisements to generate local revenue. TVB's attempts to gain access to licensing and advertising fees from their broadcasts in southern China may be contingent upon a good working relationship with PRC government authorities.

It is important to note that not all stations are as uniformly receptive to perceived political interests. In 1994 ATV news staff resigned over a battle with their management concerning the screening of a Spanish documentary that included coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre; this program was aired as scheduled following this well-publicized disagreement. This sort of political debate was particularly significant given the PRC's demonstrated commitment to controlling content within mainland television's industries. Regarding the mainland's own local television, PRC government officials have warned that programs ought to promote patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, but not consumerism. Although many homes (some estimate almost two-thirds of households in the southern area of China's Guangzhou province) have access to cable television services, satellite dishes are officially banned for personal use. The PRC attempts to control the influence of foreign culture by limiting the importation of foreign media; whether Hong Kong media are to be viewed as domestic or foreign is still uncertain in policy and in practice in mainland China.

While a significant proportion of Hong Kong television is produced locally, many programs are imported from other countries, dubbed into Cantonese or subtitled in Chinese characters. Aside from importing news, entertainment series, and films from the West, most animated programs are imported from Japan, and several popular fictional series are imported from Taiwan. Some of the more popular imported programming include movies, news, and the Discovery channel.

Although the primary objective within the Hong Kong television industry is profit, programming is monitored for "taste and decency" through the Hong Kong government's Television and Entertainment Licensing Authority and Broadcasting Authority. The BA meets monthly to review complaints raised by the public. This agency issues warnings and imposes fines against violations of license conditions. Programming standards dictate content concerning social issues, such as crime, family life, and violence, as well as suitable presentations of cigarettes and alcohol. Regulations also define permissible commercial advertising and sponsorship of programs. Recent reprimands to television stations have addressed placing advertisements for alcohol in early viewing hours, presenting factual errors, and showing corporate logos within program content. In one recent instance, TVB was fined for airing an advertisement of a driver kicking his car angrily, as depicting violence without justification and thereby constructing vandalism as an acceptable practice.

A central feature of Hong Kong's new regulatory environment addresses the convergence of media services. Current policies encourage, rather than prohibit, cross-media ownership and attempt to establish new digital standards for high-definition television. Consequently, television broadcasters are working more closely with telecommunications companies in creating new pay-television services, such as an interactive iTV multimedia service and DTV digital entertainment service through Star TV. Recent negotiations between government officials and industry representatives aim to support a shift toward digital service that would be compatible with similar shifts in mainland China.

While Hong Kong may be reunited with a larger "cultural China" through formal political ties, the island's economic system functions quite separately from that of the mainland. In this instance, the state apparatus chooses to privilege television's place in a market economy above its role as a political tool.

KARIN GWINN WILKINS

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## Hood, Stuart (1915– )

British Media Executive, Producer, Educator

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Stuart Hood has had a considerable impact upon the development of television production, news broadcasts, program scheduling, and programming policy in the United Kingdom. He has also acted as an adviser and consultant to various countries, Israel being the most notable, as they established their national television broadcasting potential. He has also contributed significantly to the practice of higher education for the television profession and as an academic writer on broadcasting.

Hood's life has been a mixture of involvement with broadcasting, the media, politics, education, and literature. The significance of his contribution to television has been a product of his scholarship, the range of his interests, and his creative drive, rather than any narrow dedication to the medium. He was born in the village of Edzell, Angus, Scotland, the son of a village schoolmaster. After graduating in English literature from Edinburgh University, he taught in secondary schools until World War II.

During the war, Hood served in Italian East Africa and the Middle East as an infantry officer, then as a staff officer on operational intelligence with the German Order of Battle. He was captured in North Africa and then spent time as a prisoner of war in Italy. He escaped at the time of the Italian Armistice in September 1943 and lived at first with the peasants. He then joined the partisans in Tuscany. His account of this period, *Pebbles from My Skull*, is a major piece of 20th-century war writing. He saw further military service in Holland, then at the Rhine crossing with the U.S. Ninth army. In the final years of the war, Hood did political intelligence work in Germany.

These biographical details are important for two reasons. The first is that the war took Hood and a whole generation of young, talented graduates and offered them, among other things, an apprenticeship in the farces, tragedies, and innovations of military administrative matters. The second is that the war has had a lasting impact on Hood's literary output as well as providing him with a lasting contempt for cant and superficiality.

Fluent in German and Italian, Hood joined the BBC German Service at the end of the war. He went on to

become head of the BBC Italian Service and then of the 24-hour English-language service for overseas. After a period as editor-in-chief of BBC Television News, he became controller of programs for BBC Television. Ten years working as a freelancer was followed, in 1974, by an invitation to become professor of film and television at the Royal College of Art in London. During the next four years, Hood was not always happy with his role as a senior educator. His approach to higher education was not always greeted with enthusiasm by his peers. He gave students the chance to be involved in the decision-making process in relation to both their own work and general staffing and administrative matters during his period at the Royal College of Art.

Hood has always been politically liberal. For several years he was vice president of ACCT, the film and television union in the United Kingdom. His politics might have placed him, as a senior manager, in something of a difficult position. He has never shirked responsibility, however, and has worked rather to make positive and productive use of his management positions. He was responsible, in large part, for the break between radio and television news, and was the first to employ a woman newsreader at the BBC. He worked under Carleton Greene at the BBC and was encouraged to seek to test the limits of viewer tolerance and interest. This resulted in series such as the now legendary satirical program *That Was the Week That Was*. In relation to television drama, Hood also did all he could to encourage the work of innovative writers such as David Mercer. Hood has publicly expressed his disgust at the fact that the BBC had denied for many years that MI5 routinely vetted BBC staff. On some things, he had to remain silent, and as a result of this he developed something of a reputation as an enigmatic character.

As a director and producer in his own right, Hood was responsible for such innovative programs as *The Trial of Daniel and Sinyavsky* (Soviet dissidents) and a program on the trial of Marshal Petain entitled *A Question of Honor*. Hood has made a unique contribution to broadcasting through the diversity of his interests and talents. He has demonstrated, through his literary output, that senior administrators in broad-

casting are not necessarily outside the world of direct productive activity. He has also made a significant contribution to writing about broadcasting, and his *On Television* is a classic in the field. Hood's major contribution to television has been to demonstrate that both production and management can be enhanced and enriched by scholarship and astute political awareness.

ROBERT FERGUSON

**Stuart Hood.** Born in the Edzell, Angus, Scotland, 1915. Educated at Edinburgh University. Served as an intelligence officer in the British army during World War II; worked with Italian partisans, 1943–44. Briefly joined the Workers' Revolutionary Party; writer, first achieving widespread recognition in the United Kingdom, 1960s; media career began at the BBC World Service; controller of programs, BBC-TV, 1962–64; independent filmmaker; involved with the Free Communications Group, from 1968; vice president, ACTT; continued writing, from mid-1980s; professor of film, Royal College of Art.

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# Hooks, Benjamin Lawson (1935– )

U.S. Media Regulator

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Benjamin Lawson Hooks was nominated as a member of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) by President Richard M. Nixon in 1972. Shortly thereafter the U.S. Senate confirmed the nomination, and Hooks became the first African American to be appointed to the commission. He served as a member of the FCC until July 27, 1977.

During his tenure on the commission, Hooks actively promoted the employment of African Americans and other minorities in the broadcast industry as well as at the FCC offices. He also encouraged minority ownership of broadcast properties. Hooks supported the Equal Time provision and the Fairness Doctrine, both of which he believed were among the few avenues available to minorities to gain access to the broadcast media.

Hooks received his undergraduate degree from LeMoyne College in his hometown of Memphis, Tennessee. However, because Tennessee at that time prohibited blacks from entering law school, he attended

DePaul University in Chicago. He returned to Tennessee to serve as a public defender in Shelby County. From 1964 to 1968 he was a county criminal judge.

The nomination and confirmation of Hooks to the FCC represented the culmination of efforts by African-American organizations such as Black Efforts for Soul on Television (BEST), to have an African American appointed to one of the seven seats on the commission. Before Hooks's appointment, there had been no minority representation on the commission and only two women, Frieda Henneck and Charlotte Reid, had been appointed up to that time.

Riding a wave created by the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), otherwise known as the Kerner Commission, which itself was a reaction to the civil unrest of the 1960s, African-American organizations such as BEST lobbied aggressively for an African-American appointment to the Federal Communications Commission. Under a section titled "The Negro in the Media," the Kerner Com-

mission urged that African-Americans be integrated "into all aspects of televised presentations." African-American organizations knew that in order to achieve such a goal, representation on the policy-making body that governed broadcasting was critical. However, when it was announced that Benjamin Hooks was one of three African Americans considered for a seat on the FCC, BEST expressed some strong reservations about his candidacy. Leaders of the organization did not believe that Hooks was qualified to serve on the commission and instead favored the appointment of Ted Ledbetter, a Washington, D.C., communications consultant. The third candidate considered for the position was Revius Ortique, an attorney from New Orleans. Although there are no set criteria for qualifying as a candidate for the FCC, it was believed by BEST that Hooks did not have the experience or expertise in broadcasting necessary to be an effective commissioner. However, while far from being an industry insider, Hooks was not entirely new to broadcasting.

In addition to being a lawyer and minister, Hooks had been a popular local television personality before being considered for the FCC post. He hosted a weekly half-hour program, *Conversations in Black and White*, on the station WMC-TV in Memphis. He had also appeared as a panelist on a broadcast of the program *What Is Your Faith?*, which aired on WREC-TV in Memphis. The presence of Hooks on the commission meant that organizations previously outside the policy-making process in broadcasting finally had access. The National Media Coalition, Citizens Communications Center, and the United Church of Christ all felt that their cases would at least get a fair hearing, because of Hooks.

Although he was a spokesman for the perspectives of blacks, women, and Latinos with respect to broadcasting policies, relations between Hooks and these groups were not always friendly. Two of his decisions while on the commission stand out as especially difficult for Hooks. The first was his vote to uphold the First Amendment and not censor a political candidate for the U.S. Senate in the Georgia primary. As part of his political campaign, senatorial candidate J.B. Stoner produced and aired television and radio spots that referred to African Americans as "niggers." Understandably, African Americans and other groups wanted the spots banned by the FCC. Hooks, however, felt that supporting freedom of speech was more important than banning the spots. In a *New York Times* interview, he suggested that "even if it hurts sometimes, I'm a great believer in free speech and would never do anything to tamper with it." He argued that in the long run, banning the spots would prove more detrimental to blacks and other groups than allowing them to air.



Benjamin L. Hooks.

*Photo courtesy of Broadcasting & Cable*

The second major decision that proved controversial during his stint on the FCC involved broadcasters and the rules related to Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO). Prior to 1976, stations with five or more employees were required to file a statistical report, including the number of employees by race and gender, with the commission. In 1976 the commission proposed to raise the number that would trigger this reporting requirement. It also proposed that such stations should have an EEO-approved strategy for increasing minority representation at the stations. Citizens' groups felt the FCC was easing its restrictions regarding minority hiring practices on smaller stations. They asked Commissioner Hooks not to support the new policy. Hooks decided that the new rules would have an overall positive impact on the hiring of minorities and women, so he supported the new policies, except for the section no longer requiring stations with fewer than 50 employees to file EEO programs.

While Hooks served on the commission, broadcast ownership groups that included minorities were given preferential treatment by the FCC, an office of Equal Employment Opportunity was set up, and the employment of blacks by the Federal Communications Commission offices increased. After serving five years of his seven-year term, Hooks resigned from the FCC to become the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). His plans

were to establish a communications department in the NAACP in order "to see how we can make television more responsive to the people, black and white."

The appointment of Hooks to the FCC must be seen as one part of a long history of demands for access to the broadcast media by African Americans. While African Americans had at times been included in the "television family," their roles had too often been limited to stereotypical portrayals that were thought to contribute to distorted images of the black experience. Organizing and lobbying for an African-American appointment to the FCC was a continuation of a political and social process. The appointment of Benjamin Hooks symbolized a crystallization of those efforts, and while it would be incorrect to state that with his appointment all barriers to minority access were knocked down, it would be equally incorrect not to recognize that the appointment of Benjamin Hooks did lead to increased access for African Americans and other minorities in the field of broadcasting.

RAUL D. TOVARES

See also **Federal Communications Commission**

**Benjamin (Lawson) Hooks.** Born in Memphis, Tennessee, January 31, 1935. Studied at LeMoyne College, Memphis, 1941–43; Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1943–44; De Paul University, Chicago, J.D. 1948. Married: Frances Dancy, 1951; one daughter. Admitted to the Tennessee Bar, 1948; private law practice, Memphis, 1949–65; ordained minister, from 1956; assistant public defender, 1961–64; judge, Division IV, Criminal Court of Shelby County, Tennessee, 1966–68; appointed as first African-American commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, 1972–78; executive director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1978–93; television producer, *Con-*

*versations in Black and White*; co-producer, *Forty Percent Speaks*; television panelist, *What Is Your Faith?*. Member: Board of directors, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee Human Relations Commission; Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission; president, National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, Tennessee; senior vice president, Chapman Company, Memphis, Tennessee, from 1993. Member, American Bar Association, National Bar Association (judicial council member), Tennessee Bar Association. Recipient: Springarn Award, NAACP, 1986.

#### Publications

- "Hooks Calls For Return To 'Bad Old Days.'" *Broadcasting* (23 January 1989)  
"In the Matter of Clarence Thomas," *The Black Scholar* (Winter 1991)  
"Excerpts from Some of Dr. Hooks' Speeches," *The Crisis* (January 1993)

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Higgins, Chester A., Sr., "Meet Benjamin Lawson Hooks—A Passionate Fighter for Justice," *The Crisis* (January 1993)  
Leavy, Walter, "Black Leadership at the Crossroads," *Ebony* (February 1984)  
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## Hope, Bob (1903–2003)

U.S. Comedian

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Bob Hope was one of television's most renowned comedians and actors. He also worked in vaudeville, radio, and film, and, for the last eight decades of his long life, made audiences laugh at themselves, their contemporary culture and its foibles, their politics and

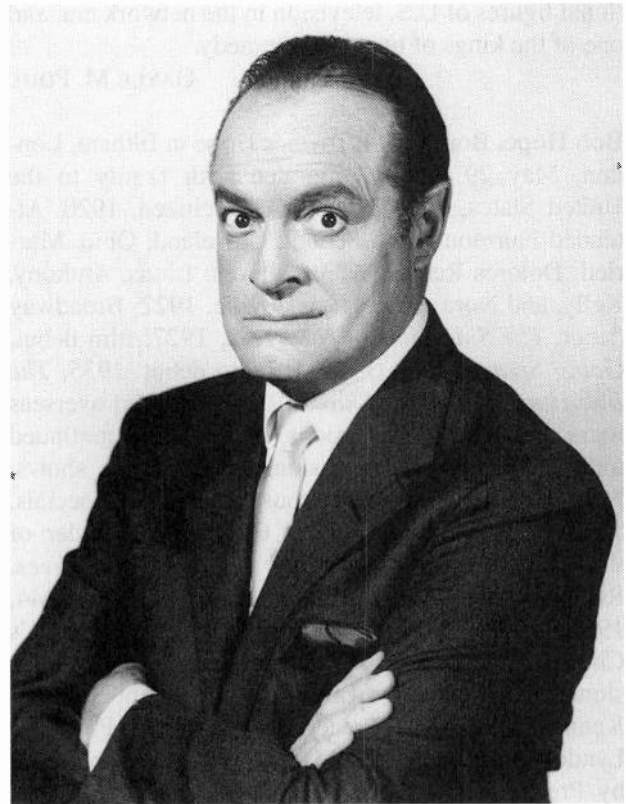
politicians. For his efforts he received numerous awards and accolades. He was perhaps equally well known, and certainly equally applauded, for his efforts in entertaining U.S. soldiers overseas.

Hope began his career in 1914 when he won a Char-

lie Chaplin imitator contest. He then made his way into vaudeville in the 1920s and his Broadway acting and musical debut in 1933, when he appeared in *Roberta*. Hope moved to Hollywood in 1938 after appearing in several short films and on radio. He made his film acting debut in the full-length film *The Big Broadcast of 1938*, where he first sang his signature song, "Thanks for the Memory," with Shirley Ross. In 1940 Hope made the first of seven "Road" films, *The Road to Singapore*, with Bing Crosby and Dorothy Lamour. He became a showbiz wizard by playing on his rapid-fire wisecracking technique in the "Road" films that followed. The best-known and probably most televised of these films, *The Road to Utopia*, was made in 1945. Hope regularly starred as a comic coward, caught in comic-adventurous situations, but he generally wound up winning the hand of the leading lady. In addition to the "Road" films, he also appeared in many other movies. He made his last "Road" film, *The Road to Hong Kong*, in 1962, and his film career virtually ended in the early 1960s.

Hope was one of the biggest names in show business when television began to develop. Unlike some of his fellow stars, he jumped into the new medium, making his debut on Easter Sunday in 1950. On a regular basis he was seen on two budget variety shows, *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* and *The Colgate Comedy Hour*. In 1953 NBC broadcast the first annual *Bob Hope Christmas Special*. These specials were usually filmed during his regular tour to entertain the troops overseas. He also began a series of comedy specials for NBC-TV, where he became known for his marvelous comic timing, his stunning array of guest stars, and his ease with both studio audiences and the camera. His guests regularly included top stars from film, stage, television, and the music industry. He was usually surrounded by Hollywood starlets and athletic figures. His humor poked gentle fun at the world of politics, usually leaning toward the conservative. He also made numerous guest appearances on various comedy shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Danny Thomas Show*, and *The Jack Benny Show*, where he was applauded for his wisecracking ability to throw new comic wrenches into already hilarious situations. In most cases, Hope simply played himself, and his appearance as a guest star was a guarantee of a larger audience. His ability to make both the audience and his costars feel at ease, eager for the wry comment that would put a new spin on any situation, was performance enough.

In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of end of World War II, NBC broadcast an hour-long Bob Hope special chronicling the comedian's camp tours during the war. Hope, at the age of 92, narrated *Mem-*



Bob Hope.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*ories of World War II*. The special was crafted from a video and CD collection originally produced for retail sales. An additional 20 minutes shows Bob Hope and his wife Dolores talking with friends and coworkers, including Charlton Heston, Dorothy Lamour, and Ed McMahon, about special photos and remembrances about the war, the entertainment, and their efforts to build and maintain morale. Many scenes extol Hope's comic abilities, patriotism, and human compassion. The recollections range from outrageously funny to heartfelt to harrowing. Still, some critics saw the special as self-congratulatory, inept, and awkward. Mike Hughes, a critic for the Gannett News Service, declared, "This doesn't mean Hope isn't a fine person. It doesn't mean the war effort wasn't worthy. It simply means that bad is bad, no matter the motivation." By this point in his long career, Hope seemed at times anachronistic, a reminder of a different world, and a different sort of television.

In spite of such commentary, Bob Hope remained an American institution in the entertainment world, a quick-witted master of comic response, until his death on July 27, 2003, less than two months after his 100th birthday. He will be remembered as one of the founda-

## Hope, Bob

tional figures of U.S. television in the network era, and one of the kings of television comedy.

GAYLE M. POHL

**Bob Hope.** Born Leslie Townes Hope in Eltham, London, May 29, 1903; emigrated with family to the United States, 1908, became U.S. citizen, 1920. Attended Fairmont High School, Cleveland, Ohio. Married: Dolores Reade, 1933; children: Linda, Anthony, Kelly, and Nora. Entered vaudeville, 1922; Broadway debut, *The Sidewalks of New York*, 1927; film debut, *Going Spanish* (short), 1934; radio debut, 1935, *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show*, 1939–48; began overseas tours to entertain U.S. troops, early 1940s, continued until 1994; host and occasional star, various shows, NBC-TV; host of numerous television specials, 1970s–90s. Honorary Knight Commander, Order of the British Empire. More than 40 honorary degrees. Recipient: Honorary Academy Awards, 1940, 1944, 1952, 1959, 1965; Emmy Award; three People's Choice Awards for Best Male Entertainer; Congressional Gold Medal awarded by President John F. Kennedy; Medal of Freedom awarded by President Lyndon B. Johnson; People to People Award presented by President Dwight D. Eisenhower; George Foster Peabody Award; Jean Hersholdt Humanitarian Award; Criss Award; Distinguished Service Medals from all branches of U.S. Armed Forces; Poor Richard Award; Kennedy Center Honors Award; Fellow, Westminster (New Jersey) Choir College; Most Decorated Entertainer (*Guinness Book of Records*); Honored Entertainer (*The Guinness Book of Records*). Died in Toluca Lake, California, July 27, 2003.

### Television Series

- 1951–52 *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* (host)  
1952–53 *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (host)  
1963–67 *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theatre* (host)

### Made-for-Television Movie

- 1986 *A Masterpiece of Murder*

### Television Specials

- 1950–95 More than 270 specials

### Films

- Going Spanish*, 1934; *The Big Broadcast of 1938*, 1938; *College Swing*, 1938; *Some Like It Hot*, 1939; *Never Say Die*, 1939; *The Cat and the Canary*, 1939; *The Road to Singapore*, 1940; *The Ghost Breakers*,

1940; *Louisiana Purchase*, 1941; *The Road to Zanzibar*, 1941; *Nothing but the Truth*, 1941; *Caught in the Draft*, 1941; *Star Spangled Rhythm*, 1942; *The Road to Morocco*, 1942; *My Favorite Blonde*, 1942; *They Got Me Covered*, 1943; *Let's Face It*, 1943; *The Princess and the Pirate*, 1944; *The All-Star Bond Rally*, 1945; *The Road to Utopia*, 1946; *Monsieur Beaucaire*, 1946; *Where There's Life*, 1947; *Variety Girl*, 1947; *The Road to Rio*, 1947; *My Favorite Brunette*, 1947; *The Paleface*, 1948; *Sorrowful Jones*, 1949; *The Great Lover*, 1949; *Fancy Pants*, 1950; *My Favorite Spy*, 1951; *The Lemon Drop Kid*, 1951; *Son of Paleface*, 1952; *The Road to Bali*, 1952; *The Greatest Show on Earth*, 1952; *Off Limits*, 1953; *Here Come the Girls*, 1953; *Casanova's Big Night*, 1954; *The Seven Little Foys*, 1955; *That Certain Feeling*, 1956; *The Iron Petticoat*, 1956; *Beau James*, 1957; *Paris Holiday*, 1958; *Alias Jesse James*, 1959; *The Facts of Life*, 1960; *Bachelor in Paradise*, 1961; *The Road to Hong Kong*, 1962; *Critic's Choice*, 1963; *Call Me Bwana*, 1963; *A Global Affair*, 1964; *I'll Take Sweden*, 1965; *Boy, Did I Get a Wrong Number!*, 1966; *The Private Navy of Sgt. O'Farrell*, 1968; *How to Commit Marriage*, 1969; *Cancel My Reservation*, 1972; *The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *Spies Like Us*, 1985.

### Radio (selected)

*Capitol Family Hour*, 1932; *Woodbury Soap Show*, 1937; *Your Hollywood Parade*, 1938; *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show*, 1939–48.

### Stage (selected)

*Sidewalks of New York*, 1927; *Ballyhoo*, 1932; *Roberta*, 1933; *Say When*, 1934; *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1935; *Red, Hot, and Blue*, 1936; *Smiles*, 1938.

### Publications

*They Got Me Covered*, 1941  
*I Never Left Home*, 1944  
*So This Is Peace*, 1946  
*Hollywood Merry-Go-Round*, 1947  
*Have Tux, Will Travel* (as told to Pete Martin), 1954  
*I Owe Russia \$1,200*, 1963  
*Five Women I Love: Bob Hope's Vietnam Story*, 1966  
*The Last Christmas Show* (as told to Pete Martin), 1974  
*The Road to Hollywood: My Forty Year Love Affair with the Movies*, with Bob Thomas, 1977  
*Confessions of a Hooker: My Lifelong Love Affair with Golf* (as told to Dwayne Netland), 1985



*Don't Shoot, It's Only Me*, with Melville Shavelson, 1990  
*Have Tux, Will Travel: Bob Hope's Own Story*, with Pete Martin, 2003

### Further Reading

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 Egan, Jack, "The Midas of Comedy," *U.S. News and World Report* (May 6, 1991)

Faith, William, *Bob Hope: A Life in Comedy*, New York: Putnam, 1982 (reprint, 2003)  
 Fox, Sally, "The Bob Hope Special You Can't Turn Off," *Harper's Magazine* (December 1991)  
 Kaplan, P.W., "On the Road with Bob Hope," *Film Comment* (January–February 1978)  
 Manchel, Frank, *The Box Office Clowns: Bob Hope, Jerry Lewis, Mel Brooks, Woody Allen*, New York: F. Watts, 1979  
 Marx, Arthur, *The Secret Life of Bob Hope: An Unauthorized Biography*, Fort Lee, New Jersey: Barricade, 1993  
 Thompson, Charles, *Bob Hope: Portrait of a Superstar*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981

## Hopkins, John (1931–1998)

British Writer

John Hopkins was one of the great pioneers of British television drama whose considerable output as a writer includes the award-winning play quartet *Talking to a Stranger*, described by one critic as "the first authentic masterpiece written directly for television." Hopkins's career in television began first as a studio manager in the 1950s, but he was soon turning his attention to writing and putting his earlier experience to good use in his plays. Few other writers have exploited so effectively the potential of the multi-camera studio in their work. After serving an apprenticeship with single plays, Hopkins rapidly established himself as a key writer for the popular BBC crime series *Z Cars* and, between 1962 and 1964, he wrote 53 episodes for the program. He went on to write noted single plays, such as *Horror of Darkness* (1965) and *A Story to Frighten the Children* (1976), and also to adapt Dostoevsky's *The Gambler* (1968), and John Le Carré's *Smiley's People* with the novelist (1982). The pinnacle of Hopkins's achievement, however, is undoubtedly his 1966 series, *Talking to a Stranger*, directed by Christopher Morahan and shown on BBC 2.

The 1960s in Britain provided a golden age for writers of TV drama, with well over 300 hours a year available in the schedules for original work. The 1964 launch of BBC 2, in particular, opened up opportunities for serious TV drama and exploration of television as an art. Experimentation with form was being discussed openly by writers, and Troy Kennedy-Martin, the originator of the *Z Cars* series, produced a manifesto for a new TV drama free from the conventional

spatial and temporal constraints of naturalist theater. *Talking to a Stranger*, especially in its free-floating use of time, sets up a similar experimental agenda, but in other respects this program remains rooted in a familiar naturalism and the close-up observation of ordinary people.

Nothing could be more mundane than the basic situation at the center of this family drama. A grown-up daughter and her brother go back home to visit their aging father and mother, but the emotional collisions that arise provoke unexpected tragedy—the suicide of the mother. Some of the same events are repeated from one play to the next, but the viewpoint changes as each play focuses on a different character. In this way, the series provides a sustained opportunity to explore subjective experience. The self-absorption of the characters is enhanced by the use of experimental devices that include extended monologues, overlapping dialogue, lingering reaction shots, and film flashbacks in time.

Hopkins's vision of human loneliness and alienation may be an uncompromisingly bleak and pessimistic one, but it is made compelling through his artistic manipulation of the television medium. As a family drama, *Talking to a Stranger* bears comparison to Eugene O'Neill's great stage play *A Long Day's Journey into Night*. In relation to the development of the art of television, Hopkins's successful pioneering of the short series for serious drama established an important precedent in Britain, and writers of the stature of Dennis Potter and Alan Bleasdale subsequently followed

Hopkins, John

in his example to produce some of their most distinctive work.

BOB MILLINGTON

*See also Z Cars*

**John Richard Hopkins.** Born in London, January 27, 1931. Attended Raynes Park County Grammar School; St. Catharine's College, Cambridge (B.A. in English). Served in the British Army, 1950–51. Married: 1) Prudence Balchin, 1954; 2) Shirley Knight, 1970; two daughters. Began career as television studio manager; worked as writer for BBC Television, initially as first scriptwriter of *Z Cars*, 1962–64; freelance from 1964. Recipient: two Screenwriters' Guild Awards. Died in Woodland Hills, California, August 23, 1998.

#### Television Series

1961	<i>A Chance of Thunder</i>
1962–65	<i>Z Cars</i>
1964	<i>Parade's End</i>
1966	<i>Talking to a Stranger</i>
1968	<i>The Gambler</i>
1977	<i>Fathers and Families</i>
1982	<i>Smiley's People</i> (co-writer, with John Le Carré)

#### Television Specials

1958	<i>Break Up</i>
1958	<i>After the Party</i>
1959	<i>The Small Back Room</i>
1959	<i>Dancers in Mourning</i>
1960	<i>Death of a Ghost</i>
1961	<i>A Woman Comes Home</i>
1961	<i>By Invitation Only</i>
1962	<i>The Second Curtain</i>
1962	<i>Look Who's Talking</i>
1963	<i>A Place of Safety</i>
1964	<i>The Pretty English Girls</i>
1964	<i>I Took My Little World Away</i>
1964	<i>Time Out of Mind</i>
1964	<i>Houseparty</i>
1965	<i>The Make-Believe Man</i>
1965	<i>Fable</i>
1965	<i>Horror of Darkness</i>
1965	<i>A Man Like Orpheus</i>
1966	<i>Some Place of Darkness</i>
1966	<i>A Game—Like—Only a Game</i>
1969	<i>Beyond the Sunrise</i>

1970	<i>The Dolly Scene</i>
1971	<i>Some Distant Shadow</i>
1972	<i>That Quiet Earth</i>
1972	<i>Walk into the Dark</i>
1972	<i>The Greeks and Their Gifts</i>
1976	<i>A Story to Frighten the Children</i>
1976	<i>Double Dare</i>
1987	<i>Codename Kyril</i>
1995	<i>Hiroshima</i>

#### Films

*Two Left Feet*, with Roy Baker, 1963; *Thunderball*, with Richard Maibaum, 1965; *The Virgin Soldiers*, with John McGrath and Ian La Frenais, 1969; *Divorce—His, Divorce—Hers*, 1972; *The Offence*, 1973; *Murder by Decree*, 1980; *The Power*, with John Carpenter and Gerald Brach, 1983; *The Holcroft Covenant*, with George Axelrod and Edward Anhalt, 1985; *Torment*, with Samson Aslanian (also codirector and producer), 1986; *Runaway Dreams*, 1989.

#### Stage

*This Story of Yours*, 1968; *Find Your Way Home*, 1970; *Economic Necessity*, 1973; *Next of Kin*, 1974; *Losing Time*, 1979; *Valedictorian*, 1982; *Absent Forever*, 1987.

#### Publications

*Talking to a Stranger: Four Television Plays*, 1967  
“A Place of Safety,” in *Z Cars: Four Scripts from the Television Series*, edited by Michael Marland, 1968  
“A Game—Like—Only a Game,” in *Conflicting Generations: Five Television Plays*, edited by Michael Marland, 1968  
*This Story of Yours*, 1969  
*Find Your Way Home*, 1971  
*Losing Time*, 1983

#### Further Reading

Bakewell, Joan, and Nicholas Garnham, *The New Priesthood: British Television Today*, London: Allen Lane, 1970  
Brandt, George, editor, *British Television Drama*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980  
Kennedy-Martin, Troy, “Nats Go Home: First Statement of a New Drama for Television,” *Encore* (March–April 1964)

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# Hour Glass

## U.S. Variety Program

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*Hour Glass* was a seminal, if now largely forgotten, variety program airing on NBC-TV from May 1946 to February 1947. It is historically important because it exemplified the issues faced by networks, sponsors, and advertising agencies in television's formative years. The program was produced by the J. Walter Thompson agency on behalf of Standard Brands for their Chase and Sanborn and Tenderleaf Tea lines. The sponsor and agency took several months to decide on the show's format, eventually choosing variety for two reasons: it allowed for experimentation with other forms (comedy sketches, musical numbers, short playlets, and the like), plus Thompson and Standard Brands had previously collaborated on the successful radio show *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*.

The lines of responsibility were not completely defined in those early years, and the nine-month run of *Hour Glass* was punctuated by frequent squabbling among the principals. Each show was assembled by seven Thompson employees working in two teams, each putting together a show over two weeks in a frenzy of production. Using a format that was familiar to *Chase and Sanborn Hour* listeners, the program accentuated star power as the means of drawing the largest audience. *Hour Glass* featured different performers every week, including Peggy Lee and, in one of the first examples of a top radio star appearing on network television, Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, who appeared in November 1946. The show also showcased filmed segments produced by Thompson's Motion Picture Department; these ranged from short travelogues to advertisements. Every episode also included a ten-minute drama, which proved one of the more popular portions of the show.

It must have been the curiosity factor that prompted some stars to appear on the show because they certainly were not paid much money. *Hour Glass* had a talent budget of only \$350 a week, hardly more than enough to pay scale wages for a handful of performers. Still, Standard Brands put an estimated \$200,000 into the program's nine-month run, by far the largest amount ever devoted to a sponsored show at that time.

Although Thompson and Standard Brands representatives occasionally disagreed over the quality of individual episodes, their association was placid compared to the constant sniping that was the hallmark of the agency's relationship with NBC. It started with unhappiness over studio space, which Thompson regarded as woefully inadequate, and escalated when the network insisted that an NBC director manage the show from live rehearsals through actual broadcast. The network was similarly displeased that Thompson refused to clear their commercials with NBC before air time.

In February 1947 Standard Brands canceled *Hour Glass*. They were pleased with the show's performance in terms of beverage sales and its overall quality, but they were leery about continuing to pour money into a program that did not reach a large number of households (it is unclear if the show was broadcast anywhere other than NBC's interconnected stations in New York and Philadelphia). The strain between NBC and Thompson also played a role in the decision to cancel the program. Still, *Hour Glass* did provide Thompson with a valuable blueprint for the agency's celebrated and long-running production *Kraft Television Theatre*.

MICHAEL MASHON

*See also Advertising, Company Voice; Advertising Agency; Kraft Television Theatre; Variety Programs*

### Emcees

Helen Parrish (1946)  
Eddie Mayehoff

### Producer

Howard Reilly

### Programming History

NBC  
May 1946–March 1947 Thursday 8:00–9:00

# Howdy Doody Show, The

U.S. Children's Program

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*The Howdy Doody Show* was one of the first and easily the most popular children's television show of the 1950s in the United States, and a reflection of the wonder, technical fascination, and business realities associated with early television. While Howdy and his friends entertained American children, they also sold television sets to American parents and demonstrated the potential of the new medium to advertisers.

The idea for *Howdy Doody* began on the NBC New York radio affiliate WEOF in 1947, with a program called *The Triple B Ranch*. The three Bs stood for Big Brother Bob Smith, who developed the country-bumpkin voice of a ranch hand and greeted the radio audience with, "Oh, ho, ho, howdy doody." Martin Stone, Smith's agent, suggested putting Howdy on television and presented the idea to NBC Television programming head Warren Wade. With Stone and Roger Muir as producers, Smith launched *Puppet Playhouse* on December 17, 1947. Within a week the name of the program was changed to *The Howdy Doody Show*.

Children loved the Doodyville inhabitants, a skillfully created, diverse collection of American icons. The original Howdy marionette was designed by Frank Paris and, in keeping with Smith's voice, was a country bumpkin; however, in a dispute over licensing rights, Paris left the show with the puppet. The new Howdy, who premiered in March 1948, was an all-American boy with red hair, 48 freckles (one for each state in the United States at that time), and a permanent smile. Howdy's face symbolized the youthful energy of the new medium and appeared on the NBC color test pattern beginning in 1954.

Smith treated the marionettes as if they were real, and as a result, so did the children of America. Among the many unusual marionettes on the show was Phineas T. Bluster, Doodyville's entrepreneurial mayor. Howdy's grumpy nemesis, Bluster had eyebrows that shot straight up when he was surprised. Bluster's naive, high-school-aged accomplice was Dilly Dally, who wiggled his ears when he was frustrated. Flub-a-Dub was a whimsical character who was a combination of eight different animals. In *Howdy and Me*, Smith notes, "Howdy, Mr. Bluster, Dilly, and the Flub-a-Dub gave the impression that they could cut their strings, saunter off the stage, and do as they pleased."

Although the live characters, particularly the Native Americans Chief Thunderthud and Princess Summerfall Winterspring, were by modern standards stereotypical and often clownish, each had a rich heritage interwoven into the stories. These were prepared by Eddie Kean, who wrote the scripts and the songs until 1954, and Willie Gilbert and Jack Weinstock, who wrote scripts and song lyrics thereafter. For example, Smith (born in Buffalo, New York) was transformed into Buffalo Bob when he took his place in the story as the great white leader of the Sigafoose tribe. Chief Thunderthud (played by Bill LeCornec) of the mythical Ooragnak tribe ("Kangaroo" spelled backward) introduced the word "Kowabonga," an expression of surprise and frustration, into the English language. One of the few female characters in the cast was the beloved Princess Summerfall Winterspring of the Tinka Tonka tribe, who was first introduced as a puppet, then transformed into a real, live princess, played by Judy Tyler.

*The Howdy Doody Show* also reflected Americans' fascination with technology. Part of the fun and fantasy of Doodyville were crazy machines such as the Electromindomizer, which read minds, and the Honkadoodle, which translated Mother Goose's honks into English. Television's technical innovations were also incorporated into the show. On 23 June 1949 split-screen capabilities were used to join Howdy in Chicago with Buffalo Bob in New York, one of the first instances of a cross-country connection. Howdy also ushered in NBC's daily color programming in 1955.

*The Howdy Doody Show* was immediately successful and was NBC's first daily show to be extended to five days a week. In 1952 NBC launched a network radio program featuring Howdy, and in 1954 *Howdy Doody* became an international television hit with a Cuban and a Canadian show, using duplicate puppets and local talent, including Robert Goulet as the Canadian host Timber Tom.

As amazing as it may now seem, there were published concerns over violent content in *Howdy Doody*, but although the action in Doodyville often involved slapstick, parents generally supported the show. Much of the mayhem was perpetrated by a lovable, mis-



*The Howdy Doody Show*, 1947–60; Howdy Doody, Buffalo Bob Smith, 1950s.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

chievous clown named Clarabell Hornblow. Clarabell was played until 1953 by Bob Keeshan, who later became Captain Kangaroo. The clown's pratfalls were generally accidents, and the most lethal weapon on the show was his seltzer bottle. Moreover, educational material was consciously incorporated both into the songs and the stories; for example, young viewers received a lesson in government when Howdy ran for president of the kids of America in 1948. The educational features of the program made the Doodyville characters attractive personal promoters both for the show and for the sale of television sets.

In an era before the advent of the Nielsen ratings, *Howdy Doody* demonstrated its ability to draw an audience both for NBC and for possible advertisers. In 1948 children's shows were often provided as a public service either by the networks or the stations. When Howdy ran for president of all the kids, Muir suggested that the program offer free campaign buttons. It received 60,000 requests, representing one-third of American homes with television sets at that time. Within a week the program's advertising time was sold out to major advertisers, such as Colgate Palmolive Peet Company. Although the producers were careful

about what they advertised, they were very aggressive about marketing products they selected, incorporating product messages into songs and skits.

The producers also recognized the potential for merchandising. In 1949 the first *Howdy Doody* comic book was published by Dell and the first *Howdy Doody* record was released, selling 30,000 copies in its first week. There were also *Howdy Doody* wind-up toys, a humming lariat, a beanie, and T-shirts, among other licensed products.

Although extremely popular, the demise of *The Howdy Doody Show* demonstrated the financial realities of the new medium. In 1956 the early-evening timeslot became more attractive to older consumers, and the show was moved to Saturday morning. Although it continued to receive high ratings, the expense of producing it was eventually its downfall, and *The Howdy Doody Show* was taken off the air on September 24, 1960, after 2,343 programs.

The most famous moment in the history of *The Howdy Doody Show* came during the closing seconds of the final show, when Clarabell, who had never before spoken but communicated through pantomime and honking his horns, surprised the audience by saying, "Good-bye, kids." Today, the rich, live-action performances that filled early children's programming are considered too costly for modern, commercial television in the United States. The show was briefly brought back to television as *The New Howdy Doody Show* in August 1976, but it was canceled in January 1977, after only 130 episodes.

SUZANNE WILLIAMS-RAUTIOLLA

*See also* **Children and Television**

**Cast**

Buffalo Bob Smith	Bob Smith
Clarabelle Hornblow (1947–53)	Bob Keeshan
Clarabell Hornblow	Henry McLaughlin
Clarabell Hornblow	Bob Nicholson
Clarabell Hornblow	Lew Anderson
Story Princess	Arlene Dalton
Chief Thunderhud	Bill Lecornec
Tim Tremble	Don Knotts
Princess Summerfall Winterspring	Judy Tyler
Princess Summerfall Winterspring	Linda Marsh
Bison Bill (1954)	George "Gabby" Hayes
Howdy Doody (voice)	Bob Smith
Howdy Doody (voice, 1954)	Allen Swift
Phineas T. Bluster (voice)	Dayton Allen

## Howdy Doody Show, The

Double Doody (voice)      Bob Smith  
The Flubadub (voice)      Dayton Allen  
Traveling Lecturer      Lowell Thomas, Jr.

NBC

December 1947–September 1960      Non-prime-time

### Puppeteers

Rhoda Mann, Lee Carney, Rufus C. Rose

### Producers

Martin Stone, E. Roger Muir, Simon Rady

### Programming History

2,343 episodes

### Further Reading

Davis, Stephen, *Say Kids! What Time Is It?*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1987

Davis, Stephen, "It's Howdy Doody Time," *Television Quarterly* (Summer 1988)

Fischer, Stuart, "Howdy Doody," in *Kids TV: The First Twenty-Five Years*, New York: Facts on File, 1983

Grossman, Gary H., *Saturday Morning TV*, New York: Dell, 1981

Smith, Buffalo Bob, and Donna McCrohan, *Howdy and Me*, New York: Penguin, 1990

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# Howerd, Frankie (1922–1992)

## British Comedian

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Frankie Howerd was a popular postwar stand-up comedian, who survived many changes in the humor tastes of the British nation to remain a television favorite until his death in 1992. From an early age, he decided he wanted to be an actor, despite bouts of nervousness and a recurring stammer, but after suffering rejection from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, he decided instead to become a stand-up comic. However, this route seemed equally closed to him as he failed numerous auditions. During World War II he joined the army but failed to impress as an entertainer and was turned down by the military entertainment organization, ENSA (Entertainments National Service Association—but better known by the troops as Every Night Something Awful). This rejection, however, did not deter Howerd, who still performed for his comrades in arms, learning to control his stammer and develop a line of patter. Following the war, Howerd's rise was dramatic. He toured the provinces in a stage show, *For the Fun of It*, in 1946, and although placed at the bottom of the bill, he hit upon the clever ruse of changing his name from Howard to Howerd. This meant that his name was more noticeable simply because people assumed it was a misprint. And if the name was spelt incorrectly as the more normal Howard (an easy mistake), the comedian could complain and get some appeasement, perhaps larger lettering on the next poster or a longer spot, or even extra money.

In 1947 Howerd presented his comedy act in the radio series *Variety Bandbox* and soon became a hit with the listening public. His comic persona was becoming defined. Influenced by the comedians of his time, especially his great idol Sid Field (one of Britain's greatest comic talents from the 1930s to his death in 1950), Howerd had, by the end of the 1940s, developed a strong style of his own. His tactic was to deliver jokes and appear in sketches almost reluctantly, as if forced there by circumstance. It was as if he had something better to do, and if the audience did not respond to the lines in the right way, then he did not care. Indeed, his offhand statement to such indifference, "Oh please yourself," became one of his great catchphrases, getting a huge laugh as the audience identified with the character.

Success on radio increased Howerd's standing in the stage world, but many of the venues were shutting their doors as the era of music hall was drawing to an end. Sadly, as his stock rose, the circuit itself was closing down. Many of his comic contemporaries were crowding the radio waves, and some (such as Charlie Chester and Terry-Thomas) had even landed their own shows on the increasingly popular medium of television. In 1952 Howerd got his first television series, *The Howerd Crowd*, an hour-long entertainment with scripts by Eric Sykes. Howerd had a good face for television, long and lugubrious, and the small screen en-



Frankie Howerd (right).  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

abled him to use his exaggerated facial expressions to good effect. He appeared a few more times in that period, but he was about to enter one of the quiet phases of his career.

Howerd made his feature film debut in 1954, a major role in *The Runaway Bus*, and he had a small but memorable part in *The Ladykillers* the following year; it was such film roles and occasional radio appearances that kept him occupied throughout the rest of the 1950s. His television career throughout this period was in the doldrums and, with each year bringing in less work than the year before, he seemed to be on a familiar path that led to obscurity. Then, in 1962, Howerd's career was suddenly and dramatically resurrected when he did a stand-up routine for Peter Cook's Establishment Club, an American-style comedy cabaret club specializing in satire. With a script by Johnny Speight, Howerd was a big hit. It seemed his style of innuendo and ad-libbed asides had a place in the new world of anti-establishment comedy. The following year, Howerd consolidated his revitalized reputation with an appearance on the BBC's controversial and ground-

breaking satire series *That Was the Week That Was*. In the space of a year, he was reestablished as a major comedy star and became a familiar face on television as a guest star or leading artist in variety shows. He headlined his own show again, *Frankie Howerd* (1964–66), this time with scripts from Galton and Simpson, mixing an introductory stand-up routine with a long-form sketch that continued the same theme. Later, the series *The Frankie Howerd Show* (1969) was made by ATV for the ITV network, and Howerd also appeared in one-off entertainments such as *The Howerd Hour* (1968) made by ABC for the ITV network.

In 1970 Howerd had his biggest TV success with *Up Pompeii!* (BBC 1970), a period-piece sitcom set in ancient Pompeii and inspired by the American stage musical *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, in which Howerd had appeared (as Prologus and Pseudolus) in its British stage production. In 1969 a pilot episode of *Up Pompeii!* raised enough interest for the series to continue the following year. Howerd played the slave Lurcio, who commented on and got involved in the various comings and goings in his mas-

ter's household. His master was Ludricrus Sextus, and most of the main characters in the plots had punnish names, such as Ammonia, Erotica, Nausius, and Prodigus. The shows (scripted by Talbot Rothwell, one of the writers of the bawdy *Carry On ...* film series) were peppered with innuendo and smutty references and also allowed Howerd free rein to talk directly to camera and deliver his typically weary asides about how awful the show was. This method of combining a pseudo-stand-up routine with plot—coupled with Howerd's conspiratorial relationship with the viewing audience, which allowed him to step in and out of character—gave the series a unique, almost theatrical feel that lingered long in the public psyche despite the fact that only 13 episodes were made (14 including the pilot). Such was its popularity that an Easter special, *Further Up Pompeii!*, aired on the BBC in 1975 and a revival, also called *Further Up Pompeii!*, was made by the commercial London Weekend Television in 1991. It also spawned a feature film version in 1971 (followed by two others on similar themes, a medieval romp, *Up the Chastity Belt*, in 1971, and a World War I version, *Up the Front*, in 1973). On TV the format was reworked as *Frankie Howerd in Whoops Baghdad* (BBC, 1973), which ran for six episodes and featured Howerd as Ali Oopla, bondservant to the Wazir of Baghdad.

Howerd actually improved with age. His face, lined and wrinkled with doleful bags under his eyes, became even more expressive, allowing him to suggest any number of things with a raise of the eyebrow, his impossibly deep frown, or his wide-eyed aghast look. The face was perfectly fitted to his camp delivery, and his confidential asides and world-weary looks were given added authenticity. In 1975 Howerd appeared in an abortive pilot *A Touch of the Casanovas* for Thames TV, and he made the series *The Howerd Confessions* for the same company the following year. But British tastes were changing. The anarchic comedy wave that emerged in the wake of the punk rock phenomenon began to be taken seriously by television companies in the early 1980s, and there was a backlash against Howerd's sexual-innuendo style of humor in favor of full-frontal comedy attacks on taboo subjects. After his Yorkshire TV series *Frankie Howerd Strikes Again* (1981), Howerd once again found it harder to come by work. His 1982 sitcom *Then Churchill Said to Me* was made but shelved by the BBC; in 1985 he was chosen as front-man in an ill-fated and ill-timed attempt to make *The Gong Show* (Gambit productions for C4), a British version of the successful U.S. show.

However, some of the younger audiences began to rediscover and reassess the old comedians, and How-

erd once again found himself back in favor—achieving success appearing before rapturous college students comparable to that which he had earlier enjoyed at the Establishment Club. Indeed, evidence of Howerd's regained popularity can be found from his appearance in 1987 on LWT's live new-wave comedy showcase *Saturday Live*; it meant that the producers considered Howerd "hip" enough for their audience. Although this appearance did not have the sort of impact his previous comeback (on TW3) had had, it nonetheless heralded another revival, and he again was a regular face on TV as he appeared in the young people's sitcom *All Change* (Yorkshire TV, 1989). A series of his concerts were filmed for television, the most revealing of which was *Live Frankie Howerd on Campus* (LWT, 1990). Howerd, back in demand, was as busy as ever.

Two revealing TV documentaries contain much of the essence of Howerd's style and craft: 1990's *Ooh Er, Missus—The Frankie Howerd Story from Arena* (the BBC's art documentary series) and Thames Television's *Heroes of Comedy—Frankie Howerd* (1995).

DICK FIDDY

**Frankie Howerd.** Born Francis Alex Howard in York, England, March 6, 1922. Attended schools in Woolwich, London. Made stage debut, as an amateur, at the age of 13; insurance clerk; performed in camp concerts during World War II, in which he served in the Royal Artillery; after the war became a favorite on radio's *Variety Bandbox*; first television show, 1952; made film debut, 1954; star of revue, stage, and television comedy, pantomime, and film. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1977. Recipient: Variety Club of Great Britain Showbusiness Personality of the Year Award (twice). Died in London, April 19, 1992.

#### Television Series (selected)

1952	<i>The Howerd Crowd</i>
1969	<i>The Frankie Howerd Show</i>
1970	<i>Up Pompeii!</i>
1973	<i>Frankie Howerd in Whoops Baghdad</i>
1976	<i>The Howerd Confessions</i>
1981	<i>Frankie Howerd Strikes Again</i>
1982	<i>Frankie Howerd: Then Churchill Said to Me</i>
1989	<i>All Change</i>
1990	<i>Live Frankie Howerd on Campus</i>

#### Television Specials

1973	<i>Whoops Baghdad!</i>
1975, 1991	<i>Further up Pompeii!</i>



**Films**

*The Runaway Bus*, 1954; *An Alligator Named Daisy*, 1955; *The Ladykillers*, 1955; *Jumping for Joy*, 1956; *A Touch of the Sun*, 1956; *Further Up the Creek*, 1958; *Three Seasons*, 1961; *Watch It Sailor!*, 1961; *The Fast Lady*, 1962; *The Cool Mikado*, 1962; *The Mouse on the Moon*, 1963; *The Great St. Trinian's Train Robbery*, 1966; *Carry On Doctor*, 1967; *Carry On Up the Jungle*, 1969; *Up Pompeii!*, 1971; *Up the Chastity Belt*, 1971; *Up the Front*, 1972; *The House in Nightmare Park/Crazy House*, 1973; *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1978; *Trial by Jury*, 1983.

**Radio**

*Variety Bandbox*, 1946–52.

**Stage**

*For the Fun of It*, 1946; *Ta Ra Rah Boom De Ay*, 1948; *Out of This World*, 1950; *Dick Whittington*; *Pardon My French*; *Way Out in Picadilly*; *Wind in the Sassafras Trees*; *Charley's Aunt*; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; *Mr. Venus*, 1958; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962.

**Publications**

*On the Way I Lost It* (autobiography), 1976  
*Trumps*, 1982

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## Huggins, Roy (1914–2002)

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Roy Huggins was a prolific and influential producer who created several of the most enduring dramatic series in the history of U.S. television, including *Maverick* (1957–62), *77 Sunset Strip* (1958–64), *The Fugitive* (1963–67), and *The Rockford Files* (1974–80). Huggins spent much of his career in television as a producer for two large studios, Warner Brothers and Universal. Working within these studios, Huggins served as producer or executive producer on made-for-television movies, miniseries, and more than 20 dramatic series. While Huggins supervised a wide range of projects, many of which were simply studio assignments, he was one of the first writer-producers to emerge once television production shifted to Hollywood in the 1950s. Many of his series bear the distinctive stamp of his irreverent, self-deprecating wit and his fondness for characters who operate on the margins of society.

As a civilian employee of the U.S. government during the war, Huggins spent his spare time writing hard-boiled crime fiction, inspired by the work of Raymond Chandler. In 1946 his first novel, *The Double Take*, was published. Huggins sold several serialized mysteries to *The Saturday Evening Post* and soon published two more novels, *Too Late for Tears* and *Lovely Lady, Pity Me*. When Columbia Pictures purchased the rights to *The Double Take* in 1949, Huggins recognized an

opportunity for more steady employment, and signed on to adapt the script. From here he entered the movie industry, working as a contract writer at Columbia and RKO. In 1952 he wrote and directed the feature film *Hangman's Knot*, a Randolph Scott western produced by independent producer Harry Joe Brown for Columbia. Afterwards, he signed a contract with Columbia, where he worked as a staff writer until 1955.

Huggins made the transition to television in April 1955, when Warner Brothers hired him as a producer for its inaugural television series, *Warner Brothers Presents*, an omnibus series that featured three alternating dramas, *King's Row*, *Casablanca*, and *Cheyenne*. Huggins agreed to produce *King's Row*, but after creating the series he was reassigned to *Cheyenne* in order to salvage the faltering series, which faced withering reviews from both critics and sponsors. Huggins rescued *Cheyenne* by recycling scripts from Warner Brothers movies such as *Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), often simply inserting the character of Cheyenne Bodie (Clint Walker) into familiar stories from the studio vaults. These changes brought the series a measure of respect as an "adult" western and made it the studio's first full-fledged hit.

Huggins immediately moved from *Cheyenne* to *Conflict* (1956–57), a short-lived anthology series that



Roy Huggins in the 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

alternated with the western. During the production of *Conflict*, Huggins met James Garner, an actor who perfectly embodied his wry sense of humor. When Warner Brothers asked Huggins to create a new series, he thought immediately of Garner and tailored *Maverick* as a star vehicle for him. In a crowded field of TV westerns, *Maverick* quickly moved into the top ten and won an Emmy for Best Western in 1958.

*Maverick* was a refreshing antidote to the strained seriousness of so many westerns, including *Cheyenne*, but it was also ground-breaking because it redefined the heroic protagonist and brought a sly self-mockery to television drama. For the first time, Huggins built a series around a flawed central character, a reluctant hero who lives on the fringes of society. Huggins wanted Bret Maverick to have none of the "irritating perfection" of TV's typical western heroes. Instead, *Maverick* is a much more complicated character than those found at the center of most dramatic series up to that time. Although obviously charming, he is an unrepentant rascal whose moral code is molded by expediency, greed, and the need for self-preservation. As Garner and costar Jack Kelly, who played brother Bart Maverick, proved adept at balancing a subtle blend of adventure and comedy, Huggins guided the series in the direction of comedy. While generally sending up the entire western genre, *Maverick* soon began to nee-

dle its more serious competitors, offering razor-sharp parodies of *Gunsmoke* and *Bonanza*. The touch of irony that Huggins brought to the western genre in *Maverick*—an irreverent blend of drama and comedy—has become one of the defining characteristics of dramatic series in the subsequent years.

During the second season of *Maverick*, Huggins created the detective series *77 Sunset Strip*, which was based loosely on his novel *Lovely Lady, Pity Me*. It was *77 Sunset Strip* that revived the crime drama on U.S. television, much as *Maverick* had revived the western, by injecting a healthy dose of humor into a genre trapped in grim rites of law and order. In place of the stolid cops who governed most crime series, *77 Sunset Strip* brought the hard-boiled private detective into the endless summer of Los Angeles circa 1958. Starring Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., and Roger Smith as private detectives Stuart Bailey and Jeff Spenser, the series defined Sunset Boulevard as the epicenter of hipness on television, a sun-drenched world of cocktails, cool jazz, and convertibles.

*77 Sunset Strip* lacked the satirical edge of *Maverick*, because after producing the pilot episode Huggins had no responsibility for the series. Nor did he have anything to do with the clones generated by the Warner Brothers management: *Hawaiian Eye* (1959–63), *Bourbon Street Beat* (1959–60), and *Surfside 6* (1960–62). Huggins also stopped producing *Maverick* after the second season, wearied by the pace of production at Warner Brothers and by the studio's tight-fisted finances. As a matter of policy, Warner Brothers refused to share profits with its television personnel—including Huggins, its most gifted and indispensable producer. Huggins was directly responsible for the studio's three most successful series, but he was not even given credit for having created *Maverick* and *77 Sunset Strip*, which studio executives claimed had been based on properties already owned by the studio.

Huggins left Warner Brothers and in October 1960 became the vice president in charge of television production at 20th Century-Fox. This proved to be a strange interlude in his career, because while he was only able to place one series in prime time, that series stirred up an inordinate amount of controversy. *Bus Stop* (1961–62), adapted from the play by William Inge, was set in a small town in Colorado, a waystation on an otherwise endless highway. The central location served as the premise for an anthology series featuring the stories of wandering, disenfranchised characters who passed through the bus stop. The program gained national notoriety when an episode titled "A Lion Walks among Us" starred pop icon Fabian as a charismatic psychopath who commits several cold-blooded murders. In the climate of criticism that was

soon crystallized in a speech by Newton Minow, the chair of the Federal Communications Commission (his "Vast Wasteland" speech), the episode became a target of television critics and politicians, who seized upon it in order to decry television's degrading influence on American culture.

Stung by the criticism of the series, 20th Century-FOX placed Huggins in a kind of administrative limbo by refusing to allow him to develop other series and essentially waiting for his contract to expire. Huggins used the unexpected free time to write a stinging rebuttal of Minow that appeared in *Television Quarterly*. In writing the article, Huggins became one of the few members of Hollywood's creative community to defend the artistic merit of commercial, popular culture and to question Minow's essentially elitist criticism of television. He criticized Minow and other cultural elitists for allowing their contempt for kitsch ("their dread of being caught in a profane mood") to cloud their judgment. Huggins's essay amounted to a sophisticated and subtle defense of popular culture in an era when television producers did not make artistic claims for their work. "The public arts," he wrote, "are created for a mass audience and for a profit; that is their essential nature. But they can at times achieve truth and beauty, and given freedom they will achieve it more and more often."

After the debacle at FOX, Huggins returned to graduate school at University of California, Los Angeles, determined to get his Ph.D. and to leave television behind. He needed a bankroll and came up with the idea of creating a series that he could sell to another producer, then sit back and watch the residuals roll in. This series was *The Fugitive*, which he sold to independent producer Quinn Martin after overcoming ABC's initial resistance to a series with an escaped convict as its central character. The story of Dr. Richard Kimble (David Janssen), suspected of murdering his wife and forced to flee the police while in pursuit of the actual killer, carried the mythic resonance of quest narratives from *The Odyssey* to *Les Misérables*. Huggins wanted to update the western by placing its wandering hero in a contemporary setting. In transposing the stock figure of the wanderer from the mythic landscape of the West to the landscape of 1960s America, he created a new and unsettling dramatic hero for television, a rootless, paranoid loner, the most unsettled character on the New Frontier of Kennedy-era America. The quest—the ongoing tension between pursuit and capture—was new to prime-time series and gave *The Fugitive* a powerful narrative momentum that paid off in the record-setting ratings for the final episodes. *The Fugitive* did not exhibit Huggins's characteristic sense of humor, but it developed his fas-

ination with heroic outcasts and revealed his skepticism toward what he considered the American "cult of optimism."

In 1963 Huggins gave up his plans of graduate school and accepted a job as a vice president in the television division at Universal, where he spent the next 18 years. During this period, Universal became the predominant creator of dramatic series, often accounting for much of the NBC schedule throughout the 1960s. Huggins adapted to the programming formats that evolved over the years at Universal, producing series, made-for-TV movies, and miniseries. He began by producing *The Virginian* (1962–71) and *Kraft Suspense Theater* (1963–65). He created and produced *Run for Your Life* (1965–68), a variation on *The Fugitive* in which attorney Paul Bryan (Ben Gazzara) sets off on adventurous journey after discovering that he has a mysterious fatal illness and only two years to live.

In 1969 Huggins set up an independent production company, Public Arts, at Universal and began a series of coproductions with the studio. He created the segment "The Lawyers" of the omnibus series *The Bold Ones* (1969–73) and produced several other series, including *Alias Smith and Jones* (1971–73), *Toma* (1973–74), and *Baretta* (1975–78). The crown jewel of Huggins's period at Universal is certainly *The Rockford Files*, which he cocreated with Stephen J. Cannell. Huggins produced *The Rockford Files* for only two seasons, but his influence is unmistakable in the self-deprecating, slightly disreputable private eye played by James Garner.

In the late 1970s Huggins turned to producing miniseries, including *Captains and Kings* (1976) and *Arthur Hailey's Wheels* (1978). His association with Universal ended in 1980, when he left to concentrate on writing. In 1985 he returned to television at the request of his former protégé Stephen J. Cannell to produce *Hunter* (1984–91), and he served as co-executive producer for a new television version of *The Fugitive* (2000–01). That series did not fare well, but feature-film versions of *The Fugitive* (1993) and *Maverick* (1994) were successes at the box office. Their success is a tribute to Huggins's lasting importance as one of television's great storytellers. Huggins died on April 3, 2002.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

*See also Fugitive, The; Maverick; Rockford Files, The*

**Roy Huggins.** Born in Littlefield, Washington, July 18, 1914. Educated at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1935–41. Married: Adele Mara. Worked as a special representative of the U.S. Civil Service, 1941–43; industrial engineer, 1943–46; screenwriter,

Huggins, Roy

1952–55; producer, Warner Brothers Television, 1955–60; vice president of 20th Century-FOX Television, 1960; producer, MCA Revue, Universal Television, 1963–80; president of production company, Public Arts, Inc., Universal City, California; writer, director, and producer for television from 1968. Died in Santa Monica, California, April 3, 2002.

#### Television Series (producer)

1955–56 *Warner Brothers Presents: King's Row* (creator)  
1955–63 *Warner Brothers Presents: Cheyenne*  
1956–57 *Conflict*  
1957–62 *Maverick* (creator)  
1957–60 *Colt .45* (creator)  
1958–64 *77 Sunset Strip* (creator)  
1961–62 *Bus Stop*  
1962–71 *The Virginian*  
1963–67 *The Fugitive* (also creator)  
1963–65 *Kraft Suspense Theater*  
1965–68 *Run For Your Life* (also creator)  
1969–73 *The Bold Ones*  
1971–73 *Alias Smith and Jones*  
1973–74 *Toma*  
1974–80 *The Rockford Files* (creator)  
1975–78 *Baretta*  
1976 *City of Angels* (creator)  
1984–91 *Hunter*  
2000–01 *The Fugitive* (co-executive producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

1973 *Drive Hard, Drive Fast*  
1974 *This Is the West That Was*  
1974 *The Story of Pretty Boy Floyd*

1976 *The Invasion of Johnson County*  
1976 *The November Plan*  
1977 *The Three-Thousand Mile Chase*

#### Television Miniseries

1976 *Captains and Kings*  
1977 *Aspen*  
1978 *Arthur Hailey's Wheels*

#### Films

*Pushover* (writer), 1954; *Fuller Brush Man* (writer), 1948; *Good Humor Man* (writer), 1950; *Sealed Cargo* (writer), 1951; *Woman in Hiding* (writer), 1949; *Hangman's Knot* (writer), 1952; *Gun Fury* (writer), 1953; *A Fever in the Blood* (producer), 1961; *The Fugitive* (executive producer), 1993; *U.S. Marshals* (executive producer), 1998.

#### Publications

*The Double Take* (novel), 1946  
*Too Late for Tears* (novel), 1947  
*Lovely Lady, Pity Me* (novel), 1949  
"The Bloodshot Eye: A Comment on the Crisis in American Television," *Television Quarterly* (August 1962)

#### Further Reading

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## Hungary

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During the socialist era, Hungarian television boasted more channel diversity and more openness to foreign broadcasts, including Western channels, than any other Eastern bloc nation. Yet ironically, commercial television arrived in Hungary only in late 1997, much later than in other Central European nations. The explanation for this irony lies in uncertainties about commercial broadcasting and disagreements about the proper role of television in the newly democratic nation.

Today, Hungarian television includes three state-run channels, two national commercial broadcasters, several commercial cable and satellite channels, and a number of local and regional non-profit broadcasters. Magyar Televízió (MTV), the premier state broadcaster, enjoys a nationwide reach, while a second public channel, MTV2, is carried on satellite and cable. State-funded Duna Televízió operates a second satellite channel that targets the more than three million Hungar-

ian speakers who live in neighboring countries. Hungarian public broadcasting is a mixed system, funded by a combination of license fees and advertising.

The two national commercial channels are RTL-Klub, which broadcasts on the channel formerly occupied by MTV2, and TV2, which took over the former Soviet channel. Both RTL-Klub and TV2 are run by a media consortium headed by Western investors. RTL-Klub is owned by Luxembourg-based CLT-Ufa (49 percent), the Hungarian telephone monopoly MATÁV (25 percent), the British media group Pearson (20 percent), and the Austrian bank group Raiffeisen (6 percent), while TV2 is owned by Scandinavian-based SBS (49 percent), Hungarian production company MTM Kommunikációs Rt. (38.5 percent), and German production company Tele-München Fernseh (12.5 percent).

Cable penetration in Hungary is high, and DTH services are growing. Estimates project that in 2002, 52 percent of Hungary's 3.8 million television homes subscribed to cable, while DTH penetration was 20 percent. Cable and satellite broadcasters include both niche and general entertainment channels. Among the most popular of these channels are HBO Hungary, the American movie channel's first international venture (begun in 1991), and the general entertainment channel ViaSat, owned by the Swedish media group Modern Times. TV3, a general entertainment cable channel owned by U.S.-based Central European Media Enterprises (CME), a media powerhouse in the region, went bankrupt in 2000, after three years on the air.

Hungary boasts one of the fastest-growing advertising industries in the region, with revenues climbing more than 500 percent between 1997 and 2002, and projected to nearly double again in the next five years. For the first four months of 2002, RTL-Klub was the top-ranked broadcaster, averaging a 33 rating in all demographics, followed closely by TV2 with an overall 30 rating. MTV, meanwhile, attracted 12.7 percent of overall viewers during the same period. While imported programming from the United States and Western Europe, particularly Germany, make up a significant portion of the Hungarian television landscape, local production is growing. ViaSat scored good ratings with its local version of the reality series *Bár* (*The Bar*), especially among 18- to 49-year-olds, while RTL-Klub has had success with the homegrown melodrama *Barátok közt* (*Among Friends*). In addition, Latin American telenovelas have proved quite popular, leading to the formation of the Romantica cable channel devoted exclusively to the genre.

Television broadcasting in Hungary began on May 1, 1957, with a live broadcast of May Day ceremonies from Hero's Square. The Rome Olympics in 1960 greatly helped accelerate adoption rates of the new

medium, nearly doubling the number of sets to 100,000 by the end of the year. In order to understand the character of Hungarian television during socialism, it is necessary to examine briefly the political conditions surrounding broadcasting. In 1956, Hungarian reformers overthrew the socialist government, and were suppressed only through Soviet military intervention. Thereafter the new party secretary, János Kádár, implemented a series of political and economic reforms—often referred to as “goulash communism”—designed to redress or placate many of the reformers' concerns. Openness to the West, including unrestricted travel for Hungarians, was an important part of these reforms, and this openness extended to imported Western programming and television channels. Sparks and Reading (1992) report that nearly 70 percent of MTV's programming in 1986 was imported from Western nations, in particular the UK and West Germany. Viewers were also given a degree of choice in entertainment and current affairs programming with the introduction of MTV2 in the mid-1970s. One of the most popular and enduring programs of this period was the amateur talent-variety show *Ki mit tud?* (*What Can You Do?*), begun in 1962, which launched the careers of several musicians, actors, and entertainers.

In 1984, Hungary became the first Eastern bloc nation to introduce community cable television, reaching upwards of 200,000 homes by 1988. Run by the Hungarian Post Office, these cable systems carried public television broadcasts from West Germany and France. Also under the 1984 media laws, the legality of private television productions, the reception of satellite and terrestrial broadcasts from abroad, and the purchase of VCRs and videotapes were affirmed. The relative openness of television during this period kept the media from losing popular confidence, which also helped insulate them from radical changes when the socialist regime collapsed in 1989.

Although the transition in Hungary from the socialist regime to a democratic form of government occurred peacefully, the same cannot be said for the transition from socialist state broadcasting to the current public-private system. From the collapse of the ruling socialist party in 1989 until the passage of the new media law in late 1995, the various factions of the Hungarian political scene carried out a highly publicized “media war” over the future of broadcasting. In the 1990 elections, a conservative coalition led by the nationalist Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) came to power, with the opposition led by the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the re-christened Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP). The media wars stemmed from different political philosophies regarding broadcasting. Sensitive to criticism, the MDF tried to install its own members

in positions of power at MTV under the guise of purging the broadcaster of leftovers from the socialist period. The opposition, meanwhile, hoped to place the state broadcaster beyond governmental control in order to keep MTV from falling under the majority's influence.

Because neither side could muster the two-thirds majority required to pass broadcasting legislation, they agreed to appoint a compromise candidate, Elemér Hankiss, to head Hungarian television until the details of the new law could be hammered out. Hankiss drew the ire of the MDF when he removed its appointees from positions of power in an effort to make television news more objective, and the MDF fought back by invoking a 1974 decree that gave the prime minister the authority to dismiss media presidents. The decree was sent to the president, opposition leader Árpád Göncz, for his signature, but Göncz refused to sign, sending the matter to the Constitutional Court. The Court held in favor of the president's right to refuse to sign legislation that he deemed undemocratic, and also required parliament to pass new legislation by the end of 1992.

The 1992 deadline came and went with various drafts of the new laws stalled in parliament. Weary of battling the MDF, Hankiss formally resigned, along with his counterpart at Hungarian Radio. The MDF quickly took control of MTV and turned it into a party mouthpiece, firing or reassigning numerous journalists and launching a concentrated attack against the MSZP, which was then leading in election polling. Their efforts, however, proved unsuccessful, as the MSZP emerged victorious and formed a majority coalition with the SZDSZ. Most importantly for its impact on broadcasting, the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition held 72 percent of parliamentary seats, more than the two-thirds required to pass a media law. In spite of the change in government, cronyism continued at MTV and political wrangling delayed the new media law until late 1995. The ruling coalition appointed a new president of MTV, who subsequently fired conservative personnel appointed by the MDF and replaced them with liberals and socialists, leaving many to wonder whether anything had changed with the new government. The liberal-socialist coalition also squabbled internally about how best to design a public-private broadcasting industry. At issue was the fate of the public channel MTV2, which the socialists wanted to keep in public possession, and the liberals wanted to privatize to help pay off foreign debts. Ultimately, a compromise was reached that privatized the second channel and placed MTV2 on satellite.

The 1996 Radio and Television Services Act established an oversight commission for public broadcast-

ing, the Országos Rádió és Televízió Testület (National Radio and Television Commission, ORTT) made up of nominees from each party represented in parliament. In addition, the Board of Trustees of the Public Television Foundation, which oversees the operations of MTV, consists of representatives from a variety of social, ethnic, and religious groups. Other key features of the new law include advertising caps, foreign and domestic ownership regulations, domestic content regulations, and the process for soliciting bids and awarding Hungary's two 10-year commercial television broadcasting licenses. The new commercial channels, RTL-Klub and Channel 2, began broadcasting in October 1997.

Although the long-awaited law was passed, one final chapter in the Hungarian media wars remained to be written. After the awarding of licenses, rumors began to circulate that CME had, in fact, outbid competitors, but had been denied the license because of its American ownership and its hegemonic position as a commercial broadcaster in the region. CME filed suit in Hungarian court claiming that RTL-Klub's bid had arrived after the deadline, and was therefore illegal. The case made its way to the Supreme Court, which in January 2000 ruled against the ORTT and RTL-Klub, but stopped short of directing the ORTT to pull the plug on RTL-Klub. Instead, the Court claimed it lacked the authority to compel the ORTT to act, because the ORTT answered only to parliament. Many in the Western television industries held their breaths to see whether the ORTT would, in fact, be forced to remove RTL-Klub from the airwaves after more than two years of broadcasting, but the directive from parliament never came.

Private, multichannel television was slow in coming to Hungary for a variety of reasons, not least uncertainties about the impact of commercialization on the public sphere and different political philosophies about the merits of corporate capitalism. After spending seven years pacing the sidelines, the forces of international television entered the television game in Hungary with vehemence. Concerns about cultural decay have since become commonplace among Hungarian scholars, but the initial fascination with all things Western among everyday Hungarians seems to be wearing off. While it remains to be seen how the forces of international capital will reshape the Hungarian television market and what the cultural consequences will be, it is certain that Hungarians today find themselves rather suddenly at the confluence of numerous transnational television flows from North America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Australia, and Latin America.

TIM HAVENS

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## Huntley, Chet (1911–1974)

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Chet Huntley is most famous for his role as co-anchor of the critically acclaimed and highly rated *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. This evening newscast, which first appeared in October 1956 on NBC, ushered in the modern era for television evening news. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* introduced an innovative broadcast style, cutting between Huntley in New York and David Brinkley in Washington, D.C. The energy, pace, and style of the program was clearly a step beyond the more conventional work of the "news readers" who had preceded the new format.

Huntley's rise to broadcast news stardom began during his senior year at the University of Washington, when he landed his first broadcasting job, at Seattle's KPCB radio. His roles for the station ranged from writer and announcer to salesman, and his salary was a mere \$10 a month. These modest beginnings led to several short stints at radio stations in the northwest, but by 1937 Huntley settled in Los Angeles. He worked first at KFI Los Angeles, and then at CBS News in the west. He stayed with CBS for 12 years until he was lured to ABC in 1951. His tour of the networks was complete when NBC enticed him to New York in 1955 with talk of a major TV news program.

Huntley first worked with Brinkley in 1956 while co-anchoring the Republican and Democratic national

conventions of that year. The NBC duo successfully garnered the largest share of the convention television audience, and as a result, the Huntley-Brinkley team was born. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* audience was estimated at 20 million, and in 1965, a consumer research company found that, as a result of their hugely successful news program, both Huntley and Brinkley were more recognizable to American adults than such famous stars as Cary Grant, James Stewart, or the Beatles.

Throughout his impressive career, however, Huntley developed a reputation for airing his personal opinions on-air, and he was once accused of editorializing with his eyebrows. In the 1950s, he candidly criticized Senator Joseph McCarthy's outrageous allegations of Communist sympathy among government officials and members of Hollywood's film industry.

As a cattle owner in his native Montana, Huntley's endorsements for the beef industry during the 1960s again brought criticism from other professionals. His only apparent disagreement with his partner came during 1967, when Huntley crossed an American Federation of Television and Radio Artists' picket line, claiming that news anchors did not belong in the same union as "actors, singers, and dancers."

Despite his critics, Huntley received an estimated



Chet Huntley.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

\$200,000 salary from NBC during the height of *The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* time on the air. He also earned several prestigious news industry awards. He was named the International Radio and Television Society's "Broadcaster of the Year" in 1970.

*The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* ceremonial closing ("Good night, David," "Good night, Chet") would have been heard for the last time on August 1, 1970, when Huntley retired from broadcasting, but Brinkley altered his words to "Good-bye, Chet." As he signed off, Huntley left his audience with one final plea: "Be

patient and have courage—there will be better and happier news some day, if we work at it."

Huntley retired to his native Montana, where he worked to develop the Big Sky resort. His love for the state and its people is evident in his memoir, *The Generous Years: Remembrances of a Frontier Boyhood*.

JOHN TEDESCO

See also **Anchor; Brinkley, David**

**Chet Huntley.** Born in Cardwell, Montana, December 10, 1911. Educated at the University of Washington. Married: 1) Ingrid Rolin (divorced 1959); children, two daughters; 2) Tipton Stringer. Began career as a radio announcer, KPCB, Seattle, Washington; announcer, disc jockey and writer, Spokane, Washington and Portland, Oregon; joined KFI, Los Angeles, 1937; CBS News, Los Angeles, 1939–51; newscaster and correspondent, ABC television, 1951–55; newscaster and correspondent, NBC television, 1955–70; teamed with David Brinkley as co-anchor, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* 1956–70; retired to Montana, 1970, to pursue business interests. Recipient: Alfred I. DuPont Award, George Polk Memorial Award, two Overseas Press Club Awards; eight Emmy Awards, with Brinkley. Died March 20, 1974.

#### Television

1956–70      *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*

#### Publication

*The Generous Years: Remembrances of a Frontier Boyhood*, 1964

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# I, Claudius

## British Historical Serial

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*I, Claudius*, a 13-episode serial produced by BBC/London Film Productions and first aired on BBC 2 in 1976, made its U.S. debut on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in November 1977 as an installment of *Masterpiece Theatre*, sponsored by Mobil Corporation. The production was based on two novels by poet and essayist Robert Graves, *I, Claudius: From the Autobiography of Tiberius Claudius, Born B.C. X, Murdered and Deified A.D. LIV* (1934), and *Claudius the God and His Wife Messalina* (1935). Adapted for television by Jack Pulman, *I, Claudius* chronicles the slide of Roman civilization in the 1st century A.D. into unrelenting depravity during the reigns of the four emperors who succeeded Julius Caesar: Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. The program's representations of decadence (which included brutal assassinations, sadistic gladiatorial contests, incest, forced prostitution, adultery, nymphomania, and homosexuality) and its scenes of nudity and orgiastic violence, including a gruesome abortion, while toned down somewhat from the BBC original, nevertheless pushed the limits of moral acceptability on American television at the time.

Anchored firmly in the genre of fictional history, *I, Claudius* portrayed real historical figures and events, but, according to C. Vann Woodward, "with the license of the novelist to imagine and invent." While Graves drew extensively from Claudius's biographer Suetonius, among others, for the historical material in the

novels, he framed the story by using Claudius himself as the autobiographical narrator of his 13-year reign as emperor and the reigns of his three predecessors. At the outset of the TV drama, Claudius is seen as a lonely old man perusing various incriminating documents from which he is constructing his "history." His project was prophesied by the Cumaen sibyl many years earlier when Claudius visited her and was told to write the work, seal and bury it where no one will find it. Then, according to the sibyl, "1,900 years from now and not before, Claudius shall speak." The remainder of the serial is back-story, recounting the unbridled ambition, domestic intrigue, bloodlust and sexual dysfunction of Rome's ruling elite.

Claudius is among the most fascinating dramatis personae of Roman history. A weak and sickly youth, repressed by a stern tutor as a child, physically deformed and suffering from a severe stammer, he was an outsider in the royal family, considered an idiot and, as Otto Kiefer puts it, "utterly unsuited for all the duties expected of him as a young prince." As an adult, he was never taken seriously as a future ruler of Rome. Ironically, however, Claudius was ostensibly the most intelligent of the lot. A shy man of considerable culture and inclined toward a life of quiet scholarship, he knew Greek well and wrote several works on history (now lost), including two on the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. In the imperial Rome of his day, however, which was obsessed with the exercise of power



*I, Claudius*, Derek Jacobi, 1976.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

through treachery and brute force, such preoccupations of the mind were considered little more than idle pastimes.

While Claudius was wise in matters of history, he was apparently far less so in matters requiring discernment of human character. His repression as a child led to his weak reliance on other people as an adult, especially the ruthless women in the imperial family. Nevertheless, Claudius was not the “complete idiot.” He was consul under Caligula; and when chosen by the soldiers to be emperor, following Caligula’s murder, he demonstrated many excellent administrative qualities. He annexed Mauretania, and in 43 he landed in Britain, which he made a Roman province. During his reign the kingdoms of Judea and Thrace were reabsorbed into the empire.

The character of Claudius (played with great intelligence and wit by Derek Jacobi) is clearly the linchpin that provides dramaturgical continuity throughout the serial, serving as both historical actor and observer/commentator. If one were to assume for a moment that *I, Claudius* is history (which it is not), a professional historian would question Claudius’s motivation for presenting his “history” as he has done here. Self-interest might be a driving force for Claudius’s portraying himself in the best possible light, given the less-than-savory historical epoch in which he played a major role.

In fact, *I, Claudius* does present its main character in a positive manner. Claudius is the much misunderstood and frequently mocked “good guy” (the “holy fool”) amid a rogue’s gallery of psychopaths, most notably Livia (played to fiendish perfection by Siân Phillips), the scheming wife of Augustus, and Claudius’s grandmother, who methodically poisons all possible candidates who might assume upon Augustus’ death the emperor’s throne instead of her weak son Tiberius; and the ghoulish and crazed Caligula (played by John Hurt, whose memorably hyperbolic performance might be classified as a caricature if the subject were anyone but Caligula). Set against the likes of such characters, Claudius comes off looking like a saint. But was he in reality?

While reviewers generally accepted the presentation as accurate, the actual biography seems quite different. Suetonius’s treatment of Claudius, while questioned by some modern scholars as likely exaggerated in some details, is nevertheless accepted in large measure as an accurate reflection of the man. According to Suetonius, Claudius “overstepped the legal penalty for serious frauds by sentencing such criminals to fight with wild beasts.” He “directed that examination by torture and executions for high treason should take place in full before his eyes.... At every gladiatorial game given by himself or another, he ordered even those fighters who had fallen by accident...to have their throats cut so that he could watch their faces as they died.” This sadistic streak in Claudius, which Suetonius also notes in other passages, is absent from the BBC serial, and for good reason, for it would make the character far less sympathetic and thereby subvert the melodramatic “good vs. evil” contrast established throughout.

In another area, that of sexuality, the historical record again comes into conflict with the fictional treatment. According to Suetonius, Claudius’s “passion for women was immoderate.” In the television version, Claudius is clearly portrayed more as a hapless victim of duplicitous women (and a staunch protector of virtuous women) than as a lecher.

The historical record does, however, include the positive side of Claudius’s character so much in evidence in the BBC presentation. He often appears as “a gentle and amiable man,” as when he published a decree that sick and abandoned slaves should have their freedom and that the killing of such a slave should count as murder.

Claudius was a man grounded in his cultural milieu. His sadism, though tempered by erudition and amiability, should nonetheless be acknowledged. At the same time, his behavior can properly be contextualized by noting that not only in imperial Rome but also in the

republic preceding it (which Claudius held in high regard), criminals, when condemned to death, were routinely taken to the amphitheater to be torn to pieces by wild beasts as a public show.

The historical character Claudius was a complex man full of contradictions, and, one could reasonably argue, dramatically more resonant than the sanitized emperor offered readers of Graves's novels and viewers of *I, Claudius*. The BBC production is, nevertheless, excellent entertainment featuring superb ensemble acting and Herbert Wise's expert direction. Its treatment of deviant behavior is sensitive, seeking to avoid the titillation evidenced in so much of today's violent Hollywood fare. Its scenes of debauchery and carnage seem safely distanced (by 2,000 years) from our present milieu and may even allow us to feel good that the contemporary world seems less debased by comparison—if we bracket out such collective barbarity as Nazi and Khmer Rouge genocide. However, the nagging issue of historical veracity remains.

While the BBC production is simply a dramatization of Graves's novels (in which the naturally self-promoting stance taken by Claudius as the first-person narrator is made plain), and not an independent attempt to present a historically verifiable picture, a potential problem is that viewers of the TV version, perhaps not familiar with the conventions within which Graves worked, might be inclined to view it as having a more documentary basis. As Woodward points out, it is from the popular media that the broad public "mainly receives whatever conceptions, impressions, fantasies, and delusions it may entertain about the past." As a consequence, the general populace may not only internalize a distorted picture of historical persons and events but also be deprived of the invaluable opportunity to better understand its collective past and apply that knowledge critically and constructively to the present. People today, in the thrall of the media popularizers of history, are less likely than their forebears to read the work of professional historians, whose scholarly ethics require them to "disappoint" those among the laity or designing politicians who would "improve, sanitize, gentrify, idealize, or sanctify the past; or, on the other hand... discredit, denigrate, or even blot out portions of it." Thus, the door is left open to the demagoguery of self-interested revisionist history.

Predictably, discussion of *I, Claudius* in the popular press prior to its U.S. television debut focused not on such questions of historical veracity, but rather on how American audiences might react to its presentation of sex and violence. As Les Brown noted, the serial "is a chancy venture for American public television and one that got on the national service... on sheer merit." Mo-

bil Corporation, the *Masterpiece Theatre* sponsor, was informed by WGBH-TV, the Boston public station that puts together the *Masterpiece Theatre* package, that some scenes might cause audience discomfort. Mobil spokespeople responded that they had no reservations about the program and understood *I, Claudius* to be television of "extraordinary quality." Nonetheless, WGBH did make selective edits for the U.S. version without prompting by Mobil. These included shortening a scene featuring bare-breasted dancers, and eliminating what might be considered a blasphemous comment by a Roman soldier on the Virgin birth, some gory footage of an infant being stabbed to death, and bedroom shots featuring naked bodies making love. WGBH defended these and other excisions by arguing that viewers in some parts of the United States would be disturbed by their inclusion.

*I, Claudius* became one of the more critically acclaimed *Masterpiece Theatre* offerings and attracted a loyal following, which today can revisit the fictionalized life and times of Emperor Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, a.k.a. Claudius I, on video, DVD, and occasional cable repeats.

HAL HIMMELSTEIN

#### See also **History and Television**

#### Cast

Claudius	Derek Jacobi
Augustus	Brian Blessed
Livia	Siân Phillips
Tiberius	George Baker
Caligula	John Hurt
Sejanus	Patrick Stewart
Piso	Stratford Johns
Herod	James Faulkner
Germanicus	David Robb
Agrippina	Fiona Walker
Messalina	Sheila White
Drusilla	Beth Morris
Antonia	Margaret Tyzack
Drusus	Iain Ogilvy
Castor	Kevin McNally
Macro	Rhys Davies
Nero	Christopher Biggins
Gratus	Bernard Hill
Pallus	Bernard Hepton
Narcissus	John Carter
Marcellus	Christopher Guard
Agrippa	John Paul
Julia	Frances White
Octavia	Angela Morant
Vipsania	Sheila Ruskin
Thrasylus	Kevin Stoney

## I, Claudius

Young Claudius	Ashley Knight
Pylades	Guy Siner
Livy	Denis Carey
Plautius	Darian Angadi
Livilla	Patricia Quinn
Lucius	Simon MacCorkindale
Postumus	John Castle
Praxis	Alan Thompson
Placina	Irene Hamilton
Domitius	Esmond Knight
Sergeant	Norman Rossington
Titus	Edward Jewesbury
Lollia	Isabel Dean
Monatanus	James Bree
Pollio	Donald Eccles
Junius	Graham Rowe
Gershom	George Pravda
Vitellius	Roy Purcell
Calpurnia	Jo Rowbottom
Cestius	Neal Arden
Martina	Patsy Byrne
Sabinus	Bruce Purchase
Helen	Karin Foley
Gallus	Charles Kay
Silius Caecina	Peter Williams
Varro	Aubury Richards
Poppaea	Sally Bazely
Caesonia	Freda Dowie
Silanus	Lyndon Brook
Asprenas	James Fagan

Marcus	Norman Eshley
Domitia	Moira Redmond
Plautius	Roger Bizley
Xenophon	John Bennett
Agrippinilla	Barbara Young
Caractacus	Peter Bowles
Britannicus	Graham Seed
Octavia	Cheryl Johnson

### Producer

Martin Lisemore

### Programming History

1 100-minute episode; 11 50-minute episodes  
BBC  
September 20, 1976–December 6, 1976

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# I Love Lucy

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*I Love Lucy* debuted on CBS in October 1951 and was an immediate sensation. It spent four of its six prime-time seasons as the highest-rated series on U.S. television and never finished lower than third place. Dwight Eisenhower's presidential inauguration in January 1953 drew 29 million viewers; when Lucy gave birth to Little Ricky in an episode broadcast the next day, 44 million viewers (72 percent of all U.S. homes with TV) tuned in to *I Love Lucy*. When it ceased production as a weekly series in 1957, *I Love Lucy* was still the number-one series in the country. And its remarkable popularity has barely waned in the subsequent de-

caes. Since passing into the electronic museum of reruns, *I Love Lucy* has become the *Mona Lisa* of television, a work of art whose fame transcends its origins and its medium.

Television in the 1950s was an insistently domestic medium, abundant with images of marriage and family. The story of *I Love Lucy*'s humble origins suited the medium perfectly, because it told of how a television program rescued a rocky marriage, bringing forth an emotionally renewed and financially triumphant family. After a relatively successful career in Hollywood, Lucille Ball had spent three years with actor

Richard Denning in a CBS radio sitcom, *My Favorite Husband*. When CBS asked her to move into television, she agreed—but only if her real husband, Desi Arnaz, were allowed to play her TV husband. Arnaz, a one-time contract performer at RKO Pictures, was a moderately successful musician and orchestra leader who specialized in Latin pop music. His touring schedule placed a tremendous strain on the marriage, and they wanted to be together in order to raise a family. The network and prospective sponsors balked at the casting of Arnaz, fearing that his Cuban accent—his ethnic identity—would alienate television viewers. To dispel doubts, Ball and Arnaz created a nightclub act and toured during the summer of 1950. When the act proved to be a huge success, CBS agreed to finance a pilot starring husband and wife.

In 1951 agent Don Sharpe negotiated a contract with CBS and sponsor Philip Morris cigarettes for Desilu, the couple's new production company, to produce *I Love Lucy*. CBS and the sponsor insisted that the program be broadcast live from New York, to take advantage of network production facilities in what was still predominately a live medium. Ball and Arnaz wanted to stay in Hollywood for personal reasons, but they also wanted to be there in order to take advantage of movie industry production facilities and to ensure the long-term value of their series by capturing it on film. Syndication of reruns had not yet become standard procedure, but television's inevitable growth meant that the return on serious investment in a television series was incalculable. The network finally agreed to the couple's demands, but as a concession asked Ball and Arnaz to pay the additional cost of production and to accept a reduced fee for themselves. In exchange Desilu was given 100 percent ownership of the series—a provision that quickly turned Ball and Arnaz into the first millionaire television stars.

*I Love Lucy* reflected the couple's own family life in the funhouse mirror of a sitcom premise. To this extent, *I Love Lucy* resembled several other vaguely autobiographical showbiz family sitcoms of the 1950s, such as *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show* (1950–58), *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (1952–66), and *The Danny Thomas Show* (1953–64). Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz played Lucy and Ricky Ricardo, a young married couple living in a converted brownstone on the upper east side of Manhattan. Ricky is the orchestra leader for the Tropicana nightclub; Lucy is a frustrated housewife who longs to escape the confinement of her domestic role and participate in a larger public world, preferably to join Ricky in show business. They were joined by Vivian Vance and William Frawley, who played Ethel and Fred Mertz, former vaudeville performers who are the Ricardos' landlords.

Conflicts inevitably arise when Lucy's fervent desire to be more than a housewife run up against Ricky's equally passionate belief that such ambitions in a woman are unseemly. This dynamic is established in the pilot episode—when Lucy disguises herself as a clown in order to sneak into Ricky's nightclub act—and continues throughout the entire series. In episode after episode Lucy rebels against the confinements of domestic life for women, the dull routines of cooking and housework, the petty humiliation of a wife's financial dependence, the straightjacket of demure femininity. Her acts of rebellion, whether taking a job, performing at the club, concocting a money-making scheme, or simply plotting to fool Ricky, are meant to expose the absurd restrictions placed on women in a male-dominated society. Yet her rebellion is forever thwarted. By entering the public sphere she inevitably makes a spectacular mess of things and is almost inevitably forced to retreat, to return to the status quo of domestic life that will begin the next episode.

It is possible to see *I Love Lucy* as a conservative comedy in which each episode teaches Lucy not to question the social order. In a series that corresponded roughly to their real lives, it is notable that Desi played a character very much like himself, while Lucy had to sublimate her professional identity as a performer and pretend to be a mere housewife. The casting decision seems to mirror the dynamic of the series; both Lucy Ricardo and Lucille Ball are domesticated, shoehorned into an inappropriate and confining role. But this apparent act of suppression actually gives the series its manic and liberating energy. In being asked to play a proper housewife, Ball was a tornado in a bottle, an irrepressible force of nature, a rattling, whirling blast of energy just waiting to explode. The true force of each episode lies not in the indifferent resolution, the half-hearted return to the status quo, but in Lucy's burst of rebellious energy that sends each episode spinning into chaos. Lucy Ricardo's attempts at rebellion are usually sabotaged by her own incompetence, but Ball's virtuosity as a performer perversely undermines the narrative's explicit message, creating a tension that cannot be resolved. Viewed from this perspective, the tranquil status quo that begins and ends each episode is less an act of submission than a sly joke; the chaos in between reveals the folly of ever trying to contain Lucy.

Although *I Love Lucy* displayed an almost ritualistic devotion to its central premise, it also changed with each passing season. The first season presented the Ricardos as a young couple adjusting to married life and to Lucy's thwarted ambitions. The second and third seasons brought the birth of Little Ricky and focused more often on the couple's adjustment to being parents—particularly the question of how motherhood

would affect Lucy's ambition. The fourth season saw Ricky courted by a Hollywood studio. The Ricardos and Mertzes took a cross-country automobile tour and eventually landed in Hollywood, where Lucy wreaked havoc in several hilarious encounters with celebrity guest stars. During the fifth season the Ricardos returned to New York but then soon left for a European tour—a sitcom variation of *Innocents Abroad*. The sixth and final season found the Ricardos climbing the social ladder as the series shifted toward family issues. Ricky bought the Tropicana nightclub, renaming it Club Babalu. Plots began to revolve around five-year-old Little Ricky (Richard Keith). Finally, the Ricardos joined the exodus to the suburbs, abandoning New York for a country home in Connecticut, where they were joined by the Mertzes and by new neighbors Betty and Ralph Ramsey (Mary Jane Croft and Frank Nelson).

The creative team behind *I Love Lucy* was remarkably consistent over the years. Writers Jess Oppenheimer, Madelyn Pugh, and Bob Carroll, Jr., had written *My Favorite Husband* on radio, and they accompanied Ball to television. Oppenheimer served as the series producer, while Pugh and Carroll were the writers. Together the three would sketch out episode ideas—many of which were based on scripts from the radio series. Pugh and Carroll would write the script, and Oppenheimer would edit it before production. This pattern continued, regular as clockwork, for four entire seasons in which the trio wrote each and every episode—an incredible achievement, considering the pace of television production. In the fifth and sixth seasons, Bob Schiller and Bob Weiskopf joined as a second writing team. Oppenheimer left to take a job at NBC after the fifth season, and Desi Arnaz, who had served as executive producer since the beginning, stepped in to replace him as producer. While in production as a weekly series, *I Love Lucy* had only three directors: Marc Daniels (1951–52), William Asher (1952–55, 1956–57), and James V. Kern (1955–56). Much of the quality of the series is a result of this unusually stable production team.

The production process was unusual for filmed television at that time. Recognizing the economic importance of the work they produced, Arnaz and Ball still faced the difficulty that shooting the series on film generally meant shooting with one camera on a closed soundstage. But they also wanted to capture the spontaneity of Ball's comic performances, her interaction with other performers and her rapport with a live audience. Arnaz recruited famed cinematographer Karl Freund to help solve the problem. Freund was a respected Hollywood craftsman who had begun his career in Germany working with directors Robert Weine

and Fritz Lang. In the United States he had a long career at MGM, where he shot several films with Greta Garbo and won an Academy Award in 1937 for *The Good Earth*. Freund adapted the live-TV aesthetic of shooting with multiple cameras to the context of film production—a technique already used with limited success by others in the telefilm industry. Freund developed a system for lighting the set from above, since it would not be possible to change the lighting during a live performance. With three cameras running simultaneously in front of a studio audience, *I Love Lucy* was able to combine the vitality of live performances with the visual quality of film. Although the technique was not generally used outside of Desilu until the 1970s, it is now widely used throughout the television industry.

During the network run of *I Love Lucy*, Desilu became the fastest-rising production company in television by capitalizing on the success of *I Love Lucy*, which earned over \$1 million a year in reruns by the mid-1950s. From this foundation, Desilu branched out into several types of production, a process of expansion that began with an investment of \$5,000 in 1951 and saw the staff grow from 12 to 800 in just 6 years. Desilu produced series for the networks and for syndication (*December Bride*, *The Texan*) and contracted to shoot series for other producers (*The Danny Thomas Show*). In October 1956 Desilu sold the rights to *I Love Lucy* to CBS for \$4.3 million. With the help of this windfall profit, Desilu purchased RKO studios (the studio at which Ball and Arnaz had once been under contract) for \$6.15 million in January 1958. The success of *I Love Lucy* created one of the most prolific and influential television production companies of the 1950s.

By 1957 Arnaz, Ball, and the entire production team had grown weary of the grinding pace of series production. Desilu ceased production of the weekly series after completing 179 episodes. The familiar characters stayed alive for three more seasons through thirteen one-hour episodes, many of which appeared as installments of the *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* (1958–60).

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

*See also* Arnaz, Desi; Ball, Lucille; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television

#### Cast

Lucy Ricardo	Lucille Ball
Ricky Ricardo	Desi Arnaz
Ethel Mertz	Vivian Vance
Fred Mertz	William Frawley
Little Ricky (1956–57)	Richard Keith
Jerry	Jerry Hausner

Mrs. Trumbull  
 Caroline Appleby  
 Mrs. MacGillicuddy  
 Betty Ramsey (1957)  
 Ralph Ramsey (1957)

Elizabeth Patterson  
 Doris Singleton  
 Kathryn Card  
 Mary Jane Croft  
 Frank Nelson

July 1959–September 1959  
 September 1961

Friday 8:30–9:00  
 Sunday 6:30–7:00

### Producers

Jess Oppenheimer, Desi Arnaz

### Programming History

179 episodes

CBS

October 1951–June 1957	Monday 9:00–9:30
April 1955–October 1955	Sunday 6:00–6:30
October 1955–April 1956	Sunday 6:30–7:00
September 1957–May 1958	Wednesday 7:30–8:00
July 1958–September 1958	Monday 9:00–9:30
October 1958–May 1959	Thursday 7:30–8:00

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# I Spy

## U.S. Adventure/Espionage Program

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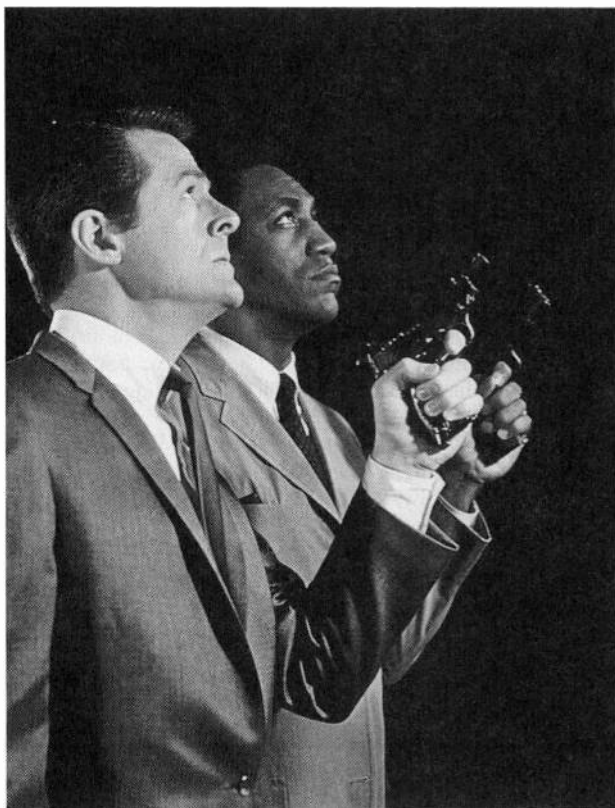
*I Spy*, which ran on NBC from 1965 to 1968, was a Sheldon Leonard Production chronicling the exploits of fictional characters Kelly Robinson (Robert Culp) and Alexander Scott (Bill Cosby). Robinson and Scott, who posed as a professional tennis player and his personal trainer, were in reality spies for the United States. *I Spy* was a whimsical adventure show with a hip wit characteristic of the espionage genre in the 1960s. But rather than being drawn in the cartoonish James Bond-like style, Robinson and Scott were fully realized characters who displayed a range of feelings and concerns uncharacteristic of television spy heroes. They bled, got headaches, and often doubted themselves and their role in global affairs.

The Cold War has often been considered a generative force for television espionage programs. The genre of spy fiction, which arguably began its 1960s cinematic history with *Dr. No*, made its way to television in 1964 with *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* Many imitators followed, but *I Spy* was a departure from the style established in earlier shows. In this series, Robinson and Scott did not battle against shadowy or-

ganizations of global evil, such as THRUSH from *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* or SPECTRE from the James Bond films. Rather, the show recognized the political tensions of the day. *I Spy* unashamedly acknowledged the role of the United States in the arena of world espionage.

Virtually the entire first season was filmed on location in Hong Kong and other Asian locales. Leonard, as well as producers David Friedkin and Morton Fine, had no qualms about spending money to avoid a "back-lot" look to the show. Associate producer Ron Jacobs and location manager Fuad Said worked with both their own "Cinemobile" and film crews from NBC News Asian bureaus to get much of the location footage used in that first season. The second season was filmed almost exclusively in Greece, Spain, and other Mediterranean locations, using similar techniques.

However, the series did not depend exclusively on exotic location and "realism" for its narratives. It also looked at the personal side of espionage and the toll it could take on those who practiced it. The characters



*I Spy*, Robert Culp, Bill Cosby, 1965–68.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

would often admit and lament the fact that they had to fight the forces of evil on their opponents' level. Unlike many shows of the genre, *I Spy* dealt with agents dying cruel deaths, burning out on the spy game, and often even doubting the nature of orders from superiors. This questioning of authority was more typically found in programming based on the "counterculture" and pitched toward the youth of the times. Cosby and Culp, however, more often than not straddled the fence between rebellion and allegiance, despite the fact that after the premiere of *I Spy*, *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould called it a show "looking for a style and attitude."

*I Spy* was one of the first dramatic shows to feature an African-American male as a leading character. Producer Leonard was certain of Cosby's talents, but the network had grave doubts about casting an untested stand-up comedian in a dramatic lead. The network's concerns were quickly dispelled by Cosby's deft and multifaceted talent—a talent that garnered him three consecutive Emmys as Best Male Actor in a Dramatic

Television Series between 1965 and 1968. Originally, the role of Alexander Scott was to have been that of a bodyguard for Kelly Robinson. Both Cosby and Culp conferred with the three producers (Leonard, Friedkin, and Fine), and the decision was made to portray Robinson and Scott as equals. Cosby also stated that racial issues would not be dealt with on *I Spy*. This "color-blind" approach freed the show from having to impart a message each week and instead allowed it to succeed by emulating the conventions of the genre of espionage adventure. *I Spy* also showcased the talents of other African-American actors of the time, including Godfrey Cambridge, Ivan Dixon, and Eartha Kitt. As a result of its ostensible neutrality on race relations, African Americans could be portrayed as heroes or villains with a minimum of political overtones.

Though never a top-20 show, *I Spy* enjoyed three successful years on NBC. Cosby in particular enjoyed very high Q ratings (audience-appreciation ratings) for the run of the show. In 1994 an *I Spy* reunion movie was broadcast.

JOHN COOPER

**See also** *Cosby*, *Bill*; *Leonard*, *Sheldon*; *Spy Programs*

#### Cast

Kelly Robinson	Robert Culp
Alexander Scott	Bill Cosby

#### Producers

Sheldon Leonard, David Friedkin, Mort Fine

#### Programming History

82 episodes

NBC

September 1965–

September 1967

Wednesday 10:00–11:00

September 1967–

September 1968

Monday 10:00–11:00

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## Iceland

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Iceland, a country comprising a small population on a large mountainous island, situated between North America and Western Europe in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, belongs culturally and historically to the Nordic countries, having been settled almost exclusively by emigrants from Scandinavia since the island's first discovery in the 9th century. Iceland has very small population of approximately 280,000 people, about half of whom reside in the capital city, Reykjavík. Following the example of the Scandinavian countries, Iceland maintained a state-run public service television monopoly until the mid-1980s, when deregulation introduced private commercial television services. In recent years increased competition has been rapidly transforming the landscape of Icelandic broadcasting. Today, Iceland has acquired all the main characteristics of any other television market in Europe and has national, regional and local television channels.

The Icelandic National Broadcasting Service, RUV, was established in 1930. Public service radio broadcasting was launched with a programming policy characterized by cultural conservatism and a strong emphasis on cultural heritage. The radio monopoly was broken in 1951 when the American NATO forces stationed at the Keflavik military base started a radio service, mainly offering popular music. In 1955 a television broadcast was added to their service. Although the broadcast was intended for the service members and their families, Keflavik is situated close to the capital city and the signal could also be enjoyed by a considerable number of the Icelandic population outside the NATO base. Thus, Icelanders were introduced to the new medium of television by the American military and the programming consisted largely of popular American entertainment and children's programs. The existence of an American television station in Keflavik became a significant political issue and added to a debate focused both on the military presence in the country and the preservation and future of an independent national culture.

Because of their geographical isolation and strong literary tradition, Icelanders have managed to preserve their language intact, and any threat to the purity of the language by a foreign mass media has been met with resistance, and an accompanying idealization of the national culture. By the mid-1960s, however, Icelanders had already been buying television sets for a

decade, and the American broadcasts had become popular with a proportion of the public, who enjoyed watching shows such as *I Love Lucy*. Therefore, the decision to establish an Icelandic television service was prompted by a fierce debate about foreign cultural influences, and the Icelandic Broadcasting Company Service (RUV) began television broadcasting in 1966, partly as a response to what was considered a cultural invasion. In the beginning, RUV broadcast for a few hours a day, three days a week, but soon it increased its programming to six days a week. However, until 1983 the month of July was without television, and until 1987 there was no television on Thursdays. The television-free day was meant to protect the traditional social and cultural life of the nation.

RUV is a national public broadcasting service formally owned by the Icelandic state, but it is a financially independent organization. It is required to provide universal penetration and sees its role first and foremost as a public service television station. From the beginning RUV's sources of income have been license fees, as was the case in most other Northern and Western European countries. Some additional funds came from advertising revenue because license fees from such a small population base provide a limited financial foundation, but all incoming revenue may only be used for broadcasting. Since it is owned by the Icelandic state, decisions on policy and strategy are partly made in the political arena and RUV is subject to control by the Broadcasting Council appointed by Parliament. The Council's role is to make policy decisions on programming within the framework of RUV's budget.

RUV is required by law to preserve and further Icelandic culture and the Icelandic language, as well as to promote awareness of Icelandic history and cultural heritage. It is also required to observe basic democratic rules and to uphold human rights and freedom of speech and opinion, to provide a general news service and act as a forum for diverse points of view, and to broadcast diverse entertainment suitable for individuals of all ages with particular emphasis placed on the needs of children. Further, RUV must offer a variety of material in the field of art, literature, science, history, and music as well as providing general education material. RUV has traditionally presented high-brow culture, but as a response to the current commercial market influences has also imported popular shows,

such as (among the U.S. titles) *The West Wing*, *The Sopranos*, *Sex and the City*, *Alias*, *Frasier*, and *ER*.

Until 1986, RUV held exclusive rights to both radio and television broadcasting in the country. The monopoly was ended in that year by a deregulation of the Broadcasting Act. A Broadcasting Committee elected by Parliament now regulates the private broadcasting sector and issues broadcasting licenses. The Icelandic broadcasting market is considered among the most deregulated in Europe, with almost no restrictions on ownership, and little regulation on programming in the private sector. Nevertheless, according to the Broadcasting Act, both private and public television are intended to play an important cultural role. All television stations in Iceland are required to uphold basic fundamental democratic principles and should ensure that diverging opinions and views of controversial matters are aired. They should strive to strengthen the Icelandic language, promote general cultural advancement, and make an effort to broadcast Icelandic and European material. Foreign language programs should in general be subtitled or dubbed with Icelandic dialogue.

After the demise of RUV's monopoly, and despite a lack of a financial foundation for commercial television, Stod 2 (Channel 2) was launched in 1986 and has become a well-established major television channel with a full-fledged programming schedule, offering traditional commercial programming with a limited production of national news, current affairs and entertainment. The main part of the programming consists of Anglo-American series, films, sitcoms, and dramas, and the channel has remained popular for airing shows such as *60 Minutes*, *Friends*, *Seinfeld*, and *Oprah*. Stod 2 is owned by the Icelandic Broadcasting Company Ltd., a subsidiary of the multi-media company Northern Lights Corporation Ltd. Stod 2 derives its income from a subscription fee, advertising revenue and sponsorship of individual shows. Since the mid-1990s, Stod 2 has had almost universal penetration and the number of subscribers has remained fairly stable, creating to a certain extent a duopoly between RUV and Stod 2. In 1990 the Northern Lights Corporation bought the rights to another television channel, Syn (Vision), the sole purpose of the transaction seeming to have been the elimination of competition. Syn is also funded by subscriptions and advertising revenue but the programming is limited to sports and American films.

In 1993, amendments were made to the Broadcasting Act allowing the programs of foreign television channels to be aired without having to translate the text into Icelandic, thus paving the way for redistribution of international satellite channels. In 1994 the Northern Lights Corporation added a redistribution service of international satellite channels and now offers a

package of 14 channels that are predominantly in English. In 1998 they added yet another television channel to their service, Biorasin (The Movie Channel), which offers feature films 24 hours a day. Subscription to all these services is offered as a part of a package deal including the Icelandic channels Stod 2 and Syn. Also, in 1998 Icelandic Telecom Ltd. Began to distribute, via fiber optic broadband network, international satellite channels offered in subscription package deals. However, international television channels play an insignificant role on the Icelandic television market and have never been met with real enthusiasm from the Icelandic public. Other minor private television channels also exist but are not significant in Icelandic broadcasting. In 2003 ten television stations were on the air, most of them aiming toward local or niche markets, such as a religious channel and a music video channel.

In 1999 a new independent commercial television station, owned by the Icelandic Television Corporation, was launched under the name of Skjar 1 (Screen 1). It is the first Icelandic channel to be entirely financed from advertising revenue and became a real financial challenger to Stod 2 and RUV, who all compete for the same small market of advertisers. Today the signal reaches close to 90 percent of the population. Skjar 1 is heavily entertainment oriented prime-time television aimed at the younger audience. The programming consists of, on the one hand, popular American series, sitcoms, and reality-shows such as *Will & Grace*, *Malcolm in the Middle*, *The Practice*, *Jay Leno*, *Survivor*, and *The Bachelor*, and on the other hand, domestic in-house production of talk shows, lifestyle programs, a dating show, and current affairs analysis. The original agenda of Skjar 1 was to increase the production of national programming and create Icelandic television for Icelanders; however, Skjar 1 has had to lessen the emphasis on original programming due to costs. In 2003 the owners of Skjar 1 launched a new subscription channel, Skjar 2 (Screen 2), delivered through broadband. The programming is limited to American films and entertainment.

A characteristic feature of Icelandic television is the remarkably small proportion of Icelandic programming. Iceland has the lowest proportion of nationally produced programs in Europe. The reason is simply due to the low population and the small size of the market, which financially hinders original Icelandic programming. RUV has consistently devoted approximately one third of the schedule to Icelandic material, but had gradually increased the proportion to 50 percent of its programming by 2002. RUV is ambitious about national production and offers diverse material including Icelandic documentaries, movies, dramas, plays, and talk

shows on various subjects. Stod 2 offers 10–20 percent national programming but has found it important to build a serious news service and also provides an extensive supply of children's programs dubbed with Icelandic voices. National production make up about 30 percent of Skjar 1 programming, mainly consisting of low budget in-house productions. The imported programs on the channels are almost entirely of British and American origin. The exception is RUV, which offers approximately one third of their programming from other language areas, mostly European.

The Icelandic television market is highly concentrated, and largely dominated by RUV and Stod 2, although in a short time Skjar 1 has carved out an impressive share of the market. In 2003, RUV was the obvious market leader with 46 percent share of ratings, while Stod 2 holds a strong position of 32 percent share and Skjar 1 has won over 13 percent of the market. The introduction of Skjar 1 in 1999 has intensified the competition on the tiny market and has subjected Stod 2 to a loss of subscribers and advertising revenue, while RUV has been able to hold on to its role as the primary television service in the country. In this small society any attempt at setting up a broadcasting service is burdened with financial difficulties. Even considering RUV's license fees and Stod 2's subscription fees and the added income of commercials it is difficult to maintain three fully fledged television services in such a small market.

Penetration of television sets is universal and the supply of television channels and hours broadcast seems already to outweigh the demand of the Icelandic audience. As a response to increased competition RUV has more than doubled the transmission of hours since 1986 and broadcasts approximately 9 hours a day. Stod 2 provides 19 hours of programming daily, and Skjar 1 broadcasts 9 hours of programming daily, and non-stop music videos at other hours. Viewing habits have

remained relatively consistent in recent years despite the increase in supply of television broadcasting. Television viewing in Iceland is a daily activity and the reach is among the highest in Europe, but when television consumption is considered in terms of viewing time per person, Iceland ranks among the lowest in Europe. Viewers usually tune into prime time, and the evening news remains the most popular programming with the highest ratings. In terms of financial turnover, the broadcasting industry is the second most important media and cultural industry in the country, next to newspapers and the printing press, which holds its top position owing to the strong literary tradition.

The television environment has become increasingly commercialized, and at the political level there is an ongoing discussion regarding RUV's public service role and the future of public broadcasting. However, RUV takes its role as a national institution seriously and strives to offer diverse programming. How the turmoil on the present Icelandic television market will play out remains to be seen and will depend upon technical, political, and economic factors.

HANNA BJÖRK VALSDOTTIR

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## Iger, Robert A. (1951– )

### U.S. Television Executive

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In January 2000, Robert Iger was named president and chief operating officer of ABC's corporate parent, the Walt Disney Company, making him second-in-command to Disney chairman Michael Eisner. The promotion capped a remarkably steady 25-year ascent

of the corporate ladder at ABC, where Iger had thrived even as ABC was absorbed twice by outside firms—first by Capital Cities Communications in 1985 and then by Disney in 1995. In both cases—and particularly after the Disney purchase—Iger was given a large

measure of responsibility for merging the operations of ABC with those of a new parent company, which required not only a talent for softening the collision of corporate cultures, but also the discipline and tact needed to carry out sweeping change.

Iger is widely recognized as a steady, patient leader with the diplomatic skills for managing egos in a supremely competitive environment. However, given that ABC has struggled mightily in the decade following the Disney merger, his legacy remains unclear. Iger's ascendance may say less about his leadership than about his skills as a master politician whose greatest accomplishment may be his own survival, particularly when considering how many colleagues have exited through the revolving door of Disney's executive suite while Iger has persevered. Although Iger has risen to become second-in-command to Michael Eisner, one should be careful not to assume that he is Eisner's successor; indeed, it is difficult to predict where he will be in the years to come.

Robert Iger was born in 1951 and raised in a middle-class household on Long Island. He attended Ithaca College in upstate New York, where he graduated with a degree in communications. His career at ABC began in 1974 when he moved to New York City and became a studio supervisor for soap operas and game shows.

In 1976 he joined ABC Sports, where he received six promotions over the next twelve years and advanced through a series of increasingly significant positions. For several years he managed program planning for ABC's flagship sports program, *Wide World of Sports*. In 1985 he became vice president of programming for ABC Sports, where, among other duties, he helped to coordinate Olympic coverage and was responsible for setting the schedule of events at the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. Iger's grace under fire during the Calgary Olympics brought him to the attention of Capital Cities president Dan Burke. Warm weather in Calgary, followed by melting snow and ice at the Olympic sites, played havoc with ABC's schedule. With millions of dollars in advertising revenue on the line and others panicking, Iger kept his cool and juggled the schedule. An impressed Burke anointed Iger as a future leader of ABC and placed him on the corporate fast track.

Iger was made executive vice-president of the ABC television network group in 1988, where he learned the intricacies of network business affairs, negotiated contracts for prime-time programming, and resolved scheduling conflicts arising between the entertainment, sports, and news divisions at ABC. Iger had held this position for only seven months when Burke and Capital Cities chairman Tom Murphy made him the surprise choice to succeed Brandon Stoddard as the president of ABC entertainment in March 1989.

Iger made a strong impression by making series commitments to two of the most radical dramas in television history, both developed by Brandon Stoddard: *Twin Peaks*, produced by David Lynch and Mark Frost, and the musical police drama *Cop Rock*, produced by Steven Bochco. In championing *Twin Peaks* (which lost viewers and was cancelled after its second season) and *Cop Rock* (which was cancelled after only a few episodes, resulting in huge financial losses for ABC), Iger sent a message to the Hollywood creative community that ABC was prepared to take risks and grant creative freedom—without the smothering network oversight so typical of television production. For the first time ever, Emmy-winning writers and producers and Hollywood filmmakers came to ABC with ambitious projects. Producer James L. Brooks, who had a hand in the creation of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Taxi*, and *The Simpsons*, signed a lucrative development deal with ABC. In this supportive environment, Stephen Bochco bounced back from the disappointment of *Cop Rock* to deliver two successful series, *Doogie Howser, M.D.*, and the critically acclaimed *NYPD Blue*.

Iger's four years at the head of ABC Entertainment kicked off the network's last great period of ratings dominance. Iger inherited *thirtysomething* and *Roseanne* from the regime of Brandon Stoddard and added several other series that became long-running hits: *Family Matters*, *Full House*, *America's Funniest Home Videos*, and *Home Improvement*. In the target market of 18- to 49-year-old adults, ABC won the prime-time ratings race three times during Iger's tenure. This period of success for ABC continued as Iger was elevated up the corporate ladder: first as president of the ABC Network Group in 1993, then as president and chief operating officer of the parent company, Capital Cities/ABC in 1994. ABC moved into first place in the network ratings for the 1994-95 season and saw tremendous growth in other areas as well, including far-sighted investments in cable networks, A&E, The History Channel, Lifetime, and ESPN.

When Disney acquired Capital Cities/ABC in August 1995, Iger had been six months away from succeeding Tom Murphy as the CEO. Michael Eisner asked Iger to stay on board as president and chief operating officer of ABC, giving him responsibility for all of the Capital Cities operations as well as Disney's syndication and cable businesses. Iger was essentially the point man for the merger, charged with actually creating the vaunted synergy that justified Disney's acquisition of a television network in the first place. At first glance, the integration of Disney and ABC, following the FCC's early 1990s decision to allow television networks to produce their own prime-time

programs once again, made Disney the model of the fully integrated media company of the future.

But shortly after Disney's takeover, the ratings for ABC began a downhill slide with no end in sight. In just two seasons after the Disney merger, ABC fell from first to third in the ratings, losing 23 percent of its target 18- to 49-year-old adult viewers, 35 percent of teens, and 45 percent of children aged 2–11. Unable to deliver its promised ratings, ABC has been forced to compensate advertisers with extra airtime, which cuts deeply into network profits. Operating income dropped from \$400 million to \$100 million in the first two years, and the network has seen its first losses continue in subsequent years. Except for the one season of 1999–2000, when the surprise hit *Who Wants To Be a Millionaire?* (scheduled as many as four times a week) carried the network into first place, ABC's prime-time ratings have not yet recovered their form of the early 1990s—in part because the network has failed to use opportunities such as the fluke success of *Millionaire* to develop new hits. As ABC has dropped into fourth place in the ratings, industry commentators have begun talking about a two-network universe, in which only NBC and CBS are capable of actually winning the ratings race.

Management strategies dictated by Eisner and carried out by Iger are largely responsible for ABC's steep decline. The demand for synergy, which was introduced by Disney, has skewed network practices, distorting the most fundamental goals of identifying talented writers, producers, and performers in order to develop programs that are attractive to viewers. The goal of supplying ABC with Disney productions, for instance, has been an unmitigated disaster. The network has suffered in attempting to stock its schedule with Disney-produced programs; no Disney series has survived long enough to make it into syndication since *Home Improvement*, which debuted well before the takeover. In 1999 Iger supervised the formation of the ABC Entertainment Television Group, which formally united Disney's television production—Touchstone, Walt Disney Television Studios, and Buena Vista Television Productions—with ABC's prime-time division and gave ABC responsibility for television production. The goal was to save money while achieving the goals of a fully integrated media company, but the operation has not yet proven capable of solving the riddle of synergy.

ABC's management of prime time has been equally disastrous, characterized by confusion and an almost ritualistic semi-annual sacrifice of programming chiefs. The chaos began when Iger hired Jamie Tarses as head of programming after she had helped to develop comedies such as *Friends* at NBC. Tarses alien-

ated some of ABC's most loyal producers, who left the network for production deals elsewhere; Eisner tried to replace Tarses by recruiting Marcy Carsey, the producer of *Roseanne* and *The Cosby Show*; Iger made an expensive, two-year commitment to *Lois and Clark* just before its ratings collapsed; Eisner vetoed development deals negotiated by Iger.

In spite of these apparent failures, Iger was promoted in February 1999 to a new position as chairman of the ABC Group and President of Walt Disney International, where he was expected to work toward establishing the Disney brand on a worldwide basis and to coordinate the leadership of Disney's international operations. While no one doubted Disney's commitment to international expansion, some industry observers wondered whether Iger had been given an impressive-sounding demotion that removed him from the day-to-day operations at ABC. Otherwise, why would Eisner reward Iger for failing to turn ABC around? The answer could be that, while prime time floundered, the larger ABC organization had achieved some notable successes under Iger's leadership. ESPN became the world's most valuable network, generating more than \$500 million per year and establishing a brand name that has led to the creation of additional ESPN cable channels, ESPN magazine, and ESPN Zone restaurants. Several of ABC's other cable networks, including the Disney Channel, A&E, and Lifetime (often the most watched cable network in prime time) have seen steady growth in revenues and profits. Synergy has worked in children's programming, at least, where Disney series fill ABC's Saturday morning schedule and promote the entire range of Disney products.

In January 2000 Iger was named president and chief operating officer, positions vacant since the resignation of Michael Ovitz in the mid-1990s, and was asked to join the board of directors and executive management committee of the Walt Disney Company. With Disney and Eisner seemingly always targets for criticism, Iger also has emerged as Disney's chief diplomat in controversial situations—testifying before Congress about violence in the media, negotiating a dispute with the Echostar cable system over its initial refusal to carry the Disney Family Channel, dealing with the fallout of a dispute with Time Warner over the transmission of Disney channels on its cable systems, and smoothing ruffled feathers at ABC's news division when word leaked that the network had attempted to lure David Letterman to replace *Nightline*.

Although Iger has an enormous portfolio as Disney president, it would appear that his future will involve reviving the flagging fortunes of the ABC network—or at least redefining the long-term value of a broadcast network in a digital environment. In the short term, he

Iger, Robert A.

has taken a much more active role in prime time since appointing Susan Lyne as president of ABC Entertainment in 2002. But, more importantly, he is involved in the strategic decisions about how ABC should compete in the world of digital television. Iger believes that there is a synergistic value in having a broadcast network that outweighs its cost to a diversified media conglomerate. Only time will tell whether Disney remains in the network television business or whether Iger remains at Disney.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

See also **Eisner, Michael**

**Robert A. Iger.** Born in New York City, February 10, 1951. Education: Ithaca College, B.A. in communication, 1973. Began career at local TV station in Ithaca, NY, 1973; studio supervisor at ABC TV in New York, 1974–76; held various positions at ABC Sports, 1976–85; vice president, program planning, development, and acquisition, ABC Sports, 1985–88; execu-

tive vice president, ABC TV Network Group, 1988–89; president, ABC Entertainment, 1989–92; president, ABC TV Network Group, 1993–94; president and chief operating officer, Capital Cities/ABC, 1994–96; president, ABC Television Group of the Walt Disney Company, 1996–99; chairman, ABC Television Group and president, Walt Disney International, 1999–2000; president and chief operating officer, the Walt Disney Company, 2000–.

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## Independent Production Companies

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The beginning of the 21st century marks a pivotal moment in the history of independent television production. Once the leading source for most prime-time network programming in many countries, independent production companies now compete for access to these coveted spots with program production arms owned by the networks themselves. Under these conditions, the very meaning of independent production has been transformed.

Traditionally, "independent" referred to companies producing programming independent of network ownership or control. By this standard, the autumn 2003 network primetime schedule in the United States included only one new program (*Dinotopia*) produced entirely independently of a network or its parent company. Of the nine new shows in ABC's 2003 season lineup, seven programs were produced by Touchstone movie studios, owned by the network's parent company, Disney.

But some of the very strongest independent voices of television's past in the United States have joined a broad-based movement to ensure a future for independent production companies. Norman Lear, Grant Tin-

ker, David W. Rintels, John Gay, Greg Strangis, Allan Burns, Diane English, and others responsible for some of the most pioneering programs in U.S. television history are leading figures in opposing the most recent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) push to lift caps on media ownership even higher. Five horizontally and vertically integrated media conglomerates (Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, General Electric, and News Corporation) now own nearly 90 percent of American media outlets. Independent producers widely agree that getting a show on the air requires aligning with the networks in ways that undermine their independence. Networks now enjoy greater financial interest and greater ownership stake in independently produced programs, through perpetual license terms, repurposing rights, and backend profits. In the process, they have gained an unprecedented say in everything from programming creation to casting. In this context of consolidation, the amount of programming supplied by independent production companies has diminished to roughly 15–20 percent of all network programming, compared to 85 percent just over a decade ago. To offset the consequences of consolidation, Lear,

Tinker, and the rest are calling upon the FCC to require the four major networks to purchase at least 50 percent of their prime-time programming from independent producers that are “not wholly or partially owned by a company affiliated with the producing or distributing company.”

This call by independent producers is part of a larger public protest against a controversial June 2003 ruling by the FCC which raises the limits on how much media companies can own. The new rules would allow a company in major markets (the size of New York or Los Angeles) to own up to three local television stations. Across the country, the rule would permit a single company to own stations that reach 45 percent of TV households—a ten percent increase on the previous ownership cap. A brief historical overview of media ownership deregulation and its consequences for television programming will help explain what is currently at stake for independent production companies in the United States, and why they are joining the effort to oppose this FCC ruling.

The diminishing presence of independently produced television programming in U.S. prime time is rooted in a series of successive deregulatory moves during the last decades of the 20th century. In 1993, the financial interest and syndication rules (fin-syn) expired. These rules, established by the FCC in the 1970s when ABC, CBS, and NBC commanded 95 percent of viewing households, barred the major networks from producing, owning, or syndicating their own prime-time programs. What followed were two decades in which a thriving independent production industry provided the bulk of programming for the networks. When fin-syn expired in 1993, the FCC determined that the rise of cable and the emergence of a fourth network (FOX) made such safeguards against network monopoly unnecessary. At the time, the FCC was also considering lifting regulatory obstacles to mergers among media corporations that promised to secure dominance of U.S.-based media in an emerging global media market. Even before the fin-syn rules were repealed, the deal that resulted in the acquisition of ABC by Disney was already taking shape.

While the networks maintained that their entry into production would inspire more, not less, programming diversity, critics of the repeal were quick to warn of an ensuing consolidation among media companies that would shore up network control over the airwaves and squeeze out independent producers. For the first time, it became possible for a single parent company to own broadcast programming, created by its own movie studio, which could then be directly repurposed for one of its cable networks just days after its prime-time premiere. As the networks’ increasingly preferred prime-

time programming in which they held a direct financial interest, independent production companies faced new and formidable obstacles to prime-time access. With few exceptions, a spot in the network prime-time schedule has come to require independents to concede to the networks not only greater revenues, but rights to syndication as well.

While the repeal of fin-syn in 1993 undermined independent television production companies, political and economic conditions did even more damage. The Telecommunications Act of 1996, signed into law by President Clinton, lifted important restrictions on ownership and control of media and opened the gates to further industry concentration. As once-discrete media operations were consolidated under a single corporate umbrella at a feverish pace, independent production companies faced new uncertainties.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 is widely considered the most significant piece of media ownership legislation in the recent history of American telecommunications. The 1996 act fundamentally overhauled laws governing media ownership. Until the passage of this act, no single corporation could own more than 12 television broadcast stations with a combined reach of 25 percent of the nation’s television households. Passage of the Telecommunications Act raised the limit to 35 percent, clearing the way for some of the biggest media mergers in history. Before passage of the act, negotiations between CBS and Westinghouse were already underway, as was a deal between Gannett and Multimedia. Its passage ushered in nothing less than a tidal wave of more than \$10 billion in TV station transactions. Leading the way was Disney, with its acquisition of Capital Cities/ABC, and FOX TV with its purchase of the New World TV group. Lifting the cap on station ownership has favored the formation of many group-owned stations. This has not been beneficial to independent writers and producers, for whom consolidation means fewer outlets in which to sell their programs.

The concerns of independent production companies have taken on new urgency since the 1996 Telecommunications Act, which directed the FCC to conduct a biennial review of media ownership rules. When the FCC began this review process in September 2002, media conglomerates Viacom (owner of CBS and UPN), General Electric (owner of NBC), and News Corporation’s FOX Entertainment Group were quick to file a request that the Commission use the review process as an opportunity to abolish the remaining media ownership rules. According to the conglomerates, in the age of the Internet, with so many new channels of communication, concerns about concentration of ownership are baseless.



## Independent Production Companies

While the FCC did not entirely eliminate ownership caps, it did vote to raise the limit from 35 percent to 45 percent of the national television household audience. The aftermath of this decision has been marked by one of the greatest public outcries against the corporate consolidation of media in the United States. The future of independent television production is bound up in its (as yet) undetermined outcome. If the FCC decision holds, independent television production companies will have even fewer stations willing to buy their programming. However, many cling to the possibility that the federal government will overturn the new ownership rules and create conditions favorable to a revitalized arena for independent production.

Fallout over the FCC decision has provided an opportunity for clarification of what constitutes an independent company. A brief filed with the FCC by a coalition of writers and producers defines an independent company as "one not owned or controlled by or affiliated with the same entity owning or controlling the national program service." It was much less complicated, in the early decades of television, to identify an independent production company. Today very few companies fit this definition of a "pure" independent. Many of the one-time giants who helped define the independent production company—MTM, Cannell Studios, Reeves, Rysher, New World, Lorimar, SEE, Witt-Thomas, Miller-Boyett, Orion, Republic, ITC—have either closed down or are struggling to stay afloat. Others have been acquired by the networks.

Independent production companies emerged during the mid-1950s out of the struggles for control over programming between networks and sponsors. At that time, sponsors both owned and produced the majority of programs, as well as the network time slots in which their shows played. Networks found their situation improving as television slowly won over more advertisers to the medium. The possibility of multiple sponsorships curtailed the control that any one sponsor could wield over a program, and the result was increased profits and power for networks. At the same time, networks were reassessing their reliance on costly live programming (the standard fare) and began adopting new cost-saving practices of broadcasting previously filmed shows, or telefilms. The independent production companies were the primary source of telefilms. Thus, networks enjoyed new freedom from the financial outlays for live programming and the independents enjoyed access to a promising new market for their programming beyond the movie theaters.

Scholars have noted, however, that independence should not be confused with autonomy. As long as independent producers relied on funding from sponsors, programs remained subject to the imprint of the spon-

sor's interests. Few companies have had the benefit of operating entirely independently of the networks. For the capital required to develop their pilot episodes, independents commonly bargained away some rights and financial interest to the networks in exchange for production dollars. The first independent producer to develop a show along these lines was Hal Roach, Jr., in 1953. In the 1950s, programming was also shaped by Frederick W. Ziv, whose experiences over the course of the decade help illustrate the tensions between independence and network control. Ziv left his mark in the first-run syndication market, without the help of the major networks or national sponsors, opting instead for local and regional sponsors who positioned his series on local stations, mostly in non-prime-time slots. This approach proved successful for several of Ziv's series, including *The Cisco Kid* (1949–56), *Highway Patrol* (1955–59), and *Sea Hunt* (1957–61).

But by mid-decade, Ziv found the market for first-run syndication contracting as networks began to sell their own prime-time programs that had already proven successful for syndication to local markets. These deeply discounted reruns sharply undercut independents' bids for first-run syndication, as local stations favored the less-expensive programs that already had established audiences. Between 1956 and 1964, the number of first-run syndicated programs on air withered from 29 to just one. As his opportunities in first-run syndication dwindled, Ziv reversed tack and began making programs to sell to networks, including *West Point* (1956–57) for CBS. Although he had several successful network series, Ziv sold off his company to United Artists in 1960, citing the incursions of the networks into both the creative process and the profits: "I didn't care to become an employee of the networks."

The sentiment expressed by Ziv is echoed today by independent producers and writers in their current struggle to oppose the FCC's new ownership rules. Letters from award-winning writers and producers of independent programming are among the hundreds of thousands of letters sent to the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee to protest the FCC's decision. When Norman Lear, one of the protesting voices, brought *All in the Family*, *The Jeffersons*, and *Good Times* to television, he did so under what he calls "the watchful eye of an FCC that was committed to keeping the playing field even, protecting against vertical integration of the major broadcasting networks that would, if they had been allowed, have forced independent companies...to take a minority interest in the very shows we had created, giving majority ownership to the network in order to get on the air."

The letters from Lear and others who did so much to build the independent production industry in the last



decades of the 20th century speak of the “near extinction,” “peril,” and “jeopardy” of these companies. As Emmy Award-winning producer David Rintels describes it, independent writers and producers “now live and work in a business where a few enormously powerful companies control virtually every aspect of the work—not just who gets to write and produce the programs, but the subjects and treatment, and who can direct and who can act, who can photograph and who can write the music.” Rintels is known for television dramas that engage controversial issues of politics (*Washington: Behind Closed Doors*, 1977), law (*Fear on Trial*, 1975), and war (*Day One*, 1989), and a long-time critic of network television for avoiding programs that deal with controversy.

Independent television producers are deeply familiar with the issues of ownership and control that are at the core of the FCC controversy. In her letter addressed to the senators, Diane English, the creator of *Murphy Brown*, recounts her struggles with CBS over everything from character to casting to comedic content. *Murphy Brown* reached prime time only after English battled relentlessly to retain creative authority over the program. Had the network prevailed, *Murphy Brown* would have been an entirely different program; the character of Murphy would have been at least twenty years younger, and played by Heather Locklear rather than Candice Bergen. CBS also suggested cutting from the script the show’s defining political satire, because the humor would be lost on viewers who did not follow current events, or alternatively, might offend audiences. Of her ultimate success to preserve her creative control over *Murphy*, English states that “in 1988 CBS let me do it my way because I could take the show across the street if I wasn’t happy. . . . In 2003, forget it. They own it and you’re stuck.”

The pending rule changes are seen by many as potentially the decisive blow to the “true” independent producer, already “disappearing from the marketplace.” In comments filed by the president of the Writers’ Guild of America west, Victoria Riskin called upon the FCC “to establish a safety net for the small entrepreneur producer and independent producers and writer-creators who brought American audiences such classics as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *All In the Family*, and *The Cosby Show*.” Specifically, the Guild calls upon the FCC to redress a dramatic shift that has occurred since the elimination of fin-syn rules in 1993. According to Guild data, in that decisive year, only 15 percent of new prime-time series, and 25 percent of new and returning prime-time series, were produced by the major networks in-house. Ten years later, 77 percent of new prime-time series, and 69 percent of all new and returning prime-time series were produced by

the networks’ own studios. To reverse the trend that has made prime-time more inaccessible to independents than ever before, the Guild entreats the FCC to direct national program services to “purchase at least 50 percent of their prime-time programming from independent producers that are not wholly or partially owned by a company affiliated with the producing or distributing company.”

No such mandate will come from the FCC alone. But independent production companies are hopeful for an outcome that favors their survival. In a historic move, just one month after the FCC decision, the House of Representatives voted 400–21 to prevent the Commission from raising ownership limits to 45 percent by freezing the funding necessary for such a move. Although the House reversal brought a threat of veto from President Bush, a number of other legal moves have effectively thwarted the enactment of the new cap. In September 2003, in another move that portends well for independent production companies, the Senate invoked a rarely used Congressional Review Act veto to reject the FCC’s decision.

A growing public awareness of the consequences of media consolidation has brought positive attention to the meaning and value of independent television production companies. Independent producers and writers, who have long fought to secure a space for their programming on the airwaves, are joined by a vast coalition of interests hoping to help shape the outcome of this debate.

LORA TAUB-PERVIZPOUR

*See also* **Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; U.S. Policy: Telecommunications Act of 1996**

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## Independent Television Service

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In 1988 the U.S. Congress amended the Public Broadcasting Act by creating a separate fund for independent productions called the Independent Television Service (ITVS). ITVS was merely the latest attempt to implement some of public broadcasting's earliest goals: that public television would be independent of commercial interests and would become, in the words of the Carnegie Commission in 1967, "the clearest expression of American diversity, and of excellence through diversity." By 1988, however, many had come to view the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as neither independent nor diverse.

The very organizing logic of network television in the United States—that it act for Americans in the public interest, operate under government regulation, and define itself economically by the "mainstream"—has meant that television encouraged a consensual cultural "inside" and a marginalized "outside." By delegating to television the authority to provide a balanced view of the world and to serve the mass audience, many individual and cultural voices have been underrepresented. While intellectual and artistic cultures, in postures of voluntary cultural exclusion, have demeaned television's mass mentality from the medium's start, it was the civil rights crisis in the 1960s, by contrast, that highlighted television's involuntary forms of ethnic, racial, and gender bias. Even as underground filmmakers, newsreel activists, and video artists at the time forged the notion of "independent" media as an alternative to the networks, a more public crisis over television's exclusionary practices challenged the government to recast its relationship to broadcasting. The formation of National Educational Television (NET); its successor, the Public Broadcasting Service; and the funding arm, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) were all attempts to correct the narrow interests that democratically minded critics saw at the foundation of network television. Public television's mandate was to open up and diversify television in both an aesthetic and a social sense. Different types of stories and perspectives on American culture were to emerge, even as the very notion of an independent perspective would be part of the PBS niche that followed.

Yet, by the late 1980s, many liberal critics complained that PBS had failed in its mission to diversify television and to give voice to those without one. The presence of advertising spots in major PBS affiliate

stations, Fortune 500 corporate sponsorship of programs, and the generic monotony that came from a limited diet of nature documentaries, high-culture performing, and British imports proved to such critics that, far from fulfilling its function, PBS represented rigid class interests of the most limited type—that this was in fact corporate, rather than independent, television. A direct result of this organized critique was the formation of ITVS.

With advocacy from the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers and its publication *The Independent*, a coalition of independent producers from major cities across the United States publicly criticized contradictions at the root of public broadcasting's "failure": administrative overheads at PBS and CPB consumed the lion's share of public subsidies from the government; panels that awarded program development and production funds were ingrown networks; and PBS affiliate stations, along with a select group of insider companies, now fulfilled the role of "independents." Apart from token programming ghettos (such as the TV "labs" and new artists "workshops" at WNET and WGBH, segment-producing spots on *Frontline*, and half-hour anthologies of experimental work on affiliates WTTW, WNED, and KQED), independent work that engaged radical political, racial, or sexual politics was essentially absent from public television. PBS seemed unresponsive to such issues, and ITVS organizers took their critique directly to the source of PBS subsidies: Congress.

The resulting federal mandate required that CPB negotiate directly with the National Coalition of Independent Public Broadcasting Producers (NCIPBP) to develop programs through ITVS. ITVS's \$6 million yearly budget was to be allocated without oversight or interference by any existing funding entity, including CPB and PBS. However, the independence guaranteed by direct-to-producer subsidies also brought with it a lasting complication for ITVS: freed of PBS/CPB intrusions into program development, ITVS also lost any guarantee of final broadcast on PBS stations. While public broadcasters protested that federal funds would now go to programs that had little chance of carriage on the stations that they controlled, ITVS countered that up-front development money, not carriage, had always been the historic problem for independents.

By May 1990, complications arose on both sides. Spun as an "overhead-versus-production funding"

struggle, CPB complained of NCIPBP's unrealistic assumptions about support; ITVS criticized CPB's refusal to cover basic postproduction, packaging, and promotion costs. Many others noted that very little television had actually been developed by ITVS—and none broadcast.

From St. Paul, Minnesota, ITVS aimed to develop “innovative” series and single programs. Topics were identified, professional panels constituted, and “requests for proposals” announced. Open calls received as many as 2,000 submissions; focused topics were as few as 75. By 1993–94, numerous series were finally in production or distribution. *Declarations* collaged video essays around ITVS's charter notion of free speech; *TV Families* serialized family diversity as an antidote to network television's one-dimensional paradigm; *Stolen Moments* tackled AIDS in the context of urban street culture, hip-hop, and jazz; and *The United States of Poetry* and *Animated Women* brought their artistic subcultures to after-prime PBS affiliate audiences.

While some ITVS programs were picked up by many PBS stations, others were less successful. ITVS's quarterly *Buzzwords*, however, defended the organization's uneven successes by pointing to the critical acclaim given some individual works, such as Marlon Riggs's *Black Is... Black Ain't* at the Berlin, San Francisco, and Sundance film festivals.

Two complications built into ITVS from the start continue to dog the organization's future: carriage and overhead. Despite a new rhetoric of “audience-driven programming,” ITVS remains weakest in its ability to deliver programming to a national audience. Second, although ITVS was designed to prevent the overhead and administrative skimming that characterized CPB/PBS, many independents by 1995 began to question the ability of ITVS to deal with such problems as the “identity politics” that skewed awards, or the “insiders” that comprised funding panels. The criticism

that ITVS is simply a re-emergent bureaucracy that constrains independence is exacerbated by the fact that its \$7 million yearly budget for program development is minuscule by commercial industry standards.

Statistically and economically, then, ITVS cannot possibly represent the thousands of independents that were publicly linked to it by NCIPBP and Congress. Dissension and broadcaster resistance alike may pale, however, before political threats to ITVS funding. ITVS has been resilient in responding to its critics and has continued to refine its effectiveness in several ways: first, by redefining its mission as an attempt to “reach minority filmmaking communities”; second, by establishing its “LinCS” program to co-produce minority independents with local PBS stations; third, by marketing itself as a “service” or “bridge” (that provides “comprehensive” development, marketing, educational outreach, and ancillary Internet activities) rather than as a broadcaster; and, finally, by providing extensive materials that teach the funding-and-development process to new producers and ITVS applicants.

By 2002 approximately two-thirds of ITVS-funded shows went to stations through PBS subscription services such as NPS, PBS Plus, *POV*, or *Frontline*, and producers maintain (with CPB oversight) many ancillary rights for subsequent markets and distribution. The creative history of ITVS during the previous decade shows the difficulties and challenges inherent in attempts to fulfill with limited funding and lack of governmental will the Carnegie Commission's defining notions of independence and diversity.

JOHN THORNTON CALDWELL

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## India

The Indian television system is one of the most extensive in the world. Terrestrial broadcasting, which has until recently been the sole preserve of the government, provides television coverage to over 90 percent of India's population, which stood at 1.027 billion in March 2001. By the end of 2003, nearly 80 million

households had television sets. International satellite broadcasting, introduced in 1991, has swept across the country because of the rapid proliferation of small-scale cable systems. By the end of 2003, Indians could view around 60 foreign and local channels, and the competition for audiences and advertising revenues is

one of the hottest in the world. In 1995, the Indian Supreme Court held that the government's monopoly over broadcasting was unconstitutional, setting the stage for India to develop into one of the world's largest and most competitive television environments.

Broadcasting began in India with the formation of a private radio service in Madras in 1924. In the same year, the British colonial government granted a license to a private company, the Indian Broadcasting Company, to open radio stations in Bombay and Calcutta. The company went bankrupt in 1930, but the colonial government took over the two transmitters, and the Department of Labour and Industries started operating them as the Indian State Broadcasting Corporation. In 1936, the corporation was renamed All India Radio (AIR) and placed under the Department of Communications. When India became independent in 1947, AIR was made a separate department under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

The early history of radio broadcasting in independent India is important because it set the parameters for the subsequent role of television in the country. At independence, the Congress government under Jawaharlal Nehru planned to achieve political integration, economic development, and social modernization. Broadcasting was expected to play an important role in all three areas. The most important challenge the government faced at independence was that of forging a nation out of the diverse political, religious, geographic, and linguistic entities that composed independent India. In addition to the territories ruled directly by the British, over 500 "independent" princely states had joined the new nation, some quite reluctantly. The country immediately found itself at war with Pakistan over one of those states, Kashmir. The trauma of the partition of the country into India and Pakistan, and the violence between Hindus and Muslims, had further weakened the political stability of the country. Broadcasting was harnessed for the task of political nation building. National integration and the development of a "national consciousness" were among the early objectives of All India Radio.

Broadcasting was organized as the sole preserve of the chief architect of this process of political integration—the state. The task of broadcasting was to help in overcoming the immediate crisis of political instability that followed independence, and to foster the long-term process of political modernization and nation-building that was the dominant ideology of the newly formed state. Broadcasting was also charged with the task of aiding in the process of economic development. The Indian Constitution, adopted in 1950, mandated a strong role for the Indian state in the economic devel-

opment of the country. The use of broadcasting to further the development process was a natural corollary to this state-led developmental philosophy. Broadcasting was especially expected to contribute to the process of social modernization, which was considered an important pre-requisite of economic development. The dominant development philosophy of the time identified the problems of development as being primarily internal to developing countries. These endogenous causes, to which communications solutions were thought to exist, included traditional value systems, lack of innovation, lack of an entrepreneurial culture, and lack of a national consciousness. In short, the problem was one of old ideas hindering the process of social change and modernization and the role of broadcasting was to provide an inlet for the flow of modern ideas.

It was in the context of this dominant thinking about the role of broadcasting in India that television was introduced in 1959. The government had been reluctant to invest in television until then because the general consensus was that a poor country like India could not afford the medium. Television had to prove its role in the development process before it could gain a foothold in the country. Television broadcasts started from Delhi in September 1959 as part of All India Radio's services. Programs were broadcast twice a week for an hour a day on such topics as community health, citizens' duties and rights, and traffic and road sense. In 1961 the broadcasts were expanded to include a school educational television project. In time, Indian films and programs consisting of compilations of musical numbers from Indian films joined the program lineup as the first entertainment programs. A limited number of old U.S. and British shows were also telecast sporadically.

The first major expansion of television in India began in 1972, when a second television station was opened in Bombay (now Mumbai). This was followed by stations in Srinagar and Amritsar (1973), and Calcutta, Madras (now Chennai), and Lucknow in 1975. Relay stations were also set up in a number of cities to extend the coverage of the regional stations. In 1975, the government carried out the first test of the possibilities of satellite-based television through the SITE program. SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) was designed to test whether satellite-based television services could play a role in socioeconomic development. Using a U.S. ATS-6 satellite and up-link centers at Ahmedabad and Delhi, television programs were beamed down for about 4 hours a day to about 2,400 villages in 6 states. The programs dealt mainly with in- and out-of-school education, agricultural issues, planning, and national integration. The experiment was fairly successful in demonstrating the

effectiveness of satellite-based television in India, and the lessons learnt from SITE were used by the government in designing and utilizing its own domestic satellite service INSAT, launched in 1982.

In these early years, television, like radio, was considered a facilitator of the development process, and its introduction was justified by the role it was asked to play in social and economic development. Television was institutionalized as an arm of the government, since the government was the chief architect of political, economic and social development in the country.

By 1976, the government found itself running a television network of eight television stations covering a population of 45 million spread over 29,000 square miles (75,000 square kilometers). Faced with the difficulty of administering such an extensive television system as part of All India Radio, the government constituted Doordarshan, the national television network, as an attached office under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—a half-way house between a public corporation and a government department. In practice, however, Doordarshan, whose director general was appointed by the ministry, operated much like a government department, at least as far as critical issues of policy, planning and financial decision-making were concerned.

Television went through major changes under what has been called, in the official language, *The Special Expansion Plan for TV*, an important state initiative in (re)organizing television during the 1980s. In 1982 television began to attain national coverage and develop as the government's pre-eminent media organization. Two events triggered the rapid growth of television that year. INSAT-1A, the first of the country's domestic communications satellites became operational and made possible the networking of all of Doordarshan's regional stations. For the first time Doordarshan originated a nation-wide feed dubbed the "National Programme," which was fed from Delhi to the other stations. In November 1982, the country hosted the Asian Games and the government introduced color broadcasts for the coverage of the games. To increase television's reach, the government launched a crash program to set up low- and high-power transmitters that would pick up the satellite-distributed signals and re-transmit them to surrounding areas. In 1983 television signals were available to just 28 percent of the population; this had doubled by the end of 1985, and by 1990 over 90 percent of the population had access to television signals.

In 1976 a significant event in the history of Indian television occurred: the advent of advertising on Doordarshan. Until that time television had been funded through a combination of television licenses and allo-

cations from the annual budget (licenses were later abolished as advertising revenues began to increase substantially). Advertising began in a very small way with less than 1 percent of Doordarshan's budget coming from advertising revenues in the 1976-77 season. But the possibility of reaching a nationwide audience made television look increasingly attractive to advertisers after the introduction of the "National Programme" in 1982. In turn, Doordarshan began to shift the balance of its programming from educational and informational programs to entertainment programs. The commercialization of Doordarshan saw the development of soap operas, situation comedies, dramas, musical programs, quiz shows, and the like. By 1990, Doordarshan's revenues from advertising were about \$300 million, accounting for about 70 percent of its annual expenditure.

By 1991, Doordarshan's earlier mandate to aid in the process of social and economic development had clearly been diluted. Entertainment and commercial programs had begun to take center stage in the organization's programming strategies, and advertising had come to be Doordarshan's main source of funding. However, television in India was still a modest enterprise, with most parts of the country receiving just one channel, and the major cities receiving two. But 1991 saw the beginnings of international satellite broadcasting in India, and the government launched a major economic liberalization program. Both these events combined to change the country's television environment dramatically.

International satellite television was introduced in India by CNN, through its coverage of the First Gulf War in 1991. Three months later, Hong Kong-based Star-TV (now owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation) started broadcasting five channels into India using the ASIAT-1 satellite. By early 1992, nearly half a million Indian households were receiving Star-TV telecasts. A year later the figure was close to 2 million, and by the end of 1994, an estimated 12 million households (a little less than one-fourth of all television households) were receiving satellite channels. This increase in viewership was made possible by the 60,000 or so small-scale cable system operators who mushroomed across the country. These systems redistributed the satellite channels to their customers at rates as low as \$5 a month. Taking advantage of the growth of the satellite television audience, a number of Indian satellite-based television services were launched between 1991 and 1994, prominent among them ZeeTV, the first Hindi satellite channel. By the end of 1994 there were 12 satellite-based channels available in India, all of them using a handful of different satellites.

By the end of 2003, Indian viewers were exposed to more than 50 satellite-based channels, with a number of Indian programmers and international media companies such as Turner Broadcasting, Time-Warner, ESPN, CANAL 5, and Pearsons seriously considering the introduction of new satellite television services for India. The steep rise in channel availability has led to a major increase in software and program production from both local Indian and multinational corporations.

The proliferation of channels has put great pressure on the Indian television programming industry. Already the largest producer of motion pictures, India is poised to become a sizable producer of television programs as well. With Indian audiences clearly preferring locally produced programs over foreign ones, the new television services are spending heavily on the development of indigenous programs. The number of hours of television programming produced in India has increased 800 percent between 1991 and 2003, and is expected to grow at an ever-faster rate in the future.

Despite the rapid growth in the number of television channels, television programming continues to be dominated by the Indian film industry. Hindi films are the staple of most national channels, and regional channels rely heavily on a mix of Hindi and regional-language films to attract audiences. Almost all Indian commercial films are musicals, and this allows for the development of inexpensive, derivative programs. One of Doordarshan's most popular programs, *Chitrahaar*, is a compilation of old film songs, and all the private channels, including ZeeTV and music video channels such as MTV India and Channel V, show some variation of *Chitrahaar*. A number of game shows are also based on movie themes. Other genres, such as soap operas, talk shows, and situation comedies are also gaining in popularity, but the production of these programs has been unable to keep up with demand, hence the continuing reliance on film-based programming.

International satellite programming has opened up competition in news and public affairs programming, with BBC and CNN International challenging Doordarshan's long-standing monopoly. Most of the other foreign broadcasters, for example, ESPN and the Discovery Channel, are focusing on special-interest programming. Only Star-TV's STAR Plus channel offers broad-based English-language entertainment programs. Most of its programs are syndicated U.S. shows, including soap operas such as *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *Santa Barbara* and talk shows such as *Donahue* and *Oprah*. However, STAR Plus has a very small share of the audience in India and even this is threatened by the launch of new channels.

Since 1996 the televisual "map" of India has undergone considerable shifts in structural terms and program production. The contemporary television system includes transnational satellite networks and channels, the state-run national network, several privately owned regional satellite channels, and numerous small and large-scale cable operators involved in creation and transmission of consumerist popular culture. An interesting feature has been the formation of a range of regional television networks like Gemini, Eenadu, Asianet, Sun, Udaya, Surya, Vijay that exist alongside the transnational networks like StarTV, Zee, Sony, MTV India, Channel V, CNN India, and the state-run television.

A peculiar development in television programming in India has been the use of hybrid English-Hindi program formats, popularly called "Hinglish" formats, which offer programs in Hindi and English on the same channel and even have programs, including news shows, that use both languages within a single telecast. This takes advantage of the audience for television (especially the audience for satellite television) which is largely composed of middle-class Indians who have some knowledge of English along with Hindi, and who colloquially speak a language that is primarily Hindi intermixed with words, phrases, and whole sentences in English. There are several other regional languages in which programs are produced that also mix English with various regional languages. This kind of hybrid program format and language-use has led to interesting phenomena that provides an ostensible cosmopolitan context to the programs.

Commercial competition has transformed Doordarshan as well, and it is scrambling to cope with the changed competitive environment. Satellite broadcasting has threatened Doordarshan's audiences, and self-preservation has spawned a new ideology in the network, which is in the process of reinventing itself, co-opting private programmers to recapture viewers and advertising rupees lost to ZeeTV and StarTV. In 1994, the government ordered Doordarshan to raise its own revenues for future expansion. This new commercial mandate has gradually begun to change Doordarshan's perception of who its primary constituents are, from politicians to advertisers.

But this change has been slow in coming. The government's monopoly over television over the years has resulted in Doordarshan being tightly controlled by successive governments. In principle, Doordarshan is answerable only to Parliament. Parliament lays down the guidelines that Doordarshan is expected to adhere to in its programming and Doordarshan's budget is de-

bated and approved by Parliament. But the guidelines established by Parliament to ensure Doordarshan's political neutrality are largely ignored in the face of the majority that different ruling parties have held in Parliament. Doordarshan has been subject more to the will of the government than the oversight of Parliament. Successive governments and ruling political parties have used Doordarshan to further their political agendas, weakening its credibility as a neutral participant in the political process. There have been periodic attempts to reconstitute Doordarshan into a BBC-like public corporation, but governments have been reluctant to relinquish their hold on such a powerful medium.

The government bases its right to operate the country's broadcasting services as a monopoly from the Indian Telegraph Act of 1885, which empowered the government with the exclusive right to "establish, maintain and work" telegraph, and later wireless services. In addition, the Constitution lists broadcasting as falling solely within the domain of Parliament, effectively shutting out the state governments from making any laws with regard to television. Within the ambit of these provisions it was assumed that media autonomy or liberalization in any form was the prerogative of the government to grant. But the government's monopoly was challenged in the Indian Supreme Court in 1995. The court held that the government monopoly over broadcasting was unconstitutional, and while the government has the right to regulate broadcasting in the public interest, the Constitution forbids monopoly control over any medium by either individuals or the government. The court directed the government to establish an independent public authority for "controlling and regulating" the use of airwaves. The court's decision holds out the promise of significant structural changes in Indian broadcasting and the possibility that terrestrial television may finally free itself from governmental control.

It is evident that over time the control of the Indian state over television will continue to diminish. With changes in its revenue structure and the need to respond to increasing commercial pressures, the character of Doordarshan's programming has increasingly begun to reflect the demands and pressures of the marketplace. In the meantime, caught between the government and the market, Doordarshan continues to struggle to maintain its mandate of public-service programming. The Supreme Court's decision ordering

the government to establish an independent broadcasting authority to regulate television in the public interest holds the promise of allowing Indian television to escape both the stifling political control of the state and the commercial pressures of the market. There are a number of other constituencies, such as state governments, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations, and social-service agencies who can participate in a liberalized broadcast system, in addition to private corporations. A number of technological factors, such as media convergence, broadband internet delivery, and Direct-to-Home (DTH) satellite transmissions will also be instrumental in the shaping of the future of India's television system. More importantly, the co-existence of state, domestic private, and multinational corporations—and the rapid rise of consumerist-oriented entertainment, religious-based programming, talk shows, game shows, news, and current affairs—indicates that the discourses of nationalism, globalization, and localization all remain powerful vectors for the televisual system and its audiences both within and outside the borders of the postcolonial Indian nation-state.

NIKHIL SINHA AND SANJAY ASTHANA

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# Inspector Morse

## British Police Program

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This lushly produced and melancholy series was made by Zenith for Central Independent Television, to critical and popular acclaim, between 1987 and 1993, with five occasional specials following between 1995 and 2000. In Britain, the series gained audiences of up to 15 million, and it has been widely exported, contributing internationally to the image of an England of dreaming spires, verdant countryside, and serious acting. *Inspector Morse* was also one of the first programs on British television to be commercially sponsored, in this case by the narratively appropriate "Beamish Stout," whose logo appeared on the later series. Originally based on detective novels by Colin Dexter featuring Chief Inspector Morse and Detective Sergeant Lewis, the series was developed to include Dexter's characters in new scripts by, among others, Julian Mitchell, Alma Cullen, Daniel Boyle, and Peter Buckman. Of the 28 films broadcast in the 1987 to 1993 run, nine are based on Dexter stories, as were some of the "return by popular demand" Morse "specials" (which followed the same format as the episodes in the original series) aired between 1995 and 2000.

Shot on film, in Oxford, the individual stories were broadcast in two-hour prime-time slots on British networked commercial television, contributing significantly to the reputation for quality garnered for independent television by series such as *Brideshead Revisited* and *The Jewel in the Crown* (both made by Granada). This reputation was enhanced by the increasing willingness of theatrical actors such as Janet Suzman, Sheila Gish, and Sir John Gielgud to guest in the series. However, the series also staked its claim to be "quality television" through continual high-cultural references, particularly the use of literary clues, musical settings, and Barrington Pheloung's theme music. Thus, the very first *Morse*, "The Dead of Jericho" (January 6, 1987), investigates the murder of a woman with whom Morse (no forename given until the 1997 special *Death Is Now My Neighbour*) has become romantically involved through their shared membership of an amateur choir. The opening titles intercut shots of Oxford colleges to a soundtrack of the choir singing, while Morse plays a competing baroque work loudly on his car stereo. Morse spends some large part of the film trying to convince the skeptical Lewis that

"Sophocles did it," after finding that the murdered woman has a copy of *Oedipus Rex* at her bedside and her putative son has damaged his eyes. Morse is, characteristically, wrong—but right in the end.

Almost symmetrically, but with the rather more splendid setting of an Oxford ceremony for the conferring of honorary degrees testifying to the success of the series, the final episode in the series, "Twilight of the Gods," not only uses a Wagnerian title but also weaves the opera through the investigation of an apparent assassination attempt on a Welsh diva. The significance of music in the series for both *mise-en-scène* and character (it is repeatedly shown to be Morse's most reliable pleasure, apart from good beer) can be seen at its most potent in the regular use of orchestral and choral works as the soundtrack to a very characteristic Morse shot, the narratively redundant crane or pan over Oxford college buildings. This juxtaposition, like Morse's old and loved Jaguar, insists that although the program may be about murder, it is murder of the highest quality. The plots, which frequently involve the very wealthy—and their lovely houses—tend to be driven by personal, rather than social factors. Morse's Oxford is full of familial and professional jealousies and passions rather than urban deprivation, unemployment, or criminal subcultures.

*Inspector Morse*, despite the skillful and repeated insertion of contemporary references, somehow seems to be set in the past, and is therefore cognate with *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* and Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot and Miss Marple stories—in a genre we might call "retro-expo" crime—rather than with *Between the Lines* or *The Bill*. Within these relatively reliable and familiar parameters of a certain kind of Englishness, it is the casting of John Thaw as Morse that most significantly shapes the series. This has two main aspects, apart from the continuing pleasures of Thaw's grumpy, economical, and—in contrast to some of his guest costars—profoundly televisual performance. First, Thaw, despite a long television history, is best known in Britain as the foul-mouthed, insubordinate, unorthodox Inspector Regan of *The Sweeney*, a police show first broadcast in the 1970s and regarded as excessively violent and particularly significant in eroding the representational divide between law enforcers





*Inspector Morse*, John Thaw, 1987–2000.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and law breakers (an erosion in which, for example, Don Siegel's film with Clint Eastwood, *Dirty Harry*, was seen as particularly significant). That it should be Thaw who once again appears as "a good detective, but a bad policeman," but this time in a series that eschews instinct and action for intuition and deduction, offers a rich contrast for viewers familiar with *The Sweeney*. However, it is the partnership between Thaw and Kevin Whately (originally a member of the radical 7.84 theater group, and subsequently a lead in his own right as Dr. Jack Kerruish of *Peak Practice*) that drives the continuity of the series and offers pleasures to viewers who may not be at ease with Morse's high-cultural world. For if Morse, the former Oxford student and doer of crosswords, is the brilliant loner who is vulnerable to the charms of women of a certain age, it is Lewis, happily married with children, who, like Dr. Watson, does much of the legwork and deduction, while also nurturing his brilliant chief. However, it is also Lewis, a happy man who often fails to understand the cultural references ("So do we have an address for this Sophocles?"), who, in the most literal sense, brings Morse down to earth—to popular television.

CHARLOTTE BRUNSDON

See also *Miss Marple*; *Sherlock Holmes*; *Thaw*, John

#### Cast (selected)

Chief Inspector Morse	John Thaw
Detective Sergeant Lewis	Kevin Whately
Max	Peter Woodthorpe
Dr. Grayling Russell	Amanda Hilwood
Chief Superintendent Bell	Norman Jones
Chief Superintendent Strange	James Grout
Chief Superintendent Holdsbby	Alun Armstrong

#### Producers

Ted Childs, Kenny McBain, Chris Burt, David Lascelles, Deirdre Keir

#### Programming History

28 120-minute episodes, plus 5 120-minute specials  
ITV

January 6, 1987–January 20, 1987	3 episodes
December 25, 1987–March 22, 1988	4 episodes
January 4, 1989–January 25, 1989	4 episodes
January 3, 1990–January 24, 1990	4 episodes
February 20, 1991–March 27, 1991	5 episodes
February 26, 1992–April 15, 1992	5 episodes
January 6, 1993–January 20, 1993	3 episodes
November 29, 1995	<i>The Way through the Woods</i>
November 27, 1996	<i>The Daughters of Cain</i>
November 19, 1997	<i>Death Is Now My Neighbour</i>
November 11, 1998	<i>The Wench Is Dead</i>
November 15, 2000	<i>The Remorseful Day</i>

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## Interactive Television

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Television is typically perceived as a passive medium, its content and information flowing only in one direction, from provider to viewer. Almost since the beginning of the television age, however, there have been those—both providers and viewers—who have wanted more from television. In 1953, in one of the first instances of viewers actually interacting with television, *Winky Dink and You* allowed children to place a plastic sheet over the television screen and draw on it to complete puzzles and games shown on the screen. Today, the term “interactive television” represents several recent advances in new television technologies. The term is commonly used to refer to all of these technologies, but distinctions can in fact be made among personal television, enhanced television, and interactive television.

Personal television refers to technology that allows the viewer to manipulate live television content sent by the provider (over the air, cable, or satellite). One of the most popular of these technologies is known as the personal video recorder (PVR) or digital video recorder (DVR). The PVR acts much like a video cassette recorder in that it can record live shows to be watched at a later time (time-shifting). The difference lies in the fact that PVRs record the content to a hard disk instead of a cassette. PVRs also constantly record the stream of content the viewer is currently watching, providing the capability to pause, rewind and repeat, and even slow-motion-repeat live television. If viewers intentionally choose to begin viewing a program after the program has begun, they have the capability to rewind and start at the beginning of the show. This also affords the ability to fast forward until the recorded content “catches up” to the live stream. This process allows viewers to skip commercials, a capability that has started a vigorous debate among advertisers worried about the loss of attention to commercials. Most PVRs come assembled as a stand-alone device, or are bundled with devices such as a digital cable or satellite receiver already providing content, commonly referred to as set-top boxes. TiVo, ReplayTV, and Microsoft were among the first companies to introduce PVRs as stand-alone devices. Now many service providers, such as cable and satellite companies, are combining PVR functionality with their digital receivers. For this reason, many scholars believe this technology will spread rapidly.

One key aspect of the PVR, and central to most new television technologies, is the electronic program guide (EPG). This is a built-in television guide that downloads the television schedule for several days into the future. This allows viewers an easier means of searching for a program and commanding the PVR to record particular programs. The EPG also acts much like a database, able to catalog search terms such as actors, directors, plotlines, and titles, making it easier for viewers to find preferred content.

Enhanced television allows viewers not only to receive television programming, but also to receive additional information (enhancements) pertinent to the content being viewed. While watching a baseball game, for example, an icon appears on the television screen that can be selected and accessed via the remote control. Doing so may give the viewer individual player statistics, current wind conditions at the ballpark, or other information relevant to the game. Such enhancements could include actor biographies, director’s comments, or a full list of program credits. Wink is a current company that provides this type of content and technology to service providers.

Many of these enhancements work via the Vertical Blanking Interval (VBI) contained in the transmission of data to a viewer’s set-top box. The VBI is an extremely brief time interval occurring between different frames being scanned onto the television screen—comparable to the blank space between frames on film stock. The potential of VBI was understood more fully after engineers realized that closed captioning content could be sent through this VBI. The same concept works for Enhanced Television, but the VBI can carry content, including enhancements, other than video and audio. As an alternative to the VBI, some content providers also use telephone lines, which can be connected to the back of the set-top box, to send the enhancements.

A truer definition of interactive television takes the concept of enhanced television one step further. In fully interactive television, information between content provider and viewer flows both ways. There are two primary ways this takes place: either through the television setup itself, or through another device such as a computer. The route by which information is sent back to the content provider is called a back channel. The back channel can theoretically operate through the

cable or satellite connection originally providing the content or independently through a separate phone line or modem (cable or DSL). This technology is not firmly in place in the United States, but is growing in popularity in Europe. A current concept of interactive television in the United States also allows viewers to use computers simultaneously with television to interact with content. The Game Show Network (GSN), for example, allows users to visit GSN's website on a home computer in order to play along with the contestants in a selected number of shows.

One element of interactive television developing in the United States is Video on Demand (VOD), an arrangement allowing viewers to order content from their video provider at random times and have it begin playing instantly. The customer searches through a catalogue of shows and chooses content that is then downloaded to their set-top box. Current VOD applications usually sell movies and sporting events but any type of content could theoretically be archived and catalogued. A version of this technology, Near Video On Demand (NVOD), also allows customers to purchase content, although the programming runs in blocks (perhaps beginning every 15 minutes) instead of beginning instantly. This is closer to the concept of the pay-per-view channels that are currently widely offered.

More interactive television designs in Europe allow viewers to use television, rather than a second device, as a back channel. Much like enhanced television, viewers can select items on screen with their remote controls and interact with the content. For example, pressing a button during Wimbledon allows the viewer to choose which match he or she wishes to see. Selecting a match other than that on the main video feed gives the viewer the feed and commentary from a different court.

The ability to send as well as receive information also means that business can be conducted over television, a practice already known as television commerce (t-commerce). In Europe, viewers can order a pizza from Domino's over their television service—during a commercial, the viewer uses the remote control to both order and pay for the pizza to be delivered. This is made possible by accessing what is known as a Walled Garden—viewers are allowed to go online, but only to sites sponsoring the programming or able to make money from the programming. The prospect is that the same t-commerce concept could be successful in the United States, which has much more advertiser-supported programming than Europe. Product placement in television shows could allow viewers to order that product through their remote controls.

In some ways, all these versions of interactive television are fundamental alterations of conventionally understood "passive" uses of the medium. It is unlikely, however, that they will completely supplant other practices, such as typical viewing of information and entertainment. They do make clear, however, that the ways in which television has been experienced for more than half a century are not determined by its technological features, which far exceed the uses that have become most familiar to most viewers.

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*See also* **Satellite; Technology, Television**

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## International Telecommunication Union

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The instantaneous transmission of news and information across the globe was made possible in the 1830s by the invention of the telegraph, the invention that gave rise to the word "telecommunications." The electric telegraph machine was created through efforts of Samuel Morse, Sir Charles Wheatstone, and Sir William Cooke, and telegraphy began in England in 1837. Today, pagers, mobile phones, remote control toys, faxes, aircraft and maritime navigation systems, satel-

lite communications, e-mail, radio, television, wireless Internet, and many more daily communication tools function in the modern global communication network thanks in part to the work of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).

In the early days of cross-national communication, messages were encoded on a telegraph machine and sent to the bordering country for transcription, usually by a national post office, and then sent to their destina-

tion. Messages could not be sent directly from a source in one country to a receiver in another country because a common code was not used.

The need for technical standardization was first recognized by Prussia and Austria, and in October 1849 these two countries made the first attempt to link telegraph systems with a common code. One year later, an agreement between these two countries, Bavaria, and Saxony created the Austro-German Telegraph Union. The success of this first union gave rise to additional regional unions, leading to the creation of the International Telegraph Union in 1865. The advent of radio communications at the end of the 19th century led to the first International Radiotelegraph Conference, held in Berlin in 1906, at which the International Radiotelegraph Convention was agreed in order to establish regulations and technical standards for cross-border wireless communication. In 1934, the International Telegraph Union expanded its remit to take in the 1906 convention, changing its name to the International Telecommunication Union. Today, the ITU is the sole regulating institution with power to regulate the transfer of data throughout the world.

In 1947 the ITU became an agency in the United Nations. According to a 1982 ITU Convention report, the purposes of the ITU are as follows: (1) to maintain and foster rational use of telecommunications and to offer technical assistance; (2) to promote and improve efficient use of technical equipment and operations; and (3) to coordinate and promote a positive world environment for the achievement of the above goals.

As the speed of telecommunications inventions increases, so does the importance of the ITU. The evolution of telecommunications technology during the 20th century is so great that telecommunications affects almost every aspect of life, and the role of the ITU continues to extend into new areas of concern. The three major areas of jurisdiction for the ITU are: (1) distribution of radio and satellite services and assignments; (2) establishment of international telecommunications standards; and (3) regulation of international information exchange such as telephony, telegraphy, and computer data. The ITU also plays a vital role in telecommunications assistance for developing countries. The ITU is divided into three major sectors—Radiocommunication (ITU-R), Telecommunication Standardization (ITU-T), and Telecommunication Development (ITU-D)—aimed at facilitating global discussion of the wide range of radio and telecommunication issues.

Some 160 countries within the United Nations (UN) have representatives in the ITU. Each of these countries gets one vote on ITU decisions. The general meeting of the ITU is held once every few years and is

called the Plenipotentiary Conference. The chief objective of this conference is to review and revise the *ITU Convention*, which is the governing document of the union. The one-country, one-vote format often leads to voting blocks based on country alliances, and creates the political nature of the ITU.

The antagonisms between these voting blocks, in the light of the ever-increasing quantity of information being sent and received internationally, at times threaten the existence of the ITU. Many developing countries want to break the dominant flow of information from Northern industrialized countries to Southern developing countries. Broadly speaking, the North wants to continue the “free flow” of information while the South would like to be able to regulate the flow to enable them to maintain greater control of their own socio-cultural development.

A second factor that threatens the existence of the ITU is the fact that the speed at which technological changes now occur is greater than the ITU's international standards process can accommodate. Thus, several other standards organizations have developed, such as the T1 Committee of the Exchange Carriers Standards Association in the United States, the Telecommunications Technology Committee (TTC) in Japan, and the European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI). These regional standards organizations (RSOs) offer a more homogeneous membership than the ITU, which makes the standardization process quicker.

In response to the RSOs, the ITU has streamlined its standards process and restructured its voting rules so that decisions can be made by ballot between Plenipotentiary Conferences. In 1996, the ITU convened the first World Telecommunication Policy Forum (WTPF) in an effort to promote discussion and harmony regarding telecommunication regulatory policies. For example, one of the more recent ITU debates focused on satellite and orbital space allocation for ITU members. Globally accepted standards are necessary for cross-national telecommunication and safety. The telecommunication industry is at the core of many global health, education, and food manufacturing and distribution services such as tele-medicine and distance learning. The ITU will most likely continue to play an important regulatory role in global communications, economics, and politics.

JOHN TEDESCO

*See also Standards and Practices*

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## International Television Program Markets

(MIDEM, MIPCOM, MIP-TV, MIP-ASIA, DISCOP, Asia Television Forum,  
and HK Filmart)

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Television has always been traded, exchanged, bought, and sold. It would be fair to say, however, that for a good part of the history of this medium, commerce in television traveled along what Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis called, in 1974, "a one-way street" from the United States (and, to a lesser extent, Great Britain) to the rest of the world (see Nordenstreng and Varis). Now, however, this situation is changing. The pressures of globalization, the spread of post-Fordist models of production, and the emerging dynamism of many alternative centers of production make the idea of "world television" less fanciful. A more appropriate metaphor for depicting international television might now be Michael Tracey's notion of a "patchwork quilt" (see Tracey, 1988). This image implies interconnectedness in a world system. One cause of this newer pattern of world television is the very practical need for cofinancing arrangements when it is impossible to fund high-end product domestically. A second factor in the newer arrangements is the continuing dependency of most programming services on some degree of imported television.

Today, then, there is a world market for television. The main players in this market are producers, distributors, and broadcasters. The subsidiary players are government agencies, financiers, packagers, and sales agents. The stages on which the players appear are the markets held several times a year in the United States, Europe, and more recently, Asia. The most well-observed markets are MIP-TV (held in April in Cannes,

France), MIPCOM (held in October in Cannes), the American Film Market, or AFM (held in Santa Monica, California, in February), the Monte Carlo Television market, and the National Association of Television Programming Executives, NATPE (held in Los Vegas, Nevada, in January). Other markets of note are the Reed-Midem organized MILIA market for interactive television, held in Cannes in February; the Cannes Market (MIF); and the International Animated Film Market (MIFA), held in Annecy, France. However, the glut of such markets in Europe has led to a downturn in attendance in recent years. A recent addition to the international schedule, and one that is gaining momentum, is the DISCOP format market, first held in Lisbon in 2002. The nature of the DISCOP market is to generate sales of format ideas and establish relationships between format licensors, creators, producers, and investors. This is a significant development given that a number of major media organizations now see formats as integral to their internationalization strategies.

Some of the sales conventions are well established. The MIDEM organization, which runs the MIP events, started in the 1950s and is now owned by Reed International, the publishing company. The dominance of European and North American markets has in recent years been challenged by new events in the Asian region. MIP Asia was first held in December 1994 in Hong Kong. The market achieved mixed success in comparison with its European-based namesakes and was wound down af-

ter the 1999 MIP Asia, held in Singapore, being replaced by the Asia Television Forum, which is now held in early December and is organized by Reed Exhibitions and Television Asia. An Asian-based trade forum that has doubled its volume of sales since 1999 is the Hong Kong International Film and Television Market (HK Filmart). This market is organized by the Hong Kong Trade and Development Council, and is held in June. Also gathering momentum is the Shanghai International Film and TV Program Market, which follows the now-merged Shanghai TV and Shanghai Film festivals. It is also held in early June.

MIP-TV, the longest-running of the markets, attracted 1,205 exhibitors and 10,217 participants from 92 countries in 2002. MIPCOM (International Market for Television, Video, Cable and Satellite Films and Programs), which began life in the early 1980s as an "obscure sibling" to the long running MIP-TV in spring, is held in the northern fall, also in Cannes. It grew fast to become, by the late 1980s, the second-biggest event after MIP-TV, and it is now a huge meeting of the world's television buyers and sellers, with the established players dominant. The 2001 MIPCOM attracted 5,185 exhibitors and nearly 10,000 participants from dozens of countries. Xavier Roy, chief executive of the Reed-Midem organization, believes the event can accommodate expansion to 12–15,000 participants.

In these big markets, programming is often bought or rejected sight-unseen, in job lots, based on company reputation or distributor clout. Very broad, rough-and-ready genre expectations are in play. Decisions to purchase programs not central to the schedule are frequently made on such grounds, even though the choices seem arbitrary. Conversely, there is a tradition among some European public broadcasters of scrutinizing possible foreign acquisitions extremely closely. In this atmosphere, it is difficult for the new company, the off-beat product, or the unusual concept to be discovered. (For its first foray as a seller into MIPCOM in 1993, the U.S. documentary cable channel Discovery "tarted up" its profile by dressing its stall as a movie set. Actors were employed to create live action scenarios around a World War II theme to coincide with Dis-

covery's use of Normandy-landing documentaries as its flagship programs.)

These markets are the places where buyers can view the programs on sale from various producers, distributors, and sales agents. Just as crucially, markets are the places where the players can circle each other at screenings and parties in the attempt to set up or consolidate partnerships that can help to finance the next project. If there is one thing true about "world" television, it is that it works on a basis of personal contact. Experienced distributor Bruce Gordon, head of Paramount International, has described the international television market as a club. However, not all players in this club are equal. The most powerful are the U.S. networks; the representatives of the Hollywood studios; the major broadcasters, both commercial and public service, from the richest regions elsewhere (Japan and Europe); the emerging new pay services like Star TV, British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), and Canal Plus; and perhaps some of the biggest television distributors, such as Germany's Kirsch Group, whose large holdings of library material gave it considerable economic clout until the company was declared insolvent in 2002. Given the multiplication of television distribution channels throughout the world, it is likely that the international markets will continue to grow in importance. New participants will need to find ways to place themselves within the structures of power and exchange already controlled by these more established institutions and individuals.

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*See also* **Format Sales, International**

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## Ireland

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The island of Ireland is made up of two nation-states. Northern Ireland consists of six counties of the province of Ulster and is part of the United Kingdom.

The terrestrial television service provided in its broadcast area is that of the BBC, Channel 4, Channel 5 and ITV. BBC Northern Ireland transmits many BBC pro-

grams originating in Britain, produces a significant number of its own programs, broadcasting its own versions of BBC 1 and BBC 2 as well as the Corporation's new digital TV channels BBC 3, BBC 4, and two channels of children's programs. Meanwhile, Ulster Television is the regional member of the ITV network. It acts both as a broadcaster of the ITV service and produces programs for inclusion in the local schedule.

To the south, Ireland is an independent republic and consists of the remaining 26 counties of the country. Hence, "Irish television" usually refers to the set-up that is viewed in the republic, although, as will become clear, the spillover service (now including BBC1, BBC2, UTV, Channel 4, Sky News, Sky Sports, Eurosport, the Movie Channel, Sky One, UK Gold, Cartoon Network and Discovery) has a strong determining role in that system.

Through the 19th and 20th centuries, the Irish state (whether operating from London or Dublin) has been characterized by a high degree of authoritarian control, both coercive and ideological. In 1926, shortly after the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922, the state itself assumed control of all broadcasting in the 26 counties. This was motivated by a desire to head off any attempt by the British Marconi Company to establish itself in the region. Ironically, to help in the ideological task of establishing a nationalist identity, the government decided to implement a British-style system of broadcasting monopoly. Until 1960, the state, through the agency of the Department of Posts and Telegraph (Radio Eireann) provided a broadcast service through a single radio network. Then as now, this public service was financed by a combination of license fee and advertising. Highly conservative in programming, Radio Eireann was only tolerated by most of its listeners. In fact, the service did not have an audience monopoly. Households on the east coast and near the northern border could also receive the BBC and Radio Luxembourg.

It was this proximity to British broadcasting in the 1950s that forced the Irish government's hand so far as the inauguration of television was concerned. BBC Northern Ireland had begun TV transmission in 1953 and had been joined by UTV in 1959. Hence, the Irish Broadcasting Act of 1960 legislated the establishment of a television service, which began the following year. Again, following the public-service monopoly model, the facility, consisting of a single national channel, was put under the control of Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE). A revamped version of the radio provider, RTE was an independent public authority. This was a significant move toward liberalization, in line with the government's own moves to "modernize" Ireland to make it attractive to transnational capital investment.

However, this has not lessened attempts by the state to keep a tight control on the nature of political debate

on Irish television. In general, this has led to poor relations between RTE and most Irish politicians. For example, in 1969, following political unrest in Northern Ireland, the Irish government imposed direct censorship over RTE news and current affairs. When, in 1972, RTE interviewed a spokesperson for the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), a paramilitary group defending Catholics in Northern Ireland, the government dismissed the RTE board and appointed its own members.

Meanwhile, aware of the necessity of a second RTE channel but hoping to save revenue, in 1978 the government considered allowing the BBC to broadcast across the nation. Instead, it bowed to public opinion and allowed RTE to begin a second television network. The broadcaster, however, was not allowed to increase license fees or advertising rates, so that its overall finances, and therefore its capacity to produce local programs, was significantly weakened.

Technological and ideological pressures have also been persistent, such that RTE's monopoly has now ended. Since 1970, the authority had operated its own cable network, RTE Relay, which was renamed Cablelink in 1986. Cablelink was at one point the largest cable operator in Europe and provided about two-thirds of television households in the Irish Republic with all the terrestrial channels broadcast in Britain, later complemented by the European services Superchannel and Sky. By the early 1990s, Cablelink was beginning to carry advertising, thereby diminishing RTE's potential revenue. In addition, there was also the possibility that Cablelink might be sold to a private operator, thereby providing direct competition to RTE's broadcast service. This came to pass when Cablelink was sold to NTL in 2000. New channels (such as National Geographic) continue to be added to NTL's roster, and old ones (such as Superchannel) are discontinued, with the overall number of channels available continuing an upward trend.

Generally, the government was also interested in weakening RTE's power. It saw further opportunity to do so with moves throughout Europe to open up broadcast television to other interests. The 1988 Broadcast and Wireless Telegraphy Act formally broke the television broadcast monopoly. A new broadcast body, the Independent Radio and Television Commission, was established to oversee the introduction of privately owned radio and television stations. Several commercial radio stations have since gone on the air. At the same time, a private commercial television station, TV3, was announced in 1990, although it did not go on the air until 1998. The delay was partially caused by the need for strong financial backing, which was finally secured by entering a partnership with CanWest Global Communications, a Canadian-based interna-

tional broadcaster. Meanwhile, in 1996, an Irish language broadcaster, *Telefís ne Gaeilge* (TG4), was established under the statutory umbrella of RTE, although under the 2001 Broadcasting Act it is moving toward full statutory authority. Dedicated to the maintenance and development of the Irish language, programming is mostly in Gaelic. However, despite these legislative developments, RTE continues to have to supply TG4 with 365 hours of programming annually, at no cost to the newcomer.

Increased commercial competition, involvement in three public service networks, and the low revenue generated through the license fee has affected RTE's capacity to produce local content. In 1965, Irish programs constituted approximately 60 percent of material transmitted. This figure had fallen to around 36 percent by 1990 and is still falling. In a schedule dominated by imported programs, RTE's own programs, particularly those with mass appeal, are especially important as "flagship" programs in the schedule. In the past, these have included *Glenroe*, *Fair City*, and *Pat Kenny's The Late Show*, among others. *Glenroe* and *Fair City* are popular soap operas in a "public-service" tradition, while *Pat Kenny's The Late Show* is a talk

show with a strong sense of community, and marked by a refusal to shy away from controversial issues.

However, given the external spillover and the internal commercial rivalry, RTE exists in an environment where it is no match for its opposition. To attempt to maintain its general ratings both for its imported programs and its local programs, RTE is forced to engage in a scheduling strategy of parallel programming with British television, especially the channel ITV. It buys some of the latter's most popular programs, such as *Coronation Street*, which it then schedules against the same program on ITV. Like other public broadcasters, RTE finds itself in an increasingly grim situation. The Irish state has charged RTE with the task of fostering an Irish cultural identity yet has, over the past 30 years, become ever more prone to withhold the resources that would enable RTE to carry out this mission more effectively. Cross-national transmission has always posed a fundamental threat to the service and recent developments in technology, ideology, and financial arrangements have made that task even more difficult.

ALBERT MORAN

*See also* Scotland; Wales

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## Isaacs, Jeremy (1932– )

British Producer and Executive

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Jeremy Isaacs had one of the most distinguished careers in the history of British television, from producer to channel controller, yet the top job which many anticipated he would earn—the Director-Generalship of the BBC—ultimately eluded him.

From a humble background in Glasgow's Jewish community, he attended Merton College, Oxford, where he became President of the Oxford Union. Specializing in factual programming, his first television work was with Manchester-based Granada Television from 1958 to 1963, where he produced the long-running stalwarts *What the Papers Say* and *All Our Yesterdays*, the latter beginning the association with archive-based history programs which was to become such an important feature of his career.

In 1963 he moved to the London ITV franchise holder, Associated-Rediffusion, where he was a producer and editor on the flagship ITV current affairs pro-

gram *This Week* for three years, covering major foreign and domestic issues of the time, from Vietnam and the assassination of President Kennedy to the reform of homosexuality and divorce legislation, and Beatlemania.

In 1965, he moved to the BBC as editor of the Corporation's current affairs flagship, *Panorama*, a position he held for the next two years, before returning to Associated-Rediffusion in 1967 as Controller of Features. In 1968, the company was succeeded by Thames Television as the ITV London weekday franchise holder, and Isaacs continued in the same role for the new company until 1974. Isaacs made Thames's factual output among the most admired in the British television landscape. He also continued to make programs himself, as producer and executive producer, and it was a project which became something of a personal crusade that was to become the undoubted highlight of his program-making career.



As series producer of *The World At War*, Isaacs oversaw an immensely talented group of writers, historians, and producers. The finished product, an extremely ambitious, 26-part history of World War II, set the standards that still apply today for the combined use of archive film and eye-witness testimony to tell the story of the past. Endlessly repeated down the years since its first appearance in 1973, *The World At War* remains a television classic. In a poll of TV industry professionals conducted by the British Film Institute in 2000, it was voted by a long margin the best factual program in British television history. It also remains a testament to the commitment to quality broadcasting that Isaacs instilled in the commercial company Thames Television.

Isaacs strengthened Thames's reputation as its Director of Programs from 1974 to 1978. One production in particular serves to illustrate his achievement: the drama *The Naked Civil Servant* (1975), directed by Jack Gold and starring John Hurt as Quentin Crisp, which not only stands as a milestone of British TV drama, but also helped to influence changing public attitudes to homosexuality.

In 1979, Isaacs was invited to give the prestigious James McTaggart Memorial Lecture, which opens the annual Edinburgh International Television Festival. The biggest debate in the television industry at the time surrounded the new Conservative government's plans for Britain's fourth television channel. Isaacs used the platform he was given to set out his own ideas about how the channel should be created and run. Channel 4 was eventually set up largely along the outlines he promoted: it which would be funded by the ITV companies, who would sell its advertising space and cross-promote it, an ingenious formula which allowed it to be given a strong public-service remit with a particular duty to be innovative and cater for minorities otherwise underserved by television. It was also to act as a publisher, rather than maker of programs, commissioning its output from independent companies. Isaacs was duly given the job of Channel 4's first Chief Executive, with the channel set to start transmission in 1982. In the meantime, he acted as consultant on another large, archive-based series, *Hollywood*, transmitted by Thames in 1980, and as series producer of *Ireland: A Television History*, made for the BBC in the same year. He then embarked on the adventure of creating a completely new television channel.

Channel 4 began broadcasting in November 1982 and immediately ran into a variety of troubles. It also changed the face of British television. The independent productions often had a raw edge not previously seen on the mainstream channels, the professional conventions of which were overdue for reconsideration. Programs for minorities included not only women and

ethnic groups, but trade unionists. Youth programming such as *Whatever You Want* and *The Tube* caused a stir for its sometimes unrestrained energy.

The controversies centered usually on matters of taste and language—with the channel's soap opera *Brookside* to the fore—or on the perceived ratings crisis. Isaacs knew what he was doing, however, and the channel certainly bore witness to his commitment to innovation and quality. The first night's programming included the filmed drama *Walter*, starring Ian McKellen as a mentally retarded man, which kicked off Channel 4's film-making strand *Film on Four*, later to be credited with reviving the British film industry, giving work to major talents like Mike Leigh and Peter Greenaway. Another early and emblematic triumph was the television version of the Royal Shakespeare Company's *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*. Probably the greatest success was the hour-long *Channel 4 News*, which combined a serious approach to news and in-depth analysis in a way that revolutionized the coverage of news on British television.

Channel 4 became a vital part of the British television landscape. The then comparatively staid BBC 2 (seen as its natural competitor, as BBC 1 was for ITV) was forced to respond, and the result was a rise in the quality of output unprecedented in British television history. Many see the 1980s as an era of great energy and renewal in British television, which can be attributed, for the most part, to Isaacs. When he handed the task of running the channel over to the populist Michael Grade in 1987, it was with a strong warning not to allow the quality of output to suffer in the search for ratings.

By then Isaacs had tried, and failed, to get the job he most coveted and which most industry professionals wanted him to have: Director-General of the BBC. British television was entering an era in which profits (or in the BBC's case, ratings), rather than quality, would be the prime moving force, and Isaacs was the first casualty of that sea change.

Isaacs turned away from television and took a job that reflected another of his passions, becoming General Director of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, from 1988 to 1997. Controversies followed him there also, no more so than when in 1996 he invited a television documentary crew to make a series on the opera house for the BBC, which produced a highly unflattering portrait of an institution in crisis.

He never completely severed his television links. From 1989 to 1998 he acted as the unseen interviewer in a revival of the classic *Face to Face* interview series, talking to the likes of Sir Peter Hall, Maya Angelou, Salman Rushdie, Norman Mailer, Stephen Sondheim, and Anthony Hopkins. Then, at the end of

the 1990s, he returned once more to the large-scale archive history format as executive producer on the 24-part *The Cold War* for Turner Enterprises. Consciously modeled on *The World at War* (it was narrated by the classical actor Kenneth Branagh, for instance, as the earlier series had been narrated by Laurence Olivier), it included testimony from most of the major political figures of the second half of the twentieth century, and was first shown in 1999.

STEVE BRYANT

See also *World at War, The*

**Jeremy Israel Isaacs.** Born in Glasgow, Scotland, September 28, 1932. Married: 1) Tamara Weinreich

(died 1986); one son, one daughter. 2) Gillian Widcombe, 1988. Educated at Glasgow Academy and Merton College, Oxford. Producer, Granada Television, 1958–63. Producer and Editor, *This Week*, Associated-Rediffusion, 1963–65. Editor, *Panorama*, BBC, 1965–67. Controller of Features for Associated-Rediffusion, 1967–68, and for Thames Television, 1968–74. Director of Programmes, Thames Television, 1974–78. Chief Executive, Channel 4, 1981–87. Knighted 1996.

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## Israel

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Television did not arrive in Israel until 1968. Establishment opposition to television during the two preceding decades since the founding of the state had been strong enough to thwart earlier pro-television initiatives. It was feared that reading would decline; that newly developed Israeli culture and the Hebrew language, still in need of nurturing, would be overwhelmed by imported, mostly U.S. programs; that national integration would be weakened by entertainment; and that politics would become less ideological—that is, less oriented to issues, and more to charismatic personalities (Katz), should television become widely available.

All these considerations were overcome when, following the 1967 Six Day War, Israel found itself in charge of two million Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. The establishment of television was originally conceived by the government as a bridge to the Arab population in the occupied territories, which had previously been exposed only to broadcasts from Arab nations.

Until the introduction of television, radio was the central medium of national integration, serving as a Hebrew teacher to the masses of new immigrants, and providing a focus for the development of a shared Israeli culture, and for the celebration of holidays. Radio also played a crucial role in surveillance of the Arab-Israeli conflict. *Kol Yisrael* ("Voice of Israel") started transmitting illegally during the last years of British Mandatory Rule as a means of mobilizing for the na-

tional struggle. In 1965, however, Israel Radio became a public authority, modeled on the BBC, administered by a largely independent board, and financed by a user's license fee.

A decision to incorporate television into the existing authority for Public Broadcasting had a significant impact on its development. Television staff were recruited from radio, and moved into television with their already tenured positions. This caused a lack of mobility, and made it almost impossible to recruit new talent. Moreover, cultural conflicts added to these industrial problems. Israel Television's first challenge in this arena, brought by the National Religious Party over the violations of the Sabbath, was in the very fact of broadcasting on Friday nights and Saturdays. The controversy was overcome (in favor of broadcasting) in an appeal to the Supreme Court.

For the next 25 years Israel had only one television channel. During the day, it showed educational programs and public broadcasting initiatives, starting transmissions in the late afternoon, and ending with the national anthem at midnight. As with the radio service, television in Israel was modeled on the BBC, but number of significant deviations from the British model made it more politicized, and more dependent on Parliamentary control. In the U.K., the Queen, on the advice of the government, appoints the Board of Governors, who appoint the director general. In Israel, the government appoints the director general directly, on the recommendation of the Board of Governors.

Moreover, the Board of Governors in Israel consists of representatives of the various parties, and does not follow the British precedent according to which its members should represent "the great and the good." In Israel, the Ministry of Finance retains indirect control of the license fee (as it is in charge of approving Public Broadcasting's annual budget), decides on the amount of the license-fee increase (to keep up with inflation), and finances the budgetary deficits. Television's income also suffers from the tendency of Israelis (the number varies in different periods) to escape paying the license fee. Revenues from corporate-based "sponsorship" slowly crept into the system, but then decreased to almost nothing with the establishment of a second commercial channel.

The second television channel started its official existence only in 1991. Again following the British example, it was also public, but financed by advertising rather than by a license fee. Broadcasting on the second channel is divided among three companies, each of which broadcasts two days a week in rotation, and a news company, financed jointly by the three other companies.

Channel 2 functioned as a purely commercial channel, signaling the beginning of a new media era characterized by an explosion in the number of cable and satellite channels. Increased sales of video cassette recorders, the establishment of video rental libraries, the installment of roof satellite dishes to receive broadcasts from Europe and the U.S., and the infiltration of pirate cable channels, all offered easy alternatives to national television for segmented audiences. It also sped up the legislation of cable television, first established in 1990. By 2001, 90 percent of Israeli households were connected to cable television. Segmentation was further increased with the introduction of satellite television in 2000. The new technology facilitated interactive forms of consumable television (such as video games and "movies on demand"). A third nationwide commercial channel, Channel 10, was established in 2002, and presented as an alternative to the more mainstream offerings on the other channels (Channel 10 was modeled on the British Channel 4). However, it turned out to be little more than a pale copy of the commercial Channel 2, and has fared poorly in the ratings race.

By 2002, more than 90 percent of Israeli households were connected to multi-channel (cable or satellite) television services, offering altogether more than 50 channels. This positions Israel (with a population of 6 million) as second only to the U.S. (with its nearly 300 million) in the number of channels available to the majority of the population (Adoni and Nossek).

The numerous television and radio channels address various target audiences, dividing Israelis ac-

ording to age, gender, culture/ethnicity, and nationality, and according to self-selective community categories. Thus, public broadcasting is viewed by older Israelis, the *telenovela* channel is viewed mostly by women, Russians view Russian-speaking channels, and so on. Channels for children, family, sports, films, science, and shopping are assembled by the local companies, who also provide Hebrew subtitles, announcements, promos, and originally produced programs. Local productions consist of sports, children's programs, documentaries, reality programs, soap operas, and drama series, and time is allocated for public access programs.

Channel 2, originally defined as public, has gradually distanced itself from this categorization and behaves like a commercial channel. In order to increase advertising profits, it started a ratings war with Channel 1 in which the latter, by its adherence to its aims as a public service, by inferior financing, and by increasing political control, was bound to be the loser.

By 2002, according to the data gathered by the Israel Audience Research Board, the multiplicity of channels resulted in the three nationwide channels together having only a 29 percent share of viewers: 17 percent went to Channel 2, 10 percent to Channel 1, and 2 percent to Channel 10. (The Russian-speaking Israel Plus channel, going on air in 2001, managed better than Channel 10, with a 2.2 percent share.)

A major consequence of the increased number of channels is the marginalization of television news. Until the establishment of the second channel, an evening news program was broadcast at 9:00 P.M., serving as the sole focus for prime-time viewing and providing a common agenda for public debate. Over 60 percent of Israelis watched regularly, and in consequence, the medium of television was regarded as supplying more information than entertainment (Katz, Haas, and Gurevitch). One side-effect of the focus on news production was that locally produced entertainment shows remained underfunded, and local drama was virtually nonexistent. This made the news even more central.

During the first 25 years of Israel Television, drama series consisted mainly of American, but also British, imports. Usually, only one such series was aired on prime time. *Kojak*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Dallas*, and *Dynasty*, and the British dramatic serial *Upstairs, Downstairs*, were popular. *Dallas* exceeded all others in popularity (Liebes and Katz). British comedies (*Yes, Minister*; *Are You Being Served?*) and detective series (*Inspector Morse*) were popular, but imports of more highbrow series were stopped, following the failure in Israel of the prestigious *Brideshead Revisited*, based on the Evelyn Waugh novel. Programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *The Cosby Show*, and *Northern Exposure*,

representing a plurality of American television genres, were successfully shown. *Cheers* is the only program in the public channel's history which was rejected by the Israeli audience to the extent that it was taken off the screen.

American programs have gained more popularity than their British counterparts, as the abundance of American shows has increasingly socialized viewers to American conventions and styles of production. With the impoverishment of the public channel, new U.S. series (and new films) are now bought by the second channel and cable networks. Israel Television produced high-quality current-affairs programs (*Mabat Sheni*) often based on investigative reporting, and a few sitcoms (such as *Krovim krovim*), which were popular. Highlights in the history of Israel Television include the documentary series on the history of Zionist settlement in Israel, *Amud Haesh*; an inventive series of political satire, *Nikuy Rosh*, which drew heavy attack from the political establishment and launched the careers of a number of Israeli comedy stars; and made-for-television films, which touched on central controversies in Israeli society, notably by prize-winning television director Ram Levi (whose film *Hirbat Hiza*, showing Israeli soldiers evacuating an Arab village during the 1948 war, was broadcast only years after its production).

Beyond creating an integrative focus for daily life, Israel Television also took an active part in the shaping of holidays, creating secular alternatives to traditional rituals (for example, by showing a classic movie); complementing the traditional content (such as by dramatizing the Passover Seder); taking the viewers to the event (the public reading of the book of Esther on Purim, or the Holocaust observance ceremony); or by creating the event itself (such as the annual Bible Quiz, invented for the Day of Independence).

The ten most popular prime-time series broadcasting on the three nationwide channels in 2003 were all Israeli-made productions in a variety of genres: telenovelas, reality television, investigative reporting, soft-satire, and public folk-singing. The winner in a Channel 2 competition for the most popular program of the decade was *A Star is Born*, a series in which amateur singers competed for fame and recognition. Political or quasi-political talk shows, the most popular genre of the 1990s, had almost disappeared.

Throughout Israel's history, in moments of crisis, broadcasting has taken over the function of surveillance and social integration. Radio is still listened to in cars and public buses (in total silence at moments of crisis). It is used by the army (now as an adjunct to television) for fast mobilization of its reserve forces, and stands in for the outdated alarm system, announc-

ing when it is time to go to the air-raid shelters (the "sealed rooms" of the Gulf War).

While television took over as the ceremonial medium of integration, radio adapted itself by switching to open-ended programming, always interruptible by the latest news of any conflict, perhaps relaying regards from soldiers away from home to their families, perhaps instructing the people in Northern Kiriath Shmona to spend the night in shelters, perhaps summoning soldiers to their reserve units by reading out the appropriate code phrases for rehearsing an emergency mobilization, or for enacting a real one.

In critical moments, however, television also interrupts its schedule, switching to "open" live broadcasting, and becomes the focus for sharing national trauma, and for reflecting on its meaning. Thus, during the week following the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995, Israelis could not disconnect themselves from the television set. Television acted as a locus for sharing grief, pointed out the various "sacred" arenas for people who wanted to go out and mourn in public, and provided a forum for debating the ideological rift in which the assassination was rooted.

Television has also been a central factor in historic events which became landmarks in the collective memory of Israelis. The live broadcasting of Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977 is the best example for illustrating the crucial part played by television in influencing public opinion (Liebes, 1997). The various stages of development toward achieving a lasting peace with Jordan and the Palestinians, from 1993 to 1995, were celebrated by media events which endowed them with (various degrees of) public legitimacy, reuniting the segmented television audience. By 2003, the dominant genre of live television was the "Disaster Marathon," in which the television schedule was interrupted following the latest terrorist attack (Liebes, 2002). Whereas at the time of the Oslo process these were the moments in which political debates flourished, and opposition voices were given the stage, in the early 21st century there was only the mourning with the victims, and the momentary creation of a personalized, apolitical, national unity.

TAMAR LIEBES

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## Italy

In the bars of Italy in the 1950s, television became popular when crowds of people, women as well as men, left their homes to meet after supper and watch the first huge success of Italian public television. The attraction was *Lascia o raddoppia* (*Double Your Money*), a quiz-show format imported from the United States by a young showman, Mike Bongiorno (who continued to host shows through the 1990s).

In August 1996, the board of administrations of RAI, the public radio and television company, made decisions concerning the directors and vice directors of all the news and programs departments in RAI—the third such change of executives in four years. For three days, all Italian newspapers dedicated their leading articles to the subject, and continued with two or three inside pages filled with comments, backgrounds, and feature stories. As on previous occasions, the nominations of RAI department directors were an important conversation topic. This level of attention in the press, and the concern for public opinion by RAI, would be seen as quite unusual in most countries; even in Italy, there is no similar interest with regard to other kinds of companies. Television is not only a conversation topic in terms of the content and programs it presents to audiences, but for itself.

### Beginnings and Developments

The official history of Italian television began on January 3, 1954, at which time Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI) was the only television network, transmitting news and prime-time programs. RAI had begun as a state-owned radio broadcasting entity in 1924, when it was called *Unione Radiofonica Italiana* (URI), and was heavily controlled by the national government, at that point a fascist regime. For years, and despite transformations in government, the same company remained a monopoly, simply changing its name—in

1924 URI, in 1927 *Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche* (EIAR), and in 1944 RAI (which originally stood for *Radio Audizioni Italia*; when TV broadcasts began ten years later its name changed, but retained the same acronym). From 1954 to 1976, the history of Italian television is the history of RAI, for the monopoly was extended to television, with the same concentration established during the radio era.

In 1954, the postwar reconstruction period ended and a new phase of industrialization began, with huge transformation of the country. Until the end of the 1960s millions of Italians relocated inside the country, from south to north, from small villages to large cities, from agriculture to industry. This was a period of great transformation. Television, contrary to the expectations of intellectuals and politicians, was an immediate success. At first, for most people, television viewing was public viewing: in the bars, the cinemas, the houses of the richest families. When a second channel began broadcasting on November 4, 1961, television reached a nationwide audience and family viewing at home began to be more common. In a country still characterized by a high level of illiteracy, television became the most widespread media, in contrast to the traditional low circulation of the daily press (among the lowest in the world) and the irregularity of school attendance (especially in the south).

The unexpected success of television, coincident with the unexpected great transformation of the country and the rapid growth of national income, explains why the medium became an important political issue. While private entrepreneurial groups tried to create alternatives to the state monopoly of radio and television, the *Corte Costituzionale* (the high court that oversees the Constitution), ruled on July 13, 1960, that the television monopoly was legal. Just a few years after the beginning of regular programming, then, "television" and RAI (as the only broadcaster and

producer), became the makers of two different kinds of histories. One was the history of a new medium, which concerned technological evolution, the quantity and quality of programs produced and broadcast, and the audience reactions. The other was the history of the power struggles among political parties and businesses for the control both of legislation and the resources related to RAI—from the control of news and electoral campaigns, to the control of advertising, to the production of fiction, variety shows, and other forms of popular culture.

### The Struggles for Television Power

Italian television has not only been a public-service institution, in the European tradition. It has also historically been a central means of power controlled by the Christian Democratic Party (until its dissolution in 1994) and the Catholic Church. It does not work as a self-supporting industry. Rather, it receives financial resources from both advertising and from fees paid by subscribers. Advertising is sold to firms at low prices and in a very discriminating way, depending on the political power of the organizations and institutions involved. Automobile advertising, for example, was forbidden because FIAT, the Italian automobile company, did not want other cars to be seen on the screen.

During the 1970s this situation began to change. On April 14, 1975, governmental reforms gave RAI a new regulatory structure. The main powers (nomination of the board of administration, and control over policies) were transferred from the government to parliament. Even more significantly, on July 28, 1976, the Corte Costituzionale issued a new ruling that allowed the transmission of radio and television programs at local level. With that decision the era of competition had begun and the media system entered a period of change that continued through the 1990s.

RAI no longer holds monopolies for radio or television: half of its radio audience has gone. Even within RAI itself, the organization is no longer monolithic. Radio and television channels have their own news departments, budgets, and political and cultural outlook. They compete among themselves and with private broadcasters for audience. Influence, power, resources, and audiences are broadly divided across three segments: the major portion goes to the Catholic sector, the second to the Socialists, the third part to the Communists. Meanwhile, in the private sector the greatest competition has come from the media empire created by Silvio Berlusconi.

Under the new legal structure permitting local broadcasting, Berlusconi was able to build a network

of three channels: Canale 5, Italia 1, and Rete 4. These local and regional broadcasting systems were unified by a common management and strategy within Mediaset, which in turn was controlled by Fininvest, the holding company created to oversee Berlusconi's media operations. They were financially supported by Publitalia, a firm specializing in the collection of advertising revenues. The extraordinary and very rapid success of private television in Italy was due mainly to one factor: a large number of new companies which had flourished in the roaring 1960s and 1970s had no way to reach Italian markets with their advertising, because of the restrictions described above. Yet after years of hard work, and of social and political unrest, consumers were ready to accept new styles of living and to enter the era of mass consumption. Berlusconi and his management understood this need and provided an answer—a private television system which for the first time in the European scene offered a scheduling and programming policy shaped by marketing philosophy.

The three channels were intended to be strong competitors with the public channels. Canale 5 was created as a general channel for mass audience, while Italia 1 was aimed at a younger audience, and Rete 4 at women. Successful programs included American films and American series and serials (such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty*), game shows, Latin American *telenovelas*, new formats of Italian variety shows, and Japanese cartoons for children. By the end of the 1980s, the competition between the private and public networks was at its height and the audience more or less divided in two equal parts. The financial resources coming from advertising grew seven-fold in about 12 years, and, although the greatest part went to the private network, the overall media system—RAI and daily press included—increased their revenues as well. While at the end of the 1970s advertising expenditure as a percentage of gross national product was the lowest among industrial countries, at the end of 1980s it reached 6 percent.

On August 6, 1990, after years of discussion and struggle among the main political parties, a new law was passed by parliament recognizing that a new television system had emerged from the rough competition between RAI and Fininvest. With the new law, private television systems, at both national and local levels, are obliged to transmit a news program in order to maintain their license. In the 1990s, then, competition began in the news arena. Twelve national channels were recognized by the 1990 law. But the six channels owned by the two main networks, RAI and Fininvest, shared 90 percent of the audience.

## Television as a New Enemy

In the 1990s television became, even more than before, the centre of the Italian political scene. Silvio Berlusconi, the owner of Fininvest, made the decision to enter into the political arena, creating a new political movement called *Forza Italia* (*Forward Italy*). The coalition of leftist parties that had replaced the old Socialist and Communist parties, led by the Partita Democratica della Sinistra (PDS, Democratic Party of the Left), was furious. The two television networks were heavily engaged in the 1994 election campaign: RAI effectively on the side of the left coalition and Fininvest on the side of right coalition. To the surprise of most observers, the right coalition of Silvio Berlusconi won the elections of March 27, 1994 and Berlusconi became the head of the national government.

From the day of the Berlusconi victory, a war began. It was not only a war against Berlusconi but against television itself—the new enemy. Politicians, intellectuals, teachers, newspapers, began to organize public meetings and conventions against television. Some called to a national referendum against private television. Berlusconi became, for half of the country, the incarnation of evil, and was unable to resist the attacks—he resigned after only seven months. A temporary, technocratic government passed a law, which was not approved by parliament, dictating severe restrictions on the use of television in electoral campaigns (practically forbidding the use of television as a propaganda device). In the meantime, advertising revenues decreased rapidly and the entire media system entered a period of recession. Both RAI and Fininvest faced large debts and drastically reduced their investments in drama production, the most expensive segment of the television industry.

In spite of these views, a June 1995 national referendum on a number of questions to do with television—such as the quantity and placement of advertising, and whether one person should be allowed to own more than one private TV channel—ended in a low-turnout victory for Berlusconi, who had used his three channels to campaign vigorously for a “no-change” vote (such as by implying that favorite soap operas and *telenovelas* would no longer be available if the vote went against him), while the three RAI channels, by then headed by Berlusconi's own appointees from his 1994 stint as prime minister, remained neutral. The campaign against Berlusconi's domination of private television continued (and he was obliged to reduce his holding in Mediaset to below 50 percent), but began to resemble campaigns of the same kind occurring in other countries, focusing on the amount of violence and sex in programming, or on ways to protect children from television.

## Scheduling: Programs and Audiences

Italian television is created from an original and changing mixture of five different kinds of content: American drama, Italian drama, Italian soccer and other sports, Italian songs and shows, Italian news and politics. Each one is bound to strong patterns of Italian culture.

The style of presentation has two main approaches. One is melodramatic, in the 19th-century tradition of melodrama and opera. The other is light and ironic, in the tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* and of the *avanspettacolo*, a form of popular theater variety show featuring comedians and girls.

The relationship of Italian television to American drama has specific characteristics. Even prior to television, American mass culture has been the model for Italian entertainment, mainly through films. Throughout the 1950s most American movies were imported into Italy, dubbed in Italian, and shown throughout the country in more than 11,000 cinemas. The first audiences for television, then, looked at television as a different form of movie, and indeed, American films have, for years, been the prime-time family viewing on Mondays. American films, and subsequently, American series and serials have provided a considerable part of the offering of Italian television channels. Among European channels, Italian television has dedicated more air time to American drama programs and to foreign films dubbed in Italian than any other.

Another important element of Italian television has been the production of a form of original drama series that has no real counterpart abroad. This is the *tele-romanzo* (television romance) or *sceneggiato* (adaptation of novels). The stories are presented in six or eight episodes of two hours each, taken from the masterpieces of international literature. They are shot and played in a realistic setting in a mixed style between theater and film. One of their models is to be found in an Italian postwar invention, the *fotoromanzo* or novel with photographs—long-running series that sold weekly as magazines (and are still produced). Action is slow and all the stories are located in the past, mainly in the 19th century. Prime-time Sunday was for years dedicated to the family viewing of *teletromanzi*. Since the 1980s, however, this kind of drama production has no longer been produced in the same way. Since then, Italian drama has tried to adopt more standard formats, with stories now located in contemporary Italy. The most successful of these stories was *La Piovra* (The Octopus), a story about the Mafia. Begun in 1984 and still continuing, it is a kind of Italian-style serial comprising seven miniseries to date.

## New Developments

The trend that began in the 1990s has been toward tighter television regulation. Antitrust rules, limits on advertising, establishment of national authorities and regional control bodies, regulation of access to media during election campaigns (introduced immediately following the fall of the first Berlusconi government), and programming and production quotas within the framework of the European directive "Television Without Frontiers": all these and other steps have been approved by Italian legislators after the establishment of the RAI-Mediaset duopoly. Law 122, passed in the spring of 1998 by the PDS-led government that succeeded Berlusconi's first period in office, established for the first time a quota of net revenues to be re-invested in national and European TV drama and movie production. Some 20 percent of the license fee from state television, and 10 percent of television advertising revenue from private television, went to this purpose. The intention was to help bring about a renaissance in the television industry, setting aside a figure estimated at around 400 million per annum.

This policy of production fund quotas, related to the much-debated issue of the "defence of national identity" against the risks of Americanization, has had an immediately visible impact: the crisis that followed the massive import of foreign productions has been succeeded by a remarkable recovery, and the schedules of both private and public television have since been filled with domestic drama, much appreciated by the viewer for its cultural proximity.

However, American series maintain a cadre of faithful fans. Normally shown outside prime time, they are generally able to guarantee audiences in accordance with the average share of the channels on which they appear. Only a tiny slice of American imports now have access to prime time on the Italian channels, which are dominated by domestic drama, and these imported offerings are mostly TV movies or a small number of series suitable for a family audience or young adults. The remaining American programming is spread over the daytime schedule, or, in the case of harder or more edgy products, late at night.

Satellite television arrived in Italy—where the cable infrastructure has never been highly developed—in the second half of the 1990s. It heralded the advent of a multi-channel environment that is still expanding thanks to digital technology and, even more significantly, to international operators who were allowed to enter the national market. Telepiù and Stream, the two satellite platforms operating in Italy, have been largely controlled by foreign capital from the beginning. Some 90 percent of Telepiù was owned by Vivendi Universal

(Canal Plus), and Stream was owned jointly by Murdoch's News Corporation and the former Italian monopolist Telecom. In 2002 the two platforms merged into Sky, under Murdoch's total control. This development resulted from two factors. One was a consequence of the global alliance between Vivendi and News Corporation. The other was related to the fact that the Italian market proved too limited for two different satellite-based entities, both of which went through a critical period, as did other European pay-television systems.

In spite of the "pull" of soccer, the penetration of satellite pay-TV is quite slow. Interestingly enough, the "television of the future" seems to have prompted Italians to rediscover the social and collective mode of television viewing, which in the past accompanied the beginnings of terrestrial TV when only a minority of households had a television set. Bars, sports clubs, and groups of friends and neighbors now take out a single subscription, from which tens of them can benefit at a much lower individual cost.

If the arrival of the multi-channel environment has not (or not yet) affected television audiences' habits and preferences, it *has* had an immediate impact on the programming structure of terrestrial television, draining off quite large portions of premium content, particularly sport and cinema, which have consequently resulted in a downswing in the supply afforded to traditional television. On the RAI channels, for example, sports programs fell from 2,280 hours in 1998 to 1,426 in 2001, while in the same period showings of movies fell from 3,074 to 2,344 hours.

In recent years, RAI and Mediaset managed to obtain and maintain more or less equal positions in the Italian market, and their six channels (three each) hold a steady 90 percent. This balance is the result of two opposite trajectories: descending in the case of public and ascending in the case of private television, which year after year gains a small fraction of the market. From 1998 to 2003 the commercial networks share increased from 41 to 44 percent while that of the public networks decreased from 48 to 45 percent.

After 2000, these opposing trajectories accelerated. Mediaset got the advantage by exploiting the reality and game-show format (such as *Big Brother* and *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?*) and its gain was further galvanized by the victory of the political coalition led by Berlusconi in 2001. RAI went through one of its periodic phases of instability, due to changes in top management and the redistribution of posts according to the spoils system of the new centre-right majority. In spite of this, public television has maintained a slight superiority, even though this was more difficult to achieve than in the past.



This was not the case as far as advertising is concerned. In Italy, as everywhere else, advertising revenue from television began to fall after 2001 because of the downswing in the telecommunications sector. Actually, the public and private television channels felt this to quite a different degree. RAI's revenue decreased dramatically, whereas Mediaset actually obtained a slight increase: an opposing trend which, it has been surmised, is not unrelated to the political landscape.

Speculation mushroomed in other circumstances as well. The wait for a third pole able to rupture the crystallized balance of the RAI-Mediaset duopoly has accompanied Italian national broadcasting history for more than ten years, since the duopolistic system was established and received legal recognition. During 2000 it seemed that the conditions for achieving this had finally come about, thanks to the purchase by Seat/Telecom of the two Telemontecarlo networks owned by the Cecchi Gori Group. Telemontecarlo had never managed to obtain more than a skimpy 2 percent of the market, but the new owners announced plans for expansion of the main network, renamed La7, and had successfully started an acquisition campaign of stars, managers and journalists taken from RAI and Mediaset as well as a fairly substantial advertising round-up. This decision could also be viewed as a progressive development, the creation of a new network, no matter how small, in the wake of the multimedia convergence between telecommunications, television and Internet.

On this premise, it is not surprising that what happened afterwards was traced back, in some circles, to a craftily orchestrated plot to neutralize the challenge of La7 to the supremacy of the duopoly. The hard facts

It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show

are that in July 2001 the Pirelli and Benetton companies took over the controlling share of Olivetti from the Luxembourg financial enterprise Bell, in turn the major shareholder of Telecom. The new owners announced that they did not intend to risk a large investment in a television project that could not ensure results. The prospects of a third Italian television pole melted away into thin air. The cozy duopoly of the Italian television system is still alive and in good shape.

GIOVANNI BECHELLONI AND MILLY BUONANNO

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# It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show

U.S. Situation Comedies

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Garry Shandling put aside a successful career as a stand-up comedian to venture into irreverent forms of fictional television with film producers and talent managers Bernie Brillstein (*Ghostbusters*) and Brad Grey. The trio created comedies in 1986 and 1992: the

whimsical and warm *It's Garry Shandling's Show* and the darker *Larry Sanders Show*.

The first program began on the Showtime cable network in 1986. After a year, it reached critical success, and Shandling relinquished his role as one of Johnny

Carson's regular guest hosts on NBC's *The Tonight Show*, leaving Jay Leno as the primary alternate behind the desk. Shandling and Leno had replaced Joan Rivers as Carson's principal replacements in 1986 when Rivers began her own talk show—the initial program on the fledgling FOX Broadcasting Company network.

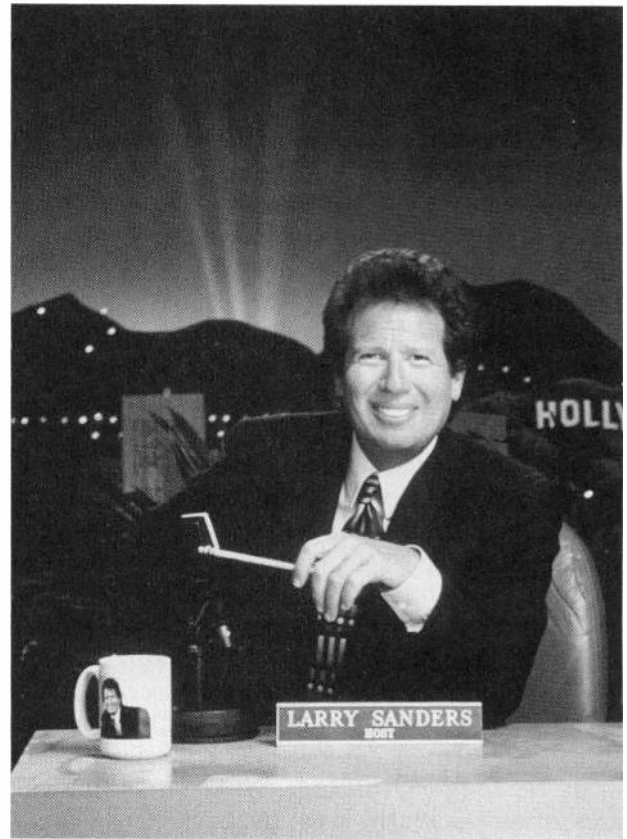
While still in first run on Showtime, *It's Garry Shandling's Show* was licensed by the new FOX Broadcasting Company as part of its second-season Sunday evening lineup. Although plagued by low ratings and hence unable to satisfy FOX's expectations, critics praised Shandling's tongue-in-cheek style. FOX reran the Showtime episodes and then contracted with "Our Production Company" for new installments until 1990.

The program, set in Shandling's condominium in Sherman Oaks, California, featured comic schtick. Shandling played a single man looking for the right woman. He spent his free time with his platonic friend Nancy (Molly Cheek), his best friend's family (Stanley Tucci and Bernadette Birkett), and his single mother. Much of the show mimicked Shandling's own life, including his actual home in Sherman Oaks and his romances (a girlfriend moved in with Shandling's "character" when his personal domestic life changed).

The program began with a monologue, introducing the show. Next came a silly theme song, performed by Randy Newman, including the lyrics "Garry called me up and asked if I could write it" and a whistling segment. The "dramatic action" in each episode was simple, built on such premises as Garry's bad dates, or his discovery of a nude photo of his mother from the 1960s. Each situation was resolved with warmth and whimsy, sometimes with the help of audience members.

Shandling's antics included "breaking the fourth wall"—acknowledgement and direct address of the audience, both in the studio and at home—as part of the show. In one episode, Garry told the audience to feel free to use his "apartment" (the set) while he was at a baseball game. Several people from the audience (perhaps extras) left their seats to read prop books and play billiards in front of the cameras as the program segued into its next scene.

*It's Garry Shandling's Show* often included guest stars. In the pilot, just after Garry's character moved into the condo, he was robbed. That night he dreamed of Vanna White (appearing on the show) giving away his good underwear and other personal belongings as prizes on *Wheel of Fortune*—for less value than he hoped. His most frequent visitor was his "next-door neighbor," rock musician Tom Petty. In one episode,



*The Larry Sanders Show*, Gary Shandling, 1992–98.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Petty, who usually appeared with disheveled long hair, wearing loose shirts and tight pants, became part of a neighborhood quartet. He made his entrance walking in line with three middle-aged singers, all four wearing ugly matching plaid wool vests.

Shandling sometimes used other sight jokes, but most often he exploited running verbal gags. These included the unseen ceiling mirror inscribed with the typed motto, "Things may be larger than they appear." Another continuing joke involved Larry's ongoing consideration of what to do during the 41 seconds when theme music interrupted the action.

Some episodes, however, were more serious. One of these featured Gilda Radner near the end of her unsuccessful battle with cancer. This show also presented a Vietnam antiwar theme, detailing how one friend's conduct caused a man to become a prisoner of war. Although the program ended jovially, the action included a darkly lit battle sequence in which uniformed soldiers shot at each other and put holes into Radner's living room set.

Although each episode of the show was scripted, Shandling was known to improvise his lines. If a scene

needed three takes, he often performed differently in each iteration, as though challenging himself to make each retake funnier than the prior one.

*The Larry Sanders Show*, which played its first-run episodes on HBO from 1992 until 1998, was the "Mr. Hyde" of Shandling's pair of comedies. The program, which mocked behind-the-scenes activities of post-prime-time talk shows, painted a more disturbing view of television as a status-bestowing medium. The technique included intertwining fictional characters with guest stars appearing as themselves. By 1995 the show had received Emmy nominations and Cable Ace Awards, but the audience was not large, both because the sophisticated content of the program was not universally attractive and because the program appeared on a premium cable channel with a limited viewership.

Shandling starred as Larry Sanders, a talk-show host competing with the larger networks' late-night programs. Although Larry is not the biggest fish in the chat pond, it is difficult to realize this from his interactions. He uses his power and position as a celebrity to control his office staff, show crew, and, at times, the general public as portrayed in this fictional world. Larry exposes his deep insecurities only to his executive producer, Artie (veteran character actor Rip Torn) and to his assistant, Beverly (Penny Johnson).

On screen, Larry is smooth and controlled, but behind the scenes, he is manipulative and disturbed, descending frequently into paranoia and tempter tantrums. His interactions with his office employees feature a peculiar style of communication. Each staff member or guest has a clear position in an invisible hierarchy. This situation is accepted because the strong office culture is dominated by constant job insecurity. People with greater clout are allowed to act abusively to those with less status. In one show, it seems clear that a staff member will be fired, but Larry cannot decide which person. Facing the tension mounting within the office, one writer breaks down with anxiety, creates several ugly scenes and—predictably—is chosen to lose his job.

Office relations are not the only storyline. Plots derived from typical talk show circumstances include contract renegotiations, strange sponsors needing odd on-air celebrity endorsements, marriages and relationships, problems with guests, and difficulty managing public images. During the program's run, Larry is married (to Megan Gallagher), divorced, and involved in a live-in arrangement with another ex-wife (Kathryn Harrold). These relationships exhibit little tenderness; instead, the unions are portrayed as fitting Larry's profession and lifestyle. If love blocks his career in any way, love ends.

Many of the show's elements focus on Larry's relationship with his sidekick, Hank Kingsley, played to perfection by Jeffrey Tambor. Hank is presented as an essentially talentless individual who has made an incredibly successful career by translating his position as hanger-on into hugely recognizable celebrity status. He makes additional money by endorsing cheap products; he gets dates because of his proximity to Larry; and he uses his status to bully other members of the show's staff. Larry tolerates Hank because he is, at once, confidante and pitch-man, as responsible for Larry's success as are Sanders's own skills.

In the final seasons of *The Larry Sanders Show*, questions about sexual preferences shaped absorbing storylines. "Everybody Loves Larry" hints that the *X-Files* star David Duchovny may be sexually attracted to Sanders. In the final episode, "Flip" (May 1988), this storyline plays out in a hotel room where Duchovny crosses and uncrosses his legs in homage to Sharon Stone's infamous scene in the film *Basic Instinct*. Duchovny declares that his feelings for Sanders are the same as his feelings for a woman, "It's definitely a heterosexual feeling, but it's directed at you." When Ellen DeGeneres announced she was gay, ABC used the incident to hype her sitcom, *Ellen*. *The Larry Sanders Show* parodied the fuss with "Ellen, or Isn't She?" In that episode, Sanders asks DeGeneres to come out on his program. The acting and writing in these episodes garnered accolades from television critics and earned an American Comedy Award for Duchovny.

While the program was in production, Shandling was twice involved in courtroom battles with persons linked to the show. In 1994, series regular Linda Doucett ended her seven-year personal relationship with Shandling and was subsequently fired from the program. In a lawsuit she charged him with sexual discrimination and harassment; the case eventually was resolved without litigation. When executive producer Brad Grey (who was also Shandling's manager) dropped Shandling as a client after 18 years, Shandling litigated, claiming conflict of interest for prior business arrangements. Grey countersued. Just before their scheduled court date, Grey and Shandling settled.

In addition to the subplot with Duchovny, the final episode of *The Larry Sanders Show* lampoons the legal activity in Shandling's own life, while ending several ongoing storylines on fictional Stage 11. The episode chronicles the end of Sanders's relationship with his talent agent, Stevie Grant—a smarmy, cocaine-snorting yuppie, and Shandling's ex-girlfriend Doucett appears briefly. A long list of Hollywood's top talents, including Carol Burnett, Jim Carrey, and Jerry Seinfeld, guest star, with country

## It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show

music star Clint Black singing a tribute reminiscent of Bette Midler's farewell on Johnny Carson's final episode of *The Tonight Show*.

Signing off the air as Sanders, Shandling gave a soliloquy about TV comedy. "Television is a risky business. You want to entertain. You want to try to do something new every night. You want to say something fresh. Nine times out of ten, you end up with *The Ropers* [a short-lived spin-off of the sitcom *Three's Company*]. Hopefully, occasionally, there are nights when we are not one of those nine."

The consistent quality of Shandling's two series translated into critical acclaim, and numerous awards and nominations. *It's Garry Shandling's Show* won Cable Ace honors for Best Comedy Program, Actor, and Writing. *The Larry Sanders Show's* Rip Torn received the 1996 Emmy for Best Supporting Actor in a Comedy. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences also recognized the series' final season with a writing award for Shandling and Peter Tolan, and honored Todd Holland for directing. In 1999 the program won the George Foster Peabody Award for outstanding achievement in broadcasting and cable.

Shandling used *It's Garry Shandling's Show* to push television to its whimsical extreme. With *The Larry Sanders Show*, he presented the funny side of television at its worst. In each case, he explored the medium intelligently and inventively, creating an arena to consider what television can be, rather than continuing the hackneyed stereotypes and norms.

JOAN STULLER-GIGLIONE

### It's Garry Shandling's Show

#### Cast

Garry Shandling	Garry Shandling
Mrs. Shandling	Barbara Cason
Nancy Bancroft	Molly Cheek
Pete Schumaker	Michael Tucci
Jackie Schumaker	Bernadette Birkett
Grant Schumaker	Scott Nemes
Leonard Smith	Paul Wilson
Ian (1989-90)	Ian Buchanan
Phoebe Bass (1989-90)	Jessica Harper

#### Programming History

72 30-minute episodes

#### Showtime

September 1986-May 1990

#### FOX

March 1988-July 1989

July 1989

July 1989-August 1989

August 1989-March 1990

Sunday 9:00-9:30

Sunday 9:30-10:00

Sunday 10:00-10:30

Sunday 10:30-11:00

### The Larry Sanders Show

#### Cast

Larry Sanders	Garry Shandling
Hank Kingsley	Jeffrey Tambor
Producer Arthur	Rip Torn
Paula (1992-97)	Janeane Garofalo
Darlene (1992-94)	Linda Doucett
Jeannie Sanders (1992-93)	Megan Gallagher
Francine Sanders (1993-94)	Kathryn Harrold
Beverly Barnes	Penny Johnson
Phil	Wallace Langham
Jerry Capen (1992-93)	Jeremy Piven
Brian (1995-98)	Scott Thompson
Mary Lou (1996-98)	Mary Lynn Raiskub

#### Producers

Garry Shandling, Brad Grey, Peter Tolan, John Ziffren, Paul Simms

#### Programming History

89 episodes

#### HBO

August 1992-May 1998

Irregular schedule

#### Further Reading

- Cohen, Noam, "Meta-musings: The Self-Reference Craze," *The New Republic* (September 5, 1988)
- Gelman, Morrie, "Crystal, Shandling, HBO Take Home Handful of Aces," *Variety* (January 21, 1991)
- Martel, Jay, "True Lies," *Rolling Stone* (September 8, 1994)
- O'Connor, John J., "The Larry Sanders Show," *New York Times* (July 19, 1995)
- Schleier, Curt, "The Open-and-Shut Life of Garry Shandling," *Emmy* (June 1995)
- Shandling, Garry, and David Rensen, *Confessions of a Late Night Talk Show Host: The Autobiography of Larry Sanders*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998
- Woolcott, James, "The Larry Sanders Show," *The New Yorker* (December 21, 1992)

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# I've Got a Secret

## U.S. Game Show

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Many radio and television game shows have their origin in parlor games, and it is no surprise to realize that *I've Got a Secret* was based on the game of "Secret, secret, who's got the secret." The format of the television program was simple but very durable. Sitting together on one side of a plain, unadorned set, each of four panelists took a 30-second turn questioning and then guessing a contestant's secret. The contestants were a mixture of ordinary people and celebrities, and the panelists were invariably celebrities. Each episode used four contestants and, in the American original, one contestant in each episode was a celebrity. Ordinary contestants received a small money prize if they stumped the panel. In the case of the celebrity contestant, the secret was very often related to some element of their fame. Thus, the first episode of *Secret* in 1952 featured the actor Boris Karloff's revelation was that he was afraid of mice.

The U.S. version of the program was among the longest-running and most popular game shows in the history of the genre. It began in June 1952 and ran on the CBS network until 1967. However, it was not quite an overnight success. The premiere episode used a courtroom as the set. Host Garry Moore was presented as a judge, the contestants as witnesses under cross-examination, and the panelists as the questioning lawyers. CBS canceled the program after its first season but almost immediately changed its mind, and the program resumed after its summer break. *Secret* became enormously popular and ran for 15 years on network television. By the late 1950s it was consistently in the top ten of U.S. television programs; it survived the quiz scandals of 1958–59; its popularity remained intact through the first part of the 1960s. The program was revived for syndication in 1972–73 and also played a short summer stint on CBS in 1976.

*I've Got a Secret* had three hosts in its time on U.S. television: Moore, Steve Allen, and Bill Cullen. Cullen, a long-time panelist, was made famous by the program, but many other panelists were already well known. Among them were Laraine Day, Orson Bean, Henry Morgan, Jayne Meadows, Faye Emerson, and Betsy Palmer. *Secret* featured several pro-

ducers, including Allan Sherman, who was to have his own career in the early 1960s as a comic singer-cum-satirist.

The program was originated and produced by the inimitable Mark Goodson and Bill Todman. Their partnership in developing successful game-show formats had begun in radio in 1946, and *I've Got a Secret* was one of their earliest programs in television.

ALBERT MORAN

### See also **Quiz and Game Shows**

#### Hosts

Garry Moore (1952–64)  
 Steve Allen (1964–67)  
 Bill Cullen (1976)

#### Panelists

Louise Allbritton (1952)  
 Laura Hobson (1952)  
 Walter Kiernan (1952)  
 Orson Bean (1952)  
 Melville Cooper (1952)  
 Bill Cullen (1952–67)  
 Kitty Carlisle (1952–53)  
 Henry Morgan (1952–76)  
 Laraine Day (1952)  
 Eddie Bracken (1952)  
 Faye Emerson (1952–58)  
 Jayne Meadows (1952–59)  
 Betsy Palmer (1957–67)  
 Bess Myerson (1958–67)  
 Pat Collins (1976)  
 Richard Dawson (1976)  
 Elaine Joyce (1976)

#### Producers

Mark Goodson, Bill Todman, Allan Sherman

#### Programming History

CBS  
 June 1952–June 1953      Thursday 10:30–11:00

## I've Got a Secret

July 1953–September 1961	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
September 1961–September 1962	Monday 10:30–11:00
September 1962–September 1966	Monday 8:00–8:30
September 1966–April 1967	Monday 10:30–11:00
June 1976–July 1976	Tuesday 8:00–8:30

## Further Reading

- Blumenthal, Norman, *The TV Game Shows*, New York: Pyramid, 1975
- Fabe, M., *TV Game Shows*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979
- Graham, J., *Come on Down!!!: The TV Game Show Book*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1988
- Schwartz, D., S. Ryan, and F. Wostbrock, *The Encyclopedia of Television Game Shows*, New York: Zoetrope, 1987

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## Jackson, Gordon (1923–1990)

Scottish Actor

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Gordon Jackson was one of the stalwarts of British television in the 1970s, although he also had extensive stage and screen experience going back to the 1940s. A Scot, he began his career playing small parts in a series of war films made by the Ealing Studios and others. Initially typecast as a weakling, Jackson gradually won recognition as a useful character actor, specializing in stern, well-mannered gents of the “stiff upper lip” variety, often lacking in a sense of humor. His rich Scottish accent, however, balanced this with a certain charm; it was this combination of sternness and warmth that characterized most of his roles on stage and screen.

During the 1950s, Jackson continued to develop his film career and was also busy in repertory theatre, making his debut on the London stage in the farce *Seagulls over Sorrento* in 1951. Other acclaimed roles on the stage included an award-winning Horatio in Tony Richardson’s production of *Hamlet* in 1969, Tesman in Ibsen’s *Hedda Gabler*, and Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*. In the cinema he gradually moved from young soldiers and juvenile leads in the likes of *Millions Like Us* (1943), *Whisky Galore* (1949), *Tunes of Glory* (1960) to major supporting parts in such films as *The Ipcress File* (1965), starring Michael Caine, and *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1969), which was adapted from the novel by Muriel Spark. By the 1960s, it was apparently automatic for Jackson’s name to crop up whenever a genial, but crusty Scotsman was required,

whether the production under discussion was a wartime epic or something more homely.

As a television star, Jackson really came into his own in 1971, when he made his first appearances in the role of Hudson, the endearingly pompous butler in the classic period-drama series *Upstairs, Downstairs*. Over the next five years, Jackson, as one of the central characters in this hugely popular series about Edwardian life, became a household name—a status formally acknowledged in 1975 when he won the Royal Television Society’s Best Actor Award (followed later by his being made an Officer of the British Empire). As Hudson, a character the actor himself professed to dislike, Jackson was in turn supportive and dependable and dour and infuriating, not least through his old-fashioned attitudes to the other servants and any inclination they showed to forget their station.

Not altogether dissimilar in this regard was Jackson’s other most famous television role, the outwardly contrasting part of George “The Cow” Cowley in the action adventure series *The Professionals*, which was first seen in 1977. As Cowley, a former MI5 agent and now head of the specialist anti-terrorist unit CI5, Jackson combined a hard-bitten determination and impatience with his wayward operatives Bodie and Doyle (Lewis Collins and Martin Shaw) with genuine (if grudging) concern for their well-being when their lives were in danger. This show became favorite viewing for peak-time audiences in the 1970s, as much through the



*Upstairs, Downstairs*, Gordon Jackson, 1971–75.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

chemistry of the three main performers as through the somewhat formulaic car chases and action sequences that were included. The series did have its critics—many people protested at the violence of many episodes (leading the producers to limit explosions to two per story), and others refused to accept that Jackson, still firmly associated in their minds with the stuffy Mr. Hudson, could ever be convincing as a tough anti-terrorist chief, notwithstanding his early experience in the Ealing war films.

Also worthy of note were Jackson's always reliable appearances in other classic television programs, which ranged from *Doctor Finlay's Casebook* to the Australian-made *A Town Like Alice* and *Stars on Sunday* (as host).

DAVID PICKERING

See also *Upstairs, Downstairs*

**Gordon Cameron Jackson.** Born in Glasgow, Scotland, December 19, 1923. Attended Hillhead High School, Glasgow. Married: Rona Anderson; children: Graham and Roddy. Engineering draughtsman and actor, BBC radio, Glasgow, from 1939; film debut, 1942; debut on London stage, 1951; subsequently specialized in Scottish character roles in films and television and on the stage; best known to television audiences for the series *Upstairs, Downstairs* and *The Professionals*. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1979. Recipient: Clarence Derwent Award, 1969; Royal Television Society Award, 1975; Emmy Award, 1976. Died January 14, 1990.

#### Television Series

1971–74	<i>Upstairs, Downstairs</i>
1977–83	<i>The Professionals</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1968	<i>The Soldier's Tale</i>
1977	<i>Spectre</i>
1979	<i>The Last Giraffe</i>
1981	<i>A Town Like Alice</i>
1986	<i>My Brother Tom</i>
1987	<i>Noble House</i>

#### Films

*The Foreman Went to France*, 1942; *Nine Men*, 1943; *Millions Like Us*, 1943; *San Demetrio—London*, 1943; *Pink String and Sealing Wax*, 1945; *The Captive Heart*, 1946; *Against the Wind*, 1948; *Eureka Stockade*, 1948; *Floodtide*, 1949; *Stop Press Girl*, 1949; *Whisky Galore*, 1949; *Bitter Springs*, 1950; *Happy Go Lovely*, 1951; *Lady with a Lamp*, 1951; *Castle in the Air*, 1952; *Death Goes to School*, 1953; *Malta Story*, 1953; *Meet Mr. Lucifer*, 1953; *The Love Lottery*, 1954; *The Delavine Affair*, 1954; *Passage Home*, 1955; *Windfall*, 1955; *The Quatermass Experiment*, 1955; *Pacific Destiny*, 1956; *Women Without Men*, 1956; *The Baby and the Battleship*, 1956; *Sailor Beware*, 1956; *Seven Waves Away*, 1957; *Let's Be Happy*, 1957; *Hell Drivers*, 1957; *The Black Ice*, 1957; *Man in the Shadow*, 1957; *Scotland Dances* (voice only), 1958; *Blind Spot*, 1958; *Rockets Galore*, 1958; *Three Crooked Men*, 1958; *Yesterday's Enemy*, 1959; *The Bridal Path*, 1959; *Blind Date*, 1959; *The Navy Lark*, 1959; *Devil's Bait*, 1959; *The Price of Silence*, 1960; *Cone of Silence*, 1960; *Snowball*, 1960; *Tunes of Glory*, 1960; *Greyfriars Bobby*, 1961; *Two Wives at One Wedding*, 1961; *Mutiny on the Bounty*, 1962; *The Great Escape*, 1963; *The Long Ships*, 1964; *Daylight Robbery*, 1964; *Those Magnificent*



*Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965; *The Ipress File*, 1965; *Operation Crossbow*, 1965; *Cast a Giant Shadow*, 1966; *Fighting Prince of Donegal*, 1966; *Night of the Generals*, 1966; *Triple Cross*, 1967; *Danger Route*, 1967; *Three to a Cell*, 1967; *Casting the Runes*, 1967; *Talk in Craig*, 1968; *The Eliminator*, 1968; *Negatives*, 1968; *On the Run*, 1969; *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, 1969; *Run Wild Run Free*, 1969; *Wind v Polygamy*, 1969; *Hamlet*, 1970; *Scrooge*, 1970; *The Music Lovers*, 1970; *Singing Sands*, 1970; *Rain*, 1970; *Allergy*, 1970; *Dickens Centenary*, 1971; *Kidnapped*, 1971; *The Befrienders*, 1971; *Budgie*, 1971; *The Man from Haven*, 1972; *Madame Sin*, 1972; *Square of Three*, 1973; *Places Where They Sing*, 1973; *Places*

*in History*, 1974; *J.M. Barrie Lived Here*, 1975; *Russian Roulette*, 1975; *The Treasure*, 1976; *Supernatural*, 1977; *The Golden Rendezvous*, 1977; *The Medusa Touch*, 1978; *Captain Beaky*, 1980; *Father's Day*, 1982; *Strange but True*, 1983; *The Shooting Party*, 1984; *Shaka Zulu*, 1985; *The Masks of Death*, 1985; *The Whistle Blower*, 1986; *Gunpowder*, 1987.

#### Stage (selected)

*Seagulls Over Sorrento*, 1951; *Moby Dick*, 1955; *Macbeth*, 1966; *Hamlet*, 1969; *Hedda Gabler*; *What Every Woman Knows*; *Noah*; *Twelfth Night*; *Cards on the Table*; *Mass Appeal*.

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## Jackson, Michael (1958– )

### British Television Executive

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Michael Jackson, currently chair of Universal Television, was the first graduate of a media studies degree course to reach executive levels in British television. He was the BBC's youngest department head of all time, and shares with Michael Grade the distinction of having been in charge of both BBC Television and Channel 4.

He graduated in 1979 with the intention of becoming an independent producer. His dissertation on purchased programs enabled him to make contacts in the television industry, and he became the organizer of the Channel 4 Group, a campaign aimed at ensuring the planned fourth channel would provide extensive opportunities for independent production. When Channel 4 was established, a series on the 1960s developed and produced by Jackson was one of its first commissioned programs. The series *Open The Box*, coproduced by Jackson's company, Beat, and the British Film Institute, and his long-running magazine program *The Media Show* illustrated his interest in the culture industries. When he joined the BBC in 1988 he pursued this interest by establishing a long-running nightly arts review, *The Late Show*, producing *Rock Family Trees*, based on the book of elaborate charts of rock history by Pete Frame, and commissioning the media-based series *Naked Hollywood*, and *TV Hell*. With *The Late Show*, Jackson designed a program format that was self-consciously elusive, breaking television convention by dispensing

with fixed theme tune and title sequence, and attempting to ensure that the program could remain fresh and surprising. Its disappearance from the screen has left a gap yet to be filled.

Projects generated by and programs commissioned by Michael Jackson typically had a distinctive approach characterized by a marked degree of postmodern self-referentiality. Successes at the BBC included *Fantasy Football League*, *The Mrs. Merton Show*, *Changing Rooms*, and *This Life*. *Changing Rooms* was the first and most successful of a new genre of style transformation shows. After he moved to Channel 4, successes included *Da Ali G Show*, *Smack The Pony*, *The Valley*, *1900 House*, *Staying Lost*, *Tina Goes Shopping*, and *So Graham Norton*. Several careers benefited from the success of these programs, which helped to establish the personalities of Frank Skinner and David Baddiel, Caroline Aherne, Graham Norton, and Ali G. *Queer As Folk* broke new ground in being a drama series based around gay relationships.

As chief executive, Michael Jackson steered Channel 4 in a more entrepreneurial direction, raising turnover 30 percent over four years, and establishing new channels Film Four and E4. Programming initiatives included the innovative coverage of Test Cricket, the re-launched seven-day Channel 4 News, and the British version of *Big Brother*. *Big Brother* attracted extensive attention from the audience and the media. The Internet site has attracted over 119 million hits and

up to seven million votes were cast in the regular eviction contests. Channel 4 has been able to compete well in its niche, capitalizing on its ability to attract young affluent viewers and hence advertising revenue. Some critics have expressed concern that the repositioning engineered by Jackson has taken the channel away from its brief to be alternative and innovative. It would be fair to say that it has a metropolitan trendiness when compared to its closest competitor channel, BBC 2, and that the range of voices, a feature of the channel's early years, now seems narrower.

Throughout his career, a genuine concern with the quality of television, across program genres, has been evident. Jackson believes the scarcest commodity in television is good ideas, and his commissioning is based on a search for innovation in form as well as content. The frequent change of post and ceaseless quest for innovation might suggest a restless process of refocusing, but Jackson is also known to have dogged persistence, working with projects like *Rock Family Trees* and the drama *Our Friends in the North* for many years before they reached the screen. Michael Jackson has never been slow to take on a new challenge, and having held top jobs at two channels in the United Kingdom, is now working to make a mark in the United States. Many media observers expect him to return home eventually to become director general of the BBC. Typically, Jackson himself does not proclaim a desire for the post, but neither does he deny its potential appeal.

GARRY WHANNEL

See also **British Programming; Channel 4**

**Michael Jackson.** Born in Congleton, Cheshire, United Kingdom, in 1958. Attended King's School, Macclesfield. Earned degree in media studies at the Polytechnic of Central London, 1979. Organizer of the Channel 4 Group. Producer, *The Sixties* (Channel 4, 1982), *Whose Town Is It Anyway?* (Channel 4, 1984), *Open the Box* (Channel 4, 1986). Edited *The Media Show* for Channel 4, 1984–88. Joined the BBC in 1988 as founding editor of *The Late Show* (BBC, 1989–93). Named head of the music and arts department, 1990. Named controller of BBC 2, 1993. Named controller of BBC 1 and BBC's director of television, 1996. Named chief executive of Channel 4 Television, 1997. Moved to New York to become president and chief executive of USA Entertainment, 2001. Named chair of Universal Television, 2002. Nonexecutive director, EMI Group and chairman of London's Photographers' Gallery. Recipient: Hon DLitt, University of Westminster, 1995; Editor of *Absurdistan* 1991: British Film Institute Grierson Documentary Award. Executive producer of *Naked Hollywood* (BBC 2): British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) Best Documentary Series Award, 1991. *The Late Show* BFI Television Award, 1989. Channel 4 voted UK Media Brand of the Year by *Media Week* magazine, 2001. At the 2001 BAFTA awards Channel 4 won 11 of the 19 awards, more than the BBC and ITV combined, and *The Valley* won the Prix Italia award.

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## Jaffrey, Madhur (1933– )

British Actor, Television Personality, Cookery Host

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Madhur Jaffrey, born in India, has had a remarkably varied career encompassing acting, directing, and writing. In Britain she is most highly renowned and respected for her role as a presenter of television cookery programs.

Professionally, Jaffrey has worked largely in cinema, with prominent roles in films such as the Merchant Ivory Production *Shakespeare Wallah* (1965), for which she was awarded a prize at Venice, *The Asam Garden* (1985), and *Chutney Popcorn* (1999). Her most prolific role as an actor in recent British television has been the drama series *Firm Friends* (ITV,

1992 and 1994). Jaffrey played Jayshree Kapur, a cleaning lady turned business partner to white, middle-class Rose (Billie Whitelaw), in a show that was unusual in representing a racially mixed society without treating this as an issue. While many of the productions in which Jaffrey has performed draw on her cultural background, *Firm Friends* also unashamedly drew on her culinary image—the business Jayshree initiates is selling cooked foods.

Jaffrey as an actor has not surpassed her popularity as a food presenter. Jaffrey's route into presenting BBC food shows was less than orthodox. While a



Madhur Jaffrey.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

drama student at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts in London, she wrote to her mother in India, begging her to send simple recipes. Her mother obliged, and thus Jaffrey learned to cook by correspondence, although this was never intended as a career move. She was drawn into cooking as a business after friends implored her to write a cookery book. Her immense success and appeal may be attributed to her flamboyant yet sensitive style of presentation and the way she has revolutionized and demystified Indian cooking, a cuisine particularly favored by the British. By introducing authentic Indian cuisine to the British kitchen, Jaffrey radically altered the way British people cook, eat, and think about Indian food. Indeed, it is fair to suggest that the ready availability of oriental spices and other Indian ingredients in British supermarkets is a direct result of Jaffrey's television programs.

The inspirational presentation of food in the three BBC series—*Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery* (1982), *Madhur Jaffrey's Far Eastern Cookery* (1989), and *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* (1995)—is equaled by the warmth and charm of its presenter.

While her shows have been educational from a culinary perspective, they have also proved influential within television culture, as Jaffrey seeks to contextualize the cookery by presenting it in the appropriate geographical location. In liberating cookery from the studio-bound format, these shows not only offer the viewing pleasures of a travel show but also work to re-define popular perceptions of Eastern cultures. Jaffrey focuses on the recipes and their ingredients by presenting a variety of people (mainly cooks, professional and otherwise) and by exploring a wealth of marketplaces, local lifestyles, and regional religions.

The gastronomic travelogue format may no longer be considered revolutionary, as it has developed into a television standard, but Jaffrey remains a guru of British culinary television. Her series are particularly noteworthy for their stylish and sophisticated production values and their attention to detail; for example, Madhur dresses to reflect the cultural background of specific recipes. The greatest appeal of her cookery shows lies in her vibrant approach and personality, with which she has spiced up British television. Jaffrey has argued that she sees no conflict in her professional double life, as she treats the presentation of food as a performance equal to any acting role.

NICOLA FOSTER

**Madhur Jaffrey.** Born in Delhi, India, August 13, 1933. Attended local schools in Delhi; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London. Married: 1) actor Saeed Jaffrey (divorced); three children: Zia, Meera, and Sakina; 2) violinist Sanford Allen. Settled in England to train as a drama student; subsequently appeared in numerous stage and film productions before establishing reputation as leading authority on Indian food, presenting her own cookery programs on television and writing best-selling cookbooks.

#### Television Series

1982	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery</i>
1989	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Far Eastern Cookery</i>
1992, 1994	<i>Firm Friends</i>
1995	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India</i>
1996	<i>The Peacock Spring</i>

#### Television Films

1986	<i>The Love Match</i>
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#### Films (selected)

*Shakespeare Wallah*, 1965; *The Guru*, 1969; *Autobiography of a Princess*, 1975; *Heat and Dust*, 1982; *Sea-*

Jaffrey, Madhur

*gar*, 1985; *The Assam Garden*, 1985; *The Perfect Murder*, 1990; *Six Degrees of Separation*, 1993; *Vanya on 42nd Street*, 1994; *Flawless*, 1999; *Chutney Popcorn*, 1999; *Cotton Mary*, 2000; *ABCD*, 2001.

#### Publications (selected)

*An Invitation to Indian Cookery*, 1973  
*Madhur Jaffrey's World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*, 1981  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery*, 1982  
*Eastern Vegetarian Cooking*, 1983  
*Seasons of Splendor: Tales, Myths, and Legends of India*, 1985  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook: Food for Family and Friends*, 1989  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Far Eastern Cookery*, 1989

*The Days of the Banyan Tree*, 1990  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Quick and Easy Indian Cooking*, 1993  
*Madhur Jaffrey's a Taste of the Far East*, 1994  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Illustrated Indian Cooking*, 1994  
*Entertaining with Madhur Jaffrey*, 1994  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India*, 1995  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Spice Kitchen*, 1995  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Market Days: From Market to Market Around the World*, 1995  
*The Essential Madhur Jaffrey*, 1996  
*Madhur Jaffrey Cooks Curries*, 1996  
*Robi Dobi: The Marvellous Adventures of an Indian Elephant*, 1997  
*Madhur Jaffrey's World Vegetarian*, 1998  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Step by Step Cookery*, 2000

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## Jaffrey, Saeed (1929– )

Indian Actor

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Saeed Jaffrey is one of Britain's best-known and most experienced actors, playing a wide variety of roles in comedy and drama with equal enthusiasm. He started his performing career in India, setting up his own English theater company in Delhi after completing his postgraduate degree in history. His early theatrical work included roles in productions of Tennessee Williams, Fry, Priestly, Wilde, and Shakespeare. Having completed his studies at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, he went to the United States on a Fulbright scholarship and took a second postgraduate degree in drama from the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. From these firm foundations, Jaffrey set out as the first Indian actor to tour Shakespeare, taking his company across the United States and subsequently joining the Actor's Studio in New York, where he played the lead in off-Broadway productions of Lorca's *Blood Wedding*, as well as *Rashomon* and *Twelfth Night*. Jaffrey is an accomplished stage actor and has appeared on Broadway and at London's West End in a diverse range of characterizations.

His work in television has been just as varied. He appeared as Jimmy Sharma in Channel 4's first "Asian" comedy, *Tandoori Nights* and as the elegiac

Nawah in Granada Television's adaptation of *The Jewel in the Crown*. It was arguably his performance as the smooth Rafiq in the BBC cult-classic *Gangsters* that brought him to national recognition, even though he had been acting in both theater and television for several years previously.

In some ways, Jaffrey's character types have been broadly similar and, like Clint Eastwood, he always plays himself playing a character. Jaffrey's impeccable English accent, his dapper style, and his catchphrases ("My dear boy") are part of his acting persona. His smooth charm is used to good effect whether he plays the archetypal oily, corrupt businessman or the kindly, knowing father figure. In 1994 he costarred with Norman Beaton in Michael Abbensett's new TV series, *Little Napoleons*, for Channel 4, playing once again a successful lawyer who wants political as well as economic power.

Jaffrey's career has spanned several decades, and it is still unfortunately the case that he is one of only a handful of Indian actors who is regularly employed, be it for radio, television, or the stage. Although this is good news for him, his prodigious success and his ability to talk the right language means that he is a hard



Saeed Jaffrey.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

act to follow for younger talent trying to penetrate a hard-faced industry.

KAREN ROSS

**Saeed Jaffrey.** Born in Maler Kotla, India, 1929. Attended the University of Allahabad, M.A. in history; Staff Training Institute, All India Radio; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, 1956; Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1956–57, M.A. in drama; Actors' Studio, New York. Married: Madhur (divorced); three children. Radio director, All India Radio, 1951–56; began stage career in India as founder, Unity Theatre, New Delhi, 1951–56, as actor, 1954; performed with his own company in U.S. tour of Shakespeare, 1957; various stage performances and tours, 1960s; director of publicity and advertising, Government of India Tourist Office, United States, 1958–60; began U.S. television career with guest appearances, 1960s; began film career in *The Guru*, 1969, numerous film performances, including roles in *Gandhi*, 1982, *A Passage to India*, 1984, and *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986. Mem-

ber: Actors' Equity Association; Screen Actors Guild; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists

#### Television Series

1975–76	<i>Gangsters</i>
1985	<i>Tandoori Nights</i>
1994	<i>Little Napoleons</i>
1999–	<i>Coronation Street</i>

#### Television Miniseries

1984	<i>The Far Pavilions</i>
1984	<i>The Jewel in the Crown</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1979	<i>The Last Giraffe</i>
2003	<i>The Inspector Lynley Mysteries: Deception on His Mind</i>

#### Films

*The Guru*, 1969; *The Horsemen*, 1971; *The Man Who Would Be King*, 1975; *The Wilby Conspiracy*, 1975; *The Chess Players*, 1977; *Hullabaloo Over George and Bonnie's Pictures*, 1979; *Sphinx*, 1981; *Gandhi*, 1982; *The Courtesans of Bombay* (documentary), 1982; *Pandit Nehru* (narrator), 1982; *Misoom*, 1983; *A Passage to India*, 1984; *The Razor's Edge*, 1984; *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986; *The Deceivers*, 1988; *Just Ask for Diamond*, 1988; *Partition*, 1988; *Manika*, 1988; *Dil*, 1990; *Masala*, 1991; *Bollywood*, 1994; *Kartavya*, 1995; *Uff! Yeh Mohabbat*, 1997; *Raja Ki Ayegi Barrat*, 1997; *Juddaai*, 1997; *The Journey*, 1997; *Deewana Mastana*, 1997; *Achanak*, 1998; *Guru in Seven*, 1998; *Being Considered*, 2000; *Second Generation*, 2000; *Pyar Ki Dhun*, 2001; *Mr. In-Between*, 2001; *Albela*, 2001; *Pyarr Ki Dhun (The Song of Love)*, 2002; *Day of the Sirens*, 2002; *Cross My Heart*, 2003.

#### Stage

*Othello*; *The Firstborn*; *A Phoenix Too Frequent*; *Under Milk Wood*; *Auto-Da-Fe*; *The Importance of Being Earnest*; *The Cocktail Party*; and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (all with Repertory Company, Unity Theatre, New Delhi, India 1951–56); *The Eagle Has Two Heads*, 1954; *Blood Wedding*, 1958; *Twelfth Night*, 1960; *King of the Dark Chamber*, 1961; *India: A Dancer's Pilgrimage*, 1961; *A Passage to India*, 1962; *A Tenth of an Inch Makes the Difference*, 1962; *Nathan Weinstein, Mystic, Connecticut*, 1965; *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, 1971.

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## James, Sid (1913–1976)

British Comedian

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Sid James established himself as a nationally recognized figure in British broadcasting in a groundbreaking radio comedy, *Hancock's Half Hour* in the mid-1950s. But James was a ubiquitous supporting role actor. Appearing in more than 150 features during his career, he was best known as a regular character in some of the *Carry On* comedy films (1958–80). He acted in numerous stage comedies and starred in several television series. With the situation comedy, *Bless This House* (ITV, 1971–76), James secured his status as one of the most enduring figures of postwar British popular culture. Clever exploitation of a naturally heavily lined face to produce a variety of put-upon expressions endeared him to *Carry On* and television audiences alike. His “dirty” cackle of a laugh embodied a vein of “kiss-me-quick” bawdiness that runs deep in English humor.

Christened Sidney Joel Cohen, Sid James was a South African-born Jew whose parents worked in the music hall business. James joined a South African regiment of the British Army in 1939 and soon became a producer in its entertainment unit. As such, he was typical of a generation of British performers and writers who learned their trade while in the armed forces. After the service, James arrived in London on Christmas day 1946, looking to make a start in acting. He landed his first film role nine days later. His grizzled face led to typecasting as minor gangsters in his early film appearances. His career success came when he transformed himself into a quintessential Londoner, an ordinary “bloke,” who drew sympathy from his audience despite playing a rascal in many of his roles.

His television credits include some dozen plays (including some drama) and several series. He made his television debut in 1948 in a two-part BBC drama, *Kid Flanagan*, as Sharkey Morrison and played the lead role of Billy Johnson in *The Front Page* (BBC) later the same year. In 1949 he played an American film director in a 30-minute play called *Family Affairs* (BBC). After significant supporting roles in films such as *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951) and *The Titchfield Thunderbolt* (1952), his repertoire began to develop from gangsters into characters who lived just this side of the law in the austere conditions of 1950s Britain. Although he was best known for his comic roles, James rarely turned down dramatic work. His next

television appearance was in *Another Part of the Forest* (BBC, 1954), one of an acclaimed *20th-Century Theatre* series.

Spotted by two scriptwriters, Ray Galton and Alan Simpson, James was cast as Tony Hancock's housemate in the BBC radio comedy *Hancock's Half Hour*. His ability as an actor to play off a lead was recognized by Hancock. When the show switched to television, Hancock insisted that all his supporting actors from the radio version be dropped except James. The 30-minute television show (1956–60) represented a defining moment in British situation comedy. The show developed huge audiences; BBC audience research estimates that 28 percent of the population watched at its peak. During this four-year period, James appeared as a pirate (Shanty Jack) in *The Buccaneers* (BBC, 1957) and played a character from the shadier side of London's Jewish community in a six-part series for ITV called



Sid James.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*East End, West End* (1958). James's dependency on the Hancock connection was broken at the start of the 1960s, when he began to appear in a highly successful series of *Carry On* films (*Carry On Constable* was his first in 1960). These quickly made film farces provided regular, almost annual income for its troupe of actors. James became one of the best-loved stars, appearing in almost 20 films, usually playing a hen-pecked husband desperate for extramarital sex with younger women.

James never worked with Hancock again, but he was immediately contracted by the BBC to star in a Galton and Simpson-scripted series called *Citizen James* (1960–62). In a series called *It's a Deal* (BBC, 1961), he played a working-class property dealer whose business partner was a Mayfair playboy (Dennis Price). Mismatched in class, the two characters were essentially similar rogues underneath, who found themselves reluctantly dependent on one another. Throughout the 1960s, James's television work was based on characters and plots that employed variations on this theme. In *Taxi!* (BBC, 1963–64), he played a London cabby who gets involved in the day-to-day problems of his fares and his fellow drivers. The 12 50-minute episodes were an uneven mix of drama and comedy that did not prove successful in the audience ratings. In *George and the Dragon* (ITV, 1966–68), James played a chauffeur (George) to John Le Mesurier (Colonel Maynard). Both men are dominated by the overbearing housekeeper character (the Dragon), played by Peggy Mount. The comedy came from James's challenge to her control of their social superior and employer. In *Two in Clover* (ITV, 1969–70) James played alongside Victor Spinetti in a series whose comic situation derived from transplanting a mismatched pair from the city to the country.

With *Bless This House*, James secured his position as a television sitcom actor of national acclaim. It also signaled a change in emphasis from his early film and *Carry On* types to one that suited his maturing years. He played Sid Abbott, a long-suffering father-husband to his wife Jean (Diana Coupland) and their two children, Mike and Kate. The key to his success was his ability to deliver lines for comic effect and react to those around him. His lined face testified to a lot of laughter. While his characters typically gave in to their fate, his distinctive dirty cackle erased any lingering pathos. James died suddenly in 1976, on stage in a comedy called *The Mating Game* after the prerecorded *Bless This House* series had just completed its run.

LANCE PETTITT

See also *Hancock's Half Hour*

**Sidney James.** Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, May 8, 1913. Attended schools in Johannesburg. Mar-

ried: 1) Meg Williams; one daughter; 2) Valerie Ashton; one son and one daughter. Served in anti-tank regiment in Middle East during World War II. Worked as coal heaver, stevedore, diamond polisher, and professional boxer, South Africa, before World War II; gained first stage experience with wartime entertainment unit; settled in the United Kingdom, 1946, and entered repertory theater and films, playing character roles; with comedian Tony Hancock on radio and television, late 1950s; starred in 18 *Carry On* films; toward the end of his career appeared on television in situation comedies. Recipient: *TV Times* Funniest Man on Television Award, 1974. Died April 26, 1976.

#### Television Series

1956–60	<i>Hancock's Half Hour</i>
1958	<i>East End, West End</i>
1960–62	<i>Citizen James</i>
1961	<i>It's a Deal</i>
1963–64	<i>Taxi</i>
1966–68	<i>George and the Dragon</i>
1969–70	<i>Two in Clover</i>
1971–76	<i>Bless This House</i>

#### Television Plays

1948	<i>Kid Flanagan</i>
1948	<i>The Front Page</i>
1949	<i>Family Affairs</i>
1954	<i>Another Part of the Forest</i>
1958	<i>The Buccaneers</i>

#### Films

*Black Memory*, 1947; *The October Man*, 1947; *It Always Rains on Sunday*, 1947; *No Orchids for Miss Blandish*, 1948; *Night Beat*, 1948; *Once a Jolly Swagman/Maniacs on Wheels*, 1948; *The Small Back Room*, 1948; *Paper Orchid*, 1949; *The Man in Black*, 1949; *Give Us This Day/Salt to the Devil*, 1949; *Last Holiday*, 1950; *The Lady Craved Excitement*, 1950; *Talk of a Million/You Can't Beat the Irish*, 1951; *Lady Godiva Rides Again*, 1951; *The Lavender Hill Mob*, 1951; *The Magic Box*, 1951; *The Galloping Major*, 1951; *I Believe in You*, 1952; *Emergency Call/Hundred Hour Hunt*, 1952; *Gift Horse/Glory at Sea*, 1952; *Cosh Boy/The Slasher*, 1952; *Miss Robin Hood*, 1952; *Time Gentlemen Please!*, 1952; *Father's Doing Fine*, 1952; *Venetian Bird/The Assassin*, 1952; *Tall Headlines*, 1952; *The Yellow Balloon*, 1952; *The Titchfield Thunderbolt*, 1952; *The Wedding of Lili Marlene*, 1953; *Escape By Night*, 1953; *The Square Ring*, 1953; *Will Any Gentleman...?*, 1953; *The Weak and the Wicked/Young and Willing*, 1953; *Park Plaza*



605/*Norman Conquest*, 1953; *The Flanagan Boy/Bad Blonde*, 1953; *Is Your Honeymoon Really Necessary?*, 1953; *The Rainbow Jacket*, 1954; *The House Across the Lake/Heatwave*, 1954; *Seagulls Over Sorrento/Crest of the Wave*, 1954; *The Crowded Day*, 1954; *Orders Are Orders*, 1954; *Aunt Clara*, 1954; *For Better, For Worse/Cocktails in the Kitchen*, 1954; *The Belles of St Trinian's*, 1954; *Out of the Clouds*, 1955; *Joe Macbeth*, 1955; *The Deep Blue Sea*, 1955; *A Kid for Two Farthings*, 1955; *The Glass Cage/The Glass Tomb*, 1955; *A Yank in Ermine*, 1955; *It's a Great Day*, 1955; *John and Julie*, 1955; *Ramsbottom Rides Again*, 1956; *The Extra Day*, 1956; *Wicked As They Come*, 1956; *The Iron Petticoat*, 1956; *Dry Rot*, 1956; *Trapeze*, 1956; *Quatermass III/Enemy from Space*, 1957; *Interpoll/Pickup Alley*, 1957; *The Smallest Show on Earth*, 1957; *The Shiralee*, 1957; *Hell Drivers*, 1957; *Campbell's Kingdom*, 1957; *A King in New York*, 1957; *The Story of Esther Costello/The Golden Virgin*, 1957; *The Silent Enemy*, 1958; *Another Time, Another Place*, 1958; *Next to No Time!*, 1958; *The Man Inside*, 1958; *I Was Monty's Double/Monty's Double*, 1958; *The Sheriff of Fractured Jaw*, 1958; *Too Many Crooks*, 1959; *Make Mine a Million*, 1959; *The 39 Steps*, 1959; *Upstairs and Downstairs*, 1959; *Tommy the Toreador*, 1959; *Desert Mice*, 1959; *Idle on Parade/Idol on Parade*, 1959; *Carry On Constable*, 1960; *Watch Your Stern*, 1960; *And the Same to You*, 1960; *The Pure*

*Hell of St Trinian's*, 1960; *Double Bunk*, 1961; *A Weekend with Lulu*, 1961; *The Green Helmet*, 1961; *What a Carve Up!/No Place Like Homicide*, 1961; *Raising the Wind/Roommates*, 1961; *What a Whopper!*, 1961; *Carry On Regardless*, 1961; *Carry On Cruising*, 1962; *We Joined the Navy*, 1962; *Carry On Cabby*, 1963; *The Beauty Jungle/Contest Girl*, 1964; *Carry On Cleo*, 1964; *Three Hats for Lisa*, 1964; *The Big Job*, 1965; *Carry On Cowboy*, 1965; *Where the Bullets Fly*, 1966; *Don't Lose Your Head*, 1966; *Carry On Doctor*, 1967; *Carry On Up the Khyber*, 1968; *Carry On Again, Doctor*, 1969; *Carry On Camping*, 1969; *Carry On Up the Jungle*, 1969; *Carry On Loving*, 1970; *Carry On Henry*, 1970; *Carry On at Your Convenience*, 1971; *Tokoloshe, the Evil Spirit*, 1971; *Carry On Matron*, 1972; *Bless This House*, 1972; *Carry On Abroad*, 1972; *Carry On Girls*, 1973; *Carry On Dick*, 1974.

#### Radio

*Hancock's Half Hour*, 1954–59; *Educating Archie*.

#### Stage (selection)

*Kiss Me Kate*, 1951.

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## Japan

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In Japan today, there are six televisions for every ten people and a diffusion rate of 100 percent. TV is viewed by virtually every Japanese every day: 95 percent of the population according to a 2002 study (see Kamimura and Ida). This far exceeds other popular forms of information processing: newspapers (86 percent), cell phones (73 percent), and the Internet (27 percent). The average amount of personal viewing per day approaches 225 minutes and has constantly topped three hours since 1960. A recent European survey places the number in excess of four hours, ranking Japan third in the world. The figures are astounding and capture the centrality of television in Japanese society.

#### Political Dimensions

Japan was at the forefront of the technical development of television, conducting its first experimental broadcast in 1939. However, the Pacific war curtailed research and development and infrastructure expansion. Once renewed, television bore the imprimatur of SCAP, the American occupational army. Seeking to ensure that television could not so easily become a tool for government (as both radio and early TV had before and during the Pacific war), Article 3 of the 1952 broadcasting law specified that programming by domestic broadcasters must: (1) uphold public security, morals, and good behavior, (2) pursue political impar-



tiality, (3) present news without distorting the facts, and (4) present the widest possible range of viewpoints when dealing with controversial issues. These are goals that are not always upheld, though, with the advent of opinion-oriented news programs critical of government and business institutions in the late 1980s, for instance, and the profound increase in “infotainment” as a communication style in all genres of television content in the late 1990s. This has worked to bring politics off the pedestal, where it has so often before resided, beyond the popular realm. By the millennium, “wide shows” made it a habit to explain terms and issues for viewers, evening news interviewed candidates, and western-style political spots became a staple of election campaigns. To date, strains at the edges of the broadcast law appear, but not in ways contemplated by Japan’s American conquerors: that is, in ways such that the medium became hostage to government control.

### Economic Dimensions

In the 1950s, television remained a luxury item, beyond the means of most citizens. That changed, however, with the “economic miracle” that sent domestic production booming and incomes soaring. In a two-year span in the late 1950s, television production quadrupled, and within the last half of that decade TV ownership increased 41-fold: from 165,666 to 6,860,472 sets. Content, however, was still heavily dependent on external sources. Reflective of political history and economic realities, content remained heavily dependent on American imports: in 1958, for instance, five of the nation’s top ten programs were either made in the United States or were Japanese-made clones of popular U.S. programs. The following year, *Rawhide* was the number one show. Its immense success led to the importation of *Laramie* two years later. In the 1960s, however, Japan’s networks began weaning themselves away from American programming, developing their own programming. By the 1980s, with a vital domestic economy, virtual economic independence, and a fully developed popular culture, import-dependence had all but dissipated. Like other large states such as the United States, China, India, and the Soviet Union, Japan filled less than 10 percent of its program time with imported material—albeit 90 percent of which still came from the United States.

Without doubt, the major factor sustaining Japanese television is the vibrant commercial culture that contains, infuses, characterizes, colors, and depends on it. Advertising outlays for TV (at 34.1 percent) outdistance all other media sources, with the closest alternative conduit being newspapers (19.9 percent). Japan’s

advertising market is the second largest worldwide, amounting to more than \$223 million just for television, dedicated to 957,447 ads, consuming 6,016 broadcasting hours per year. As one might infer, advertising serves not only as a major motor for Japanese television; it also works as one of the major conduits of cultural communication. Through ads, television plays a powerful socializing and ideological function, narrowly and repetitiously re/producing images of gender, cultural values, history, nationalism, and political, social, and personal identity (among others).

### Cultural Dimensions

Three of the top five leisure goods listed as “essential” are television-related: a TV, itself (ranked second behind “music system”), VCR (third) and video software (fifth). VCRs are now owned by 79.6 percent of the population. In terms of leisure activities engaged in, television viewing is not listed—likely because it is viewed as an endemic, if not essential, part of everyday life; video-viewing ranks 12th, drawing 36.5 percent of the population, and is the fourth-most subsidized activity. As an industry, video sale and rental are big business: rentals for the first half of 2003 topped \$550 million, with sales in excess of \$1 billion. In short, TV-centered leisure is not only a core way of life in contemporary Japan; it is a core economic enterprise.

Befitting a leisure lifestyle, television has long been held to be an entertainment medium. This is reflected in the fact that so much programming today—whether game shows, talk shows, and even news—is best characterized as “infotainment.” Form, as well as content, is primed to mix information with pleasant packaging. Learning is coupled with stimulation and pleasure. Thus, it is not unusual to have a segment on the post-“golden hour” news featuring “person in the street” interviews critical of the faltering economy or the latest political scandal, followed up by an in-studio guest such as Sting performing an anti-war song or the popular Japanese singing duo Chage and Aska. So, too, is it common to have a quiz show in which entertainers test their acumen concerning places, peoples, and customs from around the world, or else view segments on an array of topics—domestic and foreign; political, moral, or cultural—and then weigh in with their opinions.

In this way, Japanese television is a medium for the reproduction of nation and the nurturing of nationalism. It is certainly a “globalizer” in terms of assisting the transcultural flow of exogenous practices and beliefs; yet, in the main, it is a heavy defender of indigenous cultural content. Numerous programs—from the

annual New Year's "red-white" singing contest, to food shows (which are pervasive) to regular sporting events (baseball, golf, volleyball, and boxing) to (golden-hour and late-night) music shows to daily quiz shows—make Japan the unspoken referent. While foreigners or foreign countries often appear, it is the juxtaposition of oppositional elements that enables Japan to emerge as a unique, privileged place. This tendency is reinforced by the now decades-long practice of foreigners appearing on variety, quiz, and food shows. Although the emphasis might once have been on "the strange foreigner," this discursive trope has for more than a decade taken a back seat to the foreigner who "fits in"—the "half" or Western transplant who is fluent with Japanese language and customs.

No less important in the reproduction of nation has been Nippon Hoso Kyokai, or NHK, the publicly funded, viewer-subscribed network. It features two terrestrial stations (Sogo, which broadcasts news, cultural, and entertainment programs, and Kyoiku, which chiefly broadcasts educational programs), as well as three satellite-based stations. NHK is justly famous for the quality of its programming, although much of it adopts historical or culturally reproductive themes such as postwar reconstruction, samurai and period pieces, national baseball tournaments, and documentaries about daily contemporary life. NHK's dramas—which have been produced for over 50 years—can be immensely popular. *Oshin*, the 1983 serialized tale of a poor woman struggling to survive in the immediate postwar era, garnered viewer rates in excess of 60 percent and was exported for international consumption to countries as far-flung as Australia, China, Egypt, Iran, Poland, and Mexico. This drama was among the first, but far from the last, case of Japanese television products assisting the global transmission of culture.

### Technological Dimensions

Sociocultural events have long been regarded as influencing institutional ecology. For instance, the Crown Prince's wedding in 1959 is often cited as providing a spur to domestic TV sales. So, too, did it precipitate the creation of complicated nationwide commercial networks. What emerged after a number of years were five key networks featuring a "key TV station": Nippon News Network (NTV), Japanese News Network (TBS), Fuji News Network (Fuji TV), All Nippon News Network (TV Asahi) and TX Network (TV Tokyo)—all based in Tokyo, with 30, 28, 28, 26, and 6 network members, respectively. Each network, privately owned and heavily commercial, is closely connected with a national newspaper.

Television diffusion was greatly influenced by the staging of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Just as significant, though, was this event's role in prompting technical innovation; for, like its predecessor, the canceled 1940 Olympiad, domestic engineers were inspired to solve transmission and delivery problems for audiences both local and international. For instance, NHK created an image pickup tube and equipment for satellite relay broadcasting, enabling one of the first satellite broadcasts in history. In addition, these games were the first to broadcast in color (albeit only eight events). Given the medium's central role, these games were dubbed "the TV Olympics."

Television tropes—no less than technical advances—have been shaped by external events. For instance, it was the Crown Prince's departure by ship to attend Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1952 that led to the practice of remote broadcasts—a practice widely followed today on morning wake-up programs. It might even be suggested that the root trope of visuality (inherent in the technology itself) is spurred by the imperative of culture. Japanese written language, based on ideograms is but one indicator. Throughout Japanese society, the image reigns supreme. This truism finds expression in the increasingly common practice on TV today of writing dialogue out as subtitles, even in cases where the speakers are Japanese. This has the effect of binding audiences, filling in gaps, providing more information, and potentially engendering greater intimacy.

A final technological advance has been cable, which, although making inroads over the past decade, has been relatively slow to take hold. Indeed, Japanese television is still heavily broadcast-network centered. According to data published in 2001, the five commercial networks along with NHK receive more than 51.6 percent of all Japanese broadcasting and cable market revenue (which breaks down into 18.9 percent for NHK, 9.1 percent for Fuji TV, 8.3 percent for Nippon TV, 7.0 percent for TBS, 5.5 percent for TV Asahi, and 2.6 percent for TV Tokyo). For cable, the diffusion rate doubled in the latter half of the 1990s—from 11.0 percent in 1995 to 21.8 percent in 2000. As of 2002, premium cable in the form of "SkyPerfect TV" (a merged entity of former rival services) features sports, movies, and adult entertainment stations. It is far from heavily subscribed (with but 3 million households). Regular cable is faring better with almost 19 million households.

In terms of cable content, it may be of limited utility to speak about specific content (since the ebb and flow of global media products can easily render stations and content obsolete). Still, for the foreseeable future, it would be safe to identify the staples of current

Japanese cable as NHK's three stations: BS satellite 1 (which is world news-oriented), and 2 (which is entertainment- and events-oriented), and Hi-vision (which emphasizes programming that places the spotlight on this advanced visual technology). Other standbys include CNN, MTV, a (generally) Hollywood-centered movie channel, and a couple of 24-hour sports channels).

### Social Dimensions

For many theorists Japan is viewed as a society in which the duality inside (*uchi*) and outside (*soto*) serves as a key organizing principle. In everyday life this has produced a complex set of social orientations, governing individual psychology and interpersonal behavior. The management of emotions under such terms is essential—separating interior, private faces from the external, public one. TV programming appears to understand that. Not only do television shows try to invite the (outside) viewer into the group inside the box, they strive to create what A.A. Painter calls “quasi-intimacy”: programs “emphasiz(ing) themes related to unity (national, local, cultural, or racial) and unanimity (consensus, common sense, identity) in order to create an intimate and friendly atmosphere” (Painter, p. 198). In this way, television is exceptional at defining groups, often by juxtaposition (and implicit comparison): Japanese versus (foreign or ethnic) “others,” women versus men, young versus old, economically developed versus underdeveloped, beautiful versus ugly.

This can take forms both positive and negative. In terms of the latter, Japanese television is highly gendered—and ideologically so. For instance, studies continue to show that women are outnumbered by men on screen by a ratio of two to one, and when on screen, they tend to be depicted in “traditional” roles such as housekeeping, shopping, or family nurturing. Their age range is also narrower than that of men. Other research indicates that women are generally evaluated in ways distinct from men, in particular as objects, subordinate, with low ability, and ensconced in the home.

Reflecting a long-standing cultural thread, Japanese television is surveillance oriented—in the last few years increasingly so. It has been said that “Japan was years ahead of the U.S. and Europe in pioneering ‘reality TV’, in which ordinary people are placed in extraordinary situations” (“Country Profile: Japan,” *BBC News*). Now such shows are staple fare, featuring hidden cameras, “sting operations,” and behind-the-scenes peeks at how everyday people live. A current favorite is “London Hearts,” which features segments in which duplicitous women try to shake money out of

prospective suitors, and cads are baited into cheating on their lovers. The commentary by hosts and guests in a private booth is raucous and aims at besmirching the character of those spotlighted.

No less discomfiting are “boot camp”-like shows in which adults, buffeted by an increasingly severe economy, are forced to endure humiliations for possible job opportunities or monetary rewards. Their travails—laughed at and commented on by celebrity guests—are all in the name of “viewer entertainment.” Add to this the recent wave of legal shows in which simulated cases (with a variety of alternately filmed conditions) draw celebrity and expert commentary and one can apprehend that, in the hands of television, contemporary Japan appears to be a conflictual, confrontational, controversy-riven society.

### The Future

For a society that historically has been image-based, village-organized, information-centered, consumption-oriented, and technology-driven, what is the role of television in the years to come? While prognoses in the 1990s were often pessimistic, the same cannot be said of the new millennium. Those earlier concerns were based on the conservative nature of Japanese society, the internecine struggles between rival ministries over regulation and control of new media, and the slow diffusion of cable. But viewing societal changes, as well as the way image-based, television-like technologies have proliferated and become integrated into the fabric of everyday life, such dire projections are now difficult to maintain.

As indicated earlier, video rentals have become a staple of Japan's high-consumption, leisure lifestyle, providing uses for owners of VCRs and stoking electronic innovations such as digital video discs (DVDs). The explosion of cell phone use has exerted pressures on technology developers to churn out newer, better features. As of this writing, most of this competition is being played visually, with camera- and Internet-enabled phones that are able to send, receive, and play images—both stationary and animated. So, too, are TV-equipped cars becoming standard in Japan. These TV units are often part of an integrated satellite-assisted map (or “navi”). One can imagine such units enabling on-the-road Internet searches, which will result in downloadable video clips introducing hotel rooms, restaurants, and tourist attractions in various cities along one's route. Currently, desktop computers serve as hubs for TV viewing, recording, video editing, and photo production. In this way, the television-based technologies of the immediate future may encourage the Japanese to be less passive, assisting

them in moving from mere reception toward personal expression.

TODD JOSEPH MILES HOLDEN

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## Jason, David (1940– )

British Actor

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David Jason's career can be viewed in many respects as that of the archetypal modern television actor in Britain. Although he made forays into the theater in the 1970s and 1980s, and made occasional appearances on film, these fade into relative insignificance when compared to the steady stream of eye-catching and increasingly high-profile roles he created for television. As a result, his acting persona is circumscribed by the televisual medium. Nevertheless, such exposure, while making him a British "household name," did not make him into a celebrity, for Jason has largely eschewed the paraphernalia of television fame.

Jason's histrionic instincts are basically comic, and the majority of his roles have been in the situation comedy format. His earliest major television role was an elderly professor doing battle against the evil Mrs. Black and her gadgets in the surreal *Do Not Adjust Your Set* (1967), a comedy show whose ideas and personnel later fed into *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. But Jason first achieved note through his association with comic actor-writer Ronnie Barker, by supporting performances in the prison comedy *Porridge* and corner-shop comedy *Open All Hours*, both starring

Barker. In the former, Jason played the dour wife-murderer Blanco; in the latter, and to great effect, he acted the boyish, downtrodden deliveryman and assistant to Barker's parsimonious storekeeper. *Open All Hours* cast Jason as a kind of embryonic hero-in-waiting, constantly dreaming of ways of escaping the provincial narrowness and boredom of his north-country life. The role provided the actor with an opportunity to develop his acting trademark—a scrupulous and detailed portrayal of protean ordinariness, sometimes straining against a desire to be something else.

A later series, *The Top Secret Life of Edgar Briggs*, toyed with this sense of ordinariness by having Jason as a Secret Service agent ineptly trying to combine his covert profession with suburban home life. But Jason's greatest success has been with several series of the comedy *Only Fools and Horses*, in which he played Del Trotter, the small-time, tax-evading "entrepreneur" salesman, living and working in the working-class council estates and street markets of inner-city London. Deftly written by John Sullivan—the series is regarded by some as a model for this kind of sitcom writing—the series cast Jason in a domestic

situation in which he is quasi-head of an all-male family, responsible for both his younger brother and an elderly uncle. In the role, Jason cleverly trod a path between pathos and the quick-wittedness necessary to someone operating on the borderlines of legality. The character was, in many respects, a parody of the Thatcherite working-class self-motivator, complete with many of the tacky and vulgar accoutrements and aspirations of the (not-quite-yet) *nouveau-riche*. At the local pub, while others order pints of beer, Del seeks to distinguish himself from his milieu by drinking elaborate and luridly colored cocktails. The undertone, though, is salt-of-the-earth humanity and selflessness, called out in his paternal role to his younger brother, who eventually leaves the communal flat to pursue a life of marriage and a proper career. Jason's character is hemmed in by both the essential poverty of his situation but also by a deep-rooted sense of responsibility: though the plots of the individual episodes invariably revolve around one or either of Del's minor get-rich-quick or get-something-for-nothing schemes, the failure of these ventures often owes much to the character's inability to be sufficiently ruthless. Jason's skill was to interweave the opposing forces of selflessness and selfishness, working-class background and pseudo-middle-class tastes, brotherly condescension and "paternal" devotion into a successful balance. The character Del, exuding a deeper humanity as expressed in his ability to imbue the everyday with a well-judged emotional resonance and believability, ultimately embodied a rejection of aggressive materialism. The ultimate financial success of Del (he becomes a millionaire, ironically by accident rather than through one of his schemes) gave viewers a satisfying payoff. This comedy series has achieved a unique level of popularity in British television—one probably unrepeatable in the now-fragmented digital age—making Jason one of the most sought-after television actors.

Since *Only Fools and Horses*, Jason made moves away from overtly comic vehicles, pursuing variations on this rootedness in the everyday. In the adaptation of the satirical novel on Cambridge University life by Tom Sharpe, *Porterhouse Blue*, he played the sternly traditional porter Skullion, the acutely status-conscious servant of the college, dismayed by the liberalizing tendencies of the new master, and making determined efforts to turn back time. In *The Darling Buds of May*, his other great ratings success, he took the role of Pa ("Pop") Larkin, in these adaptations of the rural short stories of H.E. Bates. Such roles allowed him to develop the range and craftsmanship of his character performances.

In 1992 Jason ventured out of comedy altogether into the crime genre, as the eponymous Inspector Frost

in *A Touch of Frost*. In this series, Jason's Frost is a disgruntled, middle-aged, loner detective, whose fractious, down-to-earth nature has not entirely endeared him to his superiors and therefore—we infer—has hindered his career prospects. In such respects the series is in the mold of the immensely successful adaptations of Colin Dexter's *Inspector Morse* novels. But whereas Morse's cantankerousness, as played by John Thaw, was epitomized by a certain snobbishness—his love of classical music, his vintage car, his instinctive aloofness—in the Oxford environment of Dreaming Spires, Frost's gradually unfolding history reveals a lower middle-class resentfulness of those with money, fortune, pretensions, and easily gained happiness. His own life has—as we find out gradually—rendered him increasingly a victim of misfortune (his wife has died, his house has burned down). While *Morse*, in effect, creates a world of evil-doing amid soft-toned college greens, country pubs, and semi-rural Englishness, the Frost series is nearer to the subgenre of the detective soaps, its principal character a distinctly unglamorous malcontent, whose ideas and experience are entirely provincial and suburban. The series, now achieving very large audiences, has witnessed an increasing sureness of touch in this respect by Jason. As the actor matures, it could well be that he is becoming one of those to make the successful transition from comic-oriented younger work to a memorable body of serious roles. *Inspector Frost*, along with his moving portrayal of a doomed World War I officer in *All the King's Men*, suggests he has the capacity to do just that.

MARK HAWKINS-DADY

**David Jason.** Born David White in Edmonton, London, England, February 2, 1940. Attended schools in London. Gained early stage experience as an amateur while working as an electrician before entering repertory theater; entered television through *Crossroads* and children's comedy program, *Do Not Adjust Your Set*, 1967; popular television comedy star. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: BBC Television Personality of the Year, 1984; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Best Actor Award, 1988.

#### Television Series

1967	<i>Crossroads</i>
1967	<i>Do Not Adjust Your Set</i>
1968	<i>Two Ds and a Dog</i>
1969–70	<i>Hark at Barker</i>
1969–70	<i>His Lordship Entertains</i>
1969–70	<i>Six Dates with Barker</i>
1969–70	<i>Doctor in the House</i>
1971	<i>Doctor at Large</i>

Jason, David

1973–74 *The Top Secret Life of Edgar  
Briggs*  
1974 *Doctor at Sea*  
1974 *Mr. Stabbs*  
1974–77 *Porridge*  
1975, 1976,  
1981–82 *Lucky Feller*  
1985 *Open All Hours*  
1978–81 *A Sharp Intake of Breath*  
1981–91 *Only Fools and Horses*  
1986 *Porterhouse Blue*  
1988 *Jackanory*  
1988–89 *A Bit of a Do*  
1989 *Single Voices: The Chemist*  
1990–93 *The Darling Buds of May*  
1992, 1994 *A Touch of Frost*  
1993–97, 1999,  
2001–2003 *Inspector Frost*  
1997, 2000 *David Jason in His Element*  
(documentary series)

#### Television Specials

1990 *Amongst Barbarians*  
1998 *March in the Windy City*  
1999 *All the King's Men*  
2001 *Micawber*

2002 *Only Fools and Horses*  
(Christmas special)  
2002 *The Quest*

#### Films

*Under Milkwood*, 1970; *White Cargo*, 1974; *Royal  
Flash*, 1974; *The Mayor of Strackentz*, 1975; *Doctor  
at Sea*, 1976; *The Odd Job*, 1978; *Only Fools and  
Horses*, 1978; *The Water Babies*, 1979; *Wind in the  
Willows* (voice only), 1980; *The B.F.G.*, 1989 (voice  
only); *The Bullion Boys*, 1993 (TV); *March in the  
Windy City*, 1998 (TV); *Father Christmas and  
the Missing Reindeer*, 1998 (TV, voice only); *All the  
King's Men*, 1999 (TV); *The Quest*, 2002 (TV).

#### Radio

*Week Ending; Jason Explanation.*

#### Stage (selected)

*South Sea Bubble; Peter Pan; Under Milkwood*,  
1971; *The Rivals*, 1972; *No Sex Please... We're  
British!*, 1972; *Darling Mr. London*, 1975;  
*Charley's Aunt*, 1975; *The Norman Conquests*,  
1976; *The Relapse*, 1978; *Cinderella*, 1979; *The  
Unvarnished Truth*, 1983; *Look No Hans!*, 1985.

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## Jeffersons, The

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*The Jeffersons*, which appeared on CBS television from 1975 to 1985, focused on the lives of a nouveau riche African-American couple, George and Louise Jefferson. George Jefferson was a successful businessman, millionaire, and owner of seven dry cleaning stores. He lived with his wife in a ritzy penthouse apartment on Manhattan's fashionable and moneyed East Side. "We're movin' on up!" intoned the musical theme of the show opener, which featured George, Louise, and a moving van in front of the entrance to "their de-luxe apartment in the sky."

The program was conceived by independent producers Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin. This team's creation of highly successful and often controversial sitcoms during the 1970s and early 1980s helped to change television history. Programs such as *Maude*,

*Sanford and Son*, and *Good Times* were frequently ranked among the top-ten most watched programs.

*The Jeffersons* was a spin-off of one of 1970s television's most notable television sitcoms, *All in the Family*. In 1973 Lear cast Sherman Hemsley in the role of George Jefferson, Archie Bunker's irascible and upwardly mobile black neighbor. This character was such a hit with viewers that Hemsley was soon cast in the spin-off series *The Jeffersons*.

George and Louise Jefferson led lives that reflected the trappings of money and success. Their home was filled with expensive furnishings; art lined the walls. They even had their own black housekeeper, a wise-cracking maid named Florence. The supporting cast comprised a number of unique characters, including neighbor Harry Bentley, an eccentric Englishman who



*The Jeffersons*, 1975–85, Berlinda Tolbert, Sherman Hemsley, Isabel Sanford, Franklin Cover, Roxie Roker, Marla Gibbs.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

often made a mess of things; the Willises, a mixed-race couple with two adult children—one black, one white; and the ever-obsequious Ralph the Doorman, who knew no shame when it came to earning a tip. Occasional characters included George’s mother, the elderly and quietly cantankerous “Mother Jefferson” (the actress, Zara Cully, died in 1978); and George and Louise’s college-aged son, Lionel (who was portrayed during various periods by two different actors).

The George Jefferson character was conceptualized as an Archie Bunker in blackface. George was intolerant, rude, and stubborn; he referred to white people as “honkies.” He was a short, mean, bigoted popinjay who balked at manners. Louise, his long-suffering wife, spent most of her time apologizing for her husband’s behavior. Florence, the maid, contributed a great deal of comic relief, with her continuous put-downs of George. She was not afraid of his angry outbursts and in fact had little regard for him or his tirades. She referred to him as “Shorty” and never missed a chance to put him in his place.

The program was enormously popular and remained on prime-time television for ten years. There are a num-

ber of factors that position this program as an important facet of television history. First, *The Jeffersons* was one of three programs of the period to feature African Americans in leading roles—the first such programming since the cancellation of the infamous *Amos ’n’ Andy* show in 1953. *The Jeffersons* was the first television program to feature an interracial married couple, and it offered an uncommon, albeit comic, portrayal of a successful African-American family. Lastly, *The Jeffersons* is one of several programs of the period to rely heavily on confrontational humor. Along with *All in the Family*, and *Sanford and Son*, the show was also one of many to repopularize old-style ethnic humor.

It also serves to examine some of the controversy that surrounded *The Jeffersons*. Throughout its ten-year run on prime-time television, the show did not go without its share of criticism. The range of complaints, which emanated from media scholars, television critics, and everyday black viewers, ranged from the show’s occasional lapses into the negative stereotyping to its sometimes lack of ethnic realism. To some, the early Louise Jefferson character was nothing more than an Old-South Mammy stereotype. And George, though a millionaire businessman, was generally positioned as nothing more than a buffoon or the butt of someone’s joke. Even his own maid had no respect for him. Some blacks questioned, “Are we laughing with George as he balks at convention, or at George as he continuously makes a fool of himself?”

Ironically, as the show continued into the conservatism of the Reagan years, the tone of the program shifted. Louise Jefferson’s afro hairstyle disappeared and so did her poor English. There was no mention of her former life as a housekeeper. George’s racism was toned down, and the sketches were rendered more palatable in order to appeal to a wider audience. As with *Amos ’n’ Andy* some 20 years prior, America’s black community remained divided in its assessment of *The Jeffersons*.

This period of television history was a shifting one for television programmers seeking to create a show featuring African Americans. Obvious stereotypes could no longer be sold, yet the pabulum of shows like *Julia* was equally as unacceptable. *The Jeffersons* joined other Lear-Yorkin programs in setting a new tone for prime-time television, exploring issues that TV had scarcely touched before; furthermore, the series proved that programs with blacks in leading roles could indeed be successful commodities.

PAMALA S. DEANE

See also *All in the Family*; *Cosby Show*; *Good Times*; *Hemsley, Sherman*; *Lear, Norman*

## Jeffersons, The

### Cast

George Jefferson	Sherman Hemsley
Louise Jefferson	Isabel Sanford
Florence Johnston	Marla Gibbs
Helen Willis	Roxie Roker
Tom Willis	Franklin Cover
Lionel Jefferson (1975, 1979–81)	Mike Evans
Lionel Jefferson (1975–78)	Damon Evans
Jenny Willis Jefferson	Berlinda Tolbert
Harry Bentley	Paul Benedict
Mother Jefferson (1975–78)	Zara Cully
Ralph the Doorman	Ned Wertimer

### Producers

George Sunga, Jay Moriarity, Mike Mulligan, Don Nichol, Michael Ross, Bernie West, Sy Rosen, Jack Shea, Ron Leavitt, David Duclon

### Programming History

CBS	
January 1975–August 1975	Saturday 8:30–9:30
September 1975–October 1976	Saturday 8:00–8:30
November 1976–January 1977	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
September 1977–March 1978	Monday 8:00–8:30
April 1978–May 1978	Saturday 8:00–8:30
June 1978–September 1978	Monday 8:00–8:30
September 1978–January 1979	Wednesday 8:00–8:30

January 1979–March 1979	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
March 1979–June 1979	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
June 1979–September 1982	Sunday 9:30–10:00
September 1982– December 1984	Sunday 9:00–9:30
January 1985–March 1985	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
April 1985	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
June 1985	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
June 1985–July 1985	Tuesday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

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- Gray, Herman, *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness,"* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995
- MacDonald, J. Fred, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television Since 1948*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983; 2nd edition, 1992
- Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson, *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1992
- Taylor, Ella, *Prime-Time Families: Television Culture in Post-war America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989

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## Jenkins, Charles Francis (1867–1934)

U.S. Inventor

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Charles Francis Jenkins was a leading inventor and promoter of mechanical scanning television and was largely responsible for strong and passionate interest in television in the 1920s and early 1930s in the United States. His work in mechanical television paralleled the work of John Logie Baird in England. Jenkins also provided the first public television demonstration in the United States on June 13, 1925, less than three months after a somewhat similar demonstration by

Baird in England. Jenkins's demonstration, using mechanical scanning at both the transmitting and receiving ends, consisted of crude silhouette moving images called "shadowgraphs." This early work in mechanical scanning television helped lay the foundation for later all-electronic television.

Jenkins was the archetype of the independent inventor. Without major corporate financial backing, he never received the recognition, success, or wealth that other-



wise might have come to him. His numerous contributions and inventions covered a broad range of areas and uses. He co-invented and publicly demonstrated the first practical motion picture projector in the United States (1894), developed an automobile with the engine in the front instead of under the seat (1898), designed an early sight-seeing bus (1901), created an early automobile self-starter (1911), and developed significant improvements to the internal combustion engine (1912). He was granted more than 400 U.S. patents for inventions as diverse as an altimeter, an airplane brake, a conical paper drinking cup, and even a bean-shelling machine. In the area of communication and media technology, he developed the "prismatic ring" (circa 1915), designed to eliminate the need for film shutters in motion picture projectors by using a glass disk scanning apparatus. He later experimented with a variation of this concept for one of his mechanical television scanning systems. His work in facsimile in the early 1920s led to successful wirephoto transmissions by January of 1922 and radio-photos in May of that year. He was also involved in early wireless teletype transmission.

In 1916 Jenkins helped found the Society of Motion Picture Engineers, later renamed the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE), and was elected as the organization's first president. The idea of visual transmission interested Jenkins many years before his first demonstrations of facsimile and television. In the July 1894 issue of *Electrical Engineer*, he proposed a method for electrically transmitting pictures. In the September 1913 issue of *Motion Picture News*, he proposed a mechanism for television.

Jenkins's initial target market for television was radio amateurs and experimenters. He expected this market to quickly grow as a larger public became interested in television. The Federal Radio Commission (FRC) issued the first experimental television station license in the United States to Jenkins in 1927, and this station, W3XK, began transmitting on July 2, 1928, with regular broadcasts of "radiomovies," television images of motion pictures, from Jenkins's facility near Washington, D.C. In addition, his company provided information and instructions on how to build television receivers. In December 1928, the Jenkins Television Corporation was founded in New Jersey to sell Jenkins television equipment and operate television stations in order to promote the sale of receivers to the public and equipment for experimenters and other experimental stations. By mid-1929, the Jenkins Television Corporation was marketing receivers, named Radiovisors, to pick up signals from its transmitters in Washington, D.C., and New Jersey. The receivers were designed for easy use by people in their

homes. The devices initially utilized a compact spinning-drum scanning mechanism that conserved space, energy, and weight. Unfortunately, picture quality was extremely limited, making the reception of television little more than a "quickly tiresome novelty." By 1931 the Jenkins Television Corporation was offering both factory-built Radiovisors and do-it-yourself kits. Because of the high cost of Radiovisors during the Depression, the lessening interest in the limited program offerings, mediocre image quality, and the pending introduction of all-electronic television, sales dropped precipitously by the end of the year. To make matters worse, the FRC had disallowed the broadcast of on-air advertisements promoting Jenkins receivers and receiver kits.

In October 1929, DeForest Radio acquired a majority interest in Jenkins Television. In March 1932, Jenkins Television was liquidated and its assets sold to DeForest Radio. Within months, DeForest Radio went into receivership and sold its assets, including its Jenkins holdings, to RCA, which then discontinued the Jenkins television operation owing to a notable lack of interest in, and support for, mechanical television. The limitations inherent in mechanical television's picture quality kept it from being able to compete with electronic scanning television systems, and it was therefore deemed a failure and doomed to quick obsolescence in the United States. The Jenkins Laboratories in Washington, D.C., continued television research but closed in 1934 with the death of Jenkins.

Perhaps Jenkins was shortsighted for concentrating on mechanical television and not moving ahead into electronic television. Perhaps he simply did not have the financial backing to move in this direction. Today, he has been almost forgotten by all but a few television historians. However, in the United States he was responsible for the advent of television and was the first pioneer to make television a reality. He was responsible for creating a great interest in television and its future among experimenters, amateur radio enthusiasts, the public, and business. He paved the way for television's future success, helping provide the incentive for support of television experimentation by "big business" such as RCA's support of Vladimir K. Zworykin; Crocker and later Philco's support of Philo T. Farnsworth; and General Electric's support of Ernst F.W. Alexanderson.

STEVE RUNYON

See also **Baird, John Logie; Television Technology**

**Charles Francis Jenkins.** Born in Dayton, Ohio, August 22, 1867. Attended Earlham College, Richmond,

Indiana. Married: Grace Love, 1902. Independent inventor, demonstrated the first practical motion picture projector, 1894; invented automobile with the engine in front instead of under the seat, 1898; designed an early sight-seeing bus, 1901; created an early automobile self-starter, 1911; developed significant improvements to the internal combustion engine, 1912; developed inventions in radiophotography, television, radiomovies, 1915–20s; founded the Society of Motion Picture Engineers, 1916; research vice president of Jenkins Television Corporation, 1928. Member: National Aeronautical Association, American Automobile Association. Recipient: Franklin Institute and the City of Philadelphia medal. Died in Washington, D.C., June 6, 1934.

#### Publications (selected)

“Transmitting Pictures by Electricity,” *Electrical Engineer* (July 1894)

“Prismatic Rings,” *Transactions of the SMPE* (1922)  
“Radio Photographs, Radio Movies, and Radio Vision,” *Transactions of the SMPE* (1923)  
“Recent Progress in the Transmission of Motion Pictures by Radio,” *Transactions of the SMPE* (1924)  
*Vision by Radio, Radio Photographs, Radio Photographs*, 1925  
“Radio Vision,” *Proceedings of the IRE* (November 1927)  
“The Drum Scanner in Radiomovies Receivers,” *Proceedings of the IRE* (September 1929)  
*Radiomovies, Radiovision, Television*, 1929  
“Television Systems,” *Journal of the SMPE* (October 1930)  
*The Boyhood of an Inventor*, 1931

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## Jennings, Peter (1938– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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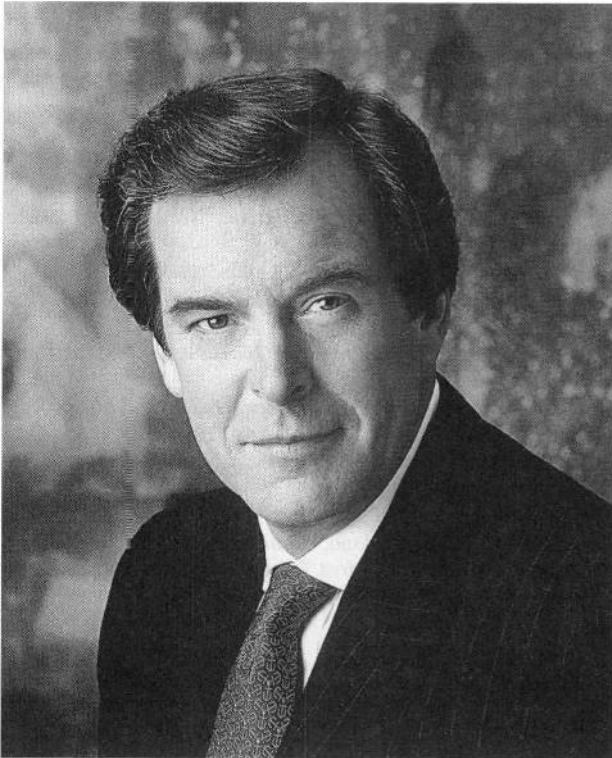
Very few names in broadcast journalism are as recognizable as that of Peter Jennings. His father, Charles, was the most prominent radio announcer for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Thus, it seems perhaps predictable that Peter Jennings would have his own successful career in the news industry.

Jennings was ten years old when he received his first anchor job for *Peter's Program*, a Saturday morning radio show which showcased young talent. As a student, he exhibited little interest in formal education. However, his interests and talent in the area of news would demonstrate his capacity and willingness to learn. He began his professional career as a disc jockey and news reporter for a small radio station in Brockton, Ontario. Like many reporters who achieve major success, Jennings's opportunity to make a name for himself came with breaking news. In this case it was the story of a train wreck he covered for the CBC that brought attention. But the story got him a job with CTV, Canada's first private TV network, rather than with the public broadcaster. Elmer Lower, who identified Jennings's good looks and charm as elements that would sell to the American public, recruited Jennings

from CTV to ABC News. Shortly after, in 1964, Jennings joined ABC as an anchor for a 15-minute evening news segment.

A year later, in an unprecedented rise to the top, Jennings, at 27, became the youngest *ABC Evening News* anchor. His competition at the time—Walter Cronkite on CBS, and the team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on NBC—stood as the most credible anchors of their time. In this competitive environment, Jennings was unable to break through and establish a strong share for ABC News. In 1968 he left the anchor desk and was sent to Rome to become a foreign correspondent and sharpen his reporting skills. Jennings was credited with establishing the first American television news bureau in the Middle East and served for seven years as ABC News Bureau Chief in Beirut, Lebanon. After building a strong reputation for world-class reporting, Jennings was put back in an anchor position for *A.M. America*, the predecessor for *Good Morning America*, where he delivered five-minute newscasts from Washington, D.C.

The experience and contacts in the Middle East paid off for Jennings. He established a reputation as Anwar



Peter Jennings.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Sadat's favorite correspondent after completing a documentary on the Egyptian president, and in 1977, when Egypt and Israel were about to make peace, Jennings was called to the scene. In 1978, he was the first U.S. reporter to interview the Ayatollah Khomeini, then in exile in Paris. When the Ayatollah came to power in Iran, Jennings was the first reporter to be granted an interview and accompanied the Ayatollah on the plane back to Iran.

Shortly after, on July 10, 1978, the first *ABC World News Tonight* aired. Jennings was to become a star. His breadth of experience in national and international reporting served him well while he was a reporter for *World News Tonight*, and in 1983 he was named lead anchor.

During the late 1980s, Jennings anchored several highly acclaimed programs, including a live series called *Capital to Capital*, which broadcast communications between Soviet officials and members of the U.S. Congress. News specials on political volatility in China, Iran, and the former Soviet Union also won praise. His contributions include a live, via-satellite, town hall meeting between U.S. citizens and Soviet leaders Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. This show, with its question-and-answer format, gave Americans unprecedented exposure to the Soviet leaders.

Although Jennings's political reports have won him the most praise at *World News Tonight*, they do not stand alone. Jennings also anchors *Peter Jennings Reporting*. These one-hour, prime-time specials address important issues facing the nation and the world. He has explored issues ranging from abortion, gun control, AIDS, and rape to funding for the arts and Ross Perot's presidential campaign. Jennings's accomplishments also include a series of news reports for children. In 1994, he served as moderator of a special question-and-answer broadcast from the White House in which American children questioned President Clinton about issues important to their lives.

For his work, Jennings has won several Emmy and Overseas Press Club Awards and the prestigious Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Award for journalism. In 1989, a *Times-Mirror* poll found Jennings to be the most believable source of news. Jennings was also named Best Anchor by the *Washington Journalism Review* in 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1992.

Jennings teamed with Todd Brewster to develop three best-selling books and corresponding television series. *The Century* and *The Century for Young People* present a comprehensive, colorful, and impressive chronicle of 20th-century history. *In Search of America*, although conceptualized before September 11, 2001, gathers stories both inspiring and poignant, and focuses on diverse American issues and individuals.

JOHN TEDESCO

See also **Anchor; News, Network**

**Peter (Charles) Jennings.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, July 29, 1938. Attended Trinity College School and Carleton University, Ontario, and Rider College in New Jersey, United States. Married: 1) Valerie Godsoe (divorced), 2) Annie Malouf (divorced), 3) Kati Marton, 1979 (divorced, 1994); children: Elizabeth and Christopher. Began career in Canadian radio and television as news correspondent; parliamentary correspondent and network co-anchor, independent Canadian Television Channel (CTV); New York correspondent, ABC television, 1964; nightly news anchor, 1965-68; overseas assignment, 1968-1974; Washington correspondent, news anchor, *A.M. America*, 1975-76; chief foreign correspondent, 1977; foreign desk anchor, *World News Tonight*, 1978; anchor, senior editor, *ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings*, since 1983. Named Best Anchor in the United States, *Washington Journalism Review*, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1992. Member: International Radio and Television Society. Recipient: Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Award; 12 Emmy Awards; several Overseas Press Club Awards; Harvard University's Goldsmith Career Award for Excellence; Radio and Television News Di-

Jennings, Peter

rectors Paul White Award; George Foster Peabody Award.

#### Television Series

1964 *World News Tonight* (co-anchor)  
1965–68 *World News Tonight* (anchor)  
1975–76 *A.M. America* (news anchor)  
1978 *ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* (anchor)

#### Television Specials (selected)

1985 *45/85*  
1988 *Drugs: A Plague Upon the Land*  
1988 *Why This Plague?*  
1989 *AIDS Quarterly*  
1992 *Men, Sex and Rape*  
1993 *President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions*  
1994 *ABC Viewpoint: Whitewater: Underplayed? Overplayed?*

#### Publications

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*The Century*, 1998  
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# Jeopardy!

## U.S. Game Show

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Premiering in 1964 in a daytime slot on NBC, *Jeopardy!* was one of the first quiz shows to reintroduce factual knowledge, including knowledge of sports and entertainment trivia as well the arts, literature, and science, as the main source of questions. Seemingly reversing the logic of the big money quiz shows of the 1950s (e.g., *The \$64,000 Question*, *Twenty-One*), producer Merv Griffin introduced a format in which the answers for questions are revealed and the contestants must phrase their response in the form of a question. *Jeopardy!* also made the competitions more challenging for contestants by deducting money for each incorrect answer from their winnings, making it possible to have negative scores.

*Jeopardy!* is played in three rounds: the "Jeopardy" round, the "Double Jeopardy" round, and the "Final Jeopardy" round. In the Jeopardy round, 30 "answers"

in six categories are revealed on a large, upright game board, with the values in each category increasing according to their difficulty level. A "Daily Double" hidden behind one of the questions forces contestants to wager all or part of their winnings on the answer. The same pattern of play is repeated in the Double Jeopardy round, with the value of questions now doubled and two Daily Doubles hidden on the game board. The game ends after all answers have been revealed or when time runs out. In the Final Jeopardy round contestants again wager some or all of their winnings on one common question that has to be answered in 30 seconds. The contestant with the highest score at the end of Final Jeopardy becomes the champion and is allowed to return for a maximum of five appearances. All five-time champions and some of the highest scoring winners return for the "Tournament of Champi-



*Jeopardy!*  
Photo courtesy of Steve Crise

ons,” which is held once a year. *Jeopardy!* also regularly conducts other competitions, such as junior *Jeopardy!*, college tournaments, and celebrity shows.

The original version of *Jeopardy!*, hosted by Art Fleming, ran from 1964 to 1975. Prizes for individual answers ranged from \$10 to \$50 in the *Jeopardy!* round and from \$20 to \$100 in the Double *Jeopardy!* round. In this version, all contestants kept their winnings, and the overall champion returned for another show. A 1978 remake of the show entitled *All New Jeopardy!* returned with Art Fleming as the host. In this version, the lowest-scoring contestant was eliminated after the *Jeopardy!* round, and only the top winner after the Double *Jeopardy!* round went on to play the Super *Jeopardy!* bonus round. This version of *Jeopardy!* was less popular than the original and was canceled after only five months. From 1974 to 1975, *Jeopardy!* also ran parallel to the NBC network version in syndication.

A new syndicated version of *Jeopardy!* premiered in September 1984 with Alex Trebek as host and has proved to be the most successful version of the program so far. While the rules of the game stayed essentially the same, the value of the questions in the

*Jeopardy!* round range from \$100 to \$500 and from \$1,000 to \$2,000 in the Double *Jeopardy!* round. Only the winning contestant is allowed to keep the amount accumulated in the three rounds of competition. The two other contestants only receive consolation prizes. To add visual interest, *Jeopardy!* also added videotaped clues and celebrities reading answers.

The most recent spin-off from *Jeopardy!* is *Rock 'n' Roll Jeopardy!*, broadcast on the cable music channel VH-1. The distinctive feature in this version is the focus on rock and pop music in the questions. Instead of the actual amount won during the three rounds of competition, the champion on *Rock 'n' Roll Jeopardy!* wins \$5,000, while the other contestants receive consolation prizes. Numerous rock musicians have appeared in celebrity editions of this show, playing for their favorite charity rather than personal gain. Jeff Probst, who went on to host *Survivor*, was the original host of *Rock 'n' Roll Jeopardy!*.

Unlike most other game shows from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, which focused on gambling, guessing, and consumption, *Jeopardy!* produced an appearance of serious competition and regard for education. The

## Jeopardy!

dramatically lit set and the dominance of blue in the color scheme add an impression of austerity on the show, serving to underline the pressure that the program attempts to create for the contestants. *Jeopardy!* avoids foregrounding consumerism and merchandise, as contestants generally only win cash prizes. At the same time, however, the large sums of cash that can be won on the program (up to \$100,000 for one contestant) still reinforce a sense of materialism. Host Alex Trebek regularly emphasizes the intellectual abilities of the contestants, and popular magazines highlight the difficulty level of the questions on the show. However, the structure of the questions usually incorporates multiple clues to the correct answer and most questions do not require in-depth knowledge of a subject. Contestants can succeed on the program based on their ability to correctly identify clues within the question, so that only a surface familiarity with a given subject is necessary. The cultural competence required on *Jeopardy!* is closely aligned with "classical knowledge" and excludes marginal cultural groups and forms. As Michael Berthold points out, for example, literary authors used

in questions are very likely canonized white male authors from the 19th and 20th centuries. Female and non-white authors rarely make an appearance. In other words, the game structure of *Jeopardy!* provides powerful financial incentives for being educated and accepting of the hierarchies of dominant culture.

OLAF HOERSCHELMANN

*See also Quiz and Game Shows*

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# Jewel in the Crown, The

## British Serial Drama

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*The Jewel in the Crown* is a 14-part serial produced by Granada Studios and first broadcast on British independent television in January 1984. A lavish prestige production, *The Jewel in the Crown* received immediate critical acclaim, going on to win several national and international awards and in the process confirming Britain's excellence in the field of television drama. In addition to receiving critical attention, the serial also proved popular with British audiences. The first run averaged eight million viewers a week, a significant figure for a "quality" drama on British television.

Based on Paul Scott's *Raj Quartet*, four novels published between 1966 and 1975, the serial focuses on the final years of the British in India. Set against the backdrop of World War II and using the rape of an English woman as its dramatic center, *The Jewel in the Crown* charts a moment of crisis and change in British national history.

The serial should be seen in the context of a cycle of film and television productions that emerged during the first half of the 1980s and that seemed to indicate

Britain's growing preoccupation with India, the Empire, and a particular aspect of British cultural history. Notable examples from this cycle would include the films *A Passage to India* (1984) and *Heat and Dust* (1982), and the television drama *The Far Pavilions* (1984). These fictions were produced during, and indeed reflected, a moment of crisis and change in British life: mass unemployment and the arrival of new social and class configurations tied to emerging political and economic trends all conspired to destabilize and recast notions of national and cultural identity in the early 1980s. While often critical of Britain's past, these fictions nevertheless permitted a nostalgic gaze back to a golden age, presenting a vision of the Empire as something great and glorious. These fictions seemed to offer reassurance to the British public; as cultural fetish objects, they helped negotiate and manage a moment of social and political upheaval.

If these fictions were ultimately reassuring for certain sections of the British public, then *The Jewel in the Crown* has been seen by at least one commentator,



*The Jewel in the Crown*, Charles Dance, 1984.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Tana Wollen, to be the least nostalgic and most troubled text in the cycle. However, this “trouble” may have less to do with the serial’s overt politics and more to do with its form and style. Paul Scott’s *Raj Quartet* are fairly unconventional novels and were not wholly suited to the demands of serial form. Their use of multiple points of view and their elliptical, collage-like narratives were not easily adapted to a form based around linear progression, continuity of action and character, and the promise of eventual narrative resolution.

The television adaptation was necessarily a more conventional rendering of the story, the narrative now flattened out and the events subjected to a more chronological ordering. Nevertheless, *The Jewel in the Crown* managed to hold on to some of the formal complexity of the novels by employing voice-overs, flashbacks, and newsreel inserts—techniques that tend to arrest narrative development, giving the serial a heavy, ponderous quality. The adaptation, and Scott’s novels, lacked the kind of character development and continuity that we have come to expect from the television serial. By the third episode, the serial’s central character Daphne Manners is killed off and only one character spans all 14 episodes. This is the evil Ronald Merrick, who dies in episode 13 and appears in the final part

only through flashback. However, *The Jewel in the Crown* managed to maintain continuity through a series of echoes and motifs: images of fire, the repetition of certain actions and events, and the passing down of the lace christening gown all helped to provide the serial with a formal cohesion that seemed to be lacking at the level of character and plot development. All in all, *The Jewel in the Crown* proved to be a challenging text and demanded from its audience an unusually high degree of commitment and perseverance.

Although *The Jewel in the Crown* was broadcast in 1984, with a repeat screening the following year, by the late 1980s the serial still had a high public profile as it became embroiled in debates about television, quality, and the future of British broadcasting. This debate followed legislation calling for the deregulation of the British airwaves, which in turn kindled anxieties concerning the fate of public service and quality television. In this debate, as Charlotte Brunson has pointed out, *The Jewel in the Crown*, along with *Brideshead Revisited*, came to represent the “acme of British quality.” Elsewhere, *The Jewel in the Crown* was being held up as the epitome of excellence. In 1990 the serial was screened at the National Film Theatre as part of a season called “Good-by to All This.” Here *The Jewel in the Crown* was described as the “title everyone reaches for when asked for a definition of ‘quality television.’” *The Jewel in the Crown* came to represent what was at stake in the deregulation of the British airwaves. It articulated fears over what could be lost in the transition from a regulated, public-service tradition in broadcasting to a more commercial, market-led system. Increasingly, *The Jewel in the Crown* was coming to represent the golden days prior to the deregulation of quality television.

This serial, then, had originally emerged as part of a cycle of texts dealing with anxieties over national identity. At a moment of radical change in British life, these texts may have offered viewers a nostalgic vision of a glorious past. By the late 1980s, the serial was referring to a more immediate past and a cultural identity bound to a broadcasting tradition of public service and quality drama. In both cases *The Jewel in the Crown* articulated and represented the anxieties and the sense of loss felt by sections of the British public who were faced with the decline of a particular idea of national and cultural identity.

PETER McLUSKIE

See also **Adaptations; British Programming; Mini-series**

#### Cast

Daphne Manners	Susan Wooldridge
Hari Kumar	Art Malik



Jewel in the Crown, The

Ronald Merrick      Tim Piggot-Smith  
Barbie Batchelor    Peggy Ashcroft  
Sophie Dixon        Warren Clarke  
Guy Perron          Charles Dance

### Programming History

1 120-minute episode; 13 60-minute episodes  
ITV  
January 9, 1984–April 3, 1984

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## Johnson, Lamont (1922– )

U.S. Director

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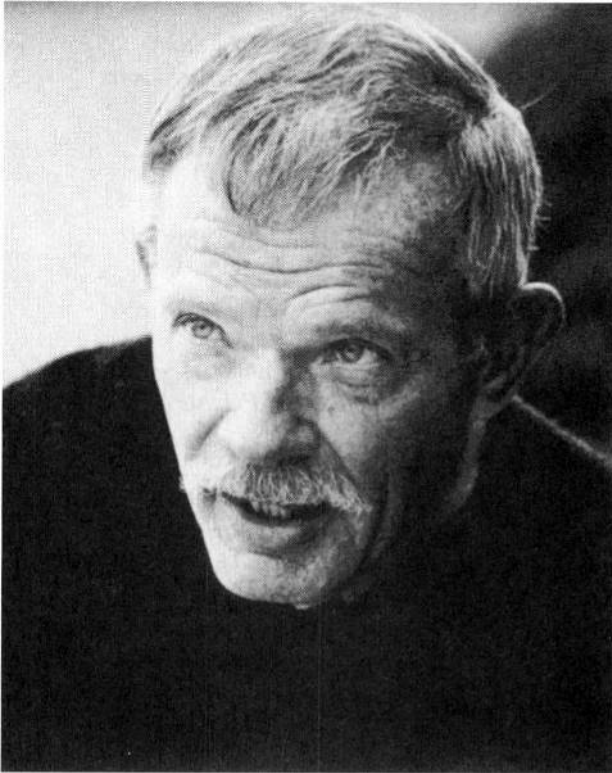
Lamont Johnson is an actors' director who is also a director's director. Acclaimed, respected, and superbly consistent, he is television's answer to William Wyler. Between his 1964 Emmy nomination and Directors Guild of America (DGA) Award for a *Profiles in Courage* episode ("The Oscar Underwood Story") and his 1992 Emmy nomination for the real-life disaster film *Crash Landing*, Johnson amassed 11 Emmy nominations (winning in 1985 for *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story* and in 1988 for *Gore Vidal's Lincoln*) and eight DGA nominations (winning four, plus a special award as the Most Outstanding TV Director of 1972). Although he has racked up admirable big-screen credits, too, such as *The Last American Hero* (a 1973 movie based on Tom Wolfe's profile of a stock-car racing champion, "The Last American Hero Is Junior Johnson. Yes!"), television is the medium that has allowed Johnson the most room to flex his creative muscles. His video credits list contains character portraits, period epics, theater pieces, and docudramas.

Employing what he learned in theater, radio, live TV, and feature films, Johnson imbues his TV movies with dramatic briskness and invention, vital sound, and visual dimension. His distinctive humane touch derives from his feeling for performers, who in some way become his true subject. Almost every year brings

new additions to his gallery of unforgettable figures, from John Ritter's agonizingly frustrated Vietnam vet in the Agent Orange exposé *Unnatural Causes* (1986) to Annette O'Toole's Rose Fitzgerald—part stoic heroine, part religious maniac—in *The Kennedys of Massachusetts* (1988). The vibrant characters who populate his TV films would fill a small city—Johnsonville, USA—except his art encompasses the world. One of his most impressive accomplishments is *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story*, starring Richard Chamberlain, in which the Scarlet Pimpernel-like heroism of Raoul Wallenberg (the Swedish diplomat who saved tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews) puts the horror of the Holocaust in stark relief.

Gifted with a "roaring bass voice," Johnson turned pro as a radio actor at age 16 and financed his college education by working as a broadcast performer, news announcer, and disc jockey. After student theater experience (such as directing a production of *Liliom* in a women's gym), he moved from Los Angeles to New York with the aim of acting on the stage. He became a mainstay of radio soap operas and a Broadway understudy; on a USO tour through Europe, he befriended Gertrude Stein, who gave him rights to her play, *Yes Is for a Very Young Man*. His first professional directing job was to mount it, in 1948, at off-Broadway's Cherry Lane Theater, with a cast that boasted Anthony Fran-





Lamont Johnson.  
Photo courtesy of Lamont Johnson

ciosa, Gene Saks, Michael V. Gazzo, Bea Arthur, and Kim Stanley.

Although he swore off directing after that—he could not bear the role of referee—Johnson came under its spell for good while acting for such broadcast luminaries as John Frankenheimer, Sidney Lumet, and Jack Smight. In 1955 Johnson made his TV directorial debut guiding Richard Boone through an adaptation of *Wuthering Heights* for the hour-long live drama series, *Matinee Theater*. (Johnson ended up doing 28 of those shows in two years.) In 1958 Boone gave Johnson the opportunity to break into filmed TV when the star insisted that Johnson be hired for six episodes of the second season of his hit western, *Have Gun—Will Travel*. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Johnson went on to direct popular and innovative dramatic series such as *Peter Gunn*, *Naked City*, and *The Defenders*. He did a fistful of episodes for *The Twilight Zone*, including “Kick the Can” (which Steven Spielberg remade in his *The Twilight Zone: The Movie*). Four decades later, when *Felicity* creator J.J. Abrams decided to shake up his lethargic collegiate characters by dropping them in a latter-day *Twilight Zone*, he turned for direction to Johnson, who ended up reworking an episode he had directed in 1961: “Five Characters in Search of an

Exit.” More than a replica, the result was a unique hybrid that transformed the youthful self-absorption of the *Felicity* characters into something both eerie and hilarious.

It was a trio of collaborations with the producing-writing team of Richard Levinson and William Link that cemented Johnson’s place in broadcast history. Levinson and Link smartly emphasized the plight of individuals while blazing trails in TV movies’ depictions of race relations (*My Sweet Charlie*, 1970), homosexuality (*That Certain Summer*, 1972), and American military conduct (*The Execution of Private Slovik*, 1974). Coming fully into his own as a director, Johnson shaped performances with an emotional combustion to match the script’s social conflagrations. Working on location whenever possible, he brewed alive and unpredictable atmospheres. It is rare to remember character bits and mood points from what are usually called “message movies,” but what springs to mind from *My Sweet Charlie* is the edgy sheepishness of the fugitive northern black lawyer (played by Al Freeman Jr.) as he tries to persuade the pregnant southern runaway (Patty Duke) that he can impersonate a down-home black man. From *That Certain Summer*, one recalls the uncomfortable-looking figures of the gay hero (Hal Holbrook) and his teenage son (Scott Jacoby) as the father struggles to explain his lifestyle on a three-minute downhill walk. Picture *The Execution of Private Slovik*—the first docudrama TV movie—and a different trek pops into memory: the penetratingly sad, snow-blown death march for the only U.S. soldier to be executed for desertion after World War II. Though the writers received the lion’s share of attention, and the scripts were solid and sensitive, Johnson’s direction was the most artistic aspect of these ambitious projects, lending them delicacy as well as poignancy. In the capper to this spate of TV productivity, his 1975 *Fear on Trial* (based on a David W. Rintels script), Johnson’s evocation of a frigid 1950s New York City winter overpowered the screenplay’s conventional, simplistic anti-blacklisting theatrics; it looked as if the Cold War itself had set the city’s temperature.

Johnson did astonishing work while constantly shuttling among media from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. In 1980 two of his favorite TV productions premiered. The first, *Paul’s Case*, a 52-minute-long drama for the PBS *American Short Story* series (shot in ten days on a \$180,000 budget), is a powerful, peculiar American tragedy about the downfall of a fragile escapist. Following Willa Cather’s original story to the letter, Johnson led Eric Roberts to his best performance—he is splendidly off-kilter as a high school

boy in 1905 Pittsburgh who is too far into his dream world of glamour and theatricality to come of out it alive. Johnson's TV-movie *Off the Minnesota Strip*, which aired just three months later, is a revelation of a contemporary adolescent limbo, with Mare Winningham as a teenage hooker, brilliantly conveying the interlocking social and sexual pressures that trap teenagers into self-destructive fantasies of "making it." Around the same time as these TV milestones, Johnson completed one of his finest feature films, *Cattle Annie and Little Britches* (not released until 1981), an offbeat western that explored Americans' need for pop mythology and turned the adventures of its young pulp heroines (stunningly played by Diane Lane and Amanda Plummer) into coming-of-age action poetry.

Pulling off three wildly different projects in a year would be admirable for the resident director of a repertory company or an anthology series; to do it by leap-frogging the worlds of network TV, PBS, and independent filmmaking would seem a feat. But not for Johnson. He has nurtured a robust, sane creativity by approaching the theatrical arts as a continuum—and creating an emotional spectrum that retains its intensity whether projected on a movie screen or transmitted via satellite and cable.

MICHAEL SRAGOW

**Lamont Johnson.** Born in Stockton, California, September 30, 1922. Educated at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1942–43; studied at Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre. Married: Toni Merrill, 1945, children: Jeremy, Carolyn, Christopher Anthony. Stage producer and director, since 1948; founded UCLA Theater Group (now Centre Theater Group), 1959; television director, since 1950s; film director, since 1961. Recipient: numerous Directors Guild of American Awards; numerous Emmy Awards.

**Television (actor)**

1949 *Julius Caesar*  
 1952 *Aesop*  
 1953–54 *Prize Winner*

**Television Series (director)**

1956–58 *Matinee Theater*  
 1957–63 *Have Gun—Will Travel*  
 1958–63 *The Rifleman*  
 1958–61 *Peter Gunn*  
 1959–65 *Twilight Zone*  
 1959–60 *Johnny Ringo*  
 1960–63 *Naked City*  
 1961–65 *The Defenders*  
 2000 *Felicity*

**Television Miniseries (director)**

1985 *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story*  
 1988 *The Kennedys of Massachusetts*  
 (aired 1990)  
 1988 *Gore Vidal's Lincoln*

**Made-for-Television Movies (director)**

1964 *Profiles in Courage*  
 1969 *Deadlock*  
 1970 *My Sweet Charlie*  
 1972 *That Certain Summer*  
 1974 *The Execution of Private Slovik*  
 (also writer)  
 1975 *Fear on Trial*  
 1980 *American Short Story: Paul's Case*  
 1980 *Off the Minnesota Strip*  
 1981 *Escape from Iran: The Canadian Caper*  
 1981 *Crisis at Central High*  
 1982 *Life of the Party: The Story of Beatrice*  
 1982 *Dangerous Company*  
 1982 *Beatrice*  
 1982 *Two Plays by David Mamet*  
 1983 *Jack and the Beanstalk*  
 1984 *Ernie Kovacs: Between the Laughter*  
 1986 *Unnatural Causes*  
 1990 *Voices Within: The Lives of Truddi Chase*  
 1992 *Crash Landing: The Rescue of Flight 232*  
 1993 *The Broken Chain*  
 1995 *The Man Next Door*  
 1997 *All the Winters That Have Been*

**Films (actor)**

*Sally and Saint Anne*, 1952; *The Human Jungle*, 1954; *The Brothers Rico*, 1957; *One on One*, 1977; *Sunnyside*, 1979; *Death Wish II*, 1981; *The Five Heartbeats*, 1991; *Class Act*, 1992; *Fear of a Black Hat*, 1993; *Waiting to Exhale*, 1995; *The Great White Hype*, 1996; *Live Virgin*, 2000.

**Films (director)**

*Thin Ice*, 1961; *A Covenant with Death*, 1966; *Kona Coast*, 1968; *The McKenzie Break*, 1970; *A Gunfight*, 1971; *The Groundstar Conspiracy*, 1972; *You'll Like My Mother*, 1972; *The Last American Hero*, 1973; *Visit to a Chief's Son*, 1974; *Lipstick*, 1976; *One on One*, 1977; *Somebody Killed Her Husband*, 1978; *FM*, 1978; *Cattle Annie and Little Britches*, 1981; *Spacehunter: Adventures in the Forbidden Zone*, 1983.

**Opera (director)**

*The Man in the Moon*, 1959; *Iphigenie en Tauride*, 1962; *Orfeo*, 1990.

**Stage (actor)**

*Manja*, 1939; *Young Woodley*, 1946; *Yes Is for a Very Young Man*, 1948; *Macbeth*, 1948; *The Pony Cart*, 1954; *A Christmas Carol*, 1980–81.

**Stage (director)**

*Yes Is for a Very Young Man*, 1948; *The Potting Shed*, 1957; *The Man in the Moon*, 1957; *The Skin of Our Teeth*, 1958; *Under Milkwood*, 1959; *4 Comedies of Despair*, 1960; *The Egg*, 1961; *The Perfect Setup*, 1962; *'Tis a Pity She's a Whore*, 1963; *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1964; *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*, 1969; *The Tempest*, 1978; *Popular Neurotics*, 1981; *California Dogfight*,

1983; *Nanawata*, 1985; *The Eighties*, 1988–89; *Orfeo*, 1990.

**Publication**

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## Jones, Quincy (1933– )

U.S. Musician, Producer

Quincy Jones's long career as a music composer lends insight into popular music's influence on the television and film media. In 1951 a teenaged Jones began working as a trumpet player and arranger for Lionel Hampton. During his early career, he played with some of the best-known names in black bebop and jazz, performers such as Count Basie, Clark Terry, Ray Charles, Billy Eckstine, Dizzy Gillespie, and Sarah Vaughan. He toured Europe, the Middle East, and South Africa during the 1950s. In 1957 he studied in Paris with Nadia Boulanger. During this period he also became a major publisher of music.

However, failed business ventures in 1959 forced him to sell his music publishing catalogue. Jones overcame this major financial setback by working as an executive at A and M Records and by working as an arranger for Dinah Washington in New York City. He became vice president of Mercury Records in 1964, the first African-American executive at a major record label.

In 1961, *Jet* magazine, a weekly entertainment periodical directed to an African-American readership, awarded Jones the title of best arranger and composer.

But despite honors from his African-American community and excellent critical reviews, he recognized that jazz music was not earning high record sales. He decided then to produce more commercial songs. In 1963, he branched out to develop the talent of a white teenage singer, Lesley Gore, with whom he recorded the pop hit "It's My Party." Jones continued to work with talented white artists such as Frank Sinatra, for whom he conducted and arranged *Sinatra: Live in Las Vegas at the Sands with Count Basie* (1966). By adapting to technological changes that gave more control to engineers and producers, Jones achieved commercial success in the music recording industry during the 1960s. Yet, he still desired to compose scores for motion pictures, and his success allowed him to pursue the small openings in media industries previously closed to African-American artists.

After Jones scored his first film, *The Boy in the Tree* (1960), he scored *The Pawnbroker* (1965) for director Sidney Lumet. Jones's first major Hollywood contract was with Universal Pictures. He became an African-American pioneer in film and television industries during the late 1960s, and he had few black colleagues. At



Quincy Jones.  
Photo courtesy of Greg Gorman Photography

this time, television news reports were increasingly presenting images of the United States facing racial conflict. Amid the struggle for civil rights, Jones worked in Hollywood to help destroy the negative stereotypes of African Americans. In 1965 he was hired to score the film *Mirage*, starring Gregory Peck, and he scored *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), starring a top box-office star of the era, Sidney Poitier.

In 1967 Jones scored the pilot and eight episodes of the dramatic television series *Ironside*. In creating the *Ironside* theme, he was the first composer to utilize a synthesizer in the arrangement of a television score. During the same year, he composed the theme to the television movie *Split Second to an Epitaph*. Jones also wrote the theme song for Bill Cosby's first situation comedy, *The Bill Cosby Show* (NBC; 1970) and went on to score 56 episodes.

In a brief two-week period between film and television scores, Jones returned to record making with the jazz album *Walking*. The album won a Grammy for Best Jazz Performance by a Large Group in 1969.

In 1972 Jones wrote the theme to the *NBC Mystery Movie* series, and his momentum in the television industry continued to grow. During the same year, he scored 26 episodes of *The Bill Cosby Variety Series*, and in 1973 he composed the theme to the comedy

program *Sanford and Son*, starring comedian Redd Foxx.

In 1974, soon after his *Body Heat* album reached the top of the music charts, Jones suffered from health problems. A brain aneurysm required two surgical procedures and he had to stop playing the trumpet.

After a four-year hiatus, during which he concentrated on his own music productions, Jones returned to television in 1977 to score the ABC miniseries *Roots*, one of the highest-rated programs in television history. His score accented the exploration of African chants and rhythms as indigenous to American culture and garnered Jones an Emmy Award. Coinciding with this success in television, he scored *The Wiz* (1978), a Universal Pictures all-black version of *The Wizard of Oz*, starring Diana Ross and Michael Jackson.

Between 1963, when he entered the Hollywood film industry as a film composer, and 1990, Jones earned 38 film credits. Most notably, he coproduced the critically acclaimed film *The Color Purple* (1985) with director Steven Spielberg. In 1994 Jones was honored with an Academy Award for his achievements in the film industry.

Despite his success in television and film, Jones has never lost interest in spotting talent in black music. During the 1970s, he continued to cultivate new performers in this arena. He created technically advanced, funk-influenced albums for the Brothers Johnson, Chaka Kahn, and Rufus. In 1977 he produced Michael Jackson's *Off the Wall* album, which sold seven million albums (in the pre-MTV era). His production of Michael Jackson's record-breaking pop album *Thriller* (1984) became a musical landmark.

In 1981 Jones left A and M and formed his own Qwest label at Warner Brothers. The Qwest label produced hits for Patty Austin and James Ingram and captured Lena Horne's performance on Broadway; these recording projects earned Grammy Awards for Jones. In 1985 he produced the all-star recording of "We Are the World," to help performer Harry Belafonte's charity drive to raise world awareness of famine. From the song's popular music video, Jones became a recognizable face to the general public. He raised money for Jesse Jackson's historic run for the Democratic party's presidential nomination in 1988 and produced *The Jesse Jackson Show* in 1990, granting a forum to a high-profile black figure in U.S. politics.

Jones discovered a larger television audience by producing situation comedies. In 1990 *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* premiered, starring a popular rap artist, Will Smith, and the series became a highly rated program on NBC. Also in 1990, Jones formed the multimedia entertainment organization Quincy Jones Entertainment Company and Quincy Jones Broadcasting, to ac-

quire television and radio properties. Three years later he joined with David Salzman to create the production company QDE, which has produced the sitcom *In the House* (NBC and UPN, 1995–99) and the sketch comedy/variety series *Mad TV* (FOX, 1995–).

In 1994 Jones cofounded Qwest Broadcasting, a minority-owned company that would purchase television stations in Atlanta, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana; five years later, Jones and his partners sold this company for around \$270 million. In 1996 Jones was executive producer for the Academy Awards program. In 1998 he established the production company Quincy Jones Media Group, Inc., with the aim of producing projects for both film and television.

While overcoming racial barriers and redefining several genres in music composition, Jones's creative persistence in the music business helped to maneuver black music across the color line of the musical mainstream and into every form of media expression. Jones's body of work spans over half a century and has opened the door for the growth of successful black entrepreneurs in television, film, and music. Since Miles Davis's death, many critics cite Quincy Jones as the only remaining figure from the bebop era who has stayed contemporary and whose work continues to have an impact on these three closely integrated media industries.

MARLA L. SHELTON

**Quincy (Delight) Jones.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, March 14, 1933. Attended Seattle University, Seattle, Washington; Berklee School of Music, Boston; studied with Nadia Boulanger and Oliver Messiaen, Paris. Married: 1) Jeri Caldwell, 1957 (divorced), 2) Ulla Anderson, 1965 (divorced), 3) Peggy Lipton, 1974 (divorced); seven children. Began career as jazz trumpeter and arranger for numerous big bands and solo performers; music director, Mercury Records, 1961, vice president, 1964; composer, film and television music, from 1960s; founded Qwest recording company, 1981, QDE Productions, 1993, Qwest Broadcasting, 1994 (sold, 1999), and Quincy Jones Media Group, 1998; record producer for Barbra Streisand, Michael Jackson, and other artists; television producer, since 1990. Chairman, *Vibe* magazine, and co-owner *Spin* magazine, since 1992. Recipient: 26 Grammy Awards; Emmy Award, 1977; Polar Music Prize (Sweden), 1994; Academy Award, 1994.

#### Television Series (selected)

1966–67 *Hey, Landlord* (composer)  
 1967–75 *Ironside* (composer)  
 1967 *Split Second to an Epitaph* (composer)  
 1970 *The Bill Cosby Show* (composer)

1972 *The NBC Mystery Movie* (composer)  
 1972 *The Bill Cosby Variety Series*  
 (composer)  
 1973 *Sanford and Son* (composer)  
 1977 *Roots* (composer)  
 1990 *The Jesse Jackson Show* (producer)  
 1990–96 *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (producer)  
 1995–99 *In the House* (producer)  
 1995– *Mad TV* (producer)

#### Television Specials (selected)

1967 *Rodgers and Hart Today*  
 (music director)  
 1971 *The Academy Awards* (conductor)  
 1971 *Merv Griffin Presents Quincy Jones*  
 (performer)  
 1973 *Duke Ellington, We Love You Madly*  
 (coproducer and conductor)  
 1973 *A Show Business Salute to Milton Berle*  
 (music director)  
 1990 *Grammy Legends* (honoree)  
 1991 *Ray Charles: 50 Years of Music,*  
*Uh-Huh!* (cohost)  
 1996 *The Academy Awards*  
 (executive producer)

#### Films

*The Boy in the Tree*, 1960; *The Pawnbroker*, 1965; *The Slender Thread*, 1965; *Mirage*, 1965; *Made in Paris*, 1965; *Walk Don't Run*, 1966; *The Deadly Affair*, 1967; *Enter Laughing*, 1967; *In Cold Blood*, 1967; *Banning*, 1967; *In the Heat of the Night*, 1967; *A Dandy in Aspic*, 1968; *Jigsaw*, 1968; *The Counterfeit Killers*, 1968; *For Love of Ivy*, 1968; *The Hell with Heroes*, 1968; *Mackenna's Gold*, 1969; *The Italian Job*, 1969; *The Lost Man*, 1969; *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, 1969; *Cactus Flower*, 1969; *John and Mary*, 1969; *Blood Kin*, 1969; *The Out-of-Towners*, 1970; *They Call Me Mister Tibbs!*, 1970; *Eggs* (short), 1970; *Of Men and Demons* (short), 1970; *Up Your Teddy Bear*, 1970; *Brother John*, 1970; *The Anderson Tapes*, 1971; *Honky*, 1971; *\$ (Dollars)*, 1971; *The Hot Rock*, 1972; *The New Centurions*, 1972; *The Getaway*, 1972; *Killer by Night*, 1972; *Mother, Jugs, and Speed*, 1976; *The Wiz*, 1978; *Portrait of an Album* (also director), 1985; *Fast Forward*, 1985; *Lost in America*, 1985; *The Slugger's Wife*, 1985; *The Color Purple* (coproducer), 1985; *Heart and Soul*, 1988; *Listen Up: The Lives of Quincy Jones*, 1991; *A Great Day in Harlem* (narrator), 1994; *Austin Powers, International Man of Mystery*, 1997; *Steel* (producer), 1997.

Jones, Quincy

### Publication

*Q: The Autobiography of Quincy Jones*, 2001

### Further Reading

Collier, Aldore, "After 40 Years, Fame and Fortune, Three Marriages, Brain Surgery and an Emotional Breakdown, Quincy Jones Finds Peace" (interview), *Ebony* (April 1990)

Gillen, Marilyn A., "Quincy's CD-ROM Explores Music's Roots," *Billboard* (May 20, 1995)

Nathan, David, "The Producer," *Billboard* (December 16, 1995)

Rowland, Mark, "Quincy Jones" (interview), *Billboard* (December 16, 1995)

Sanders, Charles L., "With Quincy Jones" (interview), *Ebony* (October 1985)

Shah, Diane K., "On Q," *New York Times Magazine* (November 18, 1990)

Stewart, Zan, "The Quincy Jones Interview," *Down Beat* (April 1985)

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Journal, The. See National, The/The Journal

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## Julia

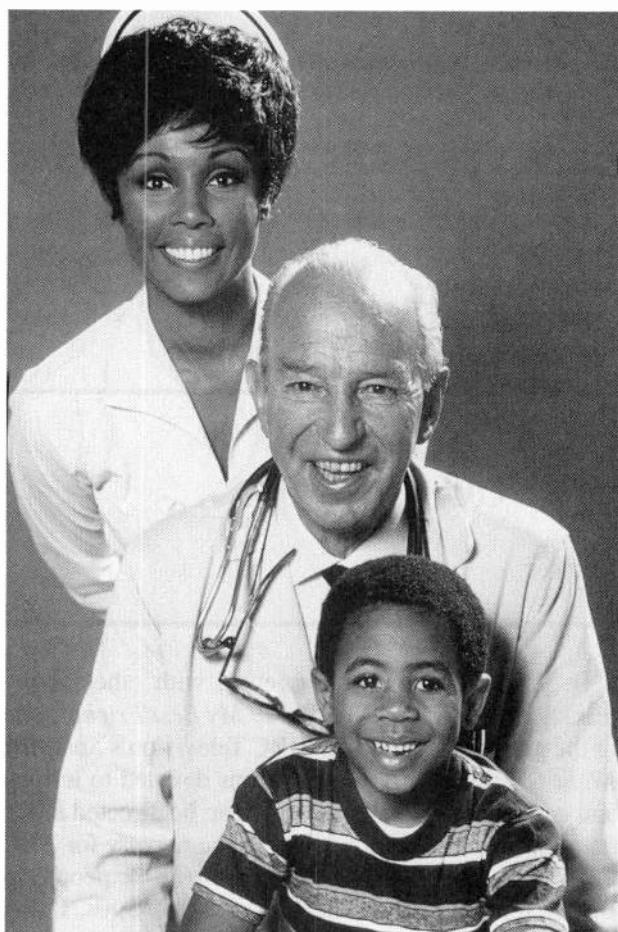
U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*Julia*, a half-hour comedy premiering on NBC in September 1968, was an example of American network television's attempt to address race issues during a period of heightened activism and turmoil over the position of African Americans in U.S. society. The series was the first to star a black performer in the leading role since *Beulah*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and *The Nat "King" Cole Show* all left the air in the early and mid-1950s. By the mid-1960s, a number of prime-time series began featuring blacks in supporting roles, but industry fears of mostly southern racial sensibilities discouraged any bold action by the networks to represent more fully African Americans in entertainment television. Series creator Hal Kanter, a Hollywood liberal and broadcasting veteran whose credits included writing for the *Beulah* radio show in the 1940s, initiated *Julia*'s challenge to what remained of television's color bar. Kanter had attended a luncheon organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and been inspired enough to propose the project to NBC. The network agreed to run the show, but programmers did not expect it to do well since it was scheduled opposite the hugely popular *Red Skelton Show*. *Julia* proved to be a surprise hit, however, jumping into the top-ten list of most-watched

programs during its first year, and continuing to be moderately successful during its remaining two seasons on the air.

The series revolves around the lives of Julia Baker (Diahann Carroll), a widowed black nurse, and her young son, Corey (Marc Copage). Julia's husband has been killed in a helicopter crash in Vietnam, and the series begins with the now fatherless Baker family moving into an integrated apartment building in Los Angeles while Julia secures employment at the medical offices of Astrospace Industries. She works with a gruff but lovable elderly white physician, Dr. Chegley (Lloyd Nolan), and a homely but spirited white nurse, Hannah Yarby (Lurene Tuttle). Julia's closest friends are her white neighbors, the Waggedorns—Marie, a scatterbrained housewife; Len, a police officer; and Earl J. Waggedorn, their son and Corey's pal. While Julia lives in an almost exclusively white environment, she manages to find a series of impeccably refined African-American boyfriends. Paul Winfield played one of her more long-standing romantic partners. Performed with elegance and dignity by Carroll, Julia represented a completely assimilated—and thoroughly nonstereotyped—African-American image to prime-time viewers.



*Julia*, Diahann Carroll, Lloyd Nolan, Marc Copage, 1968–71.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Julia's unthreatening respectability served as the basis for a great deal of heated debate during the series' initial run. In the midst of growing political militancy among many African Americans, some critics accused the show of presenting Julia as a "white Negro." Nothing in the Bakers' lives indicated that they were in any way connected to the rich tradition of black culture and history. Neither Julia nor Corey was ever the victim of racism. However, Hal Kanter emphasized that the show did attempt to stress the more "humorous aspects" of prejudice and discrimination, while focusing on how the black characters attempted "to enjoy the American dream." Humorous situations dealing with race tended to work to defuse anxieties about racial difference. For instance, in her initial telephone interview with Dr. Chegley in the series' pilot, Julia mentions that she is black. Chegley deadpans: "Have you always been black—or are you just being fashionable?" When little Earl J. Waggedorn sees Corey's mother for the first time, he points out, "Hey, your

mother's colored." Corey replies, matter-of-factly, "Yeah, so am I." To which Earl responds: "You are?!"

The show was also criticized for presenting no male head of the family. While the Bakers were emphatically middle-class, living in a beautifully appointed apartment rather lavish for a nurse's salary, the fact that an unattached black mother ran the family appeared to perpetuate stereotypes about a "black matriarchy" in which black men had no place. A recurring problem in the Baker household was who would care for Corey while Julia was at work. Several episodes deal with Julia's dilemma in securing a mother's helper. Unwittingly and quite unself-reflexively, the show was echoing a painful aspect of the history of black women, many of whom had to leave their children unattended while they went off to care for white children and work as domestics in white establishments.

While these depictions of race relations generated objections, they also elicited praise from critics and viewers. *Ebony*, a mass-circulation magazine targeted at a middle-class black readership, lauded the series for giving viewers an alternative to the steady diet of ghetto riot images of blacks so pervasive on news programming. The show was also commended for representing black characters who were not thoroughly and exclusively defined by race.

*Julia* was an important moment in American broadcasting history as television programmers struggled to find a way to introduce African Americans into entertainment formats without relying on objectionable old stereotypes, but also without creating images that might challenge or discomfort white audiences.

ANIKO BODROGHKOZY

#### **See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

#### **Cast**

Julia Baker	Diahann Carroll
Dr. Morton Chegley	Lloyd Nolan
Marie Waggedorn	Betty Beaird
Corey Baker	Marc Copage
Earl J. Waggedorn	Michael Link
Melba Chegley	Mary Wickes
Sol Cooper	Ned Glass
Carol Deering (1968–69)	Allison Mills
Hannah Yarby (1968–70)	Lurene Tuttle
Eddie Edson	Eddie Quillan
Paul Cameron (1968–70)	Paul Winfield
Len Waggedorn	Hank Brandt
Steve Bruce (1970–71)	Fred Williamson
Roberta (1970–71)	Janear Hines
Richard (1970–71)	Richard Steele
Kim Bruce (1970–71)	Stephanie James



Julia

### Producers

Hal Kanter, Harold Stone

### Programming History

86 episodes

NBC

September 1968–January 1971    Tuesday 8:30–9:00

January 1971–May 1971        Tuesday 7:30–8:00

### Further Reading

Gray, Herman, *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness."* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995

MacDonald, J. Fred, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television Since 1948.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983; 2nd edition, 1992

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## Julien, Isaac (1960– )

### British Filmmaker

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Isaac Julien is one of Britain's most innovative and provocative filmmakers. Born in 1960, he comes from a black, working-class, East London background. Julien studied painting and film at St. Martin's School of Art in London. He was both writer and director for *Who Killed Colin Roach?*, a 1983 documentary about the controversial death of a young black man while in police custody. This was followed by *Territories* in 1984, an experimental video that examined policing at London's Notting Hill Carnival.

A cofounder of Sankofa Film and Video Collective, a pioneering group of young black British filmmakers, Julien has collaborated with them on several groundbreaking, radical dramas for film and television since the mid-1980s. With Sankofa, Julien co-wrote and codirected *The Passion of Remembrance* (1986), an ambitious feature-film drama that offered a fresh and revealing look at black feminism and black gay politics. This was followed by the award-winning short film *Looking for Langston*, in 1988. Set in Harlem in the 1920s, this homoerotic, hauntingly beautiful study of the black gay American poet Langston Hughes cleverly blended his words with those of the contemporary black gay poet Essex Hemphill. *Looking for Langston* received the Golden Teddy Bear for Best Gay Film at the Berlin Film Festival and was shown in Channel 4's innovative lesbian and gay television series *Out on Tuesday* in 1989.

In 1991 Julien directed *Young Soul Rebels*, a seductive, engaging, and challenging feature-film drama set in 1977, the year of Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee. Once again, Julien explored sexual and racial identities in a provocative way and walked off with the Cannes Film Festival's Critics' Week Prize.

In 1991 Julien was interviewed with other young black gay filmmakers in *Some of My Best Friends*, one of the programs featured in BBC Television's *Saturday Night Out*, an evening of programs devoted to lesbian and gay viewers. The following year, he directed *Black and White in Colour*, a two-part documentary for BBC Television that traced the history of black people in British television from the 1930s to the 1990s. Using archival footage and interviews with such black participants as Elisabeth Welch, Norman Beaton, Carmen Munroe, and Lenny Henry, *Black and White in Colour* was well received by the critics. It was also nominated for the British Film Institute's Archival Achievement Award, and the Commission for Racial Equality's Race in the Media Award.

Since making *Black and White in Colour*, Julien has directed a short film, *The Attendant*, and *The Dark Side of Black* (1994), an edition of BBC Television's *Arena* series. This compelling documentary examines the social, cultural, and political influences of rap and reggae music, with particular emphasis on its growing homophobic content. He also directed *Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask* (1995), a documentary about the noted theorist of anticolonial resistance, and has created several video-installation pieces, such as *Three* (1999), *The Long Road to Mazatlan* (1999), and *Vagabondia* (2000), which have been displayed in art galleries and museums worldwide. In August 2002, the Independent Film Channel (IFC), a U.S. cable channel, debuted his documentary, *Baadasssss Cinema*, on the history of "blaxploitation" films. Julien told the *New York Times* that this work was inspired by research he



conducted to teach a course at Harvard University on the genre.

STEPHEN BOURNE

**Isaac Julien.** Born in London, England, 1960. Educated at St. Martin's School of Art, B.A., 1984. Began career as writer-director, *Who Killed Colin Roach?*, 1983; cofounder, Sankofa Film and Video Collective; visiting professor, Harvard University, 2000–; research fellow, Goldsmiths College, University of London. Recipient: Golden Teddy Bear Award, Berlin, 1988; Cannes Film Festival Critics' Week Prize, 1991.

#### Television Specials

1988            *Looking for Langston*  
1992            *Black and White in Colour*

1994            *The Dark Side of Black*  
2002            *Baadasssss Cinema*

#### Films (selected)

*Who Killed Colin Roach?* 1983; *Territories*, 1984; *The Passion of Remembrance*, 1986; *Young Soul Rebels*, 1991; *The Attendant*, 1995; *Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask*, 1995.

#### Further Reading

Bourne, Stephen, *Black in the British Frame: Black People in British Film and Television 1896–1996*, London: Cassell, 1996; 2nd edition, London: Continuum, 2001  
Hinson, Hal, "Birth of a Genre: The Black Hero Who Talks Back," *New York Times* (August 11, 2002)  
Julien, Isaac, and Colin McCabe, *Diary of a Young Soul Rebel*. London: British Film Institute, 1991

## Juneau, Pierre (1922– )

### Canadian Media Executive

Pierre Juneau has held virtually every important position in the Canadian broadcasting hierarchy. His long career has been characterized by a sustained commitment to the principles of public broadcasting and ownership.

In 1949 Juneau joined the National Film Board of Canada (NFBC) as the Montreal district representative. In the 1950s, he became the Quebec assistant regional supervisor, then the chief of international distribution, the assistant head of the European office, and the NFBC secretary. In 1964 he took on the position of director of French-language production. He also pursued film interests only secondarily related to his official position. In 1959 Juneau cofounded the Montreal International Film Festival and served as its president until 1968.

In 1966 Juneau left the NFBC to become vice chair of the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), the federal broadcast regulatory agency. In 1968 Parliament enacted a new Broadcasting Act, which replaced the BBG with the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and Juneau was named its first chair, a position he held until 1975. As CRTC chair, Juneau is best remembered for promoting Canadian-content regulations in both radio and televi-

sion, as well as in the growing medium of cable. The regulations, soon called "Cancon," helped create a permanent domestic market for Canadian music and television. They stipulate percentages of overall air time and specific time slots that must be devoted to material produced or performed by Canadians. These regulations met with widespread public support, and their principle remains essentially unchanged to the present day. Indeed, in 1971 the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (CARAS) named its annual ceremony the "Juno Awards" as a gesture toward both the CRTC chair and the Roman goddess.

In 1975 Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau appointed Juneau minister of communication, but he was defeated in the by-election of that year and resigned from the post. In 1978, still under Trudeau, Juneau became undersecretary of state and in 1980 deputy minister of communication. Trudeau appointed Juneau to a seven-year term as president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1982. These proved to be turbulent times, however, as the Trudeau government was defeated by the Conservative Party of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Although the CBC president enjoys an "arm's length" relationship with the government, relations between Juneau, who was closely ider-



Pierre Juneau.  
*Photo courtesy of CBC Television*

tified with the Trudeau Liberals, and the new government became strained as increasingly severe budget cuts were imposed upon the CBC. In 1988 the Mulroney government also revised the Broadcasting Act. It foresaw that Juneau's position would be split between a part-time president and a full-time chair, a move Juneau opposed. Simultaneously, throughout the 1980s, new television services were launched, and the CBC's audience share declined. Juneau defended both the ideal and the practical reality of public broadcasting and stated his intention to raise to 95 percent the amount of Canadian content on the CBC. Furthermore, in 1988 and 1989, he oversaw the launch of the CBC's all-news cable channel, Newsworld, on which he appeared as the first speaker on the last day of his mandate.

Like CBC presidents before him, Juneau campaigned for operating budgets, controlled by Parliament, covering five-year rather than one-year periods and refused to relinquish advertising revenue so long

as Parliament declined to cover all expenses. Under Juneau, the CBC consolidated its reputation for news and public affairs on both its French- and English-language networks, increased its Canadian content, brought in a new head of English-language programming, Ivan Fecan, and shifted toward independently produced dramatic content. In the 1980s, the CBC also scored some of its highest ratings successes ever. However, its dependence upon advertising revenue became more acute and its audience share fell. In 1995 Juneau was appointed to head the Mandate Review Committee of the CBC, NFB, and Telefilm Canada. Since that time, he has also become president of the World Radio and Television Council and of the Canadian Centre for International Studies and Cooperation, both based in Montreal.

PAUL ATTALLAH

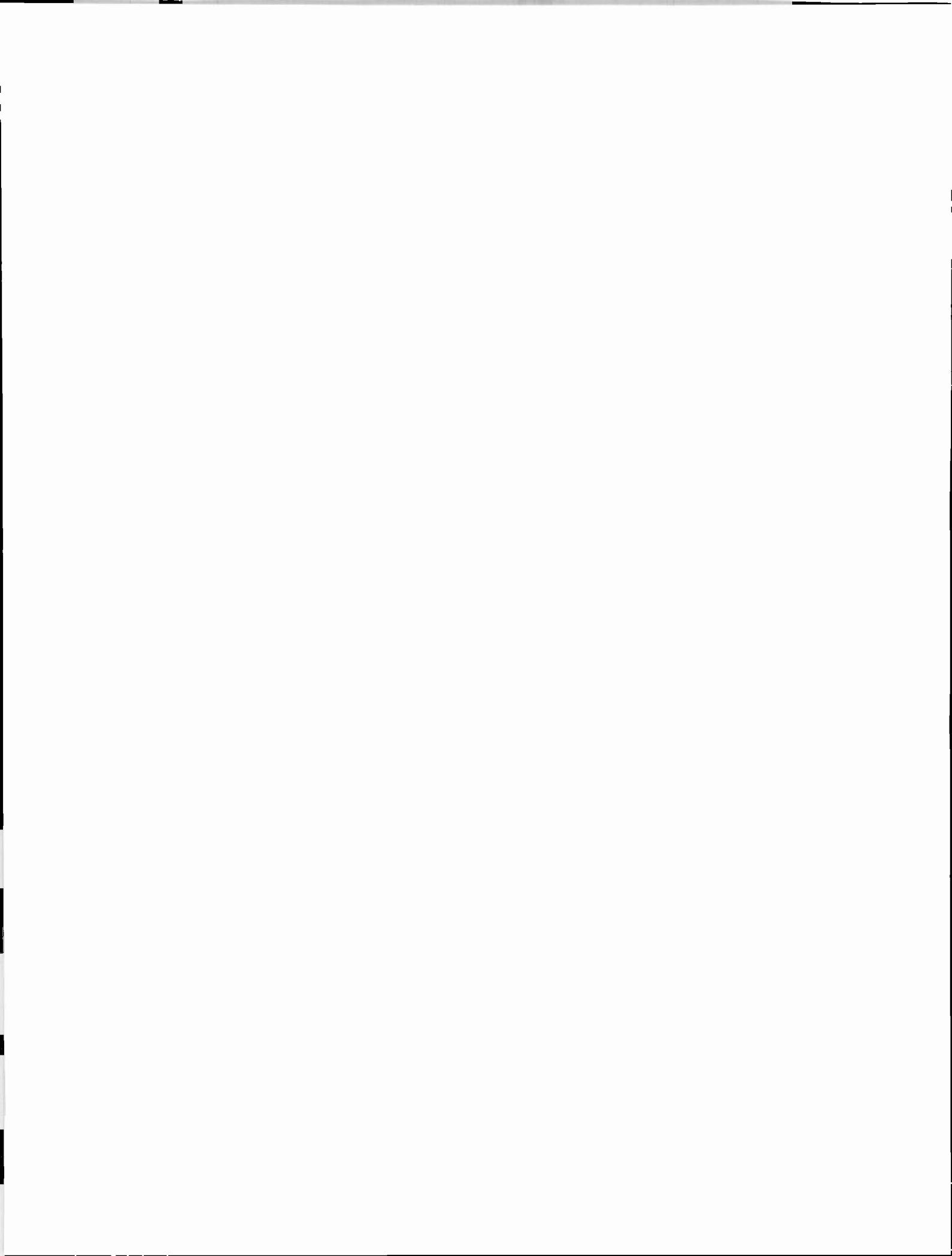
**Pierre Juneau.** Born in Verdun, Quebec, Canada, October 17, 1922. Educated at Jesuit schools, College Sainte-Marie in Montreal, B.A., 1944, Sorbonne in Paris, France; graduated from the Institut Catholique, Paris, as a licenciate in philosophy, 1949. Married: Fernande Martin, 1947; children: Andre, Martin, and Isabelle. Joined National Film Board of Canada as Montreal district representative, 1949; assistant regional supervisor for the Province of Quebec; chief of international distribution, 1951; assistant head of the European office, London, 1952; secretary, National Film Board, 1954; cofounder and president, Montreal International Film Festival, 1959–68; senior assistant to the commissioner and director of French-language production, 1964–66, vice chair; named vice-chair, Board of Broadcast Governors, 1966; chair, Canadian Radio and Television Commission, 1968–75; Canadian minister of communications, 1975; adviser to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau; appointed chair, National Capital Commission, 1976; undersecretary of state, 1978; deputy minister of communications, 1980; president, CBC, 1982–89; chair, CBC's mandate review committee, 1995; president, World Radio and Television Council and Canadian Centre for International Studies and Cooperation, 1995. Honorary doctorates: York University, 1973, Trent University, 1987, University of Moncton, 1988. Fellow: Royal Society of Canada. Recipient: Order of Canada, 1975; Officier de l'Ordre de la Pléiade (section canadienne de l'Assemblée parlementaire de la francophonie), 2001.

#### Publication

*Making Our Voices Heard: Canadian Broadcasting and Film for the 21st Century (The Juneau Report)* (editor), 1995

### Further Reading

- "CBC Union Gets Juneau on Side: Former Chief To Appear Before CRTC," *Globe and Mail* (March 14, 1991)
- Cuthbert, Pamela, and Leo Rice-Barker, "Juneau Report Debated," *Playback* (February 12, 1996)
- "I Am Very Pessimistic" (interview) *Maclean's* (August 7, 1989)
- "Juneau Joins Montreal University," *Globe and Mail* (November 23, 1989)
- Levine, Allan, *Scrum Wars: The Prime Ministers and the Media*, Toronto: Dundurn, 1993
- Raboy, Marc, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990
- "Reflecting Canada to Canadians," *Globe and Mail* (May 6, 1995)
- "Report Fuzzy," *Playback* (February 12, 1996)
- Rutherford, Paul, *When Television Was Young: Prime Time Canada, 1952-67*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990



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## Kate and Allie

U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*Kate and Allie*, which ran on CBS from March 19, 1984, to May 22, 1989, was the brainchild of Sherry Coben, who came up with the idea for the series while attending a high school reunion. There she noticed that a couple of divorcées, who seemed unhappy and dissatisfied, found comfort in sharing with each other. Coben worked with this germinal notion and successfully pitched the resulting script, originally entitled, "Two Mommies," to Michael Ogiens, then head of New York program development at CBS. Ogiens liked the script because it contained fresh material that dealt with a real issue of the day: single parenthood.

The next step in the series' genesis was the location of actresses for the central roles. Susan St. James was, at the time, under contract to CBS. Although she was best known for romantic comedy, she liked the script and the part of Kate McArdle but stipulated her demands: production before a live audience and a New York shooting location. St. James's close friend Jane Curtin was soon convinced to accept the part of Allie Lowell. Producer-director-writer Bill Persky agreed to produce and direct six episodes, without committing to an entire series. He also insisted that Bob Randall be brought on board as producer-writer and supervisor. Reeves Communications, with executive producers Mort Lachman and Merrill Grant, undertook production of *Kate and Allie*, and the series debuted with a script by Coben setting the series' premise: two divorced women who have known one another since

childhood decide to move in together and raise their three children as a family unit.

*Kate and Allie* was an instant success, ranking fourth the week it debuted, garnering consistently high ratings thereafter, and earning Jane Curtin two consecutive Emmys and Bill Persky, one. The characters and the issues addressed on the program obviously appealed to its audience.

St. James's character, Kate, is a woman recently divorced from her unstable and somewhat flighty part-time actor husband, Max. She has one daughter, 14-year-old Emma (Ari Meyers). Curtin's Allie is also recently divorced from her successful, but unfaithful doctor husband, Charles. She has a 14-year-old daughter Jennie (Allison Smith) and a 7-year-old son, Chip (Frederick Koehler). Neither Kate nor Allie have ruled out remarriage, but view their new situation as a provisional reprieve, a time for both women to come to know and appreciate themselves. On one level the series dealt with practical problems faced by divorced women with children: adjusting to a new lifestyle and to living closely with new people, dealing with children's issues, beginning to date again, securing financial stability.

On another level, however, the series addressed the larger issue of gender identity at a time when gender roles were in transition. Allie Lowell submerged her own identity into that of her husband, and most of the series' trajectory tracks her journey toward autonomy.



*Kate and Allie*, Jane Curtin, Susan Saint James, 1984–89.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Kate McArdle, on the other hand, has a stronger sense of her own identity, but she must constantly struggle for equality at work and for the assurance that her goals will be respected in any love relationship.

Key to the series' notion of women's development is same-sex friendship, and each episode is narratively structured to highlight the long-term, supportive friendship between the two main characters. Episodes begin with a conversation between Kate and Allie designed to enhance the audience's understanding of both women or to provide background information. Similarly, each episode ends with Kate and Allie discussing and bringing closure to the events just depicted. Their verbal intimacy both reflects and heightens their sustaining friendship. As the series evolved, the same kind of supportive friendship developed between the two daughters, who initially disliked being forced together.

After directing 100 episodes and having Allie accept the wedding proposal of likable character Bob Barsky, Bill Persky left the series, feeling that *Kate and Allie* had now fulfilled its premise. The needed respite had worked for Allie, who was now able to enter a meaningful heterosexual relationship as a fully autonomous individual, sure of herself and of her own goals. While Kate still had not met a man whose life goals matched her own, she and Allie owned a successful business, and the audience was sure that she would not succumb to a marriage that downplayed her personal desires.

Despite these developments, the series continued. Linda Day became the director, with Anne Flett and Chuck Ranberg as producers, but the new team did not meet with the same success as had the first. The decline of *Kate and Allie* illustrates an interesting aspect of television's capabilities in combining sociocultural

issues with particular narrative strategies. With the series' premise fulfilled, plots lacked the same objective and lost the relevance and vitality of earlier episodes. In part to address this situation, early in the new season, the writers created a device to bring the two women together again: Kate moved out of the old apartment and in with Allie and Bob, who accepted a sportscasting job that would take him away on weekends. By this time, however, Emma was out of the series, ostensibly at college, and while Jennie remained an active and visible character, she too had moved out of the household to live in a university dorm. The friendship between Kate and Allie lost its earlier dynamism now that Allie was married. Kate appeared as an intrusion into the household, rather than a necessary part of it. Even though the series had not "solved" the social problems it addressed, its creators and performers had moved the main characters into a narrative situation that no longer seemed a workable fiction. After its sixth season, the series was not renewed.

CHRISTINE R. CATRON

*See also* **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Curtin, Jane; Gender and Television**

#### Cast

Kate McArdle	Susan St. James
Allie Lowell	Jane Curtin
Emma McArdle (1984–88)	Ari Meyers
Chip Lowell	Frederick Koehler
Jennie Lowell	Allison Smith
Charles Lowell (1984–86)	Paul Hecht
Ted Bartelo	
(1984–85, 1987–88)	Gregory Salata
Bob Barsky (1987–89)	Sam Freed
Lou Carello (1988–89)	Peter Onorati

#### Producers

Bob Randall, Mort Lachman, Merrill Grant, Bill Persky, Anne Flett, Chuck Ranberg

#### Programming History

122 episodes	
CBS	
March 1984–May 1984	Monday 9:30–10:00
August 1984–	
September 1986	Monday 9:30–10:00
September 1986–	
September 1987	Monday 8:00–8:30
September 1987–	
November 1987	Monday 8:30–9:00
December 1987–June 1988	Monday 8:00–8:30
July 1988–August 1988	Saturday 8:00–8:30

August 1988–	
September 1988	Monday 9:00–9:30
December 1988–March 1989	Monday 8:30–9:00
March 1989–June 1989	Monday 10:30–11:00
June 1989–September 1989	Monday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

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Horowitz, S., "Life with Kate and Allie—The Not-So-Odd Couple on TV," *Ms.* (1984)  
 Rabinovitz, L., "Sitcoms and Single Moms: Representations of Feminism on American TV," *Cinema Journal* (1989)  
 Shales, Tom, "Comedy with Class: The Creative Spark Behind CBS' *Kate and Allie*," *Washington Post* (March 19, 1984)  
 Spigel, Lynn, and Denise Mann, editors, *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992

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## Keeshan, Bob (1927–2004)

U.S. Children's Television Performer

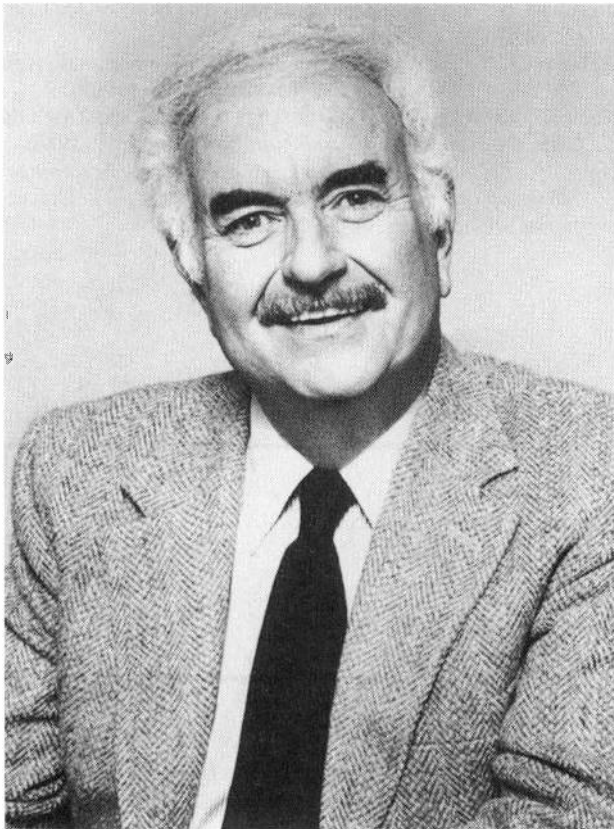
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Bob Keeshan was the actor and producer responsible for the success of the long-running children's program, *Captain Kangaroo*. As the easy-going captain with his big pockets and his bushy mustache, Keeshan lured children into close engagement with literature, science, and especially music, adopting an approach that mixed pleasure and pedagogy. Children learned most easily, he argued, when information and knowledge became a source of delight. Keeshan's approach represented a rejection of pressures toward the increased commercialization of children's programming as well as a toning-down of the high volume, slapstick style associated with earlier kid show hosts, such as Pinky Lee, Soupy Sales, and *Howdy Doody's* Buffalo Bob.

Keeshan was working as a receptionist at NBC-Radio's Manhattan office when Bob Smith started offering him small acting parts on his NBC-TV show, *Triple B Ranch*, and then, subsequently, hired him as a special assistant for *The Howdy Doody Show*. Although Keeshan's initial responsibilities involved supervising props and talking to the children who were to be program guests, he was soon pulled on camera, bringing out prizes. After appearing in clown garb on one episode to immense response, he took on the regular role of Clarabell, the mute clown who communicated by honking a horn. Leaving the series in 1952, he played a succession of other clown characters, such as Corny, the host of WABC-TV's *Time For Fun*, a noon-time cartoon program, where he exerted pressure to remove from airplay cartoons he felt were too violent or

perpetuated racial stereotyping. While at WABC-TV, he played an Alpine toymaker on *Tinker's Workshop*, an early morning program, which served as the prototype for *Captain Kangaroo*.

The CBS network was searching for innovative new approaches to children's programming and approved the *Kangaroo* series submitted by Keeshan and long-time friend Jack Miller. The series first aired in October 1955 and continued until 1985, making it the longest running children's series in network history. Keeshan not only vividly embodied the captain, the friendly host of the Treasure House, but also played a central creative role on the daily series, supervising and actively contributing to the scripts and ensuring the program's conformity to his conceptions of appropriate children's entertainment. Through encounters with Mr. Green Jeans and his menagerie of domestic animals, with the poetry-creating Grandfather Clock, the greedy Bunny Rabbit, the punning trickster Mr. Moose, and the musically inclined Dancing Bear, the captain opened several generations of children to the pleasures of learning. Unlike many other children's programs, *Captain Kangaroo* was not filmed before a studio audience and did not include children in its cast. Keeshan wanted nothing that would come between him and the children in his television audience and so spoke directly to the camera. He also personally supervised which commercials could air on the program and promoted products, such as Play-Dough and Etch-a-Sketch, which he saw as facilitating creative play, while avoiding those he felt purely exploitative.



Bob Keeshan.  
Courtesy of Robert Keeshan

As his program's popularity grew, Keeshan took on an increasingly public role as an advocate for children, writing a regular column about children and television for *McCall's* and occasional articles for *Good Housekeeping*, *Parade*, and other publications. Keeshan wrote original children's books (as well as those tied to the *Kangaroo* program) and recorded a series of records designed to introduce children to classical and jazz music. He appeared at "tiny tot" concerts given by symphony orchestras in more than 50 cities, offering playful introductions to the musical instruments and the pleasure of good listening.

After his retirement, Keeshan became an active lobbyist on behalf of children's issues and in favor of tighter controls over the tobacco industry. A sharp critic of contemporary children's television, Keeshan long campaigned to participate in a new version of *Captain Kangaroo*. When a syndicated revival of the program began airing in 1997, Keeshan was not chosen to portray the Captain.

HENRY JENKINS

See also **Children and Television; Educational Television**

**Bob Keeshan.** Born in New York City, June 27, 1927. Attended Fordham University, 1946–49. Served in U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1945–46. Married: Anne Jeanne Laurie, 1950; children: Michael Derek, Laurie Margaret, and Maeve Jeanne. Began career as Clarabell for NBC-TV's *The Howdy Doody Show*, 1947–52; appeared as Corny the Clown (ABC-TV), 1953–55, and Tinker the Toymaker (ABC-TV), 1954–55; starred as Captain Kangaroo (CBS-TV), 1955–85; president, Robert Keeshan Associates, from 1955; appeared as Mr. Mayor and the Town Clown (CBS-TV), 1964–65; president, Suffolk County Hearing and Speech Center, 1966–71; director of Marvin Josephson Associates, Inc., New York, 1969–77; director, Bank of Babylon, New York, 1973–79; chair, board of trustees, College of New Rochelle, New York, 1974–80; director, Anchor Savings Bank, 1976–91; chair, Council of Governing Boards, 1979–80; commentator, CBS-Radio, 1980–82; television commentator, 1981–82. Member: Board of Education, West Islip, New York, 1953–58; board of directors, Good Samaritan Hospital, West Islip, New York, 1969–78. Honorary degrees: D. of Pedagogy, Rhode Island College, 1969; D.H.L., Alfred University, 1969; D.F.A., Fordham University, 1975; Litt.D., Indiana State University, 1978; L.L.D., Elmira (New York) University, 1980; D.L., Marquette University, 1983; D.P.S., Central Michigan University, 1984; D.H.L., St. Joseph College, 1987. Honorary Fellow: American Academy of Pediatrics. Recipient: Sylvania Award, 1956; Peabody Awards, 1958, 1972, 1979; American Education Award, Education Industries Association, 1978; Distinguished Achievement Award, Georgia Radio and TV Institute-Pi Gamma Kappa, 1978; Emmy Awards, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984; TV Father of the Year, 1980; James E. Allen Memorial Award, 1981; Distinguished Service to Children Award, 1981; National Education Award, 1982; American Heart Association National Public Affairs Recognition Award, 1987; Frances Holleman Breathitt Award for Excellence, Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 1987; Clown Hall of Fame, 1990; AMA Distinguished Service Award, 1991; National Association of Broadcasters' Hall of Fame, 1998. Died January 23, 2004.

**Television Series**

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1947–52 | <i>The Howdy Doody Show</i>                               |
| 1953–55 | <i>Time for Fun</i>                                       |
| 1954–55 | <i>Tinker's Workshop</i> (also producer)                  |
| 1955–85 | <i>Captain Kangaroo</i> (also producer)                   |
| 1964–65 | <i>Mr. Mayor</i> (also producer)                          |
| 1981–82 | <i>Up to the Minute</i> , <i>CBS News</i><br>commentator) |
| 1982    | <i>CBS Morning News</i> (commentator)                     |



### Radio

*The Subject Is Young People*, 1980–82.

### Publications (selected)

*Growing Up Happy*, 1989

*Family Fun Activity Book*, 1994

*Holiday Fun Activity*, 1995

*Books To Grow By*, 1996

*Alligator in the Basement*, 1996

*Hurry, Murry, Hurry*, 1996

*Good Morning, Captain: 50 Years with Bob Keeshan*,

*TV's Captain Kangaroo*, 1996

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Deutschman, Alan, "Lessons from Dad," *Fortune* (January 29, 1990)

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Norton-Smith, Thomas M., and Linda L. Norton-Smith, "Two Conceptions of the Value of Individuals in Children's Programming," *Midwest Quarterly* (Autumn 1992)

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**Kelley, David E.** *See* **Producer in Television; Workplace Programs**

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## Kellner, Jamie

U.S. Television Executive

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Jamie Kellner is one of a select number of individuals responsible for dictating the terms by which television made its transition from broadcasting to narrowcasting. By helping to create both the FOX Broadcasting Network as well as the WB, Kellner played a crucial role in redefining how the networks do business. And by leading in the restructuring of the Turner Broadcasting System's entertainment properties, Kellner also improved the relationship between broadcast networks and cable channels. Although he is most often identified for his contributions to television sales, marketing, and distribution, Kellner has been equally central in shaping television programming for the last three decades.

Kellner began his career in the entertainment industry in the CBS executive training program in 1969. After working in a number of different departments at the company, he found a permanent position in the syndication division. When, in 1972, CBS was forced to dispose of this division due to antitrust considerations, Kellner remained with the spun-off group, which was

renamed Viacom. He quickly moved up the ranks of Viacom's syndication and sales department to become vice president of first-run programming, development, and sales.

In 1978 Kellner moved from Viacom to the film and television producer-distributor, Filmways, where he shepherded a number of shows into syndication, including *Saturday Night Live*. When Orion Pictures took over the firm in 1982, Kellner was one of a handful of Filmways employees to stay on with the company. At Orion, Kellner was responsible for supervising and operating the company's programming, home video, pay television, and syndication operations. He oversaw the network and syndicated launch of *Cagney and Lacey* as well as the introduction of a new version of *Hollywood Squares*.

As a result of the profit participation earnings from Filmways and Orion shows, Kellner was financially secure by the mid-1980s. This enabled him to make the leap into the risky venture being undertaken by News Corp. chairman Rupert Murdoch and FOX, Inc. chair-



Jamie Kellner.  
Photo courtesy of WB

man Barry Diller in 1986: the development of a fourth network, the FOX Broadcasting Company.

Kellner was the first executive hired by Diller. At FOX, he built and then maintained the new network's affiliate base, sold programming to advertisers, and established relationships with program producers. He also formed alliances with cable operators—necessary because of FOX's inability to secure broadcast affiliates in some markets.

In his position as the head of the first new network to be created in over 30 years—a network emerging at a time of dramatic technological and industrial transformation—Kellner was on uncertain terrain. Yet he made a number of moves that appear prescient in retrospect. Among the most significant was the attempt to carve out a clear “brand identity” for FOX by targeting 18-to-49-year-olds with more explicit, graphic, and cutting-edge material than could be found on ABC, CBS, or NBC. Shows such as *Cops*, *Married... With Children*, *Beverly Hills, 90210*, *The Simpsons*, and *America's Most Wanted* were developed under his supervision.

Kellner recognized that a younger audience was important not only to FOX's growth in prime time, but also crucial to the network's expansion in daytime programming. Operating under the assumption that if children know about a channel, then the rest of the audience would follow, Kellner encouraged the development of the FOX Kids Network, which targeted

children ages 2 to 11 with programming such as *X-Men*, *Beetlejuice*, and *Batman: The Animated Series*. The FOX Kids Network, which began airing shows on weekdays and Saturday mornings in the fall of 1990, operated as a joint effort between FOX and its affiliates, with profits split between the two entities.

Although the FOX Kids Network would be Kellner's first large-scale venture into children's programming and distribution, it would not be his last. He applied the lessons learned from his experiences with FOX to the strategies he employed in developing children's programming at America's fifth network, the WB. After departing from FOX in early 1993 and taking a brief break, Kellner returned to television in August of the same year to become the WB's CEO. In his move to the WB, Kellner brought with him many of the same executives who helped him develop FOX, including Garth Ancier and Susanne Daniels.

While at the WB, Kellner continued to be involved in both the business and the creative aspects of running a network, precisely as he had done at FOX. From a business perspective, he sought to make the WB even more youth-oriented than FOX by pursuing a 12-to-34 demographic in prime time. Teenagers, especially girls and young women, were particularly important to the nascent network and were targeted with such shows as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Charmed*, and *Dawson's Creek*.

Kellner's performance with the WB was viewed as such a success by parent company AOL Time Warner that the company elevated him to chairman and CEO of the Turner Broadcasting System in March 2001. While he continued to oversee the WB, he now supervised all of the Turner properties both domestically and internationally. These included CNN, TNT, TBS, The Cartoon Network, Turner Classic Movies, the Atlanta Braves, and the Atlanta Hawks. Among his most pressing tasks were revitalizing the sagging CNN divisions (e.g., *Headline News*, *CNNfn*) and reviving the TBS and TNT brands by making them appeal to more affluent audiences.

In February 2003, however, Kellner opted for a change of pace, leaving Atlanta and his position at Turner to return to Los Angeles and his former role as chairman and chief executive officer of the WB. With this move, he intended to direct the leadership transition for the network—a transition culminating with Kellner's retirement in summer 2004.

ALISA PERREN

**See also Ancier, Garth; AOL Time Warner; Demographics; Diller, Barry; FOX Broadcasting Company; Murdoch, Rupert; Narrowcasting; Sassa, Scott; Turner Broadcasting Systems; WB Television Network**

**Jamie Kellner.** Born in Brooklyn, New York. Married: Julie. Children: Melissa and Christopher. Education: degree in marketing, C.W. Post Campus of Long Island University, graduated 1969. Participant in CBS Executive Training Program, 1969; vice president for first-run programming, development and sales at Viacom; executive, Filmways, 1978; president of Orion Entertainment Group, overseeing network programming, pay television, home video, and domestic syndication operations, 1982; founding president and chief operating officer, FOX Broadcasting Company, 1986; resigned as president and appointed a member of the FOX board of directors, 1993; chief executive officer and partner of the WB, 1993; founder, chief executive officer, and chairman of the board, ACME Communications, 1997; chairman and chief executive officer of reorganized Turner TV Networks, 2001; chairman and chief executive officer, the WB, 2003. Awards: Broadcast Cable Financial Management Association Founders Award; Humanitarian Award of the National Conference for Community and Justice.

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## Kendal, Felicity (1946– )

### British Actor

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Felicity Kendal first emerged as a favorite actor in British situation comedy in the 1970s and went on to vary her repertoire with television dramas, films, and stage plays with considerable success. She spent her childhood in India and had an early introduction to the theater on tour with the Shakespearean company run by her parents, both established theatrical performers. She made her debut on the London stage in 1967 and subsequently confirmed her reputation as a popular stage star with appearances in such plays as Alan Ayckbourn's *The Norman Conquests* (1974), Michael Frayn's *Clouds* (1978), Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus* (1979), Tom Stoppard's *Hapgood* (1988), and Chekhov's *Ivanov* (1989), for which she won the London *Evening Standard* Best Actress Award.

Kendal's theatrical links secured for her a first television role in *The Mayfly and the Frog*, which starred John Gielgud, and she made a good impression in sup-

porting roles in such subsequent productions as *Man in a Suitcase*, *The Woodlanders*, *The Persuaders*, *Edward VII*, and *Home and Beauty*, among others. Producers liked her girlish good looks and bubbly confidence and audiences also quickly warmed to her.

Kendal's whimsical, puckish charm and endearingly good-humored outlook made her ideal for the role that was destined to establish her as a television star—that of Barbara Good in the BBC's *The Good Life*, in which she partnered with Richard Briers as a suburban couple determined to lead a life of independent self-sufficiency. Loyal to the point of lunacy, and ever-fetching even in mud-stained jeans and knotted headscarf, she won universal praise as the pert and long-suffering young wife of Briers, striving to understand the frustrations of her wayward cereal designer-turned-smallholder husband as he painfully sought to put some meaning back into his life by turning their

Kendal, Felicity

Surbiton house and garden into a small-scale farm. The accessibility of the central characters, perfectly played by Briers and Kendal, with Paul Eddington and Penelope Keith as their neighbors the Leadbeatters, ensured stardom for all four of them and a lasting place in public affections. As a direct result of the program's success, the number of smallholdings in Britain shot up to a record 51,000 by 1980.

After four seasons of *The Good Life*, the way was open for the four performers to develop their own solo careers. Kendal herself was showcased in two further sitcoms that centered around her alone. In Carla Lane's *Solo*, she returned to the theme of self-sufficiency, playing Gemma Palmer, a vulnerable but resolutely independent 30-year-old woman who throws out her faithless boyfriend and gives up her job in an attempt to reassert control of her life. In *The Mistress*, a rather more controversial sitcom also written by Lane, she was florist Maxine, trying to cope with the guilt and confusions involved in carrying on an affair with the married Luke Mansel (played by Jack Galloway). Some viewers disliked this last series, objecting to the girlish and rather innocent Felicity Kendal they remembered from *The Good Life* wrestling with such a dubious issue as adultery as she awaited her lover in her cozy pink flat, in the company of her pet rabbits, and pondered how to keep the affair secret from Luke's suspicious wife (played by Jane Asher).

Always an intelligent and sensitive actor, Kendal has been by no means confined to sitcoms, however. By way of contrast, in 1978 she played Dorothy Wordsworth in Ken Russell's biopic *Clouds of Glory* and later on she appeared with success in the miniseries *The Camomile Lawn*. In *Honey for Tea*, she was back in more familiar sitcom territory, playing American widow Nancy Belasco. In recent years she has concentrated on theater work.

DAVID PICKERING

**Felicity Kendal.** Born in Olton, Warwickshire, England, September 25, 1946. Education: six convents in India. Married: one son from first marriage; 2) Michael Rudman, 1983; one son. On stage, from 1947 (at age of 9 months); grew up touring with parents' theatre company in India and the Far East; in film, from 1965; London stage debut in *Minor Murder*, 1967; in television, from 1968. Recipient: Variety Club Awards, 1974, 1979, 1984; Clarence Derwent Award, 1980; Evening Standard Best Actor Award, 1989; Commander of the British Empire, 1995.

#### Television Series

1975-77 *The Good Life*  
1980-82 *Solo*

1985-86 *The Mistress*  
1994 *Honey for Tea*  
2003 *Rosemary and Thyme*

#### Television Miniseries

1975 *Edward the King*  
1992 *The Camomile Lawn*

#### Television Plays (selected)

1968 *The Mayfly and the Frog*  
1971 *Crime of Passion*  
1973 *The Woodlanders*  
1973 *Love Story*  
1978 *Home and Beauty*  
1978 *Wings of a Song*  
1978 *Clouds of Glory*  
1979 *Twelfth Night*  
1986 *On the Razzle* (for *Great Performances*)

#### Films

*Shakespeare Wallah*, 1965; *The Seven Percent Solution*, 1976; *Valentino*, 1977; *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, 1977; *Twelfth Night*, 1980; *We're Back! A Dinosaur's Story* (voice only), 1998; *Parting Shots*, 1999.

#### Stage

*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1947; *Minor Murder*, 1967; *Henry V*, 1968; *The Promise*, 1968; *Back to Methuselah*, 1970; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1970; *Kean*, 1970; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1971; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1972; *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, 1972; *The Three Arrows*, 1972; *The Norman Conquests*, 1974; *Once upon a Time*, 1976; *Arms and the Man*, 1978; *Clouds*, 1978; *Amadeus*, 1979; *Othello*, 1980; *On the Razzle*, 1981; *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, 1982; *The Real Thing*, 1982; *Jumpers*, 1985; *Made in Bangkok*, 1986; *Hapgood*, 1988; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1989; *Ivanov*, 1989; *Hidden Laughter*, 1990; *Tartuffe*, 1991; *Heartbreak House*, 1992; *Arcadia*, 1993; *An Absolute Turkey*, 1994; *India Ink*, 1995; *Mind Millie for Me*, 1996; *Waste*, 1997; *The Seagull*, 1997; *Alarms and Excursions*, 1998.

#### Publication

*White Cargo* (memoirs), 1998

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# Kennedy, Graham (1934– )

Australian Comedian, Host

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In 1956, just in time for the Melbourne Olympics, Australian television began on Network Nine, destined to be the nation's most successful popular network. A year later, also on Network Nine, the long-running variety show *In Melbourne Tonight* also began and soon became immensely popular. So too did the host of the show, Graham Kennedy, who became that classic icon, a household word. He was the king of comedy, the recognized successor to Australia's previous comic king and lord of misrule, Roy Rene (Mo), whose stage had been vaudeville and radio from the 1920s to the late 1940s. With *In Melbourne Tonight*, Kennedy adapted for television Australia's rich history of very risqué music hall, vaudeville, and variety. *In Melbourne Tonight* included musical acts, game segments, burlesques of ads, and sketches, including "The Wilsons." In this segment, perhaps reminiscent of *The Honeymooners* skits on early 1950s American television, Graham played a dirty old man, married to his Joyce, carnivalizing marriage as comic disaster.

After some 15 years of *In Melbourne Tonight*, Kennedy's TV shows and appearances became more occasional. In the mid-1970s, he was host of *Blankety Blanks*, a variety quiz show that parodied other quiz shows. On *Blankety Blanks*, contestants would be asked to provide a reply that matched the responses offered by a panel of celebrities; there was no "true" answer, only answers that matched, as Kennedy would occasionally remind viewers amid the mayhem and clowning. The program tended to go sideways into nonsense and fooling, rather than go straight ahead as in a quiz "race." In the late 1980s, Kennedy was host of *Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast*, an innovative late-night program (10:30 to 11:30 P.M.) that mixed news, accompanied by its conventions of seriousness and frequent urgency, with comic traditions drawn from centuries of carnival and vaudeville, a hybridizing of genres usually considered incompatible.

Kennedy's humor was saturated with self-reflexivity. On *Blankety Blanks* he insulted the producer, chided the crew, complained about the format of the show, and chaffed with the audience. He made jokes about the props he had to use, or the young lad

called Peter behind the set whose task was to pull something. The youth was addressed by Kennedy as Peter the Phantom Puller, and was frequently instructed to, "Pull it, Peter." On *Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast*, Kennedy continued to make comedy out of self-reflexivity. At various times, he showed how he could beep out words with a device on the desk in front of him. He demonstrated the cue system and revealed the cue words themselves. He discussed his smoking problem, announcing that he was a chain smoker, and, although he was not supposed to puff on it in front of viewers, he held a lit cigarette just below his desk. He presented ads, making fun of the product, revealing how much the station received for them. He showed a tiny new camera, and what it could do, and invited the audience to ring in with suggestions for how he should use it. Every night he read out telephone calls resulting from the previous night's show, some registering their disgust with his extremely "crude" jokes.

Everything served as grist for Kennedy's comedy mill: the studio, the situation of sitting in front of cameras and dealing with a producer, the off-screen personalities of his straight men (Ken Sutcliffe, a sports compere, and John Mangos, back from the United States where he had been an overseas reporter for Network Nine).

As with professional clowns from early modern Europe through pantomime, music hall, vaudeville, to Hollywood, Kennedy presented his face and body as grotesque, highlighting his protruding eyes, open gapping mouth, and long wandering tongue. His comedy was indeed risqué, calling on every aspect of the body to bring down solemnity or pomposity or pretension; his references to any and every orifice and protuberance were often such that one laughed and cried out at home, "that's disgusting." His relationship with his audience was—again as with clowns of old—competitive and interactive, particularly in the segments in which he read out and responded to phone calls. To one viewer, who must have been demanding them, Kennedy commented, "There are no limits, love, there are no limits." It is the credo of the clown through the ages, the uttering of what others only think, the saying of what cannot be said.

When Queen Elizabeth was shown in a news item visiting Hong Kong in 1989, Kennedy remarked that for a woman her age she did not have bad breasts—a purposely outrageously sexist comment, directed at a figure traditionally revered by Anglo-Australians. The night following the San Francisco earthquake, Kennedy and John Mangos staged a mock earthquake in the studio, with the ceiling apparently falling in on them. This piece of comic by-play was discussed in the press for some days. “Quality” papers such as the *Sydney Morning Herald* debated how distasteful it was. Kennedy was calling on an aspect of carnivalesque, uncrowning death with laughter. Such comedy usually remains verbal and underground, but Kennedy brought it to television.

*Coast to Coast* always highlighted and played with gender identity and confusion. Kennedy created his TV persona as bisexual. He might make jokes of heterosexual provenance, as in expressing his desire to make love to Jana Wendt, Australian TV’s highest-rating current-affairs and news-magazine host. Alternatively, he would play up being gay. One night Sutcliffe suddenly said to Graham, “Would you like to take your hand off my knee?” Jokes flowed, and Kennedy later included the performance in his final retrospective 1989 *Coast to Coast* program. Graham and Mangos were also very affectionate to each other. In his last appearance on the show, Graham kissed Mangos’s hand, and said of Ken and John that “he loved them both.”

Kennedy also highlighted ethnicity on *Coast to Coast*, particularly with Greek-Australian Mangos. With George Donikian, an Armenian Australian reading out headlines every half hour, and with an American Australian listing stock exchange reports, Graham set about exploring contemporary cultural and ethnic identities in Australia. His ethnic jokes probed, provoked, teased, challenged. The jokes were uncertain, revealing his own uncertainty.

The popularity of Graham Kennedy from 1957 onward, a popularity almost coterminous with Australian television itself, was extremely important and influential for contemporary entertainment. This comedy king gave license to many princes and lesser courts. He enabled them to explore comic self-reflexivity and direct address, the grotesque body, parody, and self-parody. For if Kennedy mocked others, he just as continuously mocked himself, creating for Australian television a feature of long carnivalesque signature, comedy that destabilizes every settled category and claim to truth, including its own. Such self-parody also drew on what has been remarked as a feature of (white) Australian cultural history in the last two centuries, perhaps directly influenced by aboriginal traditions of mocking mimicry: a laconic self-ironic humor, unsettling pom-

posity, pretension, and authority. Kennedy does not belong only to cultural history in Australia; his quickness of wit in verbal play, double-entendre, sexual suggestion, inverted meanings, and festive abuse join him to a long line of great comedians across the world. What he adds to stage traditions of comedy is a mastery of the television medium itself.

JOHN DOCKER

**Graham Kennedy.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, February 15, 1934. Educated at Caulfield Central School and Melbourne High School. News runner for ABC Radio Australia; worked at radio station 3UZ, in the recorded music library, and as panel operator for radio personality Nicky (Cliff Nicholls), 1951–57; moved to television, working for GTV Nine Network, 1957–69, and 1972–74; popular host, GTV9’s *In Melbourne Tonight*; briefly returned to radio, 1961; briefly hosted GTV9’s *The Tonight Show*, 1973; film career as a character actor; worked for Ten Network, 1977–79; host of the Australian version of *Blankety Blanks*, 1977–81; occasional TV appearances, from 1981; host, *Funniest Home Videos*, from 1990. Recipient: several Logie Awards, two Penguin Awards.

#### Television Series

1957–69	<i>In Melbourne Tonight</i>
1973	<i>The Tonight Show</i>
1977–81	<i>Blankety Blanks</i>
1988–89	<i>Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast</i>
1990	<i>Graham Kennedy’s Funniest Home Videos</i>

#### Films

*They’re a Weird Mob*, 1968; *The Odd, Angry Shot*, 1978; *The Club*, 1980; *The Return of Captain Invincible*, 1982; *The Killing Fields*, 1983; *Stanley*, 1983; *Travelling North*, 1987.

#### Publication

“Foreword,” *A Man Called Mo* (edited by Fred Parsons), 1973

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## Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral

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The network coverage of the assassination and funeral of President John F. Kennedy warrants its reputation as the most moving and historic passage in broadcasting history. On Friday November 22, 1963, news bulletins reporting rifle shots during the president's motorcade in Dallas, Texas, broke into normal programming. Soon the three networks preempted their regular schedules and all commercial advertising for a wrenching marathon that would conclude only after the president's burial at Arlington National Cemetery on Monday, November 25. As a purely technical challenge, the continuous live coverage over four days of a single, unbidden event remains the signature achievement of broadcast journalism in the era of three-network hegemony. But perhaps the true measure of the television coverage of the events surrounding the death of President Kennedy is that it marked how intimately the medium and the nation are interwoven in times of crisis.

The first word came over the television airwaves at 1:40 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, when CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite broke into *As the World Turns* with an audio announcement over a bulletin slide: "In Dallas, Texas, three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade in downtown Dallas. The first reports say that President Kennedy has been seriously wounded by this shooting." Minutes later, Cronkite appeared on screen from CBS's New York newsroom to field live reports from Dallas and read news bulletins from Associated Press and CBS Radio. Eddie Barker, news director for CBS's Dallas affiliate KRLD-TV, reported live from the Trade Mart, where the president was to have attended a luncheon. As a stationary camera panned the ballroom, closing in on a black waiter who wiped tears from his face, Barker related rumors "that the president is dead." Back in New York, a voice off-camera told Cronkite the same news, which, the anchorman stressed, was "totally unconfirmed." Switching back to Dallas, Barker again reported "the word we have is that the president is dead." Though he cautioned "this we do not know for a fact,"

the visual image at the Trade Mart was ominous: workman could be seen removing the presidential seal from a podium on the dais.

Behind the scenes, at KRLD's newsroom, CBS's Dallas bureau chief Dan Rather scrambled for information. He learned from two sources at Parkland Hospital that the president had died, a report that went out prematurely over CBS Radio. Citing Rather, Cronkite reported the president's death but noted the lack of any official conformation. At 2:37 P.M. CBS news editor Ed Bliss Jr., handed Cronkite an Associated Press wire report. Cronkite took a long second to read it to himself before intoning: "From Dallas, Texas, the flash, apparently official. President Kennedy died at 1:00 P.M. Central Standard Time, two o'clock Eastern Standard Time." He paused and looked at the studio clock. "Some 38 minutes ago." Momentarily losing his composure, Cronkite winced, removed his eyeglasses, and cleared his throat before resuming with the observation that Vice President Lyndon Johnson would presumably take the oath of office to become the 36th president of the United States.

To appreciate the enormity of the task faced by the networks over the next four days, it is necessary to recall that in 1963, before the days of high-tech, globally linked, and sleekly mobile news-gathering units, the technical limitations of broadcast journalism militated against the coverage of live and fast-breaking events in multiple locations. TV cameras required two hours of equipment warm-up to become "hot" enough for operation. Video signals were transmitted cross-country via "hard wire" coaxial cable or microwave relay. "Spot coverage" of unfolding news in the field demanded speed and mobility, and since television cameras had to be tethered to enormous wires and electrical systems, 16mm film crews still dominated location coverage, with the consequent delay in transportation, processing, and editing of footage. The challenges of juggling live broadcasts from across the nation with overseas audio transmissions, of compiling instant documentaries and special reports, and of acquiring





The funeral of John F. Kennedy  
*Photo courtesy of the John F. Kennedy Library*



and putting out raw film footage over the air was an off-the-cuff experiment in what NBC correspondent Bill Ryan called "controlled panic."

The resultant technical glitches served to heighten a national atmosphere of crisis and imbalance. NBC's coverage during that first hour showed correspondents Frank McGee, Chet Huntley, and Bill Ryan fumbling for a simple telephone link to Dallas, where reporter Robert McNeil was on the scene at Parkland Hospital. Manning the telephone and bobbling a malfunctioning speaker attachment, McGee had to repeat McNeil's words for the home audience because NBC technicians could not establish a direct audio feed. As McNeil reported White House aide Mac Kilduff's official announcement of the president's death, the phone link suddenly kicked in. Creating an eerie echo of the death notice, McGee, unaware, continued to repeat McNeil's now audible words. "After being shot at," said McNeil. "After being shot," repeated McGee needlessly. "By an unknown assailant..." "By an unknown assailant..."

Throughout Friday afternoon, information rushed in about the condition of Texas governor John Connolly, also wounded in the assassination; about the whereabouts and security of Vice President Lyndon Johnson, whom broadcasters made a determined effort to call "President Johnson"; and, in the later afternoon, about the capture of a suspected assassin, identified as Lee Harvey Oswald, a former Marine associated with left-wing causes.

So urgent was the craving for news and imagery that unedited film footage, still blotched and wet from fresh development, was put out over the air: of shocked pedestrians along the motorcade route and tearful Dallas residents outside Parkland Hospital, of the president and first lady, vital and smiling, from earlier in the day. The simultaneity of live video reports of a dead president intercut with recently developed film footage of a lively president delivering a good-humored breakfast speech that morning in Fort Worth, Texas, made for a jarring by-play of mixed visual messages. Correspondents on all three networks were apt reflections of spectator reaction: disbelief, shock, confusion, and grief. Grasping for points of comparison, many recalled the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt on April 12, 1945. NBC's Frank McGee rightly predicted, "that this afternoon, wherever you were and whatever you might have been doing when you received the word of the death of President Kennedy, that is a moment that will be emblazoned in your memory and you will never forget it... as long as you live."

At 5:59 P.M. on Friday, the president's body was returned to Andrews Air Force Base, where television caught an obscure, dark, and ghostly vessel taxiing in

on the runaway. When the casket was lowered from the plane, glimpses of Jacqueline Kennedy appeared on screen, her dress and stockings still visibly blood-stained. With the new first lady, Lady Bird Johnson, by his side, President Johnson made a brief statement before the cameras. "We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed," he intoned flatly. "I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help—and God's." Speculations about the funeral arrangements and updates on the accused assassin in Dallas rounded out the evening's coverage. NBC concluded its broadcastir.g day with a symphonic tribute from the NBC Studio Orchestra.

On Saturday the trauma was eased somewhat by religious ritual and constitutional tradition. Close friends, members of the president's family, government officials, and the diplomatic community arrived to pay their respects at the White House, where the president's body was lying in state. Former presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower spoke for the cameras, offering condolences to the Kennedy family and expressions of faith in democratic institutions. Instant documentary tributes to the late president appeared on all three networks: quick, makeshift compilations of home movies of Hyannisport frolics, press conference witticisms, and formal addresses to the nation. Meanwhile, more information dribbled in about Oswald, the accused assassin, whom the Dallas police paraded through the halls of the city jail. That evening CBS presented a memorial concert by the Philadelphia Orchestra with Eugene Normandy conducting.

On Sunday an unprecedented televised event blasted the story of the assassination of John F. Kennedy out of the realm of tragedy and into surrealism: the on-camera murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, telecast live. At 12:21 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, as preparations were being made for the solemn procession of the caisson bearing the president's casket from the White House to the Capitol rotunda, the accused assassin was about to be transferred from the Dallas City Jail to the Dallas County Jail. Alone of the three networks, NBC elected to switch over from coverage of the preparations in Washington, D.C., to the transfer of the prisoner in Dallas. CBS was also receiving a live feed from Dallas in its New York control room but opted to stay with the D.C. feed. Thus, only NBC carried the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald live. "He's been shot! He's been shot! Lee Oswald has been shot!" shouted NBC correspondent Tom Petit. "There is absolute panic. Pandemonium has broken out." Within minutes, CBS broadcast its own live feed from Dallas. For the rest of the day, all three networks deployed their Ampex videotape technology to rewind and re-

play the scene again and again. Almost every American in proximity to a television watched transfixed.

Amid the scuffle after the shooting, a journalist's voice could be heard gasping, "This is unbelievable." The next day *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould called the on-air shooting of Oswald "easily the most extraordinary moments of TV that a set-owner ever watched." In truth, as much as the Kennedy assassination itself, the on-air murder of the president's alleged assassin created an almost vertiginous imbalance in television viewers, a sense of American life out of control and let loose from traditional moorings.

Later that same afternoon, in stark counterpoint to the ongoing chaos in Dallas, thousands of mourners lined up to file past the president's flag-draped coffin in the Capitol rotunda. Senator Mike Mansfield intoned a mournful, poetic eulogy. Holding daughter Caroline's hand, the president's widow knelt by the casket and kissed the flag, the little girl looking up to her mother for guidance. "For many," recalled broadcasting historian Erik Barnouw, "it was the most unbearable moment in four days, the most unforgettable."

Throughout Sunday, tributes to the late president and scenes of mourners at the Capitol intertwined with news of the assassin and the assassin of the assassin, a Dallas strip-club owner named Jack Ruby. Remote coverage of church services around the nation and solemn musical interludes were intercut and dissolved into the endless stream of mourners in Washington. That evening, at 8:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, ABC telecast *A Tribute to John F. Kennedy from the Arts*, a somber variety show featuring classical music and dramatic readings from the Bible and Shakespeare. Host Fredric March recited the Gettysburg Address, Charlton Heston read from the *Psalms* and the poetry of Robert Frost, and Marian Anderson sang Negro spirituals.

The next day—Monday, November 25, a national day of mourning—bore witness to an extraordinary political-religious spectacle: the ceremonial transfer of the president's coffin by caisson from the Capitol rotunda to St. Matthew's Cathedral, where the funereal mass was to be celebrated by Richard Cardinal Cushing, and on across the Potomac River for burial at Arlington National Cemetery. Television coverage began at 7:00 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, with scenes from Washington, where all evening mourners had been filing past the coffin in the Capitol rotunda. At 10:38 A.M., the coffin was placed on the caisson for the procession to St. Matthew's Cathedral. Television imprinted a series of memorable snapshot images. During the mass, as the phrase from the president's first inaugural address came through loudspeakers ("Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can

do for your country"), cameras dissolved to a shot of the flag-draped coffin. No sooner did commentators remind viewers that this day marked the president's son's third birthday, than outside the church, as the caisson passed by, little John F. Kennedy Jr. saluted. The spirited stallion Black Jack, a riderless steed with boots pointed backward in the stirrup, kicked up defiantly. Awed by the regal solemnity, network commentators were quiet and restrained, allowing the medium of the moving image to record a series of eloquent sounds: drums and bagpipes, hoofbeats, the cadenced steps of the honor guard, and, at the burial at Arlington, the final sour note of a bugle playing "Taps."

The quiet power of the spectacle was a masterpiece of televisual choreography. Besides maintaining their own cameras and crews, each of the networks contributed cameras for pool coverage. CBS's Arthur Kane was assigned the task of directing the coverage of the procession and funeral, coordinating more than 60 cameras stationed strategically along the route. NBC took charge of feeding the signal via relay communications satellite to 23 countries around the globe. Even the Soviet Union, in a broadcasting first, used a five-minute news report sent via Telestar. CBS estimated 50 engineers worked on the project and NBC 60, while ABC put its total staff at 138. Unlike the fast-breaking news from Dallas on Friday and Sunday, the coverage of a stationary, scheduled event built on the acquired expertise of network journalism.

The colossal achievement came with a hefty price tag. Trade figures estimated the total cost to the networks at \$40 million, with some \$22 million lost in programming and commercial revenue over the four days. Ironically, on one of the few occasions when none of the networks cared about ratings, the television audience was massive. Though multicity Nielsen ratings for prime-time hours during the Black Weekend were calculated modestly (NBC at 24, CBS at 16, and ABC at 10), during intervals of peak viewership—as when the news of Oswald's murder struck—Nielsen estimated that fully 93 percent of televisions in the nation were tuned to the coverage. As if hypnotized, many Americans watched for hours at a stretch, in an unprecedented immersion in deep-involvement spectatorship.

Not incidentally, the Zapruder film, the famous super 8mm record of the assassination shot by Abraham Zapruder, was not a part of the original televisual experience. Despite the best efforts of CBS's Dan Rather, exclusive rights to the most historically significant piece of amateur filmmaking in the 20th century were obtained by *Life* magazine. The Zapruder film was not shown on television until March 1975, when it aired on ABC's *Goodnight America*. Almost certainly, how-

ever, in 1963 it would have been deemed too gruesome and disrespectful of the feelings of the Kennedy family to have been broadcast on network television.

The saturation coverage of the assassination and burial of John F. Kennedy, and the startling murder of his alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald on live television, yielded a shared media experience of astonishing unanimity and unmatched impact, an imbedded cultural memory that as years passed seemed to comprise a collective consciousness for a generation. In time, it would seem appropriate that the telegenic president was memorialized by the medium that helped make him. For its part, television—so long sneered at as a “boob tube” presided over by avaricious lords of kitsch—emerged from its four days in November as the only American institution accorded unconditional praise. *Variety*'s George Rosen spoke the consensus: “In a totally unforeseen and awesome crisis, TV immediately, almost automatically, was transformed into a participating organ of American life whose value, whose indispensability, no Nielsen audimeters could

measure or statistics reveal.” The medium Kennedy's Federal Communications Commission commissioner Newton Minow condemned as a “vast wasteland” had served, in extremis, as a national lifeline.

THOMAS DOHERTY

*See also* **Media Events**

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## Kennedy, Robert F.: Assassination

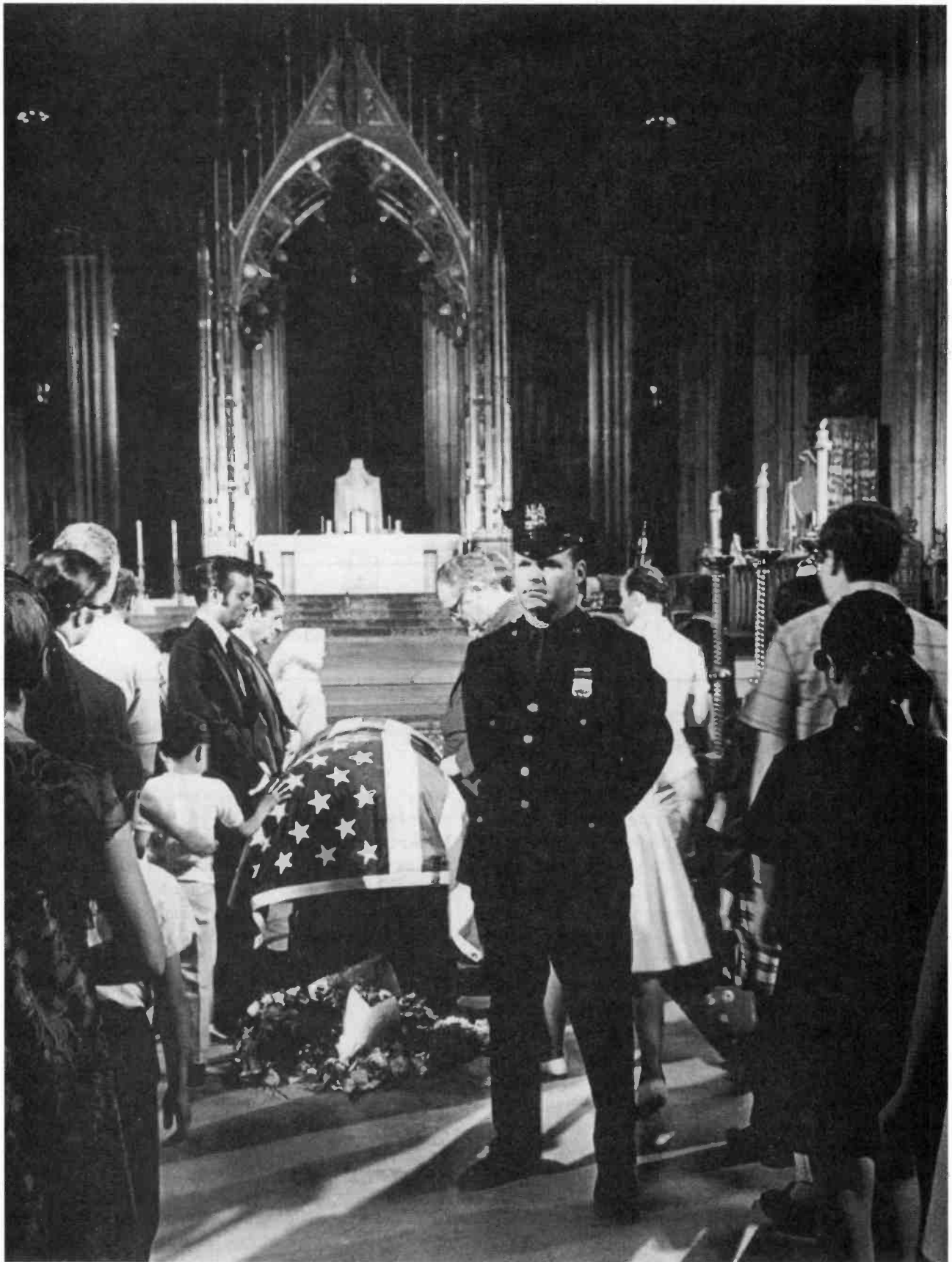
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Shortly after midnight on June 5, 1968, Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-New York) was assassinated by Sirhan B. Sirhan in the ballroom of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, California. All three television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) began coverage at the scene just minutes after the shooting. The first broadcast included footage of a large crowd of supporters gathered in the ballroom, awaiting Kennedy's address following his California presidential primary victory. Muffled sounds emerged from the direction of the podium, the crowd became disorderly, and although the reason for the disruption was still unclear, Steven Smith, Kennedy's brother-in-law, asked everyone to clear the room. A still photograph of Kennedy sprawled on the floor was televised as reporters noted in voice-over that he had been shot by an unknown assailant. About two hours after the shooting, supplemental footage was shown of Kennedy from behind as he stepped up to the podium, with a crowd around him. Shots were heard, camera angles were jolted in the confusion, but one camera managed to focus on the senator lying injured on the floor.

Intermittent reports provided updates of Kennedy's medical condition. Reporters at the scene first noted

his condition by sight only, stating that he had been shot repeatedly but was conscious and had “good color.” A physician at the scene remarked that the extent of his injuries was unknown. Later reports were provided by Kennedy's press secretary, Frank Mankiewicz, who stood on a car outside Good Samaritan Hospital to relay more technical information supplied by surgeons. At last he announced Kennedy's death some 26 hours after the shooting.

The whereabouts, identity, and motives of the assassin were vague in early accounts. Two hours after the shooting, reporters noted that a “young man had been caught” but were uncertain whether he was still in the hotel or had been taken into police custody. Described as “dark-skinned” and “curly-haired,” and variously as Filipino, Mexican, Jamaican, or Cuban, Palestinian Sirhan B. Sirhan was identified nearly ten hours later by his brother Adel after a still photograph of him was shown on television. Although he made no statements to police, eyewitnesses claimed that at the time of the shooting Sirhan said, “I did it for my country.” In response to the crowd's angry chant of “kill him, lynch him,” anchorman Walter Cronkite reiterated that Sirhan was “presumed innocent until proven guilty.”



*CBS Reports Inquiry: "The American Assassins, Robert F. Kennedy," 1975.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Questions concerning Sirhan's motives and whether he was part of a conspiracy are mired in controversy to this day.

A description of the weapon was similarly indeterminate. In the earliest reports, a policeman stated that celebrity Roosevelt "Rosie" Grier had first grabbed the weapon but that he currently had no idea where or what type the weapon was. Within one hour of the shooting, controversy had begun to emerge in terms of conspiracy: some eyewitnesses reported that the assassin had used a six-shot revolver; others said that more than six shots had been fired. One reporter suggested that there might have been more than one gun, and more than one gunman. Two hours later, however, the weapon was identified as an Iver Johnson .22-caliber pistol, a weapon capable of eight shots. Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin stated several hours after this that the pistol had been traced to a missing gun report, though the gunman himself had not yet been identified. He was uncertain at this point whether the man in custody was actually the assailant. Special reports on the pistol's history of ownership began to air nine hours after the shooting; 18 hours after the shooting, detailed special reports related the histories of the pistol and the assassin, who by this time had been identified as Sirhan.

The issue of violence played a crucial role in many of the shooting reports. One reporter noted that the United States would, with its rash of assassinations in the 1960s, appear to outsiders to be "some sort of violent society." The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, speaker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, aimed his criticism more pointedly in the direction of President Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War by saying that Kennedy had worked against "the violence, the hatred, and the war mentality" that had been "poisoning" the United States. Kennedy's opponent in the Democratic primary, Senator Eugene McCarthy, echoed this sentiment in his condemnation of violence at home and abroad. Some 12 hours after the shooting, Johnson responded to criticism in a special address in which he denounced violence "in the hearts of men everywhere" and suggested the establishment of a commission to investigate the causes of violence in

society. The commission would be jointly directed by the president and Congress and would be composed of academic, political, and religious leaders.

More immediate measures were also proposed to deal with the security of political candidates. Following an early report that police had planned no special security for Kennedy, President Johnson declared that full Secret Service protection would be provided for all leading announced candidates for national positions, rather than for the position-holders alone. In the meantime, reporters announced that Senator McCarthy, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, and Republican candidate Richard Nixon had called off all appearances.

Others at the Ambassador Hotel rally were also injured. Shortly after the shooting, it was reported that Jesse Unruh, Kennedy's campaign manager, had been hit, along with Paul Shrader, head of the United Automobile Workers union. Four hours later, added to the list were William Weisel, an ABC unit manager; Ira Goldstein, a California news service reporter; Elizabeth Evans, a political supporter; and Irwin Stroll, a teenage bystander.

Coverage of the shooting and its aftermath continued to be broadcast until the early evening of June 5, when networks began switching back to programs "already in progress." ABC opted not to broadcast a professional baseball game and instead had a special report on "The Shooting of RFK." Other networks informed viewers that regular programming would be interrupted occasionally to provide updated reports of Kennedy's condition. Early on the morning of June 6, a news conference was held to announce Kennedy's death. His funeral was televised on June 7, and highlights were televised on June 8.

KEVIN A. CLARK

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## Kennedy Martin, Troy (1932– )

British Writer

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Troy Kennedy Martin began his career as a television screenwriter in 1958 and quickly emerged as a leading member of a group of writers, directors, and producers at the BBC who were pushing the limits of British television drama. In addition to writing episodes of crime series, literary adaptations, and original miniseries, Kennedy Martin became an outspoken proponent of a new approach to television drama that would exploit what he saw as the properties of the medium.

He first received widespread acclaim for his approach with the BBC police series *Z Cars*, which proved enormously popular and ran from 1962 to 1978. The series was acclaimed for the fast pace and gritty realism with which it depicted a Lancashire police force coping with the problems of a modern housing estate. Its view of the police offered a sharp contrast to the homespun philosophy of PC Dixon in the BBC's *Dixon of Dock Green*, which had been extremely popular with family audiences since its debut in 1955. Kennedy Martin wrote the first eight episodes of the first season of *Z Cars*, plus the final episode in 1978.

In 1964 he published an article in the theater magazine *Encore* in which he argued forcefully for a "new television drama." Through its attack on "naturalism," this article set the terms for a lively, if sometimes confusing, debate on realism in television drama that persists into the present. Kennedy Martin advocated using the camera to do more than just show talking heads, by freeing the dramatic structure from the limits of real time and creating more complex relations between sound and image. In particular, he wanted to exploit what he called "the total objectivity of the television camera," which gave the medium a built-in Brechtian critical dimension that worked against subjective identification with characters.

From Kennedy Martin's point of view, the value of *Z Cars* lay in its respect for reality: its refusal to idealize the police and its attempt to reveal the underlying social causes that led to crime. Yet, because the style remained "naturalistic," Kennedy Martin felt that it was soon compromised by the generic and institutional constraints that encourage identification with the police and the demonization of the criminal.

Despite his disappointment with *Z Cars*, Kennedy Martin continued to write within popular crime and ac-

tion genres, notably for Thames Television's police series *The Sweeney* (1975–78), for which he wrote six episodes. He also wrote screenplays for several action films, with the same sense of frustration that his critical intentions were subverted in the production process. *The Italian Job* (1969), directed by Peter Collinson, was Kennedy Martin's most successful film screenplay.

Some of the formal innovations that Kennedy Martin called for in his manifesto were incorporated into *Diary of a Young Man*, a six-part serial broadcast by the BBC in 1964, written by Kennedy Martin and John McGrath and directed by Ken Loach. Other writers, notably David Mercer and Dennis Potter, also explored the possibilities of a non-naturalistic television drama. Yet it was not until the 1980s that Kennedy Martin was able to produce work that fulfilled both his critical and formalist goals. First came a fairly free adaptation of Angus Wilson's *The Old Men at the Zoo* as a five-part serial, broadcast by the BBC in 1983, a powerful and disturbing science fiction parable about a political order whose logic leads to the destruction of Britain in a nuclear war.

Fears of nuclear power and government bureaucracy also drove Kennedy Martin's major achievement, *Edge of Darkness*, a political thriller broadcast in six parts on BBC 2 in late 1985 and promptly repeated in three parts on consecutive nights on BBC 1. This serial combined the "naturalistic" tradition of British television drama on social issues with a popular thriller format and elements of fantasy and myth. A police inspector, investigating the murder of his daughter, discovers that she belonged to an anti-nuclear organization that had uncovered an illegal nuclear experiment backed by the government. The break with naturalism occurs when the murdered woman simply appears beside her father and starts a conversation with him, linking his investigation to the fusion of myth and science in the ecological movement to which she had belonged.

The popularity of political thrillers on British television after 1985 confirmed the significance of *Edge of Darkness* as a key work of the decade. Although Kennedy Martin advocated the development of short dramatic forms, not unlike the music videos that emerged in the 1980s, he has made a major contribu-

tion to British television drama in the developments of the long forms of series and serials.

JIM LEACH

**Troy Kennedy Martin.** Born 1932. Creator of long-running TV police series *Z Cars*, though only remained with it for three months, and of *The Sweeney*, among other series; has also worked in Hollywood. British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1983.

#### Television Series

1962–65	<i>Z Cars</i>
1964	<i>Diary of a Young Man</i> (with John McGrath)
1975–78	<i>The Sweeney</i>
1983	<i>Reilly—Ace of Spies</i>
1983	<i>The Old Men at the Zoo</i>
1985	<i>Edge of Darkness</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1997	<i>Hostile Waters</i>
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#### Films

*The Italian Job*, 1969; *Kelly's Heroes*, 1970; *The Jerusalem File*, 1972; *Sweeney II*, 1978; *Red Heat*,

1988; *Bravo Two Zero*, 1999; *The Italian Job*, 2003 (remake); *Red Dust*, 2004.

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## Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debates, 1960

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On September 26, 1960, 70 million U.S. viewers tuned in to watch Senator John Kennedy of New York and Vice President Richard Nixon in the first-ever televised presidential debate. It was the first of four televised "Great Debates" between Kennedy and Nixon. The first debate centered on domestic issues. The high point of the second debate, on October 7, was disagreement over U.S. involvement in two small islands off the coast of China, and on October 13, Nixon and Kennedy continued this dispute. On October 21, the final debate, the candidates focused on U.S. relations with Cuba.

The Great Debates marked television's grand entrance into presidential politics. They afforded the first real opportunity for voters to see their candidates in competition, and the visual contrast between Kennedy and Nixon was dramatic. In August, Nixon had seriously injured his knee and spent two weeks in the hos-

pital. By the time of the first debate, he was still 20 pounds underweight, his complexion still pale. He arrived at the debate in an ill-fitting shirt and refused makeup to improve his color and lighten his perpetual "five o'clock shadow." Kennedy, by contrast, had spent early September campaigning in California. He was tan and confident and well rested. "I had never seen him looking so fit," Nixon later wrote.

In substance, the candidates were much more evenly matched. Indeed, those who heard the first debate on the radio pronounced Nixon the winner. But the 70 million who watched television saw a candidate still sickly and obviously discomforted by Kennedy's smooth delivery and charisma. Those television viewers focused on what they saw, not what they heard. Studies of the audience indicated that, among television viewers, Kennedy was perceived the winner of the first debate by a very large margin.



The televised Great Debates had a notable impact on voters in 1960, on national elections since, and, indeed, on our concerns for democracy itself. The debates' effect on the election of 1960 was significant, albeit subtle. Commentators broadly agree that the first debate accelerated Democratic support for Kennedy. In hindsight, however, it seems the debates were not, as once thought, the turning point in the election. Rather than encouraging viewers to change their vote, the debates appear to have simply solidified prior allegiances. In short, many would argue that Kennedy would have won the election with or without the Great Debates.

Yet voters in 1960 did vote with the Great Debates in mind. At election time, over half of all voters reported that the Great Debates had influenced their opinion; 6 percent reported that their vote was the result of the debates alone. Thus, regardless of whether the debates changed the election result, voters pointed to the debates as a significant reason for electing Kennedy.

The Great Debates had consequences beyond the election of 1960, as well. They served as precedent around the world: Soon after the debates, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Italy, and Japan established debates between contenders for national office. Moreover, the Great Debates created a precedent in U.S. presidential politics. Federal laws requiring that all candidates receive equal air time stymied debates for the next three elections, as did Nixon's refusal to debate in 1968 and 1972. Yet by 1976, the law and the candidates had both changed, and ever since, presidential debates, in one form or another, have been a fixture of U.S. presidential races.

Perhaps most important, the Great Debates forced citizens to rethink how democracy would work in a television era. To what extent does television change

debate, indeed, change campaigning altogether? What is the difference between a debate that "just happens" to be broadcast and one specifically crafted for television? What is lost in the latter? Do televised debates really help us to evaluate the relative competencies of the candidates, to assess policy options, to increase voter participation and intellectual engagement, to strengthen national unity? For some observers, such events lead to worries that television emphasizes the visual, when visual attributes seem neither the best nor most reliable indicators of a great leader. However, other analysts express confidence that televised presidential debates remain one of the most effective means to operate a direct democracy. The issue then becomes one of improved form rather than changed forum. The Nixon-Kennedy debates of 1960 brought these questions to the floor, forcing us to ponder the role of television in democratic life.

ERIKA TYNER ALLEN

See also **Political Processes and Television; U.S. Presidency and Television**

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## Kenya

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Kenyan television is a classic example of an industry whose good chances for development have been consistently frustrated by government sensitivity and political interference. The medium's history in Kenya is marked by stunted growth due to excessive government regulation and extensive abuse by the dominant political forces.

In 1959 the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was established by the British colonial administration, with the objective of providing radio and television broadcasting. The proposal for the formation of a public corporation had been submitted by a commission appointed earlier in the year to report on the advantages and disadvantages of a television service for



Kenya, and the impact of such a service on radio broadcasting. The 1959 Proud Commission rejected earlier findings by another commission in 1954 that television was "economically impracticable in Kenya" and concluded that the new medium was likely to be financially self-reliant if it were set up as a full-fledged commercial outfit.

Between 1959 and 1961, and in keeping with the Proud Commission's recommendations, the colonial administration contracted a consortium of eight companies to build and operate a television service. The eight firms, seven of which were from Europe and North America, formed Television Network Ltd., which was charged with the responsibility of setting up the national television broadcasting system. The consortium, cognizant of the irreversible developments toward Kenya's political independence, created the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation as an autonomous public organization. The idea was to have the corporation wield as much independence as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). By the end of 1962, a transmission station and recording studio had been set up in Kenya, and television was officially launched the following year.

The corporation created by the consortium bore a striking resemblance to the BBC. It drew its revenue from advertising, annual license fees on receiver sets, and government subventions. The vision of financially self-sustaining television service was, however, misplaced, especially since the new medium failed to attract as much advertising as the older and more popular radio broadcasting service. Within the first full financial year of television broadcasting (July 1963 to June 1964), the corporation posted a loss of nearly \$1 million and had to resort to government loans and supplementary appropriations to remain afloat. Coincidentally, Kenya had gained independence, and the new government, worried about the threat to national sovereignty posed by the foreign ownership of the broadcasting apparatus, decided to nationalize the corporation in June 1964. After the takeover, the corporation was renamed Voice of Kenya (VoK) and was converted to a department under the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting, and Tourism (later renamed Ministry of Information and Broadcasting). VoK's new role, as the government mouthpiece, was to provide information, education, and entertainment. While the government adopted a capitalist approach to economic development, which embraced private-sector participation in all areas of the economy and even welcomed participation in a number of electronic broadcasting activities, private ownership of broadcasting concerns was disallowed.

Between 1964 and 1990, television and radio were owned and controlled by the state, and the two media exercised great caution in reporting politically sensitive news. During this period, several attempts were made to move away from the established broadcasting system. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting replaced annual license fees with a one-time permit fee, and the drive for commercial self-sustenance was replaced by a politically inspired initiative for increased local content and a sharper nationalistic outlook. The objective was elusive, however, as the VoK television was only able to achieve a 40 percent local-programming content by the mid-1980s, well below the target of 70 percent local content. Television also failed to become an authoritative national medium: studies in 1985 showed that only 17 percent of the electronic media audience regarded television as the best source of information, compared to 86 percent who rated radio as their prime news source.

Several reasons have been advanced for poor performance of television in Kenya. Besides being a preserve of the educated minority in the country, the spread of ownership of television sets has been severely curtailed by the poor penetration of the national electrical power grid. Even worse is the poor transmission the country received from the 55 small transmission and booster stations, whose weak signals generally cover small areas or are constrained by the country's rugged topography. As such, household audiences have been growing mainly within the major urban areas, or near large rural centers served by electricity and near a booster station.

In 1989 the VoK was renamed Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and accorded semi-autonomous status founded on the premise that it would adopt a more commercially oriented stance. Although the corporation unveiled grandiose plans to expand news coverage and improve local programming content, it was unable to chart out an independent editorial position, and it is still widely seen as a part of the government propaganda machinery. However, some progress has been made in increased weekly on-air periods, and enhancement of color transmission. Until the early 1990s, the corporation relied on cheap but time-consuming air-mail services for the supply of foreign news footage, even though the country was serviced by Intelsat. Since 1994, the corporation has been retransmitting large chunks of the BBC World Service Television several nights per week. A second KBC channel launched in 1995 is a joint venture between the KBC and MultiChoice South Africa; this channel mainly transmits movies and international sports.

Liberalization has been slow and inconsistent. In March 1990, a second television station, the Kenya Television Network (KTN), commenced operations, offering a mixture of relayed retransmission of CNN programming and light entertainment. KTN was initiated as a joint venture between Kenya's ruling party, Kanu, and the London-based Maxwell Communications, but the British media group withdrew after the death of its founder, Robert Maxwell. Baraza Ltd.—owners of the *East African Standard* and Capital FM radio station—acquired KTN in the late 1990s. Even though it is privately owned, KTN has been unable to provide independent news coverage because of excessive political interference with its editorial direction, a problem that forced its management to scrap the transmission of local news for more than a year, between 1993 and 1994. About 95 percent of the station's programs are foreign, mainly because most of its 24-hour service is a retransmission of the CNN signal.

A second private station, Cable Television Network (CTN), launched in March 1994, has also failed to inspire major changes in Kenya's television industry. CTN unsuccessfully tried to build a subscriber base in Nairobi via overhead cables passed along existing electrical power pylons. Its intermittent transmissions have so far comprised Indian drama and films. A third private station, Stellavision TV, was licensed in the early 1990s and went on air in 1999 with primarily foreign films and entertainment.

The enactment of the Kenya Communications Act in 1998 signaled the beginning of deregulation of the airwaves in earnest. The law created the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) as an independent regulatory authority for broadcasting, telecommunications, and postal services. CCK is responsible for licensing, broadcast-frequency allocations, ownership and control regulation, and enforcement of fair practices. The act also provides for the transformation of KBC into a national public service broadcaster in both radio and television.

The latest entrants into the television market are Citizen TV and Nation TV. Citizen TV, owned by Royal Media, was licensed in 1997 and began transmission in 1999. Problems with government saw its license temporarily withdrawn in 2001. African Broadcasting Ltd., a subsidiary of the Nation Media Group, owns Nation TV. The station was licensed in 1998 and went on air in December 1999. Five other TV licenses have been given out since 1999, two of which are for religious broadcasting. As of 2002, these channels had not yet gone on air. The licensing of private stations, however, says little about Kenya's commitment to liberalizing the airwaves. The government has previously refused to license operators on the grounds that broadcasting frequencies are inadequate, and for fear of losing control over the information-dissemination process.

Owing to the centralized nature of Kenyan television, only a handful of small production houses have been set up in the country. Most local productions are from the KBC teams and the government camera crew located in provincial headquarters. Virtually all programs are in either English or Swahili; English is the programming language used during two-thirds of all airtime. Most of the small production houses concentrate on commercials and documentary filming. Lately, however, a few production houses have been formed that target programming opportunities as the region liberalizes its airwaves.

NIXON KARIITHI

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# Kids in the Hall

## Canadian Sketch Comedy Program

*Kids in the Hall* (KITH) was a sketch comedy program produced by Lorne Michaels's Broadway Video and cofinanced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the U.S. cable network, Home Box Office (HBO). KITH aired in Canada on the CBC and in the United States on HBO, CBS, and another cable network, Comedy Central. The members of the KITH performance group are Dave Foley, Bruce McCulloch, Kevin McDonald, Mark McKinney, and Scott Thompson. The name derives from U.S. comedian Jack Benny's habit of attributing some of his material to aspiring comedians whom he called "the kids in the hall."

KITH was formed in 1984 when McCulloch and McKinney, who had worked together in Calgary as part of a group named the Audience, teamed up with Foley and McDonald's Toronto-based group, KITH. Thompson officially joined in January 1985. That same year, McCulloch and McKinney were hired as writers for NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) after a talent scout saw KITH in performance. Significantly, SNL had also been created by Michaels, himself an expatriate Canadian living and producing in New York. Also in 1985, Foley appeared in the film *High Stakes*, and Thompson and McDonald toured with *Second City*. In 1986 KITH were reunited in Toronto and Michaels finally saw them perform. He immediately envisaged a television project around them. In 1987, he moved KITH to New York and, paying each member \$150 per week, had them perform in comedy clubs, write new material, and rehearse sketches. In 1988, Michaels produced their HBO special. The regular series followed.

KITH immediately attracted a cult following and broke new ground by combining shock humor with a finely developed sense of performance and a generosity of spirit, which invited audiences to question their presuppositions rather than simply to mock the targets of the humor. Characteristic of KITH's style are well-rounded personifications of both men and women, homosexuals, business executives, prostitutes, and drug users, and such creations as the half-human/half-fowl Chicken Lady, gay barfly Buddy Cole, the angry "head crusher," the annoying child Gavin, and the teenager drawn to older women. These personifications consis-

tently draw upon the inner resources of the characters themselves, showing their encounters with society rather than society's judgment upon them.

KITH also occupies an interesting place within Canadian television. First, although a Canadian show filmed in Toronto, it was produced by a New York-based company best known for turning comedians such as Steve Martin and John Belushi into major stars. KITH could therefore serve as Canadian content while gaining access to the much larger and more lucrative U.S. market. Second, although a CBC program, KITH attracted a youthful cult audience unfamiliar to the CBC and inconsistent with its core demographic. Third, KITH cracked the U.S. market by targeting an audience understood not in terms of its membership in a Canadian national cultural community but a North American audience understood in terms of its relative youth and sophistication with comedy. Fourth, the success of KITH coincided with the moment when the



*Kids in the Hall.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

CBC attempted to change its corporate culture by adopting some of the practices of other North American networks and embracing urbanity unreservedly.

However, KITH also extended certain existing aspects of Canadian television. KITH adopted the sketch rather than the situation comedy format. Canadian broadcasting has attempted situation comedy only sparingly and unevenly, whereas its sketch comedy record reaches back at least to the 1940s with radio's *The Happy Gang*. On television, sketch comedy appeared in the early 1950s with Wayne and Shuster and has come to include *Nightcap*, *SCTV*, *The Frantics*, *S and M Comic Book*, *Codco*, *The Vacant Lot*, *Three Dead Trolls in a Baggie*, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, and others.

Within the North American context, KITH also exemplified the relative openness of Canadian broadcasting. For example, many of KITH's themes and situations were initially deemed inappropriate for U.S. network TV and it therefore debuted on HBO. When CBS did pick it up, KITH underwent certain deletions. Canadian television, however, because of the traditional preponderance of public broadcasting, is more experimental and less censorious, and has long been open to a much broader range of social, political, and cultural attitudes than would be possible on U.S. television. This created a space for KITH's shock humor and extended the CBC's commitment to more challenging material.

KITH repeated the tradition of exporting Canadian comedy to U.S. television through such notables as Lorne Michaels himself, Dan Aykroyd, Dave Thomas, Martin Short, Jim Carrey, John Candy, Catherine O'Hara, Rick Moranis, Mike Meyers, and others.

KITH was terminated by the principals themselves, who have pursued careers in the entertainment industry that highlight their skills as actors and writers, mainly in situation comedies and films. In 1996, KITH

starred in the film *Brain Candy*, a comedy about a pharmaceutical company's attempt to market a new drug. In 2000, KITH undertook a North American reunion tour. In 2001, the live tour documentary *Kids in the Hall: Same Guys, New Dresses* was released. KITH enjoys a devoted fan following and has spawned websites, merchandise, and fanzines.

PAUL ATTALLAH

#### Performers

David Foley  
Scott Thompson  
Kevin McDonald  
Bruce McCulloch  
Mark McKinney

#### Producer

Lorne Michaels

#### Programming History

CBC	
1989–95	Thursday 9:30
HBO, CBS, Comedy Central,	
Sky Channel (Europe)	various times

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Kids of Degrassi Street, The. *See Degrassi*

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# Kinescope

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The first and most primitive method of recording a television program, production, or news story, a kinescope is a film made of a live television broadcast. Kinescopes are usually created by placing a motion picture camera in front of a television monitor and recording the image off the monitor's screen while the program is being aired. This recording method came into wide use around 1947. Before videotape, this process was the standard industry method of creating a permanent document, for rebroadcast and for archival purposes. The term "kinescope" comes from the combination of two words: the Greek "kinetic," meaning of or related to motion, and "scope," as in an observational instrument such as a microscope.

Actually, kinescope is the name for the cathode-ray tube in a television receiver that translates electrical signals into a picture on a lighted screen. The use of the word "kinescope" to describe a filmed recording of a television broadcast was derived from this piece of equipment. Originally, such recordings were called "kinescope recordings," but, due to repeated usage in spoken language, the term was usually shortened to just "kinescope," and then often shortened again to just "kine" or "kinnie." The picture quality created by kinescopes was admittedly and understandably poor—they appeared grainy, fuzzy, even distorted—yet they were the only method for documentation available to stations and producers at that time. Although the poor picture quality of kinescopes generally prohibited any extensive reuse, many programs were rebroadcast from kinescope in order to save money, to allow broadcast at a different time or, more frequently, to expose the programs to a wider audience. Cities and locales outside of an antenna's reach and without wire or cable connection had no way of seeing programming produced in and broadcast from New York City, programming that constituted the majority of television at the time. In order for a program to be seen in outlying areas (either beyond the city limits or elsewhere across the country), kinescope films were shipped from station to station in a practice known as "bicycling."

For many stations, the airing of kinescopes (despite the very poor picture quality) was a necessary way to fill the programming day. This was especially true in the early days of educational television, which had high goals but little money with which to achieve them. Although kinescope programs could never be very timely, they could be educational and, in this

case, they were the best way to fill a void. The National Educational Television and Radio Center (later NET) in Ann Arbor, Michigan, was the country's largest clearinghouse for kinescope distribution until the late 1950s.

Because kinescopes were considered so unsatisfactory, many companies attempted to find more efficient, less costly, and more aesthetically pleasing methods of recording programs. Seeking a more convenient way of producing his television specials without having to perform them live, singer Bing Crosby had his company, Bing Crosby Enterprises, create and demonstrate the first magnetic videotape recordings in 1951. The RCA and Ampex companies would also display electronic videotape recording methods before the end of the decade, with the Ampex standard eventually adopted by the television industry.

However, the true demise of the kinescope (at least as far as entertainment programming is concerned), like most things in television, was ultimately driven by economic concerns and can be attributed to *I Love Lucy* and its stars and producers, Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball. When beginning their landmark show, the couple insisted on producing in California, their home of many years. Philip Morris, the cigar and cigarette manufacturer, already signed on as the show's sponsor, wanted the program produced in New York because more potential smokers lived east of the Mississippi, but Philip Morris would not settle for inferior kinescopes playing on the east coast. In response, Arnaz and cinematographer Karl Freund devised a method of recording performances on film. Their system used three cameras to record the live action while a director switched among them to obtain the best shot or angle. The show was later edited into the best performance in a manner much like a feature film. The result not only was a superior recording good for repeated airing throughout the country, it also presaged the move of the TV industry from New York to the west coast, where fully equipped film studios eagerly entered television production and recouped some of the losses they had encountered with the rise of the newer medium. Moreover, the new filmed product created, almost accidentally, TV's most profitable byproduct, the rerun.

The kinescope, the one and perhaps only method of television recording technology to be completely obsolete in the industry today, is now of use only in

archives and museums, where the fuzzy, grainy texture often adds to the recordings' charm as artifacts and antiquities. For those who would understand and present the history of television programming, that charm is fortunately matched by the historical value of even this partial record of an era all but lost.

CARY O'DELL

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## King, Larry (1933– )

U.S. Talk Show Host

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Larry King, television and radio talk show host, claims to have interviewed more than 30,000 people during his career. In 1989 *The Guinness Book of World Records* credited him as having logged more hours on national radio than any other talk show personality in history.

His nationwide popularity began with his first national radio talk show, premiering over the Mutual Network in 1978. In 1985 the Cable News Network (CNN) scheduled a nightly, one-hour cable-television version of King's radio program. *Larry King Live* has become one of CNN's highest-rated shows and positioned King as the first American talk-show host to have a worldwide audience. Currently, the program reaches more than 200 countries, with a potential audience of 150 million.

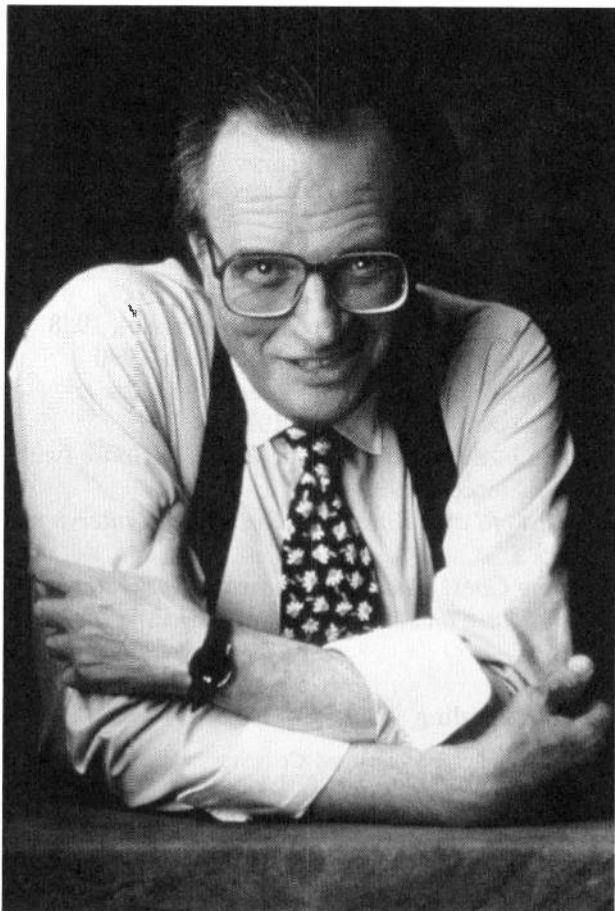
Called cable television's preeminent pop-journalist, King is characterized as an interviewer, not a journalist. He is an ad-lib interviewer, who claims not to overprepare for his guest. "My lack of preparation really forces me to learn, and to listen," he says. His guests are given a wide range of latitude while responding to questions that any person on the street might ask. Rather than acting as an investigative reporter, King prides himself in asking "human questions," not "press-conference questions." He sees himself as non-threatening, nonjudgmental, and concerned with feelings.

King's radio broadcast career began with a 1957 move to Miami, Florida, where he worked for station WAHR as a disc jockey and sports talk show host. He changed his name from the less euphonious Larry Zeiger when the general manager noted that his name was "too German, too Jewish. It's not show-business enough."

After a year, he joined WKAT, a station that gave DJs a great deal of freedom to develop their personalities. King took advantage of the opportunity by inventing a character called "Captain Wainright of the Miami State Police." Sounding like Broderick Crawford, Wainright interrupted traffic reports with crazy suggestions, such as telling listeners to save a trip to the racetrack by flagging down police officers and placing their bets with them. The Wainright character became so popular that bumper stickers appeared bearing the slogan "Don't Stop Me. I Know Capt. Wainright."

In 1958 King's celebrity status led to his first major break as host of an on-location interview program from Miami's Pumpernik Restaurant. He interviewed whoever happened to be there at the time. Never knowing who his guest would be and unable to plan in advance, he began to perfect his interviewing style, listening carefully to what his guest said and then formulating questions as the conversation progressed.

Impressed with King's Pumpernik show, WIOD employed him in 1962 to do a similar radio program originating from a houseboat formerly used for the ABC television series *Surfside Six*. Because of the show's on-the-beach location and because of the publicity it offered the television series, *Surfside Six* became an enormous success. WIOD gave King further exposure as the color commentator for broadcasts of Miami Dolphin football games. While riding a tide of popularity during 1963, he did double duty as a Sunday late-night talk show host over WLBW-TV. In 1964 he left WLBW-TV for a weekend talk show on WTVJ-TV. He added newspaper writing to his agenda with columns for *The Miami Herald*, *The Miami News*, and *The Miami Beach Sun-Reporter*.



Larry King, circa 2000.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Of this period, King said he was “flying high.” Unfortunately, his life flew out of control. He ran up outrageous bills and fell \$352,000 into debt. Still worse, he was charged with grand larceny and accused of stealing \$5,000 from a business partner. On March 10, 1972, the charges were dropped, but the scandal nearly destroyed his career. It would take four years before he worked regularly in broadcasting again. King candidly presented this period of his life to the public in his book, *Larry King*.

From 1972 to 1975, King struggled to get back on his feet. In the spring of 1974, he took a public relations job with a horse racing track in Shreveport, Louisiana. In the fall, he became the color commentator for the short-lived Shreveport Steamers of the World Football League.

In 1975, after returning to Miami, he was rehired by a new general manager at WIOD for an evening interview show similar to his previous program. Over the next several years, he gradually recovered as a TV interviewer, a columnist for *The Miami News*, and a ra-

dio commentator for the Dolphins. Still deep in debt, he claimed bankruptcy in 1978.

In the same year, the Mutual Broadcasting Network persuaded him to do a late-night radio talk show, which debuted on January 30, 1978, in 28 cities as the *Larry King Show*. It was first aired from WIOD, but beginning in April 1978, it originated from Mutual's Arlington, Virginia, studios, which overlook the capital. Originally, the show's time slot was from midnight to 5:30 A.M. and divided into three distinct segments, a guest interview, guest responses to callers, and “Open Phone America.” King greeted callers by identifying their location: “Memphis, hello.”

In February 1993, King's radio talk show on Mutual (now Westwood One) moved from late night to an afternoon drive time reaching 410 affiliates. By June 1994, Westwood also began simulcasting King's CNN live show, the first ever daily “TV/radio talk show.” As part of the agreement, King dropped his syndicated radio show, a move that ended his regular radio broadcasting activities.

Larry King's CNN program received a huge boost in 1992 by attracting the presidential candidates. On February 20, his interview with H. Ross Perot facilitated Perot's nomination. Viewers of *Larry King Live* learned of Perot's candidacy even before his wife did. Because of King's call-in format, Perot was approachable as he responded to questions from viewers. The interview initiated a new trend in campaigning as other candidates followed suit by sidestepping traditional news conferences with trained reporters in favor of live, call-in talk shows. The new boom in “talk show democracy” invited voters back into the political arena formerly reserved for politicians and journalists, and marked a new stage in television's influence on the U.S. political process.

In addition to his work in radio and television as a talk show host, King has made appearances (usually playing himself) in many movies, including *Ghostbusters* (1984), *Primary Colors* (1998), and *America's Sweethearts* (2001), and he has guest-starred (again playing himself) on a number of sitcoms such as *Murphy Brown*, *The Simpsons*, *The Larry Sanders Show*, *Frasier*, and *Spin City*. From the 1980s until November 2001, he published a weekly column for the national newspaper *USA Today*. In 2002 King signed a four-year contract with CNN.

FRANK J. CHORBA

See also **Cable News Network**

**Larry King.** Born Lawrence Zeiger in Brooklyn, New York, November 19, 1933. Educated at Lafayette High School. Married: 1) Freda Miller, 1952 (en-

nulled); 2) Alene Atkins, 1961 (divorced, 1963); 3) Mickey Sutphin, 1963 (divorced, 1963); 4) Alene Atkins, 1967 (divorced, 1971); child: Chaia; 5) Sharon Lepore, 1976 (divorced, 1982); 6) Julia Alexander, 1989 (divorced, 1992); child: Andy; 7) Shawn Southwick, 1997; children: Chance Southworth and Cannon Edward. Disc jockey and host, radio interview show at various stations, Miami, Florida, 1957–71; columnist, various Miami newspapers, 1965–71; freelance writer and broadcaster, 1972–75; radio talk show host, WIOD, Miami, 1975–78; host, Mutual Broadcasting System's *Larry King Show*, from 1978; host, CNN's *Larry King Live*, since 1985; host, the Goodwill Games, 1990; columnist, *USA Today* and *The Sporting News*. Member: the Friars Club and the Washington Center for Politics and Journalism. Recipient: George Foster Peabody Award, 1982; National Association of Broadcasters' Radio Award, 1985; Jack Anderson Investigative Reporting Award, 1985; International Radio and TV Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1989; American Heart Association's Man of the Year, 1992; named to Broadcaster's Hall of Fame, 1992.

**Television Series (selected)**

1985– *Larry King Live*

**Films**

*Ghostbusters*, 1984; *Lost in America*, 1985; *Eddie and the Cruisers II: Eddie Lives!*, 1989; *Crazy People*, 1990; *The Exorcist III*, 1990; *Dave*, 1993; *Open Season*, 1996; *Courage Under Fire*, 1996; *The Long Kiss Goodnight*, 1996; *Contact*, 1997; *Mad City*, 1997; *The Jackal*, 1997; *Primary Colors*, 1998; *Bulworth*, 1998; *Enemy of the State*, 1998;

*The Kid*, 1998; *The Contender*, 2000; *America's Sweethearts*, 2001; *John Q*, 2002.

**Radio (selected)**

*Larry King Show*, 1978–94; *Larry King Live*, 1994– .

**Publications (selected)**

*Larry King* (with Emily Yoffe), 1982  
*Tell It to the King* (with Peter Occhiogrosso), 1988  
*Tell Me More* (with Peter Occhiogrosso), 1990  
*When You're from Brooklyn, Everywhere Else Is Tokyo* (with Marty Appel), 1992  
*On the Line: The New Road to the White House* (with Mark Stencel), 1993  
*The Best of Larry King Live: The Greatest Interviews*, 1995  
*Anything Goes! What I've Learned from Pundits, Politicians, and Presidents* (with Pat Piper), 2000

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## King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr.: Assassination

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Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the American civil rights movement, was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, while lending support to a sanitation workers' strike. He was shot by James Earl Ray at approximately 7:05 P.M. Ray's bullet struck King as he was standing on his balcony at the Lorraine Motel; King died approximately one hour later. Although no television cameras were in the vicinity at the

time of the assassination, television coverage of the event quickly followed.

News reports of King's wounding appeared first, but reporters remained consistent with the traditional news format, making early reports of the shooting seem both impersonal and inaccurate. The assassination occurred at the same time as the evening news, and several anchors received the information during their live





The funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr.  
*Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos*

broadcasts; because details of the shooting were not yet clear, inaccurate information was offered in several cases. Julian Barber of WTTG in Washington, D.C., for example, mistakenly reported that King had been shot while in his car. Following this presentation of incorrect details, Barber then proceeded to introduce the station's weatherman. The rest of the newscast followed a standard format, with only minor interruptions providing information about King's condition.

Similarly, Stanislav Kondrashov recalls that Walter Cronkite had almost finished delivering his report on the *CBS Evening News* when he received word of King's wounding. Visibly shaken, he announced the shooting. Moments after the announcement, however, the news program faded into commercial advertising.

With little information available, the networks continued with their regularly scheduled programming and only later interrupted the programs with their station logos. At that point, an anonymous voice announced that King was dead.

Having received word of King's death, all three U.S. networks interrupted programming with news coverage. Awaiting President Lyndon Johnson's statement, all three featured anchormen discussing King's life and his contributions to the civil rights movement. The networks then broadcast Johnson's statement, in which he called for Americans to "reject the blind violence" that had killed the "apostle of nonviolence." In addition, the networks also covered Senator Hubert Humphrey's response and presented footage of King's

prophetic speech from April 3, in which he acknowledged the precarious state of his life. Although the networks had reporters positioned in Memphis, there were no television reporters on the scene because an official curfew had been imposed on the city in an attempt to prevent violence.

According to G.D. McKnight, the immediacy of the television coverage prompted riots in more than 60 U.S. cities, including Chicago, Denver, and Baltimore. Television coverage of King's death and the riots it sparked continued for the next five days. King's life was featured on morning shows (e.g., NBC's *Today Show*), evening news programs, and special programs. The riots themselves commanded extensive television coverage (e.g., CBS's *News Nite* special on the riots). G.L. Carter suggests that the riots following King's assassination represent a significant shift from previous riotous activities, from responses dealing primarily with local issues to the national focus emerging in the wake of the King riots. National television coverage of the circumstances surrounding the King assassination may have contributed to this shift.

The King assassination is a significant moment in the history of the civil rights movement as well as in the history of the United States more generally. In death, as in life, King influenced millions of Americans. From the first reports of his shooting to the coverage of his funeral services on April 9 at the Ebenezer Church on the Morehouse College campus, television closely followed. News coverage of King's legacy continued when, on April 11, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Bill.

VIDULA V. BAL

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## King of Kensington

### Canadian Domestic Comedy

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The five seasons of *King of Kensington* provided some of the most popular television in the more than 50-year history of television in Canada. Veteran actor Al Waxman was remembered as the "King" for the rest of his life, as was the catchy tune that opened every episode under the credits. The lyrics define King as the "people's champion," a "king without a buck...his wife says helping people brings him luck/His mother tells a slightly different story" over shots of King going down the crowded sidewalks greeting everyone with a broad smile. The song ends with a little send-up: a deep male voice drawling, "What a guy!" The series is set in the multi-ethnic open market of Kensington Street in downtown Toronto. Taped in front of a live audience, originally the series emphasized topical humor based on recent events, but given a twist by the ethnicity of the various characters. King is Jewish, Cathy his wife is a WASP, Tony the cabbie is Italian, and Nestor the postman is from the Caribbean. A Ukrainian alderman and a Francophone gambler also appeared in early episodes of this domestic comedy.

*King of Kensington* also focuses on the clash of cultures between Cathy and Gladys, King's rather stereotypical Jewish mother, and between Cathy's needs and Larry's willingness to help anybody. The topical references provided the show with some edginess, as did the working-class realism of the sets, costumes, and dialogue. Larry came from a well-known Toronto high school, yet was willing to try foods like curry just then coming into popularity in the city. The fact that King was easygoing, a little overweight, and an average guy made him a very appealing protagonist.

In the second season, the topical political references disappeared, largely as a result of CBC audience research that signaled that they were not very popular. That meant, among other things, that the next four seasons would be more easily syndicated. On the other hand, the ethnic stereotypes were gradually taking on more rounded characteristics. However, despite the fact that Nestor was one of the few visible minorities in Canadian television drama and Tony was one of the few Italians, they were written out in the third season.

A bigger problem for the writers was that Fiona Reid (who played Cathy) wanted to return to the theater. She told interviewers she was reproached even years later by people she passed on the street for leaving *King*. The third season episode "Cathy's Last Stand," in which she left, is one of the best in the series—touching, a little funny, and a reprise of her history on the show, as she talks about her various unsuccessful efforts to define herself separately from King's huge persona. In a nice twist, it is established that she is leaving him, not because she does not love him any more, but because he gives so much of himself to everyone else he leaves little time for her. That characteristic is, of course, the basis for many of the show's comic situations, an intrinsic part of Larry King.

In the fourth season, Gladys marries her friend Jack who takes over the store, and King becomes the athletic director of the Kensington Community Centre. King finds a girlfriend in Tina, and life goes on. There are mediocre episodes (the Christmas episode in which everyone is snowbound in a restaurant and a pregnant woman gives birth) and better, more innovative ones (the episode in which King finds out that the tough school teacher he dreaded is both fair and a good teacher). Episodes center on topics and individuals such as night classes for immigrants, the pride of an old man struggling with impotence, a nude model in a life drawing class, a controversy about a dance for gay people, and an alderman who, in a 1979 episode, thinks the center is controlled by "a deviant ethnic conspiracy." In the decade of *M\*A\*S\*H* and *All in the Family*, and in the context of the CBC's own tradition of topical dramas, the series did not abandon its sense of Toronto as a rapidly changing cultural, racial, ethnic, and sexually diverse mix nor its wry means of addressing relevant social issues.

The series ended with a poor young couple, the Cortinas, wanting to buy the store, but denied credit. Gladys leaves, at King's urging, to a retirement haven in Florida with Jack. King's father, a self-made success, is referred to when King obtains a second mortgage for the Cortinas and decides to continue to live in the apartment, paying them much-needed rent and not really leaving Kensington at all. Viewers who loved the series found this an appropriate conclusion with a

hint of an open ending. No more episodes, no spin-offs, no movies of the week or reunions ever revived *King of Kensington*. But it remains one of the most fondly remembered series in Canadian television history.

MARY JANE MILLER

#### Cast

Larry King	Al Waxman
Cathy	Fiona Reid
Gladys	Helen Winston
Tony	Bob Vinci
Nestor	Ardon Bess
Tina	Rosemary Radcliffe
Jack	Peter Boretski
Gwen	Jayne Eastwood, Ron Bacon
Dorothy	Linda Rennhofer

#### Producers

Perry Rosemond, Jack Humphrey, Joe Partington.

Some episodes coproduced and written by Louis Del Grande with David Barlow associate producer

#### Programming History

CBC  
1975–80

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## Kinnear, Roy (1934–1988)

British Actor

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A portly and popular comic character actor, Roy Kinnear proved to be a reliable guest star on many television programs and a dependable lead in his own right. He was born in Wigan, Lancashire, and educated in Edinburgh. When he was 17, he enrolled in the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, but his studies there were interrupted when National Service conscription took him to war. He later returned to the theatrical world and appeared on stage in repertory theater in the 1950s. In 1959 he joined Joan Littlewood's famous Theatre Workshop in the East End of London and appeared in some of their biggest successes.

Television made Roy Kinnear a household name; his big break was the controversial and highly popular satire series *That Was the Week That Was*. The team consisted of a group of irreverent, bright young things hell-bent on attacking the hypocrisies of the establishment. One criticism often made of the show was that the protagonists came across as smug, but Kinnear was spared from that accusation because his role in the group was that of the common man. In sketches he would usually be cast as a normal, working-class chap baffled by the complexities and machinations of the government and the media. Viewers could identify with the character and were endeared to him. Indeed, Kinnear's very ordinariness and likeability assured him a long career in the medium.

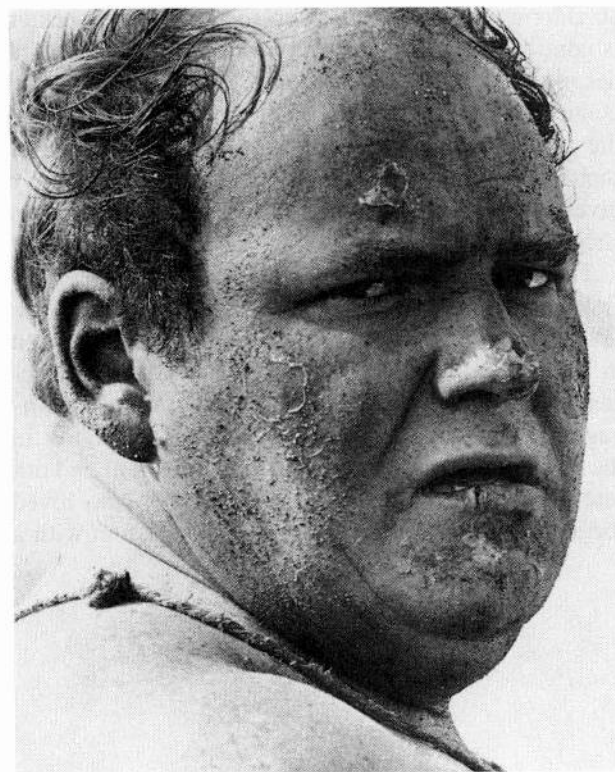
He was a regular guest star on long-running series such as *The Avengers*, often costarred in TV plays and was a semi-regular on *Minder* (as Whaley), and *George and Mildred* (as Jerry). He was not averse to appearing as a straight man (albeit a very funny one) to comedian Dick Emery in various Dick Emery shows, and his familiar face was put to use in various TV commercials. Kinnear starred in his own sitcoms, shaped around his persona: as daydreamer Stanley Blake in *A World of His Own* (BBC, 1965); as compulsive worrier George Webley in *Inside George Webley* (Yorkshire Television, 1968 and 1970); as greengrocer and ladies' hairdresser Alf Butler in *No Appointment Necessary* (BBC, 1977); as building-firm manager Joe Jones in *Cowboys* (Thames Television, 1980–81); as Sidney Pratt, manager of struggling escapologist Ernest Tanner (Brian Murphy) in *The Incredible Mr. Tanner* (London Weekend Television, 1981); as Arnold Bristow, used-car dealer and psychic in *The Clairvoyant*

(BBC, 1986); and in his last sitcom, as the tipsy headmaster, R.G. Wickham, in the short-lived *Hardwicke House* (Central, 1987), which was pulled off air halfway through its run following accusations of bad taste.

Kinnear worked regularly for more than 25 years on television. Much of his success was due to the warmth that the public felt toward him and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow professionals. Throughout this period, Kinnear still made appearances in the theater and acted in support roles in more than 50 movies. While on location for *The Return of the Musketeers* (1989), he suffered a fatal fall from his horse.

DICK FIDDY

See also *That Was the Week That Was*



Roy Kinnear.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**Roy Kinnear.** Born in Wigan, Lancashire, England, January 8, 1934. Attended George Herriot School, Edinburgh; Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts. Married: Carmel Cryan; children: Karina, Kirsty, and Rory. Made debut as stage actor in repertory, Newquay, 1955; appeared in repertory at Nottingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Perth; joined Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop, London, 1959, and later appeared in pantomime and with the Royal Shakespeare Company and National Theatre Company, among others; established reputation as television comedian in *That Was the Week That Was* and starred in several situation comedies; also appeared as character actor in many films. Died in Spain, September 20, 1988.

#### Television Series

1962	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>
1964	<i>A World of His Own</i>
1970	<i>Inside George Webley</i>
1980	<i>Cowboys</i>
1986	<i>The Clairvoyant</i>
1987	<i>Hardwick House</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1981	<i>Dick Turpin</i>
1984	<i>The Zany Adventures of Robin Hood</i>

#### Films

*Sparrows Can't Sing*, 1962; *Tiara Tahita*, 1962; *The Boys*, 1962; *Heavens Above!*, 1963; *The Small World of Sammy Lee*, 1963; *A Place to Go*, 1963; *The Informers*, 1963; *French Dressing*, 1964; *The Hill*, 1965; *Help!*, 1965; *The Deadly Affair*, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *Albert Carter QOSO*, 1967; *How I Won the*

*War*, 1967; *The Mini-Affair*, 1968; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1968; *The Bed Sitting Room*, 1969; *Lock Up Your Daughters*, 1969; *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, 1970; *Scrooge*, 1970; *Taste the Blood of Dracula*, 1970; *The Firechasers*, 1970; *Egghead's Robot*, 1970; *Willie Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, 1971; *Melody*, 1971; *Raising the Roof*, 1971; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *Madame Sin*, 1972; *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1972; *The Pied Piper*, 1972; *That's Your Funeral*, 1973; *The Cobblers of Umbridge*, 1973; *The Three Musketeers*, 1974; *Barry McKenzie Holds His Own*, 1974; *Juggernaut*, 1974; *The Amorous Milkman*, 1974; *The Four Musketeers*, 1975; *Three for All*, 1975; *One of Our Dinosaurs Is Missing*, 1975; *Royal Flash*, 1975; *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother*, 1975; *Not Now, Comrade*, 1976; *Chimpmates*, 1977; *Herbie Goes to Monte Carlo*, 1977; *The Last Remake of Beau Geste*, 1977; *Eskimo Nell*, 1977; *Watership Down* (voice only), 1978; *Hound of the Baskervilles*, 1978; *The London Connection/The Omega Connection*, 1979; *The Princess and the Pea*, 1979; *Mad Dogs and Cricketers*, 1979; *A Fair Way to Play*, 1980; *High Rise Donkey*, 1980; *Hawk—The Slayer*, 1980; *Hammett*, 1981; *The Girl in the Train*, 1982; *The Boys in Blue*, 1983; 1984, 1984; *Squaring the Circle*, 1984; *Vote: June European Parliament Election*, 1984; *Pavlova*, 1984; *Pirates*, 1985; *Neat and Tidy*, 1986; *Casanova*, 1987; *Falcon's Maltester*, 1987; *The Return of the Musketeers*, 1988.

#### Stage (selected)

*Make Me an Offer*; *Sparrows Can't Sing*; *The Clandestine Marriage*; *The Travails of Sancho Panza*; *The Cherry Orchard*.

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## Kinoy, Ernest (1925– )

U.S. Writer

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Ernest Kinoy is one of U.S. television's most prolific and acclaimed writers. His career spans five decades, from the live anthology dramas of the 1950s to the made-for-television movies of the 1990s. His best-known works, such as scripts for *The Defenders* and *Roots*, have dramatized social and historical issues. Out-

side of television, Kinoy is less well known than some of his contemporaries from the "Golden Age" of television, such as Mel Brooks and Paddy Chayefsky. Within the industry, however, Kinoy has always been recognized for his well-crafted television dramas. He has also written successfully for radio, film, and the stage.



Ernest Kinoy.  
Photo courtesy of Broadcasting & Cable

Kinoy wrote for many shows in the 1950s, including *The Imogene Coca Show* and *The Marriage*, a series featuring Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy. He was best known for contributing to such live anthology dramas as *The DuPont Show of the Week*, *Studio One*, and *Playhouse 90*. When the Federal Communications Commission held an inquiry into the decline of the live dramas, Kinoy and other writers offered damaging testimony about network unwillingness to broadcast "serious" drama. CBS, under scrutiny, resurrected a weighty dramatic series that would soon showcase Kinoy's talents—*The Defenders*. Kinoy won two Emmy Awards writing for the series, which was created by his colleague Reginald Rose. The show followed two idealistic lawyers, a father and son, who confronted controversial issues and moral paradoxes on a weekly basis. In "Blacklist," one of Kinoy's most celebrated episodes, Jack Klugman played a blacklisted actor who finally received a serious part after ten years, only to be harassed by vehement anticommunists. In another well-known Kinoy episode, "The Non-Violent," James Earl Jones played a black minister thrown in jail with a wealthy, white civil rights activist. Like *Dr. Kildare*, another series that Kinoy wrote for, *The Defenders* was sometimes described as a New Frontier character drama for its exploration of social ethics. During this same period, Kinoy also wrote for the series *The Nurses* and *Route 66*.

In the 1970s, Kinoy shifted to made-for-television movies and feature films. He often had two or more scripts produced in a year. Notable accomplishments

included *Crawlspace* (1972), a CBS movie about a family adopting a homeless man, and *Buck and the Preacher* (1972), an action-packed black western directed by Sidney Poitier for the big screen. Kinoy's television career took a new turn in 1976 when he wrote two docudramas for producer David L. Wolper: *Victory at Entebbe*, about the Israeli rescue operation in Uganda, and *Collision Course*, based on Harry Truman's struggles with Douglas MacArthur. Kinoy subsequently worked on Wolper's blockbuster docudrama *Roots* (1977), winning an Emmy for an episode he co-wrote with William Blinn. Kinoy served as Wolper's head writer on *Roots: The Next Generations* (1979). In 1981 he received an Emmy nomination and Writers Guild of America Award for another of his television docudramas, *Skokie*, about street demonstrations attempted by neo-Nazis in the Jewish neighborhoods of Skokie, Illinois.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Kinoy's made-for-television movies continued to receive praise. His scripts included *Murrow* (1985), about the famous broadcaster, and TNT's *Chernobyl: The Final Warning* (1990). Kinoy is a rare presence in contemporary television. A writer known for quality drama, he has enjoyed success during each of television's five decades.

J.B. BIRD

See also **Anthology Drama; Defenders, The; "Golden Age" of Television Drama; Playhouse 90; Roots; Route 66**

**Ernest Kinoy.** Born April 1, 1925. Educated at Columbia University, New York City. Began writing career in radio; staff writer for NBC Radio, 1948–60; writer for numerous television shows, since 1950s; president, Writers Guild of America, East, 1969–71; writer of several made-for-television movies and motion pictures. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1963, 1964, 1977.

**Television Series (selected)**

1948–58	<i>Studio One</i>
1954–55	<i>The Imogene Coca Show</i>
1954	<i>The Marriage</i>
1956–61	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1960–64	<i>Route 66</i>
1961–64	<i>The DuPont Show of the Week</i>
1961–65	<i>The Defenders</i>
1961–66	<i>Dr. Kildare</i>
1962–65	<i>The Nurses</i>

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1972	<i>Crawlspace</i>
1973	<i>The President's Plane Is Missing</i>

- 1974 *The Story of Jacob and Joseph*  
 1976 *Victory at Entebbe*  
 1976 *The Story of David*  
 1976 *Collision Course*  
 1977 *The Deadliest Season*  
 1977 *Roots*  
 1979 *Roots: The Next Generations*  
 1980 *The Henderson Monster*  
 1981 *Skokie*  
 1985 *Murrow*  
 1990 *Chernobyl: The Final Warning*  
 1995 *Tad*  
 1997 *Rescuers: Stories of Courage: Two Women* (segment "The Woman on the Bicycle")

#### Films

*Brother John*, 1972; *Buck and the Preacher*, 1972

#### Publication

*Something About a Soldier: A Comedy-Drama in Three Acts*, 1962

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## Kintner, Robert E. (1909-1980)

### U.S. Media Executive

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Robert E. Kintner was a television executive who, as network president, influenced the development of two major networks (ABC and NBC) during the tumultuous decade of the 1950s. This former journalist fused his passion for journalistic excellence and his zeal for high entertainment ratings into a successful formula that shaped network programming trends for several decades. Kintner was lauded within the industry and the press for applying the "doctrine of common sense to many a ticklish problem" and for his refreshing "cold realism." He defended the embattled television industry during the quiz show scandals of the late 1950s, and he spearheaded the move to make television a respectable journalistic medium by dedicating unprecedented network resources and air time to news and documentary programming.

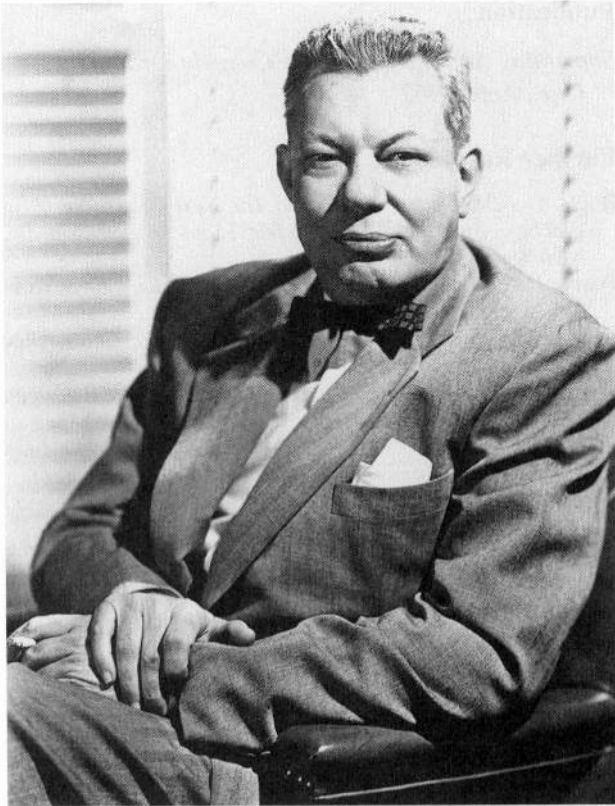
Beginning his career as a reporter, Kintner established a national reputation in the late 1930s with a syndicated political column co-written with Joseph Wright Alsop, with whom he also collaborated on a number of best-selling books on U.S. politics. Kintner's entry into broadcasting came when he was hired by ABC owner and chair Edward J. Noble in 1944 as a

vice president of public relations and radio news. Six years later, Kintner was named president of the ABC network, which was just beginning to provide television service and was the clear underdog in competition with NBC and CBS.

With a keen understanding of television's potential as a journalistic medium, Kintner's major coup at ABC was the network's full coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings, which brought Senator Joseph McCarthy's tactics to public light and established ABC as a major source for public affairs coverage. On the entertainment front, under Kintner's leadership the production-weak ABC struck ground-breaking deals with Walt Disney and Warner Brothers studios for the production of weekly television series. The success of such filmed television programming as *Disneyland* (and its offshoots) and the hit western *Cheyenne* influenced the programming trends at all three networks; by the late 1950s, Hollywood studio-produced westerns dominated the Nielsen ratings.

Kintner left the ABC presidency in 1956, in a period of great network growth, and joined NBC in early 1957, where he was named president in July 1958. As





Robert E. Kintner.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

the first journalist to head a network, Kintner took pride in the informational potential of broadcasting, and he believed that TV could fulfill its mission to society through news programming. Known affectionately as the “managing editor” of the NBC news division because of his hands-on approach, Kintner was directly responsible for the development of a strong news component at NBC. By increasing budget allocations and air time for the news division and hiring top news executives and journalists (often from CBS, with whom NBC was in ferocious competition), Kintner had by the end of the decade built a high-prestige, unequaled news division at NBC that reigned throughout the early 1960s.

The major components of Kintner’s three-pronged public affairs initiative were the nightly network newscasts, the development of strong prime-time documentary series, and the preemption of regular programs to provide live coverage of breaking news events. The anchor team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley dominated news programming during this period, and in late 1963 both NBC and CBS lengthened their evening newscasts from 15 to 30 minutes, a move that many critics credited as making television a serious information medium comparable to newspapers.

Kintner’s vision of the medium as a way to educate and inform citizens about social issues was enabled by public and government pressures—especially in the wake of the quiz show scandals—to increase the prestige of the industry by increasing prime-time public affairs programming by the networks. Kintner revitalized NBC’s network documentary units, which had focused mainly on cultural programming, to begin to take on serious social and political issues in series such as *NBC White Paper*. By 1962 Kintner claimed that the networks were “proving what’s right with television,” bringing space flights, civil rights activism, election coverage, and swiftly breaking events into U.S. living rooms. Although often gently criticized for micro-managing the NBC news division, Kintner hosted the transformation of news and informational programming from a peripheral aspect of television programming to the position of prestige in broadcasting.

This “golden age” of television journalism was directly related to the historical moment, especially the years of President John F. Kennedy’s “New Frontier” initiative, marked by the charismatic charm of a made-for-media president, the dramatic struggles of the civil rights movement, the patriotic cold war-era fervor of the United States’ race into space, and the coming of age of American news broadcasting with the live coverage of the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination. Kennedy’s image-oriented New Frontier forged an alliance with television, an alliance described by Mary Ann Watson in *The Expanding Vista* as a “symbiotic bond” between Kennedy and the television medium, which would forever alter the relationship between the public and the president. Similarly, the centrality of television in the political process increased dramatically under Kintner’s reign at NBC, with the coverage of the 1960 campaigns, the “Great Debates” between Kennedy and Nixon, paid political advertisements, and especially the election coverage (Watson reports that over 90 percent of American homes were tuned in).

Kintner was an active player in the public controversies surrounding the quiz show scandals of 1959, and he used this opportunity to redefine the mission and the structure of commercial television. Testifying before the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight in 1959, Kintner claimed that the networks, as well as the public, were victims of deception by those who rigged quiz shows. Although the networks were criticized by the subcommittee for “lack of diligence” in taking action, Kintner strongly defended his network, claiming that NBC was taking active steps to “investigate and safeguard the integrity of the shows” and had taken direct production control over the quiz shows away from the sponsors.



Under intense public criticism about the entertainment programming standards, as well as mounting pressure from the Federal Communications Commission and from civic and religious groups in the wake of the quiz show scandals, Kintner recognized this period as a crossroads for the TV industry, and he advocated that the industry take actions to recover public confidence. In the face of concerns about sex and violence in television shows, Kintner also defended the network in 1961 before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency (the Dodd Committee), which charged the TV industry with violating moral codes, lacking imagination, and shirking its responsibilities in the drive for higher ratings.

Believed to watch more television than any of his contemporaries in the industry, Kintner's addiction to "the box" was frequently noted. He was perceived as a paradox by some critics, such as Jack Gould of the *New York Times*, who wrote about Kintner in 1965: "He can rationalize the pap of the medium with a relaxed opportunism that stands in strange contrast to his initiative in news and public affairs. . . . He embodies [both] the promise and problem of mass communication—how to keep up the quarterly dividend while offering both folk rock and the oratorio."

In early 1966, Kintner left NBC and was appointed as a special assistant and cabinet secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson. In a parting interview upon leaving NBC, Kintner advocated greater experimentation in TV programming, calling for programs dealing with more controversial social, economic, and political subjects in both news and entertainment programming.

PAMELA WILSON

**See also** *American Broadcasting Company; Army-McCarthy Hearings; National Broadcasting Company; NBC White Paper; Warner Brothers Presents*

**Robert Edmonds Kinter.** Born in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, September 12, 1909. Swarthmore College, B.A. 1931. Married: Jean Rodney, 1940; children: Susan and Michael. Served in the U.S. Army during World War II. Financial news reporter, *Herald Tribune*, 1933–37; columnist, *Herald Tribune* and North

*American Newspaper Alliance*, 1937–41; vice president of public relations, ABC, 1944–50; president, ABC, 1950–56; president, NBC, 1956–66; cabinet liaison for Lyndon B. Johnson administration, 1966–67. Recipient: Legion of Merit, World War II. Died in Washington, D.C., December 3, 1980.

### Publications

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*American White Paper: The Story of American Diplomacy and the Second World War* (with Joseph Alsop), 1940  
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## Kirck, Harvey (1928–2002)

Canadian News Anchor

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Harvey Kirck, news anchor for the privately owned Canadian Television Network (CTV) from 1963 to 1984, has been called Canada's version of Walter Cronkite. In his autobiography he even noted how his retirement after 20 years was planned to ensure that he broke Cronkite's record. In fact, Kirck never exercised a similar power over the news or over the public mind, but he did become a celebrity, a recognized "Face and Voice of the News" in English-speaking Canada.

Beginning in 1948, Kirck served a long apprenticeship in private radio as an announcer who hosted programs; narrated commercials; and wrote, delivered, and occasionally reported the news. In 1960 he became a news anchor for a television station where, he claimed later, he learned the importance of being a performer: "You have to develop a bullet-proof persona, and send him out to face the damnable, merciless camera." Three years later, he joined the CTV news service, then stationed in Ottawa, as one of four men (another was Peter Jennings) who served in two pairs of co-anchors on the model of NBC's *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The fledgling network, only two years old, was determined to challenge the dominance of the established *The National* on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (then *CBC Television News*). The peculiar arrangement of alternating pairs of co-anchors soon devolved into a more normal structure, and Kirck took over the responsibility as chief anchor as well as news editor.

After a change in the ownership structure of the network, *CTV News* was moved in 1966 to Toronto, the media hub of English Canada. It was a mixed blessing for Kirck: he lost his position as news editor while concentrating on the task of presenting the news (although he also continued to participate in the writing of the newscast). Even though CTV's resources were slight—much of the material came from U.S. sources or the private affiliates—it hoped to produce a bright and lively newscast at 11:00 P.M., with a distinctly American flavor that would contrast with the supposedly stodgy, and British, approach of the CBC. From 1971 to 1972, *CTV News* drew roughly even with CBC's *The National*, with 950,000 viewers a night in the common area covered by both networks (CTV did not then cover the country). A 1972 CBC survey discovered that *CTV News* scored higher as "more com-

plete, lively, aggressive, fresh, friendly, interesting and in-touch."

That success owed something to Kirck's persona. He was a tall, eventually heavy-set man with a craggy and weathered face that signaled experience. His voice was deep and resonant, authoritative rather than casual. He might seem a bit gruff, but he was eminently believable: a survey carried out in 1977 found that people had confidence that he fully understood what he presented.

That persona, however, was not enough to overcome the deficiencies in the quality of *CTV News*. Dur-



Harvey Kirck.  
Photo courtesy of Harvey Kirck

ing the next few years, *The National* secured an apparently unshakable lead over its rival, except in the metropolitan centers, where *CTV News* moved ahead. In 1976 CTV management scored a coup by hiring away from the CBC its news anchor, Lloyd Robertson, as well as a top news producer, Tim Kotcheff. Robertson and Kirck became co-anchors, which allowed each more freedom to go on special assignment. The relationship between the two men, by all published accounts, remained good, perhaps because Kirck's salary was also increased (at Robertson's request) to the new level paid Robertson. The result established the fact that Canadian news anchors, as in the United States, were now celebrities who could command hefty salaries.

In fact, the duo made an odd couple: Robertson was smaller, younger, and handsome, with a perfect diction, whereas Kirck was taller and bulkier, older, increasingly rugged, boasting what Peter Trueman has referred to as a "tough, truck-driver delivery." There appeared to be no obvious reason for the pairing. The CTV coup did little to improve the fortunes of its flagship newscast, perhaps bringing another 100,000 viewers. In his autobiography, Kirck himself wondered what might have been the result if the network had invested funds in the newsroom and its facilities rather than big-name salaries. In 1982 the competitive situation changed dramatically when CBC moved *The National* back to 10:00 P.M. as part of a new hour of news and public affairs. Shortly afterward, Kirck retired from the nightly newscast, though he continued to appear on CTV for occasional broadcasts. He was inducted into the Broadcast Hall of Fame of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters in 2000.

PAUL RUTHERFORD

**Harvey Kirck.** Born in Uno Park, Ontario, October 14, 1928. Married: 1) Maggie, 1947 (divorced); 2) Renate, 1962 (divorced); 3) Brenda, 1983. Began career as radio announcer, program host, news reader, 1948–60; television announcer and news reader, 1960–63; news anchor, Canadian Television Network, 1963–84. Inducted into the Canadian Association of Broadcasters Broadcast Hall of Fame, 2000. Died of a heart attack, February 18, 2002.

#### Television

1963–84      *CTV News*

#### Publication

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## Klein, Paul L. (1929–1998)

### U.S. Television Executive

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In the 1960s, as the head of research at NBC, Paul Klein developed a theory of Least Objectionable Programming (or L.O.P., as it was generally known) to explain the behavior of audiences in the days when three behemoth networks ruled the television landscape. In a world of limited choice, viewers do not watch particular programs, he insisted; they simply watch television. Every day at the same time the number of

television sets turned on is remarkably constant—regardless of what is on the air. Viewers do not select favorite programs, but settle for those they dislike the least in order to sustain the general experience of television. Under these conditions, network programmers worry less about creating exceptional programs to attract viewers than about supplying the least objectionable program on the air at any given moment. As a

unifying theory of television in the age of program scarcity, Klein's became the most widely quoted statement to emerge from within the television industry when the networks were at the height of their influence. A remarkable number of books and articles written about American television in the 1970s and 1980s felt it necessary to contend with Klein's theory—seeing it as either refreshingly honest or profoundly cynical.

Contrary to what some of Klein's critics believed, his theory of Least Objectionable Programming was not a call for more programs aimed at the lowest common denominator of mass taste, but an attempt to convince advertisers and his own supervisors at NBC that the time was ripe to overturn the old viewing patterns. The Nielsen ratings system, with its emphasis on bulk ratings—the sheer number of viewers watching a program—ignored demographic distinctions in the viewing audience, and this was a mistake. Nielsen based its ratings on the number of households viewing a given program, but it is individuals, not households, who buy products. As the industry's most vocal advocate of demographic ratings, Klein conducted a nonstop campaign in the 1960s and 1970s, and eventually saw his ideas adopted throughout the television industry.

That so much is known about Klein's opinions in the 1960s, when he was but a mid-level executive in charge of research at NBC, says much about his character. Seldom does an executive of Klein's rank achieve such wide recognition, particularly outside the industry. In the button-down world of the 1960s television business, he cultivated an unconventional image, spurning suits and ties for baggy sweaters, tempering the can-do spirit of the junior executive class with his own perpetually melancholy demeanor. Klein was arrogant and dismissive of those with whom he disagreed, willing to criticize colleagues and competitors at other networks or to send taunting letters when he had won a particular victory. In spite of such intemperate behavior, uncharacteristic of a network executive, he possessed what one reporter at the time described as "the best brain in broadcasting," and for this reason his superiors at NBC valued his advice on crucial programming decisions during the 1960s—including the network's decision to shift its entire schedule to color and, later, to present the ground-breaking situation comedy *Julia*, with its African-American star, Diahann Carroll.

Klein graduated from Brooklyn College in 1953 with a degree in mathematics and philosophy and immediately joined a Madison Avenue advertising agency, where he was responsible for research on the Philip Morris cigarette account when Morris was the chief advertiser on television's highest-rated program,

*I Love Lucy*. He experienced his first epiphany about the failure of bulk ratings when his research revealed that the program, despite its enormous ratings, appealed primarily to children and older women—not the target market for cigarettes. Klein sharpened his convictions about audience demographics in his next job, as the head of research at the Doyle Dane Bernbach advertising agency for six years, before finding a platform for his ideas when he took charge of the research department at NBC in 1960. When media theorist and critic Marshall McLuhan came to prominence in the 1960s, Klein not only read his books, but openly declared himself a "McLuhan thinker." From McLuhan, Klein absorbed the idea that a communications medium has a social meaning of its own, independent of any particular content—an idea that found expression in Klein's theory of Least Objectionable Programming.

By 1970 Klein was growing restless at NBC, where he had held the same job for a decade, and his career had essentially stalled. He left NBC in 1970 to pursue his own independent interests. He volunteered his audience research skills for the newly created Children's Television Workshop and, for NBC's Saturday morning children's schedule, produced a series of one-minute educational spots, called Pop-Ups, designed to teach reading to preschoolers. His larger interest was in event programming, selectively targeted viewers, and new technologies—the future of television, as he envisioned it. He founded Computer Cinema, Inc., a visionary company that foresaw the convergence of television and the computer long before anyone had even heard of the Internet. The company pioneered the development of pay-per-view programming in hotels, initially called "Hotelevision," by offering commercial-free, uncut feature films before they had appeared on the broadcast networks, distributed to hotels via satellite master antennas.

In 1976 Klein was invited to return to NBC and take charge of programming. Regular weekly series had been the staple of network broadcasting since the days of radio, but Klein believed that audiences had grown bored with series, that humdrum programming was eroding the value of the network franchise, driving away discriminating viewers. Klein was an evangelist of special-event programming, which he saw as a way to lure the economically desirable young adult viewers to NBC. Brought in at the last minute to plug holes in NBC's fall 1976 season, Klein created the "Big Event"—a 90-minute block on Sunday nights—in which he placed movies, variety shows, and miniseries. For the 1977 season, he blocked out four entire evenings of the network's schedule for special events, movies, and miniseries. Klein's critics complained that

he was not paying enough attention to series development, but he believed that event programming would bond the younger, economically desirable viewers to NBC. He avidly committed NBC to the miniseries format, often scheduling installments on consecutive nights. Under his leadership, NBC developed dozens of these expensive, limited-run series. Many were banal and excessive: bloated melodramas and historical pageants like *Captains and Kings*, *Wheels*, *79 Park Avenue*, and *Centennial*, but others were among the most ambitious television productions of the decade: *Studs Lonigan*, *King*, *Shogun*, and *Holocaust* (which set a record as NBC's highest-rated entertainment program of all time, with 120 million viewers).

However, Klein's strategy was an utter failure. NBC's ratings plunged steadily downward, reaching a ten-year low in the 1978–79 season. Meanwhile, ABC surged to first place on the strength of exactly the sort of programming that Klein eschewed: familiar, comfortable weekly series. Klein publicly criticized ABC programming chief Fred Silverman. This made for especially cruel irony when in June 1978 NBC named Fred Silverman as its new network president. Although Klein remained in charge of programming, his days at NBC were numbered from the moment Silverman signed the contract. It is an even more unfortunate irony that Klein is remembered not only for leading NBC to its ratings nadir, but also for developing the series, *Supertrain*, an expensive, ill-conceived answer to ABC's *The Love Boat* that became virtually synonymous with network folly when it was canceled due to disastrous ratings after just four episodes. In January 1979—less than three years after returning to NBC and only six months after Silverman's arrival—Klein resigned from NBC for the second time.

After leaving NBC, Klein returned to cable and satellite television. He spent the next decade developing adult-oriented and X-rated program services. He was a founder of the Playboy Channel in 1982 and served as president until 1984, when he left to create Hi-Life, a programming service designed to go beyond Playboy by offering sexually explicit X-rated films. When cable operators refused to carry the service, he criticized them and shifted his attention to an alternative form of distribution: satellites. In 1987 he founded Home Dish Only Satellite Networks, which supplied "sophisticated adult programming" aimed at hotels and the owners of backyard satellite dishes via such channels as the American Exxtasy Channel and the Tuxxedo Network.

One might ask how a man once considered the "best brain in broadcasting" would find himself a purveyor of pornography, but this was not really such an odd departure for Klein. Unlike most television executives who came of age in the 1950s and 1960s, he disagreed that television was solely a mass medium, obliged to provide something for everyone. He imagined a different model in which particular viewers would be drawn to programs that appealed to their tastes. In this he clearly anticipated the changes that would restructure the television landscape in the 1990s—including the vast (and largely unnoticed) profits earned by adult-oriented premium and pay-per-view channels in hotels and on direct broadcast satellite and digital cable services.

From his position outside the networks, Klein was an astute observer of the broadcast networks' declining ratings in the 1980s and 1990s. Along with his entrepreneurial ventures in cable and satellite, Klein developed movies for the networks during the 1980s and 1990s, including *The People vs. Jean Harris* (1981). In the years prior to his death in 1998, he had turned his attention to the globalization of television, lending his knowledge and experience as a consultant to emerging television markets in Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

**Paul L. Klein.** Born in 1929. Married: Janet. Children: Molly, Adam. Education: Brooklyn College, B.A. in philosophy and mathematics, 1953. Began career as researcher at Biow advertising agency, 1953–54; research department at Doyle Dane Bernbach advertising agency, 1954–60; research department at NBC, 1960–70; independent producer, consultant, president of Computer Cinema, 1970–75; vice president in charge of programming at NBC, 1976–79; independent producer (PKO Television) and consultant, 1980–98; president of the Playboy Channel, 1982–84; president of Hi Life Network and Home Dish Only Satellite Networks, 1984–90. Died in New York City, July 4, 1998.

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## Kluge, John (1914– )

U.S. Media Mogul

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John Kluge ranks as one of the least-known but most powerful moguls in the history of the modern television industry in the United States. The major television networks and their affiliates deservedly draw the most attention, but Kluge proved that a group of independent TV stations could make millions of dollars. His Metromedia, Inc., pioneered independent stations operations through the 1960s and 1970s. In the mid-1980s, Rupert Murdoch offered Kluge nearly \$2 billion for the Metromedia stations, which then served as the basis for Murdoch's FOX television network. This deal made Kluge one of the richest people in the United States.

It was the food business that led Kluge to television. In 1951 he invested in a Baltimore, Maryland, food brokerage enterprise, increased sales dramatically, sold his majority stake in the mid-1950s, and began to look for another industry that was growing. He found television. In 1956 Kluge was too late to enter network television, but he saw possibilities with independent TV stations. He assembled an investment group and purchased the former DuMont stations. He ran Metromedia on a tight budget, saving rent, for example, by headquartering the company across the Hudson River from New York City, in Secaucus, New Jersey. He seized upon the programming strategy of simply re-running old network situation comedies and low-budget movies. And Metromedia made millions with relatively small audiences, because costs of operation were so low.

Under his stewardship, Metromedia grew into the largest independent television business in the United States. Afterward, Kluge purchased assorted businesses to add to his Metromedia empire. Over the years he acquired the Ice Capades, the Harlem Globetrotters, music publishing companies holding such titles as *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Zorba the Greek*, and *Cabaret*, television production and syndication units, *Playbill* magazine, and a highly profitable direct-mail advertising division. But he did make mistakes. One disastrous misstep was Kluge's 1960s purchase of the niche magazine *Diplomat*; another came with his proposal for a fourth TV network. Neither project succeeded, and the failures cost Metromedia millions of dollars.

Kluge reached his greatest successes in television by buying the syndication rights to *M\*A\*S\*H*. With this asset, he finally gave rival network affiliates a contest for ratings in the early fringe time period. Not one to sit still, during the early 1980s Kluge cooked up a deal to take Metromedia private. In 1984, by structuring a \$1.3 billion leveraged buyout on unusually favorable terms, Kluge ended up owning three-quarters of the new company and pocketing \$115 million in cash in the process. With Metromedia now private and under his full control, Kluge did not hesitate when Rupert Murdoch approached him with \$2 billion to buy Metromedia's television stations.

Out of TV, Kluge attended to his other businesses. Under the Metromedia name, he began to manufacture paging devices and mobile telephones. In managing these telecommunication ventures, Kluge retraced the steps he took in his television career: buy a license in a major market at an affordable price, then wait as the market evolves, and finally cash in.

In 1995 the Actava Group, Inc., Orion Pictures Corp., MCEG Sterling, Inc., and Metromedia Interna-



John Kluge.  
Photo courtesy of *Broadcasting & Cable*

tional Telecommunications, Inc., signed an agreement to form a global communications entity to be named Metromedia International Group, Inc. Kluge already owned a major stake in Hollywood's Orion Pictures. The new four-part alliance merged wireless cable and Hollywood production skills to sell all forms of mass communication to citizens in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics.

Investing and selling has benefited Kluge enormously. His wealth, which *Forbes* estimated at \$5 billion as of the mid-1990s, vaulted him onto the list of the richest people in the United States. By the beginning of the 21st century, Metromedia International was mired in the same economic downturn that pulled down numerous telecommunications enterprises. Following an unprofitable cycle and the bankruptcy of Metromedia Fiber in May 2002, several top managers left the company in the wake of shareholder criticism. In July 2002, Kluge, at 87, resigned as chairman of the board, though he retained control of Metromedia Fiber.

In 2003 Metromedia Fiber Network Inc. was eased of some of its bankruptcy burden when the telecommunications executive Craig McCaw bought some of its debt in exchange for an agreement that he would own a significant stake in the company when it comes out of bankruptcy. Kluge agreed to back the \$25 million that remains after McCaw bought suppliers' claims against the company and agreed to back half of a \$50 million stock offering. In 2003 Metromedia Fiber planned to change its name to AboveNet Inc.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

**John (Werner) Kluge.** Born in Chemnitz, Germany, September 21, 1914. Attended Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan; Columbia University, B.A. in economics 1937. Married: 1) Theodora Thomson, 1946 (divorced); 2) Yolanda Zucco, 1969 (divorced); children: Samantha and Joseph; 3) Patricia Rose Gay, 1981 (divorced, 1990); child: John W. Kluge II. Served in U.S. Army intelligence, 1941–45. Immigrated to United States, 1922; worked assembly line, Ford Motor Company; vice president and sales manager, Otten Brothers, 1937–41; bought radio station WGAY, Silver Springs, Maryland, 1946; president and director, WGAY, 1946–59; president, New England Fritos, 1947–55; president, Mid-Florida Radio Corporation, Orlando, 1952–59; president and director, St. Louis Broadcasting Corporation, 1953–58; president, New York Institute of Dietetics, 1953–60; president and director, Pittsburgh Broadcasting Company, 1954–59; president, treasurer, and director, Capitol Broadcasting Company, Nashville, Tennessee, 1954–59; partner, Nashon Properties, Nashville, 1954–60; owner, Kluge

Investment Company, Washington, D.C., 1956–60; president and director, Washington Planograph Company, 1956–60; founder, with David Finkelstein, wholesale food operation Kluge, Finkelstein and Company, Baltimore, Maryland, 1956; partner in Texworth Investment Company, Fort Worth, Texas, 1957–60; president, treasurer, and director, Associated Broadcasters, Inc., Fort Worth-Dallas, 1957–59; chair of the board, Seaboard Service Systems, Inc., 1957–58; treasurer and director of television operation, Mid-Florida Radio Corporation, 1957–60; partner in Western New York Broadcasting Company, Buffalo, New York, 1957–60; president, Washington Food Brokers Association, 1958; president, Metropolitan Broadcasting Company (became Metromedia, Inc., 1961; then Metromedia Company, 1980s), 1959; bought World Wide Broadcasting (WWB), 1960, sold WWB, 1962; vice president, later president and chairman of the executive committee, United Cerebral Palsy Research and Educational Foundation, from 1972; purchased Texas-based LDS, 1983; bought Florida-based Network 1, 1984; purchased all outstanding shares (72 percent) of Metromedia Company, becoming sole owner, 1984; sold off most Metromedia assets, 1984–92; became 69 percent owner, Orion Pictures, 1988; merged Metromedia Long Distance with long-distance divisions of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), forming Metromedia-ITT, 1989; merged Metromedia-ITT with Resurgens Communications Group and LDDS Communications to form LDDS Metromedia Communications, 1993. Chair of the board, treasurer, director, Kluge, Finkelstein and Company, from 1993; chair of the board and treasurer, Tri-Suburban Broadcasting Corporation and Washington, Kluge and Company; chair of the board, president, and treasurer, Washington, Silver City Sales Company; director, Marriott-Hot Shoppes, Inc., Chock Full O' Nut Corporation, National Bank of Maryland, Waldorf Astoria Corporation, Just One Break, Inc., Belding Hemingway Company, Inc.; board of directors, Bear Stearns Companies, Inc., Schubert Foundation, Occidental Petroleum Corporation, LDDS Metromedia, and national advisory board, Chemical Banking Corporation; trustee, Strang Cancer Prevention Center; chair, James Madison National Council of the Library of Congress. Member: advisory council, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company; board of governors, New York College of Osteopathic Medicine; National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

#### Publication

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## Knowledge Network

### Canadian (British Columbia) Public Educational Broadcaster

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The Knowledge Network is the public educational television broadcaster of the Canadian province of British Columbia, a part of the province's larger effort to extend education to all parts of the province using various delivery systems. In 1978, the province established the Open Learning Institute (OLI), to develop and deliver educational programming using distance-education methods. These methods have included correspondence courses, audio, film, teleconferencing, videodiscs, and, increasingly, digital media products for reaching outside the conventional classroom. In 1980, in order to further the goals of distance education, the province created the Knowledge Network as part of OLI. The network went to air on January 12, 1981. The Knowledge Network today reaches 100 percent of all households in British Columbia. Its mandate, however, has led it to pursue two different types of audience. On the one hand, the Knowledge Network was mandated to provide general public education programs, which might interest casual viewers. These typically involve nature documentaries, British series, international drama, and children's programming. On the other hand, the Knowledge Network was also directed to collaborate with the province's educational institutions to deliver formal instruction, which would only interest registered students. This double focus has led to a progressive diversification in the types of programs offered.

In 1988, however, OLI was substantially reorganized. Renamed the Open Learning Agency (OLA), it

was reshaped into three constituents: (1) the Open School, aimed at K-12 (kindergarten through 12th grade) students and teachers and administrators; (2) the Open College, responsible for adult basic education; and (3) the Open University offering accredited university-level degree courses.

The Knowledge Network's pursuit of two different types of audience (general and specialized) is typical of virtually all educational networks in Canada. As organizations concerned with education, educational networks naturally attempt to extend and give shape to the larger projects of their respective ministries of education. Consequently, they are involved in the delivery of course material, collaborate with educational institutions, and reflect various curricula in their scheduling. As television networks, however, they also find themselves confronted with a much broader constituency (in terms of age, background, ability, education, etc.) than would be likely in any classroom. Furthermore, they reach this constituency under conditions not conducive to learning. Hence, like all other educational networks, the Knowledge Network has construed education in a broad sense. It means not only formal education, or the content of lectures and courses, but also the attempt to create a generally literate, lively, and well-educated citizenry.

The result is clear in the Knowledge Network's schedule. The Knowledge Network devotes roughly half of its 6,000 annual broadcast hours to traditional educational material (credit and noncredit courses, col-



lege and university lectures, K-12 content, etc.). Televised courses constitute a minority of its schedule, and much instructional content has migrated to its interactive website. It devotes most of its broadcasting time to content of a more general and entertaining nature, such as programs devoted to film (international, Hollywood, Canadian), general documentaries, teleplays, how-to programs, music programs, children's shows, and so on.

The very effort to construe education as both formal and informal has led to the criticism that educational networks are no longer fulfilling their mandates. For some, they are increasingly perceived as publicly funded entertainment undertakings that compete unfairly with the private sector. This perception has, in

turn, led to calls to cut public funding of the educational networks, or for them to be reorganized, abolished, or sold to private interests.

PAUL ATTALLAH

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## Koppel, Ted (1940– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

When Ted Koppel addressed Catholic University's graduating class in 1994, he proclaimed, "We have reconstructed the Tower of Babel, and it is a television antenna." In Koppel's words, "We now communicate with everyone and say absolutely nothing." This may be Koppel's opinion of television in general, but few observers would accept it as a description of Koppel or his late-night ABC news and public affairs program, *Nightline* (1980– ), for which he has served many functions, including managing editor, anchor, interviewer, and principal on-air reporter. Koppel and *Nightline* have repeatedly won awards and consistently attracted large audiences, even battling against such successful network stars as Johnny Carson, Jay Leno, and David Letterman. In the eyes of many TV viewers, Koppel is a celebrity, a respected, gutsy commentator, one of the best interviewers on TV, and a superb reporter. *Newsweek* once called him the "smartest man in television." Clearly, Koppel does not "say absolutely nothing."

After first working in radio news at WMCA in New York, Koppel joined ABC News in 1963 as one of the youngest news reporters to ever work for a network, and he quickly rose through the ranks of the organization. He covered Vietnam and became the bureau chief for Miami, Florida, and then Hong Kong, before being named chief diplomatic correspondent in 1971. In this

capacity, he established himself as one of television's best reporters. Then on November 4, 1979, Iranians seized the U.S. embassy in Iran, taking Americans hostage, and television news took another step toward becoming the most reliable source of news. Four days later, ABC News aired at 11:30 P.M. (Eastern Standard Time) a program called *The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage*, anchored by Frank Reynolds. Roone Arledge, ABC News president, decided this program would continue till the hostage crisis was over; the show would eventually become a regular late-night newscast. After about five months, *The Iran Crisis* became *Nightline*, and Koppel, who had anchored *The Iran Crisis* several times, became the permanent anchor for the new program. Since 1980, it has been difficult to separate Koppel from *Nightline*.

Koppel has won nine Overseas Press Club Awards, six George Foster Peabodys, ten duPont-Columbia Awards, two George Polk Awards, two Sigma Delta Chi Awards, and 37 Emmys, as well as countless other honors. In 1994 the Republic of France named him a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres. He went to South Africa for a week-long series in 1985 to analyze apartheid and subsequently won a Gold Baton duPont-Columbia prize for the series. Koppel also interviewed the scandal-plagued televangelists Jim and Tammy Faye Baker on *Nightline*, attracting 42 percent



Ted Koppel.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

of network viewers. He brought George H.W. Bush and Michael Dukakis to TV in the last days of the 1988 presidential election when neither was giving interviews. Also, in 1988, Koppel went to the Middle East to report on Arab-Israeli problems and held a town meeting attended by hundreds of Israeli and Arab citizens. He has probably brought Henry Kissinger (who once tried to hire Koppel as his press spokesman at the U.S. State Department) to TV more than any other interviewer. Among many other accomplishments, Koppel achieved a journalistic coup by being the first Western journalist to reach Baghdad after Iraq's Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990. Koppel eventually began his own production company so he could produce his own programs, such as *The Koppel Reports*.

Koppel's success has been earned under the scrutiny of millions of viewers, and he has had his share of critics. While dealing with enormous programming, technological, and economic changes in the business of electronic journalism (not to mention enormous egos), Koppel has persisted and has usually come out on top. However, the style of *Nightline* was established early as one of "us-versus-them" during the Iran hostage crisis. Critics such as Michael Massing have said Koppel

and *Nightline* are not impartial; some contend that, especially with Kissinger's influence, the show (and therefore Koppel) serves as a "transmission belt for official U.S. views." Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (a watchdog organization also known by its acronym, FAIR) has charged Koppel's *Nightline* as being overly influenced by white, male, corporate guests. In other words, the audience frequently only gets one side of an issue.

However, Koppel wants to be seen as impartial, and he wants *Nightline* to be a program where "people of varying stripes and political persuasions can feel comfortable." Koppel recognizes the possibility, raised by critics, that his work can actually influence news events, but he says that all the journalist can hope for is to "bring events to the attention of people in government," and of course to the public. In his book on ABC News, Marc Gunther describes Koppel's *Nightline* as the most significant addition to television news since *60 Minutes* was created in the 1960s. If this is so, then Ted Koppel may be one of the most significant journalists working in the medium.

In 2002 Koppel and *Nightline* became the center of a controversy that grabbed a great deal of media attention. The show's parent companies, Disney and ABC, insulted Koppel and his team by considering replacing *Nightline* with other programming, such as a comedy/talk program (for a time, ABC sought to lure David Letterman to bring his program to the time period in which *Nightline* aired, but Letterman eventually re-signed with CBS). The network hoped to attract a younger audience (and the higher ad revenues that programs pitched to that demographic could earn). On the other hand, many other TV news operations (e.g., CNN, PBS) began courting Koppel to join their news lineups, while many television critics as well as on-air journalists warned that ABC's treatment of Koppel epitomized the misguided priorities of networks at the beginning of the 21st century. However, Koppel and *Nightline* remained on the air with ABC.

CLAYLAND H. WAITE

See also **American Broadcasting Company**

**Ted Koppel.** Born in Lancashire, England, February 8, 1940. Educated at Syracuse University, New York, B.A. in speech, 1960; Stanford University, M.A. in mass communications research and political science, 1962. Married: Grace Anne Dorney, 1963, children: Andrea, Deirdre, Andrew, and Tara. Reporter, radio station WABC, 1963–67; television reporter, Saigon Bureau of ABC News, Vietnam, 1967–68; Miami bureau chief, ABC News, 1968; Hong Kong bureau chief, 1969–71; chief diplomatic correspondent, ABC News, 1971–80, correspondent, *ABC News Closeup*,

1973–74, anchor, ABC News programs, since 1975, including *Nightline*, since 1980; anchor of *The Koppel Reports*, since 1988. Recipient: nine Overseas Press Club Awards, six George Foster Peabody Awards, ten duPont-Columbia Awards, two George Polk Awards, two Sigma Delta Chi Awards, 37 Emmy Awards. Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres, 1994.

#### Television Series

1967–80 *ABC News* (correspondent and bureau chief)  
 1973–74 *ABC News Closeup* (correspondent)  
 1975–76 *ABC Saturday Night News* (anchor)  
 1980– *Nightline* (anchor)

#### Television Specials

1973 *The People of People's China*  
 1974 *Kissinger: Action Biography*

1975 *Second to None*  
 1988–90 *The Koppel Reports*

#### Publications

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## Kovacs, Ernie (1919–1962)

U.S. Comedian

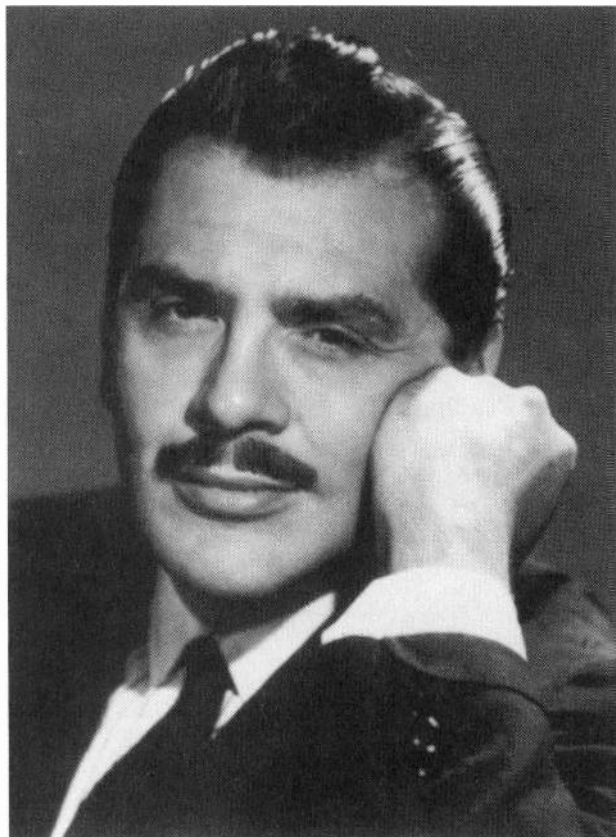
Ernie Kovacs, a creative and iconoclastic comedian, pioneered the use of special effects photography in television comedy. On the 50th anniversary of the beginning of television in 1989, *People Weekly* recognized him as one of television's top-25 stars of all time. During the 1950s, Kovacs's brilliant use of video comedy demonstrated the unique possibilities of television, decades before similar techniques became popular on *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* and the various David Letterman shows. His live shows were characterized by ad-libbed routines, enormous flexibility with the TV camera, experimentation with video effects, complete informality while on camera, and a permissiveness that expanded studio boundaries by allowing viewers to see activity beyond the set.

His routines frequently parodied other programs and introduced imaginative Kovacsian characters such as the magician Natzoh Hepplewhite, Professor Bernie Cosnowski, and Mr. Question Man, whose traits would later be echoed in Johnny Carson's Carnac the Magnificent. The best-known of his creations was the Nairobi Trio, three ape instrumentalists playing "Solfeggio" in a deadpan manner like mechanical monkeys. The high point came when the percussionist turned jerkily to the

conductor and bopped him on the head with a xylophone hammer.

Following a career in radio, Kovacs's transition to television came in 1950, when he simultaneously hosted several programs on NBC's WPTZ in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His first show, *Deadline for Dinner*, consisted of cooking tips from guest chefs. When a guest did not show, Kovacs did his own recipe for "Eggs Scavok" ("Scavok" being his name spelled backward). In August 1950, he hosted a quiz and fashion program titled *Pick Your Ideal*, basically a 15-minute promotional for the Ideal Manufacturing Company. In November of that year, he pioneered one of TV's first morning wake-up programs. The unstructured format required improvisational abilities Kovacs had mastered on radio. The daily 90-minute slot was titled *3 To Get Ready*. (The number 3 referred to channel 3, or WPTZ).

Kovacs's off-the-wall style was extremely unorthodox in early television. He approached the medium as something totally new. While his contemporaries were treating TV as an extension of vaudeville stages, Kovacs was expanding the visible confines of the studio. His skits incorporated areas previously considered



Ernie Kovacs.  
Photo courtesy of Edie Adams Archive

taboo, including dialogue with the camera crew, the audience, and forays into the studio corridor.

Impressed with his abilities, NBC network executives scheduled his first network show, *It's Time for Ernie*, in May 1951. The daily 15-minute broadcast aired from WPTZ, featuring Kovacs and music from a local combo known as the Tony deSimone Trio. In July he received his first prime-time slot as a summer replacement for *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*. *Ernie in Kovacsland* opened with the music "Oriental Blues" and title cards with cartoon drawings of Ernie. A voice-over announced: "Ernie in Kovacsland! A short program—it just seems long."

Early in 1952, Kovacs reappeared on daytime TV as host for *Kovacs on the Corner*, the last of his shows to originate from Philadelphia. Similar to radio's *Allen's Alley*, Kovacs strolled along a cartoon-like set and talked to such neighborhood characters as Luigi the Barber, Pete the Cop, Al the Dog, and Little Johnny Merkin, a midget. One program segment allowed a selected audience member to say hello to folks back home. A closed window filled the screen. On the window shade was printed the phrase "Yoo-Hoo Time." When the shade was raised, the excited audience member waved, saying "Yoo-hoo!"

In April 1952, Kovacs moved to WCBS in New York as host of a local daytime comedy-variety show named *Kovacs Unlimited*. Known for its parodies of other programs, *Kovacs Unlimited* can be compared to *Saturday Night Live*, which resembles it. It was Kovacs's longest-running series out of New York, lasting 21 months.

In December, CBS aired a new, national *Ernie Kovacs Show* opposite NBC's *Texaco Star Theater* with Milton Berle. Kovacs produced and wrote the show himself, and, as with his earlier broadcasts, much of the program was improvised. Unlike other TV comedies, there was no studio audience, nor was canned laughter used. In Kovacs's view, the usefulness of an audience was diminished because they could not see the special effects. Described as his "hallucinatory world," the program featured many ingenious video effects, as though illusion and reality were confused. In his skits, paintings came to life, flames from candles remained suspended in midair, and library books spoke.

Kovacs reappeared periodically in shows over various networks. In April 1954, the DuMont network's flagship station, WABD in New York, scheduled him as a late-night rival to Steve Allen. NBC aired his show as a daytime comedy premiering in December 1955 and in prime time a year later. Kovacs's final appearances were in a monthly series over ABC during 1961 and 1962. He received an Emmy for the 1961 series sponsored by Dutch-Masters Cigars. Regulars on many of Kovacs's early shows were Edie Adams, who became his second wife; straight-men Trigger Lund and Andy McKay; and the Eddie Hatrak Orchestra.

The most extraordinary episode in Kovacs's career was the half-hour NBC broadcast, without dialogue, known as the "Silent Show." Seen on January 19, 1957, it was the first prime-time program done entirely in pantomime. Accompanied by only sound effects and music, Kovacs starred as the mute, Chaplinesque "Eugene," a character he earlier developed during the fall of 1956 when hosting *The Tonight Show*. In 1961 Kovacs and codirector Joe Behar received the Directors Guild of America Award for a second version of the program aired over ABC.

Kovacs was an avant-garde experimenter in a television era governed by norms from earlier entertainment media. In his routines, he pioneered the use of black-outs, teaser openings, improvisations with everyday objects, matting techniques, synchronization of music and sound with images, and various camera effects including superimpositions, reverse polarity (a switch making positive seem negative), and reverse scanning (flipping images upside down). Several TV documentaries have celebrated his work. These include WNJT's *Cards and Cigars: The Trenton in Ernie Kovacs*

(1980), Showtime Cable's *Ernie Kovacs: Television's Original Genius* (1982), and ABC's *Ernie Kovacs: Between the Laughter* (1984). In 1987 he was inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame.

FRANK J. CHORBA

See also *Ernie Kovacs Show, The*

**Ernie Kovacs.** Born in Trenton, New Jersey, January 23, 1919. Attended New York School of Theatre and American Academy of Dramatic Art in Manhattan. Married: 1) Bette Wilcox, 1945 (divorced, 1954); children: Betty Lee Andrea (Elizabeth) and Kip Raleigh (Kippie); 2) Edie Adams, 1954; one daughter. As teenager, performed in stock companies, 1936-39; hospitalized, for 19 months, 1939-40; formed own stock company, 1941-43; columnist for hometown newspaper, *The Trentonian*, 1945-50; announcer, director of special events, and assistant of programming, radio station WTTM, 1942-50; first worked in television, 1950, on cooking show for WPTZ-TV; morning show, WPTZ-TV, 1950; *It's Time for Ernie*, NBC-TV, 1951; host, various shows, 1950s; first film, *Operation Mad Ball*, 1957; *Bell, Book and Candle*, 1958; first starring vehicle in British film *Five Golden Hours*, 1961. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1957 and 1961; Directors Guild of America Award, 1961; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1987. Died in Los Angeles, California, January 13, 1962.

#### Television Series (selected)

1951	<i>It's Time for Ernie</i>
1951	<i>Ernie in Kovacsland</i>
1952-53, 1956	<i>The Ernie Kovacs Show</i> (originally titled <i>Kovacs Unlimited</i> )
1960-61	<i>Silents Please</i> (host)

#### Television Specials

1957	<i>Festival of Magic</i> (host)
1961	<i>Private Eye, Private Eye</i> (host)
1961-62	<i>The Ernie Kovacs Special</i>

#### Films

*Operation Mad Ball*, 1957; *Bell, Book and Candle*, 1958; *It Happened to Jane*, 1958; *Our Man in Havana*, 1959; *Wake Me When It's Over*, 1960; *Strangers When We Meet*, 1960; *Pepe*, 1960; *North to Alaska*, 1960; *Five Golden Hours*, 1961; *Sail a Crooked Ship*, 1961; *Cry for Happy*, 1961.

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## Kraft Television Theatre

### U.S. Anthology Series

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*Kraft Television Theatre* proved to be one of the most durable and honored programs of what is sometimes referred to as the "Golden Age" of American dramatic television, airing on NBC from 1947 to 1958. Produced by the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, this live anthology drama was designed to mesh with Kraft's overall marketing strategy, which stressed the concept of "gracious living," an appeal to middle-class, suburban, family values. *Kraft Television Theatre* featured quietly paced, intimate dramas; as one Kraft representative put it, the show was a "respectful guest in America's living rooms."

Although *Kraft Television Theatre* quickly established itself as a critical favorite after its premiere in May 1947, in Kraft's estimation the show was only as useful as its ability to move product. In this it succeeded beyond fondest expectations. The first indication of the magnitude of the program's sales prowess came from Thompson's sales department, which reported in June that McLaren's Imperial Cheese, a new Kraft product advertised only on television, was flying off grocers' shelves.

The decision to feature food preparation over hard-sell personality or price appeals was not made lightly.



*Kraft Television Theatre: "Burlesque."*  
 Photo courtesy of Kraft Foods, Inc.

Kraft's advertising personnel were concerned that using a model or a recognized spokesman would detract from the product, so Thompson designed live commercials that used a single-focus technique. Each program had, on average, a pair of two-minute breaks, at which time cameras focused on a pair of feminine hands as they demonstrated the preparation of various dishes while announcer Ed Herlihy relayed the recipe to the viewer. This careful approach paid off for Kraft; sales of advertised products rose dramatically in television cities, and, even more importantly, a poll conducted by *Television* magazine in November 1947 showed that *Kraft Television Theatre* had the highest sponsorship identification of any show on television.

Kraft and Thompson prided themselves on keeping costs at a minimum in the early years. The dramatic emphasis was on warm and engaging family fare ("realism with a modest moral," as one executive said) solicited from young playwrights in New York; all performers were selected by Thompson's casting department. Although the show was almost entirely an agency product, NBC took a great interest in the program's operation—too much, at times, for the agency's liking.

Still, *Kraft Television Theatre* remained Thompson's defining program, and through its long run (the show never went on hiatus during its 11 years on the air), it featured such outstanding plays as Rod Serling's "Patterns"; "A Night to Remember," in which the Titanic disaster was memorably reproduced; and a version of Senator John F. Kennedy's book *Profiles in Courage*. Several noted directors, including George Roy Hill, Fielder Cook, and Sidney Lumet, served their apprenticeships on the program.

In October 1954, a second *Kraft Television Theatre* debuted, this time on ABC. The addition of another series surprised many industry observers, who expected Kraft, if anything, to pare its television activities. The original *Kraft Television Theatre* was never a ratings success, but Kraft apparently never expected it to be, consistently claiming that they measured the show's popularity by the number of recipe requests it drew, not by its Nielsen ratings. The ABC version was conceived with the intent of creating another advertising vehicle for Kraft's burgeoning product line, such as the new Cheez Whiz. However, sales figures from products advertised on the ABC program did not justify the additional \$2 million in costs, so Kraft pulled the show in January 1955.

By 1958 the anthology drama had yielded to serial narratives with their recurring characters and situations, and in April 1958, after a sustained period of ratings lassitude, Kraft decided to sell the rights to the program to Talent Associates, a production company headed by David Susskind. The movement from agency to package production relieved much of Kraft's financial obligation to the show, as the company could now split production costs with Susskind. *Kraft Television Theatre* remained on the air only a few more months before it was completely reconfigured by Talent Associates as *Kraft Mystery Theatre*, which lasted until September 1958.

MICHAEL MASHON

See also **Advertising, Company Voice; Advertising Agency; Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; Hour Glass**

#### Announcers

Ed Herlihy (1947–55)  
 Charles Stark (1955)

#### Programming History

NBC	
May 1947–December 1947	Wednesday 7:30–8:30
January 1948–October 1958	Wednesday 9:00–10:00





how it created its own unique world of make-believe. The characters were not caricatures, but rather fully developed, three-dimensional individuals with distinct histories, personalities, eccentricities, and foibles. In the show's initial episodes, the Kuklapolitans were strong characters, but not individuals. Through the simple banter between Allison and one of the "kids" (as Tillstrom, Allison, and others referred to the puppets), audiences learned more of each characters' individual history: where they went to school; their relatives; how an ancestor of Ollie's once swam the Hellespont (Dardanelle Strait) and took in too much water, thereby drowning the family's fire-breathing ability; and the time Buelah Witch was arrested by Interpol for flying too low over the United Nations building.

The leader of the troupe was Kukla, a sweet-natured and gentle clown who was something of a worrywart. Oliver J. Dragon (Ollie), atypical of traditional puppet show dragons, was a mischievous, one-toothed dragon with a penchant for getting into trouble. Other members of the Kuklapolitans included grand dame Madame Ophelia Oglepuss, Stage Manager Cecil Bill (who spoke a language comprehensible only to the other Kuklapolitans), debonair Southern gentleman Colonel R.H. Crackie, floppy-eared Fletcher Rabbit, Buelah Witch (named for producer Beulah Zachary—with the intentional misspelling), Ollie's mother Olivia Dragon, his niece Dolores (whom audiences saw grow from a noisy infant into a typical teenage dragonette), and many others. The human qualities of these characters endeared them to their audience.

It could be said that Allison acted as "straight man" to this cast of characters, but her role was much greater. A quick wit in her own right who could maintain the pace set by Tillstrom, Allison served simultaneously, according to Tillstrom, as "big sister, favorite teacher, babysitter, girlfriend, and mother." Allison was equally responsible for adding to the characters' histories. She was the first to mention Ollie's mother, inspiring Tillstrom to create the character for a future show.

The Kuklapolitans returned briefly for one season in 1961 for a daily five-minute show without Fran Allison. *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* was revived for two seasons (1969–71) for PBS, and from 1971 to 1979, the Kuklapolitans with Allison served as hosts for the Saturday afternoon *CBS Children's Film Festival*. The characters continued to appear in syndicated specials throughout the early 1980s. In all of these series and formats, the essential elements of the original series remained the same.

During its run on television, *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* received a total of nine Emmy nominations for Best Children's Program but won only once, in 1954. It was awarded a George Foster Peabody Award as the Out-

standing Children's Program of 1949. In a tribute to creator Burr Tillstrom, co-worker Donald Corren stated in 1986, "The acceptance of television puppetry as a form of entertainment and communication exists because *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* was as much a part of the original television vocabulary as were 'station identification,' 'the six-o'clock news,' or the chimes that identified NBC." Because the Kuklapolitans were such vibrant characters, Tillstrom requested in his will that they never be put on display inertly unless they are moving and speaking as he intended them to be seen.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

*See also Allison, Fran; Chicago School of Television; Children and Television; Tillstrom, Burr*

**Host**

Fran Allison

**Announcer**

Hugh Downs

**Puppeteer**

Burr Tillstrom

**Musical Director**

Jack Fascinato

**Puppets**

Kukla

Ollie (Oliver J. Dragon)

Fletcher Rabbit

Mme. Ophelia Oglepuss

Buelah Witch

Cecil Bill

Col. R.H. Crackie

Mercedes

Dolores Dragon (1950–57)

Olivia Dragon (1952–57)

**Producers**

Burr Tillstrom, Beulah Zachary

**Programming History**

NBC

November 1948–November 1951      Monday–Friday  
7:00–7:30

November 1951–June 1952      Monday–Friday  
7:00–7:15

ABC

September 1954–August 1957      Monday–Friday  
7:00–7:15



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## Kuralt, Charles (1934–1997)

U.S. News Correspondent

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Charles Kuralt is best known for his critically acclaimed series "On the Road," television "essays" on the United States, and for his 15-year tenure as host of the equally acclaimed *CBS Sunday Morning* series. Through a CBS network career spanning four decades, this award-winning journalist and author brought the life and vitality of back-roads America to an eager audience while providing a television home for the arts, the environment, and the offbeat.

Kuralt began his career as a reporter-columnist in 1955 for the *Charlotte News*. His penchant for unusual human interest stories found a home in the *News*' daily "People" column, which in turn earned him the 1956 Ernie Pyle Memorial Award. A year later he was recruited by CBS. His first network job was to rewrite wires and cables from overseas correspondents for radio newscasts, but he quickly advanced to the position of writer for *CBS Evening News*. In 1958 he moved to the CBS television news assignment desk, where he also covered fast-breaking stories. A year later, he became a full-fledged correspondent—the youngest person ever to win that position. In 1960 his star continued to rise, as he was chosen over Walter Cronkite to host a new CBS public affairs series, *Eye-witness to History*. However, within four months he was replaced by Cronkite and was moved back to general assignment reporting. He was named chief of CBS's newly established Latin American bureau during the Kennedy administration, then chief West Coast correspondent in 1963. He also reported from various global hot spots in Africa, Europe, and Southeast Asia, including four tours of duty in Vietnam.

Contributing special reports to the documentary series *CBS Reports* and anchoring several public affairs

specials in addition to his regular reporting duties, Kuralt began to tire of the grind and rivalry inherent in daily reporting. To remedy this, he devised his plan for "On the Road." After an initial negative reaction, he managed to win minimal support from network executives who granted him a three-month trial.

Kuralt's three-month trial began in October 1967, and turned into a 25-year odyssey. With cameraman Izzy Bleckman and soundman Larry Gianneschi, he logged more than 1 million miles in six motor homes while producing approximately 500 "On the Road" segments. Staying off the interstates and with no set itinerary, he drew upon viewer letters, a state-by-state clipping file, and occasional references from public relations firms and local chambers of commerce to find unusual stories and unsung heroes. He had total freedom to discover the United States.

In the early 1970s, CBS considered reassigning Kuralt, but he was ever reluctant to leave the road. He did serve as cohost with Sylvia Chase on the short-lived *CBS News Adventure* in 1970, and in May 1974, on *Magazine*, an afternoon news and features program. He also contributed pieces to another short-lived prime-time magazine show, *Who's Who* (1977). With Dan Rather and Barbara Howar concentrating on more famous, high-profile newsmakers, he brought, in typical Kuralt fashion, the *Who's Who* viewing audience such unlikely characters as the inventor of the shopping cart, champion boomerang throwers, and an 89-year-old kite flyer.

With network assurance that he could continue "On the Road," on January 28, 1979, Kuralt assumed the anchor position on the new *CBS News Sunday Morning*. Leisurely paced and low-key, in keeping with its



Charles Kuralt.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

early Sunday morning time slot, the 90-minute show examined major headlines and provided a weekly in-depth cover story and a series of special reports on law, science, the environment, music, the arts, education, and world affairs. In essence, with its eclectic view of the United States, *Sunday Morning* became a natural extension of "On the Road," providing an outlet for topics not regularly covered on other newscasts. Commented Milton Rhodes, president of the American Council for the Arts, in the June 1987 issue of *Horizon*: "Nowhere else on television does a journalist of Kuralt's reputation discuss the arts as regularly, as fully, and as intelligently as he."

For 18 months, Kuralt combined his *Sunday Morning* activities with his ongoing "On the Road" reports, but in October 1980 he left the road to become anchor for the daily morning network news offering. *Morning with Charles Kuralt* would be criticized for being too slow-paced for the time period, and, in mid-March 1982 Kuralt was replaced as anchor and sent back out on the road. Within two years, his new "On the Road" reports became the centerpiece of yet another short-lived prime-time series, *The American Parade*.

Openly opposed to the fast-paced, minimal information format of many news broadcasts, through the years Kuralt chastised television executives for "hiring hair instead of brains." Quoted in *TV Guide* on April 2, 1994, Kuralt said, "I am ashamed that so many [anchorpers] haven't any basis on which to make a news judgment, can't edit, can't write, and can't cover a story." As *TV Guide's* Neil Hickey reported, these are all things Kuralt could do and for which he was honored with 11 Emmy Awards and three Peabody Awards.

Into the 1990s, Kuralt continued his *Sunday Morning* efforts and for an approximate five-month period beginning in October 1990, cohosted the nightly news summary, *America Tonight*, four nights a week, with Lesley Stahl. Then on April 3, 1994, at the age of 59, he retired from CBS with a poetic good-bye to his audience at the conclusion of his *Sunday Morning* broadcast. In 1997 he came out of his short-lived retirement to host two new television offerings, *An American Moment*, a syndicated series of 90-second vignettes on American life, and *I Remember*, a weekly one-hour broadcast examining major news stories from the past 30 years. However, his health deteriorated, and in June 1997 he was diagnosed with lupus. Kuralt died of heart failure and complications from lupus on July 4, 1997, and he was buried on the campus of his alma mater, the University of North Carolina.

Described by *Newsweek* on July 4, 1983, as "our beloved visiting uncle" and a "de Tocqueville in a motor home," Kuralt worked to awaken the United States to the beauty of its landscape, the depth, and character of its people, and the qualities of excellence possible in television journalism. On the occasion of his death, Kuralt's long-time CBS associate Dan Rather echoed those sentiments in the *New York Times*: "Charles's essays were miniature movies, carefully scripted, filmed, and edited," said Rather. "They told of our life and times. They had breadth, depth, and sweep to engage the eye, ear and mind."

JOEL STERNBERG

**Charles Bishop Kuralt.** Born in Wilmington, North Carolina, September 10, 1934. Educated at University of North Carolina, B.A. 1955. Married: Suzanna Folsom Baird, 1962; children from previous marriage: Lisa Bowers White and Susan Guthery Bowers. Columnist and reporter, *Charlotte News* (North Carolina), 1955-57; writer, CBS News, 1957-59; correspondent, CBS News, from 1959; first host of *Eyewitness*, 1960; named CBS News chief Latin America correspondent, 1961; chief West Coast correspondent, 1963; CBS News, New York, 1964; "On the Road" correspondent and host, from 1967; *CBS Sunday Morning* correspondent, from 1979, host, from

1980. Recipient: Ernie Pyle Memorial Award, 1956; George Foster Peabody Broadcasting Awards, 1969, 1976, 1980; 11 Emmy Awards; International Radio-TV Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1985; DuPont-Columbia Award; George Polk Award; National Association of Broadcasters Distinguished Service Award, 1996. Died in New York City, July 4, 1997.

#### Television Series (writer, correspondent, host)

1957–59 *CBS Evening News* (writer)  
 1959–1994 *CBS News* (correspondent)  
 1960–61 *Eyewitness to History* (host)  
 1970 *CBS News Adventure*  
 1977 *Who's Who?*  
 1979–94 *CBS News Sunday Morning*  
 (correspondent, host)  
 1980–82 *Morning with Charles Kuralt*  
 1983 *On the Road with Charles Kuralt*  
 1984 *The American Parade*  
 1990 *America Tonight*  
 1997 *I Remember* (host)  
 1997 *An American Moment* (host)

#### Publications

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## Kureishi, Hanif (1954– )

British Writer, Director

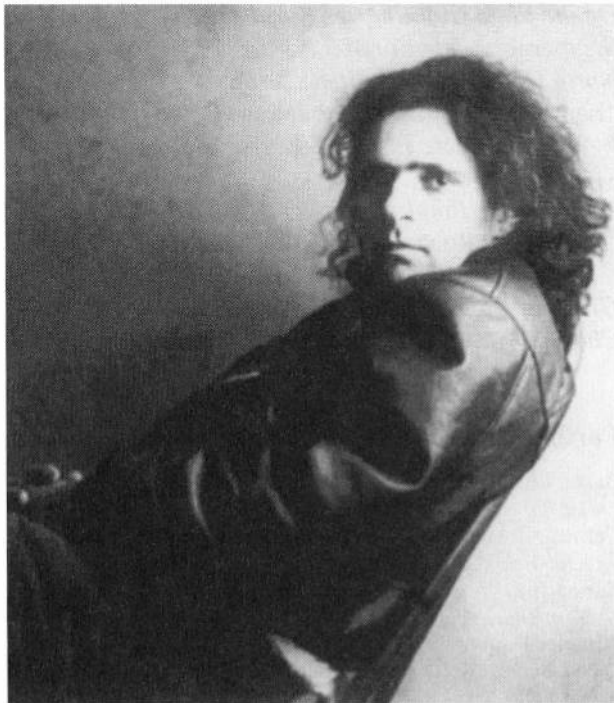
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Hanif Kureishi, an Anglo-Pakistani writer, is best known to international audiences as the screenwriter of *My Beautiful Launderette*, one of the greatest international successes of British television's Channel 4.

Born in London of an English mother and a Pakistani father, Kureishi documents the population of London's margins: an underclass of disenfranchised youth, immigrants from former British colonies, leftist intellectuals, sexual outlaws (gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals refusing serial monogamy), and those indi-

viduals who cross class, ethnic, and sexual boundaries. His stories are often set in the Notting Hill district, a neighborhood once at the center of the country's most violent racial unrest.

Notting Hill is also the home of film and television director, Stephen Frears, with whom Kureishi collaborated on two projects for Channel 4's Film on Four, *My Beautiful Launderette* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*. Frears is one of many British directors who have worked both on films produced exclusively for televi-



Hanif Kureishi.  
Photo courtesy of Hanif Kureishi

sion and on films that are theatrically released but have been funded all or in part by television (the two Frears-Kureishi films are examples of the latter). Frears has repeatedly claimed that television—not the cinema—is the best site for communicating the quality of daily life in Britain. When he encountered Kureishi's script for *My Beautiful Launderette*, he was excited by the prospect of bringing the story of the everyday lives of a group of entrepreneurial Pakistanis and disenfranchised white youth to a British television audience of up to 12 million people, 74 percent of whom never attend the cinema.

The film centers on Omar, a Pakistani caught, like so many of Kureishi's characters, between two worlds—those of his leftist intellectual father, now a bitter alcoholic, and of his Uncle Nasser, a wealthy slumlord who lets his nephew revamp one of his laundromats. Omar first employs and then becomes lovers and partners with a former school chum, Johnny, one of the hundreds of unemployed white youths in London in the 1980s. The racist attacks on Omar by the other white youth are graphically depicted, but Kureishi does not demonize the perpetrators. In the universe of his stories, the once-colonized are sometimes the new exploiters, and left versus right, us versus them dichotomies do not apply. Omar respects his father but imitates his economically successful uncle, keeping his homosexual love affair with Johnny from both.

In *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*, Rafi, a Pakistani official and wealthy factory owner, returns to London to rekindle relationships with his son Sammy; his leftist English daughter-in-law, Rosie; and his former mistress Alice. The film condemns Rafi's association with a government that used torture on its citizens, but Kureishi endows the character with lively hedonistic impulses that underscore his affinity with his non-monogamous son and daughter-in-law, whose leftist beliefs are more in sync with the writer's.

Critics usually point to Kureishi's masterful use of irony in these two films whose characters embody Margaret Thatcher's meritocrats and entrepreneurs, but who still find their identity in some of the sensual excesses of the 1960s—most notably sexual experimentation and/or drugs—that were decried by the Thatcher regime. In 1993 the writer adapted his own novel, *Buddha of Suburbia*, as a four-hour miniseries for BBC 2. This program explores the social climate of 1970s Britain leading to the rise of the conservative government of the 1980s and 1990s. Avowedly autobiographical, the narrative follows Karim, a young Anglo-Pakistani, through the experiments of the 1960s that mutated into a "series of scary, delirious little moments of cocksure revolt" in the 1970s. Because of its heavy use of obscene language and explicit sexual situations, the BBC moved the time for airing the series a half-hour later than originally scheduled, and it was never picked up for U.S. television distribution (although it was screened in its entirety at the 1994 San Francisco Film Festival). Kureishi has written in his "Film Diary," that "openness and choice in sexual behavior is liberating," while "ambition and competitiveness are stifling narrowers of personality." By that prescription, his major characters—ambitious, competitive, but risk-takers in sensuality—are complex studies in the contradictions of Britain from the 1970s through the 1990s.

MARY DESJARDINS

**Hanif Kureishi.** Born in London, December 5, 1954. Attended King's College, University of London, B.A. in philosophy. Began career as playwright with *Soaking in Hell*, produced in London, 1976; has also directed his own work.

#### Television Series

1993 *The Buddha of Suburbia*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1984 *My Beautiful Launderette*  
1987 *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*  
1991 *London Kills Me* (also director)

**Film**

*My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1985; *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*, 1987; *My Son the Fanatic*, 1997; *Mauvais Passe* (also known as *The Escort*, also known as *The Wrong Blonde*), 1999; *Intimacy*, 2001; *The Mother*, 2003.

**Radio**

*You Can't Go Home*, 1980; *The Trial*, 1982.

**Stage**

*Soaking in Hell*, 1976; *The Mother Country*, 1980; *The King and Me*, 1980; *Outskirts*, 1980; *Tomorrow-Today!*, 1981; *Cinders*, 1981; *Borderline*, 1981; *Artists and Admirers*, with David Lev-  
eaux, 1982; *Birds of Passage*, 1983; *Mother  
Courage*, 1984; *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986; *Sleep with Me*, 1999.

**Publications**

*Borderline*, 1981  
*Birds of Passage*, 1983

"Introduction," *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986

"Film Diary," *Granta*, Autumn 1987

*Sammy and Rosie Get Laid: The Script and the Diary*, 1988

*The Buddha of Suburbia*, 1991

*London Kills Me*, 1991

*Outskirts and Other Plays*, 1992

*The Black Album*, 1995

*The Faber Book of Pop* (editor with Jon Savage), 1995

*Love in a Blue Time*, 1997

*Intimacy*, 1998

*Midnight All Day*, 1999

*Gabriel's Gift*, 2001

**Further Reading**

Dixon, Wheeler Winston, editor, *Re-Viewing British Cinema, 1900–1992*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994

"Interview with Hanif Kureishi," *Interview* (April 1990)

Wolf, Matt, "Hanif Kureishi Trades Pen for the Director's Lens," *New York Times* (July 14, 1991)





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# L.A. Law

U.S. Drama

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*L.A. Law*, created by Steven Bochco and Terry Louise Fisher, premiered September 15, 1986, on NBC. During that television season, Bochco's groundbreaking *Hill Street Blues* wound to a close and *L.A. Law* inherited the key Thursday night anchor spot. NBC affiliates complained about *Hill Street Blues*' declining audience, and Bochco's new show delivered larger Nielsen ratings for the network's prime-time lineup and larger numbers to NBC affiliates' late-night local news.

The program ran for eight seasons, from 1986 until 1994, was nominated for more than 90 Emmy awards, and won 15 honors from the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. These accolades included four years as best drama series, five acting awards, three writing honors, and one prize each for direction, art direction, and single camera editing. Frequently, *L.A. Law*'s creative staff dominated a category. In 1989 three categories had three nominees from the program. In 1988 *L.A. Law* produced four of the six nominees for outstanding directing in a drama series: Kim H. Friedman, Gregory Hoblit, Sam Weisman, and Win Phelps. In the program's first season, *L.A. Law* received the George Foster Peabody Award for excellence, richness, and diversity of television content.

The fictional law firm of McKenzie, Brackman, Chaney & Kuzak brought a romantic ambience to the legal, moral, and ethical battles fought inside the courtroom, in the court hallways, and behind the closed doors of attorneys' offices. The action combined several social

classes: the firm's partners, associates who were employed soon after graduation, clerical workers, clients, and county employees. Critics felt the law partners' lifestyles epitomized the financial and social excesses of 1980s wealthy yuppies, characterized by the show's signature license plate affixed to a Jaguar sports car.

The characters ranged from steadfast and cautious senior partner Leland MacKenzie (played by Richard Dysart, who won the outstanding supporting actor Emmy in 1992), to arrogant Arnie Becker (Corbin Bernsen). Becker's antithesis was Benny Stulwicz (Larry Drake, who won two Emmy awards as outstanding supporting actor in 1988 and 1989), a mentally retarded office assistant who wanted to successfully maintain life's simplest essentials: a job, an apartment, a commute to work, and a marriage. In the show, Stulwicz was hired by the firm after his dying mother, a long-time client, expressed concern over her son's future. Melman and Becker subsequently watched over Stulwicz, much like surrogate parents.

Many of *L.A. Law*'s ensemble cast members can best be described in pairs, as most characters had steady romantic partnerships with other characters portrayed in the series. Alan Rachins played Douglas Brackman Jr., as a frustrated, balding managing partner. His attempts to lead the firm were frequently thwarted by his partners. Rachins played opposite his real life spouse, Joanna Frank (Steven Bochco's sister) as his wife and then ex-wife, Sheila Brackman.



*L.A. Law*, Rosenberg, Bernsen, Eikenberry, Rachins, Eckholdt, Dysart, Tucker, Powers, Drake, Mazar, Underwood, 1986–94.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Michael Kuzak (Harry Hamlin) often served as the focal point of the program. Kuzak was sensitive, intelligent, passionate, and sexual; his dynamic courtroom maneuvers often combined logic with pleas for compassion. Opposite Kuzak was Grace Van Owen (Susan Dey), the district attorney with an icy exterior, an empathetic side, and a libido that matched Kuzak's.

The best-remembered couple linked tall, waspy Ann Kelsey (Jill Eikenberry) and short, Jewish, tax attorney Stuart Markowitz (Bochco's college friend Michael Tucker). Those two, married in real life before their characters wed on *L.A. Law*, had onscreen romantic interludes that were discussed beside office water coolers nationwide.

The strangest romantic pairing may have been that between senior partner McKenzie and Rosalind Shays (played by Diana Muldaur during the fourth and fifth season). Shays's introduction as a vicious attorney hired to boost revenues by bringing her large client list to McKenzie Brackman came in the 1989 season episode, "One Rat; One Ranger." During her short stay, Shays and the recently widowed McKenzie began dating, much to the surprise of the other characters. A

power struggle arose. Shays lost the battle and was removed from the law firm, then sued her former partners for sexual discrimination. The character dramatically exited the program when she stepped into a carriage-less elevator shaft and plummeted to her death in the March 21, 1991, episode, "Good to the Last Drop."

Taking the lead from Bochco's previous NBC hit *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law* cast ethnic actors in roles as attorneys. These characterizations included Alfre Woodard, who guest-starred and won an acting Emmy award for the pilot episode, Blair Underwood as Jonathan Rollins, and Jimmy Smits as the fiery but self-involved Victor Sifuentes (Smits won the 1990 supporting actor Emmy, competing against colleagues Drake and Dysart). After Smits left the show, A. Martinez joined the cast as Daniel Morales.

Other notable characters included Michele Greene as recent law school graduate and single mother Abby Perkins, Vincent Gardenia as Roxanne Melman's father Murray, Sheila Kelly as clerical worker and law student Gwen Taylor, Conchata Ferrell as entertainment attorney Susan Bloom, and Kathleen Wilhoite as



Benny's childlike and slow-learning love interest Rosalie.

For *L.A. Law*, Bochco brought many storytelling devices that worked well for *Hill Street Blues*. Instead of *Hill Street's* daily roll call that introduced each episode's plot lines and framed each potential conflict, *L.A. Law* used the weekly partner's meeting for the same narrative functions. However, the shows differed greatly in one respect. *Hill Street Blues* had strong female characters, but men outnumbered them as the central focus of the series. With *L.A. Law*, women partners, associates, and secretaries often took the forefront.

The storylines ranged from outrageous humor to thoughtful debate of social issues. Trials portrayed a gay man prosecuted for killing his lover by infecting him with AIDS, dental malpractice, a female news anchor terminated by a TV station, date rape, polluted water poisoning a trailer park's residents, age discrimination, athletes on steroids, drive-by killings, and racial profiling. On the humorous side, topics included a man prosecuted for clubbing a swan to death on a golf course, ownership of a pig eaten by a python at a music video filming, male senior citizens who wreak havoc at a home when they become test subjects for a testosterone patch, and a man who communicates solely through a rude ventriloquist's dummy.

The creative successes of the program's writers and producers engendered frequent behind-the-scene changes, and that instability contributed to real-life drama. When Bochco contemplated leaving the series to begin a long-term development deal at ABC, he replaced Fisher with writer David E. Kelley as the program's supervising producer. In 1989 a disappointed Fisher left the show as Bochco banned her from the set. The next year, Bochco left *L.A. Law* and Kelley became executive producer. Kelley revitalized the fading program by adding fresh, quirky characters to his intriguing and clever dialogue and plot lines, sometimes teaming with writer/director William Finkelstein. The show remained strong until Kelley left in 1992.

During the final season, the program's creative edge disappeared, as did the large audiences of its best years. For season five, Amanda Donohoe as C.J. Lamb, John Spencer as Tommy Mullaney, and Cecil Hoffman as Mullaney's ex-wife Zoey Clemons added color to the program.

For network "sweeps" on May 12, 2002, and as part of NBC's 75th anniversary celebration, NBC brought the cast of *L.A. Law* together for a reunion movie and an episode of the network's quiz show, *The Weakest Link*. Finkelstein wrote the reunion, *L.A. Law: The Movie*, which fared poorly with both audiences and critics.

JOAN STULLER GIGLIONE

*See also* Bochco, Steven; Fisher, Terry Louise; Kelley, David E.

#### Cast

Arnie Becker (1986-94)	Corbin Bernsen
Frank Kittredge (1991-92)	Michael Cumpsty
Grace Van Owen (1986-92)	Susan Dey
C.J. Lamb (1990-92)	Amanda Donohoe
Benny Stulwicz (1987-94)	Larry Drake
Leland McKenzie (1986-94)	Richard A. Dysart
Ann Kelsey (1986-94)	Jill Eikenberry
Susan Bloom (1991-92)	Conchata Ferrell
Abby Perkins (1986-91)	Michele Greene
Michael Kuzak (1986-91)	Harry Hamlin
Zoey Clemmons (1991-92)	Cecil Hoffman
Gwen Taylor (1990-93)	Sheila Kelley
Daniel Morales (1992-94)	A Martinez
Denise Ianello (1993-94)	Debi Mazar
Jane Halliday (1993-94)	Alexandra Powers
Douglas Brackman Jr. (1986-94)	Alan Rachins
Eli Levinson (1993-94)	Alan Rosenberg
Roxanne Melman (1986-93)	Susan Ruttan
Victor Sifuentes (1986-91)	Jimmy Smits
Tommy Mullaney (1990-94)	John Spencer
Stuart Markowitz (1986-94)	Michael Tucker
Jonathan Rollins (1987-94)	Blair Underwood

#### Creator

Steven Bochco

#### Executive Producers

David E. Kelley  
Steven Bochco

#### Supervising Producers

David E. Kelley  
Terry Louise Fisher  
William M. Finkelstein

#### Producers

Ellen S. Pressman  
Elodie Keene  
Gregory Hoblit  
James C. Hart  
Michael M. Robin  
Michele Gallery  
Rick Wallace  
Scott Goldstein  
Steven Bochco

**Programming History**

NBC	
October 1986–November 1986	Friday 10:00–11:00
December 1986–August 1990	Thursday 10:00–11:00
October 1990–February 1993	Thursday 10:00–11:00
April 1993–December 1993	Thursday 10:00–11:00

February 1994–May 1994

Thursday 10:00–11:00

**Further Reading**

Mason, M.S., "'L.A. Law' Raises the Bar Again: The TV Movie Picks Up 10 Years Later with the Original Cast," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 10, 2002

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## La Femme Nikita

U.S. Drama

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*La Femme Nikita* (also known as *Nikita*) was one of the earliest and best programs in the cycle of "strong woman" or "tough girl" TV series that came to prominence beginning in the mid 1990s. This group also included *Xena: Warrior Princess*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Dark Angel*, *Witchblade*, and *Alias*, among others. The TV version of the *Nikita* story was an adaptation of Luc Besson's film *Nikita* (France/Italy, 1990, also known as *La Femme Nikita*), which had already spawned two film adaptations, *Black Cat* (Hong Kong, 1991) and *Point of No Return* (United States, 1993, also known as *The Assassin*). In turn, the underlying *Nikita* formula is an updated and somewhat perverse retelling of the Pygmalion story (see Grindstaff and Hayward).

In the film version of *Nikita*, a young, drug-addicted street criminal named *Nikita* commits murder and is spared from a life sentence by being recruited, upon threat of death, into a clandestine crime-fighting organization. She is taught to be a polished and proper lady, as in Shaw's *Pygmalion*, but also a professional assassin and spy. Her employer requires complete commitment, and she is unable to have a normal personal life outside of her work.

The TV series follows this plot, but with a crucial difference. The TV series does begin with *Nikita*'s arrest for murder, but in this case she is not guilty (and not a drug addict). As we learn in a much later episode, she has been framed by her soon-to-be employer, a top-secret espionage agency called Section One. This device provides the TV program with a moral problematic not present in the film, but exploited with great skill by the producers through the entire run of the series.

*Nikita* (Australian actress Peta Wilson) begins the TV series as a troubled young adult, but she is not a murderer. Section One forces her to become one. Her colleagues in the organization are antiheroes fighting an endless supply of terrorist villains, ostensibly the true forces of evil in the world. However, Section One itself operates entirely outside the conventional limits imposed by law. One of the cruxes of the series is that the heroes often commit worse atrocities than the villains. *Nikita*'s struggle to retain a sense of right and wrong inside the amoral octopus that is Section One provides the basis for powerful and thought-provoking episodes.

Section One is headed by a character known as Operations (American actor Eugene Robert Glazer), who serves as a surrogate, unforgiving father of sorts for *Nikita*. (In a much later episode, we learn that his real name is Paul.) The "mother" in this scenario is Madeline (Canadian actress Alberta Watson), an expert at prisoner interrogation and mind games. The heir apparent to Operations is Michael, the most deadly Section One field agent, played with minimalist intensity by French Canadian Roy Dupuis. All are damaged people with traumatized personal histories revealed in particular episodes. Together they constitute a dysfunctional pseudo-family, stuck with each other's treacheries in a world largely of their own making.

*Nikita* and Michael (her recruiter and principal trainer) fall in and out of love throughout the series. Sometimes he corrupts her; other times she redeems him (and potentially Section One as a whole). At the end of the series, in a development long foreshadowed, *Nikita* ascends to the command of Section One, but it is unclear whether she has by now become totally cor-

rupt herself or has enough residual goodness to save Section One from its depravity.

Thus *Nikita* is a story of heroic but perhaps futile individual resistance within a totalitarian collective. In this respect, the show is reminiscent of *The Prisoner*, and indeed Nikita spends much of the series plotting her escape, turning the tables on her captor-bosses, and trying to discover the true identity and purpose of Section One. Nikita updates *The Prisoner's* comment on East-West moral equivalence in the cold war era to a similar meditation on the ethics of antiterrorism vis-à-vis terrorism itself.

Like *The Prisoner's* Number Six, Nikita is, in effect, kidnapped. Unlike Number Six, she is an innocent, civilian female. The series takes double advantage of Peta Wilson as spectacle, drawing upon both her sexual allure and her displays of violence. At the same time, she maintains a stereotypically female vulnerability. In the midst of a stunningly warped realpolitik, Nikita never entirely loses her innocence, even though she must often keep it hidden. She is a complex character in a complicated situation, as well as a female in the traditionally male genre realm of the spy and action hero. Similarly, her liaison with Michael combines the pleasures of a steamy romance and frequent rescue scenarios with the ever-present possibility of a double-cross by either party (although, curiously, it is Michael who is most often in the "femme fatale" position).

Physically, Section One headquarters is labyrinthine and apparently underground, a sort of high-tech dungeon and panopticon for the mostly dronelike apparatchiks who work there. It is antiseptically black, brown, and gray, yet somehow dazzling to the viewer's eye: a self-contained, menacing fantasy backdrop for startling intrigue. In the occasionally glimpsed bowels of the place lie torture chambers, supercomputers, combat training areas, and laboratories for genetic engineering and other horrors. Nikita's struggle to learn the truth about Section One seems all the more challenging because of the program's claustrophobic workplace setting, in which evil becomes banal in a way not usually encountered in television drama.

The show attracted a cult following, especially among female viewers. It also served as a high-profile example of quality programming for the often-marginal USA Network. When the series was prematurely canceled in 2000, the audience rallied and persuaded USA to bring the show back for an abbreviated fifth season in 2001 to wrap up loose ends.

GARY BURNS

See also *Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Gender and Television; Xena: Warrior Princess*

#### Cast

Nikita	Peta Wilson
Michael	Roy Dupuis
Operations	Eugene Robert Glazer
Madeline	Alberta Watson
Walter	Don Francks
Birkoff (1997–2000)	Matthew Ferguson
Jason (2000–01)	Matthew Ferguson
Quinn (2000–01)	Cindy Dolenc
Mick Schtoppel (1999–2001)	Carlo Rota
George (1999–2001)	David Hemblen
Mr. Jones (2001)	Edward Woodward

#### Producers

Executive Consultant	Joel Surnow
Executive Consultant	Lawrence Hertzog
Executive Producer	Jay Firestone
Producer	Jamie Paul Rock

#### Programming History

1997–2001	96 episodes
USA	
January 1997–June 1997	Monday 10:00–11:00
June 1997–March 2001	Sunday 10:00–11:00

#### Further Reading

- Brown, Jeffrey A., "Gender and the Action Heroine: Hardbodies and the Point of No Return," *Cinema Journal*, 35 (1996)
- Connolly, Dawn, *La Femme Peta*, Toronto: ECW Press, 2000
- Durham, Carolyn A., *Double Takes: Culture and Gender in French Films and Their American Remakes*, Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1998
- Grindstaff, Laura, "A Pygmalion Tale Retold: Remaking La Femme Nikita," *Camera Obscura*, 47 (2001)
- Hayward, Susan, "Recycled Woman and the Postmodern Aesthetic: Luc Besson's *Nikita* (1990)," in *French Film: Texts and Contexts*, edited by Susan Hayward and Ginette Vincendeau, 2nd edition, London: Routledge, 2000
- Inness, Sherrie A., *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999
- Tasker, Yvonne, *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre and the Action Cinema*, London: Routledge, 1993
- Wiles, Mary M., "Mapping the Contours of Cyborg Space in the Conspiracy Film: The Feminine Ecology of Luc Besson's *La Femme Nikita*," *Post Identity*, 1 (1997)

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## La Frenais, Ian (1937– )

British Writer

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Ian La Frenais ranks among British television's most accomplished comedy writers. Most of his greatest successes were collaborations with BBC writer-producer Dick Clement; with Clement he contributed several of the most enduringly popular comedy series of the late 20th century.

La Frenais's early experience as an insurance salesman in his native Newcastle-upon-Tyne was to prove invaluable when he came to write the first of the classic comedy series that he created in partnership with Clement. He happened to meet Clement while on holiday, and they devised a sketch about two cocky northern lads for Clement's director's exams. The BBC was much impressed by the scenario, and their sketch was developed into the massive hit *The Likely Lads*, which was one of the fledgling BBC 2's first big successes. The series revolved around the squabbles and contrasting aspirations of two friends, Bob Ferris (Rodney Bewes) and Terry Collier (James Bolam). La Frenais's writing showed facility with characterization and an easy grasp of northern traits and humor, as well as a certain acuteness in exposing the absurdities of the British class system in a rapidly changing world. Sequels all too often turn out to lack the flair and uniqueness of originals. In this case, however, when the series was revived some years later as *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, with Bob now engaged to be married and an even more vituperative Terry newly released from the army, the critics were unanimous in finding the humor even sharper and more effective. There was no critical dissent when the program was voted Best Situation Comedy of the Year in 1973.

Clement and La Frenais returned to the humor of northeast England at regular intervals over the years, notably in the extraordinarily successful series *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*, about a gang of Geordie building laborers obliged to pursue their trade in Germany, and in *Spender*, which starred former *Auf Wiedersehen* bricklayer Jimmy Nail. However, the pair proved that they were by no means restricted to purely regional comedy drama, and in the mid-1970s they scored another huge hit with the classic prison comedy *Porridge*, starring the multifaceted comedian Ronnie Barker.

Barker's cockney Norman Stanley Fletcher, a habitual criminal obliged by his innate good nature to guide his young cellmate Godber (Richard Beckinsale)

through the vicissitudes and dangers of life behind bars, was hailed as a masterpiece of comic invention, and the program became a favorite of prison audiences throughout the country. A sequel, *Going Straight*, which followed Fletcher's life after his release was less successful, lacking the dramatic tension that came with the confines of the original setting. In some respects, Clement and La Frenais had already had a dry run for *Porridge* in their series *Thick As Thieves*, in which two crooks (Bob Hoskins and John Thaw) competed for the love of the same woman. This series ended after just eight episodes, when Thaw began work on *The Sweeney* police series. The original plan had been to return the two central characters to prison, where their relationship would have to adjust to new circumstances.

Collaborative efforts on situation comedies in the 1990s—including the disappointing *Full Stretch*, about a luxury car-hire business—have proved less notable. With Clement, however, La Frenais enjoyed significant success as a screenwriter with his script for the cult film *The Commitments* (a triumph that prompted the pair to attempt a television version under the title *Over the Rainbow*). In the 1990s, La Frenais's solo contributions as writer were more successful, with the popular *Lovejoy* series, adaptations for television of the Jonathan Gash novels about an antiques dealer with an eye for the main chance (and for the ladies). As before, La Frenais's easy humor and skillful characterization were deemed essential to the show's success.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Auf Wiedersehen, Pet; Likely Lads, The; Porridge*

**Ian La Frenais.** Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, January 7, 1937. Attended Dame Allan's School, Northumberland. Married: Doris Vartan, 1984; one stepson. Worked as insurance salesman before establishing reputation as a screenwriter and producer; formed comedy writing partnership with BBC producer Dick Clement; partner, with Clement and Allan McKeown, in Witzend Productions. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards; Broadcasting Guild Awards; *Evening News* Award; Pye Television Award; Screen Writers Guild Award; Society of Television Critics Award; Writers Guild of America

Award; London Film Critics Circle Award; *Evening Standard* Peter Sellers Award, 1991.

**Television Series**

- 1964–66 *The Likely Lads* (with Dick Clement)
- 1968 *The Adventures of Lucky Jim* (with Dick Clement)
- 1972 *The Train Now Standing*
- 1973–74 *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* (with Dick Clement)
- 1973 *Seven of One* (with Dick Clement)
- 1974 *Thick As Thieves* (with Dick Clement)
- 1974–77 *Porridge* (with Dick Clement)
- 1975 *Comedy Playhouse* (with Dick Clement)
- 1976–77 *On the Rocks*
- 1978 *Going Straight* (with Dick Clement)
- 1979 *Billy*
- 1983 *Further Adventures of Lucky Jim* (with Dick Clement)
- 1983–84 *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* (with Dick Clement)
- 1985 *Mog* (with Dick Clement)
- 1986 *Lovejoy*
- 1990 *Spender* (with Jimmy Nail)
- 1990 *Freddie and Max* (with Dick Clement)
- 1991 *Old Boy Network* (with Dick Clement)
- 1993 *Tracey Ullman: A Class Act* (with others)
- 1993 *Full Stretch* (with Dick Clement)
- 1993 *Over the Rainbow* (with Dick Clement)
- 1995–99 *Tracy Takes On* (with Dick Clement)

**Made-for-Television Movie**

- 1983 *Sunset Limousine* (with Wayne Kline)

**Television Specials (with Dick Clement)**

- 1980 *My Wife Next Door*
- 1981 *Mr. and Mrs. Dracula*
- 1982 *There Goes the Neighbourhood*
- 1993 *Tracey Ullman Special*

**Films (writer)**

*The Jokers* (with Dick Clement), 1967; *The Touchables* (with Dick Clement), 1968; *Hannibal Brooks* (with Dick Clement and Tom Wright), 1969; *Otley* (with Dick Clement), 1969; *The Virgin Soldiers* (with John Hopkins and John McGrath), 1970; *Villain* (with Dick Clement and Al Lettieri), 1971; *Catch Me a Spy* (with Dick Clement), 1971; *The Likely Lads* (with Dick Clement), 1976; *It's Not the Size That Counts* (with Dick Clement and Sid Collin), 1979; *To Russia... with Elton*, 1979; *Doing Time* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *The Prisoner of Zenda* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *Water* (with Dick Clement and Bill Persky), 1985; *Vice Versa* (with Dick Clement), 1988; *Wilt* (with Dick Clement), 1989; *The Commitments* (with Dick Clement and Roddy Doyle), 1991; *Honest*, 2000.

**Films (producer)**

*Porridge* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *Doing Time* (with Allan McKeown), 1979; *To Russia... with Elton* (also director), 1979; *Bullshot*, 1983; *Water* (with Dick Clement), 1985; *Vice Versa* (with Dick Clement), 1988; *Wilt* (with Dick Clement), 1989; *The Commitments* (with Dick Clement and Marc Abraham), 1991; *Excess Baggage*, 1997; *Still Crazy*, 1998; *Honest*, 2000.

**Stage (writer)**

*Billy*, 1974; *Anyone for Denis?* (coproducer), 1982.

**Publications**

*The Likely Lads* (with Dick Clement)  
*Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* (with Dick Clement)  
*Porridge* (with Dick Clement)  
*Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* (with Dick Clement)

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## La Plante, Lynda (1946– )

British Writer, Producer

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Considered one of the most important contemporary British television dramatists, Lynda La Plante is energetic and prolific and has achieved success in several

diverse media fields. Originally an actor, La Plante is also a best-selling novelist and currently runs her own production company, La Plante Productions, as well as

having gained both popular and critical recognition for her serious and intelligent television dramas. Apart from her series *Lifeboat* (1994), which was centered on the intrigues of a coastal community (almost in the fashion of a soap opera), La Plante's dramas have been generally constructed round the imperatives of crime, punishment, and underworld intrigue.

As an actor, La Plante appeared on British television in several well-known crime series of the late 1970s and early 1980s, including *The Sweeney* and *The Gentle Touch*. Usually typecast as either a prostitute or a gangster's moll, La Plante's experience as a television actor ensured that she was grounded in the narrative dynamics of the British crime series, while also making her only too aware of the subordinate role generally assigned to female characters in the genre. Having written for her own pleasure since her childhood, La Plante began to write and submit scripts for various current police series, scripts that attempted to create roles for women that were much more intelligible, independent, and less subordinate to men. As fate would have it, one of her scripts, titled "The Women," ended up on the desk of producer Verity Lambert at Euston Films at a time when Lambert and her colleague Linda Agran were consciously looking for television dramas that would feature women at the center of both the events and the action. "The Women" became the series *Widows*, which was broadcast to great public acclaim in 1983 and which was to transform La Plante's career from actor to television dramatist.

Despite the centrality of women in her writing career—whether as characters such as Dolly Rawlins (*Widows* and *She's Out*) and Jane Tennison (*Prime Suspect*), or as producers such as Lambert—La Plante has eschewed any identification with feminism or feminist agendas. Although undeniably aware of the questions raised and changes brought about by "second-wave" feminism, she has included women's issues (such as Tennison's abortion in the *Prime Suspect* series) in incidental rather than pivotal positions in her dramas.

La Plante's female protagonists are neither saintly nor unproblematic. Dolly Rawlins murdered her husband, and Jane Tennison finds it necessary to repress her own emotional needs to the extent that she not only obscures much of her own femininity (qualities traditionally accepted as feminine such as care and compassion) but, at times, also seemingly manages to lose sight of her humanity.

Despite the problematic nature of her protagonists, some critics accuse La Plante of producing works that actively espouse ideas of the "politically correct," and which succeed in portraying all men as bastards and oppressors of women. To the contrary, La Plante has, in fact, provided some of the most disturbingly frank

yet sympathetic male characters to appear on British television in recent times. In programs such as *Civvies* (but also in *Comics* and *Prime Suspect*), La Plante has uniquely explored the bonds of love between heterosexual men. Although poorly received by the public and critics (because of its brutality and lack of sentiment), *Civvies* undoubtedly portrays extraordinary love between men.

Male violence is often at the heart of La Plante's work. She does not excuse it, nor does she shy away from its reality and implications. In many ways, she is eager to get to the heart of this violence and depict it in a matter-of-fact manner. This ambition can be seen in a formalized way in *Seconds Out*, *Prime Suspect*, and, to a lesser extent, in *Framed*, where La Plante explores some of the dynamics of boxing. She displays obvious fascination with the ways in which dimensions of male physicality and brutality are enacted and performed in boxing competitions, training sessions, and sparring bouts.

La Plante's dramas, on the whole, do not champion either gender but try to discuss both inequalities and power relations as they exist within society. For the most part, her protagonists (both male and female) stand for reason, the ability to think intelligently, and expertise. In her dramas, La Plante is not interested in small-scale petty crime; she is preoccupied by both exceptional crimes and feats of exceptional detection. La Plante's crime dramas often focus on the minutiae of planning (*Widows*, *Prime Suspect*, *Framed*, *She's Out*) and the exhibition of particular skills and expertise, such as Gloria's demonstration of weapons in *She's Out*.

A concern for realism and accuracy of procedure (whether in a police station, a pathology lab, or a prison) has become one of the hallmarks of La Plante's work. Her dramas are based on her own detailed and painstaking research, and her elaborate and detailed scripts demand absolute accuracy of mise-en-scene, performance, and procedure.

The formation of her own production company, La Plante Productions, in 1994 can be interpreted as an attempt to integrate her own creative input at each stage of production. Her subsequent output has been prolific but has also taken two distinct directions. In the United Kingdom, with dramas such as *Supply and Demand*, *Trial and Retribution*, and *Killer Net*, La Plante has synthesized many of her earlier narrative traits and preoccupations but also has strived for a vivid engagement with televisuality by straying into the seedier aspects of cyberspace and employing graphic imagery such as the use of parallel narratives on split screens to produce an overall look of flashy finesse. In the United States, her recent productions (*The Warden*, *Framed*, and *Widows*) have been less innovative but have in-

volved an American reworking of some of her greatest British hits (*The Governor*, *Framed*, and *Widows*).

ROS JENNINGS

See also **Mirren, Helen**; *Prime Suspects*

**Lynda La Plante.** Born in Liverpool, Merseyside, England, 1946. Began career as an actor, later scriptwriter and producer; founder, La Plante Productions, 1995, Cougar Films (with Sophie Ballhetchet), 2001. Recipient: Dennis Potter Writer's Award, British Academy of Film and Television Arts, 2001.

#### Television Series (writer)

1983, 1985 *Widows*  
 1991– *Prime Suspect*  
 1992 *Civvies*  
 1992 *Framed*  
 1993 *Seekers*  
 1993 *Comics*  
 1994 *Lifeboat* (also producer)  
 1994 *In the Firing Line* (presenter)  
 1994 *She's Out* (also coproducer)  
 1995–96 *The Governor* (also producer)  
 1997–2000 *Trial and Retribution* (also producer)  
 1997 *Bella Mafia*  
 1998 *Supply and Demand* (also producer)  
 1998 *Killer Net* (also producer)  
 2002 *Widows* (U.S. version; also producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies (writer)

1986 *Hidden Talents*  
 1992 *Seconds Out*  
 1996 *The Prosecutors* (also executive producer)  
 1997 *Supply and Demand* (pilot)

2001 *The Warden* (also producer)  
 2001 *Mind Games*  
 2001 *Framed* (U.S. version)

#### Publications

*Widows*, 1983  
*Widows II*, 1985  
*The Legacy*, 1988  
*The Talisman*, 1988  
*Bella Mafia*, 1990  
*Prime Suspect*, 1991  
*Prime Suspect II*, 1992  
*Framed*, 1992  
*Civvies*, 1992  
*Entwined*, 1992  
*Prime Suspect III*, 1993  
*Seekers*, 1993  
*Cold Shoulder*, 1994  
*The Lifeboat*, 1994  
*She's Out*, 1995  
*The Governor*, 1995  
*The Governor II*, 1996  
*Cold Blood*, 1996  
*Trial and Retribution*, 1997  
*Trial and Retribution II*, 1998  
*Cold Heart*, 1998  
*Trial and Retribution III*, 1999  
*Trial and Retribution IV*, 2000  
*Sleeping Cruelty*, 2000  
*Trial and Retribution V*, 2001

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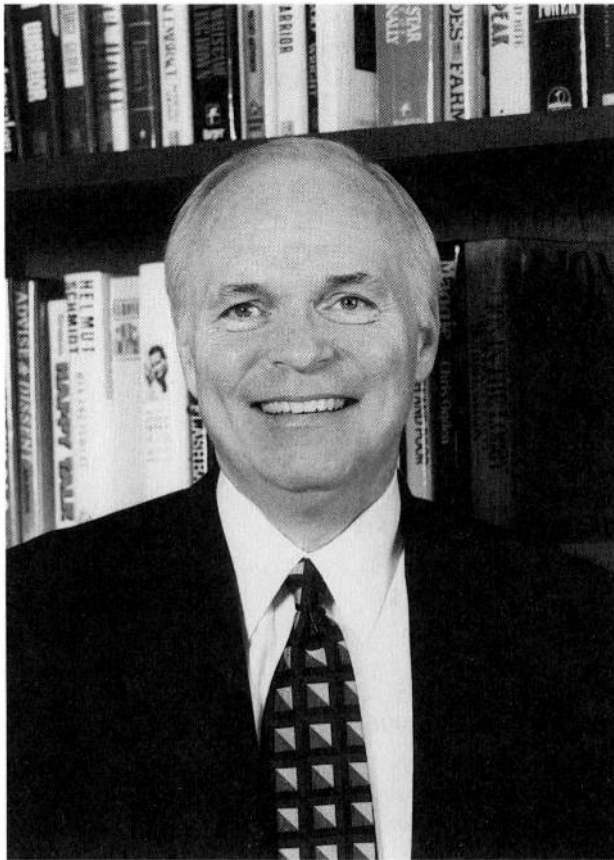
## Lamb, Brian (1941– )

U.S. Media Executive, Founder of C-SPAN

To most causal observers, Brian Lamb *is* the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN). In his mind, however, nothing could be farther from the truth. Lamb always attributes the existence of the network and its continued success to others. The others are the cable industry, leaders within it, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate who

made it possible for the network to carry the signal they controlled, C-SPAN staffers at all levels, and the public itself. Despite his protestations, Lamb made C-SPAN happen. Now chairman and CEO of the network, he was the matchmaker who brought Congress and the cable industry together.

A native of Lafayette Indiana, Lamb attended Pur-



Brian Lamb.  
Photo courtesy of C-SPAN

due University in his hometown. There he majored in speech because the school did not offer a degree in broadcasting. After completing his degree Lamb spent three days in law school by his account and then entered the navy. During the Johnson presidency he was assigned to duty in the nation's capital where he reported to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. There he witnessed both network broadcasters and Pentagon officials at work shaping the news. His duty in Washington also took him to the White House as social aide.

After leaving the service he worked briefly as a freelancer for UPI Audio. He later served as a press secretary for Senator Peter Dominick (R-Colorado). An appointment as a staffer in the office of the Director of Telecommunications Policy during the Nixon administration followed. Lamb's Washington experiences taught him to be wary of what constituted news on the three broadcast networks. To him they made the nation seem like a three-newspaper town.

In the mid-1970s, Lamb moved from the world of pragmatic politics to trade journalism. While serving as Washington bureau chief for *Cablevision* magazine,

opportunity met an idea. In 1977 he took a 50 percent salary cut going half time with *Cablevision* in order to start "Cable Video." It brought 15-minute interviews with members of Congress to over a dozen cable outlets. Lamb wanted to broaden access to the political process. The cable industry needed to enhance its reputation and had a delivery system suited to his goals. The House of Representatives had been exploring the possibility of telecasting floor sessions but was wary of sound bite journalism. Lamb's willingness to carry the signal of House-directed television cameras full time, the industry's access to the satellite, and his drive made C-SPAN happen.

C-SPAN took to the air in 1979. From the outset key industry leaders made funding possible. Especially during the pivotal developmental years they kept cable system owners from abandoning a non-money making enterprise in favor of profit-producing channels. In 1986 C-SPAN 2 came on line, providing viewers with access to Senate proceedings. A third channel devoted to public affairs was launched on a 24-hour basis in 2001. It brought C-SPAN into the digital world. Some argue that what C-SPAN does is not journalism, claiming it only supplies raw material for journalists, despite the fact that the National Press Club honored Lamb for his lifelong contributions to American journalism in 2002. Whether it is called journalism or not does not matter. Public access to governmental affairs does. Legislation like the must-carry rules, the rapid changes in technology, and the vagaries of the political world matter to Lamb too.

Traces of Brian Lamb's influence can be found in all of C-SPAN's on-air formats. Gavel-to-gavel coverage came first, but it was quickly followed by programming designed to give citizens direct access to elected officials, other decision makers and journalists. Within a year of the start of the network, Lamb introduced viewers to call-in programming C-SPAN style. He hosted most of the early shows in this format. There the model of what became the network's approach to audience interaction programs developed. There Lamb perfected his interviewing style. As he saw it, the task involved promoting informed discussion between the guest and viewers and then staying out of the way of the ensuing dialogue. His would be a different kind of journalism. The style would be conversational not confrontational. No "gotcha" questions would be heard on C-SPAN. Lamb can still be seen at least once a week on *The Washington Journal*, C-SPAN's daily call-in program, where his demeanor on air led one viewer to address him as "O Great Poker Face." Committed to the style Lamb developed, the network regularly conducts in-house meetings to make sure that hosts stay out of the way of the conversations and that camera operators support that approach.



No other programming format reveals Lamb's persona better than *Booknotes*. The network experimented with the idea of book-related programs in fall of 1988, when Lamb interviewed Neil Sheehan, the author of *Bright Shining Lie*. Within a year, *Booknotes* became part of C-SPAN's regular programming. Lamb set the ground rules for the program. He would choose serious nonfiction books that might help viewers better understand U.S. history or contemporary politics. Not afraid to ask the most simple or most esoteric question, every interview makes it clear that Lamb has read the book. In the book world, the program has had a great effect. At C-SPAN it led to the development of "a network within a network," *Book TV*. As a result of the series, Lamb edited a number of books based on the interviews.

Modest about his accomplishments, Lamb has brought together a loyal group of executives, most of whom joined C-SPAN early in their careers. Like Lamb they stay out of the public eye and several appear on air. He constantly gives them credit for the network's success. Brian Lamb believes that C-SPAN is more than one person. For many observers, however, he *is* C-SPAN.

JOHN SULLIVAN

See also C-SPAN

**Brian Lamb.** Born in Lafayette, Indiana, October 9, 1941. Education, public schools, B.A. Purdue University. Served in the U.S. Navy 1963–67, during the latter part of his tour assigned to the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and as a White House aide; after his tour he freelanced for UPI Audio and served as a Senate press secretary and as a staff member in the Office of Telecommunications Policy. Became Washington Bureau Chief for *Cablevision* magazine in the early 1970s, helped

found C-SPAN, incorporated in 1977, later became chairman and CEO; network began cablecasting, 1979; started C-SPAN 2 in 1989; a third network came on line in 2001. WCSP, C-SPAN's Washington D.C. FM radio station, began broadcasting in 1997; also carried on satellite radio. Honors: National Court Reporters Association's Charles Dickens Award, 2001; National Press Club's Fourth Estate Award for a lifetime of contributions to American journalism, 2002; DePauw University's Bernard C. Kilgore Medal for distinguished lifetime achievement in journalism (2003); National Humanities Medal, 2003.

### Publications

*C-SPAN: America's Town Hall* (with C-SPAN staff), 1988

*Booknotes: America's Finest Authors on Reading, Writing and the Power of Ideas*, 1997

*Booknotes: Life Stories, Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America*, 1999

*Who's Buried in Grant's Tomb? A Tour of Presidential Grave Sites* (with C-SPAN staff), 1999

*Booknotes: Stories from American History*, 2001

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Conway, Terry, "Mixed Media," *Biblio* (February, 1998)

Ebner, Michael H., "Bringing Democracy to Television," *OAH Newsletter* (August 1999)

Frantich, Stephen, and John Sullivan, *The C-SPAN Revolution*, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996

Hazlett, Thomas W., "Changing Channels," *Reason* (March 1996)

West, Don, and Sara Brown, "America's Town Crier," *Broadcasting and Cable* (July 21, 1997)

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## Lambert, Verity (1935– )

British Producer

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By the early 1980s, Verity Lambert's influence as a television producer and executive had made her not only one of Britain's leading businesswomen, but possibly the most powerful member of the nation's entertainment industry. With a résumé that lists many of the most noteworthy successes from the past 30 years,

Lambert has served as a symbol of women's advancement in the media. By the early 1990s, however, Lambert's name had also become associated with one of the more spectacular disasters in the history of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Lambert's career did not quite suggest such dra-



Verity Lambert.  
Photo courtesy of Verity Lambert

matic highs or lows when the BBC first hired her in the early 1960s. She had already worked on British ABC's *Armchair Theatre*, a prestigious commercial television series, and she had worked in American television with David Susskind. After 18 months, however, she returned to ABC, only to quit over its refusal to hire women directors. But when the BBC hired Sydney Newman away from ABC in 1963, the BBC's new head of drama in turn brought along Lambert, who, at age 27, became the corporation's youngest producer.

Lambert's BBC assignment, producing a new children's program, may be her most internationally known achievement; for its first three seasons (1963–65), Lambert guided the development and production of *Doctor Who*. Although those three seasons might easily be overlooked in the 25-plus-year history of the series, *Doctor Who* fans have repeatedly stressed Lambert's importance. During her tenure she both oversaw the creation of the original Doctor as a willful, often irresponsible pacifist, and presided over the phenomenal explosion of popular interest in writer Terry Nation's cyborg villains, the ever-hardy Daleks.

As Tulloch and Alvarado argue in *Doctor Who: The*

*Unfolding Text* (1983), Lambert herself represents the convergence of discourses that helped to make *Doctor Who* so original and enduring. Over the course of the 1970s, the BBC had sought to meet the challenge of ITV by broadening its own definition of high culture beyond the realm of classical literature and its adaptation. Coming from the upstart world of commercial television, Lambert's association with the production of original dramas, heavy in social realism, became part of the BBC's continuing efforts to maintain its audiences. Moreover, Lambert and *Doctor Who* were not based in the children's department, and Lambert's inexperience with and even indifference to the established conventions of children's programming helped to lay the ground for the cross-generational audiences that made the series a groundbreaking success. Perhaps it was simply assumed that, "as a woman," Lambert was somehow automatically qualified for the job. Indeed, interviewers have often emphasized Lambert's decision not to have children of her own. Lambert has just as often refused to supply the sometimes expected displays of remorse: in the early 1980s, she cheerfully claimed, "But I can't stand babies—no, I love babies as long as their parents take them away."

Lambert's career subsequent to *Doctor Who* continued to display similar mixtures of social awareness and slick commercial savvy. After producing an award-winning series of Somerset Maugham's short stories and other projects, Lambert left the BBC in 1970 for London Weekend Television. She returned to cocreate *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1974), a multipart history of the suffragette movement. The next year Lambert joined Thames Television as controller of the drama department, becoming the company's director from 1982 to 1985. During that time Lambert was responsible for a number of highly successful productions with high exposure abroad, including *Rumpole of the Bailey*, the American Emmy-winning *Edward and Mrs. Simpson*, and Quentin Crisp's landmark biography, *The Naked Civil Servant*.

In 1976 Lambert had also joined the Thames subsidiary Euston Films, and from 1979 to 1982 she served as its chief executive. At Euston Films she developed *Danger UXB*, as well as the gangster drama, *Out*. She was also responsible for the 1979 *Quatermass* sequel, *The Flame Trees of Thika*, and *Reilly: Ace of Spies*, as well as *Minder* (1979–82), the popular working-class crime series, with which she is most often associated in Britain. Series such as *Out*, *Reilly*, and *Minder* helped to solidify her reputation as a woman who could produce tough, male-oriented programming, a reputation she has both acknowledged and decried as sexist.

Lambert's move into feature films came when she was named head of production for Thorn-EMI, replac-

ing the man responsible for the disastrous, big budget flops *Can't Stop the Music* and *Honky Tonk Freeway*. During what she calls this "terrible, horrible time" (1982–85), Lambert did persuade the company to join with Rank Film Distribution and Channel 4 in backing a new British Screen Finance Consortium, a step that helped further blur the distinctions in Britain between film and television production.

After leaving Thorn-EMI, her production company, Cinema Verity, produced the Meryl Streep film *A Cry in the Dark* (1988). Lambert's most public project, however, has been an elaborate, high-budget soap opera, *Eldorado* (1992–93). Like *Doctor Who*, *Eldorado* was an attempt by the BBC to prove itself competitive in a rapidly evolving market. This time, however, Lambert was not so lucky. A disaster of fully publicized dimensions, *Eldorado* was only Lambert's second experience with the genre (the first was in the 1960s, *The Newcomers*). Critics quickly turned on Lambert's "tough" *Minder* reputation and blamed her for *Eldorado*'s departures from the familiar British conventions for soap opera. The "greatest of all British television drama producers" had dared to set a soap opera in Spain, and filled it with a multilingual array of British expatriates and foreigners far removed from the milieu of either *Coronation Street* or the BBC's own "quality" soap, *EastEnders*.

Lambert defended *Eldorado* to the end and continued to produce a range of programming, from sitcoms to the gritty thriller *Comics* (1993), written by *Prime Suspect*'s Lynda La Plante.

ROBERT DICKINSON

See also *Doctor Who*; *Minder*; *Quatermass*; *Rumpole of the Bailey*

**Verity Lambert.** Born in London, England, November 27, 1935. Attended Roedean School; La Sorbonne, Paris. Began career in television, 1961; drama producer, BBC Television, 1963; drama producer, London Weekend Television, 1970; rejoined BBC, 1973; controller of drama department, Thames Television, 1974; chief executive, Euston Films, 1979–82; director of drama, Thames Television, 1981–82; director, Thames Television, 1982–85; director of production, Thorn EMI Screen Entertainment, 1982–85; independent producer for film and television from 1985; founder, Cinema Verity, 1985; MacTaggart Lecturer, Edinburgh Television Festival, 1990; governor: British Film Institute, 1981–86 (chair, production board, 1981–82); National Film and Television School, since 1984. LL.D., University of Strathclyde, 1988. Recipient: Veuve-Clicquot Businesswoman of the Year, 1982; *Woman's Own* Woman of Achievement, 1983. Order of the British Empire, 2002.

### Television Series (selected)

1963–65	<i>Doctor Who</i>
1965	<i>The Newcomers</i>
1966–67	<i>Adam Adamant Lives</i>
1968	<i>Detective</i>
1969	<i>Somerset Maugham Short Stories</i>
1971–72	<i>Budgie</i>
1973–74	<i>Shoulder to Shoulder</i>
1976–77	<i>Rock Follies</i>
1978–92	<i>Rumpole of the Bailey</i>
1978–80	<i>Hazell</i>
1978	<i>Edward and Mrs. Simpson</i>
1978	<i>Out</i>
1979	<i>Danger UXB</i>
1979–93	<i>Minder</i>
1979	<i>Quatermass</i>
1980	<i>Fox</i>
1983	<i>Reilly: Ace of Spies</i>
1987	<i>American Roulette</i>
1989	<i>May to December</i>
1990	<i>Coasting</i>
1991	<i>GBH</i>
1991, 1992	<i>The Boys from the Bush</i>
1992	<i>Sleepers</i>
1992–93	<i>Eldorado</i>
1992–94	<i>So Haunt Me</i>
1993	<i>Comics</i>
1994	<i>Class Act</i>
1995	<i>Class Act II</i>
1995	<i>She's Out</i>
1997–	<i>Jonathan Creek</i>

### Films

*The Sailor's Return*, 1978; *Charlie Muffin*, 1979; *The Knowledge*, 1979; *Not For Publication*, 1984; *Morons from Outer Space*, 1985; *Dreamchild*, 1985; *Restless Natives*, 1985; *Link*, 1986; *Clockwise*, 1986; *A Cry in the Dark*, 1988; *Heavy Weather*, 1995 (TV); *The Cazalets*, 2000 (TV).

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- Haining, Peter, editor, *Doctor Who: The Key to Time: A Year-by-Year Record*, London: W.H. Allen, 1984
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- White, Lesley, "TV Troubleshooter Sets Her Sights on the *Eldorado* Gang," *Sunday Times* (London) (August 9, 1992)

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## Landon, Michael (1936–1991)

U.S. Actor, Writer, Director, Producer

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Michael Landon disregarded Hollywood's traditional ways of doing business. He abhorred TV violence, preferring positive, hopeful family-oriented messages, wrote numerous scripts for physically and emotionally handicapped performers, and refused to be beholden to Hollywood or the press. He worked fast and under budget, split the savings with his crew, allowed them more family time, and earned their loyalties in the process. He also possessed a quick wit and enjoyed being sarcastic.

Landon was born Eugene Maurice "Ugey" Orowitz on October 31, 1936, in Forest Hills, New York. He was the second child of Jewish father Eli Orowitz, an RKO Radio Pictures publicist, and Catholic mother Peggy O'Neill, a Broadway showgirl. When older sister Evelyn and Eugene were children, the family moved to Collingswood, New Jersey, where he felt ostracized for being Jewish and his home life suffered due to his parents' tumultuous marriage.

Eugene's prowess throwing the javelin earned him a University of Southern California scholarship in 1954. When Eugene began college his parents also moved to Los Angeles, where his father sought publicity work. Regrettably, Hollywood shunned Eli and he resorted to movie house management. He never recovered from Hollywood's rejection, and his devastation led to divorce. As an actor, Eugene said he could cry easily by remembering how his father was treated.

After an arm injury cost him his scholarship, Eugene accompanied a friend to a Warner Brothers audition. Both were unsuccessful, but Eugene, hoping to be discovered, took a gas station job near Warner Brothers and soon was invited to the studio's acting program. He chose "Michael Landon" from a phone book and with the new name appeared in B movies, dozens of TV series, and TV dramas such as *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One*. He dabbled in music, recording *Gimme a Little Kiss, Will Ya, Huh?* in 1957 and touring with Jerry Lee Lewis, but B movies launched him into TV stardom. Landon landed the lead in 1957's *I Was a Teenage Werewolf*, an instant hit and cult classic. During the shooting of 1958's *The Legend of Tom Dooley*, he was injured using a knife and he learned his father died, but *Tom Dooley* was his big break. The film was panned, but his performance was lauded, and producer

David Dortort was sufficiently impressed to create the Little Joe Cartwright character for Landon in his NBC western series *Bonanza* (1959–73).

As the youngest of three Cartwright brothers, Little Joe was funny, caring, hotheaded, and handsome. Lorne Greene was father Ben Cartwright. Pernell Roberts (Adam) and Dan Blocker (Hoss) played his elder brothers. In appearance the brothers seemed totally unrelated, and in the series narrative it was explained that each had a different deceased mother. Off camera, as well, Greene became Landon's father figure, and Blocker was like a real brother. Roberts, however, rarely spoke to Landon. Believing *Bonanza* beneath his dignity, Roberts quit after six years.

Although *Bonanza* gave Landon the opportunity to write and direct, his star status took a personal toll. In 1956, against his mother's wishes, he married Dodie Levy, a widow several years older. Endless weekend commitments following *Bonanza*'s rigorous weeklong shooting schedule led Landon to alcohol and substance abuse, physical and mental collapse, and ultimately divorce. Landon adopted Dodie's son and two other boys, but returned the youngest to the adoption agency. The decision attracted little notice at the time, but when Landon lay dying 30 years later, tabloids exploited the story.

Landon met divorcée model Lynn Noe, 26, an extra on *Bonanza*, whom he married in 1962. He adopted her daughter Cheryl and together they had four children. Landon modified his drinking and overcame his drug addiction. A 1973 automobile accident killed three friends and left Cheryl in a three-day coma and hospitalized for months. During his bedside vigil, Landon promised God he would make the world better if she lived, and his subsequent work became filled with themes of hope, courage, forgiveness, friendship, and love.

After *Bonanza*, Landon coproduced, wrote, directed, and starred on NBC's *Little House on the Prairie* (1974–82), a series designed to compete with CBS's *The Waltons*. Coproducer Ed Friendly acquired the rights to and based the program on Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House* books. The pilot movie was telecast on March 30, 1974. *Little House on the Prairie* debuted in September 1974 and was instantly successful.

NBC gave Landon total control of the series, which bore little resemblance to Ingalls's stories. As farmer Charles "Pa" Ingalls, Landon played a pioneer father in 1880s Walnut Grove, Minnesota. His family included wife Caroline (Karen Grassle) and daughters Laura (Melissa Gilbert), Mary (Melissa Sue Anderson), Carrie (twins Lindsay and Sidney Greenbush—alternating), and Grace (Wendi and Brenda Turnbeaugh—alternating), who was added in 1977. The Ingalls later adopted other children. The stories were told through the narrative voice of daughter Laura.

Landon's friend Victor French played neighbor Isaiah Edwards until leaving for ABC's *Carter Country*. Landon considered the departure a breach in their friendship, but after *Carter Country's* cancellation, the two reconciled and French returned to *Little House*. Landon ceased regular appearances in the ninth season, when the series became *Little House: A New Beginning* (1982–83). In the narrative, Charles and Caroline moved to Iowa, leaving Walnut Grove to other family members.

Landon's spousal relations starkly contrasted with his TV views on family. In 1981 his affair with Cindy Clerico, a *Little House* extra, led to a nasty divorce from Lynn, made worse by the tabloids. Landon and Clerico married in 1983 and had two children. He then created, produced, wrote, directed, starred in, and owned entirely NBC's *Highway to Heaven* (1984–89), in which he played angel Jonathan Smith sent to help people in trouble. Victor French costarred as Mark Gordon, a down-on-his-luck ex-cop whose life was turned around by Jonathan. They traveled in Mark's old car, becoming tremendous friends while helping others. *Highway to Heaven* aired weekly until 1988–89, when it appeared sporadically. French died of lung cancer in 1989.

Landon starred in and/or produced several TV movies, including *The Loneliest Runner* (1976), *Little House Years* (1979), *Little House on the Prairie: Look Back to Yesterday* (1983), *Love Is Forever* (1983), *Sam's Son* (1984), and *Where Pigeons Go to Die* (1990). He was executive producer of NBC's *Father Murphy* (1981–82).

Early in 1991, Landon completed a pilot for *Us*, playing a recently released convict regaining his life. Before the series was initiated, he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer on April 3, 1991. On May 9, he made his last public appearance on *The Tonight Show* in the second-most watched installment during friend Johnny Carson's tenure. He died July 1, 1991, at 54, but remains an enduring figure in television history with a legacy of work reflecting his dedication to making a positive difference.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also *Bonanza*, *Highway to Heaven*, *Little House on the Prairie*

**Michael Landon.** Born Eugene Maurice (Ugey) Orowitz in Forest Hills, New York, October 31, 1936. Married: 1) Dodie Levy, 1956 (divorced, 1962); children: Mark (adopted by Landon) and Josh (adopted by both); 2) Marjorie Lynn Noe, 1962 (divorced 1981); children: Cheryl (Lynn's daughter adopted by Landon), Leslie, Michael, Christopher, and Shawna; 3) Cindy Clerico, 1983; children: Jennifer and Sean. Ex-athlete who became an actor by chance. Started career in B movies and TV guest appearances before achieving stardom as Little Joe Cartwright in NBC's *Bonanza* TV series (1959–73). Moved on to produce, write, direct, and star as Charles "Pa" Ingalls in NBC's *Little House on the Prairie* (1974–82), his second longest running TV series, and NBC's *Highway to Heaven* (1984–89) that he owned entirely and on which he played Jonathan Smith, an angel. Executive producer of NBC's *Father Murphy* (1981–82) and *Little House: A New Beginning* (1982–83). Had completed *Us*, a pilot for a proposed series on CBS, at the time of his death from cancer on July 1, 1991.

#### Television Series

1959–73	<i>Bonanza</i>
1974–82	<i>Little House on the Prairie</i>
1981–82	<i>Father Murphy</i>
1982–83	<i>Little House: A New Beginning</i>
1984–89	<i>Highway to Heaven</i>

#### Films

*These Wilder Years*, 1956; *I Was a Teenage Werewolf*, 1957; *Maracaibo*, 1958; *High School Confidential*, 1958; *God's Little Acre*, 1958; *The Legend of Tom Dooley*, 1958; *The Errand Boy*, 1961.

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1973	<i>Love Story: Love Came Laughing</i> (writer, producer, director)
1974	<i>Little House on the Prairie</i> (series pilot—performer, producer, director)
1976	<i>The Loneliest Runner</i> (performer, producer, director)
1983	<i>Love Is Forever</i> (performer, producer, director)
1983	<i>Little House on the Prairie: Look Back to Yesterday</i> (performer, producer, director)
1984	<i>Sam's Son</i> (performer, producer, director)

Landon, Michael

- 1990 *Where Pigeons Go to Die* (performer, producer, director)  
1991 *Us* (series pilot—performer, producer, director)

### Recordings

*Gimme a Little Kiss, Will Ya, Huh?*, 1957

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## Lane, Carla

British Writer

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Carla Lane is one of the most successful British sitcom writers—she has conceived of and written numerous shows that have proved tremendously popular, and she has contributed to many others. Lane carries particular significance within British television, as she is one of few British counterparts to the women writers, directors, and producers of American prime-time sitcoms.

Lane broke into television when she and Myra Taylor created *The Liver Birds*, a BBC sitcom based on two young women sharing a Liverpool bedsit and their mainly amorous adventures. Having moved to London from her native Liverpool at a time when, Lane reports, being from Liverpool was not something people were interested in, she succeeded in demonstrating her writing skills precisely by flaunting Liverpool culture. Over the following ten years and 100 episodes, a highly recognizable style developed in Lane's writing of *The Liver Birds*. The characteristics of her work include themes on sexual and personal relationships, contemporary characters, and narratives more realistic

than British television comedy had hitherto allowed. Lane's comedy has always been distinctive for its lack of jokes and can be best defined as comedy-drama. She describes herself as writing dialogue not jokes, with humor emerging through characters and speech rather than action.

*Butterflies* (1978–82), Lane's next popular success, marked an increasing seriousness and melancholic tone in her sitcoms. This long-running BBC show presented an intimate and studied portrait of a middle-aged, suburban housewife, Ria (Wendy Craig), as she became attuned to the shortcomings of her life. Initially, the BBC argued with Lane that comedy was not ready for a married woman to be attracted to another man, but Lane persevered and Ria embarked on an adulterous affair. Although not championing women's issues, Lane writes from a woman's experience and point of view, which is clearly evident in the relationships defined in *Butterflies*. Her shows are, consequently, favorites with women viewers.

Lane furthered many of her earlier themes in ensuing sitcoms for the BBC, including *Solo* and *The Mistress* (both starring Felicity Kendal), *Leaving*, and *I Woke Up One Morning*. In addition to creating portraits of life up and down the social scale, these and other shows written by Lane took social issues as a backdrop for character development, focusing on such topics as adultery, divorce, and alcoholism. Focusing on the theme of unemployment, Lane's next major show, *Bread* (BBC, 1986–91), was once again informed and inspired by Liverpool; this program revolved around the Boswells, a working-class family consisting of a matriarch and her unemployed children. *Bread* was in no sense an instant success—it took a while for viewers to warm to the indulgent, staunchly Catholic mother and her family of unashamed scroungers—but within two years the sitcom had gained almost soap status and came close to overtaking top soap *EastEnders* in the ratings.

Lane has received official recognition for her contributions to British television in the form of an O.B.E., but her work has not always received critical approval. Some have expressed aversion to her subtle, anecdotal, and often poignant approach to programs that have been labeled as comedy. However, ratings confirm the popular appeal of her work for the BBC. Lane's success has stemmed from her insight into character construction and her skill at allowing humor to flourish in situations that are not conventionally considered for such potential, yet which exist as everyday realities.

NICOLA FOSTER

**Carla Lane.** Born in Liverpool, Merseyside, England. Writer for television in collaboration with Myra Taylor, notably with *The Liver Birds*; subsequently embarked on long series of successful solo series. Prominent animal rights activist. Recipient: O.B.E., 1989.

#### Television Series

1969–79, 1996	<i>The Liver Birds</i> (with Myra Taylor)
1971–76	<i>Bless This House</i> (with Myra Taylor)
1975	<i>No Strings</i>
1977	<i>Three Piece Suite</i>
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1981–82	<i>Solo</i>
1981, 1983	<i>The Last Song</i>
1984–85	<i>Leaving</i>
1985–87	<i>The Mistress</i>
1985–86	<i>I Woke Up One Morning</i>
1986–91	<i>Bread</i>
1992	<i>Screaming</i>
1993–94	<i>Luv</i>
1995	<i>Searching</i>

#### Television Specials

1975	<i>Going, Going, Gone... Free?</i>
1989	<i>A Night of Comic Relief</i>
2000	<i>Butterflies Reunion Special</i>

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## Language and Television

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Despite the centrality of the visual image in television, this medium combines visuality with both oral and written varieties of language. Television is thus distinguished from print media by its predominantly aural-oral mode of language use, while visuality separates it from the exclusively aural medium of radio.

Orality is generally viewed as the “normal” or “natural” mode of communication through language. Being face-to-face, interactive, immediate, and non-mediated (e.g., through writing, print, or electronic media), oral communication and the oral tradition are considered by some theorists, such as Harold Innis, to be indispensable to a free and democratic life. Unlike

oral communication, which is usually dialogic and participatory, written language separates the writer and the reader in space and time and relies on other senses. According to this perspective, audiovisual media, especially television, restore the preprint condition of harmony of senses by using the ear and the eye and calling into play the remaining senses of touch, smell, and taste. This view is rejected by those who argue that the “mechanized” orality of radio and television provides a one-way communication flow from the broadcaster to the hearer or viewer, thus eliminating a fundamental feature of the spoken language: its dialogue and interactivity. Television, like writing, the a,

overcomes the barriers of space, reaches millions of viewers, and may contribute to the centralization of power and knowledge.

Many viewers see television as an oral medium, a perception constantly reinforced by announcers, anchors, and reporters who try to engage in an informal, conversational style of speaking. Among their techniques are the use of direct forms of address, (e.g., "Good evening," "Thank you for watching," or "Please stay with us"), the maintenance of eye contact with viewers while reading the script from TelePrompTers or printed copy, and the attempt to be, or at least appear, spontaneous.

This on-the-air conversationality is, however, different from everyday talk in significant ways. For instance, television talk aims at avoiding what is natural in face-to-face conversation—errors such as false starts or pauses, and repetitions, hesitations, and silence. A manual of script writing advises the beginner: "Structure your scripts like a conversation, but avoid the elements of conversations that make them verbose, redundant, imprecise, rambling, and incomplete" (Mayeux, 1994). Furthermore, the broadcaster is required to have a good or "polished" voice and is advised "to articulate, enunciate, breathe from the diaphragm, sound authoritative, stay calm under fire, and, all the while, be conversational!" (see Freedman).

Viewers, by contrast, engage in an aural or auditory communication with the medium. Even on call-in shows, the majority of viewers are not able to speak. The few who go on the air via telephone are selected through a gatekeeping process, and are often instructed to be brief and to the point. Language, then, much like studio setup and camera position, is used to create a sense of intimate involvement, a sharing of time and space. Phil Donahue, for example, uses words such as "we," "us," "you," and "here" in order to create a sense of communion between the host and the studio and home audiences—stating, for example, "You'll forgive us, Mr. X, if we are just a little skeptical of your claim that all we need to do . . ." Similarly, another linguistic code, the frequent use of the present tense, is used to create a sense of audience involvement and apparently allows the host, the guest, and the home audience to share the same moment of broadcast time, even though most shows in the United States were, by the early 1990s, either pre-recorded or packaged as syndication reruns.

Despite the presence of seeming spontaneity in talk genres, they are usually semiscripted, and involve a preparation process including research, writing, editing, and presentation. As Bernard Timberg points out, over 100 professionals can be involved in producing and airing a "spontaneous" talk show like *The Tonight*

*Show* each evening, for example, and as much as 80 percent of the interview with guests on David Letterman's talk show may be worked out in advance. Non-scripted, ad-lib, and unprepared talk shows do, however, appear both on mainstream networks (e.g., *Larry King Live*), and on low-budget or semiprofessional programs of local, community, or alternative television.

While some theorists, such as Walter Ong, admit the written bases of television's spoken language and conceptualize that language as "secondary orality," there is a tendency to explain the popularity of television by, among other things, equating its orality with that of the face-to-face speech. Some researchers see in popular talk shows (such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* or *Kilroy*) a forum or a public sphere where audiences, in the studio and in front of the screen, engage in oppositional dialogue. Others find the talk shows essentially conformist, contributing to the maintenance of the status quo.

Romanticizing the orality of television is as problematic as denouncing it as an impoverished form of speech. Language changes continually, and television, as a social institution and powerful technology, creates new discourses, new modes of language use, new forms of translation, and new forms of communication between communities with different linguistic abilities. "Natural" and TV languages coexist in constant interaction, influencing each other and contributing to the dynamism of verbal communication. Language consists of numerous varieties rooted in socioeconomic differentiation (e.g., working-class language, legal language), gender (male and female languages), age (e.g., children's language), race (e.g., black English), geography (e.g., Texan English), ethnicity, and other formations. Each variety may include diverse styles with distinct phonological, lexical, semantic, and even syntactic features. Television genres provide a panorama of these language varieties and styles, a presentation of amazing language diversity that the viewer will rarely if ever encounter in daily face-to-face communication.

Television fosters an appreciation of the way writing and speaking merge, not only in the production of speech (the oral text), but also on the screen (in print), in genres ranging from weather and stock-market reports to commercials and game shows. Even live interviews carry captions identifying the interviewees, their status, location, or affiliation. Moreover, "writing for television" has emerged as a new art, which aims not at a literate readership but rather an aural-visual audience. It has developed, for instance, "aural writing styles" or "writing for the ear," allowing the incorporation of music and sound; "visual writing styles" for en-



visioning images; and “broadcast punctuation” codes for indicating the nuances of on-the-air speech. Training in this new realm of writing is provided in courses offered by academic and professional institutions and in dozens of textbooks and manuals with titles such as Max Wylie’s *Writing for Television* and Richard Blum’s *Television Writing*. On a different level, some popular programs in the United States have generated extensive fan writing, published and exchanged through the Internet. The fandom of the science fiction series *Star Trek*, for example, has produced no less than 120 fanzines (fan magazines), and some novels written by fans are commercially published.

Unlike radio and print media, then, which create meaning primarily through language, television engages in signification through the unity and conflict of verbal, visual, and sound codes. The dynamics of this type of signification has not been studied adequately. Viewers and media professionals often claim that the visuality of television is a sufficient form of communication, as evidenced in the popular belief that “seeing is believing” and “the camera never lies.” Much like verbal language, however, the visual and sound components of the television program are polysemic (that is, they convey multiple meanings) and lend themselves to different, sometimes conflicting, interpretations. Moreover, the verbal text, far from being a mere appendage to the visual, has the power, as Masterman suggests, to “turn images on their heads.” Marshal McLuhan’s well-known aphorism “the medium is the message” implies that all these meanings are, to a large extent, determined by the technology of television, its audiovisuality. However, this view has been rejected by, among others, producers and script writers who are rather self-conscious about their independence and claim freedom from the dictates of the medium.

Despite this multiplicity of meanings, language in television, as in all its other manifestations, written or spoken, does not serve everyone equitably or effectively. Far from being neutral, language is always intertwined with the distribution and exercise of power in society. Dichotomies such as standard/dialect or language/vernacular point to some aspects of the unequal distribution of linguistic power. In its phonetic, morphological, and semantic systems, language is marked by differences of class, gender, ethnicity, age, race, and so on; similarly, the speakers/hearers are also divided by their idiosyncratic knowledge of language, and often communicate in “idiolects” (personal dialects).

Television attempts to control these differences and overcome the cleavages in order to reach sizable audiences. Thus, for example, the program standards department of CBS requires broadcast language to “be appropriate to a public medium and generally consid-

ered to be acceptable by a mass audience.” This implies, among other things, that “potentially offensive language” must be generally avoided and “blasphemy and obscenity” are not acceptable. In conforming to standards such as these, many television genres, especially news and other information programs, have developed a language style characterized by simple, clear, and short sentences, read or spoken in an appropriate voice.

Born into this unequal linguistic environment, television followed radio in adopting the standard, national, or official language, which is the main communication medium of the nation-state. While the schools and the print media established the written standard long before the advent of broadcasting, radio and television assumed, more authoritatively than the “pronouncing” dictionaries, the role of codifying and promoting the spoken standard. In Britain, for example, broadcasters were required until the 1960s to be fluent in the British standard known as Received Pronunciation. Despite increasing tolerance for dialectisms in many Western countries, news and other information programming on the public and private national networks continue to act as custodians of the standard language.

Thus, much like the language academy and the dictionary, television actively intervenes in the language environment and creates its own discourses, styles, and varieties. In the deregulated television market of the United States, genres known as “tabloid” or “trash” TV usually feel free to engage in potentially offensive language. Also, citing an economic imperative to compete with less-restrictive programming on cable television, dramas such as Steven Bochco’s *NYPD Blue*, use language once prohibited on network television.

Television and radio have also actively participated in the exercise of gender power through language. In the United States, female voice, especially its higher pitch, was once marginalized for “lacking in the authority needed for a convincing newscast,” whereas male lower-pitched voices were treated as “overly polished, ultrasophisticated.” Thus, in the 1950s, Lyle Barnhart points out, about 90 percent of commercial copy in the United States was “specifically written for the male voice and personality.” According to a British announcer’s handbook, women were not usually “considered suitable for the sterner duties of newscasting, commentary work, or, say, political interviewing” because of their “voice, appearance, and temperament.” By the 1970s, however, television responded to the social movements of the previous decade and gradually adopted a more egalitarian policy. Women now appear as newscasters, although male anchors still dominate North American network news. The 1979 edition of an

American announcer's manual added a chapter on "the new language," which recommended the use of an inclusive language that respects racial, ethnic, and gender differences.

Despite this kind of professional awareness, television's role in the much larger configuration of worldwide language use remains far more constricting. The languages of the world, estimated to number between 5,000 and 6,000, have evolved as a "global language order," a system characterized by increasing contact and a hierarchy of power relations. About 20 percent of the 5,000 existing languages are used by at least 10,000 speakers each; languages with only a few thousand speakers are too small to survive. Only about 200 languages are spoken by more than 1 million individuals. About 60 are spoken by 10 million or more individuals, comprising 90 percent of the world's population. Twelve languages are spoken by 100 million or more, accounting for 60 percent of the world's population. Although Chinese is spoken by 1 billion people, it is dwarfed by English (which has 500 million speakers) in terms of cultural power. Most of the world's languages remain unwritten, while half of them are, according to linguists, in danger of extinction. If state policy was once responsible for language death, the electronic media, including satellite television, are now seen as the main destructive force.

Before the age of broadcasting, contact between languages was primarily through either face-to-face or written communication. Overcoming spatial barriers and the limitations of literacy, radio and television have brought on-the-air languages within the reach of those who can afford the receiving equipment. However, contrary to a common belief that access to broadcasting is easier than to print media, small and minority languages have often been excluded by both radio and television. Being multilingual and multiethnic, the great majority of contemporary states seek national unity in part through a national or official language. As a result, the states and their public television systems either ignore linguistic diversity or actively eliminate it. Private television is equally exclusionist when minority audiences are not large enough to be profitably delivered to advertisers, or if state policy proscribes multilingual minority broadcasting (as is the case in Turkey). Even in Western Europe, indigenous minority languages such as Welsh in the United Kingdom had to go through a difficult struggle in order to access television. Both the centralizing states and minorities realize that television confers credibility and legitimacy on language. The use of a threatened language at home, even at school, no longer ensures its survival; language vitality depends increasingly on broadcasting.

Although broadcasting in the native tongue is increasingly viewed as a communication right of every citizen, the majority of languages, especially in developing countries, have not yet been televised. In Turkey, where Turkish is the only official language, some 12 million Kurds are constitutionally deprived of the right to broadcast in their native tongue, Kurdish. Even listening to or watching transborder programs in this language is considered an action against the territorial integrity of the state. In countries where linguistic and communication rights are respected, economic obstacles often prevent multilingual broadcasting. In Ghana, for example, there are over 60 languages or dialects, but in 1992 only six out of 55 hours of weekly television air-time were devoted to "local" languages; the rest was in English, the official language. Television production could not satisfy local tastes and demands. While the rural population could not afford the cost of a TV set, the urban elite tuned to CNN.

New technologies such as satellites, computers, cable, and video and digital recording have radically changed the process of televisual production, transmission, delivery, and reception. One major change is the globalization of the medium, which for the first time in history has created audiences of 1 billion viewers for certain programs. Satellite television easily violates international borders, but it is less successful in crossing linguistic boundaries. This has led to the flourishing of translation or "language transfer" in the forms of dubbing, subtitling, and voice-over. Although the linguistic fragmentation of the global audience is phenomenal, English-language programs, mostly produced in the United States and England, are popular throughout the world. Television has accelerated the spread of English as a global lingua franca. For instance, in Sweden, where subtitling allows viewers to listen to the original language, television has helped the further spread of English. Also, since the United States is the most powerful producer of entertainment and information, American English is spreading at the expense of other standards of the language such as Australian, British, Canadian, or Indian.

While some observers see in the new technologies the demise of minority languages and cultures, others believe these technologies empower minorities to resist and survive. Cable television, for instance, has offered opportunities for access to small and scattered minorities. In 1995, satellites empowered the refugee and immigrant Kurdish community in Europe to launch a daily program in their native tongue (Med-TV, later renamed Medya TV). Thus, unable to enjoy self-rule in their homeland, the Kurds gained linguistic and cultural sovereignty in the sky, beaming their programs to Kurdistan where the language suffers from

Turkey's harsh policy of linguicide. While this is a dramatic achievement, other experiences, such as the broadcasting of aboriginal languages in Western countries, have had mixed success.

Truly empowering is television's potential to open a new door on the prelingually deaf community. The World Federation of the Deaf in Helsinki demands the official recognition of the sign language(s) used by the deaf as one of each country's indigenous language. Television is the main medium for promoting these languages and providing translated information from print and broadcast media.

While it is possible to launch channels in sign language, it is important to note that television technology can also be used by the more powerful states to promote their linguistic and political presence among the less powerful. Thus, the Islamic Republic of Iran's state-run television was made available via satellite to the sizeable Iranian refugee and immigrant populations in Europe and North America in the early 2000s.

It is a remarkable achievement of the small screen to allow a home audience of diverse linguistic abilities to watch the same program communally. This is made possible in some instances by simultaneous broadcasting in spoken language, closed captioning, and sign language through an interpreter in an insert on the screen. In another strategy, many programs broadcast in the United States allow viewers to choose between English and Spanish versions. Television has even popularized an artificial tongue, Klingonese, the "spoken and written language" of the fictional Klingons, a powerful "humanoid warrior race" who built an empire in *Star Trek's* universe. Fans are speaking and studying the language, which is taught in a Klingon Language Institute, with learning materials such as *The Klingon Dictionary*; an audiotape, *Conversational Klingon*; and a quarterly linguistics journal.

Television itself, then, is not a monolithic medium. Moreover, there is no great divide separating the language of television from that of other media. Throughout the world, television airs old and new films and theatrical performances, while in North America some popular TV programs such as *Roseanne* and *Star Trek* are simulcast (broadcast simultaneously) on radio. Linguistic variation is found even within a single genre in mainstream, alternative, local, or ethnic televisions. Whereas a cross-media study of each genre, such as the news, would reveal medium-specific features of language use, the diversity of genres does not allow us to identify a single, homogeneous language of television. Despite this rich variety of voices, however, it remains to be seen whether a combination of official policies and market forces reduces the overall range

and heterogeneity of languages and their uses throughout the world.

AMIR HASSANPOUR

**See also Closed Captioning; Dubbing; Subtitling; Talk Show; Voice-Over**

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## Lansbury, Angela (1925– )

U.S. Actor

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After years of winning awards and critical praise for her work on Broadway and in Hollywood, Angela Lansbury finally became a household name in a television role. Lansbury portrayed Jessica Fletcher in CBS's *Murder, She Wrote* for 12 years beginning in 1984, serving as the program's executive producer for its last four. The program, television's longest-running detective show, was canceled in 1996 amid vocal protests from its loyal fans. Since then, Jessica Fletcher has lived on in syndication and in occasional made-for-television *Murder, She Wrote* movies that Lansbury and her husband Peter Shaw have produced, and her son Anthony has directed. Other members of her family have been involved in her career, as well: her brother Bruce served as supervising producer on *Murder, She Wrote*, her son Anthony and her stepson David have served as executive producers, and her husband, to whom she credits much of her success, helped to run their production company, Corymore Productions. For her work in television, Lansbury has received 16 Emmy nominations (12 for *Murder, She Wrote*). She received her first Academy Award nomination at age 17 for her performance in *Gaslight*, and went on to receive two more Academy nominations and four Tony awards.

As a mystery writer who relied on her extraordinary powers of intuition, Lansbury's Jessica Fletcher entered prime time as a sincere if somewhat dowdy widow who, over time, transformed into a sophisticated, appealing, and successful older businesswoman. Jessica's balance of smart professional action and strong commitments to traditionally feminine practices and beliefs, along with the program's strong slate of guest

performers, allowed the series to appeal to women across a range of backgrounds. By its second season, the program ranked among the top ten according to Nielsen audience ratings, and would remain in this position for most of its years on the air, attracting such big-name advertisers as the Ford Motor Company.

*Murder, She Wrote* has spawned three made-for-television film successors: *Murder, She Wrote: South by Southwest* (1997), *Murder, She Wrote: A Story to Die For* (2000), and *Murder, She Wrote: The Last Free Man* (2001). Lansbury has starred in a number of other made-for-television movies as well, including *The Unexpected Mrs. Pollifax* and *Mrs. Santa Claus*. Most recently, she has hosted ABC television's reintroduction of *The Wonderful World of Disney* and the Disney Channel's airing of its family programming. Today, thanks to syndication and numerous airings of quality feature films on cable film channels, hardly a week goes by when viewers cannot find the much-loved Angela Lansbury somewhere on television.

LYNN SCHOFIELD CLARK

See also *Murder, She Wrote*

**Angela (Brigid) Lansbury.** Born in London, England, October 16, 1925; came to United States, 1940; became U.S. citizen, 1951. Studied at Webber-Douglas School of Singing and Dramatic Art, London; Feagin School of Drama and Radio, New York. Married 1) Richard Cromwell, 1945 (divorced, 1946); 2) Peter Shaw, 1949; children: Anthony and Deirdre. Began film career as contract player with MGM, 1943; Broadway debut in *Hotel Paradiso*, 1957; stage roles



Angela Lansbury.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

include *A Taste of Honey*, 1960, *Mame*, 1966, *Dear World*, 1969, and *Sweeney Todd*, 1979; appeared as Jessica Fletcher in the television series, *Murder, She Wrote*, 1984–96. Three Oscar nominations and 16 Emmy nominations (12 for *Murder, She Wrote*). Recipient: four Tony Awards; two Sara Siddons Awards; Woman of the Year, Harvard Hasty Pudding Theatricals, 1977; Theatre Hall of Fame, 1982; British Academy Award, 1991; Screen Actors Guild Lifetime Achievement Award, 1997; New Dramatists' Lifetime Achievement Award, 2000; Algur H. Meadows Award for Excellence in the Arts, 2000; Kennedy Center Honors, 2000; Inductee, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame.

#### Television Series

- 1984–96 *Murder, She Wrote* (star)  
1992–96 *Murder, She Wrote* (star and executive producer)

#### Television Miniseries

- 1984 *The First Olympics—Athens 1896*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1975 *The Snow* (voice)  
1982 *Sweeney Todd*  
1982 *Little Gloria... Happy at Last*  
1983 *The Gift of Love: A Christmas Story*  
1984 *The Murder of Sherlock Holmes*  
1984 *Lace*  
1986 *A Talent for Murder*  
1986 *Rage of Angels: The Story Continues*  
1988 *Shootdown*  
1989 *The Shell Seekers*  
1990 *The Love She Sought*  
1992 *Mrs. 'Arris Goes to Paris*  
1996 *Mrs. Santa Claus*  
1997 *Murder, She Wrote: South by Southwest*  
1999 *The Unexpected Mrs. Pollifax*  
2000 *Murder, She Wrote: A Story To Die For*  
2001 *Murder, She Wrote: The Last Free Man*  
2003 *Murder, She Wrote: The Celtic Riddle*  
2004 *Blackwater Lightship*

#### Television Specials

- 1989 *The First Christmas Snow* (voice)  
1993 *The Best of Disney* (cohost)  
2000 *The Kennedy Center: A Celebration of the Performing Arts* (honoree)

#### Films

*National Velvet*, 1944; *Gaslight*, 1944; *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1945; *The Hoodlum Saint*, 1946; *The Harvey Girls*, 1946; *The Private Affairs of Bel Ami*, 1947; *If Winter Comes*, 1947; *The Three Musketeers*, 1948; *State of the Union*, 1948; *Tenth Avenue Angel*, 1948; *Samson and Delilah*, 1949; *The Red Danube*, 1949; *Kind Lady*, 1951; *Mutiny*, 1952; *Remains To Be Seen*, 1953; *The Purple Mask*, 1955; *A Lawless Street*, 1955; *Enjeu de la Vie*, 1955; *Please Murder Me*, 1956; *The Court Jester*, 1956; *The Reluctant Debutante*, 1958; *The Long, Hot Summer*, 1958; *Season of Passion*, 1959; *The Dark at the Top of the Stairs*, 1960; *A Breath of Scandal*, 1960; *Blue Hawaii*, 1961; *The Manchurian Candidate*, 1962; *All Fall Down*, 1962; *In the Cool of the Day*, 1963; *The World of Henry Orient*, 1964; *Mister Buddwing*, 1965; *Harlow*, 1965; *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, 1965; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Something for Everyone*, 1970; *Bedknobs and Broomsticks*, 1971; *Story of the First Christmas*, 1978; *Death on the Nile*, 1978; *The Lady Vanishes*, 1979; *The Mirror Crack'd*, 1980; *The Last Unicorn* (voice), 1982; *The Pirates of Penzance*, 1983; *The Company of Wolves*, 1985; *Beauty and the Beast* (voice), 1991; *Anastasia*

Lansbury, Angela

(voice), 1997; *Fantasia 2000* (hostess), 2000; *The Last Unicorn* (live action remake), 2004.

#### Stage

1957 *Hotel Paradiso*  
1960 *A Taste of Honey*  
1966 *Mame*  
1969 *Dear World*  
1979 *Sweeney Todd*

#### Publications

*Angela Lansbury's Positive Moves: My Personal Plan for Fitness and Well-Being*, 1990

*See Britain At Work*, 1977

*See Scotland At Work*, 1979

*See the South At Work*, 1977

*Unforgettable British Weekends: A Guide to Unusual and Celebration Holidays*, 1988

*Wedding Speeches and Toasts (Family Matters)*, 1994

*The Murder, She Wrote Cookbook* (contributor), 1997

#### Further Reading

Bonanno, Margaret Wander, *Angela Lansbury: A Biography*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997

Edelman, Rob, and Audrey Kupferber, *Angela Lansbury: A Life on Stage and Screen*, Citadel Press, 1999

Gottfried, Martin, *Balancing Act: The Authorized Biography of Angela Lansbury*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1999

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## Larry Sanders Show, The.

*See It's Garry Shandling's Show/Larry Sanders Show, The*

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## Lassie

U.S. Family Drama

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*Lassie* was a popular long-running U.S. television series about a collie dog and her various owners. Over her more than 50-year history, Lassie stories have moved across books, film, television, comic books, and other forms of popular culture. The American Dog Museum credits her with increasing the popularity of collies.

British writer Eric Knight created Lassie for a *Saturday Evening Post* short story in 1938, a story released in book form as *Lassie Come Home* in 1940. Knight set the story in his native Yorkshire and focused it around the concerns of a family struggling to survive as a unit during the depression. Lassie's original owner Joe Carraclough is forced to sell his dog so that his family can cope with its desperate economic situation, and the story becomes a lesson about the importance of interdependence during hard times. The story met with

immediate popularity in the United States and in Great Britain and was made into an MGM feature film in 1943, spanning six sequels between 1945 and 1953. Most of the feature films were still set in the British Isles, and several of them dealt directly with the English experience of World War II. Lassie increasingly became a mythic embodiment of ideals such as courage, faithfulness, and determination in front of hardship, themes that found resonance in wartime with both the British and their American counterparts. Along the way, Lassie's mythic function moved from being the force uniting a family toward a force uniting a nation. The ever-maternal dog became a social facilitator, bringing together romantic couples or helping the lot of widows and orphans.

In 1954 *Lassie* made its television debut in a series that removed the dog from Britain and placed her on



*Lassie*, Lassie, June Lockhart, Jon Provost, Hugh Reilly, 1954–74; 1963 episode.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the American family farm, where once again she was asked to help hold a struggling family together. For the next decade, the *Lassie* series became primarily the story of a boy and his dog, helping to shape our understanding of American boyhood during that period. The series' rural setting offered a nostalgic conception of national culture at a time when most Americans had left the farm for the city or suburbia. Lassie's ownership shifted from the original Jeff Miller to the orphaned Timmy Martin, but the central themes of the intense relationship between boys and their pets continued. *Lassie* became a staple of Sunday night television, associated with "wholesome family values," though, periodically, she was also the subject of controversy with parents' groups monitoring television content. *Lassie*'s characteristic dependence on cliff-hanger plots in which children were placed in jeopardy was seen as too intense for many smaller children; at the same time, Timmy's actions were said to encourage children to disobey their parents and to wander off on their own. Despite such worries, *Lassie* helped to demonstrate the potential development of ancillary products associated with television programs, appear-

ing in everything from comic books and Big Little Books to Viewmaster slides, watches, and Halloween costumes.

By the mid-1960s, actor Jon Provost proved too old to continue to play Timmy and so *Lassie* shifted into the hands of a series of park rangers, the focus of the programming coming to fall almost exclusively upon Lassie and her broader civic service as a rescue dog in wilderness areas. Here, the show played an important role in increasing awareness of environmental issues, but the popularity of the series started to decline. Amid increasing questions about the relevance of such a traditional program in the midst of dramatic social change, the series left network television in the early 1970s, though it would continue three more years in syndication and would be transformed into a Saturday morning cartoon series. Following the limited success of the 1979 feature film *The Magic of Lassie*, yet another attempt was made in the 1980s, without much impact on the marketplace, to revive the Lassie story as a syndicated television series. The 1994 feature film *Lassie* suggests, however, the continued association of the series with "family entertainment."

Many animal series, such as *Flipper*, saw their non-human protagonists as playful, mischievous, and childlike, leading their owners into scrapes, then helping them get out again. Lassie, however, was consistently portrayed as highly responsible, caring, and nurturing. Insofar as she created problems for her owners, they were problems caused by her eagerness to help others, a commitment to a community larger than the family, and her role was more often to rescue those in peril and to set right wrongs that had been committed. She was the perfect "mother" as defined within 1950s and 1960s American ideology. Ironically, the dogs who have played Lassie through the years have all been male.

HENRY JENKINS

#### See also **Children and Television**

#### Cast

Jeff Miller (1954–57)	Tommy Rettig
Ellen Miller (1954–57)	Jan Clayton
"Gramps" Miller (1954–57)	George Cleveland
Sylvester "Porky" Brockway 1954–57)	Donald Keeler
Matt Brockway (1954–57)	Paul Maxey
Timmy Martin (1957–64)	Jon Provost
Doc Weaver (1954–64)	Arthur Space
Ruth Martin (1957–58)	Cloris Leachman
Paul Martin (1957–58)	Jon Shepodd
Uncle Petrie Martin (1958–59)	George Chandler
Ruth Martin (1958–64)	June Lockhart



## Lassie

Paul Martin (1958–64)  
Boomer Bates (1958–59)  
Cully Wilson (1958–64)  
Corey Stuart (1964–69)  
Scott Turner (1968–70)  
Bob Erikson (1968–70)  
Garth Holden (1972–73)  
Mike Holden (1972–74)  
Dale Mitchell (1972–74)  
Keith Holden (1973–74)  
Lucy Baker (1973–74)  
Sue Lambert (1973–74)

Hugh Reilly  
Todd Ferrell  
Andy Clyde  
Robert Bray  
Jed Allan  
Jack De Mave  
Ron Hayes  
Joshua Albee  
Larry Wilcox  
Larry Pennell  
Pamelyn Ferdin  
Sherry Boucher

### Programming History

451 episodes  
CBS  
September 1954–June 1955      Sunday 7:00–7:30  
September 1955–September  
1971      Sunday 7:00–7:30

### First-Run Syndication

Fall 1971–Fall 1974

### Further Reading

Barcus, Francis Earle, *Children's Television: An Analysis of Programming and Advertising*, New York: Praeger, 1977  
David, Jeffrey, *Children's Television, 1947–1990: Over 200 Series, Game and Variety Shows, Cartoons, Educational Programs, and Specials*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1995  
Fischer, Stuart, *Kids' TV: The First 25 Years*, New York: Facts On File, 1983  
Shayon, Robert Lewis, "Softening up Lassie," *Saturday Review* (March 3, 1956)

### Dog Trainer

Rudd Weatherwax

### Producers

Jack Wrather, Bonita Granville Wrather, Sheldon Leonard, Robert Golden, William Beaudine, Jr.

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# Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)

U.S. Talk/Comedy/Variety Show

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Fans of late night television have delighted in the antics of host David Letterman in one form or another since the beginnings of his show on NBC in 1981. For 11 years, *Late Night with David Letterman* enjoyed the weeknight time slot following *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson* (later *Tonight Show with Jay Leno*). But after being passed over as the replacement for the retiring Johnny Carson on *Tonight*, Letterman accepted CBS's multimillion-dollar offer to hop networks. The move brought Letterman and his band leader/sidekick Paul Shaffer to CBS, moved them up an hour in the schedule to run opposite *Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, and prompted renovation of the historic Ed Sullivan Theatre in New York to be the exclusive location for Letterman's new show. *The Late Show with David Letterman*, featuring Paul Shaffer and the CBS Orchestra, premiered on August 30, 1993, and within weeks had overtaken the Leno show in the ratings race.

It would be too simplistic to classify David Letterman as a talk show host, or his programs as fitting neatly into the talk show genre. Still, the format for both *Late Night* and *Late Show* resembles the familiar late night scenario. An opening monologue by the host usually plays off the day's news or current events. The monologue is followed by two or three guests who appear individually and chat with the host for five to ten minutes. Before and between the guest appearances, the host might indulge in some comedic skit or specialty bit. Despite their similarity to this basic format, however, Letterman's shows differ from others in the areas of program content, delivery, and rapport with guests.

The content of both *Late Night* and *Late Show* has remained remarkably steady over the years. Standard installments included "Viewer Mail," which became "The CBS Mailbag" after the move. During this segment, Letterman reads actual viewer letters and often

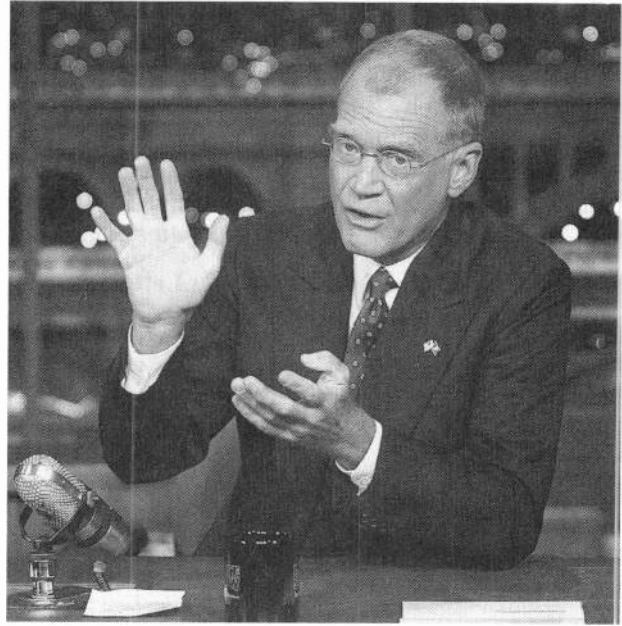


responds to requests or inquiries with humorous, scripted video segments featuring Shaffer and himself. Another long-time Letterman bit is “Stupid Pet Tricks,” in which ordinary people travel to the program and showcase pets with unusual talent. In one sequence Letterman hosted a dog that would lap milk out of its owner’s mouth, and from that bit sprang “Stupid Human Tricks.” In this segment people present unusual talents such as tongue distortion and spinning basketballs; one man vertically balanced a canoe on his chin. One of the most popular elements in Letterman’s repertoire is the “Top Ten List.” Announced nightly by Letterman, this list—“express from the home office in Sioux City Iowa”—features an absurdly comic perspective on current events and public controversies.

Other specialty bits have included sketches such as “Small Town News,” during which Letterman reads goofy or ironic headlines from actual small town newspapers, and “Would You Like To Use the Phone?” in which Letterman invites a member of the studio audience to his desk and offers to place a phone call to someone he or she knows. Letterman sent his mother, known to fans as “Letterman’s Mom,” to the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, where she interviewed First Lady Hillary Clinton and skater Nancy Kerrigan for the *Late Show*. Letterman frequently visits local businesses near his Broadway theatre: the copy shop, a local café, and a gift shop run by “Mujibar and Sirijul,” two brothers who have become quite famous because of their visits to the show and their performances in skits on the program.

Letterman’s style melds with the content of his program, both often unpredictable and out of control. His delivery is highly informal, and like the content, the personal performance is extremely changeable, given to sudden outbursts and frequent buffoonery. This style builds on the carefully constructed persona of “a regular guy,” and Letterman often “wonders” with the audience just how a guy like him managed to become the host of one of the most popular late night shows in America. He has referred to himself as “the gap-toothed monkey boy” and frequently calls himself a “dweeb” (which his band leader Shaffer usually acknowledges as true). This “regular guy” excels at impromptu delivery and the ability to work with his audience. He often hands out “gifts and prizes” such as light bulbs, motor oil, and most notably, his trademark brand “Big Ass Ham.” He has been known to send his stand-by audience to Broadway shows when they were not admitted to his taping. Letterman’s relationship with his studio and viewing audiences does not always translate to his treatment of his guests, however.

Over the years of *Late Night* and *Late Show*, Letter-



*Late Show with David Letterman*, 1993–present. David Letterman.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

man has hosted first ladies, vice presidents, film and television stars, national heroes, sports figures, zoo keepers, wood choppers, six-year-old champion spellers, and the girl next door. His relaxed attitude can make guests feel at home, and he can be a very gracious host if he so chooses. But there have been times when he has offended guests (Shirley MacLaine nearly hit him) and been offended by guests (Madonna offended the nation with her obscene language and demeanor on one of her visits with Letterman).

Perhaps the most significant moment in Letterman’s career to date occurred in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In what was viewed by some as an attempt to return to “normalcy,” Letterman returned to his late night spot on Monday following the attacks. Somber; at times apparently stalled with emotion, he cited Mayor Rudolph Giuliani’s admonition for New Yorkers to return to work and hosted guests Dan Rather and Regis Philbin. Rather twice broke into tears during their conversation, and Philbin revealed that his son had been at work in the Pentagon, though on the opposite side of the plane crash, on the 11th. *Late Night with David Letterman* was, on this occasion, something of a significant cultural marker for many viewers, an indication that late night television comedy could be the locus for powerfully shared moments of cultural significance.

Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)

Early in 2002, as Letterman's contract with CBS was set to expire, rumors circulated that the show would move to ABC, as a replacement for the news program *Nightline*, hosted by Ted Koppel. Letterman was reportedly unhappy with CBS, particularly with the local-news lead-ins it used. However, in March of 2002, Letterman did indeed renew his contract with CBS.

DAWN MICHELLE NILL

See also Carson, Johnny; Leno, Jay; Letterman, David; Talk Shows; *Tonight Show*

*Late Night with David Letterman*

**Host**

David Letterman

**Band Leader**

Paul Shaffer

with

Calvert DeForest as Larry "Bud" Melman

**Programming History**

NBC

February 1982–May 1987      Monday–Thursday  
12:30–1:30 A.M.

June 1987–August 1991      Monday–Friday 12:30–  
1:30 A.M.

September 1991–September  
1993

Monday–Friday 12:35–  
1:35 A.M.

*Late Show with David Letterman*

CBS

August 1993–      Monday–Friday 11:30 P.M.–  
12:30 A.M.

**Further Reading**

Adler, Bill, *The Letterman Wit: His Life and Humor*, New York: Carroll and Graf, 1994

Carter, Bill, *The Late Shift: Letterman, Leno, and the Network Battle for the Night*, New York: Hyperion, 1994

Kaplan, Peter W., "David Letterman: Vice-President of Comedy," *Esquire* (December 1981)

Latham, Caroline, *The David Letterman Story*, New York: F. Watts, 1987

Letterman, David, "The *Playboy* Interview," *Playboy* (October 1984)

Markoe, Merrill, editor, *Late Night with David Letterman: The Book*, New York: Villard, 1985

Shales, Tom, "David Letterman and the Power of Babble," *Esquire* (November 1986)

Sullivan, Robert E., Jr., "Letterman: The First 100 Nights," *Vogue* (January 1994)

Wolcott, James, "The Swivel Throne," *The New Yorker* (October 18, 1993)

Wolcott, James, "Sleepless Nights: Letterman vs. Leno Has Become a War of Attrition," *The New Yorker* (June 12, 1995)

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## Laverne and Shirley

U.S. Situation Comedy

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Originally introduced as characters on *Happy Days*, Laverne De Fazio (Penny Marshall) and Shirley Feeney (Cindy Williams) "schlemiel-schlamazeled" their way into the Tuesday night ABC prime-time lineup and into the hearts of television viewers in 1976. The show, set in the late 1950s, centered on the two title characters and was rated the number-one program in its second year of airing. In the earliest years of the long-running sitcom, the two 20-something women shared an apartment in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and worked at Sholtz Brewery, the local beer-bottling plant. Many of the episodes focused on the humorous complications involving the women or their friends.

From ditching blind dates to goofing up on the conveyor belt at the bottling plant, Laverne and Shirley "did it their way" in Milwaukee until 1980, when ABC decided to change the setting of *Laverne and Shirley* to Burbank, California, for a new twist. Aside from a change of climate and employment, now in Bradburn's Department Store, the central characters and structure of the program remained the same until Williams left the program in 1982. Following her departure, the program continued for one year under the original title, but with Laverne alone as the central character.

"There is nothing we won't try / Never heard the word impossible / This time, there's no stopping us /

"We're gonna do it!" These lines from the theme song of the sitcom describe the state of mind of the program's two main characters. With the advantage of two decades of hindsight, *Laverne and Shirley* painted a picture of the 1950s from the single, independent woman's point of view. The plots of the episodes reflect concerns about holding a factory job, making it as an independent woman, and dealing with friends and relatives in the process of developing a life of one's own. Many plots revolve around the girls dating this man or that, or pondering the ideal men they would like to meet: sensitive, handsome doctors. If on the surface the characters appear to be longing to fulfill the stereotypical 1950s role of woman, their true actions and attitudes cast them as two of television's first liberated women. They think for themselves and make things happen in their social circles. Together they fight for causes, from workers' rights at the bottling plant to animal rights at the pound. They help each other and they help their friends, who add much texture and comic effect to the program.

Laverne and Shirley's two male neighbors, Lenny and Squiggy, provide much of the humor in the program with their greasy-1950s appearance and their ironic knack of entering at just the wrong time. If someone said, "Can you imagine anything more slimy and filthy than that?" in would charge Lenny and Squiggy with their famous, distorted "Hello!" Despite the fun poked at the two men, they are still portrayed as friends and thus are often caught up in the "Lucy-esque" escapades of Laverne and Shirley. Another prominent character, Carmine Ragusa or "The Big Ragu," is an energetic Italian singer. Friend to both women, Carmine is after Shirley's heart.

*Laverne and Shirley* gave its lead characters room to explore boundaries and break some stereotypes common in television portrayals of women prior to the 1970s. Shirley is portrayed as interested in marriage, yet she is not sure that Carmine is "the one"; instead of settling, she keeps her independence *and* her friendship with Carmine.

Among the loudest characters on the program is Frank De Fazio, Laverne's widowed father who owns the local Pizza-Bowl where everyone congregates. In his eyes Laverne is still a little girl, and he frequently checks up on her, evaluates her dates, and attempts to invalidate her decisions. Edna, Frank's girlfriend, acts as a buffer between father and daughter and becomes an even more motherly figure to Laverne after she marries Frank midway through the series' run. Although Frank expresses his overly protective and chauvinistic views, Edna's buffering reason and Laverne's stubbornness always win out. *Laverne and*



*Laverne and Shirley*, Cindy Williams, Penny Marshall, 1976-83.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

*Shirley* was an early prime-time proponent of women's rights and placed much value in the viewpoints and experiences of 1950's women, suggesting that even in that decade women could be independent.

Since *Laverne and Shirley* was a spin-off of *Happy Days*, and because the programs aired back to back, it was easy to cross over characters from one show to another. Laverne and Shirley are often visited by Arthur Fonzarelli (better known as The Fonz), or run into Richie Cunningham or Ralph Malph (all from *Happy Days*) camping in the woods. Viewers were able to carry knowledge from one show (*Happy Days*) to the next (*Laverne and Shirley*) as characters shared experiences with each other outside the context of their own programs. The programs were thus able to layer meanings or overlap realities between previously mutually exclusive television families.

While visits to or from *Happy Days* characters were always extra fun, *Laverne and Shirley* provided sea-

## Laverne and Shirley

sons of hilarious antics and left behind many memorable images uniquely their own: Laverne's clothing, always decorated with a large, cursive "L"; the milk and Pepsi concoction that is her favorite beverage; the giant posters of Fabian; and Shirley's Boo-Boo Kitty, a two-foot stuffed cat that is the true ruler of her heart. Laverne and Shirley may be a female "odd couple," Shirley fanatically neat and Laverne hopelessly sloppy, but they balance each other and provide a system of mutual support, demonstrating that women can compete in the world of work as well as in the world of ideas. From a 1950s perspective, for two young women that indeed was "making our dreams come true."

DAWN MICHELLE NILL

See also *Happy Days*; **Marshall, Garry**

### Cast

Laverne De Fazio	Penny Marshall
Shirley Feeney (1976–82)	Cindy Williams
Carmine Ragusa	Eddie Mekka
Frank De Fazio	Phil Foster
Andrew "Squiggy" Squigman	David L. Lander
Lenny Kosnowski	Michael McKean
Edna Babish De Fazio (1976–81)	Betty Garrett
Rosie Greenbaum (1976–77)	Carole Ita White
Sonny St. Jaques (1980–81)	Ed Marinaro
Rhonda Lee (1980–83)	Leslie Easterbrook

### Producers

Garry Marshall, Thomas L. Miller, Edward K. Milkis, Milt Joseberg, Marc Sotkin

### Programming History

112 episodes

ABC

January 1976–July 1979	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
August 1979–December 1979	Thursday 8:00–8:30
December 1979–February 1980	Monday 8:00–8:30
February 1980–May 1983	Tuesday 8:30–9:00

### Further Reading

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- Hamamoto, Darrell Y., *Nervous Laughter: Television Situation Comedy and Liberal Democratic Ideology*, New York: Praeger, 1989
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- Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson, *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*, Boston: Little Brown, 1992
- Marshall, Garry, with Lori Marshall, *Wake Me When It's Funny: How To Break into Show Business and Stay There*, Holbrook, Massachusetts: Adams, 1995
- Mitz, Rick, *The Great TV Sitcom Book*, New York: R. Marek, 1988
- Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983

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# Law & Order

## U.S. Crime Drama

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"In the criminal justice system, the people are represented by two separate yet equally important groups: the police who investigate crime, and the district attorneys who prosecute the offenders. These are their stories." This narrative voice-over begins each episode of *Law & Order*, currently network television's longest running drama series, comprising over 275 episodes by the end of its 12th season in 2002. Created by ex-*Miami Vice* executive producer Dick Wolf as a never-aired pilot for CBS in 1988, the series was launched at a time when law and crime hourly dramas were far less popular than half-hour sitcoms in the prime-time net-

work schedule. NBC had canceled its critically acclaimed *Hill Street Blues* in 1987, and the limited success of its replacement in the Thursday night schedule, *L.A. Law*, was already waning by 1990. With its plots often based upon contemporary headline stories, *Law & Order* has helped to revitalize the crime drama not only by hybridizing police investigation and legal prosecution, but also by reworking the narrative strategies of its genre predecessors.

The elegant and distinctive format has changed little since the show's inception. Unlike the multi-arc structure of Steven Bochco dramas such as *Hill Street*

*Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and *NYPD Blue*, each episode of *Law & Order* focuses upon the criminal and legal processes of a single homicide case, beginning as bystanders accidentally discover a murder victim, and ending after the disclosure of the jury's trial decision. Episodes are devised as discrete units, with closure and without season cliff-hangers. Although *Law & Order* shares with the Bochco crime dramas an extensive use of the handheld camera, the series emphasizes stability and direction over distraction: signposts guide the viewer through the intricacies of the investigation, including the intertitles that punctuate the narrative to identify location changes on the Manhattan streets comprising the show's setting (several early episodes also included closing taglines documenting the fate of the criminals). The scales of justice featured in the opening credit sequence resonate as a metaphor of the tightly balanced episodic structure. Half of each episode's segments comprise a criminal investigation conducted by two police detectives guided by their lieutenant. Upon identification of a suspect and the gathering of sufficient evidence, the case is handed over to two assistant district attorneys who regularly enlist the assistance of their DA boss. After the case is prepared, the final segments of the episode feature highlights of the trial. So plot-focused is the narrative that the police and attorneys exist as a rule only in their professional capacities; the viewer's knowledge is structured to maximize identification with the point-of-view of the police and attorneys, at least one of whom remains present in every scene after the murder discovery.

The stability of narrative structure has overridden the numerous cast changes among the six principal roles, none of which are currently played by original cast members. George Dzundza left the series after the first season due to conflicts over the quality of the writing. His replacement Paul Sorvino departed after the start of the third season, complaining that the outdoor street shooting was compromising the vocal chords he wanted to preserve for opera singing. Michael Moriarty resigned in 1994 after heated network conflicts concerning his publicized disagreement with Attorney General Janet Reno on television censorship issues. In NBC's effort to introduce female characters, S. Epatha Merkerson and Jill Hennessy were hired to replace Dann Florek and Richard Brooks after the end of the third season. Three female assistant district attorneys have succeeded Hennessy since her departure in 1996. The involuntary contract termination of Chris Noth in 1995 remains a mystery to viewers (as well as the actor).

In the tightly structured, case-focused narrative of the series, intimacies between principals emerge through a number of strategies. Backstory is occasion-

ally introduced to motivate the departure of a major character, as with the increasingly frequent references to Detective Reynaldo Curtis's wife's multiple sclerosis in the ninth season, and ADA Jamie Ross's custody battles in season eight. As the police officers and attorneys debate suspects' guilt and innocence, intimacies arise when case issues strike personal chords. On religious grounds, Sgt. Max Greevey asks to be removed from a case involving sadomasochism; past trauma inflects the perspectives of Detective Mike Logan and ADA Abby Carmichael in cases of child abuse and rape (respectively); the liberal-minded Detective Lennie Briscoe and Lieutenant Anita Van Buren clash with the conservative Curtis on child discipline and abortion cases; Briscoe's alcoholism renders him empathetic with suspects and criminals who share the affliction. Less frequently, reactions to a difficult case elicit vulnerabilities that demonstrate the tenuous "order" of these professionals' personal lives. Such crises are taken to an extreme in the sixth season finale episode "Aftershock," unique in its reworking of the established episodic structure as it begins with a murderer's execution and develops by tracing its effects upon the police and lawyers, who are driven to infidelity, drunken stupor, and tragic, accidental death. The fact that such instances occur only rarely in the series makes the intrusion of character backstory all the more resonant.

*Law & Order* has experienced a steady gain in popularity since the mid-1990s, surpassing *NYPD Blue* in the Nielsen ratings since the 1999–2000 season, and ranked in the top ten since 2000. It received the Emmy Award for Outstanding Drama Series in 1997 and has been nominated ten times in this category. The series is in syndication on the Arts & Entertainment Channel and the TNT network. Dick Wolf also produced the made-for-TV *Exiled: A Law & Order Movie* in 1998 and two series spinoffs, *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (1999– ) and *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (2001– ), both of which focus more intently upon criminal investigation than prosecution. In its opening segments, the latter of these spin-offs alters the format of the original series by revealing information to which the investigators are not privy. *Special Victims Unit*, which treats the most "heinous" of criminal homicides, reintroduces Dann Florek in his role of Captain Donald Cragen. NBC has renewed *Law & Order* through May of 2005.

MICHAEL DEANGELIS

See also **Police Programs; Wolf, Dick**

#### Cast

Sgt. Max Greevey (1990–91)  
Det. Mike Logan (1990–95)

George Dzundza  
Chris Noth

## Law & Order

Captain Donald Cragen (1990–93) Exec. Asst. Dist. Attorney Ben Stone (1990–94) Asst. Dist. Attorney Paul Robinette (1990–93) Dist. Attorney Adam Schiff (1990–2000) Sgt. Phil Cerreta (1991–92) Det. Lennie Briscoe (1992–2004) Lieutenant Anita Van Buren (1993– )	Dann Florek Michael Moriarty Richard Brooks Steven Hill Paul Sorvino Jerry Orbach S. Epatha Merkerson Jill Hennessy Sam Waterston Benjamin Bratt Carey Lowell Angie Harmon Jesse L. Martin Dianne Wiest Elisabeth Röhm
Asst. Dist. Attorney Claire Kincaid (1993–96) Exec. Asst. Dist. Attorney Jack McCoy (1994– ) Det. Reynaldo Curtis (1995–99) Asst. Dist. Attorney Jamie Ross (1996–98) Asst. Dist. Attorney Abigail Carmichael (1998–2001) Det. Ed Green (1999– ) Dist. Attorney Nora Lewin (2000– ) Asst. Dist. Attorney Serena Southerlyn (2001– )	

### Creator/Executive Producer

Dick Wolf

### Executive Producers

Jeffrey Hayes  
Barry Schindel

### Co-Executive Producers

Lewis J. Gould  
Arthur Forney  
Richard Sweren

### Programming History

277 episodes (by the end of 2001–2002 season)  
NBC  
September 1990–present Wednesday 10:00–11:00

### Further Reading

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Delamater, Jerome H., and Ruth Prigozy, editors, *The Detective in American Fiction, Film, and Television*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998  
McConnell, Frank, "Twice-told Tales: *Law & Order*," *Commonweal* (November 1994)  
Thompson, Robert J., *Television's Second Golden Age: From Hill Street Blues to ER*, Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997  
Wood, William P., and Elizabeth Massie, *Law & Order*, New York: Ibooks, 2002

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# Lawrence Welk Show, The

## U.S. Musical Show

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One of television's most enduring musical series, *The Lawrence Welk Show*, was first seen on network TV as a summer replacement program in 1955. Although the critics were not impressed, Welk's show went on to last an astonishing 27 years. His format was simple: easy-listening music (what he referred to as "champagne music") and a "family" of wholesome musicians, singers, and dancers.

The show first ran on ABC for 16 years and was known in the early years as *The Dodge Dancing Party*. ABC canceled the show in 1971, not because of lack

of popularity, but because it was "too old" to please advertisers. ABC's cancellation did little to stop Welk, who lined up more than 200 independent stations for a successful syndicated network of his own.

Part of Welk's success can be attributed to his relationship with viewers. He meticulously compiled a "fever chart," which tallied positive and negative comments from viewers' letters. Performers with favorable comments became more visible on the show. In this way, viewers also played an important role in Welk's "family" of regulars.



*The Lawrence Welk Show, Lawrence Welk, 1955–82.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

There were many show favorites throughout the years, including the Lennon Sisters, who were brought to Welk's attention by his son Lawrence Jr., who was dating Dianne Lennon in 1955. Other favorites included the Champagne Ladies (Alice Lon and Norma Zimmer); accordionist Myron Floren, who was also the assistant conductor; singer-pianist Larry Hooper; singers Joe Feeney and Guy Hovis; violinist Aladdin; dancers Bobby Burgess and Barbara Boylan; and Welk's daughter-in-law, Tanya Falan Welk.

Most of the regulars stayed with the show for years, but a few moved on—or were told to leave by Welk. In 1959, for example, Welk fired Champagne Lady Alice Lon for “showing too much knee” on camera. After receiving thousands of protest letters for his actions, he attempted to get Lon to return, but she refused.

Welk himself was the target of endless jokes. Born on a North Dakota farm in 1903 of Alsatian immigrant parents, he dropped out of school in the fourth grade. He was 21 years old before he spoke English. His thick





## Laybourne, Geraldine (1947– )

U.S. Media Executive

Geraldine Laybourne is chairwoman and chief executive officer of Oxygen Media, a cable television/online network launched on February 2, 2000. She developed Oxygen after a two-year tenure in which she was in charge of Disney/ABC Television's cable operations. However, Laybourne gained her greatest renown for her work at Nickelodeon, a cable network targeted to children, where she was president until 1996. Laybourne was largely responsible for the overwhelming success the network achieved in the 1980s and 1990s, a time when Nickelodeon garnered a larger audience of child viewers than ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX, combined.

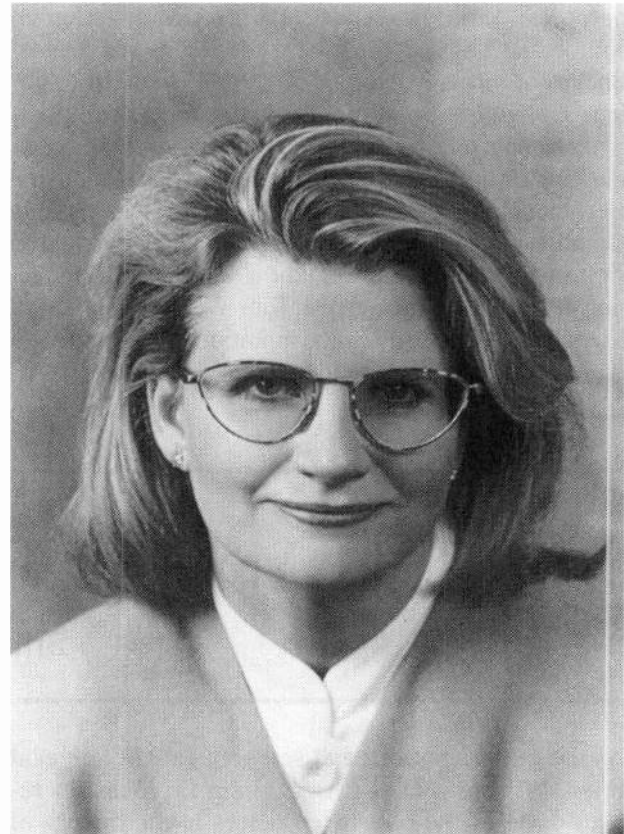
Laybourne began her tenure at Nickelodeon in 1980. Her prior background featured stints in both education and children's television programming, experiences that would serve her well at Nickelodeon. She then joined her husband, Kit (a professional animator), as an independent producer of children's television programming. From this position she began, in 1979, to work with the new cable network Nickelodeon in the production of pilot programs. A year later she was named the company's program manager.

During Nickelodeon's early years, Laybourne was instrumental in several key decisions that ultimately led to the network's long-term success. Nickelodeon came into being as a noncommercial program source created largely to serve as a goodwill tool through which cable system operators could win both franchise rights and subscribers. The company began to accept corporate underwriting in 1983 and became advertiser-supported a year later. Although it continued to devote fewer minutes per hour to advertising than most cable or broadcast commercial program sources, the initial decision to accept advertising was extremely controversial. The end result of the decision, however, was that Nickelodeon became an extremely profitable operation.

In 1985 Laybourne initiated the launch of the complementary evening service Nick at Nite, which breathed new life into old television series such as *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Get Smart*, and *Dragnet*. Nick at Nite took series that had been syndicated for years and presented them in an original, tongue-in-cheek environment designed to

create a unique program flow and to appeal to an affluent "baby boomer" audience. Nick thus expanded Nickelodeon's programming hours, widened the network's appeal to new audience segments, and ultimately led to the launch of another 24-hour program service from Nickelodeon called TV Land.

With a number of accomplishments under her belt, Laybourne was named president of Nickelodeon in 1989, and in 1992 she became vice chair of corporate parent MTV Networks (owned by Viacom). In these positions, Laybourne continued her efforts to build the brand equity of the Nickelodeon name. To this end, Nickelodeon opened its own production studio at Universal's Orlando, Florida, theme park; it licensed con-



Geraldine Laybourne.  
Photo courtesy of Nickelodeon/M. Malabrigo

sumer products to companies such as toy manufacturers Mattel and Hasbro; and it produced a magazine aimed at children, which regularly included a question-and-answer section with "The Boss Lady," as Laybourne came to be known by Nickelodeon's young viewers.

Nickelodeon has also produced programs aired on outlets other than the cable network itself. For instance, its youth-oriented game show *Double Dare* was syndicated to broadcast stations, and its 1991 sitcom *Hi Honey, I'm Home* represented a cable landmark in that its episodes aired within the same week on both the cable network Nickelodeon and the broadcast network ABC. Such synergistic strategies became even more prevalent after Paramount Communication's takeover of Viacom in 1994. For example, Nickelodeon played a central role in the cross-media promotional strategies Paramount employed leading up to the successful 1995 theatrical release of *The Brady Bunch Movie*, and Nickelodeon's popular *Rugrats* series became a Paramount feature film in 1998, with a sequel released in 2000.

Under Laybourne's leadership, Nickelodeon grew from a fledgling, noncommercial programmer that existed largely to serve the cable industry's public image purposes, to a profitable and acclaimed program source that has become a core service in the channel lineups of virtually every U.S. cable system. In so doing, Laybourne became one of the foremost figures among cable television programmers, as well as one of the most influential women in the television industry. Her launch of Oxygen—with partners that include Oprah Winfrey, Microsoft cofounder and cable television magnate Paul Allen, and the Hollywood production team of Marcy Carsey, Tom Werner, and Caryn Mandabach—represented an ambitious step to create a multimedia content provider targeted to women. Al-

though Oxygen initially struggled, it nevertheless promised to present Laybourne with many opportunities to exercise her unique and prescient vision of television's role in contemporary society.

DAVID GUNZERATH

**Geraldine Laybourne.** Born Geraldine Bond, May 19, 1947. Educated at Vassar College, New York, B.A. in art history, 1969; University of Pennsylvania, M.S. in elementary education, 1971. Married: Kit Laybourne, 1970; children: Emily and Sam. Started career as administrator, architectural firm of Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd, Philadelphia, 1969–70; teacher, Concord Academy, Concord, Massachusetts, 1972–73; festival coordinator, American Film Festival, New York, 1974–76; cofounder, Media Center for Children, New York, 1974–77; partner, Early Bird Specials Company, New York, 1978–80; program manager, Nickelodeon, 1980; various acquisition, scheduling, and programming positions, Nickelodeon, 1981–86; senior vice president and general manager, Nick at Nite, 1986–87, executive vice president and general manager, 1987–89, president, from 1989; vice chair of MTV Networks, from 1992; vice president for cable operation, Disney/ABC, 1996–98; chairwoman and chief executive officer, Oxygen Media, since 1998.

#### Further Reading

- Brooker, Katrina, "Oxygen Is Can't-See TV; That's a Good Thing," *Fortune* (January 8, 2001)
- Burgi, Michael, "Disney/ABC Eyes Cable Nets," *MediaWeek* (January 1, 1996)
- Dempsey, John, "Mighty Mouse Nips at Nick," *Variety* (December 18, 1995)
- Mifflin, Lawrie, "Nickelodeon Executive To Head Disney/ABC Cable Unit," *New York Times* (December 16, 1995)

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## Le Mesurier, John (1912–1983)

### British Actor

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As the gentle, genteel, and serenely gallant Sergeant Frank Wilson in *Dad's Army*, John Le Mesurier remains one of the best-loved actors in the history of the British situation comedy. With its provocative use of wartime sing-a-long tunes, perfectly and pi-

ously pitched scripts, and an ensemble acting team who instinctively fed off each other's momentum, the series ran from 1968 until 1977. During that time, a stage version, a radio series, and a feature film spin-off opened new doors for the home guard

homage. The show is still repeated to huge audience figures.

Like the majority of the cast, Le Mesurier's major television fame came late and after a lengthy, enjoyable "apprenticeship" on the stage and in film. A jobbing actor for 20 years before finally being recognized as a supporting comic face to be reckoned with, he had made his television debut as early as 1938 and his first film appearance some ten years later. Typically, he was inauspicious and incognito, miles down the cast list and turning in a competent, albeit workmanlike, performance. However, in 1949 he embraced big-screen comedy, when he turned in a majestic contribution as a frustrated and flustered headwaiter in *Old Mother Riley's New Venture*. With an unsmiling, bottled-up tension, furtive eyes, a worried look of impending disaster, and "head-in-hands" dismay at the mayhem all around him, the "type" would hold the actor in good stead for the next 30 years or more. Importantly, much more than the theater, Le Mesurier saw television and film as his natural medium, where every subtle nuance could be captured by the camera and magnified tenfold. His early, major television assignment also allowed him to exercise his great versatility. He played the doctor in the Dorothea Brooking-produced BBC production of *The Railway Children*, and featured as the ill-fated and foppish Eduardo Lucas in *Sherlock Holmes: The Second Stain*, with Alan Wheatley as the great detective (both 1951). He was cast in *The Granville Melodramas*, a 1955 epic for Rediffusion for director/producer Cyril Butcher. More importantly, that same year, he found his perfect niche in British cinema. Under the wing of the Boulting Brothers, Le Mesurier scored a success in the army satire *Private's Progress* opposite Terry-Thomas, and kick-started a glittering run of uneasy, tense, bombastic, and petulant character studies. He clocked up an amazing score of appearances well into the 1970s, effortlessly complementing the world's funniest comedians, from Norman Wisdom to Peter Sellers.

Displaying a clear skill for comedy acting and reacting, television didn't take long to grab Le Mesurier for a never-ending supply of judges, doctors, military men, and crusty colonels opposite the cream of British comedy talent. Writers Ray Galton and Alan Simpson, having ushered their hit radio series *Hancock's Half Hour* onto television, turned to an array of "proper" actors to fully complement the hapless flights of fancy of star comedian Tony Hancock. Le Mesurier proved both a long-standing member of the *Hancock* repertory company and one of the star's closest friends in the business, appearing in all of his subsequent ill-fated attempts to make it big in feature films. Le Mesurier's

contributions to *Hancock* stand alone: the plastic surgeon in *The New Nose*, the officious RAF officer in *The Lift*, the National Trust trustee in *Lord Byron Lived Here*, the hypochondriac doctor in *The Cold*. All were basically the same figure of stern, befuddled authority, but played with real dramatic conviction. Not surprisingly, Le Mesurier would stooze for television comedians for much of the rest of his television career, working alongside Dick Emery, Harry Worth, Morecambe and Wise, and, in the 1960s, on the Galton and Simpson scripted series, Frankie Howerd. It was like *Hancock* with added innuendo. The actor also found himself featured in celebrity-based American television drama (*Douglas Fairbanks Presents* and *Errol Flynn Theatre*) and ATV action serials (*Dangerman: Affair of State*, in November 1960) and a starring role in *Armchair Theatre: Three on the Old Tar Fiddle* with Norman Rossington and Raymond Huntley. Produced by Charles Jarrot, it was broadcast on January 17, 1961. An ever-reliable general-purpose actor was how Le Mesurier liked to see himself, chalking up appearances in *The Avengers* (Mandrake, January 1964) and *Play of the Week* (*Bachelors*, November 1964). His film roles, while almost entirely swamped by comedy fare, throw up excellent opportunity for compelling character studies, notably as the bereaved father in Val Guest's superior crime thriller *Jigsaw* in 1962. Television, sporadically, employed him in equally dramatic presentations, including *Sunday Night Theatre: The Trial of Mary Lefarge*, with Yvonne Mitchell, and Harold Pinter's *Tea Party*, the second specially commissioned play for the European Broadcasting Union broadcast on March 25, 1965, and produced by Sydney Newman.

Le Mesurier himself was less than happy with moving away from his fast-growing reputation for comedy. He was content to "stay in his own backyard" and feverishly work away at developing his standard, scene-stealing persona of officious bureaucracy. His first major television series, the ITV situation comedy *George and the Dragon*, came at the end of 1966. Although most certainly playing "third fiddle" to the central comic pairing of Sid James and Peggy Mount, Le Mesurier grabbed his featured role of the kindly, tolerant, and deceptively bemused Colonel for whom the leading characters work.

The scripts, by Vince Powell and Harry Driver, were never really taxing, but the series, thanks in no small part to the inspired casting, proved extremely popular, running to four series. However, the show's untimely demise was rather timely for Le Mesurier. That same year, 1968, saw the launch of the program that would make him one of Britain's best-loved actors, *Dad's*

*Army*. His effete, charming, and magnetic style gave him a touch of the Jack Buchanans and proved the perfect contrast with Arthur Lowe's bluff, bombastic Captain Mainwaring. Le Mesurier's Wilson was the lesser man in rank only. Eventually the character became the man and the man became the character. A gentle, trusting, and endearingly vague soul in real life, Le Mesurier seemingly liked to indulge in alcohol, certain substances, traditional jazz, and dreamy days in blissful ignorance. However, his acting career continued to be diverse and diverting during the run of his most popular television series. Although his film output was slightly less prolific than before, the small screen delighted in offering him guest roles in everything from *Jason King* (1971) to *Orson Welles' Great Mysteries* (1975). He featured in the Richard Burton and Sophia Loren NBC's Hallmark of Fame remake of *Brief Encounter* for director Alan Bridges and enhanced a Crown Court case, *Murder Most Foul*. Dabbling with anarchic comedy, Le Mesurier played a mild-mannered but mildly-mad scientific farmer in a one-off guest appearance in *The Goodies*, played a health farm obsessive in a John Cleese-scripted *Doctor At Large* episode ("Mr. Moon") and even joined forces with his ex-wife, comedy actress Hattie Jacques, in a 1972 episode of *Sykes*. Stricken with ill health while rehearsing a play, *The Miser*, in Perth, Australia, he was rushed to hospital and enforced to adopt an alcohol-free lifestyle, which led to his haggard appearance in the last series of *Dad's Army*. After a year, Le Mesurier returned to moderate drinking and to his old dashing self. A high-profile appearance in *Brideshead Revisited*, a role in Val Guest's Ealing community styled TV movie *The Shillingbury Blowers* and a brilliantly emblematic appearance in the final *Ripping Yarns*: "Roger of the Raj," with Michael Palin, followed. Le Mesurier made appearances alongside Jon Pertwee in *Worzel Gummidge*, narrated the children's favorite *Bod*, and provided voice-overs for a long-running advertising campaign for Homepride Baking Flour. He also accepted another assignment for David Croft and Jimmy Perry with a single appearance in their "latest" BBC comedy success, *Hi-De-Hi*, as well as recreating his *Dad's Army* creation for radio. It was a fitting closure to a career that simply tried and succeeded in spreading as much happiness as possible. He died in 1983 at the age of 71. His dying words, just before slipping into a final coma, were "it's all been rather lovely."

ROBERT ROSS

See also *Dad's Army*

**John Le Mesurier.** Born April 5, 1912, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, England. Married: 1) June Melville, 1939 (divorced 1947); 2) Hattie Jacques, 1949 (divorced 1965); two sons Robin and Kim; 3) Joan Malin, 1965. Died November 15, 1983, Ramsgate, Kent, England.

#### Television Series

*George and the Dragon* (1966–68)

*Dad's Army* (1968–77)

#### Films (selected)

*Death in the Hand* (1948); *Blind Man's Bluff* (1951); *Mother Riley Meets the Vampire* (1952); *Dangerous Cargo* (1954); *Josephine and Men*; *A Time To Kill* (1955); *The Battle of the River Plate*; *The Baby and the Battleship*; *Brothers in Law* (1956); *Happy Is the Bride*; *The Admirable Crichton* (1957); *Law and Disorder*; *I Was Monty's Double*; *The Captain's Table*; *Blood of the Vampire*; *Too Many Crooks*; *Carlton-Brown of the F.O.* (1958); *Ben-Hur*; *I'm All Right Jack*; *The Wreck of the Mary Deare*; *The Hound of the Baskervilles*; *Follow A Star*; *School for Scoundrels* (1959); *Jack the Ripper*; *Doctor in Love*; *The Pure Hell of St. Trinian's*; *The Bulldog Breed* (1960); *The Rebel*; *Very Important Person*; *On the Fiddle* (1961); *Go to Blazes*; *The Waltz of the Toreadors*; *Only Two Can Play*; *The Wrong Arm of the Law* (1962); *The Pink Panther*; *Hot Enough for June*; *The Mouse on the Moon* (1963); *The Moon-Spinners* (1964); *The Early Bird*; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines* (1965); *The Sandwich Man*; *The Wrong Box* (1966); *Casino Royale* (1967); *The Italian Job*; *The Magic Christian* (1969); *Doctor in Trouble* (1970); *Confessions of a Window Cleaner* (1974); *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother* (1975); *Jabberwocky* (1977); *The Space-man and King Arthur* (1979); *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu* (1980).

#### Stage (selected)

*Dangerous Corner*, *French Without Tears*, *Gaslight*, *Hamlet*, *An Inspector Calls*, *The Three Sisters*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winslow Boy*.

## Lear, Norman (1922– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

Norman Lear had one of the most powerful and influential careers in the history of U.S. television. He first teamed with Ed Simmons to write comedy (Lear tells numerous stories relating how he persisted in seeking the attention of comedians like Danny Thomas, trying to convince them he could write their kind of material). After a time it worked, and Thomas bought a routine from Lear and Simmons. David Susskind, too, noticed their work and signed them to write for *Ford Star Revue*, a musical comedy-variety series that lasted only one season, 1950–51, on NBC. Lear and Simmons then moved to *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, a high-budget NBC challenge to Ed Sullivan on Sunday evenings. It was a success, lasting five years. The partners wrote all the Jerry Lewis and Dean Martin material for the famous comedy team's rotating regular appearances on the show.

After the *Colgate* years, Lear began writing on his own, and in 1959 he teamed with Bud Yorkin to create Tandem Productions. Tandem produced several feature films, and Lear selectively took on the tasks of executive producer, writer, and, on the film *Cold Turkey*, director.

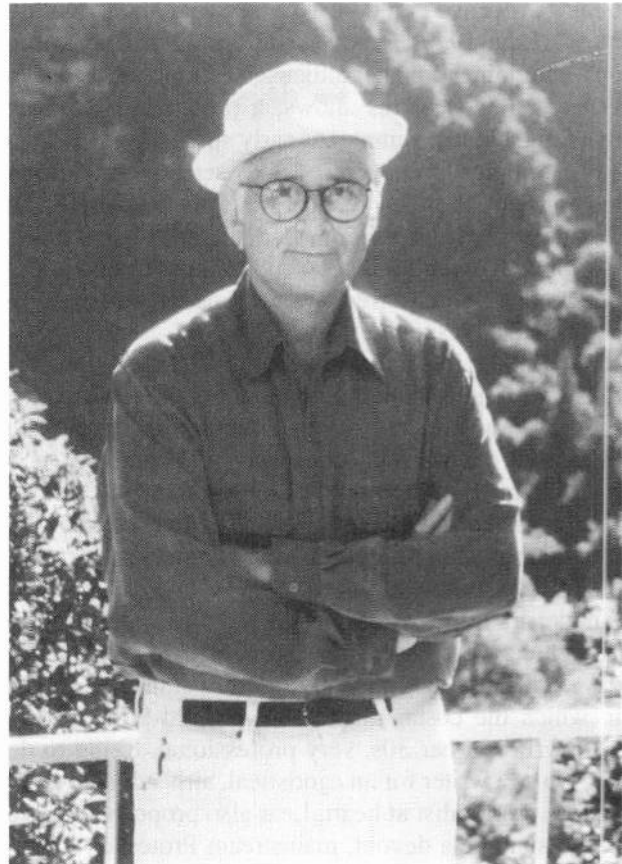
In 1970 Lear and Yorkin moved into television. While in England Lear had seen a comedy, *Till Death Us Do Part*, which became an inspiration for *All in the Family*. ABC was interested in the idea and commissioned a pilot, but after it was produced the network rejected it, leaving Lear with a paid-for, free-standing pilot. He took it to CBS, which had recently brought in a new president of the network, Robert Wood. The timing was fortuitous. Anxious to change the bucolic image cast by shows like *The Beverly Hillbillies*, Wood reacted positively to Lear's approach and gave Tandem a green light.

*All in the Family* first aired on January 12, 1971. Wood commented in a 1979 interview that CBS had added several extra phone operators to handle an expected flood of reactions to the contentious nature of the program and especially the bigoted lead character Archie Bunker. The calls never came.

The series did, however, attract its share of protests and strong reactions. Over its early life, there was a continuous flow of letters that objected to language and themes and challenged Lear for his "liberal"

views. Later, in 1979, Lear remarked that he responded to such criticism by stating, "I'm not trying to say anything. I am entertaining the viewers. Is it funny? That was the question." Later, when attacks on the show asked how he dared to express his views, he altered his response: "Why wouldn't I have ideas and thoughts and why wouldn't my work reflect those ideas?" And, of course, his programs did.

Lear's pioneering television work brought an even more controversial series, *Maude*, to CBS in 1972. Lear once described the acerbic and openly liberal *Maude* as the flip side of Archie Bunker. Perhaps that was true in the beginning, but, unlike Archie, *Maude's* positions on issues were not presumed to be ridiculous



Norman Lear.  
Photo courtesy of Norman Lear

and her approaches to social issues were almost always presented sympathetically. The most famous episodes of *Maude* dealt with her decision to have an abortion. Reflecting the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion, Maude and husband Walter worked out their response to her midlife pregnancy with dignity and compassion. That show sparked a storm of protest from Roman Catholics. If some viewers accepted Archie as the bigot he was, some of the religious community took Maude equally seriously.

Lear and Yorkin also moved black families to network prime time with *Good Times* and *The Jeffersons*. Lear's satiric bent was also evident in *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, a pioneering show he wanted to air in the daytime as part of the soap-opera scene. When that attempt failed, he syndicated the series and found it frequently relegated to late-night fringe time schedules. Still, Lear saw the show as depicting "the worst of what was going on in society." At the other end of the spectrum, Lear collaborated with Alex Haley and brought a classy drama, *Palmerstown, U.S.A.*, to the air in 1980.

Always present at story conferences of every series, even when he had as many as six on the air at one time, Lear's influence could be seen in every show. During most of the 1970s, he even performed as the "warm up" entertainer for the audiences assembled to watch weekly tapings of his shows, a production schedule that ran from late summer to early spring. He was fond of describing various episodes as sensitive, requiring his constant attention for just the right touch. He and executive assistant Virginia Carter spent several hours one Sunday evening discussing a single dramatic development—how to treat Walter Findley's alcoholism and Maude's response.

When Lear left active involvement in television production in 1978, he left a company without a creative rudder. Few projects reached the small screen and those that did were poorly received. Much of Lear's own attention turned to the development of various media-related industries, cable television, motion picture theaters, and film production companies.

By 1980 Lear was alarmed by the radical religious fanaticism of Christian fundamentalists. At first he thought he would use a television series to respond. He developed a series concept, "Good Evening, He Lied," in which the costar of the show would be a woman newswriter in her 30s, very professional, trying to do her job as a writer for an egotistical, airhead male news anchor. A moralist at heart, Lear also proposed to have the woman be a devout, mainstream Protestant Christian, openly practicing her faith. It was a fine idea and demonstrated anew Lear's genuine respect for sincere religious convictions. NBC approved the idea, but

Lear did not pursue the production. He became convinced that another approach would be more effective for him, and he founded People for the American Way to speak out for Bill of Rights guarantees and monitor violations of constitutional freedoms. By the mid-1990s, the organization had become one of the most influential and effective voices for freedom.

In the 1990s, Lear returned to television with several efforts. Neither *Sunday Dinner*, addressing what Lear calls "spirituality," nor *704 Hauser*, involving a black family moving into Archie Bunker's old house, found an audience. Lear's voice is still heard through public appearances. He has not abandoned television, but he is less frequently involved directly with the medium. It is possible, however, no single individual has had more influence through the medium of television than Norman Lear.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also All in the Family; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family Viewing Time; Good Times; Hemsley, Sherman; Jeffersons, The; Maude; O'Connor, Carroll*

**Norman Lear.** Born in New Haven, Connecticut, July 27, 1922. Attended Emerson College, 1940–42. Married: 1) Charlotte Rosen (divorced); child: Ellen; 2) Frances Loeb (divorced); children: Kate and Maggie; 3) Lyn Davis; children: Benjamin, Brianna, and Madeline. U.S. Air Force, 1942–45, Air Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters. Career in public relations, 1945–49; comedy writer, various television programs, 1950s; writer-producer, television specials, 1960s; creator, producer, and writer, television series, 1970s, including *All in the Family*, *Sanford and Son*, *Maude*, and *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*; founded Act III Communications, comprised of television station and motion picture theater ownership, motion picture and television production, 1987. President, American Civil Liberties Association of Southern California, 1973; trustee, Museum of Television and Radio; founder, People for the American Way, 1980; founder, Business Enterprise Trust, 1988; member, Writers Guild of America; Directors Guild of America; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Caucus of Producers, Writers, and Directors. Recipient: four Emmy Awards; George Foster Peabody Award; Broadcaster of the Year, International Radio and Television Society, 1973; Mark Twain Award, International Platform Association, 1977; Valentine Davies Award, Writers Guild of America, 1977; William O. Douglas Award, Public Counsel, 1981; Gold Medal of the International Radio and Television Society, 1981; Distinguished American Award, 1984; Mass Media Award, American

Jewish Committee of Institutional Executives, 1987; National Medal of the Arts, 1999. Among the first inductees to the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1984.

### Television Series

1950-51	<i>Ford Star Revue</i> (co-writer)
1950-55	<i>The Colgate Comedy Hour</i> (writer)
1955-56	<i>The Martha Raye Show</i> (writer)
1955	<i>The George Gobel Show</i> (producer, director)
1971-83	<i>All in the Family</i> (producer, writer)
1972-77	<i>Sanford and Son</i> (producer)
1972-78	<i>Maude</i> (producer, writer)
1975	<i>Hot L Baltimore</i> (producer)
1975-84	<i>One Day at a Time</i> (producer)
1975-78	<i>Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman</i> (producer)
1976	<i>The Nancy Walker Show</i> (producer)
1976-77	<i>All's Fair</i> (producer)
1977	<i>All That Glitters</i> (producer)
1978	<i>Apple Pie</i> (producer)
1979-81	<i>The Baxters</i> (producer)
1980-81	<i>Palmerstown, U.S.A.</i> (producer, with Alex Haley)
1984	<i>A.k.a. Pablo</i> (producer)
1991	<i>Sunday Dinner</i> (producer)
1992-93	<i>The Powers That Be</i> (producer)
1994	<i>704 Hauser</i> (producer)

### Television Specials

1961	<i>The Danny Kaye Special</i>
1963	<i>Henry Fonda and the Family</i>
1965	<i>Andy Williams Special and Series</i>
1970	<i>Robert Young and the Family</i>
1982	<i>I Love Liberty</i>
1991	<i>All in the Family 20th Anniversary Special</i>

### Films

*Scared Stiff*, 1953; *Come Blow Your Horn* (coproducer, with Bud Yorkin), 1963; *Never Too Late*, 1965; *Divorce American Style*, 1967; *The Night They Raided Minsky's*, 1968; *Start the Revolution Without Me*, 1970; *Cold Turkey* (also director), 1971; *Stand by Me* (executive producer), 1986; *Princess Bride* (executive producer), 1987; *Fried Green Tomatoes*, 1991.

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# Leave It to Beaver

## U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Leave It to Beaver*, a series both praised for its family-bolstering innocence and panned for its homogenized sappiness, served as a bridge between the waning radio comedy and the blossoming of the television "sitcom." The show was created by Joe Connelly and Bob Mosher, two writers who first worked together at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in New York. Leaving the agency in 1942 to devote their talents to radio comedy writing, the duo worked on shows starring Edgar Bergen, Frank Morgan, and Phil Harris before securing jobs on the wildly popular *Amos 'n' Andy* program. Over a period of 12 years, they earned writers' credits on more than 1,500 radio and televi-

sion scripts for that series; continuing to create material for the show's radio version right up to *Beaver's* third year. Although *Amos 'n' Andy* now is viewed as a distorted repository of racial stereotyping and segregated casting, Connelly and Mosher's experience on that program helped them refine a flair for extracting humor from uncomplicated yet likable characters immersed in unremarkable situations with which the audience could easily identify.

Connelly and Mosher's first solo television effort was a short-lived anthology series for actor Ray Milland. This uncharacteristic failure, they revealed in a *New York Times* interview with Oscar Golbout, taught





*Leave It to Beaver*, (top) Tony Dow, Barbara Billingsley, Hugh Beaumont, Jerry Mathers, 1957–63.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



them to restrict themselves to writing “things we know about.” They followed up on this resolution by taking a situation Connelly had observed while driving his son to parochial school and crafting it into *The Private War of Major Benson*, a theatrical feature starring Charlton Heston that won the pair an Academy Award nomination in 1956. It was from such real-life simplicity that *Leave It to Beaver* was born. In 1957 Connelly and Mosher developed a concept for an adult-appealing show about children. Unlike such predecessors (and competitors) as *The Life of Riley*, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, and *Father Knows Best*, it would not be the parents who served as *Beaver*’s focal point but rather, their offspring. The stories would be told from the kids’ point of view as Connelly and Mosher recalled it and observed it in their own children. Mosher was the father of two children and Connelly the parent of six. While all of these offspring served as sources for the show’s dialogue and plot lines, Connelly’s eight-year-old son Ricky was the inspiration for *Beaver*, his 14-year-old son Jay the model for *Beaver*’s older brother Wally.

Remington Rand picked up the project that became a co-owned vehicle in which Connelly and Mosher had 50 percent and comedian George Goebel’s Gomalco Production controlled the other half. The creative and casting aspects of the show were put together by dominant talent agency MCA (then known as the Music Corporation of America).

From its inception, *Beaver* was fashioned as a traditional family unit with two sons. *Beaver Cleaver* was near eight when the show began, and his brother *Wally* was 12. Although *Beaver*’s real name was Theodore, the nickname was emphasized to suggest a toothy, perky youngster who was “all boy.” Early in the series, *Beaver* explains that he acquired the moniker as a baby when toddler *Wally* could only pronounce Theodore as “Tweeter.” Parents *Ward* and *June* modified the sound to the slightly more dignified “*Beaver*,” which would be the show’s namesake. The pilot script was, in fact, titled *Wally and Beaver* to emphasize the project’s child’s-eye viewpoint. Sponsor Remington Rand felt this might suggest a nature program, however, so the series became *Leave It to Beaver*.

*Beaver* ran on network television from October 1957 to September 1963, the first season on CBS and the following five on ABC. Paralleling the network shift, the show’s production relocated from Republic Studio to Universal Studios after the second year—and the on-screen *Cleavers* moved from a modest, picket-fenced house at 485 Maple Drive to a larger abode at 211 Pine Street—both in the small and vaguely Midwestern town of Mayfield. A library of 234 episodes was produced, in which the characters were allowed to

naturally age with their actors. *Beaver* went from a dirt-loving little boy to a gawky teen about to enter high school. *Wally* matured from a preteen just beginning to take an interest in girls to a poised young man ready to leave for college. In the show’s first seasons, when actor *Jerry Mathers* was at his cutest, his *Beaver* character was the program’s centerpiece. As he became a more gangling preadolescent, more plot attention was directed toward *Wally*, whose portrayal *Tony Dow* was developing into a handsome teenager. Through it all, father *Ward* (played by *Hugh Beaumont*, a Methodist lay preacher and religious film actor) and mother *June* (grade-B film and TV drama veteran *Barbara Billingsley*) observed and nurtured their children with quiet selflessness and obvious love.

Despite its six-year-run as a prime-time network offering, *Beaver* never made the coveted top-25 list. Nevertheless, its down-to-earth writing, low-key acting, and uncontrived storylines served as a memorable and well-crafted icon for the positive if unremarkable joys of middle-class family life in general and suburban kid-dom in particular. If *Beaver*’s ignoring of significant social issues was a common flaw of the programs of its time, its unpretentious advocacy of personal responsibility and self-respect was an uncommon virtue. Admittedly, as critic *Robert Lewis Shayon* observed, *Ward* and *June Cleaver* were “*Mr. and Mrs. Average-American* living in their typical *Good Housekeeping* home.” But what happened in and around that home was a consistent and continuous celebration of all those minor but precious family victories that could be won even when the children themselves were required to be the decision makers.

Less than three months after *Beaver* left the air, the assassination of President *John F. Kennedy* changed the nation’s view of itself and its times. Connelly and Mosher went off to write *The Munsters*, and a country preoccupied with civil rights strife, Vietnam, Woodstock, and Watergate would find little relevance in *Beaver*’s radio-derived simplicity. But by the late 1970s, the show’s uncomplicated and nonabrasive observations reacquired appeal. On superstation WTBS and scores of other outlets, *Beaver* reruns enjoyed significant ratings success. *Beaver* and *Wally* appeared on packages of *Kellogg’s Corn Flakes* in 1983, and the show’s cast members have since been featured in a variety of retrospective projects. A striking example of the wistful admiration for all the series still represents was uncovered in a 1994 *Parenting* magazine poll. Predictably, 40 percent of respondents said the contemporary super-hit *Roseanne* reflected their family life—but a full 28 percent picked *Beaver* instead. What *Wally* once observed about his brother may be true of the program as a whole: “He’s got that little kid ex-

## Leave It to Beaver

pression on his face all the time, but he's not really as goofy as he looks." After almost half a century, *Beaver* continues its on-air exposure with frequent airings on such nostalgia-oriented cable networks as TV Land.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also **Mosher, Bob and Joe Connelly**

### Cast

June Cleaver	Barbara Billingsley
Ward Cleaver	Hugh Beaumont
Beaver (Theodore) Cleaver	Jerry Mathers
Wally Cleaver	Tony Dow
Eddie Haskell	Ken Osmond
Miss Canfield (1957–58)	Diane Brewster
Miss Landers (1958–62)	Sue Randall
Larry Mondelo (1958–60)	Rusty Stevens
Whitey Whitney	Stanley Fafara
Clarence "Lumpy" Rutherford (1958–63)	Frank Bank
Fred Rutherford	Richard Deacon
Gilbert Bates (1959–63)	Stephen Talbot
Richard (1960–63)	Richard Correll

### Producers

Harry Ackerman, Joe Connelly, Bob Mosher

### Programming History

234 episodes

CBS

October 1957–March 1958	Friday 7:30–8:00
March 1958–September 1958	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
ABC	
October 1958–June 1959	Thursday 7:30–8:00
July 1959–September 1959	Thursday 9:00–9:30
October 1959–	
September 1962	Saturday 8:30–9:00
September 1962–	
September 1963	Thursday 8:30–9:00

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## Leno, Jay (1950– )

U.S. Talk Show Host, Comedian

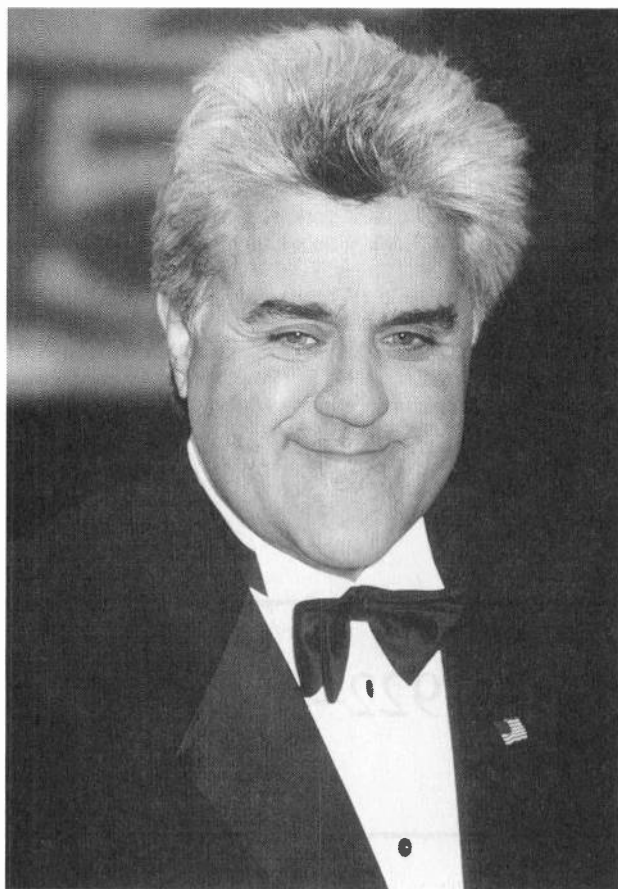
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With his sanitized comedy appealing to middle-class sensibility and ordinary, nice-guy demeanor, Jay Leno rose from comedy hall fame to win the coveted host seat of NBC's *Tonight Show* in 1992. In so doing, Leno followed in the footsteps of the great past hosts, Johnny Carson, Jack Paar, and Steve Allen.

Leno began his stand-up career in Boston and New York comedy clubs and strip bars. During the 1970s, he became a popular warm-up act for such divergent performers as crooner Johnny Mathis and country singer John Denver, and he wrote scripts for the sitcom *Good Times*, starring Jimmy Walker. He obtained similar work for David Letterman, who, after he began hosting *Late Night with David Letterman*, granted Leno more than 40 appearances on that program. Leno

became a popular guest on the Merv Griffin and Mike Douglas shows and on *The Tonight Show*, and by 1986 he was named one of several guest hosts for the latter program. An untiring success-seeker, Leno still spent 300 days a year on the road.

As a popular stage and television stand-up comic, Leno strives not to offend, offering nonracist, nonsexist, anti-drug humor. Like forerunners George Carlin and Robert Klein and contemporary Jerry Seinfeld, Leno is not capricious. His focus is on ridiculing the mundane, the idiocies of social life. His feel-good approach avoids cynicism and promotes patriotism. In 1991, for example, he performed for U.S. military personnel stationed in the Middle East. Despite his penchant for politically liberal jokes, Leno insists that his



Jay Leno.  
©CJ Contino/Everett Collection

humor is nonideological and thus apolitical. Hence, he appeals to a conventional and politically diverse—that is, broad—American public.

Although he was the exclusive guest host for *The Tonight Show* since 1987, Leno's selection as Carson's successor caused surprise and controversy in the industry. Letterman—whose popular late, late show had followed *Tonight* for years and created expensive advertising slots—had been slated for the job. However, NBC was attracted to the more cooperative Leno, matching his wit to the older *Tonight Show* audience. Moreover, an aggressive Leno promoted himself, working the affiliate-station personnel, who in turn boosted his popularity ratings. Ultimately, Leno was simply more affordable than Letterman, allowing *The Tonight Show* to maintain its \$75 million to \$100 million profit base.

Seeking Letterman's fans, Leno's *Tonight Show* featured a renovated stage; young, popular guests; and the music of popular jazz musician Branford Marsalis. Controversy came to the set early on, when NBC fired Leno's long-time, tumultuous manager Helen Kush-

nick, and later when Marsalis, in a wrangle over artistic control, quit and was replaced by Kevin Eubanks. Thereafter, Leno fared decently in the ratings, but he failed to impress reviewers as had Carson and Paar. Accustomed to practicing his routines many times before a show, Leno suffered agitation with his new, full-week schedule. Moreover, a year into the show, Leno was faced with a rating war against CBS's new *Late Show*, hosted by highly paid competitor Letterman.

During the *Late Show*'s first three years, it regularly bested the *Tonight Show* in the ratings, particularly with the younger audiences. This was particularly damaging as *Tonight* had the advantage of airing a full hour earlier than *Late Show* across 30 percent of the nation. Leno, in comparison to Letterman, was an unseasoned monologist, and a sometimes distracted interviewer, lacking ad-libbing skills. To boost ratings, Leno agreed to hire new *Tonight* writers and hawk advertiser's goods—Hondas and Doritos—on air. In early 1995, *Tonight* revamped the show from a talk to a variety format, creating a comfortable, comedy club-type studio for Leno. A more responsive and fluid Leno raised *Tonight*'s ratings to competitive levels, and by 1996 the program had intermittently regained its status, held since 1954, as the most popular late night show in the United States. By 2002 *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* was consistently winning over its competitors, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and ABC's news program *Nightline*.

Leno was frustrated by his make-or-break *Tonight Show* role, but he was not broken by it. Rather, he responded predictably to this midcareer trauma with more strenuous effort on the set and increased appearances at Las Vegas clubs and college campuses. A popular comic, Leno has been named Best Political Humorist by *Washingtonian Magazine* and one of the Best-Loved Stars in Hollywood by *TV Guide*.

PAULA GARDNER

*See also Carson, Johnny; Late Show with David Letterman; Letterman, David; Talk Shows; Tonight Show*

**Jay Leno (James Douglas Muir Leno).** Born in New Rochelle, New York, April 28, 1950. Educated at Emerson College, B.A. in speech therapy, 1973. Married: Mavis Nicholson. Performed as stand-up comedian at such venues as Carnegie Hall and Caesar's Palace; in television, from 1977; in movies, from 1978; numerous appearances on *Late Night with David Letterman*, 1970s and 1980s; exclusive guest host on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, 1987–92; host, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, since 1992.

Leno, Jay

#### Television Series

- 1977 *The Marilyn McCoo and Billy Davis Jr. Show*  
1986 *Saturday Night Live* (one-time host)  
1987–92 *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson* (exclusive guest host)  
1992– *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* (host)

#### Television Specials (selected)

- 1986 *Showtime Special* (host)  
1987 *Jay Leno's Family Comedy Hour*

#### Films

*The Silver Bears*, 1978; *American Hot Wax*, 1978;  
*Collision Course*, 1988.

#### Publication

*Leading with My Chin*, 1998

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Kaufman, Joan, "Profile (Whew!) of a Funny Man," *People* (November 30, 1987)  
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Tauber, Peter, "Jay Leno: Not Just Another Funny Face," *New York Times Magazine* (February 26, 1989)

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## Leonard, Herbert B. (1922– )

U.S. Producer

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Herbert B. Leonard was one of many Hollywood veterans to try his hand as a telefilm producer in the early 1950s, but few were as successful, and none made the transition with such outstanding results. Like other alumni of the studio system, Leonard started his television career by turning out formulaic fare in the B-movie vein, but by 1960 he was producing two of the most literate and visually arresting series of the sixties, or any decade: *Naked City* and *Route 66*.

Leonard started in the movie business as a production manager for producer Sam Katzman at Columbia in 1946. During this apprenticeship, overseeing the logistics of low-budget potboilers, westerns, and swash-bucklers—and the *Jungle Jim* series for which Katzman is perhaps most famous—Leonard developed a knack for efficient production, and an affinity for location shooting that would mark his later television work.

After nearly eight years with Katzman, Leonard struck out on his own as an independent television producer. For his first effort Leonard secured the rights to the old Rin-Tin-Rin feature film property and turned the concept into a juvenile-oriented western series, *The Adventures of Rin Tin Tin*, which joined the heroic German shepherd with a young orphan boy at a frontier cavalry fort in the 1880s. This project launched Leonard as an "in-house" independent with Screen

Gems, Columbia's television subsidiary, whereby the studio provided pilot financing and production facilities in return for distribution rights and a cut of the profits. With *Rin Tin Tin* a hit on ABC, Leonard mounted two more half-hour series, *Tales of the 77th Bengal Lancers* and *Circus Boy*. *Circus Boy* was a variation on *Rin Tin Tin*, centering on the adventures of an orphan and an elephant with a traveling circus in the 1890s, and *77th Bengal Lancers* followed the exploits of a British cavalry troop in 19th-century colonial India—all the elements of a TV western in a more exotic setting. Both series were sold to NBC for fall 1956, and by early 1958 Leonard was in pre-production on two more half-hour entries, *Rescue 8* and *Naked City*. The former was a syndicated adventure series about the Los Angeles Fire Department Rescue Squad, notable for its unprecedented location shooting in and around L.A., with spectacular rescues staged in real locations.

For *Naked City*, Leonard not only left the studio, but the state. The producer became intrigued by *Naked City's* potential as a series after seeing the 1948 feature *The Naked City* when Columbia acquired it for television release in 1957. Although Screen Gems sales execs were lukewarm to the idea, Leonard purchased the rights to the film property, and hired Stirling Silliphant to write the pilot. Leonard described the show to *Vari-*

ety as "a human interest series about New York," a vehicle for anthology-type stories as seen through the eyes of two detectives. He also announced that he would be shooting the ABC series entirely on location in New York, on both counts ("entirely on location" and "in New York") a major departure from the standard telefilm practice of the time. *Naked City* made an impact on critics with its gritty style and authentic look, but its stories were constrained by the 30-minute format, and its downbeat dramatics could not dent the ratings of the established *Red Skelton Show*; it was not renewed for autumn 1959.

By then Leonard was already planning his next series. Brainstorming for a vehicle for a young actor named George Maharis (who had caught Leonard's eye in a couple of supporting roles on *Naked City*), Leonard and Silliphant came up with the idea for *Route 66*: two restless young men roaming the highways of the United States in a Corvette, searching for meaning. Screen Gems was even less enthusiastic about this concept than it had been about *Naked City*, and flatly refused to finance the pilot, so Leonard put up his own money and assembled a crew in Kentucky to shoot the pilot in February 1960. A few weeks later, with a rough cut in hand, the studio sales force changed its tune and sold the show to CBS.

Meanwhile, *Naked City* had not been forgotten. In the autumn of 1959, an advertising executive approached Leonard with the idea of mounting *Naked City* for the following season, again on ABC, this time a 60-minute program. The network also agreed to finance the pilot. After some initial hesitation due to his *Route 66* demands, Leonard agreed, turning to Silliphant for the pilot script, and by February of 1960 pilot shooting had been completed. With Silliphant heavily involved in *Route 66*, Leonard hired Howard Rodman as story editor and frequent scripter on the revised *Naked City*. Yet another hour-long Leonard-Silliphant project, *Three-Man Sub* (a peripatetic adventure whose premise is explained by the title), made it to the pilot stage in late 1959—shot on location around the Mediterranean—but did not sell. In March 1960, *Variety* trumpeted Leonard as the "Man of the Hours," the only independent producer to have two one-hour series in production that season.

Although supervising two successful network series, Leonard found the time to launch yet another project far from Hollywood in 1961, *Tallahassee 7000*. The syndicated half-hour entry featured Walter Matthau (with a southern accent) as an investigator for the Florida Sheriff's Bureau, and was shot on location all over Florida. The series was cast in the hard-boiled mold, with Matthau providing first-person voice-over narration à la Mike Hammer.

*Route 66* marked the end of Leonard's relationship with Screen Gems. He went on to produce a handful of feature films and made-for-TV movies in the 1960s and 1970s and set up a production equipment rental house as a sideline, using all the gear he had accumulated in his years on the road. In the late 1980s, Leonard revived his first TV project in a Canadian-produced series, *Rin Tin Tin K-9 Cop*, with the modern "Rinty" now in the public service as a police dog.

*Route 66* and *Naked City* remain high watermarks of American television drama, and set Herbert B. Leonard apart as one of the industry's most innovative producers of any era.

MARK ALVEY

See also *Naked City*; *Route 66*; Silliphant, Stirling

**Herbert B. Leonard.** Born in New York City, October 8, 1922.

#### Television Series

1954–59	<i>The Adventures of Rin Tin Tin</i> (executive producer)
1956–58	<i>Circus Boy</i> (executive producer)
1956–57	<i>Tales of the 77th Bengal Lancers</i>
1958–59	
(syndicated)	<i>Rescue 8</i> (executive producer)
1960	
(syndicated)	<i>Tallahassee 7000</i> (executive producer)
1958–59	<i>Naked City</i> (30-minute version; executive producer)
1960–63	<i>Naked City</i> (60-minute version; executive producer)
1960–64	<i>Route 66</i> (executive producer)
1988–89	<i>Rin Tin Tin K-9 Cop</i> (also known as <i>Katts and Dog</i> ; executive producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1972	<i>The Catcher</i> (executive producer)
1975	<i>Friendly Persuasion</i> (executive producer)
1975	<i>Except for Me and Thee</i>

#### Films

*Conquest of Cochise*, 1953 (associate producer); *The Perils of Pauline*, 1967 (producer, director); *Popi*, 1969 (producer); *Going Home*, 1971 (producer, director).

#### Further Reading

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- "We Can Make 'Em Just as Cheap or Cheaper in N.Y.: Herb Leonard," *Variety* (February 26, 1958)

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## Leonard, Sheldon (1907–1997)

U.S. Actor, Director, Producer

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For nearly two decades, from the early 1950s through the late 1960s, Sheldon Leonard was one of Hollywood's most successful hyphenates, producing—and often directing and writing—a distinctive array of situation comedies, of which three justly can be considered classics (*The Danny Thomas Show*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*). Although he assayed the hour-long espionage form with conspicuous success as well, the sitcoms remain the Leonard hallmark. Long before *Taxi*, *Cheers*, and *MTM Productions*, Leonard was overseeing the creation of literate, character-driven ensemble comedies that blended the domestic arena with the extended families of the modern workplace.

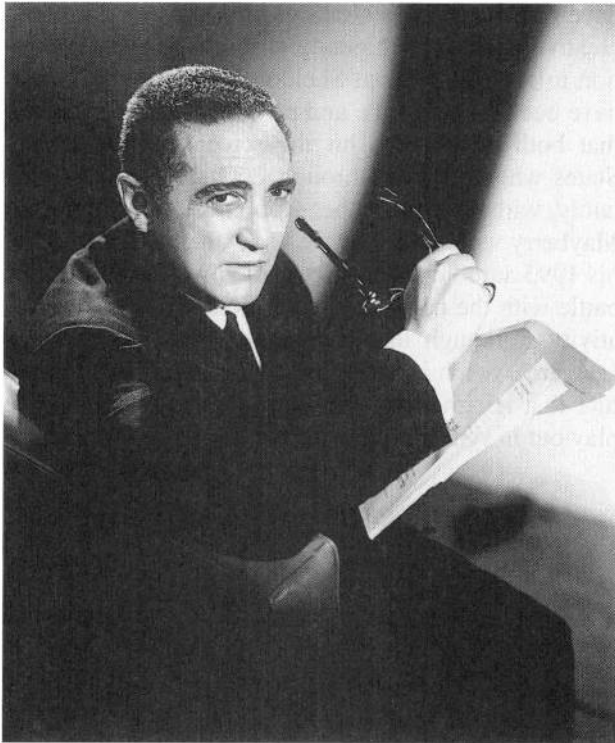
Like many independent producers in television's formative years (Bing Crosby, Desi Arnaz, Jack Webb, Dick Powell), Leonard began his show business career in front of the cameras. After six years acting on Broadway (during which time he also took his first stab at directing, for road companies and summer theater), in 1939 Leonard made the move to Hollywood, where he would go on to appear in 57 features over the next 14 years. It was not long before the actor was equally busy in radio, with regular roles on several programs (*The Jack Benny Show*, *The Lineup*, and *Duffy's Tavern*, to name only a few), and guest parts on dozens of others. Although Leonard played a variety of characters in both media, the Brooklyn-toned actor—described as "Runyonesque" in most biographical sketches—is best remembered for his incarnations of quietly menacing gangsters.

As the 1940s wore on, Leonard decided to take up writing for radio, selling scripts to such anthology shows as *Broadway Is My Beat*. Already demonstrat-

ing the business savvy befitting a future producer, Leonard retained the ownership of his radio scripts after production, thus building a library of salable properties. It was not long before Leonard turned his writing talents to the new medium of television, writing teleplays (some adapted from his radio scripts) for the filmed anthologies. Next Leonard tried his hand at directing some installments, an experience that signaled a new chapter in his show business career.

His apprenticeship behind him, Leonard signed on as director of the Danny Thomas series *Make Room for Daddy* in 1953. He was promoted to producer in the show's third year, remaining its resident producer-director for six more seasons. Between 1954 and 1957 the energetic director also found time to produce and direct the pilot and early episodes of *Lassie* and *The Real McCoys* (which was produced by Thomas's company), write and direct installments of (fittingly enough) *Damon Runyon Theatre*, as well as act in a 1954 summer replacement series, *The Duke*. In 1961 Leonard became executive producer of the Thomas series (renamed *The Danny Thomas Show*), at which time he and the comedian teamed up to form their own production firm.

T and L Productions would go on to make a lasting mark on television comedy. At its peak in 1963, T and L had four situation comedies in prime time, with Leonard serving as executive producer on all four: *The Danny Thomas Show*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *The Bill Dana Show*. Through their own separate companies, Leonard and Thomas also owned an interest in a fifth sitcom, *The Joey Bishop Show*, although Leonard had no creative role in the series after directing the pilot. To complete the T



Sheldon Leonard, 1966.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and L comedy empire, the partners each owned an interest in *My Favorite Martian* by virtue of Thomas's financing and Leonard's direction of the pilot, and also owned *The Real McCoys*' syndication package. Although the Bishop and Dana programs were short-lived, Thomas's, Van Dyke's, and Griffith's series were all certifiable top-ten Nielsen hits.

As the titles of the hit programs suggest, the foundation of the T and L formula was the comic performer, around whom a premise was formed and an extended "family" of kin and coworkers built. There were certain clear resemblances among the series, notably the reflexive Dick Van Dyke and Joey Bishop shows, which followed the *Danny Thomas* model by focusing on the professional and private lives of people in show business (a TV writer in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, nightclub performers in the others). *The Andy Griffith Show* is in some ways antithetical to the noisy, urban sensibility of show-biz shows, although the slow-paced rural realism of *The Real McCoys* could not have been far from Leonard's mind when he created the premise. Yet all the programs had something more in common, something *Television* magazine called the "T and L trademark": "It's good clean comedy with a small moral," in the words of one 1963 observer—or, as a *Television* reporter put it, "a combination of comedy and sentiment." While this mix was certainly not

unique to the T and L sitcoms during the 1960s, it underlines their emphasis on characters, relationships, and emotion over situation and slapstick. One need look no further for proof of this than *The Andy Griffith Show* character Deputy Barney Fife, who, in even his most outrageously broad moments, is underlined with a humanity that keeps him believable.

Leonard's influence on television comedy is bound up in the T and L hits, but it also transcends them. He can be credited with spotting the potential of bucolic raconteur Andy Griffith and (with writer Artie Stande:) transforming him into wise and gentle Andy Taylor, sheriff of a fictional town called Mayberry. It was Leonard who recognized the story and character quality in a failed pilot written by and starring Carl Reiner and resurrected it by casting Dick Van Dyke in the lead role—retaining Reiner's writing talents. The excellence of the T and L programs is surely due in no small part to Leonard's commitment to the quality of the scripts, exemplified by his cultivation of writing talent, his promotion of writers to producers, and the extremely collaborative nature of the writing process on all the shows. Indeed, Leonard had an equally profound impact on the medium through the writers he mentored, notably Danny Arnold (*Barney Miller*), and the teams of Garry Marshall and Jerry Belson (*The Odd Couple*, *Happy Days*), and Bill Persky and Sam Denoff (*That Girl*, *Kate and Allie*).

Leonard's impact on television is attested to by the long-standing popularity of the *Griffith* and *Van Dyke* programs in syndication. Just as significant in terms of industry practice, Leonard pioneered the strategy of launching new series via spin-offs, thereby avoiding the expense of pilots. Both the Andy Griffith and Joey Bishop shows began with "backdoor pilots" (directed by Leonard) aired as episodes of *The Danny Thomas Show*; similarly, Bill Dana's José Jimenez character began as a recurring character on the Thomas show before setting out on his own series. While the Dana and Bishop vehicles were flops, Leonard scored a long-running success with another spin-off in 1964, when he and *The Andy Griffith Show* producer Aaron Ruben sent a popular resident of Mayberry off into six years of military misadventures on *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.*

Leonard and Thomas parted company in 1965, and Leonard shifted generic gears, mounting the globe-trotting espionage series *I Spy*. Among a spate of spy shows popular in the mid-1960s, *I Spy* distinguished itself for its mix of humor and suspense, and its exotic locales (Leonard and company spent several months each season shooting exteriors around the world in such faraway places as Hong Kong, England, France, Morocco, and Greece). But the most significant aspect of the series was Leonard's decision to cast African-



American comedian Bill Cosby opposite Robert Culp as the series' two leads. If the move seems less than startling in retrospect, one need only look back at the *Variety* headline announcing the Cosby hire, dubbing the actor "Television's Jackie Robinson." Thanks to sharp writing and the chemistry of its leads, *I Spy* was hip without being campy, as witty as it was exciting. The series was nominated for the Outstanding Dramatic Series Emmy every year of its three-year run and earned Leonard an Emmy nomination for directing in 1965.

Leonard returned to the sitcom form in 1967 with the short-lived *Good Morning, World* (written and produced by Persky and Denoff), another reflexive, quasi-show-biz format in *The Dick Van Dyke Show* vein, concerning a team of radio deejays, which also anticipated the ensemble comedy style of the MTM shows of the 1970s. The producer shifted genres again in the spring of 1969 with the lighthearted mystery *My Friend Tony*, but the program was not renewed after its trial run. Leonard's most innovative comedy project came along in the fall of that year, *My World and Welcome to It*, a whimsical comedy based on the stories of James Thurber and interspersed with animated versions of Thurber's cartoons. Despite critical acclaim and an Emmy for Outstanding Comedy Series for 1969, the series was not a ratings success and was canceled after one season. Leonard's final forays into situation comedy were less prestigious: *Shirley's World*, a Shirley MacLaine vehicle in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* mold, and *The Don Rickles Show*, an ill-fated attempt to package the master of insult comedy in a domestic sitcom.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Leonard had continued to take on the occasional acting job, re-creating his radio role as the racetrack tout on *The Jack Benny Show*, appearing as Danny Williams's agent on *The Danny Thomas Show*, and doing a gangster turn in an episode of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Still typecast after almost 40 years, Leonard acted the tough guy yet again in 1975 as the star of the short-lived series *Big Eddie* (as a gambler-turned-sports promoter), and once more in 1978 in the made-for-TV movie *The Islander* (as a mobster). That same year Leonard discharged executive producer duties and acted in the TV movie *Top Secret*, a tale of international espionage starring and coproduced by Bill Cosby. Later, Cosby recruited Leonard to fill the executive producer slot on *I Spy Returns*, a 1993 TV-movie sequel that reunited Culp and Cosby as the swinging (and now seasoned) secret agents.

Few individuals have had the longevity in the television business that Sheldon Leonard had, and even fewer have had long-run success comparable to his string of hits spanning nearly two decades. Fewer still

have had the remarkable impact on the medium, both creatively and institutionally. It might be an exaggeration to say that without Sheldon Leonard there would have been no spin-offs, and no Cosby, but it is certain that both phenomena hit the screens of the United States when they did through Leonard's efforts. Certainly, without him neither Rob and Laura Petrie nor Mayberry would exist as we know them. At the end of his 1995 autobiography, Leonard vowed a return to do battle with the networks on the field of television creativity. Although that engagement was cut short by Leonard's death in 1997, his contribution to the literature that is American television comedy continues to play out in syndication, and may well do so forever.

MARK ALVEY

*See also Andy Griffith Show; Danny Thomas Show; I Spy*

**Sheldon Leonard.** Born Sheldon Leonard Bershad in New York City, February 22, 1907. Syracuse University, B.A. 1929. Married: Frances Bober, 1931; one child: Andrea. Began career as actor in Broadway plays, 1930–39; numerous radio roles, 1930s and 1940s; acted in films, 1939–61; radio scriptwriter, 1940s; screenwriter, 1948–57; director of television, from 1953; producer of television, from 1955; guest appearances as actor on television, 1960s and 1970s; president of T and L Productions; partner and officer, Mayberry Productions, Calvada Productions, Sheldon Leonard Enterprises. Member: vice president and trustee, Academy of TV Arts and Sciences; national trustee, board of governors, vice president, Directors Guild of America; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Christopher Award, 1955; Emmy Awards, 1957, 1961, 1969; Best Comedy Producer Awards, 1970 and 1974; Golden Globe Award, 1972; Sylvania Award, 1973; Cinematographers Governors Award; Directors Guild of America Aldrich Award; Man of the Year Awards from National Association of Radio Announcers, Professional Managers Guild, B'nai B'rith; Arents Medal, Syracuse University; Special Achievement Award, NAACP; Special Tribute Award, NCAA; TV Hall of Fame, 1992. Died in Beverly Hills, California, January 10, 1997.

#### Television Series

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1953–56 | <i>Make Room for Daddy</i><br>(director; producer, 1955–61;<br>actor, 1959–61) |
| 1953–62 | <i>General Electric Theater</i> (director)                                     |
| 1953–64 | <i>The Danny Thomas Show</i><br>(also producer, 1961–64)                       |
| 1954–71 | <i>Lassie</i> (director)   |
| 1954–57 | <i>The Jimmy Durante Show</i> (director)                                       |



- 1954 *The Duke* (summer replacement series; actor)
- 1955–56 *Damon Runyon Theatre* (director)
- 1957–63 *The Real McCoys* (director)
- 1960–68 *The Andy Griffith Show* (executive producer, director, and writer)
- 1961–66 *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (executive producer and director)
- 1963–65 *The Bill Dana Show* (executive producer and director)
- 1963 *My Favorite Martian* (director of pilot only)
- 1964–69 *Linus the Lionhearted* (voice for animated series)
- 1964–70 *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* (executive producer and director)
- 1965–68 *I Spy* (executive producer and director)
- 1967–68 *Good Morning, World* (producer)
- 1969 *My Friend Tony* (executive producer)
- 1969–70 *My World and Welcome to It* (producer)
- 1971 *From a Bird's Eye View* (U.K. series; executive producer)
- 1971–72 *Shirley's World* (producer)
- 1972 *The Don Rickles Show* (executive producer)
- 1975 *Big Eddie* (actor)

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1978 *Top Secret* (actor and executive producer)
- 1978 *The Islander* (actor)
- 1993 *I Spy Returns* (executive producer)

**Films (actor)**

*Another Thin Man*, 1939; *Buy Me That Town*, 1941; *Tall, Dark and Handsome*, 1941; *Rise and Shine*,

1941; *Tortilla Flat*, 1942; *Street of Chance*, 1942; *Lucky Jordan*, 1942; *To Have and Have Not*, 1944; *Her Kind of Man*, 1946; *It's a Wonderful Life*, 1946; *Zombies on Broadway*, 1945; *Somewhere in the Night*, 1946; *The Gangster*, 1947; *Violence*, 1947; *Sinbad the Sailor*, 1947; *If You Knew Susie*, 1948; *My Dream Is Yours*, 1949; *Take One False Step*, 1949; *Iroquois Trail*, 1950; *Behave Yourself*, 1951; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952; *Young Man with Ideas*, 1952; *Stop You're Killing Me*, 1952; *Diamond Queen*, 1953; *Money from Home*, 1954; *Guys and Dolls*, 1955; *Pocketful of Miracles*, 1961.

**Radio (actor; selected)**

*The Jack Benny Show*; *The Lineup*; *Duffy's Tavern*.

**Publications**

"The World Is His Back-Lot," as told to Morris J. Gelman, *Television* (April 1966)  
*And the Show Goes On: Broadway and Hollywood Adventures*, 1995

**Further Reading**

Haber, Deborah, "Kings Among the Jesters," *Television* (September 1963)  
 Kelly, Richard, *The Andy Griffith Show*, Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1981  
 Smith, Ronald L., *Cosby*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986  
 "Television's Jackie Robinson," *Variety* (December 23, 1964)  
 Waldron, Vince, *The Official Dick Van Dyke Show Book*, New York: Hyperion, 1994  
 Weismann, Ginny, and Coyne Steven Sanders, *The Dick Van Dyke Show: Anatomy of a Classic*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983

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# Leslie Uggams Show, The

## U.S. Music/Variety Show

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*The Leslie Uggams Show*, which premiered in September 1969, was the first network variety show to feature an African-American host since the mid-1950s *Nat "King" Cole Show*. Uggams's show took over the CBS Sunday night slot vacated by *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, the controversial variety show CBS had censored and then forcibly removed from the airwaves

the previous April. Produced by Ilson and Chambers, the same team who put together the beleaguered Smothers program, Uggams's show was given very little opportunity to prove itself and find an audience against the popular *Bonanza* on NBC. CBS pulled the plug in midseason, replacing the show with Glen Campbell's *Goodtime Hour* in December 1969.

## Leslie Uggams Show, The

Leslie Uggams had achieved a modest amount of success both on Broadway and in television. As a teenager she was a regular player on the *Sing Along with Mitch* musical variety show broadcast on NBC in the early 1960s. However, many critics argued that she was too much of a novice to deal successfully with the performance rigors of a variety show. Questions were raised about why Uggams was chosen to replace the politically contentious Smothers program. Industry observers noted that CBS, suffering from a public relations problem due to its censorious activity, needed to rehabilitate its reactionary image. A black-hosted variety show that included a certain amount of social commentary on race issues might repair some of the damage.

*The Leslie Uggams Show* was noteworthy for the number of African Americans who participated in the show's production, including technical personnel. Regular cast members included actors Johnny Brown and Lillian Hayman. Resident dancers, singers, and orchestra were racially integrated, and the show boasted a black choreographer, conductor, and writer.

A major feature of the show was a continuing segment called "Sugar Hill" about a working-class black family. Uggams played the wife of a construction worker in the sketch. They lived together with Uggams's mother (Lillian Hayman), unemployed brother (Johnny Brown), and a "hippie" sister, in an unintegrated apartment that resembled *The Honey-mooners'* home far more than the lavish and much commented upon integrated apartment building of television's other African-American family, the Bakers of *Julia*.

The show's quick demise generated protest and concern among black organizations from the Harlem Cultural Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League. Whitney Young Jr., head of the Urban League, publicly expressed his concern over what he considered an overhasty cancellation. He argued the show was not given any time to prove itself or institute necessary changes. He also pointed out that CBS's action diminished opportunities for black performers and techni-

cians. Twenty-eight African Americans were put out of work by the cancellation, according to Young. CBS countered that the show's demise had not generated much protest from viewers. While the canning of the Smothers Brothers had resulted in thousands of letters of complaint, the Uggams decision led to about 600 letters of disapproval.

While Leslie Uggams did not prove successful in a variety format, she did manage more notable achievements in dramatic acting. She went on to play major roles in the 1970s black-oriented miniseries, *Roots* and *Backstairs at the White House*. The first African American to really succeed in a variety show would be Flip Wilson in the season following the demise of the Uggams show.

ANIKO BODROGHKOZY

### Regular Performers

Leslie Uggams  
Dennis Allen  
Lillian Hayman  
Lincoln Kilpatrick  
Allison Mills  
Johnny Brown

### Music

Nelson Riddle and His Orchestra  
The Howard Roberts Singers

### Dancers

The Donald McKayle Dancers

### Programming History

CBS  
September 1969–December 1969 Sunday 9:00–10:00

### Further Reading

MacDonald, J. Fred, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television Since 1948*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1983; 2nd edition, 1992

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# Letterman, David (1947– )

U.S. Talk Show Host, Comedian

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David Letterman has cultivated a national following of ardent fans with his offbeat humor and sophisticated smart-aleck comic style. That style was honed on his nighttime talk show on NBC, *Late Night with David Letterman*, which debuted in 1982 in the hour following *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. Roughly a decade later, in 1993, Letterman changed time periods and networks, as *The Late Show with David Letterman* began broadcasting on CBS at 11:30 P.M., a more accessible and lucrative time slot.

Letterman rose to fame as talk show host and celebrity during a period in television history when late-night talk, a unique TV genre, began to stretch beyond the confines of the solid, long-standing appeal of NBC's *Tonight Show*. His influence and appeal increased steadily until, by 1995, he was the most-watched and highest-paid late-night television talk show host in the United States. In 1996, however, NBC's *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* began occasionally overtaking Letterman's programs in the ratings, and by the early 21st century, Leno's show was regularly attracting a larger audience than Letterman's. Although he has slipped a bit in the ratings, Letterman's audience remains considerable (and represents a demographic that advertisers greatly desire), and he remains a favorite of critics, many of whom prefer his more pointed and acerbic style of comedy to the milder, "nice guy" humor of his *Tonight Show* rival.

Letterman began his career in broadcasting in his native Indianapolis, Indiana, where he worked in both television (as an announcer and weekend weatherman) and radio (as a talk show host). In 1975 he moved to Los Angeles, where he wrote comedy, submitted scripts for television sitcoms, and even appeared on various sitcoms and game shows. He performed stand-up routines at the Comedy Store, where he met Leno, by then a seasoned comedian, and Merrill Markoe, with whom he would later have a long-time professional and personal relationship. In 1978 Letterman made his first appearance as a stand-up comic on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. Shortly thereafter he was hired by NBC to host a morning television talk show, which was broadcast from New York. Although the program lasted only a short time, it was the comic forerunner to his late-night NBC hit.

*Late Night with David Letterman*, programmed to follow the familiar Carson formula, was a different kind of talk show, a format in which the comedy usually outshone the interviews. Letterman's fascination with humor of the mundane, his quirky antics (Stupid Pet Tricks, Elevator Races, the Top Ten List), and his overall irreverence came on the heels of a new, hip style of comedy exemplified by NBC's late-night comedy sketch program, *Saturday Night Live (SNL)*. His style was attractive to a younger television audience that had been loyal supporters of *SNL* since the mid-1970s. However, Letterman retained *The Tonight Show* comedy/interview format. Letterman was neither as emotionally nor as politically involved in his interviews as Paar had been. More like Carson, he exhibited a cool detachment from, and more middle-American stance toward, the political and social events of the day.

During his tenure at NBC, Letterman occasionally served as guest host on *The Tonight Show* in Carson's absence. He shared that job with several others, most notably Joan Rivers and Leno. Letterman's interview style on both *The Tonight Show* and *Late Night* was sometimes easygoing, sometimes mocking. Indeed, a number of guests found him to be a mean-spirited interviewer, and some celebrities claimed he was adolescent at best, highly offensive at worst. Nevertheless, he had a loyal following of late-night watchers, and he inspired a large number of discussions, references, and imitations among fans, in the media, and throughout popular culture.

By the early 1990s, speculation centered on which of the two most successful young comedians, Leno or Letterman, would be Carson's successor upon his retirement. After intense network negotiations with both potential *Tonight Show* hosts—and considerable public attention—Leno succeeded Carson. At that point, Letterman accepted a generous offer from CBS to host his own show, and the two men became direct competitors at 11:30 P.M. on weeknights. On CBS, Letterman's popularity grew. He maintained much the same approach to comedy he had at NBC, but he softened some of his angry edge and irreverence. Some commentators attributed the changes to a desire, on both his part and the network's, to broaden his audience in the earlier time slot.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, *The Late Show* was regularly visited by political figures eager to reach Letterman's large and diverse audience, including viewers who might not watch more traditional news programming. During his tenure as New York City mayor, Rudolph Giuliani made a number of appearances, not just for interviews but also as a reader of Top Ten lists and participant in comedy sketches. Other notable politicians to appear with Letterman have included President Bill Clinton, presidential candidates Al Gore and George W. Bush, Hillary Clinton (when she was running to become senator for New York), and U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft (who played piano with *The Late Show* band). The ability of such political leaders to stand up to the jibes of Letterman and to make the audiences laugh has increasingly been seen as a kind of test of their suitability for office. Similarly, news anchors such as Tom Brokaw, Dan Rather, and even Ted Koppel (whose *Nightline* program directly competed with *The Late Show*) have frequently sat for interviews with Letterman, who gives them exposure to viewers outside of the aging demographic group most likely to watch network news.

In 2000 Letterman underwent heart bypass surgery after doctors discovered he had potentially life-threatening arterial blockages. When he returned to his program several weeks after his surgery, the *Late Show* host allowed himself a rare display of emotion, bringing his doctors and nurses onstage to thank them publicly for their care. More generally, this health scare helped focus popular and critical attention on Letterman's maturation and his evolving status as a late-night fixture of considerable influence.

Over the next couple of years, two other notable events would throw even more light on the power wielded by *The Late Show* and its host in the television medium and American popular culture more broadly construed. On September 17, 2001, Letterman was the first comedic talk show host to return to the airwaves after the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11. When the show opened, he appeared at his desk (foregoing the usual fanfare, music, and introductory humorous monologue) and spoke without a script for several minutes about his own sorrow, anger, and horror at the losses that had occurred. Admitting to the audience that he was unsure if he should be on the air, he told them, "We're going to try and feel our way through this, and we'll just see how it goes." Letterman then followed his commentary with two interviews: a serious discussion with CBS anchorman Dan Rather about the event that had occurred and a conversation with favorite *Late Show* guest Regis Philbin (who had also been on the last program before Letter-

man had surgery and the first after he returned to health). The approach taken by Letterman that night (including his tentative return to humor in a moment or two of gently mocking Philbin) was widely praised in the press, and other late-night comedians clearly took their cue from him as they too opened their first post-attack shows with personal, joke-free reflections on the event.

In April 2002, several months after *The Late Show* had settled back into its familiar comedy-talk format, Letterman again grabbed headlines, this time when it was revealed that ABC was making a bid to lure him away from CBS. If Letterman were to sign with ABC, it was announced, his show would replace *Nightline*, the venerable late-night news program that aired opposite *The Late Show* and *The Tonight Show*. To many observers, ABC's willingness to sacrifice news analysis for Letterman's more advertiser-friendly—and therefore potentially more lucrative—comedic fare signaled the degree to which U.S. networks had come to privilege profits over the public interest. Ultimately, Letterman decided to re-sign with CBS for several more years.

Prior to weekday taping sessions, sidewalks outside the Ed Sullivan Theater in New York City, venue for *The Late Show*, are typically the site of long stand-by lines of those hoping for seats inside the already packed house. Letterman clearly remains a celebrity whose voice resonates in contemporary American culture.

KATHERINE FRY

*See also* *Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)*; Leno, Jay; Talk Show

**David Letterman.** Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, April 12, 1947. Graduated from Ball State University, 1969. Married: Michelle Cook (divorced). Began career as radio announcer, TV weatherman and talk show host, Indianapolis; performer, Comedy Store, Los Angeles, from 1975; writer for television, Hollywood, from 1970s; frequent guest host on *The Tonight Show*, 1978–82; performed and wrote songs for the Starland Vocal Band; host, *Late Night with David Letterman*, 1982–93; host, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, since 1993. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards.

#### Television Series

1974	<i>Good Times</i> (writer)
1977	<i>The Starland Vocal Band Show</i>
1978–82	<i>The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson</i> (guest host)
1978	<i>Mary</i> (performer and writer)
1980	<i>The David Letterman Show</i>

1982–93 *Late Night with David Letterman*  
 1993– *The Late Show with David Letterman*

#### Television Specials

1977 *Paul Lynde Comedy Hour* (writer)  
 1978 *Peeping Times* (actor)  
 1995 *The Academy Awards* (host)

#### Further Reading

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 Carter, Bill, *The Late Shift: Letterman, Leno, and the Network Battle for the Night*, New York: Hyperion, 1994

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## Levin, Gerald

Former CEO, Time Warner

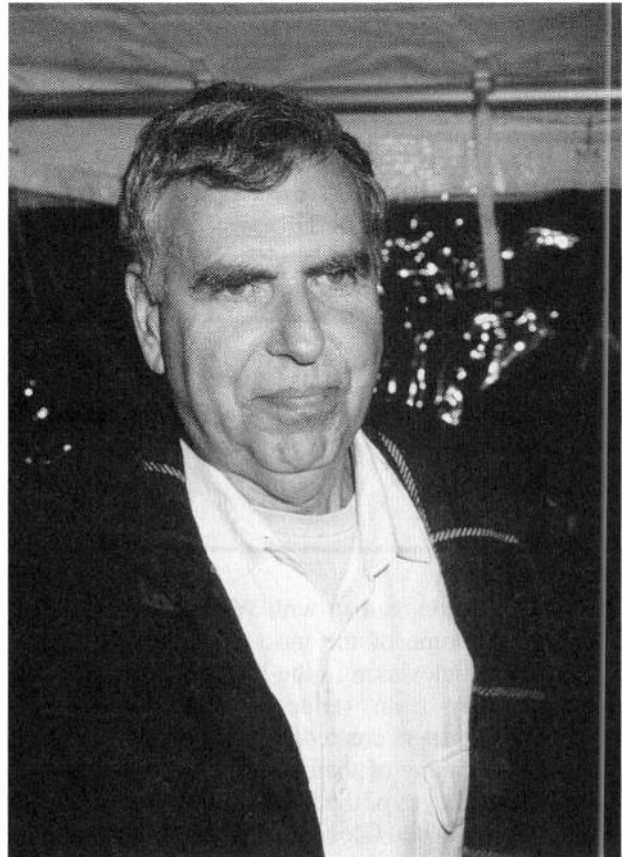
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Gerald M. Levin was chairman and chief executive officer of AOL Time Warner/Time Warner for almost a decade (1993–2002) and retired in May 2002. He served in this role during an era of significant change for one of the largest media companies in the world and presided over the sale in 2000 of Time Warner to Internet service provider AOL.

He joined Time Inc. in 1972 after a brief career as an attorney and international investment banker. At Time Inc. he worked in the fledgling Home Box Office (HBO) pay-cable television subsidiary, starting out as a programming executive and eventually becoming chairman of the division. In 1975, during his tenure at HBO, Levin pioneered the use of telecommunications satellites for pay-cable television program distribution. At the time, HBO was using microwave technology to distribute programming to cable systems in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Levin proposed that all national program distribution be accomplished by satellite transmission, a concept that transformed the U.S. premium-cable industry and led to a dramatic increase in the number of satellite-delivered cable networks. HBO experienced rapid growth after it became available via satellite and became a standard pay-cable offering during the late 1970s and 1980s. By 1979 Levin was a group vice president supervising all cable television operations, and eventually moved into the vice chairman's position in 1988. His ascension within the Time corporate hierarchy marked a transition from print-oriented managers to others, such as Levin, who were involved with electronic media.

Time Inc. merged with Warner Communications in 1990, and, as Time's chief strategist, Levin had an influential role in negotiating the complicated merger between two dissimilar corporate cultures. At the time,

Time Warner published books and magazines, distributed recorded music, made motion pictures, and operated cable television production and distribution companies. From 1992 to 1995, Levin and Time



Gerald Levin, 2001.  
 ©CJ Contino/Everett Collection

Warner were the focus of a public furor over recorded music lyrics that some critics claimed were anti-social. Levin defended the constitutional First Amendment rights of the recording artists and film directors who created works for the company, but Time Warner finally dodged the controversy by divesting the music division that produced the most controversial recordings.

Levin also played a central role in the 1996 acquisition of Turner Broadcasting. The Turner purchase brought all of that company's cable programming assets to Time Warner, including the worldwide operations of CNN. The grand strategy was to create a vertically integrated media behemoth that would control not only the means of production in entertainment, news, and publishing, but also multiple channels of distribution for this content.

Levin was an ardent champion of Time Warner's Full Service Network (FSN), a 100-plus-channel cable television system that was first introduced in Orlando, Florida. The Full Service Network used large computer servers to provide digitized programming, such as feature films, on viewer demand. The FSN project was canceled after several years of operation, but the company learned a great deal about digital interactive services in the process.

The desire to have a major media presence on the Internet led to the purchase of Time Warner by America Online (AOL) in 2000. The deal was initiated by AOL CEO Steve Case in a series of meetings with Gerald Levin. The strategy was that the sale would facilitate the distribution of Time Warner programming

by using the Internet to reach the large installed base of AOL subscribers. While Levin again worked hard to merge two dissimilar corporate cultures, the sale was initially not a good one for AOL Time Warner shareholders. Internal struggles at the company led to Ted Turner's "demotion" to board member and later to Levin's departure. Though announced as a voluntary retirement, some accounts indicated the exit was forced by influential members of the board, including Turner. AOL struggled to maintain its base of subscribers after the merger, and its poor performance provided a somber note for Gerald Levin's retirement.

Levin's ascension within Time Inc. (and later in Time Warner) reflects the increasing centrality of electronic communication in mass media companies. He was a champion of electronic media services, and his early ability to foresee the role of technology in media distribution was an important element of his tenure as the chief executive of one of the world's largest media organizations.

Since his retirement Gerald Levin has dedicated his time and energy to several charitable programs, in particular the creation of the Holistic Mental Health Institute in Los Angeles, California.

PETER B. SEEL

*See also* Case, Steve; HBO; Time Warner

#### Further Reading

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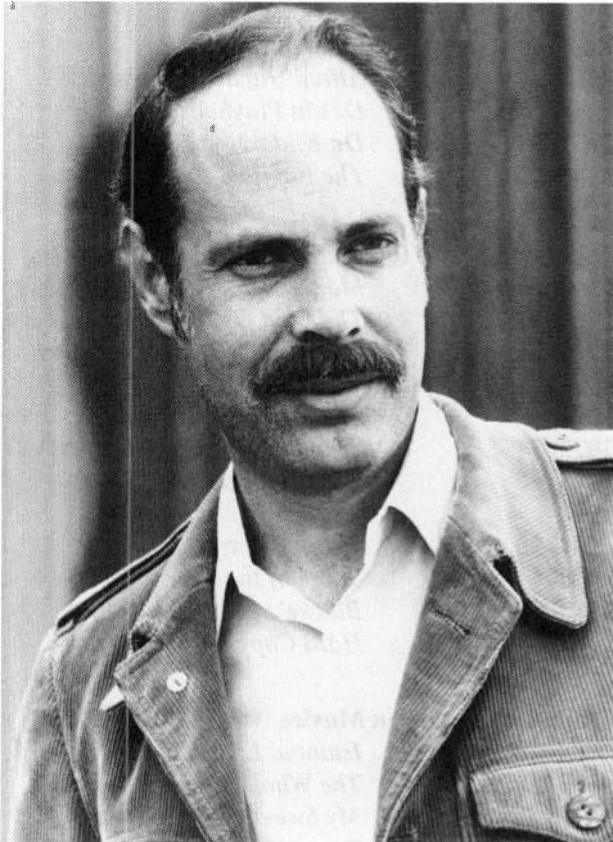
## Levinson, Richard (1934–1987)

U.S. Writer

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Richard Levinson teamed with William Link to write and produce some of the most memorable hours of U.S. network television in the history of the medium. Moving easily from series to made-for-television movies, the partners created, wrote, and produced at a level that led many of their peers to describe them as the Rolls and Royce of the industry. They received two Emmys, two Golden Globe Awards, three Edgar Allan Poe Awards from the Mystery Writers of America, the Writers Guild of America Award, and the Peabody Award.

As high school classmates, Levinson and Link made early use of wire recordings as an aid to developing their dramatic writing skills, then continued their collaboration through university studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Following graduation and military service, the two moved to New York to pursue a career in television, only to discover that the production end of the business had largely moved west. In 1959, their drama about army life, "Chain of Command," was produced as an installment of *Desilu Playhouse*, then chosen by *TV Guide* as one of the best programs of the



Richard Levinson.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

season. With that success, the team, known fondly by many of their associates as “the boys,” moved to Los Angeles, where in 1960 they were the first writers placed under contract by Four Star Productions.

For the first ten years of their work in Hollywood, Levinson and Link wrote episodes for various television series. In 1967 they created one of their own: *Mannix*. However, that series was taken in a direction opposite to their original intention by head writer Bruce Geller. In 1969 the partners first grappled with contemporary problems in a pilot for the lawyers segment of *The Bold Ones*. Their work on this series presaged their use of television to explore serious social and cultural themes in the made-for-television-movie format. They wrote and produced nine “social issue” films as well as launched one of the most popular of all television detectives, Lt. Columbo.

Frustrated by Hollywood production routines, Levinson and Link had returned briefly to New York earlier in the decade to write a stage play titled *Pre-emption: Murder*. That play introduced the Columbo character and became the foundation for the *Columbo* series, starring Peter Falk, which began on television

in 1971 as part of *The NBC Mystery Movie*. As Levinson noted in an interview, “Columbo was a conscious reaction against the impetuous force of Joe Mannix.” *Columbo* was, at one point, the most popular television show in the world. Translated into numerous languages, the show still retains enormous popularity.

In November 1983, Link and Levinson went to Toronto to film an HBO movie, *The Guardian*, examining urban violence, fear, and responses to those realities. After a long and frustrating effort to cast the film on a very tight budget, Link and Levinson chose Louis Gossett Jr. to play the title character, John Mack, and Martin Sheen to play the protagonist, Mr. Hyatt. In the movie, Hyatt and his fellow tenants in a New York apartment feel so threatened by the growing violence in the neighborhood that they hire a professional “guardian,” only to discover that this man quickly establishes his own authority over them, one by one. In the course of the story, Mack successfully intimidates all the tenants even as he physically subdues and ultimately kills one intruder. One after another, the tenants trade freedom for security. Hyatt resists until he is threatened by a street gang and Mack saves his life.

As always, Levinson worried about the climax of the piece, left intentionally ambiguous. The final scene in *The Guardian* is an exchange of glances between Mack and Hyatt as the latter leaves the building for work the morning following his rescue. Sheen noted in an interview on the set that he played the expression to convey a sense of “What have I done?” Levinson, however, saw in the final frame on Hyatt a “spark of hope.” In either interpretation, the underlying question of the drama is made clear: does security demand denial of freedom? Sheen saw it as a parable and related the story to his own concerns regarding U.S. military-political issues and the belief that the only way to get security is to give up more and more freedom. For the writers, the television movie was “only” posing questions. But they saw the implications of what they were doing. In the end, the decent character was not a hero, and the frozen stare could signal either hope or despair.

Long and intense conversations between the writers on such issues regularly led to that same conclusion: “We don’t have to have the answers, we just raise the questions.” For Levinson, however, the posing of such questions set his personal direction as a dramatist. One sees this in the *Crisis at Central High* (1981), where Joanne Woodward portrayed assistant principal Elizabeth Huckaby in a drama about racial integration set in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1958. Although evenhanded, the moral high ground in the movie belongs to Huckaby and integration. Levinson’s moral questions are equally evident in the sympathetic treatment of Private Eddie Slovik in the story of the only U.S. soldier ex-

cuted for desertion in World War II, *The Execution of Private Slovik* (1974), and they inform the search for responsibility and judgment in *The Storyteller* (1977), an exploration of the role of television in instigating social violence.

In the summer of 1986, just a few months prior to his premature death, Levinson explored the problems inherent in another high-profile social issue—terrorism—in his last script, “United States vs. Salaam Ajami.” The television movie was finally aired in early 1988 as *Hostile Witness*. In the film, he sought to provide a valid defense for a Lebanese terrorist charged in a U.S. court for a crime committed in Spain against an American tour group. In the story, the terrorist is kidnapped and brought to justice in a federal court in Virginia. Striving to achieve an objective portrayal of the motives for the terrorist and introduce to the audience some comprehension of such an individual’s rationale, Levinson was determined to raise philosophical questions, but he wanted no weaknesses in the case against the terrorist.

In 1987 Levinson died at the age of 52. When Link accepted their joint election into the Television Hall of Fame in November 1995, his words were almost all devoted to Levinson, who would, he said, be pleased with the recognition.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also Columbo; Detective Programs; Johnson, Lamont; Link, William*

**Richard Levinson.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 7, 1934. Educated at University of Pennsylvania, B.S. in economics, 1956. Served in U.S. Army, 1957–58. Married: Rosanna Huffman, 1969; one child: Christine. With partner William Link, wrote scripts for many television series, created a number of television series, and wrote and produced made-for-television movies dealing with social problems; associated with Universal Studios, 1966–77; co-president, with Link, Richard Levinson/William Link Productions, 1977–87. Recipient (all with William Link): Emmy Awards, 1970 and 1972; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Image Award, 1970; two Golden Globe Awards; Silver Nymph Award, Monte Carlo Film Festival, 1973; Peabody Award, 1974; Edgar Awards, Mystery Writers of America, 1979, 1980, 1983; Christopher Award, 1981; Paddy Chayefsky Laurel Award, Writers Guild of America, 1986; Ellery Queen Award, Mystery Writers of America, 1989, for lifetime contribution to the art of the mystery; elected to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame (posthumously), 1995. Died in Los Angeles, California, March 12, 1987.

**Television Series (episodes written with William Link; selected)**

1955–65	<i>Alfred Hitchcock Presents</i>
1958–60	<i>Desilu Playhouse</i>
1961–77	<i>Dr. Kildare</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i>

**Television Series (created with William Link)**

1967–75	<i>Mannix</i>
1969–73	<i>The Bold Ones</i>
1970–77	<i>McCloud</i>
1971–77, 1989–90	<i>Columbo</i>
1971	<i>The Psychiatrist</i>
1973–74	<i>Tenaftly</i>
1975–76	<i>Ellery Queen</i>
1980	<i>Stone</i>
1984–96	<i>Murder, She Wrote</i>
1985	<i>Scene of the Crime</i>
1986–88	<i>Blacke’s Magic</i>
1987	<i>Hard Copy</i>

**Made-for-Television Movies (with William Link)**

1968	<i>Istanbul Express</i>
1969	<i>The Whole World Is Watching</i>
1970	<i>My Sweet Charlie</i>
1971	<i>Two on a Bench</i>
1972	<i>That Certain Summer</i>
1972	<i>The Judge and Jake Wyler</i> also with David Shaw)
1973	<i>Tenaftly</i>
1973	<i>Partners in Crime</i>
1973	<i>Savage</i>
1974	<i>The Execution of Private Slovik</i>
1974	<i>The Gun</i>
1975	<i>Ellery Queen</i>
1975	<i>A Cry for Help</i>
1977	<i>Charlie Cobb: Nice Night</i> for a Hanging
1977	<i>The Storyteller</i>
1979	<i>Murder by Natural Causes</i>
1981	<i>Crisis at Central High</i>
1982	<i>Rehearsal for Murder</i>
1982	<i>Take Your Best Shot</i>
1983	<i>Prototype</i>
1984	<i>The Guardian</i>
1985	<i>Guilty Conscience</i>
1985	<i>Murder in Space</i>
1986	<i>Vanishing Act</i>
1986	<i>Blacke’s Magic</i>
1988	<i>Hostile Witness</i>

**Films (with William Link)**

*The Hindenberg*, 1975; *Rollercoaster*, 1977.



**Stage (with William Link; selected)**

*Merlin*, 1982; *Killing Jessica*, 1986; *Guilty Conscience*, 1986.

**Publications (with William Link)**

*Prescription: Murder* (three-act play), 1963  
*Fineman* (novel), 1972  
*Stay Tuned: An Inside Look at the Making of Prime-Time Television*, 1981  
*The Playhouse* (novel), 1984  
*Guilty Conscience: A Play of Suspense in Two Acts*, 1985

*Off Camera: Conversations with the Makers of Prime-Time Television*, 1986

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# Liberace Show, The

## U.S. Musical Program

Certainly among the most popular early television celebrities and performers, both Liberace the individual and his television program were among the most persistently derided. Oddly folksy and campy at the same time, Liberace and his show defined a certain strata of showmanship in the post-World War II era.

Born Wladziu (Walter) Valentino Liberace in suburban Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Liberace was interested in music from the age of four and won a scholarship to the Wisconsin College of Music at the age of seven, studying there for 17 years. Reputedly at the advice of family friend and renowned pianist Paderewski, the youngster decided that he too would someday be known by just one name. Although he was classically trained, he began to perform pop hits in local clubs as a teen. By the early 1940s, he was establishing himself in New York night spots; ads offered a phonetic guide for his fans ("Libber-ah-chee"). Playing cocktail lounges and intermissions for big bands, he received a rave *Variety* notice in 1945 while appearing at the Persian Room, which led to strings of dates across the United States. He won a small role in the film *South Seas Sinner* (1950).

In 1950 Don Fedderson, the general manager of Los Angeles station KLAC-TV, saw Liberace perform before a small audience at the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego, California, and immediately offered him a chance to appear on the new medium of television. The resultant series was so popular that it drew network at-

tention, and when Liberace appeared on NBC as a summer replacement for Dinah Shore in 1952 (15-minute shows twice a week in prime time), he began to create a sensation. For a subsequent series, he wisely accepted what was at the time an unorthodox format of filming programs for syndication. As a result, when Liberace became a television fixture throughout the country by the mid-1950s, he also became very rich. The program was one of several shows featuring KLAC talent produced by Fedderson and syndicated by Guild Films. (Betty White was in another KLAC production, starring in *Life with Elizabeth* from 1953 to 1955.) Fedderson would go on to produce many successful television series, often for CBS, including *My Three Sons* and *Family Affair*.

Liberace's TV shows were famous for offering a range of popular and classical standards, and featured tributes to composers, musicians, and genres of music—everything from "The Beer Barrel Polka" to "September Song" to "Clair de Lune." Visually, they showcased Liberace in direct address to the audience and in flamboyant performance, always smiling and often winking. No one in early television worked harder to create a star persona. Ever-present candelabras, piano-shaped objects large and small, and especially his outrageous and glamorous costumes defined Liberace's celebrity. Sentimental but ostentatious, the program also featured his elder brother George as violin accompanist and orchestral arranger, plus regular



Liberace.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and affectionate mentions of their mother, Frances. The show was immediately successful, appearing on 100 stations by October 1953 (more than any network program) and nearly 200 stations a year later. Liberace quickly sold out the Hollywood Bowl, Carnegie Hall, and other venues for live performances. A series of hit albums and a brief resumption of his movie career followed.

Liberace soon experienced the effects of overexposure: some local stations, desperate for programming, played his shows twice a day, five days a week. His career suffered a considerable slump after only a few years. In response, a short-lived daytime series in the late 1950s tried and failed to feature a scaled-down, tempered Liberace. A change of management and a return to extravagance in a series of Las Vegas venues restored his notoriety, and he made many guest appearances on TV variety and talk shows through the 1960s and 1970s. In a memorable film cameo, he played a quite earnest casket salesman in the black comedy *The Loved One* (1965). In the late 1960s, one last TV series was briefly produced in London.

Liberace's popularity was typically met in the press with equal parts disbelief and disdain. The arrangements of his classical pieces were noted as simplifications, and his mix of classical and popular styles raised hackles about an encroaching middle-brow aesthetic. His personal eccentricities were detailed at length. More tellingly, the size and devotion of his following was seen to be problematic. That his audience was largely female, and often middle-aged, wrought clichéd anxieties about insubstantial and wayward popular culture; it even was suggested that he was not providing quality performances but rather represented for his fans an object to be mothered. In response to his critics, he uttered a still-famous retort: "I cried all the

way to the bank." In two instances, however, he responded with successful lawsuits—one against London *Daily Mirror* columnist "Cassandra" (William Neil Connor), and another against the infamous scandal magazine *Confidential*. Each had discussed his behavior or his appeal in terms that inferred homosexuality.

In retrospect, Liberace's career seems due for reconsideration as a kind of "queer" open secret. The concern that his audience was mostly female, the regular speculation about his love life (When would he marry?), and the criticism of his attention to his mother all can be seen as touchstones for social anxieties of the time about appropriate gender roles and definitions. Indeed, if Liberace's appeal was grounded in a decidedly unthreatening masculinity, marked by good manners and simplistic pieties, it also inspired a range of critical attention that often revealed a tendency to sexualize him. The libelous incidents were the culmination of this tendency and perhaps revealed more than they intended about "normative" attitudes about postwar male behavior. To be sure, there was nothing about Liberace that corresponded to "queer" underground culture or the avant-garde of the 1950s—no one appeared to be more mainstream. However, the contradictions within his very successful career and persona raise further questions about postwar society and culture. Liberace died of AIDS-related complications on February 4, 1987.

MARK WILLIAMS

#### See also **Music on Television**

#### **Regular Performers**

Liberace  
George Liberace and Orchestra (1952)  
Marilyn Lovell (1958–59)  
Erin O'Brien (1958–59)  
Dick Roman (1958–59)  
Darias (1958–59)  
Richard Wattis (1969)  
Georgina Moon (1969)  
Jack Parnell Orchestra (1969)  
The Irving Davies Dancers (1969)

#### **Producers**

Joe Landis (NBC; 1952); Louis D. Sander, Robert Sandler (syndicated; 1953–55); Robert Tamplin, Bernard Rothman, Colin Cleaves (CBS; 1969)

#### **Programming History**

NBC  
July 1952–August 1952      Tuesday/Thursday  
7:30–7:45

Syndicated 1953–55 ABC	Various times
October 1958–April 1959 CBS	30-minute daytime
July 1969–September 1969	Tuesday 8:30–9:30

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## License

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

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Under the Communications Act of 1934, the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is responsible for the “fair, efficient, and equitable distribution” of television broadcast airwaves for use by the American public. As a result, any person or other entity (other than the federal government) wishing to operate a television broadcast facility must apply for and receive a government-issued license in order to reserve a transmission frequency for its television signal. These broadcast licenses are subject to review and renewal by the FCC every seven years for radio and every five years for television, unless the FCC determines a shorter period to be in the public interest.

In the United States, private individuals and companies are permitted to own and operate television stations for commercial and noncommercial use. However, because of their limited availability on the broadcast spectrum, the airwaves themselves are considered a finite public resource that is “owned” and regulated by the federal government on behalf of the American people. During the first half of the 1920s, when commercial broadcasting was in its infancy, pioneers in the industry had unfettered and virtually unlimited access to what was then an abundance of electromagnetic frequencies. By 1926, when the number of broadcast stations increased from 536 to 732, Congress became concerned that the rapid proliferation of broadcasters would quickly deplete available airwaves. In addition, advances in transmission technology enabled powerful, city-based operators to boost their signal range, effectively drowning out smaller, rural facilities. The chaos and cacophony of broadcasting in the mid-1920s ultimately led Congress to pass regulatory legislation in 1927, and again in 1934, requiring all station owners to apply for a broadcast license and meet specific criteria for eligibility before a license is issued or renewed.

Until the 1990s, the essential aspects of broadcast license grants largely stayed the same. In 1991, Congress amended the Communications Act to permit the FCC to choose new licensees by lottery, in an effort to streamline what had become a costly and burdensome hearing process. Following the Supreme Court's decision in *Adarand Contractors, Inc. v. Pena* (1995), which placed all federal affirmative-action programs under strict scrutiny, the FCC introduced a gender- and race-neutral bidding system that gave preferential credit to small-business applicants.

In 1998, seeking to recognize the revenue potential of license grants, Congress enacted Section 309(j) of the act, which mandated an auction process for new licensees. Once the highest bidder is selected, opposing parties have ten days in which to file a petition to deny. If there is no objection, or if the FCC does not act on the petition to deny, the successful bidder pays the amount of the bid and is issued a construction permit. In order to assure diversity among licensees, the FCC granted a 25 percent “bidding credit” to minority-owned and women-owned applicants.

In determining who will or will not get a broadcast license, the FCC considers a wide range of factors that can vary or be waived under different circumstances. A successful applicant must be a U.S. citizen or an entity controlled by U.S. citizens, must be in good financial health, and cannot broadcast to more than 35 percent of the total national audience. While the FCC still enforces some restrictions designed to limit the dominance of a licensee in local markets, the period following the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has been marked by a movement away from licensing and ownership regulation. By the year 2001, the FCC had eased regulations that had been enforced for decades, including the duopoly rules,

which had strictly prevented a licensee from owning more than one television facility in a market; the dual network prohibition, which prevented one company from owning two broadcast networks; and various rules relating to the public interest qualifications of license applicants.

MICHAEL M. EPSTEIN

**See also Allocation; Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; "Freeze" of 1948**

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## License Fee

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The term "license fee" has two meanings when applied to television. The first indicates a means of supporting an entire television industry. The second indicates support for the production of specific programs. When applied in the first sense a license fee is a form of tax used by many countries to support indigenous broadcasting industries. The fee is levied on the television receiver set and paid at regular intervals.

In the United States, a receiving-set license fee for the support of broadcasting was considered and rejected very early in radio's infancy. At this time the new medium was considered a public resource, and the idea of support from advertisers was thought inappropriate. The license fee was one of several funding proposals, including municipal or state funding and listener contributions, offered by various sources in the 1920s. The license fee idea took two distinct forms. The first was modeled on the British scheme of taxing receivers in viewers' homes. At that time, the British levy was 10 shillings per receiving set. The second approach, proposed by RCA's David Sarnoff, called for a tax (2 percent) on the sale price of receivers. The success of toll broadcasting (broadcasting paid for by ad-

vertisers) near the midpoint of that decade squelched further discussion on the issue.

In the early days of U.S. television, the idea of a receiving-set license fee was briefly raised again by those who pointed to the failures and inadequacies of radio's commercial nature. Because most early television stations were owned by broadcasters with long experience in AM radio, however, it was almost inevitable that advertising would provide the primary economic support for the new medium.

This was not the case in Great Britain. The license fee was in place from the earliest days of the British broadcasting service, having been mandated by the 1904 Wireless Telegraphy Act (and reaffirmed for radio and television in the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1949). The level of the fee is set by Parliament through its Treasury Department. The BBC is allowed to make its recommendation, and, once set, the fee is collected by the Post Office, which is also responsible for identifying and tracking down those who attempt to avoid paying the fee (approximately 6 percent of the audience). The resulting income supports the broadcasting authority (the BBC) and its programming. As a public

corporation supported by these fees (none of the income can be distributed elsewhere), the BBC is theoretically insulated from day-to-day influence by Parliament.

The 10 shillings fee remained in force until the end of World War II. The year 1946 saw a doubling of the radio fee, and when black-and-white television was first introduced, its fee was £2 (double that of radio). The license fee for radio was dropped in 1971, and today, only the color television fee remains, rising periodically, for example from £46 in 1981 to £109 20 years later.

Although the BBC has occasionally toyed with the idea of running commercials to increase revenues in difficult economic periods, the license fee is well entrenched there. Said a BBC spokesperson when testifying on the future of British broadcasting in 1977,

The license fee system involves each member of the viewing public . . . in the feeling that he is entitled to a direct say in what he gets for his money. At the same time, the license fee system puts the broadcasters in a more direct relationship with the public than any other system of financing would. It reinforces a frame of mind in the BBC which impels us constantly to ask ourselves the question: "What ought we to be doing to serve the public better?"

Such a system for supporting a nation's broadcasting can be considered valuable in three respects. First, it assigns the costs for broadcasting directly to its consumers. Second, this tends to create a mutual and reciprocal sense of responsibility between the broadcasters and the audience members, which—third—frees the broadcasters from control and influence by governments (as might be the case where direct government support exists) or advertisers (as might be the case in commercial systems). Against these benefits is the problem of complacency. An increasing number of nations with license fees also allow limited commercial broadcasting, in part to overcome this tendency.

Many countries other than Great Britain, including Israel, Malta, France, the Netherlands, and Jordan, have some form of license fees. Some base their fee on color television only (like Great Britain) and some on color television and radio (for example, Denmark). Two-thirds of the countries in Europe, one-half in Africa and Asia, and 10 percent of those in the Americas and Caribbean rely, at least in part, on a license fee to support their television systems. Common among them is a philosophy of broadcasting that sees it as a "public good." A great many countries, however, if not all those reliant on a license-fee structure for funding

are now facing a new form of competition. Cable and satellite television have become common throughout the world, requiring subscription or payment fees in addition to the television license. These newer forms of distribution have also provided viewers with more programming options and, as audiences for state-supported systems decline in number, governments press the managers of state-supported broadcasting systems more severely to explain why the license fee should remain in place or be raised. In efforts to sustain or increase viewership, these circumstances have led to greater attention to numbers of viewers, to the creation of ratings systems to measure them, and to altered programming designed to attract larger audiences. In some views, these conditions have led to a severe erosion of the very notion of "public service broadcasting."

The second definition of license fee is applied most often in U.S. television, though its use is growing throughout television production communities elsewhere. It refers to funding that supports independent television production for broadcast networks or other television distributors such as cable companies. In this context, the license fee is the amount paid by the distributor to support production of commissioned programs and series. In exchange for the license fee, the distributor receives rights to a set number of broadcasts of commissioned programs. Following those broadcasts, the rights to the program revert to the producer. This form of production financing is central to the economic system of commercial television because the distributor's license fee rarely funds the full cost of program production. Producers or studios still must often finance part of their production costs and hope to recoup that amount when a program returns to their control and can be sold into syndication to other distribution venues. Nevertheless, the initial funds, in the form of a license fee, generally enable production to begin.

KIMBERLY B. MASSEY

*See also* **British Television; Public Service Television**

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# Life of Riley, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Life of Riley*, an early U.S. television sitcom filmed in Hollywood, was broadcast on NBC from 1949 to 1950 and from 1953 to 1958. Although the program had a loyal audience from its years on network radio (1943–51), its first season on television, in which Jackie Gleason was cast in the title role, failed to generate high ratings. William Bendix portrayed Riley in the second version, and the series was much more successful, among the top 25 most watched programs from 1953 to 1955. Syndicated in 1977, the series has been telecast on many cable systems.

*The Life of Riley* was one of several blue-collar, ethnic sitcoms popular in the 1950s. Chester A. Riley was the breadwinner of an Irish-American nuclear family living in suburban Los Angeles. Although most of the program took place within the Riley household, his job as an airplane riveter sometimes figured prominently in weekly episodes. Riley's fixed place in the socioeconomic structure also allowed for occasional barbs directed at the frustrations of factory employment and at the pretensions of the upper classes. After *The Life of Riley* was canceled, blue-collar protagonists like Riley would not reappear until *All in the Family* premiered in the 1970s.

A pilot for *The Life of Riley* starred Herb Vigran and was broadcast on NBC in 1948. Six months later, the series appeared on NBC with Riley played by Gleason; however, Riley's malapropisms and oafish behavior were poorly suited to Gleason's wisecracking nightclub style. Bendix, who had played Riley on radio and in a movie version, was originally unable to play the part on television due to film obligations. When he did assume the role, however, he became synonymous with the character.

Bendix played Riley in a manner that resembled many of his supporting roles in Hollywood films of the 1940s: as a heavy-handed, obstinate, yet ultimately sensitive lummock. Each week Riley first became flustered, then overwhelmed by seemingly minor problems concerning his job, his family, or his neighbors. These small matters escalated to the verge of disaster once Riley became involved. Riley's catch phrase—"What a revoltin' development this is!"—expressed his frustration and became part of the national idiom. His patient wife, Peg (originally played by Rosemary

DeCamp, then by Marjorie Reynolds), managed to keep the family in order despite her husband's calamitous blunders.

Other central characters included Riley's studious and attractive daughter, "Babs" (Gloria Winters, Luggage Sanders), and his younger, respectful son, "Junior" (Lanny Rees, Wesley Morgan). Riley also had several neighbors, friends, and coworkers. The most significant of these was Jim Gillis (Sid Tomack, Tom D'Andrea), Riley's smart-aleck neighbor whose schemes often instigated trouble.

The narrative structure of the series was much like that of any half-hour sitcom: Each week, stasis within the Riley household would be disrupted by a misunderstanding on Riley's part or by Riley's bungled efforts to improve his or his family's status. Catastrophe was ultimately averted by a simple solution, usually the clarification of a fact by Peg or another character besides Riley. Order was thus restored by the end of the episode.

The postwar suburban lifestyle conditioned much of the program's content. Mirroring trends established during the postwar economic boom, the Riley family lived comfortably, though not lavishly, aided—and sometimes baffled—by many of the latest household consumer gadgets. Gender roles typical of the era were also represented with Chester earning the family's single paycheck while Peg maintained the household. Similarly, Babs's problems typically concerned dating, while Junior's were related to school. Most of the problems in the Riley household occurred when the private and public realms merged, usually when Riley interfered with Peg's responsibilities.

Like many sitcoms of the 1950s, *The Life of Riley* reinforced the promise of suburban gratifications open to hard-working, white Americans. Even so, Riley's incompetence set him apart from his television counterparts. More so than Ozzie of *Ozzie and Harriet*, Riley's ineptitude called into question the role of the American father and therefore of the entire family structure, thus preceding some 1960s sitcoms such as *Green Acres* and *Bewitched* that carried that theme even further.

WARREN BAREISS

See also Gleason, Jackie



*The Life of Riley*, William Bendix, Marjorie Reynolds, Lucene Sanders, Wesley Morgan, 1953-58.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Life of Riley, The

### Cast (1949–50)

Chester A. Riley  
Peg Riley  
Junior  
Babs  
Jim Gillis  
Digby "Digger" O'Dell

Jackie Gleason  
Rosemary DeCamp  
Lanny Rees  
Gloria Winters  
Sid Tomack  
John Brown

Waldo Binney  
Otto Schmidlap  
Calvin Dudley (1955–56)  
Belle Dudley (1955–56)  
Dan Marshall (1957–58)

Sterling Holloway  
Henry Kulky  
George O'Hanlon  
Florence Sundstrom  
Martin Milne

### Producer

Irving Brecher

### Programming History

26 episodes  
DuMont  
October 1949–March 1950  
Tuesday 9:30–10:00

### Producer

Tom McKnight

### Programming History

212 episodes  
NBC  
January 1953–September 1956  
October 1956–December 1956  
January 1957–August 1958  
Friday 8:30–9:00  
Friday 8:00–8:30  
Friday 8:30–9:00

### Cast (1953–58)

Chester A. Riley  
Peg Riley  
Junior  
Babs Riley Marshall  
Jim Gillis  
(1953–55, 1956–58)  
Honeybee Gillis  
(1953–55, 1956–58)  
Egbert Gillis (1953–55)  
Cunningham  
Dangle  
Riley's Boss

William Bendix  
Marjorie Reynolds  
Wesley Morgan  
Lugene Sanders

Tom D'Andrea

Gloria Blondell  
Gregory Marshall  
Douglas Dumbrille  
Robert Sweeney  
Emory Parnell

### Further Reading

Brooks, T., and E. Marsh, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows: 1946–Present*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1988  
Hamamoto, Darrell Y., *Nervous Laughter: Television Situation Comedy and Liberal Democratic Ideology*, New York: Praeger, 1989  
Lipsitz, George, "The Meaning of Memory: Family, Class, and Ethnicity in Early Network Television Programs," in *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990  
Terrace, V., *Fifty Years of Television: A Guide to Series and Pilots, 1937–1988*, New York: Cornwall, 1991  
Terrace, V., *Television: 1970–1980*, San Diego, California: Barnes, 1981

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# Life on Earth

## British Natural History Series

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The genesis of *Life on Earth* came from several sources. The BBC had, during the 1970s, gained a reputation for producing landmark 13-part documentary series in which a noted expert in a particular field presented a definitive filmed account of that subject, using spectacular photography on diverse locations. These series had included *Civilisation* (1969) on the history of Western art, *The Ascent of Man* (1973) on the history of science, and *Alistair Cooke's America* (1976) on the history of the United States. What better to continue the line than the story of life on Earth?

David Attenborough had gained his reputation as a program maker at the BBC in the field of natural history: writing, presenting, and producing programs on the subject for both children and adults. As is the way in the BBC, this led to promotion to executive status and eventually channel and program controllership and, though Attenborough was successful at this (indeed it was he who, as controller of BBC 2, had commissioned *Civilisation* and started the line of landmark documentary series), he grew dissatisfied and longed to return to his roots as a program maker.



By the late 1970s, the natural history program had evolved to the point at which constantly improving photographic techniques, allied to a seemingly inexhaustible supply of subject matter, meant that returning series like *The World About Us* (BBC) and *Survival* (Anglia), as well as the output of National Geographic, filled television screens with a constant stream of outstanding programming. Yet no overall survey of the subject had been attempted. The stage was set for *Life on Earth*, and it was to prove a turning point in the coverage of its subject.

*Life on Earth* took as its subject the evolution of species, which it traced through the development of all the major forms of life, from the single cell to homo sapiens. The 13 hour-long episodes were as follows:

1. "The Infinite Variety," explaining the Darwinian theories of evolution and natural selection and how they produced such an enormous variety of life forms;
2. "Building Bodies," on the origins of life and how single cells developed into primitive creatures in the seas;
3. "The First Forests," on the development of plant life on the land;
4. "The Swarming Hordes," exploring the diversity of insect life and how it depends on plant life;
5. "Conquest of the Waters," on the variety of species of fish;
6. "Invasion of the Land," considering the crucial stage of evolution when fish took to the land and developed into amphibians;
7. "Victors of the Dry Land," on reptiles, including dinosaurs;
8. "Lords of the Air," considering the theory that birds may have evolved from dinosaurs and exploring the spectacular variety of species;
9. "The Rise of the Mammals," on another crucial stage of evolution;
10. "Themes and Variations," considering how the wide variety of mammal life evolved from a common ancestor;
11. "The Hunters and the Hunted," on how the relationship between predators and their prey drives evolution and behavior patterns;
12. "Life in the Trees," on the evolution of primates;
13. "The Compulsive Communicators," on human beings.

Although it told a coherent story, much of the success of *Life on Earth* was due to the succession of

spectacularly photographed sequences on particular species, such as birds of paradise or big cats hunting on the African plain, and, despite the plethora of natural history programs available, *Life on Earth* represented a step forward in the presentation of the subject on television. It took three years to make, with a number of photographic units at work all over the world. Their work was linked by Attenborough's authoritative script and narration and his pieces to camera filmed in all the relevant locations. Of these, the one that made the greatest impact, and has become a definitive moment in British television history, was his close encounter with a family of mountain gorillas in episode 11.

*Life on Earth* became a worldwide success and sparked an even greater demand for natural history programming, leading eventually to the emergence of a number of specialist channels devoted to the subject. For Attenborough himself, its success meant more of the same. He went on to present two very similar series, exploiting the vast array of potential subject matter, but arranging the latest spectacular wildlife sequences in different contexts. Thus *The Living Planet* (BBC, 1984) presented life on Earth from the perspective of habitat, while *The Trials of Life* (BBC, 1990) compared the approach of different species to the same problems. After that, he expanded several of the individual parts of *Life on Earth* into full-length series with *The Private Life of Plants*, (BBC, 1995), *The Life of Birds* (BBC, 1998) and *The Blue Planet* (BBC, 2001) on life in the seas.

STEVE BRYANT

See also **Attenborough, David**

#### **Writer/Presenter/Narrator**

David Attenborough

#### **Producers**

Christopher Parsons, Richard Brock, John Sparks

#### **Programming History**

13 episodes

BBC

January 16, 1979–March 10, 1979

#### **Further Reading**

Attenborough, David, *Life on Earth*, London: BBC/Collins, 1979

# Lifetime

U.S. Cable Network

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Lifetime Television ranks among the oldest U.S. cable networks, and made substantial gains in audience size in the early 21st century. Throughout its nearly 20 years of existence, Lifetime has focused on serving the needs of female audience members, although it has varied its emphasis and strategy in seeking audiences of both sexes. As "Television for Women" (its slogan claims), Lifetime enacted one of the earliest narrow-cast experiments, and yielded noteworthy success because of the degree to which women both are and are not a niche audience.

Lifetime Television was born from the merger of two cable networks in 1984. Daytime, a joint venture of Hearst and ABC, and the Viacom-owned Cable Health Network, had both launched in 1982, but struggled in this early era of limited cable distribution as neither network reached a large enough audience to command sizable advertising revenue. The newly created Lifetime retained programming from the original networks, with a heavy reliance on advertiser-created series and specials, many which featured pharmaceuticals and other health products, such as hormone supplements and diet aids. By the late 1980s, Lifetime began establishing its identity by acquiring off-net syndication rights to *Cagney & Lacey*, and by continuing original production of a series canceled by NBC, *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*.

The network experimented with other original dramatic series without success but began developing "World Premier Movies" produced originally for Lifetime in 1990, the form that most defined the network's reputation. These made-for-Lifetime films have shifted narrative focus slightly but formulaically rely on a plot centered on a female character (often played by an established, but fading television actress) facing a challenging personal and/or professional situation, but surmounting the obstacles by the film's conclusion. Most of the films are fictional, but some notable successes have been based on the lives of real women or news.

Although its films and series implicitly named the network's focus for some time, Lifetime launched its signature "Television for Women" slogan in 1995, and continued to establish itself with films about female protagonists who struggle through crises to succeed in the end. Viacom sold its share of Lifetime to partners

Hearst and Cap Cities/ABC in 1994, shortly before Cap Cities/ABC merged with the Walt Disney Company in 1995.

Lifetime spent nearly \$8 million developing four pilots in 1998, three of which aired during the 1998-99 television season. The investment paid off when the two-hour time slot in which the network scheduled the three series (*Any Day Now*, *Maggie*, and *Oh Baby*) increased the number of female 18-to-49-year-old viewers by nearly 200,000 viewers per week (46 percent). Lifetime's development of comedy series has been unsuccessful, with *Maggie* failing in the first year and *Oh Baby* in the second. *Any Day Now* developed a core following and drew critical attention for its stories about ethnic difference and racism in American culture. Lifetime has since emphasized dramatic series, debuting *Strong Medicine*, a medical series featuring two female doctors working in a women's health clinic in 2000, and *The Division*, a detective procedural set in a predominately female squad in 2001. Throughout the 1990s, Lifetime attempted to appeal to a general female audience without emphasizing the fragmented and diversified nature of this group, yet provided some of the only non-white, non-upper-middle-class female characters on U.S. television.

In the midst of experimenting with original programming, Lifetime entered another transitional phase. Despite six relatively successful years, Lifetime did not renew the contract of CEO Douglas McCormick, who had held the position since 1993, and named Carole Black the new Lifetime CEO in March 1999. Thus, Lifetime employed its first female CEO, recruiting Black from KNBC in Los Angeles, where she served as the station's general manager and was

*Lifetime*<sup>™</sup>  
*Television for Women*

*Exclusive Property of Lifetime Entertainment Services*

credited with bringing more women viewers to its newscasts. Black expanded the Lifetime programming budget to \$236 million, a 20 percent increase over 1998.

Positive critical reception and some audience gains by the original series that Lifetime schedules in a block on Sunday nights contributed to the rising status and viewership of the network, although its made-for-Lifetime movies continue to reach the largest audience. This success led the network to create a second network, Lifetime Movie Network (LMN), in September 1998. Programming for LMN consists of movies, miniseries, and theatrical films from the Lifetime library, as well as some purchased from second-run distributors. Although early market surveys reported a ready audience for the network, with 93 percent of women who watched Lifetime aware of its films, the network had a slow start. Stymied mainly by lack of distribution, a year after its launch LMN reached only five million households. LMN increased its reach to over 15 million by mid-2001, the same year it launched another network, Lifetime Real Women. This network features reality programming such as *Unsolved Mysteries*, *Intimate Portraits* (Lifetime's self-produced biography series), and films based on true stories, but receives limited distribution. Branching out with subnetworks has allowed the "mother" network to focus on narrative series.

Black inherited a solid network and expanded its gains. In 2001 Lifetime ranked 17th in projected revenue among all U.S. networks with \$715 million. Lifetime also possesses a large potential audience base, reaching 83.8 million cable and satellite homes, approximately 90 percent of those available. Nielsen Media Research ranked Lifetime the second most watched cable network with an average of 992,000 viewers per day (behind Nickelodeon), and, more sig-

nificantly, Lifetime drew an average of 1.58 million viewers in prime time, which earned it the distinction of the most watched cable network in 2001. Despite the current viability of the network, Black faces pressure to continue its growth and to prevent new competitors from eroding its grip on the female cable audience. Lifetime now faces direct competition in the niche women's market with Oxygen Media launching in 2000 as an integrated cable and Web media company, and the rebranding of Romance Classics Network as the Women's Entertainment Network (WE) in 2001.

AMANDA LOTZ

See also **Gender and Television; Narrowcasting**

### Further Reading

- Bronstein, Carolyn, "Mission Accomplished? Profits and Programming at the Network for Women," *Camera Obscura* (special volume on "Lifetime: A Cable Network for Women"), 33-34 (1994)
- Byars, Jackie, and Eileen R. Meehan, "Once in a Lifetime: Constructing the 'Working Woman' Through Cable Narrowcasting," *Camera Obscura* (special volume on "Lifetime: A Cable Network for Women"), 33-34 (1994)
- Hundley, Heather Lyn, "Defining Feminine Programming and Co-opting Liberal Feminism: A Discursive Analysis of Lifetime's Original Movies," Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1999
- Johnson, Eithne, "Lifetime's Feminine Psychographic Space and the *Mystery Loves Company Series*," *Camera Obscura* (special volume on "Lifetime: A Cable Network for Women"), 33-34 (1994)
- Meehan, Eileen, and Jackie Byars, "Telefeminism: How Lifetime Got Its Groove," in *Television and New Media*, Vol. 1 (2000)
- Wilson, Pamela, "Upscale Feminine Angst: *Molly Dodd*, the Lifetime Cable Network and Gender Marketing," *Camera Obscura* (special volume on "Lifetime: A Cable Network for Women"), 33-34 (1994)

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## Likely Lads, The

### British Comedy

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When the BBC's second television channel began in 1964, it was generally intended to provide the sort of minority-interest, factual, and cultural programming that was being marginalized by the BBC's struggle for popularity against the commercial channel ITV. It was also intended to advance the technology of tele-

vision by transmitting on the new 625-line standard, which would pave the way for the introduction of color. To receive it, viewers needed to buy a new television set—and to sell the new sets in large enough numbers, the new channel needed some popular programming.

In the field of comedy, *The Likely Lads* provided the perfect vehicle, being both innovative and within the tradition of popular entertainment. It launched the comedy career of the writing team of Dick Clement and Ian La Frenais and proved one of the infant channel's most enduring successes.

The protagonists are two young friends, Terry Collier and Bob Ferris, recently out of school and starting out in their first jobs. Their interests are predictable—girls, drinks, football, and fun. However, they are a new breed of working-class heroes. They have some money in their pockets and the Swinging Sixties are getting underway. The first scene of the first episode, "Entente Cordiale," sees them coming home from a holiday in Spain—the sort of thing that had been unavailable to their kind in earlier years but that had come to be taken for granted by their generation.

The setting, the northeast of England, was also fairly new—to television, anyway. In many ways, *The Likely Lads* was television's response to the portrayal of north country youth in such films of the early 1960s as *A Kind of Loving* and *Billy Liar*. Indeed, the two young actors chosen for the lead roles—James Bolam as Terry and Rodney Bewes as Bob—had begun their careers in minor roles in these films.

As the series progressed, the two characters emerged, and their differences were to form the basis for the comedy and the development of the show. Both the lads have a sharp intelligence but use it differently, and they reach different conclusions about what they want out of life. Terry is a cynic. He knows his class and his place in society, and his sole aim is to get what he can, when he can. Bob has ambitions. He thinks he can make a better life for himself but lacks confidence. Terry's crazy schemes scare him, but it is usually his friend who comes off worse.

There were three series of *The Likely Lads* between 1964 and 1966, a total of 20 episodes. In the final episode, "Good-bye to All That," Bob decides to join the army. Missing his friend, Terry signs up too, only to find that Bob has been discharged for having flat feet and that he, Terry, is committed for five years.

So, the likely lads went their own ways and the actors into different projects with varying success. But, with the spread of color television in the early 1970s, the BBC instituted a policy of reviving its biggest comedy successes of the 1960s. Following *Steptoe and Son* and *Till Death Us Do Part*, the decision was made to bring back *The Likely Lads*. However, unlike the other two sitcoms, *The Likely Lads* was not the same as it had been. The new title, *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* reflected the fact that seven years had passed since they last appeared. The actors were older, and the characters had aged with them. Terry had seen the world (Germany and Cyprus) with the army. Bob

had been successful at work, and, as the series opened in 1973, he is buying a new house and is about to marry his childhood sweetheart, Thelma (Bridgit Forsyth), and settle down to a respectable middle-class life.

Terry's return, and his withering contempt for what he sees as Bob's betrayal of his working-class roots, threatens to spoil Bob's plans and ruin his marriage, which takes place as the series progresses. At the same time, the shifting economic circumstances of the Northeast are reflected in Terry's feeble attempts to find employment or any sort of a role in a place that has changed so much in his absence.

*Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* provided, among all the laughs, a social commentary equal to anything found in the serious drama of the time. Two series were made in 1973 and 1974, a total of 26 shows. The actors, particularly James Bolam, tried subsequently to shake off their roles, but there are still many in Britain who wonder what Terry and Bob are up to now.

STEVE BRYANT

See also **La Frenais, Ian**

#### Cast

Terry Collier	James Bolam
Bob Ferris	Rodney Bewes

#### Producers

Dick Clement, James Gilbert, Bernard Thompson

#### Programming History

##### The Likely Lads

20 25-minute episodes

BBC

December 1964–January 1965 6 episodes

June 1965–July 1965 6 episodes

June 1966–July 1966 8 episodes

##### Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?

26 30-minute episodes, 1 45-minute special

BBC

January 1973–April 1973 13 episodes

January 1974–April 1974 13 episodes

December 24, 1974 Christmas special

#### Further Reading

Grant, Linda, "The Lad Most Likely to..." *The Guardian* (August 12, 1995)

Ross, Deborah, "What Really Happened to the Likely Lad?" *Daily Mail* (July 17, 1993)

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## Link, William (1933– )

U.S. Writer

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William Link and Richard Levinson formed one of the most notable writing and producing teams in the history of U.S. television. Working in both series and made-for-television movie forms, they moved easily from what they considered light entertainment to the exploration of serious and immensely complicated social problems. Their collaboration was of much longer standing than even their television careers suggest, for they had begun to work together in the early years of high school in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Even at that time the two wrote plays together, inspired by radio dramas, which they frequently wire recorded. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania and completing service in the U.S. Army, they quickly formed an adult partnership that was to last until Levinson's death in 1987. Intent upon building a career in television, they followed the migration of talent to California in 1960 and were quickly identified for their talents.

After almost ten years of working with series television, the “boys,” as they were identified by Martin Sheen, who often starred in their movies, began to explore “social issues.” It may have begun with their questions regarding the violence of television shows such as *Mannix*, their own creation. As Link put it in an interview, “Dick and I did not know whether television violence had an effect or not, but we just decided we were not going to do that kind of writing anymore.” *Columbo* was the natural answer. In Link's words, “It portrayed a bloodless murder followed by a cat-and-mouse game. *Columbo* was a meat-and-potatoes cop who brought low the rich and famous.”

The partners made these social concerns explicit in the character of Ira Davidson, central figure in their made-for-television movie *The Storyteller* (1977). In that piece, Davidson, a television writer, engages his producer in a debate about TV violence. The producer questions the writer's deletion of violent scenes from his original treatment. Davidson replies that he could tell the story just as well without vehicular mayhem. The producer then accuses him of acquiring a conscience just when nonviolence was fashionable and insists he does not want the Parent Teachers Association or anyone else telling him what kind of television to make. He wants to use violence when it works for the

plot without interference from the network. Ira responds, “Agreed.” Surprised, the producer says, “Agreed? But I thought . . .” Ira ends the discussion by stating, “I was telling you what I am going to do. What you do is your business.”

Discussing those social dramas, Link commented, “The best things come to you—they fall into your hand or you see a human life situation like *That Certain Summer*—and you say that would make a good drama. It's hard to begin by saying, ‘Let's do a social drama.’ These things just occur to you.” Link's philosophy of filmmaking is summed up in remarks he made in the early 1980s:

In the films where we have serious intentions, we tend to understate. This comes from a feeling that if you're going to deal with subjects such as homosexuality, or race relations, or gun control, you should show some aesthetic restraint and not wallow in these materials like a kid who's permitted to write dirty words on a wall. Our approach is that if you're going to use these controversial subjects—play against them. Don't be so excited by your freedom that you go for the obvious. The danger, of course, is that sometimes you get so muted that you boil out the drama. In *The Storyteller* we were so concerned with being fair and with balance that we lost energy and dramatic impact.

When Link spoke movingly about Levinson upon their induction into the Television Hall of Fame in 1995, the extremely difficult task of admitting to himself that there was no longer “Link and Levinson” was completed. Even as he oversaw the final production of the made-for-television movie *United States v. Salaar Ajami* (aired as *Hostile Witness*, 1988), that fact perhaps led to reviving a story idea Levinson had rejected.

Link wrote and produced *The Boys* (1991), dealing with a writing partnership in which one man smokes, while the other informs his colleague that he has contracted cancer from secondhand cigarette smoke. Here was a social drama on two levels. While not strictly autobiographical, the drama was surely related to individual experience. Levinson smoked heavily during most of his adult years, and the practice most probably shortened his life. *The Boys*, then, was personal, but it also dealt with a real social issue.

After Levinson's death, Link remained active as a



William Link.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

writer-producer at Universal, working on new stories for *Columbo*. By continuing to hold on to the producer credit, he held creative control over the words. As Link expressed it in an interview:

We produce for two reasons. One is to protect the material. And the second is that we've discovered that producing is an extension of writing. The day before they're going to shoot it, you walk on a set designed for a character you've written. You say to the art director, "The man we've written would not have these paintings. He would not have that dreadful objet d'art sitting there. It's much too cluttered for a guy of his sensibilities. So clean out the set..." We created that person as a character. We're also interested in how it's extended.

In the late 1980s, Link served as supervising executive producer of *The ABC Mystery Movie*. Leaving Universal in 1991, he became executive producer and writer for *The Cosby Mysteries* on NBC. He also became an actor in the series when Bill Cosby insisted on casting him as a saxophone instructor for Cosby's character. Appearing infrequently, Link was a natural for the part.

William Link has a lively sense of humor and frequently employs it to assail what he perceives as the current decay of the industry he loves. He is an avid reader of mysteries, extremely knowledgeable concerning music and cinema, and an active collector of Latin American art. He and his wife, Margery Link, live surrounded by the collection.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

**See also *Columbo*; Detective Programs; Johnson, Lamont; Levinson, William**

**William Link.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1933. Educated at University of Pennsylvania, B.S., 1956. Served in U.S. Army, 1956–58. Married: Margery Nelson, 1980. Scriptwriter with partner Richard Levinson for many television series; with Levinson created a number of television series; also with Levinson wrote and produced many made-for-television movies dealing with social problems; wrote *The Boys*, 1991, loosely based on the partnership with Levinson; writer-producer, *The Cosby Mysteries*, 1994–95; as actor, appeared as Sapolsky in *The Cosby Mysteries*, 1994; producer of television series and made-for-television movies, from 1995. Recipient (all with Richard Levinson): Emmy Awards, 1970 and 1972; Image Award, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1970; Golden Globe Award, 1972; Silver Nymph Award, Monte Carlo Film Festival, 1973; Peabody Award, 1974; Edgar Awards, Mystery Writers of America, 1979, 1980, 1983; Christopher Award, 1981; Paddy Chayefsky Laurel

Award, Writers Guild of America, 1986; Ellery Queen Award, Mystery Writers of America, 1989, for lifetime contribution to the art of the mystery; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Television Hall of Fame, 1995.

#### Television Series

1994–95 *The Cosby Mysteries*

#### Television Series (selected episodes written with Richard Levinson)

1955–65 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
 1958–60 *Desilu Playhouse*  
 1961–77 *Dr. Kildare*  
 1963–67 *The Fugitive*

#### Television Series (created with Richard Levinson)

1967–75 *Mannix*  
 1969–73 *The Bold Ones*  
 1971–77, 1989–90 *Columbo*  
 1971 *The Psychiatrist*  
 1973–74 *Tenafly*  
 1975–76 *Ellery Queen*  
 1980 *Stone*  
 1984–96 *Murder, She Wrote*  
 1985 *Scene of the Crime*  
 1986–88 *Blacke's Magic*  
 1987 *Hard Copy*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1989–90 *The ABC Mystery Movie*  
 1991 *The Boys*

#### Made-for-Television Movies (with Richard Levinson)

1968 *Istanbul Express*  
 1969 *The Whole World Is Watching*  
 1970 *My Sweet Charlie*  
 1971 *Two on a Bench*  
 1972 *That Certain Summer*  
 1972 *The Judge and Jake Wylar*  
 (also with David Shaw)  
 1973 *Tenafly*  
 1973 *Partners in Crime*  
 1973 *Savage*  
 1974 *The Execution of Private Slovik*  
 1974 *The Gun*

1975 *Ellery Queen*,  
 1975 *A Cry for Help*  
 1977 *Charlie Cobb: Nice Night*  
*for a Hanging*  
 1977 *The Storyteller*  
 1979 *Murder by Natural Causes*  
 1981 *Crisis at Central High*  
 1982 *Rehearsal for Murder*  
 1982 *Take Your Best Shot*  
 1983 *Prototype*  
 1984 *The Guardian*  
 1985 *Guilty Conscience*  
 1985 *Murder in Space*  
 1986 *Vanishing Act*  
 1986 *Blacke's Magic*  
 1988 *Hostile Witness*  
 1990 *Over My Dead Body*

Credited as creator on 18 *Columbo* made-for-television movies, 1989–1998

#### Films (with Richard Levinson)

*The Hindenberg*, 1975; *Rollercoaster*, 1977.

#### Stage (with Richard Levinson; selected)

*Merlin*, 1982; *Killing Jessica*, 1986; *Guilty Conscience*, 1986.

#### Publications (with Richard Levinson)

*Prescription: Murder* (three-act play), 1963  
*Fineman* (novel), 1972  
*Stay Tuned: An Inside Look at the Making of Prime-Time Television*, 1981  
*The Playhouse* (novel), 1984  
*Guilty Conscience: A Play of Suspense in Two Acts*, 1985  
*Off Camera: Conversations with the Makers of Prime-Time Television*, 1986

#### Further Reading

Broughton, Irv, *Producers on Producing: The Making of Film and Television*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1986  
 Burger, Richard, *The Producers: A Descriptive Directory of Film and Television Directors in the Los Angeles Area*, Venice, California: R. Burger, 1985  
 Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983

# Little House on the Prairie

U.S. Drama Series

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After *Bonanza* ended its successful run (1959–73) on NBC, the popular Michael Landon, who had played Little Joe Cartwright, was offered numerous TV opportunities. In addition to his acting duties, *Bonanza* had given Landon the chance to write and direct. He wanted to create a new series, yet he was unsure of what sort of project he wanted to pursue.

Ed Friendly, a former network vice president and coproducer of *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In*, was a savvy television veteran. Like Landon, he was looking for a new television series. To that end, he had acquired the dramatic rights for Laura Ingalls Wilder's nostalgic nine-volume *Little House on the Prairie* book series from her family estate. Until Landon entered the picture, Friendly was unable to generate any interest in producing a television series based on the books. Networks were unimpressed with the no frills, values-oriented approach such a series would require. As luck would have it, Friendly proposed *Little House* to Landon at a time when his daughter, Leslie, was immersed in the *Little House* book series.

NBC had witnessed the success of CBS's *The Waltons* and commissioned *Little House on the Prairie* as direct competition for the program. That was perfect for Landon, who differed from many of his Hollywood peers. He opposed TV violence, eschewed traditional Hollywood business models, and used *Little House on the Prairie* to convey positive family values. Landon wanted a show that families could watch together and he wanted to feature themes that would be important to a modern generation. Landon wrote, directed, and starred in the series from 1974 to 1982. Initially, he coproduced *Little House on the Prairie* with Friendly, but everyone knew from the outset that Landon was in charge. Friendly wanted the series to remain true to Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House* book series, but Landon had other ideas.

Those viewers who tuned in to *Little House on the Prairie* expecting to see a *Bonanza* clone may have been disappointed. Both series were one-hour dramas and both were period pieces from the late 1800s, but the similarities ended there. There were no fights, shootings, or other instances of violence as there had been on *Bonanza*. Rather than the massive, sprawling Ponderosa ranch of the Cartwright clan, there was the

humble Ingalls family log cabin. Instead of the eligible bachelor named Little Joe Cartwright, Michael Landon had a new alter ego in the settled, frontier family man named Charles "Pa" Ingalls. Landon's on-screen character may have been different, but his creative work delighted audiences.

Although Landon considered the *Little House* books to be depressing, he knew the setting would work for a program that would be uplifting. From the beginning, Landon let Friendly know the direction the series would take; there was little relationship between the books and TV series. Landon blamed much of the inconsistency on the physical location for shooting the series. For example, Landon refused to have his character wear a beard as the real Charles Ingalls had done. Simi Valley, California, where the program was filmed, could reach temperatures of up to 110 degrees—something that would certainly not be commonplace in Minnesota, where the Ingalls family lived. Landon refused to let the child actors go shoeless like the children of the book. He was careful not to let them step on the thorns, glass, or snakes that were frequently discovered on the California set. And there was the fact that the main character in the book was Laura Ingalls—not her father. Since Landon was to play the father, he wanted that character to be the centerpiece of the production.

Friendly wanted the series to be like the books, but during production of the pilot commissioned by NBC, Landon's intentions became obvious to Friendly. Friendly knew the cards were stacked against him, because NBC was in Landon's corner. The two-hour *Little House on the Prairie* pilot aired on March 30, 1974, garnering a 26.2 rating and a 45 share. As a result, NBC picked up the series. It debuted on September 11, 1974, on NBC and was instantly successful with viewers. Friendly did all he could to wrestle control from Landon, but he knew there would be no series without Landon. Friendly gave up his fight before the series aired, but he may have found some solace in that numerous television critics panned the series. Many compared it unfavorably with *The Waltons*.

As farmer Charles "Pa" Ingalls, Landon played a pioneer father in the 1870s. Ingalls had built a farm near the border of Kansas and Oklahoma in the 1870s,



but he was forced to move when the federal government set aside the land for a Native American reservation. Ingalls, his wife Caroline (Karen Grassle), and their three daughters moved hundreds of miles to Walnut Grove, Minnesota. In Walnut Grove, the real-life Ingalls family lived in squalor. Charles situated the house on the banks of Plum Creek, where he literally made it from sod and mud. As the family crops paid off, Ingalls built a modest wooden house that had glass windows. Although the frontier was a difficult place to make a home or living, Landon did not want the TV family of *Little House on the Prairie* to live in such a primitive home. The TV series was uplifting to many viewers, but it was equally depressing to others, with its weekly disasters ranging from swarming locusts, to blindness, illness, and prejudice.

The daughters were Mary (Melissa Sue Anderson), who was the eldest, Laura (Melissa Gilbert), who narrated the stories, Carrie (twins Lindsay and Sidney Greenbush—alternating), and Grace (Wendi and Brenda Turnbeaugh—alternating) who was added in 1977. The Ingalls characters later adopted other children.

When the series began, Landon believed the show was good for a four-year run. Its popularity kept it going for eight years, when Landon discontinued his regular appearances. He continued to produce the program for a ninth season when the show transformed into *Little House: A New Beginning* (1982–83). Charles and Caroline moved to Iowa, leaving Walnut Grove to other family members. After the series ended, Landon produced three *Little House* TV movies for NBC: *Look Back to Yesterday* (1983), *Bless All the Dear Children* (1984), and the appropriately named *The Last Farewell* (1984). During its nine-year run, *Little House on the Prairie* finished the year in the top 20 programs six times and was in the top ten two times (1977–78, 1980–81). Its highest annual rating was a tie for sixth in 1977–78. It has remained popular in syndication.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also *Bonanza*; Landon, Michael

**Cast**

Charles “Pa” Ingalls	Michael Landon
Caroline “Ma” Ingalls	Karen Grassle
Laura Ingalls Wilder	Melissa Gilbert
Mary Ingalls Kendall (1974–81)	Melissa Sue Anderson
Carrie Ingalls	Lindsay and Sidney Greenbush (twins)
Grace Ingalls (1978–82)	Wendi and Brenda Turnbeaugh (twins)

Lars Hanson (1974–78)  
Nels Oleson  
Harriett Oleson

Nellie Oleson Dalton  
(1974–81)  
Willie Oleson  
Dr. Hiram Baker  
Reverend Robert Alden  
Isaiah Edwards  
(1974–77, 1982–83)  
Grace Snider Edwards  
(1974–77)  
Jonathan Garvey (1977–81)  
Alice Garvey (1977–80)  
Andrew “Andy” Garvey  
(1977–81)  
Albert Quinn Ingalls  
(1978–82)

Eva Beadle Sims (1974–78)  
Adam Kendall (1978–81)  
Hester Sue Terhune (1978–83)  
Almanzo Wilder (1979–83)  
Eliza Jane Wilder (1979–80)  
James Cooper Ingalls  
(1981–82)  
Cassandra Cooper Ingalls  
(1981–82)  
Nancy Oleson (1981–83)  
Alica Sanderson-Edwards  
(1975–77)  
Percival Dalton  
Jenny Wilder (1982–83)  
John Carter (1982–83)  
Sarah Carter (1982–83)  
Mrs. Melinda Foster  
Jeb Carter (1982–83)  
Jason Carter (1982–83)  
Etta Plum (1982–83)  
Rose Wilder (1982–84)  
(uncredited)

Karl Swenson  
Richard Bull  
Katherine  
MacGregor

Alison Arngrim  
Jonathan Gilbert  
Kevin Hagen  
Dabbs Greer

Victor French

Bonnie Bartlett  
Merlin Olsen  
Hersha Parady

Patrick Labordeaux

Matthew  
Labordeaux  
Charlotte Stewart  
Linwood Boomer  
Ketty Lester  
Dean Butler  
Lucy Lee Flippin

Jason Bateman

Missy Francis  
Allison Balson

Kyle Richards  
Steve Tracy  
Shannon Doherty  
Stan Ivar  
Pamela Roylance  
Ruth Foster  
Lindsay Kennedy  
David Friedman  
Leslie Landon

Brenda and  
Michelle Steffin  
(twins)

**Producer**

Michael Landon

**Programming History**

1974–1983	183 episodes
NBC	
September 1974–August 1976	Wednesday 8:00–9:00

## Little House on the Prairie

September 1976–August 1982    Monday 8:00–9:00  
September 1982–March 1983    Monday 8:00–9:00

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## Littlefield, Warren (1952–)

U.S. Media Executive

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Warren Littlefield was an executive at NBC from 1979 to 1998, and currently produces prime-time programming for several networks through his production outfit, the Littlefield Company, which he cofounded in 1999. Littlefield served as president of the entertainment division of NBC from 1991 to 1998, during which time he was responsible for the development of prime-time, late-night, and Saturday-morning entertainment programming. Under Littlefield's guidance, NBC rose from last place in almost every Nielsen rating category to become the top-ranked network for 11 of Littlefield's last 16 years at NBC, setting a record for consecutive years at number one. Littlefield contributed to the development of many of the series that defined "quality programming" in the 1980s and 1990s. NBC's entertainment programming received 168 Emmy Awards under his leadership.

Littlefield began his career in the mid-1970s as a gofer at a small media production company in New York City. By 1977 Littlefield was a vice president at Westfall Productions, where he developed and produced prime-time specials and movies, most notably the CBS movie *The Last Giraffe*, shot exclusively on location in Kenya. After a brief stint at Warner Brothers, Littlefield was hired by NBC's Brandon Tartikoff in December 1979 as manager of comedy development. He quickly worked his way up the executive ladder from vice president for comedy development in 1981 to senior vice president for prime time in 1987.

Throughout the 1980s, Littlefield oversaw the development of several critically acclaimed and financially successful situation comedies, including *Cheers*, *Family Ties*, *The Cosby Show*, and *The Golden Girls*. He is also credited with casting Will Smith in NBC's successful *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*.

In 1990 Littlefield was appointed president of NBC Entertainment, making him second only to Tartikoff among NBC's program executives. When Tartikoff left NBC for Paramount in 1991, Littlefield replaced him at the helm. During the 1990s, Littlefield developed the NBC dramas and situation comedies *Seinfeld*, *ER*, *Friends*, *Frasier*, *Mad About You*, *Just Shoot Me*, *3rd Rock from the Sun*, *NewsRadio*, *Law & Order*, and *Homicide: Life on the Street*. Shortly before leaving NBC, he was also involved with the development of *Will and Grace*, *Providence*, and *The West Wing* (owned by NBC Studios). In addition to these comedic and dramatic series, Littlefield acquired the film classic *It's a Wonderful Life* and presented the initial network broadcast of *Schindler's List* without commercials (underwritten by Firestone) to over 60 million Americans.

Littlefield is also widely regarded as the NBC executive who hired and supported Jay Leno over David Letterman as the host of *The Tonight Show* following Johnny Carson's retirement. Littlefield also oversaw the hiring of Conan O'Brien to replace David Letterman in NBC's 12:30 spot, when Letterman moved to CBS in 1993.

In interviews, Littlefield takes credit for branding NBC as the network that, in his words, offered “quality” programming to the “upscale” or “key” demographic of “college-educated, urban-based young adults earning over \$75,000 a year.” Delivering that audience to advertisers was largely responsible for NBC’s renaissance, which, according to Littlefield, “distinguished [NBC from the other networks], and I made advertisers pay a tremendous premium for that.” Indeed, Littlefield points out that during his last three years at NBC, upfront ad sales totaled \$2 billion more than its nearest competitor.

As NBC’s ratings began to fade in the late 1990s, Littlefield was replaced by Scott Sassa. Littlefield entered into a nonexclusive production venture with the network through his newly formed Littlefield Company. In 2001 Littlefield (and the Littlefield Company) entered into a multiyear agreement with the network television division of Paramount, and has since coproduced the sitcom *Do Over* for the WB network and the dramedy *Keen Eddie* for FOX. Although both programs received some critical praise and loyal followings when they debuted in 2003, including fan communities on the Web, both programs were canceled before finishing their first seasons. In 2003 the Bravo cable network, which is owned by NBC’s parent company General Electric, purchased the rights to *Keen Eddie* and is scheduled to run all 13 episodes in 2004. With NBC’s marketing and promotions behind it and the scheduled release of the series on DVD, *Keen Eddie* is expected to recoup its initial losses.

Littlefield’s “multi-ethnic situation comedy” *Like Family*, which also premiered on the WB in 2003 finished near the bottom of the Nielsen ratings but scored well enough in the key demographic categories of women aged 12–34, teens, and female teens to merit being picked up for an additional nine episodes for the 2004 season. Although the program does not explicitly address racism in the tradition of the politically charged *All in the Family*, it is a rare example of a racially diverse family situation comedy. (In the pilot, a white single mother and her 16-year-old son move in with a middle-class African-American family.) In January 2004, Littlefield was also producing the drama *Repo Man* for NBC with *Keen Eddie* writer Joel Wyman, and developing a new dramedy for ABC entitled *Joe Green and Eugene* with *Keen Eddie* star Mark Valley.

Littlefield’s career is thus illustrative of the shifting landscape of television over the past 25 years from broadcasting to narrowcasting. Indeed, while one could argue that Littlefield has experienced a relative lack of success in recent years as a producer when compared with his years as an NBC executive, in an era of increased channels and fragmented audiences—combined with increased media conglomeration and product integration—Littlefield’s projects have remained consistently profitable through niche marketing and cross-promotion.

JAMES CASTONGUAY

*See also Cheers; Cosby Show, The; Family Ties; Frasier; Friends; Golden Girls, The; Homicide: Life on the Street; Law & Order; Narrowcasting; Seinfeld; Tartikoff, Brandon; Tonight Show*

**Warren Littlefield.** Born in Montclair, New Jersey, May 11, 1952. B.A. in psychology, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1974. Vice president, Westfall Productions, 1977. Hired as NBC’s manager of comedy development, 1979. Named vice president for comedy development, 1981. Named senior vice president for prime time, 1987. President of the entertainment division of NBC, 1991–98. Cofounded the Littlefield Company in 1999. With the Littlefield Company, entered into a multiyear agreement with the network television division of Paramount, 2001.

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# Live with Regis and Kathie Lee/Live with Regis and Kelly. *See Philbin, Regis*

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## Loach, Ken (1937– )

British Director

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Ken Loach is Britain's most renowned and controversial director of socially conscious television drama. He is also an internationally acclaimed director of feature films whose radical political messages consistently provoke strong responses in audiences and politicians alike. In 1965 he received the British Television Guild's TV Director of the Year Award, while the 1990s brought prizes and nominations at the Cannes Film Festival. His considerable body of work, documenting British society since the 1960s, is an acknowledged source of inspiration to his contemporaries.

Loach worked for a brief spell as a repertory actor before joining the BBC in 1963 as a trainee television director. Significantly, this was during the progressive director-generalship of Sir Hugh Greene and coincided with Sydney Newman's influential appointment as head of BBC drama. Loach's earliest directorial contribution was on episodes of the ground-breaking police series *Z Cars*, but he first attracted serious attention with *Up the Junction*, a starkly realistic portrayal of working-class life in south London, which in 1965 was one of the earliest productions in the BBC's innovative *Wednesday Play* slot. This success marked the beginning of a long and fertile creative collaboration with story editor and producer Tony Garnett, which led to the recognition of their particular mode of documentary drama as the "Loach-Garnett" style. It also positioned Loach as an exponent of television's foray into the "social realist" British New Wave, popular in film, theater, and novels.

Loach collaborated with Garnett on a number of other celebrated *Wednesday Play* productions, including David Mercer's famous play about schizophrenia, *In Two Minds* (1967), which Loach later made into a feature film, *Family Life* (1971), and two significant industrial drama-documentaries written by ex-coal

miner Jim Allen: *The Big Flame* (1969) and *The Rank and File* (1971). These productions demonstrated Loach's passionate concern to ignore theatrical artificiality in favor of authentic dramas on topical, important issues—dramas that give a voice to politically marginalized sections of society. By far the most powerful work from this period of Loach's career, however, is *Cathy Come Home* (1966), a study of the effects of homelessness and bureaucracy on family life. This remains one of the most seminal program events in the history of British television.

*Cathy Come Home*, written by former journalist Jeremy Sandford, exploded with tremendous force upon the complacent, affluent, post-Beatles culture of the Swinging Sixties. Drawing attention to disturbing levels of social deprivation far in excess of those claimed by government, the play led to a public outcry, questions in Parliament, the establishment of the housing charity Shelter, and a relaxation of policy on the dissolution of homeless families. Reflecting years afterward on this *succès de scandale*, Loach explained that, though he may have believed at the time in the potential of television drama for effecting social change, he had subsequently come to realize it could do nothing more than provide a social critique, promoting awareness of problems capable of resolution only through political action.

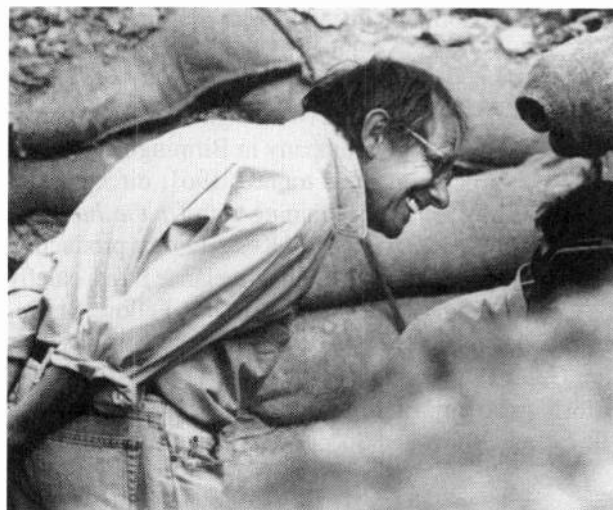
It was not only the subject matter of *Cathy*, and of Loach's television work generally, that struck contemporary audiences and critics as innovative; his chosen form and style were distinctive and provocative too. Above all, he was concerned to capture a sense of the real, extending a range of practiced cinema-vérité techniques to produce a sense of immediacy and plausibility that would in turn produce recognition in the

spectator and inspire collective action. Lightweight, handheld camera; grainy 16mm film stock; a black-and-white aesthetic; location shooting; natural lighting; direct, asynchronous sound; blending of experienced and nonprofessional performers; authentic regional accents and dialects; overlapping dialogue; improvised acting; expressive editing; incorporation of statistical information: all these strategies combined in varying degrees to create a compelling and original documentary effect markedly at odds with the look of traditional "acted" television drama.

In 1975 the distinctive Loach-Garnett style was employed in a notable exploration, nearly 400 minutes in length, of British labor history, which functioned as a poignant commentary on the parlous state of contemporary industrial relations. This was the four-part BBC serial *Days of Hope*, scripted by Jim Allen, which follows a northern British working-class family through the turbulent years of struggle from the end of World War I to the general strike of 1926. Loach, already subject to criticism for preferring the docudrama form (deemed reprehensible in some quarters for its potential confusion of fact and fiction), now found himself embroiled in an academic debate about the extent to which radical television drama, using the conventions of bourgeois realism, could be truly "progressive." Loach insisted that his priority was populist political discourse rather than a rarefied, aesthetic debate of interest only to a critical elite. In other words, *Days of Hope* and the other strike dramas that preceded it were intended to open the eyes of ordinary people to the emancipatory potential of free collective bargaining within any capitalist culture.

Loach made his first feature film, *Poor Cow*, at the height of his television fame in 1967. He became a major founding partner, with Tony Garnett, of the independent production company, Kestrel Films, for which he made half a dozen low-budget films between 1969 and 1986. His first project at Kestrel Films was *Kes*, a moving story of a young boy and his pet kestrel set against a bleak northern industrial landscape. Some of the Kestrel Films projects were intended for television screening as well as limited theatrical release.

The Thatcher years put Loach increasingly in conflict with those who took exception to the left-wing thrust of his work and wanted to censor it or lessen its impact. Finding it difficult to ensure transmission of the kind of television drama he considered important, he turned for a while almost exclusively to straight documentary, convinced that the nonfiction form could more speedily and directly address the key social and political questions of the day. If anything, however, this route led Loach into even greater problems with censorship, culminating in the controversial withdrawals of the four-part series *Questions of Leadership*



Ken Loach.  
Photo courtesy of Ken Loach

(1983) and *Which Side Are You On?* (1984), a polemical documentary about the socially disruptive miners' strike. It was probably this unsavory experience, and the greater freedom afforded by cinema, that drove Loach away from television at the end of the 1980s.

The 1990s and beyond brought Ken Loach renewed success and established him as one of Britain's foremost film directors, albeit not of mainstream commercial films. Beginning with his political thriller about a military cover-up in Ulster, *Hidden Agenda*, which was reviled and praised in roughly equal measure on its first screening at Cannes, Loach has gone on to make roughly one feature film each year, usually with an early television showing in mind. These are, without exception, films of integrity that continue their director's lifelong principle of bringing issues of oppression, inhumanity, and hypocrisy to the public's attention. The political content is, if anything, more foregrounded than in the earlier television work; the uncompromising focus on the disadvantaged or voiceless sections of society remains the same. Though he made brief returns to the television drama-documentary genre in 1997 with *The Flickering Flame* (about a strike by Liverpool dock workers) and in 2001 with *The Navigators* (about the chaotic aftermath of rail privatization in Britain), Loach continues to reserve his creative energies chiefly for cinema. After a lifetime of eschewing filming in the United States, he relented in 2000 with *Bread and Roses*, a typical Loach vehicle about a strike by non-unionized janitors in Los Angeles.

TONY PEARSON

See also *Cathy Come Home*; *Docudrama*; *Garnett, Tony*; *Wednesday Play, The*; *Z Cars*

**Ken Loach.** Born in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, England, June 17, 1937. Attended King Edward School, Nuneaton; St. Peter's College, Oxford. Married: Lesley Ashton, 1962; two sons and two daughters. Began career as actor with repertory company in Birmingham; joined BBC drama department as trainee, 1961; director with producer Tony Garnett, beginning with *Up the Junction*, 1965; founder, with Garnett, of Kestrel Films production company, 1969; has worked on a freelance basis, chiefly for Central Television, since the 1970s. Fellow, St. Peter's College, Oxford, 1993. Recipient: British Television Guild Television Director of the Year Award, 1965; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1967; Cannes Festival Special Jury Prize, 1990.

#### Television Series

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1962–78 | <i>Z Cars</i>                                       |
| 1975    | <i>Days of Hope</i>                                 |
| 1983    | <i>Questions of Leadership</i><br>(not transmitted) |

#### Television Specials

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1964 | <i>Catherine</i>                            |
| 1964 | <i>Profit By Their Example</i>              |
| 1964 | <i>The Whole Truth</i>                      |
| 1964 | <i>The Diary of a Young Man</i>             |
| 1965 | <i>Tap on the Shoulder</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Wear a Very Big Hat</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Three Clear Sundays</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Up the Junction</i>                      |
| 1965 | <i>The End of Arthur's Marriage</i>         |
| 1965 | <i>The Coming Out Party</i>                 |
| 1966 | <i>Cathy Come Home</i>                      |
| 1967 | <i>In Two Minds</i>                         |
| 1968 | <i>The Golden Vision</i>                    |
| 1969 | <i>The Big Flame</i>                        |
| 1969 | <i>In Black and White</i> (not transmitted) |
| 1970 | <i>After a Lifetime</i>                     |
| 1971 | <i>The Rank and File</i>                    |
| 1973 | <i>A Misfortune</i>                         |
| 1976 | <i>The Price of Coal</i>                    |
| 1979 | <i>The Gamekeeper</i> (also co-writer)      |
| 1980 | <i>Auditions</i>                            |
| 1981 | <i>A Question of Leadership</i>             |
| 1983 | <i>The Red and the Blue</i>                 |
| 1984 | <i>Which Side Are You On?</i>               |

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1985 | <i>Diverse Reports: We Should Have Won</i><br>(editor) |
| 1988 | <i>The View from the Woodpile</i>                      |
| 1989 | <i>Split Screen: Peace in Northern Ireland</i>         |
| 1991 | <i>Dispatches</i>                                      |
| 1997 | <i>The Flickering Flame</i>                            |
| 2001 | <i>The Navigators</i>                                  |

#### Films (director)

*Poor Cow*, 1967 (also co-scriptwriter); *Kes*, 1969 (also co-scriptwriter); *The Save the Children Fund Film*, 1971; *Family Life*, 1971; *Black Jack*, 1979 (also co-scriptwriter); *Looks and Smiles*, 1981; *Fatherland*, 1986; *Hidden Agenda*, 1990; *Singing the Blues in Red*, 1990; *Riff Raff*, 1991; *Raining Stones*, 1993; *Ladybird, Ladybird*, 1994; *Land and Freedom*, 1995; *Carla's Song*, 1996; *My Name Is Joe*, 1998; *Bread and Roses*, 2000; *The Navigators*, 2001; *Sweet Sixteen*, 2002; *11/09/01-September 11* ("United Kingdom" segment), 2002; *Ae Fond Kiss*, 2004.

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# Local Television

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Even though television networks and syndicators have garnered the lion's share of historical and critical attention in the United States, these entities could not have existed without local television. In the early struggles surrounding the establishment of television, crucial decisions were made with regard to the structure of the new industry. Central to many of those decisions were those of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The commission grounded the organization, financing, and regulation of the television industry for the existing radio model of broadcasting, which had ensured nationwide service. Thus local TV stations came to serve as the infrastructure of the industry. Local stations negotiated the role TV would play in their communities, coordinating the new medium to local rhythms, interests, sentiments, and ideologies. They have contributed immeasurably to the growth, allure, and impact of television in the United States. The considerable history—or rather, series of histories—of local television are still being written.

All of the earliest television stations were necessarily local stations. Most began in an “experimental” status, noncommercial and sporadically scheduled. Applications for early broadcasting stations had come from a range of potential participants, but many of the first to become truly operational were owned by radio networks or broadcast equipment manufacturers with strong financial reserves; costs for construction and research-and-development were high, and revenues were low or nonexistent for many years. Much of the television industry was developed by those who could withstand continuing financial losses. Stations independent of corporate ties were started by newspapers, automobile dealers, and other local entrepreneurs in major cities across the country. These groups and individuals had also often owned radio stations or were otherwise experienced in radio.

The advantages of multiple station ownership were clear to some of these early investors, but they were faced with regulatory restrictions. Companies that hoped to attain a network-like reach were allowed to own only a handful of stations—up to five in the early years—each in a different market. As the technology for linking stations emerged, station affiliations grew. A few cities featured stations owned and operated by the existing national broadcasting networks, but most had stations affiliated with more than one network, and

some areas had so few stations that each could feature multiple affiliations, often for many years. And some cities did maintain additional, fully independent channels.

But in every city and market, local stations worked to invent, adapt, and expand what television had to offer to their specific audiences. Each station produced a great deal of its own programming, increasingly so as the television schedule expanded to include more daytime and weekend hours. Viewers had a different relationship to the performers and personalities on local stations, a sense of accessibility and proximity that was inflected by all things regional—from speech patterns to weather systems to fashion tastes. Station personnel tended to perform in different capacities and roles throughout the programming day—news reader at one point, talk-show host at another, children's show performer in still another—all lending them a familiarity and informality that often proved welcome by the audience. Local television could even seem quasi-interactive, and many programs included responses to viewer mail or even phone calls to viewers. For most local programs, budget constraints translated to a lack of production spectacle, but the same financial restriction led to a yen for ingenuity. In some cases this could afford marvelous and bizarre performers and programming formats, often outside the boundaries of what networks—already seeking a “national” audience—would deem suitable.

Certain programming similarities existed among stations, of course, especially regarding TV's emerging relationship to the rhythms of everyday life, a relationship that presumed a family work-week and school-day, conventional gender roles, and regularized daily patterns of behavior and involvement. Kids' shows quickly became a late afternoon staple. Cooking and homemaking shows were popular around midday. Movies and sports programs could dominate evening and weekend hours. Most of the conventions of television news were also developed at the local level, typically out of necessity rather than conscious design or analysis.

Word quickly spread when a programming innovation proved successful at a local station, often ensuring imitations at other stations and in other markets. Many stations featured disc jockeys who played favorite records, cartoon show emcees in the guise of friendly

authority figures, afternoon movie hosts who proffered quizzes and giveaways. In some instances, local talent went on to national success: Ernie Kovacs and Dick Clark began locally in Philadelphia; Dave Garroway, Burr Tillstrom, and Fran Allison first appeared on TV in Chicago; Liberace, Alan Young, and Betty White started their TV careers on local Los Angeles stations.

But local television was more than just a supplement to the networks. In fact, many original formats and regional distinctions emerged in local TV before being subsumed or displaced by network schedules and priorities. In Chicago, for example, pioneer telecasters like William Eddy and Jules Herbuveaux helped to develop a casual but intelligent style of programming that became known as the "Chicago School." Many of these programs, featuring the likes of Garroway; Kukla, Fran and Ollie; and even Studs Terkel; appeared on NBC affiliate WNBQ. But when Chicago became networked to the East Coast in 1949, many of the most popular shows were retooled according to standards in the New York offices or were dropped entirely, and the regional style quickly evaporated.

Los Angeles was in a slightly different situation, for the network lines did not arrive until late 1951, and only one or two national "feeds" were possible for some time thereafter. Partially due to this, Los Angeles was a strongly independent early TV market: it had a full complement of seven stations by January 1949, yet the network affiliates were the last on the air. Network stars such as Milton Berle were enormously popular, of course, even via kinescope, but for many years local programs dominated the ratings. The leading station until the mid-1950s was KTLA, owned by Paramount Pictures, Inc., and run by German émigré Klaus Landsberg, who had helped to telecast the 1936 Olympics before coming to this country later in the decade. Often utilizing "remote" coverage, programming in Los Angeles was surprisingly diverse, reflecting local tastes in a variety of musical shows and featuring any number of sporting events. The 1951 network link-up was complemented by a shift in TV production from New York to Los Angeles, especially after NBC and CBS opened elaborate new facilities there in 1952. The independent stations, which had dominated, were no longer able to compete with network practices, with the stars and spectacle that national advertising rates could afford.

The same pattern prevailed at almost every local station. Nationally syndicated shows blossomed on local stations through the 1950s, followed in turn by reruns of network programs, which began to be syndicated in the early 1960s. Of course there have been exceptions to the hierarchies of the network-dominated system, and the boom in UHF stations in the 1960s ensured a

fair amount of locally produced programming. Some stations have even been able to produce work syndicated outside their own markets, sometimes via regional networks. But as more network programs became available for syndication, the demand for them generally meant fewer opportunities for programming tailored to local tastes. Nearly all of television began to reflect past or present nationally distributed fare. Even the Prime Time Access Rule, designed to promote local programming by blocking out network shows for an hour each weeknight, resulted in a boom for the syndication industry. Measured against the costs of original production and the possibility of lower return in advertising dollars, the expense of acquiring syndicated offerings still seemed a clear economic advantage. Game shows such as *Jeopardy!* and *Wheel of Fortune* and slick "infotainment" programming such as *Entertainment Tonight* became television institutions.

The new technologies of the modern television era have complicated these dynamics. Cable television systems brought a range of new national competitors to existing local broadcast stations, but they also created local access channels. Public access television has in many cases featured informative and alternative programming (often syndicated among stations), as well as a range of often peculiar and amusing fare. But hopes that these channels might produce an enhanced televisual public sphere seem all but exhausted. Many of the politically oriented and activist users of access television are likely to turn to the Internet as a site for communicating with interest groups that share concerns and extend beyond the local arena.

Satellite technology has similarly both enhanced and threatened local television. The availability of international newsfeeds enabled even local newscasts to compete with what was available from cable networks and raised opportunities for examining the local ramifications of nonlocal incidents. But satellites have also made available a ready stream of sensationalistic footage and feature stories of little consequence. Conversely, a few local stations have come to enjoy national distribution via cable and satellite: the so-called "superstations," such as TBS, WOR, WGN, and KTLA. But many other local stations have faced being eclipsed by these same delivery systems, especially since satellite programming packages typically include network affiliates from other parts of the country, but none of the local broadcast stations from the audience's "home" area.

As a result of these shifts in technology and programming strategy, the future of local television seems uncertain. Certainly the dollar value of local stations has only escalated, especially in light of the competi-



tion for affiliates, which resulted from the rise of FOX and other fledgling networks. The extent to which these stations will continue to provide truly local service—whether by audience demand or by regulatory edict—remains to be seen. But whatever the changes in technology, industrial organization, or commercial exigency, it will continue to be important to study the consumption and effects of local television—the

medium's role in helping define the very concept of the local.

MARK WILLIAMS

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## Lone Ranger, The

U.S. Western

*The Lone Ranger* originated on WXYZ radio in Detroit, Michigan, in 1933. Created by George W. Trendle and written by Fran Striker, the show became so popular it was one of the reasons why several stations linked together to share programming on what became the Mutual Broadcasting System. Aimed primarily at the children's audience, *The Lone Ranger* made a successful transition to ABC television in 1949. Several characteristics were unique and central to the premise of this western, and the initial episode that explained the legend was occasionally repeated so young viewers would understand how the hero gained his name and why he wore a mask. The Lone Ranger is one of six Texas Rangers who are ambushed while chasing a gang of outlaws led by Butch Cavendish. After the battle, one "lone ranger" survives and is discovered by Tonto, a Native American who recognizes the survivor as John Reid, the man who had saved his life earlier. Tonto thereafter refers to the ranger as *kemo sabe*, which is translated as "trusty scout." After Tonto helps him regain his strength, the ranger vows to hide his identity from Cavendish and to dedicate his life to "making the West a decent place to live." He and Tonto dig an extra grave to fool Cavendish into believing all six rangers had died, and the ranger dons a mask to protect his identity as the single surviving ranger. Only Tonto knows who he is...the Lone Ranger. After he and Tonto save a silver-white stallion from being gored by a buffalo, they nurse the horse back to health and set him free. The horse follows them and the Lone Ranger decides to adopt him and give him the name Silver. Shortly thereafter, the Lone Ranger and Tonto encounter a man who, it turns out, had been set up to take the blame for murders committed by Cavendish. They establish him as caretaker in an abandoned silver

mine, where he produces silver bullets for the Lone Ranger. Even after the Cavendish gang is captured, the Lone Ranger decides to keep his identity a secret. Near the end of this and many future episodes, someone asks about the identity of the masked man. The typical response: "I don't rightly know his real name, but I've heard him called...the Lone Ranger."

The Lone Ranger exemplifies upstanding character and righteous purpose. He engages in plenty of action, but his silver bullets are symbols of "justice by law," and were never used to kill. For the children's audience, he represented clean living and noble effort in the cause of fighting crime. His values and style, including his polished manners and speech, were intended to provide a positive role model. The show's standard musical theme was Rossini's "William Tell Overture," accompanied by the Lone Ranger voicing a hearty "Hi-Ho, Silver, away" as he rode off in a cloud of dust.

Clayton Moore is most closely associated with the TV role, but John Hart played the Lone Ranger for two seasons. The part of Tonto was played by Jay Silverheels. After the original run of the program from 1949 to 1957, it was regularly shown in reruns until 1961, and later in animated form. *The Lone Ranger* has also been the subject of comic books and movies. Both the original and animated versions of the program have been syndicated.

Perhaps no fictional action hero has become as established in our culture through as many media forms as the Lone Ranger. Clayton Moore made personal appearances in costume as the Lone Ranger for many years, until a corporation that had made a feature length film with another actor in the role obtained a court injunction to halt his wearing the mask in public. Moore continued his appearances wearing oversized

Lone Ranger, The

sunglasses. He later regained the right to appear as the Lone Ranger, mask and all.

B.R. SMITH

*See also Western; Wrath, Jack*

#### Cast

The Lone Ranger (1949–52, 1954–57)	Clayton Moore
The Lone Ranger (1952–54)	John Hart
Tonto	Jay Silverheels

#### Producers

Sherman Harris, George W. Trendle, Jack Chertok,  
Harry H. Poppe, Paul Landers

#### Programming History

221 episodes  
ABC  
September 1949–  
September 1957                      Thursday 7:30–8:00  
June 1950–September 1950        Friday 10:00–10:30

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## Loretta Young Show, The

U.S. Drama Anthology

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*The Loretta Young Show*, airing on NBC from 1953 to 1961, was the first and longest-running prime-time dramatic anthology series to feature a female star as host, actor, and producer. Film star Loretta Young played a variety of characters in well over half of the episodes, but her glamorous, fashion-show entrances as host became one of the most memorable features of this prime-time series.

Premiering under the title *Letter to Loretta*, the series was renamed *The Loretta Young Show* during the first season. Originally, the series was framed as the dramatization of viewers' letters. Each teleplay dramatized a different letter/story/message. Even after the letter device was dropped, Young still introduced and closed each story. At the beginning of each episode, she entered a living room set (supposedly her living room) through a door. Turning around to close the door and swirling her designer fashions as she walked up to the camera, Young was consciously putting on a mini-fashion show, and the spectacular

entrance became Young's, and the series', trademark. Glamour and fashion had been important elements of her film star image, and she considered them central to her television image and appeal. (As an indication of how strongly Young felt about this aspect of the series, she later won a suit against NBC for allowing her then-dated fashion openings to be seen in syndication.)

The successful format and style of *The Loretta Young Show* spurred other similar shows. *Jane Wyman Theater* (1955–58), *The DuPont Show with June Allyson* (1959–61), and *The Barbara Stanwyck Show* (1960–61) were prime-time network series that attempted to capitalize on Young's success. Similar syndicated series included *Ethel Barrymore Theater* (1953), *Crown Theater with Gloria Swanson* (1954), and *Ida Lupino Theater* (1956).

When original sponsor Procter and Gamble snapped up the proposed *Loretta Young* series, Young and her husband, Thomas Lewis, hired Desilu (credited on-

screen as DPI) to do the actual filming for the first season's episodes. At a time when television was often broadcast live from New York, the series was filmed in Hollywood, where Desilu was already a major force in telefilm production. The first five seasons of the show were produced by Lewislor Enterprises, a company created by Young and Lewis to produce the series. They were co-executive producers the first three seasons, but when Lewis and Young split personally and professionally by the end of the third season, Young became sole executive producer (though she chose not to identify herself in the credits). When Lewislor's five-year contract with NBC was up, Young formed Toreto Enterprises, which produced the series' last three seasons.

Young played a variety of characters, but stories most often centered around her as mother, daughter, wife, or single woman (often a professional) finding romance. (Another unique aspect of the series was that Young acted in every episode the first two seasons and ultimately in well over half of all the episodes.) Presenting both melodramas and light romantic comedies, the series was designed as and considered to be women's programming. (In fact, NBC reran episodes on its daytime schedule, which was targeted to women.) Young chose stories for their messages, lessons to be learned by characters and audiences. Her introductory remarks always framed the stories in specifically didactic terms, and she closed each episode with words of wisdom quoted from the Bible, Shakespeare, or another authoritative source.

Stories affirmed postwar, middle-class ideas about the home, families, and gender roles. Single working women found love and were transformed. Mothers learned how to be better mothers. Women found true happiness within the domestic/heterosexual sphere of the middle-class home. Yet characters sometimes had to stand up for their convictions, putting them at odds with the men in their lives. Women demonstrated strength, intelligence, and desire. This was a series that put women front stage and center, especially when Young portrayed the characters. Even when she did not act, themes of women's fiction, such as the play of emotions and the focus on character relationships, were present in the stories. Occasionally, the show explicitly addressed social issues of the day, such as U.S. aid to war-ravaged Korea, the plight of East European refugees, and alcoholism. It stands out as a rare prime-time network drama series where a woman tells her stories.

Unlike many of the live anthology dramas, big-name guest stars were not a regular feature of *The Loretta Young Show*. The biggest stars appeared as guest hosts during Young's illness in the fall of 1955.



*The Loretta Young Show*, Loretta Young, 1953–61.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Barbara Stanwyck, Joseph Cotten, Claudette Colbert, and several other film stars hosted the show in Young's absence. Marking the importance of her swirling entrances, none of the guest hosts came through the door to open the show. Over the years, guest actors included Hume Cronyn, Merle Oberon, Hugh O'Brian, and Teresa Wright.

*The Loretta Young Show* won various industry awards, including three Emmys for Young as best actress. It also was honored by numerous educational, religious, and civic groups. The series and its star were praised by these groups for promoting family- and community-based ideals in the rapidly changing postwar United States.

*The Loretta Young Show* represents a type of television programming that no longer exists. The various anthology dramas of the 1950s disappeared as programs with continuing characters came to exemplify series television in the 1960s. TV series that worked through the image of the glamorous Hollywood star would forever remain a phenomenon of 1950s television, the period in which the Hollywood studio system that had created larger-than-life stars came to a close. The 1950s space for strong female stars also

## Loretta Young Show, The

closed because television now had a permanent place in American homes. The industry no longer felt the need to attract specifically female audiences in prime time as a strategy to secure domestic approval for the medium.

MADELYN M. RITROSKY-WINSLOW

See also **Anthology Drama; Young, Loretta**

### Hostess

Loretta Young

### Substitute Hostesses (1955)

Dinah Shore  
Merle Oberon  
Barbara Stanwyk

### Producers

Loretta Young, John London, Ruth Roberts, Bert Granet, Tom Lewis

### Programming History

225 episodes

NBC

September 1953–

June 1958

Sunday 10:00–10:30

(as *Letter to Loretta*, September 1953–February 1954)

October 1958–

September 1961

Sunday 10:00–10:30

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# Lou Grant

U.S. Drama

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Created by executive producers Gene Reynolds with James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, *Lou Grant* drew on the comedy character of the executive producer of TV news in the long-running *Mary Tyler Moore Show*. But the new series transformed that comic persona into a serious, reflective, committed newsmen at a major metropolitan newspaper.

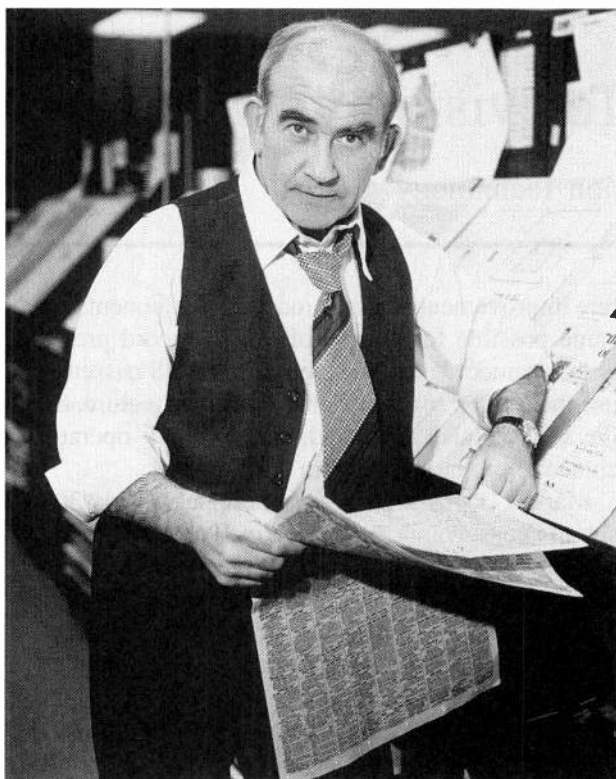
As he developed the concept for the series, Reynolds drew on his experience researching the TV series *M\*A\*S\*H*. He haunted Toronto newspaper offices to learn firsthand how they operate, how principals interact, procedures for processing news stories, what issues trouble professional news-gatherers, how they thrash out the daily agenda to be distributed to the mass public. From tape-recorded interviews came the seeds of storylines and snatches of dialogue to capture the flavor and cadences of newsmen in action.

The series sought weekly to explore a knotty issue facing media people in contemporary society, focusing on how investigating and reporting those issues affect

the layers of personalities populating a complex newspaper publishing company. The program served as a vehicle for dramatic reflection, analyzing sometimes bold and sometimes tangential conflicts in business practices, government, media, and the professions. Topics treated dramatically included gun control, invasion of privacy, confidential sources, child abuse, Vietnamese refugees, and news reporting versus publishing economics. Mingled with each episode's issue was interplay of personalities, often lighthearted, among featured characters.

Reynolds risked undercutting issue-oriented themes by importing Lou Grant (Ed Asner) from the long-running comedy about a flaky TV newsroom to act as city editor of a daily newspaper. Asner not only effectively adapted the original comedic character to the serious role of *Lou Grant*; off-screen the actor spoke out increasingly about social and political issues, possibly causing some audience disaffection in its final years.

The series (1977–82) received critical acclaim for exploring complicated challenges involving media and



Lou Grant, Ed Asner, 1977–82.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

society. It received a Peabody Award in 1978, Emmy Awards in 1979 and 1980 for outstanding drama series, plus other Emmys for writing and acting during its five years on the air. Yet it never ended any season among the top 20 most popular prime-time programs. First scheduled the last hour of Tuesday evenings (10:00 P.M.), in the second and following seasons it was aired on Mondays at that time. It enjoyed strong lead-in shows *M\*A\*S\*H* and *One Day at a Time*, but competing networks scheduled Monday night football (ABC) and theatrical movies (NBC), both at midpoint when *Lou Grant* came on. Scheduling was thus probably a “wash” as a factor; audiences were perhaps deterred more by the substantive issues explored, which called for attentive involvement, unlike more passive TV entertainment.

Lou Grant is also significant in the history of MTM Productions as the “bridge” program between comedies such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and later, more complex dramas such as *Hill Street Blues*. Few independent production companies have had such visible success in crossing lines among television genres. The transformation of Asner’s character, then, and the

focus on serious social issues pointed new directions for the company and, ultimately, for the history of American television.

JAMES A. BROWN

*See also Asner, Ed; Brooks, James L.; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The; Reynolds, Gene; Tinker, Grant*

#### Cast

Lou Grant	Edward Asner
Charlie Hume	Mason Adams
Joe Rossi	Robert Walden
Billie Newman McCovey	Linda Kelsey
Margaret Pynchon	Nancy Marchand
Art Donovan	Jack Bannon
Dennis “Animal” Price	Daryl Anderson
National Editor (1977–79)	Sidney Clute
National Editor (1979–82)	Emilio Delgado
Foreign Editor (1977–80)	Laurence Haddon
Financial Editor (1978–79)	Gary Pagett
Adam Wilson (1978–82)	Allen Williams
Photo Editor (1979–81)	Billy Beck
Carla Mardigian (1977)	Rebecca Balding
Ted McCovey (1981–82)	Cliff Potts
Linda (1981–82)	Barbara Jane Edelman
Lance (1981–82)	Lance Guest

#### Producers

Allan Burns, James L. Brooks, Gene Reynolds

#### Programming History

110 episodes

CBS

September 1977–

January 1978

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

January 1978–

September 1982

Monday 10:00–11:00

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# Low Power Television

## Television Transmission Technology

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Television translators are broadcast devices that receive a distant station's signal from over the air, automatically convert the frequency, and re-transmit the signal locally on a separate channel. Until 1980, the operators of these devices were required solely to re-broadcast the program service of a licensed full-service TV station and were banned from originating all but 60 seconds per hour for fundraising inserts. In 1980 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) announced that it would accept applications to waive the 60-second cap, so that translators could broadcast original programs—to an unlimited extent—from any suitable source. This liberalization was made permanent in 1982, with the creation of a new broadcast service, low power television, called LPTV.

The name derives from the fact that LPTV stations, like the TV translators that continue to operate, cannot employ transmitter powers in excess of 1,000 watts. This imposes a practical ceiling on the effective radiated power, using a high-gain antenna, of 20 kilowatts or so under ideal conditions. It contrasts with regular, full-service TV operations, which are permitted up to 100 kilowatts of effective power (channels 2 to 6), 316 kilowatts (channels 7 to 13), or 5,000 kilowatts in the UHF bands (channels 14 to 69). As of the end of 1995, the FCC had licensed 1,787 LPTV stations, with 1,224 operating at UHF, the remainder at VHF. The total number of LPTVs exceeds the number of licensed full-service TV stations in the United States—some 1,180 commercial and 363 noncommercial stations, or 1,543 total.

Prior to the official launch of LPTV services, the FCC had granted waivers to permit origination of programs in several instances, notably for rural educational programming in upstate New York, and for the satellite-fed bush stations in Alaska, where there was no practical alternative for delivering television programming to isolated villages. The first low power television station was constructed in 1981 by John W. Boler in Bemidji, Minnesota. Boler had been a pioneer broadcaster in Fargo, North Dakota, and built the Bemidji facility as a smaller version of a traditional independent TV station, with regular evening news, studios, a sales force, and even a mobile van.

LPTV service expanded just as the equipment manufacturers were introducing significant cost and fea-

ture improvements for all broadcast components. It became possible for a crew of one to record programs with a camcorder on inexpensive S-VHS cassette and use them to offer a watchable broadcast picture. Satellite services also expanded, giving LPTV operators a choice of program fare from new networks.

Mark J. Banks, a professor at Slippery Rock University in Pennsylvania, performed mail and telephone surveys of low power television stations in 1988, 1990, and 1994. In the most recent survey, his sample of 456 stations yielded completed interviews with only 129, but the results are somewhat informative. Seventy-one percent of the LPTV stations were commercial, 17 percent public or educational, 10 percent religious, and 2 percent operated on a scrambled, subscription basis. A plurality, 40 percent, were in rural areas, but almost as many, 37 percent, were urban, with the remainder suburban or a mixture. The largest "group owners" are Alaska Public Broadcasting and Trinity Broadcasting Network. LPTV was designed to favor minority ownership, but only 8 percent described themselves as minority controlled.

The surveys over time indicated reduced dependency on satellite-fed program services, in favor of increased local programming. Stations reporting use of satellite services dropped from 87 percent in 1988 to 55 percent in 1994. Conversely, the amount of station time devoted to local programming has grown. The 63 percent reporting local programming said their most popular categories were, in order, sports, news, talk, community events, public affairs, and children's programs. Locally originating stations derive their greatest revenue by far from the sale of local advertising, and total revenue is up, to an average of \$240,000 per station per year.

Low power television has achieved a solid niche, providing new services to rural areas that cannot support full-service TV and to ethnic and religious groups in large urban areas. The full-service TV broadcasters, commercial and noncommercial, opposed LPTV from its inception, and sooner or later may succeed in eradicating it. The FCC no longer assigns any priority to assuring program delivery to underserved audiences and, as of the end of 1995, the agency had made no provision for LPTV in the future to change over to some form of advanced, digitized TV system.

MICHAEL COUZENS

See also **Microwave**

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## Lumet, Sidney (1924– )

U.S. Director, Producer, Writer

When Sidney Lumet brought his powerful television influence to the Hollywood cinema of the late 1950s, it was in the company of four other notable American directors who also had emerged from the Golden Age of live television: Arthur Penn, John Frankenheimer, Franklin J. Schaffner, and Robert Mulligan. Their urgent, realist approach—a sharp combination of television drama adaptations reflecting social realism and technically tight production experience—was instrumental in reshaping the face of cinema for the next decade. Like his Golden Age contemporaries, Lumet's training ground had been on-the-spot television.

Following military service during World War II, Lumet returned to New York stage work. In 1947, exasperated by the pompous practice of the newly-formed Actor's Studio, he formed his own Actor's Workshop. When the group realized that they did not have a director, Lumet found himself drifting into the role.

In 1950 he was invited to join CBS Television as an assistant director by his old friend Yul Brynner, then a staff director at the network. When Brynner left to do *The King and I* on Broadway, Lumet took over the mystery anthology series *Danger* from him and was promoted to staff director. It was the beginning of what would be some 500 television productions as director; his on-the-spot training ground where he began to develop his clarity of storytelling, his skill for handling actors, and his artistry in coordinating tightly structured drama production.

For *Danger*, a McCarthy-era series produced by Martin Ritt and with scripts often supplied by black-listed writers (Abraham Polonsky, Walter Bernstein, and others) under "front" names, Lumet directed

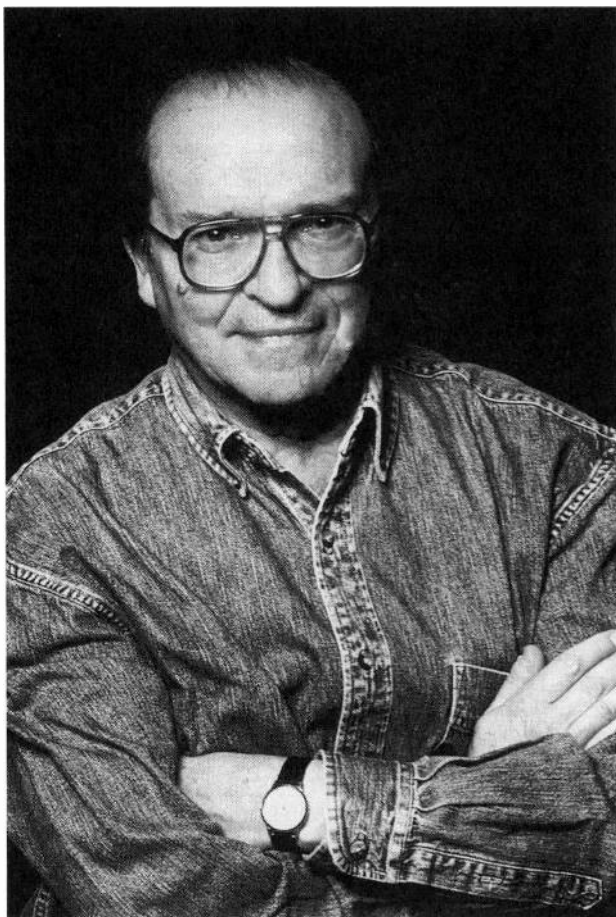
around 150 half-hour episodes between 1951 and 1953. During this period he also directed episodes of the family comedy *Mama* (also known as *I Remember Mama*) and the newspaper adventure *Crime Photographer* series before moving on to the drama-documentary *You Are There*. (Lumet's replacement on *Danger* was John Frankenheimer.)

With the team of Charles Russell producing and Lumet directing, *You Are There* was unique in television for its multidimensional approach to history, presenting reenactments of major events in history in a current affairs news style. From the multiple episodes he directed between 1953 and 1955, Lumet singles out as personally satisfying works "The First Salem Witch Trial" ("because we did it the same week that Ed Murrow did his McCarthy show [on *See It Now*], so we like to think we were slight contributors to the general attack on him," he explained to writer Frank R. Cunningham) and "The Death of Socrates" (which featured an astonishing line-up of on-screen talent: Paul Newman, Barry Jones, John Cassavetes, Robert Culp, Richard Kiley, E.G. Marshall, Sheppard Strudwick).

When Lumet began directing original plays for television in 1956, his first critical success came with Reginald Rose's tension-charged drama on mob violence "Tragedy in a Temporary Town" for *The Alcoa Hour*. Lumet's cameras gave the production a crisp, chilling authority and drew some fine performances from the cast, especially Lloyd Bridges' poignant portrayal as the man facing the mob and denouncing it into shamefaced dispersal.

It was at this time that the success of the feature adaptation of Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty* for United





Sidney Lumet.  
©Columbia Pictures/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Artists had prompted Hollywood to look to television for new talent and material. For the film version of Rose's *Twelve Angry Men*, star and coproducer Henry Fonda selected Lumet as his director (marking Lumet's feature debut). The play had been directed on television (*Studio One*) in 1954 by Franklin Schaffner. *Twelve Angry Men* won wide critical approval, opening the door to television-to-cinema traffic, and appeared to cement Lumet's career as a big-screen director.

During April and May of 1958, he directed three notable and much-praised productions for *Kraft Television Theatre*: "Three Plays by Tennessee Williams" (a color telecast from New York, incorporating "Moony's Kid Don't Cry," "The Last of My Solid Gold Watches," and "This Property is Condemned," all introduced by Williams), an adaptation of Hemingway's "Fifty Grand," and Robert Penn Warren's Pulitzer Prize novel "All the King's Men" (the latter broadcast in two parts).

After three less-than-successful feature ventures (*Stage Struck*, *That Kind of Woman*, *The Fugitive*

*Kind*), Lumet returned to television in 1960 and shone again. The two-part presentation (on tape) of Reginald Rose's drama-documentary *The Sacco-Vanzetti Story* (NBC) was a gripping account of the notorious judicial transgression of 1920, when two alleged Italian anarchists were found guilty of murder and robbery, and were eventually executed following a lengthy and highly controversial trial. Once again, Lumet showed a fine, sure hand in his grasp of the lengthy production (with a cast of 175) and the sharply edged portrayals, notably by the two principals (Martin Balsam as Nicolas Sacco and Steven Hill as Bartolomeo Vanzetti).

Lumet's television triumph of 1960, however, was his four-hour rendition of Eugene O'Neill's play about assorted barflies in a 1912 saloon, "The Iceman Cometh." Produced for the PBS *Play of the Week* strand, the mammoth drama was shown in two parts and scheduled at 10:30–12:30 due to the "mature nature" of the play. The *Variety* (November 16, 1960) review was ecstatic: "Television drama soared to triumphant, poetic dimensions...[and] was a landmark for the video medium, a reference point for greatness in television drama." Leading the large cast were Jason Robards Jr. as Hickey and Myron McCormack as Larry Slade, with James Broderick, Roland Winters, and Robert Redford among this modern-day Greek chorus. Considered the high mark of that season's *Play of the Week* showcase, "the sure, talented, creative hands of director Sidney Lumet seemed everywhere in evidence."

From 1962 onward, beginning with *A View from the Bridge*, Lumet was active on the big screen, enjoying the greatest commercial success of his career in 1976 with *Network* (a forceful indictment of television as a profit machine).

In January 2001, Lumet returned to television as writer, director, and executive producer on the cops-and-courtrooms drama series *100 Centre Street* (the address of the court building in lower Manhattan). In a nod to old acquaintances, Arthur Penn was invited to direct an episode during the series' second season. Although its themes and characters are more in keeping with Lumet's NYPD (*Serpico*, *Prince of the City*) and legal (*The Verdict*, *Guilty as Sin*) films than with the live dramas of his early days, *100 Centre Street* nevertheless displayed all the hallmarks familiar to the director's favorite subject matter.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also **Golden Age of Television Drama**

**Sidney Lumet.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1924. Married: 1) Rita Gam (divorced); 2) Gloria Vanderbilt, 1956 (divorced, 1963); 3) Gail Jones, 1963 (divorced, 1978); 4) Mary Gimbel, 1980.



Father Yiddish actor Baruch Lumet, with whom he made stage debut, aged four. Educated at Professional Children's School, New York, and Columbia University extension school. Child actor in theater and films: Yiddish Theatre, New York, 1928; Broadway debut in *Dead End*, 1935; film actor from 1939. Military service in Signal Corps, U.S. Army, 1942–46. Resumed acting career and formed off-Broadway stage group; also stage director, 1947. Assistant director, then director for TV, from 1950.

#### Television Plays/Episodes (selected)

- 1951–53 *Danger*  
 1951 *Crime Photographer*  
*Mama*  
 1953–55 *You Are There*  
 "The First Salem Witch Trial,"  
*You Are There*  
 "The Death of Socrates," *You Are There*  
 "The Fate of Nathan Hale,"  
*You Are There*  
 1954 "The Philadelphia Story,"  
*The Best of Broadway*  
 1955 "The Show-Off," *The Best of Broadway*  
 "Stage Door," *The Best of Broadway*  
 "The Death of Stonewall Jackson,"  
*You Are There*  
 "The Liberation of Paris,"  
*You Are There*  
 1956 "Tragedy in a Temporary Town,"  
*The Alcoa Hour*  
 1957 "No Deadly Medicine," *Studio One*  
 1958 "Three Plays by Tennessee Williams,"  
 (also known as "Three By  
 Tennessee"), *Kraft Television Theatre*  
 "Fifty Grand," *Kraft Television Theatre*  
 "All the King's Men" (two parts),  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
*The DuPont Show of the Month*

- 1960 "The Hiding Place," *Playhouse 90*  
*The Sacco-Vanzetti Story* (two parts)  
*John Brown's Raid* (two parts)  
 "The Dybbuk," *Play of the Week*  
 "The Iceman Cometh" (two parts),  
*Play of the Week*  
 "Rashomon," *Play of the Week*  
 2001–2002 *100 Centre Street* (also writer and  
 executive producer)

#### Films (selected)

*Twelve Angry Men*, 1957; *Stage Struck*, 1958; *That Kind of Woman*, 1959; *The Fugitive Kind*, 1960; *A View from the Bridge*, 1962; *Fail Safe*, 1964; *The Pawnbroker*, *The Hill*, 1965; *The Deadly Affair*, 1967; *The Anderson Tapes*, 1971; *Serpico*, 1973; *Murder on the Orient Express*, 1974; *Dog Day Afternoon*, 1975; *Network*, 1977; *Prince of the City*, 1981; *The Verdict*, 1982; *Guilty as Sin*, 1993; *Gloria*, 1999; *The Set-Up*, 2004.

#### Stage (as director)

*The Doctor's Dilemma*, *Picnic*, 1955; *The Night of the Auk*, 1956; *Caligula*, 1960; *Nowhere To Go But Up*, 1962.

#### Publications

*Making Movies*, 1995

#### Further Reading

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 "TV to Film: A History, a Map and a Family Tree," *Monthly Film Bulletin* (January 1983)

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## Lumley, Joanna (1946– )

British Actor

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Joanna Lumley's lengthy career in television has been marked chiefly by two components—her image as glamorous and refined, and the characters she has

played in three popular series, which span three decades. Her work over the years has been varied, encompassing theater, film, and several major advertising



Joanna Lumley.  
©GM/ Courtesy of the Everett Collection

campaigns, as well as television drama, comedy, and regular celebrity appearances. Equally, her work has been of widely varying standards, ranging from the flimsy and trite to award-winning performances.

A former model in the Swinging Sixties, Lumley landed her first major television role in *The New Avengers* (1976–77), in which she played special agent Purdey, alongside Gareth Hunt (Gambit) and Patrick Macnee (Steed). The show evidently seemed to be more concerned to promote Lumley's legs than her character's crime-fighting skills—not only did her costume consist of a skin-tight trouser suit and kinky high boots, but Purdey's prime weapon was her immobilizing karate kick. In spite of this fetishistic fixation, Lumley became most synonymous with the pudding-bowl haircut named after her character, Purdey, and widely imitated by women and girls alike.

Shortly after *The New Avengers* came *Sapphire and Steel* (1979–82), an offbeat science fiction series in which Lumley costarred with David McCallum. The two played mysterious agents who traveled through time and space, whilst the ethereal Sapphire (Lumley) costumed in a long, floaty dress communed with psychic forces. Although this and the previous show were popular with both children and adults, Lumley claimed she was becoming frustrated with the parts

she was playing, primarily as they did not mimic real women.

For the remainder of the 1980s, Lumley was involved in less memorable productions, although she remained in the public eye, as the face for several advertisements, as a regular guest on TV chat shows, and with certain notable film appearances, particularly as head girl-turned-prostitute in *Shirley Valentine* (1989). However, it was her performance with Ruby Wax (on *The Full Wax*) as a washed-up, drugged-out actress that initiated the revival of her career. This performance instantly transformed her from an idealized myth of feminine perfection to a more complex and humorous persona. Shortly after revealing her talent for comedy and self-parody, through a stroke of pertinent casting, Lumley became Patsy Stone, the aging, neurotic "Fash-Mag-Slag," conceived of by Jennifer Saunders for *Absolutely Fabulous* (1992–96). This casting was central to the success of *Absolutely Fabulous* and to the renaissance of Lumley's career. Lumley gives an immensely entertaining performance, but also, because of her on- and off-screen persona, she creates in Patsy a hilarious and hideous satire around the expectations of glamour and refinement assigned to her. As a character, Patsy has several functions that covered new ground in television culture: she overturned ageist assumptions by opening up a space in television for the representation of women of all ages as humorous; as an "unruly woman" she violated, in a highly entertaining way, the unspoken feminine sanction against making a spectacle of herself; and she confronted and redefined the values of beauty, consumerism, and decorum inferred upon women, particularly of a certain age and social class.

Since playing what must surely be her ideal role, and achieving high critical acclaim with several awards, including BAFTAs and an Emmy, Lumley's subsequent work was not nearly so demanding on her talents. She played a down-at-heel aristocrat in the mediocre *A Class Act* and in a documentary-drama, *Girl Friday*, she had to fend for herself on an inhospitable desert island, with emphasis on how she copes without couture clothes, haute cuisine, and cosmetics. Both of these shows revolve around Lumley's conventional image, but neither seeks to recognize the contradictions apparent since *Absolutely Fabulous* in Lumley's persona as the epitome of high class. While there may generally be a lack of recognition of Lumley's specific capabilities as an actor, all her major roles share a common interest in casting her as an independent woman—she is nobody's wife or side-kick. However, it seems ironic that *Absolutely Fabulous*, while giving Lumley a new lease of life and promoting her to an international audience, has remained an almost unique forum for her talent as a comedy actor.

NICOLA FOSTER

See also *Absolutely Fabulous*; *Avengers*; *Coronation Street*; *Saunders, Jennifer*

**Joanna Lumley.** Born in Srinagar, Kashmir, India, May 1, 1946. Married: 1) Jeremy Lloyd (divorced, 1971); 2) Stephen Barlow, 1986; child: James. Established reputation as a top model before starting career as an actor on both stage and screen; costar, in *The New Avengers* adventure series and other shows, notably in *Absolutely Fabulous*. Officer of the Order of the British Empire. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1993; Emmy Award, 1994.

#### Television Series

1973	<i>Coronation Street</i>
1976–77	<i>The New Avengers</i>
1979–82	<i>Sapphire and Steel</i>
1986	<i>Mistral's Daughter</i>
1992	<i>Lovejoy</i>
1992–96	<i>Absolutely Fabulous</i>
1993	<i>Cluedo</i>
1993	<i>Class Act</i>
1998	The Tale of Sweeney Todd (TV movie)
1999	<i>Nancherrow</i> (TV movie)

#### Films (selected)

*Some Girls Do*, 1968; *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 1969; *Tam Lin/The Devil's Widow*, 1970;

*Games That Lovers Play*, 1972; *Don't Just Lie There, Say Something*, 1973; *The Satanic Rites of Dracula/Count Dracula and His Vampire Bride*, 1973; *The Trail of the Pink Panther*, 1982; *Curse of the Pink Panther*, 1983; *The Glory Boys*, 1984; *Shirley Valentine*, 1989; *James and the Giant Peach*, 1996; *Cold Comfort Farm*, 1996; *James and the Giant Peach*, 1996; *Prince Valiant*, 1997; *Mad Cows*, 1999; *Parting Shots*, 1999; *Maybe Baby*, 2000; *The Magic Roundabout Movie*, 2004; *The Ugly Americans*, 2004.

#### Recordings

*The Hundred and One Dalmatians*, 1984; *Invitation to the Waltz*, 1985.

#### Stage

*Don't Just Lie There, Say Something*; *Othello*; *Private Lives*; *Noel and Gertie*; *Blithe Spirit*; *Me Old Cigar*; *Hedda Gabler*.

#### Publications

*Stare Back and Smile* (autobiography), 1989  
*Forces Sweethearts*, 1993

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## Lupino, Ida (1918–1995)

U.S. Actor, Director

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Ida Lupino's career in television plays much like a re-run of her career in the cinema. Originally charting her course in each medium primarily as an actor, she apparently fell into directing as a matter of circumstance. Making her debut on CBS television's *Four Star Playhouse* in December 1953 as a performer, it was not until three years later that Lupino was commissioned to direct an episode for *Screen Directors Playhouse*, "No. 5 Checked Out," for which she also wrote the script. Eventually, after more frequent invitations to helm episodes from a variety of series, Lupino would, over the course of the next 15 years, establish a reputation as the most active woman director working behind the

cameras during this formative period in television's history.

Economic necessity, it would seem, played as much a part as creative opportunities in Lupino's decision to work almost exclusively within television for the remainder of her career as director. By the mid-1950s, Lupino had been offered fewer leading roles, and her activities as a film director had gradually diminished. Although she would continue to act in even more television episodes than she would direct (over 50), her unique position in the fledgling industry rested more upon her reputation as a filmmaker than as a leading lady, in particular upon the critical and commercial



Ida Lupino.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

success of her most widely seen cinematic work, *The Hitch-Hiker*.

In fact, after 1960, Lupino earned the nickname “the female Hitch” (as in Hitchcock) for her specialty work in action-oriented television genres that employed her talent at creating suspense. For example, Richard Boone, the star of the popular *Have Gun—Will Travel* series, of which Lupino eventually directed four episodes, had admired her hard-boiled style and offered her a script by Harry Julian Fink, famed for his graphic descriptions of physical violence. From that point on, although she would direct many sitcoms (e.g., *The Donna Reed Show*, *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir*) and various dramatic programs (e.g., *Mr. Novak*, *Dr. Kildare*), Lupino would be commissioned primarily for westerns (*The Rifleman*, *The Virginian*, *Dundee and the Culhane*, *Daniel Boone*, *Tate*, *Dick Powell’s Zane Grey Theater*), crime dramas (*The Untouchables*, *The Fugitive*, *77 Sunset Strip*), and mysteries (*The Twilight Zone*, *Kraft Suspense Theatre*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*). Perhaps the only series that Lupino genuinely shaped as director is *Thriller*, a mystery anthology hosted by Boris Karloff, for which she directed at least ten episodes in its first two seasons. At times

lamenting publicly that she had become so typecast as an action director that she was overlooked for love stories, Lupino otherwise exploited her anomalous stature as a woman specializing in shoot-outs and car chases, at one point turning down Hitchcock’s offer of a lead role in one episode of his series in order to replace him as its director.

This figure of Lupino as a “female Hitch,” whose nomenclature suggests the freedom to call her own shots and her status as auteur, is rather misleading within the context of the U.S. television industry, whose creative efforts are shaped and controlled almost exclusively by producers rather than by directors. Thus, although she directed episodes of *The Untouchables* and *The Fugitive*, whose intricate weekly subplots and relatively large guest casts required her creative input, her influence on formulaic series such as *Gilligan’s Island* or *Bewitched* was minimal. For this reason, in contrast to her body of cinematic works (most of which she also co-wrote or coproduced), Lupino’s scattered work in television resists an auteurist approach because of the very nature of the industry. More of a freelance substitute than a series regular, Lupino never pursued long-term contracts with any particular producer or network. Such job security generally was reserved for her male colleagues.

On the other hand, Lupino’s continued interest in acting may have been equally responsible for her irregular directing schedule; it undoubtedly strengthened her reputation as a director who worked well with fellow actors. Although praised for her abilities to link scenes smoothly, to cooperate with the crew, and to come in on time and under budget, Lupino’s most sought-after capacities were her skill at handling players of both sexes and her sensitivity to the problems and needs of her cast, qualities derived from her own training and experience as an actress.

Although Lupino was one of the first woman directors during the early years of American television production, it is odd that she is rarely referenced as a “groundbreaker” for other women entering the industry. Unlike Lucille Ball, Loretta Young, Joan Davis, and other women who were involved as producers in early television programming, Lupino had little creative control over the programs she directed. To contextualize Lupino’s role as a director in relation to other women working contemporaneously as producers is not meant to suggest, however, that a critical analysis of Lupino’s work is irrelevant to television history and feminist inquiry. What remains significant about Lupino as a “woman director” was her unique ability to succeed in an occupation that was (and still is) dominantly coded as “masculine.” Constructed as an outsider and an anomaly, Lupino as a TV director

was more often than not represented merely as a woman, her directorial skill either de-emphasized or ignored altogether in the popular press.

After a decade of professional activity spanning all three networks, a variety of genres, and an irregular schedule, Lupino's commitment to directing, like acting, could not have been said to be total. Working at a period in her life in which her desire for a career chafed at her equally strong desire to raise and care for her family, Lupino suffered the dilemma of the average woman of the time. She was forced to negotiate a notion of "work" dictating that her choices should threaten neither the spheres over which patriarchy dominated, such as the television industry, nor her identity as a wife and mother, whose "natural" place belonged in the home rather than in the studio. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the nickname bestowed upon Lupino by her production crews—"Mother"—worked to contain her in the dominant role for women at the time.

MARY CELESTE KEARNEY AND JAMES MORAN

**Ida Lupino.** Born in London, England, February 4, 1918. Educated at the Clarence House School, Sussex; Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, London. Married: 1) Louis Hayward, 1938 (divorced, 1945); 2) Collier Young, 1948 (divorced, 1951); 3) Howard Duff, 1951 (divorced, 1972); child: Bridget Mirella. Leading film role debut, 1932; actor in numerous British films; star in American films, from 1933; under contract with Paramount, 1933–37; under contract to Warner Brothers, 1940–47; cofounded Emerald Productions, 1949; producer, director, and co-scriptwriter, *Not Wanted*, 1949; director and co-writer, *Never Fear*, 1950; co-owner, *Filmmakers*, 1950–80; television director, from 1953; worked exclusively in television, from 1957–66. Recipient: New York Film Critics Award, 1943. Died in Burbank, California, August 3, 1995.

#### Television Series (selected; guest director)

1953–62	<i>General Electric Theater</i>
1955–56	<i>The Screen Directors Playhouse</i>
1955–65	<i>Alfred Hitchcock Presents</i>
1956–59	<i>On Trial</i>
1957–58	<i>Mr. Adams and Eve</i> (also star)
1957–63	<i>Have Gun—Will Travel</i>
1958–63	<i>The Rifleman</i>
1958–64	<i>77 Sunset Strip</i>
1958–66	<i>The Donna Reed Show</i>
1959–61	<i>Manhunt</i>
1959–63	<i>The Untouchables</i>
1959–65	<i>The Twilight Zone</i>
1960	<i>Tate</i>
1960–61	<i>Dante's Inferno</i> ("Teenage Idol"; pilot)

1960–61	<i>Hong Kong</i>
1960–62	<i>Thriller</i>
1961–63	<i>The Dick Powell Show</i>
1961–66	<i>Dr. Kildare</i>
1962–63	<i>Sam Benedict</i>
1962–71	<i>The Virginian</i>
1963–64	<i>The Breaking Point</i>
1963–65	<i>Mr. Novak</i>
1963–65	<i>The Kraft Suspense Theatre</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i>
1963–67	<i>Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater</i>
1964–65	<i>The Rogues</i>
1964–67	<i>Gilligan's Island</i>
1964–70	<i>Daniel Boone</i>
1964–72	<i>Bewitched</i>
1965–67	<i>Please Don't Eat the Daisies</i>
1965–69	<i>The Big Valley</i>
1967	<i>Dundee and the Culhane</i>
1968–70	<i>The Ghost and Mrs. Muir</i>
1969–71	<i>The Bill Cosby Show</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1971	<i>Women in Chains</i>
1972	<i>Strangers in 7A</i>
1972	<i>Female Artillery</i>
1973	<i>I Love a Mystery</i>
1973	<i>The Letters</i>

#### Films

*Her First Affaire*, 1932; *Money for Speed*, 1933; *High Finance*, 1933; *The Ghost Camera*, 1933; *I Lived With You*, 1933; *Prince of Arcadia*, 1933; *Search for Beauty*, 1934; *Come On, Marines!*, 1934; *Ready for Love*, 1934; *Paris in Spring*, 1935; *Smart Girl*, 1935; *Peter Ibbetson*, 1935; *Anything Goes*, 1936; *One Rainy Afternoon*, 1936; *Yours for the Asking*, 1936; *The Gay Desperado*, 1936; *Sea Devils*, 1937; *Let's Get Married*, 1937; *Artists and Models*, 1937; *Fight for Your Lady*, 1937; *The Lone Wolf Spy Hunt*, 1939; *The Lady and the Mob*, 1939; *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, 1939; *The Light That Failed*, 1939; *They Drive By Night*, 1940; *High Sierra*, 1941; *The Sea Wolf*, 1941; *Out of the Fog*, 1941; *Ladies in Retirement*, 1941; *Moontide*, 1942; *Life Begins at 8:30*, 1942; *The Hard Way*, 1943; *Forever and a Day*, 1943; *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, 1943; *In Our Time*, 1944; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *Pillow to Post*, 1945; *Devotion*, 1946; *The Man I Love*, 1946; *Deep Valley*, 1947; *Escape Me Never*, 1947; *Road House*, 1948; *Lust for Gold*, 1949; *Not Wanted* (directed, produced, co-wrote), 1949; *Woman in Hiding*, 1949; *Outrage* (director,

coproducer, co-screenwriter), 1950; *On Dangerous Ground*, 1951; *Hard, Fast, and Beautiful* (director and coproducer), 1951; *Beware, My Lovely*, 1952; *Jennifer*, 1953; *Private Hell 36*, 1954; *Women's Prison*, 1955; *The Big Knife*, 1955; *While the City Sleeps*, 1956; *Strange Intruder*, 1956; *The Trouble with Angels* (director and coproducer); *Backtrack*, 1969; *Junior Bonner*, 1972; *Deadhead Miles*, 1972; *The Devil's Rain*, 1975; *The Food of the Gods*, 1976; *My Boys Are Good Boys*, 1978.

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## Lyndhurst, Nicholas (1961- )

### British Actor

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Nicholas Lyndhurst emerged as a prominent star among a new generation of British situation comedy performers in the early 1980s, although he had by then already amassed a considerable number of years' television experience, having started out as a child actor.

Lyndhurst made the transition from child performer to adult star in stages, beginning as an actor in a string of children's dramas and adventures such as *The Tomorrow People*, *Heidi*, and *The Prince and the Pauper* (in which he played the dual leading role). He also tried his hand as a presenter for children's television, cohosting for a time the series *Our Show* on Saturday mornings (with Susan Tully and others). In 1978 his selection for the part of Ronnie Barker's son in *Going Straight*, the sequel to the classic prison comedy *Porridge*, marked the start of his emergence as an adult performer, a process that continued with his casting as Wendy Craig's teenage son Adam in the long-running situation comedy *Butterflies*.

The final stage in the transition to a mature performer came in the hugely successful comedy series *Only Fools and Horses*, in which Lyndhurst was entrusted with the role of Rodney, the hapless and much put-upon younger brother of David Jason's immortal "Del Boy" Trotter. As Rodney, a part he played for some ten years, Lyndhurst was endearingly naive, sensitive, and idealistic—the perfect foil to Jason's

streetwise would-be millionaire. Frequently rendered speechless at his brother's tricks and deceptions and all too often living up to the "plonker" tag that his exasperated sibling bestowed upon him, Rodney was widely praised as a beautifully realized comic creation.

Toward the end of the long run of *Only Fools and Horses*, Rodney was allowed to get married (to the long-suffering trainee banker Cassandra), and much humor was devised from the inevitable difficulties he experienced as a new husband. Subsequent situation comedies that were constructed around Lyndhurst further developed the theme of not dissimilar Rodney-style characters, bemused and indignant though not necessarily quite as dimwitted as Rodney, trying to cope with the demands of wives or girlfriends. In *The Two of Us*, for instance, Lyndhurst's character, computer programmer Ashley, wrestled with independent girlfriend Elaine's reluctance to get married, despite his entreaties, and with her contrasting views on just about any subject he cared to raise. In *Goodnight Sweetheart*, meanwhile, his character Gary Sparrow agonized over whether he should stay true to his brash and pushy wife in their modern London flat or whether he should desert her for the barmaid with whom he had formed a relationship while exploring wartime London after finding a way to travel some 50 years back through time.

Memories of the highly successful *Only Fools and Horses* series, kept fresh through regular repeats of old episodes, have perhaps dominated perceptions of the sort of roles Lyndhurst is capable of playing. Typecast though he may have been, he remains, however, unsurpassed in his portrayal of the hen-pecked husband or lover, well-meaning but frequently nonplused by the tricks that fate plays on him. In 1999 he finally had a chance to demonstrate his skills in a different type of role when he was cast, with great success, as the unpleasant Uriah Heep in the Dickens classic *David Copperfield*.

DAVID PICKERING

**Nicholas Lyndhurst.** Born in Emsworth, Hampshire, England, April 20, 1961. Attended Corona Stage Academy, 1980. Began career as television performer, from a young age; comedy performer as Rodney Trotter in *Only Fools and Horses*; star, several situation comedy series.

#### Television Series and Miniseries

1976	<i>Our Show</i>
1978	<i>Going Straight</i>
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1981–96	<i>Only Fools and Horses</i>
1986	<i>To Serve Them All My Days</i>
1986–90	<i>The Two of Us</i>
1990–92	<i>The Piglet Files</i>
1993–99	<i>Goodnight Sweetheart</i>
1999	<i>David Copperfield</i>
2000	<i>Thin Ice</i>

#### Films

*Endless Night*, 1971; *Bequest to the Nation*, 1973; *Bullshot*, 1983; *Gun Bus*, 1986.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Foreigner*; *Straight and Narrow*; *Harding's Luck*; *Trial Run*; *Black Comedy*; *The Private Ear*.

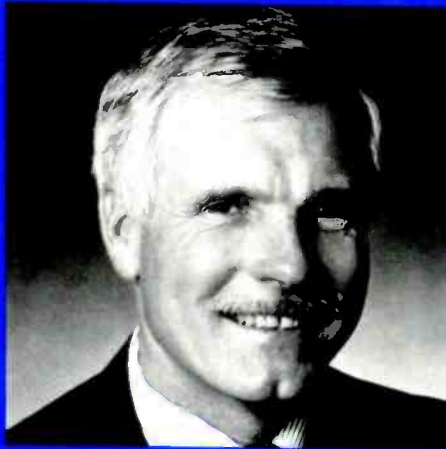




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Martin Allor  
Manuel Alvarado  
Charlotte Brunson  
Edward Buscombe  
Herman Gray  
John Hartley

Mary Jane Miller  
Albert Moran  
Barry Sherman  
Lynn Spiegel  
Christopher H. Sterling  
Mary Ann Watson  
Brian Winston

# Alphabetical List of Entries

## Volume 1

- Abbensetts, Michael  
Abbott, Paul  
ABC Family Channel  
Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN)  
*Absolutely Fabulous*  
A.C. Nielsen Company  
Academy of Television Arts and Sciences  
Action/Adventure Programs  
Action for Children's Television  
Activist Television  
Adaptations  
Advanced Television Systems Committee  
*Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
Advertising Agency  
Advertising, Company Voice  
Advocacy Groups  
Aesthetics, Television  
Africa, Sub-Saharan  
Ailes, Roger  
*Alcoa Hour, The*  
Alda, Alan  
*Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
*Alice*  
All Channel Legislation  
*All in the Family*  
Allen, Debbie  
Allen, Fred  
Allen, Gracie  
Allen, Steve  
Alliance Atlantis Communications  
Allison, Fran  
Allocation  
*Ally McBeal*  
Almond, Paul  
Altman, Robert  
*Amen*  
*American Bandstand*  
American Broadcasting Company (ABC)  
American Forces Radio and Television Service  
American Movie Classics  
American Women in Radio and Television  
Americanization  
*America's Funniest Home Videos*  
*America's Most Wanted*  
*Amerika*  
*Amos 'n' Andy*  
Anchor  
Ancier, Garth  
Ancillary Markets  
*Andy Griffith Show, The*  
Animal Planet  
*Anne of Green Gables*  
Annenberg, Walter  
Anthology Drama  
Arbitron  
Archives for Television Materials  
Argentina  
Arledge, Roone  
*Armstrong Circle Theatre*  
Army-McCarthy Hearings  
Arnaz, Desi  
*Arsenio Hall Show, The*  
Arthur, Beatrice  
*Arthur Godfrey Shows (Various)*  
Arts and Entertainment  
*Ascent of Man, The*  
Asner, Ed  
Asper, Izzy  
Association of Independent Television Stations / Association of Local Television Stations  
Atkinson, Rowan  
Attenborough, David  
Aubrey, James T.  
Audience Research: Cultivation Analysis  
Audience Research: Effects Analysis  
Audience Research: Industry and Market Analysis  
Audience Research: Overview  
Audience Research: Reception Analysis  
*Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*  
Australia  
Australian Production Companies

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- Australian Programming  
Australian Programming: Indigenous  
*Avengers, The*  
Azcarraga, Emilio, and Emilio Azcarraga Milmo
- Baird, John Logie  
Bakewell, Joan  
Ball, Lucille  
Barney Miller  
Barnouw, Erik  
Bassett, John  
*Batman*  
BBM Canada  
*Beachcombers, The*  
Beaton, Norman  
*Beavis and Butt-head*  
Belgium  
Bell Canada  
Bell Globe Media  
Bellamy, Ralph  
Ben Casey  
Bennett, Alan  
Benny, Jack  
*Benson*  
Berg, Gertrude  
Berle, Milton  
Berlusconi, Silvio  
Bernstein, Sidney  
Bertelsmann AG  
Berton, Pierre  
Betacam  
Betamax Case  
*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
*Big Brother*  
*Billy Graham Crusades*  
Birt, John  
Black Entertainment Television  
*Black and White in Colour*  
*Black and White Minstrel Show, The*  
Blacklisting  
Bleasdale, Alan  
*Blue Peter*  
*Bob Newhart Show, The/Newhart*  
Bochco, Steven  
Bogart, Paul  
Bolam, James  
*Bonanza*  
Boone, Richard  
*Borrowers, The*  
Boyle, Harry
- Boys from the Blackstuff*  
*Boys of St. Vincent, The*  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
Bragg, Melvyn  
Brambell, Wilfrid  
Branding  
Bravo  
Bravo! Canada  
Brazil  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
Briggs, Asa  
Brinkley, David  
British Academy of Film and Television Arts  
British Programming  
British Sky Broadcasting  
British Television  
Brittain, Donald  
Broadband  
Broadcasting  
Broadcasting Standards Commission  
Brodkin, Herbert  
Brokaw, Tom  
Brooke-Taylor, Tim  
Brooks, James L.  
*Brookside*  
*Buffy the Vampire Slayer*  
Bureau of Measurement  
Burnett, Carol  
Burns, Allan  
Burns, George  
Burns, Ken  
Burr, Raymond  
Burrows, James
- Cable Modem  
Cable Networks  
Cable News Network (CNN)  
Cable Television: United States  
Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
Call Signs/Call Letters  
Camcorder  
Cameron, Earl  
Canada  
*Canada: A People's History*  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Newsworld  
Canadian Cable Television Association  
Canadian Film and Television Production  
Association  
Canadian Morning Television  
Canadian Production Companies  
Canadian Programming in English  
Canadian Programming in French



Canadian Specialty Cable Channels  
 Canadian Television Network  
*Candid Camera*  
 Cannell, Stephen J.  
 CanWest Global Communications  
*Captain Video and His Video Rangers*  
 Captioning  
*Cariboo Country*  
 Carney, Art  
*Carol Burnett Show, The*  
 Carsey, Marcy  
 Carson, Johnny  
 Carter, Thomas  
 Cartier, Rudolph  
 Cartoon Network  
 Cartoons  
 Case, Steve  
*Casualty*  
*Cathy Come Home*  
*Cavalcade of America*  
 Censorship  
 Channel Four  
 Channel One News  
 Charles, Glen and Les  
*Charlie's Angels*  
 Chase, David  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
*Cheers*  
*Cheyenne*  
 Chicago School of Television  
 Children and Television  
 China  
*China Beach*  
 Chung, Connie  
 Citytv  
 Civil Rights Movement and Television, The  
*Civil War, The*  
*Civilisation: A Personal View*  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clarkson, Adrienne  
 Clearance  
 Cleese, John  
 Clinton Impeachment Trial  
 Closed Captioning  
 Closed Circuit Television

Cock, Gerald  
 Codco  
 Coe, Fred  
 Cole, George  
*Colgate Comedy Hour, The*  
 Collins, Bill  
 Color Television  
 Colorization  
 Coltrane, Robbie  
 Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)  
*Columbo*  
 Comedy Central  
 Comedy, Domestic Settings  
 Comedy, Workplace  
 Communications Act of 1934  
 Communications Satellite Corporation  
 Computers in Television  
 Convergence  
 Cooke, Alistair  
 Cooking Shows  
 Cooney, Joan Ganz  
 Coproduction, International  
*COPS*  
 Copyright Law and Television  
 Corbett, Harry H.  
 Corday, Barbara  
*Coronation Street*  
 Cosby, Bill  
*Cosby Show, The*  
 Cost-Per-Thousand and Cost-Per-Point  
 Country Music Television  
*Country Practice, A*  
 Couric, Katie  
 Courtroom Television  
 Cousteau, Jacques  
*Cracker*  
 Craft, Christine  
 Craig, Wendy  
 Crawford, Hector  
 Criticism, Television (Journalistic)  
 Cronkite, Walter  
 C-SPAN  
 Cuba  
 Curtin, Jane  
 Czech Republic, Slovakia

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*Da Vinci's Inquest*  
*Dad's Army*  
*Dallas*

Daly, Tyne  
*Danger Bay*  
 Dann, Michael

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*Danny Kaye Show, The*  
*Dark Shadows*  
*Dateline NBC*  
Davies, Andrew  
*Day After, The*  
Day, Robin  
*Death on the Rock*  
*Defenders, The*  
*Degrassi*  
Demographics  
Dench, Judi  
Denmark  
DePoe, Norman  
Deregulation  
*Desmond's*  
Detective Programs  
Development  
Development Communication  
*Dick Van Dyke Show, The*  
*Different World, A*  
Digital Television  
Digital Video Recorder  
Diller, Barry  
Dimpleby, Richard  
*Dinah Shore Show, The (Various)*  
Dingo, Ernie  
Direct Broadcast Satellite  
Director, Television  
Disasters and Television  
Discovery Channel  
Discovery Channel (Canada)  
Disney, Walt  
Distant Signal  
*Dixon of Dock Green*  
*Doctor Who*  
Docudrama  
Documentary  
Docusoap  
Dolan, Charles F.  
Donahue, Phil  
Dowdle, James Charles  
Downs, Hugh  
*Dr. Kildare*  
*Dragnet*  
Dramedy  
Drew, Robert  
Dubbing  
DuMont, Allen B.  
Dyer, Gwynne  
Dyke, Greg  
*Dynasty*

E! Entertainment Network  
*Early Frost, An*

*East Side/West Side*  
*EastEnders*  
Ebersol, Dick  
*Ed Sullivan Show, The*  
Educational Television  
Egypt  
Eisner, Michael  
Elderly and Television, The  
*Ellen*  
Ellerbee, Linda  
Emerson, Faye  
*E.N.G.*  
English, Diane  
*Englishman Abroad, An*  
Entertainment Tonight  
Equal Time Rule  
*Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)*  
Ethics and Television  
European Audiovisual Observatory  
European Broadcasting Union  
European Commercial Broadcasting Satellite  
European Union: Television Policy  
Eurovision Song Contest  
Experimental Video  
*Eyes on the Prize*  
*Eyewitness to History*

Fairness Doctrine  
Falk, Peter  
*Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin, The*  
*Famille Plouffe, La*  
*Family*  
Family on Television  
*Family Ties*  
Family Viewing Time  
Farnsworth, Philo T.  
*Father Knows Best*  
*Father Ted*  
*Fawlty Towers*  
*FBI, The*  
Fecan, Ivan  
Federal Communications Commission  
Federal Trade Commission  
*Fifth Estate, The*  
FilmFour/ Film on Four  
Financial Interest and Syndication Rules  
Finland  
*Fireside Theatre*  
First People's Television Broadcasting in Canada  
Fisher, Terry Louise  
*Flintstones, The*  
*Flip Wilson Show, The*  
Flow  
Fontana, Tom

- Food Network  
 Foote, Horton  
*For the Record*  
 Ford, Anna  
 Format Sales, International  
*Forsythe Saga, The*  
 Forsythe, John  
*Four Corners*  
 FOX Broadcasting Company  
 France  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Frank N. Magid Associates  
 Frank, Reuven  
 Frankenheimer, John  
*Frank's Place*  
*Frasier*  
 Frederick, Pauline  
 Freed, Fred  
 "Freeze" of 1948  
 French, Dawn  
 Friendly, Fred W.  
*Friends*  
*Front Page Challenge*  
*Frontline*  
 Frost, David  
 Frum, Barbara  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Furness, Betty
- Garner, James  
 Garnett, Tony  
*Garroway at Large*  
 Gartner, Hana  
 Gelbart, Larry  
 Geller, Henry  
 Gender and Television  
*General Electric Theater*  
 Genre  
 Geography and Television  
*George Burns and Gracie Allen Show, The*  
 Germany  
 Gerussi, Bruno  
 Get Smart  
 Gleason, Jackie  
 Gless, Sharon  
 Globalization  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
*Goldbergs, The*  
 "Golden Age" of Television  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldenson, Leonard  
 Goldie, Grace Wyndham  
*Good Times*  
 Goodson, Mark, and Bill Todman
- Goodyear Playhouse*  
 Grade, Lew  
 Grade, Michael  
*Grandstand*  
*Grange Hill*  
*Great Performances*  
 Greece  
*Green Acres*  
 Greenberg, Harold  
 Greene, Lorne  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, Andy  
 Griffiths, Trevor  
 Grundy, Reg  
*Gunsmoke*  
 Gyngell, Bruce
- Hagman, Larry  
 Haley, Alex  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Hancock's Half Hour*  
 Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera  
*Happy Days*  
 Harding, Gilbert  
 Harris, Susan  
*Have Gun—Will Travel*  
*Have I Got News for You*  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
*Hazel*  
*Heartbreak High*  
 Hemsley, Sherman  
 Henning, Paul  
 Hennock, Frieda Barkin  
 Henry, Lenny  
 Henson, Jim  
 Hewitt, Don  
*Hey Hey It's Saturday*  
 High-Definition Television  
*Hill Street Blues*  
 Hill, Benny  
*Hillsborough*  
 Hill-Thomas Hearings  
 Hird, Thora  
 History and Television  
*Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy, The*  
*Hockey Night in Canada*  
 Hodge, Patricia  
 Holbrook, Hal  
 Hollywood and Television  
*Holocaust*  
 Home Box Office (HBO)  
 Home Shopping as Concept and the Television Channels (various)  
 Home Video

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- Homicide*  
*Homicide: Life on the Street*  
*Honey West*  
*Honeymooners, The*  
Hong Kong  
Hood, Stuart  
Hooks, Benjamin Lawson  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, John  
*Hour Glass*  
*Howdy Doody Show, The*  
Howerd, Frankie  
Huggins, Roy  
Hungary  
Huntley, Chet
- I Claudius*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
Iceland  
Iger, Robert  
Independent Production Companies  
Independent Television Service  
India  
*Inspector Morse*  
Interactive Television  
International Telecommunications Union  
International Television Program Markets  
Ireland  
Isaacs, Jeremy  
Israel  
Italy  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show/The Larry Sanders Show*  
*I've Got a Secret*
- Jackson, Gordon  
Jackson, Michael (British)  
Jaffrey, Madhur  
Jaffrey, Saeed  
James, Sid  
Japan  
Jason, David  
*Jeffersons, The*  
Jenkins, Charles Francis  
Jennings, Peter  
*Jeopardy!*  
*Jewel in the Crown, The*  
Johnson, Lamont  
Jones, Quincy  
*Julia*  
Julien, Isaac  
Juneau, Pierre
- Kate and Allie*  
Keeshan, Bob
- Kellner, Jamie  
Kendal, Felicity  
Kennedy, Graham  
Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral  
Kennedy, Robert F.: Assassination  
Kennedy Martin, Troy  
Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debates, 1960  
Kenya  
*Kids in the Hall*  
Kinescope  
King, Larry  
King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr.: Assassination  
*King of Kensington*  
Kinnear, Roy  
Kinoy, Ernest  
Kintner, Robert E.  
Kirck, Harvey  
Klein, Paul  
Kluge, John  
Knowledge Network  
Koppel, Ted  
Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
*Kukla, Fran and Ollie*  
Kuralt, Charles  
Kureishi, Hanif
- L.A. Law*  
*La Femme Nikita*  
La Frenais, Ian  
La Plante, Lynda  
Lamb, Brian  
Lambert, Verity  
Landon, Michael  
Lane, Carla  
Language and Television  
Lansbury, Angela  
*Lassie*  
*Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)*  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
*Law & Order*  
*Lawrence Welk Show, The*  
Laybourne, Geraldine  
Le Mesurier, John  
Lear, Norman  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
Leno, Jay  
Leonard, Herbert B.  
Leonard, Sheldon  
*Leslie Uggams Show, The*  
Letterman, David  
Levin, Gerald  
Levinson, Richard  
*Liberace Show, The*

License  
 License Fee  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Life on Earth*  
 Lifetime  
*Likely Lads, The*  
 Link, William  
*Little House on the Prairie*  
 Littlefield, Warren  
 Loach, Ken

Local Television  
*Lone Ranger, The*  
*Loretta Young Show, The*  
*Lou Grant*  
 Low Power Television  
 Lumet, Sidney  
 Lumley, Joanna  
 Lupino, Ida  
 Lyndhurst, Nicholas

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*Magic Roundabout, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Malone, John C.  
*Mama*  
*Man Alive*  
*Man From U.N.C.L.E., The/The Girl From U.N.C.L.E.*  
 Mann, Abby  
 Mann, Delbert  
 Mansbridge, Peter  
 Marchant, Tony  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Market  
*Marketplace*  
*Married... With Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martin, Quinn  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mass Communication  
*Mastermind*  
*Maude*  
*Maverick*  
*Max Headroom*  
 McDonald, Trevor  
 McGovern, Jimmy  
 McGrath, John  
 McKay, Jim  
 McKern, Leo  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McQueen, Trina  
 Media Conglomerates  
 Media Events  
*Medic*  
 Medical Video  
*Meet the Press*  
 Melodrama  
 Mercer, David

Mercer, Rick  
 Mergers and Acquisitions  
 Messer, Don  
 Mexico  
*Miami Vice*  
 Microwave  
 Midwest Video Case  
 Miller, J.P.  
*Milton Berle Show, The*  
*Minder*  
 Miner, Worthington  
 Miniseries  
 Minow, Newton  
 Mirren, Helen  
*Miss Marple*  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Monkees, The*  
 Monkhouse, Bob  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
*Moonlighting*  
 Moonves, Leslie R.  
 Moore, Garry  
 Moore, Mary Tyler  
 Moore, Roger  
*Morecambe and Wise*  
 Morning Television Programs  
 Motion Picture Association of America  
 Movie Network, The  
 Movie Professionals and Television  
 Movies on Television  
 Moyers, Bill  
 MSNBC  
 MTV  
 MuchMusic  
 Munroe, Carmen  
*Muppet Show, The*  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
 Murdoch, Rupert K.  
*Murphy Brown*

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- Murphy, Thomas S.  
Murrow, Edward R.  
Music Licensing  
Music on Television  
Must Carry Rules  
*My Little Margie*  
*My Three Sons*
- Naked City*  
*Naked Civil Servant, The*  
*Name of the Game, The*  
Narrowcasting  
Nash, Knowlton  
*Nat "King" Cole Show, The*  
Nation, Terry  
*National, The/The Journal*  
National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences  
National Asian American Telecommunications Association  
National Association of Broadcasters  
National Association of Television Program Executives  
National Broadcasting Company (NBC)  
National Cable and Telecommunications Association  
National Education Television Center  
National Telecommunication and Information Administration  
*Nature of Things, The*  
*NBC Mystery Movie, The*  
*NBC Reports*  
*NBC White Paper*  
*Neighbours*  
Nelson, Ozzie and Harriet  
Netherlands, The  
Networks: United States  
New Zealand  
Newhart, Bob  
Newman, Sydney  
News Corporation, Ltd.  
News, Local and Regional  
News, Network  
Nichols, Dandy  
Nick at Nite/TV Land  
Nielsen, A.C.  
Nixon, Agnes  
*North of 60*  
*Northern Exposure*  
Norway  
*Not the Nine O'clock News*  
*Not Only... But Also...*  
*NYPD Blue*
- O'Connor, Carroll  
*Odd Couple, The*
- Ohlmeyer, Don  
*Old Grey Whistle Test, The*  
Olympics and Television  
*Omnibus*  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Foot in the Grave*  
*Only Fools and Horses*  
Open University  
*Original Amateur Hour, The*  
Ouimet, Alphonse  
*Our Friends in the North*  
*Our Miss Brooks*  
Ovitz, Michael  
Ownership  
Paar, Jack  
Paik, Nam June  
Paley, William S.  
Palin, Michael  
Palmer, Geoffrey  
*Panorama*  
Park, Nick  
Parker, Everett C.  
*Parkinson*  
Parkinson, Michael  
Parliament, Coverage by Television  
*Partridge Family, The*  
Pauley, Jane  
PAX Television  
Pay Cable  
Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand  
Pay Television  
Peck, Bob  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
*Pennies from Heaven*  
*Perry Mason*  
*Person to Person*  
Pertwee, Jon  
*Peter Gunn*  
*Peter Pan*  
*Peyton Place*  
*Phil Silvers Show, The*  
Philbin, Regis  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
Phillips, Irna  
Pierce, Frederick S.  
Pilot Programs  
Pittman, Robert W.  
*Playhouse 90*  
Poland  
*Poldark*  
Police Programs  
*Police Story*  
Political Processes and Television  
*Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher*

- Pool Coverage  
*Porridge*  
 Post, Mike  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
*Power without Glory*  
 Presidential Nominating Conventions  
 Press Conference  
*Prime Suspect*  
 Prime Time  
 Prime Time Access Rule  
*Primetime Live*  
 Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner*  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Producer in Television  
 Programming  
 PROMAX  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Public Access Television  
 Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity  
 Public-Service Announcement  
 Public-Service Broadcasting  
 Public Television  
 Puerto Rico
- Quatermass*  
 Quebecor Media  
*Queer As Folk*  
*Quentin Durgens, M.P.*  
 Quiz and Game Shows  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Racism, Ethnicity and Television  
 Radio Corporation of America  
 Radio Television News Directors Association  
 Randall, Tony  
 Rather, Dan  
 Ratings  
*Ready Steady Go*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*
- Reality Television  
*Red Green Show, The*  
*Red Skelton Show, The*  
 Redmond, Phil  
 Redstone, Sumner  
 Rees, Marian  
 Reid, Tim  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Reith, John C.W.  
 Religion on Television  
 Remote Control Device  
 Reruns/Repeats  
 Reynolds, Gene  
*Rich Man, Poor Man*  
 Rigg, Diana  
 Riggs, Marlon  
 Rintels, David W.  
*Rising Damp*  
 Rivera, Geraldo  
*Road to Avonlea*  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robinson, Hubbell  
*Rockford Files, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rogers, Fred McFeely  
 Rogers, Ted  
*Room 222*  
*Roots*  
 Rose, Reginald  
 Roseanne  
*Roseanne*  
 Rosenthal, Jack  
*Route 66*  
*Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*  
*Royal Canadian Air Farce, The*  
 Royalty and Royals on Television  
*Royle Family, The*  
 Rule, Elton  
*Rumpole of the Bailey*  
 Rushton, William  
 Russell, Ken  
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- St. Elsewhere*  
 Sagansky, Jeff  
 Salant, Richard S.  
*Sale of the Century*
- Sandford, Jeremy  
 Sandrich, Jay  
*Sanford and Son*  
 Sarnoff, David

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Sarnoff, Robert  
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*Saturday Night Live*  
Saunders, Jennifer  
Sawyer, Diane  
Scales, Prunella  
Schaffner, Franklin  
Schorr, Daniel  
Schwartz, Sherwood  
Science Fiction Programs  
Science Programs  
Scotland  
Scrambled Signals  
Second City Television  
Secondari, John H.  
*See It Now*  
*Seeing Things*  
*Seinfeld*  
Sellers, Peter  
*Selling of the Pentagon, The*  
Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
Sesame Workshop  
Sevareid, Eric  
*Sex*  
*Sex and the City*  
Sexual Orientation and Television  
Share  
Shatner, William  
Shaw, Bernard  
Sheen, Fulton J.  
*Sherlock Holmes*  
Shore, Dinah  
Showtime Network  
Silliphant, Stirling  
Silverman, Fred  
Silvers, Phil  
*Simpsons, The*  
Simulcasting  
*Singing Detective, The*  
*Siskel and Ebert*  
*Six Wives of Henry VIII, The*  
*60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II*  
*\$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge*  
Skelton, Red  
*Skippy*  
Smith, Howard K.  
*Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The*  
*Soap*  
Soap Opera  
Social Class and Television  
Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers  
*Some Mothers Do 'ave 'em*  
Sony Corporation  
*Sopranos, The*  
*Soul Train*  
South Africa  
South Korea  
*South Park*  
Southeast Asia  
Space Program and Television  
Spain  
Spanish International Network  
Special/Spectacular  
Speight, Johnny  
Spelling, Aaron  
Spin-Off  
*Spitting Image*  
Sponsor  
Sports and Television  
Sportscasters  
Spriggs, Elizabeth  
Spy Programs  
Standards  
Standards and Practices  
Stanton, Frank  
Star, Darren  
*Star Trek*  
Starowicz, Mark  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
Station and Station Group  
Steadicam  
*Steptoe and Son*  
*Steve Allen Show, The (Various)*  
Streaming Video  
*Street Legal*  
Street-Porter, Janet  
Studio  
*Studio One*  
Subtitling  
Sullivan, Ed  
Super Bowl  
Superstation  
*Survivor*  
*Suspense*  
Susskind, David  
Sustaining Program  
Suzuki, David  
Swallow, Norman  
Sweden  
*Sweeney, The*  
Switzerland  
Sykes, Eric  
*Sylvania Waters*  
Syndication



- Tabloid Television in the United States  
 Taiwan  
 Talk Show in the United States  
*Talking Heads*  
 Tarses, Jay  
 Tartikoff, Brandon  
*Taxi*  
 Teaser  
 Technology, Television  
 Teenagers and Television in the United States  
 Telcos  
 Telecommunications Act of 1996  
 Telefilm Canada  
 Telemundo  
 Telenovela  
 Teleroman  
 Teletext  
 Telethon  
 Television Studies  
 Terrorism  
*That Girl*  
*That Was the Week That Was*  
 Thaw, John  
 Theme Songs  
*thirtysomething*  
*This Hour Has Seven Days*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Tony  
*Thorn Birds, The*  
*Three's Company*  
*Thunderbirds*  
 Tiananmen Square  
*Till Death Us Do Part*  
 Tillstrom, Burr  
 Time Shifting  
 Time Warner  
 Tinker, Grant  
*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*  
 Tisch, Laurence  
*Tiswas*  
*Tommy Hunter Show, The*  
*Tonight*  
*Tonight Show, The*  
*Top of the Pops*  
*Touched By an Angel*  
*Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A*  
 Trade Magazines  
 Translators and Boosters  
 Tribune Broadcasting  
 Trodd, Kenith  
 Troughton, Patrick  
 Turkey  
 Turner Broadcasting Systems  
 Turner, Ted  
*20th Century, The*  
*20/20*  
 24-Hour News  
*Twilight Zone, The*  
*Twin Peaks*  
 2000 Presidential Election Coverage  
 227  
  
*Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception, The*  
*Undercurrents*  
 Unions/Guilds  
 United States Congress and Television  
 United States Presidency and Television (Historical Overview)  
 Universal (NBC-Universal, Vivendi Universal)  
*University Challenge*  
 Univision  
*Untouchables, The*  
 UPN Television Network  
*Upstairs, Downstairs*  
  
*Valour and the Horror, The*  
 Van Dyke, Dick  
 Variety Programs  
*Very British Coup, A*  
*Victory at Sea*  
 Video Editing  
 Videocassette  
 Videodisc  
 Videotape  
 Videotex and Online Services  
*Vietnam: A Television History*  
 Vietnam on Television  
 Violence and Television  
*Voice of Firestone, The*  
 Voice-Over  
  
 W (formerly Women's Television Network)  
*Wagon Train*  
 Wales  
*Walking with Dinosaurs*  
 Wallace, Mike  
 Walsh, Mary  
 Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)  
 Walters, Barbara  
*Waltons, The*  
*War Game, The*  
 War on Television  
 Warner Brothers Presents  
*Watch Mr. Wizard*  
*Watch with Mother*

## Alphabetical List of Entries

Watergate  
Waterman, Dennis  
Waters, Ethel  
Watkins, Peter  
Watson, Patrick  
Wayne and Shuster  
WB Network  
Wearing, Michael  
Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)  
Webb, Jack  
*Wednesday Play, The*  
Weinberger, Ed  
Weldon, Fay  
Welland, Colin  
Wendt, Jana  
Western  
Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse  
Weyman, Ron  
*Wheel of Fortune*  
Wheldon, Huw  
Whicker, Alan  
White, Betty  
Whitfield, June  
*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*  
*Widows*  
*Wild Kingdom*  
Wildlife and Nature Programs  
Wildmon, Donald  
Williams, Raymond  
Wilson, Flip  
Winant, Ethel  
*Wind at My Back*  
Windsor, Frank  
Winfrey, Oprah  
Winters, Jonathan  
Wiseman, Frederick  
Witt, Paul Junger

*Wojeck*  
Wolf, Dick  
Wolper, David L.  
*Women of Brewster Place, The*  
*Wonder Years, The*  
Wood, Robert  
Wood, Victoria  
Woodward, Edward  
Woodward, Joanne  
Workplace Programs  
*World at War, The*  
*World in Action*  
Worrel, Trix  
Wrather, Jack  
Wrestling on Television  
Wright, Robert C.  
Writer in Television  
Wyman, Jane

*Xena: Warrior Princess*  
*X-Files, The*  
*XXX Man, The*

Yentob, Alan  
*Yes, Minister*  
Young, Loretta  
Young, Robert  
*Your Hit Parade*  
Youth Television

Z Cars  
Zapping  
Ziv Television Programs, Inc.  
Znaimer, Moses  
*Zorro*  
Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz  
Zworykin, Vladimir

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## Magic Roundabout, The

France/U.K. Children's Entertainment

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*The Magic Roundabout* was a long-running animation for preschool children that became a cult classic. The five-minute program was first broadcast in the 1960s, shown at the end of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) weekday children's programs. *The Magic Roundabout* offered an assortment of colorful, toylike characters for children and a dry and witty script for adults. A revival on Channel 4 in the 1990s brought *the Magic Roundabout* to a new generation of fans.

Despite being considered a national institution in the United Kingdom, *The Magic Roundabout* was discovered in France by Doreen Stephens, the head of the BBC's Family Programs. French animator Serge Danot's *Le Manège Enchanté* had been running on French television for a couple of years. Danot built the sets and shot the puppets one frame at a time to create a three-dimensional animation. Eric Thompson, father of actress Emma and a presenter on the BBC preschool program *Playschool*, was chosen as writer and narrator for the English version. Rather than translating Danot's script, Thompson chose to rename the characters and write new scripts. First appearing on the BBC in 1965, *The Magic Roundabout* was shown just before the 5:55 P.M. main early-evening news bulletin on BBC 1, which meant that many adults caught the program while waiting for the news. At the start of a new series in October 1967, *Radio Times* (the BBC listings magazine) described the series as a "favorite with children from two to ninety-two."

The first few programs introduced the basic storyline. Mr. Rusty is unhappy because his roundabout (fairground carousel with horses) has fallen into disrepair, and the children no longer visit. A magical jack-in-the-box, called Zebedee, appears one day and, using his magic, repairs the roundabout. On the sound of the music from Mr. Rusty's barrel organ, the roundabout turns, and the children return to play. Zebedee offers one of the children a special gift: a visit to a magic garden. The rest of the series follows this child, a young girl named Florence, and her encounters with the odd assortment of characters that inhabit the magic garden. The remaining episodes were short interactions between the characters, the program starting with the roundabout and often ending with Zebedee bounding into the frame, announcing, "Time for bed!"

In addition to Florence, the main characters were Dougal, a long-haired orange dog with a fondness for lumps of sugar; Brian, a yellow snail; Ermintrude, a pink cow with red spots who wore a hat; and Dylan, a floppy-eared rabbit who wore clothes, carried a guitar, and spent most of the time sleeping propped against a tree. There were also two elderly characters, Mr. McHenry, the gardener who rode a tricycle, and the previously mentioned Mr. Rusty. The garden was home to two-dimensional trees and flowers that spun like pinwheels. Aired in black and white, it was not until 1970 that the bright colors of Danot's designs could be seen in their true splendor on British television.

## Magic Roundabout, The

If the bright designs of the characters and scenery appealed to its younger viewers, then it was Thompson's commentary, with frequent references to topical issues and personalities, that appealed to the older viewers. One of the most often quoted pieces of dialogue from the series was Dougal's manifesto when standing before Parliament: "I'm in favor of the four-day week, the 47-minute hour and the 30-second minute. This gives a lot of time for lying about in the sun and eating" (a comment on the British government's introduction of the three-day week).

As is the case with many cult programs, rumors abounded about subliminal messages in the program. Most of the rumors that surrounded *The Magic Roundabout* centered on drugs; the psychedelic garden was an acid trip, Dougal's favorite sugar lumps were LSD, and Dylan was in fact named after Bob Dylan. All these ideas were officially dismissed but added to the cult status of the program. The BBC was inundated with complaints in October 1966, when the network moved *The Magic Roundabout* to the earlier time of 4:55, which meant that fewer working adults would be able to view it. The BBC bowed to public pressure and moved it back to the later slot several weeks later. Even though Danot had stopped production of the series in 1972, *The Magic Roundabout* remained on the BBC, with reruns, until 1977. (Danot resumed production of the series in 1980 with 55 new episodes.)

Eric Thompson died in 1982, so when Channel 4 purchased rights to the new episodes in 1992, the actor Nigel Planer (best known in the United Kingdom for his role as Neil the hippy in *The Young Ones*) took over the role of narrator, writing the new scripts along with his brother Roger. Shown as one of Channel 4's early-morning children's programs, Planer's version remained faithful to the earlier version (even carrying the credit line "with grateful acknowledgement to Eric Thompson"). The programs continued to refer to cur-

rent affairs, personalities, and topics well beyond the comprehension of its preschool audience. The series ran on Channel 4 until 1994, with reruns still being shown to the present day.

Danot made a feature length version of the program, *Pollux et Le Chat Bleu* (Pollux was the original French name for Dougal). Eric Thompson narrated an English version, *Dougal and the Blue Cat*, which was released in Britain in 1972. A stage production of the program toured the United Kingdom in 1993.

KATHLEEN LUCKEY

### Programming History

BBC 1965-77	Weekdays 5:50
Channel 4 1992-94	Weekdays 7:37

### Credits (English version)

Created by Serge Danot  
For BBC (written and narrated by Eric Thompson)  
For Channel 4 (written by Nigel and Roger Planer)  
Narrated by Nigel Planer  
Produced/directed by Brendan Donnison  
Executive producer Lucinda Whiteley  
A Lyps Inc. Production for Channel 4 and ABTV

### Further Reading

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Magid, Frank N. *See* Frank N. Magid Associates

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# Magnum, P.I.

U.S. Detective Program

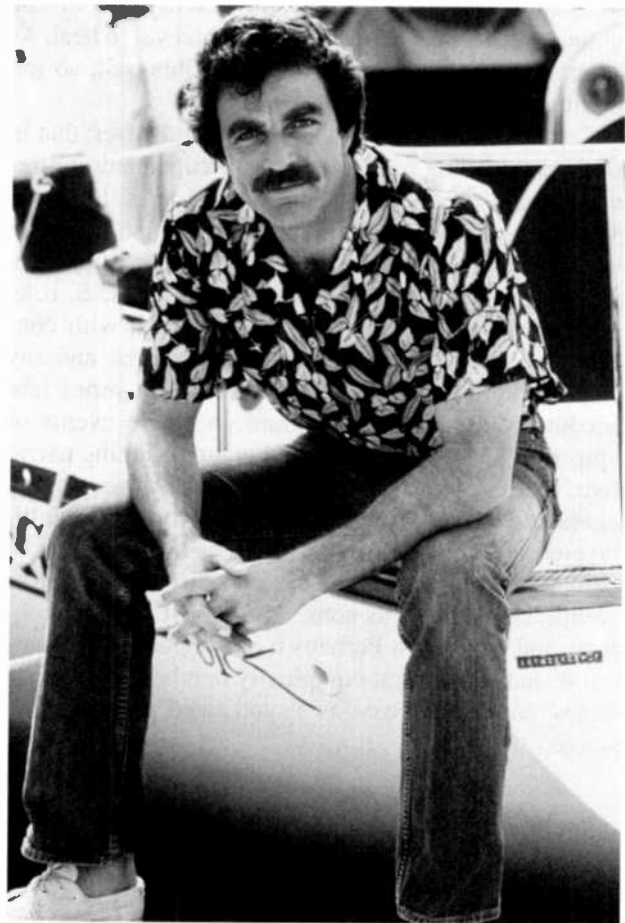
A permutation of the hard-boiled detective genre, *Magnum, P.I.* aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from 1980 through 1988. Initially, the network had the series developed to make use of the extensive production facilities built during the 1970s in Hawaii for the successful police procedural *Hawaii Five-O* and intended the program to reflect a style and character suited to Hawaiian glamour. For the first five years the series was broadcast, it ranked in the top 20 shows for each year.

The series was set in the contemporary milieu of 1980s Hawaii, a melting pot of ethnic and social groups. Thomas Magnum, played by Tom Selleck, is a former naval intelligence officer making his way as a private investigator in the civilian crossroads between Eastern and Western cultures. In charge of the security for the estate of the never-seen author Robin Masters, Magnum lives a relatively carefree life on the property. A friendly antagonism and respect exists between Magnum and Jonathan Higgins III (John Hillerman), Masters's overseer of the estate. Though both men come from military backgrounds, Magnum's free-wheeling style often clashes with Higgins's more mannered British discipline. In addition, two of Magnum's former military buddies round out the regular cast. T.C., or Theodore Calvin (Roger Mosely), operates and owns a helicopter charter company, a service that comes in handy for many of Magnum's cases. Rick Wright (Larry Manetti), a shady nightclub owner, often provides Magnum with important information through his links to the criminal element lurking below the vibrant tropical colors of the Hawaiian paradise.

Though originally dominated by an episodic narrative structure, *Magnum, P.I.* moved far beyond the simple demands of stock characters solving the crime of the week. Without using the open-ended strategy developed by the prime-time soap opera in the 1980s, the series nevertheless created complex characterizations by building a cumulative text. Discussion of events from previous episodes would continually pop up, constructing memory as an integral element of the series franchise. While past actions might not have an immediate impact on any individual weekly narrative, the overall effect was to expand the range of traits that characters might invoke in any given situation. For the regular viewer of the series, the cumulative strategy

offered a richness of narrative, moving beyond the simpler whodunit of the hard-boiled detective series that populated American television in the 1960s and 1970s.

Part of the success of *Magnum, P.I.* stemmed from the combination of familiar hard-boiled action and exotic locale. Just as important perhaps, the series was one of the first to regularly explore the impact of the Vietnam War on the American cultural psyche. Many of the most memorable episodes deal with contemporary incidents triggered by memories and relationships growing out of Magnum's past war experiences. In-



*Magnum P.I.*, Tom Selleck, 1980–88.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

deed, the private investigator's abhorrence of discipline and cynical attitude toward authority seem to stem from the general mistrust of government and military bureaucracies that came to permeate American society in the early 1970s.

On one level, *Magnum* became the personification of an American society that had yet to deal effectively with the fallout from the Vietnam War. By the end of the 1980s, the struggle to deal with the unresolved issues of the war erupted full force into American popular culture. Before *Magnum* began to deal with his psychological scars in the context of the 1980s, network programmers apparently believed that any discussion of the war in a series would prompt viewers to tune it out. With the exception of Norman Lear's *All in the Family* in the early 1970s, entertainment network programming acted, for the most part, as if the war had never occurred. However, *Magnum, P.I.*'s success proved programmers wrong. Certainly, the series' success opened the door for other dramatic series that were able to examine the Vietnam War in its historical setting. Series such as *Tour of Duty* and *China Beach*, though not as popular, did point out that room existed in mainstream broadcasting for discussions of the emotional and political wounds that had yet to heal. As Thomas Magnum began to deal with his past, so too did the American public.

Critics of the show often point out, however, that in dealing with this past, the series recuperated and reconstructed the involvement of the United States in Vietnam. While some aspects of the show seem harshly critical of that entanglement, many episodes justify and rationalize the conflict and the U.S. role. As a result, *Magnum, P.I.* is shot through with conflicting and often contradictory perspectives, and any "final" interpretation must take the entire series into account rather than concentrate on single events or episodes. The construction of this long-running narrative, riddled as it is with continuously developing characterizations, ideological instability, and multi-layered generic resonance, illustrates many aspects of commercial U.S. television's capacity for narrative complexity as well as some of its most vexing problems and questions. Perhaps it is *Magnum, P.I.*'s narrative and ideological complexity that has ensured the series' ongoing success as a syndicated programming staple.

RODNEY A. BUXTON

**See also Action Adventure Shows; Detective Programs; Vietnam on Television**

### Cast

Thomas Sullivan Magnum	Tom Selleck
Jonathan Quayle Higgins III	John Hillerman
T.C. (Theodore Calvin)	Roger E. Mosley
Rick (Orville Wright)	Larry Manetti
Robin Masters	
(voice only) 1981-85	Orson Welles
Mac Reynolds	Jeff MacKay
Lt. Tanaka	Kwan Hi Lim
Lt. Maggie Poole	Jean Bruce Scott
Agatha Chumley	Gillian Dobb
Asst. District Attorney,	
Carol Baldwin	Kathleen Lloyd
Francis Hofstetler ("Ice Pick")	Elisha Cook Jr.

### Producers

Donald P. Bellisario, Glen Larson, Joel Rogosin, John G. Stephens, Douglas Benton, J. Rickley Dumm, Rick Weaver, Andrew Schneider, Douglas Green, Reuben Leder, Chas. Floyd Johnson, Nick Thiel, Chris Abbot

### Programming History

150 episodes; 6 2-hour episodes  
 CBS  
 December 1980-  
 August 1981 Thursday 9:00-10:00  
 September 1981-  
 April 1986 Thursday 8:00-9:00  
 April 1986-June 1986 Saturday 10:00-11:00  
 June 1986-August 1986 Tuesday 9:00-10:00  
 September 1986-May 1987 Wednesday  
 9:00-10:00  
 July 1987-February 1988 Wednesday  
 9:00-10:00  
 June 1988-September 1988 Monday 10:00-11:00

### Further Reading

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 Flitterman, Sandy, "Thighs and Whiskers: The Fascination of *Magnum, P.I.*," *Screen* (1985)  
 Haines, Harry W., "The Pride Is Back: Rambo, *Magnum, P.I.*, and the Return Trip to Vietnam," in *Cultural Capacities of Vietnam: Uses of the Past and Present*, edited by Peter Mowies and Peter Ehrenhaus, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1990  
 Meyers, Richard, *TV Detectives*, San Diego, California: A.S. Barnes, 1981  
 Newcomb, Horace, "Magnum: The Champagne of TV," *Channels of Communication* (May-June 1985)

## Malone, John C. (1941– )

### U.S. Telecommunications Executive

John C. Malone is the chairman of Liberty Media Corporation. Prior to its acquisition by AT&T in 1999, he was the chief executive officer of Telecommunications, Inc. (TCI), until that time the largest operator of cable systems in the United States. Malone oversaw TCI's phenomenal growth from the time of his arrival at the company in 1973 and in the process came to be regarded as one of the most powerful people in the television industry. He has been praised by many for his outstanding business acumen and his technological foresight, but at the same time he has also acquired a less flattering reputation for his hardball style of business practice. Among those who have been openly critical of Malone in this latter vein is Albert Gore Jr., who once dubbed Malone the "Darth Vader" of the cable industry.

Malone began his career at AT&T Bell Labs in the mid-1960s before moving on to become a management consultant for McKinsey and Company in 1968. He received his Ph.D. in industrial engineering from Johns Hopkins University in 1969 and soon joined the General Instrument Corporation, where he became president of its Jerrold cable equipment division. It was here that he first established ties to many of the cable industry's pioneers. In 1972 he turned down an offer from Steve Ross of Warner Communications to head its fledgling cable division, opting instead to leave the East Coast to accept an offer from TCI founder Bob Magness to run the small cable company from its Denver, Colorado, headquarters.

Malone joined TCI just before it fell into very difficult times. Malone's first major success at TCI was in negotiating a restructuring of the company's heavy debt load. Once freed from the burden of this debt, Malone embarked on a conservative growth strategy for TCI. Rather than attempting to expand its holdings by building large urban cable systems at great expense, as many other cable companies did in the late 1970s, Malone focused TCI's growth efforts on gaining franchise rights in smaller communities, where the costs to build the systems would be far less onerous. The wisdom of Malone's strategy soon became evident. TCI was able to grow without encountering the exceedingly high costs associated with building capital-intensive urban cable systems, and in the early 1980s it

was able to purchase several existing large-market systems, such as those in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and St. Louis, Missouri, at bargain prices from companies that had financially overextended themselves in the construction process.

As TCI grew throughout the 1980s, so did its power within the television industry. The company invested heavily in programming services and eventually came to hold stakes in more than 25 different cable networks under the arm of its Liberty Media subsidiary. However, TCI's success was sometimes overshadowed by the public's perception of it as a heavy-handed com-



John C. Malone.  
Photo courtesy of John Malone

pany that occasionally would resort to bullying tactics to achieve its desired ends. For instance, in TCI's earlier days, some of its systems were known to replace entire channels of programming for days at a time, leaving these channels blank except for the names and home telephone numbers of local franchising officials. The strategy aimed to gain leverage in franchise negotiations. Fairly or not, Malone came to personify TCI and its negative public image.

Despite the company's poor public relations record, few would deny that Malone and TCI were among the most powerful forces shaping the television industry in the late 20th century. Like William S. Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and David Sarnoff of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) an earlier era, Malone exercised great control over what American television viewers would or would not see. At TCI's peak, nearly one in four cable subscribers in the United States was served by a TCI system, and these viewers were directly affected by the decisions Malone made. Even those who were not TCI subscribers felt Malone's influence because access to the critical mass of viewers represented by TCI's cable systems was crucial to any programmer's success. Programmers needed carriage on TCI systems in order to gather the audience numbers that provide solid financial status. Malone assumed the position of a gatekeeper, wielding enormous influence over the entire television marketplace, which explains another nickname that was sometimes applied to him: "The Godfather" of cable television.

Malone first hinted at his ultimate ambitions for TCI when he attempted to merge the company with the regional telephone operator Bell Atlantic in 1993. Although the deal was scuttled only four months after it was announced, it foreshadowed Malone's eventual plans for TCI's place in the future television marketplace. In 1999 Malone was able to successfully negotiate the purchase of TCI and its programming arm, Liberty Media, by AT&T for a staggering \$54 billion. The acquisition allowed AT&T to assume a central position within the cable television industry, while Malone was able to command top dollar for TCI shareholders in exchange for what were, in many instances, older cable systems with infrastructures that were technologically inferior to those of many other cable services. In the meantime, Malone stayed on after the acquisition as Liberty Media's chairman.

AT&T struggled in the cable operations business, and the relationship between Malone and AT&T Chairman Michael Armstrong grew increasingly rocky until 2001, when AT&T divested its stake in Liberty Media and agreed to sell its cable systems to Comcast Corp. With its newly found freedom from AT&T, Malone led

Liberty Media into a new round of asset acquisition, most notably by reentering the cable operations business by buying stakes in European cable systems. In so doing, Malone gave every indication of his intention to be as dominant a force in shaping the 21st century's global telecommunications marketplace as he was in influencing the direction of U.S. television in the last quarter of the 20th century.

DAVID GUNZERATH

#### *See also Cable Networks; United States: Cable Television*

**John Malone.** Born in Milford, Connecticut, March 7, 1941. Educated at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, Phi Beta Kappa, B.S. in electrical engineering and economics, 1963, and M.S. in industrial management, 1964; Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, Ph.D. in industrial engineering, 1969. Married Leslie; two children. Began professional career in economic planning and research and development with Bell Telephone Laboratories/AT&T, 1963; worked as management consultant for McKinsey and Co., 1968; group vice president, General Instrument Corporation, 1970; former president, cable equipment division, Jerrold Electronics Corporation (a General Instrument Corporation subsidiary); president and chief executive officer, TeleCommunications Inc., Denver, Colorado, 1973-99; chairman, Liberty Media Corporation, since 1990. Chair emeritus, Cable Television Laboratories. Board member, Bank of New York; the CATO Institute; Discovery Communications, Inc.; USANi, LLC; UnitedGlobalCom, Inc.; and Cendant Corp. Recipient: TVC Magazine Man of the Year Award, 1981; Wall Street Transcript's Gold Award for the cable industry's best chief executive officer, 1982, 1985, 1986, and 1987; NCTA Vanguard Award, 1983; Wall Street's Transcript Silver Award, 1984 and 1989; Women in Cable's Betsy Magness Fellowship Honoree; University of Pennsylvania Wharton School Sol C. Snider Entrepreneurial Center Award of Merit for Distinguished Entrepreneurship; American Jewish Committee Sherrill C. Corwin Human Relations Award; Communications Technology Magazine Service and Technology Award; Financial World CEO of the Year Competition, 1993; Johns Hopkins University Distinguished Alumnus Award, 1994. Honorary degree: Doctor of Humane Letters, Denver University, 1992.

#### **Further Reading**

- "Another TBS Network Envisioned by Malone." *Broadcasting* (May 11, 1987)
- Auletta, Ken, *The Highwaymen: Warriors of the Information Superhighway*, New York: Random House, 1997



Chen, Christine, "Liberty Media's Surprising Reach," *Fortune* (September 17, 2001)

Davis, Lawrence J., *The Billionaire Shell Game: How Cable Baron John Malone and Assorted Corporate Titans Invented a Future Nobody Wanted*, New York: Doubleday, 1998

"Malone Looks to the Future with Cable Labs," *Broadcasting* (June 5, 1989)

"Malone Paints Rosy Picture for IRTS," *Broadcasting* (March 20, 1989)

"Malone Urges Creation of Bandwidth Manager; TCI Wants Vendors to Come Up with a Residential Communications Gateway Unit," *Broadcasting & Cable* (August 15, 1994)

Mehta, Stephanie, "The Island of Dr. Malone," *Fortune* (July 24, 2000)

Mermigas, Diane, "John Malone Making His Way in Europe," *Electronic Media* (March 5, 2001)

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Samuels, Gary, "You Gotta Consolidate, You Gotta Swap" (interview), *Forbes* (December 19, 1994)

Weinberg, Neil, "Taking Liberty," *Forbes* (October 18, 1999)

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## Mama

### U.S. Domestic Comedy/Drama

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*Mama*, which aired from 1949 to 1957 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), proves that television was capable of complex characterizations in the series format even early in its history. A weekly family comedy-drama based on Kathryn Forbes's *Mama's Bank Account* as well as its play and film adaptations *I Remember Mama*, *Mama* would best be described today as "dramedy." Unfortunately, except for its last half season, when it was filmed, the program aired live, with kinescope recordings prepared for West Coast broadcasts. Consequently, it is unavailable in the repetitive reruns that have made other domestic situation comedies from the 1950s (including many, such as *Father Knows Best*, that it influenced) familiar to several generations of viewers.

Each episode dramatized, with warmth and humor, the Hansen family's adventures and everyday travails in turn-of-the-20th-century San Francisco. The working-class Norwegian family included Mama, Papa (a carpenter), and children Katrin, Nels, and Dagmar. Mama's sisters and an uncle were semiregular characters. Although earlier incarnations of the Forbes material had focused on the relationship between Mama and Katrin, the television series centered episodes on all the characters, a technique made available and almost demanded by the production of a continuing series.

The stories might revolve around Dagmar's braces, Nels starting a business, or the children buying presents for Mama's birthday. The entire family would contribute to the drama's resolution, however, and images of them sitting down to a cup of Maxwell House

coffee—the show's longtime sponsor—would frame each episode of the show. As George Lipsitz points out, it was common for the dramatic solutions to in-



*Mama*, Peggy Wood, Judson Laire, 1949–57.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

volve some kind of commodity purchase, not surprising given the commercial basis of American network television and the consumer culture of the postwar United States. What is surprising is how often the show foregrounded the contradictions of this consumer culture in which everyone does not have access to the desired goods. Dramatic tension often resulted from the realization that Mama's endeavors provided the foundation for the achievements of individual family members. It was not uncommon for Papa and the Hansen children to have to come to terms with the value of Mama's work.

The program's complex treatment of cultural tensions resulted not only from Forbes's original material but also from the contributions of head writer Frank Gabrielson, director-producer Ralph Nelson (a Hollywood liberal of Norwegian descent who went on to direct the film *Lilies of the Field*), and a distinguished cast. Peggy Wood, who incarnated Mama, was a versatile stage and film actress who had starred in operetta and Shakespeare and is probably best known to today's audiences for her Oscar-nominated role as Mother Superior in *The Sound of Music*. (Mady Christians, who starred in the role of Mama on Broadway, was not considered for the television role because she was blacklisted.) Dick Van Patten played Nels and would later star in television's *Eight Is Enough* in the 1970s. Robin Morgan, who played Dagmar from 1950 to 1956, became a well-known feminist activist and writer. Not surprisingly, she attributes to *Mama* many of her early lessons in feminine power.

MARY DESJARDINS

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television**

#### Cast

Marta Hansen (Mama)	Peggy Wood
Lars Hansen (Papa)	Judson Laire
Nels	Dick Van Patten
Katrin	Rosemary Rich
Dagmar (1949)	Iris Mann
Dagmar (1950-56)	Robin Morgan
Dagmar (1957)	Toni Campbell
Aunt Jenny	Ruth Gates
T.R. Ryan (1952-56)	Kevin Coughlin
Uncle Chris (1949-51)	Malcolm Keen
Uncle Chris (1951-52)	Roland Winters
Uncle Gunnar Gunnerson	Carl Frank
Aunt Trina Gunnerson	Alice Frost
Ingeborg (1953-56)	Patty McCormack

#### Producers

Carol Irwin, Ralph Nelson, Donald Richardson

#### Programming History

CBS	
July 1949-July 1956	Friday 8:00-8:30
December 1956-March 1957	Friday 8:00-8:30

#### Further Reading

Lipsitz, George, "Why Remember Mama? The Changing Face of a Woman's Narrative?" in *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990

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## Man Alive

### Canadian Religious/Information Program

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A critically acclaimed, nondenominational program that the show's executive producer, Louise Lore, describes as "a religious program for a post-Christian age," *Man Alive* is one of Canada's longest-running information programs. Begun in 1967 amid a renewed sense of theological activism inspired by the reforms of Vatican II, *Man Alive* takes its name and inspiration from a St. Irnaeus quote: "the glory of God is man

fully alive." From a format that concentrated on theological issues, the show's focus has broadened considerably in its 30 seasons.

*Man Alive* has profiled and interviewed many of the world's most important religious figures, from Mother Teresa to the Dalai Lama and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. An October 8, 1986, interview with the Aga Khan was this religious leader's first formal North



*Man Alive.*  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

American interview. He had declined previous requests from such well-known shows as the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *60 Minutes* in favor of *Man Alive* because of the show's reputation for balance and the relaxed, soft-spoken interviewing style of the show's host, Roy Bonisteel. Many *Man Alive* interviews were marked by their candidness and honesty, as in the case of Archbishop Tutu, who related how Jackie Robinson and Lena Horne were his boyhood heroes.

Bonisteel, the show's host for 22 seasons and so identified with it that many mistake him for a minister, is a journalist by training. He had been producing radio shows for the United Church of Canada in the mid-1960s, when he was approached to be the host of the new television program. By the time he left, he had become the longest-running host of any information program in Canada. He was succeeded by Peter Downie, former cohost of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) *Midday* current affairs program in the fall of 1989. *Man Alive* observed its 25th anniversary with a one-hour special in February 1992 that celebrated not only its longevity but also the diversity of its programming.

Throughout its history, the show has consistently provided programming that appeals to a broad audience, and this has been one of the keys to its success. It has delved into a variety of topics, from UFOs to the threat of nuclear war, from father-son relationships to life in a maximum-security hospital for the criminally insane. Nor has it avoided controversial and unpopular subjects, such as the Vatican bank scandal, sexual abuse in the church, or aid to El Salvador. Some of the show's most critically acclaimed episodes have been those that have chronicled very personal human dramas, such as the story of David McFarlane, who met the challenges presented by his Down syndrome to star in a television drama, or the story of the Rubineks, Holocaust survivors, and their moving return to Poland after 40 years. Despite the changing nature of television audiences and serious budgetary constraints, *Man Alive* continues the tradition of providing an informative and well-balanced examination of relevant social issues and contemporary ethical questions.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

#### Hosts

Roy Bonisteel (1967–89)  
Peter Downie (1989– )

#### Executive Producers

Leo Rampen (1967–85); Louise Lore (1985– )

#### Programming History

##### CBC

October 1967–March 1968	Sunday 5:00–5:30
November 1968–March 1978	Monday 9:30–10:00
October 1979–March 1980	Tuesday 10:30–11:00
October 1980–March 1983	Sunday 10:30–11:00
October 1983–March 1984	Sunday 10:00–10:30
October 1984–March 1987	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
October 1987–	Tuesday 9:30–10:00

#### Further Reading

Bonisteel, Roy, *In Search of Man Alive*, Toronto: Totem, 1980  
Bonisteel, Roy, *Man Alive: The Human Journey*, Toronto: Collins, 1983

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# The Man from U.N.C.L.E./The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.

U.S. Spy Parody

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*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, which aired on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from September 1964 to January 1968, has often been described as television's version of James Bond, but it was much more than that. It was, quite simply, a pop culture phenomenon. Although its ratings were initially poor early in the first season, a change in time period and cross-country promotional appearances by its stars, Robert Vaughn and David McCallum, helped the show build a large and enthusiastic audience.

At the peak of its popularity, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was telecast in 60 countries and consistently ranked in the top ten programs on U.S. television. Eight feature-length films were made from two-part episodes and profitably released in the United States and Europe. *TV Guide* called it "the cult of millions." The show received 10,000 fan letters per week, and Vaughn and McCallum were mobbed by crowds of teenagers as if they were rock stars. *U.N.C.L.E.* was also a huge merchandising success, with images of the series' stars and its distinctive logo (a man standing beside a skeletal globe) appearing on hundreds of items, from bubble gum cards to a line of adult clothing.

The show had a little something for everyone. Children took it seriously as an exciting action adventure. Teenagers enjoyed its hip, cool style, identifying with and idolizing its heroes. More mature viewers appreciated the tongue-in-cheek humor and the roman à clef references to such real-life political figures as Mahatma Gandhi and Eva Peron, interpreting it as a metaphor for the struggle common to all nations against the forces of greed, cruelty, and aggression.

*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* redefined the television spy program, introducing into the genre a number of fresh innovations. Notably, the show broke with espionage tradition and looked beyond the cold war politics of the time to envision a new world order. The fictional United Network Command for Law Enforcement was multinational in makeup and international in scope, protecting and defending nations regardless of size or political persuasion. For example, a third-season

episode, "The Jingle Bells Affair," showed a Soviet premier visiting New York during Christmastime, touring department stores and delivering a speech on peaceful coexistence at the United Nations, 22 years before Mikhail Gorbachev actually made a similar trip.

The show also broke new ground in reconceptualizing the action adventure hero. Prompted by a woman at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) he once met who complained that the leads in U.S. series were all big, tall, muscular, and, well, American, producer Norman Felton (*Eleventh Hour* and *Dr. Kildare*) de-



*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, David McCallum, Robert Vaughn, Leo G. Carroll, 1964-68.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*, Stefanie Powers, 1966–67.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cided to vary the formula. His series, developed with Sam Rolfe (co-creator of *Have Gun—Will Travel*) teamed a U.S. agent, Napoleon Solo (Vaughn), with a Soviet one, Illya Kuryakin (McCallum). Each week they were sent off on their missions (called “affairs”) by their boss, Alexander Waverly, a garrulous, craggy, pipe-smoking spymaster played by Leo G. Carroll.

Neither the suave Solo nor the enigmatic Kuryakin were physically impressive. They were instead intelligent, sophisticated, witty, charming, always polite, and impeccably well tailored. Sometimes they made mistakes, and often they lost the battle before they won the war.

What made *U.N.C.L.E.* truly appealing was the way it walked a fine line between the real and the fanciful, juxtaposing elements that were both surprisingly fantastic and humorously mundane. For example, as they battled bizarre threats to world peace, such as trained killer bees, radar-defeating bats, hiccup gas, suspended-animation devices, and earthquake machines, the agents also worried about expense accounts, insurance policies, health plans, and interdepartmental gossip.

While the series showed that heroic people had ordi-

nary concerns, it also demonstrated that ordinary people could be heroic. During the course of each week’s affair, at least one civilian or “innocent” was inevitably caught up in the action. These innocents were average, everyday people—housewives, stewardesses, secretaries, librarians, schoolteachers, college students, tourists, even some children—people very much like those sitting in *U.N.C.L.E.*’s viewing audience. At the start of the story, they often complained of their boring, unexciting lives—lives to which, after all the terror and mayhem was over, they were only too happy to return.

By contrast, *U.N.C.L.E.*’s villains were fabulously exotic and larger than life. In addition to the usual international crime syndicates, Nazi war criminals, and power hungry dictators, *U.N.C.L.E.* also battled THRUSH, a secret society of mad scientists, megalomaniac industrialists, and corrupt government officials who held the Nietzschean belief that because of their superior intelligence, wealth, ambition, and position, they were entitled to rule the world. A number of prominent actors and actresses guest starred each week as either villains or innocents, including Joan Crawford, George Sanders, Kurt Russell, William Shatner and Leonard Nimoy (who appeared together pre-*Star Trek* in “The Project Strigas Affair”), and Sonny and Cher.

The *U.N.C.L.E.* formula was so successful that it spawned a host of imitators, including a spin-off of its own, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*, in 1966. Starring Stefanie Powers as female agent April Dancer and Noel Harrison (son of Rex) as her British sidekick, Mark Slate, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* took its cue from the wild campiness of the then-popular *Batman* rather than from its parent show. Although it featured many of the same elements of *Man*, including a specially designed gun and other advanced weaponry and the supersecret headquarters hidden behind an innocent tailor shop, *Girl*’s plots were either absurdly implausible or downright silly, and the series lasted only a year.

By its third season, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* had also become infected by the trend toward camp, and though the tone was readjusted to be more serious in the fourth season, viewers deserted the show in droves. Once in the top ten, the series dropped to 64th in the ratings and was canceled midseason, to be replaced by *Rowan and Martin’s Laugh-In*.

This was not the end of *U.N.C.L.E.*, however. Because of concerns about violence voiced by parent-teacher groups, the series was not widely syndicated, and reruns did not appear until cable networks began to air them in the 1980s. Nevertheless, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was not forgotten. Nearly every spy program that appeared during the ensuing decades bor-

## The Man from U.N.C.L.E./The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.

rowed from its various motifs (naming spy organizations with an acronym has become a genre cliché). For example, *Scarecrow and Mrs. King* expanded the premise of *U.N.C.L.E.*'s original pilot episode into an entire series. Even nonespionage programs as diverse as *thirtysomething*, *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine*, and *Seinfeld* continued to make references to it.

In 1983 Vaughn and McCallum reunited to play Solo and Kuryakin in a made-for-TV movie *Return of the Man from U.N.C.L.E.: The Fifteen Years Later Affair*. Three years later, the stars again reunited for an homage episode of *The A-Team* titled "The Say U.N.C.L.E. Affair."

In the early 1990s, Felton and Rolfe negotiated with Turner Broadcasting (TNT) to make a series of made-for-cable *U.N.C.L.E.* movies, but the project stalled when Rolfe died in 1993. Subsequently, John Davis Productions optioned the property in order to produce a feature-length film for theatrical release. Development, however, has not moved beyond the scripting stage. In 1996, there were plans for Vaughn and McCallum to play villains on a spy-spoof series, *Mr. and Mrs. Smith*, but the short-lived series was canceled before such an episode could be filmed. Eventually, only McCallum appeared as a villain in an episode that aired in the United Kingdom.

CYNTHIA W. WALKER

### See also Spy Programs

#### Cast

Napoleon Solo  
Illya Kuryakin

Robert Vaughn  
David  
McCallum  
Leo G. Carroll

Mr. Alexander Waverly

Lisa Rogers (1967–68)

Barbara Moore

#### Producers

Norman Felton, Sam H. Rolfe, Anthony Spinner,  
Boris Ingster

#### Programming History

104 episodes

NBC

September 1964–December 1964	Tuesday 8:30–9:30
January 1965– September 1965	Monday 8:00–9:00
September 1965–September 1966	Friday 10:00–11:00
September 1966–September 1967	Friday 8:30–9:30
September 1967–January 1968	Monday 8:00–9:00

#### Further Reading

- Anderson, Robert, *The U.N.C.L.E. Tribute Book*, Las Vegas, Nevada: Pioneer, 1994
- Heitland, John, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E. Book: The Behind-the-Scenes Story of a Television Classic*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987
- Javna, John, *Cult TV*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985
- Paquette, Brian, and Paul Howley, *The Toys from U.N.C.L.E.*, Worcester, Massachusetts: Entertainment, 1990
- Worland, Rick, "The Cold War Mannerists: *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* and TV Espionage in the 1960s," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (winter 1994)

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## Mann, Abby (1927–)

U.S. Writer

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Abby Mann's television and film writing career has spanned six decades and earned him widespread critical acclaim and numerous prestigious industry awards in the United States and abroad. He has received an Academy Award and New York Film Critics Award for his screenplay for *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) and Emmys for *The Marcus-Nelson Murders* (1973, the *Kojak* pilot), *Murderers Among Us: The Simon*

*Wiesenthal Story* (1989), and *Indictment: The McMartin Trial* (1995).

Mann's made-for-television movies (a television genre in which he is widely acknowledged as a leading practitioner) have covered a breadth of subjects. His most daring (and controversial) scripts have offered viewers a withering critique of the functioning of the U.S. criminal justice system. Although some critics



Abby Mann in the 1970s.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

have argued that Mann has, on occasion, selectively marshaled facts and taken “polemical” positions in his portrayal of his subjects, almost all have expressed admiration for his exhaustive investigative research and his rich dramatic portrayal of character. Most important, few have questioned the factual basis for his arguments.

Mann, the son of a Russian-Jewish immigrant jeweler, grew up in the 1930s in East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a predominantly Catholic, working-class neighborhood he describes as a “tough steel area.” As a Jewish youth in these surroundings, Mann felt himself an outsider. Perhaps this in part explains the persistent preoccupation, in his scripts, with the working poor and racial minorities: outsiders who are trapped in a social system in which prejudice, often institutionalized in the police and judicial apparatus, is used to deprive them of their rights.

This recurrent overarching theme is developed in stories focusing on the forced signing of criminal confessions; inadequate police and district attorney investigation of murder cases involving victims who are minorities, poor, or both; judicial and police officials who protect their reputations and careers, when confronted with evidence of possible miscarriage of jus-

tice, by refusing to reopen cases in which innocent persons, often minorities, have been convicted; the possibility that law enforcement officials conspired in the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; the failure of union leaders to fight adequately for the rights of their workers; the greed and questionable ethics of some members of the legal, medical, and mental health professions; and the sensationalized coverage of murder cases by the media, who tend to prejudge cases according to their perception of general public sentiment.

Mann began his professional writing career in the early 1950s, writing for the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC’s) *Cameo Theater* and for the noted anthology series *Studio One*, *Robert Montgomery Presents*, and *Playhouse 90*. His script for the celebrated film drama *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), recounting the Nazi war crimes trials, was originally produced for *Playhouse 90*. Mann moved to Hollywood as production on the feature film version began. Other successful film scripts quickly followed, including *A Child Is Waiting* (1963), directed by John Cassavetes, which offered one of the first sympathetic film portrayals of the care and treatment of mentally challenged children, and a screen adaptation of Katherine Anne Porter’s novel *Ship of Fools* (1965), the story of the interlocking lives of passengers sailing from Mexico to pre-Hitler Germany, directed by Stanley Kramer (who had directed *Judgment at Nuremberg*).

Mann returned to television writing in 1973 with the script for *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, which launched Universal Television’s popular *Kojak* series. Universal approached Mann about doing a story based on the 1963 brutal rape and murder of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert, two young, white professional women living in midtown Manhattan. George Whitmore, a young black man who had previously been arrested in Brooklyn for the murder of a black woman, signed a detailed confession for the Wylie and Hoffert murders. Whitmore later recanted his confession, claiming that he was beaten into signing it. Mann visited Whitmore in jail in New York before agreeing to write the screenplay, and he became convinced not only that Whitmore was innocent but also that some top officials in the Manhattan and Brooklyn district attorneys’ offices had ignored Whitmore’s alibi that he was in Seacliff, New Jersey (50 miles from New York City), at the moment of the murders. After the airing of *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, for which Mann won an Emmy and a Writers Guild Award, Whitmore was released from prison.

Although he was not involved in the production of *Kojak*, Mann was unhappy with the treatment of the series by its producer, Universal Television, which, he argued, reframed the police melodrama as a formulaic



cops-and-robbers potboiler, whereas in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders* he had sought to show that law enforcement officials should be monitored.

In his next television project, Mann cast his critical gaze on one of the most sacrosanct institutions in the United States: the medical profession. *Medical Story*, an anthology series produced by Columbia, premiered on NBC in 1975 and had a brief four-month run. Mann was the series creator and also served as co-executive producer.

Mann made his directorial debut with *King*, a six-hour docudrama on the life of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. He had wanted to do a feature film on King while King was still alive but was unable to raise the necessary financing. Ironically, unforeseen circumstances brought the project to fruition in 1978, ten years after King's death. The central figure in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, George Whitmore, had claimed that he was watching King's "I Have A Dream" speech on television when the murders were committed. Mann asked King's widow, Coretta Scott King, for the rights to use the film clip of King's speech in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, which she granted. She then asked Mann if he were still interested in the piece on King's life. Encouraged by Mrs. King's continued interest, Mann pursued the project. In doing research on the script, Mann uncovered information that led him to believe that a conspiracy involving the Memphis, Tennessee, police and fire departments may have been responsible for King's death. The conspiracy theory focused on the reassignment, just prior to the assassination, of a black police officer and two black firefighters who had been stationed in a firehouse overlooking the motel where King was shot despite numerous threats of assassination while King was in Memphis.

Reporter Mark Lane assisted Mann in his investigation of the circumstances surrounding the King assassination. The research resulted in an official House of Representatives inquiry into whether a conspiracy had indeed been involved in the assassinations. As a result, Mann was publicly maligned by the Memphis police and fire chiefs.

For *Skag*, his next television project, which aired on NBC in 1980, Mann returned to the steel mills of the suburbs surrounding Pittsburgh. He developed the concept and wrote the script for the three-hour pilot and was given "complete freedom" by NBC President Fred Silverman. Starring Karl Malden as Pete "Skag" Skagska, *Skag* was a unflinching, realistic portrait of a middle-aged steelworker who had worked hard all his life but, when afflicted by a stroke, found himself suddenly "expendable" because he was no longer able to provide food for the table or perform sexually with his

wife. *Skag* also dealt with the larger social issues of steelworkers' unhealthy working conditions and the failure of their unions to fight for their rights. Steelworkers' unions bitterly attacked *Skag*, calling Mann "anti-union." With this series, however, Mann was attempting to draw attention to a class of Americans who until the 1980s were grossly underrepresented in prime-time television drama, a fictional world populated largely by white, white-collar, middle-aged male protagonists.

While the premiere episode won critical praise and high ratings, viewership for *Skag* rapidly declined, and the series ended its run after six weeks on the air. Mann, who was involved in the first two regular series episodes, attributed the series' failure to uneven directing of some of the subsequent episodes and artistic interference from the show's star, Malden.

Mann's direct involvement with *Medical Story* and *Skag* convinced him that the process involved in producing series television inevitably led to too many compromises, both ideological, as politically controversial themes became "muddled," and creative, as strong pilots were followed by aesthetically weak regular series episodes. For these reasons, he decided in the 1980s to focus his artistic energy exclusively on made-for-television movies over which he had greater artistic control.

*The Atlanta Child Murders* aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1985. The notorious Atlanta, Georgia, case involving multiple murders of black children focused on Wayne Williams, a black who was accused of recruiting young boys for his homosexual father, using them sexually along with his father, and then murdering them. Mann was urged by prominent black leaders in Atlanta not to take on the project because, they argued, the additional publicity generated by a television movie focusing on an accused black mass murderer would, in the end, only further damage the black community. Mann initially withdrew from the proposed project, but he attended the Williams trial and was disturbed by the courtroom proceedings, which revealed to him the inadequate investigation into the murders of victims who belonged to poor minority families, the introduction of potentially unreliable evidence, and the sensationalized media coverage of the trial.

Mann, the only writer able to speak to Wayne Williams in prison after his conviction, raised doubts about the case, arguing that the judicial system itself was on trial, as was a society that neither had compassion for the victims during their lives nor did justice for them after their deaths. Critics praised the dramaturgy of *The Atlanta Child Murders*, but some questioned Mann's doubts about both the propriety of the



courtroom proceedings and Williams's guilt, arguing that, after all, the Georgia supreme court had upheld Williams's conviction. After seeing the television movie, prominent defense attorneys Alan Dershowitz, William Kunstler, and Bobby Lee Cook agreed to join in a pro bono defense of Williams, but, according to Mann, once the publicity died down, they did not pursue the appeal to reopen the case.

Mann's more recent made-for-television movies premiered on Home Box Office (HBO), which he found to be much more supportive of his often-contentious stands on controversial social issues than were the commercial broadcast networks, who felt they must avoid the inherent commercial risks of alienating significant sectors of their mass audience. Most recent among these HBO films was *Indictment: The McMartin Trial*, created by Mann and his wife Myra. The film won an Emmy and a Golden Globe in 1995. Once again, Mann questioned the workings of the judicial system. This case involved the McMartin preschool in Manhattan Beach, California, at which it was alleged that seven preschool teachers had molested 347 children over the course of a decade. Most people in Los Angeles were convinced of the veracity of the charges, which were supported by the accounts of hundreds of children who attended the school. Mann became intrigued by the case when charges against five of the defendants were dropped. The two remaining defendants, Peggy Buckey, the school superintendent, and her son, Ray, were still under arrest. Buckey's daughter argued on *The Larry King Show* that the Los Angeles district attorney was continuing with the prosecution of her mother and brother because they had been kept in jail so long that the district attorney could not admit his error without losing face. As Mann investigated the case, he once again confronted the seamy side of the justice system: informers who supposedly heard confessions saying so only because they had made financial deals to their own advantage, greedy parents who were suing to get damages, and prosecutors who withheld crucial evidence and selectively ignored facts to advance their own careers by obtaining a conviction. Mann was also intent on exploring the important psychological question regarding the ease with which children can be led by manipulative adults into admitting events that never occurred.

Ultimately, despite two trials, no one was convicted in the McMartin case. *Indictment* produced very strong reactions among viewers. According to Mann, "People seem . . . obsessed by it. I suppose they realize that they have watched and believed stories that were as incredible as the Salem witch hunt." Reaction to the television film had a direct impact on the Manns as well. On

the day production on *Indictment* began, their house was burned to the ground. Undeterred, Mann has continued to write. In 2001 *Judgment at Nuremberg* was adapted for the stage and appeared on Broadway.

HAL HIMMELSTEIN

*See also Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; Playhouse 90; Studio One*

**Abby Mann.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1927. Educated at Temple University, Philadelphia, and New York University. Married: Myra. Gained fame as television writer for *Robert Montgomery Presents*, *Playhouse 90*, *Studio One*, and *Alcoa-Goodyear Theatre*. Recipient: Academy Award; two Emmy Awards; Golden Globe Award; Writers Guild Award.

#### Television Series

1948–58	<i>Studio One</i>
1950–55	<i>Cameo Theatre</i>
1950–57	<i>Robert Montgomery Presents</i>
1956–61	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1973–78	<i>Kojak</i>
1975–76	<i>Medical Story</i>
1980	<i>Skag</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1973	<i>The Marcus-Nelson Murders</i> (executive producer, writer)
1975	<i>Medical Story</i> (executive producer, writer)
1979	<i>This Man Stands Alone</i> (executive producer)
1980	<i>Skag</i> (executive producer, writer)
1985	<i>The Atlanta Child Murders</i> (executive producer, writer)
1989	<i>Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story</i> (co-executive producer)
1992	<i>Teamster Boss: The Jackie Presser Story</i> (executive producer)
1995	<i>Indictment: The McMartin Trial</i> (writer)
2002	<i>Whitewash: The Clarence Bradley Story</i> (writer)

#### Television Miniseries

1978	<i>King</i> (director, writer)
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#### Films

*Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1961; *A Child Is Waiting*, 1963; *Ship of Fools*, 1965; *The Detectives*, 1968;

Mann, Abby

*Report to the Commissioner, 1975; War and Love, 1985.*

**Stage**

*Judgment at Nuremberg, 2001.*

**Further Reading**

O'Connor, John J., "McMartin Preschool Case: A Portrait of Hysteria," *New York Times* (May 19, 1995)  
Shales, Tom, "Tipping the Scales of Justice," *Washington Post* (May 20, 1995)

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## Mann, Delbert (1920– )

U.S. Director, Producer

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Like many directors of television's "golden age," Delbert Mann came from a theatrical background. While studying political science at Vanderbilt University, Mann became involved with a Nashville, Tennessee, community theater group where he worked with Fred Coe, who went on to produce the alternating anthology program *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*. Mann received a masters of fine arts degree in directing from Yale School of Drama and then worked as a director/producer at the Town Theatre (Columbia, South Carolina) and as a stage manager at the Wellesley Summer Theater. When he first went to New York, Mann worked as a floor manager and assistant director for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

In 1949 Mann began directing dramas for *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*, where he was one of a stable of directors that included Vincent Donahue, Arthur Penn, and Gordon Duff. During the 1950s, Mann also directed productions for *Producers' Showcase*, *Omnibus*, *Playwrights '56*, *Ford Star Jubilee*, and *Ford Startime*. Although he worked almost exclusively on anthology series, Mann also directed live episodes of *Mary Kay and Johnny*, one of the first domestic sitcoms.

Mann is perhaps most often identified with the *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse* (and subsequent film) production of Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty*, which has been praised by critics as one of the most outstanding original dramas produced by Fred Coe and the *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*. Although the production did not receive outstanding reviews when it first aired on May 24, 1953, it was one of the first television plays to receive any major press coverage and more than one line in a reviewer's column. When Mann directed the film version of *Marty* two years later, he was awarded the Academy Award for Best Director, and the film won the Palm d'Or at the

Cannes Film Festival and Academy Awards for Best Picture, Actor, and Screenplay and earned four other Oscar nominations for Best Supporting Actor, Supporting Actress, Cinematography, and Art Direction.

Many of Mann's works tackled social issues, such as the plight of the elderly in *Ernie Barger Is Fifty*, which aired on August 9, 1953, as part of *The Goodyear The-*



Delbert Mann.  
*Photo courtesy of Delbert Mann*

atre series. However, the director contends that, at the time, the teleplays were not thought of in terms of their social issues—they were simply stories about people and “just awfully good drama.”

Mann’s theatrical training was a tremendous influence on his television work, as he tended to use a static camera and actors staged within the frame. At Coe’s direction, close-ups were used only to emphasize something or if there was a dramatic reason for doing so. The use of the static camera is particularly effective in the *Marty* dance sequence, which Mann filmed with one camera and no editing. Actors were carefully choreographed to turn to the camera at the exact moment when they needed to be seen. Combined with the crowded, relatively small set, the static camera focused the audience’s attention on the characters and their sense of uneasiness in the situation. Chayefsky later credited the success of *The Bachelor Party* (October 11, 1953) to Mann’s direction, noting that, through simple stage business and careful balancing of scenes, Mann was able to illustrate the emptiness of life in the small town and the protagonist’s increasing depression.

Many of Mann’s works are period pieces based on the director’s own love of history, which he tried to recreate accurately. But historical context is secondary to the personal relationships in the story. Broadcast on April 24, 1973, in the era of anti-Vietnam protests, *The Man Without a Country* is a patriotic story of love of country and flag intended to stir a sense of nationalism during the Civil War and, simultaneously, the intimate story of one man’s oppression.

Mann shifted to filmmaking in the 1960s but periodically returned to television to pursue more personal, people-oriented stories in made-for-television films. Productions such as *David Copperfield* (March 15, 1970) and *Jane Eyre* (March 24, 1971) allowed him to, once again, tell stories of personal relationships in a historical setting.

Mann returned to his live television roots for the productions of *All the Way Home* (December 21, 1981) and *Member of the Wedding* (December 20, 1982) for NBC’s *Live Theater Series*. These productions differed from live television in the 1950s in that they were staged as a theatrical production in a theater rather than a studio and were filmed with a live audience in order to show their reaction to the piece.

Mann has been nominated for three additional Emmy Awards for directing: *Our Town* (*Producers’ Showcase*, 1955), *Breaking Up* (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], 1977), and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], 1979).

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

See also Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; “Golden Age” of Television; *Goodyear Playhouse*; *Omnibus*; *Philco Television Playhouse*

**Delbert Mann.** Born in Lawrence, Kansas, January 30, 1920. Educated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, B.A. 1941; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, M.F.A. Married Ann Caroline Gillespie, 1942; children: David Martin, Frederick G., Barbara Susan, and Steven P. Served as first lieutenant in U.S. Air Force during World War II: B-24 pilot and squadron intelligence officer, 1944–45. Worked as director of Town Theater, Columbia, South Carolina, 1947–49; stage manager, Wellesley Summer Theater, 1947–48; director, *Philco-Goodyear Playhouse*, 1949–55; began film directing career with *Marty*, 1954; freelance film and television director, since 1954. Honorary degree: L.L.D., Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin. Former member, board of governors, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; former cochair, Tennessee Film, Tape and Cinema Commission; former president, Directors Guild Educational Benevolent Foundation, Cinema Circulus; former lecturer, Claremont McKenna College; board of trustees, Vanderbilt University, since 1962. Member: Directors Guild of America (president, 1967–71).

#### Television Series

1948–55	<i>Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse</i>
1949	<i>Mary Kay and Johnny</i>
1949	<i>Lights Out</i>
1950	<i>The Little Show</i>
1950	<i>Waiting for the Break</i>
1950	<i>Masterpiece Theatre</i>
1954–56,	
1957, 1959	<i>Omnibus</i>
1955	<i>Producers Showcase</i>
1956	<i>Ford Star Jubilee</i>
1956	<i>Playwrights '56</i>
1958	<i>DuPont Show of the Month</i>
1958–59	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1959	<i>Sunday Showcase</i> (also producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1968	<i>Heidi</i>
1968	<i>Saturday Adoption</i>
1970	<i>David Copperfield</i>
1971	<i>Jane Eyre</i>
1972	<i>She Waits</i> (also producer)
1972	<i>No Place to Run</i>
1973	<i>The Man Without a Country</i>
1974	<i>The First Woman President</i> (also producer)

- 1974 *Joie* (also producer)  
1975 *A Girl Named Sooner*  
1976 *Francis Gary Powers: The True Story of the U-2 Spy Incident*  
1977 *Breaking Up*  
1977 *Tell Me My Name*  
1978 *Love's Dark Ride*  
1978 *Tom and Joann*  
1978 *Thou Shalt Not Commit Adultery*  
1978 *Home to Stay*  
1979 *All Quiet on the Western Front*  
1979 *Torn Between Two Lovers*  
1980 *To Find My Son*  
1981 *All the Way Home*  
1982 *Bronte*  
1982 *The Member of the Wedding*  
1983 *The Gift of Love*  
1984 *Love Leads the Way*  
1985 *A Death in California*  
1986 *The Last Days of Patton*  
1986 *The Ted Kennedy Jr. Story*  
1987 *April Morning* (also coproducer)  
1991 *Ironclads*  
1992 *Against Her Will: An Incident in Baltimore* (also coproducer)  
1993 *Incident in a Small Town* (also coproducer)  
1994 *Lily in Winter*

#### Films

*Marty*, 1954; *The Bachelor Party*, 1956; *Desire Under the Elms*, 1957; *Separate Tables*, 1958; *Middle of the Night*, 1959; *The Dark at the Top of the Stairs*, 1960; *The Outsider*, 1960; *Lover Come Back*, 1961; *That Touch of Mink*, 1962; *A Gathering of Eagles*, 1962; *Dear Heart*, 1963; *Quick Before It Melts* (also producer), 1964; *Mister Buddwing* (also producer), 1965; *Fitzwilly*, 1967; *Kidnapped*, 1972; *Birch Interval*, 1976; *Night Crossing*, 1982.

#### Opera

*Wuthering Heights*, 1959.

#### Plays

*A Quiet Place*, 1956; *Speaking of Murder*, 1957; *Zelda*, 1969; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1973.

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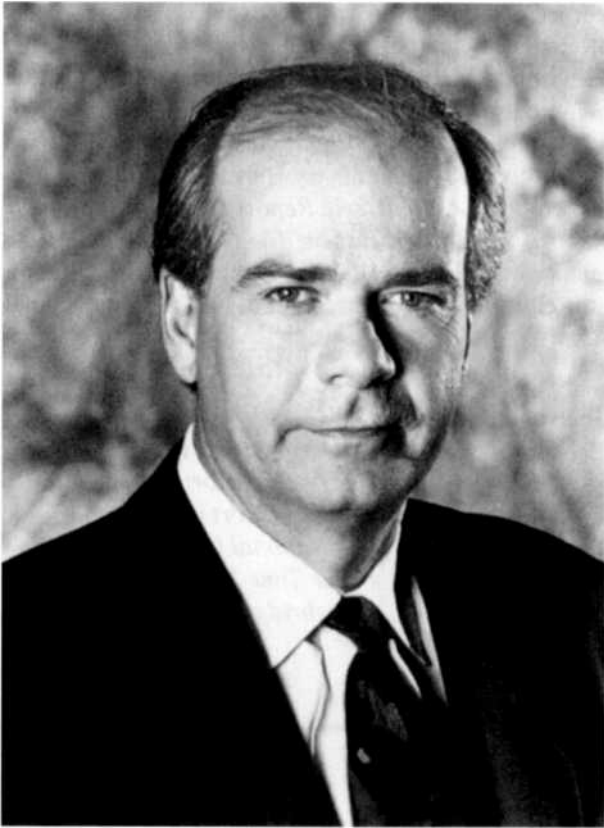
## Mansbridge, Peter (1948- )

### Canadian Broadcast Journalist

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Peter Mansbridge serves as anchor for *The National*, the flagship nightly newscast of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and all CBC news specials. He is also host of *Mansbridge: One-on-One*, on CBC's 24-hour news network, Newsworld. His

lengthy career with the CBC has made him one of Canadian media's most familiar figures, synonymous with "the corporation." The prominence to which Mansbridge has risen, however, began in a somewhat unorthodox fashion.



Peter Mansbridge.  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

In what is now Canadian news media folklore, a local CBC radio producer “discovered” Mansbridge in 1968 as he was making a public address announcement in an airport while working as a freight manager for a small airline in Churchill, Manitoba. Mansbridge turned the resulting position as a disc jockey into one as a newscaster, simultaneously transforming himself into a journalist despite his lack of formal training or apprenticeship. From this unlikely beginning, Mansbridge moved quickly through the ranks of CBC television news, beginning with a one-year stint in 1972 with the CBC Winnipeg station as a local reporter, followed by another one-year position as the Saskatchewan-based reporter for the CBC national newscast. From 1976 to 1980, Mansbridge held a spot on the prestigious parliamentary bureau in the nation’s capital. Anchor status commenced with the *Quarterly Report* (co-anchored by Barbara Frum), a series of special reports concerning issues of an urgent, national nature that aired four times a year. Beginning in 1985, Mansbridge anchored the newly formed national weekly *Sunday Report*.

Mansbridge’s nationwide prominence was secured in 1988, when he accepted the enviable position of

chief correspondent and anchor of the flagship CBC broadcast *The National*, a weekday 10:00 p.m. newscast (22 minutes long) that was followed by the highly respected current affairs and documentary broadcast *The Journal*. The status attributed to this anchor position was reflected in the public interest created by the events that preceded Mansbridge’s assumption of the job. Amid much press speculation, Mansbridge was offered in 1987 a co-anchor position in the United States, opposite Kathleen Sullivan on *CBS This Morning*, for a salary reputed to be five to six times his earnings with the CBC. It was expected that Mansbridge would follow the familiar exodus of Canadian broadcast journalists to the United States, where the level of national and international experience of many Canadian journalists is highly valued. This emigration has included journalists such as Don Miller, Don McNeill, Robert MacNeil, Morley Safer, and Peter Jennings. In a last-minute, much-publicized effort to stop Mansbridge from leaving Canada, the current chief anchor of *The National*, Knowlton Nash, stepped down early to offer his position to Mansbridge. Nash and Mansbridge were consequently heralded as patriots and, moreover, managed to promote the turnover of anchors.

Despite the respectable audience numbers drawn under Mansbridge’s leadership, *The National* was moved in 1992 to CBC’s all-news network, Newsworld. Mansbridge assumed the role of anchor (originally co-anchored by Pamela Wallin) on CBC’s *Prime Time News*. This new broadcast was part of a controversial decision to move the national evening news from the 10:00 p.m. to the 9:00 p.m. time slot. In 1995, network executives decided to reverse their previous scheduling move and return the news/current affairs hour to 10:00, with the entire hour now titled *The National* and with Mansbridge continuing his role as newscast anchor. The revamped program currently airs on both the CBC and Newsworld.

During his tenure as CBC’s star anchor, Mansbridge has covered many of the key events that have attracted public attention in Canada, including federal elections and leadership campaigns, the Gulf War, the Charlottetown Referendum, and the events of Tiananmen Square. Coverage of these and other stories has garnered Mansbridge eight Gemini Awards (Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television). Mansbridge’s style of presentation is understated and sober but sufficiently amiable to attract viewers in the increasingly entertainment-oriented news media. His understated delivery, in combination with his appearance (once described as “bland good looks”), makes Mansbridge’s presentation and persona consistent with the standard among Canadian broadcast journalists.

Although the CBC has historically placed a great deal of emphasis on news and current affairs programming, this was particularly evident during the years of Mansbridge's rise within the corporation in the 1980s. The reduced resources made available to the broadcaster, in addition to the challenges of broadcasting in the increasingly multichannel media system, demanded a renewed focus by the CBC on this area in which it was traditionally strong. The CBC's subsequent commitment to news has been evident in the continuing production of quality news programming and has assisted Mansbridge in developing a particularly strong profile within the industry.

KEITH C. HAMPSON

See also *Canadian Television Broadcasting in English*; *National*, *The/The Journal*

**Peter Mansbridge.** Born in London, England, 1948. Educated in Ottawa. Married: Wendy Mesley (di-

vorced). Served in the Royal Canadian Navy, 1966–67. Disc jockey and newscaster, CBC Radio, Churchill, Manitoba, 1968; reporter, CBC Radio, Winnipeg, 1972; reporter, CBC Television News, 1973; reporter, *The National*, Saskatchewan, 1975; assigned to the Parliamentary Bureau in Ottawa, 1976–80; co-anchor, *Quarterly Report*, and anchor, *Sunday Report*, from 1985; anchor, *The National*, since 1988; anchor of CBC's *Prime Time News*, 1992–95. Recipient: eight Gemini Awards, including Gordon Sinclair Award.

**Television Series**

1972–85	<i>CBC News</i> (reporter)
1985–88	<i>Quarterly Report</i> (co-anchor)
1985–88	<i>Sunday Report</i> (anchor)
1988–92, 1995–	<i>The National</i> (anchor)
1992–95	<i>Prime Time News</i> (anchor)
1999–	<i>Mansbridge: One on One</i>

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## Marchant, Tony (1959– )

British Writer

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Tony Marchant is one of British television's most distinctive dramatic writers. Just one of his screenplays (the comedy of transsexual love, *Different for Girls*), has had a theatrical release; otherwise, throughout his career, he has maintained a commitment to television drama as both the equal of cinema and the "true writer's medium." He has also fought against the market-led ideology of drama commissioning in the 1990s and the drive to deliver audiences by means of standardized generic formulae. In 1999, the year that he received the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) Dennis Potter Award for Television Drama, he spoke up for what he called "the singular and eccentric voice" of the writer. Two dramas broadcast in that year perhaps embody the range encompassed by that voice. In *Kid in the Corner*, he drew on his own experience as the parent of a boy with learning difficulties to deliver a deeply intimate account of a couple's relationship with a son suffering from attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), while in *Bad Blood* he traced the moral disintegration of a surgeon, desperate to adopt a Romanian boy, through the increasingly surreal metaphor of vampirism.

Marchant began his career in the fringe theater at the start of the 1980s, when, inspired by the "do it yourself" directness of punk music, he produced a string of plays for the Theatre Royal in London's Stratford East. Although rooted in his East End working-class experience, however, his was not the stereotypical voice of disaffected youth. *Welcome Home*, about soldiers returning from the Falklands conflict to attend a friend's funeral, carefully juggled opposing ideological views, while *Raspberry* explored two women's differing experiences on a hospital gynecological ward. While at Stratford East, Marchant first worked with Adrian Shergold, the director who was to become one of his principal collaborators on television and whose filming would bring to his work a potent rhythmic and visual style.

It was with a screen version of *Raspberry*, produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1984, that Marchant moved into writing for television. The play was well received, and he followed it over the next five years with a string of single dramas on socially resonant topics ranging from money dealing in the London foreign exchange (*The Moneymen*) to the

struggle by a mother to bring to justice the people responsible for her son's death from a drug overdose (*Death of a Son*). In 1989 the BBC broadcast his first serial, the three-part *Take Me Home*. It is the story of a passionate and ultimately doomed affair between a middle-aged man, forced into redundancy and now working as a minicab driver, and the young wife of a successful computer programmer. Set against the high-tech sterility of a British "new town," the story provided a potent metaphor of social and spiritual isolation in a culture imbued with the apparent virtues of success and prosperity. This was followed by two further three-part dramas, *Goodbye Cruel World*, about a woman suffering from an unspecified and incurable form of motor neuron disease and her husband's campaign to set a charity on her behalf, and *Into the Fire*, in which a hitherto upstanding businessman's involvement in insurance fraud to save his company leads to the death of a young employee and a relationship with the boy's mother. In each work, one can begin to recognize Marchant's characteristic preoccupation with motives and principles and his engagement with serial drama as a means of following through the complex ethical ramifications of impulsive but socially induced actions.

It is this concern, amplified into a sweeping narrative of epic proportions, that permeates what could be considered Marchant's masterpiece. The eight-episode serial *Holding On* was inspired by sources as diverse as Charles Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* and Robert Altman's multistranded film *Short Cuts* and was commissioned by the BBC on the back of the success enjoyed by Peter Flannery's *Our Friends in the North*. Its setting is London and its subject the city and the connections that lie, dark and unrecognized, between the disparate lives of its inhabitants. The violent death of a young woman at the hands of a schizophrenic provides the catalyst for a dark journey through cause and effect, culpability and guilt, involving a range of characters who either were linked to the victim and the perpetrator or witnessed the event. Marchant's vision of corrupted social responsibility is embodied in the central story of a tax inspector lured into bribery by the millionaire whom he is investigating for fraud, while the London Underground replaces Dickens's River Thames as the metaphoric thoroughfare ominously linking the lives of the characters.

Marchant was subsequently commissioned to dramatize Dickens's *Great Expectations*, to which he brought a contemporary sense of the preoccupation with social class, and Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, another tale of unraveling guilt. For the BBC's series of modern adaptations of *The Canterbury Tales*, his version of *The Knight's Tale* transposed

Chaucer's story of courtly love into a gripping account of the rivalry between two prisoner friends for the love of a continuing-education language tutor, revealing poetic passion, tenderness, and honor in a seemingly brutalized world. A similar reversal of expectation permeates *Never, Never*, a story of the relationship between a loan shark debt collector and a young woman living on an inner-London estate. Here, as in *Swallow*, where a woman addicted to antidepressants battles with a pharmaceutical company, and *Passer-By*, which follows the terrible consequences of a man's decision to ignore the appeal of a woman in distress, Marchant creates a modern social fable that has not only a wider political resonance but, at its core, a deeply intimate story of goodness and hope. His characters are on journeys, the ends of which are never predictable but that invariably entail an encounter with moral and social responsibility. "I'm sure it has something to do with the fact that I was brought up a Catholic," he admits in an interview article by Louise Bishop, published in *Television* in May 1998. "I have to admit that a lot of the stuff I write is to do with redemption and guilt."

JEREMY RIDGMAN

**Tony Marchant.** Born in London, England, July 11, 1959. Left school at age 18; unemployed, then worked in local office of Department of Employment. British Theatre Association Award, Most Promising Playwright (1983); Recipient: Royal Television Society Writer's Award for *Goodbye Cruel World* (1992) and *Holding On* (1997); British Academy of Film and Television Arts TV Awards, Best Drama Serial (1998) for *Holding On* and Dennis Potter Award (2000).

#### Television Series

1989	<i>Take Me Home</i>
1992	<i>Goodbye Cruel World</i>
1993	<i>Westbeach</i> (3 episodes)
1993	<i>Lovejoy</i> ("God Helps Those")
1996	<i>Into the Fire</i>
1997	<i>Holding On</i>
1999	<i>Great Expectations</i>
1999	<i>Bad Blood</i>
1999	<i>Kid in the Corner</i>
2000	<i>Never, Never</i>
2001	<i>Swallow</i>
2002	<i>Crime and Punishment</i>
2004	<i>Passer By</i>

#### Television Plays

1984	<i>Raspberry</i>
1985	<i>Reservations</i>
1988	<i>The Moneymen</i>

Marchant, Tony

1989 *Death of a Son*  
1989 *The Attractions*  
1994 *Speaking in Tongues*  
1999 *Different for Girls*  
2003 *The Knight's Tale (Canterbury Tales)*

#### Stage Plays

*Remember Me?*, 1980; *Thick As Thieves*, 1981; *Stiff*, 1982; *The Lucky Ones*, 1982; *Raspberry*, 1982;

*Welcome Home*, 1983; *Lazydays Ltd*, 1984; *Speculators*, 1987; *The Attractions*, 1987.

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## Marcus Welby, M.D.

U.S. Medical Drama

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*Marcus Welby, M.D.*, which aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) from late September 1969 through mid-May 1976, was one of the most popular doctor shows in U.S. television history. During the 1970 television year, it even ranked number one among all TV series, according to the Nielsen Television Index. As such, it was the first ABC program to take the top program slot for an entire season. The Nielsen data suggested that *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was viewed regularly in about one of every four U.S. homes that year.

The program was created by David Victor, who had been a producer on the hit *Dr. Kildare* television series during the 1960s. Victor took a centerpiece of the basic doctor-show formula (the older physician-mentor tutoring the young man) and transferred it from the standard hospital setting to the suburban office of a general practitioner. The sicknesses that Marcus Welby and his young colleague Steven Kiley dealt with—everything from drug addiction to rape, from tumors to autism—ran the same wide gamut that hospital-based medical shows had covered. In fact, many of the patients ended up in the hospital, and Welby even moved his practice to a hospital toward the end of the show's run. Nevertheless, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was different from other shows of its era, such as *Medical Center* and *The Bold Ones*. Those shows stressed short-term illnesses that paralleled or ignited certain unrelated personal problems. *Welby*, on the other hand, dealt consistently with long-term medical problems that were tied directly to the patient's psyche and interpersonal behavior. Acute

episodes of the difficulty often sparked movement toward a cure, but only after Welby or Kiley uncovered the root causes of the behavioral problems.

In one case, for example, Dr. Welby and Dr. Kiley become concerned about Enid Cooper, a counselor in an orphanage, when they learn that she is addicted to pills. The doctors are unable to persuade the young woman to give them up. Then, under the influence of pills, Enid is responsible for a car accident in which one of her charges is hurt. That allows Welby to move her toward conquering her addiction.

This emphasis on the psyche and medicine was celebrated by Robert Young, who played Marcus Welby. Young suffered from chemical imbalances in his body that led him toward depression and alcoholism. To fight those difficulties, he had developed an approach to life that mirrored the holistic health philosophy that he now acted out as a TV doctor. People who worked with him on the set said that it was often hard to tell where Young stopped and Welby began, so closely did the actor identify with his role. Viewers seemed to have that difficulty, too. Young received thousands of letters asking for advice on life's problems.

In choosing topics to deal with in the program itself, *Welby's* producers and writers benefited from a softening in the U.S. television networks' rules regarding what was acceptable on TV in the early 1970s. The relaxation came about partly because of increased network competition for viewers in their 20s and 30s and partly as a result of new demands for openness and the questioning of authority that the social protests of the





Marcus Welby, M.D., Robert Young, 1969–76.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

late 1960s brought. It allowed David Victor to initiate stories, such as one on venereal disease, that he could not get approved for *Dr. Kildare*.

The show did ignite public controversies. One episode called “The Outrage” centered on the rape of a teenage boy by a male teacher. It ignited one of the first organized protests against a TV show by gay activists. More general were complaints by the rising women’s rights movement that Marcus Welby’s control over the lives of his patients (many of whom were women) represented the worst aspects of male physicians’ paternalistic attitudes.

While scathing, such opposition made up a rather small portion of the public discussion of the series over its seven-year prime-time life. More consistent was the controversy over *Welby*’s impact on physicians’ images. With previous doctor shows, the concern of physicians was to cultivate as favorable an image as possible. Now some physicians worried that Welby’s

incredibly solicitous and loyal bedside manner was leading their patients to question why they did not act toward them as Welby would. Was it true, as writer-physician Michael Halberstam contended in the *New York Times Magazine*, that the series could not help “but make things better for American doctors and their patients”? Or was it the case, as others claimed, that *Welby* was among the factors contributing to the rise of malpractice actions against physicians?

The debate marked the first time that the physicians’ establishment got involved in a large-scale argument over whether fictional images that were positive actually had negative effects on their status. The argument would continue about other doctor shows in the coming years. But to Robert Young, Marcus Welby incarnate, it was a nonissue. According to an article in *McCall’s* magazine, a doctor said to Young at a convention of family physicians, “You’re getting us all into hot water. Our patients tell us we’re not as nice to them as Doctor Welby is to his patients.” Young did not mince words. “Maybe you’re not,” he replied.

JOSEPH TUROW

See also Young, Robert

#### Cast

Dr. Marcus Welby	Robert Young
Dr. Steven Kiley	James Brolin
Consuelo Lopez	Elena Verdugo
Myra Sherwood (1969–70)	Anne Baxter
Kathleen Faverty (1974–76)	Sharon Gless
Sandy Porter (1975–76)	Anne Schedeen
Phil Porter (1975–76)	Gavin Brendan
Janet Blake (1975–76)	Pamela Hensley

#### Producers

David Victor, David J. O’Connell

#### Programming History

172 episodes

ABC

September 1969–May 1976 Tuesday 10:00–11:00

#### Further Reading

Turow, Joseph, *Playing Doctor: Television, Storytelling, and Medical Power*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989

## Market

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Broadcasting is inherently a medium of fixed location, and because of its dependence on direct-wave radiation, television broadcasting is particularly so. In the United States, because of the dominance of advertising, these fixed locations have come to be called "markets." Additionally, the term "market" may refer to a group of people of interest to broadcasters and/or advertisers for business reasons. Indeed, the term is increasingly used in this manner throughout the world, as more and more television systems become supported by advertising revenue or other commercial underwriters.

The broadcast television signal operates by direct-wave radiation; the signal waves must travel in a straight line from the transmitting to the receiving antenna. Even if transmitters could operate with unlimited power, television broadcasting operates in a geography fixed by the horizon of the curve of the Earth's surface. As the signal radiates outward from a transmitting antenna, it produces a more or less round geographical coverage pattern, with a radius of about 60 miles for VHF (very high frequency) stations and about 35 miles for UHF (ultrahigh frequency) stations. The coverage contour can be distorted by hills and mountains that block the signal, increased by antenna height, or added to by translators that rebroadcast the signal at another frequency in another location or by retransmission on cable television systems.

Reflecting the inherent "locatedness" of television broadcasting, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allocates channels and assigns licenses to facilities in communities. The word "market" has come to be the designator of those communities, reflecting the degree to which advertising dominates television in the United States. Anyone doing any type of business in an area may of course refer to that area or the people living in it as a market, placing the boundaries wherever sensible for the business in question. This practice includes the operators of commercial television. (The operators of noncommercial television facilities have less reason to use the word "market," although it is increasingly applied in this arena.) In the business of television, these geographically outlined markets are formally defined by the ratings companies, among which Nielsen Media Research dominates.

Markets are defined by Nielsen as designated market areas (DMAs) in a manner essentially the same that the Arbitron company, which is no longer in the business

of providing television ratings, once defined areas of dominant influence (ADIs). Both acronyms are still commonly used and designate essentially the same thing.

DMAs are defined by county or, in some cases, parts of counties (for convenience, counties will suffice in this discussion). Every county in the United States is assigned to one and only one DMA. Each DMA is named after the city that defines its center, such as the Chicago DMA or the Des Moines (Iowa) DMA. Each county is assigned to that DMA for which the most-watched television stations are broadcast. So, for example, Los Angeles County is assigned to the Los Angeles DMA because the television stations that the people in Los Angeles County watch most often are located in Los Angeles County. Orange County is also assigned to the Los Angeles DMA because the most frequently watched television stations by viewers in Orange County are also located in Los Angeles County.

Such a system of categories, in which every county in the United States is assigned to one and only one DMA, is considered mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Such systems have formal advantages. The key benefit here is the simple arithmetic for manipulating numbers associated with the categories. Since none of the markets overlap, numbers associated with any of them can be added together to describe a market that would be defined as the aggregate of the smaller markets. Since no area is left out of the system of market definitions, the sum of all of them defines the national market. This eases the calculation of ratings and other data for local, regional, or national markets and for syndicated, cable, and network television shows available in different areas.

In addition to these formal uses of the term "market," as Nielsen's DMA or regional or national aggregates of DMAs, there are various other uses for the term in the television business. One of the most common is in phrases such as "the African-American market," "the Hispanic market," "the youth market," or "an upscale market." These are extensions of the use of demographics to define types of people of interest to advertisers and other businesspeople. In either usage, the term remains a clear marker of the commercial aspects of the U.S. television industry, in which buying and selling—of both programs and audiences—is a central component.

ERIC ROTHENBUHLER

See also Advertising; Call Signs/Letters; Frank N. Magid Associates; Ratings; Share

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Turow, Joseph, *Media Systems in Society: Understanding Industries, Strategies, and Power*, New York: Longman, 1992

## Marketplace

### Canadian Consumer Affairs Program

*Marketplace*, which went on the air in 1972, is a weekly half-hour, prime-time consumer news show on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). It has won many national and international awards, including the Gemini in 1994 as Canada's best information program. The format, which has changed little over its history, involves a pair of hosts introducing segments on product testing, service evaluation, fraudulent practices, and trends in consumer advocacy. The show's audience has held up well for more than four decades—it remains one of the CBC's most highly rated shows—and it is regarded by many in the CBC as the benchmark by which other public affairs programs should be judged.

The first producer, Dodi Robb, with consumer reporter Joan Watson (from CBC Radio) and broadcaster George Finstad as hosts, had a mandate to inform consumers about questionable sales practices and inferior products. From the beginning, the show treated consumer information as hard news, but it gradually expanded its mandate to include investigative reports with particular attention to public health and safety. According to *Globe and Mail* television writer John Haslett Cuff, the program is "a veritable gadfly in the hard-sell marketplace of consumer television." It is "routinely monitored... by manufacturers and government regulatory agencies and frequently copied by American newsmagazine programs such as *60 Minutes* and *20/20*." Although it does put defenders of commercial practices and products on the "hot seat," *Marketplace* has an earnest quality that distinguishes it from the "ambush journalism" sometimes practiced by U.S. public affairs producers.

The program not only gets headlines; as one reviewer put it, it also gets results. Laws have been

amended, new regulations adopted, and consumer guidelines imposed as a result of *Marketplace* reports. Its major contributions include the banning of urea formaldehyde foam insulation (UFFI) and lawn darts, warnings on soda pop bottles that sometimes explode on store shelves, prosecution of retailers for false advertising (leading in one case to a fine of \$1 million), new standards for bottled drinking water and drinking fountains, new regulations for children's nightwear (to make the clothing less flammable), and new designs for children's cribs. From tests for bacteria content in supermarket hamburger (an early report) to checks on the safety of furnaces and long-haul tractor-trailers, the program has



*Marketplace.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

## Marketplace

used its small staff—relying on independent laboratories for tests—to considerable effect. More recent investigations include the safety of rebuilt air bags, lead in children's jewelry, and toxic waste. It has examined both specific consumer and larger issues of public health and safety. Despite lawsuits and threats of suits (and other pressures), the show has retained its probing quality. The longest-serving hosts, Joan Watson and Bill Paul, became leading consumer advocates.

Reviewers have commented that the tough-minded consumer advocacy practiced by *Marketplace* is the kind of programming that public broadcasters, somewhat insulated from commercial considerations, should be providing. It is unlikely that the show would have had the same effectiveness and longevity in private-sector television. Its producers attribute consistent good ratings to its focus on the personal concerns of its audience, which derives in part from careful attention to the thousands of letters it receives from viewers each year, many of which have led to *Marketplace* investigations. Freedom from commercial pressures may also be significant. Recently, *Marketplace* has made its reports available on its website (<http://www.cbc.ca/consumers/market>).

FREDERICK J. FLETCHER AND ROBERT EVERETT

### Hosts

George Finstad  
Joan Watson  
Harry Brown  
Bill Paul  
Christine Brown  
Norma Kent  
Jim Nunn  
Jacquie Perrin  
Erica Johnson

### Producers

Dodi Robb, Bill Harcourt, Jock Ferguson, Murray Creed, Joe Doyle

### Programming History

CBC  
October 1972–

### Further Reading

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# Married... with Children

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Married... with Children* (MWC), created by Michael Moya and Ron Leavitt, premiered as one of the new FOX Broadcasting Company's Sunday series in 1987. Moya and Leavitt had previously produced *The Jeffersons*, a long-running comedy about a black entrepreneur who becomes wealthy and moves his family to an almost all-white New York City neighborhood. Set in Chicago, their new show was a parody of American television's tendency to create comedies dealing with relentlessly perfect families. Their program was immediately termed "antifamily."

At the time of MWC's appearance, the top-rated U.S. television series was *The Cosby Show*. In the *Cosby* version of family, an African-American doctor and his attorney-wife raise their college-bound offspring in an upper-middle-class environment. Instead of such faultless people, Moya and Leavitt presented

"patriarch" Al Bundy (Ed O'Neil), whose family credo is, "when one of us is embarrassed, the others feel better about ourselves." In MWC, almost every character is amusingly tasteless and satirically vulgar.

Bundy is a luckless women's shoe salesman who hates fat women, tries to relive his days as a high school football hero, and does almost anything to avoid having sex with his stay-at-home, bon-bon-eating spouse, Peggy (Katey Sagal). Peg loves to shop, and her ability to buy always exceeds Al's capacity to earn. She refuses to cook, and the Bundys must take desperate measures to stay fed, frequently searching beneath the sofa cushions for crumbs of food. After one family funeral, the Bundys steal the deceased man's filled refrigerator. Peggy's clothes are too tight, her hair is too big, her makeup is too thick, and her heels are too high. She wants sex as much as Al avoids it.



*Married . . . with Children*, Christina Applegate, David Faustino, Katey Sagal, Ed O'Neill, 1987–97.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The Bundy's stereotypically beautiful, dumb-blonde daughter, Kelly (Christina Applegate), is a frequent target of their naive con artist son, Bud (David Faustino). Moyer and Leavitt created Kelly in the guise of Sheridan's Mrs. Malaprop; she can never manage to find the right word, and her verbal confusions are felicitous. According to Bud, Kelly will have sex with any available male. In one episode, Kelly acquires backstage passes to a rock concert and announces she is just one paternity suit away from a Caribbean home. The Bundys think Bud has no chance of ever attracting a date; running jokes mention his collection of inflatable rubber women. All characters have a common failing: none exercises good judgment.

In *MWC*, Moyer and Leavitt not only lampooned *Cosby* but also parodied its creator, Marcy Carsey. The other continuing characters in the series were the Bundy's upscale next-door neighbors. In the initial seasons, the neighbors were Marcy (Amanda Bearse) and Steve Rhoades (David Garrison). Garrison was a series regular from 1987 to 1990 and made frequent guest appearances after Steve and Marcy split. Then, in the 1991 season, Marcy remarried, to a man named Jefferson D'Arcy—giving her the moniker Marcy D'Arcy. Marcy and her husbands serve as a device to entice and challenge the Bundy clan, then put them

down. Marcy is a banker and activist for almost any cause that will defeat Al's current get-rich-quick scheme. She marries Jefferson (Ted McGinley) while drunk and discovers him in her bed the next morning. He has no career, although he has claimed to be a clever criminal, now living in the witness protection program.

The show had a small, loyal following until February 1989, and the producers had a history of arguments over taste and language with FOX's lone, part-time network censor. One episode, "A Period Piece," in which the Bundy and Rhoades families go camping, was delayed one month in the broadcast schedule because it focused on the women's menstrual cycles. Two months later, the episode scheduled for February 19, 1989, "I'll See You in Court," was pulled from the schedule and never aired on the FOX network. The episode involves sexual videotapes of Marcy and Steve that Al and Peggy view when they rent a sleazy motel room. When both couples realize their activity at the motel was broadcast to other rooms, they sue. The jury chooses to compensate the couples for their performance quality, with Al and Peggy getting no money.

That same winter, two weeks after "A Period Piece," an episode titled "Her Cups Runneth Over" led to a social stir. The segment features Peggy's need for a new

brassiere, coinciding with her birthday. Al and Steve travel to a lingerie shop in Wisconsin, where an older male receptionist wears nothing below his waist but panties, a garter belt, stockings, and spike-heeled shoes. Steve fingers leather-fringed falsies attached to the nipples of one near-naked mannequin; women flash Al and Steve, although the nudity is not shown on camera.

One television viewer, Terry Rakolta, from the wealthy Detroit, Michigan, suburb of Bloomfield Hills, took offense at the show after the brassiere episode. She saw her children watching the program and found both the language and the partial nudity unacceptable for a program airing during a time when children made up a large portion of the audience. Rakolta acted by writing to advertisers and asking them to question the association of their products with *MWC*'s content. She also brought her cause to national television news shows.

In March 1989, Rakolta said on *Nightline*, "I picked on *Married . . . with Children* because they are so consistently offensive. They exploit women, they stereotype poor people, they're anti-family. And every week that I've watched them, they're worse and worse. I think this is really outrageous. It's sending the wrong messages to the American family."

Rakolta had mixed success. Some advertisers, including major movie studios and many retail stores, refused to buy commercials on the new FOX network (prime-time telecasts had started less than two years earlier). Media brokers cited a bad connotation with FOX programming. *Newsweek* magazine featured a front-page story on "Trash TV," questioning the standards of taste in prime-time television. Both *MWC* and tabloid news shows such as *A Current Affair* were primary examples.

However, the greater effect of Rakolta's campaign was strongly positive for FOX. Among the fledgling network's greatest problems at the time of the controversy was limited viewer awareness. Many viewers simply did not know that a fourth network existed. Related to this was the fact that a small, mostly homogeneous viewing group comprised FOX's entire audience. Moreover, many FOX stations had weak UHF (ultrahigh frequency) signals that were difficult to receive. Rakolta's complaints garnered substantial national publicity, and this seemed to assist the network in solving many of its difficulties. After *Nightline*, *Good Morning America*, *The Today Show*, and most other national and local news shows featured the controversy over *MWC*, viewer awareness rose dramatically. People purposely sought out their local FOX affiliates, and *MWC* became a success.

By April 1989, *MWC* had reached a 10 rating, according to Nielsen's national measurements, the high-

est rating of any FOX show to that date. FOX began charging the same amount for commercials in *MWC* that the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) asked for *60 Minutes*. The comedy began intermittently winning its time slot.

By 1995 the show had become the longest-running situation comedy currently programmed on network television, on the air as long as the classic comedy *Cheers*. In its final years, *MWC* no longer pushed new boundaries of good taste, and the jokes became routine and expected, even when still funny.

The show did, however, have an extremely lucrative afterlife in daily syndication, running strongly for years in many markets. In Los Angeles, FOX's station KTTV ran the program twice each weekday in the prime-time access hour. Daily viewership for the show continues to be strong, and with 11 seasons of episodes to add variety to off-network reruns, *MWC* is likely to consistently remain one of the most successful properties in the history of television syndication. At the end of its run on June 9, 1997, the program's off-network earnings were estimated to be more than \$400 million.

During its long run, the show won no awards, but the actors were recognized for their performances. The Hollywood Foreign Press nominated the show for seven Golden Globe Awards: one for the program as Best TV-Series—Comedy/Musical, four for Katey Sagal's acting, and two for Ed O'Neill. American Comedy Award nominations also went to Sagal (three) and O'Neill (one).

JOAN GIGLIONE

#### Cast

Al Bundy	Ed O'Neill
Peggy Bundy	Katey Sagal
Kelly Bundy	Christina Applegate
Bud Bundy	David Faustino
Steve Rhoades (1987-90)	David Garrison
Marcy Rhoades D'Arcy	Amanda Bearse
Jefferson D'Arcy (1991-97)	Ted McGinley

#### Producers

John Maxwell Anderson, Calvin Brown Jr., Vince Cheung, Kevin Curran, Pamela Eells, Ralph Farquhar, Ellen L. Fogle, Katherine Green, Richard Gurman, Larry Jacobson, Ron Leavitt, Stacie Lipp, Russell Marcus, Ben Montanio, Michael G. Moye, Arthur Silver, Sandy Sprung, Marcy Vosburgh, Kim Weiskopf

#### Programming History

262 episodes

FOX

April 1987-October 1987

Sunday 8:00-8:30

October 1987–July 1989	Sunday 8:30–9:00
July 1989–August 1996	Sunday 9:00–9:30
September 1996–January 1997	Saturday 9:00–9:30
January 1997–June 1997	Monday 9:00–9:30

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Lowry, Brian, "Married... with Few Regrets As Series Ends After 11 Years," *Los Angeles Times* (April 27, 1997)

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## Marshall, Garry (1934– )

U.S. Producer, Writer, Actor

Garry Marshall was the executive producer of a string of sitcoms that helped the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) win the ratings race for the first time in the network's history in the late 1970s. While Norman Lear's Tandem Productions and Grant Tinker's MTM Enterprises had put the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on top in the early part of the decade, by the end of the 1978–79 season, four of the five highest-rated shows of the year were Marshall's.

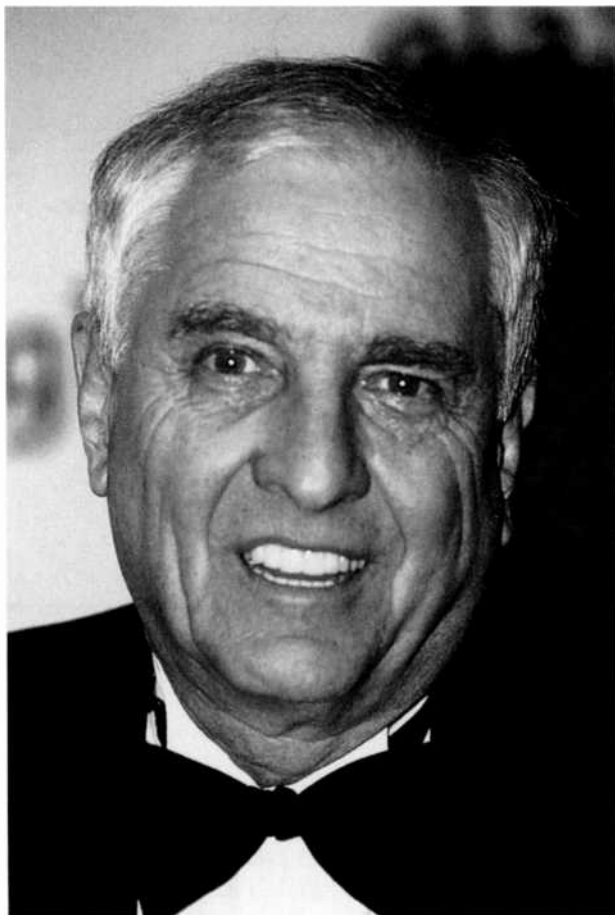
Marshall became a comedy writer during the last years of television's "golden age." He started out as an itinerant joke writer for an assortment of TV comics and eventually secured a staff writing position on *The Joey Bishop Show*. There he met Jerry Belson, with whom he would go on to write two feature films, a Broadway play, and episodes for a variety of TV series, including *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Lucy Show*, and *I Spy*. The last project Marshall and Belson did together was the most successful of their partnership. *The Odd Couple*, a series they adapted from the Neil Simon play in 1970, would run for five seasons and have a major impact on Marshall's comic style.

Rather than forming his own independent production company, which had become standard procedure for producers at the time, Marshall remained at Paramount to make a succession of hit situation comedies for ABC. *Happy Days* debuted as a series in January 1974, and by the 1976–77 season, it was the most popular show on TV. Set in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the 1950s and centered around a teenager (Ron Howard), his family, and his friends, *Happy Days* generated three spin-offs, all of which Marshall supervised. *Laverne and Shirley* featured two working-class women (Penny Marshall and Cindy Williams), whose

antic schemes were reminiscent of those portrayed on *I Love Lucy*. Viewers were introduced to the frenetic young comic Robin Williams in *Mork and Mindy*, a series about an alien (Williams) who comes to Earth to study human behavior by moving in with an all-American young woman (Pam Dawber). *Joanie Loves Chachi* followed two of the younger characters from *Happy Days* as they struggled to make it as rock-and-roll musicians.

While Norman Lear had used such shows as *All in the Family* and *Maude* to explore contemporary social issues such as racism, the women's movement, and the war in Vietnam, Marshall's shows were usually more concerned with less timely, personal issues, such as blind dates, making out, and breaking up. Lear, Tinker, and others had attracted young audiences with "relevant" programming earlier in the decade; Marshall attracted even younger ones with lighter, more escapist fare, most of it set in the supposedly simpler historic past. In an interview reprinted in *American Television Genres* (1985), Marshall recalled that, after producing the adult-oriented *Odd Couple*, he had been anxious to make shows "that both kids and their parents could watch." When he gave a speech on accepting the Lifetime Achievement Prize given at the American Comedy Awards in 1990, Marshall said, "If television is the education of the American people, then I am recess." Not surprisingly, four of Marshall's sitcoms were adapted into Saturday morning cartoons.

Marshall continued to borrow from *The Odd Couple* throughout his career. Over and over again, he employed the comic device of coupling two distinctly different characters: the hip and the square on *Happy Days*, the earthling and the Orkan on *Mork and Mindy*,



Garry Marshall, 1999.  
©Robert Hepler/Everett Collection

the rich and the poor on *Angie*, and, later, the businessman and the prostitute in the movie *Pretty Woman*. In 1982 he brought a short-lived remake of *The Odd Couple* to ABC, this time with African Americans Ron Glass and Demond Wilson playing the parts of Felix and Oscar.

By the mid-1980s, Marshall had turned his attention to directing, producing, and occasionally writing feature films, including *Young Doctors in Love* (1982), *The Flamingo Kid* (1984), *Nothing in Common* (1986), *Overboard* (1987), *Beaches* (1989), *Pretty Woman* (1990), *Frankie and Johnny* (1991), *Runaway Bride* (1999), and *The Princess Diaries* (2001). He also began appearing on screen occasionally, most notably in a recurring role on *Murphy Brown*.

Marshall's television tradition was carried on by Thomas L. Miller and Robert L. Boyett, two alumni of Marshall's production staff. Their youth-oriented series, such as *Perfect Strangers*, *Full House*, and *Fam-*

*ily Matters*, became staples of ABC's lineup in the later 1980s and early 1990s.

ROBERT J. THOMPSON

*See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Happy Days; Producer in Television; Laverne and Shirley*

**Garry Marshall.** Born in New York City, November 13, 1934. Educated at Northwestern University, B.S. in journalism, 1956. Married: Barbara; children: one son and two daughters. Served in the U.S. Army during the Korean War, writing for *Stars and Stripes* and serving as a production chief for the Armed Forces Radio Network. Worked as a copy boy and briefly as a reporter for the New York *Daily News*, 1956–59; wrote comedy material for Phil Foster and Joey Bishop; drummer in his own jazz band; successful stand-up comedian and playwright; in television from late 1950s, starting as writer for *The Jack Paar Show*; prolific television writer through 1960s, creator and executive producer for various television series from 1974; also active creatively in films and stage.

#### Television Series

1959–61	<i>The Jack Paar Show</i> (writer)
1961–65	<i>The Joey Bishop Show</i> (writer)
1961–64	<i>The Danny Thomas Show</i> (writer)
1961–66	<i>The Dick Van Dyke Show</i> (writer)
1962–68	<i>The Lucy Show</i> (writer)
1965–68	<i>I Spy</i> (writer)
1966–67	<i>Hey Landlord</i> (creator, writer, director)
1970–75	<i>The Odd Couple</i> (executive producer, writer, director)
1972–74	<i>The Little People (The Brian Keith Show)</i> (creator, executive producer)
1974–84	<i>Happy Days</i> (creator, executive producer)
1974	<i>Blansky's Beauties</i> (creator, executive producer)
1976–83	<i>Laverne and Shirley</i> (creator, executive producer)
1978	<i>Who's Watching the Kids?</i> (creator, executive producer)
1978–82	<i>Mork and Mindy</i> (creator, executive producer)
1979–80	<i>Angie</i> (creator, executive producer)
1982–83	<i>Joanie Loves Chachi</i> (creator, executive producer)
1982–83	<i>The New Odd Couple</i> (executive producer)
1988–98	<i>Murphy Brown</i> (actor)



**Made-for-Television Movie**

1972 *Evil Roy Slade* (creator, executive producer)

**Television Special**

1979 *Sitcom: The Adventures of Garry Marshall*

**Films**

*How Sweet It Is* (writer-producer), 1968; *The Grasshopper*, 1970; *Young Doctors in Love* (also executive producer, director), 1982; *The Flamingo Kid* (also co-writer), 1984; *Nothing in Common*, 1986; *Overboard*, 1987; *Beaches*, 1988; *Pretty Woman*, 1990; *Frankie and Johnnie*, 1991; *Psych-Out* (actor), 1968; *Lost in America*, 1985; *Jumpin' Jack Flash*, 1986; *Soapdish*, 1991; *A League of Their Own*, 1992; *Hocus Pocus*, 1993; *The Other Sister*, 1999; *Runaway Bride*, 1999; *The Princess Diaries*, 2001; *Raising Helen*, 2004; *The Princess Diaries 2*, 2004.

**Stage**

*The Roost* (writer, with Jerry Belson), 1980; *Wrong Turn at Lungfish* (writer, with Lowell Ganz; also director, actor), 1992.

**Publication**

*Wake Me When It's Funny: How to Break into Show Business and Stay There*, 1995

**Further Reading**

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## Martin, Quinn (1922–1987)

### U.S. Producer

Quinn Martin, among the most prolific and consistent television producers, helped to create and control some of television's most successful and popular series from the 1950s through the 1970s. At various times in the 1960s and 1970s, Martin simultaneously had as many as four series on various networks.

Martin's early television career consisted of writing and producing for many shows at Ziv Television and at Desilu Productions. He produced the *Desilu Playhouse* two-hour television movie "The Untouchables," which served as the basis for the series. Under Martin, *The Untouchables* became a huge hit for the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). Martin left after the first two seasons to form his own production company, QM Productions. The first series from QM, *The New Breed*, was unusual for Martin in that it was unsuccessful. During the years at Desilu and the first years of QM, Martin surrounded himself with a cadre of writers, directors, and producers who would later ably serve him when he was juggling the production schedules of several series. Alan Armer, George Eckstein,

Walter Grauman, and John Conwell are but a few of the names to appear again and again in the credits of QM productions.

QM and Martin entered into an era of considerable success in the 1960s. Among the shows to come from QM during this period were *The Fugitive*, *Twelve O'clock High*, *The FBI*, and *The Invaders*, all broadcast on ABC. Indeed, the relationship between QM and ABC was enormously beneficial to both despite repeated charges that they rode to their mutual successes on a wave of violent programming that began with *The Untouchables* and continued as a central stylistic feature in QM programs.

It was also during this period that two aspects of Martin's approach to television production emerged. First was the QM segmented-program format: a teaser; an expository introduction that often employed the convention of a narrator; a body broken into acts I, II, III, and IV; and an epilogue, using an off-screen narrator to explain or offer insight into the preceding action. So recognizable did this convention become that it was



Quinn Martin, 1965.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

parodied in the 1982 sitcom *Police Squad*. Second, Martin compartmentalized his productions. This was done not only out of necessity, resulting from the volume of television being produced by the company, but also because of the trusted individuals with whom Martin populated QM. At QM, the writers, producers, and postproduction supervisors had very well defined tasks and would rarely stray beyond the parameters established by Martin. John Conwell, casting director and assistant to Martin for years, often referred to Martin as “Big Daddy” because of his paternalistic approach to production.

Additionally, as John Cooper reports, Alan Armer credited Martin with changing the face of the telefilm by moving from the soundstage to the outdoors and by ensuring authenticity by employing night-for-night shooting, as described in *The Fugitive* (see Cooper). Too often producers would save a few dollars by simply darkening film footage shot during the day to simulate nighttime. Not Quinn Martin. He made money, and he spent money. In 1965 *Television Magazine* quoted Martin as saying that the 10 percent he would have paid an agent (if he had retained one) was simply rolled back into production.

The successes of QM and Martin continued well into the 1970s. Preeminent and longest running among the QM shows of this era were *The Streets of San Francisco*, *Cannon*, and *Barnaby Jones*, itself a spin-off of *Cannon*. Martin had at least a half dozen other series in prime time during the 1970s. During this period, virtually every QM show dealt with law enforcement and crime.

Since the first days of *The Untouchables*, Martin had been criticized for using excessive violence in his productions. A new criticism was now mounted against Martin’s work because of the subject matter. Critics claimed that Martin’s shows enforced the dominant ideology of the inherent value of law and order. They suggested that the bulk of Martin’s work legitimized a right-wing, conservative agenda. As Horace Newcomb and Robert Alley indicate in *The Producer’s Medium*, Martin openly acknowledged his fondness for authority and his positive presentation of institutions of police powers—individual, state, and federal (see Newcomb and Alley).

Martin sold QM Productions to Taft Broadcasting around 1978. Part of the agreement required Martin to leave television production for five years and not to compete with Taft. Martin became an adjunct professor at Warren College of the University of California, San Diego. In the late 1980s, Martin became president of QM Communications, which developed motion pictures for Warner Brothers. He died in 1987, leaving a production legacy of 17 network series, 20 made-for-television movies, and a feature film, *The Mephisto Waltz*. No one has yet surpassed his streak of 21 years with a show in prime time.

JOHN COOPER

*See also Arnaz, Desi; The FBI; The Fugitive; Producer in Television; The Untouchables; Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*

**Quinn Martin.** Born Martin Cohn in New York City, May 22, 1922. Educated at University of California, Berkeley, B.A. 1949. Married: 1) Madelyn Pugh, 1958; child: Michael; 2) Muffet Webb, 1961; children: Jill and Cliff. Served in U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II. Began career as apprentice editor, MGM; worked as film editor, writer, and head of post-production for various studios, including Universal, 1950–54; writer and executive producer, Desilu Productions’ *Jane Wyman Theater*, *The Desilu Playhouse*, and *The Untouchables*, 1957–59; founder, president, and chief executive officer, QM Productions, 1960–78; sold QM Productions to Taft Broadcasting, 1978; chair of the board, Quinn Martin Films; president, Quinn Martin Communications Group, 1982–87; adjunct professor of drama and in 1983 endowed the Quinn Mar-

tin Chair of Drama, Warren College, University of California, San Diego; president, Del Mar Fair Board, with jurisdiction over Del Mar Race Track, 1983–84; president, La Jolla Playhouse, California, 1985–86. Trustee: Buckley School, North Hollywood, California; La Jolla Playhouse. Recipient: TV Guide Award, 1963–64; Emmy Award, 1964. Died in Rancho Santa Fe, California, September 6, 1987.

#### Television Series

1955–58	<i>The Jane Wyman Theater</i> (writer)
1958	<i>The Desilu Playhouse</i> (writer)
1959–63	<i>The Untouchables</i>
1961–62	<i>The New Breed</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i>
1964–67	<i>Twelve O'clock High</i>
1965–74	<i>The FBI</i>
1967–68	<i>The Invaders</i>
1970–71	<i>Dan August</i>
1971–76	<i>Cannon</i>
1972–73	<i>Banyon</i>
1972–77	<i>The Streets of San Francisco</i>
1973–80	<i>Barnaby Jones</i>
1974	<i>Nakia</i> (coproducer)
1974–75	<i>The Manhunter</i>
1975	<i>Caribe</i>
1976	<i>Bert D'Angelo/Superstar</i>
1976–77	<i>Most Wanted</i>
1977	<i>Tales of the Unexpected</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

1970	<i>House on Greenapple Road</i>
1971	<i>Face of Fear</i>
1971	<i>Incident in San Francisco</i>
1974	<i>Murder or Mercy</i>
1974	<i>Attack on the 5:22</i>
1975	<i>The Abduction of St. Anne</i>
1975	<i>Home of Our Own</i>
1975	<i>Attack on Terror</i>
1976	<i>Brinks: The Great Robbery</i>
1978	<i>Standing Tall</i>

#### Film

*The Mephisto Waltz*, 1971.

#### Further Reading

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## Marx, Groucho (1890–1977)

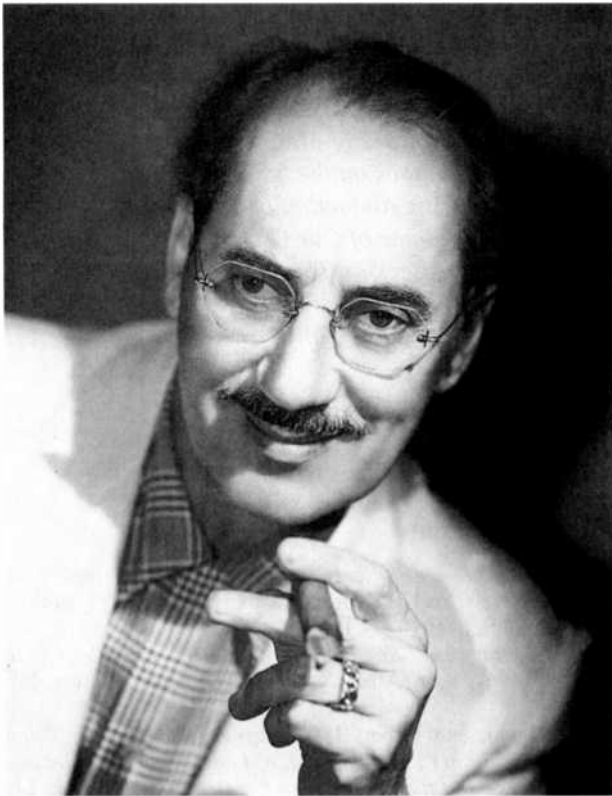
### U.S. Comedian

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Although often remembered as the quipping leader of the team of brothers who starred in anarchic film comedies of the 1930s and 1940s, Groucho Marx reached a far larger audience through his solo television career. As the comic quizmaster of the long-running *You Bet Your Life*, Marx became an icon of 1950s television, maintaining a weekly presence in the Nielsen top ten for most of the decade.

The familiar Groucho persona served as a comedic anchor for the popular quiz-show format when the 60-year-old Marx made the transition to television in 1950. Groucho replaced his trademark greasepaint mustache

with a real one, but his attributes were otherwise unchanged. The show simply let Groucho be Groucho. He unleashed his freewheeling verbal wit in repartee with contestants, scattered good-natured insults at his willing participants, and lived up to his billing as “TV’s King Leer” by greeting female guests with his characteristic raised eyebrows and waggling cigar. Groucho’s personality and gift for gab drove the program, with the quiz playing only a minor role. So immediate was his success in the medium that Groucho received an Emmy as Outstanding Television Personality of 1950 and was on the cover of *Time* a year later.



Groucho Marx.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Groucho's move to TV was not surprising, but the magnitude of his success was. Like many of early television's "vaudeo" stars, he was a show business veteran with roots in vaudeville and an established presence on national radio. However, his radio career had been erratic. He lacked a successful show of his own until program packager John Guedel brought *You Bet Your Life* to ABC Radio in 1947. Guedel modeled the show on his other popular series, *People Are Funny* and *House Party*, which featured host Art Linkletter interacting with audiences. The format showcased Groucho's talents well. He gained a large listenership and moved to the more powerful Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) after two seasons. Like other radio hits, *You Bet Your Life* moved into television.

A pilot was made at CBS with Groucho simply filmed performing one of his radio episodes. A bidding war for Groucho's services ensued (the star later wrote that he chose the National Broadcasting Company [NBC] over CBS because CBS's William Paley displeased him by trying to appeal to their Jewish solidarity). *You Bet Your Life* remained a staple of NBC's Thursday night TV lineup for 11 seasons and played on the network's radio stations each Wednesday until 1957. Television episodes were different editions of performances aired on radio the previous evening.

The show's idiosyncratic production methods had as much to do with the nature of Groucho's performance style as they did with the logistics of working in two media simultaneously. Both the radio and the television version of *The Groucho Show* (as it was retitled in its final season) were somewhat pioneering in that they were recorded and edited for later broadcast. Visually, the TV edition was quite static, using a single set: Groucho sitting on a stool chatting with contestants. A multicamera system used two cameras to film the interviews from each of four angles, including a slave camera on Groucho. The look was simple, but the setup allowed the producers to edit and sharpen Groucho's performances. He could venture into risqué banter, knowing that anything too blue for broadcast could be cut. Dull bits of his unrehearsed, hour-long interviews were deleted, leaving only the comic highlights for the 30-minute telecasts.

Putting the program on film (and paying a star's salary) gave *You Bet Your Life* a higher production cost than other game shows. The investment was returned, however, by both high ratings and the ability to repeat episodes. During the 13-week summer hiatus, NBC aired *The Best of Groucho*, helping to innovate the programming convention of the rerun. When production ceased in 1961, *The Best of* telefilms also went straight into daily syndication for several years.

Throughout its run, *You Bet Your Life's* formula remained unchanged. Announcer and straight man George Fenneman began, "Here he is: the one, the only..." prompting the studio audience to shout "Groucho!" The quizmaster previewed the week's "secret word," and a wooden duck (in Groucho guise) descended with \$100 whenever the word was spoken. Male and female contestants were paired up to talk with Groucho, who often played matchmaker. The show recruited entertaining, oddball contestants as well as celebrities. Many performed vaudeville-style numbers, making *You Bet Your Life* as much a variety show as a talk or quiz program. After each interview, Groucho posed trivia questions. Winners received modest amounts of money, while losers received a consolation prize for answering a variation of Groucho's famous query, "Who's buried in Grant's Tomb?"

The routine thrived because of Groucho's rapport with guests. He was a living encyclopedia of showbiz patter, gags, and lyrics and possessed a genuine gift for witty ad libs. Yet his material was more scripted than it appeared. A staff of writers provided teleprompted jokes. Working off these, Groucho maintained a palpable spontaneity, never meeting with the screened contestants before the show.

While *You Bet Your Life* was Groucho's greatest contribution to television, he was a popular TV raconteur until the latter years of his life. After a short-lived

series revival on CBS (*Tell It to Groucho*) and appearances on British TV in the early 1960s, he hosted variety programs, did cameos, and sat in on panel shows. However, he found his most comfortable niche as a talk show personality with an intellectual edge. His acerbic manner fit well with fringe late-night programming, such as Les Crane's controversial talk show (on its 1964 premiere Groucho served as a metacritic to political dialogue among William F. Buckley, John Lindsay, and Max Lerner). Of more lasting importance, Groucho served as an interim host for *The Tonight Show* when Jack Paar stepped down, and he introduced Johnny Carson when he debuted as host. Groucho also developed a famous friendship with *Tonight Show* writers Dick Cavett and Woody Allen, thereby influencing a new generation of TV and film comedians.

In the 1970s, Groucho's celebrity was revived by a surprisingly successful resyndication of *You Bet Your Life* (though later imitations of it by Buddy Hackett and Bill Cosby flopped). Books, films, and records by and about Groucho also sold well. His popularity extended to both those nostalgic for a past era and those who made his antiauthority comedy style part of the younger counterculture.

This contradiction was appropriate for the performer who was simultaneously an insightful intellectual critic and a pop icon. Groucho is attributed with a memorable put-down of television: "I find television very educational. The minute somebody turns it on, I go into the library and read a good book." Yet, in true contrarian fashion, when promoting his own show's premiere, he added a seldom-quoted rejoinder: "Now that I'm a part of television, or 'TV' as we say out here on the Coast, I don't mean a word of it."

DAN STREIBLE

**Groucho Marx.** Born Julius Henry Marx in New York City, October 2, 1890. Married: 1) Ruth Johnson, 1922 (divorced, 1942); children: Miriam and Arthur; 2) Catherine Gorcey, 1945 (divorced, 1950); child: Melinda; 3) Eden Hartford, 1953 (divorced, 1969). With brothers Chico, Harpo, and Zeppo, formed comedy team, the Marx Brothers, successful in film comedies; served as host for radio and television game show *You Bet Your Life*. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1950. Died in Los Angeles, California, August 19, 1977.

#### Television Series

1950–61 *You Bet Your Life (The Groucho Show)*  
1962 *Tell It to Groucho*

#### Films

*The Cocoanuts*, 1929; *Animal Crackers*, 1930; *Monkey Business*, 1931; *Horsefeathers*, 1932; *Duck*

*Soup*, 1933; *A Night at the Opera*, 1935; *A Day at the Races*, 1937; *The King and the Chorus Girl*, 1937; *Room Service*, 1938; *At the Circus*, 1939; *Go West*, 1940; *The Big Store*, 1941; *A Night in Casablanca*, 1946; *Copacabana*, 1947; *Mr. Music*, 1950; *Love Happy*, 1950; *Double Dynamite*, 1951; *A Girl in Every Port*, 1952; *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?*, 1957; *The Story of Mankind*, 1957; *Ski-doo*, 1968.

#### Radio

*You Bet Your Life*, 1947–57.

#### Stage

*Minnie's Boys* (co-author), 1970.

#### Publications

*Beds*, 1930

*Many Happy Returns: An Unofficial Guide to Your Income-Tax Problems*, 1942

*Time for Elizabeth: A Comedy in Three Acts*, with Norman Krasna, 1949

*Groucho and Me*, 1959

*Memoirs of a Mangy Lover*, 1963

*The Groucho Letters*, 1967

*The Marx Bros. Scrapbook*, with Richard J. Anobile, 1973

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# Mary Tyler Moore Show, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Mary Tyler Moore Show* premiered on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in September 1970 and during its seven-year run became one of the most-acclaimed television programs ever produced. The program represented a significant change in the situation comedy, quickly distinguishing itself from typical plot-driven storylines filled with narrative predictability and unchanging characters. As created by the team of James Brooks and Allan Burns, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* presented the audience with fully realized characters who evolved and became more complex throughout their life on the show. Storylines were character based, and the ensemble cast used this approach to develop relationships that changed over time.

The program starred Mary Tyler Moore, who had previously achieved success as Laura Petrie on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. As Mary Richards, a single woman in her 30s, Moore presented a character different from other single TV women of the time. She was not widowed or divorced or seeking a man to support her. Rather, the character had just emerged from a live-in situation with a man whom she had helped through medical school. He left her on receiving his degree, and she relocated to Minneapolis, Minnesota, determined to "make it on her own." This now common concept was rarely depicted on television in the early 1970s despite some visible successes of the women's movement.

Mary Richards found a job in the newsroom of fictional television station WJM, the lowest-rated station in its market, and there she began her life as an independent woman. She found a "family" among her co-workers and her neighbors. Among her at-work friends were Lou Grant (Ed Asner), the crusty news director; Murray Slaughter (Gavin MacLeod), the cynical news writer; Ted Baxter (Ted Knight), the supercilious anchorman; and, later, Sue Ann Nivens (Betty White), the man-hungry "Happy Homemaker." Sharing her apartment house were Rhoda Morgenstern (Valerie Harper), Mary's best friend, and Phyllis Lindstrom (Cloris Leachman), their shallow landlady. This ensemble pushed the situation comedy genre in new directions and provided the show with a fresh feel and look.

The "workplace family," while not new to television sitcoms (*Our Miss Brooks* and *The Gale Storm Show* were among earlier incarnations of this subgenre), was redefined in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Here were characters easily defined by traditional familial qualities—Lou as the father figure, Ted as the problem child, Rhoda as the family confidante, and Mary as the mother/daughter around whom the entire situation revolved. But the special nature of these relationships gave the show its depth and humor. Never static, each character changed in ways previously unseen in the genre. One of the best examples occurred when Lou divorced his wife of many years. His adjustment to the transition from married to divorced middle-aged man provided rich comic moments but also allowed viewers to see new depths in the character, glimpse behind the gruff facade into Lou's vulnerability, and grow closer to him. This type of evolution occurred with all the cast members, providing writers with constantly shifting perspective on the characters. From those perspectives, new storylines could be developed, and these fresh approaches helped renew a genre grown weary with repetition and familiar techniques.

Similarly, the program set the standard for a new subgenre of situation comedy: the working-woman sitcom. Beginning as a determined but uncertain independent woman, Mary Richards came to represent what has since become a convention in this type of comedy. Unattached and not reliant on a man, Mary never rejected men as romantic objects or denied her hopes to one day be married. Unlike Rhoda, however, Mary did not define her life through her search for "Mr. Right." Rather, she dated several men and even spent the night with a few of them (another new development in TV sitcoms). Working-woman sitcoms since, including *Kate and Allie* and *Murphy Brown*, owe a debt to Mary Richards.

The program became an anchor of CBS's Saturday night schedule and, along with *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Bob Newhart Show*, and *The Carol Burnett Show*, was part of one of the strongest nights of programming ever presented by a network. From September 1970 until its final airing in September 1977, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was usually among the top 20 shows. It garnered three Emmy Awards as



*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Mary Tyler Moore, Gavin MacLeod, Ed Asner, Ted Knight, Betty White, Georgia Engel, 1970–77.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Outstanding Comedy Series (in 1975, 1976, and 1977). Moore, Asner, Harper, Knight, and White all won Emmys for their performances, and the show's writing and directing were similarly honored several times.

The show was the first from MTM Productions, the company formed by Moore and her then husband, Grant Tinker. MTM went on to produce an impressive list of landmark situation comedies and dramas, including *The Bob Newhart Show*, *Newhart*, *The White Shadow*, *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *L.A. Law*. The characters from *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* provided the focus for several successful spin-offs in the 1970s: *Rhoda*, *Phyllis*, and *Lou Grant*. The latter was significant in that it represented the successful continuation and transformation of a character across genre lines. In the new show, Asner played Grant as a news-

paper editor in a serious, hour-long, issue-oriented drama. MTM Productions developed a reputation, begun in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, for creating what became known as "quality television," television readily identifiable by its textured, humane, and contemporary themes and characters.

Traits of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* have become standard elements of many situation comedies since its airing. Because numerous writers and directors worked at MTM (and on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* in particular) and then moved on to develop their own productions, the program's influence is notable in sitcoms such as *Taxi*, *Cheers*, and *Night Court*.

*The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was also one of the first sitcoms to bring closure to its story. In its last episode in 1977, the entire WJM news staff, with the exception of the very expendable Ted Baxter, was

## Mary Tyler Moore Show, The

fired. Mary's neighbors Rhoda and Phyllis had departed previously for their own programs. Now the rest of her "family" was being broken up. Ironically, television brought them together, and now the vagaries of television were separating them—in the "real" world as well as in their own fictional context. In the final moments, Mary, Lou, Murray, Ted, Ted's wife Georgette, and Sue Ann mass together in a teary group hug and exit. Then Mary turns out the lights in the newsroom for the last time. It was a fitting conclusion to a program that had become very comfortable and very real in ways few other programs ever had.

GEOFFREY HAMMILL

See also **Asner, Ed; Brooks, James L.; Burns, Alan; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Comedy, Workplace; Family on Television; Gender and Television; Lou Grant; Moore, Mary Tyler; Tinker, Grant; Workplace Programs**

### Cast

Mary Richards	Mary Tyler Moore
Lou Grant	Edward Asner
Ted Baxter	Ted Knight
Murray Slaughter	Gavin MacLeod
Rhoda Morgenstern (1970–74)	Valerie Harper
Phyllis Lindstrom (1970–75)	Cloris Leachman
Bess Lindstrom (1970–74)	Lisa Gerritsen
Gordon (Gordy) Howard (1970–73)	John Amos
Georgette Franklin Baxter (1973–77)	Georgia Engel

Sue Ann Nivens (1973–77)  
Marie Slaughter (1971–77)  
Edie Grant (1973–74)  
David Baxter (1976–77)

Betty White  
Joyce Bulifant  
Priscilla Morrill  
Robbie Rist

### Producers

James L. Brooks, Alan Burns, Stan Daniels, Ed Weinberger

### Programming History

168 episodes	
CBS	
September 1970–December 1971	Saturday 9:30–10:00
December 1971–September 1972	Saturday 8:30–9:00
September 1972–October 1976	Saturday 9:00–9:30
November 1976–September 1977	Saturday 8:00–8:30

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# M\*A\*S\*H

U.S. Comedy

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*M\*A\*S\*H*, based on the 1970 movie of the same name directed by Robert Altman, aired on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from 1972 to 1983 and has become one of the most-celebrated television series in the history of the television medium. During its initial season, however, *M\*A\*S\*H* was in danger of being canceled because of low ratings. The show reached the top-ten program list the following year and

never fell out of the top-20 rated programs during the remainder of its run. The final episode of *M\*A\*S\*H* was a two-and-a-half-hour special that attracted the largest audience to ever view a single television program episode.

In many ways, the series set the standard for some of the best programming to appear later. The show used multiple plotlines in half-hour episodes, usually





*M\*A\*S\*H*, Larry Linville, Loretta Swit, Alan Alda, McLean Stevenson, Wayne Rogers, William Christopher, Gary Burghoff, Jamie Farr, 1972–83.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

with at least one story in the comedic vein and another dramatic. Some later versions of this form—for example, *Hooperman* (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], 1987–89) and *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* (National Broadcasting Company [NBC], 1987–89)—would be known as the “dramedy,” half-hour programs incorporating elements of both comedy and drama. Other comedies would forgo the more serious aspects of *M\*A\*S\*H* but maintain its focus on character and motive, whereas some dramatic programming, such as *St. Elsewhere* and *Moonlighting*, would draw on the mixture of elements to distinguish themselves from more conventional television.

*M\*A\*S\*H* was set in South Korea, near Seoul, during the Korean War. The series focused on the group of doctors and nurses whose job was to heal the wounded who arrived at this “Mobile Army Surgical Hospital” by helicopter, ambulance, or bus. The hospital compound was isolated from the rest of the world. One road ran through the camp; a mountain blocked one perimeter and a minefield the other. Here the wounded were patched up and sent home—or back to the front. Here, too, the loyal audience came to know and respond to an exceptional ensemble cast of characters.

The original cast assumed roles created in Altman’s movie. The protagonists were Dr. Benjamin Franklin “Hawkeye” Pierce (Alan Alda) and Dr. “Trapper” John McIntyre (Wayne Rogers). Pierce and McIntyre were excellent surgeons who preferred to chase female nurses and drink homemade gin to operating and who had little, if any, use for military discipline or authority. As a result, they often ran afoul of two other medical officers, staunch military types, Dr. Frank Burns (Larry Linville) and senior nurse Lieutenant Margaret “Hot Lips” Houlihan (Loretta Swit). The camp com-

mander, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Blake (McLean Stevenson), was a genial bumbler whose energies were often directed toward preventing Burns and Houlihan from court-martialing Pierce and McIntyre. The camp was actually run by Corporal Walter “Radar” O’Reilly (Gary Burghoff), the company clerk who could spontaneously finish Blake’s sentences and hear incoming helicopters before they were audible to other human ears. Other regulars were Corporal Max Klinger (Jamie Farr), who, in the early seasons, usually dressed in women’s clothing in an ongoing attempt to secure a medical (mental) discharge, and Father Francis Mulcahy (William Christopher), the kindly camp priest who looked out for an orphanage.

In the course of its 11 years, the series experienced many cast changes. Trapper John McIntyre was “discharged” after the 1974–75 season because of a contract dispute between the producers and Rogers. He was replaced by Dr. B.J. Hunnicutt (Mike Farrell), a clean-cut family man quite different from McIntyre’s lecherous doctor. Frank Burns was given a psychiatric discharge in the beginning of the 1977–78 season and was replaced by Dr. Charles Emerson Winchester (David Ogden Stiers), a Boston blueblood who disdained the condition of the camp and tent mates Pierce and Hunnicutt. O’Reilly’s departure at the beginning of the 1979–80 season was explained by the death of his fictional uncle, and Klinger took over the company clerk position.

Perhaps the most significant change for the group occurred with the leave-taking of Henry Blake. His exit was written into the series in tragic fashion. As his plane was flying home over the Sea of Japan, it was shot down and the character killed. Despite the “realism” of this narrative development, public sentiment toward the event was so negative that the producers promised never to have another character depart the same way. Colonel Sherman Potter (Harry Morgan), a doctor with a regular-army experience in the cavalry, replaced Blake as camp commander and became both more complex and more involved with the other characters than Blake had been.

Although set in Korea, both the movie and the series *M\*A\*S\*H* were initially developed as critiques of the Vietnam War. As that war dragged toward conclusion, however, the series focused more on characters than situations—a major development for situation comedy. Characters were given room to learn from their mistakes, to adapt, and change. Houlihan became less the rigid military nurse and more a friend to both her subordinates and the doctors. Hawkeye changed from a gin-guzzling skirt chaser to a more “enlightened” male who cared about women and their issues, a reflection of Alda himself. Radar outgrew his youthful inno-

cence, and Klinger gave up his skirts and wedding dresses to assume more authority. This focus on character rather than character type set *M\*A\*S\*H* apart from other comedies of the day, and the style of the show departed from the norm in many other ways as well in terms of both its style and its mode of production.

While most other contemporary sitcoms took place indoors and were produced largely on videotape in front of a live audience, *M\*A\*S\*H* was shot entirely on film on location in southern California. Outdoor shooting at times presented problems. While shooting the final episode, for example, forest fires destroyed the set, causing a delay in filming. The series also made innovative uses of the laugh track. In early seasons, the laugh track was employed during the entire episode. As the series developed, the laugh track was removed from scenes set in the operating room. In a few episodes, the laugh track was removed entirely, another departure from sitcom conventions.

The most striking technical aspect of the series is found in its aggressively cinematic visual style. Instead of relying on straight cuts and short takes, episodes often used long shots, with people and vehicles moving between the characters and the camera. Tracking shots moved with action and changed direction when the story was "handed off" from one group of characters to another. These and other camera movements, wedded to complex editing techniques, enabled the series to explore character psychology in powerful ways and to assert the preeminence of the ensemble over any single individual. In this way, *M\*A\*S\*H* seemed to be asserting the central fact of war, that individual human beings are caught in the tangled mesh of other lives and must struggle to retain some sense of humanity and compassion. This approach was grounded in Altman's film style and enabled *M\*A\*S\*H* to manipulate its multiple storylines and its mixture of comedy and drama with techniques that matched the complex, absurd tragedy of war itself.

*M\*A\*S\*H* was one of the most innovative sitcoms of the 1970s and 1980s. Its stylistic flair and narrative mix drew critical acclaim, while the solid writing and vitally drawn characters helped the series maintain high ratings. The show also made stars of its performers—none more so than Alda, who went on to a successful career in film. The popularity of *M\*A\*S\*H* was quite evident in the 1978–79 season. CBS aired new episodes during prime time on Monday and programmed reruns of the series in the daytime and on Thursday late night, giving the show a remarkable seven appearances on a single network in a five-day period. The series produced one unsuccessful spin-off, *After M\*A\*S\*H*, which aired from 1983 to 1984. The

true popularity of *M\*A\*S\*H* can still be seen, for the series is one of the most widely syndicated series throughout the world. Despite the historical setting, the characters and issues in this series remain fresh, funny, and compelling in ways that continue to stand as excellent television.

JEFF SHIRES

**See also Alda, Alan; Gelbart, Larry; Vietnam on Television; War on Television**

**Cast**

Capt. Benjamin Franklin Pierce (Hawkeye)	Alan Alda
Capt. John McIntyre (Trapper John) (1972–75)	Wayne Rogers
Lt. (later Major) Margaret Houlihan (Hot Lips) Maj. Frank Burns (1972–77)	Loretta Swit Larry Linville
Cpl. Walter O'Reilly (Radar) (1972–79)	Gary Burghoff McLean Stevenson
Lt. Col. Henry Blake (1972–75)	George Morgan William Christopher
Father John Mulcahy (pilot only)	Alan Arbus
Father Francis Mulcahy	Jamie Farr
Dr. Sydney Friedman	Harry Morgan
Cpl. Maxwell Klinger (1973–83)	Mike Farrell
Col. Sherman Potter (1975–83)	
Capt. B.J. Hunnicutt (1975–83)	
Maj. Charles Emerson Winchester (1977–83)	David Ogden Stiers
Lt. Maggie Dish (1972)	Karen Philipp
Spearchucker Jones (1972)	Timothy Brown
Ho-John (1972)	Patrick Adiarte
Ugly John (1972–73)	John Orchard
Lt. Leslie Scorch (1972–73)	Linda Meiklejohn
Gen. Brandon Clayton (1972–73)	Herb Voland
Lt. Ginger Ballis (1972–74)	Odessa Cleveland
Nurse Margie Cutler (1972–73)	Marcia Strassman
Nurse Louise Anderson (1973)	Kelly Jean Peters
Lt. Nancy Griffin (1973)	Lynette Mettey
Various Nurses (1973–77)	Bobbie Mitchell
Gen. Mitchell (1973–74)	Robert F. Simon
Nurse Kellye (1974–83)	Kellye Nakahara
Various Nurses (1974–78)	Patricia Stevens
Various Nurses (1976–83)	Judy Farrell
Igor (1976–83)	Jeff Maxwell
Nurse Bigelow (1977–79)	Enid Kent

Sgt. Zale (1977-79)  
 Various Nurses (1978-83)  
 Various Nurses (1979-83)  
 Various Nurses (1979-81)  
 Various Nurses (1979-80)  
 Various Nurses (1980-83)  
 Sgt. Luther Rizzo (1981-83)  
 Roy (1981-83)  
 Soon-Lee (1983)  
 Various Nurses (1981-83)  
 Various Nurses (1992-83)

Johnny Haymer  
 Jan Jordan  
 Gwen Farrell  
 Connie Izay  
 Jennifer Davis  
 Shari Sabo  
 G.W. Bailey  
 Roy Goldman  
 Rosalind Chao  
 Joann Thompson  
 Deborah  
 Harmon

January 1978-September 1983  
 Monday  
 9:00-9:30

**Further Reading**

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**Producers**

Larry Gelbart, Gene Reynolds, Burt Metcalf, John Rappaport, Allan Katz, Don Reo, Jim Mulligan, Thad Mumford, Dan Wilcox, Dennis Koenig

**Programming History**

251 episodes  
 CBS  
 September 1972-September 1973 Sunday 8:00-8:30  
 September 1973-September 1974 Saturday 8:30-9:00  
 September 1974-September 1975 Tuesday 8:30-9:00  
 September 1975-November 1975 Friday 8:30-9:00  
 December 1975-January 1978 Tuesday 9:00-9:30

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## Mass Communication

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The term "mass communication" is used in a variety of ways that, despite the potential for confusion, are usually clear from the context. These include (1) reference to the activities of the mass media as a group, (2) the use of criteria of "massiveness" to distinguish among media and their activities, and (3) the construction of questions about communication as applied to the activities of the mass media. Significantly, only the third of these uses does not take the actual process of communication for granted.

"Mass communication" is often used loosely to refer to the distribution of entertainment, arts, information, and messages by television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies, recorded music, the Internet, and associated media. This general application is appropriate only as designating the most common features of such otherwise disparate phenomena as broadcast television, cable, video playback, theater projection, recorded song, radio talk, advertising, and the front page, editorial page, sports section, and comics page of

the newspaper. In this usage, "mass communication" refers to the activities of the media as a whole and fails to distinguish among specific media, modes of communication, genres of text or artifact, production or reception situations, or any questions concerning actual communication. The only analytic purpose served is to distinguish mass communication from interpersonal, small-group, and other face-to-face communication situations.

Various criteria of massiveness can also be brought to bear in analyses of media and mass communication situations. These criteria may include size and differentiation of audience, anonymity, simultaneity, and the nature of influences among audience members and between the audience and the media.

Live television spectaculars of recent decades may be the epitome of mass communication. These include such serious events as the funerals of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., or Princess Diana and entertainment spectaculars such as the Olympic Games, the Super Bowl, and the Academy Awards. These transmissions are distributed simultaneously and regardless of individual or group differences to audiences numbering in several tens or even a few hundreds of millions. Outside their own local groups, members of these audiences know nothing of each other. They have no real opportunities to influence the television representation of the events or the interpretation of those representations by other audience members.

By contrast, the audience for most cable television channels is much smaller and more differentiated from other audience groups. The audience for newspapers, magazines, and movies is less simultaneous, as well as smaller and more differentiated, and holds out the potential for a flow of local influences as people talk about articles and recommend movies. The audience for Internet web pages and downloadable files may be so thoroughly distributed in time and space that there is never more than one audience member at a time. Yet the audience members for streaming files of Internet radio or TV may be having experiences very similar to broadcast radio or TV audiences, even if there are fewer of them, more widely dispersed. When television shows prompt viewers to check their web pages, these programs are trying to steer the audience in a way that would reduce its unpredictability and hence one aspect of its massiveness. Compared to a letter, phone call, conversation, group discussion, or public lecture, all these media produce communication immensely more massive on every criteria.

All the criteria used in defining mass communication are potentially confused when one is engaged in a specific research project or critical examination. The

most confounding problem is encountered when determining the level of analysis. Should the concern be with a single communication event or with multiple events but a single communication channel? Should the focus be on multiple channels but a single medium? Does the central question concern a moment in time or an era, a community, a nation, or the world?

Radio provides an excellent example of the importance of these choices. Before television, network radio was the epitome of mass communication; it was national, live, and available and listened to everywhere. Today it is difficult to think of radio this way because the industry no longer works in the same manner. Commercial radio stations depend on local and regional sources of advertising income. Essentially, all radio stations are programmed to attract a special segment of a local or regional audience, and even when programming national entertainment materials, such as popular songs, stations emphasize local events, personalities, weather, news, and traffic in their broadcast talk. Radio is an industry characterized by specialized channels, each attracting relatively small, relatively differentiated audiences. However, the average home in the United States has five and half radios, more than twice the number of televisions. Cumulatively, the U.S. audience for radio is just as big, undifferentiated, and anonymous as that for television, and because radio is normally live and television is not, the reception of radio communication is more simultaneous than that of television. Is radio today, then, a purveyor of mass communication? It depends on whether the concern is with the industry as a whole or with the programming and audience of a particular station.

Most uses of the term "mass communication" fall into one of these first two categories, either to refer to the activities of the mass media as a whole or to refer to the massiveness of certain kinds of communication. Both uses have in common that they take issues of communication for granted and instead place emphasis on size, on the massiveness of the distribution system and the audience. Attention is given to what are called the "mass media" because they are the institutional and technological systems capable of producing mass audiences for mass-distributed "communications." Communication, then, ends up implicitly defined as merely a kind of object (message, text, artifact) that is reproduced and transported by these media. For some purposes, this may be exactly the right definition. However, it diminishes our ability to treat communication as a social accomplishment, as something people do, rather than as an object that gets moved from one location to another. If communication is something people do, then it may or may not be successful, may or may not be healthy and happy. If communication

means "to share," for example, rather than "to transmit," then what, if anything, of importance is shared when people watch a television show?

Scholars of mass communication are often more interested in communication as a social accomplishment than they are in the media as mass-distribution systems. This interest is based on an intellectual independence from existing habits of terminology and, most important, independence from media institutions as they exist. The term "mass," however it may be defined, is then treated as a qualification on the term "communication," however it may be defined. Such intellectual exercises, of course, can work out in a great variety of ways, but a few examples will suffice.

At one extreme, if "communication" is defined so that interaction between parties is a necessary criterion, as in "communication is symbolic interaction," and "mass" is defined as an aggregate of *noninteracting* entities, then "mass communication" is an oxymoron and an impossibility. At the opposite extreme, if the term "mass communication" is defined as involving *any* symbolic behavior addressed "to whom it may concern," then choices of clothing, furniture, and appliance styles, body posture, gestures, and any other publicly observable activity may well count as mass communication. Both of these extremes may seem like mere intellectual games, but they are important precisely because their intellectuality frees them of the practical constraints under which we operate in other realms. The contribution of such intellectual games is precisely to stimulate new thinking. Perhaps pausing to consider the idea that mass communication may be an impossibility could help us understand some of the paradoxes and incoherencies of contemporary American culture.

Consider a third example in which we use a model of communication to evaluate industry practices. Definitions of "mass communication" that take communication for granted and focus simply on the massiveness of the medium are always in danger of implicitly adopting, or certainly failing to question, the assumed criteria of evaluation already used in industries. In commercial television, as in any of the other commercial media, what is assumed is that television is a business. The conventions of the industry are to evaluate things solely in business terms. Is this television show good for business? Would increasing network news to an hour be a good business decision? Would noncommercial, educational programming for children be a successful business venture? In such an environment, it is an important intervention to point out that these industries are communicators as well as businesses. As such, they can and should be held to communicative standards. The public has a right to ask whether a tele-

vision show is good for communication, whether an hour of network news would be a successful form of communication, and whether there is a communication need for noncommercial, educational children's programming. As the terms of the questions shift, so, of course, may the answers. Becoming aware of such possibilities begins with being sensitive to the definitions of such terms as "mass communication."

ERIC ROTHENBUHLER

**See also Advertising; Americanization; Audience Research; Cable Networks; Market; Narrowcasting; Political Processes and Television; Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity; Satellite; United States: Cable Television**

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# Mastermind

## U.K. Quiz Show

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*Mastermind*, a long-running quiz show of an unusually challenging academic character, was first screened by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1972 and defied all expectations to become staple peak-time viewing over the next 25 years. Made for next to nothing and generally filmed on location in a university setting, no one guessed at the outset that the program would break out of the cult niche to which it seemed fated (give its initial late-night viewing time) and, in short order, overtake even the long-established rival *University Challenge*.

The structure of the quiz was relatively straightforward, with four "contenders" (rather than "contestants") being given two minutes to answer as many questions as they could about a topic of their own choosing. These specialist subjects varied from the relatively conventional ("British moths," "English cathedrals" or "the works of Dorothy L. Sayers") to the more esoteric (such as "old time music hall" or "the Buddhist sage Niciren"). The general rule was that any subject was admissible as long as it was of a broadly academic nature and wide enough to provide scope for a torrent of exacting questions. After the specialist rounds, each of the four contenders were tested for a further two minutes in a similar fast-paced round of general knowledge questions, which seemed to get more difficult as the round wore on. The series as a whole was run on a knockout system, with highest scorers (and highest-scoring losers) progressing to later stages of the tournament. Winners were required to choose different specialist subjects when reappearing but were allowed to return to an earlier topic if they managed to get as far as the grand final. The eventual winner of the competition was presented with a special cut-glass bowl to take home.

The challenge facing the contenders was vastly intensified by the intimidating atmosphere that characterized the program. As well as having to maintain concentration in such daunting surroundings, participants were required to sit in an isolated pool of light in an intimidating black leather chair at the total mercy of the quizmaster. Audiences maintained complete silence as each contender faced a barrage of questions designed to reveal the depth (or lack thereof) of their knowledge. Even the opening title music, a piece by Neil Richardson titled "Approaching Menace," was

suitably threatening. The forbidding atmosphere of the program, with its spotlighted victim seated in a darkened room and exposed to intellectual torture, owed much to its creator, BBC producer Bill Wright. Wright had been a prisoner of war during World War II, and his idea for the program came out of his experience of interrogation by the German Gestapo, who had accused him of being a spy.

The presenter throughout the entire duration of the program was the Icelandic-born Scottish journalist Magnus Magnusson, who was already well known as a broadcaster on a variety of cultural topics. His politely sympathetic manner offered contenders some crumbs of reassurance, but once the stopwatch started, there was nowhere to retreat from his relentless inquisition. On occasion, it all proved too much, and some participants caved in completely, barely registering a score in the face of such pressure—acutely embarrassing, but certainly making for memorable television. One luckless participant in 1990 ended up with a record-low score of just 12 points. Magnusson's catchphrases "I've started, so I'll finish" (a mantra recited whenever the buzzer ending the round sounded in the middle of a question) and the formulaic reply "Pass" mouthed by participants when they did not know the answer were readily absorbed into everyday language.

Though initially considered to be too high-brow for peak-time audiences, the program escaped its late-night slot through a happy accident. When a Galton and Simpson comedy series called *Casanova '73* was removed from the schedule at short notice after BBC 1 Controller Bill Cotton Jr. and Director of Programs Alasdair Milne found opening episodes of the latter too offensive to be shown, *Mastermind* was put on in its peak-time slot as a short-term emergency replacement. The response was immediate, and the program's right to a permanent place in the peak-time schedule was recognized. By 1974 *Mastermind* was topping the ratings alongside *The Generation Game*. By 1978 it was attracting audiences of 20 million.

Thus established, the program was henceforth run on an annual basis (with the single exception of 1982, when no contest was held). Despite the lack of big cash prizes and the fearsome grilling they stood to face, hundreds of people auditioned for the show each season. They came from a wide range of backgrounds,

by no means all academic. Winners over the years ranged from Sir David Hunt (1977), who was a former ambassador to Brazil, to London taxi driver Fred Housego (1980), who capitalized on his newfound fame to appear in further quizzes and other programs, and train driver Christopher Hughes (1983). All winners automatically became members of the Mastermind Club, which staged annual reunions and a quiz of quizzes chaired by Magnusson himself. One exceptional Christmas show featured Magnusson himself in the chair, going through the ordeal he had presided over for so many years. Afterward, he freely admitted how demanding it was to be a contender and how much he admired those who had been through it before him.

The series was finally deemed to have run out of steam in 1997, after 25 years, and ended after a final contest filmed at St. Magnus Cathedral in Orkney. As well as all the usual spin-offs in the form of board games, books, and so forth, the program's legacy may be detected in many subsequent shows, notably those in which contenders are asked seriously challenging questions in tense, hushed surroundings.

In November 2001, the black leather chair was dusted off once more for a revived version of the show

to be screened on Discovery Channel, with Clive Anderson inheriting the post of quizmaster.

In June 2003, *Mastermind* was brought back on the air, showing on BBC 2 and hosted by John Humphrys.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Quiz and Game Shows; University Challenge*

#### Producers

Bill Wright, Roger Mackay, Peter Massey, David Mitchell

#### Programming History

BBC 1

1972–97

Hosted by Magnus Magnusson

Discovery Channel

November 2001–

BBC 2

June 2003–

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## Maude

### U.S. Situation Comedy

*Maude*, the socially controversial, sometimes radical sitcom featuring a strong female lead character played by Bea Arthur, ran on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from 1972 to 1978. Like its predecessor *All in the Family*, *Maude* was created by Norman Lear's Tandem Productions. Maude Findlay was first introduced as Edith's liberal, outspoken cousin from suburban Tucahoe, New York, on an episode of *All in the Family* in 1972 before spinning off later that year to her own series set in upper-middle-class Tucahoe, where she lived with her fourth husband, Walter Findlay, her divorced daughter Carol, and Carol's young son Phillip. The Findlays also went through three housekeepers during the run of the series, the first of whom, Florida Evans, left in 1974 to her own spin-off, *Good Times*. These three shows, among others, comprised a cadre of 1970s Norman Lear urban sitcoms

that raised social and political issues and dealt with them in a manner as yet unexplored in television sitcoms. *Maude* enjoyed a spot in the top-ten Nielsen ratings during its first four seasons despite being subjected to day and/or time changes in the CBS schedule that continued throughout the entire run of the program.

Like many of Lear's productions, *Maude* was a character-centered sitcom. Maude Findlay was opinionated like Archie Bunker, but her politics and class position were completely different. Strong willed, intelligent, and articulate, the liberal progressive Maude spoke out on issues raised less openly on Lear's highly successful *All in the Family*. While questions of race, class, and gender politics reverberated throughout both series, certain specific issues, such as menopause, birth control, and abortion, were more openly confronted on





*Maude*, Bea Arthur, 1972–78.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Maude*. In a two-part episode that ran early in the series, the 47-year-old Maude finds out that she is pregnant and decides, with her husband Walter, that she would have an abortion, which had just been made legal in New York State. Part 2 of the double episode also deals with men and birth control, as Walter considers getting a vasectomy. Thousands of viewers wrote letters in protest of the episode because of the abortion issue. In other episodes, Maude gets a facelift; Walter's business goes bankrupt, and he deals with the resulting bout with depression; in yet another program, Walter confronts his own alcoholism. The realism of *Maude*, though conforming to the constraints of the genre, made it one of the first sitcoms to create a televisual space where highly charged, topical issues and sometimes tragic contemporary situations could be discussed.

*Maude* represented a change in television sitcoms during the early 1970s. Many 1960s sitcoms reflected the context and values of white middle America, where gender and family roles were fixed and problems encountered in the program rarely reached beyond the confines of nuclear family relationships. Despite variations on that theme in terms of alternative families (*Family Affair* and *My Three Sons*) and an added su-

pernatural element (*Bewitched* and *I Dream of Jeannie*), the context was middle to upper middle class, mostly suburban, and white. However, cultural upheaval in the 1960s, the political climate of the early 1970s, shifting viewer demographics, and the maturation of television itself were responsible for a departure from the usual fare. By the early 1970s, a growing portion of the viewing audience, baby boomers, were open to new kinds of television, having come of age during the era of the civil rights movement, Vietnam protests, and various forms of consciousness raising. However, the changing tastes of the audience and the social climate of the early 1970s cannot by themselves account for the rise of socially conscious television during this period. The sitcom had also matured, and producers such as Norman Lear, familiar generally with American humor and specifically with the rules of television sitcom, decided to make television comedy that was more socially aware. Like *All in the Family*, *Maude* set out to explode the dominant values of the white middle-class domestic sitcom, with its traditional gender roles and nonwhite stereotypes, by openly engaging in debates where various political points of view were embodied in the sitcom characters.

Such debates were the staple of *Maude* throughout its six-year run. In an early episode, Maude hires Florida Evans, a black woman, to be housekeeper. Maude goes out of her way to prove her progressive attitude to Florida by insisting the housekeeper act as if she is one of the family. Florida, along with Walter and Carol, points out to Maude the foolishness of her extreme behavior. In the end, Maude recognizes her underlying condescension toward Florida, who, as witty and outspoken as Maude, retains her dignity and decides to remain as the Findlay housekeeper on her own terms. The interaction between Maude and Florida in this episode was a comment on the issues and attitudes about race that stemmed from the civil rights efforts of the 1960s. Maude's attitudes and behavior were indicative of white liberal politics during a time when race relations in the United States were being reconfigured.

Another reconfiguration was taking place within the arena of women's rights. In one of the final episodes of the show, Maude is given the opportunity to run for the New York state senate, but Walter refuses to consider the possibility. He offers Maude an ultimatum, and after mulling over her decision, she decides to let Walter leave. This episode, like many others, reflected a feminist sensibility emerging within the country and can be viewed as a platform for discussions about the changing roles of women and the difficulties they encountered as they were faced with new challenges and more choices. Maude's character agonized over the conflict between tradition and her own career aspirations.



The show's ratings began to fall after its fourth season, and by 1978, Bea Arthur announced that she would leave the show. The end of *Maude* marked another shift in the domestic sitcom, away from open political debate and toward a renewal of the safer, more traditional family-centered sitcoms of an earlier period in television history.

KATHERINE FRY

See also *All in the Family*; *Arthur*, *Beatrice*; *Gender and Television*; *Lear*, *Norman*

#### Cast

Maude Findlay  
Walter Findlay  
Carol

Phillip (1972–77)  
Phillip (1977–78)  
Dr. Arthur Harmon  
Vivian Cavender Harmon

Florida Evans (1972–74)  
Henry Evans (1973–74)  
Chris (1973–1974)  
Mrs. Nell Naugatuck (1974–77)

Bert Beasley (1975–77)  
Victoria Butterfield (1977–78)

#### Producers

Norman Lear, Rod Parker, Bob Weiskopf, Bob Schiller

Beatrice Arthur  
Bill Macy  
Adrienne Barbeau  
Brian Morrison  
Kraig Metzinger  
Conrad Bain  
Rue McClanahan  
Esther Rolle  
John Amos  
Fred Grandy  
Hermione Baddeley  
J. Pat O'Malley  
Marlene Warfield

#### Programming History

142 episodes

CBS

September 1972–September 1974	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
September 1974–September 1975	Monday 9:00–9:30
September 1975–September 1976	Monday 9:30–10:00
September 1976–September 1977	Monday 9:00–9:30
September 1977–November 1977	Monday 9:30–10:00
December 1977–January 1978	Monday 9:00–9:30
January 1978–April 1978	Saturday 9:30–10:00

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## Maverick

U.S. Western

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A subversive western with a dark sense of humor, *Maverick* soared to sixth place in the Nielsen ratings during its second season with a 30.4 share, and it won an Emmy Award for Best Western Series in 1959. Produced by Warner Brothers (WB) and starring the then relatively unknown James Garner as footloose frontier gambler Bret Maverick, soon to be joined by Jack Kelly as Bret's brother Bart, this hour-long series followed the duplicitous adventures and, more often, mis-

adventures of the Mavericks in their pursuit of money and the easy life.

Starting out as a straight western drama (the first three episodes, "The War of the Silver Kings," "Point Blank," and "According to Hoyle," were directed by feature western auteur Budd Boetticher), the series soon developed a comedy streak after writer Marion Hargrove decided to liven up his script-writing work by inserting the simple stage direction: "Maverick



*Maverick*, James Garner, 1981–82.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

looks at him with his beady little eyes.” Other scriptwriters then followed suit. Garner, in particular, and Kelly joined in with the less-than-sincere spirit of the stories, and *Maverick* took a unique turn away from the other, more formal and traditional WB-produced westerns then on the air (*Lawman*, *Colt .45*, *Cheyenne*, and *Sugarfoot*).

The series was created by producer Roy Huggins and developed out of a story (co-written with Howard Browne) in which Huggins tried to see how many TV western rules he could get away with breaking; the script, ironically, was filmed as an episode of the “adult” *Cheyenne* series (“The Dark Rider”) and featured guest star Diane Brewster as a swindler and practiced cheat, a role she was later to take up as a recurring character, gambler Samantha Crawford, during the 1958–59 season of *Maverick*. “*Maverick* is *Cheyenne*, a conventional western, turned inside out,” said Huggins. “But with *Maverick* there was nothing coincidental about the inversion.” The *Maverick* brothers were not heroes in the traditional western sense. They were devious, cowardly cardsharps who exploited easy situations and quickly vanished when faced with potentially violent ones. A popular part of

their repertoire for evading difficult moments was the collection of “Pappyisms” that corrupted their speech. When all else failed, for example, they were likely to quote their mentor’s excuse: “My old Pappy used to say, ‘If you can’t fight ‘em, and they won’t let you join ‘em, best get out of the county.’”

Following the success of *Cheyenne* on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) from its premiere in 1955, the network asked WB’s TV division to give them another hour-long western program for their Sunday evening slot. *Maverick* premiered on September 22, 1957, and pretty soon won over the viewers from the powerful opposition of the Columbia Broadcasting System’s (CBS’s) *The Ed Sullivan Show* and the National Broadcasting Company’s (NBC’s) *The Steve Allen Show*, two programs that had been Sunday night favorites from the mid-1950s. With Garner alone starring in early episodes, WB found that it was taking eight days to film a weekly show. They decided to introduce another character, Bret’s brother, in order to keep the production on schedule. This strategy resulted in a weekly costarring series when Jack Kelly’s Bart was introduced in the “Hostage” episode (November 10, 1957). With separate production units now working simultaneously, WB managed to supply a steady stream of episodes featuring either Bret or Bart on alternate weeks. Occasionally, both *Maverick* brothers were seen in the same episode, usually when they teamed up to help each other out of some difficult situation or to outwit even more treacherous characters than themselves.

The series also reveled in colorful characters as well as presenting wild parodies of other TV programs of the period. During the early seasons, recurring guest characters popped in and out of the plots to foil or assist the brothers: Dandy Jim Buckley (played by Efram Zimbalist, Jr.), Gentleman Jack Darby (Richard Long), Big Mike McComb (Leo Gordon), and Bret’s regular antagonist, the artful conwoman Samantha Crawford (Brewster). Among the more amusing episodes were “Gun-Shy” (second season), a send-up of *Gunsmoke* featuring a hick character called Mort Dooley; “A Cure for Johnny Rain” (third season), spoofing Jack Webb’s *Dragnet* with Garner doing a deadpan Joe Friday voice-over; “Hadley’s Hunters” (fourth season), which had Bart enlist the help of Ty Hardin (*Bronco*), Will Hutchins (*Sugarfoot*), Clint Walker (*Cheyenne*), and John Russell and Peter Brown (*Lawman*)—all playing their respective characters from the WB stable of western TV series (and with Edd “Kookie” Byrnes from WB’s *77 Sunset Strip* as a blacksmith); and “Three Queens Full” (fifth season), a wicked parody of *Bonanza* in which the Subrosa Ranch was run by Joe Wheelwright and his three sons, Moose, Henry, and

Small Paul. In addition, two other episodes ("The Wrecker" and "A State of Siege") were loose adaptations of Robert Louis Stevenson stories, albeit translated into the *Maverick* vein.

In 1960 actor James Garner and his WB studio bosses clashed when Garner took out a lawsuit against the studio for breach of contract arising out of his suspension during the January–June writers' strike of that year. To justify its suspension of Garner, WB tried to invoke the force majeure clause in Garner's contract; this clause dictated that if forces beyond the control of the studio (i.e., the writers' strike) prevented it from making films, the studio did not have to continue paying actors' salaries. It had been no secret at the time that Garner had wanted to be released from his contract ("Contracts are completely one-sided affairs. If you click, [the studio] owns you," he stated). Finally, in December 1960, the judge decided in favor of Garner. During the course of the testimony, it was revealed that during the strike WB had obtained—under the table—something in the number of 100 TV scripts and that at one time the studio had as many as 14 writers working under the pseudonym of "W. Hermanos" (Spanish for "brothers").

Garner then went on to a successful feature film career but returned to series television in the 1970s with *Nichols* (1971–72) and the popular *The Rockford Files* (1974–80). He appeared as a guest star along with Jack Kelly in the 1978 TV movie/pilot *The New Maverick*, which produced the short-lived *Young Maverick* (1979–80) series, minus Garner; he also starred in the title role of *Bret Maverick* (1981–82), which he coproduced with WB. A theatrical film version, *Maverick*, was produced in 1994 with Mel Gibson starring as Bret Maverick and Garner appearing as Bret's father; Richard Donner directed the WB release.

As a replacement for Garner in the fourth season of the original series, WB brought on board Roger Moore, as cousin Beauregard, a Texas expatriate who had lived in England (a WB contract player, Moore had been transferred from another WB western series, *The Alaskans*, which had run only one season from 1959). When Moore departed after just one season, another *Maverick* brother, Robert Colbert's Brent Maverick, a slight Garner/Bret look-alike, was introduced in the spring of 1961 to alternate adventures with Bart. Colbert stayed only until the end of that season, leaving the final (and longest-remaining) *Maverick*, Jack Kelly, to ride out the last *Maverick* season (1961–62) alone, except for some rerun episodes from early seasons.

The series came to an end after 124 episodes, and with it a small-screen western legend came to a close. Perhaps the ultimate credit for *Maverick* should go to

creator-producer Roy Huggins for the originality to steer the series clear of the trite and the ordinary and for not only trying something different but also executing it with a comic flair.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also **Garner, James; Huggins, Roy; Westerns**

#### Cast

Bret Maverick (1957–60)	James Garner
Bart Maverick	Jack Kelly
Samantha Crawford (1957–59)	Diane Brewster
Cousin Beauregard Maverick (1960–61)	Roger Moore
Brent Maverick (1961)	Robert Colbert

#### Producers

Roy Huggins, Coles Trapnell, William L. Stuart

#### Programming History

124 episodes

ABC

September 1957–April 1961 Sunday 7:30–8:30

September 1961–July 1962 Sunday 6:30–7:30

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# Max Headroom

U.S. Science Fiction Program

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*Max Headroom* was one of the most innovative science fiction series ever produced for American television, an ambitious attempt to build on the cyberpunk movement in science fiction literature. The character of Max Headroom, the series' unlikely cybernetic protagonist, was originally introduced in a 1984 British television movie, produced by Peter Wagg and starring Canadian actor Matt Frewer. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) brought the series to U.S. television in March 1987, refilming the original movie as a pilot but recasting most of the secondary roles. The ABC series attracted critical acclaim and a cult following but lasted for only 14 episodes. The anarchic and irreverent Max went on to become an advertising spokesman for Coca-Cola and to host his own talk show on the Cinemax cable network.

The original British telefilm appeared just one year after the publication of William Gibson's *Neuromancer*, the novel that brought public attention to the cyberpunk movement and introduced the term "cyberspace" into the English language. Influenced by films such as *The Road Warrior* and *Bladerunner*, the cyberpunks adopted a taut, intense, and pulpy writing style based on brisk yet detailed representations of a near future populated by multinational corporations, colorful youth gangs, and computer-hacker protagonists. Their most important theme was the total fusion of human and machine intelligences. Writers such as Gibson, Bruce Sterling, Rudy Rucker, and Pat Cadigan developed a shared set of themes and images that were freely adopted by *Max Headroom*.

Set "20 minutes in the future," *Max Headroom* depicts a society of harsh class inequalities, where predators roam the street looking for unsuspecting citizens who can be sold for parts to black-market "body banks." Max inhabits a world ruled by Zic-Zac and other powerful corporations locked in a ruthless competition for consumer dollars and television rating points. In the opening episode, Network 22 dominates the airwaves through its use of blipverts, which compress 30 seconds of commercial information into three seconds. Blipverts can cause neural overstimulation and (more rarely) spontaneous combustion in more sedate viewers. Other episodes center around the high crime of zipping (interrupting a network signal) and

neurostim (a cheap burger pack giveaway that hypnotizes people into irrational acts of consumption). We encounter blanks, a subversive underground of havenots who have somehow dodged incorporation into the massive data banks kept on individual citizens.

At the core of this dizzying and colorful world is Edison Carter, an idealistic Network 24 reporter who takes his portable minicam into the streets and the boardrooms to expose corruption and consumer exploitation, which, in most episodes, lead him back to the front offices of his own network. Edison's path is guided by Theora Jones, his computer operator, whose hacker skills allow him to stay one step ahead of the security systems—at least most of the time—and Bryce Lynch, the amoral boy wonder and computer wizard. Edison is aided in his adventures by Blank Reg, the punked-out head of a pirate television operation, BigTime Television. Edison's alter ego, Max Headroom, is a cybernetic imprint of the reporter's memories and personality who comes to "life" within computers, television programs, and other electronic environments. There he becomes noted for his sputtering speech style, his disrespect for authority, and his penchant for profound non sequiturs.

Critics admired the series' self-reflexivity, its willingness to pose questions about television networks and their often unethical and cynical exploitation of the ratings game, and its parody of game shows, polit-



*Max Headroom*, Matt Frewer, 1987.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ical advertising, televangelism, news coverage, and commercials. Influenced by Music Television (MTV), the series' quick-paced editing and intense visual style were also viewed as innovative, creating a televisual equivalent of the vivid and intense cyberpunk writing style. This series' self-conscious parody of television conventions and its conception of a "society of spectacle" was considered emblematic of the "postmodern condition," making it a favorite of academic writers as well. Their interest was only intensified by Max's move from science fiction to advertising and to talk television, where this nonhuman celebrity (commodity) traded barbed comments with other talk show-made celebrities, such as Doctor Ruth, Robin Leach, Don King, and Paul Shaffer. Subsequent series, such as Oliver Stone's *Wild Palms* or *VR*, have sought to bring aspects of cyberpunk to television, but none have done it with *Max Headroom*'s verve, imagination, and faithfulness to core cyberpunk themes.

HENRY JENKINS

**Cast**

Edison Carter/ Max Headroom	Matt Frewer
Theora Jones	Amanda Pays
Ben Cheviot	George Coe
Bryce Lynch	Chris Young
Murray	Jeffrey Tambor
Blank Reg	William Morgan Sheppard
Dominique	Concetta Tomei
Ashwell	Hank Garrett

Edwards  
Lauren  
Ms. Formby

Lee Wilkof  
Sharon Barr  
Virginia Kiser

**Producers**

Phillip DeGuere, Peter Wagg, Brian Frankish

**Programming History**

ABC  
March 1987–May 1987 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
August 1987–  
October 1987 Friday 9:00–10:00

**Further Reading**

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- Lentz, Harris M., *Science Fiction, Horror, and Fantasy Film and Television Credits, Supplement 2, Through 1993*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1994
- Long, Marion, "Paradise Tossed," *Omni* (April 1988)
- Roberts, Steve, *Max Headroom: The Picture Book of the Film*, New York: Random House, 1986
- Staiger, Janet, "Future Noir: Contemporary Representations of Visionary Cities," *East-West Film Journal* (December 1988)

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## McDonald, Trevor (1939– )

British Broadcast Journalist

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Trevor McDonald is the comforting face of nighttime news. As Big Ben chimes ten o'clock, McDonald looks up from his news desk and, with considerable gravitas, reads out the news headlines for Independent Television News (ITN). Although this act is undertaken in newsrooms across Britain, he occupies a very particular position in the media firmament. McDonald not only is one of the most respected elder statesmen of news broadcasting, regardless of race, but also has been an abidingly positive role model for countless young black Britons growing up in a society where

skin color still matters. He was born in Trinidad and came to Britain in 1969 to work for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service, joining ITN a few years later as its first black reporter. McDonald has quietly got on with doing his job, courting neither controversy nor fame but a settled life doing what he does best. Because of his extreme visibility as, still, one of a few black media professionals who are regularly on television, he has been criticized for not using his privileged position more overtly to combat racism and discrimination. However, as he argued in the *Ra-*

*dio Times*, although he is aware of "racial undercurrents in this country...I have been very lucky and found none at all."

His most important contribution to television is probably his exemplary professionalism as a black newscaster and journalist who manifests a positive role to younger generations, in counterpoint to many of the more stereotyped media portraits of black communities in Western societies. He also offers a professional image to those who know nothing of black people other than their vicarious experiences of television. As evidence to his illustrious career, he was awarded TRIC's "Newscaster of the Year" and, in 1993, Order of the British Empire. He was knighted in 1999. Although he will probably retire in 2005, Sir Trevor's enduring appeal among ITV's news watchers has enabled him to sign a new contract that once again makes him the face of ITN's revived *News at Ten* bulletin.

KAREN ROSS

**Trevor McDonald.** Born in San Fernando, Trinidad, August 16, 1939. Attended schools in Trinidad. Married: 1) Josephine (divorced); 2) Sabrina; children: Timothy, Jamie, and Joanne. Reporter, local radio,

Trinidad, 1959; announcer, sports commentator, and assistant program manager; joined Trinidad Television, 1962; producer for the Caribbean Service and World Service in London, BBC, 1969; reporter, ITN, 1973-78; sports correspondent, ITN, 1978-80; diplomatic correspondent, ITN, 1980-82; diplomatic correspondent and newscaster, *Channel 4 News*, 1982-87; diplomatic editor, *Channel 4 News*, 1987-89; newscaster, ITN's *News at 5.40*, 1989-90; newscaster, ITN's *News at Ten* since 1990. Order of the British Empire, 1992; knighted 1999. Recipient: TRIC Newscaster of the Year, 1993.

**Television (selected)**

1982-89      *Channel 4 News*  
1989-90      *News at 5.40*  
1990-         *News at Ten*

**Publications**

*Viv Richards—A Biography*, 1984  
*Clive Lloyd—A Biography*, 1985  
*Queen and Commonwealth*, 1986  
*Fortunate Circumstances* (autobiography), 1993

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## McGovern, Jimmy (1949- )

British Writer

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As the creator of *Cracker*, the writer Jimmy McGovern made one of the most influential contributions to British television drama in the 1990s, fundamentally shifting the locus of the crime series from action and consequence toward psychology and motivation. Elsewhere, his work has encompassed a broad generic range while retaining a powerful and distinctive voice, exploring themes of guilt, loss, and working-class identity. Underlying these concerns is a disconcerting sense of moral ambiguity and a readiness to challenge an audience's liberal assumptions on such taboos as racism, sexism, and homophobia. McGovern uses television, he admits, as "a kind of confessional" (Butler, p. 22).

Born into a working-class Catholic family in Liverpool, the fifth of eight children, and educated at a Jesuit-run grammar school, McGovern moved through a succession of jobs before deciding in his early 20s to

train as schoolteacher. His brief teaching career (at Quarry Bank Comprehensive, the school earlier attended by John Lennon) would later provide the basis for the serial *Hearts and Minds*, about an idealistic probationary teacher struggling to inspire his pupils while battling professional demoralization and cynicism. It was while teaching that he began to submit plays to local theaters and radio and, through this, met the producer Phil Redmond, who was setting up *Brookside*, the house soap opera for the new Channel 4. Over the next seven years, he wrote approximately 80 scripts for the series and, on leaving, had a small stock of stories that he had been unable to introduce but that he now began to develop. The idea for a story about a Catholic priest surfaced in his early single drama, *Traitors*, an account of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 focusing on the dilemma of a priest who opposes the plan but, because he has heard of it through a con-

cession, is powerless to act on his concerns. McGovern returned to this event in 2004 with *Gunpowder, Treason and Plot*, a sweeping historical account, backed by a large budget and a cast led by Robert Carlyle (whose early career is closely linked to McGovern's work) as King James I. The moral dilemma of *Traitors* was also at the center of *Priest*, originally written as a serial but produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as a single film and given a limited theatrical release in which an inner-city priest struggled with his own homosexuality and with the knowledge, again gleaned through confession, that one of his parishioners is being abused by her father.

A further story idea from *Brookside* was to produce one of the most compelling threads in McGovern's later work. In 1989, 94 soccer fans, supporters of the Liverpool Football Club, were crushed to death and a further 170 seriously injured on an overcrowded terrace at the Sheffield Wednesday ground at Hillsborough. For McGovern, the significance underlying this tragedy lay not only in the culpability of the police and the conduct of the subsequent enquiry but also in the contempt displayed toward the Liverpool crowd by the tabloid press and in particular the *Sun* newspaper. McGovern's storyline involving a commemorative burning of the *Sun* was ruled out of *Brookside*, but his anger over the event and his reflection on the class prejudices that it revealed would form the basis of one of the most powerful episodes of *Cracker*, in which a working-class young man began a campaign of murders to avenge the Hillsborough victims, transforming himself into the image of a shaven-headed delinquent as a response to the institutional stereotyping of his class. Having met some of the bereaved families during the making of this episode, McGovern went on to confront the impact of the event and its aftermath in the drama documentary *Hillsborough*. As well as exploring the political question of institutional responsibility (and contributing to the campaign for a public inquiry into the event), the play found its dramatic core in the lives of three families and in the emotional fallout of grief, pain, and self-reproach that follows sudden and violent bereavement.

Although McGovern claimed to have felt restricted by the overriding concern for factual accuracy in writing drama documentary, he twice returned to the form. *Dockers* was an account of a lengthy but largely unpublicized strike in 1995 by Liverpool dockworkers against deteriorating working conditions that had resulted in hundreds of men being fired and replaced. In concentrating on the effect of the political upheaval on family relationships and friendships, it drew much of its insight from McGovern's co-authorship with a writing workshop made up of men and women involved in

the original dispute. Sunday commemorated the 30th anniversary of the "Bloody Sunday" shooting of demonstrators in Northern Ireland in 1972. McGovern's deeply emotional account, told through the lives of a small group of young men and women and again highlighting themes of family, friendship, and loss, contrasted tellingly with the spare, documentary style of Paul Greengrass's *Bloody Sunday*, which was released in the same week.

The chain of grief and recrimination that follows a sudden death runs through *The Lakes*. As McGovern himself had once done, a young Liverpudlian, Danny, arrives to work in a seemingly peaceful rural community and, when the community is torn apart by the drowning of three young girls, becomes the scapegoat for the guilt and feuding that lurks beneath the surface. At one level, the serial opens up to examination a particular aspect of class conflict in British society; at another, it is concerned with one of McGovern's most personal themes, the guilt and emotional wreckage produced by addiction. He had written about drug addiction in the early play *Needle*, but in *The Lakes*, as in *Cracker*, the compulsion is gambling, a habit from which McGovern suffered in his early adulthood and which here feeds Danny's sense of implication in the guilt felt at the loss of the girls and threatens his redemptive relationship with a young woman from the community.

McGovern writes from the depths of his own emotional experience. In the character of Fitz from *Cracker*, the brilliant but deeply flawed forensic psychologist, he has created one of the most resonant figures of British television drama. Fitz's intellectual acuity and mordant wit, his obsessiveness, and his instinctive ability to winkle a confession out of his suspect are rooted not only in the ability to identify with the criminal mind but also in a knowledge of his own guilt as gambler, drinker, chauvinist, and liar. Yet there is a political dimension to this lapsed figure, embodied in the idea of what McGovern has described as "post-Hillsborough man" (Day-Lewis, p. 67), a haunting sense of intellectual cynicism born out of the erosion of moral certainty in Britain during the ideologically evacuated period of the 1980s.

JEREMY RIDGEMAN

See also *Cracker*; *Hillsborough*; *Redmond*, Phil

**Jimmy McGovern.** Born in Liverpool, England, 1949. Educated St. Francis Xavier Grammar School, Liverpool. Worked as laborer, bus conductor, and insurance clerk, then trained as schoolteacher; taught three years, Liverpool. Early plays written for local theater and BBC Radio, then six years as scriptwriter

McGovern, Jimmy

on soap opera *Brookside*. After three single dramas, had major success with crime series *Cracker*. Several other series and single dramas or films for television (some with theatrical release). British Academy of Film and Television Arts TV Award, Best Single Drama (1997), for *Hillsborough*; Edgar Allan Poe Award, Best TV Series (1995, 1997), for *Cracker*; Royal Television Society Television Award, Best Drama Serial (1994), for *Cracker*; and Writers' Award (1995) for *Hearts and Minds* and *Go Now*; Writers' Guild of Great Britain Award, Best TV Drama Series (1996), for *Cracker*, and Best TV Play or Film (1997), for *Hillsborough*.

#### Television Series

1983–89 *Brookside*  
1990 *El C.I.D.*, "A Proper Copper,"  
"Christmas Spirit," "Piece of Cake"  
1993–95 *Cracker*  
1995 *Hearts and Minds*  
1997 *The Lakes*  
1999 *The Lakes* (series 2)  
2004 *Gunpowder, Treason and Plot*

#### Television Plays

1990 *Traitors*  
1990 *Needle*

1991 *Gas and Candles*  
1995 *Priest*  
1995 *Go Now*  
1996 *Hillsborough*  
1999 *Dockers*  
2002 *Liam*  
2002 *Sunday*

#### Stage Plays

*The Hunger, Taig, True Romance, City Echoes, Block Follies*

#### Further Reading

Ansorge, Peter, *From Liverpool to Los Angeles: On Writing for Theatre, Film and Television*, London: Faber and Faber, 1997  
Brundson, Charlotte, "Structures of Anxiety: Recent British Television Crime Fiction," in *British Television: A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000  
Butler, Robert, "The Man Who Raped Sheila Grant," *Independent on Sunday* (February 5, 1995)  
Day-Lewis, Sean, *Talk of Drama: Views of the Television Dramatist Then and Now*, Luton: University of Luton Press/John Libbey Media, 1998  
Jeffries, Stuart, "The Sinner Repents," *Guardian* (August 22, 1997)  
Wood, David, "Jimmy Jewel," *Broadcast* (August 15, 1997)

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## McGrath, John (1935– )

British Writer, Director

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John McGrath's career was marked by an absolute commitment to working-class politics in theater, film, and television. McGrath's theatrical career spans London's Royal Court and the Liverpool Everyman to his own 7:84 Theatre Company ("7% of the population own 84% of the wealth"), while his film credits extend from Russell's *Billion Dollar Brain* to rewrites on FOX's *Adventures of Robin Hood*. His TV career opened with Kenneth Tynan's formative arts program *Tempo*, while his 1963 Granada documentary *The Entertainers* won critical plaudits. With Troy Kennedy Martin and John Hopkins, McGrath shaped the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC's) *Z Cars* into the breakthrough cop drama of the 1960s, fired by moral

uncertainty and Royal Court grittiness. McGrath hall-marked the series with a profound compassion for his protagonists, instituting a concern for real lives among the social problems that were already, however comfortably, addressed by earlier genre offerings. The use of 16-millimeter film allowed for actual locations, and the shift from received pronunciation to the vernacular of his native Merseyside opened the way, notably in Stratford Johns's performance as Inspector Barlow, for subsequent generations of tough cop stories. McGrath took the combination of entertainment formula and social concern that distinguished much of the best of the BBC's output in the 1960s to his work as producer and director for BBC 2 experimental dramas by, among



others, *Johnny Speight*, *Edna O'Brien*, and his own adaptation, with Ken Russell, of *The Diary of a Nobody* in the style of a silent comedy. Continuing to work in theater, he eventually amassed over 40 scripts, one of which became a successful movie, *The Bofors Gun*, directed by Jack Gold, a chilling account of class war and military service.

Appalled by bureaucracy and mismanagement in the arts, he resigned from the 7:84 Theatre Company, which he had founded, in 1981. In 1984, he started Freeway Films, dedicated to producing programs and features for his adopted homeland in Scotland. Characteristically committed to social causes, to political entertainment, and to the immediacy of performance (whose demise, with the rise of videotape, he has not ceased to mourn), Freeway began to produce, largely for Channel 4, a series of programs, including *Poets and People*, in which leading poets read their work to audiences with whom they felt particular affinities in housing estates and clubs. *Sweetwater Memories*, based on McGrath's military service in Suez, opened a more personal vein in his writing, expanded on in the 1986 three-part series *Blood Red Roses*, coproduced with Lorimar and subsequently cut for theatrical release. *Roses* follows the life of Bessie MacGuigan from life in the rural hinterlands with her disabled father, through unsuccessful marriage to a Communist Party activist, to trades unionism among the women workers of East Kilbride.

The remarkable trilogy on Scottish history and English colonialism—*There Is a Happy Land*, *Border Warfare*, and *John Brown's Body*—is a record of the epic productions performed at Glasgow's Tramway Theatre. In 1992 McGrath provided an election broadcast for the Labour Party, some of whose themes are picked up in 1993's *The Long Roads*, a picaresque romance that anchors a dissection of contemporary mores in the reviving romance of an elderly couple visiting their children, scattered through Thatcher's Britain.

Despite major illness, McGrath completed the feature *Mairi Mhor* in 1994 and remained fiercely active in theater and film as well as television. Unlike some of his more famous theatrical contemporaries, he retained a commitment to regionalism (and to nationalism in the case of Scotland), turning to television as the most effective way of bringing the power of drama to the widest audience. McGrath died in January 2002.

SEAN CUBITT

See also *Z Cars*

**John Peter McGrath.** Born in Birkenhead, Cheshire, England, June 1, 1935. Attended Alun Grammar

School, Mold, Wales; St. John's College, Oxford (Open Exhibitioner), 1955–59, Dip. Ed. Served in British Army (national service), 1953–55. Married: Elizabeth MacLennan in 1962; two sons and one daughter. Worked on farm in Neston, Cheshire, 1951; play reader, Royal Court Theatre, London, and writer for the theater, 1958–61; writer and director for BBC Television, 1960–65; founder and artistic director, 7:84 Theatre Company, 1971–88; continued to write for stage, television, and films; director, Freeway Films, since 1983; Channel 4 Television, London, since 1989. Judith E. Wilson Fellow, Cambridge University, 1979.

#### Television Series

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1961 | <i>Bookstand</i> (also director)                          |
| 1962 | <i>Z Cars</i> (also director)                             |
| 1963 | <i>Tempo</i>  |
| 1964 | <i>Diary of a Young Man</i><br>(with Troy Kennedy Martin) |

#### Television Specials (selection)

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1961 | <i>The Compartment</i> (director)              |
| 1963 | <i>The Fly Sham</i> (director)                 |
| 1963 | <i>The Wedding Dress</i> (director)            |
| 1964 | <i>The Entertainers</i> (also director)        |
| 1965 | <i>The Day of Ragnarok</i> (also director)     |
| 1966 | <i>Diary of a Nobody</i> (with Ken Russell)    |
| 1972 | <i>Bouncing Boy</i>                            |
| 1977 | <i>Once upon a Union</i>                       |
| 1978 | <i>Z Cars: The Final Episode</i> (director)    |
| 1979 | <i>The Adventures of Frank</i> (also director) |
| 1984 | <i>Sweetwater Memories</i>                     |
| 1986 | <i>Blood Red Roses</i> (also director)         |
| 1987 | <i>There Is a Happy Land</i>                   |

#### Films

*Billion Dollar Brain*, 1967; *The Bofors Gun*, 1968; *The Virgin Soldiers* (with John Hopkins and Ian La Frenais), 1969; *The Reckoning*, 1970; *Blood Red Roses*, 1986 (director); *The Dressmaker*, 1989; *Carlington*, 1995 (producer).

#### Stage

*A Man Has Two Fathers*, 1958; *The Invasion* (with Barbara Cannings), 1958; *The Tent*, 1958; *Why the Chicken*, 1959; *Tell Me Tell Me*, 1960; *Take It*, 1960; *The Seagull*, 1961; *Basement in Bangkok*, 1963; *Events While Guarding the Bofors Gun*, 1966; *Bakke's Night of Fame*, 1968; *Comrade Jacob*, 1969; *Random Happenings in the Hebrides*,

1970; *Sharpeville Crackers*, 1970; *Unruly Elements*, 1971; *Trees in the Wind*, 1971; *Soft or a Girl*, 1971; *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, 1972; *Prisoners of the War*, 1972; *Underneath*, 1972 (also director); *Sergeant Musgrave Dances On*, 1972; *Fish in the Sea*, 1972; *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil*, 1973 (also director); *The Game's a Bogey*, 1974 (also director); *Boom*, 1974 (also director); *Lay Off*, 1975 (also director); *Little Red Hen*, 1975 (also director); *Oranges and Lemons*, 1975 (also director); *Yobbo Nowt*, 1975 (also director); *The Rat Trap*, 1976 (also director); *Out of Our Heads*, 1976 (also director); *Trembling Giant*, 1977; *The Life and Times of Joe of England*, 1977 (also director); *Big Square Fields*, 1979; *Joe's Drum*, 1979 (also director); *Bitter Apples*, 1979; *If You Want to Know the Time*, 1979; *Swings and Roundabouts*, 1980 (also director); *Blood Red Roses*, 1980 (also director); *Nightclass*, 1981 (also director); *The Catch*, 1981; *Rejoice!*, 1982; *On the Pig's Back* (with David MacLennan), 1983; *The Women of the Dunes*, 1983; *Women in Power*, 1983; *Six Men of Dorset*, 1984; *The Baby and the Bathwater: The Imperial Policeman*, 1984; *The Albanach*, 1985; *Behold the Sun*, 1985; *All the Fun of the Fair* (with others), 1986; *Border Warfare*, 1989; *John Brown's Body*, 1990; *Watching for Dolphins*, 1991; *The Wicked Old Man*, 1992; *The Silver Darlings*, 1994.

### Publications

*Events While Guarding the Bofors Gun*, 1966  
*Random Happenings in the Hebrides*, 1972  
*Bakke's Night of Fame*, 1973  
*The Game's a Bogey*, 1975  
*Little Red Hen*, 1977  
*Fish in the Sea*, 1977  
*Yobbo Nowt*, 1978  
*Joe's Drum*, 1979  
*Two Plays for the Eighties*, 1981  
*The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil*, 1981  
*A Good Night Out: Popular Theatre: Audience, Class and Form*, 1981  
*The Bone Won't Break: On Theatre and Hope in Hard Times*, 1990

### Further Reading

Ansorge, Peter, *Disrupting the Spectacle*, London: Pitman, 1975  
Bigsby, C.W.E., "The Politics of Anxiety," *Modern Drama* (December 1981)  
Craig, Sandy, editor, *Dreams and Deconstructions*, Ambergate, Derbyshire, England: Amber Lane Press, 1980  
Itzin, Catherine, *Stages in the Revolution*, London: Eyre Methuen, 1980

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## McKay, Jim (1921–)

U.S. Sportscaster

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There are few commentators with accolades to match those of Jim McKay or whose career is marked by an equally impressive list of broadcasting "firsts." In 1947 McKay was the first on-air television broadcaster seen and heard on the airwaves of Baltimore, Maryland. Twenty-one years later, in 1968, McKay earned distinction as the first sports commentator honored with an Emmy Award. McKay built on his reputation of excellence and went on to receive a total of 13 Emmy Awards and further distinguished himself as the first and only broadcaster to win Emmy Awards for both sports and news broadcasting, as well as for writing.

McKay's first reporting job was with the *Baltimore Evening Sun*. In 1947 the *Sun's* leadership invested in Baltimore's first TV station, WMAR-TV, and McKay was chosen as that station's first on-camera personality. McKay did everything but run WMAR-TV—functioning as the station's producer, director, writer, and news and sports reporter. His reputation as a hard-working and skillful journalist earned him an opportunity to host a New York City-based Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) variety show, and McKay became a strong presence in the largest media market in the world. Although CBS gave McKay his broadcasting break, it was ABC Sports, under the leadership



Jim McKay.  
Courtesy of Jim McKay

of Roone Arledge, that provided McKay the opportunity to flourish. During the 1950s, McKay covered events ranging from international golf and horse-racing events to college football. McKay and American Broadcasting Company (ABC) colleague Howard Cosell, gave ABC the most comprehensive sports programming available on television.

In fact, McKay's assignment as an Olympic commentator would make McKay one of the most recognizable sports personalities throughout the world. His most memorable Olympic Games were those at Munich, where his experience as a seasoned reporter was put to the test. While preparing to take a swim on his first day off at the games, McKay received word that gunshots were fired in the Olympic Village. He ran to the ABC studio, threw clothes on over his swimsuit, and for the next 16 hours delivered to the world award-winning coverage of the Black September terrorists' attack on Israeli athletes in Munich's Olympic Village.

McKay received two Emmy Awards for his work during the 1972 games, one for his coverage of the games and the other for his reporting on the terrorism. He was also the 1972 recipient of the George Polk Memorial Award, given annually to the one journalist whose work represents the most significant and finest reporting of the year. The Munich coverage was also recognized with his receipt of the Officer's Cross Or-

der of Merit, bestowed by the former West German Federal Republic.

Although ABC lost the Olympics contract following the 1988 games, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) invited McKay to cross network lines and join its 2002 Olympic coverage as a special correspondent. This historic crossover marked McKay's 12th time to report on the Olympic Games. It is no wonder why McKay is known as "Mr. Olympics" throughout the television industry.

McKay is perhaps best known for his role as host for ABC's *Wide World of Sports*, which began with McKay as its host in 1961. Now, some 35 years later, ABC's *Wide World* is the most successful and longest-running sports program in the history of television. Through his work with ABC's *Wide World*, McKay became the first American television sports reporter to enter the People's Republic of China during China's policy of isolationism.

McKay's pioneering work in the field has not gone unrecognized. His multiple Emmy Awards are a tribute not only to his excellence but also to his versatility. In fact, among his most impressive Emmy is one from 1988, given for his opening commentary scripts of ABC Sports' coverage of the 1987 Indianapolis 500, the British Open, and the Kentucky Derby; a 1990 Award, another first, for Lifetime Achievement in Sports; and a 1992 Emmy for his sports special *Athletes and Addiction: It's Not a Game*.

In addition to his role on *Wide World*, McKay anchors most major horse-racing events, such as the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness Stakes, and the Belmont Stakes. In 1987, McKay was chosen as a member of the Jockey Club, horse racing's governing body. McKay and his wife, Margaret, are steadfast supporters of Maryland's horse-racing industry and culture. He is founder of the Maryland Million, a million-dollar horse-racing spectacular for Maryland thoroughbreds. They are also part owners of the Baltimore Orioles baseball team.

JOHN TEDESCO

**See also Arledge, Roone; Sports on Television; Sportscaster**

**Jim McKay.** Born James Kenneth McManus in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., September 24, 1921. Educated at Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, B.A. 1943. Married: Margaret Dempsey, 1948; children: Mary Edwina and Sean Joseph. Served in U.S. Navy, 1943-46. Reporter, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 1946-47; writer-producer-director, Baltimore Sunpapers' WMAR-TV, 1947-50; variety show host, sports commentator, CBS-TV, 1950-61; host, ABC

McKay, Jim

*Wide World of Sports*, 1961; television commentator, all Olympiads, 1960–88; founder and chair, Maryland Million horse-racing program, from 1986. H.H.D., Loyala College, 1981. Recipient: 13 Emmy Awards; George Polk Memorial Award, 1973; Federal Republic of Germany Officer's Cross Order of Merit, 1974; Olympic Medal, Austria, 1977; Thoroughbred Breeders of Kentucky Engelhard Award, 1978, 1990; Maryland Racing Writers Humphrey S. Finney Award, 1985; named to Sportscasters Hall of Fame, 1987; National Turf Writers Award, 1987; Peabody Award, 1989; U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame, 1989; Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1995; Medal of Olympic Order, the highest award of the International Olympic Committee, 1998.

#### Television Series

1950        *The Real McKay*  
1955        *Make the Connection* (moderator)  
1957–60    *The Verdict Is Yours* (actor)

1958–59    *This Is New York*  
1961–        *ABC's Wide World of Sports*

#### Television Special

1992        *Athletes and Addiction: It's Not a Game*

#### Publications

*My Wide World*, 1973  
*The Real McKay*, 1998

#### Further Reading

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Gunther, Marc, *The House That Roone Built: The Inside Story of ABC News*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1994  
Spence, Jim, *Up Close and Personal: The Inside Story of Network Television Sports*, New York: Atheneum, 1988  
Sugar, Bert Randolph, "*The Thrill of Victory*": *The Inside Story of ABC Sports*, New York: Hawthorn, 1978

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## McKern, Leo (1920–2002)

Australian Actor

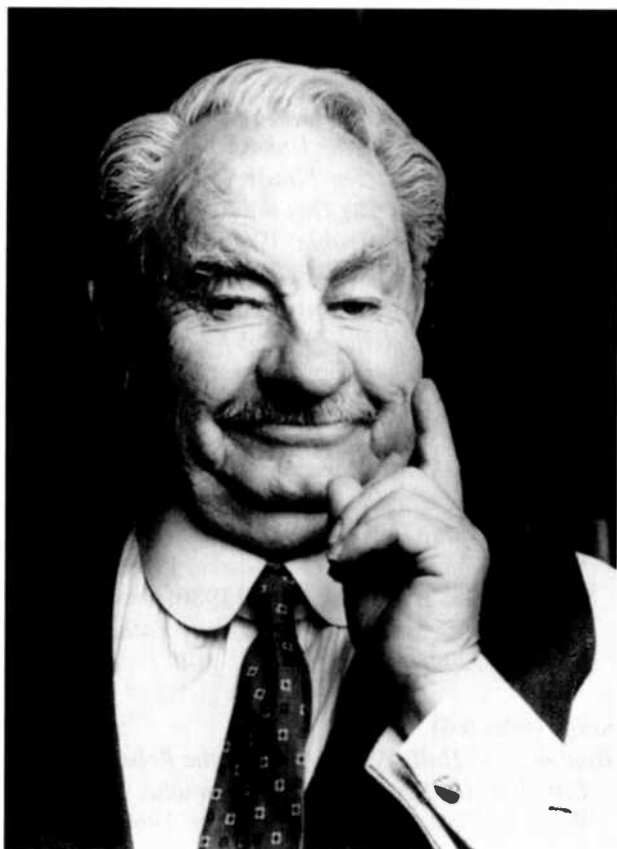
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Trained and critically acclaimed in theater, a successful character actor in movies, Australian performer Leo McKern made his most indelible mark in television. In the mind of many audiences, he became irrevocably intertwined with the title character of *Rumpole of the Bailey*, the irascible British barrister created by author John Mortimer. Starring as the wily, overweight, jaded but dedicated defense attorney for seven seasons, McKern brought an intelligent, acerbic style to the character that was applauded by critics, audiences, and creator Mortimer. The actor's performance thus ascribed qualities to the character just as the character was inscribed on McKern's acting persona. More than once McKern vowed he would not return to the series because of the inevitable typecasting. Yet he was always persuaded otherwise by Mortimer, who himself vowed that no one but McKern would play the role of Horace Rumpole.

The program, which began in 1978 in the United Kingdom and was soon exported to the United States via the Public Broadcasting Service's (PBS's) *Mystery!* series, featured McKern as an attorney who profoundly believed in a presumption of innocence, the

validity of the jury system, and the importance of a thorough defense. It was a position unabashedly in support of civil liberties. In the course of each show, Rumpole typically dissected the stodgy and inefficient machinations of fellow barristers, judges, and the legal system in Britain. His resourcefulness and unorthodoxy matched that of the title character in U.S. television's *Perry Mason*, but with his askew bow tie and white wig, his sidelong looks and interior monologues, Rumpole was more colorful and complicated.

As the program was shown around the world through 1996, McKern could not escape what he called the "insatiable monster" of television, which blotted out memories of earlier performances. However, that did not stop the Australian periodical *The Bulletin* from naming McKern one of Australia's top 55 "human assets" in 1990. And, in fact, television did offer McKern another distinctive, if more transitory, role much earlier than Rumpole. In *The Prisoner*, a British drama aired in the United Kingdom and the United States in the late 1960s, McKern was one of the first authority figures to repress the series' hero.



Leo McKern.  
Courtesy of Leo McKern

*The Prisoner*, still a cult classic dissected on many websites and Internet chat groups, was created by the then enormously popular actor Patrick McGoohan and was intended as an indictment of authoritarian subjugation of the individual. In the title role, McGoohan was kept prisoner in a mysterious village by the state, represented most forcefully by the person in charge of the village, who was called Number 2. Engaging in a battle of wits and wits with Number 6 (McGoohan), Number 2 typically died at episode's end, to be replaced by a new Number 2 in the next show. McKern played Number 2 in the series' second program, "The Chimes of Big Ben," and helped set the tone of serious banter and political conflict. His character, killed at the end of the episode, was resurrected the next season at the end of the series in two episodes, "Once upon a Time" and "Fallout," to demonstrate a change of position in favor of the hero and opposed to the state. Not completely unlike Rumpole, McKern's Number 2 was a system insider who understood principles better than the rest of the establishment (if only belatedly).

With its use of fantastic technology to keep Number 6 from escaping, *The Prisoner* was ostensibly a science fiction program. The science fiction motif also in-

formed a TV guest appearance McKern made some years later in the U.S. program *Space: 1999*, which aired in 1975. In that episode, "The Infernal Machine," McKern was again part of a larger entity, this time not the "state" but a living spacecraft. As the companion of "Gwent," McKern mediated with human beings (notably Martin Landau and Barbara Bain, recent *Mission: Impossible* veterans) on a lunar station. His character was slightly cynical, critical, bantering, and attached to the entity he served, like the later Rumpole. Among McKern's decades of television experience, these roles were notable on three levels: their connection to general recurring themes; their development of a recognizable, familiar character function; and their demonstration of the actor's particular talents. For instance, the "Companion" episode on *Space 1999* evoked both the "Companion" episode on the original 1967 *Star Trek*, in which Glenn Corbet's character was kept alive by fusion with an alien presence, and the Trill character of "a symbiotic fusion of two species" on *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine*. In addition, the threatening power of the state and of technology of *The Prisoner* prefigured a reliable theme of the popular 1990s program *The X-Files*.

The Rumpole role is the one most connected with a number of recurring character functions on television. The deep commitment covered by a veneer of cynicism is a staple of police officers and other investigators throughout U.S. television history. The belief in the civil liberties of the individual is the core of lawyer programs such as *Perry Mason* of the 1960s and *Martlock* of the 1990s. The rumpled insider, "only by virtue of superior competence," was the essence of *Columbo* of the 1970s. The British Rumpole is a rather more complex example of a U.S. television perennial.

However well written it might be, the Rumpole role would not have the cachet it has among fans if not for the actor. Critics cited McKern's intelligence, energy, and remarkably flexible baritone as the heart of the character. McKern's varied, multimedia career—from movies such as the lightweight Beatles' *Help!* to the epic *Lawrence of Arabia* to plays such as *Othello*—may not be remembered by most fans, but the depth of talent required for such diversity is critically acknowledged in reviews of *Rumpole of the Bailey*.

IVY GLENNON

See also *Rumpole of the Bailey*

**Leo McKern.** Born Reginald McKern in Sydney, Australia, March 16, 1920. Attended Sydney Technical High School. Married: Joan Alice Southa (Jane Holland), 1946; children: Abigail and Harriet. Engineering apprentice, 1935–37; commercial artist, 1937–40; served in Australian Army Engineering Corps,

1940–42; debut as actor, 1944; settled in the United Kingdom, 1946; participated in tour of Germany, 1947; appeared at Old Vic Theatre, London, 1949–52 and 1962–63, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1952–54, and at the New Nottingham Playhouse, 1963–64; has appeared in numerous films and television productions, including the popular *Rumpole of the Bailey* series, 1978–92. Officer of the Order of Australia, 1983. Died in Bath, England, July 23, 2002.

**Television Series**

- 1955 *The Adventures of Robin Hood*  
(two episodes)
- 1967–68 *The Prisoner* (three episodes)
- 1975 *Space: 1999* (one episode)
- 1978–92 *Rumpole of the Bailey*
- 1983 *Reilly: Ace of Spies*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1967 *Alice in Wonderland*
- 1979 *The House on Garibaldi Street*
- 1980 *Rumpole's Return*
- 1985 *Murder with Mirrors*
- 1992 *The Last Romantics*

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1965 *The Tea Party*
- 1968 *On the Eve of Publication*
- 1983 *King Lear*
- 1985 *Monsignor Quixote*

- 1988 *The Master Builder*
- 1993 *A Foreign Field*

**Films (selected)**

*All for Mary*, 1955; *X—the Unknown*, 1956; *Time Without Pity*, 1957; *The Mouse That Roared*, 1959; *Mr. Topaze*, 1961; *The Day the Earth Caught Fire*, 1962; *Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962; *Hot Enough for June*, 1963; *A Jolly Bad Fellow*, 1964; *King and Country*, 1964; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Help!*, 1965; *A Man for All Seasons*, 1966; *Nobody Runs Forever*, 1968; *Decline and Fall... of a Birdwatcher!*, 1968; *Ryan's Daughter*, 1971; *Massacre in Rome*, 1973; *The Adventure of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother*, 1976; *The Omen*, 1976; *Candlehoe*, 1977; *Damien: Omen II*, 1978; *The Blue Lagoon*, 1980; *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, 1983; *Ladyhawke*, 1984; *The Chain*, 1985; *Travelling North*, 1986; *On Our Selection*, 1995; *Molokai: The Story of Father Damien*, 1999.

**Stage (selected)**

*Toad of Toad Hall*, 1954; *Queen of the Rebels*, 1955; *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, 1958; *Brouhaha*, 1958; *Rollo*, 1959; *A Man for All Seasons*, 1960; *The Thwarting of Baron Bolligrew*, 1965; *Volpone*, 1967; *The Wolf*, 1973; *The Housekeeper*, 1982; *Number One*, 1984; *Boswell for the Defence*, 1989, 1991; *Hobson's Choice*, 1995.

**Publication**

*Just Resting*, 1983

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## McLuhan, Marshall (1911–1980)

### Canadian Media Theorist

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Marshall McLuhan was perhaps one of the best-known media theorists and critics of this era. A literary scholar from Canada, McLuhan became entrenched in American popular culture when he decided that this was the only way to understand his students at the University of Wisconsin. Until the publication of his best-known and most popular works, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962) and *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), McLuhan led a

very ordinary academic life. His polemic prose (a style frequently compared to that of James Joyce) irritated many and inspired some. However cryptic, McLuhan's outspoken and often outrageous philosophies of the "electric media" roused a popular discourse about the mass media, society, and culture. The pop culture motto "The medium is the message (and the massage)" and the term "global village" are pieces of what is known affectionately (and otherwise) as "McLuhanism."



Marshall McLuhan.  
 Photo courtesy of Nelson/Marshall McLuhan Center on Global Communications

McLuhan was a technological determinist who credited the electronic media with the ability to exact profound social, cultural, and political influences. Instead of offering a thoughtful discourse regarding the positive or negative consequences of electric media, McLuhan preferred instead to pontificate about its inevitable impact, which was neither good nor bad but simply was. McLuhan was primarily concerned that people acknowledge and prepare for the technological transformation. He argued that people subscribe to a "rear-view mirror" understanding of their environment, a mode of thinking in which they do not foresee the arrival of a new social milieu until it is already in place. In McLuhan's view, instead of "looking ahead," society has tended to cling to the past. He wrote, "We are always one step behind in our view of the world," and we do not recognize the technology that is responsible for the shift.

McLuhan first began to grapple with the relationship between technology and culture in *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (1951). However, he did not elaborate on their historical origins until the publication of *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, which traces the social evolution of modern humanity

from tribal society. In his theory, this process encompasses four stages.

McLuhan defines tribal society as dependent on the harmonious balance of all senses. Tribal society was an oral culture; members used speech (an emotionally laden medium) to communicate. As a result, nonliterate societies were passionate, involved, interdependent, and unified. The "acoustic space" that enveloped tribal society was eroded by the invention of the phonetic alphabet. McLuhan credits phonetic literacy for the dissolution of tribal society and the creation of "Western Man."

Literacy inspired a more detached, linear perspective; the eye replaced the ear as the dominant sensory organ. Western Man evolved into "Gutenberg Man" with the arrival of the printing press in the 16th century. According to McLuhan, the printing press was responsible for such phenomena as the industrial revolution, nationalism, and perspectivity in art. The printing press eventually informed a "Mechanical Culture."

The linearity and individualization characteristic of Mechanical Culture has been usurped by electric media. This process began with the invention of the telegraph. McLuhan considers the electric media as extensions of the entire nervous system. Television is perhaps the most significant of the electric media because of its ability to invoke multiple senses. Television, as well as future technologies, have the ability to "retribalize," that is, to re-create the sensory unification characteristic of tribal society.

In perhaps his most popular work, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, McLuhan elaborates on the sensory manipulation of the electric media. Like most of his writing, *Understanding Media* has been criticized for its indigestible content and often paradoxical ideas. Ironically, it was this work that first captured the minds of the American public and triggered McLuhan's metamorphosis from literary scholar into pop culture guru.

*Understanding Media* contains the quintessential McLuhanism, "The medium is the message." McLuhan explains that the content of all electric media is insignificant; it is instead the medium itself that has the greatest impact on the sociocultural environment. This perspective has been contested by representatives of various schools in mass communication—in particular, empirical researchers have rejected McLuhan's grand theorizing, whereas critical cultural theorists have argued that McLuhan undermines their agenda by discounting the power relationships inherent in and perpetuated by media content.

However, many judge McLuhan's thesis to have certain merit. His focus on the "televsual experience"

and the role of the medium within contemporary life has inspired much popular culture research. Within this same framework, some theorists ponder the impact of newer technologies, such as the Internet and high-definition television.

In *Understanding Media*, McLuhan proposes a controversial frame for judging media: "hot" and "cool." These categorizations are puzzling, and contemporary technology may render them obsolete. In simplest terms, "hot" is exclusive, and "cool" is inclusive. Hot media are highly defined; there is little information to be filled in by the user. Radio is a hot medium; it requires minimal participation. Cool media, by contrast, are less defined and thus highly participatory because the user must "fill in the blanks." Television is the ultimate "cool" medium because it is highly participatory. This categorization is extremely problematic to those who consider television viewing a passive activity.

To illustrate this concept, McLuhan analyzed the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. Those who watched the debates on television typically judged Kennedy the winner; according to McLuhan, this televisual victory was due to the fact that Kennedy exuded an objective, disinterested, "cool" persona. However, Nixon, better suited for the "hot" medium of radio, was considered victorious by those who had listened to the debates on radio.

The McLuhanism with the loudest echo in contemporary popular culture is the concept of the "global village." It is a metaphor most invoked by the telecommunications industry to suggest the ability of new technologies to link the world electronically. McLuhan's once-outrageous vision of a postliterate society, one in which global consciousness was shaped by technology instead of verbalization, has been partially realized by the Internet. For McLuhan, television begins the process of retribalization through its ability to transcend time and space, enabling the person in New York, for example, to "experience" a foreign culture across the globe.

McLuhan contemplated the profound impact of electronic technology on society. Loved or loathed, his opinions penetrated academic, popular, and corporate spheres. Within the context of popular culture theorizing, McLuhan's commentaries will remain part of history. Mass communication researchers continue to explore the relationship between media and society. In doing so, they delineate the significance of television in global culture and amplify the ideas McLuhan contributed to this discourse.

SHARON ZECHOWSKI

**Marshall McLuhan.** Born Herbert Marshall McLuhan in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, July 21, 1911. Educated at University of Manitoba, B.A. 1933, M.A. 1934;

Trinity Hall, Cambridge, B.A. 1936, M.A. 1939, Ph.D. 1942. Married: Corinne Keller Lewis, 1939; children: Eric, Mary Colton, Teresa, Stephanie, Elizabeth O'Sullivan, Michael. Instructor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1936-37; instructor of English, St. Louis University, Missouri, 1937-44; associate professor of English, Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario, 1944-46; instructor, 1946-52, professor of English, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, 1952-79; chair, Ford Foundation seminar on culture and communications, 1953-60; cofounder, *Explorations* magazine, 1954, co-editor, 1954-59, editor, 1964-79; director, media studies for U.S. Office of Education and the National Association of Education Broadcasters, 1959-60; director, Toronto University's McLuhan Centre for Culture and Technology, 1963-66, 1969-79; editor, *Patterns of Literary Criticism* series, 1965-69; consultant, Johnson, McCormick and Johnson, public relations, Toronto, 1966-80; Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Fordham University, Bronx, New York, 1967-68; consultant, Responsive Environments Corporation, New York, 1968-80; consultant, Vatican Pontifical Commission for Social Communications, 1973; Eugene McDermott Professor, University of Dallas, Texas, 1975; Pound Lecturer, 1978; fellow, Royal Society of Canada, 1964. D.Litt.: University of Windsor, 1965; Assumption University, 1966; University of Manitoba, 1967; Simon Fraser University, 1967; Grinnell College, 1967; St. John Fisher College, 1969; University of Western Ontario, 1971; University of Toronto, 1977; LL.D.: University of Alberta, 1971; University of Toronto, 1977. Recipient: Canadian Governor-General's Prize, 1963; Niagara University Award in culture and communications, 1967; Young German Artists Carl Einstein Prize, West Germany, 1967; Companion, Order of Canada, 1970; President's Award, Institute of Public Relations, Great Britain, 1970; Assumption University Christian Culture Award, 1971; University of Detroit President's Cabinet Award, 1972. Died in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, December 31, 1980.

#### Films

*This Is Marshall McLuhan*, 1968; *Annie Hall* (cameo as himself), 1977.

#### Recording

*The Medium Is the Massage*, 1967.

#### Publications

*The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*, 1951  
*Selected Poetry of Tennyson* (editor), 1956



- Explorations in Communications* (editor with Edmund Carpenter), 1960
- The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, 1962
- Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, 1964
- Voices of Literature*, vols. 1–4 (editor with R.J. Schoeck), 1964–70
- The Medium Is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects*, with Quentin Fiore, 1967
- Through the Vanishing Point: Space in Poetry and Painting*, with Harley Parker, 1968
- War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations That Could Be Eliminated by More Feedforward*, with Quentin Fiore, 1968
- Counterblast*, 1969
- The Interior Landscape: Selected Literary Criticism of Marshall McLuhan, 1943–1962*, edited by E. McNamara, 1969
- Culture Is Our Business*, 1970
- From Cliché to Archetype*, with Wilfred Watson, 1970
- Take Today: The Executive as Dropout*, with Barrington Nevitt, 1972
- The City as Classroom*, with Eric McLuhan and Kathy Hutchon, 1977
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- Theall, Donald F., *The Medium Is the Rear View Mirror: Understanding McLuhan*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1971

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## McQueen, Trina (1943– )

Canadian Broadcast Journalist, News Executive

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In her 27 years with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Trina McQueen's singularly successful career has constituted a series of "firsts" for women. In 1991 she became vice president of English television news and current affairs and of CBC Newsworld (the all-news cable channel), the first and only woman to hold such a high-ranking position at the Canadian network.

The following year, McQueen was made vice president of regional broadcasting operations, which included equity in portrayals across all broadcast services and foreign bureaus. This move was widely regarded as a demotion as well as a backward step for the future of high-level female broadcast executives. The network, however, denied that charge, and McQueen remained uncomplaining even after her depar-

ture. The only other female vice president, however, Donna Logan, who was head of English-language CBC Radio, was also demoted, leaving the executive suite all male. McQueen had been opposed to the changes being initiated by the head office to move the successful flagship nightly 10:00 news *The National* to the all-news cable channel Newsworld. The switch also involved canceling the acclaimed in-depth nightly documentary news series that followed, *The Journal*, and launching *Prime Time News* at 9:00 P.M. CBC brass brought in news head Tim Kotcheff from rival network CTV to implement the changes, which proved to be disastrous.

McQueen's quiet, soft-spoken, and tactful negotiating manner combines with a toughness attested to by longtime colleagues. She has been called "something of a Patton in Pollyanna's clothing." It was reported that McQueen lost a power struggle for the position of senior vice president of TV services to fast-rising wunderkind Ivan Fecan in a management arrangement in which their duties, previously carried out by vice president Denis Harvey, were split into two vice president jobs. McQueen oversaw a thousand people and more than 200 hours of information programming per week in her position.

McQueen began in journalism at the entry level, parlaying student jobs on newspapers to a stint with the *Journal* (Ottawa). From there, she became the first female reporter for CTV's local Toronto station, CFTO, and cohost for CTV's current affairs magazine show, *W5*. When CTV execs indicated that a woman would not be hired as a national reporter, McQueen quit and joined the public network, CBC, in 1967. There she became the first female on-camera reporter for *The National* news. After nine years as reporter, producer, and assignment editor, she became the first female executive producer of *The National* in 1976 when she was 33.

Having grown up watching *The National* in Belleville, Ontario, she has said that it was a glorious dream job for her. She presided over a virtual revolution of the news, replacing the old guard with the then-new faces of Hike Duffy, Peter Mansbridge, and Knowlton Nash. She guided the new management through the 1980 Quebec referendum and two federal elections in addition to daily news stories. She also stood up to the chauvinists' stereotypes of women in news and won respect and success.

McQueen returned to news, after nine years in CBC administration, as director of news and current affairs. It was a time of huge budget cuts that decimated jobs,

regional CBC stations, and employee morale. Then as vice president, she also became manager of the CBC broadcast center, the new downtown facility that gathered together the disparate TV and radio production entities that had inhabited various spaces throughout Toronto. In addition, she was head of English network finances and human resources.

In 1993, when the federal government handed down more budget cuts for CBC, as it had every year since 1985, McQueen decamped for a job in the private sector. She became vice president and general manager of the newly created Discovery Channel, Canada, largely owned by Labatt Communications, Inc., the entertainment arm of the giant beer conglomerate, which produces shows on science, technology, nature, the environment, and world cultures. In 1999, however, McQueen returned to CTV in the role of vice president. She was eventually promoted to president and then chief operating officer. In this capacity, she was responsible for overseeing the CTV network of 27 local stations, seven cable channels, and three production companies. McQueen retired in 2002, although she continues to work and perform volunteer activities through her company, Hutton-Belleville Inc. She is chair of the board of the Governor-General's Performing Arts Awards. McQueen is also a professor at Carleton University. In 2003, McQueen was chosen to lead the International Jury at the 24th Banff Television Festival.

JANICE KAYE

*See also National/The Journal*

**Trina McQueen.** Born Catherine Janitch in Canada, 1943. Educated at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Summer relief reporter for CBC National News, 1967; reporter, *Journal*, Ottawa; reporter, CFTO-CTV, Toronto; cohost, *W5* magazine show, CTV; reporter, producer, and editor, *The National*, from 1967, and executive producer, 1976; vice president, news and current affairs and Newsworld cable news service, CBC, 1991, and vice president of regional broadcasting, 1992; general manager and vice president, Discovery Channel, 1993. Named vice president, then president and chief operating officer, of CTV, 1999. Retired in 2002. Member: Canadian Broadcasters Hall of Fame and Canadian News Hall of Fame. Recipient of Lifetime Achievement Awards from the Canadian Journalism Foundation and the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television.

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# Media Conglomerates

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The conglomeration of the media has greatly affected the structure of the television industry worldwide, but especially in the United States. The U.S. television industry is now largely contained within large, diversified, transnational media conglomerates that own interests ranging from Internet services, outdoor advertising, magazines, and book publishing to video games, theme parks, film, and music as well as television interests such as programming, broadcast stations, broadcast networks, cable networks, and cable operators. In the past, from the late 1950s until the early 1980s, three broadcast networks dominated U.S. television (the National Broadcasting Company [NBC], the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and the American Broadcasting Company [ABC]). In the 2000s, however, there are four major broadcast networks in the United States, including FOX, three minor broadcast networks (The WB, United Paramount Network [UPN], and PAX), and over 100 cable and satellite networks (or programming services). However, most of these networks are subsidiaries of a few large media conglomerates. NBC is a subsidiary of General Electric, CBS is owned by Viacom, the Walt Disney Company owns ABC, and FOX is part of the News Corporation. These conglomerates also own cable and/or satellite television programming services. For example, Disney also owns the Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN) and Disney as well as interests in the Lifetime, E!, A&E, and the History Channel cable networks; Viacom owns cable programmers Music Television (MTV), Video Hits 1 (VH1), The Nashville Network (TNN), Nickelodeon, and Showtime; and News Corporation holdings include FX, FOX News, and FOX Sports as well as satellite services British Sky Broadcasting (BskyB) and StarTV. Thus, although programming outlets have greatly diversified, ownership has consolidated, creating a new form of postnetwork-era television oligopoly. Instead of three major networks gathering a 90 percent share of prime-time audiences as in the network era, today a handful of media conglomerates utilize their affiliated broadcast and cable programming services to aggregate over 80 percent of prime-time audiences. How and why have media conglomerates become so dominant in the television and entertainment industries? What follows is a brief overview of the broad trends that have contributed to conglomeration, some specific

rationales for media and entertainment conglomeration, and summary descriptions of key major media conglomerates.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, a spate of major mergers have reshaped the structure of the media and entertainment industries: News Corporation acquired 20th Century-Fox (1985); Sony bought CBS Records (1987) and Columbia Pictures (1989); Time merged with Warner (1989); Universal was acquired first by Matsushita (1990), then by Seagram (1996), then by Vivendi (2000), then by General Electric (2003); Viacom acquired Paramount (1994); Westinghouse bought CBS (1995), which was later acquired by Viacom (2000); Disney bought CapCities/ABC (1995); and America Online (AOL) merged with Time Warner (2001). Three broad trends contributed to this surge of media conglomeration. First, increasing economic globalization expanded foreign markets for entertainment products as well as attracting capital investment in U.S. entertainment firms from investors in Japan, Australia, Canada, France, and Germany. Second, in order to stimulate increased investment and technological innovation within the media and communications industries, policymakers in the United States and Europe have dismantled many of the regulatory standards that had governed the media industries for the previous half century. The Telecommunications Act of 1996, for example, relaxed many rules concerning cross-ownership of media and dropped limits on single-firm ownership of multiple media outlets (ownership caps). Policymakers expected that the subsequent wave of consolidations and mergers among telephony, cable, broadcasting, and film companies would stimulate increased investment in new technologies and lower prices for consumers. Underlying these policy changes were expectations concerning the direction and rate of technological change, the third broad trend affecting conglomeration. New delivery technologies, including VCRs, cable, satellite, and the networking potential of the Internet, have opened new markets for entertainment products. Digitization, the conversion of data into computer code, has expanded as computing power has increased and computing costs have decreased. However, digitization is a two-edged sword for the entertainment industries. Digitization provides cost efficiencies because copying and transferring data is easier and more accurate, yet it is precisely that ease

and accuracy that threatens to undermine the entertainment industries' control over intellectual property rights. Consequently, while technological change promises to open new markets for entertainment, it also threatens already existing markets. Thus, firms that own interests in both "new" and "old" media technologies expect to reap the advantages of diversification through conglomeration or, at the least, survive the forthcoming upheavals wrought by technological change.

However, in addition to the overall economic, political, and technological factors affecting the media's industrial structure, the entertainment industry is itself a risky business, subject to high product failure rates and shifting audience tastes. Success rates in the entertainment industries are extremely low: only about 20 to 30 percent of films, roughly 10 percent of music recordings, and approximately 5 percent of television pilots return a net profit. The high profit rates of a small number of entertainment products (the "hits") must subsidize the costs incurred in the production of the majority of unprofitable entertainment products. Thus, entertainment firms engage in a number of risk management strategies to survive these long odds, including overproduction and high marketing expenditures. A key risk management strategy is for a firm to grow through mergers and acquisitions, the fastest way to gain market share and market power. Market power through mergers can increase a firm's ability to negotiate favorable terms with competitors, set prices, and reduce competition, all of which improve a firm's ability to weather the high product failure rates of entertainment.

Mergers may be characterized as either horizontal, vertical, or conglomerate. Horizontal integration is when a firm acquires or merges with firms in the same business, for example, when local television stations merge into a station group. Vertical integration occurs when a firm merges with its suppliers or buyers, or up and down the product chain of production, distribution, and exhibition. For example, in the 1960s, the networks (program distributors) vertically integrated upstream into program production (program suppliers) and downstream into program syndication (program resales), thus controlling programming at each stage of its product life. Conglomerate mergers occur when a firm acquires a company that is neither in the same business nor a direct supplier or buyer, as, for example, when the major newspaper publisher News Corporation acquired the 20th Century-Fox film studio. The horizontal, vertical, and conglomerate merger strategies are all intended to create greater efficiencies of scale and scope by consolidating overhead and administrative costs, cutting out intermediaries, and guaranteeing smoother production chains.

Some conglomerates may be characterized as loosely conglomerated because their subsidiaries are in unrelated fields. For example, General Electric, the conglomerate that owns NBC and the entity formerly known as Universal or Vivendi/Universal, also owns companies that make aircraft engines, medical systems, power plants, and plastics as well as financial services companies, none of which are directly involved in the television business. However, most media conglomerates are not loose but what Thomas Schatz calls "tightly diversified": they have a tight focus on media and entertainment yet are diversified across fields such as film, television, music, book publishing, theme parks, and online services as well as being vertically integrated into production, distribution, and exhibition. Tightly diversified conglomerates can cross-collateralize losses from one business with gains in another, cross-promote entertainment products across different media, and sell products on multiple distribution platforms (film, video, broadcast, and cable).

Most tightly diversified media conglomerates are formed with at least one of the three following rationales. One rationale is to create "content synergies," that is, to build entertainment "franchises" that can be repurposed into multiple products including films, television programs, videos, DVDs, books, comics, toys, video games, theme park rides, music soundtracks, and so on. The *Star Trek* franchise, for example, based on a television series, expanded to include additional television series (*Next Generation* and *Enterprise*), films, books, games, and merchandise. *Star Trek's* conglomerate owner, Viacom, produces, distributes, and promotes these through its various holdings (Paramount, UPN, and Simon and Schuster). Other television programs converted into franchises include *Mission Impossible*, *The Flintstones*, and *The Brady Bunch*, which have been resold on home video, pay-per-view cable, premium cable, and broadcast television. Owning and controlling a variety of content producers and distributors enables a conglomerate to capture the majority of the revenues from these multiple product extensions.

A second major rationale for tight diversification is to ensure distribution for a production company or to ensure a supply of content for a distribution outlet. For example, after losing key scheduling slots for its children's programming on the FOX network, Disney ensured that its programming would continue to be distributed on network television by acquiring CapCities/ABC. Likewise, Viacom acquired Paramount in part to guarantee a steady supply of films for its cable network Showtime and then launched the broadcast network UPN in 1995 to ensure a distribution outlet for its Paramount-produced program *Star Trek*. This

type of vertical integration between film studios and television distributors cut across previously existing ownership boundaries between film and television companies.

A third major rationale for tight diversification is to secure content for new distribution technologies or to acquire software for hardware. For example, Sony acquired Columbia Pictures and CBS Records in part to gain control of films, programs, and music for distribution on the consumer electronics technologies it manufactures. In the early 1980s, Sony's Betamax home video technology had lost the market to the competing VHS technology in part because Hollywood film studios refused to license the rights to major films to Sony for use on Betamax video. Acquiring Columbia Pictures and CBS Records, now both renamed Sony, protects Sony's hardware products from failing solely because they lack the rights to film, television, and music content. Each of these rationales for conglomeration is intended to strengthen a firm's performance in high-risk environments; however, none can guarantee the ultimate outcome.

### Time Warner

Time Warner, at the time of this writing the largest media conglomerate, was created in 2001 when the online services provider AOL parlayed its highly valued stock into a friendly takeover of the "old media" company Time Warner. Time Warner controls major television interests, including one of the largest U.S. cable operators, Time Warner Cable. Warner Bros. Television and its fellow subsidiaries produce programming shown on a variety of broadcast and cable networks, including *Friends*, *ER*, *Gilmore Girls*, *The West Wing*, *Everybody Loves Raymond*, *The Drew Carey Show*, *Six Feet Under*, and *Smallville*. Although Time Warner created the WB broadcast network in a joint venture with Tribune Broadcasting in order to gain a broadcast network foothold, it is more dominant in cable networks. Home Box Office (HBO), originally a Time company, pioneered programming distribution by satellite, becoming one of the first and most successful nationally distributed pay cable programmers. In 1995 Time Warner acquired the Turner networks (Turner Network Television, Turner Broadcasting System, Turner Classic Movies, and Cable News Network) to become the conglomerate dominant in both cable networks and cable systems. The Turner, Cable News Network (CNN), and HBO networks are also distributed in Asia and Europe. Time Warner's other cable networks include Cinemax and the Cartoon Network.

Time Warner is also dominant in film (Warner Bros. and New Line), music (Warner Music Group), and publishing (Time/Life). However, a key element in its

conglomeration strategy was to meld Time Warner's cable operating systems (then second largest in the United States) with AOL's top brand name in online services. By aggregating the more than 100 million subscribers to AOL Time Warner's Internet services, cable systems, premium cable networks, and the *Time* magazine group (including *People*, *Sports Illustrated*, *In Style*, and *Entertainment Weekly*), the merger was expected to create a base for launching new entertainment technology services, such as video-on-demand, interactive television, and broadband Internet. However, by 2003, as Time Warner's stock price suffered severe declines, the merger was heavily criticized by investors for pursuing the aim of media convergence at the cost of its core businesses. In that year, "AOL" was dropped from the corporate name.

### Viacom

CBS spun off Viacom in 1971 when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) required the major networks to divest their vertically integrated program production and syndication subsidiaries. As Viacom expanded, acquiring cable networks MTV, Nickelodeon, and VH1 from Warner in the mid-1980s, it was then absorbed by Sumner Redstone's holding company, National Amusements, in 1987. Redstone led Viacom's battle for control over Paramount Communications, which succeeded, bringing Paramount Studios and Simon and Schuster publishers into the Viacom conglomerate. Paramount has produced numerous television programs, including every *Star Trek* series, *JAG*, *Frasier*, and *That's Life*; other subsidiaries, Viacom Productions and Spelling Productions, have produced *Sabrina*, *Charmed*, *7th Heaven*, and *Beverly Hills 90210*. In 1995 Viacom launched the minor broadcast network UPN in part to guarantee broadcast exposure for its expensive *Star Trek* series. Viacom also controls premium cable networks Showtime and The Movie Channel and basic cable networks Black Entertainment Television, Comedy Central, and Spike as well as owning an interest in the Sundance Channel. However, despite these strengths in cable programming, Viacom divested its cable operating systems in 1995 because the maintenance and upgrading of cable systems were too capital intensive. Instead, in 2000, Viacom surprised observers by acquiring a major stake in the "old media" of broadcasting by buying its former parent company CBS and its subsidiaries, including Infinity Broadcasting (one of the largest radio station groups) and CBS Radio. With 34 owned-and-operated television stations, one major and one minor broadcast network, and major cable networks that are top rated in their demographic categories, Viacom is one of the most dominant conglomerates in the television indus-

try. Viacom's holdings also include theater chains in Canada and Europe, Famous Music publishing, the Viacom Outdoor advertising group, theme parks (Great America and Star Trek: The Experience), and the video retailer Blockbuster.

### **The Walt Disney Co.**

Founder Walt Disney had diversified his animation production company into merchandising, theme parks (Disneyland), and television production (*The Wonderful World of Disney*) by the 1950s in part to survive the competition with the major Hollywood studios. This tightly diversified firm was almost broken apart and sold in the early 1980s, until an investor installed Michael Eisner as chief executive officer to revive the Disney brand. Disney has remained focused on film (Disney, Touchstone, Hollywood Pictures, Miramax, Buena Vista, and Dimension), television production (Walt Disney Television, Buena Vista Television, and Network Television Production), and theme parks (Disney World and Paris and Tokyo Disneylands). By acquiring CapCities/ABC, Disney became a major television distributor as well, gaining a national network plus ten owned-and-operated stations. Disney has also invested in cable networks, including Disney, Toon Disney, Family Channel, and SoapNet as well as having interests in the ESPN networks, Lifetime, E!, A&E, and the History Channel. Walt Disney TV International includes channels in Europe and Asia. Disney also owns the ABC Radio Network, Radio Disney, and ESPN Radio. Disney has interests in music (Buena Vista Music Group), book publishing (Disney and Hyperion), and sports teams (Anaheim Angels and Anaheim Mighty Ducks) as well as numerous Internet investments (Walt Disney Internet Group).

### **News Corporation**

Originating as an Australian newspaper group, News Corporation, under the leadership of Rupert Murdoch, has diversified aggressively. Having acquired the film and television studio 20th Century-Fox in 1985, News Corporation launched the fourth major broadcast network, FOX, in 1986. As the first conglomerate to integrate a film studio and broadcast network, its FOX network exploited those synergies, airing 20th Century-Fox Television productions such as *The Simpsons* and *The X-Files*. For competing networks, 20th Century-Fox produced programs such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Dharma and Greg*, *Judging Amy*, and *Roswell*. News Corporation, like Viacom, pushed the regulatory limits on ownership caps of local television stations by acquiring several station groups and helped

precipitate a debate on the appropriateness of ownership caps in an era of cable and satellite television. Although News Corporation does not own any U.S. cable operators and only a few cable networks (FX and FOX News), it is an international presence in satellite television, which is more prevalent than cable in Europe and Asia. News Corporation controls the majority interest in the satellite services BSkyB (Europe), StarTV (Asia), SkyPerfecTV (Japan), Sky Latin America, and Sky Brazil and at this writing is planning to merge with the largest U.S. direct broadcast service, DirecTV. News Corporation has also invested in sports (Los Angeles Dodgers), Internet services (FOX Interactive), music (FOX Music), and one of the world's largest publishing companies (HarperCollins) as well as hundreds of magazines and newspapers in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia (*New York Post*, *The Times*, *The Sun*, *TV Guide*, and *The Weekly Standard*).

### **Sony**

Headquartered in Japan, Sony is barred from owning any U.S. broadcast stations or networks; however, its Columbia Tri Star Television subsidiary is a major producer of network and syndicated programs, including *Bewitched*, *Seinfeld*, *Dawson's Creek*, *The King of Queens*, *Family Law*, *Ricki Lake*, and soap operas *Days of Our Lives* and *The Young and the Restless*. Sony's other media interests include its film studio (Sony, formerly Columbia Pictures), theater chains, Japan Sky Broadcasting, Sony Online Entertainment, and its major music group, Sony Music Entertainment, which includes the former CBS Records. Only a small proportion of Sony's revenues derive from its media holdings; Sony is primarily an electronics manufacturing company (Trinitron, Walkman, and PlayStation). Sony's game box, PlayStation, was designed as a multimedia entertainment appliance for games, DVDs, CDs, and Internet access in order to present a possible alternative to interactive television or PC appliances. The principal purpose of Sony's investments in media production and distribution is to support its consumer electronics manufacturing interests.

### **NBC-Universal**

Vivendi Universal was a French-based conglomerate that was originally in the water, construction, waste management, and real estate business. Under the leadership of Jean-Marie Messier, it expanded into European telephony (Cegetel and SFR) and cable and film interests (Canal Plus) and by 2000 had acquired the Universal holdings then owned by Seagram, a Cana-

dian beverage company. Having gained control of the Universal film studios and theme park as well as the single largest music company in the world, Universal Music Group, Vivendi also recaptured the Universal television production and distribution interests by agreeing to repurchase USA Networks (including cable networks USA and the Sci-Fi Channel) back from Barry Diller, who had bought them from Seagram. In 2003 Vivendi Universal agreed to sell the Universal film and television interests to General Electric, which has merged them with its NBC holdings (including Bravo, Telemundo, MSNBC, and CNBC). Historically, Universal Television had been one of the largest producers of television programs throughout the network era (*Kojak*, *Magnum, P.I.*, and *Miami Vice*). Recent Universal television programs include *Just Shoot Me* and *The Steve Harvey Show*. By integrating Universal's massive film and television production subsidiaries with NBC's broadcast and cable networks, General Electric joins the other fully vertically integrated media conglomerates.

In summary, media conglomerates are structured to take advantage of diversification as well as the efficiencies and synergies of integration. However, the rewards of such efficiencies are sometimes outweighed by the costs of unwieldy diversification, internal competition, and debt service. Since entertainment is difficult to produce efficiently, media conglomeration is more often a means toward market domination and negotiating leverage with fellow oligopolistic competitors. The largest media conglomerates account for up to 90 percent of the U.S. markets for film, television, and music, thus creating production and distribution bottlenecks that keep smaller competitors in check.

Investors have cyclically valued and devalued conglomeration, as can be seen in the peaking and crashing of the merger waves of the 1890s, 1920s, and 1960s. For example, many of the conglomerates that were formed in the 1960s were broken up by leveraged buy-

outs during the 1980s. Corporate raiders discovered that selling conglomerates piecemeal provided greater returns than keeping conglomerates whole. Consequently, the structures of the previously mentioned media conglomerates may undergo yet another round of restructuring if investment markets are devalued, if there is a long-term economic downturn, or if policymakers decide to discourage conglomeration by enforcing new regulatory standards. However, given that conglomeration does provide advantages of scale and diversification in the highly volatile business of entertainment, media conglomeration is likely to remain a key risk management strategy for the time to come. The ultimate impact of media conglomeration on cultural and democratic processes is problematic. Hence, it is essential that viewers, audiences, and consumers learn more as to how and why media conglomeration occurs in order to more effectively engage as citizens in the political processes that shape the regulatory standards affecting the structure of the media industries.

CYNTHIA B. MEYERS

**See also AOL Time Warner; Mergers and Acquisitions; News Corporation, Ltd; Sony Corporation; Vivendi Universal**

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## Media Events

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In contrast to the routine array of genres that characterizes everyday television, media events have a disruptive quality. They have the power of interrupting social life by canceling all other programs. But while always characterized by live broadcasting, the term "media events" evokes at least three different reali-

ties. In some cases, the notion is used in connection with major news events (televised wars and assassinations). In other cases, the notion is used in reference to what Victor Turner would call "social dramas": protracted crises whose escalation progressively monopolizes public attention. Thus, the O.J. Simpson trial or





Elizabeth II as the Queen arrived for the coronation ceremony, her husband is to her left, June 2, 1953.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

the Anita Hill–Clarence Thomas controversy are television equivalents of a genre whose most famous example—the Dreyfus affair—had immense consequences for the nature of the French public sphere. Finally, one may speak of media events concerning expressive events: television ceremonies that typically last a few hours or, at most, a few days. This es-

say focuses on media events of the third sort, events that are consciously integrative and deliberately constructed with a view of orchestrating a consensus. They are public rituals, emotional occasions. The broadcast does not include the assassinations but the ensuing funerals, not social dramas but their ritualized outcomes.



Forming a relatively coherent television "genre," these ceremonial events share semantic features. They celebrate consensus, "history in the making," acts of will, and charismatic leaders. Formally, they disrupt television syntax. They cancel the rule of "schedules," interrupt the flows of programming, and monopolize many (if not all) channels while they themselves are broadcast "live" from remote locations. In terms of their pragmatics, they are viewed by festive communities. Audiences prepare themselves for the event, gather, dress up, and display their emotions.

Like all "genres" but more explicitly than most, media events can be considered contracts. Thus, each particular event results from negotiations among three major partners. First, organizers propose that a given situation be given ceremonial treatment. Second, broadcasters will transmit but also restructure the event. Third, audiences will validate the event's ceremonial ambition or denounce it as a joke. In order for a media event to trigger a collective experience, each of these partners must actively endorse it. No broadcasting organization can unilaterally decide to mount a ceremonial event. This decision is generally that of national, supranational, or religious institutions. The authority invested in such institutions is what turns events that are essentially gestures into more than gesticulations. It is what makes them media events and not, as Daniel Boorstin would put it, "pseudoevents."

Yet television is not utterly subservient to these institutions. In the ceremonial politics of modern democracies, it stands as a powerful partner whose mediation is necessary, given the scale of audiences. Television is also a partner whose performance is controlled by professional standards. As opposed to earlier "information ceremonies," media events can hardly dispense with the presence of journalists. They cannot be confined to what Jürgen Habermas calls a "public sphere of representation." Thus, negotiations on the pertinence of an event, discussions on the nature of the script, and the option of mocking or ignoring it all distinguish democratic ceremonies from those of regimes where organizers control broadcasters and audiences.

Beyond the generic features they all share, media events vary in terms of (1) the institutionalization or improvisation of the ceremonial event, (2) the temporal orientation of the ceremony, and (3) the nature of the chosen script. This last point is essential, given the organizational complexity of media events and the multiplicity of simultaneous performance involved. Coordination is facilitated by the existence of major dramaturgical models or scripts. Three such scripts can be identified: coronations, contests, and conquests.

The script of coronations is by no means exclusive to monarchic contexts. It characterizes all the rites of

passage of the great: inaugurations, funerals, and acceptance (or resignation) speeches. Coronations are celebrations of norms, reiterations of founding myths. They invite ceremonial audiences to manifest their loyalty to these norms and to the institutions that uphold them.

Contests stress the turning points of the democratic curriculum. They celebrate the very existence of a forum open to public debate. Whether they are regularly scheduled (e.g., presidential debates) or mounted in response to political crises, contests are characterized by their dialogic structure, by their focus on argumentation, and by their insistence on procedure. They point to the necessity of interpreting and debating the norms. They are celebrations of pluralism, of the diversity of legitimate positions. Contests call for reflexivity. They invite their audiences to an attitude of deliberation.

Conquests are probably the most consequential of media events. They are also the rarest. They take the form of political or diplomatic initiatives aiming at a swift change in public opinion on a given subject. Rendered possible by the very stature of their protagonists—Egypt's Anwar Sadat going to Jerusalem or Pope John Paul II visiting Poland—conquests reactivate forgotten aspirations. They are attempts at rephrasing a society's history, at redefining the identity of its members. They call on their audiences to be "conquered" by the paradigm change that the ceremonial actor is trying to implement, to suspend skepticism. Conquests celebrate the redefinition of norms.

All three major ceremonial scripts address the question of authority and of its legitimating principle. In the case of coronations, this principle is "traditional." In the case of contests, it belongs to the "rational-legal" order. As for conquests, they stress "charismatic" authority. This helps us understand the political distribution of media events. Coronations are to be found everywhere, for there are no societies without traditions. Unless they are faked (and they often are), contests can emerge only in pluralistic societies. The charismatic dynamics of conquests is always subversive, making them hardly affordable to those societies that are afraid of change.

Compared to the types of public events that were prevalent before the emergence of media events, the latter introduce at least two major transformations. These transformations affect both the nature of the events and that of ceremonial participation.

Televized ceremonies are examples of events that exist but do not need to "take place." These events have been remodeled in order not to need a territorial inscription any longer. The scenography of former public events was characterized by the actual encounter, on a specifiable site, of ceremonial actors and

their audiences. That scenography has been replaced by a new mode of "publicness" inspired by cinema and based on the potential separation (1) between actors (2) of actors and audiences.

A second transformation affects ceremonial participation. This transformation turns the effervescent crowds of mass ceremonies into domestic audiences. Instead of mobilizing expressive publics, the media event is celebrated by small groups. A monumental but distant celebration triggers a multitude of microcelebrations. Leading to a typically "diasporic ceremoniality," the immensity of television audiences translates collective events into intimate occasions.

Television ceremonies or media events are necessary inasmuch as they are among the few means available to individuals that assist and enable them to imagine the societies in which they live. Dismissing them as "political spectacles" would lead to two errors: on the one hand, that of presupposing that the mediation they offer is superfluous; on the other, that of believing that the absence of political spectacle is an ideal and a distinctive sign of modern democracies.

Democracies are distinct from authoritarian or totalitarian regimes but not in terms of the presence or absence of a political ceremoniality. Democracies differ from other regimes by the nature—not the existence—of the ceremonies staged in their midst. Democratic media events should therefore be differentiated from other television events that are undoubtedly endowed with a ceremonial dimension but are neither consensual nor contractually derived. For example, the events of terrorism are expressive events, enacted statements, and forms of discourse. Their reception by some of their audiences often involves celebration. However, these forms of discourse receive no validation from the institutions of the center or from those of civil society. They differ from other ceremonial statements by not being submitted to a process of legitimation that transforms them into full-size events. Violence is what distinguishes terroristic events from milder exercises in public relations, from other types of "pseudoevents." In a word, there are many repertoires of media events, and the study of consensual, democratically inspired, negotiated media events must be set in the context of other, rougher media events that are dissentious, imposed, and deliberately antagonistic.

DANIEL DAYAN

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# Medic

## U.S. Medical Drama

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*Medic*, U.S. television's first doctor drama to center on the skills and technology of medicine, aired at 9:00 P.M. on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from mid-September 1954 through mid-November 1956. The half-hour drama became known for an emphasis on medical realism that its creator and principal writer, James Moser, brought to the episodes. Advertisements for the series asserted that it "made no compromise with truth," and journalistic articles about the show repeated that theme. A *Look* magazine article in 1954 discussed Moser's "well-documented scripts" and emphasized that "details are checked, then double-checked." *TV Guide* called the program "a new kind of TV shocker" and added that it was "telling the story of the medical profession without pulling any punches."

*Medic* was not the first television series about medicine or physicians. Both *The Doctor* and *City Hospital* had aired, on NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), respectively, during the 1952–53 television season. *Medic* is important because, much more than those two, it helped shape the approach that producers and networks took to doctor shows for the next few decades. The program was in large part an anthology of medical cases. They were introduced by Dr. Konrad Styner, played by Richard Boone, who narrated the case and often participated in it.

James Moser had picked up his interest in the details of professions as a writer on Jack Webb's hit *Dragnet* radio series, which prided itself on straightforwardly presenting the facts of police cases. Moser's interest in a TV series about medicine had been stirred through a stint writing the *Doctor Kildare* radio show, through his creation of an NBC radio pilot about medicine with Jack Webb that did not go to series, and through watching his best friend, an intern at Los Angeles County Hospital, make rounds on a wide array of complex problems. Moser was aware of the strong popularity that medical dramas such as *Dr. Kildare* and *Doctor Christian* had enjoyed in the movies and on radio during the 1940s. He felt, however, that those and other previous stories about medicine had not gone deeply enough into the actual ways modern medicine healed.

Consequently, the emphasis in *Medic* was on portraying physicians' approaches to their patients accurately; subplots and nuances of characterization were minimal. Because Moser wanted accuracy and because the program's first sponsor, Dow Chemical, gave the show a relatively small budget that precluded fancy sets, he sought permission from the Los Angeles County Medical Association (LACMA) to film in actual hospitals and clinics. In return for their commitment to open doors for the show, LACMA physicians required that Moser and his executive producer sign a contract that gave the association control over the medical accuracy of every script.

As it turned out, Moser's positive attitude toward modern medicine meant that LACMA did not have to



*Medic*, Richard Boone as Dr. Konrad Styner, 1954–56  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

worry about *Medic's* treatment of health care's basic setting, characters, and patterns of action. Nevertheless, at a time of growing anxiety about physicians' power in the larger society, the LACMA committee members insisted that the physician's image in the show fit organized medicine's ideal image. They even considered what a doctor drove and how he spoke (the physician was almost always a man). Cars that were too expensive and language with slang or contractions were ruled out. This close involvement by organized medicine in the creation of doctor shows was the beginning of a relationship between organized medicine and doctor-show producers that lasted with few exceptions through the 1960s.

*Medic's* first episode revolved around a difficult birth in which the mother died and the child lived; an actual birth was filmed and televised. Other stories dealt with such subjects as manic depression and corneal transplants. Critics generally received the programs enthusiastically, but the series got mediocre ratings against the hit *I Love Lucy*. Two controversies in the second year, along with those mediocre ratings, seem to have persuaded NBC executives to cancel the series. The first controversy revolved around an episode that showed a cesarean birth, incision and all. Learning about the episode before it was broadcast, Cardinal Spellman of the New York Archdiocese argued that such subjects were not for exposure on television. He persuaded NBC to delete the operation, much to Moser's public anger.

The second controversy did not become public but further soured the relationship between Moser and network officials. It centered on a *Medic* episode about a black doctor choosing between staying in the big city where he trained or going home to practice in a small southern town. In an era still steaming with antiblack prejudice and crackling with tension over a recent U.S.

Supreme Court decision that mandated integration in schools and other places, executives from southern affiliates considered the *Medic* episode a firebrand. They told the network that they would not air the episode, and NBC decided to shelve it.

Such flare-ups notwithstanding, *Medic* impressed many television producers and network officials of its day for its innovative blending of documentary and dramatic traditions. Its legacy would be the stress on clinical realism that medical series following it adopted. In the 1960s, doctor shows melded that emphasis on realism with a greater concern than *Medic* showed regarding the personality of the physicians, the predicaments of their patients, and even some social issues. James Moser's next show after *Medic*, *Ben Casey*, contributed strongly to this evolution in television's dramatic portrayal of medicine.

JOSEPH TUROW

*See also* Boone, Richard; Workplace Programs

**Cast**

Dr. Konrad Styner

Richard Boone

**Producers**

Frank LaTourette, Worthington Miner

**Programming History**

59 episodes

NBC

September 1954–November 1956

Monday

9:00–9:30

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## Medical Video

Television has been used in medicine since early in the medium's history. In 1937, well before more common uses of television were in place, an operation performed at Johns Hopkins University Hospital was shown over closed-circuit television. From that time, use of television and video has grown to become an integral part of the medical profession and health care industries. Most hospitals have a video division, and

advances in technology are regularly incorporated into medical video. In some instances, as with the practice of endoscopy, video equipment first developed for medicine later finds additional use in the television industry. The use of video in health care falls into four general categories: medical training, telemedicine, patient care and education, and public information.



Surgeon performing laparoscopic surgery using laparoscopic television camera.

*Courtesy of University of Iowa Hospitals and Clinics*

The first regular instructional use of television in medicine came in 1949, when television equipment was installed at the University of Kansas Medical Center to teach surgery. Using a mirror and a camera mounted above the patient, the incision area could be viewed in detail by many more students than could otherwise be accommodated and without affecting the sterile environment. With the introduction of videotape recording, procedures could be recorded and reviewed later. This innovation allowed for notable or exceptional cases to be archived and no longer restricted observation to physical presence at the time of surgery. Television is especially important for training in situations where the field of operation is small, such as in dentistry or microsurgery. In these instances, television provides a view otherwise visible only to the doctor.

Beyond formal training in schools, television is also important in the continuing education of health care providers. By the early 1960s, broadcast stations (sometimes with the signal scrambled) were being used along with closed-circuit networks to distribute programs to physicians in broad geographic areas. This application has continued to take advantage of available technologies, and medical programs are provided to health care providers through videocassettes or a variety of wired and wireless networks. The opportunities presented by the introduction of cable television and satellite receivers led to many attempts to offer programming aimed at physicians, often sponsored by pharmaceutical advertisers. However, such ventures as the Hospital Satellite Network, Lifetime Medical Television, American Medical Television, and Medical News Network all failed to attract a large enough target audience (although those services available over cable television often attracted a number of

lay viewers), and all had ceased operations by the mid-1990s.

“Telemedicine” (or “telehealth”) refers to the use of telecommunication systems to practice medicine and provide health care when geographic distance separates doctor and patient. The first documented use of this method came in 1959 as part of a demonstration project where closed-circuit, two-way interactive television was used to provide mental health consultations between the Nebraska state mental hospital and the Nebraska Psychiatric Institute more than 100 miles away in Omaha. In telemedicine, a nurse, nurse practitioner, or physician assistant is typically present with the patient to assist, while the physician is in another location. For example, examination rooms specially equipped with television cameras and monitors allow for remote diagnostics and consultations between physicians.

During the 1970s, several U.S. programs made use of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration’s Applied Technology Satellites to improve health care availability in Alaska, the Appalachian region, and the Rocky Mountain states, where access to physicians and health care facilities was extremely limited. These and similar strategies have been developed further with the use of satellites, fiber-optic and coaxial cables, and microwave technologies, which can connect medical facilities across towns or even around the world. Such networks have important implications for developing nations, offering the possibility of access to higher-quality health care, often at a reduced cost. As technology improves, new uses for television continue to be developed. In 2001, using a high-speed video cable connection and robotics, surgeons in New York City successfully removed the gallbladder of a 68-year-old woman in Strasbourg, France. Although the video signal traveled a round-trip distance of more than 14,000 kilometers, the speed of the connection was such that the surgeon’s movements appeared on his video screen within 155 milliseconds. With the development and growth of the Internet, telemedicine is increasingly adjusting to take advantage of the opportunities, although television continues to play an important role in “telehealthcare.” An added benefit of telemedicine is that once the video networks are established, they can also be used for administrative aspects of medicine, such as for teleconferences or other meetings.

Although hardly as dramatic as long-distance surgery, patient care and education can also be greatly improved through the use of television. For example, educational videos can explain such matters as surgical procedures before they are performed and proper posthospital home care. Television is also used in pa-

tient surveillance—for example, in intensive care units—so that several areas can be monitored from a central nurses' station. Video can also contribute to psychiatric examinations by allowing behavior to be observed without intruding or introducing outside stimuli.

Public information applications of television have enabled hospitals and other health care providers to aim programs at broader communities. The same equipment used for education and training can also be used in preparing materials for public outreach. Not only do hospitals produce video news releases that are provided to local television outlets, but some also syndicate their own "health segments" to national or regional broadcast stations. There are even examples of hospitals that produce their own telethons to raise research funds, often for diseases that afflict children.

As it has in so many other arenas, the convergence of video and computers is having an impact in medicine in areas such as picture archival and communication systems (PACS). Many medical technologies, such as magnetic resonance and ultrasound imagers, filmless radiology, and CT scanners, generate digital images, and PACS then integrate the images with other clinical information so that all relevant patient data are available through the computer network. The Veterans Administration Medical Centers in the United States have 22 Veterans Integrated Service Network Telemedicine Networks that enable images and other data

to be shared in such areas as radiology, pathology, cardiology, dermatology, dentistry, and nuclear medicine, among others. The use of video, then, in conjunction with computers and as a technology in its own right will continue to be an important part of the health care field.

J.C. TURNER

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## Meet the Press

### U.S. Public Affairs/Interview

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*Meet the Press*, the longest-running television series in the United States, consistently generates headlines from its interviews with world-renowned guests including national political leaders, foreign heads of state or government, and Nobel Prize winners.

*Meet the Press* premiered on television on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) on November 6, 1947. This exceptionally successful program was the first to bring Washington politics into American living rooms. It also was a pioneer in color TV. In 1954 it aired in color as a "test" program. Since NBC was ahead in the development of color technology, that test was likely the first color telecast by any network; six

years later, *Meet the Press* became the first NBC program to air regularly in color.

Lawrence E. Spivak first debuted *Meet the Press* as a 1947 radio program to promote his magazine *American Mercury*. After *Meet the Press* moved to television, Spivak continued to serve as producer, regular panelist, and later moderator. He retired from the series in November 1975.

*Meet the Press* originally aired in a 30-minute, live press conference format, with a panel of newspaper journalists interviewing a political news maker. On September 20, 1992, *Meet the Press* expanded to a one-hour interview program. According to Kathleen

Hall Jamieson, interview programs are successful because neither the follow-up by the reporter nor the length of the candidates' answers is artificially constrained. *Meet the Press's* contemporary format consists of two or three interview segments with guests of national and international importance followed by a roundtable discussion. Interviews are conducted in the studio, on location, or via satellite. (In fact, on September 19, 1965, *Meet the Press* became the first network television to broadcast a live satellite interview.) In the present-day version, two or three journalists join host Tim Russert during the initial questioning periods and the roundtable discussion.

Russert joined *Meet the Press* as moderator on December 8, 1991. He came to the program with a thorough understanding of Capitol Hill politics, having previously served as counselor to New York Governor Mario Cuomo and as special counsel and chief of staff to U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He also is well aware of how journalists cover politics. He has served as senior vice president and Washington, D.C., bureau chief for NBC since December 1988. He also serves as a contributing anchor for MSNBC and as a political analyst for the *NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw* and for the *Today* show.

According to a former NBC producer, "Tim has an enormous amount of power right now to make and influence [government] policy on *Meet the Press*." On *Meet the Press*, questions are asked of political personalities in hopes of moving the political process forward or, at least, moving it along. Russert has interviewed almost every major political figure of the 1990s and the early 21st century. As of 2002, Bob Dole had been the most frequent guest on *Meet the Press*, with 56 appearances over his career as a congressman, senator, Republican National Committee chair, vice presidential candidate, and presidential nominee. Although a topic of frequent discussion on the program, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton has never appeared on or accepted an interview for *Meet the Press*.

*Meet the Press* emerged early on as a leading program for providing political accountability. In fact, President John F. Kennedy was fond of calling it the "51st state." *Meet the Press* has become the most

quoted news program in the world. When the show premiered, it aired on Wednesday nights after 10 P.M. Later, it was moved to Monday, then to Saturday. In the mid-1960s, *Meet the Press* found its niche as a daytime Sunday program. In 2002 it aired via network feed on Sundays from 9 to 10 A.M. The national audience has grown more than 40 percent, making it the most-watched Sunday morning interview program in 2002.

The 2002 executive producer of *Meet the Press* is Nancy Nathan, with Betsy Fischer serving as the show's senior producer. The program originates from Washington, D.C., but the show travels when world events become major news. Sites have included the Republican and Democratic national conventions, the 1993 Bill Clinton-Boris Yeltsin summit in Vancouver, the 1990 Helsinki summit, the 1989 United States-Soviet summit on the island of Malta, and the 1989 economic summit of industrialized nations in Paris.

Whether in Washington, D.C., or on location at an event of political importance, the discussions aired on *Meet the Press* often generate headlines in other media outlets. Today, *Meet the Press* continues to engage viewers in the political process.

LORI MELTON MCKINNON

*See also News, Network*

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## Melodrama

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One of television's most diverse program types, the melodramatic genre encompasses an extensive variety of aesthetic formats, settings, and character types. Melodramatic formats include the series, consisting of self-contained episodes, each with a classic dramatic structure of conflict/complication/resolution in which central and supporting characters return week after week; the serial, which features a continuing storyline, carried forward from program to program (this is typical of soap opera, both daytime and prime time); the anthology, a nonepisodic program series constituting an omnibus of different self-contained programs, related only by subgenre, and featuring different actors and characters each week (important examples include *The Twilight Zone*, a science fiction anthology, and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, a mystery anthology); and repertory, a nonepisodic series consisting of different programs featuring a group of actors who appear each week but in different roles (very rare on television, the repertory is best represented by *The Richard Boone Show*). Settings include the hostile western frontier of *Gunsmoke* and *Have Gun, Will Travel* and its urban analog—the mean streets of *East Side/West Side* and, more recently, *Hill Street Blues*; the gleaming corporate office towers of *Dallas* and *L.A. Law*; the quiet suburban enclaves in which *Marcus Welby, M.D.* made house calls in the 1970s; the ostentatious exurban chateaus of *Falcon Crest* and the numerous wealthy criminals outsmarted by the proletarian cop Columbo; and the high-pressure, teeming workplace peopled by dedicated professionals such as the newspaper reporters in *Lou Grant*. The seemingly endless variety of “heroic” and “villianous” character types in television melodrama, whose weekly travails and romantic interests ground the dramaturgy, are drawn from the rich store of historical legend, the front pages of today's broadsheets and tabloids, and the future projections of science fiction and science fantasy: cowboys, sheriffs, bounty hunters, outlaws, pioneers/settlers, police, mobsters, sleuths, science fiction adventurers and other epic wanderers, spies, corrupt entrepreneurs, doctors, lawyers, and intrepid journalists.

Television melodrama has its direct roots in the early 19th-century stage play in which romantic, sensational plots and incidents were mixed with songs and orchestral music. The word “melodrama” evolved from the Greek “melos,” meaning song or music, and

“drama,” a deed, action, or play, especially tragedy. In tragedy, the hero is isolated from society so that he or she may better understand his or her own and the society's moral weakness; but once enlightened, the hero cannot stave off the disaster embedded in the social structure beyond the hero's control. In contrast, the melodramatic hero is a normative character representing incorporation into society. Northrop Frye, in *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), described a central theme in melodrama as “the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience.” Since melodrama exists within a mass-cultural framework, it could, according to Frye, easily become “advance propaganda for the police state” if it were taken seriously. Frye sidesteps this fear by positing that the audience does not take such work seriously.

Peter Brooks, in *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976), finds melodrama acting powerfully in society, reflecting the socialization of the deeply personal. Brooks sees in the melodramatic aesthetic unremitting conflict; possibly disabling, excessive enactment; and ultimately clarification and cure. It is, according to Brooks, akin to our experience of nightmare, where virtue is seemingly helpless in the face of menace. “The end of the nightmare is an awakening brought about by confrontation and expulsion of the villain, the person in whom evil is seen to be concentrated, and a reaffirmation of the society of ‘decent people.’”

Melodrama demands strong justice, while tragedy, in contrast, often includes the ambivalence of mercy in its code. Melodrama provides us with models of clear resolution for highly personalized, intensely enacted conflict. Television melodrama may be considered a contemporary substitute for traditional forms of social control—the rituals of organized religion and, before that, of “primitive mythologies”—that provided easily understandable models of “primal, intense, polarized forces.” It is thus a powerfully conservative social artifact—a public ceremonial ritual, repositioned in politics and economics, drawing us into both the prescriptions and the proscriptions of mainstream cultural values.

The hero is central to melodrama. In classical Greek dramaturgy, the term applied to an individual of superhuman strength, courage, or ability who was favored by the gods. In antiquity, the hero was regarded as an immortal intermediary between the gods and ordinary



people—a demigod who was the offspring of a god or goddess and a human being. Later, the heroic class came to include mortals of renown who were deified because of great and noble deeds or for firmness or greatness of soul in any course of action they undertook. The hero was distinguished by extraordinary bravery and martial achievement. Many heroes were boldly experimental or resourceful in their actions. Punishment of those who violated social codes was harsh.

The world in which the classic hero operated was a world of heightened emotional intensity—a harsh world in which the norm included unending tests of both physical and moral strength and the constant threat of death. The hero represented a carefully defined value system in which good triumphed over evil in the end and in which the actions of the hero, with the assistance of the gods, produced order and stability out of chaos.

Heroes are “social types.” As Orrin Klapp notes in *Heroes, Villains, and Fools: The Changing American Character* (1962), heroes offer “roles which, though informal, have become rather well conceptualized and in which there is a comparatively high degree of consensus.” Drawn from a cultural stock of images and symbols, heroes provide models people try to approximate. As such, Klapp argues, heroes represent “basic dimensions of social control in any society.”

Reflecting the increasingly technocratic nature of contemporary American society, many “workplace” melodramas on television have featured what Gary Edgerton (1980) has termed the “corporate hero”—a team of specialists which acts as a unit. The corporate hero derives his or her identity from the group. He or she is more a distinct “talent” than a distinct personality. Heroism by committee emphasizes the individual’s need to belong to a group and to interact. The composite corporate hero tends to reinforce the importance of social institutions in maintaining social order. When violence is employed to this end, as in police or spy melodrama, it is corporatized, becoming less a personal expression for the corporate hero than for the traditional individual hero. Major examples of the corporate hero in television melodrama include *Mission: Impossible*, *Charlie’s Angels*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *L.A. Law*.

Heroes could not exist on the melodramatic stage without their dramaturgical counterparts—villains and fools. While heroes exceed societal norms, villains, in contrast, are negative models of evil to be feared, hated, and ultimately eradicated or reformed by the actions of the hero; villains threaten societal norms. Fools, on the other hand, are models of absurdity, to be ridiculed; they fall far short of societal norms.

Within the television melodrama, these social types operate as images or signs, constructed according to our society’s dominant values, reinforcing commonly held beliefs regarding the proper ordering of social relations.

The aesthetic structure of television melodrama, as a form of popular storytelling, is clearly linked to its dramaturgical predecessors. It employs rhythmic patterns in its scene and act progression analogous to the metrical positions in the poetic line of the mnemonically composed classical Greek epic poetry. As in the grand opera of the 19th century, television melodrama is organized into a series of distinct acts, each generally signifying a change in either time or place, and linked by orchestral transitions. Superfluous exposition is eliminated. The spectator is offered a series of intense highlights of the lives of the protagonists and antagonists. Orchestral music introduces actions, provides a background for plot movement, and reinforces moments of heightened dramatic intensity. Television melodrama, like grand opera, is generally constructed to formula. Plot dominates, initiating excitement and suspense by raising for its protagonists explicit questions of self-preservation and implicit questions of preservation of the existing social order.

In 19th- and 20th-century literature, melodrama came to signify “democratic drama.” Critics condemned the form as sensational, sentimental entertainment for the masses. Rural-type melodrama—with its beautiful, virtuous, impoverished heroine; its pure hero; its despicable villain who ties the heroine to the railroad tracks; and the rustic clown who aids the hero (wonderfully satirized in the television cartoon “Dudley Do-Right of the Royal Canadian Mounties,” originally a segment of *The Bullwinkle Show*)—gave way to city melodrama focusing on the seamy underworld and to suspenseful crime dramas, such as those of Agatha Christie.

Television melodrama has drawn freely from all these precursors both structurally and conceptually. Highly segmented plots developed in four 12-minute acts, each with a climax, and a happy ending usually encompassed in an epilogue in which moral lessons are conveyed to the audience (a function assumed by the “chorus” in classical Greek drama), carried along by background music and stress peaks of action and emotional involvement. Suspense and excitement are heightened by a sense of realism created through sophisticated if formulaic visualizations (car chases being obvious examples). Characterizations are generally unidimensional, employing eccentric protagonists and antagonists made credible by good acting. Ideologically, the plot elements reinforce conventional morality.

The rhythm of the commercial television melodrama depends on a predictable structure motivated by the flow of the sequence of program segment, music, and commercial. As suspense builds and the plot thickens, viewers are carried forward at various crucial junctures by a combination of rapid visual cutting and an intense buildup of the orchestral background music and ambient sound that create a smooth transition to the often frenetic, high-pitched commercials. This rhythm produces a flow that the audience implicitly understands and accepts as a genre convention in the context of the pecuniary mechanisms that define the regime of commercial television.

Raymond Williams, in *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, refers to melodramatic structuration as commodified "planned flow." By cutting down on exposition or establishing sequences that tend toward lengthy and deliberate characterizations, the purveyors of melodrama are able to break their tales into shortened, fast-paced, and often unconnected simple sequences that make the commercial breaks feel natural to viewers.

The production imperatives of television-series melodrama reinforce Williams's concept of the commodification of flow. Noted producer/writers Richard Levinson and William Link (*Columbo*, *Mannix*, and *Murder, She Wrote* and made-for-television movies *The Execution of Private Slovik*, *The Storyteller*, and *That Certain Summer*) described these production procedures in *Stay Tuned* (1983). The network commits itself to a new television series in mid-April. The series premieres in early September, leaving four and a half months' lead time for producers to hire staff (including writers and directors), prepare scripts, and begin shooting and editing. It takes four weeks, under the best conditions, to complete an episode of a melodrama; with luck, four shows will be "in the can" by the season's premiere, with others in varying stages of development (at any time during the process, many series episodes will be in development simultaneously, one being edited, another shot, and another scripted). By October, the initial four episodes will have been aired, and the fifth will be nearly ready. If the show is renewed at mid-season, the producer will need as many as 22 episodes for the entire season. By December, there will be but a matter of days between the final edit and the airing of an episode, as inevitable delays shorten the turnaround time. In addition to normal time problems, there are problems with staff. Levinson and Link cite the frequent problem of having a good freelance writer in demand who agrees to write for one producer's shows as well as those of other producers. The writer with a track record will be juggling an outline for one show, a first draft for another, and a "notion" for a third.

In the frenzied world of the daytime soap opera, actors get their scripts the night before the taping, begin run-through rehearsals at 7:30 the next morning, do three rehearsals before taping, and tape between 3:30 and 6:00 that afternoon. This hectic ritual is repeated five days a week.

The prime-time melodrama production process is driven by shortcuts, scattered attention, and occasional network interference in content, created by the fear of viewer response to potentially controversial material that may range from questionable street language, however dramatically appropriate, to sexual taboos (proscriptions change over time as standards of appropriateness change in the wider culture). Simplicity, predictability, and safety become the norms that frame the creation and production of television melodrama. Planned flow, the melodrama's highly symbolic heroic ideal, its formal conventions, and its reinforcement of the society's dominant values at any given cultural moment render the genre highly significant as a centrist cultural mechanism stressing order and stasis.

Perhaps because it is such a staple—and stable—form of television, melodrama has become a central feature of almost any other program formations in the medium, leading to "blurred" genres modified by melodramatic conventions. Thus, police procedurals such as *NYPD Blue* or *Third Watch* focus as often on the private tribulations of characters as on their professional activities, though the two types of event frequently intertwine and influence each other. One of the more notable examples of this genre blending and bending was *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, which modified a comic-adventure theatrical release into a compelling exploration of the lives of teens and young adults, providing powerful and poignant moments, such as in the episode in which Buffy's mother dies.

The use of melodrama as a modifying factor even altered the concept of planned flow when cable channels began to produce serialized programming based on familiar genres. Home Box Office's (HBO's) *The Sopranos*, *OZ*, and *The Wire* have been cited as among the most complex offerings in television history, each of them trading on viewer knowledge of "mafia stories," "prison stories," or "police procedurals," richly embroidered with melodramatic overtones. Indeed, it is likely that the sense of these basic story forms has now been altered by these uninterrupted, randomly available narratives, "rewritten" in melodramatic form.

HAL HIMMELSTEIN

*See also Alfred Hitchcock Presents; Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Charlie's Angels, Dallas; East Side/West Side; Gunsmoke; Have Gun, Will Travel; Hill Street Blues; L.A. Law; Lou Grant; Marcus Welby, M.D.;*

*Mission: Impossible; NYPD Blue; The Sopranos; The Twilight Zone*

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## Mercer, David (1928–1980)

British Writer

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David Mercer, an innovative and controversial writer for television, stage, and film, was a key figure in the development of television drama in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. Although he often said he got into television by accident, his television plays first established his reputation and offered a powerful and personal exploration of the possibilities of the medium. Published soon after transmission, Mercer's screenplays sparked lively critical and political debates.

Mercer came from a northern working-class family, but his interest in the arts and in politics began after World War II, when he was able to take advantage of the extension of new educational opportunities. This experience was central to his first television play, *Where the Difference Begins* (1961), originally written for the stage but accepted for broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The "difference" in the title referred to the younger generation's break with traditional socialist values. Mercer followed up with two more plays, *A Climate of Fear* (1962) and *The Birth of a Private Man* (1963), which dealt with characters struggling to sustain a left-wing political vision in the new "affluent" society.

Although Mercer's early work showed the influence of the "kitchen sink" realism that had swept through British theater, literature, and cinema in the late 1950s, he soon joined other BBC writers and producers to

challenge what Troy Kennedy-Martin called the prevailing "naturalism" of television drama. In Mercer's case, the result was a new verbal and visual freedom: instead of talking heads and colloquial speech patterns, the plays used condensed, witty, articulate dialogue with striking, often subjective or allegorical images. An example of such imagery occurs at the end of *The Birth of a Private Man*, when Colin Waring, whose private life had disintegrated in the face of his political uncertainties, dies at the Berlin Wall in a hail of bullets from both sides.

This antinaturalist style was recognized as an imaginative use of the medium but disturbed critics of all political persuasions. Conservatives objected to Mercer's self-professed Marxist position, liberals found the plays too explicit and lacking in subtlety, while orthodox left-wing critics questioned the emphasis on the problems of Socialism—the compromises of the British postwar Labour governments, the revelations about Stalin's atrocities, and the failures of Communism in Eastern Europe. The plays may be Marxist in their stress on the need for a political revolution, but the revolutionary impulse is usually blocked and becomes internalized as psychological breakdown. However, the impulse also emerges in Mercer's pleasure in breaking the rules of television drama, as he did emphatically in *A Suitable Case for Treatment* (1962), a

broad farce in which the main character indulges in "mad" visions of a retreat to the jungle away from the complexities of his political and personal life. Mercer later wrote the screenplay for the successful film version of this play, *Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment* (1966), directed by Karel Reisz.

The motif of "madness" in Mercer's plays has much in common with the antipsychiatry philosophy of R.D. Laing, who claimed that schizophrenia is an essentially sane response to a mad society. Laing was extremely influential in the 1960s, and he expressed great interest in Mercer's work, acting as consultant on one of his most powerful television plays, *In Two Minds* (1967), a documentary-style drama that traces the causes of a young woman's schizophrenia to her oppressive family life. The play was directed by Ken Loach, who also directed the 1971 film version *Family Life* (*Wednesday's Child* in the United States), based on Mercer's screenplay.

Mercer himself likened his plays to rituals exploring the tensions and contradictions of fragmented personalities and ambiguous truths. They explore the relationships of the political and the personal in a society that encourages conformity, inhibiting individual expression. He felt that television gave him greater freedom of expression than was possible in the commercial theater or cinema, but he did continue to work in other media. His influence can be seen in the work of a younger generation of writers, such as Trevor Griffiths, David Hare, and Stephen Poliakoff, who have also drawn on the resources of television, theater, and film to produce a powerful body of work dealing with the intersection of personal and political pressures in contemporary Britain.

JIM LEACH

**David Mercer.** Born in Wakefield, Yorkshire, England, June 27, 1928. Educated at King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Durham University, B.A. with honors, 1953. Married twice; one daughter. Served in Royal Navy, 1945-48. Laboratory technician, 1942-45; lived in Paris, 1953-54; supply teacher, 1955-59; teacher, Barrett Street Technical College, 1959-61; television dramatist, from 1961; screenwriter, from 1965. Recipient: Writers Guild Award for Television Play, 1962, 1967, 1968; *Evening Standard* Award, 1965; BAFTA Award, 1966; French Film Academy César Award, for screenplay, 1977; Emmy Award, 1980. Died August 8, 1980.

**Television Plays**

- 1961 *Where the Difference Begins*
- 1962 *A Climate of Fear*
- 1962 *A Suitable Case for Treatment*

- 1963 *The Buried Man*
- 1963 *The Birth of a Private Man*
- 1963 *For Tea on Sunday*
- 1963 *A Way of Living*
- 1965 *And Did Those Feet?*
- 1967 *In Two Minds*
- 1968 *The Parachute*
- 1968 *Let's Murder Vivaldi*
- 1968 *On the Eve of Publication*
- 1970 *The Cellar and the Almond Tree*
- 1970 *Emma's Time*
- 1972 *The Bankrupt*
- 1973 *You and Me and Him*
- 1973 *An Afternoon at the Festival*
- 1973 *Barbara of the House of Grebe*
- 1974 *The Arcata Promise*
- 1974 *Find Me*
- 1976 *Huggy Bear*
- 1977 *A Superstition*
- 1977 *Shooting the Chandelier*
- 1978 *The Ragazza*
- 1980 *A Rod of Iron*

**Films**

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- Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment* (film version of *In Two Minds*), 1966; *Family Life* (film version of *In Two Minds*), 1972; *A Doll's House* (with Michael Meyer), 1973; *Providence*, 1978.

**Radio**

- The Governor's Lady*, 1960; *Folie a Deux*, 1974.

**Stage**

- The Governor's Lady*, 1960; *The Buried Man*, 1962;
- Ride a Cock Horse*, 1965; *Belcher's Luck*, 1966;
- White Poem*, 1970; *Flint*, 1970; *After Haggerty*, 1970; *Blood on the Table*, 1971; *Let's Murder Vivaldi*, 1972; *In Two Minds*, 1973; *Duck Song*, 1974;
- The Arcata Promise*, 1974; *Cousin Vladimir*, 1978;
- Then and Now*, 1979; *No Limits to Love*, 1980.

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## Mercer, Rick (1969– )

Canadian Actor, Writer, Political Satirist

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Rick Mercer is one of Canada's most respected television writers and performers, and his career has successfully melded the quintessentially Canadian traditions of sketch comedy and political satire. But his contribution to the social and cultural landscape of Canada goes far beyond his considerable ability to entertain. Whether directed toward the perceived social and political arrogance of mainland Canada toward his home province of Newfoundland or contained within a

wicked send-up of the network television production industry, Mercer's satire not only is informed by social and political issues but also unmercifully dismantles them, revealing the underlying pretensions, contradictions, and absurdities. In 2000, for example, while still appearing as a regular on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) news satire *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, Mercer called for a national referendum to decide the issue of whether ultraconservative prime-

ministerial candidate Stockwell Day should be forced to change his first name to Doris. Mercer justified the position by citing Day's own platform, which included support for staging a national referendum whenever as few as 3 percent of Canadians called for one.

The roots of Mercer's irreverent and antiestablishment comedy lay in Newfoundland, both Mercer's birthplace and home to the legendary CODCO comedy troupe. His early stage work found him in the same local theaters as several of CODCO's founding members, including Mary Walsh and Cathy Jones, with whom Mercer would later work on the long-running CBC production *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*. Mercer broke onto the national scene in the early 1990s, writing and performing several critically acclaimed one-man plays that established the foundations for his career as a "professional ranter."

Mercer's eight years on *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* (named for the legendary Canadian public affairs program *This Hour Has Seven Days*), built his reputation as Canada's most indignant and incisive comic actor. But if its 1960s predecessor was often considered controversial for topics and approaches to stories that explored the boundaries of journalistic autonomy, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* pushed the envelope even further by pointedly subverting some of Canada's most entrenched public institutions, including broadcast journalism itself. Mercer's contributions were among the show's most subversive and the most popular. One of the Mercer trademarks was "Streeters," two-minute tirades shot in grainy black-and-white film on the Halifax, Nova Scotia, waterfront, which featured an outraged Mercer venting the collective spleen of every Canadian who had ever been angered by the duplicity of federal politicians or the petty tyranny of bank tellers.

"Talking to Americans" would take Mercer's angry-young-man act on the road. As a regular segment on *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, "Talking to Americans" had Mercer traveling to major U.S. cities and recruiting unsuspecting victims to participate in seemingly benign "man on the street" interviews that collected American opinions on Canada's geography, politics, and culture. Topics ranged from whether Canada should be forced to outlaw the polar bear slaughter in Toronto (though no polar bears live in this cosmopolitan urban center of some 2.5 million people) to whether Americans should embark on a bombing campaign against Bouchard (not a place but a person: Lucien Bouchard, the former leader of the Bloc Quebecois, the party advocating separation from Canada for French-speaking Quebec). The dismal failure of even American politicians to grasp fundamental facts about Canada emerged in the now infamous

"Jean Poutine" episode. At a press event held by then-presidential candidate George W. Bush, Mercer asked the Texas Republican to comment on the support for his presidential run pledged by Canada's prime minister, Jean Poutine. Bush's unfortunate public failure to recall that the Canadian leader's real name is Jean Chretien was compounded only by the fact that "poutine" is actually a fast-food item, popular in Quebec, consisting of french fries covered in gravy and melted cheese curds. *This Hour Has 22 Minutes'* cameras captured the entire episode, much to the delight of the perpetually marginalized Canadian television audience.

An hour-long "Talking to Americans" compilation special gained the highest ratings in Canadian broadcasting history for a comedy show, while a text-based version of *Streeters* was published in 1998. Mercer's eight years on *This Hour* would also net him 12 Gemini Awards for writing and performing as well as several Canadian Comedy Awards. He has also won regional awards in Canada for journalism and for contributions to the arts in Atlantic Canada.

While Mercer has proven his mettle as a stage actor, political satirist, news commentator, and news maker, in 1998 he turned his talents to writing and starring in a situation comedy. *Made in Canada* gleefully lampoons the Canadian private television production industry. Richard Strong, Mercer's character, is head of production (a position earned by drugging and framing his brother-in-law and boss) at "Pyramid/Prodigy Productions," where unbridled office politics and sleazy corporate competition provide the backdrop for Mercer's character's quest to destroy his enemies while churning out lamentably bad Canadian television for American syndication. Mercer has called the role a modern-day Richard III and characteristically subverts television convention by engaging the viewer in playful side commentary made directly into the camera. During the 2001-02 season, *Made in Canada* boasted cameos from a virtual "Who's Who" of Canadian film and television actors, journalists, and media industry executives, all of whom seemed only too happy to be in on the joke that the series makes of the Canadian private TV industry.

But if Mercer's career sometimes appears as a quixotic campaign to use television and journalism to expose the many flaws and ironies in Canadian political, social, and cultural life, it is also redolent with a seemingly sincere fondness and curiosity about the nation's cultural heritage and institutions. As the host of *It Seems Like Yesterday* for Canada's History Television Network, Mercer narrates half-hour retrospectives looking at newsworthy weeks in 20th-century history, emphasizing events and matters of particular impor-

tance to Canadians. In 1992 *Secret Nation* brought Mercer together with a collection of fellow Newfoundland artists, writers, and actors in a deft mystery exploring a fictional British-Canadian plot to sabotage a referendum, forcing Newfoundland into confederation with the rest of Canada in the 1940s. Mercer also routinely lends his considerable talents to hosting awards shows and CBC specials, appearing as a special guest on children's programs and at comedy festivals.

JODY WATERS

See also *CODCO*

**Rick Mercer.** Born October, 17, 1969, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada. Began career as a writer and performer in local theater in St. John's as a teenager, later going on to work with founders of Newfoundland's famed CODCO theater troupe. First two one-man shows, *Show Me the Button, I'll Push It*, and *I've Killed Before; I'll Kill Again* became Canada-wide hits in the early 1990s. Debuted on television in 1993 on the news satire *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*. Departed in 2001 to write and star in *Made in Canada*. Hosted the Canadian Juno Awards in 2001, the East Coast Music Awards in 1998 and 1999, and the Gemini Awards in 2000.

#### Television Series

- 1993–2001 *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*  
(writer and performer)  
*It Seems Like Yesterday*
- 1998– *Made in Canada* (writer and performer)

#### Television Specials

- 1996 *CBC New Year's Eve Comedy Special*  
(with cast of *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*)

- 1997 *CBC New Year's Eve Comedy Special*  
(with cast of *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*)
- 1998 East Coast Music Awards
- 1999 East Coast Music Awards
- 2000 Gemini Awards
- 2001 Canadian Juno Awards
- 2001 "Talking to Americans"

#### Stage

- Show Me the Button, I'll Push It*, 1991; *I've Killed Before; I'll Kill Again*, 1992; *A Good Place to Hide*, 1995

#### Film

- 1992 *Secret Nation*
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## Mergers and Acquisitions

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Mergers and acquisitions have been a constant theme in the U.S. television business since its commercial beginnings. The vast majority of the dominant companies have been built by taking over other enterprises. For example, all four of the original television networks developed as products of mergers. No better example can be found than the complex formation of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). During

World War II, when the federal government forced the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to divest itself of one of its two radio networks, Edward Nobel's Life-savers company acquired the NBC Blue network and renamed it ABC. For nearly a decade, ABC struggled and would probably have not made a major impact in television had not it been acquired by another company, United Paramount Theaters, in 1952. Leonard

Goldenson, then head of United Paramount, took control of the merged units and sold movie theaters to finance the creation of ABC Television.

During this same early period, another television company, Dumont, was able to mount a TV network largely because it had been acquired by Hollywood's Paramount Pictures, and even the NBC and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) television networks, usually thought of as secure corporate entities, relied on mergers to increase their stable of owned-and-operated television stations. As the three-network oligopoly of ABC, CBS, and NBC solidified its position in the American news and entertainment contexts and in the wake of specific Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rulings on the allocation of spectrum space, the television industry appeared to be established and unchanging. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the "Big Three" TV networks acquired few TV properties, and the only big news in the late 1960s was an "almost merger" as ITT tried and failed to take control of ABC. The FCC carefully investigated that proposed deal, and the delay caused the parties to abandon the merger. CBS and NBC were satisfied to acquire ancillary entertainment units, from baseball teams to book publishers.

The stability of the three major TV network empires was shattered in the mid-1980s, a time when the television business was changing rapidly. Cable and home video made major inroads into the landscape dominated by terrestrially based broadcasters. Longtime owners, such as William Paley of CBS, began to ponder retirement, and perhaps most significantly, the FCC lowered the level of its threatened opposition to proposed deals.

In 1986 General Electric (GE) purchased the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) at a price in excess of \$6 billion and thus acquired NBC. GE, one of the biggest corporations in the world, immediately sold off the NBC Radio network and stations as well as RCA manufacturing. GE's stripped-down NBC then began to expand into cable television, a move most strongly exemplified by its acquisition of shares of the CNBC, Bravo, American Movie Classics (AMC), and A&E cable television networks.

Also in 1986, Laurence Tisch and his Loews investment company took over CBS. Earlier, as Ted Turner attempted a hostile bid for CBS, longtime CBS chief Paley looked for a "white knight" to save his beloved company and in October 1985 asked Tisch to join the CBS board of directors to thwart the Atlanta-based broadcaster. The following year, Tisch took full control and, to no one's surprise, systematically began to sell everything CBS owned in order to concentrate on television. First to go was CBS Educational and Profes-

sional Publishing, which included Holt, Rinehart and Winston, one of the country's leading publishers of textbooks, and W.B. Saunders, a major publisher of medical books. Next Tisch picked up \$2 billion from the Sony Corporation of Japan for CBS's Music Group, one of the world's dominant sellers of popular music.

ABC was the third of the Big Three to be merged into another company. By the early 1980s, Leonard Goldenson had transformed ABC into the top TV network, but he had passed his 80th birthday and wanted out of the day-to-day grind of running a billion-dollar corporation. In 1986 Capital Cities, backed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway investment group, bought ABC for \$3.5 billion. Capital Cities had long ranked as a top group-owner of television stations, and through the late 1980s and into the 1990s, the new "CapCities," led by chief executive officer Thomas Murphy, moved ABC into cable television, most notably by taking control of the cable sports network ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Network).

At this same time, the cable television industry was also in the process of consolidating. Giant companies were created through acquisitions and mergers based on the core of the cable television operation: the local franchise. To take advantage of economies of operation, corporations merged cable franchises under single corporate umbrellas, creating "multiple system operators." No two corporations did this better than Time Warner and TeleCommunications, Inc. (TCI).

Time Warner was formed by the merger of two communications giants in 1989; its assets approached \$20 billion, and yearly revenues topped \$10 billion. While the colossus covered all phases of the mass media, its heart was a vast nationwide collection of cable franchises. However, this merger to end all mergers also included Warner Brothers (one of Hollywood's major studios, a leading home video distributor, and one of the world's top six major music labels) and Time's vast array of publishing interests, from magazines as well known as *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated* to Time-Life Books. In 1995 Time Warner acquired Turner Broadcasting (which had itself acquired other film libraries, production companies, and cable entities), making an already vast empire ever larger.

From the outside, to challenge the Big Three networks and these vast cable corporations, came Rupert Murdoch and his News Corporation Ltd. From a confederation of independent stations around the United States, Murdoch fashioned the FOX television network. He began by taking over the Hollywood studio 20th Century-Fox and thus obtaining a steady source of programming. Next he acquired the most powerful nonnetwork collection of television stations, Metrome-



dia, for well in excess of \$1 billion. These six over-the-air television stations, plus a score more in smaller markets that Murdoch would later acquire as legal ownership maximums increased, could reach nearly one-third of homes in the United States. As a capstone, Murdoch spent well in excess of \$1 billion for *TV Guide*, the magazine that was best able to promote his new television empire.

In 1990, with the Time Warner merger settled, Rupert Murdoch on scene as a new player, and the new owners for each of the Big Three TV networks, it seemed it would be well into the next century before the television industry in the United States would experience another important wave of mergers. Instead, a frenzy of acquisition came in 1995, far sooner than anyone expected. That summer, Disney acquired Capital Cities/ABC, adding not only a famous TV network but also a score of FM and AM radio stations and two dozen newspapers to the entertainment and theme park company. Within a month, Tisch sold CBS to Westinghouse. At the time, Westinghouse stood as a major manufacturer of industrial equipment in the United States with but a single division owning and operating television and radio stations. (Later in 1995 came the previously mentioned acquisition of Turner Broadcasting by Time Warner.)

A cornerstone event in the history of mergers and acquisitions in the television business had taken place. Critics stood up and asserted that this takeover wave had created a very real threat: a few corporations controlling television, the most important communications medium of the late 20th century. Before 1995, analysts had associated TV networks with one part of the business (distribution run from New York) and Hollywood with another (production of prime-time entertainment). The 1995 merger movement changed all that, consolidating all economic functions into single corporations. Indeed, critics argued that the television industry seemed on the verge of domination by one unit: "The ABC-CBS-NBC-FOX-Disney-Westinghouse-News Corp Entertainment and Appliance Group."

A primary concern for critics of such alliances is the reduction in forms of social and cultural expression. They cite various form of vertical integration—including the unification of production, distribution, and presentation of mediated material—as serious threats to experimentation, variation, and diversity among social and cultural groups. Profit margins, rather than the needs and aspirations of groups and individuals, determine what is produced and exhibited. Moreover, because most of the major participants in the giant, newly merged media corporations also have international interests, critics point to the possibility of a reduction in cultural diversity, forms of expression, and

dissemination of information on a global scale. Indeed, the model of consolidation and merger outlined here in the context of the United States is equally significant among a shrinking handful of European and Asian media conglomerates. Control of communication- and media-based corporations throughout the world, then, is scrutinized as a form of extraordinary political, economic, social, and cultural power.

The wave of mergers continued through the end of the 20th century and the early 2000s. The biggest came in January 2000, when America Online (AOL) merged with Time Warner. This deal lasted only three years, as AOL could never provide a synergistic thrust to the benefit of Time Warner. In August 2003, "AOL" was dropped from the company name.

The second-largest deal came in September 2003, when NBC took control of Hollywood's Universal studios. Therefore, at that point in time, all four major networks (NBC, CBS, ABC, and FOX) were vertically integrated with movie and television studios in a merger worth an estimated \$42 billion.

Mergers and acquisitions will continue in the future as corporate players try to anticipate what it means to operate in the new world of 500 channels and the Internet. Future media mergers will most likely take one of three forms.

First, corporations and companies not directly involved in the television industry will wish to enter into mergers with television companies or acquire them. This was exemplified by the Westinghouse takeover of CBS, continuing a trend that started in the mid-1980s with GE taking over NBC. More often than not (and surely in the case with Westinghouse), the outside corporate entity acquires the television company because it is struggling and seeking to reinvent itself.

Second, there will be an increase in vertical integration. Disney, a "software producer," acquired ABC, a top distributor of video, in part to enable Disney to gain a guaranteed market for its future products.

The third merger strategy will be corporate diversification. Corporate chief executive officers will seek to spread risk over as many media enterprises as possible in order to hedge bets in an ever-changing media marketplace. With divisions devoted to all forms of the mass media, the diversified corporation can survive through future recessions and ride the technological wave of the future, whatever direction it may take.

It is likely that mergers and acquisitions will always be a central activity in the television business as companies maneuver to become the dominant player in one media segment. Television, whether defined by networks (distributors) or Hollywood studios (producers), has long been comprised of small, exclusive clubs. As long as television remains a major industry, outsiders

will attempt to buy in, current players will struggle to protect what they have, and all will strive to minimize risk. Simply put, it is cheaper to merge with and acquire other companies than to start new companies from scratch, a fact as true in the days of Sarnoff, Paley, and Goldenson as it is today.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

**See also American Broadcasting Company; Columbia Broadcasting System; FOX Broadcasting Company; Hollywood and Television; Media Conglomerates; National Broadcasting Company; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting Systems; Networks: United States**

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## Messer, Don (1910–1973)

Canadian Musician, Television Performer

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Don Messer was the star of his own music variety program, *Don Messer's Jubilee*, which ran on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's public broadcaster, from 1958 to 1969. The program featured the "Down-East" fiddling style of Messer and his band as well as a medley of old-time favorite folk songs sung by the show's two lead singers, Marge Osborne and Charlie Chamberlain. During its run, it was one of the most popular television programs in Canada, and in the mid-1960s it ranked second only to *Hockey Night in Canada* in national ratings.

*Don Messer's Jubilee*, like many early television programs, had its roots in radio. In 1934, Messer formed a band, the Lumberjacks, in his native province

of New Brunswick; along with lead singer Charlie Chamberlain, he developed the musical format and style that he would later translate to television. In 1939, he moved to Prince Edward Island, where the band was joined by Marge Osborne. They changed the band's name to the Islanders. His television career began locally in the Maritimes in 1957. One year later, *Don Messer's Jubilee* was broadcast nationally as a summer replacement for the country-and-western music show *Country Hoedown*. *Jubilee* was an instant success and remained consistently in the top ten throughout its run. The show's popularity was so strong that its Canadian ratings in 1961 were even higher than the formidable *Ed Sullivan Show*.

The show's success, according to Messer himself, lay in its sincerity and simplicity. The show's style contrasted sharply with the more "showbiz" variety programs that were being made in Canada's larger urban centers, which more often than not emulated the more appealing U.S. programs. *Jubilee* offered its Canadian viewers a "made-in-Canada" variety show. It reflected what one commentator called "an echo of our country and people as they used to be in simpler days."

Don Messer was shy and retiring and rarely spoke in front of the cameras, preferring to let the show's announcer introduce the songs. The two lead singers appeared more ordinary and down-home than glamorous and glitzy. The show's set, format, and staging were simple, straightforward, and inexpensive to produce. Settings were often fixed, and a "book" (two flats hinged together) was often used to provide variety. *Jubilee's* appeal was largely among Canada's far-flung rural population, reaching nearly one-half of Canadian farm homes, and its greatest appeal was among the fishing population of the Maritimes.

The decision to cancel the show in 1969 in favor of a "younger look" brought such a storm of protest that the CBC board of directors decreed that in the future such popular shows were not to be canceled without justifiable reasons. Attempts were quickly made to revive the show on Hamilton's local television station CHCH, but without its national time slot, *Jubilee* quickly lost its magic. Don Messer passed away three years later on March 26, 1973.

The appeal of *Don Messer's Jubilee* has survived to this day. Since the 1970s, it has come to symbolize the

"made-in-Canada" music variety show. Many artists have had successful television careers using the formula and sincere style that Messer pioneered. Shows such as *The Tommy Hunter Show*, a country-western music program; *The Irish Rovers*, featuring Irish folk music; and *Rita MacNeill and Friends*, starring another Maritime musician, have carved out successful programs based on Messer's own conviction that musicians wish to be judged only on their ability to make music rather than the glitz and glamour of their programming. In the mid-1980s, John Gray, composer and songwriter of the stage play *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, revived a stage play based on the television show as a celebration of a Canadian cultural treasure.

MANON LAMONTAGNE

**Don Messer.** Born in Tweedside, New Brunswick, Canada, 1910. Fiddler since age of seven; formed group, the New Brunswick Lumberjacks, with Charlie Chamberlain, and made first radio appearance, 1934; regular radio and television appearances on CBC; host, maritime regional musical variety program. Died March 26, 1973.

#### Television Series

1958–69 *Don Messer's Jubilee* (host/performer)

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## Mexico

The first experimental television transmission in Mexico—from Cuernavaca to Mexico City—was arranged by Francisco Javier Stavoli in 1931. Stavoli purchased a Nipkow system from Western Television in Chicago with funding from the ruling party, the Mexican Revolutionary Party, which became the current Institutional Revolutionary Party. In 1934 Guillermo Gonzalez Camarena built his own monochromatic camera; by 1939 Gonzalez Camarena had developed a trichromatic system, and in 1940 he obtained the first patent for color television in the world. In 1942, after Lee deForest traveled to meet with him in order to buy the rights, he

secured the U.S. patent under description of the Chromoscopic Adaptors for Television Equipment. In 1946 Gonzalez Camarena also created XE1GGC-Channel 5, Mexico's first experimental television station, and started weekly transmissions to a couple of receivers, built by Gonzalez Camarena himself, installed at the radio stations XEW and XEQ and at the Mexican League of Radio Experimentors. The first on-air presenter was Luis M. Farias, and the group of actors and actresses performing in those transmissions were Rita Rey, Emma Telmo, Amparo Guerra Margain, and Carlos Ortiz Sanchez. Gonzalez Camarena also built the

studio Gon-Cam in 1948, which was considered the best television system in the world in a survey done by Columbia College of Chicago.

In 1949, another broadcasting pioneer, Romulo O'Farrill, obtained the concession for XHTV-Channel 4, the first commercial station in Mexico, which was equipped with an RCA system. XHTV made the first remote-control transmission in July 1950 from the Auditorium of the National Lottery—a program televising a raffle for the subscribers of O'Farrill's newspaper, *Novedades*. The first televised sports event, a bullfight, was transmitted the following day. In September 1950, with the firm Omega and the automobile-tire manufacturer Goodrich Euzkadi as the first advertisers, XHTV made the first commercial broadcast, the State of the Union Address of President Miguel Aleman Valdes.

By the late 1980s, the entire telecommunications infrastructure in Mexico consisted of 10,000 miles of microwaves with 224 retransmitting stations and 110 terminal stations, the Morelos Satellite System with two satellites and 232 terrestrial links, 665 AM radio stations and 200 FM radio stations, 192 television stations, and 72 cable systems.

From the time of the earliest experiments, the television system in Mexico has been regulated by article 42 of the Mexican Constitution, which stipulates state ownership of electromagnetic waves transmitted over Mexican territory. This law is supplemented by article 7 of the 1857 Constitution, which deals with freedom of the press, a perspective that became more restrictive as article 20 of the 1917 Constitution. In 1926 the Calles administration produced the Law of Electrical Communications. And the first document that specifically addresses the television industry, the "decree which sets the norms for the installation and operation of television broadcasting stations," was drafted by the Aleman administration in 1950. The current Federal Law of Radio and Television was originally formulated in 1960 during the Lopez Mateos administration, introducing limits to advertising. This law was drastically altered in 2002 by the Fox administration, complying with the proposals of private broadcasters.

Even within the structure of these regulations, television in Mexico has been dominated by a handful of powerful individuals and family groups. The most significant of these is the Azcarraga family. Television station XEW began operations in 1951 under the direction of Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta, who already owned the radio station with the same call letters, one of 13 radio stations under his ownership in the northern part of the country. Azcarraga had strong links with the U.S. conglomerate Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and had been the founding president of the

Chamber of the Radiobroadcast Industry in 1941. He was also influential in the creation of the Interamerican Radiobroadcasting Association and, with Goar Mestre of Cuba, was considered one of the two most powerful media barons in Latin America. XHGC was founded in 1952 by Gonzalez Camarena, who was considered a protégé of Azcarraga and had worked as a studio engineer in his radio stations. Telesistema Mexicano was born in 1954 with the integration of XEW-TV, XHGC-TV, and, a year later, XHTV.

Although these stations and systems operated under the laws requiring state ownership of the airwaves, in 1950 Mexico adopted a commercial model of financial support. This decision came two years after, and despite the conclusions of, the report issued by the Television Committee of the National Fine Arts Institute. The report criticized the commercial model of the American television industry, favoring instead the public television system of the United Kingdom. The Television Committee had been formed at the request of President Aleman and was chaired by Salvador Novo, who was assisted by Gonzalez Camarena. In the judgment of the committee, commercial programming was the "simple packaging of commodities with no other aspiration." Later, Novo would characterize Mexican radio as "spiritual tequila" and television as the "monstrous daughter of the hidden intercourse between radio and cinema."

In 1973, 23 years after having committed to this model of commercial support, Television Via Satellite, S.A. (Televisa), was created as a result of the fusion of Telesistema Mexicano and Television Independiente de Mexico (TIM). TIM was the media outlet of the Monterrey Group, the most powerful industrial group in the country, and consisted of XHTM-TV (which started in 1968), two more stations in the interior, and the additional 15 television stations of Telecadena Mexicana, S.A. This network was founded by film producer Manuel Barbachano Ponce in 1965 and was purchased by TIM in 1970. The fusion of Telesistema and TIM was preceded by strong criticisms of programming and advertising by several public officials, including President Luis Echeverria, in 1972.

Emilio Azcarraga Jean became the president of Televisa after the death of Emilio Azcarraga Milmo in 1997, its founding and only president, except for a short period in 1986 and 1987, when Miguel Aleman Velasco—son of the president who opted for the commercial model—replaced him. In addition to its dominant role in the television industry, Televisa has operations in sectors as diverse as the recording industry, soccer teams (America, the winningest team in the country's history; Necaxa; and Real San Luis), a sports stadium with a capacity for 114,000 spectators, a pub-

lishing house, newspapers, billboard advertising companies, Cablevision, a cable television system, film studios, video stores, and direct broadcast satellite, among others. Moreover, the Televisa empire extends beyond the boundaries of Mexico. Televisa's board has a new look after the exit of the Aleman, O'Farrill, Diez Barroso, and Canedo families and the entrance new names, such as Asuncion Aramburuzabala, vice chairwoman; Alfonso De Angoitia, chief financial officer; Raul Rodriguez, chief executive officer of radio; and Pablo Vazquez, chief executive officer of Innova. Besides the strategic alliance with Carlos Slim, the wealthiest businessperson in Mexico, the list of foreign stockholders now includes Bill Gates, who holds a 7 percent share.

The first experience of Televisa outside its home country was the creation of what is known today as Univision, a system of Spanish-language television operations in the United States. The move of Azcarraga to the United States coincided with a new strategy to grow internationally while diversifying in the national market. The original operation started in 1960 as Spanish International Network Sales (SIN) with stations in San Antonio and Los Angeles and three more besides the affiliates. The link between Televisa and SIN/SICC was in a hiatus for some time after a lawsuit focused on Azcarraga's potential violation of U.S. regulations preventing foreign citizens from holding controlling interests in U.S. media industries. Within a matter of years, however, Televisa not only recovered Univision but also added Panamsat in 1985 and made substantial investments in Chile, Peru, Spain, and Venezuela. Tele Futura was recently added to the cable channel Galavision as U.S. outlets linked to Univision.

After being dominated by Televisa for 23 years, a duopoly emerged with TV Azteca as the competitor. The quasi monopoly of Televisa in the Mexican television industry was broken in 1994, when the Salinas administration privatized a media package that included Channels 7 and 13 as well as a chain of film theaters. The winning bid was presented by Ricardo Salinas Pliego, president of the electronics manufacturer Elektra and the furniture chain Salinas y Rocha. Salinas Pliego won the bid despite having no experience in the broadcast industry, a qualification required by rules issued by the federal government. Among those who lost the bid were families with a long history in the broadcast industry, such as the Sernas and the Vargas families. Some of these irregularities were coupled with the revelation by Raul Salinas de Gortari—brother of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and the main suspect in the assassination of Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu—that he had engaged in financial transactions with Salinas Pliego shortly before and after the privatization. The

revelation of this information by Televisa (quoting U.S. newspapers and newscasts) caused a war of accusations between Televisa and the Salinas Pliego group, a war that calmed down after the intervention of the secretary of the interior and President Ernesto Zedillo himself.

Televisa had experienced a similar conflict in 1995 with Multivision, the wireless cable firm owned by the Vargas family. Multivision asked for the nullification of several dozens of new concessions of stations given to Televisa at the end of the Salinas administration. Televisa counterattacked by accusing Multivision of receiving concessions for wireless cable and other services without following correct procedures. After initiating mutual lawsuits, Televisa and Multivision reached a truce with the mediation of the secretary of the interior. The most spectacular conflict, however, occurred between TV Azteca and CNI-Channel 40 when the former took over the transmission facilities of Mount Ciquihuite of the latter with an armed commando in December 2002 because of some disagreements about the interpretation of a programming contract. The Fox administration waited ten days before reacting. A judge gave the facilities back to CNI and imprisoned eight employees of TV Azteca after the federal authorities appeared to be afraid of acting forcefully against TV Azteca.

In addition to these private, commercially supported television systems, a smaller, public system is also in place. The first public television station was Channel 11, started in 1958 by the Instituto Politecnico Nacional (National Polytechnical Institute). In 1972 the Echeverria administration created Television Rural del Gobierno Federal, which later became Television de la Republica Mexicana, and purchased 72 percent of the stock of XHDF-Channel 13 through SOMEX. It later added Channels 7 and 22 and became Instituto Mexicano de Television (Imevision). Although Imevision was owned and operated by the government, it emulated the programming of Televisa. The Salinas administration privatized Imevision, which became TV Azteca, and handed XEIMT-Channel 22 to a group of scholars, artists, and intellectuals.

Although there were some cable television operations in the northern state of Sonora by the late 1950s, the industry has been dominated by Televisa through Cablevision since its creation in 1970. This operation has had its main competitor from direct broadcast satellite delivery, primarily from Multivision, owned by the Vargas family. Multivision has greater market penetration and offers more channels than its counterparts in countries such as the United States. In 1996 Televisa created a joint venture with News Corporation, Rede Globo (Brazil), and TeleCommunications,

Inc. (TCI), to create a direct broadcast satellite service for Latin America. Multivision became part of the rival operation DirecTV, along with the Cisneros Organization (Venezuela) and Television Abril (Brazil). There have been talks to merge both satellite services in the near future.

Much of Televisa's dominance in Mexican television comes from its role as a production and distribution company. It provides over 12,000 hours of television programming each year, of which only 13 percent are imports. Media scholar Florence Toussaint says that the soul of Televisa resides in its programming. She points out that the organization offers an apparent diversity through the four channels (Channels 2, 4, 5, and 9 in Mexico City), with 118 titles in 455 hours each week. Toussaint argues, however, that among and within all these programs, a singular discourse is being elaborated, one that propagates a determinate view of the world. Plurality, she suggests, is not its goal, and all the different shows in the various genres are, in fact, similar. This is especially true of the soap operas (*telenovelas*), the main programming form of Mexican television. (The production and distribution of melodramatic *telenovelas* places Televisa among the top five exporters of television programming in the world; the programs are exported not only to the Americas but also to countries that include China and Russia.) This particular genre can be seen to prescribe the gender roles and the aspirations that the social classes should have. Bourgeois values and symbols are the ideal, the goal, and the measure of failure or success.

Different critical perspectives move away from this analysis, which assumes a passive audience. The alternative points of view, influenced by British and American cultural studies and the works of Jesus Martin-Barbero, Nestor Garcia Canclini, Jorge Gonzalez, Guillermo Orozco, and Rossana Reguillo, point out specificities of Latin American popular culture found in the form. *Telenovelas*, for example, were modeled after *radionovelas*, the primary of example of which, *El Derecho de Nacer* (The Right to Be Born), was broadcast at the beginning of the television era in the 1950s. Although the first *telenovela* in its current format was *Senda Prohibida* (Forbidden Road), other forms of television drama appeared as early as 1951, starting with the detective program *Un muerto en su tumba* (A Dead Man in His Tomb). The first serial drama was *Los Angeles de la Calle* (Street Angels), which ran from 1952 to 1955.

*Telenovelas* expanded to prime time and included male viewers as part of the target audience in 1981 with *Colorina*. Besides the melodrama, there are other subgenres in the *telenovela*—the historical, the educa-

tional, and the political—all of which, despite the explicit differences, have a melodramatic subtext. The first antecedent to this strategy of subgenres was *Maximiliano y Carlota* (1956) and was fully initiated with *La Tormenta* (The Storm) in 1967. Educational *telenovelas* began in 1956 with a story focused on adult education, *Ven conmigo* (Come with Me). For the new television network, TV Azteca, one of the most successful programs among audiences and critics has been the political *telenovela* *Nada Personal* (Nothing Personal) produced by Argos. TV Azteca suffered a big blow when Argos signed an agreement with Televisa's Cablevision to launch Channel 46-Zoom TV.

Before the privatization of TV Azteca, Channel 2, with a programming based around *telenovelas*, had the highest ratings in prime time at 26.8 (a 47 percent audience share), followed by Channels 5 and 4, with a younger target audience, with 17.3 (30.3 percent share) and 8.7 rating (15.2 percent share), respectively. TV Azteca, then Imevision, had a rating of 2.5 (4.3 percent share) and 1.8 (3.1 percent share) for Channels 13 and 7, respectively. By the summer of 2003, Televisa prime-time audience share amounted to 69.6 percent, airing 85 of the 100 most popular programs. In 2002, Televisa won the ratings war in every single genre and continued in 2003 to lead the reality show *Big Brother II*. Even after the departure of Jacobo Zabludovsky after a quarter of a century of being the most widely recognized journalist and media personality, Televisa's newscast, now led by Joaquin Lopez Doriga, doubles the ratings of TV Azteca.

These historical developments and the complex structures of the Mexican television system have been the subject of considerable critical analysis. Most examinations of the Mexican television industry adopt a liberal pluralist approach. They claim that the relation between the authorities and the television monopoly has been fruitful for both parties, especially for the latter. They also stress that in this relation, the interests of the masses have been overlooked. Few critics have taken the simple view that the government and broadcasting have identical objectives, but most do argue that the different administrations have been tolerant and weak, allowing the monopoly greater benefits than its contributions to Mexican society. These analyses focus on several central themes. They cite ownership of media industries and management of news and information, criticizing the historical quasi-monopoly and the progovernment bias of Televisa's newscasts. TV Azteca proved to be even more biased than its competitor with the coverage of the 2000 presidential campaign. Both networks did it again the following year, when they failed to cover the Zapatista "Tour" and spectacular entrance to Mexico City. The two

firms became strange bedfellows by organizing a “peace concert” a few days before the Zapatista arrival.

The Mexican system of broadcasting has developed out of the shifting balance between the state, private investors, and outside interests, originating in the postrevolutionary period (1920–40) when foreign capital and entrepreneurs alike were looking for new investment opportunities. Whether the situation remains the same—whether the same groups remain in control of media industries in Mexico in the face of new technological developments—remains to be seen.

EDUARDO BARRERA

See also *Telenovela*

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## Miami Vice

### U.S. Police Drama

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*Miami Vice* earned its nickname of “MTV cops” through its liberal use of popular rock songs and a pulsating, synthesized music track created by Jan Hammer. Segments of the program closely resembled music videos, as quickly edited images, without dialogue, were often accompanied by contemporary hits such as Tina Turner’s “What’s Love Got to Do with It?” As with music-oriented films such as *Flashdance* (1983) and *Footloose* (1984), *Miami Vice* was a program that could not have existed before Music Television (MTV) began popularizing the music video in 1981.

Originally aired from 1984 to 1989, *Miami Vice* incorporated both current music and musicians (e.g., Phil Collins, Ted Nugent, Glenn Frey, and Sheena Easton), dressed its undercover police officers in stylish fashions, and imbued every frame with an aura of moral decay. It succeeded in making previous police programs, such as *Dagnet*, look stodgy and old-fashioned.

In *Miami Vice*, the city of Miami, Florida, was virtually a character in its own right. Each week’s episode began with a catalog of Miami iconography: sunbaked beach houses, Cuban-American festivals, women in bikinis, and postmodern, pastel-colored cityscapes. Executive producer Michael Mann insisted that significant portions of the program be shot in Miami, which helped give *Miami Vice* its distinctive look. In this

tropical environment, two detectives in the vice department combated drug traffickers, broke up prostitution and gambling rings, solved vice-related murders, and cruised the city’s underground in expensive automobiles.

Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas played the program’s protagonists, James “Sonny” Crockett and Ricardo “Rico” Tubbs, respectively. They were supported by Edward James Olmos as their tough, taciturn lieutenant and Michael Talbott, John Diehl, Sandra Santiago, and Olivia Brown as their colleagues on the squad. The program’s narratives circulated among these characters, but Crockett was at its center, and Johnson received the lion’s share of the press about *Miami Vice*.

*Miami Vice* was less about the solving of mysteries than it was a contemporary morality play. Indeed, Crockett and Tubbs were often inept detectives—mistakenly arresting the wrong person for a crime. Instead of *Columbo*-like problem solving, the program stresses the detectives’ ethical dilemmas. Each week, these temptable men were situated in a world of temptations. They were conversant in the language of the underworld, skilled in its practices, and prepared to use both for their own ends. It would not take much for them to cross the thin line between their actions and those of the drug lords and gangsters. One such ethical dilemma frequently posed on the show was the issue of



*Miami Vice*, Don Johnson, Philip Michael Thomas, 1984.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vigilante justice. Were the detectives pursuing the evildoers out of commitment to law and order or to exact personal revenge? Often it was very hard to distinguish the lawbreakers from the law enforcers. Indeed, one *Miami Vice* season ended with Crockett actually becoming a bona fide gangster—his ties to law enforcement neatly severed by a case of amnesia.

The *Miami Vice* world's moral ambiguity linked it to the hard-boiled detective stories of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett and characters such as Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe as well as the film noir genre of the theatrical cinema. Television, with its demand for a repeatable narrative format, could not match the arch fatalism of these antecedents (a protagonist could not die at the end of an episode, as they often do in hard-boiled fiction), but *Miami Vice* adapted the cynical tone and world-weary attitude of hard-boiled fiction to 1980s television. Moreover, one of the most striking aspects of *Miami Vice* was its visual style, which borrowed heavily from the film noir.

As *Film Comment* critic Richard T. Jameson has commented, "It's hard to forbear saying, every five minutes or so, 'I can't believe this was shot for televi-

sion!'" *Miami Vice* was one of the most visually stylized programs of the 1980s, and it drew its stylistic inspiration from the cinema's film noir. It incorporated unconventional camera angles, high-contrast lighting, stark black-and-white sets, and striking deep focus to generate unusually dynamic, imbalanced, noir compositions that could have been lifted from *Double Indemnity* (1944) or *Touch of Evil* (1958). *Miami Vice* looked quite unlike anything else on television at the time.

*Miami Vice* (along with *Hill Street Blues* and *Cagney and Lacey*) was one of the groundbreaking police programs of the 1980s. Its influence can be tracked in the moral ambiguity of *NYPD Blue*, the visual experimentation of *Homicide: Life on the Street*, and the flawed police inspector Don Johnson plays in *Nash Bridges*. Moreover, *Miami Vice*'s incorporation of music video components has become a standard component of youth-oriented television and cinema.

JEREMY G. BUTLER

#### See also Police Programs

#### Cast

Detective James "Sonny" Crockett	Don Johnson
Detective Ricardo Tubbs	Philip Michael Thomas
Lieutenant Martin Castillo	Edward James Olmos
Detective Gina Navarro Calabrese	Sandra Santiago
Detective Trudy Joplin	Olivia Brown
Detective Stan Switek	Michael Talbott
Detective Larry Zito (1984–87)	John Diehl
Izzy Moreno	Martin Ferrero
Caitlin Davies (1987–88)	Sheena Easton

#### Producers

Michael Mann, Anthony Yerkovich, Mel Swope

#### Programming History

108 episodes; 3 2-hour episodes

NBC

September 1984	Sunday 9:00–11:00
September 1984– May 1986	Friday 10:00–11:00
June 1986–March 1988	Friday 9:00–10:00
April 1988–January 1989	Friday 10:00–11:00
February 1989–May 1989	Friday 9:00–10:00
June 1989–July 1989	Wednesday 10:00–11:00

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## Microwave

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Microwave technology has been used extensively by the broadcast and cable television industries as well as in other telecommunications applications since the early 1950s. Today, microwaves are employed by telecommunications industries in the form of both terrestrial relays and satellite communications.

Microwaves are a form of electromagnetic radiation, with frequencies ranging from several hundred megahertz to several hundred gigahertz and wavelengths ranging from approximately 1 to 20 centimeters. Because of their high frequencies, microwaves have the advantage of being able to carry more information than ordinary radio waves and are capable of being beamed directly from one point to another. In addition to their telecommunications applications (which include telephony and computer networking as well as television), microwaves are used in cooking, police radar, and certain military applications.

Microwave is a "line-of-sight" technology (i.e., because a microwave transmission cannot penetrate the Earth's surface, it will not extend beyond the horizon); therefore, long-distance terrestrial transmission of messages is accomplished via a series of relay points known as "hops." Each hop consists of a tower (often atop a mountain) with one antenna (typically a parabolic antenna) for receiving and another for retransmitting. Hops typically are spaced at 25-mile intervals.

Prior to the widespread use of communications satellites in television industries, terrestrial microwave relays frequently were used to deliver programming from broadcast networks to their affiliates or to deliver special-event programming, such as sports, to local stations. Beginning in the 1950s, terrestrial microwave relays were employed to supplement expensive telephone land lines for long-distance transmission of pro-

gramming. Microwave mobile units (vans with microwave transmitters attached) have also been used in television news reporting since the late 1950s.

Microwave technology was critical to the development of the community antenna television (CATV) industry. Before microwave technology became available in the early 1950s, local CATV systems were limited in channel selection to those stations that could be received over the air via tall "master" antennas. In such situations, a CATV system could flourish only within 100 to 150 miles of the nearest broadcast television markets. Microwave relays, however, made it possible for CATV systems to operate many hundreds of miles from television stations. The new technology thus was a boon to remote communities, especially in the western United States, which could not have had television otherwise.

Microwave also introduced the possibility for CATV operators to select which broadcast signals they would carry, sometimes allowing them to bypass closer signals in order to provide their customers with more desirable programming—perhaps from well-funded stations in large cities. For this reason, it was microwave technology above all that prompted the earliest efforts by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to regulate CATV. By the late 1950s, some concern had been voiced by broadcasters as to the legality of the retransmission—and, in effect, sale—of their signals by CATV systems and CATV-serving microwave outfits. The most notable of these complaints resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Carter Mountain Transmission Co. v. FCC* (1962). In 1965 and 1966, respectively, the FCC issued two bodies of regulation to govern the rapidly growing CATV industry. Both of these focused primarily on the legalities of microwave-delivered CATV programming.

The rules did very little, however, to curtail the growth of CATV (more widely known as "cable television" by the late 1960s), and microwave continued to play a key role. Throughout the United States, the signals of several independent television stations, some of which have become cable "superstations," were delivered to cable systems by microwave. In addition, in late 1972 and early 1973, Home Box Office (HBO) began serving customers in the Northeast via two existing microwave relay networks.

Historically, then, terrestrial microwave technology accomplished many of the television programming tasks for which communication satellites are used today. Terrestrial relays still exist and serve many important functions for television. In recent years, they have

also been enlisted for nontelevision applications, such as computer networking and the relaying of long-distance telephone messages. Some companies that began as terrestrial microwave outfits have also diversified into satellite program delivery.

MEGAN MULLEN

**See also Cable Television: United States; Distant Signal; Low Power Television; Translators**

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## Midwest Video Case

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In the 1979 case of *FCC v. Midwest Video Corp.*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) did not have the statutory authority to regulate public access to cable television. The legal decision, known more simply as the Midwest Video Case, marks the first time the Supreme Court refused to extend the FCC's regulatory power to the cable industry. In May 1976, the FCC used its rule-making authority to regulate the public's access to cable television "air" time and production facilities. Under the rules, cable television systems with 3,500 or more subscribers were required to upgrade to at least 20 channels by 1986 and set aside up to four of those channels exclusively for low-cost access by community, educational, local governmental, and leased-access users. Cable operators would have had to make channel time and studios available on a first-come, first-served basis to virtually anyone who applied and without discretion or control over programming content.

At an FCC hearing and, later, before the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, Midwest Video and other cable systems objected to the FCC's regulatory intervention into their operations, arguing, among other claims, that the commission's cable access rules were beyond the scope of the agency's jurisdiction as set forth in the Communications Act of 1934. Citing more than a decade of favorable legal precedent, the FCC rejected the cable industry's position as an overly narrow interpretation of the commission's jurisdiction.

Although the Communications Act did not explicitly grant cable television jurisdiction to the FCC, the Supreme Court had previously held in 1968 that FCC regulations that are "reasonably ancillary to the effective performance of the Commission's various responsibilities for the regulation of television broadcasting" fell within the commission's mandate. In that case, *United States v. Southwestern Cable Co.*, the Court upheld FCC rules that required cable systems to retransmit the signals of local broadcast stations and seek prior FCC approval before making certain programming decisions. Similarly, in a 1972 case known as *United States v. Midwest Video Corp.*, the nation's highest court upheld FCC rules that required cable systems with 3,500 or more subscribers to create original programming and provide studio facilities for the production and dissemination of local cable programs.

Arguing specifically that the intent of the 1976 public access rules was no different than the programming rules at issue in the 1972 Midwest Video Case, the FCC maintained that controlling public access to cable was just a logical extension of its broadcasting authority. The Supreme Court, however, disagreed. Although the Court suggested that the public access rules might violate cable operators' First Amendment rights to free speech and Fifth Amendment protections against the "taking" of property without due process of law, the justices declined to make a broad constitutional ruling. Instead, the Court distinguished the public access rules from the FCC's previous cable rules by declaring the

public access rules to be in violation of section 3(h) of the Communications Act of 1934, which limits the FCC's authority to regulate "common carriers."

Unlike broadcasters, common carriers are communication systems that permit indiscriminate and unlimited public access. Although the FCC has authority to regulate common carriers such as telephone networks and citizens band (CB) radio, it is expressly prohibited from subjecting broadcasters to common-carrier rules under section 3(h). Because the Court ruled that public control of local cable access would have, in effect, turned cable systems into common carriers, Midwest Video and the cable industry prevailed, at least as a matter of federal law. In the wake of the Midwest Video Case's narrow ruling, state and local authorities were still free to pass ordinances mandating set-asides for public access channels as a precondition for the granting or renewal of a cable franchise in a specific community.

MICHAEL M. EPSTEIN

**See also Cable Television: United States; Distant Signal; Federal Communications Commission**

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## Miller, J.P. (James Pinckney) (1919–2001)

U.S. Television Writer

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J.P. Miller began writing for television during that time in the 1950s when a playwright fortunate enough to see his work performed on a live network drama literally could become an overnight sensation. For Miller, that night was October 2, 1958, when the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) broadcast a live production of his play "The Days of Wine and Roses" during its prestigious drama series *Playhouse 90*. By the following morning, the newspapers already had heralded his ascension to the elite ranks of television playwrights, ensuring that his name would be forever linked with those of Paddy Chayefsky, Reginald Rose, Rod Serling, Horton Foote, Gore Vidal, and Tad Mosel. An Emmy nomination followed, along with a lucrative offer from Hollywood for the film rights and an opportunity to write the film adaptation, which eventually became a 1962 movie directed by Blake Edwards and starring Jack Lemmon and Lee Remick.

If J.P. Miller's name is not recalled as quickly as that of other television playwrights of his era, it is because he was never as prolific as his colleagues or as eager to carve out a place in the television and movie industries. He was ambivalent about the business, unwilling

to compromise, perhaps even spoiled by his early taste of freedom under the guidance of producer Fred Coe. After his initial burst of success on television and an inevitable courtship by the movie industry, he returned to New Jersey, where he spent 40 years working out of his home, satisfied to write intermittently for movies, television, and the stage while devoting much of his energy to his own novels. Unlike most writers able to sustain long careers in television, Miller never wrote for episodic television series or aspired to become a producer. He was a playwright who wrote individual television plays—not series episodes—and this craft, honed in the live dramas of the 1950s, did not translate easily to the conditions of the television industry after 1960. Still, Miller returned repeatedly to television, where he earned three more Emmy nominations and received the Emmy Award in 1969 for his *CBS Playhouse* teleplay "The People Next Door." From the beginning of his career to the end, Miller specialized in scripts that were stark and somber, melancholy reminders that America is often a land of opportunities lost. It is a unique and unlikely vision for a writer who survived nearly four decades in television.



J.P. Miller.

Photo courtesy of Sophie Miller Solarino

After World War II (during which he served as a lieutenant, earning a Purple Heart), Miller enrolled in the Yale drama school, which he attended for only a year before moving back to Houston. While in Houston, Miller divorced his first wife and then remarried, failed as a salesman of furnaces and real estate, and never strayed far from his dream of a career as a writer. Soon he moved his young family back to New York, where they lived in a small apartment in Queens. By day, Miller sold refrigeration for air conditioners; by night, he wrote plays that no one would read. Around this time, however, a friend who was a television repairman brought Miller a used television set that was missing its cabinet.

Miller discovered the quality of writing on *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*, which was an expression of the taste of its producer, Fred Coe, who also had studied at the Yale drama school. By commissioning original plays from writers such as Chayefsky, Mosel, and Foote, Coe nurtured a dramatic form influenced by the breakthrough work of Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams but suited to the scale of early television: intimate family dramas set in ethnic urban neighborhoods or forgotten communities in the rural South in which traditional cultures collide with the forces of modernity. Miller watched and made notes for his first television play.

"A Game of Hide and Seek," Miller's first television play, told of two southern sisters who had grown apart since the day years earlier when the younger sister had married an apparently wealthy stranger and moved away. When the prodigal sister returns home, abandoned and penniless, she hides her misfortune from the older sister, who is blind, until the older sister touches

her suitcase and discovers that it is held together by rope. Miller delivered the script to Yale classmate Bob Costello, who had become one of Coe's assistant producers. Coe immediately purchased the script, assigning it to his star director, Arthur Penn, and casting the stage actress Mildred Dunnock.

Miller's first notable success came with the play "The Rabbit Trap," the story of a long-suffering engineer at a construction firm who stands up to his bullying boss and quits the job in order to spend more time with his son. This austere critique of corporate America caught the attention of the movie studios, which were on the lookout for New York talent, and Miller was brought to Hollywood to write the adaptation, an experience that he soon came to regret when he discovered how powerless he was to affect the outcome of the film. Writers in the movie industry enjoyed neither the autonomy nor the influence they were accorded under Fred Coe's benevolent patronage.

While Miller toiled as a screenwriter in Hollywood, fortunes faded for the live television drama. Westerns and private-detective series filmed in Hollywood climbed the ratings, and retailers for companies such as Goodyear and Philco began to pressure the corporate headquarters to sponsor programs more cheerful than the bleak dramas that had become Fred Coe's trademark. With ratings slipping, Philco pulled its sponsorship from *Television Playhouse* in 1955, and Fred Coe eventually left the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and landed at CBS, where he became one of the producers for *Playhouse 90*, the last remaining prestige drama on television. It was in this capacity that Coe lured Miller back to television, and the result was "The Days of Wine and Roses," a pinnacle of live television drama and very nearly the swan song for the genre.

With prime-time television utterly dominated by filmed series and the live television drama all but forgotten by 1960, Miller turned to screenwriting once again, writing *The Young Savages* (1961) for director John Frankenheimer, adapting his own *The Days of Wine and Roses* (1962), and working with director Fred Zinneman on *Behold a Pale Horse* (1964). From this Hollywood sojourn, Miller saved enough money to purchase a measure of independence. He married for the third time (to the woman with whom he would live for the rest of his life), bought a farmhouse in New Jersey, and began work on his first novel, *The Race for Home* (1968), a Depression-era tale that takes place in a thinly disguised version of the Gulf coast town where he was raised. He returned to television in the late 1960s, when CBS asked Fred Coe to resurrect the anthology drama format in *CBS Playhouse*, an ambitious, short-lived series of plays written for television.

Miller wrote "The People Next Door" as an unacknowledged companion piece to *The Days of Wine and Roses*. In this version, a suburban couple (Lloyd Bridges and Kim Hunter) struggle to understand their drug-addicted teenage daughter (Deborah Winters). Miller received an Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama and later wrote the feature film adaptation.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Miller charted his own course, alternating between writing novels and movies and miniseries for television. As he channeled his energies into fiction (eventually writing three more novels), he stopped writing original material for television and became a specialist in "true-life" movies and miniseries, including an Emmy-nominated script for *The Lindbergh Kidnapping Case* (1976) and *Helter Skelter* (1976), an adaptation of Vincent Bugliosi's book about the Charles Manson case (which was the top-rated miniseries of the season). His final work for television, the Emmy-nominated 1989 miniseries *I Know My First Name Is Steven*, written with Cynthia Whitcomb, was based on the real-life abduction of a young boy who spent seven years living with his captor before finally escaping and being reunited with his family.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

**J.P. Miller.** Born in San Antonio, Texas, December 18, 1919. Son of Rolland James and Rose Jetta (Smith) Miller. Married: 1) Ayers Elizabeth Fite, May 16, 1942 (divorced, 1947); children: James Pinckney Jr.; 2) Juanita Marie Currie, November 29, 1948 (divorced, 1962); children: John R., Montgomery A.; 3) Julianne Renee Nicolaus, November 20, 1965; children: Lia Marie, Anthony Milo, Sophie Jetta. Education: Rice Institute (now Rice University), B.A. in modern languages, 1941; studied drama at Yale University, 1946–47, and at American Theatre Wing, 1951–53. Military service: U.S. Navy, 1941–46; served in Pacific theater; became lieutenant; received Presidential Unit Citation and Purple Heart. Worked as playwright for live television dramas, 1954–59; as freelance screenwriter, playwright, novelist, 1959–2001. Memberships: Dramatists Guild, PEN, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Authors Guild, Authors League of America, Writers Guild of America—West. Died in Stockton, New Jersey, November 1, 2001.

#### Television Series (writer)

- 1954 *Man Against Crime* (wrote one episode)  
 1954–55 *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*  
 (teleplays: "A Game of Hide and Seek," "Old Tasselfoot," "Somebody

- Special," "The Catamaran," "The Rabbit Trap," "The Pardon-Me Boy")  
 1955 *Producer's Showcase*  
 (teleplay: "Yellow Jack")  
 1956 *Playwright's '56* (teleplay: "The Undiscovered Country")  
 1958 *Kraft Mystery Theatre* (teleplay: "A Boy Called Ciske")  
 1958–59 *Playhouse 90* (teleplays: "The Days of Wine and Roses," "The Dingaling Girl")  
 1968 *CBS Playhouse* (teleplay: "The People Next Door")

#### Made-for-Television Movies (writer)

- 1972 *Your Money or Your Wife*  
 1976 *The Lindbergh Kidnapping Case*  
 1980 *Gauguin the Savage*

#### Miniseries (writer)

- 1976 *Helter Skelter*  
 1989 *I Know My First Name Is Steven* (with Cynthia Whitcomb)

#### Feature Films (writer)

- 1959 *The Rabbit Trap*  
 1961 *The Young Savages*  
 1962 *The Days of Wine and Roses*  
 1964 *Behold a Pale Horse*  
 1970 *The People Next Door*

#### Novels

- 1968 *The Race for Home*  
 1973 *Liv*  
 1984 *The Skook*  
 1995 *Surviving Joy*

#### Awards

Emmy Award for outstanding achievement in drama, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1969, for teleplay *The People Next Door*; Mystery Writers of America Awards, 1974, for television movie, *Your Money or Your Wife*, and Edgar Allan Poe Award, 1977, for television miniseries adaptation of the book *Helter Skelter*; Emmy Award nomination for best writing of a single dramatic program, 1959, for "The Days of Wine and Roses," *Playhouse 90*; Emmy Award nomination for outstanding writing in a special program, 1976, for *The Lindbergh Kidnapping Case*; Emmy Award nomination (with Cynthia Whitcomb) for outstanding writing in a

Miller, J.P. (James Pinckney)

miniseries or special, 1989, for *I Know My First Name Is Steven*.

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Krampner, John, *The Man in the Shadows: Fred Coe and the Golden Age of Television*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997

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## Milton Berle Show, The

### U.S. Comedy-Variety Show

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During his multifaceted rise as a performer, Milton Berle first appeared on television in a 1929 experimental broadcast in Chicago when he emceed a closed-circuit telecast before 129 people. In the commercial-TV era, he appeared in 1947 on DuMont station WABD (in Wanamaker's New York City department store) as an auctioneer to raise money for the Heart Fund. In the following year, he would come to television in a far more prominent manner and through the new medium rise to the status of a national icon. He would become known as "Mr. Television," the first star the medium could call its own. Skyrocketing to national prominence in the late 1940s, he was also the first TV personality to suffer overexposure and burnout.

Berle began his professional career at age five, working in motion pictures at Biograph Studios in Fort Lee, New Jersey. He appeared as the child on Marie Dressler's lap in Charlie Chaplin's *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914), was tossed from a train by Pearl White in *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), and appeared in some 50 films with stars such as Douglas Fairbanks, Mabel Normand, and Marion Davies. Berle's first stage role was in 1920, in Shubert's Atlantic City, New Jersey, revival of *Floradora*, which eventually moved to Broadway. Soon after, a vaudeville sketch with Jack Duffy launched Berle's career as a comedian. Signed as a replacement for Jack Haley at the Palace, Berle was a smash hit and was held over ten weeks. He then headlined in top nightclubs and theaters across the country, returning to Broadway in 1932 to star in *Earl Carroll's Vanities*, the first of several musical shows in which he appeared.

Berle's reputation for stealing material from other comedians was already part of his persona by this

time, engineered in part as a publicity ploy; Walter Winchell labeled him "The Thief of Bad Gags." Berle debuted on radio in 1934, and during the 1940s he hosted several shows, including the comedy-variety



*The Milton Berle Show.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

show *Texaco Star Theater*. He remained on radio (including the radio version of *Texaco*) until the 1948–49 season, and he was also very successful as a writer of Tin Pan Alley fare. His many songs include “Sam, You Made the Pants Too Long.”

On June 8, 1948, Berle reprised his role from radio, serving as host for the premiere episode of the TV version of *The Texaco Star Theater*. However, the show as yet had no set format and rotated several emcees during the summer of 1948. Originally signed to a four-week contract, Berle was finally named permanent host for the season premiere that fall. He and the show were an immediate smash, with ratings as high as 80 the first season. Ad-libbing at the end of a 1949 episode, Berle called himself “Uncle Miltie,” endearing himself to kids and creating a permanent moniker. The show received a 1949 Emmy for Best Kinescope Show (the Television Academy was then a West Coast entity in the era before coast-to-coast linkup), and Berle won as Most Outstanding Kinescoped Personality. For the next eight years, the nation seemingly shut down on Tuesday evenings during Berle’s time slot. The name of the program changed in 1953 to the *Buick-Berle Show*, becoming known from 1954 as *The Milton Berle Show*.

These shows were pitched at an aggressive, anything-for-a-laugh level, which perfectly suited Berle’s comic style and profile. This approach also tended to make his programs very visual. Slapstick routines, outrageous costumes (Berle often appeared in drag), and various ludicrous skits became trademarks of his television humor. Audiences across the United States wanted to see what Berle would do next, and he quite obviously thrived on this anticipation. From his malaprop greetings (e.g., “Hello, ladies and germs”) to the frenetic, relentless pacing of his jokes and rejoinders and even in his reputation for stealing and recycling material, Berle presented himself as one part buffoon and one part consummate, professional entertainer, a kind of veteran of the Borscht Belt trenches. However, even within his shows’ sanctioned exhibitionism, some of Berle’s behavior could cross the line from affability to effrontery. At its worst, the underlying tone of the Berle programs could appear to be one of contempt should the audience not respond approvingly. In some cases, the program exhibited a surprising degree of self-consciousness about TV itself; *Texaco*’s original commercial spokesman, Sid Stone, would sometimes hawk his products until driven from the stage by a cop. However, the uneven balance of excess and decorum proved wildly successful.

Featuring such broad and noisy comedy but also multiple guest stars and (for the time) lavish variety-show production values, Berle’s shows are credited

with spurring the sale of TV sets in the United States, especially to working-class homes. When he first went on the air, less than 500,000 sets had been sold nationwide; when he left *The Milton Berle Show* in 1956, after nearly 500 live shows, that number had increased to nearly 30 million. Berle was signed to an unprecedented \$6 million, 30-year exclusive contract with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1951, guaranteed \$200,000 per year in addition to the salaries from his sponsors. Renegotiated in 1966, his annual payments were reduced to \$120,000, but Berle could work on other networks.

After his Tuesday night run ended in 1956, Berle hosted three subsequent series and made many appearances on other comedy and variety shows. He received numerous tributes as a television pioneer. In dramatic roles, he received an Emmy nomination for “Doyle Against the House,” an episode of *The Dick Powell Show* (1961), and was notable in his role as a blind survivor of an airplane crash in the first American Broadcasting Company (ABC) movie of the week, *Seven in Darkness* (1969). He guest starred on many television series, including *The Big Valley*, and when he was 87 years old, he was nominated for an Emmy Award for his guest role as a former vaudeville star afflicted with Alzheimer’s disease on the FOX drama *Beverly Hills 90210*. Doyen of the famous comedians’ fraternity, the Friars Club, Berle also sporadically appeared on stage through the 1990s. However, it is the early Berle shows that remain the expression of Mr. Television, the expression of a medium that had not yet set its boundaries in such rigid fashion. In those earlier moments, huge numbers of Americans could settle themselves before the screen, welcome their outrageous “Uncle” into the living room, leave him behind for a week, and know that he would return once again when asked.

MARK WILLIAMS

*See also* **Berle, Milton**

#### **Regular Performers**

Milton Berle  
 Fatso Marco (1948–52)  
 Ruth Gilbert (1952–55)  
 Bobby Sherwood (1952–53)  
 Arnold Stang (1953–55)  
 Jack Collins (1953–55)  
 Milton Frome (1953–55)  
 Irving Benson (1966–67)

#### **Orchestras**

Alan Roth (1948–55)  
 Victor Young (1955–56)

Milton Berle Show, The

Billy May (1958–59)  
Mitchell Ayres (1966–67)

### Producers

Ed Cashman, Milton Berle, Edward Sobol, Arthur Knorp, Ford Henry, William O. Harbach, Nick Vanoff, Bill Dana

### Programming History

NBC  
June 1948–June 1956                      Tuesday 8:00–9:00

October 1958–May 1959                      Wednesday  
9:00–9:30  
ABC  
September 1966–January 1967              Friday 9:00–10:00

### Further Reading

Berle, Milton, with Haskel Frankel, *Milton Berle: An Autobiography*, New York: Delacorte, 1974  
“Milton Berle: Television’s Whirling Dervish,” *Newsweek* (May 16, 1949)  
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# Minder

British Crime Comedy/Drama

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A long-running and perennially popular comedy-drama series focusing on the exploits of a wheeler-dealer and his long-suffering bodyguard and right-hand man, *Minder* was the brainchild of veteran TV scriptwriter Leon Griffiths. Griffiths, who had been active in television since the 1950s, also wrote for the cinema, including the screenplays for the hard-hitting crime dramas *The Grissom Gang* and *The Squeeze*. It was one of his film scripts, also called *Minder*, that gave rise to the series. Griffiths’s screenplay was a humorless and tough gangland story that his agent felt would be difficult to sell in Britain, so Griffiths shelved the project.

Later, however, that same agent suggested that two of the characters from the script—a wily, small-time London crook and his uneducated but streetwise “minder” (East London slang for “bodyguard”)—would work well for a television series. Griffiths wrote a treatment for a series featuring the two characters and took the idea to Euston Films (a division of Thames Television), a group he knew was looking for a follow-up to their successful, tough, London-based police series *The Sweeney*. (“Sweeney” was also London slang, actually cockney rhyming slang, “Sweeney Todd: Flying Squad,” a special quick-response unit of the Metropolitan Police.) At Euston, script consultant Linda Agran and producers Verity Lambert, Lloyd Shirley, and George Taylor quickly decided that the series had all the ingredients they were looking for—and there was a general consensus that *Sweeney* star Den-

nis Waterman would be right for the character of the minder, Terry McCann.

Waterman, however, had his reservations and was worried about immediately following *The Sweeney* with another London-based crime series, but after reading the treatment and the initial scripts, he was persuaded by the difference and the humor of the piece. The true potential of the project was fully realized, however, only with the casting of George Cole as Terry McCann’s employer, Arthur Daley. Cole had been active in film and television for many years and



*Minder*.  
Courtesy of © Fremantle Media Enterprises



in his early days had specialized in playing “spivs” (shady characters specializing in black marketeering and other illegal activities). He had become a respected actor over the years, with a wide repertoire, but the character of Arthur Daley was like one of his earlier spiv incarnations grown up.

Although the production may have initially been perceived as a vehicle for Waterman, the casting of Cole and the rapport between them ensured that the series became more balanced. Cole fitted the roguish persona perfectly, and, as the series progressed, with generous support from Waterman, he turned Arthur Daley into a TV icon.

Originally, the series was to have been located in the East End of London, but it was found to be more convenient to shoot in South London. The location changed, but the patois remained that of the cockney-influenced East End. Arthur was always known as “Arfur” because of the cockney habit of pronouncing “th” as “f,” and much of the flavor of the series came from the colorful slang, some traditional and some invented. Although some cockney rhyming slang was widely known throughout Britain, *Minder* (along with other shows set in the area, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation’s [BBC’s] *Only Fools and Horses*) introduced many lesser-known examples to the population as a whole. Soon every *Minder* aficionado knew that “getting a Ruby down your Gregory” meant going out for an Indian meal (popular 1950s singing star Ruby Murray providing a rhyme for “curry”; “Gregory Peck” rhyming with “neck”) and that “trouble on the dog” meant your spouse was calling (“trouble and strife”: “wife”; “dog and bone”: “phone”). As the series went from strength to strength and the character of Arthur Daley captured the imagination of a generation, East London slang became trendy, and cod cockneys (or mockneys) could be found throughout the country.

The early episodes of *Minder* have the emphasis firmly on drama, although there is humor in the dialogue and from the character of Arthur Daley, who seems to haunt the fringes of the plot while Terry McCann gets involved at the sharp end. Daley is devious, cowardly, and exploitative, as opposed to McCann’s straightforwardness, courage, and loyalty. Most plots hinge round a problem, created by Daley’s greed, that is solved by McCann. But McCann almost always suffers in some way: losing a girlfriend, being involved in a fight, or not getting paid. Daley usually thrives, managing somehow to emerge from the scrape with body unscathed and bank account intact or, more often than not, somewhat inflated. Brushes with the law are commonplace, as are confrontations with “nastier” villains. The local police are endlessly trying to “feel

Arfur’s collar” (arrest him), but Terry is the only one who actually goes to prison.

Later in the show’s run, reacting to the positive feedback from the public, the show shifted slightly but noticeably more toward humor. Scripts tapped the comedic potential of Arthur Daley, and his schemes became wilder and more outrageous, while the regular policemen who dogged him became more caricatured and less threatening. Recurring characters in the series included Patrick Malahide as the long-suffering Detective Sergeant Chisholm and Glynn Edwards as Dave the barman at Arthur’s private drinking club, the Winchester.

Finally, in 1991, Dennis Waterman had had enough of *Minder* and left to head a new series. He was replaced by Gary Webster as Arthur’s nephew Ray. Ray was a different character from Terry, well educated and well dressed. But he could handle himself well in a fight and was perfectly suited to the role of assistant and bodyguard to his uncle. Initially, he was in awe of Arthur, and Daley took full advantage of this. Soon Ray saw the light and became much more difficult to manipulate. Arthur, however, rose to the challenge and still seemed to get his own way. Webster’s involvement gave the series a new lease of life, and the scripts for his episodes seemed as sharp and as witty as when the program had first begun.

Through the run of the series, jokey episode titles were used, usually a pun on a film or other TV series (“The Beer Hunter,” “On the Autofront,” and “Guess Who’s Coming to Pinner,” an area to the north of London).

*Minder* was yet another example of a television program bringing forth a character that seemed bigger than the show. The name “Arthur Daley” is used in Britain as an example of a wheeler-dealer in the same way that Archie Bunker’s name came to be synonymous with bigotry in the United States. Daley may be a villain, but he is very much perceived as a hero, someone getting away with foiling the system. In the show’s rare satirical moments, Daley would align himself with Margaret Thatcher, seeing himself as the prime example of the help-yourself society that Thatcher advocated, a man of the 1980s.

DICK FIDDY

See also Cole, George; Lambert, Verity; Waterman, Dennis

#### Cast

Arthur Daley	George Cole
Terry McCann	Dennis Waterman
Dave	Glynn Edwards

## Minder

Des	George Layton	January 1982–April 1982	13 episodes
Det. Sgt. Chisholm	Patrick Malahide	January 1984–March 1984	11 episodes
Sgt. Rycott	Peter Chi	September 1984–December 1984	10 episodes
Maurice	Anthony Valentine	September 1985–October 1985	6 episodes
Det. Insp. Melsip	Michael	December 1985	Christmas special
Troughton		December 1988	Christmas special
Ray Daley	Gary Webster	January 1989–February 1989	6 episodes
Det. Sgt. Morley	Nicholas Day	September 1991–November 1991	12 episodes
DC Park	Stephen Tompkinson	December 1991	Christmas special
		January 1993–April 1993	13 episodes

### Producers

Verity Lambert, Johnny Goodman, Lloyd Shirley, George Taylor, Ian Toynton

### Programming History

96 60-minute episodes; 1 120-minute special; 1 90-minute special

ITV

October 1979–January 1980 11 episodes

September 1980–December 1980 13 episodes

### Further Reading

Armstrong, John, "Obituary: Leon Griffiths," *The Independent* (February 13, 1994)

Bradbury, Malcolm, "Requiem for an Old Rogue," *Daily Mail* (October 9, 1993)

Buss, Robin, "Minder," *Times Educational Supplement* (November 8, 1991)

Truss, Lynne, "Television Workhorses Finally Put Out to Grass," *The Times* (March 10, 1994)

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# Miner, Worthington (1900–1982)

U.S. Producer, Director

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Worthington Miner had an outstanding career in both the theater and television; he also worked for a brief period as a producer of feature films. At the age of 39, Miner abandoned his successful career as a theater director to enter the fledgling television industry, becoming general director of television at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on August 28, 1939. His work in television has been recognized by his contemporaries and followers as crucial in creating the foundations of modern television.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allowed limited commercial-television broadcasting to begin in July 1941 despite the outbreak of war and legal battles over technical issues that had delayed the introduction of television in the United States. For the first ten weeks, Miner produced and directed the entire 15-hour weekly schedule at CBS and eight to ten hours a week thereafter until the war forced live television off the air in late 1942.

It was not until the regular television schedule returned in 1948 that Miner developed his first major success, *The Toast of the Town*, emceed by Ed Sullivan. This program, later under the title *The Ed Sullivan Show*, went on to run for 23 seasons. It was followed closely by the much-acclaimed *Studio One*, which Miner produced and often wrote and directed as well. He also produced *The Goldbergs* and the award-winning children's program *Mr. I. Magination*, both well-known examples from the "Golden Age" of television.

It has been said by insiders that the real "Mr. Television" was not Milton Berle (as he was called in the 1950s) but Miner. This judgment stems primarily from Miner's development of the basic techniques used in television. In addition to being a major creative force as a writer, producer, and director, Miner is credited with establishing many crew positions and assigning production responsibilities to those positions, which

are still in use today. Working in an untried medium and drawing on his technical and operational experience in the theater, Miner developed new staging practices and created camera techniques that exploited the limited technical and financial resources available to television during its earliest stages of growth.

In contrast to his famed counterpart, producer Fred Coe at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), who developed a stable of television writers, Miner concentrated on the technical and aesthetic problems of mounting and broadcasting a production, particularly from a directorial point of view. In the process, he discovered what became known as "Miner's Laws," which were adopted by directors throughout the television industry. He fostered the directing talents of such luminaries as Franklin Schaffner, George Roy Hill, Sidney Lumet, and Arthur Penn, all of whom went on to fame in television and other media.

In 1952, as a result of a contract dispute, Miner left CBS for NBC. His hopes for achievements there were dashed with the firing of creative head Pat Weaver; Miner languished under NBC's employ. Despite producing two series, *Medic* and *Frontier*, and a few stunning successes with the drama anthology *Play of the Week* (most notably Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh*), Miner left television in 1959. He was disappointed with the direction the medium had taken.

Miner's achievements in television cannot be overestimated. He did not change the face of television; he created it. No one in his time had an equal grasp of both the creative and the technical dimensions of the television medium. Many, if not all, of his ideas remain in use today, warranting the statement that Miner was a true television pioneer.

KEVIN DOWLER

See also *Anthology Drama*; *The Ed Sullivan Show*; *The Goldbergs*; "Golden Age" of Television; *Medic*; Schaffner, Franklin

**Worthington Miner.** Born in Buffalo, New York, November 13, 1900. Educated at Kent School in Connecticut; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1922; Cambridge University, 1922–24. Married: Frances Fuller; children: Peter, Margaret, and Mary Elizabeth. Served in U.S. Army with the 16th Field Artillery, 4th Division, during World War I; served in army in occupied Germany, 1918–19. Faculty member, Department of English, Yale University, 1924; acted in stage plays, 1925; assistant to producers of Broadway plays, 1925–29; directed plays, 1929–39; writer and director, RKO Radio Pictures, 1933–34; program development department, CBS, 1939–42; manager, CBS television department, 1942–52; worked for NBC, from 1952; left NBC to become a freelance producer; worked in motion pictures. Died in New York City, December 11, 1982.

### Further Reading

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## Miniseries

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A miniseries is a narrative drama designed to be broadcast in a limited number of episodes. If the distinction is maintained between "series" (describing a group of self-contained episodes) and "serial" (a group of interconnected episodes), the term "miniseries" is an acknowledged misnomer, for the majority of broadcast

material presented in the genre is in fact produced in serial form. There are, of course, exceptions. *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982), for example, consisted of five narratively independent but interlocking episodes that culminate in a final resolution. The miniseries may also be seen as an extended telefilm divided into

episodes. David Shipman provides a useful analysis of this approach and its central question, "When is a movie not a movie?" in his discussion of *The Far Pavilions*.

Whatever the overall approach, the miniseries, at its best, offers a unique televisual experience, often dealing with harrowing and difficult material structured into an often transformative narrative. The time lapse between episodes allows occasion for the audience to assimilate, discuss, and come to terms with the difficulties of the narrative. The extended narrative time offered by serialization makes possible the in-depth exploration of characters, their motivations and development, and the analysis of situations and events. However, the conclusive narrative resolution of the series also allows for evaluation and reflection.

The actual number of episodes differentiating a miniseries from a "regular" series or serial is a matter of dispute. Leslie Halliwell and Philip Purser argue in *Halliwell's Television Companion* that miniseries tend to appear in four to six episodes of various lengths. In contrast, Stuart Cunningham defines the miniseries as "a limited-run program of more than two [installments] and less than the thirteen-part season or half-season block associated with serial or series programming." From a British perspective, the majority of home-produced drama would, in the postderegulation era, now fit into Cunningham's definition. Very few drama productions, apart from continuous serials (soap operas), extend beyond seven episodes.

The term "miniseries" covers a broad generic range of subjects and styles of narration that seem to differ from one national broadcast culture to another. Australia produces a large number of historical miniseries—for example, *Bodyline* (1984) and *Cowra Breakout* (1985)—that dramatically document aspects of Australian history. The United States has produced both historical miniseries, such as *Holocaust* (1978), and serializations of "blockbuster" novels, such as *The Thorn Birds* (1983). Britain tends toward literary classics (*Pride and Prejudice* [1995]) and serializations of "blockbusters" (*The Dwelling Place* [1994]).

Francis Wheen suggests that the form developed in the United States in response to the success of the imported *The Forsyte Saga* (1967), which was an expensive adaptation of John Galsworthy's historical epic novel. The success of this serialization demonstrated that finite stories were popular and that they could provide a boost to weekly viewing figures while imparting on the network/channel a reputation for exciting programming. The potential of the miniseries was significantly promoted, Wheen suggests, by *Roots*, which built up an exclusive culture over its eight consecutive nights on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC)

in January 1977. Americans who did not watch the program felt excluded from the dominant topic of conversation and from one of the major cultural interventions of the era.

It is significant that miniseries are generally part of late-evening, prime-time viewing, the space made available for the privileged viewing of "irregular" material, whether it be contemporary feature films, miniseries, or other forms. This scheduling is important because the high production costs of miniseries can be recovered only through exposure to the largest, most lucrative, and most attentive audiences and because the material dealt with is often either of difficult and potentially upsetting or of a sexually explicit nature not deemed suitable for children.

Miniseries are usually high capital investment ventures. It is interesting to note here that in the United States, the ABC network's introduction of the miniseries in 1976 coincided with the arrival of programmer Fred Silverman from the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and was part of his strategy to revive ailing audience figures. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, Granada's investment in *Prime Suspect* coincided with the franchise bids in British commercial broadcasting.

The miniseries is almost invariably based on the work of an established writer, whether this is a classic literary source (the British Broadcasting Corporation's [BBC's] 1995 adaptation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*), a popular blockbuster, (Shirley Conran's *Lace* [1985]), or the work of a renowned television writer (Lynda La Plante's *Prime Suspect* [1991]). Institutionally, the author's name is seen as a valuable investment that is often sought in an attempt to guarantee a prestige audience in the "desirable social categories." For the audience, the author's name provides a set of expectations of potential pleasures and an indication of production quality. The writer's name, then, is an important part of the packaging of the series. Given the condensed period of broadcasting associated with the miniseries format, it is important to attract viewers at the first opportunity, for, unlike a continuous serial or seasonal series, the miniseries cannot accrue an audience over an extended period. Authorial identity thus distinguishes the miniseries from the unattributed flow of soap operas, crime series, and situation comedies.

Charlotte Brunson, discussing the literary sources of television fictions, argues that "British culture having a predominantly literary bias, middlebrow literature legitimates the 'vulgar' medium of television (whereas high literature might offend as being too good for TV). Adaptations gain prestige for their literariness." Although one should recognize that producers and broadcasting institutions do intentionally exploit the prestige lent by literary sources, it is diffi-

cult to support the term "middlebrow," which is central to Brunson's statement, in relation to the miniseries. The authors of miniseries range from the Whitbread Prize winner Jeanette Winterson (*Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*, 1990) to Jackie Collins (*Hollywood Wives*, 1985), neither of which seem to fit the "middlebrow" category.

One clear link between these two adaptations, however, is their implied autobiographical character. Indeed, the representation of actual lives and experiences is central to a range of miniseries. The approach taken may be autobiographical, as in Dennis Potter's *The Singing Detective* (1986). It may be biographical, as in Jane Campion's *An Angel at My Table* (1991), depicting the early life experiences of Janet Frame, or in Central Television's *Kennedy* (1983), focusing on the life and impact of the U.S. president on the 20th anniversary of his death. Or the approach may present dramatizations enacting significant moments in history, as in the Australian miniseries *Vietnam* (1987), depicting the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees from the Vietnamese and Australian perspectives, or in Alan Bleasdale's *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982), exploring the experience of working-class life in recession-hit Liverpool.

This relation to "real life" seemed to be one of the strengths and appeals of the miniseries until the 1990s, when the format became increasingly used for the crime genre. In Britain, this shift in representation is evident in *Prime Suspect*. The first miniseries (1991) was written by La Plante and based on the experiences of a senior woman police officer (DCI Jackie Malton of the London Metropolitan Police Force). However, the following *Prime Suspect* miniseries developed as generic sequels rather than dramatizations of actual events. Subsequently, miniseries have been publicized in terms of the popular actors who play the lead roles, the crimes portrayed, and the originality of the content of their stories. *In Deep* (BBC, 2002) features undercover police officers played by Nick Berry and Stephen Tompkinson. *Outside the Rules* focused on the work of a psychiatrist in a high-security hospital, played by Daniela Nardini.

Since 1976, when the U.S. television network ABC broadcast a 12-hour serialized adaptation of Irwin Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man*, miniseries have constituted some of the most popular programs in television history. ABC's broadcast of Alex Haley's *Roots* drew an audience of 80 million Americans for the final

episode. However, miniseries have also provided some of the most derided programming, as evidenced in Richard Corliss's commentary on *Princess Daisy* (1983): "Not even trash can guarantee the happy ending, and, alas, it happened to Jane Doe: *Princess Daisy* proved a small-screen bust." Conversely, miniseries have often been among the most critically acclaimed of television offerings. *The Singing Detective* "was inspiring," according to Joost Hunniger, "because it showed us the dynamic possibilities of television drama."

MARGARET MONTGOMERIE

*See also Amerika; Boys from the Blackstuff; Boys of St. Vincent; Brideshead Revisited; Day After; Forsyte Saga; Holocaust; I, Claudius; Jewel in the Crown; Pennies from Heaven; Rich Man, Poor Man; Singing Detective; Six Wives of Henry VIII; The Thornbirds; Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy; Upstairs, Downstairs; Women of Brewster Place*

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## Minow, Newton (1926– )

U.S. Attorney, Media Regulator

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Newton Minow is one of the most controversial figures ever to chair the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Appointed in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy, Minow served only two years, but during that time he stimulated more public debate over television programming than any other chair in the history of the commission.

Trained at Northwestern University Law School, Minow's public career began with his involvement in the administration of Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson during the 1950s. At a very young age, Minow became a leading figure both on the governor's staff and in his presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956. Through the latter efforts, Minow became acquainted with members of the Kennedy circle and in 1960 worked for the Kennedy presidential bid, becoming close friends with the president's brother, Robert Kennedy. Reportedly, the two men frequently talked at length about the increasing importance of television in the lives of their children. It therefore came as little surprise that after the election, Minow eagerly pursued the position of FCC chair. Some observers nevertheless considered the appointment unusual, given his lack of experience with the media industry and with communication law.

Appointed chair at the age of 34, Minow lost little time mapping out his agenda for television reform. In his first public speech at a national convention of broadcasting executives, Minow challenged industry leaders to "sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet, or rating book to distract you—and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland." Sharply critical of excessive violence, frivolity, and commercialism, Minow's remarks sparked a national debate over the future of television. Although similar criticisms about television and popular culture had circulated widely during the late 1950s, Minow became the first chair of the FCC to specifically challenge the content of television programming and to urge significant reform. His characterization of the medium as a "vast wasteland" quickly became ubiquitous, especially in newsprint headlines and cartoons. During his

two years in office, it was estimated that, other than the president, Minow generated more column inches of news coverage than any other federal official.

In part, Minow's criticisms of television were linked to broader anxieties about consumerism, child rearing, and suburban living. Many social critics during this period worried that middle-class Americans had "gone soft" and lost their connection to public life. In an inaugural address that focused exclusively on foreign policy, President Kennedy implored Americans to revive their commitment to the urgent struggle for freedom around the globe. Shortly thereafter, Minow framed his critique of television along similar lines, arguing that the medium had become a form of escapism



Newton Minow.  
*Photo courtesy of Newton Minow/Lisa Berg*

that threatened the nation's ability to meet the challenge of global Communism. Moreover, he worried about the increasing export of Hollywood programming overseas and the impact it would have on perceptions of the United States among citizens of other countries. In the months following the speech, Minow advocated the diversification of programming with particular emphasis on educational and informational fare. Confronted by powerful opposition among industry executives, he nevertheless continued to chide network programmers in speeches, interviews, and public appearances.

Although the Minow FCC never drafted specific programming guidelines, some argued that Minow employed a form of "regulation by raised eyebrow" that helped stimulate the production of programs favored by the FCC. Indeed, during the early 1960s, network news grew from adolescence to maturity, and many credit Minow for helping foster its growth. He especially was seen as a champion network documentary, a genre of programming that placed particular emphasis on educating the public about cold war issues. Many critics nevertheless contend that, beyond news, little changed in prime-time television during the Minow years, and some have suggested that, overall, the Minow FCC enjoyed few tangible policy accomplishments.

While that may have been true in the short run, the FCC chair played a leading role in the passage of two pieces of legislation that would have important long-term effects. The first was the All Channel Receiver Act of 1962, which required that all television sets sold in the United States be capable of picking up UHF (ultrahigh frequency) stations in addition to the VHF (very high frequency) stations that then dominated the medium. By the end of the 1960s, this law significantly increased the number of television stations and allowed the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network to achieve national coverage, making it truly competitive with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Second, Minow crafted the passage of legislation that ushered in the era of satellite communications. Under his leadership, various factions within the electronics and communications industries agreed to a pie-sharing arrangement that resulted in the organization of the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) and ultimately the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT). Created with an eye toward attaining a strategic advantage over the Soviet Union, these U.S.-controlled organizations dominated the arena of satellite communications throughout the 1960s and much of the 1970s.

Shortly after the passage of these key pieces of legislation, Minow resigned from the FCC and returned to a lucrative private law practice, later becoming a partner in one of the most powerful communications law firms in the United States, Sidley and Austin. He remains an influential figure both in the media industry and in policy circles, and in 2001 he helped launch a campaign to get the federal government to fund the digitization of collections possessed by public and nonprofit institutions, making those resources available for free to the public via the Internet.

MICHAEL CURTIN

**See also All Channel Legislation; Communications Satellite Corporation; Federal Communications Commission; Quiz and Game Shows; Quiz Show Scandals; Networks: United States**

**Newton (Norman) Minow.** Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 17, 1926. Northwestern University, B.S. 1949; J.D. 1950. Married: Josephine Baskin, 1949; children: Nell, Martha, and Mary. Served in U.S. Army, 1944–46. Admitted to Wisconsin Bar, 1950; Illinois Bar, 1950; worked with firm of Mayer, Brown and Platt, Chicago, 1950–51 and 1953–55; law clerk to Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, 1951–52; administrative assistant to Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, 1952–53, special assistant to Stevenson in U.S. presidential campaigns, 1952, 1956; partner, Stevenson, Rifkind and Wirtz, Chicago, New York City, and Washington, D.C., 1955–61; chair, Federal Communications Commission, 1961–63; executive vice president, general counsel, and director, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, 1963–65; partner, Sidley and Austin, Chicago, 1965–91; of counsel, from 1991; board of governors, Public Broadcasting Service, 1973–80, chair of the board, 1978–80; past chair, Chicago Educational TV, now honorary chair; chair, publications review board, Arthur Andersen and Company, 1974–83; chair of the board of overseers, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1974–77; cochair, presidential debates, League of Women Voters, 1976, 1980; professor of communications policy and law, Annenberg Program, Northwestern University, from 1987. Board of directors: Foote, Cone and Belding Communications Inc.; Tribune Company; Sara Lee Corporation; AON Corporation; Manpower, Inc. Trustee: Notre Dame University, 1964–77, from 1983; Mayo Foundation, 1973–81. Trustee, past chair of board, Rand Corporation; chair, board of trustees, Carnegie Corp. of New York; Chicago Orchestral Association, 1975–87, life trustee from 1987; Northwestern University, 1975–87, life trustee, from 1987. Honorary degrees: LL.D., University of Wisconsin, and Brandeis Univer-

sity, 1963; LL.D., Northwestern University, 1965; LL.D., Columbia College, 1972; LL.D., Governors State University, 1984; LL.D., DePaul University, 1989; LL.D., RAND Graduate School, 1993. Member: Fellow, American Bar Foundation; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Bar Association; Illinois Bar Association; Chicago Bar Association. Recipient: Peabody Award, 1961; Northwestern University Alumni Association Medal, 1978; Ralph Lowell Award, 1982.

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## Mirren, Helen (1945- )

British Actor

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Helen Mirren is probably best known to American television audiences as Detective Chief Inspector Jane Tennison, the complicated and obsessive homicide and vice detective of *Prime Suspect*. However, Mirren, who began her acting career playing Cleopatra and Lady Macbeth in Royal Shakespeare Company productions of the 1960s and 1970s, has appeared in more than 30 productions for British, Australian, and American television. These have included film or taped versions of Royal Shakespeare productions, original television plays, and dramatic adaptations of literary classics (e.g., the British Broadcasting Corporation's [BBC's] serialization of Balzac's *Cousin Bette*, which eventually appeared in the United States on the Public Broadcasting Service's [PBS's] *Masterpiece Theater*) produced by Granada, Thames, and other companies for the BBC, ITV, and Channel 4 in Britain and such American television series as *Twilight Zone* (the 1980s version) and *The Hidden Room* (Lifetime cable production).

The stage training that Mirren received in her teens and 20s encouraged her to embrace diverse roles and risky projects on stage, television, and screen (including a couple of notorious X-rated European art films).

As with many such classically trained British actors, her breathtaking acting range and frequent appearances in every dramatic media made stardom elusive. *Prime Suspect*, first aired on British television in 1991, finally made this 25-year acting veteran an important international star. When it was broadcast on the American PBS series *Mystery!* in 1992, it became that show's highest-rated program, won an Emmy, and made Mirren, according to some television journalists and executives, PBS's "pin-up woman" of the decade. Four *Prime Suspect* series have followed.

Critical consensus attributes the success of the television series to the collaboration of Mirren and writer Lynda La Plante, who created Jane Tennison as a composite of several female police detectives she interviewed. La Plante did not want to compromise their integrity by making Tennison's character too "soft," so she considered casting critical to the success of her vision of the character and these professional women. La Plante found that Mirren had the kind of presence and "great weight" the writer believed crucial to the character: "[Mirren's] not physically heavy, but she has a strength inside her that is unusual. . . . There's a stillness to her, a great tension and intelligence in her face."





Helen Mirren.  
Photo courtesy of Helen Mirren

Mirren has claimed that she likes Tennison because she is “unlikable.” The complexity of Mirren’s performance resides in how she conveys this unlikability while still making us sympathetic to Tennison’s ideals and vulnerability. The character is clearly discriminated against because of her gender, and she knows it, but her own behavior, especially in personal relationships, is not beyond reproach. The tension that La Plante admires in Mirren’s face also permeates the stiff posture Mirren adopts for the character, the quick pace of her walk, the intense drags she takes on a cigarette, and the determination of her gum chewing. Tennison, that unlikable yet sympathetic character, is given life in Mirren’s world-weary eyes, which do not betray emotion to her colleagues, except when she lashes out in often justifiable anger. In private, however, the eyes express the losses suffered by a successful woman in a masculine public sphere.

Throughout the 1990s, Mirren continued to play strong, even eccentric characters on British and American television. *Losing Chase* (1996) is the story of a woman whose nervous breakdown becomes a way to opt out of a life as wife and mother. She learns to respond to others again when she falls in love with another woman. In the British miniseries *The Painted Lady* (later aired in the United States on PBS’s *Masterpiece Theater*), Mirren played a faded rock star turned sleuth. The decade ended with her Emmy Award-winning performance as cult novelist and radical individualist Ayn Rand in Showtime’s *Passion of Ayn Rand* (1999). Yet Mirren continues to be identified with Jane Tennison of *Prime Suspect*. For a time, Universal was working with Britain’s Granada Productions on a theatrical feature, but Paramount had rights to the property in 1999, when it allowed them to lapse back to

author Lynda La Plante. Mirren had responded strongly to rumors that she was not being considered for the film role because she was “too old” to attract a wide audience (Meryl Streep allegedly refused the role because Mirren was so closely associated with it), but it is unclear to what extent the casting controversy had to do with the feature film industry’s decision to withdraw from the project. This much is clear: although American and British television made strides in the 1980s and 1990s in depicting strong, complex women in law enforcement, for many viewers and critics Mirren’s performance finally enabled “a real contemporary woman [to break] through the skin of television’s complacency.”

MARY DESJARDINS

See also La Plante, Lynda; *Prime Suspect*

**Helen Mirren.** Born Helen Mironoff in London, England, July 26, 1945. Married Taylor Hackford, 1997. Established reputation as stage actress as Cleopatra with the National Youth Theatre, 1965; subsequently appeared with the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) and in Africa with Peter Brook’s International Centre of Theatre Research, from 1972; returned to RSC, 1974; has also appeared in numerous films and won acclaim as a television performer, notably in the series *Prime Suspect*, 1991–. Recipient: three British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards; Cannes Film Festival Best Actress Award, 1984; Emmy Award, 1999; Screen Actors Guild Award, 2002.

#### Television Series and Miniseries

1971	<i>Cousin Bette</i>
1979	<i>The Serpent Son</i>
1991–	<i>Prime Suspect</i>
1997	<i>Painted Lady</i>
2002	<i>Georgetown</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1974	<i>Coffin for the Bride</i>
1987	<i>Cause Célèbre</i>
1996	<i>Losing Chase</i>
1999	<i>The Passion of Ayn Rand</i>
2002	<i>Door to Door</i>
2003	<i>The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone</i>
2004	<i>Pride</i>

#### Television Specials

1968	<i>A Midsummer Night’s Dream</i>
1974	<i>The Changeling</i>
1975	<i>The Apple Cart</i>
1976	<i>The Collection</i>

Mirren, Helen

1978      *As You Like It*  
1979      *The Quiz Kid*  
1979      *Blue Remembered Hills*  
1981      *Mrs. Reinhard*

#### Films

*Herostratus*, 1967; *Age of Consent*, 1970; *Savage Messiah*, 1972; *O Lucky Man*, 1973; *Caligula*, 1979; *SOS Titanic*, 1979; *Hussy*, 1979; *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu*, 1980; *The Long Good Friday*, 1980; *Excalibur*, 1981; *Cal*, 1984; *2010*, 1984; *White Nights*, 1985; *The Mosquito Coast*, 1986; *Heavenly Pursuits*, 1987; *People of the Forest* (narrator), 1988; *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover*, 1989; *When the Whales Came*, 1989; *The Comfort of Strangers*, 1990; *The Gift*, 1990; *Bethune: The Making of a Hero*, 1989; *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, 1991; *The Madness of King George*, 1994; *The Hawk*, 1994; *Some Mother's Son*, 1996; *Critical Care*, 1997; *The Prince of Egypt* (voice), 1998; *Teaching Mrs. Tingle*, 1999; *Greenfingers*, 2000; *Happy Birthday* (also director), 2000; *The Pledge*, 2001; *Gosford Park*, 2001; *No Such Thing*, 2001; *Last Orders*, 2001; *Calendar Girls*, 2003; *The Clearing*, 2004; *Raising Helen*, 2004.

#### Stage (selection)

*Antony and Cleopatra*, 1965; *Troilus and Cressida*, 1968; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1968; *Richard III*, 1970; *Hamlet*, 1970; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1970; *Miss Julie*, 1971; *The Conference of Birds*, 1972; *Macbeth*, 1974; *Teeth 'n' Smiles*, 1974; *The Bed Before Yesterday*, 1976; *Henry VI, Parts 1, 2, and 3*, 1977; *Measure for Measure*, 1979; *The Duchess of Malfi*, 1980; *The Faith Healer*, 1981; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1983; *The Roaring Girl*, 1983; *Extremities*, 1984; *Two Way Mirror*, 1988; *Sex Please, We're Italian*, 1991; *A Month in the Country*, 1994; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1998; *Orpheus Descending*, 2000; *Dance of Death*, 2001.

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## Miss Marple

### British Mystery Program

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Miss Marple, the spinster detective who is one of the most famous characters created by English crime writer Agatha Christie, has been portrayed by a number of actresses in films and on television. In the cinema, Margaret Rutherford portrayed a rumbustious Miss Marple in the 1960s, and Angela Lansbury contributed a performance in *The Mirror Crack'd* before moving on to a similar role in the U.S. television series *Murder, She Wrote*. In Britain, however, certainly the most famous Miss Marple has been Joan Hickson, who starred in a dozen television mysteries over the course of a decade.

Between 1984 ("The Body in the Library") and 1992 ("The Mirror Crack'd"), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), in association with the U.S. A&E network and Australia's Seven network, produced an

irregular series of 12 Miss Marple mysteries. The elderly, deceptively delicate Joan Hickson starred in each of these as the amateur detective from the bucolic village of St. Mary Mead.

By conventional critical judgment, Agatha Christie's stories are often flawed. The plots can hinge on contrived and dated gimmicks: in "A Murder Is Announced," it is supposedly a shock that a character called Pip, for whom everyone is searching, is a woman, Philippa. The stories often end with an abruptly descending *deus ex machina*, as the heroine makes huge intuitive leaps, based on no clues ("4:50 from Paddington") or on clues that only she knows and that have been kept from the audience (the characters' marriages in "The Body in the Library"). Despite this, the television programs have attractive



Joan Hickson (1906–98) as Jane Marple in *The Mirror Crack'd*, TV, 1992.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

elements that kept them popular over the years of their production.

The BBC's *Miss Marple* is a good example of a "heritage" production, with all the pleasures that implies. The term "heritage television" sums up a certain attitude toward the past that developed in Britain during the 1980s, when a mixture of a new Victorianism in moral standards and an increasingly frenetic late-capitalistic commodification led to two tendencies. The first was an attraction to a particularly sanitized version of England's past. The second capitalized on the first with various moves toward rendering that past easily consumable—in television programs, films, bedsheets, jams and preserves, and so on. The BBC's *Miss Marple* stories are prime examples of "heritage" production. They are set mostly in a rural past. English architecture is featured, and country mansion houses proliferate. As is typical for BBC programs, the "production values" are impeccable, and the programs look beautiful—costumes, houses and decor, cars, hairstyles, and makeup could all be described as "sumptuous."

As a celebration of English culture, "heritage" also demands that the program be as faithful as possible to their source material. Thus, the BBC's *Miss Marple* does not chase the villains herself as Margaret Rutherford does in her films, nor are the titles of the books altered to make them more sensational, as has occurred in other productions (the novel *After the Funeral* had been made into the 1963 film *Murder at the Gallop*, for example).

Another "heritage" aspect of the program is the morality that structures and underlies the mysteries. *Miss Marple* is the model of decorum, not only just and good but also polite and correct. And although *Miss Marple* herself claims that "in English villages... You turn over a stone, you have no idea what will crawl out," there is in fact very little of a sordid underside in these narratives. There may be murders, but the motives are rarely squalid: mostly greed, sometimes true love. There are dance hostesses but no prostitutes; there is blackmail, but it is never about anything really shameful. Indeed, these murders are themselves peculiarly decorous, always meticulously planned, and rarely messy.

In addition to these "heritage" aspects, Hickson's performance is another of the particularly attractive aspects of the series. Her frail physical appearance contrasts both with her intensely blue eyes and with the way she dominates the scenes in which she appears. Her apparent scattiness, staring absentmindedly over people's shoulders as they talk to her, is delightful. It is believable both that people would ignore her, thinking her to be just "a little old lady," and simultaneously that she is very much in control of the situation.

*Miss Marple* offers a female-oriented version of detective mythology. Not only does the program present a range of roles for older women (unusual enough in television drama), but it also celebrates a nontraditional approach to investigation. In several of the stories, the traditional strong-arm techniques of police investigation advance the plot only very slightly. *Miss Marple* takes over; her investigative methods involve no violence, threats, or intimidation. Rather, gossip forms the most powerful of her tools. The very term "gossip" is a way of denigrating forms of speech that have typically been taken up by women. In these stories, gossip moves the narrative forward. In "4:50 from Paddington," for example, *Miss Marple* knows that the family needs a housekeeper; she says, "They're always needing a housekeeper. The father is particularly difficult to get on with." This enables *Miss Marple* to send her own agent into the household. It is gossip that unfailingly allows her to solve the mysteries. The character's standard technique is to equate the circumstances of the mystery with repre-

## Miss Marple

sentative archetypes she has encountered in the course of her village life. Such a comparison of types provides her with an infallible guide to people's characters, actions, and intentions.

In another departure from more typical detective narratives, at the denouements, Miss Marple is never involved in any physical chase or fight. Although she solves the mystery (through observation, a few polite questions, and a bit of knitting), Miss Marple has very little physical impact on the progress of the narrative. She is often peripheral rather than central. In some stories, female aides act as her physical stand-ins: but at the denouement of the stories, when television narrative convention demands some crisis and excitement, Miss Marple herself is little involved. Although she may engineer a denouement, as in "4:50 from Paddington," she is not involved in the chase that follows. Rather, it is policemen and good male characters who become involved in car chases and leap through glass windows.

The particular pleasures of this very British television production ensures its appeal even when new programs are no longer being produced, and its wide circulation, through syndication on several continents, attests to its continuing popularity.

ALAN MCKEE

### Cast

Miss Marple

Joan Hickson

### Programming History

12 irregularly produced and scheduled episodes  
BBC

Episodes and first dates of broadcast:

"The Body in the Library"	December 26, 27, 28, 1984
"The Moving Finger"	February 21, 22, 1985
"A Murder Is Announced"	February 28 and March 1, 2, 1985
"A Pocketful of Rye"	March 7, 8, 1985
"The Murder at the Vicarage"	December 25, 1986
"Sleeping Murder"	January 11 and 18, 1987
"At Bertram's Hotel"	January 25 and February 2, 1987
"Nemesis"	February 8 and 15, 1987
"4:50 from Paddington"	December 25, 1987
"Caribbean Mystery"	December 25, 1989
"They Do It with Mirrors"	December 29, 1991
"The Mirror Crack'd"	December 27, 1992

### Further Reading

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Terry, Clifford, "Cast Carries PBS Whodunit." *Chicago Tribune* (January 1, 1987)

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# Mission: Impossible

U.S. Espionage/Adventure Series

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Bob Johnson's taped words commissioning the Impossible Mission Force (IMF) with another assignment became synonymous with the techno-sophistry of *Mission: Impossible*, "This tape will self-destruct in five seconds." They were as often cited as the title itself and the opening visual and aural motifs: a match striking into flame and Lalo Schiffrin's dynamic theme music.

The program ran for 168 episodes between 1966 and 1973 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), returning for another 35 episodes on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) between 1988 and 1990 (shot in Australia for financial and location rea-

sons). Movie versions starring Tom Cruise were released in 1996 and 2000. The original executive producer for the TV series, Bruce Geller, wanted to deploy "the Everyman-superman" in a "homage to team work and good old Yankee ingenuity." The leader of the force was expected to choose a team to deal with each given task, usually comprised of a technical expert, a strongman, a female model, and a man of disguise. Major actors at different moments in the series included Peter Graves (head of the IMF after the first season and through the revived series), Barbara Bain (model), Greg Morris (technical expert), Peter Lupus (muscle bound), and Martin Landau (disguise artist).



*Mission: Impossible*, Greg Morris, Peter Graves, Martin Landau, Barbara Bain, Peter Lupus, 1966–73.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

By the time the program first began, TV producers were under intense pressure to include black characters in positive roles. *Mission* was held up in the *TV Guide* of the 1960s as a paragon of virtue for its representation of African Americans, with the character of Barney Collier hailed as one of television's "New Negro figures." However, *Mission: Impossible* did not avoid criticism for making its token African American a "backdoor" technical expert, one-dimensional and emotionless.

The instructions to writers of the first series read:

The tape message contains the problem. An enemy or criminal plot is in existence; the IMF must counter it. The situation must be of enough importance and difficulty that only the IMF could do it. The villains (as here and later portrayed) are so black, and so clever that the intricate means used to defeat them are necessary. Very commonly, but not inevitably, the mission is to retrieve a valuable item or man, and/or to discredit (eliminate) the villain or villains...avoid names of actual countries as well as mythical Balkan kingdoms by being vague. This

is not a concern at early stages of writing: use real names if it's easier.

The force would accept its assignment and devise a means to carry out the task in an extremely complex way. Some aspect of the plan would go awry, but the team would improvise and survive.

The IMF was a U.S. espionage group, private sector but public spirited, that "assisted" Third World countries, opposed domestic organized crime, and acted as a spy for the government. Because its enemies were great and powerful, the force required intricacy and secrecy ("covertness"). At the very time that the famous words were being intoned in each disembodied, taped assignment ("Should you...be caught or killed, the secretary will disavow any knowledge of your actions"), real-life U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester was supporting covert operations. The program's considerable overseas sales (69 countries and 15 dubbed versions by its third season) were said to have given many viewers around the world an exaggerated impression of the abilities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

David Buxton describes *Mission* as an exemplar of the 1960s British/American "pop series." These paeans to the fun of the commodity—to the modernity of design, fashion, and knowingness—leavened the performance of quite serious service to the nation. They had an ideological minimalism, open to a range of interpretations anchored only in the need to preserve everyday "Americanness," in the most general sense of the term. The opening tape's "promise" of official disavowal in the event of failure established entrepreneurial initiative as a basis for action and gave an alibi for minimizing additional references to politics. Instead, episodes could be devoted to a scientifically managed, technical private sphere. The IMF represented an efficient allocation of resources because of its anonymously weightless and depersonalized division of labor and an effective tool of covert activity as a consequence of its distance from the official civilities of diplomacy. This effect was achieved stylistically through a visual quality normally associated with the cinema: numerous changes in diegetic space, lighting that could either trope film noir or action-adventure, rapid cutting, and few lengthy reaction shots.

The first *Mission* was valorized by many critics for its plots. It was unusual for American television drama to have episodes with overlapping and complex storylines at the expense of characterization. Following each program's twists became a talisman for the cognoscenti. The inversion of heroism, whereby treachery, theft, kidnapping, and destruction were qualities of "good" characters, made the series seem both intellectually and politically subversive. Once

new people were introduced in a segment, they immediately underwent bewildering transformations that problematized previous information about their psyches, politics, and conduct. Geller's fantasy was that performers be just that: figures performing humanness, infinitely plastic, and ready to be redispersed in a moment. The series lasted much longer than its many spy-theme counterparts on network television through the 1960s, perhaps as a consequence of this decentered, subjectless approach.

Each episode of the original *Mission* cost \$225,000, for which CBS paid \$170,000. Geller was shooting nearly 50,000 feet of film per screen hour, more than twice the average, and spent 30 percent longer than the norm doing so. Special-effects and writing costs also went far beyond studio policy, in part to make for the feature film look that was a key factor in the program's success. Geller instilled a knowing self-reflexivity into the series. He became renowned for the remark that "nothing is new except in how it's done."

A 150-day strike in 1988 by members of the Writers Guild of America over creative and residual rights payments cast Hollywood's attention toward remakes and toward Australia, where the \$5,000 (Australian) cost of a TV script compared favorably to the U.S. figure of \$21,000 (Australian). Paramount decided to proceed with plans to bring back *Mission*, a reprise that it had attempted intermittently over almost a decade. Four old scripts were recycled, and new ones were written after the industrial action had concluded. *Mission* offered a built-in "baby-boomer" audience and the opportunity to avoid California unions. This attitude produced a very formulaic remake.

Consider the IMF's efforts to smuggle dissidents out of Eastern Europe ("The Wall"). Posing as a Texan impresario keen to hire a chess player and a magician, Graves is accused by a KGB officer of making "capitalist offers." He replies good naturedly that, "business is business the world over." And so it is, when his team is able to grant U.S. citizenship as it pleases while supposedly remaining independent of affiliation to any particular state. The IMF (ironically sharing an acronym with a key tool of First World economic power, the International Monetary Fund) establishes a sphere of the "other" that is harsh and repressive compared to the IMF's own goodness and light. These spheres represent state socialism and capitalism, respectively, as captured by a close-up of the East German Colonel Barty's highly polished boot grinding a little girl's lost doll into the mud as he arrests her defecting family. The shooting script calls for Graves to have a "broad American smile" to contrast him with a "slow, unfriendly" East German. The cut from unpleasantness at the Berlin Wall to Jim playing golf fully achieves the establishment of a lifestyle and

polity distinctiveness, illustrating the IMF's efforts to assist elements "behind the Wall" that favor a new political and economic openness. In his remark to a ravaged Ilse Bruck in act 3, Graves's patriarchal condescension is as much geopolitical as gendered: "You're a very brave girl, Ilse. But we're still in East Berlin and you'll have to call on all your reserves to help us get back to the West." Indeed she would.

TOBY MILLER

*See also Action Adventure Programs; Spy Programs*

**Cast (1966-1973)**

Daniel Briggs (1966-67)	Steven Hill
James Phelps (1967-73)	Peter Graves
Cinnamon Carter (1966-69)	Barbara Bain
Rollin Hand (1966-69)	Martin Landau
Barney Collier	Greg Morris
Willie Armitage	Peter Lupus
Paris (1969-71)	Leonard Nimoy
Doug (1970-71)	Sam Elliot
Dana Lambert (1970-71)	Lesley Ann Warren
Lisa Casey (1971-73)	Lynda Day George
Mimi Davis (1972-73)	Barbara Anderson

**Producer**  
Bruce Geller

**Programming History**

171 episodes

CBS	
September 1966-January 1967	Saturday 9:00-10:00
January 1967-September 1967	Saturday 8:30-9:30
September 1967-September 1970	Sunday 10:00-11:00
September 1970-September 1971	Saturday 7:30-8:30
September 1971-December 1972	Saturday 10:00-11:00
December 1972-May 1973	Saturday 10:00-11:00

**Cast (1988-1990)**

Jim Phelps	Peter Graves
Nicholas Black	Thaao Penghis
Max Harte	Antony Hamilton
Grant Collier	Phil Morris
Casey Randall (1988-89)	Terry Markwell

Shannon Reed (1989–90)  
The Voice on the Disk

Jane Badler  
Bob Johnson

**Producers**

Michael Fisher, Walter Brough

**Programming History**

ABC

October 1988–January 1989

Sunday  
8:00–9:00

January 1989–July 1989

Saturday  
8:00–9:00

August 1989

Thursday  
9:00–10:00

September 1989–December 1989

Thursday  
8:00–9:00

January 1990–February 1990

Saturday  
8:00–9:00

May 1990–June 1990

Saturday  
8:00–9:00

**Further Reading**

Beatie, Bruce A., "The Myth of the Hero: From *Mission: Impossible* to Magdalenian Caves," in *The Hero in Transition*, edited by Ray B. Browne and Marshall W. Fishwick, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983

Buxton, David, *From The Avengers to Miami Vice: Form and Ideology in Television Series*, Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1990

Lewis, Richard Warren, "Is This Mission Possible? The IM Force Struggles to Overcome Cast Changes, Power Plays, Hollywood Intrigue," *TV Guide* (1969)

Miller, Toby, "Mission: Impossible and the New International Division of Labour," *Metro-Media and Education Magazine* (autumn 1990)

Miller, Toby, "Mission Impossible: How Do You Turn Indooroopilly into Africa?," in *Queensland Images in Film and Television*, edited by Jonathan Dawson and Bruce Molloy, St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1990

White, Patrick J., *The Complete Mission: Impossible Dossier*, New York: Avon, 1991

**Mr. Bean.** See Atkinson, Rowan

**Mister Rogers' Neighborhood.** See Rogers, Fred McFeely

## Monkees, The

U.S. Musical Situation Comedy

*The Monkees*, a situation comedy about a struggling rock-and-roll band of the same name, originally aired on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from 1966 to 1968. During its 58-episode run, the program was awarded an Emmy for Outstanding Comedy Program in 1967. The show's popularity has continued, with reruns being broadcast on the Columbia Broad-

casting System (CBS) from 1969 to 1973 and on Music Television (MTV), Nick at Nite, and other cable and syndicated venues since the 1980s.

Inspired by the success of the two Beatles films directed by Richard Lester, the show was aimed at 1960s American youth culture. Considerable controversy surrounded the show because the band, four young



*The Monkees*, Peter Tork, Mickey Dolenz, Michael Nesmith, Davy Jones, 1966–68.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

men who “portrayed themselves,” was “manufactured” by Raybert Productions. In 1965 an advertisement appeared in *Daily Variety*, a major U.S. trade publication for the film and television industry, requesting responses from “4 insane boys aged 17–21.” More than 400 individuals replied.

Though Michael Nesmith and Peter Tork, two of the young men selected for the program, had some previous musical experience, the other two, Davy Jones and Mickey Dolenz, had none. Several recordings, closely tied to the series, were released and became commercial successes. Then it also became widely known that

the actors did not play their own musical instruments—on the recordings or in the series. The controversy rising from this “revelation” was further exacerbated when the actors embarked on a concert tour. Despite these issues, the Monkees became teen idols, sold millions of records, and were heavily merchandised.

The show was innovative in both form and content, violating the conventions of realist television. Episodes were characterized by self-reflexive techniques such as distorted focus, direct address of the camera, the incorporation of outtakes and screen tests, fast and slow-motion effects, and continuity errors. In all, however, the television version of “psychedelic” cinema was tamed for the domestic medium, and the boys generally engaged in wholesome, if quirky, fun.

“Monkee Mania” experienced a renewal in the 1980s, when the program was rerun on MTV. The popularity of the show with contemporary youth audiences has led to reissue of recordings; fan conventions, magazines, and websites; and several concert tours by three of the original members (Dolenz, Jones, and Tork).

FRANCES GATEWARD

*See also* **Music on Television**

**Cast (as themselves)**

Davy Jones  
Mike Nesmith  
Peter Tork  
Mickey Dolenz

**Producers**

Robert Rafelson, Ward Sylvester

**Programming History**

58 episodes  
NBC  
September 1966–August 1968    Monday 7:30–8:00



# Monkhouse, Bob (1928–2003)

British Comedian

Bob Monkhouse was one of British television's most prolific performers, indelibly etched on the minds of the public as the smooth, wise-cracking host of countless game shows. Initially a stand-up comic, Monkhouse's early years were spent writing gags for himself and other performers. He made a number of guest appearances on TV shows before he and then writing partner Denis Goodwin finally landed their own television series in 1953 with *Fast and Loose*, a comedy sketch show. With the arrival of Britain's commercial channel in 1955, Monkhouse was able to diversify. He and coproducer Jonathan Routh fooled members of the public with various scams in the British version of *Candid Camera*.

Always a fan of the great silent comedians, Monkhouse paid tribute to some of the men who had inspired him in 1966 with *Mad Movies*. He also continued a punishing schedule of nightclub appearances, before becoming a host of ATV's Sunday night variety show, *The London Palladium Show*, in 1967.

However, it was not until late 1967 that Monkhouse became associated with ATV's *The Golden Shot*, the series that made him a truly household name. Initially presented by Canadian Jackie Rae, this game show featured members of the audience who, to win prizes, guided, via the telephone, a blindfolded marksman to fire a crossbow into a target. In later stages of the game, the audience members were firing the crossbows themselves. From the start, Monkhouse was determined that he should be the presenter, and he even went to the expense of having a telerecording made of the episode in which he made a guest appearance so that Lew Grade, head of ATV, could see how Monkhouse could rescue what was then a fading show. Monkhouse also instigated the show's catchphrase, used when asking the studio hand to load the bolt: "Bernie, the bolt."

Monkhouse did indeed rescue the program, not only enlivening it with his wise-cracking comedy but also changing the format, simplifying it, and making it more visually appealing and exciting. Thus began a career as a host of game and quiz shows. In 1975 ATV adapted the American program *Hollywood Squares*, which was hosted by Monkhouse as *Celebrity Squares*. Once again, he was the fast-talking, ad-libbing host par

excellence. He hosted numerous game shows, including *Family Fortunes*, *\$64,000 Question*, *Bob's Full House*, *Bob Says Opportunity Knocks*, and *Wipe Out*. However, while thoroughly professional and able to put contestants at their ease, Monkhouse had a reputation for being smarmy and often played on this aspect of his persona.

In 1993 Monkhouse diversified into straight drama with a role in Yorkshire Television's *All or Nothing at All*, which also starred comedian Hugh Laurie. It was a proficient performance. In 2000 he lent his voice to the lead character in the animated series *Aaagh! It's the Mr. Hell Show*. A darkly comic cartoon, this program



Bob Monkhouse.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

has aired in the United States and Canada as well as in the United Kingdom.

Throughout his television career, Monkhouse continued his stand-up comedy act in nightclubs across England, and in recent years he had something of a renaissance and made a comeback as a TV comic, having been "rediscovered" by a younger generation of comics along with the likes of Ken Dodd and the late Frankie Howerd. He is probably deserving of "cult" status. The culmination of his return to comic form was the 1995–96 series *Bob Monkhouse on the Spot*, scheduled late Saturday evening on the mainstream British Broadcasting Corporation network BBC 1 and billed as a version of his cabaret act. This was a raunchier and racier Monkhouse than the TV public was used to seeing, and because the programs were recorded close to transmission, they were filled with topical gags.

Monkhouse's television career spanned half a century, and he generally received top billing in his TV ventures. Monkhouse passed away on December 29, 2003.

PAMELA ROSTRON

**Bob Monkhouse.** Born in Beckenham, Kent, England, June 1, 1928. Attended Dulwich College. Married: 1) Elizabeth, 1949 (divorced, 1972); children: Abigail, Gary, and Simon; 2) Jacqueline, 1973. Trained as a cartoon film animator with Gaumont British; started performing as comedian while member of the Royal Air Force, 1947–49; formed successful writing partnership with Denis Goodwin; became BBC's first contract comedian, performing on the *Work Wonders* radio show, 1949; starred in own radio show, 1949–83; starred in first television series, 1953; built up reputation as major cabaret attraction worldwide; host and guest performer on many BBC and ITV programs. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: Top Comedian in Cabaret, 1981, 1987; After-Dinner Speaker of the Year, 1989. Died December 29, 2003.

#### Television Series (selected)

1954–55	<i>Fast and Loose</i>
1956	<i>Do You Trust Your Wife?</i>
1957	<i>Bury Your Hatchet</i>
1957–58	<i>Early to Braden</i> (writer only)
1958–63	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Hour</i>
1960–67	<i>Candid Camera</i>
1964	<i>The Big Noise</i>
1967	<i>The London Palladium Show</i>
1967–71,	
1974–75	<i>The Golden Shot</i>
1975–79,	
1993–94	<i>Celebrity Squares</i>

1978–81	<i>I'm Bob, He's Dickie!</i>
1979	<i>Bonkers</i>
1979–83	<i>Family Fortunes</i>
1983–86	<i>Bob Monkhouse Tonight</i>
1984–90	<i>Bob's Full House</i>
1987–89	<i>Bob Says Opportunity Knocks</i>
1990–93	<i>The \$64,000 Question</i>
1991	<i>Bob's Your Uncle</i>
1993	<i>All or Nothing at All</i>
1994	<i>An Audience with Bob Monkhouse</i>
1995–96	<i>Bob Monkhouse on the Spot</i>
1996–	<i>The National Lottery Live</i>
1997	<i>What a Performance!</i>
1998–	<i>Wipe Out</i>
2000	<i>AAagh! It's the Mr. Hell Show</i> (voice of Mr. Hell)

#### Television Specials (selected)

1956	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Show</i>
1957	<i>Beat Up the Town</i>
1957	<i>Cyril's Saga</i> (writer only)
1958	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Show</i>
1966	<i>Mad Movies</i>
1967	<i>Bug</i>
1969	<i>Friends in High Places</i>
1972	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Comedy Hour</i>
1972	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Disturbance</i>
1973	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Offensive</i>
1973	<i>The Bob Monkhouse Breakdown</i>
1994	<i>An Audience with Bob Monkhouse</i>
1998	<i>Bob Monkhouse on Campus</i>

#### Films

*Secret People*, 1951; *All in Good Fun*, 1956; *Carry on Sergeant*, 1958; *Dentist in the Chair*, 1960; *Dentist on the Job*, 1961; *She'll Have to Go*, 1962; *A Weekend with Lulu*, 1962; *Thunderbirds Are Go*, 1966; *Up the Junction*, 1967; *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom*, 1968; *Simon Simon*, 1970; *Out of Order*, 1983.

#### Radio (selected)

*Work Wonders*, 1949; *Hello Playmates* (also co-writer), 1954; *Punchline*; *Bob Hope's 80th Anniversary*; *Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Hammerstein*; *Mostly Monkhouse*; *In the Psychiatrist's Chair*.

#### Stage (selected)

*Start Time with Bob*; *Aladdin*; *Boy from Syracuse*; *Come Blow Your Horn*.

#### Publications

*Just a Few Words: The Complete Speakers' Handbook*, 1988, revised edition, 1998  
*Crying with Laughter* (autobiography), 1993

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# Monty Python's Flying Circus

British Sketch Comedy/Farce/Parody/Satire Series

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*Monty Python's Flying Circus* first appeared on the British Broadcasting Corporation's BBC 1 on October 5, 1969. It was a new type of program for the national channel, and its appearance at the end of the decade seemed fitting. The show was created by six young men (Graham Chapman, John Cleese, Terry Gilliam, Eric Idle, Terry Jones, and Michael Palin) whose ideas of comedy and television were clearly nontraditional. *Monty Python's* style—free form, nonlinear, deeply sarcastic, satirical, and anarchic—seemed somehow to reflect the times. It mocked all conventions that preceded it, particularly the conventions of television.

The last episode aired on the BBC on December 5, 1974, after the production of 45 installments. The first 39 were titled *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. The final six episodes, all created without Cleese, who had tired of the show, were called *Monty Python*. In addition, the team produced two shows for German television, each running 50 minutes. The second of these two shows, which consisted mostly of new material, was shown in England on BBC 2 in 1973. The Pythons expanded into other media as the result of their TV success. They created four Python movies (*And Now for Something Completely Different*, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, *Monty Python's Life of Brian*, and *Monty Python's Meaning of Life*), several audio recordings, and several books relating to the programs and films. In England and North America, the group also performed several live stage shows comprised of various sketches and songs from the television program.

Of the cast, all but Gilliam were Englishmen who developed their interest in comedy while students at university (Palin and Jones at Oxford; Chapman, Cleese, and Idle at Cambridge). Gilliam was an American from California via Minnesota. Although he did appear on camera occasionally, Gilliam's primary contribution to the TV shows was his eclectic animation, which usually served, in various ways, to link the sketches.

Each of the British members of the troupe had previous television and stage experience as writers and performers. Their pre-Python credits included the satirical *That Was the Week That Was*, *The Frost Report* (with David Frost, a regular target of the group's arrows), *Do Not Adjust Your Set*, and *The Complete and Utter His-*

*tory of Britain*. The cross-pollination of talent during these days eventually brought the future Pythons together. They approached the BBC with a program idea, and it was accepted, not without some trepidation by the network. When Gilliam was brought into the group to provide animation, Monty Python was formed.

The programs reflect the influence of several British radio programs from the 1950s—most notably *The Goon Show*, which featured, among others, Peter Sellers. The energy and disregard for rules that hallmarked *The Goon Show* are clearly evident in the Python TV show. In turn, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* has exercised its own influence on such television programs as *Saturday Night Live*, *SCTV*, *Kids in the Hall*, and *The Young Ones*. The essential disrespect for authority that links each of these programs can ultimately be traced through the Pythons back to *The Goon Show*.

The content of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was designed to be disconcerting to viewers who expected to see typical television fare. This was obvious from the very first episode. The opening "discussion" featured a farmer who believes his sheep are birds and that they nest in trees. This bit was followed by a conversation between two Frenchmen who consider the commercial potential of flying sheep. Just as viewers thought they were beginning to understand the flow of the show, it cut to a shot of a man behind a news desk announcing, "And now for something completely different," and the scene shifted to a totally unrelated topic. The thread might return to a previous sketch, but more often there was no closure, only more fragmented scenes. Interspersed throughout were Gilliam's animations, often stop-action collages in which skulls opened to reveal dancing women or various body parts were severed. The macabre and disorienting were basic elements of the show.

Opening title sequences were not always found at the beginning of the program, frequently appearing instead midway through the show or even later. In one installment, there were no opening titles. Another element of the opening sequence was the "It's" man, a scruffy old sort who would be seen running, eventually reaching the camera. As he breathlessly croaks, "It's . . .," the scene would shift dramatically. The theme music (Sousa's "Liberty Bell March") was chosen because, among other reasons, it was free from copyright fees.



*Monty Python's Flying Circus*, John Cleese, Graham Chapman, Terry Jones, Eric Idle, Michael Palin (in front), 1969–74 TV Series.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Several of the sketches from the series became favorites of fans but not necessarily of the performers. "The Ministry of Silly Walks" virtually became Cleese's signature, much to his displeasure, and "The Dead Parrot Sketch" had to be repeated any time Cleese and Palin appeared together. The group's portrayal of middle-aged women (known as Pepperpots among the group) was a popular recurring theme as well. "Mr. Nudge," "The Spanish Inquisition," "The Upper-Class Twit of the Year," "The Lumberjack Song," and "Scott of the Antarctic" are among the bits that have remained fan favorites.

*Monty Python's Flying Circus* began appearing in the United States on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations in 1974. Its popularity grew, and it quickly became a cult favorite. Several commercial stations, having noticed it on the public stations, also began to air

the program. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) purchased the rights to the six-episode fourth year of *Monty Python*, but when the show was aired, the episodes had been censored and edited to fit the restrictions of American commercial TV. The group went to court to prevent further cuts, but ABC was able to air the second show with only a minor disclaimer. As a result of the case, the Pythons gained ownership of the copyright outside Great Britain.

Individual members of the group have gone on to acclaim in film and television. As writers, producers, directors, and performers, all carry with them residual elements of *Monty Python*. Graham Chapman died in 1989.

GEOFFREY HAMMILL

*See also* Cleese, John; Palin, Michael

**Cast**

Graham Chapman  
 John Cleese  
 Terry Gilliam  
 Eric Idle  
 Terry Jones  
 Michael Palin

**Producer**

John Howard Davies

**Programming History**

45 30-minute episodes

BBC

October 1969–January 1970

September 1970–December 1970

October 1972–January 1973

October 1974–December 1974

**Further Reading**

- “And Now for Something Completely Different...,” *The Economist* (October 20, 1990)
- Clifford, Andrew, “Caught in the Act,” *New Statesman and Society* (September 29, 1989)
- Hewison, Robert, *Monty Python: The Case Against Irreverence, Scurrility, Profanity, Vilification, and Licentious Abuse*, New York: Grove, 1981
- Johnson, Kim, *The First 20 Years of Monty Python*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1989
- Johnson, Kim, *Life (Before and) After Monty Python: The Solo Flights of the Flying Circus*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993
- McCall, Douglas L., *Monty Python: A Chronological Listing of the Troupe’s Creative Output, and Articles and Reviews About Them*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1991
- Perry, George C., *Life of Python*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1983
- Schmidt, William E., “Still Zany, Python and Cult Turn 25,” *New York Times* (September 18, 1994)

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# Moonlighting

U.S. Detective Comedy/Drama

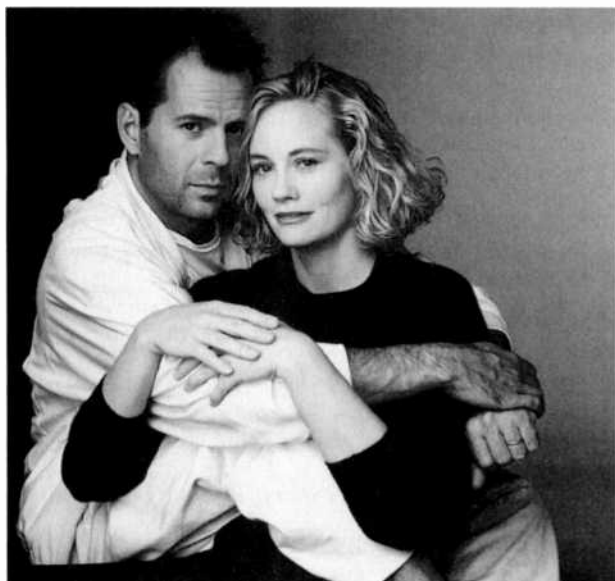
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*Moonlighting*, an hour-long episodic series that aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) from 1985 to 1989, signaled the emergence of “dramedy” as a television genre. After the series finished its first season in a ratings tie for 20th place, it rose to 9th place in 1986–87 and tied for 12th place the following season (in which only 14 new episodes were made). The innovative qualities of the program were noted by its nomination, for the first time in the 50-year history of the Directors Guild of America, for both Best Drama and Best Comedy.

Produced by Glen Gordon Caron, *Moonlighting* featured high-fashion model Maddie Hayes (played by real-life former high-fashion model Cybill Shepherd) and fast-talking private eye David Addison (played by then-unknown Bruce Willis). The series’ story began after Maddie’s business manager embezzled most of her fortune, leaving her with her house and the Blue Moon Detective Agency, designed by the wily accountant as nothing more than a tax write-off and consisting of detective David Addison and secretary Agnes Dipesto (played by Allyce Beasley). The romantic tension between David, a smart, slovenly, party animal and womanizer, and the beautiful, haute couture-

attired, snobbish Maddie lasted for two seasons. After this point, complications on and off the set led to a plotline in which Maddie juggled relationships with David and another suitor, briefly married a third man, had the marriage annulled, and suffered a miscarriage.

The series’ importance lies not so much in its convoluted plots as in its unique and sustained fusion of elements characteristically associated with two distinct genres into the emergent genre of dramedy. On the one hand, *Moonlighting* clearly exhibits the semantic features of television drama: serious subject matter dealing with incidents of sufficient magnitude that it arouses pity and fear; rounded, complex central characters who are neither thoroughly admirable nor despicable; textured lighting—both the hard “tele-noir” and diffused lighting accompanied by soft camera focus; multiple exterior and interior settings; and single-camera shooting on film. On the other hand, the series combines the “serious” elements with the syntactic features of television comedy. These comedic features include a four-part narrative structure (consisting of the situation, complication, confusion, and resolution); the metatextual practices of verbal self-reflexivity, musical self-reflexivity, and intertextuality; repetition



*Moonlighting*, Bruce Willis, Cybill Shepherd, 1985–89.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

(i.e., the doubling, tripling, and compounding of the same action or incident until the repetition itself becomes humorous); witty repartee; hyperbolic coincidence; and a governing benevolent moral principle within which the violent, confused, often ironic dramas of good and evil and seriousness and silliness were played out.

A full appreciation of the sophistication of *Moonlighting* involves a level of cultural literacy (both popular and classic) rarely required by prime-time television series, which was one reason the series drew accolades from critics early on. Titles of *Moonlighting* episodes intertextually referenced the narrative premises as well as titles, authors, and even visual techniques of films, novels, dramas, poems, and plays from the 16th century through the present (e.g., “It’s a Wonderful Job,” “The Dream Sequence Always Rings Twice,” “Atlas Belched,” “Brother, Can You Spare a Blonde,” “Twas the Episode Before Christmas,” and “The Lady in the Iron Mask”). Another episode titled “Atomic Shakespeare” provided a feminist version of “The Taming of the Shrew,” performed, except for the bookend scenes, entirely in iambic pentameter. Additionally, in many episodes, protagonists Maddie and David break the theatrical “fourth wall” convention with self-reflexive references to themselves as actors in a television program or to the commercial nature of the television medium. Such metatextual practices are techniques of defamiliarization that, according to certain formalist critical theories, epitomize the experience and purpose of art; they jar viewers out of the complacent, narcotic-like pleasure of familiar forms

and invite them to question and appreciate the artistic possibilities and limitations of generic forms. *Moonlighting*’s use of these metatextual practices signifies its recognition of the traditions that have shaped it as well as its self-conscious comments on its departure from those traditions; thus, the series displays characteristics typically attributed to works regarded as highly artistic.

The series’ artistry in fusing the genre features of drama and comedy in such a way that it was both popular and critically acclaimed paved the way for such other innovative “dramedic” ventures as *Frank’s Place*, *Northern Exposure*, *Sports Night*, and *Ally McBeal*. *Moonlighting* also led a number of critics to declare that, with *Moonlighting*, American television had finally come of age as an art form.

LEAH R. VANDE BERG

**See also Detective Programs; Dramedy**

**Cast**

Maddie Hayes	Cybill Shepherd
David Addison	Bruce Willis
Agnes Dipesto	Alice Beasley
Herbert Viola (1986–89)	Curtis Armstrong
Virginia Hayes (1987–88)	Eva Marie Saint
Alex Hayes (1987–88)	Robert Webber
MacGillicuddy (1988–89)	Jack Blessing

**Producers**

Glenn Gordon Caron, Jay Daniel

**Programming History**

65 episodes	
ABC	
March 1985	Sunday 9:00–11:00
March 1985–April 1985	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
April 1985–September 1988	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
December 1988–February 1989	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
April 1989–May 1989	Sunday 8:00–9:00

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## Moonves, Leslie R. (1949– )

U.S. Media Executive, President and CEO of CBS Television

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Leslie R. Moonves, as president and chief executive officer of Viacom's CBS entertainment division, changed programming for U.S. network television during the 1990s. Moonves found that alternative television shows, when mixed into a traditional schedule of situation comedies and dramas, could succeed against the emergence of burgeoning competing media.

Moonves has made a career of creating successful programming for broadcast television. Often, network executives in the 1990s ascended to their leadership positions after climbing a ladder of successive jobs inside one company. For many of Moonves's contemporaries, such as Robert Iger of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the path to upper management included earlier jobs at one network in program development, show scheduling, daytime programming, or production administration. Moonves, however, worked at studios that produced series for network airing. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) recruited him to become its entertainment president when Moonves presided over Warner Brothers television division. At the time, Warner Brothers was a chief supplier for ABC, CBS, and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), with more than 20 programs on prime-time schedules.

Moonves began his tenure at CBS at a time when new media technologies had caused the erosion of broadcasters' audience shares. After Congress passed the Cable Communications Act of 1984 and videocassette recorders became standard household appliances, marketplace competition forced television programmers to accept smaller audiences. To lead CBS, Moonves had to create a new identity, find a younger audience, and yet still entertain a mass audience that would seek out CBS for news, sports, entertainment, and children's programming.

Moonves's reinvention of CBS blended unscripted reality programs such as *Survivor* and *The Amazing*

*Race* into a nightly prime-time lineup dominated by stalwarts such as *Everybody Loves Raymond*, *Touched by an Angel*, and *60 Minutes*. This mix has kept CBS ahead in the ratings race in the face of challenges by ABC's fad game show *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, FOX's younger focus, and NBC's aging lineup of quality programming. Where other broadcast programmers attempted to deal with lost audiences and advertising dollars by finding fast fixes or by staying loyal to old programming concepts, Moonves succeeded by trailblazing with new show concepts, pretesting most show episodes with audience focus groups before those episodes aired, and closely managing staff, including personally evaluating contestants before casting completed for CBS's unscripted adventure programs.

Moonves had initially chosen acting as a career path. He attended Bucknell University. As a senior, he became interested in acting. In 1971, after graduating with a degree in Spanish, he moved to New York City and studied with Sanford Meisner at New York's Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre. When Moonves's acting career was not immediately successful, he moved to Los Angeles, where he won roles in television programs such as *Gemini Man*, *Cannon*, and *The Six Million Dollar Man*.

Eventually, he became a development executive with Gregory Harrison's Catalina Productions. The company operated the Coast Playhouse and later produced movies for television. In 1981 Moonves and Catalina produced a stage version of "The Hasty Heart." The production moved to the Los Angeles Music Center's Ahmanson Theatre. That year, the play won several Los Angeles Drama Critic Circle Awards, including Best Production of the Year. Showtime filmed and cablecast the play.

Through his friendship with Warren Littlefield, Moonves changed his emphasis to television production and became a development executive at Saul Ilson



Productions. Moonves served as vice president for development before moving to 20th Century-Fox Television as vice president of movies and miniseries. Next, Moonves joined Lorimar as executive vice president for creative affairs and was promoted to president of television production. In 1988 Lorimar merged with Warner Brothers Studios. While at Lorimar, Moonves was responsible for the development and production of the shows, overseeing *Dallas* and *Knots Landing* while developing dramas such as the critically acclaimed but viewer-ignored *I'll Fly Away* and *Max Headroom* and the sitcom *Full House*.

Moonves left the presidency at Warner Brothers Television for the entertainment president position at CBS in July 1995. He was promoted to his current post in April 1998.

While keeping his network ahead, Moonves has found time to devote to television's future. In November 1999, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reported that television characters do not emulate national racial and ethnic diversity. Moonves represented CBS at those hearings and testified that he recognized the problem and would work to correct it. In February 2000, Moonves signed a contract with the NAACP, promising to create a greater numbers of realistic roles for African Americans and to expand the roles of African Americans at CBS. That year, CBS went forward with the medical drama *City of Angels*, with a predominantly African-American cast and production team. CBS aired 23 episodes of the hospital series before its cancellation.

President Clinton appointed Moonves cochair of the Advisory Committee on the Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters (also known as the Public Interest Council). The committee was designed to study and make recommendations on the public interest responsibilities accompanying broadcasters' receipt of digital television licenses. The committee completed its recommendations in 1998 and advised broadcasters to meet digital public interest obligations by voluntarily airing nightly, five-minute candidate discourses beginning a month prior to every election.

When Viacom merged with CBS, Moonves's influence grew, as he was promoted to chief executive officer. Next, Viacom merged its Paramount Studios

television production unit with CBS, placing it under Moonves's command. In December 2001, Viacom placed a second television network under Moonves's control. After the Federal Communications Commission changed its dual ownership rules in April 2001, the company had the right to operate Paramount's TV network, the United Paramount Network (UPN), alongside CBS. Moonves now oversees UPN as well.

Moonves serves on the board of directors of Viacom, Americans for the Arts National Policy Board, the Los Angeles Free Clinic, and the board of governors of the annual Banff Television Festival. He is a member of President Clinton's Advisory Committee on the Arts, the board of directors of the Los Angeles Free Clinic, and both the executive committee and board of governors of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. He serves on the board of trustees of the Entertainment Industries Council, the Motion Picture Association of America's Executive Committee on Television Violence, and the board of governors of the UCLA Center for Communications Policy. He is a trustee of the National Council for Families and Television and is past president of the Hollywood Radio and Television Society.

JOAN GIGLIONE

*See also* **Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS)**

**Leslie R. Moonves.** Born October 6, 1949. Attended Bucknell University, B.A. Spanish, 1971. Married: Nancy, 1979; children: Adam, Sara, and Michael. Named vice president, Lorimar Productions, 1985. Named head of creative affairs, Lorimar Television, 1988. Promoted to president, 1989. Named president of Warner Brothers Television, 1993. Appointed to presidency of CBS Entertainment and executive vice presidency, CBS/Broadcast Group, 1995. Named President and chief executive officer of CBS Television, 1998. Recipient: Bucknell University's Achievement in Chosen Profession Award, 2002; International Radio and Television Society Award for Significant Achievement, 1999; Los Angeles Sports & Entertainment Commission 2nd Annual Award of Excellence, 2001; Bucknell's Academy of Artistic Achievement Award, 1995; Casting Society of America Career Achievement Award and Caucus for Producers, Writers and Directors Executive of the Year Award, 1993.



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# Moore, Garry (1915–1993)

## U.S. Television Personality

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Garry Moore, genial host of numerous successful network television programs throughout the 1950s and 1960s, played a major role in making the medium acceptable to American viewers during its early decades. During his long broadcast career, Moore appeared regularly during prime-time hours as well as other time periods; like Arthur Godfrey, he hosted prominent daytime and weekly evening shows, which contributed to his immense popularity. His programs were frequently among the top-ten prime-time programs. As a comedian, Moore combined genial humor with a pleasant personality and a relaxed style that made him a favorite with audiences.

Moore originally worked as a network radio comedian and writer known by his real name, Thomas Garrison Morfit. Because Morfit was difficult to pronounce, an on-air contest to select a stage name was conducted. Beginning in 1940, he became known to the listening audience as Garry Moore.

In 1949 CBS Radio originated *The Garry Moore Show*, a daily one-hour variety program produced in Hollywood. Network programmers recognized a successful radio personality in Moore, and given the need for programming talent on its young television network, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) provided the opportunity for Moore to host a variety television show in New York. When *The Garry Moore Show* was introduced on CBS Television in 1950, Moore established a distinctive on-air identity with his crew-cut hair and bow tie-wearing image. His physical appearance enhanced his casual demeanor and easygoing conversational style, which became familiar to home viewers.

Moore's initial telecasts followed a somewhat checkerboard scheduling pattern. Beginning as a 30-minute evening series, live Monday through Friday, *The Garry Moore Show* made its television debut in June 1950. By August, the program changed to one night per week and expanded to an hour in length. For its fall 1950 lineup, CBS scheduled Moore weekday afternoons, a move that lasted eight years. By 1951 *The Garry Moore Show* reportedly was the second-largest revenue source for CBS, and for a time the network could not accommodate all the potential sponsors awaiting the opportunity to advertise on the program.

Moore's daytime program format was flexible but generally included humorous skits, singing, monologues, and studio-audience interaction. Regular performers were featured along with special guests. Supporting Moore with the various program segments were singers Denise Lor and Ken Carson and announcer and sidekick Durward Kirby. Comedians Don Adams, George Gobel, Don Knotts, and Jonathan Winters made their earliest television appearances on Moore's show, contributing to the entertaining tone and boosting their individual careers. *The Garry Moore Show* remained on the air until mid-1958, when Moore voluntarily relinquished his hosting duties owing to the exhausting work schedule. By the 1958 fall season, Moore returned to CBS, hosting a weekly evening program, again called *The Garry Moore Show*.



*The Garry Moore Evening Show*; Garry Moore, 1951.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The hour-long evening series followed a format similar to Moore's daytime variety program. During its six-year run, *The Garry Moore Show* introduced comedian Carol Burnett, who later starred in her own successful CBS show during the 1960s and 1970s. Other comedic and musical talents regularly appearing on the Moore nighttime variety show included Durward Kirby, Marion Lorne, and Dorothy Loudon. Allen Funt's "Candid Camera" became a regular segment on the program. Another popular weekly feature was a lengthy nostalgia segment known as "That Wonderful Year." Given the grueling work required to produce the show, Moore decided to discontinue the program in 1964. He reappeared in 1966 as host of yet another weekly *Garry Moore Show* variety series, but after five months of competition with *Bonanza*, CBS canceled the show because of poor ratings.

In addition to hosting several variety shows, Garry Moore moderated two television panel quiz programs, *I've Got a Secret* and *To Tell the Truth*. He began a 12-year reign as moderator of Goodson-Todman Productions' *I've Got a Secret* in 1952. This popular CBS prime-time program featured celebrity panelists who tried to guess the secret of ordinary and celebrity contestants. Panel members appearing through the years included Bill Cullen, Jayne Meadows, Henry Morgan, Faye Emerson, and Betsy Palmer. *I've Got a Secret* was among the A.C. Nielsen top-20 television programs for seven years. It remained one of the most popular panel programs ever on television. Goodson-Todman sold *I've Got a Secret* to CBS and Moore in 1959, and he continued to moderate the show until 1964.

*To Tell the Truth*, also from Goodson-Todman, was moderated for a decade by Bud Collyer before it was taken over by Moore when the program went into syndication in 1969. Another half-hour celebrity panel show, the object of *To Tell the Truth* was to determine which of three contestants was telling the truth. Regular panelists included Orson Bean, Bill Cullen, Kitty Carlisle, and Peggy Cass. Moore left the program and television for good in 1977, when he developed throat cancer. The wit, charm, and personality, so much a part of Moore, influenced numerous television hosts both during and following his long career. He died from emphysema in 1993 at age 78.

DENNIS HARP

See also *I've Got A Secret*; **Talk Shows**

**Garry Moore.** Born Thomas Garrison Morfit in Baltimore, Maryland, January 31, 1915. Married: 1) Eleanor Borum Little, 1939 (died, 1974); children: John Mason Morfit and Thomas Garrison Morfit; 2) Mary Elizabeth De Chant, 1975. Writer and actor, radio station WBAL, Baltimore, 1935-38; news announcer and sports commentator, radio station KWK, St. Louis, Missouri, 1939; star and writer, NBC Blue Network's *Club Matinee*, 1939-43; New York emcee, NBC's *Everything Goes*, 1942; costar and writer, *Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*, 1943-48; host, NBC's *Take It or Leave It*, 1948-50; star, CBS radio show *Garry Moore Show*, 1949-50; star, CBS-TV's *Garry Moore Show*, 1950-58, 1958-64, 1966-67; moderator, *I've Got a Secret*, 1952-64; substitute host, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1953; host, syndicated television quiz show *To Tell the Truth*, 1969-77. Member: National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Died on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, November 28, 1993.

**Television Series**

1950-58, 1958-64, 1966-67	<i>The Garry Moore Show</i>
1952-64	<i>I've Got a Secret</i>
1969-77	<i>To Tell the Truth</i>

**Radio**

*Club Matinee*, 1939-43; *Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*, 1943-48; *Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1946 *Take It or Leave It*, 1948-50; *The Garry Moore Show*, 1949-50.

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# Moore, Mary Tyler (1936– )

U.S. Actor

Mary Tyler Moore's most enduring contributions to television are in two classic sitcoms, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961–66) and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77), although she has appeared in the medium in a variety of roles both before and after these series. Her first on-camera television work was as a dancer, and it was as "Happy Hotpoint," a singing and dancing fairy, that she first caught the public eye. Her first regular series role as Sam, the receptionist on *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*, was notable primarily because it featured only her dancer's legs and voice.

As Laura Petrie, the beautiful, talented, and not-so-typical suburban housewife married to comedy writer Rob (Dick Van Dyke) on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Moore earned critical praise (and Emmy Awards) as she laid the foundation for the wholesome but spunky identity that would mark her television career. Though she lacked their experience in television comedy, Moore was no mere "straight woman" to comedians Van Dyke, Carl Reiner, Morey Amsterdam, and Rose Marie; she managed to stake out her own comic identity as a lovely and competent housewife who was frequently thrown a curve by her husband's unusual friends and career. Thanks to the show's explorations of the Petries' courtship (they met while he was in the military and she a USO dancer), Moore was able to display on the show her talents as both dancer and singer as well as comedic actor. While *The Dick Van Dyke Show* stopped production in 1966, it appeared in reruns on the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) daytime lineup until 1969, keeping Moore's perky persona in the public eye as she sought film roles and stage work for the remainder of the decade.

On the basis of Moore's popularity in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, CBS offered her a 13-episode contract to develop her own series starting in 1970. Moore and her then-husband Grant Tinker, a production executive at 20th Century-Fox at the time, used the opportunity to set up their own production company, MTM Enterprises, to produce the show. Following the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, MTM went on to produce a number of the most successful and critically praised series of the 1970s and 1980s, with Moore's contributions limited mainly to input on her own show(s) and the use of her initials.

On *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Moore played Mary Richards, a 30-something single woman "making it on her own" in 1970s Minneapolis, Minnesota. MTM first pitched her character to CBS as a young divorcee, but CBS executives believed that her role as Laura Petrie was so firmly etched in the public mind that viewers would think that she had divorced Dick Van Dyke (and that the American public would not find a divorced woman likable), so Richards was rewritten as a woman who had moved to the big city after ending a long affair. Richards lands a job working in the news department of fictional WJM-TV, where Moore's all-American spunk plays off against the gruff boss Lou Grant (Ed Asner), world-weary writer Murray Slaughter (Gavin MacLeod), and pompous anchorman Ted Baxter (Ted Knight). In early seasons, her



Mary Tyler Moore.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

all-male work environment is counterbalanced by a primarily female home life, where again her character contrasts with her ditzy landlady Phyllis Lindstrom (Cloris Leachman) and her New York-born neighbor and best friend, Rhoda Morgenstern (Valerie Harper). Both the show and Moore were lauded for their realistic portrayal of "new" women in the 1970s whose lives centered on work rather than family and for whom men were colleagues rather than just potential mates. While Mary Richards's apologetic manner may have undermined some of the messages of the women's movement, she also put a friendly face on the potentially threatening tenets of feminism, naturalizing some of the decade's changes in the way women were perceived both at home and at work.

After *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* ended its seven-year, award-winning run, Moore appeared in several short-running series, including her attempt to revive the musical variety show *Mary* (1978), which is best remembered for a supporting cast that included the then-unknown David Letterman, Michael Keaton, and Swoosie Kurtz. Moore's later stage, feature film, and made-for-television movie efforts have represented successful efforts to break with the perky Laura Petrie/Mary Richards persona. In the Academy Award-winning *Ordinary People* (1980), for example, Moore's performance contrasts the publicly lovable suburban housewife—a Laura Petrie-type facade—with her character's private inability to love and nurture her grief-stricken family; in *Flirting with Disaster* (1996), she steals scenes as Ben Stiller's vain adoptive mother. Moore won a special Tony Award for her performance as a quadriplegic who wanted to end her existence in *Whose Life Is It, Anyway?* And on television, she has played everything from a breast cancer survivor in *First, You Cry* to the troubled Mary Todd Lincoln in *Gore Vidal's Lincoln* to a villainous orphanage director in *Stolen Babies*. Still, Mary Richards continues to define Moore. In 2001 she and Valerie Harper renewed their on-screen friendship in *Mary and Rhoda*, a made-for-television movie featuring their *Mary Tyler Moore Show* characters. Originally pitched as a new series, Moore, Harper, and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) opted out of a long-term commitment despite the show's high ratings. Another sign of Mary Richards's enduring appeal came in 2001, when the city of Minneapolis and the cable network TV Land unveiled a bronze statue of "Richards" tossing her famous beret into the air, as Moore did on the opening credits of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. In recent years, Moore has devoted much of her attention to work for the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation, the American Diabetes Association, and various animal rights organizations.

SUSAN MCLELAND

*See also The Dick Van Dyke Show; Gender and Television; The Mary Tyler Moore Show; Tinker, Grant*

**Mary Tyler Moore.** Born in Brooklyn, New York, December 29, 1936. Married: 1) Richard Meeker, 1955 (divorced, 1962), child: Richard (deceased); 2) Grant Tinker, 1963 (divorced, 1981); 3) Robert Levine, 1983. Began television career as "Happy Hotpoint," dancing performer in appliance commercials, 1955; costarred in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, 1961–66; television guest appearances, 1960s and 1970s; cofounder, with Tinker, of MTM Enterprises; starred in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, 1970–77. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards; Golden Globe Award; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1987.

#### Television Series

1959	<i>Richard Diamond, Private Detective</i>
1961–66	<i>The Dick Van Dyke Show</i>
1970–77	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i>
1978	<i>Mary</i>
1979	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Hour</i>
1985–86	<i>Mary</i>
1988	<i>Annie McGuire</i>
1995	<i>New York News</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1979	<i>Run a Crooked Mile</i>
1984	<i>Heartsounds</i>
1985	<i>Finnegan Begin Again</i>
1988	<i>Gore Vidal's Lincoln</i>
1990	<i>Thanksgiving Day</i>
1990	<i>The Last Best Year</i>
1993	<i>Stolen Babies</i>
1995	<i>Stolen Memories: Secrets from the Rose Garden</i>
1997	<i>Payback</i>
2001	<i>Mary and Rhoda</i> (also producer)
2001	<i>Like Mother, Like Son: The Strange Story of Sante and Kenny Kimes</i>
2002	<i>Miss Lettie and Me</i>
2003	<i>The Gin Game</i>
2003	<i>Blessings</i>

#### Television Specials

1969	<i>Dick Van Dyke and the Other Woman, Mary Tyler Moore</i>
1974	<i>We the Women</i> (host and narrator)
1976	<i>Mary's Incredible Dream</i>
1978	<i>CBS: On the Air</i> (cohost)
1978	<i>How to Survive the 70s and Maybe Even Bump into Happiness</i> (host)

- 1991 *Funny Women of Television*  
 1991 *The Mary Tyler Moore Show: The 20th Anniversary Show*  
 1998 *Three Cats from Miami and Other Pet Practitioners*  
 1998 *CBS: The First Fifty Years*

**Films**

*X-15*, 1961; *Thoroughly Modern Millie*, 1967; *What's So Bad About Feeling Good?*, 1968; *Don't Just Stand There!*, 1968; *Change of Habit*, 1970; *Ordinary People*, 1980; *Six Weeks*, 1982; *Just Between Friends*, 1986; *Flirting with Disaster*, 1996; *Keys to*

*Tulsa*, 1997; *Reno Finds Her Mom*, 1997; *Labor Pains*, 2000; *Cheaters*, 2001.

**Publication**

*After All*, 1995

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 Bonderoff, Jason, *Mary Tyler Moore: A Biography*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986  
 Hingley, Audrey T., "Mary Tyler Moore: After All," *Saturday Evening Post* (November–December 1995)

## Moore, Roger (1927– )

British Actor

Roger Moore settled into acting by 1948, appearing in small roles on British television, radio, and repertory theater. In 1953 Moore went to Hollywood, where he secured an MGM contract, appearing in minor roles in four features over the next two years. He moved to Warner Brothers and appeared in several features, including *The Sins of Rachel Cade*. In 1958 Moore returned to England for a year to star in the television series, *Ivanhoe*, a coproduction between Screen Gems of America and Sydney Box. The series was part of a historical cycle in British television in the late 1950s, and the *Ivanhoe* series was an admirable effort in the genre. The series was loosely based on the chivalric exploits of Ivanhoe during the time of Prince John with the hero drawn from the novel by Sir Walter Scott. As the figure of the title, Moore was suitably dashing, an energetic defender of the weak and the poor and a nobleman to boot.

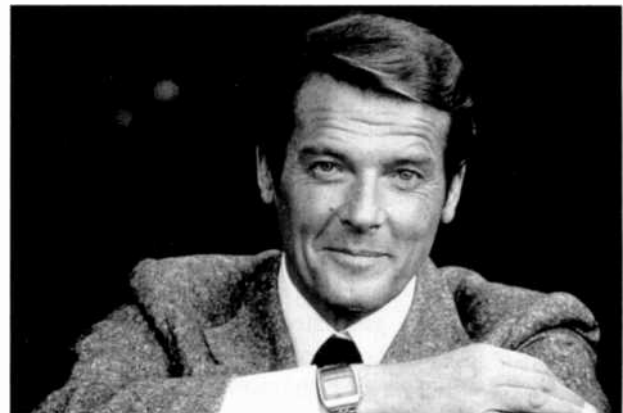
Back in Hollywood with Warners in 1959, Moore was given a starring role in the television series *The Alaskans*. Moore played Silky Harris, an adventurer, and already the suave sophistication that became a later trademark was in evidence. The series was a variation on the one-hour western series that Warners had been successfully churning out for several years, but *The Alaskans* lasted only one season.

Moore was then cast in the western series *Maverick* (1960). Cousin Beau, played by Moore, was sophisticated and upper class but, unfortunately, lacked the comic touch of the original star, James Garner, who

had left the series. After one season on *Maverick*, Moore left the series, which folded a year later.

Moore returned to feature films. He made three more features for Warners, including a western, *Gold for Seven Sinners* (1961), a western vehicle for Clint Walker, the former star of *Cheyenne*, which was partly shot in Italy. Moore stayed two years in Italy, where he made two Italian films.

After nearly ten years in film and television, Moore was cast in the role of the Saint in the eponymous television series in 1961. The role perfectly fit his persona of a sophisticated Englishman with more than a modicum of intelligence, cunning, and toughness. While



Roger Moore.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

some appearances in earlier U.S. television anthology drama series, such as *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, had Moore playing such a figure, nothing in his previous starring roles had capitalized on this side of Moore's screen personality. *The Saint* expanded considerably on the type over seven years, through 114 filmed hours as well as two telefeatures. The series was produced in Britain by ITC/ATV and was based on the novels by Leslie Charteris. The Saint was a kind of modern Robin Hood who used wealth, cunning, and sophistication to help bring to justice criminals that the law had been unable to catch. *The Saint* taught Moore his trade and made him a large income. He became owner of a textile mill, a director of the Faberge perfume operation, and co-owner of a film production company, Bar Moore, which produced later episodes of *The Saint*. The series also gave him a chance to try his hand at directing. All together, he directed eight hour-long episodes of *The Saint* and two hour-long episodes of his next television series, *The Persuaders*.

This latter series was a kind of spin-off to *The Saint* as far as Moore's role was concerned. However, he no longer played solo, being teamed with fading screen idol Tony Curtis. *The Persuaders* was produced by a company of Sir Lew Grade and ran for 24 hour-long episodes in the 1971–72 season. The attempt to enlist audience loyalties on both sides of the Atlantic was obvious enough; nevertheless, the series had sufficient action and adventure, usually in exotic locales, to keep audiences happy and make the series popular. But it did little to advance Moore's career after the achievement of *The Saint*. The real break came in 1973, when Moore was cast as the second James Bond. Chosen over actor Michael Caine, Moore's casting as Bond was in line with the screen persona that had been elaborated over 15 years in television. Moreover, the work in television had given Moore a fame and popularity beyond anything Caine could muster from his film work in the previous ten years.

The Bond role meant that Moore was now an international star who no longer needed to play in television, but the general pattern of his career is a familiar and instructive one regarding the younger medium. Moore decided on an acting career just as television was displacing feature films as the most popular form of screen entertainment. Television taught him his trade as an actor, allowing him the opportunity over several series to elaborate a screen personality that would later stand him in good stead. After a long television apprenticeship, he finally graduated to big-budget feature films, where he has worked ever since. The other significant feature of his career is the paradox that this British star was in fact a product of the international television and film industries, if not the American industry.

ALBERT MORAN

See also **Maverick**

**Roger Moore.** Born in London, England, October 14, 1927. Attended Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London. Married: 1) Doorn van Steyn (divorced, 1953); 2) Dorothy Squires, 1953 (divorced, 1969); 3) Luisa Mattioli; children: Geoffrey, Christian, and Deborah. Film cartoonist and model from the age of 16, before training as an actor; made film debut, 1945; after National Service, worked as film actor; made television debut in *Ivanhoe*, 1958–59; television performer and star, from 1960s; subsequently concentrated on film career, notably in seven films as James Bond. Recipient: Golden Globe World Film Favorite Award, 1980.

#### Television Series

1958–59	<i>Ivanhoe</i>
1959–60	<i>The Alaskans</i>
1957–62	<i>Maverick</i>
1962–69	<i>The Saint</i>
1971–72	<i>The Persuaders</i>
2002	<i>Alias</i> (guest appearance)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1977	<i>Sherlock Holmes in New York</i>
1992	<i>The Man Who Wouldn't Die</i>

#### Films

*Caesar and Cleopatra*, 1945; *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, 1954; *Interrupted Melody*, 1955; *The King's Thief*, 1955; *Diane*, 1955; *The Miracle*, 1959; *The Sins of Rachel Cade*, 1961; *Gold of the Seven Saints*, 1961; *Rape of the Sabines*, 1961; *No Man's Land*, 1961; *Crossplot*, 1969; *The Man Who Haunted Himself*, 1970; *Live and Let Die*, 1973; *The Man with the Golden Gun*, 1974; *Gold*, 1974; *That Lucky Touch*, 1975; *Shout at the Devil*, 1976; *Street People*, 1976; *The Spy Who Loved Me*, 1977; *The Wild Geese*, 1978; *Escape from Athena*, 1979; *Moonraker*, 1979; *North Sea Hijack*, 1980; *Sunday Lovers*, 1980; *The Sea Wolves*, 1980; *Cannonball Run*, 1981; *For Your Eyes Only*, 1982; *The Naked Face*, 1983; *Octopussy*, 1983; *A View to a Kill*, 1985; *Bed and Breakfast*, 1989; *Bullseye!*, 1989; *Fire, Ice and Dynamite*, 1990; *The Quest*, 1995; *Spice World*, 1997; *Boat Trip*, 2002, *Victor*, 2003.

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# Morecambe and Wise

## British Comedy Act

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Morecambe and Wise, a comic duo who developed their act in variety shows in provincial theaters, became the popular stars of a long-running series that had a major influence on the development of British television comedy. Born Eric Bartholomew and Ernest Wiseman, they adopted their stage names when they first teamed up in 1941, making their debut as a double act at the Liverpool Empire. They were both 15 and had already gained experience working separately on the music-hall circuit. Eric took his new name from the Lancashire seaside town where he was born, and, since Ernie came from Yorkshire, their northern working-class origins remained a clear but unobtrusive part of their appeal.

After a break for national service, the act was reconstituted in 1947 and went through a number of changes before developing the format that made them stars. They started out by imitating comic routines from the films of Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, with fake American accents and Eric in the role of the straight man. It was not until they reversed their roles that their ability to create characters out of the traditional roles of comedian and straight man began to bring them recognition.

A few radio engagements preceded their first attempt to break into the emerging television field. Their first television series, called *Running Wild*, was broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1954 but was a short-lived failure. *The Morecambe and Wise Show* first appeared on ATV in 1961 and transferred to BBC 2 in 1968. Scripts were written by Sid Green and Dick Hills, who often appeared in small parts in the sketches. The series was briefly interrupted when Eric suffered a heart attack in 1969 but returned to renewed acclaim, with Eddie Braben as the new scriptwriter.

Their success led to several invitations to appear at Royal Command Performances, and they also made a number of guest appearances in the United States on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Their three feature films, *The Intelligence Men* (1965), *That Riviera Touch* (1966), and *The Magnificent Two* (1967), were often funny but failed to achieve either the inspiration or the popular success of the television series.

The originality of their show stemmed ironically from its refusal to deny its theatrical origins. The two

stars appeared on stage, introduced their guests (who often appeared with them in short comic sketches), ended the show with a song-and-dance number, and then returned for a curtain call. The jokes were usually old or dependent on excruciating puns and double entendres. Their impact came from the contrast between the apparent weakness of the material and the valiant efforts of the comedians to make it funny. The show provided the pleasures of familiarity amid the rapid social and cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s; however, the familiar was always somehow skewed because of the performers' evident desire to succeed in the contemporary world.

The comic personae of Morecambe and Wise also reflected this tension between the familiar and the modern. Their appearance was mined for recurring



*Morecambe & Wise*, Eric Morecambe (w/glasses), Ernie Wise, 1967.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

jokes about Eric's horn-rimmed spectacles and Ernie's alleged wig and "short fat hairy legs." Gestures and catchphrases were also repeated, as when Eric expressed aggression by placing the flat of his hand under Ernie's chin and challenging him to "get out of that." Yet their relationship offered an unfamiliar twist on the conventional double act. Predictably, Ernie was the one with aspirations, in his case a desire to become a serious writer, while Eric was slow on the uptake, constantly exasperating his partner through his failure to understand or his refusal to take things seriously. However, Eric was also quite cunning and clearly had the ultimate authority, slyly deflating all pretensions.

Although there had been many double acts in the British music-hall tradition, they have been a rarity in British television, with only Peter Cook and Dudley Moore achieving a success at all comparable to Morecambe and Wise in a show, *Not Only but Also...*, clearly indebted to their predecessors. The blend of stand-up comedy and sketches in *The Morecambe and Wise Show* was probably influenced by the American *Burns and Allen Show*, which relied more heavily on situation comedy and may have in turn influenced the zanier and more fragmented comedy of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*.

Eric died in 1984 and Ernie in 1999, but the pair continue to be fondly remembered. A tribute show, *The*

*Play What I Wrote*, written by and starring Sean Foley and Hamish McColl and directed by Kenneth Branagh, opened in London's West End in September 2001. It opened at the Lyceum Theatre in New York in March 2003.

JIM LEACH

#### Cast

John Bartholomew  
Ernest Wisemen

#### Programming History

ITV (1961–68)  
BBC (1968–78)  
ITV (1978–84)

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## Morning Television Programs

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Morning shows are informal and relaxed, some complete with living room sets, sofas, and coffee tables. Regular hosts are present in most shows as the familiar, foundational, conversational link to the audience. But the programs also sometimes include guest news anchors and sports and weatherpersons from affiliate stations, making that link to the audience even more intimate. Whatever the combination of hosts (usually three), they interact with light and cheerful banter. Within the past decade, the hosts of morning shows have remained fairly consistent with a balance of male and female anchors. *Good Morning America* is hosted at present by Charles Gibson and Diane Sawyer; *The Early Show* by Harry Smith, Hannah Storm, Julie Chen, and Rene Syler, and *Today* by Katie Couric and Matt Lauer. The FOX Network does not seem to be a major competitor in this field. Most cable networks are unaffected by the morning time slot and run a variety

of shows ranging from cartoons to religion. The only exception to this type of programming is the Cable News Network (CNN), which hosts a news show titled *Live at Daybreak*. It probably can be regarded as a major competitor, as it provides abbreviated national and world news segments.

News stories from the previous day are often followed the next morning with related but less formal stories and celebrity interviews and discussion. When national disasters occur—hurricanes, earthquakes, plane crashes—the whole show may be dominated by news coverage of those events. Sometimes the morning anchors and crew go on location in order to feature a particular city or event. On such occasions, organizers, political leaders, dignitaries, and VIPs are interviewed on site. National weather reports are interspersed with sponsored announcements, birthday wishes, and other less formal moments, and the pro-





*Today (The Today Show)*, Matt Lauer, Katie Couric, Willard Scott, Bryant Gumbel, Gene Shalit, 1997.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

grams are formatted in such a way that local station breaks can be accommodated with ease. These breaks are important because they allow affiliates to provide local news, sports, and weather and to insert local commercials.

Morning shows are constructed in a style best termed as “modular programming”: short, unconnected segments are presented with no relationship between them. Modules rarely exceed four minutes, and most are shorter. This program design is based on programmer and producer perceptions of viewer activities—preoccupied with preparations for the day and unable to devote much time or attention to any one segment of the program.

In recent years, morning shows have returned to one of their earliest strategies and have begun to include live audiences in their format. Two approaches to audience participation have been introduced. The first enables people in the street to look into the studio from the outside. At times, these spectators can be distracting, raising signs and waving arms, presumably to attract attention from viewers “back home.” But they

can be shut out by means of a mechanized cyclorama. This “fish bowl concept” was an aspect of the early years of *Today*, when Dave Garroway and the chimpanzee J. Fred Muggs were featured. On occasion, the hosts move outside to where people are standing on the sidewalk, interviewing a few selected visitors. The second approach to audience involvement includes a captive audience within the studio, similar to conventional talk shows. Inside the studio, the audience can be controlled much more easily, and consequently their behavior is more predictable and subdued.

The first network “early day” shows followed the patterns of successful radio programming and were not in the morning at all. In 1948 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) scheduled *Tex and Jinx*, one of the popular morning radio talking couples, at the network’s then-earliest hour of 1:00 P.M., and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) showed, half an hour later, *Missus Goes A-Shopping*, a game show with popular radio host John Reed King. In the fall of 1948, Dumont, the weakest network, actually dared, before noon, a miscellany of variety and informational shows



*Today Show*. 1952–present. Barbara Walters, Hugh Downs, Joe Garagiola, late 1960s–early 1970s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

that survived until 1950 and were then forgotten. These earliest shows, however, also provided a chance for technical experiment. In August 1951, CBS offered at 10:30 A.M., an hour when hardly anyone would be watching, their own married couple, Mike Wallace and Buff Cobb, in *Two Sleepy People*, the first regularly scheduled network color show (the video portion of the signal could not be received by conventional black-and-white sets).

In 1952 the efforts to produce a successful morning show finally began to work. On January 7, Arthur Godfrey began simulcasting his popular radio show *Arthur Godfrey Time*, which proved just as popular on television, where it lasted until 1959. A week later (and also a week late), the greatest morning experiment began. *Today* began producing three hours a day (only two were broadcast in each time zone). When writer-producer Larry Gelbart attempted in an interview to define what “real television” was, he said “real televi-

sion might have been the early *Today* show, with Dave Garroway standing in a window doing a show that no one had ever seen before, something that wasn’t borrowed from radio or the stage or motion pictures or newspapers.”

*Today* was one of the creations of NBC executive Sylvester “Pat” Weaver, who had carefully considered the needs of various special audiences and devised the responses that became *Your Show of Shows*, the prime-time variety show; *Tonight*, for the “sophisticated” late-night viewer; and *Today*, to address a range of viewers from those preparing to leave for work to the “homemaker” readying children for school and her own daily activities. In March 1954, *Home* with Arlene Francis began broadcasting—Weaver’s more specialized solution for the late-morning audience. Although influential on the design of succeeding daytime magazine shows, *Home* itself lasted only until 1957. In later decades, however, suggesting that Weaver’s strategies

were appropriate, shows similar to *Home* abounded in late-morning times. They were often surrounded by popular game shows such as *Strike It Rich*, *The Price Is Right*, *Concentration*, and the early years of *Jeopardy!* In the 1960s and 1970s, reruns of evening shows were popular in late morning, and in recent decades, syndicated confrontation shows, such as those hosted by Jerry Springer and Geraldo Rivera, have flourished. The occasional variety show, such as David Letterman's 1980 program, or even the rare soap opera, such as *The Guiding Light*, have also been programmed as morning offerings.

But it is the history of *Today* and the responses to it by other networks that has anchored the history of the morning genre. During its first year, *Today* had neither great audience nor critical success, although it achieved frequent mention in the news because of its window onto Rockefeller Center and its efforts to interview former President Harry Truman on his early morning New York walks. In its second year, the chimpanzee J. Fred Muggs joined the cast, and viewership, especially among families and children, began to increase.

In 1954 the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) entered the morning competition for a short time with a simulcast of its long-term popular radio show, Don McNeill's *Breakfast Club*, which failed on TV after a year. In direct competition with *Today*, CBS began a remarkable morning variety show. *The Morning Show*, as it was called, had as its successive hosts for the three years it was on the air: Walter Cronkite, Jack Paar, Johnny Carson for a time as guest host, John Henry Faulk (until he was blacklisted), Dick Van Dyke, and Will Rogers Jr. Illustrating the wide range of viewers it sought to attract, the show's regulars included Charles Collingwood, the Baird puppets, singers Merv Griffin and Edie Adams, and, as a writer, Barbara Walters. The show challenged *Today* with every strategy applicable to the variety-talk formulas—then finally gave up. In 1955 CBS substituted *Captain Kangaroo* for the second hour of *The Morning Show*. For over 25 years, the Captain remained in place, appealing to younger audiences but using many of *Today*'s segmented structure by programming regular visits by guests such as Dr. Joyce Brothers and Bill Cosby.

By the 1960s, it had become apparent that competition for the broadest possible morning audience would have to use a mix very similar to that created by Weaver for *Today*. Beginning in 1963 with a 25-minute show hosted by Mike Wallace, the CBS news division attempted to experiment with a response that was "not quite the same as" *Today*. In 1987 the CBS entertainment division briefly intruded on this process with the

failed *Morning Program*, but CBS News returned in November 1987 with its final and continuing response to date: a full two-hour *CBS This Morning*. ABC did not begin its first serious challenge to *Today* until 1975, first with the short-lived *A.M. America* and then the still-continuing *Good Morning, America*, which became identified with its host, David Hartman, from 1976 to 1985 and has since had a succession of hosts.

Over the past four and a half decades, then, there have been continuous attempts and strategies for "balancing" the early morning newsmagazine formula. Garroway delivered entertainment, John Chancellor presented serious news, and Hugh Downs and Barbara Walters became a chatting couple. CBS focused on the newsroom, while ABC, with David Hartman, moved toward the living room. But many of the forms stayed constant: for example, the five-minute break for local news, the cheery weatherperson, and the occasional visit to other locales. There was also a gradual expansion of the format into the 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 A.M. hour.

In the 1990s, as the number of available channels vastly increased, an expanding variety of specialized choices in the morning made NBC's *Today*, ABC's *Good Morning, America*, and *CBS This Morning* appear to be venerable institutions that have withstood the test of time. However, cable television news and talk shows, which take advantage of low production costs and flexibility, may become even stronger competitors for the network morning programs in the future. If this is the case, the attempts will most likely follow patterns established by continuous trials in the network arena, trials that have resulted in some of the most familiar and regularized moments "brought to us" by television.

In the early 2000s, a variety of morning shows competed with the traditional programs. Three major competitors were *American Morning* on CNN, with Soledad O'Brien and Bill Hemmer; *Fox and Friends*, with anchors E.D. Hill and Brian Kilmeade; and MSNBC's *Imus in the Morning*. Of these three new offerings, *Fox and Friends* is by far the most popular, based on audience shares. It is estimated that *Fox and Friends* has 1.2 million viewers, *American Morning* 753,000, and *Imus in the Morning* 364,000.

Competition from cable and the Internet and shrinking evening revenues have led the major networks to value the morning program slot more highly than ever. The morning is regarded as an extremely lucrative time slot (*Today* cleared \$100 million in profits last year). Many of the morning television program studios have received expensive face-lifts, complete with giant Astrovision screens, bright lights, and custom-made windows offering excellent background views.

## Morning Television Programs

In October 2002, *Today* earned a rating of 4.6, *Good Morning America* had a household rating of 3.4 and *The Early Show* had a rating of 2.1.

RICHARD WORRINGHAM AND RODNEY A. BUXTON

See also **Couric, Katie; Talk Shows**

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# Motion Picture Association of America

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Based in Washington, D.C., the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) has long served as the formal political representative for the major Hollywood studios. These studios (including Time Warner's Warner Brothers, Viacom's Paramount, Rupert Murdoch's 20th Century-Fox, Sony's Columbia, Seagram's Universal, and the Disney conglomerate) create and market the majority of television's fictional fare, from comedies and dramas in prime time to the talk and game shows that fill rest of the day. In the MPAA, they join together to work on common concerns. To the public, this objective is most clearly manifest in the MPAA's movie ratings; for the television business, the MPAA grapples with thousands of proposed and actual regulations by foreign and domestic governments.

Headed since 1966 by former White House staff member Jack Valenti, the MPAA lobbies the Federal Communications Commission and the U.S. Congress. Through the U.S. Department of State and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, the association argues for free trade of television programs around the world.

The MPAA was formed by major Hollywood companies in 1922 as the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA). Both before and after the name change to the Motion Picture Association of America, the main activity of the association has been political, and the companies have always hired well-connected Washington insiders to represent their interests in the capital.

The first head was President Warren G. Harding's brilliant campaign manager, Will H. Hays. In his day, Hays became famous for the MPPDA production code,

a set of moralistic restrictions governing the content of motion pictures. Hays retired in 1945 and never had to deal with issues concerning television.

Hays's successor was a former head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Eric Johnston. It was Johnston who, beginning in the 1950s, first had to grapple with television, opposing the minimalist trade restrictions then being proposed by nations worldwide, restrictions that would work against his Hollywood corporate clients. Johnston preached free-trade policies that would enable Hollywood to move its filmed and video products into every country around the globe. In so doing, he became a leading advocate for the establishment of the European Common Market, which would create a single body of trade officials to deal with rather than a different set in each country.

Johnston died in August 1963. Ralph Hetzel served as interim head until 1966, when the moguls of the Hollywood studios persuaded White House assistant and Texan Jack Valenti to take the job. Since then, Valenti has had to deal with the coming of cable television and the rise of home video. He has had to adjust to Japanese purchases of the Columbia and Universal studios and to the opening of the former Soviet Union, eastern Europe, and China as vast new television and movie markets. Despite all these changes and many others, his Hollywood employers have grown ever more powerful and the MPAA ever more influential in the television industry.

From his Washington, D.C., office a couple of blocks from the White House, Valenti exercises this power most visibly by inviting Washington power brokers to his lush headquarters. There, stars greet sena-

tors, members of Congress, foreign dignitaries, and government regulators. Glitter in workaholic Washington has been always in short supply, and the MPAA has always been its leading provider in the nation's capital. Valenti asks nothing on these occasions; they serve to keep open the lines of communication on Capitol Hill, into the White House, and through embassies based in Washington.

Valenti has long functioned as the capital's highest-paid and most effective lobbyist. Throughout the 1980s, for example, he consistently beat back moves to overturn regulations giving the Hollywood production community complete control over the rerun market for former hit network television shows. These "Financial Interest and Syndication" (Fin-Syn) rules had been put in place by President Richard M. Nixon as his revenge against the television networks. Under the Fin-Syn rules, networks could share only minimally in profits from television's secondary markets. Valenti made sure the rules were retained and enforced far longer than anyone expected and therefore created millions of dollars in additional profits for his Hollywood studio clients.

If necessary, Valenti took his case directly to the president of the United States. When officials working in the administration of President Ronald Reagan proposed the elimination of the Fin-Syn rules, Valenti asked Universal Studio's head Lew Wasserman to pay a visit to the president. Before becoming head of Universal, Wasserman had been Reagan's Hollywood talent agent. Valenti and Wasserman convinced the president, who long railed against unnecessary governmental regulations, to retain the Fin-Syn rules and to reverse orders issued by his underlings.

Valenti and the MPAA have also long battled against any rules that restricted Hollywood's TV exports. The protracted international negotiations that led to a new General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) treaty, for example, were held up so that Valenti could remove television from the negotiating table and block a French proposal for quotas restricting television imports. It was Valenti who stood beside U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor at a February 1995 news conference when a new U.S.-China trade accord was announced. This historic agreement protected television shows from rampant piracy in China, then the

largest remaining potential market for television in the world.

In September 2001, Valenti turned 80 years old. During the previous decade, his energy never diminished as he dealt successfully with various issues. He directed the commission that developed parental guidance ratings for television and oversaw legislation requiring the V-chip (which allows users to block access to programming on the basis of its rating) to be placed in all new television sets sold in the United States. The accomplishment of such crucial tasks relied on Valenti's proven success as a negotiator and were undertaken to satisfy—or appease—various critics of television, including powerful congressional figures. He continued to press for opening markets for television around the world and was particularly successful in China.

The Hollywood-based corporate members of the MPAA under Hays, Johnston, and Valenti have long enjoyed considerable political power at home and abroad, as the MPAA has effectively leveraged the prestige of the film and television business to extract favors and win influence. Following in this hallowed tradition will present a sizable challenge for Valenti's eventual successor.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also **Financial Interest and Syndication Rules**

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# The Movie Network

## Canadian Pay-TV Channel

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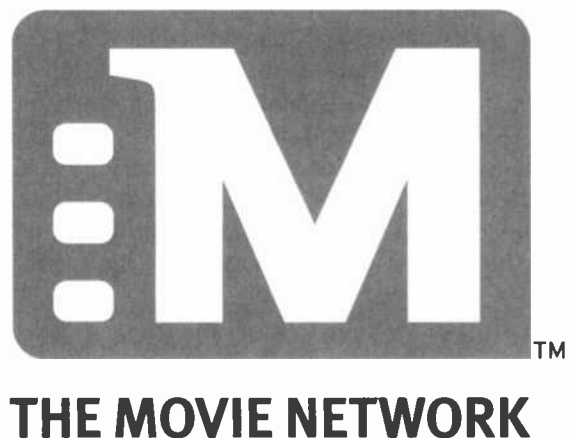
The Movie Network (TMN) is eastern Canada's English-language pay-TV motion picture channel. Part of Astral Media, TMN is supported entirely through subscriber fees, as collected by local cable operators. It operates 24 hours a day and specializes in unedited and uninterrupted movies. Home Box Office (HBO) and Cinemax are the principal models for TMN, though, as with all Canadian broadcasting services, TMN must comply with Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)-imposed licensing criteria, which include Canadian-content quotas.

TMN first received its license in 1982 after considerable public and governmental debate. Similar services in the United States had been successful, but the CRTC and others expressed concern about the impact pay-movie channels would have on Canadian culture. Was the market substantial enough for the proposed services to survive? Or would they become yet another vehicle for the importation of inexpensive U.S. film and made-for-cable products? Despite the recent rapid expansion of specialty channels and the parallel rise of multiple feature film services through cable and satellite delivery, both concerns were initially borne out.

In 1982 the CRTC awarded licenses to a number of pay-TV channels. C Channel, the service devoted to Canadian culture, lasted only five months and collapsed with insufficient viewer support to cover its costs. Star Channel, serving the Atlantic region, went bankrupt shortly thereafter. When the smoke had cleared, only First Choice (to be renamed The Movie Network in 1993), SuperChannel, and Super Ecran (which served the French-language market) were left. TMN operates east of the Manitoba/Ontario border, while SuperChannel operates in the west, thus giving them de facto regional monopolies.

As expected, the remaining movie channels began to ask for reduced Canadian-content requirements, arguing that programming "control" was necessary to their survival. The CRTC complied, and starting in 1986, the channels were required only to show 20 percent Canadian programming overall; their expenditures on Canadian content were reduced from 45 to 20 percent of subscriber revenue. TMN's financial support for Canadian production was almost \$7.5 million (Canadian) in 1988-89 and just under \$10 million in

1992-93. This amount dropped dramatically to \$1.4 million by 2000-01. In 1993 TMN was showing 30 percent Canadian content in prime time and 25 percent otherwise. While TMN remains primarily a carrier of popular U.S. films, it has become a key source of sales for Canadian film and television producers. TMN's Foundation to Underwrite New Drama for Pay-TV



*The Movie Network is a trademark of Astral Broadcasting Group Inc.*

(FUND) competition awards interest-free loans for scripts at various stages of development.

In 1992 TMN became the first network in North America to offer "multiplexing." Through digital video compression technology, TMN subscribers receive an additional three channels (TMN2, TMN3, and TMN4) at no extra cost. These channels show what is essentially a reorganized broadcast schedule based on that of the main TMN. Multiplexing intends to provide additional choice and convenience to the subscribing customer by multiplying the number of showings of a film and the number of start times.

Through their common parent company, Astral Media, TMN operates in conjunction with Viewer's

Choice Canada Pay Per View and Moviepix, which specializes in films from decades past. Astral sees the common ownership of these pay-TV channels as a way to ensure that they complement one another in the relatively small Canadian market. Critics, however, see this as a concentration of media venues that has contributed to the creation of a tiny powerful media elite in Canada.

CHARLES ACLAND

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## Movie Professionals and Television

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A 1944 editorial in the industry magazine *Televiser* questioned whether a motion picture director could approach a new medium such as television without "cynicism." The article warned that film people have been overtly critical of television production without any appreciation of the technique and aesthetics of the small screen. The tension between film and television has been a constant for more than 50 years, but both art forms have been enriched by the often-contentious dialogue.

In the early years of television's history, motion picture executives were acutely aware of the economic threat posed by an entertainment medium in the home and drew up strategies to challenge this incursion by the broadcast industry. Paramount first considered owning a chain of television stations and then tested a system of pay television, 20th Century-Fox and Warner Brothers collaborated on plans to develop theater television in the early 1950s, and in 1949 Columbia, under the leadership of Ralph Cohn, a former B-movie producer, organized Screen Gems to produce television commercials. Moguls tried to make moviegoing a spectacular experience, exploiting wide-screen and stereophonic technologies. But it was the "eager and imaginative minds" of television who would create a dramatic form and then have a major impact on the motion pictures.

Television first defined its identity with the production of live dramas on such anthology series as *Studio One* (1948–58), *Kraft Television Theatre* (1947–58),

and *Playhouse 90* (1956–61). Critics contended that the immediacy of television brought forth a special relationship between the spectator and the play. The productions were orchestrated by a generation of young directors with some training in theater and film who wedded the character studies of writers such as Paddy Chayefsky and Rod Serling to the inward method-trained acting styles of Paul Newman, Kim Hunter, James Dean, and many other disciples of Konstantin Stanislavski. When *Marty* received the Academy Award in 1955, it was the first time a script that originated on television (*Goodyear Playhouse*, 1953) was adapted by the large screen; in both instances, the partnership of Chayefsky and director Delbert Mann brought the material to life. Television talent was now welcome with open arms in Hollywood, and such TV-originated productions as *The Miracle Worker* and *Days of Wine and Roses* became award-winning films. The most prominent of the television directors journeyed to film, bringing the same psychological realism to the large screen. Among the key directors (with their signature movies in parentheses) whose work defined the new maturity of 1960s Hollywood were John Frankenheimer (*The Manchurian Candidate* [1962] and *Seven Days in May* [1964]), George Roy Hill (*The World of Henry Orient* [1964] and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* [1969]), Sidney Lumet (*Long Day's Journey into Night* [1962] and *The Pawnbroker* [1964]), Robert Mulligan (*To Kill a Mockingbird* [1962] and *Baby, the Rain Must Fall* [1965]), Arthur



Penn (*The Miracle Worker* [1962], which he also directed on television, *Bonnie and Clyde* [1967]), and Franklin Schaffner (*The Best Man* [1964] and *Patton* [1970]). These directors, once again melding text and performance as they had on television but with a larger budget, constituted the first wave of new talent that rejuvenated American cinema after the studio system had broken down.

As live television received critical legitimacy on the East Coast, independent companies on the West Coast, including Jerry Fairbanks Productions, the Hal Roach Studios, and Ziv Television Programs, produced films for television, reels that could be cycled from one local station to another in the earliest version of "syndicated" TV. These budget-conscious producers often employed forgotten Hollywood veterans to give luster to their equivalent of the B movie. Jerry Fairbanks, a freelance cameraman and producer of an Academy Award-winning short, hired an established Hollywood name, Edmund Lowe (the suave silent film star of *What Price Glory*), for his Dumont series *Front Page Detective* (1951–53). Hal Roach Jr., a former Laurel and Hardy director, asked Charles Barton, the Universal director of Abbott and Costello comedies, to oversee the translation of the radio program *Amos 'n' Andy* to a visual medium (1951–53). For television's biggest hit of the 1950s, *I Love Lucy* (1951–61), producers Desi Arnaz and Jess Oppenheimer requested Fritz Lang's cinematographer, Karl Freund, to devise a technique for filming with three cameras before a live audience.

Film studios and guilds took immediate notice of the employment possibilities of television. Members of the Directors Guild of America received their name in the title for the 1955 series *Screen Directors Playhouse*. Many Hollywood legends, including John Ford, Leo McCarey, and George Stevens, made half-hour dramas for the *Playhouse*. The newly appointed president of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Leonard Goldenson (formerly head of the United Paramount Theaters), and executives at Warner Brothers determined how to financially recycle popular film genres each week on television and employed unsung directors to oversee production. Richard Bare, who had directed such forgettable movies as *Smart Flaxy Martin* (1949) and *Girls Don't Talk* (1958), was in part responsible for the resurgence of the western on television with the success of his *Cheyenne* (1955–63). By the mid-1950s, more than 40 percent of Hollywood's directors, actors, editors, and cameramen worked on television projects. Even cult directors, such as Ida Lupino, Phil Karlson, and Jacques Tourneur, brought their offbeat sensibilities to television.

Television became genuinely respectable for the film industry when the most recognizable director of



Alfred Hitchcock.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

all time, Alfred Hitchcock, hosted an anthology series for ten years, beginning in 1955. Hitchcock's agent, Lew Wasserman, who would later run Universal, masterminded *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, which featured the droll introduction by the "Master of Suspense" and then a macabre tale, evocative of the director's dark spirit. Hitchcock directed 18 episodes for *Presents* and two programs for other series. Working three days with an efficient supporting team, Hitchcock was able to explore his familiar themes of duplicity and murder, and he employed most of his TV crew to produce his cinema masterpiece, *Psycho* (1960).

Dramatic series, produced by Hollywood studios, afforded young talent the means to helm their own productions and, occasionally, develop personal themes. Robert Altman directed a variety of genres for television, including westerns (*Bonanza*), detective stories (*Hawaiian Eye*), and war stories (*Combat*). Later, in the 1970s, he would subvert the formulaic rules he learned in those three genres in the films *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), and *M\*A\*S\*H* (1970), respectively. Other well-known directors also learned generic conventions that would come in handy in their film careers. Sam Peckinpah di-





Steven Spielberg, directing Joan Crawford.  
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rected episodes of *Route 66*, *Have Gun—Will Travel*, *Gunsmoke*, and *The Westerner*, which he also created. Blake Edwards created the pilots for *Richard Diamond* and *Peter Gunn*, which he later brought to the large screen. Michael Ritchie's quirky adventures for *Run for Your Life* and *The Outsider* laid a groundwork for the films *The Candidate* (1972) and *Smile* (1975).

In the mid-1960s, the studios worked with the networks to develop movies made especially for television. The first proposed television movie, *The Killers*, was directed by Don Siegel and starred Ronald Reagan and Angie Dickinson, but it was deemed too violent for television and was released theatrically in 1964. Two network executives, Barry Diller and Michael Eisner, refined the scope and concerns of the television movie and later became two of the most powerful moguls in Hollywood. Directors were able to impart a distinctive vision on the TV movie, which often yielded assignments to the large screen. Steven Spielberg, who had directed episodes of *Columbo* and *Owen Marshall*, received acclaim for the visual audacity of his made-for-television movie *Duel* (1971). Michael Mann, after stints as a writer on *Police Story* and *Vega\$*, first attracted notice as writer and director of the TV prison drama *The Jericho Mile* (1979), which led to his 1983 feature *Thief*. Many directors

have shuttled back and forth between movies and television and have delivered their most personal work on the small screen, including Buzz Kulik (*Brian's Song* [1971]), John Korty (*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pitman* [1974]), Joseph Sargent (*Amber Waves* [1980]), and especially Lamont Johnson (*That Certain Summer* [1972], *The Execution of Private Slovik* [1974], and *Off the Minnesota Strip* [1980]).

The man most responsible for adult comedy on television, Norman Lear, had left television in the late 1950s to become a film director. His film work—including *Come Blow Your Horn* (1963), *The Night They Raided Minsky's* (1968), and *Cold Turkey* (1971)—never matched his satirical temperament, which found its perfect outlet in the situation comedy *All in the Family* (1971–83). Lear did not return to film, but two influential comedy producers, James Brooks and Garry Marshall, have found creative success in both media. The same mixture of drama and comedy that Brooks brought to *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77) was evident in his films *Starting Over* (1979), *Terms of Endearment* (1983), *Broadcast News* (1987), and *As Good As It Gets* (1997). Marshall's fondness for mismatched pairs, exemplified by Felix and Oscar in *The Odd Couple* (1970–75) and Ritchie and the Fonz in *Happy Days* (1974–84), has also been apparent in such films of his as *Nothing in Common* (1986) and *Pretty Woman* (1990). Lear and Marshall also mentored other directorial careers. Their comic rhythms have also been brought to the screen by their leading actors, Rob Reiner of *All in the Family*, Ron Howard of *Happy Days*, and Penny Marshall of *Laverne and Shirley*.

Feature film directors have had a presence in other TV genres. Several of television's most exemplary musical programs were crafted by directors who afterward rarely ventured into that genre again. Jack Smight, known for his mystery films *Harper* (1966) and *No Way to Treat a Lady* (1968), directed two of the definitive jazz programs, the smoky *The Sound of Jazz* with Billie Holiday and the very cool *The Sound of Miles Davis*. Norman Jewison, who began his career in British and Canadian television, directed Judy Garland's only duet with Barbra Streisand. Fred De Cordova, who earlier had directed *Bedtime for Bonzo* (1951) with Ronald Reagan and then TV series for George Burns and Jack Benny, produced for 20 years the most popular talk show of all time, *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*.

As live television affected Hollywood in the 1950s, so too did Music Television (MTV) in the 1980s. The music video disrupted the linear narrative and put a primacy on the visual, making the video creator a new hero in Hollywood. British director Julien Temple

journeyed from videos for Culture Club and the Rolling Stones to his first feature, *Absolute Beginners* (1986). David Fincher used Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* as the source of inspiration for his Madonna's video "Express Yourself" and later reworked the noir genre in his textured *Seven* (1995). Videos have borne the established director's imprint as well, including John Landis and Martin Scorsese's extended narratives for Michael Jackson's "Thriller" and "Bad"; John Sayles and Brian De Palma's different deconstructions of the Bruce Springsteen phenomenon, as working-class hero and lumbering icon, respectively; and Spike Lee's energetic "Hip Hop Hooray" video for Naughty by Nature. Spike Jonze transferred the offbeat, surreal sensibility of his videos for Weezer and Fatboy Slim to his feature film directorial debut, *Being John Malkovich* (1999). Quick cuts and eye-grabbing visuals have also been the domain of the TV commercials, and three graduates of British advertising—Ridley Scott, Alan Parker, and Adrian Lyne—have invigorated the look of popular film.

In 1984 Michael Mann returned to television and brought the MTV synthesis of image and music to series television in his stylishly innovative *Miami Vice*. During the rest of the 1980s, a niche was reserved for "designer television," usually series originated by film auteurs. Spielberg produced his own series, *Amazing Stories* (1985–87), and enlisted Scorsese, Robert Zemeckis, and Paul Bartel to contribute supernatural tales. Altman also returned, this time to cable television, and satirized American politics with Garry Trudeau in *Tanner '88* (1988), a project that was conceived in video to match the look of network news. Network executives also went to cult directors for ideas to entice a mainstream audience beginning to turn to cable. Sayles, a leader in the independent film movement, created *Shannon's Deal* (1990–91), a series focusing on an imperfect lawyer who dropped out of corporate practice. The avant-garde David Lynch of *Blue Velvet* (1986) fame unleashed some of the most surreal and unsettling images ever seen on network television in his video noir *Twin Peaks* (1990–91); a decade later, Lynch reconfigured one of his rejected television pilots into an award-winning film, the dreamscape *Mulholland Drive* (2001). Some of the traveling went the other way, as quality TV producers sought to make it among cineastes. Edward Zwick, who brought suburban angst to prime time with *thirtysomething* (1987–91), *My So-Called Life* (1994–95), and *Once and Again* (1999–2002), directed several epic adventures for the big screen—including *Glory* (1989), *Legends of the Fall* (1994), and *Courage Under Fire* (1996). Gregory Hoblit, who was the directorial eye behind many Steven Bochco productions,



David Lynch.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

was successful with his 1996 urban thriller *Primal Fear*, no doubt leading the way for other directors of such visually compelling series as *E.R.* and *NYPD Blue* to try their hand at film directing. In a career of generic surprises, Quentin Tarrantino—who auditioned *Pulp Fiction* star John Travolta by playing with him the board game of Travolta's sitcom *Welcome Back, Kotter*—directed the 1994 season finale of the mainstream medical melodrama *E.R.*

Many foreign directors have used television to explore alternative forms of storytelling. Ingmar Bergman of Sweden has been interested in television's ability to weave a narrative over time, and in one of his most celebrated works, *Scenes from a Marriage* (1974), he chronicles the emotional upheavals of an ostensibly perfect union over six episodes. Rainer Werner Fassbinder created two works that also utilized television's expansive narrative: a Marxist soap opera, *Eight Hours Are Not a Day* (1972), and his 15-hour epic of the Weimar years, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1980), based on Alfred Döblin's novel. One of the fathers of the new wave, Jean Luc-Godard, has created a series of meditative essays on the history of cinema for

French television. Roberto Rossellini, one of the pioneers of Italian neorealism, used television to create a series of stylized historical portraits from Socrates to Louis XIV. Ken Russell produced a series of wildly expressionistic dramatized biographies on such artists as Elgar, Isadora Duncan, and Delius for the British Broadcasting Corporation that served as a template for his even more flamboyant films, including *The Music Lovers* (1970) and *Lisztomania* (1975). Before becoming an internationally recognized director, Krzysztof Kieslowski received his training in Polish television; in the late 1980s, he returned to his mentoring medium to explore dramatically the contemporary relevance of the Ten Commandments in a multipart series, *Decalogue* (1988), now considered one of his masterworks.

Many screenwriters have found the more permissive atmosphere of television since the 1990s conducive for character development and narrative complexity. After his gimmicky idea of a "Valley girl" superhero received only a lukewarm reception in the film version of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1992), Joss Whedon adapted the story to become an exploration of evil and female empowerment in a television series with the same name (1997–2003). Aaron Sorkin forsook his career as a screenwriter of such quality films as *A Few Good Men* (1992) and *The American President* (1995) to produce weekly television, most notably his study of the intricacies of the U.S. presidency in the iconic series *The West Wing* (1999– ). Having received an Academy Award for his screenplay of *American Beauty* (1999), Alan Ball decided to continue his dissection of middle-class dysfunction as creator and executive producer of the HBO drama *Six Feet Under* (2001– ).

For more than two decades, the lines between television and film have been blurred structurally and aesthetically. Most film studios now own some type of television network, and talent flows freely between the two media. Barry Levinson extended the tapestry of his cinematic Baltimore, Maryland, trilogy (*Diner* [1982], *Tin Men* [1987], and *Avalon* [1990]) to television with the equally visual *Homicide: Life on the Street* (1993–99), also set in Baltimore. No longer is film the arena for spectacle and television the home of the close-up. In fact, films screens have been shrinking in the multiplexes, and the television monitor dominates a home's entertainment room. Such films as Thomas Vinterberg's *The Celebration* (1998) and

Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000) were shot on digital video and transferred to film for theatrical projection. Director John Frankenheimer, who mastered live television in the 1950s and feature film during the 1960s through the 1980s, triumphed again through the 1990s and the first years of the 21st century, this time as creator of successful made-for-cable movies, including *Against the Wall* (1994), *Andersonville* (1996), and dramatic portraits of George Wallace (*George Wallace* [1997]) and Lyndon Johnson (*Path to War* [2002]). His career proved that both film and television, whatever the reigning technology, offer unique opportunities for creative expression.

RON SIMON

*See also Anthology Drama; Brooks, James L.; Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Chayefsky, Paddy; Frankenheimer, John; "Golden Age" of Television; Johnson, Lamont; Kureshei, Hanif; Lear, Norman; Mann, Delbert; Marshall, Garry; Reagan, Ronald; Rose, Reginald; Serling, Rod; Schaffner, Franklin; Twin Peaks; Warner Brothers Presents*

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## Movies on Television

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The most popular programming form in U.S. television has been the presentation of motion pictures. During the latter third of the 20th century, most people viewed films not in theaters but on television, whether on broadcast television, cable television, or home video. Beginning with *The Late Show* in the mid-1950s and *Saturday Night at the Movies* during the early 1960s, the screening of feature films gradually became one of television's dominant programming forms.

Movie presentation on broadcast TV actually began in the late 1940s, when British companies rented films to new TV stations. Minor Hollywood studios (in particular Monogram and Republic) joined in this process, delivering approximately 4,000 titles to television stations before the end of 1950. Most of the films were genre works such as westerns or B-grade fare. The repeated showings of these low-budget offerings served to remind movie fans of the extraordinary number of treasures resting comfortably in the vaults of the major Hollywood studios: MGM, RKO, Paramount, 20th Century-Fox, and Warner Brothers.

The dominant Hollywood studios finally agreed to tender their vast libraries of film titles to television because eccentric millionaire Howard Hughes, owner of RKO, had run his studio into the ground. By late in 1953, it was clear Hughes had to do something to salvage RKO, and so few industry observers were surprised in 1954 when he agreed to sell RKO's older films to the General Tire and Rubber Company to be presented on its independent New York television station. By 1955 the popularity of *Million Dollar Movie* made it clear that film fans would abandon theaters to curl up and watch a reshowing of their past cinematic favorites.

Thereafter, throughout the mid-1950s, all the major Hollywood companies released their pre-1948 titles to television. For the first time in the 60-year history of film, a national audience was able to watch, at their leisure, a broad cross section of the best and worst of Hollywood "talkies." Silent films were only occasionally presented, usually in the form of compilations of the comedies of Charlie Chaplin or Buster Keaton.

By the mid-1960s, innumerable "Early Shows," "Late Shows," and "Late, Late Shows" dotted TV schedules. For example, by one count, more than 100 classic black-and-white films aired each week on New York City television stations, with fewer movies being

broadcast in less populous cities. But with color television becoming a more dominant presence, the three TV networks wished to book newer, Technicolor Hollywood feature films. The network with the most invested in color, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), thus premiered, at the beginning of the 1961-62 TV season, the first prime-time series of recent films as *Saturday Night at the Movies*. Ratings were high, and the other two major networks, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), seeing how poorly their shows fared against *Saturday Night at the Movies*, quickly moved to set up their own "Nights at the Movies." Early in 1962, ABC, then a distant third in the ratings, moved to first with a midseason replacement, *Sunday Night at the Movies*. CBS, the longtime ratings leader in network television, did not join in the trend until September 1965.

Soon thereafter, television screenings of recent Hollywood movies became standard practice. In 1968 nearly 40 percent of all television sets in use at the time tuned in to Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds* (theatrical release date, 1963). Recent feature films regularly attracted blockbuster television ratings, and when *Gone with the Wind* was shown in two parts in early November 1976, half the nation's television-owning homes tuned in.

By the early 1970s, American viewers could choose from ten separate "movie night" programs each week. It soon became clear that there was an imbalance between the many scheduled movies showings on network television and the relatively small amount of new product being aired. Hollywood knew this, and the studios began to charge higher and higher prices for TV screenings. For the widely viewed September 1966 telecast of *The Bridge over the River Kwai*, the Ford Motor Company paid nearly \$2 million to be the sole sponsor.

Network executives found a solution: make movies aimed for a television premiere. The networks began making made-for-television movies in October 1964, when NBC aired *See How They Run*, starring John Forsythe. However, the historical turn came in 1966, when NBC contracted with MCA's Universal studios to create a regular series of "world premiere" movies made for television. The initial entry of this continuing effort was *Fame Is the Name of the Game*, inauspiciously presented on a Saturday night in November 1966.



*The Winds of War.*  
Photo courtesy of Dan Curtis Productions, Inc.

By the early 1970s, made-for-television motion pictures had become a mainstay of network programming. Profits proved substantial. A typical movie made for television cost \$750,000, far less than what Hollywood was demanding for rental of its recent blockbusters. The ratings were phenomenal. Few expected that millions would tune in for *Brian's Song* (1971), *Women in Chains* (1972), *The Waltons' Thanksgiving Story* (1973), or *A Case of Rape* (1974), but such fare regularly outdrew what were considered the biggest films of the era: *West Side Story* (1961; 1972 premiere on network television), *Goldfinger* (1964; 1972 premiere on network television), and *The Graduate* (1967; 1973 premiere on network television).

ABC led the way in made-for-television movies. The *ABC Movie of the Week* had premiered in the fall of 1969, placed on the schedule by the young executive Barry Diller, then head of prime-time programming at ABC, later a founder of the FOX television network. During the 1971–72 television season, the series was composed entirely of movies made for televi-

sion and finished as the fifth-highest series of the year. TV movies also began to earn praise for the upstart ABC; for *Brian's Song*, the network earned five Emmys, a prestigious George Foster Peabody Award, and citations from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the American Cancer Society.

Made-for-television movies made it possible to deal with topical or controversial material not deemed appropriate for regularly scheduled network series. Celebrated actors and actresses who did not wish to work in series television would agree to be featured in miniseries. Running over several nights, miniseries such as *Holocaust* (1978), *Shogun* (1980), *The Thorn Birds* (1983), *Fresno* (1986), and *Lonesome Dove* (1989) drew large audiences during key rating-measurement periods. In 1983 ABC presented *Winds of War* on six successive February evenings for a total of 18 hours at a cost of production of nearly \$40 million. This miniseries required more than 200 days to shoot from a script of nearly 1,000 pages. *Winds of War*, starring



*Something for Joey*, Marc Singer, Jeff Lynas, 1977.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Robert Mitchum and Ali McGraw, more than returned its sizable investment in this key sweeps month by capturing half the total viewing audience and selling out all its advertising spots at \$300,000 per minute.

Six years earlier, ABC's miniseries *Roots* had aired for eight consecutive nights in January 1977. An estimated 130 million households tuned in to at least one episode, with approximately 80 million Americans watching the final episode of this docudrama, breaking the TV ratings record set just a year earlier by *Gone with the Wind*. Thus, *Roots* created for network television an event that was the equal of any blockbuster theatrical film.

However, even as *Roots* was setting records, the TV marketplace was changing. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, pay TV, particularly in the form of Time's Home Box Office (HBO), drew millions to its uncut screenings of films, free of advertisement breaks. Later in the 1980s, home video spread to the vast majority of homes in the United States, allowing film fans to watch their favorites—uncut, uninterrupted, and whenever they liked. Theatrical features began to have so much exposure on pay TV and home video that they ceased to be as valuable on network evening showcases, and made-for-television films came to fill more

and more of the time reserved for network "Nights at the Movies."

There was change on the local level as well. The number of independent television stations doubled in the 1980s, and all used movies to help fill their schedules. Independents developed movie libraries by contracting with Hollywood studios for five-year rentals and aired acquired titles as many times as possible during that period. Researchers told executives of independent stations that movies tended to draw a larger-than-average share of valued female watchers, in particular those from the 18- to 34-year-old and 18- to 49-year-old age-groups so prized by advertisers.

By the 1990s, in an average week, a film fan could choose among hundreds of titles scheduled on TV. Reliance on television for the presentation of motion pictures extracted a high price in terms of viewing conditions. The dimensions of a standard television image are constructed on a four-by-three ratio, while the standard image for motion pictures made after 1953 is much wider. To accommodate the larger image on TV, the wide-screen film is cut off at the sides. Panning-and-scanning companies reedit the wide-screen film so that the action shifts to the center of the frame, but the fan misses any subtlety at the edges.

Of course, films need not be panned and scanned. One could reduce the image for television until all of it fits; in practice, this technique of letterboxing fills the empty space above and below with a black matte. During the 1980s, there was a great deal of lip service paid to letterboxing, but movie watchers en masse in the United States did not seem to care for it. Fans seemed to prefer that the TV frame be filled, with the primary action in the center of the screen. In the early 2000s, the increasingly pervasive adoption of wide-screen television technology and the popularity of wide-screen TVs addressed this problem.

However, the biggest complaint from the average television viewer of motion pictures has long concerned the interruption of the movie by advertisements. To fit the formulaic slots of television, a station or network shows but 90 minutes of film for a two-hour slot. Stories of how television companies cut films to fit the program length are legendary. It is said that Fred Silverman, when he was a lowly film editor at WGN-TV in Chicago, solved the problem of fitting in the 96-minute *Jailhouse Rock* in a 90-minute slot by cutting all of Elvis Presley's musical numbers. Indeed, the key attraction of pay TV and then home video was the elimination of interruptions for advertising.

Just when experts declared that, in an age of pay TV and home video, blockbuster movies shown on network television could not draw an audience, NBC offered *Jurassic Park*. The box office hit, widely



available on home video for less than \$15, was shown on Sunday, May 7, 1995, at the beginning of a key sweeps month. Advertisers paid \$650,000 for each 30-second advertising slot, and more than one in four television households in the United States tuned in.

In the early 2000s, broadcast networks and cable channels continued to present feature films and made-for-television movies. Indeed, the latter represented a common strategy for cable channels in their moves to create original programming that could replace material previously aired on network television or produced for other venues. The music channel Video Hits 1 (VH1) produced feature-length films based on performer biographies, whereas the sports channel Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN) made movies about athletes and coaches. The Court Channel produced dramatic representations of legal battles. A&E produced mysteries based on Nero Wolfe novels. Turner Network Television (TNT) produced westerns and thrillers. At the same time, HBO, Showtime, and Cinemax continued to produce original movies as regular additions to their schedules of previously run theatrical features.

Meanwhile, a new technology for watching films on TV, the digital video disc (DVD), grew in popularity, with one in four U.S. households owning a DVD player in 2001 and various distributors phasing out their VHS stocks altogether. While it is too early to tell

whether VHS-format videocassettes and DVD will exist side by side in most households or whether DVD will replace VHS as the preferred means to play movies on television, the popularity and ease of home movie viewing will surely remain a common aspect of the uses of television.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also American Movie Classics; Cable Networks: Channel Four; FilmFour/Film on Four; Home Box Office (HBO); Miniseries; Movie Networks; Movie Professionals and Television; Programming; Showtime Network*

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## Moyers, Bill

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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For more than 30 years, Bill Moyers has established a brand of excellence in broadcast journalism. Moyers is one of the chief inheritors of the Edward R. Murrow tradition of "deep-think" journalism. He worked alternately on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the 1970s and early 1980s and has since appeared almost exclusively on PBS, and throughout this career his achievements have been principally in the areas of investigative documentary and long-form conversations with some of the world's leading thinkers. Moyers, who had been a print journalist, an ordained Baptist minister, a press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, and a newspaper publisher before coming to television in 1970, gained public and private-foundation support to produce some of tele-

vision's most incisive investigative documentaries. Each was delivered in the elegantly written and deceptively soft-spoken narrations that came, Moyers has said, out of the storytelling traditions of his east Texas upbringing. Whereas Murrow had taken on Joseph McCarthy on *See It Now* and the agribusiness industry in his famous *Harvest of Shame* documentary, Moyers examined the failings of constitutional democracy in his 1974 *Essay on Watergate* and exposed governmental illegalities and cover-up during the Iran Contra scandal. He has looked at issues of race, class and gender; analyzed the power that media images hold for a nation of "consumers," not citizens; and explored virtually every aspect of American political, economic, and social life in his documentaries.



Bill Moyers.  
Photo courtesy of Bill Moyers and Lawrence Ivy

Equally influential were Moyers's *World of Ideas* series. Again, Murrow had paved the way in his transatlantic conversations with political leaders, thinkers, and artists on his *Small World* program in the late 1950s, but Moyers used his own gentle, probing style to talk to a remarkable range of articulate intellectuals on his two foundation-supported interview series on PBS. In discussions that ranged from an hour to, in the case of mythology scholar Joseph Campbell, six hours on the air, Moyers brought to television what he called the "conversation of democracy." He spoke with such social critics as Noam Chomsky and Cornel West; writers such as Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, Mexican poet and novelist Carlos Fuentes, and American novelist Toni Morrison; and social analysts including philosopher Mortimer Adler and University of Chicago sociologist William Julius Wilson. Moyers engaged voices and ideas that had been seldom if ever heard on television, and, in many instances, the transcribed versions of his series became best-selling books as well (*The Power of Myth*, 1988; *The Secret Government*, 1988; *A World of Ideas*, 1989; *A World of Ideas II*, 1990, *Healing and the Mind*,

1992). Joseph Campbell's *The Power of Myth* was on the *New York Times* best-seller list for more than a year and sold 750,000 copies within the first four years of its publication.

Moyers's television work has been as prolific as his publishing record. In all, he produced more than 600 hours of programming (filmed and videotaped conversations and documentaries) between 1971 and 1989, which comes out to 33 hours of programming a year, or the equivalent of more than half an hour of programming a week for 18 years. Moyers broadcast another 125 programs between 1989 and 1992, working with a series of producers—27 of them on the first two *World of Ideas* series alone. He formed his own company, Public Affairs Television, in 1986 and began to distribute his own shows.

By the early 1990s, Moyers had established himself as a significant figure of television talk, his power and influence providing him access to corridors of power and policy. In January 1992, he was invited for a rare overnight visit with president-elect Bill Clinton to discuss the nation's problems before the Clinton inaugural. A survey of the video holdings of a single large state university at the end of the 1990s showed almost 100 holdings bearing Moyers's name. By this time, he had also received 67 prizes and awards in recognition of his work.

Working closely with his wife, Judith Davidson, as creative collaborator and president of the Public Affairs Television production company, Moyers has continued his prolific output into the 21st century. In January 2002, he began hosting a new weekly PBS series, *Now with Bill Moyers*, which covers stories from angles and with the kind of perspectives and depth that viewers have come to expect from this veteran writer, publisher, and broadcast journalist.

Over his long career, Moyers has become one of the few broadcast journalists who might be said to approach the stature of Murrow. If Murrow founded broadcast journalism, then Moyers has significantly extended its traditions.

BERNARD M. TIMBERG

See also **Documentary; Murrow, William R.**

**Bill Moyers.** Born in Hugo, Oklahoma, U.S.A., June 5, 1934. Educated at North Texas State College; University of Texas at Austin, B.A. in journalism, 1956; University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1956–57; Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, B.D., 1959. Married: Judith Suzanne Davidson, 1954; children: William Cope, Alice Suzanne, and John Davidson. Personal assistant to Senator Lyndon Johnson, 1960–61; associate director of public affairs, 1961–62, and deputy director, 1963, Peace Corps; spe-



cial assistant to President Johnson, 1963–67, press secretary, 1965–67; publisher, *Newsday*, 1967–70; producer and editor, *Bill Moyers' Journal*, PBS, 1971–76, 1978–81; anchor, *USA: People and Politics*, 1976; chief correspondent, *CBS Reports*, 1976–78; senior news analyst, CBS News, 1981–86; executive editor, Public Affairs Programming Inc., since 1986. Honorary doctorate, American Film Institute. Recipient: more than 30 Emmy Awards; Ralph Lowell medal for contribution to public television; Peabody Awards, 1976, 1980, 1985–86, 1988–90, 1999; DuPont Columbia Silver Baton Award, 1979, 1986, 1988; Gold Baton Award, 1991; George Polk Awards, 1981, 1986; Humanitas Award, 1978, 1986, 1995.

#### Television Series (selected)

1971–76,	
1977–81	<i>Bill Moyers' Journal</i>
1971–72	<i>This Week</i>
1976–78	<i>CBS Reports</i>
1982	<i>Creativity with Bill Moyers</i>
1983	<i>Our Times with Bill Moyers</i>
1984	<i>American Parade</i> (renamed <i>Crossroads</i> )
1984	<i>A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers</i>
1987	<i>Moyers: In Search of the Constitution</i>
1988	<i>Bill Moyers' World of Ideas</i>
1988	<i>The Power of Myth</i> (with Joseph Campbell)

1990	<i>Amazing Grace</i>
1991	<i>Spirit and Nature with Bill Moyers</i>
1993	<i>Healing and the Mind with Bill Moyers</i>
1995	<i>The Language of Life with Bill Moyers</i>
2000	<i>On Our Own Terms: Moyers on Dying</i>
2002	<i>Now with Bill Moyers</i>

#### Publications

<i>Listening to America</i> , 1971
<i>Report from Philadelphia</i> , 1987
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<i>The Power of Myth</i> , 1988
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<i>Healing and the Mind</i> , 1992
<i>The Language of Life: A Festival of Poets</i> , 1995
<i>Genesis: A Living Conversation</i> , 1996
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## MSNBC

### Cable News Service

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MSNBC is a 24-hour, advertising-supported cable and online news service. Envisioned as a fully integrated cable television and Internet-based interactive product, MSNBC is a joint venture between Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). While the slower-than-expected convergence of television and computing has made MSNBC's promise of a unified service difficult to fulfill, MSNBC's entry helped invigorate the 24-hour cable news category and advanced the development of interactive news. MSNBC.com has become the number one news and information website in the United States. The MSNBC cable network has

been described as "confused" because of an unsettling churn of program offerings and is an also-ran in its competition for viewers with Cable News Network (CNN) and the FOX News Channel (FNC).

Announced with much fanfare in December 1995, the partnership's financial arrangement called for Microsoft to pay \$220 million for 50 percent of NBC's *America's Talking* cable network that was converted to MSNBC, plus \$250 million for the network's annual costs. Well funded and armed with NBC's news-gathering and Microsoft's technology resources, MSNBC launched on July 15, 1996.

MSNBC online's challenges included attracting Internet users to the site and initiating untested interactive video technology to a mass audience. The website's rollout, supported by cross promotion on Microsoft's websites and NBC's television outlets, has been highly successful. MSNBC.com was named the number one general news site on the Web by Internet ratings service PC Meter just eight months after its introduction. It has held that distinction in Jupiter Media Metrix's Internet ratings for many months since, including all of 1999 and 2000.

MSNBC.com's leadership position is built on technological and content advantages. The site began with text, graphics, and audio programming. A relaunch in August 1997 improved navigability and added technical capabilities that enabled streaming video news, which has grown in importance as work and more recently home environments have upgraded to broadband Internet access. Alliances with the websites of dozens of local television and print media, plus respected national outlets such as *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*, have increased the depth and breadth of the site's content. Highly successful at attracting an audience, MSNBC.com's financial future is less clear amid the severe post-September 11, 2001, downturn in the online advertising market.

MSNBC cable launched in a respectable 22.5 million cable television homes with support from outdoor and print advertising, plus cross-platform promotion on the NBC broadcast network and Microsoft websites. MSNBC's acceptance by cable system operators was an early concern, but carriage of the fledgling network grew steadily as agreements were sealed with major cable system operators such as TeleCommunications, Inc. (now AT&T Broadband) and Time Warner Cable.

Programming the network with content cable news viewers find compelling has proved to be more difficult. Hoping to attract younger, Generation X viewers, the network's initial strategy was to feature well-known NBC News talent on a hip, Starbucks-style set, complete with brick wall and open metalwork. Daytime news coverage was anchored by John Gibson, Jodi Applegate, and John Seigenthaler. Prime-time programming centered on three shows, *The News with Brian Williams*; *The Site*, a youth-oriented new media and technology program; and *InterNight*, a talk show alternatively hosted by Katie Couric, Bob Costas, Tom Brokaw, and others. This schedule was supplemented by repeats of current shows and repurposed content from NBC News.

To fill out its schedule in its first year, a deal was made to simulcast Don Imus's syndicated radio show weekday mornings. The network began recycling

NBC's *Dateline* shows, and *Time and Again*, hosted by Jane Pauley, was created around repackaged NBC programming and old news footage. In addition, John Hockenberry joined MSNBC from the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) to host *Edgewise* on weekends.

By August 1997, MSNBC was reaching 38 million cable households, and viewership was growing, in part because of the death on August 31 of Diana, Princess of Wales. Nielsen Media Research reported that third-quarter 1997 prime-time ratings for MSNBC averaged 99,000 households compared with 24,000 and 766,000 for FNC and CNN, respectively.

Under growing pressure to build its audience, MSNBC continued molding its program lineup in its second year by pulling the critically acclaimed show *The Site* and recruiting Keith Olbermann of the Entertainment and Sports Network's (ESPN's) Sports Center and Charles Grodin to host their own shows. The network also went "tabloid" with extended coverage and discussion of sensational stories such as the death of JonBenet Ramsey and the sexual activities of broadcaster Marv Albert.

Cable system carriage continued apace, and after two years MSNBC was reaching 42 million households. Competition for viewers among the cable news networks was intensifying, and by January 1999, amid the Monica Lewinsky scandal and President Clinton's impeachment trial, rival FNC's prime-time household viewership surpassed MSNBC's. MSNBC was already reworking its schedule to offset FNC's fast-growing audience. Keith Olbermann's *Big Show* was canceled. John McLaughlin of *The McLaughlin Group* and Oliver North were recruited to host *McLaughlin Special Report* and *Equal Time*, respectively.

In April 1999, MSNBC turned to Mullen Advertising, based in Wenham, Massachusetts, for aid in attracting 25- to 44-year-old viewers. Nevertheless, at its three-year anniversary, MSNBC's viewership remained a concern to be addressed by yet more programming changes. A prime-time magazine-type tabloid series, *Special Edition*, debuted with a segment profiling serial killers. *Headlines & Legends with Matt Lauer*, a biography show, was introduced in an attempt to build prime-time appointment viewing.

By January 2000, 52 million cable households could watch MSNBC, and, as hoped, the network was attracting youthful viewers with an average age of 50 years old compared with 58 for CNN and 56 for FNC. Apparently, attracting a younger audience did little to address MSNBC's audience shortfall. October 2000's audience ratings showed that MSNBC still trailed its competitors in prime-time and total day average audience.

The 2000 presidential election and its aftermath benefited all three cable news networks. Viewership was up, and advertising was easier to sell, even with the weakening U.S. economy. MSNBC turned profitable late in 2000, but its second-quarter 2001 prime-time viewership averaged just 247,000 homes. FNC averaged 436,000 households and CNN 483,000.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center fixated the nation and drove viewership higher. News of anthrax scares and the search for Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan helped retain viewers, but to keep them without a constant stream of breaking news, the cable news services turned to established personalities. CNN lured Paula Zahn from FNC to anchor news. Geraldo Rivera joined FNC as a war correspondent. MSNBC's entry in this competition was relative unknown Ashleigh Banfield, who attracted notice while covering the 2000 presidential election and earned recognition for her September 11 coverage when she kept reporting at the north tower of the World Trade Center as it collapsed. Unseasoned, irreverent, and fashionable, Banfield was given her own prime-time show, *A Region in Conflict*, that has taken her to Afghanistan and the Middle East.

For all of 2001, MSNBC reached on average a mere 382,000 prime-time homes versus CNN's 816,000 and FNC's 675,000. FNC's ability to attract viewers further surprised its competitors when it beat CNN in total day and prime-time ratings for January 2002. Ever in search of a programming solution to its viewership quandary, MSNBC hired Alan Keyes, former conservative presidential candidate and author, to host *Alan*

*Keyes Is Making Sense*. On the other end of the political spectrum, in April 2002, MSNBC signed a contract with former talk show mainstay Phil Donahue to host a prime-time current events program. *Donahue* had its debut in July 2002, but it was canceled after six months on the air, having consistently placed low in the ratings.

Now available in over 74 million households, MSNBC's average prime-time audience is less than half of FNC's and CNN's. MSNBC also trails distantly in viewership within the coveted 25-to-54 age-group. FNC has distinguished itself as a commentator-driven, viewpoint network, while CNN has long been a reporter-driven news-gathering service. Despite years of programming adjustments, MSNBC continues to struggle with no clear editorial direction.

RANDY JACOBS

*See also Cable News Network (CNN); FOX Broadcasting Company*

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# MTV

## U.S. Cable Network

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MTV (Music Television) is the oldest and most influential U.S. cable network specializing in music-related programming. It was launched on August 1, 1981, with the words "Ladies and gentlemen, rock and roll," spoken by John Lack, one of the creators of MTV. This introduction was immediately followed by a music video for the song "Video Killed the Radio Star," by the Buggles. The song title proved somewhat prophetic, as MTV greatly transformed the nature of music-industry stardom over the next several years. At the same time,

MTV became a major presence in the cable-TV industry and the American cultural landscape.

One of the earliest and greatest cable success stories, MTV was established by Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC) after extensive marketing research. The key to MTV's viability, at least initially, was the availability of low-cost programming in the form of music videos. Originally, these were provided free by record companies, which thought of them as advertising for their records and performers.

MTV presented one video after another in a constant "flow" that contrasted with the discrete individual programs found on other television networks. Clips were repeated from time to time according to a light, medium, or heavy "rotation" schedule. In this respect, MTV was like top-40 radio (it even had video jockeys, or VJs, similar to radio disk jockeys). Moreover, it soon became apparent that MTV could "break" a recording act, just as radio had done for decades.

The visual portion of a video usually consists of live concert footage or, more commonly, lip synching and pantomimed instrument playing by the recording artist(s). Dancing is also very common. In many cases, there is also a dramatic or narrative concept, sometimes grounded in the song lyrics. The "acting" in a concept video is usually done by the musician(s), although in some cases (e.g., "Crazy" and "Cryin'" by Aerosmith), the video cuts away from the band to actors who act out a drama inspired by the lyrics. The combination of elliptical storylines, record-as-soundtrack, lip synching, and direct address to the camera seemed so novel in the early 1980s that music video was often referred to as a new art form. The content of the new art was sometimes bold (and controversial) in its treatment of sex, violence, and other sensitive topics.

Many of the earliest MTV videos came from Great Britain, where the tradition of making promo clips was fairly well developed. One of the earliest indications of MTV's commercial importance was the success of the British band Duran Duran in the U.S. market. This band had great visual appeal and made interesting videos but was not receiving radio airplay in the United States as of 1981. In markets where MTV was available, the network's airing of Duran Duran's videos made the band immediately popular. Ultimately, MTV proved to be immensely important to the careers of numerous artists, including Madonna, Michael Jackson, Prince, Peter Gabriel, U2, N'Sync, and Britney Spears as well as Duran Duran.

Andrew Goodwin identifies three phases in the history of MTV. The real ascendance of the network began in 1983 with phase 2, the so-called second launch, when MTV became available in Manhattan and Los Angeles. Phase 3 began in 1986, following Viacom's purchase of MTV from Warner Amex and the departure of Robert Pittman as the network's president and chief executive officer. Pittman had been largely responsible for leading MTV down the programming path of flow and narrowcasting. By 1986, however, MTV's ratings were in decline as a result of a too-narrow musical palette.

Throughout its so-called third phase, MTV diversified its musical offerings, most notably into rap, dance

music, and heavy metal. To some extent, these genres were segregated into their own program slots (*Yo! MTV Raps*, *Club MTV*, and *Headbangers' Ball*, respectively). At the same time, the move toward discrete programs increasingly became a move away from music video. In the process, MTV became more like a full-service network, offering news, sports, sitcoms, documentaries, cartoons, game shows, and other traditional TV fare. Often these programs were also musical in some sense (*Beavis and Butt-Head*), but sometimes they were not (reruns of *Speed Racer*).

We might now identify a fourth phase in MTV's history, dating from the late 1990s, when MTV itself became a sort of "flagship" network among a stable of branded subsidiaries. Even before this, much of the musical content displaced from MTV, especially soft rock and other "adult" music, had landed on Video Hits 1 (VH1), a second video channel owned by parent company MTV Networks (which, in turn, is a subsidiary of Viacom). Launched in 1985, VH1 quickly acquired a reputation as "video valium" for yuppies. For several years, the channel had an indistinct image and languished in the shadow of MTV, but makeovers in 1989 and (especially) 1994 raised the younger network's profile. By 1994, VH1 was playing slightly harder music and "breaking" recording artists, such as Melissa Etheridge. Meanwhile, MTV continued to play innovative videos on programs such as *Amp* and *120 Minutes*, but these programs aired at odd hours. Nonmusical programs such as *The Real World*, which debuted in 1992 and gave birth to the "reality" genre, sometimes seemed to threaten MTV's identity as a music network.

By about 1998, MTV was again emphasizing music, but its most popular program, *Total Request Live*, or *TRL*, treated videos as raw material to be talked over and covered up by all manner of graphics and inserts. By this time, sister network VH1 was also relying more on traditionally packaged programs, such as *Behind the Music* and *Pop Up Video* (which, along with *Beavis and Butt-Head*, paved the way for *TRL*-style "vandalizing" of video clips). Flow and format, the original ideas behind MTV (and VH1), had by now become secondary components, at best, in the programming philosophy of both networks. These changes were perhaps best exemplified on MTV in the surprise 2002 hit *The Osbournes*, a program that seemed to meld multiple aspects of the channel's history. Focused on the "family life" of notorious rocker Ozzy Osbourne, his wife, and two of their children, the series combined a fascination with music and musicians, the "inside views" developed with *The Real World*, and the (perhaps unintended) blankness of *Beavis and Butt-Head*. Following an initial run and tough negotiations with

the family, the series was renewed for two more seasons and by then had led to copycat programming on other networks.

With home satellite reception and digital cable on the rise, MTV launched M2 (also called MTV2) in 1996. The new channel was very similar to what MTV had originally been. It played music videos in a continuous flow, with only occasional interruptions for video jockey patter, promos, and the like. In the early 2000s, MTV Networks exploited the original flow idea even further by launching VH1 Classic Rock (which specialized in 1980s videos) and MTVX (which played mostly hard rock videos). Despite their forays into nonmusical programming, MTV and VH1 are by far the most important outlets for music-video programming in the United States. They have achieved almost a monopoly status, one that has caught the attention of scholars (especially Jack Banks), record companies, and the government. Many competing music-video programs and networks have fallen by the wayside or have been absorbed by Viacom. Most recently, Viacom bought its last remaining major U.S. competitors in music-video programming: Country Music Television (CMT) and The Nashville Network (TNN, subsequently renamed The National Network) in 1997 and Black Entertainment Television (BET) in 2000.

Music video and MTV are major ingredients of television programming internationally. MTV Europe, launched in 1987, was followed by an Asian service in 1991 and MTV Latino in 1993. VH1 established a Euro-

pean service in 1994. In 2001 an international satellite directory listed more than 20 MTV channels worldwide, along with 7 VH1 services and 3 MTV2 channels.

Both economically and aesthetically, MTV has wrought major changes in the entertainment industries. By combining music with television in a new way, MTV has charted a path for both industries (and movies as well) into a future of postmodern synergy.

GARY BURNS

*See also Beavis and Butt-Head; Music on Television; Pittman, Robert*

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## MuchMusic

### Canadian Music Television Programming Service

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MuchMusic, a 24-hour Canadian music television station and satellite-to-cable programming service, was launched nationally in September 1984. In a satellite-to-cable structure that relied for its success on the massive penetration of cable coverage of urban Canada, MuchMusic was part of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)-regulated introduction of specialty services on cable two years after the introduction of pay television to Canada. Similar to its U.S. counterpart Music Television (MTV), MuchMusic was instrumental in setting the national agenda of Canadian popular music tastes. The predominant format of the station was and contin-

ues to be video clips of artists or music videos received from record companies free of charge. A French sister station, MusiquePlus, was established in 1986, primarily for the Quebec market.

Stylistically, MuchMusic bears the marks of its creative origin. The station's managing team was connected to the syndicated *New Music* program (1978-) developed and sold by Citytv of Toronto. The executive producer of the New Music program and the original owner and manager of Citytv in Toronto was Moses Znaimer. Along with John Martin, Znaimer designed the "live" emphasis of the set of MuchMusic that has made MuchMusic so distinctively different

from both MTV and most of the rest of Canadian television. The set of MuchMusic is the actual video paraphernalia of a television station and is inherently "studioless." Between their introductions of new videos, the video jockeys, or VJs, negotiate themselves around the various machines, lights, and screens to chat with the technicians and producers. Indeed, because of this exposure, technicians have even moved into before-the-camera roles. The intention behind this design is to structure an environment that resonates with the youthfulness and exuberance of popular music itself. The set, which often moves with portable cameras to exterior locations, produces a sense of immediacy and spontaneity that, through its weekly reach, has captured the sought-after demographic of youths and young adults in Canada.

MuchMusic is owned and operated by CHUM Limited of Toronto, and the name itself is a play on the corporate name. CHUM operates the only private radio network in Canada and has successfully owned and operated a number of music-oriented radio stations. CHUM also is the owner of Citytv (purchased in 1981 from Znaimer), a Toronto based free-to-air UHF (ultra-high frequency) station that has been distributed by cable to most of southern Ontario, the most heavily populated region of Canada. Its background in music broadcasting allowed CHUM to successfully win the license of the first and only English-language music television station in Canada. The facilities of Citytv in Toronto served as the first home for MuchMusic.

Self-titled "the nation's music station," MuchMusic gradually moved to a format that allowed it to target and promote itself like other television services. Originally a flow service that resembled radio in its seamless quality, MuchMusic relied on its mixed rotation of video clips and the personalities of the VJs to maintain the audience. Later, however, the station began making identifiable programs that would at least allow it to garner the free publicity of listings in TV program guides and to sell portions of time for specific advertisers. It still maintains eight hours of programming, which is taped and repeated three times to fill the 24-hour schedule. In the 1980s, these programming blocks included the *Pepsi Powerhour* and the singly sponsored *Coca-Cola Countdown*. The "spotlight" feature also transformed the mix of rotations of current music into a half-hour retrospective on an individual artist's or group's career. To coordinate with a slightly different demographic of daytime listeners, MuchMusic programmed a show called *MushMusic*, which showcased softer and more romantic ballads. Other programs also coordinated with and competed with the rest of television. A late-night weekend program called *City Limits* attempted to showcase the more avant-

garde, alternative visuals and music. In a more prime-time evening slot, a shorter segment, *Combat du Clip*, was programmed; here a returning favorite video clip faced a challenger clip.

MuchMusic's license requirements have posed questions about what kinds of programming are included under the definition of music. In the mid-1980s, MuchMusic was not allowed to show movies, even those with a musical theme or premise. It was likewise questionable whether television programs such as *The Partridge Family* or *The Monkees* could be shown on the station. In recent years, there has been a relaxation of what constitutes music programming, and this shift has allowed MuchMusic a freer hand in organizing a schedule that maintains its key marketing demographics of youth and young adult. Regulatory requirements have demanded, however, that a greater range of musical material be part of the national music television station. Hence, MuchMusic programmed the country music half-hour *Outlaws and Heroes*. The CRTC has likewise continued to maintain that the station must stick close to its license mandate: its top-rated program of 1993, the cartoon series *Ren and Stimpy*, did not meet a minimum musical-content rule and was ordered removed. With the advent of new digital channels, these regulations have been in constant flux, and MuchMusic continues to expand its presence through multichanneling its content.

From its inception, MuchMusic has also provided a percentage of its revenues (currently 5 percent of its gross revenues) for the production of Canadian independent music videos. The production company Videofact Foundation produces clips for emerging popular music groups in both English and French and spent \$6 million to produce 820 videos in its first ten years. The production of Canadian sources allows MuchMusic easily to surpass its 10 percent Canadian-content quota established in consultation with the CRTC. This connection to a national popular culture is differently constructed than that produced by public broadcasters such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). MuchMusic's stance is thus more outward than inward looking. It has actively sought out other markets for its program package. Currently, it is available to more than 4 million cable subscribers through various services in the United States. It has a reach that includes both the United Kingdom and parts of Latin America. The station has been negotiating for inclusion on direct broadcast satellite services for greater coverage of a complete North America. The station format/concept has been sold to New Zealand, and MuchMusic has showcased well in Europe, often outdrawing its more established rival, MTV.

MuchMusic has continued to brand its success with its national youth audience, and it has exported that strategy internationally with equal financial rewards. Contained under the Much brand are specialty and digital channels that cater to specific musical tastes. Thus, relatively new stations, such as MuchmoreMusic, and digital channels, such as MuchLoud and MuchVibe, continue to extend the MuchMusic niche of television focused on music and youth across Canada.

P. DAVID MARSHALL

See also *Citytv*; *Music on Television*; *Znaimer, Moses*

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## Munroe, Carmen

British Actor

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Carmen Munroe is one of Britain's leading black actresses. Born in Guyana (then British Guiana), she went to Britain in 1951 and gained early acting experience with the West Indian Students' Drama Group. Munroe made her professional stage debut in 1962 and later played major roles in London's West End theater, including Jean Genet's *The Blacks* (1970). When she played Orinthia, the king's mistress, in George Bernard Shaw's *The Apple Cart* (1970), she said it was the first time she had been cast in a leading role not written for a black actress. Since the 1970s, Munroe has played an important part in the development of black theater in Britain, scoring a personal triumph in 1987 as the overzealous pastor of a Harlem "storefront" church in James Baldwin's *The Amen Corner*. In 1993, she won a best actress award from *Time Out* magazine for Alice Childress's *Trouble in Mind*.

In 1965 Munroe made an early television appearance in *Fable*. In this controversial British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) drama, writer John Hopkins reversed apartheid and located it in Britain so that black people ran the country and whites were subjected to enforced population-movement and pass laws. However, this innovative and highly charged play did not have the reception anticipated from audiences. Viewers were put off, while critics thought the play heavy-handed and moralistic.

In 1967 Munroe was featured in an episode of *Rainbow City*, one of the first British television series to include a black actor in a leading role. Since that time,

she has demonstrated her acting range in numerous other appearances, with roles in a mixture of populist dramas and situation comedies, as well as impressive single dramas. They include *Doctor Who* (1967), *In the Beautiful Caribbean* (1972), *Ted* (1972), *Shakespeare's Country* (1973), *General Hospital* (1974), *The Fosters* (1976), *A Black Christmas* (1977) with Norman Beaton, *Mixed Blessings* (1978), *A Hole in Babylon* (1979), *Rumpole of the Bailey* (1983), and *The Hope and the Glory* (1984).

In 1989 Munroe was in *Desmond's*, one of Channel 4's most successful situation comedy programs. Costarring Norman Beaton as the proprietor of a barbershop in south London, *Desmond's* has been one of the few British television series to feature an almost entirely black cast. For five years, this appealing series won critical acclaim and awards for its humorous exploration of the conflict between the views of young British-born blacks and the values of the older generation who grew up in the Caribbean.

In between her appearances in *Desmond's*, Munroe took part in *Ebony People* (1989), sharing her experiences of the acting world with a studio audience, and *Black and White in Colour* (1992), a documentary tracing the history of black people in British television. In 1992, Munroe gave an outstanding performance as Essie Robeson in a BBC play called *A Song at Twilight*. This emotional drama, shown in the anthology series *Encounters*, explored an imaginary meeting in 1958 between British socialist radical Aneurin Bevan

Munroe, Carmen

and the black American singer and militant activist Paul Robeson. Another recent role for Munroe was in the two-part drama *The Final Passage* (1996), a story of blacks emigrating from the Caribbean to Britain in the late 1950s.

STEPHEN BOURNE

See also Beaton, Norman; *Black and White in Color*; *Desmond's*

**Carmen Munroe.** Born in Guyana (then British Guiana); immigrated to Britain, 1951. Trained with West Indian Students' Drama Group. Worked in television, since 1959; stage debut, *Period of Adjustment*, 1962; has appeared or starred in numerous television series; cofounder, Talawa Theatre Company, 1985. Recipient: *Time Out* award, 1993.

**Television Series (selected)**

1971 *You're Only Young Twice*  
1971 *Ace of Wands*  
1974 *General Hospital*  
1974 *Play School*  
1976-77 *The Fosters*  
1989-95 *Desmond's*  
1996 *The Final Passage*

**Television Plays**

1965 *Fable*  
1977 *A Black Christmas*

1992 *A Song at Twilight*  
1993 *Great Moments in Aviation*

**Television Documentary**

1992 *Black and White in Colour*

**Films**

*Naked Evil*, 1966; *All Neat in Black Stockings*, 1968; *The Chain*, 1985; *Shades of Fear*, 1993.

**Radio (selected)**

*Obeah*, 1989.

**Stage (selected)**

*Period of Adjustment*, 1962; *There'll Be Some Changes Made*, 1970; *The Blacks*, 1970; *The Apple Cart*, 1970, *Trouble in Mind*; *El Dorado*; *A Raisin in the Sun*; *The Amen Corner*, 1987; *Alas, Poor Fred* (director); *Remembrance* (director); *The Odyssey*, 2001.

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# Muppet Show, The

U.S. Syndicated Comedy/Variety Program

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From its first broadcast in 1976 to its 1981 finale, *The Muppet Show* was groundbreaking television. A syndicated variety show starring a troupe of puppets, it became more popular than anyone but its creator, Jim Henson, could have imagined. During its five seasons of inspired insanity, it was broadcast in more than 100 countries.

The wonderful children's show *Sesame Street*, also starring Henson's Muppets, had been broadcast since late 1969. For Henson, its success was a mixed blessing, as network executives began to see the Muppets strictly as children's entertainment. *The Muppet Show*

proved that Henson's innovative puppets could appeal equally to children and adults. Its setting, Muppet Theater, allowed onstage sketches and songs as well as backstage antics. Except for Kermit the Frog, a *Sesame Street* favorite, *The Muppet Show* featured an entirely new cast of Muppets: Fozzie Bear, the lovably inept comic and Kermit's second banana; Miss Piggy, a glamorous, Rubenesque starlet and Kermit's would-be love interest; Gonzo the Great, a buzzardlike creature with a chicken fetish; Rowlf, the imperturbable piano-playing dog; Statler and Waldorf, two geriatric hecklers; *The Electric Mayhem*, the ultracool house





*The Muppet Show*, Gonzo, Kermit the Frog, Scooter, Fozzie Bear, Miss Piggy, Camilla, Animal, Dr. Teeth, Rowlf, Dr. Bunsen, Statler & Waldorf, Beaker, 1976–81.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

band; and Scooter, hired as Kermit's gofer because his uncle owned the theater. The show also featured countless other Muppets, from a 12-inch rat named Rizzo to a seven-foot monster named Sweetums.

But Kermit was undeniably the glue that held these lunatics together. As producer/host of Muppet Theater, Kermit had the considerable task of keeping guests and Muppets happy, fending off Miss Piggy's advances, bolstering Fozzie's confidence after another joke fell flat, and tolerating Gonzo's bizarre stunts. As performed by Henson, Kermit was the lone sane creature in the asylum, the viewers' bridge to world of *The Muppet Show*, a small, green Everyman (Everyfrog) just trying to do his job in the midst of gleeful craziness.

The partnership between Henson and Frank Oz produced such puppet pairs as Miss Piggy and Kermit, *Sesame Street*'s Ernie and Bert, and Kermit and Fozzie Bear. The two also teamed up for the Swedish Chef, a Muppet with Henson's voice and Oz's hands, with hilarious results. Oz's nasal boom was a perfect counterpoint to Henson's gentle voice, and the two performers complemented each other well. Other *Muppet Show* puppeteers included Richard Hunt (Sweetums, Scooter, Statler, and Beaker), Dave Goelz (Gonzo and Dr. Bunsen Honeydew), Jerry Nelson (Floyd Pepper and Lew Zealand), and Steve Whitmire (Rizzo the Rat).

Both backstage and onstage, lunacy ruled at Muppet Theater. Memorable sketches included pig Vikings pillaging towns while singing the Village People's "In the Navy," one creature devouring another while singing "I've Got You Under My Skin," and the great ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev in a pas de deux with a human-size lady pig.

Often, the guest stars were the perfect catalyst for Muppet nuttiness. The frequently starstruck Miss Piggy swooned at guest Christopher Reeve's every move; in another episode, she locked Kermit in a trunk because guest Linda Ronstadt showed too much interest in the little green host. Guest Gene Kelly thought he had been invited just to watch the show; he stayed backstage chatting with the rats until Kermit finally convinced him to perform "Singin' in the Rain" on a near-perfect replica of the film's street set. Victor Borge and Rowlf the Dog played a piano duet. Diva Beverly Sills gave Gonzo a lesson in the fine art of balancing a spoon on one's nose.

During the first season, writes Christopher Finch in his book *Jim Henson: The Works*, guest stars were mostly personal friends of Henson or his manager, Bernie Brillstein. But by the third season, popular performers were practically lining up to appear with the beloved puppets. *The Muppet Show*'s guest roster

reads like a "Who's Who" of late 1970s performers, most notably Roger Moore, John Cleese, Harry Belafonte, Dizzy Gillespie, Lynn Redgrave, Diana Ross, Alice Cooper, Julie Andrews, George Burns, Joel Grey, Steve Martin, Ruth Buzzi, and both Candice and Edgar Bergen.

The Muppets' TV history starts long before *Sesame Street*. From 1955 to 1961, Henson's *Sam and Friends*, a five-minute live show, aired twice nightly on WRC-TV in Washington, D.C. *Sam and Friends* afforded Kermit's debut; it also featured several Muppets that did not make the cut for *The Muppet Show*. In 1961, the Muppets began making regular guest appearances on the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) *Today*. The following year, Rowlf made his debut in a Purina dog food commercial; in 1963, the affable canine began regular appearances on *The Jimmy Dean Show*. The Muppets also made regular appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show* from 1966 to 1971. In 1975, the year Henson formed an agreement with Lord Lew Grade to produce 24 episodes of *The Muppet Show*, Henson also created an entirely new set of Muppets that were featured on *Saturday Night Live* in its first season.

During *The Muppet Show*'s heyday in 1979, *The Muppet Movie* was released in the United States, beginning the Muppets' transition from TV to film. Several movies featured *The Muppet Show* cast, including *The Great Muppet Caper*, *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, *The Muppets' Christmas Carol*, and *The Muppets' Treasure Island*. Henson also produced several other TV shows featuring the Muppets after *The Muppet Show* ended: *Fraggle Rock*, focusing on an underground community of fun-loving Fraggles, hardworking Doozers, and odious Gorgs; *The Storyteller*, which aired only in England; *Muppet Babies*, a children's cartoon featuring baby versions of *The Muppet Show*'s cast; and several other short-lived productions.

On May 16, 1990, Jim Henson died suddenly after a short illness. He was 54 years old. The Jim Henson Company continues to produce Muppet-related projects for film, television, and the stage. Frank Oz has enjoyed a notable career as a film director, while Kermit, Miss Piggy, and other Muppet characters regularly appear on talk shows and other television programs as well as in films.

JULIE PRINCE

See also **Henson, Jim**; **Sesame Workshop**

#### **Puppeteers**

Jim Henson

Frank Oz

Richard Hunt

Dave Goelz

Jerry Nelson  
 Erin Ozker (1976–77)  
 Louise Gold (1979–81)  
 Kathryn Muller (1980–81)  
 Steve Whitmire (1980–81)

#### Muppet Characters

Kermit the Frog (Henson)  
 Miss Piggy (Oz)  
 Zoot (Goelz)  
 Fozzie Bear (Oz)  
 Gonzo (Goelz)  
 Sweetums (Hunt)  
 Sam the Eagle (Oz)  
 The Swedish Chef (Henson and Oz)  
 Dr. Teeth (Henson) and the Electric Mayhem  
 Floyd (Nelson)  
 Animal (Oz)  
 Capt. Link Heartthrob (Henson)  
 Dr. Strangepork (Nelson)  
 Wayne and Wanda (1976–77)  
 Rowlf (Henson)  
 Dr. Bunsen Honeydew (Goelz)  
 Statler and Waldorf (Hunt and Henson)  
 Scooter (Hunt)  
 Beauregard (Goelz) (1980–81)

Pops (Nelson) (1980–81)  
 Lew Zealand (Nelson) (1980–81)  
 Janice (Hunt)  
 Rizzo the Rat (Whitmire) (1980–81)

#### Musical Director

Jack Parnell

#### Producers

Jim Henson, Jon Stone, Jack Burns

#### Programming History

120 30-minute episodes  
 Syndicated  
 1976–1981

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 Henson, Jim, *The Sesame Street Dictionary: Featuring Jim Henson's Sesame Street Muppets*, New York: Random House, 1980  
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## Murder, She Wrote

### U.S. Mystery

*Murder, She Wrote*, starring Angela Lansbury as amateur sleuth and mystery writer Jessica Fletcher, has been the only significant dramatic series on American television to feature an older woman in the sole leading role. Lansbury, who has received Oscar nominations and Tony Awards over her long film and stage career, started the series at age 58 and is now probably most widely recognized for her television character.

Creators Richard Levinson, William Link, and Peter S. Fischer brought with them a combined résumé from *Columbo*, *Mannix*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, and *Ellery Queen*. In *Murder, She Wrote*, they created a classical mystery program set in the fictional seaside village of Cabot Cove, Maine. The program quickly became one of the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) most successful offerings and among the most

expensive for it to produce. It frequently placed first among the network's lineup in the Nielsen ratings and was a champion in its time slot, 8:00 P.M. Sundays. It finished in the Nielsen top ten during most of its run. The series' final episode, "Death by Demographics," served as an oblique comment on the network's decision to shift the program from its comfortable time slot to Thursday evenings, when it was forced to do battle against the runaway "must-see" TV hit, *Friends*.

The series narrative remained fairly stable. Widowed Jessica Fletcher, a retired high school English teacher, became a best-selling mystery author after her nephew, Grady, sent a manuscript to a book publisher. She quickly became world famous and affluent, but she maintains the rambling, old house that she and her longtime husband, Frank, shared in Cabot Cove. Jes-



Murder She Wrote, Angela Lansbury, 1984–96.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

sica remains close to old friends in the village, including Dr. Seth Haslett, played by character actor William Windom. A few cast changes occurred; most significantly, Tom Bosley, who portrayed bumbling Sheriff Amos Tupper, left after four seasons to pursue his own mystery series. Familiar former television stars and unknown character actors appeared as guests on the program.

In the earlier seasons, a matronly Jessica frequently bicycled across town, boiled lobsters, planned fishing trips on a friend's trawler, or dropped in at the beauty parlor. She wore conservative pantsuits and spoke with an occasional New England influence. Her signature was her ancient manual typewriter, and the opening credits showed her tapping merrily away on one of her mystery novels. Gradually, the character evolved. The manual typewriter eventually shared time in the opening sequence with Jessica's personal computer (which, itself, was involved in two mysteries). Jessica added a second residence, a Manhattan apartment, and the character became more glamorous in appearance, coinciding with Lansbury's own personal makeover in the 1988–89 season.

*Murder, She Wrote's* formula is true mystery: Jessica encounters several people displaying animosity toward a mean person. An innocent person, often a friend or relative of Jessica's, publicly threatens or criticizes the bully. The audience sees the bully murdered, but the killer's identity is hidden. The authorities accuse Jessica's ally, based on circumstantial evidence. Jessica notices—and the camera lingers on—details that seem inconsequential but later prove central to the solution. She investigates, uncovering various means, motives, and opportunities and eliminating suspects. A few minutes before the program ends, she suddenly realizes the last piece of the puzzle and announces that she knows who the killer is. She confronts the killer privately, in a group, or with authorities observing off camera. Almost always, the killer confesses, and Jessica presents the person to the police. A final scene often shows Jessica sharing a good-natured exchange with someone, often the wrongly accused friend.

Coincidences abound. Nephew Grady (Michael Horton) is arrested for murder on several occasions, and Jessica always proves him innocent. In fact, each of the many times Jessica's family members or old, "dear friends" is introduced, one becomes involved in a murder. Tiny Cabot Cove is the site of about 50 of the more than 250 murders Jessica solves. Rarely is a suspect been shown in touch with a lawyer; Jessica always happens to be on the scene when a murder has just taken place and makes time in her schedule to solve the crime. She usually happens upon the body herself. The police never get it right. Her friend is almost always innocent. Jessica is always present when crucial evidence comes to light.

Despite the formulaic nature of the program, the notion that violent death can invade even the quiet world of Jessica Fletcher connects it to old meanings of the mystery genre. The world, as the profession of the mystery writer demonstrates, is not a safe place. The wisdom and acute mental capacity of this older woman are weapons in an ongoing struggle for order.

On the professional rather than the fictional level, Lansbury's involvement with the series changed over time. In the 1989–90 season, CBS persuaded her to stay with the show after she announced plans to leave. The network cut demands on her time, and Lansbury made only brief appearances in several episodes. She addressed the viewer directly to introduce the evening's mystery, involving, for example, her sleuthing "friends," Harry McGraw or Dennis Stanton. And she often returned at the end of the hour, explaining how the mystery was solved. In the following 1992 season, however, Lansbury was back in force assuming the role of executive producer. Her sons and brother were also involved in the production.

However, *Murder, She Wrote* skewed toward older audiences, especially older women, and advertisers will pay much more to attract younger viewers. In the 1994–95 season, the show charged lower advertising rates than competitors, such as *Lois and Clark*, appearing in the same time slot on the rival American Broadcasting Company (ABC). *Lois and Clark* attracted fewer viewers but was watched by more young viewers, hence the higher advertising rate.

At a time when less traditional programs, such as the quirky, more serial *Northern Exposure* and the off-beat *Seinfeld*, were attracting favorable critical notices, *Murder, She Wrote* did not. It attracted instead large numbers of viewers with its combination of a highly ritualistic formula and its progressive treatment of a 60-plus heroine played by a popular star. Jessica Fletcher is, significantly, an *amateur*, unlike James Rockford or Thomas Magnum. However, although unflinchingly well behaved, she displays a worldliness about modern life, and she has a career that contributes to her vitality. These elements distinguish her from Agatha Christie's Miss Marple character, to whom she has often been compared.

Since her involvement in *Murder, She Wrote*, Lansbury, the actor, has spoken out on occasion against the tendency for network television to propagate a "masculine mystique" and unfairly favor programs oriented toward younger audiences. (In its Sunday time slots, *Murder, She Wrote* followed another long-running successful program on CBS, *60 Minutes*, which has also collected large numbers of older viewers.) Because portrayals of older people on American television have traditionally infrequent and unflattering (in such silly roles as Fred Sanford of *Sanford and Son*, *Designing Women*'s dotty Bernice, and some of the women of *The Golden Girls*), Lansbury's Jessica Fletcher is especially significant. She has demonstrated that competent, glamorous older women can draw large prime-time audiences. As a result, *Murder, She Wrote* was one of CBS's most valued programs.

KAREN E. RIGGS

### See also Lansbury, Angela

#### Cast

Jessica Beatrice Fletcher	Angela Lansbury
Sheriff Amos Tupper (1984–88)	Tom Bosley
Grady Fletcher (1985–90)	Michael Horton
Dr. Seth Hazlitt (1985–96)	William Windom
Mayor Sam Booth (1986–96)	Richard Paul
Sheriff Mort Metzger (1989–96)	Ron Masak
Dennis Stanton (1990–91)	Keith Michell
Robert Butler (1990–91)	James Sloyan
Lt. Perry Catalano (1990–91)	Ken Swofford
Rhoda (1990–91)	Hallie Todd
Dr. Raymond Auerbach (1991–96)	Alan Oppenheimer

#### Producers

Peter S. Fischer, Anthony J. Magro, J. Michael Straczynski, Peter Lansbury, Angela Lansbury

#### Programming History

261 episodes	
CBS	
September 1984–May 1991	Sunday 8:00–9:00
June 1991–July 1991	Sunday 9:00–10:00
July 1991–May 1996	Sunday 8:00–9:00

#### Further Reading

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# Murdoch, Rupert K.

U.S./Australian Media Executive

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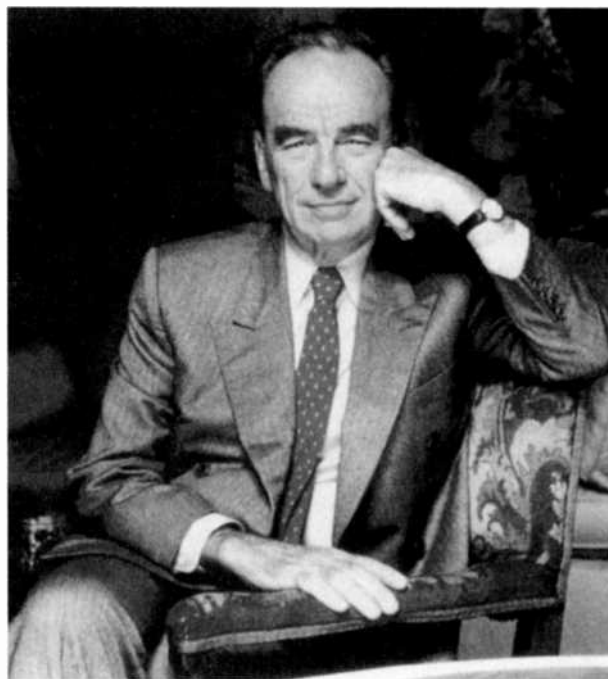
Rupert K. Murdoch is the controlling shareholder and chief executive of News Corporation, Ltd. (News Corp), one of the largest and most powerful media companies in the world. In this position, Murdoch has become perhaps the world's leading media mogul. His bold style, unconventional and visionary approach, and willingness to aggressively assume great risks have made him a figure both admired and disdained throughout the world. His company owns properties on four continents that produce and distribute products in television; films; book, newspaper, and magazine publishing; and online data services.

Murdoch began his rise to the status of media baron in a relatively modest way. He inherited his father's newspaper holdings in 1952, which, after estate taxes, consisted of two small Australian papers, the *Adelaide News* and *Sunday Mail*. Murdoch was quickly able to reverse the unprofitable states of these newspapers, and he used the new profits to acquire other media properties, thereby exhibiting the fundamental growth strategy that would come to characterize his career. By the late 1960s, Murdoch expanded his newspaper and magazine empire to include British newspaper holdings, first acquiring London's *The News of the World* in 1968 and soon thereafter *The Sun*. It was the transformation of *The Sun* into a sensationalized tabloid (which, most notoriously, included a regular "Page Three" feature of photos of topless women) that sealed Murdoch's reputation as a media owner who was willing to pander to his audience's worst instincts in exchange for commercial acceptance, a label that has dogged Murdoch throughout his career. However, it must be noted that such fears have sometimes proven to be unfounded, as was the case following Murdoch's 1981 purchase of the revered London *Times*, which largely retained the stoic editorial character for which it was well known.

In the 1970s, Murdoch entered the U.S. media market by purchasing newspapers and magazines, and he also started the supermarket tabloid *The Star*. However, it was not until the mid-1980s that Murdoch began to make his mark on American television. His purchase of Metromedia's independent television stations from John Kluge in 1985 came on the heels of his acquisition of the 20th Century-Fox studio. Murdoch

saw the situation as a rare opportunity to purchase a group of choice television stations in the largest U.S. markets, thereby ensuring a distribution vehicle for his new studio's programs. The combined moves allowed Murdoch to initiate the most serious effort to establish a fourth broadcast television network since the demise of Dumont in the mid-1950s and culminated in the establishment of the FOX Broadcasting Company.

Despite his career's many successes, Murdoch's empire nearly collapsed in 1990. Unfavorable conditions in the financial markets, combined with deep losses by some of News Corp's start-up operations, such as British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), and the company's extremely heavy short-term debt load (the result of many costly acquisitions, such as *TV Guide*, which News Corp purchased in 1988 from Walter Annenberg's Triangle Publications) brought the company to the brink of financial ruin. While Murdoch was able to renegotiate the terms of his agreements, which avoided the disaster, News Corp's financial problems



Rupert K. Murdoch.  
Photo courtesy of Rupert Murdoch

temporarily placed Murdoch in the unusual position of being unable to aggressively expand his holdings. In fact, he was forced to shed some nonessential assets, including most of his U.S. magazine titles. It was only a relatively short time, however, before the company's financial picture improved significantly and Murdoch was able to once again resume his familiar patterns of acquisition, as he did when he purchased a controlling interest in Asia's Star-TV direct broadcast satellite service in 1993.

As perhaps befits a man with such a great level of power and influence, Murdoch has often found himself at the center of political firestorms. He became widely scorned by labor organizations and pro-labor politicians around the world because of his hard-line tactics in battling the British newspaper workers' unions in the mid-1980s. His 1985 purchase of the Metromedia television stations required him to become an American citizen to comply with Federal Communications Commission (FCC) restrictions on foreign ownership of U.S. television stations; many felt he received inordinately preferential treatment by the Reagan administration in expediting the citizenship process. His FOX television network was able to avoid complying with the FCC's "Financial Interest and Syndication" (Fin-Syn) rules—first by airing fewer hours of programming than were stipulated in the legal definition of a "network" and later by receiving a temporary FCC waiver of the rules—an action the other three broadcast networks vigorously opposed. In addition, Murdoch was the specific target of a 1988 effort by Senator Edward Kennedy (at the time a frequent target of Murdoch's *Boston Herald* newspaper) to revoke another FCC ruling, one that waived cross-ownership restrictions that would have prevented Murdoch from owning both newspapers and television stations in New York and Boston. The end result of Kennedy's efforts was that Murdoch eventually sold the *New York Post* (he later would receive a new waiver that allowed him to reacquire the struggling paper in 1993) and put Boston's WFXT-TV into an independent trust.

A mid-1990s political storm held the potential to be the most costly that had ever surrounded Murdoch. Nearly ten years after he had become a U.S. citizen and after many millions of dollars had been invested in the FOX network and its owned-and-operated stations, questions arose related to Murdoch's avoidance of the FCC's restrictions on foreign ownership of television stations. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was seeking to block the purchase of a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, television station by FOX, asked the FCC to investigate whether it was Murdoch who owned the FOX stations, as he and News Corp claimed, or whether

Australian-based News Corp was the legal owner, which would be in violation of the rules. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) joined the NAACP in asking the FCC to pursue the investigation but eventually withdrew from the complaint after gaining access for their programming on Murdoch's Star-TV service in Asia. However, the NAACP continued to pursue the issue.

Murdoch's media empire continued to grow and flourish as the new century approached. News Corp expanded its holdings of sports-related properties, most notably adding the Los Angeles Dodgers Major League Baseball franchise (along with its valuable real estate holdings) in 1998, and it also obtained full control over Liberty Media's regional cable sports channels in 1999, which added to FOX Sports' dominant presence in the sports television field. Murdoch also positioned his company for the future by merging *TV Guide* with Gemstar International Group in 2000, which effectively put News Corp at the very center of the burgeoning field of interactive television services. With the purchase of a major share of the Italian payable service Telepiu from beleaguered French conglomerate Vivendi in the summer of 2002, Murdoch expanded his European holdings as well as his stake in pay-television services that could carry FOX productions. A rare failed effort occurred earlier that year when Murdoch attempted to merge his satellite operations with direct-to-home provider DirecTV. He lost out to rival Charles Ergen, owner of the other major satellite provider, EchoStar.

Murdoch also spent these years preparing for the ultimate succession of his children to News Corp leadership posts. His sons, Lachlan and James, were groomed for high-level positions within the organization, as was his daughter, Elisabeth, who left News Corp in 2000 to start her own independent production company. Younger son James has been in charge of News Corp's new media efforts and, at the time of this writing, is chief executive at Star TV, the group's Asian satellite broadcaster. Lachlan, who is most often considered to be his father's heir apparent, has led the company's print and publishing operations in Australia and New York and was named deputy chief operating officer of News Corporation, Ltd, in 2000.

Rupert Murdoch has been one of the most successful international entrepreneurs of his time and a lightning rod for controversy in many parts of the world. While other global media companies, such as AOL Time Warner and Bertelsmann AG, possess power and influence comparable to that of News Corp, Murdoch often appears to stand alone among the ranks of modern media moguls. This is because, unlike those other companies, News Corp is clearly identified as a corpo-



Murdoch, Rupert K.

rate arm that is strongly controlled by a single individual. It is therefore fair to say that his absolute control over News Corp, with its holdings of some of the world's most pervasive and influential media properties, makes Murdoch perhaps the single most powerful media magnate ever.

DAVID GUNZERATH

*See also* Annenberg, Walter; Australia; Australian Production Companies; Berlusconi, Silvio; Bertelsmann AG; British Sky Broadcasting; Cable Networks; Diller, Barry; FOX Broadcasting Company; News Corporation, Ltd; Star-TV; Time Warner; United States: Cable

**Rupert K(eith) Murdoch.** Born in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, March 11, 1931. Attended Oxford University, England. Married: 1) Anna Maria Torv, 1967 (divorced, 1999); children: Prudence, Elisabeth, Lachlan, James; 2) Wendi Deng, 1999; child: Grace. Spent two years in London as subeditor with the *Daily Express*, 1950–52; inherited father's newspaper holdings, 1952, and returned to Australia to run *The Adelaide News* and *Sunday Mail*; acquired more Australian newspapers and expanded to England in 1968, buying *The News of the World* and *The Sun*; purchased *San Antonio Express-News*, 1973, and the *New York Post*, 1976; his News International organization subsequently bought the *New York Magazine*, *The Star*, the *London Times*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Boston Herald*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, television stations, book publishing companies, and airline, oil, and gas concerns; purchased 20th Century-Fox and independent U.S. television stations from Metromedia, 1985, and established FOX Broadcasting Network; took U.S. citizenship, 1985; sold *New York Post* to conform with Federal Communications Commission regulations,

1988; acquired Triangle Publications, including *TV Guide*, 1988; founded Sky satellite television network, 1989; Sky absorbed rival British Satellite Broadcasting to become British Sky Broadcasting, 1990; bought controlling interest in Asia's Star-TV, 1993. Director, News International plc, since 1969; chief executive, since 1979, and chair, since 1991, News Corporation Ltd; chair and chief executive, 20th Century-Fox, since 1992.

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## Murphy Brown

U.S. Situation Comedy

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Since its premier in 1988, *Murphy Brown* appeared in the same 9:00–9:30 P.M. slot on the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) Monday night schedule, serving as something of an anchor in that network's perennial battle against the male-oriented *Monday Night Football* on the American Broadcasting Com-

pany (ABC). The show focused on life behind the scenes at the fictional television series *FYI* (For Your Information). *FYI* was represented as a tough, talk-oriented investigative news program, perhaps a little like another CBS mainstay, *60 Minutes*. From its beginnings, *Murphy Brown* established itself as one of





Murphy Brown.  
Photo courtesy of CBS Worldwide, Inc.

television's premier ensemble comedies, exploring life among the reporters, producers, staff, and friends of *FYI*. However, there is no question that, as the title implies, this ensemble was built around its central character.

As played by Candice Bergen, Murphy Brown was one of the most original, distinctive female characters on television. Smart, determined, and difficult, she did not suffer fools gladly. Her ambition and stubbornness frequently got her into trouble, and she often acted a little foolishly herself.

But what set Murphy apart from so many other female sitcom characters was that when she got into a ridiculous mess, it was not because she was a woman. It was because she was Murphy. She was a crack reporter yet managed to get herself banned from the White House during both the George H.W. Bush and the Bill Clinton administrations. When a corrupt judge fell silent during an interview, Murphy finished grilling him—even though he was dead.

Although Murphy acted tough, Bergen showed viewers the character's vulnerable side as well. Wracked with guilt after the judge's death, Murphy toned down her interviewing style (for a while). And she was genuinely hurt when she did not get an invitation to George H.W. Bush's inaugural ball. All these

character developments and revelations built on the fact that the show's pilot introduced Murphy as she returned to the *FYI* set after drying out at the Betty Ford Clinic. The central character, the star of *FYI*, was presented from the very beginning as a recovering alcoholic, vulnerable and flawed. All her foibles and eccentricities were presented in this context, adding richness and depth to the portrayal.

Indeed, throughout the show's run, all the characters and their relationships developed beyond what is typical for a sitcom. The original ensemble included Corky Sherwood (Faith Ford), a Louisiana girl and former Miss America who took a few journalism classes in college but was hired mainly for her looks; Frank Fontana (Joe Regalbuto), ace investigative reporter and irrepressible skirt chaser with a mortal fear of commitment; Jim Dial (Charles Kimbrough), the rigid, serious, eminently competent anchorman; Miles Silverberg (Grant Shaud), a new Harvard graduate, producing *FYI* was his first "real" job; Eldin Bernecky (Robert Pastorelli), a house painter who worked continually on Murphy's townhouse until her son, Avery, was born, at which time he became Avery's nanny; and Phil (Pat Corley), the all-knowing owner of Phil's Bar, hangout for the *FYI* team.

As a running gag, Murphy also had a parade of secretaries, most of whom were inept and lasted only one episode. A few examples: a young African-American man who spoke only in hip-hop slang, a crash-test dummy, a bickering married couple, and a mental patient. Naturally, whenever Murphy found a good secretary, he or she left by the end of the episode.

Initially, some characters were two-dimensional. Miles existed only to run around acting tense and to annoy Murphy, a 40-year-old woman with a 25-year-old boss. In the pilot, Murphy tells him, "I just can't help thinking about the fact that while I was getting maced at the Democratic Convention in 1968, you were wondering if you'd ever meet Adam West." Corky was a stereotypical southern beauty queen, more interested in appearances than in reporting.

However, as the series progressed, Miles became a competent producer and manager. He grew to be fully capable of holding his own against Murphy, who still tended to underestimate him. And Corky, too, became more a friend than an annoyance to Murphy. A failed marriage tarnished the southern belle's fairy-tale life, making Corky more human and giving her more in common with Murphy. Murphy's feminism and ambition also began to rub off on the younger woman.

Beneath the facade of the serious anchorman, Jim Dial was a warm, caring person, more liberal than he seemed. In a first-season flashback, we see Murphy's

## Murphy Brown

1977 *FYI* audition; she is dressed like "Annie Hall" and sports a wildly curly mane. Network executives want to hire a more "professional" woman, but Jim convinces them to hire Murphy. Frank, the skirt chaser, never chased Murphy or Corky. Frank and Murphy were a TV rarity: a man and a woman who are close friends, with no sexual tension.

*Murphy Brown's* plots often parodied actual news events. In the second-season episode "The Memo That Got Away," a high school journalist hacks into *FYI's* computer system and finds an uncomplimentary memo Murphy has written about her co-workers. A similar, real-life incident occurred when a memo written by *Today* anchor Bryant Gumbel was leaked. In a seventh-season episode, *Murphy Brown* lampoons the O.J. Simpson trial circus with a story about an astronaut accused of murdering his brother.

Real-life events came head to head with *Murphy Brown* in the summer of 1992, when Vice President Dan Quayle criticized unwed mothers as violating "family values." To support his argument, he pointed to the entertainment industry as site of flawed morals. As a specific example, he singled out the fictitious Murphy, who had given birth to son Avery, out of wedlock, in the 1991-92 season finale. Producer Diane English responded to Quayle with her own analysis of the social and cultural conditions, and the exchanges escalated into a national event, a topic for much discussion in the news and on the late-night television talk shows. In the fall 1992 season premier, the series presented an episode devoted to the controversy. In "I Say Potato, You Say Potato" (a reference to the vice president's much-publicized misspelling), Murphy takes Quayle to task, introducing several hardworking, one-parent families on *FYI*.

In 1993 the character of Peter Hunt was added to the cast. Appearing in occasional episodes, Hunt was played by Scott Bakula and became Murphy's new love interest. In the seventh season, two additional characters were added: Miller Redfield (Christopher Rich), an idiot anchorman on another network show, and McGovern (Paula Korologos), a former Music Television (MTV) personality hired to bring "youth appeal" to *FYI*. Miller was stereotypically handsome and stupid and was often played against Peter Hunt's "real" journalistic style. McGovern had more potential; the writers resisted the "slacker" stereotype usually pinned on her generation and instead made her a miniature Murphy, with one exception—she was politically conservative. This fact never failed to annoy Murphy who, in one episode, cut McGovern's report to less than a minute because she (Murphy) did not like its political slant. McGovern complained to Corky, who offered this advice:

Corky: When I want Murphy to leave me alone, I just let her think she's getting her way.  
McGovern: But she *is* getting her way!  
Corky: Right. But I don't care, as long as she leaves me alone!

In the 1994 season, veteran comedian Garry Marshall joined the cast as Stan Lansing, head of the network. The following year Paul Reubens (aka Pee-wee Herman) appeared as Lansing's fawning (and scheming) nephew. Lily Tomlin became a regular on the series in the ninth season, playing *FYI's* new executive producer. The presence of new cast members added a fresh energy to the other characters and the stories, helping to ensure that *Murphy Brown* would continue to have its way with comedy and social commentary. Other characters (Miles, Eldin, and Phil), however, departed the program before its tenth and final season in 1997-98. That season focused on Murphy's struggle with breast cancer and concluded with her recovery and the *FYI* cast deciding to leave the air.

JULIE PRINCE

### Cast

Murphy Brown	Candice Bergen
Jim Dial	Charles Kimbrough
Frank Fontana	Joe Regalbuto
Corky Sherwood	Faith Ford
Miles Silverberg (1988-95)	Grant Shaud
Phil (1988-96)	Pat Corley
Eldin Bernecky (1988-94)	Robert Pastorelli
Carl Wishnitski (1988-93)	Ritch Brinkley
John, the stage manager	John Hostetter
Gene Kinsella (1988-92)	Alan Oppenheimer
Peter Hunt (1993- )	Scott Bakula
Avery Brown (1994- )	Dyllan Christopher
Stan Lansing (1994- )	Garry Marshall
Miller Redfield (1995- )	Christopher Rich
Andrew J. Lansing, III	Paul Reubens

### Producers

Diane English, Joel Shukovsky, Gary Dontzig, Steven Peterman

### Programming History

247 episodes

CBS

November 1988-May 1998

Monday 9:00-9:30

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## Murphy, Thomas S.

U.S. Media Executive

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Thomas S. Murphy was chair and chief executive officer of Capital Cities/ABC until 1996, when Disney bought the company and Murphy retired. Murphy built Capital Cities/ABC into a multi-billion-dollar international media conglomerate. In addition to leading Capital Cities from its days as a small television holding company to its position as a media empire, Murphy distinguished himself as a responsible corporate citizen by emphasizing public service.

After service in the U.S. Navy, a Harvard M.B.A., and five years at Kenyon and Eckhardt and at Lever Brothers, Murphy began his broadcasting career with a little help from his father's friends. The legendary broadcaster Lowell Thomas, Thomas's business manager Frank Smith, and a few other investors started Hudson Valley Broadcasting. They needed a station manager and turned to their friend's ambitious son. In 1954, at the age of 29, Murphy assumed duties as the first employee and station manager at WROW-TV in Albany, New York. This station and its sister radio station, WROW-AM, were the Hudson Valley Broadcasting Company. After nearly three years of red ink, the station saw a profit. As the company evolved into Capital Cities and eventually into Capital Cities/ABC, it consistently made money. One share of the company in 1957 cost \$5.75; in 1996, that investment would be worth more than \$12,000.

In 1960 chair Frank Smith moved Murphy to New York City as executive vice president of Capital Cities. In 1964 Murphy was named president. With Smith's death in 1966, Murphy became chair and chief executive officer. Three cornerstones of Murphy's management philosophy were fiscal responsibility, decentralized local responsibility, and social responsibility. Additionally, he always tried to hire people smarter than himself. Murphy attributed much of his success to what he learned from Smith.

For the next two decades, Murphy led Capital Cities during a time of fantastic growth. In 1985 Capital Cities became the minnow that swallowed the whale when it announced that it was merging with the highly visible American Broadcasting Company (ABC). This was the largest merger to date of media companies. Capital Cities/ABC reclaimed this record about ten years later when it merged with the Disney Company.

Murphy will be remembered not only for his business acumen and ability to expand Capital Cities but



Thomas S. Murphy.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Murphy, Thomas S.

also for his firm belief in the importance of public service. In 1961 the company received national attention and a Peabody Award for its nonprofit, exclusive television coverage of Israel's trial of the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann. Murphy continued that level of dedication to public service throughout the early years of the company and into the era of Capital Cities/ABC. The company played a significant role in public service campaigns for "Stop Sexual Harassment," PLUS Literacy, the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, and others. The company also practiced significant internal and external public service with its own Substance Abuse Assistance Program, Corporate Diversity in Management skills bank, Management Initiatives Program to expand minority representation in editorial management, Broadcast Management Training Program for women and minorities, the Advanced Management Training Program for Women, the Women's Advisory Committee, the Capital Cities/ABC Foundation, and the Volunteer Initiatives Program, serving as a clearinghouse for volunteerism. In retirement, Murphy has pursued his public service interests as a trustee of the Inner-City Scholarship Fund, the Lymphoma Research Foundation of America, New York University, and the Madison Square Boys and Girls Club and as a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. In 1998 he was elected board chair of Save the Children.

GUY E. LOMETTI

**Thomas S. Murphy.** Born in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., May 31, 1925. Cornell University, B.S. 1945; Harvard University, M.B.A. 1949. Married. Served in U.S. Navy. Executive positions with Kenyon and Eckhardt, 1949-51; with Lever Brothers Company, 1951-54; with Capital Cities Communications, Inc., New York City, from 1954, executive vice president 1961-64, president, 1964-72, chief executive officer, 1966-90, chair, from 1966; initiated acquisition of Triangle Broadcasting, 1971; initiated merger with ABC to form Capital Cities/ABC, 1986. Board member: The Walt Disney Company, Columbia/HCA Healthcare Corp., Doubleclick Inc., and Smith Barney's International Advisory Board.

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## Murrow, Edward R.

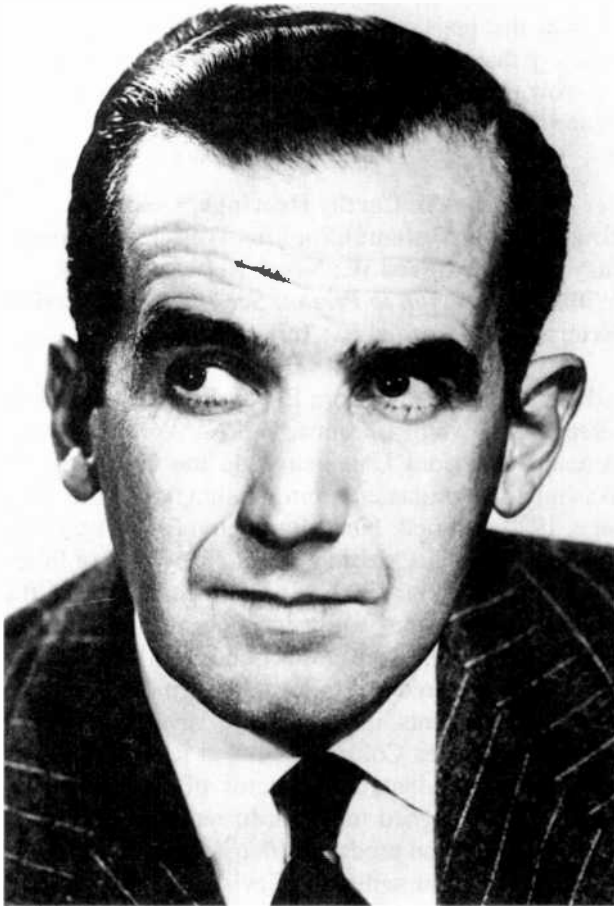
U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Edward R. Murrow is the most distinguished and renowned figure in the history of American broadcast journalism. He was a seminal force in the creation and development of electronic news gathering as both a craft and a profession. Murrow's career began at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1935 and spanned the infancy of news and public affairs programming on radio through the ascendancy of television in the 1950s, as it eventually became the nation's most popular news medium. In 1961 Murrow left CBS to become director of the U.S. Information Agency for the new Kennedy administration. By that time, his peers were already referring to a "Murrow legend and

tradition" of courage, integrity, social responsibility, and journalistic excellence, emblematic of the highest ideals of both broadcast news and the television industry in general.

David Halberstam has observed in *The Powers That Be* that Murrow was "one of those rare legendary figures who was as good as his myth." Murrow was apparently driven by the democratic precepts of modern liberalism and the more embracing Weltanschauung of the American Protestant tradition. In Alexander Kendrick's *Prime-Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow*, for example, Murrow's brother, Dewey, describes the intense religious and moral tutelage of his mother



Edward R. Murrow.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and father: “they branded us with their own consciences.” Murrow’s imagination and the long-term effects of his early home life impelled him to integrate his parents’ ethical guidelines into his own personality to such an extensive degree that Murrow became the virtual fulfillment of his industry’s public service aspirations.

Murrow’s rich, full, and expressive voice first came to the attention of the U.S. listening public in his many rooftop radio broadcasts during the Battle of Britain in 1939. In words evocative of the original founding fathers of the United States, Murrow frequently used the airwaves to revivify and popularize many democratic ideals—such as free speech, citizen participation, the pursuit of truth, and the sanctification of individual liberties and rights—that resulted from a broader liberal discourse in England, France, and the United States. Resurrecting these values and virtues for a mass audience of true believers during the London Blitz was high drama—the opposing threat of totalitarianism, made real by Nazi bombs, was ever present in the

background. Murrow’s persona was thus established, embodying the political traditions of the Western democracies and offering the public a heroic model on which to focus their energies.

Murrow, of course, was only one of many heroes to emerge from World War II, but he became the eminent symbol for broadcasting. The creation of the Murrow legacy and tradition speaks both to the sterling talent of the man himself and to the enormous growth and power of radio during the war years. Murrow hired a generation of electronic journalists at CBS, such as Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith, among many others, for whom he set the example as their charismatic leader. As late as 1977, more than a decade after Murrow’s death, Dan Rather wrote in his autobiography *The Camera Never Blinks* that “it was astonishing how often his [Murrow] name and work came up. To somebody outside CBS it is probably hard to believe. Time and again I heard someone say, ‘Ed wouldn’t have done it that way.’”

Murrow’s initial foray into television was as the on-camera host of the seminal news and public affairs program *See It Now* (1951–57). This series was an adaptation of radio’s popular *Hear It Now*, which was also coproduced by Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. *See It Now* premiered in a half-hour format on November 18, 1951, opening with Murrow’s characteristic restraint and directness: “This is an old team trying to learn a new trade.” By April 20, 1952, *See It Now* had been moved to prime time, where it stayed until July 1955, typically averaging around 3 million viewers. After that point, *See It Now* was expanded to an hour but telecast more irregularly on a special-events basis.

Through the course of its run, *See It Now* was awarded four Emmys for Best News or Public Service Program. Many of its broadcasts were duly considered breakthroughs for the medium. For example, “This is Korea...Christmas 1952” was produced on location “to try to portray the face of the war and the faces of the men who are fighting it.” Murrow’s most-celebrated piece was his March 9, 1954, telecast, in which he engaged Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a program “told mainly in [McCarthy’s] own words and pictures.” In the aftermath of this episode, the descriptions of Edward R. Murrow and his tradition quickly began to transcend the more secular cast that appeared in response to his championing of democratic action and principles in Britain during World War II. In his review of the now legendary McCarthy program, for instance, *New York Times* TV critic Jack Gould reflected an ongoing canonization process when he wrote that “last week may be remembered as the week that broadcasting recaptured its soul.”

Murrow also produced lighter, less controversial fare for television. His most popular success was his hosting of *Person to Person*, from 1953 to 1961, where he chatted informally with a wide array of celebrities every Friday during prime time. Murrow remained with this program through the 1958–59 season, “visiting” in their homes such people as Harry Truman, Marilyn Monroe, and John Steinbeck. Murrow, in fact, won an Emmy for the Most Outstanding Personality in all of television after *Person to Person*’s inaugural season. He received four other individual Emmys for Best News Commentator or Analyst as well, with the last coming in 1958, the year he excoriated the broadcasting industry in a speech before the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) for being “fat, comfortable, and complacent” and television for “being used to detract, delude, amuse, and insult us.”

The tragedy of Murrow’s rapid enervation at CBS after this latest tumult was implicit in his apparent need to ascribe higher motives to his own profession. Murrow had long reveled in his role as broadcasting’s Jeremiah. His urgent and inspirational style of presentation fit the life-and-death psychological milieu of a world war, as it was later appropriate for the McCarthy crisis. By 1958, however, the viewing public and the television industry were less inclined to accept yet another of his ethical lambastes, especially since his RTNDA speech was directed at them and their shortcomings. As the business of TV grew astronomically during the 1950s, Murrow’s priorities fell progressively out of step. His vision of television as “the world’s greatest classroom” increasingly appeared more and more like a quaint vestige of a bygone era, especially to his bosses and a younger generation at the network.

There is still a small plaque in the lobby of CBS headquarters in New York City that bears the image of Murrow and the inscription, “He set standards of excellence that remain unsurpassed.” During his 25-year career, Murrow made more than 5,000 broadcasts; and more than anyone else, he invented the traditions of television news. Murrow and his team essentially created the prototype of the TV documentary with *See It Now* and later extended the technological reach of electronic news gathering in *Small World* (1958–59), which employed simultaneous hookups around the globe to facilitate unrehearsed discussion among several international opinion leaders. Most of Murrow’s *See It Now* associates were reassembled to produce *CBS Reports* in 1961, although Murrow was only an infrequent participant in this new series. Over the years, he had simply provoked too many trying situations for CBS, and the network’s hierarchy made a conscious decision to reduce his profile. There is an

apparent irony between Edward R. Murrow’s life and the way that he is subsequently remembered today: the industry that finally had no place for him now holds Murrow up as their model citizen, the “patron saint of American broadcasting.”

GARY R. EDGERTON

**See also Army-McCarthy Hearings; Columbia Broadcasting System; Cronkite, Walter; Documentary; Friendly, Fred W.; News, Network; Paley, William S.; Person to Person; See It Now; Severeid, Eric; Smith, Howard K.; Talk Shows**

**Edward R. Murrow.** Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow in Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A., April 25, 1908. Attended Stanford University and the University of Washington; graduated from Washington State College, 1930. Married: Janet Huntington Brewster, 1934; one son. Served as assistant director, Institute of International Education, 1932–35; began career with CBS as director of talks and education, 1935; director, CBS’s European Bureau in London, 1937; during World War II, hired and trained distinguished corps of war correspondents, including Eric Severeid, Howard K. Smith, Charles Collingwood, and Richard C. Hottelet; vice president and director of public affairs, CBS, 1946; resigned to return to radio broadcasting, 1947; narrated and produced *Hear It Now* radio series, 1950–51; brought series to television as *See It Now*, 1952–58; began *Person to Person* television program, 1953; moderated and produced *Small World* television series, featuring discussions among world figures, 1958–60; appointed by President John F. Kennedy to head U.S. Information Agency in 1961, and remained in post until 1964. Recipient: nine Emmy Awards. Died in New York, April 27, 1965.

#### Television Series

1952–57	<i>See It Now</i> (host)
1953–61	<i>Person to Person</i> (host)
1958–60	<i>Small World</i> (moderator and producer)

#### Radio

*Hear It Now* (host and coproducer), 1950–51.

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## Music Licensing

Music licensing is the process through which television outlets and producers acquire permission to use copyrighted music in their programming and productions. A music copyright actually consists of a bundle of ownership rights. The four principal parts of this bundle are (1) the *publication right*, authority to copy or publish the musical work; (2) the *mechanical (recording) right*, authority to make audio copies of the work; (3) the *synchronization right*, authority to synchronize recordings of the work with film or video; and (4) the *performance right*, authority to perform the work publicly. Two additional facets of music copyright are (5) *grand dramatic rights*, which involve the use of the composition in a dramatic performance such as a stage play, an opera, or a video representation of the "story" of a song, and (6) the *master-use license (dubbing right)*, which pertains to the re-recording of a particular artist's rendition of the music. The first five of these rights emanate from the original composer and publisher of the work. The master-use license is held by the record company that released the particular artist's interpretation of the composition.

While all six of these elements may come into play in the production of a film or video project, it is the performance right that is of overwhelming importance in the public transmission of television programming. In the United States (and elsewhere through agreements with reciprocal agencies), three licensing organizations administer performance rights for virtually all musical compositions still under copyright. These three organizations are the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), and the much smaller SESAC (formerly, the Society of European Stage Authors and Composers).

ASCAP, the oldest of the three, was born of a 1913 restaurant meeting of composer Victor Herbert and eight publisher and composer associates who sought some mechanism to ensure that they would be paid for the public performance of their work. ASCAP began licensing broadcast stations to play the music of its member composers and publishers in 1923, when it signed a one-year \$500 license with AT&T's WEA (New York). Perceiving themselves to be at ASCAP's mercy when it came to the use of music in their programming, broadcasters formed the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) to negotiate with ASCAP on behalf of the entire radio industry. (The NAB sub-



# ASCAP

Courtesy of ASCAP



# BMI

*Courtesy of BMI*

sequently became U.S. commercial broadcasting's major trade association and lobbying agency.)

BMI was created by the broadcast industry in 1940 in reaction to what stations perceived to be a large and unjustified increase in ASCAP's licensing rates. Until BMI could build its own catalog, many stations that had refused to renew their ASCAP licenses could play nothing but tunes by Stephen Foster and other vintage music no longer under copyright. BMI soon signed affiliation agreements with Latin American, country, western, "race music" (black), and later rock-and-roll composers—musical genres that ASCAP had largely ignored.

SESAC was founded in 1931 by music publishing executive Paul Heinecke, with a catalog consisting primarily of European concert and operatic music. SESAC later dropped its full name in favor of the acronym and expanded its scope to encompass concert band, gospel, religious, and country music, opening a major office in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1964. SESAC is the only one of the three performance-rights organizations also to administer the mechanical and synchronization rights on behalf of its member composers and publishers.

Virtually from its inception, radio performance-rights licensing was accommodated via a "blanket license." Stations paid the rights agency an annual fee based on either gross receipts (ASCAP and BMI) or market size, power, and hours of operation (SESAC). This license allowed the stations to play as much of the licensing organization's music as they wished. This same business arrangement subsequently was extended to the new medium of television. As in radio, television-station rate negotiations with ASCAP and BMI are handled by an all-industry committee supported by voluntary station contributions. Because far less SESAC music is played on television, the dollars

that organization receives are much lower, and stations deal with it separately.

Since 1950, the broadcast television networks have secured their own blanket licenses for the music in the programming and commercials they distribute to their affiliates. Even if they are network affiliates, stations still have needed their own blanket licenses to cover the music included in the syndicated series, local programs, and nonnetwork commercials they air. Since 1970, broadcasters have fought a number of legal battles in an attempt to reduce overlapping license coverage and bring greater flexibility and economy to the performance-rights clearance process. In 1970 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) initiated an antitrust suit against ASCAP and BMI in order to secure the option of a "per use" alternative to the blanket license. However, in 1981, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the dismissal of the case. Four years later, television stations lost a similar skirmish over "per program" rates that tended to make this option far more costly than the blanket license.

Nevertheless, new licensing alternatives began to emerge. Following a series of legal maneuvers, ASCAP/BMI and television broadcasters began, in 1987, to negotiate a more economically realistic per-program license option. Six years and several judicial proceedings later, the parties had substantially agreed to a feasible per-program license structure. This paved the way for stations more actively to purchase or lease their own music libraries for use in local productions and commercials—thus greatly shortening the list of programs for which they would have to pay an ASCAP or BMI fee. At the same time, major program syndicators such as King World began selling stations the rights to the music contained in their series for a small additional fee. Such "source cleared" deals are expected to become more and more common as stations seek to further reduce their ASCAP and BMI per-program payments. Meanwhile, in a 1992 cable television decision, the Supreme Court affirmed the right of cable networks to obtain the same blanket "through to the viewer" license that had been available to the broadcast networks since 1950. This greatly lessened the performance-rights liability of cable system operators. As a result of negotiations between the National Cable Television Association Music License Committee and the three performance-rights holders, local cable systems can now obtain blanket licenses to cover music used on local-origination channels as well as in locally inserted commercials and promotional announcements.

Local broadcast station blanket rates for ASCAP are determined through negotiations with the broadcasters' Television Music License Committee. An



industry-wide flat fee is set in these negotiations. This fee is divided among all defined television markets according to market size. The market fee, in turn, is spread among stations in that market on the basis of the household ratings achieved by each. Annual adjustments are made on the basis of changes in the consumer price index and number of stations in each area. BMI and SESAC fees follow a similar pattern and, essentially, are indexed to the ASCAP-negotiated figure.

An additional simmering controversy involves musicians and some recording companies. These interests sporadically have lobbied Congress to enact legislation that would require an additional performance-rights fee to be paid to the performers of a piece of music. The television industry counters that performers already have been compensated through existing rights mechanisms and have handsomely profited from the exposure with which television has provided them.

PETER B. ORLIK

See also **Music on Television**

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## Music on Television

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The antecedents for music's presence in television may be found in film and radio. Most television music (like film music) is nondiegetic: it is heard by viewers and listeners but not on-screen performers. This ubiquitous "background" music is added after shooting has been completed and is used to create moods, fill spaces, provide rhythm, and link the production to other cultural texts. Television music also draws on the tradition of radio, which initially presented in featured performances and variety shows, then later through disc jockey selections and chart shows. Musicians who appear on television sometimes play live but more often mime performance (or "lip-synch") to their sound recordings either in the studio or on music videos. Therefore, music *on* or *in* television encompasses a wide range of practices. Though television has become increasingly music driven on a global basis, the particular distribution of styles, techniques, and discourses about music and television has depended on the institutional histories and cultural contexts of both television and music in different localities.

In the United States, variety shows based in the vaudeville tradition dominated the first two decades of television because of their broad appeal and low production costs. Yet music frequently was considered an

afterthought during television's early years. In 1948 only 17 stations were on the air. Programming was produced largely on a local basis, and talent and material often were in short supply. Labor unions also played a significant role in determining how music was used on television in the late 1940s. Under the leadership of James Petrillo, the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) instigated freezes on all music recording in 1942 and 1948, and the AFM banned "live" music on television until the spring of 1948. The union also ordered that all programs with featured or background music must be broadcast "live" before they were syndicated via kinescopes, and these kinescopes were banned from airing on any station not affiliated with the originating station. This arrangement favored networks over independent stations and allowed the powerful AFM to strengthen its control of the music industry. The union also prohibited its members from recording for television films until 1950, when the AFM negotiated a system of royalty payments from television producers to musicians (although no such royalty system existed in the film industry). Television music also was hampered by disagreements between program producers and music publishers. Producers sought a broadened general li-

cense fee for music use rather than a special license, while the major music publishing concern, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), demanded three times the rate it received for film music.

The networks were concerned with "cultural uplift" during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and they viewed "high culture" as a way to add cultural legitimacy to the new medium. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) had telecast a Metropolitan Opera presentation of "Pagliacci" on March 10, 1940, and all three networks featured classical music and opera on a semiregular basis. NBC aired three telecasts of the NBC Orchestra in 1948, and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) telecast an adaptation of "Othello" on November 29 of that year. The NBC Opera Theater began regular telecasts in 1950 with four programs and continued to air opera specials through 1950s and early 1960s. The network also aired an experimental color broadcast of "Carmen" on October 31, 1953. Producers faced a number of problems with adapting opera to television. The NBC presentations were sung in English and frequently condensed into one-hour programs, arousing the ire of some critics. Early televised operas also were criticized for incessant camera panning and close-ups. A reviewer for *Musical America* described a December 1952 closed-circuit telecast of "Carmen" by New York's Metropolitan Opera to 27 cities: "The relentlessness of the camera in exposing corpulence and other less attractive physical features of some of the performers aroused hilarity among the more unsophisticated viewers, of whom there were, perforce, very many."

The networks also showcased classical music in specials and limited-run series throughout the early 1950s. In 1951 ABC's Chicago affiliate (WENR-TV) became the first station to regularly televise an orchestra, and NBC aired *Meet the Masters*, a classical music series, that spring. The network continued to air occasional telecasts of the NBC Symphony Orchestra, and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) countered with specials featuring the Philadelphia Orchestra. The classical music series "Voice of Firestone" had originated in 1928 on radio; in June 1954, it jumped to television on ABC. Other network programs presented a grab bag of "high culture." CBS's *Omnibus* debuted in 1952 with support from the Ford Foundation. Although it won numerous awards, the program moved to ABC and NBC because of poor ratings. *Omnibus* was canceled in 1959, and the Ford Foundation's experience with the program led them to provide the seed money for American public television. Classical music and opera performers also made occasional appear-

ances on network variety shows, particularly CBS's *Toast of the Town*. NBC musical specials in 1951 showcased the works of Richard Rogers and Irving Berlin, and NBC continued to air lavish musical presentations throughout the decade.

Music was an integral part of amateur talent shows, which ran on all three networks through the 1950s. The most successful of these, *Ted Mack's Original Amateur Hour*, was adapted from radio's *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. Dumont began telecasting the series in 1948, and it aired on various networks until 1970. Music also was featured in the context of game shows. Celebrities rated records on KNXT's *Juke Box Jury*, which was carried by ABC in 1953 and later syndicated. Other musical game shows included ABC's *So You Want to Lead a Band* and NBC's *Musical Chairs*, which aired in 1954 and 1955, respectively, as well as *Name That Tune*, which ran on NBC and later CBS from 1953 to 1959 and was briefly revived in syndication in the mid-1970s.

Singers often hosted summer replacement shows in the early 1950s. In 1950 Kate Smith and Sammy Kaye hosted replacement shows on NBC while CBS countered with several summer series hosted by Perry Como, Vaughn Monroe, and Frank Sinatra. ABC configured much of its prime-time schedule around music, particularly after Lawrence Welk joined the network in July 1955. Welk, who began telecasting his performances in June 1949, remains perhaps the most popular musical performer in television history. By featuring performers such as Welk, Guy Lombardo, Paul Whiteman, Fred Waring, and Perry Como, networks targeted older audiences (at the time, "teenagers" as a demographic group were of little use to network advertisers).

Television producers in the late 1940s and early 1950s relied on older popular songs, or "standards," and avoided songs without proven audience appeal. In addition, ASCAP's outright hostility to television led producers to use songs licensed by Broadcast Music Association (BMI), many of which were older and in the public domain. Exposing new music largely was relegated to independent stations. This pattern paralleled postwar developments in the recording industry in which small, independent labels distributed new genres, such as rhythm and blues and country music. Independent television stations were particularly strong on the West Coast because weak network links, and remote-band broadcasts provided inexpensive filler for broadcast schedules. KTLA-TV in Los Angeles featured five orchestra shows each week in the early 1950s, including Spade Cooley's hugely popular western program, while KLAC-TV countered with the *Hometown Jamboree* hillbilly program. KLAC also

challenged the color barrier by presenting a black singer, Hadda Brooks, regularly in 1949.

"Video deejay" programming provided another economical means of filling airtime. Al Jarvis had created the radio deejay program at Los Angeles's KWAB-AM in the early 1930s, and in the winter of 1950 Jarvis began daily broadcasts of records, interviews, horse-racing results, and "daily religious periods" at KLAC. NBC began airing Wayne Howell's deejay show nationally on Saturday afternoons, and by the end of 1950 video deejays were firmly established in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles as well as secondary markets such as San Francisco, Miami, Louisville, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Cleveland (where pioneering rock-and-roll deejay Alan Freed held forth late at night on WXEZ-TV). Video deejay programs combined lip-synch performances, dancers, games, sketches, stunts, and film shorts. Between 1941 and 1947, the Mills Novelty Company produced more than 2,000 promotional jazz and ballad films, or "soundies," for coin-operated machines, and many of these shorts resurfaced on video deejay shows. "Soundies" also were frequently screened between programs to fill airtime, as were the 754 "visual records" that Louis Snader produced in his Hollywood studios between 1950 and 1952. Screen Gems and United Artists produced similar films with a unique twist: silent films were paired with phonograph records, which allowed the clips to be recycled with different songs.

By 1956 local video deejay programs were telecast regularly in nearly 50 markets. These programs were the only significant television programming produced for teenagers and, along with "Top 40" radio, were instrumental in the rising success of rock and roll. The most notable video deejay program debuted on Philadelphia's WFIL-TV as *Bandstand* in September 1952. Dick Clark replaced Bob Horn as host in July 1956, and the following year *American Bandstand* was picked up for national distribution by ABC. The program aired from 3:00 to 4:30 P.M. Monday through Friday afternoons, and Dick Clark had begun to parlay *American Bandstand's* success into a television empire. More than 100 local imitators of *Bandstand* were on the air by March 1958, and TV had become second only to radio as a means of promoting music. In 1950 standards outnumbered popular tunes on television by four to one, and popular songs on television were already well established on records and radio. Four years later, the ratio of hits to standards was 50/50. "Let Me Go, Lover" was recorded by several artists after its initial success on CBS's *Studio One*, and the "Ballad of Davey Crockett" from Walt Disney's ABC-TV series established TV's importance in making hits.

NBC was the most adventurous network in music programming through the 1950s, particularly through Steve Allen's efforts to present pop, jazz, and classical artists on *The Tonight Show*. Allen also hosted an NBC special, *All-Star Jazz*, in December 1957. Like Allen, Ed Sullivan featured a number of black acts on his *Talk of the Town* variety show in the 1950s. Although most acts were comics and dancers, musical performers included W.C. Handy, Billy Eckstine, Lena Horne, and T-Bone Walker. On April 1, 1949, ABC affiliate WENR in Chicago began airing *Happy Pappy*, a jazz-oriented revue that featured an all-black cast, and three years later an ABC special with Billy Daniels was the first network television program to feature a black entertainer as star. Nat "King" Cole became the first black to host a regular network series (on NBC from 1956 to 1957). The program failed to attract a national sponsor and was boycotted by several stations in the North and South. As a result, blacks were relegated largely to guest shots on variety shows. No black performer would host a network variety series until Sammy Davis Jr. in 1966.

Rhythm and blues and rock and roll originally were objects of ridicule on TV, as exemplified by Sid Caesar's "Three Haircuts" parody skit on *Your Show of Shows*, but programmers began paying closer attention to the burgeoning teenage market in 1956. Ed Sullivan presented a rhythm-and-blues special in November 1955 that featured LaVern Baker, Bo Diddley, and the Five Keys and hosted by radio deejay "Dr. Jive." Attempts at providing a regular network showcase for rhythm and blues failed because of resistance from southern affiliates as well as pressure from ASCAP, which refused to license rhythm-and-blues titles for blatantly racist reasons.

Programmers embraced country music more readily. "Hillbilly," as it was more commonly known, gained its initial video exposure with shows hosted by regional performers in the Midwest, including Earnie Lee at WLW in Cincinnati (1947), Pee Wee King at WAVE in Louisville (1948), and Lulu Belle at WNBQ in Chicago (1949). By 1956, almost 100 live local country-western shows aired on more than 80 stations in 30 states. Eddy Arnold, the "Tennessee Plowboy," was tapped as a summer replacement for Perry Como in 1952, and his program was syndicated through the 1950s. Other network efforts included Red Foley's *Ozark Jubilee* (ABC, 1955-61) and the *Tennessee Ernie Ford Show* (NBC, ABC, 1955-65), and CBS ran a country music program hosted by Jimmy Dean against *Today*. Nevertheless, these programs were largely pop oriented in terms of song selection and guest stars.

Singing personalities increasingly replaced comedians as program hosts in the waning years of the 1950s.

By the fall of 1957, recording stars headlined more than 20 TV shows. Perry Como and Dinah Shore hosted popular series for NBC, and ABC aired efforts by Frank Sinatra, Guy Mitchell, Pat Boone, and Julius La Rosa. Many of these shows suffered poor ratings and were supplanted by westerns in 1958, but the success of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Cinderella* special on CBS triggered a spate of musical fairy tales on networks in the waning years of the decade. Yet television was decried for unimaginative audio throughout the 1950s. Many productions employed dated music libraries, and dramatic shows often paid little attention to musical scoring (one exception was Richard Rodgers's acclaimed score for the documentary series *Victory at Sea*, which NBC aired in late 1952 and early 1953). Another noted production was the *Rodgers and Hammerstein Cavalcade* sponsored by General Foods, which aired simultaneously on all four networks on March 28, 1954.

On January 26, 1956, Elvis Presley made his national television debut on the Dorsey Brothers' CBS *Stage Show* and quickly followed with appearances on the Milton Berle, Steve Allen, and Ed Sullivan shows. The squeals that Presley elicited from teenagers were matched by loathing from parents and critics. Reviewing a September 1956 performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, a critic for the *New York Times* noted disapprovingly that Presley "injected movements of the tongue and indulged in wordless singing that were singularly distasteful." Nevertheless, rock and roll would remain a fixture on local and national television, and ABC's *Rock 'n' Roll Show* was the first prime-time network special devoted to rock music. The program aired May 4 and 11, 1957, and was hosted by Alan Freed. In addition to specials and variety shows, rock became integrated into situation comedies. *Ozzie and Harriet* provided a showcase for young Ricky Nelson, who racked up several hits beginning in 1957. The fate of *Your Hit Parade* symbolized Tin Pan Alley's eclipse by rock and roll. The program originated as the *Lucky Strike Hit Parade* on radio in 1935 and retained its popularity after moving to television. As rock and roll began to dominate popular music, *Your Hit Parade* moved from NBC to CBS in 1958 and went off the air on April 24, 1959. An attempt to revive the program in the early 1970s was unsuccessful.

The late 1950s also were marked by a decline in "high culture" musical programming. A 1957 arrangement between Ed Sullivan and Metropolitan Opera led to a brief series of capsule opera performances on Sullivan's variety show. Met impresario Rudolf Bing scotched the deal when Sullivan proposed to divide the opera presentations into two smaller sections, with a ventriloquist act sandwiched in between, to reduce

tuning out by viewers. The CBS series *The Seven Lively Arts*, a short-lived series of plays and music, was canceled in 1958, and *The Voice of Firestone* was dropped as a regularly scheduled program in 1959 (it continued as a series of specials until 1962). More successful were CBS's *Young People's Concerts*, which began airing infrequently in the late 1950s and continued until the early 1970s. Leonard Bernstein hosted the concerts, and each telecast was devoted to a single theme; two such concerts were "The Sound of the Hall" in 1962 and "What Is a Melody" the following year. The CBS *Camera Three* arts series ran Sunday mornings from 1956 to 1979, and NBC's *Bell Telephone Hour* presented music "for all tastes" on a semiregular basis from 1959 to 1968.

Jazz enjoyed greater exposure during the waning years of the 1950s. CBS aired Stan Kenton's *Music '55* as a summer replacement series, and the success of the NBC special *All-Star Jazz* in December 1957 led to a jazz boomlet the following year. NBC ran a 13-part series hosted by Gilbert Seldes, *The Subject Is Jazz*, ABC aired *Stars of Jazz* as a summer replacement, and CBS telecast four hour-long excerpts from Newport Jazz Festival in July 1958. Still, most jazz programming consisted of standards, swing, and Dixieland. One exception was the widely acclaimed *Jazz Scene USA* (1962), produced by Steve Allen and syndicated by New York's WOR-TV. Television shows increasingly featured jazz background music, particularly tough-guy detective and adventure series such as *Peter Gunn* and *Ellery Queen* (NBC), *77 Sunset Strip* (ABC), and *Perry Mason* and *Route 66* (CBS). Although several of these themes charted on the "Billboard Hot-100," much of the music for establishing moods and providing bridges was imported from Europe. However, musicians and producers began to soften their adversarial stances in 1963 following James Petrillo's dethroning as head of the American Federation of Musicians. In October 1963, all network producers (with the inexplicable exception of the *Mr. Ed* production team) agreed to use live music in telefilms.

The early 1960s continued to see a shift away from musical variety shows. By 1961, only Perry Como, Ed Sullivan, Gary Moore, and Dinah Shore remained on network schedules, and both classical and pop music were relegated largely to specials. One notable exception to this rule was *Sing Along with Mitch*, in which viewers were invited to participate by reading lyrics off the screen. Mitch Miller, record company executive and archenemy of rock and roll, hosted the program, which aired on NBC from 1961 to 1964. Country music continued to figure prominently on television throughout the 1960s. Jimmy Dean hosted a weekly variety show on ABC from 1963 to 1966, and by 1963

more than 130 stations carried local or syndicated country music programs. Among the most popular were Porter Wagoner (whose eye-popping sequined suits rivaled any Liberace creation for sartorial excess), the Wilburn Brothers, and the bluegrass team of Flatt and Scruggs. The latter duo had been performing on television since 1953 but broke out nationally through exposure on *The Beverly Hillbillies* and the subsequent success of their single "The Ballad of Jed Clampett." These programs were joined in 1965 by syndicated efforts from Ernest Tubb and Wanda Jackson. In what surely must have been a surreal viewing experience, Richard Nixon performed a piano duet with Arthur "Guitar Boogie" Smith on the latter's Charlotte, North Carolina-based show. By 1970 almost three-quarters of the stations in the United States featured some form of rural music.

The folk music boom of the early 1960s was represented by ABC's *Hootenanny* (1963), the first regularly scheduled folk music program on network television. Featuring well-scrubbed folk music in the style of the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary, the series was embroiled in controversy from the outset when Pete Seeger and the Weavers were banned from the show for refusing to sign a government loyalty oath. *Hootenanny* was dropped from ABC's schedule in the fall of 1964. *American Bandstand* had switched from daily to weekend-only broadcasts a year earlier, part because of fallout from the payola scandal. Dick Clark had come under congressional investigation during the payola hearings in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although Clark was never indicted, ABC insisted that Clark divest himself of music publishing and record distribution interests. Local *Bandstand* imitators were down significantly from their peak in 1958, and the music's lack of presence on television reflected a general malaise in rock and roll.

This changed on February 9, 1964, when the Beatles were featured on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. In what arguably is the most influential musical performance ever presented on television, the Beatles were seen in an estimated 73 million homes. The British Invasion was not universally welcomed, however; when the Rolling Stones appeared on *Hollywood Palace*, host Dean Martin openly disparaged their performance and snarled that they "oughta get haircuts." ABC's *Shindig* premiered in September 1964 with the Rolling Stones, the Byrds and the Kinks, and subsequent programs featured a host of English and American "beat groups" surrounded by a cast of writhing dancers. NBC answered with *Hullabaloo* from January 1965 to August 1966.

Until it folded in January 1966, *Shindig* also helped black such as Sam Cooke cross over to white audi-

ences. In one particularly memorable broadcast, the headlining Rolling Stones paid homage to their influences by sitting at the feet of the great bluesman Howling Wolf as he performed "Little Red Rooster." The extent of the racial crossover in music was indicated by the fact that *Billboard* dropped its rhythm-and-blues chart in 1964. Efforts at integration were slower in other areas, however; the Chicago branch of the AFM remained segregated until January 1966. Television finally caught up with the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s. By 1968 a growing number of black performers were showcased in network programs, such as an NBC special featuring the Supremes and the Four Tops.

Teen dance shows enjoyed a resurgence in 1965. Some of the most notable syndicated efforts were hosted by Lloyd Thaxton, Casey Kasem (*Shebang*, which originated from KTLA in Los Angeles), Sam Riddle (*Hollywood A Go Go*), Gene Weed (*Shivaree*), and Jerry "The Geater with the Heater" Blavat's *The Discophonic Scene*. The ubiquitous Dick Clark also started a weekday teen show, *Where the Action Is*, on ABC. In addition to records and dancing, these shows often featured filmed performances as well as short "concept" musical films triggered by the success of the Beatles' *A Hard Day's Night*. Mainstream pop music remained the province of variety shows and specials throughout the 1960s. Barbra Streisand and Frank Sinatra aired acclaimed specials in the mid-1960s, and ABC presented an adventurous special, *Anatomy of Pop*, in February 1966, which featured artists as varied as Duke Ellington, Bill Monroe, and the Temptations. Another ABC special, 1967's *Songmakers*, followed the creative process from composition to recording with artists such as the songwriting team of Burt Bacharach and Hal David and the Paul Butterfield Blues Band. The big three networks virtually abandoned classical music to the fledgling NET public network by the late 1960s, although CBS aired a special on Igor Stravinsky in 1966.

Perhaps the greatest rock special in television history, the *T.A.M.I. Show*, was produced by Steve Binder (who later produced Elvis's comeback special and *Pee-wee's Playhouse*) for ABC in late 1964. Shot on video and later transferred to film for theatrical release, the *T.A.M.I. Show* featured Chuck Berry, Bo Diddley, the Rolling Stones, the Beach Boys, the Supremes, and an electrifying performance by James Brown. The program also captured an interracial musical mix conspicuously absent from later rock documentaries, such as *Monterey Pop* and *Woodstock*. Other noteworthy rock specials included a 1965 performance by the Beatles at New York's Shea Stadium (aired by ABC in January 1967) and Elvis Presley's legendary comeback perfor-

mance on NBC in December 1968. The globalization of television was marked by the June 25, 1967, live telecast of *Our World*. Transmitted by satellite to 34 countries and aired in the United States on NET, the program included a performance by classical pianist Van Cliburn and climaxed with the Beatles warbling "All You Need Is Love."

Television also entered the kid-vid rock market when Beatle cartoons premiered on ABC in September 1965. The most successful cartoon group were the Archies (an assemblage of anonymous studio musicians), who scored a massive hit with "Sugar Sugar" in 1969 and cloned a dozen copies in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as Josie and the Pussycats, the Bugaloos, the Groovie Goolies (described by critic Lester Bangs as "Munsters dipped in monosodium glutamate"), the Cattanooga Cats, and the Banana Splits. Equally contrived, though in human form, were the Monkees. Former Brill Building pop impresario Don Kirshner recruited four actors to star in a series modeled on "A Hard Day's Night," and *The Monkees* premiered on NBC in September 1966. The "band" racked up several hits of carefully groomed material but shocked their followers in Teenland the following year when they admitted they did not play their own instruments. The series was canceled in 1968. ABC's *The Music Scene* ran for 17 episodes beginning in October 1969 and featured comic sketches interspersed with performances by artists ranging from James Brown to Buck Owens.

The Smothers Brothers also presented some of the more daring "underground" acts of the late 1960s. (The Who's Peter Townshend was nearly deafened by an exploding drum set during one memorable appearance, and the Jefferson Airplane's Grace Slick made a controversial appearance in black face.) Other variety shows hosted by Ed Sullivan and Jonathan Winters presented a variety of alternative acts, each more hirsute and glowering than its predecessors. Sullivan did draw the line at lyrics, however. In a 1967 appearance, with much on-screen eye rolling from Mick Jagger, the Rolling Stones changed the lyrics of their latest hit to "Let's Spend Some Time Together." Other performers were less accommodating. After surveying the set before taping an appearance on *The Tom Jones Show*, Janis Joplin stormed offstage, complaining, "My public don't want to see me in front of no fucking plastic rain drops." Late-night talk shows such as *The Tonight Show* and *The Dick Cavett Show* also featured some rock stars (Joplin was a particular favorite on the latter). The syndicated *Playboy After Dark* also presented a variety of "alternative" artists; in a 1969 taping, the Grateful Dead dosed the unwitting production staff with LSD. Despite (and, in part, because of) the in-

creasingly outré nature of rock music acts on television, country music's video popularity continued unabated in the late 1960s. Johnny Cash was featured in an ABC summer replacement program in 1969, and his guests included the reclusive Bob Dylan. A more enduring success was CBS's *Hee Haw*, which presented a hick version of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* beginning in June 1969. After CBS cleaned its house of "older-oriented" shows, the program continued in syndication until the late 1980s.

The 1970s began with the New Seekers foreshadowing the increasing melding of music, television, advertising, and the global imaginaries of Live Aid and Music Television (MTV) with "I'd Like to Teach the World to Sing." The song was a worldwide hit after airing as a Coca-Cola commercial. Looking backward, ABC introduced *The Partridge Family* with veteran stage and Hollywood musical star Shirley Jones and her son David Cassidy. The half-hour comedy grafted the wacky *Monkees* formula onto the story of the real-life Cowsills to successfully target the teen market. Jones played the single mom of a large musical family with a lovable but inept manager placed in various quirky situations. Musical numbers were performed in rehearsal and in a wrap-up concert setting as the denouement of each episode. The series launched Cassidy, the oldest of the Partridge progeny, as a teen idol. The most traditional outlet for music on the networks in the early 1970s was a host of variety shows: *The Johnny Cash Show*, *Glen Campbell's Goodtime Hour*, *This Is Tom Jones*, and *The Carol Burnett Show* featured musical guests lip-synching to their latest hits and sometimes engaging in banal patter with the host. However, reflecting the increasing dominance of market segmentation, ratings for most musical variety shows were plummeting by the mid-1970s. Even so,



*The Music Scene*, James Brown, 1969–70.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*The Johnny Cash Show*, Johnny Cash, 1969–71.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

pop duo Captain and Tennille and the Jacksons both entered the variety market in 1976 with their own network shows.

While lip synching remained a common practice, the influence of rock's ideology of authenticity made the presentation of live music more important, and the success of theatrical films of musical events increased the demand for "live" rock shows. In 1973 three network shows featuring live music were introduced. NBC's *Midnight Special* presented 90 minutes of a live concert recorded on a studio soundstage. The show tended to favor more mainstream commercial artists, David Bowie, Marianne Faithfull, and Van Morrison being the limit of its adventurousness. *Midnight Special* was hosted by veteran DJ Wolfman Jack and by Helen Reddy from 1975 to 1977. ABC's *In Concert* combined old film clips by such groups as the Rolling Stones, with footage from concert venues. Produced by Don Kirshner and then taken over by executive producer Dick Clark, the show simulated the bill at the Fillmore Auditorium at which three bands each played a short live. Many of these concerts were shot at the Academy of Music in New York. Kirshner also presented the syndicated *Don Kirshner's Rock Concert*. Again, this featured clips of concert halls around the country interspersed with promotional clips. White rock acts dominated the program.

In a different musical vein, the *Great Performances* series debuted on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1974. Produced at WNET in New York, this paved the way for the broadcast of classical music concerts and opera on the Bravo cable network since 1980. Country music found a live showcase in *Austin City Limits*, first broadcast through Austin's PBS station KLRN TV in 1976. The show reflected a return to the roots of country music, away from the saccharine Nashville sound of the period. In its earlier days, musical acts such as the Outlaws—Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, and Kris Kristofferson—performed on a stage in front of a small and intimate studio audience. The format remains essentially the same today. Live music has also had a highly visible spot on NBC's *Saturday Night Live* since 1975. A guest star performed one or two live numbers between the program's many skits, and musical choices were often a little more left field than was customary on the networks. On one particular occasion in 1977, Elvis Costello and the Attractions, who had replaced the Sex Pistols at the last minute, launched into their antifascist classic "Less than Zero," then abruptly stopped. Elvis told the band that he had changed his mind, and they then tore into "Radio Radio," running over time and giving producer Lorne Michaels a few nervous palpitations (shades of Jimi Hendrix's legendary appearance on Lulu's British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] variety show nine years earlier). Sinéad O'Connor's appearance on the show in 1994, when she ripped up a photograph of Pope John Paul II after a rendition of Bob Marley's "War," had a similar effect in this prime television showcase for musicians.

Black musical acts found a space for lip-synched performances of soul, funk, and disco hits on *Soul Train*. The creation of Don Cornelius, the show was started in Chicago in 1970 but moved to Hollywood and national syndication in 1971. *Soul Train* featured performers such as Ike and Tina Turner and Al Green, but the real stars were the creative and innovative dancers, who were mainly African-American teens. In many ways, *Soul Train* was a return to the old formula of the teen dance show, except for one major difference: it was black. The show was vital in the popularization of funk and disco music. By 1975 the disco boom was well established, and everyone was trying to get on the bandwagon. Syndicated shows such as *Disco America*, *Disco Mania*, and *Disco 76* came and went as fast as the latest disco hit. Even James Brown deserted funk for disco with the short-lived syndicated program *Future Shock*. Some journalists and critics feared the end of that discotheque culture was killing live music. But if anything, the real challenge to live performance on television came from music video.



The late 1970s and 1980s saw the video boom that has changed the face of music on television. By 1975 many artists had made promotional film clips for their single releases. Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody," Rod Stewart's "Hot Legs," and several promotional clips by Swedish quartet Abba had helped their songs become hits in the Euro-American market. In 1975 Manhattan cable TV began showing video clips on a program titled *Nightclubbing*. Rock performers were experimenting with the visual form. New Wave group Devo released *The Men Who Make the Music* in 1979. This anthology was the first long-form video released in the United States. By 1979 *America's Top Ten* played video clips. The Boomtown Rats' "I Don't Like Mondays" was one of the first to make a mark, remembered for the accompanying visuals as much as for its sound recording. The more traditional chart show, *Solid Gold*, debuted in syndication in 1980 and combined a professional cast of dancers with lip-synched performances by various chart-topping pop artists.

The rise of music video is inextricably tied to the ascent of cable television. In 1980 the USA network debuted *Night Flight*, which ran both videos and old movies. The emphasis was on New Wave videos since at this time these artists were more innovative with the nascent form. Another cable network, Home Box Office (HBO), began simulcasting rock concerts, while Showtime and the Playboy channel allotted some time for music videos. Also in 1980, ex-Monkee and Liquid Paper tycoon Mike Nesmith's Pacific Arts Company packaged clips into a half-hour show called *Popclips*, which was sold to Warner Cable and shown on Nickelodeon. The Nashville Network (TNN) and Country Music Television Network, from 1983, also aired music videos. The former maintained some shows that fit the variety format of older country programming.

But during the 1980s and 1990s, the musical stage on television was defined by MTV. Owned by Warner-Amex, MTV began broadcasting in August 1981, prophetically with the Buggles hit, "Video Killed the Radio Star." Robert Pittman, vice president of programming, remarked, "We're now seeing the TV become a component of the stereo system. It's ridiculous to think that you have two forms of entertainment—your stereo and your TV—which have nothing to do with one another. What we're doing is marrying those two forms so that they can work together in unison. We're the first channel on cable to pioneer this." MTV provided a 24-hour service of videos introduced by quirky "veejays." It was a kind of radio for the eyes, mixing different kinds of musical genres in a continuous flow. Many of the early videos were by British "new pop" groups, such as Duran Duran, ABC, Culture Club, and the Human League, who formed what

critics called the "second British invasion;" these performers already had videos ready to air, unlike many U.S. bands, which accounted for MTV's early Anglophilia. By 1982 record companies confidently claimed that MTV increased sales of their top artists by 20 percent.

As MTV became available through cable providers through the country, the music it aired also changed, and programming began to reflect the tastes of a largely white national audience demographic. Heavy metal became the dominant music on the channel. Other cable networks incorporated some of the same strategies as MTV. In June 1983, NBC debuted *Friday Night Videos* in the old *Midnight Special* slot. WTBS began broadcasting the similar *Night Tracks* in June 1983, and Ted Turner launched the ultimately unsuccessful Cable Music Channel in 1984. MTV weathered an antitrust suit from the competing Discovery Network. In 1984 it signed exclusive deals with six major record labels for the broadcast of their artists' videos.

The first American Video Awards took place in 1984, testifying to the emergence of a new cultural form. Meanwhile, more traditional musical fare was on offer in NBC's *Fame*, which began in 1982 and was based on Alan Parker's 1980 film. The program was set in a school of performing arts in New York, with a multiracial cast of talented musicians and dancers who would energetically perform numbers in rehearsal, in class, and at school concerts. The show celebrated traditional showbiz values in a familiar format. It was essentially *The Partridge Family* with angst, Shirley Jones replaced by choreographer and teacher Debbie Allen as guiding hand and maternal motivator.

MTV's impact on network television and the place of music in television could be more directly seen in the NBC police/crime series *Miami Vice* (1984–87), which



Olivia Newton-John, "Let's Get Physical" video, circa 1981–82.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection



had the working title of *MTV Cops*. The show's creator, Michael Mann, later claimed that "the intention of *Miami Vice* was to achieve the organic interaction of music and content." Sometimes an entire episode would be written around a song, such as Glen Frey's "Smuggler's Blues." Frey and other rock musicians would often make cameo appearances as characters in the show. Record companies were obliging with copyrighted material after the success of the pilot and its use of Phil Collins's hit "In the Air Tonight" as the detective partnership of Crockett and Tubbs drove to a climactic shoot-out through the rain-sodden Miami streets.

The visual style of the show owed a great deal to MTV. Film and television narratives incorporated music with the camera angles, lighting, rapid cutting, and polished production values of music videos. Television advertising also became increasingly sensitive to music video aesthetics. In 1984 Michael Jackson appeared in a Pepsi-Cola commercial shot like a music video for one of his songs. Madonna's brief—and eventually banned—Pepsi commercial in 1989 used her song "Like a Prayer."

In the mid- and late 1980s, MTV became less idiosyncratic in its juxtapositions of different kinds of music, moving toward block programming and the development of shows that fit certain musical genres. MTV's programming began to look more like a traditional television schedule. In January 1985, parent company Warner-Amex introduced Video Hits 1 (VH1), whose programming aimed for the pocketbook of older baby boomers. VH1 began with a video of Marvin Gaye singing that old chestnut, "The Star Spangled Banner." In 1986 MTV also indicated its move toward a more traditional television strategy as it began showing old episodes of *The Monkees*.

These developments reflected the segmentation of marketing and targeting of very specific groups of consumers through different channels and shows. This also coincided with Warner-Amex selling its controlling interest in MTV Networks to Viacom International in August 1985. The change in leadership initially brought a more conservative music policy. With criticism of the representation of sex and violence in music videos, there was a brief move away from heavy metal as the central genre. However, the strength of metal in middle America led to its return shortly thereafter.

The biggest triumph of the mid-1980s for MTV and for the music industry in general was the broadcast of the Live Aid concerts in Philadelphia and London in July 1985. The event, designed to raise money for Ethiopian famine relief, proved popular music's sociopolitical value and, like the Beatles' worldwide broadcast of "All You Need Is Love," projected a

global imaginary (and market) for popular music culture. In 1987 MTV started MTV-Europe, and the network's rapid movement into further areas of global market continued apace. Live Aid was followed by the 1988 worldwide transmission of an antiapartheid concert in London to celebrate the birthday of Nelson Mandela. However, in the United States, this mammoth rock spectacle did not meet the success of Live Aid, with charges that FOX had delayed the broadcast signal and censored "political" comments made during the event.

Since the early 1980s, critics charged MTV with racism because of its dearth of black music videos. In its early days, the network featured African-American VJ J.J. Johnson and later black British VJ "Downtown" Julie Brown. However, apart from some big names, such as Michael Jackson and Prince, few black acts were found on the video playlist. This changed somewhat in 1989 with the introduction of *Yo! MTV Raps*, a show hosted by hip-hop pioneer Fab Five Freddy. *Yo! MTV Raps* joined other specialist music programs, such as *Headbanger's Ball* (heavy metal) and *120 Minutes* ("alternative" rock), on the network's schedule. Also in 1989, MTV introduced *Remote Control*, a game show that tested viewers' knowledge of television trivia. In the 1990s, the breadth of shows on the network reveals that MTV is now concerned more with the integrated elements of contemporary youth popular culture presented in a more traditional television format than with music videos per se. A fashion show (*House of Style*), a *vérité*-style documentary cum soap opera (and harbinger of "reality TV") (*The Real World*), and even a dating game were staples of the network's programming. The *Choose or Lose* and *Rock the Vote* programs contributed to higher voter registration among young citizens during the 1992



Courtesy of the Everett Collection



Luciano Pavarotti in *The Three Tenors*.  
Kraig Geiger/ Everett Collection

presidential election campaign. In all these television formats, music is important as an extra level of commentary (often ironic) on the visual and documentary/news material.

With the exception of *Total Request Live*, music videos are now largely relegated to MTV2 (which is carried by far fewer cable systems), while MTV continues to focus on “reality” series such as *The Osbournes* and game shows. MTV’s sister channel, VH1, continues to feature videos, but when its ratings began to founder, VH1 began airing leering “specials,” such as one focusing on pornography in rock music, as well as *Behind the Music*, which presented lurid tales of rock star excess in a suitably tabloid fashion. A more family-friendly approach to music was featured in a resurgence of amateur shows such as *American Idol*, whose contestants provided fodder for the star-making machinery as they sought to outdo each other with melismatic vocal contortions.

Though it looks increasingly like other television stations in its programming structure, MTV gives everything from fashion to politics to family crises a musical bent. In this respect, it has “musicalized” television to an unforeseeable extent. Its stylistic repercussions can be found in everything from news programming and station promos to religious broadcasting and drama series, such as *Ally McBeal*. MTV also blurred the distinction between music, programming, and advertising. Alongside such regional and transnational music television networks such as Channel [V], in the 1990s MTV has helped to develop “youth” markets in Europe, Latin America, and Asia for goods other than music. Arguments continue to rage as to whether such globalization under the wing of music television results in Americanization or “globalization.”

With media industries increasingly integrated through technology and business strategies, television music provides cross-marketing opportunities for a variety of sectors. This “convergence” has had aesthetic as well as industrial consequences. Video games are now an important part of music marketing, and feature film directors often gain their training in music video. The sounds of certain music genres, such as hip-hop and techno, incorporate a channel-surfing television aesthetic as they cite and directly sample television texts in a variety of ways. Television arguably now shapes popular music culture as much as the sound recordings themselves.

TOM MCCOURT AND NABEEL ZUBERI

*See also American Bandstand; Clark, Dick; Country Music Television; MTV; MuchMusic; Soul Train*

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# Must-Carry Rules

## U.S. Cable Regulation

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Must-carry rules, which mandate that cable companies carry various local and public television stations within a cable provider's service area, have a long and dramatic history since their inception in 1972. Designed originally to ensure that local television stations did not lose market share with increased competition from cable networks competing for a limited number of cable channels, must-carry rules have, over time, been ruled unconstitutional and gone through numerous changes.

When first passed in 1972, the must-carry rules required that cable companies provide channels for all local broadcasters within a 60-mile (later changed to 50-mile) radius of the cable company's service area. In the mid-1980s, various cable companies, including superstation WTBS owner Turner Broadcasting, brought suit against the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), claiming that the rules were unconstitutional. In 1985 and 1987, the U.S. Court of Appeals found that must-carry rules did, indeed, violate the First Amendment. From then until 1992, stations were only required to carry public television signals and provide subscribers with an option for an A/B switch to allow access to local broadcast signals. This change bode particularly ill for small UHF (ultrahigh frequency) stations, whose cable carriers could replace them with stronger, more desirable superstations.

The 1992 Communications Act, while still requiring carriage of local commercial and public stations, allowed cable companies to drop redundant carriage of

signals, where stations within the service area duplicated programming (e.g., two stations within a 50-mile radius carrying the same network or two college public broadcasting stations both carrying the Public Broadcasting Service [PBS]). More confusion resulted when, in October 1994, the FCC gave stations a choice of being carried under the must-carry rules or under a new regulation requiring cable companies to obtain retransmission consent before carrying a broadcast signal. The retransmission consent ruling gave desirable local stations increased power to negotiate the terms of carriage the cable company would provide, including channel preference.

Must-carry rules were still in effect on passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act—and still being challenged by cable companies. None of the must-carry rules affects cable retransmission of FM radio signals.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

*See also* **Cable Television: United States; Distant Signal; Federal Communications Commission**

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# My Little Margie

## U.S. Situation Comedy

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The wacky women who dominated 1950s television comedy did not begin with Lucille Ball (Gracie Allen and Imogene Coca pre-dated her TV debut), but the phenomenal success of Ball in *I Love Lucy* surely in-

spired a grand assortment of imitations on the small screen. Soon after Lucy's TV debut, such programs as *I Married Joan* with Joan Davis, *Life with Elizabeth* with Betty White, and *My Friend Irma* with Marie



*My Little Margie*, Charles Farrell, Gale Storm, 1952–55.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Wilson premiered, all centered around the doings of various “wacky wives” with staid, even dull, husbands. Drawing on similar conventions was one of the most successful sitcoms of the 1950s, *My Little Margie*.

*My Little Margie* presented 21-year-old Margie Albright, who lived with her widowed father, Vernon, in a New York City penthouse. Mr. Albright worked as an executive for the investment counseling firm Honeywell and Todd and was perpetually in fear of losing “the big account” because of Margie’s meddling. Rounding out the cast were Freddie, Margie’s “boyfriend”; elderly neighbor Mrs. Odetts; Roberta Townsend, Vern’s lady friend; George Honeywell, president of Honeywell and Todd; and Charlie, the black elevator operator (depicted as a sad African-American stereotype, typical of TV at that time).

The program starred Gale Storm (31 years old when she began in the role), a former film actress noted for her roles in westerns playing opposite Roy Rogers. Vernon was played by Charles Farrell, formerly a highly successful leading man in silent films. The program premiered in 1952 as a last-minute summer replacement for *I Love Lucy*, but it proved to be so

popular, landing consistently in the top five, that it was renewed for fall and ran for three seasons.

The title *My Little Margie* can certainly be taken in such a way as to be demeaning to women: “my” indicating the possession of someone as if she were a thing, and “little,” a somewhat inaccurate and condescending term for a 21-year-old woman. Nevertheless, it has been noted that the premise of *My Little Margie* was in other ways rather progressive. First, Margie was a single woman at a time when most women on television were conventionally married. Second, the Albrights were slightly different from the “normal” nuclear families then being depicted on TV. The widowed father and his daughter were frequently involved in stories designed around the two taking on and exploring roles not their own, duties and responsibilities that conventionally would have been handled by the now absent mother. Additionally, Margie, though “of marrying age,” was seldom depicted as eager to walk down the aisle. Although she had a steady boyfriend in neighbor Freddie Wilson, few sparks ever flew between them. Margie was always too busy for her own romance, usually preoccupied with launching schemes to keep gold diggers away from her single dad. Margie’s self-chosen single status and irrepressible individuality made her, in some respects, one of TV’s prefeminist feminists. Week after week, despite what her father and other men around her wanted or expected her to do, Margie did her own thing, engaging in outrageous acts and everyday rebellions, as Gloria Steinem would later refer to them.

Yet despite the presence of such advanced notions, in practice *Margie* rarely chose to develop them. Produced by the Hal Roach Studios, the series had access to all the studio’s haunted-house sets and breakaway props and frequently fell back on the Roach’s stock and trade—slapstick. The program got most of its mileage from Storm’s enchanting charm, her wardrobe (provided by Junior House of Milwaukee, almost always with a fetching, matching hat), and her frequently performed trademark “Margie gurgle,” a rolling of the throat it seemed only Storm could produce.

*My Little Margie* had absolutely no critical support. From its premier, every newspaper dismissed the show as silly. Yet it had enough fan devotion to secure a highly rated run, making it one of the first shows to survive on audience support alone. Moreover, it was the only television program to reverse the usual media history and make the jump from the small screen to the audio airwaves; an original radio version (also starring Storm and Farrell) aired for two years. The TV series’ popularity is also attested to by the fact that *Margie* was one of the most widely syndicated programs of the

1950s and 1960s. It even proved popular enough to air on Saturday mornings, perhaps acquainting a new and loyal audience of children with Margie's near-cartoonish antics.

CARY O'DELL

#### Cast

Margie Albright	Gale Storm
Vernon Albright	Charles Farrell
Roberta Townsend	Hillary Brooke
Freddie Wilson	Don Hayden
George Honeywell	Clarence Kolb
Mrs. Odetts	Gertrude Hoffman
Charlie	Willie Best

#### Producer

Hal Roach, Jr.

#### Programming History

126 episodes

CBS

June 1952–September 1952

Monday 9:00–9:30

January 1953–July 1953

Thursday 10:00–  
10:30

NBC

October 1952–November 1952

Saturday 7:30–8:00

September 1953–August 1955

Wednesday  
8:30–9:00

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## My Three Sons

U.S. Domestic Comedy

Created by Don Fedderson and *Leave It to Beaver* alumnus George Tibbles, *My Three Sons* was one of television's longest-running and most influential domestic comedies. The program was conceived originally as a television vehicle for Fred MacMurray (who owned 50 percent of the program) when Fedderson was approached by Chevrolet to develop a program that was "representative of America." During its 12-year run, the program averaged a respectable but not spectacular 22.2 rating and a 35 percent share and underwent enormous narrative and character changes. The show is most significant for its development of a star-friendly shooting schedule and for its redefinition of the composition of the television family.

Before he agreed to his contract, Fred MacMurray queried veteran television performer Robert Young about Young's workload. On Young's complaint about television's time-consuming schedule, MacMurray insisted on a unique shooting plan that was to be copied by other top actors and christened "the MacMurray method." This so-called writer's nightmare stipulated that all of MacMurray's scenes were to be shot in 65 nonconsecutive days. All other actors had to complete their fill-in shots while MacMurray was on vacation. Practically speaking, this meant that the series had to

stockpile at least half a season's scripts before the season ever began so that MacMurray's role could be shot during his limited workdays. The repercussions of this schedule were enormous. Guest stars often had to return nine months later to finish filming an episode, MacMurray's costars had their hair cut weekly so as to avoid any continuity discrepancies (MacMurray wore a toupee), and any unforeseen event (a sudden growth spurt or a guest star's death) could cause catastrophe. Oftentimes, the producers were forced to film MacMurray in scriptless episodes and then construct a script around his very generalized monologues. Frequently, to avoid complication, the writers simply placed his character "out of town," so that there are an inordinate number of episodes in which Steve Douglas communicates to his family only by telephone. Despite the hardship on writers, directors, and costars, the MacMurray method was adapted by a number of film stars (such as Jimmy Stewart and Henry Fonda) as a conditional requirement for their work in a television series.

The program's narrative concept has proven equally influential. Until 1960, most family comedies were centered on strictly nuclear groupings—mom, dad, and biological children. While an occasional program

My Three Sons



*My Three Sons.* William Frawley, Fred MacMurray, Tim Considine, Don Grady, Stanley Livingston, 1960-72.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

such as *Bachelor Father* or *The Bob Cummings Show* might focus on the comedic exploits of an unmarried adult raising a niece or nephew, most programs, from *I Love Lucy* to *Father Knows Best*, depicted the humorous tribulations of two-parent households and their biological offspring.

*My Three Sons* initiated what was to become a popular trend in television—that of the widowed parent raising a family. While initial director Peter Tewksbury called the premise a truly depressing one, producers Tibbles and Fedderson chose to ignore the potential for pathos and flung themselves wholeheartedly into the comedic consequences of a male-only household. Ironically (some might even say with more than a touch of misogyny), the bulk of the program's first five years did not focus on the stereotypical male ineptitude for all household chores but instead continually reinforced the notion that males were, in fact, far domestically superior to the "hysterical" female guest stars.

During the course of its 12-year run, *My Three Sons* functioned, in essence, as three successive programs with different casts, writers, and directors. For its first five seasons, the program was shot in black and white and aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). These episodes focus on Steve Douglas (MacMurray), aerospace consultant, who, along with his father-in-law, Bub O'Casey (William Frawley), has struggled to raise Steve's three motherless sons: 18-year-old Mike, 14-year-old Robbie, and seven-year-old Chip. The show was directed and produced by *Father Knows Best* alumnus Peter Tewksbury. The first year of the program is by far the series' darkest, dealing explicitly with how a family survives and even thrives in the event of maternal loss. In its second season, George Tibbles took over, moving the program more toward situation comedy and inserting multiple slapstick-type episodes into the mix. From the third season onward, Ed Hartmann's role as producer redirected the program yet again, this time to a heavily moralistic but lighthearted look at generational and gender conflicts. In addition, Hartmann's long-standing friendship with members of the Asian community contributed to an unusual number of episodes dealing with the Chinese and Japanese friends of the Douglas family, granting television visibility and respect to a previously neglected minority group.

When ABC refused to finance the series' switch to color production, the program moved to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), losing two cast members in an unrelated series of events. First, in the midst of the 1964–65 season, terminally ill William Frawley's \$300,000 insurance policy was canceled, and Don Fedderson was forced to replace the character of Bub O'Casey with Uncle Charley, a role played by William

Demarest for the program's remaining seven years. Next, an argument with Don Fedderson over Tim Considine's desire to direct resulted in the actor's departure from the program. As eldest son Mike was written out of the series with a fictionalized "move to California," the producers chose a new third son, Ernie, as a replacement. With no regard for narrative plausibility, the producers created a three-part episode in which Chip's best friend Ernie loses his parents in a car crash, suddenly becomes two years younger, and is adopted by Steve as the youngest member of the Douglas family.

Two years later, the program experienced its third incarnation when the Douglas family moved from the fictional Bryant Park to southern California. Here, Robbie was to romance and wed Katie, and Steve was to end his long-term widowhood by marrying Barbara and adopting her small daughter. For the program's remaining years, the narrative focused on blended families, Chip's romantic escapades and eventual elopement, and Robbie's triplets, where the premise of three sons promised to continue indefinitely.

The series' influence was demonstrated by the quick succession of single-parent households that were to dominate television's comedy schedule for the next decade. *Family Affair*, *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, *Flipper*, and *Nanny and the Professor* all featured eligible bachelors burdened with raising their own (or a relative's offspring) with the help of an adept elderly man or desirable young woman. All these series worked to erase the necessity of the maternal, as the family operated in an emotionally secure and supremely healthy environment without benefit of the long since dead mother. While there were occasional widow-with-children programs (*The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* and *Julia*), these women were not granted the same versatility of their male counterparts and were forced to turn to strong male figures (dead ship captains and doctors, respectively) for continual guidance.

While the 1980s witnessed a regeneration of television's nuclear family, the legacy of *My Three Sons* dominated, and for every *Cosby* there was a *Full House*, *My Two Dads*, or *Brothers*. By the 1990s, one would be hard pressed to find any family show that was not about a single-parent family, a family with adopted children, or a blended arrangement of two distinct families—all configurations that owe their genesis in some way to *My Three Sons*.

NINA C. LEIBMAN

#### See also Family on Television

#### Cast

Steve Douglas  
Mike Douglas (1960–65)

Fred MacMurray  
Tim Considine

## My Three Sons

Robbie Douglas (1960–71)  
Chip Douglas

Michael Francis  
"Bub" O'Casey (1960–65)  
Uncle Charley O'Casey  
(1965–72)

Jean Pearson (1960–61)  
Mr. Henry Pearson (1960–61)  
Mrs. Florence Pearson (1960–61)

Hank Ferguson (1961–63)  
Sudsy Pfeiffer (1961–63)  
Mrs. Pfeiffer (1961–63)  
Mr. Pfeiffer (1961–63)  
Sally Ann Morrison Douglas  
(1963–65)

Ernie Thompson Douglas  
(1963–72)  
Katie Miller Douglas (1967–72)  
Dave Welch (1965–67)  
Dodie Harper Douglas (1969–72)  
Barbara Harper Douglas  
(1969–72)  
Steve Douglas, Jr. (1970–72)  
Charley Douglas (1970–72)  
Robbie Douglas II (1970–72)  
Fergus McBain Douglas  
(1971–72)  
Terri Dowling (1971–72)  
Polly Williams Douglas  
(1970–72)

Don Grady  
Stanley  
Livingston

William Frawley

William  
Demarest  
Cynthia Pepper  
Robert P. Lieb  
Florence  
MacMichael  
Peter Brooks  
Ricky Allen  
Olive Dunbar  
Olan Soule

Meredith  
MacRae

Barry Livingston  
Tina Cole  
John Howard  
Dawn Lyn

Beverly Garland  
Joseph Todd  
Michael Todd  
Daniel Todd

Fred MacMurray  
Anne Francis

Ronne Troup

## Producers

Don Fedderson, Edmund Hartmann, Fred Henry,  
George Tibbles

## Programming History

369 episodes  
ABC

September 1960–September 1963 Thursday  
9:00–9:30

September 1963–September 1965 Thursday  
8:30–9:00

CBS  
September 1965–August 1967 Thursday  
8:30–9:00

September 1967–September 1971 Saturday  
8:30–9:00

September 1971–December 1971 Monday  
10:00–10:30

January 1972–August 1972 Thursday  
8:30–9:00

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## Naked City

U.S. Police Drama

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*Naked City*, which had two incarnations between 1958 and 1963, was one of American television's most innovative police shows, and one of its most important and influential drama series. More character anthology than police procedural, the series blended the urban *policier* a la *Dragnet* with the urban pathos of the *Studio One* school of television drama, offering a mix of action-adventure and Actors' Studio, car chases and character studies, shoot-outs and sociology, all filmed with arresting starkness on the streets of New York.

The series was inspired by the 1948 "semidocumentary" feature *The Naked City* (which borrowed its title from the photographic collection by urban documentarist/crime photographer Weegee). Independent producer Herbert Leonard (*The Adventures of Rin-Tin-Tin*, *Tales of the 77th Bengal Lancers*, *Circus Boy*) developed the idea as a half-hour series for Screen Gems, hiring writer Stirling Silliphant for the pilot script. Leonard outlined his plan for the series to *Variety* in 1958 as an attempt to tell anthology-style stories within the framework of a continuing-character show. It was to be "a human interest series about New York," the producer declared, "told through the eyes of two law enforcement officers." Leonard's agenda for the series' setting was equally unique: it would be shot completely on location in New York, duplicating the trendsetting realism of its feature-film progenitor. This was an ambitious, if not radical, move at that moment in television history, for although New York still re-

tained a significant presence as the site of variety shows, a few live anthologies, and the quiz programs, no other telefilm dramas were being produced there at the time.

*Naked City's* first season on ABC presented 39 taut, noirish half-hours (31 scripted by Silliphant) that mixed character drama, suspense, and action. The characters for the series' two regular detectives were carried over from the feature film: Lt. Dan Muldoon (John McIntire), the seasoned veteran, and his idealistic young subordinate, Detective Jim Halloran (James Franciscus). When creative differences arose between McIntire and Leonard at midseason, Muldoon was written out of the series via a fiery car crash and replaced as the 65th Precinct's father-figure by crusty Lt. Mike Parker (Horace MacMahon). The show's signature was its narrator, who introduced each episode with the assurance that the series was not filmed in a studio, but "in the streets and buildings of New York itself," and returned 30 minutes later to intone the series' famous tag-line (also borrowed from the feature): "There are 8 million stories in the Naked City. This has been one of them."

Despite an Emmy nomination for Best Drama, *Naked City's* downbeat dramatics did not generate adequate ratings, and it was canceled. Unlike other failed shows, however, *Naked City* was not forgotten. In the fall of 1959, one of the show's former sponsors urged producer Leonard to mount *Naked City* for the follow-



*Naked City*, Horace McMahon, Paul Burke, Harry Bellaver, 1958–63.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

ing season in hour-long form. The sponsor's interest led ABC to finance the pilot, and in fall 1960 Leonard was at the helm of two hour-long prime-time drama series (the other being *Route 66* at CBS).

New York itself remained the show's most distinctive star, and extensive location shooting remained its trademark. Horace MacMahon returned as Lt. Parker, but with a different compassionate young colleague, Detective Adam Flint (Paul Burke), who was partnered with good-natured Sgt. Frank Arcaro (Harry Bellaver) and engaged to aspiring actress Libby Kingston (Nancy Malone). Silliphant wrote the pilot and stayed on as executive story consultant, but he wrote fewer scripts due to his heavy involvement with *Route 66*. Leonard brought in anthology veteran Howard Rodman as story editor and frequent scriptwriter and was able to attract other writers with a penchant for social drama, including anthology alumni such as Ernest Kinoy and Mel Goldberg, Hollywood blacklistees such as Arnold Manoff (writing as "Joel Carpenter"), Ben Maddow, and Abram Ginnes—and such budding TV auteurs as Gene Roddenberry.

With a company of serious writers and more time for story and character development, *Naked City's* anthology flavor became even more pronounced. Stories became more character-driven, with a more central focus on transient characters (that is, "guest stars"), and more extended psychological exploration. This dimension of the show was informed by a distinctive roster

of guest stars, from well-known Hollywood performers such as Claude Rains and Lee J. Cobb, and character players like Eli Wallach, Maureen Stapleton, and Walter Matthau, to such up-and-coming talents as Dihann Carroll and Dustin Hoffman. A 1962 *Time* profile called the series' array of stars "the best evidence that *Naked City* is not just another cop show." Its stories provided even stronger evidence. *Naked City's* structure placed less emphasis on investigation and police work than did police-procedurals in the *Dragnet* mold—and less emphasis on the detectives themselves. As Todd Gitlin has put it, on *Naked City* "the regular cops faded into the background while the foreground belonged to each week's new character in the grip of the city."

With its stories generally emphasizing the points-of-view of the criminals, victims, or persons-in-crisis, *Naked City* exhibited a more complicated and ambiguous vision of morality and justice than traditional *policiers*, where good and bad were clear-cut. Most of the characters encountered by Flint and Arcaro were simply people with problems, who stumbled up against the law by accident or ill fortune; when the occasional hit man, bank robber, or jewel thief was encountered, they too were humanized, their motives and psyches probed. However, sociopaths and career crooks were far outnumbered by more mundane denizens of the naked city, thrust into crisis by circumstance: an innocent ex-con accused of murder; a disfigured youth living in the shadows of the tenements; a Puerto Rican immigrant worn down by poverty and unemployment; a lonely city bureaucrat overcome by suicidal despair; a junior executive who kills over a parking space; a sightless boy on an odyssey through the streets of Manhattan. Eight million stories—or at least 138 as dramatized in this series—rooted in the sociology and psychology of human pain.

*Naked City* revised the traditional cop-show commitment to crime and punishment. Unlike their prime-time counterparts Joe Friday and Eliot Ness, Detectives Flint and Arcaro did not toil in the grim pursuit of "facts" with which to solve cases and incarcerate criminals. Rather, they pondered human puzzles, bore witness to suffering, and meditated on the absurdities of urban existence. With compassion more typical of TV doctors than TV detectives, they brought justice to the innocent, helped lost souls fit back into society, and agonized over broken lives they could not fix. Indeed, as critic David Boroff put it in an essay on "TV's Problem Play," the detectives of *Naked City* were "as much social workers as cops."

Whereas every episode of *Dragnet* ended with the record of a trial (and usually a conviction), *Naked City* was seldom able to resolve its stories quite so easily.

The series offered narrative closure, but no easy answers; it did not pretend to solve social problems, nor did it mute, defuse, or mask them. Although some episodes ended with guarded hope, straightforward happy endings were rare; resolutions were just as likely to be framed in melancholy bemusement or utter despair. *Naked City's* "solution" was to admit that there are no solutions—at least none that could be articulated in the context of its own dramatic agenda. "One of its strengths," wrote Boroff in 1966, "was that it said nothing which is neatly paraphraseable. It was, in truth, Chekhovian in its rueful gaze at people in the clutch of disaster. *Naked City* was, in essence, a compassionate—not a savage—eye. 'This I have seen,' it said."

*Naked City* was one of ABC's most prestigious shows during the early 1960s, nominated for the "Outstanding Achievement in Drama" Emmy award every season it was on the air, and winning several Emmys for editing and cinematography. The series was canceled at the end of the 1962–63 season, but its influence was already clear. In its day, it paved the way for the serious, urban dramas that followed, such as *The Defenders*, and *East Side, West Side*, and it sparked a modest renaissance in New York telefilm production in the early 1960s. At a larger level, it experimented with the formal definition of the series, demonstrated that complex drama could be done within the series format, and expanded the aesthetic horizons of the police show. Echoing Weegee's photographic studies, which captured the faces of New York in the glare of a camera flash, television's *Naked City* offered narrative portraits, exposed through the equally revealing light of the writer's imagination. Ultimately, both versions of *Naked City* are less about society or a city than *people*, which is why the portraits are often disturbing, and always fascinating.

MARK ALVEY

See also **Leonard, Herbert; Police Programs; Siliphant, Sterling**

#### Cast

Detective Lieutenant Dan Muldoon (1958–59)	John McIntire
Detective Lieutenant Jim Halloran (1958–59)	James Franciscus
Janet Halloran (1958–59)	Suzanne Storrs
Patrolman/Sergeant Frank Arcaro	Harry Bellaver

Lieutenant Mike Parker (1959–63)	Horace McMahon
Detective Adam Flint (1960–63)	Paul Burke
Libby (1960–63)	Nancy Malone

#### Producers

Herbert B. Leonard, Charles Russell

#### Programming History

138 episodes

ABC

September 1958–September

1959

Tuesday 9:30–10:00

October 1960–September

1963

Wednesday 10:00–11:00

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- Marc, David, "Eight Million Stories (Give or Take a Mil)," *The Village Voice* (October 15, 1985)
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- "Naked City Gets New ABC-TV Lease, This Time as a Full-Hour Entry," *Variety* (October 28, 1959)
- "Naked City More Like a Naked Nightmare (Now It Can Be Told)," *Variety* (June 12, 1963)
- "Naked Truth," *Newsweek* (March 4, 1963)
- "On the Streets," *Time* (September 7, 1962)
- Rosen, George, "Heavy N.Y. Shooting Schedule," *Variety* (March 9, 1960)
- Rowan, Arthur, "We Travel Light and We Travel Fast," *American Cinematographer* (August 1959)
- "We Can Make 'Em Just as Cheap or Cheaper in N.Y.: Herb Leonard," *Variety* (February 26, 1958)

# Naked Civil Servant, The

British Drama

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*The Naked Civil Servant*, adapted from the autobiography of the same title, was a British television biopic of the life and times of the English homosexual Quentin Crisp. Transmitted for the first time on December 17, 1975, it broke new ground in its candid and defiant depiction of homosexuality on British television and shot Crisp himself to overnight notoriety and celebrity. Not merely of interest for its positive treatment of what was then a controversial subject, *The Naked Civil Servant* was compelling television, funny, warm, and moving, and earned John Hurt, as Crisp, a much deserved BAFTA award for Best Actor.

Central to *The Naked Civil Servant's* critical success and enduring popular (though perhaps cult) appeal is the irreverent wit, flamboyant charm, and tough-minded individualism of Crisp himself. Born Dennis Pratt on Christmas Day 1908 to very ordinary, middle-class parents living in a suburb of London, Crisp went on to cut a larger-than-life figure who openly flouted society's rules in his everyday behavior and demeanor. In hair dyed with henna, and in lipstick and mascara, he risked assault on the streets of London daily to openly flaunt his effeminacy. At times he experienced violence, and though taken before the courts for soliciting, he was never convicted.

Associating with London's more Bohemian set, he passed from job to job, including designing book covers and teaching tap-dancing (even though he was still learning himself). He was also a prostitute for six months, but claimed he did this because he was looking for love rather than for the money. Exempted from military service during World War II due to his homosexuality, he took a job at an art-school as a nude model, becoming a "naked civil servant."

As a model he could simply be himself, and it was being himself that characterized both his homosexuality and his life more generally. He never openly campaigned for gay rights, and was later to be much criticized by activists for his individualistic stance, as well as for perpetuating a homosexual stereotype of campness, rather than showing solidarity with a wider gay movement. In his own view, he just wanted to be accepted for the individual that he was.

His defiance in the face of establishment and social prejudice was marked by mock incredulity, gritty passiveness, and perhaps even pacifism. As an individual,

raconteur, aphorist, and wit, and with nobleness and gentility of manner, Crisp was the quintessential eccentric English gentleman. As such, he lived in a room in London's Chelsea which had, notoriously, never been cleaned. In the autobiography he was commissioned to write in 1968 he stated that "after the first four years the dirt doesn't get any worse."

After the book's publication and modest sales, Crisp attracted some attention and held a one-man stage-show. Around the same time, the dramatist Philip Mackie began to try unsuccessfully to interest producers in making a film based on Crisp's book; he would continue to be unsuccessful for four years. Also turned down by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the project was finally given the go-ahead by Thames Television, one of the franchised program companies that made up part of the Independent Television (ITV) Network in Britain.

Under the direction of Jack Gold, with Mackie's screenplay, the television production of *The Naked Civil Servant* took an idiosyncratic approach to its unconventional subject matter. Despite the gloom of Edwardian England into which Crisp was born and the austerity of the post-war years, and despite the perpetual menace of violence, the tone of the production is upbeat. Boasting a jaunty score by Carl Davis, and interspersed with ironic intertitles, the episodic narrative is propelled by an all-knowing and wry voice-over by John Hurt playing Crisp. In one memorable scene, a gang of working-class "roughs" run amok after a young Crisp calls their leader a closet "queer" to his face. The subsequent intertitle and epiphanic voice-over notes in mock surprise: "Some roughs are really queer, and some queers are really rough."

Yet despite the humor, the episodic quality of the narrative also provides it with a degree of pathos. Time passes in great leaps, but Crisp remains central in his staunch yet lonely defiance against life's vicissitudes. It is this quality that seems to give Crisp's quest for self-determination a heroic edge. Although cautioned in some quarters against the dangers of playing a gay role—still considered risky to a career at that time—John Hurt, a leading British actor, stated that it was the sense that Crisp was a hero that helped him decide to take the role.

Interestingly, it may have been a combination of hu-

mor, individualism and heroism that made *The Naked Civil Servant*, and its potentially controversial subject matter, more palatable to a mainstream television audience. The Independent Broadcasting Authority—at that time Britain's commercial television industry regulator, which awarded television franchises—was so concerned about a possible public backlash against the program that it commissioned a special survey among a representative sample of the national audience on the morning after its first transmission. Ratings indicated that *The Naked Civil Servant* was viewed in about 3.5 million homes, and from its survey sample surmised that 85 percent of the audience did not find the material shocking, while almost half felt they understood and sympathized with Crisp's difficulties.

What viewers may have responded to positively is perhaps not the program's depiction of homosexuality per se. It is an often-cited cliché that the British always like to support the "underdog." In this sense, viewer empathy might lie with Crisp both as an entertaining English eccentric, on the one hand, and on the other, as an "everyman" figure who faces up to life's trials and tribulations with a certain British stoicism, "stiff-upper-lip" determination, and a self-deprecating sense of humor.

Crisp introduced the first transmission of *The Naked Civil Servant* in person, and was subsequently propelled further into the limelight in Britain and abroad; he was essentially famous for being infamous. He moved to New York in 1980 and wrote various books and articles, and appeared in numerous television programs and documentaries. Crisp died on November

21, 1999, on the eve of a sold-out British tour of his one-man show, and he was remembered with much affection in obituaries.

ROB TURNOCK

#### Cast (selected)

Quentin Crisp	John Hurt
Art student	Patricia Hodge
Mr. Pole	Stanley Lebor
Thumbnails	Colin Higgins

#### Producer

Barry Hanson

#### Programming History

ITV	December 17, 1975
Channel 4	September 11, 1986
ITV	August 3, 1989
BBC2	November 16, 1991

#### Further Reading

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## Name of the Game, The

U.S. Adventure/Mystery Series

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*The Name of the Game* occupies a unique place in the history of prime-time television in the United States. Notable for the ambitious scope and social relevance of its stories, and for its innovative 90-minute anthology format, the series was perhaps most influential in its lavish production values, which aimed to recreate the audiovisual complexity of the movies. In 1969, *TV Guide* reported that the show's budget of \$400,000 per episode made *The Name of the Game* the most expensive television program in history. The series also functioned as a kind of apprentice field for writers and directors who later achieved great success, including

Steven Bochco, Marvin Chomsky, Leo Penn, and Steven Spielberg.

The two-hour pilot film for the series, *Fame Is the Name of the Game*, was broadcast in 1966 as the first *World Premiere Movie*, a weekly series of made-for-television films produced by Universal Studios for NBC. The series itself, which premiered in 1968, retained the fluid, quick-cutting visual texture of the pilot and added a pulsating jazz theme by Dave Grusin. Tony Franciosa, star of the pilot film, returned to the series as Jeff Dillon, ace reporter for *People Magazine*, in a rotation every third week with Gene Barry and



*The Name of the Game*, 1968–71, Gene Barry, Robert Stack, Anthony Franciosa.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Robert Stack. Barry played a Henry Luce-type media mogul, Glenn Howard, chief executive officer of Howard Publications, while Stack—in a role intended to recall his performance as Eliot Ness, the crime-fighting hero of *The Untouchables*—played Dan Farrell, a retired FBI agent, now a writer and editor for *Crime Magazine*. Providing continuity, Susan St. James appeared in every episode as Peggy Maxwell, who remained a research assistant and aide-de-camp to the male stars through the run of the series despite her Ph.D. in archaeology and her knowledge of five languages.

Because each episode was essentially a self-contained film, the series offered a rich venue for performers and served as something of a refuge for movie actors drawn to television by the breakdown of the Hollywood studios and the disappearance of the B-movie. Movie actors who appeared in the series included Dana Andrews, Anne Baxter, Charles Boyer, Joseph Cotten, Broderick Crawford, Yvonne DeCarlo, Jose Ferrer, Farley Granger, John Ireland, Van Johnson, Janet Leigh, Ida Lupino, Kevin McCarthy, Ray

Milland, Gene Raymond, Mickey Rooney, and Barry Sullivan.

One of the first television programs to deal directly with the increasing social and political turbulence of the late 1960s, *The Name of the Game* regularly confronted such topics as the counterculture, racial conflict, the sexual revolution, political corruption, and environmental pollution. Its ideology was a muddled if revealing strain of Hollywood liberalism, and its rotating heroes, especially Gene Barry's elegant corporate aristocrat, were enlightened professionals who used the power of their media conglomerate to right injustice and defend the powerless. If many episodes ended on a reformist note of muted affirmation for an America shown to be flawed but resilient and ultimately fixable, individual scenes and performances often dramatized social evils, injustice, and moral and political corruption with a vividness and truthfulness rare in television during this period.

As it continued, the series became more imaginative and unpredictable, experimenting at times with unusual and challenging formats. "Little Bear Died Running" (first broadcast November 6, 1970), written by Edward J. Lakso, uses a complex strategy of multiple flashbacks to reconstruct the murder of a Native American by a "legal" posse, in the process powerfully exposing the racist attitudes of an apparently enlightened white culture. "Appointment in Palermo" (February 26, 1971), directed by Ben Gazzara, is a zany, affectionate parody of the godfather genre, its comedy notably sharpened by a clever use of actors familiar to us from straight gangster films: Gabriel Dell, Harry Guardino, John Marley and Joe De Santis. In "Los Angeles 2017" (January 15, 1971), Glenn Howard falls into a nightmare of ecological disaster, in which a vestigial American population survives beneath the polluted surface of the Earth in USA, Inc., a regimented society run by a corporate elite. This notable episode was directed by Steven Spielberg from a thoughtful screenplay by Philip Wylie.

Even in its less imaginative and intellectually ambitious episodes, *The Name of the Game* held to consistently high standards of production and acting. Both in its formal excellence and in the intermittent but genuine seriousness of its subject matter, the show brought a new maturity to U.S. television and deserves recognition as an enabling precursor of the strongest prime-time programming of the 1970s and 1980s.

DAVID THORBURN

See also **Detective Programs; Movies on Television**

#### Cast

Glenn Howard	Gene Barry
Dan Farrell	Robert Stack

Jeff Dillon      Tony Franciosa  
 Peggy Maxwell   Susan St. James  
 Joe Sample      Ben Murphy  
 Andy Hill        Cliff Potter  
 Ross Craig       Mark Miller

#### Producers

Richard Irving, Richard Levinson, William Link,  
 Leslie Stevens, George Eckstein, Dean Hargrove

#### Programming History

NBC

September 1968–September 1971    Friday 8:30–10:00

#### Further Reading

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## Narrowcasting

In the earlier days of American television, the three major networks (NBC, CBS, and ABC) dominated programming, and each sought to obtain the widest audience possible. They avoided programming content that might appeal only to a small segment of the mass population and succeeded in their goal by between them reaching nearly 90 percent of the television-viewing audience on a regular basis.

The networks maintained their stronghold until competition emerged through the addition of many independent stations, the proliferation of cable channels, and the popularity of videocassettes. These competitors provided television audiences with many more viewing options. Consequently, the large numbers previously achieved through mass-oriented programming dwindled, and “narrowcasting” took hold.

With narrowcasting the programmer or producer assumes that only a limited number of people or a specific demographic group will be interested in the subject matter of a program. In many ways, this is the essence of cable television’s programming strategy. Following the format or characteristics of specialized magazines, a cable television program or channel may emphasize one subject or a few closely related subjects. For example, among U.S. cable channels, popular music television is presented on MTV (Music Television), VH1 (Video Hits One), and TNN (The Nashville Network); CNN (Cable News Network) offers 24-hour news coverage; ESPN (Entertainment Sports Network) boasts an all-sports format; and C-SPAN covers the U.S. Congress. Other cable channels feature programming such as shopping, comedy, science-fiction, or programs aimed at specific ethnic or gender groups highly prized by specific advertisers.

For the most part, the major networks continue to

gear their programming to the general mass audience. But increasingly, they, too, are engaged in forms of narrowcasting by segmenting similar programs that appeal to specific groups into adjacent time slots. For example, a network might target young viewers by programming back-to-back futuristic space programs on one night, while on a different night, feature an ensemble of programs oriented toward ethnic minorities. This strategy allows the networks to reach the overall mass audience cumulatively rather than simultaneously.

In the United States, then, narrowcasting is driven by economic necessity and competition. In public service systems around the world, where broadcasting is supported by license fee, by tax, or by direct government support, there has never been the same need for each program to reach the largest possible audience. As a consequence, programming for special groups—e.g. children, the elderly, ethnic or religious groups—has been standard practice. Ironically, the same technologies that bring competition to commercial broadcasters in the United States cause similar difficulties for public service broadcasters. In those systems new, commercially supported programming delivered by satellite and cable often draws audiences away from public-service offerings. Government officials and elected officers become reluctant to provide scarce public funds to broadcasters whose audiences are becoming smaller, forcing public service programmers to reach for larger audiences with different types of program content. While multiple program sources—cable, home video—make it unlikely that these systems will move toward “mass audience programming” on the U.S. model, it is the case that the face of broadcasting is changing in these contexts.

KIMBERLY B. MASSEY

See also **Cable Networks; Demographics; Markets; Mass Communication**

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## Nash, Knowlton (1927– )

### Canadian Broadcast Journalist

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One of the most recognizable personalities in Canadian television, Knowlton Nash inhabits a truly unique space in news and public affairs broadcasting. Nash began his career in journalism at an early age, working in the late 1940s as a copy editor for the wire service British United Press. In three short years, Nash worked in Toronto, Halifax, and later Vancouver, where he assumed the position of writer and bureau chief for the wire service. Soon thereafter, Nash and his young family moved to Washington, D.C. where, after a few years working for the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, he began writing regular copy for the *Windsor Star*, *Financial Post*, and *Vancouver Sun*.

By 1958 Nash had become a regular correspondent for the Washington bureau of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), where in years to come he would interview key heads of state, including a succession of U.S. presidents. For Canadians, Nash became a familiar face abroad during the heady days of the Cuban missile crisis, the war in Vietnam, and the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy. Nash's international reports in many respects symbolized the growth and reach of the CBC's news departments around the globe.

In the early 1970s Nash accepted an appointment by the CBC to be head of news and information programming. For many Canadians, Nash is best recognized and most respected for his work as anchor for the CBC's evening news program *The National*. In 1978 Nash played a pivotal role in transforming *The National* into a ratings success for Canada's public broadcaster. Four years later, Nash and *The National* solidified its place in the nation's daily routine when—against all traditions—it moved to the 10:00 P.M. time slot and added an additional half-hour news analysis segment entitled *The Journal*.

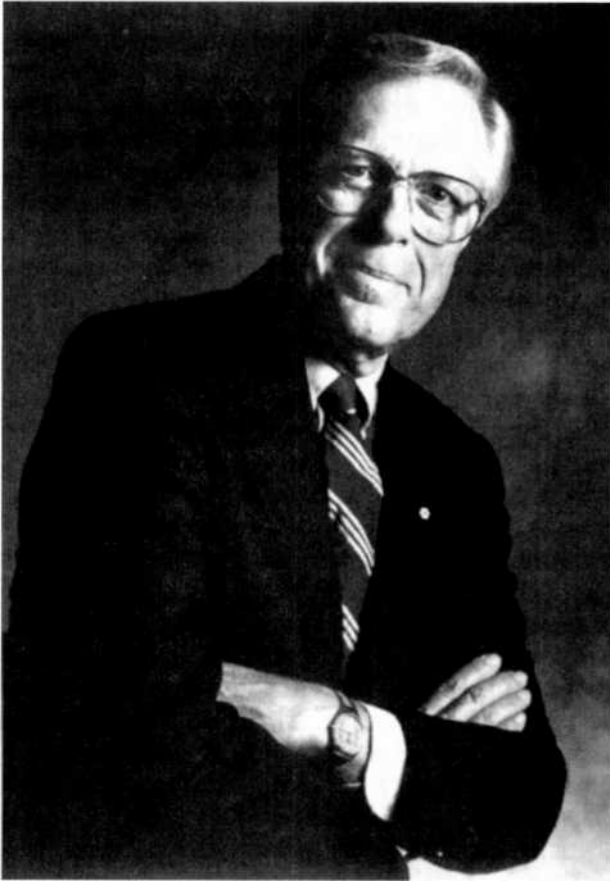
In April 1988, after ten years as anchor, Nash retired from *The National*. Benefiting from his unmatched wealth of experience in Canadian television journalism, Nash has taken on a number of projects since his so-called retirement. He has periodically anchored the Friday and Saturday broadcasts of *The National*, as well as the Sunday evening news program *Sunday Report*. Furthermore, Nash anchors both the CBC educational series *News in Review* and the highly acclaimed weekly documentary series *Witness*. On top of his duties in the field of electronic broadcasting and journalism, Nash has written a number of books, some quite controversial, on the history of both private and public-sector broadcasting in Canada.

GREG ELMER

See also **Canadian Programming in English; National, The/The Journal**

**Knowlton Nash.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, November 18, 1927. Educated at University of Toronto. Married: 1) Sylvia (died, 1980); 2) Lorraine Thomson, 1982; child: Anne. Began career as newspaper reporter for *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, until 1947; manager, news bureaus for British United Press News Service, 1947–51; worked for International Federation of Agricultural Producers, Washington, D.C., director of information and representative at United Nations, 1951–61; freelance journalist, 1961–64; correspondent, CBC, Washington, D.C., 1964–68; director of information programming, CBC Radio and Television, Toronto, and director of television news and current affairs, 1968–78; chief correspondent and anchor, *The National*, 1978–88; senior correspondent and anchor, *News in Review*; since 1988; host, *Witness*, since 1992. Recipient: Order of Canada, 1988; John Drainie Award, 1995.





Knowlton Nash.  
Photo courtesy of Knowlton Nash

#### Television Series

1960–64	<i>Inquiry</i> (expert on American views)
1966–67	<i>This Week</i> (host)
1976–78	<i>CTV National News</i>
1978–88	<i>The National</i> (newsreader)
1988–	<i>News in Review</i>
1992–	<i>Witness</i>

#### Publications

- History on the Run: The Trenchcoat Memoirs of a Foreign Correspondent*, 1984  
*Times to Remember*, 1986  
*Prime Time at Ten: Behind the Camera Battles of Canadian TV Journalism*, 1987  
*Kennedy and Diefenbaker: Fear and Loathing across the Undefended Border*, 1990  
*Visions of Canada*, 1991  
*Knowlton Nash's The Microphone Wars*, 1994  
*Cue the Elephant!: Backstage Tales at the CBC*, 1997  
*Trivia Pursuit: How Show Business Values are Corrupting the News*, 1999  
*The Swashbucklers: The Story of Canada's Battling Broadcasters*, 2001

#### Further Reading

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"Nash to Get Media Prize: John Drainie Award," *Vancouver Sun* (February 10, 1995)

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## Nat "King" Cole Show, The

### U.S. Musical Variety

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*The Nat "King" Cole Show* premiered on NBC as a 15-minute weekly musical variety show in November 1956. Cole, an international star as a jazz pianist and uniquely gifted vocalist, became the first major black performer to host a network variety series. It was a bruising experience for him, however, and an episode in television history that illuminates the state of race relations in the United States at the dawn of the modern civil rights movement.

Cole's first hit record, "Straighten Up and Fly Right," was recorded with his Nat "King" Cole Trio in

1944. By the mid-1950s he was a solo act—a top nightclub performer with several million-selling records, including "Nature Boy," "Mona Lisa," and "Too Young." A frequent guest on variety programs such as those hosted by Perry Como, Milton Berle, Ed Sullivan, Dinah Shore, Jackie Gleason, and Red Skelton, Cole was in the mainstream of American show business. His performances delighted audiences, and he seemed to be a natural for his own TV show, which he very much wanted.

Although he had experienced virulent racism in his



*The Nat "King" Cole Show.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

life and career, Cole was reluctant to take on the role of a crusader. He was criticized by some for regularly performing in segregated-audience venues in the South, for instance. His bid for a TV show, however, brought with it a sense of mission. "It could be a turning point," he realized, "so that Negroes may be featured regularly on television." Yet, Cole understood, "If I try to make a big thing out of being the first and stir up a lot of talk, it might work adversely."

Cole originally signed a contract with CBS in 1956, but the promise of his own program never materialized on that network. Later in the year, NBC reached an agreement with Cole's manager and agency, which packaged *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. The first broadcast, on November 5, 1956, aired without commercial sponsorship. NBC agreed to foot the bill for the program with the hope that advertisers would soon be attracted to the series. Cole felt confident a national sponsor would emerge, but his optimism was misplaced.

Advertising agencies were unable to convince national clients to buy time on *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. Advertisers were fearful that white Southern audiences would boycott their products. A representative of Max Factor cosmetics, a logical sponsor for the pro-

gram, claimed that a "Negro" couldn't sell lipstick for them. Cole was angered by the comment. "What do they think we use?" he asked. "Chalk? Congo paint?" "And what about a corporation like the telephone company?" Cole wondered. "A man sees a Negro on a television show. What's he going to do—call up the telephone company and tell them to take out the phone?" Occasionally, the show was purchased by Arrid deodorant and Rise shaving cream, but it was most often sustained by NBC without sponsorship.

Despite the musical excellence of the program, which featured orchestra leader Nelson Riddle when the show was broadcast from Hollywood and Gordon Jenkins on weeks it originated from New York, *The Nat "King" Cole Show* suffered from anemic Nielsen ratings. Nonetheless, NBC decided to experiment. The network revamped the show in the summer of 1957 by expanding it to 30 minutes and increasing the production budget. Cole's many friends and admirers in the music industry joined him in a determined effort to keep the series alive. Performers who could command enormous fees—including Ella Fitzgerald, Peggy Lee, Mel Torme, Pearl Bailey, Mahalia Jackson, Sammy Davis, Jr., Tony Bennett, and Harry Belafonte—appeared on *The Nat "King" Cole Show* for the minimum wage allowed by the union.

Ratings improved, but still no sponsors were interested in a permanent relationship with the series. Some advertisers purchased airtime in particular markets. For instance, in San Francisco, Italian Swiss Colony wine was an underwriter. In New York the sponsor was Rheingold beer; in Los Angeles, Gallo wine and Colgate toothpaste; and in Houston, Coca-Cola.

This arrangement, however, was not as lucrative to the network as single national sponsorship. So, when the Singer Sewing Machine Company wanted to underwrite an adult western called *The Californians*, NBC turned over the time slot held by *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. The network offered to move Cole's program to a less-expensive and less-desirable place in the schedule, Saturdays at 7:00 P.M., but Cole declined the downgrade.

In the inevitable postmortem on the show, Cole praised NBC for its efforts. "The network supported this show from the beginning," he said. "From Mr. Sarnoff on down, they tried to sell it to agencies. They could have dropped it after the first 13 weeks." The star placed the blame squarely on the advertising industry. "Madison Avenue," Cole said, "is afraid of the dark."

In an *Ebony* magazine article entitled "Why I Quit My TV Show," Cole expressed his frustration:

For 13 months I was the Jackie Robinson of television. I was the pioneer, the test case, the Negro first . . . On my

show rode the hopes and tears and dreams of millions of people.... Once a week for 64 consecutive weeks I went to bat for these people. I sacrificed and drove myself. I plowed part of my salary back into the show. I turned down \$500,000 in dates in order to be on the scene. I did everything I could to make the show a success. And what happened? After a trailblazing year that shattered all the old bugaboos about Negroes on TV, I found myself standing there with the bat on my shoulder. The men who dictate what Americans see and hear didn't want to play ball.

Singer and actress Eartha Kitt, one of the program's guest stars, reflected many years later on the puzzling lack of success of *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. "At that time I think it was dangerous," she said, referring to Cole's sophisticated image in an era when the only blacks appearing on television regularly were those on *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Beulah* and Jack Benny's manservant, Rochester. Nat "King" Cole's elegance and interaction with white performers as equals stood in stark contrast. "I think it was too early," Kitt said, "to show ourselves off as intelligent people."

MARY ANN WATSON

See also **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

### Regular Performers

Nat "King" Cole  
The Boataneers (1953)  
The Herman McCoy Singers  
The Randy Van Horne Singers (1957)  
The Jerry Graft Singers (1957)  
The Cheerleaders (1957)  
Nelson Riddle and His Orchestra

### Producer

Bob Henry

### Programming History

NBC	
November 1956–June 1957	Monday 7:30–7:45
July 1957–September 1957	Tuesday 10:00–10:30
September 1957–December 1957	Tuesday 7:30–8:00

### Further Reading

Cole, Nat "King" (as told to Lerone Bennett, Jr.), "Why I Quit My TV Show," *Ebony* (February 1958)  
Gourse, Leslie, *Unforgettable: The Life and Mystique of Nat King Cole*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991  
MacDonald, J. Fred, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television since 1948*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983; 2nd edition, 1992

## Nation, Terry (1930–1997)

British Writer

Terry Nation was one of the most consistent writers of British genre television, having had a lasting impact on the development of science fiction and action-adventure programs. Nation's contributions to such series as *The Saint*, *Doctor Who*, *Blake's Seven*, *The Avengers*, and *MacGyver* built him an international fan following. Although most of his television credits were for hour-long dramas, Nation got his start in comedy. At the age of 25, he made his debut as a stage comedian, receiving a poor response. If his performance skills were found lacking, his original material won an admirer in comedian Spike Milligan, who commissioned him to write scripts for the zany British comedy series *The Goon Show*. Nation soon was developing

material for Peter Sellers, Frankie Howerd, Tony Hancock, and an array of other comic stars. In all, he wrote more than 200 radio comedy scripts before trying his hand on television in the early 1960s.

Some of his first work was for ITV's *Out of This World*, a science fiction anthology series in 1962. The following year Nation was asked to write one of the first storylines for *Doctor Who*, then making its debut at the BBC. Nation's most important contribution to *Doctor Who* were the Daleks, the most popular (and heavily merchandized) villains in the series' history. Citing a childhood spent (in Wales) during World War II, Nation remarked that he modeled the impersonal and unstoppable Daleks after the Nazis, seeing them

as embodying "the unhearing, unthinking, blanked-out face of authority that will destroy you because it wants to destroy you." Nation continued to influence the development of the Daleks across a succession of storylines and through two feature-film spin-offs of the series, writing many of the Dalek scripts himself while serving as technical adviser on the others. He was subsequently responsible for the introduction of Davros, the wheelchair-bound mad scientist who created the Daleks to serve his schemes for intergalactic domination.

Building on his success at *Doctor Who*, Terry Nation created two original science fiction series: *The Survivors*, a post-nuclear apocalypse story, and *Blake's Seven*, a popular series about a group of freedom fighters struggling against a totalitarian multi-planetary regime. *Blake's Seven*, which he initially proposed as a science fiction version of *The Dirty Dozen*, remains a cult favorite to the present day, popular for its focus on character conflicts within the Liberator crew, its bleak vision of the future and of the prospects of overcoming political repression, its strongly defined female characters, and the intelligence of its dialogue. The series sought an adult following that contrasted sharply with the *Doctor Who* audience, which the BBC persisted in seeing as primarily composed of children. Nation wrote all 13 of the first season episodes of *Blake's Seven* and continued to contribute regularly throughout its second season, before being displaced as story editor by Chris Boucher, who pushed the series in an even darker and more pessimistic direction.

Nation's contributions to the detective genre are almost as significant as his influence on British science fiction. For a while, it seemed that Nation wrote for or was responsible for many of ITV's most popular adventure series. He wrote more than a dozen episodes of *The Saint*, the series starring Roger Moore as globe-trotting master thief/detective Simon Templar. *The Saint* enjoyed international success and was one of the few British imports to snag a prime-time slot on U.S. television. Nation served as script editor and writer for *The Baron*, another ITV series about a jewel thief that built on *The Saint's* success. He was script editor for the final season of *The Avengers*, shaping the controversial transition from popular Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) to the less-beloved Tara King (Linda Thorson). He was script editor and associate producer for *The Persuaders*, another successful action-adventure series about two daredevil playboys who become "instruments of justice" under duress. He also contributed regularly to ITV's superhero series *Champions*.

Near the end of his career, Nation shifted his focus onto American television, where he was a producer and writer for the first two seasons of *MacGyver*, an original and imaginative series dealing with a former special forces agent who solves crimes and battles evil through the use of resourceful engineering and tinkering tricks. *MacGyver* seemed to fit comfortably within the tradition of British action-adventure protagonists whom Nation helped to shape and develop. Nation died of emphysema in March 1997.

Most of the best-known writers of British television are recognized for their original dramas and social realism, but Nation's reputation came from his intelligent contributions to genre entertainment.

HENRY JENKINS

*See also Doctor Who*

**Terry Nation.** Born in Cardiff, Wales, August 8, 1930. Screenwriter for British and American television; creator of the Daleks, which helped popularize *Doctor Who*, 1963; created *The Survivors*, 1975; created *Blake's Seven*, 1978, writing the entire first season and six later episodes, 1978–81; author. Died in Los Angeles, California, March 9, 1997

**Television Series (selected)**

1961–69	<i>The Avengers</i>
1962–69	<i>The Saint</i>
1963–89	<i>Doctor Who</i>
1964–65, 1968–69	<i>The Saint</i>
1969–71	<i>Champions</i>
1971–72	<i>The Persuaders</i>
1975–77	<i>The Survivors</i>
1978–81	<i>Blake's Seven</i>
1985–92	<i>MacGyver</i>

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1974	<i>Color Him Dead</i>
1986	<i>A Masterpiece of Murder</i>

**Film**

*The House in Nightmare Park* (1973; also producer).

**Radio**

*The Goon Show*

**Publications**

*Rebecca's World: Journey to the Forbidden Planet*, 1975

*Survivors*, 1976  
*The Official Doctor Who and the Daleks Book*, with  
 John Peel, 1988

### Further Reading

Haining, Peter, *Doctor Who, the Key to Time: A Year-by-Year Record*, London: W.H. Allen, 1984  
 Tulloch, John, and Manuel Alvarado, *Doctor Who: The Unfolding Text*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983

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## National, The/The Journal

### Canadian News Broadcasts

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Since the 1950s the titles *The National News* and *The National* have been used by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for its English-language national newscasts. In 1982 CBC management made a bold decision to create a new, hour-long 10:00 P.M. national news and current-affairs bloc. A new program, *The Journal*, provided a nightly current affairs component to the regular news report. By the 1980s, well over 80 percent of Canadian television households were cabled, and through their cable systems Canadian viewers had direct access to simultaneous transmission of the prime-time schedules of the U.S. networks. The CBC's decision to move *The National* newscast from 11:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., along with the creation of *The Journal*, was controversial in that it was seen as both an unnecessary disruption of decades-old Canadian viewing habits, and a risky counterprogramming strategy in the face of the success of U.S. prime-time dramatic series in the Anglo-Canadian market.

Nevertheless, the new bloc was introduced in January 1982, with veteran CBC journalist Knowlton Nash as newsreader for the 22-minute *The National*, followed by *The Journal*, cohosted by Barbara Frum and Mary Lou Finlay. Within a very short time, however, the new bloc received positive critical attention and the counterprogramming strategy seemed successful. The programs saw a substantial improvement in ratings over the old 11:00 P.M. newscast.

While *The National* continued to be produced by the same staff within CBC news, *The Journal* was developed by a new unit with CBC Current Affairs, under the direction of Executive Producer Mark Starowicz. Formally, *The Journal* innovated within Canadian current affairs television in its mixing of

short- and long-form documentaries and double-ender interviews with politicians, experts, and commentators. It quickly became the key outlet for political and social debate in the Anglo-Canadian media. The specific format varied from night to night, sometimes focusing on several stories and issues, sometimes providing in-depth coverage of single issues, or serving as the site of national policy debates between the major federal political parties.

While the 10:00 P.M. news and current affairs bloc remained successful throughout the 1980s, there were recurrent tensions within the CBC over questions of news judgment and resource allocation between the two separate production teams responsible for the programs. In 1992 Ivan Fecan, the CBC programming executive, introduced a new prime-time schedule to the network, re-creating *The National* and *The Journal* as the *Prime-Time News*, anchored by Peter Mansbridge. He also moved the news and current affairs hour to 9:00 P.M. as part of a reprogramming of CBC prime time into a 7:00–9:00 P.M. “family” bloc and 10:00–12:00 P.M. “adult” bloc. The production of the new *Prime-Time News* was reorganized into a single production unit, both to overcome previous organizational antagonisms, and to address budget constraints in a period of increasing austerity at the CBC. The move to 9:00 P.M. proved much less successful in ratings, and the initial reformatting of news and current affairs within one program proved more difficult than had been anticipated. By 1995 the scheduling of CBC prime time into “family” and “adult” blocs was abandoned, and the news and current affairs hour was returned to 10:00 P.M. and re-named *The National*, including the current affairs coverage under the title of *The National Magazine*.



*The National.*  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

The return to 10:00 p.m. once again proved successful as a counterprogramming strategy for prime-time competition from U.S. networks.

MARTIN ALLOR

#### **Further Reading**

- Lockhead, Richard, editor, *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast Heritage*, Kingston, Ontario: Quarry, 1991
- Nash, Knowlton, *Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal*, Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, 1994

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# National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

U.S. Industry Professional Association

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The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (NATAS) is a New York-based organization with 19 regional chapters or affiliates in many of the larger television markets. The organization is best known for its Emmy awards, which are bestowed on both programs and individuals in a variety of categories. The "Emmy" is a variation of "Immy," a nickname for the light-sensitive Image Orthicon tube that was the heart of television cameras during the 1950s and 1960s. The award is a statuette of a winged woman holding an electron in her outstretched hands.

NATAS was organized in 1957 as an outgrowth of rivalry between two separate television academies that had been established several years earlier. One was based in Los Angeles, the other in New York. The move to unite the two academies into a single "national" television academy was led by TV variety-show host Ed Sullivan, who was elected its first president. The rival New York and Hollywood academies became "founding chapters" of NATAS and additional chapters were later established in other cities.

The first nationally televised Emmy Awards originated from both New York and Los Angeles in 1955, actually predating the merger of the two academies. These bi-coastal presentations continued through 1971 and mirrored the glamour of the rapidly expanding television industry to the point where the Emmy ceremonies were second only to the Motion Picture Academy Awards in terms of audience interest and recognition. After 1971, separate award ceremonies for prime-time entertainment programs originated from Los Angeles, while New York remained home for the news and documentary awards.

During the 1970s, relations between the Hollywood and New York chapters remained tense. Los Angeles producers of prime-time programs expressed resentment that their programs were being judged by members in New York and the smaller market chapters since they did not consider these individuals to be their peers. They also resented their minority status on a Board of Trustees dominated by the New York and smaller market chapters. After John Cannon of New York defeated Robert Lewine of Hollywood for the

presidency of the organization in 1976, the Hollywood chapter left NATAS and created a separate organization: the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, or ATAS.

ATAS sued for exclusive rights to bestow the Emmy on the grounds that the Los Angeles group had actually given the award several years before NATAS was formed. Litigation by both organizations ended with a compromise: ATAS would retain the Emmy rights for prime-time entertainment programming; NATAS would continue to award Emmys for news and documentary, sports, daytime, and public-service programming, and also for achievements in television engineering.

Initially, NATAS was weakened by the departure of the Los Angeles group. But during the following two decades, NATAS has been strengthened by growing interest in daytime programs (talk shows and soap operas). Each spring, the organization presents a "Daytime at Nighttime" awards ceremony, broadcast during prime time, and showcasing TV's soap-opera stars. The presentation is staged at Radio City Music Hall, Madison Square Garden, or a similar New York location. Separate ceremonies for each of the categories of sports, news, public service, and technology are scheduled on different dates, and sometimes telecast over cable channels.

NATAS has also been strengthened by growth in both the number and size of regional chapters located in many of the major television markets. The nineteen chapters are: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus-Dayton-Cincinnati (Ohio Valley), Denver, Detroit, Nashville, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, South Florida, St. Louis, Texas, and Washington, D.C. (A local Los Angeles-area chapter is affiliated with ATAS.)

Each chapter is chartered by the national organization but operates independently in terms of its programs and finances. All 19 chapters conduct Emmy awards presentations to honor television professionals in their respective markets and in adjacent markets that do not have their own chapters. For example, Philadelphia is officially called the Mid Atlantic Chapter and includes Pittsburgh, Scranton, Harrisburg, and several

other markets in Pennsylvania. Texas, the newest chapter at this writing, includes Houston, Dallas–Fort Worth, San Antonio, and sixteen smaller markets. It was organized with the assumption that two or more separate chapters might eventually emerge from what is now called the Lone Star Chapter.

At both the national and local levels, considerable emphasis is placed on the peer judging of all entries. The national awards are evaluated by judging panels of individuals working within the respective categories. At the local level, chapters exchange tapes to ensure that judging is performed by qualified professionals in other markets. The local Emmy statuette is a smaller replica of the national Emmy statuettes awarded by NATAS and ATAS for national programming.

Governance of the national organization is the responsibility of a Board of Trustees with individual trustees selected by the chapters. Chapter representation is proportional, with one trustee allocated for every 300 members. Each chapter, in turn, is governed by a Board of Governors elected by the membership.

John Cannon led NATAS for 25 years, until his death in 2001. After a national search, Peter O. Price, a former newspaper publisher and cable television executive, was named president by the Board of Trustees in 2002.

Under Price, the organization adapted a shorter name, National Television Academy or NTA, which it uses in many of its activities. A redesigned Emmy has also been introduced on letterhead and in many public relations and promotional announcements. However, the full legal name remains the National Academy of

Television Arts and Sciences, and the original Emmy statuette remains intact.

Relationships between the two academies (NATAS and ATAS) remain cool, for the most part. Not surprisingly, most of the controversy relates to the awarding of Emmys. For example, ATAS wanted to award an Emmy for the best commercial; NATAS did not. Conversely, NATAS has proposed a separate Emmys awards ceremony for Spanish-language programming, which ATAS opposes.

In addition to the Emmy awards, NATAS publishes *Television Quarterly*, a scholarly journal dealing with the historical development and critical analysis of television programs and the television industry. Three major scholarships, currently \$40,000 each, are awarded by the national organization to high school seniors who intend to major in communications in college and pursue a career in television. Also, each of the 19 chapters has its own scholarship program. In 2002, NATAS began National Student Television, a program created to recognize excellence and award special student Emmys to television programs produced by high schools throughout the United States.

NATAS maintains a national office at 70 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019 and a website at [www.emmyonline.org](http://www.emmyonline.org). Each of the 19 chapters has offices in their respective cities and all chapters are linked to the national website. The organization and its chapters have 13,000 individual members.

NORMAN FELSENTHAL

*See also Academy of Television Arts and Sciences*

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## National Asian American Telecommunications Association

U.S. Industry Professional Association

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According to the organization's website, the mission of the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA) is "to present stories that convey the richness and diversity of the Asian Pacific American experience to the broadest audience possible." Since its founding in 1980, the NAATA, based in San Francisco and considered the preeminent Asian-American media arts organizations in the United

States, has been bringing award-winning programs by and about Asian Pacific Americans to the public through such venues as national and local television broadcasting, film and video screenings, and educational distribution services.

Through its programming, exhibition, and distribution of works by Asian Pacific Americans, as well as its advocacy and coalition-building efforts, the



NAATA actively serves as both a resource and a promoter for minority communities. Essentially, it coordinates many different realms related to contemporary visual culture—the production of films, videos, and new media works; critical writing and scholarship; distribution and television broadcasting; community and educational outreach; and even legislation and lobbying. In short, it serves as a center of information and human resources.

The NAATA was founded as a conscious and concerted effort on the part of filmmakers and producers in the San Francisco area to address the problem of a lack of equal access to public television and radio. With the guidance and commitment of two older organizations, Visual Communications in Los Angeles and Asian CineVision in New York, both of which emerged out of the movements toward racial and social justice in the 1960s, the NAATA was born out of a three-day conference.

The Association works primarily in three programming areas: television broadcast, exhibition (namely, the annual San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival), and nonbroadcast distribution (more specifically, through their NAATA Distribution Catalog). Through this effort, the organization seeks to support and nurture Asian Pacific American media artists in order to proffer a more accurate representation of their communities to the public. Typically, representations of Asian Americans in American television and film, supporters of the group contend, have led to many false perceptions of this population.

In the 1995 catalog for the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival, Stephen Gong (film-history scholar and manager of the Pacific Film Archive) argues that the struggles in the career of Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973, a star of many silent films but perhaps best-known for his role as Colonel Saito in *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, 1957) remain emblematic of the price Asian-American actors pay in order to get some screen time. Referring to the stereotypes of Asian Americans, Gong asks: “Do the commercial constraints that have apparently governed mass media from its earliest days still make it a given that public expectations must be fulfilled before artistic vision can be exercised?” The NAATA attempts to respond to this question by presenting—and more importantly, integrating—alternative and self-proclaimed representations by “marginal” peoples into the mainstream media culture.

The San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival is the NAATA’s most dramatic effort to provide the public with self-determined images and stories about Asian and Asian-American experiences. Soliciting new and innovative work from within the

United States as well as from Canada and other nations, this festival is a collection of vastly diverse film and video programs as well as installations and panel discussions. For too long, many “cultures, faces, and stories have remained ‘in the closet’ or simply invisible,” as the 1995 festival catalog states. Therefore, the purpose of the festival is to acknowledge the worldwide industry of film and video, which includes and represents many works from the Asian diaspora. “Films submitted to the Asian American film festival reflect the heterogeneous and hybrid cultures of Asian American experience,” writes Nerissa S. Balce in her analysis of the 2001 festival. These works “speak to the collective experience of ‘Asian/Americans’: as people of color, as immigrants, as youth, as queers, as suburbanites, as rural or urban folk, as undocumented workers, as professionals or the working class” (see Balce).

The NAATA’s film, video, and audio distribution service has amalgamated a collection of film and video by and about Asian Pacific Americans that serve to challenge the construction and meaning of “Asian American.” The intent is to challenge and hopefully change mainstream perceptions of Asian Pacific American identities. Moreover, this service strives not only to foster awareness but also to facilitate discussion, sensitivity, and understanding of cultures that are not one’s own. The uses of such a collection include corporate diversity training, high school and university education, and social and political activism. Through the association’s website ([www.naatanet.org](http://www.naatanet.org)), individuals and institutions can order from more than 200 Asian Pacific American films and videos. The online catalog is skillfully organized by topics including media; land/environment; labor; personal stories; health, mental health, and AIDS; sexuality; multiracial/ethnic heritage; youth; art and performance; and U.S. colonialism. The collection is also indexed by title and by ethnicity, and there is a separate index of titles for school-age audiences. In the NAATA’s effort to share the work of Asian Pacific Americans and open up discussion on various issues, the distribution service is a helpful and much-needed resource.

The NAATA offers members monthly electronic news bulletins that announce events such as screenings and festivals, and it publishes on its website extensive information about the NAATA’s Media Fund, which since 1990 has used funds from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to sponsor more than 150 Asian Pacific American film and video projects, many of which have aired locally or nationally on public broadcasting stations. The website also keeps readers updated on past, current, and upcoming Asian Pacific American programming on television; presents infor-

mation for educators; and provides a forum for individuals to make announcements, list job openings, offer assistance, and otherwise participate in the Asian American arts community.

The significance of the NAATA within the media industry is that it sets up a series of connections: it links sponsors to media artists, to distributors, and to larger mainstream venues, all in an attempt to correct the misrepresentation and misperception of minority peoples and histories. The NAATA is both an artistic and a political organization, currently working to ensure that the voices and experiences of people who are often unheard and unknown are made more public and better understood.

LAHN S. KIM

*See also Racism, Ethnicity, and Television*

### Further Reading

*Asian American Network* (Autumn/Winter 1994)

*Asian American Network* (Spring 1995)

Balce, Nerissa S., *Millennial Narratives: Notes on Viewing Asian American Cinema, 2001*, San Francisco: National Asian American Telecommunications Association, 2001 (available at [www.naatanet.org](http://www.naatanet.org))

Leong, Russell, editor, *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts*, Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Visual Communications, Southern California Asian American Studies Central, 1991

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## National Association of Broadcasters

U.S. Industry Trade Association

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For nearly eight decades, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) has represented the interests of most American radio and television stations and networks to Washington policymakers and the public at large. Fiercely protective of broadcasters' First Amendment rights, the NAB has waxed and waned over the years in its political effectiveness, becoming by the early 21st century one of the most important trade associations and lobbying groups in the nation's capital.

### Origins

Perhaps fittingly for a commercial business association, the NAB developed as the result of a financial dispute. The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) threatened in mid-1922 to sue radio stations using ASCAP music (virtually all were) if they did not pay royalties. The stations argued they received no income (true at the time) with which to pay such royalties. A half a dozen of them met in a Chicago hotel room to map out a strategy of what to do, and from that came the April 1923 organizational meeting of what became the NAB. Those present agreed to hire a director and create a New York office.

The NAB's initial goals were to overcome the ASCAP demands for royalties while at the same time seeking basic legislation that most radio station operators realized was needed to expand business. Despite early lobbying efforts, the radio broadcasters lost initial battles and agreed to a schedule of payments to ASCAP, in part because so many other issues were impinging on the stations. Facing continuing pressure for ever-higher ASCAP music royalties, the NAB finally decided to found its own music license agency and created Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI) in 1939–40.

While Congress finally passed a new radio law in 1927 (the NAB had strongly urged such action), attempts to limit commercial time, to control program content, to reserve some channels for educational use, and other issues continually cropped up, requiring an industry-wide response, for which the NAB naturally took up the coordinating role. As public demand for information on the industry increased, so too did NAB publicity and publication efforts—especially in 1933, when colleges and university teams across the country debated whether the U.S. should adopt the features of the British system of public-service broadcasting, a notion the NAB opposed. The association lobbied hard and successfully to resist major policy

changes when the Communications Act of 1934 was considered and passed.

### Expansion and New Services

As the radio industry grew, so did the NAB. The association's relationship with key government regulators deteriorated for many years in the 1940s and 1950s. Driven in part by strong personalities on both sides, this was unfortunate, as the FCC was developing policies for the new FM radio and television services, and a more cooperative relationship might have eased the entry of both. Initially cool to FM radio, for example, the NAB later supported the service in a variety of ways. NAB was strongly behind the expansion of commercial television from the medium's inception, although it fought a losing battle against educational channel reservations.

From 1951 to 1957, the association took the somewhat clumsy name the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (NARTB) to make clearer the importance of the newer medium. Over the years, the NAB has often absorbed more specialized organizations, including several that have focused on FM radio. At the same time, it has also spawned many more specific organizations, including the Radio Advertising Bureau (RAB), Television Bureau of Advertising (TvB), and the Television Information Office (TIO).

The NAB's annual convention was regularly held each spring in Chicago (Washington, D.C., in presidential inauguration years), attracting hundreds, and later several thousand, broadcasters. Keynote speakers often made news, as new FCC Chairman Newton Minnow did in 1961 with his speech describing television programming as a "vast wasteland." The ever-larger technical exhibit helped to showcase expanding technological options such as the introduction of color television technology in the mid-1950s, the arrival of videotape (the star of the 1956 convention), and satellite delivery and reception equipment in the 1970s and 1980s. By the early 1970s, the convention shifted to Dallas, Atlanta, and finally Las Vegas to obtain sufficient exhibit and hotel space.

The NAB produced its first "Code of Ethics" in 1929, in an attempt to preempt the imposition of government program or advertising guidelines. A decade later, again attempting to avoid federal regulation, the NAB issued a more focused "Radio Code" offering programming guidelines and suggested limits on commercial time. NAB added a parallel code of television good practice in 1952, and continued to mod-



*Courtesy of NAB*

ify both almost annually. Although compliance with the NAB codes was always voluntary, many NAB member stations adhered to them, largely for promotional purposes. When suit was brought against the codes (for raising the cost of radio and television advertising because of their suggested limits on the amount of time stations could sell for advertising), they were dropped in 1982, after a federal district court found the limitations unconstitutional. Today the NAB touts a "Statement of Principles" concerning only program content.

### The Modern NAB

Members of the association (stations and networks) set NAB policies through a board of directors. The board is composed of radio and television broadcasters elected by fellow members. This "joint board" is subdivided into a radio and a television board. NAB employs an extensive committee structure to draw on the specialized knowledge of its members and make recommendations to the board. The association publishes a variety of industry reference books and a host of newsletters, many now on-line, representing the broad interests of its station members. These include *Destination Digital TV*, *RadioWeek*, *TV Today*, *Radio TechCheck*, *TV TechCheck*, and *NAB World*, among others.

Daily operations of the NAB are overseen by a full-time president. Since 1982, Eddie Fritts, a former station owner from Mississippi, has served in that role (longer than any prior NAB leader). With more than 100 full-time employees housed in its own building in downtown Washington, D.C., and an annual budget approaching \$50 million, the NAB has in recent years gained a reputation as one of the strongest and most effective lobbies in the nation's capital. Part of this strength comes from the clout inherent in member stations, which provide air time for political candidates

and will readily call congressmen to press their views. TARPAC, the industry's political action committee, is operated by the NAB, as is the NAB Educational Foundation, which is designed to foster research into the benefits of broadcasting.

The annual four-day NAB convention and technical exhibit was, by the early 2000s, attracting more than 115,000 attendees to Las Vegas each spring. The industry gathering, increasingly international in tone in recent years, devotes considerable exhibition space to path-breaking technologies such as digital or high-definition television in the early 1990s, and multimedia and Internet technology in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In between conventions, the NAB plays an active role in technical standard setting, such as the long process of developing digital high-definition television and digital audio broadcasting.

The NAB faces growing problems, however, in trying to maintain its role as "the broadcaster's voice before Congress, federal agencies and the Courts," and as an umbrella organization representing the viewpoints of all broadcasters. It has often taken no position on an issue when its members have been divided on the matter at hand. The problem became especially clear when, in 1999-2000, CBS, Fox and NBC withdrew their network and owned-and-operated stations from membership in disagreement over the NAB's position, due to the Association's opposition to a lessening of regulations concerning multiple ownership of television stations (which those networks supported). Of all the national broadcast networks, only ABC remained by mid-2002, which presented a setback to the NAB's usual united-front approach to industry concerns. In-

creasingly, the concerns and interests of radio and television broadcasters, as well as those of smaller stations and large group owners, are diverging, making common agreement within one lobbying organization problematic. At the same time, the NAB is criticized for being short-sighted in its lobbying efforts. The association has to fight the conception of many in government that NAB is on the defensive, protecting single-channel broadcasters in a world increasingly dominated by multi-channel competitors.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

### Publications

- Broadcast Engineering Conference: Proceedings* (annual)
- Broadcasting and Government* (annual)
- Broadcasting in the United States, 1933*
- NAB Engineering Handbook, 1935, 1960, 1975, 1985, 1992, 1999*
- NAB Guide to Broadcast Law and Regulations, 1977, 1984, 1998.*
- Television Financial Report* (annual)

### Further Reading

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## National Association of Television Program Executives

U.S.-based Industry Trade Association

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The National Association of Television Program Executives (NATPE) began in May 1963 as an organization designed to increase the amount of local programming on television stations, and to help program directors improve their positions within their respective stations.

Since then, NATPE has developed the largest domestic syndication trade show in the United States, and one of the top three international trade shows. Originally dubbed the National Association of Program Directors, the organization later changed its name to NATPE, and

finally NATPE International. NATPE's primary function in the television business stems from its annual convention, held in late January, which continues the association's founding missions: providing a space to buy and sell syndicated programming, and educating programmers about the industry.

Social, regulatory, and industry changes led to the formation of NATPE, and more recent changes in those areas threaten the future of the organization. The various broadcast reform movements of the 1960s resulted in broadcasters' increased accountability to their local constituents. Programming executives were typically charged with producing or acquiring programming to fit these local needs, and NATPE provided a venue where syndicators and programmers could trade such programming. Nevertheless, founding member Lew Klein remembers that program directors had little influence in most television stations at the time, and so a secondary role of NATPE was to educate program directors about the industry, and advocate for their professional development. The FCC's 1970 Prime-Time Access Rule contributed significantly to NATPE's growth, as it spurred the creation of a variety of popular, first-run syndicated series. About the same time, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) convention, which had served as the main venue for syndication trade, moved program suppliers far away from the main convention floor, prompting many of them to abandon the NAB for the more syndicator-friendly NATPE convention.

In the 1970s, NATPE's membership grew tremendously, from 306 participants in 1970 to 1,891 in 1976. Today, membership includes more than 4,000 media companies. Beginning in 1985, the conference moved to a semi-permanent home in New Orleans, but began in 2001 to alternate between New Orleans and Las Vegas for the convenience of the growing number of syndicators and buyers based on the West Coast. In addition, NATPE has expanded its membership in two key growth areas: new media and international sales. New media first became an important sector for NATPE in 2000, when Internet companies sought out content for their websites and traditional broadcasters and distributors looked for ways to expand their businesses into on-line media. Meanwhile, international sales have been an important part of NATPE's strategy since the late 1980s. In 1993, the association appointed as its president and CEO Bruce Johansen, a well-known international executive with a mandate to increase NATPE's presence as an international trade show. Today, NATPE is one of three premier international television conferences, along with MIP-TV and MIPCOMM.

While the international and new media sectors of NATPE have been growing, the domestic contingent seems to find the convention increasingly unnecessary due to consolidation in television station ownership and the syndication business. Historically, NATPE was the primary site where representatives from hundreds of television stations around the country went to purchase programming from the dozens of syndication companies that attended. With the removal of most broadcasting ownership regulations in the Telecommunications Act of 1996, however, group owners have bought up more and more local stations and consolidated program buying in a single corporate office, which can take advantage of bulk-pricing discounts. Concurrently, the syndication industry has shrunk to less than a dozen large companies, some of which are now part of larger conglomerates that also own television stations. Since the mid-1990s, the major Hollywood studios have threatened to abandon NATPE, claiming they make few significant sales there.

The tensions that currently face NATPE were starkly apparent at the 2002 convention. Due to the economic fallout from the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and the subsequent fall in the advertising market, many of the major distributors abandoned rental of their usual booths on the sales floor for much cheaper hospitality suites at nearby hotels, where a pared-down number of sales representatives met with a handful of important clients. However, the international wings of these same distribution companies were out on the sales floor in force. Their presence reflected the continued relevance of NATPE for international distribution, which continues to expand due to the growth in international distribution outlets and increased competition among distributors selling to international buyers.

The future of NATPE today is uncertain. While the convention will continue for the foreseeable future to have relevance for international syndication, a number of changes have been proposed to try and make the convention more relevant for domestic syndication. One possible future direction is to split the convention into three: one convention, in early April, would include distributors and advertisers; a second, held in November, would include television stations and distributors; while a third, held in January, would cater to international syndication. Whatever the future direction of the organization, NATPE owes its existence to an industry and regulatory era that has now passed, and its continuation depends upon its ability to become relevant to the present era of consolidation and globalization.

TIM HAVENS

*See also National Association of Broadcasters*

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## National Broadcasting Company (NBC)

### U.S. Network

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When General Electric (GE) purchased the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1985, many observers of the media industries were dubious. General Electric was a vast conglomerate based in Fairfield, Connecticut, a manufacturer of medical equipment, power turbines, airplane engines, and appliances that had diversified into such businesses as the financing of commercial and consumer loans. Little in GE's recent history foretold success in programming a television network. NBC's newly appointed chairman, Robert Wright, had risen through the ranks at GE, learning the ropes in the plastics division and, later, in the GE Credit Corporation. He had spent a short time in the cable industry, but had come of age in the corporate culture of GE, famed for its disciplined management and ruthless devotion to the bottom line of corporate earnings. Insiders at NBC questioned whether this outsider, a quintessential corporate manager, had any idea how to run a television network—particularly one that was already at the top of the business, having just swept the prime-time ratings race—or whether this company could make the transition from light bulbs to light comedy.

By the early 21st century, much has changed in the television business, but Robert Wright is still chairman, and NBC has been the dominant network in the United States for much of the past two decades, a model of stability in an otherwise turbulent business. NBC has consistently led all networks in attracting the 18- to 49-year-old adults most coveted by advertisers—winning this demographic in seven of the eight years from 1995 to 2003—and has helped to reorient the entire broadcasting industry toward the pursuit of this segment of the audience. Led by a Thursday night lineup that has launched such hits as *The Cosby Show*,

*Cheers*, and *L.A. Law* in the 1980s, and *Seinfeld*, *Friends*, and *E.R.* in the 1990s, NBC has the highest advertising rates of any broadcast network and has long been the most profitable, generating profits of \$700–800 million from its prime-time schedule in the 2002–03 season. NBC's dominance extends to virtually every part of the schedule, where its self-produced entertainment and news programs have led the ratings during much of the past decade: *The Today Show* and *Meet The Press* in the mornings, *NBC Nightly News* among evening newscasts, and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*, and *Saturday Night Live* in the late-night slot. Over the same period, NBC has been responsible for many of television's most acclaimed series, easily overshadowing the other broadcast networks with a mounting pile of Emmy nominations for *E.R.*, *The West Wing*, *Law and Order*, *Homicide: Life on the Streets*, *Frasier*, *Seinfeld*, and *Will & Grace*.

Due to the strength of its network programming, NBC's fourteen owned-and-operated television stations contribute another \$1 billion in annual advertising revenue. Still, the audience for over-the-air broadcasting continues to shrink in the United States as audiences are dispersed among cable channels and competing forms of home entertainment. Like other media companies, NBC has diversified well beyond its original base in broadcasting in order to reach these elusive viewers. NBC now controls several cable channels, including CNBC, a business news network available in 175 million households worldwide; MSNBC, a 24-hour news network owned jointly with Microsoft; and Bravo, a network targeted at upscale viewers. In order to reach the growing Latino audience in the U.S., NBC purchased Telemundo, the second-

largest U.S. Spanish-language broadcast network, in April 2002. With international markets as important as the domestic market to GE's bottom line, NBC programming now reaches viewers in one hundred countries on six continents. All told, NBC Television and Cable operations generate annual revenues of \$7.1 billion (still only five percent of GE's annual sales) and operating profits of \$1.7 billion.

In September 2003, GE announced its most ambitious expansion for NBC, a plan to acquire Vivendi Universal Entertainment in a deal valued at \$14 billion. The purchase would give GE control of Universal movie studio, the USA Network and other cable channels, a television production unit responsible for the network's lucrative *Law and Order* franchise, and Vivendi's interest in the Universal Studios theme parks. By integrating additional cable networks and a major studio with its broadcast network, NBC Universal (as the new company will be known) will compete with the other fully integrated media conglomerates owning broadcast networks: Viacom (CBS and UPN), The Walt Disney Co. (ABC), News Corporation (Fox), and Time Warner (WB).

Throughout its history, the fortunes of the National Broadcasting Company have been closely tied to those of a parent company. Unlike CBS and ABC, which began as independent programming enterprises, NBC came into existence as the subsidiary of an electronics manufacturer, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), which saw programming as a form of marketing, an enticement for consumers to purchase radio and television receivers for the home. The power and influence of a national network aided RCA as it lobbied to see its technology adopted as the industry standard, particularly during the early years of television and in the battle over color television.

RCA, which had begun as a mere sales agent for the other companies in the combine, emerged in the 1930s as a radio manufacturer with two networks (NBC-Red and NBC-Blue), a powerful lineup of clear channel stations, and a roster of stars unequaled in the radio industry. From this position of power, RCA research labs, under the direction of Vladimir Zworykin, set the standard for research into the nascent technology of television. NBC began experimental broadcasts from New York's Empire State building as early as 1932. By 1935, the company was spending millions of dollars annually to fund television research. Profits from the lucrative NBC radio networks were routinely channeled into television research. In 1939, NBC became the first network in the United States to introduce regular television broadcasts with its inaugural telecast of the opening-day ceremonies at the New York World's Fair.



*Courtesy of NBC*

RCA's dominance of the U.S. broadcasting industry led to government scrutiny in the late 1930s when the FCC began to investigate the legitimacy of networks that linked together hundreds of local stations, or "chain broadcasting" as it was then called. The result was the 1941 publication of the FCC's Report on Chain Broadcasting, which assailed the network's control of a majority of high-powered stations and called for the divorcement of NBC's two networks. RCA challenged the decision in court, but failed to overturn the FCC's findings. In 1943 RCA sold its Blue network to Edward J. Noble, and this network eventually became ABC.

After World War II, RCA moved quickly to consolidate its influence over the television industry. While CBS tried to stall efforts to establish technological standards in order to promote its own color-TV technology, RCA pressed for the development of television according to the existing NTSC technical standards established in 1941. The FCC agreed with RCA, though the two networks continued to battle over standards for color television until the RCA system was finally selected in 1953. Throughout this period, network television played a secondary role at RCA. In the early 1950s NBC accounted for only one-quarter of RCA's corporate profits. NBC's most important role for its parent was in helping to extend the general appeal of television as the market for television sets boomed.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, NBC generally finished in second place in the ratings behind CBS. NBC's prime-time schedule relied heavily on two genres: drama, including several of the most acclaimed anthology drama series of the 1950s (such as *Philco/Goodyear Playhouse*, *Kraft Television Theater*), and comedy/variety, featuring such stars as Milton Berle, Jimmy Durante, Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, Bob Hope, and

Perry Como. In spite of its dependence on these familiar genres, NBC was also responsible for several programming innovations.

Several key innovations are credited to Sylvester "Pat" Weaver, who served as the network's chief programmer from 1949 to 1953 and as president from 1953 to 1955. Weaver is credited with introducing the "magazine concept" of television advertising, in which advertisers no longer sponsored an entire series, but paid to have their ads placed within a program, as ads appear in a magazine. Previously, networks had functioned as conduits for programs produced by sponsors; Weaver's move shifted the balance of power toward the networks, which were able to exert more control over their programming and schedules. Weaver expanded the network schedule into the "fringe" time periods of early morning and late night by introducing *Today* and *Tonight*. He also championed "event" programming that broke the routines of regularly scheduled series with expensive, one-shot broadcasts, which he called "spectaculars." Broadcast live, the Broadway production of *Peter Pan* drew a record audience of 65 million viewers in 1955.

Former ABC president Robert Kintner took over programming at NBC in 1956 and served as network president from 1958 to 1965. Kintner supervised the expansion of NBC news, the shift to color broadcasting (completed in 1965), and the network's diversification beyond television programming. Programming under Kintner followed the network's traditional reliance on dramas and comedy/variety. NBC formed a strong alliance with the production company MCA-Universal, whose drama series came to dominate the network's schedule well into the 1970s.

During the late 1970s, after decades spent battling CBS in the ratings, NBC watched as ABC, with a sitcom-laden schedule, took command of the ratings race, leaving NBC in a distant third place. To halt its steep decline, NBC recruited Fred Silverman, the man who had engineered ABC's rapid rise. Silverman's tenure as president of NBC lasted from 1978 to 1981 and is probably the lowest point in the history of the network. Instead of turning around NBC's fortunes, Silverman presided over an era of ratings that declined still further, desertions by the network's affiliate stations, and programs that were often mediocre (*BJ and the Bear*) and occasionally disastrous (*Supertrain*).

Mired in third place at the depths of its fortunes in 1981, NBC recruited Grant Tinker to become NBC chairman. A cofounder of MTM Enterprises, Tinker had presided over the spectacular rise of the independent production company that had produced *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Lou Grant*, and *Hill Street Blues*. Tinker led NBC on a three-year journey back to re-

spectability by continuing the commitment to quality programming that had marked his tenure at MTM. He and programming chief Brandon Tartikoff patiently nurtured such acclaimed series as *Hill Street Blues*, *Cheers*, *St. Elsewhere*, *Family Ties*, and *Miami Vice*. The turning point for NBC came in 1984, when Tartikoff convinced comedian Bill Cosby to return to series television with *The Cosby Show*. Network profits under Tinker and Tartikoff climbed from \$48 million in 1981 to \$333 million in 1985.

By the mid-1980s, NBC generated 43 percent of RCA's \$570 million in annual earnings—a hugely disproportionate share of the profits for a single division of a conglomerate. In the merger-mania that swept the corporate world in the 1980s, RCA became a ripe target for takeover, particularly given the potential value of the company when broken into its various components. General Electric purchased RCA, and with it NBC, in 1985 for \$6.3 billion. When Tinker stepped down in 1986, GE chairman Jack Welch named Robert E. Wright as network chairman. NBC dominated the ratings until the late 1980s, when its ratings suddenly collapsed, as viewers deserted aging hits like *The Golden Girls* and *L.A. Law*. Just one show, *Cheers*, remained in the Nielsen top ten by 1991, and NBC fell into third place for the first time in over a decade. Network profits plunged from \$603 million in 1989 to \$204 million in 1992.

The network suffered one public relations debacle after another during this period. The CNBC cable channel, which NBC had launched as a joint venture with cable operator Cablevision, lost \$60 million in its first two years, forcing Cablevision to withdraw from the partnership. Wright's appointment of newspaper executive Michael Gartner to head NBC News ended in a highly publicized scandal over a fraudulent news report on the prime-time news magazine, *Dateline*. Attempts to name a successor to the retiring Johnny Carson as host of *The Tonight Show* turned into a public brouhaha as network executives wavered between Jay Leno and David Letterman. Leno eventually ended up in Carson's seat, while Letterman fled to CBS.

Nevertheless, GE held onto NBC, and Robert Wright remained in charge, gradually bringing stability to the network and returning it to prominence starting in 1993. Wright hired Republican public relations guru Roger Ailes to turn around CNBC, and his success was almost immediate; CNBC reported an operating profit of \$50 million in 1995. Wright placed Andrew Lack in charge of NBC News, and Lack led *The Nightly News* with Tom Brokaw and *The Today Show* (overhauled by producer Jeff Zucker) into first place. Expanded to three hours, *The Today Show* became an NBC cash cow, generating advertising rev-



enue of \$450 million a year. Wright convinced veteran producer Don Ohlmeyer to join the entertainment division, where he and entertainment president Warren Littlefield returned NBC to the top of the prime-time ratings by 1995, with solid hits in *Seinfeld*, *E.R.*, *Frasier*, *Friends*, and *Law and Order*. Littlefield passed the torch to Scott Sassa in 1998, and NBC added *The West Wing* and *Will & Grace* to its roster of critical and popular success.

Robert Wright and GE management have adapted to some of the conventions of the television industry, but NBC's accomplishment over the past 10 years is also due to the application of GE's rigorous management strategies to television, where NBC executives dissect audience demographics and measure the advertising potential of each show developed for the network schedule. This has led to NBC's intense focus on the 18- to 49-year-old adult demographic, which rarely wavers across its prime-time schedule. It is the rare NBC series, for instance, that centers on families with children—the sorts of series that appear regularly on CBS and ABC, attracting viewers too young or too old for NBC's desired demographic. This also has led NBC to squeeze every dime out of its Thursday night "Must-See TV" schedule, which has become the most profitable night of television as the movie studios spend heavily on TV advertising for the Friday launch of their blockbusters.

These management strategies also have led NBC to question the economic value of certain types of programming, such as major-league sports, that were considered a network staple just a few years ago. In an initially surprising move, NBC eliminated costly, money-losing sports properties that once defined the power and prestige of a national network, choosing not to renew its contracts with the National Football League, Major League Baseball, and the National Basketball Association.

The competition in prime time has increased over the past several years, as the audience has continued to shrink, the advertising market has flattened, programming costs have risen, new program formats have been introduced, and new networks compete for viewers. There are now six broadcast networks and dozens of cable channels competing for the attention of viewers. Under these conditions it is increasingly difficult to launch a new series, and NBC has not had a breakout hit since *Will & Grace* debuted in 1998. With the exception of *Fear Factor*, NBC has not matched the success of other networks in developing non-scripted series. Therefore, its programmers have been forced to squeeze every ratings point out of the existing hits. Under Scott Sassa, NBC introduced two spin-offs of *Law and Order*, an enduring hit that debuted in 1990

(*Law and Order: SVU* and *Law and Order: Criminal Intent*) and there is talk of a fourth version to follow. Since former *Today Show* producer Jeff Zucker became entertainment president in 2001, he has not launched a hit series, but has kept NBC on top with programming gimmicks, such as "super-sized" episodes of NBC's Thursday night sitcoms, which add extra minutes in order to keep viewers from turning to a competitor's program. He also plans to include short films during the commercial breaks in order to keep viewers, particularly TiVo-empowered viewers, watching the commercials.

The cost of holding together a prime-time schedule has increased dramatically over the past several years, and NBC has been forced to spend lavishly in order to keep in place its most successful series. As it is more difficult than ever to turn a scripted series into a hit, producers of existing series find themselves with considerable bargaining leverage. When *E.R.* came up for renewal in 2000, NBC paid Warner Brothers Television a record \$13 million per episode. In order to lure *Friends* back for a final season in 2003–04, NBC paid Warner Brothers \$10 million per episode and reduced its order to just eighteen episodes. In spite of sagging ratings, the Emmy-winning *The West Wing* was renewed for \$6 million per episode.

While broadcast networks have only a single revenue source—advertising sales—cable networks earn money from advertising and from charging transmission fees to cable and satellite delivery systems, which are passed along to viewers as higher service rates. For the most successful networks, such as Disney's ESPN, these transmission fees can be raised by as much as 20 percent annually. By combining broadcast and cable networks, a company like NBC increases its bargaining leverage over cable and satellite systems when negotiating transmission fees and over advertisers when negotiating advertising rates across a range of networks that can provide access to different sorts of viewers. In addition, a diversified portfolio of broadcast and cable networks allows a company like NBC to reconstitute much of the audience lost by the traditional broadcast networks over the past two decades. Although the audience for the broadcast networks continues to shrink, the five companies that control the broadcast networks still reach more than 80 percent of viewers in prime time, when counting the ratings for their combined broadcast and cable networks. This explains why half of the top 50 cable networks have changed hands since 1990 and why most are now controlled by the five companies that already own broadcast networks.

Cable networks also allow companies to spread operating costs and extend their global reach. NBC has

achieved greater efficiency and reach for CNBC by expanding CNBC Europe and CNBC Asia Pacific (both of which are jointly owned with Dow Jones, the publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*) through a range of localized services using the resources of partners in Japan, Australia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sweden, and several other countries. The 24-hour news network MSNBC uses the resources of NBC News to provide programming for both cable and Internet. Cable networks also lend themselves to the establishment of brand identities and to cross-promotional opportunities, as networks like ESPN, MTV, and Nickelodeon have proven for NBC's competitors. After taking complete ownership of the Bravo cable network in December 2002 by purchasing Cablevision's 50 percent stake for \$1.25 billion, NBC spent one-quarter of Bravo's annual marketing budget to launch a signature program, *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*. With its splashy summer 2003 debut, *Queer Eye* pointed the way toward a future of corporate synergy at NBC. It is relatively inexpensive to produce and loaded with product placements that cannot be ignored by viewers with TiVo. NBC promoted it heavily throughout the network schedule—its cast appeared on the Today and Tonight shows—and has aired episodes in prime time on NBC. Regular episodes on Bravo have drawn as many as 3 million viewers—small by network standards, but the largest in Bravo's 22-year history. In this intensive marketing campaign, one can glimpse the future of corporate synergy and the strategy for transforming a program and a cable network into a marketable brand.

NBC's acquisition of Vivendi's Universal properties follows as a logical step in the network's expansion and should be viewed as a response to two trends: the rising cost of programming, and the value of cable networks. With the support of new GE chairman Jeff Immelt, Robert Wright pursued the Universal assets when they became available after Vivendi CEO Jean-Marie Messier drove the company to the brink of bankruptcy. The movie studio and theme parks may not play a significant role in NBC's long-term plans (and there is speculation that NBC will sell the theme parks in the near future), but they are the cost of acquiring Vivendi's other assets: the television production operation, a library consisting of over 5,000 movies and 34,000 hours of television, and the cable channels USA, Sci-Fi, and Trio. NBC wants its own studio in

order to avoid being held hostage in negotiations with producers—or at least to share in the syndication profits of series that achieve success on the network. NBC now owns the *Law and Order* franchise, which reduces many of the headaches involved in negotiating its renewal (though it creates new concerns about potential conflicts of interest) and cuts the network in on its syndication revenues. The real value of the deal for NBC lies in the expansion of its cable holdings through Vivendi's three established cable networks. Over the last half-decade it has often seemed like an episode of *Law and Order* was always on the air, with originals and repeats on NBC or syndicated reruns on A&E, TNT, and USA at virtually any hour of the day. With NBC's newly acquired library of *Law and Order* episodes, and a growing portfolio of cable channels, it is not sheer fantasy to imagine that we have moved one step closer to the day when there will be a cable network that consists of nothing but *Law and Order*, all day, every day.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

**See also** *Bravo*; *Cosby Show, The*; *Cheers*; *Friends*; *Kintner, Robert E.*; *L.A. Law*; *Law and Order*; *MSNBC*; *Saturday Night Live*; *Seinfeld*; *Tartikoff, Brandon*; *Telemundo*; *Tinker, Grant*; *Tonight Show, The*; *Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)*; *Wright, Robert C.*; *Zworykin, Vladimir*

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# National Cable and Telecommunications Association

U.S. Industry Trade Association

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The National Cable and Telecommunications Association (NCTA) is the major trade organization for the U.S. cable television industry, mediating the professional activities of cable system operators, program services (networks), and equipment manufacturers. From its inception, the NCTA has served the dual function of promoting the growth of the cable industry and dealing with the regulatory challenges that have kept that growth in check. The organization's publications and regular meetings have kept members apprised of new technologies and programming innovations, and its legal staff has played a key role in the many executive, legislative, and judicial decisions affecting the cable industry over the years.

The NCTA first was organized as the National Community Television Council on September 18, 1951, when a small group of community antenna television (CATV) operators met at a hotel in Pottsville, Pennsylvania. They gathered in response to concern over the Internal Revenue Service's attempts to impose an 8 percent excise tax on their operations. These businessmen quickly became aware of other common interests, leading to a series of organizational meetings during September and October 1951 and January 1952. On January 28, 1952, the organization's name officially was changed to National Community Television Association.

The NCTA's growth kept pace with the rapidly expanding CATV industry. Within its first year, close to 40 CATV systems joined the organization. Membership then grew into the hundreds by the end of the 1950s and the thousands by the end of the 1960s. In 1968 the term "community antenna television" gave way to the term "cable," reflecting the industry's expanded categories of service, including local news, weather information, and channels of pay television. Accordingly, the NCTA changed its official name to National Cable Television Association. It subsequently changed its name again, in May 2001, to National Cable and Telecommunications Association in order, according to an April 30, 2001, press release, to reflect "cable's transformation from a

one-way video provider to a competitive supplier of advanced, two-way services."

Today, the NCTA is headquartered in Washington, D.C. It represents cable systems serving over 80 percent of U.S. cable subscribers, as well as cable program services (networks), hardware suppliers, and other services related to the industry. The organization is divided into departments including: Administration and Finance; Association Affairs; Government Relations; Industry Affairs; Legal; Programming and Marketing; Public Affairs; Research and Policy Analysis; and Science and Technology.

The NCTA hosts an annual industry-wide trade show and produces a number of reports and periodicals. It also maintains an extensive website featuring up-to date cable statistics, addresses, and listings ([www.ncta.com](http://www.ncta.com)). From 1979 until 1997 the NCTA recognized outstanding programming for cable television through the National Academy of Cable Programming, which presented the Cable Ace Awards. After that date the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences began to recognize cable programming within the Emmy competition. The NCTA currently presents the Vanguard Awards for personal achievement in a number of categories, including Distinguished Vanguard Awards for



*Courtesy of the NCTA*

Leadership, Young Leadership, Programmers, Associates and Affiliates, Science and Technology, Cable Operations and Management, Government and Community Relations, and Marketing.

The Association also sponsors Cable in the Classroom, a free service that provides copyright cleared material to schoolrooms. According to the NCTA website, the service reaches 81,000 public and private schools, providing materials to 78 percent of K-12 students in the United States.

Throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, the NCTA has been involved with numerous decisions and controversies surrounding the 1996 Telecommunications Act. More generally, the growing presence of the Internet and other broadband technologies have confronted the cable industry with increasing competition from Direct Broadcast Satellite, and the association

has focused efforts on defense of cable modem delivery of high-speed Internet service.

MEGAN MULLEN

**See also Association of Independent Television Stations; Cable Networks; United States: Cable**

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## National Educational Television Center

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The National Educational Television (NET) Center played the dominant role in building the structure on which the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) rests. Funded primarily by Ford Foundation grants, NET was established in 1952 to assist in the creation and maintenance of an educational television service complementary to the entertainment-centered services available through commercial stations. NET initially was designed to function simply as an "exchange center," most of whose programming would be produced at the grassroots level by member stations. This strategy failed to attract a substantial audience because programming produced by the affiliates tended to be overly academic and of poor quality.

By 1958, NET's programming had acquired a well-deserved reputation as dull, plodding, and pedantic. NET officials recognized that if it were to survive and move beyond its "university of the air" status, NET needed strong leadership and a new program philosophy. They hired the station manager of WQED-Pittsburgh, John F. White, to take over the presidency of NET. An extremely ambitious proponent of the educational television movement, White believed that the system would grow and thrive only if NET provided strong national leadership. Consequently, White saw his task as that of transforming NET into a centralized network comparable to the three commercial net-

works. First, he moved NET headquarters from Ann Arbor, Michigan, to New York City, where it could be associated more closely with its commercial counterparts. Next, he declared his organization to be the "Fourth Network," and attempted to develop program strategies aimed at making this claim a reality. No longer relying primarily on material produced by affiliated stations, NET officials now sought high-quality programming obtained from a variety of sources, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and other international television organizations.

In 1964 the Ford Foundation decided to substantially increase their support of NET through a \$6 million yearly grant. They believed that only a well-financed, centralized program service would bring national attention to noncommercial television and expand audiences for each local station. The terms of the grant allowed NET to produce and distribute a five-hour, weekly package divided into the broad categories of cultural and public affairs programming. The freedom provided by this funding generated a period of creative risk-taking between 1964 and 1968. Their cultural programming included adult drama such as *NET Playhouse* as well as children's shows like *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. But it was through public affairs programming that NET hoped to emphasize its unique status as the "alternative network." Cognizant

that the intense ratings war between the three commercial networks had led to a decline in public affairs programming, NET strove to gain a reputation for filling the vacuum left in this area after 1963. NET producers and directors including Alvin Perlmutter, Jack Willis, and Morton Silverstein began to film hard-hitting documentaries rarely found on commercial television. Offered under the series title *NET Journal*, such programs as *The Poor Pay More*; *Black Like Me*; *Appalachia: Rich Land, Poor People*; and *Inside North Vietnam* explored controversial issues and often took editorial stands. Although *NET Journal* received positive responses from media critics, many of NET's affiliates, particularly those in the South, grew to resent what they perceived as its "East Coast liberalism."

Despite the fact that John White and his staff believed that NET had been making progress in increasing the national audience for noncommercial television, the Ford Foundation did not share this conviction and began to reevaluate their level of commitment. Between 1953 and 1966, the foundation had invested over \$130 million in NET, its affiliated stations, and related endeavors. In spite of this substantial contribution, there was a constant need for additional funding. As Ford looked for ways to withdraw its support, educational broadcasters began to look to the government for financial assistance. Government involvement in this issue led to the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, the subsequent creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and the eventual demise of NET.

Having been at the center of the educational television movement for 15 years, NET believed it would continue as the distributor of the national network schedule. The CPB initially supported NET's role by allowing NET to serve as the "public television network" between 1967 and 1969. But in 1969 the CPB announced its decision to create an entirely new entity, the Public Broadcasting Service, to take over network operations. The CPB's decision lay not only in its awareness that NET had alienated a majority of the affiliated stations, but also in the corporation's belief that a hopeless conflict of interest would have resulted if NET continued to serve as a principal production center while at the same time exercising control over program distribution. With the creation of PBS in 1969, NET's position became tenuous. NET continued to produce and schedule programming, now aired on PBS, including the well-received BBC productions, *The Forsyte Saga* and *Civilization*. But NET's refusal to end its commitment to the production of hard-hitting controversial documentaries such as *Who Invited US?* and *Banks and the Poor* led to public clashes between NET and PBS over program content. PBS wanted to

curb NET's controversial role in the system and create a new image for public television, particularly since NET documentaries inflamed the Nixon administration and imperiled funding. In order to neutralize NET, the CPB and the Ford Foundation threatened to cut NET's program grants unless NET merged with New York's public television outlet, WNDT. Lacking allies, NET acquiesced to the proposed alliance in late 1970 and its role as a network was lost. The final result was WNET-Channel 13.

The legacy that NET left behind included the development of a national system of public television stations and a history of innovative programming. As a testament to this legacy, two children's shows that made their debut on NET, *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, continue to air as PBS icons (the production of original episodes of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* ceased in 2001 with the retirement of Fred Rogers, but reruns of the program are still broadcast on PBS; *Sesame Street* is still making new shows).

CAROLYN N. BROOKS

*See also Children's Television Workshop; Educational Television*

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# National Telecommunications and Information Administration

U.S. Policy Office

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The National Telecommunication and Information Administration (NTIA), an agency within the U.S. Department of Commerce, was established in 1978. In the years preceding the NTIA's inception, the executive branch had established an Office of Telecommunication Policy (headed by Clay T. Whitehead) in order to spearhead administration communication policy in certain areas, notably cable television. The NTIA succeeded this unit and combined the responsibilities and mission of the president's Office of Telecommunication Policy (OTP) and the Department of Commerce's Office of Telecommunications. Its main responsibilities include managing the federal portion of the electromagnetic spectrum and advising and coordinating various agencies within the executive branch on telecommunications and information policy matters. It is the principal adviser to the president on communication policy and also operates a research and engineering Institute for Telecommunication Sciences in Colorado.

An organization like the NTIA seemed necessary to some policy makers in the late 1970s insofar as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was (and remains) increasingly burdened by the day-to-day matters of spectrum management and regulating the telephone, other common carrier, television, and cable industries. The commission was hindered by these routine tasks from developing long-range policies that could effectively plan for the increasing range of communication technologies. Moreover, at the same time, the Nixon and Ford administrations were highly critical of the media and desired a more powerful, direct hand in their regulation. The Office of Telecommunications Policy was created in 1970 to satisfy President Richard Nixon's concern in this regard, and under Whitehead the OTP quickly took on duties formerly assumed to be the FCC's jurisdiction. For example, the FCC's 1972 cable rules were largely worked out by Whitehead's office through a consensus agreement crafted among the broadcasting, cable, and program production industry representatives. Under President Jimmy Carter, the OTP's functions were transferred to the NTIA.

Conceived as a planning and policy-generating body within the Department of Commerce, the NTIA maintains its advisory agency status, even though it is capable of mustering strong political support for its positions. Its approximately 250 employees investigate core issue areas that include structuring telecommunications services within a competitive framework, encouraging innovation, and identifying policy adjustments necessary to move efficiently toward a digital era. Some of its reports and position statements have addressed topics such as using spectrum efficiently, smoothing the transition to Third Generation (3G) advanced mobile phone services, promoting e-commerce, advocating public interest considerations in broadcasting's transition to digital signals, and identifying Internet standards.

The NTIA's reports and investigations have yielded information and positions important to some congressional action and to some administration policies regarding communication industries. In the 1990s, for example, the NTIA took a lead role in gathering data and publishing four analyses of the status of the "digital divide" in the United States. The "digital divide" refers to numerous forms of unequal access to a range of Internet service. The most simple "divide" is the gap between those who have computers and those who do not. Even those who have computers, however, do not always have access to Internet service providers. And even among those who have both, a more sophisticated version of the "digital divide" concept refers to user skills, educational opportunities, and class differences." These reports focused a great deal of attention on the role of computers and the Internet in American society. The NTIA has maintained a Public Telecommunications Facilities Program, which helps public broadcasting services cover capital costs associated with endeavors such as upgrading to digital broadcasting. In the 1990s the NTIA also initiated a Technology Opportunities Program (formerly called the Telecommunications and Information Infrastructure Assistance Program, or TIIAP), to assist community-based programs that sought to use advanced telecommunications capabilities for local education and development.

SHARON STROVER



Courtesy of NTIA

See also Geller, Henry

#### Further Reading

*Note:* Additional information about the National Telecommunications and Information Administration, including various reports on the Digital Divide, are available at the NTIA website: [www.ntia.doc.gov/reports.html](http://www.ntia.doc.gov/reports.html)

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Nature Programs. See Wildlife and Nature Programs

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## Nature of Things, The

Canadian Science Program

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One of the longest-running television shows in Canadian history, *The Nature of Things* has aired continuously since November 6, 1960. An hour-long general science program, the show began as a half-hour series—an attempt, as the first press release phrased it, “to put weekly science shows back on North American television schedules.” It billed itself as “unique on this continent. On every other television network, the scientist will have stepped aside for the comedian, the gunfighter, or the private-eye.” The multi-award-winning show has been broadcast in more than 80 countries, including the United States, where it has aired on the Discovery Channel and PBS.

The first producer of the show was Norman Caton, and the first hosts were Patterson Ivey and his colleague Donald Hume of the University of Toronto. Ivey had cohosted a series in 1959 called *Two for Physics*, and CBC hoped that the time was ripe for a new science series. The series produced shows on the causes of schizophrenia, a review of space technology, a study on how the brain works, and a study of the controlled isolation of human beings. In keeping with the then-lofty aspirations of the CBC, the show was named after a poem by the Roman philosopher Lucretius, “*De Rerum Natura*” (The Nature of Things).

Since 1979, David Suzuki has been the host of *The*





*The Nature of Things.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

*Nature of Things.* As a biologist and geneticist, he has been very conscious of the nature of evolution and growth. An ardent and vocal environmental conservationist, Suzuki is a social activist for environmental causes. In the beginning, he appeared an awkward and stilted host, but over the years his manner has relaxed and his delivery improved to the point that the show is practically synonymous with the former fruit-fly geneticist. In fact, its official title is now *The Nature of Things with David Suzuki*, and the host is recognized throughout Canada.

Some of the topics that the show has explored over the years are the disintegration of books in libraries, the logging of old-growth forests, euthanasia, drugs in sports, chaos theory, the history of rubber, the Penan

tribe of Malaysia, farmers' use of pesticides, the use of animals in research, forensic science, air crashes, the James Bay hydro-electric project, endangered species, lasers, global warming, children's toys, the pharmaceutical industry, and the reintroduction of Peregrine falcons to the wild. Many individual shows have been produced under the subject headings of endangered species, dimensions of the mind, aspects and diseases of the human body, the global economy, and international issues. *The Nature of Things* repeatedly investigates controversial topics long before they become popular in the general press: in 1972 it did a show on acupuncture and in 1969 one on the dangers of pollution. One show was accused of bias by the forest industry and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce



pulled its commercials from the CBC. Another on the global economy and its effect on the environment was also criticized by some groups as being unbalanced. *The Nature of Things*, however, has never been charged with shirking the tough issues.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of *The Nature of Things* in 1990, Suzuki wrote in *The Toronto Star* that in the gimmicky world of television-land, where only the new is exciting, “the longevity of a TV series is just like the persistence of a plant or animal species—it reflects the survival of the fittest.” In its first 30 years, the program had only three executive producers—John Livingston, James (Jim) Murray, and Nancy Archibald. As of 2002, the executive producer was Michael Adler.

In 1971 Suzuki hosted *Suzuki on Science*, another CBC science show. Suzuki has also been heard for many years on CBC Radio, serving as host of *Quirks and Quarks* from 1974 to 1979 and hosting or contributing to many other programs. In 1979 *Science Magazine*, which Suzuki had hosted since 1974, and *The Nature of Things* were combined into a one-hour show, with Murray again acting as executive producer. Suzuki was an assistant professor at the University of Alberta (Edmonton) and a full professor at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver) before retiring from academia in 2001. In 1977 he was named to the Order of Canada, the country’s highest honor.

Ratings for *The Nature of Things* dropped somewhat in 1990, but CBC retained the show. The show has

changed with the times, often being the first to explore new subject areas, but the fact that it has been so successful can also be attributed to the ability of its makers to make science understandable, interesting, and entertaining for audiences who vary widely in age, class, race, and cultural background.

JANICE KAYE

#### Hosts/Presenters

Lister Sinclair  
Patterson Ivey  
Donald Hume  
John Livingston  
David Suzuki

#### Producers

David Walker, John Livingston, James Murray, Nancy Archibald, Norm Caton, Lister Sinclair, Michael Adler

#### Programming History

CBC	
1960–80	Half-hour weekly
1980–	One-hour weekly

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**NBC.** See National Broadcasting Company

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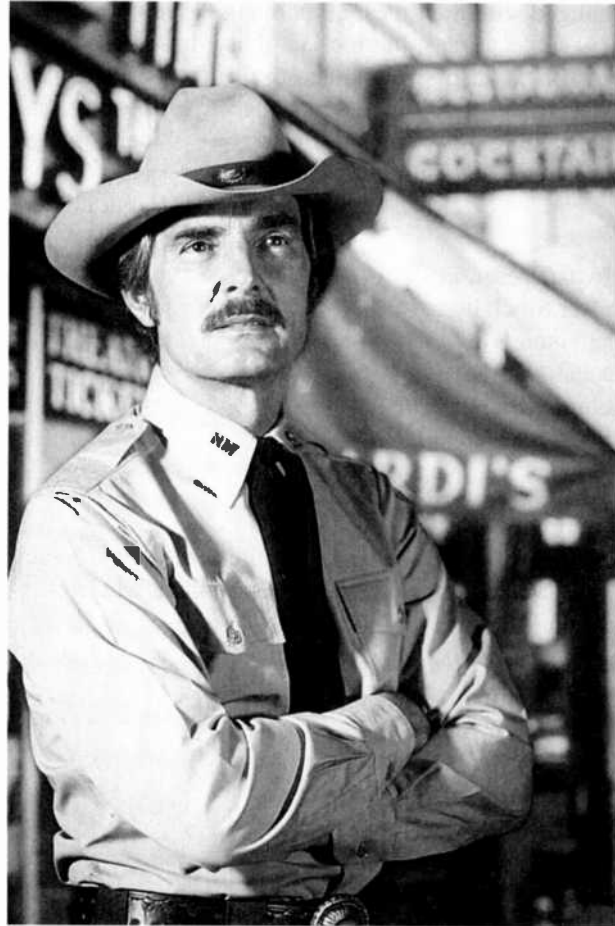
## NBC Mystery Movie, The

U.S. Police/Detective Drama

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*The NBC Mystery Movie* aired on the network from 1971 until 1977 and consisted of several recurring programs. Its use of a rotation of different shows under an umbrella title was an NBC innovation during this era. *Mystery Movie* followed on the heels of the network’s

1968 umbrella series, *The Name of the Game* (which ran each of its different segments under the same title). In 1969 NBC launched *The Bold Ones* (which included *The New Doctors*, *The Lawyers*, *The Protectors*, and, in 1970, *The Senator*), and in 1970 the



*NBC Mystery Movie: McCloud, Dennis Weaver.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

network presented the *Four in One* collection of *Night Gallery*, *San Francisco International Airport*, *The Psychiatrist*, and *McCloud*. But the idea behind *Mystery Movie* and similar “wheel format” series had much deeper roots than these NBC versions and can be traced back at least to ABC’s *Warner Brothers Presents*, which debuted in 1955.

The original incarnation of *The NBC Mystery Movie* consisted of three rotating series. *McCloud*, starring Dennis Weaver as a modern-day western marshal transplanted from New Mexico to the streets of New York City, was a holdover from NBC’s earlier *Four in One* lineup. *McMillan and Wife* starred Rock Hudson and Susan St. James as San Francisco Police Commissioner Stewart McMillan and his wife, Sally. And the most successful *Mystery Movie* segment of all, *Columbo*, featured Peter Falk reprising his role from the highly rated 1968 NBC made-for-television movie, *Prescription: Murder*, as a seemingly slow-witted yet keenly perceptive and doggedly tenacious

Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) homicide lieutenant.

The new Wednesday night series was an immediate success for NBC, finishing at number 14 in the Nielsen ratings for the 1971–72 season. In addition, *Columbo* was nominated for eight Emmy Awards (including all three nominations for dramatic series writing), winning in four categories. For the next season, NBC attempted to parlay the *Mystery Movie*’s success in two ways. First, it moved the original *Mystery Movie* lineup of *Columbo*, *McCloud*, and *McMillan and Wife* to the highly competitive Sunday night schedule and, as a fourth installment to this rotation, added *Hec Ramsey*, starring Richard Boone as a turn-of-the-century western crime fighter. Also, NBC initiated a completely new slate of similar shows and moved these into the Wednesday time period formerly occupied by the original *Mystery Movie* lineup. Thus, NBC’s 1972 fall schedule contained the original *Mystery Movie* shows, now called *The NBC Sunday Mystery Movie*, plus a completely new set of programs, titled *The NBC Wednesday Mystery Movie*.

NBC continued to achieve commercial and critical success with its *Sunday Mystery Movie* series. The umbrella program finished tied as the fifth-highest-rated series of the 1972–73 season, and *Columbo* garnered four more Emmy nominations to go along with acting nominations for *McMillan and Wife*’s Susan St. James and Nancy Walker. But the *Wednesday Mystery Movie* lineup never was able to realize a similar degree of success. The new Wednesday series included *Banacek*, starring George Peppard as a sleuth who made his living by collecting insurance company rewards for solving crimes and insurance scams (Banacek’s Polish-American heritage was also a featured element of the program); *Cool Million*, a segment that featured James Farentino as a high-priced private investigator and former CIA agent; and *Madigan*, starring Richard Widmark as a New York police detective. While the shows’ concepts may have sounded similar to those of the original *Mystery Movie* segments, they lacked the novelty and unique characterizations of the originals, and NBC’s attempt to clone its *Mystery Movie* format in such a way that it could fill a second block in its prime-time schedule was ultimately unsuccessful. The “knock-off” Wednesday lineup was retooled several times over its two seasons on the air. *Madigan* and *Banacek* were retained for the 1973 fall season, joined in the rotation by *Tenafly*, which featured African-American actor James McEachin as a Los Angeles P.I. (the series title was suspiciously similar to the 1972 “blaxploitation” hit film, *Superfly*), *The Snoop Sisters*, which brought Helen Hayes to prime-time television as half of a mystery-writing/crime-solving team of elderly

sisters, and *Faraday and Company*, starring veteran film and television actor Dan Dailey. But after seeing no better results in its second year, the *NBC Wednesday Mystery Movie* was dropped for the 1974 fall season.

NBC was not the only network unable to clone the *Mystery Movie* formula successfully. Both ABC, with its 1972 *The Men* series, and CBS, with its 1973 *Tuesday Night CBS Movie* (which rotated made-for-TV movies with the series *Shaft*, featuring Richard Roundtree reprising the title role from the film of the same name, and *Hawkins*, starring the legendary Jimmy Stewart as a small-town attorney), failed in similar short-lived attempts. But while its imitators struggled, the three original *Mystery Movie* entries remained strong into the mid-1970s. Over these years, NBC continued to try to find a fourth element that could be added to the *Columbo/McCloud/McMillan and Wife* mix, trying out such shows as *Amy Prentiss*, *McCoy*, and *Lanigan's Rabbi*. Finally, in the fall of 1976, *Quincy, M.E.*, starring Jack Klugman as a Los Angeles medical examiner, joined the rotation. In early 1977 it was spun off as a regular weekly series and would go on to have a successful seven-year run on the network.

By the end of the 1976–77 season, *The Sunday Mystery Movie* had reached the end of its run and was replaced on the NBC schedule by *The Big Event*. But *The NBC Mystery Movie* had left a legacy that would not soon be forgotten, and the series served as an inspiration for a future television trend: the recurring made-for-television movie, featuring regular characters and routine plotlines, which would appear only a limited number of times each season. Ironically, one of the most popular of such recurring programs would be *Mystery Movie's* own *Columbo*, which was revived in the late 1980s by ABC and would go on to garner once again high ratings and still more Emmy Awards for its new network.

DAVID GUNZERATH

See also **Action/Adventure Programs; Columbo; Detective Programs; Police Programs**

#### Series Presented As Part of *The NBC Mystery Movie*

1971–72	[Wednesday] <i>Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife</i>
1972–73	<i>Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Hec Ramsey</i> <i>Wednesday Mystery Movie: Madigan, Cool Million, Banacek</i>

1973–74	<i>Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Hec Ramsey</i> <i>Wednesday Mystery Movie: Madigan, Tenaflly, Faraday and Company, The Snoop Sisters</i> (January 1972, series scheduled on Tuesday as <i>NBC Tuesday Mystery Movie</i> )
1974–75	<i>Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Amy Prentiss</i>
1975–76	<i>Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, McCoy</i>
1976–77	<i>Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Quincy, M.E.</i> (through December 1976), <i>Lanigan's Rabbi</i> (from January 1977)

#### Producers

Various

#### Programming History

NBC

September 1971–January 1974	Wednesday 8:30–10:00
September 1972–September 1974	Sunday 8:30–10:00
January 1974–September 1974	Tuesday 8:30–10:00
September 1974–September 1975	Sunday 8:30–10:30
September 1975–September 1976	Sunday 9:00–11:00
October 1975–April 1977	Sunday various times
May 1977–September 1977	Sunday 8:00–9:30

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# NBC Reports

## U.S. Documentary

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Although not as renowned as *ABC CloseUp*, *CBS Reports*, or *NBC White Paper*, *NBC Reports* offered in-depth investigations in the prestige documentary tradition for nearly two decades and is extensively woven into the history of documentaries and newsmagazines on American network television. Introduced in 1972 as a regularly scheduled series, this collection of investigative reports was designed to probe and expose issues of the day. The series is notable as much for its personnel as for its occasionally controversial content. *NBC Reports* was also instrumental in the shift by network news divisions from a long-form documentary commitment to "infotainment" news hours, and eventually the stream of stylish network newsmagazines that proliferated in the 1990s.

*NBC Reports* initially shared a time slot with the newsmagazine *First Tuesday* and an acclaimed historical documentary series *America*, which was produced by the BBC and Time-Life Films. (*America* moved to PBS for the 1974–75 season.) This scheduling technique became common after 1968 when the networks began experimenting with newsmagazines. News divisions wanted a program format that expanded coverage of the day's headlines but did not warrant the in-depth analysis of a documentary. The newsmagazines were intended to complement the documentary and the evening newscasts. Network executives were also searching for ways to fill programming hours and looked to their news divisions as a source. One solution was to allocate a time slot to the news division, which would fill the period with a combination of newsmagazine and documentary programs, such as *NBC Reports*.

The series arrived after an era of protest against the media that accompanied network television's coverage of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago and the anti-media sentiment that emanated from the administration of President Nixon. In this hostile climate, the very first documentary offered by *NBC Reports* provoked strong reactions. *Pensions: The Broken Promise*, which aired September 12, 1972, exposed inadequacies in national pension funds that resulted in severe losses for veteran workers. The report won a Peabody Award and praise from the American Bar Association. But it was also investigated by

the Nixon-administration Federal Communications Commission, in response to a complaint from the conservative media watchdog group Accuracy in Media that the report was one-sided and thus violated the Fairness Doctrine. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case and in 1976 let stand a lower court ruling in favor of NBC that the program had achieved reasonable balance.

A number of distinguished producers worked on *NBC Reports*, among them Pam Hill, who did her final work on the series before moving to ABC to produce *ABC CloseUp*; the prolific Robert (Shad) Northshield, who went to CBS News in 1977 and developed the peerless *CBS Sunday Morning*; Lucy Jarvis, who produced NBC documentaries on international and domestic affairs, then left the network in 1976 to become an independent producer; Fred Freed, one of television's outstanding documentarians; and Robert Rogers. Rogers, an award-winning news writer, was a protégé of the documentarian Ted Yates, who was killed in Jerusalem in 1967 while covering the Six-Day War. Rogers continued to produce documentaries and newsmagazines and later became manager of the *NBC White Paper* series.

*NBC Reports* was later called *NBC Report on America*, an irregularly scheduled documentary series that focused on lifestyle and domestic social issues. In 1987 the series aired two sensationalistic documentaries anchored by correspondent Connie Chung: *Life in the Fat Lane*, a program on overeating and weight control, and *Scared Sexless*, which examined American social mores after the occurrence of AIDS and the decline of the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

These programs, produced by Sid Feders, featured stylish treatments, including computer graphics, popular music, quick pacing, and a minimum of information. They also showcased a celebrity news anchor, Connie Chung, and popular entertainers, such as Alan Alda, Marcus Allen, Nell Carter, Dom Deluise, Jane Fonda, Goldie Hawn, Tommy Lasorda, Danny Sullivan, and Oprah Winfrey.

Although these programs shared characteristics with traditional documentaries—in that they incrementally developed a thesis on a pressing social issue—the decision to team celebrity news reporters with entertain-

ment idols and to evoke an aesthetic look that resembled prime-time entertainment fare was highly successful in attracting large audiences and widespread publicity. Other networks also experimented with this documentary technique, but these *NBC Report on America* broadcasts led the field in 1987 and demonstrated to network management that news divisions could produce profitable programs. By the 1990s the formula evolved into a rush of prime-time news-magazines that showcased glamorous correspondents and popular topics on all the major commercial networks.

TOM MASCARO

See also **Documentary**

### Programming History

NBC

September 1972–September

1973 (irregular thereafter)

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

### Further Reading

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**NBC-Universal.** See **Universal**

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## NBC White Paper

U.S. News Documentary

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Beginning with its premiere in 1960, the long-form documentary series *NBC White Paper* won praise for using the television medium to foster journalistic excellence and an understanding of world affairs. By the 1980s, the program's approach was criticized by some who felt these comprehensive reports chased away viewers and stifled newer documentary forms. This acclaimed series, though, is remembered as one of the prestigious symbols of network news that helped fuel a fierce rivalry between CBS and NBC in the 1960s.

*NBC White Paper* was spawned, in part, by the need of the networks to heal the damage inflicted by the quiz show scandal. CBS initiated *CBS Reports* to showcase quality nonfiction reporting. Irv Gitlin, a prominent producer for CBS, hoped to head the new series but lost out to Fred Friendly. At NBC, President Robert Kintner sought to bolster the reputation of NBC

News and face CBS head-on. Kintner recruited Gitlin to develop a prestige series, and *NBC White Paper* debuted on November 29, 1960.

Network competition invigorated documentaries. Within a two-week period in 1960, NBC aired *The U-2 Affair*, about government deception regarding a spy mission over the Soviet Union; CBS broadcast the legendary *Harvest of Shame*, which depicted the squalid lives of American migrant workers; and ABC offered *Yanki, No!*, which depicted anti-American sentiment in Central America and Cuba.

Unlike *CBS Reports* in its early years, *NBC White Paper* never had a regular time slot and appeared only a few times each year. Many of its reports, however, were powerful treatments, beginning with the original broadcast. *The U-2 Affair* chronicled the flight and downing of a secret U.S. spy plane over the Soviet

Union, along with denials and subsequent admissions by U.S. officials that such espionage took place. The pilot, Francis Gary Powers, survived the crash. The Soviets distributed film of Powers and the remains of his airplane and forced President Eisenhower to admit the deception.

Chet Huntley, NBC's answer to Edward R. Murrow, was the correspondent for many of the *White Paper* reports. Al Wasserman, formerly of CBS, assisted Gitlin as producer-director. The team was often joined by Fred Freed, Edwin Newman, Frank McGee, Robert Northshield, and others.

Although rival CBS enjoyed a more prominent reputation in the documentary field, the *White Paper* series kept pace in both foreign and domestic affairs coverage and demonstrated an equal willingness to probe controversies. Erik Barnouw recounts how *Sit-In* made NBC filmmaker Robert Young a hero in the black community and led to another report from northern Angola in West Africa. Angola was a colony of Portugal, which was attempting to quell a native uprising. Foreign newsmen were barred from observing the rebellion, but Young persuaded NBC to allow him to go with black camera man Charles Dorkins to the Congo. Armed with letters of reference from prominent African Americans, Young and Dorkins trekked through 300 miles of jungle and shot footage for the 1961 documentary *Angola: Journey to a War*.

The reporters also retrieved fragments of a napalm bomb and shot film of English-language instructions inscribed on the shrapnel. To prevent Soviet use of the report against U.S. interests, Gitlin excised the bomb segment from the final program. The report succeeded, however, in balancing the Portuguese version of events with graphic depictions of native suffering.

With *The Battle of Newburgh*, *White Paper* employed powerful interview techniques to push the envelope of the editorial function within the documentary form, on a par with CBS's *Harvest of Shame*. A welfare-reform plan by the city manager of Newburgh, New York, intensified debate between liberals who supported children and the underprivileged, and conservatives who decried taxation for "social purposes." An extensive *White Paper* investigation discredited Newburgh's claims about welfare fraud. Although the report illustrated both sides of the argument, a dramatic interview with one needy family had a devastating effect. In a conclusion that straddled editorializing and reportage, narrator Huntley rebuked the charge that Newburgh was riddled with cheats.

Irv Gitlin died in 1967, a year in which there were no *White Paper* reports. Fred Freed assumed the role

of executive producer and focused the series on domestic issues, as with the three-part *Ordeal of the American City*, which aired in the 1968–69 season.

In 1980, *White Paper* broadcast *If Japan Can... Why Can't We?*, which explored how that country recovered from World War II to achieve world-class industrial status. NBC was inundated with requests for transcripts and copies of the program, which was studied by major corporations and universities. However, interest began to wane in the *White Paper* approach. In a *Los Angeles Times* interview in 1991, David Fanning, executive producer for the PBS documentary series *Frontline* said, "One of the reasons the documentary declined is that the networks didn't allow the form to grow and be innovative. They didn't sense that people might want something beyond the traditional 'White Paper' approach of throwing a net over an important subject and telling us about our troubles."

TOM MASCARO

See also **Documentary; Freed, Fred; Huntley, Chet**

#### Producers

Irving Gitlin, Fred Freed

#### Programming History

NBC

1960–80                      various times

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# Neighbours

## Australian Soap Opera

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“Get back to Ramsay Street” was the 1995 promotional line used by the Ten Network, home of *Neighbours* since late 1985. The marketing strategy sought to reorient both the program itself and the audiences who have followed it through uncertain beginnings, extraordinary local and international success, and continuing quiet domestic popularity. The message was clear and reflected a key element in the program’s enduring popularity: a decade after it began, after attracting millions of viewers around the world, *Neighbours* is home.

*Neighbours* is almost without doubt the Australian program with the highest international profile since the 1980s. Well over 2,000 episodes into production, it still commands worldwide audiences of more than 50 million and has helped transform its production company, the Grundy Organisation, into one of the world’s most successful television production groups.

The program’s success, both in Australia and overseas, has always been attributable to a mix of textual and industry factors. This success lies both in its qualities as a well-developed and well-executed Australian soap opera and in the ways it has been scheduled both in Australia and in the United Kingdom. The premise for the show is the daily interactions of the people living in a middle-class street in a suburb of Melbourne. It is simple in design, yet allows for any number of narrative possibilities. Significantly, it is the limiting of these possibilities to the realms of the ordinary, the unexceptional, and non-melodramatic that has ensured *Neighbours*’ success for so long.

Stephen Crofts’s detailed analysis of program form and content identifies several key aspects that support these general speculations. These include *Neighbours*’ focus on the everyday, the domestic, and the suburban; its portrayal of women as doers; its reliance on teen sex appeal and unrebelling youth; its “feel-good” characters and wholesome neighborliness. Social tension and values conflicts are always resolved, dissolved, or repressed, and the overall ideological tone is of depoliticized middle-class citizenship.

Ramsay Street and its suburb of Erinsborough have provided a pool of characters drawn from the ranks of home owners and small-business people, school kids, and pensioners. Textually, the program firmly roots it-

self in the domestic—in the family and the home, friends and acquaintances, and the immediate social contexts in which they are located. The mundane nature of the domestic storylines extends to the geographical reach of the show. Erinsborough is a fictional suburb, which constructs the family homes as its hub and the local shops, hotel, surgery, and school as the domain of its characters. While it has been known to send its characters overseas, *Neighbours* has also become notorious for sending its popular players off into the far reaches of Brisbane or the Gold Coast (indeed, it seems that “overseas” is a place from which it is easier to retrieve its characters than from the depths of Queensland). In keeping with the show’s philosophy of “the everyday,” it is the impact that the characters’ interactions with such places produces on other characters that is important to the narrative.

Initially based around three families, the Robinsons, the Ramsays, and the Clarkes, with other local residents thrown in for romance and a touch of conflict, the narrative structures of the program were sufficiently loose to allow for a considerable turnover of characters. In this respect, while the idea of the series is simple, the specifics of the houses in Ramsay Street and the families that inhabit them necessarily change and adapt. The element of continuity lies in the central institutions of the house and home and supporting institutions like small business and public education, and in the performance of small-scale romance and tragedy.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the show is its foundations in the “neighborliness” of (albeit select segments of) the local community. This means that the households and the living and working arrangements of the residents of Ramsay Street take precedence over the establishment of any strict boundaries that mark out the “family” and the roles of family members. Intergenerational conflict abounds and, while resolution is almost unfailingly the order of the day, the show provides an interesting mix of the nuclear and the non-nuclear family. In its current form, there is not one complete nuclear family unit—a significant reflection on the boundaries for the exploration of the “social” within the program’s narrative framework.



*Neighbours.*  
Photo courtesy of Grundy Television Pty Ltd.

These characteristics intertwine with the TV-industry features of the program's success. When the Seven Network axed the show in the second half of 1985—one of the monumental mistakes of Australian network programming—Grundy's managing director, Ian Holmes, offered it to the Ten Network. Ten was able to revive the show with new, sexier characters, and shining, enviable domestic sets. The focus on family and community life continued, this time with a little more glamour and in a later time slot—shifting the program from 5:30 P.M. to 7:00 P.M., Monday to Friday. When the show again ran into trouble in 1986, the new network embarked on a massive selling campaign aimed at reviving flagging Sydney ratings. It worked: ratings in Australia soared along with the developing relationship of its stars, Kylie Minogue and Jason

Donovan. This in turn led the program into the period of its phenomenal success in the United Kingdom.

Clearly, the amiable middle-class "struggles" of the Ramsay Street residents make for a markedly different narrative to those of the *EastEnders* or the residents of *Coronation Street*. *Neighbours* was the first television program in Britain to be screened twice daily and across all five weekdays by the BBC, which had been commanded into greater economic accountability by the Thatcher government of the 1980s. This strategy, followed soon after by another Australian soap opera export, *Home and Away*, was to transform the nature of the program as its cast became international stars: in Australia the already popular Minogue and Donovan, as well as Craig McLachlan and Guy Pierce, were constructed as cultural exports, with the pop-music careers



of the first two building a star status unknown by Australian television actors. Morally unproblematic, the program fit well into a conservative U.K. government agenda that sought a new degree of competitiveness from the BBC at the same time that it valorized conservative themes. The BBC found that this product provided a counterpoint to other television drama such as *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street*—and it did so at far less expense. A week's worth of *Neighbours* could be acquired for around £27,000, compared to £40,000 per half-hour episode of *EastEnders*.

While *Neighbours* was winning U.K. audiences of 20 million by the end of 1988 and consistently challenging the two home-grown soaps for the position of highest-rating drama on British television, it was also criticized for its bland representation of life in a sunny, relatively trouble-free, seemingly egalitarian Australian suburb. *EastEnders*, particularly, was attracting commendation for the range of its social and ethnic representation, and, while *Neighbours* had always had its share of strong female characters, it casually overlooked multiculturalism (a phenomenon fundamental to both Australian and British society), as well as other important social subjects such as unemployment. With the U.K.'s growing list of Australian film and television imports, Australian television became the target of arguments addressing issues of British cultural maintenance. And while some of these criticisms may be well-deserved, *Neighbours*, along with *Home and Away*, was in turn important to an Australian film and television industry that was itself accustomed to being seen as an import culture dominated by American and British products. *Neighbours* was the leader in a new wave of audiovisual export successes from the 1980s onward that has invigorated and redirected the local industry.

Finally, the program remains a popular domestic soap opera. *Neighbours* fits well with the Ten Network broadcasting ethos based around the appeal of a global "youth culture." Ten has worked at building a sizeable teen demographic based strictly on ratings, and its success in this respect has contributed to a turn-around in the network's profits—Ten's level of returns to expenditure exceeds that of its long-term rival, the Seven Network. With another cast of sexier young stars, including Blair McDonough (the runner-up in the Ten Network's version of *Big Brother*), and well-chosen older, more experienced actors, *Neighbours* continues as Australia's longest-running soap and one of its most successful television exports.

STUART D. CUNNINGHAM

See also **Australian Programming; Coronation Street; EastEnders; Grundy, Reg; Soap Opera**

#### Cast

Max Ramsay (1985–86)	Francis Bell
Maria Ramsay (1985)	Dasha Blahova
Julie Robinson (1985)	Vikki Blanche
Rosemary Daniels (1985–97)	Joy Chambers
Danny Ramsay (1985–86)	David Clencie
Jim Robinson (1985–93)	Alan Dale
Eileen Clarke (1985–88)	Myra De Groot
Paul Robinson (1985–93)	Stefan Dennis
Lucy Robinson (1985–87)	Kylie Flinker
Helen Daniels (1985–97)	Anne Haddy
Des Clarke (1985–90)	Paul Keane
Terri Inglis (1985–86)	Maxine Klibingaitus
Barbara Hill (1985)	Louise Le Nay
Shane Mitchell (1985–88)	Peter O'Brien
Scott Robinson (1985–86)	Darius Perkins
Daphne Clarke (1985–88)	Elaine Smith
Nikki Dennison (1986–87)	Charlene Fenn
Madge Mitchell (1986–92, 1996–2001)	Anne Charleston
Scott Robinson (1986–89)	Jason Donovan
Zoe Davis (1986–87)	Alexandra Fowler
Vicki Gibbons (1986)	Charmaine Gorman
Nell Mangel (1986–89)	Vivian Gray
Jane Harris (1986–89)	Annie Jones
Henry Ramsay (1986–90)	Craig McLachlan
Charlene Mitchell (1986–88)	Kylie Minogue
Clive Gibbons (1986–87, 1989)	Geoff Paine
Mike Young (1986–90)	Guy Pearce
Sally Wells (1987–88)	Rowena Mohr
Rob Lewis (1987–88)	Ernie Bourne
Dan Ramsay (1987–88)	Syd Conabere
Edna Ramsay (1987–88)	Jessica Noad
Tom Ramsay (1987–88, 1991)	Gary Files
Harold Bishop (1987–91, 1996–)	Ian Smith
Tony Romeo (1987–88)	Nick Carrafa
Sue Parker (1987–88)	Kate Gorman
Reverend Sampson (1987– 89)	Howard Bell
Lucy Robinson (1987–90)	Sascha Close
Dr. Beverly Marshall (1987– 89)	Lisa Armytage
Gail Robinson (1987–89)	Fiona Corke
Katie Landers (1987–89)	Sally Jensen
Hilary Robinson (1987–90)	Anne Scott Pendlebury
Jamie Clarke (1987–90)	S.J. Dey
Emma Gordon (1987–91)	Tamsin West
Todd Landers (1987–92)	Kristian Schmid
Lou Carpenter (1988, 1992–)	Tom Oliver
Malcolm Clarke (1988–89)	Noel Trevarthen

## Neighbours

Bronwyn Davies (1988–90)	Rachel Friend	Mark Gottlieb (1993–96)	Bruce Samazan
Toby Mangel (1988–90)	F. Greentree-Keane	Darren Stark (1993)	Scott Major
Sharon Davies (1988–90)	Jessica Muschamp	Wayne Duncan (1993–94)	Jonathan Sammy-Lee
Nick Page (1988–90)	Mark Stevens	Lauren Carpenter (1993–94)	Sarah Vandenberg
Joe Mangel (1988–91)	Mark Little	Annalise Hartman (1993–96)	Kimberley Davies
Melanie Pearson (1988–91)	Lucinda Cowden	Cheryl Stark (1993–96)	Caroline Gillmer
Sky Bishop (1989–91)	Miranda Fryer	Dr. Karl Kennedy (1994– )	Alan Fletcher
Kerry Bishop (1989–90)	Linda Hartley	Billy Kennedy (1994–2000)	Jesse Spencer
Beverley Marshall (1989–90)	Shaunna O'Grady	Libby Kennedy (1994– )	Kym Valentine
Melissa Jarrett (1989–91)	Jade Amenta	Susan Kennedy (1994– )	Jackie Woodburne
Matt Williams (1989–91)	Ashley Paske	Malcolm Kennedy (1994–97)	Benjamin McNair
Jenny Owens (1989)	Danielle Carter	Jesse O'Connor (1994)	James Ryan
Edith Chubb (1989)	Irene Inescort	Aaron O'Connor (1994)	Greg Stone
Kevin Harvey (1989)	Simon Westaway	Sam Kratz (1994–96)	Richard Grieve
Ken Naylor (1990)	Peter Tabour	Marlene Kratz (1994–97)	Moya O'Sullivan
Josh Anderson (1990–91)	Jeremy Angerson	Jen Handley (1994–95)	Alyce Platt
Gemma Ramsay (1990–91)	Beth Buchanan	Luke Handley (1994–96)	Bernard Curry
Adam Willis (1990–91)	Ian Williams	Brett Stark (1994–96)	Brett Blewitt
Cody Willis (1990–92)	Amelia Frid	Danni Stark (1994–96)	Eliza Szonert
Doug Willis (1990–94)	Terence Donovan	Luke Foster (1994)	Murray Bartlett
Pam Willis (1990–96)	Sue Jones	Sassy Patterson-Smythe (1994)	Defah Dattner
Caroline Alessi (199–93)	Gillian Blakeney	Louise Carpenter (1994)	Jordan Anna Tolli
Christina Alessi (1990–93)	Gayle Blakeney	Kris Hyde (1994)	John Higginson
Dorothy Burke (1990–93)	Maggie Dence	Len Mangel (1994)	John Lee
Toby Mangel (1990–93)	Ben Geurens	Katarina Torrelli (1994)	Josephine Mitchell
Brad Willis (1991–93)	Scott Michaelson	Andrew "Macca" MacKenzie (1994)	John Morris
Gaby Willis (1991–94)	Rachel Blakely	Sally Pritchard (1994)	Brenda Webb
Faye Hudson (1991–92)	Lorraine Bayly	Serendipity Gottlieb (1994–95)	Raelee Hill
Andrew Robinson (1991–92)	Shannon Holmes	Cody Willis (1994–96)	Peta Brady
Lucy Robinson III (1991–95)	Melissa Bell	"Stonefish" Rebecchi (1994–96)	Anthony Engelman
Arthur Bright (1991–92)	Barry Hill	Kev Duve (1994–98)	Brad Wade
Glen Donnelly (1991–92)	Richard Huggett	Leanne "Packo" Packington (1994, 1995)	Verity McIntyre
Brenda Riley (1991–92)	Genevieve Lemon	Colin Taylor (1995)	Frank Bren
Guy Carpenter (1991–92)	Andrew Williams	Reuben White (1995)	James Condon
Phoebe Bright (1991–93)	Simone Robertson	Lance Wilkinson (1995–2001)	Andrew Bibby
Beth Brennan (1991–93, 1994)	Natalie Imbruglia	Luke Bowers (1995–97)	Jamie Field
Marco Alessi (1992)	Felice Arena	Patrick Kratz (1995)	Shane Porteous
Benito Alessi (1992–93)	George Spartels	Angie Rebecchi (1995–96)	Lesley Baker
Cameron Hudson (1992–93)	Ben Mitchell	Melissa Drenth (1995–96)	Aimee Robertson
Cathy Alessi (1992–93)	Elspeth Ballantyne	Joanna Hartman (1995–97)	Emma Harrison
Stephen Gottlieb (1992–93)	Lauchie Daddo	Rupert Sprod (1995–97)	Tobi Webster
Julie Martin (1992–94)	Julie Mullins	Zoe Tan (1995–98)	Jeuliette Hannafie
Rick Alessi (1992–95)	Dan Falzon	Andrew Watson (1996)	Christopher Uhlman
Philip Martin (1992–99)	Ian Rawlings	Ruth Wilkinson (1996–99)	Ailsa Piper
Hannah Martin (1992–99)	Rebecca Ritters	Anne Wilkinson (1996–2000)	Brooke Satchwell
Debbie Martin (1992–97)	Marnie Reece-Wilmore		
Michael Martin (1992–98)	Troy Beckwith		
Troy Duncan (1993)	Damian Walshe-Howling		

- Sarah Beaumont (1996–99)  
Jarrod “Toadfish” Rebecchi (1996–)  
Steve George (1996)  
Georgia Brown (1996)  
Catherine O’Brien (1996–97)  
Darren Stark (1996–98)  
Ben Atkins (1997–98)  
Caitlin Atkins (1997–98)  
Paul McClain (1997–2001)  
Amy Greenwood (1997–2000)  
Cassandra (1997–2000)  
Geoff Burke (1997–98)  
Lisa Elliot (1997)  
Rowan Kendrick (1997)  
Joel Samuels (1998–2002)  
Lily Madigan (1998)  
Karen Oldman (1998–99)  
Pippa Layton (1998–2000)  
Drew Kirk (1998–)  
Hilary Grand (1998)  
Mike Healy (1998)  
Mickey Dalton (1998)  
Kenny Hyland (1998)  
Wayne “Tad” Reeves (1999–)  
Rose Kirk (1999, 2000)  
Ron Kirk (1999, 2000)  
Geri Hallett (1999)  
Maurie Ryan (1999)  
Teabag Teasdale (1999)  
Teresa Bell (1999–2001)  
Joe Scully (1999–)  
Lyn Scully (1999–)  
Stephanie Scully (1999–)  
Felicity Scully (1999–)  
Michelle Scully (1999–)  
Damien Smith (1999–2000)  
Dione Bliss (2000–)  
Cecile Bliss (2000)  
Patsy Edis (2000)  
Simone King (2000–)  
Bianca Nugent (2000–)  
Darcy Tyler (2000–)  
Bernie Samuels (2000–)
- Nicola Charles  
Ryan Moloney  
Alex Dimitriadis  
Petra Jared  
Radha Mitchell  
Todd MacDonald  
Brett Cousins  
Emily Milburn  
Jansen Spencer  
Jacinta Stapleton  
Elizabeth Shingleton  
Andrew McKaige  
Kate Straub  
Paul Zebrowski  
Daniel MacPherson  
Alethea McGrath  
Pia Miranda  
Natalie Shostak  
Dan Paris  
Olivia Hamnett  
Andrew Blackman  
Trent Fowler  
Jonathan Dutton  
Jonathan Dutton  
Diana Greentree  
John Orcsik  
Isabella Dunwill  
Neil Fletcher  
Nathan Phillips  
Krista Vendy  
Shane Connor  
Janet Andrewartha  
Carla Bonner  
Holly Valance  
Kate Keltie  
John Ridley  
Madeleine West  
Molly McCaffrey  
Anne Moloney  
Denise Briskin  
Jane Harber  
Foster (Mark) Raffety  
Sean Scully
- Rachel Bailey (2000)  
Merridy Jackson (2000)  
Connie O’Rourke (2000)  
Carrie Clark (2000)  
Daniel Fitzgerald (2000)  
Brendan Bell (2000)  
Mick Scully (2000)  
Dorothy “Allana” Truman (2000–01)  
Larry “Woody” Woodhouse (2000–01)  
Jessica Fielding (2001–)  
Matthew Hancock (2001–)  
Evan Hancock (2001–)  
Maggie Hancock (2001–)  
Leo Hancock (2001–)  
Emily Hancock (2001–)  
Stewart Parker (2001–)  
Veronica Anderson (2001–)  
Summer Hoyland (2002–)
- Carolyn Bock  
Suzy Cato  
Val Jellay  
Vanessa Rossini  
Brett Tucker  
Blair Venn  
Andy Anderson  
Josephine Clark  
Andrew Curry  
Elisha Gazdowicz  
Stephen Hunt  
Nicholas Opolski  
Sally Cooper  
Anthony Hammer  
Isabella Oldham  
Blair McDonough  
Monika Isabella Karwan  
Marisa Siketa
- Programming History**  
Seven Network  
March 1985–November 1985  
Weeknights 6:00–6:30  
Ten Network  
November 1985–March 1992  
Weeknights 7:00–7:30  
March 1992–  
Weeknights 6:30–7:00
- Producers**  
The Grundy Organisation
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## Nelson, Ozzie (1907–1975), and Harriet Nelson (1914–1994)

U.S. Actors

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During a period that was to last 20 years, the Nelson family—Ozzie, his wife Harriet Hilliard, and their two sons, David and Ricky—were regarded as the preeminent icon of the ideal nuclear family. From his band-leading days of the mid-1930s through his reign, a generation later, as the bumbling patriarch of television's best-known family, Ozzie Nelson was able to conflate, reduce, and transform the professional activities of his family's personal reality into a fictional domestic banality.

Best known for their long-running television series, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, the Nelson family began their successful togetherness with the marriage of saxophone-playing Ozzie to his "girl-singer" Harriet in the 1930s. Ozzie's deliberate hesitancy and self-deprecating humor were the perfect foil for the sweet and sassy Harriet, who interrupted her songs with sarcastic banter. During the 1940s, Ozzie, Harriet, and their band were regulars on Red Skelton's radio show, and in 1944 when Red was drafted into the army, they took over his time slot. For Skelton, the Nelsons stuck to their big-band routines with occasional married-couple skits providing nonmusical breaks, but when Ozzie conceived the pilot for his own program he decided to venture more into the realm of domestic comedy, writing a script based on his own family life.

The radio program initially revolved around the trials and tribulations of bandleader Ozzie and his family. There were many references to Ozzie's rehearsals, road tours, and other musical endeavors, and the comedy sketches were balanced with full-length musical numbers. By 1946, however, these musical interludes were eliminated in favor of a more representational narrative. Until 1949 the roles of their two sons were played by child actors, but a guest appearance by Bing Crosby and his sons convinced Ozzie that he should allow the 13-year-old David and 9-year-old Ricky to play themselves. The boys, especially "the irrepressible Ricky," were an enormous success and lent further potency to the verisimilitude of the purely fictional narratives.

Nelson's business skills were unparalleled (he had attended law school at Rutgers University), and he negotiated with ABC for the first "noncancellable ten-year contract," which guaranteed a basic salary for ten years whether the Nelsons worked or not. The family was thus virtually immune from sponsor or network interference (one of the reasons, certainly, that Ozzie and Harriet would be the only television couple allowed a double bed until 1969's *The Brady Bunch*).

While in the middle of this contractual period, ABC expressed interest in a television program. As a test, they had the family star in a movie titled *Here Come the Nelsons* for Universal Studios. The film, costarring Rock Hudson and featuring Ozzie as an advertising executive, was a huge success, and in 1952 the television program began filming at General Service Studios. Interestingly, for the next two years, the radio and television programs continued concurrently, with Nelson insisting on completely different scripts for the television show.

Produced under the banner "Stage Five Productions," which included Ozzie, his brother Don, Bill Davenport, and Ben Gershman, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* was the result of the uncompromising standards and efforts of perfectionist Ozzie Nelson. He was involved in every one of the program's 435 episodes as head writer, script supervisor, producer, and editor. And, if he did not direct an episode, his son David did. Story meetings were weekly, all-night affairs (with an 11:00 P.M. break for ice cream) and took place at the Nelson home in the Hollywood Hills, with the production staff and auxiliary writers Jay Sommers, Dick Bensfield, and Perry Grant attending.

A stickler for quality, Ozzie was adamant that his program look different from the inferior kinescope products dominating the television schedule, and he hired Academy Award winner William C. Mellor to shoot the program in the finest 35 mm film stock. With preliminary editing complete, Nelson would then rent a Los Angeles theater and screen two or three episodes back-to-back for audiences in order to gauge the placement and intensity of the laugh-track cues.

One of the reasons for the program's tremendous following was that audiences actually believed that the Nelsons were truly playing themselves, a myth the Nelson family helped perpetuate. The exterior of the television house was modeled on the real-life Nelson home, and Ozzie incorporated many real-life events, neighbors, family members, and hobbies into the program. Thus, when David took up motorcycles, or when the boys were interested in the trapeze, these would become the focus for a weekly episode. David's marriage to June Blair and Ricky's to Kris Harmon occurred off-screen, but the new season joyfully "introduced" the "newest members of the Nelson family," to the television viewer.

The most significant example of this blending of fact and fiction resulted from Ricky's interest in rock and roll music. Spurred on by a girlfriend's crush on Elvis Presley, Ricky bragged that he too was about to cut a record, and then quickly enlisted his father to make this boast a reality. In April 1957, the 16-year-old Ricky released a cover version of Fats Domino's big hit "I'm Walkin'." As was his habit, Ozzie integrated this latest preoccupation of his son into a television episode, and "Ricky the Drummer" aired concurrently with the record's release. One million records sold in the first week, and for the next six years, Ricky Nelson was to dominate the pop charts with such hits as "Hello, Mary Lou," "Travelin' Man," and "Fools Rush In," all of which benefited from weekly exposure on the television series. With simultaneous promotion in music-trade papers, a new song would "debut" at the end of a completely unrelated episode, tacked on as a pseudo-concert with Ricky singing to a mob of squealing, head-bopping extras. Ricky's impact on the rock world was crucial, and his eventual induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame legitimized his talented contributions. More important than his actual music, perhaps, was the fact that in giving their blessing to Ricky's career, Ozzie and Harriet demonstrated to millions of timid, middle-class Americans that rock and roll was not a satanic threat, but a viable musical alternative. In an unprecedented response to the thousands of irate letters he had received, Ozzie scripted 1956's "Ozzie the Treasurer," in which Harriet extols the tension-releasing benefits of "rhythm and blues music."

Both Nelson boys attempted film careers and found moderate success in some big-budget 1950s films—David in *Peyton Place*, and Ricky in *Rio Bravo*. By the time of the program's end in 1966, however, the Nelson sons were hard-pressed to find a large popular following. Ricky ventured into country music where he had sporadic success until his 1985 death in a plane crash, and David moved into production, working



*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, Ricky Nelson, Harriet Nelson, David Nelson, Ozzie Nelson, 1952–66.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

mainly in commercials and low-budget features. Their parents, too, seemed unable to capture the magic of the earlier years. A boarding-house sitcom, *Ozzie's Girls*, was canceled during its first season, and the couple semiretired, making the talk show circuit and living together in Laguna Beach until Ozzie's death in 1975.

From the outset, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* had a nostalgic feel, resembling Ozzie's 1920s youth in New Jersey more than 1950s Los Angeles. The picket-fenced neighborhoods and the corner drugstore and malt shop that were featured weekly in this slow-paced half-hour infiltrated American culture at a time of social unease and quiescent distress. In reality, most 1950s fathers were working ten-hour days and commuting long distances to isolated suburbs. For the Nelsons, however, Ozzie was always home, neighbors still chatted over the back fence, and downtown was a brisk walk away. The Nelsons presented an America that never was, but always wished for, and through their confusion of reality and fantasy worked to concoct an image of American life that is, to this day, mistakenly claimed not only as ideal, but as authentic.

NINA C. LEIBMAN

Nelson, Ozzie, and Harriet Nelson

*See also Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, The; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television*

**Harriet Nelson (Harriet Hilliard).** Born Peggy Lou Snyder in Des Moines, Iowa, July 18, 1914. Attended St. Agnes Academy. Married: Ozzie Nelson, 1935; children: David Ozzie and Eric Hilliard. Beauty queen hired as vocalist for Ozzie Nelson's Orchestra, 1932; recording artist for Brunswick, Vocalian, Victor, and Blue Bird; as Harriet Hilliard, was a leading lady in film from 1936; various radio appearances on Red Skelton's radio program in the 1940s, costarred with husband Ozzie in radio series *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–54; star of television version of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1952–66. Recipient: National Family Week Radio citation by the International Council on Christian Family Life, 1947; Radio and TV Women of Southern California Genii Award, 1960; *Los Angeles Times* Woman of the Year; *TV-Radio Mirror* Reader's Poll Best Husband-Wife Team in TV, seven consecutive years. Died in Laguna Beach, California, October 2, 1994.

#### Television Series

1952–66 *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*  
1973 *Ozzie's Girls*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1976 *Smash-up on Interstate 5*

#### Films

*Follow the Fleet*, 1936; *She's My Everything*, 1936; *Sweetheart of the Campus*, 1941; *Canal Zone*, 1942; *Falcon Strikes Back*, 1943; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952.

#### Radio

Joe Penner's radio show, 1933; Red Skelton's radio show, 1940s; *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–52.

#### Stage

*The Impossible Years; State Fair.*

#### Publications

"My Heart Belongs to My Three Men" (with Cameron Shipp), *Woman's Home Companion* (June 1953)

"The Men in My Life" (with Stanley Gordon), *Look* (November 11, 1958)

**Ozzie Nelson (Oswald George Nelson).** Born in Jersey City, New Jersey, March 20, 1907. Graduated from Rutgers University, 1927, law degree 1930. Married: Harriet Hilliard, 1935; children: David Ozzie and Eric Hilliard. Formed a successful orchestra, 1930; several guest appearances with wife Harriet on Red Skelton's radio program in early 1940s; radio series *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–54; starred in ABC-Television's popular *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* 1952–66, also produced, wrote, and directed the series; occasional director of episodes for television series such as *Adam 12*. Recipient: National Family Week Radio citation by the International Council on Christian Family Life, 1947; *TV-Radio Mirror* Reader's Poll Best Husband-Wife Team in TV, seven consecutive years. Died in San Fernando Valley, California, June 3, 1975.

#### Television Series (star, producer, head writer, and director)

1952–66 *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*  
1973 *Ozzie's Girls*

#### Films

*Sweetheart of the Campus*, 1941; *Hi Good Lookin'*, 1944; *People are Funny*, 1945; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952; *Love and Kisses* (also writer, producer, and director), 1965.

#### Radio

Joe Penner's radio show, 1933; Red Skelton's radio show, 1940s; *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–52.

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## Netherlands, The

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At first glance, the historical evolution of the broadcasting system in the Netherlands—from a public service broadcasting monopoly to a liberalized dual system of public service and commercial broadcasting—seems in keeping with general developments in Western European broadcasting. However, its embeddedness in Dutch society has equally shaped its specific evolution and contemporary look.

It is impossible to explain the unique structure of Dutch audiovisual media without the concept of “pillarization.” This sociocultural phenomenon describes how, from the end of the 19th century on, different religious and ideological groups in Dutch society (Roman Catholics, protestants, socialists, conservatives, liberals) divided society as a whole in segregated microcosms or “pillars.” Their networks of organizations encompassed political parties, trade unions, education, and leisure activities. It comes as no surprise, then, that these “pillars” were highly interested in the emerging mass media. This resulted in a system of “pillarized pluralism” whereby the public service broadcasting is not in the hands of the state, but overseen by non-profit associations controlled by religious and ideological currents in society. Although a process of cultural “de-pillarization” has been ongoing since the 1960s, with a weakening of the societal importance of religious and ideological beliefs, it took much longer for the broadcasting structures to adapt to this change, and even today part of their power remains intact. The irony is that television, although initially confirming pillarization (van der Haak and van Snippenburg), actually contributed to this development since everybody watched everything available, and not only the program of the relevant “pillar” (De Goede).

Dutch television is commonly associated with Hilversum, a city near Amsterdam and since radio days the country’s media center. It is in Hilversum that the various radio broadcasting associations were established in the 1920s: the protestant “Dutch Christian Radio Association” (NVRV), the Roman Catholic “Catholic Radio Association” (KRO), the social-democrat “Association of Workers Radio Enthusiasts” (VARA), the progressive protestant “Modern Protestant Radio” (VPRO) and the neutral “General Association of Radio Broadcasting” (AVRO).

The Dutch electronics manufacturer Philips (today a multinational concern) received permission in 1948 to

start with experimental television broadcasts for a few hundred viewers in the surroundings of the Philips headquarters in Eindhoven. From the start, government opted for a public-service approach to broadcasting. This is why in 1951, the existing broadcasting associations were granted TV broadcasting licenses under the authority of an umbrella organization, the National Television Foundation (NTS). But the population was slow to adopt television in the 1950s because of the high price of television sets in relation to average incomes at that time, the restricted reach and airtime of the broadcasts, and the strong religious views suggesting television was harmful (van der Haak and van Snippenburg).

In 1964 a commercial “pirate” station, Radio/TV North Sea (REM), began broadcasting from an offshore oil rig in international waters, but was quickly shut down by the government. That same year a second television channel, Nederland 2, was launched. The political pressure to open up the broadcasting system to commercial interests and new public license holders increased in 1965, causing the fall of a Christian-democrat and liberal coalition. The succeeding government soon came up with a white paper on the transformation of the broadcasting system into an “open system.”

These plans resulted in the 1967 Broadcasting Act, the first specific broadcasting legislation in the Netherlands since radio’s emergence, and a compromise between commercial and public interests. The Act confirmed the existing structure and the ban on commercial television, but accepted the introduction of new players and advertising. Airtime quota and funds were allocated according to the status (A, B, or C) of the broadcasting association. The five existing associations immediately received A-status (with 450,000 members or more), subscribers to the program guide of each association also counting as members. The Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation (NOS) was established to play a coordinating role, provide studios and technical facilities, and produce a joint program of news, weather, and sports. The Foundation for Broadcasting Advertising (STER) was to divide most of the advertising profits among the associations. The existing license fee was thus complemented with advertising revenues. The Television and Radio Broadcasting Corporation (TROS)—in fact a renewed REM—

joined the system that same year. The protestant fundamentalist "Evangelical Broadcasting Corporation" (EO) followed in 1970, as did Veronica Broadcasting Corporation (VOO or Veronica), a former offshore pirate radio station, in 1975.

The new "open system" stimulated competition among associations, thus giving television broadcasting a pseudo-commercial character (De Goede). With two new players, TROS and Veronica, lacking clear identification with a social or cultural group, the associations all promoted themselves in a quest for larger audiences. In combination with a significant schedule enlargement, many felt that the competition was lowering production and programming standards, a phenomenon labeled "Trossification" for the TROS channel, which was the first to introduce this light entertainment strategy. More and more talk shows, sitcoms and other foreign—especially American—series brought a change of diet for an audience used to a public broadcasting mix of "information, education and entertainment" (Manschot, 1993).

The public system came under growing outside threat from foreign cable stations and other developments in the 1980s. A 1983 Christian right-wing coalition white paper on the future of the mass media developed into the 1988 Media Act, a second milestone in Dutch broadcasting policy. Commercial broadcasting remained forbidden. The supervision of compliance with the Media Act was delegated to a Media Authority. And the NOS split off its facilities into the private Dutch Broadcast Production Company (NOB). Broadcasting associations no longer were forced to use NOB facilities, which stimulated the growth of an independent audiovisual production sector. To broaden the airtime, a third channel, Nederland 3, was launched in April 1988.

The overall intentions of the Media Act (keeping the system of pluralism in place, keeping commercial broadcasting out) was clearly out of step with European media developments (van der Haak and van Snippenburg) The paradigm shift from public service broadcasting monopolies to a deregulated commercial broadcasting environment swept across Western Europe in the 1980s. But in the Netherlands, policy was again behind actual developments. In October 1989, RTL Veronica began broadcasting via Astra satellites from its base in Luxembourg using a "U-turn strategy." Although presenting programs in Dutch produced in the Netherlands and clearly aimed at a Dutch audience, it was recognized as a foreign station because it was partly owned by the Luxembourg-based CLT (as well as by the Dutch station Veronica), and therefore admitted on Dutch cable. Veronica was severely punished

for this commercial escapade, had to withdraw from the partnership, and RTL changed into RTL4. The station quickly attracted about a quarter of the Dutch television audience, becoming market leader within a year. The 1980s boom in programming hours created a need for cheap material with a huge popular appeal, which was largely filled with U.S. soaps and other series. *Dallas* and *Falcon Crest*, for instance, were broadcast with great popular success (and the cultural protest of intellectuals). Only in the 1990s would the production of immensely popular domestic soap operas reverse the U.S. dominance.

The last decade of the century was undoubtedly the most dynamic era in terms of new stations, mergers, and policy reforms. As a result, a new Media Act has been permanently "under construction" (van Reenen). At the same time, the development of European Union media regulations gradually reduced the scope of domestic policy to an "exercise in modesty" (De Goede, 1999). The 1990s started with the government commissioning a report from consulting firm, McKinsey & Co., on measures designed to assist public broadcasting to counter commercial television. This 1990 report was to become the basis for several years of television policy. Broadcasting associations were given a fixed space on one of the channels in order to make the three channels equally attractive to audiences and advertisers. The NOS retained its task of broadcasting news, sports, and national events. But the newly founded Netherlands Program Corporation (NPS) became responsible for cultural issues, and minorities and young people's programs. A cabinet of social democrats and liberals continued the move to liberalization in 1994. This led to a new organizational structure for the public system with an independent board of directors in charge. Since then the broadcasting organizations have been represented on a supervisory board charged with the main policy lines. And after more than 20 years, a new broadcasting association, Bart's News Network (BNN) aimed at young people, entered the public system in 1998.

It was in the arena of commercial broadcasting, however, that most thorough changes took place. RTL Launched a second station, RTL 5, in 1992, heavily relying on American series. Veronica left the public system in 1995 to form the Holland Media Group (HMG) with RTL. In 2000 Veronica left HMG and in 2003 is seeking a re-entry in the television market with other partners. HMG has approximately a 40 percent market share. The Arcade Group, a Dutch record company, entered commercial television in 1995 with The Music Factory (TMF) a very popular Dutch version of MTV (and since 2000 owned by MTV), and TV10. TV10



changed its name with consecutive ownership changes, to Fox 8 (FOX), and to V8 (SBS) in 2001. A new channel, SBS6, began in 1995, part of the Swedish-American Scandinavian Broadcasting System (SBS) Group together with *De Telegraaf*, Netherlands largest newspaper. This channel mainly broadcast reality TV, eroticism, and feature films. They launched a second channel, Net5, in 1999, directed at viewers from public broadcasting. Finally, pay-TV, existing since 1984 as Filmnet and Canal Plus, currently owned by Vivendi, has not seemed to catch on. This is not surprisingly considering the huge array of television choices already available.

Since the arrival of the commercial broadcasting companies, the public broadcasting organizations have seen their market share shrink by half, to stabilize at around 40 per cent in 1997. But the market of independent production companies has flourished, the most famous case being Endemol. The 1993 merger of Joop van den Ende and John de Mol Productions, both producing game shows, soaps, talk shows, reality TV, and drama, formed one of the largest audiovisual companies in Europe. Van den Ende's soap format *Goede Tijden, Slechte Tijden* (GTST) (Good Times, Bad Times) was one of the first domestically produced daily soaps in Europe in 1990. It soon became a key program of RTL4, and remains very popular. Endemol has diversified its output with highly successful and internationally distributed "emotion-TV" formats such as *All You Need is Love* and the by now legendary *Big Brother*. The final episode of *Big Brother* broke all the Dutch ratings records, with 3.5 million viewers (in a population of about 16 million). Endemol, a transnational producer with subsidiaries in more than 15 European countries, turned the Netherlands into a prominent television format exporter. Telefónica, the Spanish telecom giant, acquired Endemol in 2000.

The public sector replied to the commercial competition with yet another reform in 2000, focusing on channel branding, creating diverse and clear channel profiles. Ned 1 is to be the in-depth channel inspired by family values, Ned 2 the most accessible channel, most likely to pinch viewers from commercial channels, and Ned 3 also an in-depth channel, but guided by culturally progressive values and tastes. The NOS became the only licensee, with the associations reduced to participants in the license. The license fee was replaced by a small income-tax rise.

Today, viewers in the Netherlands have a wide range

of about 30 television stations, both public and commercial, domestic, foreign, and international, through one of the densest cable networks in Europe. Soccer and other sports programs have become by far the most popular program category, recently joined by reality TV shows.

In the 50 years of its existence, the Dutch broadcasting system has seen its boundaries between government, business, and non-profit associations shifted considerably, the two former gaining in influence, the latter losing power (De Goede, 1999). This resulted in a highly diversified dual landscape of public and commercial broadcasters, with a clear shift toward commercialization, internationalization, and concentration, although the government strongly supports the public broadcasting system.

The coming years of Dutch broadcasting will see digitization and Internet applications, currently in an experimental phase. The introduction of thematic TV channels such as a news channel and a children's channel are under consideration. Looking to future developments in technology, several public and private organizations have joined forces in the consortium Digitenne, with a view to providing digital terrestrial television services.

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*See also Big Brother; Public Service Broadcasting*

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## Networks: United States

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Networks are organizations that produce or acquire the rights to programs, distribute these on systems of interconnection, and secure uniform scheduled broadcasts on a dispersed group of local outlets. In commercial broadcasting, "networking" was recognized at an early date as the clearest path to profitability, because the costs of program production were—and are—fixed, and revenue turned on securing the maximum degree of efficient distribution and exposure to mass audiences.

In the United States, the number of broadcast networks existing at a particular time, and the prospects for entry by new networks, have always been the combined result of the current state of technology, in tension with an extensive role for government regulation. Television broadcasting, tentatively begun prior to the American entry to World War II in 1941, was suspended for the duration of the war, and did not resume until the first wave of station activations in 1946 through 1948. By then, the dynamics of technology and regulation established for radio broadcasting already had shaped the possibilities for television networks.

Beginning in 1920, radio entrepreneurs in the United States had developed an array of informational and entertainment fare, originated in live performances at local stations, and increasingly at network studios in New York City, from which feeds to stations could be disseminated in real time over telephone lines. Commercials, like other copy, were read and performed live. Strong local stations prospered in this system, but the highest return was enjoyed by two major networks, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) unit of a premier radio equipment manufacturer, Radio Corporation of America (RCA). RCA operated dual networks, the Red and Blue. In radio, as was to be the case in television, industry leadership was exercised by a charismatic executive and founder, Robert Sarnoff at NBC, William S. Paley at CBS, Allen B. DuMont, and a few others.

The first comprehensive U.S. radio law, the Radio Act of 1927, did not confer on government any express power to regulate networks directly, but empowered it to regulate stations engaged in "chain broadcasting." This served to consolidate industry control by the network organizations already under-

way. The law mandated that radio broadcasting stations be allotted in a manner that equitably served the various states and localities, but withheld actual station ownership of broadcast channels, in favor of renewable licenses for limited periods. It also prohibited the licensing of a person or entity that had been convicted of unfair competition or monopolization. These precepts carried over with the Communications Act of 1934, and shaped the relationship among stations, networks and the government throughout the emergence of television.

At the eve of American entry into World War II, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), acting under its powers to investigate and regulate stations, concluded a probe of "chain broadcasting" and announced a series of prohibited practices in radio. These included contracts that permitted networks to command and resell advertising time for their own account, or to option time. The rulings also prohibited the specific ownership of dual networks by a single entity, NBC being the singular example. The Supreme Court's decision upholding these actions in 1943 prompted the divestiture of NBC Blue, acquired that year by Lifesaver magnate Edward J. Noble, and became part of the group American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. (*National Broadcasting Co. v. U.S.*, 319 U.S. 190, 1943).

After 1945, as Americans turned to peace-time pursuits, including the development of television, commercial radio already was settled into a pattern, with program fare dominated by two or, generously, perhaps three networks, each of them fortified against hard times by the ownership of a handful of highly-profitable local stations in the largest trading areas. The critical determinant of the number of networks that could be supported was—as it is today—the number of local outlets that could be assured for network audience, by ownership or by contract.

By 1945 the FCC preliminarily had allotted some 19 VHF Channels, numbered 1 through 19, for television broadcasting. Almost immediately Channels 14 through 19 were reallocated to the military, and Channel 1 was put aside for two-way radio. By the end of 1946, seven stations were broadcasting (all on Channels 2 through 6), and approximately 5,000 household receivers were in use. From that point, and even in the absence of detailed technical standards to guard

against mutual interference, applications for new stations poured in. The FCC imposed a freeze on new applications on September 30, 1948. Virtually all pre-freeze filers actually built broadcasting facilities, so that by the time the freeze was lifted on 13 April 1952, some 107 VHF stations had been activated in 63 markets, and receivers in use had grown to 15.5 million. Denver led the list of many important markets that had no television at all. During the freeze, NBC moved aggressively to apply for and activate stations in the top markets. CBS got a late start, and proceeded to acquire its first stations by purchase. ABC and a fourth network, DuMont Laboratories, participated actively in the FCC proceedings, but were unable or unwilling to initiate major station investment, pending resolution of the knotty regulatory issues.

The framework adopted by the FCC in 1952 allotted television channels to specific communities throughout the United States, roughly in proportion to market size. VHF Channels 2 through 13 and UHF channels 14 to 83 were utilized, but as of 1952, virtually all TV sets were capable of VHF reception only. The first UHF set-top converter was introduced in March 1952. The decision also sacrificed efficiency, and reduced the potential number of stations, by grandfathering the existing 107 outlets, helter-skelter wherever they had started. Practically speaking, the FCC's allocations provided only enough VHF outlets to provide two-channel service to about 90 percent of the population, and third-channel service to substantially less. NBC and CBS, each emerging with five powerful owned-and-operated stations, and program offerings spun off from their popular radio fare, quickly expanded affiliations.

The Emmy Awards, first presented on January 25, 1949, were an accurate barometer of network emergence. A local station, KTLA in Los Angeles, dominated the awards for year 1948, with the most popular program (*Pantomime Quiz Time*), most outstanding personality (Shirley Dinsdale and her puppet, Judy Splinters), and the station award. By the second year, with KTLA still prominent, NBC cracked the line-up, jointly with its New York flagship KNBH, winning best kinescope show (*Texaco Star Theater*) and personality (Milton Berle). A network spot for Lucky Strike cigarettes won best commercial. In the third presentation, for 1950, Alan Young and Gertrude Berg were best actor and actress, for CBS jointly with Los Angeles independent KTTV, and their co-produced *Alan Young Show* was recognized for best variety show. Outstanding personality was NBC/KNBH's Groucho Marx. By the end of the FCC's freeze these networks had unqualified leadership of program origination.

In the complex fight over regulation DuMont Laboratories had advocated a plan with a minimum of four VHF frequencies allotted to each of the 140 largest trading areas. Rebuffed at the FCC, DuMont never achieved more than 10 primary or full schedule network affiliates. As the few UHF operators incurred mounting losses, DuMont folded its network in 1955. These by-products of the freeze and subsequent FCC decision to grandfather incumbent stations and intermix VHF and UHF channels have led to harsh criticism of the FCC's decisions.

Throughout this period, ABC was barely operating, and Noble stated that he had never declared a dividend nor taken a salary through 1952. In 1953, however, ABC received FCC approval to merge with United Paramount Theaters. The chain had been spun off from Paramount Pictures Corporation, under court decree that followed the Supreme Court's antitrust decision of 1948, upholding divestment of theatrical production from exhibition. The significance of government involvement could not be more clear, with ABC's very existence jeopardized by one government action, and resolved favorably by another. ABC used its Hollywood connections adroitly, teaming with a studio to co-venture a break-through program, to that date the most expensively produced in history: *Disneyland*.

Collectively the networks could have only as many affiliates as there were stations on the air. Commercial VHF stations grew from 233 in 1954 to 458 in 1962. Commercial UHF stations stood at 121 in 1954, and struggled against the lack of UHF receivers. Many UHFs went dark and returned their licenses for cancellation, and by 1962 their numbers had shrunk to 83. In total, the commercial station universe as it grew roughly from 350 to 550 was adequate to support approximately two-and-a-half national networks. Local stations, in the enviable position of having multiple suitors, frequently left ABC with no local outlet. Congress enacted a law in 1962 mandating that all receivers be capable of UHF tuning, but it was only by the mid-1970s that local stations were plentiful enough for ABC to achieve full comparability.

As the networks consolidated their control of station time during the 1950s, a broad shift occurred in their relationship with the sponsor, enhancing their control even further. In the early part of the decade, shows typically were produced by the sponsor live, or contracted for by the sponsor and delivered to the network on expensive film or kinescope. Production was centered in New York. With the introduction by Ampex of quadruplex videotape recording in 1956, it became possible for programs to be produced and recorded anywhere, and the new orders for entertainment fare shifted to the concentration of expertise in Hollywood studios. In-

creasingly, the network replaced the sponsor in development, acquisition, and revision to final programming form. From the 1950s can be charted the realization of core concepts in prime-time programming, including the ensemble situation comedy, cop shows, westerns, and regularly scheduled newscasts. This period often is referred to as the Golden Age of television in the United States, perhaps precisely because of its experimental flavor. But while major market stations achieved immediate and impressive profitability, networking was still a gamble, the program performance remained uneven, and in 1961 critic-for-a-day Newton N. Minow described the totality as a "vast wasteland."

The true golden age of three-network hegemony probably dates from 1963, when each network inaugurated a half-hour prime-time newscast, and network television drew the entire nation together in grief after the assassination of President Kennedy. From 1963 until the late 1970s, the networks created a refracted version, shared by all, of the significant events of the day. This cohesion intensified with expanding use of color transmissions and color set sales during the 1960s. One nation resonated with the networks' triune voice, in a manner unparalleled in the past, and likely never again to be seen in the future. ABC, gradually shoring up its group of strong affiliates, and hiring a visionary programmer in Fred Silverman, finally used coverage of the Summer Olympics as the basis for its first full-season ratings victory in 1976-77. The "third network's" potential had been clear for years, but several attempts to acquire ABC during the 1960s were rebuffed, and an attempted buyout by IT&T foundered in 1968, after criticisms were vetted during two years of FCC proceedings.

The membership quota for this elite club of three networks, however, was eventually dismantled by a technology developing quietly during these same years—cable television. The FCC's original framework of 1952 did not assure three-network or *any* network service, to all households, and was particularly deficient where terrain obstacles degraded reception over the air. Community antenna television (CATV) was a local self-help response, tying hilltop repeaters to wires into the home. Because cablers did not utilize the broadcast spectrum, the government was uncertain of its jurisdiction until a Supreme Court decision came down in favor of a broad authority to regulate, *U.S. v Southwestern Cable Co.*, 392 U.S. 157 (1968). Thereafter broadcasters, well aware of the potential competition, leaned on the FCC to retard cable, specifically by forbidding the importation of distant signals that were not available in the local market over-the-air. By 1970,

a regime of anti-cable regulation was firmly in place and for ten years it served to retard competition and preserve the networks' position. A newer technological device again led to significant change in this arrangement.

Domestic communications satellites were authorized in 1972, and by 1975 RCA and Western Union had space satellites launched and working. In 1975 RCA sold time on its Satcom I for Home Box Office, the first program service designed to bypass conventional delivery channels, and offer a unified program lineup directly to cable systems and thus to the home—in the true sense, a network. The following year, uncertainties surrounding the re-sale of broadcast programs to cable were resolved, with passage of a new Copyright Act requiring broadcasters to license to cablers under certain conditions, at below-market rates to be established through a bureaucratic process.

The opportunity presented by the resolution of the two knottiest issues—distribution and rights—was first recognized by Ted Turner, not a cabler but a broadcaster, operator of WTCG in Atlanta (later, WTBS), an independent UHF on Channel 17. By 1978, the FCC had been having second thoughts about the heavy hand it had placed on cable development. Turner approached the agency with a plan to offer Channel 17 to a common carrier he created for the purpose, Southern Satellite Systems. In turn, Southern would deliver the station by satellite to cable head-ends, charging five cents per household per month. Because embedded in FCC common carrier regulation was the idea of nondiscriminatory rates, for large and small customers (or cable systems) alike, Southern needed a waiver to charge by the number of local subscribers. Astonishingly, the FCC said yes. The debut of Channel 17 as the first "super station" in 1980 assured, year by year, that the three-network share of the program universe would continue to shrivel inexorably. By 1981 the FCC also was in process of a cable "deregulation," abandoning its 10-year folly of attempting to re-bottle the genie of cable program origination. The networks, barred by FCC rules from owning cable systems, began to invest in new cable program services side-by-side with cable companies, Turner, and others.

With President Ronald Reagan taking office in 1981, the deregulatory thrust continued. The former actor, when he thought about such matters, was willing to favor Hollywood studios in their primordial battles with the television networks, and to endorse the expansion of channels for program delivery. A cable television bill, passed in 1984, pre-empted local rate regulation, and so gave the cable industry working

capital to continue its strides as program creator and distributor.

These strides were being matched with the opening of a wholly new channel into the home. Sony had introduced a practical, consumer videotape player-recorder, the Beta VCR, in 1976, at a suggested retail price of \$1,295. Recording time per tape was one hour. Sony's Japanese rival, Matsushita, which markets under the name Panasonic, followed shortly with an incompatible format that eventually became standard, called VHS. Hollywood studios, led by Universal Pictures and Disney, promptly brought a challenge in Federal Court, claiming that the device inherently was useful only for stealing copyrighted material. The issue oscillated in court until 1984, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that home taping for home use was not an infringement of copyright (*Sony Corp. v. Universal City Studios, Inc.*, 464 U.S. 417 [1984], called the "Betamax case"). From that date, sales of home recorders and the rental of tapes exploded. The studios have come to enjoy greater revenue from cassette sales and rentals than from theatrical exhibition, and must look back in wonder at their temporary insanity when the player-recorders first were sighted in North America. But for the networks, this technology presents long-term problems. The rating services have assumed so far that programs can be credited as viewed if they are recorded, but it may become apparent in time that the facts of actual audience behavior are otherwise. In the United States (unlike some other countries, such as Britain), VCRs in their most typical use occupy the household's attention for non-network fare such as movies, just coming off their initial theatrical run.

As cable and cassettes continued to splinter the market, Reagan's FCC abolished many of the rules and policies that had stood in the background of television broadcasting also. In 1984, the rule restricting each television network to the ownership of a maximum five VHF stations, and seven VHF plus UHF, was replaced with a quota of up to twelve VHF so long as the station grouping did not exceed 25 percent of all TV households. While this liberalization was still at the discussion stage at the FCC, Thomas S. Murphy, chairman of the Capital Cities station group, approached ABC about a merger. Once the rule was finalized, Capital Cities in 1986 announced the acquisition of the much larger network, for \$3.5 billion, with financing from Warren E. Buffett and Berkshire Hathaway, Inc.

By 1986, RCA was a diminished echo of the industrial giant of the post-war years. Its equipment markets had been overtaken by Japanese manufacturers. Its television network remained competitive and highly

successful, but in no position to refurbish from working capital for the intensified program battles ahead. RCA and its NBC network were sold to General Electric in 1985 for \$6.3 billion. General Electric had been instrumental in creating RCA in the 1920s before David Sarnoff's tenure in charge, and now closed the circle in an era more receptive to combinations.

CBS entered this period smarting from a lengthy battle with General William C. Westmoreland over the *CBS Reports* documentary, *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception*. The advocacy group, Accuracy in Media, Senator Jesse Helms, and Ted Turner were each, in 1985, separately talking up plans to acquire the network. CBS beat back these efforts with a \$1 billion stock repurchase, but was left with more debt, little working capital, and a reduced stock valuation. The board and the aging founder, Paley, passed effective control of the stock to Loews Corporation and its proprietor, Laurence Tisch. Soon the news division, successors of Edward R. Murrow, was pruned by 230 people. In 1987 CBS dropped to third place in the season ratings for the first time.

Ever since the sputtering start for UHF in the first two decades of television, FCC commissioners had spoken longingly of the desire, first to assure three-network service, and next to realize somehow the dream of a fourth network. By the time the fourth network arrived, family viewing had fractured into discrete-person viewing, multi-set households were common, and broadcast networks had to contend with cable networks, premium cable, home video, even computer games.

Nevertheless, the fabled fourth network did come in 1990, when Rupert Murdoch, an Australian publisher, naturalized as a U.S. citizen to make him eligible for the deal, acquired the strong major-market grouping of Metro Media stations, and placed them under the same roof with the 20th Century-FOX studio. Murdoch eschewed ABC's original 1950s approach—programming mostly cannon fodder against its rivals on a full seven nights—instead making a staged entry with two nights, then three and four. The FOX network finally attained a full-time run, and in less than five years from launch, FOX could first be seen actually winning a prime-time slot here and there. In 1994 FOX purchased rights to the National Football Conference (NFC), building from sports, and luring affiliates in NFC territories, moves taken from the ancient game plan on which ABC's strategy had previously been built.

The rise of FOX placed new pressure on FCC rules intended to adjust the playing field between program suppliers and the networks. These rules imposed a

quota on network self-produced fare, by forbidding the networks to own rights for secondary distribution of the programs they originated (called the Fin-Syn Rules), and by keeping an hour of prime time out of the hands of networks, reserved for local stations to program, usually by purchase from syndicators (the Prime-Time Access Rule). Because Fox combined a network with a studio, it sought and obtained waivers, and soon the rules were repealed for all networks.

By 1994, the liberalization of ground rules emboldened three more Hollywood studios to try their hand at networking directly. Warner Brothers launched a network in its own name, and Universal, which had grown to eminence as a prime source for NBC, teamed with Paramount, proud source of the inexhaustible *Star Trek* franchise, to form UPN (United Paramount Network).

In 1995, Capital Cities/ABC agreed to be acquired by Walt Disney Studios for \$19 billion in cash and stock. The Disney combination with Capital Cities was the opening round of a new level of consolidation among few great communications trusts equipped to provide multiple channels of information, entertainment, and merchandizing in coordinated fashion throughout the world.

In 1999 Viacom and CBS (acquired earlier by a strong group owner, Westinghouse) merged, in the largest such conglomeration at that time, valued at \$50 billion. From the Viacom side, the merged entity included Paramount, Blockbuster Video, television stations, publishing, and other media. Westinghouse/CBS brought to the table its television group, but also from Infinity a major radio group and outdoor advertising. This combination was possible only because the new Telecommunications Act of 1996 abolished the numerical limit on television stations in common ownership, and provided a liberalized cap of 35 percent of national audience for any one station owner. The Viacom/CBS merger also came in the immediate aftermath of an FCC action repealing the "dual network" ban that had divested NBC Blue in 1941. Bill Clinton's arrival in 1993 gradually shifted the partisan striping of the FCC Commissioners. But the bedrock principles in Washington, D.C., did not change much: receptivity to market forces and competition in theory, and receptivity to large media players getting their wish lists in practice.

That power was drifting away from the "club" of three—now four—was evident in the rise of Time Warner, or AOL Time Warner, as it was dubbed at the \$183 billion merger in 2000. Without ownership of any one of the "major" networks, Time Warner, with all the growing pains accompanying the initial years, was and remains the most highly capitalized media organization in the world. It has a pervasive impact on televi-

sion through the WB network, HBO, Turner Classic Movies and TNT, CNN and CNN Headline News, Warner Brothers Television, and other program originators, and major footprints in online services, books and magazines, to mention only the highlights.

Since the advent of U.S. television in 1941, there never has been a regulatory change—permitting combinations not previously allowed—that did not trigger moves by the affected parties to the full, lawful outer limits. In 2003 the FCC voted to liberalize most of its remaining restrictions on media ownership, including the phase out of "cross-ownership" restrictions in more than one category of mass media, and an increase in the maximum audience that could be served by network-owned stations, from 35 percent to 45 percent, or higher if the stations broadcast in UHF. But this time the implications appeared obvious to a broad cross-section of the public, from the National Rifle Association to Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting. The proposals created a negative reaction in public comment and meetings when proposed, and then a storm of objections when adopted 3–2 by a sharply divided FCC. Both houses of Congress appeared poised to roll back some or all, unless dissuaded by the Bush administration.

If the latest regulations go into effect they will prompt a new wave of consolidations. For all the heat they have generated, they are but the capstone of a 20-year bi-partisan trend. Another FCC action at the end of 2003 may turn out to have even greater significance. News Corporation, the owner of FOX, was permitted to acquire the ownership of DirecTV, which had a direct satellite feed to eleven million homes, and was the second largest pay-TV provider (after cable TV giant Comcast). No "vertical" combination of program and distribution assets quite like this has been seen at any time since the motion picture combinations were broken up in the 1950s. In blessing this merger, the FCC noted that the new company planned by the end of 2004 to put local TV stations on the satellite—known as local-into-local, for the 100 largest markets.

By 2002, 67 percent of households had cable television, providing at least potential competition for satellites. Eighty-five percent of homes subscribed to a multi-channel video service, so that as few as 15 percent of homes were served by over-the-air broadcast only. The slow emergence of digital television will increase options—eventually—by enabling multicasting of several feeds on a station's video channel. Internet streaming gradually will become more practical, in step with broadband deployment.

Unbound from terrestrial broadcasting, and even from the idea of a single channel, what will a network look like? The answer is already seen on satellite and

cable today. The CNN franchise, a Ted Turner legacy acquired by Time Warner, now is seen on cable as CNN, CNN International, CNN en Español, CNN Headline News, CNN fn, and CNN Interactive. CNN Radio is a cable service. All of these can supply news briefs to other channels in the corporate family and can be re-purposed in books, magazines, and elsewhere.

The logical basis for networking in mass media will endure. Production costs are fixed, so the advantage is with those who can achieve the greatest exposure. Exorbitant capital costs in satellite, cable, and high-end digital origination are unlikely to vanish. But the new demand for customization and niche programming points in a very different direction. The large network organizations may have no inherent advantage in reaching a local, specialist, or individualized audience. That provides a possible opening for nimble, adaptive, and small services to endure and even thrive, embracing new technologies as they emerge. In the absence of any governmental brake on consolidation, that would have to be the hope, at least, for any society that depends for its survival on the free flow of information to its citizens.

MICHAEL COUZENS

**See also American Broadcasting Company; Columbia Broadcasting System; FOX Broadcasting Company; National Broadcasting Company; UPN Television Network; WB Network**

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## New Zealand

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As observers have noted, there is considerable irony in the fact that New Zealand, the first nation to legislate for state control of radio waves with the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1903, should have created what the reforming Minister of Broadcasting, Richard Prebble, claimed was "the most open communications market in the world" 86 years later. The development of television has been at the centre of this movement from strong state direction to a competitive marketplace.

In 1935, the first Labour administration set up the National Broadcasting Service as a government department to bring the emerging medium under public control. The following year, 22 private radio stations were nationalized to create a state monopoly.

A government inquiry into the prospects for television was appointed in the 1940s but did not report until 1957. It advocated a public monopoly, and a full service was eventually launched in 1960. Its take-off coincided with a major change in the overall organization of broadcasting when, in 1961, the old National Broadcasting System became the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC), an institution closer to the BBC model.

Because of the country's relatively small population, it was clear that the license fee would not generate sufficient income to cover the costs of the new service, and so advertising was allowed from the outset as a supplementary source of income. Consequently, although the NZBC looked to the BBC as a model, it never enjoyed the same relative independence from commercial pressures, or from political overlordship, as its British counterpart.

As a national monopoly it was expected to reflect and foster national culture and national identity. However, its ability to do this was severely limited by financial constraints. The start-up costs of the new television service were substantial. Constructing a transmitter system across a huge, topographically difficult land area was particularly expensive. Comparatively little funding was therefore available for original program production, and scheduling relied heavily on imported material, particularly from Britain. By the late 1960s, NZBC was the largest purchaser of BBC programs in the world.

In 1972, the organization successfully fought off a bid to introduce a competitive commercial service, and itself launched a second channel. Having more hours

of broadcasting time to fill made imported programs even more attractive to cost-conscious executives. They were ten to twenty times cheaper than domestic productions, filling the screen for two days for the price of one hour of home-produced material. By the mid-1980s, imports were providing the majority of programs but taking only 4 percent of the television division's total expenditure. When a UNESCO study calculated local content on television in 1983, Great Britain logged 85 percent, Australia 50 percent, and New Zealand 25 percent—including sports, game shows, news, and current affairs—strong evidence that in a market of only three million people, financial logic worked powerfully against public television's ability to reflect the full diversity of national life.

Despite the rebuff to the private sector lobby in 1972, a limited form of competition was introduced in 1974 when NZBC's two channels became separate operating companies and entered into vigorous competition for viewers and advertising. This pushed programming toward a more populist, entertainment-oriented style. Television viewing increased appreciably.

This fueled renewed pressure from private companies wishing to enter the increasingly lucrative market for television advertising. In 1976, the newly elected (conservative) National Government responded positively with a Broadcasting Act that set up a quasi-judicial Broadcasting Tribunal, with the power to license new stations by issuing broadcasting warrants. However, it took rather longer to break the public monopoly than many early enthusiasts had anticipated. The private consortium that later became the country's first terrestrial commercial service, TV3, lodged an application for a warrant in 1984. It obtained a favorable decision in August 1987 but a judicial review in their favor was not handed down until September 1988. The channel finally went on air in November 1989. It entered a depressed economy encumbered with debts accrued from the protracted tribunal process and went into receivership after only six months. It had also underestimated the public channels' ability to fight their corner.

In addition to establishing the tribunal, the 1976 Act had also replaced the old Broadcasting Service with the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ), a publicly owned institution with two major operating divisions: radio, and Television New



Zealand (TVNZ). The two television channels were brought back under unified control and run as complementary services. The government also addressed the organization's mounting deficit produced by the costs of launching the second channel and converting from black-and-white transmissions to color. In 1977, they agreed to retire the debt on the condition that future developments were funded from revenues. To underline the point the license fee was frozen. By 1993 it stood at NZ\$110, by which point, if it had been index-linked to inflation since 1975, it would have been NZ\$280. Faced with a capped income from the license fee, TVNZ set out to attract more advertising revenue, successfully increasing its overall share of the advertising market from 21 percent to 30 percent in the ten years from 1977. By 1987 advertising accounted for 80 percent of its total revenues, helping it to record a return on equity of close to 20 percent.

This more commercially minded attitude ran counter to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting that had sat between 1984 and 1985. It had advocated a strong public-service system with limits on advertising levels and a local program quota. But even as it reported, it sounded like an echo from the past.

As a division within a public corporation, TVNZ was free to retain any earnings and reinvest them. The treasury, however, favored returning them to the public purse for general use. Its 1984 briefing to the incoming government floated the idea of converting commercially viable public operations into state-owned trading enterprises (SOEs), which would function as private-sector businesses and return a dividend to the government. The process began in 1986. Nine new SOEs in various sectors, including telecommunications, were established, and at the end of 1988 the principle was extended to radio and television broadcasting.

However, TVNZ's capacity to increase its revenues was affected by a radical shift in the terms of competition in the television marketplace initiated by two key pieces of legislation passed in 1989. In response to widespread concern about the costs and delays of the tribunal process for granting new licenses, the government introduced the Radio Communications Act. This allocated radio frequencies by tender, the winning bidder becoming the frequency "manager" for a 20-year term with freedom to pass the license on to another party. The first auction of national and regional UHF frequencies in 1990 opened the market to several new services. They included Sky Network, the country's first pay-TV service, rebroadcasting satellite sports, news, and film services; a regional service based in Canterbury in the South Island; and a racing channel, Action TV.

TVNZ, which had become a separate operating

company in December 1988 in preparation for increased competition, responded aggressively in an effort to cut costs and increase revenues. Staffing numbers were cut and employees moved to limited-term individual contracts. Much of the programming formerly made in-house was contracted out to independent producers. Internal subsidiaries looked for outside clients. And the organization moved to spread its interests beyond its traditional business of mass-market national broadcasting. It acquired a 35 percent stake in Sky, formed a partnership with Clear Communications, the second force in the emerging telecommunications market, and entered the burgeoning overseas broadcasting market with a 29.5 percent stake in Asia Business News.

It also retained its dominant position in the national television market. By October 1990, TVNZ's two channels still commanded an 80 percent share of the television audience, as against TV3's 17.3 percent and Sky's 1.5 percent. Its share of television advertising however showed a steeper decline, dropping from 100 percent in 1984, before the advent of competition, to 70 percent ten years later. At the same time, TVNZ lost its monopoly control over the license income.

The 1989 Broadcasting Act transferred responsibility for collecting and distributing the public broadcasting fee to a new body, the Broadcasting Commission, with a particular responsibility for funding local production. It later adopted the title New Zealand on Air (NZOA). Although anyone could bid for funds, TVNZ held on to its dominant position with 76 percent of NZOA's 1992 production budget going to programs made by or for its two channels. A substantial portion of this figure was spent on the medical soap opera *Shortland Street*, NZOA's major prime-time vehicle for representing a changing national culture.

Although the introduction of competition has significantly increased the number of television services available within New Zealand, there is heated debate as to whether it has extended the range of programming on offer.

Critics of the reforms point to the cultural costs of the minimal restrictions on commercial operators, the intensified competition for ratings points, and the shift toward transnational ownership with the removal of all restrictions on foreign holdings in television in 1991. They point to the absence of any quota to protect local programming, to NZOA's inability to compel stations to show the programs it has funded in favorable slots, and to the marked increase in advertising time, which gives more space to commercial speech and less to other voices. Although the figures are contested, one government report suggested that between 1988 and 1991, advertising on the two TVNZ channels in-

creased from an average of 9–10 minutes per hour to 15 minutes.

This eclipse of public-service ideals by commercial imperatives is, critics argue, part of a pattern of change that has produced plurality without diversity. Whether this pattern will be broken or reinforced by current moves towards multimedia convergence and interactivity remains a central question.

GRAHAM MURDOCK

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## Newhart, Bob (1929– )

U.S. Comedian, Actor

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Bob Newhart is one of a few television performers to have starred in two highly successful series. His subtle, ironic humor and deadpan delivery served him well as the star of *The Bob Newhart Show* in the 1970s and *Newhart* in the 1980s. In both programs he had the opportunity to display his greatest strength as an actor: his ability to be a great reactor. While the characters he portrayed were a bit quirky, those surrounding him were so much more bizarre that Newhart seemed an island of sanity as he responded to their zaniness. This calm, controlled style also allowed him to take on some risky subjects (death, for instance) without offending his audience. As Newhart once told an interviewer, this style "has allowed me to say outrageous things with the facade of someone who didn't look like they would be saying outrageous things."

Newhart became a television star in a rather roundabout fashion. In the late 1950s, following college, army service, and a few short-term jobs, he appeared to have settled into an accounting career, but his hobby was performing comedy routines on radio. Some of his demonstration tapes so impressed Warner Brothers' recording division that Warner signed him to record a comedy album, even though he had never performed on the concert stage. His first album, *The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart*, was a major hit in 1960. His humor was intelligent and original; some of his now-classic routines involved an inexperienced security

guard reporting King Kong's climb up the Empire State Building, Abraham Lincoln's publicist coaching him on the Gettysburg address, and Sir Walter Raleigh's boss hearing about the discovery of tobacco ("You stick it between your lips . . . you set fire to it?"). Many of these routines were played out as telephone conversations, of which the audience heard only Newhart's side; often he ended the conversation with an indignant "Same to you, fella!"

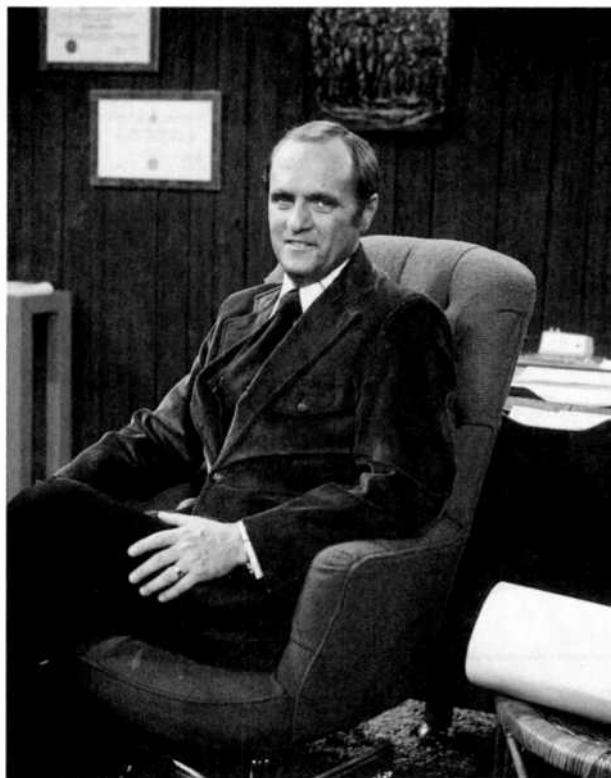
Newhart was one of several cerebral comedians who found favor in the early 1960s, but he always seemed more accessible than the others, like the kind of guy people would invite into their living rooms. Soon, that is where he was. On the strength of his first album, he was invited to perform on the Emmy Awards telecast in 1960. His appearance went over so well that NBC gave him his first TV series, a comedy/variety program called, like his 1970s sitcom, *The Bob Newhart Show*. It was critically acclaimed and won an Emmy as Best Comedy Series of the 1961–62 season, but it was canceled after that season due to low ratings. (Newhart's subsequent hit series were occasionally nominated for Emmys, but they never won. Newhart himself was twice nominated for Best Actor in a Comedy Series, for *Newhart*, but lost both years to Michael J. Fox in *Family Ties*.)

Throughout the 1960s, Newhart performed with great success in nightclubs and on records, and with less success in films, but he remained familiar to tele-

vision audiences through frequent guest appearances on *The Tonight Show*, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, and other variety programs. When Newhart returned to series television in 1972, he won both critical and popular acclaim as Chicago psychologist Dr. Bob Hartley in *The Bob Newhart Show*. The show was one of the best of the ensemble comedies, many of them produced by the MTM company, that became so popular in the 1970s. Its humor was sophisticated, but with a twist: it could laugh at Bob's fixation on death after he nearly fell down an elevator shaft, and it dealt sympathetically with controversial subjects, such as the homosexuality of one of Bob's patients. Unlike programs produced by the Norman Lear organizations, however, *The Bob Newhart Show* was not primarily concerned with social issues, but with human foibles. It was exceptionally well written and had well-drawn supporting characters played by talented actors. Each cast member had an opportunity to shine, but Newhart was the calm center of it all, reacting dryly to strange characters and events, and patiently trying to explain various situations to people who were not interested in his explanations. The program also incorporated some of Newhart's most successful stand-up gimmicks, such as his one-sided telephone conversations.

After six seasons, *The Bob Newhart Show* went off the air voluntarily. Four years later, its star was back with a new series, *Newhart*, in which he played Dick Loudon, a New York writer of "how-to" books who decides to open an inn in Vermont. The premise, in some ways, was not all that different than that of the earlier series. Bob Hartley had to be understanding of all his patients, no matter how difficult they were; Dick Loudon had to be nice to all his guests, despite any pains they caused him. The show had excellent writing and a strong supporting cast, and again Newhart's deadpan, ironic presence was at the center of a universe of eccentric, in some cases truly weird, people.

In the 1990s Newhart again performed primarily in clubs and concerts, but he gave series television two more tries. In 1992 he starred in *Bob*, playing cartoonist Bob McKay. The show had a brief run, was revamped, and had another brief run. Newhart, however, needed stronger supporting characters than this series provided. In 1997 he was teamed with a formidable costar, Judd Hirsh (*Taxi*), in a sitcom titled *George and Leo*. Newhart played George, a staid, mild-mannered bookstore owner on Martha's Vineyard whose life is thrown into chaos when Leo, the father of his son's fiancée and a petty crook from Las Vegas, moves in with him. Although few people realized it, Newhart continued in this series the tradition of using part of his name in the title of the series, because George is his given first name. The leads in *George and Leo* were certainly proven talents and the



Bob Newhart.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

producers, Rob Long and Dan Staley of *Cheers*, had impressive pedigrees, but the show never took hold with audiences and lasted less than one season. In 2003, Bob Newhart had a guest-star role on three episodes of *ER*, as an architect who is going blind due to macular degeneration, and commits suicide. It is one of the few dramatic roles Newhart has played in his career.

TRUDY RING

See also *Bob Newhart Show*, *The*; *Newhart*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*; *Tinker, Grant*

**Bob Newhart.** Born George Robert Newhart in Oak Park, Illinois, September 29, 1929. Educated at Loyola University, Chicago, B.Sc., 1952. Married: Virginia Quinn, 1963; children: Robert, Timothy, Jennifer, and Courtney. Served in U.S. Army, 1952–54. Accountant, U.S. Gypsum Company, 1955; copywriter, Fred Niles Films Company, 1958; rose to popularity with phonograph recordings of comedy routines, many of which featured Newhart in one-sided telephone conversations with prominent persons; numerous television guest appearances as stand-up comedian throughout 1960s; starred in two long-running series, *The Bob Newhart Show* and *Newhart*. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1962; Peabody Award, 1962; Sword of Loyola Award,

Newhart, Bob

1975; inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1993.

#### Television Series

1961–62	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i>
1964	<i>The Entertainers</i>
1972–78	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i>
1982–90	<i>Newhart</i>
1992–93	<i>Bob</i>
1997–98	<i>George and Leo</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1974	<i>Thursday's Game</i>
1980	<i>Marathon</i>
1991	<i>The Entertainers</i>

#### Films

*Hell Is for Heroes*, 1962; *Hot Millions*, 1968; *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, 1970; *Catch-22*, 1970; *Cold Turkey*, 1971; *The Rescuers* (voice), 1977; *Little Miss Marker*, 1980; *First Family*, 1980; *The Rescuers Down Under* (voice), 1990; *In and Out*, 1997; *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer: The Movie* (1998); *Legally Blonde 2: Red, White, and Blonde* (2003); *Elf* (2003).

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## Newman, Sydney (1917–1997)

British Programming Executive and Producer

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Sydney Newman has been seen as the most significant agent in the development of British television drama. He presided over the transformation of television drama from a dependence on theatrical material and forms to a significant art form in its own right. However, this achievement does not belong to Newman alone; his skill could be located in a successful ability to exploit the best of already favorable circumstances with an incorrigible enthusiasm and clarity of vision.

Born in Toronto in 1917, Newman trained initially as a commercial artist, before joining the National Film Board of Canada as film editor, director, and executive producer. While with the board, he made award-winning documentary films and worked with John Grierson. He subsequently spent a year as a working observer for NBC Television in New York, before becoming supervisor of Drama at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). It was there, working on *General Motors Theatre*, that he developed the policy of working with contemporary dramatists who attempted to confront current issues in their work.

In 1958 he moved to Britain to work for ABC Television Ltd., one of the commercial companies that made up the ITV network. In 1955, commercial television broke the broadcasting monopoly held by the

BBC, and ABC was a regional company given the franchise for supplying weekend programming in the North and Midlands. Even before Newman's arrival as head of Drama at ABC, the company had acquired a reputation for some of the best ITV drama. Its *Armchair Theatre* anthology was transmitted every Sunday evening, inheriting a large audience from the highly popular variety show *Sunday Night at The London Palladium*, which preceded it in the schedule.

Newman took over from Dennis Vance as drama head in April 1958. Like Rudolph Cartier at the BBC, Newman arrived in Britain unimpressed with the state of television drama. He also arrived during a sea change in ITV's fortunes; after two years of loss, the new commercial ITV network companies were just beginning to make substantial profits, and by 1958 television audiences for their programs reached over 70 percent. At the same time, the renaissance of British theater was well underway. As Newman admitted to the *Daily Express* on January 5, 1963:

I came to Britain at a crucial time in 1958 when the seeds of *Look Back in Anger* were beginning to flower. I am proud that I played some part in the recognition that the working man was a fit subject for drama, and not just a comic foil in middle-class manners.

Inspired by his experience in drama at the CBC, and unimpressed by the BBC's continuing policy of "mopping up" old theater scripts (according to Newman), he immediately set about organizing a policy of producing plays written for the medium, plays that would reflect and project the experience and concerns of a new working-class audience. As Newman put it in a 1979 interview, "I said we should have an original play policy with plays that were going to be *about* the very people who owned TV sets—which is really a working-class audience."

This explicitly populist "theater of the people" quickly became characterized by the press as "kitchen sink" drama—an unfair appraisal considering the wide variety of plays and genres that Newman's *Armchair Theatre* produced. What the programs did have in common was their ambition to capture contemporary trends and popular experience, and reflect these back to the television audience. To this end, Newman discovered and nurtured new writers, some of whom were to become the best of their generation, including Clive Exton, Alun Owen, and Harold Pinter.

Newman encouraged the transformation of the television landscape not only in terms of subject matter but also in terms of style. If the content of British television drama consisted of bourgeois theater and its limited concerns, then—according to Newman—the shooting style was also limited, constrained by a static respect for theatrical performance conventions. Newman collected a group of young directors from North America, such as Philip Saville, Ted Kotcheff, and Charles Jarrott, as well as poaching directors from the BBC. With these directors—in particular, Saville and Kotcheff—he encouraged stylistic as well as thematic changes, insisting on a new, self-conscious, mobile camera style for the drama productions. As Kotcheff recalled: "We wanted to push against the limitations of the medium, the way it was presently covered—to approach the freedom of film, and not to enslave it to the theatrical tradition in which we found it when we arrived here."

The combination of fresh contemporary material and the freedom Newman gave to his directors (and set designers) to innovate with that material opened up the potential of television drama for all to see. Newman was never far behind them, often photographed on the studio set writing notes, his white-suited swagger suggesting a blazing showbiz evangelist. Contrast the early dramas of Reith's BBC and their "photographed stage plays," respectfully static and distant, with Newman's *Armchair Theatre* drama productions: such plays as "Afternoon of a Nymph" (1961) have an ingenious mobility, with multiple cameras performing a frantic ballet, prodding their lenses into the action, spi-

raling in and between the sets and actors, until their movement itself becomes the significant performance. This new spectrum of theme and style can be seen in other plays such as "The Trouble with Our Ivy" (1961), "A Night Out" (Harold Pinter, 1959), and "No Trams to Lime Street" (Alun Owen, 1958).

Newman's real insight—and the real difference between his work and that of the BBC of the late 1950s—was his estimation of the television audience as discerning, intelligent, and capable of handling new and innovative subject matter. As a producer, he saw himself as a "creative midwife" bringing together the best technical and creative skill.

In fact, Newman's organizational abilities were to find a home at the BBC. In another well-timed move, Newman began work as the head of the BBC Drama Group in January 1963. At this point, the BBC under director-general Hugh Greene was beginning a period of modernization and liberalization. Newman, in a less hands-on, more executive capacity, reorganized the drama department and oversaw the production of the controversial *Wednesday Play* drama anthology. Here Newman was able to draw upon a creative team of writers including Dennis Potter, John Hopkins, Neil Dunn, and David Mercer, and directors such as Don Taylor, Ken Loach, and Gareth Davies. He left the BBC in 1967 and returned to Canada, where he worked again for the National Film Board and the National Film Finance Corporation.

In retrospect, Newman's conscious characterization of BBC drama output as static and middlebrow is unfair. His counterpart at the BBC during the late 1950s, Michael Barry, also attracted new young original writers (including Paul Scott and John Mortimer) and hired young directors such as John Jacobs and Don Taylor. However, it was the newness and innovation that Newman encouraged in his drama output that is most significant: his concentration on the potential of television as television, for a mass, not a middle-brow, audience.

JASON J. JACOBS

*See also Avengers, The; Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken; Wednesday Play*

**Sydney Cecil Newman.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, April 1, 1917. Attended Ogden Public School, Toronto; Central Technical School, Toronto. Married: Margaret Elizabeth McRae, 1944 (died, 1981); three daughters. Moved to Hollywood, 1938; worked as painter, stage, industrial and interior designer; still and cinema photographer, 1935–41; joined National Film Board of Canada under John Grierson, as splicer-boy, 1941; editor and director, Armed Forces training films and war information shorts, 1942; produced more than 300 documentaries; executive

producer for all Canadian government cinema films, 1947–52; assigned to NBC in New York by Canadian government to study U.S. television techniques, 1949–50; director for outside broadcasts, features, and documentaries, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1953; drama supervisor and producer, *General Motors Theatre*, 1954; supervisor and producer of *Armchair Theatre*, ABC-TV, U.K., 1958–62; head of drama, BBC Television, 1963–67; commissioned and produced first television plays of Arthur Hailey, Harold Pinter, and others; special adviser, Broadcast Programmes branch, Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Ottawa, 1970; Canadian Government film commissioner and chair, National Film Board of Canada, 1970–75; trustee, National Arts Center, Ottawa, 1970–75; board member, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Canadian Film Development Corporation; director, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1972–75; special adviser on film to Canadian government, 1975–77; chief creative consultant, Canadian Film Development Corporation, 1978–84; president, Sydney Newman Enterprises, 1981; producer, Associated British Pictures; worked as creative consultant to film and television producers. Officer of the Order of Canada, 1981; Knight of Mark Twain (USA). Fellow: Society of Film and Television Arts, 1958; Royal Society of Arts, 1967; Royal Television Society, 1991. Recipient: Ohio State Award for Religious Drama, 1956; Liberty Award for Best Drama Series, 1957; Desmond Davis Award, 1967; Society of Film and Television Arts President's Award, 1969; Writers Guild of Great Britain Zeta Award, 1970; Canadian Pictures Pioneer Award, 1973; Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers Recognition Award; Venice Award; Canada Award. Died in Toronto, October 30, 1997.

#### Television Series

1954 *General Motors Theatre* (supervisor and producer)

1954 *Ford Theater* (supervisor and producer)  
1954 *On Camera* (supervisor and producer)  
1958–62 *Armchair Theatre* (supervisor and producer)  
1960 *Police Surgeon* (creator)  
1960–61 *Pathfinders*  
1961–69 *The Avengers* (creator)  
1961–69 *Doctor Who* (creator)  
1964–70 *The Wednesday Play* (creator)  
1966 *Adam Adamant Lives!* (creator)  
1967 *The Forsyte Saga* (creator)

#### Television Specials (selected; producer)

1960 *O My Lena*  
1962 *Dumb Martian*  
1963 *Stephen D.*  
1965 *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny*  
1965 *Tea Party*  
1989 Britten's *The Little Sweep*

#### Stage (producer)

*Flight into Danger; Course for Collision*

#### Publication

*Days of Vision*, 1990

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## News Corporation, Ltd.

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News Corporation, Ltd. (News Corp), is one of the world's largest media companies. It holds interests in broadcast, satellite, and cable television, film, newspapers, magazines, book publishers, and online services, across four continents. News Corp is headed by its primary shareholder, Rupert K. Murdoch, who built the company from an initial base of two small Australian

newspapers in the early 1950s into a global media conglomerate.

News Corp's television properties in the United States include the FOX television network, 20th Century-FOX production studios, numerous owned-and-operated FOX television stations, national cable networks including FX and FOX News Channel, and a

string of regional FOX Sports Channels. In addition, News Corp owns a controlling interest in the United Kingdom's direct broadcast satellite television service, British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB); Europe's Sky Channel television programming service; and Asia's direct broadcast satellite (DBS) service, Star Television.

However, it is impossible to isolate any one form of media as News Corp's core business, because its growth has been fueled by the idea of creating synergies among the company's different components. The resulting economies of scale make the value of the company's whole greater than that of the sum of its parts. A good example of this strategy in action was the combination of News Corp's purchases in the mid-1980s of the 20th Century-FOX studios and Metromedia's large-market U.S. television stations. The combination of production facilities and distribution outlets led directly to the creation of the FOX television network.

The FOX network remains News Corp's most prominent presence in American television. It launched in October 1986, with the premiere of *The Late Show Starring Joan Rivers*, and began its regular schedule of prime-time programming in early 1987. While some of its first shows, such as Rivers's, were critical and commercial disappointments, FOX was slowly able to gain audience share and expand its program schedule. FOX ultimately carved out a solid niche as the fourth broadcast network by targeting the 18- to 34-year-old audience and attracting these viewers through programs that were often offbeat and sometimes audacious. *The Simpsons*, *Married... With Children*, and *COPS* were among FOX's most prominent early hits and exemplify the unconventional nature of FOX network programming. Indeed, FOX's *COPS* and *America's Most Wanted* were largely responsible for the wide proliferation of a new television genre known as "reality television." Programming on the channel continued to evolve, to produce and respond to new audiences. *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Melrose Place*, "teen" and "young adult" programming from producer Aaron Spelling, found a substantial group of loyal viewers, and major hit *The X-Files* became one of television's most popular and widely discussed programs.

In addition to its regular programs, FOX also made its presence felt in the U.S. television market through a series of bold strategic maneuvers aimed at acquiring special programming and new affiliate stations. As early as 1987, FOX paid a record license fee to telecast the Emmy Awards (the television industry's awards program), which previously had rotated among the "Big Three" networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). The network also attempted to obtain the rights to the Na-

tional Football League (NFL) *Monday Night Football* television package. Although unsuccessful in the latter effort, FOX was later successful with its record-setting bid for the NFL's National Conference games, wresting the package from longtime rights holder CBS prior to the 1994 NFL season. FOX used the opportunity created by its acquisition of this NFL package to woo new affiliates to the network, which led to the most dramatic realignment of network affiliates in U.S. television history. FOX's agreement with New World Communications, announced in May 1994, represented the largest single affiliate switch ever, but it was considered controversial because many saw the agreement—in which FOX paid New World \$500 million and 12 New World stations changed their affiliations to the FOX network—as a vehicle by which FOX was able to circumvent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) limitations on the number of stations a single company is permitted to own.

Another News Corp property that exemplified the company's strategic approach to collecting assets was *TV Guide*, the best-selling weekly magazine in the United States. News Corp purchased *TV Guide*, along with *Seventeen* magazine and *The Daily Racing Form*, in 1988 from Walter Annenberg for a reported price of more than \$3 billion. It was News Corp's largest single purchase to that time and represented another instance of the company's willingness to pay a premium price for a unique media property that fits into a synergistic global scheme. While many questioned why News Corp would pay such a price for a mature asset that had seen its circulation decline by about a third since its peak in the late 1970s, *TV Guide*'s merger in 2000 with the Gemstar family of interactive video products placed News Corp at the forefront of the emerging interactive program guide (IPG) market, which promises to exploit fully and build upon *TV Guide*'s tangible assets, as well as its unparalleled brand equity in the television-program-listings marketplace.

News Corp's involvement with DBS service in Europe put the company at great financial risk, but it appears to have been a wise long-term investment. News Corp initially launched a DBS service called Sky Television in 1989, which competed in the United Kingdom with another DBS service, British Satellite Broadcasting (BSB). In 1990 BSB became bankrupt, and Britain's Conservative government, who regarded Rupert Murdoch as a crucial ally, allowed Sky to override concerns about the creation of a satellite broadcasting monopoly and buy BSB's assets; the two satellite broadcasters merged to become the News Corp entity BSkyB. The start-up costs associated with this venture put great strain on News Corp's financial stability, and the losses it encountered in BSkyB's early days, combined with the overwhelming short-

term debt load News Corp had accumulated from its years of aggressive acquisitions, nearly forced the company into financial ruin in 1990. However, News Corp was able to negotiate with its creditors for more favorable debt terms and thereby averted disaster. The emergence of BSkyB in the early 1990s as an extremely profitable venture (built, like FOX, on the acquisition of rights to televise sporting events), along with the growing success of FOX in the United States, helped News Corp back to financial health in a relatively short time.

In the latter half of the 1990s, News Corp expanded on its strategy of producing its own content for its distribution channels by aggressively pursuing the acquisition of selected landmark professional sports properties. Its takeover bid for the Manchester United soccer franchise was ultimately blocked by the British government, which cited the unfair advantage that News Corp's BSkyB would have in negotiating for the television rights to the team's games; however, News Corp did successfully purchase the Los Angeles Dodgers Major League Baseball team in 1998. The Dodgers' purchase clearly exemplified News Corp's strategy of owning sports franchises whose popularity extends beyond national borders to other areas of the world where News Corp also owns satellite television distribution services, such as Star TV in Asia and Sky Latin America.

Today, News Corp stands among the foremost media companies in the world and continues to be aggressive in its pursuit of new media and communications properties. Its wide range of media holdings in many

countries of the world puts News Corp in a central position among a handful of corporate behemoths that could dominate the global media landscape for many years to come.

DAVID GUNZERATH

*See also Murdoch, Rupert*

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## News in the United States, Local and Regional

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Local television news in the United States struggles to maintain credibility even as it is increasingly used as a revenue center and promotional tool by an ever-shrinking group of media owners. For broadcasters and cable companies, local and regional newscasts remain the site for occasionally fulfilling the oft-forgotten obligation of public service, earning, to some degree, accolades and audience loyalty. But as the site of intense local competition and substantial advertising revenue, journalism and public service often take second place to ratings-grabbing gimmickry and corporate cross-promotion. Despite taking knocks for its

formulaic approach and irresponsible antics, local and regional TV news has grown steadily since the 1950s, and has, with the national cable news networks, contributed to a sharp decline in network news audiences. This entry focuses on news in the United States, though many countries have similarly complementary local and national systems of TV news. Most larger British cities, for example, have both a commercial and public local newscast, though these are far smaller operations than their U.S. counterparts. In Germany, the dominant TV news providers are regional. Intensive promotion of local television journalism and local



news celebrities seems to be a purely U.S. phenomenon, however.

Although the earliest experiments with television in the 1930s included simple newscasts, and the first stations licensed provided local news, most local VHF television stations began creating their own newscasts as soon as they went on the air in the 1950s or 1960s. Doing so provided evidence of community involvement and an identity amid otherwise indistinguishable fare. UHF stations neither had the budgets nor the audience ratings to do so. Early local newscasts were brief and non-visual, for videotape technology, debuting in 1956, was too cumbersome to leave the studio and live remotes were all but impossible for their cost and complexity.

Some stations purchased newsfilm from newsreel companies. 16-millimeter film, while an excellent newsgathering medium, was costly and required at least three and a half hours to be processed, edited, and set up for the process of playing it back into a newscast. By the 1970s, as more and more viewers purchased color television sets, color film replaced black and white. Visual coverage of national news increased as the networks trusted their affiliates to cover important stories and send them to New York for the network newscasts. But until the 1980s, quality television news remained the near exclusive domain of the networks, and particularly of CBS. Local stations could not match the look or experience of the networks and rarely profited from news.

Between the mid-1970s and early 1980s came a local news explosion, attributable to a synergy of technology and economics. Sony introduced the 3/4" video cassette recorder, a portable machine capable of recording 20 minutes on each cassette. With it came simple and reliable editing equipment permitting the rapid assembly of stories from the field. Ikegami and RCA produced shoulder-borne television cameras to be used with the field recorders. Electronic News Gathering (ENG) was born, and by 1975, 65 percent of local stations in the United States were using ENG equipment, though many continued to use film into the 1980s. The earliest ENG equipment was expensive and was adopted slowly by all but the wealthiest stations. Field camera and recorder were later combined into the most popular news-gathering tool of the 1980s and 1990s, the Sony Betacam. Stations experimented with many new tape technologies in the 1990s, with many stations opting for smaller and cheaper formats like Sony's Hi-8 or, later, Panasonic's DV.

ENG made more pre-produced material and story "packages" possible, allowing for more news and greater advertising revenue. With the technological revolution came broader conceptions of local news.

News could be more visual, immediate, and exciting. The ability to produce more news—through the expansion of local resources and a plethora of national and international sources—led stations to add newscasts. Those with existing newscasts expanded their operations. With the rapid growth of cable television in the 1980s and 1990s, many cable operators established newscasts of their own, often in towns and cities not well served by broadcasters.

With, at the very least, an early- and late-evening newscast to be filled each day, news directors developed new strategies, and looser standards of journalism, to fill the time and attract viewers. By the 1990s, many stations added morning and midday programs, producing six hours or more of news daily. Newscasts increasingly presented crime or minor tragedy (the fires and accidents which are inexpensive to cover and never in short supply) as news, and made stories shorter and snappier, especially those that were not easily illustrated. Reports on City Hall or problems in the schools offered little visual excitement and so took a back seat to sensational but unimportant news. Local news watchdog Rocky Mountain Media Watch observed that between 1994 and 1999, "violent topics consistently comprise 40 to 50 percent of all the air-time devoted to news" despite the fact that U.S. crimes rates were dropping.

From the mid-1970s to the present, newscasts have been fierce battlegrounds for viewer loyalty. Stations earn a substantial portion of their revenue from their newscasts, and aggressively promote their news. Popular syndicated entertainment programming leading into newscasts is used to deliver viewers to a station's news product, and a popular newscast, in turn, boosts ratings for an entire evening's programming. Stations peddle newscasts and newscasters with billboards and other advertising. But when programming and promotional strategies fail, stations turn from the expertise of their own managers to high paid consultants with a track record of ratings increases and a supposedly scientific approach.

The best known consultants are Frank Magid and Al Primo, but there have been countless imitators. For tens of thousands of dollars their firms conduct viewer surveys and focus groups. The results—a vague indication of what a few viewers think they like—are used to rebuild newscasts from the ground up. Newscasts are made "marketable." The typical gimmicks offered by consultants or newly hired news directors included new or redesigned sets and changes in on-air "talent." Consultants maintain vast nationwide videotape files of news talent, and records of their respective ratings, to help clients find the perfect personalities.

Finally, a new format is usually adopted. The most

grating of these, known as "happy talk" (usually under the "Eyewitness News" designation), in which dual anchors bantered with one another about innocuous matters, has mercifully died away in most markets. Other common formats, some still in evidence, include "Action News," with quick young reporters and barely edited video of the day's highly visual carnage, or "News Center," emphasizing reporting and relevance to viewers. As stations acquired adequate technology to produce live news coverage in the late 1980s, "liveness" was invariably made the newscast's *raison d'être*. This often puts reporters in ridiculous situations, filing live reports from dark, long-deserted locations, without the depth and quality a pre-produced report would provide.

Despite these variations in theme, local news in the U.S. has maintained an astounding consistency of format from its earliest days. Newscasts are divided into four or more segments, separated by commercials (which are, after all, the reason the newscast is there). Actual news, broadly defined, comes in the first two segments, often including a superficial recap of world and national events when local news is sparse. News is delivered by one or two anchors (usually an older Caucasian male and younger Caucasian female, with limited ethnic diversity in some urban markets), and contains a mix of readers (with an anchor delivering the story), voice-overs (with anchors narrating over videotape), packages (pre-produced stories by reporters), and live reports. One stylistic element has changed in fifty years of local TV news: the average length of soundbites—the time newsmakers are given to explain ideas to viewers—has dropped from an excess of twenty seconds down to seven seconds.

The third and fourth segments are usually sports and weather (with the one of greatest local interest coming first). In smaller cities, much is made of local school sports to lure the parents of schoolchildren to tune in (a sought-after demographic for advertisers). Hour-long news formats and 24-hour regional formats have more segments, but add little in variety apart from extra feature stories, and increasingly (aping CNN and its ilk) lengthy "news analysis" discussions between anchors and hired pundits.

Local television's most urgent task is to persuade audiences of its own relevance to their lives. To ensure its very survival, it attempts to demonstrate that it provides something more or different than national newscasts and other TV fare. But localism alone is no guarantee of relevance, so local news often resorts to exaggeration. Routine storms are presented as threats to life and limb, errant teenagers as deadly gangs. Populist or consumer advocacy stories often pose as news. During the 1990s, some stations merged the content

and aesthetics of tabloid newsmagazine shows with a colloquial reporting style in the hope of attracting a young audience, and desperate efforts to capture the youth market—traditionally the least interested in TV news—continue. Other stations copied the national cable news companies, offering several stories at the same time through the use of an irritating and uninformative "crawl" of words at the bottom of the screen.

But encouragingly, some stations took a new approach, eschewing crime and tragedy except where substantial numbers of viewers are affected, avoiding gimmicks, and focusing on explaining social and political issues. Some replicated the community-service focused "public journalism" model taking hold at many newspapers. Stations going this route—as did Chicago's WBBM for a short time in 2000—remain rare, because those that have done so gained awards and praise, but few rating points.

Quality journalism is not entirely absent in television news, but rarely does it come before economic considerations. As shown by McManus (1994), active discovery of news, especially that which society's powerful prefer hidden, is costly, giving rise to the common allegation that TV news legitimates the status quo. Such journalism requires the allocation of station resources and personnel over long periods to produce a single story.

Excellence in television news does exist, and is recognized in annual awards by the Associated Press and numerous industry organizations. In rare, but remarkable, instances local television news goes on the air full time to report on local disasters or major events, or invests in investigations that bring about needed changes in public policy. When local TV journalists resist sensationalism and premature reporting such coverage can provide a vital public service beyond the means of other media.

Television news operations are fairly autonomous departments within broadcast or cable companies. The senior manager of the news department is the news director, and may be assisted by one or more executive producers. These individuals are responsible for controlling the general look and feel of their newscast while satisfying the demands of their corporate superiors. The successful construction of each newscast is the responsibility of a producer, who in the smallest markets may double as anchor or news director. The producer must ensure that every element of the production is ready at airtime, and deal with problems or changes while the newscast is on the air. In large news departments this involves the coordination of dozens of reporters, videographers, writers, feature producers, tape editors, graphic artists, and other specialized staff. They work with the on-air talent to develop the lineup

(story order) of the newscast and write portions of the show not provided by reporters or news writers. Control of day to day newsgathering operations is the domain of the assignment editor who has the unenviable task of ensuring that everything of importance is covered. As the center of incoming information and the dispatcher of a station's news coverage resources, the assignment editor has considerable power to determine "the news."

The technical production of a newscast is accomplished by a staff independent of the news department. Studio production is supervised by a studio director (or newscast director), who works closely with the producers and talent to ensure that each production is flawless. A well-directed newscast is one that calls no attention to its complex technical elements. In larger markets the studio director coordinates a large production team, but in some small markets may perform a remarkable solo ballet of switching, mixing audio, timing, and myriad other tasks. Even the largest news operations, though, are slashing their production staff through the installation of robotic studio cameras and other automation.

Local television news is highly dependent on new technologies, regional news even more so. But while some basic production equipment, like digital cameras and non-linear editing, provide higher quality at lower cost than ever before, other important technologies require massive investment beyond the reach of smaller news departments. The next major development after the field recorder was the rapid increase in the use of microwave systems to transmit live or taped stories from remote locations (also called ENG). Now, all but the smallest stations operate microwave-equipped vehicles.

By the late 1980s, most news departments were using computers to write and archive scripts, at the very least. Many had begun to use integrated news production software designed to simplify writing TV news scripts, arrange them for a newscast, and deliver them to teleprompters for the news anchors to read. Television journalists now make extensive use of computerized information retrieval services and databases, and many television stations have established their own expansive websites to provide updates of stories, special services like highly localized weather forecasts, and to encourage viewer feedback. Increasingly, station websites are being called upon to turn a profit as well, and so most feature extensive advertising and cross-promotion, but little news.

From the late 1980s, Satellite News Gathering (SNG) became the technology to most change the industry. It made regional television news possible, permitted local stations to cover national and international

events, and dramatically extended the newsgathering reach of stations. Local TV news was thereby decentralized. An entrepreneur, Stanley Hubbard, is credited with beginning the SNG revolution. Domestic satellites launched in the early 1980s had the new capability of handling signals at a higher, more efficient, frequency band than before—the Ku band. Hubbard began Conus Communications to provide access to these satellites for a "cooperative" group of local stations. The stations would be able to reserve satellite time cheaply in five minute increments to "uplink" a story from the field to their studio and to the rest of the stations in the cooperative. Stations began to purchase sophisticated Satellite News Vehicles (SNV) to transmit localized reports from the scene of major stories anywhere. Not coincidentally, Hubbard also sold SNVs. The networks established plans to help affiliated stations with the cost of purchasing SNVs (at around \$300,000 each) in order to create their own cooperatives of live sources and to ensure that they alone would receive any important story from a network-funded SNV. The latest news vehicles have both satellite and microwave transmission capabilities and, due to digital technology, are smaller, lighter, and cheaper.

Stations may receive stories from one or more satellite cooperatives they belong to, their own network (if an affiliate), a national cable news service like CNN or MSNBC, Reuters or Associated Press, other specialized services, public relations firms, and their own news gathering resources. Helicopter news coverage also became common in the 1990s.

The proliferation of sources and the ability to send and receive stories instantly and inexpensively within virtually unlimited geographic areas gave rise to regional news, which has emerged in several forms. An early example of regional television news was an agreement between seven SNG-equipped Florida stations to share resources and personnel, presenting an image of seamless statewide coverage to their audiences. In 1986, News 12 Long Island was started by Cablevision and other investors. Using a mix of ENG and SNG, the cable news channel presents 24-hour news coverage, often live, of the vast Long Island area, which had previously been underserved by the New York stations.

Many other local and regional 24-hour cable news operations have since been created, including some carried by different cable operators spread over a large area, such as New England Cable News and some large city cable operators, most notably Time Warner in New York, have also established twenty-four-hour news stations.

With the flurry of station sales and purchases taking place since the start of extensive broadcast deregula-

tion in the 1980s, station ownership by non-local investors became common. In a sharp contrast to the heavy investment in news of the 1970s, many news departments now run on shoestring budgets to maintain the illusion of community service at little cost to their corporate parents. In many small and medium markets, news departments operate with a staff of a dozen or fewer, and—as with many of the regional news operations—eager young reporters work as “one man bands,” acting as videographer and reporter on the several stories they cover daily. Their salaries are among the lowest for college graduates. Owners unwilling to invest in news often close their news departments and more profitably counter the competition’s newscasts with syndicated programs. Many news departments are experimenting with new ways to pay their own way. News or weather programs are provided to other stations in the same market that have no news staff of their own. Increasingly, revenue-generating commercials and cross-promotions are presented as news, as when one San Francisco station directed viewers to its website to purchase *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire* board games, as part of a feature news story.

Local television journalists often produce their product with little knowledge or concern about who is watching and why (though they do better in this regard than their national counterparts). When stations do research their audience, what they discover may tend to lead them to ignore the substance of their newscast for the superficialities. It is rarely determined how much viewers actually learn from TV news, but existing research suggests it is very little, and often not what producers intend. Distant ownership makes the lack of connection with audiences more acute. By some accounts, the pressure to sacrifice public-service journalism for corporate financial interests has reached crisis proportions in local TV. The firing of reporters Jane Akre and Steve Wilson by a Florida FOX affiliate in 1997 because their investigative reporting threatened bad publicity for key advertisers has gained the most notoriety, but a national survey in 2000 showed that pressure and intimidation in the newsroom is commonplace, with nearly 40 percent of local broadcast journalists admitting to avoiding stories which might threaten their company’s financial interests (Pew).

Other research has shown that contrary to arguments made by the FCC as justification for deregulation, conglomerate-owned stations generally do a poorer job of public service than those owned by smaller companies (Napoli, Project for Excellence in Journalism). And local TV, like its network mentors, continues

to ignore vast portions of the population—especially the poor and urban working classes—and present community issues almost exclusively through the eyes of local business owners (when not through the eyes of its corporate parent). While television news has come far, a reorientation toward genuine community service and away from entertainment and profit are desperately needed. As Walter Cronkite observed nearly four decades ago (*Time*, October 14, 1966), a half-hour newscast has fewer words than the first page alone of a decent newspaper, so anyone relying on TV for their news information will never be as well informed as they ought to be.

CHRIS PATERSON

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## News in the United States, Network

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As with most forms of television programming, the antecedents to network news in the United States reside in the radio era, beginning as early as 1928, when NBC mounted major coverage of the presidential election race. Yet for a variety of reasons, radio news was slow to develop. It was not until the impending prospect of war in Europe that news programming emerged as a major component of network radio. During the late 1930s, CBS's Edward R. Murrow assembled a team of correspondents scattered across Europe that provided both breaking news and analysis of major events and personalities. The "Murrow Boys"—including Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, and Charles Collingwood—earned renown for their war reporting. In the post-war period, they would come to play a major role in the development of television news as well.

Immediately after the war, few imagined that television news would supersede its radio counterpart. Indeed, most correspondents vied for plum radio postings, and NBC's initial TV news program was hosted not by a journalist but rather by announcer John Cameron Swayze, whose *Camel News Caravan* "hopscotched" the globe, delivering a mere 15-minute sampling of headline stories. Sponsored by Camel cigarettes, the program nevertheless pioneered the use of remote film footage that was shot, processed, and edited under daily deadline conditions. CBS likewise launched *Douglas Edwards with the News*, and late in the 1950s, ABC floated its own nightly news round-up under the leadership of John Daly. Yet the transition from radio to television proved expensive, so all three networks allocated most of their resources to entertainment programming, allowing only occasional opportunities for experimentation in news and information programming.

The leading experimenter was Edward R. Murrow, who had been promoted to vice-president of CBS in recognition for his wartime service. Murrow used his corporate influence and celebrity status to launch tele-

vision's first news documentary series, entitled *See It Now*, which ranged broadly in its coverage of both domestic and international issues. Produced by Fred Friendly, the program took on prominent social issues and painted vivid portraits of the struggles of everyday citizens. It was also renowned for thought-provoking interviews with such leading figures as Robert Oppenheimer, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Harry Truman. Interestingly, histories of 1950s television less commonly acknowledge *Person to Person*, a companion program developed by Murrow that drew much larger audiences with its interviews of leading show-business personalities in their homes. In television's first venture into infotainment programming, Murrow toured the homes of such stars as Marilyn Monroe and Eddy Fischer, while chatting about celebrity gossip and their personal lives. Both "high-brow" Murrow and "low-brow" Murrow helped to set the early standard for long-form television news.

In 1956, however, NBC began to bid for bragging rights in TV news when its new president, Robert Kintner, took charge. An avowed "news junkie," Kintner expanded the scope and resources of the news division, creating a truly international newsgathering organization during his reign at the network. Most immediately, Kintner parlayed Chet Huntley's and David Brinkley's adroit coverage of the 1956 Democratic and Republican conventions into the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*, a program that would dominate nightly news ratings until 1967. Kintner also nurtured NBC's documentary efforts, overseeing the launch of the distinguished *NBC White Paper* series in 1960. And he was furthermore an advocate of news specials, often breaking away from regularly scheduled entertainment shows in order to provide live coverage of important events, such as spacecraft launches, Congressional hearings, and the Cuban Missile Crisis. Yet Kintner's efforts were motivated by more than *pro bono* professionalism, as he was the first network chieftain to

stress the profit potential of news programming. Just as importantly, Kintner, who would later serve in the Johnson administration, understood the public relations value of his news division at a time when government regulators began to press for more news and information programming.

Such growing pressures culminated in the 1961 appointment of Newton Minow, who famously referred to network television as a "vast wasteland" in a speech he delivered shortly after taking office. Like other officials in the Kennedy administration, Minow explicitly put network officials on notice that he considered television a strategic weapon in the struggle against communism, and throughout his two-year term, he prodded and cajoled network officials to expand their news departments and increase their coverage of international issues. TV executives were generally sympathetic to this shift in government policy and news department staffers were especially enthusiastic to see their profession restored to the prominence it had enjoyed during World War II. Indeed, it's important to note that the generation of journalists that filed stories from the battlefronts of WWII were, by the 1960s, in charge of the network news divisions and generally sympathetic to the government's strategic and ideological struggle against communism.

Former war correspondent Walter Cronkite took charge of the *CBS Evening News* in 1962 and Howard K. Smith (one of the "Murrow Boys") anchored ABC's nightly newscast. Both networks furthermore launched prime-time documentary series, *CBS Reports* and *ABC CloseUp*, which shared a similar set of topics and treatments as *NBC White Paper*. Indeed, the early 1960s would prove to be the golden age of the prime-time documentary in the United States, with much of the programming shaped by Cold War concerns. All three networks furthermore competed to provide breaking news coverage of important events, and in 1963, CBS and NBC expanded their nightly news programs from 15 to 30 minutes. By this point, American network news divisions had established bureaus in dozens of cities around the world and had developed a sophisticated infrastructure for the processing, shipment, and editing of news footage, so that visual accounts of important events around the world would find their way to national television screens within 24 hours. In a few short years, news became an integral component of network television and on-camera news professionals became major television personalities, their popularity carefully tracked by audience research services and monitored by network executives.

The growing prominence of television news also encouraged politicians and public officials to play to the camera in an attempt to advance particular causes.

Most capable in this regard was the President Kennedy himself, whose press conferences earned surprisingly strong ratings due in part to his telegenic appearance and his wry humor. Tragically, Kennedy's assassination would also draw record audiences, followed by the capture and on-camera slaying of his assassin, and by live coverage of the visually stunning funeral service beamed from the nation's capital. All three networks suspended commercial advertising and turned the airwaves over to their news divisions for several days, in what many would refer to as the coming of age of television. During those few days, the medium provided a common ground upon which citizens worked through the complex emotions engendered by that historic chain of events.

In the years that followed, however, the news divisions would find that the awesome power invested in them could also prove to be a liability. Although network news now had the authority to direct national attention at specific events and social concerns, it also stirred up controversy and counterattacks when it did so. News programs about the exploitation of migrant laborers angered farmers; criticisms of public education worried parents; and investigations into lung cancer stirred resentments among cigarette companies, then the leading advertisers on network television. Perhaps most significantly, news programs about civil rights elevated African Americans to a level of visibility they had never before enjoyed in the U.S. media. Sympathetic news portrayals of the plight of black citizens stirred both righteous indignation and racist antipathy. As the campaign for civil rights gained momentum in the 1960s, it sometimes skirted conventional politics, appealing directly to national television audiences through a series of carefully orchestrated non-violent protest demonstrations and through the charismatic appeals of black community leaders.

Likewise, as the war in Vietnam heated up, television news became a site of struggle between pro- and anti-war factions. During the early years of the war, Vietnam correspondents rarely challenged the U.S. government's rationale for intervention or its progress reports on the war effort. Yet President Johnson's decision to escalate troop commitments in 1965 greatly expanded the military draft, inciting resistance on American college campuses, within the government, and among military units in the field. Closely monitored by both sides, nightly news divisions juggled the competing claims of the administration and the anti-war movement, as opposing viewpoints began to work their way into regular news coverage. The growing protest movement discouraged Lyndon Johnson from seeking a second presidential term in 1968, and many critics—correctly or not—attributed his political

demise in part to television news coverage that was increasingly critical of the war and sympathetic to protestors.

Now widely perceived as a news oligopoly, the networks both influenced public perceptions of key public issues and found themselves called to account for skewing political deliberation. Presidents were especially sensitive to the perceived power of television news: during his time in office, Lyndon Johnson grew increasingly agitated by network reporting, and Richard Nixon was hostile to the three networks from the very moment he entered the Oval Office. Giving voice to the administration's sentiments, Vice President Spiro Agnew publicly lambasted the "effete corps of impudent snobs" that ruled the news media, while officials within the Nixon administration began to advocate the development of cable technology, hoping to undermine the power of the three commercial networks.

Despite these tensions, television would continue to prevail as the public's dominant news source throughout the 1970s, even though the complexion of news organizations would change considerably. At NBC, changes began with the retirement of Chet Huntley in 1970, a vacancy that would stir several years of intense competition to fill the anchor slot. At the same time, executives were reassessing the Kintner legacy that had pushed NBC to a leadership role in TV news. RCA, the parent corporation of NBC, had earlier accepted the costs of an extensive global news operation because it assumed that such programming helped to drive the sale of television sets, both at home and abroad. By the 1970s, however, the sale of sets in the U.S. began to taper off and RCA began to shift its emphasis to informatic, aerospace, and military product lines. Given the importance of government contracts in such fields, and given changing government attitudes toward news, RCA no longer relished the expansive ambitions of the Kintner era. Consequently, NBC News began to trim budgets and close news bureaus. Its nightly news program then began to lag behind its CBS competitor until coverage of the Watergate hearings re-energized the division and catapulted Tom Brokaw to a position of visibility that would eventually earn him the anchor slot on the nightly news in 1976.

Watergate coverage also animated the fortunes of public broadcasting, as Robert McNeil and Jim Lehrer fashioned thoughtful interviews and commentary, providing some of the first regular coverage of national politics on PBS. In 1976, the duo launched the *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, a nightly half-hour program that quickly won a solid audience of opinion leaders and media critics. While earning both criticism and praise

for its emphasis on "talking heads," the program delivered precisely what was lacking in commercial network newscasts. It furthermore addressed two other criticisms often leveled at TV news when in 1983 the anchors bought the production company and expanded their program to an hour-long format, as the *McNeil-Lehrer News Hour*. Ironically, this gave PBS, the network with the most diminutive news resources, the most in-depth and independent nightly newscast.

The resurgent interest in television news could also be measured by the fortunes of the first prime-time newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*. Premiering in 1968, many critics complained that the program represented a softening of the documentary news tradition by emphasizing investigative stories that focused on clearly defined villains, rather than broad-ranging reports on more abstract but pressing social issues. Yet despite the program's calculated tilt toward a narrative style, it failed to attract large audiences and languished at the bottom of the ratings, threatened with cancellation. Ranked 101st among 106 network programs in 1975, *60 Minutes* unexpectedly began a meteoric ascent to become the number 1 ratings draw in 1979. Some attributed its newfound success to a shift in scheduling that moved the program to early prime-time on Sundays, but just as importantly, the reversal of fortune seemed to reflect a growing popular interest in investigative reporting in the wake of Watergate.

ABC soon harnessed this same enthusiasm with the premiere of *20/20* in 1978, a magazine show that balanced tough investigative reports with lighter fare about fads, fashions, and celebrities. Both networks saw benefits to the new programs, since they seemed to fulfill public-service responsibilities while steering clear of government criticism by focusing their attention on unscrupulous crooks rather than hot-button political issues. Moreover, the newsmagazines proved to be money machines, costing only half as much as hour-long dramas, while delivering upscale demographics and premium advertising rates. Just as importantly, they helped to mitigate internal tensions within the news divisions, as they provided showcases for such high-powered talent as Mike Wallace, Barbara Walters, and Ed Bradley. Over the next two decades, both ABC and CBS sought to expand on their successful magazine offerings and NBC tried unsuccessfully to match its competition until finally, in 1992, it too scored a hit with *Dateline*.

For ABC, the growing emphasis on newsmagazines was only part of a larger set of transformations, as Roone Arledge, the architect of the network's successful sports division, moved over to take charge of news in what critics perceived as a shocking triumph of showbusiness over journalistic professionalism.



Arledge, however, proved to be a prodigious booster of news, reformatting the nightly news show and launching *20/20* in 1978. The following year, with the hostage crisis in Iran, ABC was especially aggressive in its coverage, providing regular updates, including the sensationally titled late-night show, *Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage*. The program nevertheless provided sober, in-depth features and interviews, elevating the network's chief diplomatic correspondent, Ted Koppel, to a position of prominence and, after the release of the hostages, allowing him to transform the show into *Nightline*, a commercial counterpart to *McNeil-Lehrer*. In 1981, Arledge also carved out a new home for a disillusioned David Brinkley, who fled NBC to host *This Week with David Brinkley*, a show that would finally bring ABC to a leading position on the Sunday-morning talk circuit. Shortly thereafter, Arledge shrewdly tapped his leading Middle East correspondent, Peter Jennings, to anchor the *ABC World News Tonight*. Thus, in less than a decade, Arledge played a prominent role in transforming ABC into the leading U.S. network news operation with some of the most talented personnel in the profession.

Meanwhile, CBS greeted the 1980s with its own agenda for change. Walter Cronkite, who was often referred to as "the most trusted man in America," retired in 1981 after two decades anchoring the *CBS Evening News*. Dan Rather won out in the struggle to succeed Cronkite, but the ratings of the network's flagship news program began to falter. In response, CBS went through a string of executive producers, trying to restore the luster of the Cronkite years, but the network found itself in an increasingly tight ratings race with its competitors. CBS has other problems, as well. A 1982 documentary, *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception*, stirred up a major libel suit when it re-examined the calculation of combat casualties during the Vietnam War, claiming that military leaders manipulated weekly body counts in an effort to sustain support for the war effort. General William Westmoreland, the retired commander of U.S. forces in Southeast Asia, sued CBS, and the resulting legal settlement sent shock waves through the news department, as an internal investigation sought to rectify dubious journalistic practices, especially standards for editing on-camera interviews.

The biggest problem confronting television news, however, was the steady erosion of ratings, as cable television increasingly siphoned off network viewers throughout the 1980s. Younger audiences were most likely to gravitate to cable channels, and consequently the age demographic for nightly news programs began to drift upward. Cable also posed a direct challenge when in 1980 Ted Turner launched Cable Network News (CNN), a 24-hour news channel, and one year

later added *Headline News*, a news update program that rotated on a half-hourly basis. Journalists at the major networks generally dismissed the new challenger, noting that Turner, whom they regarded as a volatile personality, had shown no prior commitment to news, and CNN seemed to be operating on a shoestring budget. Yet the cable network enjoyed certain cost advantages, such as a non-union workforce and a base of operations in Atlanta, where real-estate costs were considerably lower than Manhattan. Turner also enjoyed the counsel of Reese Schonfeld, a veteran news producer who was tapped to lead the news organization during its early years. Schonfeld understood that the key weakness of his competitors was the relatively high cost of maintaining a global news operation in order to produce a half-hour nightly newscast and a few weekly magazine shows. CNN by comparison spread the cost of its news infrastructure across two channels broadcasting around the clock—48 hours of programming per day. In 1985, the cable network went even further, establishing CNN International (CNNI) to manage a collection of distinctive satellite news services targeted at different regions of the globe.

By the mid-1980s, cable TV in the United States was a growing force in both news and entertainment, and Ted Turner's channels emerged as leaders in both cable ratings and advertising. Though still diminutive by comparison to the major broadcast networks, the Atlanta-based upstart began to maneuver for financing that would allow it to mount a hostile takeover of the venerable CBS. Executives at CBS responded by bringing in friendly investors, most prominently Laurence Tisch, who would eventually take control of the network in 1986. Tisch, ironically, proved to be no less disruptive to network operations, and in one of his very first acts as chairman, he toured CBS News bureaus around the world, shuttering operations, laying off staff, and slashing costs. In the same year, Capital Cities Broadcasting took over ABC, and General Electric absorbed NBC. At all three networks, executives suddenly returned their attention to cost controls, seeking to make news operations more efficient and more attractive to advertisers. With only a limited number of programming hours, news divisions sought to develop new prime-time magazine programs and to prop up the sagging ratings of nightly newscasts with more feature-oriented material.

Turmoil within news organizations began to grow, however, as staffers tried to resist what they saw as a further softening of journalistic and public-service standards. Remarkably, they could count on little support from government regulators. Indeed, throughout the Reagan Presidency, the administration aggressively sought to undermine the independence of network



news divisions, and the FCC relentlessly rolled back government guidelines regarding the public-service commitments of broadcasters. Chairman Mark Fowler argued that the growing number of available TV channels diluted the government's rationale for regulating broadcasting in the public's interest. According to Fowler, television should enjoy the same First Amendment rights as newspapers and magazines, a position that has increasingly prevailed since the 1980s. Moreover, in its efforts to nurture a multiplication of services, the FCC made a number of rulings that allowed Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch to launch a fourth commercial broadcast network in 1986, despite the fact that the FOX Network had no immediate plans for news or public-affairs programming. Instead, the channel resolutely focused on entertainment, and its sole forays into news consisted of tabloid-style magazines such as *Inside Edition* and *Hard Copy*. The emergence of FOX, when coupled with changes at the major networks and the increasingly sensational focus of local TV news, fueled criticisms about the growing impact of ratings and entertainment values on the news judgment of television professionals. The word "infotainment" gained widespread currency during the late 1980s, and battles erupted within news organizations over the future of network news. At one point, six of the leading journalists at CBS offered to buy the news division and run it as a separate entity in the hope of protecting it from what they saw as the cynical economic calculations of network executives.

Sobering events at Tiananmen Square, the Berlin Wall, and in the Persian Gulf helped to slow the eroding status of network news operations, however. The Gulf War especially exposed the challenge faced by the down-sized network news divisions, as they seemed to be bested at every turn by CNN, which offered round-the-clock coverage that proved influential not only in the U.S. but also in the Middle East and Europe. CNN furthermore earned kudos for its independent reporting from Baghdad throughout the war, a stark contrast to the pack journalism practiced by its competition. Yet with the luxury of CNN's many hours of programming, it also could swing from the most serious topical news to the most sensational tabloid stories, as it demonstrated with its capacious coverage of domestic stories such as the Menendez murder trial, Tonya Harding's assault on Nancy Kerrigan, and Marina Bobbit's castration of her wayward husband. The apogee of such coverage seemed to arrive with the surreal, slow-motion highway pursuit of O.J. Simpson and his subsequent murder trial, followed shortly thereafter by the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The latter is remarkable on a number of accounts. First of all, the story was broken not by a network

news organization, but rather by Matt Drudge, a gossip columnist on the Internet. Several news organizations were already aware of rumors of the President's romantic liaison with a White House intern, but despite intense competitive pressures, each had exercised restraint until Drudge published undocumented assertions on his web page, launching a frenzy of coverage that dominated national news for much of 1998, despite many other pressing social issues. Intense competition among broadcast, cable, and Internet news organizations paradoxically encouraged a growing diversity of electronic sources but also fostered a singular fixation on a story of little consequence in the realm of public policy. Since the networks no longer had a monopoly of airtime, talent, audiences, or advertising revenues they consequently found it difficult to resist the attraction of such a sensational news stories, even if it led to an imbalance in coverage.

Moreover, in a world of multiplying delivery channels, the news organizations that seemed most successful were those that could leverage their news output through as many channels and times of the day as possible, both at home and abroad. Such considerations led NBC to launch two global cable networks in 1995: MSNBC, a joint venture with Microsoft, and CNBC, a financial news channel. CNN took this philosophy to another level when it merged with Time Warner in 1995, hoping to realize synergies with such magazines as *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*. Soon after, News Corporation, the parent company of FOX and the owner of a growing collection of satellite TV services around the world, finally took a plunge into broadcast journalism with the 1996 premier of the FOX News Channel, a service that modeled itself on right-wing talk radio in the U.S., thereby distinguishing it from rivals and helping to push it ahead of CNN in U.S. cable ratings. Interestingly, this put ABC and CBS in a difficult position, since neither news organization enjoyed the same synergies as their competitors and yet both worried that it would be costly to launch yet another cable news service in an already crowded market. Consequently, ABC, now owned by Disney, began to search for strategic partnerships, entering into extended negotiations with CNN. As talks continued, the market value of the two organizations indicated a dramatic reversal of fortune, with CNN reporting profits in 2001 of \$200 million on \$1.6 billion in revenues and ABC News realizing only \$15 million in profits derived from \$600 million in revenues. Although at the millennium, the nightly newscasts of the major broadcast networks still drew the largest audiences, the proliferating services of cable television had dramatically redefined the meaning of network news.

MICHAEL CURTIN

See also Brinkley, David; Brokaw, Tom; Cable News Network; Cronkite, Walter; *Dateline*; Huntley, Chet; Murrow, Edward R.; News, Local and Regional; Sevaried, Eric; *60 Minutes*; Smith, Howard K.; Walters, Barbara

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## Nichols, Dandy (1907–1986)

### British Actor

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Dandy Nichols is remembered above all for one role only, that of the long-suffering Else, wife of the appalling Alf Garnett, in the long-running series *Till Death Us Do Part*, and the rather milder follow-up *In Sickness and in Health*, both written by Johnny Speight.

The role of Else Garnett (or Ramsey, as the family was called in the beginning) went first to Gretchen Franklin when a pilot episode of *Till Death Us Do Part* was made in 1965, but Nichols took over when the series got under way and she quickly proved the perfect foil to the bigoted and abusive Garnett, played by Warren Mitchell. The rapport between the two ensured the show's immediate, if controversial, success, and the program was destined to attract top ratings for 10 years before a weary Nichols complained that she could no longer work with Warren Mitchell, and called it a day (in the series it was explained that she had left for Australia to visit her sister). She came back, however, as Else in the sequel, *In Sickness and in Health*, although she was by now confined to a wheelchair because of arthritis and with only months to live.

As Else, Alf Garnett's dimwitted "silly old moo" of a wife, Nichols repeatedly demonstrated the command of technique and timing that she had learned from her long apprenticeship in the theater (she appeared, for instance, in the original Royal Court Theatre cast of David Storey's *Home* in 1970 and acted in the West End with the likes of John Gielgud and Ralph Richardson). She also appeared in some 50-odd films, which ranged from *Carry on Doctor* and *Confessions of a Window Cleaner* to *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Scott of the*

*Antarctic*. Film directors cast her initially as cockney maids and charwomen, but it was not long before her skills as a character actress were recognized and she was occasionally allowed to extend herself in more varied parts.

Born in Hammersmith, in western London, Nichols was nevertheless quite at home with the East End locale of the Garnett series, and she proved inimitable in the character with which she became most closely identified. Deadpan in the face of Garnett's unforgivable verbal abuse, and resigned to her role as the target of much of her husband's frustration and invective, she could be, by turns, hilarious and pathetic, and she quickly became a firm favorite of the British viewing public. Treasured memories of her performances included the carefully managed moments in which she would bring a careering Alf Garnett to a sudden stop in mid-tirade with some artlessly innocent observation or other, apparently oblivious of the inevitable result that she would draw the full venom of her husband's ire upon herself. Else was a type that many people recognized from real life, and she provided some necessary warmth and pathos to contrast with the monstrous Alf's aggression and viciousness. Without Else, and in a changed climate under the Thatcher government, the later series faltered and failed to resonate with viewers as earlier episodes had done.

Success in the role of Else Garnett, though it came relatively late in her career, brought Nichols the opportunity to play both starring and supporting roles in many other classic television shows. In the sitcom *The Trouble with You*, *Lillian*, for instance, she was equally



*Home*, Dandy Nichols, John Gielgud, 1972.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

effective as Madge, teamed up with the redoubtable Patricia Hayes. Among the other classic series in which she appeared to acclaim were *Emergency-Ward 10*, *Dixon of Dock Green*, *No Hiding Place*, *Mrs. Thursday*, and *Bergerac*. The critics also lavished praise on her performance in a television adaptation of the William Trevor play *The General's Day*, in which she starred opposite Alastair Sim.

DAVID PICKERING

See also *Till Death Us Do Part*

**Dandy Nichols (Daisy Nichols)**. Born in Hammer-smith, London, 1907. Worked for 12 years as a secretary in a London factory, taking acting lessons; professional actor from late 1930s; participated in six-week tour with ENSA during World War II; film debut, 1947; played maids, housewives, and other roles for many years on both stage and screen, before her greatest success opposite Warren Mitchell, as Else in the

long-running series *Till Death Us Do Part*. Died February 6, 1986.

#### Television Series

1965–75	<i>Till Death Us Do Part</i>
1971	<i>The Trouble with You, Lillian</i>
1985	<i>In Sickness and in Health</i>

#### Films

*Hue and Cry*, 1947; *Nicholas Nickleby*, 1947; *Woman Hater*, 1948; *Portrait from Life*, 1948; *The Fallen Idol*, 1948; *The Winslow Boy*, 1948; *Here Come the Huggetts*, 1948; *The History of Mr. Polly*, 1948; *Scott of the Antarctic*, 1948; *Don't Ever Leave Me*, 1949; *Now Barabbas was a Robber...*, 1949; *Tony Draws a Horse*, 1950; *Dance Hall*, 1950; *The Clouded Yellow*, 1950; *White Corridors*, 1951; *The Holly and the Ivy*, 1952; *The Happy Family/Mr. Lord Says No*, 1952; *Mother Riley Meets the Vampire/Vampire Over London*, 1952; *Emergency Call/Hundred Hour Hunt*, 1952; *The Pickwick Papers*, 1952; *Woman of Twilight/Twilight Women*, 1952; *Street Corner/Both Sides of the Law*, 1953; *The Wedding of Lili Marlene*, 1953; *Meet Mr. Lucifer*, 1953; *The Intruder*, 1953; *Time Is My Enemy*, 1954; *The Crowded Sky*, 1954; *Mad about Men*, 1954; *Where There's a Will*, 1955; *The Deep Blue Sea*, 1955; *A Time to Kill*, 1955; *Lost/Tears for Simon*, 1955; *Not So Dusty*, 1956; *The Feminine Touch/The Gentle Touch*, 1956; *Yield to the Night/Blonde Sinner*, 1956; *The Strange World of Planet X/Cosmic Monsters*, 1958; *Carry On Sergeant*, 1958; *A Cry from the Streets*, 1958; *Don't Talk to Strange Men*, 1962; *Ladies Who Do*, 1963; *The Leather Boys*, 1963; *Act of Murder*, 1964; *Help!*, 1965; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *The Knack... and How to Get It*, 1965; *The Early Bird*, 1965; *Doctor in Clover*, 1966; *Georgy Girl*, 1966; *How I Won the War*, 1967; *Carry On Doctor*, 1968; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1968; *The Bed Sitting Room*, 1969; *First Love*, 1970; *Home*, 1972; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *O Lucky Man!*, 1973; *Confessions of a Window Cleaner*, 1974; *Three for All*, 1974; *Kate the Good Neighbour*, 1980; *The Plague Dogs* (voice only), 1982; *Britannia Hospital*, 1982.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Clandestine Marriage*; *Plunder*; *Home*.

# Nick at Nite/TVLand

U.S. Cable Network

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Debuting in 1985, Nick at Nite began as its parent company Nickelodeon's beachhead in primetime, eventually becoming one of the most successful examples of "re-purposing" in the television industry. Looking to establish continuity between Nickelodeon's daytime children's programming and a primetime schedule that would accommodate both children and adults, Nick at Nite mined the extensive vaults at Viacom for "classic" situation comedies with dual appeal. Comprising the kind of sitcoms that had long been used by local programmers in the late afternoon to fill after-school slots for kids (until this timeslot became too lucrative to abandon to children), Nick at Nite also appealed to Baby-Boomer memories of their own favorite television shows from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The strategy proved so successful that Viacom, after a brief corporate skirmish with MCA, launched a second cable service, TVLand, in 1996. While Nick at Nite continued as an extension of Nickelodeon, TVLand honed a more ironic style, targeting adults and their love/hate relationship with the world of TV reruns. Series such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Brady Bunch*, *The Munsters*, *Dragnet*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show* remain staples of both services. TVLand went on to update its schedule to include series of the 1970s and 1980s, such as *The A-Team*, *Charlie's Angels*, and *Family Ties*, thus tapping into the campy nostalgia of post-Baby-Boomer generations.

Remarkably, both cable services have been extraordinarily successful at revitalizing television series that have long been in syndication and would thus seem to have exhausted their appeal. The key to this success has been a series of innovations in marketing and scheduling. For example, Nick at Nite has attracted a large viewership by packaging these series as "family television," appealing to anxious parents with programs from a more "innocent" time. For parents concerned about the viewing habits of their young children, vintage sitcoms from the network era provide safe material insulated from the often more provocative programming of the post-network system. Appeals to Baby Boomer and Generation X nostalgia are also strong, a strategy epitomized in TV Land's recycling of not only vintage television shows, but vintage commercials.

Along with this "family" appeal, however, Nick at Nite/TV Land has also quite successfully promoted their library of old shows as both "camp" and as a shared TV heritage. Each network surrounds its "timeless" and yet potentially repetitive catalogue of reruns with clever, complex, fast-paced, and ever-changing promotional campaigns, interstitial materials that serve continually to repackage old television for new audiences. Often, these campaigns play on and reward the viewer's familiarity with the programming by parodying certain plot conventions, pointing out inconsistencies and continuity errors in individual episodes, and generally celebrating the naïve "unreality" of vintage television's now increasingly distant and alien worldview. One campaign, for example, tallies the total number of times *Dragnet's* Joe Friday can be seen *not* wearing his trademark gray suit and black tie. Another spot observes how every episode of *The Munsters* includes at least one sequence in "fast-motion," and then considers the comic appeal of this familiar device. These promos have proven so popular and crucial to the networks' profile that the TVLand website allows Internet users to relive their favorite promotional campaigns. The most successful marketing strategy, then, may well be each network's ability to recast the lowly re-run into the collective cultural heritage of TVLand—a fantasy world where all of television history (or at least, that controlled by Viacom) coalesces into a mythic parallel universe to the real world.

Related to this, Nick at Nite and TVLand have also pioneered a number of innovative scheduling strategies. For example, each network has made extensive use of block programming, adapting it in ways not seen in the network system. In its various "Block Party" promotions, the networks will run ten or twelve episodes of the same series back to back (on at least one occasion, *The Donna Reed Show* ran 24 hours a day for an entire weekend). Such scheduling indulges the dedicated fan (who has an opportunity to tape the series in its original sequence) and creates an "event" around an otherwise shopworn show. Other scheduling schemes have included nights devoted to a common sitcom theme (across several series) and blocks devoted to showcasing a "minor" character on a famous series (such as a "Floyd Night" of *The Andy Griffith Show*).



Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Expanding on its appeal to the TV fan and connoisseur, TV Land in particular has in many ways become television's default historian. Although the network often treats its content as camp, there is also a prominent trend toward according these programs a certain archival and historical respect. Episode numbers and original broadcast dates are now often included in each telecast, as are brief "behind-the-scenes" information

about individual episodes. Following a larger trend in cable, TVLand has also produced a series of original documentaries devoted to the development, history, and cultural significance of certain key television programs (including *I Love Lucy*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, and *All in the Family*). Game shows and traveling exhibits based on the mastery of television trivia have also proved central to their marketing agenda. The network's most unusual promotion, however, may well be its plan to unveil bronze sculptures of prominent television characters in geographically relevant locations. A life-size statue of *The Honeymooner's* Ralph Kramden now stands at the Port Authority in Manhattan, with plans for a Mary Richards in Minneapolis and a Joe Friday in Los Angeles. At over \$100,000 per sculpture, these TV statues present one of the most unusual examples of "convergence" in contemporary media, but one wholly appropriate to the network's overall public identity as the custodian of television memory.

JEFFREY SCONCE

*See also All in the Family; Andy Griffith Show, The; Brady Bunch, The; Charlie's Angels; Dick Van Dyke Show, The; Dragnet; Family Ties; Honeymooners, The; I Love Lucy; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*

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## Nielsen, A.C. (1897–1980)

U.S. Media Market Researcher

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Arthur Charles (A.C.) Nielsen established, and gave his name to, the world's largest market-research organization and the principal U.S. television ratings system. After working as an engineer in the Chicago area, he used investments from former fraternity brothers to establish in 1923 a firm that reported surveys of the performance and production of industrial equipment. A decade later, during the Great Depression, the company was faced with a reduced level of manufacturing on which to study and report, so it launched the Nielsen Food and Drug Index. Begun in 1933 and 1934, these regular reports on the volume and price of packaged goods sales in a national sample of grocery stores and pharmacies became essential to the packaged goods industry. A.C. Nielsen Company became the preeminent U.S. market-research firm.

Because the Depression was also a period of rapid growth for radio, and radio advertising, Nielsen was encouraged to begin measuring radio audiences. In the spring of 1936, he attended a meeting of the Market Research Council in New York, at which the speaker was Robert Elder, an instructor from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Elder described the use of a mechanical recorder that could be attached to the tuning mechanism of a radio receiver, providing a continuous record of the stations to which the set was tuned. The device had been developed independently by Claude Robinson while a student at Columbia University and by Elder with Louis F. Woodruff at MIT. Nielsen quickly acquired the meters that had so far been produced, as well as patent rights and trademark registration for the Audimeter, as the device was



Arthur C. Nielsen.  
Photo courtesy of A.C. Nielsen

known. The Nielsen Radio Index (NRI), a series of regular audience surveys conducted with the Audimeter, began in December 1942. The Audimeter became the principal form for measuring radio ratings when in March 1950 Nielsen bought rival C.E. Hooper's radio and television ratings services.

In 1939 the A.C. Nielsen Company Ltd. had been organized in London. The internationalization of the company increased, especially after 1957 when A.C. Nielsen, Jr., became company president.

In 1963 Congressional hearings studying ratings and their influence upon programming in television focused considerable criticism upon the ratings industry and on the reliability of audience-measurement surveys. In that same year Nielsen had discontinued radio Audimeter reports because the increased number of radio stations on the dial made it difficult for the device to distinguish between them. As a stop-gap measure, the company began a diary survey method for radio measurement (Audiologs). Weaknesses in this method attracted unfavorable attention during the hearings. Nielsen Jr. shut down the Audiolog operation, designed what he considered a reliable radio-audience

measurement system and attempted to market it to the radio industry. Finding much resistance, he never brought this service into use.

By 1963 Nielsen was out of the radio ratings business, preferring to concentrate on the relatively young national and local television-audience measurement services—the National Television Index (NTI) and the Nielsen Station Index (NSI), respectively.

In June 1980 A.C. Nielsen, Sr., died in Chicago. In 1984 his company merged with information giant Dunn and Bradstreet. The company has since been split into two entities, Nielsen Media Research and the A.C. Nielson Company; the first was acquired by the Dutch company VNU in 1999; VNU also acquired the second company in 2001.

JAMES E. FLETCHER

**See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Demographics; Ratings; Share; Market**

**Arthur Charles Nielsen, Sr.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, September 5, 1897. Educated at University of Wisconsin, B.Sc. summa cum laude, 1918. Married: Gertrude B. Smith, 1918; three daughters, two sons. Served in U.S. Naval Reserve, 1918. Worked as electrical engineer, Isko Company, Chicago, 1919–20, and H.P. Gould Company, Chicago, 1920–23; president, 1923–57, and chair, 1957–80, A.C. Nielsen Company; established numerous Nielsen offices in the United States and abroad. Recipient: silver medal, Annual Advertisement Awards Committee, 1936; award for outstanding service, Chicago Federated Advertisements Club, 1941; Paul D. Converse Award, American Marketing Association, 1951 and 1970; elected to Hall of Fame in Distribution, 1953; Knight in Order of Dannebrog, 1961; Parlin Memorial Award, 1963; annual award, International Advertisement Association, 1966; marketing Man of the Year, 1970; elected to National Lawn Tennis Hall of Fame, 1971; elected to the Advertising Hall of Fame, 1986. Died in Chicago, June 1, 1980.

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Nielsen Company. See A.C. Nielsen Company

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## Nixon, Agnes (1927– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Often termed the “queen” of contemporary U.S. soap opera, Agnes Nixon is best known, and most honored, for introducing social issues into the soaps. Like William Bell (creator of *The Young and the Restless* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*), Nixon apprenticed in radio with Irna Phillips, the creator of the first TV soap-operas (adapting the genre from radio), for whom Nixon wrote dialogue for *Woman in White*. In the early 1960s, in her first job as a head writer (on *Guiding Light*), Nixon had the heroine, Bert Bauer (played by Charita Bauer), develop uterine cancer. Typical of this storyteller, Nixon was personally motivated to write this plotline: a friend had died of cancer and Nixon hoped to encourage women to have regular Pap smears.

However, the presentation of social and political issues in television soap opera really began in 1968, with the first show Nixon created, *One Life to Live* (*OLTL*). Nixon developed this soap for ABC, and it reflected the changing social structures and attitudes in the United States of its era. In its early years, *OLTL* was rich in issue stories and characters. It featured leads who were Jewish, as well as up-from-poverty Irish-American and Polish-American characters. In addition, *OLTL* was the first soap to portray African Americans as lead characters (Carla Gray, played by Ellen Holly, and Ed Hall, played by Al Freeman, Jr.). The character of Carla developed from a woman who was “passing as white” to one who embodied black pride, and she had romantic relationships with both black and white men. Ironically, when Holly and Freeman brought Carla and Ed back to *One Life* in the mid 1980s, they seemed out of place in the by-then WASPish setting of Llanview, Pennsylvania. “Color” in this era was created not by race, but by style, in the persons of the nouveau riche, *Dallas*-style oil family, the Buchanans. By the mid 1990s, however, interracial

and Hispanic families had become central characters on the program.

Nixon created *One Life to Live* for ABC in order to get the opportunity to write her “dream” story, *All My Children* (*AMC*). Launched in 1970, *AMC* placed more emphasis on personal angles than *OLTL*, but the newer soap did tackle social issues such as child abuse and the Vietnam War. In May 1971, *AMC* depicted a character going through the process of abortion—the first this had been done following the legalization of abortion. Assuming the audience would be shocked, *AMC*’s writers gave the character Erica Kane (Susan Lucci) a “bad” motive for seeking the procedure (she wanted a modeling job), and, following the abortion, Erica was afflicted with septicemia (this plot twist being promoted as serving educational ends as well as “poetic justice”).

Nixon wrote political nonconformity into scripts, a very rare trait in prime-time television but rarer still in daytime drama. When *All My Children* debuted in 1970, it featured Amy Tyler (Rosemary Prinz) as a peace activist. Nixon then had the young hero Phillip Brent drafted against his will; he was later missing in action in Vietnam. Political pages in U.S. newspapers took note of a speech against the war by the *AMC* character of Ruth Martin (Mary Fickett), who had raised Phillip as her son. Fickett won the first Emmy given to a daytime performer for her work during the 1972–73 season. In 1974 Nixon turned to humanizing the Vietnamese, showing Phillip, in one of the few war scenes on TV soap opera, being rescued by a young Vietnamese, played by a man who had been adopted by one of Nixon’s friends.

In the mid-1970s, *All My Children*’s focus on young adult characters included not only romance and sexuality, but also the characters’ growing pains. From its ear-



Agnes Nixon.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

liest days, the soap has revolved around Erica Kane. Initially presented as a willful but winningly vulnerable teenager, Erica has matured over the years, becoming a strong-minded but winningly vulnerable career woman and parent, the always triumphant survivor of rape, the loss of a parent, disastrous love affairs, failed marriages, drug addiction, and innumerable other tragedies.

In the early 1980s, *AMC*'s popularity soared as young people raced home (or to their dormitory lounges) at lunch time to watch the classic star-crossed romance of Jenny Gardner (Kim Delaney) and Greg Nelson (Lawrence Lau). The divisive issue was class: Jenny was from a troubled, lower-class family; Greg's mother, Enid Nelson, was Pine Valley's stereotypical snob. Equally popular were Angie Morgan (Debbi Morgan) and Jesse Hubbard (Darnell Williams), soap opera's first African-American "super couple."

The character of Tad Martin (Michael Knight) epitomized another Agnes Nixon gift to soap opera: humor. Tad's biological parents were an evil father, Ray Gardner (dead since the 1980s), and a loving but ditzy mother, Opal (one of Nixon's most famous comic creations). After Ray abandoned him in a park, Tad was raised by Joe Martin (Ray McConnell) and his wife Ruth. Joe and Ruth were the central father and mother of *AMC*, and in folk-myth terms, they were the good

parents, as steadfast as Tad's blood parents were unreliable and frightening.

Nixon's other archetypal creations on *AMC* include "tent-pole" characters, usually older women such as Erica's mother, Mona Tyler (Frances Heflin), and Myrtle Fargate (Eileen Heckart). Tent-pole characters, says Nixon, are "the Greek chorus, in a sense...telling the audience how to feel."

In addition to folk myth, Nixon also drew on the religious and mystical. One of her favorite tales is from the third soap opera she created (with the late Douglas Marland), *Loving* (ABC, 1983; renamed *The City* in 1995). Archetypal good/bad twins Keith and Jonathan (both played by John Hurley) battled, and the evil Jonathan, after falling from Golden Gate Bridge, returned with supernatural powers. Nixon claimed Jonathan made a pact with the devil, citing *Faust* and C.S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters* as sources.

After semi-retiring from writing in 1997, Nixon returned to the job of head writer for *All My Children* in 1999, a position she had last held in 1992. Once back at the helm, she launched one more controversial, socially relevant, and precedent-setting storyline, in which the teenage daughter of Erica Kane came out as a lesbian. In 2000 Nixon announced her retirement from writing soap operas. Her involvement with ABC soaps did not end completely, however, as she took a new position as story consultant for all daytime dramas on the network.

CAROL TRAYNOR WILLIAMS

#### See also Soap opera

**Agnes (Eckhardt) Nixon.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, December 27, 1927. Educated at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Married: Robert Nixon (died 1996); four children. Freelance writer for radio and television; creator, packager, and head writer for various daytime drama series. Consultant for ABC daytime dramas from 2000. Member: International Radio and TV Society; National Academy of TV Arts and Sciences; Friars Club; Board of Harvard Foundation. Recipient: National Academy of TV Arts and Sciences Trustees Award, 1981; Junior Diabetes Foundation Super Achiever Award; Wilmer Eye Institute Award; American Women in Radio and TV Communicator Award, 1984; American Academy of Achievement Gold Plate Award, 1993; Television Hall of Fame, 1993.

#### Television Series

1951	<i>Studio One</i>
1952–54	<i>Robert Montgomery Presents</i>
1957–59	<i>As the World Turns</i>
1959–65	<i>The Guiding Light</i> (head writer)



1965–68 *Another World* (head writer)  
 1968 *One Life to Live* (creator, packager)  
 1970–92, *All My Children* (creator,  
 1999–2000 packager, and head writer)  
 1983–95 *Loving* (called *The City*, 1995;  
 creator, packager)

#### Television Miniseries

1981 *The Mansions of America* (creator)

#### Television Special

1952–53 *Hallmark Hall of Fame*

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## North of 60

### Canadian Drama Series

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Born of the heightened consciousness of the First Nations in the late 1980s, this hour-long CBC series was one of the first in North America to focus almost exclusively on contemporary First Nations characters and situations. Created by Wayne Grigsby and Barbara Samuels, the series aired from 1992 to 1998. Aboriginal writers such as Jordan Wheeler (also a story editor) and novelist and film writer Thomas King provided some of the scripts. The program starred Tina Keeper as Michelle Kenidi, a constable in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Tom Jackson played her brother, chief (later ex-chief) of the Lynx River community. George Tootoosis portrayed the bootlegger Albert Golo, subsequently chief of the community and the Kenidis' constant antagonist. Dakota House was Teevee Tenia, the restless teenager, new father, and runner for the younger Golos. Other continuing characters included Elsie, Teevee's very direct and widely respected grandmother; Joe, the self-exiled hunter who camped outside of the settlement; Rosie, who was determined to run her own store; her carpenter husband, Leon; Gerry, the exploitative owner of the store; and Harris, the band manager who changed sides but was genuinely in love with Teevee's self-destructive mother, Lois.

In the first two seasons the cast was also headed by John Oliver as Sergeant Eric Olsen, a white, burnt-out RCMP drug cop from Vancouver, who had requested this posting as a change of pace. His (usually inadvertent)

way of misunderstanding the Cree community of Lynx River provided the early plotlines. As he was educated by the community to the very different values and apparently incomprehensible behavior of the "Indians," so also was the multicultural audience "south of 60." Olsen was followed by a psychotic white "partner" for Michelle and then by an urban Cree partner. Michelle remained the focus for most of the series.

The series raised many sensitive issues: the abuses of the residential schools and the many forms of self-hatred and anger that resulted; the decimation of the aboriginal way of life in the wake of animal-rights protesters; runaways who head south to Vancouver to become street prostitutes; AIDS; land claims (and anthropologists "working" on those lands); interracial marriages. Alcohol abuse, with its effect on the entire community, and unemployment were running motifs. However, *North of 60* was not a series about victims. It was about a community in transition, a community whose core values are threatened but still able to withstand the coming of fax machines and satellite television.

There was truth to the complaint that the series in the early seasons took itself too seriously, lacking the often ambivalent, sometimes oblique, and often very earthy humor characteristic of many First Nations. Subsequent seasons, without Olsen, were a little more lighthearted. Sarah, the white nurse, in a rich and unexpected plot twist, took refuge after a nervous break-



*North of 60.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

down with Albert, now the chief. Her non sequiturs, together with a generally more confident cast and group of writers, developed a thread of subtle, ironic, and unexpected humor.

The struggles of Michelle, her attempts to befriend her own people while policing them, and her conflicts with her teenage daughter Hannah, created situations any working parent could relate to. Hannah later drowned in a storyline that also introduced Michelle's new love interest, a counselor and bush pilot, Andrew One Sky. However, the series also created unexpected solutions to the usual domestic problems. For example, rather than simply relying on an unchanging, winning combination of characters, Thomas King's script gave Peter Kenidi, even with his master's degree, a reason for staying in Lynx River. An unplanned vision quest is derived from too little sleep, extensive work on the history of the local families and the stories told by the elders, and worry about the offer of a well-paying and influential job in Ottawa. Kenidi has vi-

sions of a small boy who eventually wounds him with the stone from a slingshot. As Kenidi comes to see, the "boy" is his younger self running away from residential school—but the cut on his forehead is "real." This larger sense of reality offers him a reason to become part of the Lynx River community and to try to find his place in it.

These topics, and others like them, explore difficult cultural concerns. Like *Cariboo Country* in the 1960s and *The Beachcombers* in the 1970s and 1980s, the 90 episodes of *North of 60* used sensitivity and humor to address such issues of cross-cultural contact and conflict, specifically that between mainstream and indigenous cultures. When the series ended, change in the form of oil exploration was on the way. A number of made-for-TV *North of 60* movies have followed, with audiences still enjoying new insights into the characters and their culture.

MARY JANE MILLER

#### Cast

Corporal Eric Olsen (1992–94)

Michelle Kenidi  
Peter Kenidi  
Sarah Birkett  
Albert Golo  
Teevee Tenia  
Lois Tenia  
Constable James Harper

John Oliver  
Tina Keeper  
Tom Jackson  
Tracey Cook  
Gordon Tootoosis  
Dakota House  
Willene Tootoosis  
Peter Kelly  
Gaudreault  
Lubomir Mykytiuk  
Timothy Webber  
Renae Morriseau  
Selina Hanuse  
Tina Louise Bomberry  
Erroll Kinistino  
Wilma Pelly  
Jimmy Herman  
Michael Horse  
Robert Bockstael  
Michelle Thrush  
Michael P. Obey  
Julie Stewart  
Simon Baker  
Yvan Ponton

Gerry Kisilenko  
Harris Miller  
Ellen Kenidi  
Hannah Kenidi  
Rosie Deela  
Leon Deela  
Elsie Tsa Che  
Joe Gomba  
Andrew One Sky  
Corporal Brian Fletcher  
Sylvie LeBret  
Nathan Golo  
Rosemary Fletcher  
Charlie Muskrat  
Inspector Andre Cormier

#### Producers

Wayne Grigsby, Barbara Samuels, Peter Lauterman,  
Tom Cox, Doug MacLeod

**Programming History**

90 episodes

CBC

November 1992–March 1993 Thursday 8:00–9:00

November 1993–March 1994 Thursday 9:00–10:00

November 1994–March 1995 Thursday 9:00–10:00

November 1995–March 1996 Thursday 9:00–10:00

October 1996–January 1997 Thursday 9:00–10:00

September 1997–December

1997

Thursday 9:00–10:00

# Northern Exposure

U.S. Dramedy

*Northern Exposure*, perhaps the best example to date of a crossbred television “dramedy,” began inauspiciously as a CBS replacement series in the summer of 1990 but quickly garnered critical acclaim as well as an audience sufficient to warrant its return for a short stint the following year. Its popularity grew, and for its first complete season, 1991–92, *Exposure* received ratings in the top 20, the Emmy for Best Television Drama, and an unusual two-year commitment from the network. During its fourth full year, 1994–95, the show’s future appeared questionable. The midseason departure of one of its key players, Rob Morrow, a move from its established Monday night time slot to Wednesday, and the network’s mushrooming concern about attracting youthful demographics all contributed to a decline in favor. The program was canceled by the network at the end of the season.

Set in the fictional hamlet of Cicely, Alaska, this unique, contemporary-set, hour-long series was created by Joshua Brand and John Falsey, whose earlier brainchild, *St. Elsewhere*, had also become a surprise hit. Location shooting in and around the towns of Roslyn and Redmond, Washington, offered scenic panoramas invoking cultural images of unspoiled American frontier. Into this haven comes the proverbial “fish out of water,” Joel Fleischman (Morrow), compelled to serve as town doctor in order to repay the State of Alaska for his medical school tuition. His initial disdain for Cicely’s outwardly unsophisticated inhabitants is exceeded only by his desire to return to his beloved Big Apple where his ambition, cosmopolitan tastes, and Jewishness might have free reign.

The frontier theme is extended and personified in many of the town’s multicultural, multigenerational

denizens. Former astronaut and wealthy entrepreneur Maurice Minnifield (Barry Corbin) is forever devising ways to exploit Cicely’s natural wonders. No-nonsense septuagenarian Ruth-Anne Miller (Peg Phillips) operates Cicely’s General Store, where Native American Ed Chigliak (Darren E. Burrows) helps out while aspiring to be a filmmaker and, eventually, a shaman. French-Canadian immigrant Holling Vincoeur (played by Broadway star John Cullum) owns and manages Cicely’s watering hole, The Brick. He is assisted by girlfriend-turned-wife Shelly Tambo (Cynthia Geary), an ex-beauty queen some 40 years his junior. Joel’s receptionist, Marilyn Whirlwind (Elaine Miles), orients her “boss,” a man of science, to her Native American customs and spirituality while keeping him in line with the slightest grimace or glare. Chris Stevens (John Corbett), ex-con and disk jockey for Cicely’s KBHR (“Kaybear”) radio, peppers the narrative with eclectic musical selections, self-taught philosophy, and Greek chorus-like commentary. Finally, Maggie O’Connell (Janine Turner), a local bush pilot and Joel’s landlady, engages him in a tangled romance reminiscent of 1930s and 1940s screwball comedy. When Joel exited the scene during the 1994–95 season, Dr. Phillip Capra (Paul Provenza) and his journalist-spouse Michelle (Teri Polo) were introduced.

It was around intermittent characters that some of *Exposure*’s most groundbreaking episodes and themes emerged. Chris’s African-American half-brother Bernard (Richard Cummings, Jr.) and Marilyn’s healer cousin Leonard Quinhagak, played by noted film actor Graham Greene (*Dances With Wolves*), deepened and enhanced the show’s representation of many cultures. Gender and sexuality were explored through Ron (Doug Ballard) and Erick (Don R. McManus), propri-



*Northern Exposure*, Rob Morrow, Janine Turner, 1990–96.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

etors of the local inn, whose gay wedding was a prime-time first. Ron and Erick’s arrival also helped to provide a larger context within which to recollect the town’s founding by a lesbian couple, Roslyn and Cicely, later featured in a flashback episode. Eccentric bush couple Adam (Adam Arkin) and Eve (Valerie Mahaffey) allude to the ongoing battle of the sexes rendered center stage by Joel and Maggie, and, with their exaggerated back-to-nature facade and conspicuously consumptive habits, Adam and Eve poke light-hearted fun at *Exposure’s* “yuppie” audience.

The “fish out of water” narrative exemplified by Joel’s gradual softening toward Cicely, Cicelians, and small-town life is replicated again and again in episodes about visitors who give of themselves in some fashion while becoming enriched by their interactions with worldly wise, innately intelligent, and accepting locals. Humanity’s place within the larger natural environment is another significant thematic thread running through the program’s extended text. Behavior and temperament are often seen to be influ-

enced by phenomena such as seasonal winds, Northern Lights, midnight sun, and ice breaking in springtime. The lesson is clear: nature tames human beings—not the other way around.

A cult favorite whose star rose along with that of the Internet, *Northern Exposure* inspired fan clubs, websites, and cyberspace bulletin boards—forums for spirited discussion by an international following. Although its network run was short-lived, the program lived on in syndication and clearly made its mark with innovative, postmodern storytelling, an eclectic musical soundtrack, and character-driven themes crystallizing new and ongoing debates about cultural values weighing heavily on a viewing public facing the uncertainty of a new millennium.

CHRISTINE SCODARI

*See also* **Dramedy**

**Cast**

Dr. Joel Fleischman	Rob Morrow
Maggie O’Connell	Janine Turner
Maurice Minnifield	Barry Corbin
Chris Stevens	John Corbett
Ed Chigliak	Darren E. Burrows
Holling Vincoeur	John Cullum
Shelly Tambo	Cynthia Geary
Marilyn Whirlwind	Elaine Miles
Ruth-Anne Miller	Peg Phillips
Rick Pederson (1990–91)	Grant Goodeve
Adam (1991–95)	Adam Arkin
Dave the Cook (1991–95)	William J. White
Leonard Quinhagak (1992–93)	Graham Greene
Bernard Stevens (1991–95)	Richard Cummings, Jr.
Mike Monroe (1992–93)	Anthony Edwards
Walt Kupfer (1993–95)	Moultrie Patten
Eugene (1994–95)	Earl Quewezance
Hayden Keyes (1994–95)	James L. Dunn
Dr. Phillip Capra (1994–95)	Paul Provenza
Michelle Schowdoski Capra (1994–95)	Teri Polo

**Producers**

Joshua Brand, John Falsey, Charles Rosin, Robert T. Skodis

**Programming History**

88 episodes  
CBS  
July 1990–August 1990      Thursday 10:00–11:00

April 1991–December

1994

Monday 10:00–11:00

January 1995–March 1995

Wednesday 10:00–11:00

July 1995–96

Wednesday 9:00–10:00

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## Norway

Television in Norway has always been a modest affair. The first television service was not formally opened until 1960, and it was not until the 1990s that the second national channel saw the light of day. The late start and low pace of developments in television can largely be explained with reference to distinct demographic and topographic characteristics. Norway has a small population (4.5 million) scattered over a large area (324,000 sq km or 125,000 sq mi), which works out to only 13 people per square kilometer. Nearly two-thirds of the country is mountainous (a traditional problem for TV transmissions) and uninhabitable. These features make it both expensive and difficult to achieve national distribution for broadcasting, but in Norway, with its strong ethos of social-democratic egalitarianism, the option to leave out non-profitable areas was never seriously considered. The high priority on achieving national distribution has had its price in terms of a more limited program output and large amounts of imported programming. Even today, viewing remains among the lowest in Western Europe, with an average of only two and a half hours per day (2001).

Despite its distinct characteristics, Norway's television history follows a familiar European pattern. The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) was established in 1933 as a license-fee-funded and state-owned radio corporation. NRK had a monopoly on all

broadcasting in Norway, and when television came along, the NRK took for granted that it would be responsible for developing the new medium. Like other public broadcasters in the monopoly era, the NRK occupied a singular position as a major component of the national culture. The early years of television was marked by a pervasive social democratic enlightenment ethos inherited from radio. The NRK had from the beginning perceived education as one of its main tasks, and in the 1970s, the policy of enlightenment took on a sharper and more radical edge. News and current affairs became more explicitly geared toward closing the gap between the "information-rich" and the "information-poor," and a wide range of programs—in both the information and entertainment categories—were broadcast with the aim of combating "alienation," "marginalization," and "passive viewing." These ideals were particularly apparent in programs for children and young people, where issues such as racism, third-world poverty, and the environment were central throughout the period. Although the NRK transmitted quite a lot of high culture in the form of classical music and drama, the dominant ideology in the monopoly era was marked more by social-democratic egalitarianism than high-culture elitism. However, the NRK also transmitted highly popular entertainments programs. Norwegian versions of pro-

grams such as *Candid Camera* and *The \$64,000 Question* were broadcast, although the formats were made more serious and "academic" than in the U.S. originals.

The social-democratic ethos of the NRK was based on an ideology of serving the ordinary man and woman. Many ordinary people were not convinced, however, perceiving the NRK as a self-satisfied, paternalistic and bureaucratic institution. In the polarized social climate of the 1970s, the NRK also became a target of sharp political attacks. Conservatives claimed that the NRK monopoly was controlled by radicals, whereas left-wing and cultural-libertarian interests claimed that their views were not given adequate representation (albeit less strongly). By the end of the 1970s, support for the monopoly was waning, and in 1981, the first moves were made by a conservative government to break up the broadcasting structure. To begin with, a series of experiments were conducted whereby voluntary associations, religious and political groups, and newspapers were authorized to set up local radio and television stations. Permission was also granted to a few cable companies to retransmit programs from Satellite Television Ltd. (later Sky Channel). Once these moves were made there was no turning back, however, and within a few years the conditions for local and satellite broadcasting was permanently liberalized.

The deregulation of broadcasting took place despite substantial political opposition from social-democratic and left-wing interests. These groups remained opposed to the establishment of terrestrial commercial broadcasting services in competition with the NRK, but as satellite services proliferated, the opposition became difficult to sustain. By 1990, almost 40 percent of the population could watch satellite channels, among them two services directed specifically at the Norwegian public. This was the pan-Scandinavian TV3 and the Norwegian cable channel TVNorge (TVN). Both of these came on the air in 1988, and both turned out to be far more popular than the international satellite channels that had been available up to that point. In the end it was the loss of national advertising revenue to services transmitting to Norway from abroad that broke down what remained of the opposition against deregulation. In 1990 the decision was made to allow the establishment of a second "official" Norwegian television channel, a privately owned "public-service" institution licensed by the state.

TV2 began broadcasting in September 1992. The corporation is owned by two of Norway's largest media conglomerates, the Schibsted company and A-presen, along with the Danish publishing company

Egmont. From the beginning, TV2 was organized as a private company, but the political intention was that it should operate as a public-service corporation. There were restrictions on ownership, and there were also stricter regulations concerning advertising than those set out in the European television directive (which applies in Norway even though the country is not a member of the European Union). TV2 (and other commercial channels transmitting from Norway) are not allowed to put advertising breaks in news, current affairs programs, documentaries, and feature films (unless the break lasts 20 minutes or more). Advertising directed at children is also prohibited, and there is a ten-minute ban on advertising before and after children's programs.

Although more channels are now available, the NRK remains a central reference point in Norwegian television. After it lost its monopoly position, the NRK made an effort to build an identity more as an independent media corporation and less of a state enterprise. From the beginning, government and parliament exercised detailed control over organizational and financial matters, but through organizational reforms in 1988 and 1996, the NRK achieved greater autonomy from the state. NRK is now a limited company, and although the state holds all the shares, the reforms have granted the NRK the right to appoint its own Director General and establish new services without going through a lengthy political process. In 1996, the NRK opened a second television channel (NRK2), and in recent years the corporation has been granted the right to fund potential new services (teletext, Internet services, pay-TV, and so on) with advertising. Its basic radio and television services nevertheless remain without advertising, although some forms of sponsorship have been allowed.

In the competitive economic situation of the 1990s and 2000s, the NRK has fought, successfully, to retain its position as the leading television company. In 2001, NRK1 obtained an average market share of 38 percent in the national market, compared with 31 percent for TV2. Although TV2 and NRK both have a set of legally defined public-service obligations, there are important differences between them. TV2 broadcasts far more drama than the NRK, and solely within popular genres. NRK's output include some serious drama and substantially more culture, information, and children and youth programs. In its news service, TV2 has adopted a more tabloid, down-to-earth style than the NRK. Yet NRK continues to hold a strong position within news, entertainment, and sport. Both NRK and TV2 transmit around 50 percent imported programming, mostly from English-speaking countries. While

NRK's main strategy has been to expand early-evening and prime-time programming, and to retain its strong position during evenings and weekends, TV2 is moving toward a 24-hour service. It transmits many more repeats, and its schedule also is more highly structured, with permanent slots for different types of programming and with extensive use of "stripping," the placing of identical programs and series in horizontal strips across the weekly television schedule (that is, broadcasting them at the same time each day). The NRK schedule has traditionally been more loosely structured and resources have been allocated on the basis of "importance" or "relevance," rather than ratings. With the impact of competition, the NRK has also introduced more competitive scheduling policies. Particularly during the weekends, new scheduling principles have been instrumental in retaining viewers.

Although NRK1 remains the biggest channel, it is gradually losing out to TV2 in the younger age groups. Other commercial-service channels broadcasting in Norwegian are also trying to attract young viewers. TvNorge, which commanded a 10 percent market share in 2001, has sustained its position due to successful adaptations of game shows and global reality programs such as *Big Brother* and *Temptation Island*. TvNorge is owned partly by TV2 and partly by Scandinavian Broadcasting Systems (SBS), and is overall a loss-making enterprise. The fourth service broadcasting in Norwegian is TV3-Norway, which is almost wholly owned by the Swedish industrial corporation Kinnevik. TV3 is part of a pan-Scandinavian multi-channel operation broadcasting from London, thereby evading Norwegian media law. TV3 operates under far more liberal advertising regulations than the Norwegian-based stations, a fact that has led to loud complaints about unfair competition. TV3 has hardly any factual programming at all and broadcasts mainly drama and "reality" shows. Its market share was 7 percent in 2001. The final national channel is NRK2, which was supposed to help the NRK win back younger viewers and sharpen its cultural profile. It has not been very successful, however, commanding a 3 percent market share in 2001.

As elsewhere, the television debate in Norway in recent years has been focused on the challenges of digitization and convergence. There are presently several digital satellite and cable services available, and there are plans to start building a terrestrial digital net in 2002. There is some doubt about the profitability of this enterprise, due to international experiences and the fact that two-thirds of the population already has access to satellite and cable. Fear that the Norwegian

public service channels might lose out to global and commercial competitors has led the NRK and TV2 to join forces, and in January 2002 they announced the formation of a joint venture—Norges Televisjon—that aims to be the leader in terrestrial digital television within the next few years.

The state of Norwegian television in the early years of the new century is one of both stability and turbulence. Audiences for the national channels remain high, although both advertising revenue and the license fee shows signs of stagnation. The political legitimacy of the Norwegian duopoly also appears to be undoubted, as TV2 was awarded a new seven-year license without much public criticism in 2002, and the legitimacy and political support for the NRK has increased remarkably since the monopoly era. There is a broad consensus that the NRK should continue as a license-fee-funded broadcaster, with a broad range of programming. Current financial difficulties have led to claims that the NRK should cease competing against commercial companies for sport and entertainment programs and concentrate on "serious" programming, but this view has not gained support within the political parties nor within the state-appointed Public Service Council.

Regarding the digital future the situation is more uncertain. An important lesson so far in the competitive era is that those services that have limited themselves to low-quality, low-cost international formats have been less successful than those that have made an effort to reflect Norwegian culture and daily life. In Norway, factual programming such as news, documentaries and current affairs, and domestically produced family-entertainment programs still obtain considerably higher ratings than the cheaply made games shows and reality programs available on cable and satellite.

TRINE SYVERTSEN

*See also* **Convergence; Digital Television; Satellite**

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# Not the Nine O'clock News

## British Satirical Review

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This fast-paced contemporary satire series launched many successful TV careers and bridged the gap between the surrealist comedy of the *Monty Python* generation and the anarchic new-wave comic revolution of the 1980s. In 1979 radio producer John Lloyd, frustrated that many of the radio shows he had worked on (such as sitcom *To the Manor Born*) had transferred to television without him, approached BBC-TV light entertainment heads and pitched for a TV series. John Howard Davies (head of comedy) and Jimmy Gilbert (head of light entertainment) offered Lloyd a six-show slot with no real brief, but with a stipulation that he collaborate with current affairs expert Sean Hardie, who had been recommended to the comedy department because of a quirky sense of humor that did not always sit comfortably within the confines of current-affairs programming. Lloyd and Hardie found they worked well together and quickly began developing formats. One possible program was called *Sacred Cows*, which each week would have humorously dissected a modern-day trend, such as feminism, similar to the way the *Frost Report* (BBC, 1966–67) had operated. However, they finally settled on a contemporary sketch show that would take a “scatter-gun” approach dealing with all sorts of targets.

A pilot show was produced in March 1979 with a team consisting of Rowan Atkinson, Chris Emmet, Christopher Godwin, John Gorman, Chris Langham, Willoughby Goddard and Jonathan Hyde. The pilot was never transmitted. A general election was imminent, and on viewing the program, the BBC was concerned about its overtly political nature. They sent Lloyd and Hardie back to the drawing board and gave them six extra months, which both agreed was a big advantage. Lloyd and Hardie embarked on forming a new team with only Atkinson and Langham surviving from the pilot. Lloyd in particular was keen to get a woman aboard, but finding a suitable player was proving difficult. They approached comedian Victoria Wood, who felt (rightly) that her future lay as a solo artist, and actresses Alison Steadman and Susan George, to no avail. Finally, John Lloyd met Australian actress Pamela Stephenson at a party and was convinced they had found their woman. Mel Smith was

brought in to make up the team, and once they were all together, the shape of the show became clearer. As a bonus, Lloyd found that the cast was willing to become actively involved in molding the material, helping with the selection of sketches and occasionally writing or rewriting pieces.

The first series aired late in 1979 and attracted just enough of an audience overall to convince the BBC to go ahead with a second series the following year. At the end of the first series, it was agreed that Chris Langham did not quite fit in with the rest of the team, and he was replaced by Griff Rhys Jones, who had played some of the extra parts in the first series. Pamela Stephenson had discovered an unexpected talent for mimicry, and her impressions of the female newsreaders of the day proved to be a highlight of the show. Atkinson excelled at visual comedy and verbal gymnastics, and Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones brought a natural acting technique to the sketches. The second series firmly established the show, and one episode won the Silver Rose for innovation at the Montreux Festival. The third and fourth series consolidated their success. Some of the written material for the show came from a central team of regular writers, but the show also operated an open-door policy, which meant that virtually anyone could send sketches in and have them read. This policy provided a fertile training ground for new talent, and many budding writers had their first televised work via *Not the Nine O'clock News*. To the writers, the show may have seemed fairly flexible, but Lloyd and Hardie had some firm parameters. The show was contemporary rather than topical, although its recording schedule (taped Sunday evening for transmission the following day) meant that some last-minute material could be added to give an extra edge. Short sketches were preferred (in its entire run, only a handful were over a minute and a half). Although it returned to the idea of using punch lines (a tradition some critics thought had been eradicated for good by the *Monty Python* team), the show was markedly post-*Python* and unashamedly modern. If a sketch took place in a pub, it would be a modern-day pub with Space Invaders machines instead of dominoes; if a sketch took place in a hospital, it would be a





Not the Nine O'clock News.  
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modern understaffed hospital with harassed doctors and nurses. This sensibility, combined with the show's pace, its revoicing of bought-in footage, and its news-style filming and use of new visual equipment and techniques (such as Quantel), created a unique and recognizable look.

Memorable skits included a parody of the then-emerging pop-video industry ("Nice Video, Shame About the Song"); a satirical comment on the religious furor surrounding *Monty Python's Life of Brian*, in which Pythonists accuse the Bible of blaspheming against the Flying Circus; a beauty contest sketch featuring an unusually candid contestant (Host: "And why do you want to be Miss World?" Contestant: "I want to screw famous people"); and an interview with an intelligent and urbane talking gorilla called Gerald (Trainer: "When we captured Gerald he was of course wild." Gerald: "Wild? I was absolutely livid").

In 1982 the team amicably decided to call it a day, feeling that they had gone as far as they could with the format (they had also produced audio recordings of the show which had proved highly popular, and spin-off books which sold in vast numbers). Although it only ran for 28 episodes, the intensity and density of each show, some containing as many as 30 sketches, meant they had used a lot of material and covered a lot of ground. The careers of many of the creative personnel from the show continued to flourish afterwards: Pamela Stephenson worked in Hollywood; Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones joined for a number of series of *Alas Smith and Jones* and independently proved very

popular in a number of ventures (Smith has since directed movies in Hollywood). Rowan Atkinson became a household name on both sides of the Atlantic, scoring heavily in the sitcom *Blackadder*, in the irregular series of *Mr. Bean* comic films, and in feature films. Producer John Lloyd went on to initiate many hit series, perhaps the most notable being the satirical puppet caricature series *Spitting Image*. Many of the show's writers went on to further successes, including David Renwick, who wrote the most popular British sitcom of the 1990s, *One Foot in the Grave*. Richard Curtis co-wrote the *Blackadder* series and scripted what became two of the most successful British films in history, *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994) and *Notting Hill* (1999). In 1979, although it had finished five years previously, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was still exerting a huge influence on British TV comedy; *Not the Nine O'clock News* was the first comedy sketch program to shine successfully in the large shadow that *Python* cast.

In 1995 the producers returned to the original shows and began the mammoth task of editing them for retransmission and eventual video release. A U.S. version of the series called *Not Necessarily the News* (*Not the Network Co. Inc.*) was syndicated in the 1980s.

DICK FIDDY

See also **Atkinson, Rowan**

#### Performers

Rowan Atkinson  
Pamela Stephenson  
Mel Smith  
Griff Rhys Jones  
Chris Langham

#### Producers

Sean Hardie, John Lloyd

#### Programming History

28 30-minute episodes	
BBC	
17 October 1979–20 November 1979	6 episodes
31 March 1980–12 May 1980	7 episodes
27 October 1980–15 December 1980	8 episodes
1 February 1982–12 March 1982	7 episodes

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# Not Only ... But Also ...

## British Comedy Program

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*Not Only... But Also...* was among the most influential comedy programs seen on British television in the 1960s. Starring former *Beyond the Fringe* partners Peter Cook and Dudley Moore, this fondly remembered comedy-revue series had a considerable impact upon television comedy of the era, with its innovative and often eccentric brand of anarchic humor.

The series, first broadcast on BBC2 in 1965 and then repeated on BBC1, was conceived after Dudley Moore was asked to do a single comedy show for the BBC. Moore recruited Cook to help him write the sketches, and Cook responded with "Pete and Dud," the characters who were destined to become the show's greatest success, and another sketch in which a man explained his life's mission to teach ravens to fly underwater. The resulting show persuaded the BBC to commission a whole series from the duo.

Moore and Cook set about developing sequences of lively comedy sketches linked by musical interludes and other set-piece events featuring themselves or guests. Among the most successful of these latter items was *Poets Cornered*, in which invited comedians were required to compose (without hesitation) instant rhyming poems, or risk being plunged into a vat of gunge—the first appearance of the so-called gunge tanks that became such a feature of zany quiz shows and children's programs in the 1980s and 1990s. Among those to brave the gunge were Frank Muir, Spike Milligan, and Barry Humphries. Guests in sketches included John Lennon, who appeared in the uniform of a nightclub commissioner, and Peter Sellers.

Other unique characteristics of the show included its opening sequence, for which the cameras were set up at some unexpected location, such as London's Tower Bridge, to film Moore playing the signature tune on his piano, and the closing song "Goodbye" (which was successfully released as a single in 1965, reaching number 18 in the pop charts).

The highlights of the *Not Only... But Also...* shows were undoubtedly the appearances of Cook and Moore in the roles of "Pete and Dud"—two rather dimwitted characters in long raincoats and cloth caps who mulled over affairs of the day and the meaning of life itself as they sipped pints of beer or munched sandwiches.

These hilarious routines were frequently enlivened by bursts of ad-libbing, particularly by Cook, and on several uproarious occasions both men collapsed in fits of giggles, to the delight of audience and viewers.

A second series of *Not Only... But Also...* was broadcast in 1966, and its effect was evident upon many subsequent comedy shows, notably in the head-to-head dialogues of Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones in *Alas Smith and Jones* some 20 years later, which harked back unmistakably to the classic "Pete and Dud" format.

DAVID PICKERING

### Regular Performers

Dudley Moore  
Peter Cook  
John Lennon  
Barry Humphries  
Peter Sellers  
Una Stubbs  
Eric Sykes  
Henry Cooper  
Cilla Black  
Dusty Springfield  
Spike Milligan  
William Rushton  
Frank Muir  
Ronnie Barker

### Producers

John McGrath, Dick Clement, John Street, James Gilbert

### Programming History

23 episodes  
BBC2  
January 1965–April 1965 7 45-minute episodes  
January 1966–February 1966 7 30-minute episodes  
Christmas special December 25, 1966  
February 1970–May 1970 7 45-minute episodes  
14 March 1973 Live performance,  
*Show of the Week*

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# NYPD Blue

## U.S. Police Drama

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Amid controversy about Steven Bochco's intent to produce U.S. network television's first "R-rated" series, *NYPD Blue* premiered on ABC in September 1993. This innovative police drama has survived an onslaught of protest to emerge as a popular, long-running, and critically acclaimed series. *Blue* (as it is sometimes promoted) has deliberately tested the boundaries of broadcast restrictions on partial nudity and adult language. Praise for the show's finely crafted storytelling and engaging style soon overtook initial condemnations of its occasional flashes of skin and salty dialogue. After its first season, *NYPD Blue* revived Bochco's reputation as a risk-taking producer of "quality television." For a decade, the series has maintained solid viewership despite a constantly changing cast. Dennis Franz's portrayal of Detective Andy Sipowicz has remained the anchor for a narrative that has added ongoing domestic melodrama to its cops-on-the-job stories.

As a gritty, downbeat cop drama filmed against a backdrop of urban decay, the program has been seen as a return to form for Bochco, who had cocreated the groundbreaking *Hill Street Blues* and *L.A. Law*. Attempts to repeat the success of his law-and-order shows faltered (*Bay City Blues*, *Cop Rock*, *Civil Wars*) until *Hill Street* writer-producer David Milch teamed with Bochco to revitalize the genre. Arguing that the networks had to compete with cable TV for the adult audience, the producers persuaded ABC to approve content previously forbidden. The pilot episode concludes with a dimly-lit lovemaking scene. While mild by motion-picture standards, its partial male and female nudity stirred controversy.

Three months before the debut of such "blue" material, ABC screened the pilot for affiliates and advertisers. Although Bochco agreed to trim 15 seconds from the sex scene, adverse reactions threatened the show's broadcast run. Conservative watchdog Reverend Donald Wildmon and his American Family Association (AFA) led a national campaign against *NYPD Blue*, calling on affiliates not to air the program and on citizens to boycott products advertised during the show. A quarter of ABC's 225 member stations preempted the first episode.

Despite the unprecedented number of defections, *Blue* scored well in the ratings. Most blackouts had been in small markets (representing only 10 to 15 percent of potential viewers); Wildmon's campaign provided extra publicity in larger ones. Furthermore, *NYPD Blue* maintained its large audience, leading most advertisers and affiliates to cease their opposition. By the end of its first season, ABC's new hit drama survived a second round of AFA attacks and won endorsements from Viewers for Quality Television, the Emmy Awards (27 nominations), and most reviewers.

After all the hype about sex, violence, and profanity, what viewers discovered was a compelling series that was "adult" in the best, rather than the worst, sense. *NYPD Blue* is mature and sophisticated, not libertine. Instead of inserting racy language and showy sex for the sake of sensation, this story of career cops features complicated human characters. Charges of excessive violence also proved unfounded. As a new round of protests against TV violence circulated in the U.S. in 1993, detractors tagged this latest *bête noire* of television as a prime offender. Yet, particularly for a realistic police show, *NYPD Blue* seldom depicts violent acts. When it does, it tends to dramatize the terrible consequences of such actions. (Eventually, ABC responded to public and congressional pressures by airing a content advisory warning with each episode, although that warning did not mention violence: "This police drama contains adult language and scenes with partial nudity. Viewer discretion is advised.")

Again like *Hill Street*, *NYPD Blue* excelled with a potent combination of writing, acting, and directing. The look of the show is both realistic and stylized. New York City location shooting make the show's feel for big-city street life palpable, while the jagged editing and nervous, hand-held camera movement (already a convention of the genre) heighten the dramatic tension of scenes in the precinct offices, the place where an ensemble of characters' lives intertwined. Unlike the innovative police drama to which it is often compared—*Homicide: Life in the Streets*—*NYPD Blue* keeps its stylistic flourishes in check, letting actors control scenes. In fact, performers familiar from past



*NYPD Blue*, Dennis Franz, David Caruso.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Bochco productions—Charles Haid, Eric Laneauville, Dennis Dugan, Jesus S. Treviño—have directed many episodes.

However, it was another set of alumni from the Bochco stock company who stood out above the ensemble cast. Franz emerged as the scenery-chewing mainstay of the show, reinventing his seedy, sharp-tongued Norman Buntz character from *Hill Street Blues* as Sipowicz. The lesser-known David Caruso quickly became a star and sex symbol playing Sipowicz's partner, John Kelly, a throwback, red-headed Irish cop. Early in the show's run, Caruso received more publicity than Franz, largely because Caruso was the first of the male leads to do a nude scene. However, he departed at the start of the second season. Three other detectives have since been partnered with Sipowicz. *L.A. Law* star Jimmy Smits played Bobby Simone, who wed fellow detective Dianne Russell (Kim Delaney) before dying of heart failure. Young, taciturn Danny Sorenson (played with surprising astuteness by former child star Rick Schroeder) took Simone's place but became a murder victim, and was replaced by second-generation cop John Clark (portrayed by another former child actor, Mark-Paul Goselaar). The series' smooth transitions through major character changes testifies to the storytelling skills of Milch, Bochco, and their collaborators.

Individual episodes introduce new cases for the detectives of New York's 15th Precinct and blend them with ongoing melodramatic storylines about personal relationships. Entanglements of professional and personal affairs are always imminent as every detective in the precinct has become romantically involved with a co-worker: Kelly with Officer Janice Licalsi; Gregory Medavoy with office secretary Donna Abandando; detectives James Martinez and Adrienne Lesniak with each other, Baldwin Jones with Assistant District Attorney Valerie Haywood. Sipowicz marries District Attorney Sylvia Costas, who is later murdered. After her death, Sipowicz becomes a devoted, sensitive father to their young son Theo, thus countering his own often ugly, violent, struggling alcoholic, on-the-job personality, and again engages in a workplace romance, this time with Detective Connie McDowell.

Even with so many couples, male characters dominate *NYPD Blue*. Their tough-guy machismo, however, is always tempered by a caring side. Rather than playing to good cop/bad cop stereotypes, Sipowicz, Kelly, Simone, and their fraternal colleagues exemplify that emerging archetype of 1990s television: the sensitive man. Like TV cops of the past, they are moral, yet hard enough to crack down on criminals. To this "guy" image, the men of *NYPD Blue* add a dimension of sensitivity. These are sentient cops. The replacement of the Cagneyesque John Kelly with empathetic widower Simone heightened this aspect. The *NYPD Blue* men are working men concerned with emotion. The boys in *Blue* have feelings and discuss them, with both their professional and romantic partners. Women's roles, even nominally feminist ones, have tended only to support men's and lacked depth in early seasons. However, the development of Delaney's character enriched the series. Detective Russell, like Sipowicz, was a complex, edgy, melancholic, recovering alcoholic, who showed the stress of loyalty to "the job." Delaney's portrayal proved strong enough for Bochco to create the law series *Philly* (2001–02) as a star vehicle for her. ABC even moved *Blue* to an earlier hour to serve as a lead-in for the new show; however, *Philly* lasted only one season.

As with other Bochco productions, *NYPD Blue* leavens its mixture of police drama and soap opera with comic relief, often interjecting moments of irreverent, even scatological, humor. The show's uses of nudity and profanity often play at this level. Naked bodies appear in awkward, comic scenes as well as erotic ones. Writers self-consciously invent colorful, funny curse words for Sipowicz to spew at criminals.

Whatever the length of its run, *NYPD Blue* made history with its breakthrough first season. While not a

model for commercial imitation, the series proved that risky, adult material could be successfully integrated into network television.

DAN STREIBLE

*See also* Bochco, Steven; *Hill Street Blues*; *Police Programs*

**Cast**

Detective Andy Sipowicz (1993–)	Dennis Franz
Detective John Kelly (1993–94)	David Caruso
Lieutenant Arthur Fancy (1993–2001)	James McDaniel
Laura Hughes Kelly (1993–94)	Sherry Stringfield
Officer Janice Licals (1993–94)	Amy Brenneman
Detective James Martinez (1993–2000)	Nicholas Turturro
Assistant District Attorney Sylvia Costas (1993–99)	Sharon Lawrence
Detective Greg Medavoy (1993–)	Gordon Clapp
Donna Abandando (1994–96)	Gail O'Grady
Detective Bobby Simone (1994–98)	Jimmy Smits
Detective Diane Russell (1995–2001)	Kim Delaney
Detective Jill Kirkendall (1996–2000)	Andrea Thompson
Detective Danny Sorenson (1998–2001)	Rick Schroeder
Detective John Clark (2001–)	Mark-Paul Gosselaar
Detective Baldwin Jones (1999–)	Henry Simmons
P.A.A. John Irvin (1998–)	Bill Brochtrup
A.D.A. Valerie Haywood (2001–)	Garcelle Beauvais
Detective Connie McDowell (2001–)	Charlotte Ross
Lt. Tony Rodriguez (2001–)	Esai Morales
Detective Rita Ortiz (2001–)	Jacqueline Obradors

**Producers**

Steven Bochco, David Milch

**Programming History**

ABC

September 1993–August 1994  
 October 1994–May 2001  
 October 2001–

Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
 Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
 Tuesday 9:00–10:00

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## O'Connor, Carroll (1924–2001)

U.S. Actor

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Best known for his portrayal of cantankerous Archie Bunker on the long-running CBS series *All in the Family*, Carroll O'Connor was one of television's most recognized actors in the late 20th century. For his work on *All in the Family* and *In the Heat of the Night*, the actor received five Emmy Awards, eight Emmy nominations, a Golden Globe Award, and a Peabody Award.

O'Connor's acting career began while he was a student in Ireland in the 1950s. Following experiences in American and European theater, he established himself as a versatile character actor in Hollywood during the 1960s. Between films he made guest appearances on television programs such as the *U.S. Steel Hour*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, the *Armstrong Circle Theatre*, and many of the filmed series hits of the 1960s. However, O'Connor became a television star with his portrayal of outspoken bigot Archie Bunker, the American archetype whose chair now sits in the Smithsonian Institution.

In 1968, ABC, which had the first rights to the series (which was based on the BBC sitcom *Till Death Us Do Part*), financed production of two pilot episodes of *All in the Family* (then under the title *Those Were the Days*), but the network worried about the program's socially controversial content and rejected the show. Producer Norman Lear then sold the series to CBS, where *All in the Family* was broadcast for the first time on January 12, 1971, with O'Connor as Archie Bunker. By using humor to tackle racism and other sensitive subjects, *All in the Family* changed the style and tone of prime-time

programming on television. It may also have opened the door for political and social satires such as *Saturday Night Live* and other controversial programs.

Through its 13 seasons, the show gained immense popularity (in its heyday, it was said to have reached an average of 50 million viewers weekly) and maintained a groundbreaking sense of social criticism. Archie Bunker's regular stream of malapropisms and racial invective catalyzed strong reactions from critics. *All in the Family* was attacked by conservatives, who thought that the show made fun of their views, and by liberals, who charged that the show was too matter-of-fact about bigotry. The show's successor, *Archie Bunker's Place*, was broadcast on CBS from 1979 to 1983, and the earlier show also begat two successful spin-offs, *Maude* and *The Jeffersons*, the latter becoming one of television's longest-running series about African Americans.

From 1988 to 1994, O'Connor starred in and served as executive producer and head writer for the hit prime-time drama *In the Heat of the Night*, based on the characters and scenario of the acclaimed 1967 film of the same title starring Sidney Poitier and Rod Steiger. Set in fictional Sparta, Mississippi, but shot on location in Covington, Georgia, *In the Heat of the Night* may be seen as continuing O'Connor's association with television programs designed to function as social commentary by addressing issues of racism and bigotry. O'Connor played Bill Gillespie (the Steiger role), a



Carroll O'Connor, *All in the Family*, 1971–83.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Southern police chief whose top detective (Virgil Tibbs, played by Howard Rollins in the Poitier role) is African American. In its 1993 season, the show also featured the marriage of Chief Gillespie to an African-American city administrator. The series received two National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Image Awards for contributing positive portrayals of African Americans on television. When the series version of *In the Heat of the Night* ended, O'Connor produced several made-for-television movies using the same locations and characters.

In 1995 O'Connor's son and costar on *In the Heat of the Night*, Hugh O'Connor, died of a drug overdose. O'Connor chose to speak out publicly about his grief and his views on the legalization of drugs, giving a number of well-publicized interviews on these topics on television and devoting much of his time to the social problems surrounding drug addiction. Throughout the 1990s he also occasionally appeared in films or as a guest star on such series as *Mad about You* and *Party of Five*. On June 21, 2001, he died of a heart attack in Culver City, California.

DIANE M. NEGRA

See also *All in the Family*; *Till Death Us Do Part*

**Carroll O'Connor.** Born in New York City, August 2, 1924. Educated at the University of Montana; National University of Ireland, B.A. 1952; University of Montana, M.A. 1956. Married: Nancy Fields, 1951; child: Hugh (deceased). Stage actor in Ireland, 1950–54; substitute teacher in New York, 1954–56; appeared in plays *Ulysses in Nighttown*, 1958, and *The Big Knife*, 1959; character actor in numerous motion pictures, 1961–71, including *Fever in the Blood*, 1961, *Cleopatra*, 1963, and *Kelley's Heroes*, 1970; star of television series *All in the Family*, 1971–79; star of *Archie Bunker's Place*, 1979–83; co-executive producer and star of *In the Heat of the Night*, 1988–94. Recipient: Golden Globe Award; Emmy Awards, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1989; George Foster Peabody Award, 1980; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1990. Died in Culver City, California, June 21, 2001.

#### Television Series (Actor)

- 1971–79 *All in the Family*
- 1975 *Bronk* (creator and co-executive producer only)
- 1979–83 *Archie Bunker's Place*
- 1988–94 *In the Heat of the Night* (also co-executive producer)
- 1994 *Party of Five*
- 1996–99 *Mad about You*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1969 *Fear No Evil*
- 1972 *Of Thee I Sing*
- 1985 *Brass*
- 1986 *Convicted*
- 1987 *The Father Clements Story*
- 1994 *In the Heat of the Night: A Matter of Justice*
- 1994 *In the Heat of the Night: Who Was Geli Bendl?*
- 1995 *In the Heat of the Night: Grow Old with Me*
- 1995 *In the Heat of the Night: By Duty Bound*
- 1999 *Thirty-Six Hours to Die*

#### Television Specials

- 1972 *Of Thee I Sing*
- 1973 *Three for the Girls*
- 1977 *The Last Hurrah*
- 1981 *Man, Myths and Titans* (writer)
- 1991 *All in the Family 20th Anniversary Special*



**Films**

*Fever in the Blood*, 1961; *By Love Possessed*, 1961; *Parrish*, 1961; *Lad: A Dog*, 1961; *Lonely Are the Brave*, 1962; *Cleopatra*, 1963; *In Harm's Way*, 1965; *Hawaii*, 1966; *Not with My Wife, You Don't*, 1966; *Warning Shot*, 1967; *Waterhole #3*, 1967; *Point Blank*, 1967; *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?*, 1968; *For Love of Ivy*, 1968; *The Devil's Brigade*, 1968; *Marlowe*, 1969; *Death of a Gunfighter*, 1969; *Ride a Northbound Horse*, 1969; *Marlowe*, 1969; *Kelly's Heroes*, 1970; *Doctors' Wives*, 1971; *Law and Disorder*, 1974; *A Different Approach*, 1978; *Gideon's Web*, 1998; *Return to Me*, 2000.

**Stage**

*Ulysses in Nighttown*, 1958; *The Big Knife*, 1959; *Brothers*, 1983; *Home Front*, 1984.

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## Odd Couple, The

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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Although often positioned in the shadow of such groundbreaking series as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *All in the Family*, *The Odd Couple* is one of the early examples of sophisticated, well-written, character-driven sitcoms that came to dominate the U.S. network output in the 1970s. Like *M\*A\*S\*H*, it is also one of the few successful TV sitcoms to be based on material from another medium, in this case a successful Broadway play and film. Although critically acclaimed, it did not receive popular recognition until syndication.

Originally conceived by Neil Simon, who based the play on his brother Danny's true-life experience, *The Odd Couple* concept is best described in the one-sentence treatment Simon submitted to Paramount, who financed the stage play sight-unseen: "Two men—one divorced and one estranged and neither quite sure why their marriages fell apart—move in together to save money for alimony and suddenly discover they're having the same conflicts and fights they had in their marriages."

*The Odd Couple*, in all forms, is truly a popular-culture phenomenon. Simon's wildly successful play ran from 1965 to 1967, has been revived on Broadway more than once, and, as Rip Stock notes in his book *Odd Couple Mania*, it is most likely being produced right now by any number of community theater groups across the country. In 1968 the play was made into a successful film starring Walter Matthau as unkempt

sportswriter Oscar Madison and Jack Lemmon as anal-retentive commercial photographer Felix Unger. Naturally, Paramount wanted its TV division to cash in on this success; while Simon had signed away his TV rights, Paramount enlisted *Dick Van Dyke Show* alumni Gary Marshall and Jerry Belson to produce the series for television, which debuted on ABC in September 1970.

The sophisticated style and attention to character that Marshall and Belson had learned during their *Dick Van Dyke* days paid off, and *The Odd Couple* became one of TV's first relevant sitcoms, dealing in an adult fashion with such issues as the generation gap and sex. Of course, the primary focus was on the two main characters. Jack Klugman and Tony Randall made for a perfect Oscar and Felix, and, indeed, the TV actors have become more closely linked than their movie counterparts with these characters. While both actors won Emmy awards for their roles, the series failed to capture a wide audience. Third-placed network ABC had little to lose by airing a marginal show, of course, and remained committed to the sitcom for five seasons before giving it the ax. The series then blossomed in syndication, appearing in major domestic and foreign markets to this day.

The names of those connected with the series, both on and off screen, reads like a *Who's Who* of television. Producer Marshall used the respect he had gained from



*The Odd Couple*, Tony Randall, Jack Klugman, 1970–75.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the series to create such less critically respected programs as *Happy Days*, *Mork and Mindy*, *Laverne and Shirley*, and *Joanie Loves Chachi*. Indeed, it was through his experience with *The Odd Couple* that Marshall learned a valuable lesson—in order to be a major hit, a show must have “kid appeal,” a formula Marshall soon had down to an art. While Marshall graduated to feature films, Jerry Belson remained in TV, eventually serving as consultant for *Cybill*, coproducer and cocreator of *The Tracey Ullman Show*, and writer for *The Drew Carey Show*.

Klugman, after his first of several bouts with throat cancer, returned to his dramatic roots by starring in NBC’s *Quincy*. Randall moved over to MTM to star in *The Tony Randall Show*, as well as the critically acclaimed NBC series *Love, Sidney*. Penny Marshall, Gary’s sister, launched her acting career as Oscar Madison’s whining secretary Myrna Turner (a name that rhymed when she pronounced it in her heavy New York accent).

*The Odd Couple* has enjoyed a number of spin-offs, which included an animated version in 1975 featuring a tidy cat and a sloppy dog. In 1982 Jerry Belson revived the series for prime time, featuring African-American

actors Ron Glass and Demond Wilson in the Felix and Oscar roles. Using many of the same plots from the original episodes, *The New Odd Couple* lasted only one season. In 1992 Klugman and Randall reprised their roles in a special two-hour reunion episode. Given the American public’s captivation with the series, it is likely that further versions will continue to surface.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also **Randall, Tony**

**Cast (1970–75)**

- |                                |                |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| Felix Unger                    | Tony Randall   |
| Oscar Madison                  | Jack Klugman   |
| Murray Greshner                | Al Molinaro    |
| Speed (1970–74)                | Garry Walberg  |
| Vinnie                         | Larry Gelman   |
| Roger (1973–74)                | Archie Hahn    |
| Roy (1970–71)                  | Ryan McDonald  |
| Cecily Pigeon (1970–71)        | Monica Evans   |
| Gwendolyn Pigeon (1970–71)     | Carol Shelly   |
| Dr. Nancy Cunningham (1970–72) | Joan Hotchkis  |
| Gloria Unger (1971–75)         | Janis Hansen   |
| Blanche Madison                | Brett Somers   |
| Myrna Turner (1971–75)         | Penny Marshall |
| Miriam Welby (1972–74)         | Elinor Donahue |

**Cast (1982–83)**

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Felix Unger      | Ron Glass              |
| Oscar Madison    | Demond Wilson          |
| Murray           | John Schuck            |
| Speed            | Christopher Joy        |
| Roy              | Bart Braverman         |
| Cecily Pigeon    | Sheila Anderson        |
| Gwendolyn Pigeon | Ronalda Douglas        |
| Maria            | Liz Torres             |
| Mona             | Jo Marie Payton-France |

**Producers**

Garry Marshall, Jerry Belson, Harvey Miller, Sheldon Keller, Tony Marshall, Phil Mishkin

**Programming History**

- |                             |                     |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 114 episodes                |                     |
| ABC                         |                     |
| September 1970–January 1971 | Thursday 9:30–10:00 |
| January 1971–June 1973      | Friday 9:30–10:00   |
| June 1973–January 1974      | Friday 8:30–9:00    |
| January 1974–September 1974 | Friday 9:30–10:00   |

September 1974–January 1975	Thursday 8:00–8:30
January 1975–July 1975	Friday 9:30–10:00
October 1982–February 1983	Friday 8:30–9:00
May 1983	Friday 8:00–8:30
May 1983–June 1983	Thursday 8:30–9:00

### Further Reading

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**The Office.** *See Comedy, Workplace*

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## Ohlmeyer, Don (1945– )

U.S. Media Executive

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Donald W. Ohlmeyer was president of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), West Coast, a position he held from 1993 until his retirement from the company in 1999. As president of the West Coast division, Ohlmeyer was responsible for the operations of NBC Entertainment and NBC Productions, both of which produce television programs for the network and other venues. American television network production of such internally developed programming has increased since the Federal Communications Commission relaxed its financial-syndication (fin-syn) regulations, which previously limited such self-production.

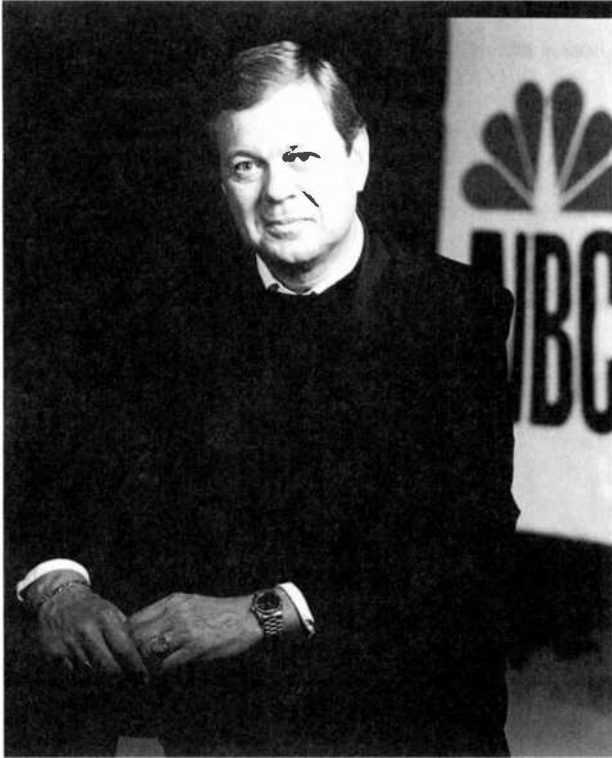
Ohlmeyer is a veteran television producer-director who won many Emmy Awards from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. He started his career at ABC Sports in 1967, and moved up the career ladder, working on *Wide World of Sports*, a groundbreaking program in terms of technological broadcast innovation and breadth of coverage. At ABC, he directed three Olympic broadcasts in addition to producing *Monday Night Football*, an early ratings success and one of the first U.S. prime-time network sports programs (boxing notwithstanding).

Ohlmeyer moved to NBC in 1977 as Executive Pro-

ducer of Sports and worked on network coverage of the World Series and the Super Bowl. Combining his careers at ABC and NBC, he has produced or directed television coverage of championships in every major sport in the United States.

While at NBC, Ohlmeyer branched out into feature-film production with *The Golden Moment: An Olympic Love Story*, an award-winning made-for-TV movie. He left NBC in 1982 to form his own production company, Ohlmeyer Communications, which produced made-for-TV films, award programs for MTV, and network series. In the latter category, *Lifestories* was an early reality-based series that garnered positive reviews from television critics for its story treatment, but failed to generate a large enough audience for renewal. Ohlmeyer won an Emmy as producer of *Special Bulletin*, a harrowing 1983 depiction of nuclear terrorism that utilized a television news approach for verisimilitude.

Don Ohlmeyer is a rarity among American television executives in that he moved into senior management from the production side of the business. As producer-executive Grant Tinker also demonstrated at NBC, this type of background can be valuable in as-



Don Ohlmeyer.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

sessing potential projects and encouraging program submissions from producers. Ohlmeyer leveraged his knowledge of sports, feature films, and special-events coverage into a key position managing the production efforts of NBC at a time when the broadcast networks had an economic incentive to develop more of their own programming.

After his retirement from NBC in 1999, Ohlmeyer worked on *Monday Night Football* for ABC for a season, then retired from television management in 2001. He currently teaches at Pepperdine University in the Los Angeles area and is writing a book on broadcast programming.

PETER B. SEEL

**See also Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; National Broadcasting Company; Olympics and Television; Sports and Television; Super Bowl; Tinker, Grant**

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## Old Grey Whistle Test, The

U.K. Music Show

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For nearly 20 years, *The Old Grey Whistle Test* (OGWT) was the British showcase for “grown-up” rock music. The BBC’s *Top Of The Pops* showcased hit singles from 1964, but OGWT concentrated on albums and live performances. The roots of the series lay in the 1960s and a trendy arts magazine program, *Late Night Line-Up* (1964–1972) one of the most successful offerings from the newly formed BBC 2, the second TV channel of the BBC. Its delvings into modern music proved to be one of the more popular sections of the show; this led to a spin-off program, *Disco 2* (1970–71) which highlighted those artists grouped under the heading “Progressive Rock.” The successor to *Disco 2* was *The Old Grey Whistle Test*. The name was derived from a Tin Pan Alley legend that a rough cut of a new song would be played to the gray-haired door-

man of a record company, and if he could whistle the tune after just one hearing, the song had passed “the old grey whistle test” and would therefore be released.

OGWT started modestly on September 21, 1971, introduced by Ian Whitcomb and featuring folk-rock band America and singer-songwriter Lesley Duncan as its live guests. The show had many presenters over the years but it was the period hosted by Bob Harris that is the most fondly remembered segment of the show’s history. “Whispering” Bob Harris (so nicknamed because of his low key, almost hushed delivery) was a thoughtful DJ with a wide-eyed enthusiasm for many different sorts of music and artists. His genuine fascination with the subject clicked with the viewing audience, itself mostly formed of knowledgeable rock fans. Harris joined the show in 1972 and introduced the cream of

contemporary rock artists including David Bowie, Roxy Music, Todd Rundgren, Steppenwolf, Sparks, Edgar Winter, Crazy Horse, Average White Band, Jim Croce, Ritchie Havens, Captain Beefheart, Elton John, Supertramp, Janis Ian, Golden Earring, The Pretty Things, Dr. Feelgood, Van Morrison, Be Bop De Luxe, Lynryd Skynyrd, Queen, Fleetwood Mac, Ry Cooder, Joni Mitchell, and Emmylou Harris. Artists were filmed in a bare studio, usually presenting two or three songs. Other acts appeared on film, and new album tracks were played regularly and accompanied by old films, usually silent movies or wild cartoons. There was also space for concert news, music updates, and short interviews. The whole mixture was heralded by the catchy bluegrass/rock theme tune "Stone Fox Chase" by Nashville sessionmen band Area Code 615.

When the punk and new-wave movements emerged around 1976 the show was slow to react at first (although uber-punks The New York Dolls had appeared in 1973), but by 1978 the show regularly featured artists that represented the new movements including The Motors, Talking Heads, The Ramones, Patti Smith, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, Magazine, The Police, The Only Ones, Bethnal, The Jam, Siouxsie and the Banshees, The Buzzcocks, Devo, Blondie, Ultravox, XTC, Squeeze, Iggy Pop, Lena Lovich, Tubeway Army, and The Damned. This gave the show a new lease of life and enabled it to outlive the many other music programs that were emerging at the time. The punk generation had been catered to by Granada's *So It Goes* (1976–77) and ATV's *Revolver* (1978), and later trends were covered by Channel 4's *The Tube* (1982–87), a lively, irreverent, modern-day version of the classic 1960s pop show *Ready Steady Go*. The BBC had unveiled rivals including live showcase *Rock Goes To College* (1978–81), which was produced by *OGWT* producer Michael Appleton and ran when *OGWT* was off the air; and *Something Else* (1978–82). In 1983 the series dropped the "Old Grey" from its name, becoming

just *Whistle Test* for its final years (1983–87), which included a series of live gigs recorded at various venues around the U.K., called *Whistle Test—On The Road* (1983–84).

By 1987 the program was struggling. Although it had changed to reflect the times, its reputation was still largely that of a progressive rock show. It may have dropped the "old" from its title, but it was considered "old hat" in some circles and consequently was put finally to rest. The great majority of the *OGWT* performances have survived, and some footage thought lost has since been returned to the archive by engineers and other program personnel who had kept private copies. The 30th anniversary in 2001 showed an upsurge of interest in the show, with celebratory programming recalling the highlights of the series transmitted on both BBC TV and radio, and the distribution of a fine *OGWT* DVD, featuring many memorable moments and outstanding performances from the show.

DICK FIDDY

*See also Music on Television; Ready Steady Go; Top of the Pops*

#### Programming History

BBC2

Late night airing

1971–87

#### Presenters

Ian Whitcomb (1971)

Richard Williams (1971)

Bob Harris (1972–79)

Annie Nightingale (1978–82)

Mark Ellen (1980s)

David Hepworth (1980s)

Andy Kershaw (1980s)

Ro Newton (1980s)

Richard Skinner (1980s)

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## Olympics and Television in the United States

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Ever since Walter Cronkite anchored the first U.S. Olympic broadcast in 1960, the games have enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with television. TV has popularized the event to the point that the global audience is now estimated to be in the billions. Broadcast sponsorship and revenues have taken the games

from a precarious financial position to one of power and prominence in the global media landscape. Over the years, however, U.S. television networks have become mired in a high-stakes bidding war for broadcast rights. The stiff competition has kept rights fees inordinately expensive, so that they now account for some

40 percent of Olympic revenues, making the International Olympic Committee (IOC) increasingly dependent on them.

As a result, U.S. broadcasters contribute much more money than their counterparts in other countries to support the Olympics. For rights to the 1996 Summer games in Atlanta, Georgia, NBC paid \$456 million, a figure that did not include the cost of the production itself (estimated at another \$150 million). All of the western European nations combined paid \$250 million in fees for the same games. Whereas Canada's CBC paid \$160 million to broadcast all of the Olympic games between 2000 and 2008, NBC paid \$3.5 billion for those same rights, thereby serving as the IOC's largest single financial underwriter.

Consequently, the U.S. networks hold a powerful position in the Olympic arena. Their financial support often allows them a measure of influence in scheduling, especially when determining the time slots for the most popular events. Traditionally, the Winter and Summer Olympics were held in the same year, once every four years, but in 1994 the IOC changed the timing of the games and adopted a two-year staggered schedule, in part to accommodate the U.S. media. Following the 1992 Summer and Winter games, therefore, the next Winter Olympics were held in 1994, in Lillehammer, Norway, followed by the 1996 Summer games in Atlanta, easing the strain on corporations that were beginning to find the price of quality Olympic advertising prohibitive. With 30-second spots selling for hundreds of thousands of dollars during Olympic broadcasts, and companies paying hundreds of millions of dollars for a sponsorship package, neither the IOC nor the networks could afford to lose these important clients. Spacing the Summer and Winter Olympics two years apart thus allowed sponsors to spread out their costs and also to invest in more high-profile packages. The revised schedule also granted the IOC more time to allocate the revenue effectively.

The Olympics first attracted a significant television audience during the 1968 Summer games in Mexico City, when Roone Arledge was at the helm of ABC Sports. Arledge was instrumental in establishing ABC as the dominant network in Olympic television—a legacy that endured for a quarter century, from the Winter games of 1964 in Innsbruck, Austria, through 1988 in Calgary, Alberta. The combination of Arledge's in-depth, personalized approach to sports broadcasting (epitomized in ABC's *Wide World of Sports*) and the technological advances in the field, such as satellite feeds and videotape, set the new standard for Olympic telecasts. Utilizing inventive graphics and personal profiles of the athletes, Arledge slated 44 hours of coverage for the Mexico City games, three times as many

hours as the Tokyo Summer games of 1964. He presented the coverage as a dramatic, exciting miniseries for the television audience, and successive producers have continued to expand on this model.

The 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, West Germany, saw further growth in costs and coverage. However, the drama of the games was overshadowed by the grisly murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the hands of Palestinian terrorists. Viewers watched in horror as the events of the massacre of September 5–6 unfolded, and television turned into an international forum for the extremist politics of the Black September Organization. This event became the worst tragedy in the history of sports broadcasting.

The Olympics have also given television sports some of its most glorious moments and beloved heroes. Few in the United States will ever forget the U.S. ice hockey team's thrilling victory over the Soviet team in 1980, Romanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci's perfect performances, the U.S. women gymnasts winning their first team gold medal ever in 1996, or the dedication and perseverance of such athletes as Mark Spitz, Carl Lewis, or Dan Janssen. In many instances, the top U.S. athletes also become media celebrities, winning lucrative endorsement and commercial deals along with their medals. For the 2002 Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah, there were advertising campaigns designed around gold medal hopefuls that aired months before the games even began.

Aside from catapulting athletes to media stardom, the Olympic games are usually a ratings boon for their host network. In the United States, that network customarily captures 50 percent of the television audience each night of the Olympic telecast.

The audience drawn to the Olympics often translates into increased ratings for the host network's regularly scheduled programming as well. The tremendous till of advertising revenue and the potential springboard into a new season likely ensures that the Olympic U.S. broadcast rights will remain among the most coveted and expensive in all of television.

Bids for these rights are made knowing that traditionally, networks lose a great deal of money on the Olympics. Consequently, it has been argued that network coverage of the games has expanded to the point of excess in the attempt to recoup spiraling costs by selling more commercial time. However, the games have become such an emotionally charged part of a network's inventory that profit is no longer the chief concern. Broadcasting the Olympics, much like broadcasting professional sports, is more about building a network's reputation than about making business decisions driven solely by the bottom line. The long-range prestige and promotional value for the host network

have been deemed far more important than any immediate financial losses incurred by covering the games.

Nevertheless, the expense of televising the Olympics can be quite draining at times, as the 2000 Sydney "Internet Olympics" demonstrated. Faced with an unwieldy 15- to 18-hour time difference between Australia and North America, NBC decided to broadcast all 441.5 hours of the games on tape delay in the United States. The day-old offerings on U.S. television could not compete with the immediacy of results available via the Internet, and NBC's investment of over \$800 million in the broadcast resulted in a ratings disaster—the worst Nielsen audience ratings for the Olympics since 1968.

The gamble on Olympic broadcasting only gets riskier as rights fees continue to skyrocket. The Squaw Valley (California) Winter games in 1960 cost CBS only \$50,000. Twenty years later, NBC bid an astonishing \$87 million for the 1980 Summer games in Moscow. This price was almost four times the fee for the rights to the previous (1976) Summer games in Montreal. Unfortunately for NBC, the U.S. boycott of the Moscow games destroyed hopes of a windfall and sabotaged the scheduled 150 hours of planned coverage. Still, prices have continued to climb. The Summer broadcast rights almost tripled from 1980 to 1984 (\$87 million to \$225 million), and both Winter and Summer rights have gone for \$300 million or more since 1988. In 1995 NBC made its unprecedented \$3.5 billion deal for the 2000 through 2008 games, a deal that, despite its overwhelming numbers, was touted as a historic coup giving the network a virtual "monopoly" on the Olympic games.

In the past, these exploding costs have sent networks looking for alternative strategies to ease the financial burden. In 1992 NBC made an ill-fated attempt at utilizing pay-per-view subscriptions for the Summer games in Barcelona. The "Olympic Triplecast" was organized in conjunction with Cablevision and intended to sell packages of commercial-free, extensive programming. The plan was an enormous failure, owing to its complicated, confusing design and viewers' resentment over having to pay for certain events when others were free of charge.

CBS had more success in reducing its outlay by joining forces in 1992 with TNT (Turner Network Television). The Winter Olympics that year (CBS's first Olympic telecast in 32 years) began a collaboration between the two networks that gave TNT 50 hours, or about 25 percent of the total programming time, in exchange for \$50 million toward rights fees. The arrangement was so successful that it was renewed in 1994 for the Lillehammer games. The sharing of broadcast duties and costs seemed to hold promise for both the quality and cost of future Olympic coverage, especially when ABC and NBC were negotiating a partnership deal to cover the 2000 Sydney games together. However, NBC instead secured the sole rights to cover the first five Olympics of the new millennium, adding the Olympic logo to their network "brand" for nearly a decade and hoping to strengthen their own image through this unique identification with the games.

JENNIFER HOLT

See also **Arledge, Roone; Ohlmeyer, Don; Sports and Television**

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YEAR	GAMES	LOCATION	NET	HRS.	RIGHTS FEES
1960	Winter	Squaw Valley	CBS	15	\$50,000
	Summer	Rome	CBS	20	\$394,000
1964	Winter	Innsbruck	ABC	18	\$597,000
	Summer	Tokyo	ABC	14	\$1.5 million

## Olympics and Television in the United States

YEAR	GAMES	LOCATION	NET	HRS.	RIGHTS FEES
1968	Winter	Grenoble	ABC	27	\$2.5 million
	Summer	Mexico City	ABC	44	\$4.5 million
1972	Winter	Sapporo	NBC	37	\$6.4 million
	Summer	Munich	ABC	63	\$7.5 million
1976	Winter	Innsbruck	ABC	44	\$10 million
	Summer	Montreal	ABC	77	\$25 million
1980	Winter	Lake Placid	ABC	54	\$15.5 million
	Summer	Moscow	NBC	150	\$87 million
1984	Winter	Sarajevo	ABC	63	\$91.5 million
	Summer	Los Angeles	ABC	180	\$225 million
1988	Winter	Calgary	ABC	95	\$309 million
	Summer	Seoul	NBC	180	\$300 million
1992	Winter	Albertville	CBS	116	\$243 million
	Summer	Barcelona	TNT	50	\$50 million
			NBC	161	\$401 million
1994	Winter	Lillehammer	CBS	120	\$300 million
			TNT	45	\$50 million
1996	Summer	Atlanta	NBC	171.5	\$456 million
1998	Winter	Nagano	CBS	128	\$375 million
2000	Summer	Sydney	NBC	441	\$705 million
2002	Winter	Salt Lake City	NBC	373.5	\$545 million
2004	Summer	Athens	NBC		\$2.3 billion (package with Turin and Beijing)
2006	Winter	Turin	NBC		
2008	Summer	Beijing	NBC		

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## Omnibus

### U.S. Cultural Series

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*Omnibus* was the most successful cultural magazine series in the history of U.S. commercial television and a prototype for the development of programming on educational television. Developed by the Television-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation, *Omnibus* generated both corporate sponsorship and a loyal, but limited, network audience for intellectual programming over nine years (1952–61) on all three networks.

*Omnibus* was the vision of Robert Saudek, a former ABC vice president of public affairs who became director of the Workshop in 1951. Commissioned to devise an innovative series for network television, Saudek created a variety show for the intellect, a compendium of the arts, literature, science, history, and even some pure entertainment. Saudek hired journalist Alistair Cooke to serve as master of ceremonies.



Cooke was known for his literate commentary on *Letter from America*, a BBC radio series heard throughout Great Britain. With initial underwriting from the Ford Foundation, which *TV Guide* called “risk capital” for the untried, Saudek also secured financing from advertisers to produce a weekly, 90-minute series, first airing from 4:30 to 6:00 on Sunday afternoons. *Omnibus* premiered on November 9, 1952, on CBS. The first installment featured a short drama with Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer as Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; William Saroyan narrating an adaptation of his short story “The Bad Men”; and the first images of X-ray movies, an inside look at the working human digestive system.

Saudek and his producers, among them Fred Rickey, William Spier, and Mary V. Ahern, deftly interwove the high and popular arts into a cultural smorgasbord. Their definition of “culture” was flexible enough to encompass Orson Welles’s triumphant return from Europe to star in Peter Brook’s production of *King Lear*; a production of William Inge’s *Glory in the Flower* with Jessica Tandy, Hume Cronyn, and a still very green James Dean; S.J. Perelman’s paean to burlesque with Bert Lahr; several appearances by Agnes DeMille, including the performance of her ballet *Three Virgins and the Devil* (“Virgins” becoming “Maidens” because of network censors); Jack Benny recreating his notorious role as an avenging angel in *The Horn Blows at Midnight*; and Peter Ustinov in his U.S. television debut as Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Omnibus* also gave air time to artists new to the mass media: William Faulkner gave a tour of Oxford, Mississippi; James Agee contributed a five-part docudrama on the life of Abraham Lincoln, now considered one of the first miniseries; Frank Lloyd Wright discussed architectural forms with Cooke; and painter Thomas Hart Benton gave a tour of his studio. In addition, individuals who would later become fixtures in prime time received a career boost on *Omnibus*, including Mike Nichols and Elaine May, who brought their sardonic humor to an edition entitled “Suburban Revue”; Les Ford and Mary Ford, who demonstrated multitrack recording with a madrigal-singing Cooke; and Jacques Cousteau, who screened his first undersea adventure on U.S. television.

Beginning with Leopold Stokowski conducting Benjamin Britten’s *Young Person’s Guide to the Orchestra*, Saudek linked pedagogy with showmanship to produce a series of visual lectures that became a model for educational television. The most stimulating and original of the electronic teachers was Leonard Bernstein, who single-handedly enlarged the possibilities of musical analysis and performance on television. Commencing with his dissection of Beethoven’s Fifth

Symphony in 1954, Bernstein brought an intellectual passion of excitement and discovery to his subject and later explored musical comedy, jazz, grand opera, and modern music with the same vigor. Gene Kelly in his video lecture compared the art and choreography of ballet dancers to the movements of professional athletes, exemplified by his tap dance with boxer Sugar Ray Robinson.

For most of its run, *Omnibus*, nearly always broadcast live, graced the “ghetto” of weekend programming, Sunday afternoon. As that day-part became more valuable, beginning on CBS with the success of professional football, *Omnibus* shifted to other networks. The series was seen on CBS from 1952 to 1956; on ABC from 1956 to 1957; and NBC from 1957 to 1961. During the final season, *Omnibus* appeared as a series of irregular specials, concluding with a look at the future of the western hemisphere. In all, Saudek and his team assembled 166 editions totaling more than 230 hours of entertaining enlightenment. The series was revived by producer Martin Starger as a series of specials on ABC in 1981. In 1999 PBS distributed the first-ever retrospective of *Omnibus* on television for its December pledge drive.

The artistic concerns and approaches to production of *Omnibus* provided a road map for public television. The Ford Foundation, citing *Omnibus*’s struggle for ratings, questioned whether commercial broadcasters were dedicated to “the development of mature, wise, and responsible citizens,” and began to fund educational television projects. Without the foundation’s support, Saudek formed his own production company in 1955 to create and gain network sponsorship for the series. The *Omnibus* sensibility has been felt throughout the history of public television in the United States. During the National Educational Television years, *NET Playhouse* (1966–72) and *NET Festival* (1967–70) were direct descendants. Since the formation of the Public Broadcasting Service, *Great Performances* (1974–) has partaken of the *Omnibus* ethos to share a cultural mélange with a discriminating audience. And, of course, the ringmaster of *Omnibus*, Alistair Cooke, became a PBS icon for over 20 years as host of *Masterpiece Theatre*.

RON SIMON

See also Cooke, Alistair; Educational Television

#### Host

Alistair Cooke

#### Producers

Robert Saudek, Fred Rickey, William Spier, Mary V. Ahern

### Programming History

CBS	
October 1952–April 1956	Sunday 4:30–6:00
ABC	
October 1956–March 1957	Sunday 9:00–10:30
NBC	
April 1957–April 1961	Sunday irregular schedule

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## One Day at a Time

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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Although the series was created by Whitney Blake (formerly an actor on TV's *Hazel*), *One Day at a Time* showed the unmistakable imprint of Norman Lear, its powerhouse producer. The series, like other Lear comedies, strove to be topical, progressive, even controversial, and to mix serious issues with more comical elements. At times the mix was less than even, yet it proved to be very popular, and *One Day at a Time* was one of the most successful series of the 1970s and 1980s, outlasting many of Lear's other, more highly praised series.

The program centered around Ann Romano, a television character who found herself struggling through many of the same experiences facing real American women. Married at 17, Romano was now divorced, raising two teenagers more or less on her own, and entering the job market for the first time since her marriage. Played by Bonnie Franklin, Romano was not TV's first divorced woman or mother (Diana Rigg in *Diana* preceded her, as did Vivian Vance on *The Lucy Show*), but she was probably—to that time—the most realistic. Romano struggled with money, fighting for every penny of the child support that was supposed to come from her frequently deadbeat ex-husband. She struggled with finding a job. And she struggled to be both father and mother to her two children, Julie (Mackenzie Phillips) and Barbara (Valerie Bertinelli).

Just as the portrayal of Ann was without romanticism, so was the depiction of her two children.

Throughout the series, Barbara and particularly Julie dealt with issues of birth control, sexuality, virginity, alcohol, and drugs with an honesty and forthrightness that Gidget and other previous TV teens never dreamed of.

Rounding out the cast was apartment-building superintendent Schneider (his first name was hardly ever used), who, over the course of the series, played an increasingly important role in both the program's plots and the lives of the girls. In this role, actor Pat Harrington, Jr., also frequently supplied some much-needed comic relief in the midst of the ongoing exploration of serious topics.

*One Day at a Time* went through many cast changes during its run and developed various, almost convoluted, plot twists and turns. When the show began, Ann was working for an advertising agency, then later founded her own company. One season she became engaged, only to have her fiancé killed by a drunk driver. Then, for a time following his death, she became legal guardian to his teenage son. Daughter Julie married and had a baby, only later to abandon her new family. Ann's mother (played by veteran actor Nanette Fabray) eventually became a series regular, appearing in almost every episode. Finally, daughter Barbara married (having remained a virgin until her wedding night) and the next season Ann married Barbara's father-in-law. The series ended with Ann, now remarried, moving to London with her new husband to take an exciting new job.



*One Day at a Time*, Richard Masur, Pat Harrington Jr., Valerie Bertinelli, Bonnie Franklin, Mackenzie Phillips, 1975–84.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

For all the problems that were played out in front of the cameras, just as many occurred behind the scenes. Phillips was fired from the series in 1980 because of her ongoing drug addiction. She would later return to the series, only to be written out again when she suffered other health problems.

In some ways, one of the first television shows in the "dramedy" genre (a hybrid of drama and comedy to be later embodied by series such as *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*), *One Day at a Time* made extensive use of multipart episodes (one three-parter dealt with Julie running away from home), focused on contemporary issues (one episode dealt with teen suicide), and incorporated political messages into its stories. Nothing was ever easy or dealt with offhandedly on *One Day at a Time*. The decision not to shy away from difficult themes in the series' portrayal of contemporary life, especially of women's lives and of female adolescence, set the program apart from others of its time. Thus, the series helped expand the dimensions and role of U.S. television comedy.

Less brash and politically explicit than Lear's other feminist comedy heroine, Maude Finley, Ann Romano (who took back her maiden name after her divorce and preferred to be referred to as "Ms.") was more "middle of the road" and therefore easier for audiences to accept as a realistic type of character. This wide appeal, along with the popularity of series' stars Franklin, Harrington, and Bertinelli, allowed the show to endure for an eventful and trendsetting nine-year run.

CARY O'DELL

**Cast**

Ann Romano (Royer)	Bonnie Franklin
Julie Cooper Horvath (1975–78, 1981–83)	Mackenzie Phillips
Barbara Cooper Royer	Valerie Bertinelli
Dwayne Schneider	Pat Harrington, Jr.
David Kane (1975–76)	Richard Massur
Ginny Wrobliki (1976–77)	Mary Louise Wilson
Mr. Jerry Davenport (1976–79)	Charles Siebert

Max Horvath (1979–80, 1981–84)	Michael Lembeck
Katherine Romano (1979–84)	Nanette Fabray
Nick Handris (1980–81)	Ron Rifkin
Alex Handris (1980–83)	Glenn Scarpelli
Francine Webster (1981–84)	Shelley Fabares
Mark Royer (1981–84)	Boyd Gaines
Sam Royer (1982–84)	Howard Hessman
Annie Horvath (1983–84)	Lauren/Paige Maloney

**Producers**

Norman Lear, Mort Lachman, Norman Paul, Jack Elinson, Alan Rafkin, Bud Wiseman, Dick Bensfield, Perry Grant, Allan Mannings, Patricia Fass Palmer, Katherine Green

**Programming History**

205 episodes	
CBS	
December 1975–July 1976	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
September 1976–January 1978	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
January 1978–January 1979	Monday 9:30–10:00
January 1979–March 1979	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
March 1979–September 1982	Sunday 8:30–9:00
September 1982–March 1983	Sunday 9:30–10:00
March 1983–May 1983	Monday 9:30–10:00
June 1983–February 1984	Sunday 8:30–9:00
March 1984–May 1984	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
May 1984–August 1984	Monday 9:00–9:30
August 1984–September 1984	Sunday 8:00–8:30

**Further Reading**

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# One Foot in the Grave

## British Situation Comedy

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*One Foot in the Grave*, like so many of Britain's most enduring and well-liked situation comedies, took three seasons to establish itself before suddenly becoming the most popular program on television, with 18 million viewers. Six series of the program, and numerous specials, were aired between 1990 and 2000.

The show was writer David Renwick's first situation comedy after having spent a number of years writing sketches for the likes of the *Two Ronnies* and *Alexei Sayle*. Renwick created the lead character, Victor Meldrew, with Scottish actor Richard Wilson in mind, but Wilson initially turned down the role because he felt he was too young to play a 60-year-old man. Luckily, he reconsidered and a new hero for the 1990s made his debut on January 4, 1990.

The first episode, "Alive and Buried," introduced Victor Meldrew just as he was about to be made redundant from his job as a security guard, and replaced by a computer chip. From then on Victor's life is portrayed as a never-ending battle against the rest of the world. Everything conspires against him, from his neighbors, to shop assistants, to God. The series showed that elderly people did not have one foot in the grave, but wanted to lead lives actively like anybody else. However, Renwick cleverly created situations which would anger anyone but which, bizarrely, could only happen to Victor Meldrew. In "Valley of Sleep," for example, Victor finds himself in hospital with suspected appendicitis. It is only when the male nurse who is shaving him begins discussing the price of property on the moon that we, along with Victor, gradually become aware that the nurse is, in fact, a mental patient. In "The Worst Horror of All" Victor is convinced that the skip (dumpster) he has hired will have an old mattress dumped in it in the morning. When he wakes, his familiar cry of "I don't believe it" reveals that someone has in fact dumped a Citroen 2CV into the skip. Renwick skillfully returns to his original joke, however, for when Victor opens the car door, out falls the mattress which he had so feared he would find.

The program's other constant character is Victor's long-suffering wife Margaret, played by the often underrated Annette Crosbie. She has to bear the brunt of most of Victor's grumpiness, and, although he some-

times irritates her immensely, we are never left in any doubt that she loves him dearly. It is to Renwick's credit that he has occasionally been able to insert some moments of great pathos in which we learn a little more about Margaret and come to understand why she and Victor may be unable to live without each other. Although they are childless, we do learn in "Timeless Time" that they had a son who died as a baby, but we never learn how.

The series has not been without controversy. Some viewers objected when Margaret found a dead cat nestling among the fish-sticks in her freezer, and others when an old lady got trapped overnight in their loft. The program was censured for content in the "Hearts of Darkness" episode. In one scene, set in an old peoples' home, a resident was abused and kicked, actions that offended a number of elderly viewers. The scene was cut slightly when the episode was repeated.

In addition to his two main characters, Renwick also created an idiosyncratic supporting cast: Margaret's friend Mrs. Warbouys (Doreen Mantle), to whom Victor can barely be civil; Nick Swainey, the social worker who lives next door and constantly refers to his (unseen) bedridden mother; and Patrick and Pippa, next-door neighbors, whose lives are made a misery from the moment they first meet the Meldrews.

Renwick has constantly tried to extend the boundaries of situation comedy, not only with the situations his characters have to face, but also within the confines of the 30-minute program. In "Timeless Time" the whole episode is devoted to a sleepless night, in which Victor and Margaret toss and turn, agonizing over life, and during which no other characters are involved and we never leave the bedroom. The first ten minutes of "Heart of Darkness" contain virtually no dialogue; the only sound is a musical accompaniment. "The Beast in the Cage" sees the Meldrews stuck in a traffic jam for the whole episode. This daring culminated in "Trial," when Victor was given an entire episode to himself as he waited at home to be called for jury service. As many newspapers pointed out, this was the first time any actor had been given this comedy accolade since the great Tony Hancock.

Renwick finally decided to write one last series, and

## One Foot in the Grave

in November 2000, Victor was killed in a road accident—ironically by a new friend of his wife. It was a sad and tragic end for one of Britain's greatest comic heroes, and even Meldrew himself would have railed against the injustice of his final moment being upstaged by ITV, which screened the first millionaire winner of *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire* as a spoiler on the same night. It was probably a fitting end, as Victor Meldrew was the comic hero of his time, and just as much a part of it as were Harold Steptoe and Basil Fawlty of theirs.

PAMELA ROSTRON

### Cast

Victor Meldrew  
Margaret Meldrew  
Mrs. Warbouys  
Patrick Trench  
Pippa Trench  
Nick Swainey

Richard Wilson  
Annette Crosbie  
Doreen Mantle  
Angus Deayton  
Janine Duvitski  
Owen Brenman

### Producer

Susan Belbin

### Programming History

BBC 1

35 episodes and 9 specials

Season One: January 4–

February 9, 1990

Thursday 9:30

Season Two: October 4–

November 15, 1990

Thursday 9:30

Special: December 27, 1990

Thursday 9:30

Special: December 30, 1991

Monday 9:30

Season Three: February 2–

March 8, 1992

Sunday 9:05

Season Four: January 31–

March 7, 1993

Sunday 8.55

Short special, Comic

Relief: March 12, 1993

Friday 10.30

Special, *One Foot In The*

*Algarve*: December

26, 1993

Sunday 9.05

Special: December 25, 1994

Sunday 9:00

Season Five: January 1–

January 29, 1995

Sunday 9:00

Special: December 25, 1995

Monday 9:00

Special: December 26, 1996

Thursday 9:00

Special: December 25, 1997

Thursday 9:00

Season Six: October 16–

November 20, 2000

Monday 9:00

Short special, Comic

Relief: March 16, 2001

Friday 8.30

### Further Reading

Bedell, Geraldine, "What's Gone Wrong?," *The Independent* (February 28, 1993)

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# Only Fools and Horses

British Situation Comedy

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*Only Fools and Horses*, a long-running situation comedy series concerning the misadventures of a cockney "wide boy" and his naive younger brother, was first screened by the BBC in 1981, and over the next decade became the most popular and acclaimed sitcom on British television. Reflecting the capitalist fervor of Thatcherite Britain in the 1980s, a time of contrasting economic fortunes, the series celebrated the proverbial optimism of the archetypal cockney street trader, with his dreams of a wealthy future and aspirations for a better life.

The program began as an idea by writer John Sullivan, who constructed the first scripts under the title

*Readies* and finally persuaded the BBC to risk making a whole series based on the dubious dealings of a personable cockney "fly-pitcher," who made a precarious living selling shoddy goods and—quite without malice—duping customers (including his own family and friends) at every opportunity. Retitled *Only Fools and Horses* after the time-honored proverb "only fools and horses work," the first series failed to attract much attention, but the quality of the scripts and the excellence of the actors gradually won a huge and devoted audience, and by the mid-1980s, special festive episodes topped the BBC's Christmas ratings.

The leading role of the brash, streetwise Derek "Del

Boy" Trotter, decked out with chunky gold jewelry and well versed in cockney rhyming slang, was developed to perfection by David Jason, who deftly realized the character's combination of sentimentality and scheming unscrupulousness. Determined to improve his place in the world in the face of every setback, his Del Boy—like *Minder's* Arthur Daly—became a byword for shady practices, although his endearing incompetence (embodied in the rusty, yellow three-wheeled van he drove) and his breezy vulgarity ensured that he always remained sympathetic. Time and again, Del Boy's ambitious plans had to be abandoned in order to extricate another of the Trotter clan (or himself) from trouble. Often he was his own worst enemy, even when his motives were at their most pure. When he felt moved to touch up his mother's monument in the churchyard, for instance, he used his own supply of suspiciously acquired paint, and when night fell found out to his horror that it was luminous.

Del Boy's foil was his younger brother Rodney Trotter, gauche and easily misled ("a right plonker" according to his sibling, who used, or rather misused him) and played with pained indignation by former child actor Nicholas Lyndhurst. The relationship between Del Boy and Rodney lay at the heart of the series' success, veering as it did from conflict and petty deceptions to pathos and genuine warmth and mutual reliance. The premise was that Rodney had never known his father and could not remember his mother, who had died when he was a baby, thus leaving him in the care of his scornful but devoted brother. The Trotter trio was completed by dotty old Granddad, played by Lennard Pearce, and, after Pearce's unexpected death from a heart attack in 1984, by Granddad's brother, Uncle Albert (played by Buster Merryfield).

The format changed little over the years, nor did the tasteless decor of the Trotter flat in high-rise Nelson Mandela House, Peckham, or the memorable clientele of the East End pub where the brothers congregated with such "business associates" as the shady but often fooled Boycie, nicknamed Jaffa (because he was sterile, thus like a Jaffa seedless orange), and the even more dimwitted road-sweeper Trigger (so named because he looked like a horse). There were, however, some changes in the Trotter household, notably Rodney's disaster-strewn romance and eventual marriage to city banker Cassandra and Del Boy's liaison with the actress Raquel, which led ultimately to the birth of the first of a future generation of Trotter entrepreneurs, the ominously named Damien.

After a glorious run of some ten years, with both Jason and Lyndhurst successfully involved in various other television projects, the series petered out with the exception of occasional specials, which effortlessly proved that the tried and tested formula still worked.

The achievement of the series was recognized by a BAFTA Best Comedy prize in 1989 (the year of Rodney's wedding to Cassandra). In a final, forgivably sentimental outing, Del Boy's dreams of riches were unexpectedly realized by winning the lottery, although the viewers' last sight of the Trotter trio was of the incorrigible Del Boy, Rodney, and Albert walking into the sunset discussing schemes to become even richer.

DAVID PICKERING

See also Jason, David; Lyndhurst, Nicholas

#### Cast

Del Trotter	David Jason
Rodney	Nicholas Lyndhurst
Grandad	Lennard Pearce
Uncle Albert	Buster Merryfield
Trigger	Roger Lloyd Pack
Boycie	John Challis
Micky Pearce	Patrick Murray
Mike	Kenneth MacDonald
Marlene	Sue Holderness
Denzil	Paul Barber
Alan	Dennis Lill
Cassandra	Gwyneth Strong
Raquel	Tessa Peake-Jones

#### Producers

Ray Butt, Gareth Gwenlan

#### Programming History

49 episodes (variable lengths); 14 specials

BBC

September 1981–October 1981	6 episodes
December 28, 1981	Christmas special
October 1982–December 1982	7 episodes
December 27, 1982	Christmas special
November 1983–December 1983	7 episodes
December 25, 1984	Christmas special
February 1985–April 1985	7 episodes
December 25, 1985	Christmas special
August 1986–October 1986	6 episodes
December 25, 1986	Christmas special
December 25, 1987	Christmas special
December 25, 1988	Christmas special
January 1989–February 1989	6 episodes
December 25, 1989	Christmas special
December 25, 1990	Christmas special
December 1990–February 1991	6 episodes
December 24, 1991	Christmas special
December 25, 1991	Christmas special
December 25, 1992	Christmas special
December 25, 1993	Christmas special
December 1996	4 episodes

# Open University

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Britain's Open University is an innovative and highly successful distance-learning program that utilizes a variety of media, including television and online computer resources, to extend college and graduate-level education to nontraditional, non-local students. Founded in 1969 with financial support from the government and a commitment of airtime from the BBC, the Open University offered its first televised courses in January 1971. Targeted at working adults who had not continued on to higher education, it was an immediate success: more than 40,000 people applied for 24,000 places. With more than 200,000 students enrolled, it is Britain's largest university. It has served as the model for other distance-education programs in more than 30 countries worldwide, including the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, and Australia.

The Open University is "open" in several senses. First, it is open to applicants of any age or background. Unlike conventional universities in England, there are no entrance requirements of any kind. It has also been especially useful for traditionally underserved populations, such as people with disabilities. Second, it is open in the sense that it utilizes an array of educational methods, including television and radio broadcasts, video and audio tapes, mailed correspondence lessons, email and electronic conferencing, web-based courses, and multimedia CD-ROM materials, as well as locally based tutors, regional study centers, and on-campus summer-school sessions. Third, it is open in the sense of place. It has no campus of its own, and is equally accessible to students from even the most remote locations. (Administrative offices and production facilities are maintained in Milton Keynes, England.) Fourth, it is open in terms of time. Students can set their own schedule and progress at their own pace; there is also no time limit for completion of a degree.

Originally to be called "University of the Air," television played a key role in the Open University concept from the beginning. It was felt that television served as a crucial bridge to the "average" nonacademic person. It also provided a human dimension to the prevailing distance-education model then known as correspondence study; through television, students could "meet" their faculty. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, television offered the most cost-effective means for delivering higher education content to a mass public.

Open University courses are developed by teams of academic, education, and media specialists. Television-based course materials generally consist of printed booklets that contain the lessons, supplementary readings, and specially designed broadcast notes and exercises to accompany the television programs. Televised lessons are approximately 30 minutes in length, aired during non-peak viewing times on BBC 2, and usually repeated during the same week. Video-cassette recorders enable many students to time-shift their viewing to more convenient times. The Open University contracts with the BBC for production of the programs. Initially, most were studio productions (in black and white), but location shooting was increasingly added as more experience was gained in the educational qualities of the medium. In addition, some courses utilize archive footage from the BBC. Because the Open University pays for production costs, the programs are produced solely for use in coursework and not for wider commercial appeal. Nevertheless, some programs are no doubt watched by incidental viewers, who may develop an interest and end up taking a course. In one year, 36,000 "study packs" were sold to people who wanted to audit an Open University course without enrolling.

Television brings a number of unique abilities to the teaching/learning experience: it can broadcast an interview with a leading authority in the field under study; illustrate abstract mathematical and economic concepts through animation; show demonstrations of scientific experiments, speeding them up or slowing them down; and provide tours of actual sites of sociological, anthropological, or historical interest.

Great care is taken in course planning and execution to attain quality standards equivalent to conventional universities. An Open University degree has become well respected, and credits received are transferable to regular universities. Indeed, many Open University students, perhaps as many as two-thirds, already have the academic credentials to attend regular universities but have chosen not to for a variety of personal or logistical reasons.

JERRY HAGINS

*See also* **British Television; Educational Television**



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## Original Amateur Hour, The

### U.S. Amateur Talent, Performance, and Variety Contest

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*The Original Amateur Hour* was first heard on New York radio in 1934 as *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. The following year it was programmed on CBS Radio, where it remained until 1946 when Major Bowes, the program's creator and host, died. Two years later, the program was revived on ABC Radio and on DuMont Television, hosted in both media by Ted Mack, a talent scout and director of the series under Bowes. The radio and television programs were originally sponsored by Old Gold Cigarettes, represented on television by the famous dancing cigarette box. During its first season, *Original Amateur Hour* was a ratings sensation, and although it never equaled its initial success, its longevity is testament to its ability to attract a consistently profitable audience share.

*Original Amateur Hour* lasted on radio until 1952 and on television until 1970. The television version was ultimately broadcast over all four major networks during its long run, eventually settling in as a Sunday afternoon CBS feature during its final decade of production.

The format of the program remained virtually unchanged from its premiere in early network radio. The show was essentially an amateur talent contest, the nonprofessional status of contestants thus distinguishing *Original Amateur Hour* from *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, which also ran during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Contestants traveled to New York's Radio City from all parts of the United States to sing, dance, play music, and participate in various forms of novelty entertainment. Those who passed an initial screening were invited to compete on the program. Winners were determined by viewers who voted via letters and phone calls, and winning contestants returned to compete

against a crop of new talent on the next program. Between amateur acts, Mack conducted rambling interviews and shared corny jokes with contestants. Contestants who won three times earned cash prizes, scholarships, or parts in a traveling stage show associated with the program. In 1951 five such shows traveled about the United States.

While most contestants fell back into obscurity following their appearance on the program, others went on to successful professional careers. Stars who first appeared on television's *Original Amateur Hour* include ventriloquist Paul Winchell and pop singers Teresa Brewer, Gladys Knight, and Pat Boone.

*Original Amateur Hour* offered a shot at fame and fortune to thousands of hopeful, would-be professional entertainers. As such, it represented a permeable boundary between everyday viewers and the national entertainment industry. The program's general appeal, reliable ratings, simple format, and low production costs have inspired many imitators in television, including the *Gong Show* (which resurrected the notorious rejection gong, not heard since the Major Bowes's radio broadcasts) and, more recently, *Star Search*.

WARREN BAREISS

#### See also Variety Programs

#### Emcee

Ted Mack

#### Announcers

Dennis James  
Roy Greece

## Original Amateur Hour, The

### Producers

Ted Mack, Lou Goldberg

### Programming History

DuMont Television Network

January 1948–September

1949

Sunday 7:00–8:00

NBC

October 1949–January 1952

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

January 1952–September

1952

Tuesday 10:00–10:45

April 1953–September 1954

Saturday 8:30–9:00

ABC

October 1955–December

1955

Sunday 9:30–10:00

January 1956–February 1956

Sunday 9:30–10:30

March 1956–September 1956

Sunday 9:00–10:00

October 1956–March 1957

Sunday 7:30–8:30

April 1957–June 1957

Sunday 9:00–10:00

NBC

July 1957–September 1957

Monday 10:00–10:30

September 1957–December

1957

Sunday 7:00–7:30

February 1958–October 1958

Saturday 10:00–10:30

CBS

May 1959–June 1959

Friday 8:30–9:00

July 1959–October 1959

Friday 10:30–11:00

ABC

March 1960–September 1960

Monday 10:30–11:00

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“Ted Mack,” in *Current Biography: Who’s News and Why, 1951*, edited by A. Rothe, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1951

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# Ouimet, Alphonse (1908–1988)

## Canadian Broadcasting Executive

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Alphonse Ouimet was one of a small, quixotic band of public broadcasters who dreamed that television could make a truly Canadian culture. He played a commanding role as engineer, manager, and eventually administrator in the formation and maintenance of a Canadian television system during the 1950s and 1960s. But his hopes were never realized, a lesson that demonstrates the limits of the cultural power of television.

Ouimet was first employed in 1932 by a Montreal firm then experimenting with television. He joined the engineering staff of Canada’s public broadcaster, soon called the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), in 1934. After World War II, he became the CBC’s television specialist. In 1946 he began work on an international report on the technology of television; three years later he was appointed both coordinator of television and chief engineer, and in January 1953 he became general manager. Thus, he was the chief operating officer of CBC-TV (which had commenced broadcasting in September 1952) during the years it spread across the country. In one forum after another,

Ouimet, CBC chairman Davidson Dunton, and other managers sold the idea of public television, supported by both tax and advertising revenues, as a tool of cultural nationalism that could counter the sway of New York and Hollywood. In the next 6 years the initial 2 stations expanded to 36 (as of March 31, 1995), 8 owned and operated by the CBC and the rest private affiliates, reaching well over 80 percent of the population. On Dominion Day, July 1, 1958, the opening of a microwave relay system from Victoria, British Columbia, on the west coast to Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the east gave the CBC the longest television network in the world. It was a great triumph of engineering and a source of national pride—although the most popular English-language shows carried on the network were nearly always American in origin.

Ouimet became president of the CBC in 1958, which made him one of few high-ranked French Canadians in the service of the federal government at that time. Ironically, his first crisis involved Radio-Canada, as the French-language service of the CBC was (and

is) known. Early in 1959 a labor dispute involving French-language producers in Montreal and English-language managers in Ottawa eliminated most of the popular local programming in Quebec for over two months. The partial shutdown excited nationalist passions in Quebec and left behind a legacy of bitterness that Ouimet could never dispel.

The crisis strengthened the presumption that Ouimet's sympathies were on the side of authority, not creativity. Before long, he was portrayed as a distant ruler, more interested in "housekeeping" than "program content," to borrow the terminology of one government commission that severely criticized the CBC for waste, inefficiency, and bureaucracy. Finally, in 1966 Ouimet ran afoul of the producers in Toronto, the center of English-language television. Ottawa management had tried to impose its authority over the extraordinarily successful public affairs show *This Hour Has Seven Days* (1964–66), whose bold opinion and sensational style had captured a mass audience. That upset Ouimet, who adhered to a creed of public broadcasting in which the CBC was neutral, educational, and never partisan. When the *Seven Days* crew declared war on management, they won the support of Toronto producers, many journalists, and much of the public. Eventually, after three months of agitation, including a parliamentary inquiry, the appointment of a federal mediator, even an attempt to secure a new president, Ouimet had his way: *Seven Days* disappeared from the airwaves. It was a pyrrhic victory, however, since public affairs broadcasting in Canada would not recover a similar kind of significance until the appearance of *The Journal* in the 1980s.

Ultimately much more significant was what had happened to the television system in Canada. The 1958 Broadcasting Act led to the end of the CBC's network monopoly and a partial privatization of the system. The new independent stations, especially the affiliates of the Canadian Television Network (CTV) in English Canada, used cheap U.S. programs to win audience share. Ouimet and his managers believed they had to compete by offering their own imports in order to retain viewers and boost advertising revenues. Indeed, these revenues were necessary to support the production of less-popular Canadian content. The annual parliamentary grant of funds was never sufficient.

Late in 1967, Ouimet retired from the presidency, though he would continue in public service as head of Telesat Canada (1969–80), a crown corporation in the field of telecommunications. He left broadcasting just before the onset of a new act that further reduced the stature of the CBC. His legacy was decidedly mixed. Public television still won the attention of nearly half the Canadian audience for its mix of popular and de-

manding programming. But the English-language service offered only a few Canadian examples of storytelling, the great staple of popular television, and specialized much more in sports coverage, news and public affairs, and minority programming. The promise of a cultural renaissance had never materialized. Direct U.S. competition had secured nearly one-quarter of the Canadian audience outside of Quebec by 1967. Only in French Canada was the CBC able to create a continuing series of local dramas, known as *téléromans*, that proved enormously popular with audiences. Television merely built upon the fact that in English Canada tastes were emphatically American, whereas in French Canada there was a strong tradition of homegrown entertainment.

PAUL RUTHERFORD

*See also This Hour Has Seven Days*

**[Joseph-]Alphonse Ouimet.** Born in Montreal, Quebec, June 12, 1908. Educated at McGill University, Montreal, degree in electrical engineering, 1932. Built TV set and did broadcast experiments for Canadian Television Ltd., 1933–34; engineer, Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation (CRBC), 1934 and assistant chief engineer, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) when it replaced CRBC, 1946; coordinator of TV, chief engineer and adviser to the board, CBC, 1949; general manager, CBC, 1953; named the "father of Canadian television" for building the world's most geographically widespread TV system when CBC pioneered Canadian TV, 1950s; president, CBC, 1958, retired, 1967; chair, Telesat Canada, 1969–80; in retirement worked with UNESCO, served on committees and task forces; wrote on communication technology and the erosion of Canadian sovereignty. Died December 20, 1988.

### Publication

"The Future Role of CBC," *CBC Times* (January 30–February 3, 1960)

### Further Reading

- Koch, Eric, *Inside Seven Days*, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1986
- Peers, Frank, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952–1968*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979
- Raboy, Marc, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990
- Rutherford, Paul, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada 1952–1967*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990

# Our Friends in the North

## British Drama Serial

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*Our Friends in the North* was British television's most ambitious, and in many respects most important, drama production of the 1990s. It was BBC 2's most expensive-ever production at £7.5 million, and one of its longest commissions in terms of running time. It also showed that television drama could engage both the brain and the heart at a time when it seemed that British television drama had sunk into a morass of formulaic police and doctor shows.

*Our Friends in the North* followed the lives of four friends from the industrial city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the northeast of England, between 1964 and 1995. Each episode was set in a year during this period, mainly those in which there was a general election in the U.K. This emphasized the serial's primary theme: the relationship between people and power.

The four friends followed very different paths leading away from their shared working-class backgrounds in the mid-1960s. Dominic "Nicky" Hutchinson was a political radical, desperate to change the world and impatient with the restrictions and corruption of the political process. Mary Soulsby believed that the solution to these problems could be found in improving the mainstream parties and the system. In contrast, Terry "Tosker" Cox became a self-made businessman with little time for concerns beyond profit and pleasure. George "Geordie" Peacock had no interest in politics, but his life was constantly affected by those in power as he turned to crime and alcoholism.

The series had a tortured history before it finally reached the television screen. The author, successful playwright Peter Flannery, originally devised it in the early 1980s but the BBC hesitated to air it, as political drama was no longer fashionable. The corporation was also wary of legal action, as some of the plots affecting the characters were obviously drawn from real-life events. In the mid-1960s, Nicky worked for city boss Austin Donohue, only to discover that he corruptly organized housing contracts for a builder, John Edwards, who was aided by the Home Secretary. This referred to the scandal of the time involving an architect, John Poulson, the leader of Newcastle City Council, T. Dan Smith, and the Conservative Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling. In the late 1960s, Geordie worked in London's red-light district of Soho for a pornographer, and was involved with corrupt detectives. This was

based on true events involving the Vice Squad, and the anti-corruption investigation, Operation Countryman, in the 1970s.

The characters also found themselves in the thick of other events drawn from contemporary British history. Nicky joined a terrorist organization similar to the urban guerrilla group The Angry Brigade of the early 1970s. Tosker made money from the credit boom of the 1980s, and many characters were involved in the miners' strike of 1984–85. Even the minor hurricane that buffeted southeast England in 1987 made an appearance.

"Seize the power" was the phrase with which Geordie teased Nicky. The series explored whether it is possible to obtain any kind of power over one's own life, and posed this concern not only in the encounters with the police, organized crime, the Labour Party, or the political establishment, but also in the interactions between the characters and their families. Mary married Tosker after she became pregnant by him, but her real love was Nicky, whom she married in the 1980s, only to see the marriage founder over his coldness. Nicky and Geordie both had troubled relationships with their fathers, respectively distant and cynical and violently alcoholic, only to become just like them. Mary had problems with her angry, unhappy policeman son, Anthony.

Fascinating though the political plots were, it was the personal dramas that really engaged the viewer, as the show refused to provide easy answers to complex problems. The characters, viewed over thirty years of their lives, exhibit numerous personality flaws, and illustrate the difficulty of resisting compromise with society's rules and restrictions, or one's own worst tendencies.

This all comes together in the marvellous final episode, which is marked by scenes of intense beauty and emotion. These included Nicky weeping in isolation at his mother's funeral and his doomed attempts to earn his senile father's respect; Anthony telling Mary that she was not a good mother because "she was never happy"; and Geordie's attempts to stop a father who is abusing a son. However, some hope is offered as well. Tosker is much improved by the love of a good woman, Elaine, and finally gets to fulfill his dream of playing in a rock band. Nicky and Mary put disap-

pointment and bitterness behind them and resolve to be reconciled. Only Geordie, damaged by his years of drink and prison, cannot be wholly redeemed. The closing shot was of him walking past the camera over Newcastle's famous Tyne Bridge, toward an uncertain future.

*Our Friends in the North* was both a critical and popular success for BBC2. The series was marked by strong acting from all four primary figures, as well as the actor Peter Vaughan who played Nicky's father, Felix.

PHIL WICKHAM

#### Cast

Dominic "Nicky" Hutchinson	Christopher Eccleston
George "Geordie" Peacock	Daniel Craig
Mary Soulsby	Gina McKee
Terry "Tosker" Cox	Mark Strong
Austin Donahue	Alun Armstrong
Felix Hutchinson	Peter Vaughan
Florrie Hutchinson	Freda Dowie
Eddie Wells	David Bradley
Benny Barrett	Malcolm McDowell
Elaine Cox	Tracey Wilkinson
Anthony Cox	Daniel Casey

#### Writer

Peter Flannery

#### Directors

Pedr James	1964, 1967, 1970, 1974
Stuart Urban	1966
Simon Cellan Jones	1979, 1984, 1987, 1995

#### Producer

Charles Pattinson

#### Programming History

9 episodes, each lasting between 65 and 75 minutes, broadcast at 9:00 on BBC 2

Dates aired:

January 15, 1996  
 January 22, 1996  
 January 29, 1996  
 February 5, 1996  
 February 12, 1996  
 February 19, 1996  
 February 26, 1996  
 March 4, 1996  
 March 11, 1996

#### Further Reading

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 Jeffries, Stuart, "Away the Lads," *The Guardian* (March 12, 1996)  
 Paterson, Peter, "Peter was the Best of Friends," *Daily Mail* (March 12, 1996)  
 Smith, Rupert, "Four Friends and 30 Stormy Years," *Radio Times* (January 13, 1996)

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## Our Miss Brooks

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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The heart and soul of the successful 1950s sitcom *Our Miss Brooks* was actor Eve Arden. A Hollywood film and New York stage veteran, Arden specialized in playing the wisecracking friend to the heroine. She often did it better than anyone else, achieving her greatest success with an Oscar nomination for *Mildred Pierce* (1945). However, Arden's skill with the wicked one-liner and acid aside was beginning to lead to type-casting. To find a new image, she signed on for the radio comedy role of Connie Brooks, English teacher at fictional Madison High School, a smart and sharp-witted—but ever-likable—character. Unlike most of her film roles, radio offered her the lead.

Beginning on radio in 1948, *Our Miss Brooks* was successfully transferred to television beginning in 1952 (it ran on both media, with largely the same cast, for several months in 1952). Between gentle wisecracks, Miss Brooks doted on nerdish student Walter Denton and frequently locked horns with crusty, cranky principal Mr. Conklin. Many of the program's episodes revolved around Miss Brooks's unrequited desire for Philip Boynton, the school's biology teacher. In this way Miss Brooks was the beginning of a long list of female TV characters of a certain type, like Sally Rogers (Rose Marie) on *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and Jane Hathaway (Nancy Kulp) on *The Beverly Hillbillies*.



*Our Miss Brooks*, Richard Crenna, Eve Arden, 1952–56.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Our Miss Brooks* enjoyed good ratings on radio and enlarged its audience when it moved to TV. While some professional educators criticized the series, others celebrated Miss Brooks and Arden's work: she received teaching job offers, and fan letters from educators; she was made an honorary member of the National Education Association; in 1952 she was given an award from the Alumni Association of the Teachers College of Connecticut for "humanizing the American Teacher." Said Arden of her on-screen alter ego: "I tried to play Miss Brooks as a loving person who cared about the kids and kept trying to keep them out of trouble, but kept getting herself in trouble."

Obviously, Miss Brooks encountered enough trouble to sustain the series for more than 150 episodes, but unlike many other female comics on TV at that time, Miss Brooks's forte was not the wild antics of Lucy or the lopsided logic of Gracie Allen. Instead, Miss Brooks's humor was achieved by her own sharp, observing wit and by her centered presence in the midst of a group of eccentric supporting players, including dimwitted, squeaky-voiced student Walter and pompous Conklin. Miss Brooks was always the source of the jokes, not the butt of them.

In 1955 ratings for the program were beginning to wane, and the series was overhauled. Miss Brooks and Mr. Conklin were moved out of Madison High to Mrs. Nestor's Private Elementary School. For a time, there was no Mr. Boynton for whom Miss Brooks would pine, but there was a muscle-bound teacher of physical education, Mr. Talbot, who longed for Miss Brooks. This was an important turn-about in the overall premise of the show: now Miss Brooks was the pursued rather than the pursuer. (Mr. Boynton did turn up again in early 1956, just as the series was about to be canceled; in a film version of the series released by Warner Brothers in 1956, Miss Brooks and Mr. Boynton finally did tie the knot and presumably lived happily ever after.)

Connie Brooks was one of TV's noblest working women; she was the center of a highly successful show, toiling in a realistically portrayed and unglamorous career (Miss Brooks often made mention of how low her wages were), and rewarded and honored by real workers whom she represented. While she was not quite as "no nonsense," nor as tough, as film's prominent working women (such as the characters played by Rosalind Russell and Joan Crawford), Connie Brooks, with her tart tongue, brisk manner, sharply cut jackets, and slim skirts, was just about as savvy as women were allowed to be on TV in the 1950s. Despite Miss Brooks's desire to become "Mrs." Something—and despite the fact that she was never promoted to school principal—*Our Miss Brooks's* legacy in television history is that it dared to depict a funny, attractive, wise, competent woman, beyond the realms of the home, marriage, and children.

CARY O'DELL

#### Cast

Connie Brooks	Eve Arden
Osgood Conklin	Gale Gordon
Philip Boynton	Robert Rockwell
Walter Denton (1952–55)	Richard Crenna
Mrs. Margaret Davis	Jane Morgan
Harriet Conklin (1952–55)	Gloria McMillan
Stretch Snodgrass (1952–55)	Leonard Smith
Miss Daisy Enright (1952–54)	Mary Jane Croft
Mrs. Martha Conklin (1952–53)	Virginia Gordon
Mrs. Martha Conklin (1953–56)	Paula Winslowe
Superintendent Stone (1953–55)	Joseph Kearns
Angela (1954–56)	Jesslyn Fax
Ricky Velasco (1954–55)	Ricky Vera
Mr. Oliver Munsey (1955–56)	Bob Sweeney
Mrs. Nestor (1955)	Nana Bryant
Mrs. Nestor (1955–56)	Isabel Randolph
Gene Talbot (1955–56)	Gene Barry
Clint Albright (1955–56)	William Ching
Benny Romero (1955–56)	Ricky Vera
Mr. Romero (1956)	Hy Averbach

**Producer**

Larry Berns

**Programming History**

154 episodes

CBS

October 1962–June 1953      Friday 9:30–10:00

October 1953–June 1955      Friday 9:30–10:00

October 1955–September 1956      Friday 8:30–9:00

**Further Reading**Arden, Eve, *The Three Phases of Eve*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985Castleman, Harry, and Walter J. Podrazik, *Harry and Walter's Favorite Shows: A Fact-Filled Opinionated Guide to the Best and Worst on TV*, New York: Prentice Hall, 1989Mitz, Rick, *The Great TV Sitcom Book*, New York: Perigee, 1983

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## Ovitz, Michael (1946– )

### U.S. Media Executive

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As leader of the Creative Artists Agency (CAA) from 1975 to 1995, Michael Ovitz succeeded in increasing the importance of talent agents in the film and television industries during a key period of technological change and economic expansion in Hollywood. After a brief period as president of the Walt Disney Company (1995–96), Ovitz has been involved in talent management, as well as television and film production.

According to a fellow agent, Ovitz “redefined what an agent was” while at CAA. Ovitz modeled CAA on the legendary Music Corporation of America (MCA) talent agency led by Jules Stein and Lew Wasserman. Emphasizing teamwork, professionalism, and aggressiveness, Ovitz reshaped CAA from a small television agency that packaged programs such as *The Rich Little Show* and *The Jackson Five Show*, into a major film agency that corralled top stars, directors, and writers, including Tom Cruise, Dustin Hoffman, Barbra Streisand, Michael Douglas, Steven Spielberg, Barry Levinson, and Sydney Pollack, among others. During the early 1980s, Ovitz and his teams of agents courted contacts with access to new scripts, such as literary agent Morton Janklow, whose clients included authors Jackie Collins and Danielle Steele. These efforts resulted in successful television miniseries packaged by CAA, including *Rage of Angels*, *Princess Daisy*, and *Hollywood Wives*. Having signed major screenwriters, such as Joe Eszterhaus, CAA then attracted and signed top film talent with the promise that it would “package” script and talent into projects, shopping those projects around to studios for financing and production. This activist approach to securing work for clients resulted in films such as *Rain Man* (1988),

*Cliffhanger* (1993), and *Jurassic Park* (1993), as well as flops such as *Legal Eagles* (1986). Although studio executives complained that CAA was superseding their producing prerogatives and raising the price for talent, the studios also benefited from CAA's efficient packaging. In effect, CAA exploited the studios' need for more product in the face of increasing demand due to the proliferation of multiplex theaters, home video recorders, and premium-movie cable services.

CAA's film packaging tactic simply mirrored common agency practice in television. Since the 1950s, talent agencies have packaged program concepts, scripts, actors, and directors from their stables of clients and shopped these packages around to networks for financing and production, in return for fees representing percentages of the program's production budget and syndication revenues. If the program is a hit, packaging fees are far more lucrative for the agency than single-client commissions because the fees are paid for the life of the program, on and off network. For example, the William Morris Agency earned at least \$50 million for packaging *The Cosby Show*, a network and syndication hit.

Having successfully addressed the studios' need for film and television projects, Ovitz began to focus on Hollywood's increasing need for capital investment as well. Ovitz acted as broker between film studios and investors during several transactions that helped reshape Hollywood's ownership structure, including Sony's 1989 purchase of Columbia Pictures, the French bank Credit-Lyonnais's rescue of MGM in 1993, Matsushita's purchase of MCA/Universal in 1990, and its sale to Seagram in 1995. Seeking to ap-

ply his expertise to other fields, Ovitz also helped shape Coca-Cola's "Always Coca-Cola" advertising campaign in the early 1990s and consulted with the "Baby Bells" (telephone and telecommunications companies) on their unsuccessful video-on-demand service, Tele-TV. By the mid-1990s, Ovitz was being hailed in the press as the "King of Hollywood" for his precedent-breaking involvement in its reshaping.

In 1995 Ovitz rattled the power structure of Hollywood by accepting a position as president of the Walt Disney Company to work with his then-friend, CEO Michael Eisner. Having just acquired Capital Cities/ABC, Eisner announced that Ovitz would help integrate the divisions of the rapidly growing entertainment conglomerate. After barely 14 months, however, Ovitz's Disney presidency ended, and his reputation as a power broker was severely undercut.

Ovitz returned to the talent business in 1998 by founding Artists Management Group (AMG), whose clients included Leonardo DiCaprio, Cameron Diaz, Martin Scorsese, Michael Crichton, and Tom Clancy. Talent managers, unlike talent agents, are allowed to own equity stakes in their clients' productions in addition to earning 10 percent commissions on clients' earnings. Managers are not allowed to procure work for clients, which is the agents' job, but only advise them as to which work to accept. In keeping with his strategy at CAA to generate work for his clients, Ovitz also started sister film and television production companies, Artists Television Group (ATG) and Artists Production Group (APG). The plan was to use the star power of the management group to drive production projects in which the stars (as well as Ovitz) would have ownership stakes despite having no distribution control.

ATG surprised the television industry by selling four of its programs to four different networks for the fall 2000 season: *The Street* (FOX), *Grosse Pointe* (WB), *The Weber Show* (NBC), and *Madigan Men* (ABC). Although most television programs are produced by integrated film and television companies (such as Warner, FOX, and Disney) with deep pockets to absorb losses caused by the high failure rate of network programs, Ovitz decided to self-finance the independent ATG, and he signed numerous expensive pacts with talent to facilitate their participation. However, episode costs of \$2 million each for the critical hit *The Street* were not covered fully by network license fees (under the deficit financing system, networks pay 80 percent of production costs for the right to broadcast a program twice). ATG soon ran up huge deficits, cushioned only by Ovitz's personal investment of an estimated \$100 million. ATG produced 23 television pilots in two years, in the hope that one would emerge as a

hit and in syndication generate the profits necessary to offset the failures. Unfortunately, all seven ATG programs that made it on to network schedules were canceled. In August 2001, despite having promised to produce *The Ellen Show* for CBS and *Lost in the USA* for the WB network, ATG closed its doors and sold off its assets, having succumbed to the 95 percent failure rate for new network programs. In 2002, after losing the support of major investors, Ovitz also sold control of the talent management company, AMG.

Ovitz's efforts as a talent agent to leverage his clients' star power into greater control over film and television projects as well as larger shares of revenues were successful from the late 1980s until the mid-1990s. Ovitz and CAA were able to take advantage of Hollywood's relatively decentralized production process, which—coupled with the rising demand for blockbuster, star-driven film and television vehicles in the 1980s and 1990s—allowed CAA's agents to operate as "de facto producers" for a time. By the 2000s, however, no single talent agency retained that kind of clout. Although Ovitz subsequently followed the typical career path of former agents, working as a studio executive, talent manager, and film/television producer, his post-1995 efforts have been far less successful.

CYNTHIA B. MEYERS

#### See also American Broadcasting Company

**Michael Ovitz.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, December 14, 1946. Graduated from University of California, Los Angeles, 1968; briefly attended law school. Married Judy Reich, 1969; children: Christopher, Kimberly, and Eric. Worked for William Morris Agency, first as trainee, then as agent, 1969–75; cofounder of Creative Artists Agency, 1975–95; president of the Walt Disney Company, 1995–96; cofounder of Artists Management Agency, 1998–2002, Artists Television Group, 1999–2001, and Artists Production Group 1999–2001.

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# Ownership

## U.S. Regulatory Policy

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Private ownership of the airwaves is prohibited under U.S. law. Unlike in many countries that have maintained direct ownership of broadcasting frequencies by the sovereign government, the U.S. Congress has asserted that ownership of the radio spectrum resides with the people of the United States. Users are assigned portions of the spectrum through a licensing mechanism. Control of radio licensing was first assigned to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under the Radio Act of 1912. Subsequently communication legislation transferred licensing authority first to the Federal Radio Commission and finally its successor, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1934. Today, although no person or entity can own part of the radio spectrum, control of broadcast licenses is an issue of increasing concern both within the industry and among the general viewing public.

The FCC licenses all non-governmental broadcasting stations in the United States. Broadcast licenses are assigned to specific locales or regions of the United States, related to allocation tables that show coverage areas and areas of potential interference. Applicants must make a license application after determining whether a frequency is available for the desired community. For many years, the Commission was obliged to determine the character of the applicant, ascertaining qualifications such as citizenship, character, civic involvement in the community of license, prior experience in broadcasting, and other related factors. During the 1990s, the FCC streamlined the licensing and renewal process. Today, while the FCC still needs to determine the suitability of the applicant, rules concerning licensing have been relaxed. When there are competing applications for the same frequency assignment the Commission resolves the difficulty by means of an auction process, as mandated in the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

Historically, the FCC asserted a "scarcity theory" rationale for limiting the number of licenses that any entity could own. For example, the FCC imposed national limits on television station ownership and promulgated various rules designed to limit media companies from co-owning a television license and other media property such as a cable company, a news-

paper, or a telephone service in the same market. During the 1960s, the Commission placed limits on ownership and restricted group licenses to a maximum of 5 VHF stations; later rules were relaxed to include 7 stations, then increased to 12 stations or 25 percent of the national audience. The FCC also promulgated the "duopoly rule" that limited a single owner to one AM, one FM and one TV license in a single local market. When the Commission instituted this rule in 1964, the U.S. television marketplace consisted only of 649 television stations and a small number of cable systems, which retransmitted the signals of over-the-air broadcast stations. Numerical limits were coupled with cross-ownership restrictions as a means of ensuring that the viewing public would be exposed to the widest variety of viewpoints within the local community.

Since its earliest days, the FCC has acted on the belief that diversification of media ownership generally served the public interest. Originally, numerical restrictions limiting ownership were developed to ensure that no one entity gained control of too many broadcasting stations. Additionally, limiting the number of stations that a broadcast entity could own effectively limited the power of the three original networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) to reach into the local community. In 1975, the Commission adopted regulations prohibiting cross-media ownership between television stations and co-located newspapers. Although the FCC permitted a number of markets to continue with a co-owned newspaper-television station combination under a grandfather clause, the Commission asserted a public interest in enforcing a policy of diversification of media ownership. Even though the number of commercial television stations doubled in the thirty year period between 1966 and 1996, restrictive ownership policies remained a basic tenet of FCC policy.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 fundamentally changed U.S. communications policy by abolishing the numerical restrictions on ownership, although it placed a maximum on national audience penetration of 35 percent. Terms for licenses changed as well. Until 1981, broadcast licenses were granted for a period of three years. During the 1980s the FCC eased license restrictions somewhat, but the Act increased license

terms to 8 years. Additionally, section 202 of the Act required the Commission to execute a biennial review of rules and regulations with the presumption favoring the repeal or modification of unnecessary rules.

Growth of the industry, coupled with Congress's legislative mandate in the 1996 Act to ease national ownership restrictions, have changed the media landscape in the United States, particularly in the area of radio ownership and operation. As the new millennium began, the use of the "scarcity" argument, originally offered by the Commission as the rationale for licensing and limiting ownership, has come under increasing scrutiny, particularly as the growth of broadcast outlets, cable, and satellite outlets spawned an unprecedented growth of new video services during the late 1980s and 1990s. With the passage of the 1996 Act, the FCC eased some rules and restrictions regarding local television ownership and local management agreement rules. The industry petitioned the Commission to make sweeping reforms during the 1998 biennial review, but the FCC declined to make broad changes to the rules at that time.

In 2001, Chairman Michael Powell created the Media Ownership Working Group. The group undertook a number of studies that focused on determining whether various broadcast ownership rules needed to be changed or modified under section 202 of the 1996 Act. Also, two significant cases, *FOX TV Stations v. FCC* and *Sinclair Broadcast Group v. FCC*, left the Commission with the task of either defending the current rules with substantive evidence or modifying some or all of the various ownership rules.

During the later part of 2002 the Commission released 12 studies conducted by the Media Ownership Working Group on various aspects of the ownership rules. The various ownership rules under consideration included:

- (1) newspaper/broadcast cross-ownership prohibition
- (2) local radio ownership
- (3) national television ownership limits
- (4) local TV multiple ownership rules
- (5) radio/TV cross-ownership restrictions
- (6) dual television network restrictions

Public comment was invited and the Commission set early 2003 as the time for reply. During this period various outside groups, reflecting both industry and consumer viewpoints, filed a voluminous number of comments regarding the status of the FCC rules. In June, voting along partisan lines, Powell and two other Commissioners voted to increase the ownership cap

from 35 percent to 45 percent and to relax cross-ownership restrictions for newspaper ownership in all but the smallest TV markets. The Commission also lifted local ownership rules, allowing dual and triple ownership of stations in medium and large-sized television markets.

Following the Commission's announcement, a firestorm of protests moved Congress to form a bipartisan coalition aimed at repealing the ownership caps. In the autumn of 2003, a compromise raising the cap to 39 percent was announced in the Senate. However, as the rules were set to be implemented, a federal appeals court in Philadelphia suspended all the FCC-adopted ownership changes. As this publication went to press, it was unclear whether the courts would sustain the FCC rule changes.

Proponents of relaxing ownership rules point to the increasing competition from cable and the Internet as the reason changes are necessary, but the increasing convergence of media properties has many media critics worried that the number of diverse voices in the local marketplace is decreasing. Critics of the proposed rule changes have pointed to a sharp decrease in the number of independent newspaper and television owners over the last quarter century. Some claim that relaxation in ownership rules will allow large media conglomerates to fortify their market power, although television network owners say that changes are necessary to sustain current standards of programming. Due to economies of scale and the convergence of new digital media, consolidation of television ownership may be inevitable.

FRITZ MESSERE

*See also* **Federal Communications Commission; U.S. Policy: Telecommunications Act of 1996**

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# P

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## Paar, Jack (1918–2004)

U.S. Talk Show Host

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Jack Paar was one of television's most intriguing and enigmatic talk show hosts. He served as the host of *The Tonight Show* from 1957 through 1962 and headed his own NBC variety series from 1962 to 1965. Both series were stamped with Paar's volatile and unpredictable personality and were often a haven for witty, literate conversation.

Although Paar is considered one of the key talents uniquely suited to the cool medium of television, he worked extensively in other areas of show business. Leaving school at 16, he first worked as a radio announcer and later as a humorous disc jockey. During World War II Paar entertained troops in the South Pacific with his wry impersonations of officers, sometimes in concert with his army colleague Jackie Cooper. After the war, he returned to radio, serving as a fill-in for Don MacNeill on the *Breakfast Club* and as a panelist on *The \$64 Question*. In 1947 he was the summer replacement for Jack Benny, a comedian whose mannerisms Paar would later emulate. Paar was signed to a contract at Howard Hughes's RKO pictures and had his first significant role in *Walk Softly, Stranger* (1950) with Joseph Cotten. In 1951 he made *Love Nest* for Twentieth Century Fox, playing the sexy boyfriend opposite an emerging starlet, Marilyn Monroe.

Paar was first employed in television as a host of game shows, notably *Up to Paar* (1952) and *Bank of Stars* (1953). In November 1953 he hosted his own daytime variety series for CBS and assembled a cast of

regulars, including Edith Adams, Richard Hayes, Jack Haskell, and pianist Jose Melis. In August 1954 he took over the *Morning Show* from Walter Cronkite and became a competitor of Dave Garroway and the *Today* show. During this morning experience, Paar developed his conversational skills and an appreciation for a relaxed program with no rigid guidelines. When CBS again changed formats, Paar was given another variety series, this time in the afternoon.

Because of several well-received guest appearances on NBC's *Tonight*, Paar ascended to the permanent host slot on July 29, 1957. For several months before, the late-night series had floundered when original host Steve Allen moved permanently to prime time. Paar was given free rein to restore the show's luster and assembled his own freewheeling staff, including writers Jack Douglas and Paul Keyes, to give the show an extemporaneous quality. The new creative team emphasized the importance of the opening monologue as a vehicle to transmit Paar's singular, often emotional view of the world. Unlike any other host of *The Tonight Show*, Paar had no talent for sketches, so his writers created a persona through his words, always leaving space for the host to improvise verbally.

Called a "bull in his own china shop," Paar gained notoriety by creating feuds with others in the show business community, including Ed Sullivan, Walter Winchell, William Paley, and most television critics. To salve his often bruised ego, he surrounded himself



Jack Paar.  
Photo courtesy of Jack Paar

with a salon of eccentrics whose ranks included pianist and professional hypochondriac Oscar Levant, the outspoken Elsa Maxwell, the irreverent Alexander King, and British raconteurs Robert Morley, Bea Lillie, and Peter Ustinov. He resurrected the careers of performers on the entertainment fringe, inviting back on a regular basis the folksy Cliff "Charley Weaver" Arquette, music-hall veteran Hermione Gingold, French chanteuse Genevieve, and acerbic Hans Conreid. More in keeping with *The Tonight Show* ethos, Paar also nurtured young comic talent, and among his discoveries were Bob Newhart, the Smothers Brothers, Dick Gregory, Godfrey Cambridge, and Bill Cosby.

Paar also moved the talk show out of the controlled studio and began to intermingle politics and entertainment. He and author Jim Bishop journeyed to Cuba and prepared a special report, "The Background of the Revolution." Paar's unexplained embrace of Castro was vehemently questioned by Batista supporters and even the U.S. House of Representatives. Paar also became friendly with the Kennedys and invited Robert Kennedy, then serving as chief counsel of the Senate Labor-Management Relations Committee, to discuss his investigation of organized crime in the unions. The head of the Teamsters, Jimmy Hoffa, responded with a

\$1 million lawsuit against Kennedy and Paar, which was eventually thrown out of court. Paar was also the first entertainer to originate a program from the Berlin Wall, which he did less than a month after its construction at the height of cold war tension.

Paar became the most successful presence in late night, expanding his affiliate base from the 46 stations with which he started out to 170. In 1957 his talk show's title was changed to *The Jack Paar Tonight Show*, and the next season the show was taped early in the evening instead of being broadcast live. Beginning in July 1959, Paar broadcast only four nights a week; Friday night became "The Best of Paar," inaugurating a tradition of *Tonight Show* reruns. At the height of his fame, he objected to NBC censoring a joke about a water closet (a British euphemism for a bathroom). Incensed, he walked out at the beginning of the following evening's show, leaving announcer Hugh Downs to finish the program. His walk-off and subsequent disappearance dominated news for five weeks until he returned after an extended stay in Hong Kong.

Paar's roller-coaster ride on *The Tonight Show* continued until March 30, 1962, when he retired from late night, having hosted more than 2,000 hours. In September 1962 Paar returned to the variety format and produced a weekly Friday night series, borrowing the most successful elements of his talk show. Each telecast was ignited by a monologue, and the core of each program was an in-depth conversation with some of Hollywood's most voluble personalities, including Judy Garland, Tallulah Bankhead, Richard Burton, and Jonathan Winters. Paar also spiced the series with home movies of his family trips, with his wife, Miriam, and daughter, Randy, also becoming celebrities.

Paar continued to make headlines with newsworthy segments. He ventured into Gabon, Africa, to interview Nobel Prize recipient Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Richard Nixon made his first public appearance after his defeat in the gubernatorial race in California and entertained Paar's audience with a piano solo. Paar also presented the first footage of the Beatles in prime time, a performance he openly derided as the downfall of British civilization.

Paar retired from the network grind in 1965 to manage a television station in Maine. In March 1973 he was persuaded to return to late night to compete against the inheritor of *The Tonight Show* mantle, Johnny Carson. This time he was reduced to one week every month, as part of *ABC's Wide World of Entertainment*. The format that he had fostered had changed considerably, and Paar retired five months later, this time for good. In 1997 Paar was the subject of an *American Masters* profile on public television, a program that achieved record audience numbers for the series.

Paar was an integral part of a new generation of television personalities. Unlike an older generation trained in vaudeville and Broadway, Paar and such 1950s contemporaries as Garry Moore, Arthur Godfrey, and Dave Garroway had no specific show-business talents. They could not act, sing, or dance. They were products of an intimate electronic technology that allowed for a personalized connection with the audience. As a talk show and variety host, Paar created a complex, unpredictable character, whose whims and tantrums created national tremors.

RON SIMON

See also **Talk Shows; Tonight Show**

**Jack Paar.** Born in Canton, Ohio, May 1, 1918. Married: 1) Irene, late 1930s; 2) Miriam Wagner, 1943; child: Randy. Served as a noncombatant soldier in the U.S. Army with the 28th Special Service Company during World War II. Actor in motion pictures, 1948–52; appeared in radio and television shows, including *The \$64 Question*, *Up to Paar*, and *CBS Morning Show*, 1947–57; star of NBC's *The Tonight Show*, 1957–62, and of various other programs. Died in Greenwich, Connecticut, January 27, 2004.

#### Television Series (selected)

- 1952 *Up to Paar*
- 1953 *Bank on the Stars*
- 1953–54 *The Jack Paar Show*
- 1957–62 *The Tonight Show* (renamed *The Jack Paar Tonight Show*, 1959)
- 1962–65 *The Jack Paar Program*
- 1973 *ABC's Wide World of Entertainment*

#### Television Specials

- 1960 *Jack Paar Presents*
- 1967 *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Hollywood*
- 1967 *Jack Paar and a Funny Thing Happened Everywhere*
- 1969 *Jack Paar and His Lions*
- 1970 *Jack Paar Diary*
- 1986 *Jack Paar Comes Home*
- 1987 *Jack Paar Is Alive and Well*

#### Films

*Variety Time*, 1948; *Easy Living*, 1949; *Walk Softly, Stranger*, 1950; *Love Nest*, 1951; *Footlight Varieties*, 1951; *Down among the Sheltering Palms*, 1952.

#### Publications

*I Kid You Not*, with John Reddy, 1960  
*My Saber Is Bent*, with John Reddy, 1961  
*Three on a Toothbrush*, 1965  
*P.S. Jack Paar*, 1983

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## Paik, Nam June (1932– )

U.S. Video Artist

Nam June Paik—composer, performer, and video artist—played a pivotal role in introducing artists and audiences to the possibilities of using video for artistic expression. His works explore the ways in which performance, music, video images, and the sculptural form of objects can be used in various combinations to question our accepted notions of the nature of television.

Growing up in Korea, Nam June Paik studied piano

and composition. When his family moved, first to Hong Kong and then to Japan, he continued his studies in music while completing a degree in aesthetics at the University of Tokyo. After graduating, Paik went to Germany to pursue graduate work in philosophy. There he became part of the Fluxus group of artists, who were challenging established notions of what constituted art. Their work often found expression in per-



Nam June Paik with "Piano Piece," 1993.  
Courtesy of the Holly Solomon Gallery

formances and happenings that incorporated random events and found objects.

In 1959 Paik performed his composition *Hommage a John Cage*. This performance combined a prerecorded collage of music and sounds with "onstage" sounds created by people, a live hen, a motorcycle, and various objects. Random events marked this and other Paik compositions. Instruments were often altered or even destroyed during the performance. Most performances were as much a visual as a musical experience.

As broadcast television programming invaded the culture, Paik began to experiment with ways to alter the video image. In 1963 he included his first video sculptures in an exhibition, *Exposition of Music—Electronic Television*. Twelve television sets were scattered throughout the exhibit space. The electronic components of these sets were modified to create unexpected effects in the images being received. Other video sculptures followed. *Distorted TV* used manipu-

lation of the sync pulse to alter the image. *Magnet TV* used a large magnet that could be moved on the outside of the television set to change the image and create abstract patterns of light. Paik began to incorporate television sets into a series of robots. The early robots were constructed largely of bits and pieces of wire and metal; later ones were built from vintage radio and television sets refitted with updated electronic components.

Some of Paik's video installations involve a single monitor, others use a series of monitors. In *TV Buddha* a statue of Buddha sits facing its own image on a closed-circuit television screen. For *TV Clock 24* monitors are lined up. The image on each is compressed into a single line with the lines on succeeding monitors rotated to suggest the hands of a clock representing each hour of the day. In *Positive Egg* the video camera is aimed at a white egg on a black cloth. In a series of larger and larger monitors, the image is magnified until the actual egg becomes an abstract shape on the screen.

In 1964 Paik moved to New York City and began a collaboration with classical cellist Charlotte Moorman to produce works combining video with performance. In *TV Bra for Living Sculpture*, small video monitors became part of the cellist's costume. With *TV Cello* television sets were stacked to suggest the shape of the cello. As Moorman drew the bow across the television sets, images of her playing, video collages of other cellists, and live images of the performance area combined.

When the first consumer-grade portable video cameras and recorders went on sale in New York in 1965, Paik purchased one. Held up in a traffic jam created by Pope Paul VI's motorcade, Paik recorded the parade and later that evening showed it to friends at Café a Go-Go. With this development in technology, it was possible for the artist to create personal and experimental video programs.

Paik was invited to participate in several experimental workshops, including one at WGBH in Boston and another at WNET in New York City. *The Medium Is the Medium*, his first work broadcast by WGBH, was a video collage that raised questions about who is in control of the viewing experience. At one point in a voice-over, Paik instructed the viewers to follow his directions, to close or open their eyes, and finally to turn off the set. At WGBH Paik and electronics engineer Shuya Abe built the first model of Paik's video synthesizer, which produced nonrepresentational images. Paik used the synthesizer to accompany a rock-and-roll sound track in *Video Commune* and to illustrate Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto. At

WNET Paik completed a series of short segments, *The Selling of New York*, which juxtaposed the marketing of New York and the reality of life in the city. *Global Groove*, produced with John Godfrey, opened with an explanation that it was a "glimpse of a video landscape of tomorrow when you will be able to switch to any TV station on the earth and TV guides will be as fat as the Manhattan telephone book." What followed was a rapid shift from rock-and-roll dance sequences to Allen Ginsberg, to Charlotte Moorman with the TV cello, to an oriental dancer, to John Cage, to a Navaho drummer, to a Living Theatre performance. Throughout, the video image was manipulated by layering images, reducing dancers to a white line outlining their form against a wash of brilliant color, creating evolving abstract forms. Rapid edits of words and movements, and seemingly random shifts in the backgrounds against which the dancers performed, created a dreamlike sense of time and space.

Paik continues to innovate. In 2000 the Guggenheim Museum in New York mounted an important retrospective of his work, entitled "The Worlds of Nam June Paik." In addition to displaying notable pieces from other decades in Paik's career and numerous videos of his collaborations with other artists, the exhibit featured two new installations: 3-D laser light sculptures (described as "postvideo" art on the exhibition's website) surrounded by 100 upturned television monitors showing a variety of images and emitting musical excerpts, as well as by video projections on the walls of the museum.

Nam June Paik pioneered the development of electronic techniques to transform the video image from a literal representation of objects and events into an expression of the artist's view of those objects and events. In doing so, he challenges our accepted notion of the reality of televised events. His work questions time and memory, the nature of music and art, even the essence of our sensory experiences. Most significantly, perhaps, that work questions our experience, our understanding, and our definitions of "television."

LUCY A. LIGGETT

### See also Experimental Video

**Nam June Paik.** Born in Seoul, Korea, July 20, 1932. Educated at the University of Tokyo, 1952–56; studied music with Stockhausen at Darmstadt; studied art history and philosophy in Germany, 1956–58. Worked as video artist in electronic music studio for Radio Cologne, 1958–61; associated with the Fluxus group,

New York, 1960s; artist-in-residence, WGBH-TV, 1969; artist-in-residence, WNET-TV, New York, 1971; has worked closely with Japanese artist Shigeo Kubota and other collaborators.

### Television Projects (selected)

- 1970 *Video Commune*  
 1972 *The Selling of New York*  
 1974 *Tribute to John Cage*

### Publications

- "Expanded Education for the Paperless Society," *Interfunktionen* (1971), reprinted in *Flash Art* (May/June 1972)  
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# Paley, William S. (1901–1990)

U.S. Media Executive

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William S. Paley developed the CBS radio and television networks and ran them for more than a half century. "A 20th-century visionary with the ambitions of a 19th-century robber baron," as the *New York Times* described him, Paley took over a tiny failing network with only 16 affiliate stations and developed it into a world-class communications empire. Delegating management details to others, he had a seemingly unflinching sense of popular taste and a resultant flair for programming.

Radio's commercial potential came to fascinate Paley early on. Using funds from his father's cigar company shares, Paley purchased working control of the struggling CBS network in September 1928. He was just turning 27. A year later, family purchase of additional shares gave him majority control.

Paley's insights helped to define commercial network operations. At the start of his CBS stewardship, he transformed the network's financial relationship with its affiliates so that the latter agreed to carry sustaining programs free, receiving network payments only for commercially supported programs. Paley enjoyed socializing and negotiating with broadcast stars. In the late 1940s, his "talent raids" hired top radio stars (chiefly away from NBC) by offering huge prices for rights to their programs and giving them, in return, lucrative capital gains tax options. The talent pool thus developed helped to boost CBS radio ratings just as network television was beginning. At the same time, he encouraged development of CBS News before and during World War II, as it developed a stable of journalistic stars soon headed by Edward R. Murrow.

During World War II he served as deputy chief of the psychological warfare branch of General Dwight Eisenhower's staff. Paley became chair of the CBS board in 1946, turning the network's presidency over to Frank Stanton, who held the post until his own retirement in 1973. The television network first showed a profit in 1953, and from 1955 through 1976, CBS television consistently led in prime-time network ratings. Network profits helped expand CBS into many other lines of entertainment and education—including the Broadway musical *My Fair Lady* in 1956—as Paley acquired other businesses.

There were technical opportunities as well. CBS

Laboratories' Peter C. Goldmark developed a mechanical system of color television that was briefly (1950–53) the nation's first standard, before being pushed aside by a superior all-electronic RCA system. By then, CBS had traded a quarter of its stock to buy Hytron, a TV receiver manufacturer later sold for a huge loss. More successfully, Goldmark also pioneered the long-playing (LP) record, introduced in 1948, which revolutionized the recording industry and made CBS Records (sold in 1987 to Sony for \$2 billion) the leading record company in the United States for both classical and popular records.

As he stayed beyond CBS's compulsory (for others) retirement age of 65, Paley sought to delay his inevitable passing of control to others. Paley worked through several short-lived potential heirs in the late 1970s; he stepped down as chief executive officer in 1977 but retained the powerful chairmanship. Finally he hired Pillsbury's Thomas H. Wyman to become president in 1980. Wyman succeeded Paley as the network's second chair in 1983. Concerned with some of Wyman's decisions in the aftermath of an unsuccessful attempt by Ted Turner to acquire CBS in 1985, Paley allied himself with Laurence Tisch (who was by then holding the largest single block of company shares) to oust Wyman and install Tisch as chief executive officer in 1986. Paley returned as a figurehead chair until his death in late 1990.

Paley is important for having assembled the brilliant team that built and expanded the CBS "Tiffany Network" image over several decades. For many years he had an innate programming touch, which helped keep the network on top in annual ratings wars. He blew hot and cold on network news, helping to found and develop it, but willing to cast much of that work aside to avoid controversy or to increase profits. Like many founders, however, he stayed too long and unwittingly helped weaken his company.

Paley was very active in New York art and social circles throughout his life. He was a key figure in the Museum of Modern Art from its founding in 1929. He prompted construction of the Eero Saarinen-designed "Black Rock" headquarters into which the network moved in 1965. His was the primary donation that helped to create in 1976 what is now the Museum of





William S. Paley, Founder of CBS, photo dated 04/15/50.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

Television and Radio in New York City. The middle "S" in his name stood for nothing—Paley added it in his early business years. He had no formal middle name.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

**See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; Stanton, Frank**

**William S. Paley.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, September 28, 1901. Graduated from Western Military Academy, Alton, Illinois, 1918; studied at the University of Chicago, 1918–19; University of Pennsylvania, B.S. 1922. Married: 1) Dorothy Hart Hearst, 1932 (divorced, 1947); one son and one daughter; 2) Barbara Cushing Mortimer, 1948 (died, 1978); one son, one daughter, one stepson, and one stepdaughter. Served as colonel, U.S. Army, World War II; deputy chief, psychological warfare division, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers (Europe); deputy chief, information control division, USGCC. Vice president, Congress Cigar Company, Philadelphia, 1922–28; president, CBS, Inc., New York City, 1928–46, chair of the board,

1946–83, founder and chair, 1983–86, acting chair, 1986–87, chair and director, 1987–90; partner, Whitcom Investment Company, 1982–90; founder, and member of board of directors, Genetics Institute, 1980–90; Thinking Machines Corp., 1983–90; cochair, *International Herald Tribune*, 1983–90; president and director, William S. Paley Foundation, Greenpark Foundation, Inc. Trustee: Museum of Modern Art, 1937–90, president, 1968–72, chair, 1972–85, chair emeritus, 1985–90, life trustee; trustee, Columbia University, 1950–73, trustee emeritus, 1973–90; North Shore University Hospital, 1949–57, cochair, board of trustees, 1954–73; life trustee, Federation Jewish Philanthropies of New York. Member: board of directors, W. Averill Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of Soviet Union, Columbia University; Commission for White House Conference on Education, 1954–56; chair, President's Materials for Policy Commission, which produced "Resources for Freedom," 1951–52; executive committee, Resources for the Future, 1952–69, chair, 1966–69, honorary member, board of directors, 1969–90; chair, New York City Task Force on Urban Design, which prepared "The Threatened City" report, 1967; Urban Design Council City, New York, 1968–71; founding member, Bedford-Stuyvesant D and S Corp., director, 1967–72; Commission on Critical Choices for America, 1973–77, Commission for Cultural Affairs, New York City, 1975–78; founder and chair of the board, Museum of Broadcasting, from 1976; Council on Foreign Relations; Academy of Political Sciences; National Institute for Social Sciences; Royal Society of the Arts (fellow). Honorary degrees: LL.D.: Adelphi University, 1957, Bates College, 1963, University of Pennsylvania, 1968, Columbia University, 1975, Brown University, 1975, Pratt Institute, 1977, Dartmouth College, 1979; L.H.D.: Ithaca College, 1978, University of Southern California, 1985, Rutgers University, 1986; Long Island University, Southampton, 1987. Military honors: Decofated Legion of Merit; Medal for Merit; officer, Legion of Honor, France; Croix de Guerre with Palm, France; commander, Order of Merit, Italy; associate commander, Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Recipient: Gold Achievement Medal, Poor Richard Club; Keynote Award, National Association of Broadcasters; George Foster Peabody Awards, 1958 and 1961; Broadcast Pioneers, special award; Concert Artists Guild Award, 1965; Skowhegan Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Award; National Planning Association, Gold Medal; David Sarnoff Award, University of Arizona, 1979; Society of Family of Man Gold Medallion, 1982; Joseph Wharton Award, Wharton School Club, New York, 1983; *TV Guide* Life Achievement Award, 1984; Center for Communications Award, 1985; co-recipient, Walter

Paley, William S.

Cronkite Award, Arizona State University, 1984; City of New York Medallion of Honor; First Amendment Freedoms Award, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith; Robert Eunson Distinguished Service Award, Association of Press Broadcasters; named to Junior Achievement National Business Hall of Fame, 1984. Died in New York City, October 26, 1990.

#### Publication

*As It Happened: A Memoir*, 1979

#### Further Reading

- Halberstam, David, *The Powers That Be*, New York: Knopf, 1979
- Metz, Robert, *CBS: Reflections in a Bloodshot Eye*, Chicago: Playboy Press, 1975
- Paper, Lewis J., *Empire: William S. Paley and the Making of CBS*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987
- Slater, Robert, *This... Is CBS: A Chronicle of 60 Years*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1988
- Smith, Sally Bedell, *In All His Glory: The Life of William S. Paley, the Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990

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## Palin, Michael (1943– )

British Comedian, Actor

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Michael Palin is best known for his performances as a member of the six-man British comedy troupe Monty Python. Although it is surely the case that some of Palin's most memorable work was with Monty Python, both in the group's TV series, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, and in its films and live performances, the versatile comedian-actor also has done much notable television work on his own, including *Ripping Yarns* and *Around the World in 80 Days*.

Palin's comedy career began at Oxford University, where he wrote and performed comedic revues with classmate and future Python Terry Jones. After graduating with a history degree in 1965, Palin moved to London, where his first TV job was as host of *Now!*, a teenage pop music show broadcast by the now-defunct Television West Wales. In his spare time, he continued to write with Jones, who was working for the BBC. The team wrote scripts for *The Ken Dodd Show*, *The Billy Cotton Bandshow*, and other BBC shows.

Palin and Jones first worked with fellow Pythons Graham Chapman, John Cleese, and Eric Idle in 1966, writing for *The Frost Report*. Palin also worked with various future Pythons on *Do Not Adjust Your Set* (1968–69) and *The Complete and Utter History of Britain* (1969), a Jones and Palin production.

In 1969 Palin, Jones, Chapman, Cleese, Idle, and Terry Gilliam (the group's lone American) created *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, after rejecting other possible titles such as "Owl Stretching Time," "Vaseline Parade," and "Bunn, Wackett, Buzzard, Stubble, and Boot." The show ran on the BBC for 45 episodes,

from 1969 to 1974, and took on a life of its own, spawning five films, a series of stage shows, and numerous books, records, and videos.

Some of Palin's most memorable performances on *Monty Python's Flying Circus* include a man who believes he is qualified to be a lion tamer because he already has the hat; Arthur Pewtie, who suspects his wife is being unfaithful and goes for marriage counseling, only to watch the counselor make love to his wife; a lumberjack who, in his spare time, "puts on women's clothing and hangs around in bars" (and sings about it, backed by a chorus of Mounties); a cheese-shop owner whose shop is "completely uncontaminated by cheese."

With a kindly face and gentle demeanor, Palin is frequently cast as a sweet, unassuming man (such as the cheated-upon Arthur Pewtie, or the stuttering animal-lover Ken in the film *A Fish Called Wanda*). But he is equally good in more outrageous characters (like the transvestite lumberjack, or, in another *Python* sketch, a high court judge who removes his robe, revealing that he's wearing only ladies' underwear beneath).

After the TV series *Monty Python's Flying Circus* ended, Palin continued to perform with the group in films, stage shows, and a series of Secret Policeman's Balls, benefit concerts for Amnesty International that featured several comedians and musicians. Palin also hosted four episodes of NBC's *Saturday Night Live* from 1978 to 1984.

In 1976 the BBC began airing one of Palin's most memorable efforts, *Ripping Yarns*. Conceived, written,



*Pole To Pole*, Michael Palin, 1992.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and performed with Jones, *Ripping Yarns* consisted of two series, one of six shows and one of three shows. Each show had its own plot, and the plots were not interrelated; the stories were based on English tales of the early 20th century.

For the next several years, Palin appeared mostly in films. He returned to television in 1989's *Around the World in 80 Days*, a six-hour documentary of his attempt to re-create Phileas Fogg's fictional journey, retracing Fogg's route using only transportation that would have been available in Fogg's day. Followed by a five-man BBC crew, Palin traveled on trains, hot-air balloons, dogsleds, and garbage barges through Greece, Africa, India, Asia, the United States, and back to England.

Palin has since starred in a number of similar travel-ogues. In *Pole to Pole* (1993), he and a BBC crew traveled from the North Pole to the South Pole, through Finland, Russia, and Africa. *Full Circle with Michael Palin* (1997) took Palin around the Pacific rim, whereas *Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure*

(1999) recorded his encounters in the places Ernest Hemingway described in his writings, from Spain to Africa to Cuba. Palin also appeared in a variety of roles in a 2001 series written and hosted by fellow Python Cleeve, *The Human Face*, an entertaining exploration of beauty and human expression.

JULIE PRINCE

*See also Cleeve, John; Monty Python's Flying Circus*

**Michael (Edward) Palin.** Born in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, May 5, 1943. Educated at Birkdale School, Sheffield; Brasenose College, Oxford, B.A. in modern history. Married: Helen M. Gibbins, 1966; children: Rachel, Thomas, and William. Performed in plays and revues while at Oxford and formed writing partnership with Terry Jones; subsequently wrote for such television shows as *The Frost Report*; became member of the Monty Python comedy team, 1969; later wrote and starred in television series *Ripping Yarns*; host of acclaimed travel documentaries; director, Meridian Television. President, Transport 2000. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award for Best Supporting Actor, 1988; Travel Writer of the Year Award, British Book Awards, 1993.

#### Television Series

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|---------|--|
| 1966–67 | <i>The Frost Report</i> (writer only)                |
| 1966–67 | <i>The Late Show</i> (writer only)                   |
| 1967    | <i>A Series of Bird's</i> (writer only)              |
| 1967    | <i>Twice a Fortnight</i>                             |
| 1968–69 | <i>Do Not Adjust Your Set</i>                        |
| 1969    | <i>The Complete and Utter History of Britain</i>     |
| 1969–74 | <i>Monty Python's Flying Circus</i> (also co-writer) |
| 1975    | <i>Three Men in a Boat</i>                           |
| 1976–80 | <i>Ripping Yarns</i> (also writer)                   |
| 1983    | <i>Secrets</i>                                       |
| 1989    | <i>Around the World in 80 Days</i>                   |
| 1991    | <i>GBH</i> (performer only)                          |
| 1992    | <i>Palin's Column</i>                                |
| 1993    | <i>Pole to Pole</i>                                  |
| 1993    | <i>Tracey Ullman: A Class Act</i>                    |
| 1997    | <i>Full Circle with Michael Palin</i>                |
| 1999    | <i>Michael Palin's Hemingway Adventure</i>           |
| 2001    | <i>The Human Face</i> (performer only)               |

#### Television Specials

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1980 | <i>Great Railway Journeys of the World</i> |
| 1986 | <i>East of Ipswich</i> (writer)            |
| 1987 | <i>Number 27</i> (writer)                  |

Palin, Michael

- 1995 *Three Men in a Boat* (actor)  
1995 *Wind in the Willows* (voice)

#### Films

*And Now for Something Completely Different* (also co-writer), 1970; *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (also co-writer), 1975; *Jabberwocky*, 1976; *Pleasure at Her Majesty's* (U.S. title, *Monty Python Meets beyond the Fringe*), 1976; *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (also co-writer), 1979; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*, 1979; *Time Bandits* (also co-writer), 1980; *The Secret Policeman's Other Ball*, 1982; *Confessions of a Trainspotter*, 1981; *The Missionary* (also co-writer and coproducer), 1982; *Monty Python Live at the Hollywood Bowl*, 1982; *Monty Python's The Meaning of Life* (also co-writer), 1983; *A Private Function*, 1984; *The Secret Policeman's Private Parts*, 1984; *Brazil*, 1985; *The Dress*, 1986; *Troubles*, 1987; *A Fish Called Wanda*, 1988; *American Friends* (also co-writer), 1991; *The Secret Policeman's Biggest Ball*, 1991; *Splitting Heirs*, 1993; *Fierce Creatures*, 1997.

#### Stage

*Hang Down Your Head and Die*; *Aladdin*; *Monty Python's First Farewell Tour*; *Monty Python Live at Drury Lane*; *Monty Python Live at City Center*; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*; *The Weekend*, 1994.

#### Publications (selected)

*Monty Python's Big Red Book*, with others, 1970  
*Monty Python's Brand New Book*, with others, 1973  
*Ripping Yarns*, 1978  
*More Ripping Yarns*, 1980  
*Small Harry and the Toothache Pills*, 1982  
*The Missionary*, 1983  
*Dr. Fegg's Encyclopedia of All World Knowledge*, 1984  
*Limericks*, 1985  
*Cyril and the Dinner Party*, 1986  
*Cyril and the House of Commons*, 1986  
*The Mirrorstone*, 1986  
*Around the World in 80 Days*, 1989  
*Pole to Pole*, 1992  
*Pole to Pole: The Photographs*, 1994  
*The Weekend*, 1994  
*Hemingway's Chair* (novel), 1995  
*Full Circle*, 1997

#### Further Reading

Hewison, Robert, *Monty Python: The Case against Irreverence, Scurrility, Profanity, Vilification, and Licentious Abuse*, New York: Grove, 1981  
Johnson, Kim, *The First 20 Years of Monty Python*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989  
Johnson, Kim, *Life (before and) after Monty Python: The Solo Flights of the Flying Circus*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993  
McCall, Douglas L., *Monty Python: A Chronological Listing of the Troupe's Creative Output, and Articles and Reviews about Them*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1991

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## Palmer, Geoffrey (1927– )

British Actor

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Geoffrey Palmer is one of British television's most reliable supporting actors, appearing in several of the most popular situation comedies of the last 20 years or so, and on occasion taking the lead role himself.

With his bloodhound features and lugubrious voice and manner, Palmer is instantly familiar in whatever role he plays. Not only is his face at once recognizable from the situation comedies in which he has appeared, but his voice is doubly well known from his frequent employment as a voice-over artist for television com-

mercials (notably for Audi cars). After serving his apprenticeship as an actor in the theater, Palmer emerged as an accomplished performer in television situation comedy through his casting as the absentminded eccentric Jimmy, brother-in-law to Leonard Rossiter's Perrin in *The Rise and Fall of Reginald Perrin*. Forever apologizing for turning up at the Perrin household in search of a meal after yet another "cock-up on the catering front," Palmer's Jimmy was manifestly appealing, although divorced from reality and patheti-



*As Time Goes By*, Geoffrey Palmer and Judi Dench, 1992–2002.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

cally woebegone. These qualities were clearly ideal for situation comedy, and soon after the end of the Perrin series, Palmer was back on the screen on a regular basis playing Wendy Craig's other half in Carla Lane's hit series *Butterflies*. As manic-depressive dentist Ben Parkinson, Palmer provided extremely sturdy support to Craig herself, alternately bewildered at his wife's outbursts and endearingly patient and clumsy in his efforts to understand her frustrations—although he could also be stubborn, tactless, and impervious to suggestion when he chose.

Palmer returned to the dottiness of Jimmy in the Perrin series when he went on to play the comically unhinged Major Harry Kitchener Wellington Truscott, the central character in *Fairly Secret Army*. Convinced that the country was on the brink of chaos due to the machinations of the political left, Truscott was committed to forming his own army to counter the revolution that he feared was just around the corner. Thanks

largely to Palmer's performance as Truscott, this seemingly unpromising scenario fared reasonably well, with the dotty major proving surprisingly lovable in his futile attempts to muster a competent force, despite his reactionary views and rabidly bigoted attitude toward those of differing political opinions.

His subsequent series, *Executive Stress* and *As Time Goes By*, both saw Palmer back in more familiar sitcom territory, playing belligerently adorable partners in support of strong female stars—in the first instance, Penelope Keith (in the role of her husband, Donald Fairchild) and in the latter case, Judi Dench (in the role of her old flame, Lionel Harcastle). *Executive Stress* proved a mixed success, although Palmer gave good value as always, but *As Time Goes By* settled in well as the plot traced the reunion of the two erstwhile lovers. Palmer played a returned colonial planning to write his memoirs, to be typed up by Dench's secretarial agency. This led to the gradual rebirth of their romance, culminating in their marriage in the 1995 series.

Palmer has occasionally ventured out of the sitcom territory with which he is usually associated. Notable examples of experiments in other fields of comedy have included guest appearances in such acclaimed shows as *Fawlty Towers* and *Blackadder Goes Forth*, in which he played Field Marshall Haig.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also* *Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin*, *The*

**Geoffrey Palmer.** Born in London, June 4, 1927. Attended Highgate School, London. Married: Sally Green, 1963; children: Charles and Harriet. Began career as unpaid trainee assistant stage manager, Q Theatre, London; subsequently became popular star of situation comedies; has also appeared on stage, in films, and on the radio.

#### Television Series

1976–79	<i>The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin</i>
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1984–86	<i>Fairly Secret Army</i>
1986	<i>Executive Stress</i>
1986–88	<i>Hot Metal</i>
1992–	<i>As Time Goes By</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1991	<i>A Question of Attribution</i>
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#### Films

*O Lucky Man!*, 1973; *The Riddle of the Sands*, 1978; *The Outsider*, 1979; *The Honorary Consul*, 1983; *A Zed and Two Noughts*, 1985; *Clockwise*, 1985; *A*

*Fish Called Wanda*, 1988; *Christabel*, 1989; *The Madness of King George*, 1994; *Mrs. Brown*, 1997; *Tomorrow Never Dies*, 1998; *Anna and the King*, 1999; *Rat*, 2001.

**Stage (selected)**

*Difference of Opinion*; *West of Sussex*, 1971; *Private Lives*, 1973; *Eden End*, 1974; *Saint Joan*, 1977; *Tishoo*, 1979; *Kafka's Dick*, 1986; *Piano*, 1990.

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# Panorama

## British Public-Affairs Program

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The longest-running current affairs program anywhere in the world, *Panorama* has long been among the most influential of all British political commentaries. The first program was broadcast in 1953, but the format was quite different then, with a magazine-style approach. The original presenter was newspaper journalist Patrick Murphy, although he was soon replaced by Max Robertson. Alongside them were roving interviewer Malcolm Muggeridge, art critic Denis Mathews, book reviewer Nancy Spain, and theater critic Lionel Hale, who all made their varied contributions to the fortnightly program.

Everything changed in 1955, when the program was relaunched under the slogan "window on the world." With the new look came a new anchorman, Richard Dimbleby, who over the next few years did much to establish *Panorama's* reputation for determined investigation into important political and social matters on behalf of the viewing public. Politicians were suddenly obliged to take the program seriously, and senior members of the government soon learned that their standing in the polls could very easily depend on their performance on this show, the BBC's current affairs flagship.

In 1961 *Panorama* achieved a notable first when Prince Philip agreed to be interviewed by Dimbleby, thus becoming the first member of the royal family to make such a television appearance. Dimbleby was impeccably courteous but nonetheless extracted from the royal guest the sort of things the viewing public wanted to hear.

The show has had its lighter moments, however. Perhaps the most memorable of these was the April Fool hoax perpetrated by Richard Dimbleby when he delivered a straight-faced report on the state of the Swiss spaghetti harvest, delivered while walking between trees festooned with strings of spaghetti. Many viewers were taken in and rang the program to ask how they may obtain their own spaghetti plants; the pro-

ducer suggested that planting a tin of spaghetti in tomato sauce might do the trick.

The late 1950s and early 1960s are sometimes looked upon as the "golden era" for the program, but this view belittles *Panorama's* continuing achievement, which has kept it at the forefront of investigative programs despite the burgeoning of often very competent rival programs on other networks. It remains the case that the headlines on the morning after the program often reflect what has been discussed on *Panorama* the night before, and prominent politicians freely admit that appearances on the program have played a key role in furthering or hindering their careers and even in deciding the results of both local and national elections over the years. In view of the influence wielded by the program, any political bias that has been perceived in its editorial approach has led to furious rows in Parliament, and to repeated affirmations by the BBC that this, perhaps still their best-known current affairs program, will remain resolutely nonaffiliated.

Among the most notable of Richard Dimbleby's successors in the chair of *Panorama* have been his son David Dimbleby; Robin Day, who set a new standard in the hostile interviewing of such reluctant political guests as Alastair Burnet; Charles Wheeler; and Robert Kee.

The removal of the program to a Sunday-night slot in the 1990s was opposed by many who feared for the show's future, but it remains a significant feature in the schedule.

DAVID PICKERING

**See also Dimbleby, Richard; Royalty and Royals on Television**

**Presenters (selected)**

Patrick Murphy  
Max Robinson

Richard Dimpleby  
 Nancy Spain  
 Denis Matthews  
 Lionel Hale  
 Christopher Chataway  
 John Freeman  
 Michael Barratt  
 Michael Charlton  
 Trevor Philpott

Leonard Parkin  
 Robin Day  
 David Dimpleby  
 Robert Kee  
 Charles Wheeler

**Programming History**  
 BBC1  
 1953–

## Park, Nick (1958– )

British Animator, Animation Director

The name of Nick Park is synonymous with that of Aardman Animations, the Bristol-based company founded in the early 1970s by Peter Lord and David Sproxton that has been responsible for a highly successful series of 3-D stop-frame animation shorts made for British television. The most celebrated of these shorts have been the three films featuring the adventures of Wallace, a nondescript northerner with a flair for ramshackle invention, and his perspicacious but put-upon dog, Gromit. The first, *A Grand Day Out*, started out as Park's graduation project at the National Film and Television School (NFTS), where he studied animation from 1980 to 1983, and was finally completed in 1989. *The Wrong Trousers* was screened on BBC 2 at Christmas 1993: the highest-rated program over the two-day holiday period, it went on to become one of BBC Worldwide's most valuable properties both for video sales and merchandising. It also brought Park his second Academy Award for Best Animated Short, the first having been picked up for another Aardman film, *Creature Comforts*, in 1991. The third in the Wallace and Gromit trilogy, *A Close Shave*, also won an Oscar in 1996.

Park's work with Aardman Animations is a popular manifestation of the wider, if less frequently reported, success enjoyed by British animation since the 1980s, much of which has been nurtured by Channel 4 and its commissioning editor for animation. Aardman's highly successful work on commercials—particularly the captivating "Heat Electric" campaign, a stylistic and thematic development of *Creature Comforts*—has also allowed the company to spread its wings, a reminder of the importance of this area of television production

as a source of funding and creative experiment in a country bereft of a subsidized film industry.

Park began making puppet animations in his parents' attic at the age of 13, using the family's Bell and Howell 8 mm camera. He was persuaded to show his work at school, and in 1975 his entry in the European Young Filmmaker of the Year Competition, *Archie's Concrete Nightmare*, was shown on BBC Television. He completed a B.A. in Communication Arts at the Sheffield Arts School before going on to study animation at the NFTS. His work shows the signs of his early fascination with science fiction and monster films and the special effects of Ray Harryhausen, as well as his later admiration for the imaginative animated puppetry of Ladislav Starewicz, Jiri Trnka, and Jan Svankmajer. However, it is the influence of a childhood filled with Heath Robinson inventions (his parents once fashioned a caravan from a box and set of wheels, fitting it out with makeshift furniture and decoration) that seems to permeate the world of Wallace and Gromit, a world of handmade objects, idiosyncratic domestic details, and, above all, enterprising mechanical contraptions.

Park's stop-frame animation of plasticine models has developed into a distinctive and highly sophisticated technique and is often perceived as the Aardman house style, although the company has used a number of other processes—in the Peter Gabriel "Sledgehammer" pop promo, for example, on which Park collaborated with several independent animators, including the Brothers Quay. The method grew out of Aardman's work in the 1970s on sequences for BBC Children's Television featuring Morph, a plasticine character ca-

pable of metamorphosing into a multitude of shapes. Park's first job with the company was on the Morph production line. By this time, Aardman had also made two series, *Animated Conversations* for the BBC and *Lip Synch* for Channel 4, in which plasticine characters were animated to a sound track built from "fly-on-the-wall" recordings of real conversations and interviews. This became the basis of Park's award-winning *Creature Comforts*, in which a range of vox-pop interviews about people's living conditions provide the speech for animals commenting on their life behind bars in a zoo. It was here that the subtle psychological and sociological characterization and carefully observed facial and gestural expressiveness that are the features of Wallace and Gromit were developed. For all their farcical playfulness, these narratives are shot through with stinging moments of poignancy, as the animated figures momentarily betray the pain, longing, and regret behind a life of repressed British ordinariness.

Although particularly televisual in its domestic intimacy and attention to psychological detail, Park's work has also brought a sophisticated level of film literacy into the process of animation. With their larger budgets, *The Wrong Trousers* and *A Close Shave* are not only technically more accomplished than *A Grand Day Out* but also are more cinematic in their use of lighting, framing, and camera movement. Both later pieces are also full of film allusion and pastiche, with references to a number of popular genres and stock sequences, as well as specific British and American movies. It was no surprise, therefore, when Park and his collaborators were offered the opportunity to try their hand at feature filmmaking. The result was the farmyard comedy *Chicken Run*, released in 2000 and

based on a long-held idea of Park's himself: *The Great Escape*, enacted with chickens.

JEREMY RIDGMAN

**Nick Park.** Born in Preston, Lancashire, England, 1958. Educated at the Sheffield Polytechnic, Faculty of Art and Design, B.A. 1980; National Film and Television School, Beaconsfield, 1980–83. Animator since the age of 13; has worked at Aardman Animation, Bristol, since 1985; projects include Peter Gabriel's "Sledgehammer" video, 1986; numerous commercials for Access credit cards and Duracell batteries; creator of claymation stars Wallace and Gromit. Recipient: three Academy Awards, three BAFTA Awards. Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1997.

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

- 1989 *War Story* (animator)
- 1989 *A Grand Day Out* (animator/director)
- 1989 *Creature Comforts* (animator/director)
- 1993 *The Wrong Trousers* (animator/director)
- 1996 *A Close Shave* (animator/director)
- 1996 *Wallace and Gromit: The Best of Aardman Animation* (animator/director)

#### Film

*Chicken Run*, 2000.

#### Further Reading

- Adair, Gilbert, "That's My Toon," *Sunday Times* (June 19, 1994)
- Macdonald, Kevin, "A Lot Can Happen in a Second" (interview), in *Projections 5*, edited by John Boorman and Walter Donohue, London: Faber, 1996
- Thompson, Ben, "Real Lives" (interview), *Independent on Sunday* (March 10, 1992)

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## Parker, Everett C. (1913– )

U.S. Media Activist

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Everett C. Parker played a leading role in the development of public interest of American television. He served as director of the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ from 1954 until 1983. In that position, he was at the forefront of Protestant communications, overseeing the public media activities of

one of the leading mainline Protestant religious groups. He is better known, however, for two other contributions: his leadership in the development of an influential media reform and citizen action movement in broadcasting; and his activism directed at improved broadcast employment prospects for women and mi-



norities. Near the end of his career, he was named one of the most influential men in broadcasting by the trade publication *Broadcasting Magazine*.

Parker had an early career in radio production. After a year at NBC in New York, he founded and became head of an interdenominational Protestant Church broadcasting organization, the Joint Religious Radio Committee (JRRC). The JRRC was formed to serve as a counterbalance to the dominance of the Federal Council of Churches in public-service religious broadcasting. Besides its impact on programming, the JRRC also addressed the impact of media on society and public-interest issues in broadcasting. The JRRC was an early vocal supporter of reserved FM frequency assignments for educational use, for example.

While a lecturer in communication at Yale Divinity School, from 1949 until 1954, he headed the Communication Research Project, the first major study of religious broadcasting. This project resulted in the definitive work on religious broadcasting for nearly two decades, *The Television-Radio Audience and Religion*, coauthored by Parker, David Barry, and Dallas Smythe.

In 1954 he founded the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, the first such agency to combine press, broadcasting, film, research, and educational functions in one unit. The office pioneered programs to improve the communication skills of ministers, to improve the communication activities of local churches, and to use television for education. It also participated in the production of some landmark television programs, including *Six American Families*, a nationally syndicated documentary series produced in collaboration with Westinghouse Broadcasting Company and the United Methodist Church.

The work of Parker and the office took an important turn in the 1960s, as the civil rights movement was gaining momentum. After reviewing the civil rights performance of television stations in the South, the office identified WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, as a frequent target of public complaints and Federal Communication Commission (FCC) reprimands regarding its public service. In 1963 the office filed a "petition to deny renewal" with the FCC, initiating a process that had far-reaching consequences in U.S. broadcasting. The FCC's initial response to the petition was to rule that neither the United Church of Christ (UCC) nor local citizens had legal standing to participate in its renewal proceedings. The UCC appealed, and in 1966 Federal Appeals Court Judge Warren Burger granted such standing to the UCC and to citizens in general. After a hearing, the FCC renewed WLBT's license, resulting in another appeal by the UCC. Burger declared the FCC's record "beyond repair" and revoked WLBT's license in 1969.

Based on this new right to participate in license proceedings, Parker's office began to work with other reform and citizens' groups to monitor broadcast performance on a number of issues, including employment discrimination and fairness. In 1967 the office's petition to the FCC dealing with employment issues led to the commission's adoption of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) rules for broadcasting. In 1968 it participated as a "friend of the court" in the landmark *Red Lion* case, which confirmed and expanded the Fairness Doctrine.

Parker and the office continued to play a central role in the developing media reform movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in cooperation with organizations such as Citizens' Communication Center, the Media Access Project, the National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting, Ralph Nader's Public Citizen organization, and a variety of other religious and civic groups. The attention of this movement broadened in subsequent years to include cable television and telecommunications and telephone policy. These organizations became active in the developing change in regulation and eventual breakup of AT&T during the period from 1978 to 1984.

In his later years, Parker devoted more attention to issues of employment in broadcasting and the communication industries. In 1974 he established Telecommunications Career Recruitment, a program for the recruitment and training of minority broadcasters, with the cooperation and support of the Westinghouse Broadcasting and Capital Cities Broadcasting companies.

Upon his retirement in 1983, *Broadcasting Magazine* somewhat grudgingly hailed him as "the founder of the citizen movement in broadcasting" who spent "some two decades irritating and worrying the broadcast establishment." He went on to found the Donald McGannon Communication Research Center at Fordham University, where he teaches graduate courses in Communication Policies and Practices, Critical Issues in Electronic Communication, and Public-Service Communication.

STEWART M. HOOVER AND GEORGE C. CONKLIN

#### *See also Religion and Television*

**Everett C(arlton) Parker.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, January 17, 1913. Educated at University of Chicago, A.B. 1935; Chicago Theological Seminary, B.D. magna cum laude 1943, Blatchford Fellow, 1944-45, D.D. 1964; Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina, D.D. 1958. Married: Geneva M. Jones, 1939; children: Ruth A., Eunice L., and Truman E. Began career as assistant public-service and war program manager, NBC, 1943-45; lecturer in communication, Yale Divinity School, 1945-57; founder and director, Protestant Radio Commu-

Parker, Everett C.

nications, 1945–50; founder and director, Office of Communication, United Churches of Christ, 1954–1983; editor-at-large, *Channels of Communication Magazine*, 1983–84; professor, Fordham University, from 1983; founder, Foundation for Minority Interests in Media, 1985. Honorary degrees: L.H.D., Fordham University, 1978; L.H.D., Tougaloo College, 1978. Recipient: Alfred I. Dupont-Columbia University Award; Human Relations Award, American Jewish Committee, 1966; Faith and Freedom Award, Religious Heritage Broadcasting, 1969; Roman Catholic Broadcasters Gabriel Award for public service, 1970; Lincoln University Award for significant contributions to human relations, 1971; Racial Justice Award, Committee for Racial Justice, United Christian Church, 1973; Public Service Award, Black Citizens for a Fair Media, 1979; Pioneer Award, World Associate for Christian Communications, 1988.

#### Television (producer)

- 1956 *Off to Adventure*  
1965 *Tangled World*  
1977 *Six American Families* (series)

#### Films

*The Pumpkin Coach*, 1960; *The Procession*, 1961; *Tomorrow?*, 1962.

#### Publications

- Religious Radio: What to Do and How*, 1948  
*Film Use in Church*, 1953  
*The Television-Radio Audience and Religion*, with David W. Barry and Dallas W. Smythe, 1955  
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## Parkinson

### U.K. Talk Show

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The benchmark for British chat shows on television since its inception in 1971, *Parkinson*—under the nonsense, gruff Yorkshire control of host Michael Parkinson (born 1932)—successfully embraced almost every legendary colossus from Hollywood’s Golden Age. Michael Parkinson’s laudable obsession with the richness of 1930s and 1940s glamour gave these unforgettable encounters an affectionate and endearing aura of wide-eyed fan meeting unattainable hero.

Indeed, unlike his contemporaries and later wannabe successors to the throne, Parkinson’s original run of high-profile chat encounters relied not on the subject attempting to remorselessly plug his or her latest book, film, or marriage, but rather on a relaxed career overview in the guest’s autumn years. It was the 1970s, when vintage films were gradually being ac-

cepted as something more than cheap television time fillers on a Sunday afternoon. Parkinson reunited veteran gangster pals James Cagney and Pat O’Brien, showcased a laid-back singing set from Fred Astaire, chatted with awe with a typically ebullient Orson Welles, and sat back openmouthed as Bing Crosby, on his final trip to Europe, reflected on years in the limelight, and more. Only Frank Sinatra seemed to elude this one-stop London chat shop for visiting American entertainment gurus.

Parkinson also had—and has—a fondness and familiarity with comedians, both established and upcoming. Most famously, he was the first to champion and promote Billy Connolly south of the Scottish border, with Connolly delighting the presenter and eventually becoming the most oft-repeated and warmly greeted

guest. Reunions are always good television, and for admirers of anarchic British comedy none was more welcome than the special "Parkinson Meets the Goons" edition, so popular that the BBC released the sound track as a record. Manic architect of the Goonish movement, Spike Milligan, was ill in Australia and joined the show via television link, while Harry Secombe and Peter Sellers joined Parkinson in the studio. Parkinson also delighted in the unpredictable insanity of Tommy Cooper and the flamboyant camp of Kenneth Williams, who was once beautifully partnered by his friend Maggie Smith in a solemn and moving poetry reading.

It was often Parkinson's love of incongruous gatherings of interviewees that made even the most average or uninspiring guest list literally come alive with tension, admiration, or a mixture of both. The very first program presented the tennis ace Arthur Ashe on the same bill as comedian Terry-Thomas. Later in the run, Peter Cook, with his almost estranged cohort Dudley Moore, sat back and waited for the comic inroads as British boxer John Conti explained the need for sexual abstinence before a big fight. Beloved British comedians Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise were pitted alongside a stunningly attractive, lowcut-gown-wearing Raquel Welch, who, initially straight-faced, described the time when her famous "equipment" (her shapely figure) arrived. Violin virtuoso Stefan Grappelli, from the jazz school, and Yehudi Menuhin, from the classical school, delivered a mesmerizing rendition of "Honeysuckle Rose."

However, in 1987 *Parkinson* the show and Parkinson the man were ousted from British television. Various suggestions—ranging from a lackluster attitude on the part of the BBC to Parkinson's own disinterested reactions to the so-called stars who joined him in the same studios that once hosted the now-departed Hollywood royalty he adored—could not fully explain why the program was pulled from the air. ITV tried to resurrect the format, first with *Parkinson One-to-One* and then with *Parky* in the late 1980s.

Then, in a climate of chat show slump and "personality" overload, a glut of classic Parkinson-hosted compilation repeats proved ratings winners. Therefore, after a successful and ongoing *Sunday Supplement* program for BBC Radio 2 (which allowed Parkinson to play his favorite music and, once a show, interview a famous guest), the BBC television show was resurrected for a new generation. Parkinson's hair may have become grayer, his suits slightly more trendy, and the format a bit more commercially minded, but very little else had changed in the decade-long hiatus. Whole programs were now devoted to the great and the good of show business, with the elusive John Cleese, the

charmingly reticent Woody Allen, the beguiling Victoria Wood, and the omnipotent Sir Paul McCartney gracing the program, itself an almost sainted and revered part of the British national consciousness. Cocky rocker Robbie Williams summed it up when, with gleeful amazement, he turned to the camera, addressed his watching mother, and exclaimed, "Look, I'm on *Parky*!"

Comedy was still crucial to the mix. Paul Merton (lately of *Have I Got News for You*) was the first guest on the brand-new programs, while Connolly made a clutch of appearances with his world-weary and energetic observations on life very much intact. The guest mixtures were as effective as ever, with old alternative comedian chums Ben Elton (plugging his latest novel) and Robbie Coltrane (fresh from creating the role of Hagrid for the *Harry Potter* series) sharing the stage with Hollywood hard-hitter Samuel L. Jackson.

However, the overshadowing demons of Parkinson's own reluctance to continue were unintentionally but pointedly embraced with one particular edition of the show. Football (soccer) legend George Best and extravagant pop musician Sir Elton John were juxtaposed with new-millennium football hero David Beckham and his Spice Girl wife, Victoria. The contrast and unspoken contradiction was typically electric.

In the long interim between the show's runs, the replacements and pretenders to the Parkinson chat throne (from Terry Wogan to Jonathan Ross) all seemed to be bigger personalities than the guests they were trying to hype. In contrast, Parkinson did not try to justify his name as the star attraction of the program; he was more than happy to sit back and be entertained with familiar or unfamiliar anecdotes from the worlds of film, music, and sports.

Still, as an elder statesman with his hands still very much on the steering wheel, Parkinson has passed beyond criticism into that reassuringly and untouchable bracket of national treasure. Even the brilliant lampooning of Parkinson on Alistair McGowan's *Big Impression*, which superbly highlights Parkinson's often brusque, unrelenting, and incoherent interviewing style, cannot damage him. It may well be that arguably his greatest interview, with Muhammad Ali on October 17, 1971, will remain the chat benchmark, as Parkinson bristled and shone opposite the erudite fighter, who with menace sweetened with tenderness muttered, "You can't beat me mentally nor physically!" Parkinson, for all his faults and foibles, remains the best of the bunch for one simple reason—he lets his guests talk.

ROBERT ROSS

*See also Parkinson, Michael; Talk Show*

### Programming History

BBC 1

First broadcast June 19, 1971

Over 350 shows until 1982

Currently airs Saturday 10:30–11:30 P.M.

First new series:

January 9–March 13, 1998

January 8–April 2, 1999

June 27–September 17, 1999

December 3, 1999 (Sir Paul McCartney Special)

January 21–April 7, 2000

September 8–November 12, 2000

February 17–April 21, 2001

September 22, 2001–December 1, 2001

Christmas Eve special, 2001

February 23, 2002–May 18, 2002

September 21, 2002–November 30, 2002

Christmas Eve special, 2002

February 22, 2003–May 3, 2003

September 20, 2003–November 22, 2003

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## Parkinson, Michael (1935– )

British Television Personality, Host

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Michael Parkinson was the most successful of the British chat show hosts who proliferated in the 1970s and earned a lasting reputation as a viewers' favorite. He subsequently exploited his role in a variety of other television series.

A Yorkshireman to the core, Michael Parkinson started out as a newspaper journalist but later moved to Granada Television, where he worked on current affairs programs, and then to the BBC, where he joined the *24 Hours* team and also indulged his enduring love of sport, producing sports documentaries for London Weekend Television.

Priding himself on his Yorkshireman's "gift of the gab," he made his debut as a chat show host with his own *Parkinson* show in 1971. Broadcast every Saturday night for the next 11 years, the show became an institution and set the standard for all other television chat show hosts to meet. Relaxed, well groomed, and attentive to his guests' feelings, Parkinson nonetheless proved adept at getting the best out of the celebrities who were persuaded to come on the show, without causing offense. The questions he asked were often innocuous and served as invitations to the guest to assume the central role. The best interviews were with those who had a tale to tell and the confidence to tell it without much prodding from the host; Parkinson was sensible enough not to interrupt unless it was absolutely necessary. At the top of the list of dynamic guests Parkinson interviewed were Dr. Jacob Bronowski, Di-

ana Rigg, Shirley MacLaine, the muppet Miss Piggy, Dame Edith Evans, the inimitable raconteur Peter Ustinov, comedian Billy Connolly, and boxer Mohammad Ali, who responded magnificently to the geniality and flattery that the devoted Parkinson lavished on him.

If Parkinson took a personal dislike to a guest, he tried not to let it show (though viewers were quick to detect any animosity). Among those he later confessed to finding most difficult were comedian Kenneth Williams, who appeared a total of eight times on the show and was quick to use Parkinson as a verbal punching bag, and Rod Hull's Emu, the ventriloquist-dummy bird who wrestled an unusually disheveled Parkinson to the floor to the delight of the audience and the barely concealed fury of the host himself.

After the long run of *Parkinson* came to an end in the early 1980s, after 361 shows and 1,050 guests, Parkinson worked for a time as a chat show host on Australian television, then busied himself with helping to set up the troubled TV-AM organization in the United Kingdom in 1983. After the collapse of TV-AM, he returned to the roles of sportswriter, radio presenter, and host of a range of popular television shows, ranging from quizzes to the antiques program *Going for a Song*. In 1998 he revised his role as host of *Parkinson*, attracting return visits by many of the guests he had last interviewed in the 1970s and 1980s. The show continues to air Saturday nights at 10:30 on BBC 1.

DAVID PICKERING

**Michael Parkinson.** Born in Cudworth, Yorkshire, England, March 28, 1935. Attended Barnsley Grammar School. Married: Mary Heneghan; children: Andrew, Nicholas, and Michael. Began career as newspaper journalist, local papers and *The Guardian*, *The Daily Express*, and *The Sunday Times*; reporter and producer, Granada Television; executive producer and presenter, London Weekend Television, 1968; leading chat show host, from the 1970s; presented sporting documentaries among other programs; chat show host, Channel 10, Australia, 1979–84; director, Pavilion Books, 1980–97; cofounder, TV-AM, 1983; presenter, LBC Radio, 1990; revived popular *Parkinson* chat show, 1998. Recipient: Sports Feature Writer of the Year, 1995; Sony Radio Award, 1998; Sports Writer of the Year, 1998; Media Personality of the Year, Variety Club, 1998; Most Popular Talk Show, National TV Award, 1998, 1999; Best Light Entertainment, BAFTA, 1999; Media Society Award, 2000. Fellow, British Film Institute, 1998. Commander of the British Empire, 2000.

#### Television Series

1969–71	<i>Cinema</i>
1971	<i>Tea Break</i>
1971	<i>Where in the World</i>
1971	<i>The Movie Quiz</i>
1971–82	<i>Parkinson</i>
1979–84	<i>Parkinson in Australia</i>
1983–84	<i>Good Morning Britain</i>
1984–91	<i>Give Us a Clue</i>
1984–86	<i>All Star Secrets</i>
1987–88	<i>Parkinson One to One</i>
1991–92	<i>The Help Squad</i>

1993	<i>Surprise Party</i>
1995–99	<i>Going for a Song</i>
1998–	<i>Parkinson</i>

#### Television Specials

1981	<i>The Boys of '66</i>
1985	<i>The Skag Kids</i>
1992	<i>Ghostwatch</i>
1995	<i>A League Apart: 100 Years of Rugby League</i>

#### Radio

*Start the Week; Desert Island Discs*, 1986–888; *Parkinson on Sport*, 1994–97; *Parkinson's Sunday Supplement*, 1996–.

#### Publications

*Football Daft*, 1968  
*Cricket Mad*, 1969  
*A to Z of Soccer*, with Willis Hall, 1970  
*A Pictorial History of Westerns*, with Clyde Jeavons, 1972  
*Sporting Fever*, 1974  
*Football Classified*, with Willis Hall, 1974  
*Best: An Intimate Biography*, 1975  
*Bats in the Pavilion*, 1977  
*The Woofits' Day Out*, 1980  
*Parkinson's Lore*, 1981  
*The Best of Parkinson*, 1982  
*Sporting Lives*, 1996  
*Sporting Profiles*, 1996  
*Michael Parkinson on Golf*, 1999

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## Parliament, Coverage by Television

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At present almost 60 sovereign states provide some television coverage of parliamentary bodies. Among them are countries as diverse in political organization as Australia, Germany, and Japan, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia, China, Denmark, and Egypt. With varying allocations of control of the coverage between media entities and chamber officials, countries provide this form of televised information to citizens in response to three related perceptions on the part of governmental institutions: a lack of public familiarity with Parlia-

ment and its distinctness from the executive; a lack of public knowledge of citizenship; and the desire to form channels of communication between the public and politicians that can avoid the mediation of media owners and professionals.

In 1944 the British War Cabinet argued that "proceedings in Parliament were too technical to be understood by the ordinary listener who would be liable to get a quite false impression of the business transacted." It favored professional journalists as expert



Prime Minister Tony Blair.  
Photo courtesy of C-SPAN

mediators between public and politics. Winston Churchill regarded television as “a red conspiracy” because it had a robotic component that combined undifferentiated mass access with machinelike reproduction. But debates over televising proceedings in Britain were common from 1965, with 12 separate parliamentary proposals discussed between 1985 and 1988. Arguments for TV rested on the medium’s capacity both to involve the public in making politicians accountable and to involve politicians in making the public interested. Arguments against coverage centered on the intrusiveness of broadcasting equipment, the trivialization through editing of the circumstance and pomp integral to British politics, the undue attention to the major parties and to adversarial division that TV would encourage, and the concern that established procedures and conduct would change to suit television. Channel 4 screened a program called *Their Lordships’ House* from 1985. The Lower House rejected a proposal for coverage that year, but trial Commons telecasts commenced in late 1989, despite the then prime minister’s opposition. The public had become an audience that must be made into a citizen. Consider the position enunciated by contemporary British Conservative politician Norman St. John-Stevas: “To televise parliament would, at a stroke, restore any loss it has suffered to the new mass media as the political education of the nation.”

This was already a given elsewhere. In postwar Germany, televising the Bundestag was said to be critical for democratizing the public. Proceedings came to Netherlands television in 1962, via three types of coverage: live for topical issues, summaries of less important debates, and “flashes” on magazine programs. The

first years of the system saw considerable public disaffection because Members of Parliament (MPs) tended toward dormancy, absence, novel-reading, and jargon on-camera. Over time, MPs came to attend at the same time as producers, viewer familiarity with procedural norms grew, and ratings increased on occasions of moment. In France, it was two years after President Pompidou resignedly intoned that “Whether one likes it or not, television is regarded as the Voice of France” that a clutch of broadcasting reforms required certain stations to cover the National Assembly. It is no surprise, similarly, that during the extraordinary events in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1989, the opposition Civic Forum made the televising of Parliament one of its principal demands.

Sometimes such moves have amounted to a defensive reaction, at others to a positive innovation. The European Parliament was directly elected from 1979. It has used TV coverage for the past decade in search of attention and legitimacy. Recordings and live material are available to broadcasters without cost, to encourage a stronger image for the new Europe. Second-order coverage of the Parliament had always been minimal, due to lack of media interest, but it increased markedly with live TV material. The rules on coverage are more liberal than elsewhere, even encouraging reaction shots and film of the public gallery. When Ian Paisley, a Northern Ireland member, pushed in front of Margaret Thatcher to display a poster in 1986, and interrupted the pope’s speech in 1988, his demonstration was broadcast and made available on tape. One thinks here of the chariots that go into the Indian countryside with video recordings of political rallies and speeches to be shown on screens to five thousand at a sitting. Direct TV politics can be a special event. Uganda adopted color television to coincide with a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, and the first live broadcast of the Soviet Union’s new Congress of People’s Deputies in 1989 attracted a record 200 million viewers across a dozen time zones, a 25 percent increase on the previous figure. A side effect was assisting in the formation of a new image overseas. For American journalists, televising parliamentary sessions helped to bring the USSR into the field of political normalcy.

In the United States, despite the introduction of a bill in 1922 providing for electronic media coverage of Congress, with a trial the following year, there were no regular radio broadcasts of proceedings until the signing of the Panama Canal Treaties of 1978. The opening of the Eightieth Congress in 1947 was carried on television, but this was mostly proscribed until 1971. The major drive for change stemmed from the results of public opinion polls from the early 1970s suggesting

that politicians were held in low esteem. Regular closed-circuit trials were instituted in 1977. Following successful coverage of the Connecticut and Florida State legislatures, the House of Representatives allowed routine broadcasts from 1979. After extensive tests, the Senate agreed to the same in 1986. The service is available via Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN and C-SPAN2), which also broadcasts House and Senate committees, Prime Minister's Question Time from the British House of Commons, and an array of public-policy talkfests.

The political process has also been modified by the use made of new communications technologies, designed to break down mediation between politicians and publics in the United States. Direct contact between congresspeople and their constituents has positioned them at the leading edge of applications of cable, satellite, videocassette recording, and computer-aided interaction. Alaska, for example, has a Legislative Teleconferencing Network that permits committees to receive audio and computer messages from citizens. Ross Perot linked six U.S. cities by satellite in 1992 to convene a "nationwide electronic rally," a metonym for the "electronic town hall," which was to administer the country should he become president; he would debate policies with Congress and have citizens respond through modem or telephone.

The most spectacular recent examples of U.S. parliamentary coverage are the Senate Judiciary Committee's Judge Thomas confirmation hearing of 1991 and the appearance of Oliver North before a congressional committee in the 1987 hearings into funding the Contras in Nicaragua. The evidence about Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill was so "popular" that its competition, Minnesota versus Toronto, drew the lowest ratings ever for a baseball play-off. North's evidence had five times as many viewers as *General Hospital*, its closest daytime soap opera competitor. Most commentators on that hearing clearly read it intertextually, referring to acting, entertainment, and stars in their analysis. CBS actually juxtaposed images of North with Rambo and Dirty Harry, emphasizing the lone warrior against an establishment state that would not live up to its responsibilities. North assisted this process in his promise "to tell the truth, the good, the bad and the ugly." Much media attention was given to Reagan's words of admiration to North: "This is going to make a great movie one day." The reaction of the public was similarly remarkable. Polls that showed that years of government propaganda still found 70 percent of Americans opposed to funding the Contras saw a 20 percent switch in opinion after the hearings. Once the policy issue became personalized by North, and opposition to him could be construed as the work

of a repressive state, congressional television viewing became popular and influential.

Conversely, rules enunciated by the British Select Committee on Televising the Commons prohibit cut-away reaction shots, other than of those named in debate. Close-ups and shots of sleeping members are also proscribed. Disruptions lead to a cutaway to the Speaker. These restrictions persuaded Channel 4 to abandon plans for live telecasts, although the House decided to permit wide-angle shots in 1990 in order to increase the televisuality of the occasion. How should one read instructions that insist that: "Coverage should give an unvarnished account of the proceedings of the House, free of subjective commentary and editing techniques designed to produce entertainment rather than information"? Such a perspective contrasts starkly with the response to falling public interest in watching convention politics made by Roone Arledge, network news president of the American Broadcasting Company: "The two political parties should sit down on their own, or maybe with the networks, to come up with something more appealing to the American people."

For the most part, parliaments want to control coverage. Guidelines on the use of file footage of proceedings issued by Australia's Joint Committee on the Broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings, for example, are concerned about the unruly gazes of directors and publics. They insist on maintaining continuity, avoiding freeze frames, and receiving guarantees that material will not "be used for the purposes of satire or ridicule." After the first day of *Question Time TV* in Britain, a Conservative member stated that "some of the men—I happen to know—are carrying powder-puffs in their pockets to beautify their sallow complexions." And who can forget former U.S. House Speaker Tip O'Neill's sensational findings on TV coverage of Democratic and Republican Party conventions: "If a delegate was picking his nose, that's what you'd see. . . . No wonder so many of us were skittish"? Satire can never be kept far apart from pomposity.

TOBY MILLER

**See also British Programming; Hill-Thomas Hearings; Political Processes and Television; U.S. Congress and Television; U.S. Presidency and Television**

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## Partridge Family, The

### U.S. Situation/Domestic Comedy

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*The Partridge Family* was broadcast on ABC from 1970 to 1974. A modest ratings success, the show peaked at number 16 in the ratings for the 1971–72 season. Although *The Partridge Family* never attracted huge audiences, it was a major hit with younger viewers. The series was also distinguished for spawning highly successful, if short-lived, commercial tie-ins. Children's mystery books and comic books featured the Partridges; their musical albums were heavily promoted; and David Cassidy, one of the actors, became a teen idol.

The Partridges were a fatherless family of six who decided, in the premier episode, to form a rock band and tour the country in a psychedelically painted school bus. Most episodes began at the family home in California. Under the leadership of 1970s supermom Shirley Partridge (Shirley Jones), the five Partridge kids survived various capers that almost always culminated in successful concerts. Mom covered lead vocals. Teenage son Keith (David Cassidy) helped keep the family in line. Keith sometimes clashed with sister Laurie (Susan Dey), and everyone clashed with ten-year-old brother Danny (Danny Bonaduce), the freckle-faced drummer who was always looking for the big score. Danny's special nemesis was band manager Reuben Kinkaid (David Madden), an irritable man with a knack for getting the family into trouble when the plot needed fresh complications. Two younger Partridges, Chris and Tracy, rounded out the cast, along with a next-door neighbor, Ricky, and

Reuben's nephew Alan, who joined the show in 1973.

The show was not a sustained hit in syndication. During the 1990s, however, a retro vogue endowed *The Partridge Family* with minor cult status. With their shag hairdos, flair pants, and polyester outfits, the Partridges epitomized the early 1970s. MTV vee-jay Pagan Kennedy praised the show for having made rock 'n' roll culture seem both exciting and benign: "*The Partridge Family* took drug culture, made it square, and added kids. It was hipness for the under-10 crowd."

The dramatic formula of the show—something between *The Brady Bunch* and *Scooby Doo*—rarely receives scholarly attention. References occasionally note Shirley Partridge's status as a supermother in the Donna Reed mold. For the most part, the show is remembered for its successful commercial tie-ins. Several Partridge Family songs became genuine hits, including the theme, "Come On, Get Happy," and "I Think I Love You," which sold 4 million copies. On the Partridge Family albums, Jones and Cassidy sang their own parts, but studio artists supplied background vocals and music. The family never toured (since they did not play their own music), but Cassidy had a brief and wildly successful career as a pop singer. At the heights of his popularity, he could fill stadiums with prepubescent girls.

In 1973–74 *The Partridge Family* was switched from Friday nights to Saturday nights, opposite *All in the Family* and *Emergency*. The ratings quickly fell and the show was canceled before the next season. A





*The Partridge Family*, Susan Dey, David Cassidy, Dave Madden, Shirley Jones, Jeremy Gelbwaks, Danny Bonaduce, Suzanne Crough, 1970–74.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cartoon sequel, *Partridge Family: 2200 AD*, brought the Partridges back to life in space. The show played Saturday mornings for one season (1974–75), featuring voices from the prime-time cast.

J.B. BIRD

**Cast**

Shirley Partridge	Shirley Jones
Keith Partridge	David Cassidy
Laurie Partridge	Susan Dey
Danny Partridge	Danny Bonaduce
Christopher Partridge (1970–71)	Jeremy Gelbwaks
Christopher Partridge (1971–74)	Brian Forster
Tracy Partridge	Suzanne Crough
Reuben Kinkaid	David Madden
Ricky Stevens (1973–74)	Ricky Segall
Alan Kinkaid (1973–74)	Alan Bursky

**Producers**

Bob Claver, Paul Junger Witt, Mel Swope, William S. Bickley, Michael Warren

**Programming History**

96 episodes  
 ABC  
 September 1970–June 1973 Friday 8:30–9:00  
 June 1973–August 1974 Saturday 8:00–3:30

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## Pauley, Jane (1950– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Jane Pauley is best known as longtime morning broadcaster for NBC's *Today*, an NBC news reporter, and, most recently, as a cohost for NBC's popular news-magazine, *Dateline*. Her career began at the age of 21, when she was hired as daytime and weekend caster at WISH-TV in Indianapolis. Four years later she was appointed as the first woman to anchor the evening news at WMAQ, Chicago. Despite low ratings, Pauley was selected in 1976 to interview as a possible successor to Barbara Walters as Tom Brokaw's cohost on NBC's *Today*. Competing with well-known reporters Linda Ellerbee and Betty Rolin, Pauley was chosen for the position, shocking the industry and disappointing critics who found her too cheery, young, and pretty. Though fans embraced Pauley for these qualities, NBC News president Dick Wald defended Pauley's hire based on her poise and control. Her honest address and family commitment, radically different from the more reserved Diane Sawyer, made Pauley popular with female baby boomers. Pauley spent the next 13 years cohosting *Today*. Her team ushered the program past ABC's *Good Morning America*, to become the number one morning show in the United States.

When NBC hired Bryant Gumbel, a sportscaster with no news experience, to succeed Tom Brokaw as head anchor, a compliant Pauley remained in the co-anchor seat. Her career seemed to flounder further when renowned Washington reporters Chris Wallace and Judy Woodruff joined the morning group, pushing Pauley to the periphery. Finally, in 1989, NBC brought 31-year-old Debra Norville to the *Today* team, to attract a youthful audience. Sensing she would soon be replaced, Pauley threatened to break her \$1.2 million *Today* contract two years early, to which NBC responded with the offer of Pauley's own prime-time magazine show. Despite the fact that she had prevailed in a long, hard-nosed battle and achieved a notable appointment, the media cast Pauley as a spurned wife, to the mistress Norville. Nevertheless, Pauley departed gracefully with a sincere, on-air good-bye to Norville, leaving the show's ratings to tumble 22 percent during sweeps week, and ultimately losing its number one spot to *Good Morning, America*.

Following this media soap opera, Pauley herself became the news item of the day, appearing on talk

shows, featured in magazines and on *Life* magazine's cover, in December 1989, which proclaimed, "How Jane Pauley Got What She Wanted: Time for Her Kids, Prime Time for Herself." Pauley became deputy anchor to Tom Brokaw on the *NBC Nightly News*, and in 1989, her magazine pilot, *Changes*, received the highest ratings in its prime-time slot. Her subsequent 1991 show, *Real Life with Jane Pauley*, featuring human interest reports for her traditional audience, aired five successful summer segments. In pursuit of a broader audience, the magazine was revamped in 1992 as



Jane Pauley, *Dateline* NBC, November, 1998.  
©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Dateline NBC*, adding investigative reporting, and reporter Stone Philips aboard as cohost. *Dateline* suffered a huge press attack on its ethics when it was discovered that producers staged the explosion of a General Motors truck for an auto safety report; viewers, however, stayed tuned, and by 1995 *Dateline* was a consistent ratings winner.

By calling NBC's bluff, Pauley was catapulted to the ranks of other women investigative TV reporters such as Maria Shriver, Connie Chung, and Diane Sawyer. Nevertheless, Jane Pauley continues to be framed by the mass media and NBC as the maternal, baby-boom, career heroine of television news fame.

Pauley is a trustee of the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation and a fellow with the Society for Professional Journalists (SPJ).

PAULA GARDNER

**Jane Pauley.** Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, October 31, 1950. Educated at Indiana University, B.A. in political science 1971. Married: Gary Trudeau (*Dooneshury* cartoonist); three children. Began career as TV reporter, WISH-TV, Indianapolis, 1972–75; various positions as reporter and anchor with NBC News programs, since 1975. Recipient of numerous awards, including the Edward R. Murrow Award; multiple Emmy Awards; the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation's Leonard Zeidenberg First Amendment Award; and the first national Matrix Award from the Association for Women in Communications. Inducted into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame, 1998. Honorary de-

grees: DePauw University, Indiana University, Notre Dame University, Providence College.

### Television

1976– *NBC News* (correspondent)  
 1976–90 *Today* (correspondent),  
 1980–82 *NBC Nightly News* (reporter/principal writer)  
 1982–83 *Early Today* (coanchor)  
 1990– *NBC Nightly News* (substitute anchor)  
 1990–91 *Real Life with Jane Pauley* (principal correspondent)  
 1992– *Dateline NBC* (cohost)

### Publication

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### Further Reading

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 "Morning Becomes Pauley," *Broadcasting* (June 2, 1986)  
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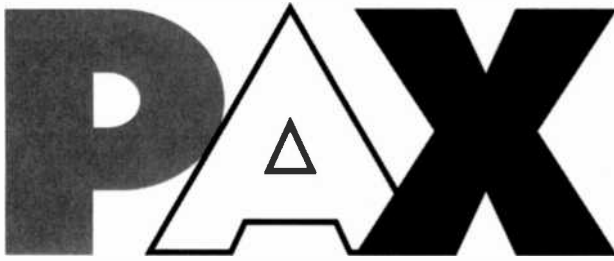
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## PAX Television

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PAX Television (also known as PAX-Net) was launched in 1998 by West Palm Beach, Florida, media magnate Christian Lowell White "Bud" Paxson. PAX-TV is now considered to be the seventh network (joining ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, UPN, and WB). Currently reaching 88 percent of Nielsen households, PAX is the largest owned and operated network of stations in the country. On basic cable PAX-TV reaches more homes than Lifetime, Turner Network Television, or USA Network. Previously the owner of cable television's Christian Network, The Home Shopping Network, and multiple radio stations, Bud Paxson conceived of PAX-TV as an "antinet network" that would chal-

lenge existing broadcasters in two central ways: PAX-TV would invert the traditional model of network-affiliate business practices; and it would depart from the "mainstream" in its network branding, programming, and audience address. PAX-TV's fairly rapid growth and gradually increasing ratings success was initially premised on these "antinet network" practices. However, by 2004, commitment to this corporate strategy had led to contentious struggles with business partners and legislators that suggested PAX-Net would have to reinvent itself to remain a force after the U.S. television industry's mandated transition to digital television in 2006.



Courtesy of Pax Television

The bulk of PAX stations are low-power, UHF outlets (only 4 of the network's 96 affiliates are VHF outlets). Each station has, typically, fewer than five personnel. No PAX station has a news division or produces its own local news. Essentially, each PAX station serves purely as a distribution site for national programming. The few staff members at each station are dedicated to local and regional advertising sales that form the majority of PAX-TV's revenue stream. In prime time, particularly, this emphasis raises the cost-per-point to an immensely profitable level that allows PAX to endure and prosper in spite of relatively low ratings compared with its competitors.

In terms of network identity and audience appeals, while most early press surrounding PAX-TV's emergence referred to it as a "Christian network," Paxson does not consider his stations to be explicitly Christian. Rather, Paxson, his executives, and network promotions and programming all posit PAX-Net as a national family network representing a nondenominational yet spiritually uplifting haven for viewers presumed to feel alienated by mainstream media. In this regard, the former chief executive officer, Jeff Sagansky, has described PAX-Net's brand as "upbeat, positive, family-friendly," characterized by "no sex, no violence, no profanity," and featuring "values-based spirituality" with "no cynicism."

In spite of its antinetwork focus, PAX-TV has succeeded largely due to strategic alliances with traditional networks that have allowed PAX to marshal capital, extend market penetration, and procure program product. PAX-TV started broadcasting in 1998 with programs that, while clearly fitting its professed brand ethic, were also almost exclusively former CBS program fare, particularly programming owned and distributed by CBS Films (a film production and distribution studio separate from though related to the CBS television network). Such programs included *Touched by an Angel* (which remains, at this writing, the most popular program on PAX network), *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*, *Diagnosis Murder*, *Christy*, *Dave's*

*World*, *Life Goes On*, and *Promised Land*. In its first year, PAX's entire weeknight prime-time schedule consisted of series that had aired or were concurrently airing on CBS (i.e., syndicated on PAX while in first run on CBS). Further, PAX-TV's day-to-day operations were overseen by former CBS Entertainment executive Jeff Sagansky (who resigned in August 2003 after five years at the helm). By the year 2000, PAX expanded its "PAX Originals" programming to include a range of original dramatic series and reality and game-show series. Examples include *Doc* (featuring country and western singer Billy Ray Cyrus as a country doctor transplanted to New York City), *The Ponderosa* (a prequel to *Bonanza*), *Miracle Pets*, *Twice in a Lifetime*, *Supermarket Sweep*, and *Next Big Star*. PAX currently features one or more original series six nights a week in prime time. The network also continues to program syndicated shows formerly on CBS, such as *Diagnosis Murder* and *Touched by an Angel*, as well as to rebroadcast programming that originated on NBC, including the game show *The Weakest Link* and the drama *Mysterious Ways*.

In relation to the growing "family values" media niche, PAX remains distinct because it is arguably more accessible to interested viewers than family-oriented channels available only via cable or through a direct broadcast satellite dish. Unlike the family-oriented Hallmark Channel, or ABC Family and its sister network the Disney Channel, PAX stations remain available in most markets via traditional over-air broadcast delivery (though the quality of these signals is often compromised due to their origination on UHF).

PAX's institutional growth and development largely was staked on provisions of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The Telecommunication Act's significance for PAX-Net was twofold: it upheld must-carry rules that require cable franchises to carry all local broadcast channels, including the low-power UHF stations that make up the 92 of the 96 stations in the PAX network chain. This provided PAX-TV with a much larger start-up audience than it might have otherwise been able to attract. The 1996 Act also relaxed restrictions that limited the number and types of local stations individual companies could own which enabled the development of duopolies in major television markets. In 1999 this enabled Paxson to sell 32 percent of his company to NBC at a cost of \$415 million. The terms of the NBC-PAX partnership gave NBC the option to purchase PAX television stations as well as first-refusal rights on sales of PAX-TV stations located in the top-70 U.S. television markets. Paxson retained the option to buy out the cash value of NBC's ownership stake as of September 2004. The PAX-NBC partnership was originally designed to allow the networks

to share programming and to enable programs preempted by local NBC affiliates to be aired within that same market on PAX. In most markets, PAX affiliates also "repurpose" or rerun the local NBC affiliate's local late newscast, a half hour after its first airing on NBC. And yet recent FCC rules changes, proposed legislation regarding UHF spectrum auctions, and PAX-Net's professed "family values" orientation have led to uneasy relations with media industry critics, some legislators, and strained relations with NBC.

Initially, PAX-TV's start-up was marred by an uproar over its explicitly conservative promotions in major news and television industry trade papers condemning the major networks for "promoting 'alternative lifestyles'"—a phrase often invoked in the press to refer to gay and lesbian populations. Later, PAX battled NBC over its Memphis station's refusal to broadcast *Will & Grace* (a program that features two homosexual characters in its ensemble cast) because of PAX executives' perceptions that the highly rated NBC program conflicted with PAX's family-friendly programming mission. Because local Memphis affiliate WMC-TV was contractually obligated to carry a Memphis Grizzlies basketball game, Memphis's PAX affiliate, WPXX, was slated to air NBC's entire Thursday night lineup that night. WPXX agreed to air only the first and last hour of the prime-time bloc, thus excising *Will & Grace* and *Just Shoot Me* from the Memphis market area.

More recently, the PAX-NBC partnership has been jeopardized by NBC's purchase of the Spanish-language network Telemundo. While Bud Paxson entered into the NBC partnership with hopes that PAX-Net would one day be a full-fledged member of the NBC network "family," he has stated that NBC's acquisition of Telemundo suggested NBC's lack of commitment to PAX on three fronts: the potential pur-

chase by NBC of PAX stations; NBC's commitment to strengthen PAX's business; and as regards the development of shared NBC-PAX programming. As ownership rules restrict operation of more than two stations in major markets, PAX-Net affiliates were now placed at risk in cities such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Miami, where NBC and Telemundo both have a strong presence. Finally, pending legislation proposed by the George W. Bush White House—in anticipation of U.S. TV's transition from analog to digital—would require clearing television broadcasters from channels 60 to 69 to be auctioned for wireless radio use. This would have a potentially devastating impact on PAX because over 17 percent of its network affiliates are located in the UHF spectrum at channel 60 or above. As of fall 2003, the PAX-Net station group was opening discussion with potential buyers in anticipation of the likely conclusion of its partnership with NBC, set for renegotiation in 2004 (at which point Paxson has the option to buy out NBC's large stake in his network).

VICTORIA E. JOHNSON

*See also Religion on Television; Touched by an Angel*

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## Pay Cable

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Pay or premium cable is a cable television service that supplements the basic cable service. Most cable system operators carry one or more pay-cable services (called "multipay") on their systems and make them available to customers for a monthly fee that is added to the basic fee. Cable customers who choose not to subscribe to pay cable receive a scrambled signal on

the pay-cable channel or channels. The monthly payable fee is subject to unit discounts whenever a customer subscribes to two or more pay-cable services.

Pay-per-view (PPV) and video-on-demand (VOD) are two additional forms of pay cable that require cable television customers to pay for individual programs rather than a program package. PPV customers order

movies, sports, or other event programs from their cable system and view the programming at a time determined either by the system operator or the event scheduler. VOD customers, via a more sophisticated digital delivery technology than is required for PPV, are able to order recorded programming for viewing at a time determined by the customers themselves. The cable customer's monthly bill reflects the total cost of each PPV and/or VOD program or event viewed during the preceding month.

Subscription video-on-demand (SVOD) is yet another kind of pay-cable service that several cable systems were providing customers by late 2001. SVOD could best be described as a hybrid of pay cable and VOD whereby a cable customer pays a monthly fee (about \$10 in 2001 figures) to access selections from the SVOD program library for viewing at a time convenient to the customer. The same digital delivery technology required for VOD also is required for SVOD.

Since pay-cable services are supported by subscriber fees, they carry no commercials. Pay-cable programmers usually schedule programs that are unique and that may never be seen on basic cable or broadcast television. These include sports events; musical concerts; first-run, uncut movies; and program series produced by or for a particular pay-cable service. Some movies carried on pay cable are especially produced by the pay-cable service; others were released originally for theatrical viewing prior to their availability for a pay-cable audience.

Some 48 million U.S. households (accounting for nearly 72 percent of all cable television households in the United States) subscribed to a pay-cable service by early 2001. Pay-cable subscribers typically pay about \$10 per month (in 2001 figures) above their basic cable service charge. Any cost figure above or below the average depends on the total number of pay-cable services in the subscriber's package and the package discount allowed by the subscriber's cable system operator. The operator keeps approximately 50 percent of the fees collected from pay-cable subscribers. The other 50 percent goes to the company or companies originating the pay-cable service.

Pay cable predates the cable industry by several years. The first known pay television or subscription television (STV) service in the United States was a short-lived experimental effort by Zenith Radio Corporation in 1951 called Phonevision. During its 90-day life span, Phonevision offered daily movies carried by a special telephone line to some 300 Chicago households. Two other experimental STV services, one in New York City and one in Los Angeles, followed the Phonevision lead in 1951 but met with a similar fate.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) enacted rules in 1957 that severely limited STV program acquisition. The rules prevented STV from "siphoning" movies and special events such as sports from "free" television to pay television. In 1969 FCC rules were revised to limit any STV service to a single channel, available only in communities already served by at least five commercial television stations. Such restrictions for STV and, by then, pay cable were eliminated by a 1977 U.S. Court of Appeals decision that declared that the FCC's pay television rules infringed on the cable television industry's First Amendment rights.

The court of appeals decision was especially important to the Home Box Office (HBO) pay-cable service. The idea behind HBO was conceived by Charles F. Dolan. Financial assistance from Time-Life Cable to launch HBO was followed by agreements with Madison Square Garden and Universal Pictures allowing HBO to carry live sports events and recent movies. HBO was launched on November 8, 1972, providing pay-cable programming (a professional hockey game and a movie) to 365 Service Electric Cable subscribers in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. In less than one year, HBO's service was carried by 14 cable television systems to more than 8,000 cable customers.

New ground was broken in pay-cable distribution in 1975, when HBO first carried its service via satellite to UA Columbia Cablevision subscribers in Fort Pierce and Vero Beach, Florida, and to American Television and Communications Corporation subscribers in Jackson, Mississippi. The first satellite distributed (via RCA's Satcom) pay-cable programming was the Muhammad Ali-Joe Frazier championship boxing match from Manila. A nationally distributed pay-cable network was in the making but would not be a reality until HBO managed to convince prospective cable system affiliates to spend nearly \$100,000 to purchase the necessary satellite receiving dish and accompanying hardware.

By 2001, 30 companies had launched national pay-cable services in the United States. HBO remained the largest, with 33 million subscribers receiving the service from more than 9,300 cable systems. In 2001 other leading national pay-cable services (with subscribership numbers that exceeded 1 million) were Cinemax, Showtime, the Movie Channel, Encore, Starz, and the Sundance Channel. One regional pay-cable service, The New England Sports Network, was carried by 169 cable systems and reached some 1.5 million subscribers in 2001. Several national pay-cable services also had subdivided themselves by 2001 in order to serve a more specific group of viewers. For example, HBO provided programming via the HBO Family and HBO Latino channels

Since their inception pay-cable services have struggled to satisfy subscribers, who frequently choose to disconnect from pay cable after a brief sampling period. According to surveys of subscribers, such "churn" occurs because low-quality movies are repeated too often, making pay cable a poor entertainment value.

The pay-cable industry is at a disadvantage in combating this criticism because of the preference (based on financial considerations) that the movie industry has for pay cable's chief rival—home video. Production companies whose movies score particularly well at the box office generally follow the movies' theatrical run by release to the home video market. The movies are then available for rental or purchase on videocassettes and DVDs and sometimes may be released to air on PPV cable services several weeks or months before they appear on pay cable. Pay-cable services that are best able to compete with home video in coming years may be those that have the financial resources to produce their own movies and original series.

Pay cable has therefore focused greater attention in recent years on airing original programming. HBO, in particular, has achieved critical success with such program series as *The Sopranos* and *Sex and the City*. Several pay-cable services have turned to boxing as the most popular choice for their sports-minded viewers. Also, many pay-cable services have begun airing a

heavier schedule of programs during late evening hours aimed primarily at adult viewers.

RONALD GARAY

**See also Cable Networks; Pay-per-View Cable; Pay Television; United States: Cable**

### Further Reading

Note: *Broadcasting and Cable* (a weekly), *Multichannel News* (a biweekly), and *Cablecasting* (a monthly) carry numerous articles and updated statistics regarding all facets of the cable TV industry.

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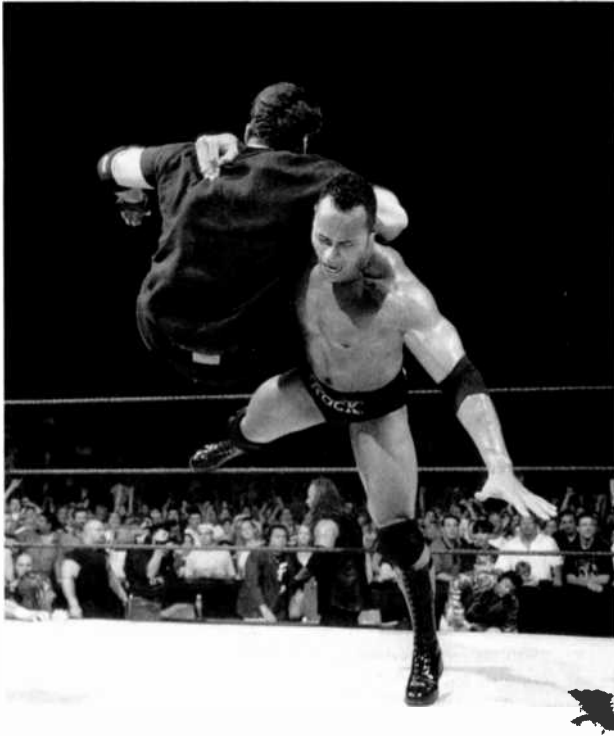
## Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand

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Pay-per-view (PPV) is a pay-cable offshoot that allows cable television subscribers to access movies and special one-time-only events and to pay a preannounced fee only for the single movie or event viewed. Most cable system operators offer two or more PPV channels to their customers. The signal on each PPV channel is scrambled until the cable subscriber chooses to view programming on one of the channels. At such time, the subscriber contacts the cable system headend, either by phone or with an interactive handheld remote control, to order the PPV programming. Following the initial order, a computer at the headend activates a device near the subscriber's television set called an "addressable converter," which unscrambles the ordered PPV program signal for the program's duration. All PPV "buys" are totaled by computer and added to the cable subscriber's monthly bill.

Video-on-demand (VOD) is a relatively new program-delivery service akin to PPV. VOD allows cable customers equipped with addressable converters to order recorded programming whose start time can be determined by the customers themselves. An array of program titles are digitally stored in a server located at the cable system headend and distributed to cable customers as ordered. Billing procedures for VOD buys is the same as that for PPV buys.

The history of PPV and pay cable shared a parallel course until 1974, when Coaxial Communication inaugurated the first true PPV service in Columbus, Ohio. The service, called Telecinema, provided movies priced at \$2.50 per title. Telecinema shortly succumbed to pay cable's better revenue stream. Warner Cable introduced Columbus to another short-lived PPV service via its interactive QUBE system in 1978.



Pay-per-view event, *WWF Smackdown*, Vince McMahon, The Rock (aka Dwayne Johnson).  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Not until late 1985 did two satellite-distributed national PPV services appear. Viewer's Choice was launched on November 26, 1985, and Request Television was launched a day later. By 2001, 13 PPV networks were in operation in the United States. The In Demand network led its competitors in cable-system carriage as well as subscriber potential. More than 1,750 systems carried In Demand to over 24 million addressable subscriber households. By 2000, in the United States there were more than 52 million addressable cable households (75 percent of all cable households) capable of receiving PPV programming. VOD deployment was just beginning to gather steam at the beginning of the 21st century. By the end of 2001, some 36 VOD services were either operating or preparing for launch. In all, these services were meant to reach more than 6 million cable households.

PPV programming falls into two broad categories: movies and events. Movies occupy most PPV network schedules. However, following their initial theatrical run, most movies that perform well at the box office are released to home video before they are accessible through PPV. Only after videocassette or DVD versions of the movies have been available for rental or

purchase for a period (called a "window") ranging from 30 to 90 days are they then available for PPV. VOD programming also consists primarily of movies, with a growing number of customers—PPV and VOD alike—preferring adult (i.e., sexually explicit) movies and associated adult fare such as "call-in" programs.

The PPV event category may be subdivided primarily into sports and concerts. Sports, especially professional boxing and wrestling, occupies a commanding share of the category. Professional baseball, football, basketball, and hockey, as well as several college football teams, all make some of their games available to PPV subscribers.

Pricing PPV events is a matter of what the market will bear. In 2001 PPV prices for professional boxing matches ranged from \$40 to \$50. Rock concerts and other musical events during the same period ranged in price from \$10 to \$20. Movies generally cost between \$3 and \$4 per title. It is risky to predict what PPV subscribers will pay for an event and what the buy rate (the percentage of PPV subscribers who choose to buy a movie or event) might be. For instance, NBC bet that 5 million subscribers would pay between \$95 and \$170 apiece for access to daily live events of the 1992 Summer Olympics from Barcelona. The so-called Triplecast—for the three PPV channels that carried the events—proved a failure, however, and NBC eventually tallied its Triplecast loss at nearly \$100 million.

Apart from such failures as the Triplecast, PPV revenues have continued to rise. PPV revenues for 2000 stood at more than \$2 billion. Most of that revenue came from the purchase of movies, but roughly one-fifth was generated by sports and musical events and another one-fifth was generated by adult movies and associated programming. Wrestling events such as "Wrestlemania" led other sports events in total buy rates. Also, cable system operators were finding that in terms of adult PPV services, the more explicit the content, the higher the buy rate. Buy rates for VOD customers were highest (roughly 70 percent) in the hit movie category. About 20 percent of VOD buys were in the adult programming category. Program buying characteristics that were emerging in 2001 showed that fewer than 20 percent of PPV customers accounted for nearly 80 percent of all PPV buys, and the buy rate for VOD movies was nearly triple that of PPV movies.

The success of PPV cable has been and continues to be a function of promotion. One cable executive labeled PPV a "marketing-intensive business" that relies on an "impulse buy" strategy to attract subscribers. The PPV industry's future appears firmly in place, however, with predictions that nearly one-quarter of the 500-channel cable system of tomorrow will be occupied by PPV program networks.



VOD was still a relatively new service at the beginning of the 21st century. Nonetheless, cable system operators were hoping that customer embrace of VOD would help build digital-cable penetration, which had reached nearly 14 million households (accounting for roughly 20 percent of all U.S. cable households) by the end of 2001. Cable operators also were counting on VOD to help stem the number of persons who were choosing direct broadcast satellite (DBS) services over cable. By the end of 2001, new DBS subscribers led new cable subscribers by a 3-to-1 ratio. Another delivery system that stood poised to compete with cable was computer-based streaming video. A service launched by Microsoft in late 2001 provided its high-speed Internet customers in selected markets with the opportunity to download VOD movies at a cost comparable to that charged for video rentals. However, any advantage that one delivery system might have over another eventually may depend less on technology than on the deals that VOD providers make with movie producers for their product.

RONALD GARAY

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## Pay Television

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Advertiser support has been the foundation for American broadcast television since the industry's beginnings. It is worth noting, however, that many experiments with direct viewer payment for television programs also have taken place throughout television history. The idea for pay television (also known variously as "toll" or "subscription" television) actually dates to television experiments of the 1920s and 1930s (at which point the method of financing a national television system had not yet been determined) and can be traced through various developmental stages leading up to modern satellite-carried pay-cable program services.

Many pay-TV systems have been proposed over the years. Some have been designed to transmit programming to subscribers' homes over the air, typically on underutilized UHF frequencies. Other systems have been designed to transmit by wire, sometimes wires shared by community antenna or cable TV systems. Various methods have been tested for ordering pay-TV programming and unscrambling the electronic signals.

Until the proliferation of modern satellite-delivered pay program services (both pay-cable and direct satellite), only a small portion of the many planned pay-TV

systems ever reached the experimentation stage. Fewer still were used commercially. Economics certainly have had an impact on the fortunes of pay-TV, as has the recurring hesitation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to approve the systems. Even when the commission actually granted permission for testing, final approval for commercial use tended to take many years. Furthermore, no fewer than six major FCC rulings on pay-TV have been handed down over the years, only to be amended in subsequent decisions. Regulators have been aware of ongoing opposition to the various forms of pay-TV on the part of commercial broadcasters and networks, movie theater owners, citizens groups, and other constituencies.

In 1949 Zenith Radio Corporation petitioned the FCC for permission to test an over-the-air pay system called Phonevision. The test was run over a period of 90 days in 1951 with a group of 300 households in Chicago. Phonevision was a system of pay television that used telephone lines for both program ordering and decoding of its scrambled broadcast signal.

In 1953 Skiatron Electronics and Television Corporation tested a different over-the-air system, "Subscriber-Vision," that used IBM punch cards for

billing and unscrambling. The programming was transmitted on New York independent station WOR during off-hours.

Also in 1953 the International Telemeter Corporation, partly owned by Paramount Pictures, launched a combination community antenna/wired pay-TV operation in Palm Springs, California. Broadcast signals from Los Angeles were delivered without charge, and subscribers paid for additional programming through coin boxes attached to their television sets. This system lasted through 1955.

The Telemovies system was launched in 1957 in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, by Video Independent Theatres (VIT). Telemovies offered a first-run movie channel and a rerun movie channel. The movies originated from a downtown studio and, in the case of the first-run selections, were shown concurrently in VIT's local movie theaters. Telemovies charged a flat monthly rate rather than a per-program fee. After undergoing several changes, including the addition of community antenna service, the system ceased operations in summer 1958.

In the late 1950s, in the wake of the much-publicized failure of the Bartlesville system, International Telemeter announced its latest coin-box system—designed to use either wires or broadcast signals to transmit programming. The site chosen for a test of a wired version of the system was Etobicoke, Ontario, a suburb of Toronto, under the auspices of Paramount's Canadian movie theater subsidiary. Service began there on February 26, 1960, with 1,000 subscribers, and continued through 1965.

On June 29, 1962, two years after its petition for an experimental license had been filed with the FCC, a Phonevision system was launched in Hartford, Connecticut. By this point, Phonevision had become a joint venture between RKO and Zenith. Phonevision programming was broadcast on WHCT, a UHF station licensed specifically for the Phonevision trial. Although it never made a profit, the Hartford experiment ran through January 31, 1969, and the system won FCC approval for nationwide use in 1970.

Subscription Television Inc. (STV) was launched in July 1964 and continued through November of that year—a short-lived but nonetheless highly touted pay-TV system. STV was the heir (through a complicated series of stock transactions) to Skiatron's over-the-air system. The two major figures behind STV were Skiatron's Matthew Fox and former adman and NBC executive Sylvester L. (Pat) Weaver. STV had built wire networks in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the company planned eventually to wire major cities as well as to incorporate existing CATV systems. Although STV's three channels offered a mixture of

sports, movies, children's programs, and theatrical performances (typical of most pay-TV systems), it was baseball that provided the foundation for its programming.

Both wired and over-the-air pay-TV systems were launched in the 1970s. In 1977 over-the-air systems were started in Newark, New Jersey, by Wometco-Blonder-Tongue (over station WWHT) and in Corona (Los Angeles), California, by Chartwell Communications (over station KBSC). By 1980, 8 others were in operation, with an additional 16 stations authorized and ready to launch. These over-the-air systems were developing concurrently with satellite-delivered cable program services, however, and were not able to compete with the wired medium once it became available in major urban areas.

By the early 1970s cable had become the preferred vehicle for pay television, with most start-up pay ventures seeking to run their services on local cable systems. Since the early 1950s cable operators had been experimenting with channels of locally originated programming for their systems. While not directly a form of pay-TV, these experiments suggested the possibility that cable could offer more than simply retransmitted broadcast signals—a potential not lost on pay-TV entrepreneurs.

The most notable early pay-cable operation was Home Box Office, which launched in 1972 by providing cable systems with pay programming via microwave relays in the northeastern United States. When HBO took its program service to satellite in 1975, it gained the potential to reach virtually any cable system in the United States. Other pay-cable program services were to follow, including Showtime, the Movie Channel, and others.

During the 1990s cable began to face serious competition from direct broadcast satellite technology. As the new delivery technology began enticing consumers with multiple premium and pay-per-view services, traditional cable also began to make multiple versions of popular premium channels available—aided by the increased use of fiber optics and digital compression.

Pay-cable's programming has developed as well. In the early 2000s, premium cable channels such as HBO and Showtime boast some of television's most highly acclaimed programming. In addition to made-for-cable movies, this includes original series such as *Oz*, *Sex and the City*, and *The Sopranos* on HBO, and *Queer As Folk* on Showtime.

MEGAN MULLEN

**See also Cable Networks: Home Box Office (HBO); Pay-per-View Cable; Showtime Network; United States: Cable**

### Further Reading

Note: *Broadcasting and Cable* (a weekly), *Multichannel News* (a biweekly), and *Cablecasting* (a monthly) carry numerous articles and updated statistics regarding all facets of the cable TV industry.

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## Peck, Bob (1945–1999)

### British Actor

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The British actor Bob Peck shot to television stardom in 1986 in the acclaimed BBC drama serial, *Edge of Darkness*. His performance as the dour Yorkshire policeman Ronald Craven, inexorably drawn by his daughter's sudden and violent death into a passionate quest for the truth behind a series of incidents in a nuclear processing facility, won him Best Actor Awards from the Broadcasting Press Guild and the British Academy of Film and Television, as well as establishing an image of brooding diffidence that was to set the seal on a number of subsequent roles. His aquiline, yet disconcertingly ordinary, countenance was to become familiar to television audiences even if his name did not always spring to mind. Following the success of *Edge of Darkness*, and particularly toward the end of his life, Peck was much in demand for voice-overs and documentaries, to which his distinctive bass tones lent a potent mixture of assurance and mystery, as well as an association with the integrity of purpose that characterized his performance as Craven. Success in *Edge of Darkness* also brought him film roles, notably in the British productions *The Kitchen Toto* and *On the Black Hill* in 1987, then, most famously, as the doomed game warden Muldoon in *Jurassic Park* (1993).

Peck received no formal training as an actor but studied art and design at Leeds College of Art, where, in an amateur dramatic company, he was spotted by the writer-director Alan Ayckbourn, who recruited Peck to his new theater company in Scarborough. After stints in the West End and regional repertory, Peck joined the Royal Shakespeare Company, where he stayed for nine years, playing a wide range of parts in classical and contemporary work. One of his final appearances for the company was in the double role of John Browdie and Sir Mulberry Hawke in the epic dramatization of *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, subsequently televised on Channel 4 in

1982. Along with Anthony Sher, Bernard Hill, and Richard Griffiths, Peck was one of a number of established stage actors in the early 1980s to be brought into television for roles in major new drama serials by BBC producer Michael Wearing.

Peck's performance in *Edge of Darkness* embodied the paradox that is at the heart of the drama. Just as the labyrinthine plot remorselessly exposed the apocalyptic vision behind a veneer of English restraint, so Craven was depicted as a detached loner, whose mundane ordinariness hid long-repressed emotions and whose enigmatic composure exploded into bursts of grief, passion, and—in the closing moments—primal anguish. In this sense, Peck's was also a performance that, like other work of this period (such as Hill's Yosser Hughes in *Boys from the Blackstuff*), brought to the surface the expressionistic subcurrents of a new wave of British television drama realism. Peck was cast as Craven partly because an unknown actor was wanted for the role and because it was written for a Yorkshireman, yet there are mystic and mythic elements in the quest conducted by this seemingly ordinary character that ultimately assume epic proportions. The plot called for long sequences of physical activity and energy, but Peck's real achievement was a granite-like impassivity that just managed to hold back the pain and possible madness behind the character's stoic endurance. This tension was cleverly offset by the puckish outlandishness of Joe Don Baker's performance as the CIA agent Jedburgh.

The figure of Craven was partly reprised in the serial *Natural Lies* (BBC, 1992), where Peck played an advertising executive, Andrew Fell, accidentally stumbling across a conspiracy to cover up a BSE-like scare in the British food industry. In *Centrepiece* (Channel 4, 1992), another dystopian drama, Peck played Armstrong, a surveillance expert, this time with far-right

security connections. In a serialization of Catherine Cookson's *The Black Velvet Gown* (Tyne Tees, 1991), Peck brought his brooding presence to the role of the reclusive former teacher Percival Miller. He also played a real-life police officer in the drama-documentary *Who Bombed Birmingham?* (1990); a member of the Securitate state police in a semifictional account of the Romanian revolution, *Shoot the Revolution* (1990); and the role of the detective sergeant in the psychological crime thriller *The Scold's Bridle* (1998).

Peck's range, however, was wider than the image of the tormented hard man might suggest. Perhaps his most highly acclaimed performance after *Edge of Darkness* was as the mild-mannered, accident-prone academic James Westgate, who falls victim to his childhood sweetheart's psychopathic desires, in Simon Gray's Prix Italia-winning television play *After Pilkington* (BBC, 1987). Like many actors of his generation, Peck also was able to bring his stage experience to bear on a variety of classical roles, from Gradgrind in the BBC serialization of *Hard Times* (1994) and Shylock in a Channel 4 production of *The Merchant of Venice* (1996) to Nicias in *The War That Never Ends* (BBC, 1991)—a drama-documentary account of the Peloponnesian Wars written by former Royal Shakespeare Company director John Barton—and Dante in Peter Greenaway and Tom Phillips's *A TV Dante: The Inferno Cantos I-VIII* (Channel 4, 1989).

In the stage play *In Lambeth*, transposed to television in 1993, Peck played the role of Thomas Paine in an imaginary encounter with the poet William Blake, and, in the same year, he renewed his relationship with the work of Edward Bond in Bond's play for the *Crime and Punishment* season, *Tuesday* (1993). "It's nice to be able to sympathize with what you're having to say," Peck remarked when playing Paine. Much of his later voice-over work, from ecological series to documentaries on Britain's clandestine support for Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War or the sugar trade in the Dominican Republic, reflected that quiet social commitment. Peck's last work for television was in two British/Russian animated programs, as the voice of Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* and Joseph of Arimathea in *The Miracle Worker*.

JEREMY RIDGMAN

**Bob (Robert) Peck.** Born in Leeds, England, August 23, 1945. Educated at Leeds College of Art, diploma in Art and Design, 1967. Married: Gillian Mary Baker, 1982; children: Hannah Louise and George Edward. Member of repertory theaters in Birmingham, Scarborough, and Exeter, 1969–74; Royal Shakespeare Company, 1975–84; appeared in numerous television

programs and films, from 1974. Recipient: Broadcasting Press Guild Award; BAFTA Award. Died in London, April 4, 1999.

#### Television Series (selected)

- 1982 *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*
- 1984 *Birds of Prey II*
- 1985 *Edge of Darkness*
- 1991 *The Black Velvet Gown*
- 1992 *Natural Lies*
- 1992 *Centrepont*
- 1992 *Children of the Dragon*
- 1994 *Hard Times*
- 1998 *The Scold's Bridle*

#### Television Plays (selected)

- 1974 *Sunset across the Bay*
- 1979 *Macbeth*
- 1981 *Bavarian Knight*
- 1986 *The Disputation*
- 1986 *After Pilkington*
- 1989 *One Way Out*
- 1989 *A TV Dante: The Inferno Cantos I–VIII*
- 1990 *Shoot the Revolution*
- 1990 *Who Bombed Birmingham?*
- 1990 *Screen Two: "Children Crossing"*
- 1991 *The Prodigal Son*
- 1991 *The War That Never Ends*
- 1992 *An Ungentlemanly Act*
- 1993 *Tuesday*
- 1993 *In Lambeth*
- 1996 *The Merchant of Venice*
- 1997 *Deadly Summer*
- 1997 *Hospital*
- 1998 *The Canterbury Tales* (voice)
- 2000 *The Miracle Worker* (voice)

#### Television Documentary

- 1991 *Beside Franco in Spain* (Timewatch)

#### Films

*Royal Flash*, 1975; *Parker*, 1985; *On the Black Hill*, 1987; *The Kitchen Toto*, 1987; *Slipstream*, 1989; *Ladder of Swords*, 1989; *Lord of the Flies*, 1990; *Hard Times*, 1991; *Jurassic Park*, 1993; *Surviving Picasso*, 1996; *Fairytale: A True Story*, 1997; *Smilla's Sense of Snow*, 1997.

#### Stage

*Life Class*, 1974; *Henry IV, Parts One and Two*, 1975–76; *King Lear*, 1976; *A Winter's Tale*, 1976;

*Man Is Man*, 1976; *Destiny*, 1976–77; *Schweyk in the Second World War*, 1976–77; *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1977; *Macbeth*, 1976–78, 1983; *Bandits*, 1977; *The Bundle*, 1977; *The Days of the Commune*, 1977; *The Way of the World*, 1978; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1978; *Cymbeline*, 1979; *Othello*, 1979;

*The Three Sisters*, 1979; *The Accrington Pals*, 1981; *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, 1981; *Anthony and Cleopatra*, 1983; *The Tempest*, 1983; *Maydays*, 1983; *A Chorus of Disapproval*, 1985; *The Road to Mecca*, 1985; *In Lambeth*, 1989; *The Price*, 1990; *Rutherford and Son*, 1995.

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## Pee-wee's Playhouse

### U.S. Children's Program

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*Pee-wee's Playhouse*, a half-hour CBS-TV Saturday morning live-action "children's show," aired from 1986 until 1991 and was enormously popular with both children and adults. The program won six Emmy Awards and a host of other accolades during its first season. Incorporating clips from vintage cartoons and old educational films, newly produced 3-D animation, hand puppets, marionettes, and a cast of endearingly eccentric characters led by a gray-suited and red-bow-tied Pee-wee Herman (Paul Reubens), *Pee-wee's Playhouse* might best be described as a flamboyant takeoff on the genre of children's educational TV—a sort of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* meets MTV. Each week the childlike Pee-wee welcomed viewers into his Technicolor fantasyland and led them through a regimen of crafts and games, cartoon clips, "secret words," and "educational" adventures via his Magic Screen. Yet, in stark contrast to the high moral seriousness of its predecessors, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was marked from its outset by a campy sensibility and frequent use of double entendre, allowing different types of viewers to enjoy the show in many different ways. As *The Hollywood Reporter* put it, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was "TV gone Dada... skillfully balanc[ing] the distinction between low-camp and high performance art."

Pee-wee Herman was the brainchild of Reubens, an actor who developed the rather nasal-voiced and somewhat bratty character through routines and skits in comedy clubs. Reubens as Pee-wee (the ruse was to present Pee-wee as a "real" person and not just a character) appeared on comedy and talk shows and in a successful Los Angeles theater production, *The Pee-wee Herman Show*, which quickly developed a cult following after it was taped and aired on Home Box Office. In 1985 the character starred in Tim Burton's debut feature film, *Pee-wee's Big Adventure*, and the

next year *Pee-wee's Playhouse* premiered on CBS. Based on *The Pee-wee Herman Show*, the Saturday morning series was considerably less "adult" than the theater piece had been, although it incorporated many of the same supporting characters, including lusty seaman Captain Carl (Phil Hartman in his pre-*Saturday Night Live* days) and the magical genie Jambi (co-writer John Paragon), the latter a disembodied head in a box who granted Pee-wee's wishes. Other (human) characters appearing on the TV show included Reba the mail lady (S. Epatha Merkerson), the pretty girl-next-door Miss Yvonne (Lynne Stewart), the King of Cartoons (William Marshall and Gilbert Lewis), Cowboy Curtis (Larry Fishburne), Tito the lifeguard (Roland Rodriguez), Ricardo the soccer player (Vic Trevino), and the obese Mrs. Steve (Shirley Stoler). Puppetry was employed to create the characters of bad-boy Randy, the Cowntess, Pteri the Pterodactyl, Conky the Robot, Globey the Globe, Chairy the Chair, and many others. Newly produced animated sequences focused on a young girl named Penny, a family of miniature dinosaurs who lived in the walls of the Playhouse, and a refrigerator full of anthropomorphized food. Music for the shows was provided by cutting-edge artists such as Mark Mothersbaugh, Todd Rundgren, Danny Elfman, and Van Dyke Parks. Dolls and toys of both Pee-wee and other Playhouse denizens were successfully marketed, and something of a Pee-wee craze spread through popular culture. Episodes of the series were aired in prime time in November of 1987, and another feature film, *Big Top Pee-wee*, was released in 1988. That same year *Pee-wee's Playhouse Christmas Special* aired in prime time, featuring most of the regular characters plus a plethora of special guest stars, including k.d. lang, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Little Richard, the Del Rubio Triplets, Cher, Grace Jones,



*Pee-wee's Playhouse*, Paul Reubens, Chairie, 1986–90.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Dinah Shore, Joan Rivers, Annette Funicello, and Frankie Avalon.

From its debut, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* attracted the attention of media theorists and critics, many of whom championed the show as a postmodernist collage of queer characters and situations that seemed to fly in the face of dominant racist, sexist, and heterosexist presumptions. (Some accounts of the show were less celebratory and criticized the show's regular use of comic fat women as sexist.) The show was forthrightly multicultural in cast and situation: the "mailman" was an African-American mail lady; Latino soccer player Ricardo often spoke Spanish without translation; the white Miss Yvonne went on a date with African-American Cowboy Curtis; tough-as-nails cab driver Dixie (Johann Carlo) was a possible lesbian; and Jambi was played as a dishy gay man. Pee-wee himself often poked fun at heterosexist conventions: he once "married" a bowl of fruit salad. The smirking irony, the campy double entendre ("Is that a wrench is your pocket?"), and the use of icons from gay and lesbian culture (perhaps most infamously on the Christmas special, which, aside from its guest stars, featured two muscular and shirtless workmen building a "blue boy" wing to the playhouse out of fruitcakes) furthered this interpretation. This apparent outbreak of playful queerness during the politically reactionary Reagan-Bush/Moral Majority years was a key factor in many adults' enjoyment of the show. Yet that same queerness lurked in the realm of connotation, where it was just as

easily ignored or dismissed by other, more mainstream critics. Some parents objected to the show's polymorphous and anarchic approach to childhood (encouraging children to "scream real loud" or jump around the house).

When Paul Reubens was arrested inside an adult movie theater in August 1991, the Pee-wee craze came to an abrupt end. The show was canceled, and in many toy stores Pee-wee merchandise was removed from the shelves. A few years later, Reubens as Pee-wee made an appearance at an MTV event, but it seemed as if his days as a television host of a "children's show" were over, despite the fact that his pre-(hetero)sexualized antics and progressive social attitude had captured the United States' imagination so strongly—for a few years, at least.

HARRY M. BENSHOFF

#### Cast

Pee-wee Herman	Paul Reubens
Miss Yvonne	Lynne Stewart
Dixie	Johann Carlo
King of Cartoons	Gilbert Lewis/William Marshall
Conky the Robot	Gregory Harrison
Reba	S. Epatha Merkerson
Jambi	John Paragon
Elvis	Shawn Weiss
Cher	Diane Yang
Opal	Natasha Lyonne
Captain Carl	Phil Hartman
Cowboy Curtis	Larry Fishburne
Tito	Roland Rodriguez
Ricardo	Vic Trevino
Mrs. Steve	Shirley Stoler

#### Programming History

CBS

September 1986–August 1991      Saturday mornings

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# Pennies from Heaven

## British Drama Series

*Pennies from Heaven*, a six-part drama series written by Dennis Potter, received great popular and critical acclaim, including the BAFTA Award for Outstanding Drama, when it was first transmitted on BBC TV in 1978. This was the first six-part drama by Potter after some 16 single television plays, and in its format and mixture of popular music and dance sequences, it anticipated such later works as *The Singing Detective* (1986) and *Lipstick on your Collar* (1993). Potter's ironic handling of music and dance in the television serial was a landmark in British television and his own career. He uses these forms of expression to both disrupt the naturalism of the narrative and to show unconscious desires of individuals and of society (the MGM feature film version failed to capture the seamless flow from conscious to unconscious desires, treated the story as a conventional musical, and was a flop).

The play tells the story of Arthur Parker, a sheet-music salesman in 1930s Britain who is frustrated by his frigid wife, Joan, and by the deafness of the shopkeepers to the beauty of the songs he sells. Although, as Potter has recalled, Arthur is "an adulterer, and a liar and was weak and cowardly and dishonest... he really wanted the world to be like the songs" (see Potter, 1993). When he falls in love with a young schoolteacher named Eileen, Arthur connects the beauty of the songs with his sexual longings. When she becomes pregnant, she has to abandon her schoolteaching career and flee to London, where she takes up prostitution to earn a living. After making contact with Arthur once more, she abandons her pimp, Arthur abandons Joan, and they set off for the country for a brief experience of happiness. The rural idyll is breached by two murders: Arthur is wrongly pursued for the rape and murder of a blind girl; while seeking a hideaway from pursuers, Eileen murders a threatening farmer. The two return to London where Arthur is apprehended, charged, and hanged for the blind girl's murder. Eileen, significantly, is not pursued.

The disturbing realities that punctuate the narrative (rape, murder, prostitution, the grinding poverty of the Depression era) are counterbalanced by the naive optimism of Arthur, expressed through the sentimental love songs of the period. Daydreams and reality are

constantly juxtaposed, but Potter does not provide easy evaluations. It is possible to laugh at the simplicity of Arthur's belief in the "truth" of the popular love songs he sells, but scorn the shallow cynicism of his salesmen companions. Arthur's naïveté has to be balanced against his duplicity: although he loves Eileen and promises to help her, he scribbles down a wrong address and creates enormous complications for them. Yet, however sentimental the songs are, they point to a world of desire that, in some form, human beings need and that is otherwise unrecognized in popular discourse. Although Potter used popular music and Busby Berkeley-type choreography, *Pennies* is not a conventional musical: the music is not contemporary and thus arrives with a freight of period nostalgia. Moreover, the music is dubbed and the actors lip-synch (on occasion across gender lines) so that the effect is comic or ironic as well as enticingly nostalgic.

If the songs and dance routines are used to express unconscious desires or those beyond the characters' ability to articulate, another device that provides access to the unconscious and interferes with any naturalistic reading is the use of doubles. Although physically and in terms of class distinctly different, Arthur and the accordion man, and Joan and Eileen, are potential versions of the same identity. While the accordion man is presumed to have raped and killed a blind girl (significantly, not shown), Arthur's barely suppressed wish to rape her shows his equivalence. Similarly, Joan and Eileen, though opposites in terms of sexual repression, share a similar shrewd awareness of social reality. The main difference is that Eileen is led to defy social conventions while Joan is content to work within them, recognizing their power. Arthur's limited understanding is compensated for by his naive passion for music and love, which offers a truth about how the world might be.

*Pennies from Heaven* can be seen as a development from the 1972 play *Follow the Yellow Brick Road*, in which the hero Jack Black, a television actor, shuns the real world in favor of the ideal world of television ads in which families are happy, the sun shines, and everybody is optimistic. The earlier play expresses a bleaker Manichean universe of good and evil, while the later work acknowledges the internal nature of good and



*Pennies from Heaven*, Bob Hoskins, 1978.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

evil and suggests the possibility of redemption, if not accommodation, between our lower and higher impulses. At a further remove, *Pennies from Heaven* can be seen to pick up the themes of the life-affirming power of transgressive behavior, and the comic/musical presentation of them, found in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728).

BRENDAN KENNY

See also *Potter, Dennis*; *Singing Detective*, *The*

**Cast**

Arthur Parker  
 Eileen Everson  
 Joan Parker  
 Accordion Man  
 Mr. Warner  
 Tom Hywel  
 Major Archibald Paxville  
 Police Inspector

Bob Hoskins  
 Cheryl Campbell  
 Gemma Craven  
 Kenneth Colley  
 Freddie Jones  
 Bennett  
 Ronald Fraser  
 Dave King

Sergeant	John Ringham
Conrad Baker	Nigel Havers
Bank Manager	Peter Cellier
Marjorie	Rosemary Martin
Barrett	Arnold Peters
Dave	Philip Jackson
Irene	Jenny Logan
Maurice	Spencer Banks
Dad	Michael Bilton
Blind Girl	Yvonne Palfrey
Miner	Frederick Radley
Mrs. Corder	Bella Emberg
Barman	Will Stampe
Farmer	Philip Locke
Judge	Carleton Hobbs
Jumbo	Robert Putt
Woman Patient	Maryann Turner
Cafe Proprietor	Tony Caunter
Estate Agent	Roger Brierley
Will	Keith Marsh
Police Constable	Roger Forbes
Customer	Tudor Davies
Michael	Nigel Rathbone
Constable	Tim Swinton
Betty	Tessa Dunne
Alf	Bill Dean
Detective Inspector	John Malcolm
Doctor	Vass Anderson
Tramp	Paddy Joyce
Clerk of the Court	Stanley Fleet
Carter	Wally Thomas
Youth	Tony London
Man on Bridge	Alan Foss
Foreman of the Jury	Hal Jeayes
Pianist	Sam Avent
Street Whore	Phyllis MacMahon
Busker	Ronnie Ross
Mike Savage	Arnold
Olwen Griffiths	First Pub Whore
Maggy Maxwell	Second Pub Whore
Reg Lever	Man in Queue
Roy Boyd	Horace
Laurence Harrington	Inspector
Noel Collins	Chaplain
David Webb	Shop Manager
Roger Heathcott	Executioner
Robin Meredith	Customer
Steve Ubels	Pedestrian
Betty Hardy	Railway Passenger #1
Frank Lazarus	Railway Passenger #2
Norman Warwick	Railway Passenger #3
David Rowlands	Railway Passenger #4



**Programming History**

6 episodes

BBC

March 7, 1978–April 11, 1978

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## Perry Mason

### U.S. Legal Drama/Mystery

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*Perry Mason* was the longest-running lawyer show in American television history. Its original run lasted nine years, and its success in both syndication and made-for-television movies confirm its impressive stamina. Mason's fans include lawyers and judges who were influenced by this series to enter their profession. The Mason character was created by mystery writer Erle Stanley Gardner and delivered his first brief in the novel *The Case of the Velvet Claws* (1933). From 1934 to 1937, Warner produced six films featuring Mason. A radio series also based on Mason ran every weekday afternoon on CBS radio from 1944 to 1955 as a detective show/soap opera. When the CBS television series was developed as an evening drama, the radio series was changed from *Perry Mason* to *The Edge of Night*, and the cast renamed, so as not to compete against the television series.

The title character is a lawyer working out of Los Angeles. Mason, played on TV by Raymond Burr, is teamed with two talented and ever-faithful assistants: trusty and beautiful secretary Della Street, played by Barbara Hale, and the suave but boyish private detective Paul Drake, played by William Hopper. In each episode, this trio works to clear their innocent client of the charge of murder, opposing the formidable district attorney Hamilton Burger, played by William Talman. Most episodes follow this simple formula: the guest characters are introduced and their situation shows that at least one of them is capable of murder. When the murder happens, an innocent person (most often a woman) is accused, and Mason takes the case. As evidence mounts against his client, Mason pulls out a legal maneuver in-

volving some courtroom "pyrotechnics." This act not only proves his client innocent but identifies the real culprit. These scenes are easily the best and most memorable. It is not because they are realistic. On the contrary, they are hardly that. What is so engaging about them is the combination of Mason's efforts to free his client, perhaps a surprise witness brought in by Drake in the closing courtroom scene, and a dramatic courtroom confession. The murderer being in the courtroom during the trial and not hiding out in the Bahamas provides the single most important image of each episode. The murderer forgoes the Fifth Amendment and admits his/her guilt in an often tearful outburst of "I did it! And I'm glad I did!" This pronouncement happens under the shocked, amazed eyes of district attorney Burger and the stoic, sure face of defense attorney Mason.

Although it is often identified with other lawyer dramas such as *L.A. Law* and *The Defenders*, *Perry Mason* was more of a detective series. Each episode was a carefully structured detective puzzle that both established and perpetuated a number of conventions associated with most television detective series. *Perry Mason* used the legal profession and the trial situation as a forum for detective work. Although strictly formulaic, each episode was guided by the elements of the variations that distinguish one episode from another. For example, since nearly every episode began with the guest characters rather than with the series regulars, these guest characters set the tone for the rest of the episode. If the show were going to be youth oriented, these characters were young. If it were going to be a contested will, the heirs were introduced.



*Perry Mason*, Raymond Burr, Barbara Hale, 1957–66.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The credit for the series' success should be split equally between Burr, the *Perry Mason* production style, and the series' creator Gardner. Burr provided the characterization of a cool, calculating attorney, while the production style built tension in plots at once solidly formulaic and cleverly surprising, and Gardner, as an uncredited executive story editor, made sure each episode carefully blended legal drama with clever detective work. In all, the series won three Emmys, two for Burr and one for Hale.

The series made a brief return in 1973, with the same production team as the original series but a new cast. Monte Markham replaced Burr. That this version did not survive 15 episodes reveals that one of the key draws of the original series was its casting. It is interesting to note, however, that Markham's Mason was closer to the one featured in the original novels. Both were brash, elegant, and coolly businesslike in their dealings with clients, something Burr never was. But it was Burr's coolness and control that became so identified with the character that, for the television audience, there was no other Mason than Burr.

Beginning with *Perry Mason Returns*, Burr returned to his role in 1985 for an almost 10-year run of made-

for-television movies. *Perry Mason Returns* was followed by *The Case of the Notorious Nun* (1986). Burr was back as Mason, albeit a bit older, grayer, and bearded, with Barbara Hale as his executive secretary. Since William Hopper had died in 1970, William Katt (who is the real-life son of Barbara Hale) was featured in the first nine episodes as Paul Drake, Jr. In *The Case of the Lethal Lesson* (1989), Katt was replaced by a graduating law student, Ken Malansky, played by William R. Moses. Each plot developed over two hours instead of one, and the extra time was spent on extended chases and blind alleys. However, the basic formula stayed the same.

This newest version of *Perry Mason* took an interesting twist in the spring of 1994. After Burr's death in the fall of 1993, executive producers Fred Silverman and Dean Hargrove followed the wishes of the estate of Erle Stanley Gardner and kept the character alive but off-screen. First to replace him as visiting attorney was Paul Sorvino as Anthony Caruso in *The Case of the Wicked Wives* (1993) and then Hal Holbrook starred as "Wild Bill" McKenzie in *The Case of the Lethal Lifestyle* (1994). In each movie, Mason was conveniently absent. But Street and Malansky were still available as assistants for the "visiting" attorney, and the series was still called *A Perry Mason Mystery*, so that, production after production, the character could live on. However, after the last appearance of Holbrook as the visiting attorney, the TV movie series was canceled.

J. DENNIS BOUNDS

*See also* **Burr, Raymond; Detective Programs**

**Cast (1957–66)**

Perry Mason	Raymond Burr
Della Street	Barbara Hale
Paul Drake	William Hopper
Hamilton Burger	William Talman
Lieutenant Arthur Tragg (1957–65)	Ray Collins
David Gideon (1961–62)	Karl Held
Lieutenant Anderson (1961–65)	Wesley Lau
Lieutenant Steve Drumm (1965–66)	Richard Anderson
Sergeant Brice (1959–66)	Lee Miller
Terrence Clay (1965–66)	Dan Tobin

**Cast (1973–74)**

Perry Mason	Monte Markham
Della Street	Sharon Acker
Paul Drake	Albert Stratton

Lieutenant Arthur Tragg    Dane Clark  
Hamilton Burger            Harry Guardino  
Gertrude Lade                Brett Somers

**Producers**

Gail Patrick Jackson, Arthur Marks, Art Seid, Sam  
White, Ben Brady

**Programming History**

245 episodes

CBS

September 1957–September  
1962

Saturday 7:30–8:30

September 1962–September  
1963

Thursday 8:00–9:00

September 1963–September  
1964

Thursday 9:00–10:00

September 1964–September  
1965

Thursday 8:00–9:00

September 1965–September  
1966

Sunday 9:00–10:00

September 1973–January  
1974

Sunday 7:30–8:30

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Hughes, Dorothy B., *Erle Stanley Gardner: The Case of the Real Perry Mason*, New York: Morrow, 1978

Kelleher, Brian, and Diana Merrill, *The Perry Mason Show Book*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987

Martindale, David, *The Perry Mason Casebook*, New York: Pioneer, 1991

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## Person to Person

### U.S. Talk/Interview Program

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*Person to Person* developed out of Edward R. Murrow's belief that human beings are innately curious. That curiosity was intense regarding the private lives of public people, or visiting the extraordinary in the most ordinary environment—the home. For his television program, then, Murrow, sitting comfortably in the studio, informally greeted two guests a week, who gave 15-minute interviews from their homes, talking about the everyday activities of their lives. The interviews avoided politics, detailed discussion of current events, and a line of questioning that delved deeper into one or two issues. The more general the question, and more frequent the change of topic, the more satisfying the process of revealing different facets of the private figure. On *Person to Person*, people conversed with Murrow and, starting in the fall of 1959, with Charles Collingwood, as host. Almost every year for nine years, informal chats positioned the show in the top-ten network programs. But the series increasingly became the battleground, inside and outside CBS, over the function of television news, the ethics of peering into private lives for profit, Murrow's journalistic integrity, and the organizational control of the network's image.

From 1953 through 1956, CBS News aired *Person to Person*, but it was independently owned and produced by John Aaron, Jesse Zousmer, and Murrow. Tensions inside CBS began when Fred Friendly, Murrow's producer of *See It Now*, accused Murrow of capitalizing on the remote, in-home, investigative news interviews done with political leaders, and pioneered by Friendly, on *See It Now*. Although the remote, in-home interview was not new, *Person to Person's* approach differed substantially from other CBS projects. Murrow anticipated criticism of the series' lack of news-directed discussion. But that was not, in fact, its intended purpose.

Murrow wanted the series to “revive the art of conversation.” But the image was as significant as the conversation. Employing from two to six cameras, a program opened up different parts of an individual's home. This was a historical step to building the cult of the personality in news programs. The personalities were divided into two camps, with the entertainment and sports figures in one; the second camp included all others, such as artists, writers, politicians, lawyers, scientists, and industrialists.

Given the period in which it was produced, the se-

ries' success was as much technological as human. Regardless of the series' news value, it took time and effort to reach people who were otherwise inaccessible. Murrow's "guests" lived in different locations marked by distinctive terrain. Thus, in a time of presatellite technology, a prerequisite to introducing them to Americans via television was a line-of-sight transmission from the guest home to a telephone microwave transmission tower. The production crew always conquered terrain barriers. Although the crew received notoriety for shearing off part of a hill to achieve line of sight, they most frequently broke records for building tall relay towers for onetime remotes, the first adjacent to the Kutcher's Hotel in Monticello, New York, enabling interviews with boxers-in-training Rocky Marciano and Ezzard Charles.

The guests were maintained in constant visual and aural contact through advance placement of large video cameras in different rooms. It was also necessary to obtain FCC approval for a special high-frequency wireless microphone that could be attached to the guests. Each program periodically used a split-screen image, a new experience for many television viewers.

For the live program to proceed smoothly in real time, some rehearsal was required. From 1953, interviews and statements by Murrow made it common knowledge that cue questions were used before the show so that guests could be "talked through" the movements to be made from room to room. Thus, certain questions were prepared, but answers were spontaneous. The visit to Marlon Brando's home, for example, began outside at night, with a stunning view of Los Angeles. From there it moved to his living room, and finally, to a downstairs area where friends waited to play some music with Brando. A home's content was part of a guest's personality, so the camera frequently stopped to reveal a picture on the wall, vases, and other objects of interest. In the early days of the series, guests pointing out possessions of special value interrupted discussion, sometimes making the series more of a gallery of art objects. And many times a show's success depended on how comfortable both the guest and the host were with the arrangement. Inevitably, the spontaneous nature of the discussion or awkwardness of a situation generated embarrassing moments, such as Julie Harris folding diapers as she spoke, or Maria Callas throwing Murrow off guard by innocently noting she liked the quality of lingerie in the United States. Perhaps for these reasons, the producers valued those infrequent visits to "homes" that had more news value, such as the warden's home on Alcatraz Island, or an old lighthouse.

The series and Murrow received frequent criticism. Respected television critics, including Harriet Van

Horne, Philip Mintoff, Gilbert Seldes, and John Lardner, pointed to Murrow's petty, aimless chatter, arguing that television demanded more substance and depth, especially from someone of Murrow's journalistic background. For Murrow's colleagues, the series diverted his valuable time and energy from other projects and added an unnecessary burden. When Collingwood took over as host, these critics quietly accepted the series for what it purported to be.

But Murrow steadfastly defended the series. When an author, such as Walter White, mentioned a new book, book sales increased. Thousands of viewers requested a one-sentence, 57-word Chinese proverb read by Mary Martin, which she had engraved in a rug. If two or three children committed themselves to piano lessons after seeing Van Cliburn, Murrow believed the criticism to be worth taking. Moreover, the range and variety of people interviewed was unprecedented for network television at the time. One three-week period in 1957 included interviews with the political cartoonist Herbert Block, media market researcher A.C. Nielsen, and Robert F. Kennedy, chief council of the Senate's Select Committee.

In 1956 CBS Television bought the series from Murrow, at that time its sole owner. However, because *Person to Person* with Murrow made a large profit for CBS, it continued to be the center of conflict between Murrow and management. *Person to Person* elevated its host to celebrity status with the public, and some at the network resented the fact that the series placed Murrow in a powerful position. Frank Stanton accused *Person to Person*'s production practices of deceit and dishonesty, claiming guests were coached in questions. This charge, coming after the quiz show scandals and directly attacking Murrow's integrity, resulted in a public airing of personality conflicts that hurt CBS's image and further estranged Murrow from the executive branch at the network. A public respectful of Murrow as host, however, did not rush to condemn him for taking risks on other shows, such as his methodical criticism of Senator McCarthy. Fidel Castro's appearance on *Person to Person* had the potential to alienate viewers who considered him a communist dictator, and the program attracted government criticism of CBS, but Murrow survived the resulting criticism. *Person to Person*'s success in the ratings translated to Collingwood as host, continuing to feed the public's appetite for the celebrity interview. When Collingwood began, the series added the attraction of overseas interviews, filmed or taped.

*Person to Person* first generated many of the arguments still lodged by critics of today's talk shows, arguments questioning the primacy of the individual in news and the role of a voyeuristic camera as a com-

elling approach to news. But before the series began, Murrow insisted on a thorough respect for the home of guests "invaded" by the camera. Unlike the series to follow, Murrow and the camera did not confront guests with questions constituting an inquiry. Both Murrow and Collingwood permitted their guests to direct the conversations, which accounted for a meandering pace. The hosts' respect for the public figure in a private setting and avoidance of emotional confrontations created a unique ambiance in this programming genre, and *Person to Person* stands as a vital example of television's potential for personal, individualized communication.

RICHARD BARTONE

**See also** Friendly, Fred W.; Murrow, Edward R.; Talk Shows

#### Hosts

Edward R. Murrow  
Charles Collingwood

#### Producers

John Aaron, Jesse Zousmer, Charles Hill, Robert Sammon, Edward R. Murrow

#### Programming History

CBS  
October 1953–June 1959    Friday 10:30–11:00

October 1959–September  
1960    Friday 10:30–11:00  
September 1960–December  
1960    Thursday 10:00–10:30  
June 1961–September  
1961    Friday 10:30–11:00

#### Further Reading

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Cloud, Stanley, and Lynne Olson, *The Murrow Boys: Pioneers on the Front Lines of Broadcast Journalism*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996  
Friendly, Fred, *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control . . .*, New York: Random House, 1967  
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Merron, J., "Murrow on TV: See It Now, Person to Person, and the Making of a 'Masscult Personality,'" *Journalism Monographs* (1988)  
"Murrow's Indictment of Broadcasting," *Columbia Journalism Review* (Summer 1965)  
Persico, Joseph E., *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original*, New York: Dell, 1990  
Sperber, A.M., *Murrow: His Life and Times*, New York: Freundlich, 1986

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## Pertwee, Jon (1919–1996)

### British Actor

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Jon Pertwee was a British comedy character actor credited with an extensive list of stage, screen, radio, and cabaret appearances. The onetime spouse of *Upstairs, Downstairs* star Jean Marsh, Pertwee is best known for his turn from 1970 to 1974 as the Doctor in the long-running BBC program, *Doctor Who*. A master of accents, voices, sounds, and comical walks, Pertwee perfected his multiple comedic personae on the radio series *The Navy Lark* and in supporting roles in various films, beginning with his appearance in 1937's *Dinner at the Ritz*.

Recruited by *Doctor Who* producer Peter Bryant in

1969 to take over as the Doctor from Patrick Troughton, Pertwee brought to the program a radically different interpretation of the title character. Aired initially in 1963, *Doctor Who* was produced by the drama department at the BBC and—contrary to many reports—was not intended primarily for children. The first Doctor, as portrayed by William Hartnell, was a renegade Time Lord from the planet of Gallifrey who exhibited a strong moral sense, an aggressive and curmudgeonly attitude, and impatience with his various earthly companions' comparative mental slowness. Hartnell was replaced in 1966 by Patrick Troughton,



Jon Pertwee as Doctor Who.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

who played the part as a “cosmic hobo” in the tradition of Charlie Chaplin’s Little Tramp.

As Sean Hogben asserted in “Doctor Who: Adventure with Time to Spare” in *TV Week*, however, “*Doctor Who* won its reputation as a top science fiction series during Jon Pertwee’s time in the role.” Reacting to the popularity of the early James Bond films, and determined to move away from the clownish depiction Troughton gave the Doctor, Pertwee played the character as an action-based interplanetary crusader exhibiting the characteristics of a folk hero. Pertwee was thus able to draw on his considerable ability to perform his own stunts—resulting from his love of skin diving and waterskiing, along with his habit of driving fast vehicles—which gave a harder edge to his interpretation.

The Pertwee era began with the serialization of “Spearhead from Space,” which also introduced the program’s fans to the series’ first broadcasts in color, after 17 years of black-and-white shows. Pertwee’s adoption of his grandfather’s evening suits as the foundation of the Doctor’s garb allowed him to switch among different colored velvet smoking jackets to mark each passing season of episodes. With this change in the Doctor’s apparel, the producers began to publicize the series as providing “adventure in style,” alluding to Pertwee’s penchant for a similar type of life outside the studio while partly cashing in on the liberated “Swinging Sixties” ambiance still prevalent in Great Britain during the early 1970s. The fact that the program was attracting a considerable audience among upscale 17- to 19-year-olds also contributed to this change in character depiction and promotion.

Pertwee’s love of fast vehicles and gadgets prompted him to suggest that the Doctor travel from trouble spot to trouble spot in an Edwardian four-seat roadster eventually named “Bessie.” During most of Pertwee’s term, the Doctor was banished to Earth by the Time Lords of Gallifrey, thus necessitating a different mode of transportation than his predecessors enjoyed with the Tardis, the Doctor’s police-box-styled time machine. Thus, “Bessie” and (in 1974) the “Whomobile,” a flying-saucer-shaped, custom three-wheel car built for Pertwee by Peter Faries, became the Doctor’s primary transportation during the four years Doctor Number 3 assisted UNIT (United Nations Intelligence Taskforce) and its indefatigable leader, Brigadier Lethbridge-Stewart (Nicholas Courtney), as they saved the Earth from a variety of monsters, aliens, megalomaniacs, and other menaces.

In early 1974 Pertwee announced he would step down from his stint as the Doctor following that season’s shooting, in order to resume his stage career in *The Breadwinner*. His final appearance came in “The Planet of the Spiders,” which dovetailed with the initial episode the following season, “Robot,” during which Tom Baker took over as the regenerated Time Lord. Pertwee returned in 1983 to share top billing with his fellow Doctors in “The Five Doctors,” a 20th-anniversary celebration and one of the stories best received by the series’ fans. The plot found all five incarnations of Doctor Who taking on their most memorable enemies, who attempted, but failed, to destroy the five Doctors for good.

Jon Pertwee returned briefly to British television in 1979 for the short-lived comedy series *Worzel Gummidge*. His post-Doctor years found him performing primarily onstage and in motion pictures. He continued his association with the Doctor Who character from time to time with appearances at *Doctor Who* conventions worldwide. While on vacation in the United States, Pertwee died unexpectedly at the age of 77 on May 20, 1996.

ROBERT CRAIG

*See also Doctor Who*

**Jon Devon Roland Pertwee.** Born in London, July 7, 1919. Attended Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (expelled). Married: 1) Jean Marsh, 1955 (divorced, 1960); 2) Ingeborg Rhosea, 1960; children: Dariel and Sean. Toured with the Arts League of Service Traveling Theatre, prior to World War II; film debut, 1937; after service with the Royal Navy, worked in BBC radio comedy and also appeared in films; achieved fame as television performer as third actor to star in *Doctor Who*, 1970–74; also starred in *Worzel Gummidge* and

made many other television appearances. Died May 20, 1996.

#### Television Series

1970–74, 1983 *Doctor Who*  
 1975–78 *Whodunnit?* (host)  
 1979–81 *Worzel Gummidge*  
 1987 *Worzel Gummidge Down Under*

#### Films (selected)

*A Yank at Oxford*, 1937; *Murder at the Windmill*, 1948; *Mr. Drake's Duck*, 1951; *Will Any Gentleman?*, 1953; *A Yank in Ermine*, 1956; *It's a Wonderful World*, 1956; *Carry On Cleo*, 1964; *Carry on Cowboy*, 1965; *I've Gotta Horse*, 1965; *Carry On Screaming*, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *The House That Dripped Blood*, 1970; *One of Our Dinosaurs Is Missing*, 1975; *Adventures of a Private Eye*, 1977; *Wombling Free* (voice only), 1977; *The Water Babies* (voice only), 1978; *The Boys in Blue*, 1983; *Carry On Columbus*, 1992.

#### Radio

*Up the Pole*; *The Navy Lark*.

#### Recordings

*Worzel's Song*, 1980; *Worzel Gummidge Sings*, 1980.

#### Stage

*HMS Waterlogged*, 1944; *Waterlogged Spa*, 1946; *Knock on Wood*, 1954; *There's a Girl in My Soup*; *Oh Clarence*; *Irene*.

#### Further Reading

Bentham, Jeremy, *Doctor Who: The Early Years*, London: Allen, 1986  
 Dicks, Terrance, and Malcolm Hulke, *The Making of Doctor Who*, London: Allen, 1980  
 Haining, Peter, *Doctor Who, the Key to Time: A Year-by-Year Record*, London: Allen, 1984  
 Nathan-Turner, John, *Doctor Who: The Tardis Inside Out*, New York: Random House, 1985

## Peter Gunn

### U.S. Detective Program

*Peter Gunn*, a top-rated detective drama, ran on NBC from 1958 to 1960, and then on ABC in 1960 and 1961. The television series was distinguished for its stylish and sophisticated lead character, Peter Gunn, and is also remembered for the jazz-influenced music of Henry Mancini. Created and produced by then-neophyte filmmaker Blake Edwards, *Peter Gunn* was typical of the male private-eye genre of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The lead character was handsome, dashing, and consistently well dressed in tailored suits, which never seemed to wrinkle even after the usual scuffles with the bad guys. Edwards clearly modeled the character of Peter Gunn on Cary Grant, considered one of Hollywood's most debonair leading men. The actor chosen to play Gunn, Craig Stevens, even bore a close resemblance to Grant.

The series was set in Los Angeles and, more often than not, inside a jazz club called Mother's. The storyline essentially centered around Gunn solving his client's problems, which always involved his having to deal with an assortment of hit men, hoodlums, and as-

sorted "hip" characters found on the jazz scene. He was often aided by his personal friend and confidant, police Lieutenant Jacoby (Herschel Bernardi). Although Gunn often had to endure many thrown fists, he himself did not advocate brutality, and violence was not a feature of the series. In the end, the crime was always solved, the criminals were behind bars, and Gunn was shown relaxing at Mother's, where his girlfriend, the vocalist Edie Hart (Lola Albright), was the main attraction.

The style of *Peter Gunn* has been described by some viewers as borderline parody. The dialogue was delivered in a hip, deadpan fashion, and at times the series seemed to be poking fun at more conventional private-eye series. Blake Edwards attributed the critical success of *Peter Gunn* to the series' tendency to be somewhat over the top. The success of the show spawned many similar private detective dramas in the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as *Philip Marlowe* and *Richard Diamond*.

An important ingredient in the show, one that pro-



*Peter Gunn*, Craig Stevens, Lola Albright, 1958–61, episode *Spell of Murder* aired 1/11/60.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vided its unique character, was the music of Henry Mancini. He provided a new score for each episode, and when released on the RCA label, the two albums *The Music of Peter Gunn* and *More Music from Peter Gunn* became best sellers. (The “Peter Gunn Theme” continues to be played on mainstream radio and has even been used as the vehicle for modern rock versions.) Mancini’s music was an integral part of the

show’s action, and here too it set the precedent for shows that were to follow.

The show lasted for only three seasons, but by stressing style and sophistication *Peter Gunn* caught the attention of many viewers. The combination of the main character’s smooth, stoic demeanor, together with Henry Mancini’s outstanding jazz themes, worked to leave a lasting impression in the minds of fans.

GINA ABBOTT AND GARTH JOWETT

**See also Detective Programs**

**Cast**

Peter Gunn	Craig Stevens
Edie Hart	Lola Albright
Lieutenant Jacoby	Herschel Bernardi
“Mother” (1958–59)	Hope Emerson
“Mother” (1959–61)	Minerva Urecal

**Producers**

Blake Edwards, Gordon Oliver

**Programming History**

114 episodes	
NBC	
September 1958–September 1960	Monday 9:00–9:30
ABC	
October 1960–September 1961	Monday 10:30–11:00

**Further Reading**

Collins, Max Allan, *The Best of Crime and Detective TV: Perry Mason to Hill Street Blues, The Rockford Files to Murder She Wrote*, New York: Harmony, 1988

Larka, Robert, *Television’s Private Eye: An Examination of Twenty Years Programming of a Particular Genre, 1949 to 1969*, New York: Arno, 1979

Meyers, Richard, *TV Detectives*, San Diego, California: A.S. Barnes, and London: Tantivy, 1981

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## Peter Pan

### U.S. Special Presentation

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First broadcast on NBC in March 1955 and repeated annually for many years thereafter, *Peter Pan* was a popular melding of American television and Broadway theater. It formed part of an ongoing series titled *Pro-*

*ducers’ Showcase*, a loose rubric for high-quality dramatic presentations put together by producer Fred Coe for the network about once a month between 1954 and 1957.



The impetus for the telecast was the popular Broadway musical *Peter Pan*, starring Mary Martin in the title role and costarring Cyril Ritchard as Pan's nemesis Captain Hook. Based on the 1904 J.M. Barrie play of the same name, the Broadway production was staged by Jerome Robbins. When it ended its theatrical run, Coe arranged to run a version of it, modified for the small screen, on NBC on March 5, 1955.

The production fitted neatly into two of NBC's strategies for establishing its identity as a network. First, *Peter Pan* was what NBC vice president (and programming chief) Pat Weaver called a "spectacular"—a special, high-quality event that publicized the network and drew programming power away from individual sponsors, which generally could not afford to foot the entire bill for these expensive shows. Second, the show was hailed by the network and by critics as a splendid forum for the color television system the network and its parent company, RCA, were hawking.

The teleplay loosely followed the familiar original Barrie play, moving from the nursery of the Darling family in London to the island of Neverland, a magical and mythical place to which the eternally young Peter Pan lured the Darling children. He was especially interested in Wendy, whom he and the other "lost boys" wished to adopt as their mother. Before the play's end, Peter had to defeat the dastardly Captain Hook, a humorously effeminate villain played with panache by Ritchard, and return Wendy and her brothers to their home.

The program's sets, particularly the Neverland set, were simple yet colorful, and audiences and critics enjoyed the close-up view of the Broadway play provided by the television production. Robbins's staging blended lively and tender moments, engaging the audience from the play's beginning. The production gained prestige not just from its famous stars but also from the addition of Lynn Fontaine as the program's narrator.

*Peter Pan* proved an immediate and spectacular success, garnering an overnight rating of 48 and inspiring Jack Gould of the *New York Times* to speculate that the program had provided "perhaps television's happiest hour." The production was remounted, live, in January 1956 and was rebroadcast annually for years thereafter. It was singled out in the 1955 Emmys as the best single program of the year, and Martin was named best actress in a single performance.

It is easy to account for the teleplay's popularity. It presented a charming and imaginatively staged version of a classic children's tale, drawing in both adult and youthful viewers. It also gave Americans a fantasy-filled forum in which to debate gender in the postwar years.

The teleplay's message about adult manhood and womanhood, that they were states to be avoided at all



*Peter Pan*, Mary Martin, Maureen Bailey, Kent Fletcher, Joey Trent, 1960 TV special.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

costs (Peter did not want to grow up, and Wendy was unhappy when she did), played into a growing discomfort with preset gender roles. And both its hero and its villain were highly androgynous.

The message and the androgyny were, of course, present in the original Barrie play. They were enhanced, however, by script changes and by the intimacy of the medium on which the play was broadcast. *Peter Pan* on television resonated with the color and the confusion of its era—and encouraged audiences to fly to Neverland for years to come.

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

*See also* Coe, Fred; Special/Spectacular

#### Cast

Peter Pan  
 Captain Hook/George Darling  
 Mary Darling  
 Wendy Darling  
 John Darling  
 Michael Darling  
 Liza  
 Smee

Mary Martin  
 Cyril Ritchard  
 Margalo Gillmore  
 Kathleen Nolan  
 Robert Harrington  
 Joseph Stafford  
 Hellen Halliday  
 Sondra Lee

Peter Pan

Slightly  
Tootles  
Ostrich  
Crocodile  
Wendy (as adult)  
Nibs  
Noodler

David Bean  
Ian Tucker  
Joan Tewkesbury  
Norman Shelly  
Ann Connolly  
Paris Theodore  
Frank Lindsay

**Director**  
Jerome Robbins

**Programming History**  
NBC  
Two hours; March 7, 1955

**Executive Producer**  
Richard Halliday

**Producer**  
Fred Coe

**Further Reading**

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# Peyton Place

U.S. Serial Melodrama

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When it appeared on ABC, at that time still the third-ranked U.S. network, *Peyton Place*, a prime-time program based on the Grace Metalious novel, was an experiment for American television in both content and scheduling. Premiering in the fall of 1964, *Peyton Place* was offered in two serialized installments per week, Tuesday and Thursday nights, a first for American prime-time television. Initially drawing more attention for its moral tone than for its unique scheduling, the serial was launched amid an atmosphere of sensationalism borrowed from the novel's reputation. ABC president Leonard Goldenson defended the network's programming choice as a bread-and-butter decision for the struggling network, and the moral outcry settled down once the program established itself as implying far more sensation than it would deliver. This prototype of what came to be known in the 1980s as the prime-time soap opera initially met with great success: a month after *Peyton Place* premiered, ABC rose in the Nielsen ratings to number one for the first time. At one point, the program was so successful that a spin-off serial was considered. Both CBS and NBC announced similar prime-time serials under development.

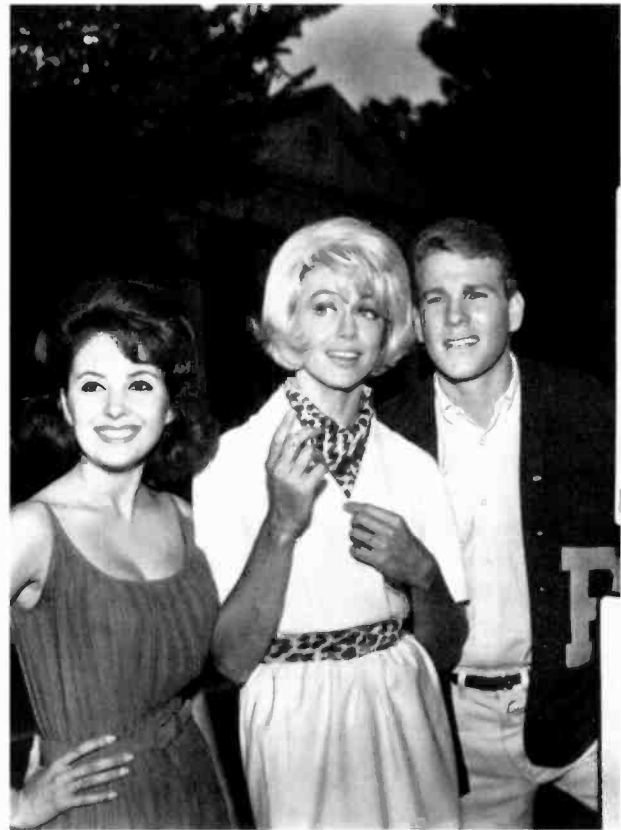
Executive producer Paul Monash rejected the "soap opera" label for *Peyton Place*, considering it instead a "television novel." (His term is, in fact, the one applied

in Latin America, *telenovela*, and Francophone Canada, *teleroman*.) Set in a small New England town, *Peyton Place* dealt with the secrets and scandals of two generations of the town's inhabitants. An unmarried woman, Constance MacKenzie, and her daughter, Allison, were placed at the dramatic center of the story. Constance (played by 1950s film melodrama star Dorothy Malone) eventually married Allison's father, Elliott Carson, when he was released from prison, though his rival Dr. Michael Rossi was never entirely out of the picture. Meanwhile, Allison (Mia Farrow) was caught up in a romantic triangle with wealthy Rodney Harrington (Ryan O'Neal) and Betty Anderson (Barbara Parkins), a girl from the wrong side of the tracks. Over the course of the series, Betty tricked Rodney, not telling him until after they were married that she had miscarried their child; Rodney fled and found love with Allison, but Allison disappeared; Betty was married briefly to lawyer Steven Cord but finally remarried Rodney. Other soap-operatic plotlines involved Rodney's younger brother, Norman Harrington, and his marriage to Rita Jacks.

The production schedule was closest to that of daytime soap opera, with no summer hiatus, no repeats, unlike any prime-time American series before or since. Within the first year, the pace was increased to three episodes per week rather than two, going back to two



*Peyton Place*, Mia Farrow, Ryan O'Neal, Dorothy Malone, Chris Connelly, Barbara Parkins, 1964–69.  
©20thCentury Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*Peyton Place*, Barbara Parkins, Dorothy Malone, Ryan O'Neal, 1964–69.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

episodes per week in the 1966–67 season as the craze for the show declined. Several of the show's plot twists were necessitated by cast changes. Most notably, Allison MacKenzie's disappearance occurred when Mia Farrow left the series in 1966 for her highly publicized marriage to Frank Sinatra. The program never fully recovered from Farrow's departure, though news of the distant Allison kept the character alive. Some two years after Farrow left, a young woman appeared with a baby she claimed was Allison's, a development that timed with the release of Farrow's theatrical film, *Rosemary's Baby*.

In 1968 *Peyton Place* underwent a transformation. Some storylines were developed to accommodate more cast changes (Dorothy Malone left the show), but many of the changes in the final season seem to have been in response to Goldenson's call for more youthful, "relevant" programming. One of the youthful additions was the leader of a rock group. Most significant, however, an African-American family—Dr. Harry Miles (Percy Rodriguez), his wife, Alma (Ruby Dee), and their teenage son, Lew (Glynn Turman)—assumed a central position in the heretofore

all-white *Peyton Place*. Cut back to one half-hour episode per week, the show also was scheduled a half hour earlier to appeal further to youthful audiences.

These drastic changes did nothing to revive ratings for the serial, which lasted through the spring of 1969. ABC brought it back for two years in the 1970s as a daytime serial, and in 1985 nine of the original cast members appeared in a made-for-TV movie, *Peyton Place: The Next Generation*.

SUE BROWER

*See also* Melodrama; Soap Opera

#### Cast

Constance MacKenzie/Carson (1964–68)	Dorothy Malone
Allison MacKenzie (1964–66)	Mia Farrow
Dr. Michael Rossi	Ed Nelson
Matthew Swain (1964–66)	Warner Anderson
Leslie Harrington (1964–68)	Paul Langton
Rodney Harrington	Ryan O'Neal

## Peyton Place

Norman Harrington  
Betty Anderson/Harrington/  
Cord/Harrington  
Julie Anderson  
George Anderson (1964–65)  
Dr. Robert Morton (1964–65)  
Steven Cord  
Hannah Cord (1965–67)  
Paul Hanley (1965)  
Elliott Carson (1965–68)  
Eli Carson  
Nurse Choate (1965–68)  
Dr. Claire Morton (1965)  
Dr. Vincent Markham (1965)  
Rita Jacks/Harrington (1965–  
69)  
Ada Jacks (1965–69)  
David Schuster (1965–66)  
Doris Schuster (1965)  
Kim Schuster (1965)  
Theodore Dowell (1965)  
Stella Chernak (1965–68)  
Joe Chernak (1965)  
Gus Chernak (1965–66)  
Dr. Russ Gehring (1965–66)  
John Fowler (1965–66)  
Marian Fowler (1965–66)  
Martin Peyton (1965–68)  
Martin Peyton (temporary  
replacement, 1967)  
Sandy Webber (1966–67)  
Chris Webber (1966–67)  
Lee Webber (1966–68)  
Ann Howard (1966)  
Rachael Welles (1966–67)  
Jack Chandler (1966–67)  
Adrienne Van Leyden (1967)

Christopher Connelly  
Barbara Parkins  
Kasey Rogers  
Henry Beckman  
Kent Smith  
James Douglas  
Ruth Warrick  
Richard Evans  
Tim O'Connor  
Frank Ferguson  
Erin O'Brien-Moore  
Mariette Hartley  
Leslie Nielsen  
Patricia Morrow  
Evelyn Scott  
William Smithers  
Gail Kobe  
Kimberly Beck  
Patrick Whyte  
Lee Grant  
Dan Quine  
Bruce Gordon  
David Canary  
John Kerr  
Joan Blackman  
George Macready  
Wilfred Hyde-White  
Lana Wood  
Gary Haynes  
Stephen Oliver  
Susan Oliver  
Leigh Taylor-Young  
John Kellogg  
Gena Rowlands

Eddie Jacks (1967–68)  
Carolyn Russell (1968–69)  
Fred Russell (1968–69)  
Marsha Russell (1968–69)  
Rev. Tom Winter (1968–69)  
Susan Winter (1968–69)  
Dr. Harry Miles (1968–69)  
Alma Miles (1968–69)  
Lew Miles (1968–69)  
Jill Smith/Rossi (1968)  
Joe Rossi (1968)

Dan Duryea  
Elizabeth "Tippy"  
Walker  
Joe Maross  
Barbara Rush  
Bob Hogan  
Diana Hyland  
Percy Rodriguez  
Ruby Dee  
Glynn Turman  
Joyce Jillison  
Michael Christian

### Producers

Paul Monash, Everett Chambers, Richard Goldstone,  
Felix Feist, Richard DeRoy

### Programming History

514 episodes  
ABC  
September 1964–June 1965 Tuesday and Thursday  
9:30–10:00  
June 1965–October 1965 Tuesday, Thursday, and  
Friday 9:30–10:00  
November 1965–August  
1966 Monday, Tuesday, and  
Thursday 9:30–10:00  
September 1966–January  
1967 Monday and Wednes-  
day 9:30–10:00  
January 1967–August 1967 Monday and Tuesday  
9:30–10:00  
September 1967–September  
1968 Monday and Thursday  
9:30–10:00  
September 1968–January  
1969 Monday 9:00–9:30 and  
Wednesday 8:30–9:00  
February 1969–June 1969 Monday 9:00–9:30

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## Phil Silvers Show, The

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*The Phil Silvers Show*, a half-hour comedy series, first ran on CBS from September 1955 to September 1959. The show's original title was *You'll Never Get Rich*, but this name was dropped shortly after its debut. Since its inception the series has also been commonly referred to as "Sergeant Bilko."

The program's 138 episodes trace the minor victories and misfortunes of the scheming, fast-talking Master Sergeant Ernie Bilko (Phil Silvers), head of the motor pool at the mythical U.S. Army station of Fort Baxter in Roseville, Kansas. In his relentless pursuit of personal gain and physical comfort, Bilko attempts to manipulate



*The Phil Silvers Show* (aka *Sgt. Bilko/You'll Never Get Rich*). Harvey Lembeck, Phil Silvers, Allan Melvin, 9/20/55.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

those around him through the selective use of flattery, false naïveté, pulling rank, and a canny ability to identify and stimulate desires, weaknesses, and emotions in others. Although his reputation for masterful chicanery is well known around the base, the other characters in the show prove no match for Bilko's complex mental designs and are ultimately unable to avoid following the course of action he desires. In his attempts to buck the system, Bilko is aided by members of his platoon: a motley collection of blue-collar, "ethnic" Americans whose own distaste for military discipline is displayed through their visible admiration for their brilliant leader.

Aside from money and favors won in poker games and elaborate rackets, however, Bilko never benefits at the expense of others. Faced with innocent victims, the sergeant's conscience kicks in and he expends every

mental resource to resolve the problem. Bilko's one redeeming moral quality, therefore, is his heart of gold, which prevents him both from truly prospering or losing his humanity.

Frequently, unforeseen obstacles to Bilko's strategies arise out of a misunderstanding between the principal characters. Much of the program's humor derives from Bilko's incomplete knowledge of a situation—the audience watches as he unwittingly makes matters worse for himself, before realizing his error and having to employ his quick thinking in order to make amends. Sharp dialogue and tightly woven plotlines (involving absurd, but believable, situations), combined with a heavy emphasis on visual comedy, made *The Phil Silvers Show* one of the most popular and critically acclaimed sitcoms of the 1950s.

The series developed as a collaboration between Silvers, a Brooklyn-born veteran of vaudeville, Broadway, and motion pictures, and Nat Hiken, the show's unassuming head writer, producer, and stage director. Hiken had already earned a reputation for superb radio and TV comedy writing for such celebrities as Fred Allen and Martha Raye. Silvers and Hiken were given tremendous creative license by CBS to devise and cast the show. The two creators experimented with numerous settings and narrative structures before deciding on a military location, a Bilko-centered narrative trajectory, and a colorful coterie of supporting characters. In the spring of 1955, filming began at the DuMont studios in New York. CBS confidence in the production was such that 20 episodes were produced prior to the show's broadcast debut in the fall. The network's magnanimity is understandable, given that "Bilko" neatly fit the successful formula upon which CBS had built its television reputation: a half-hour situation comedy series written as a vehicle for an established performer.

*The Phil Silvers Show* was initially recorded live on film, using a three-camera setup. Postproduction was minimal, giving the final program a spontaneous, no-frills appeal despite its celluloid status. As the series developed, the storylines often incorporated outside characters who were portrayed by guest celebrities. Mike Todd appeared in one 1958 episode, insisting that it be shot using a movie-style, one-camera production process. The more relaxed shooting schedule engendered by this approach appealed to cast and crew, and the show subsequently adopted this filming technique permanently. This meant that the scenes would be shot throughout the week and later edited together in order. Consequently, the studio audience disappeared, requiring the recording of a laugh track at a weekly screening of the final program.

Despite being scheduled against NBC's Tuesday-night powerhouse Milton Berle, *The Phil Silvers Show* quickly attracted viewers and passed Berle in the ratings within a few months. The show's popularity was matched by great critical acclaim. Along with a bevy of other awards, the series won five Emmys in its first season on the air, and more were to follow over the next couple of years. Nevertheless, the drain of weekly programming eventually began to take its toll. Hiken's total commitment to the show proved physically and creatively exhausting for him, and he left the series in 1957 to pursue less hectic projects. By the spring of 1959, when CBS announced its forthcoming cancellation of the series, Silvers too was complaining of fatigue induced by the show's grueling routine. Bending under the weight of the 22 cast members' salaries, CBS canceled the still-popular series in order to maximize its syndication price and potential.

Following the show, Hiken and Silvers collaborated on several hour-long musical specials for CBS at the end of the 1950s. While the actor then returned to the stage and big screen, Hiken achieved another TV comedy hit with *Car 54, Where Are You?* In 1963, attracted by a lucrative financial offer from CBS, Silvers attempted to recapture his earlier television success with *The New Phil Silvers Show*. This series transferred the Bilko scenario to a civilian setting: Silvers played Harry Grafton, a crafty, wheeling-dealing maintenance superintendent at an industrial plant. Grafton lacked Bilko's magical presence and any of his redeeming values; the series floundered in the ratings and was canceled in its first season. The Bilko formula was more successfully reinvoked in the early 1960s in the form of the ABC cartoon *Top Cat*. This prime-time animated series featured the voice of Maurice Gosfield—who had played the slothful audience favorite Duane Doberman in *The Phil Silvers Show*—as Benny the Ball.

Over the decades since its original broadcast, "Sergeant Bilko" has inspired a whole genre of male-dominated, uniformed, nondomestic sitcoms. Such series as *McHale's Navy*, *Hennesey*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, and *At Ease* (a banal, short-lived 1980s imitation), to name only a few, have clearly attempted to emulate *The Phil Silvers Show*'s successful blend of distinctive, engaging characters and first-class writing. A 1996 movie named *Sergeant Bilko* starred Steve Martin in the title role.

MATTHEW MURRAY

*See also* Silvers, Phil

**Cast**

Master Sergeant Ernie Bilko	Phil Silvers
Corporal Rocco Barbella	Harvey Lembeck
Private Sam Fender	Herbie Faye
Colonel John Hall	Paul Ford
Private Duane Doberman	Maurice Gosfield
Sergeant Rupert Ritzik	Joe E. Ross
Corporal Henshaw	Allan Melvin
Private Dino Paparelli	Billy Sands
Private Zimmerman	Mickey Freeman
Nell Hall	Hope Sansberry
Sergeant Grover	Jimmy Little
Sergeant Joan Hogan (1956–58)	Elisabeth Fraser

**Producers**

Edward J. Montagne, Aaron Ruben, Nat Hiken

**Programming History**

138 episodes

CBS

September 1955–October 1955 Tuesday 8:30–9:00

November 1955–February 1958 Tuesday 8:00–8:30  
 February 1958–September 1959 Friday 9:00–9:30

### Further Reading

Drury, Michael, "Backstage with Phil Silvers," *Colliers* (May 11, 1956)

Freeman, Mickey, and Sholom Rubinstein, "But Sarge... Behind the Lines with Sgt. Bilko," *Television Quarterly* (1986)  
 Freeman, Mickey, and Sholom Rubinstein, *Bilko: Behind the Lines with Phil Silvers*, London: Virgin Publishing, 2000  
 Silvers, Phil, with Robert Saffron, *This Laugh Is on Me: The Phil Silvers Story*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973

## Philbin, Regis (1933– )

### U.S. Television Personality

Regis Philbin is one of the most recognized individuals in American television. Finally, after more than 45 years in the business, he won two Emmys in 2001 as Best Game Show Host for ABC's blockbuster *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* and Best Talk Show Host for syndicated, top-rated daytime talker *Live with Regis & Kelly*.

The eldest child of Frank and Florence Philbin, an Irish-Italian/ Catholic couple, Philbin was named after his father's alma mater, Regis High School, a Manhattan Jesuit boys' school. Regis was raised in the South Bronx section of New York City and graduated from Cardinal Hayes High School in 1949. He earned his B.A. in Sociology at Notre Dame University in 1953. Philbin secretly wanted to major in broadcasting but could not find the courage to do it.

After two years in the navy, where he became a lieutenant, Philbin interviewed unsuccessfully in 1955 with L.A.'s KCOP-TV. He returned to New York and worked as an NBC page/usher for Steve Allen's *The Tonight Show*. Three months later, KCOP-TV hired him as a stagehand and then writer, researcher, and producer. After substituting once on-air in sports, Philbin wanted to be on-air permanently and became frustrated with behind-the-scenes work. In 1957 he switched to radio news at San Diego's KSON, where he developed unremarkable but quirky "Philbinesque" stories. In 1960 San Diego's KFMB-TV news hired him specifically to do "Philbinesque" stories. Within a year, he was anchor at San Diego's KOGO-TV and host of *The Regis Philbin Show*. The Saturday late-night show enabled Philbin to emulate Jack Paar and to develop the trademark "host chat" he still uses on *Live*.

In October 1964 Philbin replaced Steve Allen on Westinghouse's nationally syndicated late-night talk show. Philbin, whose live ad-libbing about daily

events was created out of necessity on KOGO-TV, could not function on *That Regis Philbin Show* in a highly structured, taped format shown on a two-week delay. Canceled after 26 weeks, Philbin resumed KOGO-TV's *The Regis Philbin Show* in 1965 and commuted to L.A.'s KTTV for a weekday show.

Philbin ascended to network television as sidekick on ABC's *The Joey Bishop Show*, launched April 17, 1967, to compete with NBC's *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. Philbin tried to suppress his ego but tired of Bishop's jokes and insults. One night, Philbin walked out on-air, but he returned a week later. It remains unclear if it was a publicity stunt. He also recorded *It's Time For Regis!*, an album for Mercury records rereleased on CD in 1998. He ventured into acting, appearing on NBC's *Get Smart* on March 23, 1968.

Philbin held a variety of jobs until 1975. On L.A.'s KHJ-TV, he hosted *Philbin's People and Tempo*, a three-hour news and information morning show. Once a month he commuted to St. Louis to do one live and three taped installments of *Regis Philbin's Saturday Night in St. Louis*, a variety show on CBS affiliate KMOV. Philbin debuted on film in 1972's *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex* as a celebrity game show guest. In November 1974 L.A.'s KABC-TV hired him as movie reviewer. In 1975 he also co-hosted KABC's *A.M. Los Angeles* with Sarah Purcell. Joy Senese, whom he married in 1970, frequently substituted for Purcell. Purcell joined NBC's *Real People* in 1979, and Cyndy Garvey replaced her.

Philbin also hosted ABC's daytime *The Neighbors* (1975–76), in which five neighbors gossiped about one another and were awarded prizes. In 1976 Philbin was on-field correspondent for ABC's *Almost Anything Goes*, a one-hour game show shot on location with



American small towns competing against one another. He continued occasional TV and movie appearances.

In November 1981 NBC aired *The Regis Philbin Show*, a 30-minute daily national morning show co-hosted by Mary Hart. Just half of NBC's affiliates carried the taped show. It received an Emmy for Outstanding Daytime Variety Series but was canceled after four months. In 1982 Philbin created a magazine show for Cable Health Network (now Lifetime), called *Regis Philbin's Celebrity Health Styles*. It moved to prime time as *Regis Philbin's Lifestyles*, focusing on cooking, health, and fitness, and became Lifetime's highest-rated program ever, lasting until 1988.

In January 1983 New York's WABC-TV hired Philbin for *The Morning Show*. Until 1985 his cohost was again Cyndy Garvey, until Kathie Lee Gifford replaced her in June 1985. The chemistry between Philbin and Gifford sent ratings skyrocketing, and the show was nationally syndicated in September 1988 as *Live with Regis & Kathie Lee*. *Live* showcased the cohosts' abilities to talk with guests and to each other about anything. Philbin and Gifford coauthored 1993's *Cooking with Regis & Kathie Lee* and 1994's *Entertaining with Regis & Kathie Lee*, hosted the Miss America pageant, and appeared together and separately in concert to sold-out crowds. Philbin's 1993 angioplasty led to his own exercise video: *Regis, My Personal Workout*. He has also written his autobiography, *I'm Only One Man* (1995), and *Who Wants to Be Me?* (2000).

In 1999 ABC's ratings were slumping. Philbin was hired to host a new game show, based on a British program, called *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* Originally slated for a two-week sweeps run, it became the highest-rated prime-time game show in history and was permanently placed in ABC's lineup, taking the network back to the top. In February 2000 ABC's corporate owner, Disney, signed Philbin to a salary of \$20 million per year, a record for a game show host. He also introduced the popular catchphrase "Is that your final answer?" into national popular culture.

Gifford left *Live* in 2000 to pursue other interests. Proving Philbin's popularity, the ratings rose dramatically. After a much-publicized search for a new cohost, Philbin introduced soap opera star Kelly Ripa and renamed the show *Live with Regis & Kelly* in February 2001.

W.A. KELLY HUFF

See also Allen, Steve; Paar, Jack

**Regis Philbin.** Born Regis Francis Xavier Philbin in New York City, August 25, 1933. Married: 1) Kay Faylan, 1957 (divorced, 1968); children: Amy (1961)

and Daniel (1967); 2) Joy Senese, 1970; children: Joanna (1973) and Jennifer (1974). Graduated from Cardinal Hayes High School, Bronx, New York; B.A. Sociology, University of Notre Dame, 1953 and honorary doctor of laws degree, 1999. Served in U.S. Navy. Started career as page/usher for NBC's *The Tonight Show*, New York (1955); worked as stagehand and as writer, researcher, and producer at KCOP-TV, Los Angeles (1955-57); worked in radio news at KSON, San Diego (1957-60) and TV news at KFMB-TV, San Diego (1960). Has hosted *The Regis Philbin Show* on KOGO-TV, San Diego (1961-63) and Westinghouse's Nationally Syndicated *That Regis Philbin Show* (1964-65); cohosted ABC's *The Joey Bishop Show* (1967-69); hosted *Philbin's People* and *Tempo* on KHJ-TV, Los Angeles (1970-73); *A.M. Los Angeles* on KABC-TV (1975-81); hosted ABC's *The Neighbors* (1975-76); on-the-field correspondent for ABC's *Almost Anything Goes*, (1976); hosted NBC's *The Regis Philbin Show* (1981-82); cohosted with Joy Philbin *Regis Philbin's Celebrity Health Styles* aka *Regis Philbin's Lifestyles* on Cable Health Network/Lifetime (1982-88); cohosted WABC-TV New York's *The Morning Show* (1983-88); cohosted nationally syndicated *Live with Regis & Kathie Lee* (1989-2000); hosts ABC's *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* (1999-2002; became *Who Wants to Be a Super Millionaire?*, 2004- ); hosted *Live with Regis* (2000-01); hosts nationally syndicated *Live with Regis & Kelly* (2001-present). Eleven-time Emmy Award nominee (ten as cohost of *Live* and one as host of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*) and two-time winner in 2001 for Best Talk Show Host and Best Game Show Host. Honored by New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani with Crystal Apple Award for contributions to New York TV industry.

#### Television

1961-63	<i>The Regis Philbin Show</i> (KOGO-TV, San Diego)
1964-65	<i>That Regis Philbin Show</i> (Westinghouse, Nationally Syndicated)
1967-69	<i>The Joey Bishop Show</i> (ABC)
1970-73	<i>Tempo</i> and <i>Philbin's People</i> (KHJ-TV, Los Angeles)
1972-75	<i>Regis Philbin's Saturday Night in St. Louis</i> (KMOV-TV, St. Louis)
1975-81	<i>A.M. Los Angeles</i> (KABC-TV, Los Angeles)
1975-76	<i>The Neighbors</i> (ABC)
1976	<i>Almost Anything Goes</i> (ABC)



1981–82	<i>The Regis Philbin Show</i> (NBC)
1982–88	<i>Regis Philbin's Celebrity Health Styles</i> , aka <i>Regis Philbin's Lifestyles</i> (Cable Health Network/Lifetime)
1983–88	<i>The Morning Show</i> (WABC-TV, New York)
1989–2000	<i>Live with Regis &amp; Kathie Lee</i> (nationally syndicated)
1999–2002	<i>Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?</i> (ABC)
2000–01	<i>Live with Regis</i>
2001–present	<i>Live with Regis &amp; Kelly</i> (nationally syndicated)
2004–present	<i>Who Wants to Be a Super Millionaire?</i>

#### Videotape

*Regis: My Personal Workout*, 1993

#### Films

*Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex (but Were Afraid to Ask)*, 1972; *The Bad News Bears Go to Japan*, 1978; *Sextette*, 1978; *The Man Who Loved Women*, 1983; *Malibu Express*, 1985; *Funny About Love*, 1990; *Night and the City*, 1992; *Open Season*, 1996; *Dudley Do-Right*, 1999; *Little Nicky*, 2000; *Pinocchio* (voice only), 2002.

#### Made-for-Television Movies

*SST: Death Flight*, 1977; *Mad Bull*, 1977; *Mirror, Mirror*, 1979; *California Girls*, 1985; *Perry Mason: The Case of the Telltale Talk Show Host*, 1993.

#### Recording

*It's Time For Regis!*, 1998.

#### Publications

*Cooking with Regis & Kathie Lee*, 1993  
*Entertaining with Regis & Kathie Lee*, 1994  
*I'm Only One Man* (autobiography), 1995  
*Who Wants to Be Me?*, 2000

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## Philco Television Playhouse

### U.S. Anthology Drama

*Philco Television Playhouse* was one of the most distinguished of the many "live" anthology dramas that aired during the so-called Golden Age of television. The first episode of the *Philco* program was broadcast over NBC on Sunday October 3, 1948, between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M. *Philco Television Playhouse* remained on the air for just over seven seasons, until 1955. At the beginning of its fourth season in 1951, *Philco Television Playhouse* acquired an alternating sponsor, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. From 1951 until it went off the air, the program shared its Sunday night slot with *Goodyear Playhouse*.

For a short period between August 28, 1955, and

February 12, 1956, *Philco Television Playhouse* alternated with *The Alcoa Hour* in addition to *Goodyear Playhouse*. Following the end of the *Philco Television Playhouse* in 1955, *The Alcoa Hour* and *Goodyear Playhouse* continued in alternation with broadcasts of one-hour live dramas until September 29, 1957.

Under the guidance of producer Fred Coe (who also served as one of the program's several directors), *Philco Television Playhouse* became known for its high-quality adaptations of plays, short stories, and novels. It was also the first anthology drama to encourage the writing of original plays exclusively for television.



*Philco Television Playhouse: The Joker*  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

During its first season, *Philco Television Playhouse* emphasized adaptations. The first broadcast was a television version of *Dinner at Eight*, a play by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber. Directed by Coe, the production starred Peggy Wood, Dennis King, Judson Laire, Mary Boland, and Vicki Cummings.

Other adaptations from plays that first season included *Counselor-at-Law* with Paul Muni, *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, and a version of the Edmund Rostand play *Cyrano de Bergerac* starring Jose Ferrer. Among the novels adapted were Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca*, Alexandre Dumas's *Camille*, and Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. On December 19, 1948, *Philco Television Playhouse* broadcast an adaptation of the Charles Dickens's story *A Christmas Carol*. The program included a filmed rendering of "Silent Night" sung by Bing Crosby.

Although it continued to produce adaptations of plays and novels, *Philco Television Playhouse* began to air original scripts toward the end of the first season. These became more important in subsequent seasons. A number of young writers, including Paddy Chayef-

sky, Horton Foote, Tad Mosel, Alan Arthur, Arnold Schulman, and Gore Vidal, began their careers writing teleplays for the program.

Chayefsky wrote several scripts for *Philco/Goodyear*. Among them were *Holiday Song* (*Goodyear*, September 14, 1952), *The Bachelor Party* (*Philco*, October 11, 1953), *The Mother* (*Philco*, April 4, 1954), *Middle of the Night* (*Philco*, September 19, 1954), and *The Catered Affair* (*Goodyear*, May 22, 1955). *The Bachelor Party*, *Middle of the Night*, and *The Catered Affair* were later made into feature films.

Chayefsky's most famous *Philco* script was *Marty*, aired on May 24, 1953. Directed by Delbert Mann, the production starred Rod Steiger in the title role. It became the most renowned production from the Golden Age of television anthologies and marked a turning point for television drama because of the considerable amount of critical attention paid to it by the press.

According to Delbert Mann, *Marty* was inspired by the ballroom of the Abbey Hotel on the corner of Fifty-third Street and Seventh Avenue in New York City. A meeting place for single people during the evening hours, the ballroom was the site of *Philco Television Playhouse* rehearsals during the day. Chayefsky had originally planned to have the main character be a woman but then changed the role into that of the lonely butcher, Marty. The story is a simple one, focused on character and emotion rather than excessive dramatic action. After many unsuccessful attempts to find a girl, Marty visits the ballroom one evening and meets a homely young teacher. Against the objections of his mother and his bachelor friends, Marty finally stands up for himself and calls the young woman back for a date.

Mann believed that Rod Steiger gave the best performance of his life in the role of Marty, and Steiger became so moved by the story that he wept openly on the set. Mann's last direction to Steiger before air was to "hold back the tears." Mann also directed the 1956 film version of *Marty*, which won four Academy Awards—for Best Picture, Best Screenplay, Best Director, and Best Actor (given to Ernest Borgnine for his portrayal of Marty).

Other important productions broadcast on the *Philco Television Playhouse* were Gore Vidal's *Visit to a Small Planet* (*Goodyear*, May 8, 1955), which later became a Broadway play and a feature film; Vidal's *The Death of Billy the Kid* (*Philco*, July 24, 1955), which became the 1958 film *The Left-Handed Gun*; and Horton Foote's *A Trip to Bountiful*, later staged on Broadway in the 1950s and reshot in the 1980s as a film, with actress Geraldine Paige winning an Academy Award for Best Actress for her performance in the film.

Fred Coe, a graduate of the Yale Drama School, was active as a director and producer for the *Philco Television Playhouse* for six years. Coe and other staff directors including Gordon Duff, Delbert Mann, Vincent Donehue, and Arthur Penn shared directing responsibilities on a rotating basis. Usually, they worked three weeks ahead with one show in preparation, one in rehearsal, and one on the studio floor ready for telecasting.

During its long tenure, the *Philco Television Playhouse* became a breeding ground for an entire generation of young directors, actors, and writers who later became famous in motion pictures and on Broadway. The program won a Peabody Award in 1954 for its "superior standards and achievements." Some of the best-known actors who appeared on the series were Joanne Woodward, Steve McQueen, Rod Steiger, Eva Marie Saint, Grace Kelly, Kim Stanley, Jack Klugman, and Walter Matthau.

HENRY B. ALDRIDGE

See also **Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; Goodyear Playhouse**

#### Host

Bert Lytell (1948–49)

#### Producers

Fred Coe, Gordon Duff, Garry Simpson

#### Programming History

NBC

October 1948–October 1955      Sunday 9:00–10:00

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## Phillips, Irna (1901–1973)

U.S. Writer

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The universally recognized originator of one of television's most enduring—and profitable—television genres, Irna Phillips is responsible for the daytime drama as we know it today. Her contributions to one format are unprecedented in television history. Television comedy had many parents—Ernie Kovacs, Jackie Gleason—and TV drama was initially shaped by such figures as Paddy Chayefsky, Rod Serling, Reginald Rose, and others. The soap opera, however, had only one "mother," and Phillips was it. She founded an entire industry based on her techniques and beliefs, and the ongoing, interlocking stories that she dreamed.

Born in Chicago in 1901, the youngest of ten children, legend has it that Phillips endured her poverty-stricken, lonely childhood by reading and concocting

elaborate lives for her dolls. When she started college, she dreamed of an acting career, but school administrators doubted that her looks would get her far so she turned to teaching. After graduation, she taught in Missouri and Ohio for several years before returning to Chicago.

There she fumbled her way into a job with radio station WGN as a voice-over artist and actress. Soon after, the station asked her to concoct a daily program "about a family." Phillips's program *Painted Dreams* premiered on October 20, 1930. *Dreams* is usually recognized as radio's first soap opera. It ran with Phillips both writing and acting in it until 1932, when she left WGN because of dispute between her and the owners about the future of the program. At WGN's competi-



Irna Phillips, 1935.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tion, WMAQ, Phillips created *Today's Children*, which aired for seven years. Other highly successful dramas followed: *The Guiding Light* in 1937, *The Road of Life* in 1938, and *The Right to Happiness* in 1939. By this time, Phillips had given up acting to devote her time to writing. She had also sold the shows to national networks.

By 1943, just over ten years from her beginning, Phillips had five programs on the air. Her yearly income was in excess of \$250,000 and her writing output was around 2 million words a year. It was at this phase that she developed the need for assistants to create dialogue for the stories she created. To keep her scripts accurate she also kept a lawyer and doctor on retainer.

Not one to put pen to paper, Phillips created her stories by acting them out as a secretary jotted down what she spoke. Her process of creating by assuming the identities of her characters was so successful it was later adopted by many of Phillips's protégés, including Bill Bell, who went on to create *The Young and the Restless*.

Phillips pioneered in radio many of the devices she would later put to successful (eventually clichéd) use in television. She was the first to use organ music to

blend one scene into the next. She was the first to employ Dickensian cliff-hanger endings to keep audiences coming back and to develop the casual pace of these shows—she wanted the busy housewife to be able to run to the kitchen or see to the baby and not miss anything. She was the first to address social concerns in her storylines. She was also the first to shift the focus of serials from blue-collar to white-collar characters; under Phillips, doctors and lawyers became soap staples. In fact, hospital settings and stories about illness were vintage Phillips; a hypochondriac who visited doctors daily, Phillips brought her fascination with medicine to her work.

In other ways, the serials she created did not mirror Phillips's life. For example, although her shows were eventually all produced in New York, Phillips refused to leave Chicago; instead, she stayed involved in all aspects of her programs with frequent phone calls to the East. Also, Phillips, who based her stories on nuclear families, never married, although late in her life she adopted two children.

When Phillips brought her creations to television (somewhat reluctantly), she brought all her devices with her. *The Guiding Light* premiered on TV in 1952. *The Brighter Day* and *The Road of Life* came to the small screen in 1954.

In the early 1950s Phillips began a long association with Procter and Gamble, longtime sponsors of soap operas. All of Phillips's shows at that time, and all she would create in the future, would be under the umbrella of Procter and Gamble Productions.

On April 2, 1956, Phillips premiered what was to become her most successful (and some say favorite) show, *As the World Turns*. Until the 1980s phenomenon of *General Hospital*, it was the most successful soap in history. At its ratings peak in the 1960s, it was regularly viewed by 50 percent of the daytime audience. *As the World Turns* has broken much historical ground during its existence. It was daytime's first half-hour soap (previous shows lasted 15 minutes), and it was the first to introduce a scheming female character, Lisa Miller (played by Eileen Fulton), using feminine wiles to catch unavailable men and generate havoc. The show's popularity even inspired a prime-time spin-off, *Our Private World*, which aired for a few months in 1965.

In 1964 Phillips created daytime's *Another World*, TV's first hour-long soap and the first to broach the subject of abortion. (Phillips never shied away from controversy: when writing for the soap *Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing*, she attempted to introduce an interracial romance. When the network balked, Phillips quit the show.)

Also in 1964, Phillips began working as a consultant

on the prime-time soap *Peyton Place*. Phillips now had control over shows running on all three U.S. networks. In 1965 she created another long-lasting daytime drama, *Days of Our Lives*.

Despite Phillips's legendary golden touch and her importance to the daytime drama, by the 1970s the times and the genre were leaving her behind. Soaps were important profit centers for networks, whose executives concluded that the serials needed to become more sensational in order to keep ratings. Phillips's simpler stories were now out of fashion. She was fired by Procter and Gamble in 1973 and died in December of that year.

Today, daytime is populated with programs she created: *As the World Turns*, *Days of Our Lives*, and *Guiding Light*. The latter has now set the record as the longest-running series in broadcasting history. Many other soaps on the air were created by those who began their careers working for Phillips: Bill Bell and *All My Children* creator Agnes Nixon.

Phillips believed her success was based on her focus on character, rather than on overly complicated plots, and her exploration of universal themes: self-preservation, sex, and family. She said in 1965, "None of us is different, except in degree. None of us is a stranger to success and failure, life and death, the need to be loved, the struggle to communicate."

CARY O'DELL

See also *Peyton Place*; *Soap Opera*

**Irna Phillips.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, July 1, 1901. Educated at University of Illinois, B.S. in education 1923. Children: Thomas Dirk and Katherine Louise. Began career as junior college speech and drama instructor, Fulton, Missouri, 1924; teacher, Dayton, Ohio, 1924–29; first writing job with WGN, Chicago radio station, hired to create ten-minute family drama,

*Painted Dreams*, 1930; launched the soap *Guiding Light*, 1937; *Guiding Light* switched to TV, 1952; consultant, *Peyton Place*, first successful evening serial, 1964; continued writing soaps until just before her death. Died in Chicago, December 22, 1973.

#### Television Series

1952–	<i>Guiding Light</i>
1954–65	<i>The Brighter Day</i>
1954–55	<i>The Road of Life</i>
1956–	<i>As the World Turns</i>
1964–99	<i>Another World</i>
1964–69	<i>Peyton Place</i> (consultant)
1965	<i>Our Private World</i>
1965–	<i>Days of Our Lives</i>
1967–73	<i>Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing</i>

#### Radio

*Painted Dreams*, 1930–32; *Today's Children*, 1932–38; *Masquerade*, 1934–35; *Guiding Light*, 1937–52; *The Road of Life*, 1938–54; *Woman in White*, 1938–48; *The Right to Happiness*, 1939–60; *Lonely Women*, 1942 (renamed *Today's Children*, 1943); *The Brighter Day*, 1948–56.

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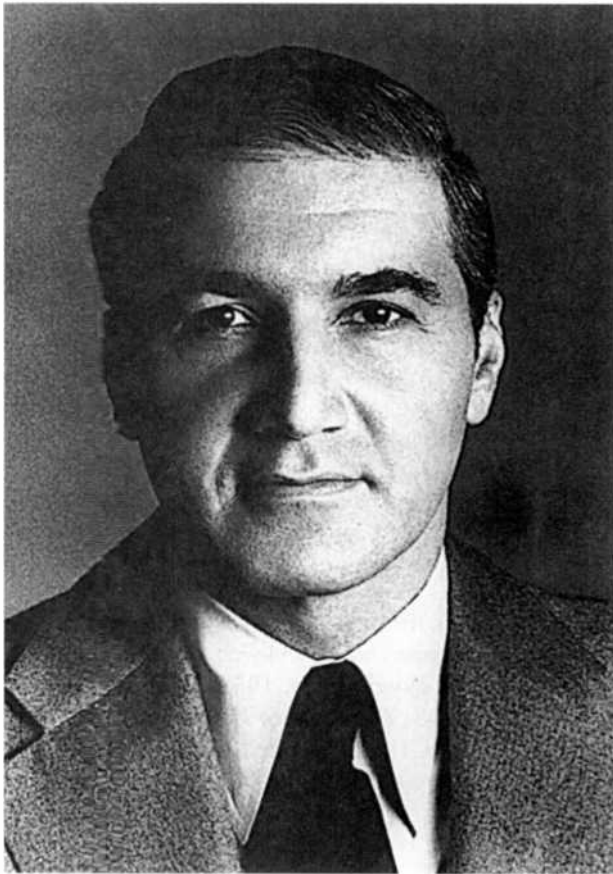
## Pierce, Frederick S. (1933– )

U.S. Media Executive, Producer

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Frederick S. Pierce began working at ABC Television 13 years after the company's birth. Starting as an analyst in television research in 1956, Pierce held over 14 positions until resigning as vice chairman of Capital Cities/ABC in January 1986. Pierce's period of great-

est accomplishment came from 1974 through 1979, when he served as president of ABC Television. However, he began formulating policies and strategies during the 1950s and 1960s as ABC defined its path in network broadcasting.



Frederick S. Pierce.  
Photo courtesy of Frederick S. Pierce

Before ABC's programming department built momentum, CBS and NBC were already entrenched, funneling talent from their established artist bureaus in radio to television affiliates. Both networks had money and leverage, which were an attraction to advertisers, and had independent producers ready to invest. ABC, relying on inexpensive and varied programs, targeted different audiences; Leonard H. Goldenson, ABC's founder and ex-owner of United Paramount Theaters, sought product and collaborative efforts in Hollywood. In this programming environment, Pierce moved up through research, sales, development, and planning until becoming president of ABC Television in October 1974.

On a daily basis, Goldenson phoned the research and sales development department, requesting sales and rating numbers from Pierce, a practice that started a professional and personal bond between them. In the 1950s and 1960s, ABC pursued the youth market with programs such as *American Bandstand* and *Maverick* and relied on a mixture of programs, hoping to find a niche in the diversity of *Bewitched*, *Mod Squad*, and

*Marcus Welby, M.D.* The network experimented with violent program content, such as *Bus Stop*, and stressed nontraditional sports, including rodeo and wrestling. Pierce's singular characteristic of persevering within these boundaries made ABC an industry power. Reaching number one in prime time in 1976–77, and maintaining the position for two more seasons, Pierce captured the young, urban viewer with comedy and action, produced longer and more elaborate miniseries and special programs, offered glossy production values in sports programming, and even redirected afternoon soaps toward youth. As president of the Television Division, Pierce introduced three megahits, *Happy Days*, *Taxi*, and *Mork and Mindy*. The violence and tame sexual content of *The Rookies*, *Baretta*, *S.W.A.T.*, and *Charlie's Angels* that angered critics was a natural progression of ABC under Pierce's leadership, the outcome of taking risks and looking—for more than a decade—for any different approach.

Pierce brought passion and dauntless optimism to the conception, development, and scheduling of ABC programming. The news programs *Nightline*, *20/20*, and *Good Morning, America* were introduced under his leadership. The network's strategy stemmed from innovation, experimentation, risk, and diversity—words Pierce frequently employed. He introduced the "living schedule," the practice of testing five to eight new series in late winter and the spring, each for a month or more, in preparation for fall scheduling. Pierce also referred to this practice, to be adopted by the other networks, as "investment spending," and he thought of it as a way of respecting and responding to audience feedback. When the "family-viewing hour" was instituted, Pierce scheduled comedies and other fare from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M. and followed with action-adventure programs, Monday through Friday. The strategy, called "clotheslining" or "ridgepoling," succeeded in holding viewers.

Before and after ABC's hold on first place, Pierce brought a new perspective. If an ABC program ranked third in its time slot, it was a failure by industry standards. In his view, though, and therefore the view of ABC, even a third-place program was a success if its rating with a specific target audience was large, for these numbers could translate into value to the advertiser. The other networks soon followed Pierce's view of program assessment and focused attention and efforts on material developed with specific demographic groups in mind.

In the drive for success, Pierce programmed "events" that could draw critical attention and viewership. The miniseries was transformed into such a television event, at times lasting, as in the cases of *Roots* and *The Winds of War*, more than seven nights. Under

the supervision of Roone Arledge as president of ABC Sports, sports coverage became a central source of revenue for ABC. The quest for a hit sports event meant Pierce's approval of large outlays of money for programming such as the Olympics and championship boxing matches. When one event was a success, it justified Pierce's spending but kept the company in a precarious position for the long term.

The news division received the least amount of attention from Pierce until he convinced Goldenson to appoint Arledge president of ABC News in 1977. Pierce believed sports and news held a conceptual common ground. Arledge agreed and successfully applied engaging production techniques with commentators seeking celebrity status in American homes. Although Pierce believed Arledge could assist the news division, Pierce also made the dramatic move of hiring Barbara Walters as an additional safeguard.

Since Pierce was driven by a lifelong commitment to ABC, he expected the same loyalty in return. He stated publicly that he sought the presidency of ABC, but in January 1974 Goldenson first appointed him executive vice president in charge of ABC Television, with the added responsibilities of developing the company's cable, pay-per-view, and video projects, before naming him president of ABC Television in October of that year, responsible for five divisions: entertainment, finance and planning, the TV network, ABC-owned stations, and sports. However, Pierce had difficulty positioning ABC in the larger media puzzle with some of the projects he initiated. From 1978 through 1980, Pierce baffled the industry with his statements against cable, calling for the protection of free television and criticizing cable's unrestricted content. But other statements soon followed, describing cable as a tool for diverse programming. Pierce's credibility began to be questioned.

In the 1970s Pierce was surrounded at different times by such prominent figures as Arledge, Fred Silverman, Barry Diller, and Michael Eisner. He pursued Silverman for the position of president of ABC Entertainment, and they worked efficiently together. But upon Silverman's departure, Pierce became highly critical of Silverman's limitations, minimizing his contributions to ABC's turnaround. Pierce was self-consciously basking in the glory of establishing ABC as a powerful network. The situation began to change. Pierce all but abandoned action-adventure series by 1980, when they were partly responsible for securing young, urban male viewers. He did not recognize the changes developing in television's collaborative arrangements with Hollywood. He continued to depend on the "living schedule," with its rush to find a hit within four weeks, and in so doing alienated producers whose programs were removed from the schedule

without time for the series to develop an audience. As president of ABC, Inc., he surrounded himself with allies, including Tony Thomopoulos, president of ABC Television, Pierce's most cherished area.

Pierce reached the top of ABC as numerous ventures stalled in development, when money was already committed to major events, and shareholders were demanding fiscal prudence. After ABC was purchased by Capital Cities, Pierce needed Tom Murphy, the new chair and chief executive officer, to position ABC for the future. Pierce, however, had no inclination of what the future held. CapCities' assessment of ABC and what needed to be done significantly excluded him. By the time of his resignation in 1986, he expressed amazement and disbelief at the turn of events, suggesting an inability to perceive the complex and unstable structure he helped build.

Since leaving ABC Pierce has continued to be active in the entertainment industry. With his two sons, Richard and Keith, he founded the Frederick S. Pierce Company, dedicated to quality films and television programs. The company's projects included the four-part *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (ABC, 1997) and the Emmy-winning *The Positively True Adventures of the Alleged Texas Cheerleader-Murdering Mom* (HBO, 1993). Since 1998 Pierce has been an executive producer of the American Film Institute's centennial salute to American cinema, including the institute's *100 Years, 100 Passions* in June 2002. Pierce comes to this yearly project after serving as chairman of the American Film Institute's Board of Trustees from 1992 to 1996.

RICHARD BARTONE

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Arledge, Roone; Diller, Barry; Eisner, Michael; Goldenson, Leonard; Programming; Silverman, Fred*

**Frederick S. Pierce.** Born in New York City, April 8, 1933. Educated at Bernard Baruch School of Business Administration, City College of New York, B.A., 1953. Served with U.S. Combat Engineers, Korean War. Married: Marion; children: Richard, Keith, and Linda. Began career as analyst in TV research, ABC, 1956; director of sales planning, ABC, 1962; vice president of planning, 1970; vice president in charge, ABC-TV planning and development, and assistant to president, 1974, president of ABC TV, 1974; president and chief operations officer, ABC, Inc., 1983, resigned from ABC, Inc., 1986; founder, Frederick Pierce Company, 1988, and Pierce/Silverman Company with Fred Silverman, 1989. Chairman of the Board of Trustees, American Film Institute, 1992-96.

Pierce, Frederick S.

### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1992 *Deadlock*  
1993 *The Positively True Adventures of the Alleged Texas Cheerleader Murdering Mom*  
1994 *Witness to the Execution*  
1994 *The Substitute Wife*  
1997 *The Absolute Truth*

### Television Miniseries

- 1997 *20,000 Leagues under the Sea*

### Television Specials

- 2000 *AFI's 100 Years, 100 Laughs: America's Funniest Movies*  
2001 *AFI's 100 Years, 100 Thrills: America's Most Heart-Pounding Movies*  
2002 *AFI's 100 Years, 100 Passions*

### Film

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## Pilot Programs

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During the first four months of the year, U.S. television studios and production companies (and, increasingly, similar organizations in other nations) immerse themselves in the annual rite of spring known as "pilot season." The television pilot program is a sample episode of a proposed television show, which may be chosen by networks for the following fall's schedule. Pilot season is a frenetic, competitive time in Hollywood; prominent producers, reputable writers, and experienced directors design and showcase their wares for network executives, with each "player" hoping for the next hit series.

Pilots are expensive to produce, and shows that are not purchased by a network have no value. Since the new season is planned using pilots, and the entire offering of a network is usually in place by mid-May, the careful selection of pilots is crucial for designing a competitive lineup of shows. Shows made as pilots during this period are frequently the culmination of long-term preparation, sometimes spanning years. A pilot concept deemed unacceptable by network executives in one year may later become suitable as tastes and mores change. Writers and producers may also design potential shows based on the popularity of programming from a previous season. For example, the

final fall 1995-96 season contained several programs resembling the 1994-95 sleeper hit, *Friends* (NBC). Youth-oriented, nighttime soaps such as *Melrose Place* (FOX, 1992) and *Central Park West* (CBS, 1995) traced their lineage to the unexpected popularity of *Beverly Hills, 90210* (FOX, 1990). Another source for pilot concepts comes from cycles of popular genres in motion pictures or television. In some cases, networks derive pilots by developing "spin-offs," which use characters or guest stars from television shows or movies to establish a new program. In 2000 CBS considered a pilot starring talking Baby Bob, a character originally developed to pitch FreeInternet.com.

The process begins when a writer or producer "pitches" an idea to the networks. Pitches may occur year-round, but most occur in autumn, shortly after the fall season premieres. By then, network executives have already begun to consider the success or failure of new programming and have charted trends in topics, types of characters, and other information pertinent to development. If a pitched concept is given a "green light," the network will commission a script, to be written by the series' creator or by a well-known writer. After reading the completed script, the interested network offers extensive notes on changes as



well as positive elements. Few scripts are commissioned, and fewer still lead to the production of a pilot; estimates suggest that out of 300 pitches, approximately 50 scripts are commissioned, and of those, only 6 to 10 lead to the production of a pilot.

Because pilots may take months or years to develop, casting becomes a primary concern during the actual pilot-making process. The first quarter of the year is often the busiest, most lucrative time for actors, agents, producers, and casting directors. Networks like projects that come with a known star attached and are willing to pay a studio more if a potential program contains an actor with a following or name recognition. A pilot that is also a star vehicle generates more publicity: the press increases its commentary and gossip about the star or show; fans of the star already exist, thereby building a core audience for the show's debut; and the presence of a star gives a show an advantage over competition in similar genres or opposing time slots.

Network executives are aware, however, that known stars often fail to carry shows and lesser-known performers can quickly build audiences. A 1990s trend involved the casting of stand-up comedians. Unknown to most viewers, but with solid track records in clubs or other venues, such actors cost less initially but have enhanced potential for becoming successes. Roseanne, Jerry Seinfeld, and Tim Allen illustrated the intelligence of this strategy.

The choice of leading players also influences later casting of supporting actors. Appealing, marketable pilots may sell based on the "chemistry" between the star and members of the supporting cast. In the case of situation comedies (sitcoms), such interplay is often a deciding factor in choosing one pilot over another.

Producers spend a disproportionate amount of money on pilots relative to series' regular episodes. By the early 1990s, the average cost for a half-hour pilot ranged from \$500,000 to \$700,000, and hour-long pilot program costs have soared beyond \$2 million, with James Cameron's pilot for *Dark Angel* reportedly costing close to \$10 million. If a show is not contracted (or "picked up") by a network, then producers or studios are not reimbursed for costs.

A trend that began in the mid-1990s, designed to cut costs, is the production of shorter presentation tapes, called "demos." Instead of making a standard-length, 22-minute sitcom using new sets, original music, and complete titles, producers create a partial episode, 15 minutes in length. The presentation tape provides a sample of the show's premise, writing, and cast. Studios rely on preexisting sets, furniture, and props from other shows; titling and new music are limited. If a network buys the series, presentation tapes may be ex-

panded to episode format by adding music, titles, and new footage. If not contracted, the presentation format helps offset costs. Comparable techniques are used in preparing hour-long presentation tapes.

Producers screen finished pilots for network representatives; if the show receives favorable opinions, it will be shown to a test audience, which comments on its qualities. Based on screenings and other criteria, a network decides whether to reject or purchase the series intact, or change cast, location, premise, or other elements, and rescreen. Another decision involves purchase and scheduling; executives must decide whether to contract for "one bite" or "two bites." A one-bite show gets a tryout during the fall schedule; if a show is being contemplated for two bites, its producers know that it may be chosen in the fall, or also as midseason replacement programming, giving it two chances to be selected. Once decisions are made, networks place orders for a number of episodes. Traditionally, at least 13 to as many as 23 episodes were ordered for production; recent changes have led to as few as 7. For actors, "pickup" means a contractual commitment to the show for five to seven years; if the show is not renewed after three years of production, the actor is not paid for the remainder of the contract. Such contracts safeguard a producer's interests: the actor is available for an extended run of the series, increasing the likelihood that at least 100 episodes will be made—the minimum number usually needed for domestic syndication. However, the networks often revise pilots after purchase, recasting stars or replacing producers.

The addition of new networks, cable stations, and premium channels is altering the process of pilot production and sales, by creating more outlets for programs—even those rejected by other networks. A record 42 new series appeared in U.S. prime time during the 1995 fall season, in part because of the previous year's addition of the United Paramount Network (UPN) and the Warner Brothers (WB) Network. These joined relative newcomer FOX Broadcasting Company as a venue for new pilots and subsequent programming. During the pilot season for the 1998–99 schedule, the six major networks commissioned approximately 150 pilots for potential new shows but chose to purchase only 37.

Although pilots and presentation tapes remain essential in the process of program development, new regulations and strategies may eliminate the pilot-producing season. HBO has initiated new programs in June, and more channels are in development for series and movies all year long. It is clear that as the marketing and distribution strategies and capabilities of entertainment television continue to shift and change, so,

## Pilot Programs

too, will the process by which programs come to be created and viewed.

KATHRYN C. D'ALESSANDRO

*See also Programming*

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# Pittman, Robert W. (1953– )

## U.S. Media Executive

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Robert W. Pittman was listed in *Advertising Age's* spring 1995 special issue on the 50th anniversary of television as one of "50 Who Made a Difference" in the history of television. Known as "the father of MTV," at age 27 he created the Music Television cable network. MTV revitalized the music business and spawned the music video industry, which in turn influenced an entire new generation of television programming, production, and commercials that appealed to the so-called MTV generation of young viewers.

Pittman began his remarkable career at age 15 as a radio disc jockey in his hometown of Jackson, Mississippi. From there he went to Milwaukee, then Detroit, and at 18 got his first job in programming, as the program director for WPEZ-FM in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He took the contemporary-music-format radio station to the top of the ratings in its younger target demographic area. He then moved to Chicago and, at the age of 20, programmed country music on NBC-owned WMAQ-AM, where the station shot up from 22nd to 3rd. WMAQ's success is considered one of the major programming turnaround success stories in radio history.

Pittman duplicated the phenomenal success of WMAQ-AM when he was given the responsibility of programming WMAQ's co-owned FM station, WKQX, late in 1975, when he was 22. In one rating book he beat the longtime album-oriented-rock (AOR) leader in the market and made a debut near the top of the target demographic ratings. In 1977 NBC sent Pittman to New York to program the floundering WNBC-AM. Once again the "Boy Wonder," as he was known in radio circles, led the contemporary-music-

and-personality-format station, WNBC, to the top of the ratings in its target groups. Many knowledgeable radio programmers and historians consider Pittman to have been the most successful radio program director ever, primarily because of his spectacular success in a variety of formats.

His unusual combination of creative and analytic brilliance made him a rare programmer. A research-oriented manager, he also understood and interacted well with the creative talents and egos of people in the music industry, disk jockeys, and personalities such as Don Imus (whom Pittman was instrumental in firing and then rehiring at WNBC-AM). Pittman's varied talents led John Lack, the executive vice president of Warner Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC), to hire Pittman as the programmer for the Movie Channel in 1979, giving him his first job in television. Although Lack had conceived of doing an all-music channel filled with related programs, it was Pittman who developed the concept of an all-video channel, where record company-produced videos would be programmed in the same fashion as records on a radio station.

As much as—and perhaps more—than the music, it was the image, attitude, and style that made MTV an instant hit with the antiestablishment, antiauthoritarian, under-30 audience it targeted. The network became a cultural icon, the first network expressly designed to target young audiences. From the beginning, Pittman's genius was in positioning MTV to be different from the traditional networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). He hired cutting-edge, avant-garde production houses to create logos that would be instant-

neously recognizable because they were not network logos, not traditional graphics, symbols, or icons, and thus not connected with the traditional networks in any way. He made sure it would be impossible for any young person to click by MTV on a television set and mistake it for any other network or station; immediate recognition and a unique look were his goals.

Another facet of Pittman's brilliance was his ability to conceptualize programming. He postulated a new theory to explain how young people who grew up with television consumed it differently from their parents. The older generation, he suggested, watched TV as they read books, in a linear way. The new television generation, he believed, processed TV in a nonlinear manner, processing visual information much faster than previous generations. Younger viewers processed television in a nonsequential and nonlinear manner, and they were not disoriented by brief, disjointed images. From this insight came the distinct style of MTV.

Pittman's business savvy was also notable. MTV was the first basic cable network to become profitable. The record companies paid for the programming (the videos) just as they gave radio stations their records. MTV's programming content was virtually free.

This combination of business acumen and programming astuteness led to Pittman's being named CEO of the MTV networks in 1983. In this capacity, he oversaw the redesign and relaunch of Nickelodeon, the creation of VH1 and Nick at Nite, the expansion of MTV into global markets (Europe, Australia, and Japan), and the company's 1984 initial public offering on the stock market.

In 1987 Pittman left MTV after an unsuccessful attempt to buy out the network, cofounding Quantum Media with MCA. Quantum Media produced *The Morton Downey Jr. Show*, a television talk show, and the innovative police documentary *The Street*. Quantum Media was sold to Time Warner in 1989, and Pittman became an executive assistant to Steve Ross. In 1990 he was named CEO of Time Warner Enterprises and took over the additional responsibilities of being chief executive of Six Flags amusement parks, majority-owned by Time Warner. As he did at radio stations and cable networks, he revitalized Six Flags and made the company extremely profitable. When Time Warner sold Six Flags in 1995, Pittman decided to take his payoff from the sale and look for new challenges. He joined Century 21 at the urging of his close friend and investor Henry Silverman and joined the board of directors of America Online.

In 1996 Steve Case, the CEO of America Online, hired Pittman to operate a company that was struggling

with outsized growth and expenses. As he had with radio stations, television programs, and amusement parks, Pittman used his marketing acumen and operational expertise to turn around AOL, as he led a spectacular growth spurt in subscriber and advertising revenue. When Case engineered the largest merger in U.S. business history with Time Warner to create the world's largest media company, Pittman became co-chief operating officer along with Richard Parsons under CEO Gerald Levin. When the AOL Time Warner board forced Levin to retire, it named Parsons chief executive officer to replace Levin, and Pittman chief operating officer of the entire company. However, the dot.com bubble burst, which partially led to AOL Time Warner stock plummeting at the same time that America Online's growth was slowing. Pittman agreed to take on the additional duties of being CEO of AOL in an attempt to help the struggling unit regain its early glory. However, he resigned in exhaustion in July 2002.

CHARLES WARNER

*See also* AOL Time Warner; MTV

**Robert Pittman.** Born in Jackson, Mississippi, December 28, 1953. Attended Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi. Married: 1) Sandy (divorced); child: Bo; 2) Veronique; children Andrew and Lucy. Started as a 15-year-old disk jockey, Jackson, Mississippi, 1968; worked in radio in Milwaukee and Detroit; program director, WPEZ-FM, Pittsburgh, 1971; program director, WMAQ-AM, Chicago, 1973; program director, WKQX-FM, 1975; program director, WNBC-AM, 1977; producer and host, weekly video music show for NBC-owned television stations, 1978; program director, the Movie Channel, 1979; head of programming, Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment; created programming for Music Television (MTV), 1981; president and chief executive officer, MTV Networks, 1983-87; cofounder of Quantum Media (with MCA), 1987; sold Quantum Media to Warner Communications, 1989; president and chief executive officer, Time Warner Enterprises, 1988-91; president and chief executive officer, Six Flags Entertainment, 1990-95; chief executive officer, Century 21 Real Estate, 1995-96; president, America Online, 1996-2000; Co-chief operating officer AOL Time Warner 2000-01; chief operating officer AOL Time Warner, 2001-02.

#### Television Series

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1988-89 | <i>The Morton Downey Jr. Show</i><br>(syndicated) |
| 1989-92 | <i>Totally Hidden Video</i>                       |

Pittman, Robert W.

### Television Special

1988 *The Street*

### Publication

"We're Talking the Wrong Language to 'TV Babies,'" *New York Times* (January 24, 1994)

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# Playhouse 90

## U.S. Anthology Drama

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A relative latecomer to the group of live anthology dramas, *Playhouse 90* was broadcast on CBS between the fall of 1956 and 1961. Its status as a "live" drama was short-lived in any case, since the difficulties in mounting a 90-minute production on a weekly basis required the adoption of the recently developed videotape technology, which was used to prerecord entire shows from 1957 onward. Both the pressures and the costs of this ambitious production eventually resulted in *Playhouse 90* being cut back to alternate weeks, sharing its time slot with *The Big Party* between 1959 and 1960. The last eight shows were aired irregularly between February and May 1960, with repeats broadcast during the summer weeks of 1961.

Despite its late entry into the field of anthology dramas, many considered, and still consider, *Playhouse 90* as the standard against which all other drama anthology programs are to be judged. Although its debut show, a Rod Serling adaptation of the novel *Forbidden Area*, failed to garner much critical interest, the following week's presentation of an original teleplay by Serling, *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, was quite notable, with the story becoming an enormous success both in this initial television broadcast and later as a feature film. *Requiem* swept the 1956 Emmys, winning awards in all six categories in which it was nominated, including Best Direction, Best Teleplay, and Best Actor. *Playhouse 90* established its reputation with this show and continued to maintain it throughout the remainder of its run.

The success of *Playhouse 90* continued into the 1957–58 season with productions of *The Miracle Worker*, *The Comedian*, and *The Helen Morgan Story*. Although these shows, along with *Requiem* and *Judg-*

*ment at Nuremberg*, were enough to ensure the historical importance of *Playhouse 90*, the program also stood out because of its emergence in the "film era" of television broadcasting evolution. By 1956 much of television production had moved from the East to the West Coast, and from live performances to filmed series. Most of the drama anthologies, a staple of the evening schedule to this point, fell victim to the newer types of programs being developed. *Playhouse 90* stands in contrast to the prevailing trend, and its reputation benefited from both the growing nostalgia for the waning live period and a universal distaste for Hollywood on the part of New York television critics. It is also probable that since the use of videotape (not widespread at the time) preserved a "live" feel, discussion of the programs could be easily adapted to the standards introduced by the New York television critics.

It has been argued that *Playhouse 90* in fact contributed to the demise of live television drama by making the genre too expensive to produce. The program's lavish budget was undoubtedly a factor in the quality of its productions, but its cost was enormous when compared with that of filmed series, against which it could not compete in the newly introduced ratings system. *Playhouse 90* stood out as an anomaly in its time, and its short run of less than four seasons suggested that a program of its kind could not survive in a changing production environment, regardless of its acclaim. Although *Playhouse 90* was an outstanding program, and representative of the best that drama anthology programs could offer, it was also the last of its genre to be shown as part of a regular network schedule.

KEVIN DOWLER



*Playhouse 90 1956–60: Requiem for a Heavyweight, Ed Wynn, Jack Palance, Keenan Wynn, 1956.*  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**See also Anthology Drama; Coe, Fred; “Golden Age” of Television; Mann, Abby; Robinson, Hubbell; Serling, Rod**

#### **Producers**

Martin Manulis, John Houseman, Russell Stoneman,  
 Fred Coe, Arthur Penn, Hubbell Robinson

#### **Programming History**

133 episodes

CBS

October 1956–January 1960 Thursday 9:30–  
 11:00

July 1961–September 1961 Tuesday 9:30–  
 11:00

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## Poland

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For much of its early existence, Polish television remained in radio's shadow. Only in the 1960s did the postwar communist regime begin to take it seriously and recognize its usefulness as an instrument of propaganda. Despite developing in a totalitarian system, the medium was never completely politicized; since the fall of communism and subsequent deregulation of the media landscape, politicians have sought closely to control its development.

Preliminary experiments date back to the 1930s. Although limited in scope, and centered in Warsaw, they encouraged Polish Radio to plan a custom-built television studio (1940) and to inaugurate a regular service by 1941, but the German occupation set back progress by nearly a decade. It was 1947 before the State Telecommunications Institute resumed trials. In late 1951 the exhibition "Radio in the Struggle for Progress and Peace" demonstrated television's capabilities to some 100,000 visitors. A half-hour test broadcast in October 1952 from the Ministry of Communications marked the official launching of Polish television (TVP) and regular transmissions of up to an hour's duration, usually every Friday, soon followed (January 1953). The medium's onerous working conditions, together with its limited range, militated against serious treatment by the party. Therefore, the criterion of political reliability played little part in appointments.

Rapid technological advances and the start of domestic set production (the Soviet-based *Wisła* and *Belweder* models) in 1956 accelerated television's expansion in the late 1950s. Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz formally opened the Warsaw Television Centre in May 1956, but television would no longer remain the capital's preserve. In line with the general tendency to decentralize cultural offerings, television centers quickly emerged in other cities. Simultaneously, the number of Polish license fee payers rose exponentially: from 5,000 in 1957 (when registration became compulsory) to 6.5 million by the mid-1970s. From 1957, television was on the air for several hours, five days a week; in February 1961 this increased to seven days. Indicative of television's growing importance, the Committee for Radiophonic Affairs was renamed the Radio and TV Committee (December 1960).

Under Jerzy Pański (director of programming, 1957–63), TVP established a reputation for its cultural

and entertainment schedule, which, unlike many other Eastern Bloc countries, also included nonsocialist films (*Rashomon*, *Wages of Fear*) and television serials (*Dr. Kildare*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*). *Teatr Telewizji*, one of its greatest achievements, began in 1958, and at the height of its popularity would be watched by almost half the available audience. TVP branched out into school programming (March 1961), and children's bedtime television (1962), but its political and informational programs, particularly the main evening news (*Dziennik TV*, 1958–90), assumed increasing importance in the propagation of ideology. By the end of the decade fraternal socialist productions outnumbered Western imports. Traditionally hostile to communist ideology, Poles could enjoy popular domestic series with pro-Soviet messages (such as *Stawka większa niż życie—A Stake Greater Than Life Itself*, 1968) while ignoring their partisan overtones. Television steadfastly promoted the official government line during crises (although events in 1968 saw the dismissal of 150 employees) yet also immortalized historic moments, such as First Secretary Edward Gierek's personal appeal to strikers on the Baltic Coast (1971) to return to work.

During the 1970s, when Gierek attempted a great economic leap forward (funded by Western credits that ultimately condemned Poland to chronic indebtedness), television played a crucial role in promoting his "propaganda of success." Under his crony, Maciej Szczepański (Radio and TV Committee Chairman, 1972–80), television was subjected to much more rigorous controls; Szczepański himself oversaw production of Gierek's speeches, and "live" interviews were prerecorded and thoroughly vetted, with presenters and guests learning their scripts by rote. It was the party leadership that took the major decisions—the Main Censorship Office (1945–90) played only an ancillary role. Television news, especially, presented an unswervingly positive image of contemporary life, in stark contrast to most Poles' experience.

New technology and the industry's expansion at the turn of the decade greatly facilitated this process. In 1969 massive studios opened in Warsaw, and the introduction of the Ampex system allowed prerecording. TVP2, designed to provide more high-brow programming, started in December 1970, while color broadcasts (like Soviet television, using the Secam system)

commenced in time for the VI Party Congress (December 1971). Television schedules offered a mélange of mindless entertainment, propaganda, foreign imports, and high culture. Bergman and Fellini films ran alongside *Columbo* and *Kojak*, popular domestic soaps (*Czterdziestolatek—Forty-Year-Old*) and, with Poland's growing international success in soccer (1974) and athletics, extensive sports coverage.

The massive turnout to greet Pope John Paul II's first visit (June 1979) presented a major challenge, and the government permitted television to transmit only heavily manipulated reports. Not even TVP, however, resisted the emergence of Solidarity (the regional Interenterprise Strike Committee, August 1980). The party leadership tolerated programs such as *Listy o gospodarce* (*Letters on the Economy*, November 1980), where viewers wrote in to criticize the economic and political situation. From March 1981, officials appeared on *Monitor Rządowy* (*Government Monitor*), every Friday after the main evening news, to justify their activities. The declaration of martial law (December 13, 1981) ushered in a sharp, but brief, political freeze. TVP2 went off-air until February 1982, presenters appeared in military uniform to read out official announcements, and the secret police took over television's upper echelons. Seventy employees were interned for pro-Solidarity sympathies. Television news displayed an extreme antiopposition bias. In protest, many actors mounted an effective boycott of television, lifting it only in the more liberal climate of the mid-1980s.

The last decade of communist rule initiated several key changes in TVP's profile. The rise of Latin American soaps (*Isaura the Slave-Girl*), the introduction of erotic movies (the so-called pink series) and more chic news programs (such as *Teleexpress* [1986], and *Panorama dnia* [1987]), and commercials indicated a shift toward capitalism. The government, lacking credibility in society at large, realized it could not reform the economy without Solidarity's assistance and brokered the Round Table talks of February to April 1989. Here, a special subcommittee dealt with media issues. Solidarity's demands included access to TVP, the transformation of state television into a public broadcaster, and the reinstatement of journalists sacked during martial law. Prior to the first semifree elections of May 1989, it duly received television slots (*Studio Solidarność*) to promote its candidates. Its other demands would be met in the months that followed electoral "victory" (near total control of the newly established Senate, and all the seats available in the lower house). The creation of the first postcommunist government under the Catholic intellectual Tadeusz Mazowiecki (August 1989), followed by the dissolution of the party

(January 1990), heralded the end of the party's audiovisual monopoly.

The need to create democratic institutions often from scratch also had a profound impact on television. It played a key role in those changes by providing an important forum for political candidates in local, presidential (1990), then parliamentary elections (1991). In the chaos of transformation, politicians, reluctant to expose TVP to competition before it had the chance to transform, delayed much-needed new legislation. The December 1992 law established a nine-member National Radio and TV Council (KRRT) as the supreme body in audiovisual media affairs and transformed state television into a joint stock company as of January 1, 1994, its single shareholder being the Treasury. The KRRT was further charged with defining the criteria for license allocation over two rounds of bidding (1994, 1997). The law limited the share of foreign capital in Polish terrestrial broadcasters to one-third, but evoked most controversy for an ill-defined clause requiring programmers to respect "Christian values."

Public television, meanwhile, implemented internal changes, creating a Biuro Reklamy (Advertising Bureau) (by 1994, advertising would provide 51 percent of TVP's total income) and embarking on a massive expansion from 1992. Breakfast programming (*Kawa czy herbata—Coffee or Tea*) extended the daily schedule while TVP's autonomous regional centers (eventually 12 in number and known collectively as TVP3) commenced their own local production, a move that required enormous financial investment. TV Polonia, a satellite channel for Polish communities abroad, launched in 1993, and a dedicated digital music channel, *Tylko Muzyka* (April 1997–February 1998), broke more new ground. As of January 1, 1995, TVP started using the PAL system, the Western European norm. The increasing share of revenue from advertising made public television highly sensitive to commercial competition and its resultant downmarket shift laid it open to charges of "dumbing down." TVP successfully adopted Western formats: game shows (*Blind Date*, *Wheel of Fortune*), fly-on-the-wall documentaries, chat shows, and more relaxed news programming (a multipresenter *Wiadomości* replacing *Dziennik*). TVP2, traditionally more high-brow, also reflected these trends, showing American police high-speed pursuits alongside the minilectures of the philosopher Leszek Kołakowski. Despite such activity, TVP remains hamstrung by its comparatively low funds (amounting to only one-sixth of French public television's) and shows a tendency—most evident in program quality—to spread those funds thinly. Attempts at restructuring have largely failed.

Piracy characterized private broadcasting in the

early 1990s, since the Ministry of Communications granted a license to only one new station (Echo, 1990). Small private stations mushroomed across Poland, many of which eventually joined Polonia 1, established by the Italian media magnate Nicolo Grauso in 1993. When he failed to win a franchise, Grauso withdrew from the scene, and Polonia 1 moved to Italy. TV Odra (1994) now serves as an umbrella for about a dozen stations broadcasting in the west and north of Poland. Somewhat surprisingly, given its lack of capital, the Franciscan Order's TV Niepokalanów (1995) received a nationwide license in 1994 on condition that advertising did not exceed 2 percent of its schedule. In 2001, it managed to raise this to 15 percent, paying a larger fee for its franchise; and TV Puls, which then started broadcasting on its frequencies, supplemented its largely religious programming with family entertainment (*The Cosby Show*, *Little House on the Prairie*).

The greatest challenge to TVP comes from two private stations—Zygmunt Solorz's Polsat (1992), the only totally commercial station with a nationwide franchise, and Mariusz Walter's TVN (1997), which began as a supraregional station but has since expanded. Solorz won a ten-year franchise in 1994, and, in addition to his major cable interests (Dami) and media investments in all three Baltic states, has developed his terrestrial holdings—adding TV4, formerly the debt-ridden Nasza Telewizja (*Our Television*, 1997)—and extended into satellite (Polsat 2, 1997), and digital (Polsat Cyfrowy, 2000). TVN became an exclusively Polish concern after the withdrawal of its American partner CME in 1998. Its original license gave access to northern Poland, Warsaw, and Łódź, but Walter bought TV Wisła (1994) in 1997, thereby extending TVN's coverage to the south. Its presence was further enhanced by inclusion in the pay-per-view digital platform Wizja TV. In September 2001 TVN started broadcasting the first news channel, TVN 24, loosely modeled on CNN.

Polsat has occasionally achieved higher ratings than TVP1 (up to 30 percent audience share in 1998), but like TVN is generally seen as being more downmarket. Both have gained notoriety for their reality shows: TVN launched *Big Brother* in Spring 2001, which the KRRT condemned as "socially harmful," but proved enormously popular with the audience (70 percent/8.4 million viewers watched the final episode). Its other key programs include *Milionerzy* (*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*, autumn 1999) and *Fakty*, its main evening news program, which is almost as popular as *Wiadomości*. The poaching of several TVP star presenters (including Tomasz Lis, Krzysztof Ibisz) boosted its profile. Polsat's soaps enjoy greater success; it owns

the rights to the lucrative European Champions League and broadcast the 2002 World Cup. Together, TVP, TVN, and Polsat currently dominate television advertising (90 percent of all ad spend/US\$1.45 billion in 2001).

Cable and digital television are growing in importance. Cable's origins lie in the early 1990s: key operators today are Polska Telewizja Kablowa (PTK: founded 1989, license 1995) with networks in most cities, and Aster City Cable (license 1997). Digital has been an arena of major struggle between American-backed operations—HBO (1996) and Wizja TV (launched 1998; taken over by the Dutch-owned United Pan-Europe Communications in 1999)—and the French Canal+ Cyfrowy (license 1997). The former broadcast from outside Poland (from Hungary and the United Kingdom, respectively) to circumvent restrictions on foreign capital, which caused Canal+ to complain about unfair competition. However, in December 2001, Wizja and Canal+ merged to form a single company, Telewizja Korporacja Partycypacyjna (25 and 75 percent shares, respectively). Further concentration of cable and digital television looks likely.

Controversy dogged both licensing rounds, with the Supreme Court challenging nearly every award on procedural grounds. In each case the KRRT has confirmed its original decision. Politicians often intervene in the workings of television: President Wałęsa, dissatisfied with the 1994 licensing round, sacked the KRRT head, Marek Markiewicz, although his authority to do so was doubtful. The political composition of the Council remains a contentious issue, with all parties seeking to advance their own agendas. These problems particularly affect TVP, one of whose most dynamic directors, Wiesław Walendziak, resigned in protest at political interference in February 1996. His successor, Ryszard Miazek, declared that TVP journalists should seek to inform viewers about, rather than comment on, politicians' statements, which seemed to presage a return to communist practices.

A new media bill, designed to bring Poland (a member of the European Broadcasting Union since 1992) into line with EU legislation, is creating a major furor. The bill lifts restrictions on foreign capital for European businesses and relaxes them for others, proposes strict limits on cross-media ownership (no nationwide newspaper can simultaneously own a national station), and greatly bolsters TVP's position by allowing it to launch unlimited channels. President Kwaśniewski has promised to exercise his veto. The Polish television industry nonetheless constitutes one of the great success stories of postcommunist Central and East European broadcasting.

JOHN BATES



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# Poldark

## British Historical Drama

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*Poldark* is one of the most successful British television dramas of all time. The popularity of the first series in 1975 was matched by enthusiastic reception of the 1993 video release. As a costume drama, scheduled for early evening family viewing, *Poldark* was not unusual, but its exterior sequences, cast, and immense popularity have made it ultimately memorable. The first episode, opening to Ross Poldark's ride across the Cornish landscape on his return from the U.S. War of Independence, was seen by an audience of 5 million. As the series continued, this figure rose to an average of 15 million viewers. The two BBC *Poldark* series sold to more than 40 countries, and in 1996 a made-for-television movie sequel aired on ITV.

The *Poldark* series are all closely based on the novels of Winston Graham, well known for his thrillers and for the screen adaptations of his later nonhistorical books, the British film noir *Fortune Is a Woman* (1956) and *Marnie* (1964), directed by Alfred Hitchcock. In 1969 Associated British Picture bought an option on the *Poldark* best sellers and commissioned a four-hour Cornish equivalent to *Gone With the Wind*. However, the film project was dropped during the EMI takeover of the company. The option was taken over by London films, who eventually collaborated with the BBC.

The first BBC series dramatizes the original four novels Graham wrote at the end of World War II. Graham had initially planned a trilogy set in 18th-century Cornwall, which would explore the love triangle between the war hero Captain Poldark, his less-exciting cousin Francis Poldark, and the aristocratic Elizabeth Chynoweth. However, as the narrative developed, Graham became more interested in the social situation in

Cornwall at that time and the dramatic contrast between the oppressed poor and the new landowning classes. Graham added the engaging urchin Demelza, who marries Ross out of her class, and a fourth book focused on the villain, the nouveau riche George Warleggan.

The first series established Ross Poldark as a character at war with his own class. After his return to Cornwall and his failure to win back Elizabeth, Ross attempts to restore Nampara, his father's ruined estate. He shocks his neighbors by marrying Demelza, the daughter of a brutal miner, and interesting himself in the affairs of those who work for him. His legitimate business deals and mining company ventures bring him into direct competition with George Warleggan. Illegal activities, such as the false charge of incitement to riot and, later smuggling, also bring Poldark into conflict with the Warleggans. In this feud, Poldark is portrayed as the forward-looking, benevolent landowner and entrepreneur, whereas Warleggan is seen as a tyrannical arriviste, whose grand house is burnt to the ground by dispossessed miners and tenants.

The house-burning scene and climax to the first series was a radical departure from Graham's novels. Although the author felt that the first series was marred by the use of a different writer for every episode, Graham wrote a further trilogy for adaptation and became closely involved with the second series made in 1977. This series follows the fortunes of four different marriages: that of the Poldarks; Elizabeth's marriage to Warleggan; Caroline's union with the progressive doctor Dwight Enys; and the marriage of Elizabeth's un-



*Poldark*. Angharad Rees, Robin Ellis, 1975.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

happy cousin Morwenna. All are affected by the intense rivalry between Poldark and Warleggan. Ross Poldark and George Warleggan continue their feud in London as well as Cornish society by becoming opposing members of Parliament.

The outdoor locations set the first series apart from other studio-based costume dramas. Scenes such as the dramatic rescue of Dr. Enys from a prisoner of war camp in revolutionary France; the wrecking of the Warleggan ship; and action set in mines, against seascapes, and on coastal paths all created a spectacular backdrop for the vicissitudes of Poldark's marital and financial dilemmas. The contrast between the theatrical approach to studio production and the spontaneity engendered by location filming gave the historical drama a unique, fresh quality.

Not surprisingly, the BBC expressed an interest in making a third series, but at that time Graham did not feel that he could write the books required for the source material. However, Graham did come to write

additional books dealing with a second generation of Poldarks, continuing the Warleggan feud and introducing the industrial revolution to Cornwall. The 1996 TV movie based on some of this material, and featuring new actors in the lead roles, was not as well received as the 1970s series.

NICKIANNE MOODY

**Cast**

Ross Poldark	Robin Ellis
George Warleggan	Ralph Bates
Jud Paynter	Paul Curran
Mark Daniel	Martin Fisk
Francis Poldark	Clive Francis
Caroline Penvenen Enys	Judy Gleason
Demelza Poldark	Angharad Rees
Verity Poldark (1975)	Norma Streader
Elizabeth Warleggan Poldark	Jill Townsend
Prudie	Mary Wimbush
Francis Poldark (1975)	Clive Francis
Sir Hugh Bodrugan (1975)	Christopher Benjamin
Lady Bodrugan (1975)	Cynthia Grenville
Jeremy Poldark (1977)	Thomas Grady
Sam Carne (1977)	David Delve
Drake Carne (1977)	Kevin McNally
Zacky Martin	Forbes Collins
Geoffrey Charles	Stefan Gates
Morwenna	Jane Wymark
Dwight Enys (1975)	Richard Morant
Dwight Enys (1977)	Michael Caldman

**Producers**

John McRae, Morris Barry, Tony Coburn

**Programming History**

BBC	
1975	16 episodes
1977	13 episodes

**Further Reading**

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## Police Programs

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Since its beginnings in the late 1940s the U.S. police procedural genre has continued to bring together a variety of social issues with physical action. It is unabashedly a genre of car chases and gun battles and fistfights, but it is also imbued with values critical to the fabric of a society: justice, social order, law. More than any other TV genre, the police program brings into sharp relief the conflicts between individual freedom and social responsibility in a democratic society. Although the police are closely related to the private detective in their pursuit of criminals, they are ultimately an employee of the state, not a private individual, and are sworn "to protect and to serve." In theory, this means the police officer is expected to enforce society's laws and maintain order (unlike the private eye, who can be more flexible in his/her obedience to the rule of law). In practice, though, policing figures can also be disruptive forces, violating the letter of the law in order to enforce a "higher" moral code. As times change and ideology shifts, so does the police drama.

Although 1949's *Stand by for Crime* and *Chicagoland Mystery Players* provided television's first police detectives, neither was as influential as their long-running successor, *Dragnet*, which had two separate TV incarnations, from 1952 to 1959 and then from 1967 to 1970. *Dragnet* defined the genre during the 1950s. Jack Webb produced and starred as Sergeant Joe Friday, who doggedly worked his way through official police procedures. *Dragnet* drew its stories from California court cases and prided itself on presenting "just the facts," as Friday frequently reminded witnesses. Friday was an efficient bureaucrat with a gun and a badge, a proud maintainer of police procedure and society's rules and regulations. Producer Webb had such success with this formula that he returned to the police procedural program in the 1970s with *Adam 12*.

The police procedural strain dominated the genre during the 1950s, but its dry presentational style and endorsement of the status quo came under attack in the 1960s. Webb's programs seemed anachronistic and out of touch with many viewers' reality during that turbulent decade. New issues, imagery, and character types revived the genre in programs such as *Ironside* and *The Mod Squad*.

*Ironside*, in contrast to the Webb programs, attempted to pour a liberal politics into the mold of the

police drama. *Ironside*'s team of crime fighters cobbled together representatives of society's disenfranchised groups (women, African Americans, and the young) under the guidance of a liberal patriarch, the wheelchair-bound Robert Ironside (Raymond Burr). Ironside was an outsider who understood the workings of police procedure but chose not to function within the system. Instead, he formed an alliance of sharply defined individuals outside the bounds of the police organization proper. *Ironside* did not challenge the status quo, but neither did it fully endorse it.

In *The Mod Squad*, the policing characters were drawn from Hollywood's vision of 1960s countercul-



*Inspector Maigret*, Michael Gambon, 1991.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*Police Woman*, Angie Dickinson, 1974–78.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ture: “one white, one black, one blond,” the advertising promised. Although actual members of the counterculture spurned the program as fake and inaccurate, *The Mod Squad* illustrated how policing figures can adopt an antisocial patina, how they can come to resemble the rebellious and anarchic forces they are supposed to contain.

The 1970s saw a flood of police programs (approximately 42 premiered during the decade) and their protagonists became increasingly individualistic and quirky. They came closer and closer to the alienated position of the private detective and moved farther and farther from the *Dragnet*-style police procedural. The title figures of *McCloud*, *Columbo*, and *Kojak* were police detectives marked as much by personal idiosyncrasies as by concerns with proper procedure or the effectiveness of law enforcement. *McCloud* (Dennis Weaver) was a deputy from New Mexico who brought western “justice” to the streets of Manhattan. *Columbo* (Peter Falk) dressed in a crumpled raincoat and feigned lethargy as he lured suspects into a false sense of confidence. And *Kojak* (Telly Savalas) was as well known for his bald head and constant lollipop sucking as for problem solving.

The 1970s inclination toward offbeat police officers peaked in detectives that spent so much time undercover (and masqueraded so effectively as criminals) that the distinction between police and criminals became less and less clear. *Toma* (a ratings success even though it lasted just one season) and *Baretta* led the way in this regard, drawing their inspiration from *Serpico*, a popular Peter Maas book that eventually evolved into a film and a low-rated TV series. These unorthodox cops bucked the police rulebook and lived unconventional lives, but, ultimately, they existed on a higher moral plane than the regular police officer.

The genre was also fortified in the 1970s through other strategies: incorporating a medical discourse (*Quincy, M.E.*), setting policemen astride motorcycles (*CHiPs*—a term, incidentally, that was fabricated by the program and is not used by the California Highway Patrol), or casting younger, hipper actors (*Starsky and Hutch*).

By the 1980s the police drama was a well-established genre, possibly in danger of stagnation from the glut of programs broadcast during the previous decade. With remarkable resiliency, however, the genre continued to evolve through a series of programs that took its basic conventions and thoroughly reworked them. *Hill Street Blues*, *Cagney and Lacey*, and *Miami Vice* were very different programs, but each of them was seen as an iconoclastic, rule-breaking police program.

Police programs have always invoked realism and claimed authenticity, as was apparent in the genre’s archetype, *Dragnet*. But there are different forms of realism, and *Hill Street Blues* altered the prevailing understanding of realism. Among its innovations were documentary-film techniques (such as the handheld camera), fragmented and disjointed narrative structure (actions kept happening without conventional motivation and/or explanation), and morally ambiguous characterizations (mixing good and evil in a single individual). *Hill Street Blues* also altered the usually all-white, usually all-male composition of the police force by including women and minorities as central figures—a trend that had begun in the 1970s.

*Cagney and Lacey* took the inclusion of women characters and women’s concerns much further than *Hill Street Blues* or *Ironside*. Indeed, it challenged the genre’s patriarchal underpinnings in fundamental, unprecedented ways. There had been women-centered police programs as early as 1974’s *Get Christie Love* and *Police Woman*, but these programs were more concerned with exploiting Teresa Graves’s or Angie Dickinson’s sexual desirability than presenting a feminist agenda. *Cagney and Lacey*, in contrast, confronted women’s issues that the genre had previously ignored: breast cancer, abortion, birth control, rape (particularly acquaintance rape), and spousal abuse.

That *Cagney and Lacey* disrupted the male-dominated genre is evidenced by the battles that had to be fought to keep it on the air. In the most notorious incident, the role of detective Christine Cagney was recast after the first, low-rated season because, according to an unnamed CBS executive quoted in *TV Guide*, “The American public doesn’t respond to the bra burners, the fighters, the women who insist on calling manhole covers peoplehole covers.... We perceived them [actors Tyne Daley and Meg Foster] as dykes.” Consequently, a more conventionally feminine actor (Sharon Gless) assumed the Cagney role. (Gless was actually



*Hawaii Five-O, Jack Lord, Khigh Dhiagh, 1968–80.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

the third actor to play the part; Loretta Swit played Cagney in the made-for-TV movie version.) Despite this ideological backpedaling, *Cagney and Lacey* went on to establish itself as one of the most progressively feminist programs on television.

The third 1980s police program to unsettle the conventions of the genre was *Miami Vice*. This immensely popular show featured undercover cops who were so far "under" that they were almost indistinguishable from the criminals: quite a far cry from Sergeant Friday. In *Miami Vice*, good and evil folded back over each other in impenetrable layers of disguise and duplicity. James "Sonny" Crockett (Don Johnson) and Ricardo "Rico" Tubbs (Philip Michael Thomas) usually found their way out of the urban jungle they patrolled, but not always. In one season, Crockett was stricken with amnesia and actually believed himself to be a hoodlum. The clearly demarcated moral universe of *Dragnet* had become hopelessly ambiguous.

However, moral ambiguity was not entirely new to the genre. This territory was frequently traveled by previous programs such as *Baretta*. What was truly innovative in *Miami Vice* was the style of its sound and image, rather than its themes. *Miami Vice* borrowed its imagery from *film noir*: high contrast, imbalanced lighting, dissymmetrical compositions, extreme low and high camera angles, foreground obstructions, black-and-white set design, and so on. These images were often edited together into elusive, allusive, music-video-style segments incorporating music by Tina Turner, Glenn Frey, Suicidal Tendencies, and many others. This led some critics to nickname the show "MTV cops."

*Hill Street Blues* and *Miami Vice* paved the way for further experimentation with the genre. Stephen Bochco, the producer of *Hill Street Blues*, began the 1990s with *Cop Rock*, a bold, but ultimately failed, effort to blend the police program with the musical. Unlike *Miami Vice*'s musical segments, which drew upon music video, *Cop Rock*'s episodes more resembled *West Side Story* or an operetta, as police officers, criminals, and attorneys sang about life on the streets. It only lasted three months, but it stands as one of the most unconventional programs within the genre.

Bochco fared better in more familiar surroundings when he developed *NYPD Blue*, a program about police detectives that resembles *Hill Street Blues* in its serialized, unstable narrative development and cinema verité visual style. Although the program raised some controversy in its use of partial nudity and more flavorful language than was common on television at the time, it actually has broken little new ground as far as the genre's conventions were considered. More unconventional in its narrative structure is *Law and Order*, in which the program is strictly divided between the first

and second halves. In the former, the police investigate a crime, and in the latter the district attorney's office prosecute that crime. Like *NYPD Blue*, *Law and Order* is set in New York City and it presents its urban environment through conventions of "realism" that evolved from *Hill Street Blues*.

The legacy of *Miami Vice*'s visual stylization was most apparent in *Homicide: Life on the Street*, which may well have been the most stylized police drama of the 1990s. *Homicide* broke many of television's most sacred rules of editing and narrative continuity. Jump cuts were numerous, as the program came to resemble a French New Wave film from the 1960s. Wild camera movements and unpredictable shifts in narrative development marked it as one of the most unconventional programs in the genre.

Another anomalous 1990s police program was David E. Kelley's *Picket Fences*. Although many of the central characters were police officers (thus possibly qualifying it for the genre), *Picket Fences* did not adhere to the central police-program convention of an urban environment. Instead, the program was set in a small town, which consequently avoided the pressures of city life. Moreover, *Picket Fences* dealt with many topics previously unknown to the genre (such as spontaneous combustion of a human being). Perhaps because of its quirkiness, this program has not had much impact on the genre. It was, however, a significant antecedent to Kelley's series about lawyers, *The Practice* and *Ally McBeal*, both of which continue his fascination with the idiosyncrasies of the U.S. legal system.

One program that has influenced the police genre is the documentary program *COPS*, produced by John Langley. *COPS* presents handheld, videotape footage of actual police officers apprehending criminal perpetrators. There is no host introducing this footage and the only explanation of what is happening is provided by the participants themselves (principally, the police men and women). In a sense, *COPS* is merely the logical extension of *Hill Street Blues*' shooting style and disjointed narratives—and is much cheaper to produce. There have been a number of *COPS* parodies, including an episode of *The X-Files* shot in the *COPS* style and following the pursuit of a monster.

As the 1990s ended, the police drama waned slightly. Don Johnson of *Miami Vice* returned to the genre in *Nash Bridges*, which managed to last six seasons despite mediocre ratings. Innovative programs such as *Homicide*, *NYPD Blue*, and *Law and Order* were canceled (*Homicide*) or settled into conventional patterns (*NYPD Blue*). Even iconoclastic producer Bochco's latest attempt at a police drama, *Brooklyn South*, seemed all too familiar and was soon taken off the air. There are signs, however, that the genre may

reinvigorate itself. *Law and Order*, for example, has proven quite successful with audiences, who seem to enjoy the format in which each crime is solved in a single episode, and private lives of the principal characters remain unexplored. The original series has led to three spin-offs. *Law and Order SVU (Special Victims Unit)* focuses on crimes dealing with sexually related offenses. *Law and Order CI (Criminal Intent)* examines crimes by exploring the perspectives of the criminals involved. *Crime and Punishment*, the most recent production, presents itself as a "dramamentary" and follows real-life cases as they are prosecuted by the San Diego, California, district attorney's office.

Another innovative program, *C.S.I.: Crime Scene Investigation*, has recast the police detective as a forensic scientist. The series' high-tech gadgetry and stylized visuals have attracted a sizable audience and has also spun off a related program, *C.S.I. Miami*. These developments suggest that the genre can still find new ways to present issues of crime, justice, and the preservation of social order.

JEREMY G. BUTLER

*See also Cagney and Lacey; Columbo; Dixon of Dock Green; Dragnet; Homicide; Inspector Morse; La Plante, Lynda; Miami Vice; Naked City; NBC Mystery Movie; NYPD Blue; Police Story; Prime Suspect; Starsky and Hutch; Sweeney; Untouchables; Webb, Jack; Z Cars*

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## Police Story

### U.S. Police Anthology

*Police Story* is a title shared by two unrelated police anthology programs. The first *Police Story* aired on CBS during 1952. The live, half-hour program dramatized actual crimes lifted from the files of law enforcement agencies across the United States. The series anticipated "reality" crime programs such as *Rescue 911* with its emphasis on casting actors who resembled the actual participants and use of the real names of police officers. Norman Rose narrated the series.

The better-known *Police Story* series ran from 1973 to 1977 on NBC. In 1988 four made-for-television movies based on the original's script aired on ABC. Los Angeles police officer and writer Joseph Wambaugh created the series after his first two police novels, *The Blue Knight* and *The New Centurions*, made the best-seller lists. (*The Blue Knight* was also adapted into a series for CBS.)

Airing during a network television era rife with



crime dramas, *Police Story* distinguished itself from other programs in the genre through its anthology format and emphasis on a more realistic depiction of police officers. Set in 1970s Los Angeles, *Police Story* focused on officers from various divisions of the Los Angeles Police Department. While the series had its share of car chases and psycho killers, Wambaugh and series producer David Gerber primarily concentrated on making police officers more three-dimensional and human. The series presented the job of police officer as challenging, dangerous, and at times mundane. Undercover detectives spent their lives on stakeouts; rookie cops faced tough street educations; SWAT sharpshooters hit innocent bystanders. Problems such as corruption and racism on the police force and tensions between ethnic communities were frequently explored. The personal lives of the characters were also examined, most often in the context of the pressures police work put on all members of the cop's family.

Although the visual and aural style of *Police Story* episodes were on the whole indistinguishable from other crime dramas of the era, the series introduced and concluded episodes with simple recurring motifs that asserted the series' verisimilitude. Each episode opened with the brief *Police Story* title and then leapt into its story. Episodes ended with a blurry freeze frame of the last bit of action. The audio of the scene fell silent and was replaced by the chillingly efficient voice and static of police dispatchers making a radio call, "Eleven-Mary-six, call the station. Thirteen-zero-five, John-Frank-William, eight-nine-nine."

The result of these narrative and aesthetic conventions was an at times disturbing picture of police officers operating on the edge of society and their own personal sanity. While episodes consistently started stronger than they finished, the anthology format and the ever-present influence of documentary film conventions helped *Police Story* to stand out from more familiar cops-and-robbers fare. These stylistic factors suggest that the series was, in various ways, the predecessor of later police programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue*, and *Homicide: Life on the Street*. The series received wide critical praise and Emmy

nominations for Outstanding Dramatic Series every year during its 1970s run.

Although most episodes in *Police Story* were unrelated, a few actors reprised their characters across several episodes. Don Meredith and Tony LoBianco appeared as partners or separately in six episodes from 1973 to 1975. Two *Police Story* episodes also served as spin-offs for the police dramas *Police Woman* and *Joe Forrester*. Gerber produced these series as well.

STEPHEN LEE

#### Producers

Stanley Kallis, David Gerber, Liam O'Brien, Christopher Morgan, Hugh Benson, Mel Swope, Larry Broder, Carl Pingitore

#### Programming History

84 episodes

NBC

October 1973–September 1975	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
September 1975–October 1975	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
November 1975–August 1976	Friday 10:00–11:00
August 1976–August 1977	Tuesday 10:00–11:00

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## Political Processes and Television

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Since its beginnings television in the United States has been intertwined with political processes of every type, covering major political events and institutions

and affecting the direction of campaigns and elections. From its early position as a new medium for political coverage in the 1950s, television quickly supplanted



radio and newspapers to become, by the early 1960s, the major source of public information about politics.

### Televised Coverage of Major Political Events

Television's influence grew quickly by providing audiences with the chance to experience major political events live or with little delay. For instance, observers have long discussed the fact that television coverage of the famous 1954 McArthur Day Parade in Chicago communicated more excitement and a greater sense of immediacy to television viewers than to those participating in the live event. The televised hearings in conjunction with Senator Joseph McCarthy's search for communist sympathizers in the early 1950s also captured the attention of the public.

Probably no political event in the history of television coverage so mesmerized television audiences as the coverage of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Film of the actual tragedy in Dallas, Texas, was played and replayed, and Jack Ruby's subsequent assassination of suspect Lee Harvey Oswald occurred on live television.

By the 1970s the live coverage of major political events had become almost commonplace, but television's ability to lend drama and intimacy to political events continues to this day. Through television, Americans have been eyewitness to state funerals and foreign wars; a presidential resignation; hearings on scandals such as Watergate, Iran-Contra, and Whitewater; triumphs of presidential diplomacy and negotiation; and innumerable other political events.

### Television and Political Campaigns/Elections

No aspect of the political process has been affected more by television than political campaigns and elections. The first presidential election to see extensive use of television was the 1952 race between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. In that campaign, Richard M. Nixon, as Eisenhower's vice presidential candidate, "took his case to the people" to defend himself on television against corruption charges in his famous "Checkers" speech. However, the most significant innovation related to the role of television in the 1952 campaign was undoubtedly Eisenhower's use of short-spot commercials to enhance his television image. The Eisenhower campaign utilized the talent of successful advertising executive Rosser Reeves to devise a series of short spots that appeared, just like product ads, during commercial breaks in standard television programming slots. Not only did this strategy break new ground for political campaigning, but many observers have credited the spots with helping Eisenhower to craft a friendly,

charming persona that contributed to his eventual electoral success.

Stevenson made it easier for the Eisenhower campaign by refusing to participate in this type of electronic campaigning. Although Stevenson did produce television commercials for the 1956 campaign, he was never able to overcome Eisenhower's popularity.

This early use of television for political advertising was the beginning of a trend that has grown so dramatically that televised political advertising is now the major form of communication between candidates and voters in the American electoral system. Every presidential campaign since 1952 has relied heavily on political television spots. In the 2000 election, Al Gore and George W. Bush and their national parties spent over \$200 million on the production and airing of television spots. Even below the presidential level, spots now dominate most major statewide (particularly gubernatorial and U.S. Senate) and congressional races in the United States, accounting for 50 to 75 percent of campaign budgets.

Several reasons account for the preeminence of television advertising in politics. First, television spots and their content are under the direct control of the candidate and his/her campaign. Second, the spots can reach a much wider audience than other standard forms of electoral communication. Third, the spots, because they occur in the middle of other programming fare, have been shown to overcome partisan selectivity (i.e., the spots are generally seen by all voters, not just those whose political party is the same as that of the candidate). Finally, research has shown that voters actually learn more (particularly about issues) from political spots than they do from television news or television debates.

The use of television advertising in political campaigns has often been criticized of lowering the level of political discourse. Observers bemoan that television fosters drama and visual imagery, leading to an emphasis on a candidate's image or appearance, instead of policy issues. However, scholarly research has shown that television spots for campaigns at all levels are much more likely to concentrate on issues than on images.

Many observers also blame the rise of negative campaigning on the extensive reliance upon television for campaign communication. Scholars and journalists alike have noted that more and more political campaigns rely on negative television spots to attack opponents. Although even Eisenhower's original spot campaign in 1952 contained a large number of critical or negative messages and Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign spots attacking Barry Goldwater are considered classic negative ads (particularly the "Daisy Girl" spot), the news media labeled the 1980s as the heyday of negative spots. Over the history of political spot use,

about one-third of all spots for presidential campaigns have been negative spots.

One of the causes of increased negative spot use has been the growth in "independent expenditures" by political action committees (PACs) and other special-interest groups. Campaign finance regulations (the Federal Election Campaign Acts of 1971 and 1974 and amendments) and related Supreme Court decisions in the 1970s (*Buckley v. Valeo* [1976]) declared that, while limits on individual contributions to campaigns were legal, constitutional free-speech provisions prohibited limits on the amount individuals or groups could spend independently to advocate for or against a given candidate. Spending by independent individuals or groups on television spots has mushroomed since the 1980s, and often such television spending has been concentrated on negative attacks on candidates (usually incumbents).

Other than the federal election laws just noted, which created the Federal Election Commission to oversee campaign finance and expenditure reporting, there are very few regulations in the United States that affect television's role in the political process. The Federal Communications Act of 1934 contained the Equal Time Rule, which obligates television and radio stations that give or sell time to one candidate to do the same for all legally qualified candidates for federal office. The Fairness Doctrine, which has been retained only with regard to political campaigns and related attacks, provides for a prescribed right of response to attacks contained in broadcast programming. However, because of free speech concerns, neither the Federal Election Commission nor the Federal Communications Commission imposes any restrictions on the content of political-message broadcasts, except to require sponsor identification.

### Television News Coverage of Political Campaigns

Politics provide a great deal of natural content for television news programming. During political campaign periods, the national networks, as well as many local stations, devote substantial amounts of time to covering the candidates and their campaigns. So important has television news coverage of politics become that some observers suggest its growth has been accompanied by, and perhaps caused, the demise of political parties in U.S. politics. Media producer Tony Schwartz has commented that in the past, "political parties were the means of communication from the candidate to public. The political parties today are ABC, NBC, and CBS."

Because more people get their campaign news from television than from any other news source, there has

been great concern about how television actually covers a political campaign. Studies have shown that television's predispositions to drama and visual imagery have resulted in television news coverage that concentrates more on candidate images, "horse-race" journalism (who is winning, who is losing, opinion poll results), and campaign strategy than on issue concerns.

Television news coverage of campaigns has also come to rely extensively on "sound bites," snippets of candidate messages or commentary excerpts. By the late 1980s the average sound bite on national television news covering political campaigns was only about nine seconds. In addition to reliance on short sound bites, television news coverage of campaigns has been characterized by reliance on "spin doctors," individual experts who interpret events for viewers by framing, directing, and focusing remarks to favor one side or the other.

Since television coverage is so important to campaigns and politicians, the question of potential bias in coverage has been raised repeatedly. Former Vice President Spiro Agnew is often credited with raising the salience of potential bias in his 1969 speeches accusing television of political, liberal-leaning bias. Early studies of political bias in television, focused initially on the 1972 presidential campaign, concluded that there was little evidence of such bias. Scholars suggested instead that differences among media in their attention to particular candidates and issues might be attributed to structural characteristics of the media (e.g., television needs visuals more than newspapers do, television has a predisposition to drama, etc.). However, more recent investigations have led to less complacency, suggesting that there may be unexplained differences in coverage of Republican and Democratic, and conservative and liberal, political candidates.

In addition to outright political bias, television news has also been criticized for placing too much emphasis on coverage of candidate personalities, particularly the personal lives of candidates. Examples often cited as evidence of extremes in this regard are the scrutiny of the prior treatment for mental illness of McGovern's original vice presidential choice, Thomas Eagleton, and 1988 primary presidential candidate Gary Hart's extramarital affairs. Both were forced from the political arena by the surrounding media frenzy. This media fascination with personal issues reached new heights during the presidency of Bill Clinton, whose administration was plagued with a series of scandals investigated by an independent prosecutor and covered widely by the media. The media frenzy reached its greatest heights when Clinton's sexual involvement with White House intern Monica Lewinsky was re-

vealed. The media focus was intense and comprehensive, culminating in live coverage of congressional debates in which Clinton was eventually impeached by the U.S. House of Representatives in late 1998. Although the U.S. Senate acquitted the president, these events and the memorable media attention defined Clinton's presidency.

Television news also plays a major role in the coverage of the presidential candidate selection process before the national party conventions. By covering and scrutinizing candidates in state primaries and caucuses, television coverage can help determine which candidates are perceived by the electorate as viable and which might be dismissed as unlikely to succeed. This ability to give and withhold attention has been seen by many as making television's role in the political process a decisive one, since a candidate who does not do well in early primaries faces not only an uphill battle in subsequent contests but may have difficulty raising funds to continue at all. Coverage of primaries has also provided opportunities for coverage of events that have continued to be influential on through the general election. For instance, George H.W. Bush's unprecedented, hostile encounter with Dan Rather on the *CBS Evening News* in January 1988 is often credited with erasing Bush's "wimp" image and giving him momentum for the contests ahead. Conversely, Edmund Muskie was forever diminished when television cameras caught tears in his eyes at a New Hampshire primary rally early in the 1972 campaign.

News media coverage to politics is not limited to simple reporting on candidates and campaign activities, however. Television news has also played a large role in other aspects of the political process. In 1952 television covered its first series of national party conventions. While it was originally believed that such attention would bring the party process into the open and help voters better understand the political selection process, parties quickly learned to "script" their conventions for television. National television networks no longer provide gavel-to-gavel coverage of national party conventions, furnishing only convention highlights to viewers.

Televised campaign debates provide other fodder for the television news operation. The first televised debates in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon campaign were viewed as important, perhaps decisive, in Kennedy's victory. Kennedy's success has often been attributed to his impressive appearance on television in these debates. The next set of presidential debates did not occur until the 1976 contest between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, but there has been some type of single or multiple debate encounter in every subsequent presidential election. All of these cases have been notewor-

thy for the attention television news has focused on the events. In some instances, such as the second 1976 Ford-Carter debate, researchers have shown that television's emphasis on Ford's famous misstatement about Soviet domination of Poland and the Eastern bloc changed the interpretation and significance of the event to many viewers.

Presidential campaigns are defining moments for media involvement in the political process, and the 2000 campaign gave every indication of following a similar path, with media attention focused on the candidates' campaigns, their ads, and a series of debates. However, even the media were taken by surprise when a contest that was labeled "too close to call" on election eve could not be decided for several weeks. As the votes were counted on election night, the television networks first declared Gore the winner, then reversed to declare George W. Bush the president-elect, then eventually placed the race back in limbo. The uncertainty came down to Florida, where Bush held a slight lead that many speculated might disappear if various counties with possible voting irregularities were allowed to recount their ballots. As other states' voting totals were firmed up, the Florida votes remained in doubt. The media found new life for postcampaign coverage as they converged on Florida to watch and interpret for the public a series of legal challenges. When the U.S. Supreme Court eventually called a halt to the recount process on equal protection grounds in December, Florida's electoral votes went into the Bush column, making him the winner. However, for the first time in over a century, the presidential winner had won the contest on electoral votes, while losing the popular vote. The aftermath of the 2000 election experience led to a serious examination of the media's use of polling to project vote winners and its use of these data during election broadcasts.

Several innovations in television coverage of political campaigns were apparent in the last decades of the 20th century. One such innovation was the attention paid by the television news media to coverage of political television spots. News media personnel, in conjunction with their print journalist counterparts, decided that candidate-controlled spots should be scrutinized and critiqued by the news media. Beginning with the 1988 presidential contest, the television networks, as well as local stations, began to devote increased amounts of time to analyzing candidate spots in what came to be known as "ad watches." Television stations, particularly local ones, also began to take advantage of satellite technology and other remote-feed capabilities to provide more on-the-spot coverage of campaigns and candidates. Traditional television news formats, however, have found themselves challenged

by another innovation, the frequent appearance of political candidates on television talk shows and personality interview programs. These shows have provided candidates with new ways to pitch their messages, often with the benefit of direct voter call-in questions. The potential influence of such shows has been enhanced by the proliferation of cable channels offering multiple distribution systems. Another recent challenge to television's half-century-long dominance of the political process appears to be the increased use of the Internet for political information.

### Television and the Rise of Political Professionals

The increased importance of television to political campaigning is also largely responsible for the growth of political or media "handlers." The need to perform well on television (in controlled paid advertising, in debates, on talk shows, in news interviews, and on pseudoevents planned for television news coverage) has created a great demand for professional campaign consultants. Joe McGinniss's 1969 book, *The Selling of the President 1968*, brought new public visibility to the process by which media consultants mold and manage candidates for television by chronicling the media strategies and packaging of Nixon in his 1968 presidential bid. Dan Nimmo's *The Political Persuaders* (1970) helped a whole generation of political students and scholars understand this new partnership between candidates and media specialists. By the 1980s it was possible to point to particular philosophies and schools of consulting thought and to identify the specific strategies used by consultants to manipulate candidate images for television.

### Television and the Governing Process

While television's role in political campaigns and elections is difficult to overestimate, television's significance in the political process carries over to the governing of the nation. Television monitors government institutions and the governing process. Every branch of government is affected by this watchdog.

The president of the United States probably bears the greatest weight of this scrutiny. It is rare to see any national television newscast that does not contain one or more stories centered on the executive branch of government. In addition, presidents generally have the ability to receive free network television time for national addresses and for frequent press conferences. Their inaugural addresses and State of the Union addresses are covered live and in full. In *Presidential Television* (1973), Newton Minow, John Bartlow Mar-

tin, and Lee M. Mitchell first called attention to the tremendous advantage this coverage might yield for the president, suggesting that it gave the president the ability to command public attention and overpower the more divided and less-visible branches of the federal government, Congress and the Supreme Court. Certainly, the White House has been a plum assignment for television journalists, who have often been accused of being co-opted by the aura of power that surrounds the presidency. This unique situation has been characterized as leading, not to a traditional adversarial relationship between press and president, but to a symbiotic relationship in which journalist and politician need to use each other in order to prosper.

However, since the introduction of cameras into Congress in 1969 and the creation of the C-SPAN network to cover political affairs, there has been some leveling of the presidential advantage in television coverage. Although sometimes accused of "playing to the cameras" in their legislative work, congressional leaders believe this opening up of the governing process to the television audience has provided new understanding of and visibility for the legislative branch of government. The Supreme Court nonetheless continues to function outside the realm of day-to-day television coverage.

### Television and International Political Processes

As television's role in the U.S. political system has developed, increasing attention has been focused on the interrelationship between television and politics in many international political environments. Although often characterized by parliamentary and multiparty systems and government-owned media, many other democracies have been influenced by American styles of television campaigning and coverage. This "Americanization" of the media and political process can be seen in the growth of American-style political advertising and journalistic coverage. Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Israel, many Latin American countries, and others have seen this trend, and newly developing democracies in East and Central Europe are also being affected. These countries have not only seen the growth of television advertising and American patterns of media coverage of politics, but a corollary lessening of emphasis on political parties in favor of candidate-centered politics.

Media faced a new challenge to both domestic and international coverage when terrorists struck the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001. The aftermath of these horrific events and the challenges of live

coverage brought the media into the center of serious world events. The U.S. "war on terrorism" offered new opportunities for the media to demonstrate their ability to help the public understand complex events, while seeking to ensure that freedom of information and rights of free expression are preserved.

### Theories and Perspectives on Television and Politics

Early research into the effects of messages delivered through the mass media, particularly television, posited the so-called direct-effects theory: that television messages have direct effects on the behavior of recipients. However, the early research did not fully support this thesis, and scholars for a time tended to discount the notion that such messages directly affected the behavior of recipients such as voters. Recent studies of a more sophisticated design have tended to show that the media do affect behavior, although not necessarily in the most obvious ways initially anticipated.

Television has been proven to have sufficiently identifiable effects to justify a belief in some direct effect of the medium in the political process. While the foregoing discussion clearly implies some direct effects of television's participation in the political process, it is important to note that there are many different theories and interpretations about the role television and other media really play in affecting voter knowledge, opinions, and behavior. Dan Nimmo and Keith Sanders's classic treatment of political communication in *The Handbook of Political Communication* (1981) provides a good overview of the theories that have guided research in this area. Early theorists did assume a kind of direct effect from media exposure but were later cautioned to view the media as having a more limited role. Agenda-setting researchers were the first to break with the limited-effects model and to suggest that media coverage of particular issues in political campaigns affected the agenda of issues judged to be important by voters. Agenda-setting theory—the idea that the media does not tell us what to think, but what to think *about*—remains an important theory of media effects, and researchers have demonstrated that the agenda of issues and candidate characteristics stressed by television and other media may become the voters' agenda as well.

Researchers interested in the political effects of the television have also espoused a "uses and gratifications" theory suggesting that voters attend to various political media messages in order to use the information in various ways. Jay Blumler and his colleagues first proposed this theory as an explanation for why voters in Britain watch or avoid political party broadcasts.

Many other theories and perspectives on television's possible effects on political processes have been advocated. Researchers have demonstrated, for instance, that television may play an important role in political socialization, helping both children and adults to acquire knowledge about the political system and how it operates; however, exposure to television may increase voter cynicism and feelings of inefficacy. Others have suggested that we can best understand television's role in politics by viewing it as a medium through which fantasies "chain out" among the public, shaping views of events and political actors in a dramatist-like fashion. Critical and interpretive views also provide perspective on the interrelationship between governing philosophies, societal values, and television culture. All these approaches and orientations will be essential in the future, as television continues to play a central role in the political processes that touch the lives of citizens throughout the world.

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**See also Kennedy, John F.: Assassination and Funeral; Kennedy, Robert F.: Assassination; Kennedy-Nixon Presidential Debates, 1960; 2000 Presidential Election Coverage**

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## Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher

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Dubbed by some critics the "McLaughlin Group on Acid," *Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher* offered viewers of Comedy Central (1993–96) and later ABC (1997–2002) a unique twist on political talk on television. Hosted by comedian Bill Maher, the half-hour program featured four guests, selected in part for their status as "nonexperts on politics," who discussed political and social matters of the day. Designed to resemble a televised cocktail party, this hybrid political discussion/entertainment show featured a no-holds-barred approach to political talk designed to live up to the show's name.

The brainchild of stand-up comedian Maher, the show first appeared on Comedy Central in 1993. The cable channel was looking for original programming that would bring much-needed recognition and ratings to the young network, which had begun in 1991. *Politically Incorrect* (P.I.) was the first signature show for Comedy Central, helping define the channel as more

than simply a site for stand-up comedy routines and stale B movies.

Owned and produced by Brillstein-Grey Entertainment and HBO Downtown Productions, the show began its first season with 24 episodes. Taped in Manhattan, the weekly program featured Maher and an eclectic array of comedians, actors, and actresses, but also public personalities such as authors, politicians, journalists, activists, and sports and music stars. With the group sitting in a semicircle discussing politics, the show's early production values resembled those of a local cable access show. Still, it offered a serious but entertaining reformulation of both the entertainment and pundit talk show genres. The novelty lay in the concept: famous people, few of whom were political experts, talking about something other than their latest project. This format was generally considered the show's primary attraction for both audiences and the guests who increasingly requested to be on the show.

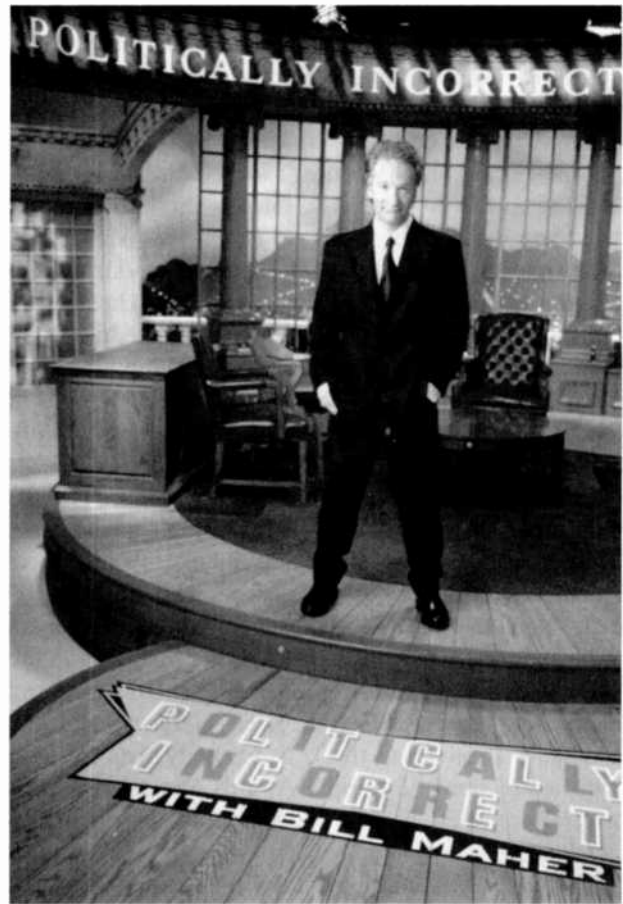
The discussions and arguments could seem glib and ironic, yet they offered viewers honest and passionate exchanges—a very different approach to political talk on television.

After producing 45 episodes and winning a Cable Ace Award in its second season, the show added Maher's name to the title and began appearing nightly during the third season. This allowed Maher and producers to include more topical discussions based on issues of the day. The show also appeared in the 11 P.M. (EST) time slot, going head-to-head with late-night network programming. Each show began with Maher offering a brief stand-up routine before launching into the panel discussions. In January 1996 the show moved its production to Los Angeles amid talk of the program becoming a post-*Nightline* companion show for the ABC network. In its last season on Comedy Central, *P.I.* produced *Indecision '96*, a satirical take on the 1996 presidential elections that included sending its own "correspondents" to both major party conventions for reports and interviews with politicians and delegates.

After producing 411 shows for Comedy Central, *Politically Incorrect* moved to ABC in January 1997, one of the first successful migrations from cable to network television. Though ABC had not competed in the "late-night comedy entertainment wars" since 1991, network executives thought the show would work well as a topical companion to *Nightline*. The show also enabled the network to appeal to the 18–49 demographic so desired by advertisers. By moving to ABC, *P.I.* was able to reach ten times the audience it had on Comedy Central while offering essentially the same show in the same format with little to no interference from network censors.

Like other cable news and talk channels, *P.I.*'s ratings were best when breaking news or controversial issues were available for discussion. The Oklahoma City bombing and the O.J. Simpson murder trial were favorite discussion topics for many shows on Comedy Central, but it would be the presidential scandal of Bill Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky that would comprise the show's most frequented topic during its early years at ABC. Maher was a persistent and aggressive supporter of Clinton during the controversy and impeachment proceedings, and the subject's mixture of sex and politics proved perfect for entertaining late-night discussions. The deliberations on *P.I.* were distinctive, however, more closely resembling public opinion on the scandal than views expressed on most pundit-staffed political talk shows (Jones, 2001).

During slow news periods, *P.I.* offered numerous thematic gimmicks to increase viewership. From



*Politically Incorrect*, Bill Maher.  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives

1999–2000, the show began sporadically featuring a "Citizen Panelist." Maher and his staff visited affiliate stations in various cities across the nation, conducting tryouts for a local citizen to win a guest spot on the show, thus fulfilling a top request from viewers—for a "regular" citizen to appear on the panel. The stunt may also have been designed to improve affiliate relations and clearance issues in these cities as well as to garner publicity and ratings points. To attract more politicians as panelists, the show was occasionally taped in Washington, D.C. To attract more intellectuals, it would be taped in New York. The show also taped episodes in London, in a prison in Arizona, and with mobsters as panelists in New York (to capitalize on the popularity of HBO's *The Sopranos*).

The show's defining moment, perhaps, occurred due to discussions about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001. Upon the show's return to the air after the attacks, Maher and panelist



Dinesh D'Souza began a discussion of whether the Bush administration's designation of the terrorists as "cowards" was an appropriate label. When D'Souza argued that the word was misplaced, Maher agreed saying, "We have been the cowards, lobbing cruise missiles from 2,000 miles away. That's cowardly. Staying in the airplane when it hits the building, say what you want about it, it's not cowardly." Maher was referring to American military conduct during the Clinton administration, but radio talk show hosts used the statement the following day to excoriate him as an unpatriotic traitor. Though the network supported the show and Maher attempted to clarify his statements in the days and weeks ahead, 17 affiliates eventually dropped the program—with 9 still refusing to show it six months later. Two major advertisers, Sear's & Roebuck and Federal Express, dropped their advertising. The comment even elicited a rebuke from White House press secretary Ari Fleischer, who said Americans "need to watch what they say." Maher and others have suggested that this event was the final step in the show's demise. In March 2002 Maher was honored along with George Carlin, Dick Gregory, and the Smothers Brothers at the U.S. Comedy Arts Festival with a Freedom of Speech Award. Maher's contract was not renewed, and the show went off the air in December 2002.

*Politically Incorrect* began with a cable channel's need for an identity in a competitive environment and as a comedian's jab at sanitized public discourse in an era of political correctness. But throughout its decade-

long run, the show proved that political talk on television was no longer the exclusive domain of news agencies and broadcast networks, and that elite sources of political commentary did not necessarily speak for or to many audience members. The show radically challenged traditional boundaries and generic conceptions of entertainment programming on the one hand, and serious public-affairs programming on the other. Indeed, *P.I.* represents the television talk show as a truly combinatory form with its blend of politics and social issues, humor and serious discourse, comedic monologues and group discussions, celebrities and less well-known public personalities, and layperson versus elite discourse.

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*See also* **Political Processes and Television; Talk Show**

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## Pool Coverage

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Pool coverage involves the combined resources of media outlets to report on a major news event. Such resources include funds, supplies, equipment, and manpower. Members of the media pool often share news stories and photographic images of the event with other news outlets outside of the pool. Each news outlet may use the pool feed at its discretion.

In the United States, press pools often are associated with war efforts. Indeed, the free press always has been considered a little too free for the Pentagon. The Vietnam War represented the first instance when press coverage brought significant numbers of negative images of U.S. military action into American homes. Since this war the first example of military "guidance"

of what the press could and could not cover occurred during the U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983. Outcries from the press against the military's virtual blackout of the media's information-gathering efforts in that action brought the establishment of the Department of Defense's National Media Pool.

The Pentagon chooses members of the National Media Pool by lottery. Members of the press take turns serving in the pool. Pool reporters write accounts of the activities they view and share their information with other members. To be included in the National Media Pool, news organizations must demonstrate a familiarity with U.S. military affairs and maintain a correspondent who regularly covers military affairs



and Pentagon press conferences; maintain a Washington, D.C., staff; be able to participate in the pool on standby and be able to deploy a reporter within a minimum of four hours; agree to adhere to pool ground rules; and be U.S. owned and operated.

The National Media Pool is designed to represent all news organizations and to serve as the eyes and ears of Americans when the U.S. military is active. However, pool reports often have a uniform quality because all reporters are given access to the same information. Moreover, many journalists claim that military officials often make it hard to provide objective, firsthand coverage of events.

In 1992 representatives from the military and news organizations developed nine principles for pool coverage. As outlined by D. Gersh, these principles embrace open and independent reporting. Furthermore, pools should not be the standard means of coverage; pools may be necessary for specific events and should be disbanded when needed; journalists will be given credentials by the U.S. military and must abide by security rules; journalists will be provided access to all major military units, although special operation restrictions may limit some access; military officials will act as liaisons; field commanders will permit journalists to ride on military vehicles and aircraft when feasible; and materials will be provided to ensure timely, secure, and compatible transmission of pool material (see Gersh, 1992).

According to Mark Thompson (2002), the National Media Pool "came to life on July 19, 1987, when a ban of ten reporters took off from Andrews Air Force Base for its first real-world deployment" (to witness U.S. military operations in the Persian Gulf). In theory, such pool coverage would provide independent press coverage to journalists while maintaining the safety and security of the nation's most sensitive military operations. However, Thompson contends that military resistance has prevented the National Media Pool from reaching this potential. In one notable example, although pool reporters were notified to stand by after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the pool was not officially deployed during the U.S. attack in Afghanistan in the months that followed.

Media resources also have been pooled to reduce the unnecessary clutter of camera crews at the scene of an event. Pools have been implemented to cover the Republican and Democratic national conventions, presidential primaries, and high-profile elections. They also are utilized to provide coverage of individual political candidates. According to Dan Nimmo and James E. Combs, each day on the campaign trail, a couple of members of the pool reporters are in close contact with

the candidate. These members may be "on the candidate's private plane, at small enclaves, during motorcades, and so forth." These reporters write accounts of the candidate's activities, which are then made available to pool journalists who cannot be with the candidate. In presidential elections, pool members are elite press members. Nimmo and Combs explain that there is a pecking order for pool members: "At the top are national political reporters—experienced correspondents of prestigious newspapers, the wire services, national newsmagazines, and television networks. At the bottom are the representatives of smaller newspapers and organizations." Regardless of status, pool coverage often is similar. Timothy Crouse (1974) writes, "After a while, they [pool journalists] began to believe in the same rumors, subscribe to the same theories, and write the same stories."

Recently, pools have been enlisted to organize coverage of high-profile criminal trials. According to Gersh (1991), when serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer was tried for 17 murders allegedly involving cannibalism, more than 450 journalists flocked to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from around the world to cover the bizarre story. Daniel Patrinos, media coordinator for the Wisconsin court, set up a pool system to handle coverage of the proceedings. In addition to utilizing advisories from Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters wire services, Patrinos saw to it that local community papers (including black and gay newspapers) were well informed. The judge in this case allowed 23 pool journalists into the courtroom and allowed others to watch from a media center.

Likewise, reporters, photographers, and camera crews turned out in record numbers on January 23, 1995, for the opening statements of the trial of O.J. Simpson on double murder charges. Judge Lance Ito allowed only pool journalists into the courtroom, and a media room was set up for other journalists. In spite of these controls, the term most often used to describe the situation was "media circus."

Whether pool coverage is used to report on military combat, to cover political races, or to control coverage in high-profile legal cases, the goal of pool coverage is the same. Pool coverage, while providing journalists access to events, offers those who employ it a way to manage media coverage.

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*See also* News, Network

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# Porridge

## British Sitcom

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*Porridge* was a prison-based sitcom in which sparkling dialogue and tight plots combined to create a funny, sometimes touching, show that became a huge hit with the viewing public. The setting was Slade Prison, a grim edifice, isolated on a moor in an unspecified area in northern England. In the pilot episode ("Prisoner and Escort") the viewer meets the "hero," Norman Stanley Fletcher, a serial offender being escorted by two guards to begin his latest incarceration for five years. Fletcher is a nonviolent petty criminal whose regular capture and conviction suggests he's not as bright as he thinks he is. Nevertheless, Fletcher is quick-witted and spirited, and he refuses to let the system grind him down. Once at the prison Fletcher enters the daily routine of prison life determined to "keep his nose clean" and survive on the regular minor victories he enjoys over the prison wardens, or "screws." His cellmate is Lennie Godber, a first-time offender who is terrified of prison life. Fletcher has no wish to play nursemaid to the lad and puts on a front of being indifferent to Godber's welfare. However, Fletcher is an essentially decent person and soon finds himself acting as a surrogate father to the newcomer, showing him the ropes and generally keeping him out of harm's way. The two main wardens in Fletcher and Godber's life are MacKay, a dour, militaristic Scotsman with a jaundiced view of his charges, and Barrowclough, a sensitive man with a soft spot for the inmates in general and Fletcher in particular. Barrowclough is as optimistic about the men being rehabilitated as MacKay is pessimistic. MacKay is a no-nonsense, by-the-book veteran of the prison service and he is not easy to fool. Barrowclough, on the other hand, is much kinder and fairer to the inmates, but human nature being what it is (and criminal nature being even worse) the prisoners

are quick to take advantage of Barrowclough's soft approach and simplistic naïveté.

Although these four are the main protagonists, several regular characters make up the mix, notably the effete prison governor, various inmates, and, most frighteningly, Harry Grout, who runs a criminal empire from within the prison and who has as much sway within the walls as the governor himself. It is the plots where Fletcher and Godber find themselves caught between the wardens and Harry Grout that feature the most rewarding twists and turns.

*Porridge* was the brainchild of veteran sitcom writers Dick Clement and Ian La Frenais, who had first shone in the genre with their 1960s comedy *The Likely Lads* (BBC 1964–66). In the 1970s they perfected their technique with two comedy classics, *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads* (BBC 1973–74) and *Porridge*. The banter between Fletcher and Godber was vibrant, funny, and superbly constructed. It also helped that the scripts were played by two skilled actors doing their best work. Ronnie Barker, already a major TV comedy star with a string of sitcom successes and a popular sketch show (*The Two Ronnies* BBC 1971–97, with comedy partner Ronnie Corbett), played Fletcher. Richard Beckinsale, a likable young actor who had already made a splash playing a confused suitor in an earlier sitcom, *The Lovers* (Granada 1970–71), played Godber. The series was attracting huge audience figures shortly after its debut, regularly topping the ratings (during its repeat run in the 1980s, it placed even higher in the ratings).

Clement and La Frenais toyed with calling the series *Bird* (London East End rhyming slang for a prison sentence: Bird Lime–Time) before settling on *Porridge*, another slang word for doing time (from the ubiquitous

prison breakfast). Eventually, they penned 21 episodes of the series before Fletcher had done his time and left to join the outside world. But the story did not end there. The writers decided to see how Fletcher would fare "outside," and his adventures were continued in *Going Straight* (BBC 1978), which also featured Lennie Godber, likewise released and now courting Fletcher's daughter, Ingrid. The series failed to sparkle like its predecessor and only ran to one season of six episodes. The character, however, had one last bow, this time on the big screen in the 1979 movie spin-off *Porridge*, which featured the original cast in a caper wherein Fletcher and Godber are unwittingly involved in a jail break and, desperate not to ruin their chances of parole, strive to break back into the prison before their absence is noticed. Tragically, the young Richard Beckinsale died of a heart attack before the feature film was released.

There was a U.S. version of *Porridge: On The Rocks* (ABC 1975–76) with Jose Perez in the lead as Latino Hector Fuentes incarcerated in Alamesa Minimum Security Prison. It failed to duplicate the resonance of the U.K. version, however, and bowed out after a few months. It spawned a pilot, *I'll Never Forget What's Her Name* (ABC 1976), featuring Rita Moreno as Hector's cousin Rosa, but this failed to graduate to a series. The British *Porridge* remains a mainstay of the schedules, and Norman Fletcher has taken his place in the British sitcom hall of fame alongside such characters as Alf Garnett, Basil Fawley, Edmund Blackadder, and Victor Meldrew.

DICK FIDDY

See also La Frenais, Ian; *Likely Lads*, *The*

#### Cast

Norman Stanley Fletcher	Ronnie Barker
Lennie Godber	Richard Beckinsale
Mr. MacKay	Fulton MacKay
Mr. Barrowclough	Brian Wilde

#### Producer

Sydney Lotterby

#### Writers

Dick Clement, Ian La Frenais

#### Programming History

Pilot: *Seven of One*: "Prisoner and Escort"

20 Episodes

BBC

Pilot: April 1, 1973

September 1974–March 1977

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## Post, Mike (1945– )

### U.S. Composer

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Mike Post, one of the most successful composers in television history, has written music for television since the 1970s. He has won five Grammy Awards and one Emmy for his theme songs and, by his own count, has scored more than 2,000 hours of film. Post has produced the signature melodies for programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and *NYPD Blue*. His distinct themes often have intense, industrial rock music cross-

cut with smooth jazz sounds. These compositions are noted for their unique blending of styles as well as for the dramatic manner in which they complement a show's narrative.

Post is regarded as the youngest musician to be appointed as musical director for a television program; he assumed that role in 1969, at age 24, on *The Andy Williams Show*. Prior to that appointment, Post worked



Mike Post.  
Photo courtesy of Mike Post

primarily as a session musician for a number of major artists including Sammy Davis Jr., Dean Martin, and Sonny and Cher (he played guitar on the duo's "I Got You Babe" in 1965). He was also a successful producer and arranger, winning a Grammy at age 22 for Best Instrumental Arrangement on Mason Williams's "Classical Gas."

Post began his career in Los Angeles with the country-rock band First Edition, featuring Kenny Rogers. In the late 1960s he joined forces with Pete Carpenter, trombonist, arranger, and veteran of television theme scoring, and began to write music for television. Post and Carpenter began working for producer Stephen J. Cannell and first wrote the theme for Cannell's cop show *Toma* in 1973. *The Rockford Files* theme, however, was their breakthrough assignment. The whimsical synthesizer melodies seemed perfectly suited to the ironic character of James Garner's Rockford. The score sealed their reputations and won Post his second Grammy Award for Best Instrumental Arrangement in 1975.

*Hill Street Blues* brought more accolades and continued success. The theme song, an elegant composition of simple, poignant piano music, struck a chord

with audiences and soared onto the pop charts. It also impressed his peers and the critics and brought Post two more Grammys in 1981: one for Best Pop Instrumental Performance and one for Best Instrumental Composition.

*Hill Street Blues* also marked the beginning of Post's long-running creative collaboration with Steven Bochco. One of the most prolific producers of successful dramatic series in the 1980s and 1990s, Bochco hired Post to write the *Hill Street Blues* theme and has worked closely with him ever since. The composer's career was largely established by the music he composed for Bochco's police or law dramas, and their enduring relationship has continued to push the boundaries of television music.

Post's work is wholly devoted to compelling a program's storyline and contributing to its overall tone. The slick, polished opening sounds of *L.A. Law* and the aggressive, chaotic drumbeats punctuating the segments of *NYPD Blue* episodes are examples of talent for melding images, emotions, and sounds. He is also exceptionally resourceful in orchestrating his award-winning melodies. To achieve the unique sound of the *NYPD Blue* theme, for example, he used, among other effects, 1,000 men jumping up and down on a wooden floor, a cheese grater, and a subway horn. All these ideas are largely inspired by the program's script, and Post's ability to encompass a show's character in his music is what has landed him atop the elite class of Hollywood composers. Only Pat Williams, Henry Mancini, and Dave Grusin have attained comparable levels of success and respect in this field.

Ironically, some of his music has become so popular that the themes play on pop radio, a medium wholly disconnected from the visual drama he is committed to enhancing. One of his songs, "The Greatest American Hero," is among the few TV themes ever to reach the number one spot on the pop singles charts. Others, such as the themes for *Hill Street Blues* and *The Rockford Files*, have reached the top ten.

His popular and unique compositions are not Mike Post's only enduring legacy to television, however. He can also be credited with elevating television scoring to a fine art, and creating a new dimension of drama with his "ear for the visual."

JENNIFER HOLT

#### See also **Music on Television**

**Mike Post.** Born in San Fernando, California, 1945. Married; children: Jennifer and Aaron. Began career as member of Kenny Rogers's country-rock band First Edition; went on to play for Sammy Davis Jr., and Dean Martin; musical director, *The Andy Williams*

Show, 1969; produced numerous television scores, including *The Rockford Files*, *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, *Doogie Howser*, and *NYPD Blue*; arranged various Ray Charles records; record producer, Dolly Parton's *9 to 5*, among others. Recipient: five Grammy Awards and one Emmy.

#### Television (selected scoring)

(Note: Dates indicate the year in which the program debuted.)

1971	<i>The NBC Mystery Movie</i>	1983	<i>Hardcastle and McCormick</i>
1971	<i>Two on a Bench</i>	1983	<i>Riptide</i>
1971	<i>Make Your Own Kind of Music</i>	1983	<i>The Rousters</i>
1972	<i>Gidget Gets Married</i>	1983	<i>Running Brave</i>
1973	<i>Griff</i>	1984	<i>Four Eyes</i>
1973	<i>Needles and Pins</i>	1984	<i>Hadley's Rebellion</i>
1973	<i>Toma</i>	1984	<i>Hard Knox</i>
1974	<i>Locusts</i>	1984	<i>No Man's Land</i>
1974	<i>The Morning After</i>	1984	<i>The Return of Luter Gillie</i>
1974	<i>The Rockford Files</i>	1984	<i>The River Rat</i>
1974	<i>The Texas Wheelers</i>	1984	<i>Welcome to Paradise</i>
1975	<i>The Bob Crane Show</i>	1984	<i>Hunter</i>
1976	<i>The Invasion of Johnson County</i>	1985	<i>Brothers-in-Law</i>
1976	<i>Richie Brockelman: Missing 24 Hours</i>	1985	<i>Heart of a Champion</i>
1976	<i>Scott Free</i>	1985	<i>Stingray</i>
1976	<i>Baa Baa Black Sheep</i> (renamed <i>The Black Sheep Squadron</i> , 1977)	1986	<i>Adam: His Song Continues</i>
1977	<i>CHiPs</i>	1986	<i>L.A. Law</i>
1977	<i>Charlie Cobb: Nice Night for a Hanging</i>	1986	<i>The Last Precinct</i>
1977	<i>Off the Wall</i>	1987	<i>Beverly Hills Buntz</i>
1978	<i>Doctor Scorpion</i>	1987	<i>Destination America</i>
1978	<i>Richie Brockelman: Private Eye</i>	1987	<i>Hooperman</i>
1978	<i>The White Shadow</i>	1987	<i>Sirens</i>
1979	<i>Big Shamus, Little Shamus</i>	1987	<i>Wiseguy</i>
1979	<i>Captain America</i>	1988	<i>Murphy's Law</i>
1979	<i>Captain America II</i>	1988	<i>Sonny Spoon</i>
1979	<i>The Duke</i>	1989	<i>Booker</i>
1979	<i>The 416th</i>	1989	<i>The Ryan White Story</i>
1979	<i>The Night Rider</i>	1989	<i>B.L. Stryker: The Dancer's Touch</i>
1979	<i>Operating Room</i>	1989	<i>Doogie Howser, M.D.</i>
1979	<i>240-Robert</i>	1989	<i>Quantum Leap</i>
1980	<i>Magnum, P.I.</i>	1990	<i>Cop Rock</i>
1980	<i>Tenspeed and Brown Shoe</i>	1990	<i>Law and Order</i>
1980	<i>Scout's Honor</i>	1990	<i>Unspeakable Acts</i>
1980	<i>Hill Street Blues</i>	1990	<i>Without Her Consent</i>
1980	<i>Coach of the Year</i>	1991	<i>Silk Stalkings</i>
1981	<i>The Greatest American Hero</i>	1991	<i>The Commish</i>
1982	<i>Palms Precinct</i>	1991	<i>Blossom</i>
1982	<i>The Quest</i>	1992	<i>Renegade</i>
1982	<i>Tales of the Gold Monkey</i>	1992	<i>NYPD Blue</i>
1982	<i>Will, G. Gordon Liddy</i>	1993	<i>The Byrds of Paradise</i>
1983	<i>The A-Team</i>	1994	<i>News Radio</i>
1983	<i>Bay City Blues</i>	1995	<i>Murder One</i>
1983	<i>Big John</i>	1995	<i>Players</i>
		1997	<i>Brooklyn South</i>
		1997	<i>Total Security</i>
		1997	<i>Martial Law</i>
		1998	<i>Law and Order: Special Victims Unit</i>
		1999	<i>Arrest and Trial</i>
		2000	<i>Deadline</i>
		2000	<i>City of Angels</i>
		2001	<i>Law and Order: Criminal Intent</i>
		2001	<i>PBS Hollywood Presents</i>
		2001	<i>Philly</i>
		2002	<i>Law and Order: Crime and Punishment</i>

Post, Mike

- 2002 *Dead Above Ground*  
2002 *Inside NYPD Blue: A Decade on the Job*  
2003 *Dragnet*  
2003 *The Gin Game*

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## Potter, Dennis (1935–1994)

British Writer

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Dennis Potter is arguably the most important creative figure in the history of British television. From 1965 until his death in 1994, he constructed a personal oeuvre of such remarkable character and consistency that it will probably never be equaled in the medium. The most prolific yet also most controversial of television playwrights, he remains the undisputed figurehead of that peculiarly British phenomenon of writers who expend much of their working lives and passions attempting to show that television can be just as powerful a vehicle for artistic expression as cinema or theater.

Potter was raised in what he later described as the "tight, enclosed, backward" world of the Forest of Dean; a remote rural idyll nestling between two rivers, the Severn and the Wye, on the aggressively English side of the border with Wales. The product of a remote, God-fearing community, he attended chapel at least twice every Sunday, and the vividness of that institution's language and metaphors formed a powerful influence on his writing.

After an earlier career in journalism and politics, Potter came to prominence in 1965, when his first plays were all transmitted by the BBC within the space of a year, as part of *The Wednesday Play*'s groundbreaking policy of introducing radical new writers to television. The most successful of these productions were *The Nigel Barton Plays*—a pair of semiautobiographical dramas that expertly dissected the effects of social class upon the psyche of its eponymous hero. The *Barton* plays won notable awards and helped to seal Potter's reputation as a major new playwright of passion and ideas. However, as the 1960s wore on and

Potter continued to write for *The Wednesday Play* and its successor *Play for Today*, it gradually became clear that underlying the broadly political attacks in his earlier work was an older chapel sensibility: Potter represented a personality molded by biblical teaching and imagery, yet now in desperate search of answers in the face of acute spiritual crisis.

In 1969 *Son of Man* was transmitted; it is a gospel play in which Potter audaciously created the messiah in his own image, as a human, suffering Christ, racked by doubts over his own mission and plagued by the fear that he has been forsaken by God. With this and other titles that followed—such as *Angels Are So Few* (1970), *Where Adam Stood* (1976), and, most controversially of all, *Brimstone and Treacle* (originally intended for transmission in 1976 but banned by the BBC for 11 years on account of a scene where the devil rapes a mentally handicapped girl)—it became clear that Potter had discovered his true vocation as a dramatist of religious or spiritual themes, albeit one highly unorthodox and sometimes offensive to the political and moral establishment.

Central to Potter's quest for spiritual answers was his own personal affliction of psoriatic arthropathy: a painful combination of psoriasis enflaming the skin and arthritis crippling the joints, which he had suffered from since the age of 26 and which had necessitated his withdrawal from the public worlds of politics and current affairs into the more private realm of life as a television playwright. This inwardness was also manifested in Potter's famous "nonnaturalistic" style: his determination to challenge the dominant British television drama tradition of "dreary" naturalism, through



Writer/director Dennis Potter with Alan Bates and Gina Bellman, 1991.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

an alternative emphasis on inner, psychological reality. He successfully customized a whole series of nonnaturalistic devices—including flashback and fantasy sequences; direct-to-camera address by characters; the use of adult actors to play children—all of which he believed represented more truthfully “what goes on inside people’s heads.”

In 1978 Potter showcased what became his most famous technique when Bob Hoskins burst into song, miming to an old 78 rpm recording in the BBC TV serial *Pennies from Heaven*. The international success of *Pennies* transformed Potter’s career, leading to a lucrative spell as a Hollywood screenwriter, which included a disastrous movie remake of the serial in 1981. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, however, Potter continued to produce original work for television, although he now wrote serials rather than one-off plays. Among his most notable programs from this era is *The Singing Detective* (1986), in which his famous device of characters miming to popular song is used to punctuate a narrative as complex and layered as any work of serious literature; this program that will un-

doubtedly endure as Potter’s monument to the creative possibilities of the medium.

The rapturous plaudits that greeted *The Singing Detective* in Britain and the United States may have elevated Potter to the rare status of a genuine TV auteur, but the period after 1986 was not an easy one for Potter. In 1989, after a falling out with his erstwhile producer Kenith Trodd, Potter decided to direct a television adaptation of his “feminist” novel *Black-eyes*. The result was a critical bloodbath in the United Kingdom, with the director accused of precisely the misogyny and sexual exploitation he claimed he had been trying to expose on-screen. Nor was *Lipstick on Your Collar* (1993), a six-part “drama with songs” set in the 1950s, the resounding popular success he had desired.

In February 1994 Potter was diagnosed with terminal cancer of the pancreas. He died four months later but not before giving an extraordinary television interview in which he talked movingly about his imminent death, revealing his plans to complete two final television serials to be uniquely coproduced by rival na-

tional channels BBC 1 and Channel 4. Defying the medical odds, he succeeded in completing the works, *Karaoke* and *Cold Lazarus*, and, in accordance with his wishes, these were transmitted posthumously by both channels in the spring of 1996. Although critical reaction to the programs was somewhat mixed in Britain, the very fact of the joint production seemed to confirm Potter's creative legacy as the practitioner who, above all others, aspired to raise television to an art form and whose pioneering nonnaturalism had indeed been successful in opening up the medium's drama to the landscape of the mind.

JOHN COOK

See also *Pennies from Heaven*; *Singing Detective, The*; *Wednesday Play*

**Dennis (Christopher George) Potter.** Born in Joyford Hill, Coleford, Gloucestershire, England, May 17, 1935. Educated at Christchurch Village School; Bell's Grammar School, Coleford; St. Clement Danes Grammar School, London; New College, Oxford, B.A. 1959. Married: Margaret Morgan, 1959; one son and two daughters. Member of the Current Affairs Staff, BBC Television, 1959–61; television critic for various publications, 1961–78; contributed to *That Was the Week That Was*, 1962; Labour candidate for Parliament, East Hertfordshire, 1964; first plays televised, 1965; first screenplay, 1981. Honorary fellow, New College, Oxford, 1987. Recipient: Writers Guild Awards, 1965 and 1969; Society of Film and Television Arts Award, 1966; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1979 and 1980; Prix Italia, 1982; San Francisco Film Festival Award, 1987; Broadcasting Press Guild Award, 1987. Died in Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire, June 7, 1994.

#### Television Series

- 1971 *Casanova*
- 1978 *Pennies from Heaven*
- 1985 *Tender Is the Night*
- 1986 *The Singing Detective*
- 1988 *Christabel*
- 1989 *Blackeyes* (writer, director)
- 1993 *Lipstick on Your Collar*

#### Television Plays

- 1965 *The Wednesday Play: The Confidence Course*
- 1965 *Alice*
- 1965 *Cinderella*
- 1965 *Stand Up, Nigel Barton*
- 1965 *Vote Vote Vote for Nigel Barton*
- 1966 *Emergency Ward 9*

- 1966 *Where the Buffalo Roam*
- 1967 *Message for Posterity*
- 1968 *The Bonegrinder*
- 1968 *Shaggy Dog*
- 1968 *A Beast with Two Backs*
- 1969 *Moonlight on the Highway*
- 1969 *Son of Man*
- 1970 *Lay Down Your Arms*
- 1970 *Angels Are So Few*
- 1971 *Paper Roses*
- 1971 *Traitor*
- 1972 *Follow the Yellow Brick Road*
- 1973 *Only Make Believe*
- 1973 *A Tragedy of Two Ambitions*
- 1974 *Joe's Ark*
- 1974 *Schmoedipus*
- 1975 *Late Call*
- 1976 *Double Dare*
- 1976 *Where Adam Stood*
- 1978 *The Mayor of Casterbridge*
- 1979 *Blue Remembered Hills*
- 1980 *Blade on the Feather*
- 1980 *Rain on the Roof*
- 1980 *Cream in My Coffee*
- 1987 *Visitors*
- 1987 *Brimstone and Treacle*
- 1996 *Karaoke*
- 1996 *Cold Lazarus*

#### Films

*Pennies from Heaven*, 1981; *Brimstone and Treacle*, 1982; *Gorky Park*, 1983; *Dreamchild*, 1985; *Track 29*, 1988; *Blackeyes*, 1990; *Secret Friends* (writer, director), 1991.

#### Stage

*Sufficient Carbohydrate*, 1983.

#### Publications

- The Glittering Coffin*, 1960
- The Changing Forest: Life in the Forest of Dean Today*, 1962
- The Nigel Barton Plays: Stand Up, Nigel Barton, Vote Vote Vote for Nigel Barton: Two Television Plays*, 1968
- Son of Man* (television play), 1970
- Hide and Seek* (novel), 1973
- Brimstone and Treacle* (television play), 1978
- Pennies from Heaven* (novel), 1981
- Sufficient Carbohydrate* (play), 1983
- Waiting for the Boat: Dennis Potter on Television*, 1984



*The Singing Detective* (television series), 1986  
*Ticket to Ride* (novel), 1986  
*Blackeyes* (novel), 1987  
*Christabel* (television series), 1988  
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## Powell, Dick (1904–1963)

U.S. Actor, Producer

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Dick Powell may be best remembered as a movie star, a boyish crooner in dozens of Hollywood musicals of the 1930s, and later, a hard-boiled, film noir tough guy. Like many stars of the studio era, Powell turned his dramatic talents to television in the 1950s, but he did so as an adjunct to his most significant television role, as an independent telefilm producer. Between 1952 and his death in 1963, Powell served as the head of Four Star Television, which became, under his leadership, one of Hollywood's leading suppliers of prime-time network programming.

As the star of numerous Warner Brothers musicals, Powell was one of Hollywood's top box-office draws during the 1930s (and quickly became just as popular on radio). By mid-decade, the young singer was lobbying to break into more serious roles, but his efforts were rebuffed by Jack Warner. The parts became somewhat more varied after a 1940 move to Paramount, but the actor's dramatic ambitions were blocked there as well. The turning point came in 1944, when Powell convinced RKO to cast him as private

eye Philip Marlowe in *Murder, My Sweet* (regarded by many as the definitive rendition of Raymond Chandler's fictional sleuth). Thereafter the singing roles stopped, and Powell began a new career as a hard-boiled antihero in such films as *Cornered*, *Pitfall*, *Johnny O'Clock*, and *Cry Danger*, in the process remaking his radio persona as well, with a stint as gumshoe Richard Rogue in *Rogue's Gallery*, and three seasons as *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*.

Still eager to broaden his creative horizons, Powell set his sights on movie directing in the late 1940s, but he once again met with resistance from studio powers. Finally, in 1952 RKO studio head Howard Hughes gave Powell a chance to direct the thriller *Split Second*, and the success of that film led Hughes to offer Powell a producing job. Although there was some speculation in Hollywood that Powell would become head of production at RKO, he was able to complete only one feature, *The Conqueror*, before Hughes sold the company in 1955. Powell went on to helm three more features in as many years at other studios.



Dick Powell in *Four Star Playhouse*, *The House Always Wins*, 1952–56.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Although the leadership of RKO had eluded him, Powell had already begun his rise as a television mogul. On the heels of his first feature assignment, Powell had formed an independent telefilm production company with actors Charles Boyer and David Niven. Four Star Films derived its name from its first project, the half-hour anthology *Four Star Playhouse*, in which one of the three partners would rotate with a different weekly guest star. In its second season, the partners invited guest Ida Lupino to become the show's permanent "fourth star." Although she did not become a stockholder in the firm, Lupino went on to direct many episodes of *Playhouse* and other Four Star series, in addition to her acting duties.

Boyer and Niven each owned a healthy share of Four Star, but Powell ran the company. A 1962 *Television* magazine profile of Powell called him the company's "principal architect of policy as well as the most valuable performer and production executive" and noted that the firm's fortunes moved in direct proportion to the time the boss devoted to it. A "workaholic" in today's parlance, Powell was notoriously driven and closely involved with both the financial and creative aspects of Four Star. He not only managed operations but was active in developing story properties,

oversaw script conferences, and, when needed, used his charm—and the weight of his celebrity—to close a program sale.

Four Star's stock-in-trade early on was anthologies. Powell followed up *Four Star Playhouse* in 1954 with the short-lived *Stage 7*, and two years later *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*, hosted by, and occasionally starring, the Four Star chief executive officer himself. Powell and company also produced one season of *Alcoa Theatre* in 1958 and in subsequent years crafted anthologies around one of Powell's partners (*The David Niven Theater*), and his wife (*The June Allyson Show*), both featuring the requisite array of Hollywood stars.

*Zane Grey Theater* ran for seven years, at once feeding and riding the crest of the phenomenal surge of western programs on television in the late 1950s. Four Star generated its share of the stampede, scoring its biggest hits in the genre with *The Rifleman*, *Wanted: Dead or Alive*, and *Trackdown*, as well as less-successful entries like *Johnny Ringo*, *Black Saddle*, *Law of the Plainsman*, *Stagecoach West*, and the highly regarded but extremely short-lived Sam Peckinpah project, *The Westerner*.

Four Star's western output highlights the creative economy of program development under Powell. Anthologies were the perfect vehicles by which to generate new program pilots at a network or sponsor's expense. Most of the Four Star westerns, for example, were born as installments of *Zane Grey Theater* (*Wanted: Dead or Alive* had its trial run as an episode of *Trackdown*). *Four Star Playhouse* spawned two crime series featuring gambler Willy Dante: eight *Four Star* installments starring Powell as Dante were repackaged as a 1956 summer replacement series (*The Best in Mystery*), and a new *Dante* series was hatched in 1960 with Howard Duff in the title role. Another spin-off of sorts came in 1957 when Powell revived his *Richard Diamond* radio vehicle for television, with young David Janssen as the suave P.I. *Michael Shayne, Private Detective* was a less-successful Four Star entry in the private-eye cycle of the late 1950s.

Four Star was one of the busiest telefilm suppliers in the business in 1959, when Powell hired Thomas McDermott away from the Benton and Bowles ad agency to be executive vice president of production. The following year the newly renamed Four Star Television marked its peak in prime time with a remarkable 12 series on the networks. Even after dropping to six shows in 1962, Four Star was producing more programming than any other Hollywood independent, surpassed only by MCA-Revue and Columbia-Screen Gems, leading *Broadcasting* magazine to dub the firm a "TV major." More literally "independent" than most of his produc-

ing counterparts, Powell resisted the increasingly common practice of ceding control of off-network distribution to the networks themselves. Although Four Star often had to cut the broadcasters in on series profits, the firm retained syndication rights to all its shows, starting its own syndication division, rather belatedly, in 1962.

Powell the executive was sensitive to the creative process as well as profits, no doubt due to his own experiences as a performer and later a director. "Four Star was a paradise for writers," according to Powell biographer Tony Thomas, and many Four Star alumni have attested to their boss's sensitivity and support. Powell personally fielded ideas from writers, interceded with sponsors to protect controversial scripts from censorship, and would support any story—even if it conflicted with his own political conservatism—if the writer were passionate enough about it. Powell mentored writer-producers such as Sam Peckinpah, Blake Edwards, Bruce Geller, and Aaron Spelling and signed young writers like Christopher Knopf, Richard Levinson and William Link, Leslie Stevens, and Robert Towne early in their careers. By all accounts, Powell was universally respected by his creative personnel.

With the western on the wane in the early 1960s, Four Star diversified its product, turning out situation comedies like *The Tom Ewell Show*, *Peter Loves Mary*, *McKeever and the Colonel*, *The Gertrude Berg Show*, and *Ensign O'Toole*, as well as a courtroom drama (*The Law and Mr. Jones*), an organized crime saga (*Target: The Corrupters*), and an unusual anthology, *The Lloyd Bridges Show*. Only *The Detectives*, *Starring Robert Taylor* constituted even a modest success. In early 1961 Powell reduced his involvement in the overall operations at Four Star and focused his attentions on producing *The Dick Powell Show*, a star-studded anthology featuring Powell as host and frequent star. The new anthology presented even more pilots than *Zane Grey*—over a dozen in two years—yielding the newspaper series *Saints and Sinners* in 1962, and *Burke's Law* the following year (among the unsold projects was *Luxury Liner*—produced by future *Love Boat* creator Aaron Spelling). One of television's few remaining anthologies, the Powell show received an Emmy nomination for Outstanding Dramatic Achievement for both of its seasons on the air.

After Powell's death in January 1963, Four Star continued operation under McDermott's leadership, but Four Star's reign as a "TV major" was over. With six series on the fall schedule for 1962, a year later *Burke's Law* was the firm's only prime-time entry. The change in Four Star's fortunes probably had as much to do with ratings as anything else. The company had

not had a major hit since *The Rifleman*, and its attempts to exploit the sitcom were unsuccessful. The firm's continued resistance to network control of syndication may have cost it prime-time sales. Certainly the loss of Powell's leadership, his formidable salesmanship powers, and indeed his reputation could not have helped matters. With declining network program sales, more flops (e.g., *Honey West*, *The Rogues*), and the disappointing performance of the company's own (belated) syndication division, Four Star's ledgers were awash in red ink by 1966. *The Big Valley* was the last series being produced under the Four Star banner when the firm was sold in 1967.

The bulk of Four Star's output reflected Powell's own history in motion pictures, turning out solid, unpretentious entertainment. If Powell and company did not assay social realism or topical drama with the same panache as, say, Stirling Silliphant or Reginald Rose, neither did they pursue the radical self-imitation characterized by Warner Brothers' western and detective series. Rather, Four Star products reflected the relative diversity necessary to survive in an uncertain entertainment marketplace. Even Four Star's genre-bound series exhibited the kind of conventional innovation, and occasional quirkiness, that defines American commercial television at its most fascinating, and Powell was pursuing anthologies long after the conventional wisdom had abandoned the form.

Of all the Four Star products from Powell's tenure, only *The Rifleman* remains a syndication staple today, although *Zane Grey Theater* and *Wanted: Dead or Alive* survive on commercial video, and *Burke's Law* was revived for the 1990s by its star (and co-owner) Gene Barry. Aficionados of Hollywood film can, on cable, video, or at the occasional retrospective screening, still enjoy Powell's innocent grin and golden tones in *Gold Diggers of 1933*, and his stubbled smirk and grim wisecracks in *Murder, My Sweet*. His final dramatic roles, on *Zane Grey* and *Dick Powell*, are the purview of collectors of TV ephemera, until their resurrection on video. It remains for historians to cite Dick Powell the independent producer, the telefilm pioneer, the "TV major," and to emphasize that by the early 1960s he was a more successful producer of motion pictures—for the small screen—than any of the old-line Hollywood studios. One wonders what Jack Warner must have thought.

MARK ALVEY

**Dick (Richard) Ewing Powell.** Born in Mountain View, Arkansas, November 14, 1904. Attended Little Rock College, Arkansas. Married: 1) M. Maund (divorced); 2) actress Joan Blondell, 1936 (divorced, 1945); children: Ellen and Norman; 3) actress June

Powell, Dick

Allyson, 1945, one daughter and one son. Began career as singer with his own band, 1921; singer, comedian, and master of ceremonies, Stanley Theatre, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1930; film debut, *Blessed Event*, 1932; cofounder, Four Star Productions, 1952; first directed film, *Split Second*, 1953; host and producer, various shows, and film producer. Died in Hollywood, California, January 2, 1963.

#### Television

1952–56      *Four Star Playhouse*  
1956–62      *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*  
1961–63      *The Dick Powell Show*

#### Films

*Blessed Event*, 1932; *Too Busy to Work*, 1932; *The King's Vacation*, 1933; *42nd Street*, 1933; *Gold Diggers of 1933*, 1933; *Footlight Parade*, 1933; *College Coach*, 1933; *Convention*, 1933; *Dames*, 1934; *Wonder Bar*, 1934; *Twenty Million Sweethearts*, 1934; *Happiness Ahead*, 1934; *Flirtation Walk*, 1934; *Gold Diggers of 1935*, 1935; *Page Miss Glory*, 1935; *Broadway Gondolier*, 1935; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1935; *Shipmates Forever*, 1935; *Thanks a Million*, 1935; *Colleen*, 1936; *Hearts Divided*, 1936; *Stage Struck*, 1936; *The Gold Diggers of 1937*, 1936; *On the Avenue*, 1937; *The Singing Marine*, 1937; *Varsity Show*, 1937; *Hollywood Hotel*, 1937; *Cowboy from Brooklyn*, 1938; *Hard to Get*, 1938; *Going Places*, 1938; *Naughty but Nice*, 1939; *Christmas in July*, 1940; *I*

*Want a Divorce*, 1940; *Model Wife*, 1941; *In the Navy*, 1941; *Happy Go Lucky*, 1942; *Star Spangled Rhythm*, 1942; *True to Life*, 1943; *Riding High*, 1943; *It Happened Tomorrow*, 1944; *Meet the People*, 1944; *Murder, My Sweet*, 1944; *Concerned*, 1945; *Johnny O'Clock*, 1947; *To the Ends of the Earth*, 1948; *Pitfall*, 1948; *Station West*, 1948; *Rogue's Regiment*, 1948; *Mrs. Mike*, 1949; *The Reformer and the Redhead*, 1950; *Right Cross*, 1950; *Cry Dangers*, 1951; *The Tall Target*, 1951; *You Never Can Tell*, 1951; *The Bad and the Beautiful*, 1952; *Susan Slept Here*, 1954.

#### Films (director)

*Split Second*, 1953; *The Conqueror*, 1956; *You Can't Run Away from It*, 1957; *The Enemy Below*, 1957; *The Hunters*, 1958.

#### Radio (selection)

*Rogue's Gallery*, 1945–46; *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*, 1949–50.

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## Power without Glory

### Australian Serial Drama

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*Power without Glory* is probably among the two or three finest drama series to have been produced in Australia. The series was, in effect, a local equivalent to *The Forsyte Saga* and told the story of John West, and his wife and family, from the 1890s when he was an impoverished youth in the depression-stricken city of Melbourne to his death around 1950. By that time, he had become a millionaire, although he was tainted by shady political and business dealings. The series was based on the novel of the same name by Australian author Frank Hardy, which had been published in 1949.

At the time, it was widely believed that Hardy had based the figure of John West on the real-life Australian businessman John Wren. The Wren family took legal action against Hardy, accusing him of libel. Hardy successfully defended the case, however, on the basis that his novel was fiction. Subsequently, the book sold extremely well, no doubt because the public believed that it was in fact based on the Wren story. *Power without Glory* should have been a natural adaptation for either radio or television in the 1950s or 1960s, but no broadcast producer was willing to take



*Power without Glory.*  
Courtesy of Australian Broadcasting Corporation

on the material for fear of further legal action from the Wren family. It was not until 1974 that such a project was undertaken.

That year Oscar Whitbread, veteran producer with the public-service television broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), decided that the novel should be brought to the television screen. After all, despite the timidity of ABC management, the court case had happened more than 20 years earlier and had, in any event, been lost by Wren. Moreover, under a federal Labour Party government, the ABC was expected to be progressive and innovative in its productions; its revenue, coming directly from the government, was, in real terms, at an all-time high. Whitbread judged that the time was right for such a massive undertaking, and he and script editor Howard Griffiths set to work on adapting the novel. The book was split into 26 hour-long episodes, and a series of ABC and former Crawford Production writers, including Tony Morphet, Sonia Borg, and Phil Freedman, were set to work to develop scripts. Writing and filming took place over the next 18 months, and the series

began on-air nationally on the ABC in June 1976. *Power without Glory* starred Martin Vaughan as West and Rosalind Spiers as his wife. Other well-known Australian actors in the series included Terence Donovan, George Mallaby, and Michael Pate. Like many television miniseries, especially those with such a long screen-time, *Power* went well beyond the domestic drama of the couple and included the developing lives and careers of their children and acquaintances. These mostly private dramas were stitched onto a larger historical canvas that included political and national events such as the formation of the Australian Labour Party, the conscription debates of World War I, and the impact of the Great Depression and World War II.

The quality and integrity of the production—most especially its writing and the performance of the large cast—effectively sustained audience interest over the serial's 26 hours. *Power* proved enormously popular and prestigious for the ABC. In 1977 it won a host of industry awards, including nine Sammys and four Penguins. The series was repeated in 1978, and in 1981 it was sold to Network Ten, where it was to receive two further screenings. *Power without Glory* was arguably the finest drama series ever made at the ABC. Its production and screening were watershed events, coinciding with the 20th anniversary of the first ABC television transmission, and also highlighting the fact that, with a change in federal government and a downturn in the Australian economy, the circumstances that had made such a production possible were now a thing of the past.

ALBERT MORAN

#### Cast

John West	Martin Vaughan
Nellie Moran	Rosalind Spiers
Mrs. Moran	Heather Canning
Mrs. West	Irene Inescort
Piggy Lewis	Michael Aitkens
Barney Robinson	George Mallaby
Eddie Corrigan	Sean Scully
Mick O'Connell	John Bowman
Paddy Cummins	Tim Connor
Jim Tracey	Alan Hardy
Detective Sgt. O'Flaherty	Peter Cummins
Sergeant Devlin	David Ravenswood
Mr. Dunn	Carl Bleazby
Constable Brogan	Burt Cooper
Sergeant Grieve	Terry Gill
Alec	Les James
Arthur West	Tim Robertson
Mrs. Tracey	Marnie Randall
Father O'Toole	John Murphy
Brendan	Richard Askew

## Power without Glory

Sugar Renfrey  
Bob Standish  
Florrie Robinson  
David Garside  
Mrs. Finch  
Frank Ashton  
Tom Trumbleward  
Jim Francis  
Dick Bradley  
Rev Joggins  
Martha Ashton  
Commissioner Callinan  
Constable Baddson  
Detective Roberts  
Constable Harris  
Constable Logan  
Dolly West  
Frank Lammence  
Lou Darby  
Dr. Malone  
Ron Lassiter  
Snoopy Tanner  
Mr. Johnstone  
Harriet  
T.J. Real  
Turner  
Smith  
Margaret  
Kate  
Marjorie  
Mary  
Brendan  
Jim Morton  
Ned Horan  
Maurice Blackwell  
Mary West  
Marjorie West  
Brendon West  
Luke Carson  
Peter Monton  
Hugo  
Andy Mackenzie  
Paul Andreas

John Wood  
Reg Evans  
Sheila Hayes  
Leon Lissek  
Esme Melville  
Barry Hill  
Frank Wilson  
Telford Jackson  
Gerard Kennedy  
Jonathon Hardy  
Elaine Baillie  
Keith Aden  
Stephen Oldfield  
Tony Hawkins  
Hugh Price  
Matthew King  
Kerry Dwyer  
Terence Donovan  
Gil Tucker  
Michael Pate  
Terry Norris  
Graham Blundell  
Byron Williams  
Rowena Wallace  
Carl Bleazby  
Lou Brown  
Iain Merton  
Joan Letch  
Sue Jones  
Lisa Crittenden  
Andrea Butcher  
Stewart Fleming  
Norman Hodges  
Norman Kaye  
Tony Barry  
Wendy Hughes  
Fay Kelton  
Tony Bonner  
Fred Betts  
Tristan Rogers  
David Cameron  
Kevin Colebrook  
Warwick Sims

Bill Tinns  
Graham Kennedy  
Keith Burkett  
Ted Thurgood  
Jimmy Summers  
Smollett  
Lygon  
Monton  
Mrs. Granger  
Brenda  
Ben Worth  
Vera Maguire  
Egon Kisch  
Jock McNeil  
Watty  
Paddy Kelleher  
Vincent Parelli  
Michael Kiely  
Dr. Bevan  
Tony Grey

Gus Mercurio  
Clive Parker  
Charles Tingwell  
Ken Wayne  
Peter Aanensen  
Garay Files  
John Nash  
Arthur Barradell-Smith  
Margaret Reid  
Camilla Rowntree  
Ben Garner  
Patsy King  
Kurt Ludescher  
Michael Duffield  
Fred Culcullen  
Jonathan Hardy  
Alan Bickford  
Bobby Bright  
Michael Duffield  
Peter Cox

**Producer**  
Oscar Whitbread

**Programming History**  
26 one-hour episodes  
Australian Broadcasting Corporation  
June 21, 1976–December 13, 1976

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## Practice, The.

*See Workplace Programs*

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Premium Cable. *See* Pay Cable

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President. *See* United States Presidency and Television (Historical Overview)

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## Presidential Nominating Conventions

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In the United States the Democratic and Republican political parties, as well as numerous smaller parties, hold conventions every four years to nominate candidates for president and vice president and to adopt party platforms. For the two major parties, these conventions are four-day events held during the summer of each presidential election year. The first national political conventions emerged in the 1830s as a reform to the caucus system, which had been heavily controlled by party machines and party bosses. Although the key functions of the nominating conventions have not changed in the past 160 years, advances in communication technologies during the 20th century have had great influence on the nature of the meetings. The most dramatic of these alterations have come from television coverage.

The first experiments in televising the nominating conventions began in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1948; by 1952 both the Democratic and Republican conventions were broadcast nationwide on television. The impact of the medium, eventually networked into a truly national phenomenon, was immediate. After watching the first televised Republican convention in 1952, Democratic party officials made last-minute changes to their own convention in attempts to maintain the attention of viewers at home.

By 1956 both parties further amended their convention programs to fit better the demands of television coverage. Party officials condensed the length of the convention, created uniform campaign themes for each party, adorned convention halls with banners and patri-

otic decorations, placed television crews in positions with flattering views of the proceedings, dropped daytime sessions, limited welcoming speeches and parliamentary organization procedures, scheduled sessions to reach a maximum audience in prime time, and eliminated seconding speeches for vice presidential candidates. Additionally, the presence of television cameras encouraged parties to conceal intraparty battling and choose host cities amenable to their party.

Until the early 1950s conventions actually selected as well as nominated the party's candidates. Today the presidential nominees of the major parties are generally determined before the convention takes place. The prevalence of state political primaries, the increased power of television as a source of political news, the trend of early presidential campaigning, and the prominence of political polling almost ensure that each party's candidates are selected prior to the nominating convention. Indeed, since 1952 only two presidential nominees have not competed in the primary season (Aldai Stevenson in 1952 and Hubert Humphrey in 1968). And, in all but the Democratic convention of 1952, the Democratic and Republican nominees were chosen on the first ballot. Therefore, the conventions broadcast on television are no longer geared toward selecting nominees but staged to celebrate candidates and attract television coverage.

Television coverage of the convention has assigned new roles to political parties, candidates, and television news divisions in the presidential selection process. Today political parties must share the convention



Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley at the 1968 Democratic Convention.

*Photo courtesy of Chicago Historical Society*

stage with aspiring candidates and prominent journalists. Nominating conventions are no longer controlled by party bosses making decisions in smoke-filled rooms. Contemporary conventions are planned by professional convention managers and consultants who see the nominating convention as an unequalled opportunity for the party to obtain free, rehearsed exposure on television newscasts. Thus, parties use nominating conventions to project a desirable party image and inspire party loyalty.

For presidential candidates, the televised convention has brought freedom from the party establishment. Today it is not uncommon for presidential candidates to rise to prominence without party help. State political primaries and television news and advertising allow a greater number of candidates to seriously contest for their party's nomination. Jimmy Carter's nomination in 1976 provides an example of an outsider with little national political experience benefiting from television and the primary season. The candidacies of Democrat Jesse Jackson and Republican Pat Robertson also profited from political primaries and the televised convention. Television coverage does, of course, ensure that today's conventions are well attended by prominent politicians. Many high-profile political leaders use the televised convention to launch their own future presidential bids, promote their current legislative efforts, or support other causes, groups, or programs.

To the television news divisions, the national conventions are the biggest extended political media events of the election year. The networks (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC), as well as the cable channels CNN and C-SPAN, allocate prime-time coverage and assign their top personnel to the conventions. Foote and Rimmer refer to convention coverage as the "Olympics of television journalism" where the networks have a rare opportunity to go head-to-head on the same story."

Waltzer contends presidential election years are unmatched showcases for the rival networks to exhibit their competing talents. Internetwork rivalry manifests itself in several ways: (1) the networks engage in extensive advertising to capture the eye of the viewer; (2) the conventions are used to introduce new items of television equipment; (3) the networks compete in marshaling political consultants and analysts to augment their coverage staffs; (4) the networks compete for superiority in content, completeness, and depth of coverage—it is a race for "exclusives," "scoops," and "firsts," and for the unusual "features" of a convention; (5) the networks compete to make news with their coverage as well as to report the news of the conventions; (6) the networks seek to overcome the enormity and confusion of the convention and their coverage by personalizing coverage with anchor correspondents; and (7) the networks compete for audiences and audience ratings.

These factors indicate why television has made a commitment to broadcasting the convention over the years, and why the networks strive continually to create the "right" formats to attract audiences. From 1956 through 1976, for example, the networks covered conventions in their entirety. Although ABC cut back its broadcast in 1968, the other networks continued gavel-to-gavel coverage through 1976. Since 1980 all news outlets have cut back on their coverage. Future airtime is expected to depend on the "newsworthiness" of the convention, largely determined by the perceived competitiveness between the two party tickets as well as potential conflict or infighting within one party's nominating process.

Parties much prefer to control the visual images broadcast to voters themselves, as the Republicans did in 1984. In that year, the Republicans aired Ronald Reagan's campaign film, *A New Beginning*, a film that celebrated the Reagan presidency, transformed the art of political filmmaking, and, according to Joanne Morreale, established the televisual campaign film as a centerpiece of the presidential campaign.

At times, however, no one is able to control the conventions; political officials and network executives and technicians alike are caught up in events beyond their control. This was certainly the case in the 1968 Demo-



cratic convention, perhaps the most famous of all televised events of this sort. On that occasion, antiwar protesters demonstrated outside the Chicago Convention Center, drawing down the wrath of the Chicago police. Inside, the conflict was reflected in charges and countercharges, name-calling, and recrimination. Much of this activity was caught on camera, but the sense was that even the TV cameras were reacting rather than controlling. Few conventions since that time have been so dramatically bound to television, and most are tightly controlled events exhibiting small moments of spontaneity.

Viewership for nominating conventions has decreased over the years. According to the Harvard University's Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, television networks aired 60 hours of each party convention in 1952, and 80 percent of the households in the United States watched about 10 to 13 hours of this coverage. Forty-four years later, network coverage of the 1996 conventions averaged eight hours, and just 10 percent of households reported tuning into the coverage. In 2000 roughly 20 percent of Americans tuned in to two hours or more of the conventions, according to the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania.

At the close of the 20th century, strategies for increasing the audience for conventions took at least three forms. Parties attempted to plan the conventions with "star power," scheduling political personalities at key moments to attract viewers. In 2000 cable channels (such as CNN, Fox News, CNBC) offered extensive in-depth coverage to attract viewers desiring extended or non-prime-time reporting, while Internet sites experimented with interactive activities to accompany or replace television viewing of the conventions, including alternative camera angles, gavel-to-gavel streaming video, web-exclusive commentary, 24-hour chat rooms and related message boards, up-to-the-minute polls and interactive quizzes, and opportunities to chat with delegates. While the hype surrounding such efforts was notable, actual traffic on these Internet sites was modest.

Advocates of the current system contend televised conventions inspire party loyalty and enthusiasm and allow the selection of a candidate who represents the political middle rather than the extremes. Critics allege today's nominating conventions are undemocratic spectacles and propose replacing them with a national presidential primary system. Despite these critiques and aforementioned efforts to increase viewership, substantial convention reform is unlikely. Today's streamlined conventions continue to attract an audience for television networks and cable channels, political parties, and presi-

dential candidates alike. Although television coverage has brought cosmetic changes to the convention, it has not interfered with its basic functions. As in earlier days, contemporary conventions honor presidential nominees, create party enthusiasm, and present party platforms.

SHARON JARVIS

*See also Political Processes and Television; U.S. Presidency and Television*

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## Press Conference

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President Dwight D. Eisenhower held the first televised presidential press conference in January 1955. Although Eisenhower regularly used television as a means to address the American electorate, President John F. Kennedy was the first to utilize television as a direct means of communication with voters via the live press conference. As Richard Davis explains, "John Kennedy enjoyed press conferences because of his skill in bantering with reporters; his press conferences reinforced the image of a president in command of the issues." Kennedy's successors have been measured against his performance and have scheduled press conferences less frequently. They also have employed variations to the live press conference format. The administrations of Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George H.W. Bush held mini press conferences. President George Bush Sr., relied on impromptu, daytime televised press conferences rather than formal, prime-time gatherings. President Clinton used a variation of the press conference: his televised "town meetings." With these conferences, Clinton managed to sidestep the White House press corps and address questions asked by average citizens. One such meeting featured children and was moderated by PBS's Fred Rogers of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*.

President George W. Bush's administration has held press conferences more frequently than his recent predecessors did. This administration also is known for joint press conferences with national political leaders and with foreign heads of state and government. In a press conference of February 22, 2001, Bush informed journalists, "One of my missions has been to change the tone here in the nation's capital to encourage civil discourse." Indeed, press conferences provide a forum for dialogue between the president and the public.

As a general category of media strategy, press conferences involve the communication of news about an individual or organization to the mass media and specialized media outlets. The objective is favorable news coverage of the sponsor's actions and events. Since the mid-20th century, most press conferences have centered on the orchestrated use of television, although various print and broadcast media outlets usually are invited to attend. According to Jerry Hendrix, press conferences are classified as uncontrolled media. Thus, with press conferences, media decision makers become the target audience members. These gatekeep-

ers then determine what information to communicate to the public.

Professionals generally agree that, as a public relations tool, press conferences should be used sparingly, reserved for circumstances that truly are newsworthy. Such occasions often call for a personal presentation by the organization's chief executive officer, a celebrity, a dignitary, or similarly positioned person. In the general realm of business affairs, some organizations have used press conferences to announce the introduction of major corporate changes such as new product lines, takeovers, or mergers. Press conferences also have been used to organize and manage information in crisis situations or to respond to accusations of wrongdoing.

Although in the business sector press conferences are not viewed as a routine means of public relations, major government agencies employ them on a more regular basis. Indeed, press conferences are a principal component of political communications. Politicians rely on them as a way of providing important information to the public and shaping public opinion. For correspondents, they serve as a means of obtaining such information and examining the opinion-shaping process.

In the United States the press and politicians have traditionally enjoyed an adversarial relationship. Even as political press conferences are used to provide information to the public, the goal for the politician is persuasion or news management. Thus, the political figure wants to control the release of information. Conversely, the press relies on such conferences as a means for ensuring that the politician is held accountable for his or her policies and actions. Media outlets also rely on press conferences as a way of obtaining new information so it can be released as quickly as possible.

Even prior to television, press conferences were essential in the United States to communications between the executive branch of government and the public. According to Carolyn Smith, Theodore Roosevelt was one of the first U.S. presidents to use the press as a frequent means of communicating with the public. Although he did not hold formal press conferences in their contemporary sense, he realized that the media could be used to shape public opinion and established close relationships with journalists. Woodrow

Wilson was the first president to hold regular and formal press conferences. Not only did he view the press as a means of influencing public opinion, but he also believed that communication via the press was a chief duty of democratic leaders.

Although presidents are not bound by law to hold them, presidential press conferences have become somewhat institutionalized. As Smith contends, a sense of "public contract has evolved to such a degree that the general occasion of the press conference cannot be avoided with political impunity." Since the Wilson administration, all presidents have held formal press conferences. However, the decision to grant a press conference is always made by the White House, not by the media, and press conferences have varied in frequency and format with each administration.

Not surprisingly, presidents are most likely to hold press conferences when the conferences serve their best advantage. Ultimately, the president can control the time, place, and setting for a press conference. To some extent, they also control the participants. In the contemporary era, journalists at presidential press conferences have traditionally included representatives of ABC, CBS, and NBC, the wire services, national newsmagazines; and national newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. They also

usually include a selection of reporters from other news organizations, such as regional newspapers or news syndicates, who may be more likely to pose questions the president will find favorable.

In general, press conferences often are criticized for their theatrical nature. However, for individuals, organizations, and government branches, press conferences serve an important public relations function. They are an effective means of organizing and disseminating newsworthy information to the public.

LORI MELTON MCKINNON

*See also Political Processes and Television; Pool Coverage; U.S. Presidency and Television*

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## Prime Suspect

### British Crime Series

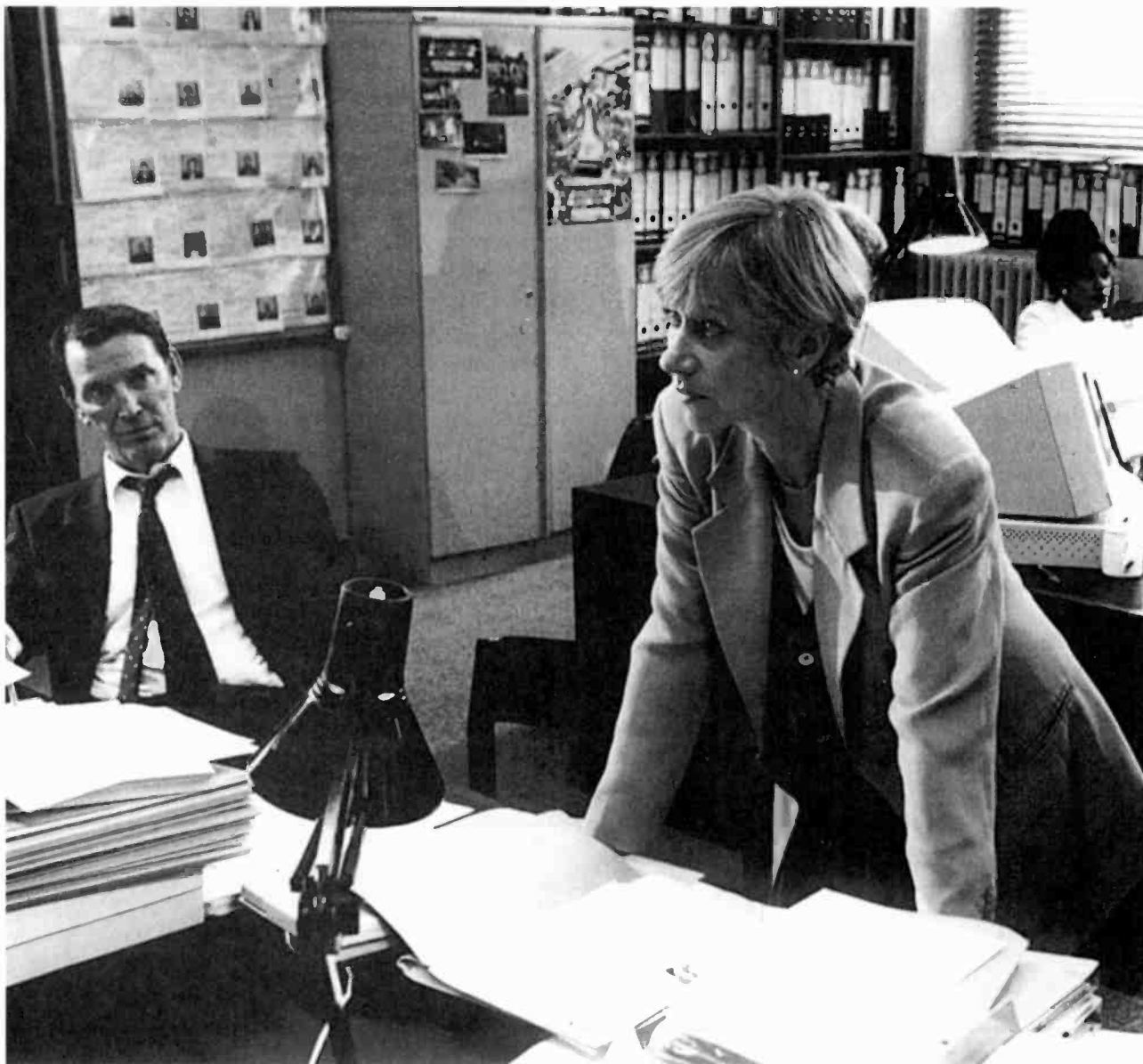
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In 1991 *Prime Suspect* was broadcast on British television to great critical and public acclaim. The production received numerous awards for its writer Lynda La Plante and star Helen Mirren, including a rather controversial BAFTA Award for Best Drama Serial. *Prime Suspect's* importance to the development of the police drama series as a genre in Britain is great. By installing a woman as the head of a murder squad, *Prime Suspect* broke new ground in terms of both gender and the authenticity in the portrayal of the internal dynamics of the police as an organization.

Almost six years earlier, La Plante brought to the television audience the formidable Dolly Rawlins as the single-minded leader of a group of disparate but gutsy women criminals in her successful television crime drama *Widows*. With *Prime Suspect* and the cre-

ation of DCI Jane Tennison, La Plante continued to elaborate on her predilection for problematic heroines, but this time her central character is not a criminal but a woman both shaped and defined by her role as an officer of the law.

By being positioned as the head of a murder squad hunting for a sadistic serial killer, Tennison transcends many of the traditions of the British police series. It is interesting to note that La Plante did not put Tennison forward primarily as a woman police officer who does her job the feminine way. In terms of the British police series, Tennison's female predecessors such as Kate Longton (*Juliet Bravo*) and Maggie Forbes (*The Gentle Touch*) had been deliberately represented as bringing the nurturing and compassionate aspects associated with femininity to the role of senior police



*Prime Suspect.*  
Photo courtesy of Frank Goodman Associates

officer. In fact, it would be true to say that central to programs such as *Juliet Bravo*, *The Gentle Touch*, and, indeed, the American police series *Cagney and Lacey* was the exploration of the contradictions inherent between the institutionalized masculinity of the police and the presence of femininity. The dramatic resolution, however, was usually to endorse the compassionate compromise made by the female characters between being a good police officer and being a “real” woman. The fascination of *Tennison* as a character was the powerful and compelling focus on the internal and external confrontations and contradictions faced by a

leading female character who was in most circumstances a police officer first and a woman second.

It is, in fact, the *Tennison* character, and Mirren’s performance, that unify and act as the reference for the programs in the series. And although La Plante has only written *Prime Suspect I* and *II*, her creation of *Tennison*, her exacting original script, and Mirren’s own compelling performance have generated a successful and repeatable legacy and framework.

Symptomatically, the subtext for each individual drama in the series has some kind of social issue as its basis and could be read, in order, as sexism, racism,

homosexuality, young male prostitution, the results of physical abuse in childhood, class, and institutional conformity in the police. Equally symptomatically, it could be noticed that each drama contains a character who has a particular investment in the chosen subtext: for example, one of the officers is black; in the next drama, one is gay; in the next, one has suffered childhood abuse; and so on. In a rather obvious, sometimes crude manner, this device has been used to situate and contextualize the tensions of the internal police dynamics within those of the larger society. It is our fascination with Tennison that spawns a more integrated and sophisticated involvement with the drama. Because of Tennison's place in the text, the issue of gender in the police force is never far away, as evidenced by the fact that masculinity and male relationships are also always under inspection.

Above all, no matter the focus of a case on a particular social problem, it is the institutionalized performance of masculinity and femininity within the police force that dictates the often considerable dramatic tension. In Tennison's pursuit of serial killer George Marlowe in *Prime Suspect I*, for example, not only must she prove she is an exceptional detective and win the support of her male colleagues, but the narrative is shot through with her compulsive need to succeed in her job at any cost. Her obsession with her police career even becomes tinged with perversity when the interrogation sessions between Tennison and Marlowe are used to generate a fake, yet compelling, sexual tension. The fact that she will get out of bed at night to interview a serial killer but will not make time to see to the needs of the man in her life heightens the idea of perversity and obsession.

In a culture still guided by the binary divisions of active masculinity and passive femininity, the fact that Tennison is a woman means that her sexuality and sexual practices are subject to much more dramatic scrutiny than if she were a man. Tennison does not, however, stray much from the sexual conduct expected from the male officer in the television police genre. As Geoffrey Hurd explains, "the main characters . . . are either divorced, separated, widowed, or unmarried, a trail of broken and unmade relationships presented as a direct result of the pressures and demands of police work."

The focus on sexuality, however, is dramatically changed by Tennison's pregnancy in *Prime Suspect III* and her consequent abortion in *Prime Suspect IV*. This moment marks the watershed in her personal and career conflict, and it is interesting that the following programs (not written by La Plante) then seem to devote themselves to saving Tennison's soul. No moral judgment is made about the abortion; in fact, it is not

even discussed. The imperative is clearly to establish Tennison's reputation and stature within the police (she is promoted to the rank of superintendent) and to reestablish her and contain what femininity remains within a heterosexual relationship with a professional equal, the psychologist played by Stuart Wilson.

In *Prime Suspect V*, an interesting intertextual exercise is carried out when the Marlowe case is reopened, with the investigation now centered on Tennison's own police practices. Apart from one long-standing loyal male colleague, the male ranks are again seen to close in the face of this unsympathetic woman who remains insistent on her infallibility and methodical detection. Her ultimate triumph in the case casts her in a new but recognizable mold, that of maverick cop, where gender is even less of an issue. *Prime Suspect VI: The Last Witness* aired in November 2003.

ROS JENNINGS

See also **British Programming; La Plante, Lynda; Mirren, Helen; Police Programs**

### Prime Suspect

#### Cast

Jane Tennison	Helen Mirren
DS Bill Otley	Tom Bell
DCS Michael Kiernan	John Benfield
DCI John Shefford	John Forgeham
Terry Amson	Gary Whelan
DI Frank Burkin	Craig Fairbrass
DI Tony Muddyman	Jack Ellis
WPC Maureen Havers	Mossie Smith
DC Jones	Ian Fitzgibbon
DC Rosper	Andrew Tierman
DC Lillie	Phillip Wright
DC Haskons	Richard Hawley
DC Oakhill	Mark Spalding
DS Eastel	Dave Bond
Commander Trayner	Terry Taplin
DC Avison	Tom Bowles
DC Caplan	Seamus O'Neill
DI Caldicott	Marcus Romer
George Marlow	John Bowe
Moyra Henson	Zoe Wanamaker
Mrs. Marlow	Maxine Audley
Felix Norman	Bryan Pringle
Willy Chang	Gareth Tudor Price
Tilly	Andrew Abrahams
Joyce	Fionnuala Ellwood
Lab Assistant	Maria Meski
Lab Assistant	Martin Reeve
Lab Assistant	John Ireland
Peter	Tom Wilkinson

## Prime Suspect

Marianne  
Joe  
Major Howard  
Mrs. Howard  
Karen  
Michael  
Mr. Tennison  
Mrs. Tennison  
Pam  
Tony  
Sergeant Tomlins  
Carol  
Linda  
Painter  
Helen Masters  
Mrs. Salbanna  
Arnold Upcher  
Mr. Shrapnel

Francesca Ryan  
Jeremy Warder  
Michael Fleming  
Daphne Neville  
Julie Sumnall  
Ralph Fiennes  
Wilfred Harrison  
Noel Dyson  
Jessica Turner  
Owen Aaronovitch  
Rod Arthur  
Rosy Clayton  
Susan Brown  
Phil Hearne  
Angela Bruce  
Anna Savva  
James Snell  
Julian Firth

Jason Reynolds  
Nola Cameron  
Oscar Bream

Matt Bardock  
Corinne Skinner-Carter  
David Ryall

### Producer

Paul Marcus

### Programming History

Granada TV  
1992

## Prime Suspect III

### Cast

DCI Jane Tennison  
Vera Reynolds  
Edward Parker-Jones  
James Jackson  
Sergeant Bill Otley  
Chief Superintendent

Helen Mirren  
Peter Capaldi  
Ciarán Hinds  
David Thewlis  
Tom Bell

Kernan  
Jessica Smythie  
Margaret Speel  
DC Lillie  
DI Brian Dalton  
WPC Norma Hastings  
Supt. Halliday  
Red  
Anthony Field  
DS Richard Haskons  
John Kennington  
Commander Chiswick  
Jason Baldwin  
DI Ray Hebdon  
Mrs. Kennington  
Disco Driscoll  
Billy Matthews

John Benfield  
Kelly Hunter  
Alyson Spiro  
Philip Wright  
Andrew Woodall  
Karen Tomlin  
Struan Rodger  
Pearce Quigley  
Jonny Lee Miller  
Richard Hawley  
Terence Harvey  
Terrence Hardiman  
James Frain  
Mark Drewry  
Rowena Cooper  
Jeremy Colton  
Andrew Dicks

### Producer

Don Leaver

### Programming History

2 2-hour episodes  
Granada TV  
April 7-8, 1991

## Prime Suspect II

### Cast

DCI Jane Tennison  
Sgt. Robert Oswald  
D. Supt. Michael Kernan  
DI Tony Muddyman  
DI Frank Burkin  
DS Richard Haskons  
DC Lillie  
DC Jones  
DC Rosper  
Commander Traynor  
Sgt. Calder  
DCI Thorndike  
Asian PC  
Esme Allen  
Vernon Allen  
Tony Allen  
Cleo Allen  
David Allen  
Sarah Allen  
Esta  
David Harvey  
Eileen Reynolds

Helen Mirren  
Colin Salmon  
John Benfield  
Jack Ellis (III)  
Craig Fairbrass  
Richard Hawley  
Philip Wright  
Ian Fitzgibbon  
Andrew Tiernan  
Stafford Gordon  
Lloyd Maguire  
Stephen Boxer  
Nirjay Mahindru  
Claire Benedict  
George Harris (II)  
Fraser James  
Ashley James  
Junior Laniyan  
Jenny Jules  
Josephine Melville  
Tom Watson (1)  
June Watson

### Producer

Paul Marcus

### Programming History

Granada TV  
1993

## Prime Suspect IV: "The Lost Child," "Inner Circles," and "The Scent of Darkness"

### Cast

Supt. Jane Tennison  
Chris Hughes

Helen Mirren  
Robert Glenister ("The Lost Child")

Susan Covington	Beatie Edney ("The Lost Child")	Derek Palmer	Alan Perrin ("Inner Circles")
Anne Sutherland	Lesley Sharp ("The Lost Child")	Len Sheldon	Pip Donachy ("The Scent of Darkness")
DI Richard Haskons	Richard Hawley ("The Lost Child")	Chief Inspector Finlay	Hugh Simon ("The Scent of Darkness")
DI Tony Muddyman	Jack Ellis ("The Lost Child")	Supt. Howell	Alan Leith ("The Scent of Darkness")
Doctor Gordon	Graham Seed ("The Lost Child")	Dr. Elizabeth Bramwell	Penelope Beaumont ("The Scent of Darkness")
Chief Supt. Kernan	John Benfield ("The Lost Child")	Anthony Bramwell	Christopher Ashley ("The Scent of Darkness")
WPC Maureen Havers	Mossie Smith ("The Lost Child")	Wayne	Glen Barry ("The Scent of Darkness")
Dr. Patrick Schofield	Stuart Wilson ("The Lost Child")	Policewoman I	Rebecca Thorn ("The Scent of Darkness")
Oscar Bream	David Ryall ("The Lost Child")	Geoff	Scott Neal ("The Scent of Darkness")
Geoff	Tom Russell ("Inner Circles")	DC Catherine Cooper	Caroline Strong ("The Scent of Darkness")
Paul Endicott	James Laurenson ("Inner Circles")		
Lynne Endicott	Helene Kvale ("Inner Circles")	<b>Executive Producer</b>	Sally Head
Maria Henry	Jill Baker ("Inner Circles")	<b>Producers</b>	
Polly Henry	Kelly Reilly ("Inner Circles")	Paul Marcus ( <i>The Lost Child</i> and <i>Inner Circles</i> );	Brian Park ( <i>The Scent of Darkness</i> )
Denis Carradine	Gareth Forwood ("Inner Circles")	<b>Programming History</b>	
James Greenlees	Anthony Bate ("Inner Circles")	Granada TV	
Micky Thomas	Jonathan Copestake ("Inner Circles")	1995	
Olive Carradine	Phillada Sewell ("Inner Circles")	<b>Prime Suspect V: Errors of Judgment</b>	
Sheila Bower	Julie Rice ("Inner Circles")	<b>Cast</b>	
DCI Raymond	Ralph Arliss ("Inner Circles")	Supt. Jane Tennison	Helen Mirren
DS Cromwell	Sophie Stanton ("Inner Circles")	DCS Martin Ballinger	John McArdle
DC Bakari	Cristopher John Hale ("Inner Circles")	DI Claire Devanny	Julia Lane
DI Haskons	Richard Hawley ("Inner Circles")	DS Jerry Rankine	David O'Hara
Club Manager	Albert Welling ("Inner Circles")	DC Henry Adeliyeka	John Brobbey
Hamish Endicott	Nick Patrick ("Inner Circles")	The Street	Steven Mackintosh
Superintendent Mallory	Ian Flintoff ("Inner Circles")	Michael Johns	Ray Emmet Brown
Chief Supt. Kernan	John Benfield ("Inner Circles")	Toots	Paul Oldham
		Radio	Joe Speare
		Campbell Lafferty	Joseph Jacobs
		Janice Lafferty	Marsha Thomason
		Noreen Lafferty	Gabrielle Reidy
		DC Skinner	Anne Hornby
		Desk Sergeant	Steve Money
		Nazir	Chris Bisson
		DC Growse	Antony Audenshaw
		DS Pardy	Martin Ronan
		Willem	Kevin Knapman

## Prime Suspect

Paramedic Paul Warriner  
Outboard Paul Simpson  
Deborah Sarah Jones

### Producers

Rebecca Eaton, Lynn Horsford

### Programming History

1996  
Granada TV

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# Prime Time

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Prime time is that portion of the evening when the U.S. audience levels for television viewing are at their highest. In the Eastern and Pacific time zones, prime time is 7:00 to 11:00 P.M.; in the Central and Mountain time zones, prime time is 6:00 to 10:00 P.M. The 9:00 P.M. hour (Eastern and Pacific) and the 8:00 P.M. hour (Central and Mountain) have the highest homes-using-television (HUT) level.

The commercial broadcast networks have always attracted the largest portion of the prime-time viewing audience. Through the 1960s, it was not unusual for the three networks (ABC, CBC, and NBC) to attract 85 to 90 percent of the available prime-time audience. The remaining 10 to 15 percent of the audience would be watching programming available on independent television stations or on public television stations.

Broadcast networks pay their affiliated stations in each local market to air the network offerings (this is called "network compensation"). In return, the networks retain the bulk of the commercial time for sale to national advertisers. This arrangement works well for both parties, as the networks attract audiences in each local market for their programming, which enables them to sell commercial time during such programs to advertisers wanting to reach a national audience. The local affiliated television stations receive high-quality programming, payment from the network, and the opportunity to sell the remaining commercial time (usually about one minute each hour) to local advertisers. However, with the increased costs involved in producing and securing prime-time programming and with smaller audience shares due to in-

creased competition from cable, the networks have been reducing compensation payments to affiliates. In fact, some network programming is distributed sans compensation.

In the mid-1990s, the average 30-second prime-time network television advertising spot cost about \$100,000. By the 2001-02 broadcast season, the average 30-second, prime-time network television advertising spot cost about \$125,000. These same spots on a top-rated series average about \$325,000, and such spots on low-rated network prime-time programs average about \$50,000. Top-rated prime-time spots in local television markets cost as much as \$20,000.

Because of network dominance in prime time, independent television stations (those not affiliated with a major broadcast network) have found it difficult to compete directly with network-affiliated television stations during these most desirable hours. In an attempt to allow independents to compete somewhat more fairly, during at least a portion of prime time, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) enacted the Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR). The rule limits the amount of time a local affiliate can broadcast programming provided by the network. The most recent version of PTAR became effective in September 1975. It basically limited network-affiliated television stations in the 50 largest markets to no more than three hours of network (or off-network syndicated) programming during the four hours of prime time. The three-hour limit could be exceeded if the additional programming was public-affairs programming, children's programming, or documentary programming, or if the additional pro-



programming was a network newscast that was adjacent to a full hour of local newscasts. Other exceptions to the three-hour limit included runover of live sporting events, and feature films on Saturday evenings. The FCC ended the PTAR in 1996; however, network offerings continue to be limited, now by convention, to three hours.

The growth of cable television in the 1980s resulted in a plethora of viewing options for the audience. Where audiences once had a choice of up to five, perhaps six options at any point in time, the new multi-channel environment provided viewers with more than 50 programming choices at once. Meanwhile, the development of the FOX network in the late 1980s, and on a slightly smaller scale, the Warner Brothers (WB) Network and the United Paramount Network (UPN) in the early 1990s, raised the prime-time status and visibility of independent stations. In addition, the advent of the videocassette recorder (VCR) also enabled viewers to rent prerecorded tapes, or to time-shift (watch programs that were recorded at an earlier time). The result of all this increased competition is that the networks' share of the audience declined throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This was most evident in the prime-time hours. By the 2001–02 season, the networks' share of the audience had dropped from previous heights of 80 to 90 percent to 50 to 60 percent. And as cable and VCR penetration levels (70 percent and 84 percent, respectively, in 2001) continue to grow, the fate of network television in prime time may decline still further.

Although prime-time programming has changed much during the history of television, three main trends continue: (1) the continued growth of the situation comedy; (2) the continued decline and perhaps death of the variety show; and (3) the consistent appeal of drama.

As new technologies, increased competition, and decreased regulation of television systems have developed throughout the world in recent decades, the notion of prime time has become more and more prevalent in systems outside the United States. Where television programming in other countries was once a special activity, often a limited number of hours roughly equivalent to American prime time, the move toward 24-hour programming has added new significance to the evening hours. Prime time is now a com-

mon marker in the days of citizens around the globe and this televisual "clock" has become part of everyday experience in almost every society.

MITCHELL E. SHAPIRO

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## Prime Time Access Rule

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The Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) was established by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to limit network domination of prime-time programming throughout the United States. Prime time is normally from 7:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. in the Eastern and Pacific time zones, and from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. in the Central and Mountain time zones.

The "Big Three" networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, dominated prime-time programming of their own network-affiliated stations nationally in the 1960s. Reruns of old network shows also dominated the schedules of independent (non-network-affiliated) television stations. The FCC began an investigation of this virtual monopoly in 1965 and issued its initial PTAR in 1970. The rule was modified in 1973, rewritten in 1975, and finally rescinded in 1996. Paraphrasing the rule itself, the PTAR basically limited network-affiliated stations in the 50 largest television markets to airing only three hours of network entertainment programming during prime time. Exceptions were made for some program genres, such as news, public affairs, education, and children's shows.

This rule meant that the Big Three networks regularly provided 22 hours of prime-time shows weekly, 4 hours on Sunday and 3 hours on the other six evenings each week. Sunday included an extra hour because feature films, newsmagazines, and family shows qualified as exceptions to the PTAR. Other exceptions included fast-breaking news events and the running over of live broadcasts of sporting events. In markets where local television stations scheduled the half-hour network newscast immediately following the local newscast, this was also considered an exception. In actual practice, the networks now provided only three hours of programming to all their affiliate stations in every market, not just the top 50, and established what became known as the "Access Hour" nationally.

The PTAR also prohibited top-50 market network-affiliated stations from airing off-network rerun programs during the access hour, while encouraging local independent stations to do so as well. This aspect of the rule gave independent stations the exclusive right to broadcast reruns of successful network situation comedies such as *I Love Lucy* during the first hour of prime time, while forcing the network-affiliated stations to provide alternative programming.

The FCC wanted to encourage community-oriented

local programming by network stations, as well as provide small, independent programming producers expanded marketing opportunities. Prior to the PTAR, almost all network programming was produced by major studios or the networks themselves.

With respect to the development of community-oriented local programming, the PTAR was a dismal failure, as most local television stations opted to purchase inexpensive syndicated entertainment programming, such as game shows, to fill the access hour rather than developing their own public-affairs programs. The PTAR was a resounding success in providing independent producers with more than 200 local television markets and over 600 local stations as potential customers for their original programming. The result was a plethora of game shows and other programs in inexpensive-to-produce genres. Along with the Financial Interest and Syndication Rule (Fin-Syn), the PTAR prevented the Big Three networks from monopolizing the television production industry and limited them to distribution and exhibition of prime-time entertainment programming for 16 years.

The creation of FOX, the fourth major network, as well as the variety of other channels introduced as the cable and satellite industries developed, provided television audiences in the United States with many more viewing options. This shift eroded the Big Three networks' share of the audience from over 90 percent in 1970 to less than 50 percent in the mid-1990s. It also gave independent program producers many more venues to which they could sell programming and basically eliminated a need for restrictions on network programming such as the PTAR. The FCC finally eliminated the rule in August 1996.

Since the PTAR's demise there has been virtually no change in the number of hours of prime-time programming that networks provide their affiliates. Now, affiliate stations' access hours are highly profitable time slots for selling local advertising spots at premium rates, and affiliate stations therefore have no desire to give up the access hour to the networks for programming. Even network newscasts typically no longer appear during the access hour.

ROBERT G. FINNEY

**See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; License; Syndication**

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## Primetime Live

### U.S. Newsmagazine Show

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In 1989 the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) added a second newsmagazine, *Primetime Live*, to accompany *20/20* on its prime-time schedule. Straying from the lackluster tradition of network news, the look of *Primetime Live* was better characterized as glitzy and glamorous. ABC launched a huge promotional campaign and on August 3 the highly publicized *Primetime Live* debuted. The show featured numerous segments, from the secretary of state on American hostages in Lebanon to an interview with Roseanne Barr. It incorporated comments from a studio audience, as well as live location feeds that were frequently uninspiring. Boomed by critics and parodied by *Saturday Night Live*, *Primetime Live's* ratings continually declined. Industry journals were replete with accounts of difficulties plaguing the show, but none discussed cancellation.

A handful of factors contributed to the staying power of *Primetime Live*. Generally speaking, reality programming was recognized as a cost-effective alternative in comparison with the expense and risk of developing fictional series. But despite trailing its competition, *Primetime Live* was rated considerably higher than the traditional entertainment previously scheduled in its time slot. Furthermore, programming a newsmagazine improved the audience draw for network affiliates that followed the broadcasts with their local news.

More specifically, and perhaps most pivotal to the eventual success of the show, was ABC's stated commitment to stand by the show for at least two years. This allowed executive producer Richard Kaplan to modify the program and reshape the still-emerging

newsmagazine genre. First to disappear was the studio audience. Ironically, *Primetime Live* then phased out the "live" aspects of the program. Following its recognized coverage of the crash of Pan American Flight 103 and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the show's producers reduced the number of segments for each episode and focused instead on more in-depth journalism. *Primetime Live* evolved into an award-winning newsmagazine with its own distinct signature. Central to establishing this distinctiveness was the use of undercover investigations and hidden cameras that documented everything from racial discrimination to political scandal and corporate corruption.

Although their formats and often their content can be similar, *Primetime Live* was distinguished as a news rather than a tabloid magazine show because it was produced under the umbrella of the ABC News division. But as a prime-time show the entertainment value of the program was at least as important as its information value, inspiring the critical label "infotainment." Rather than reporting facts, newsmagazine journalists were expected to be on-air personalities or celebrities for audience members to identify with. They packaged segments of dramatic narrative, but also needed to communicate professional legitimacy. Therefore, coanchors Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson were vital to *Primetime Live*. Both were praised as talented and well-respected journalists when they joined the show. Donaldson, a White House correspondent, and Sawyer, lured to ABC following five years as a reporter for *60 Minutes*, lent an air of credibility to the fledgling newsmagazine.

For the 1998 season ABC merged *Primetime Live*



*Primetime Live*, Charles Gibson and Diane Sawyer.  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives

with the more preferred *20/20*, which expanded to three (and eventually four) nights a week. The strategy was in keeping with the trend toward stripping one recognizable brand across the network's weekly schedule. The Wednesday, 10:00 p.m. broadcast was planned to maintain the flavor of *Primetime Live*. Sawyer remained as coanchor of *20/20* on Wednesday night, along with Charles Gibson, who had replaced Donaldson. David Westin, president of ABC News, revealed this was part of his hope to expand *20/20* to run seven nights a week. Economic concerns motivated the increased pervasiveness of newsmagazine programming, which cost as much as 50 percent less to produce than an episode of scripted comedy or drama. Additionally, newsmagazine content, though rarely syndicated, could be repurposed for other ABC news programming and for media outlets aligned through corporate synergies.

Soon, however, network executives decided that stripping their newsmagazines as one franchise reduced audience anticipation. To generate more demand for a product perceived as uniform ABC separated the multiple broadcasts of *20/20* into inde-

pendently titled shows. For the 2000 season the Wednesday broadcast of *20/20* was moved to Thursday night, reincarnating *Primetime Live* as *Primetime Thursday*. Sawyer and Gibson remained coanchors of the program. The goal was to reassociate the show with its previous success.

ABC News's metamorphosis over the years can be traced through the history of *Primetime Thursday*. The unsuccessful attempt to expand the *20/20* franchise has resulted instead in a deeper branding of ABC News when it becomes clear that it is the organizational franchise, rather than a program franchise, that has been most strengthened. In the process, the way network news is produced has also changed. Today, *Primetime Thursday* is able to draw on the resources of the entire ABC News organization. And as the show's staffers, from producers to correspondents, are no longer to dedicated to one show, they now contribute to an array of the news division's programming. Rather than following an entrenched formula, the spirit and legacy of *Primetime Live* endure precisely because the concept has been so adaptable to change.

JENNIE PHILLIPS

See also *News, Network* ; Sawyer, Diane

#### Coanchors

Diane Sawyer (1989–)  
Sam Donaldson (1989–98)  
Charles Gibson (1998–)

#### Executive Producers

Richard Kaplan (1989–94)  
Phyllis McGrady (1994–98)  
Victor Neufeld (merged with *20/20*, 1998–2000)  
David Doss (reincarnated as *Primetime Thursday*, 2000–)

#### Senior Producers, *Primetime Thursday*

Jennifer Grossman  
Robert Lange  
Victor Neufeld  
Marc Robertson  
Ira Rosen  
Lisa Soloway  
Jessica Velmans

#### Correspondents, ABC News

Bob Brown  
Juju Chang  
Christopher Cuomo  
Arnold Diaz

Jami Floyd  
 Tom Jarriel  
 Timothy Johnson  
 Cynthia McFadden  
 John Quinones  
 Brian Ross  
 Jay Schadler  
 Lynn Sherr  
 Joel Siegel  
 John Stossel  
 Nancy Snyderman  
 Elizabeth Vargas  
 Chris Wallace

### Programming History

ABC

August 1989–September  
 1994

Thursday 10:00–11:00

September 1994–

September 1998

Wednesday 10:00–11:00

September 1998–

September 2000

Wednesday 10:00–11:00

(merged with 20/20)

September 2000–

Thursday 10:00–11:00  
 (reincarnated as *Prime-  
 time Thursday*)

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## Princess Diana: Death and Funeral Coverage

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The sudden death of Diana, Princess of Wales, following a car accident in Paris in the early hours of Sunday August 31, 1997, sparked a dramatic week of intense television coverage and high public emotion in the United Kingdom and sent shock waves through international media circles.

At the age of 36, the princess cut a figure of glamour and beauty and, despite the years of controversy and acrimonious dispute with the royal family, she still commanded much public popularity and international interest. In the week leading up to the accident, the tabloid press in Britain had been filled with pictures of her relaxing in the south of France with her new boyfriend, Dodi Al Fayed. Her death in a car crash, apparently while being chased by press photographers, seemed as shocking as it was unexpected.

That Sunday, British terrestrial television channels suspended their scheduled programming and ran live rolling news for all or most of the day. The news coverage was dramatic and emotive, combining news narratives associated with disaster and crisis with what

TV critic Mark Lawson has described as "memorial broadcasting," where praise is heaped upon the recently deceased. Tributes were relayed from eminent politicians and personages around the world, and cameras started to focus on members of the public, some angry and emotional, leaving flowers outside palaces in London. A bitter and scathing statement vilifying the press was read by Earl Spencer, the princess's brother in South Africa, and television commentators and journalists distanced themselves from the print media and discussed the potential implications of the accident on press regulation.

The future of the royal family was also discussed, and over the afternoon the coverage was intercut with scenes of Prince Charles and Diana's two sisters flying to Paris to collect her body. Scenes of their return, with the aircraft departing Paris, flying into the sunset and then landing at an air force base just outside London, were particularly poignant and moving.

Yet a disorientating air of unreality hung over the day's coverage, especially when television broadcast

images of the car wreckage alongside footage of the princess while still alive, attending gala functions, meeting the sick and poor, and accompanying her two sons on visits to a theme park.

In the following days, television news followed events as revelations emerged that the princess's French chauffeur may have been driving drunk, preparations were made for the funeral, and cameras relayed extraordinary scenes of people lining up for hours to leave flowers and sign books of condolence in London. These images were read as evidence of public mourning and helped fuel criticism in the tabloid press, which was repeated on television, of the royal family's apparent neglect of the princess when alive. The royal family was also accused of being out of touch, for not displaying a response in keeping with the wave of public sympathy after her death. So stinging was the criticism that the queen was effectively forced to make a live address to the nation across all the terrestrial channels in memorial of the princess on the Friday night before the funeral.

The princess's funeral, on Saturday, September 6, was described by a Buckingham Palace press spokesman as "a unique event for a unique person." It had been a focus of speculation throughout the week and was, in the end, a triumph of organization for both the authorities and the broadcasters. With very little time for preparation, permission from the princess's family to film the funeral service live inside Westminster Abbey was only granted to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Independent Television News (ITN) on Tuesday evening. Agreement was made with both the Spencer and royal families that there would be no television close-ups of any of the mourners in the Abbey.

The funeral was televised live across four out of five of the U.K. terrestrial channels, with both the BBC and ITN providing live relays to broadcasters around the world. It is estimated that a possible 2.5 billion people watched the funeral globally. Live coverage commenced at 9 A.M. in the U.K. as the funeral cortege, consisting of a horse-drawn gun-carriage bearing the princess's coffin, and a small escort of guardsmen and mounted policemen, left Kensington Palace in London. The coverage followed the cortege every step of the way as it made its two-hour journey, on a sunny morning, through streets lined with people, past Buckingham Palace and Whitehall to Westminster Abbey. On the BBC, historical continuity was provided by the

solemn commentary of David Dimbleby, son of the famous broadcaster Richard Dimbleby who had commented for television at the queen's coronation in 1953 and the funeral of Winston Churchill in 1965.

The coverage continued through the hour-long service, which was marked by hymns, prayers, and readings and included an address by Earl Spencer and a live rendition of the song "Candle in the Wind" rewritten for the occasion and sung by the pop star Elton John. After the service and a national minute of silence, the main broadcasters continued to follow events as the princess's coffin was taken by hearse back through London streets, lined with crowds applauding and throwing flowers, and then onto the motorway to make its last journey to Althorp in Northamptonshire. There the coverage ended as the princess was finally buried, out of the public gaze, at a private family service in the late afternoon.

Undoubtedly a poignant event that gripped and moved a large British and international audience, the funeral was considered the kind of television event at which the British excel. The BBC's then-director general, John Birt, was to describe the week as "one of the most demanding in the BBC's history."

A year later, television's response to the first anniversary of the princess's death was a more muted affair. Several reports and books began to be published that suggested that not everyone had been caught up in the wave of public emotion, and some were critical of the press and media for orchestrating the apparent public response, and for perpetuating what some came to refer to as "grief fascism."

ROB TURNOCK

*See also* Birt, John; *Political Processes and Television*

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## Prinze, Freddie (1954–1977)

U.S. Actor

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Freddie Prinze is one of only a handful of Puerto Rican Americans to earn national prominence as a popular entertainer—in his case, as a stand-up comedian. Prinze was born in Washington Heights, a working-poor, multiethnic neighborhood on the Upper West Side of New York City. His father was a Hungarian immigrant who worked as a tool and die maker, his mother a Puerto Rican immigrant who worked in a factory. Playing on the name “Nuyorican,” as many New York Puerto Ricans identify themselves, Prinze called himself a “Hungarican.”

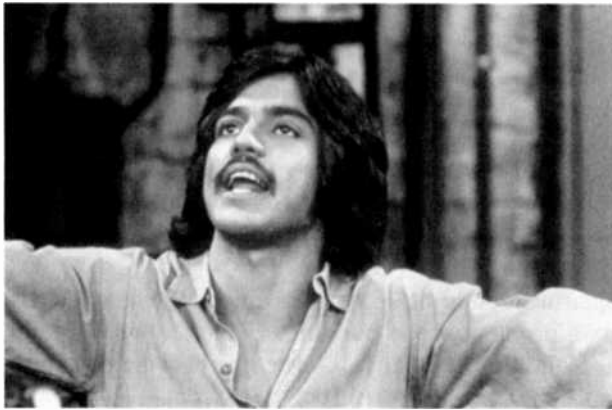
Prinze came from a diverse religious as well as ethnic background. His father was part Jewish, his mother Catholic, and they chose to send him to a Lutheran elementary school. On Sundays he attended Catholic Mass. “All was confusing,” he told *Rolling Stone* in 1975, “until I found I could crack up the priest doing Martin Luther.” Prinze was also overweight when he was a young boy, which further heightened his anxiety about his “mixed” identity. “I fitted in nowhere,” he continued. “I wasn’t true spic, true Jew, true anything. I was a miserable fat schmuck kid with glasses and asthma.” Like many comedians, Prinze used humor to cope with the traumas of his childhood. “I started doing half-hour routines in the boys’ room, just winging it. Guys cut class to catch the act. It was, ‘What time’s Freddie playing the toilet today?’” His comedic talents paid off, as he was selected to attend the prestigious High School of the Performing Arts in New York.

Prinze did not graduate from the High School of the Performing Arts, although after his later professional successes, school administrators awarded him a certificate. The young comedian skipped many of his morning classes, most commonly economics, because he often worked as late as 3:00 A.M. in comedy clubs perfecting his routine and style. Of his time spent in these clubs, Prinze would later say, “My heart doesn’t start till 1:00 P.M.” One of his favorite spots was the Improvisation on West Forty-fourth Street, a place where aspiring comics could try out their material on receptive audiences.

Prinze called himself an “observation comic,” and his routines often included impressions of ethnic minorities and film stars such as Marlon Brando. One of his most famous impressions was of his Puerto Rican

apartment building superintendent who, when asked to fix a problem in the building, would say with a thick accent: “Eez not mai yob.” The line became a national catchphrase in the early 1970s. His comedy also had a political edge that was poignant and raw, perhaps best illustrated by his line about Christopher Columbus: “Queen Isabelle gives him all the money, three boats, and he’s wearing a red suit, a big hat, and a feather—that’s a pimp.” Prinze’s comic wit, based in the tradition of street humor pioneered by such comics as Lenny Bruce and Richard Pryor, landed him a number of television appearances, including *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson* in 1973. His performance there was a major success and the start of his television career.

Indeed, James Komack, a television producer, liked what he saw in Prinze’s routine and cast him to play the part of Chico Rodriguez, a wisecracking Chicano, in a situation comedy called *Chico and the Man*. Komack told *Time* magazine that Prinze “was the best comic to come along in 20 years.” *Chico and the Man* also starred veteran actor Jack Albertson as “the Man,” a crusty old-timer, owner of a run-down garage in a Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles. Among the supporting cast were Scatman Crothers, who played Louie the garbageman, and Della Reese, who played Della the landlady. In the style of other situation comedies such as *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*, most of the plots involved ethnic conflicts between Chico, who worked in the garage, and the Man, the only Caucasian living in the mostly Latino neighborhood. “Latin music sounds like Mantovani getting mugged,” the Man says to Chico in one episode. Chico would often respond to the old-timer’s bigoted statements with the line, “Looking good,” which also became a national catchphrase. Premiering on NBC-TV in September 1974, *Chico and the Man* quickly rose to the top of the Nielsen ratings. *Time* reported that Prinze was “the hottest new property on prime-time TV,” and the comedian literally became an overnight star: the first and, to date, only Puerto Rican comedian to command a nationwide audience. He began working in Las Vegas for a reported \$25,000 a night. He bought himself a new Corvette and his parents a home in the Hollywood hills. He was only 20 years old.



Freddie Prinze, *Chico and the Man*, 1974–78.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Chico and the Man* faced criticism and protests from the Los Angeles Chicano community, who protested the use of Prinze, a New York Puerto Rican, to play a Los Angeles Chicano. Citing dialect and accent differences, and the fact that network television rarely employed Chicano actors, Chicano groups picketed NBC's Burbank studios and wrote protest letters. Prinze responded with his usual irreverent humor: "If I can't play a Chicano because I'm Puerto Rican, then God's really gonna be mad when he finds out Charlton Heston played Moses." Nonetheless, the network and producers of the show buckled under the pressure, changing the character to half-Puerto Rican and half-Chicano brought up in New York City. The shift in the character's ethnic identity apparently did not bother television audiences, for *Chico and the Man* never slipped below sixth place in the ratings when Prinze was its star.

Prinze, however, had a difficult time adjusting to the pressures of his overnight success and stardom, and during this period, he experienced many personal problems. His wife of 15 months, Katherine Elaine Cochran, filed for divorce and Prinze was now less able to see his adored 15-month-old son. Early in the show's run, Prinze was arrested for driving under the influence of prescription tranquilizers, fueling speculation of a drug problem. Indeed, friends reported that Prinze turned to drugs to cope with the pressures of fame and the breakup of his marriage. "Freddie was into a lot of drugs," comedian Jimmy Walker said to

the *New York Times*, "not heroin, as far as I know, but coke and a lot of Ludes. The drug thing was a big part of Freddie's life. It completely messed him up."

On January 28, 1977, after a night of phone calls to his secretary, business manager, psychiatrist, mother, and estranged wife, Freddie Prinze shot himself in the head in front of his business manager. He was rushed to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. He was 22 years old. A note found in his apartment read: "I can't take any more. It's all my fault. There is no one to blame but me." According to the *New York Times*, Prinze had previously threatened suicide in front of many of his friends and associates, often by holding a gun to his head and pulling the trigger while the safety was on. It is not known whether the young comedian actually intended to kill himself that night or merely suggest that he might, as he had done in the past, but it is clear that he was critically depressed.

The death of Freddie Prinze is an American success story turned tragedy. His streetwise insight and raw wit is surely missed, perhaps most by the Puerto Rican American community, who have yet to see another politically minded Puerto Rican comedian grab national attention.

DANIEL BERNARDI

**Freddie Prinze.** Born in New York City, June 22, 1954. Educated at the High School of the Performing Arts, 1970. Married: Katherine Cochran, 1975; one son, Freddie Prinze Jr. Performed in Manhattan comedy nightclubs; appeared on Jack Paar's television show, 1972; appeared on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, 1973; starred in television show *Chico and the Man*, 1974–77. Died in Los Angeles, California, January 28, 1977.

#### Television Series

1974–77 *Chico and the Man*

#### Further Reading

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# Prisoner

## Australian Prison Melodrama

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*Prisoner*, which aired from 1979 to 1986 in Australia and was broadcast in other countries as *Cell Block H*, is a triumph of the Australian television industry, a classic of serial melodrama. *Prisoner* was conceived by the Grundy Organisation for Network Ten. Reg Watson, in the senior ranks of Grundy, had just returned from Britain, where he had been one of the originators of the long-running serial *Crossroads*. In 1978 Watson set out to devise a serial set in a women's prison, in the context of considerable public attention being given in Australia to prison issues generally and to the position of female prisoners in particular. Women Behind Bars had been founded in 1975 and had successfully campaigned for the eventual release of Sandra Willson, Australia's longest-serving female prisoner. The combination of an active women's movement, prisoner action groups, and an atmosphere of public inquiry and media attention, stimulated by gaol riots and a royal commission, laid a basis for an interest in the lives of women in prison. Watson and his team at Grundy, in their extensive research for the new drama, interviewed women in prison as well as prison officers (the "screws," as they are always called in *Prisoner*), and later some of the actors also visited women's prisons. Notice was taken of prison reform groups, whose desire for a halfway house for women was incorporated into the program. The result was a very popular long-running serial, shown from 8:30 to 10:30 P.M., which only in its eighth year revealed signs of falling ratings.

*Prisoner* became as controversial as it was popular. In its frequent grimness, pathos, sadness, toughness of address, occasional violence, and atmosphere of threat, it appeared very decidedly to be adult drama, its "look" spare, hard, dynamic. Yet ethnographic research pointed to *Prisoner's* consistent appeal to schoolchildren, not least schoolgirls, perhaps identifying the harsher screws with cordially disliked teachers. It was not the favorite text of school principals and was the subject of complaint by them.

With *Prisoner*, the audience is invited to sympathize and empathize with a particular group of prisoners, in particular, mother figure Bea Smith, aunt figure Judy Bryant, grandmother figure Lizzie Birdsworth, as well as some young prisoners, the acting daughters and

granddaughters, Doreen and Maxie and Bobby. Often this group is shown at work in the prison laundry, where Bea rules as "top dog," having the right to press the clothes. Here Bea and her "family" resist the oppression of a labor process the prison management forces on them by taking smokes, having fun, exercising cheek and wit, chatting, planning rituals such as birthday celebrations, or being involved in dramas of various kinds that distract them from the boredom of work.

Such "kinship" relationships, often remembered rather wistfully by ex-prisoners who are having a hard time of it alone on the outside, offer the possibility of close friendship, fierce loyalty, cooperation, genuine concern for each other: an image of *communitas*, inversionary since it is this community of "good" prisoners, not those in authority, whom the text continually invites us to sympathize and empathize with. Opposed to the powerful resourceful figure of Bea are various other women, also powerful personalities, such as Kate or Nola MacKenzie or Marie Winters, individualistic and ruthlessly selfish, manipulative and wily, who scheme and plot (sometimes with harsh screws like Joan Ferguson, known as the Freak, who is also corrupt, or Vera Bennett, known as Vinegar Tits) to topple Bea and destroy her authority and influence.

In *Prisoner*, however, relationships of all kinds are always complicated, shifting, and often uncertain. Not all screws are harsh; there is, for example, Meg, more a social worker, though still suspected by the women. The struggle between those who take a more permissive, helping approach, such as Meg, and the advocates of rigid discipline like Ferguson and Bennett and, to a lesser degree, Colleen Powell goes on and on and is never resolved, as each approach is alternately seen to result in further tension, restlessness, and disorder. As the women's leader, Bea is particularly ambivalent. She possesses impressive wisdom about human relations, which she shrewdly uses for the benefit of the prisoners as a whole. She dislikes and tries to counter or sometimes punish actions that are self-seeking and competitive at the expense of what she perceives as a family group. But if Bea is a kind of moral center in *Prisoner*, she is an unusual and complex one, drawn as she is to exerting her control through violence or the



*Prisoner.*

Photo courtesy of Grundy Television Pty Ltd.

threat of it: after killing her, she brands "K" (for killer) on Nola MacKenzie's chest with a soldering iron (Nola had tried to drive Bea insane over the memory of her dead daughter Debbie).

*Prisoner* relies very little on conventional definitions of masculinity and femininity, beyond the basic point that sympathy generated for the women rests on the perception that women are not usually violent or physically dangerous. Many of the women are very strong characters indeed, active and independent. Bea, Nola, Marie Winters, the Freak are most unusual in the gallery of characters of television drama. They are not substitute men, but active strong women. Strength and gentleness are not distributed in *Prisoner* on male-female lines. The binary image of the powerful man and the weak or decorative woman is simply not there. Nor are the women in *Prisoner* in the least glamorized. They are usually dressed in shabby prison uniforms, while those on remand usually appear in fairly ordinary clothes. Their faces suggest no makeup, and they range in bodily shape from skinny wizened old Lizzie (loving, concerned, and kind, yet also a mischievous old lag rather like a child, liable to get herself into trouble) to the big girls like Bea, Doreen, and Judy. Their faces, luminously featured as in so much serial melodrama, are shown as grainy and interesting, faces full of character, with signs of hardship and suffering, alternately soft and hard, happy and depressed, angry or bored. The women are not held up voyeuristically as

sexual objects but present themselves as human, female, subjects.

Although *Prisoner* talks to very contemporary, historically specific concerns, it also draws on much wider, longer, older cultural histories. *Prisoner* can be located in a long female tradition of inversion and inversionary figures in popular culture, from the "unruly" or "disorderly" women of early modern Europe evoked by Natalie Zemon Davis as Women on Top to the rebellious Maid Marian's important in Robin Hood ballads and associated festivities of the May-games, to the witches of 17th-century English stage comedy. In such "wise witch" figures, we perhaps approach the female equivalent of the male mythological tradition of Robin Hood, Dick Turpin, Rob Roy—outlaws and tricksters who, like Bea in *Prisoner*, inspire fear as well as admiration.

In addition to drawing from such carnivalesque traditions of world upside-down, misrule, and charivari, *Prisoner* speaks to and takes in new directions dramas of crime on television where private passions erupt into public knowledge, debate, contestation, judgment. As dramaturgy, *Prisoner* revels in the possibilities of the TV serial form, of cliff-hangers at the end of episodes, intensifying melodrama as (in Peter Brooks's terms in *The Melodramatic Imagination*) an aesthetic of excess. *Prisoner* is already a classic of serial melodrama, yet, in world television, there is and has been nothing else quite like it.

ANN CURTHOYS AND JOHN DOCKER

#### Cast

Doreen May Anderson/Burns	Colette Mann
Freida "Franky" Doyle	Carol Burns
Vera "Vinegar Tits" Bennett	Fiona Spence
Lizzie Birdworth	Sheila Florance
Monica Ferguson	Lesley Baker
Marilyn Mason	Margaret Laurence
Bea Smith	Val Lehman
Karen Travers	Peta Toppano
Lynn Warner	Kerry Armstrong
Stud Wilson	Peter Lindsay
Jim Fletcher	Gerard Maguire
Erica Davidson	Patsy King
Colleen Powell	Judith McGrath
Bob Moran	Peter Adams (II)
Tammy Fisher	Gloria Adjenstrat
Officer Green	John Allen
Jean Vernon	Christine Amor
Camilla Wells	Annette Andre
Di Hagen	Christine Andrew
Reb Kean	Janet Andrewartha
Valarie Jacobs	Barbara Angell
Meg Morris	Elspeeth Ballantyne

Susan Rice	Briony Behets	Jessie Wyndem	Pat Evison
Andrew Fry	Howard Bell	Len Murphy	Maurie Fields
Sarah West	Kylie Belling	Lainie Dobson	Marina Findley
Matthew "Matt" Delaney	Peter Bensley	Kerryn Davies	Jill Forster
Lisa Snell	Liza Bermingham	Angela "Angel" Adams	Kylie Foster
Randi Goodlove	Zoe Bertram	Jennifer Bryant	Susannah Fowle
Tracy Belman	Alyson Best	Cindy Moran	Robyn Frank
Harry Grovesnor	Mike Bishop	Brandy Carter	Roslyn Gentle
Toni McNally	Pat Bishop	Mo Maquire	Browyn Gibbs
Evy Randel	Julia Blake	Samantha "Sam" Greenway	Robyn Gibbs
Judy Bryant	Betty Bobbit	Vivienne Williams	Bernadette Gibson
Mervin "Merv" Pringle	Ernie Bourne	Detective Inspector Grace	Terry Gill
Dennis Cruckshank	Nigel Bradshaw	Helen Smart	Caroline Gillmer
Jill Clarke	Katy Brinson	Kevin Burns	Ian Gilmour
Merle Jones	Rosanne Hull Brown	Gloria Payne	Tot Goldsmith
Ida Brown	Paddy Burnet	Suzy Driscoll	Jacqui Gordon
Sonya Stevens	Tina Bursill	Kay White	Sandy Gore
Sandra Williams	Andrea Butcher	Edna Preston	Vivean Grey
Barbara Davidson	Sally Cahill	Barbara Fields	Susan Gurin
Deirdre Kean	Anne Charleston	"Auntie" May Collins	Billie Hammerberg
Linda Gorman	Mary Charleston (II)	Dr Kate Peterson	Olivia Hamnett
Anne Yates	Kirsty Child	Terry Harrison	Brian Hannan
Fay Donnally	Maud Clark	Pippa Reynolds	Christine Harris
Bella Abrecht	Liddy Clarke	Sally Dempster	Liz Harris
Edie Warren	Collene Clifford	Roach Walters	Linda Hartley
Margo Gaffney	Jane Clifton	Bob Morris	Anthony Hawkins
Alice Jenkins/"Lurch"	Lois Collinder	Gail Summers	Susanne Haworth
Head of Department: James Dwyer	James Condon	Leigh Templar	Virginia Hay
Bongo Connors	Shane Connors	Jennie Baxter	Leila Hayes
Jenny Armstrong	Sally Cooper	Steve Ryan	Peter Lind Hayes
Alan Farmer	Michael Cormick	Barbie Cox	Jayne Healey
Anita Selby	Diana Craig	Tina Murry	Hazel Henley
Diane Henley	Ellen Cressley	Syd Humphries	Edward Hepple
Maxine Daniels	Lisa Crittenden	Sheila Brady	Colleen Hewet
Carol Lewis	Liz Crosby	Kath Maxwell	Kate Hood
Glynis Ladd	Debs Cummings	Wally Wallace	Alan Hopgood
Ian Marhoney	Peter Curtin	Paddy Lawson	Anna Hruby
Pat Slattery	Dorothy Cuts	Rodney Adams	Philip Hyde
Roxanne Bradshaw	Peppie D'Or	Stan Dobson	Brian James (I)
Hazel Kent	Belinda Davey	Steve Faulkner	Wayne Jarrett
Frances Harvey	Wanda Davidson	Martha Ives	Kate Jason
Ruth Ballinger	Lindy Davies	Sarah Higgens	Nell Johnson
Wendy Stone	Vivean Davies	Ros Fisher	Marinia Jonathon
Geoff McCrae	Les Dayman	Kathy Hall	Sue Jones
Bev Baker	Maggie Dence	Lorna Young	Barbara Jungwirth
Peter	Sue Devine	Denise Crabtree	Lynda Keane
Andrea Radcliff	Marrrian Dimmick	Alison Page	Fay Kelton
Vicki McPherson	Rebecca Dines	Gerri Googan	Deborah Kennedy
Joanna Jones	Nichole Dixon	Frank Burke	Trevor Kent
Lorili Wilkinson	Paula Duncan	Philip Clary	Steve Khun
Jock Stewart	Tommy Dysart	Joan Ferguson (The Freak)	Maggie Kirkpatrick
Janet Williams	Christine Earl	Bobbie Mitchell	Maxine Klibingaitus
Scott Collins	Tim Elston	Sharon Gilmour	Margot Knight
		Noelene Burke	Jude Kuring

## Prisoner

Michelle Parkes  
Daphne Graham  
David Andrews  
Sandy Edwards  
Tony Bernum  
Andrea Hennesey  
Marlene "Rabbit" Warren  
Rita Connors  
Jenny Hartley  
Faye Quinn  
Clara Goddard  
Janice Grant  
Petra Roberts  
Debbie Pearce  
Georgie Baxter  
Meryl King  
Jonathon Edmonds  
Nicki Lennox  
Pat O'Connell  
Pixie Mason  
Rosie Hudson

Dot Farrow  
Catherine Roberts  
Cass Parker  
Tom Lucas  
Ernest Craven  
Ray Proctor  
Irene Zervos  
Yamille Bacartta  
Marie Winter  
Trixie Mann  
Eddie Cooke  
Chrissie Latham  
Michelle "Brumby" Tucker  
Hannah Simpson  
Heather Rogers  
Anne Reynolds  
Joyce Martin  
Ken Pierce  
Helen Masters  
Sara Webster  
Lisa Mullins  
Philis Hunt  
Anna Geltschmidt  
Myra Desmond  
Melinda Cross  
Minnie Donovan  
Lucy Fergusson  
Greg Miller  
Ethel May "Ettie" Parslow  
Agnus Forster  
Sandy Hamilton  
Leone Burke

Nina Landis  
Debra Lawrence  
Serge Lazareff  
Louise Le Nay  
Alan David Lee  
Bethany Lee  
Genevieve Lemon  
Glenda Linscott  
Jenny Lovell  
Anne Lucas  
Betty Lucas  
Jenny Ludlam  
Penny Maegraith  
Dina Mann  
Tracey Mann  
Marilyn Maquire  
Bryan Marshall  
Vicki Mathios  
Monica Maughton  
Judy McBurney  
Anne Maree  
McDonald  
Althea McGrath  
Margo McLennan  
Babs McMillan  
John McTernan  
Ray Meagher  
Alex Menglet  
Maria Mercedes  
Maria Mercedes  
Maggie Miller  
Anna Mizza  
Richard Moir  
Amanda Muggleton  
Sheryl Munks  
Julienna Newbold  
Victoria Nicholls  
Gerda Nicolson  
Judy Nunn  
Tom Oliver  
Louise Pajo  
Fiona Paul  
Nicki Paul  
Ray Pearce  
Agnieska Perpeczko  
Anne Phelan  
Lulu Pinkus  
Wendy Playfair  
Yoni Prior  
Barry Quinn  
Lois Ramsay  
Lois Ramsay  
Candy Reymond  
Tracy Jo Riley

Zara Moonbeam  
Queenie Marshall  
Spike Marsh  
Janet Dominguez  
Kath Deakin  
Pamela Madigan  
Dan Moulton  
Janet Conway  
Angie Dobbs  
Lou Kelly  
Nola McKenzie  
Delia Stout  
Ted Douglas  
Mighty Mouse  
Caroline Simpson  
May Worth  
Kath Leach  
Eve Wilder  
Spider Simpson  
Ben Fulbright  
Shane Monroe  
Nora Flynn  
Roslyn Coulson  
Mr. Hudson  
Rachael Millson  
Lexie Patterson  
Lisa Mullins  
Anne Griffin  
David Bridges  
Jeanette Mary "Mum" Brooks  
Joyce Barry  
Maggie May Kennedy  
Donna Mason  
Janice Young  
Marty Jackson  
Julie "Chook" Egbert  
Neil Murray  
Joanne Slater  
Rosmary Kay

### Producers

Philip East, John McRae, Ian Smith, Marie Trevor

### Programming History

692 episodes

Ten Network

February 1979–November  
1980

February 1981–June 1981

Ilona Rodgers  
Marilyn Rodgers  
Victoria Rowland  
Deidre Rubenstein  
Michelle Sargent  
Justine Saunders  
Sean Scully  
Kate Sheil  
Gonza Sheils  
Louise Siverson  
Carol Skinner  
Desiree Smith  
Ian Smith  
Jentah Sobott  
Ros Spiers  
Adair Stagg  
Penny Stewart  
Lynda Stoner  
Tyra Stratton  
Kevin Summers  
Robert Summers  
Sonja Tallis  
Sigrid Thornton  
Bud Tingwell  
Kim Trentgrove  
Pepe Trevor  
Terrie Waddell  
Rowena Wallace  
David Walters  
Mary B. Ward  
Joy Westmore  
Davina Whitehouse  
Arkie Whitely  
Catherine Wilken  
Michael Winchester  
Jackie Woodburne  
Adrian Wright  
Carole Yelland  
Jodi Yemm

Tuesday and  
Wednesday 8:30–  
9:30

Tuesday and  
Wednesday 7:30–  
8:30

June 1981–November 1981 Tuesday and  
Wednesday 8:30–9:30  
February 1982–November  
1982 Tuesday and  
Wednesday 7:30–8:30  
February 1983–December  
1986 Tuesday and  
Wednesday 8:30–9:30

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## Prisoner, The

### British Spy and Science Fiction Series

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*The Prisoner*, an existential British spy and science fiction series, was first aired in England in 1967. Actor Patrick McGoohan conceived of the idea for the series, wrote some of the scripts, and starred in the central role. McGoohan had become bored with his previous series, *The Secret Agent*, and wanted something very different. The new series comprised 17 "adventures," each self-contained, but each also carrying the story forward to its remarkable, highly ambiguous conclusion.

The series has attained cult status because it is so complex, so filled with symbolism, with dialogue and action working at several levels of meaning, that the entire story remains open to multiple interpretations. *The Prisoner* was shot in the Welsh village of Portmeirion, whose remarkable architecture contributes to the rich, mysterious atmosphere of the series. In many ways an allegory, the adventures within *The Prisoner* can be read as commentaries on contemporary British social and political institutions.

The hero of the series is an unnamed spy, who is first shown resigning his position. He leaves the bureaucratic office building housing his agency, goes to his apartment, starts packing—and is gassed—presum-

ably by those for whom he used to work. He wakes up in "The Village," a resortlike community on what seems to be a remote island. The Village, however, is actually a high-tech prison, and the spy is a prisoner, along with others, men and women, who were, it is understood, spies. All have been sent to the Village to be removed from circulation in any circumstances where their secret knowledge might be discovered.

Every member of the Village is known only by a number. The McGoohan character becomes Number Six and finds himself engaged in constant intellectual, emotional, and sometimes physical struggles with Number Two. But each episode presents a different Number Two. With a few exceptions, each episode begins with a repetition of some of the opening sequence from the first episode—McGoohan resigns; his file is dropped by a mechanical device into a filing cabinet labeled "Resigned"; he is gassed; he wakes in the Village and confronts (the new) Number Two. This beginning is followed by a set piece of dialogue:

Prisoner:           Where am I?  
Number Two:       In the Village.  
Prisoner:           What do you want?

## Prisoner, The

Number Two: Information.  
Prisoner: Which side are you on?  
Number Two: That would be telling. We want information, information, information . . . .  
Prisoner: You won't get it.  
Number Two: By hook or by crook we will.  
Prisoner: Who are you?  
Number Two: The new Number Two.  
Prisoner: Who is Number One?  
Number Two: You are Number Six.  
Prisoner: I am not a number. I am a free man.  
Number Two: Ha, ha, ha, ha . . . .

Some fans of the series argue that there is a slight gap between the words "are" and the "Number Two" in this exchange ("You are. Number Six"), which would mean that Number Six is also Number One, a character who remains unseen until the final episode. Number Two pushes the inquiry. He wants to know why Six resigned. Six says he will not tell him, then vows to escape from the Village and destroy it.

Each episode in the series consists of an attempt by a new Number Two and his or her associates to find out why Six resigned and of measures taken by Six to counter these attempts. Every possible method, from drugs to sex, from the invasion of his dreams to the use of supercomputers, is used to get Number Six to reveal why he resigned. In some episodes Six shifts his focus from escape attempts to schemes for bringing down the administration of the Village, though it is always understood that escape is his ultimate goal.

The concluding episode, written by McGoohan, was extremely chaotic, confusing, and very controversial. Number Six has defeated and killed Number Two in the previous episode, "Till Death Do Us Part." When Number Six finally gets to see Number One, he turns out to be a grinning ape. But when Number Six strips off the ape mask, we see what appears to be a crazed version of Number Six, suggesting that Number One was, somehow, a perverted element of Number Six's personality. Six, aided by several characters also deemed "revolutionaries" by the administration (including the Number Two of the previous episode, somehow brought back to life), does destroy the Village. He escapes with his associates in a truck driven by a midget, who may have been the servant of all previous Number Two figures. They blast through a tunnel just before the Village is destroyed and find themselves, surprisingly, on a highway near London.

*The Prisoner* is continually rebroadcast, usually presented as a science fiction program, though it is

probably best described as a spy series filled with technological gadgetry. Each program and every aspect of the series has been subjected to scrutiny by its fans. Dealing with topics ranging from the nature of individual identity to the power of individuals to confront totalitarian institutions, *The Prisoner* remains one of the most enigmatic and fascinating series ever produced for television.

ARTHUR ASA BERGER

### See also **Spy Programs**

### Cast

The Prisoner	Patrick McGoohan
Number Two	Guy Doleman
	George Baker
	Leo McKern
	Colin Gordon
	Eric Portman
	Anton Rodgers
	Mary Morris
	Peter Wyngarde
	Patrick Cargill
	Derren Nesbitt
	John Sharpe
	Clifford Evans
	David Bauer
	Georgina Cookson
	Andre Van Gysegham
	Kenneth Griffith
The Kid/Number 48	Alexis Kanner
The Butler	Angelo Muscat
The Supervisor	Peter Stanwick
Shopkeeper	Denis Show

### Producer

David Tomblin

### Programming History

17 50-minute episodes  
ITC/Everyman Films for ITV  
September 1967–February 1968

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## Producer in Television

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Although the medium's technical complexity demands that any television program is a collective product involving many talents and decision makers, in American television it is the producer who frequently serves as the decisive figure in shaping a program. Producers assume direct responsibility for a show's overall quality and continued viability. Conventional wisdom in the industry consequently labels television "the producer's medium"—in contrast to film, where the director is frequently regarded as the key formative talent in the execution of a movie.

In fact, producers' roles vary dramatically from show to show or organization to organization. Some highly successful producers, such as Quinn Martin and Aaron Spelling, are primarily business executives presiding over several programs. They may take an active role in conceiving new programs and pitching (presenting them for sale) to networks, but once a show is accepted they are likely to concentrate on budgets, contracts, and troubleshooting, handing over day-to-day production to their staffs, and exercising control only in a final review of episodes. Other producers are more intimately involved in the details of each episode, participating actively in screenwriting, set designs, and casting and—like James Burrows—serving as a frequent director for their programs. Still others serve as enabling midmanagers who delegate crucial activities to directors, writers, and actors, but who choose such personnel carefully, and enforce critical standards, while working to insulate the creative staff from outside pressures. Many producers dispatch their duties within studio hierarchies, while others own independent companies, sometimes contracting space, equipment, and personnel from studios.

Some scholars consider the producer television's auteur, suggesting that shows should be considered above all extensions of the producer's individual, creative sensibility (Marc, 1989; Marc and Thompson, 1992). Rather than creators freely following a vision, however, producers typically function as orchestrators of television programs, applying the resources available within an organization to the problem of mounting a show each week. Those resources—and deeper cultural presumptions about television's social roles and limits—may shape the producer's ambitions as much as he shapes them (Gitlin, 1983).

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Hollywood embraced an auteurist theory of its own, when the success of well-written comedies produced by small, writer-centered independent companies led to the presumption that the literate writer-producer was the single most indispensable creative resource for generating new shows attractive to demographically desirable audiences. Both studios and networks began an escalating trend of signing promising writer-producers to long-term, concessionary contracts. The most notorious—and arguably the most successful—was ABC and Twentieth Century Fox's 1988 agreement with Steven Bochco to underwrite and air the next ten shows he conceived—a decision that offered Bochco room to experiment, sometimes disastrously, with shows like *Cop Rock*, an attempt to bring opera to prime time. The emphasis on the producer-as-author marked the culmination of a concerted shift from 1950s industry procedure, which regarded the networks' relationships with particular studios as the most decisive aspect in generating new programming. Arguably, the shift represented a move away from a factory system whose emphases were standardization and cost containment, and whose most desirable TV producer was an effective employee or bureaucrat, toward an arts and crafts model of TV whose emphasis was differentiation and variety, and whose most desirable producer was a talented visionary with a track record. (The shift manifests the transformation of filmmaking from studio-centered Hollywood to the talent packages of the New Hollywood.)

The expanding syndication market ensured that producers—who can negotiate part-ownership of their shows—could enjoy not only creative scope but considerable financial reward as well. By the 1990s observers within the industry noted that college graduates once eager to become network executives or studio employees now arrived hoping to become producers—a shift in the sociology of television production with potential import to the comparatively new medium.

Respect for producers' creativity, however, did not mitigate Hollywood's strong inclination to treat producers as specialists in specific genres. When, for example, the successful action-adventure producer Stephen Cannell tried to diversify into comedy in the

early 1980s, the networks were unreceptive, on the grounds that Cannell had no demonstrated skill in comedy. As with many commercial artists, then, the television producer's scope of innovation is generally delimited by convention and often amounts to a variation in formula rather than a dramatic break with practices or expectations held by the industry or the producer's audiences (Newcomb and Alley, 1983; Selnow and Gilbert, 1993).

One sign that the producer is not an individual auteur is the multiplication of producer credits seen on American shows since the mid-1980s. Programs may identify an "executive producer" (sometimes a financial underwriter, sometimes the conceiver of the show's premise), an associate producer, a supervising producer (who usually serves as head writer), or a line producer (who oversees day-to-day production), or they may list any combination of these titles (which hardly comprise an exhaustive list), all in addition to the regular "producer." Such credits may reflect a complex division of labor established by the organization or packagers producing a show. They can also reflect the growing negotiating power of participants in a highly successful show, who, no longer content simply to write or act, wish to have contractual control over the assembly of entire episodes, and perhaps, eventually, develop a measure of artistic and financial independence by forming their own production companies. In any case, the proliferating credits suggest that "producerly" authority is divisible and negotiable, not individual and singular—a construction emerging from institutional pressures and politics (though individual talents and preferences of course affect how a given person executes any institutionally defined role).

The first television producers were studio personnel in local stations across the country. They included advertising agency employees who put together shows in the years of sponsor-controlled programming. Somewhat later, the Hollywood executives assigned to the first television divisions of the studios were known as producers (Anderson, 1994). All, in turn, may have owed elements of their jobs to precursors in radio (Hilmes, 1990). But the TV producer's definition as a uniquely creative figure was probably initiated by Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball, who, in 1950, formed Desilu expressly to produce *I Love Lucy* on their own terms. Their crucial innovation of shooting shows on film in front of a studio audience combined the excitement of live performance with the quality control of film and enabled reruns and syndication, thus transforming television economics, as well as the struggle for creative control (Schatz, 1990).

Desilu serves as an important example of the simultaneously artistic and commercial role of the producer.

Given the series format of most television programming, the producers—much more than are film directors—ultimately are faced with operating an economically, logistically, and theatrically successful assembly line, and so their influence on a program stems from their entrepreneurial, as well as their formal, ingenuity. Like so much else about television, the producer's role combines traditionally conceived realms of "artistic" and "managerial" decision making into a hybrid activity in which artistic criteria and commercial calculation impinge on each other.

Two examples from the late 1990s and into the 2000s illustrate these interactions in distinctive ways. David E. Kelley began his television career as a writer for Steven Bochco. A lawyer by education and early experience, Kelley wrote and later produced *L.A. Law*. He soon created his own program, *Picket Fences*, again drawing on legal experience. This quirky series established him as an outstanding, perhaps "auteurist" producer, and he exemplified this role with *Ally McBeal*, almost a cult favorite that grew into a legitimate "hit" on the FOX network. At one time Kelley had several shows on the air, on different networks, at the same time, and he was famous for writing "all" the episodes of his series by himself. He was permitted considerable freedom from many of television's famous industrial constraints. He brought characters from different shows together in "crossover" episodes. He experimented with "re-editing" *Ally McBeal* into a half-hour sitcom (a notable failure). But by 2003 the declining ratings for one of his series, *The Practice*, forced him to take a rather drastic step and fire many of the principal actors in order to cut costs and continue the series on ABC.

A contrasting success story is offered in the work of Dick Wolf, creator of the *Law and Order* "franchise." Like Kelley, Wolf also wrote on Bochco series, in his case *Hill Street Blues*. *Law and Order*, however, is the antithesis of the continuing narratives that distinguished Bochco's work. Each episode, following the commission of a crime, the capture of the criminal, and the subsequent trial of the criminal, is completed in one hour. *Law and Order* was largely unnoticed for many years but maintained a loyal audience. Finally recognized with awards and heavily programmed on cable television in reruns, Wolf created "different" versions of the series—*Law and Order SVU* (Special Victims Unit dealing with sex crimes), and *Law and Order CI* (Criminal Intent), presenting, in some ways, the crimes from the criminal's perspective. Other versions were less successful, but from a financial and programming perspective, these programs were enormous successes. Any "auteurist" efforts on Wolf's part came in the creation of a basic concept rather than in the stamp of a distinctive sensibility.



Significantly, changes in the television industries caused by expansion of distribution through cable, consolidation of ownership, and the increased use of personal video recorders has led to an interesting development in the role of the producer. By the early 2000s, “nonwriting producers” had returned to prominence in some parts of the industry. These individuals took on the business role of the producer in a manner not unlike producers in the early years of the medium. Their primary work is to make deals, not television programs, and their efforts in the latter arena extend to locating and hiring the best writer-producers they can attract to those deals. Combined with the increasing participation by advertisers and underwriters in the processes of creating television programs and the industry bears more and more features that would have been familiar to executives in the 1950s. In many ways, opportunities for the most “creative” producers were found in “premium” or “subscription” television venues such as HBO, or on the more innovative and risk-taking cable channels, such as the FX cable network.

MICHAEL SAENZ

See also **Bochco, Steven; Burrows, James; Spelling, Aaron**

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## Professional Wrestling. *See Wrestling on Television*

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## Programming

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The term *programming* refers both to television content and to strategies of content selection and presentation. Yet shifts in the medium over the past two decades have called into question the apparently obvious nature of both. Modern television, after all, goes beyond the broadcast-based mode of operation that shaped the medium for so many years. Today a television is not just a set for receiving entertainment, but also a device for viewing videotapes, playing computerized games, or going channel surfing. Increasingly, it is also a means of telecommunication, of accessing dedicated information services, or of transacting home

shopping. These events leave a single obvious definition of television programming—whatever appears on a television set—unwieldy and highly mutable.

Another definition of television programming might turn on the formal aspects of content appearing on the tube. But in fact, many elements of television programming have never been limited exclusively to television. Historically, television programming has borrowed liberally from other media. In addition, Hollywood promotion, sponsor marketing, and the self-promotion of the television industry have long ensured that the imaginative worlds of television characters

## Programming

and stories are also available through T-shirts, toys, or other products. Much television programming, in fact, serves as part of the staged release of products by horizontally integrated entertainment companies like Paramount, Time Warner, or Disney.

The essential point in these processes is that television programming rarely appears in discrete, isolable units or displays an innately "televisual" form. Instead programming is often part of a broader set of commercial or cultural trends that are being drawn upon, commented upon, or manipulated.

Moreover, these trends are continually being reconfigured by the appearance of new technologies and businesses that establish new potential forms and forums for programming. U.S. television programming may once have been defined by Hollywood studios and U.S. television networks, but increasingly it seems likely to be defined by AT&T, Microsoft, Netscape, or America Online—companies bringing different business agendas, technical expertise, and marketing strategies to newly reconceived "texts" and "audiences."

This tie to larger sequences of events is one of the major reasons that television programming provokes broader cultural analysis and evaluation by viewers, regulators, and critics. Certainly contemporary television programming—in whatever form—seems to be more socially significant, and more revelatory of general cultural dialogue, than, say, contemporary opera, or even contemporary written literature. The idea of programming, indeed, might be better served by abandoning narrow definitions based on content or form and focusing on a set of social processes organized under the rubric of television programming. From this view, ultimately, television programming is a historically developed, changing cultural system for circulating and transforming meaning and value—a system collectively shared and supported by television producers, distributors, and users, who subscribe to and bend its priorities through their participation.

Programming, then, is a process for imbuing public value that—advertisers, celebrities, government officials, cultural monitors, and program producers all hope—can be traded in later for cash or the political power to continue their specific forms of program production and distribution. Treating programming as a processual cultural system for the circulation of meaning and value is to focus on television programming as always organized but always changing. Any examination of television programming must ultimately analyze such a system institutionalized through an array of activities.

### Programming as Industrialized Commodity

The variety of television formats—and the continuing fluidity of television genres within this social pro-

cess—stem from programming's status as a malleable form that can be developed for profit in often divergent ways. They stem, in short, from programming's status as a commodity.

Yet television programming is a complex and expensive product, and profitability demands standardization and routinization as much as it requires entrepreneurial experimentation or market differentiation. Programming standards and routines—and the scope for innovation—depend intimately on the financial and political configuration of the medium at any moment. And so programming emerged as a fluid commodity form whose diversity, mode of address, and regularity are delimited, at any given time, by television's industrial underpinnings.

In the first five decades of television, for example, the difficulties of developing the new medium typically meant that television lay in the hands of institutions that could weather high start-up costs and that would benefit from crucial economies of scale in the medium's use. The result was early broadcasting's distinctive mode of address: wide audiences were typically exposed to a handful of channels centrally programmed by institutions seeking large audiences, institutions like national commercial networks in the United States, or the state in the Soviet systems, or to sets of certain cultural expectations, as in the Reithian version of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Programming had to conform respectively to the dramatic expectations and financial investments provided by advertisers, to the ideological goals and prescriptions of government bureaucracies, or to the standards of cultural guardians and tutors.

Over the decade of the 1990s, however, the nature of programming was profoundly renovated. New institutions put forward a different set of economic, technological, and organizational arrangements and sought to profit from television in ways that diverged from the centralized broadcasting model. The commodity of programming was accordingly complicated and differentiated.

These developments suggest how specifically early television programming focused on wide, simultaneous presentation of a limited number of information and entertainment formats. And they suggest that programming is not a static collection of texts or conventions, but rather a flexible notion, a locus of potential commodities whose capacity to convey meaning or particular kinds of social exchange can be redefined as the institutions profiting from them alter their strategies.

Though it is familiar enough to seem simple, then, television programming is a complicated cultural phenomenon establishing a shared speculative reality among wide audiences. The next section focuses on

the specific ways in which television programming developed as a commodity under the U.S. broadcast network model. The focus on the United States is limiting, but instructive, since U.S. television programming, like U.S. filmmaking, has enjoyed a disproportionate influence on television worldwide—an advantage not coincidentally related to U.S. television's elaboration of effective means for attracting unprecedented investment, controlling risk, and developing efficiencies of production, distribution, and exhibition of its commodity texts. Despite the considerable strictures of its commodity form, however, U.S. television programming has also experienced considerable development and elaboration, as changing institutional relationships have altered the financial strategies behind programming.

### Historical Changes in U.S. Programming

For the first three years, television programming was all live, since there existed no feasible means of recording the signal produced by television cameras. Shows were confined to studios or to on-location programs. In the United States, studios were located in network headquarters in New York—yet in the medium's first five years, from 1948 to 1953, the networks did not produce much of their programming. Instead, sponsors hired advertising agencies to design, budget, and produce shows that fit their marketing needs. Sponsor-controlled production suited the new networks, which could not afford to produce the quantity of programming they had promised affiliates, particularly in such an experimental and trouble-prone medium. Sponsors were encouraged to purchase the time slot they wished and think of it as their franchise, to develop as they so desired. In the words of David Sarnoff, the president of RCA, NBC's holding company, the network existed simply as a "pipeline" for sponsors.

After 1953, however, television became less uncertain, and networks began to suspect they could maximize profits by undertaking their own program production, centralizing control over the schedule, and extending the still-haphazard programming day to new time slots. Under president Sylvester Weaver, NBC ejected recalcitrant sponsors and advertising agencies and launched new network-produced live programs—*Today*, *Tonight*, and *Home*, a failed afternoon program—which made programming an ever-present commodity. Weaver also undertook a concerted effort to popularize television through expensive, attention-grabbing, variety show "spectaculars." His expensive strategies were effective, so much so that by 1955 they were no longer needed, and he was succeeded, quickly, by a new generation of executives who boosted profitability through routinization.

In 1954 and 1955 the U.S. networks turned to a new program source that would become a central part of modern television worldwide: Hollywood. The first routinely filmed television show, *I Love Lucy*, had begun in 1951, but filming remained the exception rather than the rule. By 1955 Hollywood—as part of its long-term response to the Paramount Decree of 1948, an antitrust agreement that forced the studios to sell their highly lucrative theater chains—was ready to consider television a crucial new client and point of exhibition. The result of the partnership was a new standard of television programming, the telefilm mass-produced by newly formed divisions of the Hollywood studios.

The concerted move to products of the Hollywood factory system altered the look and production of programming. The plays that had composed much of earlier television programming drew frequently on writers and actors available from Manhattan theater, radio, and literary circles. Live television, moreover, had frequently depended on "anthology" programs that could vary considerably from week to week. The telefilm's use of recurrent actors, sets, stock footage, and dramatic formulas, by contrast, helped establish the recurring series as the basis of television programming and emphasized programming's standardization. The results prompted many critics to consider earlier live TV a "Golden Age" of television drama. Others have subsequently questioned the aesthetic superiority of live TV, granting its spontaneity and occasional dramatic ambitions, but pointing to the persistent incursion of ads within sponsor-produced shows, and questioning, ironically, the consistency of its achievements.

Programming in the 1960s reflected a stabilizing network oligopoly. Series had longer average runs than shows in later decades. The number of cancellations per season declined steadily. Even the networks' relative position remained fixed: CBS continued building a remarkable (and given later events, a decidedly induplicable) 20 years as the number one network in television ratings. ABC, the smallest and youngest network, remained the perennial third; NBC in the middle. Throughout the decade, however, all three networks' ratings converged. Their programming philosophy was summed up by NBC's Paul Klein, who articulated a policy: Least Objectionable Programming. Viewers, the philosophy assumed, will watch anything unless they are offended into changing the channel. Many critics have consequently regarded 1960s programming—characterized by the most popular show in television history, *The Beverly Hillbillies*—as assembly line, escapist TV, though others are reexamining the presumed homogeneity of programming in the period. The perennial third-place network, ABC, was in some respects the most interesting, introducing shows that

titillated (*Bracken's World*, *Love American Style*), sought out young audiences (*The Flying Nun*), or highlighted the spectacular (*ABC's Wide World of Sports*).

A decisive break in programming came in 1970. That year, three milestone developments—the cigarette ad ban, the Prime Time Access Rule, and the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules—prompted the networks to address an inevitable question: how could continued network growth come from the finite amount of advertising time available on television, and the inevitable plateauing of demand by advertisers. The primary answer was to develop finer demographic targeting, a strategy that could make some shows more expensive than the prevailing norm. The consequence was a new emphasis on programming that would attract varying demographics. Differentiation rather than standardization, and active attraction rather than innocuousness, became the basis of network strategies. In 1969 CBS president Robert Wood canceled 13 shows appealing to older and rural audiences in favor of a more urban, higher-income audience. Among the replacements were the three innovative sitcoms that served as the basis for what later critics have called the “Television Renaissance”: *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *All in the Family*, and *M\*A\*S\*H*, programs that ultimately found broad appeal, yet did so through ambitious character development, topical controversy, and innovative production styles. “Quality” television had emerged as a desirable, even necessary commodity for the networks to develop.

CBS's move contradicts a common tenet that the last-place network in the oligopoly was the most likely to experiment with innovative programming in an effort to raise its standing. Third-place standing could be a powerful motive for some innovations, but it was probably only the perennial first-place network, CBS, that could have risked such an abrupt and wholesale change in programming philosophy.

Not only did television programming develop a more complex hierarchy of quality after 1970, it became less of an anonymous, industrial product. Some producers, like Norman Lear, Stephen Cannell, Aaron Spelling, and Steve Bochco, became household names and were credited with functioning as television authors. At the same time, the first generations of TV children were achieving adulthood and brought to their viewing a cumulative, retrospective acquaintance with the history of programming. Producers and viewers alike became more self-conscious about television programming's variety, its capacities as an expressive medium, and its historical depth.

For producers, these developments marked a codification of unstated industry practices, into more self-consciously assumed production “styles,” “authorial”

qualities, and, increasingly, “innovative” distribution and mode of exhibition. Independent producer Stephen Cannell, for example, began to develop an entire menu of programs—some for prime time, some for syndication, some exclusively for cable, each with different target appeals, and each observing different budgetary constraints according to expected income. Yet all bore the Cannell imprimatur—made explicit by a trailer following each show, in which Cannell flourishingly ripped a script from a typewriter. In one show designed for fringe-hour cable, Cannell appeared personally as host, using his name recognition to attract audiences to a highly tongue-in-cheek suspense anthology reminiscent of the old *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*. The show's appeal—actively dwelling on its divergence from prime-time budgets, topics, and taste—presumed a much more complex sense of televisual position and quotation than would have been normal in 1960s programming.

By 1988 the networks, surrounded by new competition, were in the historically unique position of having to react to program trends, rather than working to select and cultivate them. The emergence of the FOX broadcast network in 1986—the Big Three's first viable competition—was based in programming that parodied or transgressed the oligopoly's genres. It used irreverence to target and imply a savvy, urban, youthful audience. When FOX did use more routine forms, it put in a twist by featuring black characters, assuring disproportionately large and loyal black audiences. Prime-time television on the Big Three—which, despite falling audiences, still constituted the industrial, financial, and aesthetic point of reference—began to reflect the influence of FOX, music videos, syndicated tabloid shows, and producers (often arriving from filmmaking) whose projects were conceived for multiple distribution. From 1988 to 1990, the networks actively experimented with new generic hybrids and outre programming with shows like *Twin Peaks*, *Bagdad Cafe*, and *Northern Exposure*.

Accompanying these changes was a profound shift in the cultural role of programming. Given the medium's persistent popularity, the finite amount of programming available under the three-network oligopoly had served as a prominent and recognizable social touchstone, a set of social facts that most Americans acknowledged and shared as part of their national culture. In the days before videotape, such programming had also been ephemeral, assuming the aspect of an occasion or experience; and programming's simultaneous broadcast nationwide made that ephemeral experience a uniquely collective one. Programming, then, possessed the attributes of a public ritual, through which viewers collectively attended to

experiences constituting a sense of social connection through the establishment of collective representations.

Just as pronounced was the sense of comparative propriety and circumspection in programming prevailing under the network oligopoly. Aware that their most unique commodity was widespread acceptance by audiences—and that the U.S. regulatory framework defined broadcasting as a public resource serving the public interest—networks used censors to enforce what they regarded as prevailing public mores of sexuality, violence, and sensationalism. Individual networks occasionally sought to boost ratings through titillation or scandal, but these attempts were measured departures from conventional TV standards that remained far more circumscribed than the license taken routinely in films or novels.

As television programming began to expand beyond the three-channel network system, its ritual aspects and its highly conventionalized moral circumspection began to dissolve. Shows were no longer singular, punctual experiences, once they could be recorded, viewed later the same day in syndication, or bought at a video store. Audiences were no longer collective and mass, but fragmented according to the particular time and venue they chose to engage a program. Moreover, viewers choosing from many, rather than just three, options were arguably less of a public, and more of a self-elected fractional interest group, likely to be watching programming that could diverge dramatically from “mainstream” interests or values. With the decline of the three networks, then, programming became less of a central social ritual attended by wide audiences, and more of a varied, highly differentiated medium circulating commodities that could be more casually engaged by viewers. Scholars of the 1970s had identified television programming as a public forum and a modern bard. By the 1990s television programming arguably constituted a variegated cultural “newsstand.”

This alteration has intensified throughout the 1990s and into the new century. One major contributing factor has been the growth of cable and satellite television systems, especially those enhanced with digital delivery capability. These systems regularly offer more than 100 channels, many of them highly specialized, targeted toward specific demographic groups (witness the growth in offerings for children) or particular interests—sports programming morphs into The Golf Channel and multiple channels for sports news and information; MTV spins off channels specializing in particular musical genres and faces competition from multiple channels focused on music; 24-hour news programming expands; and some channels offer spe-

cific appeals to audiences with particular political interests.

Many of the new channels were owned or co-owned by networks or studios producing television content for broadcast, and new strategies developed to make maximum financial use of programs. “Repurposing” described a procedure in which a program would appear in one venue only to be presented in another during the same week. Local broadcasters protested the use of network material on cable or satellite, arguing that the practice reduced the size of their audiences, thereby reducing potential advertising revenue. They were less concerned, however, when programming flowed in the other direction. When Bravo, the NBC-owned cable network, discovered a bona fide hit with *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*, broadcasters profited from the migration of the show to the network.

Other new technologies intensified the capability of viewers to act as their own programmers. Digital video recorders such as TiVo and RePlay made recording television programs much simpler than videocassette recorders had allowed, even making it possible for viewers to collect an entire “season” of a single title, playing back episodes at will—and fast-forwarding through commercials. In a somewhat related development, some popular television shows began to be available for rental on VHS and DVD formats. Viewers without access to premium distribution channels such as HBO could rent *The Sopranos* or *Sex and the City*, or even earlier programs such as *The Prisoner* and view them on home video systems.

The profound alterations outlined here have been paralleled by an equally important set of institutional arrangements and developments designed to best control television programming at any given time.

### **Institutional Changes in Broadcast Programming**

As a commodity, commercial programming is produced following familiar priorities of standardization (to control costs), differentiation (to penetrate markets), and innovation conceived largely as variation within repetition (to contain risk). Although some critics regard these attributes as evidence of programming’s lamentable role in manifesting the values of the marketplace, others see them as “enabling conditions” establishing some of television programming’s most unique and recognizable pleasures.

Perhaps the strongest symptom of commercial programming’s commodity status is its common organization into recurrent daily or weekly series. U.S. television is not generally filled with unique, onetime programs. Such programming would frustrate not only

producers and networks, who are trying to extract reliably continuous income from television, but viewers too, who (many commentators would argue) are accustomed by consumer society to pleasure that is organized around a continual but measured introduction of novelty. Unlike a painting or a novel, a television show that appears once is unsatisfyingly ephemeral, while a show that is exactly reproduced is just a rerun. The series format, in which episodes invoke familiar settings and characters in slightly varied situations, satisfies ambitions both for more of the same and for something new. The series allows producers to develop long-term elaborations and complications of characters and situations that (most notoriously in the case of the soap opera) can make a program's fictional world part of the viewer's own. Such involvement also makes viewers' loyalty to the show into a reliable commodity that networks can either sell to advertisers or use to secure reliable subscriber fees. At the same time, the series routinizes production schedules and standardizes the costs that producers and networks must expect to pay to produce a new week of programming.

The seasonal schedule long prevalent in the United States also served to routinize production, viewing, and advertising sales not just week to week, but on a yearly calendar, which concentrated the industry's introduction of novelty in a single spectacular moment. The impending fall season could foment substantial bidding wars for the coming years' commercial slots, by advertisers involved in active speculation over the popularity of future programs. Definite seasons were a strong fixture of the industry when it was dominated by the oligopoly of ABC, NBC, and CBS, but new developments such as overnight ratings systems, competition from cable and syndication, and the rise of new networks such as FOX have blurred the outlines of these markers.

Conventions like the length of a series and the integrity of the season alter, in fact, with changing pressures within the industry. In the 1960s, during the height of a stable three-way network monopoly, U.S. TV functioned on a reliable calendar inherited from radio, in which a 39-week season was interrupted by a 13-week summer rerun period (the lack of new summer production costs enhanced profits for networks). As competition for network growth became more intense after 1970, and as viewers began to abandon network television for cable and syndication after 1976, networks became more reluctant to make long-term mistakes and tried routinely to contract a minimum of episodes—as few as four at a time in 1990.

If series programming forms a major part of the schedule in order to regularize viewership and cultivate loyalty over the long term, shorter-run formats

like the docudrama, miniseries, the sports special, and feature film introduce a sense of novelty and occasion, of divergence from one's own routine and that of competitors. Often they represent attempts to capitalize on timely, singular events—a sports championship, a scandalous murder, political intrigue—which are likely to have sufficient recognition to ensure a large immediate audience. (Here entertainment blurs indissolubly into information.) Historically, the most persistent complement to standard series programming have been feature films licensed from Hollywood studios and run under titles such as the *Wednesday Movie of the Week*.

The commodity form of television programming is evident not just in the rhythm of seasons and the length of series, but in the specific distribution of shows among eight "dayparts." Scheduling strategies and purchases of advertising time vary with dayparts, each of which fosters unique genres in an effort to attract the presumably distinctive audiences available at different times of the day. Many critics suggest that television's dayparts ultimately represent the penetration of rationalized economic organization into the most mundane, casual, and intimate activities of domestic life; others suggest that they form the basis for familiar pleasures and ease of use. The composition of dayparts has changed historically, but since the mid-1980s typical dayparts for an ideal typical U.S. network affiliate station have remained relatively stable.

### **Early Morning (7:00–10:00 A.M.)**

Audience: adults preparing for work; preschool children. Programming: news, talk; local or network

### **Daytime (10:00 A.M.–6:00 P.M.)**

Audience: midmorning until midafternoon, "housewives." Programming: talk, fiction (soap operas) networks, syndicated. Audience: midafternoon until early evening, children. Programming: cartoons and light drama; local, network, and syndicated.

### **Early Fringe (6:00–7:00 P.M.)**

Audience: elders and adults returning from work. Programming: news; local and network

### **Prime Access (7:00–8:00 P.M.)**

Audience: busy adults in the home, children. Programming: "infotainment," game shows, comedies; syndicated, local.

### **Prime Time (8:00–11:00 P.M.)**

Audience: first hour, "family"; progressively "adult." Programming: comedy, into melodrama, action-adventure, etc.; network.

**Late Fringe (11:00–11:30 P.M.)**

Audience: Adults. Programming: news; local.

**Late Night (11:30 P.M.–12:30 A.M.)**

Audience: Adults, "liminal adults" (maturing adolescents). Programming: talk shows, fiction; network, syndicated.

**Overnight (12:30–7:00 A.M.)**

Audience: Adults, liminal adults. Programming: syndicated talk, comedy, drama, and "old movies"; network, syndicated.

Though these conventionally labeled audiences reflect the hoped-for targets of advertisers, from the viewer's perspective they constitute modes of address that do not necessarily conform with actual identities. Many teenagers, for example, probably indulge in late-night programming explicitly to feel more like liminal adults; while many single adults enjoy the warm and fuzzy feelings of early-evening shows "aimed" at children.

The highly familiar succession of genres and implied audiences associated with dayparts reflects the U.S. medium's priority on maximizing available viewership at all times, in order to maximize the fees advertisers will pay. Important dayparts accrue an identifiable tone: early morning, a hale, nationwide conviviality that orients viewers to the day; early fringe, a local-community focus supported by the plethora of local ads sold by affiliates; prime access, the netherworld of syndicated tabloid and game shows. Prime time, of course, is the costliest, most watched period of television, featuring the most elaborately produced dramas, comedies, or films, and harboring the greatest sense of public event. Late night engages in moral license for off-color humor in the part of the day most distant from work and school, and having a presumably adult audience.

Systems with less stake in appealing to audiences often develop a less-differentiated programming day. Even within the United States, the tendency to target dayparts remains most pronounced on the major networks and their affiliates and is less consistent on cable and independent channels whose appeal may already lie in a particular audience segment, programming genre, or for that matter, in programming against the norm set by broadcast television.

In the United States between 1950 and 1984, the overwhelming majority of profitable stations were affiliates of one of the three major networks. New network shows were the most ambitious production on television, and their contractually secured prominence

in favored dayparts made them the most familiar to audiences. All network programs, however, eventually lost enough of their popularity to be removed from network schedules. The most successful then entered into circulation in the piecemeal syndication market that sold programs for rebroadcast on U.S. stations during dayparts not filled by network feeds—or to international markets. Syndication was thus responsible for a distinctive kind of programming based on the reuse of proven commodities: the rerun.

Syndication of network programs was highly profitable, since it involved the recycling of commodities whose production costs had been almost entirely paid for by network fees. Originally, U.S. networks tried to secure syndication profits by demanding part ownership of a show as a condition for airing it, but this became illegal because of antitrust concerns in 1970. As product suppliers assumed control, syndication quickly became less of an appendage to network programming, and more of a competitor. When the number of television stations in the United States increased dramatically in 1984 (because of relaxed regulation of television licenses), a wholly alternative market for syndicated programming suddenly emerged. Demand for additional shows was sufficient to stimulate a boom in first-run syndication—programs produced exclusively for individual bidding stations and never intended for network release. The syndication market was a somewhat poorer one than the traditional network oligopoly, and so first-run syndication frequently constituted a kind of B-grade programming.

As networks audiences continued to decline throughout the 1980s, suppliers became less concerned with a long-standing convention governing reruns. Networks had typically preferred their programming to be exclusive and had discouraged early episodes of a current program from airing in syndication while the show still remained part of the network lineup. In the mid-1980s, offers from independent stations and cables channels for network-quality programming became too lucrative to ignore, and so it became common for viewers to be able to see a show on the same day from two radically different perspectives: as the wholly novel experience of a new network episode, and as a reencounter with syndicated episodes from the show's past. This accentuated the series nature of programming and made retrospective evaluation of dramatic characters and situations a routine part of viewing. It also undermined the networks' sense of exclusive venue by emphasizing the independence of shows from particular channels.

In sum, syndication—the attempt to increase profits through reuse of old programming or to develop cheaper alternatives to network programming—com-



plicated and enriched the body of television programming, introducing historical depth; a new "low end" of programming inviting self-conscious irony in viewing; multiple, simultaneous views of individual series; and a divorce of specific shows from previously inevitable network lineups. Changes that demanded that programming serve as a commodity in new ways also altered how programming would be used as a text. As indicated earlier, expansion of cable and satellite delivery systems, new digital recording systems, and the commercial sale and rental of television series directly to viewers modified all the conventions of television's first three decades. Seasons became more erratic. Dayparts continued to be targeted by demography, but even more so by age, as "aging down" to younger audiences affected categories and forms such as talk shows and soap operas. As audiences "fragmented" or "segmented" into smaller groups, the difficulty of creating a "hit" show that could last for many years became more and more difficult. Thus, while expanding delivery systems demanded more and more syndicated material, fewer and fewer programs achieved the longevity associated with the practice. More "first-run" syndication emerged as original programming, and cable networks, like the conventional broadcast networks, joined the search for creative talent capable of producing original programming.

### Programming Strategies

Commercial television generally profits from advertising revenues, which increase with audience size. Both local stations and networks thus devote considerable effort to structuring their programming to hold the largest desirable audiences possible.

The premium on holding audiences leads to one of the most identifiable characteristics of commercial U.S. television: its continual interruption by commercials. The industry has long presumed that viewers are alienated by commercials and will only watch them if they are interspersed with other programming. The length, frequency, and grouping of ads is a constantly renegotiated aspect of the television ad market. Networks try to limit ads to keep prices high and viewers tuned in, while advertisers try to secure many commercials—short, cheap, and well separated from those of the competition. In the long term, advertisers' demands have steadily decreased the length, increased the frequency, and fragmented the grouping of ads, making commercial television seem increasingly like a cluttered "flow" of programming.

Programming strategies are not, of course, limited to the distribution of advertisements. Station and network programmers work concertedly not just to select

attractive programming, but to sequence shows in a way that will hold audiences once they have tuned in. A number of tactics have been developed to build a profitable schedule.

"Block programming" involves scheduling a series of related shows that are likely to attract and hold a given audience for an entire daypart. U.S. stations and networks, for example, have traditionally filled Saturday mornings with cartoons aimed at children, and Sunday afternoons with (presumably) male-oriented sports. A block may be defined by particular demographics, but its definition can take other forms. From 1984 to 1987 NBC scheduled a famous Thursday evening lineup featuring five critically acclaimed series in a row: *Cosby*, *Family Ties*, *Cheers*, *Night Court*, and *Hill Street Blues*. The first four were sitcoms that attracted such inclusive audiences that they ended most years in the top 20. The last program was an innovative drama with a much smaller, but quite exclusive audience whose demographics made *Hill Street Blues'* advertising rates the highest of the season. Despite their differences, all five programs were treated as an identifiable block of programming because they fostered NBC's strategy of offering a night of high-quality television.

Block programming has become increasingly overt, and now it is quite common for cable or broadcast networks to package particular nights of programming as blocks devoted to "Our Television Heritage," "Bette Davis Night," on "All Comedy Night." Such promotions potentially highlight aspects of shows that viewers may not have conceived alone: as in the case of reruns, programming's nature as a commodity that can be packaged can affect the public's appreciation of shows.

"Counterprogramming" involves running an attractive alternative to competitors' shows. CBS, for example, has tried several times to develop Monday night as a lineup of shows attractive to women, whom they presume are alienated by ABC's ratings-leading *Monday Night Football*.

"Hammocking" refers to scheduling a new or comparatively unpopular show between two established popular programs, on the theory that audiences are less likely to change channels for a single time slot. Hammocking has historically been a reliable strategy, raising the ratings of the middle show, if not always making it into a hit. The risk is that the weak show will diminish audiences that would have stayed if the two popular programs had formed a block. "Lead-ins" and "lead-outs," like hammocking, try to achieve success through association, lead-ins by placing a popular program right before a lower-rated one, lead-outs by placing the popular program immediately after the



less-successful show. Historically, lead-ins have proved more successful. "Bridging" staggers the start of a long-format program so that viewers would have to abandon it in the middle in order to tune in to the beginning of the competitor's show. "Ridgepoling" distributes the individual shows comprising a successful block across different nights of the week, where they can serve as lead-ins (or -outs) for additional programming.

New or ailing stations and networks have frequently reversed their fate by combining these strategies: after establishing a minimal block of two or three programs, they will extend the block by hammocking a new show. Then each of the shows in the block will be ridgepoled to establish a foothold on several nights of the week.

"Stunting" refers to a variety of exceptional tactics used to boost viewership during key weeks of the season, or when a network, station, or program is in special trouble. Frequent stunts involve programming a highly promoted miniseries or feature film to attract concentrated viewer attention; having one show's star appear on another program; or mounting highly promoted, end-of-season weddings, births, or cliffhangers. More dramatic stunts involve delaying the season debut of a highly popular program a few weeks in order to build suspense—and, hopefully, steal audiences decisively away from competitors' just-rolling season. In 1990 CBS pulled a stunt that experimented with long-held presumptions about the acceptable frequency and amount of repetition allowed on network prime time. Following the example of syndication and cable channels, it ran each episode of a new series (*The Flash*) in two different time slots each week. The idea was both to save money and to give the show twice the chance for its audience to discover it and build loyalty. The experiment failed. The seeming incongruity of such an attempt attests to how strongly the conventional season and schedule format organizes producers' and viewers' expectations for different varieties of television programming: what works for syndication did not work for network prime time.

### Programming in Other National Contexts

This history of programming in the U.S. television system should serve to emphasize its differences from other national systems, which are grounded in different forms of financial support and different regulatory circumstances. In the public-service tradition, for example, most closely identified with the British Broadcasting Corporation, programmers are mandated to provide diversity. Free of the advertiser's necessary search for the largest audience or the audience with the

most purchasing power, alternative forms of programming may be provided to minority audiences. More attention may be paid to children and elder groups. Linguistic distinctions can be more readily recognized and honored. Moreover, programming schedules need not be so regularized and routinized; "seasons" and "dayparts" need not be so rigidly applied. As a result, expectations of creative communities, industries, and audiences may all be different from those attached to the U.S. system.

In the Soviet model, also free from advertiser demands, programming took on yet other configurations, more closely aligned to state agendas and more overtly ideological goals. Here again, the routines and patterns were easily altered by fiat.

Throughout the world, mixtures of these systems have been developed, often forged in specific relationships to neighboring nations and almost always in some relation to the U.S. television industry, which often supplied supplemental programming, even in systems constructed along lines of the Soviet model. But as ideological, technological, economic, and regulatory shifts have spread, more and more the patterns of industrial and programming arrangements seem to converge. The "newsstand" model is now expanded by satellites to a global level, and it has become possible to acquire "information" and "entertainment" in many languages and forms or to observe changes within specific nations and regions that are the direct result of new technological configurations.

In India, for example, the publicly operated state broadcast channels long offered an "official" version of news. As household videotape machines became more common, however, alternative monthly video newsmagazines emerged, supported by subscribers. These video magazines offered fuller exposés into important events. Because they were directed at those wealthy enough to own videotape machines, they also served to constitute a self-conscious elite, newly defined by its well-informedness. Here programming is again tied to the shifting institutional arrangements that enable production, distribution, and exhibition, and the specific kind of commodity formed by programming delimits, not just its financial viability, but its historical aesthetic, social, and cultural import.

In this process the struggles of nations and regions to maintain forms of aesthetic, social, and cultural autonomy and distinction—to place their own items on the global newsstand or to construct a continuing local identity—are now carried out in relation to international media conglomerates. These organizations make use of new technologies that blur national boundaries as easily as they blur program genres and once again throw television programming into a process of signif-

## Programming

icant redefinition. All the technological developments and industrial practices described are increasingly common throughout much of the world. Multiple channels, increasing commercialization, 24-hour schedules, new devices for recording and programming in the home—all these have altered the meanings and uses of television programming in some ways while maintaining received practices in others. Even when new developments appear radical or startling, the old patterns often lie just beneath the surface. Television programming has become a familiar feature of social experience and is likely to remain so for some time.

MICHAEL SAENZ

**See also Arledge, Roone; Australian Programming; British Programming; Canadian Programming; Dann, Michael; Family Viewing Time; Goldenson, Leonard; Genre; Independent Production Companies; Paley, William S.; Prime Time; Reruns/Repeats; Sarnoff, David; Silverman, Fred; Syndication; Tartikoff, Brandon; United States: Networks; Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)**

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# PROMAX

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PROMAX International (formerly Broadcast Promotion and Marketing Executives, or BPME) is the trade organization for media promotion and marketing professionals. Founded in the United States in 1956 as the Broadcast Promotion Association (BPA), its name changes tellingly reflect the substantial changes experienced by the electronic media industries since the mid-20th century.

Initially, "broadcast promotion" was the term for media efforts conducted by television and radio stations to maximize the size of audiences and the numbers of advertisers. These efforts largely consisted of date/time program announcements on the station's own air coupled with print advertisements in the local media (particularly *TV Guide* in the case of television

promotion). More elaborate promotion campaigns were usually handled by the networks. Sweeping industry changes in the 1970s and 1980s—including the lessening of the dominance of the commercial networks, the growing importance of locally produced news, the rise of cable and pay-TV services, increases in program production costs, and the growth of syndicated programming—resulted in a significantly more complex media environment and led to the need for more-sophisticated promotion techniques. Consequently, in 1985 the organization changed its name to Broadcast Promotion and Marketing Executives to reflect the increasing importance of marketing principles such as the use of consumer research, competitive positioning, long-range planning, and audience segmen-

tation. An ever-more-rapidly changing media scene in the late 1980s and early 1990s—including the growth of nonbroadcast program distribution channels and increasingly international webs of participation—led to a second major name change, to PROMAX International, in 1993.

PROMAX, a loose acronym for Promotion and Marketing Executives in the Electronic Media, employs a full-time paid president and staff and receives oversight from a volunteer board of directors composed of industry personnel. Focusing on the fields of television (including broadcast, cable, and satellite), radio, and digital media, the organization supports a wide range of related activities including promotion, marketing, advertising, public relations, design, sales, and community service. Among its services to members are the electronic magazine *PROMAX Online*, which reports on industry events and developments, key issues, notable campaigns, and new products, services, and techniques (available on the Web and via e-mail); an annual directory/promotion planner listing members and suppliers, as well as key industry dates and events; the Resource Center, located in the organization's Los Angeles headquarters, which houses an extensive collection of videotapes, printed materials, and publications; and a Job Line, which provides information on available positions and job seekers (a key service in a field noted for advancement across, rather than within, markets). Perhaps the most notable service is the organization's annual seminar, where members meet for workshops, demonstrations, presentations, and general network-

ing. Suppliers of promotion materials demonstrate their products and services in an exhibit hall, and networks, group owners, and other industry organizations host suites for special presentations. The culmination of the seminar is an awards ceremony recognizing creative excellence.

In addition to ongoing member services, PROMAX awards several academic scholarships in cooperation with sponsoring industry groups. In 1980 the organization published a college text, *Broadcast Advertising and Promotion: A Handbook for Students and Professionals*. It has also conducted numerous surveys over the years on salaries, budgets, staff size, and other departmental measures, which help promotion executives gauge their status and performance according to industry standards.

PROMAX is organizationally linked with the Broadcast Designers' Association (BDA), an association of graphic designers who specialize in creating promotion materials for electronic media. In addition, PROMAX has increasingly expanded its activities to include international affiliations, with branch associations in Australia/New Zealand, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the United Kingdom.

JERRY HAGINS

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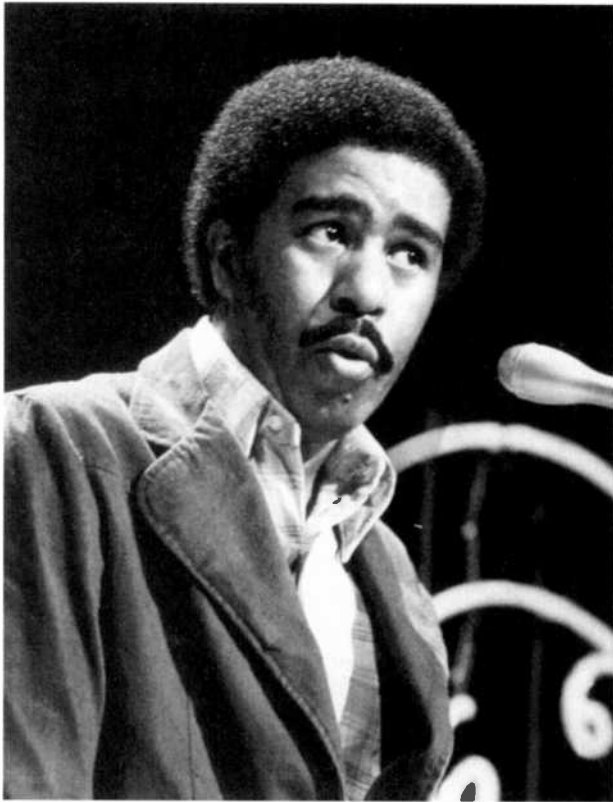
## Pryor, Richard (1940– )

U.S. Comedian, Actor

Richard Pryor, comic, writer, and television and film star, was the first African-American stand-up comedian to speak candidly and successfully to integrated audiences using the language and jokes blacks previously only shared among themselves when they were most critical of the United States. His career really began as a high school student, when his teacher persuaded him to discontinue cutting and disrupting class by offering him the opportunity to perform his comic routine once a week for his classmates. Nevertheless,

Pryor dropped out of high school, completed a tour of duty in the army, then began playing small clubs and bars, anywhere he could secure a venue. His keen and perceptive observation of people, especially his audiences, enabled him to develop into a gifted monologist, mimic, and mime.

The first phase of his career began in the 1960s, when as a clean-cut imitator of Bill Cosby, Pryor played New York clubs. His material, best suited for an integrated audience, did not contain the cutting-edge



Richard Pryor, May 1974.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

dialogue for which he later became most noted. By 1970, tired of the constant comparisons to Cosby and feeling disgusted with himself for the direction of his career, he walked off the Las Vegas Aladdin Hotel stage in the middle of a performance. After a two-year hiatus in Berkeley, California, where he spent time reading Malcolm X's work, visiting bars, clubs, and street corners to observe people, and collaborating with a group of African-American writers later known as the "Black Pack," Pryor returned to performing. A metamorphosis took place during those two years, and Pryor offered his audiences a new collection of characters, earthy metaphors, and the tough, rough profane language of the streets. No longer did he mimic Cosby, for he now spoke on behalf of the underclass, and his monologues and jokes reflected their despair and disillusionment with life in the United States.

His performances, enhanced by his use of body language, captured the personalities of the numerous black characters he created to ridicule and comment upon the circumstances under which African Americans lived. It was revolutionary humor. Pryor's characters introduced to his audiences persons from black

folklore as well as characters from the streets of Anytown, U.S.A. He integrated his personal style of comedy with commentary on the social condition. His popularity skyrocketed, and his career as a stand-up comedian expanded to that of a television and film star.

*The Richard Pryor Show* premiered on NBC in 1977 and rocked the censors until, after only five shows, the series was canceled. Television was not ready for his explosive talent, and Pryor was not ready to alter the content of his program. He portrayed the first African-American president of the United States and, in another skit, used costumes and visual distortion to appear nude. Simultaneously, his concert films—full of his impersonations, cockiness, and assertiveness and balanced by his perceptive vulnerability—achieved wide audience appeal and became legendary in their content. *Richard Pryor: Live in Concert* (1979), considered by critics to be one of his best concert films and his first concert released to theaters, showcased Pryor and his unique ability to capture ethnic humor and make it acceptable to a mainstream audience. Pryor appeared on numerous television programs and served as a co-writer for *Blazing Saddles* and as a writer for *Sanford and Son*, *The Flip Wilson Show*, and *The Lily Tomlin Special*, for which he won an Emmy in 1973.

Even though his early movie roles are forgettable, film served as another venue for Pryor's dangerous and uncontrollable personality. *Lady Sings the Blues* was the turning point. As the Piano Man, Pryor proved he was capable of sustaining a supporting role in a dramatic film. He added life and vitality to the role and to the film. After *Lady Sings the Blues*, he starred or costarred in *The Mack* (1973), *Hit* (1973), *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974), *Car Wash* (1976), *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings* (1976), and *Silver Streak* (1976). Costarring in *Silver Streak* served as another breakthrough for Pryor, and he soon received starring roles in *Which Way Is Up?* (1977) and *Greased Lightning* (1977), among others. His record albums, full of his special humor and street-wise characters, topped the charts: *That Nigger's Crazy* (1974); *Is It Something I Said?* (1975); *Bicentennial Nigger* (1976); and *Wanted, Richard Pryor Live and in Concert* (1979).

In 1980 Pryor sustained third-degree burns over most of his body while, it was reported, he was free-basing cocaine. The response to this tragedy was overwhelming, and Pryor received attention from the media as well as from citizens throughout the United States. He returned to the large screen to complete *Bustin' Loose*, then went on to receive rave reviews for his concert films *Richard Pryor: Live on Sunset Strip*

(1982) and *Richard Pryor: Hear and Now* (1983). The autobiographical film *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life is Calling* (1986) offered his audiences some insight into his troubled personal life.

After his accident, Pryor's other starring roles in movies did not portray the comic as the dynamic, controversial storyteller he became after his exile in Berkeley. The roles in his latter films presented a meeker, more timid person; and, in *The Toy* (1982), he literally played the toy for a spoiled white child. This character and his dialogue were a far cry from the Pryor persona most admired by his audiences.

Stricken with multiple sclerosis in the 1990s, Pryor appeared on television talk shows and toured infrequently. He still played to sold-out audiences, but the old fire and cutting-edge rhetoric evident in his monologues of the 1970s were missing. Pryor in the 1970s would never allow a heckler to intrude on his story and ruin his timing. The Pryor of the 1990s, weak and deeply affected by his disease, did not give the quick, biting, and sarcastic comeback that would always silence a brave heckler from the audience. He did, however, guest star on the popular situation comedies *Martin* (1993) and *Malcolm and Eddie* (1996).

Richard Pryor and his comic style emancipated African-American humor, and his influence and ascendancy crushed boundaries and opened frontiers in comedy unheard of until he appeared on the concert stage. A testament to his influence was evident in a September 1991 televised gala tribute to Pryor presented by comic stars. In 1998 he was selected as the first recipient of the Mark Twain Award for Humor, presented by the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

BISHETTA D. MERRIT

**Richard Pryor.** Born Franklin Lenox Thomas in Peoria, Illinois, December 1, 1940. Married numerous times; children: Elizabeth Ann, Richard, Rain, Renee. Served in the U.S. Army, 1958–60. Began career as a stand-up comic in the 1960s; recorded hit comedy album, 1974; co-wrote and starred in motion pictures, since 1974; star of television's *The Richard Pryor Show*, 1977. Member: National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences; Writers Guild of America. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1973; two American Academy of Humor Awards, 1974; American Writers Guild Award,

1974; Grammy Awards, 1974, 1976; Mark Twain Award for Humor, 1998.

#### Television

1973 *The Lily Tomlin Special* (co-writer)  
1977 *The Richard Pryor Show* (writer, star)  
1984–85 *Pryor's Place*

#### Television Specials (selected)

1973 *The Lily Tomlin Show* (guest)  
1973 *Lily* (guest)  
1977 *The Richard Pryor Special*  
1982 *The Richard Pryor Special*  
1982 *Hollywood: The Gift of Laughter*  
(cohost)  
1993 *The Apollo Hall of Fame* (honoree)

#### Films (selected)

*The Busy Body*, 1967; *The Green Berets*, 1968; *Wild in the Streets*, 1968; *The Phynx*, 1970; *Dynamite Chicken*, 1970; *Lady Sings the Blues*, 1972; *Hit*, 1973; *Wattstax*, 1973; *The Mack*, 1973; *Some Call It Loving*, 1973; *Blazing Saddles* (co-writer only), 1974; *Adios Amigos* (also writer), 1976; *Car Wash* (also writer), 1977; *Silver Streak* (also writer), 1976; *Greased Lightning*, 1977; *Which Way Is Up?*, 1977; *Blue Collar* (also writer), 1978; *The Wiz*, 1978; *Wholly Moses*, 1980; *In God We Trust*, 1980; *Stir Crazy* (also writer), 1980; *Bustin' Loose* (also producer), 1981; *Live on Sunset Strip*, 1982; *Some Kind of Hero*, 1982; *The Toy* (also director), 1982; *Superman III*, 1983; *Brewster's Millions*, 1985; *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling* (also writer, producer, director), 1986; *Critical Condition*, 1987; *Moving*, 1988; *See No Evil, Hear No Evil*, 1989; *Harlem Nights*, 1989; *Another You*, 1991.

#### Recordings

*That Nigger's Crazy*, 1974; *Is It Something I Said?*, 1975; *Bicentennial Nigger*, 1976; *Wanted: Richard Pryor Live and in Concert*, 1979.

#### Publication

*Pryor Convictions, and Other Life Sentences*, with Todd Gold, 1995

## Public Access Television

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Public access television has been one of the most interesting and controversial developments in the intersection between media and democracy within the past several decades. Beginning in the 1970s, cable systems began to offer access channels to the public, so that groups and individuals could make programs for other individuals in their own communities. Access systems began to proliferate, and access programming has been cablecast regularly in such places as New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, Madison, Urbana, Austin, and perhaps as many as 4,000 other towns or regions (Linder, 1999).

When cable television began to be widely introduced in the early 1970s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) mandated in 1972 that "beginning in 1972, new cable systems [and after 1977, all cable systems] in the 100 largest television markets be required to provide channels for government, for educational purposes, and most importantly, for public access." This mandate suggested that cable systems should make available three public access channels to be used for state and local government, education, and community public access use, which collectively came to be referred as PEG access.

"Public access" was construed to mean that the cable company should make available equipment and airtime so that literally anybody could make noncommercial use of the access channel, and say and do anything they wished on a first-come, first-served basis, subject only to obscenity and libel laws. The result was an entirely different sort of programming, reflecting the interests of groups and individuals usually excluded from mainstream television.

The rationale for public access television was that, as mandated by the Federal Communications Act of 1934, the airwaves belong to the people, that in a democratic society it is useful to multiply public participation in political discussion, and that mainstream television severely limited the range of views and opinion. Public access television, then, would open television to the public; it would make possible community participation and thus would be in the public interest of strengthening democracy.

Creating an access system required, in many cases, setting up a local organization to manage the access channels, though in other systems the cable company itself managed the access center. In the beginning,

however, few, if any, cable systems made as many as three channels available, but some systems began offering one or two access channels in the early to mid-1970s. The availability of access channels depended, for the most part, on the political clout of local governments and committed, and often unpaid, local groups to convince the cable companies, almost all privately owned, to make available an access channel. A 1979 Supreme Court decision, however, struck down the 1972 FCC ruling on the grounds that the FCC had no authority to mandate access, an authority that supposedly belongs to the U.S. Congress alone. Nonetheless, cable was expanding so rapidly and becoming such a high-growth competitive industry that by the 1980s city governments considering cable systems were besieged by companies making lucrative offers (20- to 80-channel cable systems) and were able to demand access channels and financial support for public access systems as part of their contract negotiations.

Consequently, public access grew significantly during the 1980s and 1990s and the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 and the Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992 provided language that allowed local governments to require public access cable channels as part of their negotiated agreements (Linder, 1999).

Not surprisingly, public access television has been controversial from the beginning. Early disputes revolved around explicit sexuality and obscenity, particularly in New York City where public access schedules with programs like *Ugly George* and *Midnight Blue* drew attention and provoked criticism. Focus then turned to controversial political content when extremist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nation began distributing programs nationally. Many groups like the American Atheists, labor groups, and a diverse number of political groups began producing programs for syndication, and debates emerged over whether access systems should show programming that was not actually produced in the community where it was originally cablecast.

Despite the controversy, public access television has thrived in many parts of the United States. A few systems charge money for use of facilities, or charge a fee for use of airtime, but due to competitive bidding among cable systems in the 1980s and 1990s for the most lucrative franchises, many cable systems offer

free use of equipment, personnel, and airtime, and occasionally even provide free videotapes. In these situations, literally anyone can make use of public access facilities without technical expertise, television experience, or financial resources.

Many public access systems also offer a range of conceptual and technical training programs designed to instruct groups or individuals who wish to make their own programs from conception through final editing. As video equipment costs have rapidly declined it has even become possible for some groups to purchase their own equipment.

In the 1990s, following the trends of talk radio, many talk television access shows emerged. Individuals fielded calls from members of the community and discussed current political problems, or, in some cases, personal problems. In many ways, this "conversational" mode exemplified the community focus and personal orientation of access television, again moving away from mainstream TV designed to reach the largest possible audiences, while creating a host of highly idiosyncratic conversations.

But various actions moving toward greater media deregulation in the 1990s and into the new millennium threaten the continued survival of access, as do the Internet and other new communications technologies. In a highly competitive environment, cable systems may very well close down access systems if there is insufficient government pressure to keep them open, though competitive market pressures might promote the survival of popular access channels. And although the Internet and other emerging delivery systems could render obsolete the relatively low-tech access systems, these same forms of communication may even multiply access television, en-

abling literally any group or individual to make their own television programs and distribute them over the Internet. Whether a more democratic communications system emerges or dissolves is up to citizens who are interested in communicating with other citizens and nourishing instruments of democratic communication such as public access TV. Present trends toward concentration of media ownership, commercialization, and tabloidization of news and information threaten the integrity of the public sphere and the possibilities for democratic communication. If U.S. democracy is to survive and thrive, citizens need to use all instruments of democratic communication such as community radio, public access television, and now the Internet.

DOUGLAS KELLNER

*See also Activist Television; Cable Television: United States*

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## Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

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Originally contained in U.S. public utility law, the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" provision was incorporated into the Radio Act of 1927 to become the operational standard for broadcast licensees. This act contained a regulatory framework that ensured broadcasters operated within their assigned frequencies and at the appropriate time periods. It not only specified technical requirements, but programming and licensing ones as well. The Communications Act

of 1934 expanded on the Radio Act of 1927 to include the telephone and telegraph industries, and the 1934 law has in turn been amended to accommodate subsequent telecommunications technologies, such as television and cable.

The obligation to serve the public interest is integral to the "trusteeship" model of broadcasting, the philosophical foundation upon which broadcasters are expected to operate. The trusteeship paradigm is used to

justify government regulation of broadcasting. It maintains that the electromagnetic spectrum is a limited resource belonging to the public, and only those most capable of serving the public interest are to be entrusted with a broadcast license. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is the U.S. government body responsible for determining whether applicants for broadcast licenses meet the requirements to obtain them, and the FCC also further regulates those to whom licenses have been granted.

Interpretation of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" clause has been a continuing source of controversy. Initially, the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) implemented a set of tests, criteria that would loosely define whether the broadcasting entity was fulfilling its obligation to the listening public. Specifications included program diversity, quality reception, and "character" evaluation of licensees. These initial demands set a precedent for future explications of the public interest.

The pretelevision "Blue Book," as the set of criteria was popularly known, was developed by the FCC in 1946 to evaluate the discrepancy between the programming "promise" and "performance" of radio broadcasters. Since license renewal was dependent on serving the public interest, program content became a significant consideration in this procedure. The "Blue Book" required licensees to promote the discussion of public issues, serve minority interests, and eliminate superfluous advertising. Unpopular with commercial broadcasters, the "Blue Book" was rendered obsolete after five years because of the economic threat it posed.

In its "1960 Program Policy Statement," the FCC echoed similar sentiments pertaining to television broadcasters. In response to assorted broadcasting scandals, the FCC issued this statement to "remind" broadcasters of how to serve the public interest. Although previous tenets of the "Blue Book" were rejected, this revised policy included the "license ascertainment" stipulation, requiring broadcasters to determine local programming needs through distribution and analysis of surveys. However, adherence to such programming policies has never been strictly enforced.

The deregulatory fervor of the 1980s seriously challenged the trusteeship model of broadcasting. Obviously, this same move toward deregulation subsequently challenged the means by which satisfaction of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" should be determined. The rise of cable television undermined the "scarcity of the spectrum" argument because of the newer system's potential for unlimited channel capacity. The trusteeship model was replaced

with the "marketplace" model (which had always undergirded commercial broadcasting in the United States). It was now argued that the contemporary, commercially supported telecommunications environment could provide a multiplicity of voices, eradicating the previous justification for government regulation. Under this model, the public interest would be defined by "market forces." A broadcaster's commercial success would be indicative of the public's satisfaction with that broadcaster.

Advocates of the marketplace argument reject the trusteeship model of broadcasting. It is no surprise that the Cable Act does not contain a "public interest, convenience, and necessity" stipulation. However, because cable also falls under the regulatory scrutiny of the FCC, serving the public interest is encouraged through the PEG (public, educational, and government) access requirement related to the granting of cable franchises.

Among the deregulatory policies implemented during the 1980s were the relaxation of ownership and licensing rules, eradication of assorted public-service requirements, and the elimination of regulations limiting the amount of commercial advertising in children's programming. Perhaps most detrimental to the legal justification for the trusteeship model of broadcasting, however, was the abolition of the Fairness Doctrine. This action altered future interpretations of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" clause.

In 1949 the FCC established the Fairness Doctrine as a policy that guaranteed (among other things) the presentation of both sides of a controversial issue. This concept is rooted in the early broadcast regulation of the Federal Radio Commission. In 1959 Congress declared the doctrine part of the Communications Act in order to safeguard the public interest and First Amendment freedoms. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine in the case of *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC* (1969). Although the Fairness Doctrine was enacted to promote pluralism, it eventually produced an opposite effect. Concerned that advertising time would be squandered by those who invoked the Fairness Doctrine, broadcasters challenged its constitutionality, claiming that it promoted censorship instead of diversity. Declared in violation of the First Amendment, the Fairness Doctrine was repealed, and in 1987 President Ronald Reagan vetoed attempts to provide constitutional protection for the doctrine.

The 1996 Telecommunication Act, the most sweeping revision of U.S. policies in history, confirmed the dominance of the "marketplace" model. Taking note of a wider range of communication technologies no longer reliant on the limited electromagnetic spectrum,



the act was presumably designed to encourage "competition" among media suppliers, thereby enhancing and increasing options available to the "public." In practice, the act enabled a round of massive mergers, placing ownership of distribution devices as well as content production under control of fewer and fewer entities. By 2002 many of these large companies foundered, and the "marketplace" was in a precarious state.

The obligation to serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" is demonstrated through myriad broadcast policies. Licensing requirements, the equal-time and candidate access rules, the Fairness Doctrine, and the Public Broadcasting and Cable Acts are just some examples of U.S. regulations that were implemented to safeguard the public from the possible selfish motives of broadcasters. History has proven, however, that interpretation of the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" is subject to prevailing political forces. The development of new technologies continues to test the trusteeship model of broadcasting and what defines the public interest. Yet despite its ambiguity and the difficulties encountered in its application, this phrase remains the stated regulatory cor-

nerstone of telecommunications policy in the United States.

SHARON ZECHOWSKI

**See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; License; Local Television; Prime Time Access Rule; Ownership; Station and Station Group**

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## Public-Interest Groups. *See* Advocacy Groups

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## Public-Service Announcement

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In the United States a public-service announcement (PSA) is defined by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in a formal and detailed manner. A PSA is any announcement (including network) for which no charge is made and which promotes programs, activities, or services of federal, state, or local governments (e.g., recruiting, sale of bonds, etc.) or the programs, activities, or services of nonprofit organizations (e.g., United Way, Red Cross blood donations, etc.) and other announcements regarded as serving community interests, excluding time signals, routine weather announcements, and promotional announcements.

PSAs came into being with the entry of the United States into World War II. Radio broadcasters and advertising agencies offered their skills and facilities to aid the war effort and established the War Advertising Council, which became the official home front propaganda arm of the Office of War Information. Print media, outdoor advertising, and especially radio became the carriers of such messages as "Loose lips sink ships," "Keep 'em Rolling," and a variety of exhortations to buy war bonds.

By the end of the war, the practice of volunteering free airtime had become institutionalized, as had the renamed Advertising Council, which now served as a



U.S. Department of Transportation PSA.  
Photo courtesy of Advertising Council

facilitating agency and clearinghouse for nationwide campaigns that soon became a familiar part of daily life. "Smokey the Bear" was invented by the Ad Council to personify its "Only You Can Prevent Forest Fires" campaign; "A Mind Is a Terrible Thing to Waste" has raised millions of dollars for the United Negro College Fund; the American Cancer Society's "Fight Cancer with a Checkup and a Check" raised public awareness as well as funds for research and patient services.

The ultimate demonstration of the effectiveness of PSAs came in 1969. Two years earlier, a federal court upheld the FCC's application of the Fairness Doctrine to cigarette advertising on radio and television and ordered stations to set aside "a significant amount of time" for the broadcast of antismoking messages. This effectively meant one antismoking PSA would air for every three tobacco commercials. The PSAs proved so effective that smoking rates began to decline for the first time in history; the tobacco industry withdrew all cigarette advertising; and Congress made such advertising illegal after 1971. With the passage of that law, however, the bulk of the antismoking messages also disappeared and cigarette consumption rose again for a while. On balance, however, public health professionals credit the PSAs with having saved many millions of lives by initiating the decline in smoking by Americans.

During the 1960s and 1970s, as media access became an issue, the Advertising Council—and to some extent the very concept of PSAs—came under criticism as being too narrow in focus. As David Paletz points out in *Politics in Public Service Advertising on Television*, campaigns such as "Only you can stop pollution" were seen as distracting attention from the role of industry in creating demands for excessive energy and in creating dangerous waste products. Other cam-

paigns struck critics as too eager to build consensus around seemingly inconsequential but carefully non-partisan concerns. The networks sought to distance themselves from the Ad Council, and to set their own agendas, by dealing directly with the organizations themselves. Local stations were under additional pressure from innumerable new community-based organizations seeking airtime; many stations created and produced announcements in an effort to meet local needs, especially once the FCC came to require that stations report how many PSAs they presented and at what hour.

In the 1980s a number of stations long held by their founders' families went public or changed hands. The resulting debt load, mounting costs, as well as increased competition from the new media, all resulted in demands for greater profitability. Most unsold airtime was devoted to promoting the station or network. Moreover, deregulation saw government relinquishing the model of trusteeship of a scarce national resource in favor of a marketplace model.

Offsetting this trend to some extent were growing concerns about the illicit drug problem. The Advertising Media Partnership for a Drug-Free America (famous for the PSA intoning "This is your brain..." over a shot of an egg; "This is your brain on drugs. Any questions?" over a shot of an egg frying) was set up by a group of media and advertising agency executives, spearheaded by Capital Cities Broadcasting Company, then completing the takeover of ABC. Rallying unprecedented support, the organization mounted the largest public-service campaign ever. Indeed, at its height, with more than \$365 million worth of print lineage and airtime annually, it rivaled the largest advertising campaigns. Consistent with contemporary thinking about the nature of social marketing, the campaign was solidly grounded in McGuire's paradigm of behavioral change: awareness of a problem by a number of people will result in a smaller number who undergo a change of attitude toward the problem; an even smaller number from this second group will actually change their behavior. During the first years of the campaign, its research team documented considerable difference in attitudinal and behavioral change among young people. Later evidence led to less-optimistic conclusions about the antidrug campaign, as a number of societal factors changed and media time and space became less readily available.

Other recent developments include two distinctive strategies. The Entertainment Industries Council combined high-profile film, television, and recording stars doing network PSAs with depiction efforts—producers, writers, and directors incorporating seatbelt use, designated drivers, AIDS education, and antidrug ref-

erences in storylines. The other major development, championed and often carried out by consultants, was the appearance of the Total Station Project. Stations would adopt a public-service theme and, often after months of planning and preparation, coordinate PSAs with station editorials, heavily promoted public-affairs programs, and features in the local news broadcasts. Total Station Projects most frequently are aired during sweeps periods, the months when the station's ratings determine the next year's commercial time prices.

GEORGE DESSART

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## Public-Service Broadcasting

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Public-service broadcasting is based on the principles of universality of service, diversity of programming, provision for minority audiences (including the disadvantaged), sustaining an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment. The concept was conceived and fostered within an overarching ideal of cultural and intellectual enlightenment of society.

The roots of public-service broadcasting are generally traced to documents prepared in support of the establishment of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) by Royal Charter on January 1, 1927. This corporation grew out of recommendations of the Crawford Committee appointed by the British postmaster general in August 1925. Included in those recommendations was the creation of a public corporation that would serve as a trustee for the national interest in broadcasting. It was expected that as public trustee, the corporation would emphasize serious, educational, and cultural programming that would elevate the level of intellectual and aesthetic tastes of the audience. The BBC was to be insulated from both political and commercial influence. Therefore, the corporation was a creation of the Crown rather than Parliament, and funding to support the venture was determined to be derived from license fees on radio (and later televi-

sion) receivers rather than advertising. Under the skillful leadership of the BBC's first director general, John Reith, this institution of public-service broadcasting embarked on an ethical mission of high moral responsibility to utilize the electromagnetic spectrum (a scarce public resource) to enhance the quality of life of all British citizens.

Within the governance of national authorities, public-service broadcasting was re-created in various forms in other democracies in Western Europe and beyond. At the core of each plan was a commitment to operating radio and television services in the public good. The principal paradigm adopted to accomplish this mission was the establishment of a state-owned broadcasting system that functioned either as a monopoly or at least as the dominant broadcasting institution. Funding came in the form of license fees, taxes, or similar noncommercial options. Examples of these organizations include the Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Radiodiffusion Television Française, Swedish Television Company, Radiotelevisione Italiana, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Australian Broadcasting Corporation. The ideals on which these and other systems were based suggested services that were char-

acterized by universality and diversity; however, there were notable violations to these ideals, especially in Germany, France, and Italy. In some cases the state-owned broadcasting system became the political mouthpiece for whomever was in power. Such abuse of the broadcasting institutions' mandate made public-service broadcasting the subject of frequent political debates.

Contemporary accounts of public-service broadcasting worldwide often include the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR) as American examples. However, unlike the British model that was adopted across Europe, the U.S. system came into being as an alternative to the commercially financed and market-driven system that has dominated U.S. broadcasting from its inception. Whereas 1927 marked the beginning of public-service broadcasting in Britain, the United States Radio Act of 1927 created the communication-policy framework that has enabled advertiser-supported radio and television to flourish. Language contained within this act explicitly mandated broadcasting stations to operate "in the public interest, convenience, and necessity," but the public-service ideals of raising the educational and cultural standards of the citizenry were marginalized in favor of capitalistic incentives. When the Radio Act was replaced by the Communications Act of 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) recommended to Congress that "no fixed percentages of radio broadcast facilities be allocated by statute to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities." It was not until 1945 that the FCC created a license for "noncommercial educational" radio stations. These stations were envisioned to be the United States' answer to the ideals of public-service broadcasting, but the government's failure to provide any funding mechanism for noncommercial educational stations for nearly 20 years resulted in a weak and undernourished broadcasting service. Educational radio in the United States was referred to as the "hidden medium."

Educational television was authorized by the FCC's Sixth Report and Order adopted on April 14, 1952, but the creation of a mechanism for funding educational radio and television in the United States had to wait for passage of the Public Broadcasting Act on November 7, 1967. Funding levels never approached the recommendations set forth by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television in its report *Public Television: A Program for Action*, in which the term "public television" first appeared.

During the 1970s and 1980s public-service broad-

casting worldwide came under attack, as the underlying principles on which it was based were called into question. The arrival of new modes of television delivery—cable television, satellites, videocassettes—had created new means of access to broadcast services and thus changed the public's perception about the importance and even legitimacy of a broadcasting service founded on the principle of spectrum scarcity. Ideological issues also came into play. Conservative critics raised questions about the very notion of a public culture, whereas some liberals charged that public-service broadcasting was a closed, elitist, inbred, white-male institution.

Furthermore, movement toward a global economy was having an ever-increasing impact on the way policymakers saw the products of radio and television. The free-market viability of educational and cultural programming as successful commercial commodities seemed to support the arguments of critics contending that public-service broadcasting was no longer justified. Deregulation of communication industries was a necessary prerequisite to the breakdown of international trade barriers, and the shift toward increased privatization brought new players into what had been a closed system. The growing appeal of economic directives derived from consumer preferences favored the substitution of the U.S. market-forces model for the long-standing public-trustee model that had been the backbone of public-service broadcasting. Adding to the appeal of the U.S. paradigm was the growing realization that program production and distribution costs would continue to mount within an economic climate of flat or decreasing public funding.

By the early 1990s, the groundswell of political and public dissatisfaction with the privileged position of public-service broadcasting entities had reached new heights. Studies were revealing bureaucratic bungling, cost overruns, and the misuse of funds. One commission after another was recommending at least the partial dismantling or reorganization of existing institutions. New measures of accountability demanded more than idealistic rhetoric, and telecommunication policymakers were turning a deaf ear to public-service broadcasting advocates.

Communication scholars, who for the most part had been reticent on these issues, began to mount an intellectual counterattack, based largely on the experiences of public broadcasting in the United States. Critics of U.S. communications policy underscored concerns about the evils of commercialization and the influence of the open marketplace. Studies pointed to the loss of minority voices and a steady decline in programs for segmented populations. Scholars also challenged the

illusion that new television delivery systems such as 500-channel cable networks and direct broadcast satellites would offer unlimited program choices. Content analyses revealed program duplication, not diversity, across the channels, and the question of just how far commercial broadcasters would venture away from the well-proven formulas and formats received public attention. A concerned electorate was beginning to ask whether the wide-scale transformation of telecommunications was not without considerable risk. Many worried that turning over the electronic sources of culture, education, and political discourse to the ever-shifting forces of the commercial marketplace might have profound negative consequences.

By the mid-1990s, telecommunications policy issues ranged from invasion of privacy to depictions of violence on television, the manufacturing of parent-controlled TV sets, revisions in technological standards, and finding new funding alternatives to sustain public-service broadcasting in some form. These issues were also firmly embedded in the public discourse. Communication corporations appeared and disappeared daily. The environment of electronic communications was in a state of flux as companies selling new technologies vied for a piece of a quickly expanding and constantly evolving marketplace. Public-service broadcasters reassessed their missions and began building new alliances with book publishers, computer software manufacturers, and commercial production houses. In the United States, public radio and television stations experimented with enhanced underwriting messages that looked and sounded more and more like conventional advertising.

In June 2000 a group of scholars assembled at the University of Maine to assess the merits of public-service broadcasting worldwide, and to develop plans for media reform within the United States. At this occasion the formation of a new organization, Citizens for Independent Public Broadcasting, was announced, with the association aiming to restore U.S. broadcasting to its original mission of public service. Despite all the fanfare and high hopes of those assembled in Maine, however, issues related to growing commercialization and the inability to get Congress to create an insulated trust fund to support public broadcasting remained unresolved in the early part of the 21st century. A ruling by the FCC that permitted public broadcasters to use a portion of their newly assigned space

on the digital spectrum for commercial ventures seemed to signal that the trend toward an increased blurring of the line between commercial and noncommercial licenses would continue. Other U.S. efforts to create increased citizen access to the airwaves were largely thwarted when Congress minimized the potential impact of new low-power FM radio stations, an innovation that had been devised by the FCC as a way to deal with growing numbers of so-called pirate radio stations that were operating illegally.

In the early 2000s telecommunications policy worldwide seemed increasingly tied to the opportunities afforded by a new global economy shaped by market forces and privatization. Whether public-service broadcasting ideals could survive within this evolving political and economic environment remained a topic for robust debate.

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## Public Television

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U.S. public television is a peculiar hybrid of broadcasting systems. Neither completely a public-service system in the European tradition, nor fully supported by commercial interests as in the dominant pattern in the United States, it has elements of both. Although the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is emerging as a national image for U.S. public TV, at its base, this system consists of an ad hoc assemblage of stations united only by the fluctuating patronage of the institutions that fund them, and in the relentless grooming of various constituencies. The future of public broadcasting in the United States may in fact be assured by the range of those constituencies and by public TV's malleable self-definition. As technologies to permit both storage and interaction with viewers expand, public TV may come to be as much an electronic public library as a broadcaster. It staked a claim to a unique role in an increasingly diversified televisual environment by its early-21st-century campaign to generate "social capital," identified as networks of mutually rewarding social relationships in a community.

Since it became a national service in 1967 public TV has had a significant cultural impact—an especially impressive achievement given its perpetually precarious arrangements. Through its programming choices, it has not only introduced figures such as Big Bird and Julia Child into national culture, and created a home for sober celebrities such as Bill Moyers and William Buckley, but it has also pioneered new televisual technologies. Early achievements included closed captioning and distance learning. More recently, public TV has pioneered original digital programming, particularly using high-definition technology, and led in the development of web-based extensions of television programs.

U.S. public TV programming evolved to fill niches that commercial broadcasters had either abandoned or not yet discovered. Children's educational programming (especially for preschoolers), "how-to" programs stressing the pragmatic (e.g., cooking, home repair, and painting and drawing), public-affairs news and documentaries, science programs, upscale drama, experimental art, educationally tilted reality and docusoap programming, and community-affairs programming all contribute to the tapestry of public TV. In the course of a week, half the television-viewing homes in the United States turn to

a public TV program for at least 15 minutes, and, overall, the demographics describing viewers of public TV more or less match those of the nation as a whole. However, based on an annual average, public TV's prime-time rating hovers at 2 percent of the viewing audience, a rating on par with some popular cable services but far below network television ratings. Demographics for any particular program are narrowly defined; overall, they are weakest for young adults. Less heralded, but increasingly important in public TV's rationale, is its extensive instructional programming and information-networking, most of which is nonbroadcast.

In the critical design period of American broadcasting (1927–34), which resulted in the Communications Act of 1934, public-service broadcasting had been rejected out of hand by legislators and their corporate mentors. A small amount of spectrum space on the more poorly received ultra-high frequency (UHF) band was set aside for educational television in 1952. This decision was modeled after the 1938 set-aside for educational (not public or public-service) radio stations, a regulation that had been implanted in response to the rampant commercialization of radio. In TV, as in radio, much of that spectrum space went unused, and most programming was low cost and local (e.g., a lecture).

After World War II, "educational television" evolved into "public television," around the concerns of cold war politics and the corporate growth of the television industry. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 reflected, in part, the renewed emphasis placed on mass media by major foundations such as Carnegie and Ford, as well as the concern of liberal politicians and educators, and, in part, it demonstrated an interest in communications technology by the nation's military-industrial strategists. The historic 1965 Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, willed into being by President Lyndon Johnson in search of a televisual component to the Great Society program, claimed that a "Public Television" could "help us see America whole, in all its diversity," and "help us know what it is to be many in one, to have growing maturity in our sense of ourselves as a people." Many legislators and conservatives, however, openly feared the specter of a fourth network dominated by eastern liberals. Commercial broadcasters did not want real rivals, although they supported the no-

tion of a service that could complement theirs and relieve their public-interest burden.

The service was thus deliberately created as the "lemon socialism" of mass media, providing what commercial broadcasters did not want to offer. The only definition of "public" was "noncommercial." Token start-up funds were provided, and the system was not merely decentralized but balkanized. The current complex organization of public TV reflects its origins. The station, the basic unit of U.S. public TV, operates through a nonprofit entity, most commonly a nonprofit community organization, through the state's government (which provides mininetworks for all stations in a state), or through a university. Of the approximately 1,660 stations in the United States, there are about 350 public TV stations, although less than 200 independently program for their communities (the others mostly retransmit signals). Almost everyone in the United States can receive a public TV signal. About two-thirds of the public TV stations are UHF, still a significant limiting factor in reception. At the turn of the 21st century, about 40 stations also broadcast on digital channels, as a result of the requirement of the 1996 Telecommunications Act to use new spectrum given to each station for digital transmission.

Stations are fiercely independent, cultivating useful relationships with local elites, although the stations often form consortia for program production and delivery and to shape more general policy for public TV as a whole. A handful of wealthy, powerful producing stations contrasts with a great majority of small stations that produce no programming. In most major markets, there are several stations, with much duplication of PBS programming, but occasionally "overlap" stations establish some distinctive services catering to minorities and showcasing independent or experimental productions.

The 1967 Public Broadcasting Act also created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) as a private entity, to provide support to the stations. The governing board of the CPB is politically appointed and balanced along partisan lines, and it is funded by tax dollars. The CPB was designed to assist stations with research, policy direction, grants to upgrade equipment and services, and, eventually, a small programming fund. However, the CPB was specifically banned from distributing programs. This was designed to inhibit the creation of a national network. Over the years, the corporation has acted as the lightning rod for congressional discontent, since the CPB is a funnel for federal tax dollars. Congress has usually removed the board's discretionary authority over funds rather than cut its budget. As a result, most of CPB's funds are now set up to flow directly to local stations.

Despite governmental intent to keep public broadcasting local, centralized programming services of several kinds quickly sprang up. Public-affairs services centered, just as political conservatives had feared, on the eastern seaboard. Resulting programs enraged President Richard Nixon, who tried to abolish the service and did succeed in weakening it.

Out of this conflict grew, by 1973, today's Public Broadcasting Service, the first and still premier national programming service for public TV. Shaped in part by station owners who, like Nixon, disliked eastern liberals, PBS is a membership organization of television stations. Member stations pay dues to receive up to three hours of prime-time programming at night, several hours of children's programming during the day, and other recommended programs. Since 1990 stations have accepted a programming schedule designed by a PBS executive. This policy replaced a previous system in which programs were selected through a system driven by majority vote. Stations were persuaded to cede power because overall ratings for public TV were declining. Although not obliged to honor the prime-time schedule, stations are urged to do so, and they are increasingly constrained by contract conditions to devote larger sections of their programming to a common national schedule. This version of a common schedule assists in enlarging the audience and enables stations to benefit from national advertising. Other programming services abound, both regionally and nationally, but none has the imprimatur of PBS.

CPB and PBS both provide funds for the development and purchase of programming, but they do not make most programs. Producing television stations, especially in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., have historically produced the bulk of programming. Public TV also depends heavily on a few production houses, both commercial and noncommercial. Canadian production houses have risen in importance, with favorable exchange rates lowering production costs there, and smaller stations are increasingly producing individual programs and series, and working in producing consortia. Smaller television and film producers, historically frozen out of commercial broadcast television and typically constrained within formats on cable, chronically complain that public TV—their last resort and the only venue for authorial filmmaking—slights them. They argue that their work exemplifies the diversity of viewpoints and perspectives celebrated in the Constitution's First Amendment. Their complaints, coordinated over a decade, finally convinced Congress in 1988 to create the Independent Television Service, as a wing of the CPB, with the specific mission to fund innovative work for underserved audiences.

Public TV's funds come from a variety of sources, each of which comes with its own set of strings. Funding sources include (for fiscal year 1999) the federal government (15 percent), state and local governments (17 percent), public and private universities (11 percent), and private funders: subscribers (26 percent) and corporations (15 percent). The federal appropriation brings controversy virtually on an annual basis. Even so, the CPB's budget has, with few exceptions (notably, during the first Reagan presidency, and in 1995, when a new Republican congressional majority took office), been regularly increased to keep its total amount roughly steady with 1976 levels measured in 1972 dollars. The content of public-affairs programming has consistently been the target of Republican and conservative legislators' ire, and such anger has caused public TV to be hypercautious about such programs. This may explain why public TV has not developed an institutional equivalent of National Public Radio's around-the-clock news reporting.

About half the funds for public TV come from the private sector. Viewers are the single largest source of funding; their contributions come, effectively, without strings and so are especially valuable. These funds are often raised during "pledge drives" in which special, highly popular programming is presented in conjunction with heartfelt pleas for funds from station staff, prominent local supporters, and other celebrities. Programs aired during pledge drives (shows hosted by self-help celebrities, operas sung by stars such as Placido Domingo, a *Harry Potter*-themed program) reflect the genteel image of the service. Stations have also found some success with Internet pledging, another indication of the upscale tilt of public TV and its viewers. These pledge drives are supplemented, in many markets, with other fund-raising efforts, such as auctions or special performances. The 10 percent of all public TV viewers who become donors tend to be culturally and politically cautious, and the need to cultivate them skews public TV programming to what venerable broadcast historian Erik Barnouw called the "safely splendid."

Business contributes about a sixth of the funding, but its contributions have disproportionate weight in shaping programming decisions, because business dollars are usually given in association with a particular program. Public broadcasters openly market their audience to corporations as an upscale demographic, one that businesses are eager to capture in what is known as "ambush marketing": catching the attention of a listener or viewer who usually resists advertising. The hallmark PBS series *Masterpiece Theatre* was designed, from logo to host, by a Mobil Oil Corporation executive looking to create an image for Mobil as "the

thinking man's gasoline." Conflict-of-interest issues ensue from corporate underwriting, as do questions about allowing corporations to set programming and production priorities. (If stations had not aired *Doing Business in Asia*, a series sponsored by Northwest Airlines, which has Asian routes, what else might they have been able to do with their time and money?)

These pressures have combined to make the service vulnerable to political attack from both the left and right as elitist. After Nixon accused the service of being dangerously liberal, many broadcasters scented public affairs and presented "safe" cultural programming, only to be accused by the Reagan administration in 1981 of providing "entertainment for a select few." Reagan's attempt to cut funds also failed, although the administration succeeded in rescinding advance funding that had been designed as a political "heat shield" after Nixon's attack. In 1992 Republican Senator Bob Dole of Kansas threatened to hold up funding for public broadcasting on charges that it was too liberal, and he succeeded in making broadcasters nervous and forcing CPB to spend \$1 million on surveys and studies that changed nothing. In 1994, following on the Republican victory in Congress, both Dole and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich of Georgia targeted the CPB for rescission, on grounds that it was both elitist and liberal.

At the same time, the variety of funding sources, along with the decentralized structure of public TV, militated against mission-focused planning, in the prolonged industry turmoil that marked the last years of the 20th century. Multichannel, satellite, and cable television successfully eroded much of public TV's traditional niche, although public TV continued to hold as a unique audience the 30 percent of the population that does not receive pay television. Commercial investors, hungry for content, increasingly invested in public TV, and public TV entities have searched out commercial partners. New technologies posed hypothetical opportunities while requiring extensive experiment and innovation. Stations were forced to invest in digital technology without business plans or public subsidies for programming, as a result of a push largely by commercial broadcasters for expanded spectrum. In 2001 the Federal Communications Commission permitted stations to carry advertising on, and make money from, ancillary (nonbroadcast) services on digital channels, such as voice messaging and data transmission.

At the beginning of the 21st century, economic, political, and technological forces finally converged to refocus public TV's role. PBS attained a clearer agenda-setting role within the diffuse bureaucracies involved in public TV, effectively controlling the na-



tional schedule and radically revising its prime-time lineup for the first time in two decades. It aggressively branded the public TV environment as "PBS" by such measures as creating websites for all programs but refusing to cite competing websites on air; carrying the PBS "bug" on channel feeds; outreach and educational campaigns and materials; and public relations with opinion makers. The ascension of Pat Mitchell, a veteran of commercial cable TV, as PBS president in 2000, brought crisper decision making and more direct competition for programs with commercial channels, as well as the "social capital" campaign. Producers within and for public TV more frequently entered into international coproductions, with both public-service and commercial partners, and worked harder to retain intellectual property rights. The challenge of developing and programming digital channels has created new financial pressures and new business plans. At the same time, stations have individually experimented with local partners, with extended educational services (including distance learning), and with becoming nodes of community networks.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States proved a test of the role of public TV in national culture, and it demonstrated public TV's strengths and weaknesses. In the immediate aftermath, the service demonstrated its inability to cover news thoroughly, since few stations had any ability to cover events live. However, in the days that followed, public TV turned out to be the place to go for thoughtful, well-researched documentaries about topics related to the terrorism, with some of this programming being rerun to high ratings, after low-rated debuts. The teams that produced these documentaries demonstrated the value of deep investment in the subject matter and were able to draw on contacts and outtakes to produce more public affairs quickly. PBS created an information-rich website with a page for storytelling that expanded quickly and many links to local stations' websites, where users could contribute to charities and support organizations. Thus, the service's functions as high-quality programmer, educational resource, and community network node were showcased.

An improbable, many-headed creature, public TV is unlikely to disappear even under political assault. It is also unlikely suddenly to become a service that a plurality of Americans would expect to turn to on any given evening. It is likely to become more commercial in its broadcast services and more entrenched (and defensible as taxpayer-funded) in its infrastructure and instructional services.

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## Puerto Rico

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The U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regulates television in Puerto Rico. Its jurisdiction over the Puerto Rican communication industry is identical to that over the United States and the other U.S. territories. It oversees most aspects pertaining to the television industry, including the assignment of frequencies, the granting of licenses and their renewal, the evaluation and approval of construction permits, and requests for changes in frequencies, potency, and ownership. Following passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, all facets of the telecommunication industry in Puerto Rico, like those throughout the United States, have been rapidly changing. Mergers and acquisitions, convergence of industries, and economic distress have affected many telecommunication sectors. Although actions of the FCC remained uncertain as of 2002, it was clear that Puerto Rican television would be altered in the near future.

### History and Trends

Television could not develop in Puerto Rico as early as it did in other areas of the region, due to Puerto Rico's condition as a territory of the United States, which put the communication industry under the overriding control of the FCC. When the FCC implemented the television freeze and "ordered applications for new TV stations placed in the pending file" on September 29, 1948, Puerto Rico had no choice but to postpone its incursion into the new medium.

The agency renewed the process for the issuance of broadcasting licenses on April 12, 1952, and soon thereafter, on July 24, 1952, it granted the first permit for the construction of a commercial television station in a U.S. territory to El Mundo Broadcasting Company. WKAQ-TV, Telemundo, was founded by Angel Ramos, who also owned *El Mundo* newspaper and WKAQ radio (Radio el Mundo), the first radio station in Puerto Rico (established in 1922). Telemundo received its FCC license to transmit over Channel 2 in San Juan on February 12, 1954, and went on the air with regular programming on March 28, 1954. The second permit for the construction of a commercial television station was granted to Ramón Quiñónez, owner of WAPA Radio on August 12, 1952. WAPA-TV received its FCC license to transmit over Channel 4 in San Juan on March 15, 1954. It started regular

transmission on May 1, 1954. Programming at both TV stations extended from 4:30 P.M. to 10:30 P.M. and included varied genres such as live comedy and drama, variety shows, women's programs (cooking shows), news programs, and films (mostly Mexican).

Competition has always been fierce among these two broadcasters, which have alternated in their success at being the first to offer videotape technology (1966), color television (1968), and satellite broadcasting (1968)—many times achieving these accomplishments within a week of each other. They have also alternated in obtaining the largest share of the audience and the top programs. Due to their early successes, these two stations attracted the attention of mainland corporations. A succession of sales took place and continues to this day; in fact, changes in ownership have accelerated since approval of the Telecommunications Act of 1996.

WKAQ-TV, Telemundo, was first sold to John Blair and Company, a diversified, publicly traded U.S. company on April 14, 1983. Blair and Company then sold the station in October 1987 to Reliance Inc., the owners of Telemundo, the Spanish-language television network in the United States. Thus, Telemundo of Puerto Rico became part of the large network of Hispanic TV stations on the mainland. In October 2001 NBC, a division of General Electric, acquired Telemundo Communications Group, which includes Telemundo of Puerto Rico, in a package deal worth \$2.7 billion. Regulatory approval by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has been granted; FCC approval was expected shortly.

WAPA-TV, or Televiscentro, has changed ownership several times since 1975. It was acquired first by Western Broadcasting in the United States; later sold to Screen Gems, a subsidiary of Columbia Pictures; and acquired in 1980 by Pegasus Inc., a subsidiary of General Electric. In December 1999 WAPA-TV was sold to LIN Television, a subsidiary of diversified media company Chancellor Media Corporation, which also owns and operates eight FM radio stations in Puerto Rico through Primedia Broadcast Group.

In the early 1950s the Department of Education, headed by Mariano Villalonga, lobbied for the establishment of public broadcasting. On June 25, 1954, the Puerto Rican Legislature approved Joint Resolution Number 94, which authorized and assigned the fund-

ing for the creation of the Public Radio and Television Service and the installation and operation of public TV and radio stations. After obtaining approval by the FCC to transmit over Channel 6, WIPR-TV went on the air on January 6, 1958, thus becoming the first educational TV station in Latin America. Offering educational and cultural fare unavailable in commercial broadcasting, it initially transmitted from 3:30 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. on weekdays and for only three hours on weekends. Its affiliation with the National Educational Television and Radio Association in 1961 increased its programming. Also in 1961, a second station, Mayagüez's WIPM-TV (an affiliate of WIPR-TV), retransmitted programs to the west coast over Channel 3. Trailing the commercial stations, WIPR-TV first offered regular programming in color on May 12, 1971. By 1979 WIPR-TV and WIPM-TV joined the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), further increasing their offerings and bringing English-language programs from the United States to Puerto Rican viewers. On January 21, 1987, radio and TV broadcasting was transferred from the Department of Education to a newly created state venture, named *Corporación para la Difusión Pública* (Corporation for Public Broadcasting). An increased budget has since allowed improvements in physical facilities, equipment, and programming, with airtime gradually extended to 24 hours a day. The public TV stations created a news department in November 1995, and two editions of its newscast are presented daily. Export of local productions to some U.S. markets has been intermittent.

WRIK-TV was established in Ponce, on the south coast of Puerto Rico, after receiving an FCC permit to go on the air on Channel 7 on February 2, 1958. Its owner was Alfredo Ramírez de Arellano, and, lacking its own programming, the station retransmitted *Telemundo's* fare. By 1970 it was bought by United Artists, moved to San Juan, renamed *Rikavisión*, and started to produce its own programming without much success. In 1979 it was acquired by Puerto Rican producer Tommy Muñiz and became WLUZ-TV. Economic problems forced Muñiz to sell the station in 1985 to Malrite Communications Group. The station became WSTE-TV, and in 1991 it was sold to Jerry Hartman, a Florida entrepreneur. Known locally as *SuperSiete*, it is a limited outlet for independent producers, who buy time to present their programs during periods other than the 57 weekly hours contracted through a long-term marketing agreement to transmit Channel 11 programming.

In 1960 Rafael Pérez Perry received authorization to start WKBM-TV and transmit over Channel 11. At the time, he owned one of the most successful radio stations on the island (WKBM-AM). However, his suc-

cess in radio did not extend to television. As has happened to Channel 7, Channel 11's competition with Channels 2 and 4 was never effective, and, after Perry's death, the station's economic problems worsened, leading it to declare bankruptcy, and close in 1981. In 1986 Lorimar Telepictures acquired the station from Bankruptcy Court and renamed it WSII-TV. It was subsequently sold to Malrite Communications Group in 1991. Called *Teleonce*, Channel 11 has achieved great success, and since 1995 it has been capable of truly competing with Channels 2 and 4, obtaining equal or better shares and ratings in several time periods. In 1998 it was sold to Montgomery, Alabama-based Raycom Media, only to be sold again in June 2001 to Univisión Communications, the leading Spanish-language media company in the United States. Through their subsidiary Univisión Radio, they also own and operate four radio stations acquired in 2003 in Puerto Rico's lucrative radio market.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, other commercial stations, all lesser players, struggled without much success. WPRV-TV, Channel 13; WSJU-TV, Channel 18 (the oldest of this group dating back to the mid-1960s); WSJN-TV, Channel 24; and WRWR-TV, Channel 30, were all unable to effectively compete with the older, more solidly established stations. Serious economic problems forced some into bankruptcy, and all went off the air. In recent years, all of these stations started to transmit again, albeit with changes in ownership, call letters, and programming.

WPRV-TV, Channel 13, was bought by the Catholic Church, Archdiocese of San Juan, in January 1995. Known locally as *Teleoro*, it is a commercial station built around social, religious, and cultural programming.

WSJU-TV, Channel 18, was acquired in December 1990 and belongs to International Broadcasting Corporation. This Puerto Rican enterprise catered to independent producers, had scarce programming, and mostly played Spanish-language music videos. Its call letters changed to WAVB-TV and most recently to WTCV-TV. In February 2001 Channel 18 entered into a local marketing agreement with the Home Shopping Network to carry the network's Spanish-language edition. WVEO-TV, Channel 44, and WIEC-TV, Channel 48, are affiliate stations retransmitting to the west and south, respectively.

WSJN-TV, Channel 24, was bought by S&E Network, a Puerto Rican venture that went on the air on November 1994 and produced some 50 hours a week of sports programs and studio-based talk shows. The station's call letters were changed to WJPX-TV, and in 1997 it was sold to Paxson Communications, a Florida-based TV and radio company, together with

two affiliate stations (WKPV-TV, Channel 20, and WJWN-TV, Channel 38). In July 2001 the network, known as Telenet, was acquired by LIN Television, which has put Channel 24 and its affiliate stations under the control of Televiscentro. This has increased the reach of WAPA-TV, Channel 4, to areas of weak signals.

With new call letters, WSJU-TV, Channel 30, was launched in March 2000, when its license was granted to the Puerto Rican firm Aerco Broadcasting Corporation. WSJU plays only Spanish-language music videos.

Other TV stations—educational, commercial, and religious—have emerged since the mid-1980s. WMTJ-TV, Channel 40, is an educational station belonging to the Ana G. Méndez Foundation, a private university. It was inaugurated in 1985 as a PBS affiliate, and, besides PBS programming, it also offers its own news, current affairs programs, and televised college courses. Its affiliate station, WQTO-TV in Ponce, retransmits to the southern coast over Channel 26. WZDE-TV, Channel 52, is an independent commercial station broadcasting music videos. It belongs to Puerto Rican firm R&F Broadcasting, Inc. and started transmission early in 2003 after a long battle with a cable television franchise over the mandated FCC must-carry rule. WELU-TV, Channel 32; WDWL-TV, Channel 36; WCCV-TV, Channel 54; WUJA-TV, Channel 58; and WECN-TV, Channel 64, all are religious stations belonging to diverse Protestant groups. Programming on these stations includes religious services, revivals, testimonials, interviews, fund-raising, and news programs.

With the exception of a limited number of programs, all stations transmit in Spanish. Commercial television content mostly consists of Puerto Rican productions, particularly comedy, children's programs, news, talk shows, and variety shows. Dubbed American TV series and movies, and Mexican, Colombian, and Venezuelan soap operas, comprise the rest of the offerings. Teleonce's acquisition by Univisión in 2001 initiated a move toward more canned programming from their stateside studios that was directed to the Hispanic-American population in the United States. This is now standard fare and is altering the offerings of Puerto Rico's television. The amount of local programming is diminishing while imported programs are on the rise. The other commercial stations, following a global trend, have emulated this. Reality TV, both imported and locally produced, is also a new and rapidly increasing trend. There are very limited European or Canadian offerings, except for BBC or CBC specials carried over PBS stations WIPR-TV and WMTJ-TV. Interestingly, public television has increased the

amount of local productions during this same time-frame but still command a minuscule number of the television audience.

An estimated 1,325,610 households exist in Puerto Rico, of which 1,313,223 have at least one television set, for a penetration of 99.1 percent (Mediafax, June 2003). A number of affiliate stations exist on the island, which means that TV signals of major stations reach all geographic areas. Channels 2, 4, and 11 consistently get the largest share of the audience, with all other channels trailing far behind. Television audience measurements are an important element for marketing and programming decisions, and, through the years, several companies have performed this function. The earliest measurements took place in September 1956, but it was not until the 1970s that companies like Clapp and Mayne and Stanford Klapper made inroads into a field that was rapidly developing and which determined where the advertising dollar would go. Mediafax is the only company offering television audience measurements, with television stations and local advertising agencies subscribing and paying a fee for these services. Kantar Media Research, a subsidiary of British global company WPP Group, acquired Mediafax in July 2001.

### Cable Television

The cable television industry has transformed the landscape of television in Puerto Rico. Plagued by problems in the beginning, it is now an evolving alternative to local television and its programming strategies. Since 1996 the Junta Reglamentadora de Telecomunicaciones (Telecommunication Regulatory Board) has overseen operations of cable TV in Puerto Rico; it now authorizes franchises, a responsibility previously held by the Public Service Commission. In the mid-1960s, the availability of Puerto Rico Cablevision, a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph, was limited to major San Juan hotels. The first franchise for residential service for the area of San Juan was granted in 1970 to the Cable Television Company of Puerto Rico. By 1976 the company was bankrupt, and Cable TV of Greater San Juan took over the franchise in March 1977. It was bought by Century Communications in 1986, and major investments in infrastructure took place. Other cable TV operators were granted franchises to offer cable service on the rest of the island.

In the early 21st century, four cable companies covered the ten franchise areas that serviced more than 90 percent of the island and reached an estimated 407,979 subscribers (Mediafax, June 2003). Current cable

companies are Adelphia Communications, which in October 1999 completed its acquisition of Century Communications and is now the parent company of Cable TV of Greater San Juan and Community Cablevision; Centennial Cable TV of Puerto Rico, which since September 2000 has bought Pegasus Communications of Puerto Rico (two franchise areas), Teleponce Cable, and Cable TV del Noroeste; Liberty Media, which acquired TCI Cablevision of Puerto Rico (three franchise areas) in February 2000; and Digital TV One (previously Telecable of Puerto Rico), the only remaining Puerto Rican company.

The expansion of the cable industry is indicated by the steady growth in the number of subscribers. In 1980 there were 35,000 subscribers, increasing to 127,400 by 1985, 218,900 in 1990, 352,000 in 2001, and 408,000 in 2003 (PR Cable Subscriber History, 1994; Mediafax, 2001; June 2003). A conservative estimate puts their yearly billing at over \$300 million. Expansion is expected to continue, although not as fast as previously thought because of the inroads made by satellite television since 2001. Still, cable penetration is only about 31 percent compared to around 70 percent in the United States (Caribbean Business, September 14, 2000; Mediafax, June 2003). Additional consolidation and convergence of services is anticipated and will further transform the cable TV industry.

Cable TV systems carry all local stations and more than 150 North American channels via satellite. A move to digital cable is well advanced among all providers. Their fare is mostly in English and includes all major networks such as ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX, as well as channels specializing in sports (ESPN, ESPN2), news (CNN), finance (CNBC), music (MTV, VH1), movies (American Movie Classics, HBO, HBO2, Showtime, Cinemax, The Movie Channel), cartoons (Cartoon Network), children's programs (Nickelodeon, The Disney Channel), science (The Discovery Channel, The Learning Channel), arts (A&E, Bravo!), public affairs (C-Span, C-Span2), comedy (Comedy Central), religion (EWTN), shopping (HSC, HSN, QVC, QVC2), weather (The Weather Channel), and many other areas. There are also some 70 pay-per-view channels offering movies, sports, and adult fare as well as 45 satellite music channels. Channels featuring programming in Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Italian, French, and Japanese, although limited, are available. Few Spanish-language channels are available through cable TV. Among these are TV Chile, Venevisión, TV3, and Spanish TVE.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 allows cable companies to become integrated providers of the full

spectrum of interactive broadband network services. This is rapidly changing the nature and reach of cable companies, as well as the services they offer. The convergence of services now permitted has allowed cable companies in Puerto Rico recently to start launching cable modem service, by which cable subscribers are able to access the Internet at very high speeds through the cable TV network. While not all cable systems offer this service yet, and those that do do not have it available in all areas they control, this is a rapidly changing situation. Cable companies have most of the required infrastructure ready, and with the completion of the Americas II submarine fiber-optic cable, all will further diversify their offerings.

### Satellite Television

Unregulated by local agencies, the operations of satellite television in Puerto Rico are overseen by the FCC. As with cable TV, satellite television had its share of problems in the beginning. Initially, small mom-and-pop operators sold and installed deep-dish antennas, from the late 1970s. These never operated any sort of large-scale enterprise and were mostly unreliable. The island's first taste of organized satellite TV came with the Alphastar service launched in 1997. Alphastar went dark, however, after falling into bankruptcy problems.

Direct-to-home satellite television was again made available through DirecTV Puerto Rico, which was established in mid-1999. It is a subsidiary of DirecTV Latin America (formerly Galaxy Latin America), a multinational company owned by Hughes Electronics Corporation and Darlene Investments, an affiliate of the Cisneros Group of Companies. DirecTV has grown rapidly and aggressively in Puerto Rico. It offers 130 video and audio channels, has 470 employees, and in late 2003 claimed to have 165,000 clients (DirecTV, January 2004). The other provider of satellite television is Dish Network, a subsidiary of EchoStar Communications Corporation, which predates DirecTV, operates only through dealerships, and has no offices locally. Independent information about this industry is still unavailable. Unverified data points to a conservative estimate of 300,000 subscribers to satellite television services at the end of 2003. If accurate, this would imply a penetration of about 23 percent for satellite services and a total penetration of close to 54 percent for both satellite and cable TV services combined. Since data available for satellite services is unverifiable and does not allow knowing whether the same households subscribe to both services or not, and if so, in which percentage they do, these last two statistics

## Puerto Rico

are only notional. Mediafax has plans to include audience measurements of satellite television homes in the near future.

### **Conclusion**

The trends seen in Puerto Rico's television industry suggest that further expansion and acquisitions, mergers, and realignments will take place. Minor players unable to compete will either disappear or be taken over. The post-1996 era has proven Puerto Rico to be an important market of interest to global players. Already major U.S. media companies such

as NBC, LIN Television, and Univisión have obtained control of the principal television networks, and everything points to a continuation of this trend. Educational broadcasters enjoy relative success in that their audience share, although small, is steady, and investment in infrastructure and programming is increasing. Insufficient data exists to speculate about the future of religious channels. As for cable and satellite television, undoubtedly growth will continue in a still-developing market that has consolidated amid acquisitions by major U.S. and global media companies.

RODOLFO B. POPELNIK



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# Quatermass

British Science Fiction Series

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Years before the English Sunday supplements ever discovered the “Angry Young Man,” jazz, science fiction, and other “marginal” art forms began to gather adherents among those who formerly might have quickly passed by them. Postwar British culture had entered a self-conscious period of transition, and science fiction suddenly seemed much more important both to pundits such as Kingsley Amis and to readers in general, who made John Wyndham’s novels (beginning with *The Day of the Triffids* [1951]) surprising best sellers.

The 1950s were also a period of adjustment for the BBC, which lost its television monopoly midway through the decade with the dreaded debut of the Independent Television Authority (ITA)—the invasion of commercial TV. Classical works and theatrical adaptations suddenly seemed insufficient to secure the BBC’s popular support. Perhaps not surprisingly, the corporation turned to science fiction: in 1953 the drama department put its development budget behind one writer, Nigel Kneale, who in exchange produced the script for the BBC’s first original, adult work of science fiction, a serial to be produced and directed by Rudolph Cartier and titled *The Quatermass Experiment*. The summer of that year, its six half-hour episodes aired, and with them began a British tradition of science fiction television that runs in various forms from *Quatermass* to *A Is for Andromeda* to *Blake’s Seven*, and from *Doctor Who* to *Red Dwarf*. Kneale himself went on to adapt George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* for Cartier’s controver-

sial 1954 telecast. Later in the decade, Kneale adapted John Osbourne’s *Look Back in Anger* and *The Entertainer* for the screen.

Yet Kneale’s first major project was quite possibly his most elegant as well. The story of *The Quatermass Experiment* is fairly simple: a British scientist, Professor Bernard Quatermass, has launched a rocket and rushes to the site of its crash. There he discovers that only one crew member, Victor Carroon, has returned with the ship. Carroon survived only as a host for an amorphous alien life-form, which is not only painfully mutating Carroon’s body but also preparing to reproduce. Carroon escapes and wreaks havoc on London, until Quatermass finally tracks the now unrecognizably human mass to Westminster Abbey. There Quatermass makes one final appeal to Carroon’s humanity.

Years before, H.G. Wells had inaugurated contemporary science fiction with warnings in *War of the Worlds* about Britain’s failure to advance from its colonial self-satisfaction. *The Quatermass Experiment*’s depiction of an Englishman’s transformation into an alienated monster dramatized a new range of gendered fears about Britain’s postwar and postcolonial security. As a result, or perhaps simply because of Kneale and Cartier’s effective combination of science fiction and poignant melodrama, audiences were captivated.

With a larger budget and better effects, Kneale and Cartier continued the professor’s story with *Quatermass II* (1955), an effectively disturbing story of alien



Quatermass.  
Photo courtesy of Robert Dickinson

possession and governmental conspiracies prefiguring *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956). Perhaps fittingly, *Quatermass II* provided early counterprogramming to the BBC's new commercial competition.

That same year, the small, struggling Hammer Films successfully released its film adaptation of *The Quatermass Experiment* in Britain. The next year the film (retitled *The Creeping Unknown*) performed unexpectedly well in the lucrative U.S. market, providing the foundation for the company's subsequent series of Gothic horror films. Hammer released its film adaptation of the second serial (retitled *The Enemy Within* for the United States) in 1957.

Kneale and Cartier's third serial in the series, *Quatermass and the Pit*, combined the poetic horror of the first serial and the paranoia of the second. In it, Quatermass learns that an archaeological discovery made during routine subway expansion means nothing less than humanity itself is not what we have believed it to be. The object discovered in that subway "pit" is an ancient Martian craft, and its contents indicate humans are their genetically engineered offspring. By the conclusion of the serial, London's inhabitants have been inadvertently triggered into a programmed mode of rioting, and the city lies mostly in ruins. "We're all Martians!" became Quatermass's famous cry, and the serial's ample references to escalating racial and class tensions give his words an ominous power.

It is this grim, elegant ending, filmed by Hammer in 1967 (and released in the United States as *Five Million Years to Earth*), that Greil Marcus used in his history of punk to describe the emotional experience of a Sex Pistols concert. If nothing else, Marcus's reference in *Lipstick Traces* (1989) suggests that Quatermass, like those repressed Martian memories, may return at the most cu-

rious moments. Even in less-expected contexts than Marcus's, the name Quatermass may still operate as a certain sort of cultural code word; for example, in his extensive science fiction history *Trillion Year Spree* (1986), Brian Aldiss uses "the Quatermass school" as if every reader should automatically understand its meaning.

By the late 1970s the BBC was no longer willing to commit itself to the budget necessary for Kneale's fourth and final Quatermass serial, simply titled *Quatermass*. Commercial television was ready, however, and in 1979, at the conclusion of a 75-day ITV strike, the four-part *Quatermass* debuted with John Mills starring as the now elderly professor in his final adventure.

Only the serial's opening sequence, involving Quatermass deriding a U.S.-USSR "Skylab 2," displays the force of the earlier series: a moment after Quatermass blurts out his words in a live television interview, the studio monitors are filled with the image of Skylab 2 blowing to pieces. Subsequent episodes are less successfully provocative. Concerning a dystopic future Britain where hippielike youth are being swept up by aliens, the serial's narrative was recognized as somewhat stale and unconvincing. Yet even in the late 1970s, despite the last serial's lukewarm reviews, *Quatermass* remained a source of fan preoccupation reminiscent of the commitment of many to *Star Trek*.

Unlike the three earlier serials, *Quatermass* was not adapted for the screen. It was simply edited and repackaged as *The Quatermass Conclusion* for theatrical and video distribution abroad. Of the earlier serials, only *Quatermass and the Pit* has had a video release, although most of the first serial and all of the second have been preserved by the British Film Institute.

ROBERT DICKINSON

See also Cartier, Rudolph; Lambert, Verity; Science Fiction Programs

### The Quatermass Experiment

#### Cast

Professor Bernard Quatermass	Reginald Tate
Judith Carroon	Isabel Dean
John Paterson	Hugh Kelly
Victor Carroon	Duncan Lamont
James Fullalove	Paul Whitsun-Jones

#### Producer

Rudolph Cartier

#### Programming History

6 30-minute episodes

BBC

July 18, 1953–August 22, 1953



### Quatermass II

#### Cast

Quatermass	John Robinson
Paula Quatermass	Monica Grey
Dr. Leo Pugh	Hugh Griffiths
Captain John Dillon	John Stone
Vincent Broadhead	Rupert Davies
Fowler	Austin Trevor

#### Producer

Rudolph Cartier

#### Programming History

6 30-minute episodes  
 BBC  
 October 22, 1955–November 26, 1955

### Quatermass and the Pit

#### Cast

Quatermass	Andre Morrell
Dr. Matthew Roney	Cec Linder
Barbara Judd	Christine Finn
Colonel Breen	Anthony Bushell
Captain Potter	John Stratton
Sergeant	Michael Ripper
Corporal Gibson	Harold Goodwin
Private West	John Walker
James Fullalove	Brian Worth
Sladden	Richard Shaw

#### Producer

Rudolph Cartier

#### Programming History

6 35-minute episodes  
 BBC  
 December 22, 1958–January 26, 1959

### Quatermass

#### Cast

Quatermass	John Mills
Joe Kapp	Simon MacCorkindale
Clare Kapp	Barbara Kellerman
Kickalong	Ralph Arliss
Caraway	Paul Rosebury
Bee	Jane Bertish
Hettie	Rebecca Saire
Marshall	Tony Sibbald
Sal	Toyah Wilcox
Guror	Brewster Mason
Annie Morgan	Margaret Tyzack

#### Producers

Verity Lambert, Ted Childs

#### Programming History

4 60-minute episodes  
 ITV  
 October 24, 1979–November 14, 1979

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## Quebecor Media Inc.

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Quebecor Media is a leading global multimedia conglomerate based in Quebec, Canada, with large holdings in newspaper, magazine, and commercial publishing; television production, broadcasting, and distribution; and cable, Internet, and interactive televi-

sion services. While the company has already captured a large part of the French-Canadian market, its corporate vision is global in scope. Quebecor has benefited from a relaxed regulatory environment in Canada, which has allowed the company to vastly expand its

holdings both within and across media and to pursue a strategy that emphasizes convergence and economies of scale as well as achieve vertical integration of its print and television services. Like other multimedia conglomerates such as Time Warner or Universal-Vivendi, Quebecor has largely acquired its holdings through corporate buyouts and mergers. Quebecor's television holdings have largely resulted from the company's purchase of Groupe Videotron Ltee. in October 2000, although its exploitation of the television medium dates back to the early 1950s.

Publishing magnate Pierre Peladeau founded Quebecor in 1965. Peladeau had begun his career in 1950 as a publisher of community newspapers in Montreal. In 1955 Peladeau launched *Nouvelles et Points*, the first of a series of weekly entertainment magazines, which focused heavily on the burgeoning Francophone television industry and its celebrities. Over the years, Peladeau's magazines and newspapers would carve out a niche in Quebec by devoting significant coverage to French-Canadian stars and TV series. In 1964 Peladeau started *Le Journal de Montreal*, which would become the largest French-language daily in North America. The newspaper emulated local television news by using an abundance of colorful and sensational photographs accompanied by short articles and by devoting a significant amount of space to local sports and culture.

Over the years, Quebecor's publishing empire grew, expanding beyond Quebec into the rest of Canada and the United States and eventually the world. Today, Quebecor is the world's largest commercial printer, operating 160 plants in 17 countries and employing 39,000 people worldwide. The corporation also owns Sun Media, the second-largest newspaper group in Canada with eight metropolitan dailies, eight community dailies, and 175 weekly newspapers, and it remains the largest magazine publisher in Quebec. Additionally, Quebecor owns Videotron, the largest cable TV provider in Quebec with an estimated 1.4 million subscribers as of 2003. Videotron is also one of the largest Internet service providers in Canada. Videotron subsidiary SuperClub Videotron is the leading video rental and sales chain in Quebec with over 170 locations. Finally, Quebecor also owns and operates TVA, the top general-interest network in Quebec, maintaining a market share of approximately 35 percent.

With the purchase of Videotron Ltee. in 2000, Quebecor not only expanded into the world of cable and

Internet services but also acquired a major stake in the development of interactive television. Videotron operates the illico digital interactive television system, which currently has 114,000 subscribers. Illico allows subscribers to access e-mail and surf the Internet through their television set, as well as participate in specially designed chat rooms and newsgroups unique to the interactive service. It also provides easy access to home shopping, creating new synergies between television programs and ancillary markets for the products they feature. Viewers are alerted to the availability for purchase of particular fashions, furniture, and accessories shown on select programs. Quebecor has identified interactive television as key to its media convergence strategy. According to Quebecor's website, "[interactive television] will crystallize the synergies among the company's media properties, giving advertisers a multitude of cross-promotion opportunities and customers a host of innovations and value-added interactive services."

In September 2001 Quebecor added the TVA group to its conglomerate. In order to own the lucrative television channel, Quebecor was first required to sell off its holdings in TQS, which it had owned since 1997. Under Canadian law, companies cannot own more than one broadcast channel in the same market, though they can own multiple newspapers and operate various services within a single market. TVA is the largest private-sector producer and broadcaster of French-language programming in North America. Ten stations reaching the majority of French-speaking households in Quebec as well as the rest of Canada carry TVA's signal. The TVA network owns six of those ten stations. Additionally, TVA International was founded in 1997 when the TVA group bought Motion International, which has since become the leading distributor of Canadian programming in Canada. With the addition of TVA International, the company has achieved full vertical integration of its television holdings. Finally, TVA has a significant interest in specialty cable channels, launching *Le Canal Nouvelles TVA*, a 24-hour all-news station, in 1998, and partnering to create *Canal Evasion*, a French-language travel and tourism specialty channel, and *Canal Indigo*, a French-language pay-per-view channel. TVA also owns 50 percent of HSS Canada, a leading producer of infomercials, and has launched *Club TVachat*, a French-language equivalent of the Home Shopping Network.

AVI SANTO

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# Queer as Folk

British Drama Series (adapted in U.S.)

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This British television drama, by Russell T. Davies, was first aired on public television from February to April 1999, causing equal measures of controversy and delight. The original eight-part series was followed by the two-part *Queer as Folk 2: Same Men. New Tricks*. In 2000 the program idea transferred to the U.S. cable channel Showtime as a 20-episode series. Writers Ron Cowen and Daniel Lipman relocated the action from Manchester to Pittsburgh, and it aired its fourth season in the autumn of 2003. Davies went on to irk some gay viewers by writing *Bob and Rose* (ITV 2001), a drama about a gay man who falls in love and sleeps with a woman, questioning the absolute nature of his homosexuality. He has been commissioned to write the relaunching of the camp BBC sci-fi TV series, *Dr. Who*, thereby regaining, in the eyes of some, his “gay-friendly” reputation. *Queer as Folk* was, and remains, controversial because it challenged accepted modes of screening homosexuality on television, and because Davies rejects the “gay writer” tag. Produced by Channel 4 TV in the United Kingdom, the program expressed the channel’s remit to screen challenging material, even though it was scheduled at a cautious 10:30 P.M. time slot.

The program’s title plays on the northern English aphorism that “there’s nowt [nothing] as queer as folk,” innocently meaning that there is no accounting for the behavioral surprises that people will spring on you. But it also suggests a politicized use of the word: the provocatively postgay slogan “Queer as Fuck” associated with radical activist groups that emerged in the late 1980s. “Queer” activists sought to reappropriate the abusive term *queer* for subversive uses: to counter prejudices against HIV, and to protest against the culture of arcane legislative iniquities in Britain (namely, but not solely, Section 28, which prohibits local authorities from the “promotion of homosexuality” and forbids presenting homosexuality in government-funded schools as an acceptable or appropriate aspect of family life). But more significantly, “queer politics” tried to forge a sexual politics beyond the simple binary of gay/straight, and to disrupt the liberal progressive identity politics associated with gay reform groups Stonewall or GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation). Davies wrote *Queer as*

*Folk* as a counter to most mainstream TV portrayals of homosexual characters as incidental or associated with misery or villains. All the main characters in *Queer as Folk* are gay, but instead of attempting to create an imagined gay world that represented a politically correct diversity, Davies focused his setting on Manchester’s Canal Street gay scene. It was filmed on location in a colorful, vibrant style with an upbeat, partying theme and club music sound track.

The three main characters were hardly all likable. They had faults and behaved foolishly, selfishly, or naively. The most striking, Stuart (Aiden Gillen), a late-20s advertising executive, is a pill-popping sexually voracious “scene queen”; for most of the series, he is not “out” to his family. Vince (Craig Kelly), his long-suffering best friend and secret admirer, is the manager of a supermarket. Finally, Nathan (Charlie Hunnam), a 15-year-old boy, is seduced on his first time out in Canal Street by the predatory Stuart and proceeds to fall in love with him. The sequel, *Queer as Folk 2*, ended by whisking the boys off in their jeep in a magical, surrealistic finale, the audiovisual excess of which broke any links that the series had tentatively kept with the long tradition of British TV social realism.

The strength of *Queer as Folk* was that it created an entirely credible world for the characters, with their priorities and emotional landscape brilliantly captured in the dialogue and the scenarios depicted. Life in this gay scene was exhilarating, highly pleasurable, and marked by excessive alcohol consumption and drug-fueled sex. It was also misogynistic, exploitative, and deeply materialistic. It unashamedly showed the intimate lives of a few affluent gay men in the 1990s enjoying a consumer-led hedonism that captured the spirit of “scene gays,” and also of many young heterosexual adults living in Britain.

The worth of the series is signified both by its initial disruptive impact, its enduring “after-life” qualities, and its commercial abilities to travel well across the world. Banned from Australian public TV, it spawned the U.S. adaptation, another series, called *Metrosexuality* (Channel 4, 2001), that featured black gay characters, DVD and music collections, and academic writing and conferences devoted to it. *Queer as Folk* has become a media phenomenon, sustaining itself as a

product of the consumerism that it represented on-screen. The program was critically divisive within a majority, heterosexual society, some hating it, some loving it. Interestingly, it divided gay people and their community representatives in Britain.

Press releases, media commentary, and trailers ensured that viewers expected taboos to be broken: over 4 million of them were not disappointed. The opening ten minutes of the first episode showed 15-year-old Nathan (under the legal age for sex) and Stuart engaged in graphically depicted oral-anal and anal sex. This set a record number of complaints to the ITC, independent television's regulatory body. These official complaints were not upheld, but the ITC did disapprove of the program's "celebratory tone" and castigated it for its lack of a moral framework or posttransmission advice about safer sex. Angela Mason of Stonewall, the gay reform group, condemned the program and distanced her organization from the series because it propagated the idea that gay people were sexually promiscuous; Stonewall believed that the program would damage its campaign to lobby the new Labour government (1997) to push its equality and decriminalization laws through Parliament. The program's sponsor (Beck's beer) withdrew its support.

The U.S. version is a polished, well-acted, and credible transatlantic version that has worked very successfully for its own constituency, although its wider social impact is restricted since Showtime is a pay-to-view channel. Post-*Ellen*, it provides a much-needed antidote to the wisecracking but anodyne and inoffensive U.S. sitcom *Will & Grace*.

LANCE PETTITT

See also *Ellen*; *Sexual Orientation and Television*

### Program Notes

#### U.K. version

##### Cast

Stuart Alan Jones	Aidan Gillen
Nathan Maloney	Charlie Hunnam
Vince Tyler	Craig Kelly

##### Writer

Russell T. Davies

##### Executive Producer

Nicola Shindler

### Programming History

Channel 4

8 episodes

February–April 1999 Tuesday 10:30

### Queer as Folk 2: Same Men. New Tricks.

2-part special:

February 15, 2000–February 22, 2000

### U.S. version

#### Cast

Brian Kinney	Gale Harold
Michael Novotny	Hal Sparks
Justin Taylor	Randy Harrison
Emmett Honeycutt	Peter Paige
Ted Schmidt	Scott Lowell
Melanie Marcus	Michelle Clunie
Lindsay Peterson	Thea Gill

### Developers for U.S. Version

Ron Cowen, Daniel Lipman

### Executive Producers

Ron Cowen, Tony Jonas, Daniel Lipman

### Programming History

Showtime

49 episodes (as of winter 2003)

Season 1: December 3, 2000–June 24, 2001

Sunday 10:00

Season 2: January 6, 2002–June 16, 2002

Season 3: March 2, 2003–June 22, 2003

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# Queer Eye for the Straight Guy.

See **Bravo; Sexual Orientation and Television**

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## Quentin Durgens, M.P.

Canadian Drama Series

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One of the first hour-long Canadian drama series produced by the CBC, *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, began as six half-hour episodes entitled *Mr. Member of Parliament* in the summer of 1965 as part of *The Serial*, a common vehicle for Canadian dramas. The program starred a young Gordon Pinsent as a naive rookie member of Parliament who arrives in Ottawa and quickly learns that the realities behind public service can be alternately humorous, overwhelming, and frustrating.

Consciously designed to be an absolutely distinctive Canadian drama series, *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, contrasted the private struggles and controversies faced by politicians with the more sedate, pompous image presented by Parliament. Many of its plots were inspired by real-life issues and situations. Pornography, violence in minor-league hockey, gender discrimination, and questions of religious tolerance were topics addressed among its episodes. In all of them, however, the inner workings of power, with its backroom deals and interpersonal struggles, remained the backbone of the series.

The regular series of *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, began in December 1966 as a winter season replacement. It followed the popular series *Wojeck* in a Tuesday 9:00 P.M. time slot, and, like *Wojeck*, *Quentin Durgens* was hailed as an example of Canadian television, distinct and set apart from Hollywood drama. The show still carried its imprint as a serial with open narratives, unresolved psychological conflicts, and the freedom to construct stories around topical issues. Frequent allusions to actual social events and a great deal of subtext were interwoven in plots that juxtaposed rational and

emotional behavior. The result made for what its director and producer David Gardner called an "ironic drama." Documentary techniques grounded in the tradition of the National Film Board of Canada also added to the "behind-the-scene" feel of the series and reflected, according to Canadian television critic Morris Wolfe, a Canadian tradition of "telling it like it is." Despite these claims, other Canadian television critics and historians such as Paul Rutherford have questioned the uniqueness of these "made-in-Canada" dramas, arguing instead that many of the characteristics attributed to Canadian drama series such as *Wojeck*, *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, and *Cariboo Country* were already to be found in some U.S. and, especially, British dramas.

Although *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, was part of a formidable lineup, it was never popular with Canadian viewers. With fewer funds and resources than *Wojeck*, the show had to be videotaped (on location and in the studio) for its initial two seasons. The flattened, taped images and sometimes awkward edits detracted from the documentary feel. Nor were its scripts consistently strong. Despite the increased support in its third season (after the end of *Wojeck*), when all 17 episodes were filmed and in color, *Quentin Durgens* failed to hold the large audiences *Wojeck* had won for the evening. Canadian viewers, it seemed, did not share the CBC's and producers' interest in developing a distinctive Canadian perspective. Parliamentary intrigues were not fascinating enough to attract a large following, and *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, simply lacked the excitement of cop shows.

MANON LAMONTAGNE



*Quentin Durgens, M.P.*  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

**Cast**

Quentin Durgens, M.P.	Gordon Pinsent
His Secretary	Suzanne Levesque
Other Members of Parliament	Ovila Legere, Franz Russell, Chris Wiggins

**Producers**

David Gardner, Ron Weyman, John Trent, Kirk Jones

**Programming History**

41 episodes (including 6 as *Mr. Member of Parliament* on *The Serial*, summer 1965)

December 1966–January 1967	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
February 1967–April 1967	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
September 1968–January 1969	Tuesday 9:00–10:00

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## Quiz and Game Shows

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Prior to the quiz show scandals in 1958, no differentiation existed between quiz shows and game shows. Programs that relied mainly on physical activity and had no significant quiz element to them, such as *Truth or Consequences* or *People Are Funny*, were called “quiz shows,” as was an offering like *The \$64,000 Question*, which emphasized factual knowledge. The scandals mark an important turning point because in the years following, programs formerly known as “quiz shows” were renamed “game shows.” This change coincided with a shift in content, away from high culture and factual knowledge common to the big-money shows of the 1950s. However, the renaming of the genre also represents an attempt to distance the programs from the extremely negative connotations of the scandals, which had undermined the legitimacy of the high-cultural values that quiz shows (the term and the genre) embodied. Thus, the new name, “game shows,” removed the genre from certain cultural assumptions and instead creates associations with the less-sensitive concepts of play and leisure. Nevertheless, the historical and material causes for this renaming still fail to provide a sufficient basis for a definition of this genre as a whole.

In *Television Culture*, John Fiske suggests more satisfactory definitions and categories with which to distinguish among different types of shows. One of the main appeals of quiz shows is that they deal with issues such as competition, success, and knowledge—central concerns for American culture. It makes sense, then, to follow Fiske in defining this genre according to its relation to knowledge. He begins by suggesting a basic split between “factual” knowledge and “human” knowledge. Factual knowledge can be further divided into “academic” knowledge and “everyday” knowledge. Human knowledge consists of knowledge of “people in general” and of specific “individuals.” While Fiske does not clearly distinguish between the terms *game show* and *quiz show*, his categories reflect a significant difference in program type. All shows that deal with competitions between individuals or groups, and based primarily on the display of factual knowledge, may be considered quiz shows. Shows dealing with human knowledge (knowledge of people or of individuals), or that are based primarily on gambling or on physical performances, fall in the category of game shows. Thus, *The Gong Show* or *Double Dare* are not

considered quiz shows, since they rely primarily or completely on physical talents, whereas *Family Feud* and *The Newlywed Game*, which rely entirely on knowledge of people or of individuals, would also be considered game shows. *Jeopardy!*, however, with its focus on academic, factual knowledge, is clearly a quiz show.

Many early television quiz shows of the 1940s were transferred or adapted from radio, the most prominent among them being *Information Please*, *Winner Take All*, and *Quiz Kids*. These shows also provided a professional entry point for influential quiz show producers such as Louis Cowan, Mark Goodson, and Jack Barry. Although a number of early radio and television quiz shows were produced locally and later picked up by networks, this trend ended in the early 1950s, when increasing production values and budgets led to the centralization of the production of quiz shows under the control of networks and sponsors. Nevertheless, the relatively low production costs, simple sets, small casts, and highly formalized production techniques have continually made quiz shows an extremely attractive television genre. Quiz shows are more profitable and faster to produce than virtually any other form of entertainment television.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, most quiz shows were extremely simple in visual design and the structure of the games. Sets often consisted of painted flats and a desk for an expert panel and a host. The games themselves usually involved a simple question-and-answer format that displayed the expertise of the panel members. An important characteristic of early quiz shows was their foregrounding of the expert knowledge of official authorities. A standard format (used, e.g., on *Americana* or *Information Please*) relied on home viewers to submit questions to the expert panel. Viewers were rewarded with small prizes (money or consumer goods) for each question used, and with larger prizes if the panel failed to answer their question. Some programs relied on the audience to send in questions and challenge the intellectual authority of the expert panel. *Information Please*, for example, played with the appeal of reversing educational hierarchies and challenged its viewers to “stump the experts.” While the expert-panel format dominated the 1940s, it was slowly replaced by audience-centered quizzes in the early 1950s. In this period, “everyday

people" from the studio audience became the subjects of the show. The host of the show, however, remained the center of attention and served as a main attraction for the program (e.g., Bert Parks and Bud Collyer in *Break the Bank* and James McClain in *Doctor I.Q.*).

At this point, the visual style of the shows was still fairly simple, often re-creating a simple theatrical proscenium or using an actual theater stage. The Mark Goodson-Bill Todman production *Winner Take All* was an interesting exception. Although it also used charismatic hosts, it introduced the concept of a returning contestant who faced a new challenger for every round. Thus, the attention was moved away from panels and hosts and toward the contestants in the quiz.

A 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling created the impetus for the development of a new type of program when it removed "jackpot" quizzes from the category of gambling and made it possible to use this form of entertainment on television. At CBS, producer Cowan, in cooperation with Revlon Cosmetics as sponsor, developed the idea for a new "jackpot" quiz show based on the radio program *Take It or Leave It*. The result—*The \$64,000 Question*—raised prize money to a spectacular new level and also changed the visual style and format of quiz shows significantly. *The \$64,000 Question*, its spin-off *The \$64,000 Challenge*, and other imitations following between 1955 and 1958 (e.g., *Twenty-One*, *The Big Surprise*) all focused on high-culture and factual, often academic, knowledge. These programs were part of television's attempts in the 1950s to gain respectability and, simultaneously, a wider audience. They introduced a much more elaborate set design and visual style and generally created a serious and ceremonious atmosphere. *The \$64,000 Question* introduced an IBM sorting machine, bank guards, an isolation booth, and neon signs, while other shows built on the same ingredients to create similar effects. In an effort to keep big-money quiz shows attractive, the prize money was constantly increased and, indeed, on a number of shows, became unlimited. *Twenty-One* and *The \$64,000 Challenge* also created tense competitions between contestants, so that audience identification with one contestant could be even greater. Consequently, the most successful contestants became celebrities in their own right, perhaps the most prominent among them being Dr. Joyce Brothers and Charles Van Doren.

However, this reliance on popular returning contestants, on celebrities in contest, also created a motivation for program makers to manipulate the outcome of the quizzes. Quiz show sponsors in particular recognized that some contestants were more popular than others, a fact that could be used to increase audience size. These sponsors required or advocated the rigging

of the programs to create a desired audience identification with these popular contestants.

When these practices were discovered and made public, the ensuing scandals undermined the popular appeal of big-money shows and, together with lower ratings, led to the cancellation of all of these programs in 1958–59. Entertainment Productions Inc. (EPI), a production company founded by Cowan, was particularly involved in and affected by the scandals. EPI had produced a majority of the big-money shows and was also most actively involved in the riggings. Following the scandals, the networks used the involvement of sponsors in the rigging practices as an argument for the complete elimination of sponsor-controlled programming in prime-time television.

Still, not all quiz shows of the late 1950s were canceled due to the scandals. A number of programs that did not rely on the huge prizes (e.g., *The Price Is Right*, *Name That Tune*) remained on the air and provided an example for later shows. Even these programs, however, were usually removed from prime time, their stakes significantly reduced, and the required knowledge made less demanding. In the early 1960s, very few new quiz shows were introduced, and most were game shows focusing less on high culture and more on gambling and physical games. Overall, the postscandal era was marked by a move away from expert knowledge to contestants with everyday knowledge. *College Bowl* and *Alumni Fun* still focused on "academic" knowledge without reviving the spectacular qualities of 1950s quiz shows, but *Jeopardy!*, introduced by Merv Griffin in 1964, is the only other significant new program developed in the decade following the scandals. It reintroduces "academic" knowledge, a serious atmosphere, elaborate sets, and returning contestants, but offers only moderate prizes. The late 1960s were marked by even more cancellations (CBS canceled all of its shows in 1967) and by increasing attempts of producers to find alternative distribution outlets for their products outside the network system. Their hopes were realized through the growth in first-run syndication.

In 1970 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) introduced two new regulations, the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules (Fin-Syn) and the Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR), that had a considerable effect on quiz/game show producers and on the television industry in general. Fin-Syn limited network ownership of television programs beyond their network run and increased the control of independent producers over their shows. The producers' financial situation and their creative control were significantly improved. Additionally, PTAR gave control of the 7:00 to 7:30 P.M. time slot to local stations. The intention of



this change was to create locally based programming, but the time period was usually filled with syndicated programs, primarily inexpensive quiz shows and tabloid-news offerings. The overall situation of quiz/game show producers was substantially improved by the FCC rulings.

As a result, a number of new quiz shows began to appear in the mid-1970s. They were, of course, all in color and relied on extremely bright and flashy sets, strong primary colors, and a multitude of aural and visual elements. In addition to this transformation to the traditionally solemn atmosphere of quiz shows, the programs were thoroughly altered in terms of content. Many of the 1970s quiz shows introduced an element of gambling to their contests (e.g., *The Joker's Wild*, *The Big Showdown*) and moved them further from a clear "academic" and serious knowledge toward an everyday, ordinary knowledge. A number of shows, such as *Card Sharks* and *Family Feud*, not only emphasize the everyday character of their contestants but also ask players to guess the most popular responses to questions asked in small polls. Contestants are thus rewarded for understanding or representing "average" people.

Blatant consumerism began to play an important role in quiz shows such as *The Price Is Right* and *Sale of the Century*, as the distinctions between quiz and game shows became increasingly blurred in this period. As Graham points out in *Come on Down!!!*, quiz shows had to change in the 1970s, adapting to a new cultural environment that included flourishing pop culture and countercultures. On *The Price Is Right*, Goodson answered this challenge by creating a noisy, carnival atmosphere that challenged cultural norms and assumptions represented in previous generations of quiz shows.

The same type of show remained prevalent in the 1980s, although most examples now appeared primarily in syndication and, to a lesser extent, on cable channels. Both *Wheel of Fortune* and a new version of *Jeopardy!* were extremely successful as syndicated shows in the prime-time-access slot (7:00–8:00 P.M.) and remain popular in that time period even though the PTAR was rescinded in 1996.

In what may become a trend, Lifetime Television introduced two quiz shows combining everyday knowledge (of consumer products) with physical contests (shopping—and spending—as swiftly as possible). These shows, *Supermarket Sweep* and *Shop 'Til You Drop*, also challenge assumptions about cultural norms and the value of everyday knowledge. In particular they focus on "women's knowledge" and thus effectively address the predominantly female audience of this cable channel. In September 2000 these two

highly consumerist programs moved to the PAX network, where they exemplify family-friendly programming that, according to PAX's mission, features strong values and positive role models. This shows the status of many quiz shows as wholesome entertainment and the ability of the genre to adapt to a wide variety of programming demands. One area of growth for quiz shows in the era of cable television, then, seems to be the creation of this type of "signature show," which appeals to the relatively narrowly defined target audience of specific cable channels.

The unexpected success of ABC's *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* in the summer of 1999 gave quiz shows a new presence on prime-time television and focused a significant degree of public attention on the genre. Adapted from a British program of the same name, *Millionaire* incorporated both traditional, educational knowledge and trivia and often emphasized the presumed mental prowess of its winners. Additionally, it provided several devices for contestants to receive assistance from the home or studio audience, thus creating a link between program and viewers that tended to encourage increased viewer identification. Several other prime-time game shows premiered in the following fall and spring season, including *Greed* on FOX and a new version of *Twenty-One* on NBC, both of which lasted less than a season. Although faced with a number of competing programs, *Millionaire* was the most successful of the quiz shows premiered from 1999 on. For a time, it dominated the ABC schedule, with episodes airing several nights a week and consistently ranking among the top-10 rated programs. However, perhaps because of overexposure, its rating plummeted in the 2001–02 season, and *Millionaire* was not renewed as a regular series for the 2002–03 season (though occasional specials were anticipated). The *Millionaire* concept continues to thrive in adaptations shown around the world. In 2004 Regis Philbin introduced "Who Wants to Be a Super Millionaire" on ABC.

Following the wave of new shows initiated by *Millionaire*, the premiere on CBS of *Survivor* in May 2000 introduced to the United States a new type of hybrid programs, often termed "reality shows," which quickly started to gain popularity. *Survivor*, *Big Brother*, *Fear Factor*, *Boot Camp*, *Lost*, and *The Amazing Race* all have structured their competition like an extended game show. Contestants have to perform a variety of physically and, less frequently, mentally challenging tasks; earn different types of rewards; and get eliminated one by one until the winner of the game is identified. What has changed from traditional game shows is mainly the use of a manipulated exterior or nonstudio ("real") space in which much of the ex-

tended competition takes place. Following the example of *Millionaire*, the level of prize money on these shows is extremely high, often ranging from \$500,000 to \$1 million. While the hybridization of game shows into reality shows has generated a significant amount of new programming, these shows also stand out for their excessive abuse of contestants and their inconsiderate use of the countries and landscapes in which they are set. One of the striking characteristics of many reality game shows is that they entice their contestants to do literally anything to win. On several shows, contestants ate insects, rotten food, or animal innards; were exposed to starvation and injury; and displayed various forms of antisocial behavior to stay ahead in the game. It seems that more than ever, game shows tend to legitimize greed and ruthless competitive behavior as the genre develops in new directions.

OLAF HOERSCHELMANN

See also Goodson, Mark, and Bill Todman; Griffin, Merv; Grundy, Reg; *I've Got A Secret*; Moore,

Garry; *Quiz Show Scandals*; *Sale of the Century*; *\$64,000 Question*, *The/The \$64,000 Challenge*

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## Quiz Show Scandals

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No programming format mesmerized television viewers of the 1950s with more hypnotic intensity than the "big-money" quiz show, one of the most popular and ill-fated genres in U.S. television history. In the 1940s a popular radio program had awarded top prize money of \$64. The new medium raised the stakes a thousandfold. From its premiere on CBS on June 7, 1955, *The \$64,000 Question* was an immediate sensation, racking up some of the highest ratings in television history up to that time. Its success spawned a spin-off, *The \$64,000 Challenge*, and a litter of like-minded shows: *The Big Surprise*, *Dotto*, *Tic Tac Dough*, and *Twenty-One*. When the Q-and-A sessions were exposed as elaborate frauds, columnist Art Buchwald captured the national sense of betrayal with a glib name for the producers and contestants who conspired to bamboozle a trusting audience: the Quizlings.

Broadcast live and in prime time, the big-money quiz show presented itself as a high-pressure test of knowledge under the heat of klieg lights and the scrutiny of 55 million participant-observers. Set design, lighting, and pure hokum enhanced the atmosphere of suspense. Contestants were put in glass isolation booths, with the air conditioning turned off to

make them sweat. Tight close-ups framed faces against darkened backgrounds, and spotlights illuminated contestants in a ghostly aura. Armed police guarded "secret" envelopes and impressive-looking contraptions spat out precooked questions on IBM cards. The big winners—such as Columbia University student Elfrida Von Nardroff, who earned \$226,500 on *Twenty-One*, or warehouse clerk Teddy Nadler, who earned \$252,000 on *The \$64,000 Challenge*—took home a fortune.

By the standards of the game shows of a later epoch, the intellectual content of the 1950s quiz shows was erudite. Almost all the questions involved some demonstration of cerebral aptitude: retrieving lines of poetry; identifying dates from history; or reeling off scientific classifications, the stuff of memorization and canonical culture. Since victors returned to the show until they lost, risking accumulated winnings on future stakes, individual contestants might develop a devoted following over a period of weeks. Matching an incongruous area of expertise to the right personality was a favorite hook, as in the cases of Richard McCutchen, the rugged marine captain who was an expert on French cooking, or Dr. Joyce Brothers (not then an

icon of pop psychology), whose encyclopedic knowledge of boxing won her \$132,000.

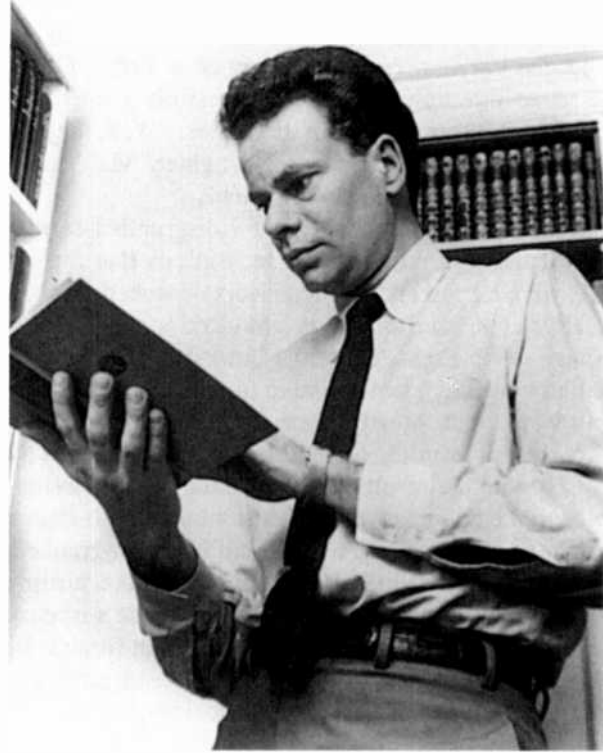
If the quiz shows made celebrities out of ordinary folk, they also sought to engage the services of celebrities. Orson Welles claimed to have been approached by a quiz show producer looking for a “genius type” and guaranteeing him \$150,000 and a seven-week engagement. Welles refused, but bandleader Xavier Cugat won \$16,000 as an expert on Tin Pan Alley songs in a rigged match against actress Lillian Roth on *The \$64,000 Challenge*. “I considered I was giving a performance,” he later explained guilelessly. Twelve-year-old Patty Duke won \$32,000 against child actor Eddie Hodges, then the juvenile lead in *The Music Man* on Broadway. Teamed with a personable marine flyer named John Glenn, Hodges had earlier won the \$25,000 grand prize on *Name That Tune*.

Far and away the most notorious Quizling was Charles Van Doren, a contestant on NBC’s *Twenty-One*, a quiz show based on the game of blackjack. Scion of the prestigious literary family and a lecturer in English at Columbia University, Van Doren was an authentic pop phenomenon, whose video charisma earned him \$129,000 in prize money, the cover of *Time* magazine, and a permanent spot on NBC’s *Today*, where he discussed non-Euclidean geometry and recited 17th-century poetry.

From the moment Van Doren walked onto the set of *Twenty-One*, on November 28, 1956, for his first face-off against a high-IQ eccentric named Herbert Stempel, he proved himself a telegenic natural. In the isolation booth, Van Doren managed to engage the spectators’ sympathy by sharing his mental concentration. Apparently muttering unself-consciously to himself, he let viewers see him think: eyes alert, hand on chin, then a sudden bolt (“Oh, I know!”), after which he delivered the answer. Asked to name the volumes of Winston Churchill’s wartime memoirs, he muttered, “I’ve seen the ad for those books a thousand times!” Asked to come up with a biblical reference, he said self-deprecatingly, “My father would know that.” Van Doren’s was a remarkable and seductive performance.

*Twenty-One*’s convoluted rules decreed that, in the event of a tie, the money wagered for points doubled, from \$500 a point to \$1,000 (and so on). Thus, contestants needed to be coached not only on answers and acting but on the amount of points they selected in the gamble. A tie meant double financial stakes for each successive game with a consequent ratcheting up of the tension. By pregame arrangement, the first Van Doren–Stempel face-off ended with three ties; hence, the next week’s game would be played for \$2,000 a point, and publicized accordingly.

On Wednesday, December 5, 1956, at 10:30 P.M., an



Charles Van Doren.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

estimated 50 million Americans tuned in to *Twenty-One* for what host and coproducer Jack Barry called “the biggest game ever played in the program.” The first category was boxing, and Van Doren fared poorly. Ahead 16 points to Van Doren’s 0, Stempel was given the chance to stop the game. Supposedly, only the audience knew he was in the lead and, if he stopped the game, Van Doren would lose. At this point, on live television, Stempel could have reneged on the deal, vanquished his opponent, and won an extra \$32,000. But he opted to play by the script and continue the match. The next category, movies, proved more Van Doren-friendly. Asked to name Brando’s female costar in *On the Waterfront*, Van Doren teased briefly (“she was that lovely frail girl”) before coming up with the correct answer (Eva Marie Saint). Stempel again had the chance to ad-lib his own lines, but he did not. Asked to name the 1955 Oscar Winner for Best Picture, he hesitated and answered *On the Waterfront*. The correct answer was *Marty*.

But another tie meant another round at \$2,500 a point. The next round of questions was crucial. Van Doren was asked to give the names and the fates of the third, fourth, and fifth wives of Henry VIII. As Barry

led him through the litany, Van Doren took the audience with him every step of the way. ("I don't think he beheaded her.... Yes, what happened to her?") Given the same question, Stempel successfully named the wives, and Barry asked him their fates. "Well, they all died," he cracked to gales of laughter. Van Doren stopped the game and won the round.

In August and September 1958 disgruntled former contestants went public with accusations that the results were rigged and the contestants coached. First, a standby contestant on *Dotto* produced a page from a winner's crib sheet. Then, the bitter Herbert Stempel told how he had taken a dive in his climatic encounter with Van Doren. An artist named James Snodgrass had taken the precaution of mailing registered letters to himself with the results of his appearances on *Twenty-One* predicted in advance. Most of the high-drama matchups, it turned out, were carefully choreographed. Contestants were drilled in Q-and-A before airtime and coached in the pantomime of nail-biting suspense (stroke chin, furrow brow, wipe sweat from forehead).

By October 1958, as a New York grand jury convened by prosecutor Joseph Stone investigated the charges and heard closed-door testimony, quiz show ratings had plummeted. For their part, the networks played damage control, denying knowledge of rigging, canceling the suspect shows, and tossing the producers overboard. Yet it was hard to credit the innocence of executives at NBC and CBS. A public relations flack for *Twenty-One* best described the implied contract: "It was sort of a situation where a husband suspects his wife but doesn't want to know because he loves her."

Despite the revelations and the grand jury investigation, the quiz show producers, Van Doren, and the other big-money winners steadfastly maintained their innocence. Solid citizens all, they feared the loss of professional standing and the loyalty of friends and family as much as the retribution of the district attorney's office. Nearly 100 people committed perjury rather than own up to activities that, though embarrassing, were not illegal. Prosecutor Stone lamented that "nothing in my experience prepared me for the mass perjury that took place on the part of scores of well-educated people who had no trouble understanding what was at stake."

When the judge presiding over the New York investigations ordered the grand jury report sealed, Washington smelled a cover-up and a political opportunity. Through October and November 1959 the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, chaired by Oren

Harris (Democrat, Arkansas), held standing-room-only hearings into the quiz show scandals. A renewed wave of publicity recorded the testimony of the now-repentant network bigwigs and star contestants whose minds, apparently, were concentrated powerfully by federal intervention. At one point, committee staffers came upon possible communist associations in the background of a few witnesses.

Meanwhile, as newspaper headlines screamed "Where's Charlie?," the star witness everyone wanted to hear from was motoring desperately through the back roads of New England, ducking a congressional subpoena. Finally, on November 2, 1959, with tension mounting in anticipation of Van Doren's appearance to answer questions (the irony was lost on no one), the chastened former English professor confessed. "I was involved, deeply involved, in a deception," he told the Harris Committee. "The fact that I too was very much deceived cannot keep me from being the principal victim of that deception, because I was its principal symbol." In another irony, Washington's made-for-TV spectacle never made it to the airwaves due to the opposition of House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who felt that the presence of television cameras would undermine the dignity of Congress.

The firestorm that resulted, claimed *Variety*, "injured broadcasting more than anything ever before in the public eye." Even the sainted Edward R. Murrow was sullied when it was revealed that his celebrity interview show, CBS's *Person to Person*, provided guests with questions in advance. Perhaps most significantly in terms of the future shape of commercial television, the quiz show scandals made the networks forever leery of "single sponsorship" programming. Henceforth, they parceled out advertising time in 15-, 30-, or 60-second increments, wrenching control away from single sponsors and advertising agencies.

THOMAS DOHERTY

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## Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

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Until the late 1980s, whiteness was consistently naturalized in U.S. television—social whiteness, that is, not the “pinko-grayishness” that British novelist E.M. Forster identified as the “standard” skin hue of Europeans. This whiteness has not been culturally monochrome. Irish, Italian, Jewish, Polish, British, French, German, and Russian people, whether as ethnic entities or national representatives, have dotted the landscape of TV drama, providing the safe spice of white life, entertaining trills and flourishes over the *basso ostinato* of social whiteness.

In other words, to pivot the debate on race and television purely on whether and how people of color have figured, on or behind the screen or in the audience, is already to miss the point. What was consistently projected, without public fanfare, but in teeming myriads of programs, news priorities, sportscasts, movies, and ads, was the naturalness and normalcy of social whiteness. Television visually accumulated the heritage of representation in mainstream U.S. science, religion, education, theater, art, literature, cinema, radio, and the press. According to television representation, the United States was a white nation, with some marginal “ethnic” accretions that were at their best when they could simply be ignored, like well-trained and deferential maids and doormen. This was even beyond being thought a good thing. It was axiomatic, and self-evident.

Thus, American television in its first two genera-

tions inherited and diffused, on an hourly and daily basis, a mythology of whiteness that framed and sustained a racist national self-understanding. U.S. television was not alone in this respect. Nations as different as Australia, Brazil, Britain, France, and Mexico shared in common a television representation of people of color that rather systematically excluded them or was content to stereotype them, and a set of news values that privileged whiteness as normal. Joel Zito Araújo has provided an absorbing account of the painful struggle to represent Afro-Brazilians (50 percent of the population) in Brazil’s hugely popular *telenovelas*. Nonetheless, none of these television systems had anything like the global reach of American TV. The implications of American TV for helping cement racially prejudicial attitudes elsewhere in the world, for normalizing certain levels of white racism, would make a fitting topic for international communication research.

There is a second issue in American television, which has become increasingly significant at the beginning of the 21st century. Insofar as the televisual hegemony of social whiteness has been critiqued, either on television itself, or on video, or in print, it has most often tended to focus on African-American issues. Yet, in reviewing racism and ethnicity in U.S. television, we need not downplay four centuries of African-American experience and contribution in order to recognize as well the importance of Native American nations, Lati-

nos, and Asian Americans in all their variety. Thus, in this essay, attention will be paid, so far as research permits, to each one of these four groupings, although there will not be space to treat the important subgroupings (Haitians, Vietnamese, etc.) within each. The discussion will commence with representation, mainstream and alternative, and then move on to employment patterns in the TV industry, broadcast and cable. The conclusion will introduce the so far underresearched question of racism, ethnicity, and TV audiences. Before doing so, however, a more exact definition is needed of racism in the U.S. context.

First, racism is expressed along a connected spectrum, from the casual patronizing remark to the sadism of the prison guard, from avoidance of skin contact to the starving of public education in inner cities and reservations, or to death rates among infants of color higher than in some Third World countries. Racism does not have to take the form of lynching, extermination camps, or slavery to be systemic and virulent—yet simultaneously dismissed as of minor importance or even as irrelevant by the white majority.

Second, racism may stereotype groups differently. Class is often pivotal here. Claimed success among Asian Americans and Jews is attacked just as is the alleged inability to make good among Latinos and African Americans. Multiple Native American nations with greatly differing languages and cultures are lumped together in a generic “Indian” category. Gender plays a role too: white stomachs will contract at supposedly truculent and violence-prone men of color, but ethnic minority women get attributed with pliancy—even, for white males, to presuming their special eagerness for sexual dalliance.

Third, racism in the United States is binary. People of mixed descent are not permitted to confuse the issue but belong automatically to a minority group of color; witness the public debate around the appropriateness of a “multiple” category for racial/ethnic self-identification in the 2000 census. Ethnic minority individuals whose personal cultural style may be read as emblematic of the ethnic majority’s are quite often responded to as traitors, and thus they are either warmly regarded as the “good exception” by the white majority or derisively labeled as “self-hating” by the minority.

Lastly, as Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki have argued, racist belief has changed to being more supple, and “modern” racism has shed its biological absolutism. In the “modern” version, the civil rights movement won, racial hatred is past, and talented individuals now make it. Therefore, continuing ethnic minority poverty is solely the minority’s overall cultural/attitudinal fault.

## Mainstream Representation

In discussing mainstream representation, it is vital to note three issues. One is the importance of historical shifts in the representation of these issues, especially since the mid-1980s, but also at certain critical junctures before then. The second is the importance of taking into account the entire spectrum of what television provides, including ads (perhaps 20 percent of U.S. TV content), weathercasting, sitcoms, documentaries, sports, MTV, non-English-language programming, religious channels, old films, breaking news, reality programs, and talk shows. Too many studies have zeroed in on one or another format and then taken it as representative of the whole. Here we will try to engage with the spectrum, although space and available research will put most of the focus on whites and blacks in mainstream television news and entertainment. The third is the strong concentration of African Americans in comedy and crime scenarios. Quality of representation is as important as quantity.

Historically, as J. Fred MacDonald has shown, U.S. television perpetuated patterns established in U.S. cinema, radio, theater, and other forms of public communication and announced people of color overwhelmingly by their absence. It was not that these people were malevolently stereotyped or denounced. They simply did not appear to exist. If they surfaced, it was almost always as wraiths, silent black butlers smiling deferentially, Latino field hands laboring sweatily, or Indian braves whooping wildly against the march of history. Speaking parts were rare, heavily circumscribed, and typically an abusive distortion of actual modes of speech. But the essence of the problem was virtual nonexistence.

Thus, the TV industry collaborated to a marked degree with the segregation that has marked the U.S. nation, once legally and residentially, now residentially. Programs and advertisements that might have inflamed white opinion in the South were strenuously avoided, partly in accurate recognition of the militancy of some opinions that might lead to boycotts of advertisers, but partly yielding simply to inertia in defining that potential as a fact of life beyond useful reflection.

The programs shunned were rarely in the slightest degree confrontational, or even suggestive of interracial romance. The classic case was *The Nat “King” Cole Show*, which premiered on NBC in November 1956, and which was eventually taken off for good in December of the following year. A *Who’s Who* of distinguished black as well as white artists and performers virtually gave their services to the show, and NBC strove to keep it alive. But the program could not find a national sponsor, at one point having to rely on no less

than 30 sponsors in order to be seen nationwide. Cole himself explicitly blamed the advertising agencies' readiness to be intimidated by the White Citizens Councils, the spearhead of resistance to desegregation in southern states.

This was not the only occasion that African Americans were seen on the TV screen in that era. A number of shows, notably *The Ed Sullivan Show*, made a point of inviting black performers on to the screen. Yet entertainment was only one thin slice of the spectrum. Articulate black individuals, such as Paul Robeson, with a clear critique of the racialization of the United States, were systematically excluded from expressing their opinions on air (in his case, on the pretext he was a communist).

This generalized absence, and univocal whiteness, was first punctured by TV news coverage of the savage handling of civil rights demonstrators in the latter 1950s and early 1960s. Images of police dogs, fire hoses, and billy clubs being unleashed against unarmed black demonstrators in Montgomery, Alabama, and white parents—with their children standing by their side—spewing obscenities and hurling rocks at Martin Luther King, Jr.'s march through Cicero, Illinois, may still have portrayed African Americans as largely voiceless victims, but the coverage was nonetheless able to communicate the activists' dignity under fire, whereas their white persecutors communicated their own monstrous inhumanity. The same story repeated itself in the school desegregation riots in New Orleans in 1964 and Boston in 1974.

U.S. television since then has made sporadic attempts to address these particular white-black issues, with such shows as *Roots*, *The Cosby Show*, and *Eyes on the Prize*, and through a proliferation of black newscasters at the local level, but all the while cleaving steadfastly to three traditions. First, there is the continuing virtual invisibility of Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Indeed, some studies indicate that for decades Latinos have hovered around 1 to 2 percent of characters in TV drama, very substantially less than their percentage of the population. Darrell Hamamoto similarly charges that, "By and large, TV Asians are inserted in programs chiefly as semantic markers that reflect upon and reveal telling aspects of the Euro-American characters." Second, the tradition of color-segregating entertainment has changed but little. Even though black shows began to multiply considerably from the latter 1980s, casts have generally been white or black (and never Latino, Native, or Asian). Third, the few minority roles in dramatic TV have frequently been of criminals and drug addicts. This pattern has intensively reinforced, and seemingly been reinforced by, the similar racial stereotyping



*In Living Color*, Keenen Ivory Wayans, Damon Wayans, 1990–94.

©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

common in "reality TV" police shows and local TV news programs. The standard alternative role for African Americans has been comic actor (or stand-up comic in comedy shows). Commenting upon the wider cinematic tradition of Latino portrayals, Charles Ramírez-Berg has identified the bandit/greaser, the mixed-race slut, the buffoon (male and female), the Latin lover, and the alluring Dark Lady, as five hackneyed and offensive tropes.

*Roots* (1977) and *Roots: The Next Generations* (1979) confounded the TV industry's prior expectations, with up to 140 million viewers for all or part of the first miniseries, and over 100 million for *The Next Generations*. For the first time on U.S. television, some of the realities of slavery—brutality, rape, enforced deculturation—were confronted over a protracted period, and through individual characters with whom, as they fought to escape or survive, the audience could identify. Against this historic first was the individualistic focus on screenwriter Alex Haley's determined family, presented as "immigrants-times-ten" fighting an exceptionally painful way over its generations toward the American Dream myth of all U.S. immigrants. Against it, too, was the emphasis on the centuries and decades before the 1970s, which the ahistorical vector in U.S. culture easily cushions from application to the often devastating here and now. Nonetheless, it was a signal achievement.

*The Cosby Show* (1984–92) was the next milestone. Defeating industry expectations just as *Roots* had, the

series scored exceptionally high continuing ratings right across the nation. The show attracted a certain volume of hostile comment, some of it smugly supercilious. The fact it was popular with white audiences in the South, and in South Africa, was a favorite quick shot to try to debunk it. Some critics claimed it fed the mirage that racial injustice could be overcome through individual economic advance; others posited that it primarily fostered Reaganite conservative family values. Both of the analyses were indeed easily possible readings of the show within contemporary U.S. culture.

Herman Gray, one of the few critics to acknowledge the role of the show in opening the gate to a large number of black television shows and to new professional experience and openings for many black media artists, is also correct in characterizing *The Cosby Show* as assimilationist. It hardly ever directly raised issues of social equity, except in interpersonal gender relations. Nonetheless, in the context of the nation's and the industry's history, the show could have been exquisitely correct—and never once have hit the screen.

*Eyes on the Prize* (1987; 1990) allows a much more straightforward discussion. A documentary series on the American civil rights movements from 1954 to 1985, it too marked a huge watershed in U.S. television history. Partly, its achievement was to bring together historical footage with movement participants, some very elderly, who could supply living oral history. Partly, too, its achievement was that producer-director Henry Hampton consistently included in the narrative the voices of segregationist foes of the movement, on the ground that the story was theirs, too. This gave the opportunity for self-reflection within the white audience, rather than easy self-distancing.

However, the series was on PBS and thus never drew the kind of audience *Roots* did. In the United States the public appetite for documentaries was also at something of a low toward the end of the century, as opposed to Europe and Russia, where the documentary form was much more popular. *Eyes'* influence would be slower than *Roots* or *Cosby* achieved, though significant through video rentals and college courses. Its primary significance for present purposes is its demonstration of what could be done televisually, but what was never contemplated to be undertaken by the commercial TV companies.

In 1996, PBS screened a similar four-part series, *Chicano!*, by documentarist Héctor Galán on the Chicano social movements in the southwest, a story much less known even than the civil rights movements.

These then were turning points, not in the sense of an instantaneous switch, but in terms of setting a high-water mark that expanded the definition of the possible

in U.S. TV. The other turning point was the proliferation, mostly locally, of black and other ethnic minority group individuals as newscasters. Although newscasters rarely had the clout to write their own bulletin scripts, let alone decide on news priorities for reporting or investigation, they had the cachet of a very public, trusted role. To that extent, this development did carry considerable symbolic prestige for the individuals concerned. As of 2001, the Radio-Television News Directors Association found 10 percent of general managers and 14 percent of TV news directors were people of color. This was a move in the right direction but still left minorities vastly underrepresented in these key authority positions.

Only as time went on and racial news values and priorities remained the same or similar despite the change in faces, did the limits of this development begin to become more apparent. At about the same time, most news bulletins, especially local ones, were deteriorating into "infotainment," with lengthy weather and sports reports incorporated into the half hour. The latter trend continues in the early 2000s. With news audiences highly concentrated in the over-50 age group, programmers expend much effort to make news still more entertaining to younger audiences.

### Alternative Representations

Alternative representation became somewhat more frequent after *The Cosby Show's* success. In part, this change was also due to the steadily declining price of video cameras and editing equipment, to support from federal and state arts commissions, and to developments in cable TV, especially public access, which opened up more scope for independent video makers to develop their own work, some of which could be screened locally and even nationally.

From the mid-1990s, first FOX and then imitators WB and UPN sought to challenge the dominance of the "Big Three" networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) by offering fresh programming, including a series of shows with African-American content. Kristal Brent Zook suggests that while this was a rare and exciting moment in a number of instances, the fundamental impetus was competitive rather than inclusive, and that once the new networks began to establish themselves with advertisers their innovative programming began to tail off, especially with regard to shows featuring African Americans. On cable, Nickelodeon and the expensive premium channels (HBO, Showtime) also offered some innovation, such as the children's series *The Brothers Garcia* (Nickelodeon), the Latino-themed *Resurrection Boulevard* (Showtime), and some



strong documentaries and docudramas with African-American themes (HBO). Quite often too, HBO's casting and scripting met the "quality" test by having minority-ethnic characters in nonstereotypical roles, such as the Puerto Rican mortician and the gay black cop played by Freddy Rodriguez and Mathew St. Patrick, respectively, in *Six Feet Under*.

A further development was the emergence of black and Latino cable and UHF channels such as Black Entertainment Television (BET), Univision, and Tele-mundo, together with leased ethnic-group program slots in metropolitan areas. With respect to the latter, Hamid Naficy has explored the world of expatriate Iranian programming in Los Angeles and thereby opened up a whole new perspective on migration, ethnicity, and "American-ness" as they play out in television. These new developments were often contradictory. The often cheap-shot satirization of racial issues on *In Living Color*; the question Gray and others raise concerning BET programming as often simply a black reproduction of white televisual tropes; the role of black sitcoms and stand-up comics as a new version of an older tradition in which blackness is acceptable as farce—each of these highlights in some way the tensions in television's representations of race.

Another contradictory example is Univision, effectively dominated by Mexico's near-monopoly TV giant, Televisa. Its entertainment programs are mostly a secondary market for Televisa's products, and while they are certainly popular, they have had little direct echo of Chicano or other Latino life in the United States. At the same time, as América Rodríguez has shown, Univision's news program has cultivated, for commercial reasons of mass appeal, pan-ethnic Spanish that over time may arguably contribute to a pan-Latino U.S. cultural identity, rather than the Chicano, Caribbean, Central and South American fragments that constitute the Latino minority.

MacDonald goes so far as to forecast cable TV's multiple channels as an almost automatic technical solution to the heritage of unequal access for African Americans. However, the "technological fix" he envisages would not of itself address the urgent national need for dialogue on race and whiteness in television's public forum, because a multichannel environment may resemble a Babel of voices mutually insulated from each other rather than engaged with each other. Nor does his proposal seem to bargain with the huge costs of generating mostly new product for even a single cable channel.

Scattered as they are over multiple tiny distributors or self-distributed, it is difficult to generalize about the profusion of single features and documentaries gener-

ated by video artists of color and/or on ethnic themes. Suffice it to say that distribution—cable channels notwithstanding—is the largest single problem that such work encounters. (Sources of information on these videos include Asian-American CineVision and the Black Filmmakers Foundation, both in New York City, and Facets Video in Chicago.)

In examining alternatives, finally, we need to take stock of some of the mainstream alternatives to segregated casts, such as one of the earliest, *Hawaii Five-O*, and the later *Miami Vice* and *NYPD Blue*. The first was definitely still within the "Tonto" tradition insofar as the ethnic minority cops were concerned ("Yes, boss" seemed to be the limit of their vocabulary). *Miami Vice*'s tri-ethnic leads were less anchored in that tradition, although Edward James Olmos as the police captain often approximated Captain Dobey in *Starsky and Hutch*, apparently only nominally in charge. *NYPD Blue* carried over some of that tradition as regarded the African-American Lieutenant Fancy's role, but it actually starred Latinos in key police roles.

A central issue on *NYPD Blue*, however, raised once more the question of "modern" racism. A repetitive feature of the show was the skill of the police detectives in pressuring people they considered guilty to sign confessions and not to avail themselves of their legal rights. Two comments are in order here. One is that a police team is shown at work, undeflected by racial animosity, strenuously task-driven. It is a theme with its roots in many World War II movies, although in those films, ethnicity was generally the focus rather than race. The inference plainly to be drawn was that atavistic biases should be laid aside in the face of clear and present danger, with the contemporary "war" being against the constant tide of crime.

Second, it is a fact that the number of U.S. prisoners who are African Americans and Latinos is vastly disproportionate to the size of these subpopulations relative to the U.S. population as a whole. On *NYPD Blue* we see firm unity among white, black, and Latino police professionals in defining aggressive detection and charge practices as legitimate and essential, even though it is procedures like those that, along with racially differential sentencing and parole procedures, have often helped create that huge racial imbalance in U.S. prisons.

### The Television Industry and Race Relations

Except for a clutch of public figures led by Bill Cosby, CNN's political analyst Bernard Shaw (who retired in 2001), talk show hosts Oprah Winfrey and Geraldo Rivera; moderately influential behind-the-camera indi-

viduals such as Susan Fales, Charles Floyd Johnson, Ralph Farquhar, Thomas Carter, and Suzanne de Passe; and local newscasters, the racial casting of television organizations has been distinctly leisurely in changing. Cable television has the strongest ratio of minority personnel, but this should be read in connection with its lower pay scales and its minimal original production schedules. Especially in positions of senior authority, television is still largely a white enterprise.

The Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) statistics are often less than helpful in determining the true picture and represent a classic instance of bureaucratic response to the demand to collect evidence by refusing to focus with any precision on the matter in hand. In the National Association of Minorities in Communication survey of cable TV, the same phenomenon was evident, with a number of multiple system operators (MSOs) including not only executives with direct influence over programming (e.g., marketing) in their minority/ethnic headcount but also human resources personnel. Given the undoubted intelligence of those who communicate these statistics, it is hard to see other than a pattern of deliberate obfuscation at work. The FCC's two top cable and broadcast employment categories, for example (Officials and Managers, and Professionals), are extremely broad and render completely foggy the degree of real authority entailed over the process. Drawing meaningful conclusions from minority/ethnic percentages within those categories is consequently impossible. Unless and until cable and broadcast organizations see fit to reveal clearly the holders of significant executive power and their ethnic status, it is logical to assume that television boardrooms are as white as U.S. corporate boardrooms in general, and yet those boardrooms are, to belabor the obvious, where the fundamental television decisions are made. Whether or not this exclusion of racial minorities from the corridors makes immediate market sense, the implications of the television industry's decision-making process for the immediate future of American life and culture are very disturbing ones.

Data from 2001 indicated 47 TV stations, 75 percent of which were UHF, had minority/ethnic owners. Eight of these stations were in California; seven in Puerto Rico; seven in Texas; two each in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin; and one each in Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. This was a higher number than five years previously, but still a pathetic coda when 30 percent of the U.S. population is identified as minority/ethnic. As of early 2001, a Federal Appeals Court, responding to a case brought by three broadcast associations, actu-

ally struck down FCC rules promoting the hiring of people of color and women in the broadcast industry. A CBS spokeswoman announced that CBS's "commitment to diversity is as strong as ever," which was hardly reassuring.

The question then at issue is to what degree this absence of minorities from positions of TV authority determines the mainstream representation patterns surveyed above. One might argue that if no customary formats or tropes were changed, and if none of the legal, financial, and competitive vectors vanished, then a television executive stratum composed entirely of ethnic minority individuals would likely proceed to reproduce precisely the same patterns of representation.

However, this position is an abstract one and only helps to shed light on the pressures to conform faced by the few ethnic minority individuals scattered through the TV hierarchy. Sociologically, were the percentage of executive positions held by minorities to increase to within even hailing distance of their percentage of the national population, a much wider internal dialogue would be feasible concerning the very limits of the possible in television. We come back, in a sense, to *Cosby*.

At the time that program aired, the proportion of blacks and Latinos who watched TV was higher than the national average, and these two minority groups accounted in 1995 for at least \$300 billion in consumer spending a year. Therefore, by the mid-1990s, the economic logic of advertising seemed to point toward increasing inclusiveness on TV. How this clash between economic logic and inherited culture would work out remained to be seen. The efforts of advocacy groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Council of La Raza, Children Now, and others, became more intensive from 1993 onward, and in 2000 many joined the Multi-Ethnic Coalition, monitoring and publicly critiquing failures of representation.

### Audience and Spectatorship

The most complex issue centers on how viewers process televisual content related to race and ethnicity. It has already been argued that decades of daily programs have mostly underwritten the perception of the United States as, at its core, a white nation with a white culture, rather than a multicultural nation beset by entrenched problems of ethnic inequity. Television fare has obviously not been a lone voice in this regard, nor has it been anything resembling a steady opposition voice. This judgment clearly transcends interpretations of particular programs or even genres. It is sufficiently loose in formulation to leave its plausible practical

consequences open to extended discussion. However, given the ever greater dominance of television in U.S. culture, TV's basic vision of the world can hardly be dismissed as impotent.

Historically, it has been a vision likely to reassure the white majority that it has little to learn or benefit from people of color. Rather, TV coverage of immigration and crime has made it much easier to be afraid of ethnic and racial minorities. George H.W. Bush's manipulation of the Willie Horton case for a 1988 campaign commercial (with Horton representing the specter of the vicious black rapist aided and abetted by a liberal Democrat—Bush's opponent, Michael Dukakis) had even the nation's vice president (and president-to-be) drawing on, and thus endorsing, the standard tropes of local TV news. Particularly following the September 11, 2001, terrorist assaults on New York and Washington, D.C., but also for some 20 years before that, television coverage of Arabs and Muslims, while often maintaining an abstract theme of tolerance and civil rights, did much at the same time to encourage many members of the U.S. public to distrust as potential terrorists and enemies anyone who answered to (or appeared to answer to) those identities. The suspicious reaction and backlash was reminiscent of the anti-Asian culture that formed the backdrop for hostility toward Japanese Americans following the Pearl Harbor attack 60 years previously.

Naturally, not all of the white majority have endorsed or believed that vision. However, it has been difficult to muster a coherent and forward-looking public debate about race, whiteness, and the nation's future, given TV's continuing refusal, in the main, to squarely face the issue. This medium was not the only institution with that responsibility, nor the unique forum available. But TV was and is crucial to any solution.

The detailed analysis of audience reception of particular shows or series is a delicate business, linking as it will into the many filaments of social and cultural life for white audiences and for audiences of color. It is, however, a sour comment on audience researchers that so little has been done to date to explore how TV has been appropriated by various ethnic minority audiences, or how majority audiences handle ethnic themes. Commercial research has been content simply to register viewer levels by ethnicity, whereas academic research, with a scattering of exceptions, has rarely troubled to explore ethnic diversity in processing TV, despite the outpouring of ethnographic audience studies in the 1980s and 1990s.

JOHN D.H. DOWNING

*See also* Allen, Debbie; *Amen*; *Amos 'n' Andy*; *Beulah*; *Black Entertainment Network*; *Cosby*, Bill;

*Cosby Show, The*; *Different World, A*; *Eyes on the Prize*; *Frank's Place*; *Flip Wilson Show, The*; *Goldbergs, The*; *Good Times*; *Haley, Alex*; *I Spy*; *Jeffersons, The*; *Julia*; *Nat "King" Cole Show, The*; *National Asian Americans in Telecommunications Association*; *Pryor, Richard*; *Room 222*; *Social Class and Television*; *Telemundo*; *227*; *Univision*; *Winfrey, Oprah*

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## Radio Corporation of America

### U.S. Radio Company

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In 1919, General Electric (GE) formed a privately owned corporation to acquire the assets of the wireless radio company American Marconi from British Marconi. The organization, known as the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), was formally incorporated on October 17 of that year. Shortly thereafter, American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) and Westinghouse acquired RCA assets and became joint owners of RCA. In 1926, RCA formed a new company, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), to oversee operation of radio stations owned by RCA, General Electric, Westinghouse, and AT&T.

In the early 1930s, the Justice Department filed an antitrust suit against the company. In a 1932 consent decree, the organization's operations were separated, and GE, AT&T, and Westinghouse were forced to sell their interests in the company. RCA retained its patents and full ownership of NBC. Shortly after becoming an independent company, RCA moved into new headquarters in the Rockefeller Center complex in New York City, into what later became known as Radio City.

While other American companies were cutting back on research expenditures during the depression years, David Sarnoff, president of RCA since 1930, was a staunch advocate of technological innovation. He expanded RCA's technology research division, devoting increased resources to television technology. Television pioneer Vladimir Zworykin was placed in charge of RCA's television research division. RCA acquired competing and secondary patents related to television technology, and once the organization felt that the technology had attained an appropriate level of refinement, it pushed for commercialization of the new medium.

In 1938, RCA persuaded the Radio Manufacturers

Association (RMA) to consider adoption of its television system for standardization. The RMA adopted the RCA version, a 441-line, 30-pictures-per-second system, and presented the new standard to the FCC on September 10, 1938. Upon the recommendation of the RMA, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) scheduled formal hearings to address the adoption of standards. The hearings, however, did not take place until January 1940.

In the interim, RCA began production of receivers and initiated a limited schedule of television programming from the New York transmitters of NBC, basing their service upon the RMA-RCA standards. The service was inaugurated in conjunction with the opening of the New York World's Fair on April 30, 1939, and continued throughout the year. At the commission's hearing addressing standards on January 15, 1940, opposition to the proposed RMA standards emerged. The two strongest opponents of the standard were DuMont Laboratories and Philco Radio and Television. One of the criticisms voiced by both organizations was the assertion that the 441-line standard did not provide sufficient visual detail and definition. Given the lack of a clear industry consensus, the Commission did not act on the proposed RMA standards.

Despite the absence of official approval, RCA continued to employ the RMA standards and announced plans in early 1940 to increase production of television receivers, cut the price to consumers by one-third, and double its programming schedule. While some commentators saw this as a reasonable and progressive action, the Commission perceived it as a step toward prematurely freezing the standards in place and, as a consequence, scheduled another set of public hearings for April 8, 1940. At these hearings, opponents argued that the action taken by RCA was stifling research and

development into other alternative standards. As a result of the hearings, the Commission eliminated commercial broadcasting until further development and refinement had transpired. Furthermore, the Commission asserted that commercialization of broadcasting would not be permitted until there was industry consensus and agreement on one common system. To marshal industry-wide support for a single standard, the RMA formed the National Television System Committee (NTSC). The NTSC standards, a 525-line, 60-fields-per-second system, were approved by the FCC in 1941.

Several years later, RCA also became a major participant in the establishment of color television standards. In 1949, the organization proposed to the FCC that its dot sequential color system, which was compatible with existing black and white receivers, be adopted as the new color standard. Citing shortcomings in the compatible systems offered by RCA and other organizations, the FCC opted to formally adopt an incompatible color system offered by the Columbia Broadcasting System as the color standard. RCA appealed this decision all the way to the Supreme Court, while simultaneously refining its color system. A second NTSC was formed to examine the color issue. In 1953, the FCC reversed itself and endorsed a modified version of the RCA dot sequential compatible color system offered by the NTSC.

In the 1950s, RCA continued the military and defense work in which it had been heavily engaged during World War II. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the company became involved with both satellite technology and the space program. During the 1960s, RCA began to diversify as the company acquired such dis-

parate entities as the publishing firm Random House and the car rental company Hertz. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, RCA began to divest itself of many of its acquired subsidiaries. In June 1986, RCA was acquired by General Electric, the organization that had originally established it as a subsidiary. GE retained the brand name RCA, established NBC as a relatively autonomous unit, and combined the remainder of RCA's businesses with GE operations.

DAVID F. DONNELLY

*See also National Broadcasting Company; Sarnoff, David; Sarnoff, Robert; Silverman, Fred; Tarkentoff, Brandon; Tinker, Grant; United States: Networks*

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## Radio Television News Directors Association

U.S. Professional Organization

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The Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) is the trade organization representing broadcast news professionals in the United States. Founded in 1946, when radio was the dominant broadcast news medium, the association now serves all electronic media, with the bulk of its membership comprised of local television news professionals. Its primary focus is on the needs of broadcast news managers. While mem-

bership is open to all electronic journalists as well as students, educators, suppliers, and other interested parties, only members who exercise significant editorial supervision of news programming are allowed to vote.

Among the organization's services to members are a monthly magazine, *RTNDA Communicator*, and an annual convention held in the fall and featuring training sessions, notable speakers, technology demonstra-

tions, and an exhibit area for suppliers of news products and services. Augmenting its printed magazine is the RTNDA website (<http://www.rtnnda.org>), which provides such member services as job listings, a talent bank for posting résumés, and a membership directory. Other ongoing member services include a resource catalog of related books and tapes, and industry research projects that examine pertinent issues such as salaries, staff size, and profitability.

The number and scope of RTNDA services reflect the dramatic changes experienced by the broadcast news industry in recent years. Among such developments have been the growing profitability and expansion of local television news; the emergence of new outlets such as Cable News Network, MSNBC, C-SPAN, and online information services; and advances in the technology of news gathering, particularly in live remote broadcast capabilities and satellite transmission. In addition, local TV news operations, unlike their newspaper counterparts, are generally locked in fierce three-way competition with other local news programs in the same market. The pressure to maximize ratings often puts the news manager in the precarious situation of having to decide between news values and entertainment values. The nature of a commercial medium such as television generally makes such conflict unavoidable.

Through its ongoing activities and services, RTNDA strives to set and promote professional standards for electronic journalists. The RTNDA Code of Ethics is published in each issue of the organization's monthly magazine. The code states that "the responsibility of radio and television journalists is to gather and report information of importance and interest to the public accurately, honestly, and impartially," and provides guidelines for fair, balanced reporting that respects the dignity and privacy of subjects and sources,

avoiding deception, sensationalism, and conflicts of interest.

RTNDA honors professional excellence through its Edward R. Murrow Awards in the areas of spot news coverage, feature reporting, series, investigative reporting, and overall newscast (awarded separately for small- and large-market stations). The organization's top honor is the Paul White Award, given each year to an individual for lifetime achievement in the field of broadcast journalism. RTNDA also sponsors the Radio Television News Directors Foundation, a nonprofit organization that engages in research, education, and training activities related to such topics as journalistic ethics, the impact of technology on electronic news gathering, the role of electronic journalism in politics and public policy, environmental news coverage, and cultural diversity in the profession.

JERRY HAGINS

*See also National Broadcasting Company; Sarnoff, David; Sarnoff, Robert; Silverman, Fred; Tarkoff, Brandon; Tinker, Grant; United States: Networks*

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## Randall, Tony (1920–2004)

U.S. Actor

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Tony Randall, an Emmy Award-winning television and film actor, was most noted for his role as the anal-retentive Felix Unger in the ABC sitcom *The Odd Couple*. A popular guest on numerous variety and talk shows, Randall was connected with all three major broadcast networks, as well as with PBS.

Randall began his career in radio in the 1940s, appearing on such shows as the *Henry Morgan Program* and *Opera Quiz*. From 1950 to 1952, Randall played Mac on the melodramatic TV serial *One Man's Family*. He then went on to play Harvey Weskit, the brash, overconfident best friend of Robinson Peepers (Wally



Tony Randall, 1987.  
©Stockline/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Cox) in the live sitcom *Mr. Peepers* (1952–55). After finding a niche in films, including numerous roles in romantic comedies, Randall won the part of Felix Unger in the ABC television version of *The Odd Couple* (1970–75).

Randall played Unger in a Chicago stage version of *The Odd Couple*, but the Broadway and film versions of *The Odd Couple* became established hits with different stars in the role. Nevertheless, Randall lent numerous additions to the Felix character. Drawing upon his interest in opera, Randall had Felix become an opera lover. Randall also added the comedic honking noises that accompanied Felix's ever-present sinus attacks. Much like television costar Jack Klugman's close connection to the Oscar Madison role, Randall became synonymous with Unger.

Despite low ratings for the series, ABC, the third-place network, allowed *The Odd Couple* a five-season run. In 1975, Randall won an Emmy for Best Lead Actor for his role as Felix. A popular guest on numerous variety shows, Randall was present on two Emmy

Award-winning variety show episodes, *The Flip Wilson Show* (1970) and *The Sonny and Cher Show* (1971). Randall's frequent appearances as a guest on the *Tonight Show* won him a role playing himself in Martin Scorsese's *King of Comedy* (1983).

Beginning in 1976, Randall starred in the CBS sitcom *The Tony Randall Show*. Randall played Walter Franklin, a judge who deliberated over his troubled family as much as he did over the cases presented to him in his mythical Philadelphia courtroom. In 1981, Randall returned to television playing Sidney Shorr in NBC's *Love, Sidney*, a critically acclaimed yet commercially unsuccessful sitcom canceled in 1983. The series did attract some criticism from religious and culturally conservative communities. In *Sidney Shorr*, the made-for-television movie that preceded the series, Randall's character was presented as homosexual. In the series, this aspect of the role was simply dropped.

Randall reprised his Felix Unger role in a 1993 TV-movie version of *The Odd Couple*. He has also hosted the PBS opera series *Live from the Met* and continued to appear frequently on such talk shows as *The Late Show with David Letterman*. However, from 1991, Randall focused his professional efforts primarily on the National Actors Theatre, a classical repertory company he founded and with which he frequently acted.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also *Odd Couple, The*

**Tony Randall.** Born Leonard Rosenberg in Tulsa, Oklahoma, February 26, 1920. Educated at Northwestern University, Chicago; Columbia University, New York; the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre, New York City, 1938–40; and the Officer Candidate School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. Married: 1) Florence Gibbs (died, 1992); 2) Heather Harlan, 1995; two children. Served as private and first lieutenant, U.S. Army Signal Corps, 1942–46. Announcer and actor in radio soap operas; New York debut as stage actor, *A Circle of Chalk*, 1941; various theater and radio work, 1947–52; television actor, from 1952. Member: Actors' Equity Association; Screen Actors Guild; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Association of the Metropolitan Opera Company; founder and artistic director of the National Actors Theatre in New York City. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1975. Died in New York City, May 17, 2004.

#### Television Series

1949–55	<i>One Man's Family</i>
1952–55	<i>Mr. Peepers</i>
1970–75	<i>The Odd Couple</i>
1976–78	<i>The Tony Randall Show</i>
1981–82	<i>Love, Sidney</i>

Randall, Tony

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1978 *Kate Bliss and the Ticker Tape Kid*  
1981 *Sidney Shorr: A Girl's Best Friend*  
1984 *Off Sides*  
1985 *Hitler's SS: Portrait in Evil*  
1986 *Sunday Drive*  
1988 *Save the Dog*  
1989 *The Man in the Brown Suit*  
1993 *The Odd Couple: Together Again*

**Television Specials (selected)**

1956 *Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl*  
(host)  
1960 *Four for Tonight* (costar)  
1960 *So Help Me, Aphrodite*  
1962 *Arsenic and Old Lace*  
1967 *The Wide Open Door*  
1969 *The Littlest Angel*  
1977 *They Said It with Music: Yankee Doodle to Ragtime* (cohost)  
1981 *Tony Randall's All-Star Circus* (host)  
1985 *Curtain's Up* (host)  
1987 *Walt Disney World Celebrity Circus*  
(host)

**Films**

*Oh Men, Oh Women*, 1957; *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?*, 1957; *The Mating Game*, 1959; *Pillow Talk*, 1959; *Let's Make Love*, 1960; *Lover Come Back*, 1962; *Send Me No Flowers*, 1964; *The Brass*

*Bottle*, 1964; *Fluffy*, 1965; *Bang, Bang, You're Dead*, 1966; *Hello Down There*, 1969; *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex...*, 1972; *Huckleberry Finn*, 1974; *Scavenger Hunt*, 1979; *Foolin' Around*, 1980; *The King of Comedy*, 1983; *My Little Pony*, 1986; *That's Adequate*, 1989; *Gremlins 2: The New Batch* (voice), 1990; *Fatal Instinct*, 1993; *Down with Love*, 2003.

**Stage (selected)**

*Circle of Chalk*, 1941; *Candida*, 1941; *The Corn Is Green*, 1942; *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*, 1947; *Anthony and Cleopatra*, 1948; *Caesar and Cleopatra*, 1950; *Oh Men, Oh Women*, 1954; *Inherit the Wind*, 1955-56; *Oh Captain*, 1958; *UTBU*, 1966; *Two Into One*, 1988; *M. Butterfly*, 1989; *A Little Hotel on the Side*, 1992; *The Master Builder* (director), 1992; *Three Men on a Horse*, 1993; *The Government Inspector*, 1994; *The Odd Couple*, 1994; *The School for Scandal*, 1995; *Inherit the Wind*, 1995; *The Sunshine Boys*, 1998.

**Radio**

*I Love a Mystery*; *Portia Faces Life*; *When a Girl Marries*; *Life's True Story*.

**Publication**

*Which Reminds Me* (with Michael Mindlin), 1989

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## Rather, Dan (1931- )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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In a career in journalism that is now in its fifth decade, Dan Rather has established himself as a crucial figure in broadcast news. Anchor of the *CBS Evening News* since 1981, Rather has enjoyed a long and sometimes colorful career in broadcasting. Rather has interviewed every U.S. president from Dwight D. Eisenhower to Bill Clinton, and international leaders from Nelson Mandela to Boris Yeltsin. In 1990, he was the first American journalist to interview Saddam Hussein after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Rather's hard-hitting journalistic style has sometimes been as much discussed as the content of his reporting, particularly in

the case of well-publicized contretemps with Richard Nixon and George Bush.

Rather began his career in journalism in 1950 as an Associated Press reporter in Huntsville, Texas. He subsequently worked as a reporter for United Press International, for KSAM Radio in Huntsville, for KTRH Radio in Houston, and at the *Houston Chronicle*. He became news director of KTRH in 1956 and a reporter for KTRH-TV in Houston in 1959. He was news director at KHOU-TV, the CBS affiliate in Houston, before joining CBS News in 1962 as chief of the southwest bureau in Dallas.

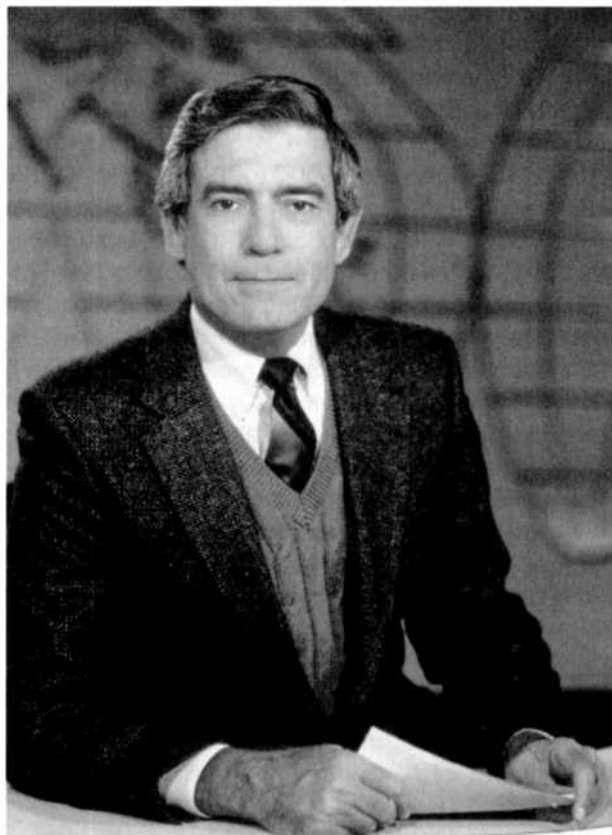


In 1963, Rather was appointed chief of CBS's southern bureau in New Orleans, responsible for coverage of news events in the South, Southwest, Mexico, and Central America. He reported extensively on southern racial strife, becoming well acquainted with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Rather broke the news of the death of President John F. Kennedy. A few weeks after the assassination, he became CBS's White House correspondent.

Rather attracted notice in 1974 for an exchange with Richard Nixon. At a National Association of Broadcasters convention in Houston, Rather was applauded when he stood to ask a question, drawing Nixon's query, "Are you running for something?" Many saw Rather's quick retort, "No, sir, Mr. President. Are you?" as an affront to presidential dignity.

A year later, Rather was selected to join the roster of journalists on CBS's *60 Minutes*, and in 1981, after lengthy negotiations with the network, Rather became the successor to Walter Cronkite, anchoring the *CBS Evening News*. During Rather's tenure, he has sometimes been associated with striking, even bizarre, moments of news coverage. For one week in September 1986, Rather concluded his nightly broadcast with the solemn, ominous-sounding, single-word sign-off "Courage." The line, seen as an attempt to respond to or replace audience familiarity with Cronkite's "And that's the way it is," attracted widespread media coverage and more than a little satire. In October 1986, Rather was attacked outside the CBS building by thugs reportedly demanding "What's the frequency, Kenneth?" and he subsequently appeared on the air with a swollen and bruised face. In September 1987, Rather walked off the *CBS Evening News* set in protest over the network's decision to allow U.S. Open tennis coverage to cut into the broadcast. His action on this occasion left CBS with a blank screen for more than six minutes. This moment was recalled in an explosive live interview Rather conducted with Vice President George Bush in January 1988. When Rather pressed Bush about his contradictory claims regarding his involvement in the Iran-Contra scandal, the vice president responded by asking Rather if he would like to be judged by those minutes resulting from his decision to walk off the air.

Connie Chung joined Rather on the *CBS Evening News* in a dual anchor format in 1993 amid constant speculation that he did not approve of the appointment. When Chung left the *Evening News* spot in 1995, he did not seem displeased. Rather also continues to anchor and report for the CBS News broadcast *48 Hours* (which premiered in 1988). He was the first network journalist to anchor an evening news broadcast and a prime-time news program at the same time, a practice which has since been adopted by other networks.



Dan Rather, anchorman of *The CBS Evening News*, 3/10/85.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Rather's career reflects the passing of the era in which one anchor, Walter Cronkite, was unproblematically "the most trusted man in America." Along with Tom Brokaw and Peter Jennings, Rather is one of a triumvirate of middle-aged white male anchors who dominate the U.S. national nightly news. The three network news broadcasts continue to be locked in a tightly contested ratings race, and these highly paid anchors are decidedly valuable properties, the "stars" of television news. CBS, cognizant of this state of affairs, offered Rather a new three-year contract in 2002, which he signed.

DIANE M. NEGRA

*See also Anchor; Columbia Broadcasting System; News, Network; 60 Minutes*

**Dan Rather.** Born in Wharton, Texas, October 31, 1931. Educated at Sam Houston State College, Huntsville, Texas, B.A. in journalism 1953; attended University of Houston and South Texas School of Law. Married: Jean Goebel; children: Dawn Robin and

Rather, Dan

Daniel Martin. Journalism instructor, Sam Houston State College; worked for the *Houston Chronicle*; news writer, reporter, and news director, CBS radio affiliate KTRH, Houston, mid- to late 1950s; director of news and public affairs, CBS television affiliate KHOU, Houston, late 1950s to 1961; chief, CBS's southwestern bureau, Dallas, 1962–64; CBS White House correspondent, 1963; chief, CBS's London bureau, 1965–66; war correspondent, Vietnam, 1966; returned to position as CBS White House correspondent, 1966–74; anchor-correspondent, *CBS Reports*, 1974–75; correspondent and co-editor, *60 Minutes*, 1975–81; anchor, *Dan Rather Reporting*, CBS Radio Network, since 1977; anchor and managing editor, *CBS Evening News with Dan Rather*, since 1981; anchor, *48 Hours*, since 1988; anchored numerous CBS news specials. Recipient: Texas Associated Press Broadcasters' Awards for spot news coverage, 1956, 1959; numerous Emmy Awards.

#### Television

1974–75	<i>CBS Reports</i>
1975–81	<i>60 Minutes</i>
1981–	<i>CBS Evening News with Dan Rather</i>
1988–2002	<i>48 Hours</i>
1998–	<i>60 Minutes II</i>

#### Publications

- America at War: The Battle for Iraq: A View from the Frontlines*, 2003  
*The American Dream: Stories from the Heart of Our Nation*, 2001  
*The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist* (with Mickey Herskowitz), 1977  
*The Camera Never Blinks Twice: Further Adventures of a Television Journalist*, 1994

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## Ratings

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Ratings are a central component of the television industry, almost a household word. They are important in television because they indicate the size of an audience for specific programs. Networks and stations then set their advertising rates based on the number of viewers of their programs. Network revenue is thus directly related to the ratings. The word "ratings," however, is actually rather confusing because it has both a specific and a general meaning. Specifically, a rating is the percentage of all the people (or households) in a particular location tuned to a particular program. In a general sense, the term is used to describe a process (also referred to as "audience measurement") that endeavors to determine the number and types of viewers watching TV.

One common rating (in the specific sense) is the rating of a national television show. This calculation measures the number of households—out of all the households in the United States that have TV sets—

watching a particular show. There are approximately 100 million households in the United States, and most of them have TV sets. If 20 million of those households are watching NBC at 8:00 P.M., then NBC's rating for that time period is 20 (20 million / 100 million = 20). Another way to describe the process is to say that one rating point is worth 1 million households.

Ratings are also taken for areas smaller than the entire nation. For example, if a particular city (Yourtown) has 100,000 households and 15,000 of them are watching the local news on station KAAA, that station would have a rating of 15. If Yourtown has a population of 300,000 and 30,000 people are watching KAAA, the station's rating would be 10. And because television viewing is becoming less and less of a group activity with the entire family gathered around the living-room TV set, most ratings are expressed in terms of people rather than households.

Many calculations are related to the rating. Sometimes people, even professionals in the television business, confuse them. One of these calculations is the *share*. This figure reports the percentage of households (or people) watching a show out of all the households (or people) *who have the TV set on*. So if Yourtown has 100,000 households but only 50,000 of them have the TV set on and 15,000 of those are watching KAAA, the share is 30 ( $15,000 / 50,000 = 30$ ). Shares are always higher than ratings unless, of course, everyone in the country is watching television.

Another calculation is the *cume*, which reflects the number of different persons who tune in a particular station or network over a period of time. This number is used to show advertisers how many different people hear their message if it is aired at different times such as 7:00 P.M., 8:00 P.M., and 9:00 P.M. If the total number of people available is 100, five of them view at 7:00, those five still view at 8:00, but three new people watch, and then two people turn the TV off, but four new ones join the audience at 9:00, the cume would be 12 ( $5 + 3 + 4 = 12$ ). Cumes are particularly important to cable networks because their ratings are very low. Two networks with ratings of 1.2 and 1.3 cannot really be differentiated, but if the measurement is taken over a wider time span, a greater difference will probably surface.

*Average quarter hours* (AQH) are another measurement. This calculation is based on the average number of people viewing a particular station (network, program) for at least 5 minutes during a 15-minute period. For example, if, out of 100 people, 10 view for at least 5 minutes between 7:00 and 7:15, 7 view between 7:15 and 7:30, 11 view between 7:30 and 7:45, and 4 view between 7:45 and 8:00, the AQH rating would be 8 ( $10 + 7 + 11 + 4 = 32$ ;  $32 / 4 = 8$ ).

Many other calculations are possible. For example, if the proper data have been collected, it is easy to calculate the percentage of women between the ages of 18 and 34, or of men in urban areas, who watch particular programs. Networks and stations gather as much information as is economically possible. They then try to use the numbers that present their programming strategies in the best light.

The general ratings (audience measurement) process has varied greatly over the years. Audience measurement started in the early 1930s with radio. A group of advertising interests joined together as a nonprofit entity to support ratings known as "Crossleys," named after Archibald Crossley, the man who conducted them. Crossley used random numbers from telephone directories and called people in about 30 cities to ask them what radio programs they had listened to the day before his call. This method became known as the re-

call method, because people were remembering what they had listened to the previous day. Crossleys existed for about 15 years but ended in 1946 because several for-profit commercial companies began offering similar services that were considered better.

One of these, the Hooper ratings, was begun by C.E. Hooper. Hooper's methodology was similar to Crossley's, except that respondents were asked what programs they were listening to at the time of the call—a method known as the coincidental telephone technique. Another service, the Pulse, used face-to-face interviewing. Interviewees selected by random sampling were asked to name the radio stations they had listened to over the past 24 hours, the past week, and the past five midweek days. If they could not remember, they were shown a roster containing station call letters to aid their memory. This was referred to as the roster-recall method.

Today the main radio audience measurement company is Arbitron. The Arbitron method requires people to keep diaries in which they write down the stations they listen to at various times of the day. In these diaries, they also indicate demographic features—their age, sex, marital status, etc.—so that ratings can be broken down by subaudiences.

The main television audience measurement company is the A.C. Nielsen Company. For many years Nielsen used a combination of diaries and a meter device called the Audimeter. The Audimeter recorded the times when a set was on and the channel to which it was tuned. The diaries were used to collect demographic data and list which family members were watching each program. Nielsen research in some markets still uses diaries, but for most of its data collection, Nielsen now attaches Peoplemeters to TV sets in selected homes. Peoplemeters collect both demographic and channel information because they are equipped with remote control devices. These devices accommodate a number of buttons, one for each person in the household and one for guests. Each person watching TV presses his or her button, which has been programmed with demographic data, to indicate viewing choices and activities.

There are also companies that gather and supply specialized ratings. For example, one company specializes in data concerning news programs and another tracks Latino viewing.

All audience measurement is based on samples. At present, there is no economical way of finding out what every person in the entire country is watching. Diaries, meters, and phone calls are all expensive, so sometimes samples are small. In some cases, no more than .004 percent of the population is being surveyed. However, the rating companies try to make their sam-

## Ratings

ples as representative of the larger population as possible. They consider a wide variety of demographic features—size of family, gender and age of head of household, access to cable TV, income, education—and try to construct a sample comprising the same percentage of the various demographic traits as in the general population.

In order to select a representative sample, the companies attempt to locate every housing unit in the country (or city or viewing area), mainly by using readily available government census data. Once all the housing units are accounted for, a computer program is used to randomly select the sample group in such a way that each location has an equal chance of being selected. Company representatives then write or phone people in the households that have been selected, trying to secure their cooperation. About 50 percent of those selected agree to participate. People are slightly more likely to allow meters in their house and to answer questions over the phone than they are to keep diaries. Very little face-to-face interviewing is now conducted because people are reluctant to allow strangers into their houses. When people refuse to cooperate, the computer program selects more households until the number needed for the sample have agreed to volunteer.

Once sample members have agreed to participate, they are often contacted in person. In the case of a diary, someone may show them how to fill it out. In other cases, the diary and instructions may simply be sent in the mail. For a meter, a field representative goes to the home (apartment, dorm room, vacation home, etc.) and attaches the meter to the television set. This person must take into account the entire video configuration of the home—multiple TV sets, VCRs, satellite dishes, cable TV, and anything else that might be attached to the receiver set. The field representative also trains family members in the use of the meter.

People participating in audience measurement are usually paid, but only a small amount, such as five dollars. Ratings companies have found that paying people something makes them feel obligated, but paying them a large amount does not make them more reliable.

Ratings companies try to see that no one remains in the sample very long. Participants become weary of filling out diaries or pushing buttons and cease to take the activities seriously. Soliciting and changing sample members is expensive, however, so companies do keep an eye on the budget when determining how to update the sample.

Once the sample is in order, the data must be collected from the participants. For phone or face-to-face interviews, the interviewer fills in a questionnaire and the data are later entered into a computer. For meters,

the data collected are sent over phone lines to a central computer. People keeping diaries mail them back to the company, and employees then enter the data into a computer. Usually, only about 50 percent of diaries are useable; the rest are never mailed back or are so incorrectly filled out that they cannot be used.

From the data collected and calculated by the computer, ratings companies publish reports. These vary according to what was surveyed. Nielsen covers commercial networks, cable networks, syndicated programming, public broadcasting, and local stations. Other companies cover more limited aspects of television. Reports on each night's prime-time national commercial network programming, based on Nielsen Peplemeters, are usually ready about 12 hours after the data are collected. It takes considerably longer to generate a report based on diaries. The reports dealing with stations are published less frequently than those for prime-time network TV. Generally, station ratings are undertaken four times a year—November, February, May, and July—periods that are often referred to as "sweeps." The weeks of the sweeps are very important to local stations because the numbers produced then determine advertising rates for the following three months. Most reports give not only the total ratings and shares but also information broken down into various demographic categories—age, sex, education, income. The various reports are purchased by networks, stations, advertisers, and any other companies with a need to know audience statistics. The cost is lower for small entities, such as TV stations, than for larger entities, such as commercial networks. The latter usually pay several million dollars a year to receive a ratings service.

While current ratings methods may be the best yet devised for calculating audience size and characteristics, audience measurement is far from perfect. Many of the flaws of ratings should be recognized, particularly by those employed in the industry who make significant decisions based on ratings.

Sample size is one aspect of ratings that is frequently questioned in relation to rating accuracy. Statisticians know that the smaller the sample size the more chance there is for error. Ratings companies admit to this and do not claim that their figures are totally accurate. Most of them are only accurate to within 2 or 3 percent. This was of little concern during the times when ratings primarily centered around three networks, each of which was likely to have a rating of 20 or better. Even if CBS's 20 rating at 8:00 P.M. on Monday was really only 18, this was not likely to disturb the network balance. In all likelihood, CBS's 20 rating at 8:00 Tuesday evening was really a 22, so numbers evened out. Now that there are many sources of pro-

gramming, however, and ratings for each are much lower, statistical inaccuracies are more significant. A cable network with a 2 rating might actually be a 4, an increase that might double its income.

Audience measurement companies are willing to increase sample size, but doing so would greatly increase their costs, and customers for ratings do not seem willing to pay. In fact, Arbitron, which had previously undertaken TV ratings, dropped them in 1994 because they were unprofitable.

As access to interactive communication increases, it may be easier to obtain larger samples. Wires from consumer homes back to cable systems could be used to send information about what each cable TV household is viewing. Many of these wires are already in place. Consumers wishing to order pay-per-view programming, for example, can push a button on the remote control that tells the cable system to unscramble the channel for that particular household. Using this technology to determine what is showing on the TV set at all times, however, smacks of a "Big Brother" type of surveillance. Similarly, by the 1970s, a technology existed that enabled trucks to drive along streets and record what was showing on each TV set in the neighborhood. This practice, perceived as an invasion of privacy, was quickly ended.

Sample composition, as well as sample size, is also seen as a weakness in ratings procedures. When telephone numbers are used to draw a sample, households without telephones are excluded and households with more than one phone have a better chance of being included. For many of the rating samples, people who do not speak either English or Spanish are eliminated. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties for ratings companies is caused by those who eliminate themselves from the sample by refusing to cooperate. Although rating services make every attempt to replace these people with others who are similar in demographic characteristics, the sample's integrity is somewhat downgraded. Even if everyone originally selected agreed to serve, the sample cannot be totally representative of a larger population. No two people are alike, and even households with the same income and education level and the same number of children of the same ages do not watch exactly the same television shows. Moreover, people within the sample, aware that their viewing or listening habits are being monitored, may act differently than they ordinarily do.

Other problems rise from the fact that each rating technique has specific drawbacks. Households with Peoplemeters may suffer from "button pushing fatigue," thereby artificially lowering ratings. Additionally, some groups of people are simply more likely to push buttons than others. When the Peoplemeter was

first introduced, ratings for sports viewing soared while those for children's program viewing decreased significantly. One explanation held that men, who were watching sports intently, were very reliable about the button pushing, perhaps, in some cases, out of fear that the TV would shut off if they didn't push that button. Children, on the other hand, were confused or apathetic about the button, thereby underreporting the viewing of children's programming. Another theory held that the women of the household had previously kept the diaries and although they were not always aware of what their husbands were actually viewing, they were quite conscious of what their children were watching. Under the diary system, in this explanation, sports programming was underrated.

But diaries have their own problems. The return rate is low, intensifying the problem of the number of uncooperative people in the sample. Even the diaries that are returned often have missing data. Many people do not fill out the diaries as they watch TV. They wait until the last minute and try to remember details—perhaps aided by a copy of *TV Guide*. Some people are simply not honest about what they watch. Perhaps they do not want to admit to watching a particular type of program.

With interviews, people can be influenced by the tone or attitude of the interviewer or, again, they can be less than truthful about what they watched out of embarrassment or in an attempt to project themselves in a favorable light. People are also hesitant to give information over the phone because they fear the person calling is really a salesperson.

Beyond sampling and methodological problems, ratings can be subject to technical problems: computers that go down, meters that function improperly, cable TV systems that shift the channel numbers of their program services without notice, station antennas struck by lightning.

Additionally, rating methodologies are often complicated and challenged by technological and sociological changes. Videocassette recorders, for example, have presented difficulties for the ratings companies. Generally, programs are counted as being watched if they are recorded. However, many programs that are recorded are never watched, and some are watched several times. In addition, people replaying tape often skip through commercials, destroying the whole purpose of ratings. And ratings companies have yet to decide what to do with sets that show four pictures at once.

Another major deterrent to the accuracy of ratings is the fact that electronic media programmers often try to manipulate the ratings system. Local television stations program their most sensational material during

## Ratings

ratings periods. Networks preempt regular series and present star-loaded specials so that their affiliates will fare well in ratings and can therefore adjust their advertising rates upward. Cable networks show new programs as opposed to reruns. All of this, of course, negates the real purpose of determining which electronic media entities have the largest regular audience. It simply indicates which can design the best programming strategy for sweeps week.

Because of the possibility for all these sampling, methodological, technological, and sociological errors, ratings have been subjected to numerous tests and investigations. In fact, in 1963, the House of Representatives became so skeptical of ratings methodologies that it held hearings to investigate the procedures. Most of the skepticism had arisen because of a cease-and-desist order from the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) requiring several audience measurement companies to stop misrepresenting the accuracy and reliability of their reports. The FTC charged the rating companies with relying on hearsay information, making false claims about the nature of their sample populations, improperly combining and reporting data, failing to account for nonresponding sample members, and making arbitrary changes in the rating figures.

The main result of the hearings was that broadcasters themselves established the Electronic Media Rating Council (EMRC) to accredit rating companies. This group periodically checks rating companies to make sure their sample design and implementation meet preset standards that electronic media practitioners have agreed upon, to determine whether interviewers are properly trained, to oversee the procedures for handling diaries, and in other ways assure the ratings companies are compiling their reports as accurately as possible. All the major rating companies have EMRC accreditation.

The EMRC and other research institutions have continued various studies to determine the accuracy of ratings. These studies have shown that people who cooperate with rating services watch more TV, have larger families, and are younger and better educated than those who will not cooperate; telephone interviewing gets a 13 percent higher cooperation rate than diaries; Hispanics included in the ratings samples watch less TV and have smaller families than Hispanics in general.

Both electronic media practitioners and audience measurement companies want their ratings to be accurate, so both groups undertake testing to the extent they can afford it. In 1989, for example, broadcasters initiated a study to conduct a thorough review of the Peplemeter. The result was a list of recommendations to Nielsen that included changing the amount of time people participate from two years to one year to eliminate button-pushing fatigue, metering all sets including those on boats and in vacation homes, and simplifying the procedures by which visitors log into the meter.

Still, the weakest link in the system, at present, seems to be how the ratings are used. Networks tout rating superiorities that show .1 percent differences, differences that certainly are not statistically significant. Programs are canceled because their ratings fall one point. Sweeps weeks tend to become more and more sensationalized. At stake, of course, are advertising fees that can translate into millions of dollars. Advertisers and their agencies need to remain vigilant so that they are not paying rates based on artificially stimulated ratings that bear no resemblance to the programs in which the sponsor is actually investing.

At this time all parties in the system seem invested in some form of audience measurement. So long as the failures and inadequacies of these systems are accepted by these major participants, the numbers will remain a valid type of "currency" in the system of television.

LYNNE SCHAFFER GROSS

**See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Advertising; Advertising, Company Voice; Cost-Per-Thousand/Cost-Per-Point; Demographics; Market; Nielsen, A.C.; Programming; Share**

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## Ready Steady Go!

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*Ready Steady Go!* was a seminal 1960s pop show that featured the top music acts of the time. The British pop scene had begun to evolve with the solo teenage singing stars (Billy Fury, Tommy Steele, Marty Wilde, Adam Faith) giving way to female solo singers (Dusty Springfield, Lulu, Sandie Shaw) and groups, many from the Merseyside area round Liverpool (The Beatles, Gerry and the Pacemakers, Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas, etc.). With the pop scene becoming ever bigger and the British sound in particular so globally successful, it was obvious that television producers had to invent new style shows to cover this phenomenon. *Ready Steady Go!* began in 1963 on the independent TV station Associated Rediffusion, and the BBC's *Top of the Pops* debuted the following year. These two shows dominated the TV music coverage of the 1960s in the United Kingdom. Whereas *Top of the Pops* followed the simple (but highly durable) format of simply featuring artists performing their hits in the charts, *Ready Steady Go!* featured a mixture of live performances, interviews, dance instructions, and competitions.

*Ready Steady Go!* was first broadcast on August 9, 1963, and initially ran 30 minutes. Billy Fury was on the first show, but more representative of the upcoming guests were Brian Poole and the Tremoloes, who were currently popular thanks to their version of "Twist and Shout." The following year the show expanded to a 50-minute slot and entered a golden period. Top acts were booked every week, and they performed to a studio audience of 200 or so teenagers. Initially located at the Kingsway Studios in London, it soon outgrew its home, and production moved to the airier Wembley Studios. The show's main presenters were Keith Fordyce, an established TV face who came across like an affable uncle, and Cathy McGowan, a fashionable, pretty ingénue who quickly struck a chord with the viewing audience. The producers of *Ready Steady Go!* were determined to find a new face to front the show and advertised in the music press for potential presenters. McGowan's sister sent in an application on her behalf and, despite the fact

that she had no experience whatsoever in the field (she was a secretary at the time), she landed the job and enjoyed virtual overnight success. McGowan was understandably nervous on screen at first and a little overawed by her surroundings, but she quickly got a handle on the job. Fordyce may have been more professional, but McGowan was younger (roughly the same age as the fans) and far trendier. She was someone with whom the audience could identify. The fact that she was on screen talking to the likes of Mick Jagger and John Lennon resonated with the home viewers, who could almost imagine themselves doing the same job. Such was her impact that in 1964 she was named TV personality of the year by the Variety Club of Great Britain, a prestigious honor. Cathy McGowan's presence in the show was one of the factors that made *Ready Steady Go!* such a success.

Of even more importance, though, were the ramshackle, fast-paced style of the show and the consistently good lineup of acts, chosen mainly because of the individual tastes of the creative crew rather than any chart position. A spin-off magazine was launched to cash in on the success of the program, which was also ideally situated to cover the emergence of "mods" and their music. This meant that, apart from local bands, the show also featured American artists (including many African-American artists). A Motown special in 1965 was hosted by show regular Dusty Springfield and featured all the leading Motown acts of the day (Stevie Wonder, Smokey Robinson, Marvin Gaye, The Supremes, Temptations, Martha Reeves and the Vandellas).

The last edition of the series (headlining The Who and subtitled *Ready Steady Gone!*) aired December 23, 1966. The show had been groundbreaking and influential, and the surviving footage provides a priceless archive of some memorable moments and important performances. The rights to tapes of the series were acquired by pop artist-turned-entrepreneur Dave Clark in the 1980s.

DICK FIDDY

See also **Music on Television**; *Top of the Pops*

# Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004)

U.S. Actor, Politician

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Ronald Reagan lived in the public eye for more than 50 years as an actor and politician. He appeared in 53 Hollywood movies, from *Love Is in the Air* (1937) to *The Killers* (1964). Never highly touted as an actor, his most acclaimed movie was *Kings Row* (1942), while his favorite role was as George Gipp in *Knute Rockne—All American* (1940). He served as president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1952 and again in 1959, where he led the fight against communist infiltration in the film industry and brokered residual rights for actors.

Reagan made his debut on television on December 7, 1950, as a detective on the CBS *Airflyte Theater* adaptation of an Agatha Christie novel. After a dozen appearances over the next four years on various shows, Reagan's big television break came when Taft Schreiber of MCA acquainted him with *General Electric Theater*. Reagan hosted this popular Sunday evening show from 1954 to 1962, starring in 34 episodes himself. Reagan was one of the first movie stars to see the potential of television, and, as host, he introduced such Hollywood notables as Joan Crawford, Alan Ladd, and Fred Astaire in their television debuts. He also became a goodwill ambassador for General Electric (GE), plugging GE products, meeting GE executives, and speaking to GE employees all over the United States. These activities proved fine training for his future political career as he honed his speaking skills, fashioned his viewpoints, and gained exposure to middle America.

In 1965, Reagan began a two-season stint as host of *Death Valley Days*, which he had to relinquish when he announced his candidacy for governor of California, in January 1966. During his terms as governor (1966–74), Reagan made frequent televised appearances on *Report to the People*.

The hinge between Reagan's acting and political careers swung on a nationally televised speech, "A Time for Choosing," on October 27, 1964. This speech for Barry Goldwater, which David Broder hailed as "the most successful political debut since William Jennings Bryan electrified the 1896 Democratic convention with his 'Cross of Gold' speech," brought in over \$1 million for the Republican candidate and marked the beginning of Reagan's reign as the leading conservative for the next 25 years.

By 1980, the year Reagan was elected president for the first of his two terms, more people received their political information from television than from any other source. Reagan's experience as an actor in film and on television gave him an enormous advantage as politics moved fully into its television era. His mastery of the television medium earned for him the title "the great communicator." He perfected the art of "going public," appealing to the American public on television to put pressure on Congress to support his policies. The rhetoric of this "prime-time president" suited television perfectly. Whether delivering a State of the Union address, eulogizing the crew of the space shuttle *Challenger*, or speaking directly to the nation about his strategic defense initiative, he captured the audience's attention by appealing to shared values, creating a vision of a better future, telling stories of heroes, evoking memories of a mythic past, exuding a spirit of can-do optimism, and converting complex issues into simple language that people could understand and enjoy.

Reagan understood that television is more like the oral tradition committed to narrative communication than like the literate tradition committed to linear, factual communication. As Robert E. Denton puts it, in video politics "how something is said is more important than what is said." Reagan surmounted his numerous gaffes and factual inaccuracies until the Iran-Contra affair, when it became apparent that his style could not extricate him from the suspicion that he knew more than he was telling the American public.

Reagan's administration also greatly expanded the Office of Communication to coordinate White House public relations, stage important announcements, control press conferences, and create visual productions such as *That's America*, shown at the 1984 Republican convention. Image management and manipulation increased in importance because of television. Reagan's aides perfected a new political art form, the visual press release, whereby Reagan could take credit for new housing starts while visiting a construction site in Fort Worth, Texas, or announce a new welfare initiative during a visit to a nursing home.

Ronald Reagan was an average television actor but a peerless television politician. Both Reagan and his





Ronald Reagan in the 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

staff set the standard by which future administrations will be judged. As Robert Schmuhl argues in *Statecraft and Stagecraft*, Reagan represented not only the rhetorical presidency, but the theatrical presidency as well.

D. JOEL WIGGINS

See also *General Electric Theater*; **U.S. Presidency and Television (Historical Overview)**

**Ronald (Wilson) Reagan.** Born in Tampico, Illinois, February 6, 1911. Educated at Eureka College, Illinois, B.A. in economics and sociology, 1932. Married: 1) Jane Wyman, 1940 (divorced, 1948); children: Maureen and Michael; 2) Nancy Davis, 1952; children: Patti and Ron. Served in U.S. Army Air Force, 1942–45. Wrote sports column for Des Moines, Iowa, newspaper; sports announcer, radio station WOC, Davenport, Iowa, 1932–37; in films, 1937–64; contract with Warner Brothers, 1937; first lead role in big-budget film was in *Kings Row*, 1942; president, Screen Actors Guild, 1947–52, and 1959; in television, 1953–66, starting as host of *The Orchid Awards*, 1953–54; governor of California, 1966–74; U.S. president, 1980–88. Died June 5, 2004, in Bel-Air, California.

### Television Series

- 1953–54 *The Orchid Awards* (host)  
 1953–62 *General Electric Theater* (host and program supervisor)  
 1965–66 *Death Valley Days* (host)

### Made-for-Television Movie

- 1964 *The Killers* (released as theatrical feature due to violent content)

### Films

*Love Is in the Air*, 1937; *Hollywood Hotel*, 1937; *Swing Your Lady*, 1938; *Sergeant Murphy*, 1938; *Accidents Will Happen*, 1938; *The Cowboy from Brooklyn*, 1938; *Boy Meets Girl*, 1938; *Girls on Probation*, 1938; *Brother Rat*, 1938; *Going Places*, 1939; *Secret Service of the Air*, 1939; *Dark Victory*, 1939; *Code of the Secret Service*, 1939; *Naughty but Nice*, 1939; *Hell's Kitchen*, 1939; *Angels Wash Their Faces*, 1939; *Smashing the Money Ring*, 1939; *Brother Rat and a Baby*, 1940; *An Angel from Texas*, 1940; *Murder in the Air*, 1940; *Knute Rockne—All American*, 1940; *Tugboat Annie Smith Sails Again*, 1940; *Santa Fe Trail*, 1940; *The Bad Men*, 1941; *Million Dollar Baby*, 1941; *Nine Lives Are Not Enough*, 1941; *International Squadron*, 1941; *Kings Row*, 1941; *Juke Girl*, 1942; *Desperate Journey*, 1942; *This Is the Army*, 1943; *Stallion Road*, 1947; *That Hagen Girl*, 1947; *The Voice of the Turtle*, 1947; *John Loves Mary*, 1949; *Night unto Night*, 1949; *The Girl from Jones Beach*, 1949; *It's a Great Feeling*, 1949; *The Hasty Heart*, 1950; *Louisa*, 1950; *Storm Warning*, 1951; *Bedtime for Bonzo*, 1951; *The Last Outpost*, 1951; *Hong Kong*, 1952; *She's Working Her Way Through College*, 1952; *The Winning Team*, 1952; *Tropic Zone*, 1953; *Law and Order*, 1953; *Prisoner of War*, 1954; *Cattle Queen of Montana*, 1954; *Tennessee's Partner*, 1955; *Hellcats of the Navy*, 1957; *The Young Doctors* (narrator), 1961; *The Killers*, 1964.

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# Real World, The

## U.S. Reality Series

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Beginning in the spring of 1992, *The Real World* tested the supposition of what would happen if seven strangers lived together for several months before video cameras and had most aspects of their lives taped for later editing and broadcast. The ultimate appeal for viewers, as the show suggests in its opening, is watching what happens "when people stop being polite, and start getting real." As is made clear at the beginning of the program, the format for *The Real World* consists of hand-selecting seven young adults (ages 18 to 28), plopping them in a plush, rent-free home for four to five months, and observing their interactions. While living in this fishbowl environment the "cast" is videotaped 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Finally, the videotape—over 2,000 hours of footage—is edited into 22 or 23 half-hour episodes.

Each season *The Real World* sets up in a new city, with a new cast of seven young adults, picked from thousands of applicants reflecting a diverse set of backgrounds, ideologies, and stereotypes. *The Real World Chicago* (season 11) is typical, and includes a biracial lesbian; a recovering alcoholic; a homosexual male; an all-American, football-playing Princeton student; a sexually fixated black male who is determined

to sleep with the house lesbian; and a religious woman who is intimidated by blacks and believes homosexuality is a sin. As a result of the selective casting, drama between the roommates inevitably ensues, especially when placed in *The Real World* environment. For example, no televisions or radios are allowed in *The Real World* household. As a result of this and other devices, cast members must interact with each other instead of zoning out on music or television.

Episodes of *The Real World* cover the day-to-day activities of the cast. They are usually required to perform some volunteer work with a local organization. Snippets of the roommates' activities are highlighted by "confessionals," allowing cast members, in solitude, to directly address a video camera in a manner similar to a video diary. The "confessional" is a *Real World* invention that dozens of other reality shows, including *Survivor*, *Boot Camp*, *Making of the Band*, *Big Brother*, and *The Real World's* sister show, *Road Rules*, have adopted. By allowing the audience to listen to a cast member explain his or her thoughts or give context to events they are witnessing, the viewer has an even closer look at the lives and individual thoughts of cast members.

In some ways, then, *The Real World* combines the soap opera format with elements of documentary film to create a distinctive reality television experience. The cast and their reactions to events are real. However, through the magic of editing, storylines and sensational moments are pulled from the material to build an ongoing saga. It is no surprise to learn that the creators of *The Real World*, Mary-Ellis Bunim and Jonathan Murray, previously worked with soap operas and documentary films, respectively.

Since its inception, *The Real World* has continued to garner impressive ratings in the highly coveted young adult market. In addition, the success of *The Real World* has launched a home-video market. These videos primarily feature content—nudity or other “adult-oriented” material—that could not be shown on basic cable television. *The Real World*'s spin-off, *Road Rules*, is similar to *The Real World*, but instead of living in a lavishly decorated house, the *Road Rules* cast lives on a huge, traveling bus and competes in challenges to win money and prizes. The producers of *The Real World* and *Road Rules* have tapped the combined drawing power of the shows to create television specials such as *The Road Rules/Real World Challenge*, which features cast members from the two shows competing against each other for prizes and cash. Other *Real World* specials include cast reunions, love specials (featuring cast members who engaged in romantic relationships), and fight specials (featuring the worst—or best—arguments). There are even specials devoted to examining the “rejects” of the show, splicing together in comical fashion clips of audition tapes from the thousands of *Real World* wannabes who did not make the cut.

*The Real World*'s commercialism and synergy extends beyond home-video sales and television specials. Fans of the show are prompted at the end of each episode to purchase a CD of the music featured on *The Real World*. Additionally, *Real World* enthusiasts can visit the show's website, buy *Real World* merchandise, and even bid on items from the current *Real World* house that are auctioned off to the highest bidder. In this manner *The Real World* blends nicely with the basic programming format of the Music Television network (MTV), which is designed essentially to sell music and music-related merchandise through the advertising potential grounded in airing music videos and music-related programming.

*The Real World* served as an important foundation for other reality series to follow. It was instrumental in popularizing the voyeuristic, real-life soap-opera format and was the first to utilize the “confessional,” which has become a mainstay for many reality television programs. Its popularity has spread to the creation of hundreds of websites maintained by and engaging

thousands of fans, to sales of videos and merchandise, and to the creation of *Real World* auctions, specials and spin-offs. As a result, *The Real World* can be viewed as the grandfather of the contemporary reality television genre.

LISA JONIAK

*See also* **Big Brother**; **MTV**; **Reality Programming**; **Survivor**

#### Cast

Season 1:	Andre, Becky, Eric, Heather, Julie, Kevin, and Norman
Season 2:	Aaron, Beth, David, Dominic, Irene, Jon, and Tami
Season 3:	Cory, Judd, Mohammed, Pam, Pedro, Puck, and Rachel
Season 4:	Jacinda, Jay, Kat, Lars, Michael, Neil, and Sharon
Season 5:	Cynthia, Dan, Flora, Joe, Melissa, Mike, and Sarah
Season 6:	Elka, Genesis, Jason, Kameelah, Montana, Sean, and Syrus
Season 7:	David, Irene, Janet, Lindsey, Nathan, Rebecca, and Stephen
Season 8:	Amaya, Collin, Justin, Kaia, Matt, Ruthie, and Teck
Season 9:	Danny, David, Jamie, Julie, Kelly, Matt, and Melissa
Season 10:	Coral, Kevin, Lori, Malik, Mike, Nicole, and Rachel
Season 11:	Aneesa, Cara, Chris, Keri, Kyle, Theo, and Tonya
Season 12:	Alton, Arissa, Brynn, Frank, Irulan, Steven, and Trishelle
Season 13:	Ace, Adam, Chris (CT), Christina, Leah, Mallory, and Simon

#### Creators/Executive Producers

Jonathan Murray and Mary-Ellis Bunim

#### Programming History

1992	Season 1, New York, 13 episodes
1993	Season 2, Los Angeles, 23 episodes
1994	Season 3, San Francisco, 23 episodes
1995	Season 4, London, 22 episodes
1996	Season 5, Miami, 23 episodes
1997	Season 6, Boston, 23 episodes
1998	Season 7, Seattle, 23 episodes
1999	Season 8, Hawaii, 23 episodes
2000	Season 9, New Orleans, 23 episodes
2001	Season 10, Back to New York, 22 episodes

## Real World, The

2002	Season 11, Chicago, 23 episodes (note: start of two seasons per year)
2002	Season 12, Las Vegas, 28 episodes
2003	Season 13, Paris, 23+ episodes

## Music Television (MTV)

June 1992–  
present      Tuesday 10:00–10:30

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# Reality Television (U.S.)

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"Reality television" is a label that encompasses a wide range of nonfiction formats, including gamedocs, makeover programs, talent contests, docusoaps, dating shows, court programs, tabloid newsmagazine shows, and reality-based sitcoms. Yet, the genre's overarching characteristic is its claim to "the real," which it works to underscore through its aesthetic strategies (use of cinema verité techniques, surveillance video, low-end production values, or "natural settings"), its relentless obsession with the intimate, and its tendency to focus on ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances. And it is these very traits that have helped make reality TV one of the most talked about, reviled, and popular genres on television.

The summer of 2000 is often considered the starting point of the reality television phenomenon in the United States, since it marked the initial appearance and unexpected popularity of *Survivor* and *Big Brother*. Yet, the roots of the genre stretch back to television's early years with programs that delved into the personal lives of game contestants (*Queen for a Day* and *Bride and Groom*) or used hidden cameras to catch people in compromising or embarrassing situations (*Candid Camera*). Nevertheless, there have been distinct periods in television history wherein reality programs have swelled in numbers or developed in novel and significant ways.

During the 1980s, the networks' financial and labor troubles contributed to a proliferation of reality-based programs. Already burdened by rising production costs, debts incurred by the mid-decade sale of three networks to new owners, and a loss of viewers to burgeoning cable channels, the broadcast industry faced a writers' strike in 1988. In the midst of what would become a 22-week walk-off, networks came to depend on their existing lineup of reality programs (which did-

n't depend on writers or other above-the-line talent) and produced new reality shows in order to fill the gap left by their fictional counterparts. From this, the networks learned reality programming was not only cheap, but also strike-proof, and they consequently added more of such programs to their prime-time lineups. Some of the most successful of the shows that came out of this period were *COPS*, *America's Most Wanted*, *Unsolved Mysteries*, *America's Funniest Home Videos* and *Rescue 911*. But reality programs were not just confined to prime time. Syndicated talk shows such as *Geraldo*, *Oprah*, and *Donahue* began to take over the daytime programming slots, while tabloid magazine programs like *Inside Edition*, *A Current Affair*, and *Entertainment Tonight* were populating afternoon and early evening slots.

The fact that these programs tended to focus on the personal problems of both ordinary people and celebrities led many to decry them as exploitative and sensational and to eventually group them under the derogatory heading, "trash TV." According to many critics, one producer in particular seemed to represent the very worst tendencies of this type of reality production. Mike Darnell, a former child star, produced a series of controversial specials for FOX during the mid-1990s—such as *World's Scariest Police Chases* and *When Good Pets Go Bad*—which were amped-up collections of recycled home movie and news footage that were described by the *New York Times* as "gross-out shockumentaries and socially unredemptive freak shows." In 1999, FOX's decision to air Darnell's *Who Wants To Marry a Multimillionaire?* (a combination beauty contest and dating show met with almost universal scorn) appeared to be the death knell for both Darnell's career and, perhaps, reality programming in general. However, at that very moment, CBS execu-

tives and producer Mark Burnett were creating a new model of reality in the form of an expensively produced game show/documentary hybrid. That program, *Survivor*, would air the following summer and give rise to an unprecedented number of reality programs in prime-time television.

Like the wave of reality in the 1980s, the proliferation of reality in the early 2000s was driven, in part, by financial concerns and the threat of more strikes by writers and actors. However, this most recent surge was also pushed along by both the promise and threat posed by new technologies. The appearance of digital video recorders like TiVo and Replay, which allowed consumers to not only record up to 90 hours of their favorite shows, but to also skip over commercial spots during real-time broadcasts, threatened to upend the long-standing relationship between networks and advertisers. However, a re-envisioned version of reality programming, as exemplified by *Survivor*, allowed for sponsorship and product placement, enabling networks a way around the commercial-skipping feature.

Other technologies offered the potential for audience participation and worked well to increase viewer interest in the gamedoc format of many of these new reality programs. They also significantly increased the potential for profits. Phone numbers set up to take viewer votes to expel contestants often charged callers for the privilege. Websites were set up to provide extra footage or updates for a price, like the *Big Brother* site that charged \$19.95 for access to 24-hour live streaming video of the contestants in the house. While not a popular strategy for American television, European versions of reality programs sold a service that would keep fans on top of program developments with regular text message updates sent to their cell phones. These technologies not only gave networks new financing opportunities, but also offered viewers rather unique ways to engage with a reality narrative that seemed to extend outside the boundaries of traditional textual installments.

But it was not only networks that were investing in reality TV. Basic and premium cable channels also found the genre to be a cheap and popular programming alternative that they could easily gear toward the interests of their target audiences. MTV, whose long-standing *Real World* program had prefigured many of the characteristics of the new wave of reality programming a decade before *Survivor* came on the air, developed reality shows that featured teenagers, sorority girls, and rock stars. *The Osbournes*, a reality sitcom that centered on the domestic life of Ozzy Osbourne and his wife, children, and innumerable pets, became the most successful (and expensive) of such shows of 2002. Premium channels Showtime and HBO also



*COPS.*

Photo courtesy of Fox Broadcasting Company

added more risqué or raw versions of reality to their schedules with series like *Freshman Diaries* and *America Undercover*. The Learning Channel found its reality niche with makeover and lifestyle shows that often were packaged with an “educational” or family bent. Expanding upon its success with *A Wedding Story/A Baby Story* series, it filled its daytime schedule with *A Makeover Story*, *A Personal Story*, *A Dating Story*, and added shows like *Maternity Ward* and *Resident Life* to its prime-time lineup. It also Americanized a number of British imports such as *Changing Rooms* (which it renamed *Trading Spaces*) and *What Not To Wear*.

Reality TV has become a decidedly global phenomenon that has involved a reversal of the usual flow of programming across international borders. Instead of the United States being the major television exporter, European companies were the originators of many of the formats that have become the most popular reality programs in the United States. The Dutch production company Endemol is one of the most successful producers of such formats, selling basic elements of shows like *Big Brother* and *Fear Factor* to not only the United States but also markets in Africa, Latin Amer-

ica, Asia, and Europe. British exporters have also done well for themselves selling programs that found their initial success on the BBC and Channel 4 to U.S. cable stations and networks. The practice of selling formats instead of providing already-produced programs for international distribution is relatively new industrial practice, and is considered yet another financial advantage of the genre. Believing that a program can be evacuated of its cultural particulars and then refilled with new ones once it arrives in another country, production companies assume that the basics of reality programming maintain a universal appeal.

Although many critics in the United States predicted the genre's rapid decline or demise just a year or two after its rise, reality TV continued to dominate the airwaves. In fact, in early 2003, ABC announced that one-seventh of all its programming was reality-based and was planning to add even more to its schedule in upcoming seasons. The staying power of the genre and the success of new shows like *American Idol* and *The Bachelorette* convinced networks to make long-term plans for reality TV and its accompanying business strategies. In a front-page story on the topic in the *New York Times*, president of CBS television, Leslie Moonves, proclaimed rather melodramatically that, "The world as we knew it is over." A few months later, development plans

for an all-reality cable channel were revealed, and *The Real Cancun*, the first "reality movie" was released in theaters. Surprisingly, even Darnell and FOX overcame the taint of the *Multimillionaire* disaster and came out with two new and softer marriage programs, *Joe Millionaire* and *Married by America*, which had followed ABC's success with *The Bachelor*.

SUSAN MURRAY

*See also America's Most Wanted; Big Brother; Candid Camera; COPS; Real World; Survivor*

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## Red Green Show, The

### Canadian Comedy Program

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*The Red Green Show* is a half-hour comedy series targeted to family audiences. *The Red Green Show* is the creation of Steve Smith (S & S Productions) and debuted on CHCH-TV in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, in 1990 and featured on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). The low-budget variety show is a spinoff of the *Smith & Smith* variety show that featured Smith and his wife, Morag, and served as a debut for the Green character. *The Red Green Show* features Smith as Red Green, a gentle, handy, outdoorsman with a laid-back sense of humor. *The Red Green Show* is set at the fictitious Possum Lodge, Chapter 13, known as the hang-out of "the last real men on the planet." The cast consists mostly of incompetent outdoorsmen in plaid shirts who unwittingly work right into Green's bizarre sense of humor. *The Red Green Show* is intended as a

spoof on male bonding in the outdoors and gives an intentionally hilarious insight into the dreams and obsessions of men. Regular segments include the "Handyman's Corner" (where Red's philosophy of "if women don't find you handsome, they should at least find you handy" is played out with innovative, yet unseemly construction adaptations using duct tape, the "handyman's secret weapon"); "The Experts" (featuring a panel of Possum Lodge, Chapter 13 members who answer viewer mail and find any way to respond without the words, "I don't know"); and "Adventures with Bill" (a klutzy outdoors and nature segment hosted by Possum Lodge's resident naturalist and narrated by Red and shot in black and white).

Other Lodge members and characters include nerdy nephew Harold Green (Pat McKenna); clumsy

naturalist Bill Smith (Rick Green); compulsive liar Hap Shaughnessy (Gordon Pinsent); bush pilot and hippie Buzz Sherwood (Peter Wildman); Monster Truck driver Dougie Franklin (Ian Thomas); natural resources enthusiast and golfer Bob Stuyvestant (Bruce Hunter); vacationless fire watch tower warden Ranger Gord (Peter Kelleghan); penny-pinching Dalton Humphries (Bob Bainborough); sales-without-the-service marina owner Glen Braxton (Mark Wilson); sweet but not innocent repeat offender Mike Hammer (Wayne Robson); dynamite-loving Edgar Montrose (Graham Greene); septic-sucking motivator Winston Rothschild III (Jeff Lumby); and big-city land developer Kevin Black (Paul Gross). Mythical

characters include Red's wife, sweet Bernice; the cranky, old, senile, and mean Old Man Sedgewick; the large, stupid, and strong Moose Thompson; the smelly and unclean Stinky Peterson; and the unlucky in love Junior Singleton. Co-writers are Rick Green and Peter Wildman.

*The Red Green Show* was been honored with Canada's 1999 Gemini Award for Best Performance in a Comedy Program or Series (awarded to Steve Smith and Patrick McKenna), and the Rockie Award of the Sir Peter Ustinov Endowment. Smith is a successful fundraiser for PBS; his supporters and fans pledged millions of dollars to PBS.

MARGARET MILLER BUTCHER

## Red Skelton Show, The

U.S. Comedy/Variety Program

*The Red Skelton Show*, which premiered on September 30, 1951, was not only one of the longest-running variety series on television but also one of the first variety shows to make the successful transition from radio to television. Despite his popularity as an entertainer in nightclubs, vaudeville, radio, and 26 feature films, Skelton was unsure of the new medium. Consequently, he continued his weekly radio broadcasts while simultaneously working on the first two seasons of his television show.

The series originally aired in a half-hour format on NBC. Despite an outstanding first year, in which his show was ranked fourth in the Nielsens and won two Emmy Awards, the series' ratings toppled in its second season. When NBC canceled the show, it was immediately picked up by CBS, and *The Red Skelton Show* became a Tuesday night staple from 1954 to 1970, garnering a total of 16 Emmy nominations.

The format of the series was similar to Skelton's radio program. Each show began with Skelton performing a monologue based on topical material, followed by a musical interlude. Next would follow a series of blackout sketches featuring one or more of his characters. The sketches were a mixture of new material and old routines perfected over the years in vaudeville and in nightclubs (including his popular "Guzzler's Gin" sketch). At the end of the program, Skelton would turn serious, expressing his gratitude to his audience for

their love and laughter. His signature closing line became "Good night, and may God bless."

*The Red Skelton Show*, unlike other variety series, did not rely on guest stars every week. Skelton had a strong group of support players, most of whom had worked with him on radio, including Benny Rubin, Hans Conried, Mel Blanc, and Verna Felton.

Most of Skelton's characters were first developed for radio and worked equally well on television. Among the best known were Junior the Mean Widdle Kid (who was famous for his expression, "I dood it"), country boy Clem Kadiddlehopper, Sheriff Deadeye, boxer Cauliflower McPugg, drunkard Willy Lump-Lump, and con man San Fernando Red. Skelton had a reputation for his extensive use of "headware"—each character had his own specific hat, which Skelton used as a means to find the center of each personality. The only television addition to his repertoire of characters was Freddie the Freeloader, a hobo who never spoke. A special "silent spot" featuring the hobo character was added to the program and provided Skelton the opportunity to demonstrate his talents as a pantomimist.

Skelton's forte was his use of slapstick. He appeared oblivious to physical punishment and often ended his vaudeville act by falling off the stage into the orchestra pit. One of his most popular pieces was created for his premiere show. At the end of his monologue, while



*Red Skelton Show*, Eve Arden, Red Skelton as George Appleby, 1951–71; 1961 episode.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Skelton was taking a bow, two hands reached out from under the curtain, grabbed him by the ankles, and swept him off the stage.

Many stars got their start on *The Red Skelton Show*. In 1954, Johnny Carson, one of Skelton's writers, was called upon to fill in for the star when Skelton injured himself during a rehearsal. The Rolling Stones made one of their earliest U.S. appearances on the show in 1964.

Critics often chastised Skelton for breaking into laughter at his own material on the air. But, no matter how many times he succumbed to his giggles, took another pratfall, mugged for the camera, or made asides to the audience, his popularity only increased.

Although the series remained among the top-20 rated shows, CBS canceled it in 1970, citing high production costs. However, it was also the case that Skelton's main audience was very young viewers, and it is more likely that the network wanted shows that would increase its audience share of young adults. The next season, Skelton returned to NBC in a half-hour format on Monday night, but the new show lasted only one season.

During the run of his variety series, Skelton was also able to demonstrate his dramatic abilities. He played punch-drunk fighter Buddy McCoy in *Playhouse 90's The Big Slide* (CBS, November 8, 1956), for which he was nominated for an Emmy Award as best actor. He died in Rancho Mirage, California, on September 17, 1997.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

*See also* Skelton, Red; Variety Programs

**Regular Performers**

Red Skelton  
David Rose and His Orchestra  
Carol Worthington (1970–71)  
Chanin Hale (1970–71)  
Jan Arvan (1970–71)  
Bob Duggan (1970–71)  
Peggy Rea (1970–71)  
Brad Logan (1970–71)  
The Burgundy Street Singers (1970–71)

**Producers**

1951–70: Nat Perrin, Cecil Barker, Freeman Keyes, Ben Brady, Gerald Gardner, Bill Hobin, Seymour Berns; 1970–71: Guy Della Cioppa, Gerald Gardner, Dee Caruso

**Programming History**

NBC	
September 1951–June 1952	Sunday 10:00–10:30
September 1952–June 1953	Sunday 7:00–7:30
CBS	
September 1953–June 1954	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
July 1954–September 1954	Wednesday 8:00–9:00
September 1954–December 1954	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
January 1959–June 1961	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
September 1961–June 1962	Tuesday 9:00–9:30
September 1962–June 1963	Tuesday 8:30–9:30
September 1963–June 1964	Tuesday 8:00–9:00
September 1964–June 1970	Tuesday 8:30–9:30
NBC	
September 1970–March 1971	Monday 7:30–8:00
June 1971–August 1971	Sunday 8:30–9:00

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## Redmond, Phil (1949– )

### British Producer

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Phil Redmond is the most well-known drama producer in Britain, recognized as the creator of the long-running children's school drama *Grange Hill* and the soap opera *Brookside*. Redmond rose from a council estate childhood in north Liverpool to become a media celebrity and owner of a large private production company. As for most working-class children, a career in the media lay outside his reach, and in 1968 he left his local comprehensive school to train as a quantity surveyor in the building trade. However, by 1972, he had abandoned this, having resolved instead to become a writer, and to take a university degree in social studies to help him in the task. The course had a profound effect on his career, and his writing and programs continually draw on forms of social observation.

The producer's career in television began as a scriptwriter for comedy programs, but his major breakthrough came in 1978, when his proposals for a new children's drama series were adopted by the BBC. What set *Grange Hill* apart from other high school dramas was the program's realism and its interweaving of serious moral and social issues, such as truancy, teenage sex, heroin addiction, and racism, into the story lines. The program's unsentimental approach to school and controversial subject matter has frequently provoked complaints from pressure groups. Despite the objections, however, the series has always been hugely popular with young people, and successive generations of school students have grown up with the program and enjoyed exposure to the problems of the "real" world.

Redmond wrote over 30 episodes for *Grange Hill* in its first four seasons, but his ambitions were driving him toward becoming a producer in his own right and following up the opportunities created by the advent of the fourth channel in Britain. He approached the head

of Channel 4, Jeremy Isaacs, and its commissioning editor for fiction, David Rose, and succeeded in convincing them that they should adopt his proposals for *Brookside*, a twice-weekly soap opera focusing on social issues based around family life on a new private housing estate. Channel 4 brought a new style of television production to Britain by commissioning independent production companies to make programs. In 1981, Redmond secured a £4 million investment from Channel 4 to establish his own company, Mersey Television, and to begin work on *Brookside*. Much of the money was spent purchasing and fitting out the real Liverpool housing estate that was to serve both as the production and company base.

The development of Redmond's soap opera is of considerable importance to the history of British television. For many years following its launch in 1982, *Brookside* provided Channel 4 with by far its most popular program and played a major role in establishing the viability of the channel. The setting up of Mersey Television in Liverpool to produce the program represented a considerable innovation, for it created not only the largest independent production company in Britain, with over 100 full-time jobs for the local workforce, but also significantly extended the opportunities for television production outside London.

Redmond has always contended that the audience of popular drama will respond positively to challenging subject matter. With *Brookside* he was to prove his point. After a slightly shaky start, the program's realist aesthetics, pioneering single-camera video production on location, and focus on major social issues such as unemployment, rape, drug use, and gay rights has won over an up-market audience group not normally interested in soaps. The program helped to raise the stakes



Phil Redmond, creator of "Brookside," "Hollyoaks," and "Grange Hill."

Photo courtesy of Phil Redmond

of production design, and has added a new seriousness to popular drama. A new generation of realist drama programs, including top shows such as *EastEnders* and *Casualty*, have followed *Brookside*'s example and explored contemporary social problems.

Redmond's wider business activities provide a conspicuous example of the entrepreneurial spirit that has pervaded broadcasting in Britain following deregulation. In 1991, he was at the center of the £80 million consortium bid for the new ITV franchise in northwest England, which had been held by Granada since 1956. Though the bid was unsuccessful, the additional premises that had been acquired to substantiate it have strengthened the power base of Mersey Television and enabled it to extend its production. In 1990, the output of *Brookside* was increased to three episodes a week and its audience peaked at 8 million viewers in 1993. In 1995, Redmond successfully bid for a new youth

soap opera, and *Hollyoaks* was introduced into Channel 4's early evening schedule.

Redmond and his company have ridden the recession in British commercial TV at the start of the new century with more limited success. The proliferation of new digital and terrestrial channels drew away large numbers of viewers from Channel 4, and by 2002 *Brookside*'s audience had dropped to less than a million. Audience tastes, too, were changing, moving away from realist fictions to reality television and lifestyle shows *Brookside* was closed down in November 2003. However, *Hollyoaks* has moved from strength to strength in its niche as an upbeat, lifestyle soap, and output has been increased to five episodes a week. At the same time, Redmond has also resumed executive control of *Grange Hill*. The move of the production from London to Mersey Television has taken up some of the company's spare capacity brought about by the loss of *Brookside*.

Redmond remains the chair of the largest independent drama production company in Britain, which over the years has launched the careers of some of the most well-known actors, writers, directors, and producers in British television. He continues to play an active role in television training.

BOB MILLINGTON

See also *Brookside*; *Channel 4*; *Grange Hill*

**Phil Redmond.** Born in Liverpool, Lancashire, England, 1949. Began career as a television scriptwriter, contributing to *Z Cars* and other series; established reputation with the realistic school series *Grange Hill*, BBC; subsequently moved into independent television, setting up Mersey Television and creating *Brookside* soap opera for Channel 4.

#### Television Series

1978–	<i>Grange Hill</i>
1982–2003	<i>Brookside</i>
1995–	<i>Holly Oaks</i>

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# Redstone, Sumner (1923– )

## U.S. Media Mogul

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Sumner Redstone is one of the most powerful media moguls of the early 21st century. In his capacity as chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Viacom, Redstone controls Hollywood's Paramount Pictures television and motion picture factory; the CBS and UPN networks; a handful of cable TV networks, including MTV, the Movie Channel, Showtime, Black Entertainment Television, The Nashville Network, Comedy Central, Country Music Television, Nickelodeon, and VH-1; several radio and TV stations; and a TV production and syndication business that owns the lucrative syndication rights to *Roseanne*, *A Different World*, *I Love Lucy*, *Perry Mason*, *The Twilight Zone*, and *The Cosby Show*. Viacom has also produced such prime-time fare as *Matlock* and *Jake and the Fatman*.

Redstone's father, Michael, first sold linoleum from the back of a truck, later became a liquor wholesaler, and finally purchased two nightclubs and set up one of the original drive-in movie operations in the United States. By the time Sumner Redstone graduated from Harvard University in 1943, his father was concentrating on the movie industry. One of a number of struggling owners in the fledgling drive-in business, he was unable to book first-run films because the vertically integrated Hollywood giants promoted their own movie theaters.

Sumner Redstone graduated first in his class from the prestigious Boston Latin School and then finished Harvard in less than three years. Upon graduation, he was recruited by Edwin Reischauer, a future U.S. ambassador to Japan, for an ace U.S. Army intelligence unit that would become famous for cracking Japan's military codes. After three years of service, during which he received two Army commendations, Redstone entered Harvard Law School.

After graduating from Harvard Law in 1947, he began to practice law, first in Washington, D.C., and then in Boston, but he soon was lured into the family movie-theater business. Two decades later, Redstone became president and chief executive officer of the family firm, National Amusements, Inc. (NAI) and he took on the additional role of chairman of the NAI board in 1986. Indeed, even with his move to Viacom,

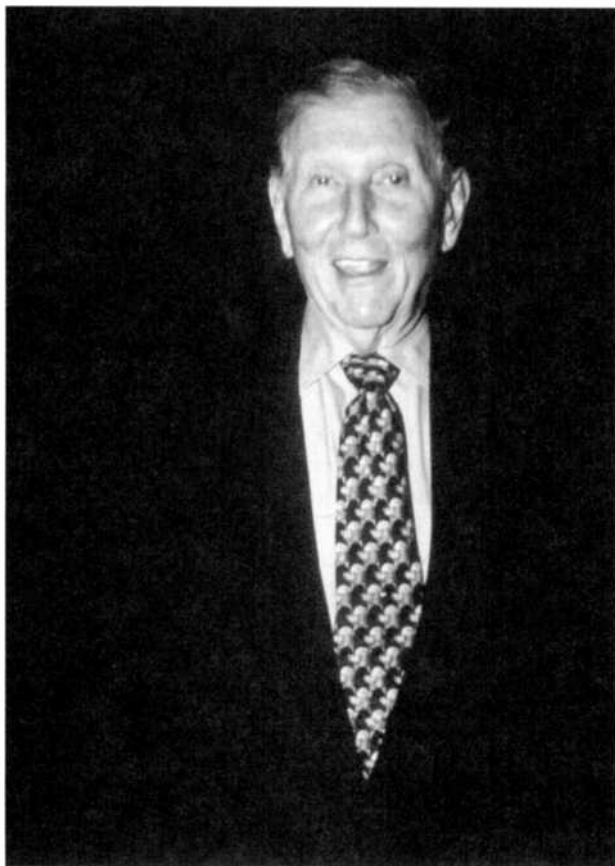
Redstone has continued in the movie-exhibition business. At the end of the 20th century, National Amusements operated 1,350 screens across the United States, the United Kingdom, and Latin America.

Redstone is a physically tough individual. In 1979, he survived a Boston hotel fire by clinging to a third-floor window with one severely burned hand. Doctors never expected him to live through 60 hours of surgery, but he did. Medical experts told him he would never walk again, yet Redstone began to exercise daily on a treadmill and to play tennis regularly, wearing a leather strap that enabled him to grip his racquet. Those who know the Boston tycoon say that his recovery spurred his ambition to succeed in the motion-picture and later television business.

As he recovered from his burns, Redstone used his knowledge of the movie business to begin selectively acquiring stock in Hollywood studios. In a relatively short time, he made millions of dollars buying and selling stakes in Twentieth Century Fox, Columbia Pictures Entertainment, MGM/UA Entertainment, and Orion. At first, Viacom represented simply another stock market investment, but soon Redstone realized that the company needed new management, and, in 1987, he resolved to take over and run the operation.

Redstone's acquisition proved difficult. The company had rebuffed an earlier takeover attempt by financier Carl Icahn, and Viacom executives had sought to buy and protect their own company. Redstone became embroiled in a bitter, six-month corporate raid that forced him to raise his offer three times. Upon final acquisition, rather than break up Viacom and sell off divisions to pay for the deal as his bankers advised, Redstone slowly and quietly built the company into one of the world's top TV corporations.

Redstone hired former Home Box Office chief executive Frank Biondi to build on Viacom's diversity. For example, by the mid-1990s, Viacom had expanded its MTV music network far beyond its original base in the United States to reach more than 200 million households in approximately 80 countries in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Redstone felt that his networks needed a Hollywood studio to make new products, and in 1993 he decided to acquire Paramount. He soon



Sumner Redstone, 2000.  
©Robert Bertoia/Everett Collection

found himself in a battle with QVC Network, Inc., and in time he joined forces with video rental empire Blockbuster Entertainment to cement the deal.

Owning more than two-thirds of Viacom's voting stock (as of 2002) means that Redstone controls a vast media empire second only to that of Rupert Murdoch. Through the 1990s and early 2000s, *Forbes* ranked Redstone among the richest persons in the United States, with a net worth in excess of \$4 billion. Yet Redstone has never "gone Hollywood." At the start of the 21st century, he continues to operate his collection of enterprises, not from Paramount's sprawling studio on Melrose Avenue in Hollywood, but from his long-time NAI headquarters in Dedham, Massachusetts.

On September 7, 1999, Redstone announced the capstone deal of his life by taking over CBS Corporation for \$37.3 billion. He was able to bend the Federal Communications Commission ownership rules, and the deal sailed past government regulators. Mel Karmazin of CBS became the chief operating officer of the whole company, but with Redstone owning controlling interest in the stock, it was clear who was the boss, the final

decision maker. Thus, Redstone brought together the CBS and UPN television networks and Viacom's cable channels under one roof, making Redstone one of the handful of the world's most powerful media moguls. But as the advertising market soured at the commencement of the 21st century, the synergy of the merger did not increase profits. Overall, advertising sales were down, and it was uncertain whether Redstone, as he neared his 80th birthday, would spin off subsidiaries he deemed unnecessary for Viacom's future.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also Cable Networks; MTV; Syndication*

**Sumner Murray Redstone.** Born Sumner Murray Rothstein in Boston, Massachusetts, May 27, 1923. Educated at Harvard University, B.A., 1944, L.L.B., 1947. Married: Phyllis Gloria Raphael, 1947; children: Brent Dale and Shari Ellin. Served as first lieutenant, U.S. Army, 1943-45. Admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, 1947; instructor of law and labor management, University of San Francisco, 1947; law secretary, U.S. Court of Appeals for 9th Circuit, San Francisco, 1947-48; admitted to U.S. Court of Appeals (1st and 9th Circuits), 1948; special assistant to U.S. Attorney General, Washington, D.C., 1948-51; admitted to U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit), 1950; admitted to Washington, D.C., Bar, 1951; partner in firm of Ford, Bergson, Adams, Borkland, and Redstone, Washington, D.C., 1951-54; admitted to U.S. Supreme Court, 1952; executive vice president, Northeast Drive-In Theater Corporation, 1954-68; president, Northeast Theater Corporation; assistant president, Theater Owners of America, 1960-63, president, 1964-65; chair of the board, National Association of Theater Owners, 1965-66; president and chief executive officer, National Amusements, Inc., Dedham, Massachusetts, since 1967, chair of the board, since 1986; chair of the board, Viacom International, Inc. and Viacom, Inc., New York City; professor, Boston University Law School, 1982, 1985-86. Member: American Bar Association; National Association of Theatre Owners; Theatre Owners of America; Motion Picture Pioneers; Boston Bar Association; Massachusetts Bar Association; Harvard Law School Association; American Judicature Society. Recipient: Army Commendation Medal; William J. German Human Relations Award, American Jewish Committee Entertainment and Communication Division, 1977; Silver Shingle Award, Boston University Law School, 1985; Man of the Year, Entertainment Industries Division of United Jewish Appeal Federation, 1988; Variety New England Humanitarian Award, 1989; Pioneer of the Year, Motion Picture Pioneers, 1991.

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## Rees, Marian

U.S. Producer

After graduating with honors in sociology from the University of Iowa, Marian Rees moved to Los Angeles in 1952, where she began her television career as a receptionist-typist at NBC. By 1955, she had joined the Norman Lear-Bud Yorkin company, Tandem Productions, and in 1958, she served as an associate producer of the much-honored *An Evening with Fred Astaire*. She continued to advance in the organization, and by the early 1970s, she served as associate producer of the pilots of *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*. In 1972, however, she was told by Tandem that she would be happier elsewhere, and was given two weeks' notice. It was a stunning blow, but as she told an interviewer in 1986, she used the firing to grow.

Rees assumed a new position at the independent production company Tomorrow Entertainment, where she broadened her knowledge of development, preproduction, and postproduction. At Tomorrow, Rees was associated with a variety of quality productions, including *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. She then spent two years as vice president of the NRW Company, where she was the executive producer of *The Marva Collins Story*, a *Hallmark Hall of Fame* presentation starring Cicely Tyson. In 1982, Rees formed her own company, Marian Rees Associates. Anne Hopkins joined the company as a partner and has continued to work with Rees ever since.

In order to fund her first independent productions, Rees initially mortgaged her home and car, facing demands for financial qualification far more extensive than would have been required for a man. She pressed for months to gain network approval for her first production, *Miss All-American Beauty*, but resistance continued, and she finally learned that the male executive she had to convince simply did not want to trust a woman. Finally, with funds running extremely low, approval for the project came from CBS. Rees completed the production under budget, and her company at last found itself on solid footing.

In the succeeding years, Rees has garnered 11 Emmy Awards and 38 Emmy nominations. In 1992, just ten years after her company began, she saw her film for NBC, *Miss Rose White*, garner four Emmys out of ten nominations, a Golden Globe nomination, and the Humanitas Award. Ten of her productions have been aired as part of the *Hallmark Hall of Fame* series.

Rees has remained faithful to her vision of excellence, even in times of financial difficulty. She examines potential stories to ascertain whether they speak to her personally, and whether they will make her proud to be associated with the final product. These same concerns are reflected in the meticulous attention she and her partner give to each project once it is in production. While filming *Miss Rose White* in spring 1992



Marian Rees.  
Photo courtesy of Marian Rees

in Richmond, Virginia, for example, both Rees and Hopkins supervised details at every stage and personally examined each location shot for authenticity. Such care has meant that their work is usually focused on a single film at a time. Rees and Hopkins form a remarkable team, taking considerable risks, and always delivering quality products, a task made more difficult in today's U.S. television industry.

In 1997, the partners joined with Stephen Kulczycki to form ALT Films, a nonprofit production company that in 1999 won a grant to produce five films based on American literary works for *ExxonMobil Masterpiece Theatre's American Collection* on PBS. The adapted works were Esmeralda Santiago's *Almost a Woman*, James Agee's *A Death in the Family*, Eudora Welty's *The Ponder Heart*, Willa Cather's *The Song of the Lark*, and Langston Hughes's *Cora Unashamed*. These five films aired from 2000 to 2002.

A champion for women's rights in the U.S. television industry throughout her career, Marian Rees served two terms as president of Women in Film. Her service to her profession also includes board membership at the American Film Institute and the Producer's

Guild of America, where she has served as vice president. "Producer" may be an easy title to acquire in the modern television age. Few earn it, and certainly none deserve it more than Marian Rees.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also All in the Family; Hallmark Hall of Fame; Sanford and Son*

**Marian Rees.** Worked in live television, New York City, from 1950s; associate producer, Tandem Productions, 1955–72; executive, Tomorrow Entertainment, First Artists Television, EMI Television, and NRW Company's features division, 1972–82; founder, Marian Rees Associates, 1982, ALT Films, 1997; producer, numerous made-for-television movies. Member: Women in Film (twice elected president); board of directors, American Film Institute; Producers Guild of America (vice president, 1996).

**Television Series (selected)**

- 1971–79 *All in the Family*
- 1972–77 *Sanford and Son*
- 2000–02 *ExxonMobil Masterpiece Theatre's American Collection*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

- 1979 *Orphan Train*
- 1981 *The Marva Collins Story*
- 1981 *Angel Dusted*
- 1982 *Miss All-American Beauty*
- 1983 *Between Friends*
- 1984 *License to Kill*
- 1984 *Love Is Never Silent*
- 1986 *Christmas Snow*
- 1986 *Resting Place*
- 1987 *The Room Upstairs*
- 1987 *Foxfire*
- 1988 *Little Girl Lost*
- 1989 *The Shell Seekers*
- 1989 *Home Fires Burning*
- 1990 *Decoration Day*
- 1992 *Miss Rose White*
- 1995 *In Pursuit of Honor*
- 1995 *When the Vows Break*
- 1998 *Ruby Bridges*
- 2000 *Cora Unashamed*
- 2000 *Papa's Angels*
- 2000 *The Song of the Lark*
- 2001 *Almost a Woman*

**Television Special**

- 1958 *An Evening with Fred Astaire*

## Reid, Tim (1944– )

U.S. Actor, Writer, Producer

Tim Reid is an accomplished television actor and producer whose critically acclaimed work has, unfortunately, often failed to meet with sustained audience acceptance. As an African American, Reid has tried to choose roles and projects that help effect a positive image for the black community. Through both his acting and writing, he has provided important insights regarding black-white relationships and bigotry.

Being a part of show business was one of Reid's childhood dreams. Not content with simply being an actor, he hoped to play a vital role behind the scenes, as well. Like many young actors, he began his career as a stand-up comedian, working with Tom Dreesen as part of the comedy duet "Tim and Tom." It was during this experience that Reid began exploring the dynamics of black-white relationships. In 1978, after performing in various episodic series, he received the role of Venus Flytrap in Hugh Wilson's *WKRP in Cincinnati*. From the beginning, Reid made it clear to Wilson that he was not interested in playing just another "jive-talking" black character. Wilson agreed, eventually giving Reid control over his character's development, which culminated in a story that revealed a much deeper character than the Flytrap persona first presented.

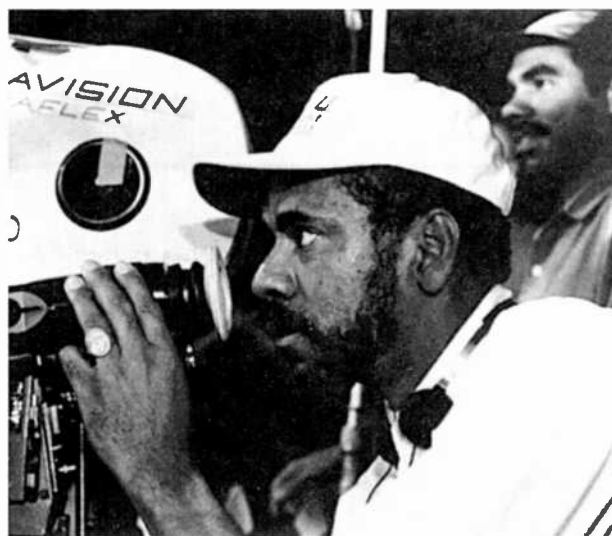
It was during *WKRP* that Reid gained experience as a writer, contributing several scripts to the series. One episode, "A Family Affair," dealt with the underlying tones of bigotry that plague even the best of friends. He also worked closely with Wilson on the script "Venus and the Man," in which Venus helped a young black gang member decide to return to high school. Teacher's organizations applauded the effort, and scenes from the show were reproduced, in comic book form, in *Scholastic* magazine.

After *WKRP*, Reid landed a recurring role in the detective drama *Simon and Simon*, for which he also wrote a number of scripts. In 1987, he again joined forces with Wilson to coproduce *Frank's Place*, which starred Reid as a Boston professor who took over his deceased father's bar in a predominately black section of New Orleans. While critics raved about the rich writing (Wilson won an Emmy for the *Frank's Place* script "The Bridge"), acting, and photography, the se-

ries was canceled after its first season. Reid contends that this cancellation was due to the constant schedule changes that afflicted the series (a problem he and Wilson experienced previously with *WKRP*), as well as CBS's overall dismal ratings at the time.

In 1989, Reid became executive producer of *Snoops*, a drama in which he starred with his wife, Daphne Maxwell Reid, as a sophisticated husband-and-wife detective team in the tradition of the *Thin Man* series. Just as with *Moonlighting* and *Remington Steele*, *Snoops* placed character development over mystery. Once again, despite quality scripts and performances, the show failed to find an audience. Reid's best-known television role of the 1990s was the father on *Sister, Sister* (ABC then WB; 1994–99).

In 1997, Reid established New Millennium Studios in Petersburg, Virginia. The studio features a soundstage and postproduction facilities and has allowed him to produce his own work as well as contract with other producers in search of a location for television and film projects. Reid has personally used the studio as creator and producer of the 1998 series *Linc's*.



Tim Reid.  
Photo courtesy of Tim Reid Productions

Reid, Tim

shown on the Showtime cable channel, and as producer of feature and made-for-television films.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

**See also *Frank's Place*; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Tim Reid.** Born in Norfolk, Virginia, December 19, 1944. Educated at Norfolk State College, B.B.A., 1968. Married: Daphne Maxwell, 1982; children: Tim II, Tori LeAnn, Christopher Tubbs. Marketing representative for Dupont Corporation, 1968–71; actively involved in anti-drug movement, since 1969; stand-up comedian, Tim and Tom comedy team, 1971–75; actor in series television, from 1976; founded Timalove Enterprises, 1979; creator, producer, anti-drug video *Stop the Madness*, 1986; founded Tim Reid Productions, 1989; cofounded, with Black Entertainment Television, United Image Entertainment Enterprises, 1990; founder and president, New Millennium Studios, since 1997. Also co-chair; organizer, and sponsor, Annual Tim Reid Celebrity Tennis Tournament, Norfolk State University campus. Member: Writers Guild of America; Screen Actors Guild; board of directors, Phoenix House of California; board of trustees, Norfolk State University, Commonwealth of Virginia; board of directors, National Academy of Cable Programming; AFTRA; life member, NAACP. Recipient: Emmy Award; Critics Choice Award, 1988; NAACP Image Award, 1988; Viewers for Quality Television Best Actor in a Comedy Award, 1988; National Black College Alumni Hall of Fame, 1991.

**Television Series**

1976 *Easy Does It... Starring Frankie Avalon*  
1977 *The Marilyn McCoo and Billy Davis, Jr. Show*

1977 *The Richard Pryor Show*  
1978–82 *WKRP in Cincinnati*  
1983 *Teachers Only*  
1983–87 *Simon and Simon*  
1987–88 *Frank's Place* (also co-executive producer)  
1989–90 *Snoops* (also co-creator, executive producer)  
1994–99 *Sister, Sister* (also creator, producer)  
1998 *Linc's* (also creator and producer)

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1979 *You Can't Take It with You*  
1990 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Silenced Singer*  
1991 *Stephen King's It*  
1991 *The Family Business*  
1992 *You Must Remember This*  
1994 *Race to Freedom: The Underground Railroad* (producer)  
1995 *Simon and Simon: In Trouble Again*  
1998 *About Sarah* (executive producer)  
2000 *Alley Cats Strike*

**Films**

*Dead Bang*, 1989; *The Fourth War*, 1990; *Once Upon a Time... When We Were Colored* (director), 1995; *Mu Sa Do*, 2002; *For Real*, 2003 (director and actor); *On the One*, 2004.

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## Reiner, Carl (1922– )

U.S. Comedian, Writer, Producer

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Carl Reiner is one of the few true Renaissance persons of 20th-century mass media. Known primarily for his work as creator, writer, and producer of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Reiner has also made his mark as a comedian, actor, novelist, and film director. From Reiner's "Golden Age" TV connection with Sid Caesar to his later film work with Steve Martin, the Emmy Award-

winning Reiner has touched three generations of American comedy.

According to Vince Waldron's *Official "Dick Van Dyke Show" Book* (1994), Reiner began his career as a sketch comedian in the Catskill Mountains. After serving in World War II, he landed the lead role in a national touring company production of *Call Me Mister*,



which he later reprised on Broadway. Reiner's big break came in 1950, when producer Max Leibman, whom he had met while working in the Catskills, cast Reiner as a comic actor in Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows*. Drawn to the creative genius of the show's writers, which included Mel Brooks and Neil Simon, Reiner ended up contributing ideas for many of the series' sketches. The experience undoubtedly provided Reiner with a good deal of fodder for his later *Dick Van Dyke Show*. While he never received credit for his writing efforts on *Your Show of Shows*, in 1955 and 1956 he received his first two of many Emmy Awards, these for his role as supporting actor. In 1957, Reiner conquered another medium when he adapted one of his short stories into *Enter Laughing*, a semi-autobiographical novel focusing on a struggling actor's desire to break into show business. In 1963, the book became a hit play.

By the summer of 1958, after Caesar's third and final series was canceled, Reiner spent the summer preparing for what many consider his greatest accomplishment—writing the first 13 episodes of "Head of the Family," a sitcom featuring the exploits of fictional New York comedy writer Rob Petrie. Originally intended as an acting vehicle for himself, Reiner's pilot failed to sell. However, Danny Thomas Productions' producer Sheldon Leonard liked the idea and said it had potential if it were recast—which was Leonard's nice way of saying, "Keep Reiner off camera." When Reiner's Rob Petrie was replaced with TV newcomer Dick Van Dyke (who had just enjoyed a successful Broadway run in *Bye, Bye Birdie*), *The Dick Van Dyke Show* was born.

As with *Enter Laughing*, Reiner's sitcom was autobiographical. Like Petrie, Reiner was a New York writer who lived in suburban New Rochelle. Like Petrie, Reiner spent part of his World War II days at Camp Crowder in Joplin, Missouri, a fact that was brought out in several flashback episodes. Even Petrie's 148 Bonny Meadow Road address was an allusion to Reiner's own 48 Bonny Meadow Road home.

Perhaps it was this realism that contributed to the series' timelessness, making it a precursor for such sophisticated and intelligent sitcoms as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *The Bob Newhart Show*. Just as with these later works, Reiner's series placed character integrity over raw laughs. By being the first to combine both the home and work lives of the series' main character, Reiner also provided interesting insights regarding both sedate suburbia and urbane New York. *The Dick Van Dyke Show* also serves as an early example of the "coworkers as family" format, which has become a staple relationship in modern sitcoms.

Carl Reiner was one of the first "auteur producers,"

with his first 13 episodes becoming the "bible" upon which consequent episodes were based. He continued to write many of the series' best episodes, as well as portray recurring character Alan Brady, the egomaniacal star of the variety program for which Petrie and crew wrote. After a tough first season in 1961, Leonard was able to convince CBS executives, who had canceled the series, to give it a second chance. The series became a top hit in subsequent years, enjoying five seasons before voluntarily retiring. The reruns have never left the air, and it, along with *I Love Lucy*, comprises some of the most-watched programs in syndication history. Those series, along with *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, also became the flagship programs of U.S. cable's classic-TV powerhouse Nick at Nite.

While many view *The Dick Van Dyke Show* as the high point of Reiner's career, his films cannot be ignored. After directing *Enter Laughing* in 1967, Reiner went on to do several critically acclaimed films such as *The Comic* (1969), a black comedy starring Dick Van Dyke as an aging silent-film comedian, and *Where's Poppa?* (1970). Reiner also directed the wildly successful George Burns vehicle *Oh, God!* (1977). Reiner is also significant for his role as straight man in "The 2,000 Year Old Man" recordings, which he began with Mel Brooks in 1960.

In the 1970s, Reiner and Van Dyke re-entered television with *The New Dick Van Dyke Show*. While Reiner had hoped to break new ground, he became frustrated with the network's family-standard provisions that hampered the series' sophistication. It was not until 1976 that Reiner returned to series television as actor and executive producer of the short-lived ABC sitcom *Good Heavens*.

Just as *The Dick Van Dyke Show* had represented a departure from the standard sitcom fare of the 1960s, *Saturday Night Live* and its famous guest host Steve Martin forged their own type of late-1970s humor. Once again on the cutting edge, Reiner joined forces with Martin as the "wild and crazy" comedian made the transition to film, with Reiner directing Martin in *The Jerk* (1979), *The Man with Two Brains* (1983), and *All of Me* (1984).

In a 1995 episode of the NBC comedy series *Mad About You*, Reiner reprised his role as Alan Brady and won an Emmy Award for outstanding guest appearance in a comedy series for this program. In the fictional world of the newer sitcom, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* is "real," as is the Brady character. Reiner's performance drew on the entire body of his work, from his days with Sid Caesar through his work as writer, director, and producer, and the portrait he presented in this new context echoed with references to the televi-

Reiner, Carl

sion history he has lived and to which he has so fully contributed. He remains active as a writer and as an actor in both film and television—for example, writing novels and short stories; reviving the 2,000-year-old man character with Mel Brooks in 1997; lending his voice to episodes of the animated TV series *King of the Hill* (FOX, 1997) and *Disney's Hercules* (1998); guest-starring on two episodes of the CBS legal drama *Family Law* (1999 and 2000); and playing a featured role in the film *Ocean's Eleven* (2001). For his career achievements, he has been honored by the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., and inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also *Caesar, Sid*; *Dick Van Dyke Show, The*

**Carl Reiner.** Born in the Bronx, New York, March 20, 1922. Educated at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1943. Married: Estelle Lebest, 1943; children: Robert, Sylvia, and Lucas. Served in the U.S. Army, attached to Major Maurice Evans's Special Services Unit, 1942–46. Worked in Broadway shows, 1946–50; character actor and emcee, television show *Your Show of Shows*, 1950–54; appeared in *Caesar's Hour*, 1954–57; appeared in short-lived *Sid Caesar Invites You*, 1958; emcee, *Keep Talking*, 1958–59; writer, actor, and producer, various TV series, from 1960; director and star, numerous motion pictures, since 1959. Recipient: 12 Emmy Awards, since 1965; Kennedy Center Mark Twain Prize for American Humor, 2000. Inducted in Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1999.

#### Television Series

- 1950–54 *Your Show of Shows*  
1954–57 *Caesar's Hour*  
1956–63 *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show*  
1958–59 *Keep Talking*  
1961–66 *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (producer and writer)  
1971–74 *The New Dick Van Dyke Show* (producer and writer)  
1976 *Good Heavens* (actor and producer)  
2003 *The Alan Brady Show*

#### Television Specials

- 1967 *The Sid Caesar, Imogene Coca, Carl Reiner, Howard Morris Special*  
1968 *The Fabulous Funnies* (host)  
1969 *The Wonderful World of Pizzazz* (cohost)  
1970 *Happy Birthday Charlie Brown* (host)  
1984 *Those Wonderful TV Game Shows* (host)  
1984 *The Great Stand-Ups: 60 Years of Laughter* (narrator)  
1987 *Carol, Carl, Whoopi, and Robin*

#### Films (selected)

*Happy Anniversary*, 1959; *The Gazebo*, 1960; *Gidget Goes Hawaiian*, 1961; *It's A Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *The Russians Are Coming!*, 1966; *Enter Laughing* (director), 1967; *Where's Poppa?*, 1970; *Heaven Help Us* (coproducer), 1976; *Oh, God!* (director), 1977; *The End*, 1978; *The One and Only* (director), 1978; *The Jerk* (director), 1979; *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid*, 1982; *The Man with Two Brains* (codirector), 1983; *All of Me* (director), 1984; *Summer Rental* (director), 1985; *Summer School* (director), 1987; *Bert Rigby, You're a Fool* (director), 1989; *The Spirit of '76*, 1990; *Basic Instinct*, 1993; *The Slums of Beverly Hills*, 1998; *The Adventures of Rocky and Bullwinkle*, 2000; *Ocean's Eleven*, 2001; *The Majestic* (voice), 2001; *Good Boy!*, 2003; *Ocean's Twelve*, 2004.

#### Stage

*Call Me Mister*, 1947–48; *Inside U.S.A.*, 1948–49; *Alive and Kicking*, 1950; *Enter Laughing*, 1963; *Something Different* (writer and director), 1968; *So Long 147th Street* (writer), 1976; *The Roast* (director), 1980.

#### Publications

*Enter Laughing* (novel), 1958  
*The 2,000 Year Old Man* (with Mel Brooks), 1981  
*All Kinds of Love* (novel), 1993  
*Continue Laughing* (novel), 1995  
*The 2,000 Year Old Man in the Year 2000* (with Mel Brooks), 1997  
*How Paul Robeson Saved My Life, and Other Mostly Happy Stories*, 1999

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# Reith, John C.W. (1889–1971)

## British Media Executive

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John Reith, the founding director general of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) from 1922 to 1938, was aptly designated by the *New York Times* as “the single most dominating influence on British broadcasting.” Reith developed strong ideas about the educational and cultural public-service responsibilities of a national radio service, ideas subsequently pursued by many broadcasting systems around the world.

Reith was born the fifth son of a Scottish minister and trained in Glasgow as an engineer. After service in World War I, where he was severely wounded (his face carried the scars), and a growing boredom with engineering, he answered a 1922 advertisement for a post at the new BBC, then a commercial operation. He knew nothing of radio or broadcasting and did not even own a receiver. He was hired and a year later was promoted to managing director.

Learning on the job, Reith soon defined public-service broadcasting as having four elements, which he described in his book *Broadcast over Britain* (1924). Such a system, he argued, operated on a public-service rather than commercial motive, offered national coverage, depended upon centralized control and operation rather than local outlets, and developed high-quality standards of programming. He held broadcasting to high moral—almost religious—standards and rather quickly identified the BBC (which became a public corporation early in 1927) with the political establishment, just as he also insisted on BBC operational independence from any political pressures.

Reith directed the expanding BBC operations from Broadcasting House, the downtown London headquarters he initiated, which opened in 1932 and remains a landmark. His primary interest was in radio, however, and the BBC was slow to cooperate with John Logie Baird and other TV experimenters. With the development of effective all-electronic television, Reith’s BBC inaugurated the world’s first regular public schedule of television broadcasts from November 1936 until Britain entered World War II in September 1939.

Reith felt increasingly underutilized at the BBC by the late 1930s; the system he had built and the key people he had selected were all doing their jobs well and the system hummed relatively smoothly. He was both

revered and somewhat feared in the organization he had shaped. In a mid-1938 managerial coup, however, Reith was eased out as director general by the BBC’s Board of Governors (acting in consort with the government), which had grown weary with his self-righteous inflexibility within the organization as well as his political stance. He left the BBC after 16 years, with considerable bitterness that remained for the rest of his life.

Reith’s remaining three decades were a disappointment to him and others. After a brief period (1938–40) heading Imperial Airways as it became the British Overseas Airways Corporation (the government-owned predecessor of British Airways), he held a number of minor cabinet posts in wartime and postwar governments and served as chair of several companies. Reith’s strong views, conviction that he was nearly always right, and dour personality made it difficult for him to readily get along in the rapidly changing postwar British scene. He wrote an autobiography, *Into the Wind* (1949), and complained he had never been “fully stretched.” Indeed, he saw his entire life as one of failure. He argued strongly in the House of Lords against the inception of commercial television in 1954. He felt the BBC had long since given way to social pressures and lowered its standards. It was no longer his child.

Reith was an obsessive keeper of diaries all his life—excerpts published in 1975 showed him to be a man with strong convictions, powerful hatreds, considerable frustration, and an immense ego.

CHRISTOPHER H. STERLING

*See also* **British Television; Public Service Television**

**John Charles Walsham Reith.** Born in Stonehaven, Grampian, Scotland, July 20, 1889. Attended Glasgow Academy; Gresham’s School, Holt. Married Muriel Odhams; one son and one daughter. Served in World War I; also uniformed service as officer in Royal Navy Reserve, 1942–44, assigned to the Admiralty. Engineer, Coatbridge; first general manager, BBC, 1922; director general, 1927–38, pioneering public-service broadcasting; chair, Imperial Airways, 1938; elected member of Parliament, Southampton, 1940; appointed

Reith, John C.W.

minister of information, 1940, later minister of works and public buildings, 1940–42. Elected a director of Cable & Wireless, 1943; Commonwealth Communications Council, 1944–45; chair, Commonwealth Telecommunications Board, 1946–50, and Colonial Development Corporation, 1946–57. Annual Reith lectures inaugurated in his honor, 1948. Knighted, 1927; created Baron Reith of Stonehaven, 1940; member of House of Lords. Died June 16, 1971.

### Publications

*Broadcast over Britain*, 1924  
*Into the Wind* (autobiography), 1949  
*Wearing Spurs*, 1966  
*The Reith Diaries* (edited by Charles Stuart), 1975

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Milner, Roger, *Reith: The BBC Years*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1983

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## Religion on Television

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American television has had a long, uneasy relationship with religion. Television has always broadcast programs with religious themes, but more often to fulfill regulatory obligations or sell undesirable air time than to attract viewers. Still, although American television tolerates religious faith more than embraces it, religious programs and commercial programs with religious themes have been constants on television.

Until the 1960s, religion on television followed the pattern devised earlier by radio broadcasters. Broadcasters provided time and production facilities free of charge for programs produced by mainline Protestants (the National Council of Churches and, in the South, the Southern Baptist Convention); Catholics (the United States Catholic Conference); and Jews (New York Board of Rabbis). This arrangement enabled broadcasters to satisfy their license requirement to donate time for “public interest” programs, while allowing them to choose religious programmers whose material would not motivate viewers to change the channel. The result was programming with ecumenical appeal, including the award-winning *Lamp Unto My Feet* (CBS) and *Frontiers of Faith* (NBC).

Fundamentalist and evangelical groups wishing to express their unique perspectives received neither time nor access to production facilities. They had to produce their own programs and buy air time, usually purchasing the little-viewed hours of Sunday morning. Nevertheless, the evangelical imperative and the per-

suasive power of television compelled pioneering televangelists forward. *The Lutheran Hour* and *Youth on the March* both debuted in 1949, and the first of Billy Graham’s prime-time crusades aired in 1957.

The cozy relationship between the networks and mainline Protestants, Catholics, and Jews began to erode in 1960, when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruled that broadcasters need not give away time to earn public interest credit. Once paid, religious broadcasts counted as much as donated religious broadcasts in the FCC’s public interest accounting, broadcasters lost their incentive to give time away. When the mainline groups chose not to include expensive television productions in their budgets, the non-denominational, Christian evangelical direction of paid religious programming was set: American religious television would be dominated by personality-driven “television ministries” such as *Oral Roberts and You*, Jerry Falwell’s *Old Time Gospel Hour*, and Pat Robertson’s *700 Club*. These three programs were so remunerative that their founders were able to create universities with their proceeds. Oral Roberts University began in 1963; Falwell established Liberty University in 1971; and Pat Robertson founded Regent University, originally CBN University, in 1977.

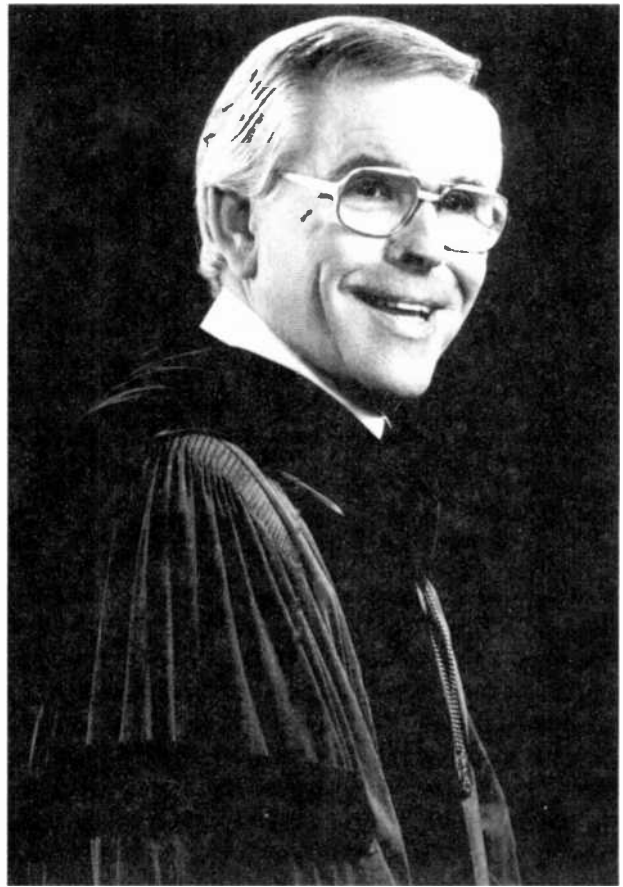
In the 1980s, critics worried that powerful televangelists were reducing church attendance and income and influencing national politics, but these fears subsided after academic studies showed that the audience

for televangelism was a small subset of churchgoers, news reports exposed the sexual misdeeds of Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, and a Republican primary ended Pat Robertson's bid for president. The lesson many televangelists learned was to spend more time on ministry and less on politics and fund raising.

Televangelism continues to dominate religious programming today, whether in individual programs or in cable services like the Family Channel, which mixes G-rated network reruns and movies with straightforward evangelical programs. The leader is Trinity Broadcasting Network, a 24-hour, commercial-free service founded in 1973 that appears on thousands of television stations and cable systems as well as dozens of satellites around the world. TBN far overshadows its mainline Christian and Jewish counterpart, Faith & Values Media, whose programming appears on cable's Hallmark Channel mostly on Sunday and early morning, or in some prime-time holiday specials.

But religion has not simply been relegated to fringe time and the odd televangelism cable channel; from the beginning of television, it has appeared in the popular hours of commercial prime time. Most notable in this regard is Bishop Fulton Sheen's *Life Is Worth Living* (1952–57), the only explicitly religious program ever to be commercially viable. For most dramas and comedies, however, the principle of least-objectionable material applied in the first few decades of television. In order not to offend any viewers, God was seldom mentioned, and even more seldom connected to any particular faith. Characters sometimes attended church or participated in weddings or funerals, but religious specifics were glossed over. A priest may have worn a collar and a nun a habit, but their clothing rarely communicated more than vague humanitarianism.

This blandness began to disappear in the 1980s, when the broadcast television networks began to compete with cable and then satellite channels. Programmers began to look for distinct characters and themes to set them apart from run-of-the-mill competition, and one underused source was religion. NBC found success in *Highway to Heaven*, in which an angel is assigned to help people through tough times. CBS followed with *Touched by an Angel*, in which three angels help human beings understand that God wants to be involved in their lives. Other shows explored religious themes in particular episodes. UPN's *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* delved into the religion of the planet Bajor; CBS's *Picket Fences* took up the issues of biblical literalism, miracles, and prayer; and HBO's *Oz* portrayed complex questions of faith faced by a Muslim leader and a prison chaplain. On the WB network *7th Heaven* is a family melodrama constructed around a



*The Hour of Power* with Robert Schuller.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

family in which the father is a minister. Significantly, the series, which began in 1996, continues to be one of the most popular programs among teenagers, often attracting more teens than any other program airing at the same time. At the beginning of the autumn 2003 television season, *Joan of Arcadia* was among the very few new programs to attract a substantial audience. In this series God appears to Joan, a high school student, in the personae of "ordinary" people she encounters in everyday settings. Their exchanges, in conventional conversational manner, usually lead to the exploration of some generally "religious" aspect of personal or social engagement.

Network news sometimes addresses religious topics and issues. *ABC World News Tonight* hired Peggy Wehmeyer as a full-time religion news correspondent from 1994 until 2001. *Religion & Ethics News Weekly*, a weekly half-hour of news about religion and ethics, began on PBS in 1997. And in 2002, PBS's *Frontline* broadcast the provocative *Faith and Doubt at Ground Zero*, in which a number of clergymen and -women ex-

plored the question of God's presence or absence during the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

However attentive television can be to religious issues and practices, most Americans view these treatments of religion only occasionally, a situation not likely to change with a medium governed by visual appeal and commerce.

JOHN P. FERRÉ

See also Landon, Michael; Robertson, Pat; *Touched by an Angel*

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## Remote Control Device

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The remote control device (RCD) is a central technological phenomenon of popular culture. Though many cartoons, anecdotal accounts, and even television commercials trivialize the RCD, they also reflect its ubiquity and importance in everyday life. For better or for worse, the RCD has permanently altered television viewing habits by allowing the user to exercise some of the functions once the exclusive province of program and advertising executives. The RCD has altered viewing styles by increasing activities such as "zapping" (changing channels during commercials and other program breaks), "zipping" (fast forwarding through pre-recorded programming and advertising), and "grazing" (the combining of disparate program elements into an individualized programming mix).

Although wired RCDs existed in the "Golden Age" of radio, their history is more directly tied to the television receiver manufacturing industry and, more recently, to the diffusion of videocassette recorders (VCRs) and cable television. Zenith Radio Corporation engineer Robert Adler developed the Space Command, the first practical wireless RCD in 1956. Although other manufacturers would offer both wired and wireless RCDs from the mid-1950s on, the combination of high cost (RCDs typically were available only on more expensive "high end" receivers), technological limitations, and, most critically, the limited number of channels available to most viewers made the RCD more a novelty than a near-standard feature of television receivers until the 1980s.

The rapid increase in the number of video distribution outlets in the 1980s was instrumental in the parallel mass diffusion of RCDs. The RCD, in essence, was the necessary tool for the use of cable, VCRs, and

more complex television receivers. Without the RCD, the popularity and impact of these programming conduits would have been much less. In the 1990s, a converging television/telecommunications industry redefined the RCD as a *navigational tool* whose design is essential to the success of advanced and interactive consumer services such as DVDs, personal video recorders (PVRs), and Internet/television hybrids (e.g., Microsoft's Ultimate TV; AOLTV). RCD manufacturers continue to introduce more advanced models to control the expanding number of media devices in U.S. homes.

While some industry figures see the RCD as a key to the success of future services, the same elements that allow viewers to find and use specific material from the many channels available also enables them to avoid content that they find undesirable. Both academic and industry studies have identified two types of gratification derived by viewers from RCD use that cause particular concern for the industry: advertising avoidance and "getting more out of television." These rewards are evidence of a generation of "restless viewers" who challenge many of the conventional practices of the television industry.

The industry has coped with the RCD "empowered" viewer by implementing changes in programming and advertising. Examples include "seamless" scheduling, where one program immediately segues into the following program; the reduction or elimination of opening themes; shorter and more visually striking commercials; increasing advertising-program integration, and more emphasis on television brand promotion. Although not solely a result of RCD diffusion, the ongoing economic consolidation of the world televi-

LOOK OUT,  
GRACIE!

WITH  
ZENITH  
SPACE  
COMMAND TV  
I CAN CHANGE  
PROGRAMS FROM ACROSS THE ROOM"...



*"George!.. You wouldn't dare!"*



ONLY ZENITH HAS SPACE COMMAND,  
THE REMOTE CONTROL UNIT THAT TUNE  
TV BY "SILENT SOUND"...

JUST TOUCH A BUTTON TO...

- shut off the sound of long, annoying commercials while the picture remains on the screen
- turn TV on and off
- change channels (either direction)

No Wires, No Batteries, No Transistors...

**NOTHING BETWEEN YOU  
AND THE SET BUT SPACE!**

Now tune TV from your lounge chair... anywhere in the room! At the touch of a button, the control unit in your hand emits a "Silent Sound" which only the electronic ear of your Space Command receiver can hear. Instantly your set responds! Automatically, each channel comes in sharper than ever before on Zenith's revolutionary new "Sunshine" Picture Tube.

The tone, too, is brilliantly superior because Zenith's four High Fidelity Speakers, mounted on the sides of your picture screen, fill the room with true "living" sound.

Select the perfect Space Command TV set for your room from Zenith's new Decorator Group in Traditional, Modern, and Provincial style cabinets. You'll have the finest in television plus the joy of Space Command Remote TV Control. Not an extra cost accessor it's built right into your set!

**BURNS AND ALLEN SHOW**  
See every week over CBS Television Network



**ZENITH RADIO CORPORATION**  
Chicago 35, Illinois

\*Top quality parts to insure the Zenith name goes on.  
Thanks to 25 years of leadership in television engineering,  
also makers of Radio, High Fidelity instruments and Film Recording sets.

The Royalty of  
Television

QUALITY BY  
**Zenith**  
SPACE COMMAND TV

Zenith print ad for remote control television (c. 1957).  
Photo courtesy of Zenith Electronics Corporation



sion/telecommunications industry; the continuing shift of costs to the television viewer/user through cable, pay-per-view, and emerging interactive services; and the increased emphasis on integrated marketing plans that treat traditional advertising spots as only one element of the selling process can all be regarded in part as reactions to restless and RCD-wielding television viewers.

ROBERT V. BELLAMY, JR.

See also *Zapping*

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## Reruns/Repeats

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A television program that airs one or more times following its first broadcast is known as a rerun or a repeat. In order for a program to be rerun, it must have been recorded on film or videotape. Live telecasts, obviously, cannot be rerun. The use of reruns is central to the programming and economic strategies of television in the United States and, increasingly, throughout the world.

In the early days of U.S. television, most programming was live. This necessitated the continuous production of new programs, which, once aired, were gone. Certain program formats, such as variety, talk, public affairs, quiz, sports, and drama, dominated the airwaves. With the exception of variety and drama, each of these formats is relatively inexpensive to produce, so the creation of live weekly or daily episodes worked fairly well for broadcasters. Even the production costs for variety shows could be reduced over time with the repeated use of sets and costumes.

Production of dramatic programming, however, was more expensive. Most dramatic series were "anthologies"; a different story was broadcast each week, with different characters and, often times, different talent. The costs involved in creating each of these plays was considerable and could rarely be reduced, as the cost of variety programs could be, by repeated use of the durable properties. Because of the expense, the number of dramatic programs decreased, and the number of other less-expensive types of programs increased, during the first decade of television.

During the early 1950s, several weekly prime-time series, most notably *I Love Lucy*, began filming episodes instead of airing live programs. This allowed

producers to create fewer than 52 episodes a year, yet still present weekly episodes throughout the year. They could produce 39 new episodes and repeat 13 of those, usually during the summer months when viewership was lower. While some expenses, for additional payments to creative personnel, are involved in airing reruns, the cost is almost 75 percent less than that incurred in presenting a new first-run episode. The practice proved so successful that by the end of the 1950s there was very little live entertainment programming left on U.S. television, and the television industry, which had been well established in New York, had shifted its center to Hollywood, the center of U.S. film production.

By the 1970s, most network prime-time series were producing only 26 new episodes each year, repeating each episode once (the 26/26 model). By the 1980s, the standard prime-time model was 22/22, with specials or limited series occupying the remaining weeks.

The shift to film or videotape as the primary form of television production also turned out to have benefits far exceeding the reduction of production costs and modifications of the programming schedule. Reruns and repeats are not used merely to ease production schedules and cut costs. By contractual arrangement, episodes usually return to the control of the producer after two network showings. They may then be licensed for presentations by other television distributors. This strategy is financially viable only after several years of a successful network run, when enough episodes of a television program are accumulated to make the series valuable to other programmers. It does lead to the possibility, however, that reruns of a program can be in



syndication forever and almost anywhere. A common industry anecdote claims—and it may be true—that *I Love Lucy* is playing somewhere in the world at any given moment of the day.

The development of the rerun system, particularly as it supports syndication, has become the economic foundation on which the U.S. television industry does business. Because networks, the original distributors of television programs, rarely pay the full production costs for those programs, independent producers and/or studios must create programs at a deficit. That deficit can only be recouped if the program goes into syndication (not a foregone outcome). If the program is sold into syndication, the profits may be great—sufficient to pay off the cost of deficit financing for the original production and support both the development of other series and the programming of less-successful programs that may never be syndicated. This entire system is dependent on a sufficient market for rerun programs, a market traditionally composed of independent television stations and the international television systems, and on an economical means of reproduction.

Initially, film was more desirable than videotape as a means of storing programs because film production contracts called for lower residual payments (the payments made to performers in the series when episodes are repeated). Programs produced on film were under the jurisdiction of the Screen Actors Guild, which required lower residual payments than did the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, which oversaw programs produced on videotape. By the mid-1970s, residual costs for film and taped performances evened out, and more and more programs are now produced on or transferred to videotape for syndication.

In addition to their use in prime time, reruns are scheduled by networks in all other time periods. Several unions have petitioned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in an attempt to restrict network use of reruns, claiming that the use of reruns results in a loss of jobs because it leads to less original production. All of these attempts have failed.

With the tremendous growth of television distribution outlets throughout the world in the 1980s—growth often founded on the expansion of cable television sys-

tems and the multichannel environment—additional markets for reruns of old network series were created. In the 1990s, cable networks, such as, Nickelodeon's TV Land and Nick at Nite, found success putting together entire schedules consisting of reruns of old network series. In addition, new partnerships between broadcast and cable networks were established to help defray initial production costs of a new series. Reruns of new episodes of prime-time series such as *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (NBC) and *Once and Again* (ABC) have aired on cable networks as soon as ten days after the initial network broadcast. So long as these venues continue to increase, the financial basis for U.S. television production will continue to be stable. And, as more and more countries establish large programming systems of their own, the amount of material available for second, third, and continuing airings will continue to grow.

MITCHELL E. SHAPIRO

**See also Prime Time Access Rule; Programming; Syndication**

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## Reynolds, Gene (1925– )

U.S. Actor, Producer, Director

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From a child movie actor in *Boy's Town*, Gene Reynolds grew into a respected producer-director identified with thoughtful television dramas reflecting complex human situations. The programs Reynolds is associated with often possess an undercurrent of humor to entertain, but without softening socially significant story lines.

As producer-director of *Room 222* (1969–74), Reynolds found a supportive, kindred spirit in the series' creator James L. Brooks. Exploring life among high school teachers, administrators, and students, their program featured African-American actor Lloyd Haynes as a revered, approachable teacher. A lighter touch in dialogue and situations helped keep the stories attractive to casual viewers. Still, the central characters were involved each week in matters of personal and social import such as drugs, prejudice, self-worth, and dropping out of school.

Again aligning himself with a congenial, creative associate for a TV version of the novel and motion picture *M\*A\*S\*H*, Reynolds sought out respected "comedy writer with a conscience" Larry Gelbart. Together they fleshed out a sensitive, probing, highly amusing, and wildly successful series about the foibles and aspirations of a military surgical team in the midst of warfare. Raucous, sometimes ribald comedy acted as counterpoint to poignant human dilemmas that are present when facing bureaucratic tangles amid willful annihilation. Though intended as comedy-drama commentary on the devastating absurdities of war in general, and the Vietnam conflict in particular, Reynolds and Gelbart pushed the time period of their show back to Korea in the 1950s in order to be acceptable to the network and stations, and to a deeply divided American public. Gelbart left the series early on, and Reynolds eventually became executive producer, turning the producer's role over to Burt Metcalf. The ensemble cast only grew stronger as new actors replaced departing ones through the decade. The acclaimed series earned awards from all sectors during its 11-year run (1972–83), including the Peabody Award in 1975, Emmy Awards for outstanding comedy series in 1974; many other Emmys for outstanding writing, acting, and direction; Emmys twice for best directing by Gene Reynolds (1975, 1976); and the Humanitas Prize.

The public voted, too; their sustained viewing kept the program among the top-ranked five or ten pro-

grams every year *M\*A\*S\*H* aired. The concluding two-and-one-half-hour "farewell" episode (February 28, 1983) still stands as the single-most-watched program in American TV history, attracting almost two out of every three homes in America (60.3 rating). More than 50 million families tuned in that evening to watch the program.

Reynolds left *M\*A\*S\*H* in 1977. He teamed up again with James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, all as executive producers of *Lou Grant*. This series explored the combative turf of a major metropolitan newspaper. It dealt with the constitutional and ethical issues found in pitting journalists against politicians, corporate executives, courts, and the general public. Reynolds's creative team avoided cliché-driven plots, focusing instead on complex, unresolved issues and depicting their impact on a mix of vulnerable personalities. The series (1977–82) received critical acclaim, including Peabody, Emmy, and Humanitas Awards, for exploring complicated challenges involving media and society.

Gene Reynolds's modus operandi for producing a television series is to thoroughly research the subject area by extended visits to sites—schools, battlefields (Vietnam to replicate Korean field hospitals), and newspaper offices. There he interviews at length those engaged in career positions. He and his creative partners regularly returned to those sites armed with audiotape recorders to dig for new story ideas, for points of view, for technical jargon and representative phrases, and even for scraps of dialogue that would add verisimilitude to the words of studio-stage actors recreating an incident. Reynolds and his associates always strive for accuracy, authenticity, and social significance. They present individual human beings caught up in the context of controversial events, but affected by personal interaction.

A thoughtful, serious-minded creator with a quiet sense of humor, Gene Reynolds's ability to work closely with colleagues earns the respect of both actors and production crews. He often directs episodes, regularly works with writers on revising scripts, and establishes a working climate on the set that invites suggestions from the actors for enhancing dialogue and action.

Reynolds directed pilots for potential TV series and movies for television, including *People Like Us*



Director Gene Reynolds, Stanley Livingston on the set of *My Three Sons*, 1962.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

(1976), *In Defense of Kids* (1983), and *Doing Life* (1986). He continued to produce and direct throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, notably the television series *In the Heat of the Night* and *Touched by an Angel*. In 1993, having served actively in organizations and on committees in the creative community for many years, he was elected president of the Directors Guild of America, a role in which he served until 1997.

JAMES A. BROWN

*See also Lou Grant; M\*A\*S\*H; Room 222; Touched by an Angel*

**Gene Reynolds.** Born in Cleveland, Ohio, April 4, 1925. Married: Bonnie Jones. Began career as film actor, debut in *Thank You, Jeeves*, 1936; producer and director of numerous television series, from 1968. Recipient: five Emmy Awards, Directors Guild of America Award, Peabody Award.

**Television (producer, director)**

- 1968–70 *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* (pilot)
- 1969–74 *Room 222* (executive producer)
- 1972 *Anna and the King*
- 1972–83 *M\*A\*S\*H* (also director)
- 1973–74 *Roll Out*
- 1975 *Karen*
- 1977–82 *Lou Grant*
- 1984 *The Duck Show*
- 1988–95 *In the Heat of the Night*
- 1989 *Studio 5-B*
- 1993–97 *Lois & Clark: The New Adventures of Superman*
- 1994–95 *Christy*
- 1994–2003 *Touched by an Angel*
- 1996–99 *Promised Land*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

- 1976 *People Like Us* (producer, director)
- 1983 *In Defense of Kids* (director)
- 1986 *Doing Life* (director)
- 1991 *The Whereabouts of Jenny* (director)
- 1999 *How To Get There* (director)

**Films**

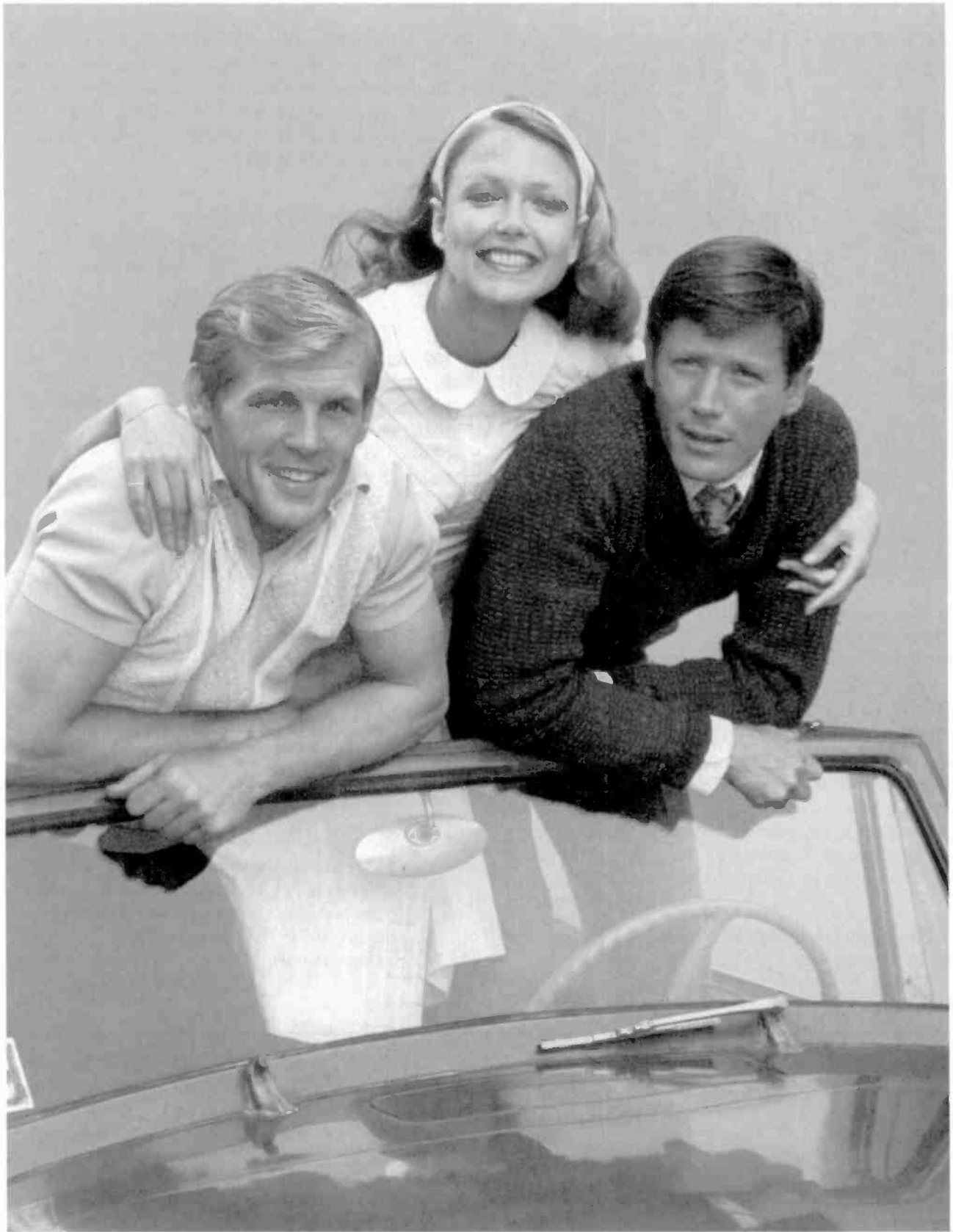
*Thank You, Jeeves* (actor) 1936; *In Old Chicago* (actor), 1937; *Boys Town* (actor), 1938; *They Shall Have Music* (actor), 1939; *Edison, the Man* (actor), 1940; *Eagle Squadron* (actor), 1942; *The Country Girl* (actor), 1954; *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (actor), 1955; *Diane* (actor), 1955.

## Rich Man, Poor Man

### U.S. Miniseries

One of the first American television miniseries, *Rich Man, Poor Man* aired on ABC from February 1 to March 15, 1976. Adapted from the best-selling 1970

Irwin Shaw novel, *Rich Man, Poor Man* was a limited 12-part dramatic series consisting of six two-hour prime-time made-for-television movies. The televised



*Rich Man, Poor Man*, Nick Nolte, Susan Blakely, Peter Strauss, 1976.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

novel chronicles the lives of the first-generation immigrant Jordache family. The story focuses on the tumultuous relationship between brothers, Rudy (Peter Strauss) and Tom Jordache (Nick Nolte), as they suffer through 20 years (1945–65) of conflict, jealousy, and heartbreak.

The serial was enormously successful, leading the weekly ratings and ending as the second-highest-rated show for the 1976–77 television season. Along with its enormous audience popularity, it also garnered critical praise, reaping 20 Emmy nominations and winning four Emmy Awards—two for acting achievement, one for directing, and one for musical score.

The success of *Rich Man, Poor Man* hinged on its employment of several innovative techniques. The narrative struck a unique combination that contained the lavish film-style production values of prestigious special-event programming while at the same time relying upon the “habit viewing” characteristic of a weekly series. Also, by setting the plots in the historical context of such developments as McCarthyism, the Korean War, campus riots, and the Civil Rights Movement, *Rich Man, Poor Man* suggested larger circumstances than those usually found in a traditional soap opera. However, the limited series also liberally took on a range of risqué melodramatic topics, including adultery, power struggles, and alcoholism. Another inventive concept introduced by *Rich Man, Poor Man* was the use of multiple, revolving guest stars throughout the series. While the three principal cast members were relatively unknown at the time, shuffling better-known actors throughout the series was a way to maintain interest and achieve some form of ratings insurance on the \$6 million venture.

By invigorating the concept of adapting novels into television miniseries, *Rich Man, Poor Man* began a rapid proliferation of similar prime-time programming, including a sequel. The continuation, *Rich Man, Poor Man: Book II*, was a 21-part weekly series that began airing in the fall of 1976. Although the sequel was not as successful as its predecessor, the idea of extended televised adaptations of popular novels quickly became a component of network schedules. In the season following the debut of *Rich Man, Poor Man*, each of the major networks scheduled at least one miniseries, including an adaptation of Harold Robbins’s *The Pirates* and Alex Haley’s historical epic *Roots*.

Although eclipsed by the record-breaking 1977 miniseries *Roots* (aired January 1 through 30 on ABC), *Rich Man, Poor Man* nonetheless has staked a spot in television history. It helped to create a special niche for televised novels as an economically viable miniseries genre.

LIZA TREVIO

See also **Adaptation; Miniseries**

## Rich Man, Poor Man

### Cast

Rudy Jordache	Peter Strauss
Tom Jordache	Nick Nolte
Julie Prescott Abbott	
Jordache	Susan Blakely
Axel Jordache	Edward Asner
Mary Jordache	Dorothy McGuire
Willie Abbott	Bill Bixby
Duncan Calderwood	Ray Milland
Teddy Boylan	Robert Reed
Virginia Calderwood	Kim Darby
Sue Prescott	Gloria Grahame
Asher Berg	Craig Stevens
Joey Quales	George Maharis
Linda Quales	Lynda Day George
Nichols	Steve Allen
Smitty	Norman Fell
Teresa Sanjoro	Talia Shire
Marsh Goodwin	Van Johnson
Irene Goodwin	Dorothy Malone
Kate Jordache	Kay Lenz
Sid Gossett	Murray Hamilton
Arnold Simm	Mike Evans
Al Fanducci	Dick Butkus
Clothilde	Fionnula Flanagan
Brad Knight	Tim McIntire
Bill Denton	Lawrence Pressman
Claude Tinker	Dennis Dugan
Gloria Bartley	Jo Ann Harris
Pete Tierney	Roy Jenson
Lou Martin	Anthony Carbone
Papadakis	Ed Barth
Ray Dwyer	Herbert Jefferson, Jr.
Arthur Falconetti	William Smith
Col. Deiner	Andrew Duggan
Pinky	Harvey Jason
Martha	Helen Craig
Phil McGee	Gavan O’Herlihy
Billy	Leigh McCloskey
Wesley	Michael Morgan

### Producers

Harve Bennett, Jon Epstein

### Programming History

6 2-hour episodes

ABC

February 1976–March

1976

May 1977–June 1977

Monday 10:00–11:00

Tuesday 9:00–11:00

**Rich Man, Poor Man: Book II**

**Cast**

Senator Rudy Jordache	Peter Strauss
Wesley Jordache	Gregg Henry
Billy Abbott	James Carroll Jordan
Maggie Porter	Susan Sullivan
Arthur Falconetti	William Smith
Marie Falconetti	Dimitra Arliss
Ramona Scott	Penny Peyser
Scotty	John Anderson
Charles Estep	Peter Haskell
Phil Greenberg	Sorrell Brooke
Annie Adams	Cassie Yates
Diane Porter	Kimberly Beck
Arthur Raymond	Peter Donat
Claire Estep	Laraine Stephens

Senator Paxton  
Kate Jordache  
John Franklin  
Max Vincen  
Al Barber  
Senator Dillon

Barry Sullivan  
Kay Lenz  
Philip Abbott  
George Gaynes  
Ken Swofford  
G.D. Spradlin

**Producers**

Michael Gleason, Jon Epstein

**Programming History**

21 episodes  
ABC  
September 1976–March  
1977

Tuesday 9:00–10:00

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## Rigg, Diana (1938– )

British Actor

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After shooting her first 12 episodes in the role of Mrs. Emma Peel in *The Avengers*, Diana Rigg discovered that her weekly salary as the female lead in an already highly successful series was £30 less than what the show's cameraman earned. Rigg had not even been the first choice to replace the popular Honor Blackman as secret agent John Steed's accomplice; the first actress cast had been sacked after two weeks. The role then fell to Rigg, whose television résumé at the time consisted only of a guest appearance on *The Sentimental Agent* and a performance of Donald Churchill's *The Hothouse*.

Rigg's stage experience, however, was solid. After joining the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1959, the same year as Vanessa Redgrave, Rigg had steadily amassed a strong list of credits, including playing Cordelia to Paul Schofield's *Lear*. Years later, Rigg described the rationale for her turn to television: "The trouble with staying with a classical company is that you get known as a 'lady actress.' No one ever thinks of you except for parts in long skirts and blank verse."

Rigg's salary complaints were quickly addressed, and American audiences, who had never been exposed to Blackman's *Avengers* episodes (which did not air in the United States until the early 1990s), quickly embraced Rigg's assertive, upper-class character. Peel's

name may have been simply a play upon the character's hoped-for "man appeal," but Rigg's embodiment of the role suggested a much more utopian representation of women. Peel demonstrated that women can be intelligent, independent, and sexually confident. After three seasons and an Emmy nomination, Rigg left the series in 1968, claiming "Emma Peel is not fully emancipated." Still, Rigg resisted publicly associating herself with feminism; to the contrary, she flippantly claimed to find "the whole feminist thing very boring."

Following Blackman into James Bond films (in 1964 Blackman had been *Goldfinger's* Pussy Galore), Rigg's presence in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969) as the tragic Mrs. James Bond added intertextual interest to the film. Paired with the unfamiliar George Lazenby as Bond, it was Rigg who carried the film's spy genre credentials, even though her suicidal, spoiled character displayed few of Peel's many abilities. However, the British spy genre had already begun to collapse, followed by the rest of the nation's film industry, and Rigg's career as a movie star never soared.

Rigg did not immediately return to series television. In fact, she publicly attributed her problems on film to having learned to act for television only too well; she had become too "facile" before film cameras, a trait necessitated by the grueling pace of series production.

Apparently, her stage skills remained unaffected, and Rigg went on to a wide range of both classical and contemporary roles as a member of the Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theatre, and on Broadway. However, while Rigg has originated the lead roles in such stylish works as Tom Stoppard's *Jumpers* (1972), the stage work she performed for television broadcast tended to fit more snugly into familiar Anglophilic conventions. In the United States, her television appearances in the 1960s included *The Comedy of Errors* (1967) and *Women Beware Women* (1968) for *NET Playhouse*; in the 1980s, they included *Hedda Gabler*, *Witness for the Prosecution*, Lady Dedlock in a multipart adaptation of *Bleak House* (1985), and Laurence Olivier's *King Lear* (1985).

During the decade between, however, NBC attempted to capitalize upon what Rigg jokingly called her "exploitable potential" following *The Avengers*. After one failed pilot, the network picked up *Diana* (1973–74), a *Mary Tyler Moore Show*-inspired sitcom, and Rigg returned to series television as a British expatriate working in New York's fashion industry. As if to acknowledge the sexual daring of her first series, Rigg's character became American sitcom's first divorcée (Moore's character had been initially conceived as divorced, but that scenario was altered before *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* aired). In *Diana*, Rigg's comedic talents, which television critics had once praised as wry and deliberately understated, did not shine; instead, she appeared rather bland, and the series provided no Steed for verbal repartee. (Perhaps even more damning, *Diana* showed few traces of *The Avengers*' always dashing fashion sense.) NBC programmed *Diana* during what had once been *The Avengers*' time slot, but the sitcom shortly disappeared.

A year later, Rigg successfully played off both her previous roles and her sometimes bawdy public persona in a sober religious drama, *In This House of Brede* (1975). Portraying a successful businesswoman entering a convent, Rigg's combination of restraint and technique seemed quintessentially British and earned her a second Emmy nomination.

In 1989, Rigg succeeded Vincent Price in hosting the PBS series *Mystery!*, and in 1990 she impressed American audiences as the star of an Oedipal nightmare, *Mother Love*, a multipart British import presented on that program. In her role as the series' host, Rigg has in a sense become that "lady actress" she had once entered television to avoid: ensconced in finely tailored suits and beaded gowns, her performance as host displays all the genteel, ambassadorial authority of a woman now entitled to be addressed as Dame Rigg (having been named Dame Commander, Order of the British Empire, in 1994).



*Avengers*, Diana Rigg, 1961–69.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

In addition to her hosting duties on *Mystery!*, Rigg was busy in the 1990s playing a range of notable stage roles, including the leads in *Medea* (for which she won a 1994 Tony Award), *Mother Courage* (1995–96), and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf* (1996–97). She also took on a number of character roles on television. These latter parts were frequently villainous to some degree, whether in bodice-rippers (*A Hazard of Hearts*, 1987), light comedy (*Mrs. 'arris Goes to Paris*, 1992), or edgy comedy such as the Holocaust farce *Genghis Cohn* (1994). For her portrayal of Mrs. Danvers in the miniseries *Rebecca* (shown in the United States in 1997 on *ExxonMobil Masterpiece Theatre*), she won an Emmy Award for outstanding supporting actress in a miniseries. Since 1998, she has also played the title role in *The Mrs. Bradley Mysteries*, a crime drama set in the 1920s, which debuted on the BBC and has since aired in the United States (on *Mystery!* and the cable channel BBC America) and Australia (on ABC).

ROBERT DICKINSON AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

See also *Avengers, The*

**Diana Rigg.** Born in Doncaster, Yorkshire, England, July 20, 1938. Attended Fulneck Girls' School, Pudsey; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA), London. Married: 1) Menachem Gueffen, 1973 (divorced, 1974); 2) Archibald Stirling, 1982 (divorced); child: Rachel. Began career as stage actor, making debut with RADA during the York Festival at the Theatre Royal, York, 1957; made London stage debut, 1961; member, Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), 1959–64; made London debut with RSC, Aldwych Theatre, 1961; toured Europe and the United States with RSC, 1964; made television debut as Emma Peel in *The Avengers*, 1965; film debut, 1967; joined National Theatre Company, 1972; has since continued to appear in starring roles both on screen and on stage; director, United British Artists, from 1982; vice president, Baby Life Support Systems, from 1984. Companion of the Order of the British Empire, 1988; Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1994. Chair: Islington Festival; MacRoberts Arts Centre. Recipient: *Plays and Players* Award, 1975, 1979; Variety Club Film Actress of the Year Award, 1983; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1989; *Evening Standard* Drama Award, 1993, 1996; Tony Award, 1994; Emmy Award, 1997.

**Television Series (selected)**

- 1965–67 *The Avengers*
- 1973–74 *Diana*
- 1989– *Mystery!* (host)
- 1999– *The Mrs. Bradley Mysteries*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

- 1975 *In This House of Brede*
- 1980 *The Marquise*
- 1982 *Witness for the Prosecution*
- 1986 *The Worst Witch*
- 1987 *A Hazard of Hearts*
- 1994 *Genghis Cohn*
- 1994 *Running Delilah*
- 1995 *The Haunting of Helen Walker*
- 1995 *Danielle Steele's Zoya*
- 1996 *Chandler and Co.*
- 1996 *Samson and Delilah*
- 2001 *The American*
- 2001 *Victoria and Albert*

**Television Miniseries (selected)**

- 1979 *Oresteia*
- 1985 *Bleak House*
- 1989 *Mother Love*
- 1996 *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders*

- 1997 *Rebecca*
- 2000 *In the Beginning*
- 2003 *Charles II*

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1964 *The Hothouse*
- 1968 *Women Beware Women*
- 1981 *Hedda Gabler*
- 1984 *King Lear*
- 1986 *Masterpiece Theatre: 15 Years*
- 1992 *The Laurence Olivier Awards 1992* (host)

**Films (selected)**

- A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1968; *The Assassination Bureau*, 1969; *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 1969; *Married Alive*, 1970; *Julius Caesar*, 1970; *The Hospital*, 1971; *Theatre of Blood*, 1973; *A Little Night Music*, 1977; *The Serpent Son*, 1979; *Hedda Gabler*, 1980; *The Great Muppet Caper*, 1981; *Evil Under the Sun*, 1982; *Little Eyolf*, 1982; *Held in Trust*, 1986; *Snow White*, 1986; *A Good Man in Africa*, 1994; *Parting Shots*, 1998.

**Stage (selected)**

- The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, 1957; *Ondine*, 1961; *The Devils*, 1961; *Beckett*, 1961; *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1961; *Madame de Tourvel*, 1962; *The Art of Seduction*, 1962; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1962; *Macbeth*, 1962; *The Comedy of Errors*, 1962; *King Lear*, 1962; *The Physicists*, 1963; *Twelfth Night*, 1966; *Abelard and Heloise*, 1970; *Jumpers*, 1972; *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, 1972; *Macbeth*, 1972; *The Misanthrope*, 1974; *Pygmalion*, 1974; *Phaedra Britannica*, 1975; *The Guardsman*, 1978; *Night and Day*, 1979; *Colette*, 1982; *Heartbreak House*, 1983; *Little Eyolf*, 1985; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1985; *Wildfire*, 1986; *Follies*, 1986; *Love Letters*, 1990; *All for Love*, 1991; *Berlin Bertie*, 1992; *Medea*, 1992; *Mother Courage*, 1995–96; *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf*, 1996–97.

**Publications**

- No Turn Unstoned* (editor), 1982
- So Too the Land* (editor), 1994

**Further Reading**

- Jenkins, Henry, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*, New York and London: Routledge, 1992
- Nathan, David, "Heavy-Duty Lightweight," *The Times* (London: April 20, 1991)
- Rogers, Dave, *The Avengers*, London: ITV Books, 1983
- Story, David, *America on the Rerun: TV Shows That Never Die*, New York: Citadel Press, 1993



## Riggs, Marlon (1957–1994)

U.S. Filmmaker

Before his death in 1994, African-American filmmaker, educator, and poet Marlon Riggs forged a position as one of the more controversial figures in the recent history of public television. He won a number of awards for his creative efforts as a writer and video producer. His theoretical-critical writings appeared in numerous scholarly and literary journals and professional and artistic periodicals. His video productions, which explored various aspects of African-American life and culture, earned him considerable recognition, including Emmy and Peabody Awards. Riggs will nonetheless be remembered mostly for the debate and contention that surrounded the airing of his highly charged video productions on public television stations during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Just as art photographer Robert Mapplethorpe's provocative, homoerotic photographs of male nudes caused scrutiny of government agencies and their funding of art, Marlon Riggs's video productions similarly plunged public television into an acrimonious debate, not only about funding but about censorship as well.

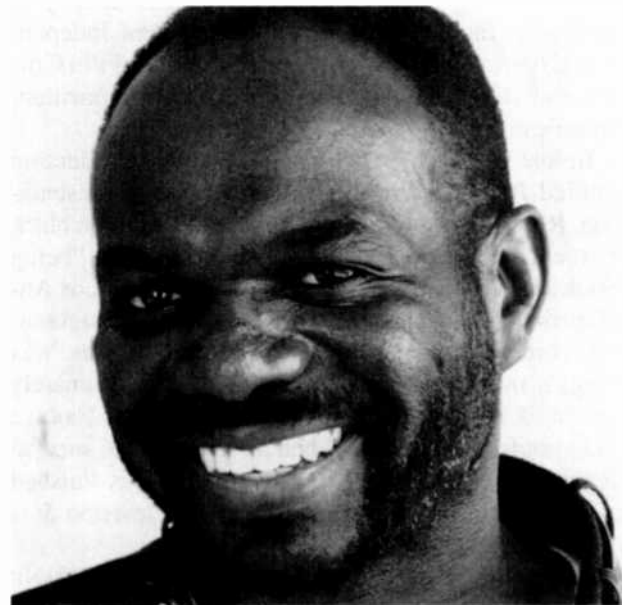
Riggs's early works received little negative press. His production *Ethnic Notions* aired on public television stations throughout the United States. This program sought to explore the various shades of mythology surrounding the ethnic stereotyping of African Americans in various forms of popular culture. The program was well received and revolutionary in its fresh assessment of such phenomena as the mythology of the Old South and its corresponding caricatures of black life and culture.

The video *Color Adjustment*, which aired on public television stations in the early 1990s, was an interpretive look at the images of African Americans in 50 years of American television history. Using footage from such shows as *Amos 'n' Andy*, *Julia*, and *Good Times*, Riggs compared the grossly stereotyped caricatures of blacks contained in early television programming to those of more recent, and presumably more enlightened, decades.

By far the most polemical of Riggs's work was his production *Tongues Untied*. This 55-minute video, which "became the center of a controversy over censorship" as reported *The Independent* in 1991, was aired as part of a series entitled *P.O.V. (Point of View)*,

which aired on public television stations and featured independently produced film and video documentaries on various subjects ranging from personal reflections on the Nazi Holocaust to urban street life in the contemporary United States.

*Tongues Untied* is noteworthy on at least three accounts. First, Riggs chose as his subject urban, African-American gay men. Moving beyond the stereotypes of drag queens and comic-tragic stock caricatures, Riggs offered to mainstream America an insightful and provocative portrait of a distinct gay subculture—complete with sometimes explicit language and evocative imagery. Along with private donations, Riggs had financed the production with a \$5,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a federal agency supporting visual, literary, and performing arts. News of the video's airing touched off a tumult of debate about the government funding of artistic creations that to some were considered obscene. While artists argued the basic right of free speech, U.S. government policymakers, especially



Marlon Riggs.  
Photo courtesy of Signifyin' Works/Andy Stern

those of a conservative bent, engaged in a hotly contentious debate regarding the use of taxpayer money for the funding of such endeavors.

The second area of consternation brought on by the *Tongues Untied* video concerned the issue of funding for public broadcasting. The *P.O.V.* series also received funding from the NEA, in the amount of \$250,000, for its production costs. Many leaders of conservative television watchdog organizations labeled the program as obscene (though many had not even seen it). Others ironically heralded the program's airing, in the hope that U.S. taxpayers would be able to watch in dismay how their tax dollars were being spent.

Lastly, the question of censorship loomed large throughout the debate over the airing of *Tongues Untied*. When a few frightened station executives decided not to air the program, the fact of their self-censorship was widely reported in the press. As mentioned, *Tongues Untied* was not the first *P.O.V.* production to be pulled. Arthur Kopp of People for the American Way noted in *The Independent*, "the most insidious censorship is self-censorship. . . . It's a frightening sign when television executives begin to second guess the far right and pull a long-planned program before it's even been attacked."

Riggs defended *Tongues Untied* by lambasting those who objected to the program's language and imagery, stating in a 1992 *Washington Post* interview, "People are far more sophisticated in their homophobia and racism now . . . they say 'We object to the language, we have to protect the community' . . . those statements are a ruse."

*Tongues Untied* was awarded Best Documentary of the Berlin International Film Festival, Best Independent Experimental Work by the Los Angeles Film Critics, and Best Video by the New York Documentary Film Festival.

Before his death, Riggs began work on a production entitled *Black Is, Black Ain't*. In this video presentation, Riggs sought to explore what it meant to be black in the United States, from the period when "being black wasn't always so beautiful" to the 1992 Los Angeles riots. This visual reflection on gumbo, straightening combs, and Creole life in New Orleans was Riggs's own personal journey. It also unfortunately served as a memorial to Riggs. Much of the footage was shot from his hospital bed as he fought to survive the ravaging effects of AIDS. The video was finished posthumously and was aired on public television during the late 1990s.

PAMALA S. DEANE

See also **Public Service Broadcasting; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Marlon Riggs.** Born in Ft. Worth, Texas, February 3, 1957. Graduated from Harvard University, magna cum laude, B.A. in history, 1978; University of California, Berkeley, M.A. in journalism, 1981. Taught documentary film, Graduate School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley, from 1987; produced numerous video documentaries, from 1987. Honorary doctorate, California College of Arts and Crafts, 1993. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1987 and 1991; George Foster Peabody Award, 1989; Blue Ribbon, American Film and Video Festival, 1990; Best Video, New York Documentary Film Festival, 1990; Erik Barnouw Award, 1992. Died in Oakland, California, April 5, 1994.

#### Television Documentaries

- 1987 *Ethnic Notions*
- 1988 *Tongues Untied*
- 1989 *Color Adjustment*
- 1992 *Non, Je Ne Regrette Rien (No Regret)*
- 1994 *Black Is, Black Ain't*

#### Publications (selected)

- "Black Macho Revisited: Reflections of a Snap! Queen," *Black American Literature Forum* (Summer 1991)
- "Notes of a Signifying Snap! Queen," *Art Journal* (Fall 1991)

#### Further Reading

- Becquer, M., "Snap-Thology and Other Discursive Practices in *Tongues Untied*," *Wide Angle: A Quarterly Journal of Film History, Theory, and Criticism* (1991)
- Berger, M., "Too Shocking to Show," *Art in America* (July 1992)
- Creekmur, Corey K., and Alexander Doty, *Out in Culture: Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Essays on Popular Culture*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995
- Grundmann, R., "New Agendas in Black Filmmaking: An Interview with Marlon Riggs," *Cineaste* (1992)
- Harper, Phillip Brian, "Marlon Riggs: The Subjective Position of Documentary Video," *Art Journal* (Winter 1995)
- Maslin, Janet, "Under Scrutiny: TV Images of Blacks," *New York Times* (January 29, 1992)
- Mercer, Kobina, "Dark and Lovely Too: Black Gay Men in Independent Film," in *Queer Looks: Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Film and Video*, edited by Martha Gerver et al., New York: Routledge, 1993
- Mills, David, "The Director with Tongue Untied: Marlon Riggs, A Filmmaker Who Lives Controversy," *Washington Post* (June 15, 1992)
- Prial, Frank J., "TV Film About Gay Blacks Is Under Attack," *New York Times* (June 25, 1991)
- Scott, Darieck, "Jungle Fever? Black Gay Identity Politics, White Dick, and the Utopian Bedroom," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* (1994)

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## Rintels, David W. (1939– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Writer-producer David W. Rintels has worked in a variety of dramatic television forms, including series, made-for-television movies, and miniseries. He began his television career in the early 1960s, writing episodes for the critically acclaimed CBS courtroom drama series *The Defenders*. He continued his series involvement writing episodes for *Slattery's People* (1964–65), a CBS political drama, and became head writer for the ABC science fiction series *The Invaders* (1967–68) before concentrating his energies on writing and producing made-for-television movies and miniseries. His work has been honored with two Emmy Awards for outstanding writing (*Clarence Darrow*, 1973, and *Fear on Trial*, 1975); Writers Guild of America Awards for outstanding scripts ("A Continual Roar of Musketry," parts 1 and 2 of the series *The Senator*, 1970; *Fear on Trial*, 1975; and *Gideon's Trumpet*, 1980); and a cable ACE Award for writing (*Sakharov*, 1984). Rintels's achievements also include the sole story and joint screenplay credits for the feature film *Scorpio* (1972).

Rintels's television work in the genres of fictional history (using novelistic invention to portray real historical figures and events) and historical fiction (placing fictional characters and events in a more or less authentic historical setting) has been praised by *Los Angeles Times* television critic Howard Rosenberg, who noted that Rintels's "fine record for using TV to present history as serious entertainment is probably unmatched by any other present dramatist." Some critics have argued, however, that while his faithfulness to historical detail and accuracy is commendable, Rintels's use of lengthy expository sequences has, on occasion, diminished the stories' dramatic power.

Following his involvement as an episode writer for *The Defenders*, the Emmy Award-winning drama series featuring a father and son legal team defending people's constitutional rights, Rintels returned to the subject of the courts in *Clarence Darrow* (NBC, 1973) and *Gideon's Trumpet* (CBS, 1980), the latter a *Hallmark Hall of Fame* production he both wrote and produced. Based on Anthony Lewis's book, *Gideon's Trumpet* was the real-life story of Clarence Earl Gideon (played by Henry Fonda), a drifter with little education, who was arrested in the early 1960s for "breaking and entering." The U.S. Supreme Court held

that Gideon was entitled to an attorney, although he could not afford to pay for one; this case established the constitutional right to legal representation, now guaranteed to all U.S. citizens.

Rintels has also frequently focused on the political sphere, and especially on idealistic individuals who become ensnared in the nefarious webs woven by those seeking power or influence. In "A Continual Roar of Musketry," he developed the character of Hayes Stowe, an idealistic U.S. senator (played by Hal Holbrook).

In the 1975 CBS docudrama *Fear on Trial*, starring George C. Scott and William Devane, Rintels told the story of John Henry Faulk, a homespun radio personality who wrote a book about the blacklisting in television in the 1950s. Upon publication of this book, Faulk suddenly found his own name appearing in the AWARE bulletin, a blacklisting sheet created by two communist-hunting businessmen who proclaimed themselves protectors of the entertainment industry.

*Washington: Behind Closed Doors* (1977), a 12-and-one-half-hour ABC miniseries co-written (with Eric Bercovici) and co-produced by Rintels, was a provocative examination of the Nixon administration, including a striking psychological portrait of Nixon, fictionalized as President Richard Monckton. Played to perfection by Jason Robards, Monckton is described by Michael Arlen as "nervous and disconnected... insecure, vengeful, riddled with envy, and sublimely humorless." Although loosely based on *The Company* (the novel by Nixon administration insider John Erlichman) the Rintels and Bercovici script transcended Erlichman's one-dimensional characterizations to bring to the small screen "an intelligent and well-paced scenario of texture and character." Yet working in the genre of historical fiction was not without its pitfalls. In a foreshadowing of the heated debate surrounding Oliver Stone's 1995 feature film *Nixon*, Arlen questioned the production's mixing of fiction with fact:

There should be room in our historical narratives for such a marvelously evocative (though not precisely factual) interpretation as Robards' depiction of Nixon-Monckton's strange humorous humorlessness, where an actor's art gave pleasure, brought out character, and took us closer to truth. At the same time, for major tele-



David W. Rintels, 1980.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

vision producers...to be so spaced out by the present Entertainment Era as to more or less deliberately fool around with the actual life of an actual man, even of a discredited President...seems irresponsible and downright shabby.

Rintels turned his attention to political repression abroad in *Sakharov* (HBO, 1984), the moving story of the courageous Soviet scientist Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov (played by Robards) and his second wife Yelena G. Bonner (Glenda Jackson). *Sakharov* chronicles the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner's painful journey into dissent, and his outspoken advocacy of human rights. Because so much information about affairs in the Soviet Union was cloaked in secrecy, it would have been tempting to invent much of Sakharov's tale. Rintels, however, was loath to do this. Rather, in order to present the personal side of Sakharov, Rintels compiled information from extensive interviews with Sakharov's children and their spouses, who had emigrated to the United States, and with Yelena Bonner's mother. Rintels also drew upon Sakharov's own accounts and those of his friends, and on reports from journalists stationed in Moscow. As the story unfolded for Rintels, he decided to use, as a primary framing de-

vice, Sakharov's "growing awareness—through his personal relationship with Yelena—of his moral duty." Rintels was careful to avoid painting the Soviet bureaucrats and security police as "evil" in simplistic melodramatic terms in order to glorify Sakharov. The script attempted to explain why the Soviet officials perceived Sakharov as an internal threat and was circumspect regarding his motivations when the facts (or lack thereof) warranted.

In two other efforts, *Day One* (AT&T Presents/CBS, 1989) and *Andersonville* (TNT, 1996), Rintels examined the United States at war. *Day One* was a three-hour drama special detailing the history of the Manhattan Project to build an atomic bomb during World War II. Based on Peter Wyden's book *Day One: Before Hiroshima and After*, the program was written and produced by Rintels and won an Emmy Award for outstanding drama special. The story began with the flight of top European scientists, who feared Nazi Germany was progressing toward developing an atomic bomb, to the United States. Near the program's conclusion, a lengthy, balanced, and soul-searching debate transpires among scientists, military leaders, and top civilian government officials, including President Truman, regarding whether to drop the bomb on Japan without prior notice or to invite Japanese officials to a demonstration of the bomb in hopes that they would surrender upon seeing its destructive power. Throughout the piece, Rintels explores the symbiotic relationship that developed between the two key players in the Manhattan Project: the intellectual scientist and project leader, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and the military leader charged with overall coordination of the effort, General Leslie R. Groves.

*Andersonville*, a four-hour, two-part drama written and produced by Rintels, recounts the nightmare of the Civil War Confederate prison camp in southwest Georgia—a 26-acre open-air stockade designed for 8,000 men, which at peak operation contained 32,000 Union Army prisoners of war. Of the 45,000 Union soldiers imprisoned there between 1864 and 1865, nearly 13,000 died, mostly from malnutrition, disease, and exposure. Not only were the Confederate captors cruel; there also existed in the camp a ruthless gang of prisoners, the Raiders, who intimidated, beat, and even killed fellow prisoners for their scraps of food. The other prisoners eventually revolted against the Raiders, placing their six ring leaders on trial and hanging them with the Confederates' blessing. Rintels places the blame for the squalid conditions in the camp both on the camp's authoritarian German-Swiss commandant, Henry Wirz, the only person tried and executed for war crimes following the Civil War, and on larger forces that were the products of a devastating four-year war:

shortages of food, medicine, and supplies that plagued the entire Confederacy and forced it to choose between supplying its own armies or the Union prisoners. To Rintels, the Andersonville camp, unlike the Nazi concentration camps, seemed less the result of a conscious evil policy than the tragic result of a brutal war.

The Holocaust and the people responsible for it were the subject of Rintels's miniseries *Nuremberg* (TNT, 2000), which earned the highest ratings to date for any miniseries aired on U.S. basic cable. Starring Alec Baldwin (who also coproduced the four-hour miniseries) as the lead U.S. prosecutor, *Nuremberg* chronicles the International Military Tribunal proceedings against Nazi officers after World War II, focusing not only on the horrible crimes committed but also on the challenges faced in this first effort to establish standards for the international prosecution of war crimes.

Rintels tackled a somewhat less weighty subject in his next for-cable project, a biography of Indiana University's volatile head basketball coach, Bobby Knight. *A Season on the Brink* (2002) is notable for two reasons: it represents the first effort by the sports cable channel ESPN to air an original drama, and it was aired simultaneously on ESPN, with dialogue heavily peppered with profanity, and ESPN2, where the offending words were covered by "bleeps."

In addition to his creative work, Rintels has also been active in the politics of television. As president of the Writers Guild of America (1975–77), he coordinated the successful campaign, led by the Guild and producer Norman Lear, to have the courts overturn the Federal Communications Commission's 1975 "family-viewing" policy, which designated the first two hours of prime time (7:00–9:00 P.M.) for programs that would be suitable for viewing by all age groups. Rintels and Lear argued that the policy violated the First Amendment, forcing major script revisions of more adult-oriented programs appearing before 9:00 P.M. and the rescheduling of series such as *All in the Family*.

Since the early 1970s, Rintels has been a vocal critic of television networks' timidity in their prime-time programming. In 1972, he condemned commercial television executives for rejecting scripts dealing with Vietnam draft evaders, the U.S. Army's storing of deadly nerve gas near large cities, antitrust issues, and drug companies' manufacture of drugs intended for the illegal drug market. In a 1977 interview, Rintels criticized the bulk of prime-time entertainment television: "That's the television most of the people watch most of the time—75 to 80 million people a night. And it is for many people a source of information about the real world. But the message they are getting is, I think, not an honest message."

HAL HIMMELSTEIN AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

*See also Defenders, The; Writer in Television*

**David W. Rintels.** Born in Boston, Massachusetts, 1939. Educated at Harvard University, B.A. magna cum laude, 1959. Journalist, *Boston Herald*, 1959–60; news director, WVOX-Radio, New Rochelle, New York, 1959; researcher, National Broadcasting Company, 1961; television writer, since the early 1960s. Member: Writers Guild of America, West, president, 1975–77; chair, Committee on Censorship and Freedom of Expression; advisory board, Death Penalty Focus. Recipient: ACE Award, George Foster Peabody Award, 1970; Silver Gavel Award from the American Bar Association, 1971; Writers Guild of America Awards, 1970, 1975, 1980; Emmy Awards, 1973, 1975.

**Television Series**

1961–75	<i>The Defenders</i>
1964–65	<i>Slattery's People</i>
1965–68	<i>Run for Your Life</i>
1967–68	<i>The Invaders</i>
1970–71	<i>The Senator</i>
1970–71	<i>The Young Lawyers</i>

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1973	<i>Clarence Darrow</i>
1975	<i>Fear on Trial</i>
1980	<i>Gideon's Trumpet</i>
1980	<i>The Oldest Living Graduate</i>
1981	<i>All the Way Home</i>
1982	<i>The Member of the Wedding</i>
1984	<i>Choices of the Heart</i>
1984	<i>Mister Roberts</i>
1984	<i>Sakharov</i>
1985	<i>The Execution of Raymond Graham</i>
1989	<i>Day One</i> (also producer)
1990	<i>The Last Best Year</i> (also producer)
1992	<i>A Town Torn Apart</i>
1994	<i>World War Two: When Lions Roared</i>
1995	<i>My Antonia</i>
2002	<i>A Season on the Brink</i>

**Television Miniseries**

1977	<i>Washington: Behind Closed Doors</i> (co-producer, co-writer)
1996	<i>Andersonville</i>
2000	<i>Nuremberg</i>

**Films**

*Scorpio* (co-writer), 1972; *Not Without My Daughter*, 1992.

Rintels, David W.

### Stage

*Clarence Darrow*, 1975.

### Further Reading

Arlen, Michael J., "The Air: Getting the Goods on Pres. Monckton," *The New Yorker* (October 3, 1977)

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Rosenberg, Howard, "Civil War POWs' Tale of Horror," *Los Angeles Times* (March 1, 1996)

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# Rising Damp

## British Situation Comedy

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*Rising Damp*, the Yorkshire Television situation comedy series set in a run-down northern boarding house, was originally screened on ITV between 1974 and 1978 and has continued to be revived on British television at regular intervals ever since, always attracting large audiences (many of whom were no doubt lodgers at one time or another in similarly seedy houses). Created by writer Ernie Chappell, the series depicted the comic misadventures and machinations of Rupert Rigsby, the embittered, down-at-heel landlord, who constantly spied on the usually very innocent private lives of an assortment of long-suffering tenants.

The success of *Rising Damp* depended largely upon the considerable comic talent of its star, Leonard Rossiter, who played the snooping and sneering Rigsby. Rossiter had first demonstrated his impeccable comic timing in the same role (though under the name Rooksby) in the one-off stage play *Banana Box*, from which the television series was derived. Rossiter rapidly stamped his mark upon the money-grubbing, lecherous, manneristic landlord, making him at once repulsive, vulnerable, paranoid, irrepressible, ignorant, cunning, and above all hilarious. Sharing his inmost fears and suspicions with his cat Vienna, he skulked about the ill-kempt house, bursting in on tenants when he thought (almost always mistakenly) that he would catch them *in flagrante*, and impotently plotting how to seduce university administrator Miss Jones, the frustrated spinster who was the reluctant object of his desire.

Rigsby's appalling disrespect for the privacy of his lodgers and his irrepressible inquisitiveness were the moving force behind the storylines, bringing together the various supporting characters who otherwise mostly cut lonely and inadequate, even tragic, figures. The supporting cast was in fact very strong, with Miss

Jones played in highly individualistic style by the respected stage actress Frances de la Tour; the confused, naive medical student Alan played by an ingenuous but appealing Richard Beckinsale; and Philip, the proud but smug son of an African tribal chief, played by Don Warrington. Only Beckinsale had not appeared in the original stage play. Other lodgers later in the series were Brenda (Gay Rose) and Spooner (Derek Newark).

The frustrations and petty humiliations constantly suffered by the various characters, coupled with their dingy surroundings, could easily have made the series a melancholy affair, but the deft humor of the scripts, married to the inventiveness and expertise of the performers, kept the tone light, if somewhat hysterical at times, and enabled the writers to explore Rigsby's various prejudices (concerning sex, race, students, and anything unfamiliar) without causing offense. In this respect, the series was reminiscent of the techniques employed in *Steptoe and Son*, and by Johnny Speight and Warren Mitchell in the "Alf Garnett" series, although here there was less emphasis on invective and more on deliberately farcical comedy. One occasion on which the series did come unstuck was when fun was had at the expense of an apparently fictional election candidate named Pendry, who was described as crooked and homosexual. Unfortunately, there was a real Labour member of Parliament of the same name, and Yorkshire Television was obliged to pay substantial damages for defamation as a result.

The success of the television series led to a film version in 1980, but this met with mixed response, lacking the conciseness and sharpness of the television series and also lacking the presence of Beckinsale, who had tragically died of a heart attack at the age of 31 the pre-

vious year. Rossiter himself went on to star in the equally popular series *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin* before his own premature death from heart failure in 1984.

DAVID PICKERING

#### Cast

Rupert Rigsby	Leonard Rossiter
Alan Moore	Richard Beckinsale
Ruth Jones	Frances de la Tour
Philip Smith	Don Warrington
Spooner	Derek Newark
Brenda	Gay Rose

#### Producers

Ian MacNaughton, Ronnie Baxter, Len Luruck, Vernon Lawrence

#### Programming History

28 episodes	
Yorkshire Television (ITV)	
September 2, 1974	pilot episode
December 1974–January 1975	five episodes
November 1975–December 1975	eight episodes
December 27, 1976	Christmas special
April 1977–May 1977	seven episodes
April 1978–May 1978	six episodes

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## Rivera, Geraldo (1943– )

U.S. Journalist, Talk Show Host

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The name of journalist and talk show host Geraldo Rivera has become synonymous with more sensational forms of talk television. His distinctive style, at once probing, aggressive, and intimate, has even led, at times, to parodies of him in a variety of print and broadcast media. He has seemed to contribute to this high-profile identification by playing himself (or a close approximation) in fictional settings, such as an episode of *thirtysomething*, a 1992 *Perry Mason* TV movie, the finale of *Seinfeld*, and the theatrical films *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (1990) and *Primary Colors* (1998). Yet, ironically, his fear of going too far with his public image led him to turn down an offer to play the role of an over-the-top tabloid reporter in Oliver Stone's *Natural Born Killers* (1994). A master of self-promotion, Rivera's drive has taken his career in directions he may not have predicted. Despite having won ten Emmys and numerous journalism awards (including the Peabody), Rivera is still primarily known for the more public nature of both his personal life and his talk show.

Rivera was discovered while working as a lawyer for the New York Puerto Rican activist group the Young Lords. During the group's occupation of an East Harlem church in 1970, Rivera had been interviewed on WABC-TV local news and caught the eye of the station's news director Al Primo, who was looking for a Latino reporter to fill out his news team. In 1972, Rivera gained national attention with his criti-

cally acclaimed and highly rated special on the horrific abuse of mentally retarded patients at New York's Willowbrook School. He then went on to work for ABC national programs, first as a special correspondent for *Good Morning, America*, and then, in 1978, for the prime-time investigative show *20/20*. However, his brashness led to controversies with the network, and in 1985 he was fired after publicly criticizing ABC for canceling his report on an alleged relationship between John F. Kennedy and Marilyn Monroe.

Rivera was undaunted by his altercation with the network, and he moved to boost his visibility with an hour-long special on the opening of Al Capone's secret vault in April 1986. The payoff for the audience was virtually nil, since the vault contained only dirt, but the show achieved the highest ratings for a syndicated special in television history. Rivera wrote in his autobiography, "My career was not over, I knew, but had just begun. And all because of a silly, high-concept stunt that failed to deliver on its titillating promise."

The same high-concept approach became the base for Rivera's talk show *Geraldo*, which debuted in September 1987. The first guest was Marla Hanson, a model whose face had been slashed on the orders of a jilted lover. Many critics attacked the show, and Rivera, for his theatrics and "swashbuckling bravado," but *Geraldo* garnered a respectable viewership. However, Rivera has pointed out that it was his 1987 show, "Men in Lace Panties and the Women Who Love

Them," which turned the talk format in a more sensational direction. The following year, he broke talk show rating records with a highly publicized show on Nazi skinheads. During the show's taping, a brawl had broken out between two of the guests—a 25-year-old leader of the White Aryan Resistance Youth and black activist Roy Innis. A thrown chair hit Rivera square in the face, breaking his nose. The show was news before it even aired. The press jumped on this opportunity to use Rivera as an example of television's new extremes. A November 1988 cover of *Newsweek* carried a close-up of his bashed face next to a headline reading, "Trash TV: From the Lurid to the Loud, Anything Goes."

Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Geraldo* (which was eventually renamed *The Geraldo Rivera Show*) continued to capitalize on the sensational aspects of Rivera's reputation. He inserted himself into the talk show narrative, often using his own exploits and bodily desires to fill out the issue at hand. In a show on plastic surgery, Rivera had fat sucked from his buttocks and injected into his forehead in a procedure to reduce wrinkles. A few years later, in another procedure, he had his eyes tucked on the show. The publication of his autobiography, *Exposing Myself*, in the fall of 1991 caused a major stir due to Rivera's revelations of his numerous affairs.

In a 1993 interview, Rivera offered an analysis of his own place in American life:

I'm so much a part of the popular culture now. I'm a punch line every night on one of the late-night shows... I'm used as a generic almost in all the editorials and commentaries and certainly all the books about whether the news media has gone too far. It's just that, what is a review going to do to me? They either like me or don't like me, but I'm always interesting to watch.

By mid-1994 Rivera had begun working to recoup his former role as a "serious" journalist. While still taping episodes of his daytime talk show, he began hosting his own legal affairs program, *Rivera Live*, on CNBC and became a regular contributor to the *Today Show*. Although many at NBC News were uncomfortable with Rivera's tabloid image, *Rivera Live* became one of the cable network's highest-rated programs and Rivera won critical praise for his coverage of the O.J. Simpson trial in 1997. In early 1998, Rivera signed a lucrative new six-year contract with NBC, and in May he taped the last original episode of *The Geraldo Rivera Show*. In the fall of that year, Rivera became host of a second CNBC show, *Upfront Tonight*.

Yet Rivera could not completely shake the controversy that seemed to follow him. In 2001, he left CNBC with two years left on his contract for a position as war

correspondent at the cable channel FOX News; a few months later he was lambasted for one of his reports from the U.S.-led war against terrorism in Afghanistan. After the deaths of three American soldiers in Kandahar by "friendly fire" in early December 2001, Rivera (dressed in flak jacket and carrying a pistol) reported that he had "walked over the spot where the friendly fire took so many of our men.... I said the Lord's Prayer and really choked up." Newspapers quickly pointed out that the "hallowed" ground of which he spoke was actually hundreds of miles away from where he was standing during his report. Rivera, admitting his mistake, blamed "the fog of war." More criticism followed, as he acted as a swaggering patriot in many of his reports about events following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. When Rivera promised that if he ever found Osama bin Laden, he would "kick his head in, then bring it home and bronze it," many wondered if this "new" Geraldo Rivera was all that different from the old.

SUSAN MURRAY

#### See also Talk Shows

**Geraldo Rivera.** Born Jerry Rivers in New York City, July 4, 1943. Educated at University of Arizona, B.S., 1965; Brooklyn Law School, J.D., 1969; postgraduate work at University of Pennsylvania, 1969; attended School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, 1970. Married: 1) Edith Bucket "Pie" Vonnegut, 1971; 2) Sherryl Raymond, 1976; 3) C.C. Dyer, 1987 (divorced); children: Gabriel Miguel, Isabella, Simone. Member, antipoverty neighborhood law firm Harlem Assertion of Rights and Community Action for Legal Services, New York City, 1968–70; admitted to New York Bar, 1970; in television, from 1970, beginning at *Eyewitness News*, WABC-TV, New York City; host, numerous television specials and talk shows; reporter for FOX News, since 2001. Member: Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; Puerto Rican Bar Association. Recipient: Smith Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania, 1969; three national and seven local Emmy Awards; two Robert F. Kennedy Awards; Peabody Award; Kennedy Journalism Awards, 1973 and 1975.

#### Television Series

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1970–75 | <i>Eyewitness News</i>   |
| 1973–76 | <i>Good Morning, America</i>   |
| 1974–78 | <i>Geraldo Rivera: Goodnight, America</i>  |
| 1978–85 | <i>20/20</i> (correspondent and senior producer)                                     |
| 1987–98 | <i>Geraldo</i> (host; show's title later changed to <i>The Geraldo Rivera Show</i> ) |



- 1991–92 *Now It Can Be Told*  
 1994–2001 *Rivera Live*  
 1998–2001 *Up Front Tonight*

**Made-for-Television Movie**

- 1992 *Perry Mason: The Case of the Reckless Romeo*

**Television Specials (selected)**

- 1986 *The Mystery of Al Capone's Vault*  
 1986 *American Vice: The Doping of a Nation*  
 1986 *American Vice: The Real Story of the Doping of a Nation*  
 1987 *Modern Love: Action to Action*  
 1987 *Innocence Lost: The Erosion of American Childhood*  
 1987 *Sons of Scarface: The New Mafia*  
 1988 *Murder: Live from Death Row*

**Films**

- The Bonfire of the Vanities*, 1990; *Grumpier Old Men*, 1995; *Meet Wally Sparks*, 1997; *Contact*, 1997; *Copland*, 1997; *Primary Colors*, 1998.

**Publications (selected)**

- A Special Kind of Courage: Profiles of Young Americans*, 1977  
*Exposing Myself* (with Daniel Paisner), 1991

**Further Reading**

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 Leershen, Charles, "Sex, Death, Drugs, and Geraldo," *Newsweek* (November 14, 1988)  
 Levine, Art, "Blitzed: Ed Murrow, Meet Geraldo," *The New Republic* (January 9, 1989)  
 Littleton, Cynthia, "Geraldo Takes the Pledge," *Broadcasting and Cable* (January 8, 1996)  
 Livingstone, Sonia, and Peter Lunt, *Talk on Television: Audience Participation and Public Debate*, London: Routledge, 1994  
 Munson, Wayne, *All Talk: The Talkshow in Media Culture*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1993  
 Priest, Patricia Joyner, *Public Intimacies: Talk Show Participants and Tell-All TV*, Creskill, New Jersey: Hampton, 1995  
 Silverman, Art, "Network McNews: The Brave New World of Peter, Dan, Tom... and Geraldo," *ETC.: A Review of General Semantics* (Spring 1990)  
 Timberg, Bernard, "The Unspoken Rules of Television Talk," in *Television: The Critical View*, edited by Horace Newcomb, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994

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## Road to Avonlea

### Canadian Family Drama

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*Road to Avonlea*, one of English Canada's most successful dramatic series, aired on CBC (the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation network) for seven seasons, from 1990 to 1996. In addition to this domestic success, the series has been among the most widely circulated Canadian programs in international markets; it was sold in more than 140 countries by the end of its domestic run. The series was both a popular and a critical success and is a singular example of the adaptation of "national" Canadian fiction for the generic constraints of both domestic and international televisual markets. This singularity is evident in both the production context of the series and in its narrative development across the seven seasons. The program was produced by Sullivan Entertainment in association with the Disney Channel in the United States and was supported

with the participation of Telefilm Canada. Thus, from the beginning of its production run, the series was developed in relation to both domestic and international markets. In addition, the program was plotted in relation to the considerations of both a national broadcasting service and a specialty cable service.

The narrative was developed from the novels of Lucy Maud Montgomery, following the previous success of Sullivan Entertainment's miniseries adaptation of Montgomery's best-known novel, *Anne of Green Gables*. Set in the Atlantic province of Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) in the first decades of the 20th century, *Avonlea* opens with the move of young Sara Stanley (Sara Polley) from Montreal to the small P.E.I. town of Avonlea to live with two aunts, Hetty King (Jackie Burroughs) and Olivia King (Mag Ruffman). Over the



*Road to Avonlea.*  
Photo courtesy of Sullivan Entertainment/Marni Grossman

seven seasons, the narrative traces the coming of age of Sara and the other children of the town as well as the adjustments of the adults in the community to the increasing changes that 20th-century modernization brings to rural island life. The series is situated simultaneously within the genres of period-costume drama and children's, or family, drama—on the CBC, the series ran in the 7:00 P.M. family hour.

The dramatic formula for the series was relatively stable. Episode plots built upon the development of the children's interrelationships and their increasing entrance into the "adult" world of family and community life. At the same time, the shape of the community was developed through the interactions of series regulars with "outsiders" who instigated disruptions into both family and kinship ties, and who served as indices of the invasive modernity encroaching on town life. The dramatic formula therefore intertwined the coming-of-age incidents and the character development of a traditional children's series with an idealized and nostalgic

accounting of rural forms of community life. The fact that the series' narrative ends on the eve of World War I serves to reinforce this linking of childhood, family, and community in an earlier, more innocent period.

The episodic use of outsider characters also integrated well with the series development in relation to both domestic and foreign markets. Over the years the producers succeeded in recruiting for these roles a number of internationally known Canadian guest stars (for example, Kate Nelligan, Colleen Dewhurst) and international guest stars (Michael York, Stockard Channing), a production decision that greatly aided in the international marketing of the series. *Road to Avonlea*, therefore, is a prime example of the adaptation of a national popular culture narrative to the constraints of the international television culture of the 1990s. At the same time, it demonstrates one possible strategy for series finance within relatively "small" national television industries.

MARTIN ALLOR

**See also Canadian Programming in English****Cast**

Sara Stanley (1990–94)	Sara Polley
Aunt Hetty King	Jackie Burroughs
Janet King	Lally Cadeau
Alec King	Cedric Smith
Olivia King Dale	Mag Ruffman
Jasper Dale	R.H. Thompson
Felicity King	Gema Zampogna
Felix King	Zachary Bennett
Rachel Lynde	Patricia Hamilton

**Producers**

Kevin Sullivan, Trudy Grant

**Programming History**

91 episodes  
 CBC  
 January 1990–March 1996    Sunday 7:00–8:00

**Further Reading**

Miller, Mary Jane, "Will English Language Television Remain Distinctive? Probably," in *Beyond Quebec: Taking Stock of Canada*, edited by Kenneth McRoberts, Montreal: McGill Queen's Press, 1995

## Robertson, Pat (1930– )

### U.S. Religious Broadcaster

Pat Robertson is the leading religious broadcaster in the United States. His success has made him not only a television celebrity but also a successful media owner, a well-known philanthropist, and a respected conservative spokesman. Robertson experienced a religious conversion while running his own electronics company in New York, and he became increasingly certain that God wanted him to buy a television station to spread the gospel. Robertson brought his family to Portsmouth, Virginia, in November 1959, with only \$70 in his pocket, and a year later he bought a bankrupt UHF station in Portsmouth for a mere \$37,000 (the station was valued at \$500,000). The station he bought was given the call letters WYAH-TV, for "Yahweh," the Hebrew word for "God," and Robertson called his enterprise the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). CBN went on the air on October 1, 1961, with an evangelistic religious format.

In the fall of 1963, CBN held its first telethon asking 700 supporters to join the "700 Club" by pledging \$10 a month to help meet the station's monthly operational budget of \$7,000. In 1966, after another successful telethon, Robertson started *The 700 Club* as a daily broadcast of prayer and ministry that encouraged a telephone response; toll-free 800 numbers were always displayed, and viewers could ring in for advice and prayer.

Robertson's genius was to recognize early the importance of an Earth station that could uplink and downlink his programs to local cable operators; he

made an application to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and then signed an agreement with Scientific Atlanta to purchase CBN's satellite Earth station, and he also bought substantial air time on one of the U.S. domestic satellites. On April 29, 1977, CBN began 24-hour Christian and family programming; this was the beginning of the Family Channel. By December 1977, the CBN Satellite Network had become the largest syndicator of satellite programs in the United States. Two years later, in October 1979, CBN opened its new International Communications Center in Virginia Beach, Virginia. CBN has since expanded its broadcasts internationally, and in 2002 it broadcast to 180 nations in 71 languages.

CBN also affiliated with 33 U.S. Christian television stations to form the Home Entertainment Network in 1989. A year later CBN decided to sell its 24-hour Family Channel, whose most important function was to carry *The 700 Club* three times a day. The new company, called International Family Entertainment, was launched on the New York Stock Exchange and sold in 1997 to Fox Kids Worldwide for \$1.8 billion, with CBN receiving \$136.1 million from the sale. Under the terms of the sale, Fox carried *The 700 Club* twice a day, and the same conditions applied when in 2001 Fox Kids Worldwide was sold to Disney. The cable network is now called ABC Family, and it continues to carry *The 700 Club* daily.

Robertson, an ordained minister of the Southern



David Frost interviewing Pat Robertson.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Baptist church, resigned his ordination in 1986 in order to make a bid for the presidency of the United States. As a result of Robertson's actions, CBN lost nearly 40 percent of its gift income in 1988, but upon Robertson's return to *The 700 Club* in 1988, finances were restored. Robertson's conservative political commentaries became an ever more important aspect of his program.

Robertson can claim to have built the popularity of the religious talk show format, a format that has proved consistently popular for more than 30 years. The 2002 version of *The 700 Club* talk show remains a mixture of news; in-depth feature reports on current ethical and moral issues such as school prayer; stories and commentary asserting the agenda of the new Christian right; and Christian evangelism with a charismatic flavor. The program is an important indicator of what evangelicals and Pentecostals believe about current moral and political issues.

In 2002, Pat Robertson retired from the leadership of the Christian Coalition and from active politics, announcing that he intended to spend his remaining years concentrating on the leadership of CBN and Regent University, which he founded in 1978, and which has provided many of his best broadcasting executives. His younger son Gordon is now the principal host of *The 700 Club* and is expected to continue if and when his father retires.

ANDREW QUICKE

#### See also Religion on Television

**Pat Robertson.** Born Marion Gordon Robertson in Lexington, Virginia, March 22, 1930. Educated at Washington and Lee University, B.A., 1950; Yale University, J.D., 1955; New York Theological Seminary, MDiv, 1959. Married: Adelia Elmer; children: Timothy, Elizabeth, Gordon, and Ann. Founder and president,

Christian Broadcasting Network, Virginia Beach, from 1960; ordained minister, Southern Baptist Convention, 1961–86; author of numerous books, from 1972; on board of directors, National Broadcasters, from 1973; founder and president, CBN (now Regent) University, 1978; started relief organization Operation Blessing, 1978; founder and president, Continental Broadcasting Network, from 1979; cofounded Freedom Council foundation, 1981; member, Presidential Task Force on Victims of Crime, Washington, D.C., 1982; candidate for Republican nomination for U.S. president, 1988. ThD. (honorary), Oral Roberts University, 1983. Recipient: National Council of Christians and Jews Distinguished Merit citation; Knesset Medallion; Religious Heritage of America Faith and Freedom Award; Southern California Motion Picture Council Bronze Halo Award; Religion in Media's International Clergyman of the Year, 1981; International Committee for Goodwill's Man of the Year, 1981; Food for the Hungry Humanitarian Award, 1982; Freedoms Foundation George Washington Honor Medal, 1983.

#### Television Series

1963– *The 700 Club* (host)

#### Publications (selected)

*The Secret Kingdom*, 1982; revised edition, 1992  
*Beyond Reason*, 1984  
*Answers to 200 of Life's Most Probing Questions*, 1985  
*Shout It from the Rooftops*, 1986  
*America's Date with Destiny*, 1986  
*The New World Order*, 1991  
*The Turning Tide*, 1993  
*The End of the Age: A Novel*, 1995

#### Further Reading

Boston, Rob, *The Most Dangerous Man in America?: Pat Robertson and the Rise of the Christian Coalition*, Amherst, New York: Prometheus, 1996  
Donovan, John B., *Pat Robertson: The Authorized Biography*, New York: Macmillan, and London: Collier Macmillan, 1988  
Foegen, Alec, *The Empire God Built: Inside Pat Robertson's Media Machine*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996  
Green, John Clifford, and James L. Guth, "The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson's Supporters," *Journal of Politics* (February 1988)  
Harrow, David Edwin, *Pat Robertson: A Personal, Religious, and Political Portrait*, New York: Harper and Row, 1987  
Hertzke, Allen D., *Echoes of Discontent: Jesse Jackson, Pat Robertson, and the Resurgence of Populism*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992  
Peck, Janice, *The Gods of Televangelism*, Crosskill, New Jersey: Hampton, 1993  
Straub, Gerard Thomas, *Salvation for Sale: An Insider's View of Pat Robertson*, Buffalo, New York: Prometheus, 1988

## Robinson, Hubbell (1905–1974)

U.S. Writer, Producer, Network Executive

Hubbell Robinson was active in American broadcasting as a writer, producer, and network programming executive for over 40 years. As the CBS executive who championed the 1950s anthology drama *Playhouse 90*, his efforts to develop high-quality programming that he described as “mass with class” contributed to CBS’s long-lived reputation as the “Tiffany” network.

Robinson’s broadcasting career began in 1930, when he became the first head of the new radio department at the advertising agency Young and Rubicam. In the era of early commercial broadcasting, when corporate clients sought new radio programs to sponsor, many advertising agencies helped develop program genres, such as the soap opera, that encouraged habitual listening. At Young and Rubicam, Robinson created and wrote scripts for General Foods’ soap opera *The Second Mrs. Burton*. The program’s success was based, according to Robinson, on “four cornerstones”: simple characterizations, understandable predicaments, the centrality of the female characters, and the soap opera’s philosophical relevance.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Young and Rubicam became an important radio program provider, simultaneously producing *The Jack Benny Show*, Fred Allen’s *Town Hall Tonight*, and *The Kate Smith Hour*, among others. As did other radio executives at the agency, Robinson wrote many scripts and commercials, in addition to producing programs.

By the time Robinson joined CBS Television in 1947, his extensive background in radio programming had prepared him well for the new medium. Indeed, in his autobiography, *As It Happened*, then-CBS chairman William Paley referred to Robinson as “the all-around man in our programming department.” As executive vice president in charge of television programming at CBS, Robinson championed and oversaw the development of such popular programs as *I Love Lucy*, *You’ll Never Get Rich* (with Phil Silvers as Sergeant Bilko), and *Gunsmoke*.

However, according to Paley, “Culturally, [Robinson’s] interests were levels above many of his colleagues. . . . His special flair was for high-quality programming.” Robinson organized and championed the 90-minute dramatic anthology series, *Playhouse 90*, which featured serious dramas written by Paddy

Chayevsky, Reginald Rose, and Rod Serling, among others. During its run from 1956 to 1961, *Playhouse 90*’s plays included *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, *A Sound of Different Drummers*, *The Miracle Worker*, and *Judgment at Nuremberg*. Robinson was credited with bringing serious television drama to its peak with *Playhouse 90*.

For Paley and others at CBS, however, the anthology drama format was a drawback: its lack of continuity from week to week did not seem to encourage regular television viewing habits. But the networks’ increasing reliance on filmed episodic programs was disparaged by many admirers of live anthology drama. Referring to critics’ concerns that network programming quality was declining, Robinson openly criti-



Hubbell Robinson in the 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

cized the television industry's "willingness to settle for drama whose synonym is pap." Paley, on the other hand, expressed concern that, as a network executive, Robinson "may have lacked the common touch." Still, it was Robinson's stance that helped CBS deal with federal regulators when questions were raised about whether CBS programs served the (loosely defined) public interest.

Robinson returned to CBS briefly from 1962 to 1963 and later joined ABC as executive producer of the *Stage 67* series and the on-location series *Crisis!* from 1966 to 1969. In the early 1960s, he was credited with helping erode stereotyping of African Americans on television by distributing a memorandum calling for producers to cast blacks in a greater variety of roles. Robinson's contributions as a producer and programmer spanned the crucial decades of radio's maturity and television's early growth. As the executive responsible for the programming of both popular and innovative television programs in the 1950s, he helped CBS establish and maintain its reputation as the network with the highest ratings and best programming, a reputation that endured for several decades.

CYNTHIA MEYERS

See also **Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; *Playhouse 90***

**Hubbell Robinson.** Born in Schenectady, New York, October 16, 1905. Graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy, 1923; Brown University, B.A., 1927. Married: 1) Therese Lewis, 1940 (divorced, 1948); 2) Margaret Whiting (divorced); 3) Vivienne Segal (legally separated, 1962). Drama critic, *Exhibitors Herald*, 1927; reporter, *Schenectady Union Star*, Albany

Knickerbocker Press, 1929; radio producer, Young and Rubicam, 1930, vice president and radio director, 1942; vice president and program director, ABC radio, New York City, 1944-45; vice president, Foote, Cone, and Belding advertising agency, 1946; vice president and program director, CBS, 1947-56; executive vice president, CBS-TV, 1956-59; organized Hubbell Robinson Productions, 1959; senior vice president, television programs, CBS, 1962-63; executive in charge of various productions, ABC-TV, 1966-69; contributing critic, *Films in Review*; 1971-74; film critic, CATV Channel 8, New York City, 1969-72. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1958 and 1959; two TV Digest Awards, 1960; Producers Guild Award, 1962; Fame Award, 1967; Television Academy's Salute Award, 1972. Died in New York City, September 4, 1974.

#### Television Series (executive producer)

1956-61 *Playhouse 90*  
1966-69 *Crisis!*  
1967 *Stage 67*

#### Radio

*The Second Mrs. Burton; The Jack Benny Show; Fred Allen's Town Hall Tonight; The Kate Smith Hour.*

#### Further Reading

Boddy, William, *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990  
Metz, Robert, *CBS: Reflections in a Bloodshot Eye*, Chicago: Playboy Press, 1975  
Paley, William S., *As It Happened*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979

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## Rockford Files, The

### U.S. Detective Drama

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*The Rockford Files* is generally regarded (along with *Harry O*) as one of the finest private eye series of the 1970s, and indeed of all time, consistently ranked at or near the top in polls of viewers, critics, and mystery writers. The series offered superbly plotted mysteries, with the requisite amounts of action, yet it was also something of a revisionist take on the hard-boiled detective genre, grounded more in character than crime,

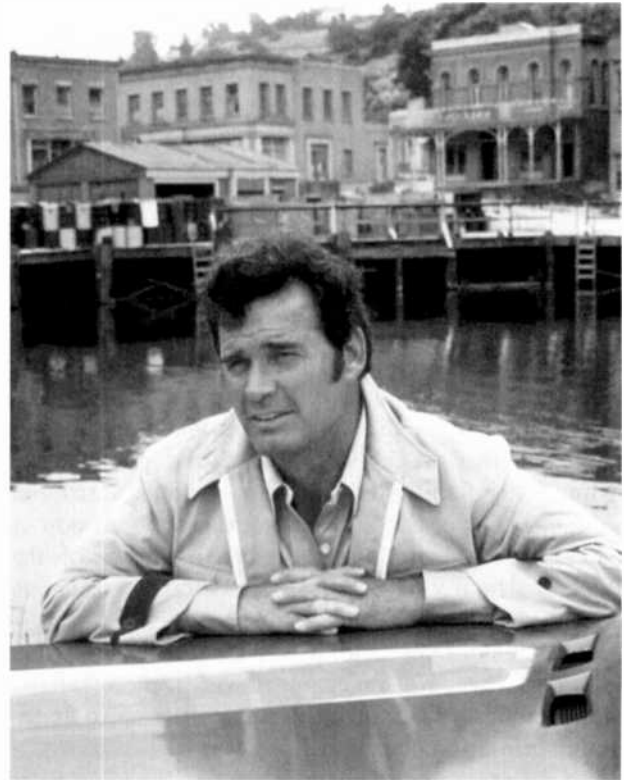
and infused with humor and realistic relationships. Driven by brilliant writing, an ensemble of winning characters, and the charm of its star, James Garner, the series went from prime-time Nielsen hit in the 1970s to a syndication staple with a loyal cult following in the 1980s, before spawning several made-for-TV movie sequels in the 1990s.

The show was created by producer Roy Huggins

and writer Stephen J. Cannell. Huggins originally sketched the premise of a private eye who took on only closed cases (a conceit quickly abandoned in the series), at one point intending to introduce the character in an episode of the cop show *Toma*. Huggins assigned the script to Cannell—a professed aficionado of the hard-boiled detective tradition—who decided to have fun with the story by flouting the genre's clichés and breaking its rules. After the *Toma* connection crumbled, James Garner signed on to the project, NBC agreed to finance the pilot, and *The Rockford Files* was born.

Cannell was largely responsible for the character and the concept that finally emerged in the pilot script and the series. Jim Rockford did indeed break the mold set by television's earlier two-fisted chivalric P.I.s. His headquarters was a mobile home parked at the beach rather than a shabby office off Sunset Boulevard; in lieu of a gorgeous secretary, an answering machine took his messages; he preferred to talk, rather than slug, his way out of a tight spot; and he rarely carried a gun. (When one surprised client asked why, Rockford replied, "Because I don't want to shoot anybody.") No troubled loner, Jim Rockford spent much of his free time fishing or watching TV with his father, Joe Rockford (Noah Beery, Jr.), a retired trucker with a vocal antipathy to "Jimmy's" chosen profession. Inspired by an episode of *Mannix* in which that tough-guy P.I. took on a child's case for some loose change and a lollipop, Cannell decided to make his creation "the Jack Benny of private eyes." Rockford always announced his rates up front: \$200 a day, plus expenses (which he itemized with abandon). He was tenacious on the job, but business was business—and he had payments on the trailer.

For all of its ostensible rule-breaking, however, *The Rockford Files* hewed closely to the hard-boiled tradition in style and theme. The series' depiction of Los Angeles's sun-baked streets and seamy underbelly rivals the novels of Raymond Chandler and Ross Macdonald. Chandler, in his essay "The Simple Art of Murder," could have been writing about Jim Rockford when he describes the hard-boiled detective as a poor man, a common man, a man of honor, who talks with the rude wit of his age. Rockford's propensity for wisecracks, his fractious relationship with the police, and his network of shady underworld connections, lead straight back to Dashiell Hammett by way of Chandler and Rex Stout. As for his aversion to fisticuffs, Rockford was not a coward, but a pragmatist, different only by degree (if at all) from Philip Marlowe; when violence was inevitable, Rockford was as tough as nails. Most tellingly of all, he shared the same code as his Los Angeles predecessors Marlowe and



*The Rockford Files*, James Garner, 1974–80.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Lew Archer: an unwavering sense of morality, and an almost obsessive thirst for the truth. Thus, despite his ostensible concern for the bottom line, in practice Rockford ended up doing at least as much charity work as any fictional gumshoe (as in "The Reincarnation of Angie," when the soft-hearted sleuth agrees to take on a distressed damsel's case for his "special sucker rate" of \$23.74).

Ultimately—perhaps inevitably—all of Cannell's generic revisionism served to make his hero more human, and the stories that much more realistic. Jim Rockford could be the Jack Benny of private eyes precisely because he was the first TV private eye—perhaps the first literary one—to be created as a fully credible human being, rather than simply a dogged, alienated purveyor of justice. *The Rockford Files* was as much about character and relationships as it was about crime and detection. The presence of Rockford's father was more than a revisionist or comic gimmick. Although "Rocky" and Jim's wrangling was the source of much humor, that humor was credible and endearing; their relationship was the emotional core of the show, underlining Jim's essential humanity—and subtly, implicitly, sketching in a history for the detective. By the same token, a tapestry of supporting and recur-



ring characters gave Rockford a life beyond the case at hand: Los Angeles Police Department Sergeant Dennis Becker (Joe Santos), Jim's buddy on the force, served a stock genre function as a source of favors and threats, but their friendship, which played out apart from the precinct and the crime scene, added another dimension of character. Likewise, Jim's attorney and sometimes girlfriend Beth Davenport (Gretchen Corbett) further fleshed out the details of his personal life, and served as an able foil for Becker and his more ill-tempered superiors (in the process imparting a dash of 1970s feminism to the show). Angel Martin (Stuart Margolin), Rockford's San Quentin cellmate, the smallest of small-time grifters, the weasel's weasel, at once hilarious and pathetic, evoked Rockford's prison past, evinced his familiarity with Los Angeles's seamier side and balanced Rocky's hominess with an odious measure of sleaze. These regular members of the Rockford family, and a host of distinctive recurring characters—cops, clients, crooks, con men, ex-cons—helped create, over time, a web of relationships that grounded *Rockford*, investing it with a more intense and continuing appeal than would a strict episodic focus on crime and detection.

As the preceding might suggest, *The Rockford Files* was underlined with a warmth not usually associated with the private eye genre. Much of the show's distinctiveness was its emphasis on humor, exploiting Garner's comic gifts (and his patented persona of "reluctant hero") and the humor of the protagonist's often prickly relationships with his dad, Becker, Angel, and his clients. In later seasons the series occasionally veered into parody—especially in the episodes featuring dashing, wealthy, virtuous detective Lance White (Tom Selleck), and bumbling, pulp-fiction-addled, would-be private eye Freddie Beamer (James Whitmore, Jr.)—and even flirted with self-parody, as the show's signature car chases became more and more elaborate and (sometimes) comical (as when Rockford is forced to give chase in a Volkswagen beetle with an enormous pizza adorning the top). Even so, the series was faithful to its hard-boiled heritage. Yet the series also brought a contemporary sensibility to the hard-boiled tradition's anti-authority impulses, assailing political intrigue, official corruption, and bureaucratic absurdity with a distinctly post-Watergate cynicism.

*Rockford's* most profound homage to the detective tradition was first-rate writing and a body of superbly realized mysteries. Cannell and Juanita Bartlett wrote the bulk, and most of the best, of the series' scripts, with writer-producer David Chase (*I'll Fly Away*, *Northern Exposure*, *The Sopranos*), also a frequent contributor of top-notch work. Mystery author Donald Westlake, quoted in *The Best of Crime and Detective*

*TV*, captures the series' central strengths in noting that "the complexity of the plots and the relationships between the characters were novelistic." John D. MacDonald, critiquing video whodunits for *TV Guide*, proposed that in terms of "believability, dialogue, plausibility of character, plot coherence, *The Rockford Files* comes as close to meeting the standards of the written mystery as anything I found." During its run, the series was nominated for the Writers Guild Award and the Mystery Writer's of America "Edgar" Award, in addition to winning the Emmy for outstanding drama series in 1978.

*The Rockford Files* ran for five full seasons, coming to a premature end in the middle of the sixth, when Garner left the show due to a variety of physical ailments brought on by the strenuous demands of the production. Yet *Rockford* never really left the air; not only has the series remained steadily popular in syndication and on cable, eight made-for-television movies reuniting the original cast aired on CBS between 1994 and 1999. In addition, a loyal cult following continues to celebrate the series on various *Rockford File* websites. The show's rather rapid canonization as a touchstone of the private eye genre is evinced by subsequent series, including *Magnum, P.I.*, *Detective in the House*, and *Charlie Grace*, consciously imitating or directly quoting it.

*The Rockford Files* marked a significant step in the evolution of the television detective, honoring the traditional private eye tale with well-crafted mysteries, and enriching the form with what television does best: fully developed characters and richly drawn relationships. In musing on the hard-boiled detective whose tradition he helped shape, Raymond Chandler wrote, "I do not care much about his private life." In *Rockford*, Cannell and company embraced and exploited their detective's private life. Television encourages, even demands this intimacy. For all the gritty realism of Spade and Marlowe's mean streets, they were, in their solitary asceticism, figures of romantic fantasy. Jim Rockford was no less honorable, no less resolute in his quests; he was, however, by virtue of his trailer, his dad, his gun in the cookie jar, just that much more real.

MARK ALVEY

*See also* Cannell, Stephen; Detective Programs; Garner, James; Huggins, Roy

#### Cast

Jim Rockford	James Garner
Joseph "Rocky" Rockford	Noah Beery, Jr.
Detective Dennis Becker	Joe Santos
Beth Davenport (1974–78)	Gretchen Corbett
Evelyn "Angel" Martin	Stuart Margolin



John Cooper (1978–79) Lieutenant Alex Diehl (1974–76)	Bo Hopkins Tom Atkins
Lieutenant Doug Chapman (1976–80)	James Luisi

**Producers**

Meta Rosenberg, Stephen J. Cannell, Charles Floyd  
Johnson, Juanita Bartlett, David Chase

**Programming History**

114 episodes

NBC

September 1974–May 1977	Friday 9:00–10:00
June 1977	Friday 8:30–9:30
July 1977–January 1979	Friday 9:00–10:00
February 1979–March 1979	Saturday 10:00–11:00
April 1979–December 1979	Friday 9:00–10:00
March 1980–April 1980	Thursday 10:00–11:00
June 1980–July 1980	Friday 9:00–10:00

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Kane, Hamilton T., "An Interview with Stephen J. Cannell," *Mystery* (January 1981)

MacDonald, John D., "The Case of the Missing Spellbinders," *TV Guide* (November 24, 1979)

Martindale, David, *The Rockford Phile*, Las Vegas, Nevada: Pioneer, 1991

Randisi, Robert J., "The Best TV Eyes of the 70s," *Mystery* (January 1981)

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Torgerson, Ellen, "James Garner Believes in Good Coffee—And a Mean Punch," *TV Guide* (June 2, 1979)

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## Roddenberry, Gene (1921–1991)

U.S. Writer, Producer

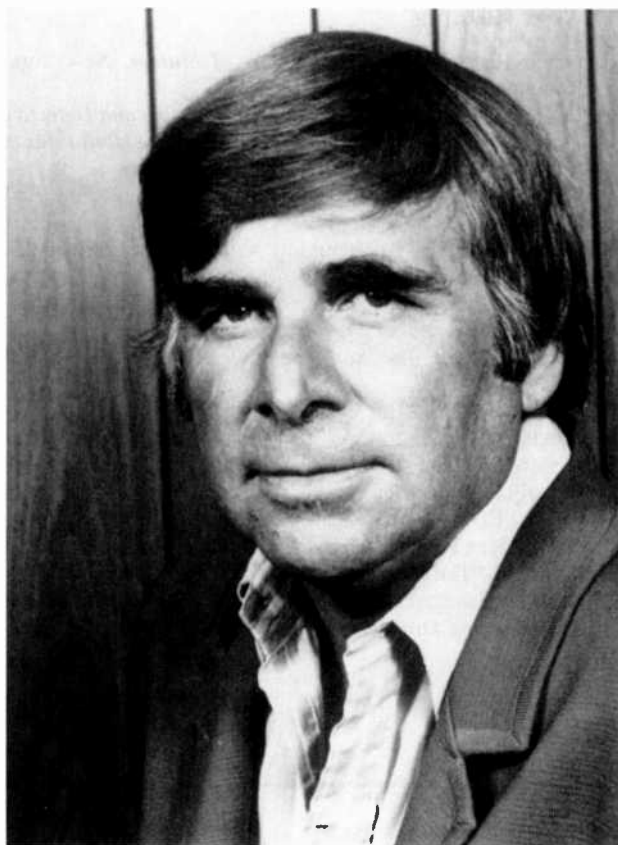
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Gene Roddenberry, who once commented, "No one in his right mind gets up in the morning and says, 'I think I'll create a phenomenon today,'" is best known as the creator and executive producer of *Star Trek*, one of the most popular and enduring television series of all time.

A decorated B-17 pilot during World War II, Roddenberry flew commercially for Pan American Airways after the war while taking college writing classes. Hoping to pursue a career writing for the burgeoning television industry, Roddenberry resigned from Pan Am in 1948 and moved his family to California. With few prospects, he followed in his father's and brother's footsteps and joined the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), where he served for eight years. During his career as a police officer, the LAPD was actively involved with Jack Webb's *Dragnet* series, giving technical advice on props, sets, and story ideas based on actual cases, many of which were submitted by police officers for \$100 in compensation. Roddenberry submitted treatments based on stories from friends and colleagues.

Roddenberry's first professional television work was as technical adviser to Frederick Ziv's *Mr. District Attorney* (1954). The series also gave him his first professional writing work. In addition to creating episodes for *Mr. District Attorney*, Roddenberry also wrote the science fiction tale "The Secret Weapon of 117," which was broadcast on the syndicated anthology series *Chevron Hall of Stars* (March 6, 1956). As he gained increasing success in his new career, he decided to resign from the LAPD in 1956 to pursue writing full time.

Roddenberry continued working on Ziv's new series, *The West Point Story* (CBS, 1956–57; and ABC, 1957–58), and eventually became the show's head writer. For the next few years, he turned out scripts for such series as *Highway Patrol* (syndicated), *Have Gun—Will Travel* (CBS), *Jane Wyman Theater* (NBC), *Bat Masterson* (NBC), *Naked City* (ABC), *Dr. Kildare* (NBC), and *The Detectives* (ABC and NBC). Even at this furious pace, Roddenberry continued to develop ideas for new series.



Gene Roddenberry, *Star Trek*, 1973–75.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

The first series created and produced by Roddenberry was *The Lieutenant* (NBC, 1963–64). Set at Camp Pendleton, *The Lieutenant* examined social questions of the day in a military setting. Coincidentally, the show featured guest performances by three actors who later played a large role in *Star Trek*: Nichelle Nichols, Leonard Nimoy, and Majel Barrett, whom he later married. Casting director Joe D'Agosta and writer Gene L. Coon would also work with Roddenberry on *Star Trek*.

A lifelong fan of science fiction, Roddenberry developed his idea for *Star Trek* in 1964. The series was pitched to the major studios and finally found support from Desilu Studios, the production company formed by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz. The original \$500,000 pilot received minor support from NBC executives, who later commissioned an unprecedented second pilot. The series premiered on September 8, 1966.

Like *The Lieutenant*, *Star Trek* episodes comment on social and political questions in a military (albeit futuristic) setting. Roddenberry described *Star Trek* as a "Wagon Train to the stars" because, like that

popular series, its stories focused on the "individuals who traveled to promote the expansion of our horizons." *Star Trek* was the first science fiction series to depict a peaceful future, and Roddenberry often credited the enduring success of the series to the show's positive message of hope for a better tomorrow. It was also the first series to have a multicultural cast. *Star Trek* received little notice during its three-year run and was canceled after the third season due to low ratings. However, it gained worldwide success in syndication.

In addition to producing the *Star Trek* feature films, Roddenberry continued to write and produce for television, but without the same degree of success. His pilot for *Assignment: Earth* (NBC) was incorporated as an episode of *Star Trek* (March 29, 1968). Later pilots included *Genesis II* (CBS, March 23, 1973), *The Questor Tapes* (NBC, January 23, 1974), *Planet Earth* (ABC, April 23, 1974), and *Spectre* (May 21, 1977). Roddenberry also served as executive consultant on an animated *Star Trek* series (NBC, 1974–75). A second *Star Trek* series, *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, premiered as a syndicated series in 1987 and had a successful seven-year run.

*Star Trek: The Next Generation* was the last series on which Roddenberry had an active role. Since his death in 1991, three new *Star Trek* series based on Roddenberry's original concept have been created: *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993–99), *Star Trek: Voyager* (1995–2001), and *Star Trek: Enterprise* (2001–). Two other science fiction series based on Roddenberry's earlier writings have also been televised: *Earth: Final Conflict* (1997–2002) and *Andromeda* (2000–).

Known affectionately to *Star Trek* fans as "the Great Bird of the Galaxy," Roddenberry was the first television writer to be honored with his own star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, on September 4, 1985. In 1992, with the permission of Roddenberry's widow, Majel Barrett, the late producer's ashes were carried aboard a flight of the space shuttle *Columbia*. In 1993, Roddenberry was posthumously awarded NASA's Distinguished Public Service Medal for his "distinguished service to the nation and the human race in presenting the exploration of space as an exciting frontier and a hope for the future."

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

See also *Star Trek*

**Gene (Eugene Wesley) Roddenberry.** Born in El Paso, Texas, August 19, 1921. Educated at Los Angeles City College; University of Miami; Columbia Uni-

versity; University of Southern California. Married: 1) Eileen Anita Rexroat, 1943 (divorced, 1969); 2) Majel Leigh Hudec (Majel Barrett), 1969; child: Eugene Wesley. Served in U.S. Army Air Force, World War II. Pilot for Pan American Airways, 1946–49; worked for Los Angeles Police Department, 1949–51; television scriptwriter, 1951–62; wrote first science fiction script, “The Secret Defense of 117,” episode for *Chevron Theater*, 1952; created and produced several television series. D.H.L., Emerson College, 1973; D.Sc., Clarkson College, 1981. Recipient: Distinguished Flying Cross; Emmy Award; Hugo Award. Died in Santa Monica, California, October 24, 1991.

#### Television Series

- 1952 “The Secret Defense of 117,” *Chevron Theatre* (writer)  
 1955–58 *Jane Wyman Theater* (writer)  
 1955–59 *Highway Patrol* (writer)  
 1956–58 *The West Point Story* (writer)  
 1957–63 *Have Gun—Will Travel* (writer)  
 1958–63 *Naked City*  
 1959–61 *Bat Masterson*  
 1959–62 *The Detectives*  
 1961–66 *Dr. Kildare*  
 1963–64 *The Lieutenant* (creator and producer)  
 1966–69 *Star Trek* (creator and producer)  
 1973–74 *Star Trek* (animated show)  
 1987–91 *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (executive producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies (pilots; producer)

- 1973 *Genesis II*  
 1974 *Planet Earth*  
 1974 *The Questor Tapes*

- 1975 *Strange New World*  
 1977 *Spectre* (director)

#### Films

- Pretty Maids All in a Row* (producer and writer), 1971; *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (producer), 1979; *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (executive consultant), 1982; *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*, 1984; *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home*, 1986; *Star Trek V: The Final Frontier*, 1989.

#### Publications

- The Making of “Star Trek”* (with Stephen E. Whitfield), 1968  
*Star Trek: The Motion Picture*, 1979  
*The Making of “Star Trek: The Motion Picture”* (with Susan Sackett), 1980  
*Star Trek: The First Twenty-Five Years* (with Susan Sackett), 1991  
*Gene Roddenberry: The Last Conversation: A Dialogue with the Creator of Star Trek* (with Yvonne Fern), 1994

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 Barrett, Majel, *The Wit and Wisdom of Gene Roddenberry*, New York: HarperCollins, 1995  
 Engel, Joel, *Gene Roddenberry: The Myth and the Man Behind Star Trek*, New York: Hyperion, 1994  
 Paikert, Charles, “Gene Roddenberry: American Mythmaker,” *Variety* (December 2, 1991)  
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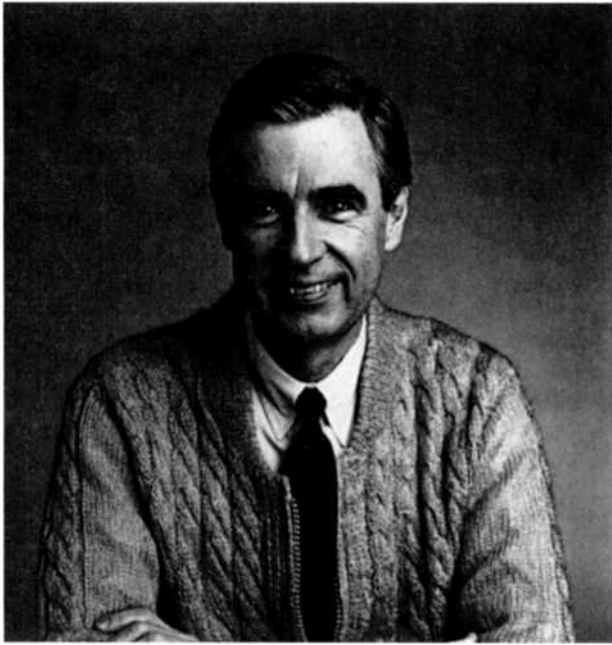
## Rogers, Fred McFeely (1928–2003)

U.S. Children’s Television Host, Producer

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Fred McFeely Rogers, better known to millions of American children as Mr. Rogers, was the creator and executive producer of the long-running children’s program on public television, *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood*. While commercial television most often offers children animated cartoons, and many educational

programs employ the slick, fast-paced techniques of commercial television, Rogers’s approach was as unique as his content. He simply talks with his young viewers. Although his program provided a great deal of information, the focus was not upon teaching specific facts or skills, but upon acknowledging the



Fred Rogers.  
Photo courtesy of Family Communications, Inc.

uniqueness of each child and affirming his or her importance.

Rogers did not originally plan to work in children's television. Rather, he studied music composition at Rollins College in Florida, receiving a bachelor's degree in 1951. He happened to see a children's television program, and felt it was so abysmal that he wanted to offer something better. While he worked in television, however, he also pursued his dream of entering the ministry, continuing his education at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. In 1962, Rogers received a bachelor of divinity degree, and was ordained by the United Presbyterian Church with the charge to work with children and their families through the mass media.

Rogers began his television career at NBC, but joined the founding staff of America's first community-supported television station, WQED in Pittsburgh, as a program director in 1953. His priority was to schedule a children's program; however, when no one came forward to produce it, Rogers assumed the task himself and, in April 1954, launched *The Children's Corner*. He collaborated with on-screen hostess Josie Carey on both the scripts and music to produce a show that received immediate acclaim, winning the 1955 Sylvania Award for the best locally produced children's program in the country. Rogers and Carey also created a separate show with similar material for NBC network distribution on Saturday mornings. With

only a meager budget, their public television show was not a slick production, but Rogers did not view this as a detriment. He wanted children to think that they could make their own puppets, no matter how simple, and create their own fantasies. The important element was to create the friendly, warm atmosphere in the interactions of Josie and the puppets (many of whom remained a part of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*), which became the hallmark of the program.

In 1963, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Toronto provided Rogers another opportunity to pursue his ministerial charge through a 15-minute daily program called *Mister Rogers*. This was his first opportunity to develop his on-camera style: gentle, affirming, and conversational. The style was grounded in Rogers's view of himself as an adult who took time to give children his undivided attention, rather than as an entertainer.

Rogers returned to Pittsburgh in 1964, acquired the rights to the CBC programs, and lengthened them to 30 minutes for distribution by the Eastern Educational Network. When production funds ran out in 1967 and stations began announcing the cancellation of the show, an outpouring of public response spurred the search for new funding. As a result of support by the Sears, Roebuck Foundation and National Educational Television, a new series entitled *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* began production for national distribution. New episodes were taped from 1979 to 2001 and broadcast along with the original 460 episodes.

*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* was unique because it provided a warmth and intimacy seldom found in mass media productions. The show was designed to approximate a visit between friends, and was meticulously planned in consultation with psychologists at the Arsenal Family and Children's Center. The visit began with a model trolley that traveled through a make-believe town to Rogers's home. He entered, singing "Won't You Be My Neighbor?," an invitation for the viewer to feel as close to him as to an actual neighbor. He also created a bond with his audience by speaking directly to the camera, always in an inclusive manner about things of interest to his viewers. As he spoke, he changed from his sport coat to his trademark cardigan sweater, and from street shoes to tennis shoes, to further create a relaxed, intimate atmosphere.

The pacing of the program also approximated that of an in-depth conversation between friends. Rogers spoke slowly, allowing time for children to think about what he said and to respond at home. Psychologists studying the show have verified that children do respond. He also took time to examine objects around him or to do simple chores such as feed his fish. Although he invited other "neighbors," such as pianist

Van Cliburn, to share their knowledge, the warm rapport also allowed him to tackle personal subjects, such as fears of the dark or the arrival of a new baby.

Recognizing the importance of play as a creative means of working through childhood problems, he also invited children into the Neighborhood of Make Believe. Because Rogers wanted children to clearly separate fantasy from reality, this adjacent neighborhood could only be reached via a trolley through a tunnel. The Neighborhood of Make Believe was populated by a number of puppets who were kindly and respectful but not perfect. King Friday XIII, for example, was kind but also somewhat pompous and authoritarian.

Human characters also inhabited this neighborhood and engaged the puppets on an equal level. Since Rogers was the puppeteer and voice for most of the puppets, it was difficult for him to interact in this segment. This movement away from "center stage," however, was a conscious choice. His lack of visible participation underscored the separation between the reality he created in his "home" and these moments of fantasy. The trolley then took the children back to Rogers's home, and the visit ended as he changed back into his street clothes and left the house, inviting the children back at a later date.

In 1971, Rogers formed Family Communications, Inc., a nonprofit corporation of which he was president, to produce *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* and other audiovisual, educational materials. Many of these productions, such as the prime-time series *Mister Rogers Talks with Parents* (1983), and his books *Mister Rogers Talks with Parents* (1983) and *How Families Grow* (1988), are guides for parents. He also recorded six albums of children's songs. However, these activities were viewed as educational endeavors rather than profit-generating enterprises, and most of the funding for his productions came from grants.

Fred Rogers succeeded in providing something different for children on television, and in acknowledgment of his accomplishments he received two Peabody Awards, a first for noncommercial television. Rather than loud, fast-paced animation or entertaining education, he presented a caring adult who visits with children, affirming their distinction and value, and understanding their hopes and fears. Fred Rogers passed away due to stomach cancer on February 27, 2003.

SUZANNE WILLIAMS-RAUTIOLLA

See also **Children and Television**

**Fred McFeely Rogers.** Born in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, March 20, 1928. Educated at Dartmouth College,

1946; Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, B.A. in music, 1951; Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, bachelor of divinity, 1962. Married: Sara Joanne Byrd, 1952; children: James Byrd and John Frederick. Assistant television producer and network floor director, NBC, 1951–53; program director, producer, writer, and performer, WQED, Pittsburgh, 1953–62; producer and television host, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Toronto, Ontario, 1963–64; producer and host, PBS show *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, 1967–2001; producer and host, *Old Friends, New Friends*, 1979–81; producer of videocassettes, CBS, 1987–88. Founder and president, Family Communications, Inc., 1971. Member: Esther Island Preserve Association; Luxor Ministerial Association; board of directors, McFeely-Rogers Foundation; honorary chair, National PTA, 1992–94. Numerous honorary degrees. Recipient: Peabody Awards, 1969 and 1993; Emmy Awards, 1980 and 1985; Ohio State Awards, 1983 and 1986; ACT Award, 1984; Christopher Award, 1984; Educational Press Association of America's Lamplighter Award, 1985; Children's Book Council Award, 1985; Gold Medal at the International Film and TV Festival, 1986; Parent's Choice Award, 1987–88; PBS Award in recognition of 35 years in public television, 1989; Eleanor Roosevelt Val-Kill Medal, 1994; Joseph F. Mulach, Jr., Award, 1995. Died February 27, 2003.

#### Television Series

1954–61	<i>Children's Corner</i>
1963–67	<i>Misterogers</i>
1967–2001	<i>Mister Rogers' Neighborhood</i>
1979–81	<i>Old Friends, New Friends</i>

#### Television Special (selected)

1994	<i>Fred Rogers' Heroes</i>
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#### Recordings

*Won't You Be My Neighbor?*, 1967; *Let's Be Together Today*, 1968; *Josephine, The Short-Necked Giraffe*, 1969; *You Are Special*, 1969; *A Place of Our Own*, 1970; *Bedtime*, 1992; *Growing*, 1992.

#### Publications (selected)

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*The New Baby*, 1985.  
*Making Friends*, 1987.  
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*You Are Special*, 1994.

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## Rogers, Ted (1933– )

### Canadian Media Executive

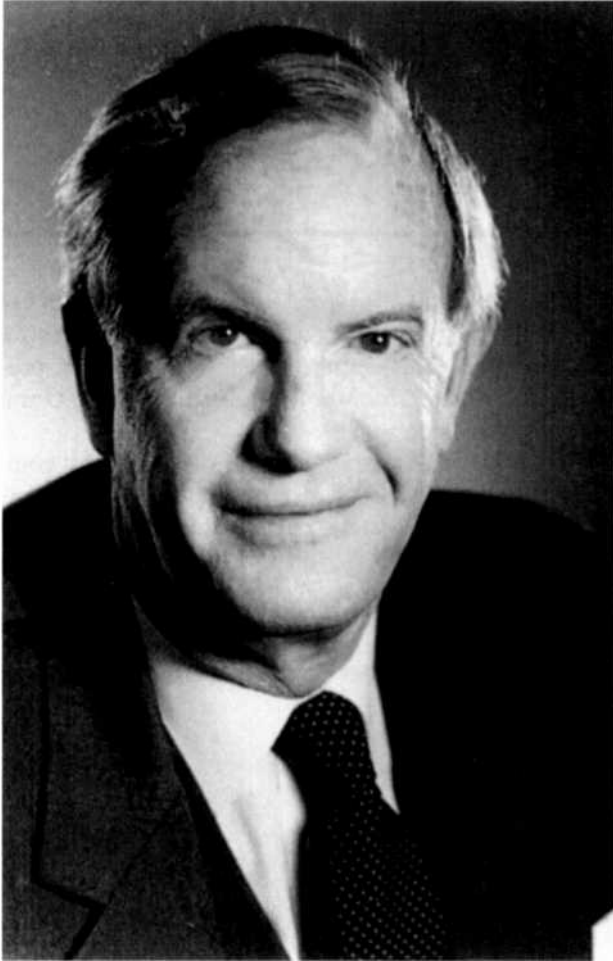
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The founder and chief executive officer of Rogers Communications, Inc., Ted Rogers has become Canada's undisputed new-media mogul. A tireless worker, over the last 35 years Rogers has ceaselessly expanded his business undertakings by plunging headlong into each new communication technology. He has compared his corporate machinations to the likes of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation and Time-Warner, maintaining that only by building Canadian companies of comparable size and diversity can Canadians be assured of a distinctive voice at the forefront of the electronic highway.

Established in 1967, Rogers Communications has grown into one of Canada's largest media conglomerates. Rogers Communications is the largest cable television business in Canada, with more than 30 percent of all Canadian cable subscribers. As a broadcaster and television content provider, Rogers Communications owns more than 40 radio stations, CFMT in Toronto (a multicultural television station), the cable channel Sportsnet, and the Canadian Home Shopping Channel. It also owns a chain of video stores. In telecommunications, Rogers Communications held a major stake in Unitel Communications, a long-distance telephone company, from 1989 to 1995, and has been in the wireless telephone business since 1985. As of 2002, Rogers Communications owned 51 percent of Rogers AT&T Wireless, a Canada-wide cellular phone service. As a result of its 1994 takeover of Maclean-Hunter Ltd., Rogers Communications became the majority share-

holder of the Toronto Sun Publishing Corporation, publisher of newspapers across Canada, and is also the owner of dozens of periodicals in Canada, Britain, the United States, and Europe. In 1993, Rogers Communications generated revenues of \$1.34 billion; the addition of the assets from Maclean-Hunter bring the annual revenues of Rogers Communications to more than double that figure.

Ted Rogers's interest in broadcasting continues a family tradition. His father, Edward Samuel Rogers, Sr., was the first amateur radio operator in Canada to transmit successfully a signal across the Atlantic. In 1925, he invented the radio tube that made it possible to build "battery-less" alternating current receiving sets, and in the same decade he founded Rogers Majestic Corporation to build them. Until then, neither radio receivers nor transmitters could utilize existing household wiring or power lines, and the batteries that powered radio receivers were cumbersome, highly corrosive, and required frequent changing. Rogers's radio greatly increased the popularity of broadcasting. The elder Rogers also established a commercial radio station, CFRB (with the call letters signifying Canada's First Radio Batteryless), in Toronto, which grew to command Canada's largest listening audience. In 1935, Rogers Sr. was granted the first Canadian license to broadcast experimental television. He died eight years later at the age of 38, when Ted Rogers was five. After Rogers Sr.'s death, the Rogers family lost control of CFRB.



Ted Rogers.  
Photo courtesy of Ted Rogers

In 1960, while still a student at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, Ted Rogers bought all the shares in CHFI-FM, a small, 940-watt Toronto radio station that pioneered the use of frequency modulation (FM) at a time when only 5 percent of Toronto households had FM receivers. By 1965, Rogers was in the cable TV business. In 1979 and 1980, he bought out two competitors, Canadian Cablesystems and Premier Cablevision (both were larger than his own operation), and, by 1980, Rogers Communications had taken over UA-Columbia Cablevision in the United States, to become for a time the world's largest cable operator, with more than 1 million subscribers.

Rogers has since sold his stake in U.S. cable operations to concentrate on the Canadian market. His forays into long-distance and cellular telephone service, his ownership of cable services such as the Home Shopping Network and specialty channels such as

Sportsnet, and the acquisition of Maclean-Hunter's publishing interests, with more than 60 magazine and trade periodicals, make Rogers a key player in virtually all of Canada's media markets.

Although the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission has generally given its assent to Rogers's corporate maneuvers, there are many who believe that the commission has neither the regulatory tools nor the will to monitor or control adequately the activities of Rogers Communications and other large cable operators, especially with regard to pricing and open network access. While cable rates rose an average of 80 percent between 1983 and 1993, Rogers Communications was busy adding to its corporate empire and upgrading its technical infrastructure.

As some cable operators tremble at the prospect of competition from direct-to-home satellites and telephone companies, Ted Rogers has ensured that Rogers Communications is well positioned for life after the era of local cable monopolies. Taking his cue from corporate strategists south of the border, Rogers has added a sports property to his holding with his purchase of the Toronto Blue Jays, and his wireless venture now accounts for more operating revenue than his cable assets. From humble beginnings, Rogers has built a company that seems destined to travel in the fast lane.

TED MAGDER

#### *See also Canadian Production Companies*

**Ted (Edward Samuel) Rogers.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, May 27, 1933. Educated at the Upper Canada College, Toronto; University of Toronto, Trinity College, B.A., 1956; Osgoode Hall Law School, LL.B., 1961. Married: Loretta Anne Robinson, 1963; children: Lisa Anne, Edward Samuel, Melinda Mary, and Martha Loretta. Read law for Tory, Tory, DesLauriers, and Binnington; called to bar of Ontario, 1962; founder, Rogers Communications, 1967; president and chief executive officer. Director: Toronto-Dominion Bank, Canada Publishing Corporation, Hull Group, Wellesley Hospital, Junior Achievement of Canada.

#### **Further Reading**

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## Room 222

U.S. High School Drama

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*Room 222* was a half-hour comedy-drama that aired on ABC from 1969 to 1974. While seldom seen in syndication today, the show broke new narrative ground that would later be developed by the major sitcom factories of the 1970s, Grant Tinker's MTM Enterprises and Norman Lear's Tandem Productions. Mixing dramatic elements with traditional television comedy, *Room 222* also prefigured the "dramedy" form by almost two decades.

The series was set at an integrated high school in contemporary Los Angeles. While the narrative centered on a dedicated and student-friendly African-American history teacher, Pete Dixon (Lloyd Haynes), it also depended upon an ensemble cast of students and other school employees. The optimistic idealism of Pete, guidance counselor Liz McIntyre (Denise Nicholas), and student-teacher Alice Johnson (Karen Valentine) was balanced by the experienced, somewhat jaded principal, Seymour Kaufman (Michael Constantine). These characters and a handful of other teachers would spend each episode arguing among themselves about the way in which to go about both educating their students and acting as surrogate parents.

A season and a half before Norman Lear made "relevant" programming a dominant genre with the introduction of such programs as *All in the Family* and *Maude*, *Room 222* was using the form of the half-hour comedy to discuss serious contemporary issues. During its five seasons on the air, the show included episodes that dealt with such topics as racism, sexism, homophobia, dropping out of school, shoplifting, drug use among both teachers and students, illiteracy, cops in school, guns in school, Vietnam War veterans, venereal disease, and teenage pregnancy.

Most importantly, *Room 222* served as a prototype of sorts for what would become the formula that MTM Enterprises would employ in a wide variety of comedies and dramas during the 1970s and 1980s. When Grant Tinker set up MTM, he hired *Room 222*'s executive story editors James L. Brooks and Allan Burns to create and produce the company's first series, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. This series eschewed issue-oriented comedy, but it picked up on *Room 222*'s contemporary and realistic style as well as its setting in a

"workplace family." Treva Silverman, a writer for *Room 222*, also joined her bosses on the new show, and Gene Reynolds, another *Room 222* producer, produced *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* spin-off *Lou Grant* several years later.

*Room 222* was given a number of awards by community and educational groups for its positive portrayal of important social issues seldom discussed on television at the time. It won an Emmy Award for outstanding new series in 1969.

ROBERT J. THOMPSON

See also Brooks, James L.; Burns, Allan; Dramedy; Tinker, Grant



*Room 222*, Denise Nicholas, Michael Constantine, Karen Valentine, Lloyd Haynes, 1969–74.

©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection



**Cast**

Pete Dixon	Lloyd Haynes
Liz McIntyre	Denise Nicholas
Seymour Kaufman	Michael Constantine
Alice Johnson	Karen Valentine
Richie Lane (1969–71)	Howard Rice
Helen Loomis	Judy Strangis
Jason Allen	Heshimu
Al Cowley (1969–71)	Pendrant Netherly
Bernie (1970–74)	David Jollife
Pam (1970–72)	Te-Tanisha
Larry (1971–73)	Eric Laneuville

**Producers**

Gene Reynolds, William D'Angelo, John Kubichan, Ronald Rubin

**Programming History**

112 episodes  
ABC

September 1969–January 1971	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
January 1971–September 1971	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
September 1971–January 1974	Friday 9:00–9:30

**Further Reading**

- Eisner, Joel, and David Krinsky, *Television Comedy Series: An Episode Guide to 153 TV Sitcoms in Syndication*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1984
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- Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983
- Tinker, Grant, and Bud Rukeyser, *Tinker in Television: From General Sarnoff to General Electric*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994

# Roots

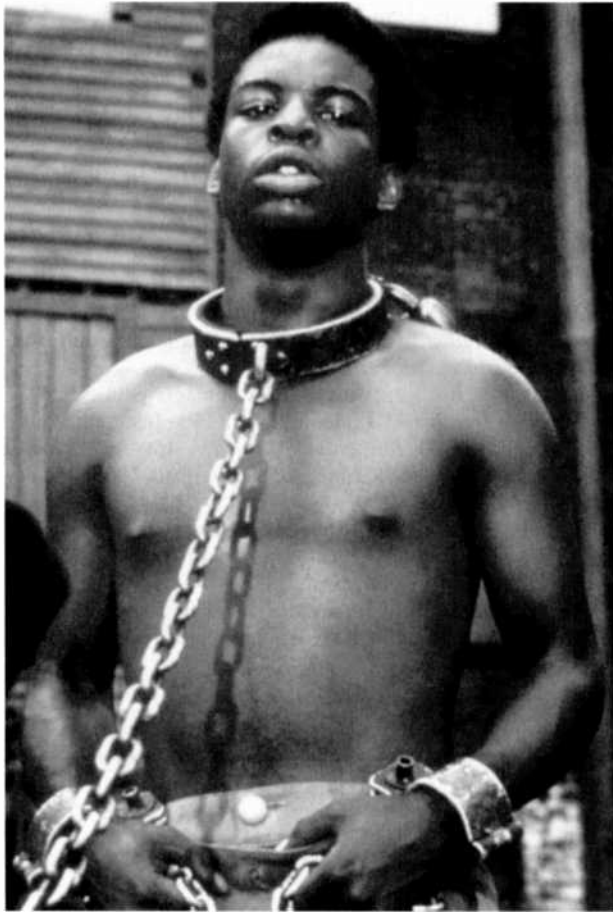
## U.S. Miniseries

*Roots* remains one of television's landmark programs. The 12-hour miniseries aired on ABC from January 23 to January 30, 1977. For eight consecutive nights it riveted the United States. ABC executives initially feared that the historical saga about slavery would be a ratings disaster. Instead, *Roots* scored higher ratings than any previous entertainment program in history. It averaged a 44.9 rating and a 66 audience share for the length of its run. The seven episodes that followed the opener earned the top seven spots in the ratings for their week. The final night held the single-episode ratings record until 1983, when the finale of *M\*A\*S\*H* aired on CBS.

The success of *Roots* has had lasting impact on the television industry. The show defied industry conventions about black-oriented programming: executives simply had not expected that a show with black heroes and white villains could attract such huge audiences. In the process, *Roots* almost single-handedly spawned a new television format—the consecutive-night miniseries. (Previous miniseries, such as the 1976 hit *Rich Man, Poor Man*, had run in weekly installments.)

*Roots* also validated the docudrama approach of its executive producer, David Wolper. The Wolper style, blending fact and fiction in a soap opera package, influenced many subsequent miniseries. Finally, *Roots* was credited with having a positive impact on race relations and expanding the nation's sense of history.

Adapted for television by William Blinn and based on Alex Haley's best-selling novel about his African ancestors, *Roots* follows several generations in the lives of a slave family. The saga begins with Kunta Kinte (LeVar Burton), a West African youth captured by slave raiders and shipped to America in the 18th century. Kunta receives brutal treatment from his white masters and rebels continually. An older Kunta (John Amos) marries and his descendants carry the story after his death. Daughter Kizzy (Leslie Uggams) is raped by her master and bears a son, later named Chicken George (Ben Vereen). In the final episode, Kunta Kinte's great-grandson Tom (Georg Stanford Brown) joins the Union Army and gains emancipation. Over the course of the saga, viewers saw brutal whip-



*Roots*, LeVar Burton, 1977.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

pings and many agonizing moments: rapes, the forced separations of families, slave auctions. Through it all, however, *Roots* depicted its slave characters as well-rounded human beings, not merely as victims or symbols of oppression.

Apprehensions that *Roots* would flop shaped the way that ABC presented the show. Familiar television actors such as Lorne Greene were chosen for the white, secondary roles, to reassure audiences. The white actors were featured disproportionately in network previews. For the first episode, the writers created a conscience-stricken slave captain (Ed Asner), a figure who did not appear in Haley's novel but was intended to make white audiences feel better about their historical role in the slave trade. Even the show's consecutive-night format allegedly resulted from network apprehensions. ABC programming chief Fred Silverman hoped that the unusual schedule would cut his network's imminent losses—and get *Roots* off the air before sweeps week.

Silverman need not have worried. *Roots* garnered

phenomenal audiences. On average, 80 million people watched each of the last seven episodes. More than 100 million viewers, almost half the United States, saw the final episode, which still claims one of the highest Nielsen ratings ever recorded, a 51.1 with a 71 share. A stunning 85 percent of all U.S. television homes saw all or part of the miniseries. *Roots* also enjoyed unusual social acclaim for a television show. Vernon Jordan, former president of the Urban League, called it “the single most spectacular educational experience in race relations in America.” Today, the show's social effects may appear more ephemeral, but at the time they seemed widespread. More than 250 colleges and universities planned courses on the saga, and during the broadcast, more than 30 cities declared *Roots* weeks.

The program drew generally rave reviews. Black and white critics alike praised *Roots* for presenting African-American characters who were not tailored to suit white audiences. The soap opera format drew some criticism for its emphasis on sex, violence, and romantic intrigue. A few critics also complained that the opening segment in Africa was too Americanized—it was difficult to accept such television regulars as O.J. Simpson as West African natives. On the whole, however, critical acclaim echoed the show's resounding popular success. *Roots* earned more than 30 Emmy Awards and numerous other distinctions.

The program spawned a 1979 sequel, *Roots: The Next Generations*. The sequel did not match the original's ratings but still performed extremely well, with a total audience of 110 million. Overall, *Roots* had a powerful and diverse impact, as a cultural phenomenon, an exploration of black history, and the crown jewel of historical miniseries.

J.B. BIRD

**See also Adaptation; Haley, Alex; Miniseries; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Producer**

Stan Margulies

**Cast**

Kunta Kinte (as a boy)	LeVar Burton
Kunta Kinte (Toby; adult)	John Amos
Binta	Cicely Tyson
Omoro	Thalmus Rasula
Nya Boto	Maya Angelou
Kadi Touray	O.J. Simpson
The Wrestler	Ji-Tu Cumbuka
Kintango	Moses Gunn
Brimo Cesay	Hari Rhodes
Fanta	Ren Woods
Fanta (later)	Beverly Todd

Capt. Davies	Edward Asner
Third Mate Slater	Ralph Waite
Gardner	William Watson
Fiddler	Louis Gossett, Jr.
John Reynolds	Lorne Greene
Mrs. Reynolds	Lynda Day George
Ames	Vic Morrow
Carrington	Paul Shenar
Dr. William Reynolds	Robert Reed
Bell	Madge Sinclair
Grill	Gary Collins
The Drummer	Raymond St. Jacques
Tom Moore	Chuck Connors
Missy Anne	Sandy Duncan
Noah	Lawrence-Hilton Jacobs
Ordell	John Schuck
Kizzy	Leslie Uggams
Squire James	Macdonald Carey
Mathilda	Olivia Cole
Mingo	Scatman Crothers
Stephen Bennett	George Hamilton
Mrs. Moore	Carolyn Jones
Sir Eric Russell	Ian McShane
Sister Sara	Lillian Randolph
Sam Bennett	Richard Roundtree
Chicken George	Ben Vereen
Evan Brent	Lloyd Bridges
Tom	Georg Stanford Brown
Ol' George Johnson	Brad Davis
Lewis	Hilly Hicks
Jemmy Brent	Doug McClure
Irene	Lynne Moody
Martha	Lane Binkley
Justin	Burl Ives

### Programming History

eight episodes on consecutive nights

ABC

January 1977

9:00–11:00, or 10:00–  
11:00

### Further Reading

- Adams, Russell L., "An Analysis of the *Roots* Phenomenon in the Context of American Racial Conservatism," *Presence Africaine: Revue Culturelle du Monde Noir/Cultural Review of the Negro World* (1980)
- Blayne, Michael Steward, "Roots and the Noble Savage," *North Dakota Quarterly* (Winter 1986)
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- Winship, Michael, *Television*, New York: Random House, 1988
- Woll, David, *Ethnic and Racial Images in American Film and Television*, New York: Garland, 1987.

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## Rose, Reginald (1920–2002)

U.S. Writer

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Reginald Rose was one of the outstanding television playwrights to emerge from the "Golden Age" of television drama anthology series. Like his acclaimed contemporaries—Paddy Chayefsky, Tad Mosel, and Rod Serling, for example—Rose takes a place in history at the top of the craft of television writing. In addition to other accolades, Rose was nominated for six Emmy Awards during his career, and won three. Although

most of Rose's fame derived from his teleplays for the live drama anthologies, he also wrote a number of successful plays for screen and stage. Additionally, he created and wrote scripts for *The Defenders* at CBS, and he won recognition for the revived *CBS Playhouse* in the late 1960s.

Rose's first teleplay to be broadcast was *The Bus to Nowhere*, which appeared on *Studio One* (CBS) in



Author Reginald Rose, on stage with Harry Bergman (L), and Rene Auberjonois (R).  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

1951. It was the 1954–55 season, however, that gave Rose his credentials as a top writer—that year has been referred to as “the Reginald Rose season” at *Studio One*. His contributions included the noted plays *12:32 A.M.*, *An Almanac of Liberty*, *Crime in the Streets*, as well as the play that opened the season and became perhaps Rose’s best-known work, *Twelve Angry Men*. In addition to winning numerous awards and undergoing transformation into a feature film, *Twelve Angry Men* undoubtedly established Rose’s reputation almost immediately as a major writer of drama for television.

What distinguished Rose’s teleplays from those of his colleagues, such as Chayefsky and Serling, was their direct preoccupation with social and political issues. Although the other writers were perhaps equally concerned with the larger social dimensions of their work, they concentrated on the conflicts that emerge in

private life and the domestic sphere, and the problems of society as a whole remain implicit in their writing. Rose, in contrast, tackled controversial social issues head-on.

In one of his best-known and most contentious plays, *Thunder on Sycamore Street* (*Studio One*, 1953), Rose aimed to confront the problem of social conformity. In this story, an ex-convict moves to an upscale neighborhood in an attempt to make a new beginning. When the man’s past is discovered, one of his neighbors organizes a community march to drive the ex-convict out of his new home. Rose dealt directly with the issues of mob anger and difference from the norm, issues of general concern in a time when the pressures of conformity were overwhelming and the memory of fascism still prevalent. This play was controversial from the outset, since the central character

was originally written to be an African American. Rose was forced, under pressure from *Studio One* sponsors fearful of offending (and losing) audiences in the South, to change the character into an ex-convict. This controversy, perhaps more than anything, was indicative of his ability to touch on the most sensitive areas of American social life of that time.

Although Rose kept his sights directed at the scrutiny of social institutions and mechanisms, his characters were as finely drawn as those of writers who focused on domestic struggles. Exemplary in this regard is the tension created by exhausting deliberations within the confined closeness of the jury room in which *Twelve Angry Men* occurs. The remake of this powerful drama and Paddy Chayefsky's teleplay *Marty* (*Goodyear Playhouse*, 1953) into successful feature films marked the breakthrough of the television drama aesthetic into Hollywood cinema. Rose was responsible in part for the creation of this new approach. This gritty realism that became known as the "slice of life" school of television drama was for a time the staple of the anthology shows and reshaped the look of both television and American cinema.

KEVIN DOWLER

*See also Defenders; Playhouse 90; Studio One; Writing for Television*

**Reginald Rose.** Born in New York City, December 10, 1920. Studied at City College (now of the City University of New York), New York, 1937–38. Married: 1) Barbara Langbart, 1943 (divorced); children: Jonathan, Richard, Andrew, and Steven; 2) Ellen McLaughlin, 1963; children: Thomas and Christopher. Served in U.S. Army, 1942–46. Writer in television, from 1951, starting with CBS, eventually working for all the major networks; wrote CBS-TV's *Studio One* episode *Twelve Angry Men*, 1954; wrote and coproduced *Twelve Angry Men* film version, 1957, and wrote stage version, 1964; writer of films, from 1956; author of books, from 1956; wrote CBS pilot for series *The Defender*, as episode of *Studio One*, 1957; wrote Emmy-nominated *The Sacco-Vanzetti Story*, NBC-TV's *Sunday Showcase*, 1960; president, Defender Productions, from 1961; created series and with others wrote *The Defenders*, 1961–65; wrote Emmy-nominated *Dear Friends* for *CBS Playhouse*, 1967; wrote multiple-award-winning CBS miniseries *Escape from Sobibor*, 1987. President of Reginald Rose Foundation. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1954, 1962, 1963 (with Robert Thom), 1968; Edgar Allan Poe Award, 1957; Berlin Film Festival Golden Berlin Bear Award, 1957; Writers Guild of America Award, 1960; Writers Guild of America Laurel Award, 1958 and 1987. Died in Norwalk, Connecticut, April 19, 2002.

#### Television Series (various episodes)

1948–55	<i>Philco Television Playhouse/Goodyear Playhouse</i>
1948–58	<i>Studio One</i>
1951	<i>Out There</i>
1954–55	<i>Elgin Hour</i>
1955–57	<i>The Alcoa Hour/Goodyear Playhouse</i>
1956–61	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1959–60	<i>Sunday Showcase</i>
1961–65	<i>The Defenders</i> (creator and writer)
1967	<i>CBS Playhouse</i>
1975	<i>The Zoo Gang</i> (creator and writer)
1977	<i>The Four of Us</i> (pilot)

#### Miniseries

1979	<i>Studs Lonigan</i>
1987	<i>Escape from Sobibor</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1982	<i>The Rules of Marriage</i>
1986	<i>My Two Loves</i> (with Rita Mae Brown)

#### Films

*Crime in the Streets*, 1956; *Dino*, 1957; *Twelve Angry Men* (also co-produced), 1957; *Man of the West*, 1958; *The Man in the Net*, 1958; *Baxter!*, 1972; *Somebody Killed Her Husband*, 1978; *The Wild Geese*, 1978; *The Sea Wolves*, 1980; *Whose Life Is It, Anyway?* (with Brian Clark), 1981; *The Final Option*, 1983; *Wild Geese II*, 1985.

#### Stage

*Black Monday*, 1962; *Twelve Angry Men*, 1964; *The Porcelain Year*, 1965; *Dear Friends*, 1968; *This Agony, This Triumph*, 1972.

#### Publications

*Six Television Plays*, 1957  
*The Thomas Book*, 1972

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Hawes, William, *The American Television Drama: The Experimental Years*, University: University of Alabama Press, 1986  
Sturcken, Frank, *Live Television: The Golden Age of 1946–1958 in New York*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1990  
Wilk, Max, *The Golden Age of Television: Notes from the Survivors*, New York: Delacorte Press, 1976

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# Roseanne (1952– )

U.S. Actor, Comedian

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Roseanne (née Roseanne Barr, formerly Roseanne Arnold) is best known as the star of the situation comedy *Roseanne*, for several years the most highly rated program on American television and the centerpiece of ABC comedy programming. She was also one of the more controversial and outspoken television stars of the 1980s and 1990s. Her public statements, appearances on celebrity interview shows, and feature articles about her life in magazines and tabloid newspapers have often overshadowed her work as an actress and comedian.

When Roseanne created the lead character for the series *Roseanne*, it was based on her own comic persona, a brash, loud-mouthed, working-class mother and wife who jokes and mocks the unfairness of her situation and who is especially blunt about her views of men and sexism. First revealed to a national television audience in the mid-1980s in her stand-up routines on such late-night programs as *The Tonight Show* and in two HBO specials, Roseanne's humor aggressively attacks whomever and whatever would denigrate fat, poor women: husbands, family and friends, the media, or government welfare policies. She has often stated that her life experiences were the basis for the TV character and her comedy. Critics have described the persona as a classic example of the "unruly" woman who challenges gender and class stereotypes in her performances.

Roseanne's published self-disclosures, in her two autobiographies, provide a detailed public record of her life. She grew up in Salt Lake City, Utah, in a working-class Jewish family she has defined as "dysfunctional," a description that includes her assertions of having been sexually molested by family members. A high-school dropout, she reports getting married while still in her teens in order to get away from her family. She worked as a waitress, and, according to *People Weekly* magazine, began her comedy by being rude to her customers. Her career as a stand-up comic began in Denver, Colorado, where her club appearances gained a following among the local feminist and gay communities. She toured nationally on the comedy club circuit and made well-received appearances on late-night talk shows before starring in her own comedy specials on HBO. In 1986, the Carsey-Werner

Company approached her with a proposal for developing a situation comedy based on her stand-up routines. The show would be an antidote to the upper-middle-class wholesomeness of the previous Carsey-Werner hit, *The Cosby Show*. The popularity of her sitcom *Roseanne*, which aired from 1988 to 1997, broadened the audience for Roseanne as a public persona and greatly increased her power within show business (she has been compared to Lucille Ball in this regard).

There have been missteps, however. One highly publicized gaffe was Roseanne's off-key performance of the national anthem at a professional baseball game, a performance that ended with a crude gesture. Still, the resulting flurry of outraged criticism from public officials and in the media did not diminish the popularity of the *Roseanne* show. In another exercise of industry clout, Roseanne threatened to move her sitcom to a different network when ABC decided to cancel the low-rated *The Jackie Thomas Show*, which starred her then-husband Tom Arnold. The threat created real jitters among network executives until it was discovered that Roseanne did not own the rights to the show (only Carsey-Werner could make such a decision). Roseanne also pushed boundaries by having her series take a number of risks by raising issues of gender, homosexuality, and family dysfunction. The forthrightness of these dramatic moments is rare in prime-time sitcoms. Despite such frankness, the series continued to appeal to a wide segment of the viewing audience during its nine-year run.

The show's treatment of such charged issues was consistent with Roseanne's stated political and social views. While she did not write the scripts (for a time, Arnold was heavily involved in writing), Roseanne retained a good deal of artistic control. Many of the plots drew on aspects of her life prior to her success or referred to contemporaneous events in her "real" life. Other episodes included entire dialogues proposed by Roseanne to address specific themes or issues. The show occasionally strayed from the sitcom formula of neatly tying up all the plotlines by the end of the episode. As Kathleen Rowe notes, one year saw Darlene (Sara Gilbert), the younger daughter character, going through an early adolescent depression that continued for the entire season.



Roseanne.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Although the program continued to be extremely popular as it grew older, with some critics arguing that later seasons improved over earlier ones, Roseanne herself faced greater media exposure for details of her personal life (cosmetic surgery, divorce, remarriage, pregnancy) than for her political views or her career as an actor. In almost every case, she seemed able to turn such public discussions into more authority and control within the media industries. After the sitcom concluded, however, Roseanne's next major television venture, a talk show titled *The Roseanne Show*, suggested that there were limits to her power; afflicted with poor ratings and reviews, the syndicated series was canceled after less than two years on the air.

In 2003, Roseanne contributed to the reality television trend with *The Real Roseanne Show*, a "behind-the-scenes" look at another television show she was working on, a cooking and lifestyle series entitled *Domestic Goddess*. *The Real Roseanne Show* followed the development of *Domestic Goddess* in the studio, as

well as Roseanne's personal life during the production, with some segments filmed in her home. However, the premiere of *Domestic Goddess* was delayed when Roseanne had to undergo a hysterectomy. Under these circumstances, *The Real Roseanne Show*, already widely panned by critics and plagued with low ratings, was forced to suspend production after only two weeks on the air.

KATHRYN CIRKSENA

*See also* Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television; Gender and Television; *Roseanne*

**Roseanne** (also known as **Roseanne Barr** and **Roseanne Arnold**). Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, November 3, 1952. Married: 1) Bill Pentland, 1974 (divorced, 1989); children: Jessica, Jennifer, Brandi, and Jake; 2) Tom Arnold, 1990 (divorced, 1994); 3) Ben Thomas, 1994 (divorced, 2002); child: Buck. Cocktail waitress in Denver, Colorado, and comedy performer in local clubs, including the Comedy Store in Los Angeles, 1985; appeared in or starred in several TV specials; star of television series *Roseanne*, 1988–97; co-executive producer, *The Jackie Thomas Show*, 1992; host of *The Roseanne Show* talk show, 1998–2000; executive producer, *The Real Roseanne Show*, 2003. Has acted in motion pictures since 1989. Recipient: Cable Ace Award, 1987; Best Comedy Special, 1987; Emmy Award, 1993.

#### Television Series

1988–97	<i>Roseanne</i>
1990	<i>Little Rosie</i> (voice)
1992	<i>The Jackie Thomas Show</i> (coproducer)
1998–2000	<i>The Roseanne Show</i> (host and executive producer)
2003	<i>The Real Roseanne Show</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1991	<i>Backfield in Motion</i>
1993	<i>The Woman Who Loved Elvis</i> (also coproducer)

#### Television Specials

1985	<i>Funny</i>
1986	<i>Rodney Dangerfield: It's Not Easy Bein' Me</i>
1987	<i>Dangerfield's</i>
1987	<i>On Location: The Roseanne Barr Show</i>
1990	<i>Mary Hart Presents Love in the Public Eye</i>
1992	<i>The Rosey and Buddy Show</i> (voice; coproducer)
1992	<i>Class Clowns</i>

### Films

*She-Devil*, 1989; *Look Who's Talking Too* (voice), 1990; *Freddy's Dead*, 1991; *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*, 1994; *Blue in the Face*, 1995; *Meet Wally Sparks*, 1997; *Cecil B. DeMented*, 2000; *15 Minutes*, 2001.

### Publications

*Roseanne: My Life As a Woman*, 1989  
"What Am I, a Zoo?" *New York Times*, July 31, 1989  
"I Am an Incest Survivor: A Star Cries Incest," *People Weekly*, October 7, 1991  
*My Lives*, 1994

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# Roseanne

## U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*Roseanne* evolved from the stand-up comedy act and HBO special of its star and executive producer, Roseanne (formerly Roseanne Barr). In the act, Roseanne deemed herself a "domestic goddess" and dispensed mock cynical advice about child-rearing: "I figure by the time my husband comes home at night, if those kids are still alive, I've done my job." *Roseanne*, the program, built a working-class family around this matriarchal figure and became an instantaneous hit when it premiered in 1988 on ABC.

*Roseanne's* immediate success may well have been in reaction to the dominant 1980s domestic situation comedy, *The Cosby Show*. Like *The Cosby Show*, *Roseanne* starred an individual who began as a stand-up comic, but the families in the two programs were polar opposites. Where *The Cosby Show* portrayed a loving, prosperous family with a strong father figure, *Roseanne's* Conner family was discordant, adamantly working class, and mother-centered.

The Conner family included Roseanne, her husband Dan (John Goodman), sister Jackie (Laurie Metcalf), daughters Darlene (Sara Gilbert) and Becky (played alternately by Lecy Goranson [1988–92, 1995–96] and Sarah Chalke [1993–95, 1996–97]), and son D.J. (Michael Fishman). Over the years the household expanded to include Becky's husband Mark (Glenn Quinn) and Darlene's boyfriend David (Johnny Galecki) and, in 1995, a

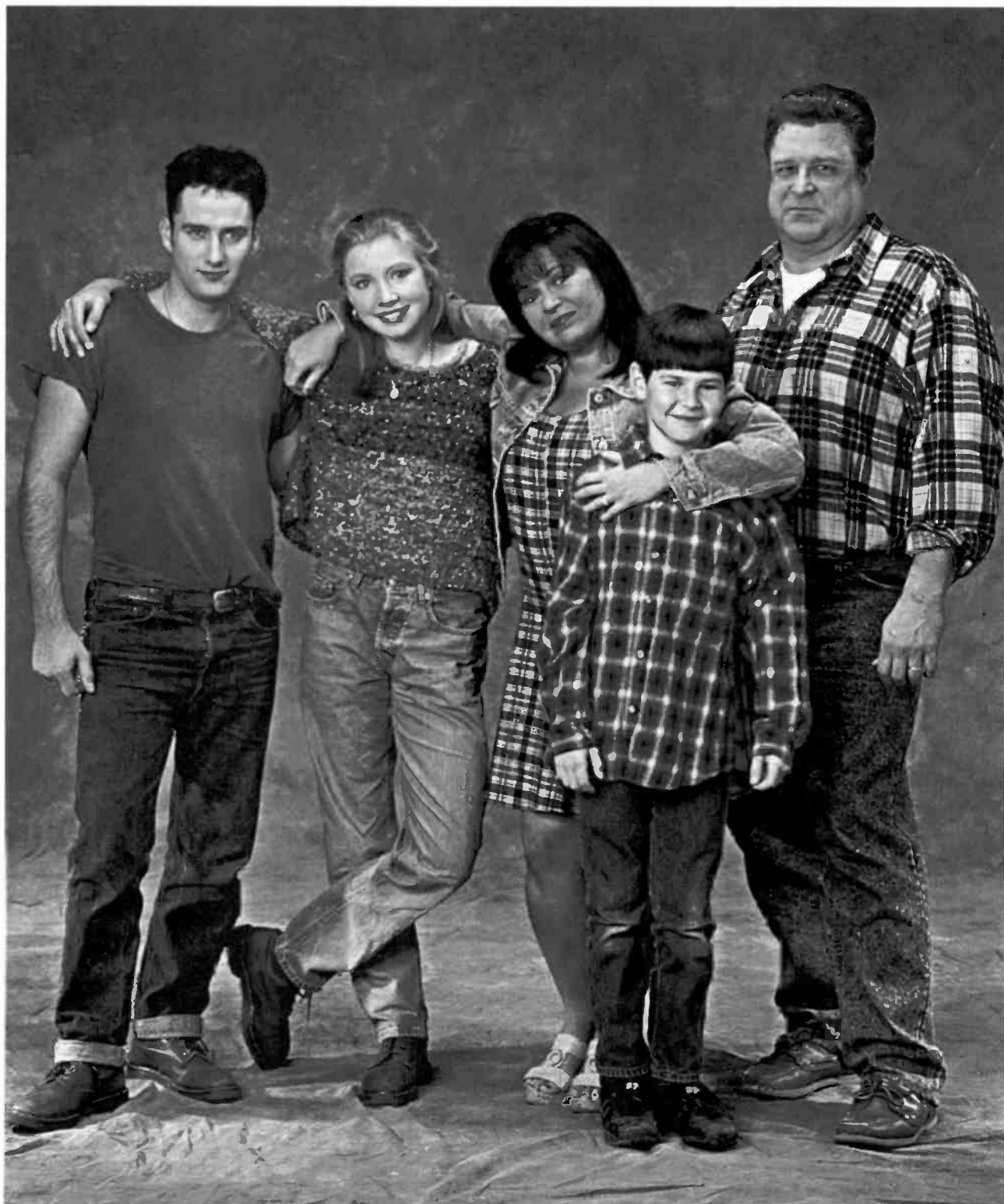
new infant for Roseanne and Dan, Jerry Garcia Conner (Cole and Morgan Roberts).

The Conners are constantly facing money problems, as both Roseanne and Dan work in blue-collar jobs: in factories; hanging sheetrock; running a motorcycle shop; and eventually owning their own diner, where they serve "loose-meat" sandwiches. Their parenting style is often sarcastic, bordering on scornful. In one episode, when the kids leave for school, Roseanne comments, "Quick. They're gone. Change the locks." But caustic remarks such as these are always balanced by scenes of affection and support, so that the stability of the family is never truly in doubt. Much as in its working-class predecessor, *All in the Family*, the Conner family is not genuinely dysfunctional, despite all the rancor.

*Roseanne* often tested the boundaries of network standards and practices. One episode deals with the young son's masturbation. In others, Roseanne frankly discusses birth control with Becky and explains her (Roseanne's) choice to have breast reduction surgery. The program also featured gay and lesbian characters, which made ABC nervous, especially when a lesbian character kissed Roseanne. The network initially refused to air that episode until Roseanne, the producer, demanded they do so.

*Roseanne* became increasingly quirky as the years went by. The final season was filled with strange episodes in which Roseanne won the lottery and lived





*Roseanne, Glenn Quinn, Sarah Chalke, Roseanne, Michael Fishman, John Goodman, 1993.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

out numerous fantasies (including one in which she imagines herself as an action figure named Roseambo). Then, in the program's last episode, Roseanne spoke directly to the viewers as the program's producer and denied the reality of the entire season, explaining that Dan had died the season before, even though he had appeared to survive a heart attack. The final season had been the character Roseanne's reveries as she struggled to deal with his death. It was a controversial, and, for some critics, an unsatisfying, way to end the program's nine-year run.

Controversy attended the program off screen as well as on. During its first season, there were well-publicized squabbles among the producing team, which led to firings and Roseanne assuming principal control of the program. Subsequently, Roseanne battled ABC over its handling of her then-husband Tom Arnold's sitcom, *The Jackie Thomas Show*. Dwarfing these professional controversies was the strife in Roseanne's publicly available personal life. Among the events that were chronicled in the tabloid press were her tumultuous marriage to and divorce from Arnold (amid accusations of spousal abuse), her reconciliation with the daughter she put up for adoption (an event that was forced by a tabloid newspaper's threat to reveal the story), her charges of being abused as a child, her struggles with addictions to food and other substances, and her misfired parody of the national anthem at a baseball game in 1990.

JEREMY G. BUTLER

*See also* **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television; Gender and Television**

**Cast**

Roseanne Conner	Roseanne
Dan Conner	John Goodman
Becky Conner (1988–92, 1995–96)	Lecy Goranson
Becky Conner (1993–95; 1996–97)	Sarah Chalke
Darlene Conner	Sara Gilbert
D.J. (David Jacob) Conner (pilot)	Sal Barone
D.J. Conner	Michael Fishman
Jackie Harris	Laurie Metcalf
Crystal Anderson (1988–92)	Natalie West
Booker Brooks (1988–89)	George Clooney
Pete Wilkins (1988–89)	Ron Perkins
Juanita Herrera (1988–89)	Evalina Fernandez

Sylvia Foster (1988–89)	Anne Falkner
Ed Conner (1989–97)	Ned Beatty
Bev Harris (1989–97)	Estelle Parsons
Mark Healy (1990–97)	Glenn Quinn
David Healy (1992–97)	Johnny Galecki
Grandma Nanna (1991–97)	Shelley Winters
Leon Carp (1991–97)	Martin Mull
Bonnie (1991–92)	Bonnie Sheridan
Nancy (1991–97)	Sandra Bernhard
Fred (1993–95)	Michael O'Keefe
Andy	Garrett and Kent Hazen
Jerry Garcia Conner	Cole and Morgan Roberts

**Producers**

Marcy Carsey, Tom Werner, Roseanne

**Programming History**

ABC	
October 1988–February 1989	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
February 1989–September 1994	Tuesday 9:00–9:30
September 1994–March 1995	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
March 1995–May 1995	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
May 1995–September 1995	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
September 1995–May 1997	Wednesday 8:00–8:30

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## Rosenthal, Jack (1931–)

British Writer

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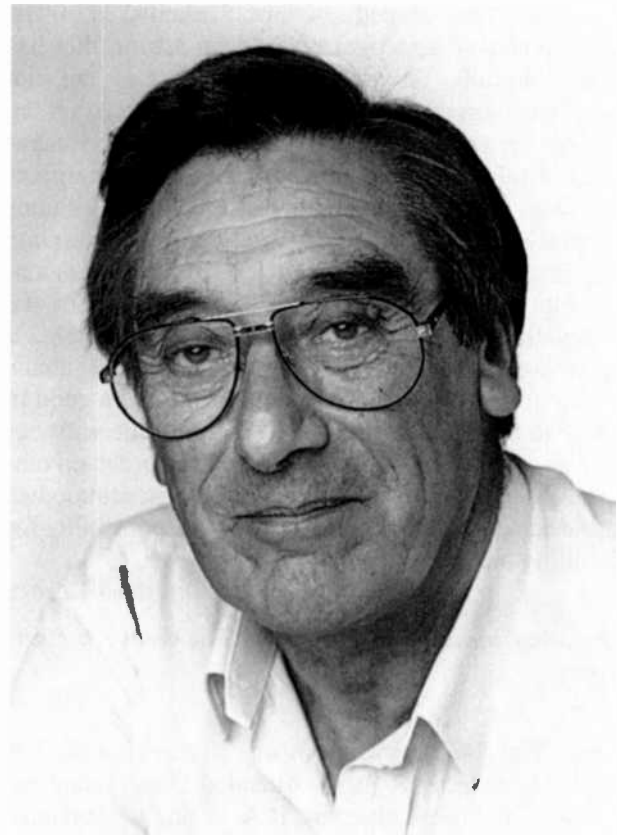
As one of British television's most successful dramatists, Jack Rosenthal has received British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards for *The Evacuees*, *Bar Mitzvah Boy*, *P'tang Yang Kipperbang*, and *Ready When You Are*, Mr. McGill, an Emmy Award for *The Evacuees*, and the Prix Italia for *Spend, Spend, Spend*, and *The Knowledge*. He has written for the big screen with *The Chain* and *The Knowledge*, and has also authored five plays for the live stage, notably *Smash!*

Rosenthal learned the craft of writing for the medium of television in the 1960s, at a time when television drama in Britain (particularly on the BBC) was still dominated by writers schooled in theatrical conventions and overly concerned with being taken seriously. This resulted in a preoccupation with adaptations of theatrical successes, revivals of classics (e.g., Shakespeare, Dickens), and writing that exploited literary rather than visual resources. Independent television in the late 1950s was looking to develop more popular forms of drama to attract wider audiences and brought in Sydney Newman from Canada, who fostered new dramatists and initiated new series. It was against this background that Rosenthal started work in Granada, where he served his apprenticeship by creating more than 150 scripts for the popular TV soap *Coronation Street*. The experience of writing for a popular genre prepared him for originating such comedy serials as *The Dustbinmen*, *The Lovers*, and *Sadie, It's Cold Outside*. His growing reputation in the 1970s as a reliable professional writer led to his being entrusted with the prestigious single play: a form that Rosenthal himself prefers because of the freedom it offers the artist to explore his own vision.

Rosenthal was born in Manchester to Jewish parents, and he drew on his experiences to write *Bar Mitzvah Boy* and *The Evacuees*. But his interest lies in observing the interactions of individuals in diverse social networks, and the Jewish community is merely one of the many institutions that he explores: schools (*P'tang Yang Kipperbang*), taxi drivers (*The Knowledge*), the army (*Bootse and Snudge*), fire fighters (*London's Burning*), and TV drama (*Ready When You Are*, *Mr. McGill*). He is also interested in the common

experiences that many face at particular moments in life: moving (*The Chain*), growing up (*Bar Mitzvah Boy*, *P'tang Yang Kipperbang*), falling in love (*The Lovers*), and forgetfulness and old age (*A Day to Remember*).

The strength of Rosenthal's comedy lies in its closeness to tragedy; from another perspective, the petty cruelties of the stepmother in *The Evacuees* could have blighted the lives of the children, but both plot and psychological insight combine to restore harmony and recognize the cruelty as misplaced possessiveness. So too,



Jack Rosenthal.  
Photo courtesy of Jack Rosenthal

in *A Day to Remember*, the terror and pain of short-term memory loss, attendant on a stroke in old age, are contained and balanced by the comic presentation of the gaps and imperfections that beset the middle-aged. If the comic vision is shown as perceptive about the frailties of the human condition, it is not sentimentalized. The insight that comes through comedy is one that is often painfully achieved. The schoolboy hero of *P'tang Yang Kipperbang* is only able to kiss his first love; he enters upon adult sexuality by recognizing the fantasy element of that anticipated delight. To fulfill his desire means abandoning private fantasy and entering the real world in which people are both less than we would wish and more diverse than we could expect. Similarly, when the aspirant cabby in *The Knowledge* finally achieves his ambition to be a London taxi driver, he discovers his girlfriend, the initial driving force behind his application, has fallen for somebody else. He neglected her to focus on the discipline of acquiring "the knowledge" (learning by heart the streets and landmarks of London by perpetually driving around them). Knowledge of chaps rather than maps turns out to be that which is most difficult to acquire.

Although the comedy of Jack Rosenthal is invariably rooted in a recognizable social setting that has been carefully researched, the characters are not deeply explored. The story is, instead, focused on the themes: in *Another Sunday and Sweet FA*, the frustrations of refereeing a football match provide the opportunity for a comic disquisition on the competing claims of power and justice; in *P'tang Yang Kipperbang*, imagination and reality struggle for an accommodation; in *The Chain*, the seven deadly sins provide the motivation for Fortuna's wheel of house-hunting. If there is a thread that underlies most of Rosenthal's work, it is that our desire as individuals to do good in order to be liked and admired is at variance with our role as social beings to impose order, our order, on others. Wisdom comes when we learn to accommodate these competing demands and accept responsibility for fulfilling our desires.

BRENDAN KENNY

See also *Coronation Street*; *That Was the Week That Was*

**Jack Morris Rosenthal.** Born in Manchester, England, September 8, 1931. Attended Colne Grammar School; Sheffield University, B.A. in English language and literature; University of Salford, M.A., 1994. Married: Maureen Lipman, 1973; one son and one daughter. Writer for television; subsequently consolidated reputation with comedy series and one-off dramas,

several of which were pilots for series. Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1994. D.Litt., University of Manchester, 1995. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Writer's Awards; Emmy Award; Prix Italia; Royal Television Society Writer's Award, 1976; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Best Play Awards, 1976, 1977.

#### Television Series

1960–	<i>Coronation Street</i>
1962–63	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>
1965	<i>Pardon the Expression</i>
1969–70	<i>The Dustbinmen</i>
1970–71	<i>The Lovers</i>
1975	<i>Sadie, It's Cold Outside</i>
1994	<i>Moving Story</i>

#### Television Specials

1963	<i>Pie in the Sky</i>
1963	<i>Green Rub</i>
1968	<i>There's a Hole in Your Dustbin, Delilah</i>
1972	<i>Another Sunday and Sweet FA</i>
1974	<i>Polly Put the Kettle On</i>
1974	<i>Mr. Ellis Versus the People</i>
1974	<i>There'll Almost Always Be an England</i>
1975	<i>The Evacuees</i>
1976	<i>Ready When You Are, Mr. McGill</i>
1976	<i>Bar Mitzvah Boy</i>
1977	<i>Spend, Spend, Spend</i>
1979	<i>Spaghetti Two-Step</i>
1979	<i>The Knowledge</i>
1982	<i>P'tang Yang Kipperbang</i>
1985	<i>Mrs. Capper's Birthday</i>
1986	<i>Fools on the Hill</i>
1986	<i>London's Burning</i>
1986	<i>A Day to Remember</i>
1989	<i>And a Nightingale Sang</i>
1989	<i>Bag Lady</i>
1991	<i>Sleeping Sickness</i>
1992	<i>'Bye, 'Bye, Baby</i>
1993	<i>Wide-Eyed and Legless</i>
1996	<i>Eskimo Jim</i>
2003	<i>Lucky Jim</i>

#### Films

*Lucky Star*, 1980; *Yentl* (with Barbra Streisand), 1983; *The Chain*, 1985; *Captain Jack*, 1999.

#### Stage (selected)

*Smash!*, 1981.

**Publications**

*The Television Dramatist* (with others), 1973  
*Three Award Winning Television Plays: Bar Mitzvah Boy, The Evacuees, Spend, Spend, Spend*, 1978

*First Loves: Stories* (anthology), 1984  
*The Chain*, with *The Knowledge*, and *Ready When You Are*, Mr. McGill, 1986.

## Route 66

### U.S. Drama

*Route 66* was one of the most unique American television dramas of the 1960s, an ostensible adventure series that functioned, in practice, as an anthology of downbeat character studies and psychological dramas. Its 1960 premiere launched two young drifters in a Corvette on an existential odyssey in which they encountered a myriad of loners, dreamers, and outcasts in the small towns and big cities along U.S. Highway 66 and beyond. And the settings were real; the gritty social realism of the stories was enhanced by location shooting that moved beyond the Hollywood hills and studio back lots to encompass the vast face of the country itself. *Route 66* took the anthology on the road, blending the dramaturgy and dramatic variety of the *Studio One* school of TV drama with the independent filmmaking practices of the New Hollywood.

*Route 66* was the brainchild of producer Herbert B. Leonard and writer Stirling Silliphant, the same creative team responsible for *Naked City*. The two conceived the show as a vehicle for actor George Maharis, casting him as stormy Lower East Side orphan Buz Murdock, opposite Martin Milner as boyish, Yale-educated Tod Stiles. When Tod's father dies, broke but for a Corvette, the two young men set out on the road looking for "a place to put down roots." Amid a dispute with the show's producers, Maharis left the show in 1963 and was replaced by Glenn Corbett as Linc Case, a troubled Vietnam vet also seeking meaning on the road.

Like *Naked City*, which producer Leonard had conceived as an anthology with a cop-show pretext, the picaresque premise of *Route 66* provided the basis for a variety of weekly encounters from which the stories arose. Episodes emphasized the personal and psychological dramas of the various troubled souls encountered by the guys on their stops along the highway. Guest roles were filled by an array of Hollywood

faces, from such fading stars as Joan Crawford and Buster Keaton to newcomers such as Suzanne Pleshette, Robert Duvall, and Robert Redford. The show's distinct anthology-style dimension was symptomatic of a trend *Variety* dubbed "the semi-anthology," a form pioneered by *Wagon Train* and refined by such shows as *Bus Stop* and *Route 66*. The series' nomadic premise, and its virtual freedom from genre connections and constraints, opened it up to a potentially limitless variety of stories. While the wandering theme was hardly new in a television terrain overrun with westerns, for a contemporary drama the premise was quite innovative. *Route 66* was consistent in tone to the rest of TV's serious, social-realist dramas of the period, but it was unencumbered by any predetermined dramatic arena or generic template—setting it apart from the likes of *The Defenders* (courtroom drama), *Dr. Kildare* (medical drama), *Saints and Sinners* (newspaper drama), or *Mr. Novak* (blackboard drama). Indeed, the show's creators met initial resistance from their partner/distributor Screen Gems for this lack of a familiar "franchise," with studio executives arguing that no one would sponsor a show about two "bums." Of course, Chevrolet proved them wrong.

Perhaps even more startling for the Hollywood-bound telefilm industry was the program's radical location agenda. Buz and Tod's cross-country search actually was shot across the country, in what *Newsweek* termed "the largest weekly mobile operation in TV history." Remarkably, by the end of its four-season run, the *Route 66* production caravan had traveled to 25 states—as far from Los Angeles as Maine and Florida—as well as Toronto. The show's stark black-and-white photography and spectacular locations provided a powerful backdrop to its downbeat stories and yielded a photographic and geographical realism that has never been duplicated on American television.



*Route 66*, Martin Milner, George Maharis, 1960–64.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The literate textures and disturbing tones of *Route 66*'s dramas were as significant as its visual qualities. The wandering pretext provided both a thematic foundation and a narrative trajectory upon which a variety of psychological dramas, social-problem stories, and character studies could be played out. The nominal series "heroes" generally served as observers to the dramas of others: a tormented jazz musician, a heroin addict, a washed-up prizefighter, migrant farm workers, an aging RAF pilot (turned crop-duster), a runaway heiress, Cajun shrimpers, a weary hobo, an eccentric scientist, a small-time beauty contest promoter, drought-stricken ranchers, Cuban-Basque jai-alai players, a recent ex-con (female and framed), a grim Nazi-hunter, a blind dance instructor, a dying blues singer—each facing some personal crisis or secret pain.

The show's continuing thread of wandering probed the restlessness at the root of all picaresque sagas of contemporary American popular culture. The search that drove *Route 66* was both a narrative process and a symbolic one. Like every search, it entailed optimism as well as discontent. The unrest at the core of the series echoed that of the Beats—especially Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, of course—and anticipated the

even more disaffected searchers of *Easy Rider*. The show's rejection of domesticity in favor of rootlessness formed a rather startling counterpoint to the dominant prime-time landscape of home and family in the 1960s, as did the majority of the characters encountered on the road. The more hopeful dimension of *Route 66* coincided with the optimism of the New Frontier circa 1960, with these wandering Samaritans symbolic of the era's new spirit of activism. Premiering at the dawn of a new decade, *Route 66* captured in a singular way the nation's passage from the disquiet of the 1950s to the turbulence of the 1960s, expressing a simultaneously troubled and hopeful vision of the United States.

Despite its uniqueness as a contemporary social drama, and its radical break from typical Hollywood telefilm factory practice, *Route 66* has been largely forgotten amid the rhetoric of 1960s' TV-as-wasteland. When the series is cited at all by television historians, it is as the target of CBS-TV president James Aubrey's attempts to inject more "broads, bosoms, and fun" into the series ("the Aubrey dictum"). Aubrey's admitted attempts to "lighten" the show, however, only serve to underscore its dominant tone of seriousness. What other American television series of the 1960s could have been described by its writer-creator as "a show about a statement of existence, closer to Sartre and Kafka than to anything else"? (see "The Fingers of God," *Time*). Silliphant's hyperbole is tempered by critic Philip Booth, who suggested in a *Television Quarterly* essay that the show's literacy was "some-time spurious," and that it could "trip on its own pretensions" in five of every ten stories. Still, Booth wrote, of the remaining episodes, four "will produce a kind of adventure like nothing else on television, and one can be as movingly universal as Hemingway's 'A Clean, Well-Lighted Place.'"

How often *Route 66* matched the power of Ernest Hemingway (or the existential insight of Jean-Paul Sartre) is debatable. That it was attempting something completely original in television drama is certain. Its footloose production was the antithesis of the claustrophobic stages of the New York anthologies of old, yet many of the program's dramatic and thematic concerns—even certain of its stories—echoed those of the intimate character dramas of the *Philco Playhouse* era. Indeed, one of Aubrey's CBS lieutenants, concerned with the show's "downbeat" approach to television entertainment, protested to its producers that *Route 66* should not be considered "a peripatetic *Playhouse 90*"—capturing, willingly or not, much of the show's tenor and effect. *Route 66* was trying to achieve the right mix of familiarity and difference, action and angst, pathos and psychology, working innovative ele-

ments into a commercial package keyed to the demands of the industry context. Even with its gleaming roadster, jazzy theme song, obligatory fistfights, and occasional romantic entanglements, *Route 66* was far removed indeed (both figuratively and geographically) from the likes of *77 Sunset Strip*.

In 1993, the Corvette took to the highway once more in a nominal sequel, a summer series (on NBC) that put Buz's illegitimate son at the wheel with a glib Generation-X partner in the passenger seat. Although the new *Route 66* lasted only a few weeks, by reviving the roaming-anthology premise of the original, it evinced television's continuing quest for narrative flexibility (and Hollywood's inherent penchant for recycling). From *The Fugitive* to *Run For Your Life* to *Highway to Heaven* to *Quantum Leap* to *Touched by an Angel*, television has continued to exploit the tradition of the wandering Samaritan, to achieve the story variety of an anthology within a series format. *Route 66* established the template in 1960, launching a singular effort at contemporary drama in a nonformulaic series format. That the series mounted its dramatic agenda in a Corvette, on the road, is to its creators' everlasting credit.

MARK ALVEY

See also *Silliphant, Stirling*

#### Cast

<i>Tod Stiles</i>	Martin Milner
<i>Buz Murdock</i> (1960–63)	George Maharis
<i>Linc Case</i> (1963–64)	Glenn Corbett

#### Producers

Herbert B. Leonard, Jerry Thomas, Leonard Freeman, Sam Manners

#### Programming History

116 episodes

CBS

October 1960–September 1964 Friday 8:30–9:30

#### Further Reading

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- Jenkins, Dan, "Talk About Putting a Show on the Road!" *TV Guide* (July 22, 1961)
- "A Knock Develops on *Route 66*," *TV Guide* (January 26, 1963)
- "Rough Road," *Newsweek* (January 2, 1961)
- Seldes, Gilbert, "Review of *Route 66*," *TV Guide* (February 10, 1962)

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## Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In

U.S. Comedy-Variety Program

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*Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* was an NBC comedy-variety program that became an important training ground for a generation of comic talent. If *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* captured the political earnestness and moral conscience of the 1960s counterculture, *Laugh-In* snared the decade's flamboyance, its anarchic energy, and its pop aesthetic, combining the blackout comedy of the vaudeville tradition with a 1960s-style "happening."

In an age of "sit-ins," "love-ins" and "teach-ins," NBC was proposing a "laugh-in" that somehow bridged generational gaps. Originally a one-shot special, *Laugh-In* was an immediate hit and quickly became the highest-rated series of the late 1960s. In a decade of shouted slogans, bumper stickers, and protest signs, *Laugh-In* translated its comedy into discrete one-liners hurled helter-skelter at the audience in hopes that some of them would prove funny. Many of





Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In.  
Photo courtesy of George Schlatter Productions

them became catchphrases: "Sock it to me," "Here come de judge," "You bet your sweet bippy," and "Look that up in your *Funk and Wagnalls*." In this frenetic and fragmented series, comic lines were run as announcements along the bottom of the screen, printed in lurid colors on the bodies of bikini-clad go-go girls, and shouted over the closing credits. The humor was sometimes topical, sometimes nonsensical, sometimes "right on" and sometimes right of center, but it largely escaped the censorship problems that besieged the Smothers Brothers. Its helter-skelter visual style stretched the capabilities of television and videotape production, striving for the equivalent of the cutting and optical effects Richard Lester brought to the Beatles movies.

*Laugh-In* broke down the traditional separation of comedy, musical performance, and dramatic interludes that had marked most earlier variety shows and dented the celebrity hosts from their conventional position as mediator of the flow of entertainment. Dan Rowan and Dick Martin, successful Las Vegas entertainers, sought to orchestrate the proceedings but were constantly swamped by the flow of sight gags and eccentric performances that surrounded them. Similarly, guest stars played no privileged role here. For a time, everyone seemed to want to appear on *Laugh-In*, with guests on one memorable episode including Jack Lemmon, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Hugh Hefner, and presidential candidate Richard Nixon. But no guest appeared for more than a few seconds at a time, and none received

the kind of screen time grabbed by the program's ensemble of talented young clowns.

The comic regulars—Gary Owens's overmodulated announcer, Ruth Buzzi's perpetually frustrated spinster, Arte Johnson's lecherous old man, Goldie Hawn's dizzy blonde, Jo Anne Worley's anti-Chicken-Joke militant, Henry Gibson's soft-spokenly banal poet, Lily Tomlin's snorting telephone operator, Pigmeat Markham's all-powerful Judge, and countless others—dominated the program. Many of these comics moved almost overnight from total unknowns to household names, and many became important stars for the subsequent decades. Not until *Saturday Night Live* would another television variety show ensemble leave such a firm imprint on the evolution of American comedy. These recurring characters and their associated shtick gave an element of familiarity and predictability to a program that otherwise depended upon its sense of the unexpected.

While *Laugh-In* lacks the satirical bite of later series such as *Saturday Night Live* or *In Living Color*, or of *That Was the Week That Was* (to which it was often compared by contemporary critics), *Laugh-In* brought many minority and female performers to mainstream audiences, helping to broaden the composition of television comedy. Its dependence upon stock comic characters and catchphrases was clearly an influence on the development of *Saturday Night Live*, which by comparison, has a much more staid visual style and more predictable structure. Unfortunately, *Laugh-In*'s topicality, even its close fit with 1960s aesthetics, has meant that the program has not fared well in reruns, being perceived as dated almost from the moment it was aired. However, the ongoing success of *Laugh-In* alumni such as Hawn, Tomlin, or even game show host Richard Dawson point to its continued influence.

HENRY JENKINS

#### See also Variety Programs

##### Regular Performers

Dan Rowan  
Dick Martin  
Gary Owens  
Ruth Buzzi  
Judy Carne (1968–70)  
Eileen Brennan (1968)  
Goldie Hawn (1968–70)  
Arte Johnson (1968–71)  
Henry Gibson (1968–71)  
Roddy-Maude Roxby (1968)  
Jo Anne Worley (1968–70)  
Larry Hovis (1968, 1971–72)  
Pigmeat Markham (1968–69)



Charlie Brill (1968–69)  
Dick Whittington (1968–69)  
Mitzi McCall (1968–69)  
Chelsea Brown (1968–69)  
Alan Sues (1968–72)  
Dave Madden (1968–69)  
Teresa Graves (1969–70)  
Jeremy Lloyd (1969–70)  
Pamela Rodgers (1969–70)  
Byron Gilliam (1969–70)  
Ann Elder (1970–72)  
Lily Tomlin (1970–73)  
Johnny Brown (1970–72)  
Dennis Allen (1970–73)  
Nancy Phillips (1970–71)  
Barbara Sharma (1970–72)  
Harvey Jason (1970–71)  
Richard Dawson (1971–73)  
Moosie Drier (1971–73)  
Patti Deutsch (1972–73)  
Jud Strunk (1972–73)  
Brian Bressler (1972–73)

Sarah Kennedy (1972–73)  
Donna Jean Young (1972–73)  
Tod Bass (1972–73)  
Lisa Farringer (1972–73)  
Willie Tyler and Lester (1972–73)

#### Producers

George Schlatter, Paul W. Keyes, Carolyn Raskin

#### Programming History

124 episodes

NBC

January 1968–May 1973

Monday 8:00–9:00

#### Further Reading

Castleman, Harry, and Walter J. Podrazik, *Watching TV: Four Decades of American Television*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982

Rowan, Dan, *A Friendship: The Letters of Dan Rowan and John D. McDonald, 1967–1974*, New York: Knopf, 1986

Waters, Harry R., "Laugh-In," *Newsweek* (February 8, 1993)

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## Royal Canadian Air Farce, The

### Canadian Satirical Review

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On December 9, 1973, the first radio show by the Royal Canadian Air Farce comedy troupe was broadcast coast-to-coast on CBC Radio and CBC Stereo. After a ten-episode series in 1981 and several specials in the 1980s, *The Royal Canadian Air Farce*—a Canadian institution for political commentary, social satire, and general nonsense—became a weekly CBC television series in the fall of 1993. Like the radio show, the television *Air Farce* is topical, on the edge of controversy, and performed in front of a live audience. The group consists of Roger Abbot, Don Ferguson, and Luba Goy. John Morgan performed with the troupe until retiring in 2001, at the end of the series' eighth television season. Dave Broadfoot was a member of the troupe for 15 years before moving on to a solo career; he has continued to make guest appearances since leaving the troupe. Two nonperforming writers, Rick Olsen and Gord Holtam, have been with the troupe since 1977.

In 1992, the group became the first Canadian in-

ductees into the International Humour Hall of Fame. The editors of *Maclean's* (Canada's national news magazine) chose the *Air Farce* for the 1991 Honour Roll of Canadians who make a difference. The group has won 15 ACTRA Awards (Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists) for radio and television writing and performing, and a Juno Award (Canadian recording award) for best comedy album. In 1993, Abbot, Ferguson, and Goy were each awarded honorary doctor of law degrees by Brock University in St. Catharines.

The *Air Farce* keeps in touch with Canadians and ensures that the troupe's humor remains relevant by performing and recording in all ten provinces and two territories. For several years the troupe worked on both radio and television. "We're reluctant to give up radio," Ferguson told *Toronto Star* journalist Phil Johnson. "Radio allows us to showcase new acts and characters." However, after 24 years, the troupe broadcast its last radio program on May 25, 1997. They gen-

erally play in halls that hold 2,000 or 2,500 people, and did so even when taping for radio. This approach creates the need for more visual interest. "I did [former Prime Minister] Brian Mulroney for 20 years—the worst years of my life I might add," Ferguson told *Globe and Mail* columnist Liam Lacey. "On-stage, I'd have a long walk over to the microphone, so I'd start from the side of the stage with just the chin first, and then the stuck-out bum would follow. The audiences would be roaring before I reached the microphone. Then we'd edit all that out, and cut to the voice."

When the Air Farce first tried a television show in 1981, it was shot in advance and produced with canned laughter. The lack of live performance and topicality destroyed the spontaneity that is at the heart of the *Farce*, and the show failed. Then in 1993, a New Year's Eve special was made, raking in 2 million viewers, almost 10 percent of the entire Canadian population. Network executive Ivan Fecan approved a series. It became one of the top-20 Canadian shows and one of the CBC's top five.

Rather than leaning toward a particular point of view, the *Farce* points fingers at all parties. Skewed politicians and media figures regularly show up in person to do sketches on the show. Individual performers do not even know how the other members of the group vote and would not dream of discussing it. As Liam Lacey wrote in noting that the *Farce* receives indirect governmental support (by virtue of its airing on the

public network CBC), "One would be hard-pressed to imagine another country in the world where purveyors of official disrespect would be regarded with such widespread affection." Dave Broadfoot used to say, "Do you know what they'd call us in the Soviet Union? Inmates."

JANICE KAYE

*See also Canadian Programming in English*

#### Regular Performers

Roger Abbot  
Don Ferguson  
Luba Goy  
John Morgan (retired 2001)  
Dave Broadfoot (left 1988)

#### Programming History (television only)

CBC	
1980	one-hour special
February–April 1981	ten episodes
January 31, 1992	"1992 Year of the Farce Special"
October 8, 1993–	weekly series

#### Further Reading

Turbide, Diane, "The Air Farce Is Flying High," *Maclean's* (February 26, 1996)

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## Royalty and Royals on Television

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The relationship between television and the royalty of the United Kingdom and other states has always been uneasy, albeit generally mutually respectful, as the perceived dangers to both sides have been immense. With television audiences of grand royal occasions and major documentaries running into many millions around the globe, the impact of a mishandled interview could have serious political repercussions for any monarchy, as well as huge public relations problems for television networks anxious not to outrage public opinion.

The idea that members of the British royal family might allow themselves to be seen on television in any capacity other than at the end of a long-range lens in the course of a formal state occasion or fleetingly in newsreel footage was once considered unthinkable.

In the early days, immediately after World War II, television was regarded by many in the establishment as too trivial to be taken seriously, and it was argued that it was inappropriate for heads of nations to appear on TV. In Britain Sir Winston Churchill was in the vanguard of those who considered television a vulgar plaything and beneath the dignity of the crown.

The crunch came in 1953, when it was suggested that television cameras be allowed to film the coronation of Elizabeth II. Churchill, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl marshal, and various members of the British cabinet strongly opposed the idea, but, to their surprise, the 26-year-old Princess Elizabeth, in a decision subsequently hailed for its sagacity, insisted upon the rest of the nation being able to witness her en-

thronement via television, and the cameras were allowed in. The resulting broadcast, expertly narrated by the BBC's anchorman Richard Dimbleby, was a triumph, bringing the monarchy into the television age and cementing the image of Elizabeth II as a "people's monarch."

Following the 1953 coronation experiment, it became accepted that the television cameras would be permitted to film grand royal occasions, including weddings, the state opening of Parliament, and the trooping of the color, as well as jubilee celebrations, visits by the royal family to local businesses, and so forth. Coverage of royal events, however, remained a sensitive area in broadcasting, and many rows erupted when it was felt cameras had intruded too far or, conversely, that too much deference had been shown. Certain presenters, including ITV's Alistair Burnet and the BBC's Raymond Baxter, specialized in coverage of royal stories or spectacles, but found they had to tread a very thin line between being accused of sycophancy or charged with gross insensitivity.

The British queen is sheltered from more intrusive interrogation on television by necessity: there is a constitutional imperative that the monarch should not comment personally on the policies of her government because of the implications this might have in terms of party politics, and because of this rule, Buckingham Palace, in concert with the government of the day, closely controls the style and content of all broadcasts in which she appears. In 1969, an attempt was made for the first time, in the joint BBC and ITV production *Royal Family*, to portray Queen Elizabeth as a private person rather than as a constitutional figurehead. The program attracted an audience of 40 million in the United Kingdom alone, and similarly large audiences have watched her celebrated annual Christmas broadcasts, which have over the years become more relaxed in tone, inspiring further occasional documentaries inviting the cameras "behind the scenes" (though, again, only under strict direction from the palace).

There is more leeway in television coverage of other members of the royal family; however, this has been exploited with increasing vigor since the 1980s, in response to changing public attitudes toward royalty. Prince Philip's hectoring manner during rare appearances on chat shows did little to endear television audiences, and he was henceforth discouraged from taking part in such programs. Princess Anne developed a similarly tempestuous relationship with the media as a whole, though she was better received after her good works for charity won public recognition. Prince Andrew came over as bluff and hearty, and Prince Edward was considered affable enough—though there were adverse comments about loss of dignity in 1987 when



The Prince and Princess of Wales.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the three youngest of the queen's children attempted to sound a populist note by appearing in a special *It's a Knockout* program for charity (royal guests stormed out of press meetings when the questioning became hostile, and the experiment was not repeated).

After years of carefully treading the line between deference and public interest, television's relationship with the British royals was stretched to the limit in the 1990s during the furor surrounding the break-up of several royal marriages, notably that of the heir-apparent, Prince Charles (whose wedding to Lady Diana Spencer had been seen by 700 million people worldwide in 1981). A notorious interview with Princess Diana that was broadcast on *Panorama*, when it was becoming clear that the rift was irreparable (though many still hoped the marriage could be saved), provoked howls of protest from many quarters—not least from the palace itself. Charles was given his own program in which to tell his side of the story, but he only succeeded in drawing more fire upon himself and his family. For many viewers, both interviews were en-

thrilling, though to others they were distasteful and reflected badly both on the individuals themselves and on the institution of the monarchy.

A severe test of the relationship between television and the British royal family came in 1997, when Diana, Princess of Wales, died in a car accident in Paris. The media's coverage of the tragedy and of the national trauma that ensued provoked intense debate. The fact that, initially at least, press photographers pursuing the princess's car were blamed for the crash heightened the feeling that all members of the media should behave more responsibly when covering the royal family. From the moment that the first shots of the tangled wreckage of the princess's car were transmitted, it became clear that broadcasters would have to behave with the utmost sensitivity. As the extent of public sympathy for the dead princess emerged, it was quickly realized that Buckingham Palace's wishes would have to take second place to national sentiment. The accident and its aftermath received blanket coverage on all channels, and the royal family itself was obliged, with evident reluctance, to obey the dictates of the cameras.

The failure of the queen to sanction any immediate public expression of grief over the disgraced princess's death was a public relations mistake, although the parading of the princess's sons before the cameras at their mother's funeral did something to deflect hostility. The impression of most viewers was that the palace had mishandled things badly and needed to overhaul its public relations policy. With the funeral over and schedules back to normal, the verdict on how television covered events was that it had faced the challenge rather better than the royals, managing to avoid insen-

sitive sensationalization of the tragedy while still reflecting the public mood.

In the wake of Diana's death, there has been some reform of the relationship between the royal family and the media, but there is still tension. In 2001, with press attention to Diana's son Prince William escalating, the royal family was caused particular embarrassment when a video company in which Prince Edward had an interest was accused of breaking an embargo on filming William while at university. The company was severely criticized and subsequently announced it would no longer undertake filming of the royal family.

Other monarchies have experienced not dissimilar difficulties in their relations with television and other organs of the media. For a number of years, the Rainiers of Monaco, for instance, seemed to live their lives in the constant glare of the cameras. Some, however, have protected themselves by insisting that the cameras remain at a discreet distance (as in Japan, where the emperor is only rarely filmed), despite the demands imposed by unflagging public interest.

Television's fascination with royalty has expressed itself in other forms besides coverage of contemporary royals, notably in the field of drama. The BBC in particular won worldwide acclaim in the late 1960s and 1970s for lavish costume series dealing with Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, Edward VII, and, rather more controversially, Edward VIII. More recently, a documentary series in which Prince Edward delved into the lives of some of his royal ancestors was also well received.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also* **Parliament, Coverage by Television; Political Processes and Television**

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## Royle Family, The

### British Sitcom

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Just when critics in the United Kingdom were pronouncing that the British sitcom was dead, *The Royle Family* restored faith in the genre. Not only was it critically acclaimed, but ratings were high, with around ten million viewers at its peak. In its brief run between 1997 and 2000, the show managed to become part of the fabric of British culture, much like the best sitcoms of the past, such as *Till Death Us Do Part* and *Whatever Happened to The Likely Lads?* Part of the success

of *The Royle Family* lay in its contradictions. It was that most traditional of TV staples, the family sitcom, but was it hugely innovative. It showed modern Britain, but remained strangely old-fashioned. It said something about the world, but hardly ever moved away from one living room in Manchester.

The series was created by Caroline Aherne and Craig Cash, who drew on their own backgrounds to forge a new kind of family sitcom. Aherne was already

a big name in British comedy through her persona as Mrs. Merton, a deceptively sweet old lady who interviewed and frequently humiliated minor celebrities. Instead of the usual weary plots, she based the new series firmly on the characters and their interactions, saying "I knew that if you strip it bare and have funny characters and love in it, it would work."

Nothing special happens in *The Royle Family*, and that is the point of the show. There are a few major life events, such as weddings or births, but mostly the Royles just sit round the television and talk. Dad Jim is coarse, miserly, and hypocritical, while the mother, Barbara, is kind, loyal, and slightly dim. Daughter Denise (played by creator Aherne) is idle, while the nice son Anthony, is put upon and long suffering. Son-in-law Dave lends a constant air of dull stupidity to the proceedings, as does Barbara's whining mother Norma. Occasionally friends, like the Carrolls who live next door, visit. For the audience, the lack of action quickly ceases to be a problem because it becomes the expectation. The audience understands that the pleasures of the series are in magnifying humdrum reality.

Executives originally insisted on a studio audience, but a test episode proved disastrous, so it was dropped. Also out are harsh studio lighting and the theatrical performance conventions of television sitcom. The Royles' sitting room, the center of all the episodes, is beautifully shot on film in a documentary style. The actors rely on laughs from the smallest facial expression or verbal quirk, which allows the complexities of the characters to be gradually revealed to the audience. Unlike many sitcoms, the quality of acting is as good in minor roles (such as Jessica Stevenson as Denise's friend Cheryl) as it is in the leads. Perhaps as a result of the success of *The Royle Family*, these innovations are becoming the norm in U.K. TV comedy.

*The Royle Family* is also important in its understanding of the role the media plays in our lives. Previously TV programs existed in a parallel universe, where people never watched TV themselves nor were affected by it. Here the characters are not only watching television, they are also talking about it. The audience at home is watching a show about a family watching television. The mirror image is constantly there to challenge the viewer.

For all the formal innovation and self-reflection, however, the success of the series is also a result of its affirmation of traditional British sitcom virtues. There is an air of melancholy underlying the laughter. People are held back by their flaws, by bad luck, and by society, but they have the strength to endure.

In many ways *The Royle Family* echoes the classic 1960s program *Till Death Us Do Part*. Like Alf Garnett, Jim Royle captured the mood of the nation.



*The Royle Family*, Caroline Aherne, Craig Cash, Ralf Little, Ricky Tomlinson, Sue Johnston, 1998–2000.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Ricky Tomlinson's portrayal of an obnoxious but witty slob ("with more faces than the town hall clock") was hugely popular. British audiences treasured him as a wry comment on what they suspected they had become.

The family became popular at a time when some claimed the English working class no longer existed, or had become reactionary. Aherne is affectionate but not uncritical about the reality of life in the north of England. Inevitably a few critics (invariably middle class themselves) accused her of being condescending, but she was speaking from her own experience. Only on very rare occasions (the baby's middle name is Keanu) is there a false note.

The general critical consensus was that the program declined over the three series. The show could feel repetitive, but even so it still dared to challenge its audience. In the third series, for example, Denise's neglect of her baby and Jim's bullying of Anthony were

## Royle Family, The

highlighted. Aherne was brave enough to give these actions a comic aspect, but there is also a deep sense of unease. Even so, at no time does she moralize or go for cheap laughs.

Eventually, and probably wisely, Caroline Aherne pulled the plug on the show. Tired of media intrusion into her private life, she announced her retirement from performing and moved to Australia.

*The Royle Family* imparted a much-needed freshness to the sitcom genre and proved it could be popular once more. It reminded us that sitcoms could be profound about the human condition and command the highest quality in writing, camera work, and performance. It also offered a shared pleasure at a time when the viewing public seemed irredeemably fragmented.

PHIL WICKHAM

See also *Till Death Do Us Part*

### Cast

Jim Royle	Ricky Tomlinson
Barbara Royle	Sue Johnston
Denise Royle/Best	Caroline Aherne
Anthony Royle	Ralf Little
Dave Best	Craig Cash
Norma	Liz Smith
Cheryl Carroll	Jessica Stevenson
Mary Carroll	Noreen Keogh
Joe Carroll	Peter Martin
Twiggy	Geoffrey Hughes
Emma	Sheridan Smith

### Writers

Caroline Aherne and Craig Cash with Henry Normal (series 1) and Carmel Morgan (1999 Christmas Special)

### Directors

Series 1	Mark Mylod
Series 2	Steve Bendelack
Series 3	Caroline Aherne

### Producers

Series 1	Glenn Wilhide
Series 2	Kenton Allen
Series 3	Kenton Allen and Caroline Aherne

### Executive Producer

Andy Harries

### Programming History

18 episodes and two Christmas specials

The program started on BBC 2 but after the success of the first series was switched to BBC 1. The second series premiered on BBC 1 with a repeat on BBC 2 later in the week.

Series 1 (six episodes) BBC 2 September–October 1998

Series 2 (six episodes) BBC 1 September–October 1999

Christmas special 1999 (40 minutes)

Series 3 (six episodes) BBC 1 October–November 2000

Christmas special 2000 (30 minutes)

### Further Reading

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- Lewis-Smith, Victor, "Royle's Have the Last Laugh," *Evening Standard* (London; February 10, 2000)
- Parker, Ian, "They Shout 'Arses' Don't They," *Observer* (London; September 20, 1998)
- Raven, Charlotte, "Class of '98," *Guardian* (London; September 17, 1998)

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## Rule, Elton (1916–1990)

U.S. Media Executive

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Elton Rule took the ABC TV network from a struggling operation in 1968 to top of the television network world a decade later. Under Rule's leadership, ABC-TV expanded its number of affiliates from 146 to 214

stations, and revenues increased from \$600 million to \$2.7 billion. The "alphabet network" began turning a profit in 1972; by 1976, it was the highest rated network in prime time; a year later Rule was presiding



Elton Rule.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

over a television empire that was collecting more money for advertising time than any media corporation in the world.

The key to this extraordinary success was Rule's ability to find top programming. During the 1970s, Rule helped introduce such innovations as the made-for-television movie, the miniseries, and *Monday Night Football*. One of his first moves as network president was to sign the Hollywood producer Aaron Spelling, who through the 1970s added a string of top-ten hits to ABC's line-up, including *Mod Squad*, *Family*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Love Boat*, and *Charlie's Angels*. Rule pioneered the presentation of made-for-television movies as a regular part of network schedules, billing them as ABC's Movie of the Week, and producing such early hits as *Brian's Song* and *That Certain Summer*. In 1974, Rule approved the miniseries *QB VII*. Three years later, a week of *Roots*, from Alex Haley's best-selling book, set ratings records, earned Rule wide acclaim, and generated for ABC vast sums of advertising dollars.

During the 1970s, Rule made ABC the leading sports network, centered on *Monday Night Football* and the Olympics. Rule must also be credited with making the ABC news division the industry leader. He

moved sports producer Roone Arledge over to head a languishing network operation, approved hiring reporters from major newspapers, and expanded the locus of the network's foreign news bureaus. By the mid-1980s, ABC News was the leading broadcast journalism operation in the United States.

When Rule retired in January 1984, he was properly hailed as a corporate savior. Through the remainder of the 1980s, he bought and sold television stations, becoming a multimillionaire. He is remembered, and heralded, for creating a television network empire, an economic, political, social, and cultural force second to none in the history of television.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Networks; United States*

**Elton (Hoerl) Rule.** Born in Stockton, California, June 13, 1916. Graduated from Sacramento College, Sacramento, California, 1938. Married: Betty Louise Bender; children: Cindy Rule Dunne, Christie, James. Served in the U.S. Army Infantry, 1941–45. Worked at KROY, Sacramento, 1938–41; radio sales account executive, 1946–52; assistant sales manager, KECA-TV (now KABC-TV), 1952; general sales manager, 1953–60; general manager, 1960–61; vice president and general manager, 1961–68; president, California Broadcasters Association, 1966–67; president, ABC-TV, 1968–70; group vice president, ABC, 1969–72; president, ABC division, 1970–72; director, ABC, 1970–84; president, chief executive officer, and member of executive committee, ABC, 1972–83; vice chair, ABC, 1983–84; president, chair, investment funds with I. Martin Pompadur; co-chair, National Center of Film and Video Preservation. Member: advisory board, Institute of Sports Medicine and Athletic Trauma, Lenox Hill Hospital, 1973–84; board of visitors, University of California, Los Angeles, School of Medicine, 1980–84. Recipient: Purple Heart; Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster; International Radio and TV Society Gold Medal Award, 1975; Academy of TV Arts and Sciences Governor's Award, 1981. Died in Beverly Hills, California, May 5, 1990.

#### Further Reading

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 Goldenson, Leonard H., *Beating the Odds*, New York: Scribner's, 1991  
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 Quinlan, Sterling, *Inside ABC: American Broadcasting Company's Rise to Power*, New York: Hastings's House, 1979  
 Williams, Huntington, *Beyond Control: ABC and the Fate of the Networks*, New York: Atheneum, 1989

# Rumpole of the Bailey

British Legal/Mystery Comedy

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*Rumpole of the Bailey*, a mix of British courtroom comedy and drama, first aired on Thames Television in 1978. The program made a successful transatlantic voyage and has been popular in the United States as part of PBS's *Mystery!* anthology series.

All episodes feature the court cases of Horace Rumpole (Leo McKern), a short, round, perennially exasperating, shrewd, lovable defense barrister. His clients are often caught in contemporary social conflicts: a father accused of devil worshipping; the Gay News Ltd. sued for blasphemous libel; a forger of Victorian photographs who briefly fooled the National Portrait Gallery; a pornographic publisher. Rumpole's deep commitment to justice leads him to defend wholeheartedly hopeless cases and the spirit of the law, as opposed to his fellow barristers who stubbornly defend the letter of the law. Rumpole is given to frequent oratorical outbursts from the *Oxford Book of English Verse* and manages to aim the elegant passages at upper-class hypocritical trumpeters, buffoons, and other barristers and at prosecution-inspiring justices. He comments on the phenomenon of "judgitis [pomposity] which, like piles, is an occupational hazard on the bench." His suggested cure is "banishment to the golf course."

Rumpole is married to Hilda (played at various times by Joyce Heron, Peggy Thorpe-Bates, and Marion Mathie), to whom he refers as "She Who Must Be Obeyed." Hilda—whose father was head of chambers—aspires for a more prestigious position for her husband and a bit more luxurious lifestyle for herself, but she continues to support her husband's brand of justice rather than that sought by egotistical or social-climbing royal counsels. Rumpole revels in lampooning his fellow colleagues, whom he believes to be a group of twits. They include the dithery and pompous Claude Erskine-Brown (Julian Curry), the full-of-himself Samuel Ballard (Peter Blythe), and the variety of dour judges who preside in court—the bumbling Justice Guthrie Featherstone (Peter Bowles), the blustering "mad bull" Justice Bullingham (Bill Fraser), the serious and heartless Justice Graves (Robin Bailey), and the almost kindly Justice "Ollie" Oliphant (James Grout). Among Rumpole's colleagues, he favors Claude's wife, the savvy and stylish Phillida Neetrant

Erskine-Brown (Patricia Hodge), a feminist voice for the series, and the endearing Uncle Tom (Richard Murdoch), an octogenarian waiting to have the good sense to retire, who, in the meantime, practices his putting in chambers.

The prolific writer John Mortimer is creator of the Rumpole stories and has exclusive rights in writing the television series, for which he continues to write new scripts. Mortimer draws upon both his 36 years of experiences as queen's counsel and his life with his father, a blind divorce lawyer. Much like Rumpole, Mortimer adores good food, enjoys a bottle of claret before dinner, loves Dickens, and fights for liberal causes. He is much revered in England, and in 1988 the queen awarded him a knighthood.

In addition to the quick-witted dialogue among characters, Mortimer's series is distinguished by its social commentary. Specifically, the program is a cleverly entertaining vehicle for tweaking the legal profession and the general state of British mores and manners. In chambers and during court cases, Rumpole provides viewers with grumbling commentaries and under-the-breath critiques of pomposity and the all-too-frequent soulless application of strict legalism. Yet, even though these comments on various social issues such as gay rights, censorship, and the treatment of children in court are quite serious, Mortimer never allows the issues to get in the way of the story. Meticulous attention to detail, well-written scripts, and top-notch actors contribute to have made *Rumpole* fine television without the formula-driven action/adventure genres typically associated with drama programming.

The program's charm is particularly enhanced by the superb casting of Leo McKern, who was the very embodiment of the fictional Rumpole. Robert Goldberg, a television critic from the *Wall Street Journal*, compares this match to other strokes of casting genius: "Every once in a while a character and an actor fit together so precisely that it becomes hard to imagine one without the other (Sean Connery and James Bond, Jeremy Brett and Sherlock Holmes)." McKern's jowls, bulbous nose, and erratic eyebrows were made to fit the eccentric, irrepressibly snide barrister who is, in Goldberg's words, as "lovable as a grumpy old panda."





*Rumpole of the Bailey*, Leo McKern as Horace Rumpole, 1978–92.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*Rumpole of the Bailey* is a cherished series in the United States. According to Boston public television station WGBH's senior producer Steven Ashley, *Rumpole* has enjoyed solid ratings and can be regarded as one of the most popular titles in the *Mystery!* schedule, having attracted a healthy audience even when faced with stiff competition from commercial networks. Approximately 300 public television stations have carried the *Rumpole* series on an ongoing basis, representing 95 percent of all PBS stations. In the San Francisco Bay Area, some of the show's more active fans formed the "Rumpole Society" with over 450 members; they have featured principal actors or John Mortimer as guest speakers at their annual fete and have visited the Rumpole studios in London.

LYNN T. LOVDAL

See also *British Programming; McKern, Leo*

#### Cast

Horace Rumpole	Leo McKern
Guthrie Featherstone	Peter Bowles
Erskine-Brown	Julian Curry
Phillida	Patricia Hodge
George Frobisher	Moray Watson
Uncle Tom	Richard Murdoch
Hilda Rumpole (1975)	Joyce Heron
Hilda Rumpole (1978–83)	Peggy Thorpe-Bates
Hilda Rumpole (1987–92)	Marion Mathie
Justice Bullingham	Bill Fraser
Fiona Allways	Rosalyn Landor
Henry	Jonathan Coy
Diane	Maureen Derbyshire
Marigold Featherstone	Joanna Van Gysegham
Nick Rumpole	David Yelland
Liz Probert	Abigail McKern
Judge Graves	Robin Bailey
Samuel Ballard	Peter Blythe

#### Producers

Irene Shubik, Jacqueline Davies

#### Programming History

44 episodes	
BBC 1	
As an installment of <i>Play for Today</i>	December 16, 1975
Thames	
April 1978–May 1978	six episodes
May 1979–June 1979	six episodes
December 1980	special: <i>Rumpole's Return</i>
October 1983–November 1983	six episodes
January 1987–February 1987	six episodes
November 1988–December 1988	six episodes
October 1991–December 1991	six episodes
October 1992–December 1992	six episodes

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- Mortimer, John Clifford, *The First Rumpole Omnibus*, Harmondsworth, England, and New York: Penguin, 1983
- Mortimer, John Clifford, *The Best of Rumpole*, New York: Viking, 1993

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## Rushton, William (1937–1996)

British Author, Actor, Artist

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A versatile cartoonist, broadcaster, author, and actor, William Rushton's range of talent emerged early, while a student at Shrewsbury School. There he edited the school magazine, *The Salopian*, and regularly illustrated its issues. The public school friendships and joint contributions for *The Salopian* led to the idea of a satirical publication, *The Private Eye*, cofounded by Rushton and first published in 1962. With its comprehensive attack on the establishment, who were presented as running England in the manner of a private club, *The Private Eye* pioneered a style of satire that was to become fashionable in the early 1960s.

In 1962, Rushton moved on to television to take part in BBC's satirical program, *That Was the Week That Was* (*TW3*). Under director Alasdair Milne and producer Ned Sherrin, the crew put together their best work to express doubts about the old order in Britain. In an even more practical step, *The Private Eye* team, upset by the possibility of Sir Alec Douglas Home's further career in politics, posted Rushton to run against him in the Kinross by-election. Rushton's failed candidacy and his Macmillan impersonation on *TW3* made his name, but the irreverent show, anchored by David Frost, deeply divided the public, and the resulting controversy led to its removal from television screens.

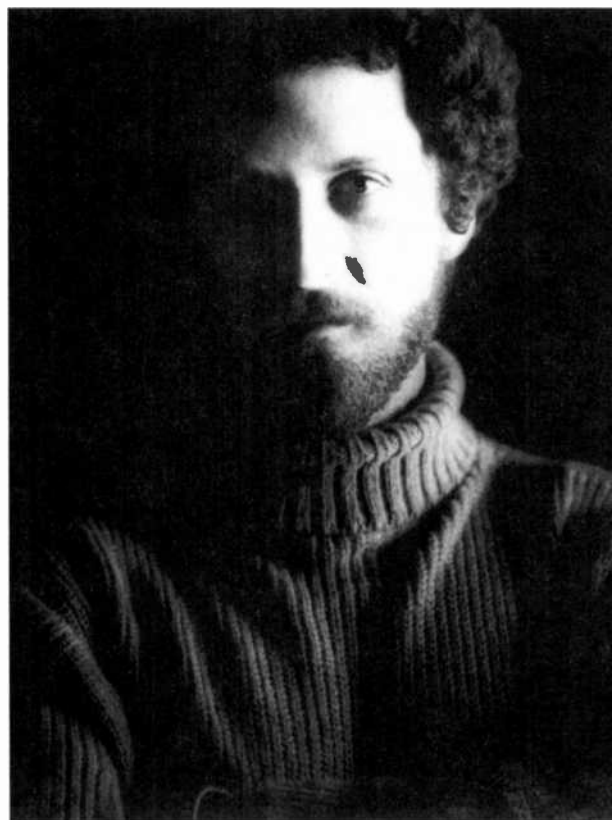
In the 1964–65 season, Rushton cohosted the follow-up to *TW3*, called *Not So Much a Programme, More a Way of Life*. This show had less clear direction and was at its most successful when it approached the impertinence of *TW3*. Even this milder satirical program, however, faced political criticism that put an end to its existence.

The success of *TW3* opened the way to the cinema for Rushton. Director Clive Donner incorporated three of the show's presenters into *Nothing but the Best* (1964). The film featured a young opportunist and provided a brash criticism of affluent Britain through a mocking celebration of its values. Rushton also played a role in *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines* (1965), a humorous take on the early days of aviation.

The slightly overweight Rushton, who described his hobbies as "gaining weight, losing weight, and parking," served as presenter for *Don't Just Sit There* (1973), a BBC series on healthy living. He also took

part in the television show *Up Sunday* (1975–78) and entertained the viewers in *Celebrity Squares* (1979–80), a popular game show based on the idea of the U.S. syndicated program *Hollywood Squares*. In addition, he did voice-overs for the BBC's *Jackanory* and *Asterix* series. On radio he appeared in 27 series of the popular anarchic game show, *I Am Sorry I Haven't a Clue*.

As a stage actor, Rushton made his debut in Spike Milligan's *The Bed-Sitting Room* in Canterbury in 1961. After a number of smaller parts, he returned to stage in a full-length role in Eric Idle's play *Pass the Butler* (1982). This witty black comedy, written by a member of the offbeat *Monty Python* team, played suc-



William Rushton.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

cessfully in Britain. Later, he returned to stand-up comedy, presenting "Two Old Farts" with Barry Cryer on nationwide tours.

Rushton wrote and illustrated a number of books, including *William Rushton's Dirty Book* (1964), *Superpig* (1976), *The Filth Amendment* (1981), and *Marylebone Versus the Rest of the World* (1987). He also provided illustrations and cartoons for many others, including a number of children's books.

After his early success in the 1960s, Rushton continued to work for *The Private Eye* and drew cartoons for the *Literary Review* and the *Daily Telegraph's* "Way of the World" column until his death in December 1996. Known particularly for his humorous cartoons and funny personal presentations, he was a fine performer, a versatile and interesting artist for whom television provided a continuing opportunity for comic invention.

RITA ZAJÁ CZ

See also *That Was the Week That Was*

**William George Rushton.** Born in London, August 18, 1937. Attended Shrewsbury School, Shropshire. Married: Arlene Dorgan, 1968; children: Tobias, Matthew, and Sam. After National Service, worked as solicitor's articled clerk, freelance cartoonist, and satirist; cofounder and editor, *The Private Eye*, 1961; stage debut, 1961; made television debut as one of *That Was the Week That Was* team, 1962; comic performer on radio, film, and television, appearing on numerous panel shows. Died December 11, 1996.

#### Television Series (selected)

1962–63	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>
1964–65	<i>Not So Much a Programme, More a Way of Life</i>
1969–72	<i>Up Pompeii!</i>
1975–78	<i>Up Sunday</i>
1979–80	<i>Celebrity Squares</i>
1980	<i>Rushton's Illustrated</i>

#### Films

*It's All Over Town*, 1963; *Nothing but the Best*, 1964; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*,

1965; *The Mini-Affair*, 1968; *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom*, 1968; *The Best House in London*, 1969; *Monte Carlo or Bust/Those Daring Young Men in Their Jaunty Jalopies*, 1969; *Flight of the Doves*, 1971; *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie*, 1972; *Keep It up Downstairs*, 1975; *The Chiffy Kids*, 1976; *Adventures of a Private Eye*, 1977; *Adventures of a Plumber's Mate*, 1978; *The Blues Band*, 1981; *The Magic Shop*, 1982; *Consuming Passions*, 1987.

#### Radio

*I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue*, 1976– ; *Trivia Test Match*.

#### Stage

*The Bed-Sitting Room*, 1961; *Gulliver's Travels*, 1971, 1979; *Pass the Butler*, 1982; *Tales from a Long Room*, 1988.

#### Publications (selected)

*William Rushton's Dirty Book*, 1964  
*How to Play Football: The Art of Dirty Play*, 1968  
*The Day of the Grocer*, 1971  
*The Geranium of Flüt*, 1975  
*Superpig*, 1976  
*Pigsticking: A Joy for Life*, 1977  
*The Reluctant Euro*, 1980  
*The Filth Amendment*, 1981  
*W.G. Grace's Last Case*, 1984  
*Willie Rushton's Great Moments of History*, 1985  
*The Alternative Gardener: A Compost of Quips for the Green-Fingered*, 1986  
*Marylebone Versus the Rest of the World*, 1987  
*Spy Thatcher* (editor), 1987  
*Every Cat in the Book*, 1993

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## Russell, Ken (1927– )

British Filmmaker

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Ken Russell is best known in the United States as director of such feature films as *Women in Love* (1969), *The Music Lovers* (1970), *Tommy* (1975), and *Altered States* (1980). Although his television work is less well known outside the United Kingdom, it has had a major impact on the development of the television genre of fictional history, described by historian C. Vann Woodward as the portrayal of “real historical figures and events, but with the license of the novelist to imagine and invent.” Russell’s special province in the genre (a psycho-biographical form he terms the “biopic”) has been music composers and other artists such as dancers and poets. His imaginative interpretations of the lives of artists have, on occasion, outraged both critics and the general public.

After a brief career as a ballet dancer, and later as a successful commercial photographer, Russell turned his attention to film directing. On the basis of a portfolio of three low-budget short films, he was hired by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1959, at the age of 32, to work as a director on its arts series *Monitor*. Most of the *Monitor* pieces (10- to 15-minute short subjects) focused on contemporary artists working in British music, dance, and literature. Russell noted that, at the time, there was no real experimental film school in Britain, except for *Monitor*. *Monitor* producer Huw Wheldon, who later became managing director of BBC-TV, encouraged experimentation (within limits), and Russell took full advantage of this.

The two most important productions from Russell’s *Monitor* period were *Elgar* (1962) and *The Debussy Film* (1965). *Elgar*, Russell’s attempt to counter British music critics’ negative assessments of the British composer Edward Elgar, was his first full-length *Monitor* film, lasting 50 minutes. It also marked the celebration of the 100th *Monitor* program. In *Elgar*, Russell advanced the idea of using actors to impersonate historical characters, which he had introduced the previous year on *Monitor* in the short film *Portrait of a Soviet Composer*, on the life of Sergei Prokofiev. Prior to this, the BBC had prohibited the use of actors in the portrayal of historical personages. In the Prokofiev film, Russell used an actor to show the composer’s hands, a so-called anonymous presence. In *Elgar*, Russell took the concept a step fur-

ther, allowing Elgar to be seen (but still not heard). Five different actors, mostly amateurs, portrayed the composer at various stages of his life. Most of the scenes with the actors were shot in medium-shot. According to Russell, the viewer was “not aware of a personality; just a figure.” Russell skillfully combined silent footage of the actors, stock footage of English life at the turn of the century, and photographs of Elgar and his family, all of which were enhanced by Elgar’s compositions. Russell focused his interpretation on Elgar’s reverence for the English countryside—his “return to the strength of the hills” (a theme of great importance in Russell’s own life). That theme would reemerge in many subsequent Russell biopics. *Elgar* was extremely popular with the audience, in large measure because of Russell’s romantic use of Elgar’s music; the show was repeated at least three times. As John Baxter points out, this work launched Russell’s national reputation.

After an unsuccessful feature film, *French Dressing*, Russell returned to the BBC to direct *The Debussy Film: Impressions of the French Composer* (1965). Here, Russell broke through the BBC’s last remaining prohibition against using actors in speaking roles in historical drama. According to Russell, as quoted in Gene D. Phillips’s *Ken Russell*, Wheldon thought the film “a bit esoteric” and insisted on beginning the film “with a series of photographs of Debussy along with a spoken statement assuring viewers they were about to see a film based on incidents in Debussy’s life and incorporating direct quotations from Debussy himself.” The BBC feared that viewers might believe they were watching newsreels of real people. To circumvent this potential problem, Russell created an intriguing “film-within-a-film,” in which the framing story depicts a French film director coming to England to shoot a film on Debussy. In the script, actors were clearly identified as actors playing the various historical figures. Russell, and writer Melvyn Bragg (who would collaborate with Russell on several films and later become the editor and presenter of *The South Bank Show*), conceived Debussy as “a mysterious, shadowy character”—an unpredictable and sensual dreamer. This is accentuated by Russell’s evocative use of macabre physical comedy.

*Isadora Duncan: The Biggest Dancer in the World* (1966) is the most celebrated and least factual of Russell's BBC biopics. The film used a mix of classical music and popular tunes (from Beethoven to "Bye, Bye, Blackbird") and featured a nude dance, suicide attempts, and wild parties to depict Duncan's sensational life and her death wish. Excerpts from Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* were intercut with original footage, Ken Hanke reports, to convey the "ideal of German perfection" Duncan sought to emulate. Duncan was at once "sublime" and "vulgar," if not grotesque. Interestingly, some of Russell's more hostile critics have accused the director of the same tendencies.

*Song of Summer* (BBC, 1968) chronicles the last years of the life of composer Frederick Delius, who, blind and crippled with syphilis, is living in a French village with his wife, Jelka, and his amanuensis, Eric Fenby. Fenby, who advised Russell on the film, is portrayed as a young man who sacrificed his own career out of love and respect for Delius. In the end, according to Russell, as quoted by Phillips, Fenby feels "robbed of his own artistic vision" (see Phillips). The ultimate irony, says Russell, is that much of Delius's music is second-rate. In *Song of Summer*, Russell is able to express an understanding and even compassion for a composer whose basic personality and music he clearly dislikes. The theme, evident in *Isadora*, of what Hanke refers to as "the artist's unfortunate need to debase himself and his art," reemerges here. As in *Elgar*, Russell highlights the artist's obsession with nature. According to Hanke, in *Song of Summer*, Russell exhibited his "ability to work in a restrained manner if the subject matter calls for it."

The last film Russell would make for the BBC, the infamous *The Dance of the Seven Veils: A Comic Strip in Seven Episodes on the Life of Richard Strauss* (1970), exhibited no such restraint. The complete title reveals Russell's intention to create a satirical political cartoon on the life of the German composer, whom Russell saw as a "self-advertising, vulgar, commercial man... [a] crypto-Nazi with the superman complex underneath the facade of the distinguished elderly composer." Although, according to Russell, "95 percent of what Strauss says in the film he actually did say in his letters and other writings," many critics and viewers found Russell's treatment of the venerated composer itself to be vulgar. Hanke's assessment is that in the film, Russell contends that Strauss "betrayed himself and his art through his lack of personal responsibility," which included his currying favor with the Nazis during World War II. The most objectionable sequences in the film were Strauss conducting "Der Rosenkavalier," and exhorting his musicians to play ever louder to

drown out the screams of a Jew being tortured in the audience by SS men, who were carving a Star of David on the man's chest with a knife; and the playing of Strauss's "Domestic Symphony" over shots of Strauss and his wife making love, their climax being mirrored by the orchestra. The film concludes with Russell himself portraying a wild-haired orchestra conductor bowing and walking away from the camera as his director's credit appears on the screen (perhaps signaling his own farewell to the BBC). The film aired once, leading to mass protests and questions raised in Parliament. As Russell put it, "all hell broke loose." Huw Wheldon, head of BBC-TV, defended Russell. At the same time, the BBC tried to placate critics, including Strauss's family and his publisher, by presenting a roundtable discussion in which music critics and conductors denounced both Russell and the film. By the time *The Dance of the Seven Veils* aired on the BBC, Russell's feature film *Women in Love* had assured him a reputation in feature-film circles, and the BBC experience convinced him it was time to abandon the small screen.

Russell would return to television, but not to the BBC. In 1978, Russell directed *Clouds of Glory* for British independent television's Granada-TV. This program was actually two one-hour episodes. The first, *William and Dorothy*, was a biopic on the love of William Wordsworth for his sister Dorothy. The second episode, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, was a biopic on the life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

In the 1990s, Russell continued to make television films about composers and music: *The Strange Affliction of Anton Bruckner* (1990), *The Secret Life of Sir Arnold Bax* (1992), *The Mystery of Doctor Martinu* (1993), *Classic Widows* (1995), and *In Search of the English Folk Song* (1997). Other television projects by Russell in this decade included a historical drama about the Dreyfus case, *Prisoners of Honor* (1991); literary adaptations (the miniseries *Lady Chatterley* [1993] and *Ken Russell's Treasure Island* [1995]), and a prison drama, *Dogboys* (1998). He also directed a television documentary on Russia and Russians entitled *Alice in Russialand* (1995), and in 2001 he offered a TV documentary on women soccer players, *The Brighton Belles*, which aired as part of the BBC 2 series *Southern Eye*. Russell also remains active as a feature filmmaker and director of operas.

HAL HIMMELSTEIN AND ELIZABETH NISHIURA

*See also* Bragg, Melvyn; British Programming; Wheldon, Huw

**Ken (Kenneth Alfred) Russell.** Born in Southampton, Hampshire, England, July 3, 1927. Educated at Pang-

bourne Nautical College, 1941–44; Walthamstow Art School; International Ballet School. Married: 1) Shirley Ann Kingdon, 1957 (divorced, 1978); five children; 2) Vivian Jolly, 1984 (divorced, 1991); children: Molly and Rupert; 3) Hetty Baines, 1992; 4) Lisi Tribble, 2001. Served in Merchant Navy, 1945, and Royal Air Force, 1946–49. Dancer, Ny Norsk Ballet, 1950; actor, Garrick Players, 1951; photographer, 1951–57; amateur film director; documentary filmmaker, BBC, 1958–66; debut as professional film director, 1963; established reputation on television with series of biographical films about great composers for the arts program *Omnibus*, from 1966, and the *South Bank Show*, from 1983; freelance film director, also staging opera and directing pop videos, since 1966. Recipient: Screen Writers Guild Awards, 1962, 1965, 1966, 1967; Guild of Television Producers and Directors Award, 1966; Desmond Davis Award, 1968; Emmy Award, 1988.

#### Television Series

1993 *Lady Chatterley*

#### Television Documentaries

1959 *Poet's London*  
 1959 *Gordon Jacob*  
 1959 *Variations on a Mechanical Theme*  
 1959 *Robert McBryde and Robert Colquhoun*  
 1959 *Portrait of a Goon*  
 1960 *Marie Rambert Remembers*  
 1960 *Architecture of Entertainment*  
 1960 *Cranks at Work*  
 1960 *The Miners' Picnic*  
 1960 *Shelagh Delaney's Salford*  
 1960 *A House in Bayswater*  
 1960 *The Light Fantastic*  
 1961 *Old Battersea House*  
 1961 *Portrait of a Soviet Composer*  
 1961 *London Moods*  
 1961 *Antonio Gaudi*  
 1962 *Pop Goes the Easel*  
 1962 *Preservation Man*  
 1962 *Mr. Cheshier's Traction Engines*  
 1962 *Lotte Lenya Sings Kurt Weill*  
 1962 *Elgar*  
 1963 *Watch the Birdie*  
 1964 *Lonely Shore*  
 1964 *Bartok*  
 1964 *The Dotty World of James Lloyd*  
 1965 *The Debussy Film: Impressions of the French Composer*  
 1965 *Always on Sunday*  
 1966 *The Diary of a Nobody*

1966 *Don't Shoot the Composer*  
 1966 *Isadora Duncan: The Biggest Dancer in the World*  
 1967 *Dante's Inferno*  
 1968 *Song of Summer*  
 1970 *The Dance of the Seven Veils: A Comic Strip in Seven Episodes on the Life of Richard Strauss*  
 1978 *Clouds of Glory, Parts I and II*  
 1983 *Ken Russell's View of the Planets*  
 1984 *Elgar*  
 1984 *Vaughan Williams*  
 1988 *Ken Russell's ABC of British Music*  
 1989 *Ken Russell: A British Picture*  
 1990 *Strange Affliction of Anton Bruckner*  
 1992 *The Secret Life of Sir Arnold Bax*  
 1993 *The Mystery of Doctor Martinu*  
 1995 *Classic Widows*  
 1995 *Alice in Russialand*  
 1997 *In Search of the English Folk Song*  
 2001 *Brighton Belles*  
 2002 *Elgar: Fantasy of a Composer on a Bicycle*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1991 *Prisoners of Honor*  
 1995 *Ken Russell's Treasure Island*  
 1996 *The Insatiable Mrs. Kirsch* (short shown as part of *Tales of Erotica*)  
 1998 *Dogboys*

#### Films (director)

*Amelia and the Angel*, 1957; *Peep Show*, 1958; *Lourdes*, 1958; *French Dressing*, 1963; *Billion Dollar Brain*, 1967; *Women in Love*, 1969; *The Music Lovers* (also producer), 1970; *The Devils* (also writer and co-producer), 1971; *The Boy Friend* (also writer and producer), 1971; *The Savage Messiah* (also producer), 1972; *Mahler* (also writer), 1974; *Tommy* (also writer and co-producer), 1975; *Lisztomania* (also writer), 1975; *Valentino* (also co-writer), 1977; *Altered States*, 1980; *Crimes of Passion*, 1984; *Gothic*, 1986; *Aria* (episode), 1987; *Salomé's Last Dance*, 1988; *The Lair of the White Worm*, 1988; *The Rainbow*, 1989; *Whore*, 1991; *The Russia House* (actor), 1991; *Mindbender* (also co-writer), 1995; *Lion's Mouth* (short), 2000; *The Fall of the Louse of Usher*, 2002; *Charged: The Life of Nikola Tesla*, 2003.

#### Radio

*The Death of Scriabin*, 1995.

**Stage (operas)**

*The Rake's Progress*, 1982; *Die Soldaten*, 1983; *Madame Butterfly*, 1983; *La Bohème*, 1984; *The Italian Girl in Tangiers*, 1984; *Faust*, 1985; *Mefistofeles*, 1989; *Princess Ida*, 1992; *Salomé*, 1993; *Weill and Lenya*, 2000.

**Publications**

*A British Picture: An Autobiography*, 1989  
*Fire over England: British Cinema Comes Under Friendly Fire*, 1993  
*The Lion Roars: Ken Russell on Film*, 1993  
*Directing Film: From Pitch to Premiere*, 2000; published in United States as *Directing Film: The Director's Art from Script to Cutting Room Floor*, 2001

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 Kolker, Robert, "Ken Russell's Biopics: Grandeur and Gaudier," *Film Comment* (May/June 1973)  
 Phillips, Gene D., *Ken Russell*, Boston: Twayne, 1979  
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 Woodward, C. Vann, *The Future of the Past*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989  
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## Russia

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Russia was the largest and the culturally predominant republic of the U.S.S.R., and the history of Russian television up to the disintegration of that country in 1991 is inseparable from that of Soviet television. Moreover, in spite of the changes that have taken place since then, Russian television remains the principal inheritor of the traditions (as well as the properties) of its Soviet predecessor.

Regular television broadcasting began in Moscow in 1939, although the service was interrupted for the duration of World War II (1941-45). Broadcasting was always given a high priority by the Soviet authorities, and television expanded rapidly in the postwar years, so that by the late 1970s there were two general channels that could be received over most of the country and two other channels (one local and one educational) in certain large cities. There were also television stations in the constituent republics and studios in most large cities. Apart from a gradual extension of the coverage of the two national channels until the first, at least, could be received in virtually the whole of the country, this situation remained little changed until

1991. Because of its size, the Soviet Union was a pioneer of satellite transmission: by the mid-1980s both national channels were broadcast in four time-shifted variants to eastern parts of the country, while the first channel was among the earliest television programs to be made available worldwide. Regular color transmissions began in 1967, using the SECAM system.

Administratively, television was the responsibility of the All-Union Committee for Television and Radio (generally known as Gosteleradio), the chairman of which was a member of the Council of Ministers and of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Equivalent committees existed in the constituent republics, with the exception, owing to a quirk of the system, of Russia itself. Only in May 1991, after sustained pressure from the Russian Parliament, did a separate Russian organization start its own television transmissions; its programs, broadcast for six hours per day on the second channel, were in the summer of that year a focus of opposition to President Mikhail Gorbachev. Broadcasting was financed out of the state budget, the receiving license having been replaced in

1962 by a notional addition to the retail price of television sets.

The social, political, and economic upheavals that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet system have led to major changes in Russian television. The period since 1991 has been characterized by a rapid growth of commercialization and a continuing debate concerning the roles of both the state and private businesses in owning, financing, and controlling the content of the electronic media. There has also been continuous disagreement between the executive and legislative branches of power over which of them should exercise control over broadcasting. Up to now, this question has invariably been resolved in favor of the former, and the entire structure of Russian television has in effect been put into place by a series of presidential decrees.

As in most of Europe, Russian television is provided by a combination of publicly and privately owned organizations. The All-Russian State Television and Radio Company (VGTRK), founded in 1991 and wholly owned by the state, operates two channels: RTR (general interest) and Kul'tura (more "highbrow"). A second state company, Ostankino, which was created out of the former Gosteleradio when the Soviet Union disintegrated, was abolished in 1995. Its functions were taken over by Obshchestvennoe rossiiskoe televidenie (Russian Public Television, known as ORT), owned 51 percent by the state and 49 percent by private interests. ORT is largely a commissioning company. Publicly owned broadcasting organizations continue to exist in each of the regions of Russia; one of these, TV-Tsentr, mostly owned and financed by the Moscow city government, uses franchising arrangements to have its programs broadcast in other large cities. In the private sector, there is one national company, NTV, while another, TV-6, is available in many large cities, thanks to franchising agreements; both NTV and TV-6 commenced operations in 1993. There are also several hundred local stations, and cable television exists in many cities. Most national channels have international versions, aimed principally at Russian-speaking audiences in Israel.

The changes since 1991 have had an equally profound effect on programs and their content. In Soviet times, television was first and foremost an instrument of propaganda, serving the interests of party and state, and this purpose was reflected in all news bulletins and political programs. The main evening news program, *Vremia* (Time), was shown simultaneously on all channels and often ran far beyond its allotted 40 minutes (a cavalier attitude toward the published schedules has been a characteristic of both Soviet and Russian television). All programs were in effect, if not formally, subject to censorship, and caution usually prevailed: the

popular student cabaret KVN was taken off the air in the 1971 for being too daring, and a high proportion of the nonpolitical programs consisted of high culture (opera, ballet, or classical drama), films made for the Soviet cinema, and sport, all of which could be guaranteed in advance to be inoffensive.

Because of television's importance as a means of propaganda, the effects of *glasnost* were felt more slowly in that medium than in the print media. By the late 1980s, however, a certain liberalization could be discerned: KVN returned to the screens, and previously taboo topics began to be discussed in programs such as *Vzgliad* (View) and *Do i posle polunochi* (Before and After Midnight). These were followed by a range of lively and innovative productions originated by the semi-independent production company ATV, as well as by attempts to liven up news presentation. However, as late as the 1990–91 season, all of these programs were liable to suffer cuts imposed by the censors or even to disappear altogether; the suspension of *Vzgliad* in January 1991 was a particular cause célèbre. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the removal of all restrictions after the collapse of the August 1991 putsch led to a brief flowering of creative talent (and the emergence of long-forbidden programs) that may prove to have been something of a "golden age" for Russian television.

The 1990s and 2000s have witnessed a gradual Westernization of Russian television with the appearance of genres hitherto eschewed. Among these are game shows, such as *Pole chudes* (Field of Miracles), which is based on *Wheel of Fortune* and which is one of Ostankino/ORT's most popular programs; more recently, the Russian version of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* has attracted many viewers. Other newly adopted genres include talk shows, such as *Tema* (Theme) and *My* (We), which likewise have clear ancestral links with their American counterparts, and soap operas. These are almost invariably imported from the United States or Latin America; home-grown versions have been few in number and short-lived. One genre to which Russian television has remained immune is situation comedy, although in the area of satire it is worth mentioning NTV's *Kukly* (Puppets), which uses the format of the British program *Spitting Image* and which has occasionally succeeded in annoying the authorities. Films made in the United States and other Western countries are now widely shown, although since the mid-1990s, presumably in response to complaints from viewers, there has been a marked increase in the number of Russian/Soviet films being broadcast. There is a limited amount of religious broadcasting, mostly in connection with festivals of the Russian Orthodox Church. Literature, classical



music, and serious drama, which at one time had almost totally disappeared from the screens, have regained a tenuous foothold on the Kul'tura channel.

This Westernization has by no means met with universal approval, although it is not only a reaction to Soviet isolationism but also a response to commercial pressures. The financing of Russian television is heavily opaque, but it may be assumed that the state makes a modest contribution to the running costs of VGTRK, though not to ORT. This means that all channels except Kul'tura are now heavily dependent on advertising, and with the relationship between audience ratings and the prices charged for advertising becoming as sophisticated as in the West, there is a requirement to show programs that will attract viewers. Advertising is lightly regulated and takes many forms, including spots between and during programs and sponsorship. It tends to be unpopular, partly because of the unfamiliar intrusiveness (the amount of advertising is much greater than in most European countries), but also because in the early days a high proportion of the ads were either for foreign goods not widely available or (especially from 1992 to 1994) for disreputable financial institutions that subsequently collapsed. Nevertheless, while some transnational companies have preferred to recycle advertisements previously used in their older markets, the best Russian-produced examples of the form will bear comparison to anything shown in the West. The rapid growth of advertising has led to widespread allegations of corruption, and the murkier side of Russian television received prominence in March 1995 with the still unsolved murder of Vladislav List'ev, originator and presenter of several popular programs and director-general-designate of ORT. In some cases additional financial support for television may come from owners or patrons. However, the costs of running the national channels have for some years exceeded income, and all the main channels, whether public or private, are heavily in debt. In 2001, the Duma approved a law banning foreign citizens or companies from owning more than 50 percent of a national television company; given the financial and political uncertainties, it is perhaps not surprising that there has been little or no foreign investment in Russian television.

Commercial pressures have not, however, entirely succeeded in supplanting political pressures, although until recently the latter have been incomparably more subtle than in Soviet times. The mass media under Boris Yeltsin were by historical standards surprisingly free and pluralistic, partly because the president was himself relaxed about criticism, but partly because the ramshackle nature of the state made effective control problematic. Nevertheless, in both areas the long-

established Soviet practice of "telephone law" (whereby a person in power uses that instrument to convey his or her wishes/instructions) continued to prevail, and Ostankino and its successor ORT acquired a reputation for being "pro-presidential," but this was principally because of the perceived slant of their news coverage. At the same time, however, certain programs produced for these channels by independent production companies were accused, somewhat contradictorily, of giving opponents of the president too much air time, and it is generally considered that the demagogic nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskii largely owes his political career to television. In the 1996 presidential election, self-interest and political pressure ensured that all television channels supported the re-election of Yeltsin; NTV was rewarded for its support by significant improvements to the terms of its license, albeit at some cost to its reputation for independence and lack of bias.

The period after 1996 saw the growth of informal power networks involving politicians and businessmen and the appearance of "oligarchic television," where channels were controlled by tycoons with political ambitions. In particular, ORT was controlled by Boris Berezovskii, its main financier, while NTV was run by Vladimir Gusinskii, alternately Berezovskii's ally and rival. During the 1999/2000 elections, the two channels were on opposite sides: ORT supported Vladimir Putin and his allies; NTV displayed a demonstrative coolness toward the future president. Campaigning methods were remarkably robust, and this period saw the emergence of the phenomenon of the "telekiller," presenters of news-analysis programs (notably NTV's Sergei Dorenko), who indulged in vicious character assassinations of their patrons' opponents.

With Putin safely elected, a reckoning followed, the results of which were not entirely predictable. If the series of legal and extralegal measures taken against NTV and Gusinskii had a certain obvious logic, the easing-out of Berezovskii was more surprising. The latter sold, or was made to sell his shares, in ORT, and in April 2001 NTV came under the effective control of Gazprom, the partly state-owned gas monopoly, which had previously been a minority shareholder in NTV. The ostensible reason for the takeover was the inability of NTV to repay its debts, but it seems clear that the incident was engineered by the presidential administration to reign in an increasingly recalcitrant broadcaster. The events of 2000-01 were carried out with a curious mixture of scrupulously observed legal procedures and naked blackmail. The result has not been a re-Sovietization of Russian television, but a certain success in resetting the boundaries of pluralism rather more narrowly than in Yeltsin's time.

Russian television operates in a climate where the structures of a civil society have been only partially created and where politics in terms of being the determining factor both in interchannel rivalry and in viewer affections plays a role similar to that played by association football in western Europe. In the absence of a clear legal framework and of an agreed definition of "public service broadcasting," commercial pressures may offer the best available guarantees of maintaining some degree of freedom of speech. With the problems and opportunities associated with digitization still destined to have a significant impact, the creation of a stable and financially secure structure of broadly based channels aimed at a national audience is likely to remain the main issue in Russian television in the near future.

J.A. DUNN

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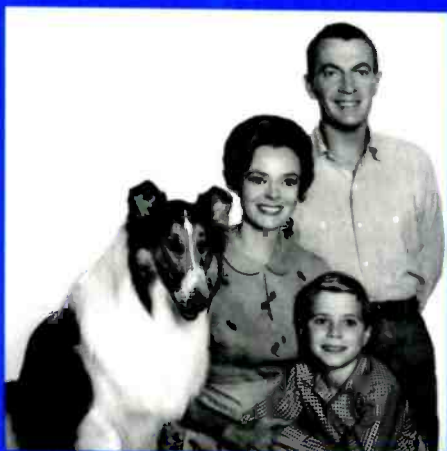
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Nelson, Ozzie and Harriet  
Netherlands, The  
Networks: United States  
New Zealand  
Newhart, Bob  
Newman, Sydney  
News Corporation, Ltd.  
News, Local and Regional  
News, Network  
Nichols, Dandy  
Nick at Nite/TV Land  
Nielsen, A.C.  
Nixon, Agnes  
*North of 60*  
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*Not the Nine O'clock News*  
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- O'Connor, Carroll  
*Odd Couple, The*
- Ohlmeyer, Don  
*Old Grey Whistle Test, The*  
Olympics and Television  
*Omnibus*  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Foot in the Grave*  
*Only Fools and Horses*  
Open University  
*Original Amateur Hour, The*  
Ouimet, Alphonse  
*Our Friends in the North*  
*Our Miss Brooks*  
Ovitz, Michael  
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Paar, Jack  
Paik, Nam June  
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Parker, Everett C.  
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*Partridge Family, The*  
Pauley, Jane  
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Pay Cable  
Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand  
Pay Television  
Peck, Bob  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
*Pennies from Heaven*  
*Perry Mason*  
*Person to Person*  
Pertwee, Jon  
*Peter Gunn*  
*Peter Pan*  
*Peyton Place*  
*Phil Silvers Show, The*  
Philbin, Regis  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
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Pierce, Frederick S.  
Pilot Programs  
Pittman, Robert W.  
*Playhouse 90*  
Poland  
*Poldark*  
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*Police Story*  
Political Processes and Television  
*Politically Incorrect with Bill Maher*

- Pool Coverage  
*Porridge*  
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 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
*Power without Glory*  
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*Prime Suspect*  
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*Primetime Live*  
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 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner*  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Producer in Television  
 Programming  
 PROMAX  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Public Access Television  
 Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity  
 Public-Service Announcement  
 Public-Service Broadcasting  
 Public Television  
 Puerto Rico
- Quatermass*  
 Quebecor Media  
*Queer As Folk*  
*Quentin Durgens, M.P.*  
 Quiz and Game Shows  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Racism, Ethnicity and Television  
 Radio Corporation of America  
 Radio Television News Directors Association  
 Randall, Tony  
 Rather, Dan  
 Ratings  
*Ready Steady Go*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*
- Reality Television  
*Red Green Show, The*  
*Red Skelton Show, The*  
 Redmond, Phil  
 Redstone, Sumner  
 Rees, Marian  
 Reid, Tim  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Reith, John C.W.  
 Religion on Television  
 Remote Control Device  
 Reruns/Repeats  
 Reynolds, Gene  
*Rich Man, Poor Man*  
 Rigg, Diana  
 Riggs, Marlon  
 Rintels, David W.  
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 Rivera, Geraldo  
*Road to Avonlea*  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robinson, Hubbell  
*Rockford Files, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
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 Rogers, Ted  
*Room 222*  
*Roots*  
 Rose, Reginald  
 Roseanne  
*Roseanne*  
 Rosenthal, Jack  
*Route 66*  
*Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*  
*Royal Canadian Air Farce, The*  
 Royalty and Royals on Television  
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- Sandford, Jeremy  
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Scales, Prunella  
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Schorr, Daniel  
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Secondari, John H.  
*See It Now*  
*Seeing Things*  
*Seinfeld*  
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*Selling of the Pentagon, The*  
Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
Sesame Workshop  
Sevareid, Eric  
*Sex*  
*Sex and the City*  
Sexual Orientation and Television  
Share  
Shatner, William  
Shaw, Bernard  
Sheen, Fulton J.  
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Silliphant, Stirling  
Silverman, Fred  
Silvers, Phil  
*Simpsons, The*  
Simulcasting  
*Singing Detective, The*  
*Siskel and Ebert*  
*Six Wives of Henry VIII, The*  
*60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II*  
*\$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge*  
Skelton, Red  
*Skippy*  
Smith, Howard K.  
*Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The*  
*Soap*  
Soap Opera  
Social Class and Television  
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*Some Mothers Do 'ave 'em*  
Sony Corporation  
*Sopranos, The*  
*Soul Train*  
South Africa  
South Korea  
*South Park*  
Southeast Asia  
Space Program and Television  
Spain  
Spanish International Network  
Special/Spectacular  
Speight, Johnny  
Spelling, Aaron  
Spin-Off  
*Spitting Image*  
Sponsor  
Sports and Television  
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Spriggs, Elizabeth  
Spy Programs  
Standards  
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Stanton, Frank  
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Station and Station Group  
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*Steptoe and Son*  
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Street-Porter, Janet  
Studio  
*Studio One*  
Subtitling  
Sullivan, Ed  
Super Bowl  
Superstation  
*Survivor*  
*Suspense*  
Susskind, David  
Sustaining Program  
Suzuki, David  
Swallow, Norman  
Sweden  
*Sweeney, The*  
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Sykes, Eric  
*Sylvania Waters*  
Syndication

- Tabloid Television in the United States  
 Taiwan  
 Talk Show in the United States  
*Talking Heads*  
 Tarses, Jay  
 Tartikoff, Brandon  
*Taxi*  
 Teaser  
 Technology, Television  
 Teenagers and Television in the United States  
 Telcos  
 Telecommunications Act of 1996  
 Telefilm Canada  
 Telemundo  
 Telenovela  
 Teleroman  
 Teletext  
 Telethon  
 Television Studies  
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*That Girl*  
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 Thaw, John  
 Theme Songs  
*thirtysomething*  
*This Hour Has Seven Days*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Tony  
*Thorn Birds, The*  
*Three's Company*  
*Thunderbirds*  
 Tiananmen Square  
*Till Death Us Do Part*  
 Tillstrom, Burr  
 Time Shifting  
 Time Warner  
 Tinker, Grant  
*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*  
 Tisch, Laurence  
*Tiswas*  
*Tommy Hunter Show, The*  
*Tonight*  
*Tonight Show, The*  
*Top of the Pops*  
*Touched By an Angel*  
*Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A*  
 Trade Magazines  
 Translators and Boosters  
 Tribune Broadcasting  
 Trodd, Kenith  
 Troughton, Patrick  
 Turkey  
 Turner Broadcasting Systems  
 Turner, Ted  
*20th Century, The*  
*20/20*  
 24-Hour News  
*Twilight Zone, The*  
*Twin Peaks*  
 2000 Presidential Election Coverage  
 227  
  
*Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception, The*  
*Undercurrents*  
 Unions/Guilds  
 United States Congress and Television  
 United States Presidency and Television (Historical Overview)  
 Universal (NBC-Universal, Vivendi Universal)  
*University Challenge*  
 Univision  
*Untouchables, The*  
 UPN Television Network  
*Upstairs, Downstairs*  
  
*Valour and the Horror, The*  
 Van Dyke, Dick  
 Variety Programs  
*Very British Coup, A*  
*Victory at Sea*  
 Video Editing  
 Videocassette  
 Videodisc  
 Videotape  
 Videotex and Online Services  
*Vietnam: A Television History*  
 Vietnam on Television  
 Violence and Television  
*Voice of Firestone, The*  
 Voice-Over  
  
 W (formerly Women's Television Network)  
*Wagon Train*  
 Wales  
*Walking with Dinosaurs*  
 Wallace, Mike  
 Walsh, Mary  
 Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)  
 Walters, Barbara  
*Waltons, The*  
*War Game, The*  
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 Warner Brothers Presents  
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*Watch with Mother*

## Alphabetical List of Entries

Watergate  
Waterman, Dennis  
Waters, Ethel  
Watkins, Peter  
Watson, Patrick  
Wayne and Shuster  
WB Network  
Wearing, Michael  
Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)  
Webb, Jack  
*Wednesday Play, The*  
Weinberger, Ed  
Weldon, Fay  
Welland, Colin  
Wendt, Jana  
Western  
Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse  
Weyman, Ron  
*Wheel of Fortune*  
Wheldon, Huw  
Whicker, Alan  
White, Betty  
Whitfield, June  
*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*  
*Widows*  
*Wild Kingdom*  
Wildlife and Nature Programs  
Wildmon, Donald  
Williams, Raymond  
Wilson, Flip  
Winant, Ethel  
*Wind at My Back*  
Windsor, Frank  
Winfrey, Oprah  
Winters, Jonathan  
Wiseman, Frederick  
Witt, Paul Junger  
*Wojeck*  
Wolf, Dick  
Wolper, David L.  
*Women of Brewster Place, The*  
*Wonder Years, The*  
Wood, Robert  
Wood, Victoria  
Woodward, Edward  
Woodward, Joanne  
Workplace Programs  
*World at War, The*  
*World in Action*  
Worrel, Trix  
Wrather, Jack  
Wrestling on Television  
Wright, Robert C.  
Writer in Television  
Wyman, Jane  
  
*Xena: Warrior Princess*  
*X-Files, The*  
*XYY Man, The*  
  
Yentob, Alan  
*Yes, Minister*  
Young, Loretta  
Young, Robert  
*Your Hit Parade*  
Youth Television  
  
Z Cars  
Zapping  
Ziv Television Programs, Inc.  
Znaimer, Moses  
*Zorro*  
Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz  
Zworykin, Vladimir



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## St. Elsewhere

U.S. Serial Medical Drama

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*St. Elsewhere* was one of the most acclaimed of the upscale serial dramas to appear in the 1980s. Along with shows such as *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and *thirtysomething*, *St. Elsewhere* was a result of the demographically conscious programming strategies that had gripped the networks during the years when cable TV was experiencing spectacular growth. Often earning comparatively low ratings, these shows were kept on the air because they delivered highly desirable audiences consisting of young, affluent viewers whom advertisers were anxious to reach. Despite its never earning a seasonal ranking above 49th place (out of about 100 shows), *St. Elsewhere* aired for six full seasons on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) from 1982 to 1988. The series was nominated for 63 Emmy Awards and won 13.

Set in a decaying urban institution, *St. Elsewhere* was often and aptly compared to *Hill Street Blues*, which had debuted a season and a half earlier. Both shows were made by the independent production company MTM Enterprises, and both presented a large ensemble cast, a "realistic" visual style, a profusion of interlocking stories, and an aggressive tendency to break traditional generic rules. While earlier medical dramas such as *Dr. Kildare*, *Ben Casey*, and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* featured godlike doctors healing grateful patients, the staff of Boston's St. Eligius Hospital exhibited a variety of personal problems, and their patients often failed to recover.

*St. Elsewhere's* content could be both controversial and surprising. In 1983, for instance, it became the first prime-time series episode to feature an AIDS patient. Six years before *NYPD Blue* began introducing nudity to network television, *St. Elsewhere* had shown the naked backside of a doctor (Ed Flanders) who had dropped his trousers in front of his supervisor (Ronny Cox) before leaving the hospital and the show. It was also not uncommon for principal characters to die unexpectedly, which happened on no fewer than five occasions during the run of the series.

As a medical drama, *St. Elsewhere* dealt with serious issues of life and death, but every episode also included a substantial amount of comedy. The show was especially noted for its abundance of "in jokes" that made reference to the show's own ancestry. In one episode, for example, an amnesia patient comes to believe that he is Mary Richards from *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, MTM Enterprises' first production. Throughout the episode, the patient makes oblique references to MTM's entire program history. Later, in the series' final episode, a scene from the last installment of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* is restaged, and the cat that had appeared on the production logo at the end of every MTM show for 18 years dies as the final credits roll.

*St. Elsewhere* proved to be a fertile training ground for many of its participants. At the start of the 1992-93 season, creators John Falsey and Joshua Brand had a



*St. Elsewhere*, William Daniels, Ed Begley, Jr., Mark Harmon, Ed Flanders, 1982–88.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

critically acclaimed series on each of the three major networks: *Northern Exposure* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]), *I'll Fly Away* (NBC), and *Going to Extremes* (American Broadcasting Company [ABC]). Writer-producer Tom Fontana became the executive producer of *Homicide: Life on the Street* with Baltimore-based film director Barry Levinson. Other *St. Elsewhere*, producers and writers went on to work on such respected series as *Moonlighting*, *China Beach*, *L.A. Law*, *Civil Wars*, *NYPD Blue*, *ER*, and *Chicago Hope*. Actor Denzel Washington, virtually unknown when he began his role as Dr. Phillip Chandler, had become a major star of feature films by the time *St. Elsewhere* ended its run.

*St. Elsewhere* also exerted a significant creative influence on *ER*, the hit medical series that debuted on NBC in 1994. While the pacing of *ER* is much faster, both the spirit of the show and many of its story ideas have been borrowed from *St. Elsewhere*.

ROBERT J. THOMPSON

**See also *Marcus Welby, M.D.*; *Medic*; *Melodrama*; *Workplace Programs***

**Cast**

- Dr. Donald Westphall
- Dr. Mark Craig
- Dr. Ben Samuels (1982–83)
- Dr. Victor Ehrlich
- Dr. Jack Morrison
- Dr. Annie Cavanero (1982–85)
- Dr. Wayne Fiscus
- Dr. Cathy Martin (1982–86)
- Dr. Peter White (1982–85)

- Ed Flanders
- William Daniels
- David Birney
- Ed Begley, Jr.
- David Morse
- Cynthia Sikes
- Howie Mandel
- Barbara Whinnery
- Terence Knox

- Dr. Hugh Beale (1982–83)
- Nurse Helen Rosenthal
- Dr. Phillip Chandler
- Dr. V.J. Kochar (1982–84)
- D. Wendy Armstrong (1982–84)
- Dr. Daniel Auschlander
- Nurse Shirley Daniels (1982–85)
- Orderly Luther Hawkins
- Joan Halloran (1983–84)
- Dr. Robert Caldwell (1983–86)
- Dr. Michael Ridley (1983–84)
- Mrs. Ellen Craig
- Dr. Elliot Axelrod (1983–98)
- Nurse Lucy Papandrao
- Dr. Jaqueline Wade (1983–88)
- Orderly Warren Coolidge (1984–88)
- Dr. Emily Humes (1984–85)
- Dr. Alan Poe (1984–85)
- Nurse Peggy Shotwell (1984–86)
- Mrs. Hufnagel (1984–85)
- Dr. Roxanne Turner (1985–87)
- Ken Valere (1985–86)
- Terri Valere (1985–86)
- Dr. Seth Griffin (1986–88)
- Dr. Paulette Kiem (1986–88)
- Dr. Carol Novino (1986–88)
- Dr. John Gideon (1987–88)

- G.W. Bailey
- Christina Pickles
- Denzel Washington
- Kavi Raz
- Kim Miyori
- Norman Lloyd
- Ellen Bry
- Eric Laneville
- Nancy Stafford
- Mark Harmon
- Paul Sand
- Bonnie Bartlett
- Stephen Furst
- Jennifer Savidge
- Sagan Lewis
- Byron Stewart
- Judith Hansen
- Brian Tochi
- Sandra Sharp
- Florence Halop
- Alfre Woodard
- George Deloy
- Deborah May Bruce
- Greenwood
- France Nuyen
- Cindy Pickett
- Ronny Cox

**Producers**

Bruce Paltrow, Mark Tinker, John Masius, John Falsey, Joshua Brand

**Programming History**

NBC	
October 1982–August 1983	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
August 1983–May 1988	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
July 1988–August 1988	Wednesday 10:00–11:00

**Further Reading**

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Horace Newcomb, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976; 4th edition, 1987  
 Tartikoff, Brandon, and Charles Leerhsen, *The Last Great Ride*, New York: Random House, 1992  
 Thompson, Robert J., *Good TV: The St. Elsewhere Story*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996

Tinker, Grant, and Bud Rukeyser, *Tinker in Television: From General Sarnoff to General Electric*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994  
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## Sagansky, Jeff (1952– )

### U.S. Television Executive

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From his humble beginnings as an entry-level intern for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1977, Jeff Sagansky quickly rose through the ranks of the entertainment industry to hold some of the most powerful executive positions in television and film during the latter part of the 20th century and into the 21st. From director of dramatic development at NBC to president of production at TriStar, from president of production at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to executive copresident of Sony Pictures Entertainment, he progressed from programming boy genius to well-established chief executive officer. As one reviews his professional history, it is clear that Sagansky has been a major player in the business of American popular culture.

Shunning the more conventional vocational paths of his fellow Harvard Business School alumnae, Sagansky began his career at NBC in 1977 and soon was working with industry veterans such as Stephen Cannell (who was producing *The Rockford Files* at the time). By 1978, he had been promoted to manager of film programs and in 1979 was named director of dramatic development. When Fred Silverman arrived at NBC in 1978, however, Sagansky became concerned about his role at the network, and he eventually left to become vice president of development for a television production firm, the David Gerber Company. After three years at this position, Sagansky returned to NBC after Silverman was fired and began to work closely with the very successful new NBC entertainment chief Grant Tinker. From 1982 to 1985 as senior vice president in charge of series programming, Sagansky was part of team that developed tremendously popular programs such as *Family Ties* (1982–89), *Cheers* (1982–93), *The Cosby Show* (1984–92), *Miami Vice* (1984–89), and *Highway to Heaven* (1984–89), programs that propelled the network to the top of the ratings.

Despite his success at NBC, Sagansky was too ambitious to stay at the network for too long, and he left television for the motion picture business becoming the president of production at TriStar Pictures from 1985 to 1989. Working closely with longtime producer Ray Stark, Sagansky's tenure at TriStar was inauspicious at best, and while there he oversaw the production of films such as *About Last Night* (1986), *Peggy Sue Got Married* (1986), *Steel Magnolias* (1989), *Glory* (1989), and *Look Who's Talking* (1989). Although he was promoted to president of TriStar pictures in 1989, when the Sony Corporation purchased TriStar and Columbia Pictures and placed Jon Peters and Peter Guber at the helm, Sagansky may have sensed that his job was in jeopardy. Therefore, it was no surprise when he leapt at the opportunity to return to his television roots soon after this change in management.

In 1990, Sagansky became the president of CBS Entertainment and working together with broadcast president Howard Stringer, he oversaw a quick ratings turnaround at CBS as the network moved from third place to first place during the first 18 months of his tenure. With shows such as *Northern Exposure* (1990–95), *Picket Fences* (1992–96), *The Nanny* (1993–99), *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman* (1993–98), *Touched by an Angel* (1994–2003), and *Chicago Hope* (1994–2000), CBS gained audience share but continued to attract an older and therefore less attractive (to advertisers) demographic.

Continuing his pattern of relatively brief periods of employment at any one company, Sagansky left CBS in 1994 to return to the Sony Corporation of America as executive vice president, working there until 1998. While at Sony, he was deeply involved in the company's purchase of the Spanish-language entertainment company Telemundo as well as the merger of Sony Theatres with Cineplex Odeon Theatres and the

launch of the PlayStation video game platform. Once again, however, new opportunities beckoned, and in 1998 he took the position of president and chief executive officer of Paxson Communications and oversaw the launch of the family-friendly PAX channel in 1998. During his time with the company, the channel's network distribution grew from 60 to 90 percent of American households, but PAX was never able to develop a genuine hit show. Sagansky's position at Paxson Communications changed in 2002, when he was named vice chairman of the company's board of directors and relinquished his role as president and chief executive officer. He stayed at Paxson for one more year before abruptly resigning from his position in August 2003. As of January 1, 2004, Sagansky was currently exploring other opportunities in the entertainment industry.

ANDREW C. MILLER

**Jeff Sagansky.** Born in Wellesley, Massachusetts, January 26, 1952. B.A., Harvard University, 1972; M.B.A., Harvard Business School, 1974. Held numerous posts at NBC from 1977 (left for three years to work at a television production firm, the David Gerber Company). President of Production at TriStar Pictures, 1985–89. President of TriStar Pictures, 1989. Named president of CBS Entertainment, 1990. Left CBS to return to the Sony Corporation of America as executive vice president, 1994–98. Named president and chief executive officer of Paxson Communications, 1998. Oversaw the launch of the PAX channel, 1998. Appointed vice chairman for the board of directors at Paxson, 2002. Resigned, August 2003.

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## Salant, Richard S. (1914–1993)

U.S. Media Executive

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Richard S. Salant started in television in 1952 as vice president of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and corporate officer to Frank Stanton, who was president of CBS. A Harvard-educated lawyer, Salant worked in government and private practice for 12 years before switching industries. His corporate experience was fueled by his lifetime commitment to such issues as freedom of the press, ethics in news production, and the relationship of government, corporate broadcast management, and news production. His longevity in the television industry stemmed from such intangible qualities as skillful conflict resolution that minimized public debate, the ability to isolate issues from complex events, and verbal clarity in articulating his position.

Salant served almost a decade as vice president and corporate officer, with no experience or training as a journalist, before Stanton appointed him president of the CBS News division in 1961. The appointment drew immediate and strong protest from Walter Cronkite, Charles Collingwood, and Eric Sevareid, who were distressed at the unprecedented appointment of a lawyer and feared constant legal scrutiny of news judgments. However, Stanton, reacting to CBS President William S. Paley's impatience at the second-place standing of the news division, believed that the ap-

pointment would bring positive change. When that failed to materialize by 1964, Salant was moved back to his previous position, only to be reappointed by Stanton in 1966 after Fred Friendly's sudden resignation as president of the news division. By the end of 1967, CBS News was in first place, remaining there for Salant's tenure. The strength of his advocacy for the news division earned Salant the title "patron saint of broadcast journalism."

Years before he rose to lead the news division, Salant used his legal knowledge, from 1953 through 1959, to represent CBS in Washington, D.C., in congressional hearings and forums pertaining to broadcast regulation and rights. He learned the structure of the industry for his speeches and testimony on issues such as subscription television, UHF (ultrahigh frequency)/VHF (very high frequency) allocations, monopoly rulings, coverage of House hearings by broadcasters, and the barriers constructed to free expression by section 315 (the "equal time rule") of the Communications Act. He argued that Congress's ban on the journalistic use of cameras and microphones in its chambers relegated broadcasters to second-class status, and he posited that section 315 prevented the free pursuit and airing of information. From his participation in the complex discussions of these legal is-



Richard S. Salant.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

sues, Salant slowly derived the position that news should be based on information the public needs to know to participate in a democratic system, not on what they would like to know. On that principle, Salant made the controversial decision to introduce the *CBS Morning News* with a serious, hard-news format, in opposition to the entertainment format of the morning shows of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Even when the CBS program lagged far behind its competition, Salant adamantly refused a change in program content.

Salant had a passion for the potential of television news, and starting in 1961 he brought a meticulous set of policies to the news division so that the ethics and credibility of news remained unscathed. These policies ranged from the sweeping change that separated sports and other entertainment projects from the news division to detailed guidelines for editing interviews. His directives banished music and sound effects from any news or documentary program. They stopped the involvement of news personnel in entertainment ventures. They terminated the news division's practice of providing outtakes of news stories to the Central Intel-

ligence Agency or any other government bureau. They both limited the use of and marked all occurrences of simulations. In 1976, these guidelines and policies were compiled in a handbook, *CBS News Standards*. Responding to changes in the world, on April 15, 1979, Salant added guidelines on covering terrorists and hostage situations. News division employees are required to read the handbook and sign an affidavit agreeing to comply with the guidelines.

In 16 years as president, Salant looked at small and large policies for their potential contribution toward building a credible public image for CBS News. He spoke out against the news division creating "personalities" to market programs. He was especially concerned for the potential harm of docudramas, which, if not consistently marked and explained as fictionalizations, might be taken as news products by the public. Most troubling to Salant was the network's lack of supervision over news emanating from CBS-owned stations. Integrity and credibility came in a package under the CBS name, and the package extended, in his view, to the local level. Even when CBS affiliates vehemently objected to the *CBS Evening News*' critical perspective on the Vietnam War and the government, Salant refused to alter journalistic judgments.

Throughout three critical periods in American history (the Vietnam War, the civil rights era, and Watergate), Salant's continuous examination of broadcast ethics and news judgment set the pace for other networks and the industry. When Friendly resigned as president of CBS News in 1966 because network executives declined to preempt regular daytime programming in order to air the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings on Vietnam, Salant reiterated the importance of news judgment under the criterion of selective coverage. Congress, Washington, and the president would not, he argued, control airways with a selective coverage policy. The networks were responsible for alternative ways of reporting, such as evening news specials, half-hour news summaries, and the provision of alternative voices.

Salant realized that his background in the CBS corporate arena would always cast doubt on his decisions. His record of wrestling more broadcasting time for news in prime time as well as daytime eventually changed that. In fact, Salant's inside knowledge of CBS helped the news division to move from a 15-minute newscast to a 30-minute one, and he led the network to institute weekend editions of the *CBS Evening News*. Under his guidance, CBS started a full-time election unit; created additional regional news bureaus outside New York and Washington; launched *60 Minutes*, *Magazine*, *30 Minutes*, *Calendar*, and the children's series *In the News*; began a regular one-hour

documentary series called *CBS Reports*; produced many investigative and controversial documentaries; and covered the Watergate affair with more than 20 one-hour specials on the events. During Salant's reign, the CBS News division jumped from 450 employees to 1,000, and the annual budget increased to \$90 million in 1979, up \$70 million since 1961.

These accomplishments were not Salant's most difficult. He succeeded, with great pain, in insulating news division personnel from the wrath of corporate criticism and deflected movements against the division's autonomy. In two documentaries where CBS business interests were criticized in a manner that could have potentially created serious repercussions, Salant deflected pressure from CBS executives. "The Trouble with Rock" (*CBS News Special*, 1974) accused Columbia Records of payola, drug use by executives, and paying organized crime figures to protect artists. "You and the Commercial" (*CBS Reports*, 1973), revealing the questionable persuasive strategies of advertisements aimed at children, angered executives at the highest levels of the network. When CBS President Paley vehemently objected to Cronkite's *Evening News* report on Watergate, the first by a network, and demanded the story never appear again, Salant defied Paley, airing a second part although reducing the number of issues covered. Whereas this action is open to multiple interpretations, Salant's decisions in 1973 are clearer. He supported CBS News journalists in a protest against Paley's call for the elimination of instant specials after presidential speeches or news conferences.

Salant continually addressed the volatile connection between news and corporate management in a pragmatic manner. He did not see the relationship as strictly adversarial, nor did he see it as polarized between two opposing sides. Every conflict was a path toward new strategies to apply in the future. Salant's brilliance as division president was grounded in the attitude and communication skills he brought to conflicts. He diverted escalating personal attacks and swung discussions back to issues.

Not everyone appreciated this strategy. When Friendly resigned, Salant referred to his action as a misunderstanding and explained CBS's strategy on the congressional hearings. When local affiliates called for less Watergate coverage and when they demanded Dan Rather's reassignment after talking back to the president at a news conference, Salant did denounce defiance and arrogance in any news division. But he turned the argument so that affiliates had to examine the central issue as a matter of news judgment: network news needed its independence, even if it was dependent on affiliates.

In one of the most widely discussed controversies of his tenure, the findings reported in the CBS documentary *The Selling of the Pentagon* (1971) put Salant in a difficult and complex position. The government called congressional hearings and subpoenaed CBS documents, accusing the news division of manipulative editing and false claims. Again, Salant simplified the matter, accusing the government of infringing on the freedom of speech. He argued that a network has the right to be wrong and, even when wrong, the right not to be judged by the government. To support this view, he pointed to an issue with ramifications for the entire television industry: the government had the power to jeopardize free speech by its power to intimidate affiliates that carried controversial programs. Even in the midst of his defense, however, Salant was not afraid to criticize CBS or network news, and his attitude provided credibility to his position. After the confrontation with Congress, when CBS did something questionable—such as paying H.R. Haldeman \$50,000 for an interview on *60 Minutes*—an admission of wrongdoing was forthcoming.

On mandatory retirement from CBS, Salant immediately went to NBC, serving two uneventful years as a vice president and general adviser in the network. Only one Salant proposal for NBC received extensive coverage. He recommended development of a one-hour evening news program, from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M., freeing the earlier prime-time slot for local news and saving networks the expense of an hour of dramatic programming. Salant finished his career as president and chief executive officer of the National News Council. This independent body, recommended in 1973 by a Twentieth Century Fund panel on which Salant served, was created in 1983 to make nonbinding decisions on complaints brought against the press or by the press. Faced by a hostile industry that wanted no monitor looking at its work, the council disbanded after one year. This attitude on the part of the industry was discouraging to Salant, especially considering the increased government attacks on media credibility that also functioned to maintain government credibility. Potentially, the council could do what Salant did at CBS: protect news standards and press freedom. But the networks had changed radically. By the mid-1980s, news was a profit center, noted Salant, and these larger issues were irrelevant. Although Salant did not succeed in having the standards of broadcast journalism maintained, he set historical precedent with CBS News programming.

RICHARD BARTONE

*See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Cronkite, Walter; News, Network; Paley, William S.; Selling of the Pentagon; 60 Minutes; Stanton, Frank*

**Richard Salant.** Born in New York City, April 14, 1914. Educated at Harvard College, A.B., 1931–35; Harvard Law School, 1935–38. Married: 1) Rosalind Robb, 1941 (divorced, 1955); children: Rosalind, Susan, Robb, and Priscilla; 2) Frances Trainer, 1955, child: Sarah. Served in U.S. Naval Reserve, 1943–46. Worked as attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, 1938–41; attorney in the Solicitor General's Office, U.S. Justice Department, 1941–43; associate, Roseman, Goldmark, Colin, and Kave, 1946–48, partner, 1948–51; vice president, special assistant to the president, CBS, Inc., 1952–61, 1964–66; president, CBS news division, 1961–64, 1966–79; member, board of directors, CBS, Inc., 1964–69; vice chair, NBC, 1979–81; senior adviser, 1981–83; president and chief executive officer, National News Council, 1983–84. Died February 16, 1993.

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## Sale of the Century

### Australian Game Show

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*Sale of the Century* is the most successful game show ever produced and shown on Australian television. The series began on the Nine Network early in 1980 and, apart from the short four-week summer break each year, has been transmitted in the same prime-time access slot of 7:00 P.M. five nights a week ever since. Apart from the historical ratings dominance of the

Nine Network in the Australian television market place, the reasons for the success of *Sale* have much to do with the format of the program, its pace, and its prizes. The game consists of three rounds in which three contestants compete for the right to buy luxury prizes at low prices. The first to sound a buzzer gains the opportunity to answer a general knowledge ques-



*Sale of the Century.*  
Photo courtesy of Grundy Television Pty Ltd.

tion. Each contestant begins with a bankroll of \$25, receiving \$5 for a correct answer and losing \$5 for an incorrect one.

At the end of each round, the contestant with the highest score is offered the opportunity to buy a luxury item, such as a color TV set, with some of the points. At the end of the program, the overall winner goes to a panel where he or she tries to guess the location of a particular prize behind a set of panels. Whether lucky or not, the contestant returns to the next episode of *Sale*. From time to time, the producers have varied the format as *Celebrity Sale of the Century*, using television personalities and other celebrities as contestants, playing for either home viewers or charity.

The program succeeds because it is a blend of general knowledge, luck, and handsome prizes. The question-and-answer format, combined with the time factor, draws in the home viewer, while guesses at the panels and whether to buy items offered involve luck and risk. This combination gives *Sale of the Century* a pace and interest that make it a bright, attractive game show.

*Sale of the Century* originally ran on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the American television network, from 1969 to 1973. The Australian-based Grundy Organization had since 1961 been a very frequent licensee/producer of American game show formats, but it had decided in the early 1970s to develop or buy in formats of its own. Grundy bought the format for *Sale of the Century* in 1979 and later the same year sold the program to the Australian Nine Network. By this time, the Grundy Organization was the biggest program packager in Australian television and had decided that the only way to continue to expand was to internationalize its operation. However, because of differing licensing arrangements, Grundy was aware that many of the American game-show-format license rights were not available to the company in other territories—hence the decision to buy format copyrights on programs such as *Sale*. The outstanding rating success of *Sale* in the Australian television market made it easier to sell the format elsewhere. Thus, since 1982, the company has reversioned *Sale of the Century* in five other territories: Hong Kong (RTV, 1982), United States (NBC, 1982/1988), United Kingdom (Sky, 1989/1991), New Zealand (TVNZ, 1989/1993), and Germany (Telos/DSP, 1990/1993).

Some of the program's hosts in different countries have included Tony Barber (Australia), Joe Garagiola (United States), Jack Kelly (United States), Steve Parr (New Zealand), Nicholas Parsons (United Kingdom), Jim Perry (United States), and Glen Ridge (Australia).

ALBERT MORAN

#### *See also Quiz and Game Shows*

#### **Programming History**

Nine Network  
3,460 episodes  
July 1980–

Weeknights 7:00–7:30



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## Sandford, Jeremy (1934– )

British Writer

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Jeremy Sandford is the writer of *Cathy Come Home* and *Edna the Inebriate Woman*; his oeuvre may be one of the smallest yet most famous in the history of British television drama. *Cathy Come Home* is surely the most-talked-about television play ever, an iconic text in the radical canon of the 1960s *Wednesday Play*, which has become overshadowed by the association with its director, Ken Loach, and producer, Tony Garnett. Following *Cathy Come Home*, Sandford intended to write a trilogy on homelessness titled *In the Time of Cathy*, but *Edna the Inebriate Woman* was the only play completed. This story of an itinerant “down-and-out” moved the focus from the cruelty inflicted on families to the lives of the single homeless—the sort of person, Sandford suggested, that Cathy had become as she walked away from the railway station, stripped of her family.

After more or less disappearing from television, Sandford surfaced in 1980 with a play commissioned for the series *Lady Killers* and then in 1990, as the homeless population in Britain began once again to be a topic of public debate, with a documentary for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), *Cathy, Where Are You Now?*

When *Cathy Come Home* was reshowed in 1993 as part of a season commemorating the establishment of the housing charity Shelter, Sandford wrote to the *Independent*, taking issue with a claim that doubts had been raised over the accuracy of the homelessness and family-separation statistics given at the end of the play. “I work as a journalist as well as an author,” he wrote, “and it would be professional suicide to be inaccurate.” Sandford has never wholly identified himself as a television dramatist. At one time a poet and artist, he had nursed an early ambition to be a professional musician and played the clarinet in an Royal Air Force band during his national service. One of his first plays, *Dreaming Bandsmen*, broadcast by BBC Radio in 1956 and later staged in Coventry, seemed to confirm his early reputation as a surrealist, but at the same time he was recording radio documentaries about working-class life in the East End, and it was as a journalist and activist that he began writing about homelessness in the early 1960s. As he told an interviewer in 1990, he had always sought to play his role on the stage of life

rather than simply reflecting it. Thus, he not only submerged himself in the netherworld of the down-and-out for his research on *Edna* but also went on to arm himself with his written work as part of an active crusade on behalf of the dispossessed. A special showing of *Cathy Come Home* was arranged for Parliament, and Sandford himself toured the country screening and talking about both plays at public meetings.

Homelessness, itinerancy, and housing policy have been particular obsessions of Sandford. His Anglo-Irish grandmother, Lady Mary Carbery, was a member of the Gypsy Lore Society, and he has campaigned on behalf of gypsies as well as editing their newspaper, *Romano Drum*. A play about gypsies, *Till the End of the Plums*, was to complete a trilogy about the homeless but was never produced.

Born of wealthy parents (his father owned a private printing press) and educated at Eton and Oxford, Sandford was brought up in a stately Herefordshire home. In the late 1980s, after a long association with the alternative communities of folk festivals and camps, he moved into a large country house and opened it up as a study center for New Age travelers.

A further play, *Smiling David*, about the case of a Nigerian drowned in a Leeds river and the agencies implicated in the events, was commissioned for radio and broadcast in 1972 but never made it to the television screen. Sandford’s often-noted status as a documentarist and social advocate rather than a natural television dramatist is emphasized by the fact that the scripts for *Cathy* and *Edna* are published in a series of political and social treatises. His polemical and factual writing, such as *Down and Out in Britain*, which accompanied *Edna*, far exceeds the amount he has written for television. However, the importance of his two major works in defining the cultural role of television drama in Britain as an intrinsic part rather than simply a mirror of sociopolitical actuality cannot be ignored. *Cathy Come Home* remains a landmark in this sense. “If any writer ever hoped that an idea of his would be accepted by the public as valid and taken to their hearts,” Sandford wrote in 1968, “then he would have hoped for the reaction that has followed my *Cathy Come Home*.” Sandford’s exchange with Paul Ableman in the pages of *Theatre Quarterly* over the ethics

Sandford, Jeremy

of fictional form in *Edna the Inebriate Woman* set the agenda for a debate about the aesthetics and politics of drama-documentary that was to dominate television drama criticism through the 1970s and 1980s.

JEREMY RIDGMAN

See also *Cathy Come Home*; Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken; *Wednesday Play*

**Jeremy Sandford.** Born 1934. Attended Eton Public School, Berkshire; Oxford University. Married: 1) Nell Dunn, 1956 (divorced, 1986); three sons; 2) Philippa Finnis, 1988. Worked initially as a journalist; established reputation as socially committed writer for television and radio with *Cathy Come Home*, 1966; editor, *Romano Drum* (gypsy newspaper); director, *Cyrenians*; executive, Gypsy Council; sponsor, Shelter. Recipient: Screen Writers Guild of Great Britain Awards, 1967 and 1971; Prix Italia for Television Drama, 1968; Critics' Award for Television Drama, 1971.

#### Television Plays

- 1966 *Cathy Come Home*  
1971 *Edna the Inebriate Woman*  
1980 *Don't Let Them Kill Me on Wednesday*  
(*Lady Killers*)

#### Television Documentary

- 1990 *Cathy, Where Are You Now?*

#### Radio

*Dreaming Bandmen*, 1956; *Smiling David*, 1972.

#### Stage

*Dreaming Bandmen*, 1956.

#### Publications (selected)

- Dreaming Bandmen*, 1956  
*Cathy Come Home*, 1966  
*Synthetic Fun: A Short, Soft Glance*, with Roger Law, 1967  
*Edna the Inebriate Woman*, 1971  
*Down and Out in Britain*, 1971; revised edition, 1972  
*In Search of the Magic Mushrooms: A Journey Through Mexico*, 1972  
"Edna and Cathy: Just One Huge Commercial" (Production Casebook No. 10), *Theatre Quarterly* (April–June 1973)  
*Gypsies*, 1973; new edition as *Rokkering to the Gorgios*, 2000  
*Tomorrow's People*, 1974  
*Smiling David: The Story of David Oluwale*, 1974  
*Prostitutes: Portraits of People in the Sexploitation Business*, 1975; revised edition, 1977  
*Virgin of the Clearways*, 1978  
*Songs from the Roadside, Sung by Romani Gypsies in the West Midlands*, 1995

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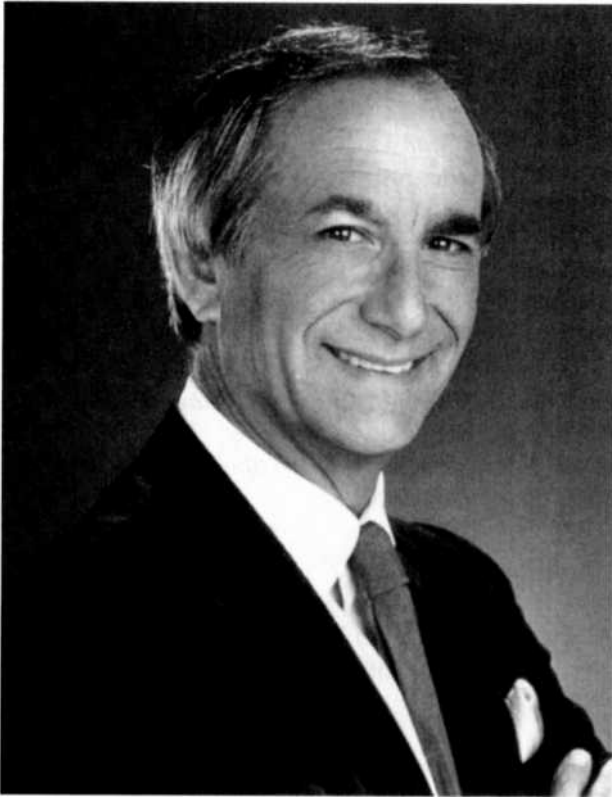
## Sandrich, Jay (1932– )

U.S. Director

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The career of Jay Sandrich, a leading director of American situation comedies, covers much of the first few decades of the sitcom. His programs have been characterized by wit, a supportive working environment, and care for his actors.

The son of film director Mark Sandrich, Jay Sandrich began his television work in the mid-1950s as a second assistant director with Desilu Productions, learning to direct television on *I Love Lucy*, *Our Miss Brooks*, and *December Bride*. Later he worked on both *The Danny*



Jay Sandrich.

Photo courtesy of Jay Sandrich

*Thomas Show* and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. In 1965, Sandrich put in his only stint as a producer, serving as associate producer for the first season of the innovative comedy *Get Smart*. He enjoyed the experience but vowed to stick to directing in future. He told Andy Meisler of *Channels* magazine, "I really didn't like producing. I liked being on the stage. I found that, as a producer, I'd stay up until four in the morning worrying about everything. As a director, I slept at night."

In 1971, he signed on as regular director for the relationship-oriented, subtly feminist *Mary Tyler Moore Show*; beginning a long-term partnership with the then-fledgling MTM Productions. Directing two-thirds of the episodes in the program's first few seasons, he won his first Emmys and worked on the pilot for the program's spin-off, *Phyllis*. In an interview for this encyclopedia, he spoke glowingly of the MTM experience: "[MTM chief] Grant [Tinker] created this wonderful atmosphere of being able to have a lot of fun at your work—plus you were working next door to people who were interesting and bright. And there was this feeling of sharing talent."

Sandrich went on to work as a regular director on the satirical *Soap* and eventually created another niche

for himself as the director of choice for *The Cosby Show* from 1985 to 1991. Meisler's article paints an appealing portrait of the director's relationship with the star and with other *Cosby* production personnel, quoting co-executive producer Tom Werner on the show's dynamics: "Although we're really all here to service Bill Cosby's vision, the show is stronger because Jay challenges Bill and pushes him when appropriate." Sandrich was proud of the program's pioneering portrayal of an upper-class black family and of its civilized view of parent-child relations.

During and following *Cosby's* run, Sandrich directed pilots and episodes for a number of successful programs, including *The Golden Girls*, *Benson*, *Night Court*, and *Love and War*.

Although he ventured briefly into the field of feature films, directing *Seems Like Old Times* in 1980, Sandrich decided quickly that he preferred to remain in television. "The pace is much more interesting," he explained. "In features you sit around so much of the time while lighting is going on, and then you make the picture, and you sit around for another year developing projects. I like to work. I like the immediacy of television." Asked whether there was a Jay Sandrich type of program, Sandrich ruminated, "I don't know if there is, but I like more human-condition shows, not really wild and farcy, although *Soap* gave me really a bit of everything to do.... Basically, I like men-women shows.... I go more for shows that have more love than anger in them." Certainly most of his programs have evinced this inclination.

For many of his colleagues, Sandrich has defined the successful situation-comedy director. "I think it was Jay who first made an art form of three-camera film," said producer Allan Burns (quoted in Meisler), referring to the shooting technique most often used for sitcoms. Although he is modest about his own accomplishments and quick to note that good writing is the starting point for any television program, Sandrich has asserted that he cherishes his role as director in a medium often viewed as the domain of the producer. "If there's a regular director every week," he has stated,

[television] should be a major collaboration between the director and the producer—if the director's any good—because he is the one who sets the style and the tone of the show. He works with the actors. And a good director, whether he is rewriting or not, he is always making suggestions.... and in many cases knows the script a little bit better than the producer because he's been seeing each scene rehearsed and understands why certain things work and why they don't.... So when it's a regular director on a series, I think it's not a producer's medium. It is the creative team [that shapes a series].

In a 1998 interview in *DGA Magazine*, the veteran director expressed concern about the state of contemporary television production. "Years ago, television wasn't determined by so many people's opinions," he explained. "You didn't have to get the immediate ratings. Shows were given time to build." Nevertheless, Sandrigh still works frequently on projects he believes meet his high standards, although he denies that he is still the king of pilots for American comedies. "I think Jimmy Burrows is the king," he has said of his former protégé. "He's gotten so many shows on the air. No, I think I'm the dowager queen or something by now."

TINKY "DAKOTA" WEISBLAT

See also *The Cosby Show*; *The Danny Thomas Show*; *The Dick Van Dyke Show*; *Director, Television*; *Get Smart*; *I Love Lucy*; *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*; *Our Miss Brooks*; *Tinker, Grant*

**Jay Sandrigh.** Born in Los Angeles, California, February 24, 1932. Educated at the University of California, Los Angeles, B.A. 1953. Married 1) Nina Kramer, 1953 (divorced, 1974); two sons and one daughter; 2) Linda Green, 1984. Started career as second assistant director, *I Love Lucy*, Desilu Productions, 1955, then first assistant director, *I Love Lucy* and *The Danny Thomas Show*; director, MTM Productions, from 1971; currently director, primarily for television. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1971, 1973, 1985, and 1986; Directors Guild of America Awards, 1975, 1984, 1985, and 1986.

**Television Series (selected)**

1965-70 *Get Smart* (producer)  
1967-70 *He and She*

1971-77 *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*  
1972-78 *The Bob Newhart Show*  
1975-77 *Phyllis*  
1976-78 *The Tony Randall Show*  
1977-79 *Soap*  
1979-86 *Benson*  
1984-92 *The Cosby Show*  
1985-92 *The Golden Girls*  
1988-95 *Empty Nest*  
1992-95 *Love and War* (pilot only)  
1993-94 *Thea*  
1995 *The Office*  
1995-96 *The Jeff Foxworthy Show*  
1997 *Style and Substance*  
1997 *The Tony Danza Show*  
2001-02 *Three Sisters*

**Television Specials**

1996 *London Suite*  
2000 *The Man Who Came to Dinner*  
(on Great Performances)

**Films**

*Seems Like Old Times*, 1980; *For Richer, For Poorer*, 1992.

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Schindler, Arlene, "Jay Sandrigh," *DGA Magazine* (September 1998)

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## Sanford and Son

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

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The 1972-76 National Broadcasting Company (NBC) program *Sanford and Son* chronicled the adventures of Fred G. Sanford, a cantankerous widower living with his grown son, Lamont, in the notorious Watts section of contemporary Los Angeles, California. Independent producers Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin licensed the format of a British program, *Steptoe and Son*, which featured the exploits of a Cockney junk dealer, and

created *Sanford and Son* as an American version. *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons*, and *Good Times*, all produced by Lear and Yorkin, featured mostly black casts—the first such programming to appear since the *Amos 'n' Andy* show was canceled in a hailstorm debate in 1953.

The starring role of *Sanford and Son* was portrayed by actor-comedian Redd Foxx. Born John Elroy San-



*Sanford and Son*, Demond Wilson, Redd Foxx, 1972–77.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ford in St. Louis, Missouri, Foxx was no newcomer to the entertainment industry. He began a career in the late 1930s performing street acts, and during the 1950s he achieved a measure of success as a nightclub performer and recorder of bawdy joke albums, with his racy routines influencing generations of comics to the present time. By the 1960s, he was headlining in Las Vegas. In 1969, he earned a role as an aging junk dealer in the motion picture *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, a portrayal that brought him to the attention of Lear and Yorlkin.

It was Foxx's enormously funny portrayal of 65-year-old Fred G. Sanford that quickly earned *Sanford and Son* a place among the top-10 most-watched television programs to air on NBC television. He was supported by Lamont, his 30ish son, and a multiracial cast of regular and occasional characters who served as the butt of Sanford's often bigoted jokes and insults. Fred's nemesis, the "evil and ugly" Aunt Esther (portrayed by veteran actor LaWanda Page), often provided the funniest moments of episodes as she and Fred traded jibes and insults. The trademark routine of the series occurred when Fred feigned a heart attack by clasping his chest in mock pain. Staggering drunkenly, he would threaten to join his deceased wife Elizabeth, calling out "I'm coming to join you, Elizabeth!"

Although *Sanford and Son* was enormously successful, Foxx became dissatisfied with the show, its direction, and his treatment as star of the program. In a *Los Angeles Times* article, he stated, "Certain things should be yours to have when you work your way to the top." At one point he walked off the show, complaining that the white producers and writers had little regard or appreciation of African-American life and culture. In newspaper interviews, he lambasted the total lack of black writers or directors. Moreover, Foxx believed that his efforts were not appreciated, and in 1977 he

left NBC for his own variety show on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). The program barely lasted one season.

*Sanford and Son* survived some five years on prime-time television. It earned its place in television history as the first successful, mostly black cast television sitcom to appear on a U.S. network in prime time since the cancellation of *Amos 'n' Andy*. It was an enormously funny program, sans obvious ethnic stereotyping. "I'm convinced that *Sanford and Son* shows middle-class America a lot of what they need to know," Foxx said in a 1973 interview. "The show... doesn't drive home a lesson, but it can open up people's minds enough for them to see how stupid every kind of prejudice can be." After Foxx left the show permanently, a pseudo-spin-off called *Sanford Arms* proved unsuccessful and lasted only one season.

PAMALA S. DEANE

*See also Amen; Amos 'n' Andy; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Good Times; Lear, Norman; Racism, Ethnicity and Television; 227*

#### Cast

Fred Sanford	Redd Foxx
Lamont Sanford	Demond Wilson
Grady Wilson (1973–77)	Whitman Mayo
Aunt Esther (1973–77)	LaWanda Page
Woody Anderson (1976–77)	Raymond Allen
Bubba Hoover	Don Bexley
Janet Lawson (1976–77)	Marlene Clark
Roger Lawson (1976–77)	Edward Crawford
Donna Harris	Lynn Hamilton
Officer Swanhauser (1972)	Noam Pitlik
Officer Hopkins ("Happy") (1972–76)	Howard Platt
Aunt Ethel (1972)	Beah Richards
Julio Fuentes (1972–75)	Gregory Sierra
Rollo Larson	Nathaniel Taylor
Melvin (1972)	Slappy White
Officer Smith ("Smitty") (1972–76)	Hal Williams
Ah Chew (1974–75)	Pat Morita

#### Producer

Norman Lear

#### Programming History

136 episodes	
NBC	
January 1972–September 1977	Friday 8:00–8:30
April 1976–August 1976	Wednesday 9:00–9:30

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## Sarnoff, David (1891–1971)

### U.S. Media Executive

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A pioneer in radio and television, David Sarnoff was an immigrant who climbed the rungs of corporate America to head the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Born on February 27, 1891, in Uzlian, in the Russian province of Minsk, Sarnoff's early childhood years were spent studying to be a rabbi, but when he emigrated to the United States in 1900, he was forced to work to feed his mother, ailing father, and siblings.

Learning early the value of self-promotion and publicity, Sarnoff falsely advanced himself both as the sole hero who stayed by his telegraph key for three days to receive information on the *Titanic's* survivors and as the prescient prophet of broadcasting who predicted the medium's rise in 1915. While later described by others as the founder of both RCA and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Sarnoff was neither. These misconceptions were perpetuated because Sarnoff's later accomplishments were so plentiful that any myth was believable. Indeed, his foresight and corporate savvy led to many communication developments, especially television.

Sarnoff began his career at age nine, selling Yiddish-language newspapers shortly after arriving in New York. To improve his English, he picked up discarded English-language newspapers. By the time he was ten, he had a fairly passable vocabulary. He also soon had his own newsstand. During the day he attended grade school, while at night he enrolled in classes at the Educational Alliance, an East Side settlement house. At age 15, with his father's health deteriorating, Sarnoff was forced to seek a full-time job.

He became a messenger for the Commercial Cable Company, the American subsidiary of the British firm that controlled undersea cable communication. The

telegraph key lured him to the American Marconi Company a few months later, where he was hired as an office boy. Once there, he began his corporate rise, including the job of being Marconi's personal messenger when the inventor was in town. With Marconi's endorsement, Sarnoff became a junior wireless telegraph operator, and at age 17 he volunteered for wireless duty at one of the company's remote stations. There he studied the station's technical library and took correspondence courses. Eighteen months later, he was appointed manager of the station in Sea Gate, New York. He was the youngest manager employed by Marconi. After volunteering as a wireless operator for an Arctic seal expedition, he became operator of the Marconi



David Sarnoff, founder of RCA, in his office, circa 1930s.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

wireless purchased by the John Wanamaker department stores. At night he continued his studies.

Then, on the evening of April 14, 1912, he heard the faint reports of the *Titanic* disaster. One of a number of wireless operators reporting the tragedy, Sarnoff would later claim he was the only one to remain on the air after President Taft ordered others to stay silent. Another controversial claim concerns Sarnoff's assertion that he wrote his famous "Radio Music Box Memo" in 1915. While the version often cited was actually written in 1920, Sarnoff did correspond in 1916 with his superior, E.J. Nally, about protecting American Marconi's interests from others investigating the potential of wireless technology, including "music box" uses.

As his career thrived, Sarnoff's personal life also grew. On July 4, 1917, he married Lizette Hermant, following a closely supervised courtship. Their 54-year marriage survived Sarnoff's occasional philandering and proved the bedrock of his life. They had three sons, Robert, Edward, and Thomas. Robert succeeded his father as RCA's president. In 1919, when British Marconi sold its American Marconi assets to General Electric (GE) to form RCA, Sarnoff came on board as commercial manager. Under the tutelage of RCA's chair, Owen D. Young, Sarnoff was soon in charge of broadcasting as general manager of RCA and was integral in formation of NBC in 1926. As Young's protégé, he also negotiated the secret contracts with American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) that led to NBC's development. With acquisition of AT&T's broadcasting assets, RCA had two networks, the Red and the Blue, and they debuted in a simulcast on November 15, 1926.

In 1927, Sarnoff was elected to RCA's board, and during the summer of 1928, he became RCA's acting president when the company's president, General James G. Harbord, took a leave of absence to campaign for Herbert Hoover. Sarnoff's eventual succession to that position was assured. At the end of the decade, Sarnoff negotiated successful contracts to form Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO) motion pictures, to introduce radios as a permanent fixture in automobiles, and to consolidate all radio manufacturing by the Victor company under RCA's banner. On January 3, 1930, the 39-year-old Sarnoff became RCA's president.

The next two years were pivotal in Sarnoff's life, as the U.S. Department of Justice sued GE and RCA for monopoly and restraint of trade. Sarnoff led industry efforts to combat the government's suits, which would have destroyed RCA. The result was a consent decree in 1932 calling for RCA's divestiture from GE and the licensing of RCA's patents to competitors. When GE

freed RCA, Sarnoff was at the helm, and for nearly the next three decades, he would oversee numerous communications developments, including television.

Sarnoff's interest in television began in the 1910s, when he became aware of the theory of television. By 1923, he was convinced that television would be the next great step in mass communication. In 1929, Westinghouse engineer Vladimir Zworykin called on Sarnoff to outline his concept of an electronic camera. Within the year, Sarnoff underwrote Zworykin's efforts, and Zworykin headed the team developing electronic television. As the Depression deepened, Sarnoff bought television patents from inventors Charles Jenkins and Lee De Forest, among others, but he could not acquire those patents held by Philo Farnsworth. These he had to license, and in 1936, RCA entered into a cross-licensing agreement with Farnsworth. This agreement solved the technological problems of television, and establishing television's standards became Sarnoff's goal.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) would set those standards, but within the industry, efforts to reach consensus failed. Other manufacturers, especially Philco, Dumont, and Zenith, fought adoption of RCA's standards as the industry norm. In 1936, the Radio Manufacturers Association (RMA) set up a technical committee to seek agreement on industry standards, an action blessed actively by Sarnoff and silently by the FCC. For more than five years, the committee would fight over standards. Sarnoff told the RMA that, standards or not, he would initiate television service at the opening of the New York World's Fair on April 20, 1939, and he did. Skirmishes continued for the next two years over standards, but in May 1941 the FCC's National Television System Committee (NTSC) finally set standards at 525 lines, interlaced, and 30 frames per second. Rapid television development stalled, however, as World War II intervened. Sarnoff's attention then turned to devices, including radar and sonar, that would help win the war.

During World War I, Sarnoff had applied for a commission in naval communications, only to be turned down, ostensibly because his wireless job was considered essential to the war effort. Sarnoff suspected anti-Semitism. Now as head of the world's largest communication's firm, Sarnoff was made a brigadier general and served as communication consultant to General Dwight Eisenhower. After the war, with the death of RCA chair of the board General J.G. Harbord in 1947, General Sarnoff, as he preferred to be called, was appointed chair, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1971.

After the war, RCA introduced monochrome television on a wide scale to the American population, and

the race for color television with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) was on. CBS picked up its pre-war experiments with a mechanical system that Sarnoff did not see initially as a threat because it was incompatible with already approved black-and-white standards. When CBS received approval for its system in 1951, Sarnoff challenged the FCC's decision in the courts on the grounds that it contravened the opinions of the industry's technical leaders and threatened the \$2 billion investment the public had already made in television sets. When the lower courts refused to block the FCC ruling, Sarnoff appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which affirmed the FCC action as a proper exercise of its regulatory power.

Sarnoff counterattacked through an FCC-granted authority for RCA to field-test color developments. Demonstrations were carefully set for maximum public exposure, and they were billed as "progress reports" on compatible color. By then, the Korean War intervened in the domestic battle over color television and blunted introduction of CBS's sets on a large scale. Monochrome still reigned, and Sarnoff continued pressing the compatibility issue. In 1953, CBS abandoned its color efforts as "economically foolish" in light of the 25 million incompatible monochrome sets already in use. The FCC was forced to reconsider its earlier order, and on December 17, 1953, the commission voted to reverse itself and adopt standards along those proposed by RCA. During the 1950s and 1960s, Sarnoff's interests included not only television but also satellites, rocketry, and computers.

At the same time he was battling CBS over color, Sarnoff's feud with Edwin Howard Armstrong over FM radio's development and patents continued. Sarnoff and Armstrong, once close friends, were hopelessly alienated by the end of World War II. Their deadly feud lasted for years, consumed numerous court challenges, and ended with Armstrong's suicide in 1954.

Sarnoff died in his sleep on December 12, 1971, of cardiac arrest. At his funeral, he was eulogized as a visionary who had the capacity to see into tomorrow and make his visions work. His obituary, which began on page 1 and ran nearly one full page in the *New York Times*, aptly summed up his career in these words: "He was not an inventor, nor was he a scientist. But he was a man of astounding vision who was able to see with remarkable clarity the possibilities of harnessing the electron."

LOUISE BENJAMIN

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Color Television; Columbia Broadcasting System; Farnsworth, Philo; Goldenson, Leonard; National Broadcasting Company; Paley, William S.; Radio Corporation of America; Sarnoff, Robert; United States: Networks; Zworykin, Vladimir*

**David Sarnoff.** Born near Minsk, Russia, February 27, 1891. Attended public schools, Brooklyn, New York; studied electrical engineering at Pratt Institute. Married: Lizette Hermant, 1917; three sons: Robert, Edward, and Thomas. Joined Marconi Wireless Company, 1906-19, telegraph operator, 1908, promoted to chief radio inspector and assistant chief engineer when Marconi was absorbed by RCA, 1919; commercial manager, then elected general manager, RCA, 1921, vice president and general manager, 1922, executive vice president, 1929, president, 1930, chair of board, RCA, 1947-70; oversaw RCA's manufacture of color television sets and NBC's color broadcasts. Received 27 honorary degrees, including doctoral degrees from Columbia University and New York University. Died in New York City, December 12, 1971.

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## Sarnoff, Robert (1918–1997)

U.S. Media Executive

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Robert Sarnoff, eldest son of broadcasting mogul David Sarnoff, followed in his father's professional footsteps through his career at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Contemporaries attributed the son's corporate promotions to nepotism and constantly drew comparisons between his executive performance and style and that of his father. During his years as company head, Robert Sarnoff practiced decision making by consensus, displayed an obsession with corporate efficiency, and constantly sought to implement modern management techniques. David Sarnoff's aggressive, imperial, dynamic manner of command often overshadowed his son's practical yet increasingly mercurial character.

After a short stint in the magazine business, Robert Sarnoff joined NBC as an accounts executive in 1948, at a time when David Sarnoff had recently assumed chairmanship of electronics giant RCA, the parent company of NBC. Robert Sarnoff served in a variety of positions over the next few years, working his way up the business ladder. As vice president of NBC's film unit, he oversaw the development of *Project XX* and *Victory at Sea*—the latter a pioneer in the documentary series format that traced the naval campaigns of World War II through compilation footage. Passing as educational programming, the series was well attuned to Cold War patriotism and earned Sarnoff a Distinguished Public Service Award from the U.S. Navy.

NBC Television programming strategies during the first half of the 1950s were determined largely by the flamboyant Pat Weaver. RCA funded Weaver's extravagant experiments in the medium since it wished to establish NBC's reputation as a "quality" network and was realizing a return on its investment through increased sales of television receivers. By mid-decade, however, RCA policy was modified: NBC was now expected to achieve economic self-sufficiency and advertising sales parity with the archrival Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Weaver was first promoted to the NBC chair in 1955 and then forced to resign from the company several months later. In turn, Robert Sarnoff ascended to fill that vacant position.

Sarnoff assumed leadership of the network's financial interests and general policy decisions. Robert

Kintner, who had shown a propensity for budget-conscious scheduling at the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), took over as head of NBC-TV programming and was elevated to the rank of NBC president in 1958. Together, the "Bob and Bob Show" (as it was known in the industry) stabilized network operations and routinized programming. Sarnoff established a clear chain of command by streamlining NBC's staff, increasing middle-management positions, and delegating more operating responsibilities to department heads. In order to cut overhead expenses, in-house production was curtailed, and links with several dependable suppliers of filmed programming were created. Program development and series renewal became subject to ratings success and spot-advertising sales. Toward the end of the decade, westerns, action shows,



Robert W. Sarnoff, 1955.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

sitcoms, and quiz shows were regular prime-time features. Gone, for the most part, were the costly "spectaculars" and live dramas of the Weaver years. NBC profits improved steadily.

Sarnoff's most public phase came in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when he defended NBC programming policies against critics in the press and in Congress. He argued that the public interest was best served by popular programming, and although he espoused the benefits of a "well-rounded schedule," he clearly practiced a policy of programming to majority tastes. Sarnoff insisted that competition for advertisers, audiences, and affiliate clearance would ensure that the networks would remain receptive to the multiple demands of the market. Ratings were the economic lifeblood of the medium; "high-brow" interests would have to remain secondary to "mass-appeal" shows in the NBC schedule. Critics who lamented the disappearance of "cultural" programming were elitist, he claimed. Neither the Federal Communications Commission nor Congress should interfere in network operations or establish program guidelines, according to Sarnoff, since this government oversight would encourage political maneuvering and obstruct market forces. More effective industry self-regulation and self-promotion, spearheaded by the networks, would ensure that recent broadcasting transgressions (symbolized by the quiz show scandals and debates over violence on television) would not reoccur.

Sarnoff's agenda did not dismiss "public service" programming entirely. Kintner had turned NBC's news department into a commercially viable operation, most notably with *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. During these years, NBC undertook various educational projects, including *Continental Classroom* (the first network program designed to provide classes for college credit) and several programs on art history (a particular passion of Sarnoff). Sarnoff extolled television's ability to enlighten through its capacity to channel and process the diverse fields of information, knowledge, and experience that characterized the modern age. He touted television's ability to generate greater viewer insight into the political process, and he is credited with bringing about the televised "Great Debates" between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon during the 1960 presidential campaign.

In general, NBC's public service record during the Sarnoff years was disappointing. NBC did, however, become a serious ratings and billings competitor to CBS. In marked contrast to the dismal results of the previous decade, NBC's color programming in the 1960s helped to dramatically boost color set sales and, consequently, RCA coffers.

On the first day of 1966, again thanks largely to his father's influence, Robert Sarnoff became president of RCA. Two years later, he assumed also the role of chief executive officer. David Sarnoff remained chairman of the board until 1970, when ill health forced him to relinquish that position to his son. At RCA, Robert Sarnoff inherited—and exacerbated—problematic developments that would result in his forced resignation in 1975. The younger Sarnoff continued to diversify the corporation, but with some ill-chosen investments that yielded poor returns. Most significantly, he overcommitted company resources in an abortive attempt to achieve competitiveness in the mainframe computer market. During Sarnoff's tumultuous time at RCA, he continued to oversee operations at NBC. There he found little solace, as the network lost ground to CBS and ABC in the early 1970s. NBC's weakened performance contributed to declining RCA stock prices—a state of affairs that resulted in Robert Sarnoff's displacement from the company that had been synonymous with the Sarnoff name over the previous half century.

MATTHEW MURRAY

*See also* Kintner, Robert; National Broadcasting Company; Radio Corporation of America; Sarnoff, David; United States: Networks; *Victory at Sea*; Weaver, Sylvester "Pat"

**Robert Sarnoff.** Born in New York City, July 2, 1918. Educated at Harvard University, B.A. 1939; Columbia Law School, 1940. Worked in office of coordinator of information, Washington, D.C., 1941; U.S. Navy, 1942; assistant to publisher Gardner Cowles, Jr., 1945; staff member, *Look*, 1946; president, NBC, 1955–58; board of directors, RCA, 1957; chair of board, NBC, 1958; chair of board, chief executive officer, NBC, 1958–65; president, RCA, 1966; chief executive officer, 1968; chair of board, 1970–75. Member: Television Pioneers, 1957 (president, 1952–53); International Radio and Television Society; Broadcasters Committee for Radio Free Europe; American Home Products, Inc.; director, Business Committee for the Arts; chair and former president of council, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; vice president and member of board of directors, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Foundation. Died February 23, 1997.

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## Satellite

Television could not exist in its contemporary form without satellites. Since July 1962, when technicians from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in Maine transmitted fuzzy images of themselves to engineers at a receiving station in England using the *Telstar* satellite, orbiting communications satellites have been routinely used to deliver television news and programming between companies and to broadcasters and cable operators. Since the mid-1980s, they have been increasingly used to broadcast programming directly to viewers, to distribute advertising, and to provide live news coverage. More recently, they have become the key tool of a handful of giant media conglomerates to reach a global audience. Increasingly, as with Robert Murdoch's News Corporation, the leading program makers also control both satellite and cable program distribution systems in almost every corner of the globe.

Arthur C. Clarke, the British engineer turned author, is credited with envisioning the key elements of satellite communications long before the technical skill or political will to implement his ideas existed. In 1945, he published a plan to put electronic relay stations—a radio receiver and retransmitter—into space at 23,000 miles above the Earth's equator. At this altitude, the satellite must complete a full rotation around the Earth every 24 hours in order to sustain orbit (countering the pull of the Earth's gravity). Given the rotation of the Earth itself, that keeps the satellite in the same relative position (or "parking space"). This "geosynchronous orbit" is where communications satellites sit today, providing telephone and data communications but mostly relaying television signals (television is the largest user of satellite bandwidth).

An "uplink" transmitter on Earth, using a "dish" antenna pointed toward the satellite, sends a signal to one of the satellite's "transponders." The transponder amplifies that signal and shifts it to another frequency (so as not to interfere with the incoming signal) to be transmitted back to Earth. A "downlink" antenna and

receiver on Earth then captures that signal and sends it on its way. The essential advantage of the satellite is that the uplink and downlink may be 8,000 miles apart. In practice, satellite communications is more efficient over a shorter distances than that, but the advantages over terrestrial transmissions—cable, fiber optics, and microwave—are profound, particularly across oceans. As with direct broadcast satellites (DBSs), satellites can transmit to an unlimited number of ground receivers simultaneously, and costs do not increase with distance or number of receivers.

Each satellite has a distinct "footprint," or coverage area, that is meticulously shaped and plotted. In 1971, the first communications satellites carrying "spot beam" antennas were launched. A spot beam antenna can be steered to focus the satellite's reception and transmission capabilities on a small portion of the Earth, instead of the 40 percent of the Earth's surface a wider antenna beam could cover. Spot coverage is crucial in international broadcasting when neighboring



Technicians attaching the *Telstar* satellite to a Delta rocket for launch.  
Property of AT&T Archives. Reprinted with permission of AT&T

countries may object to signal “spillover” into their territory. South Korea, for example, has demanded limitations on satellite broadcasts into its territory from Japanese companies.

Communications satellites since the 1960s have received uplink signals in a range of frequencies (or “bandwidth”) near 6 GHz (gigahertz, or a billion cycles per second) and downlinked signals near 4 GHz. This range of frequencies is known as “C-band.” Each range of frequencies is subdivided into specific channels, which, in the case of C-band, are each from 36 to 72 MHz wide. In the past, a single analog television transmission would occupy enough bandwidth to fully utilize a single 36-Mhz channel, though hundreds or thousands of voice or data signals requiring far less bandwidth would fit on the same channel. More recently, the use of digital compressed transmissions and higher frequencies has allowed far more television channels per satellite and cut the cost of satellite use.

For decades, many developed and developing countries have used satellite-delivered television to provide useful information to portions of their populations out of reach of terrestrial broadcasting. In 1975, an experimental satellite communications project called SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) was used to bring informational television programs to rural India. The project led to Indian development of its own satellite network. China has also embarked on a ambitious program of satellite use for development, claiming substantial success in rural education. Many countries, including India, China, Japan, Russia, and Mexico; the European and Asian satellite consortiums; and at least two private companies now launch satellites. During the 1990s, satellite communications shifted from mostly public hands—dominated by the multilateral Intelsat organization—to mostly private hands, with governments auctioning off or giving away their valuable satellite orbital allocations to private companies.

In the late 1970s, with the satellite distribution of Home Box Office (intended only for cable television companies to receive and relay movies to paying customers), “television receive only” (TVRO) dishes became popular for people out of reach of cable television and anyone wishing to avoid the cost of a cable subscription. The large dishes of that era still litter the backyards of rural America. Later, DBS to small home dishes became possible through the use of higher frequencies. Since 1988, with the launch of British Sky Broadcasting, DBS has been heavily used in Europe and, around the same time, eastern Asia; it continues to gain popularity in the United States but still has less than one-quarter of the subscribers of cable television.

In the 1980s, satellites using bandwidths of 11 to 12 GHz (uplink) and 14 GHz (downlink) came into use. This “Ku-band” does not require as much power to be transmitted clearly, thereby permitting the use of small (and less expensive) Earth stations. With the introduction of the Ku-band, television entered the era of live news—satellite news gathering (SNG)—as Ku-band satellites made it easy to uplink television signals with a portable dish from the scene of a breaking news story. Overuse of the C and Ku bandwidths and the desire for even greater signal strength is leading to new satellites that use other areas of the radio spectrum. Television news has also made some use of another satellite technology, remote sensing, using pictures taken by satellites to illustrate or verify news stories. In the 2003 Iraq war, television networks often combined satellite imagery with elaborate animated graphics to illustrate the war, but the U.S. government purchased all the best commercially available satellite imagery to prevent the media from using it.

Encryption, or scrambling, of satellite television signals has become common to ensure that only customers who have bought or rented a decoder can receive transmissions. Even intercompany television feeds via satellite (traditionally known as “back-hauls”), such as daily feeds to broadcasters from television news agencies, are encrypted to prevent unauthorized use. With increasing frequency, international television companies now shift production work from one part of the world to another using compressed video files transmitted via private satellite links. A news agency’s Chinese bureau, for instance, might transmit masses of unedited video of a major story to London to be edited and sent out to global broadcasters, shifting the burden—and, potentially, control of the story—from local areas of expertise to a few global production centers.

Like other communications technologies, the satellite industry has also embraced digitalization and signal compression as a means of maximizing the use of limited bandwidth, and DBS and intra-industry services are expanding rapidly as a result. By converting analog signals to digital signals, less bandwidth is required, and digital signals can be broken into smaller pieces for transmission through bits of available bandwidth and reassembled at the point of reception. Compression eliminates otherwise redundant portions of a television transmission, allowing for a signal to be sent using far less bandwidth and for the transmission of video as computer files moving from one computer or database anywhere in the world to another. Compression technology now permits hundreds of television channels on a single satellite. Telephony and television

use roughly equivalent portions of available satellite capacity, but the demand for DBS has led to a number of satellites dedicated to TV transmission. Currently, well over 200 commercial geostationary communications satellites are in use, but with constant new launches and removals from orbit of old satellites, the number changes frequently.

STAR-TV, controlled by media mogul Rupert Murdoch, transmits television programming over much of Asia and has forced governments worldwide to re-evaluate their stance on issues of national sovereignty and control of incoming information. STAR reaches over 50 countries and potentially half the world's population—far more than any other satellite television service (though it is technically not DBS, still requiring larger dishes). A slew of contentious political and cultural issues have resulted. Murdoch dropped the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service Television from his STAR-TV program lineup as a concession to the Chinese government. Other governments have complained about the unrestricted importation of news presented from an Anglo-American viewpoint, though their concerns about political consequences are often couched in terms of protecting local culture. Reports of disruptions to local cultures stemming from international satellite broadcasting are widespread. Also during the 1990s, Africa, the one continent long neglected by the satellite television industry, finally saw widespread availability of satellite television services, dominated by the South African company M-Net.

By 2004, over 20 million U.S. homes subscribed to one of two DBS services: DirectTV or EchoStar (most recently using the brand name "Dish Network"). In 1995, EchoStar launched its own satellite and by 2004 had eight satellites in orbit over the United States, broadcasting digital television, audio, and data channels. DirectTV is a division of Hughes Electronics, a manufacturer and (through PanAmSat) operator of satellites. After a long regulatory battle, at the end of 2003 Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation was given permission to buy DirectTV and take a controlling interest in Hughes—positioning them to be the leading satellite TV provider on five continents (Australia, Asia, Europe, South America, and North America). A friendly Federal Communications Commission allowed Murdoch to avoid the long-standing requirement that DBS operators carry the local stations of their viewers, which is likely to hasten audience erosion at the local level. News Corporation's ability to drive up the cost of cable TV through the pricing of its many channels (to bring customers to DirectTV) also poses a new threat to the U.S. cable industry. Before this merger, the top four commercial satellite operators

ran nearly half the world's satellites; this concentration of control will now increase.

In all these instances, satellite technology has called into question conventional notions of the nation-state. Geographic borders may be insufficient definitions of culture and nationality in an era of electronic information, beamed from multiple sources into the sky and down again into almost any location. International TV journalists, for example, no longer needed the permission of local authorities to transmit television news stories to the world—by 2003, briefcase-size satellite uplinks and laptop computer video editing had made such transmissions common from an embattled Iraq and from the remotest conflict zones in Africa. However, the rapid and unrelenting commercialization of space and nearly absolute control of satellites by a just a few large nations and corporations is increasingly perceived as a threat to the global majority, living in developing countries, to communicate freely and influence their own cultures.

CHRIS PATERSON

*See also* **Ancillary Markets; Association of Independent Television Stations; British Sky Broadcasting; Cable Networks; Cable News Network; Cable Television: United States; Channel One News; Copyright Law and Television; Communication Satellite Corporation; Development Communication; Digital Television; Direct Broadcast Satellite; Distant Signal; European Broadcast Union; European Commercial Broadcasting Satellite; European Union: Television Policy; Federal Communications Commission; First People's Television Broadcasting in Canada; Geography and Television; Home Box Office; Midwest Video Case; International Telecommunication Union; Knowledge Network; Medical Video; Microwave; Movies on Television; Murdoch, Rupert; Narrowcasting; National Cable Television Association; News Corporation, Ltd.; Olympics and Television; Pay Cable; TV; Space Program and Television; Telcos; Technology, Television; Telecommunications Act of 1996; Translators; Turner Broadcasting Systems**

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## Saturday Night Live

U.S. Comedy Variety Program

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*Saturday Night Live (SNL)* first aired on October 11, 1975, on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and has continued since to hold that network's late-night Saturday time slot despite major cast changes, turmoil in the production offices, and variable ratings. A comedy-variety show with an emphasis on satire and current issues, *SNL* has been a staple element of NBC's dominance of late-night programming since the program's inception.

*SNL* was developed by Dick Ebersol with producer Lorne Michaels in 1975 in response to NBC's search for a show for its Saturday late-night slot. The network had long enjoyed dominance of the weekday late-night slot with *The Tonight Show* and sought to continue that success in the unused weekend time period. With the approval of Johnny Carson, whose influence at the network was strong, Ebersol and Michaels debuted their show, which was intended to attract 18- to 34-year-old viewers.

The regulars on the show have almost always been relative unknowns in the comedy field. The first cast (the Not Ready for Prime Time Players) included Chevy Chase, Dan Aykroyd, John Belushi, Jane Curtin, Gilda Radner, Laraine Newman, and Garrett Morris, all from the New York and Toronto comedy scenes. Featuring a different guest host each week (comedian George Carlin was the first) and a different musical guest as well, *SNL* reflected a nontraditional approach to television comedy from the start. The cast and writers combined the satirical with the silly and nonsensical, not unlike *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, one of Michaels's admitted influences.

The program is produced live from NBC's studio 8-H for 90 minutes. This difficult schedule and pressure-filled production environment has resulted in

some classic comedy sketches and some abysmally dull moments over the years. Creating comedy in such a situation is difficult at best, and the audience is always aware when the show is running dry (usually in the last half hour). However, this sense of the immedi-



*Saturday Night Live*, (Standing) John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, Bill Murray, Laraine Newman. (Seated) Gilda Radner, Jane Curtin, Garrett Morris, 1975–80 cast.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ate and the unforeseen also can give the show its needed edge. By returning to TV's live roots, *SNL* gives its audiences an element of adventure with each program. It has acquainted the generations who never experienced live television programming in the 1950s with the sense of theater missing from prerecorded programming.

For the performers, crew, and writers, the show is a test of skill and dedication. The show has undergone several major changes since its beginning. The most obvious of these have been cast changes. *SNL*'s first "star," Chevy Chase, left the show in the second season for Hollywood. Aykroyd and Belushi followed in 1979. The rest of the original cast, including Bill Murray, who replaced Chase, left when producer Michaels decided to leave the show after the 1979–80 season. Michaels's departure created widespread doubt about the viability of the show without him and his cast of favorites. Jean Doumanian was chosen as producer, but her tenure lasted less than a year. With the critics attacking the show's diminished satirical edge and the lackluster replacement performers, NBC enticed Ebersol to return as producer in the spring of 1981. Ebersol managed to attract some of the original staff for the 1981–82 season, particularly writer Michael O'Donoghue. With the addition of Eddie Murphy, the show began to regain some of its strength, always based in its focus on a young audience and the use of timely material.

Michaels rejoined the show as producer in 1985 and oversaw a second classic period of *SNL*. With talented performers such as Dana Carvey, Jon Lovitz, Jan Hooks, and Phil Hartman, the program regained much of its early edge and attitude. However, the nature of the program is that the people who make it funny (the performers and writers) are the ones who tend to move on after a few years of the grind of a weekly live show. The steady turnover of cast and writers continues to affect *SNL*'s quality, for better and for worse. However, Michaels's presence as producer has established a continuity that reassures the network and provides some stability for the audience.

From its inception, *SNL* has provided U.S. television with some of its most popular characters and catchphrases. Radner's Roseanne Roseannadana ("It's always something") and Emily Litella ("Never mind"), Belushi's Samurai, Aykroyd's Jimmy Carter, Murphy's Mr. Robinson, Billy Crystal's Fernando ("You look mahvelous"), Martin Short's Ed Grimley, Lovitz's pathological liar, Carvey's Church Lady ("Isn't that special?"), Carvey and Kevin Nealon's Hans and Franz, and Mike Myers's "Wayne's World" and Dieter all left marks on popular culture of the late 20th century. In the 1990s and early 2000s, cast members con-

tinued to add new voices to the *SNL* pantheon. In particular, political humor has been among the greatest strengths of recent seasons, with Darrell Hammond's caricature of a leering Bill Clinton during the Monica Lewinsky scandal and Will Ferrell's imitation of a befuddled George W. Bush continuing a tradition of presidential satirization established by earlier *SNL* performers, such as Chase (as Gerald Ford), Phil Hartman (Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton), and Carvey (most notably, George Bush, Sr.).

The program's regular news spot, *Weekend Update*, has been done by Chase, Curtin, Aykroyd, Nealon, Dennis Miller, Norm MacDonald, Hammond, Tina Fey, and Jimmy Fallon, among others, and, at its best, the mock newscast has provided sharp comic commentary on current events.

*SNL* has seen many of its cast members move on to other venues. Chase, Aykroyd, Murray, Murphy, Crystal, Myers, Chris Rock, and Adam Sandler have all enjoyed considerable success on the big screen, with many other former cast members also making films, including many based on *SNL* characters. Indeed, at times it has seemed that nearly every character from the *SNL* roster has been featured in a Hollywood feature. However, for every *SNL*-based box office (or home video release) winner, such as *The Blues Brothers* or *Wayne's World*, there have been several busts (*The Coneheads*, *It's Pat*, *Stuart Saves His Family*, *Blues Brothers 2000*, *A Night at the Roxbury*, and *The Ladies Man*).

Among the *SNL* alumni who have moved from late-night to prime-time sitcoms are Curtin (*Kate and Allie* and *Third Rock from the Sun*), Julia Louis-Dreyfus (*Seinfeld* and *Watching Ellie*), Hartman (*News Radio*), MacDonald (*Norm*), and Jim Belushi (*According to Jim*). Still others have, with varying degrees of success, tried their luck with other TV genres. Rock won critical acclaim and an Emmy for his Home Box Office (HBO) talk show *The Chris Rock Show*, whereas Carvey tried but failed to revive the prime-time variety show format, and Miller fared poorly both as late-night talk show host and as a commentator on *Monday Night Football*.

As a stage for satire, few other American programs match *Saturday Night Live*. As an outlet for current music, the show has featured acts from every popular musical genre and has hosted both established and new artists (from Paul Simon, the Rolling Stones, and George Harrison to R.E.M., Sinéad O'Connor, Britney Spears, and Eminem). Because of its longevity, *SNL* has crossed generational lines and made the culture of a younger audience available to their elders (and the opposite is also true). Ultimately, *Saturday Night Live* must be considered one of the most distinc-

Saturday Night Live

tive and significant programs in the history of U.S. television.

GEOFFREY HAMMILL

**Announcers**

Don Pardo (1975-81, 1982- )  
Mel Brand (1981-82)

**Casts by Season**

**1975-76**

Dan Aykroyd  
John Belushi  
Chevy Chase  
George Coe  
Jane Curtin  
Garrett Morris  
Laraine Newman  
Michael O' Donoghue  
Gilda Radner

**1976-77**

Dan Aykroyd  
Chevy Chase  
John Belushi  
Jane Curtin  
Garrett Morris  
Bill Murray  
Laraine Newman  
Gilda Radner

**1977-78**

Dan Aykroyd  
John Belushi  
Jane Curtin  
Garrett Morris  
Bill Murray  
Laraine Newman  
Gilda Radner  
Tom Davis  
Al Franken

**1978-79**

Dan Aykroyd  
John Belushi  
Jane Curtin  
Garrett Morris  
Bill Murray  
Laraine Newman  
Gilda Radner  
Tom Davis

Al Franken  
Don Novello

**1979-80**

Jane Curtin  
Garrett Morris  
Bill Murray  
Laraine Newman  
Gilda Radner  
Harry Shearer  
Peter Aykroyd  
Tom Davis  
Jim Downey  
Al Franken  
Brian Doyle-Murray  
Don Novello  
Tom Schiller  
Paul Shaffer  
Alan Zweibel

**1980-81**

Denny Dillon  
Robin Duke  
Gilbert Gottfried  
Tim Kazurinsky  
Gail Matthius  
Eddie Murphy  
Joe Piscopo  
Ann Risley  
Charles Rocket  
Tony Rosato  
Yvonne Hudson  
Mitchell Kriegman  
Matthew Laurance  
Laurie Metcalf  
Emily Prager  
Patrick Weathers

**1981-82**

Robin Duke  
Christine Ebersole  
Mary Gross  
Tim Kazurinsky  
Eddie Murphy  
Brian Doyle-Murray  
Joe Piscopo  
Tony Rosato

**1982-83**

Robin Duke  
Mary Gross  
Brad Hall



Gary Kroeger  
Tim Kazurinsky  
Julia Louis-Dreyfus  
Eddie Murphy  
Joe Piscopo

**1983-84**

Jim Belushi  
Robin Duke  
Mary Gross  
Brad Hall  
Gary Kroeger  
Tim Kazurinsky  
Julia Louis-Dreyfus  
Eddie Murphy  
Joe Piscopo

**1984-85**

Jim Belushi  
Billy Crystal  
Mary Gross  
Christopher Guest  
Rich Hall  
Gary Kroeger  
Julia Louis-Dreyfus  
Harry Shearer  
Martin Short  
Pamela Stephenson

**1985-86**

Joan Cusack  
Robert Downey, Jr.  
Nora Dunn  
Anthony Michael Hall  
Jon Lovitz  
Dennis Miller  
Randy Quaid  
Terry Sweeney  
Danitra Vance  
A. Whitney Brown  
Al Franken  
Don Novello  
Dan Vitale  
Damon Wayans

**1986-87**

Dana Carvey  
Nora Dunn  
Phil Hartman  
Jan Hooks  
Victoria Jackson  
Jon Lovitz

Dennis Miller  
A. Whitney Brown  
Kevin Meaney  
Kevin Nealon

**1987-88**

Dana Carvey  
Nora Dunn  
Phil Hartman  
Jan Hooks  
Victoria Jackson  
Jon Lovitz  
Dennis Miller  
Kevin Nealon  
A. Whitney Brown  
Al Franken

**1988-89**

Dana Carvey  
Nora Dunn  
Phil Hartman  
Jan Hooks  
Victoria Jackson  
Jon Lovitz  
Dennis Miller  
Kevin Nealon  
A. Whitney Brown  
Al Franken  
Mike Myers  
Ben Stiller

**1989-90**

Dana Carvey  
Nora Dunn  
Phil Hartman  
Jan Hooks  
Victoria Jackson  
Jon Lovitz  
Dennis Miller  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon  
A. Whitney Brown  
Al Franken

**1990-91**

Dana Carvey  
Phil Hartman  
Jan Hooks  
Victoria Jackson  
Dennis Miller  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon

Saturday Night Live

A. Whitney Brown  
Chris Farley  
Al Franken  
Tim Meadows  
Chris Rock  
Adam Sandler  
Rob Schneider  
David Spade  
Julia Sweeney

**1991-92**

Dana Carvey  
Chris Farley  
Phil Hartman  
Victoria Jackson  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon  
Chris Rock  
Julia Sweeney  
Beth Cahill  
Ellen Cleghorne  
Siobhan Fallon  
Al Franken  
Melanie Hutsell  
Tim Meadows  
Adam Sandler  
Rob Schneider  
Rob Smigel  
David Spade

**1992-93**

Dana Carvey  
Chris Farley  
Phil Hartman  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon  
Chris Rock  
Rob Schneider  
Julia Sweeney  
Ellen Cleghorne  
Al Franken  
Melanie Hutsell  
Tim Meadows  
Adam Sandler  
Rob Smigel  
David Spade

**1993-94**

Ellen Cleghorne  
Chris Farley  
Phil Hartman  
Melanie Hutsell

Michael McKean  
Tim Meadows  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon  
Adam Sandler  
Rob Schneider  
David Spade  
Julia Sweeney  
Al Franken  
Norm Macdonald  
Jay Mohr  
Sarah Silverman

**1994-95**

Morwenna Banks  
Ellen Cleghorne  
Chris Elliott  
Chris Farley  
Janeane Garofalo  
Norm Macdonald  
Michael McKean  
Mark McKinney  
Tim Meadows  
Mike Myers  
Kevin Nealon  
Adam Sandler  
David Spade  
Al Franken  
Laura Kightlinger  
Jay Mohr  
Molly Shannon

**1995-96**

Jim Breuer  
Will Ferrell  
Darrell Hammond  
David Koechner  
Norm Macdonald  
Mark McKinney  
Tim Meadows  
Cheri Oteri  
Molly Shannon  
David Spade  
Nancy Walls  
Chris Kattan  
Colin Quinn  
Fred Wolf

**1996-97**

Jim Breuer  
Will Ferrell  
Ana Gasteyer

Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Norm Macdonald  
Mark McKinney  
Tim Meadows  
Tracy Morgan  
Cheri Oteri  
Molly Shannon  
Colin Quinn  
Fred Wolf

**1997-98**

Jim Breuer  
Will Ferrell  
Ana Gasteyer  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Norm Macdonald  
Tim Meadows  
Tracy Morgan  
Cheri Oteri  
Colin Quinn  
Molly Shannon

**1998-99**

Will Ferrell  
Ana Gasteyer  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Tim Meadows  
Tracy Morgan  
Cheri Oteri  
Colin Quinn  
Molly Shannon  
Jimmy Fallon  
Chris Parnell  
Horatio Sanz

**1999-2000**

Jimmy Fallon  
Will Ferrell  
Ana Gasteyer  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Tim Meadows  
Tracy Morgan  
Cheri Oteri  
Chris Parnell  
Colin Quinn  
Horatio Sanz  
Molly Shannon  
Rachel Dratch  
Maya Rudolph

**2000-01**

Jimmy Fallon  
Will Ferrell  
Ana Gasteyer  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Tracy Morgan  
Chris Parnell  
Horatio Sanz  
Molly Shannon  
Rachel Dratch  
Tina Fey  
Jerry Minor  
Maya Rudolph

**2001-02**

Rachel Dratch  
Jimmy Fallon  
Will Ferrell  
Tina Fey  
Ana Gasteyer  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Tracy Morgan  
Chris Parnell  
Maya Rudolph  
Horatio Sanz  
Dean Edwards  
Seth Meyers  
Amy Poehler  
Jeff Richards

**2002-03**

Rachel Dratch  
Jimmy Fallon  
Tina Fey  
Darrell Hammond  
Chris Kattan  
Tracy Morgan  
Chris Parnell  
Amy Poehler  
Maya Rudolph  
Horatio Sanz  
Fred Armisen  
Dean Edwards  
Will Forte  
Seth Meyers  
Jeff Richards

**2003-04**

Fred Armisen  
Rachel Dratch  
Jimmy Fallon

## Saturday Night Live

Tina Fey  
Will Forte  
Darrell Hammond  
Seth Meyers  
Finesse Mitchell  
Chris Parnell  
Amy Poehler  
Jeff Richards  
Maya Rudolph  
Horatio Sanz  
Kenan Thompson

### Executive Producers

Lorne Michaels (1975–80, 1985– ), Jean Doumanian (1980–81), Dick Ebersol (1981–85)

### Programming History

NBC	
October 1975–	Saturday 11:30 P.M.– 1:00 A.M.
October 1979–March 1980	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
March 1980–April 1980	Friday 10:00–11:00

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Cullingford, Elizabeth Butler, "Seamus and Sinead: From 'Limbo' to *Saturday Night Live* by Way of Hush-A-Bye-Baby," *Colby Quarterly* (March 1994)

Greenfield, Jeff, "Live from New York," *New York Times* (April 19, 1993)

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Myers, Mike, and Robin Ruzan, *Wayne's World: Extreme Close-Up*, New York: Hyperion, 1991

Partridge, Marianne, editor, *Rolling Stone Visits Saturday Night Live*, Garden City, New York: Dolphin, 1979

Saltzman, Joe, "The Agony and the Ecstasy: Live Television Comedy," *USA Today Magazine* (November 1987)

Shales, Tom, and James Andrew Miller, *Live from New York: An Uncensored History of Saturday Night Live, as Told by Its Stars, Writers and Guests*. London: Little, Brown, 2002

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## Saunders, Jennifer (1958– )

British Actor

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Since the early 1980s, Jennifer Saunders has been a popular and influential figure in British television comedy. Her success stems from her involvement as both a performer in and a writer of several comedy shows that have been heralded as innovative by critics and received as hugely entertaining by audiences.

Saunders established her career as part of a double act with Dawn French on the live comedy circuit in the late 1970s. She and French, who have remained collaborators on many projects since, made their initial impact while on tour in 1981 with the *Comic Strip*, a group consisting of several young comedians performing an alternative, innovative form of comedy. The group were rapidly transferred to television, appropriately making their debut on Channel 4's opening night in November 1982. Throughout the 1980s, the original members appeared in *The Comic Strip Presents...*, in which they wrote, directed, and per-

formed a series of narratives satirizing a variety of genre themes. The program set a precedent for the so-called alternative comedy of the 1980s, won critical approval, and was awarded a Golden Rose at the Montreux Festival.

Saunders and French's role within this group was particularly significant in that the two succeeded in providing much more complex and interesting female characters than had hitherto been offered by television comedy. They placed their characters in opposition to the traditional representations of women in British television comedy—such as the sexual accessories of *The Benny Hill Show*; the domesticated, subservient wife of *The Good Life*; and the nag of *Fawlty Towers*. Saunders and French's very presence in *The Comic Strip Presents...* was a timely intrusion into a realm of comedy that had previously been the exclusive domain of male performers, from *Monty Python* to the double



Jennifer Saunders.  
Photo courtesy of Jennifer Saunders

acts of the 1970s: *Morecombe and Wise* and *Little and Large*.

The autonomy that women were gaining was confirmed in *French and Saunders*. This show, the first series of which was screened on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1987, presented the pair as partners combining stand-up and sketches. *French and Saunders* offered a uniquely feminine version of British comedy (unique, with the notable exception of *Victoria Wood: As Seen on TV*, first screened in 1985). Their writing and acting focused directly, and with hilarious results, on female experience. Many of the scenes worked to reinforce the centrality of women's talk and to parody the position and representations of women in the media.

It was out of a *French and Saunders* sketch that Saunders conceived of and developed her most prolific work, *Absolutely Fabulous*. Saunders has written and starred in four six-part series of *Absolutely Fabulous* (BBC, 1992, 1994, 1995, 2001, with a fifth season commencing in 2003), which have achieved uniformly high viewing figures as well as critical acclaim. In some respects a domestic sitcom, *Absolutely Fabulous* satirizes the matriarchal household of fashion public

relations executive Edina Monsoon (Saunders) and the women around her, including her unruly best friend, Patsy (Joanna Lumley), and long-suffering daughter, Saffron (Julia Sawalha). Because *Absolutely Fabulous* remains an unusual example of a peak-time situation comedy written by women, with a predominantly female cast and a specific address to a female audience, it provides rare viewing pleasures of self-recognition and humor to women. In addition to having feminist concerns at the core of its structure and themes, it stresses the artificiality surrounding "womanliness" and celebrates gender as a complex social and cultural construction.

In terms of her writing and performance, Saunders helped to raise the profile of female comedians in television, leading the way for others, such as Jo Brand and Dawn French, the latter in her solo series *Murder Most Horrid*. Saunders took on her first noncomedy role for a BBC drama, *Heroes and Villains* (1995), a period piece based on the true life of Lady Hester Stanhope, an eccentric 19th-century traveler. As well as revealing a further talent for dramatic acting, the show crystallized Saunders's TV persona and arguably her role in British television as an independent and powerful woman.

NICOLA FOSTER

See also *Absolutely Fabulous*; **British Programming**; **French, Dawn**; **Lumley, Joanna**; **Wood, Victoria**

**Jennifer Saunders.** Born in Sleaford, Lincolnshire, England, July 12, 1958. Attended Central School of Speech and Drama. Married: Adrian Edmondson; children: Ella, Beattie, and Freya. Formed cabaret partnership with comedian Dawn French, the Comedy Store, London; appeared in the *Comic Strip* series, early 1980s, and subsequently in *French and Saunders* sketch show and, without French, in *Absolutely Fabulous*.

#### Television Series

- 1982–92 *The Comic Strip Presents (Five Go Mad in Dorset; Five Go Mad on Mescaline; Slags; Summer School; Private Enterprise; Consuela; Mr. Jolly Lives Next Door; Bad News Tour; South Atlantic Raiders; G.L.C.; Oxford; Spaghetti Hoops; Le Kiss; Wild Turkey; Demonella; Jealousy; The Strike)*
- 1985 *Happy Families*
- 1985–86 *Girls on Top* (also co-writer)

Saunders, Jennifer

1987– *French and Saunders*  
1992– *Absolutely Fabulous*

#### Films

*The Supergrass*, 1985; *In the Bleak Midwinter*, 1995;  
*Muppet Treasure Island*, 1996; *Spice World*, 1997;  
*Fanny and Elvis*, 1999; *Shrek 2*, 2004 (voice only).

#### Publication

*Absolutely Fabulous*, 1995

#### Further Reading

Putterman, Barry, *On Television and Comedy: Essays on Style, Theme, Performer, and Writer*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1995

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## Sawyer, Diane (1945– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Diane Sawyer, cohost of ABC News' *Good Morning, America* and co-anchor of *PrimeTime Live*, is one of broadcast journalism's most prominent and successful female presences. Sawyer began her career as a weather reporter on a Louisville, Kentucky, television station. In 1970, she took a job at the White House on the staff of Presidential Press Secretary Ron Ziegler. She continued her career as a press aide during Richard Nixon's administration until 1974 and then assisted the former president with the preparation of his memoirs. She made her transition to broadcast journalism in 1978, when she joined CBS News as a reporter in its Washington bureau. When Sawyer accepted the job of State Department correspondent for CBS News (1978–81), she began a career as a popular figure in television journalism; she was the co-anchor of *CBS Morning News* (from 1981), the co-anchor of *CBS Early Morning News* (1982–84), and the first woman on the network's flagship public affairs program, *60 Minutes* (1984–89), before signing in 1989 a multiyear contract to co-anchor with Sam Donaldson *PrimeTime Live* on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). In 1999, she took on another job with ABC, in addition to her duties at *PrimeTime*: cohosting *Good Morning, America* with Charles Gibson, who also has joined Sawyer as an anchor for the Thursday edition of *PrimeTime*. Sawyer also has co-anchored *20/20* since 1998 and contributed to many other ABC News programs since joining the network.

In addition to her impressive résumé, Sawyer is known for a variety of individual characteristics. Her intelligent reporting and tenacious coverage of the Three Mile Island crisis assisted her in garnering heavy journalistic assignments that, at the time, were considered a challenge to male colleagues working in

early morning news. At *CBS Morning News*, she earned a reputation for skilled reporting as well as her ability to help increase ratings. Her commanding delivery helped edge the network's program closer to its rivals in the Nielsen ratings. Her presence and teamwork with Bill Kurtis gave the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) its first healthy ratings in this time slot in three decades. High-profile assignments as correspondent of *60 Minutes* established her as a national figure; viewers admired her equally for her personality and her talents as an investigative reporter. Sawyer's skill has contributed to *PrimeTime Live*'s success and its distinct style, and since joining *Good Morning, America*, she has continued to deliver increased ratings. *Washington Post* critic Tom Shales remarks that, even though *Good Morning, America* remains similar to other morning programming, "Sawyer has unquestionably brought... a grace and eloquence that elevate the entire program to a level above and beyond the competition."

In the fall of 1994, Sawyer signed a contract granting her a \$7 million annual salary, making her one of the highest-paid women in broadcast news. In 2001, her salary remained one of the highest paid to any journalist, an estimated \$13 million per year. Although one critique characterized her as "the warm ice maiden," such views may reflect forms of professional jealousy. Margo Howard, entertainment critic of *People Weekly* magazine, contends that Sawyer "got to the top with a formidable blend of smarts, drive, [warmth], and earnestness." Another characterization of Sawyer as "a girl who is one of the boys" points to her authoritative, intelligent, enterprising manner.

Observers frequently refer to Sawyer's willingness to move between two styles—that of a tabloid journal-



Diane Sawyer, 2003.  
©CJ Contino/Everett Collection

ist and that of the “legitimate” journalist. She oscillates between pieces involving diligent reporting, such as her coverage of the Iranian hostage crisis, and celebrity interviews, such as her interview with the then-married Michael Jackson and Lisa Marie Presley. Her “softball” questions to Tonya Harding during the 1994 Olympics, her low-camp interview with Marla Maples (asking whether Donald Trump was “really the best sex” Maples ever had), her interview with the wife of a convicted Central Intelligence Agency spy, and her brief, heavily promoted and news-free encounter with Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin during the 1987 coup contribute to the “tabloid” label.

Although the critiques are valid to some degree, Sawyer’s distinctive personality has helped *PrimeTime Live* and *Good Morning, America* move toward unqualified success and produce millions of dollars in profits for ABC. All four major networks have sought her services, and she has become a “brand name.” a

person the viewers remember, and a television personality who can deliver ratings. She remains one of the most visible news figures in U.S. television.

LYNN T. LOVDAL

*See also Morning Television Programs; News, Network; Primetime Live; 60 Minutes*

**(Lila) Diane Sawyer.** Born in Glasgow, Kentucky, December 22, 1945. Educated at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, B.A., 1967. Married: Mike Nichols, 1988. Reporter, WLKY-TV, Louisville, Kentucky, 1967–70; administrator, White House press office, 1970–74; researcher for Richard Nixon’s memoirs, 1974–78; general assignment reporter, then U.S. State Department correspondent, CBS News, 1978–89; with ABC News, since 1989, co-anchor *PrimeTime Live* since 1989, cohost *Good Morning, America*, since 1999. Member: Council on Foreign Relations. Recipient: two Peabody Awards; Robert F. Kennedy Award; ten Emmy Awards; duPont Award; Lifetime Achievement Award, International Radio and Television Society. Inducted into Broadcast Hall of Fame.

#### Television Series (selected)

1978–81	<i>CBS Evening News</i> (correspondent)
1981–84	<i>CBS Morning News</i> (co-anchor)
1982–84	<i>CBS Early Morning News</i> (co-anchor)
1984–89	<i>60 Minutes</i> (correspondent and co-editor)
1989–	<i>PrimeTime Live</i> (co-anchor)
1993–95	<i>Day One</i> (co-anchor)
1994	<i>Turning Point</i>
1998–	<i>ABC News 20/20</i> (co-anchor)
1999–	<i>Good Morning, America</i>

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- Zoglin, Richard, “Good Morning, Diane,” *Time* (January 18, 1999)

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## Scales, Prunella (1932– )

British Actor

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Prunella Scales is an established star of British situation comedy, although she has also won praise in a wide range of other productions, including drama for television and stage. Television viewers are most likely to associate her, however, with the classic John Cleese comedy *Fawlty Towers*, in which she played the unflappable Sybil to Cleese's appallingly inept hotelier Basil Fawlty.

As Sybil Fawlty, the archetypal gossipy and battle-hardened nagging wife who in her husband's eyes was more of a hindrance than a help (though in truth she spent much of her time smoothing, with carefully rounded vowels, the ruffled feathers of guests her husband had offended), Scales was deemed perfect. Employing all the skills she had acquired from her early experience in repertory theater and subsequently with the Royal Shakespeare Company and other leading troupes, she easily countered the manic ranting of her screen husband, ensuring that life—such as it was—could carry on at Fawlty Towers. When not seeing to her monstrous coiffure, Sybil took desultory pleasure in providing her husband with new irritations, usually guaranteed to send him into paroxysms of helpless rage. As a mark of the degree to which the performances of Scales and Cleese were essential to the success of the series—widely judged a classic of television comedy—an attempt to make a U.S. version under the title *Amanda's*, with a cast headed by Bea Arthur of *Golden Girls* fame, was a total failure (even though, in desperation, some episodes were duplicated word for word).

Scales had previously performed as bus conductress Eileen Hughes in *Coronation Street* and also as costar of the series *Marriage Lines*, a relatively conventional husband-and-wife situation comedy in which she was paired with Richard Briers. As Kate Starling in the latter production, she charted the ups and downs experienced by typical newlyweds in the 1960s, wrestling with a range of more or less mundane financial and domestic problems (later complicated by the arrival of their baby).

In the wake of the huge success of *Fawlty Towers*, Scales enjoyed further acclaim from critics and audiences alike in the role of the widowed Sarah in Simon Brett's *After Henry*, a compassionate and often hilari-

ous comedy that was equally successful as a series for radio and subsequently on television. When not contemplating the future course of her life as the widowed mother of a teenage daughter, she indulged in entertaining sparring with "mother," played by the redoubtable Joan Sanderson.

Other highlights of Scales's career have included her performance as Elizabeth Mapp in the television version of E.F. Benson's Edwardian *Mapp and Lucia* stories, in which she was cast opposite the equally distinguished Geraldine McEwan. Another triumph was her enthralling impersonation of Queen Elizabeth II in a much-acclaimed television version of Alan Bennett's celebrated play *A Question of Attribution*, which concerned the relationship between the monarch and her art adviser Anthony Blunt, who was fated to be ex-



Prunella Scales.  
Photo courtesy of Snipe Productions, Ltd.



posed as a spy for communist Russia. On the stage, meanwhile, she added another monarch to her list of credits when she impersonated Queen Victoria in her own one-woman show.

Considered one of the most technically proficient actresses of stage and screen of her generation as well as an accomplished occasional director, Scales has continued to divide her time between television and the theater throughout her career, sometimes appearing in partnership with her real-life husband, actor Timothy West. In 1996, in recognition of her skills, she was invited to share some of her secrets concerning acting as part of a short series of master classes on the art of comedy performance.

DAVID PICKERING

**Prunella Scales (Prunella Margaret Rumney Illingworth).** Born in Sutton Abinger, Surrey, England, June 22, 1932. Attended Moira House, Eastbourne; trained for stage at the Old Vic Theatre School, London, and the Herbert Berghof Studio, New York. Married: Timothy West, 1963; children: Samuel and Joseph. Started in repertory theater in Huddersfield, Salisbury, Oxford, Bristol Old Vic, and elsewhere; performed in theater seasons at Stratford-upon-Avon and Chichester Festival Theatre, 1967–68; also acted on London stage; had greatest success on television as Sybil in *Fawlty Towers*, 1975; subsequently appeared in numerous sitcoms and plays; also teaches and directs theater. President, Council for the Protection of Rural England, 1997. Commander of the British Empire, 1992.

#### Television Series

1963–66	<i>Marriage Lines</i>
1975, 1979	<i>Fawlty Towers</i>
1977	<i>Mr. Big</i>
1985–86	<i>Mapp and Lucia</i>
1988, 1990	<i>After Henry</i>
1994	<i>The Rector's Wife</i>
1995	<i>Searching</i>
1995	<i>Signs and Wonders</i>
1997	<i>Emma</i>

#### Television Specials

1973	<i>One Mom's Meat</i>
1976	<i>Escape from the Dark</i>

1977	<i>The Apple Cart</i>
1979	<i>Doris and Doreen</i>
1982	<i>A Wife Like the Moon</i>
1982	<i>Grand Duo</i>
1982	<i>Outside Edge</i>
1983	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
1985	<i>Absurd Person Singular</i>
1987	<i>The Index Has Gone Fishing</i>
1987	<i>What the Butler Saw</i>
1991	<i>A Question of Attribution</i>
1994	<i>Fair Game</i>
1995	<i>Signs and Wonders</i>
1997	<i>Lord of Misrule</i>
1997	<i>Breaking the Code</i>

#### Films

*Laxdale Hall*, 1952; *Hobson's Choice*, 1953; *The Crowded Day*, 1954; *Room at the Top*, 1958; *The Waltz of the Toreadors*, 1962; *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, 1978; *The Boys from Brazil*, 1978; *The Wicked Lady*, 1982; *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne*, 1987; *Consuming Passions*, 1988; *A Chorus of Disapproval*, 1989; *Howards End*, 1992; *Second Best*, 1994; *Wolf*, 1994; *An Awfully Big Adventure*, 1995; *Stiff Upper Lips*, 1997; *Mad Cows*, 1998; *An Ideal Husband*, 1999; *The Ghost of Greville Lodge*, 1999.

#### Radio

*After Henry*; *Smelling of Roses*.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Promise*, 1967; *Hay Fever*, 1968; *It's a Two-Foot-Six-Inches-Above-the-Ground-World*, 1970; *The Wolf*, 1975; *Breezblock Park*, 1978; *Make and Break*, 1980; *An Evening with Queen Victoria*, 1980; *The Merchant of Venice*, 1981; *Quartermaine's Terms*, 1981; *Big in Brazil*, 1984; *When We Are Married*, 1986; *Single Spies*, 1988; *The School for Scandal*, 1990; *Long Day's Journey into Night*, 1991; *Mother Tongue*, 1992; *Happy Days*, 1993; *The Matchmaker*, 1993; *Staying On*, 1997; *The Birthday Party*, 1999; *The Cherry Orchard*, 2000.

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## Schaffner, Franklin (1920–1989)

U.S. Director

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Franklin Schaffner, one of several prominent directors during U.S. television's "golden age," worked on such prestigious anthology series as *Studio One* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]), *The Kaiser Aluminum Hour* (National Broadcasting Company [NBC]), *Playhouse 90* (CBS), and *The DuPont Show of the Week* (NBC) as well as Edward R. Murrow's *Person to Person* (CBS) and the drama series *The Defenders* (CBS). Schaffner later became known as an "actor's director," but his television work is known primarily for his unique use of the camera.

Schaffner attended Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he majored in government and English. A prize-winning orator, Schaffner appeared in several university productions and also worked part time as an announcer at local radio station WGAL. His plans to attend Columbia Law School were interrupted when he enlisted in the U.S. Navy during World War II. During the war, he served with amphibious forces in Europe and North Africa and, later, with the Office for Strategic Services in the Far East.

After the war, Schaffner first sought work as an actor. He was eventually hired as a spokesperson and copywriter for the peace organization Americans United for World Government. During this period, Schaffner met ABC Radio vice president Robert Saudek and worked as a writer for Saudek's radio series *World Security Workshop*. For that series, Schaffner wrote "The Cave," which was the series' final broadcast (May 8, 1947), and his experience on the series encouraged him to pursue a career in broadcasting.

Schaffner was hired as an assistant director on the radio documentary series *The March of Time* for \$35 per week. His work brought him to the attention of Robert Bendick, director of television news and special events for CBS. Bendick hired Schaffner in April 1948 as director of Brooklyn Dodgers baseball as well as other sporting events and public service programs. Schaffner's experience with the spontaneity and immediacy of live special events made him a logical choice as one of three directors for the 1948 Democratic and Republican political conventions held in Philadelphia.

By 1949, Schaffner was ready for the challenge of directing live dramatic programs. After directing *Wesley* (CBS, 1949), a live situation comedy produced by Worthington Miner, Schaffner alternated directing assignments with Paul Nickell on Miner's live anthology series *Studio One*. On that series Schaffner directed adaptations of classics as well as original productions, including the series' first color telecast, *The Boy Who Changed the World* (October 18, 1954). At a time when other directors used static cameras, Schaffner utilized a moving camera with long, graceful tracking shots. In addition to masking the limitations of the studio set, Schaffner's camera work drew audiences into the action of the play. In *Twelve Angry Men* (September 20, 1954), Schaffner designed a 360-degree shot



Franklin Schaffner.

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

that required orchestrated moves of the set's walls during the shot. Schaffner won a 1954 Emmy for his directorial work on *Twelve Angry Men*.

While working on the *Studio One* series, Schaffner drew on his news and public affairs experience to serve as producer and studio director for Edward R. Murrow's interview program *Person to Person* (CBS, 1953–61). Although the initial episodes utilized static camera setups for the remote interviews, Schaffner later incorporated tracking cameras that moved with guests to show their home and activities. Schaffner worked on the series until 1957, when more of his work originated from Los Angeles.

Schaffner drew on his news experience once again for *A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy* (NBC, February 14, 1962). Schaffner's moving camera and unique camera angles provided viewers with an intimate look at the White House renovation. He won a 1962 Directorial Achievement Award from the Directors Guild of America for his work on the program.

One of Schaffner's best-known works is the production of *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial* (*Ford Star Jubilee*, CBS, November 19, 1955), which was broadcast from the new, state-of-the-art CBS facilities at Television City in Los Angeles. The static action of the play is kept moving by Schaffner's mobile camera and dramatic crane shots. Schaffner was awarded two Emmys for his work on the teleplay: one for Best Director and another for Best Adaptation (with Paul Gregory). The show was originally broadcast in color, but only black-and-white kinescopes survive.

After years as a director of live television dramas, Schaffner directed various episodes of the dramatic series *The Defenders* (CBS, 1961–65), produced by Herbert Brodtkin and written by Reginald Rose. The series originated as a two-part episode on *Studio One* in 1957, directed by Robert Mulligan. Schaffner used film editing to create montages of busy New York scenes and unusual camera angles to concentrate on the characters. Schaffner won his fourth Emmy for his work on the series.

Schaffner left television to direct and produce feature films. His film work includes *Planet of the Apes* (1968); *Patton* (1970), for which he received the Academy Award and Directors Guild Award for Best Director; *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971); *Papillon* (1973); and *The Boys from Brazil* (1978). In 1977, Schaffner's alma mater, Franklin and Marshall College, established the Franklin J. Schaffner Film Library and presented the director with an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters. Schaffner died of cancer in Santa Monica, California, on July 2, 1989.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

*See also Defenders; "Golden Age" of Television; Person to Person; Playhouse 90; Studio One; Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy*

**Franklin J. Schaffner.** Born in Tokyo, Japan, May 30, 1920. Graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1942; studied law at Columbia University. Married Helen Jean Gilchrist, 1948; children: Jenny and Kate. Served in U.S. Navy, 1942–46. Began television career as assistant director, *March of Times* documentary series, 1947–48; television director, CBS, including such programs as *Studio One*, *Ford Theater*, and *Playhouse 90*, 1949–62; formed Unit Four production company with Worthington Miner, George Roy Hill, and Fielder Cook, 1955; directed *Advise and Consent* on Broadway, 1960; signed three-picture deal with 20th Century-Fox and directed first feature, 1961; TV counselor to President Kennedy, 1961–63; president, Gilchrist Productions, 1962–68; president, Franklin Schaffner Productions, 1969–89. Member: Directors Guild of America (president 1987–89); National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Phi Beta Kappa; board member: Center Theater Group of the Music Center, Los Angeles; Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences, National Council of the Arts, Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities; chairman, executive committee, American Film Institute. Recipient: Sylvania Award, 1953, 1954; Emmy Awards, 1954, 1955, 1962; Best Direction Award, Variety Critics Poll, 1960; Trustee Award (shared with Jacqueline Kennedy) for documentary *A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy*, American Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1962; Academy Award for Best Director, 1970; Directors Guild Award, 1970. Died in Santa Monica, California, July 2, 1989.

#### Television Series (selected)

1949	<i>Wesley</i>
1949–56	<i>Studio One</i>
1950–51	<i>Ford Theater</i>
1953–61	<i>Person to Person</i>
1955–56	<i>Ford Star Jubilee</i>
1956–57	<i>Kaiser Aluminum Hour</i> (also producer)
1957	<i>Producer's Showcase</i>
1957–60	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1959	<i>Ford Startime</i>
1961–65	<i>The Defenders</i>
1962–64	<i>DuPont Show of the Week</i> (also producer)

#### Television Special

1962	<i>A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy</i>
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Schaffner, Franklin

### Films

*A Summer World* (incomplete), 1961; *The Stripper*, 1963; *The Best Man*, 1964; *The War Lord*, 1965; *The Double Man* (also actor), 1967; *Planet of the Apes*, 1968; *Patton*, 1970; *Nicholas and Alexandra* (also producer), 1971; *Papillon* (also coproducer), 1973; *Islands in the Stream*, 1977; *The Boys from Brazil*, 1978; *Sphinx* (also executive producer), 1981; *Yes, Giorgio*, 1982; *Lionheart*, 1987; *Welcome Home*, 1989.

### Radio

*World Security Workshop*; *The March of Time*.

### Stage

*Advise and Consent*, 1960.

### Publications

"The Best and the Worst of It," *Films and Filming* (October 1964)  
"The TV Director: A Dialog," with Fielder Cook, in *The Progress in Television*, edited by William A. Bluem and Roger Manvell, 1967

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Lightman, Herb, "On Location with *Islands in the Stream*," *American Cinematographer* (November 1976)  
Pratley, Gerald, "Interview," *Cineaste* (Summer 1969)  
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## Schorr, Daniel (1916– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Daniel Schorr is an American television newsman whose aggressive investigative style of reporting made him, at various times in his career, the bane of the KGB, U.S. presidents from Dwight D. Eisenhower to Gerald Ford, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) chiefs, television executives, and his fellow TV newsmen and women. In 1976, he himself became "the story" when he published a previously suppressed congressional report on CIA assassinations.

Schorr was born and brought up in New York City and did his apprenticeship in print journalism on his high school and college newspapers. During his college years, he also worked on a number of small New York City papers, among them the *New York Journal-American*. Drafted in World War II, he served in Army intelligence. Following the war, he became a stringer for a number of U.S. newspapers and the Dutch news agency ANETA. His radio reports on floods in the

Netherlands brought him to the attention of Edward R. Murrow, who hired him for CBS News in 1953.

In 1955, Schorr was assigned to open the first Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) bureau in Moscow since 1947. His refusal to cooperate with Soviet censors soon earned him their disapproval, and when he returned home for a brief period at the end of 1957, the Soviets refused to permit him to return. For the next few years, Schorr was a roving diplomatic correspondent. In 1959, he provoked the first in a long series of incidents that aroused the ire of various presidents. Schorr's report of the impending resignation of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles so irked President Eisenhower that he denied the report, only to have it confirmed by his press secretary a week later.

During the Kennedy administration, the president asked CBS to transfer Schorr, then the station's correspondent in West Germany, because he felt that



Daniel Schorr.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

Schorr's interpretations of U.S. policy were pro-German. During the 1964 election, Schorr's report that the Republican presidential nominee Senator Barry Goldwater had formed an alliance with certain right-wing German politicians and was thinking of spending some time at Adolf Hitler's famous Berchtesgaden retreat caused a furor, and Schorr was ordered to make a "clarification."

In 1966, Schorr returned to the United States without a formal assignment. He created his own beat, however, by investigating the promise and reality of the "Great Society" for the *CBS Evening News*. In this role, he turned in excellent reports on poverty, education, pollution, and health care. His interest in health care led to a provocative 1970 contribution to the documentary series, *CBS Reports*. That same year, the program "Don't Get Sick in America" appeared as a book from Aurora Publishers.

Schorr's muckraking reporting during the Nixon administration earned him a prominent place on Nixon's so-called enemies list. In addition, Schorr's subsequent reporting on the Watergate scandal garnered him Emmys for Outstanding Achievement within a Regularly Scheduled News Program in 1972, 1973, and 1974.

Following Nixon's resignation, Schorr was assigned to cover stories involving possible criminal CIA activities at home and abroad. He soon achieved a scoop

based on a tip he received about an admission by President Ford regarding CIA assassination attempts. The comment had come in an off-the-record conversation with the editors of the *New York Times*. Schorr's report forced the Rockefeller Commission investigating the CIA to broaden its inquiry and prompted an exclamation from former CIA chief Richard Helms, referring to him as "Killer Schorr."

Commenting on his journalistic method, more akin to print journalism than conventional television journalism, Schorr has said,

My typical way of operating is not to stick a camera and a microphone in somebody's face and let him say whatever self-serving thing he wants to say, but to spend a certain amount of time getting the basic information, as though I was going to write a newspaper story. . . . [I] may end up putting a mike in somebody's face, but it is usually for the final and hopefully embarrassing question.

Soon after making these remarks, Schorr found himself at the center of a huge controversy involving both journalistic ethics and constitutional issues. Schorr came into possession of the Pike Congressional Committee's report on illegal CIA and Federal Bureau of Investigation activities. Congress, however, had voted not to make the report public. In hopes of being able to publish the report, Schorr contacted Clay Felker of the *Village Voice*, who agreed to pay him for it and to publish it. To Schorr's surprise, instead of supporting him, many of his colleagues and editorialists around the country excoriated him for selling the document. Making matters worse was Schorr's initial reaction, which was to shift suspicion from himself as the person who leaked the documents to his CBS colleague Lesley Stahl.

Schorr managed to turn opinion around when, after being subpoenaed to appear before a House Ethics Committee, he eloquently defended himself on the grounds that he would not reveal a source. While this put off the congressional bloodhounds, it certainly did not satisfy some of the wolves at CBS, among whom was Chairman William S. Paley, who wanted Schorr fired. Schorr and CBS news executives resisted until the story of the internal dissension over Schorr's conduct broke during an interview he did with Mike Wallace on *60 Minutes*. As a result, Schorr resigned from CBS News in September 1976. A year later, he wrote about it in his autobiographical account *Clearing the Air*.

Subsequently, Schorr toured on the lecture circuit, taught journalism courses, and wrote a syndicated newspaper column. In 1979, hoping to give his new Cable News Network (CNN) instant journalistic credibility, Ted Turner hired Schorr as a commentator.

Schorr, Daniel

However, in 1985, CNN refused to renew his contract. Schorr commented at the time that he had been "forced out" because "they wanted to be rid of what they considered a loose cannon." Since 1985, Schorr has been a senior news analyst for National Public Radio. His reporting and commentary are heard on *All Things Considered* and *Weekend Edition*. In 2001, he wrote a second volume of autobiography, *Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism*.

Schorr represents the traditions of investigative print journalism transferred to the world of TV reporting. His work, though it has sometimes overstepped boundaries, is in vivid contrast to the often image-conscious attitudes of contemporary TV news.

ALBERT AUSTER

See also **Cable News Network; Columbia Broadcasting System; News, Network**

**Daniel Schorr.** Born in New York City, August 31, 1916. Educated at the College of the City of New York, B.S. 1939. Married: Lisbeth Bamberger, 1967; children: Jonathan and Lisa. Served in U.S. Army, stationed at Camp Polk, Louisiana, and at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, 1943–45. Worked as a stringer for the *Bronx Home News*, the *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, and several metropolitan dailies, 1930s; assistant editor, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1939; worked for the *New York Journal-American*, 1940; New York news editor, ANETA (Dutch news agency), 1941–43, 1945–48; freelance journalist, 1948–53; Washington correspondent and special assignments, CBS News, Latin America and Europe, 1953–55; reopened CBS Moscow Bureau, 1955; roving assignments, United States and Europe, 1958–60; chief, CBS News Bureau, Germany, Central Europe, 1960–66; CBS News Washington correspondent, 1966–76; Regents professor, University of California at Berkeley, 1977; columnist, *Des Moines Register-Tribune* Syndicate, 1977–80; senior Washing-

ton correspondent, CNN, 1979–85; senior analyst, National Public Radio, since 1985. Member: American Federation of Radio-TV Artists; New York City Council on Foreign Relations. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1972–74; Peabody Award for Lifetime of Uncompromising Reporting of Highest Integrity, 1992; inducted into the Society of Professional Journalists Hall of Fame, 1991.

#### Television

Various CBS News programs, 1953–76 (correspondent)

CNN news programs, 1979–85 (senior Washington correspondent)

#### Radio

National Public Radio shows, 1985– .

#### Publications

*Don't Get Sick in America!*, 1970

*Clearing the Air*, 1977

"Introduction," *Taking the Stand: The Testimony of Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North*, 1987

*Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage*, with Lisbeth B. Schorr, 1988

*Forgive Us Our Press Passes: Selected Works by Daniel Schorr, 1972–1998*, 1998

*Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism*, 2001

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Smith, Sally Bedell, *In All His Glory: William S. Paley, the Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990

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## Schwartz, Sherwood (1916– )

U.S. Producer, Writer

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Sherwood Schwartz began his professional writing career in radio in 1939, working for *The Pepsodent Show Starring Bob Hope*, where his older brother Al was also a writer. During World War II, Schwartz served with the Armed Forces Radio Service, writing

for a variety of programs. Following the war, he returned to California and radio, writing for *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* and *The Beulah Show*. During the 1950s, when many radio performers and programs migrated to television, Schwartz joined the

move, working on *I Married Joan* and *The Red Skelton Show*. His work on the latter was recognized annually by the Writer's Guild from 1955 to 1960 and included the only writing award ever given for pantomime, for "Freddie's Thanksgiving," in which not a single word was spoken. The guild again recognized his work in 1963–64 for the *Lucille Ball Comedy Hour*. Schwartz was also honored by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Nominated for Emmy Awards in 1961 and 1962 for Outstanding Writing Achievement in Comedy, he received the award in 1961.

In the early 1960s, in addition to writing for *Skelton*, Schwartz also worked on the first season of *My Favorite Martian*. It was during this time that he developed and pitched the concept for *Gilligan's Island*, his first foray as a series creator/producer. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) was interested, and the series became a joint production of CBS, United Artists, and Phil Silvers's Gladysya Productions. The pilot was shot in Hawaii in November 1963 (and interrupted by the assassination of President Kennedy), but three different versions were rejected by CBS. Having disavowed himself from the original cut of the pilot, Schwartz persisted and received permission (but no funding) from United Artists to use the footage and recut the pilot yet a fourth time. This was the only version to include the opening theme, for which Schwartz wrote the lyrics. In 60 seconds, the song provided exposition—which Schwartz had argued all along was crucial to the program—to explain why the castaways remained on the island week after week. This version of the pilot was delivered to CBS the Friday before the network was to announce its fall 1964 schedule; CBS executives were sufficiently impressed with Schwartz's version to run audience tests over the weekend, and as a result of those tests, *Gilligan's Island* was added to the CBS schedule. In each of the next three seasons the program aired in a different time period and on a different night, but it always won its time slot and was often in the top ten of the national Nielsen ratings. Although renewed for a fourth season, *Gilligan's Island* was later dropped to make room for *Gunsmoke*, which had originally been cut from CBS's 1967–68 schedule. Since the end of its prime-time network run, *Gilligan's Island* has been one of the most successful programs in the history of television syndication. Constantly in reruns, it was first a staple on local broadcast stations as after-school fare for children and later on cable channels. The show spawned two animated series (*The New Adventures of Gilligan*, American Broadcasting Company [ABC], 1974–77 and *Gilligan's Planet*, ABC, 1982–83) and three television movies.

Schwartz's second major series contribution to television came two years after *Gilligan*. With an idea springing in part from an article he read in 1966, indicating that more than 20 percent of all marriages included children from a previous marriage, he created *The Brady Bunch*. Once again Schwartz wrote the theme song lyrics, this time for the story of "a lovely lady" and "a man named Brady" and their two sets of kids. He pitched the program to all three networks, and it was rejected. Following the box office success of the Henry Fonda/Lucille Ball film *Yours, Mine and Ours* in 1968, however, (a film developed after Schwartz created his TV concept), the show became part of ABC's 1969 fall schedule. The program was not a huge ratings success, generally falling in the 20 to 30 range in the national Nielsen ratings, but it did attract the young viewers ABC was seeking.

While Schwartz's programs were dismissed as typical lowbrow television, recent critical views have cast his work in a more favorable light. At a time when the family was the basis for the typical TV sitcom, *Gilligan's Island* offered a different sort of family (Schwartz called it a "social microcosm" in his pitch to CBS) years before the celebrated ensemble/workplace sitcoms of the 1970s, such as *M\*A\*S\*H* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Schwartz also pioneered the sitcom reunion movie concept, used to great success with both *Gilligan's Island* (three movies) and *The Brady Bunch*. The characters/series concept of the latter proved to be very resilient, extended to a range of follow-ups on all four major networks, including a variety series (*The Brady Bunch Hour*, ABC, 1977), a "life after" series (*The Brady Brides*), a holiday special (*A Very Brady Christmas*), an hour-long dramatic series (*The Bradys*), and a made-for-TV movie (*The Brady Bunch in the White House*) as well as a stage adaptation (*The Real Live Brady Bunch*, 1990–94), and feature films (*The Brady Bunch Movie* and *A Very Brady Sequel*). Schwartz's *Big John, Little John* series was also notable for bringing the nonanimated/filmed sitcom to Saturday morning children's television well before *Pee-Wee's Playhouse* and *Saved by the Bell*.

J.C. TURNER

See also *Brady Bunch, The; Red Skelton Show, The*

**Sherwood Schwartz.** Born in Passaic, New Jersey, November 14, 1916. Married sculptor Mildred Seidman, 1941. Children: Don (M.D.), Lloyd (writer, producer, frequent collaborator), Ross (entertainment attorney), Hope Juber (actress, producer, writer). Brothers: Al Schwartz (writer) and Elroy Schwartz (writer, producer). Bachelor's degree (premed), New York University; master's degree (biological sciences), University of Southern California. Writer in Television

from 1952; producer in television from 1963. Emmy Award, Outstanding Writing Achievement in Comedy, *The Red Skelton Show*, 1961; nominated for the same program again in 1962; Writer's Guild Awards, 1955–60, 1963–64; Lifetime Achievement Award from DeWitt Clinton High School (New York); R.P. Vision Award and the Spotlight Award from the Beverly Hills Theatre Guild. Member: Writers Guild of America, Dramatists Guild of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP).

#### Television Series

- 1952–55 *I Married Joan* (writer)  
 1951–70 *The Red Skelton Show* (writer)  
 1963–66 *My Favorite Martian* (writer)  
 1964–67 *Gilligan's Island* (creator, executive producer, writer, theme lyrics)  
 1966–67 *It's About Time* (executive producer, writer, theme lyrics)  
 1969–74 *The Brady Bunch* (executive producer, writer, theme lyrics)  
 1972–74 *The Brady Kids*, animated (executive producer)  
 1973–74 *Dusty's Trail*, syndicated (executive producer, writer, theme lyrics)  
 1976–77 *Big John, Little John* (executive producer, writer, theme song)  
 1981 *Harper Valley PTA/Harper Valley* (executive producer, writer)  
 1981 *The Brady Girls Get Married/The Brady Brides* (executive producer, writer)  
 1986–87 *Together We Stand/Nothing Is Easy* (executive producer, writer)  
 1990 *The Bradys* (executive producer, writer)

#### Pilots and Television Specials

- 1959 *The Red Skelton Chevy Special* (writer)  
 1963 *Lucille Ball Comedy Hour* (writer)  
 1974 *Kelly's Kids* (executive producer, writer)

- 1983 *The Invisible Woman* (executive producer, writer, theme)  
 1982 *Scamps* (executive producer, writer)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1978 *Rescue from Gilligan's Island* (executive producer, writer)  
 1979 *The Castaways on Gilligan's Island* (executive producer, writer)  
 1981 *The Harlem Globetrotters on Gilligan's Island* (writer)  
 1988 *A Very Brady Christmas* (executive producer, writer)  
 2002 *The Brady Bunch in the White House* (executive consultant)

#### Films

*The Brady Bunch Movie*, 1995 (producer); *A Very Brady Sequel*, 1996 (producer)

#### Stage

*Mr. & Mrs.*, 1962 (producer); *Gilligan's Island: The Musical*, 1992–94 (producer, writer); *Rockers*, 1993 (producer); *The Trial of Othello*, 2000 (producer)

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## Science Fiction Programs

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Although not one of television's predominant genres in terms of overall programming hours, science fiction nonetheless spans the history of the medium, beginning in the late 1940s as low-budget programs aimed primarily at juvenile audiences and developing, by the turn of the 21st century, into a genre particularly im-

portant to syndication and cable markets. For many years, conventional industry wisdom considered science fiction to be a genre ill suited to television. Aside from attracting a very limited demographic group for advertisers, science fiction presented a problematic genre in that its futuristic worlds and speculative story-





*Captain Midnight*, Richard Webb (1954–56), Sid Melton; series ran 1954–58.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

lines often challenged both the budgets and the narrative constraints of the medium, limitations especially true in television's first decades. Over the years, however, producers were to discover that science fiction could attract an older and more desirable audience and that such audiences, although often still limited, were in many cases incredibly devoted to their favorite programs. As a consequence, the 1980s and 1990s saw a tremendous increase in science fiction programming in the United States, especially in markets outside the traditional three broadcast networks (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and National Broadcasting Company [NBC]).

As a children's genre in the late 1940s and early 1950s, science fiction programming most often followed a serial format, appearing in the afternoon on Saturdays or at the beginning of prime time during the weeknight schedule. At times playing in several installments per week, these early examples of the genre featured the adventures of male protagonists working to maintain law and order in outer space. These early "space westerns" included *Buck Rogers* (ABC, 1950–51), *Captain Video and His Video Rangers* (Dumont, 1949–54), *Flash Gordon* (syndicated, 1953),

*Space Patrol* (ABC, 1951–52), and *Tom Corbett, Space Cadet* (CBS/ABC/NBC, 1950–52). Each series pitted its dynamic hero against a variety of intergalactic menaces, be they malevolent alien conquerors, evil mad scientists, or mysterious forces of the universe. All these programs were produced on shoestring budgets, but this did not stop each series from equipping its hero with a fantastic array of futuristic gadgetry, including radio helmets, ray guns, and *Captain Video's* famous "decoder ring." Viewers at home could follow along with their heroes on the quest for justice by ordering plastic replicas of these gadgets through popular premium campaigns. Of these first examples of televised science fiction, *Captain Video* was particularly popular, airing Monday through Friday in half-hour (and, later, 15-minute) installments. One of the first "hits" of television, the program served for many years as a financial lynchpin for the struggling Dumont network and left the air only when the network itself collapsed in 1954.

As was typical of much early programming for children, *Captain Video* concluded each episode with its hero delivering a lecture on moral values, good citizenship, or other uplifting qualities for his young audience to emulate. Such gestures, however, did not spare *Captain Video* and his space brethren from becoming the focus of the first of many major public controversies over children's television. In a theme that would become familiar over the history of the medium, critics attacked these shows for their "addictive" nature, their perceived excesses of violence, and their ability to "overexcite" a childish imagination. In this respect, early science fiction on television became caught up in a larger anxiety over children's culture in the 1950s, a debate that culminated with the 1954 publication of Dr. Fredric Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent*, an attack on the comic book industry that eventually led to a series of congressional hearings on the imagined links between popular culture and juvenile delinquency.

In early television, science fiction programming aimed at older audiences was rarer, confined almost entirely to dramatic anthology series such as *Lights Out* (NBC, 1949–52), *Out There* (CBS, 1951–52), and *Tales of Tomorrow* (ABC, 1951–53). As with other dramatic anthologies of the era, these programs depended heavily on adaptations of preexisting stories, borrowing from the work of such noted science fiction writers as Jules Verne, H.G. Wells, and Ray Bradbury. *Tales of Tomorrow* even attempted a half-hour adaptation of Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein*. When not producing adaptations, these anthologies did provide space for original and at times innovative teleplays. Interestingly, however, as science fiction became an increas-

ingly important genre in Hollywood during the mid- to late 1950s, especially in capturing the burgeoning teenage market, its presence on American television declined sharply. One exception was *Science Fiction Theater* (1955–57), a syndicated series that presented speculative stories based on contemporary topics of scientific research.

Science fiction's eventual return to network airwaves coincided with the rising domestic tensions and Cold War anxieties associated with the rhetoric of the Kennedy administration's "New Frontier." As a response to the Soviet launch of *Sputnik*, for example, CBS's *Men into Space* (1959–60) participated in the larger cultural project of explicitly promoting interest in the emerging "space race" while also celebrating American technology and heroism that had been threatened by the Soviets' success. Other series were more complex in their response to the social and technological conflicts of the New Frontier era. In particular, *The Twilight Zone* (CBS, 1959–64) and *The Outer Limits* (ABC, 1963–65), programs that would become two of the genre's most celebrated series, frequently engaged in critical commentary on the three pillars of New Frontier ideology: space, suburbia, and the superpowers.

Hosted and for the most part scripted by Rod Serling, a highly acclaimed writer of live television drama in the 1950s, *The Twilight Zone* was an anthology series that, while not exclusively based in science fiction, frequently turned to the genre to frame allegorical tales of the human condition and the national character of the United States. Some of the most memorable episodes of the series used science fiction to defamiliarize and question the conformist values of postwar suburbia as well as the rising paranoia of Cold War confrontation. Of these, "The Monsters Are Due on Maple Street" was perhaps most emblematic of these critiques. In this episode, a "typical" American neighborhood is racked with suspicion and fear when a delusion spreads that the community has been invaded by aliens. Neighbor turns against neighbor to create panic until at the end, in a "twist" ending that would become a trademark of the series, the viewer discovers that invading aliens *have* actually arrived on Earth. Their plan is to plant such rumors in every American town in order to tear these communities apart, thus laying the groundwork for a full-scale alien conquest.

More firmly grounded in science fiction was *The Outer Limits*, an hour-long anthology series known primarily for its menagerie of gruesome monsters. Much more sinister in tone than Serling's *Twilight Zone*, *The Outer Limits* also engaged in allegories about space, science, and American society. However, in an era marked by the almost uniform celebration of

American science and technology, this series stood out for its particularly bleak vision of technocracy and the future, using an anthology format to present a variety of dystopic parables and narratives of annihilation. Of the individual episodes, perhaps most celebrated was Harlan Ellison's award-winning time-travel story "Demon with a Glass Hand," an episode that remains one of the most narratively sophisticated and willfully obtuse hours of television ever produced.

While *The Twilight Zone* and *The Outer Limits* remain the most memorable examples of the genre in this era, science fiction television of the mid-1960s was dominated, in terms of total programming hours, by the work of producer Irwin Allen. Allen's series, aimed primarily at juvenile audiences on ABC, included *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea* (ABC, 1964–68), *Lost in Space* (CBS, 1965–68), *Time Tunnel* (ABC, 1966–67), and *Land of the Giants* (ABC, 1968–70). Each series used a science fiction premise to motivate familiar action-adventure stories. Of these, *Lost in Space* has been the most enduring in both syndication and national memory. Centering on young Will Robinson and his friend the Robot, the series adapted the Swiss Family Robinson story to outer space, chronicling a wandering family's adventures as they tried to return to Earth.

Many other television series of the 1960s, while not explicitly science fiction, nevertheless incorporated elements of space and futuristic technology into their story worlds. Following the success of *The Flintstones*, a prime-time animated series about a prehistoric family, ABC premiered *The Jetsons* (1962–63), a cartoon about a futuristic family of the next century. The sitcom *My Favorite Martian* (CBS, 1963–66), meanwhile, paired an Earthling newspaper reporter with a Martian visitor, while *I Dream of Jeannie* (NBC, 1965–70) matched a NASA astronaut with a beautiful genie. The camp hit *Batman* (ABC, 1966–68) routinely featured all manner of innovative "bat" technologies that allowed its hero to outwit Gotham City's criminals. Also prominent in this era was a cycle of spy and espionage series inspired by the success of the James Bond films, each incorporating a variety of secret advanced technologies. Of this cycle, the British-produced series *The Prisoner* (CBS, 1968–69) was the most firmly based in science fiction, telling the Orwellian story of a former secret agent stripped of his identity and trapped on an island community run as a futuristic police state.

By far the best-known and widely viewed science fiction series of the 1960s (and probably in all of television) was *Star Trek* (NBC, 1966–69), a series described by its creator, Gene Roddenberry, as "*Wagon Train* in space." Although set in the 23rd century, the

world of *Star Trek* was firmly grounded in the concerns of 1960s America. Intermixing action-adventure with social commentary, the series addressed such issues as racism, war, sexism, and even the era's flourishing hippie movement. A moderately successful series during its three-year network run, *Star Trek* would become through syndication perhaps the most actively celebrated program in television history, inspiring a whole subculture of fans (known variously as "trekkies" or "trekkers"), whose devotion to the series led to fan conventions, book series, and eventually a commercial return of the *Star Trek* universe in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s through motion pictures and television spin-offs.

Like *Star Trek*, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) serial *Doctor Who* also attracted a tremendous fan following. In production from 1963 to 1989, *Doctor Who* stands as the longest-running continuous science fiction series in all of television. A time-travel adventure story aimed primarily at children, the series proved popular enough in the United Kingdom to inspire two motion pictures pitting the Doctor against his most famous nemesis—the Daleks: *Doctor Who and the Daleks* (1965) and *Daleks: Invasion Earth 2150 AD* (1966). The series was later imported to the United States, where it aired primarily on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) affiliates and quickly became an international cult favorite.

While most television science fiction in the 1950s and 1960s had followed the adventures of Earthlings in outer space, increasing popular interest in unidentified flying objects (UFOs) led to the production, in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, of a handful of programs based on the premise of secretive and potentially hostile aliens visiting Earth. *The Invaders* (ABC, 1967–68) chronicled one man's struggle to expose an alien invasion plot, while *UFO* (syndicated, 1972) told of a secret organization dedicated to repelling an imminent UFO attack. Veteran producer Jack Webb debuted *Project UFO* (NBC) in 1978, which investigated, in Webb's characteristically terse style, unexplained UFO cases taken from the files of the U.S. Air Force. Such series fed a growing interest in the early 1970s with all manner of paranormal and extraterrestrial phenomena, ranging from Erich von Daniken's incredibly popular speculations on ancient alien contact in *Chariots of the Gods* to accounts of the mysterious forces in the "Bermuda Triangle." Such topics from the fringes of science were the focus of the syndicated documentary series *In Search Of* (syndicated, 1976), hosted by *Star Trek*'s Leonard Nimoy.

For the most part, however, science fiction once again went into decline during the 1970s as examples

of the genre became more sporadic and short lived, many series running only a season or less. Series such as *Planet of the Apes* (CBS, 1974) and *Logan's Run* (CBS, 1977–78) attempted to adapt popular motion pictures to prime-time television but with little success. A much more prominent and expensive failure was the British series *Space: 1999* (syndicated, 1975). Starring Martin Landau and Barbara Bain, the program followed a group of lunar colonists who are sent hurtling through space when a tremendous explosion drives the moon out of its orbit. The series was promoted in syndication as the most expensive program of its kind ever produced, but despite such publicity, the series went out of production after only 48 episodes.

Two of the more successful science fiction series of the era were *The Six Million Dollar Man* (ABC, 1975–78) and its spin-off *The Bionic Woman* (ABC/NBC, 1976–78). The "six million dollar man" was Lt. Steve Austin, a test pilot who was severely injured in a crash and then reconstructed with cybernetic limbs and powers that made him an almost superhuman "bionic man." Austin's girlfriend, also severely injured (in a separate incident) and rebuilt (by the same doctors), debuted her own show the following season (complete with a "bionic" dog). The moderate success of these two series sparked a cycle of programs targeted at children featuring superheroes with superpowers of one kind or another, including *The Invisible Man* (NBC, 1975–76), *Gemini Man* (NBC, 1976), *Man from Atlantis* (NBC, 1977–78), *Wonder Woman* (ABC/CBS, 1976–79), and *The Incredible Hulk* (CBS, 1978–82).

Also moderately successful in the late 1970s were a pair of series designed to capitalize on the extraordinary popularity of George Lucas's 1977 blockbuster film *Star Wars*. Both *Battlestar Galactica* (ABC, 1978–80), starring *Bonanza*'s patriarch Lorne Greene, and *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century* (NBC, 1979–81) spent large amounts of money on the most complex special effects yet seen on television, all in an attempt to re-create the dazzling hardware, fast-paced space battles, and realistic aliens of Lucas's film. Less successful in riding *Star Wars*' coattails was the parodic sitcom *Quark* (NBC, 1978), the story of a garbage scow in outer space.

In England, the 1970s saw the debut of another BBC-produced series that would go on to acquire an international audience. *Blake's Seven* (BBC, 1978–81) was created by Terry Nation, the same man who introduced the Daleks to the world of *Doctor Who* in the early 1960s. Distinguished by a much darker tone than most television science fiction, *Blake's Seven* followed the adventures of a band of rebels in space struggling to overthrow an oppressive regime.

Alien invasion was once again the theme on American television in 1983, when NBC programmed a high-profile miniseries that pitted Earth against a race of lizard-like creatures who, though friendly at first, were actually intent on using Earth's population for food. *V* (NBC, 1984–85) proved popular enough to return in a sequel miniseries the following year, which in turn led to its debut as a weekly series in the 1984–85 season. More provocative was ABC's short-lived *Max Headroom* (1987), television's only attempt at a sub-genre of science fiction prominent in the 1980s known as "cyberpunk." "Max," who through commercials and a talk show became a pop cult phenomenon in his own right, was the computerized consciousness of TV reporter Edison Carter. Evoking the same "tech noir" landscape and thematic concerns of such cinematic contemporaries as *Blade Runner*, *Robocop*, and *The Running Man*, Max and Edison worked together to expose corporate corruption and injustice in the nation's dark, cybernetic, and oppressively urbanized future.

Less weighty than Max but certainly more successful in their network runs were two series that, while not necessarily true "science fiction," utilized fantastic premises and attracted devoted cult audiences. *Beauty and the Beast* (CBS, 1987–90) was a romantic fantasy about a woman in love with a lion-like creature who lived in a secret subterranean community beneath New York City, while *Quantum Leap* (NBC, 1989–93) followed Dr. Sam Beckett as he "leapt" in time from body to body, occupying different consciousnesses in different historical periods. The series was less concerned with the "science" of time travel, however, than with the moral lessons to be learned or taught by seeing the world through another person's eyes.

By far the most pivotal series in rekindling science fiction as a viable television genre was *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (syndicated, 1987–94), produced by Paramount and supervised by the creator of the original *Star Trek*, Gene Roddenberry. Already benefiting from the tremendous built-in audience of *Star Trek* fans eager for a spin-off of the old series, Paramount was able to bypass the networks and take the show directly into first-run syndication, where it quickly became the highest-rated syndicated show ever. In many ways, *Next Generation* had more in common with other dramatic series of the 1980s and 1990s than it did with the original series. In this new incarnation, *Star Trek* became an ensemble drama structured much like *Hill St. Blues* or *St. Elsewhere*, featuring an expanded cast involved in both episodic and serial adventures. Broadcast in conjunction with a series of cinematic releases featuring the original *Star Trek* characters, *Next Generation* helped solidify *Star Trek* as a major economic and cultural institution in the 1980s and 1990s.

After a seven-year run, Paramount retired the series in 1994 to convert the *Next Generation* universe into a cinematic property, but not before the studio debuted a second spin-off, *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (syndicated, 1993–99), which proved to be a more claustrophobic and less popular reading of the *Star Trek* universe. A third spin-off, *Star Trek: Voyager* (United Paramount Network [UPN], 1995–2001), served as the anchor in Paramount's bid to create its own television network in 1995.

The success of the *Star Trek* series in first-run syndication reflected the changing marketplace of television in the 1980s and 1990s. As the three major networks continued to lose their audience base to the competition of independents, cable, and new networks such as FOX, The WB, and UPN, the entire industry sought out new niche markets to target in order to maintain their audiences. The *Star Trek* franchise's ability to deliver quality demographics and dedicated viewership inspired a number of producers to move into science fiction during this period. These series ranged from the literate serial drama *Babylon 5* (syndicated, 1994–98) to the bizarre police burlesque of *Space Precinct* (syndicated, 1994). Also successful in syndication were "fantasy" series such as *Highlander* (syndicated, 1992–97) and *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (syndicated, 1995–99).

For the most part, the three major networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) stayed away from science fiction in the 1990s, the exceptions being NBC's *Earth 2* (1994–95) and *Seaquest DSV* (1993), the latter produced by Steven Spielberg's Amblin Entertainment. By far the most active broadcaster in developing science fiction in the 1990s was the FOX network, which used the genre to target even more precisely its characteristically younger demographics. FOX productions included *Alien Nation* (1989–91), *M.A.N.T.I.S.* (1994–95), *Sliders* (1995), *VR.5* (1995), and *Space: Above and Beyond* (1995–96). FOX's most successful foray into science fiction, however, was *The X-Files* (1993–2002). A surprise hit for the network, *The X-Files* combined horror, suspense, and intrigue in stories about two FBI agents assigned to unsolved cases involving seemingly paranormal phenomena. Although the series originally centered on a single "spook" of the week for each episode, it eventually developed a compelling serial narrative line concerning a massive government conspiracy to cover up evidence of extraterrestrial contact. Like so many other science fiction programs, the series quickly developed a large and organized fan community. After the departure in May 2001 of series colead David Duchovny and a failed attempt at a spin-off in *The Lone Gunmen* (FOX, 2001), *The X-Files* faltered into cancellation at

the end of the 2001–02 season. FOX, however, remains the only U.S. network to include science fiction as a significant component in its marketing strategy. Working with *The Simpsons* creator Matt Groening, the network has enjoyed success with the animated sci-fi comedy *Futurama*. FOX also tapped the futuristic talents of director James Cameron for the postapocalyptic action series *Dark Angel* (2000–02). The only other network with a continuing interest in science fiction has been UPN, courting younger viewers with the teen-centered *Roswell* (which debuted on The WB in 1999 before transferring to UPN for its third and final season, 2001–02) and a revamped version of the *Star Trek* franchise, *Enterprise* (2001–).

At the end of the 20th century, television science fiction had amassed a sizable enough program history and a large enough viewing audience to support a new cable network. A product of the entertainment industry's overall move toward niche marketing, The Sci-Fi channel debuted in 1992. Although the network began with only a library of old movies and television reruns, it soon became a significant source of production for both cable series and made-for-cable movies. Balancing its schedule with original productions, "classics" such as *Star Trek* and *The Twilight Zone*, and series in the related genres of horror and the supernatural, the Sci-Fi channel has quite successfully transformed its ratings and demographics to become a major network in basic cable.

JEFFREY SCONCE

*See also Captain Video and His Video Rangers; Dark Shadows; Doctor Who; Hitch-Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy, The; Max Headroom; Nation, Terry; Per-twee, John; Prisoner, The; Roddenberry, Gene; Serling, Rod; Star Trek; Troughton, Patrick; Twilight Zone, The*

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## Science Programs

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When most people consider the history and development of scientific television programming in the United States, they are quick to mention the popular 1950s show *Watch Mr. Wizard*, one of the first attempts to bring science to the general public through the

medium of television. Forty-three years later, in 1994, Don Herbert, creator of the *Mr. Wizard* series, launched a new show titled *Teacher to Teacher with Mr. Wizard*. The enduring image of Herbert as "Mr. Wizard" is a testament to the presence of science-

oriented programming throughout the history of television.

Early growth in the area of scientific television programming closely paralleled increasing public awareness of science and technology in everyday life. In an era defined by both the Cold War and the growth of mass media, issues of science and public policy played out on the public airwaves. Eventually, television was seen as the perfect vehicle through which to promote widespread scientific knowledge among the public. Over the years, scientific television programming evolved to serve three primary goals—to entertain, to educate, and, ultimately, to bridge the gap between the general public and the scientific community. In order to achieve such goals, however, sustainable funding had to be secured.

In the United States, scientific television was a key element in early initiatives of the National Science Foundation (NSF) to promote a public understanding of science. Through station by station syndication, the NSF funded several short programs that aired on commercial television. In the 1970s, *Closeups*, produced by Herbert, introduced children to scientific concepts through everyday objects. During this same period, Herbert also developed *How About*, a syndicated scientific news report aimed at adults. More recently, syndication has facilitated the entry of independently funded and produced scientific programs into commercial formats.

In the realm of public television, the NSF invested in the series *Nova*. However, the controversial subject matter engaged in early *Nova* programs tested the NSF's funding procedures. In an attempt to balance the interests of a free press and those of the scientific community, the NSF established a grant-approval system mediated by outside advisers, most often experts in the field addressed in the program. With "balanced, objective, and accurate" programming in mind, the outside adviser has become a standard feature of most scientific television production regardless of funding sources.

The success of *Nova* sparked an ongoing relationship between the NSF and public broadcasting, one that positioned public television at the forefront of scientific programming. This coalition was responsible for the development of several science based specials, such as *The Mind*, and a myriad of children's shows, including *3-2-1 Contact* and *Square One TV*. In many ways, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) has forged its identity around science programs, and it shows every indication of continuing its commitment to scientific television in the future.

Alongside the ongoing efforts of the NSF, today's multifaceted television market has led to the develop-

ment of scientific programming in unanticipated arenas, most notably cable. Cable networks have capitalized on the entertainment value of science and technology to become prolific purveyors of both episodic and news-oriented scientific television shows, such as *Science and Technology Week* (Cable News Network [CNN]) and *Crocodile Hunter* (Animal Planet). Recently, the profusion of cable channels has allowed for high degrees of specialization in programming. While the Discovery channel continues to provide a broad spectrum of science programming, its related channels—including Animal Planet, The Learning Channel, and Discovery Wings—are more narrowly focused in terms of content and format. Such specialization reveals how cable has directed its attention to professionals, offering focused "edutainment" that can cultivate audiences among scientists and non-scientists alike.

Current scientific television programs in the United States can be divided into three basic categories: commercial programming, children's programming, and PBS programming. These categories often overlap. For example, many children's science programs are produced by and aired on PBS. While such categories are useful in providing basic understanding of the focus of certain programs, they are by no means a definitive description of their content.

Most commercial science programming is developed by either network or syndicated sources. The majority of programs target adult audiences, and the topics of the episodes vary greatly. Most of the programs in this category are series, with each episode focusing on a specific topic, such as new technology, the universe, aeronautics, zoology, or genetic engineering. A few, such as the *NASA Space Films* (1990), are dedicated to one specific topic. Almost all entries in this category include a focus on "science and technology" in their program description. In addition to several already mentioned, programs in this category include *Universe* (1979), *Introducing Biology* (1980s), *Omni: Visions of Tomorrow* (1985), *Eye on Science* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], 1981–85), *The Science Show* (1990–93), *World of Discovery* (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], 1990–94), *A View of the World* (1993), *Quantum* (1993), *Sci-Tech TV* (1994), *Hard Wired* (2001), and *Science Daily* (2001).

Although it has been outstripped by recent growth in adult programming, children's scientific television programming continues to be a central focus of the public understanding movement. Since the implementation of the Children's Television Act of 1990, U.S. programmers have been required to air a certain amount of educational material during daytime slots,

when children are prime viewers. Several shows, such as Walt Disney's *Bill Nye the Science Guy* (1993–94), were a direct response to this act. Other science programs targeting children and/or teens have included, of course, *Watch Mr. Wizard* (1951) as well as *Newton's Apple* (1982–88), *The Voyage of the Mimi* (1984), *Beakman's World* (1992), and *Timehoppers* (1992). Increasingly, programming is developed specifically for educational settings. For example, the NSF, PBS, and IBM have funded *A Science Odyssey*, a series of five two-hour programs about the history of scientific discovery in the 20th century.

Science television programming produced and aired by PBS also encompasses a wide range of topics. Popular series such as *Nova*, *Nature*, and *Scientific American Frontiers* focus on a variety of topics, including nature, medicine, and technology. A plethora of specials or short-term programs, such as *Future Quest*, *Evolution*, *Savage Earth*, and *Stephen Hawking's Universe*, anchor the remainder of PBS science programming.

Clearly, cable is positioned to become a front-runner in future scientific programming by virtue of cable's resources, funding, and widespread distribution. While PBS has traditionally set the standard in science television, its leadership may be weakened by the continued assault on federal funding of public broadcasting. Of particular note in both cable and PBS science programming is the trend toward "reality-based" TV. A significant proportion of programming on The Learning Channel consists of real-life drama about science. The success of Animal Planet can be attributed in part to such long-running, "real action" shows as *Crocodile Hunter* and *Real Vets*. PBS increasingly includes the drama of "real science" in perennial favorites such as *Nova*, *Frontline*, and *Scientific American Frontiers*. In the United Kingdom, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has made an interesting contribution with *Rough Science*. Additionally, many cable systems now offer the Science Channel, which draws on a substantial existing library of science oriented documentaries and specials. Topics range from the usual

perennial favorites—more explorations of the *Titanic* or *The Language of Dogs* to original programming such as *Young Scientist Challenge: 2003* and regular features such as *Science This Week*.

New technology will also undoubtedly play a role in the future development of scientific television programs. Following a trend set by science museums, scientific television will likely move toward interactive programming. Many channels and programs now maintain websites that provide viewers with links to related programming, merchandise, educational materials, interactive games, online chat rooms, or fan websites.

In the final analysis, the future of science television resides with its audiences, particularly as the first generations of viewers raised on science-based children's programming reach maturity and reach for the remote control.

JOANNA PLOEGER AND ROBBIE POLSTON

See also **Discovery Channel**; **Watch Mr. Wizard**

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## Scotland

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Scotland is a small country located on the geographical periphery of Europe. Its television service reflects many of the key issues surrounding broadcasting in minority cultures. Politically part of the multinational

state of the United Kingdom along with the other "Celtic" countries of Wales and Northern Ireland, Scotland's legal, educational, and religious institutions remain separate from those of England, the dominant



partner. Its broadcasting systems, like much of its cultural organization, display a mixture of autonomy and dependence, which reflects Scotland's somewhat anomalous position.

Scotland's current programming reflects the evolution of Britain's broadcasting ecology, offering viewers a choice of four channels and a mix of British networked television and Scottish national and local productions. A brief history of its development sets in context both the present state of television in Scotland and some of the prevailing debates about its nature.

The first television service in Scotland was introduced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1952. To a large extent, the constitution and character of this new medium was determined by its existing radio system. John Reith, the architect of the BBC and himself a Scot, was determined that the BBC should provide an essentially British service. The consequent emphasis placed on the centralization of public service broadcasting led to a downgrading of other forms of more local production as well as to the BBC's oxymoronic categorization of Scotland as a "national region." This decision was not simply an organizational choice but, as McDowell suggests, reflected the dominant ideological belief in the superiority of "metropolitan culture." The BBC's early television broadcasts consisted of largely the same programs as those of London. What was produced in Scotland received considerable criticism in terms of its nature and quality; the Pilkington Report of 1962 noted that the few programs produced by BBC Scotland often "failed to reflect distinctive Scottish culture."

The arrival of independent, or commercial, television in Scotland offered a new source of programming. Like the BBC, the independent companies broadcast a mix of network provision and more local, opt-out, productions. Franchises were awarded to Scottish Television, covering central Scotland; Border Television, covering the Scottish and English borders; and Grampian Television, serving the north of Scotland. The enthusiasm of some for the new medium can be gauged by the notorious comment of Scottish's first proprietor, Canadian magnate Roy Thomson, that an independent franchise was "a license to print money." In these early years, perhaps unsurprisingly, Scottish program schedules, too, were heavily criticized for their poor quality and parochial outlook. The 1970s and 1980s saw both the BBC and Scottish Television upping the level of their local programming, improving its quality and diversity, and beginning to form a stronger presence on the network through programs such as the long-running police drama *Taggart* and the popular soap *Take the High Road*.

The past 25 years have brought significant changes, diversifying the type and origins of programs produced in Scotland. The introduction of Channel 4 in 1982 and quotas for independent production in the 1990 Broadcasting Act have led to the emergence of numerous independent companies, as is the case across the United Kingdom as a whole. While they have undoubtedly broadened the production base and often pioneered innovative forms of programming, the vast majority of these companies are relatively small and powerless in their ability to affect broadcast policy.

In the 1990s, extensive lobbying has brought governmental support of £9.5 million for the production of television programs in Scotland's minority indigenous language, Gaelic. Unquestionably a welcome move, it nonetheless demonstrates (as does the support of Sianal Pedwar Cymru, the Welsh Channel 4) that it is easier to gain recognition for linguistic than for cultural differences.

These moves in television are indicative of wider cultural shifts. For some years, debate has been growing over Scotland's constitutional position in the United Kingdom, manifested in some quarters by demands for political change in the form of self-government or independence. More widespread, however, has been a transformation in cultural activity in Scotland over the past two decades—most notably in literature but also in theater, music, and film—which many see as a form of cultural nationalism.

This climate of cultural and political contention has led to a new attention to questions of representation and national identity. In *Scotch Reels* (1982), critics Colin McArthur and Cairns Craig exposed and deconstructed the dominant representations of Scottishness, identifying two central rhetorics that have informed representations of Scotland—the associated discourses of tartanry and kailyard. While tartanry harks back to a romantic celebration of lost Scottish nationhood and draws on the emblems of a vanished (and imagined) premodern Highland way of life, kailyard celebrates the virtues of small-town life through genial homilies. These discourses are seen to run through heterogeneous productions from Hollywood cinema and *Brigadoon* to indigenous programs such as *Dr. Finlay's Casebook* and *The White Heather Club*.

This deconstruction of what Murray Grigor terms "Scotch myths" has become widely circulated, and indeed parodying the clichés of Scottishness has become something of a trope in contemporary Scottish television productions (although it has yet to penetrate a Hollywood increasingly enamored of Highland heroes such as *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*). Scottish television offers its audiences antiheroes such as Ian Pattison's comic creation Rab C. Nesbitt, a gloriously loud-



mouthed Glaswegian drunkard and member of the underclass who exaggerates to comic excess accepted notions of nationality and class. A more sophisticated and ambiguous demonstration of this parodic process is to be found in BBC Scotland's police series *Hamish Macbeth*. Set in a picturesque Highland village populated by bizarre characters, it simultaneously sends up the stereotypes of Highland life while embracing their more marketable forms.

Much of the debate about television in Scotland, in academic and popular circles, has concerned itself with analyzing and often attacking the dominant images of Scottishness that have been produced, while comparatively little attention has been paid to questions of production and policy. In Scotland, questions of cultural identity and diversity and of independence

and control reverberate through television production at both a symbolic and a material level.

JANE SILLARS

*See also Ireland; Wales*

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## Scrambled Signals

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The term "scrambled signals" refers to the encryption of programming data streams by television program providers to prevent the unauthorized reception, duplication, or use of their signals. Originally designed in the 1980s to prevent signal theft by home satellite dish owners, scrambling has become an important component of copyright protection from unauthorized use.

With the relaxation of satellite broadcast and reception regulations by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission in 1979 and the tremendous reduction in the cost of satellite receiving equipment due to advances in technology, a booming market developed for home satellite dish receivers in the early 1980s. These satellite dishes were known as television receive-only satellite Earth stations, or TVRO. Essentially, TVRO dish owners were able to intercept, free of charge, cable television programming distributed over C-band satellites. Although most early adopters of TVRO dishes were located in rural areas where cable television was unavailable, cable system operators were nevertheless concerned about the actual and potential loss of subscribers who opted to receive programming for "free." When Congress passed the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984, which specified that it was indeed lawful to receive unencrypted satellite signals for private viewing, cable system operators convinced program suppliers to scramble their satellite uplink feeds. Although they sought to protect the system operators (their clients) by scrambling, program

suppliers also realized the profit potential in selling programming directly to the TVRO owners.

By early 1985, therefore, most major cable program suppliers (led by Home Box Office [HBO] and Showtime) had begun scrambling. As a result, TVRO owners were required to purchase a signal descrambler (also called a converter box) and pay a monthly fee to receive scrambled programming. This move eventually led to the development of direct broadcast services (DBS)—such as DirecTV, Primestar (later purchased by DirecTV), and EchoStar—that supply programming direct to consumers' homes via satellite dishes. DBS has become the most significant competition to local cable companies for the supply of cable programming. By 2001, 16 million U.S. households subscribed to the leading DBS systems.

In the mid-1980s, many TVRO owners worried that they would have to deal with several different encryption systems. The industry, however, adopted as the standard for scrambling the Videocipher II (VC II), a product of M/A-Com (which was later purchased by General Instrument Corporation, itself later purchased by Motorola). The industry was confident that VC II would reduce satellite programming "theft," but the system was plagued with problems. A black market developed relatively quickly for altered descramblers. To receive free programming, dish owners could simply purchase a descrambler with one of the chips in the unit replaced, enabling the unit to descramble all pro-

gramming. After six years of program scrambling, it was estimated that only 10 percent of the three million dish owners were paying subscribers.

To correct this flaw, General Instrument released an updated version of the descrambler called Videocipher II Plus (VC III) in late 1991. The new units replaced the multiple chips in the unit with a single chip. Any effort to copy or replace the chip would disable the unit entirely. Shortly thereafter, companies enhanced the system with a renewable encryption system (VCRS) through the use of a TVPassCard (similar to a credit card). Should a breach in security occur, the encryption information on the cards could be changed quickly and inexpensively. Major programmers switched to the upgraded system with due speed.

While the scrambling of signals was initially the concern of cable programmers and operators, the U.S. broadcast networks (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], National Broadcasting Company [NBC], and American Broadcasting Company [ABC]) also began to scramble the transmission of programs to their affiliates (in 1986, 1988, and 1991, respectively). In defending his network's move to scramble such transmissions, one network executive contended that network feeds are "private property" and encouraged viewers instead to watch their local affiliates for local news, weather, and commercials. Although obviously directed at protecting the advertising revenues of its affiliates, such reasoning ignores the lack of local reception for many rural owners of satellite dishes.

With the arrival of digital technology, the industry now relies on the MPEG-2 compression format for digital video- and audio-signal distribution to cable headends. MPEG-2 (the digital compression standard developed by the Moving Pictures Experts Group) allows for more programming in the same amount of bandwidth, as multiple channels are multiplexed into a single data stream. The two industry standards for program transmission are DVB (Digital Video Broadcast) and DigiCipher II, Motorola's MPEG-2-based distribution system, which is used by about 70 percent of cable channels in the United States and Canada.

The scrambling of program signals occurs when each MPEG-2 packet is encrypted during uplink to the satellite. The scrambled packets are processed through a conditional access module (CAM) in each decryption device, where the CAM then takes the decryption key from an inserted smart card and descrambles the signal. The encryption code is obviously secret, and various scrambling services exist around the world, including companies such as PowerVu CA, Nagravision, Cryptoworks, VideoGuard, Mediacypher, and IRDETO.

With the continued convergence of digital technologies and telecommunications, the (perceived) threat of such technologies to the economic interests of television, movie, and record producers increases. Digital technologies may allow for improved delivery of multiple media products into the home (as MPEG-2 video compression does for interactive systems, such as high-speed Internet and video-on-demand), but they also allow users to capture, manipulate, duplicate, store, and disseminate digital media products with great ease (dissemination over the Internet being of particular concern to the media industries). What was once a somewhat simple issue of scrambling analog signals has become a much more complicated concern involving copy protection for a myriad of media products via the encryption of digital information.

JEFFREY P. JONES

*See also* **Satellite**

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# Second City Television

## Canadian Comedy Program

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*Second City Television (SCTV)* was a popular comedy television show originating from Canada that ran in the late 1970s and early 1980s in a variety of incarnations. Pulling much of its talent and ideas from the Chicago and Toronto Second City comedy clubs, the show became an important pipeline for comedians, especially Canadians, into the mainstream of the U.S. entertainment market. Popular performers who moved from *SCTV* into U.S. television and movies include John Candy, Martin Short, Dave Thomas, Catherine O'Hara, Andrea Martin, Rick Moranis, Harold Ramis, Robin Duke, Tony Rosato, Joe Flaherty, and Eugene Levy. Their training in live improvisational comedy allows them to appear in a variety of capacities, but they have worked primarily as writers and performers.

*SCTV's* early opening-credit sequence set the tone for the show. As the announcer declared, "*SCTV* now begins its programming day," a number of television sets were thrown out of an apartment building's windows, smashing on the pavement below. Using impersonations of well-known celebrities and ongoing original characters, *SCTV* presented a parody of every aspect of television, including programs, advertising, news, and network executives. In effect, *SCTV* was a cross between a spoof of television and a loose satirical soap opera about the running of the fictional Melonville television station. The station's personnel included the owner, Guy Caballero (Flaherty); the station manager; and Moe Green (Ramis), to be replaced by Edith Prickley (Martin), whose sister, Edna Boil (also Martin), advertised her Organ Emporium with husband, Tex (Thomas), in a send-up of cheap late-night commercials. Other recurring figures were the bon vivant and itinerant host, Johnny LaRue (Candy), and the endearingly inept Ed Grimley (Short). Over the years, the *SCTV* programming lineup included the local news, read by Floyd Robertson (Flaherty) and Earl Camembert (Eugene Levy); "Sunrise Semester"; "Fishin' Musician"; and "The Sammy Maudlin Show," hosted by Maudlin (Flaherty) and his sidekick, William B. (Candy), with regular guest appearances from Bobby Bittman (Levy) and Lola Heatherton (O'Hara). Other spoofs included Yosh and Stan Shmenge's polka show (Levy and Candy); Count Floyd's "Monster Chiller Horror Theatre," whose host was played by the

news anchor Floyd Robertson (Flaherty); the ersatz children's show "Captain Combat" (Thomas); "Farm Film Report" (Flaherty and Candy); and the improvised editorials of Bob and Doug Mackenzie's "Great White North" (Moranis and Thomas).

*SCTV's* trademark was the use of complex intertextual references to produce original hybrid comic sketches. A parody of Francis Ford Coppola's 1972 film *The Godfather* became the story of the Mafia-like operations of television networks. "Play It Again, Bob" took Woody Allen's *Play It Again, Sam* (1972) and paired Woody Allen (Moranis) with Bob Hope (Thomas). Brooke Shields (O'Hara) and Dustin Hoffman (Martin) were guests on the "Farm Film Report," where they "blew up real good." In the station owner's attempt to capture a youth audience, the Melonville station tried to mimic *Saturday Night Live*, with guest host Earl Camembert, a ridiculously overenthusiastic studio audience, and setups based around humorless references to drug use. *SCTV's* continual use of *mise en abyme* devices produced an intricate, layered text in addition to a knowing fan culture. Further, this program, with its markedly satirical view of television and North American culture in general, was an important contribution to the notion that Canadian humor is ironic and self-deprecatory.

The show's history began in 1976, when Andrew Alexander, Len Stuart, and Bernie Sahlins produced the first half-hour episodes, called *Second City TV*, for Global Television Network in Toronto, where it ran for two seasons. Filmways Productions acquired the syndication rights for the U.S. market in 1977.

A deal was struck in 1979 with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Allarcom Ltd in which the show would move to Edmonton, Alberta, for broadcast on the national CBC network. In 1981, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) bought the program, shifted it to a 90-minute format, and moved the show back to Toronto. At NBC, *SCTV* became part of the "late-night comedy wars" between the renamed *SCTV Network 90* on Fridays from 12:30 A.M. to 2:00 A.M., the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC's) *Fridays* on the same night from 12:30 A.M. to 1:30 A.M., and NBC's *Saturday Night Live*. When NBC did not renew *SCTV Network 90* in 1983, Cinemax took it



*Second City Television*, cast shot, (top) John Candy, Martin Short, (front) Andrea Martin, Joe Flaherty, Eugene Levy, 1983–84.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

over. Over the years, *SCTV* produced 72 half-hour shows, 42 90-minute shows, and 18 45-minute shows as well as numerous spin-offs and specials. With 13 Emmy nominations, *SCTV* won two for best writing. The show has since been reedited and repackaged into a half-hour "best of" format for syndication. It is now a mainstay on comedy cable channels and a regular choice for late-night network programming.

CHARLES ACLAND

**Cast**

Guy Caballero	Joe Flaherty
Moe Green	Harold Ramis
Edith Prickley	Andrea Martin
Earl Camembert	Eugene Levy
Floyd Robertson	Joe Flaherty
Count Floyd	Joe Flaherty
Dr. Tongue	John Candy
Bruno	Eugene Levy
Johnny LaRue	John Candy
Bob MacKenzie	Dave Thomas
Doug MacKenzie	Rick Moranis
Tex Boil	Dave Thomas
Edna Boil	Andrea Martin
Mayor Tommy Shanks	John Candy
The Schmenge Brothers	John Candy and Eugene Levy
Perini Scleroso	Andrea Martin
Ed Grimley	Martin Short
Lin Ye Tang	Dave Thomas
Sammy Maudlin	Joe Flaherty

William B.	John Candy
Bobby Bittman	Eugene Levy
Lola Heatherton	Catherine O'Hara
Big Jim McBob	John Candy
Billy Saul Hurok	Joe Flaherty
Harry, the Guy with the Snake on His Face	John Candy
Rockin' Mel Slurp	Eugene Levy
Jackie Rogers, Jr.	Martin Short
Rusty van Reddick	Martin Short

**Producers**

Andrew Alexander, Ben Stuart, Bernie Sahlins

**Programming History**

72 half-hour episodes; 42 90-minute episodes; 18 45-minute episodes  
Global Television Network  
1976–78  
CBC  
1979–80  
NBC  
1981–83  
12:30–2:00 A.M.  
Cinemax Cable  
1983–84  
Various times

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## Secondari, John H. (1919–1975)

U.S. Documentary Producer

John Secondari played a major role in the early growth of television news at the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) during the 1960s. As executive in charge of the network's first regular documentary series, Secondari forged a coherent house style that featured a heavy emphasis on visualization and dramatic voice-over narration. He later carried these qualities over to a series of occasional historical documentaries that earned him wide recognition and numerous national broadcasting awards.

Born in Rome in 1920, Secondari was educated in the United States and served in the army during World

War II. Afterward, he worked in Europe, first for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and then as the chief of information for the Marshall Plan in Italy. He quit in 1951 to devote himself to fiction writing on a full-time basis. Over the next six years, he authored four books, one of which was turned into the popular Hollywood feature film *Three Coins in the Fountain*. During this period, he also wrote scripts for television anthology dramas, such as *The Alcoa Hour* and *Playhouse 90*. Both his background as a fiction writer and his fondness for Italy would figure prominently in his documentary career at ABC.



John H. Secondari.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Secondari joined the network's Washington news bureau in 1957 and started producing documentaries toward the end of the decade. At the time, ABC's news operation was tiny by comparison to its rivals, and its output was therefore quite limited. In the early 1960s, as television news expanded rapidly and as network news competition escalated, the smallest of the three major networks relied heavily on its documentary unit in order to sustain its stature as a bona fide news organization. ABC's major contribution to prime-time information fare during this period was the weekly *Bell and Howell Close-Up!* series, which Secondari took charge of shortly after its launch in 1960.

Underfunded by comparison to his network rivals and lacking a seasoned staff of broadcast news workers, Secondari nevertheless mounted a creditable series and even made some significant contributions during documentary's television heyday. He accomplished this in part by tapping freelance contributors such as producers Robert Drew and Nicholas Webster. Drew's *cinéma vérité* style offered dramatic glimpses of Castro's Cuba, the Kennedy White House, and the cockpit

of an X-15. Similarly, Webster provided first-person accounts of racism in New York City, the school system in Moscow, and the revolving door in the U.S. penal system. In these and many other *Close-Up!* documentaries, the camera escorted the protagonist through the routines and challenges of everyday life. The style emphasized intimacy and visual dynamism, qualities explicitly requested by the series sponsor Bell and Howell, a major manufacturer of amateur motion picture equipment. The same qualities could be seen in the output of regular staff members in the ABC documentary unit. A critic for *Variety* once commented on the house style of each network's flagship series, noting that *CBS Reports* could be described as the *Harper's* of television documentary, *NBC White Paper* as the *Atlantic*, and *Bell and Howell Close-Up!* as the *Redbook*. Indeed, the emphasis on dramatic visualization at ABC was accompanied by a commitment to florid voice-over narration that sometimes seemed excessive. Several critics noted that at the end of "Comrade Student" (a profile of Soviet schools), Secondari's commentary turned self-consciously propagandistic. Similarly, a documentary about the Italian Communist Party—on which he collaborated with his wife, Helen Jean Rogers—closes with a paean to the spirit of republican Rome that reputedly dwells in the souls of all Italians and serves as the last bulwark against leftist revolution.

This penchant for the dramatic continued to mark Secondari's work as he moved to historical topics with a series titled the *Saga of Western Man*. Coproduced with Rogers, it began in 1963 with each episode focusing on a particular year, person, or incident that Secondari believed had significantly influenced the progress of Western civilization. Using the camera "as if it were the eyes of someone who had been present in the past," Secondari transported the viewer to historical locations while voice-over narrators read authentic journal entries or letters from the period. For example, Secondari outfitted historical ships in Spain and put to sea with his camera crew in order to capture the sensations of Columbus's transoceanic voyage. These historical reenactments were then edited together with close-up shots scanning the canvases of period paintings. Meanwhile, the audio track featured music and actor Frederic March's dramatic readings from the navigation logs of Columbus. These techniques—which were also being developed by National Broadcasting Company (NBC) producers Lou Hazam and George Vicas—generated widespread critical acclaim and numerous awards for the series, thereby encouraging ABC to sign on for a second season. By year's end, however, some critics began to complain that the method was wearing thin. *The Saga of Western Man* was scaled

back and continued on an occasional basis until the end of the 1960s, when Secondari and Rogers left ABC to form their own production company.

Secondari died in 1975 at the age of 55. In all, he garnered some 20 Emmy and three Peabody awards. Perhaps most important, however, was his contribution to the development of the historical television documentary. Secondari's style not only anticipated the later efforts of such producers as Ken Burns but also laid the groundwork for the emergence of the television docudrama in the 1970s.

MICHAEL CURTIN

*See also Documentary; Drew, Robert; Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy*

**John H. Secondari**, Born in Rome, Italy, November 1, 1919. Fordham University, New York, B.A. 1939; Columbia University, M.S. in journalism 1940. Married: 1) Rita Hume, 1948 (died); 2) Helen Jean Rogers, 1961. Enlisted in U.S. Army, 1941; appointed to staff of Cavalry School; commanded a reconnaissance unit and a tank company in combat in France, Germany, and Austria; served on staff of General Mark Clark in Vienna; left army with rank of captain, 1946. Worked as a newspaper reporter for the Rome *Daily American*, 1946; foreign correspondent for CBS, 1948; deputy chief, information division of the Economic Cooperation Administration's Special Mission to Italy, 1948–51; freelance writer, 1951–56; chief, ABC's Washington news bureau, 1956; executive producer, ABC's special projects division, 1960–68; formed own production company, 1968. Recipient: *Radio Television Daily's* Television Writer of the Year, 1963; Italy's Guglielmo Marconi World Television Award, 1964; 20 Emmy Awards; three Peabody Awards. Died February 8, 1975.

#### Television Series

- 1957–58 *Open Hearing* (moderator)  
 1960–63 *Bell and Howell Close-Up!*  
 1963–66 *The Saga of the Western Man*  
 (coproducer)

#### Television Specials (selected)

- 1958 *Highlights of the Coronation of Pope John XXIII*  
 1960 *Japan: Anchor in the East*  
 1960 *Korea: No Parallel*  
 1963 *Soviet Women*  
 1963 *The Vatican*  
 1970 *The Golden Age of the Automobile*  
 1970 *The Ballad of the Iron Horse*  
 1972 *Champions*

#### Publications (selected)

- Coins in the Fountain* (novel), 1952  
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## See It Now

### U.S. Documentary Series

*See It Now* (1951–58), one of television's earliest documentary series, remains the standard by which broadcast journalism is judged for its courage and commitment. The series brought radio's premier reporter, Edward R. Murrow, to television, and his worldly expertise and media savvy helped to define television's role in covering and, more important, analyzing the news.

The genesis of *See It Now* was a series of record albums that Murrow created during the late 1940s with Fred W. Friendly, a former radio producer at a Rhode Island station. The *I Can Hear It Now* records, which interwove historical events and speeches with Murrow narration, became such a commercial success that the partnership developed a radio series for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) that also creatively used





*See It Now*, Edward R. Murrow. David Ben-Gurion, 1951–58; 1956 interview in Israel.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

taped actualities. The weekly *Hear It Now* was modeled on a magazine format, with a variety of “sounds” of current events, such as artillery fire from Korea and an atom smasher at work, illuminated by Murrow and other expert columnists.

After his World War II experience, Murrow had assiduously avoided television, having been overheard stating, “I wish goddamned television had never been invented.” Friendly was eager to test the new technology, however, and in 1951 the team agreed to transfer the *Now* concept yet again, this time emphasizing the visual essence of the television medium and calling their effort *See It Now*. Murrow never desired to anchor the evening newscast, and he wanted *See It Now* to be not a passive recitation of current events but an active engagement with the issues of the day. To implement this vision, Murrow and Friendly radically transformed the fundamental nature of news gathering on television.

Unlike other news programs that used newsreel companies to record events, *See It Now* maintained its own camera crews to coordinate filming on location, using 35-millimeter cameras to record the most striking images. Murrow and Friendly also deviated from standard practice by mandating that all interviews would not be rehearsed and that there would be no background music to accompany the visuals. Although *See It Now* relied on CBS correspondents around the world, Murrow, serving as editor in chief, and Friendly, as managing editor, organized the first autonomous news unit, whose ranks included reporter-producers Joe Wershba and Ed Scott, director Don Hewitt, production manager Palmer Williams, and former newsreel cameramen Charlie Mack and Leo Rossi.

“This is an old team trying to learn a new trade,” intoned Murrow to inaugurate *See It Now* on November 18, 1951. Murrow, as in all the programs that followed,



was ensconced in Studio 41, exposing the tricks of the electronic trade—the monitors, the microphones, and the technicians were all in view. To underscore this new technological undertaking, Murrow summoned up a split screen of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City and the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, the first live coast-to-coast transmission.

*See It Now* was the first newsmagazine series on television, alternating live studio commentary with reports from such seasoned correspondents as Howard K. Smith and Eric Sevareid. The series was initially scheduled in the intellectual ghetto of Sunday afternoon. By its third outing, *See It Now* gained a commercial sponsor, Alcoa (the Aluminum Company of America), which sought prestige among opinion makers to offset antitrust troubles. As the half-hour series became the most influential news program on television, it moved into prime time, first on Sunday evenings and then for three years on Tuesday evenings at 10:30.

*See It Now* established its voice by covering the campaign rituals throughout the 1952 presidential year. Two early pieces were also emblematic of what Murrow and Friendly wanted to accomplish for the new venture: simulated coverage of a mock bomb attack on New York City (a segment that addressed the tensions of the nuclear age) and a one-hour report on the realities from the ground of the Korean War during the 1952 Christmas season. The latter special evoked the frustrations and confusions of everyday soldiers and was described by one critic as “the most graphic and yet sensitive picture of war we have ever seen.”

Despite the laudatory reviews and the respectability that *See It Now* brought to television news, a question plagued the partnership: how to cover the anti-Communist hysteria that was enveloping the nation. The team first searched for what Friendly called “the little picture,” an individual story that symbolized a national issue. In October 1953, Murrow and reporter Wershba produced “The Case of Milo Radulovich,” a study of an Air Force lieutenant who was deemed a security risk because his father, an elderly Serbian immigrant, and sister supposedly read subversive newspapers. Because of the report, for which Murrow and Friendly used their own money to advertise, the secretary of the Air Force reviewed the case and retained Radulovich in the service. In “Argument in Indianapolis,” broadcast one month later, *See It Now* investigated an American Legion chapter that refused to book its meeting hall to the American Civil Liberties Union. Again, Murrow and staff succeeded in documenting how McCarthyism, so called because of the demagogic tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy, had penetrated the heartland.

Having reported discrete episodes on the Cold War, Murrow and Friendly decided to expose the architect of the paranoia, McCarthy himself. On March 9, 1954, *See It Now* employed audiotapes and newsreels to refute the outrageous half-truths and misstatements of the junior senator from Wisconsin. In his tailpiece before the signature “Good Night and Good Luck,” Murrow explicitly challenged his viewers to confront the nation’s palpable fears. A month later, McCarthy accepted an invitation to respond, and his bombastic rhetoric, calling Murrow “the leader and cleverest of the jackal pack,” coupled with the later failure of the senator’s televised investigation into the Army, left McCarthy’s career in a shambles. The McCarthy program also produced fissures in the relationship between Murrow and the network. Again, CBS did not assist in promoting the broadcast; but this time CBS executives suggested that Murrow had overstepped the boundaries of editorial objectivity. In the process, he had become controversial and, therefore, a possible liability to the company’s business opportunities.

Provocative programs, targeting the most pressing problems of the day, continued during the 1954–55 season. Murrow conducted an interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who was removed as adviser to the Atomic Energy Commission because he was accused of being a Soviet agent. *See It Now* documented the effects of the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation decision on two southern towns. Murrow, a heavy smoker, examined the link between cigarettes and lung cancer. By the end of the season, Alcoa, stung by *See It Now*’s investigation into a Texas land scandal where the company was expanding operations, ended its sponsorship. Because of the profitability of other entertainment shows, most notably the bonanza in game shows, CBS also decided that *See It Now* should yield its regular time slot and become a series of specials. Many insiders thought the series should be retitled *See It Now and Then*.

During the final three seasons of specials, the tone of *See It Now* became softer. Despite exclusive interviews with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Yugoslavian strongman Marshal Josip Tito, the most memorable programs were almost hagiographic profiles of American artists, including Louis Armstrong, Marian Anderson, and Danny Kaye. Controversy for Murrow was now reserved for outside the studio; his 1958 speech to radio and news directors was an indictment of the degrading commercialism pervading network television. The final broadcast, “Watch on the Ruhr,” on July 7, 1958, surveyed the mood of postwar Germany. After *See It Now*’s demise, CBS News made sure to split the Murrow–Friendly team. Friendly was

## See It Now

named executive producer of *Now's* public affairs successor, *CBS Reports*. Murrow was a contributor to the series; his most significant investigation was *Harvest of Shame*.

Murrow and Friendly invented the magazine news format, which became the dominant documentary form on network television. The most esteemed inheritor of its legacy, *60 Minutes*, was conceived by integral *See It Now* alumni: Don Hewitt (as *60 Minutes'* executive producer), Palmer Williams (as managing editor), and Joe Wershba (as producer). *See It Now* was also a seminal force in establishing how most television documentaries convey a national issue: illuminating the individual story, immediately and directly, so that it resonates with deeper implications. If Murrow and Friendly created the model for the documentary for both form and content, they also tested the limits of editorial advocacy. Although the series of McCarthy programs have been lionized as one of television's defining moments, Murrow and Friendly exposed as well the inherent tension between the news and the network and sponsor. How to deal with controversy in a commercial medium has remained controversial ever since.

RON SIMON

### Host

Edward R. Murrow

### Producers

Fred W. Friendly, Edward R. Murrow

### Programming History

CBS

November 1951–June 1953      Sunday 6:30–7:00

September 1953–July 1955

Tuesday

10:30–11:00

September 1955–July 1958

Irregular schedule

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## Seeing Things

### Canadian Drama Series

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*Seeing Things* was one of the most popular series in Canadian television history. Throughout its run, the series had the same coproducers, David Barlow and its star, Louie Del Grande, and the same director, George McGowan, which is unheard of and impossible in the Hollywood model of television production. The three

worked easily and well together and shared the same basic vision of the show. *Seeing Things* is basically a comedy/mystery. Louie Ciccone is handicapped by fragmentary psychic visions that, along with his conscience and a nose for news, compel him to solve the murders he glimpses in his visions. The tone of an

episode often varied wildly. Yet no matter how improbable the plots, the consistent off-center vision that Barlow and Del Grande shared and McGowan's willingness to adapt his direction to the stylistic demands of the show, together with appropriately imaginative designers, gave it coherence.

Dashes of slapstick and farce pepper *Seeing Things*, which had remarkably little violence for a show centered on murder. In one episode, scrambling around chair legs and under tables in a nightclub, Louis escaped by biting his pursuer in the leg. Another distinctive feature of the series was its steady stream of ad-libbed one-liners. The timing was crisp and the delivery always throwaway and spontaneous. Running gags were found in most episodes. *Seeing Things* was very Canadian, with its sharp eye for the brief obsessions of American popular culture. These were sometimes deliberately subverted and sometimes mocked. Many of the jokes are topical, political, or social in their thrust. The series satirized the military, aging hippies, psychic fairs, beauty pageants, and hockey. There were also occasional complex takes on ethical questions, touching moments between characters, and solid cameo performances. The series provided self-reflexive moments, such as when Marge (played by Martha Gibson, Del Grande's wife), Louie's wife and partner in his adventures, wondered aloud why a murderer holding a gun on her was unburdening herself with a detailed confession. Although there were several writers, every script was distinctly flavored with the quirky sensibility shared by Barlow and Del Grande.

In *Seeing Things*, the protagonist, Louie Ciccone, was a reporter for a Toronto newspaper, living with his parents in the back room of their bakery. He was a very unwilling clairvoyant. He had to find the murderers using his own intelligence and his estranged wife as driver, goad, confidante, and occasional rescuer to fill in the missing pieces. Louie's klutzy, workaholic persona and domestic worries were threaded with allusive wit and literate one-liners, manic energy, and considerable acting skills.

Louie obsessed over finding the murderer glimpsed in his visions and on the possibility of getting back together with Marge. Often the two obsessions collided, so that his need to see murderers caught continually undercut his claim that Marge and his son, Jason, were more important to him than anything else. Nevertheless, eventually Marge and Louis did reunite in a gradual, psychologically credible narrative arc. His physical and social ineptitude was incurable, however, and an intrinsic and funny part of the character. He was also self-conscious, pushy, vain, indecisive, inventive, courageous, and compassionate, altogether a credible

character rather than the formulaic hero of a typical police or mystery program.

Heather Redfern, the crown attorney, assisted Louie in many episodes. Blonde, single, and upper class, she was clearly intended to be a contrast to the Ciccones, creating moments of both sexual and class conflict in a series that had no recurring antagonist. Marge's new job as a real estate agent also provided new narrative possibilities. The setting of Toronto provided a very specific sense of place, which also anchored the series. Another strength of the series was the fact that most of Canada's best character actors appeared as guests on the show.

The series, like so many Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) series in the 1980s, subverted the message of authority. It offered ambiguity in the outcome of several episodes and presented irony with a wryness and whimsicality that connected it to another favorite series more than a decade later: *Due South*. The last season of *Seeing Things*, however, began to strain the format with ever more improbable plots, including the landing of a flying saucer. Although the main American networks were not interested in *Seeing Things*, which at 43 episodes over six seasons did not meet the necessary number of 60 episodes (for syndication) and which was made before specialty channels provided alternate outlets, the series did appear on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and was very successfully sold in Europe, South Africa, and Australia.

MARY JANE MILLER

#### Cast

Louie Ciccone	Louie Del Grande
Martha Ciccone	Martha Gibson
Heather Redfern	Janet Laine
Albert Ciccone	Al Gordon
Anna Ciccone	Lynne Gordon
Jason Ciccone	Ivan Beaulieu
Max Perkins	Murray Westgate
Marlon Bede	Louis Negin
Robert Spenser	Cec Linder
Kenny Volker	Ratch Wallace
Detective Sergeant Brown	Frank Adamson

#### Producers

David Barlow and Louis Del Grande with George McGowan directing every episode

#### Programming History

CBC  
1981–1987  
43 episodes

### Further Reading

Kentner, Peter, *TV North: Everything You Wanted to Know About Canadian Television*, Vancouver and Toronto: Whitecap, 2001

Miller, Mary Jane, "Copshows and Mysteries: Check Your Guns at the Border," in *Turn Up the Contrast 1952: CBC*

*Television Drama Since 1952*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, CBC Enterprises copublication, 1987

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# Seinfeld

## U.S. Situation Comedy

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Jerry Seinfeld, American stand-up comedian and author of the best-selling book *SeinLanguage* (1993), is now best known as the eponymous hero of *Seinfeld*, a sitcom that was a great success for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) during nine seasons in the 1990s. However, for the show's fans in the United States and around the world, "hero" is not the right word to describe Jerry on *Seinfeld*. Nor would it describe the show's other main characters, Elaine, George, and (Cosmo) Kramer, all 30-something and leading the single life in New York. The program's distinctiveness lies in being a comedy made out of trivia and minutiae, a bricolage of casual incidents and situations of everyday metropolitan life, all of which belie any conventional notion of "heroism" or any notion, indeed, of distinction. Viewers saw Jerry in his apartment with bizarre neighbor Kramer constantly dropping in and Elaine and George visiting, in the café where they were all regular customers, or at Elaine's office, where she worked as a publisher until she lost her job. (She subsequently worked in a series of situations, usually as the assistant to eccentric, bizarre individuals.)

Seinfeld himself, in an interview, suggested that *Seinfeld* was adding something new to television comedy, some new representation of the quotidian that might be influencing other TV and film culture. He cited some of the coffee-shop conversation between the John Travolta and Samuel Jackson characters in Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction*, and Tarantino in turn has admitted to being a big fan of *Seinfeld*.

*Seinfeld* did not mix seemingly trivial conversation and incidents with sudden unnerving violence as did *Pulp Fiction*, whose main characters, gangsters, created a world of shattering absurdity. Jerry, Elaine, George, and Kramer instead led a life of quiet absurdity. They appeared always to be relentlessly superficial. Even to say they were friends would be too kind. If they did help each other, it was out of self-interest

only. They created a comic world out of the banally cruel and amoral, of trivial lies, treachery, and betrayal. In their relations with each other, with anyone else they encountered, or with their families, they rarely found it in themselves to act out of altruism, kindness, generosity, support, courage, caring, sharing, concern, neighborliness, a sense of human community, or trust. Like comedy through the ages, they said the unsayable, did the undoable as they casually ignored sanctioned morality and established conventions. Watching someone being operated on, they passed callous remarks and accidentally popped a chocolate candy into the body.

George in particular was freely given to making trouble and then denying all responsibility; to boasting, deceiving, and lying. Viewers waited for him to do disgusting things, expecting, hoping, he would do them. He tried to get money out of a hospital when someone fell to his death from the hospital's window onto George's car. He made love on his parents' bed and left behind a used condom. He sold his father's beloved old clothes to a shop, saying his father had died and this was the deceased's dearest wish. He hoped an artist would die so his paintings would go up in value.

Jerry and a girlfriend, who could not make love in his apartment because his parents were visiting, entwined themselves in the flickering darkness when they went to see *Schindler's List* and consequently missed most of the film. Their behavior was reported to Jerry's Jewish parents by another acquaintance, the treacherous Newman. Much of *Seinfeld* involved similar comic humiliation and so recalled and reprised a long Jewish tradition of humor that flourished in the 20th century in vaudeville, radio, film, and television through the figure of the *schlemiel* (think of Woody Allen), who makes comedy out of failure, ineptitude, defeat, or minor disaster.

In *Seinfeld*, disasters multiplied for each character, except for the mysterious Kramer, a trickster figure, who (like trickster figures through the ages) always got out of daily work, was a renowned sexual reptile, generally out-tricked every adversary, and ignored the havoc he insisted on causing. In *Seinfeld*, Kramer functioned as pure sign of folly and misrule, turning the world upside down at every chance.

Elaine was Jerry's former girlfriend. With George she had a relationship of uneasiness, if not sharp mutual dislike. Elaine was sassy and spunky, but her spunkiness usually emerged as irritability and impatience (especially in restaurants or waiting to see a film). She picked arguments with almost everyone she encountered, including any boyfriend. In matters of romance, Elaine constantly self-destructed. So, too, did Jerry and George, usually quickly allowing a trivial difference or unfounded suspicion to end a relationship. Once Jerry insisted that he and Elaine make love again, but he could not perform, and here Elaine emerged as similar to the irrepressible female carnival figures of early modern Europe (as discussed by Natalie Zemon Davis in her famous essay "Women on Top"), overturning men's power and self-image.

*Seinfeld* also recalled a long comic tradition of farce that has descended from Elizabethan drama. In those plays and in the jigs that followed them, the audience was presented with a contestation of ideals and perspectives. Whatever moral order was realized in the play was placed in tension with its parody in the closing jig. There, the clown dominated as a festive Lord of Misrule, creating, for audiences to ponder, not a definite conclusion but an anarchy of values, a play of play and counterplay. Similarly, *Seinfeld* continuously presented an absurd mirror image of other television programs that, like Shakespeare's romances, hold out hope for relationships despite every obstacle that tries to rend lovers, friends, kin, or neighbors apart—obstacles that create amid the comedy sadness, pathos, and intensity.

The possible disadvantage of a genre such as absurdist farce is repetition and sameness, comic action turning into ritualized motion. Seinfeld himself commented that in *Seinfeld*, "you can't change the basic situation or the basic characters." Nevertheless, in the March 4, 1995, issue of *TV Week*, he rejected the suggestion that even the show's devotees thought the characters were becoming increasingly obnoxious and the jokes forced. While some contemporary satirical comedy, such as *Married... With Children*, may have fatally succumbed to this danger, *Seinfeld* remained one of the most innovative and inventive comedies in the history of American television until the program voluntarily ended its run in May 1998, when its final

episode garnered enormous ratings (a 41.3 Nielsen rating and a 58 share) and inspired a media furor, with mixed critical reactions. The four primary characters were put on trial for "criminal indifference," for standing by while a carjacking occurred, thus affording past victims of their cruel indifference the chance to come forth and state their grievances—and forcing the TV audience to come to terms with the essentially soulless and selfish nature of Jerry and his friends.

JOHN DOCKER

#### See also Comedy, Domestic Settings

#### Cast

Jerry Seinfeld	Himself
Elaine Benes	Julia Louis-Dreyfus
George Costanza	Jason Alexander
Kramer	Michael Richards

#### Producers

Larry David, Jerry Seinfeld

#### Programming History

180 episodes	
NBC	
May 1990–July 1990	Thursday 9:30–10:00
January 1991–February 1991	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
April 1991–June 1991	Thursday 9:30–10:00
June 1991–December 1991	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
December 1991–January 1993	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
February 1993–August 1993	Thursday 9:30–10:00
August 1993–May 1998	Thursday 9:00–9:30

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## Sellers, Peter (1925–1980)

British Comedian, Actor

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While the late actor Peter Sellers is known primarily for his roles in film comedies such as the *Pink Panther* series, he first became a British celebrity as a member of the cast of *The Goon Show*, a satirical British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio series. Originally aired in 1951, the show teamed Sellers with fellow comedians Spike Milligan and Harry Secombe. The program was a shocking departure for listeners accustomed to urbane humor from the BBC—the Goons combined a zany blend of odd characters in sketches that poked fun at every aspect of English society. Sellers used mimicry skills honed as a stand-up comedian in London striptease bars to create a number of distinctive characters with equally memorable names: Grytpype Thynne, Bluebottle, Willum Cobblers, and Major Bloodnok. The show acquired a cult following with BBC audiences around the world and helped launch Sellers's film career.

*Goon Show* influences can be traced to equally eccentric British television progeny, such as *Monty Python's Flying Circus* and *The Benny Hill Show*. The Goons, led by Sellers, created a distinctive media genre that combined Kafkaesque humor with hilariously stereotypical English characters. This new genre paved the way for the Pythons and others to follow in the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1979, Peter Sellers appeared in Hal Ashby's production of *Being There*, a film version of Jerzy Kosinski's satirical novel on the cultural influence of television. In the film, Sellers played Chauncey Gardiner, a none-too-bright gardener who is forcibly thrust into the outside world after the death of his benefactor. Sheltered in his employer's home, Chauncey's worldview is entirely shaped by the television shows he watches on sets scattered throughout the house. After being cast from this TV-defined Eden, Chauncey and his childlike innocence are challenged at every turn by the harsh realities of the outside world. In one memorable scene, he is menaced by members of an inner-city street gang as he urgently presses a TV remote control to make them "go away." In another scene, Sellers kisses a passionate female character played by Shirley MacLaine as he mimics a televised love scene that he is watching over her shoulder.

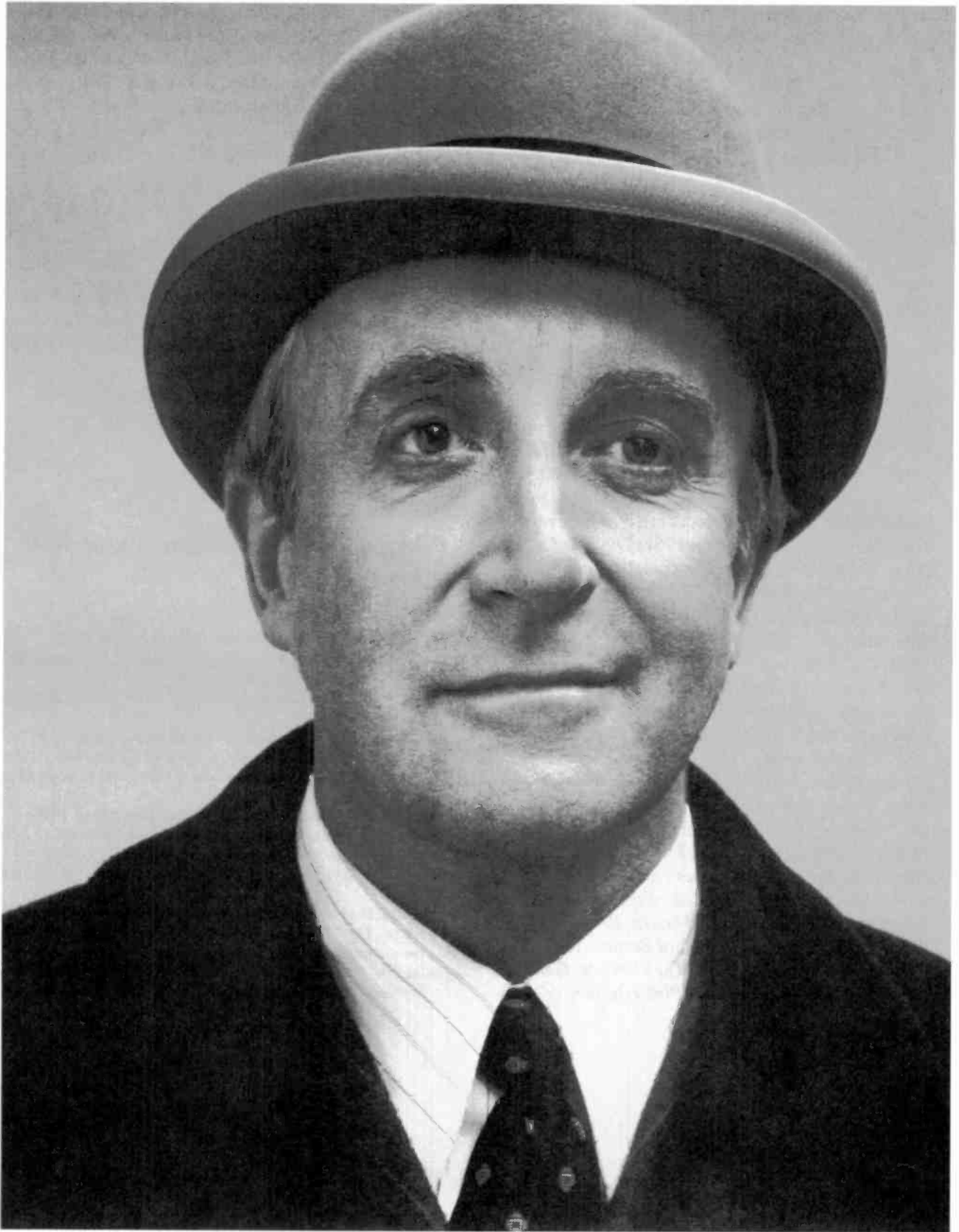
*Being There* reflected Kosinski's jaundiced view of the influence of television on modern culture and the

tendency to confuse actual events with their symbolic media representations. In Kosinski's sardonic world, the innocent jabberings of a moronic child-man are mistaken as profound wisdom—at the end of the film Chauncey is feted as a presidential candidate.

This story resonated with Peter Sellers at first reading, and he pursued Kosinski for seven years for the film rights. During the making of the motion picture, Sellers became Chauncey Gardiner—so much so that friends were alarmed at his 24-hour-a-day transformation. The result was one of Sellers's funniest and most poignant screen roles. He was an innocent man cast adrift in a world full of duplicitous people and contrived mediated images. The film, like Kosinski's novel, is one of the most trenchant indictments of the role of television in society yet mounted in fictional form. The film was a fitting end to a career built on Sellers's own unique mimicry skills. He contrived a number of quirky illusory personas—a diverse world that included such memorable characters as Grytpype Thynne, Jacques Clouseau, and Chauncey Gardiner.

PETER B. SEEL

**Peter (Richard Henry) Sellers.** Born in Southsea, Hampshire, England, September 8, 1925. Attended St. Aloysius College, London. Married: 1) Anne Howe, 1951 (divorced, 1964); children: Michael and Sarah; 2) Britt Ekland, 1964 (divorced, 1969); child: Victoria; 3) Miranda Quarry, 1970 (divorced, 1974); 4) Lynne Frederick, 1977. Served in Royal Air Force, 1943–46. Began career in revue at the age of five; worked as drummer in dance band; entertainment director of holiday camp, 1946–47; vaudeville comedian, first at the Windmill Theatre, London, 1948, then on vaudeville circuit, 1949–56; made film debut, 1951; performer, *The Goon Show* and other radio programs, 1948–59; achieved international stardom in *Pink Panther* film series. Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1966. Recipient: British Academy Best British Actor Award, 1959; San Francisco International Film Festival Golden Gate Award for Best Fiction Short, 1960; San Sebastian Award for Best British Actor, 1962; Teheran Film Festival Best Actor Award, 1973; *Evening News* Best Actor of the Year Award, 1975. Died in London, July 24, 1980.



Peter Sellers.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

**Television Series (selected)**

- 1956 *The Idiot Weekly, Price 2d*  
1956 *A Show Called Fred*  
1956 *Son of Fred*  
1957 *Yes, It's the Cathode Ray Tube Show*  
1963 *The Best of Fred* (compilation)

**Films**

*Penny Points to Paradise*, 1951; *London Entertains*, 1951; *Let's Go Crazy*, 1951; *Down Among the Z Men*, 1952; *Super Secret Service*, 1953; *Orders Are Orders*, 1954; *John and Julie*, 1955; *The Lady-killers*, 1955; *The Case of the Mukkinese Battlehorn*, 1955; *The Man Who Never Was*, 1955; *The Smallest Show on Earth*, 1957; *Death of a Salesman*, 1957; *Cold Comfort*, 1957; *Insomnia Is Good for You*, 1957; *The Naked Truth*, 1958; *Up the Creek*, 1958; *Tom Thumb*, 1958; *Carlton-Browne of the F.O.*, 1958; *The Mouse That Roared*, 1959; *I'm All Right, Jack*, 1959; *Battle of the Sexes*, 1960; *Two-Way Stretch*, 1960; *The Running, Jumping and Standing Still Film* (also producer), 1960; *Never Let Go*, 1961; *The Millionairess*, 1961; *The Road to Hong Kong*, 1961; *Mister Topaze* (also director), 1961; *Only Two Can Play*, 1962; *Waltz of the Toreadors*, 1962; *Lolita*, 1962; *The Dock Brief*, 1963; *Heavens Above*, 1963; *The Wrong Arm of the Law*, 1963; *The Pink Panther*, 1963; *Dr. Strangelove; or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, 1964; *The World of Henry Orient*, 1964; *A Shot in the Dark*, 1964; *What's New Pussycat?*, 1965; *The Wrong Box*, 1966; *After the Fox*, 1966; *Casino Royale*, 1967; *The Bobo*, 1967; *Woman Times Seven*, 1967; *The Party*, 1968; *I Love You, Alice B. Toklas*, 1968; *The Magic Christian*, 1969; *Hoffman*, 1970; *There's a Girl in My Soup*, 1970; *A Day at the Beach*, 1970; *Simon, Simon*, 1970; *Where Does It Hurt?*, 1972; *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1972; *The Blockhouse*, 1973; *The Optimist*, 1973; *Soft Beds and Hard Battles*, 1973; *Ghost in the Noonday*, 1974; *The Great McGonagall*, 1974; *The Return of the Pink Panther*, 1974;

*Murder by Death*, 1976; *The Pink Panther Strikes Again*, 1976; *Revenge of the Pink Panther*, 1978; *Being There*, 1979; *The Prisoner of Zenda*, 1979; *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu*, 1980; *The Trail of the Pink Panther*, 1982.

**Radio**

*Show Time*, 1948; *Ray's a Laugh*, 1949; *The Goon Show*, 1951.

**Recordings (selected)**

*I'm Walking Backwards for Christmas*; *The Ying Tong Song*; *Any Old Iron*; *A Hard Day's Night*; *Goodness Gracious Me*; *Bangers and Mash*; *The Best of Sellers*; *Songs for Swingin' Sellers*.

**Stage**

*Brouhaha*, 1958.

**Publication (selected)**

*The Book of the Goons*, with Spike Milligan, 1974

**Further Reading**

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Miller, M., "Goonery and Guinness," *Films and Filming* (January 1983)  
Peary, Gerald, "Peter Sellers," *American Film* (April 1990)  
Sellers, Michael, with Sarah and Victoria Sellers, *P.S. I Love You: Peter Sellers, 1951-80*, New York: Dutton, 1981  
Sinoux, J., "Bye Bye Birdie—Mun-Num," *Positif* (February 1981)  
Sylvester, D., *Peter Sellers*, New York: Proteus, 1981  
Thomson, D., "The Rest Is Sellers," *Film Comment* (September-October 1980)  
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# Selling of the Pentagon, The

U.S. Documentary

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*The Selling of the Pentagon* was an important documentary aired in prime time on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on February 23, 1971. The aim of this film, produced by Peter Davis, was to examine the increasing utilization and cost to the taxpayers of public relations activities by the military-industrial complex in order to shape public opinion in favor of the military. The subject was not new, having already been greatly discussed in the press and debated in Congress. The junior senator from Arkansas, J. William Fulbright, had first raised the subject in a series of four widely publicized speeches in the Senate in December 1969. In November 1970, Fulbright published his book *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*, and this text formed the core around which the network constructed its version of the senator's ideas. While the controversial nature of the subject matter was clearly understood by the producers and a strong reaction was anticipated, the virulence and direction of this reaction could not have been foreseen. In the end, the furor surrounding *The Selling of the Pentagon* would serve as a significant benchmark in evaluating the First Amendment rights of the broadcast media.

The documentary, narrated by Roger Mudd, concentrated on three areas of Pentagon activity to illustrate the theme of public manipulation: direct contacts with the public, Defense Department films, and the Pentagon's use of the commercial media—the press and television. From the opening sequence of “firepower display” at Armed Forces Day in Fort Jackson, South Carolina (culminating in the last “mad minute” when all the weapons on display were fired simultaneously), through the middle section, which showed clips of the anti-Communist film *Red Nightmare*, to the closing section, which detailed how the media are “managed” by the Pentagon, the documentary unveiled a massive and costly public relations effort to improve the public perception of the military. However, these facts, while open to some subjective interpretation, were not the real cause of the dispute.

The real issues of contention centered around how the producers had “reconstructed” several key interviews and speeches shown in the documentary. The first controversial sequence involved a lecture by Army Colonel John A. McNeil that began with Mudd's

voice-over noting that “The Army has a regulation stating ‘Personnel should not speak on the foreign policy implication of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.’” McNeil was then shown delivering what appeared to be a six-sentence passage from his talk, which made him seem to be contravening official military regulations. In fact, the sequence was reconstructed from several different passages over a wide range of pages, taken out of context in places.

The second of the controversial interview sequences was with Assistant Secretary of Defense Daniel Henkin on the reasons for the public displays of military equipment at state fairs and shopping centers. Again, many of Henkin's answers were taken out of context and juxtaposed, making him appear, in television critic Martin Mayer's words, “a weasler and a fool.” Henkin, in keeping with government policy, had made his own tape recording of the interview, and he was therefore able to demonstrate how skillful editing had distorted what he had actually said.

The complaints about the show began only 14 minutes after it went on the air with phone calls to the network. The outcry in subsequent days was centered around two main sources: Representative F. Edward Hebert, chair of the House Armed Services Committee, and Representative Harley O. Staggers, chair of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and its Special Subcommittee on Investigations. On March 23, 1971, CBS ran the documentary again, and this time followed it with 20 minutes of critical remarks by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, Representative Hebert, and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and a rebuttal by CBS News president Richard Salant. This presentation did not satisfy the politicians, and on April 7, Representative Staggers had subpoenas issued to CBS, demanding the record of the production of the documentary.

The next move was up to CBS, and on the afternoon of April 20, the network responded to the first executive session of the Special Subcommittee on Investigations through its deputy general counsel, John D. Appel. CBS disputed Representative Staggers's comment that “the American public has a right to know and understand the techniques and procedures which go into the production and presentation of the television

news documentaries upon which they must rely for their knowledge of the great issues and controversies of the day." The network had voluntarily submitted the film and complete script of *The Selling of the Pentagon*, but it refused to supply the outtakes, draft notes, payments to persons appearing, and other material that had been subpoenaed.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) refused to become involved in the case, and the subcommittee held a series of hearings that included testimony from Assistant Secretary Henkin and Colonel John A. McNeil (who had in the interim filed a \$6 million lawsuit against the network). On June 24, at the subcommittee's third meeting, the star witness was Frank Stanton, the president of CBS. Stanton claimed that he had "a duty to uphold the freedom of the broadcast press against congressional abridgment," and he pointed out the differences between print and broadcast journalism. He noted that these issues would not arise with the print media, but "because broadcasters need government licenses while other media do not, the First Amendment permits such an intrusion into the freedom of broadcast journalism, although it admittedly forbids the identical intrusion into other press media." There was a provocative exchange between Representative Springer over the definition of "the press," with the congressman trying to prove, with the aid of a 1956 edition of Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary*, that broadcasting was not part of "the press." Stanton testified for more than four hours, and in the end he refused to submit to the subcommittee's subpoena.

In the midst of the furor concerning *The Selling of the Pentagon*, an even more important First Amendment issue was thrust on the public scene. On June 13, the *New York Times* published the first installment of the series of what became known as "The Pentagon Papers." This case moved rapidly through the courts, and on June 30, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of six to three, allowed the unrestrained publication of the documents.

It was against this background that on June 28 the subcommittee voted unanimously to refer the entire case to its parent Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. On July 1, the full committee voted 25 to 13 to report the matter to the House, with a recommendation that the network and Stanton be cited for contempt. Stanton could not help but notice the contrast between the two decisions: "This action is in disappointing contrast to the Supreme Court's ringing reaffirmation yesterday of the function of journalism in a free society."

On July 8, Staggers made his bid for House support with a floor speech and a letter to members of

Congress. On July 13, in a surprisingly heated debate, the issue came to a head. In the end, one of the committee members, Representative Hastings Keith, introduced a motion to recommit the resolution to the committee, which was asked to report back to the floor with legislation that would more adequately express the intent of Congress and give authority to the FCC to move in a constitutional way that would require the networks to be as responsible for the fairness and honesty of their documentaries as they were for quiz shows and other programs. After a roll call vote, the resolution was approved 226 to 181, effectively negating the contempt citations. Staggers commented, "The networks now control this Congress." Stanton, as was to be expected, was extremely pleased by what he felt was "the decisive House vote."

What was the final outcome? Was the vote really that decisive? On July 15, Representative Keith followed through on his promise and introduced legislation that would have prohibited broadcasters from staging an event, or "juxtaposing or rearranging by editing," without indicating to the public that this had occurred. The proposed legislation never made it to the floor. The final outcome was a victory of sorts for CBS specifically and broadcast journalism in general, for never in modern history had the House failed to sustain the vote of one of its committees to cite for contempt.

*The Selling of the Pentagon* was a milestone in the development of the television documentary, not so much for what it contained but because it represented a clear statement that the networks could not be made to bend to government control in the technological era.

GARTH S. JOWETT

See also **Columbia Broadcasting System; Stanton, Frank; Vietnam on Television; Wallace, Mike**

**Narrator**  
Roger Mudd

**Producer**  
Peter Davis

**Programming History**  
CBS  
February 23, 1971

#### **Further Reading**

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September 11, 2001. *See* Terrorism

## Serling, Rod (1924–1975)

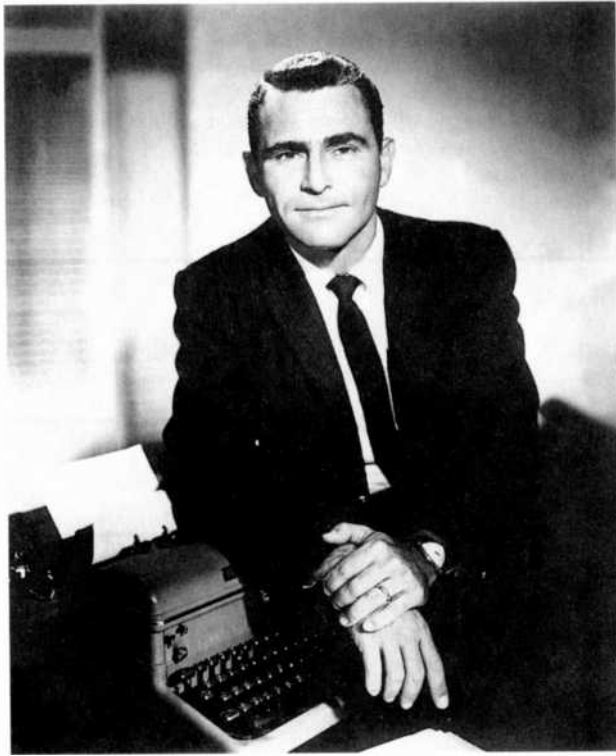
U.S. Writer, Producer

Rod Serling was perhaps the most prolific writer in American television. It is estimated that during his career from the late 1940s to 1975, more than 200 of his teleplays were produced. This staggering body of work for television has ensured Serling's place in the history of the medium. His emphasis on character (psychology and motivation) and the expedient handling of incisive, direct, and forceful and painfully penetrating dialogue, alongside his moralizing subtext, placed him in a unique position to question humankind's prejudices and intolerance as he saw it.

Following army service, Serling entered Antioch College in Ohio as a student under the GI Bill, where he began writing radio and television scripts, selling a number while still an undergraduate. On leaving college, he went to work as a continuity writer for a Cincinnati, Ohio, television station, WLWT-TV, and then began writing a regular weekly series of live dramas for the anthology show *The Storm*, produced by Robert Huber for WKRC-TV in Cincinnati. Turning freelance in 1952, Serling sold scripts to such network anthologies as *Lux Video Theatre*, *Hallmark Hall of Fame*, *The Doctor*, *Studio One*, and *Kraft Television Theatre*. It was for the latter show that Serling wrote "Patterns" (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], January 12, 1955), a powerful drama about corporate politics and big-business power games. It was an instant success with both the viewers and the critics, winning him his first of six Emmy Awards (for Best

Original Teleplay Writing) as well as a Sylvania Award for Best Teleplay.

Serling followed this drama with, among others, an adaptation of Ring Lardner's "The Champion" (for *Climax*, 1955), "The Rack," (*U.S. Steel Hour*, 1955), "Incident in an Alley" (*U.S. Steel Hour*, 1955), "Noon on Doomsday" (*U.S. Steel Hour*, 1956), and "Forbidden Area" (*Playhouse 90*, 1956). "Forbidden Area" was his first script for *Playhouse 90* (an adaptation of a Pat Frank story) and was also that show's premiere episode. But it was *Playhouse 90*'s second presentation that brought him his greatest success: "Requiem for a Heavyweight" (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], October 11, 1956). This compelling yet overlong story of a boxer who knows that he is washed up but does not know anything else than the world of the ring projected Serling to the top ranks of the TV writing elite and brought him a gallery of awards, including another Emmy (for Best Teleplay Writing), a Harcourt-Brace Award, another Sylvania Award (for Best Teleplay Writing), a Television-Radio Writers' Annual Award, a Writers Guild of America Award, and the first ever George Foster Peabody Award for writing. *Playhouse 90* and CBS promptly signed him to a contract, and he became one of the show's chief writers (among such distinguished names as Horton Foote and Reginald Rose). Serling's next *Playhouse 90*, "The Comedian" (CBS, February 14, 1957), based on Ernest Lehman's story about an egomaniacal enter-



Rod Serling. *The Twilight Zone*, 1963.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tainer, gave him his third Emmy for Best Teleplay Writing.

But then, from 1958, his conflicts with networks and sponsors over censorship of his work became increasingly intense. "I can recall the blue-penciling of a script of mine called 'A Town Has Turned to Dust,'" he said in a 1962 *TV Guide* interview, "in which a reference to a 'mob of men in masks and sheets' was cut because of possible affront to Southern institutions." Eventually, these censorship battles led to Serling making a transition from live drama to filmed series television and his own *The Twilight Zone*.

Stemming from a Serling-scripted Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse entry called "The Time Element" (November 1958), Serling created, executive-produced, hosted, and (for the most part) wrote the half-hour science-fantasy anthology *The Twilight Zone*, networked by CBS from 1959 to 1964. The series not only created a whole new programming genre for television but also offered Serling an opportunity to say things he could never get away with in more conventional dramatizations. The weekly tales remain memorable for allowing the viewer to enter "the middle ground between light and shadow, between science and superstition,"

which lay "between the pit of man's fears and the summit of his knowledge."

*The Twilight Zone* added two more Emmys (Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama) to Serling's already impressive collection of tributes. His sixth and final Emmy came during *Twilight Zone*'s run, for the 1963 *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theatre* segment "It's Mental Work" (also for Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama, Adaptation). But it was with *The Twilight Zone* that Serling reached the peak of his success, for most of what followed after this period would be below Serling's personal standard.

In the fall of 1965, CBS premiered Serling's *The Loner*, a half-hour, post-Civil War western about a wandering, introspective cowboy in search of life's meaning, starring Lloyd Bridges. The story behind *The Loner* went back almost five years to the time when Serling believed that his *Twilight Zone* would not be renewed by CBS, and as an alternative he came up with a one-hour pilot script about a character he called the Loner, heading west after the Civil War. CBS turned it down. However, around the same time, *The Twilight Zone* was given the go-ahead for another season, so *The Loner* script was shelved. When in early 1965 CBS was looking for a half-hour western for their Saturday night schedules, independent producer William Dozier, remembering Serling's *The Loner* proposal from his CBS days, sold the package (now consisting of Serling as writer, Bridges as star, and Dozier as producer) to the network. The series of 26 episodes (14 of them by Serling) opened to poor ratings and lukewarm reviews. When CBS demanded more "action" (meaning less character and less motivation and more "running gun battles"), Serling refused to comply, causing a rift between the writer and the network. *The Loner* left the schedules in April 1966.

For the next few years, Serling occupied himself with various projects and programs. He served a two-year term as president of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, hosted TV entertainment shows (*The Liar's Club*, 1969; *Rod Serling's Wonderful World of...*, 1970), and turned, once again, to screenplay work with adaptations of novels for *Planet of the Apes* (1968; based on the novel by Pierre Boulle) and *The Man* (1972; from the novel by Irving Wallace, which had actually started out as a telefilm). Not unlike other 1950s TV writers, Serling had based his earliest screenplays on his own television work: *Patterns* (United Artists, 1956), *The Rack* (MGM, 1956), *Incident in an Alley* (United Artists, 1962), and *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (Columbia, 1962).

In 1969, he was approached by producer Aaron Spelling to write a pilot for a series called *The New*

*People* (ABC, 1969–70), featuring an assorted group of young Americans stranded on a South Pacific atoll. Serling delivered his script but later commented on the *Lord of the Flies* theme that “it may work, but not for me.” NBC’s horror-fantasy anthology *Night Gallery* (1970–73) was to occupy his time during the early 1970s, following the pilot TV movie (NBC, 1969), adapted from his short-story collection (*The Season to Be Wary*), published in 1967. Based on the three stories (one directed by the young Steven Spielberg), the Mystery Writers of America presented him with their special Edgar Award for the suitably suspenseful scripts. Also known as *Rod Serling’s Night Gallery* (he acted as host and sometime contributor), the series failed to come anywhere close to his *Twilight Zone* sense of “seriousness,” as Serling had hoped, and the show quickly deteriorated, according to Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, into “the supernatural equivalent of *Love, American Style*.” There were, however, two Serling episodes that remain outstanding for their sense of compassion and morality: “They’re Tearing Down Tim Riley’s Bar” and “The Messiah on Mott Street”; both were nominated for Emmys.

After *Night Gallery* was canceled in 1973, Serling retreated to Ithaca College, in upstate New York, and taught writing. Teaching the art of writing sustained him more than anything else during the last few years of his life. *The Twilight Zone*, in constant reruns, remains a cultural milestone to Serling’s art, craft, and practice.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also **Anthology Drama**; “**Golden Age**” of **Television**; *Playhouse 90*; *Twilight Zone*, *The*

**Rod Serling.** Born Edward Rodman Serling in Syracuse, New York, December 25, 1924. Educated at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, B.A. 1950. Married: Carolyn Kramer, 1948; two daughters. Served as paratrooper in U.S. Army during World War II. Worked as writer for WLW-Radio, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1946–48, WKRC-TV, Cincinnati, 1948–53; freelance writer, from 1953; producer, television series *The Twilight Zone*, 1959–64, and *Night Gallery*, from 1969; taught at Antioch College, 1950s, and Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York, 1970s. Honorary degrees: D.H.L., Emerson College, Boston, 1971, and Alfred University, New York, 1972; Litt.D., Ithaca College, 1972. President, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1965–66; member of the council, Writers Guild of America West, 1965–67. Recipient: six Emmy Awards; Sylvania Awards, 1955 and 1956; Christopher Awards, 1956 and 1971; Peabody Award,

1957; Hugo Awards, 1960, 1961, and 1962. Died in Rochester, New York, June 28, 1975.

#### Television Plays (selected)

- 1953 “Nightmare at Ground Zero,” *Suspense*  
 1953 “Old MacDonald Had a Curve,”  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 1954 “One for the Angels,” *Danger*  
 1955 “Patterns,” *Kraft Television Theatre*  
 1955–56 *U.S. Steel Hour*  
 1956 “Requiem for a Heavyweight,”  
*Playhouse 90*  
 1956 “Forbidden Area,” *Playhouse 90*  
 (from Pat Frank’s novel)  
 1957 “The Comedian,” *Playhouse 90*  
 1959 “The Lonely,” *Twilight Zone*  
 1959 “Time Enough at Last,” *Twilight Zone*  
 1965–66 *The Loner*, 14 episodes  
 1966 *The Doomsday Flight*  
 1970 “A Storm in Summer,” *Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
 1971 “Make Me Laugh,” *Night Gallery*

#### Television Series (producer)

- 1959–64 *The Twilight Zone*  
 1970–73 *Night Gallery*

#### Films (writer)

*Patterns*, 1956; *Saddle the Wind* (with Thomas Thompson), 1958; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1962; *The Yellow Canary*, 1963; *Seven Days in May*, 1963; *Assault on a Queen*, 1966; *Planet of the Apes* (with Michael Wilson), 1967; *The Man*, 1972.

#### Radio

*The Zero Hour* (host), 1973.

#### Stage

*The Killing Season*, 1968.

#### Publications

- Stories from the Twilight Zone*, 1960  
*More Stories from the Twilight Zone*, 1961  
*New Stories from the Twilight Zone*, 1962  
*Rod Serling’s Triple W: Witches, Warlocks and Werewolves* (introduction), 1963  
*From the Twilight Zone* (short stories), 1962  
*Rod Serling’s Twilight Zone Revisited* (foreword), 1964

Serling, Rod

*Chilling Stories from Rod Serling's The Twilight Zone*  
(foreword), 1965  
*The Season To Be Wary*, 1967  
*Rod Serling's Devils and Demons* (introduction), 1967  
*Night Gallery* (short stories), 1971  
*Night Gallery 2* (short stories), 1972  
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## Sesame Street

### Children's Educational Public Television Program

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The brainchild of documentary film producer Joan Ganz Cooney, *Sesame Street's* mission was to help prepare children for school, especially underprivileged inner-city children. Cooney and Carnegie Corporation Vice President Lloyd Morrisett held what might then have been considered a radical belief: that the much-maligned medium of television could be used to address a widespread educational need. They hoped to diminish the disparity in opportunity created by poverty and make a difference in the lives of children.

Eight million dollars in grants from foundations and the federal government were allocated for the research, planning, and production of one season of one-hour shows. Cooney headed the show's production unit, founding the Children's Television Workshop (CTW) in 1968. To the delight of its creators and funders, the show was an overnight success when it first aired on November 10, 1969. Over half the nation's 12 million preschoolers saw it during its first six-month run.

*Sesame Street* was designed as an experimental research project—a collaboration between television producers, educators, researchers, psychologists, sociologists, child development experts, artists, writers, and musicians. From the beginning, it was a curriculum-driven program emphasizing cognitive, social, emotional, and physical development. Every segment or song was designed to educate young viewers about a specific lesson, and every year the curriculum, created by psychologists and educators, has changed to remain current with the latest findings and suggestions of preschool experts. Young viewers explore letters

and numbers as well as subtle but significant messages about love, life, family, and friendship.

Maintaining an intricate balance between education and entertainment was a constant challenge during the show's development. As material was produced, it was tested on target audiences for appeal and comprehension. The creators initially wanted a show with no fantasy and thus created the urban street setting. When the show was pilot tested in Philadelphia, however, it was poorly received. Researchers discovered that kids lost interest during the street segments and concluded that combining fantasy with reality was necessary.

Jim Henson's Muppets, built especially for TV, were used to entertain while fulfilling curriculum needs. Initially, the Muppets were not intended to be included in the street scenes but were to appear only in taped inserts between street segments, animations, and films. Researchers found, however, that children paid attention only when animation and Muppets appeared and concluded that Muppets were integral to the success of the program. Since the first nationally aired episode, Muppets have interacted with the humans as well as among themselves in their own segments.

Big Bird and Oscar were, respectively, the first Muppets to appear. Big Bird, operated since the first episode by Carroll Spinney, represents a six-year-old and, like most of the Muppets, acts as a surrogate child, asking questions that kids might ask adults in real life.

Other original Muppets included Ernie and Bert, Grover, Kermit the Frog, Cookie Monster, and Oscar

the Grouch, the trash-can resident whose role is to help kids understand that negative feelings such as anger and irritability are natural. Elmo, representative of a three-and-a-half-year-old, joined the Muppet cast in 1979. In 1999, "Elmo's World" was added as a daily 15-minute segment that closes each hour. It broke new ground in electronic animation while helping children learn to explore their world.

Some of the early cast of human characters, including Bob (Bob McGrath) Susan (Loretta Long), Maria (Sonia Manzano), and Luis (Emilio Delgado), continue as cast members. Since 1971, Linda Bove has used sign language and provided a positive role model for hearing and nonhearing kids. Bove's is the longest-running role of any physically challenged person in a TV series. Among child performers, the show has always featured children from local elementary schools, mostly from disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Over the years, *Sesame Street* increasingly confronted some of life's serious problems. In 1982, the producers used the death of actor Will Lee (fix-it-shop proprietor Mr. Hooper) to address the questions that children inevitably ask when someone dies. In 2001, a series of episodes dealt with rebuilding after a disastrous hurricane. The show also acknowledged marriage, pregnancy, and parenthood with Maria and Luis, who married on the show.

*Sesame Street* has become the most widely watched TV series in the world. Taped at Kaufman Astoria Studios in Queens, New York, it appears several times daily on more than 300 Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations across the United States. It has been adapted into several international productions, reflecting local languages, customs, and educational needs, and is aired in more than 150 countries. Seventy percent of American preschool children watch *Sesame Street* at least once a week. Since the beginning, the show has also attracted an adult audience with its "Who's Who" of singers and actors and parodies of grown-up entertainment (e.g., "Monsterpiece Theater"). The show has hosted more than 250 celebrity guests.

*Sesame Street* also sets the record for being the most researched show in television history with more than 1,000 studies on record affirming the show's efficacy and impact. Several establish that educational television makes lasting, measurable contributions to learning. One study concluded that teens who watched *Sesame Street* when younger had better grades in school, read more books for pleasure, had higher levels of achievement motivation, and expressed less aggressive attitudes than those who watched TV rarely or not at all.

*Sesame Street* has won 76 Emmys, more than any show in history. It has also earned Grammys, Peabody

Awards, Parent's Choice Awards, the Prix Jeunesse International, a Clio Award, and Action for Children's Television Special Achievement Awards. In its 33rd season in 2002, the show underwent format changes in order to compete with other shows that were aimed at two- to four-year-olds.

KATHLEEN COLLINS

*See also Children's Television; Cooney, Joan Ganz; Educational Television; Henson, Jim; Muppet Show, The; Sesame Workshop*

#### Selected Cast

Jim Henson	Kermit the Frog (1969–90)/ Ernie(1969–90)/Guy Smiley/ Papa Twiddlebug/ Captain Vegetable/ Sinister Sam/Additional Voices (1969–90) (voice)
Carroll Spinney	Big Bird/ Oscar the Grouch/ Bruno (voice)
Carlo Alban	Carlo (1997–present)
Paul Benedict	The Number-Painter (1969–74)
Linda Bove	Linda Bove (1971– )
Ruth Buzzi	Ruthie (1993–99)
Kevin Clash	Elmo/Baby Natasha/ Benny the Bunny/ Hoots the Owl/ Kingston Livingston III
Bruce Connelly	Barkley (1978–present) (voice)
Emilio Delgado	Luis Rodriguez (1971– )
Savion Glover	Savion (1990–95)
Alaina Reed Hall	Olivia (1976–88)
Richard Hunt	Don Music/Gladys the Cow/ Placido Flamingo/Sully/ Two-Headed Monster (II) (1969–92)/Forgetful Jones/ Sonny Friendly (voice)
Bill Irwin	Mr. Noodle (1998–2000)
Raul Julia	Rafael (1971–73)
Will Lee	Mr. Harold Hooper (1969–82)
Loretta Long	Susan Robinson (1969– )
Sonia Manzano	Maria Figueuroa Rodriguez (1974– )
Jim Martin	Oscar
Bob McGrath	Bob McGrath (1969– )
Hal Miller	Gordon (1971–73)
Alan Muraoka	Alan (1998– )
Jerry Nelson	Count von Count/ Herry Monster/Amazing Mumford/Two-Headed Monster (I)/Fat Blue/Simon

## Sesame Street

	Soundman/Sherlock Hemlock/Mr. Snuffleupagus (1971–77)/Herbert Birdsfoot/Biff Hardhat/Fred the Wonderhorse/Brother Twiddlebug/Additional Voices (voice)
Roscoe Orman	Gordon Robinson (1973– )
Frank Oz	Bert/Grover/Cookie Monster/Harvey Kneeslapper/Mama Twiddlebug/The Salesman/Professor Hastings/Prince Charming/Additional Voices (voice)
Charlotte Rae	Molly the Mail Lady (1972–73)
Martin P. Robinson	Aloysius “Snuffy” Snuffleupagus/Telly Monster/Slimey (voice)
Matt Robinson	Gordon (1969–71), Roosevelt Franklin (voice)
David Rudman	Baby Bear/Davey Monkey/Cookie Monster (2001)/Humphrey/Two-Headed Monster (1992– ) (voice)
Buffy Sainte-Marie	Buffy (1976–91)
David Langston	Mr. Handford (1992–present)
Smyrl	Ernie (1990– )/Kermit the Frog (1990– ) (voice)
Steve Whitmire	

### Producers

Ann Burgund	Producer
Joan Ganz Cooney	Executive producer
Robert Cunniff	Producer
Shyrlee Dallard	Producer
Lynn Klugman	Supervising producer
M.M. Murphy	Producer
Dulcy Singer	Associate producer (executive producer 1984–94)
Jon Stone	Executive producer
Edith Zornow	Supervising film producer

### Writers

Lou Berger (1998–2001)
Molly Boylan (1998–2001)
Sara Compton (1998–2001)
Annie Evans (1998–2001)
Chrissy Ferraro (1998–2001)
Judy Freudberg (1998–2001)
Tony Geiss (1998–2001)
Ian Ellis James (1998–2001)
Emily Perl Kingsley (1998–2001)
David Korr (1998–2001)
Sonia Manzano (1981– )
Joey Mazzarino (1998–2001)
Jeff Moss (1998–2000)
Cathi Rosenberg-Turow (1998–2001)
Adam Rudman (1998–2001)
Nancy Sans (1998–2001)
Luis Santeiro (1998–2001)
Josh Selig (1998–2001)
Norman Stiles (1982–92)
Belinda Ward (1998–2001)
John Weidman (1998–2001)
Mo Willems (1998–2001)

### Programming History

PBS  
November 1969–present

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# Sesame Workshop

U.S. Production Company

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Sesame Workshop is a nonprofit organization created in 1967, as the Children's Television Workshop (CTW), for the purpose of producing the educational program *Sesame Street*. To emphasize that the organization's mission has moved beyond television production only, the workshop's name was changed to its present form in June 2000.

CTW was headed by Joan Ganz Cooney, a television producer who, with Lloyd Morrisett of the Markle Foundation, attracted funding from federal and private sources, including the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the National Institutes of Mental Health; the Carnegie and Ford foundations; and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. *Sesame Street*, designed to promote the intellectual and cultural growth of preschoolers (particularly disadvantaged preschoolers), revolutionized children's educational television when it premiered in 1969 and established the CTW model for program development and research regarding children and television.

The "CTW model" refers to the unique process of educational program development at the workshop. The paradigm evolved under the direction of Cooney; Edward L. Palmer, director of research; and Gerald S. Lesser, chair of the CTW Board of Advisors. Each of the workshop's series begins with extensive initial planning sessions involving producers, researchers, content experts, and advisers. The concepts developed in these sessions are then translated into program segments and pretested with the target audience. Frequently, the testing extends for lengthy periods prior to actual production so that producers can see how the audience reacts to the educational messages embedded in the programs.

In preparing for *Sesame Street*, for example, the research and design focused on the demonstrable ability of the program's elements to attract attention, appeal to the audience, and be comprehensible. Researchers assessed the attention-holding power of material by presenting content in competition with potential distractions. The tactics that elicited the most interactivity among viewers were explored further. The research concluded with tests to assess what appropriate audiences recalled about the programming. As a result of these procedures, *Sesame Street* went on air with very

specific attention-holding tactics, such as fast movement, humor, slapstick, and animation. It was packaged in a magazine format and presented a carefully planned curriculum that focused on teaching letters and number skills.

Program development at the workshop does not stop when programs are broadcast. In addition to the unusual attention to formative research, the CTW model also includes a strong commitment to summative research; as part of its summative research plan, the Educational Testing Service (ETS), was commissioned to evaluate *Sesame Street*. In a series of studies published by ETS in 1970 and 1972, researchers Ball and Bogatz found that viewing the program had a significant impact on test subjects and offered evidence of the development of a positive attitude toward school among those subjects. In a 1976 study, Cook and Connor discovered that parental encouragement was vital to learning and that advantaged families were more likely to watch *Sesame Street*, thus ironically arguing that the gap between that group and the disadvantaged was not narrowed by the availability of the program.

Broadcast continuously in the United States since 1969, *Sesame Street* is clearly the workshop's outstanding success. From its beginning as a weekday show designed to teach thinking skills and factual knowledge such as letters and number skills, *Sesame Street*'s curriculum has been broadened to include goals such as reasoning, bilingual skills, acceptance of special needs, ecology, and health. The program is viewed by almost half of all U.S. preschoolers on a weekly basis.

Versions of *Sesame Street* have been broadcast in more than 40 countries, with more than 20 showing the national editions of the program in 2002. The international productions share the U.S. programs' commitment to teaching learning skills and values, such as tolerance and kindness, but are specially tailored for the children in the nation or region in which they are broadcast. For example, the Egyptian show emphasizes the educational needs of girls, and, in the 2002–03 season, the South African version included a Muppet child living with AIDS. The Israeli–Palestinian coproduction begun in 1998 portrayed friendship and tolerance between Israeli and Palestinian Muppets and presented

segments in both Hebrew and Arabic. However, by 2002, the coproduction (which now included Jordan as well) had eliminated stories about Arabs and Israelis interacting and changed its name to *Sesame Stories*. The changes reflected the producers' conclusion that the heightened conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Authority made too unrealistic the notion of a street where the two groups would meet as peaceful neighbors.

Following the success of *Sesame Street*, CTW went on to produce a number of other major educational programs, including *The Electric Company*, which premiered in 1971 and was in production for a decade. *The Electric Company* emphasized symbol and sound analysis and meaning in a half-hour program designed to help slower readers catch up and good readers reinforce their skills. *The Electric Company* used the CTW model, a magazine format, and a variety of entertaining and attention-grabbing production techniques. Formative research for the program included innovative eye-movement and eye-contact measures of appeal and attention. ETS evaluation found that *The Electric Company* fostered significant positive effects, particularly for the youngest target viewers. *Feeling Good*, a 24-episode experimental series, was programmed in 1974, designed to examine health issues and targeted particularly for young parents and low-income families. Funding difficulties and low ratings forced the program to be produced in stages with considerable format changes. Low public awareness of the program seemed to contribute to lack of demonstrable effects.

*3-2-1 Contact*, a 65-program series for 8- to 12-year-old children, premiered in 1980 and focused on science and technology. The goals were to promote scientific thinking, participation in science activities, and awareness of science as a career, particularly for women and minority children. It used a magazine format with continuing features such as a mystery/adventure dramatic component. Research by Mielke and Chen in 1980 and 1983 found *3-2-1 Contact* attractive to children, who responded particularly positively to the drama format used in the "Bloodhound Gang" segments.

*Square One TV* premiered in 1987 with the goal of increasing problem-solving ability and a positive attitude toward mathematics among 8- to 12-year-old children. Format features included Mathnet, game show parodies, and commercials. The program covered mathematical concepts from estimation through graphics, probabilities, and geometry. CTW research showed that viewers in the target age-group enjoyed improved problem-solving ability and more positive attitudes toward mathematics.

*Ghostwriter*, a series focusing on writing skills, premiered in 1992. The series' appeal was built around a computer that provided "ghostlike" clues that enabled a group of young people to solve problems. Of these workshop programs, only *Sesame Street* is still in production, but because there is always a new audience of children available, most of the programs can still be seen. These are only a sampling of the workshop's major projects. The workshop continues to produce many other television programs, including the recent animated series *Dragon Tales* and *Sagwa*, both intended for preschool viewers.

By the 1980s, many of the funds for CTW were generated from *Sesame Street* product sales, the Sesame Place Amusement Park, and *Sesame Street Live*, a touring theatrical production. CTW became an unhappy participant in the struggles over Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) funding in the mid-1990s, when the financial success of *Sesame Street* was used as an example of why public funding was not needed to support educational children's programming. Despite such difficulties, the workshop—and *Sesame Street* in particular—remain a hallmark of children's programming in the United States. In the early 21st century, Sesame Workshop continues to expand its efforts to educate and entertain children. Among other ventures, it presents an expansive website replete with interactive games for children, suggestions for crafts and other forms of creative play, advice for parents, features about members of the *Sesame Street* family and characters from other series, as well as information about the workshop, its mission, and its products. The workshop has also partnered with Nickelodeon to create a commercial-free, educational cable channel. Between 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M., the channel is called Noggin and offers programming for preschool children; during the other 12 hours of the day, the channel is called The N and shows programs for older children and teens. Featuring new and classic programs produced by the workshop and by Nickelodeon, Noggin/The N reached 22 million households in 2001. Like Sesame Workshop, both Noggin and The N complement their TV offerings with interactive Internet sites.

ALISON ALEXANDER

See also *Children and Television*; Cooney, Joan Ganz; Henson, Jim; *Muppet Show*, *The*

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## Sevareid, Eric (1912–1992)

U.S. Journalist

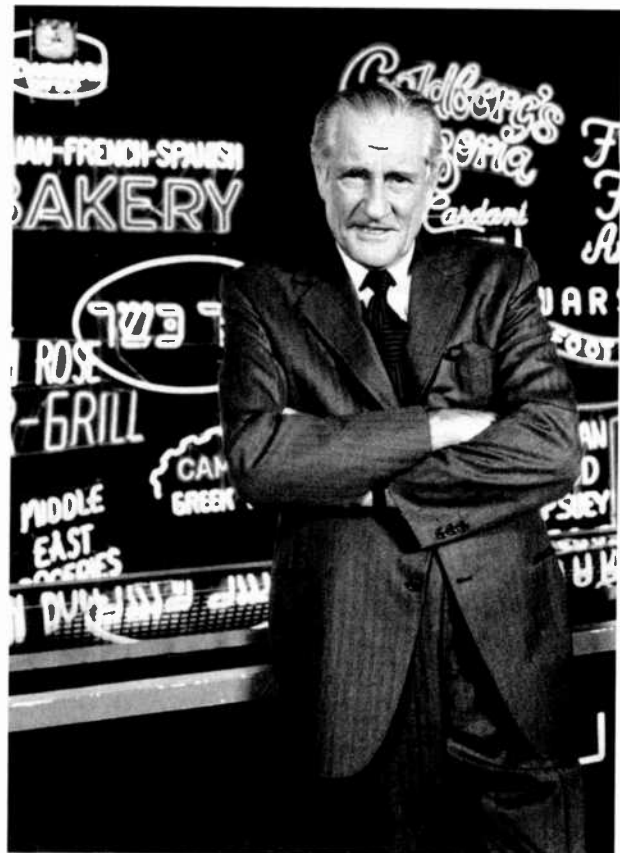
Eric Sevareid was one of the earliest of a group of intellectual, analytic, adventurous, and sometimes even controversial newspapermen handpicked by Edward R. Murrow as CBS Radio foreign correspondents. Later, Sevareid and others of this elite band of broadcast journalists, known as "Murrow's Boys," distinguished themselves in television. From 1964 until his retirement from the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1977, Sevareid carried on the Murrow tradition of news analysis in his position as national correspondent for the *CBS Evening News*. There, his somber, eloquent commentaries were either praised as lucid and illuminating or criticized for sounding profound without ever reaching a conclusive point.

Sevareid's image as a scholarly commentator on the *CBS Evening News* was belied by an early career in which he was something of a swashbuckler. Sevareid was working at the *New York Herald Tribune's* Paris office when his writing abilities caught the eye of Murrow, who offered him a job. Sevareid would later say of those early years, "We were like a young band of brothers in those early radio days with Murrow." In his final 1977 *CBS Evening News* commentary, Sevareid referred to Murrow as the man who "invented me."

As one of "Murrow's Boys" during World War II, Sevareid "scooped the world" with his broadcast of the news of the French surrender in 1940. He joined Murrow in covering the Battle of Britain, he was lost briefly after parachuting into the Burmese jungle when his plane developed engine trouble while covering the Burmese–China theater, he reported on Tito's partisans, and he landed with the first wave of U.S. troops in southern France, accompanying them all the way to Germany.

In 1946, after reporting on the founding of the United Nations, Sevareid wrote *Not So Wild a Dream*, which appeared in 11 printings and became a primary source on the lives of the generation of

Americans who had lived through the Depression and World War II. For the 1976 edition of the book, he wrote, "It was a lucky stroke of timing to have been born and lived as an American in this last generation. It was good fortune to be a journalist in Washington, now the single news headquarters in the world since



Eric Sevareid.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ancient Rome. But we are not Rome; the world is too big, too varied.”

Always considering himself a writer first, Sevareid felt uneasy behind a microphone and even less comfortable with television; nevertheless, he did such early Sunday “news-ghetto” programs as *Capitol Cloakroom* and *The American Week* and served as host and science reporter on the CBS series *Conquest*. As head of the CBS’s Washington bureau from 1946 to 1959, Sevareid was an early critic of McCarthyism, and, in one of the few even mildly critical comments he ever made about his mentor, he observed that Murrow came to the issue rather late.

Serving as CBS’s roving European correspondent from 1959 to 1961, Sevareid contributed stories to *CBS Reports* as well as serving as moderator of series such as *Town Meeting of the World*, *The Great Challenge*, *Where We Stand*, and *Years of Crisis*. In addition, he also contributed to the coverage of every presidential election from 1948 to 1976. However, one of Sevareid’s scoops of those years, his 1965 exclusive interview with Adlai Stevenson shortly before Stevenson’s death, for which Sevareid won a New York Newspaper Guild Page One Award, was not broadcast over CBS, appearing instead in *Look* magazine.

From 1963 until his retirement, Sevareid appeared on the *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. During that period, his Emmy and Peabody Award-winning two-minute commentaries, with their penchant to elucidate rather than advocate, inspired those who admired him to refer to him as the “Gray Eminence.” On the other hand, those who were irked by his tendency to overemphasize the complexity of every issue nicknamed him “Eric Several-sides.” Sevareid himself said that as he had grown older, his tendency was toward conservatism in foreign affairs and liberalism in domestic politics. Despite this perspective, he commented after a trip to South Vietnam in 1966 that prolonging the war was unwise and that a negotiated settlement was advisable. His commentary on the resignation speech of President Richard M. Nixon (“Few things in his presidency became him as much as his manner of leaving the presidency”) was hardly as perceptive.

In addition to sustaining the Murrow tradition of news commentary at CBS, Sevareid, in keeping with another Murrow tradition, interviewed noted individuals such as West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, novelist Leo Rosten, and many others on the series *Conversations with Eric Sevareid*. In something of a spoof of this tradition, he also had a conversation with King George III (played by Peter Ustinov) titled *The Last King in America*.

After his retirement, Sevareid continued to be active as a CBS consultant and narrator of shows such as *Be-*

*tween the Wars* (syndicated, 1978), a series on U.S. diplomacy between 1920 and 1941, *Enterprise* (Public Broadcasting Service [PBS], 1984), a series on American business, and *Eric Sevareid’s Chronicle* (syndicated, 1982). His final appearance before his death in 1992 was on the 1991 CBS program *Remember Pearl Harbor*. Needless to say, Sevareid’s presence at CBS was a link to the Murrow tradition, long after Murrow himself and many of his “Boys” left the network and after that tradition ceased to have significant practical relevance at CBS News.

ALBERT AUSTER

See also **Columbia Broadcasting System; Cronkite, Walter; Murrow, Edward R.; News, Network**

**Eric Sevareid.** Born in Velva, North Dakota, November 26, 1912. Educated at the University of Minnesota, B.A. in political science, 1935; studied at London School of Economics, and Alliance Française, Paris. Married: 1) Lois Finger, 1935 (divorced, 1962); two sons; 2) Belén Marshall, 1963; one daughter; 3) Suzanne St. Pierre. Worked as teenager as copyboy for the *Minneapolis Journal*; worked during college as freelancer for the *Minneapolis Star*; served on staff of the *Minneapolis Journal*, 1936–37; reporter, Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*, 1938; recruited to join CBS Radio by Edward R. Murrow, 1939; traveled with French Army and Air Force for CBS, 1939–40, became first to report France’s capitulation to Germany; assigned to CBS News Bureau in Washington, D.C., 1941–43; served as war correspondent in China, 1943–44, London, 1945; served as chief Washington correspondent for CBS, 1946–59; worked as European correspondent, 1959–61; moderator, numerous CBS News programs, 1961–64; served as commentator for the *CBS Evening News*, from 1963; national correspondent, CBS News, from 1964; hosted interview series, *Conversations with Eric Sevareid*, from 1977; consultant, CBS News, from 1977; reported on numerous presidential conventions. Received numerous honorary degrees. Recipient: Peabody Awards, 1950, 1964, and 1976; Emmy Awards, 1973, 1974, and 1977; two Overseas Press Club Awards; Harry S. Truman Award, 1981; numerous other awards. Died July 10, 1992.

#### Television

1957–58	<i>Conquest</i> (host and science reporter)
1963–77	<i>CBS Evening News</i> (commentator)
1964–77	<i>CBS Evening News</i> (national correspondent)
1977	<i>Conversations with Eric Sevareid</i>

**Television Special**

1959 *CBS Reports: Great Britain—  
Blood, Sweat and Tears Plus Twenty  
Years*

**Publications**

*Canoeing with the Cree*, 1935  
*Not So Wild a Dream*, 1946  
*In One Ear*, 1952  
*Small Sounds in the Night*, 1956  
*Candidates 1960* (editor), 1959  
*This Is Eric Sevareid*, 1964

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# Sex

## Australian Lifestyle Show

*Sex*, also known as *Sex with Sophie Lee*, was a “lifestyle” show launched in Australia in 1992. Produced by Tim Clucas for the Nine Network, the show went to a second series in 1993 with a new presenter, the comedian Pamela Stephenson. *Sex* can be seen as the first show on Australian TV to try to modernize sexual attitudes and make sex a vital topic of mainstream public discussion in the HIV era, or it can be seen as an attempt by commercial television to consumerize sex itself, making sexual preference into a supermarket choice, and to use public education as an excuse for exploitative television.

The show was launched to phenomenally high ratings (a 32 share), largely on the lure of its presenter Sophie Lee’s own reputation for sexiness. But the early episodes succeeded in mixing straightforward advice about common problems with some noteworthy firsts for prime-time television, especially by showing human reproductive organs, both male and female, on screen. Most notably, even though its own format comprised traditional magazine-style journalistic and “expert” segments, linked by a studio anchor in glamorous evening wear, *Sex* crossed one of television’s most policed generic boundaries: characters (fiction) can have sex, while people (fact) can only talk about it. The presentation of ordinary people being sexual on screen and the screening of sexualized bodies (even if only in bizarre slow-motion “reconstruction” mode) was

enough to give the show an unsettling, innovative feel and to ensure that *Sex* provoked widespread discussion in the press and popular magazines as well as rating highly. Not all reaction was positive; for instance, the president of General Motors Holden announced that the car company would not advertise during *Sex* because it wanted its products to be associated with “wholesome” topics.

Sophie Lee became progressively disenchanted with the lack of control she had over the items she was contracted to introduce, segments that began to interpret “sex” in terms of ratings potential rather than public utility. She left the show at the end of its first season, to be replaced by Pamela Stephenson, the Australian-born comedian best known for the 1970s British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) series *Not the Nine O’clock News*. Stephenson recorded her links for *Sex* in a studio in Los Angeles, clearly regarding it as her brief to supply the “nudge, nudge, wink, wink” element. After the departure of Lee, without anyone on or behind the screen to argue for the show’s importance in changing public attitudes to sex, the series slid from interesting experiment to unstylish exploitation and was canceled by the Nine Network after two seasons, to be replaced by safer lifestyle shows about money, home improvement, tourism, and gardening.

JOHN HARTLEY

See also Lee, Sophie

Sex

**Hosts**

Sophie Lee 1992  
Pamela Stevenson 1993

**Producer**

Tim Clucas

**Programming History**

20 episodes  
Nine Network  
May 1992–July 1992 Thursday 8:30–9:00  
February 1993–May 1993 Thursday 9:30–10:00

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# Sex and the City

U.S. Comedy Series

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*Sex and the City* debuted on Home Box Office (HBO) in the summer of 1998. Its immediate success played a crucial role in the channel's development of original series by providing female-centered programming in contrast to the masculinity that defined programs such as *Oz* and *The Sopranos*. Though the series first drew attention for its risqué depiction of sex and nudity, critics and viewers quickly recognized significant emotional depth and complexity, qualities that gave its stories unmatched resonance for some audiences. In some respects, *Sex and the City* continues the "new woman" comedy dating to early examples such as *That Girl* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. But the series' unprecedented frank examination of the sexual desires and emotional needs of four distinct female characters helped it achieve the status of "watercooler" conversation for the small but specific demographic that subscribes to HBO.

Executive producer and writer Darren Star (*Beverly Hills, 90210*, and *Melrose Place*) adapted the series from a book of the same title written by Candace Bushnell that was based on her *New York Observer* newspaper column. Bushnell serves as the model for the character of Carrie Bradshaw, the actual "sexual anthropologist" who writes stories about sex and socializing in New York. The series reduces a much larger collection of inhabitants in Bushnell's book to Carrie's three female friends: Charlotte, Miranda, and Samantha. Despite an offer from the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Star chose to produce the series for HBO, recognizing that the premium cable channel could provide the opportunity for "elite" qualities in writing and production as well as provide a budget (\$900,000 per episode) with which he could employ independent directors and writers. HBO also allows considerable freedom regarding content, allow-

ing the series to derive humor from the sexual adventures of the four characters rather than from the double entendres and veiled discussion about sex typical of broadcast network sitcoms. Airing on commercial-free HBO also freed the show from a narrative structure dictated by commercial breaks and restricted to 23-minute episodes.

As the title suggests, issues of sex and dating provide the primary plots in *Sex and the City*. The series' quartet of main characters—all single, white women in their 30s—experience and discuss, quite explicitly, the singles' dating scene in New York City. Although the women are similar in many ways, each brings a distinct perspective to the series. Carrie, a newspaper columnist who writes about sex and dating, serves as the series narrator. In early episodes, this narration occurred as Carrie directly addressed the camera. In later episodes, her narration is provided through voice-over. Her friends often become subjects of her "research," and their dilemmas and situations inspire column topics. Samantha owns a public relations firm and is the most sexually carefree of the group. Often depicted as content to participate in endless one-night stands, she has no aspirations to marry or have children. Charlotte managed an art gallery until she married (then divorced, then remarried) and maintains a desire for a more conventional life of marriage and motherhood. Miranda, a corporate attorney, plays the realist and cynic to Samantha's excessively sexual identity and Charlotte's idealist fantasies. After an unexpected pregnancy, she embarks on single motherhood at the end of the series' fourth season, only to marry her child's father, Steve, in the sixth and final season.

With the exception of Carrie, the series rarely focuses on the characters' careers. The primary action takes place in the bars, restaurants, and clubs where the

women meet for breakfast or lunch, have drinks, or spend their evenings. Although episodes often begin with the four meeting together, they commonly appear separately yet in stories with parallel themes, throughout the episode, with Carrie narrating transitions. The characters often walk and talk along the streets of Manhattan, enabling episodes to develop through dialogue more than action. The specific topics of Carrie's columns usually structure the episode. Each begins with a question: Can you be friends with an ex-boyfriend? How do you know if you are good in bed? Have New Yorkers evolved past relationships? Can you change a man? Why is there tension between married and single people? Why do men like to date models? Throughout the episode, each woman "answers" the question according to her personality and characterization.

The four remain the primary characters throughout the series, although a few boyfriends make repeat appearances, particularly in the later seasons in which the women explore long-term relationships. Charlotte meets, marries, and separates from Trey MacDougal during the third season; they later rekindle their relationship but ultimately divorce the next season. She falls in love with her divorce attorney, Harry Goldenblatt—a man who deviates significantly from her ideal beau—and converts to Judaism before marrying him in the final season. Her desire to have a family led to the divorce from Trey, and reproductive problems continue to ail her after marrying Harry. Miranda's balance of career and motherhood as a single parent becomes a primary storyline for her character as she and Steve Brady negotiate their relationship with each other and their roles as parents. Samantha eventually experiences a string of longer relationships, first with a woman, then with a male hotel tycoon, and finally with a much younger male model and actor. Throughout the relationships, she struggles with her desire to remain independent despite a simultaneous and contradictory desire for companionship. Carrie becomes engaged to Aidan Shaw, who briefly moves into her apartment. An affair with a recurring character, Mr. Big, leads to the end of the relationship with Aidan, but she and Big establish a friendship that survives his relocation to California. In the series' final season, Carrie meets Aleksandr Petrovsky, a significantly older Russian artist.

The first season of *Sex and the City* consisted of only 12 episodes, followed by 18 in each of the subsequent seasons. Once established, the series regularly drew an audience of approximately 6.4 million households, a strong performance for a cable network but significantly smaller than broadcast networks at the

time. The series garnered Emmy Award nominations for Outstanding Comedy Series, writing, acting, directing, casting, and costumes and won the award for Outstanding Comedy Series in 2001.

AMANDA LOTZ

*See also* HBO; Star, Darren

#### Cast

Carrie Bradshaw	Sarah Jessica Parker
Samantha Jones	Kim Cattrall
Charlotte York (MacDougal)	Kristin Davis
Goldenblatt	Cynthia Nixon
Miranda Hobbs	Chris Noth
Mr. Big	Willie Garson
Stanford Blatch	David Eigenberg
Steve Brady	John Corbett
Aidan Shaw (2000–03)	Kyle MacLachlan
Trey MacDougal (2000–02)	Evan Handler
Harry Goldenblatt (2002–04)	Jason Lewis
Smith Jerrod (2003–04)	Mikhail
Aleksandr Petrovsky	Baryshnikov

#### Producers

Darren Star, Michael Patrick King

#### Programming History

HBO	
June 1998–August 1998	Sunday 9:00–9:30 12 episodes
June 1999–October 1999	Sunday 9:00–9:30 18 episodes
June 2000–October 2000	Sunday 9:00–9:30 18 episodes
June 2001–August 2001	Sunday 9:00–9:30 12 episodes
January 2002–February 2002	Sunday 9:00–9:30 6 episodes
July 2002–September 2002	Sunday 9:00–9:30 8 episodes
June 2003–September 2003	Sunday 9:00–9:30 12 episodes
January 2004–March 2004	Sunday 9:00–9:30 8 episodes

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in *American Viewed and Skewed: Television Situation Comedies*, edited by Mary M. Dalton and Laura R. Linder. Albany: State University of New York Press, forthcoming

Scarborough, Marsha, "For a Good Time, Write *Sex and the City*," *Written By* (October 1999)

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## Sexual Orientation and Television

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Once the freeze on television broadcast licenses was lifted by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1952, broadcast stations proliferated throughout the United States. Additionally, the FCC set the regulation standards for the mass production of television receivers, making them relatively inexpensive to produce and affordable for the middle-class American public. Having been a mostly East Coast, upper-class phenomenon before 1952, television broadcasting quickly became an economically profitable industry catering to perceived middle-class tastes.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the television broadcast networks implicitly constructed the mainstream viewing public as replications of the idealized middle-class nuclear family, defined as monogamous, heterosexual couples with children. In response, the overwhelming trend was to provide programming targeted toward this consumer group. To a large degree, this construction stemmed from the larger context of American society, in which the ideals of heterosexuality and family dominated the overall hierarchy of sexual orientation.

However, this assumption was reinforced because the mode of distribution of programming and the measure of economic success were significantly different for television broadcasting than for most other forms of popular culture. For most other popular culture industries, consumers had to actively purchase a product (a movie ticket, a record, or a book). Economic success and popularity were determined by the number of sales of the cultural product. Within the American broadcasting context, however, the programming was distributed free of charge to anyone with a television receiver that could pick up the broadcast signal. The networks generated profits through advertising, selling the viewing audience as a potential target for commercial messages. In this mode of distribution, a network's success was determined by the number of viewers it attracted, not the number of programs sold. This interaction among the networks, advertisers, and the viewing

audience developed into a very complex economic relationship.

Until the early 1970s and the introduction of demographic measurements, the networks quantified a mass audience as an index of a program's popularity to set commercial rates for advertisers. Since most television use by the American public has been and continues to be in a domestic environment, the networks and adver-



*Soap*, Billy Crystal, Richard Mulligan, 1977.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



tisers easily assumed that the viewing audience in its values mirrored the idealized middle-class nuclear family of the 1950s. Given this institutional construction of the television viewer, the networks produced and broadcast a plethora of programs built around the values and concerns of the contemporary nuclear family. Series such as *I Love Lucy*, *Father Knows Best*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and *The Donna Reed Show* developed scripts explicitly exploring gender and sexual roles in the context of the 1950s. For example, *Father Knows Best* often defined appropriate and inappropriate gender behavior as Jim and Margaret Anderson negotiated their marital and implied (hetero)sexual relationship. Explicit discussion of sexual behavior was forbidden. In addition, the Anderson children were groomed for heterosexuality on a weekly basis as they entered into the adolescent dating arena. In the context of the series, same-sex romantic attraction was not offered as a viable or legitimate option for offspring Betty, Bud, and Kitten. Nor did episodes deal with many heterosexual options outside of conventional coupling, limited to traditional heterosexual norms.

Even series that were not located in the contemporary family milieu of the 1950s or 1960s reinforced a narrow range of heterosexual choices. In a series such as *Gunsmoke*, with its surrogate family, traditional heterosexual coupling was the status quo. What sexual tension existed in the series surfaced between Marshall Matt Dillon and saloon owner Miss Kitty, not between Matt and his deputy sidekick Chester. Even overt sexuality between Matt and Miss Kitty was seldom displayed in the series. After all, how was the wild expanse of the western prairie to be tamed if the product of sexuality was pleasure rather than population growth? Given the baby-boom mentality of the 1950s and 1960s, the sexual orientation of *Gunsmoke*'s characters and their sexuality replicated the dominant values of American society, at least as they were perceived by network programmers and advertisers.

This perception about sexuality began to shift slightly by the early 1970s as pleasure became more acceptable as the foundation for sexual activity. Even so, sexual orientation continued to be overwhelmingly defined as heterosexual, although an occasional gay or lesbian character began to make an appearance.

Several factors account for this cultural breakthrough. At this time, the Prime-Time Access Rule forced the networks out of the business of program production. As a result, the networks began to license programming from independent production companies, such as Norman Lear's Tandem Productions and MTM Enterprises. These independents were willing to address subject material, including explicit sexual

pleasure and homosexuality, that had previously been ignored by the networks.

Additionally, the networks and advertisers began to shift their conception used to market the viewing audience. In the ratings competition between the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) during this same period, undifferentiated mass numbers as the target of advertising and the basis for determining commercial rates gave way to the first wave of demographic marketing toward a younger, urban rather than older, rural audience. In conjunction with the moxie of independent program producers, sexuality, including explicitly gay characters, began to surface in programs because these young, urban viewers, at least in the perception of the networks and advertisers, were less inclined to take offense with potentially controversial topics.

Images of gay men and lesbians began to appear in fictional programming during the early 1970s for another reason as well. Culturally, gay men and lesbians became more visible in American society after the Stonewall riots in June 1969, a date now celebrated as a watershed moment of the modern gay rights movement. As gays and lesbians entered the struggle for social acceptance and legitimization within mainstream discourse, the emergence of gay characters became part and parcel of this burgeoning social consciousness. In response to a newfound possibility of representation, gay activist groups such as the National Gay Task Force (NGTF), formed in 1973, attacked any outright negative mainstream media images of gay men and lesbians.

Initially, single-episode gay characters, at best self-destructive and at worst evil, were used as narrative plot devices to create conflict among the regular characters of a prime-time series. This was not an acceptable representation for most gay activists. The first major conflict between gay activists and the networks occurred over just such a depiction in "The Other Martin Loring," an episode of *Marcus Welby, M.D.* during the 1973 broadcast season. The confrontation focused on the dilemma of a closeted gay man worried about the effect of his homosexuality on his family life. Welby's advice and the resolution to the narrative conflict finally rested on the repression of sexual desire. As Kathryn Montgomery (1989) points out, this initial conflict had little effect on preventing the broadcast of the episode. However, it did open the door for continued discussion between gay activists and the networks concerning subsequent representations.

Indeed, the networks began to solicit advice about gay representation before programming went into actual production. By 1978, the NGTF provided the networks a list of positive and negative images that it

considered to be of greatest importance. From the negative perspective, the organization wanted to eliminate stereotypically effeminate gay men and butch lesbians as characters as well as inhibit the portrayals of gay characters as child molesters, mentally unbalanced, or promiscuous. In contrast, positive images would include gay characters within the mainstream of the television milieu. These images would reflect individuals performing their jobs well, who were personable and comfortable about their sexual orientation. Additionally, the NGTF asked to see more gay couples, more lesbian portrayals, and instances where gayness was incidental rather than the focus of a narrative controversy centered on sexual preference.

As one manner of achieving these positive goals, gay activists suggested that continuing regular gay or lesbian characters be used within a series format, expanding beyond the plot function of a "problem" that needed to be solved and eliminated. However, the inclusion of a recurring gay character created problems of its own. Story editors and scriptwriters had to maintain a delicate balance between creating gay characters who were too extreme in their behavior so as to be offensive to heterosexual mainstream viewers or were so innocuous that they become nearly indistinguishable in their gayness. Several series, beginning with *Soap* and *Dynasty* and more recently *Doctor, Doctor* and *Melrose Place*, have included regular gay characters as part of their narrative foundation, with varying degrees of success. Often within these series, the gay character is isolated from any connection to a larger gay community and lacks any presentation of overt sexuality. While it has certainly been acceptable for heterosexual individuals and couples to engage in displays of affection, it has been untenable, until recently, for gay characters to activate similar behavior.

Despite this glaring drawback, gay characters as series regulars have functioned differently in the narrative context than in a one-shot episodic appearance. For the most part, recurring gay characters have been comfortable with their sexual identity. The possible exception is Steven Carrington, oil heir apparent in *Dynasty*, who fluctuated in his sexual orientation from season to season. While a series regular's gayness could still initiate some problems in a series, his or her sexuality was no longer an outside problem. Rather, the series regular could provide a narrative position whereby sexual "otherness" could be used to discuss and critique the dominant representation of both homosexuality and heterosexuality. Contextually, adaptation to rather than the elimination of homosexuality became the narrative strategy.

Despite *Dynasty's* wavering on the subject of homosexuality, early installments of the series illustrate this

narrative shift. The gay subplots of this prime-time soap opera often performed a pivotal role in exposing the contradictions of heterosexual patriarchy. An excellent example is when Blake Carrington, the series' patriarchal figure, stood trial for the death of son Steven's gay lover. The courtroom setting of this particular subplot created an ideological arena for Steven to critique his father's homophobia, patriarchal dominance, and sense of socially constructed gender roles from an explicitly gay perspective. As can be seen by this example, a gay man or lesbian who appears as part of the regular constellation of a series' cast naturalizes gayness within the domain of mainstream broadcast narratives, thus allowing that sexual otherness a cultural voice of its own. In some instances of this process of naturalization, these fictional gay characters face many of the same problems that their heterosexual counterparts encounter. This has not necessarily meant that their sexual orientation has been ignored but rather that it has been woven together with other concerns to create multidimensional, sometimes contradictory characters that reflect some of the experience of gay men and lesbians in American society.

Since 1973, the broadcast networks, program producers, and gay activists have maintained an ongoing working relationship with each other. The Alliance for Gay and Lesbian Artists in the Entertainment Industry, an internal industry activist organization, has provided an important connection with outside gay activists. Often, gay men or lesbians within production companies have alerted activists about potential problems with plotlines or characters. Many producers and scriptwriters now elicit opinions from gay and lesbian activists in the preproduction process, thereby circumventing costly confrontations once a production is under way. In addition, network broadcast standards and practices departments have internalized many of the activist's concerns and criticisms, thus pressuring program producers to eliminate potential trouble spots from scripts. The activists have also learned to praise producers, directors, and scriptwriters creating appropriate gay-themed programming with positive reinforcement, such as yearly awards and congratulatory telegrams, letters, and e-mail messages. Because of this de facto system of checks and balances, antagonistic confrontations seldom arise between gay activists and the television broadcast industry.

The gay activists' success in dealing with the networks and program producers has also activated a strong response from religious and political conservatives since the mid-1970s. As Gitlin (1983) argues, these conservative social forces have regarded the social inroads made by gay men and lesbians as a threat to their own social power and deeply embedded patri-

archal values, including traditional conceptions of the family, gender roles, and heterosexuality. Any positive representation of homosexuality (or even bisexuality) undermines the legitimacy of these traditional values. The conservative far right has been dominated by religious fundamentalist whites males such as Jerry Falwell and Donald Wildmon as well as white antifeminists such as Phyllis Schlafly. Indeed, Wildmon heads the American Family Association (AFA), a formidable advocacy organization that monitors the television broadcasting industry's presentation of sexuality with a Bible-thumping fervor.

In contrast to the gay activists who have been more than willing to confront the networks and program producers directly about the representation of sexual orientation, the AFA has employed an indirect approach. Providing members with postcards pre-addressed to advertisers, the AFA has often threatened a boycott of consumer products manufactured by companies placing commercials within the broadcast of objectionable programming. While the direct, preemptive approach of the gay activists appears so far to have been more successful with the commercial networks than the postbroadcast method used by the AFA, the latter organization's efforts have produced some effect. For one thing, advertisers who have come under fire from the AFA have begun to consider placement of a commercial in potentially objectionable programming less lucrative than they might have previously.

As a response to advertisers' reluctance to place commercials in programs that include a positive discussion of homosexuality, the networks' broadcast standards and practices departments have codified some of the AFA's concerns about sexual orientation as a means to counter any negative criticism from conservative advocacy groups. For one thing, the positive portrayal of any physically romantic or sexual interaction between gay or lesbian characters has been exorcised, generally, from programming content. In addition, any gay-themed script must include at least one character who presents a critique of homosexuality to provide a balanced discussion of the subject. As a side note, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), formed in the mid-1980s, has appropriated AFA's practice of sending out pre-addressed postcards. GLAAD has also urged individuals to send them to advertisers, praising their bravery in placing commercials in gay-themed programming.

At times, program producers and the networks have ended up at the center of a cultural tug-of-war between gay activists and conservative religious fundamentalists. Perhaps the best illustration of this predicament occurred in the summer of 1977. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) had scheduled *Soap* for the

fall lineup. The series was created by Susan Harris as a satire on both the nuclear family and the overdrawn angst of daytime drama. One of the regular characters was Jody Dallas, a gay man. In addition, the heterosexual characters engaged in a number of extramarital affairs, hardly reinforcing traditional monogamy. ABC previewed the initial episodes of the series for local affiliates and gay activists. Some disgruntled station owners alerted the National Council of Churches, the forerunner of the AFA, about the risqué content of the show. In addition, the conservatives felt that the inclusion of Jody Dallas condoned homosexuality. As a result of the conservative backlash, some affiliates refused to carry *Soap*. Conservative forces picketed stations that did air the satire. Under threat of a product boycott, several potential sponsors backed out of buying time in the series. Gay activists were not pleased with the premise of the Dallas character either. He was too much the gay stereotype. In addition, Dallas was not particularly satisfied with his sexual orientation as he planned a sex change operation.

In an attempt to appease both sides, *Soap's* producers adjusted the series after the first few episodes. Dallas's stereotypical elements were modified, nearly neutering the character in the process. In comparison to the other characters, his behavior became less explicitly sexual. Even so, he became more affirmative about his sexual orientation, dropping any desire to change his gender. Ironically, the more stable, less sexually outrageous Jody Dallas seemed to address conservative concerns about homosexuality as well. Without the overt presentation of Jody's sexual desire, apparently religious conservatives believed that the series did not condone homosexuality as strongly.

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, opposing gay and conservative advocacy groups have continued to pressure the networks, program producers, and advertisers on the parameters of representation about sexual orientation. As in the case of *Soap*, gay and lesbian characters have usually appeared in a highly diluted form, nominally gay with perhaps a political stance but lacking sexuality. Only in a very few instances have these limits been successfully challenged, most notably in an episode of *Roseanne*, a domestic sitcom, and *Serving in Silence: The Margarethe Cammermeyer Story*, a made-for-television movie. In both instances, the cultural and economic clout of their respective production companies provided the impetus to include moments of intimacy and sexuality for lesbian characters. During the spring of 1994, *Roseanne*, as reigning prime-time diva and executive producer of her series, threatened to withhold an episode from ABC if it did not air with its lesbian kiss intact. The network initially balked but eventually broadcast the unedited episode rather than

lose potential commercial profits from a top-ten series. The combined talents of Barbra Streisand, as executive producer, and Glenn Close, as additional executive producer and star, added production muscle to *Serving in Silence*. With their involvement, NBC gave the movie, dealing with both Cammermeyer's fight to be reinstated into the military as an open lesbian and her blossoming romantic relationship with her lover Diane, a green light. With Streisand's and Close's involvement providing an aura of quality and legitimacy, this production opened the cultural space for moments of physical intimacy as integral narrative elements. *Roseanne* and *Serving in Silence* have been hallmarks in the presentation of gay and lesbian experience in American television broadcasting.

A watershed of sorts was reached in the 1996–97 broadcast season. On *Ellen*, a series based around stand-up comedienne Ellen DeGeneres, a number of early episodes dropped thinly veiled innuendoes regarding main character Ellen Morgan's sexuality. For example, while shopping for a house, Morgan agrees with her real estate agent that a walk-in closet was as large as some apartments but that she would not want to live in it (which could be construed as a reference to being "in the closet," that is, hiding one's homosexuality). Writers peppered the series that season with double-entendre teasers, especially targeted for lesbian and gay viewers "in the know" about DeGeneres's own sexual predilections. By March 1997, rumors became public knowledge as DeGeneres confirmed both her own status as a lesbian and the production plans to bring her sitcom character out of the television closet. Though initially reluctant to give the go-ahead for such an episode, ABC set the air date for "The Puppy Episode" for April 30, 1997.

Despite aggressive attempts by the AFA and other conservative social groups to promote a boycott of Disney and ABC, the broadcast of "The Puppy Episode" was extremely successful, garnering the highest ratings for *Ellen* or any other regularly scheduled series on ABC for the 1996–97 broadcast season. At this historical juncture, ABC's promotional support, in conjunction with the overwhelming endorsement from other popular culture venues, did seem to promote the belief that "naming" oneself as gay was perfectly acceptable. "Behaving" gay became another issue altogether, as the conflicts between ABC and DeGeneres over program content and parental warnings in the fall of 1997 erupted into very public disagreements. When DeGeneres pushed for an on-screen romantic relationship that included a kiss, ABC balked. The very public conflict took its toll on comedienne DeGeneres as well as the overall tone of the series. By spring 1998, *Ellen*'s popularity had plummeted in the

Nielsen ratings, the only measure of success that really mattered to the networks. The series was canceled in flurry of public accusations and recriminations.

With this programming incident freshly embedded in both the networks' and the public's consciousness, NBC's inclusion of *Will & Grace*, another gay-centered sitcom, in its autumn 1998 Thursday night "must-see TV" lineup was somewhat surprising. Initially, *Will & Grace*'s narrative foundation was built on the enduring, and endearing, relationship between Will Truman, a gay man and successful lawyer, and Grace Adler, a heterosexual woman and his best friend since college. However, caustic secondary characters Jack McFarland, Will's outrageous and self-centered gay friend, and Karen Walker, Grace's wealthy, substance-using secretary, provide foils and broad contrasts to the title characters' relatively more levelheaded (read "mainstream") actions. Whether because of or in spite of the explicit "gayness" of the series, it has garnered audience favor, critical approval, and television industry esteem, with a number of Emmy wins. Indeed, that elusive on-screen gay kiss came to fruition during the series' second season. When Will and Jack are disappointed when a heavily promoted kiss between two men on a fictional NBC series fails to materialize, the two march to network headquarters to protest. Though brushed off by a closeted public relations denizen, they enact their protest—a lengthy kiss—in front Al Roker, *The Today Show* weatherman, as he broadcasts live in front of Rockefeller Center.

Even so, broadcast television has yet to include a gay kiss that encompasses either a romantic or a sexual punch. However, given *Will & Grace*'s continued success, the potential for such a momentous event looms on the horizon in broadcast television. In contrast, the American version of the British series *Queer as Folk* has moved far beyond the passionate same-sex kiss to include presentations of relatively frank depictions of sexual interactions. However, those depictions tend to be less frankly graphic than those presented on the original U.K. series. In addition, the 15-year-old sexually active gay teenager in the U.K. series appears as a 17-year-old in the U.S. version.

While gay men and lesbians inside and outside the television industry have applauded these cultural steps forward, the gains are by no means secure, especially outside the commercial networks, where gay activists have less social and economic power. In the American social context of the 1990s, the struggle between gay rights activists and anti-gay rights advocates has reached a crescendo. Both sides have confronted each other over the legitimacy of sexual orientation in the political and legislative arenas, with neither side winning any clear legal victories. However, a conservative

shift has occurred in the political arena that could drastically impact gay and lesbian representation in non-commercial American public broadcasting. Because the federal government economically supports non-commercial broadcasting, funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) can be reduced or eliminated altogether through the agendas of powerful political interests. Therefore, proactive intervention (techniques used by groups such as GLAAD with network representatives, program producers, and advertisers) has not worked as well in the noncommercial broadcast setting.

Once the bastion of liberal tolerance and a cultural podium for marginal social groups, the CPB has increasingly come under attack from conservative forces in Congress for precisely those reasons. Conservatives have threatened to eliminate funding and privatize CPB in response to the use of federal tax dollars to produce nontraditional programming, especially programming targeted to the gay community. Special programming such as Marlon Riggs's *Tongues Untied*, an exploration of gay African-American men's experiences with both homophobia and racism, and Masterpiece Theatre's production of Armistead Maupin's *Tales of the City*, a narrative set in the 1970s San Franciscan milieu of sexual experimentation, have been specific targets of conservatives. Both productions contained a fair amount of frank, adult language about sexuality and a modicum of nudity. Indeed, many Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) affiliates refused to air either program or, if they did broadcast the offerings, censored the material radically. *Tales of the City* generated enough controversy that conservative forces were able to pressure CPB to withdraw funding for the sequel, *More Tales of the City*.

As the social and political struggle over legitimization of gay rights accelerated in the mid-1990s, the inclusion and representation of gay men and lesbians in entertainment television programming continued to be a point of cultural conflict. Driven by the economic demands placed on network broadcasting as it competes with the relaxed standards on cable channels, programming broadened the parameters of acceptable content. Thus, the economic demands of commercial television may create an atmosphere for further presentation of alternatives to monogamous heterosexual orientation. In addition, the gay community has gained more interest from advertisers as a demographic social group with relatively more disposable income to spend. Indeed, some manufacturers of products, such as clothing, alcohol, and travel, have begun to produce print ads directly targeting gay men and lesbians. Similar advertising in television programming, specifically attracting a gay audience, is probably not far behind. In

contrast, the strong shift to the conservative right in the political arena has already imposed government regulations on funding for the arts. The federal government has placed limits on the range of appropriate subject matter for grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and even the CPB. It is not outside the realm of possibility that conservative political forces will also attempt to regulate commercial television programming content.

With the proliferation of cable television distribution, however, such efforts might meet with limited success. The huge—and largely unexpected—2003 success of Bravo's *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* indicates not only that there is an audience within the gay communities for material related to gay experience but also that a considerably larger audience will attend to gay-themed programming. This program, in which five gay men ("the Fab Five") engage in a "makeover" for a straight man, may have seemed a risky venture for the small network when it was acquired by NBC. Within weeks, however, word of mouth as well as mainstream press and electronic media publicity made the series sufficiently popular—and safe—for episodes to be presented on NBC's main schedule. By January 2004, Bravo announced that *Queer Eye* would go "on the road to Texas" for additional episodes, and the five cast members had negotiated for substantial raises.

As was the case with *Ellen* and *Will & Grace*, responses both within and outside the gay communities were mixed. But it seemed clear that such programs would no longer be taboo from first proposal. Given the larger context, issues about sexual orientation are hardly going to disappear in the near future. If anything, despite the success of a small number of programs, the number of confrontations over sexual orientation and the intensity of those conflicts will only increase.

RODNEY A. BUXTON

See also *Ellen*; *Gender and Television*; *Queer as Folk*; *Soap*

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## Share

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“Share” is an audience measurement term that identifies the percentage of television households with sets in use that are viewing a particular program during a given time period. If the total TV audience is represented by a pie, the audience for each program is a slice, or share, of that pie. The slices are not equal, however, since audience share varies widely according to the relative popularity of each program.

Share is a comparative tool. It allows station and network executives to determine how well their programs are doing when compared to competing programs on other broadcast or cable channels.

Share is closely associated with “rating,” another measurement term. Both terms are derived from the same estimates of audience size, but the percentage quotient is calculated differently. Share measures the percentage of *active* TV viewers who are watching a particular program, while the rating for a program calculates the percentage of *all* television households—both those using TV and those not using TV.

For example, station WXXX airs *Jeopardy!* at 7:00 P.M. Sample data estimate that 10,000 of the city’s 100,000 TV households (10 percent) are viewing that program. Some 40,000 households are viewing other programs, but another 50,000 are not using their TV sets. Since 10,000 of the 50,000 active viewers (20 percent) are watching *Jeopardy!*, that program has a share of 20, even though its rating (the percentage of TV households) is only 10.

Electronic media trade journals generally report both rating and share. Rating is expressed first and is given to the nearest tenth of a percent. Share follows and is rounded to the nearest whole percent. For example, an audience estimate for *60 Minutes* may report a 13.0/28, that is, 13 percent of the total TV households (the rating) and 28 percent of the viewing audience (the share).

If every television household were using TV during a given time period, the share and the rating would be

equal. But since this never happens, the share for any program is always greater than its rating because different divisors are used to calculate the two equations.

The gap between share and rating is greatest during periods of very light viewing. An early morning newscast with a share of 30 and a rating of only 3 is competing very well against other programs in the same time block, even though the total number of viewers for all programs is small.

Share is useful as a comparative tool during virtually any portion of the day, however. When a program gains share, it usually does so at the expense of competing programs since the total audience for television during any given daypart is relatively stable.

Share can also be used to illustrate programming trends. One network may average its share of successive programs to illustrate its dominance on a particular weekday night. A new broadcast or cable network may average its share across an entire season to illustrate its increasingly competitive position over a previous season.

Share can be used to demonstrate industry trends. For example, the combined share of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) for the 1980–81 programming year was 90. This meant that 90 percent of the viewing audience was watching one of these three networks. The remaining 10 percent of the audience was distributed among independent stations, public television, and the few cable networks then in operation. By 1993–94, combined network share had dropped to 60, primarily because the cable networks collectively had captured one-third of the network viewers.

This erosion has continued, and during the 2001–02 season, combined network share for the four major U.S. networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX) fell below 50 for the first time. While the combined share for these four was 49, additional share for The WB and the

United Paramount Network (UPN) raised the total share for "over-the-air" networks to 57.

Some industry observers predict that network share will continue to decline; others assert that network share has "bottomed out" but may begin to show a slight gain in years to come. A study of network share measures the competition between traditional broadcasters and their new technology competitors.

Unless otherwise specified, share refers to the total universe of television households. Share can be used in demographics breakouts, however. A morning talk show may have a 2.2/20 for women 18 to 34 years of age. That would be the rating and share for this particular demographic grouping.

NORMAN FELSETHAL

**See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Audience Research; Industry and Market Analysis; Cost-per-Thousand and Cost-per-Point; Demographics; Market; Programming; Ratings**

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## Shatner, William (1931– )

U.S. Actor, Writer, Producer, Director

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Dubbed the "theatrical wunderkind" in his native Canada for his performances in Shakespearean and classic dramas, William Shatner is perhaps best known for his roles in the popular series *Star Trek* and *T.J. Hooker*. But his body of work spans nearly 50 years in stage, film, and television and includes not only his work as an actor and company spokesperson but also that of writer, producer, and director.

In the 1950s, Shatner appeared in regional theatrical productions and toured with the Canadian National Repertory Theatre. In 1954, he was invited to join Tyrone Guthrie's Stratford Shakespeare Festival, where he played nearly 100 roles in 60 plays, including the title role of *Henry V* at age 22. Shatner traveled with the Stratford company when their production of *Tamburlaine the Great* opened on Broadway (1956), and although Shatner only had only a small role, he was noticed by a 20th Century-Fox studio representative. He rejected the offer of a lucrative seven-year contract in order to remain independent and retain the ability to choose his own roles. Shatner returned to Stratford for his third and final season.

A scholarship, plus a Tyrone Guthrie Award as the most promising actor, allowed him to return to New York. The myriad of anthology programs produced on the East Coast and Hollywood took advantage of the number of stage-trained actors available to them, and Shatner became one of the most sought-after perform-

ers in the live television productions. He found roles in anthologies such as *Good Year Playhouse*, *Studio One*, *Playhouse 90*, *Kaiser Aluminum Hour*, *Omnibus*, *U.S. Steel Hour*, and *Climax!* Shatner also worked in episodic television, including Rod Serling's *The Twilight Zone* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]) and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (National Broadcasting Company [NBC]) in an episode that also featured future *Star Trek* costar Leonard Nimoy. He had earlier turned down opportunities to star in television series for fear he would be typecast into a particular role. However, he overcame his apprehension to star in the short-lived *For the People* (CBS, 1965), playing determined New York Assistant District Attorney David Koster.

Shortly after the cancellation of that series, writer-producer Gene Roddenberry offered Shatner the opportunity to work in the second pilot for his fledgling science fiction series, replacing Jeffrey Hunter as captain of the USS *Enterprise*. *Star Trek* premiered on September 8, 1966, and William Shatner, as Captain James Tiberius Kirk, was on his way to becoming a cultural icon.

In an effort to avoid typecasting after *Star Trek* ended its three-year run, Shatner made numerous guest appearances on popular series, miniseries, and made-for-television films, including the critically acclaimed *The Andersonville Trial*. He returned to series televi-



sion in the short-lived *Barbary Coast* playing Jeff Cable, an undercover agent in 1870s San Francisco.

Shatner continued working in guest roles, films, and stage work. He also toured in his one-man show *An Evening with William Shatner*, which combined dramatic readings with question-and-answer sessions with his audiences. Excerpts from this stage show were recorded and released as *William Shatner Live!* (1977).

Shatner once again returned to series television in 1982 as the star of Aaron Spelling's *T.J. Hooker*, playing a former Los Angeles detective who, after the shooting death of his partner, takes on the job of training new recruits at the LCPD police academy. The series was planned as an ensemble series with stories featuring the cadets. However, test audiences preferred Shatner's character, and the show was transformed into more of an action-adventure series, but, like *Star Trek*, it remained a character-driven show concentrating on the relationship of the characters over car chases and shoot-outs. Shatner made his directorial debut on the third-season episode "Gang War" (May 5, 1984). When the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) dropped the series in 1985, it was quickly picked up by CBS and became the first series geared directly for late night.

Shatner later hosted the reality-based *Rescue 911* (CBS, 1989–96). During its six seasons, the series credits over 300 lives saved by people who learned lifesaving techniques from the show. The series consistently won its Wednesday night time slot and won the 1990 People's Choice Award for Favorite New Dramatic Series.

A savvy businessman, Shatner is chief executive officer and minority partner of C.O.R.E. Digital Pictures, a Toronto special effects company. CORE (an acronym for "Company of Righteous Effects"), founded in 1994, has created effects for such films as *Fly Away Home* (1996), Disney's *Flubber* (1997), *X-Men* (2000), and *The Time Machine* (2002). In 1998, he signed on as spokesperson for the Internet company Priceline.com and starred in a series of radio and TV commercials that satirized his singing abilities.

An avid horseman, Shatner breeds horses on his Malibu ranch and each year hosts the Hollywood Charity Horse Show, which benefits Ahead with Horses, an organization that gives physically challenged children the experience of riding while boosting their confidence and self-esteem. He also raises and trains champion American saddlebreds on his Belle Rêve farm in Versailles, Kentucky.

Shatner has always maintained a good-natured attitude toward the roles with which he has been associated for the past 30 years. He even spoofed both his

Kirk and his Hooker characters when hosting *Saturday Night Live* in 1986. He continues to satirize his characters and his reputation in films such as *Miss Congeniality* (2000) and *Showtime* (2002). His guest appearance as "The Big Giant Head" on *Third Rock from the Sun* garnered him his first Emmy Award in 1999. Shatner received his star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 1983.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

#### See also *Star Trek*

**William Shatner.** Born in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, March 22, 1931. Educated at McGill University. Married: 1) Gloria Rand, 1956 (divorced 1969); children: Leslie Carol, Lisabeth Mary, and Melanie Ann; 2) Marcy Lafferty, 1973 (divorced 1996); 3) Nerine Kidd, 1997 (died 1999); 4) Elizabeth Martin, 2001. Performer with the Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival, 1954–56; Broadway appearances: *Tamburlaine the Great* (debut), 1956; *The World of Suzie Wong*, 1958; *A Shot in the Dark*, 1961. Recipient: Tyrone Guthrie Award, 1956; Theatre World Award, 1958; Life Career Award from the Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror Films, 1980; Saturn Award, 1983.

#### Television Series

1965	<i>For the People</i>
1966–69	<i>Star Trek</i>
1974–75	<i>Star Trek</i> (animated series)
1975–76	<i>Barbary Coast</i>
1982–87	<i>T.J. Hooker</i> (also director)
1989–96	<i>Rescue 911</i> (host, narrator)
1994	<i>TekWar</i> (also writer, producer, director)

#### Made-for-Television Movies and Miniseries

1970	<i>Sole Survivor</i> (CBS, January 9)
1970	<i>The Andersonville Trial</i> (PBS, May 17)
1971	<i>Vanished</i> (NBC, March 8–9)
1972	<i>The People</i> (ABC, January 22)
1971	<i>The Hound of the Baskervilles</i> (ABC, February 12)
1973	<i>Incident on a Dark Street</i> (NBC, January 13)
1973	<i>Go Ask Alice</i> (ABC, January 24)
1973	<i>The Horror at 37,000 Feet</i> (CBS, February 13)
1973	<i>Pioneer Woman</i> (ABC, December 19)
1974	<i>Indict and Convict</i> (ABC, January 6)
1974	<i>Pray for the Wildcats</i> (ABC, January 23)
1975	<i>The Barbary Coast</i> (ABC, May 4)
1976	<i>The Perilous Voyage</i> (NBC, July 29)



- 1977 *Testimony of Two Men* (syndicated, May 9, 16, and 23)
- 1978 *How the West Was Won* (ABC, episodes 4 and 5, March)
- 1978 *The Bastard* (*Kent Family Chronicles*) (syndicated, May 22–23)
- 1978 *Little Women* (NBC, October 2–3)
- 1978 *Crash* (ABC, October 29)
- 1979 *Disaster on the Coastliner* (ABC, October 29)
- 1980 *The Babysitter* (ABC, November 28)
- 1985 *North Beach and Rawhide* (CBS, November 12–13)
- 1994 *TekWar* (also writer, director) (USA Network, January 23)
- 1994 *TekLords* (also producer) (USA Network, February 20)
- 1994 *TekLab* (USA Network, February 27)
- 1994 *TekJustice* (USA Network, May 14)
- Selected Television Guest Appearances**
- 1956 *Goodyear Television Playhouse* (“All Summer Long,” NBC, October 28)
- 1957 *Omnibus* (“Oedipus Rex,” ABC, January 6)
- 1957 *Studio One* (“The Defender,” February 25 and March 4)
- 1957 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (“The Glass Eye,” CBS, October 6)
- 1958 *Kraft Television Theatre* (“The Velvet Trap,” NBC, January 8)
- 1958 *United States Steel Hour* (“Walk with a Stranger,” CBS, February 26)
- 1958 *Playhouse 90* (“A Town Has Turn to Dust,” CBS, June 19)
- 1960 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (“Mother, May I Go Out to Swim,” CBS, April 10)
- 1960 *The Twilight Zone* (“Nick of Time,” CBS, November 18)
- 1960 *Alcoa Presents* (“The Promise,” ABC, November 29)
- 1961 *Thriller* (“The Hungry Glass,” NBC, January 3)
- 1961 *Dr. Kildare* (“Admitting Service,” NBC, November 27)
- 1962 *Naked City* (“Portrait of a Painter,” ABC, January 10)
- 1963 *The Twilight Zone* (“Nightmare at 20,000 Feet,” CBS, October 11)
- 1964 *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (“The Project Stringas Affair,” NBC, November 24)
- 1965 *The Fugitive* (“Stranger in the Mirror,” ABC, December 7)
- 1966 *The Big Valley* (“A Time to Kill,” ABC, January 19)
- 1966 *Gunsmoke* (“Quaker Girl,” CBS, December 10)
- 1969 *The Virginian* (“Black Jade,” NBC, December 31)
- 1970 *Ironside* (“Little Jerry Jessup,” NBC, March 12)
- 1972 *Hawaii Five-O* (“You Don’t Have to Kill to Get Rich, but It Helps,” CBS, September 26)
- 1972 *Mission Impossible* (“Cocaine,” CBS, October 21)
- 1972 *Marcus Welby* (“Heartbeat for Yesterday,” ABC, December 12)
- 1973 *Barnaby Jones* (“To Catch a Dead Man,” CBS, February 4)
- 1973 *Mannix* (“Search for a Whisper,” CBS, February 18)
- 1974 *Kung Fu* (“A Small Beheading,” ABC, September 21)
- 1974 *Police Story* (“Love, Mabel,” NBC, November 26)
- 1976 *Columbo* (“Fade In to Murder,” NBC, October 10)
- 1994 *Columbo* (“Butterfly in Shades of Grey,” NBC, January 10)
- 1999 *Third Rock from the Sun* (playing “The Big Giant Head” in “Dick’s Big Giant Headache,” NBC, May 25)—Shatner was nominated for an Emmy Award for Outstanding Guest Actor in a Comedy Series
- Selected Films**
- The Brothers Karamozov*, 1958; *Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1961; *The Explosive Generation*, 1961; *The Intruder*, 1962; *The Outrage*, 1964; *Big Bad Mama*, 1974; *Star Trek: The Motion Picture*, 1979; *Visitng Hours*, 1981; *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan*, 1982; *Airplane II*, 1982; *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*, 1984; *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home*, 1986; *Star Trek V: The Final Frontier* (also screenplay, director), 1989; *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country*, 1991; *Star Trek: Generations*, 1994; *Trekkies*, 1997; *Free Enterprise*, 1999; *Miss Congeniality*, 2000; *Falcon Down*, 2000; *Shoot or Be Shot*, 2000; *Groom Lake* (also writer, director), 2001; *Showtime*, 2002; *American Psycho II: All-American Girl*, 2002

Shatner, William

### Publications

*Captain's Log: William Shatner's Personal Account of the Making of Star Trek V, The Final Frontier* (as told by Lisabeth Shatner), 1989

*I'm Working on That: A Trek from Science Fiction to Science Fact* (and William Walters), 2002

*Shatner: Where No Man...: The Authorized Biography of William Shatner* (with Myrna Culbreath and Sandra Marshak), 1979

*Star Trek Memories* (with Chris Kreski), 1993

*Star Trek Movie Memories* (with Chris Kreski), 1994

*Get a Life!* (with Christ Kreski), 1999

### Novels

*Believe* (with Michael Tobias), 1992

### Benton Hawkes series:

*The Law of War*, 1998

*Man O' War*, 1996

### Quest for Tomorrow series:

*Delta Search*, 1997

*In Alien Hands*, 1998

*Step into Chaos*, 1999

*Beyond the Stars*, 2000

### Star Trek novels:

*The Ashes of Eden* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 1995

*The Return* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 1996

*Avenger* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 1997

*Spectre* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 1998

*Dark Victory* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 1999

*Preserver* (with Judith and Garfield Reeves-Stevens), 2000

*The Captain's Peril*, 2002

### "Tek" series:

*TekWar*, 1989

*TekLords*, 1991

*TekLab*, 1991

*Tek Vengeance*, 1992

*Tek Secret*, 1993

*Tek Power*, 1994

*Tek Money*, 1995

*Tek Kill*, 1996

*Tek Net*, 1997

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Maron, Linda, *Rescue 911: Extraordinary Stories* (with forward by William Shatner), New York: Berkley Books, 1995

Rensin, David, "William Shatner: A Farewell to Kirk," *TV Guide* (October 8, 1994)

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Wayne, George, "Starship Trooper," *Vanity Fair* (March 1999)

"William Shatner," *Current Biography*, New York: Bowker, 1987

Young, Stanley, "Beam Him Down," *People Weekly* (November 28, 1994)

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## Shaw, Bernard (1940– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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As principal Washington anchor for the Cable News Network (CNN), Bernard Shaw built a reputation for asking difficult questions and upholding unfaltering journalistic ethics. Shaw made a bold and courageous decision to join the all-news network at its beginning in 1980 despite wide skepticism that a 24-hour news network would attract viewer interest. Shaw was an important contributor to the network's eventual prominence as an international news leader.

His style and professionalism enabled him to secure impressive, exclusive interviews with important world leaders. His most visible, sensational—and some would say impressive—moment as a journalist came in 1991. In Baghdad, Iraq, to complete a follow-up interview with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Shaw was one of three CNN reporters who worked during a major attack by the Allied forces. With his colleagues, Shaw brought unprecedented live coverage of the Al-



Bernard Shaw, 1996.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

lied forces' bombing. On January 16, 1991, more than a billion homes watched Shaw and his colleagues deliver around-the-clock coverage of Operation Desert Storm.

Shaw's coverage of the war earned him numerous national and international journalism prizes, including the Eduard Rhein Foundation's Cultural Journalistic Award, a George Foster Peabody Award, and a cable ACE Award for best newscaster of the year. Shaw's receipt of the Rhein Foundation Award was the first time this honor had been bestowed on a non-German.

Live coverage was not new for Shaw; he also presented live broadcasts of the events surrounding the student revolt in China's Tiananmen Square until CNN was forced by the Chinese government to discontinue coverage. His coverage of the uprising earned him and CNN considerable recognition. His awards for coverage of Tiananmen Square include a cable ACE for best news anchor and an Emmy for anchoring the single most outstanding news event. CNN won a Golden ACE, an Alfred I. duPont Columbia

University Silver Baton, and a Peabody for its coverage of China.

Shaw is best known for his political reporting at CNN. Through the 1990s, he was anchor of *The International Hour*, *The World Today*, and *Inside Politics*. He covered debates, primaries, conventions, and the hoopla of presidential campaigning.

In 1988, while moderating a presidential debate between George Bush and Michael Dukakis, Shaw asked Dukakis if he would change his mind about opposing the death penalty if his own wife were raped and killed. Political analysts credit Shaw's question and Dukakis's off-guard response with portraying Dukakis as unemotional. Dukakis's campaign never recovered from the backlash of his reaction to Shaw's question.

Refusing to call his departure from CNN a retirement, Shaw announced his "stepping back" from CNN during a live broadcast of *Inside Politics*. Shaw stepped back from the anchor chair on February 28, 2001, after dedicating 20 years to the network. Shaw also announced plans to work on an autobiography.

Shaw is a graduate of the University of Illinois, which established the Bernard Shaw Endowed Scholarship Fund to honor his career and assist promising young men and women who share his interests and integrity. Shaw is a major benefactor to that fund.

JOHN TEDESCO

*See also Anchor; Cable News Network*

**Bernard Shaw.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, May 22, 1940. Educated at the University of Illinois at Chicago, 1963–68. Married: Linda Allston, 1974; children: Amar Edgar, Anil Louise. Served in U.S. Marine Corps, Oahu, Hawaii, 1959–63. Reporter, WNUS, Chicago, 1963; news writer, WFLD, Chicago, 1965; reporter, WIND, 1966–68; White House reporter, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, 1968–71; reporter, CBS News, 1971–74; correspondent, CBS News, 1974–77; Latin American bureau chief and correspondent, ABC, 1977–78; Capitol Hill correspondent, ABC, 1978–79; CNN News Anchor, 1980–2001. Honorary degrees: Marion College, 1985; University of Chicago, 1993; Northeastern University, 1994. Member: Society of Professional Journalists, National Press Club, Sigma Delta Chi. Recipient: International Platform Association's Lowell Thomas Electronic Journalist Award, 1988; Awards for Cable Excellence (ACE) from the National Academy of Cable Programming, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1994; Emmy Awards, 1989 and 1992; National Association of Black Journalists, Journalist of the Year Award, 1989; gold medal, International Film and TV Festival, 1989; Peabody Award, 1990; Congress of Racial Equality, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Award

for Outstanding Achievement, 1993; University of Kansas, William Allen White Medallion for Distinguished Service, 1994; Distinguished Achievement Award in Broadcasting, University of Georgia Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication.

#### Television

1980–2001 *CNN News*  
1989 *The World Today*

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## Sheen, Fulton J. (1895–1979)

### U.S. Religious Broadcaster

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Widely known by his Roman Catholic ecclesiastical title, Bishop Sheen established a very successful niche for religious programming in U.S. television's early days with his *Life Is Worth Living* program. Sheen's show originally aired on the Dumont network on Tuesday evenings in 1952 and then moved to the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), where it remained until Sheen withdrew it in 1957. The shows—really half-hour talks by Sheen—proved very popular and ultimately were carried on 123 ABC television stations and another 300 radio stations.

*Life Is Worth Living* followed a simple format. Sheen would choose a topic and, with only a blackboard for a prop and his church robes for costuming, would discuss the topic for his allotted 27 minutes. He spoke in a popular style, without notes but with a sprinkling of stories and jokes, having spent up to 30 hours preparing his presentation. Because the program was sponsored by the Admiral Corporation rather than the Catholic Church, Sheen avoided polemics and presented a kind of Christian humanism. In his autobiography, he noted that the show was not "a direct presentation of Christian doctrine but rather a reasoned approach to it beginning with something that was common to the audience." He covered topics as diverse as art, science, aviation, humor, Communism, and philosophy.

Like many others in television's early days, Sheen had moved into the medium from radio. As a professor at the Catholic University of America, he began commuting in 1928 from Washington, D.C., to broadcast on WLWL in New York. Two years later, he became the first regular speaker on *The Catholic Hour*, a sustaining time program on National Broadcasting Com-

pany (NBC) radio, sponsored by the National Council of Catholic Men. In 1940, he made his television debut presiding at New York City's first televised religious service.

After several years off, Sheen attempted to come back to television a number of times but without the success that had greeted *Life Is Worth Living*. He hosted a series on the life of Christ in the 1950s; in 1964, he worked on *Quo Vadis, America?*; and he revived the format of *Life Is Worth Living*, now called *The Bishop Sheen Program*. Television had changed, and his lecture style no longer commanded audience loyalty. He ended his long career in broadcasting with numerous guest appearances on television talk shows during the 1960s and 1970s.

Broadcasting was never Sheen's full-time occupation. He left the Catholic University of America in 1950 to become the national director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a fund-raising office for missionaries, a position he held until Pope Paul VI named him bishop of Rochester, New York, in 1966.

Sheen's importance for television lies in two areas. First, he pioneered a nonsectarian style of religious programming and found commercial sponsors for his message. By doing this, he both adapted to and helped shape commercial broadcasting's attitudes toward religious shows. The need to develop audiences meant that only those programs with the widest possible appeal would find a place in mainstream or network programming. Second, Sheen provided a role model (if not an ideal) for the next generation of ministers interested in television—the televangelists. Many of the later stars of cable religious television have acknowledged that the widespread acceptance of Sheen's *Life*

*Is Worth Living* inspired their own forays into television. They too have hoped to escape the "Sunday morning ghetto" of religious programming for a place in the mainstream.

PAUL A. SOUKUP

**See also Religion on Television**

**Fulton John Sheen.** Born in El Paso, Illinois, May 8, 1895. Graduated from St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, Illinois, 1917, M.A. 1919; studied at St. Paul Seminary, Minnesota, ordained September 20, 1919; University of America, Washington, D.C., S.T.B and J.C.B. Catholic; University of Louvain, Belgium, Ph.D. 1923; Collegio Angelico, Rome, D.D. 1924; made *Agrege en Philosophie* at Louvain. Served in St. Patrick's parish, Peoria, Illinois, 1924–26; instructor in religion, Catholic University of America, 1926, remaining affiliated with university until 1950; preacher, WLWL Radio in New York, 1928; became regular preacher on NBC radio program *The Catholic Hour*, 1930; made papal chamberlain and given rank of monsignor, 1934; presided over New York's first televised religious service, 1940; director, U.S. activities for the Society for Propagation of the Faith, 1950–66; consecrated as auxiliary bishop of the New York archdiocese, June 11, 1951; began long-running television program *Life Is Worth Living*, 1952; bishop, Rochester, New York, 1966–69; made titular archbishop of Newport, Wales, 1969. Died in New York, December 10, 1979.

**Television Series**

1952–57 *Life Is Worth Living*  
 1955–57 *Mission to the World*  
 1961–68 *The Bishop Sheen Program*  
 1964 *Quo Vadis, America?*

**Radio**

*The Catholic Hour*, from 1930.

**Publications (selected)**

*Peace of Soul*, 1949  
*Three to Get Married*, 1951  
*Life Is Worth Living*, 1953  
*The Priest Is Not His Own*, 1963  
*Missions and the World Crisis*, 1964  
*That Tremendous Love*, 1967  
*Treasure in Clay: The Autobiography of Fulton J. Sheen*, 1980

**Further Reading**

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 Noonan, D.P., *The Passion of Fulton Sheen*, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972

## Sherlock Holmes

Mystery (Various National Productions)

Sherlock Holmes, the fictional character created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, may be the most popular literary character adapted to the performing arts. The adventures of Sherlock Holmes have been transformed for the dramatic stage (*Sherlock Holmes*, 1899; *The Crucifer of Blood*, 1978), the musical stage (*Baker Street*, 1965), ballet (*The Great Detective*, 1953), film, radio, and television. On television, the character has appeared in specials, series, parodies, animation, and made-for-television films and even in a recurring role-playing game by the android Data (Brent Spiner) on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*.

The actors who have undertaken the role for television include Ronald Howard (son of film actor Leslie

Howard), Alan Napier, Peter Cushing, Christopher Lee, Frank Langella, Tom Baker (later the Doctor in *Doctor Who*), Edward Woodward, Charlton Heston, Roger Moore, Leonard Nimoy, Peter O'Toole (as the voice of the detective in the Australian animated *Sherlock Holmes and the Baskerville Case*), and Jeremy Brett. Even Basil Rathbone, who portrayed the character in 14 feature films and 8 years on the radio, played Holmes on the small screen. Comic actors such as Milton Berle, *Monty Python's* John Cleese, Larry Hagman, and Peter Cook have all played the master sleuth in television parodies.

Sherlock Holmes was the first fictional character adapted for television. *The Three Garridebs*, a trial



*Mystery: Sherlock Holmes*, Jeremy Brett, 1984–94.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

telecast, was broadcast on November 27, 1937, from the stage of New York City's Radio City Music Hall by the American Radio Relay League. The live presentation was augmented with filmed footage to link scenes together. Louis Hector played the detective, and William Podmore played his associate, Dr. Watson.

Until 1951, Holmes's appearances on television were limited to a variety of special broadcasts, including the hour-long parody *Sherlock Holmes in the Mystery of the Sen Sen Murder*, on the April 5, 1949, episode of the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) *Texaco Star Theatre*. The satire featured Milton Berle and Victor Moore as Holmes and Watson and a guest appearance by Basil Rathbone as Rathbone of Scotland Yard.

The first television series of Sherlock Holmes adventures was produced in the United Kingdom. Vandyke Pictures intended for its half-hour adaptation of *The Man with the Twisted Lip* to be the first of a six-episode series. However, the pilot, starring John Long-

den as Holmes and Campbell Singer as Watson, did not impress executives, and only the one episode was broadcast (in March 1951). Three months later, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) aired its own pilot, an adaptation of *The Mazarin Stone*, with Andrew Osborn as Holmes and Philip King as Watson. In late 1951, the BBC produced the first television series of Sherlock Holmes adventures, but with a new producer and new actors (Alan Wheatley as Holmes and Raymond Francis as Watson). Six of Conan Doyle's stories were adapted to the 35-minute format by C.A. Lejeune, a film critic for *The Observer*.

Basil Rathbone, who for many years gave what was considered the definitive portrayal of Holmes, reprised his role as the detective in a half-hour live presentation for the May 26, 1953, episode of the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *Suspense*. The episode, *The Adventures of the Black Baronet*, was adapted by Michael Dyne from an original story by crime novelist John Dickson Carr and Adrian Conan Doyle, son of the character's creator. The episode was intended as a pilot for a U.S. series, but it was not selected for programming by any network.

The first and only U.S. television series of Sherlock Holmes adventures finally aired in syndication in the fall of 1954. The 39 half-hour original stories were produced by Sheldon Reynolds and filmed in France by Guild Films. Ronald Howard starred as Holmes, and Howard Marion Crawford starred as Watson. The series' associate producer, Nicole Milinaire, is considered to be the first woman to attain a senior production role in a television series.

Since 1954, American adaptations of the Holmes stories have been limited to various made-for-television films (*The Return of the World's Greatest Detective* with Larry Hagman as Holmes, *Sherlock Holmes in New York* with Roger Moore as Holmes, and *The Hound of The Baskervilles*) or televised stage plays (Frank Langella's *Sherlock Holmes and The Crucifer of Blood* with Charlton Heston).

In addition to producing made-for-television Holmes films in Britain, the BBC continued to produce other series of Holmes adventures. A 1965 series of 12 adaptations was produced by David Goddard and featured Douglas Wilmer, who, *The Times* noted, bore an "uncanny resemblance" to the sleuth in the original book illustrations by Sydney Paget. A 1968 series starring Peter Cushing dispensed with many of the conventions invented by other actors for the character, such as the meerschaum pipe, the deer-stalker cap, and the phrase, "Elementary, my dear Watson." The series aspired to be true to the character as written in the novels. In an attempt to capitalize on Cushing's popular work in 1950s and 1960s horror films, the BBC series

accentuated the elements of horror and violence in the original stories.

In 1984, Britain's Granada Television mounted the most popular series to date. Shown under various titles (*The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, and *The Casebook of Sherlock Holmes*) in Britain, the series was broadcast in the United States as part of the Public Broadcasting Service's (PBS's) *Mystery!* series. Critics have praised the high quality of the series' productions, including an authentic-looking Baker Street, and Jeremy Brett's performance as Holmes has been ranked as among the finest portrayals of the detective.

In 1998, BBC Radio became the first production company to complete dramatizations of all 60 Sherlock Holmes adventures, a project that began in 1989. These adaptations star Clive Merrison and Michael Williams as Holmes and Watson.

The appeal of the character has not been limited to English-speaking countries. An original teleplay, *Touha Sherlocka Holmes* (The Longing of Sherlock Holmes), in which Holmes is tempted to commit the perfect crime, was produced for Czechoslovakian television in 1972. In 1983, Russian television produced a series of five 80-minute adaptations of Conan Doyle's

stories featuring leading Soviet actors Vassily Livanov and Vitaly Solomin as Holmes and Watson.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

See also **British Programming; Detective Programs**

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- "So Long, Sherlock... Remembering Jeremy Brett," *New Orleans Magazine* (December 1995)

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## Shore, Dinah (1917–1994)

U.S. Musical Performer, Talk Show Host

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Dinah Shore ranks as one of the important on-air musical stars of the first two decades of television in the United States. Indeed, from 1956 through 1963, there were few TV personalities as well known as she was. More than any song she sang, Shore herself symbolized cheery optimism and southern charm, and she is most remembered for blowing a big kiss to viewers at the end of her 1950s variety show. As hostess, she sometimes danced and frequently participated in comedy skits, but she was best loved as a smooth vocalist reminiscent of a style associated with the 1940s.

Shore pioneered the prime-time color variety show when *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* started in October 1956 on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and ran on Sunday nights until the end of the 1963 season. Sponsored by General Motors, then the largest corporation in the world, Shore helped make the low-

priced Chevrolet automobile the most widely selling car up to that point in history.

Shore represented a rare woman able to achieve major success hosting a TV variety show. In the late 1950s, her enthusiasm and lack of pretension proved so popular that she was four times named to the list of the "most admired women in the world." Her desire to please showed in her singing style, which some purists dismissed as sentimental, but through her recording career she did earn nine gold records. Shore made listeners and later viewers feel good, and beginning with her first broadcasts on radio in the late 1930s and then on television, she was able to remain a constant presence in American broadcasting for more than 50 years.

When Fanny Rose Shore was old enough to go to school, in her hometown of Nashville, Tennessee, she found herself taunted for being Jewish in the decidedly



Dinah Shore.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

non-Jewish world of a segregated Deep South. Undeterred, Shore logged experience on Nashville radio while in college, on her hometown's WSM-AM, best known as the home of the Grand Ole Opry. But Shore was no hillbilly singer, no typical southern belle. She took a degree in sociology at Vanderbilt University, putting herself through college with her radio earnings. Her show's theme song was the Ethel Waters blues-inspired "Dinah," and Shore changed her name accordingly. The success of her local radio show, *Our Little Cheerleader of Song*, enabled Shore to move to New York City to try to make it in Tin Pan Alley, then the center of the world of pop music.

Shore, by her own admission, did not have the vocal equipment of Ella Fitzgerald or Billie Holiday, and she never chose to reveal as much of herself in music as did her other idol, Peggy Lee. However, she was persistent. During the late 1930s, having auditioned unsuccessfully for such band leaders as Benny Goodman and Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, Shore finally hooked up with the Xavier Cugat band. Through the 1940s, she sold a million copies of "Yes, My Darling Daughter," and that recording success was followed quickly by such hits as "Blues in the Night," "Shoo Fly Pie," "Buttons and Bows," "Dear Hearts and Gentle Peo-

ple," and "It's So Nice to Have a Man Around the House." During World War II, Shore sang these songs for the troops in Normandy and for shows at other Allied bases in Europe.

In 1950, Shore made a guest appearance on Bob Hope's first NBC television special. A year later, NBC assigned her a regular TV series that ran until 1956 on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:30 to 7:45 P.M. Eastern time, following 15 minutes of network news. This led, in time, to her Sunday night series. Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and NBC corporate chief David Sarnoff loved Shore's conservative vocal choices and middlebrow sensibilities. In retrospect, Shore's famed signature theme song, the catchy Chevrolet jingle, "See the USA in your Chevrolet," accompanied by her sweeping smooch to the audience, was so theatrically commercial it made Ed Sullivan seem subversive and Pat Boone look like a rock star. Shore did best when she played the safe 1950s non-threatening "girl next door," with no blond (she was born a brunette) hair out of place, no joke offensive to anyone. The outcast of Nashville finally fit in.

*The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* rarely entered the top-20 ratings against the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *General Electric Theater*, hosted by Ronald Reagan, which regularly won the time slot. Reagan had a better lead-in from Ed Sullivan. Still, Shore won Emmy Awards for Best Female Singer (1954-55), Best Female Personality (1956-57), and Best Actress in a Musical or Variety Series (1959).

After the *Chevy Show*, Shore went on to host three daytime television programs: the 90-minute talk show *Dinah!* (1970-74), *Dinah's Place* (1970-74), and *Dinah and Friends* (1979-84). Her TV career ended in 1991 on cable TV's Nashville Network with *A Conversation with Dinah*. By then, she was better known as Hollywood heartthrob Burt Reynolds's "older" girlfriend and as the sponsor of a major golf tournament for women.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

See also *Dinah Shore Show, The (Various)*

**Dinah Shore.** Born Frances Rose Shore in Winchester, Tennessee, March 1, 1917. Educated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, B.A. 1939. Married: 1) George Montgomery, 1943 (divorced, 1962); one daughter and one son; 2) Maurice Fabian Smith, 1963 (divorced, 1964). Singer, WNEW, New York, 1938; sustaining singer, NBC, 1938; signed contract with RCA-Victor, 1940; starred in *Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin Street*, NBC radio program, 1940; joined Eddie Cantor's radio program, 1941; starred in own radio program for General Foods, 1943; entertained U.S. troops in European the-



ater of operations, 1944; hosted radio program for Procter and Gamble; starred in TV show for Chevrolet, 1956–63; hosted numerous variety and talk shows. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1954, 1956, 1959, 1973, 1974, and 1976. Died in Beverly Hills, California, February 24, 1994.

#### Television Series

1951–57	<i>The Dinah Shore Show</i>
1956–63	<i>The Dinah Shore Chevy Show</i>
1970–74	<i>Dinah!</i>
1974–80	<i>Dinah's Place</i>
1976	<i>Dinah and Her New Best Friends</i>

1979–84	<i>Dinah and Friends</i>
1989–91	<i>A Conversation with Dinah</i>

#### Films

*Thank Your Lucky Stars*, 1943; *Up in Arms*, 1944; *Belle of the Yukon*, 1944; *Follow the Boys*, 1944; *Make Mine Music* (voice only), 1946; *Till the Clouds Roll By*, 1946; *Fun and Fancy Free* (voice only), 1947; *Aaron Slick from Punkin Crick*, 1952; *Oh, God!*, 1977; *Health*, 1979.

#### Publication

*Someone's in the Kitchen with Dinah*, 1971

## Showtime Network

### U.S. Cable Network

Showtime is a subscription-based network that broadcasts recently released and classic movies 24 hours per day via satellite without commercial interruption. In addition, it produces its own original programming and provides coverage of boxing events and occasionally live music. Next to the Home Box Office (HBO)/Cinemax cable block, Showtime is the second most popular subscription-based cable movie channel in the United States. Showtime was launched on July 1, 1976, by Viacom, Inc., in the wake of HBO's successful challenge of the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC's) satellite expansion rules. After making its start at a northern California cable company, Showtime went nationwide via satellite in 1978. In 1979, one of HBO's chief distributors, the Teleprompter Corporation, bought 50 percent of Showtime and subsequently dropped HBO from 250,000 households. Thus was born the market share competition between these two similar cable networks, a rivalry that would define the programming structure of Showtime throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

By the late 1980s, Showtime had fewer subscriptions than HBO but still aired very similar programs. Since 1994, however, when the current Showtime Networks chief executive officer, Matthew C. Blank, selected Jerry Ofsay to take charge the network's programming, the channel has aggressively pursued alternative original content and as a result has won awards for its daring and captured audiences that had

fallen through the programming gaps of other cable channels. In 2003, Blank replaced Ofsay with a new chief of entertainment, Robert Greenblatt, previously the executive producer of HBO's popular series *Six Feet Under* in a drive to further improve Showtime's original programming and foster more contacts with Hollywood.

Touting its new "No Limits" logo, Showtime has recently sought to define itself as the edgier alternative to HBO. Although HBO has nearly twice the subscription rate and over twice Showtime's programming budget, Showtime has compensated and remained competitive in several ways. First, it has lowered its production costs by shooting much of its original programming in Canada; in addition, it produces all its original series in bulk. It has also been successful at luring Hollywood actors and directors to the network to make low-budget Showtime movies by encouraging them to produce their own pet projects without corporate interference. Showtime has pushed the envelope for nonmainstream content in its original shows, most notably in *Queer as*

# SHOWTIME®

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

*Folk* and *The L Word*, both of which have won acclaim for their candid representation of gay sexuality. The network makes a point of not censoring its writers. The result is a channel that has become a vital source of original cable programming in the early 2000s.

Following the multiplexing trend of other cable networks, Showtime has used its brand name to develop several specialized channels, such as Showtime Women, Showtime Family Zone, and Showtime Extreme, which are often prepackaged in cable and satellite subscriptions. In addition, the Showtime Network operates The Movie Channel and Flix; it also manages The Sundance Channel under the Showtime Network's corporate umbrella, although Robert Redford and Universal Studios are additional co-owners. Striving to be a technical pioneer, all the channels bearing the Showtime banner broadcast at least some of their daily content in high-definition format (HDTV) and broadcast all their programming in Dolby Digital 5.1 surround sound.

Showtime's parent company, Viacom, Inc., survived the media merger fervor of the 1980s and 1990s and has emerged as one of the most powerful conglomerates in the television industry. As a result, Showtime has been at least partially owned by several different companies in its history. In 1985, Viacom repurchased from Warner Amex the 50 percent of Showtime sold in 1979 to the Teleprompter Corporation. In June 1987, Sumner Redstone took over Viacom International, and soon afterward, in response to industry fears over the Time Warner merger in 1989, Viacom partially merged with TeleCommunications Inc., the largest cable operator in the country, which bought a 50 percent interest in Showtime. In 1992, Showtime announced the formation of the Showtime Entertainment Group, which was designed to make original motion pictures to premiere on Showtime, and then in 1994 the channel officially formed Showtime Networks, which included The Movie Channel and Flix. The Showtime Network added The Sundance Channel to its lineup in 1996.

Much of Showtime's programming history is entwined with HBO's, as the two have taken programming cues from one another. When Showtime and HBO first aired in the 1970s, both were used as uncensored outlets for recently released theatrical films before they premiered on the broadcast networks. However, as videocassette rentals claimed a growing portion of this second-run movie market, both channels began to create original content in the 1980s in an effort to retain their audiences. Utilizing the freedoms of cable TV, both simultaneously developed series that incorporated risqué content, such as nudity, sexuality, adult language, and drug use, making their programs unique to cable and removing any potential competition from the commercially funded broadcast chan-

nels. Two of Showtime's early series, *Brothers* and *It's Garry Shandling's Show*, were well received by cable audiences. *Brothers*, the first sitcom made specifically for cable TV, opened new social territory in 1984 because of its openly gay sexual content. *It's Garry Shandling's Show* was quickly purchased by the newly established FOX Network. Both shows unveiled a powerful American market for challenging prime-time content that could be accurately developed only outside the reign of the broadcast network censors. These viewing preferences were also reflected in the annual Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Awards (Emmys); by the late 1990s, both Showtime and HBO were receiving a substantial portion of the original programming nominations.

As Showtime and HBO continued to vie in the late 1990s for pay-TV market shares, the Showtime programmers took a different tack. They began to target specific underrepresented audiences. In 1999, they pursued African-American audiences with the drama series *Soul Food*, based on the popular movie of the same title. They also pursued the American Latino audience with *Resurrection Blvd.*, the first and only English-speaking television series with a predominantly Latino cast to air in the early 2000s. In 1999, they struck programming gold by adapting an openly gay British television series, *Queer as Folk*, which went on to become one of the network's highest-rated shows. These types of niche-focused programming decisions have allowed Showtime to continue to grow and innovate regardless of its share of the pay-TV movie channel market.

DANIEL ABRAM

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## Silliphant, Stirling (1918–1996)

U.S. Writer

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Stirling Silliphant was one of the most important and prolific writers of television drama in the 1960s, remembered particularly for his work on *Naked City* and *Route 66*. Although he had early success in the 1950s with a spate of feature films and went on to even greater big-screen achievements in the late 1960s and 1970s, Silliphant maintained a constant presence in television throughout his writing career and in the 1980s focused most of his attention on television movies, historical miniseries, and novels.

Silliphant's passage between big-screen and small-screen writing marked his work very early on. He began his association with the movies as a publicist, first for Disney and later 20th Century-Fox. Silliphant left that end of the business in 1953 to package an independent feature, *The Joe Louis Story* (honing his rewrite skills on the script). In 1955, he transformed a rejected screenplay into the novel *Maracaibo* (which was adapted by another writer and filmed three years later) and within the next three years saw five feature scripts produced, including Jacques Tourneur's *Nightfall* and Don Siegel's *The Lineup*. During the same period, he aimed his typewriter at television, generating dozens of scripts for such anthologies as *General Electric Theater*, *Alcoa-Goodyear Theatre*, *Suspicion*, *Schlitz Playhouse*, and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* as well as two episodes of *Perry Mason*.

Silliphant was completing his sixth feature script (*Village of the Damned*) when independent producer Herbert B. Leonard (*Adventures of Rin Tin Tin* and *Circus Boy*) hired him to write the pilot for *Naked City*, a half-hour series based on the 1948 "semidocumentary" feature *The Naked City*. With a résumé composed almost exclusively of anthologies and features, Silliphant's proclivity for self-contained stories was consistent with Leonard's vision of the series as a character-oriented dramatic anthology with a police backdrop as opposed to a police procedural in the *Dragnet* mold. Silliphant wrote 31 of *Naked City*'s first 39 episodes, remembered today as taut, noirish 30-minute thrillers offering both character drama and gunplay. Canceled after one season in its original form, the series was resurrected as an hour-long show in 1960.

In the interim, Silliphant remained busy with scripts for such crime series as *Markham*, *Tightrope*, and *The Brothers Brannagan* as well as an unsold private eye

pilot, *Brock Callahan*. When *Naked City* was resurrected at a sponsor's behest for the 1960 season in the longer form, Silliphant was already collaborating with Leonard on another series-anthology hybrid, *Route 66*. (A third Leonard-Silliphant project for 1960 called *Three-Man Sub*—a sort of underwater Mediterranean variation on *Route 66*—did not sell.) Although he did write the pilot script and served as "executive story consultant" for the new version of *Naked City*, Silliphant would provide fewer scripts for the show because of his intense involvement with *Route 66*; still, the writing remained first-rate. The all-New York production offered a fascinating mix of action and Actor's Studio, yielding three seasons of compelling urban tragedy. The series was nominated for an Emmy in the Outstanding Drama category every year of its run.

*Route 66* proved to be a critical and commercial hit despite early concerns from Screen Gems studio about its premise: two young drifters searching for meaning on the highways of America. Filmed on location across the United States, the wide-ranging backdrops and visual realism of *Route 66* and its mix of psychological drama, social commentary, romance, action, and big-name guest stars, all underlined by strong writing and supervision from Silliphant (and story editor Howard Rodman), paved the way for a four-year run. Spending much of this time writing and observing on the road, Silliphant would go on to write some three-fourths of *Route 66*'s 116 episodes. Silliphant calls those four years the most intensive period of writing in his career and the site of some of his best work.

*Naked City* was canceled in 1963 and *Route 66* a year later, but the "writing machine" (as one producer dubbed Silliphant in a *Time* magazine profile) did not pause. During the mid-1960s, Silliphant freelanced for *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater*, *Mr. Novak*, and *Rawhide*. In 1967, Silliphant made a triumphant return to features, winning an Academy Award for his adaptation *In the Heat of the Night*. Even with this big-screen success (followed up with such films as *Marlowe*, *Charly*, and *The New Centurions*), Silliphant did not abandon television. Despite a 1960 interview in which he eschewed the growing plague of "hyphenated billing"—alleging that the "miasma of memos and meetings" inevitably curtailed the insight and blunted the creativity of writer-

producers—by 1971 Silliphant was one, serving as executive producer of the mystery series *Longstreet*. Notable as part of the 1970s-era cycle of “gimmick” detective series (*Cannon*, *Ironside*, and *McCloud*), *Longstreet*—the story of a blind insurance investigator—was otherwise unremarkable. A year later, the writer attempted to mount yet another picaresque series titled *Movin’ On*, this time concerning a pair of itinerant stock-car racers (not to be confused with the 1974 series about truckers); the pilot aired as a TV movie, but the series did not sell. *Longstreet*’s cancellation after one season effectively ended Silliphant’s involvement in the continuing-series form but not his television career.

Although he did pen several TV movies and his first miniseries, *Pearl* (based on his novel) during the 1970s, Silliphant concentrated most of his efforts in that decade on features. He produced *Shaft* in 1971 (and wrote the 1973 sequel *Shaft in Africa*); in 1972, he helped launch the popular cycle of disaster movies by scripting *The Poseidon Adventure*, followed by *The Towering Inferno* and *The Swarm*; and he turned out successful thrillers, such as *Telefon* and *The Enforcer* (Clint Eastwood’s third “Dirty Harry” film). A few more features followed in the 1980s, but, for the most part, Silliphant settled back into television, scripting a succession of made-for-TV movies (and unsold pilots) and epic miniseries, such as *Mussolini: The Untold Story* and *Space*. True to form, the fertile author also found time during the decade to publish three adventure novels featuring roving adventurer John Locke.

Silliphant’s writing career is remarkable not only for its sheer volume of output, its duration, and its spanning of television and feature work but also for the very fact that he kept an active hand in television after achieving big-screen success and that he considered television to be the medium most conducive to the writer’s vision. Silliphant has charged that his *In the Heat of the Night* script was inferior to many of his *Naked City* teleplays. “As a matter of fact,” he declared to writer William Froug, “I can think of at least twenty different television scripts I’ve written which I think are monumental in comparison.” Truth be told, the bulk of Silliphant’s features—most of which are adaptations—tended toward formula, while the passion for character and ideas comes through most strongly in the television work.

Silliphant repeatedly pronounced *Naked City* and *Route 66* as the best of his writing. It is difficult to disagree. These two series are surely Silliphant’s finest achievements and rank among the most original and well-written dramas ever created for the medium. A *Variety* columnist observed in a 1962 review of *Route 66* that Silliphant “composes poetry which is often raw

and tenuous, so it requires delicacy of treatment.” As this suggests, Silliphant’s “poetry” carried some risk. John Gregory Dunne cited Silliphant as a prime purveyor of television “pseudo-seriousness” in a 1965 article, and Silliphant himself admitted a proclivity for the overwrought phrase. But with the right director and actors, no writing for the screen has been more powerful. And if the intense demands of series writing—and writing on the road, at that—occasionally failed to limit a slight propensity for pretension that sometimes overwhelmed characterization or credibility, by and large Silliphant’s scripts for *Naked City* and *Route 66* yielded moving renderings of troubled relationships and tortured psyches. Even his more purple moments speak to the ambitions he had for television as a dramatic form.

In 1968, *TV Guide* critic Dick Hobson lamented the exodus of writing talent from the medium, musing, “What became of writer Stirling Silliphant, whose *Naked City*’s and *Route 66*’s were once a repertory theater of contemporary life and times?” Ironically, when these programs aired in the early 1960s, they were largely overlooked by critics and government watchdogs preoccupied with indicting the “vast wasteland” and eulogizing the live drama. Meanwhile, Stirling Silliphant was on the road, clacking away at his typewriter, his “poetry” standing as living (broadcast) proof of television’s capacity for brilliant writing and provocative drama. More than 30 years later, at the time of his death in 1996, the writing machine was still writing.

MARK ALVEY

See also *Naked City*; *Police Programs*; *Route 66*; *Writer in Television*

**Stirling Dale Silliphant.** Born in Detroit, Michigan, January 16, 1918. Educated at the University of Southern California, B.A., magna cum laude, 1938. Married: Tiana Du Long, 1974; one daughter and two sons. Served as lieutenant, U.S. Navy, 1943–46. Publicity director, 20th Century-Fox, New York City, 1946–53; screenwriter, independent producer for various Hollywood studios, 1953–80s; moved to Thailand, where he continued to work on movie and TV projects, 1980s. Member: Writers Guild of America West, Mystery Writers Association, and Authors League. Recipient: Academy Award, Edgar Allen Poe Award, 1967; Golden Globe Awards, 1968 and 1969; Writer of the Year Award from the National Theater Owners, 1972; Image Award from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1972; Writer of the Year Award from the National Theater Owners, 1974. Died, in Bangkok, April 26, 1996.

**Television Series (principal writer)**

- 1958–63 *Naked City* (also executive story consultant, 1960–63)  
 1960–64 *Route 66* (also co-creator)  
 1971–72 *Longstreet* (also executive producer)

**Television Series (contributing writer; selected)**

- 1953–62 *General Electric Theater*  
 1956–59 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
 1957 *Perry Mason*  
 1957–60 *Alcoa-Goodyear Theater*  
 1958 *Suspicion*  
 1959 *Tightrope*  
 1960 *The Brothers Brannigan*  
 1964 *Mr. Novak*  
 1964 *Rawhide*  
 1964–66 *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater*

**Made-for-Television Movies (writer)**

- 1967 *Wings of Fire*  
 1971 *Longstreet* (also executive producer)  
 1972 *Movin' On*  
 1972 *The New Healers* (also producer)  
 1973 *A Time for Love* (also executive producer)  
 1975 *The First 36 Hours of Dr. Durant* (also executive producer)  
 1975 *Death Scream*  
 1979 *Salem's Lot* (executive producer only)  
 1981 *Fly Away Home* (also executive producer)  
 1981 *Golden Gate*  
 1981 *Hardcase*  
 1983 *Travis McGee*  
 1984 *Welcome to Paradise* (also executive producer)  
 1987 *The Three Kings* (also producer)  
 1993 *Sidney Sheldon's A Stranger in the Mirror*  
 1994 *Day of Reckoning*

**Television Miniseries (writer)**

- 1978 *Pearl* (also executive producer)  
 1985 *Space*

- 1985 *Mussolini: The Untold Story*  
 (also producer)

**Films (writer)**

*The Joe Louis Story* (producer only), 1953; *Five Against the House*, 1955; *Nightfall*, 1956; *Huk!*, 1956; *Damn Citizen*, 1958; *The Lineup*, 1958; *Village of the Damned*, 1960; *The Slender Thread*, 1965; *In the Heat of the Night*, 1967; *Charly*, 1968; *Marlowe*, 1969; *The Liberation of L.B. Jones*, 1970; *A Walk in the Spring Rain* (also producer), 1970; *Murphy's War*, 1971; *Shaft* (producer only), 1971; *The Poseidon Adventure*, 1972; *The New Centurions*, 1972; *Shaft in Africa*, 1973; *The Towering Inferno*, 1974; *The Killer Elite*, 1975; *The Enforcer*, 1976; *Telefon*, 1977; *The Swarm*, 1978; *Circle of Iron*, 1978; *When Time Ran Out*, 1980; *Over the Top*, 1986; *Catch the Heat*, 1987; *The Grass Harp*, 1995.

**Publications**

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## Silverman, Fred (1937– )

U.S. Media Executive, Producer

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Fred Silverman devoted his life to programming television. He is the only person to have held key programming positions at all of the three traditional networks in the United States, and today he owns the Fred Silverman Company, which produces programs for those networks. What makes Silverman unique in the history of American network television is that he raced through network jobs while still in his 30s and that his career mysteriously waned after having waxed so splendidly for so long.

Silverman graduated with a master's degree from Ohio State University (his master's thesis analyzed programming practices at the American Broadcasting Company [ABC]) and went to work for WGN-TV in Chicago to oversee children's programs. Soon, however, he moved to the network level. He assumed responsibility for daytime programming at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), where he later took charge of all of CBS Entertainment programming. During his tenure at CBS, Silverman remade the Saturday morning cartoon lineup and, in so doing, remade the ratings—from third to first. He also helped devise the programming strategy that brought *All in the Family*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *The Waltons* to CBS. With the success of the CBS schedule assured, Silverman moved on. In 1975, he became head of ABC Entertainment.

From 1975 to 1978, Silverman took ABC from ratings parity with the other networks to ratings dominance over them. Among the shows and miniseries he was responsible for programming were *Rich Man, Poor Man*, *Roots*, *Charlie's Angels*, and *Starsky and Hutch*. Silverman made the "third" network a ratings power and, as some of these program selections suggest, is credited with creating what critics called "jiggle TV," the type of television that features beautiful, scantily clad, frolicking women. In short, he bore partial responsibility for programming both acclaimed and reviled. But he demonstrated at ABC the same touch he had at CBS—an almost unerring sense of what the public, in great numbers, would watch on television. In 1977, a *Time* magazine cover story referred to Silverman as the "man with the golden gut," ostensibly referring to his unfailing programming instincts. At the height of his power at ABC, Silverman

left to take on the presidency of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

It was there, however, that whatever abilities brought him fame at the other two networks seemed to abandon Silverman. Some of his program selections were disastrous (*Supertrain* and *Hello, Larry*, an ill-conceived effort starring McLean Stevenson, formerly of *M\*A\*S\*H*). In addition, without the success he had enjoyed earlier, his mercurial behavior was less tolerable. After three difficult years, he was replaced at NBC by Grant Tinker. Silverman's 18-year run with the networks was over.

Silverman left programming to make programs, but he did not enjoy immediate success. The first years for the Fred Silverman Company were difficult, particularly because the former program buyer was now



Fred Silverman.  
Photo courtesy of The Fred Silverman Company

forced to try to sell programming to many of the persons he had alienated at the networks. But in 1985, Silverman and partner Dean Hargrove produced the first *Perry Mason* movie with Raymond Burr. It was wildly successful and established the formula that would drive Silverman's comeback in television. He took identifiable television stars from the recent past and recast them in formulaic dramas. Andy Griffith in *Matlock* and Carroll O'Connor in *In the Heat of the Night* are but two examples. Silverman also used his programming acumen to push for favorable time slots for his shows. Because Silverman has enjoyed great success with his production company, some industry observers have called him the Nixon of television.

Throughout his career in network television, Silverman was considered a hero in the industry because he could devise program schedules that delivered strong ratings. But during the latter stages of his network years, some industry observers saw a danger in so much television programming having the imprimatur of one individual. Moreover, his critics often looked beyond the bottom line and lamented the content of the programming used to build Silverman's various ratings empires. His work at ABC has been particularly criticized because of messages regarding sex and violence in the programs. Television programming has been criticized for appealing to the lowest common denominator in its quest for raw numbers of viewers, and more than once Silverman has been targeted as the chief instrument of that appeal. Indeed, columnist Richard Reeves observed in 1978 that Silverman had probably done more to lower the standards of the viewing audience than any other individual.

Of Silverman's comeback, this much can be said—he returned to his roots. His productions, using familiar faces and formulas that have enjoyed prior television success, can be seen as part of a larger pattern. It has been suggested that one current programming trend is to look back to a time when network television was at its peak. In the face of a complex and mercurial telecommunications landscape, those involved in broadcasting seek comfort from a time more stable. Many of the programs meeting this need are revivals, retrospectives, or old faces in new attire. One

need look no further than the “new” *Burke's Law*, *Columbo*, or Dick Van Dyke in *Diagnosis Murder*. Silverman has capitalized on this tendency and has very probably become its leading practitioner. In a time when the term “auteur,” or author, is being applied to television producers, the career of Silverman suggests that an auteur could just as easily be the programmer as the program producer. For better or worse, few individuals have had as profound an impact on television programming for as long as Fred Silverman.

JOHN COOPER

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Charlie's Angels; Columbia Broadcasting System; Mary Tyler Moore Show; National Broadcasting Company; Perry Mason; Programming; Rich Man, Poor Man; Starsky and Hutch; Tartikoff, Brandon, Tinker, Grant; United States: Networks*

**Fred Silverman.** Born in New York City, 1937. Studied at Syracuse University, New York; Television and Theater Arts at Ohio State University, Athens, M.A. Worked for WGN-TV, Chicago, 1961–62; worked for WPIX-TV, New York City; director of daytime programs, then vice president of programs, CBS-TV, New York City, 1963–75; president, ABC Entertainment, New York City, 1975–78; president and chief executive officer, NBC, New York City, 1978–81; president, Fred Silverman Company, Los Angeles, from 1981.

#### Television Series (executive producer)

1985–94	<i>Perry Mason</i> (movies)
1986–95	<i>Matlock</i>
1987–93	<i>Jake and the Fatman</i>
1988–95	<i>In the Heat of the Night</i>
1989, 1990–91	<i>Father Dowling Mysteries</i>
1992–2001	<i>Diagnosis Murder</i>

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## Silvers, Phil (1912–1985)

U.S. Actor, Comedian

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Phil Silvers was one of the great stars for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) during the late 1950s. Already a minor star on the vaudeville stage and in motion pictures, Silvers created, with writer-producer Nat Hiken, a pioneering television situation comedy, *You'll Never Get Rich*. In this satirical look at life in the U.S. Army, Silvers played Sergeant Ernest Bilko, the con man with a heart of gold.

*You'll Never Get Rich* premiered on CBS at the beginning of the 1955–56 TV season and soon became a hit. For three years, as CBS took command of the prime-time ratings race, *You'll Never Get Rich* was a fixture in the 8:00 P.M. Tuesday time slot. Between 1955 and 1958, the show was highly rated, and its success spelled the end of Milton Berle's Tuesday night reign on rival the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

As played by Silvers, Bilko was an army lifer, a motor-pool master sergeant at isolated Fort Baxter, located near the fictional army small town of Roseville, Kansas. The show was a send-up of army life (or of any existence within any confined and rigid society) and loved by ex-GIs of World War II and the Korean conflict, a generation still close to its own military experiences and willing to laugh at them. With little to do in the U.S. Army of the Cold War era and stuck in the wide-open spaces of rural Kansas, Ernest "Ernie" Bilko spent most of his time planning and trying one elaborate scam after another. Always, predictably, they failed. Bilko was never able to make that one big score. But the comedy came in the trying.

His platoon, played by a cast of wonderful ex-burlesque comics and aspiring New York actors, reluctantly assisted him. His right-hand henchmen, the corporals Barbella and Henshaw, were ever by his side. The remainder of the group, following the pattern of numerous World War II films, seemed to have a man from every ethnic group: the brassy New Yorker, Private Fender; the Italian city boy, Private Paparelli; the high-strung country lad, Private Zimmerman; and the loveable slob, Private Doberman. Others who manned the platoon included black actors, making the program a rare, racially integrated TV situation comedy telecast in the 1950s.

If Silvers was the show's star, Nat Hiken, one of television's first writer-producers, was its creator-

auteur. Hiken had first written for Fred Allen's hit radio show, then moved to television to help pen Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater*. His scripts provided a mine of comic gems for Bilko and company. Possibly the funniest is "The Case of Harry Speakup," in which a Bilko scheme backfires and he is forced to help induct a chimpanzee into the army. Only Bilko could run such a recruit past army doctors and psychiatrists, have him pass an IQ test and receive a uniform, be formally sworn in as a private, and then moments later be honorably discharged. No bureaucracy has ever been spoofed better than was the Cold War U.S. Army in this 26-minute comic masterpiece.

Nat Hiken did more than write wonderfully funny scripts. As a producer, he had an eye for talent. Guests on *You'll Never Get Rich* included a young Fred



Phil Silvers in the 1960s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



Gwynne in "The Eating Contest" (first telecast on November 15, 1955), a youthful Dick Van Dyke in "Bilko's Cousin" (first telecast on January 28, 1958), and Alan Alda in his first significant TV role in "Bilko, the Art Lover" (first telecast on March 7, 1958).

*You'll Never Get Rich* shot up in the ratings, and less than two months after the premiere, the program was renamed—not surprisingly—*The Phil Silvers Show*, with "You'll Never Get Rich" thereafter relegated to the subtitle. So popular was this show that in September 1957, as it started its second season, it inspired one of television's first paperback collections of published scripts.

Yet, as would be the case for many television programs since the 1950s, the Bilko magic fell out of prime-time favor almost as swiftly as it had seized the public's fascination. The end began in 1958, when CBS switched *The Phil Silvers Show* to Friday nights and moved Bilko and company to Camp Fremont in California. A year later, the show was off the schedule, although it has since functioned as a staple in syndication around the world. Phil Silvers had had his four-year run in television's spotlight.

He would find that spotlight again, briefly, in the 1963–64 television season, when CBS tried *The New Phil Silvers Show*, a knockoff of the earlier program. Here, Silvers played Harry Grafton, a plant foreman, trying (unsuccessfully) to get rich. It lasted but a single season, and thereafter Silvers filled out his career doing occasional TV specials.

But Silvers and Nat Hiken should always be remembered for their pioneering work with *You'll Never Get Rich*. This show hardly dates at all; its comic speed, invention, and ensemble performances rank it among television's greatest comic masterworks.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also Comedy, Workplace; Phil Silvers Show, The; Workplace Programs*

**Phil Silvers.** Born Phillip Silversmith in Brooklyn, New York, May 11, 1912. Married: 1) Jo Carroll Denison (divorced); 2) Evelyn Patrick (divorced); five daughters. Started career as vaudeville singer; became comedian in burlesque, then on Broadway; made screen debut in *The Hit Parade*, 1940; gained fame for television show *The Phil Silvers Show*, CBS, 1955–59. Recipient: Tony Awards, 1952 and 1972; Emmy Awards, 1955 and 1956. Died in Los Angeles, California, November 1, 1985.

#### Television Series

- 1955–59 *You'll Never Get Rich* (became *The Phil Silvers Show*, 1955)  
 1963–64 *The New Phil Silvers Show*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- 1975 *The Deadly Tide*  
 1975 *All Trails Lead to Las Vegas*  
 1977 *The New Love Boat*  
 1978 *The Night They Took Miss Beautiful*  
 1979 "Hey Abbott!"  
 1979 *Goldie and the Boxer*

#### Films

*The Hit Parade*, 1940; *Strike Up the Band*, 1940; *Pride and Prejudice*, 1940; *Ball of Fire*, 1941; *The Penalty*, 1941; *The Wild Man of Borneo*, 1941; *Ice Capades*, 1941; *Tom, Dick and Harry*, 1941; *Lady Be Good*, 1941; *You're in the Army Now*, 1941; *Roxie Hart*, 1942; *All Through the Night*, 1942; *Tales of the Night*, 1942; *My Gal Sal*, 1942; *Footlight Serenade*, 1942; *Just Off Broadway*, 1942; *Coney Island*, 1943; *A Lady Takes a Chance*, 1943; *Cover Girl*, 1944; *Four Jills in a Jeep*, 1944; *Something for the Boys*, 1944; *Take It or Leave It*, 1944; *Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe*, 1945; *A Thousand and One Nights*, 1945; *If I'm Lucky*, 1946; *Summer Stock*, 1950; *Top Banana*, 1952; *Lucky Me*, 1956; *40 Pounds of Trouble*, 1962; *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *A Guide for the Married Man*, 1967; *Follow That Camel*, 1967; *Buona Sera, Mrs. Campbell*, 1968; *The Boatniks*, 1970; *The Strongest Man in the World*, 1975; *Won Ton Ton: The Dog Who Saved Hollywood*, 1975; *Murder by Death*, 1976; *The Chicken Chronicles*, 1976; *Racquet*, 1978; *There Goes the Bride*, 1979; *The Cheap Detective*, 1979; *The Happy Hooker Goes to Washington*, 1980; *Hollywood Blue*, 1980.

#### Stage (selected)

*Yokel Boy*, 1939; *High Button Shoes*, 1947; *Top Banana*, 1952; *Do Re Mi*, 1960, 1962; *How the Other Half Lives*, 1971; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1971–72.

#### Publication

*This Laugh Is on Me: The Phil Silvers Story*, with Robert Saffron, 1973

#### Further Reading

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## Simpsons, The

### U.S. Animated Situation Comedy

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*The Simpsons*, the longest-running cartoon on American prime-time network television and one of the longest-running television sitcoms ever, chronicles the animated adventures of Homer Simpson and his family. Debuting on the FOX network in 1989, critically acclaimed, culturally cynical, and economically very successful, *The Simpsons* helped define the satirical edge of prime-time television in the early 1990s and was the single most influential program in establishing FOX as a legitimate broadcast television network.

The Simpson household consists of five family members. The father, Homer, is a none-too-bright safety inspector for the local nuclear power plant in the show's fictional location, Springfield. A huge blue beehive hairdo characterizes his wife, Marge, often the moral center of the program. Their oldest child, Bart, a sassy ten-year-old and borderline juvenile delinquent, provided the early focus of the program. Lisa, the middle child, is a gifted, perceptive but sensitive saxophone player. Maggie is the voiceless toddler, observing all while constantly sucking on her pacifier. Besides the Simpson clan, other characters include Moe the bartender; Mr. Burns, the nasty owner of the Springfield Nuclear Power Plant; and Ned Flanders, the Simpsons' incredibly pious neighbor. These characters and others, and the world they inhabit, have taken on a dense, rich sense of familiarity. Audiences now recognize relationships and specific character traits that can predict developments and complications in any new plot.

*The Simpsons* is the creation of Matt Groening, a comic strip writer/artist who, until the debut of the program, was known mostly for his syndicated newspaper strip *Life in Hell*. Attracting the attention of influential writer-producer and Gracie Films executive James L. Brooks, Groening developed the cartoon family as a series of short vignettes featured on the FOX variety program *The Tracey Ullman Show* beginning in 1987.

A Christmas special followed in December 1989, and then *The Simpsons* became a regular series.

Despite its family sitcom format, *The Simpsons* draws its animated inspiration more from Bullwinkle J. Moose than Fred Flintstone. Like *The Bullwinkle Show*, two of the most striking characteristics of *The Simpsons* are its social criticism and its references to other cultural forms. John O'Connor, television critic for the *New York Times*, has labeled the program "the most radical show on prime time," and, indeed, *The Simpsons* often parodies the hypocrisy and contradictions found in social institutions such as the nuclear family (and nuclear power), the mass media, religion, and medicine. Homer tells his daughter Lisa that it is acceptable to steal things "from people you don't like." Reverend Lovejoy lies to Lisa about the contents of the Bible to win an argument. Krusty the Clown, the kid-vid program host, endorses dangerous products to make a quick buck. Homer comforts Marge about upcoming surgery with the observation that "America's health care system is second only to Japan's... Canada's... Sweden's... Great Britain's... well, all of Europe."

The critical nature of the program has been at times controversial, especially early in the show's run. Many elementary schools banned Bart Simpson T-shirts, singling out those with the slogan, "Underachiever, and Proud of It." U.S. President George Bush, Sr., and former U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett publicly criticized the program for its subversive and antiauthority nature. After President Bush commented that families should be more like the Waltons and less like the Simpsons, Bart responded in one episode with, "Hey, we're just like the Waltons. We're praying for an end to the Depression, too."

In addition to its ironic lampoons, *The Simpsons* is also one of the most culturally literate entertainment programs on prime time. Viewers may note references

to such cultural icons as *The Bridges of Madison County*, Ayn Rand, Susan Sontag, and the film *Barton Fink* in any given episode. These allusions extend far beyond explicit verbal notations. Cartoon technique allows free movement in *The Simpsons*, and manipulation of visual qualities—often mimicking comic strip perspectives and cinematic manipulation of space—creates an extraordinary sense of time, place, and movement. On occasion, *The Simpsons* has reproduced the actual camera movements of the films it models. At other times, the cartoonist's freedom and ability to visualize internal psychological states such as memory and dream have produced some of the program's most hilarious moments.

The unique nature of *The Simpsons* reveals much about the nature of the television industry. Specifically, the existence of the show illustrates the relationship of television's industrial context to its degree of content innovation. It was a program that came along at the right place and time, and it appealed to the right demographic groups. Groening has said that no other network besides FOX would have aired *The Simpsons*, and in fact conventional television producers had previously turned down Groening's programming ideas. The degree of competition in network television in the late 1980s helped open the door, however. Network television overall found itself in a more competitive environment in this period because of cable television and VCRs. The FOX network, specifically, was in an even more precarious economic position than the "big three: (Ameican Broadcasting Company [ABC], Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and National Broadcasting Company [NBC]). Because FOX was the new, unestablished network, attempting to build audiences and attract advertisers, the normally restrictive nature of network television gatekeeping may have been loosened to allow the program on the air. In addition, the championing of *The Simpsons* by Brooks, an established producer with a strong track record, helped the program through the industrialized television filters that might have watered down the program's social criticism. Finally, the fact that the program draws young audiences especially attractive to advertisers also explains the network's willingness to air such an unconventional and risky program. The "tween" demographic, those between the ages of 12 and 17, is an especially key viewing group for *The Simpsons* as well as a primary consumer group targeted by advertisers.

*The Simpsons* was a watershed program in the establishment of the FOX network. The cartoon has been the FOX program most consistently praised by television critics. In the 1990s, *The Simpsons* won five Emmys for Outstanding Animated Programming (one

hour or less). In its December 31, 1999, "Person of the Century" issue, *Time* magazine chose *The Simpsons* as the best television program ever made. It was the first FOX program to reach the top ten in ratings despite the network's smaller number of affiliates compared to the big three. When FOX moved *The Simpsons* to Thursday night in 1990, it directly challenged the number one program of the network establishment at the time, *The Cosby Show*. Eventually, *The Simpsons* bested this powerful competitor in key male demographic groups. The schedule change and the subsequent success signaled FOX's staying power to the rest of the industry, and for viewers it was a powerful illustration of the innovative nature of FOX programming when compared to conventional television fare.

*The Simpsons* is also noteworthy for the enormous amount of merchandising it has sparked. *Simpsons* T-shirts, toys, buttons, golf balls, and other licensed materials were everywhere at the height of Simpsonsmania in the early 1990s. At one point, retailers were selling approximately 1 million *Simpsons* T-shirts per week. *The Simpsons* also inspired its own line of comic books, Bongo Comics.

The big three networks attempted to copy the success of the prime-time cartoon, but these efforts failed to duplicate *The Simpsons*' innovative nature and general appeal. Programs such as *Capital Critters*, *Fish Police*, and *Family Dog* were all short lived on the webs. However, FOX and cable networks have been able to find ratings success with such prime-time animation programs as *King of the Hill* (FOX) and *South Park* (Comedy Central). Groening was also a creative force behind *Futurama*, another FOX prime-time animated program that debuted in 1999. Such programs are one legacy of *The Simpsons*. Another is that with a two-year renewal provided by FOX in 2003, *The Simpsons* is positioned to become one of television's longest-running series in any genre, assuring its place in all future histories of the medium.

MATTHEW P. MCALLISTER

See also Brooks, James L.; Cartoons; Family on Television; FOX Broadcasting Company

#### Cast (Voices)

Homer Simpson	Dan Castellaneta
Marge Simpson	Julie Kavner
Bartholomew J. "Bart" Simpson	Nancy Cartwright
Lisa Simpson	Yeardley Smith
Mrs. Krabappel	Marcia Wallace
Mr. Burns, Principal Skinner, Ned Flanders, Smithers, Otto the School Bus Driver (and others)	Harry Shearer

Simpsons, The

Moe, Apu, Chief Wiggins,  
Dr. Nick Riviera (and others) Hank Azaria

### Producers

Larina Adamson, Sherry Argaman, Joseph A. Boucher, James L. Brooks, David S. Cohen, Jonathan Collier, Gabor Csupo, Greg Daniels, Paul Germain, Matt Groening, Al Jean, Ken Keeler, Harold Kimmel, Jay Kogen, Colin A.B.V. Lewis, Jeff Martin, Ian Maxtone-Graham, J. Michael Mendel, George Meyer, David Mirkin, Frank Mula, Conan O'Brien, Bill Oakley, Margo Pipkin, Richard Raynis, Mike Reiss, David Richardson, Jace Richdale, Phil Roman, David Sachs, Richard Sakai, Bill Schultz, Mike Scully, David Silverman, Sam Simon, John Swartzwelder, Ken Tsumura, Jon Vitti, Josh Weinstein, Michael Wolf, Wallace Wolodarsky

### Programming History

FOX

December 1989–August 1990	Sunday 8:30–9:00
August 1990–May 1994	Thursday 8:00–8:30
September 1994–	Sunday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

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- Zehme, Bill, "The Only Real People on TV," *Rolling Stone* (June 28, 1990)

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## Simulcasting

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"Simulcasting" is a term used to describe the simultaneous transmission of a television and/or radio signal over two or more networks or two or more stations. In the United States, the most obvious example would be a major address by the president that might be carried simultaneously by three television networks (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS], and National Broadcasting Company [NBC]), one or more cable networks (Cable News Network [CNN] and CNBC), and several radio networks.

The term has taken a different meaning during various periods in broadcasting. Initially, the term was applied to the simultaneous transmission of important events over two or more radio outlets. Later, it referred to the simultaneous transmission of programs on radio

and television. This occurred during the 1960s, when some of the most popular radio programs became television programs but the audio portion was still simulcast on radio. This practice was short lived, however, as the number of homes with TV sets increased and radio shifted increasingly to music-based programming.

The very slow growth in FM radio during the 1950s and 1960s was due, in part, to the simulcasting of radio programming over co-owned AM and FM stations. In 1964, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) acted to force the independence of FM stations by severely restricting the number of hours that AM and FM stations could simulcast during any given broadcast day, although protests by radio station owners delayed implementation of the rule until January 1, 1967. (Ironically, the FCC removed the restrictions on

AM/FM simulcasting a quarter of a century later so that struggling AM stations could simulcast the programming of their stronger FM sister stations.)

Simulcasting of musically oriented programs by television and FM stations occurred on an occasional basis during the 1970s and 1980s. Sometimes these programs included opera or other classical presentations; on other occasions, rock concerts were simulcast. The improved sound fidelity and stereo capability of newer television sets have diminished the need for such audio-enhancement simulcasting, although some TV/FM simulcasting still occurs.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, created a very different need for simulcasting. Immediately following these attacks, broadcast and cable networks simulcast their news coverage on co-owned cable networks that did not ordinarily carry news. ABC News was carried on the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN); CBS covered the music networks Video Hits 1 (VH1) and, later in the day, Music Television (MTV); and CNN News was simulcast on both Turner Network Television (TNT) and the Turner Broadcasting System (TBS).

On a lighter note, simulcasting has even been used to carry two slightly different versions of the same program. When ESPN cablecast the film *Season on the Brink* (2002) about former Indiana University basketball coach Bobby Knight, the same movie was simulcast—but with the raw language and obscenities bleeped—on ESPN2.

Currently, the term “simulcasting” is most relevant to the development and adaptation of digital television. Both broadcasters and regulators recognize that newer, more advanced forms of television transmission will have to be phased in gradually since viewers with standard television receivers are not willing to accept the immediate obsolescence of their current TV sets.

As of 2002, many television stations in larger markets are simulcasting on two separate signals. A standard (NTSC analog) signal is broadcast over the television station’s basic channel, while a second ATSC digital signal is transmitted over a separate channel allocated to that station specifically for this purpose by the FCC.

Initially, the FCC suggested that this simulcasting would continue until 2006, at which time 85 percent of U.S. households would be able to receive a digital signal. Simulcasting would then be discontinued, and the analog channels would be returned to the FCC for alternative use. As of 2002, that time frame seems very much in doubt, and observers speculate that analog/digital simulcasting will continue long past the 2006 date.

In addition to the simulcasting of analog and digital signals, the traditional simulcasting of major events by one or more television and/or cable outlets is a well-established practice and one not likely to end in the near term.

NORMAN FELSETHAL

*See also Music on Television; Public Television*

## Singing Detective, The

### British Serial Drama

*The Singing Detective* (1986) is a six-part serial by one of British television’s great experimental dramatists, Dennis Potter. Produced for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) by Kenith Trodd and directed by Jon Amiel, it revolves around the personal entanglements—real, remembered, and imagined—of the thriller author Philip Marlow (played by Michael Gambon), who is suffering from acute psoriasis and from the side effects associated with its treatment. The result is a complex, multilayered text that weaves together, in heightened, antirealist form, the varied inter-

ests and themes of the detective thriller, the hospital drama, the musical, and the autobiography.

A first level of narrative centers on Marlow in his hospital bed. Set in the present, this narrative includes his fantasies and hallucinations. The second narrative is played out in Marlow’s mind as he mentally rewrites his story *The Singing Detective*, with himself as hero, set in 1945. The third narrative, also set in 1945, consists of memories from his childhood as a nine-year-old boy in the Forest of Dean and in London, told through a series of flashbacks. The fourth area of nar-

rative involves Marlow's fantasy about a conspiracy between his wife, Nicola, and a supposed lover, set in the present.

There are obvious parallels between the story and Potter's own personal history. Like Marlow, Potter was born and brought up in the Forest of Dean at about the same time that Marlow was a wartime evacuee, and like Marlow he stayed in Hammersmith with relations who had difficulty with his strong Gloucestershire accent. Two key incidents in *The Singing Detective* are based on real-life childhood incidents—Potter's mother, a pub pianist, being kissed by a man, and Potter's writing a four-letter word on the blackboard when his precocious facility as a young writer made him unpopular with other schoolchildren.

The serial is explicitly concerned with psychoanalysis: the spectator is constructed both as detective and as psychoanalyst in a drama that Potter described as "a detective story about how you find out about yourself." The text is rich in Freudian imagery and symbolism, and it deals with psychoanalytical technique as Dr. Gibbons attempts to involve a linguistically skeptical Marlow in the talking cure. Marlow's neurosis and paranoia are explicitly linked to his repression of painful childhood memories, notably his mother's adultery, her eventual suicide, and the mental breakdown of a fellow pupil after a beating by a teacher. At this level, for Potter the story was about "one man's paranoia and the ending of it."

However, *The Singing Detective* does not offer a straightforward case of autobiographical drama—Potter claimed the serial was "one of the least autobiographical pieces of work I've ever attempted"—nor does it lead to conventional psychological or psychoanalytical resolution. Potter translates basic concerns, instead, to a more complex level where the narrative and generic dimensions of the text endlessly merge and overlap, fusing past and present, fantasy and "reality," challenging the organic conventions of realist drama and mixing the stabilities of popular television with the textual instabilities of modernism and post-modernism.

*The Singing Detective* is thus not only the serial that the TV viewer is watching but also the fiction that Marlow is rewriting in his head. Although his name is not unfamiliar in the genre, Marlow is no conventional focus for identification: he is obstreperously unlikable and contradictory, and his illness has been hideously disfiguring. More important, he is sometimes not the major "focaliser" of the narrative at all, being repeatedly displaced by other themes and discourses in the process of a drama in which "character" itself rapidly becomes an unstable entity. The same character, for example, can appear in different narratives, played by

the same actor; characters from one narrative can appear in another; a character may lip-synch the lines of another character from a different narrative; or, in true Brechtian–Godardian style, characters may feel free to comment on their role or to speak directly to the camera.

Questions of time and its enigmas, past and present, are also rendered complex. In narrative 1, in the present, Marlow is reconstructing two pasts: the book he wrote a long time ago, which was itself set in the past, and a part of his childhood, also set in 1945. The main enigmas in his text are set in that year. In narrative 2, who killed the busker, Sonia, Amanda, Lili, and Mark Binney? And why? In narrative 3, who shat on the table? Why did Mrs. Marlow commit suicide? Although narratives 1 and 2 usually (but not always) follow story chronology, in narrative 3, it is not really clear what the actual chronology of the young Philip's life might be. In terms of narrative frequency, *The Singing Detective* is further marked by a high degree of repetition—of words, events, and visual images—as the same event, or part of it, is retold, reworked, or re-contextualized.

The final shoot-out in the hospital thus merges narratives 1 and 2 by uniting past (1945) with the present time of its reconstruction (1986), that is, its reconstruction in Marlow's head rather than in his book itself. The "villain" who is killed is not just one of the characters but also the sick author himself, thus liberating the singing detective and ensuring an ending for narrative 2. Although it does not resolve any of the enigmas posed by this second narrative, the "dream" of the "sick" Marlow allows the Marlow who is "well" to get up and walk out of the hospital, concluding narrative 1. As he walks away down a long corridor on Nicola's arm, bird sounds from the Forest of Dean (narrative 3) are heard; past and present are again combined, even if, typically, they are not reconciled.

*The Singing Detective* thus refuses any simple reading, and it even contests the traditional definition of television "reading" altogether. It is witty, comic, and salacious yet also savage, bleak, and nihilistic. It is blunt and populist yet arcane and abstruse. Its key themes are language and communication; memory and representation; sexual and familial betrayal and guilt; the transition from childhood to adulthood; the relationships between religion, knowledge, and belief; and the processes of illness and of dying. While its themes are resonant, its most enduring claim on critical attention lies in its thoroughgoing engagement with the textual politics of modernism. Its swirl of meanings and enigmas render it British prime-time television's most sustained experiment with classic post-Brechtian strategies for antirealism, reflexivity, and textual de-

construction and for the encouragement of new reading practices on the part of the TV spectator.

PHILLIP DRUMMOND AND JANE REVELL

*See also Pennies from Heaven; Potter, Dennis; Trodd, Kenith*

#### Cast

Philip Marlow	Michael Gambon
Raymond Binney/ Mark Binney/Finney	Patrick Malahide
Nurse Mills/Carlotta	Joanne Whalley
Dr. Gibbon	Bill Paterson
Philip Marlow (age ten)	Lyndon Davies
Nicola	Janet Suzman
Mrs. Marlow/Lili	Alison Steadman
Mr. Marlow	Jim Carter
Schoolteacher/Scarecrow	Janet Henfrey
Mark Binney (age ten)	William Speakman

#### Producers

John Harris, Kenith Trodd

#### Programming History

Six 60–80-minute episodes

BBC

November 16–December 21, 1986

#### Further Reading

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## Siskel and Ebert

### U.S. Movie Review Program

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*Siskel and Ebert* represented the first and most popular of the movie-review series genre that emerged on television in the mid-1970s. The lively series focused on the give-and-take interaction and opinions of its knowledgeable and often contentious cohosts, Gene Siskel, film critic of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Roger Ebert, film critic of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Syndicated to approximately 200 markets across the United States, the spirited pair reached a potential 95 percent of the United States on a weekly basis.

Developed from an idea credited to producer Thea Flaum of Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) affiliate WTTW in Chicago, the original series, *Opening Soon at a Theater Near You*, was broadcast once a month to a local audience beginning in September 1975. Using

brief clips of movies in current release, the rival critics debated the merits of the films, making simple "yes" or "no" decisions to signify positive and negative reviews. On those not-so-rare occasions when the two disagreed, sparks might fly, which delighted viewers. An additional element of interest featured Spot the Wonder Dog jumping onto a balcony seat and barking on cue to introduce the film designated "dog of the week."

After two seasons, the successful series was retitled *Sneak Previews* and appeared biweekly on the PBS network. By its fourth season, the show became a once-a-week feature on 180 to 190 outlets and achieved status as the highest-rated weekly entertainment series in the history of public broadcasting.

Based on the program's success, in 1980 WTTW made plans to remove the show from PBS and sell it commercially as a WTTW production. The two stars indicated that they were offered a take-it-or-leave-it contract that they declined. They left the series in 1981 to launch *At the Movies* for commercial television under the banner of Tribune Entertainment, a syndication arm of the *Chicago Tribune*. Basically utilizing the same format as *Sneak Previews*, the new series made some minor adjustments, including the replacement of the black-and-white Wonder Dog with Aroma the skunk, which ultimately was removed to make room for commercials. At WTTW, *Sneak Previews* replaced Siskel and Ebert with New York-based critics Jeffrey Lyons and Neal Gabler. In time, the PBS offering would settle on Lyons and Michael Medved as its hosts, and the show remained on air through the 1995–96 season.

Citing contractual problems with Tribune Entertainment, in 1986 Siskel and Ebert departed *At the Movies* for Buena Vista Television, a subsidiary of the Walt Disney Company, and created a new series titled *Siskel and Ebert at the Movies*. The order of the names was decided by the flip of a coin, and the show title was eventually shortened to *Siskel and Ebert*. Ebert also suggested the Romanesque thumbs-up/thumbs-down rating system, which became a distinctive Siskel–Ebert trademark. Their former show, *At the Movies*, acquired Rex Reed and Bill Harris as hosts and added news of show business to the format. Harris left the series in 1988 and was replaced by Dixie Whatley, former cohost on *Entertainment Tonight*, and the series continued into 1990.

Of all the different series and cohosts in this genre, the Siskel–Ebert partnership has remained the most celebrated. In 20 years of offering responsible commentary in an unedited spontaneous fashion, the two critics reviewed more than 4,000 films and compiled an impressive list of firsts and show milestones. In his defense of television film critics in the May/June 1990 issue of *Film Comment*, Ebert, the only film critic to have won a Pulitzer Prize for criticism, points out that *Siskel and Ebert* was the first national show to discuss the issue of film colorization, the benefits of letterbox video dubbing, and the technology of laser disks. *Siskel and Ebert* provided an outlet for the ongoing examination of minority and independent films, attacked the rating system of the Motion Picture Association of America as de facto censorship, and protested product placement (i.e., incidental advertising) within films. And in May 1989, extolling the virtues of black-and-white cinematography, they videotaped their show in monochrome—the first new syndicated program to do so in 25 years.

Siskel and Ebert's influence with audiences was also notable. Their thumbs-up reviews are credited with turning films such as *My Dinner with Andre* (1981), *One False Move* (1992), and *Hoop Dreams* (1994) into respectable box office hits. Thumbs-down reviews had the opposite effect: although many filmmakers contend that ultimately it is up to the public to choose which films they see, many directors and producers also have noted the benefits that exposure on *Siskel and Ebert* could provide. Notwithstanding, there were occasional disgruntled feelings. As reported in the *Los Angeles Times* (December 10, 1995), screenwriter Richard LaGravenese used "Siskel" as the name for one of the "bad guys" in his film *The Ref* after a negative review of his previous work *The Fisher King*.

Both Siskel and Ebert agreed that their animated dialogue was crucial to the show's success and more compelling than criticism from a solitary voice. They viewed their disagreements as those of two friends who had seen a movie and had a difference of opinion. But they had some intense moments, as evidenced in a pre-Oscar special broadcast in 1993 when an angry Ebert took exception to Siskel's revelation of the significant plot twist that concludes the film *The Crying Game*.

Through the years, the television industry recognized Siskel and Ebert with six national Emmy nominations and one local Emmy (1979). In 1984, the pair were among the first broadcasters initiated into the National Association of Television Programming Executives (NATPE) Hall of Fame. They also received NATPE's Iris Award for their achievement in nationally syndicated television. The Hollywood Radio and Television Society named them Men of the Year in 1993. As Richard Roeper wrote in the *Chicago Sun-Times* (October 15, 1995) on the occasion of their 20th anniversary, "Siskel and Ebert took serious film criticism and made it palatable to a mass audience—and in so doing, became celebrities themselves, as recognizable as most of the movie stars whose films they review."

In May 1998, the show weathered a potential setback when Siskel underwent brain surgery to remove a growth. Remarkably, he returned to the show and stayed with it until early February 1999, when he took another leave of absence for further rehabilitation and recuperation. On February 20, 1999, he passed away. In July 2000, the previously mentioned *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Richard Roeper, one of 24 reviewers who guest hosted with Ebert over a 17-month period, was named Ebert's new permanent cohost. Roeper assumed Siskel's vacant seat in the balcony two months later, and the program was renamed *Ebert and Roeper and the Movies*. The show also brought in ZDTV's



Michaela Pereira with occasional reviews of online movies.

JOEL STERNBERG

See also **Movies on Television**

### Hosts

Gene Siskel and Roger Ebert

### Programming History

Syndicated      Various times

### Further Reading

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# The Six Wives of Henry VIII

## British Historical Drama Serial

*The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, first broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1970, became one of its most celebrated historical drama serials. The nine-hour, six-part series went on to be shown in some 70 countries and attracted no less than seven major awards, winning plaudits both for the quality of the performances and for its historical authenticity.

Towering over the series was the gargantuan figure of Henry himself, played by the hitherto unknown Australian actor Keith Michell, who earned an award for best television actor as a result of his efforts. Michell, who started out as an art teacher, owed the role to Laurence Olivier, who had been impressed by Michell while on tour in Australia and had brought him back to England in order to advance his career. The faith the BBC put in the young actor was more than amply rewarded; Michell went to extraordinary lengths to vitalize the larger-than-life character of the king.

The series was neatly split into six episodes, each one dealing with one of the six wives and tracing their varied experiences and sometimes bloody ends at the hands of one of England's most infamous rulers. The wives were played by Annette Crosbie, Dorothy Tutin, Anne Stallybrass, Elvi Hale, Angela Pleasance, and Rosalie Crutchley, all respected and proven stars of

stage and screen. Annette Crosbie, playing Catherine of Aragon, collected an award for best actress for her performance.

Michell, though, was always the focus of attention. The task for the actor was to portray Henry at the different stages of his life, beginning with the athletic 18-year-old monarch and culminating in the oversize 56-year-old tyrant plagued by a variety of physical ailments. Playing the aging Henry in the later episodes proved the most demanding challenge. Michell, who boasted only half the girth of the real king, spent some four hours each day getting his makeup on and was then unable to take any sustenance except through a straw because of the padding tucked into his cheeks. The impersonation was entirely convincing, however, and critics hailed the attention to detail in costume and sets. No one, it seemed, twigged that Henry's mink robes were really made of rabbit fur or that the fabulous jewels studding his hats and coats were humble washers and screws sprayed with paint.

The lavishness of the costumes and settings and the brilliance of Michell and his costars ensured the success of the series, although some viewers expressed reservations. In particular, it was felt by some critics that the underlying theme of the lonely and essentially



*The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, Anne Stallybrass, Keith Michell, Dorothy Tutin, Annette Crosbie, 1971.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

reasonable man beneath the outrageous outer persona was perhaps rather predictable and further that Michell—who admitted to admiring Henry's excesses—had a tendency to reduce Henry to caricature (a fault more clearly evident in the film *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, which was spawned by the television series in 1972).

Whatever the criticisms, the success of *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* brought stardom to Michell and also did much to establish the BBC's cherished reputation for ambitious and historically authentic costume drama, consolidated a year later by the equally acclaimed series *Elizabeth R*, starring Glenda Jackson as Henry's daughter.

DAVID PICKERING

**Cast**

Henry VIII	Keith Michell
Catherine of Aragon	Annette Crosbie
Anne Boleyn	Dorothy Tutin
Jane Seymour	Anne Stallybrass
Anne of Cleves	Elvi Hale

Catherine Howard	Angela Pleasance
Catherine Parr	Rosalie Crutchley
Duke of Norfolk	Patrick Troughton
Lady Rochford	Sheila Burrell
Thomas Cranmer	Bernard Hepton
Thomas Cromwell	Wolfe Morris
Sir Thomas Seymour	John Ronane

**Narrator**

Anthony Quayle

**Producers**

Ronald Travers, Mark Shivas, Roderick Graham

**Programming History**

12 90-minute episodes

BBC 2

January 1–February 5, 1970

**Further Reading**

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# 60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II

## U.S. Newsmagazine Show

In 1967, Don Hewitt conceived of his new program, *60 Minutes*, as a strategy for addressing issues given insufficient time for analysis in two minutes of the *Evening News* but not deemed significant enough to justify an hour-long documentary. *60 Minutes* was born, then, in an environment of management tension and initial ambiguity regarding its form. Bill Leonard, vice president for news programming for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), supported the new concept, but Richard Salant, president of the news division, argued that it countered that unit's commitment to the longer form and risked taking the hard edge off television journalism. In the end, Salant acquiesced.

Hewitt's direction remained flexible and uncertain, with design for the program possibly including any number of "pages" and "chapters," lasting 1 to 20 minutes and spanning breaking news, commentary, satire, interviews with politicians and celebrities, feature stories, and letters to the editor. CBS proclaimed the groundbreaking potential of this magazine form, announcing that no existing phrase could describe the series' configuration and that any attempt to gauge (or predict) the show's demographic appeal based on comparisons to traditional public affairs programming was a limited prospect. Yet by the time it had been on the air for a quarter of a century, the series' success was so established within the history of network programming that CBS and *60 Minutes* had competition from roughly half a dozen other prime-time magazine programs.

From September 1966 through December 1975, network management shifted the scheduling position of *60 Minutes* seven times. Its ratings were very low according to industry standards (although slightly higher than those of *CBS Reports* when aired in the same time slot), but critical response remained positive. In the 1970s, Hewitt, with a tone of self-aggrandizement, passionately publicized the methods that would make the series a success. Audiences must experience stories in the pit of their stomach, the narrative must take the viewer by the throat, and, noted Hewitt, when a segment is over, it is not significant what the audience has been told; what matters is "only what they remember of what you tell them." Hewitt predicted high ratings if *60 Minutes* packaged stories, not news items, as attrac-

tively as "Hollywood packages fiction." Such stories require drama, a simplified structure, a narrative maximizing conflict, a quick editing pace, and issues filtered through personalities. By acknowledging this marketing approach, Hewitt generated controversy in the television industry.

Several of *60 Minutes*' journalists had established their professional reputations before the series began, but with the program's growing success and significance, the correspondents reached international celebrity status, becoming crusaders, detectives, sensitive and introspective guides through social turmoil, and insightful investigators of the human psyche. A confrontational style of journalism, pioneered by Mike Wallace, grew and was embraced by a more confronta-



*60 Minutes.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tional society. In the 1970s, certain correspondents seemed to speak for a public under siege by institutional greed and deceit.

Through it all, Hewitt remained sensitive to balancing the series through the use of varying casts. Wallace's role remained consistent as the crusading detective, played, as the series began, opposite Harry Reasoner's calm, analytical, and introspective persona. As correspondents were added (Morley Safer, Dan Rather, Ed Bradley, Diane Sawyer, Meredith Vieira, Steve Kroft, and Lesley Stahl), Hewitt developed complementary personas for each season's team. The correspondents became part of his "new form" of storytelling, allowing the audience to watch their intimate involvement in discovering information, tripping up an interviewee, or developing a narrative. As a result, the correspondents are often central to Hewitt's notion of stories as morality plays, the confrontation of vice and virtue.

The investigative segments of the series have made *60 Minutes* the focus of consistent examination by the press concerning such issues as journalism ethics and integrity. *60 Minutes* has been taken to task for having correspondents or representatives use false identities to generate stories, establishing sting operations for the camera, confronting the person under inquiry by surprise, and revealing new documents without prior notice to a cooperative interviewee in order to increase the shock value of the information. Despite widespread knowledge of these strong techniques, individuals still subject themselves to interviews, offering the audience an opportunity to anticipate who will win the battle. Indeed, companies frequently must weigh the benefits of voicing a corporate perspective on *60 Minutes* against the risk encountered by company representatives when facing the penetrating (aggressive) questioning and fact-finding by the correspondent. By raising these issues, the series has focused attention on emerging techniques of broadcast journalism.

In the late 1990s, the power of *60 Minutes* to confer unwarranted status on people appearing on the show crystallized with detrimental consequences to the series' credibility. Segments of the public vehemently objected to an hour-long interview with Timothy McVeigh, the individual convicted of bombing the federal building in Oklahoma City, and a repeat of the show with family members of the victims responding to McVeigh's statements. After Hewitt made the decision to air the assisted suicide performed by Jack Kervorkian (May 22, 1998), critics accused Hewitt of giving Kervorkian a vehicle to challenge the legal system and position himself as a martyr.

Critics, researchers, and the public continue to investigate the reasons behind the longevity of *60 Min-*

*utes* as a popular culture phenomenon. The series' timeliness, its bold stand on topics, its access to powerful people, and its confrontations with institutions out of reach of the public all provide audiences with the pleasure of knowing that accountability does exist. For some, the program is compelling because of its crusades, such as its coverage of Lenell Geter, freed from life imprisonment after *60 Minutes* explored and analyzed his case. For others, the most appealing stories involve a subject's vigorous self-defense, as when Senator Alfonso D'Amato (Republican, New York) poured out his wrath in a 30-minute response to claims that he misused state funds. The series' perennial "light" moment, "A Few Minutes with Andy Rooney," confirms the value of personal opinion on otherwise mundane matters.

*60 Minutes* generates news about itself and thus keeps the series attractive by humanizing its trials and tribulations. Producers, correspondents, and Hewitt have played out issues in public. The announcement by CBS of a new magazine program, *West 57th*, geared to a younger audience, met with a bombardment of criticism and sarcasm from *60 Minutes*' personnel, creating well-publicized tension between both units working in the same building. Producer Marion Goldin twice quit *60 Minutes* after accusing the unit of sexism. Hewitt charged Rooney with hypocrisy for criticizing CBS owner Lawrence Tisch on air instead of quitting. Wallace has been reprimanded for using hidden cameras to tape a reporter who agreed to help him with a story. However, Wallace made an unprecedented "denouncement" on the air, without repercussions, of CBS management after they prevented testimony by Wigand against his former employer in the tobacco industry. Even when the series dropped to number 13 in the 1993-94 Nielsen ratings (after being first for two years), the drop became a "story." Hewitt and others blamed CBS, Inc., for losing affiliates in urban areas and for allowing the FOX network to win the bid for Sunday afternoon football, *60 Minutes*' long-time lead-in program.

When *Dateline NBC*, a similar newsmagazine, was programmed opposite *60 Minutes* in the spring of 1996, the press covered the move as a battle for the hearts and minds of the audience. However, for several months before the direct competition, Hewitt began to revamp *60 Minutes*, adding brief, hard news segments; announcing the production of new stories throughout the summer; adding a "commentary" section; and tracking down new and unfamiliar topics. Although the series has been criticized for sporadically following compelling stories broken by magazines such as *The Nation* instead of breaking news, the strategy meets Hewitt's mandate to impact a large audience. In

its fourth decade, *60 Minutes* continues to shift strategy and change in form. With the arrival of *60 Minutes II* in January 1999, Hewitt faced the challenge of keeping the original series distinctive and maintaining its prominence among magazine programs.

When Leslie Moonves, president and chief executive officer of CBS Television, conceived of *60 Minutes II*, Hewitt and Wallace believed that he was motivated by profit making and trying to respond to the decisions of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to dedicate more programming time to other newsmagazines. For Hewitt, the new CBS program would lead to the "dumbing down" of the *60 Minutes* brand in order to attract the 18- to 49-year-olds absorbed by the soft-news and celebrity-oriented stories of the competition on other networks. The strong resistance of Hewitt and Wallace to *60 Minutes II* abated after Jeffrey Fager left his position as executive producer of the CBS *Evening News* to head the series, and Rather became a regular correspondent. Joining the series as correspondents were Bob Simon, Charlie Rose, and Vicki Mabrey, with Carol Marin as contributing correspondent, and Jeffrey Tingle, a Boston-based comic, as commentator. When Tingle's brand of humor failed, Charles Grodin came aboard in October 2000. Scott Pelley joined as the fifth correspondent late in 1999.

Fearing that the potential failure of *60 Minutes II* would permanently tarnish the original series, Hewitt and Fager took the further precaution of limiting the appearance on the new series of original *60 Minutes* correspondents to "classic" segments, updates of memorable stories from the original series. Since mid-2000, *60 Minutes II* has been the second-highest-rated newsmagazine behind *60 Minutes*. Hewitt, confident that the new series was "committed to the values" of *60 Minutes* as promised by CBS News President Andrew Heyward, permitted correspondents to contribute stories. Highlighting the tradition and strengths of *60 Minutes*' investigative reports, Bradley examined whether the massacre at Columbine High School could have been prevented, and Wallace revealed the practice of genetic discrimination.

In its first year, hoping to attract a younger audience, *60 Minutes II* offered profiles of Elton John, Madonna, Bonnie Raitt, Jody Foster, Pat Summit, and Oscar de la Hoya that transgressed timid celebrity gazing and storytelling. The series also featured in-depth reporting on such subjects as new research into the nature of the brain; a growing anarchist movement based in Seattle, Washington; a cover-up of a 1921 race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma; and a variety of national and international conditions that fit the meticulous investigative format

established by the program's predecessor. *60 Minutes II* was not afraid to take risks in tracking down stories or to shy away from legal battles. Producers won a court challenge accusing them of infringing on patient confidentiality by airing footage from a microcamera attached to a hospital worker's eyeglasses, capturing patient mistreatment in one hospital administered by a corporation responsible for 91 hospitals. The series demonstrated that it could be an agent of change when a story on child labor in India resulted in U.S. Customs stopping cigarettes rolled by children from entering the country.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, *60 Minutes II* secured a position as an invaluable and professional newsmagazine firmly anchored in the tradition and accomplishments of *60 Minutes*. *60 Minutes* has built an extensive archive of film from stories on smallpox, the Middle East, international terrorism, Pakistan, the Taliban, Afghanistan, U.S. counterterrorism units, and biochemical warfare. The foresight and courage of *60 Minutes* to cover issues with minimal audience appeal and shunned by other newsmagazines was evident in the breadth and depth of its coverage of topics that gained fresh relevance in the United States' new war on terrorism. *60 Minutes II* employed the resources, film, and research reports of *60 Minutes* to live up to Don Hewitt's standard of broadcasting journalism.

RICHARD BARTONE

## 60 Minutes

### Correspondents

Mike Wallace  
 Harry Reasoner (1968–70, 1978–91)  
 Morley Safer (1970– )  
 Dan Rather (1975–81)  
 Andrew Rooney (1978– )  
 Ed Bradley (1981– )  
 Diane Sawyer (1984–89)  
 Meredith Vieira (1989–91)  
 Steve Kroft (1989– )  
 Leslie Stahl (1991– )  
 Bob Simon (1997– )  
 Christiane Amanpour (1996– )  
 Carol Marin (2001– )

### Producer

Don Hewitt

### Programming History

CBS

September 1968–June 1971 Tuesday 10:00–11:00

## 60 Minutes, 60 Minutes II

January 1972–June 1972	Sunday 6:00–7:00
January 1973–June 1973	Sunday 6:00–7:00
June 1973–September 1973	Friday 8:00–9:00
January 1974–June 1974	Sunday 6:00–7:00
July 1974–September 1974	Sunday 9:30–10:30
September 1974–June 1975	Sunday 6:00–7:00
July 1975–September 1975	Sunday 9:30–10:00
December 1975–	Sunday 7:00–8:00

## 60 Minutes II

### Correspondents

Dan Rather (1999– )  
Bob Simon (1999– )  
Charlie Rose (1999– )  
Vicki Mabrey (1999– )  
Scott Pelley (1999– )  
Carol Marin (contributor, 1999– )  
Jimmy Tingle (commentator, 1999–2000)  
Charles Grodin (commentator, 2000– )

### Producer

Jeffrey Fager (1999– )

### Programming History

January 1999–June 1999	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
June 1999–July 2001	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
July 2001–January 2003	Wednesday 8:00–9:00
January 2003–	Wednesday 9:00–10:00

### Executive Producer

Jeff Fager (1999– )

### Senior Producers

Patti Hassler (1999–2000)  
Michael R. Whitney (1999–2000)  
Esther Kartiganer  
Merri Lieberthal

### Senior Broadcast Producer

Michael Whitney (2000)

### Executive Editor

Patti Hassler (2000– )  
Josh Howard (2003– )

### Director

Arthur Bloom (1999– )

### Reporters

Dan Rather (1999– )  
Bob Simon (1999– )  
Vicki Mabrey (1999– )  
Charlie Rose (1999– )  
Jimmy Tingle (commentator, 1999–2000)  
Carol Marin (contributor, 1999–2002)  
Gloria Borger (contributor, 1999–2002)  
Scott Pelley (1999– )  
Charles Grodin (commentator, 2000–03)  
Lara Logan (contributor, 2002– )

### Further Reading

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- Wallace, Mike, and Gary Paul Gates, *Close Encounters*, New York: Morrow, 1984

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# \$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge

## U.S. Quiz Shows

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The premiere of *The \$64,000 Question* as a summer replacement in 1955 marked the beginning of the big-money quiz shows. Following a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1954 that exempted "jackpot" quizzes from charges of illegal gambling, Louis G. Cowan, the creator and packager of the program; Revlon, its main sponsor; and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) were able to bring this new type of quiz show on the air. Based on the popular 1940s radio quiz show *Take It or Leave It* with its famous \$64 question, *The \$64,000 Question* increased the prize money to an unprecedented, spectacular level. It also added public appeal with a security guard and a "trust officer" who monitored questions and prizes and its fairly elaborate set design, which included an "isolation booth" for the contestants. Intellectual "legitimacy" was further claimed through the employment of Professor Bergen Evans as "question supervisor." With its emphasis on high culture, academic knowledge, and its grave, ceremonial atmosphere, *The \$64,000 Question* represented an attempt to gain more respectability for the relatively new and still despised television medium while at the same time appealing to a large audience.

Each contestant began his or her quest for fortune and fame by answering a question in an area of expertise for \$64. Each subsequent correct answer doubled their prize money up to the \$4,000 level. After this stage, contestants could advance only one level per week and were asked increasingly elaborate and difficult questions. They were allowed to quit the quiz at any level—and keep their winnings—but missing a question always eliminated the contestant. Nevertheless, contestants were guaranteed the \$4,000 from the first round, and, if they missed a question after having reached the \$8,000 level, they received an additional consolation prize—a new Cadillac. At this level, candidates were also moved from the studio floor to the "Revlon Isolation Booth," a shift designed to intensify the dramatic effects at the higher levels of the quiz.

Besides its use of such spectacular features, the appeal of *The \$64,000 Question* was also strongly grounded in the audience's identification with returning contestants. Thus, many of the early competitors were transformed from "common people" into instant superstars. Policeman Redmond O'Hanlon, a Shake-

speare expert, and shoemaker Gino Prato, an opera fan, are among the noted examples. The popularity of these and other contestants proved the viability of "the serialized contest," a concept that *The \$64,000 Question* and many imitators (such as *Twenty-One* and *The Big Surprise*) followed.

Because of the immense success of *The \$64,000 Question* (at one point in the 1955 season it had an 84.8 percent audience share), CBS and Cowan created a spin-off, *The \$64,000 Challenge*. This program allowed those contestants from *The \$64,000 Question* who had won at least \$8,000 to continue their quiz show career. The format was changed into a more overt contest; two candidates competed against each other in a common area of expertise. As a minimum prize, contestants were guaranteed the amount at which they beat their opponents. Additionally, the \$64,000 limit on winnings was removed, making the contests even longer and more spectacular.

The combination of these two shows allowed the most successful candidates to become virtual television regulars, as in the case of Teddy Nadler, who had accumulated \$252,000 by the time *The \$64,000 Challenge* was canceled. These programs held top rating spots until *Twenty-One* found a format and a contestant, Charles Van Doren, audiences found even more appealing.

The need for regular contestants to appear over long periods of time, one of the central factors in the popularity of the big-prize game shows, also proved to be a central factor in their downfall with the quiz show scandal of 1958. The sponsors of the programs implicitly expected and sometimes explicitly demanded that popular contestants be supplied with answers in advance, enabling them to defeat unpopular competitors and remain on the show for extended periods. Although no allegations against Entertainment Productions, Inc., and CBS were ever substantiated, Erik Barnouw (1970) points out that their production personnel claimed that Revlon had frequently tried to influence the outcome of the quizzes. Ultimately, both shows were canceled because of public indignation and waning ratings in the wake of the scandals.

One of the most significant results of the quiz show scandal and the involvement of sponsors in it was the



## \$64,000 Question, The/The \$64,000 Challenge

shift in the power to program television. The scandal was used as an argument by the networks to eliminate completely sponsor-controlled programming in prime-time broadcasting and to take control of program production themselves.

OLAF HOERSCHELMANN

*See also Quiz and Game Shows*

### The \$64,000 Question

#### Emcee

Hal March

#### Assistant

Lynn Dollar

#### Authority

Bergen Evans

#### Programming History

CBS

June 1955–June 1958

Tuesday 10:00–10:30

September 1958–

November 1958

Sunday 10:00–10:30

### The \$64,000 Challenge

#### Emcee

Sonny Fox (1956)

Ralph Story (1956–58)

#### Producers

Steve Carlin, Joe Cates

#### Programming History

CBS

April 1956–September 1958 Sunday 10:00–10:30

#### Further Reading

Barnouw, Erik, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*, volume III, *The Image Empire, from 1953*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970

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## Skelton, Red (1913–1997)

U.S. Comedian

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It was not until 1986, a full 15 years after his weekly television show had ended, that “one of America’s clowns” received his overdue critical praise. Only then did the critics realize what the public had long known. Regardless of his passion for corny gags and slapstick comedy, Red Skelton was a gifted comedian. He was one of the few performers to succeed in four entertainment genres—vaudeville, radio, film, and television. To honor his lifetime achievements, Skelton received the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Governor’s Emmy Award in 1986 and the critical praise he deserved.

Skelton’s youth was characterized by poverty and a fascination for vaudeville. It was the influence of vaudeville great Ed Wynn that led Skelton to perfect his own comedy routines. The basics of Skelton’s vaudeville act consisted of pantomimes, pratfalls,

funny voices, crossed eyes, and numerous sight gags that would serve to identify him throughout his entertainment career. It was also during this period that Skelton began developing various comedy characters.

His radio show, which ran from 1941 to 1953, provided the opportunity to present his comedy to a mass audience. The limitations of the sound medium also made it necessary for him to develop further the characters he would later bring to television: Freddie the Freeloader; Clem Kadiddlehopper, the country bumpkin; Willy Lump Lump, the drunk; Cauliflower McPugg, the boxer; The Mean Widdle Kid; and San Fernando Red, the con man.

In conjunction with his radio show, Skelton also enjoyed film success, most notably in *Whistling in the Dark* (1941), *The Fuller Brush Man* (1948), *A Southern Yankee* (1948), and *The Yellow Cab Man* (1950).



Regardless of his vaudeville, radio, and film success, it would be television that would bring him his greatest fame and endear him to his largest audience.

*The Red Skelton Show* began in 1951 on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as a comedy-variety show. Skelton coproduced this initial show, which was a half-hour program on Sunday evenings. In its first year, the show finished fourth in the ratings and received the Emmy Award for Best Comedy Show. Unlike other radio comedians, Skelton's comedy act entailed more than his voice, and television provided the opportunity to display fully the showmanship talents he had begun to exhibit in vaudeville.

In 1953, the show moved to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) on Tuesday nights, and in 1961 it received a second Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing Achievement in Comedy, expanding to an hour-long show the following year. In 1964, the show made the Nielsen Top 20, where it stayed until its end in 1970.

The show consisted of Skelton's opening monologue, performances by guest stars, and comedy sketches that included his various characters. Perhaps the most unique part of the show (and for all of television) was "The Silent Spot," a mime sketch that often featured Skelton's character Freddie the Freeloader. The only regulars on the show were Skelton and the David Rose Orchestra. *The Red Skelton Show* set the precedent for future comedy-variety shows, such as *The Carol Burnett Show*.

According to CBS, the show's 1970 cancellation was due to rising production costs and the network's desire to appeal to more upscale advertisers (the show finished seventh in its final season). The following year, Skelton returned to NBC with a half-hour comedy-variety show that included a cast of regulars. The show's premiere featured Vice President Spiro Agnew. This time, unfortunately, the uneven comedy failed to match Skelton's previous success. The show's cancellation marked the end of Skelton's television career, a run of 21 straight years that also included guest appearances on other television series and involvement with 13 television specials. The only television performer with a longer stay was Ed Sullivan (24 years as host of *The Ed Sullivan Show*).

Following his departure from television, Skelton maintained a low profile and performed at resorts, clubs, and casinos. In the early 1980s, a series of superb performances at Carnegie Hall received critical praise and briefly thrust him back into the public spotlight. The newfound interest in Skelton resulted in three comedy specials for Home Box Office (HBO).

Since his TV show was seldom rerun and is not syndicated, it is easy to forget Skelton's popularity. Based

on longevity and audience size, *The Red Skelton Show* is the second-most popular show in TV history (*Gunsmoke* is first). As Groucho Marx once said, Red Skelton was "the most unacclaimed clown in show business." Marx noted that by using only a soft, battered hat as a prop, Skelton could entertain with a dozen characters. He died in 1997 at the age of 84.

ROBERT LEMIEUX

See also *The Red Skelton Show; Variety Programs*

**Red Skelton.** Born Richard Red Skelton in Vincennes, Indiana, July 18, 1913. Married: 1) Edna Marie Stilwell, 1930 (divorced, 1943); 2) Georgia Davis, 1945 (divorced, 1973); 3) Lothian Toland, 1976. Joined medicine show at age ten; later appeared in showboat stock, minstrel shows, vaudeville, burlesque, and circuses; began appearing on radio in 1936; starred in long-running *The Red Skelton Show* on television. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1951, 1956, and 1960–61; ATAS Hall of Fame and Governor's Award, 1986. Died in Rancho Mirage, California, September 17, 1997.

#### Television Series

1951–53, 1953–70,  
1970–71 *The Red Skelton Show*

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1956 *The Big Slide*

#### Television Specials (selected)

1954 *The Red Skelton Revue*  
1959 *The Red Skelton Chevy Special*  
1960 *The Red Skelton Timex Special*  
1966 *Clown Alley* (host, producer)  
1982 *Red Skelton's Christmas Dinner*  
1983 *Red Skelton's Funny Faces*  
1984 *Red Skelton: A Royal Performance*

#### Films

*Having Wonderful Time*, 1938; *Seein' Red*, 1939; *Broadway Buckaroo*, 1939; *Flight Command*, 1940; *Lady Be Good*, 1941; *The People vs. Dr. Kildare*, 1941; *Dr. Kildare's Wedding Day*, 1941; *Whistling in the Dark*, 1941; *Whistling in Dixie*, 1942; *Ship Ahoy*, 1942; *Maisie Gets Her Man*, 1942; *Panama Hattie*, 1942; *DuBarry Was a Lady*, 1943; *Thousands Cheer*, 1943; *I Dood It*, 1943; *Whistling in Brooklyn*, 1943; *Bathing Beauty*, 1944; *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1944; *Radio Bugs* (voice only), 1944; *The Show-Off*, 1946; *Merton of the Movies*, 1947; *The*

## Skelton, Red

*Fuller Brush Man*, 1948; *A Southern Yankee*, 1948; *Neptune's Daughter*, 1949; *The Yellow Cab Man*, 1950; *Three Little Words*, 1950; *The Fuller Brush Girl*, 1950; *Watch the Birdie*, 1951; *Duchess of Idaho*, 1950; *Excuse My Dust*, 1951; *Texas Carnival*, 1951; *Lovely to Look At*, 1952; *The Clown*, 1952; *Half a Hero*, 1953; *The Great Diamond Robbery*, 1953; *Susan Slept Here*, 1954; *Around the World in 80 Days*, 1956; *Public Pigeon No. 1*, 1957; *Ocean's Eleven*, 1960; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965.

### Radio

*The Red Skelton Show*, 1941–53.

### Publication

*I Dood It*, 1943

### Further Reading

Adir, Karen, *The Great Clowns of American Television*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1988  
Davidson, Bill, "I'm Nuts and I Know It," *Saturday Evening Post* (June 17, 1967)  
Jennings, Dean, "Sad and Lonely Clown," *Saturday Evening Post* (June 2, 1962)  
Marx, Arthur, *Red Skelton*, New York: Dutton, 1979  
Rosten, Leo, "How to See RED—SKELTON—That Is," *Look* (October 23, 1951, and November 6, 1951)  
Shearer, Lloyd, "Is He a Big Laugh!" *Collier's* (April 15, 1950)

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# Skippy

## Australian Children's Program

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Before the international sales success in the late 1980s and 1990s of Australian soap operas such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away*, *Skippy* was the most successful series ever made in Australia. It had sales in more than 100 overseas markets and was syndicated on U.S. television. In addition, in a lucrative deal the series' central figure of Skippy, the bush kangaroo, was licensed to the U.S. breakfast food giant Kellogg's.

*Skippy* was produced by Fauna Productions, a partnership formed by film producer-director Lee Robinson and former film actor John McCallum, with a Sydney lawyer as the third partner. Robinson had had an extensive background in Australian documentary filmmaking and had created the position of Australian and Pacific film correspondent for the *High Adventure* series on U.S. television, hosted by newsman and explorer Lowell Thomas. Ever the internationalist, in the 1950s, Robinson had produced a series of feature films in Australia, in partnership with actor Chips Rafferty, that combined familiar Hollywood narrative structures. Drawing from such genres as the western, these films used exotic locations, flora, and fauna and were based in different parts of the Pacific.

McCallum, although born in Australia, had spent most of his professional life in Britain, where he had worked extensively on stage and in film. He returned to Australia to take a senior executive position with J.C. Williamson and Company, the largest theatrical group in Australia and New Zealand, where he became

involved with the New Zealand comedy feature *They're a Weird Mob*. McCallum and Robinson, both of whom had been production managers on the film, briefly considered producing a spin-off television series. However, they followed the advice of the international distributor Global about what would sell well in the world market and finally decided on *Skippy*.

The genre that they settled on for *Skippy* was a family/children's series with a child and an animal at its center, in a familiar vein that stretched from *Lassie* to *Flipper*. The "difference" in the Australian series was the fact that it featured native flora and fauna. *Skippy* was a bush kangaroo (a universal symbol of Australia), and the series was set in a national park north of Sydney that featured bushland, waterways, and ocean shores. The series concerned ranger Matt Hammond (Ed Devereaux), his son Sonny (Garry Pankhurst), the latter's pet kangaroo, his brother (Ken James), and two other junior rangers played by Tony Bonner and Liza Goddard. All together, three different kangaroos played *Skippy*.

Airing between 1968 and 1970, *Skippy* resulted in 91 half-hour episodes together with one feature film, *Skippy and the Intruders*. The series was produced on film and in color, even though Australian television had not yet moved to a color transmission system, and was sold to the Packer-owned Nine Network, where it first aired in February 1968. With high production values, the program was costly to produce and an initial

Smith, Howard K.

financial risk for the packaging company Fauna. However, Fauna soon achieved sufficient overseas sales to maintain their cash flow, and the series eventually achieved very high sales. In the meantime, Fauna had become bored producing *Skippy* and had embarked on a new series, *Barrier Reef*, which featured the reef off the northeastern coast of Australia, the largest coral formation in the world.

In the 1990s, *Skippy* has had to share international recognition with other Australian series, most especially *Neighbours*, but there is still strength in the former's format. In 1991, the Nine Network licensed the format from Fauna and produced a spin-off series, *The Adventures of Skippy*, which ran to 39 half-hour episodes and was again produced on film and in color. Although it was set in an animal sanctuary near the Gold Coast and featured a different group of children and adults, this second series did preserve both the theme song and the kangaroo character from the original.

ALBERT MORAN

#### Cast

Matt Hammond  
Sonny Hammond  
Mark Hammond  
Clancy  
Jerry King

Ed Devereaux  
Gary Pankhurst  
Ken James  
Liza Goddard  
Tony Bonner

#### Producers

John McCallum, Lee Robinson, Joy Cavill, Dennis Hill

#### Programming History

91 half-hour episodes

Nine Network

February 1968–November 1968 7:00–7:30

January 1969–November 1969 7:00–7:30

February 1970–May 1970 7:00–7:30

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**Slovakia.** *See* Czech Republic

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## Smith, Howard K. (1914–2002)

U.S. Journalist

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Howard K. Smith, an outspoken, often controversial television newsman, developed a career that spanned the decades from his sober analytic foreign news reporting at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) as one of "Murrow's Boys" to years as co-anchor and commentator on *ABC Evening News*. Smith's career also saw his transformation from CBS's "resident radical" to his persona "Howard K. Agnew," a sobriquet granted by critics for his support of conservative Republican Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's bitter 1969 attack on TV news.

In 1940, Smith joined United Press as their correspondent in London and Copenhagen, and in 1941 he joined CBS news, where he replaced William L.

Shirer as CBS's Berlin correspondent. The last American correspondent to leave Berlin after war was declared, Smith reached safety in Switzerland with a manuscript describing conditions in Germany, which became the basis for his best-selling book *Last Train from Berlin*.

During the war, Smith accompanied the Allied sweep through Belgium and the Netherlands and into Germany. He was on hand when the Germans surrendered to the Russians under Marshal Zhukov in 1945 and then covered the Nuremberg trials. In 1946, he succeeded Murrow as CBS's London correspondent and spent the next 11 years covering Europe and the Middle East.



Howard K. Smith.

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

In 1949, Smith published *The State of Europe*, advocating a planned economy and the welfare state for postwar Europe. Perhaps for this reason, and to some extent because of his radical past, he was named as a Communist supporter in *Red Channels*, a McCarthyite document purporting to uncover Communist conspiracy in the media industries. Smith hardly suffered from these accusations, however, since both Murrow and his overseas posting protected him. Indeed, in 1957, Smith returned to the United States and in 1960 was named chief of the CBS Washington Bureau, where he hosted programs such as *The Great Challenge*, *Face the Nation*, and the Emmy Award-winning *CBS Reports* documentary "The Population Explosion." He also served as the moderator of the first Kennedy-Nixon presidential debate.

As a southerner, Smith was more and more drawn to the battle over civil rights, and in 1961 he narrated a *CBS Reports* special, "Who Speaks for Birmingham?" His final commentary included a quote from Edmund Burke: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." The quote was cut from the program. In a showdown with CBS Chairman William S. Paley, Smith resigned after Paley supported his executives over Smith and his alleged "editorializing."

Shortly thereafter, Smith signed with ABC News and began doing a weekly news show, *Howard K. Smith—News and Comment*. Smith's program made creative use of film, graphics, and animation and explored controversial topics such as illegitimacy, disar-

mament, physical fitness, the state of television, and the "goof-off Congress." The program won critical approval and generally high ratings. However, in 1962, Smith was again the center of controversy over his broadcast of a program titled "The Political Obituary of Richard Nixon."

This program followed Nixon's loss of the California governor's election in 1962. In his review of Nixon's career, Smith included an interview with Alger Hiss, whom Nixon, as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, had investigated for his alleged membership in and spying for the Communist Party and whose conviction for perjury in 1950 had helped launch Nixon's national political career. For balance, Smith also included Murray Chotiner, a Nixon supporter and campaign adviser. The result was an avalanche of telephone calls to the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) criticizing Smith for permitting a convicted perjurer and possible spy to appear on the program. Smith's sponsor quickly ended support of the show, and it was canceled. Some historians have contended that Smith's documentary enabled Nixon to regain some of the sympathy he had lost after the disastrous temper tantrum at his self-titled "last press conference."

Following the cancellation of his show, Smith covered news for ABC-TV's daily newscast and hosted the network's Sunday afternoon public affairs program *Issues and Answers*. In 1966, he became the host of the ABC documentary program *Scope*. Until then, *Scope* had been a general documentary show dealing with many topics. In 1966, the decision was made to devote all its programs to the Vietnam War. Between 1966 and its cancellation in 1968, the program dealt with seldom-touched issues of the war, such as the experience of African-American soldiers, North Vietnam, and the air war.

Unlike many other newsmen who became progressively disillusioned with the war, Smith became more and more hawkish as the war progressed. Among other things, he advocated bombing North Vietnam's dike system, bombing Haiphong, and invading Laos and Cambodia. Indeed, in one of his commentaries shortly after the Tet Offensive, Smith said, "There exists only one real alternative: that is to escalate, but this time on an overwhelming scale."

Smith's conservative drift on foreign affairs was also reflected in his domestic views. He was vociferous in his support of Vice President Agnew's 1969 "Des Moines speech," in which the vice president accused the TV networks' producers, newscasters, and commentators of a highly selective and often biased presentation of the news. Smith concurred and in salty language criticized network newsmen as, among other

things, "conformist," for adhering to a liberal "party line," for "stupidity," and, at least in some cases, for lacking "the depth of a saucer."

In March 1969, Av Westin took over as head of ABC News and immediately installed Smith as the co-anchor of *ABC Evening News*, with Frank Reynolds. In 1971, Smith was teamed with the newly arrived former CBS newsman Harry Reasoner and given additional duties as commentator. Smith's support of the Vietnam War and Vice President Agnew's attacks on TV news stood him in good stead with President Nixon, who granted him the unique privilege of an hour-long solo interview in 1971 titled *White House Conversation: The President and Howard K. Smith*. Despite this, when evidence grew of Nixon's involvement in the Watergate scandal, Smith was the first major TV commentator to call for the president's resignation.

In 1975, Smith relinquished his co-anchor role on the *ABC Evening News* but stayed on as commentator. Following the 1977 arrival of Roone Arledge as head of ABC News, Smith found himself being used less and less. In 1979, he resigned from ABC, denouncing Arledge's evening newscast featuring Peter Jennings, Max Robinson, Frank Reynolds, and Barbara Walters as a "Punch and Judy Show." Following his retirement, Smith was inactive in television and radio. In 1996, he wrote an autobiography titled *Events Leading Up to My Death: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Reporter*. Smith was one of the last of TV newsmen who saw their role as not merely reporting the news but analyzing and commenting on it passionately. He died on February 15, 2002.

ALBERT AUSTER

See also **American Broadcasting Company; Arledge, Roone; Murrow, Edward R.; News, Network**

**Howard K(ingsbury) Smith.** Born in Ferriday, Louisiana, May 12, 1914. Educated at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1936; Heidelberg University, 1936; Rhodes Scholar, Merton College, Oxford, 1939. Married: Benedicte Traber Smith, 1942; one daughter and one son. Worked as reporter for the *New Orleans Item-Tribune*, 1936–37; worked for United Press, Copenhagen, 1939, and Berlin, 1940; correspondent, CBS News radio, Berlin, 1941; European correspondent, CBS News, 1941–46; chief European correspon-

dent, CBS News, 1946–57; correspondent, Washington, D.C., 1957; chief correspondent and general manager, CBS News, Washington, D.C., 1961; reporter and anchor, ABC television and radio networks, 1961–75; ABC news commentator, from 1975; host, *ABC News Closeup*, from 1979. Recipient: Peabody Award, 1960; Emmy Award, 1961; Paul White Memorial Award, 1961; duPont Commentator Award, 1962; Overseas Press Club Award, 1967; special congressional honoree for contribution to journalism; numerous other awards. Died in Bethesda, Maryland, February 15, 2002.

#### Television Series

1959	<i>Behind the News with Howard K. Smith</i>
1960–81	<i>Issues and Answers</i>
1960–63	<i>Face the Nation</i> (moderator)
1960–62	<i>Eyewitness to History</i> (narrator)
1961–62	<i>CBS Reports</i> (narrator)
1962–63	<i>Howard K. Smith—News and Comment</i>
1966–68	<i>ABC Scope</i>
1969–75	<i>ABC Evening News</i> (co-anchor)
1979	<i>ABC News Closeup</i>

#### Film

*The Best Man* (cameo), 1964.

#### Publications

*Last Train from Berlin*, 1942

*The State of Europe*, 1949

*Washington, D.C.: The Story of Our Nation's Capital*, 1967

*Events Leading Up to My Death: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Reporter*, 1996

#### Further Reading

Bliss, Edward, *Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991

Fensch, Thomas, editor, *Television News Anchors: An Anthology of the Major Figures and Issues in United States Network Reporting*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1993

Gunther, Marc, *The House That Roone Built: The Inside Story of ABC News*, Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1994

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# Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, The

U.S. Comedy-Variety Program

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*The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, starring the folk-singing comedy duo Tom and Dick Smothers, premiered on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in February 1967. A variety show scheduled opposite the top-rated National Broadcasting Company (NBC) program *Bonanza*, the *Comedy Hour* attracted a younger, hipper, and more politically engaged audience than most other video offerings of the 1960s. The show's content featured irreverent digs at many dominant institutions, such as organized religion and the presidency. It also included sketches celebrating the hippie drug culture and material opposing the war in Vietnam. These elements made *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* one of the most controversial television shows in the medium's history. Questions of taste and the Smothers's oppositional politics led to very public battles over censorship. As CBS attempted to dictate what was appropriate prime-time entertainment fare, the Smothers tried to push the boundaries of acceptable speech on the medium. The recurring skirmishes between the brothers and the network culminated on April 4, 1969, one week before the end of the season, when CBS summarily threw the show off the air. Network president Robert D. Wood charged that the Smotherses had not submitted a review tape of the upcoming show to the network in a timely manner. The Smotherses accused CBS of infringing on their First Amendment rights. It would be 20 years before the Smothers Brothers again appeared on CBS.

In their earliest days, however, the network and the brothers got along quite well. The Smotherses began their association with CBS in a failed situation comedy called *The Smothers Brothers Show*, which ran for one season in 1965–66. The show featured straight man Dick as a publishing executive and slow-witted, bumbling Tom as his deceased brother who had come back as an angel-in-training. The sitcom format did not prove to be appropriate for Tom and Dick's stand-up brand of comedy. CBS, feeling that the brothers still had potential, decided to give them another try in a different program format.

Considering how contentious *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* became, it is worth noting that, in form and style, the show was quite traditional, avoid-

ing the kinds of experiments associated with variety show rival, *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*. The brothers typically opened the show with a few minutes of stand-up song and banter. The show's final segment usually involved a big production number, often a costumed spoof, featuring dancing, singing, and comedy. Guest stars ran the gamut from countercultural icons such as the Jefferson Airplane and the Doors to older-generation, "establishment" favorites such as Kate Smith and Jimmy Durante. Nelson Riddle and his orchestra supplied musical accompaniment, and the show had its own resident dancers and singers who would have been as comfortable on *The Lawrence Welk Show* as on the Smothers's show.



*The Smothers Brothers*, Tom Smothers, Dick Smothers; c. 1965 around the time of their sitcom.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

The show was noteworthy for some of the new, young talent it brought to the medium. Its corral of writers, many of whom were also performers, provided much of the energy and managed to offset some of the creakiness of the format and the older guest stars. Mason Williams, heading the writing staff, achieved fame not so much for his politically engaged writing but for his instant guitar classic "Classical Gas." Bob Einstein wrote for the show and also played the deadpan and very unamused cop, Officer Judy. He went on to greater fame as Super Dave. Finally, the then-unknown Steve Martin cut his comedic teeth as a staff writer for the show.

What also raised *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* above the usual fare of comedy variety was the way the Smotherses and their writers dealt with some of their material. Dan Rowan of *Laugh-In* noted that while his show used politics as a platform for comedy, the Smotherses used comedy as a platform for politics. A recurring political sketch during the 1968 presidential year tracked regular cast member, the lugubrious Pat Paulsen, and his run for the nation's top office. Campaigners for Democratic contender Hubert Humphrey apparently worried that write-in votes for Paulsen would take needed votes away from their candidate.

Another *Comedy Hour* regular engaged in a different kind of subversive humor. Comedian Leigh French created the recurring hippie character Goldie O'Keefe, whose parody of afternoon advice shows for housewives, "Share a Little Tea with Goldie," was actually one long celebration of mind-altering drugs. "Tea" was a countercultural code word for marijuana, but the CBS censors seemed to be unaware of the connection. Goldie would open her sketches with salutations such as "Hi(gh)—and glad of it!"

While Goldie's comedy was occasionally censored for its prodrug messages, it never came in for the suppression focused on other material. One of the most famous instances was the censorship of folk singer Pete Seeger. Seeger had been invited to appear on the Smothers's second season premiere to sing his antiwar song "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy." The song—about a gung-ho military officer during World War II who attempts to force his men to ford a raging river only to be drowned in the muddy currents—was a thinly veiled metaphor for President Lyndon Johnson and his Vietnam policies. The censoring of Seeger created a public outcry, causing the network to relent and allow Seeger to reappear on the *Comedy Hour* later in the season to perform the song.

Other guests who wanted to perform material with an antiwar message also found themselves censored. Harry Belafonte was scheduled to do a calypso song

called "Don't Stop the Carnival" with images from the riotous 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention chromakeyed behind him. Joan Baez wanted to dedicate a song to her draft-resisting husband, who was about to go to prison for his stance. In both cases, the network considered this material "political" and thus inappropriate for an "entertainment" format. Benjamin Spock, noted baby doctor and antiwar activist, was prevented from appearing as a guest of the show because, according to the network, he was a "convicted felon."

Other material that offended the network's notions of good taste also suffered the blue pencil. One regular guest performer, comedian David Steinberg, found his satirical sermonettes censored for being "sacrilegious." Even skits lampooning censorship, such as one in which Tom and guest Elaine May played motion picture censors trying to find a more palatable substitution for unacceptable dialogue, ended up being censored.

The significance of all this censorship and battles between the Smotherses and CBS is what Bert Spector has called a "clash of cultures." The political and taste values of two generations were colliding with each other over *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*. The show, appearing at a pivotal moment of social and cultural change in the late 1960s, ended up embodying some of the turmoil and pitched conflict of the era. The Smotherses wanted to provide a space on prime-time television for the perspectives of a disaffected and rebellious youth movement deeply at odds with the dominant social order. CBS, with a viewership skewed to an older, more rural, more conservative demographic, could find the Smothers's embrace of antiestablishment politics and lifestyles only threatening.

In the aftermath of the show's cancellation, the Smotherses received a great deal of support in the popular press, including an editorial in the *New York Times* and a cover story in the slick magazine *Look*. Tom Smothers attempted to organize backing for a free-speech fight against the network among congressional and Federal Communications Commission members in Washington, D.C. While they were unsuccessful in forcing CBS to reinstate the show, the Smotherses did eventually win a suit against the network for breach of contract.

In the years following their banishment from CBS, the Smotherses attempted to re-create their variety show on the other two networks. In 1970, they did a summer show on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) but were not picked up for the fall season. In 1975, they turned up on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) with another variety show that disappeared at midseason. Then, finally, 20 years after being





scripts and developed a "bible" for the show that outlined the continuing comical saga of two families, the Tates and the Campbells, through several potential years of their stories.

In the spring of 1977, *Newsweek* reviewed the new TV season and characterized *Soap* as a sex farce that would include, among other things, the seduction of a Catholic priest in a confessional. The writer of the piece had never seen the pilot, and his story was completely in error. However, that did not deter a massive protest by Roman Catholic and southern Baptist representatives condemning the show. Later, the National Council of Churches entered the campaign against *Soap*. Refusing to listen to reason, the religious lobby sought to generate a boycott of companies that sponsored *Soap*. In the summer, when the producers quite properly denied requests by church groups to have the pilot sent to them for viewing, the religious groups insisted they were denied opportunity to see an episode. That was simply not true. *Soap* was in production in late July in Hollywood, and each week any person walking through the lobby of the Sheraton-Universal Hotel could have secured tickets for the taping. The tapings were always open to the public, and any priest or preacher could have easily gone to the studio stage for that purpose.

This combination of irresponsible journalism and misguided moral outrage by persons of the cloth resulted in a dearth of sponsors. The campaign, led by ecclesiastical executives, sought to define and enforce a national morality by the use of prior censorship. It almost worked. Costs for advertising spots in the time slot for *Soap* were heavily discounted in order to achieve full sponsorship for the premiere on September 13, 1977. Only the commitment to the series by Silverman prevented its demise. Some ABC affiliates were picketed, and a few decided not to air the show. Other stations moved it from 9:30 P.M. to a late-night time slot. A United Press International story for September 14 reported a survey of persons who had watched the first episode of *Soap*, carried out by University of Richmond (Virginia) professors and their students. They discovered that 74 percent of viewers found *Soap* inoffensive, 26 percent were offended, and half of those offended said they were planning to watch it the next week. The day after the premiere, Sandrich, who had directed most of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* episodes, stated, "If people will stay with us, they will find the show will grow." Still, producer Witt believes the show never fully recovered from the witch-hunting mentality that claimed banner headlines across the United States.

Despite these difficulties, all three of the producers recall the "joy of doing it." It was their first hit and ar-

guably one of the most creative efforts by network television before or after. The scripts and acting were calculated to make audiences laugh—not snicker—at themselves. Indeed, in its own peculiar way, *Soap* addressed family values. In one of the more dramatic moments in the series, for example, Jessica Tate, with her entire family surrounding her, confronted the threat of evil, personified by an unseen demon, and commanded the menacing presence to be gone. She invoked the family as a solid unit of love and informed the demon, "You have come to the wrong house!"

Perhaps *Soap* was not quite the pace-setting show one might have hoped for since nothing quite like it has been seen since. In content, it had some characteristics of another pioneer effort, Norman Lear's *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. However, the differences between the two were greater than the similarities, and each set a tone for what might be done with television, given freedom, imagination, and talent.

*Soap* was a ratings success on ABC and a hit in England and Japan. Despite the concerted attacks, it was the 13th most popular network program for the 1977–78 season. *Eight Is Enough* was rated 12th. *Soap* ended, however, under suspicion that resistance from ad agencies may have caused ABC to cancel at that point. The series may still be seen in syndication in various communities, and it is available on home video.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

**See also Harris, Susan; Sexual Orientation and Television; Silverman, Fred; Thomas, Tony; Witt, Paul Junger**

#### Cast

Chester Tate	Robert Mandan
Jessica Tate	Katherine Helmond
Corrine Tate (1977–80)	Diana Canova
Eunice Tate	Jennifer Salt
Billy Tate	Jimmy Baio
Benson (1977–79)	Robert Guillaume
The Major	Arthur Peterson
Mary Dallas Campbell	Cathryn Damon
Burt Campbell	Richard Mulligan
Jodie Dallas	Billy Crystal
Danny Dallas	Ted Wass
The Godfather (1977–78)	Richard Libertini
Claire (1977–78)	Kathryn Reynolds
Peter Campbell (1977)	Robert Urich
Chuck/Bob Campbell	Jay Johnson
Dennis Phillips (1978)	Bob Seagren
Father Timothy Flotsky (1978–79)	Sal Viscuso
Carol David (1978–81)	Rebecca Balding

## Soap

Elaine Lefkowitz (1978–79)	Dinah Manoff
Dutch (1978–81)	Donnelly Rhodes
Sally (1978–79)	Caroline McWilliams
Detective Donahue (1978–80)	John Byner
Alice (1979)	Randee Heller
Mrs. David (1979–81)	Peggy Hope
Millie (1979)	Candace Azzara
Leslie Walker (1979–81)	Marla Pennington
Polly Dawson (1979–81)	Lynne Moody
Saunders (1980–81)	Roscoe Lee Brown
Dr. Alan Posner (1980–81)	Allan Miller
Attorney E. Ronald Mallu (1978–81)	Eugene Roche
Carlos “El Puerco” Valdez (1980–81)	Gregory Sierra
Maggie Chandler (1980–81)	Barbara Rhoades
Gwen (1980–81)	Jesse Welles

### Producers

Paul Junger Witt, Tony Thomas, Susan Harris, J.D. Lobue, Dick Clair, Jenna McMahon

### Programming History

83 30-minute episodes; 10 60-minute episodes  
ABC

September 1977–March 1978	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
September 1978–March 1979	Thursday 9:30–10:00
September 1979–March 1980	Thursday 9:30–10:00
October 1980–January 1981	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
March 1981–April 1981	Monday 10:00–11:00

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# Soap Opera

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The term “soap opera” was coined by the American press in the 1930s to denote the extraordinarily popular genre of serialized domestic radio dramas, which by 1940 represented some 90 percent of all commercially sponsored daytime broadcast hours. The “soap” in soap opera alluded to their sponsorship by manufacturers of household cleaning products, while “opera” suggested an ironic incongruity between the domestic narrative concerns of the daytime serial and the most elevated of dramatic forms. In the United States, the term continues to be applied primarily to the approximately 50 hours each week of daytime serial television drama broadcast by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the National Broadcasting Company, (NBC), and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), but the meanings of the term, both in the United States and elsewhere, exceed this generic designation.

The defining quality of the soap opera form is its seriality. A serial narrative is a story told through a series of individual, narratively linked installments. Unlike episodic television programs, in which there is no narrative linkage between episodes and each episode tells a more or less self-contained story, the viewer’s understanding of and pleasure in any given serial installment is predicated, to some degree, on his or her knowledge of what has happened in previous episodes. Further-

more, each serial episode always leaves narrative loose ends for the next episode to take up. The viewer’s relationship with serial characters is also different from those in episodic television. In the latter, characters cannot undergo changes that transcend any given episode, and they seldom reference events from previous episodes. Serial characters do change across episodes (they age and even die), and they possess both histories and memories. Serial television is not merely narratively segmented; rather, its episodes are designed to be parceled out in regular installments so that both the telling of the serial story and its reception by viewers is institutionally regulated. (This generalization obviously does not anticipate the use of the videotape recorder to “time shift” viewing).

Soap operas are of two basic narrative types: “open” soap operas, in which there is no end point toward which the action of the narrative moves, and “closed” soap operas, in which, no matter how attenuated the process, the narrative does eventually close. Examples of the open soap opera would include all U.S. daytime serials (*General Hospital*, *All My Children*, *The Guiding Light*, and so on); the wave of prime-time U.S. soaps in the 1980s (*Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *Falcon Crest*); such British serials as *Coronation Street*, *East-Enders*, and *Brookside*; and most Australian serials (*Neighbours*, *Home and Away*, and *A Country Prac-*



*Guiding Light.*  
Photo courtesy of Procter & Gamble

*tice*). The closed soap opera is more common in Latin America, where it dominates prime-time programming from Mexico to Chile. These *telenovelas* are broadcast nightly and may stretch over three or four months and hundreds of episodes. They are, however, designed eventually to end, and it is the anticipation of closure in both the design and the reception of the closed soap opera that makes it fundamentally different from the open form.

In the United States, at least, the term “soap opera” has never been value neutral. As noted previously, the term itself signals an aesthetic and cultural incongruity: the events of everyday life elevated to the subject matter of an operatic form. To call a film, novel, or play a “soap opera” is to label it as culturally and aesthetically inconsequential and unworthy. When in the early 1990s the fabric of domestic life among the British royal family began to unravel, the press around the world began to refer to the situation as a “royal soap opera,” which immediately framed it as tawdry, sensational, and undignified.

Particularly in the United States, the connotation of “soap opera” as a degraded cultural and aesthetic form

is inextricably bound to the gendered nature of its appeals and of its target audience. The soap opera always has been a “woman’s” genre and, it has frequently been assumed (mainly by those who have never watched soap operas), of interest primarily or exclusively to uncultured working-class women with simple tastes and limited capacities. Thus, the soap opera has been the most easily parodied of all broadcasting genres and its presumed audience most easily stereotyped as the working-class “housewife” who allows the dishes to pile up and the children to run amok because of her “addiction” to soap operas. Despite the fact that the soap opera is demonstrably one of the most narratively complex genres of television drama whose enjoyment requires considerable knowledge by its viewers and despite the fact that its appeals for half a century have cut across social and demographic categories, the term continues to carry this sexist and classist baggage.

What most Americans have known as soap opera for more than half a century began as one of the hundreds of new programming forms tried out by commercial radio broadcasters in the late 1920s and early



*General Hospital.*  
Photo courtesy of Procter & Gamble

1930s as both local stations and the newly formed networks attempted to marry the needs of advertisers with the listening interests of consumers. Specifically, broadcasters hoped to interest manufacturers of household cleaners, food products, and toiletries in the possibility of using daytime radio to reach their prime consumer market: women between the ages of 18 and 49.

In 1930, the manager of Chicago radio station WGN approached first a detergent company and then a margarine manufacturer with a proposal for a new type of program: a daily, 15-minute serialized drama set in the home of an Irish-American widow and her young unmarried daughter. Irna Phillips, who had recently left her job as a speech teacher to try her hand at radio, was assigned to write *Painted Dreams*, as the show was called, and play two of its three regular parts. The plots Phillips wrote revolved around morning conversations “Mother” Moynihan had with her daughter and their female boarder before the two young women went to their jobs at a hotel.

The antecedents of *Painted Dreams* and the dozens of other soap operas launched in the early 1930s are varied. The soap opera continued the tradition of women’s domestic fiction of the 19th century, which had also been sustained in magazine stories of the 1920s and 1930s. It also drew on the conventions of the “woman’s film” of the 1930s. The frequent homilies and admonitions offered by “Mother” Moynihan and her matriarchal counterparts on other early soap operas echoed those presented on the many advice programs commercial broadcasters presented in the early 1930s in response to the unprecedented social and economic dislocation experienced by American families as a result of the Great Depression. The serial narrative

format of the early soap opera was almost certainly inspired by the prime-time success of *Amos 'n' Andy*, the comic radio serial about “black” life on the South Side of Chicago (the show was written and performed by two white men), which by 1930 was the most popular radio show to that time.

In the absence of systematic audience measurement, it took several years for broadcasters and advertisers to realize the potential of the new soap opera genre. By 1937, however, the soap opera dominated the daytime commercial radio schedule and had become a crucial network programming strategy for attracting such large corporate sponsors as Procter and Gamble, Pillsbury, American Home Products, and General Foods. Most network soap operas were produced by advertising agencies, and some were owned by the sponsoring client.

Irna Phillips created and wrote some of the most successful radio soap operas in the 1930s and 1940s, including *Today’s Children* (1932), *The Guiding Light* (1937), and *Woman in White* (1938). Her chief competition came from the husband–wife team of Frank and Anne Hummert, who were responsible for nearly half the soap operas introduced between 1932 and 1937, including *Ma Perkins* (1933) and *The Romance of Helen Trent* (1933).

On the eve of World War II, listeners could choose from among 64 daytime serials broadcast each week. During the war, so important had soap operas become in maintaining product recognition among consumers that Procter and Gamble continued to advertise Dreft detergent on its soap operas—despite the fact that the sale of it and other synthetic laundry detergents had been suspended for the duration. Soap operas continued to dominate daytime ratings and schedules in the immediate postwar period. In 1948, the ten highest-rated daytime programs were all soap operas, and of the top 30 daytime shows, all but five were soaps. The most popular nonserial daytime program, Arthur Godfrey, could manage only 12th place.

As television began to supplant radio as a national advertising medium in the late 1940s, the same companies that owned or sponsored radio soap operas looked to the new medium as a means of introducing new products and exploiting pent-up consumer demand. Procter and Gamble, which established its own radio soap opera production subsidiary in 1940, produced the first network television soap opera in 1950. *The First Hundred Years* ran for only two and demonstrated some of the problems of transplanting the radio genre to television. Everything that was left to the listener’s imagination in the radio soap had to be given visual form on television. Production costs were two to three times that of a radio serial. Actors had to act and

not merely read their lines. The complexity and uncertainty of producing 15 minutes of live television drama each weekday was vastly greater than was the case on radio. Furthermore, it was unclear in 1950 if the primary target audience for soap operas—women working in the home—could integrate the viewing of soaps into their daily routines. One could listen to a radio soap while doing other things, even in another room; television soaps required some degree of visual attention.

By the 1951–52 television season, broadcasters had demonstrated television's ability to attract daytime audiences, principally through the variety-talk format. CBS led the way in adapting the radio serial to television, introducing four daytime serials. The success of three of them—*Search for Tomorrow*, *Love of Life* (both produced by Roy Winsor), and *The Guiding Light*—established the soap opera as a regular part of network television daytime programming and CBS as the early leader in the genre. *The Guiding Light* was the first radio soap opera to make the transition to television and one of only two to do so successfully (The other was *The Brighter Day*, which ran for eight years). Between its television debut in 1952 and 1956, *The Guiding Light* was broadcast on both radio and television.

By the early 1960s, the radio soap opera—along with most aspects of network radio more generally—was a thing of the past, and “soap opera” in the United States now meant “television soap opera.” The last network radio soap operas went off the air in November 1960. Still, television soap operas continued many of the conventions of their radio predecessors: live, week-daily episodes of 15 minutes; an unseen voice-over announcer to introduce and close each episode; organ music to provide a theme and punctuate the most dramatic moments; and each episode ending on an unresolved narrative moment with a “cliff-hanger” ending on Friday to draw the audience back on Monday.

The 30-minute soap opera was not introduced until 1956 with the debut of Irna Phillips's new soap for Procter and Gamble and CBS, *As the World Turns*. With an equivalent running time of two feature films each week, *As the World Turns* expanded the community of characters, slowed the narrative pace, emphasized the exploration of character, utilized multiple cameras to better capture facial expressions and reactions, and built its appeal less on individual action than on exploring the network of relationships among members of two extended families: the Lowells and the Hugheses. Although it took some months to catch on with audiences, *As the World Turns* demonstrated that viewers would watch a week-daily half-hour soap. Its ratings success, plus the enormous cost savings of



*As the World Turns.*  
Photo courtesy of Procter & Gamble

producing one half-hour program rather than two 15-minute ones, persuaded producers that the 30-minute soap opera was the format of the future. The 15-minute soap was phased out, and all new soap operas introduced after 1956 were at least 30 minutes in length.

CBS's hegemony in soap operas was not challenged until 1963. None of the several half-hour soaps that NBC introduced in the wake of *As the World Turns*' popularity made the slightest dent in CBS's ratings. However, in April 1963, both NBC and ABC launched soaps with medical settings and themes: *The Doctors* and *General Hospital*, respectively. These were not the first medical television soaps, but they were the first to sustain audience interest over time and the first soaps produced by either network to achieve ratings even approaching those of the CBS serials. Their popularity also spawned the subgenre of the medical soap, in which the hospital replaces the home as the locus of action, plotlines center on the medical and emotional challenges patients present doctors and nurses, and the biological family is replaced or paralleled by the professional family as the structuring basis for the show's community of characters.

The therapeutic orientation of medical soaps also provided an excellent rationale for introducing a host of contemporary, sometimes controversial social issues that Irna Phillips and a few other writers believed soap audiences in the mid-1960s were prepared to accept as a part of the soap opera's moral universe. *Days of Our Lives* (co-created for NBC in 1965 by Irna Phillips and Ted Corday, the first director of *As the World Turns*) presented Dr. Tom Horton (played by

film actor Macdonald Carey) and his colleagues at University Hospital with a host of medical, emotional, sexual, and psychiatric problems in the show's first years, including incest, impotence, amnesia, illegitimacy, and murder as a result of temporary insanity. This strategy made *Days of Our Lives* a breakthrough hit for NBC, and it anchored its daytime lineup through the late 1960s.

Medical soaps are particularly well suited to meet the unique narrative demands of the "never-ending" stories American soap operas tell. Their hospital settings provide opportunities for the intersection of professional and personal dramas. They also allow for the limitless introduction of new characters as hospital patients and personnel. The constant admission of new patients to the medical soap's hospitals facilitates the admission to the soap community of a succession of medical, personal, and social issues that can be attached to those patients. If audience response warrants, the patient can be "cured" and admitted to the central cohort of community members. If not, or if the social issue the patient represents proves to be too controversial, he or she can die or be discharged—both from the hospital and from the narrative. Such has been the appeal (to audiences and writers alike) of the medical soap that many nonmedical soaps have included doctors and nurses among their central characters and nurses' stations among their standing sets. Among them have been *As the World Turns*, *The Guiding Light*, *Search for Tomorrow*, and *Ryan's Hope*.

The latter half of the 1960s was a key period in the history of U.S. daytime soap operas. By 1965, both the popularity and the profitability of the television soap opera had been amply demonstrated. Soaps proved unrivaled in attracting female viewers aged between 18 and 49—the demographic group responsible for making most of the purchasing decisions for nondurable goods in the United States. Production costs were a fraction of those for prime-time drama, and once a new soap "found" its audience, broadcasters and advertisers knew that those viewers would be among television's most loyal. For the first time, CBS faced competition for the available daytime audience. With the success of *Another World* (another Irna Phillips vehicle launched in 1964), *Days of Our Lives*, and *The Doctors*, by 1966 NBC had a creditable lineup across the key afternoon time slots.

This competition sparked a period of unprecedented experimentation with the genre, as all three networks assumed that audiences would seek out a soap opera "with a difference." As the network with the most to gain (and the least to lose) by program innovation, ABC's new soaps represented the most radical departures from the genre's 35-year-old formula. Believing

that daytime audiences would also watch soaps during prime time, in September 1964 ABC introduced *Peyton Place*, a twice-weekly half-hour prime-time serial based on the best-selling 1957 novel by Grace Metalious and its successful film adaptation. Shot on film and starring film actress Dorothy Malone, *Peyton Place* was one of ABC's biggest prime-time hits of the 1964–65 television season and made stars of newcomers Mia Farrow and Ryan O'Neal. The show's ratings dropped after its first two seasons, however, and in terms of daytime soap longevity, its run was relatively brief: five years.

In 1966, ABC launched the most unusual daytime soap ever presented on American television. *Dark Shadows* was an over-the-top gothic serial, replete with a spooky mansion setting, young governess (lifted directly from Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*), and a 200-year-old vampire. Broadcast in most markets in the late afternoon in order to catch high school students as well as adult women, *Dark Shadows* became something of a cult hit in its first season, and it did succeed in attracting to the soap opera form an audience of teenage viewers (male and female) and college students who were not addressed by more mainstream soaps. The show was too camp for most of those mainstream soap viewers, however, and it was canceled after five years.

ABC's most durable innovations in the soap opera genre during this period, however, took the form of two new mainstream soap operas, both created by Irna Phillips's protégé, Agnes Nixon. Nixon, who had apprenticed to Phillips for more than a decade as dialogue writer for most of her soaps and head writer of *The Guiding Light*, sold ABC on the idea of new soap that would foreground rather than suppress class and ethnic difference. *One Life to Live*, which debuted in 1968, centered initially on the family of wealthy WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) newspaper owner Victor Lord but established the Lords in relation to three working-class and ethnically "marked" families: the Irish-American Rileys, the Polish-American Woleks, and, after a year or two, the Jewish-American Siegels. Ethnic and class difference was played out primarily in terms of romantic entanglements.

Where most soap operas still avoided controversial social issues, Nixon exploited some of the social tensions then swirling through American society in the late 1960s. In 1969, *One Life to Live* introduced a black character who denied her racial identity (only to proudly proclaim it some months and dozens of episodes later). The following year when a teenage character is discovered to be a drug addict, she is sent to a "real-life" treatment center in New York, where the character interacts with actual patients.

Some of this sense of social “relevance” also found its way into Nixon’s next venture for ABC, *All My Children*, which debuted in 1970. It was the first soap opera to write the Vietnam War into its stories, with one character drafted and (presumably) killed in action. Despite an antiwar speech delivered by his grieving mother, the political force of the plotline was blunted by the discovery that he was not really killed at all.

Even before *One Life to Live* broke new ground in its representation of class, race, and ethnicity, CBS gestured (rather tentatively, as it turns out) in the direction of social realism in response to the growing ratings success of NBC’s and ABC’s soaps. *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* had been a successful 1955 film, with William Holden playing an American journalist working in Asia who falls in love with a young Eurasian woman, played by Jennifer Jones. Inna Phillips wrote the soap opera as a sequel to the film, in

which the couple’s daughter moves to San Francisco and falls in love with a local doctor. *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* debuted on September 18, 1967, its inaugural story (indeed, its very premise) concerning the social implications of this interracial romance. After only a few months, CBS, fearing protests from sponsors and audience groups, demanded that Phillips write her Eurasian heroine out of the show. She refused to do so and angrily resigned. Rather than cancel the show, however, CBS hired new writers who refocused it on three young, white characters (played by Donna Mills, David Birney, and Leslie Charleson).

What the replacement writers of *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* did in a desperate attempt to save a wounded show Agnes Nixon did in a very premeditated fashion some 30 months later in *All My Children*. As its name suggests, *All My Children* was, like many radio and TV soaps before it, structured around a matriarch, the wealthy Phoebe Tyler (Ruth Warwick), but



*All My Children*.  
Photo courtesy of Procter & Gamble



to a greater degree than its predecessors, it emphasized the romantic relationships among its "children." Nixon realized that after nearly two decades of television soaps, many in the viewing audience were aging out of the prime demographic group most sought by soap's sponsors and owners: women under the age of 50. *All My Children* used young adult characters and a regular injection of social controversy to appeal to viewers at the other end of the demographic spectrum. It was a tactic very much in tune with ABC's overall programming strategy in the 1960s, which also resulted in *The Flintstones* and *American Bandstand*. *All My Children* was the first soap opera whose organizational structure addressed what was to become the form's perennial demographic dilemma: how to keep the existing audience while adding younger recruits to it.

The problem of the "aging out" of a given soap opera's audience was particularly acute for CBS, whose leading soaps were by the early 1970s entering their second or third decade (*Search for Tomorrow*, *Love of Life*, *The Guiding Light*, *As the World Turns*, *Secret Storm*, and *The Edge of Night* were all launched between 1951 and 1957). Consequently, a troubling proportion of CBS's soap audience was aging out of the "quality" demographic range.

Thus, for the first time CBS found itself in the position of having to respond to the other networks' soap opera innovations. As its name rather baldly announces, *The Young and the Restless* was based on the premise that a soap opera about the sexual intrigues of attractive characters in their 20s would attract an audience of women also in their 20s. Devised for CBS by another of Irna Phillips's students, William Bell, and launched in 1973, *The Young and the Restless* is what might be called the first "Hollywood" soap. Not only was it shot in Hollywood (as some other soaps already were), but it also borrowed something of the "look" of a Hollywood film (particularly in its use of elaborate sets and high-key lighting), peopled Genoa City with soap opera's most conspicuously attractive citizens, dressed them in fashion-magazine wardrobes, and kept its plots focused on sex and its attendant problems and complications. The formula was almost immediately successful, and *The Young and the Restless* has remained one of the most popular soap operas for more than 20 years. It is also the stylistic progenitor of more recent "slick" soaps, such as *Santa Barbara* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*.

The early 1970s saw intense competition among the three networks for soap opera viewers. By this time, ABC, CBS, and NBC all had full slates of afternoon soap operas (at one point in this period, the three networks were airing ten hours of soaps every weekday), and the aggregate daily audience for soap operas had

reached 20 million. With a fourfold difference in ad rates between low-rated and high-rated soaps and the latter having the potential of attracting \$500,000 in ad revenue each week, soap operas became driven by the Nielsen ratings like never before.

The way in which these ratings pressures affected the writing of soap opera narratives speaks to the genre's unique mode of production. Since the days of radio soap operas, effective power over the creation and maintenance of each soap opera narrative world has been vested in the show's head writer. She (and to a greater degree than in any other form of television programming, the head writers of soap operas have been female) charts the narrative course for the soap opera over a six-month period and in doing so determines the immediate (and sometimes permanent) fates of each character, the nature of each intersecting plotline, and the speed with which each plotline moves toward some (however tentative) resolution. She then supervises the segmentation of this overall plot outline into weekly and then daily portions, usually assigning the actual writing of each episode to one of a team of scriptwriters ("dialoguers" as they are called in the business). The scripts then go back to the head writer for her approval before becoming the basis for each episode's actual production.

The long-term narrative trajectory of a soap opera is subject to adjustment as feedback is received from viewers by way of fan letters, market research, and, of course, the weekly Nielsen ratings figures, which in the 1970s were based on a national sample of some 1,200 television households. Looking over the head writer's shoulder, of course, is the network, whose profitability depends on advertising revenues, and the show's sponsor, who frequently was (and, in the case of four soaps today, still is) the show's owner.

By the early 1970s, head writers were under enormous pressure to attain the highest ratings possible, "win" the ratings race against the competition in the show's time slot, target the show's plots at the demographic group of most value to advertisers, take into account the production-budget implications of any plot developments (new sets or exterior shooting, for example), and maintain audience interest every week without pauses for summer hiatus or reruns. These pressures—and the financial stakes producing them—made soap opera head writers among the highest-paid writers in broadcasting (and the most highly paid women in the industry), but they also meant that, like the manager of a baseball team, she became the scapegoat if her "team" did not win.

If the mid- and late 1960s were periods of experimentation with the soap opera form itself, the early 1970s launched the era of incessant adjustments within



the form—an era that has lasted to the present. Although individual soap operas attempted to establish defining differences from other soaps (in the early 1970s *As the World Turns* was centered on the extended Hughes family, *The Young and the Restless* was sexy and visually striking, *The Edge of Night* maintained elements of the police and courtroom drama, *General Hospital* foregrounded medical issues, and so on), to some degree all soap opera metanarratives over the past 25 years have drawn on common sets of tactical options, oscillating between opposed terms within each set: fantasy versus everyday life, a focus on individual character/actor “stars” versus the diffusion of interest across the larger soap opera community, social “relevance” versus more “traditional” soap opera narrative concerns of family and romance, an emphasis on one sensational plotline versus spreading the show’s narrative energy across several plotlines at different stages of resolution, or attempting to attract younger viewers by concentrating on younger characters versus attempting to maintain the more adult viewer’s interest through characters and plots presumably more to her liking.

At any given moment, the world of any given soap opera is in part the result of narrative decisions that have been made along all these parameters, mediated, of course, by the history of that particular soap opera’s “world” and the personalities of the characters who inhabit it. Any head writer brought in to improve the flagging ratings of an ongoing soap is constrained in her exercise of these options by the fact that many of the show’s viewers have a better sense of who the show’s characters are and what is plausible to happen to them than she does. And being among the most vocal and devoted of all television viewers, soap opera fans are quick to respond when they feel a new head writer has driven the soap’s narrative off course.

Despite the constant internal adjustments being made in any given soap opera, individual shows have demonstrated remarkable resilience, and, overall, soap operas exhibit infinitely greater stability than any prime-time genre. With the exception of several years in the late 1940s when Irna Phillips was in dispute with Procter and Gamble, *The Guiding Light* has been heard or seen every weekday since January 1937, making it the longest story ever told. Although long-running soap operas have been canceled (both *Love of Life* and *Search for Tomorrow* were canceled in the 1980s after 30-year runs) and others have come and gone, the incentive to keep an established soap going is considerable in light of the expense and risk of replacing it with a new soap opera, which can take a year or more to “find” its audience. Viewers who have invested years in watching a particular soap are not easily lured to a

new one or, for that matter, to a competing soap on another network. In the mid-1970s, rather than replacing failing half-hour soaps with new ones, NBC began extending some of its existing soaps to a full hour (*Days of our Lives* and *Another World* were the first to be expanded in 1976).

In the 1980s, despite daytime soap operas’ struggles to maintain audience in the face of declining overall viewership, the soap opera became more “visible” in the United States as a programming genre and cultural phenomenon than at any point in its history. Soap operas had always been “visible” to its large and loyal audience. By the 1980s, some 50 million persons in the United States “followed” one or more soap operas, including two-thirds of all women living in homes with televisions. As a cultural phenomenon, however, for 30 years the watching of soap operas had for the most part occurred undetected on the radar screen of public notice and comment. Ironically, soap opera viewing became the basis for a public fan culture in the late 1970s and early 1980s in part because more and more of the soap opera audience was unavailable during the day to watch. As increasing numbers of soap opera viewing women entered the paid workforce in the 1970s, they obviously found it difficult to “keep up” with the plots of their favorite soaps. A new genre of mass-market magazine emerged in response to this need. By 1982, ten new magazines had been launched that addressed the soap opera fan. For the occasional viewer, they contained plot synopses of all current soaps. For them and for more regular viewers, they also featured profiles of soap opera actors, “behind-the-scenes” articles on soap opera production, and letters-to-the-editor columns in which readers could respond to particular soap characters and plot developments. *Soap Opera Digest*, which began in 1975, had a circulation of 850,000 by 1990 and claimed a readership of four million. Soap opera magazines became an important focus of soap fan culture in the 1980s—a culture that was recognized (and exploited) by soap producers through their sponsorship or encouragement of public appearances by soap opera actors and more recently of soap opera “conventions.”

Soaps and soap viewing also became more culturally “visible” in the 1980s as viewer demographics changed. By the beginning of the decade, fully 30 percent of the audience for soap operas was made up of groups outside the core demographic group of 18- to 49-year-old women, including substantial numbers of teenage boys and girls (up to 15 percent of the total audience for some soaps) and adult men (particularly those over 50). Underreported by the Nielsen ratings, soap opera viewing by some three million college students was confirmed by independent research in 1982.

The 1980s also was the decade in which the serial narrative form of the daytime soap opera became an important feature of prime-time programming as well. The program that sparked the prime-time soap boom of the 1980s was *Dallas*. Debuting in April 1978, *Dallas* was for its first year a one-hour episodic series concerning a wealthy but rough-edged Texas oil family. It was the enormous popularity of the "Who Shot J.R.?" cliff-hanger episode at the end of the second season (March 21, 1980) and the first episode the following season (November 21, 1980—the largest audience for any American television series to that time) that persuaded producers to transform the show into a full-blown serial.

*Dallas* borrowed not only the serial form from daytime soaps but also the structuring device of the extended family (the Ewings), complete with patriarch, matriarch, good son, bad son, and in-laws—all of whom lived in the same Texas-size house. The kinship and romance plots that could be generated around these core family members were, it was believed by the show's producers, the basis for attracting female viewers, while Ewing Oil's boardroom intrigues would draw adult males, accustomed to finding "masculine" genres (westerns, crime, and legal dramas) during *Dallas*' Sunday 10:00 P.M. time slot. By 1982, *Dallas* was one of the most popular programs in television history. It spawned direct imitators (most notably *Dynasty* and *Falcon Crest*) and a spin-off (*Knot's Landing*). Its success in adapting the daytime serial form to fit the requirements of the weekly one-hour format and the different demographics of the prime-time audience prompted the "serialization" of a host of prime-time dramas in the 1980s—the most successful among them *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *L.A. Law*.

*Dallas* and *Dynasty* were also the first American serials (daytime or prime time) to be successfully marketed internationally. *Dallas* was broadcast in 57 countries, where it was seen by 300 million viewers. These two serials were particularly popular in western Europe, so much so that they provoked debates in a number of countries over American cultural imperialism and the appropriateness of state broadcasting systems spending public money to acquire American soap operas rather than to produce domestic drama. Producers in several European countries launched their own direct imitations of these slick American soaps, among them the German *Schwarzwaldklinik* and the French serial *Chateauvallon*.

But even as soap opera viewing came out of the closet in the 1980s and critics spoke (usually derisively) of the "soapoperafication" of prime time, daytime soaps struggled to deal with the compound blows struck by continuing changes in occupational patterns among

women, the transformation of television technology (with the advent of the videotape recorder, satellite distribution of programming, and cable television), and the rise of competing and less expensive program forms. Between the early 1930s and the beginning of the 1970s, broadcasters and advertisers could count on a stable (and, throughout much of this period, expanding) audience for soap operas among what industry trade papers always referred to as "housewives": women working in the home, many of them caring for small children. But with the end of the postwar baby boom, American women joined the paid workforce in numbers unprecedented in peacetime. In 1977, the number of daytime households using television ("HUTs" in ratings terminology) began to decline and with it the aggregate audience for soap operas. Although daytime viewing figures have fluctuated somewhat since then, the trend over the past 20 years is clear: the audience for network programming in general and daytime programming specifically is shrinking.

In large measure, the overall drop in network viewing figures is attributable to changes in television technology, especially the extraordinarily rapid diffusion of the videotape recorder in the 1980s and, at the same time, an explosion in the number of viewing alternatives available on cable television. The penetration of the videotape recorder into the American household has had a paradoxical impact on the measurement of soap opera viewing. Although the soap opera is the genre most "time shifted" (recorded off the air for later viewing), soap opera viewing on videotape does not figure into audience ratings data, and even if it did, advertisers would discount such viewership, believing (accurately) that most viewers "zip" through commercials.

The wiring of most American cities for cable television in the 1970s and 1980s has meant the expansion of program alternatives in any given time period in many markets from three or four channels to more than 50. In the 1960s and 1970s, daytime television viewers were limited in the viewing choices in many time slots to two genres: the game show and the soap opera. By the 1990s, network soaps were competing not only against each other and against game shows but also against an array of cable alternatives, including one cable channel (Lifetime) targeted exclusively at the soap opera's core audience: women between the ages of 18 and 49.

For the three commercial networks, dispersed viewership across an increasingly fragmented market has meant lower ratings, reduced total advertising revenue, reduced advertising rates, and reduced profit margins. Although soap operas actually gained viewership in some audience segments in the 1980s—men and ado-

lescents, in particular—these are not groups traditionally targeted by the companies whose advertising has sustained the genre for half a century. As they scrambled to staunch the outflow of audience to cable in the early 1990s, the networks and independent producers (who supply programming both to the networks and in syndication to local broadcasters) turned to daytime programming forms with minimal start-up costs and low production budgets, especially the talk show. In many markets, soap operas' strongest competition comes not from other soaps but from *Montel Williams*, *Ricki Lake*, *Jerry Springer*, or another of the dozens of talk shows that have been launched since 1990.

It is impossible here to set the history of serial drama in U.S. broadcasting in relation to the history of the form in the dozens of other countries where it has figured prominently—from China and India to Mexico and Brazil—except to say that the form has proven to be extraordinarily malleable and responsive to a wide variety of local institutional and social requirements. However, it may be instructive to contrast briefly the British experience with the serial drama with that surveyed here in the United States.

The tradition of broadcast serial drama in Britain goes back to 1940s radio and *The Archers*, a daily, 15-minute serial of country life broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) initially as a means of educating farmers about better agricultural practices. The British television serial, on the other hand, grows out of the needs of commercial television in the late 1950s. Mandated to serve regional needs, the newly chartered "independent" (commercial) television services were eager to capture the growing audience of urban lower-middle-class and working-class television viewers. In December 1960, Manchester-based Granada Television introduced its viewers to *Coronation Street*, a serial set in a local working-class neighborhood. The following year, it was broadcast nationwide and has remained at or near the top of the prime-time television ratings nearly ever since.

*Coronation Street's* style, setting, and narrative concerns are informed by the gritty, urban, working-class plays, novels, and films of the 1950s—the so-called angry young man or kitchen sink movement. Where U.S. daytime serials were (and still are) usually disconnected from any particular locality, *Coronation Street* is unmistakably local. Where U.S. soaps usually downplay class as an axis of social division (except as a marker of wealth), *Coronation Street* began and has to some degree stayed a celebration of the institutions of working-class culture and community (especially the pub and the café)—even if that culture was by 1960 a historical memory and *Coronation Street's* representation of community a nostalgic fantasy.

In part because of the regionalism built into the commercial television system, all British soap operas since *Coronation Street* have been geographically and, to some degree, culturally specific in setting: *Crossroads* (1964–88) in the Midlands, *Emmerdale* (1972–) in the Yorkshire Dales, *Brookside* (1982–2004) in Liverpool, and the BBC's successful entry in the soap opera field *EastEnders* (1985–) in the East End of London. In addition, all these have been much more specific and explicit in their social and class settings than their American counterparts, and for this reason their fidelity to (and deviation from) some standard of social verisimilitude has been much more of an issue than has ever been the case with American soaps. *Coronation Street* has been criticized for its cozy, insulated, and outdated representation of the urban working-class community, which for decades seemed to have been bypassed by social change and strife.

Still, by American soap opera standards, British soaps are much more concerned with the material lives of their characters and the characters' positions within a larger social structure. *EastEnders*, when it was launched in 1985 the BBC's first venture into television serials in 20 years, was designed from the beginning to make contemporary material and social issues part of the fabric of its grubby East End community of pensioners, market traders, petty criminals, shopkeepers, the homeless, and the perennially unemployed.

Internationally, the most conspicuous and important development in the soap opera genre over the past 20 years has not involved the production, reception, or export of American soap operas (whether daytime or prime time) but rather the extraordinary popularity of domestic television serials in Latin America, India, Great Britain, Australia, and other countries and the international circulation of non-U.S. soaps to virtually every part of the world except the United States. With their *telenovelas* dominating prime-time schedules throughout the hemisphere, Latin American serial producers began seriously pursuing extraregional export possibilities in the mid-1970s. Brazil's TV Globo began exporting *telenovelas* to Europe in 1975. Within a decade, it was selling soap operas to nearly 100 countries around the world, its annual export revenues increasing fivefold between 1982 and 1987 alone. Mexico's Televisa exports serials to 59 countries, and its soap operas have topped the ratings in Korea, Russia, and Turkey. Venezuelan serials have attracted huge audiences in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Portugal. Latin American soap operas have penetrated the U.S. market but, thus far, only among its Spanish-speaking population: serials constitute a large share of the prime-time programming on Spanish-language cable and broadcast channels in the United States.

Although Australian serials had been shown in Britain for some years, they became a major force in British broadcasting with the huge success of Reg Grundy Productions' *Neighbours* in 1986. For most of the time since then, it has vied with either *EastEnders* or *Coronation Street* as Britain's most-viewed television program. *Neighbours* has been seen in more than 25 countries and has been called Australia's most successful cultural export.

The global circulation of non-U.S. serials since the 1970s is, in part, a function of the increased demand for television programming in general, caused by the growth of satellite and cable television around the world. It is also due, particularly in western and eastern Europe, to a shift in many countries away from a state-controlled public service television system to a "mixed" (public and commercial) or entirely commercial model. The low production cost of serials (in Latin America between \$25,000 and \$80,000 an episode) and their ability to recover these costs in their domestic markets mean that they can be offered on the international market at relatively low prices (as little as \$3,000 per episode) in Europe. Given the large audiences they can attract and their low cost (particularly in relation to the cost of producing original drama), imported serials represent good value for satellite, cable, and broadcast services in many countries.

Ironically, American producers never seriously exploited the international market possibilities for daytime soap operas until the export success of Latin American serials in the 1980s and now find themselves following the lead of TV Globo and Venezuela's Radio Caracas. NBC's *The Bold and the Beautiful*, set in the fashion industry, is the first U.S. daytime soap to attract a substantial international following.

Derided by critics and disdained by social commentators from the 1930s to the 1990s, the soap opera is nevertheless the most effective and enduring broadcast

advertising vehicle ever devised. It is also the most popular genre of television drama in the world today and probably in the history of world broadcasting: no other form of television fiction has attracted more viewers in more countries over a longer period of time.

ROBERT C. ALLEN

*See also Brookside; Coronation Street; Dallas; Dark Shadows; EastEnders; Genre; Nixon, Agnes; Peyton Place*

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## Social Class and Television

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Social class has been a neglected factor in research on American television programs and audiences. Few studies have focused on the representation of class in television programming, although it has been a secondary topic in some studies, and more studies published in the 1990s give attention to class. Class was not often been considered in audience research, either,

until media researchers from the cultural studies tradition directed more attention to this topic.

### Television Representations of Social Class

Since the 1950s, researchers have surveyed television programming and compiled frequency counts of char-



*Married . . . With Children*, (rear) David Faustino, Christina Applegate, (front) Ed O'Neill, Katey Sagal, 1987–97.  
©20th Century Fox/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

acters on network television, the most exhaustive being George Gerbner's cultural indicators project that conducted annual surveys over several years. Most such surveys concentrated on television drama and situation comedy, although some ventured to television news and other programming. A few included class as a category, but many more included occupation, from which class may be deduced. Combining these studies provides an indication of the relative frequency with which each class has been represented on television over several decades. The consistent pattern across the decades has been the near absence of working-class characters and an overabundance of upper-middle-class characters, an example of what Gerbner called "symbolic annihilation" of the working class, "erased" from the dominant cultural discourse established by television. A common working-class occupation depicted on television is uniformed police officers, and they appear typically as



*The Nanny*, Daniel Davis, Fran Drescher, Lauren Lane, 1993–99; Season 5, #503 This Horse is Rockin'.  
©Columbia Pictures/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

background characters, often without names, in detective and crime series.

Studies of individual programs, typically very popular ones, are another common form of analysis. This method allows the researchers to examine the quality of representation, such as whether classes are portrayed more or less positively. For example, some studies of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) sitcom *Roseanne* note its in-your-face challenge of middle-class respectability and its legitimation of working-class tastes and values, stances that are rare on television. Studies of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) sitcom *The Cosby Show* analyze the family's upper-middle-class status and the mixed message this program presented for and about African Americans.

Other researchers have extended this method to examine an entire genre instead of a single show. Some book-length studies range over the spectrum of programming forms, with chapters on different genres that address issues of class. Situation comedies, and particularly domestic sitcoms, have been studied in this way. Studies of domestic sitcoms found strikingly persistent representations over five decades of prime-time television from the late 1940s through the 1990s: working-class men are invariably portrayed as incompetent and ineffectual buffoons, well-intentioned but dumb, lovable but not respected. Ralph Kramden, Fred Flintstone, Archie Bunker, and Homer Simpson are just the most famous examples. Heightening the contrast are wives and children who are often more intelligent, rational, and sensible than their husbands and fathers. Middle-class domestic situation comedies, by contrast, traditionally depict competent and mature husbands and fathers. Even in today's more cynical era, a middle-class male buffoon is a rarity. The persis-



*Dynasty*, Joan Collins, John Forsythe, Linda Evans, 1981–89.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tence of such negative images of the working class appear to arise from the demands of production and stereotypes incorporated into the work culture of the industry.

Some researchers report the prevalence of affluence and upward mobility on television and argue that these representations implicitly suggest that those who are not middle class or upwardly mobile have themselves to blame. Affluence is generally exaggerated: offices of lawyers, college professors, and other white-collar professionals are more plush than in real life. Whatever the profession, the characters typically are successes. Upward mobility is achieved through individual striving, reinforcing the idea that one's status is an indicator of one's ability, character, and moral worth. As if to temper desires of the audience, the economic benefits of upward mobility are frequently counterbalanced on television programs by the personal consequences of disrupted relations with family and friends. The rich are often depicted as unsympathetic and unsupportive of each other and as "bad" or unhappy people. These contrasts between classes convey the moral that money does not buy happiness.

Even the changed landscape of the television industry in the 1990s and early 2000s maintained many familiar representations of working-class men. In sitcoms with working-class settings and characters, such as *Dinosaurs*, *Roc*, *Grace Under Fire*, *King of Queens*, and *Grounded for Life*, the husband/father continues to be depicted as not too bright and not very competent. Series about the middle class, although more varied than in earlier decades, still include plenty of warmhearted and emotionally engaged families. Perhaps the most prominent of these is *8 Simple Rules for Dating My Daughter*. This series faced particular problems when star John Ritter, who portrayed a father who worked in his home as a sports writer, died unexpectedly. Rather than canceling the show, ABC wrote the father's death into the story, altering what had been a rather broad comedy into something more serious.

Some melodramas, however, did explore the difficulties confronted by middle-class families in times of economic constraint. The police procedural *N.Y.P.D. Blue* often turned to the private lives of hardworking detectives and acknowledged that their relatively low-paying positions made life in New York an ongoing

struggle. This topic was particularly significant in the personal life of Andy Sipowicz, who for some time was presented as the single parent of a small child, then developed a relationship that led to marriage—to a colleague who was raising a niece and subsequently became pregnant with Sipowicz's baby. Discussions of money, apartment size, and future expenses were common in this sequence.

And perhaps the most noted depiction of class came with Home Box Office's (HBO's) *The Sopranos*. In this ongoing series, "middle-management mafia" types exhibit the trappings both of the newly wealthy and of their working-class New Jersey backgrounds. Class conflicts were particularly evident in the 2003 season-ending episode in which Tony Soprano promised to purchase a shorefront home for his wife, only to have the current owner renege on the deal. Tony's colleagues then bombard the snobbish resident with unceasing playback of Frank Sinatra recordings at ear-splitting levels.

These images are reinforced by the proliferation of talk shows that present real-life working-class people as exhibits in a "freak show," deviants who lack self-respect, moral values, or sexual control. Some researchers, however, have argued that these programs also give "voice" to individuals, groups, and classes previously excluded from television. They see the "freakish" behavior as a direct challenge to the approved decorum of televisual discourse.

### Social Class and Television Audiences

Rarely has class been considered a variable in research on the effects of television viewing. This research tradition has concentrated on generalizations about psychological processes rather than on group differences. The few studies that have considered class conclude that there are no class differences in children's susceptibility to violence on television, in contrast to the usual stereotype of working-class children being more likely to be led into such behavior.

Studies of family television-use patterns have looked more broadly at how people interact with television sets. However, even in these studies, class is often peripheral. Books on television audiences seldom include social class as a topic in their indexes. One tradition of research has distinguished class differences in television use, contrasting working- and lower-class patterns of heavier and indiscriminate use (patterns that are widely disapproved of) with middle-class patterns of lighter, more selective use. More recent family communication research has continued to use these class distinctions.

Buried within the 1950s and 1960s sociological literature on working-class lifestyle are a few ethno-

graphic observations on working-class uses of and responses to television. These have confirmed the tendency of working-class individuals to use the TV as filler and background to family interaction. They also reveal distinctive responses to program content: for example, working-class men prefer shows featuring characters sympathetic to working-class values, and these viewers identify with working-class types even when those types are written as peripheral characters or villains. Such findings contradict the notion of working-class viewers as passive and gullible.

Other studies have found significant differences in the orientations of working- and middle-class women to television shows. These latter studies draw on the British cultural studies tradition focusing on working-class viewers and their reactions to television. As with early U.S. community studies, British researchers found that working people construct their own alternative readings of television programs. In general, these studies find that, contrary to the stereotype offered in popular television criticism, working-class viewers are not the passive dupes with their eyes glued to the screen, nor are they the bumbling, ineffectual clowns often depicted in television comedies. Rather, working-class viewers use television to their advantage and interpret content to suit their own needs and interests.

RICHARD BUTSCH

*See also Family and Television; Gender and Television; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television*

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## Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers

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While the history of motion pictures and television is typically linked to the rise of commercial mass entertainment, the extent of industry growth cannot be adequately explained without acknowledging the extensive benefits that came from technical standardization. Incorporated in July 1916, the Society for Motion Picture Engineers (SMPE) sought to act as a professional forum for its members and to publish technical findings "deemed worthy of permanent record." The impact of the society, however, extended far beyond the research reports published in SMPE's *Journal and Transactions*. With film pioneer Francis Jenkins installed as its charter president, the society took as its first task the development of a 35-millimeter format—

the standard on which the motion picture and telefilm industries were built. Subsequent SMPE interventions codified two-color cinematography (November 1918), three-color Technicolor (August 1935), and optical sound-recording technologies (October 1930, September 1938). Although the organization began as a professional association for technical specialists, its public actions worked as an antidote to the high-risk economic and methodological instabilities that accompanied the introduction of each new film/television technology.

Research interests in television pre-dated by decades the formal addition of "Television" to the society's name in 1950 (SMPTE). Groundbreaking work



was published on alternative delivery systems ("Radio Photographs, Radio Movies and Radio Vision" by C.F. Jenkins, May 1923), on vacuum-tube imaging devices ("Iconoscopes and Kinescopes" by V.K. Zworykin, May 1937), and on the Radio Corporation of America's (RCA's) field test of a comprehensive broadcasting system in New York (R.R. Beal, August 1937).

While this prewar flurry of engineering interest in television may suggest that society had a proactive and determining influence on the development of television technology, subsequent events demonstrate just how provisional SMPTE's recommendations were. For example, although the *Journal* published standards for the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) new high-resolution color-television system in April 1942, other parties used coercion and economic clout to convince the U.S. government to opt for an inferior system in 1947. Disregarding the 1942 standards, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) favored the less developed alternative of RCA/National Broadcasting Company (NBC), thereby forcing engineers to impose color information onto the limited black-and-white bandwidth of NTSC—a system that had itself been hastily (and some would say prematurely) adopted in 1941. Similarly, despite the open-ended, forward-thinking proposals put forth by Jenkins for theatrical television, pay-per-view TV, and set-licensing subsidies in 1923, the harsh regulatory realities of the FCC licensing freeze from 1948 to 1952 effectively deferred development of alternative delivery technologies for decades. A three-network oligopoly would dominate for almost 30 years as a result of the freeze, enabled by economic and regulatory collusion rather than engineering wisdom.

Although such actions demonstrate the limited influence of the society's recommendations on technology standards (SMPTE is not a government regulatory body like the FCC but an association of professionals representing a wide range of proprietary corporations), subsequent breakthroughs mark key points in the history of television technology. Standards for the eventual victor in the color-television race (NTSC) were finally published in April 1953. Engineers from Ampex disseminated information on the first commercially successful videotape recorder (VTR) in April 1957—an event that led to the precipitous death of the kinescope, initiated intense competition among VTR developers in the years that followed, and altered forever the way viewers see "liveness" (live-on-tape).

The international battle over high-definition television (HDTV) demonstrates the strategic role a standard-setting organization can take in the international arena. NHK in Japan had produced and begun marketing an HDTV system in the early 1980s, long

before U.S. corporations entered the fray with working prototypes. Although the U.S. industry thus lagged behind foreign competitors in the race for viable "digital" video systems, SMPTE began to disseminate engineering standards for a spate of new digital television recording formats developed in Europe and Japan starting in December 1986. U.S. broadcasters initially resisted HDTV development because of the tremendous costs involved in changing over from current transmission systems. Eventually, however, the government intervened to dictate that the United States would ostensibly produce a single "consensus" digital HDTV system. The resulting "grand alliance" minimized the risk of losing an expensive research-and-development race, but foreign trade journalists complained that U.S. government muscle would lead unfairly to the privileging of U.S. HDTV standards in international markets despite the late entry of the United States into the high-definition arena. As this example shows, engineering standards can be political footballs used for economic leverage and technological nationalism.

What looked initially like an HDTV alliance, however, fell apart when competing interests (the computer, motion picture, and broadcast industries) took aim at the governmental regulators behind the initiative. Given the free-market ideology in play during the Clinton administration, the FCC proved unwilling to dictate a single technical standard for HDTV. The commission announced that it would allow "the market to decide" and then sanctioned 14 different technical standards (from 480p to 1080i) for what was now called "digital television" rather than HDTV. Four years of technical volatility and confusion followed despite FCC dictates that broadcasters had until 2003 to deliver new high-definition digital television. With ambivalent broadcasters mired in conflict with consumer electronics manufacturers and both at odds with the Hollywood establishment that has thrown its weight behind a competing system (24p), television's transition to digital has been stunted.

The volatility in this kind of pseudo-market environment demonstrates why such standards and engineering organizations as SMPTE have proved central participants in change. With regulators now essentially silent and with massive conglomeration defining the industry, SMPTE helps provide much-needed forms of rationality (scientific method) and a set of ground rules (benchmarks for those 14 competing digital formats) that keeps change intelligible and manageable.

SMPTE's future influence will depend on how well it comes to grips with several substantive changes. It must respond to the technological "convergence" blurring boundaries between film and electronic media, it

must continue to demonstrate the value of common technical ground within the proprietary world of multinational corporations, and it must engage a membership that increasingly lies outside the confines of traditional film and television engineering. As studios are reduced to computerized desktops and practitioners with technical backgrounds cross over into creative capacities (and vice versa), technological discourses will become no less important or problematic. Given the capital-intensive and market-driven nature of electronic media, issues of standardization and technological "order" will be more crucial to the future of television than ever.

JOHN CALDWELL

See also **Standards; Television Technology**

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## Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em

### British Comedy Series

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*Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em* was a hugely popular British comedy series, broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the 1970s. Initially considered unlikely to succeed, the series triumphed through the central performance of Michael Crawford as the hapless Frank Spencer and became one of the most popular comedy series of the decade, attracting a massive family audience.

Frank Spencer was the ultimate "loser," unemployed, unable to cope with even the simplest technology, and the victim of his surroundings. Every well-meaning attempt that he made to come to terms with the world ended in disaster, be it learning to drive, getting a job, or realizing some long-cherished dream. What saved him and kept the story comic was his innocence, his dogged persistence, and his outrage at the injustices he felt he had suffered.

The theme of the naive innocent comically struggling in an unforgiving world is an old one, but in this incarnation the most obvious antecedents for the slapstick Spencer character were such silent-movie clowns as Charlie Chaplin's tramp and, some three decades later, British cinema's Norman Wisdom. Writer Ray-

mond Allen insisted, however, that he based the character on himself, quoting as his qualifications as the original Frank Spencer his outdated dress sense, complete lack of self-confidence, and overwhelming inability to do anything right. As proof of the character's origins, Allen recalled how he had bought himself a full-length raincoat to wear to the first rehearsals of the series in London—and was dismayed to see Crawford acquire one virtually the same as the perfect costume to play the role. The mac, together with the beret and the ill-fitting tanktop jumper, quickly became visual trademarks of the character.

It was Michael Crawford (really Michael Dumble Smith), complete with funny voice and bewildered expression, who turned Frank Spencer into a legend of British television comedy, employing the whole battery of his considerable comic skills. Disaster prone but defiant, the little man at odds with a society judging people solely by their competence and ability to fit in, he turned sets into battlefields as he fell foul of domestic appliances, motor vehicles, officials, in-laws, and just about anyone or anything else that had the misfortune to come into his vicinity.

*Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em* was essentially a one-joke escapade, with situations being set up chiefly to be exploited for the admittedly often inventive mayhem that could be contrived from them. What kept the series engaging, however, was the pathos that Crawford engendered in the character, making him human and, for all the silliness of many episodes, endearing. In this, Crawford was ably abetted by Michelle Dotrice, who played Frank Spencer's immensely long-suffering but steadfastly loyal (if occasionally despairing) girlfriend and, later, wife Betty.

In the tradition of the silent-movie stars, Crawford insisted on performing many of the hair-raising and life-threatening stunts himself, teetering in a car over lofty cliffs, dangling underneath a helicopter, and risking destruction under the wheels of a moving train in a way that would not have been tolerated by television companies and their insurers a few years later. The professionalism that he displayed in pulling off these stunts impressed even those who balked at the show's childish humor and overt sentimentalism. It is not so surprising that Crawford himself, after six years in the role, was able to escape the stereotype that threatened

to obscure his talent and to establish himself as a leading West End and Broadway musical star.

DAVID PICKERING

#### Cast

Frank Spencer  
Betty

Michael Crawford  
Michele Dotrice

#### Producer

Michael Mills

#### Programming History

19 30-minute episodes; 3 50-minute specials

BBC

February 1973–March 1973 7 episodes

November 1973–

December 1973 6 episodes

December 25, 1974 Christmas special

December 25, 1975 Christmas special

October 1978–December 1978 6 episodes

December 25, 1978 Christmas special

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## Sony Corporation

### International Media Conglomerate

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An innovative Japanese consumer-electronics company founded by Masaru Ibuka and Akio Morita in 1946, Sony started out manufacturing heating pads, rice cookers, and other small appliances but soon switched to high technology, bringing out Japan's first reel-to-reel magnetic tape recorder in 1950 and then its first FM transistor radio in 1955. Sony's later innovations in consumer electronics included the Trinitron color-television picture tube (1968), the Betamax videocassette recorder (1975), the Walkman personal stereo (1979), the compact disc player (1982), the 8-millimeter video camera (1985), and the Video Walkman (1988).

Sony's success in marketing its products worldwide rested on distinctive styling and "global localization," a practice that retained product development in Japan, while disbursing manufacturing among plants in Europe, the United States, and Asia. To maintain quality control, Sony dispatched large num-

bers of Japanese managers and engineers to supervise these plants.

Under the leadership of Norio Ohga, who joined the company 1959 and ran Sony's design center, Sony pursued the course of marrying Japanese consumer electronics with American entertainment software. After purchasing CBS Records for \$2 billion in 1987, Sony initiated the Japanese invasion of Hollywood by acquiring Columbia Pictures Entertainment (CPE) from Coca-Cola for \$3.4 billion in 1989. The following year, Sony's Japanese rival Matsushita Electric Industrial Company, the largest consumer-electronics company in the world, purchased MCA for \$6.9 billion. The two takeovers led to charges that the Japanese were about to dominate American popular culture, but the controversy soon died out when it became apparent that Sony and Matsushita would have to stay aloof from production decisions if their studios were to compete effectively.

In 1989, the year Sony acquired CPE, Sony generated over \$16 billion in revenues from the following categories: (1) video equipment other than TV—\$4.3 billion, (2) audio equipment—\$4.2 billion, (3) TV sets—\$2.6 billion, (4) records—\$2.6 billion, and (5) other products—\$2.5 billion. The CPE acquisition, which included two major studios—Columbia Pictures and TriStar Pictures—home-video distribution, a theater chain, and an extensive film library, brought in an additional \$1.6 billion in revenues.

By becoming vertically integrated, Sony hoped to create “synergies” in its operations, or, stated another way, Sony wanted to stimulate the sales of hardware by controlling the production and distribution of software. The company may have been reacting to the so-called format wars of the 1970s when Sony’s Betamax lost out to Matsushita’s VHS videotape recorder. Industry observers believed that the greater availability of VHS software in video stores naturally led consumers to choose VHS machines over Betamaxes. Sony would not make the same mistake again and found a way to protect itself as it contemplated introducing the 8-millimeter video and high-definition television systems it had in development.

To strengthen CPE as a producer of software, Sony spent an added \$1 billion and perhaps more to acquire and refurbish new studios and to hire film producers Peter Guber and Jon Peters to run the company, which it renamed Sony Entertainment. Sony performed rea-

sonably well under the new regime until 1993, but afterward, Columbia and TriStar struggled to fill their distribution pipelines. Virtually all of Sony’s hits had been produced by independent producer affiliates, and when these deals lapsed, Sony lagged behind the other majors in motion picture production and market share. Some industry observers claimed Sony lacked “a clear strategy” for taking advantage of the rapid shifts in the entertainment business. After top production executives left Columbia and TriStar in 1994, Sony took a \$3.2 billion loss on its motion picture business, reduced the book value of its studios by \$2.7 billion, and announced that “it could never hope to recover its investment” in Hollywood.

TINO BALIO

**See also Betamax Case; Camcorder; Home Video; Time Shifting; Videocassette; Videotape**

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## Sopranos, The

### U.S. Drama

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A defining program of the cable era, *The Sopranos* debuted on Home Box Office (HBO) in January 1999. The story of a New Jersey mafia boss and his nuclear and criminal families, it was the first cable series to achieve larger audience ratings than its broadcast competition. The series also received unprecedented critical acclaim. Even intellectuals who had previously disdained television hailed the show as a groundbreaking work of art.

A measure of the program’s unique status as a cultural icon was the screening of the entire run of its first two seasons at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, the featured item in a retrospective of gang-

ster movies chosen by David Chase, *The Sopranos*’ creator and executive producer.

The popularity of *The Sopranos* was particularly demoralizing for the broadcast networks, in decline through the 1980s and 1990s because of competition from cable and satellite subscriber networks. The show’s success in the ratings against “free” network programs was decisive evidence that the mass audiences and consensus programming of the broadcast era were now historical artifacts. Although HBO’s subscribers were only one-third of the total TV audience, the series reached an estimated 14 million viewers, 7.3 million TV homes, during its third and fourth seasons,



*The Sopranos*, Steven Van Zandt, James Gandolfini, Michael Imperioli. 4th season, 2002.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

by far the largest continuing audience ever assembled by cable television. As one media business reporter put it, “HBO now has the first television megahit ever to be unavailable to the majority of viewers.”

Probably the most complex narrative in the history of American television, *The Sopranos* marks a genuine watershed in popular culture. The series is a culmination—but also a deeply cynical and realistic revision—of the mythology of the gangster and the culture of the mafia as depicted in classic movies from the 1930s, in Mario Puzo’s novels, and in the films of Francis Ford Coppola and Martin Scorsese.

Something of the show’s revisionist, postheroic realism is captured in its brilliant title sequence. Quick images of the roof and wall tiles of the Lincoln Tunnel as photographed through the windshield of Tony Soprano’s speeding car yield to the tunnel’s exit ramp, the New York skyline briefly visible across the Hudson River through the passenger-side window (the twin towers of the World Trade Center were framed in a quick close shot of the car’s side mirror during the first two seasons, but this image was removed after the events of September 11, 2001). Now images of New

Jersey’s ugliest industrial sprawl (noxious Secaucus, polluted waterways, and smokestacks) rush past, followed by shots of highway exit signs, Tony steering, and the grimy downtowns of the dwindled cities in which Tony grew up and in which much of the series’ action takes place. This quick tour of the terrain of *The Sopranos* concludes with shots of modest working-class, then middle-class, city homes and finally the forested road leading to the driveway of Tony’s pretentious suburban brick palace. The sequence is a social history of his life and work, distilling essential elements of the saga of Tony Soprano (James Gandolfini), his dual identity as a suburban husband and father and as angst-ridden godfather in meaner streets than those of the mythic city across the river.

The movie gangsters are not merely implicit references in the series but also active presences. Tony’s mob crew is fond of quoting *The Godfather* and other shaping ancestors, and such allusions often create complex ironies, suggesting how eagerly these “real” gangsters embrace the aggrandizing images of the movie culture. We see Tony tearfully watching *Public Enemy* (1931) on the day of his mother’s funeral, and

the famous Cagney melodrama about a gangster killer whose mother's love never wavers implicitly judges Tony's reptilian mother (Nancy Marchand in her last, great role) who terrorized him as a child and colluded with his Uncle Junior (Dominic Chianese) to have him killed because she blamed him for moving her to a nursing home.

*The Sopranos* takes full advantage of its freedom from the constraints of broadcast television. Even its female characters speak with the profane candor of real people; mayhem and murder are dramatized with pitiless, shocking directness; and there is considerable (but not full frontal) nudity. But this license in what is seen and heard is never gratuitous or sensational, and the many eruptions of crippling or murderous violence have disturbing authority in part because they take place in such mundanely realistic spaces and are committed or endured by unattractive, ordinary characters the audience has come to know. The series breaks with broadcast conventions in other ways as well, notably in its readiness to dramatize its characters' dreams and fantasies, some of which achieve a macabre, disorienting intensity.

But its sense of the ordinary, the quotidian, and the *not-mythic* is the real key to *The Sopranos*. Tony Soprano is a killer and mob boss, but he is also a middle-age father with a discontented spouse and a son and daughter no more deranged than most privileged teenagers in our high-tech, motorized, image-saturated suburbs. The juxtaposition—sometimes the intersection—of these alternate worlds generates complexities undreamt of in most movies or earlier forms of television. The program mobilizes a sustained, ongoing experience of moral ambiguity as Tony and some of his criminal cronies display a range of comic, sentimental, deeply ordinary traits in their dealings with aging parents, wives, children, and mistresses and then in other moments perform acts of sickening disloyalty, brutality, and murder.

This defining quality of the series emerged decisively in the fifth episode of the first season, in which Tony takes his daughter Meadow (Jamie-Lynn Sigler) on a tour of colleges in Maine and, in a stop at a gas station, recognizes an informer, once part of his crime family, now in hiding in the witness protection program. Scenes of intimate bonding between father and daughter are intercut with Tony's stalking of the informer, whom he ultimately attacks from behind and strangles with a wire. The murder is not quick, and the victim struggles hard before he dies. Moments before, this killer had been a doting father, communing with his daughter in a common American parenting ritual.

As this episode implies, *The Sopranos* does not, as many commentators have claimed, repudiate or totally

transcend traditional television. For all its cable-licensed profanity, sex, and violence, the series embraces and deeply exploits TV's unique hospitality to serial narrative as well as the central subject of television drama of the broadcast era, its ideological core: the American family.

The show has a specific ancestry in *The Rockford Files* (1974–80, National Broadcasting Company [NBC]), whose staff David Chase joined in 1976 as writer and producer. That private-eye series starring James Garner was also a hybrid of comedy, crime, and (sometimes) family drama, and it used the format of the weekly series to explore the ongoing, changing relations among its recurring characters. Several episodes of *Rockford* clearly anticipate *The Sopranos*. In one of these, a two-part story first broadcast in 1977, George Loros, who plays the mob capo Raymond Curto in the HBO series, portrays a mafia hit man undone by his city boy's ignorance in the wilds of nature. This episode hints at the bleak murderous comedy of the memorable installment from the third season of *The Sopranos* in which Tony's henchmen Paulie Walnuts (Tony Sirico) and young Christopher Moltisanti (Michael Imperioli) are trapped together without food or transport in the wintry Pine Barrens of southern New Jersey.

The series format—traditional television's essential feature—is *The Sopranos*' fundamental resource as well, permitting the program to dramatize the unsteady maturation of Tony's children, for example, the ebb and flow of his cankered intimacy with his wife Carmella and the murderous shifting alliances and hostilities within his own crime family and among rival mobsters. As the series unfolded during its first four seasons, its account of the primary characters deepened; aspects of Tony's past emerged in fitful, accreting detail; and the experiences and inner lives of many secondary characters were explored more fully. At the start of its fifth season (as Chase signed a contract to supervise a sixth and final year of the show), the 52 hour-long chapters of *The Sopranos* had achieved a density and texture unique in American movies or television. The damaged, unstable family order of the show could be read as a compelling metaphor or distillation of the larger social order. In its enlarging power to explore personality as it evolves over time and in its stringent, ramifying stories of crime, injustice, greed, and ambition, the series had become a 21st-century equivalent of the great English and European novels of the 19th century.

DAVID THORBURN

See also Chase, David; *Rockford Files*, *The*

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## Soul Train

### U.S. Music-Variety Show

*Soul Train*, the first black-oriented music variety show ever offered on American television, is one of the most successful weekly programs marketed in first-run syndication and one of the longest-running syndicated programs in American television history. The program first aired in syndication on October 2, 1971, and was an immediate success in a limited market of seven cities: Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. Initially, syndicators had difficulty achieving their 25-city goal. However, *Soul Train's* reputation as a "well produced" and "very entertaining" program gradually captured station directors' attention. By May 1972, the show was aired in 25 markets, many of them major cities.

The show's emergence and long-standing popularity marks a crucial moment in the history of African-American television production. Don Cornelius, the show's creator, began his career in radio broadcasting in Chicago in November 1966. At a time when African Americans were systematically denied media careers, Cornelius left his \$250-a-week job selling insurance for Golden State Mutual Life to work in the news department at WVON radio for \$50 a week. It was a bold move and clearly marked his committed optimism. By seizing a small opportunity to work in radio broadcasting, Cornelius was able to study broadcasting firsthand. His career advancement in radio included employment as a substitute disc jockey and host of talk shows. Radio broadcasting techniques informed Cornelius's vision of the television program *Soul Train*.

By February 1968, Cornelius was a sports anchorman on the black-oriented news program "A Black's View of the News" on WCIU-TV, Channel 26, a Chicago TV station specializing in ethnic programming. Cornelius pitched his idea for a black-oriented

dance show to the management of WCIU-TV the following year. The station agreed to Cornelius's offer to produce the pilot at his own expense in exchange for studio space. The name *Soul Train* was taken from a local promotion Cornelius produced in 1969. To create publicity, he hired several Chicago entertainers to perform live shows at up to four high schools on the same day. The caravan performances from school to school reminded the producer of a train.

Cornelius screened his pilot to several sponsors. Initially, no advertising representatives were impressed by his idea for black-oriented television. The first support came from Sears, Roebuck and Company, which used *Soul Train* to advertise phonographs. This small agreement provided only a fraction of the actual cost of producing and airing the program. Yet, with this commitment, Cornelius persuaded WCIU-TV to allow the one-hour program to air five afternoons weekly on



*Soul Train* host Don Cornelius, circa mid 1970's.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

a trial basis. The program premiered on WCIU-TV on August 17, 1970, and within a few days youth and young adult populations of Chicago were talking about this new local television breakthrough. The show also had the support of a plethora of Chicago-based entertainers. As an independent producer of the program, Cornelius acted as host, producer, and salesman five days a week. He worked without a salary until the local advertising community began to recognize the program as a legitimate advertising vehicle, and *Soul Train* began to pay for itself.

The *Soul Train* format includes guest musical performers, hosts, and performances by the *Soul Train* dancers. Set in a dance club environment, the show's hosts are black entertainers from the music, television, and film industries. The dancers are young women and men, fashionably dressed, who dance to the most popular songs on the rhythm-and-blues, soul, and rap charts. The show includes a game called "The *Soul Train* Scramble," in which the dancers compete for prizes. The program's focus on individual performers, in contrast to the ensemble dancing more common in televisual presentation, has been passed down to many music variety shows, such as *American Bandstand*, *Club MTV*, and *Solid Gold*.

The television show's success can be linked to the increasing importance of black-oriented radio programs taking advantage of FM stereo sound technology. With that support, soul and funk music exploded in popularity across the nation. Black record sales soared because of the increased radio airplay, and the opportunity to view popular performances without leaving home became the appeal of *Soul Train*.

The popularity of the show in Chicago prompted Cornelius to pursue national syndication of the program. One of the nation's largest black-owned companies, the Johnson Products Company, agreed to support the show in national syndication. Sears, Roebuck and Company increased its advertising support. In 1971, Cornelius moved the production of the *Soul*

*Train* to Hollywood. The show continued to showcase musical talent and to shine the spotlight on stand-up comedians. The program's presentation of vibrant black youth attracted viewers from different racial backgrounds and ethnicities to black entertainment. The show has been credited with bringing 1970s black popular culture into the American home.

In 1985, the Chicago-based Tribune Entertainment company became the exclusive distributor and syndicator of *Soul Train*. In 1987, the Tribune company helped launch the *Soul Train* Music Awards. This program is a live two-hour television special presented annually in prime-time syndication and reaches more than 90 percent of U.S. television households. The *Soul Train* Music Awards represent the ethos of the *Soul Train* program, which is to offer exposure for black recording artists on national television.

Don Cornelius stepped down as host in the late 1990s and was replaced by Mystro Clark, who, after three seasons, was replaced by Shemar Moore. Cornelius is now the executive producer for the show.

MARLA L. SHELTON

**See also Music on Television; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Producer**

Don Cornelius

**Programming History**

Syndicated (various times)  
1971–

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## South Africa

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The South African television service, launched in 1976, is among the youngest in Africa but by far the most advanced on the continent. Propped by the country's large economy and high living standards among the minority populations, South Africa's television in-

dustry developed rapidly to become one of the first satellite-based broadcasting systems on the continent, with the most widely received national service.

The industry is dominated by a state organization, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC),



which was established in 1936 by an act of Parliament. The corporation, however, concentrated on radio broadcasting during its first 40 years of operation, as the racist National Party in power during most of this period opposed the introduction of television under the pretext of preserving cultural sovereignty. The launching of the communication satellite *Intelsat IV* in 1972 by Western countries ushered in new fears about the dangers of uncontrolled reception of international television via cheap satellite dishes. The South African government, fearing imperialism, swiftly resolved to introduce a national television service as an anti-imperial device.

Between 1976 and 1990, the SABC-TV service was state controlled and heavily censored and functioned as an arm of the government. SABC was banned from broadcasting pictures or voices of opposition figures, and its editorial policy was dictated through an institutional censoring structure.

The blackout on politically dissenting voices was discontinued in 1990 as the corporation purged itself of racial bias and shifted its focus to public service broadcasting. Since then, SABC-TV has balanced its programs to reflect the country's cultural and political diversity and embraced a policy of affirmative action in staff recruitment.

At inception, SABC-TV operated four national television channels: TV-1, TV-2, TV-3, and TV-4. This configuration was revised in a 1992 restructuring program; TV-1 retained its autonomy, and the rest were merged into a new multicultural channel called Contemporary Community Values Television (CCV-TV). The two national channels now compete for audiences and advertising with M-Net, a highly successful privately owned pay channel.

TV-1, the largest and most influential, was directed at the minority white population, with all programs broadcast in Afrikaans and English. Since mid-1986, the channel's 18-hour daily programming has been relayed through a transponder on an *Intelsat* satellite to 40 transmitting stations with an Effective Radiated Power (ERP) of 100 kilowatts and 42 stations with an ERP range of between 1 and 10 kilowatts. These transmissions are augmented by 63 gap fillers and an estimated 400 privately owned low-power transmitters, enabling the channel to be received by three-quarters of the country's population.

The CCTV channel broadcasts in nine local languages via 14 100-kilowatt terrestrial stations, nine 1- to 10-kilowatt stations, and 33 gap fillers. The channel's programming is received by 64 percent of the country's population.

SABC's domination of radio and television has enabled it to develop advanced products and services for

its audience. The corporation offers simulcasting of dubbed material on television with the original soundtrack on radio Teledata, a teletext service initially established as a pilot project on spare TV-1 signal capacity, and has been expanded to a 24-hour service with over 180 pages of news, information, and educational material. Selected material from the Teledata database is also copied onto TV-1 outside program transmission to provide an auxiliary service that is available on all TV sets countrywide.

The Electronic Media Network, widely known by its acronym, M-Net, is South Africa's only private television channel. Founded by a consortium of newspaper publishers in October 1986 to counter the growing threat that the commercially driven SABC-TV posed to the newspaper industry, M-Net has grown into the most successful pay-TV station in the world outside the United States. Its nearly 850,000 subscribers (1995 estimate) received 120 hours a week of entertainment, documentaries, film, series, and miniseries. The large national audience is accessed through a number of leased or rented SABC terrestrial reception facilities.

The subscription service is offered on an internationally patented decoder originally developed from the American Oak Systems decoder technology. M-Net's subscriber management subsidiary, Multichoice Ltd, markets the programming services to individual subscribers across southern Africa. It also markets the Delta 9000 Plus decoders to pay-TV operations elsewhere; by 1994, it was marketing the technology to the Pelepiu pay-TV system in Italy. Another of its subsidiaries, M-Net International, has been actively seeking subscribers in tropical and northern Africa after successful operations in Namibia, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Through the use of two transponders on C-band satellites, the channel has a footprint covering the entire African continent and parts of the Middle East. During 1994, Multichoice Ltd signed an agreement with a private TV station in Tanzania to relay programming across the country via satellite. At the same time, M-Net International began broadcasting across Africa on a channel shared with British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service Television. Plans were also afoot to extend rebroadcast rights to sub-Saharan African countries and to expand satellite services and individual subscriptions.

Three small regional television stations are operated in the former homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Ciskei. The Bophuthatswana television, Bop-TV, is a commercial operation that is aired via 18 small transmitters (all with ERP below 1 kilowatt) and relay stations in Johannesburg and Pretoria. The Transkei Broadcasting Corporation operates a television service that competes with the pay service of M-Net Transkei.

## South Africa

M-Net Transkei is a scrambled service except between 3:00 P.M. and 5:00 P.M., when its signal is unscrambled. The Rhena Church of South Africa runs two private TV stations in Ciskei and Transkei that broadcast in English via two small stations. Plans were under way in 1994 to install two 1-kilowatt transponders.

Since the early 1980s, South Africa has been considering venturing into satellite communications. The first involvement in satellite-aided broadcasting came in mid-1986, when a transponder was fitted on an *Intelsat* satellite to relay TV-1 to terrestrial transmitting stations. In early 1992, the C-band satellite service was upgraded from a hemispherical beam to a zonal beam to enhance the establishment of cellular transmitters in remote areas of the country. At the same time, the transmission standards were upgraded from B-MAC to PAL System 1. Together with the introduction of transmissions in the Ku-band range, these modifications are expected to provide television coverage to the entire country. The Ku-band satellite service is also expected to be utilized in telecommunication applications.

With over 150 production houses, South Africa has the largest broadcasting production industry on the continent. Local productions, from SABC teams and independent production houses, account for about 50 percent of airtime of SABC-TV and between 10 and

30 percent on M-Net. Both organizations have laid heavy emphasis on Afrikaans-language productions. However, independent producers, brought together by the Film and Television Foundation (FTF), have in the past lobbied for higher local content quotas. However, such proposals have been contested by M-Net on the grounds that pay-TV service is customer driven. The FTF suggests that where a broadcaster is unable to offer local content quotas, a levy should be introduced on the turnover to finance local productions.

NIXON K. KARIITHI

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## South Korea

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In the past half century, television broadcasting has been introduced in the majority of Western nations. In the 1950s, when television broadcasting evolved into the dominant electronic medium in the West, some Asian countries established their own television services. Korea, the fourth adopter in Asia, began television broadcasting on May 12, 1956, with the opening of HLKZ-TV, a commercially operated television station. HLKZ-TV was established by the RCA Distribution Company (KORCAD) in Seoul with 186 to 192 megahertz, 100-watt output, and 525 scanning lines.

Korean television celebrated its 40th birthday in 1996, and a great deal has changed in the past four decades. In 1956, there were only 300 television sets in Korea, but that number has climbed to an estimated 6.27 million by 1980, and television viewing has become the favorite form of entertainment or amusement for the mass audience. As of 1993, Koreans owned

nearly 11.2 million television sets, a penetration rate of nearly 100 percent.

The early 1960s saw a phenomenal growth in television broadcasting. On December 31, 1961, the first full-scale television station, KEWS-TV, was established and began operation under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. The second commercial television system, MBC-TV, following the first commercial television, TBC-TV, made its debut in 1969. The advent of MBC-TV brought significant development to the television industry in Korea, and after 1969 the television industry was characterized by furious competition among the three networks.

The 1970s were highlighted by government intervention into the media system in Korea. In 1972, President Park's government imposed censorship on media through the Martial Law Decree. The government revised the Broadcasting Law under the pretext of improving the quality of television programming. After

the revision of the law, the government expanded its control of media content by requiring all television and radio stations to review programming before and after transmission. Although the government argued that its action was taken as a result of growing public criticism of broadcasting media practices, many accused the government of wanting to establish a monopoly over television broadcasting.

The 1980s were the golden years for Korea's television industry. Growth was phenomenal in every dimension: the number of programming hours per week rose from 56 in 1979 to nearly 88.5 in 1989, the number of television stations increased from 12 in 1979 to 78 by 1989, and the number of television sets grew from 4 million in 1979 to nearly 6 million in the same period. In 1981, another technological breakthrough happened: the introduction of color television. Color broadcasting, however, occasioned a renewal of strong competition among the networks.

As the decade progressed, more controversial entertainment programming appeared, prompting the government to establish a new broadcasting law. With the Broadcasting Law of 1987, the Korean Broadcasting Committee was established to oversee all broadcasting in the country. The most important feature of this law was that it guaranteed freedom of broadcasting. However, one of its main provisions required that television stations allocate at least 10 percent of their broadcasting hours to news programming, 40 percent to cultural/educational programming, and 20 percent to entertainment programming. At the time of the imposition of these new regulations, the three networks broke new ground by successfully broadcasting the 1988 Seoul Olympics. The coverage of the 24th Olympiad was the product of technological prowess and resourceful use of manpower by the Korean broadcasting industry.

Since the early 1980s, the structure of the Korean television industry has remained basically unchanged. The government ended the 27-year-long freeze on new commercial licenses by granting a license to SBS-TV in 1990. This breakthrough paved the way for competition between the public and the private networks.

Another technological breakthrough took place in the beginning of the 1990s with the introduction of cable television. In 1990, the government initiated an experimental multichannel and multipurpose cable television service. In addition, Korea launched its first broadcasting/communication satellite, *Mugungwha*, to 36,000 kilometers above the equator in 1995. The development of an integrated broadband network is expected to take the form of B-ISDN immediately after the turn of the century.

## Regulation of Broadcasting

The aim of the latest Broadcasting Act, legislated on August 1, 1990, is to strive for the democratic formation of public opinion and improvement of national culture and to contribute to the promotion of broadcasting. The act consists of six chapters: (1) General Provisions, (2) Operations of the Broadcasting Stations and Broadcasting Corporations, (3) The Broadcasting Commission, (4) Payment and Collection of the Television Reception Fee, (5) Matters to Be Observed by the Broadcasting Stations, and (6) Remedy for Infringement.

In the article on the definition of terms, "broadcast" is defined as a transmission of wireless communication operated by a broadcast station for the purpose of propagating to the general public news, comments, and public opinion on politics, economy, society, culture, current events, education, music, entertainment, and so on. Accordingly, cable television is not subject to this act.

Article 3 of the act states that (1) the freedom of broadcast programming shall be guaranteed, and (2) no person shall regulate or interfere with the programming or operation of a broadcasting station without complying with the conditions as prescribed by this act or other acts.

Regarding the operation of broadcasting stations, it is prescribed that no person may hold stocks or quotas of the same broadcasting corporation, including stocks or quotas held by a person having a special relation, in excess of one-third of the total stocks or quotas.

No broadcasting corporation may concurrently operate any daily newspaper or communication enterprise under the control of the Registration of Periodicals. Inflow of foreign capital is also prohibited. That is, no broadcasting corporation shall receive any financial contribution on the pretext of donation, patronage, or other form of foreign government or organization, except a contribution from a foreign organization having an objective of education, physical training, religion, charity, or other international friendship that is approved by the Minister of Information.

Any person who has a television set in order to receive a television broadcast shall register the television set and pay the reception fee of 2,500 won (about U.S.\$3) a month. Black-and-white television sets are not subject to the reception fee.

## An Overview of Television Programming in Korea

Currently, the four networks (KBS-1TV, KBS-2TV, MBC-TV, and SBS-TV) offer four hours of daytime

broadcasting beginning at 6:00 A.M., then resume broadcasting from 5:30 P.M. to midnight. There is no broadcasting between 10:00 A.M. and 5:30 P.M. on weekdays. However, the four networks operate an additional 7.5 hours on Saturday and Sunday.

A typical programming schedule for Korean television networks begins at 6:00 A.M. with either a "brief news report" or a "foreign-language lesson" (English or Japanese). Early morning programs offer daily news, information, and cultural/educational programs. Each network begins its evening schedule at 5:30 P.M. with an afternoon news brief, followed by a time slot reserved for network children's programming. After this, another news brief at 7:00 P.M. introduces prime time. The four networks fill the next three hours with programs ostensibly suitable for family viewing, including dramas, game shows, soap operas, variety shows, newsmagazines, situation comedies, occasional sports, and specials. Traditionally, networks also broadcast 40 to 50 minutes of "Nine O'clock News" during prime time. This news broadcast attracts many viewers and produces extremely high ratings. Over the course of the evening, each network also provides brief reports and sports news. Late-evening hours are usually devoted to imported programs, dramas, movies, and talk shows. Weekend programming is similar to weekday programming except that it is designed to attract specific types of viewers who are demographically desirable to advertisers.

In its early years, Korean television networks depended heavily on foreign imports, most from the United States, for their programming. Overall, imported programs averaged approximately one-third of the total programming hours in 1969. In 1983, 16 percent of programming originated outside the country. By 1987, imported programming had decreased to 10 percent, though in March 1987 the networks did still broadcast programs such as *Love Boat*, *Hawaii 5-0*, *Mission Impossible*, "Weekend American Movies," and cartoons.

In addition to watching imported television programs on Korean television networks, many Koreans also watch AFKN-TV, which is an affiliate of the American Forces Radio and Television Service, the second largest of five networks managed by the Army Broadcasting Service. AFKN has been broadcasting for 39 years as an information and entertainment medium for 60,000 U.S. military personnel, civilian employees, and dependents. AFKN-TV also plays a significant role for many young Koreans. No one is quite sure of the size of the Korean "shadow audience" for AFKN-TV. However, it is watched by so many ordinary people that all Korean newspapers and most television guides carry AFKN-TV along with Korean program schedules.

Research by Drs. Won-Yong Kim and Jong-keun Kang has mapped the "cultural outlook" of Korean television. Their sample includes all prime-time dramatic programming on three Korean television networks aired during 1990. It demonstrates that the world of Korean prime-time television significantly underrepresents children and adolescents. It grossly overrepresents adult groups, however—those who are between the ages of 20 and 39, who constitute one-third of the Korean population, make up 56.7 percent of the fictional population. In sum, age distribution in the world of Korean television is bell shaped as compared to the diagonal line of the Korean population.

Another significant difference between Korean prime-time drama and reality is that farmers and fishermen, who constitute 25 percent of the population, make up only 7.4 percent of television characters. Social class distribution among characters reveals that nearly half of all television characters appear in the "lower" part of a three-way classification.

With regard to violence, among 49 characters who are involved in violence, 44.9 percent commit violence, and 55.1 percent suffer it. Among them, mostly adult groups of both sexes are involved with violence. Children and adolescents of both sexes are never involved in violence, and young female adults are the most frequent victims in all age-groups.

Although these findings show somewhat different patterns between Korea and other countries, they are not strictly comparable with each other because of the differences among their media systems.

### The Korean Television Audience

According to Media Service Korea, each household in Seoul has an average of 1.6 television sets. A poll conducted by KBS shows that Korean television viewers watch an average of a little over three hours on weekdays, 4.5 hours on Saturday, and about 5.5 hours on Sunday. When broken down by demographic information, men watch more television than women. On weekends, there were no differences in television viewing among age-groups.

In terms of ratings, the most popular time slot is between the hours of 9:00 P.M. and 10:00 P.M., and the highest-rated program is the 9:00 P.M. evening news. Approximately 70 percent of the adult audience watches the news program every night. The second-highest-rated time slot is between the hours of 7:00 A.M. and 8:00 A.M. The average ratings are 31 points on weekdays and 20 points on weekends.

Korean adults frequently watch news and comedy programs, while teenagers watch comedy programs more frequently, and people in the 30-to-50 age-

group watch the news more. Men tend to watch more sports, but women tend to watch soap operas and movies.

In terms of information provided by audiences with reference to their stated uses and gratifications, the motive for watching television is most often described as intentions: "to get information" and "to understand other opinions and ways of life," "to get education and knowledge," and "to relax." Another study done by the KBS Broadcasting Culture Center indicates that many viewers considered watching television as a news-providing function. Others thought of it as a "craving for refreshment," a "social relation function," or "identification." The motives for watching television news are cited variously as a way to "get information from around the world," a practice done "out of habit" or with the intent "to listen to expert opinions and commentary." For soap operas, the stated reasons for viewing include "because they are interesting," "to kill time," and for some "they seem useful." People watch comedy "to alleviate stress" and "to have fun."

Television ratings and audience viewing information is studied by most broadcasting companies as well as research firms, and in Korea ratings have been measured by diary and people meter. Currently, a people meter is generally used for gathering ratings, and Media Service Korea is engaged in the business of providing the people meter ratings.

WON-YONG KIM

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## South Park

### U.S. Animated Program

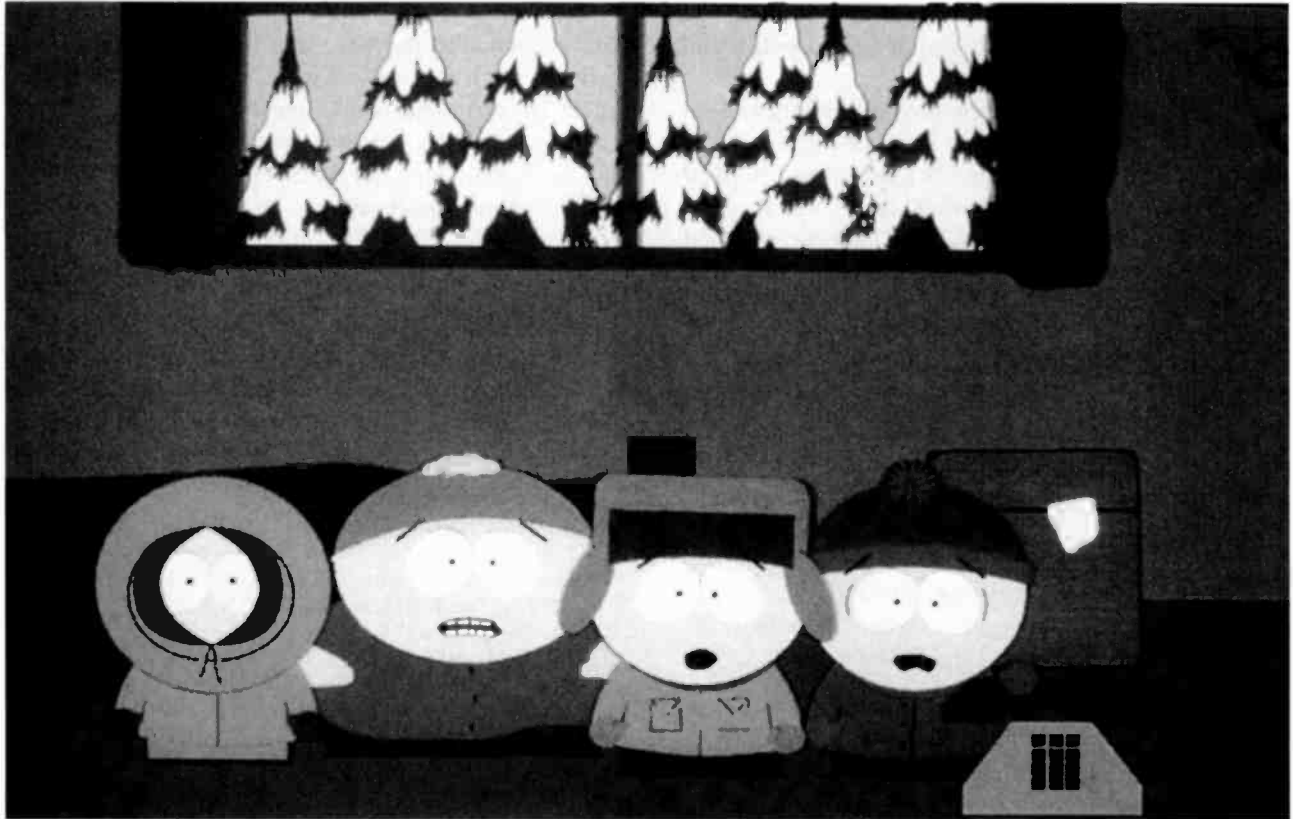
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Few television programs emerged from the margins of the television industry to mainstream impact as quickly and forcefully as *South Park*. From an animated college short film to cable's top-rated program and an award-winning feature film, Trey Parker and Matt Stone's aggressively vulgar and satirical cartoon helped establish Comedy Central's credibility and push the adult animation cycle of the 1990s forward. *South Park* took the critical tone of *The Simpsons* and *Beavis and Butt-Head* and made the satire more extreme, tackling issues from hate speech to euthanasia, as well as plumbing the depths of bad taste from anal probes to pornography, all in a cartoon about eight-year-olds in a "quiet little" Colorado town.

Parker and Stone met as film majors at the University of Colorado at Boulder, creating short films with a crude comedic sensibility. One of their shorts, "Jesus vs. Frosty," used rudimentary construction paper cutout animation techniques to introduce a quartet of eight-year-olds who profanely narrated a battle between holiday icons. Their films caught the eye of a FOX executive, Brian Graden, who paid the pair

\$2,000 to create a video Christmas card with a similar sensibility. "The Spirit of Xmas," which featured a boorish battle for holiday supremacy between Jesus and Santa, eventually arbitrated by skater Brian Boitano, became a Hollywood sensation in 1995, circulating widely among producers and stars and eventually becoming one of the first videos to gain wide distribution on the Internet. Comedy Central capitalized on the underground popularity, contracting Stone and Parker to create an animated series based on the kids featured in both short films.

*South Park* debuted on Comedy Central in the summer of 1997 to much notoriety, cultural disdain, and instant popularity among the channel's young male audience. The series focused on the lives of nervous everyboy Stan, skeptical Jew Kyle, episodically killed Kenny, and the overweight, rude comedic centerpiece Cartman, with an ever-expanding host of supporting characters constituting the community of South Park, Colorado. While following the basic structure of a family sitcom, complete with episode-ending moral messages about what was learned each week, the show



*South Park*. Kenny, Cartman, Kyle, and Stan.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

offered topical explorations into current events and social issues. Parker and Stone used computer techniques to imitate their construction paper aesthetic, embracing the flexibility of the technology to alter their animated sequences hours before airing programs, referring to their process as “virtually live animation.” Viewers quickly made *South Park* Comedy Central’s flagship program and the top-rated cable program of the late 1990s, recognizing that between the lowbrow references to “talking poo” and Chef’s “salty chocolate balls” resided some of the most clever and sophisticated satire of its era.

Certainly *South Park* could have never come to air without the dual predecessors of *The Simpsons* and *Beavis and Butt-Head*. Like these two forebearers, *South Park*’s arrival provoked fears concerning its potential influences on children. Even though Comedy Central scheduled the show after 10:00 P.M. and prefaced every episode with a disclaimer stating, “The Following Program Contains Coarse Language and Due to Its Content It Should Not Be Viewed by Anyone,” the assumption that all animation must be for kids led to condemnation from a host of critics. Additionally, the profane dialogue and cynicism coming out

of the mouths of elementary schoolers struck many as the nadir of televisual bad taste. This critique was intensified by the successful merchandizing of the characters, with T-shirts and toys that many felt were catering to children. Comedy Central realized that the negative publicity was drawing audiences to its taboo-busting program, especially among its core niche of young men, and thus supported and even highlighted the profane content and satire to maintain viewership.

Parker and Stone responded to anti-*South Park* critiques within the program itself, creating their own taboo media sensation, *The Terrance and Phillip Show*. The boys’ favorite television program is a never-ending succession of poorly animated fart jokes, paralleling some critics’ perspective on *South Park* itself. Adults within *South Park* condemn *Terrance and Phillip*, protesting the show’s negative effects and profane sensibility to the fictitious Cartoon Channel. They extended this reflexivity to the feature film hit *South Park: Bigger, Longer and Uncut* in 1999; the highly profane film focused on the corrupting influence of *Terrance and Phillip*’s feature film, inspiring extreme vulgarity in the impressionable minds of *South Park*’s youth, and resulting in a backlash that leads to U.S.

war with Canada and an attempted Armageddon led by Satan and his gay lover, Saddam Hussein. While certainly outrageous in every taboo-busting possibility, the film was hailed by many as one of the finest musicals and social satires in years.

*South Park* has declined in notoriety and ratings but remains a consistent presence, having reached 100 episodes in 2003 and rolled out deluxe DVD editions of early seasons. The show has cemented Comedy Central's brand identity as the destination spot for a mixture of crude and sophisticated humor aimed at young men, carried forward in varying degrees of success by programs such as *The Man Show*, *Crank Yankers*, *Insomniac with Dave Attell*, and *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. *South Park's* role as the contemporary standard bearer for over-the-top social

satire on television was reinforced in 2003, when television pioneer Norman Lear joined the program as a creative consultant, endorsing Parker and Stone's brand of humor as the direct descendant of Lear's groundbreaking 1970s comedy.

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*See also Comedy Central*

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## Southeast Asia

The precise geocultural borders of "Southeast" Asia may well be contestable. But in most accounts it includes the island-state of Singapore; the archipelagic nations of the Philippines and Indonesia; Brunei, which occupies a tiny corner of the island of Borneo (most of this island is part of Indonesia or Malaysia); and the mainland Asian countries of Burma (officially renamed Myanmar by its military rulers in 1989), Thailand, Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Bordered by the India in the west and China in the northeast, this region was often portrayed by historians as a melting pot of Chinese and Indian cultural influences. Colonized by the British, the French, and the Spanish and later by Americans, the independent nations of Southeast Asia came into being through the middle of the 20th century.

In recent years, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (which consists now of all the previously mentioned countries) has given a certain political currency to the idea of Southeast Asia. As with religion, and so with political and economic systems, Southeast Asia contains a great variety. Broadly speaking, the Philippines and Thailand could be described as unstable capitalist democracies, Singapore and Malaysia as authoritarian governments with open markets, Burma as a military dictatorship, Indonesia as beginning a transition to democracy after a long period of military rule, Laos and Vietnam as socialist states, and Cambodia as "democratizing" and Brunei,

the smallest state in Southeast Asia, as a constitutional monarchy.

Television was established in the region with technology and, often, funding from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan but has been implicated in the discourse of national identity of most of these nations. Beyond that, like their political histories, there is a great deal of diversity in the television industries of these nation-states.

### History

Thailand and the Philippines were the first nations in Southeast Asia to introduce television in the early 1950s. In Thailand, as in the rest of Southeast Asia, television was initially state owned and closely connected with the older state-owned public broadcast radio. Modeled on U.S. television and like the privately owned radio stations, television in the Philippines was established with private capital. Burma was the last of the Southeast Asian nations to get television. Its first station, government owned and Japanese funded, opened in 1980.

In the Philippines, Santo Tomas University started experimental television broadcasts in 1950. In 1953, DZAQ-TV, established by the brother of then President Elpidio Quirino, started daily four-hour broadcasts. By the early 1960s (when Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia were just beginning television broad-

cast), there were six television stations in Manila, five of them owned by powerful political families that also had substantial interests in radio and print media. By the mid-1960s, there were 16 television stations and an estimated peak audience of over 1 million in and around Manila. The first regional stations started in 1968, in Cebu, Bacalod, and Dagupan, owned by the Chronicle Broadcasting Network (CBN), which already owned a television station in Manila and several major radio stations and newspapers.

No other Southeast Asian nation had privately owned television stations at this stage. In contrast to this flourishing industry, public broadcasting in the Philippines has a sad history. The Department of Public Information established the Public Broadcasting Service in 1962, but it lasted for only about a year before its facilities were handed over to a private operator.

In 1972, President Marcos declared martial law, and all media, including television, came under strict control of the government—thus, for the first time, bringing Philippines television in line with state-controlled television in the rest of the region. Marcos's rivals, such as the Lopez family, which through CBN has huge interests in the broadcast media, were forced to divest their interests in the industry. Five television stations operated during the Marcos era (1972–86) and were owned by Marcos cronies—a pattern not dissimilar to privatized television in Suharto's "New Order" regime in Indonesia in the late 1980s.

In Thailand, the establishment of television is even more directly caught up in the political conflict. Marshal Phibul Songkram became prime minister in 1948 after a military coup against the elected government. Both during his first period of rule (1938–44) and again in 1948–57, Phibul severely restricted the freedom of the press and used the radio quite deliberately to bolster his personal image. In the midst of political turbulence, the state-owned television was established in 1955 with the help of the United States. The Broadcast Law of 1955 authorized the state as the only lawful owner of radio and television broadcast facilities. The military started its own channel soon after and used it in part to destabilize the Phibul government. Both of these stations, though owned by sections of the government and deeply politicized in their content, were funded through advertising revenue.

By the end of the 1980s, there were five commercial channels whose ownership varied according to the role that the military was playing in politics at any particular time. After the military coup of 1991, all five were taken over by the military.

Television broadcast started in Indonesia in 1962 and in the following year in neighboring Malaysia and Singapore. In all three, television was fully govern-

ment owned and controlled and remained so until the 1980s. Through most of that period, state television's agenda was overtly that of nation building and supporting the authoritarian governments of these countries.

In Indonesia, Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) started broadcasting somewhat hastily in August 1962 in order to coincide with the start of the Asian Games in the capital, Jakarta. In 1965, the "Guided Democracy" of President Sukarno was overthrown by General Suharto, whose "New Order" remained in government until 1997.

It was not until the 1970s that television started to grow rapidly in terms of quantity of programming and audience reach. TVRI began to establish regional stations around the country whose main function was relaying programs from the organization's headquarters in Jakarta. In 1976, Indonesia became the first nation in Southeast Asia (and the fourth in the world) to launch its own satellite, *Palapa*, followed in 1983 by the much more powerful *Palapa Generation B*.

The television system that emerged in the shadow of the satellite was highly centralized, with very small amounts of regional programming in most areas. Even with the powerful satellite and with dozens of stations (some of these relay stations only), TVRI by its own estimates reached only about 35 percent of the far-flung archipelago and about 65 percent of the population. In 1986, in the hope of improving this reach, the government legalized the use of parabola antennae (whose spread it had in any case been unable to control). By the end of the 1980s, several foreign public and commercial broadcasters (including major global operators National Broadcasting Company [NBC], Star, and Cable News Network [CNN]) were also broadcasting via *Palapa* and therefore available through much of Indonesia via small and affordable parabola antennae. By some accounts, Indonesia had the fastest take-up of these antennae in Asia. By the mid-1980s, in Java and Sumatra, where the majority of the Indonesian population live, households connected to these (sometime several hundred households sharing one antennae) could pick up between 6 and 20 foreign broadcasts.

In 1963, while Malaysia and Singapore were still part of the Malaysian Federation, state-owned television was established, modeled in part on the British public service broadcaster. In neither case, however, would the national broadcaster gain the kind of autonomy from the government that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has had. In Indonesia, as in Malaysia and Singapore, television developed in the shadow of political turmoil (in Indonesia's case, a military coup and the massacre of hundreds of thousands



of suspected Communists) and the anxiety of governments to protect themselves against opposition on the one hand and to protect the relatively new nation-states from fracturing along ethnic lines on the other.

In Malaysia, a second national network was started in 1969. In 1970, a satellite communication Earth Station was built, giving Malaysia vastly expanded capacity for live telecasts of international events. In Singapore, two channels were introduced at the same time, Channel 5 with Malay- and English-language programming and Channel 8 with Mandarin and Tamil programming.

While the Malaysian and Singapore broadcasts started about a year after the Indonesian one, television clearly grew much faster in these two countries than it did in Indonesia. However, through much of the 1970s, Indonesia was much less dependent on imported television programming than Malaysia or Singapore or indeed the much older television industries of the Philippines and Thailand. From around 1980, Singapore started producing more local programming, a trend that continued strongly into the 1990s.

While television in the countries discussed so far had varied degrees of state involvement, even state-owned television was from the very beginning dependent on advertising for its revenue, although Indonesia experimented briefly and unsuccessfully with fully state-funded television in the 1980s. Advertising revenue made state-monopoly television reasonably profitable in Indonesia, Malaysia, and especially Singapore, where television density quickly reached 100 percent of households. The economy grew rapidly, and every resident in the small island could be reached from a single station in the city-state.

The tiny nation-state of Brunei, between Malaysia and Indonesia, was the only nation in Southeast Asia that had television (1975) before it got independence from its colonial ruler, Great Britain, in 1984. The princely protectorate of Brunei started television with massive state funding in 1975. While one of the last nations in this part of Southeast Asia to have its own television, it used state-of-the-art color technology from the start, making it the first Southeast Asian national broadcaster to use full color. Set up with large-scale input from the BBC and generously funded by an oil-rich government, Brunei television has maintained its technological edge.

Citizens of Brunei had been tuning into Malaysian television since the late 1960s, and by 1973 there were already 3,000 television sets, a substantial number in a population of under half a million. It has been suggested that the reason for setting up national television was in part to counter what the government saw as the increasing influence of Malaysian television, particu-

larly significant in a nation that had no daily newspaper and that depended on broadcast for its political communication. While Malaysian television continues to saturate Brunei and while Brunei television content has been and remains dominated by imports, it also plays a highly significant role in government campaigns of various kinds and in the national political life of the country more generally.

Of the formerly British colonized countries of Southeast Asia, Burma was the last to get television. Controlled by a military regime since 1962, the nation became increasingly isolationist through the following decades. In 1980, the Burmese government, with Japanese aid, started television broadcasting in the capital, Rangoon, and surrounding areas. The reach of the broadcaster was expanded rapidly through a network of relay stations. Unlike other latecomers to television in the region, Brunei some years earlier, and Laos in 1983, Burma did not opt for color transmission and continues to broadcast in black and white. A second station, controlled by the Ministry of Defense, started in the 1990s. Both stations are dedicated to promoting government policy, though both carry popular music and traditional Burmese drama.

In the much more politically volatile parts of Southeast Asia, what in the colonial period was called French Indochina, Cambodia was the first to have television, which was established in 1966. There are similarities in the coming of television to Cambodia and Indonesia in that in both countries its establishment had much to do with the egos of authoritarian rulers: President Sukarno, the first president of independent Indonesia, and Norodom Sihanouk, the first king of independent Cambodia, who refused allow free elections or be bound by restrictions of a constitutional monarchy. Sihanouk was overthrown by Marshall Lon Nol in 1970 and was then replaced in 1975 by the mass-murdering Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot.

Cambodian state television broadcast for about four hours a day in its early years, and during the Lon Nol years this was made up largely of newsreels and documentaries donated by foreign missions. Pol Pot used radio for propaganda purposes, but infrastructure and human resources related to television were completely destroyed along with the educational, technological, and cultural infrastructure more generally.

In 1979, a Vietnamese-backed regime replaced the Khmer Rouge. While the new Cambodian government was in control of capital Phnom Penh, a civil war continued that formally ended only in 1991. Radio-Television Cambodia (RTC) was reestablished in 1983 and revived television broadcasts of a few hours a day three days a week. The broadcast hours were increased over the next few years, and by 1986 Cambodians in

and around the capital could watch their national television every day, for about four to five hours. A few years later, Cambodia's first provincial station was opened. Both stations operated with minimal funding and old, low-quality production and broadcast technology.

In Vietnam, the establishment of television was part of the war effort for both the Americans and the North Vietnamese. The U.S. government committed itself to expanding radio and television into every remote corner of Vietnam in the conviction that this would be a decisive factor in nation building in South Vietnam. In February 1966, two channels were created, broadcasting from Saigon, one assigned to the government of South Vietnam (referred to in some documents as THVN) and the other to the American armed forces (AFVN). Like the radio stations, the television facilities became targets of repeated attack by the North Vietnamese forces.

In contemporary Vietnamese official history, the birth of television in Vietnam is associated with an experimental black-and-white television program on September 7, 1970, in Hanoi. A decision to establish a Television Film Studio under the General Information Department had been taken in 1968. In 1971, the studio was annexed to the Television Department as the backbone and a nucleus for the eventual development of national television. On both sides of divided Vietnam, television was established for political purposes by governments and in unified Vietnam remained under strict state control.

Laos, with a modern history almost as traumatic as Cambodia's, began its national television about the same time as RTC was being revived in the early 1980s. After decades of civil war, the U.S.-backed regime collapsed in 1975, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic was established under the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, committed to Socialism. In 1982, an earth satellite station was set up with Soviet aid for the purpose of receiving broadcasts from Moscow. The following year, again with the help of the Soviet bloc, Lao National Television started broadcasting from the capital, Vientiane. Like Brunei, Laos bypassed black-and-white television and went straight to color broadcasting. Unlike Brunei, however, Lao television was poorly resourced, and in a nation with mountainous terrain, high levels of poverty, and an undependable supply of electricity, it reached only a small section of the population in its early years and broadcast for only two or three hours a day.

### **Satellites, Global Television, and Privatization**

As indicated previously, with the exception of the Philippines, television developed in much of Southeast

Asia not only under the aegis of governments but also with a clear focus on nation building. By the mid-1980s, increasingly accessible new media technologies, particularly digitization and satellite broadcast, began to challenge the capacity of governments to police both the televisual national borders and individual citizens' consumption of audiovisual material. Videocassettes since the early 1980s and, later, VC-Ds and DVDs, easily smuggled in, broke the monopoly of governments over audiovisual entertainment. By the mid-1980s, communication satellites were broadcasting Western television programs across the world. In Southeast Asian cities and towns, increasingly cheaply available parabola antennae began to change the television landscape of most nations. The 1980s to mid-1990s was also a period of rapid economic growth, with the consequent rise in the number of television households throughout the region. Most of these nations have a variety of legal and illegal pay television, mostly under private ownership. However, viewers of pay television still constitute a very small part of the total audience in the region.

While the majority of governments in the region still ban the use of parabola antennae for private households to get global broadcasts, these are legal in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. However, the job of policing these bans is very difficult, and most of the governments, apart from Burma, have sought other ways of simultaneously accommodating and competing with overseas programming by diversifying their own program offerings and in some cases increasing the amount of imported material in their own broadcasts.

A new move toward privatization of television in the region started with the establishment of TV3 in Malaysia in 1983. However, TV3, as well as two newer private channels that started in 1995 and 1997, respectively, are all owned by companies with close links to senior members of the government. Singapore has also made some gestures toward loosening the grip of the state on television. But by most accounts, the corporatization of the state broadcaster has not made the system any more democratic or open. More than in any other part of Southeast Asia, the audience in Malaysia and Singapore appears to be segmented along ethnic lines, with particular stations concentrating on broadcasts in particular languages.

The most dramatic transformation to occur in the national television scene has been in Indonesia since the late 1980s. The first Indonesian private channel started in 1987. Four more started in the next five years, all with the capacity to broadcast nationally via the *Palapa* satellite. Four of the five private stations were owned by relatives and cronies of President

Suharto. Since the fall of the Suharto government, five more stations have started broadcasting. The private stations have decimated the audience of TVRI in the cities. At the turn of the century, political transformation generally and shifts in ownership of private stations in part as a consequence of the political change have made Indonesia, along with the Philippines, the most diverse and free television system in Southeast Asia.

In Thailand, all six of the terrestrial free-to-air networks remain state owned, though five are funded on a commercial basis, and the two most popular stations have been run by private companies since the early 1990s.

In the rest of Southeast Asia, television remains under government control, though all nations now have additional services for capital cities, and most have some regional stations capable of production and broadcasting. Burma is the only nation that has persisted with black-and-white television. It also broadcasts fewer imported programs than any of the other broadcasters and appears to be the most successful in limiting illegal parabolic antennae.

Vietnam had the most dramatic growth in television in the region in the last decade of the 20th century. It has three national networks, five regional networks, and one local station, which broadcasts in the Khmer language. All are state owned. According to VTV's own figures, television ownership is at 1 set per 11 persons. However, some 20 percent of the population lives in areas not reached by any television signal. The government is therefore planning to move toward digital television and satellite and cable delivery in a bid to further expand coverage.

## Conclusion

Brunei (with 575 sets per 1,000) has the highest per capita television ownership in Southeast Asia and indeed one of the highest in the world; Burma (with 7.5 per 1,000) has the lowest in the region. In the region as a whole, however, television is the most significant medium of entertainment. While print and, more recently, the Internet are more important as news media in a region where illiteracy is a problem in a number of countries, television is likely to remain politically significant for some time to come.

While many of the nations in the region are persisting with some form of government control (however modified), states have effectively lost the monopoly they had up until the 1980s over the audiovisual consumption of their citizens. On the other hand, the nationalist panic over global television's colonization of Asia (exemplified by Star TV's aggressive move into China and India) has not come to fruition. Given the simultaneously globalizing and localizing capacity of television and digital technologies coming into the market, it is difficult to predict the direction of television in the region. As with the history of television in the region, its future, despite globalization of the media, is likely to be nationally specific.

KRISHNA SEN

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## Space Program and Television

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While the space program and the television industry contributed mightily to each other's growth, by the year 2000 their love affair had drawn to a close. In the 1960s, the first decade of space missions matched Hollywood productions for drama and suspense and pulled in some of the medium's largest audiences. America's first astronauts were among television's first celebrity heroes. Some television journalists, such as Walter Cronkite and the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC's) Jules Bergman (1930–87), became famous for chronicling the space program.

The Soviet Union's *Sputnik* satellite launch in 1957 was one of the earliest big stories for television news, then growing rapidly in popularity and influence. With the framing of the *Sputnik* story as an affront to American superiority and a military threat, the U.S. government justified a strong response: a program to beat the Soviets to space. Unfortunately, several of the earliest uncrewed U.S. test rockets crashed, further heightening the crisis atmosphere as each major attempt was anxiously reported on the 15-minute national evening newscasts.

Eventually, American satellites were launched successfully, and in 1959 seven military pilots were chosen for the astronaut corps. Television, egged on by the print press, elevated the astronauts to hero status, as celebrated as Hollywood's leading stars. Publicists from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the new civilian space agency, worked to fuel that perception. They schooled the seven in on-camera behavior and prohibited military uniforms, to the astronaut's discomfort but to the benefit of the program's all-civilian image.

Immediately after the flight of Alan Shepard in May 1961 (following the flight of Soviet cosmonaut Gagarin), Vice President Lyndon Johnson, with the heads of the NASA and the Defense Department, sent a report to President John F. Kennedy justifying the eventual \$40 billion investment in a moon-landing program. From its inception, the crewed space program had at its core a propaganda objective: an American capture of the world's imagination. With Johnson's report as ammunition and the political goal of justifying massive government projects and fulfilling his vision of a "New Frontier," Kennedy went before Congress to challenge the nation to land a man on the moon before 1970.

The remaining five Mercury space flights (1961–63) and ten Gemini flights (1965–66) were covered virtu-

ally from launch to splashdown by adoring TV networks. Each mission promised new accomplishments, such as Ed White's first American spacewalk. For television news, it was a welcome reprieve from the 1960's morass of assassination, war, and inner-city unrest. However, by 1965 it was apparent to experts that the Soviets had no hope of putting someone on the moon, a fact that rarely entered the "space race" discourse, for this race was a boon to American industry.

The ideal marriage of space and television was not merely the result of political and ideological agendas or of technical and logistical circumstance but of more resonant connections between the program and American cultural mythology. The space program was a Puritan narrative, with its crew-cut NASA technocrats tirelessly striving toward the moon (ironically, many of these were recruits from defunct aerospace programs in Germany, Canada, and other nations), and a western narrative, with lone heroes conquering a formidable new frontier (from mostly western U.S. facilities). And as the parallel narrative to the Vietnam War, it offered an image of a reassuringly benign yet powerful government while simultaneously reinforcing Cold War fears in demonstrating the awesome power of rockets.

In 1967, three astronauts died in an early Apollo program test. The theme of astronaut as hero was tragically revived, and the public was reminded of the risks of conquering space. But the first of the Apollo flights (1968–72) were enormously successful, including the Christmas 1968 first lunar orbits by *Apollo 8*. The astronaut's reading from the Book of Genesis while in lunar orbit made for stirring television. In July 1969, the space-television narrative reached its climax, as the networks went on the air nearly full time to report the mission of *Apollo 11*, the first lunar landing; 528 million people around the world (but not in the Soviet Union) marveled at *Apollo 11* on television.

As with other Apollo missions providing TV coverage from the spacecraft, informal visits with the astronauts were highly scripted and made use of cue cards. Second moon walker Edwin Aldrin suggested that the United States Information Agency scripted *Apollo 8*'s Bible reading and Neil Armstrong's first words from the lunar surface. Whether Armstrong said "That's one small step for man" or whether he said "a man," as he intended (with the article "a" lost to static), has never been resolved. The blurry black-and-white images of

Armstrong jumping onto the lunar surface and the short surface explorations by Armstrong and Aldrin are widely regarded as television's first and perhaps greatest example of unifying a massive worldwide audience in common wonder and hope.

After the *Apollo 11* television spectacular, coverage of the following moon missions became increasingly brief and critical. Under considerable pressure to begin cutting back, NASA eliminated the last three planned Apollo missions, terminating the program with *Apollo 17* in 1972. NASA actually paid the networks to cover the last Apollo mission (NASA official Chris Kraft, Jr., quoted in Hurt, p. 282). Coverage was spectacular nonetheless, from the nail-biting return of the explosion-crippled *Apollo 13* spacecraft to the lengthy moonwalks and moon buggy rides of the last Apollos, covered live with color cameras. Such a part of American culture was NASA of the 1960s that it routinely provided technical assistance and advice to Hollywood, as with the many permutations of *Star Trek*, or provided entire series storylines, as with *I Dream of Jeanie*. Footage from NASA's massive film library appears in all manner of productions. British News company ITN (Independent Television News) operates the largest television news archive in the world and reports that *Apollo 11* moonwalk footage is the company's most-requested item.

Television coverage of the long-duration Skylab missions (1973–74) provided entertaining images of astronaut antics in weightlessness but was overshadowed by the Watergate hearings. Watergate signaled an end of the trust of government and hero worship characterizing the 1960s space program. NASA could no longer sell its heroes and expensive programs to the public. The heroism of ex-astronauts was often dismantled by the same media that had constructed it, as astronauts were exposed for shady business deals or personal dysfunction, criticized for making commercials, or doubted in new corporate and political roles.

Interest in space exploration was occasionally revived in the 1970s by spectacular accomplishments. In 1976, Americans watched live pictures of the Martian surface during the Viking landing, a visual thrill rivaling coverage of *Apollo 11*. In subsequent years, the Voyager and Pioneer spacecraft had close encounters with the outer planets of the solar system, sending back dazzling images, but at the time of this writing, *Voyager One* is leaving the solar system amid little fanfare. Television coverage of space outside of regular newscasts has become minimal.

Between the last Skylab mission and the first space shuttle orbital mission in 1981, the only crewed American space flight was Apollo-Soyuz in 1975, a public relations stunt intended as a tangible demonstration of

détente with the Soviet Union. The orbital linkup of three astronauts with two cosmonauts was entertaining if unimpressive by lunar mission. The mission was highly scripted and choreographed for a potential international television audience of a half billion. This was the first space mission broadcast live on television in the Soviet Union.

The first space shuttle test landings over California were covered live, with NASA providing remarkable pictures from chase planes as Enterprise (named after pressure from *Star Trek* fans) separated from its Boeing 747 mother plane and glided to Earth. Coverage of the long-delayed first shuttle space flight in 1981 was as abundant as in 1960s missions and occasionally reminiscent of 1960s coverage for its Cold War rhetoric—including the breathless reporting of a Soviet spy ship lurking off the coast as the shuttle Columbia returned from orbit.

Coverage of the space shuttle rapidly diminished, and live coverage of missions had ended long before the 25th shuttle mission on January 28, 1986. On that day, the shuttle *Challenger*, with a crew of seven including teacher and media darling Christine McAuliffe, exploded after liftoff. As President Ronald Reagan would speculate and the media would faithfully repeat, television became America's "electronic hearth," a common gathering place to seek understanding and solace. Television was unprepared for such a tragedy, with speechless anchors, an unfortunate tendency to repeat the videotape of the explosion constantly, and irresponsible speculation about the possibility of survivors. But as shared national tragedy, it was an event like none other.

Thanks in part to television, the history of the American space program and its role in American life has never been completely written. Television presented fleeting spectacles, devoid of analysis, perspective, and retrospective. Given that the United States has generally approached the space program as a television spectacle, there was initially little demand for a deeper analysis of space exploration. It has only been since the 1970s that writers and scholars have attempted to specify the place of the space program in American culture. While television may have obscured this issue, it presented such unforgettable images that few people who witnessed *Apollo 11*, *Viking*, or *Challenger* on television could forget it. In the new millennium, after over 100 shuttle mission and the full-time habitation of the International Space Station, the space program had become seemingly too ordinary for extensive television coverage.

In 2003, the second space shuttle tragedy proved as much. As the shuttle *Columbia* disintegrated over Texas, killing its crew of seven, initial television

news coverage was intense. It quickly dropped off, however, and coverage of the investigation and aftermath of the accident was slight, as a new generation of Americans expressed little shock or interest. NASA now finds itself the victim of its own early success. Ambitious plans developed in the 1970s at the height of NASA's popularity have trapped it in expensive programs that now have little support from the scientific community or the public. In 2001, under the Bush administration, NASA developed plans to take tourists to space and sell advertising space on the sides of its rockets and spacecraft, as space exploration and exploitation increasingly shifts from the once invincible and highly visible NASA to the mostly secret efforts of the military and private industry.

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## Spain

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Five national channels serve 80 percent of Spain's 12 million TV households. Two of these, TVE-1 and TVE-2, are state owned, financed by subsidy and advertising. Antena-3 and Telecinco are private channels financed by advertising. Canal+, a terrestrial analog service, is private and financed by subscription.

Two digital satellite services, Vía Digital and Canal Satélite Digital (CSD), both private and financed by subscription, serve 16 percent of Spanish viewers. Four percent subscribe to cable services, although nearly 25 percent of all homes are capable of receiving cable. All the main national channels were obliged by law to broadcast digital signals by April 2002 in preparation for the complete analog switch-off of Spanish TV in 2012. In 2001, only 10 percent of viewers owned digital receivers.

Eight regional channels also contribute to the Spanish television environment: TV-3 and Canal 33 (financed by advertising and subsidy of the Catalan government), Canal Sur (financed by advertising and subsidy of the Andalusian government), Telemadrid (property of the Madrid regional government, financed by advertising and bank loans), Canal 9 (financed by advertising and subsidy of the Valencian government), TVG (financed by advertising and subsidy of the Galician government), and ETB-1 and ETB-2 (financed by advertising and subsidy of the Basque government). Projects for cable television in 2000 speculated that 3

million TV households will be connected, with 1 million subscribers. Residents in all 50 provinces also have access to dozens of additional low-power, local TV channels (often joined to websites), many of which are owned by local governments and financed in part by advertising. In Barcelona, there are 53 local TV channels; in Madrid, 25; and in Valencia, 30.

In 1908, the Spanish government enacted a law that gave the central state the right to establish and exploit "all systems and apparatuses related to the so-called Hertzian telegraph, ethereal telegraph, radiotelegraph, and other similar procedures already invented or that will be invented in the future." Scattered experiments in radio-wave communication evolved into regular radio broadcasts by 1921, with such events as Radio Castilla's program of concerts from the Royal Theater of Madrid. In 1924, the first official license for radio was granted, and all experimental stations were ordered to cease broadcasting and request state authorization. The first "legal," radio broadcast began in Barcelona, and, like most radio programs that preceded the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), it was launched by private investors to make a profit. The broadcasting law of 1934 defined radio as "an essential and exclusive function of the state," and the statute was amended in 1935 to confirm that all "sounds and images already in use or to be invented in the future" would be established and exploited by the state.

The government of the Second Republic (1931–39) kept centralized control over spectrum allocation and the diffusion of costly high-power transmitters while it encouraged independent operators to install low-power transmitters for local radio. Radio spread with investments in urban zones, and only one significant private chain, the Union Radio, showed signs of economic concentration. The conditions of the Spanish Civil War halted the growth of independent radio when broadcasters were transformed into voices of military propaganda on both sides of the conflict. The leader of the fascist insurgents, Francisco Franco, ordered the nationalization of all radio stations under the direction of the new state, and the existing collection of transmitters merged into a state-controlled network called Radio Nacional de España. Use of the distinct idioms of Basque, Catalan, and Galician was outlawed, and new laws aimed at the press gave the Ministry of the Interior full power to suppress communication that “directly, or indirectly, may tend to reduce the prestige of the Nation or Regime, to obstruct the work of the government of the new State, or sow pernicious ideas among the intellectually weak.”

The first public demonstration of television took place in Barcelona in 1948 as part of a promotion by the multinational communications firm Philips. Experiments continued until October 1956, when the first official TV broadcast appeared on an estimated 600 television sets in Madrid. The initial program consisted of a Mass conducted by Franco’s chaplain, a speech by the minister of information and tourism commemorating the 20-year regime, and a French-language documentary. Much of the early programming came from the U.S. Embassy, but there were also live transmissions of variety and children’s shows, and a news program was started in 1957. By 1958, there were approximately 30,000 TV sets in Madrid. From the beginning, Television Española (TVE) was supported by advertising, although it also received subsidies derived from a luxury tax on television receivers. In 1959, TVE reached Barcelona via terrestrial lines, and a second studio was soon installed in that city. At the end of the decade, there were 50,000 sets in use. Through Eurovision, Spanish viewers joined European viewers in an audience of some 50 million, and one of the first images they shared was the historic meeting in Madrid between Franco and U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower. By 1962, TVE claimed that its sole VHF (very high frequency) channel covered 65 percent of the Spanish territory and was viewed regularly by 1 percent of the population.

Television was a strictly urban phenomenon at this time, and there were only two production centers, one in Madrid and one in Barcelona. Transmissions origi-

nated from Madrid and were relayed in one direction to the rest of the territory. In 1964, a modern studio and office building were erected in Madrid to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the regime, and a year later, a second channel (TVE-2, UHF [ultrahigh frequency]), with production studios located in Madrid and Barcelona, began testing. In 1965, the luxury tax on television sets was eliminated, making advertising the major resource for TVE-1 and TVE-2. Estimates put yearly advertising investment in Spanish television at \$1 million by the early 1960s, while airtime increased from 28 to 70 hours a week between 1958 and 1964, rising to 110 hours in 1972. Advertising income for TVE multiplied 100 times between 1961 and 1973, reaching estimated totals of over \$100 million.

In the early 1970s, new regional centers were constructed in Bilbao, Oviedo (Asturias), Santiago de Compostela (Galicia), Valencia, and Seville (Andalusia). The entire system was finally united with radio in 1973 and was placed under the management of one state-owned corporation, Radio Televisión Española (RTVE). The regional circuit was wired into a highly centralized network in which all regional broadcasts were obliged to pass through Madrid. The only centers with the capacity to produce programs of any length were those in Barcelona and the Canary Islands. Although the records of RTVE management during the Franco dictatorship are unreliable, one study for 1976 reported that the Barcelona center contributed 3 percent of the total broadcast hours, followed by the center at Las Palmas in the Canary Islands at 2.9 percent. The rest transmitted a negligible amount of 1.8 to 1.85 percent of the total. The one-way flow of broadcasting from the center to the regions was an effect of the Franco regime’s centralism, which kept the regional centers (other than Barcelona and Las Palmas) from connecting with Madrid.

Television in Spain changed radically in the years following the death of Franco in 1975. In 1980, the government enacted a reform statute that established norms to ensure that a plurality of political parties would control RTVE. The law also stipulated that broadcasting should be treated as an essential public service and that it should defend open and free expression. The statute called for the upgrading of the regional circuit, with a view to this becoming the basis for a network of television stations operated by regional governments, whose recognition in the constitution of 1978 was part of the reorganization of Spain as a “state of the autonomies.” The parliaments of the newly formed autonomous governments of the Basque country and Catalonia founded their own television systems: the Basques in May 1982, the Catalans a year later. These actions resulted in the most decisive



change in the broadcast structure since radio was nationalized during the Spanish Civil War, as they contravened existing laws that gave the central state the right to control all technology using the electromagnetic spectrum. In response, the central government enacted the Third Channel Law in 1984 in order to regulate the establishment of any additional networks in the regions.

The Third Channel Law was designed to stabilize the process of decentralization of the television industry, and it was based in the principle of recognition for the cultures, languages, and communities within the Spanish territory, entities that had been suppressed during the 40-year Franco dictatorship. The law stipulated that regional networks remain under the state's control and within the RTVE infrastructure. Parliaments in Catalonia, the Basque country, and Galicia resisted control by the central state and set up technical structures that ran parallel to but separate from the national network. Despite ongoing legal battles between the central state and the regions over rights of access to regional airwaves and rights of ownership of the infrastructure, 11 autonomous broadcast companies have been founded, six of which were broadcasting regularly by 1995. In 1989, the directors of these systems agreed to merge into a national federation of autonomous broadcasters, known as the Federación de Organismos de Radio y Televisión Autonómicos (Federation of Autonomous Radio and Television Organizations [FORTA]).

Between 1975 and 1990, Spanish television emerged from a system of absolute state control to become a regulated system in which both privately and publicly owned channels compete for advertising sales within national and regional markets. This structure was completed with the development of the 1988 law and technical plan for private television. The law furnished three licenses for the bidding of private corporations, a three-phase framework for the extension of universal territorial coverage, and restrictions on legal ownership to promote multiple partnerships (rather than monopoly control) and to limit foreign ownership. The technical plan created an independent public company, Retevisión, to manage the network infrastructure, abolishing RTVE's economic and political control over the airwaves. As of 2002, all broadcasters must pay an access fee to use the public infrastructure. Regular transmissions from the private companies began in 1990.

A 1995 Cable Telecommunications Law limited licensed operators in each market to two, expanded the minimum market size to exclude small operators, and gave licensing power to a central authority. This law was modified in 1996 to return licensing power to local

and regional authorities and make it easier for smaller towns to get cable. This legislation forced many of the smaller *videos comunitarios* to close, although at the turn of the 21st century nearly 500 remained in operation illegally throughout southern and southeastern Spain. Eventually, several large cable companies emerged, with one being operated by the national telephone monopoly, Telefónica, and another run by the national electric utility monopoly, Endesa.

Despite opportunities for growth in cable, the largest corporations put greater effort in launching new digital satellite services. Sogecable already ran Canal+ and had numerous channels of pay TV in the analog format ready to broadcast over France's *Astra* satellite. Telefónica's controlling interest in the Spanish *Hispasat* satellite gave them low-cost access to the DTH satellite market. Telefónica's satellite-TV service, *Vía Digital*, and Sogecable's *Canal Satélite Digital* (CSD) both began service in 1997. Since 1998, the two have discussed merging, but European Union (EU) regulators had blocked the deal through at least 2001. However, the merger was conditionally cleared by the Spanish government in November 2002. The clearance depends on conditions relating primarily to the merged company's acquisition and broadcasting rights to films and soccer matches. A third digital satellite system, *Quiero*, began operation in 2000. By 2002, CSD had 1.2 million subscribers, *Vía Digital* had 750,000, and a struggling *Quiero* had 220,000. Basic subscription packages include 35 to 42 channels, although more than 91 separate cable and satellite program channels are available.

On the regional scale, TV-3 and Canal 33 cover Catalonia with Catalan-language programs and have significant spillover into contiguous regions and parts of France, thereby reaching beyond their official audience of 5.8 million. Canal Sur covers the Andalusian audience of 6.7 million. Telemadrid, owned by the regional government of Madrid, reaches an official audience of 4.8 million. Valencia's Canal 9's 3.7 million viewers can watch programs in *Valenciano*, a language similar to Catalan. Signals of TVG in Galicia spill over into northern Portugal and parts of Asturias in Spain, bringing Galician-language programming to more than the region's 2.6 million viewers. ETB-1 and ETB-2 cover the Basque country and parts of surrounding provinces to reach beyond the official audience of 2 million; notably, ETB-1 broadcasts in the Basque language (*Euskera*), while ETB-2 does so in Spanish.

As of 2002, Telefónica Media owns around 47 percent of Antena 3; other companies that own part of Antena 3 are the banking group Banco Santander Central Hispano (BSCH), which owns over 10 percent directly as well as another 13 percent through its subsidiary,



Mecame; Bank of New York (12 percent); and Recoletos Cartera de Inversiones (10 percent). Other shareholders control less than 8 percent. Telecinco is owned by the Kirch Group of Munich (25 percent), Silvio Berlusconi's Mediaset of Italy (40 percent), and two Spanish firms, Grupo Planeta (10 percent) and the Grupo Correo de Comunicación (25 percent).

Vía Digital is owned by Telefónica Media (approximately 49 percent); Strategic Management Company (19 percent); DTH Europa (10 percent); Galaxy Entertainment Latinamerica, a DirecTV subsidiary (7 percent); the Madrid-based publisher Grupo Recoletos, a subsidiary of the Pearson group, a British media conglomerate and publisher of *The Financial Times* (5 percent); Media Park (5 percent); and others (less than 6 percent). CSD is owned by Sogecable (approximately 83 percent), Warner Brothers (10 percent), Proarsa (4.5 percent), and the Telefónica subsidiary Antena 3 (2.5 percent). Sogecable's business of program production and packaging is vertically integrated with a film production company (Sogecine, also known as Sogetel), a film buyer (StudioCanal Spain), TV and film distribution outfits (Sogepac and Warner Sogefilms), and venues for both theatrical film exhibition (Warner Lusomundo Cines de España) and pay TV (Canal+). Major owners of Sogecable are Canal Plus France, a Vivendi-Universal property (21 percent); PRISA (21 percent); and major Spanish banks (30 percent). PRISA owns the largest-circulation newspaper in Spain, *El País*, and the top commercial radio station, Ser. The Quiero satellite company is owned by Auna (49 percent), Media Park (15 percent), Sofisclave (15 percent), Carlton Communications (7.5 percent), and smaller investors (13.5 percent).

Telefónica is the largest company in Spain, Europe's second-largest publicly listed multimedia company behind Vivendi-Universal and the largest single foreign investor in Latin America. It controls the third-largest Internet service in the world (Terra Lycos) and is the third-largest entertainment company in the Spanish-speaking world (after Argentina's Clarín and Mexico's Televisa). Between 1996 and 2000, Telefónica's market value grew fivefold to \$135 billion, making it one of *Fortune's* top-five global telecom firms. It operates the most extensive telephony network in Spain, with control over about 98 percent of the market. In 1997, while launching Vía Digital, Telefónica purchased Antena 3, one of Spain's commercial broadcasters; this acquisition, along with other acquisitions of Spanish film- and video-production companies, initiated a course of convergence to match those of AOL Time Warner and Vivendi-Universal. Telefónica also owns a leading European production house, Endemol, maker of such international hits as *Big Brother*. Telefónica's

Latin American media holdings include ATCO, a holding company that controls Televisión Federal, S.A. (Telefé), the leading commercial TV network in Argentina, which sells programming throughout Latin America, the United States, Europe, and Asia. ATCO also controls the AM and FM channels of Radio Continental, the third-largest radio system in Argentina. In addition, Telefónica Media owns Telearte, S.A. (the third-ranked commercial TV channel, known as Canal Azul), as well as a radio network of 300 stations run by Telefónica's Uniprex S.A. (Onda Cero) and Cadena Voz de Radiodifusión S.A.

TVE-1, Telecinco, and Antena-3 attract over 75 percent of the Spanish television audience. Both channels of TVE typically share a third of the viewers, while the private broadcasters draw 40 to 45 percent of the viewers on average. The regional broadcasters together might bring in 15 to 18 percent of all viewers. Domestically produced programs, especially sports, usually top the ratings, with *telenovelas*, imported from or co-produced with Latin American suppliers, remaining very popular. Recently, domestic remakes of popular Latin American *telenovelas* have earned as high as a 31 percent share of the viewers. Additional improvements in domestic production have resulted from the EU policy obligating private TV firms to invest 5 percent of their revenues in European TV and film production. The bulk of imported programs, on average 20 to 30 percent of all programming on the national channels, comes from the United States. This is a change from 1990 figures, when imports took up 40 percent of the program schedule on TVE-1, 33 percent on Andalusia's Canal Sur, 34 percent on Catalonia's TV-3, 35 percent on Galicia's TVG, and 39 percent on the Basque ETB-1. In 1990, Telemadrid showed twice as many U.S. programs as it did Spanish ones, while a ratio of one to one could be seen on Valencia's Canal 9, the Basque ETB-2, and the two private channels.

Newer services such as Vía Digital and CSD initially depended on U.S. programs; together, Vía Digital and CSD spent more than \$3 billion on imports in their first year of operation. Since then, Sogecable has enjoyed exclusive deals with all the major Hollywood studios except MGM, including multiyear deals with Paramount, Disney Channels, Universal, and AOL Time Warner; with the latter company, Sogecable has an exclusive contract to develop a Spanish version of the Cable News Network (CNN). Sogecable also acquired rights to televise 20th Century-Fox's recently released films in Spain, including exclusive pay-TV rights to the blockbuster *Titanic*. The company also benefited when Canal+'s parent firm, Vivendi, bought Universal. Vía Digital has held exclusive rights to MGM films and its libraries as well as Playboy TV,

BBC World, BBC Prime, and Eurosport. The service also works with national distributor Media Park and draws on its 33 percent stake in Spain's biggest film-production house, Lolafilms, for additional programming. Apart from movies, satellite TV programming consists mostly of sports and documentaries, staples of domestic production. Soccer dominates, but the celebrity-classic bullfight has also become an important new format, especially during festival seasons in Seville, Madrid, and Pamplona.

Language is a key characteristic of the Spanish TV culture. The regional firms in the Basque country, Galicia, Catalonia, and Valencia were founded with the objective of fomenting the regions' languages and cultures. In Galicia, 99 percent of the people understand Gallego, but only 14 percent actually prefer to watch TV in Gallego. Estimates are that 95 percent of the people in Catalonia understand Catalan, but only a third of the Catalans watch programs exclusively in the idiom. Up to 90 percent of the people in Valencia understand Valenciano, but 12 percent prefer TV only in that language. In the Basque region, as many as half the people claim to understand Euskera, but only one-fifth of the Basques show strong preferences for their TV in this language. These figures are dwarfed by the scale of the national population, where practically 100

percent of the people understand Spanish. Despite the linguistic, territorial, and financial limitations affecting the regional networks, they manage to retain a stable audience of viewers because of the political and cultural history of centralism in Spanish communication. For both the managers and the audiences of these systems, the presence of the local idiom alongside Spanish recalls the multilingual identity of the regions and helps sustain a sense of place as Spain positions itself within the European Union and opens its borders to globalized audiovisual production.

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## Spanish International Network

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The Spanish International Network (SIN) was the first Spanish-language television network in the United States. From its inception in 1961, SIN was the U.S. subsidiary of Televisa, the Mexican entertainment conglomerate, which today holds a virtual monopoly on Mexican television and is the world's largest producer of Spanish-language television programming.

From the point of view of a U.S. entrepreneur in the early 1960s, the U.S. Spanish-speaking population was so small and so poor a community that it was not considered a viable advertising market. The 1960 Census counted 3.5 million U.S. residents with Spanish surnames. Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans living in the United States constituted the vast majority of this population. (Large scale immigration from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries had not yet begun.) Spanish-language advertising billed through the U.S. advertising industry amounted to \$5 million annually, less than 0.1 percent of all ad-

vertising expenditures at that time. From the perspective of a Latin American entrepreneur, however, this U.S. Latino audience was one of the wealthiest Spanish-language markets in the world.

SIN was founded by Emilio Azcárraga, the "William Paley of Mexican broadcasting." An entrepreneurial visionary and the owner of theaters and recording companies, Azcárraga built first a radio, then a television empire in Mexico, before expanding it north of the border. SIN began with two television stations, KMEX, Los Angeles, and KWEX, San Antonio (Texas), and from the beginning had national ambitions. In fulfilling these aims, SIN pioneered the use of five communications technologies: the UHF (ultrahigh frequency) band, cable television, microwave and satellite interconnections, and repeater stations. All these applications contributed to rapid growth in the 1960s and 1970s, and by 1982 SIN could claim it was reaching 90 percent of the Spanish-speaking house-

holds in the United States through 16 owned-and-operated UHF stations, 100 repeater stations, and 200 cable outlets.

In these first decades, virtually every broadcast hour of each SIN affiliate was *Televisa* programming produced in Mexico: *telenovelas* (soap operas), movies, variety shows, and sports programming. The vertical integration of Azcárraga's transnational entertainment conglomerate gave tremendous economic advantages to early U.S. Spanish-language television. The performers under contract to Azcárraga's theaters and recording companies also worked for his television network. In other words, SIN programming had covered costs and produced a profit in Mexico before it was marketed in the United States.

After 1981 and the start of satellite distribution of its programming, SIN began producing programs in the United States. The network created a nightly national newscast, *Noticiero Univisión*, as well as national public service programming, such as voter registration drives. It also provided coverage of U.S. national events such as the Tournament of Roses Parade and Fourth of July celebrations. The larger network-owned stations also began airing two hours a day of locally produced news and public affairs programming. This programming represented a limited recognition by SIN that U.S. and Mexican television audiences had different needs and interests. Moreover, it was an attempt to modify the SIN audience profile from that of a "foreign" or "ethnic" group interested only in Mexican programming to that of a more "American" community participating in the same national rituals as the mainstream consumer market. Perhaps SIN's most enduring contribution to U.S. culture was its leading institutional role in the creation of a commercially viable, panethnic, national Hispanic market.

The entrepreneurial financial and marketing acumen displayed by Emilio Azcárraga (and from 1972 by his son and heir Emilio Azcárraga Milmo) in the creation and development of SIN were matched by his legal skills in maneuvering around U.S. communications law. The U.S. Communications Act of 1934 simply and explicitly bars "any alien or representative of any alien...or any corporation directly or indirectly controlled by...aliens" from owning U.S. broadcast station licenses. For Azcárraga and his SIN associates, perhaps the most salient part of this law is what it does *not* address. It does not prohibit the importation or distribution of foreign broadcast signals or programming. In other words, U.S. law does not limit foreign ownership of broadcast networks; it does bar foreign ownership of the principal means of dissemination of the programming, the broadcast station. On paper and in files of the Federal Communications Commission

(FCC), none of the SIN stations or affiliates was owned by Emilio Azcárraga or *Televisa*. Rather, the foreign-ownership prohibition was avoided by means of a time-honored business stratagem known, in Spanish, as the *presta nombre*, which translates literally to "lending a name" and can be rendered in colloquial English as a "front." SIN stations were owned by U.S. citizens with long-established professional and familial ties to Azcárraga and *Televisa*, with Azcárraga retaining a 25 percent interest (the limit permitted by law) in the SIN network.

Although long a subject of criticism by Latino community leaders and would-be U.S. Spanish-language television entrepreneurs, the foreign control of SIN was not successfully challenged until the mid-1980s, when a dissident shareholder filed a complaint with the FCC. In January 1986, the FCC ordered the sale of SIN. The FCC action was met with much excited anticipation by U.S. Latino groups who felt that for the first time since its creation 25 years earlier, there was a possibility that U.S. Spanish television would be controlled by U.S. Latino interests.

Several U.S. Latino investor groups were formed, but ultimately the bid (for \$301.5 million) of Hallmark, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri, the transnational greeting card company, received FCC approval. Hallmark changed the network's name to Univision, pledging to keep the network broadcasting in Spanish. Under the terms of the sale, *Televisa* was given, in addition to cash, a guaranteed U.S. customer (the new network, Univision, was given a right of first refusal for all *Televisa* programming), free advertising (for its records and tapes division) on Univision for two years, and 37.5 percent of the profits of its former stations for two years. After a quarter century, SIN ceased to exist as a corporate entity, leaving a significant cultural and economic legacy—a commercially viable U.S. Spanish-language television network and a new U.S. consumer group: the Hispanic market.

AMERICA RODRIGUEZ

*See also* Univision

### Further Reading

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- Conference on Telecommunications and Latinos*, Stanford, California: Stanford Center for Chicano Research, 1985
- "Hispanic Broadcasting Comes of Age," *Broadcasting* (April 3, 1989)
- Navarrete, Lisa, and Charles Kamasaki, *Out of the Picture: Hispanics in the Media: State of Hispanic America, 1994*,

Washington, D.C.: Policy Analysis Center, Office of Research Advocacy and Legislation: National Council of La Raza, 1994

Sobel, Robert, "Where's Spanish TV Going?," *Television-Radio Age* (November 23, 1987)

"Spanish Spending Power Growing Dramatically, but Consumers Retain Special Characteristics," *Television-Radio Age* (December 10, 1984)

Stilson, Janet, "New SIN Prexy Sets Sights Skyward: Aims to Double TV Web Revenue," *Variety* (September 24, 1986)

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## Special/Spectacular

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The television special is, in many ways, as old as television itself. Television specials are (usually) one-time-only programs presented with great network fanfare and usually combining music, dance, and comedy routines (or "bits") presented in a variety format. When television was still new, specials were common, in part because weekly, ongoing shows were expensive to produce and were not yet proven as tools for securing long-term viewer loyalty. Hence, early television schedules did contain many one-time presentations, such as *The Damon Runyon Memorial Fund* (1950; TV's first telethon hosted by Milton Berle), the *Miss Television USA Contest* (1950; won by Edie Adams), *Amahl and the Night Visitors* (1951; the first *Hallmark Hall of Fame* program), and the *Ford 50th Anniversary Show* (1953; featuring duets between stage stars Mary Martin and Ethel Merman).

The TV special entered its greatest and most prolific phase in 1954, when genius programmer Sylvester "Pat" Weaver conceptualized what he called television "spectaculars." These one-of-a-kind, one-night broadcasts were Weaver's attempt to bring new and larger audiences and prestige to the television medium and to his network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Breaking with the format of television at that time, the spectaculars regularly preempted the normal network program schedule of sponsored weekly shows. Weaver's move was a controversial gamble; in order to free up airtime for the presentation of his spectaculars (on every fourth Monday, Saturday, and Sunday), the network had to forgo sponsorship by single companies (basically money in the bank for the network) on the nights the sponsors' programs were preempted. Instead of relying on single sponsors, Weaver followed his trademark "magazine" formula for sponsorship, selling different segments of each spectacular to different sponsors and in the process laying the foundation for the future of multiple sponsorship and commercials on all of U.S. television.

In creating his spectaculars, Weaver drew on the talents of three producers: Fred Coe, Max Liebman, and

Albert McCleery. Coe created his works for *Producer's Showcase* airing on Mondays, Liebman for his series *Max Liebman Presents* on Saturdays, and McCleery for *Hallmark Hall of Fame* on Sundays. Under Weaver and his team of producers, the spectacular could be a musical extravaganza (such as *Peter Pan*, with Mary Martin repeating her Broadway triumph), a play (such as Coe's *Our Town* with Paul Newman, Eva Marie Saint, and Frank Sinatra), or a dramatic film (such as Sir Laurence Olivier's *Richard III*).

In time, spectaculars became known by the less hyperbolic term "special," and generally they were shortened in length, with most lasting only one hour, as opposed to the 90 minutes to three hours sometimes taken by NBC. For the most part, specials took on a lighter tone, becoming variety oriented, with the emphasis on music, dance, and elaborate production numbers. This era of the special saw the presentation of such benchmark television offerings as *Astaire Time*, with Fred Astaire and Barrie Chase (1960); *Julie and Carol at Carnegie Hall*, with Julie Andrews and Carol Burnett (1962); *My Name Is Barbra*, starring Barbra Streisand (1964); and *Frank Sinatra: A Man and His Music* (1964).

These types of programs continued successfully into the late 1960s and 1970s, featuring such diverse talents as Carol Channing, Bill Cosby, Elvis Presley, Liza Minnelli, Lily Tomlin, Shirley MacLaine, Bette Midler, Ann-Margaret, Olivia Newton-John, Tom Jones, and Carol Burnett, who often paired herself with other performers, such as Beverly Sills, Dolly Parton, or Julie Andrews. Throughout this period, stars of contemporary television programs, such as Lynda Carter, Cheryl Ladd, and Ben Vereen, also headlined occasional hour-long specials, frequently with substantial ratings success.

As the weekly variety show all but disappeared from network television (*The Carol Burnett Show*, U.S. television's last successful variety show, ceased in 1978), the trend also signaled the beginning of the decline for the television music-dance special. As au-

diences began to select their musical entertainment from other media or in shorter forms, such as the music video, the hour-long, star-centered special began to appear dated. At the same time, the shows were proving too expensive to produce in relation to their ratings.

Currently, with the exception of such yearly traditions as award shows, Christmas specials, and pageants such as Miss USA, the television special/spectacular is now primarily the domain of channels other than the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), FOX, or NBC. One still occasionally witnesses such programs. For example, on September 21, 2001, all four U.S. networks aired *America: A Tribute to Heroes*, a live two-hour special featuring musical performances and commentaries from celebrities to raise money for the relief effort aiding victims of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. However, such network specials are

rare. In contrast, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) sometimes presents films of Broadway musicals, cable stations such as Home Box Office (HBO) air highly touted entertainment events, and pay-per-view has become an important purveyor of made-for-television extravaganzas. In a world of expanding numbers of television channels, it is difficult to know what future events might qualify as "special" and harder still to identify the truly "spectacular."

CARY O'DELL

*See also* Coe, Fred; *Peter Pan*; *Programming*; Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)

#### Further Reading

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## Speight, Johnny (1920–1998)

British Writer, Producer

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Johnny Speight was the creator of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) series *Till Death Us Do Part*, on which the U.S. series *All in the Family* (Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]) was based. As controversial in its time and place as was *All in the Family*, Speight's creation spawned a generation of relevant, hard-hitting sitcoms in both the United States and England.

A former factory worker and jazz musician, Speight began writing for television in 1956. In 1966, after serving as head writer for the *Arthur Haynes Show*, Speight launched *Till Death Us Do Part*. The series revolved around the different values and beliefs held by blue-collar bigot Alf Garnett and his liberal son-in-law Mike. Originally committed to shows about the family itself, Speight maneuvered *Till Death* to more relevant social issues. Norman Lear, who was working in feature films at the time, saw the series and, with partner Bud Yorkin, optioned the series for their company Tandem Productions. The resulting hit was *All in the Family*, which debuted on CBS in 1971.

Speight's more controversial episodes prompted the Conservative Central Office to ask for advance copies

of the *Till Death* scripts. When Speight refused, the matter was soon dropped. In 1968, Speight produced a BBC movie version of the series, and in 1972 he penned a short-run revival of the series. During that run, the series reached 24 million viewers, making it the most popular show in Britain.

Speight wrote several plays, including *If There Weren't Any Blacks You'd Have to Invent Them*, which has been produced in at least 17 countries. He also won numerous awards, including numerous Screenwriters Guild Awards, and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the British Comedy Awards in 1996. He died of cancer in July 1998.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

*See also* *Till Death Us Do Part*

**Johnny Speight.** Born in Canning Town, London, England, June 2, 1920. Educated at St. Helen's Roman Catholic School, London. Married: Constance Beatrice Barrett, 1956; children: one daughter and two sons. Worked in a factory, then as a jazz drummer and insurance salesman; writer, BBC radio and television,

Speight, Johnny

from 1956; created the sitcom *Till Death Us Do Part*. Recipient: Screenwriters Guild Award, 1962, 1966, 1967, 1968; Prague Festival Award, 1969; *Evening Standard* Award, 1977; Pye Award, for television writing, 1983; British Comedy Awards Lifetime Achievement Award, 1996. Died in Chorleywood, Hertfordshire, England, July 5, 1998.

**Television Series (selected)**

1960–66 *Arthur Haynes Show*  
1966–75 *Till Death Us Do Part*  
1969 *Curry and Chips*  
1972 *Them*  
1973 *Speight of Marty*  
1979 *The Tea Ladies* (with Ray Galton)  
1980 *Spooner's Patch* (with Ray Galton)  
1982 *The Lady Is a Tramp*  
1985 *In Sickness and in Health*  
1989 *The 19th Hole*

**Television Specials**

1961 *The Compartment*  
1962 *Playmates*  
1963 *Shamrot*  
1965 *If There Weren't Any Blacks You'd Have to Invent Them*  
1967 *To Lucifer a Sun*  
1970 *The Salesman*  
1975 *For Richer... For Poorer*

**Films (writer)**

*French Dressing*, 1964; *Privilege*, 1967; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1968; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *The Secret Policeman's Third Ball*, 1987.

**Films (actor)**

*The Plank*, 1967; *The Undertakers*, 1969; *Rhubarb*, 1970.

**Radio (writer)**

*The Edmondo Ross Show*, 1956–58; *The Morecambe and Wise Show*, 1956–58; *The Frankie Howerd Show*, 1956–58; *Early to Braden*, 1957–58; *The Deadly Game of Chess*, 1958; *The April 8th Show (Seven Days Early)*, 1958; *The Eric Sykes Show*, 1960–61.

**Stage (writer)**

*Mr. Venus*, 1958; *The Art of Living* (with others), 1960; *The Compartment*, 1965; *The Knacker's Yard*, 1962; *Playmates*, 1971; *If There Weren't Any Blacks You'd Have to Invent Them*, 1965; *The Picture* (with others), 1967; *The Salesman*, 1970; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1973; *The Thoughts of Chairman Alf*, 1983.

**Publications**

*It Stands to Reason: A Kind of Autobiography*, 1973  
*The Thoughts of Chairman Alf: Alf Garnett's Little Blue Book; or, Where England Went Wrong: An Open Letter to the People of Britain*, 1973  
*Pieces of Speight*, 1974  
*The Garnett Chronicles: The Life and Times of Alf Garnett, Esq.*, 1986  
*For Richer, For Poorer: A Kind of Autobiography*, 1992  
*Three Plays*, 1998

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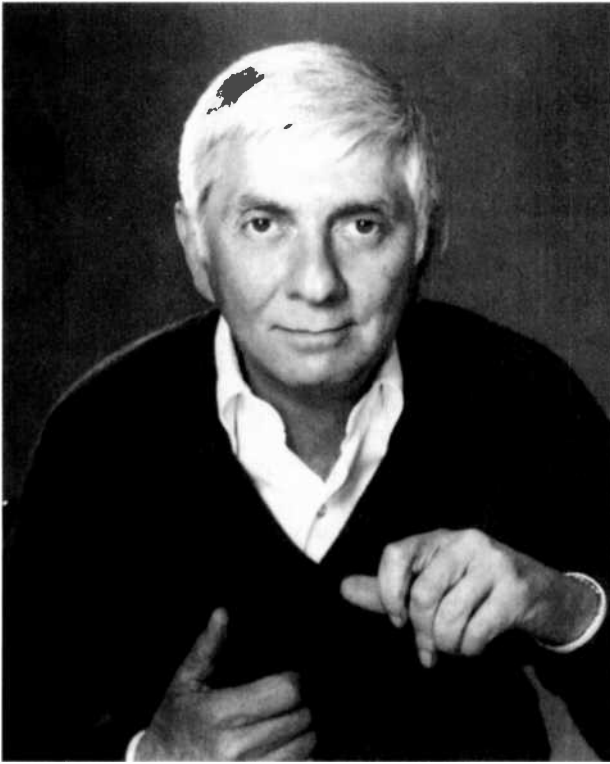
## Spelling, Aaron (1923– )

U.S. Producer

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Aaron Spelling is one of television's most prolific and successful producers of dramatic series and made-for-television films: by 2001, he had more than 182 television-production credits. Spelling began his career as a successful student playwright at Southern Methodist University, where he won the Eugene O'Neill Award for original one-act plays in 1947 and 1948. After graduating in 1950 and spending a few years directing plays in the Dallas, Texas, area, and

then trying less than successfully to make his way on Broadway, Spelling moved to Hollywood. There he initially found work as an actor and later as a scriptwriter for such anthology and episodic series as *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*, *Playhouse 90*, *Wagon Train*, and *The Jane Wyman Theater*. Within a few years, Spelling had become a producer at Four Star Studio Productions, where he created *The Lloyd Bridges Show* (1962–63), *Burke's Law* (1963–66), and



Aaron Spelling.  
Photo courtesy of Spelling Television, Inc.

*Honey West* (1965–66) and helped develop *The Smithers Brothers Show* (1967–75).

Spelling's first really successful series, *The Mod Squad* (1968–73), was produced after he left Four Star and formed a partnership with Danny Thomas. During its five-year run, *Mod Squad* earned six Emmy Award nominations, including one for Outstanding Dramatic Series for the 1969–70 season. In 1972, Spelling formed a new partnership with Leonard Goldberg, which lasted until 1977 and produced such hits as *The Rookies* (1972–76), *Starsky and Hutch* (1972–76), and *Charlie's Angels* (1976–81). Spelling's string of series featuring both wealthy crime fighters and regular cops continued in the 1980s with *Hart to Hart* (1979–84), *Matt Houston* (1982–85), *Strike Force* (1981–82), *T.J. Hooker* (1982–87), and *McGruder and Loud* (1985).

Spelling also ventured into new genres with his innovative, hour-long comedy, *The Love Boat* (1977–86) and the prime-time serial *Dynasty* (1981–89). Reminiscent of the 1960s anthology comedy, *Love, American Style*, each episode of Spelling's *The Love Boat* turned the three separate comedy stories into three intertwined storylines. Intercutting three separate plots in short scenes that recapitulated and advanced each storyline plot was a brilliant strategy that enabled the series to appeal to different sets of viewers, each of whom might

be attracted to a particular plotline, within a format that was admirably suited to the fragmented and distracted way that most people view television. Another Spelling innovation that first appeared in *The Love Boat* was the ritualized introductory sequence that formally presented the multiple plots in each week's episode as well as the series' main characters.

In 1980s television, Spelling was king. In 1984, Spelling's seven series on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) accounted for one-third of the network's prime-time schedule, leading some critics to nickname ABC "Aaron's Broadcasting Company." Spelling's 18-year exclusive production deal with ABC ended in 1988, but his ability to create hit series did not. In the 1990s, he introduced the hit prime-time series *Beverly Hills 90210* (1990–2000) and *Melrose Place* (1992–99), for FOX, and his first daytime soap opera venture, *Sunset Beach* (1997–99), for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

Among the recurring thematic features that have characterized Spelling's productions over the years are socially relevant issues, such as the disaffected militant youth of the 1960s; institutional discrimination against women, racism, and homophobia; altruistic capitalism; conspicuous consumption and valorization of the wealthy; the optimistic, moralistic maxims that people can be both economically and morally successful; good ultimately triumphs over evil; the grass often looks greener but rarely is; and the affirmation of both the "caring company" work family (e.g., in *Hotel*) and the traditional kinship family. Stylistically, his productions have included high-key lighting, gratuitous displays of women's bodies, heavily orchestrated musical themes, lavish sets, and what Spelling himself thinks is the most important element in television: "style and attention to detail." Two Spelling series that stand out as anomalous among this auteur's prime-time and movie ventures are *Family* (ABC, 1976–80) and *7th Heaven* (The WB, 1996– ). Spelling and Mike Nichols coproduced *Family*, a weekly hour-long drama, which many consider to be Spelling's best work. During the four years that this serious portrayal of an upper-middle-class suburban family was in first run, it won four Emmy Awards for the lead performers and was twice nominated for Outstanding Drama Series. *7th Heaven*, a wholesome drama about a Protestant minister, his wife, and their seven children living together in an American suburb, also has received numerous awards, including the Kids Choice Award, the Teen Choice Award, *TV Guide* Awards, the Entertainment Industry's Prism Award, the Media Project's Shine Award, and the Viewer's Choice Award.

"Innovator," "overachiever," "spin doctor," "angel," "king of pap," "ratings engineer," "TV's glitzmeister,"

Spelling, Aaron

“winner of six National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Image Awards”: these are some of the labels Spelling’s critics and admirers have used to describe this prolific, successful producer. One title that certainly describes the undeniable impact Spelling has left on four decades of television is that of television auteur.

LEAH R. VANDE BERG

*See also Beverly Hills, 90210; Charlie’s Angels; Dynasty; Melodrama; Starsky and Hutch*

**Aaron Spelling.** Born in Dallas, Texas, April 22, 1923. Educated at the Sorbonne, Paris, 1945–46; Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, B.A. 1950. Married: 1) Carolyn Jones, 1953 (divorced, 1964); 2) Carole Gene Marer, 1968; children: Tori and Randy. Served in U.S. Air Force, 1942–45, decorated with Bronze Star Medal, Purple Heart with oak leaf cluster. Actor, from 1953, appearing in 50 television shows and 12 films; began career as a writer after selling script to *Zane Grey Theater*; worked in production, Four Star, 1956–65; co-owner, with Danny Thomas, Thomas-Spelling Productions, 1968–72; copresident, Spelling-Goldberg Productions, 1972–77; president, Aaron Spelling Productions, Los Angeles, 1977–86, chair and chief executive officer, since 1986. Member: board of directors, American Film Institute; Writers Guild of America; Producers Guild of America; Caucus of Producers, Writers and Directors; Hollywood Radio and TV Society; Hollywood TV Academy of Arts and Sciences; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Eugene O’Neill Awards, 1947 and 1948; six National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Image Awards; named Man of the Year by the Publicists Guild of America, 1971; named Man of the Year by Beverly Hills chapter of B’Nai B’rith, 1972, 1985; named Humanitarian of the Year, 1983; named Man of the Year by the Scopus Organization, 1993.

**Television Series (selected; producer)**

1956–62 *Dick Powell’s Zane Grey Theater*  
(writer only)  
1959–60 *Johnny Ringo*  
1959–61 *The duPont Show with June Allyson*  
1961–63 *The Dick Powell Show*  
1963–65 *Burke’s Law*  
1964–70 *Daniel Boone*  
1965–66 *Amos Burke—Secret Agent*  
1967–69 *The Guns of Will Sonnett*  
1968–73 *The Mod Squad*  
1969–70 *The New People*  
1974 *Firehouse*

1974 *Chopper One*  
1975–76 *S.W.A.T.*  
1975–79 *Starsky and Hutch*  
1976–81 *Charlie’s Angels*  
1976–80 *Family*  
1977–86 *The Love Boat*  
1978–84 *Fantasy Island*  
1979 *Friends*  
1980 *B.A.D. Cats*  
1981–89 *Dynasty*  
1981–82 *Strike Force*  
1983 *At Ease*  
1983–88 *Hotel*  
1984–85 *Glitter*  
1984–85 *Finder of Lost Loves*  
1985–87 *The Colbys*  
1986 *Life with Lucy*  
1989 *Nightingales*  
1990–2000 *Beverly Hills, 90210*  
1992 *2000 Malibu Road*  
1992 *The Heights*  
1992–99 *Melrose Place*  
1994 *Winnetka Road*  
1994–95 *Models, Inc.*  
1995–96 *Savannah*  
1995 *Malibu Shores*  
1996– *Seventh Heaven*  
1997–99 *Sunset Beach*  
1997 *Pacific Palisades*  
1998 *The Love Boat: The Next Wave*  
1998 *Buddy Faro*  
1998– *Charmed*  
1999 *Rescue 77*  
1999 *Safe Harbor*  
2000 *Titans*  
2001 *All Souls*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

1969 *The Over-the-Hill Gang*  
1969 *Wake Me When the War Is Over*  
1969 *The Monk*  
1969 *The Pigeon*  
1969 *The Ballad of Andy Crocker*  
1969 *Carter’s Army*  
1970 *The Love War*  
1970 *How Awful About Allan*  
1970 *But I Don’t Want to Get Married!*  
1970 *The Old Man Who Cried Wolf*  
1970 *Wild Women*  
1970 *The House That Would Not Die*  
1970 *The Over-the-Hill Gang Rides Again*  
1970 *Crowhaven Farm*  
1970 *Run Simon Run*



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|------|--|------|---|
| 1970 | <i>Yuma</i>                                | 1980 | <i>Casino</i>   |
| 1970 | <i>River of Gold</i>                       | 1981 | <i>The Best Little Girl in the World</i>              |
| 1970 | <i>Love Hate Love</i>                      | 1982 | <i>Massarait and the Brain</i>                        |
| 1971 | <i>Congratulations, It's a Boy!</i>        | 1982 | <i>The Wild Women of Chastity Gulch</i>               |
| 1971 | <i>Five Desperate Women</i>                | 1983 | <i>Shooting Stars</i>                                 |
| 1971 | <i>The Last Child</i>                      | 1983 | <i>The Making of a Male Model</i>                     |
| 1971 | <i>A Taste of Evil</i>                     | 1984 | <i>Velvet</i>   |
| 1971 | <i>In Broad Daylight</i>                   | 1985 | <i>International Airport</i>                          |
| 1971 | <i>The Death of Me Yet</i>                 | 1986 | <i>Dark Mansions</i>                                  |
| 1971 | <i>The Reluctant Heroes</i>                | 1986 | <i>T.J. Hooker: Blood Sport</i>                       |
| 1971 | <i>If Tomorrow Comes</i>                   | 1987 | <i>Cracked Up</i>                                     |
| 1971 | <i>The Trackers</i>                        | 1988 | <i>Divided We Stand</i>                               |
| 1971 | <i>Two for the Money</i>                   | 1989 | <i>Day One</i>  |
| 1972 | <i>The Daughters of Joshua Cabe</i>        | 1990 | <i>Rich Men, Single Women</i>                         |
| 1972 | <i>No Place to Run</i>                     | 1991 | <i>The Love Boat: A Valentine Voyage</i>              |
| 1972 | <i>Say Goodbye, Maggie Cole</i>            | 1991 | <i>Jailbirds</i>                                      |
| 1972 | <i>Rolling Man</i>                         | 1992 | <i>Back to the Streets of San Francisco</i>           |
| 1972 | <i>The Bounty Man</i>                      | 1992 | <i>Grass Roots</i>                                    |
| 1972 | <i>Home for the Holidays</i>               | 1993 | <i>And the Band Played On</i>                         |
| 1972 | <i>Every Man Needs One</i>                 | 1993 | <i>Sidney Sheldon's A Stranger in the Mirror</i>      |
| 1972 | <i>Chill Factor</i>                        | 1993 | <i>Hart to Hart: Hart to Hart Returns</i>             |
| 1973 | <i>Snatched</i>                            | 1993 | <i>Gulf City</i>                                      |
| 1973 | <i>The Great American Beauty Contest</i>   | 1994 | <i>Jane's House</i>                                   |
| 1973 | <i>The Letters</i>                         | 1994 | <i>Hart to Hart: Home Is Where the Hart Is</i>        |
| 1973 | <i>The Bait</i>                            | 1994 | <i>Hart to Hart: Crimes of the Hart</i>               |
| 1973 | <i>Satan's School for Girls</i>            | 1994 | <i>Hart to Hart: Old Friends Never Die</i>            |
| 1973 | <i>Hijack</i>                              | 1994 | <i>Love on the Run</i>                                |
| 1973 | <i>Letters from Three Lovers</i>           | 1994 | <i>Green Dolphin Beat</i>                             |
| 1973 | <i>The Affair</i>                          | 1994 | <i>Kindred: The Embraced</i>                          |
| 1974 | <i>The Death Squad</i>                     | 1994 | <i>Hart to Hart: Secrets of the Hart</i>              |
| 1974 | <i>The Girl Who Came Gift-Wrapped</i>      | 1995 | <i>Hart to Hart: Two Harts in Three Quarters Time</i> |
| 1974 | <i>Cry Panic</i>                           | 1995 | <i>Hart to Hart: Till Death Do Us Hart</i>            |
| 1974 | <i>Savages</i>                             | 1996 | <i>Hart to Hart: Harts in High Season</i>             |
| 1974 | <i>Death Sentence</i>                      | 1996 | <i>After Jimmy</i>                                    |
| 1974 | <i>Hit Lady</i>                            | 2000 | <i>Satan's School for Girls (remake)</i>              |
| 1974 | <i>Death Cruise</i>                        |      |   |
| 1974 | <i>Only with Married Men</i>               |      |   |
| 1974 | <i>California Split</i>                    |      |   |
| 1975 | <i>The Daughters of Joshua Cabe Return</i> |      |   |
| 1975 | <i>Murder on Flight 502</i>                |      |   |
| 1975 | <i>The Legend of Valentino</i>             |      |   |
| 1976 | <i>One of My Wives Is Missing</i>          |      |   |
| 1976 | <i>The New Daughters of Joshua Cabe</i>    |      |   |
| 1976 | <i>Death at Love House</i>                 |      |   |
| 1976 | <i>The Boy in the Plastic Bubble</i>       |      |   |
| 1976 | <i>Baby Blue Marine</i>                    |      |   |
| 1977 | <i>Little Ladies of the Night</i>          |      |   |
| 1977 | <i>The San Pedro Bums</i>                  |      |   |
| 1978 | <i>Cruise into Terror</i>                  |      |   |
| 1978 | <i>Wild and Wooly</i>                      |      |   |
| 1978 | <i>Kate Bliss and the Ticker Tape Kid</i>  |      |   |
| 1978 | <i>The Users</i>                           |      |   |
| 1979 | <i>Beach Patrol</i>                        |      |   |
| 1979 | <i>The Power Within</i>                    |      |   |

**Television Miniseries**

- |      |                                   |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| 1979 | <i>The French Atlantic Affair</i> |
| 1986 | <i>Crossings</i>                  |
| 1996 | <i>A Season in Purgatory</i>      |

**Films (selected)**

*Guns of the Timberland*, 1959; *A Pair of Boots* (short), 1962; *My Daddy Can Lick Your Daddy* (short), 1962; *Mr. Mom*, 1983; *'night, Mother*, 1986; *Three O'Clock High*, 1987; *Surrender*, 1987; *Cross My Heart*, 1987; *Satisfaction*, 1988; *Loose Cannons*, 1990; *Soapdish*, 1991; *The Mod Squad*, 1999; *Charlie's Angels*, 2000.

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## Spin-Off

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The spin-off is a television programming strategy that constructs new programs around characters appearing in programs already being broadcast or programs ending their current run. In some cases, the new venue is created for a familiar, regular character in the existing series (e.g., *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* from *The Andy Griffith Show*). In others, the existing series merely serves as an introduction to and promotion for a completely new program (*Mork and Mindy* from *Happy Days*).

Among the most famous examples of the spin-off are those from the work of producer Norman Lear and works by producers working at MTM Productions during the 1970s. A list of the originating programs with their spin-offs reads like a genealogy of popular television comedy. Thus, *All in the Family* begat *Maude*, which begat *Good Times*, and *The Jeffersons*, which begat *Checking In*. *All in the Family* also begat *Gloria*, which lasted only one season and begat nothing.

*The Mary Tyler Moore Show* begat *Phyllis*, *Rhoda*, and *Lou Grant*, and though none of these "offspring" engendered specific shows of their own, their producers went on to create numerous programs with the distinctive style of these earlier works.

Other prolific sources of spin-offs were *The Danny Thomas Show*, the source of *The Andy Griffith Show*, which led to *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.* and *Mayberry, R.F.D.* From *Happy Days* the list includes *Laverne and Shirley*, *Joannie Loves Chachi*, *Mork and Mindy*, and *Out of the Blue*. As should be clear from these lists, a spin-off is no guarantee of success. For every *Wanted: Dead or Alive* (from *Trackdown*), there is a *Beverly Hill Buntz* (from *Hill Street Blues*).

The existence of spin-offs can lead to puzzling problems when one considers the relations among programs across the schedule. The long-running prime-time serial *Knots Landing*, for example, was a spin-off of *Dallas*, the most famous example of that genre. During the famous 1985–86 season of *Dallas*, the season that was "dreamt" by Pamela Ewing (Victoria Principal), various events on *Knots Landing* occurred in response to Bobby Ewing's (Patrick Duffy) "death." Yet no one on *Knots Landing* troubled to explain how the history of their own fictional world might be altered by the fact that a "year in the life of *Dallas*" never occurred.

In any instance, spin-offs attest to television's constant demand for new, if not always different, material. This demand often leads to mindless repetition and the



*Different Strokes* (Season 1), Todd Bridges, Charlotte Rae, Gary Coleman, Conrad Bain, Dana Plato, 1978–86.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

most meager attempts to cash in on previous success. While spin-offs may lead to new sources of creativity in their own right, the result of applying this strategy is often no more than a program that temporarily fills a time slot.

Indeed, it should be noted that spin-offs often result from producers' financial arrangements or from deals made with actors portraying popular characters within an ensemble. Successful producers or popular actors frequently contract for future commitments from studios or networks. New shows constructed around proven, popular characters offer obvious advantages in these arrangements. One of the most successful U.S. television series in recent history, *Frasier*, was developed for performer Kelsey Grammer. The WB television network capitalized on the success of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* by creating *Angel* for David Boreanaz. And as the final season of *Friends* began, word came that the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) would develop a series for Matt LeBlanc who portrayed the popular character, Joey. The example is interesting because NBC executives acknowledged that the Joey character was not intended to be the most prominent character when the series began. Yet no other actors were offered series developed around their



*The Facts of Life*, Felice Schachter, Lisa Whelchel, Julie Anne Haddock, John Lawlor, Julie Piekarski, Molly Ringwald, Mindy Cohn, Charlotte Rae, Kim Fields, (1st Season), 1979–88.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

specific roles in *Friends*. In all these cases, the existence of a successful program offers the producer, the star, and the network a ready-made billboard for advertising new work.

A final version of the spin-off is related to variations on a program franchise or formula, variations that often cross national boundaries. It is important to remember that *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*, two of the most highly acclaimed shows produced by Norman Lear, were copies of British productions, *Till Death Us Do Part* and *Steptoe and Son*, respectively. Currently, the most prominent examples in the United States are the international versions of *Wheel of Fortune*. Licensed by the parent company Merv Griffin Productions to producers in other countries, some form of *Wheel* is popular from France to Taiwan, from Norway to Peru. In each country, small variations are created to express particular cultural expectations and attitudes. Because game shows are cheaply and easily produced, this type of the spin-off concept is likely to expand.

Similarly, producers and programmers take advantage of highly successful program "franchises," the to-

## Spin-Off

tal style and format of a production that can be copied or slightly modified to create new programs. The best example in recent U.S. television history is the *Law and Order* franchise. Though not initially a "hit," the first *Law and Order* series became staple viewing, a firmly "episodic" program in the midst of more serialized series. It satisfied viewers with its contained episodes, which also made it an outstanding and financially successful product for syndication. Producer Dick Wolf subsequently developed *Law and Order*:

*SVU* (Special Victims Unit), which dealt with sex crimes, and *Law and Order: CI* (Criminal Intent), which presented stories exploring the criminals' point of view. On occasion, characters from one or more of these series would "cross over" into action in another. These programs, like all other instances of spin-offs, attest to both television's unceasing demand for new content and narrative structures able to generate new stories.

HORACE NEWCOMB

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# Spitting Image

## British Puppet/Satire Program

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The premiere of *Spitting Image* opened with a puppet caricature of Israel's prime minister Menachem Begin wearing a magician's outfit. With a flourish, he produced a dove of peace from his top hat, then announced, "For my first trick..." only to then wring the bird's neck.

This was the first of many outrages perpetrated on the British public, who were either offended or delighted each week from 1984 to 1996. *Spitting Image* was roundly condemned for its lampooning of the royal family: the queen was portrayed as a harried housewife, beset by randy, dullard children and screaming grandkids. Britain's most cherished figure, the queen mother, was portrayed as a pleasant, if somewhat boozy, great-grandmother figure.

The Conservative leadership was a constant target. Margaret Thatcher's puppet was a needle-nosed Reagan groupie who consulted with Hitler on immigration policy and sold off England's infrastructure to buying packs of yuppies; her eventual successor, John Major, was portrayed as a dull, totally gray man who ate nothing but peas. The opposition Labour leaders, including Neil Kinnock as "Kinnochio," were pilloried for their inability to challenge decades of Tory rule.

In spite of its detractors, more than 12 million viewers (a quarter of England's adult population) watched *Spitting Image* on Central Independent Television, a subsidiary of ITV. The program's spin-off records, books, comics, and videos sold in the millions. It won an International Emmy for "Outstanding Popular Arts" program in the 1985-86 season, and a franchised edition appeared on Moscow television.

*Spitting Image* originated with Peter Fluck and Roger Law, who first met at Cambridge School of Art. They became involved in the liberal politics favored by art students, through which they met another stu-



*Spitting Image: Down and Out at the White House, 1986, Ronald Reagan puppet.*

©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection



John Lloyd, Roger Law, Peter Fluck with their *Spitting Image* puppets of Queen Elizabeth, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan.

©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

dent, Peter Cook. In 1961, Cook fronted England's flowering of political satire by starring with Dudley Moore in the revue "Beyond the Fringe," which inspired the TV program *That Was the Week That Was*. Cook employed Law as an illustrator for his projects, such as the satire magazine *Private Eye* and a political comic strip in the *Observer* newspaper. Fluck and Law built separate careers in magazine illustration, and Law took two commissions in the music business that yielded classic album covers: The Jimi Hendrix Experience as Hindu deities for *Axis: Bold As Love* and *The Who Sell Out*, for which Roger Daltrey posed sitting in a bathtub filled with baked beans.

Fluck and Law each began working with sculpted caricatures, creating several images that appeared in London's *Sunday Times Magazine*, where Law had become an artistic director and reporter. In 1975 they formed a partnership, named Luck and Flaw, to turn out their three-dimensional portraits for such outlets as the *New York Times Magazine*, Germany's *Stern*, international editions of *Time*, and *National Lampoon*. The work proved barely profitable until 1981, when Martin Lambie-Nairn invited them to lunch.

Lambie-Nairn was a graphic designer at London Weekend Television. He thought that a political television program using puppets or animation might be a good investment, and he proposed to front Fluck and Law the capital for a pilot episode (thus the credit at the end of each episode, "From an original lunch by Martin Lambie-Nairn."). The pilot took two years to complete.

The pair quickly decided that the show should use puppets, which, like Jim Henson's Muppets, required two operators, for the face and one arm. (Henson, in fact, turned down an offer to collaborate on the puppet workshop.) The first puppet designs were bogged down by expensive, heavy electronics needed just to make their eyes move. After several months without any film being shot, Fluck cobbled together a simple mechanism using steel cable and air bulbs. The team also picked up Tony Hendra of *National Lampoon* (and later of *Spinal Tap*) as a writer and hired two producers: Jon Blair, a producer of current affairs programming, and John Lloyd of the *Not the Nine O'Clock News*. *Spitting Image*, the pilot's title, exhausted the resources of several backers, including

Spitting Image



*Spitting Image: Down and Out at the White House, 1986.*  
©NBC/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

computer executive Clive Sinclair, before it was completed at a cost of £150,000, a record for a light-entertainment program.

In its first season, *Spitting Image* focused exclusively on politics and played to mediocre ratings. For the next round, Fluck and Law were obliged to caricature entertainment and sports figures as well, and the show's fortunes immediately improved. The partners worked out a schedule in which they spent the off-season stockpiling nontopical segments, such as music-video parodies (in one, Barry Manilow was all nose; another showed off Madonna's singing belly button). Each episode had a window of six minutes for fresh political commentary, written and taped the night before its broadcast.

The *Spitting Image* parodies reached a status not unlike that of *Mad* magazine in the early 1960s, as many of those whom the show caricatured took their skewering as a sign that they had "made it." While Thatcher has only commented, "I don't ever watch that program," members of the House of Commons had tapes of each show delivered to them the following Monday, and former Tory Defense Minister Michael Heseltine tried to purchase his puppet.

The commercial broadcaster Central Television gave *Spitting Image* few censorship problems. BBC radio, however, refused to play their first spin-off record, with a Prince Andrew imitator boasting, "I'm Just a Prince Who Can't Say No." "The Chicken Song," however, a single that parodied the sing-along ditties that infest pub jukeboxes and vacation discotheques every summer, reached number one on the charts.

The influence of U.S. politics on the British scene was apparent in frequent lampoons of Ronald Reagan. American news outlets excerpted a video with Ron and Nancy as "Leaders of the Pack," singing "Do Do Ron Ron." The befuddled Reagan also appeared in a serial thriller, "The President's Brain Is Missing," and was featured prominently in the Spitting Image-produced video for Genesis's song "Land of Confusion." In September 1986, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) aired a two-part original *Spitting Image* special in which the secret arbiters of fame, including Bill Cosby and Ed McMahon, hatch a clandestine plot to have an overmuscled Sylvester Stallone elected president.

*Spitting Image* projects continued to appear on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the 1990s, and in 2000 many puppets from the program were auctioned off for charity. Numerous videos and musical recordings are available in Britain, where repeats of the program are shown on cable. American VCRs can play a compilation of *Spitting Image* music videos, a puppet production of "Peter and the Wolf," and a mock documentary, "Bumbledown: The Life and Times of Ronald Rea-

gan" (a double feature with the musical, "The Sound of Maggie!"). The group also collaborated with U.S. cable channel Comedy Central to illustrate a book by Glenn Eichler, *Bill and Hillary's 12-Step Recovery Guide*. The book was promoted through a series of commercial cutaways on the cable channel, featuring the puppet Clinton family.

MARK R. McDERMOTT

*See also* **British Programming**

### **Puppeteers**

Peter Fluck

Roger Law

### **Voices**

Chris Barrie

Steve Nallon

Enn Reitel

Harry Enfield

Pamela Stephenson

Jon Glover

Jan Ravens

Jessica Martin

Rory Bremner

Kate Robbins

Hugh Dennis

### **Producers**

David Frost, Jon Blair, John Lloyd, Geoffrey Perkins,

David Tyler, Bill Dare

### **Programming History**

137 30-minute episodes; 4 45-minute episodes; 5 specials

ITV

February 26, 1984–June 17, 1984

January 6, 1985–March 24, 1985

January 5, 1986–February 9, 1986

March 30, 1986–May 4, 1986

September 14, 1986–November 2, 1986

November 1, 1987–December 6, 1987

April 17, 1988

October 29, 1988–December 11, 1988

May 6, 1989

June 11, 1989–July 16, 1989

November 12, 1989–December 17, 1989

May 13, 1990–June 24, 1990

November 11, 1990–December 6, 1990

November 10, 1991–December 15, 1991

April 8, 1992–May 17, 1992

October 4, 1992–November 8, 1992



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## Sponsor

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Television in the United States is a profit-maximizing set of entities, an industry whose success is measured largely by its ability to deliver viewers to advertisers. The lure of television is its programs; commercial broadcasters seek shows of optimal value (be it in terms of ratings generated or demographics attracted) in order to maximize advertising revenue. The sponsor—the organization, corporation, institution, or other entity willing to pay the broadcaster revenue in exchange for the opportunity to advertise on television—stands at the center of program strategies. This situation requires recognition of the complex interrelationship between television networks and advertisers, two industries whose differing responsibilities and sometimes conflicting needs produce the programming that draws the audience to the advertisement. In U.S. television, the economic and industrial systems supporting these arrangements have their beginnings in radio broadcasting.

The emergence of radio in the early 1930s as an astonishingly effective means of delivering consumers to producers attracted an array of enthusiastic advertisers, and soon the radio schedule was dominated by shows named for their sponsors—the *Chase and Sanborn Hour*, the *Cliquot Club Eskimos*, and the *Maxwell House Concert*, for example. Produced for their clients by such advertising agencies as J. Walter Thompson and Young and Rubicam, the single-sponsored program was a staple of commercial broadcasting; it was an article of faith that if a listener identified a show with its sponsor, he or she was more likely to purchase the advertised product.

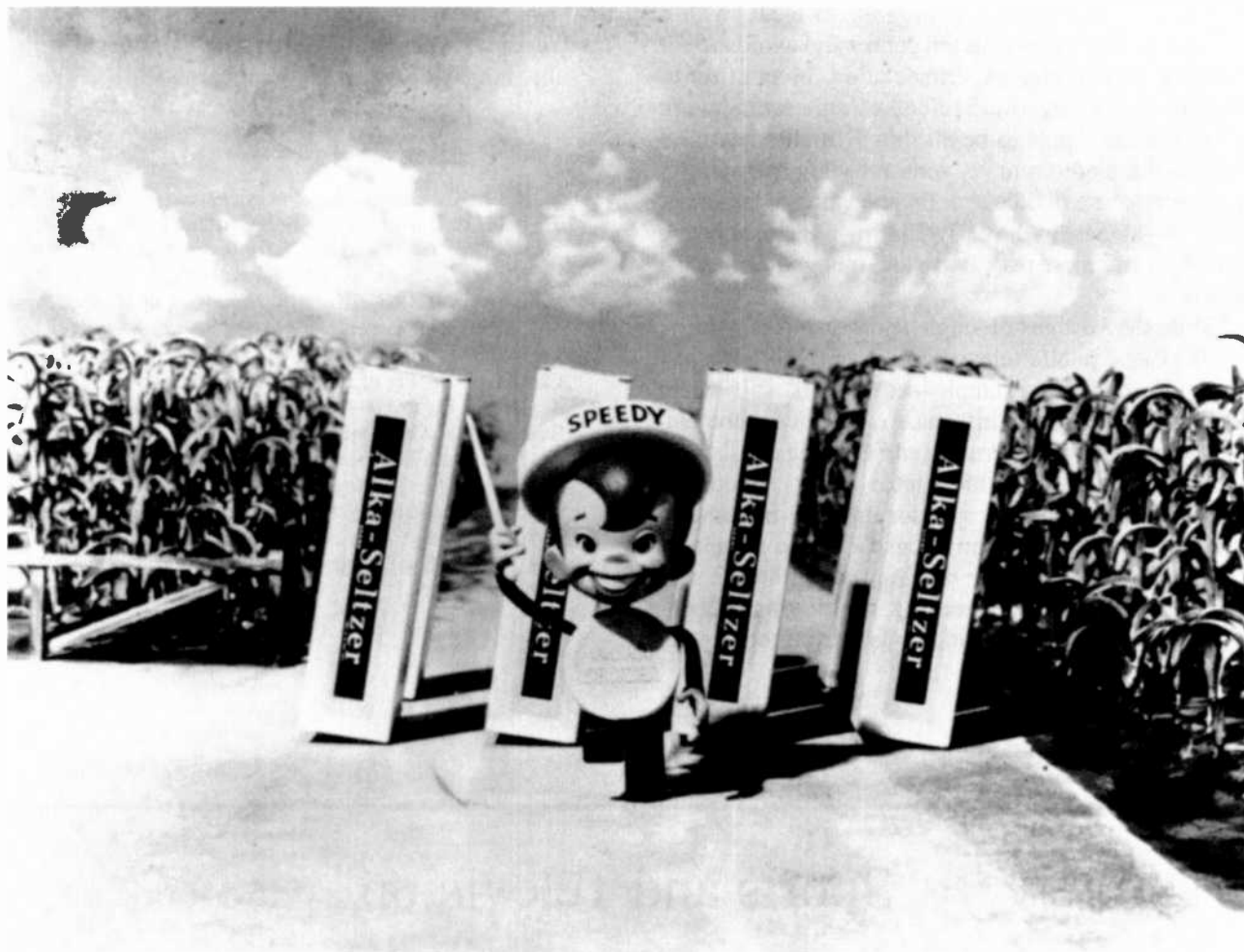
Although agency involvement in television was little more than tentative prior to 1948, advertisers soon embraced the new medium with great fervor; *Pabst Blue Ribbon Bouts*, *Camel Newsreel*, and the *Chesterfield Supper Club* were testimony to the steadfast be-

lief in sponsor identification. However, as program costs soared in the early 1950s, it became increasingly difficult for agencies to assume the financial burdens of production, and even the concept of single sponsorship was subject to economic pressure.

By the 1952–53 season, television's spiraling costs (an average 500 percent rise in live-programming budgets from 1949 to 1952) threatened to drive many advertisers completely out of the market. Many sponsors turned to a nonnetwork syndication strategy, cobbling together enough local station buys across the country to approximate the kind of national coverage a network usually provided. Television executives—most notably Sylvester L. "Pat" Weaver at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC)—countered sponsor complaints by championing the idea of participation advertising, or the "magazine concept." Here, advertisers purchased discrete segments of shows (typically one- or two-minute blocks) rather than entire programs. Like magazines, which featured advertisements for a variety of products, the participation show might, depending on its length, carry commercials from up to four different sponsors. Similarly, just as a magazine's editorial practice was presumably divorced from its advertising content, the presence of multiple sponsors meant that no one advertiser could control the program.

Even as agencies relinquished responsibility for production, they still maintained some semblance of control over the content of the programs in which their clients advertised, a censorship role euphemistically referred to as "constructive influence." As one advertising executive noted, "If my client sells peanut butter and the script calls for a guy to be poisoned eating a peanut butter sandwich, you can bet we're going to switch that poison to a martini." Still, this type of input was mild compared to the actual melding of commer-





"Speedy" for Alka-Seltzer.  
 Photo courtesy of Bayer Corporation

cial and editorial content, a practice all but abandoned by the vast majority of agencies by 1953.

Despite Madison Avenue's initially hostile reaction, participation advertising ultimately became television's dominant paradigm for two reasons. One was purely cost; purchasing 30- to 60-minute blocks of prime time was prohibitively expensive to all but a few advertisers. More important, participation ads were the ideal promotional vehicle for packaged-goods companies manufacturing a cornucopia of brand names. While it is true that the magazine concept opened up television to an array of low-budget advertisers and thus expanded the medium's revenue base, it was companies such as Procter and Gamble that catalyzed the trend (ironically, given that Procter and Gamble today has operational control over two soap operas, *The Guiding Light* and *As the World Turns*, the last vestiges of single-sponsored shows on television). Further, back-to-back recessions in the mid-1950s provided an impetus for the producers

of recession-proof goods to scatter their spots throughout the schedule; their subsequent sales success solidified the advent of participation on the schedule. Without the economic rationale of single sponsorship, most advertisers chose to circulate their commercials through many different shows rather than rely on identification with a single program.

By 1960, sponsorship was no longer synonymous with control—it now merely meant the purchase of advertising time on somebody else's program. While sponsor identification remained important to such advertisers as Kraft and Revlon, most sponsors prized circulation over prestige; as a result, fewer agencies offered advertiser-licensed shows to the networks. The quiz scandals of 1958–59, often identified as the causative factor in network control of program procurement, were in actuality only a coda.

Ironically, it was the networks' assumption of programming control that resulted in a narrower and more

sponsor

conservative conception of program content, with a greater reliance on established genres and avoidance of technical or narrative experimentation. In an effort to provide shows that would offend no sponsor, network television's attempts to be all things to all advertisers drained the medium of its youthful vigor, plunging it into a premature middle age. By appealing to target audiences—at least in the early 1950s—advertisers were in many ways more responsive and innovative than the networks.

While the vestiges of single sponsorship remain in, of all places, public television—*ExxonMobil Masterpiece Theater*, for example—advertisers still wield enormous, if indirect, influence on program content. For example, in 1995 Procter and Gamble, the largest television advertiser in the United States, announced that it would no longer sponsor daytime talk shows whose content the company considered too salacious. Today's marketers believe that they can influence programs through selective breeding, bankrolling the content they support and pulling dollars from topics they do not.

MICHAEL MASHON

**See also Advertising; Advertising, Company Voice; Advertising Agency; "Golden Age" of Television; Programming; Sustaining Program**

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## Sports and Television

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The relationship between sports and television is now so firmly established that it is difficult to imagine their intersecting histories as anything other than a steady, synergistic march. While the sports-television nexus has developed substantially since the middle of the 20th century, this has been less a story of simple, linear progress than of difficult mutual accommodation and palpable tension. The widespread concern that television has taken over sports has, for the past two decades, been challenged by the proposition that it has become hostage to it. Closer integration of sports and television has been accompanied by wide swings in the degree of power held by each party. In the early 21st century, the pendulum seems to have swung back in favor of television, with the cost of sports broadcast rights falling in response to often disappointing commercial returns from their purchase. The end of the long economic boom in television sports, even if it is only a pause, provides an excellent opportunity to review the sports-television nexus over the past seven decades.

Sports are important to the development of television on many grounds. They have encouraged consumers to buy television sets and services in the first place; supply network, independent, satellite, and cable TV companies with vast quantities of content and loyal, sometimes spectacularly large audiences; and have helped place television at the center of contemporary society and culture. Correspondingly, television has been instrumental in the ascendancy of sports to its current position as one of the prime forms of popular culture, providing it with enormous audience outreach well beyond the field of play and vast injections of capital. Like many new technologies, television

The ESPN logo is displayed in a bold, black, sans-serif font. The letters are thick and blocky, with a slight shadow effect behind them, giving it a three-dimensional appearance. The 'E' and 'S' are particularly prominent.

Courtesy of ESPN

emerged first as a capability without a clear sense of purpose, and sports have helped provide television with a powerful justification for its existence.

The history of television sport is also characterized by competing ways of representing it. The two most influential of these can be described as the British and American modes of sports television that emerged within different national cultures and broadcast systems and as a result have provided contending reference points for debates about how sports are and should be displayed on television. Crudely, it might be argued that British sports television, through the publicly owned British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), pioneered the sober representation of nation in and through sport, while in the United States, the first advances toward a commercial television sports market were made. These represent the anchor points for continuing debates about the quality of televised sporting events.

### The Early Days of Sports on Television

When BBC Television was formed in 1936, sports was quickly placed on the program schedule. After successfully broadcasting radio sports in the 1920s, the BBC saw in great national sports events such as Wimbledon (tennis), the Derby (horseracing), and the FA Cup Final (soccer) ideal opportunities to meet its charter obligation of promoting national culture through "public service broadcasting." When the BBC lost its television monopoly in the United Kingdom in 1955 with the introduction of the commercial ITV service, it was reluctantly forced to compete for sports broadcasts and against ITV's livelier, more market-oriented, American-influenced way of representing sports. In this period, broadcast sports (along with great occasions of state, such as the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II) were an important factor in consumer decisions to purchase television sets (and to pay the compulsory TV license fee to support the BBC that exists to this day), with annual new TV set ownership increasing tenfold between 1946 and 1959.

In the United States, sports television commenced in 1939 with the broadcast of a baseball game between Columbia and Princeton universities, while in 1944 network sports broadcasting was inaugurated by the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) *Gillette Cavalcade of Sports* through its coverage of a boxing match. In the immediate post-World War II period, NBC offered sports fans the opportunity to watch, for the first time, broadcasts of baseball, football, and boxing in the comfort of their own homes. Just as subscription television in the late 20th century saw

premium sports as a major "driver" for the take-up of cable and satellite services, television networks in the middle of that century saw sports as a major lure to purchase televisual technology. Sports, along with quiz shows and soap operas, played a major role in inducing the spectacular increase of over 700 percent in U.S. television ownership in the period 1948–50.

### The Development of Sports

Sports, in the contemporary language of information technology, have emerged as a "killer application" for television. They have capitalized on the industrial development of sports whereby intermittent, chaotic game contests became organized into regular, rule-bound competitions in specialist venues with restricted access funded by paying customers. Sports can effortlessly discharge both news and entertainment functions. Their "nowness," and the physical presence of often scores of thousands of passionate citizens, means that they are newsworthy, while their vivid spectacle and unfolding drama make for enjoyable, even compelling viewing, especially for men (and increasingly for women). The rudimentary camera technology of the early phase of sports television was simply required to capture the event, programming that was much cheaper (though much less easily controlled) than studio-based genres. Roone Arledge, the producer of American Broadcasting Company (ABC) programs such as *Wide World of Sports* and *Monday Night Football*, is credited both with many technical innovations, such as replays and slow motion, and with openly treating sports as a form of show business. As long as sports organizations could be persuaded that television was generating interest in sports rather than siphoning potential consumers from the stadium to the home, television received from sports inexpensive, sponsored popular programming. Sports, though, came to realize their competitive economic value and began to play television corporations against one other in the quest to expand broadcast rights revenue in return for "rediffusion."

The position of sports in television schedules has varied considerably, sometimes heavily entrenched in prime time and at others confined mainly to less pivotal time slots. The amount of coverage of sports on television continued to expand into the late 1970s, its appeal to sponsors and advertisers undiminished. However, the cheapness of sports programming was eroded not so much by the rising cost of production (although multiple cameras and more sophisticated direction and commentary did increase broadcast budgets) as by the inflation of sports broadcast rights.

Both parties appreciated the elevated symbolic status of TV networks acquiring the rights to high-profile sports that, in turn, became even more conspicuous as a result of enhanced television coverage. Publicly funded broadcasters such as the BBC (which had first broadcast major sports events and sports magazine shows such as the long-running *Grandstand*) found themselves increasingly unable to compete with capital-rich commercial networks for sports broadcast rights, while, in the United States the coming of cable and, especially, dedicated sports channels such as the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) meant that sports television evolved into a seller's market in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the ABC network paid U.S.\$4.5 million to broadcast the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, while NBC paid U.S.\$420 million for the 1992 Barcelona games. Such arrangements might have been sustainable as long as audience ratings and advertising revenues remained strong, but in the early 1980s audiences drifted away somewhat from sports television in response to greater provision of nonsports TV programming and of other, nonbroadcast leisure opportunities (ranging from videocassette recorders to video games).

The simultaneous erosion of the core sports TV audience (men ages 18–34) and of its appeal to advertisers (the “discovery” of female purchasing power) meant that advertisers were reluctant to pay television networks more money for smaller audiences to cover the cost of inflated broadcast rights. In the United States, the sports television market was artificially boosted in the 1990s by the inflationary tactics of the new FOX network, which outbid rival broadcasters of premium sports by a considerable measure in order to signal its arrival. For example, in 1994, its successful U.S.\$350 million bid for the rights to football was three times that of the previous rights holder, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Sports on television have developed a complex structural mix of public and commercial, free-to-air and pay broadcasting, and network and independent arrangements in regional, national, and global markets. In countries where national public broadcasters pioneered and dominated television, free-to-air commercial broadcasters such as ITV in the United Kingdom and Channel 9 in Australia have been successful in gaining much premium sports TV programming by exercising their economic power, only for both public and commercial free-to-air television to be challenged by “cashed-up” pay television operators. The most famous example of this development was the 1992 capture of the rights to English Premier League soccer by the Murdoch-led satellite broadcaster

British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), a move that turned a loss-making company into a highly profitable one. This migration of sports to restricted, pay platforms has led to considerable dispute and, in many countries (including Australia and all the nations comprising the European Union), to the enactment of “antisiphoning” legislation to prevent the exclusive capture of major sports by pay television on the grounds that access to free-to-air broadcasts of sports events of major national significance is a right of “cultural citizenship.”

Megamedia sports events, such as the Olympic Games and soccer's World Cup, have thus far resisted the temptation to award exclusivity to pay TV in return for vastly increased broadcast rights revenue on the grounds that such a move would restrict audience reach and the claims of such events to be global spectacles. Nonetheless, the 2002 KirchMedia debacle revealed that attempts by peak sports organizations to extract maximum revenues from free-to-air television can jeopardize even the greatest of media sports spectacles. In this case, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), soccer's governing body, sold its broadcast rights to a consortium made up of the Swiss sports marketing group ISL and the German KirchMedia for an unprecedented 2.3 billion euros. The consortium sought to on-sell those rights at greatly increased prices in order to recoup its investment. When the buyers resisted, ISL folded, and KirchMedia purchased the worldwide rights in full. Faced with opposition from sports television-buying consortia such as the European Broadcasting Union (the previous rights holder), KirchMedia was forced to accept lower-than-anticipated broadcast rights fees and went into receivership, with some states (such as Germany, the host nation of the 2006 World Cup) required to underwrite televised coverage of the world's largest single sports event and most popular sport.

In the early 21st century, sports on television have inherited the problem of inflated broadcast rights and the dependency of sports on those rights. In 2002, for example, the United Kingdom's ITV Digital went into administration with debts of £178 million, leaving several soccer clubs without crucial, promised funds. ITV also paid an excessive amount (£183 million) for three-year, free-to-air Premier League soccer highlights, while in Italy the two foreign-owned pay-TV companies carrying premium soccer games, the French Telepiu and News Corporation's Stream, merged after both lost vast sums when competing against each other. In Australia, C7, the pay-TV sport channel specializing in Australian football coverage, also passed into history when it lost the football rights

to a consortium led by Rupert Murdoch and Kerry Packer, thereby causing hardship for many clubs.

In 2002, annual reports, the value of American sports rights was written down by U.S.\$3 billion, with the company most responsible for their inflation and for a third of the total write-down—Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation—admitting that it had overbid for them. It has been predicted that total 2002–06 major U.S. TV network losses on sports will be U.S.\$1.3 billion. One way of overcoming the problem of recession in the broadcast sports industry is to be on both sides of the negotiating table—that is, to be simultaneously a buyer and a seller by having common ownership of TV companies and sports teams. For example, Disney owns the ABC network, most of ESPN, and the Mighty Ducks of Anaheim hockey team; News Corporation owns the Los Angeles Dodgers and has stakes in the Leeds United, Manchester City, and Sunderland soccer clubs; Granada TV has stakes in the Liverpool and Arsenal soccer clubs; and Silvio Berlusconi (the Italian prime minister) owns several television stations and leading Italian soccer club AC Milan. However, sports clubs can be a major drain on profits, and many of these holdings are currently on the market.

There is also some official resistance to such cozy arrangements, with the British government in 1998 blocking the £623 million takeover bid by BSkyB for Manchester United, one of the world's richest sport clubs, on the grounds that it was anticompetitive and against the public interest. Another coping strategy is the formation of new competitions, such as XFL, the disastrous 2001 American football tournament created by the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) and NBC that lost U.S.\$70 million. In 2003, NBC, which had opted not to bid for the rights to the major sports leagues, adopted a more low-key strategy by televising, with modest success, the Arena Football League, a hybrid sport that provides a speedier television spectacle than that offered by the National Football League (NFL).

These problems and adjustments, however, do not prevent sports from continuing to be a key aspect of television programming. Sports can still be a highly marketable commodity and a compelling visual text. A 30-second advertisement during the Super Bowl broadcast currently costs U.S.\$2.1 million, the cumulative audience of the 2002 Korea–Japan soccer World Cup was estimated to be 28.8 billion, and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) estimated that nine out of ten of people in the world with access to television watched at least some of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games.

## The Audience and Industry Attraction of Television Sports

Sports still retains considerable appeal for television companies and audiences alike. For television, sports consistently deliver large, loyal viewerships that are attractive to advertisers. While, as noted previously, there is a traditional bias toward young and middle-age men, sports has successfully sought female viewers (sometimes using the tactic of sexual objectification more frequently associated with the “male gaze” directed at females). Audiences for regular-season games (as opposed to playoff or championship matches) may be smaller than for many prime-time shows, but in production terms they are much cheaper to broadcast. Sports are especially good at filling the spaces in TV schedules. The live sports event is only one component of sports programming, with previews, postmatch appraisals, documentaries, retrospectives, quiz shows, replays, highlights, magazine programs, updates, and sports news reporting constituting a vast and flexible archive of sports content that is especially appealing to multichannel pay-television providers with extensive televisual space to fill. Pay-per-view sporting events, such as boxing matches, also represent one of few TV genres where customers are willing to pay for content on a one-off basis. Major sports television also has a highly valuable “spillover effect” whereby viewers are exposed to promotions for other shows in the hope that they will get into the habit of watching certain networks and channels. For “horizontally integrated” media and entertainment corporations with many different media functions, sports and sports merchandise can be easily cross-promoted across television channels, newspapers, magazines, radio, film, and the Internet. In countries such as Australia that impose regulatory quotas on local content and restrictions on material produced overseas, sports are also a readily available source of “indigenous” material.

The professional, industrial structure of sports is founded on the willingness of spectators to pay to watch, collectively, expert sportsmen and sportswomen in action. Television severs the physical, communal presence from spectatorship. In its live form, TV enables distant, dispersed, and domestic viewers to watch sports action in real time. At first, as noted previously, the technology was limited, with single, static black-and-white cameras offering a pleasing but much diminished version of the physical, in-stadium experience. However, the development of the technology and technique of sports television enhanced the viewing experience to such a degree that watching from home now rivals the pleasures of actually being at the site of the

game. With the development of color television, multiple cameras inside and outside the stadium, close-ups, replays, slow motion, expert description and commentary, immediate postgame athlete interviews, and, by the end of the 20th century, interactive information services and even personalized program direction, televised sports have fashioned themselves into a strong sensory spectacle. So substantial have these developments in TV been that sports stadiums have been required to install large screens and to enable amplified athlete interviews in order to match elements of the home television viewing experience.

Spectators are drawn to sports by the aesthetic pleasure of gazing on athletic excellence, but most are also passionate supporters, identifying with athletes and teams on the basis of locality and nationality. Sports fans project onto athletes favorable and unfavorable qualities that, to a substantial degree, resemble the characterization of popular melodrama. Furthermore, sports contests (following Arledge) are fashioned by television into narratives, their "plots" unfolding under the gaze of commentators and viewers who interpret their significance through judgmental frameworks of virtue and dishonor. However, the sports script is never legally written in advance. The formal uncertainty of live sports contests (despite their frequently predictable outcomes) can create a strong sense that history is being made on screen. In the 2003 Rugby World Cup Final between England and Australia, for example, the final result was settled only by an England score 16 seconds from the end of a period of extra time before an estimated worldwide television audience of 300 million.

Just as modernity has produced societies that are increasingly fragmented and alienated, television both symbolically unites and splinters its audience by representing sports. In the early modern period of lesser social and spatial mobility, professional sportspeople tended to be embedded in the local communities in which they originated. Television then provided the capital to create a lucrative sports market that enabled elite sportspeople to travel far from home and so to become far more affluent than most of their fans. Paradoxically, therefore, at key sporting televisual moments, elite athletes are symbolically reintegrated into the communities that sports enabled them to leave behind. Modernity also heralded the rise of the dispersed, abstract entity of the nation-state, and there are few greater opportunities for a nation to feel unified than during major sports contests.

If sports television can be described as a genre, it has many variants arising from the different characteristics of specific sports in terms of their rhythms, tempos, rules, and spatial contexts. Individual contact

sports, for example, have a gladiatorial quality. Boxing has long been a key form of televised sports. The small, square ring is easy to capture on the small screen, with two men (and now some women) "slug-ging it out" in near proximity to a noisy crowd. The rounds in boxing are of a fixed duration, easily enabling the insertion of advertisements between rounds. A boxing match may last no more than a few seconds or minutes (requiring a good deal of spontaneous expert discussion), but the prescribed number of rounds ensures that a bout cannot overflow the program schedule. The televised buildup to the fight itself can engender considerable anticipation for casual viewers and boxing fans alike. Indeed, in the case of the "pseudosport" of wrestling as presented by WWF, the contest itself is a relatively small aspect of the total broadcast.

Indoor individual and team sports, including basketball, netball, ice hockey, and indoor tennis, have the advantage of a controlled environment akin to that of the television studio but at the cost of the visual richness of the outdoor broadcast. Sports such as football (both the American and the Australian versions), soccer, rugby, field hockey, tennis, baseball, and cricket generally take place on large, open, rectangular or oval fields. The pace of different sports range from the frenetic to the stately, thereby delivering highly variable viewing experiences. In the case of nonstadium sports, such as golf and marathon running, the landscape of rural and urban courses provides television sports with an almost tourist-like quality.

Television does more than merely represent sports. Its cultural and economic power is such that it has shaped many sports contests. Some sports may be deemed more telegenic than others and so prosper on television in a manner that is self-reproducing. It is mainly because of television that the five-day game of international cricket, with its capacity to end in a draw, spawned also a one-day game with a virtually guaranteed victor and loser. The rhythm of sports contests is dictated to varying degrees by "time-outs" for commercial breaks, penalty shoot-outs in soccer, and tie breakers in tennis in the interests of advertisements and program schedules. The time-zone convenience demands of major TV markets can result in boxing matches at midnight, Olympic marathons in the heat of the day, and baseball games played on early winter nights. Women's sports such as tennis, golf, netball, basketball, hockey, and soccer, furthermore, have all come under pressure to improve their televisual "salability" through more overt modes of sexual address.

Nonetheless, television alone cannot guarantee the success of sports. As noted previously, made-for-

television contests using all the advantages of the medium but unsupported by a substantial fan base are rarely more than temporarily diverting novelties. Indeed, one of the characteristics of sports television is that it requires in-stadium spectators to perform for the cameras and microphones in order to supply the necessary atmosphere to turn the broadcast into a compelling spectacle. Without the atmospherics of large crowds on-screen, sports can appear unengaging, trivial, or absurd. For this reason, sparse crowds are hidden by tighter camera shots, and boom microphones are turned up to maximum volume. Sometimes—as in the case of a soccer match at Arsenal's Highbury stadium while under renovation—crowds have even been digitally faked for television.

Initially, it was believed that admitting television cameras into sporting events would lead to a reduced number of paying customers in the stadium. But television also made sports available to vastly greater numbers of viewers who could be "sold" to sponsors and advertisers than could possibly attend games, resulting not only in the astonishingly efficient promotion of sports but also in previously unimagined broadcast rights revenue. The cost to sports, of course, was a loss of autonomy. To return to the 2003 Rugby Union World Cup Final, the requirement of extra time disrupted the television schedule, resulting in medal presenters being instructed by television directors to speed things up. A dignified, symbolic moment of triumph thereby became an embarrassing, fast-forwarded farce. At such unfortunate moments, viewers can simultaneously apprehend both the pleasure and the pain of the submission of sports to the embrace of television.

DAVID ROWE

**See also Arledge, Roone; Grandstand; Hockey Night in Canada; Ohlmeyer, Don; Olympics and Television; Super Bowl**

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## Sportscasters

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The history of sportscasting, like almost everything else on television, had its roots in radio. Radio's first generation of great sportscasters—Graham McNamee, Ted Husing, and Grantland Rice, among others—transformed the airwaves into a "theater of the mind" in which hyperbole would become honored as an art. McNamee, a meat salesman before moving into sportscasting, is regarded as the first well-known play-by-play announcer, unapologetic about sacrificing accuracy for excitement. Perhaps unknowingly, McNamee was laying a foundation for the idea that the sportscaster could

be a personality, someone recognized not only for professional abilities but also for the knack of keeping an audience entertained. His emphasis on enthusiasm lives on today in the performances of men such as Dick Vitale and John Madden; their excitement for their favorite sport appears to be both genuine and the most important factor in identifying their popularity.

It would be incorrect to suggest that every sportscaster who followed McNamee adopted his strategy. It is important to note that some sportscasters frowned on the notion of becoming too dramatic or



making themselves a part of the event they covered. They sought instead to “play it straight,” to be less a fan and more a journalist. In doing so, they did not lose the respect of their peers or the public.

Unlike today, many of the early sportscasters regularly called the games not from the stadium but from a studio many miles away, where they read and “performed” details of the game as reported on a telegraph wire ticker. The announcers used sound effects and creative language to enhance the sense that they were present at the game. The system worked, provided that the ticker also worked. Perhaps the most notable “recreationist” landed his first job in the entertainment industry as a football announcer at an Iowa radio station. The year was 1932, and Ronald “Dutch” Reagan was paid \$5 a game. Later, he would deliver similar recreated broadcasts of Chicago Cubs’ games for another Iowa radio station (and much later, the so-called Great Communicator would be elected president of the United States).

Many of the next generation of distinguished radio sportscasters, such as Mel Allen, Red Barber, Lindsey Nelson, and Bill Stern, would later become prominent voices in television’s first decades as a mass medium. Allen and Barber, famous for their play-by-play reporting for the Yankees and Dodgers, respectively, were the first broadcasters enshrined into the Baseball Hall of Fame. Barber eschewed the notion that a sportscaster should “root, root, root for the home team.” Instead, he adopted an approach that might be called “objective” and let the action take center stage. Stern saw it differently. His fame developed partially from hosting a radio program filled with fictional stories about real athletes and people. Stern acknowledged that he developed a following because of these harmless diversions (as he called them). Indeed, he did. He was voted the nation’s most popular sportscaster 13 times.

In the years immediately following World War II, television and sports used each other to expand their popularity with, and their ability to reach, a larger audience. Some scholars have suggested that during this period, sports teams and leagues had the advantage in the relationship because television networks desperately needed sports programming to fill the schedule. It was not uncommon for the networks to devote upward of 40 percent of their weeknight schedule to sports. Although roller derby and bowling played well on the small screen, boxing and professional wrestling were the sports best suited to the limitations of the first generation of television sets. Dennis James became the prototypical wrestling announcer. “I used to do whole wrestling matches in spontaneous poetry,” he once said. His style showed that describing action in the

ring with eloquent elocution was entirely appropriate, even for a sport in which the stars often appeared to be more like actors than athletes. The prominent role that advertisers would play in the presentation of sports also developed in this period. For example, the Gillette company sponsored *Cavalcade of Sports*, which heavily promoted boxing and stayed on the air for 14 years.

Sportscasting in the 1950s followed the radio pattern of announcer enthusiasm. Many sportscasters and their employers conceived of their role as something akin to being ambassadors and fans of the game. This style was perhaps perfected in the Midwest, where baseball announcers became synonymous with the teams they covered on a daily basis. Harry Caray was the voice of the St. Louis Cardinals for 16 years before he was replaced by Jack Buck, a member of the baseball, football, and radio halls of fame. Buck remained with the team until his death in 2002. Caray eventually landed with the Chicago Cubs, for whom he worked from 1981 through 1998. He was appreciated far more for his passion for baseball and the Cubs than he was for his ability to broadcast a game. In short, he was a personality.

During the 1960s—the decade of the marriage of television and football—one of the more important revolutions in television sports was introduced, specifically on December 31, 1963, during an Army–Navy football game. Instant replay would figure prominently in the phenomenal rise in popularity of televised football during the 1960s and beyond. Moreover, Pete Rozelle, the commissioner of the National Football League (NFL), envisioned how his sport could play well on television, that it could mean more than simply seeing the two teams play. The television networks agreed, and in 1964, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) paid an unprecedented \$28 million dollars for television rights for NFL games and instantly recouped its investment with two \$14 million sponsorship contracts, with Ford Motor Company and Philip Morris.

Soon networks were competing for the same fans in what was supposedly the most important football game of the season. The Super Bowl debuted in January 1967, and Rozelle allowed both CBS and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to televise it. A *Time* magazine report suggested the dual network idea was deliberate, as it forced both networks to promote the game and entice viewers to watch. The game itself did not attract a large in-person audience, but both networks brought out their primary football announcing teams. In pregame promotions, both emphasized the excellence of their sportscasters. CBS offered Ray Scott, Jack Whitaker, Frank Gifford, and Pat Summerall, while NBC featured Curt Gowdy and Paul Christman.



The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) remained in the shadows of CBS and NBC throughout the 1950s. Boone Arledge, a producer (and eventual president) at ABC, however, viewed spectator sports as involving more than a passive audience and brought ABC into a new light. He created what was destined to become the longest-running sports program in television, *Wide World of Sports*, and hired a young Baltimore announcer named James K. McManus to host the new show. McManus soon changed his name to Jim McKay and would go down in broadcast history as the man who first informed the world about the tragic terrorist attack that took the lives of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, West Germany.

Arledge believed that a television network was not doing its job if it merely brought the game to the fans. Instead, he wanted to bring the fans to the game. He challenged his ABC crews to use all available production techniques to heighten the experience of the game. He wanted both men and women to feel like they were part of the in-stadium audience, even though they were sitting in their living rooms, at a bar, or some other location. In short, he wanted show business and sports to be linked.

Soon after he was named president of the network's sports division, Arledge brought professional football to ABC. *Monday Night Football* began in 1970. The three-man announcing team included Keith Jackson, Don Meredith, and Howard Cosell. Jackson lasted only one season and was replaced by Frank Gifford. The recipe for success had been created: the sexy Gifford, the easygoing Meredith, and the controversial Cosell remained together through 1973, when Meredith left. He returned in 1977, and the group (with Fran Tarkenton and O.J. Simpson intermittently joining the team) remained together through 1983.

Arledge was also guided by the notion that announcer-approval clauses, in which teams approved or disapproved announcers, were inappropriate. This policy made ABC the first network to allow—in fact, to welcome—critical commentary to accompany the play-by-play.

Cosell proved to be the beneficiary. He was not afraid to tackle issues he believed needed comment, and he developed a love-hate relationship with the audience. Cosell joined the elite ranks of Curt Gowdy, Chris Schenkel, McKay, Nelson, and Summerall when the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences recognized his accomplishments with a Lifetime Achievement Award. He passed away one year later.

Cosell's star was shining brightest at a time when ABC's next superstar was beginning to make his mark. In 1980, Al Michaels was given what at the time seemed to be a rather mundane assignment: play-by-

play announcer for the network's hockey coverage during the Winter Olympics. But the stunning gold medal victory by the U.S. hockey team and Michaels's cry of "Do you believe in miracles!" in the final seconds of the Americans' victory over the Soviet Union remain unforgettable more than two decades later.

One area in which Arledge did not serve as a pioneer was in the introduction of women as sportscasters. Former Miss America Phyllis George is generally credited with breaking sportscasting's gender barrier in 1975 when she joined *The NFL Today* on CBS, but at least one woman served as an analyst in the 1950s. Myrtle Power was signed by CBS after earning short-lived celebrity status as a baseball expert on the game show *The \$64,000 Question*. While women have continued to make inroads into sportscasting (consider names such as Gayle Gardner and Lesley Visser), it has been a struggle. One of the lingering debates concerns whether female journalists should have access to male locker rooms. High-profile cases came to national prominence in the final decades of the 20th century. The most notable involved Lisa Olsen, a *Boston Herald* reporter who in 1990 accused several New England Patriot football players of exposing themselves and sexually harassing her while she interviewed other players.

The Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) went on the air in 1979 and launched another new era of sportscasting. ESPN moved rapidly from covering quasi sports events such as tractor pulls to become a household phenomenon. It now reaches more than 80 million U.S. television households, making it the largest cable network. ESPN's tremendous success allowed it to expand on cable (ESPN2, ESPN Classic, ESPN News), radio (ESPN Radio), and into print (*ESPN The Magazine*). Moreover, it provides substantial live coverage of all four major professional sports leagues in the United States. Although ESPN does not own broadcast rights to any of the "March Madness" games, the annual men's college basketball tournament, it does have the analyst who perhaps can be called that sport's greatest ambassador, Dick Vitale. The ever-present, ever-high-octane, ever-positive Vitale, the quintessential personality, attracts rowdy basketball fans wherever he goes.

Chris Berman has been with ESPN from its infancy and remains one of its most popular announcers. A six-time National Sportscaster of the Year honoree, Berman is best known for the nicknames he has given various athletes (e.g., Roberto "Remember the" Alomar). His style, which might be described as "hey, you need to listen to me," not only fits well at ESPN but also is central in a period in which a sportscaster's personality seems to be as important as the knowledge he or she brings to the event being covered.

ESPN also should be recognized for hiring the first African-American woman in sports television. Robin Roberts joined ESPN in 1990 and wore many hats for the network before being named in 2002 the morning news host on ABC's *Good Morning America*.

ABC's run of success with *Monday Night Football* began to wane after Cosell's departure. The program regularly earned ratings in the high teens and lower 20s during the Gifford, Meredith, and Cosell years, but since 1986 the show has continued to lose audience share. Moreover, this was a period in which there seemed to be an ever-revolving door in the broadcast booth. Following the 2001 season, in which the average rating was 11.5 (the lowest ever), ABC announced it had hired John Madden, the most popular football analyst of this generation, at a reported \$5 million per year. This was not the first time Madden's popularity was rewarded. In 1993, after FOX outbid CBS for the

rights to broadcast National Football Conference (NFC) games, Madden negotiated a contract with Rupert Murdoch that earned him a reported \$30 million over four years. With that deal, Madden became the highest-paid sportscaster of all time.

Madden says his "passion for the game" is what makes him tick. Perhaps surprisingly, his hiring did not generate immediate returns: ABC's ratings were no better in 2002 than in the previous year but were showing an increase in 2003.

ANTHONY MORETTI

*See also* Arledge, Roone; McKay, Jim; Olympics and Television; Super Bowl

*The author wishes to recognize Jimmie Reeves, who wrote this section of the encyclopedia's first edition and who graciously allowed the author to contribute to the second edition.*

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## Spriggs, Elizabeth (1929– )

British Actor

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Elizabeth Spriggs is among Britain's most established and well-loved character actors. An associate artiste with the Royal Shakespeare Company, her illustrious work in the theater has run parallel with her lengthy and successful career in television. Work in the two media converged with her characterization of Sonia in Wesker's *Love Letters on Blue Paper*, a role she originally created for television and then transferred to the stage, winning her the West End Managers Award for 1978.

Her versatility is revealed by both her skill at adapting her style for television, resisting the tendency of many actors with a theatrical background to "play to the gallery," and her work in a diverse set of television genres. Listed among her credits are the particularly noteworthy roles of the long-suffering and self-sacrificing wife and mother, Connie Fox, in the drama series *Fox*; Harvey Moon's no-nonsense and strong-willed mother in the situation comedy series *Shine on Harvey Moon*; the God-fearing gossip, May, in the critically acclaimed and highly popular drama *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*; and the wayward and wonderfully funny nurse, Sairey Gamp, in the much-praised British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) adaptation of *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

While to a great extent subject to the standard type-casting of older actresses, Spriggs takes the crones, gossips, and suffering matriarchs and transforms them with her engagingly strong and rooted presence. In doing so, she imbues the usual fare with additional weight and dimension.

Although there has been interest, particularly within feminist television criticism, in analyzing the representations of older female characters and the contributions of actresses to these characterizations, most of the attention has been paid to the soap opera genre. The wider terrain remains largely unexplored and unevaluated within television studies.

NICOLA STRANGE

**Elizabeth Spriggs.** Born in England, September 18, 1929. Educated at the Royal School of Music. Married: 1) Marshall Jones; 2) Murray Manson. Stage actor with the Bristol Old Vic and the Birmingham Repertory, 1958; joined the Royal Shakespeare Company, 1962; joined the National Theatre Company, 1976; numerous appearances on television and in motion pictures. Recipient: SWETM Best Supporting Actress Award, 1978.

**Television Series**

- 1982 *Shine On Harvey Moon*
- 1992–93 *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*
- 1998– *Playing the Field*
- 2001–02 *Nice Guy Eddie*
- 2003 *Swiss Toni*

**Television Play**

- 1978 *Love Letters on Blue Paper*

**Television Miniseries**

- 1976 *The Glittering Prizes*
- 1980 *Fox*
- 1990 *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*
- 1994 *Middlemarch*
- 1994 *Takin' Over the Asylum*
- 1995 *Martin Chuzzlewit*
- 1999 *Wives and Daughters*

**Made-for-Television Movies**

- 1979 *Julius Caesar*
- 1982 *Merry Wives of Windsor*
- 1984 *The Cold Room*
- 1989 *Young Charlie Chaplin*
- 1992 *The Last Vampyre*
- 1999 *Alice in Wonderland*
- 1999 *A Christmas Carol*
- 2000 *The Sleeper*

- 2001 *Victoria and Albert*
- 2002 *Shackleton*

**Films**

*Work Is a Four-Letter Word*, 1967; *Three into Two Won't Go*, 1969; *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*, 1981; *Richard's Things*, 1981; *Lady Chatterly's Lover*, 1981; *Going Undercover*, 1988; *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*, 1989; *Impromptu*, 1991; *Hour of the Pig*, 1993; *Sense and Sensibility*, 1995; *The Secret Agent*, 1996; *For My Baby*; *Paradise Road*, 1997; *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, 2001; *The Queen of Sheba's Pearls*, 2004.

**Stage (selection)**

*Cleopatra*, 1958; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1958; *The Beggar's Opera*, 1963; *The Representative*, 1963; *Victor*, 1964; *Marat/Sade*, 1965; *The Comedy of Errors*, 1965; *Timon of Athens*, 1965; *Hamlet*, 1965; *The Governor's Lady*, 1965–66; *The Government Inspector*, 1965–66; *Henry IV*, 1966; *Henry V*, 1966; *All's Well That Ends Well*, 1966; *Macbeth*, 1966; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1966; *Julius Caesar*, 1968; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1968; *A Delicate Balance*, 1969; *Women Beware Women*, 1969; *Twelfth Night*, 1970; *London Assurance*, 1970; *The Winter's Tale*, 1970; *Twelfth Night*, 1970; *Major Barbara*, 1970; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1972; *Blithe Spirit*, 1976; *The Country Wife*, 1977; *Volpone*, 1977; *Love Letters on Blue Paper*, 1978.

## Spy Programs

Although individual series have enjoyed enormous popularity and cult followings, the spy genre overall has never been as successful or as ubiquitous in American television as westerns, medical dramas, and detective programs. Nevertheless, espionage-themed programs can boast a number of firsts, most notably the first African-American lead character in a regular dramatic series (*I Spy*), the first female action lead character in an hour-long American dramatic series (*The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*), and the first Russian lead character in an American dramatic series (*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*), the latter appearing less than three years after the Cuban missile crisis.

Except during the so-called spy-craze period of the mid-1960s, when it seemed that every action/adventure show borrowed elements from James Bond, spies as television action heroes have been far outnumbered by the more traditional figures of policemen and private investigators. Even when they do appear, television spies (or “secret agents”) are often presented as international crime fighters rather than as true undercover operators, with the emphasis on justice and law enforcement rather than on clandestine activities. As a result, there are few “pure” spy programs and most of the long-running ones can be classed in other genre categories, including westerns (*The Wild, Wild West*),



*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, David McCallum, Robert Vaughn, Leo G. Carroll, 1964–68.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

situation comedy (*Get Smart*), and science fiction (*The Avengers* and *The Prisoner*).

The boundaries between the spy and other television genres is extremely fluid, and the elements of the typical spy program are variable and not easily defined. On television, spies and detectives have a great deal in common. Both are tough, sometimes world-weary individuals who live and work on the edges of normal society. Their antagonists are rich, powerful, clever, and often apparently “respectable.” In both genres, because of the wealth and resources of the villain, the heroes must use extralegal means in order to triumph. Before they do, they must progress through various narrative situations, including the assignment of the case/mission; investigation of the crime; abduction by the villain; interrogation and/or torture; at least one long, complicated chase; and a final shoot-out or brawl.

The average secret agent tends to be more cerebral and sophisticated than the average detective and, if not wealthy himself, at least comfortable with the trappings of wealth. Money is not an important incentive, however. The secret agent’s motives are personal and philosophical, a dedication to certain moral or political ideals, or simply a taste for the game of espionage it-

self. In its focus on the “game”—the hero’s intellectual ability to decipher clues, solve complex mysteries, and outmaneuver the bad guys—the television spy plot may resemble the classical detective story. Indeed, the chess metaphor appears often in each.

Nevertheless, there are several subtle differences that distinguish the television secret agent from the detective, and these can be seen in the transformation of Amos Burke, the title character of the popular series *Burke’s Law*. For the first two years of the series’ run, Burke (played by Gene Barry) was a Los Angeles chief of detectives who also happened to be a millionaire. In solving his homicide cases, Burke was chauffeured around in a silver Rolls Royce. His cases were typical whodunits involving the rich and glamorous portrayed by large casts of guest stars.

Then in 1965, in order to cash in on the spy craze, Captain Amos Burke, detective, became Amos Burke, secret agent. Since he was already suave, sophisticated, witty, and charming, no character tinkering was needed. However, several important changes were made. Burke left the Los Angeles Police Department to work for a U.S. government intelligence agency, his only contact being a mysterious character called simply “The Man” (played by Carl Benton Reid). Burke’s operating milieu subsequently expanded from the confines of the Los Angeles area to include the entire world. No longer a local millionaire sleuth, Burke became a continent-hopping agent, and his quarry changed from small-time murderers to international criminals whose schemes and machinations had global consequences.

These changes, then, define the essential elements of the television spy series: (1) The active presence of a government or quasi government agency in the life of the protagonist. The agency is shown to be involved in clandestine and/or espionage activities. (2) Villains who are often foreign, usually eccentric, and whose crimes have larger political consequences. Most commonly, these villains desire either to take over the world or to destroy it. (3) An expansion of the plot setting beyond local and even national boundaries to include a variety of countries and exotic locales.

Since James Bond appeared on the literary and, later, cinematic scene, spy stories have also incorporated a number of stylistic motifs of his creator, Ian Fleming. These include ironic humor; the use martial arts techniques for self-defense; a preoccupation with expensive clothes, cars, food, accommodations, and leisure pursuits; the presence of beautiful women either as agents, antagonists, or innocent bystanders caught up in the plot; and a fascination with weaponry and high technology.

The importance of these motifs should not be underestimated. For example, *Honey West* was essentially a

series about a female detective similar to the later *Remington Steele*. Yet critics have always categorized it as a spy program simply because of its stylistic trappings, most notably, Honey West's pet ocelot and the one-piece black jumpsuit worn by the star, Anne Francis, so reminiscent of the wardrobe of *The Avengers'* Emma Peel (Diana Rigg). On the other hand, series such as *Tightrope* and the later *Wiseguy*, both of which feature lead characters working undercover, are not considered spy programs because the international reach of the enemy crime syndicates is not emphasized and because the heroes appear and function as police officers.

The primary reason why spy shows are so few and far between on television is that the genre does not adapt well to the production and aesthetic needs of the medium. In their book *The Spy Story* (1987), John G. Cawelti and Bruce A. Rosenberg delineate two subcategories of spy fiction, both of which can be applied to spy stories on television.

The first, originating with James Buchan (*The Thirty-Nine Steps*) and other "clubmen" writers and reinvented by Ian Fleming, consists of colorful, imaginative adventures with roving, honorable heroes, dastardly villains, and exotic settings. By comparison, the second subcategory, identified with Eric Ambler, Graham Greene, and more recently John Le Carré, contains tales of espionage more realistically presented. Concerned with corruption, betrayal, and conspiracy, these stories feature a grayer mood, more circumscribed settings, and ordinary protagonists who seem, at first glance, not much different than the people they oppose. The plotting is complicated and subtle, and the endings are often downbeat, leaving the agent sadly disillusioned or dead. The chief difference between the two subcategories is the moral base of the narrative. In the first group, good and evil is rendered in stark black and white. In the second, the morality is ambiguous.

As with their literary equivalents, television spy stories may be similarly divided into the romantic and the realistic, although, as one might expect, there is considerable overlap. Both types present problems in adapting to the television medium.

The romantic spy adventure, while meeting the aesthetic needs of the medium for simplicity in storytelling, escapist interest, and fast-paced excitement, requires foreign locations, numerous props, expensive wardrobes, and other production details that can severely strain a limited television budget. On the other hand, although the realistic espionage story is likely to be less expensive to produce, the difficult themes, depressive mood, and often unattractive characters do not lend themselves to the medium, particularly to the demands of a weekly network series.

As a result, to be produced for television, both types of spy stories must be "domesticated," both literally and figuratively. For the romantic spy program, elements of the so-called Bond formula of "sex, snobbery, and sadism" must be toned down to small-screen standards. The intensity of torture sequences may be tempered by the use of outlandishly humorous devices and Perils of Pauline-style narrow escapes. Weapons may fire sleep-inducing darts (*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*), or the hero may not carry a gun at all (as in the quasi-espionage series *MacGyver*).

Location shoots must also be kept to a minimum. Both *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* and *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*, filmed on the MGM backlot, used an ingenious swish-pan technique to get from one location to another. *I Spy* traveled overseas but filmed a number of episodes in each country it visited. *The Prisoner* was shot at an actual resort village at the Hotel Portmeiron in North Wales.

*Adderly* was fortunate enough to find Canadian locations that could mimic the landscape of the Soviet Union and other European countries. More recently, series such as *The Scarecrow and Mrs. King* confine themselves to U.S. settings, saving stories set in foreign locales for season finales and sweeps weeks.

Several realistic, even dyspeptic, espionage series, such as *Danger Man*, *Callan*, and *Sandbaggers*, enjoyed healthy runs in the United Kingdom, but only one of these, *Danger Man*, ever crossed the Atlantic to be seen in the States. To make the plotlines and characters of realistic spy programs more appealing to American audiences, television producers have employed a number of different strategies. For example, *Danger Man* was retitled *Secret Agent*, and a snazzy Johnny Rivers song was added to the opening and closing credits. Both *I Led Three Lives* in the 1950s and *The Equalizer* in the 1980s exploited anxieties that were close to home for the audience, mining Red Scare paranoia in the case of the earlier show and fears of urban crime in the latter.

Another strategy used by creators of realistic spy programs is to make the central character morally certain. Although he was often surrounded by double-crossing colleagues and double agents in *Secret Agent*, John Drake's (Patrick McGoohan's) own loyalty was never in question. In *The Equalizer*, Edward Woodward, who earlier played a lonely, cold-blooded assassin in *Callan*, returned as Robert McCall, a retired CIA operative. McCall clearly had a past career similar to Callan's but now deeply regretted it. To expiate his past sins, McCall became the self-styled Equalizer of the title, dedicating his life and skills to protecting the weak and innocent free of charge. McCall was also given a family—an estranged son, a dead wife, and a

daughter whose existence he discovered during the run of the series.

Surrounding the usually isolated secret agent with family, colleagues, and friends is yet another television strategy for domesticating both strains of the genre. Humor and a fraternity-boy camaraderie between Kelly Robinson (Robert Culp) and Alexander Scott (Bill Cosby) leavened *I Spy*'s sometimes bleak Cold War ideology, while the developing romance between the two lead characters (Bruce Boxleitner and Kate Jackson) kept interest high between chases in *The Scarecrow and Mrs. King*. In *Under Cover*, an intensely realistic series that featured plotlines drawn directly from recent world events, the husband and wife agents (Anthony John Denison and Linda Purl) were forced to juggle the dangerous demands of their profession with the everyday problems of home and family life. Finally, those spy stories that, for whatever reason, could not be domesticated, such as adaptations of best-selling spy thrillers, generally ended up on cable or the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) or on network television as TV movies and miniseries.

The history of the spy on television reflects this continuing tension between the genre and the medium and between romantic and realistic tendencies. Whenever public interest in foreign affairs is on the rise, spy programs of both types proliferate, with fictional villains reflecting the country's current political enemies.

The first regular spy series appeared on U.S. television in the early 1950s. A handful, including an early series also called *I Spy* (hosted by Raymond Massey) and *Behind Closed Doors* (hosted by Bruce Gordon), were anthologies. Others, such as *Biff Baker* (Alan Hale, Jr.) and *Hunter* (the first of four series called *Hunter*; this one starring Barry Nelson), featured gentlemen amateurs caught up in foreign intrigue through chance or patriotism. The rest, which usually had the word "danger" in their titles (*Doorway to Danger*, *Dangerous Assignment*, and *Passport to Danger*), were undistinguished half-hour series about professional agents battling Communists. These series lasted, with only three exceptions, a year or less.

Those exceptions were *I Led Three Lives*, *Foreign Intrigue*, and *Five Fingers*. *I Led Three Lives* was an enormously popular hit series based on the real-life story of FBI undercover agent Herbert Philbrick who infiltrated the American Communist Party. A favorite of J. Edgar Hoover (who considered it a public service), the show reportedly was taken so seriously by some viewers that they wrote the producers to report suspected Communists in their neighborhood. *Foreign Intrigue*, a syndicated series, boasted colorful European locations but replaceable stars (five in four years played four various wire-service correspondents and a

hotel owner) who stumble across international criminals. Only the last, *Five Fingers*, starring David Hedison as double agent Victor Sebastian, even hinted at the cool, hip style that was to be the hallmark of spy shows in the 1960s.

An interesting oddity during this period was an adaptation of Ian Fleming's *Casino Royale* for the anthology series *Climax*, in which the British James Bond is transformed into an American agent, "Jimmy" Bond (Barry Nelson), confronting a French Communist villain named Le Sheef (originally Le Chiffre). After a tense game of baccarat, Le Sheef (played by a sleepwalking Peter Lorre) captures Bond, confines him in a hotel bathtub, and rather bizarrely tortures him by twisting his bare toes with pliers.

There is no doubt that the mid-1960s was the high-water mark for the spy genre. Spies were everywhere—in books, on records, and on the big and little screens—and their images were emblazoned on countless mass-produced articles from toys to toiletries. Most were hour-long color shows that featured pairs or teams of professional agents of various races, genders, and cultural backgrounds. The pace was fast and the style cool, with lots of outrageous villains, sexual innuendo, technical gadgetry, and tongue-in-cheek humor. A third subcategory of the genre, the spy "spoof," developed during this time (*Get Smart*, created by Mel Brooks and Buck Henry, is the quintessential example), but there was so much humor in the "serious" shows that it was often difficult to distinguish spoofs from the real thing.

By 1968, the high spirits had soured, and the spy craze came to a fitting end with the unsettlingly paranoid series *The Prisoner*, created and produced by its star, ex-secret agent Patrick McGoohan. Still, many of the shows of this period, including *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, *The Avengers*, *I Spy*, *The Wild, Wild West*, *Mission: Impossible*, and even *The Prisoner*, have enjoyed continued life in periodic film and television revivals and in cult fan followings throughout the world.

The decade of the 1970s saw a few sporadic attempts to breathe new life into a moribund genre. All the spy series introduced during this period featured gimmicky characters who worked for organizations identified by acronyms. Among the gimmicks were an agent with a photographic memory (*The Delphi Bureau*), agents fitted with electronic devices connected to a computer (*Search*), an agent accompanied by a giant assistant with a steel hand filled with gadgets (*A Man Called Sloane*), and a superhuman cyborg (*The Six Million Dollar Man*). With the exception of the last, which appealed primarily to children, all were quickly canceled.

The beginning of the next decade saw several "return" movies of 1960s favorites such as *Get Smart*, *The Wild, Wild West*, and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* as well as quality television adaptations of John Le Carré's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and *Smiley's People* by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC; shown on PBS in the United States). This eventually led to a minirevival in spy programs in the mid-1980s that included serious, gritty series such as *The Equalizer* and adaptations of best-selling spy novels, including Le Carré's *A Perfect Spy*, Len Deighton's *Game Set Match*, Ken Follett's *Key to Rebecca*, and Robert Ludlum's *The Bourne Identity*. As with Amos Burke in the 1960s, action series such as *The A-Team* began to boost their ratings by injecting espionage elements into their formulas.

However, unlike their predecessors of 20 years previous, the spies of the 1980s were less fantastic and more pragmatic, with believable technology and a postmodern sensibility. Even romantic adventure series such as *Airwolf* and *Scarecrow and Mrs. King* were given a realistic edge. Indeed, this trend toward intense realism reached its culmination in *Under Cover*, a series so realistic that it was canceled by a nervous American Broadcasting Company (ABC) af-

ter less than a month on the air. In January 1991, a two-part episode of *Under Cover*, in which Iraq planned to fire a virus-carrying missile at Israel, was pulled from the schedule when the war in Kuwait broke out.

For the 1994-95 season, the fledgling FOX network offered two spy series, *Fortune Hunter*, a James Bond clone, and a revival of *Get Smart* starring an aging Don Adams and Barbara Feldon. Both series were canceled after extremely abbreviated runs.

CYNTHIA W. WALKER

See also *Avengers; Get Smart; I Spy; Man from U.N.C.L.E./The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.; Mission: Impossible; Prisoner; Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*

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## Standards

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Recorded video signals are rather complex and tightly structured. The standard unit of video is a frame. Similar to film, motion video is created by displaying progressive frames at a rate fast enough for the human eye and brain to perceive continuous motion. The basic means by which video images are recorded and displayed is a scanning process. When a video image is recorded by most cameras, a beam of electrons sweeps across the recording surface in a progressive series of lines. This basic technology is simple enough, widely understood, and, after a certain point, easily manufactured. The concept can be applied and the effect of a video image can be achieved, however, in various ways, with varying rates of electronic activity. Line frequencies and scanning rates are flexible, determined in part by a level of user (producer and viewer) satisfaction and in part by concerns of equipment manufacturers and broadcasters. Consequently, not all video or television systems are alike. The variations among them are defined in terms of "standards."

In the United States, industry-wide agreement on engineering standards for television did not come until 1941, when the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) decided to adopt a black-and-white standard (postponing the issue of color). The FCC accepted the National Television System Committee (also referred to as the National Television Standards Committee [NTSC]) recommendations and set line frequency at 525 per frame scanned at a rate of approximately 30 frames per second (29.97 to be exact). In 1953, corporate interests (the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS] and the Radio Corporation of America [RCA]/National Broadcasting Company [NBC]) agreed to another proposal that allowed the NTSC to establish color television standards; these standards were compatible with those already set for black-and-white transmission.

These standards are not, however, uniformly accepted elsewhere. There are presently three world standards for transmitting a color video signal. The

NTSC recommendations accepted by the FCC as a national standard for the United States in 1953 are used in several other countries, including Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Japan, Mexico, Panama, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, South Korea, and Taiwan.

PAL (phase alternating line) and SECAM (sequen-tial couleur a memoire) are the two other major world-wide television standards. PAL is a modified form of NTSC and specifies a different means of encoding and transmitting color video designed to eliminate some NTSC problems, specifically a shift in chroma phase (hue). PAL uses 625 lines per frame (versus NTSC's 525) scanned at a rate of 25 frames per second (versus NTSC's 29.97) and operates at a 50-Hertz frequency (versus NTSC's 60-Hertz frequency). The PAL system is standard in more countries than NTSC or SECAM, including Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Norway, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

SECAM is a video color system developed by the French; though it differs from PAL, it too uses 625 lines per frame, scanned at a rate of 25 frames per second, and operates at a 50-Hertz frequency. SECAM is used in France as well as several other countries, including Egypt, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Poland, and parts of the former Soviet Union.

There are enough differences between these three standards so that a videotape recorded using PAL will not play on a VCR set up for NTSC or SECAM and

vice versa. NTSC, PAL, and SECAM are thus incompatible with each other. Standards converters can convert video from one standard to another, but the resultant image is often poor. Digital standards converters can provide better-quality converted video. Productions intended to be broadcast or released in different video standards are often shot on film, which can be converted to any video standard with reasonably good quality.

Recent developments in high-definition television (HDTV) have closed the gap between the technical quality of broadcast television and motion pictures. HDTV doubles the current broadcast NTSC number of scanning lines per frame—from 525 to 1,050 or 1,125, depending on the specific system—with a fourfold improvement in resolution (and a change to a wide-screen format).

ERIC FREEDMAN

*See also Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers*

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## Standards and Practices

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"Standards and practices" is the term most American networks use for what many, especially in the creative community, refer to as the "network censors." Standards and practices departments (known as program practices at the Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]) are maintained at each of the broadcast and many of the cable networks. The concept came about as a direct outgrowth of the trusteeship model: broadcasters were said to have a responsibility to the public interest as a result of their having access to a scarce resource. Another factor was the fear of propaganda,

deemed to have been so effective in World War I. The most important consideration, however, was the unprecedented reality that radio—and later television—content came into the home, unforeseen, often unbidden, and sometimes unwelcome. Historically, therefore, lest an offended audience demand government intervention, the charge of standards and practice has been to review all nonnews broadcast matter, including entertainment, sports, and commercials, for compliance with legal, policy, factual, and community standards.



The broadcasters' insistence on setting and maintaining their own standards goes back to 1921, when engineers were instructed to use an emergency switch in the event that a performer or guest used language or brought up topics that were held to be unsuitable. During radio's first decade, taboos included any mention of price or even the location of a sponsoring store. Later, the networks would have an organist at the ready in a standby studio. A noted incident is said to have occurred in 1932, when a major administration spokesman was reporting on the government's progress in dealing with the Great Depression. He allegedly used the word "damn," a light went on in the standby studio, and the nation heard organ arpeggios.

By the late 1930s, the networks had established so-called continuity acceptance procedures to ensure that their advertising policies and federal law were adhered to. Later, as the role of radio in American life became more clearly understood, a body of written policy was articulated, generally on a case-by-case basis, to guide not only advertisers and their agencies but also programmers and producers in entertainment and other programming.

More than 67 percent of all television stations subscribed to the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) Code adopted in 1950 (a similar radio code had been in operation since 1935). In addition to provisions that addressed historic concerns respecting the "advancement of education and culture," responsibility toward children, community responsibility, and general program standards, the NAB Code also included advertising standards and time limits for non-program material defined as "billboards, commercials, promotional announcements and all credits in excess of 30 seconds per program." In 1982, in settlement of an antitrust suit brought by the U.S. Department of Justice, the NAB and the federal government entered into a consent decree abolishing the time standards and the industry-wide limitations on the number and length of commercials they provided. The Code program standards had been suspended in 1976 after a federal judge in Los Angeles ruled that the "family hour" violated the First Amendment. After the demise of the Code, the networks, which had already developed their own written standards, took over the entire burden.

Standards—and the broadcasters' efforts to implement them—come to the fore whenever an apparent breach of the implicit obligation to respect the public trust occurs. Notable examples of perceived abuse that resulted in expanding the duties and enlarging standards and practices operations include the celebrated 1938 broadcast by Orson Welles's Mercury Theater of "The War of the Worlds," which simulated a radio broadcast interrupted by news reports describing the

landing of Martians; the quiz show scandals of the 1950s; congressional hearings into violence; and concern over the possible blurring of fact and fiction in early docudrama. By 1985, a traditional network's department had no fewer than 80 people on its staff. Each episode of every series was reviewed in script form and as it was recorded.

With the changes in ownership of the traditional networks, the emergence of the cable networks, and the deregulatory climate, there has been considerable relaxation of the process—not every episode is reviewed once a series is established—but the essential responsibilities of the editors remain the same. These include, in addition to compliance with the law, serving as surrogates for the network's affiliates who are licensed to be responsive to their local communities; reflecting the concerns of advertisers and ensuring that the programming is acceptable to the bulk of the mass audience. This involves serving as guardians of taste with respect to language, sexual, and other materials inappropriate for children and the suitability of advertising, especially of personal products.

Commercial clearance involves the close screening of more than 50,000 announcements a year, falling into about 70 different product categories. The Federal Trade Commission's statements in the early 1970s that not only permitted but virtually mandated comparative advertising resulted in the establishment of courtlike procedures to adjudicate between advertisers making conflicting claims. By the mid-1980s, at least 25 percent of all commercials contained comparisons to named competitor's products or services.

Critics contend, with some justification, that standards and practices is anachronistic paternalism at best and most often a form of censorship; the networks claim the publisher's right to exercise their judgment as to what is appropriate for broadcast to the American public. The affiliated stations sometimes complain but are generally, though not always, satisfied that the networks are sufficiently vigilant as their surrogates. Network and sales executives worry that the very process of vetting leads to pettifoggery and rigidity. Advertisers rail at the scrupulous insistence that all claims be substantiated, as the law requires. By far the most frequent complaints, however, are heard from the creative community, which argues that the networks are too accommodating of the most conservative members of the audience and that only by "pushing the envelope" with respect to sex, violence, or language can the medium advance.

By the beginning of the new millenium, these conflicts reached new intensity. Cable networks such as Home Box Office (HBO) used their status as "subscriber" services to support production of material far too "extreme" for broadcast television or basic cable

services. Although HBO could make the claim that it was "not TV, it's HBO," the development of ongoing series such as *OZ*, *The Sopranos*, *Sex and the City*, and *The Wire* made the channel seem to some like television without standards and to others television with the freedom to create in a manner equal to that of literature or film. These series took full advantage of the opportunity to use strong language and to depict sexual activities and violence in ways unseen in the period of network television dominance. Showtime, another subscriber-supported cable service, adapted *Queer as Folk*, a British series, for American audiences. In this case, some aspects of the British version were "toned down," suggesting that a form of "standards and practices judgment" was still in place. The success of these and other original for-cable-television programs encouraged both the programmers and the creative community to use the opportunities for more and more "daring" content.

Recognizing the relative acceptance of these programs and the critical successes accompanying their presentation, other cable outlets began to offer more material that would have been rejected by conventional networks. FX offered *The Shield*, focused on the complicated character of a corrupt police officer, and *Nip/Tuck* an exploration of the moral quandaries of cosmetic surgeons. The former contained language, violence, and ethical positions that challenged standard notions of cultural acceptance, while the latter not only depicted sexual activity but also used graphic visual depictions of surgical procedures to define its "realism." Network television followed suit in some ways with relaxation of regulations on language and more daring depictions of sexual activity—often in programs containing "warnings" to viewers that some aspects of the program might be unacceptable. This practice, it seems, throws the decision to "censor" or approve of more "creative," "realistic," or "honest" depictions to the viewer rather than reserve the power of those choices at the industrial level.

The primary purpose of standards and practices has always been to maintain the networks' most precious

asset, its audience-in-being—the delivery of a significant share of television households, hour after hour, to the advertising community. Secondary purposes, historically, have included protecting the networks' images as responsible and responsive institutions, as sources of reliable information and satisfying entertainment for the entire family, and even as precious national resources. In the final analysis, if the concern for not giving offense has contributed to blandness, it must also be credited for making a commercially supported national system possible. To the degree that this arrangement has changed, it is a mark of alterations in both society and the media industries.

GEORGE DESSART

*See also* **Censorship**

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## Stanton, Frank (1908– )

U.S. Media Executive

Frank Stanton is a distinguished broadcast executive known for the leadership he brought to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Inc., during his 25-year presidency (1946–71). His guidance gave CBS crucial stability during the company's critical growth period. More than just a corporate president, however, Stanton acquired a reputation as the unofficial spokesperson for the broadcasting industry. His opinions were routinely sought, his speeches repeatedly quoted, and his testimony before Congress recognized as a major part of any debate in the broadcasting field.

Stanton was fascinated with radio from his days in graduate school at Ohio State University, chiefly by the question of why people reacted positively to certain radio shows but negatively to others. He used his doctoral research in the psychology department to answer this question, examining why and how people perceive various stimuli. He analyzed the audio and visual effectiveness of information transmission and established test procedures for making rough measurements of their effectiveness. His dissertation, "A Critique of Present Methods and a New Plan for Studying Radio Listening Behavior," caught the attention of CBS and launched his career in the audience research department in 1935.

In 1937, Stanton began a collaboration with Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University. They devised a program analysis system nicknamed "Little Annie." While Stanton tends to downplay the importance of the machine, others have credited it with being the first qualitative measurement device. "Little Annie" determines the probability of a program's appeal by suggesting how large an audience that program would be likely to attract. The system was devised for radio but continues to be used for television, reporting an accuracy rate of 85 percent.

Stanton was promoted to vice president of CBS in 1942 and in 1946, at the age of 38, to the presidency. In this position, he guided CBS through a period of diversification and expansion. He reorganized the company in 1951, creating separate administrations for radio, TV, and CBS Laboratories, a plan that served as a model for other broadcast companies. He helped CBS expand its operations by decentralizing its administration and creating autonomous divisions with a range of

new investments, including the purchase of the New York Yankees in 1964. CBS also bought the book publisher Holt, Rinehart and Winston and Creative Playthings, manufacturer of high-quality educational toys. Diversification paid off for CBS; the company earned \$1 billion in annual sales in 1969.

As president of CBS, Stanton concentrated on organizational and policy questions, leaving the entertainment programming and the discovering and nurturing of talent to the chair, William S. Paley. Stanton was also responsible for the political issues growing out of the network's news department. He was instrumental in bringing about the 1960 Kennedy–Nixon televised presidential debate and is known for his efforts to repeal section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, which requires networks to grant equal time to all po-



Frank Stanton.  
Photo courtesy of Frank Stanton

litical candidates. A staunch proponent of broadcast journalism and defender of broadcasting's First Amendment rights, he led campaigns before Congress and in the courts on behalf of the broadcast industry for access and protection equal to that of the printed press.

Stanton's greatest battle with the government occurred in 1971 and focused on just this parallel to print-press rights. The controversy surrounded *The Selling of the Pentagon*, a CBS News documentary that exposed the huge expenditure of public funds, partly illegal, to promote militarism. The confrontation raised the issue of whether television news programming deserved protection under the First Amendment. Against threat of jail, Stanton refused the subpoena from the House Commerce Committee ordering him to provide copies of the outtakes and scripts from the documentary. He claimed that such materials are protected by the freedom of the press guaranteed by the First Amendment. Stanton observed that if such subpoena actions were allowed, there would be a "chilling effect" on broadcast journalism.

But long before this particular case and long before Watergate or Vietnam, CBS was the first broadcasting network to seriously examine the negative side of Washington politics on television. One of the earliest of these explorations occurred on the news program *See It Now*, in which host Edward R. Murrow confronted U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy. The program was constructed using film clips of McCarthy's accusatory speeches and Murrow refuting his charges. McCarthy demanded, and was granted, time for a response, and in that blustery performance many observers see the downfall of McCarthyism. In retrospect, the two programs were among the most important in the history of television.

Documentaries, even of this immediate sort, however, had a more difficult time attracting sponsors than did entertainment programs, and for this reason *See It Now* was canceled following the 1958 season. Appalled by what the broadcasting industry had become, Murrow spoke before the Television News Directors Association and delivered what was to become known as one of the most famous public tongue lashings in media history, aimed directly at Stanton and Paley. The relationship between Stanton and Murrow soured into accusations and name-calling and was widely reported in the press.

Stanton received the title of vice chair in 1972, one year before the mandatory retirement age of 65. On retiring, Stanton still held \$13 million worth of CBS stock, and he remained a director of CBS and consultant to the corporation under a contract that lasted until

1987. From 1976 to 1995, he was a director of Interpublic Group, which now owns Foote Cone & Belding/True North Communications and the MWW Group.

GARTH JOWETT AND LAURA ASHLEY

*See also Audience Research, Industry and Marketing Perspective; Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; Paley, William S.; See It Now; Selling of the Pentagon*

**Frank Stanton.** Born in Muskegon, Michigan, March 20, 1908. Educated at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, B.A. 1930; Ohio State University, Ph.D. 1935; diplomate from American Board of Professional Psychology. Worked in CBS research department (later CBS-TV), New York City, 1935-45, vice president, 1942, president, CBS Inc., 1946-71 (was cited by three committees of the House of Representatives for contempt of Congress for refusal to grant access to CBS News' "outtakes" in connection with the CBS broadcast of *The Selling of the Pentagon*, 1971), vice chair, 1972-73, president emeritus, since 1973; chair, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1961-67, trustee, 1957-78; U.S. Advanced Communications Info., Washington, D.C., 1964-73; chair, ARC, Washington, D.C., 1973-79, vice chair, League of Red Cross Societies, Geneva, Switzerland, 1973-80; chair, visiting committee, Kennedy School of Government, 1979-85; chair (now retired), Broadcast International, Inc.; director, Capital Income Builder, Inc., Capital World Growth and Income Fund, Inc., Sony Music Entertainment, Inc. Member: founding member and chair, Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1953-60, trustee, 1953-71; Business Council, Washington, D.C., since 1956 (honorary); National Portrait Gallery Commission, Washington, D.C., since 1973; board of overseers, Harvard College, 1978-84; President's Committee on Arts and Humanities, Washington, 1983-90; honorary director and trustee, William Benton Foundation, Bryant Park Restoration Corporation, Educational Broadcasting Corporation; emeritus trustee and director, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Institution Washington, D.C.. Recipient: Paul White Memorial Awards, Radio and TV News Directors Association, 1957 and 1971; Peabody Awards, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1964, and 1972; Trustees Awards, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1959 and 1972; Special Honor Award, AIA, 1967; International Directorate Award, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 1980; named to TV Academy Hall of Fame, 1986, Market Research Council of New York, 1988.

**Films**

*Some Physiological Reactions to Emotional Stimuli*, 1932; *Factors in Visual Depth Perception*, 1936.

**Publications**

*Radio Research, 1941*, 1941 (editor, with Paul Lazarsfeld)

*Radio Research, 1942–43*, 1943 (editor, with Paul Lazarsfeld)

*Communications Research, 1948–49*, 1949 (editor, with Paul Lazarsfeld)

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# Star, Darren

U.S. Writer-Producer

As a young teen living in Potomac, Maryland, Darren Star used money given to him for his bar mitzvah to subscribe to the Hollywood trade publication *Variety*. Such an early interest in the entertainment industry served him well, as Star created his first series before he turned 30. Although Star's television career has been brief in comparison with other writers and producers, in just a decade he established a solid reputation for building successful series that tapped the pulse of the post-baby boom generation of viewers. Star's contributions span melodrama and comedy as well as a variety of network contexts, including FOX's upstart days and premium cable service Home Box Office (HBO).

Star's high-profile television career began by writing the pilot script for *Beverly Hills, 90210*, a series that paired him with iconic sexagenarian Aaron Spelling. The series, over which Star and Spelling shared creative control, became the FOX network's breakout hit drama. FOX nearly canceled it repeatedly during its first season, but a relaunch during the repeat-heavy summer time period established the series, its stars, and consequently the network. Star approached the series as a "thirtysomething for teens" and emphasized teen social issues such as drinking, pregnancy, and rape amidst the series' melodramatic personal relationships. FOX requested Star for the series pilot because a screenplay he sold at age 24, the story of a teenager who thinks he is an alien (*Doin' Time on Planet Earth*, 1988), indicated Star's talent for writing from a teen's point of view.

Star then moved to *Melrose Place*, a pseudo-spin-off from *Beverly Hills, 90210*, designed as a schedul-

ing match for the series in terms of genre but with a focus on a group of characters a few years older than the *Beverly Hills* teens. *Melrose Place* provided further association with Spelling, but Star reportedly balked at the shift to campy, over-the-top play with the soap genre that began with addition of Heather Locklear to the cast, although the adjustments to the series likely account for much of its subsequent success.

While Star vacationed during the summer of 1994, his agent pitched a new series to the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the network returned with an offer for 13 episodes. CBS's exceptional offer to cover all production costs (rather than just the licensing fee that usually required producers to take a loss in the range of \$300,000 to half a million dollars per episode) provided an opportunity Star could not turn down, but his departure from *Melrose Place* created some animosity with Spelling, who forced him out of a continuing consulting role. The new series returned Star to the East Coast for a serial drama about the personal and professional manipulations of those associated with a glossy New York magazine.

CBS positioned the new series, *Central Park West*, as the showpiece in its attempt to shift away from its audience base of older adults. The series sought to recreate the opulence and character antagonisms of *Dallas* and *Dynasty* but did not last long enough to establish characters or story. Despite heavy promotion and reliance on many of the narrative and visual features that had proven successful in *Beverly Hills, 90210* and *Melrose Place*, *Central Park West* failed to find an audience. The network ordered radical retooling and then cancellation. CBS reduced its attempted brand

shift after the sale of the network to Westinghouse and the departure of its top programming executive.

The following summer, Star met with HBO to propose a series inspired by Candace Bushnell's *New York Observer* sex column. The lack of content restrictions afforded by the subscriber-based cable network allowed exceptionally frank examination of the sexual acts and emotional relationships of four single women living in Manhattan. *Sex and the City* reinvigorated the television comedy form with its film style, direct camera address, and sophisticated stories. Star left the show after its third season, returning to broadcast network series that were potentially more lucrative although also restricted by network control that Star likened to "being in an Eastern bloc country." *Sex and the City* was a critical and popular success and appeared on HBO for a total of six seasons.

Star created two series in 2000: *Grosse Pointe* on The WB and *The Street* for FOX. With *Grosse Pointe*, he parodied his start with the series' show-within-a-show comedy about the production of a teen soap opera. Built on the premise that the drama behind the scenes of television series trumps what is on air, the series provided a funny and pointed critique of the industry, the melodrama genre, and its stars. *Grosse Pointe* required last-minute adjustments and garnered publicity after Spelling complained about a character who apparently referenced his daughter Tori, who played a central role in *Beverly Hills, 90210*. The series had difficulty finding an audience in part to because of The WB's lack of an appropriate half-hour series with which to schedule it. The network shifted *Grosse Pointe's* time slot throughout the season, but the series failed to find an audience and was not renewed.

*The Street* sent Star back to New York for a short-lived look at the mostly male world of Wall Street and finance. A lavish cost of \$2.3 million per episode led to the series' exceptionally distinct promotions for the show and announced the entry of the also short-lived Artists Television Group (ATG) production studio onto the Hollywood production scene. Promotions, however, were all that most viewers saw of *The Street*. FOX canceled the program after little more than a month on the air. The series had the misfortune of appearing just as the U.S. economy began sputtering and on the heels of *Bull*, a similar series with more complexly drawn characters, presented on Turner Network Television (TNT) on cable.

Explaining the failure of *Grosse Pointe* and *The Street* in an interview with National Public Radio's Terri Gross, Star reflected that none of his series had succeeded in their first season but found audiences and their distinction in their second year. Despite the lack of opportunity to refine *Central Park West*, *Grosse Pointe*, and *The Street*, Star had already achieved rapid success in the Hollywood creative community, capitalizing on the culture and style of the second generation of television viewers. In 2003, Star acted as executive producer on a new series for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), *Miss Match*, about a young divorce lawyer who moonlights as a matchmaker.

AMANDA LOTZ

See also *Beverly Hills, 90210*; FOX Broadcasting Company; *Sex and the City*; Spelling, Aaron

#### Television Series

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 1992-95   | <i>Beverly Hills, 90210</i> (creator; coproducer 1990; supervising producer 1991-92; executive producer 1992-95; writer 1990-92; director) |
| 1992-95   | <i>Melrose Place</i> (executive producer 1992; writer 1992-95)   |
| 1995      | <i>Central Park West</i> (creator; producer)   |
| 1998-2000 | <i>Sex and the City</i> (creator; executive producer; director)  |
| 2000      | <i>Grosse Pointe</i> (creator; executive producer; writer; director)   |
| 2000      | <i>The Street</i> (co-creator; executive producer)   |
| 2003      | <i>Miss Match</i> (co-creator; executive producer)   |

#### Films

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# Star Trek

## U.S. Science Fiction Program

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With the premiere of *Star Trek* on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in September 1966, few could have imagined that this ambitious yet often uneven science fiction series would go on to become one of the most actively celebrated and financially lucrative narrative franchises in television history. Although the original series enjoyed only a modest run of three seasons and 79 episodes, the story world created by that series eventually led to a library of popular novelizations and comic books, a cycle of motion pictures, an international fan community, and a number of spin-off series that have made the *Star Trek* universe a bedrock property for Paramount Studios from the 1980s on.

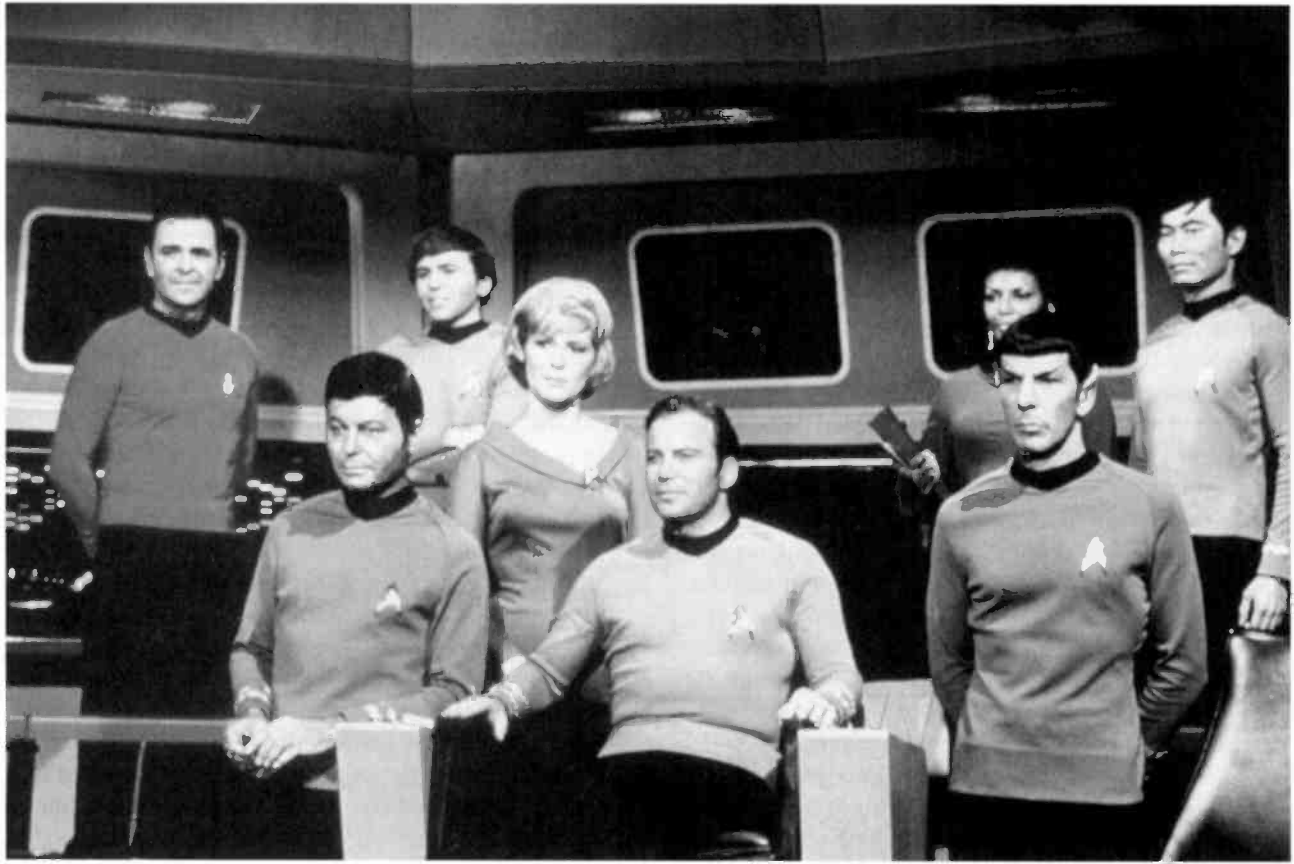
*Star Trek* followed the adventures of the USS *Enterprise*, a flagship in a 23rd-century interplanetary alliance known as “the Federation.” The ship’s five-year mission was “to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no man has gone before,” a mandate that series creator and philosophical well-spring Gene Roddenberry described as “*Wagon Train* in space.” Each episode brought the crew of the *Enterprise* in contact with new alien races or baffling wonders of the universe. When not exploring the galaxy, the crew of the *Enterprise* often scrapped with the two main threats to the Federation’s benevolent democratization of space, the Hun-like Klingons and the more cerebral yet equally menacing Romulans.

The program’s main protagonists, Captain James T. Kirk (William Shatner), Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy), and Dr. Leonard McCoy (DeForest Kelly), remain three of the most familiar (and most parodied) characters in television memory. As commander of the *Enterprise*, the hypermasculine Kirk engaged in equal amounts of fisticuffs and intergalactic romance and was known for his nerves of steel in negotiating the difficulties and dangers presented by the ship’s mission. McCoy was the ship’s cantankerous chief medical officer who, when not saving patients, gave the other two leads frequent personal and professional advice. Perhaps most complex and popular of the characters was Spock. Half human and half Vulcan, Spock struggled to maintain the absolute emotional control demanded by his Vulcan heritage and yet occasionally

fell prey to the foibles of a more human existence. In addition to the three leads, *Star Trek* featured a stable of secondary characters who also became central to the show’s identity. These included the ship’s chief engineer, Scotty (James Doohan), and an ethnically diverse supporting cast featuring Uhura (Nichelle Nichols), Chekov (Walter Koenig), Sulu (George Takei), Yeoman Rand (Grace Lee Whitney), and Nurse Chapel (Majel Barrett).

Scripts for the original series varied greatly in quality, ranging from the literate time-travel tragedy of Harlan Ellison’s “City on the Edge of Forever” and the Sophoclean conflict of Theodore Sturgeon’s “Amok Time” to less inspired stock adventure plots, such as Kirk’s battle to the death with a giant lizard creature in “Arena.” With varying degrees of success, many episodes addressed the social and political climate of late 1960s America, including the Vietnam allegory “A Private Little War,” a rather heavy-handed treatment of racism in “Let That Be Your Last Battlefield,” and even an encounter with space hippies in “The Way to Eden.”

NBC threatened to cancel *Star Trek* after its second season, but, persuaded to some degree by a large letter-writing campaign by fans to save the show, the network picked up the series for a third and final year. Canceled in 1969, *Star Trek* went on to a new life in syndication, where it found an even larger audience and quickly became a major phenomenon within popular culture. Beginning with a network of memorabilia collectors, fans of the show became increasingly organized, gathering at *Star Trek* conventions to trade merchandise, meet stars from the show, and watch old episodes. Such fans came to be known as “Trekkies” and were noted (and often ridiculed) for their extreme devotion to the show and their encyclopedic knowledge of every episode. Through this explosion of interest, many elements of the *Star Trek* universe made their way into the larger lexicon of popular culture, including the often-heard line, “Beam me up, Scotty” (a reference to the ship’s teleportation device) as well as Spock’s signature commentary on the “illogic” of human culture. Along with Spock’s distinctively pointed ears, other aspects of Vulcan culture also became widely popularized as televi-



*Star Trek*, James Doohan, DeForest Kelley, Walter Koenig, Majel Barrett, William Shatner, Nichelle Nichols, Leonard Nimoy, George Takei, 1966–69.  
©Paramount/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

sion lore, including the Vulcan “mind-meld” and the Vulcan salute, “live long and prosper.”

As Trekkie culture continued to grow around the show during the 1970s, a central topic of conversation among fans concerned rumors that the series might one day return to the airwaves. There was talk that the series might return with the original cast, with a new cast, or in a new sequel format. Such rumors were often fueled by a general sense among fans that the show had been unjustly canceled in the first place and thus deserved a second run. Initially, Paramount did not seem convinced of the commercial potential of resurrecting the story world in any form, but by the late 1970s the studio announced that a motion picture version of the series featuring the original cast was under development. *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* premiered in 1979, and though it was a very clumsy translation of the series into the language of big-budget, big-screen science fiction, it proved to be such a hit that Paramount developed a chain of sequels, including *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (1982), *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock* (1984), and *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home* (1986).

By the mid-1980s, the *Star Trek* mythos had proven so commercially viable that Paramount announced plans for a new *Star Trek* series for television. Once again supervised by Roddenberry, *Star Trek: The Next Generation* debuted in first-run syndication in 1987 and went on to become one of the highest-rated syndicated shows in history. Set in the 24th century, this series followed the adventures of a new crew on a new *Enterprise* (earlier versions of the ship having been destroyed in the movie series). The series was extremely successful at establishing a new story world that still maintained a continuity with the premise, spirit, and history of the original series. On the new *Enterprise*, the command functions were divided between a more cultured captain, Jean-Luc Picard (Patrick Stewart), and his younger, more headstrong “Number One,” Commander William Riker (Jonathan Frakes). Spock’s character functions were distributed across a number of new crew members, including ship’s counselor and Betazoid telepath, Deanna Troi (Marina Sirtis); the highly advanced android, Lt. Commander Data (Brent Spiner), who provided the show with “logical” com-





*Star Trek: The Next Generation*, Year 4, 1990–91, (Front), LeVar Burton, Patrick Stewart, Jonathan Frakes, Brent Spiner, (Back), Whoopi Goldberg, Gates McFadden, Michael Dorn, Marina Sirtis, Wil Wheaton.

©Paramount/Courtesy of the Everett Collection

mentary as ironic counterpoint to the peculiarities of human culture; and, finally, Lieutenant Worf (Michael Dorn), a Klingon raised by a human family who struggled to reconcile his warrior heritage with the demands of the Federation. Other important characters included Lt. Geordi La Forge (LeVar Burton), the ship's blind engineer whose "vision" was processed by a high-tech visor; Dr. Beverly Crusher (Gates McFadden), the ship's medical officer and implicit romantic foil for Picard; and Wesley Crusher (Wil Wheaton), the doctor's precocious son.

Running for 178 episodes, *Star Trek: The Next Generation* was able to develop its characters and storylines in much more detail than the original series. As

with many other hour-long dramas of its era, the series abandoned a wholly episodic format in favor of more serialized narratives that better showcased the expanded ensemble cast. Continuing over the run of the series were recurring encounters with Q, a seemingly omnipotent yet extremely petulant entity; the Borg, a menacing race of mechanized beings; and Lor, Data's "evil" android brother. Other continuing stories included intrigue and civil war in the Klingon empire, Data's ongoing quest to become more fully human, and often-volatile political difficulties with the Romulans. This change in the narrative structure of the series from wholly episodic to a more serialized form can be attributed in some part to the activities of the original

series' enormous fan following. A central part of fan culture in the 1970s and 1980s involved fans writing their own *Star Trek*-based stories, often filling in blanks left by the original series and elaborating incidents only briefly mentioned in a given episode. *Star Trek: The Next Generation* greatly expanded the potential for such creative elaboration by presenting a more complex story world, one that actively encouraged the audience to think of the series as a foundation for imagining a larger textual universe.

Despite the show's continuing success, Paramount canceled *Star Trek: The Next Generation* after seven seasons to turn the series into a film property and make room for new television spin-offs, thus beginning a careful orchestration of the studio's *Star Trek* interests in both film and television. The cast of the original series returned to the theater for *Star Trek 5* and *Star Trek 6*, leading finally to *Star Trek: Generations*, in which the original cast turned over the cinematic baton to the crew of *Next Generation*.

*Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* premiered in January 1993 as the eventual replacement for *Next Generation* on television. In contrast to the usually optimistic and highly mobile structure of the first two series, *Deep Space Nine* was a much more claustrophobic reading of the *Star Trek* universe. Set aboard an aging space station in orbit around a recently liberated planet, Bajor, the series generated its storylines from the aftermath of the war over Bajor and from a nearby "wormhole" that brought diverse travelers to the station from across the galaxy. The series ended with the 1997-98 season.

Hoping to compete with FOX and Warner Brothers in creating new broadcast networks, Paramount developed a fourth *Star Trek* series as the anchor for their United Paramount Network (UPN). *Star Trek: Voyager* inaugurated UPN in January 1995, serving as the network's first broadcast. Responding perhaps to the stage-bound qualities and tepid reception of *Deep Space Nine*, *Voyager* opted for a premise that maximized the crew's ability to travel and encounter new adventures. Stranded in a distant part of the galaxy after a freak plasma storm, the USS *Voyager* found itself 75 years away from Earth and faced with the arduous mission of returning home. Like all television programs, *Voyager* required some fine-tuning to help with the ratings. Most successful was the addition of Jeri Ryan as the sexy Borg crew member, 7 of 9.

Both *Deep Space Nine* and *Voyager* attracted the core fans of *Star Trek*, as expected, but neither series was as popular with the public at large as the programs they were designed to replace. With *Voyager's* mission coming to an end in 2001, Paramount debated the fu-

ture direction of the franchise. In particular, producers were concerned over the "aging" of the franchise (and its core audience). The result was *Enterprise*, premiering in the fall of 2001. In an attempt to attract a new generation of Trekkies, *Enterprise* moved the franchise from the 24th century to Earth's more immediate future. A prequel to all other installments in the *Trek* universe, the series features former *Quantum Leap* star Scott Bakula as the captain of the very first *Enterprise* on its very first mission to interstellar space (under Vulcan supervision). Gone is creator Roddenberry's signature utopian humanism, replaced by darker stories and a more sinister production design. The bid for a younger demographic even includes replacing the trademark bombast of the opening credit score with a more teen-friendly pop theme. Early ratings have indicated that the strategy is working, suggesting that Paramount has once again found a way to revitalize and extend its most famous and long-lived property. Expected to run seven seasons, *Enterprise* will likely solidify *Star Trek's* position as the most elaborately developed narrative world in the history of television.

JEFFREY SCONCE

**See also Roddenberry, Gene; Science Fiction Programs; Shatner, William**

**Cast**

Captain James T. Kirk	William Shatner
Mr. Spock	Leonard Nimoy
Dr. Leonard McCoy	DeForest Kelley
Yeoman Janice Rand (1966-67)	Grace Lee Whitney
Sulu	George Takei
Uhura	Nichelle Nichols
Engineer Montgomery Scott	James Doohan
Nurse Christine Chapel	Majel Barrett
Ensign Pavel Chekov (1967-69)	Walter Koenig

**Producers**

Gene Roddenberry, John Meredyth Lucas, Gene L. Coon, Fred Freiberger

**Programming History**

79 episodes	
NBC	
September 1966-August 1967	Thursday 8:30-9:30
September 1967-August 1968	Friday 8:30-9:30
September 1968-April 1969	Friday 10:00-11:00
June 1969-September 1969	Tuesday 7:30-8:30

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## STAR-TV. *See* Satellite

# Starowicz, Mark (1946– )

Canadian Broadcast Journalist, Producer

During his 30 years in radio and television with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Mark Starowicz has produced a number of the more influential current affairs and documentary programs in Canadian broadcast history.

After beginning his career in newspaper journalism, Starowicz assumed the role of producer within the current affairs division of CBC Radio at the age of 24. During the 1970s, Starowicz produced a total of five CBC Radio programs, including *Radio Free Friday*, *Five Nights*, and *Commentary*. He received particular critical acclaim for his reworking of *As It Happens* (1973–76) and the creation of *Sunday Morning* (1976–80), a three-hour weekend review.

CBC News programming chief Peter Hermdorf provided Starowicz's entry into television in 1979 by appointing him chair of a committee examining the corporation's news programming strategies. This resulted in the controversial move of *The National* news broadcast to 10:00 P.M. from its 11:00 P.M. slot and the creation of *The Journal*, a current affairs and documentary program

with Starowicz as executive producer. These decisions sought to take advantage of the larger audience numbers available at 10:00 (10 million viewers) than at 11:00 (4.5 million) and were part of the CBC's strategy in the 1980s to invest its decreasing resources in its traditionally strong area of news and current affairs.

Despite Starowicz's lack of experience in television journalism, *The Journal* was a great success, both critically and in terms of viewership, and served to establish him as Canadian television journalism's new star. *The Journal* achieved an average 1.6 million viewers in its first year and comparable numbers during its ten-year run. Rather than decreasing the audience shares of its competitors, the hour-long combination of *The National* (22 minutes) and *The Journal* (38 minutes) actually increased the number of total viewers during the 10:00 P.M. time slot.

To deliver *The Journal*, Starowicz compiled a young staff, many of whom, like Starowicz, had previously worked only in radio. Hosts during the broadcast's life included Barbara Frum (formerly of *As It*



Mark Starowicz.  
Photo courtesy of Mark Starowicz

Happens), Mary Lou Finlay, Peter Kent, and Bill Cameron. Under Starowicz's leadership, *The Journal* produced a total of 2,772 broadcasts between 1982 and 1992, consisting of 5,150 interviews and an amazing 2,200 documentaries. *The Journal* was notable for the depth with which it would develop stories, dedicating an entire broadcast to a single documentary if the subject required. For the interview segment of the show, Starowicz successfully reinvented the "double-ender" technique (originally employed during the 1960s on the Columbia Broadcasting System's [CBS's] *See It Now*), wherein the anchor would interview guests who appeared to the viewing audience to be projected on an in-studio screen. The high quality and volume of material were made possible by factors such as a staff of more than 100, a budget of approximately \$8 million per year (1980 Canadian dollars), and producer-reporter teams with as much as one month of lead time for story preparation.

On the cancellation of *The Journal* in 1992, Starowicz accepted the position of executive producer of documentaries at the CBC. Since 1990, Starowicz has overseen the weekly documentary prime-time series *Witness*, and he has served as senior producer for *Life and Times*. The one-hour *Witness* consists of acquired, coproduced, and in-house documentaries dealing with a diverse array of

often socially and politically charged issues. Although Starowicz's role as executive producer emphasizes his capacity to orchestrate talent, he also has produced and directed his own documentaries, including *The Third Angel* (1991) and *Red Capitalism* (1993). He sees his role at CBC Documentaries as an opportunity to continue the strong documentary tradition in Canada, started in the 1940s by John Grierson and the National Film Board. Significantly, Starowicz was able to get the CBC management to agree to the broadcasting of "point-of-view" documentaries, breaking free of the somewhat mythological pursuit of journalist "objectivity."

Starowicz regularly writes and lectures on issues of Canadian identity, history, and culture. He cites the absence of Canadian content in its own mass media and the dangers posed by U.S. cultural industries as key threats to Canada, and he has proposed countermeasures, such as the introduction of a tax on U.S. media imports, continued public support for the CBC, the development of a second public national network, and the extended financing of independent film and television production. However, some might argue that his greatest contribution to the health of Canadian identity has been the highly successful documentary series *Canada: A People's History*, which he created and executive produced for the CBC. This 17-part, award-winning exploration of Canadian history, first broadcast in 2001, provided audiences with an intimate and lyrical reading of the forces and individuals that shaped Canadian society. The success of this series led the CBC to appoint Starowicz in 2002 to serve as executive producer of a new production unit, CineNorth, dedicated to creating high-quality documentaries for domestic broadcast, video, and international sales.

KEITH CHRISTOPHER HAMPSON

*See also Canada: A People's History; Canadian Programming in English; National/The Journal*

**Mark Starowicz.** Born in Worksop, England, September 8, 1946. Educated at Loyola College High School, 1964; University of Grenoble, 1964; McGill University, B.A. 1968. Married: Anne, 1982; children: Caitlin-Elizabeth and Madeline Anne. Reporter, *Montreal Gazette*, 1964–68; editor, *McGill Daily*, 1968–69; reporter, *Toronto Star*, 1969–70; cofounder and writer, *The Last Post* magazine, 1969–73; producer, CBC Radio series, 1970–79; chair, Task Force to Reform CBC TV News and Current Affairs, 1979; executive producer, television program *The Journal*, 1982–92; executive documentary producer, CBC, since 1992. Member: Association of Toronto Producers and Directors. Recipient: Canadian Broadcasting League's Cybil Award, 1973; Ohio State Documentary Award, 1973; Anik Award, 1987; Gemini Award, 1987 and 2001.

**Television Series**

- 1982–92 *The Journal*  
 1990– *Witness*

**Television Documentaries (selected)**

- 1991 *The Third Angel*  
 1993 *Red Capitalism*  
 1994 *Romeo and Juliet in Sarajevo*  
     (coproducer)  
 1994 *Escaping from History* (coproducer)  
 1994 *The Gods of Our Fathers* (coproducer)  
 1994 *The Tribal Mind* (coproducer)  
 1994 *The Bomb Under the World* (coproducer)  
 1994 *The Body Parts Business* (coproducer)  
 1996 *The Dawn of the Eye*  
 2001 *Canada: A People's History*  
 2002 *Asteroid!*  
 2002 *Dominion of the Air*

**Radio**

- Five Nights*, 1970–73; *Radio Free Friday*, 1970–73;  
*Commentary*, 1970–73; *As It Happens*, 1973–76;  
*Sunday Morning*, 1976–80.

**Further Reading**

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 "Starowicz Stays with CBC-TV as the New Boss of Documentaries," *Toronto Star* (November 26, 1992)  
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# Starsky and Hutch

## U.S. Police Drama

At first glance, *Starsky and Hutch* (1975–79, American Broadcasting Company [ABC]) seems of a piece with *Baretta*, *The Streets of San Francisco*, or even producer Aaron Spelling's own *Charlie's Angels*—one more post-1960s police series with street smarts and social cognizance, one that expresses at least a passing familiarity with youth culture. Yet on closer inspection, swarthy Dave Starsky (Paul Michael Glaser) and sensitive surfer Ken Hutchinson (David Soul), confirmed bachelors and disco-era pretty boys, seem to have taken the cop show maxim "Always watch your partner's back" well past their own private Rubicon.

The series was originally part of a logical progression by Spelling (with and without partner Leonard Goldberg) that traced the thread of the detective drama through the fraying social fabric at the end of the 1960s. Beginning with *The Mod Squad* (cops as hippies), this thread took him in logical sequence to *The Rookies* (cops as hippie commune), *S.W.A.T.* (cops as hippie commune turned collectivist cell/paramilitary cadre), and finally *Charlie's Angels* (ex-cops as burgeoning feminists/Manson Family pinups). This was before Spelling jettisoned the cop show altogether and simply leached the raw hedonism out of 1960s liberalism—with *The Love Boat*, *Fantasy Island*, *Family*

(sautéed in hubris), and, ultimately, the neo-Sirkian *Beverly Hills, 90210* and *Melrose Place*.

In this context, the freewheeling duo of Starsky and Hutch might seem the perfect bisecting point on a straight line between *Adam-12*'s Reed and Malloy and *Miami Vice*'s Crockett and Tubbs. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) had ushered in the "buddy film" cycle, just then reaching its culmination with *All the President's Men*, and, in fact, the pair physically resemble no one so much as the high-gloss Redford and Hoffman assaying the golden boys of broadsheet exposé, Woodward and Bernstein.

Yet viewed in retrospect, the bond between Starsky and Hutch seems at very least a curious one. Putting aside the ubiquitous costumes and leather or Starsky's Coca-Cola-striped Ford Torino and Hutch's immense .357 Magnum handgun, which Marshall McLuhan or Sigmund Freud might well have had a field day with, the drama always seems built around the specific gravity of their friendship. There is much of what can only be termed flirting—compliments, mutual admiration, sly winks, sidelong glances, knowing smiles. They are constantly touching each other or indulging in excruciating cheek and banter—or else going "undercover" in various fey disguises. All the women who pass be-



*Starsky and Hutch*, Paul Michael Glaser, David Soul, 1975–79, Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tween them—and their number is considerable, including significant ones from their past—are revealed by the final commercial break as liars or users or criminals or fatal attractions. And should one wind up alone with a woman, the other invariably retreats to a bar and drowns his sorrows. Following the inevitable betrayal, it is not uncommon for the boys to collapse sobbing into each other’s arms.

This apparent secret agenda is perhaps best demonstrated in the opening credits themselves. Initially, these merely comprised interchangeable action sequences—Hutch on the prowl, Starsky flashing his badge. But by the second season, the action footage had been collapsed into a few quick images, followed by split screen for the titles. To the left are three vertically stacked images: Hutch in a cowboy hat, both in construction outfits, and Starsky as Charlie Chaplin and Hutch in whiteface. Meanwhile, to the right, Starsky takes Hutch down in a full romantic clinch, the looks on their faces notably pained.

Next follows a series of quick clips: Starsky waits patiently while Hutch stops to ogle a bikini-clad dancer and finally gets his attention only by blowing lightly on his cheek. Both gamble in a casino, decked out in pinstripe Gatsby suits and fedoras, à la *The Sting*. Starsky, in an apron, fastidiously combs out a woman’s wig, while Hutch sits dejectedly, shoulders squared, a dress pattern pinned around him. Hutch watches straight faced while Starsky attempts the samba, festooned in thick bangles, flowing robes, and a Carmen Miranda headpiece. Each is then introduced individually—Soul shouting into the camera in freeze-frame, his mouth swollen in an enormous yawning oval, and Glaser as he ties a scarf foppishly to one side, frozen randily in midtwinkle. Finally, a boiler-room explosion blows Starsky into Hutch’s arms.

The entire sequence takes exactly one minute, with

no single image longer than five seconds. And each scene is entirely explained away in context. Yet in the space of 60 seconds, these two gentlemen are depicted in at least four cases of literal or figurative transvestism, four cases of masculine hyperbole (encompassing at least two of the Village People), several prominent homosexual clichés (hairstylist, Carnival bacchanalian), a send-up of one of film’s most famous all-male couples, a wealth of Freudian imagery (including the pointed metaphor of fruit), two full-body embraces, two freeze-frames defining them in both homoerotic deed and dress, and one clear-cut instance where the oral stimulation of a man prevails over the visual stimulation of a woman. This would seem to indicate a preoccupation on the part of someone with something. (And this does not even begin to address their dubiously named informant Huggy Bear—a flamboyant and markedly androgynous pimp.)

The tone of all this is uniformly playful, almost a parlor game for those in the know (not unlike *Dirty Harry*, whose most famous sequence—the bank robbery—is bookended on one side by Clint Eastwood biting into a hot dog and on the other by a fire hydrant ejaculating over the attendant carnage). Meanwhile, the rather generic storylines consistently play fast and loose with gender.

Altogether, *Starsky and Hutch* is a fascinating digression for episodic television—especially considering that it was apparently conducted entirely beneath the pervasive radar of network censors.

PAUL CULLUM

See also **Police Programs; Spelling, Aaron**

**Cast**

Detective Dave Starsky	Paul Michael Glaser
Detective Ken Hutchinson (Hutch)	David Soul
Captain Harold Dobey	Bernie Hamilton
Huggy Bear	Antonio Fargas

**Producers**

Aaron Spelling, Leonard Goldberg, Joseph T. Naar

**Programming History**

92 episodes	
ABC	
September 1975–September 1976	Wednesday 10:00–11:00
September 1976–January 1978	Saturday 9:00–10:00
January 1978–August 1978	Wednesday 10:00–11:00



## Station and Station Group

as new ownership rules allow an increase in the number of stations a company may own. The FCC, in computing the maximum, legal reach of a station group, weights UHF (ultrahigh frequency) stations (channels 14–69) as having only half the reach of VHF (very high frequency) stations (channels 2–13). This “UHF handicap” allows some companies to own stations covering a greater percentage of the United States than the legal maximum.

As of April 2003, *Broadcasting & Cable* magazine ranked Viacom as the top station group in the United States, owning 39 television stations covering 39 percent of the U.S. population. Paxson Communications Corporation controlled more commercial television stations than any other group, owning 61 (mostly

UHF) stations that provide an FCC-weighted coverage of 31 percent of the United States.

Changes in broadcast ownership restrictions in the United States are expected to lead to larger station groups and increasing cross-ownership of television stations and other media, especially newspapers. Most television stations and stations groups are owned by companies with interests in other media, ranging from radio stations and newspapers to cable television networks, movie studios, and websites.

AUGUST GRANT

For more information, see:

[www.fcc.gov](http://www.fcc.gov)

[www.broadcastingandcable.com](http://www.broadcastingandcable.com)

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## Steadicam

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More than any other device, Steadicam liberated the film/video image from the rigid constraints of tripods and pedestal supports and enabled a fluidity of style that has become a prominent motif in contemporary production. The Steadicam was not commercially marketed by Cinema Products (CP) until 1976, but cinematographer Garrett Brown's early experiments in 1969 and 1970 led to the first prototype of the device, termed “Brown's Stabilizer,” in 1973. Adoption of the device was slow in the 1970s, in part because of the difficulty of training capable operators; then, prominent use of Steadicam in films such as Stanley Kubrick's *The Shining* (1980) popularized the look and increased demand and usage of the device. Eventually, thousands of feature films and television programs worldwide employed Steadicam, and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) awarded it an Oscar for technical achievement.

Steadicam is a counterbalanced device that works by shifting the center of gravity outside the camera body and onto the operator's body via a movable arm and a patented three-axis gimble. The operator's vertical and horizontal movements are isolated from the camera by a spring and hinged arm attached to a special vest. As cinematographer Eric Fletcher notes, “This arrangement of springs is much like a drafting table lamp designed to provide a calibrated amount of lift to make the camera and sled float in space.” Most striking is the nearly unrestricted mobility and movement of the camera, which allows for 360 degrees of

tilt and 270 degrees of pan, at heights from 4 inches to 6 feet above the ground. The ability to operate the camera without pressing one's eyes to the camera's viewfinder makes this possible. The operator can instead move and orient the camera's image away for his or her eyes by monitoring a DC-powered, onboard “video assist” screen. With fingertip control of the camera's tilts and pans, Steadicam relies on the operator's physical skills to move nimbly through sets. Operators liken the task to the demands of ballet or long-distance running.

Steadicam has offered television directors and cinematographers benefits that are both logistical (speed of use and streamlined labor) and aesthetic (a film look that has been deemed dynamic and high tech). The cinematic fluidity that has become Steadicam's trademark is not limited to feature films. The device helped make exhibitionist cinematography a defining property of music videos after Music Television (MTV) emerged in 1981. Indeed, it became an almost obligatory piece of rental equipment for shoots in this genre. Most music videos, like prime-time television, were shot on film, and the Steadicam became a regular production component in both arenas. *Miami Vice's* much-celebrated hybridization of music video and the cop genre (1984–89) made use of Steadicam flourishes even as the series inserted music-video-like segments within individual episodes. Elements that critics of the show termed “overproduction” (stylized design, “excessively lensed” photography, and overmixed sound-





A Steadicam and its operator.  
 Photo courtesy of Jens Bogehegn

tracks) were well suited for CP's pitch that Steadicam was "the best way to put production value on the screen." Postmodern stylization such as that of *Miami Vice* defined American television in the 1980s, and Steadicam became a recognizable tool in prime time's menu of embellishment and "house looks," the signature visual qualities of individual production companies. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS), following AMPAS's lead, acknowledged Steadicam's impact on television with an Emmy.

Although Steadicam has a distinct stylistic function, many practitioners in the early 1980s embraced the technology for more pragmatic reasons: Steadicam is a cost-effective substitute for dolly or crane shots. Not only can the device preempt costly crane and dolly rentals and the time needed to lay track across a set or location, but it also cut to the heart of the stratified labor equation that producers imported to prime time from Hollywood. On scenes employing Steadicam, the director of photography, the "A" camera operator, the focus puller, and one or more assistants can merely stand aside as a single Steadicam operator executes

lengthy moves that previously could consume inordinate amounts of program time. Thus, Steadicam provided not just a stylistic edge; it also offered concrete production economies.

The popularity of Steadicam was also affected by the growth of electronic field production. By the late 1980s, CP had begun marketing its "EFP" version, a smaller variant better suited for 20- to 25-pound camcorder packages such as the Betacam and for the syndicated, industrial, and off-prime programming that embraced camcorders. At nearly 90 pounds loaded and at a cost of \$40,000, the original Steadicam still represented a major investment. Steadicam EFP, by contrast, allowed tabloid and reality shows to move "show-time glitz" quickly into and out of their fragmentary exposés and "re-creations." As channel competition heated up and production of syndicated programming increased, Steadicam was but one stylistic tactic used to push a show above the "clutter" of look-alike programming. By the early 1990s, CP also marketed a "JR" version intended for the home market and "event videographers." It weighed just 2 pounds and cost \$600, and with it CP hoped to tap into the discriminating "prosumer" market, a niche that used 8-millimeter video and 3-pound cameras. However, video equipment makers were now building digital motion-reduction systems directly into camcorders, and JR remained a special-interest resource.

While the miniaturization of cameras might imply a limited future for Steadicam, several trends suggest otherwise. High-definition television (HDTV) cameras remain heavy armfuls, and Steadicam frequently becomes merely a component in more complicated camera-control configurations. As a fluid but secure way of mounting a camera, Steadicam is now commonly used at the end of cranes, cars, trucks, and helicopters—in extensions that synthesize its patented flourish into hybrid forms of presentational power.

While CP argued that the device made viewers "active participants" in a scene rather than "passive observers," it would be wrong to anthropomorphize the effect only in terms of human subjectivity. The Steadicam flourish is more like an out-of-body experience. A shot that races 6 inches above the ground over vast distances is less a personal point of view than it is quadripedal or cybernetic sensation, more like a "smart bomb" than an ontological form of realism. A stylistic aggression over space results, in part, because Steadicam works to disengage the film/video camera from the operator's eyes, dissociating the camera from the controlling distance of classic eye-level perspective. In the 1970s and 1980s, video-assist monitors, linked to the camera's viewfinder by fiber-optic connections, made this optical "disembodiment" tech-

nically possible on the Steadicam and other motion-control devices, liberating cameras to sweep and traverse diegetic worlds. Because running through obstruction-filled sets with a 90-pound apparatus myopically pressed to one's cornea can only spell disaster, operators quickly grasped the physical wisdom of using a flat LCD (liquid crystal display) video-assist monitor to frame shots. Yet the true impact of Steadicam, video assist, and motion control has less to do with how operators frame images than with how film and television after 1980 turned the autonomous vision of the technologically disengaged eye into a stylistic index of cinematic and televisual authority.

In the 1994–95 season, 75 percent of the scenes in *ER*, the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) influential and top-rated series, were shot using the Steadicam, a previously unheard-of level of Steadicam usage. Many of these scenes were included in the spectacular and complicated "one-E.R." sequences that defined the show: complicated flowing actions shot in one take with multiple moves and no cutaways. Citing these astonishing visual moments, trade-magazine recognition confirmed that Steadicam's autonomous techno-eye now also provided a acknowledged programming edge.

Several recent trends outside feature film and prime-time television have begun to challenge Steadicam's dominant place in the production repertoire. The widespread use of extremely lightweight DVCAM and

mini-DV cameras has stimulated the development of a range of smaller and alternative "counterbalanced" vest- and handheld camera supports by competitors. The ratings successes of "reality television" (*Survivor*, *Temptation Island*, and so on) in the early 21st century led to widespread acceptance of the handheld "shaky cam" in prime-time U.S. programming. The box office success of *The Blair Witch Project* and the third "law" of "Dogme" filmmakers Lars von Trier and Thomas Vinterberg ("The camera must be handheld") further legitimized the jerky (Steadicam-less) handheld camera in big-screen filmmaking. Directors who still need to put high-production value on the screen (with heavy cameras), however, will continue to rely on Steadicam and its permutations.

JOHN THORNTON CALDWELL

See also *Miami Vice*; *Reality Television*

### Further Reading

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## Steptoe and Son

### British Situation Comedy

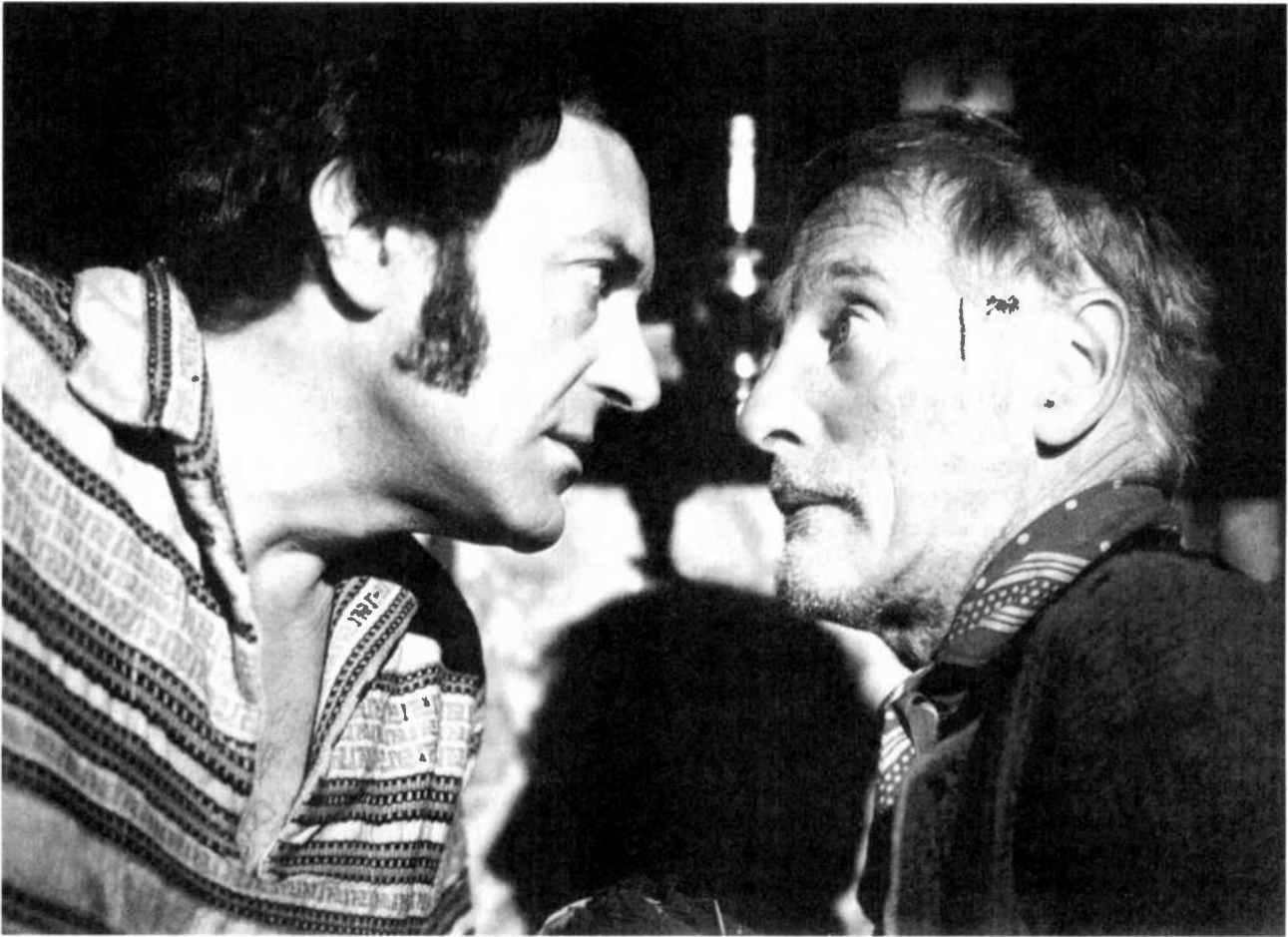
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*Steptoe and Son* was the most popular situation comedy in British television history and one of the most successful. At the height of its fame in the early 1960s, it regularly topped the ratings and commanded audiences in excess of 20 million. In 1966, Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson asked the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to delay the transmission of a repeat episode on election day until after the polls closed because he was worried that many of his party's supporters would stay in to watch it rather than going out to vote.

Its creators, Ray Galton and Alan Simpson, were already well known and highly successful as the scriptwriters for Tony Hancock. Indeed, it was Han-

cock's decision, the most disastrous of his career, to sever his links with Galton and Simpson that brought about the birth of *Steptoe and Son*. The BBC offered them a series of ten separate half-hour comedies, to be cast and produced according to their wishes, which they grabbed with alacrity, keen to produce more diverse material after such a long time working with the same star.

The most successful of these comedies, transmitted in January 1962 under the banner title of *Comedy Playhouse*, was "The Offer," featuring a father-and-son firm of "totters," or rag-and-bone men. As soon as he saw it, the head of Light Entertainment, Tom



*Steptoe and Son*, Harry H. Corbett, Wilfrid Brambell, 1972.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Sloane, knew it was a natural for a whole series. Galton and Simpson resisted at first, reluctant to commit themselves to another long-term venture, but they were worn down by Sloane's persistence and the fact that he was clearly right.

The first series of *Steptoe and Son* was transmitted in June and July 1962 and consisted of five episodes. A further three series, of seven episodes each, followed in the next three years. The producer of all four series was Duncan Wood.

The basic plotline of *Steptoe and Son* is very simple, and most episodes are in some way a variation on it. Albert Steptoe is an old-time rag-and-bone man, a veteran of World War I who inherited the family business of the title from his father. He is a widower and lives with his son, Harold, and together they continue the business, with Harold doing most of the work. Albert is settled in his life and his lowly position in society, but Harold has dreams of betterment. He wants to be sophisticated and to enjoy the "swinging sixties." Above all, he wants to escape from his father and make

a life of his own, something that Albert is prepared to go to any lengths to prevent. The comedy thus comes from the conflict of the generation gap and the interdependency of the characters. However hard he tries, we know that Harold will never get away. So, in his heart, does he, and that is his tragedy. Apart from anything else, his father is by far the smarter of the two.

The success of this formula was partly the result of the universality of the theme and partly the casting of the two leads. Galton and Simpson believed that they should cast straight actors rather than comedians and so signed up Wilfrid Brambell to play Albert and Harry H. Corbett as Harold. Between them, the writers and actors created two immortal characters and some extremely poignant drama as well as the hilarious comedy. The television correspondent of *The Times* wrote in 1962, "*Steptoe and Son* virtually obliterates the division between drama and comedy."

A typical episode would see Albert ruining Harold's plans, whether it be in love, business, or cultural pursuits. In "The Bird," Harold brings home a girl, only to

find his father taking a bath in the main room. In "Sunday for Seven Days," Albert ruins Harold's choice of Fellini's *8 1/2* for an evening at the cinema. His father's generally uncouth behavior frequently provokes Harold to utter the only catchphrase of the series: an exasperated "You dirty old man!"

In 1965, Galton and Simpson decided to stop writing the show while it was still an enormous success, although radio versions were produced in the following two years, and the format was introduced to U.S. television as *Sanford and Son*. However, with the arrival of color television in Britain in 1967 and increased competition in comedy from the commercial network, the BBC decided in the early 1970s to bring back some of its top comedy successes of the mid-1960s. *Steptoe and Son* returned in 1970 for a further four series, a total of 30 episodes, between then and 1974.

The effectiveness of the show was in no way diminished. Indeed, the familiarity of the characters allowed the show to carry on where it had left off and achieve the same quality as before. Two feature films were also made of *Steptoe and Son*, though without the success of the television shows.

No more shows were made after 1974, but there is a footnote to the *Steptoe* story. Many programs made on videotape were wiped by the BBC for purposes of economy in the early 1970s, including virtually all of the fifth and sixth series of *Steptoe and Son*. However, Ray Galton had made copies from the masters on the very first domestic video format, and these became the only surviving copies. In 1990, he handed them to the National Film and Television Archive, which restored them to a viewable form and publicized the find with a theatrical showing. Although the technical quality was poor and they played only in black and white, the BBC transmitted a few of them to enormous success. The rest of the restored episodes were then transmitted, fol-

lowed by all the black-and-white episodes from the 1960s, breaking the BBC's usual resistance to repeating black-and-white programs.

Alas, the two leads were not around to witness the revival. Brambell died in 1985, following his screen son Corbett, who had died in 1983.

STEVE BRYANT

#### Cast

Albert Steptoe	Wilfrid Brambell
Harold Steptoe	Harry H. Corbett

#### Producers

Duncan Wood, John Howard Davies, David Craft, Graeme Muir, Douglas Argent

#### Programming History

55 30-minute episodes; 2 45-minute specials

BBC

June 1962–July 1962	6 episodes
January 1963–February 1963	7 episodes
January 1964–February 1964	7 episodes
October 1965–November 1965	7 episodes
March 1970–April 1970	7 episodes
November 1970–December 1970	8 episodes
February 1972–April 1972	7 episodes
December 1973	Christmas special
September 1974–October 1974	6 episodes
December 1974	Christmas special

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Burke, Michael, "You Dirty Old Man!" *The People* (January 9, 1994)

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## Steve Allen Show, The (various)

U.S. Comedy-Variety Program

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One of the most famous ratings wars in television history began on June 24, 1956. That night, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) debuted *The Steve Allen Show* opposite the eighth-anniversary program of what had become a television institution, *The Ed*

*Sullivan Show*, on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The two hosts were markedly different. Sullivan was a rigorous master of ceremonies, known for enforcing strict conformity for both his guests and the members of his audience. In contrast, Allen was inno-



*The Steve Allen Show*, 1956–61, Elvis Presley, Steve Allen; among Elvis' first TV appearances singing "Hound Dog," 1956. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vative, funny, and whimsical. Whereas Allen liked to improvise and ad-lib on his program, creating material and responding to guests and the audience on the spot, *The Ed Sullivan Show* followed a much more constrained format.

The appearances of Elvis Presley on the two programs serve to illustrate the differences between them. When Presley appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, Sullivan instructed the camera operators to shoot the picture only from the waist up. On *The Steve Allen Show*, Presley appeared in a tuxedo and serenaded a basset hound with his hit "You Ain't Nothing but a Hound Dog." Both strategies appeased nervous network censors, but each is emblematic of the show it served.

Relations between the two prominent hosts were not cordial and reached a low point in October 1956. For his October 21 program, Allen scheduled a tribute to the late actor James Dean. When he learned that Sullivan planned to air his own tribute to Dean a week earlier, Allen charged that Sullivan had stolen his idea. Sullivan denied the charges and accused Allen of lying. Allen moved his segment to October 14, when both programs paid tribute to the actor and showed clips from his last movie, *Giant*.

Much of Allen's work on *The Steve Allen Show* (actually the second program produced under this title) resembled previous performances by him on *The Tonight Show*, which he had hosted since 1954 (after several months of hosting both series, Allen left *The Tonight*

*Show* at the end of 1956). He often opened the program casually, seated at the piano. He would chat with the audience, participate in skits, and introduce guests. Television critic Jack Gould considered the new program merely an expanded version of *The Tonight Show* and characterized it as "mostly routine stuff." Gould did concede that "more imagination could take the program far." *The Steve Allen Show* offered Allen a natural setting for what Gould termed his "conditioned social gift" of "creating spontaneous comedy in front of an audience in a given situation."

Allen also continued something else he had begun on *The Tonight Show*, discovering new talent. Andy Williams, Eydie Gorme, and Steve Lawrence got their starts on *The Tonight Show*. On the new show, Allen's man-in-the-street interview segments launched the careers of comedians Bill Dana, Pat Harrington, Jr., Louis Nye, Tom Poston, and Don Knotts. Dana played the timid Hispanic José Jimenez, and Harrington appeared as the suave Italian golfer Guido Panzino. Characters created by Nye, Poston, and Knotts were the best known of the group. Nye portrayed the effete and cosmopolitan Gordon Hathaway, whose cry "Hi Ho Steverino" became a trademark of the program. Poston was the sympathetic and innocent guy who would candidly answer any question but who could never remember his name. Probably the best-remembered character was the nervous Mr. Morrison portrayed by Knotts. Often Morrison's initials were related to his occupation. On one segment, he was introduced as K.B. Morrison, whose job in a munitions factory was to place the pins in hand grenades. When asked what the initials stood for, Knotts replied, "Kaa Boom!" Invariably, Allen would ask Knotts if he were nervous and always got the quick one-word reply, "No!!!" Allen characterized the cast as the "happiest, most relaxed professional family in television."

Allen became known for the outrageous. He conducted a geography lesson using a map of the world in the shape of a cube. He opened a program by having the camera shoot from underneath a transparent stage. Looking down at the camera, Allen remarked, "What if a drunk suddenly staggered into your living room and saw this shot?"

Although Allen won some of the ratings battles with Sullivan, he ultimately lost the war. In 1959, NBC moved *The Steve Allen Show* to Monday nights. The following year, it went to the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) for a 14-week run. In 1961, Allen renamed the program *The Steve Allen Playhouse* and took it into syndication, where it ran for three years.

LINDSY E. PACK

See also *Allen, Steve*; *Tonight Show, The*

Steve Allen Show, The (various)

**The Steve Allen Show**

ABC  
September 1961–December 1961  
Wednesday  
7:30–8:30

**Regular Performer**  
Steve Allen

**Programming History**

CBS  
December 1950–March 1951  
Monday–Friday  
7:00–7:30  
July 1952–September 1952  
Thursday  
8:30–9:00

**The Steve Allen Comedy Hour**

**Regular Performers**

Steve Allen  
Jayne Meadows  
Louis Nye  
Ruth Buzzi  
John Byner

**The Steve Allen Show**

**Regular Performers**

Steve Allen  
Louis Nye  
Gene Rayburn (1956–59)  
Skitch Henderson (1956–59)  
Marilyn Jacobs (1956–57)  
Tom Poston (1956–59, 1961)  
Gabe Dell (1956–57, 1958–61)  
Don Knotts (1956–60)  
Dayton Allen (1958–61)  
Pat Harrington, Jr. (1958–61)  
Cal Howard (1959–60)  
Bill Dana (1959–60)  
Joey Forman (1961)  
Buck Henry (1961)  
Jayne Meadows (1961)  
John Cameron Swayze (1957–58)  
The Smothers Brothers (1961)  
Tim Conway (1961)  
Don Penny (1961)

**Dancers**

The David Winters Dancers

**Music**

The Terry Gibbs Band

**Programming History**

CBS  
June 1967–August 1967  
Wednesday  
10:00–11:00

**Music**

Les Brown and His Band (1959–61)

**The Steve Allen Comedy Hour**

**Regular Performers**

Steve Allen  
Joe Baker  
Joey Forman  
Tom Leopold  
Bill Saluga  
Bob Shaw  
Helen Brooks  
Carol Donnelly  
Fred Smoot  
Nancy Steen  
Catherine O'Hara  
Kaye Ballard  
Doris Hess  
Tim Lund  
Tim Gibbon

**Programming History**

NBC  
June 1956–June 1958  
Sunday  
8:00–9:00  
September 1958–March 1959  
Sunday  
8:00–9:00  
March 1959  
Sunday  
7:30–9:00  
April 1959–June 1959  
Sunday  
7:30–8:30  
September 1959–June 1960  
Monday  
10:00–11:00

**Music**

Terry Gibbs and His Band

**Programming History**

NBC  
October 1980  
Saturday  
10:00–11:00

December 1980	Tuesday 10:00–11:00	Allen, Steve. <i>Hi Ho Steverino! My Adventures in the Wonderful Wacky World of Television</i> . Fort Lee, New Jersey: Barricade, 1992
January 1981	Saturday 10:00–11:00	Gould, Jack. "To Meet Steve Allen." <i>New York Times</i> (June 24, 1956)
		Gould, Jack. "Tribute to Actor Starts TV War." <i>New York Times</i> (October 4, 1956)
		Shanley, J.P. "Trio of Thriving TV Bananas." <i>New York Times</i> (November 10, 1956)
		"Steve Allen." <i>Current Biography Yearbook</i> . New York: H.W. Wilson, 1982

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Strangers. *See XYY Man*

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## Streaming Video

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It is not TV on the web—yet. But streaming media technology is making it possible to inexpensively send audio and video content to any computer connected to the Internet.

Prior to the introduction of streaming media, a media file would have to be completely downloaded to a user's machine before it could be played. Using "downloadable" media meant that the user would have to wait to hear or see the material they requested. Depending on the speed of the user's connection and the length of the audio or video clip, this wait could be as long as an hour. MP3 music files are examples of downloadable media.

With the introduction of RealAudio in 1995, RealNetworks pioneered a new approach to significantly reduce the wait time required to begin playing media files. Streaming media allows the simultaneous download and playback of audio and video. When a user requests a streaming media file (usually by clicking on a link on a web page), several things happen. First, the user's computer launches a streaming media player. The two leading streaming media players are RealOnePlayer by RealNetworks and Windows Media Player by Microsoft. Basic versions of both players are free downloads. In the next stage, the streaming media player begins downloading the media file. When a certain amount of the file (usually 30 seconds) has been downloaded, the media player begins to play back the file. As long as the media file downloads faster than it

plays, the user experiences uninterrupted audio and video.

In order to deliver video and audio via the Internet, streaming media has had to address two challenges: file size and variable bandwidth. Compared to the text and graphics that comprised the majority of early Internet content, audio and video files are huge. To distribute audio and video, file sizes must be significantly reduced. Streaming media uses three approaches to reduce the size of media files: compression, frame rate reduction, and image size reduction.

Compression techniques reduce redundant and marginally valuable information from media files to reduce their size. One of the most common compression techniques used by streaming media is frame differencing. In compressing streaming media files, the video material is analyzed to determine which visual elements (or pixels) change from one frame to the next. In transmitting the streaming file, only those elements that change are transmitted. In this way, the amount of information that has to be downloaded is significantly reduced.

The physical dimensions of video are reduced to reduce file size. Whereas the typical computer screen displays at 640 by 480 pixels, streaming media video sizes are usually 240 by 180 pixels. This smaller video image translates into a smaller file sizes for streaming media content.



Video streaming on the Museum of Broadcast Communications' website (www.museum.tv).  
 Courtesy of Museum of Broadcast Communications (MBC) & Alphazeta Inc.

The final way in which the file size for streaming media video files is reduced is by reducing the number of video frames displayed per second. Typical television video is displayed at 30 frames per second to achieve the perception of motion. Streaming video files reduce the frame rate to around 15 frames per second. This reduced frame rate still produces fluid motion but with much-reduced file sizes.

The second challenge facing streaming media is variable bandwidth. Network congestion causes the speed at which data is transmitted via the Internet (throughput) to vary widely. For the user to experience uninterrupted audio and video, there must be a method to level out the peaks and valleys in transmission speeds. Streaming media uses a "buffer" to guarantee consistent playback. The streaming media player downloads a reserve of audio and video information into the buffer before it begins to play. Then the player releases a steady flow of data from the

buffer for playback. The buffer absorbs the fluctuations in transmission speeds to guarantee constant and interrupted playback. Should the buffer "drain" during playback, the video will stop to allow the buffer to be refilled. This "rebuffering" is common with slower connection speeds and in times of heavy network traffic.

At present, streaming media does not threaten the dominance of broadcast television. The amount of processing power required on the receiving end necessitates that streaming media be played on a computer, and few viewers are willing to replace their television set with a computer. But streaming media does hold promise in certain niche markets. Sports have been an important application for streaming media because it allows fans living out of a given television market to follow their favorite teams. Streaming media also plays an important role in distance education by offering audio and video of lectures. Streaming media has



been prevalent in the online distribution of adult entertainment/pornography materials. High levels of viewer motivation encourage users to tolerate the special limitations of streaming media to experience content that is important to them.

In its early days, most streaming media was available for free. However, new business models have evolved, and subscription is playing an increasing role in online media. Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA), and the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) have all developed “pay for play” offerings that allow viewers to pay a single monthly subscription to access all events. And MLB has even developed a new product called “Custom Cuts,” which offers edited games that can be viewed in much less time.

Increasingly, streaming media is being used to complement existing television programming. Networks

are using streaming media to distribute portions of their programming such as promos and highlights. However, video producers are discovering that the special nature of streaming media requires different production approaches. The small screen size in streaming media presentations favors close-ups. Reduced frame rates affect screen transitions, such as dissolves. And compression techniques can significantly impact the playback of pans and handheld shots. Video producers are now becoming more adept at selecting only certain types of scenes to be distributed via streaming video or are shooting special video for streaming distribution.

Currently, there is a large and growing number of streaming media users. RealNetworks reports that it currently has over 300 million unique users of its streaming media players. As broadband connectivity proliferates, there is every reason to believe that streaming media will continue to grow.

SCOTT SHAMP

## Street Legal

### Canadian Drama

When *Street Legal* completed its eighth and final season, one TV journalist called it “unblushingly sentimental, unblinkingly campy, unabashedly Canadian and completely addictive.” The one-hour Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) drama series about a group of Toronto lawyers stands as a landmark event in Canadian broadcasting history. After taking two years to find its niche, it became extremely popular. In its last six seasons, it regularly drew about 1 million viewers, the benchmark of a Canadian hit.

The series debuted in 1987 with Maryke McEwen as executive producer. It experienced a rocky start, with good story ideas but weak execution, lacking style in directing and consequently suffering low ratings. The theme music, however, was immediately identifiable—a distinctive, raunchy, rollicking saxophone piece by Mickey Erbe and Maribeth Solomon. At that time, the show revolved around just three lawyers: Carrie Barr (played by Sonja Smits), Leon Robinovitch (Eric Peterson), and Chuck Tchobanian (C. David Johnson). Carrie and Leon were the committed, left-wing social activists, while Chuck was a motorcycle-riding, reckless, aggressive, 1980s lawyer.

From the third through the seventh seasons, Brenda Greenberg was first senior producer and then executive producer, with Nada Harcourt taking over for the final season. As CBC’s director of programming in 1987, Ivan Fecan hired a Canadian script doctor at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Carla Singer, to work with the producer on improving the show. It was after this that *Street Legal* began to find its niche, introducing aggressive, sultry, high-heeled, risk-taking Olivia Novak (played by Cynthia Dale) to contrast the niceness of the Carrie Barr character. Olivia became the most memorable and best-known character, but other characters were also added. Alana (Julie Khaner) was a confident and compassionate judge, married to Leon, who confidently battled sexism in the workplace. Rob Diamond (Albert Schultz) handled the business affairs of the firm. In the fourth season, the first African-Canadian continuing character was introduced—crown prosecutor Dillon (Anthony Sherwood). He had love affairs with Carrie and then with Mercedes (Alison Sealy-Smith), the no-nonsense black Caribbean secretary, and later joined the firm. New lawyer Laura (Maria Del Mar) clashed with Olivia and romanced



*Street Legal.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

Olivia's ex-husband and partner, Chuck. Ron Lea played a nasty crown prosecutor called Brian Maloney, an in-joke to Canadians, who immediately connected him to the Conservative prime minister, lawyer Brian Mulroney. The enlarged ensemble cast allowed for more storylines and increased conflict.

The usual prime-time soap opera shenanigans ensued, with ex-husbands and ex-wives reappearing, romances beginning and ending, children being born and adopted, promotions and firings, hirings and resignations, all against the backdrop of the Canadian legal system and the Toronto scene. The lawyers all wore gowns and addressed the court in Canadian legal terms, giving a different feeling from its U.S. counterpart, *L.A. Law*, although the two shows were coincidentally developed and aired at the same time.

The issues addressed were also definably Canadian as well as international. Leon fought an employment

equity case for a candidate for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as well as representing an African-Canadian nurse in front of the Human Rights Commission. Olivia became a producer of a Canadian movie. Chuck defended a wealthy native cigarette smuggler charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Leon represented the survivors of a mine disaster and then ran for mayor of Toronto. Leon and Alana became involved with a Mexican refugee, eight months pregnant, who got in trouble with CSIS, the Canadian intelligence agency. Human-interest stories intertwined with the political issues and the characters' personal lives.

*Street Legal* represented a very important step in the Canadian television industry. Along with the CTV series *E.N.G.*, set in a Toronto television newsroom, the series established Canadian dramatic television stars. Cynthia Dale, who played vixen Olivia, became nationally famous and went on to star in another series,

as a Niagara Falls private eye in *Taking the Falls*. She said that she received letters from young girls who want to grow up to be just like Olivia. In one episode, when ogled and harassed by a construction worker as she passed his job site, Olivia knocked him off his sawhorse with her hefty briefcase. The scene was then inscribed into the new credit sequence.

The rest of the cast members also went on to other work, but the problem of a Canadian star system remains. There are few series produced, even among all the networks, and often their stars will return to theater or radio or to auditioning again for TV parts. One reason *Street Legal* ended was that CBC could not afford to have two dramatic series on air at the same time, and the older program was supplanted by *Side Effects*, a medical drama. In the spring of 1994, the show wrapped up with a two-hour movie, which drew a whopping 1.6 million viewers.

JANICE KAYE

#### Cast

Charles Tchobanian	C. David Johnson
Olivia Novak	Cynthia Dale
Dillon Beck	Anthony Sherwood
Alana Robinovitch	Julie Khaner
Rob Diamond	Albert Schultz

Laura Crosby  
Brian Maloney  
Leon Robinovitch  
Mercedes  
Carrington Barr  
Steve  
Nick Del Gado

Maria Del Mar  
Ron Lea  
Eric Peterson  
Alison Sealoy-Smith  
Sonja Smits  
Mark Saunders  
David James Elliott

#### Producers

Maryke McEwen, Brenda Greenberg, Nada Harcourt

#### Programming History

126 episodes

CBC

January 1987–March 1988 Tuesday 8:00–9:00

November 1988–March 1991 Friday 8:00–9:00

November 1991–March 1993 Friday 9:00–10:00

November 1993–March 1994 Tuesday 9:00–10:00

#### Further Reading

Miller, Mary Jane, "Inflecting the Formula: The First Seasons of *Street Legal* and *L.A. Law*," in *The Beaver Bites Back?: American Popular Culture in Canada*, edited by David H. Flatery and Frank E. Manning, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993

## Street-Porter, Janet (1946– )

Television Presenter, Executive

Janet Street-Porter's career in television has been in two roles; one in front of the camera, as a magazine and talk show presenter, and the other behind the camera, as a producer and television executive. With her punk appearance and streetwise approach, her work as a presenter was focused on young audiences where she gained a reputation as a trend spotter. Behind the camera, her career evolved from innovative youth and music program making to innovative programming.

Leaving midway through a course at the Architectural Association, Street-Porter took up work in journalism with *Petticoat* magazine and the *Daily Mail* newspaper. She followed this with radio presentations on London radio station LBC before being approached by John Birt at London Weekend Television (LWT) to work as a television presenter. During her time at LWT, she worked on various magazine programs, such

as *The London Weekend Show* and *The Six O'Clock Show*, and worked alongside television veterans Clive James and Russell Harty on *Saturday Night People* and with Auberon Waugh on *Around Midnight*.

By the early 1980s, Street-Porter had gained celebrity status not only for her directness and skill as a presenter but also for her colorful appearance (especially her brightly colored glasses and hair) and her London accent (referred to as a "strangled" or "exaggerated" cockney accent). She became a regular target for the tabloids. On one occasion, shortly after her appointment to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), *The Sun* published a picture of her on the front page opposite the head of a horse. Much caricatured, she also became easy target for impersonators, featuring regularly on the popular satirical shows *Not the Nine O'clock News* and *Spitting Image*.

In 1980, Street-Porter moved behind the camera into production. As a producer, she continued in her specialty of music, style, and fashion programs aimed at young audiences. Programs included: *20th Century Box*, a topical show for and about young Londoners; *The C(h)at Show*, an all-female talk show; *Bliss*, a music, fashion, and style program; *Paintbox*, a ten-minute experimental music series; and *Get Fresh!*, a Saturday morning entertainment show.

In 1987, along with former LWT colleague Jane Hewland, Street-Porter created *Network 7* for Channel 4. A two-hour program for Sunday lunchtime, describing itself as "TV's first electronic tabloid," again aimed at young audiences, *Network 7* offered news, gossip fashion, and celebrity interviews. *Network 7* had a high-tech look, using music video techniques: a combination of varied camera angles; strong graphics; young, good-looking presenters; and "infobars" (a stream of information running along the bottom of the screen). Winner of a BAFTA Award for Originality in 1988, *Network 7* proved to be a prototype for many youth programs to follow.

Her success led to her appointment as head of youth programs and entertainment features at the BBC in 1988. With her reputation as a trend spotter, Street-Porter was brought in to address the problem of the BBC's lack of policy toward the much-coveted youth audience. After six months, Street-Porter launched *DEF II* (described as a channel within a channel) on BBC 2 from 6:00 P.M. to 7:30 P.M. Mondays and Wednesdays ("Def" was supposedly a slang term for "happening" or "cool"). The *DEF II* slots would usually include nostalgic cult programs (e.g., *Mission Impossible* and *Battlestar Galactica*) and commissioning innovative youth programs, such as *The Rough Guides*, *Reportage*, *Behind the Beat*, and *Rapido*.

In 1991, Street-Porter's role was extended to include commissioning entertainment shows as head of youth programs and entertainment features. This period included success as a producer with Ruby Wax in *The Full Wax* and the award-winning *The Vampyr: A Soap Opera*. (*The Vampyr*, a modern version of Heinrich Maschner's 19th-century romantic opera, won the Prix Italia in 1993.) In 1994, Street-Porter moved to a new post as head of independent productions for BBC's entertainment group. This would not prove as successful, and she decided to leave the BBC for a new project.

In September 1994, Street-Porter was appointed managing director of L!ve TV, the Mirror Newspaper Group's venture into cable television. Based in London's Canary Wharf, L!ve TV was to be Britain's first live, 24-hour cable channel. Street-Porter's vision for the channel was high tech, colorful, fast, and trendy. L!ve TV launched in June 1995 amid press reports of

differences of opinion on the channel's content. A BBC team captured the behind-the-scenes tensions in a fly-on-the-wall documentary, *Nightmare on Canary Wharf* (shown on BBC in December 1995). Three months after the launch, Street-Porter left L!ve TV.

In August 1995, Street-Porter was invited to deliver the MacTaggart Memorial Lecture, the opening speech of the Edinburgh International Television Festival. She was only the third woman in the festival's 20-year history to do so (the others were Christine Ockrent in 1988 and Verity Lambert in 1990). She chose the occasion to launch an attack on what she saw as the domination of the television industry by what she described as the "four Ms" (male, middle class, middle aged, and mediocre) and the lack of investment in talent. The speech was widely reported in the press.

After her earlier departure from presentation, Street-Porter has made occasional appearances in front of the camera, in discussion programs, as a cultural commentator, and presenting shows involving one of her favorite pastimes, walking. (She was president of the Ramblers' Association from 1994 to 1997.) In 1998, *Coast to Coast*, a seven-part series following Street-Porter on a 516-mile walk from Dungeness, Kent, to North Wales to discover the state of Britain, was aired. In 1999, *As the Crow Flies* was a seven-part series tracking her attempt to walk the 350-mile journey from Edinburgh to London in a straight line.

In 1999, Street-Porter returned to journalism as editor of *The Independent on Sunday*. Although she left the post in 2001, she still writes features and articles for both *The Independent on Sunday* and its sister paper, *The Independent*.

KATHLEEN LUCKEY

**Janet Street-Porter.** Born Janet Bull in London, England, December 17, 1946. Married: 1) Tim Street-Porter (divorced 1975); 2) Tony Elliott (divorced 1978); 3) Frank Cvitanovich (divorced 1988); 4) David Sorkin 1996 (divorced). Established reputation as a presenter of youth program and talk shows before moving to television production; achieved success for innovative programming before becoming head of youth programs and entertainment features at BBC; managing director, L!ve TV, 24-hour live cable channel. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1988; Prix Italia, 1993; Fellowship of Royal Television Society, 1994.

#### Television

##### As Presenter

1975-79 *The London Weekend Show*  
1978-80 *Saturday Night People*

1982–3	<i>The 6 O'Clock Show</i>
1983	<i>After Midnight</i>
1983	<i>Women Talking</i>
1994	<i>The Longest Walk</i>
1995	<i>Street-Porter's Men</i>
1997	<i>Travels with Pevsner</i>
1998	<i>Coast to Coast</i>
1999	<i>As the Crow Flies</i>
2000	<i>Cathedral Calls</i>

**As Producer**

1980–81	<i>20th Century Box</i>
1982	<i>The C(h)at Show</i> (and presenter)
1985	<i>Paintbox</i>
1985	<i>Bliss</i>
1986	<i>Get Fresh</i>
1987	<i>Network 7</i>
1988	<i>Reportage</i>
1989	<i>A–Z of Belief</i>
1990	<i>Style Trial</i>
1990	<i>283 Useful Ideas from Japan</i>
1991–92	<i>The Full Wax</i>

1991	<i>Paramount City</i>
1992	<i>The Vampyr: A Soap Opera</i>

**Publications**

*Coast to Coast*, 1998  
*As the Crow Flies*, 1999

**Further Reading**

- Barber, Lynn, "Eternal Yoof," *Observer Life Magazine* (February 15, 1998)
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- Horrie, Chris, and Adam Nathan, *Live TV: Tellybrats and Topless Darts, The Uncut Story of Tabloid Television*, London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd, 1988
- Lury, Karen, "Network 7: Youth Becomes 'Yoof,'" in *British Youth Television: Cynicism and Enchantment*, New York: Oxford Television Series, Clarendon Press, 2001; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001
- Street-Porter, Janet, "It's Managers vs Talent on TV Tonight," *The Independent* (August 26, 1995)
- Toynbee, Polly, "A Dangerous Talent, As Seen on TV," *The Independent* (September 16, 1995)

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## Studio

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Studios are an integral part of independent television production, providing television programming created either by independent producers or, at times, by the studio itself. Studios have a long history with television. In 1944, three years before the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved commercial broadcasting in the United States, RKO Studios announced plans to package theatrical releases and programming for television. Five years later, Paramount explored the profit potential of the new medium. By the early 1950s, Columbia and Universal-International had also started television subsidiaries. However, these early efforts were merely false starts. Low ad revenues and overall industry instability resulting from the 1948 antitrust action against studio-owned theater chains made it difficult for studios to earn profits from television.

However, by the mid-1950s, the U.S. networks had successfully wrestled programming control away from commercial sponsors, and studios came to provide the link between programming and a new breed of independent producers and syndicators. The most significant

of these early studios—which began as an independent production company—was Desilu, founded in 1951 by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz. On the strength of its hit sitcom *I Love Lucy*, Desilu became a production empire that, by the late 1950s, rivaled the size and output of the largest motion picture studios. The company also solidified the position of the telefilm and independent producer's role in the medium. Under the leadership of Arnaz, Desilu hosted numerous successful independent producers, including Danny Thomas and Quinn Martin.

By this time, other studios were getting into the act, with Universal providing studio services for Jack Webb's Mark VII productions and MCA's Revue Studios filming such series as *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* and *Leave It to Beaver*; although the Revue programs were quite diverse, they shared many studio qualities, including the same catalog of incidental and transitional music.

With its string of hit westerns, including *Cheyenne*, *Sugarfoot*, and *Bronco Lane*, Warner Brothers studio became central to the rise of the action-oriented tele-

film. These shows were paired with a group of slick, contemporary detective shows, such as *77 Sunset Strip* and *Hawaiian Eye*. In many ways, Warner Brothers was instrumental in discovering the techniques, narrative strategies, and modes of production needed for a large film studio to shift into the production of series television.

Another prolific 1960s independent producer/studio was Filmways, which began as a commercial production company. The studio's fortune grew when it joined with independent producer Paul Henning, creator and producer of such hits as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, and *Petticoat Junction*.

As the corn-pone silliness of such rural sitcoms gave way to the 1970s new age of relevance, Filmways was eclipsed by another major studio that also began as an independent: MTM Enterprises. Fueled by the fame of actress Mary Tyler Moore and the business sense of her then-husband Grant Tinker, MTM became a major television studio that provided everything from writers and producers to stages and cameras. At the same time, the television divisions of 20th Century-Fox and Paramount Pictures were turning out such hits as *M\*A\*S\*H* and *Happy Days*.

Producer/studios such as Desilu and MTM have since faded, with most major television production provided by independents working in contractual relations with major studios such as 20th Century-Fox, Paramount, MCA-Universal, and Warner Communication. For example, *The Simpsons*, which is independently produced by James L. Brooks's Gracie Films, is filmed by 20th Century-Fox (which, in the case of *The Simpsons*, farms out much of its animation to overseas production houses). In the sea of production logos

flooding the end credits of most contemporary series, the final credit is often that of a major film studio.

Increasingly, however, mergers and acquisitions in the media industries have led to a system of vertical integration in which U.S. television networks own studios and rely on them to provide content for prime-time programming. Disney's purchase of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Viacom's purchase of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and, in 2003–04, the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) purchase of Vivendi-Universal sealed these relationships and provided the "big three" networks with in-house program suppliers. FOX was created when News Corporation's chief executive officer, Rupert Murdoch, and media mogul Barry Diller achieved a conglomerate comprising television stations and a studio. Add to this Viacom's ownership of United Paramount Network (UPN) and Time Warner's major stake in The WB, and it is clear that most television content can now be provided by production entities owned by the distributors. The days of "independent producers" and smaller studios seem be numbered.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

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## Studio One

### U.S. Anthology Drama

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*Studio One* was one of the most significant U.S. anthology drama series during the 1950s. Like other anthology series of the time (*Robert Montgomery Presents*, *Philco Television Playhouse/Goodyear Playhouse*, and *Kraft Television Theatre*), the format was organized around the weekly presentation of a one-hour, live-television play. Several hours of live drama were provided by the networks per week, each play

different; such risk and diversity is hard to come by today.

Writing about television, Stanley Cavell has argued that "what is memorable, treasurable, criticizable, is not primarily the individual work, but the program, the format, not this or that day of *I Love Lucy*, but the program as such." While this admonition might admirably apply to the telefilm series that came later, the 1950s



*Studio One: "Wuthering Heights."*

*Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research*

drama anthologies were premised on the fact that they were different every week. However, the drama anthologies shared at least one thing in common—the one-hour live format—and because of that very fact, they had to distinguish themselves from each other. The producers for each series worked to develop a “house style,” a distinctive reputation for a certain kind of difference and diversity, whether based on quality writing, attention to character over theme, or, more typically, technical and artistic innovation that developed the form. A full assessment would necessarily consider each distinctive anthology series (and assess its “distinctiveness” from the others) as a whole and the failures and achievements of individual productions.

*Studio One* was the longest-running drama anthology series, lasting ten years from 1948 to 1958, from the “big freeze” through the “golden age” to the made-in-Hollywood 90-minute film format: in all, over 500 plays were produced. From the beginning, *Studio One*’s “house style” was foregrounded not only by the quality of its writers but also by its production innova-

tions, professionalism, and experimentation within the limits of live production.

*Studio One* began as a CBS Radio drama anthology show in the mid-1940s. Then, in 1948, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) drama supervisor Worthington Miner translated the series to television. Its first TV production was an adaptation by Miner of “The Storm” (November 7, 1948). In Miner’s hands, the series emphasized certain “quality” characteristics: adaptation (usually of classical works, such as the 1948 production of *Julius Caesar*) and innovation (“Battleship Bismarck,” 1949). *Studio One* adopted a serious tone under Miner but also a pioneering spirit. For example, “Battleship Bismarck” made advanced use of telecine inserts and three-camera live editing within a confined and waterlogged set. Miner left to join the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1952, but the show regained an even clearer sense of identity and purpose when Felix Jackson became the producer in 1953. Jackson used two directors, Paul Nickell and Franklin Schaffner, each with his own technical staff, who would alternate according to the



material. Nickell was given the more "sensitive" scripts, Schaffner the epics, the action. Both directors were committed to pushing the live studio drama to the limits. Nickell in particular stands as one of the greatest—and most unsung—television directors: he never made the mistake of thinking a good TV drama has to look like a film.

By the mid-1950s, dramatic anthologies typically became less focused on adaptation, and more emphasis was placed on new works written for television, often giving attention to contemporary issues. *Studio One* followed this trend. In many cases, the same writers, such as Reginald Rose, who had adapted for *Studio One*, now wrote original teleplays. Rose worked as an adapter until 1954, the year he wrote "12 Angry Men" and the controversial "Thunder on Sycamore Street." The latter story, about racial hatred, was modified to satisfy southern television station owners, replacing a black protagonist with a convict. By 1955, *Studio One* was receiving more than 500 unsolicited manuscripts per week.

However, it was *Studio One's* technical innovation, rather than its coterie of writers, that made the series distinctive. Its chief rival in the ratings, Fred Coe's *Philco Television Playhouse/Goodyear Playhouse*, had a superior stable of writers (Paddy Chayefsky, Rod Serling, Horton Foote, Robert Alan Aurthur, and Tad Mosel—most of whom later worked for *Studio One*), but it could not match *Studio One's* technical daring. *Philco/Goodyear* developed a reputation for plays that explored the psychological realism of character, using many close-ups, but this was influenced by other factors. As Mosel recalled, "I think that began because the sets were so cheap; if you pulled back you'd photograph those awful sets. Directors began moving in to faces so you wouldn't see the sets. *Studio One* had much more lavish productions, they had more money."

After 1955, *Studio One* joined the general decline of the other New York-based dramas. Network programmers began to favor anthologies that fit 90-minute slots (such as CBS *Playhouse 90*) and drama shot on film, often in Hollywood. Eventually, *Studio One* joined the drift to Hollywood and film. By 1957, the anthology was renamed *Studio One in Hollywood*—and the sponsor, Westinghouse, withdrew from the series.

*Studio One's* achievements have to be measured in terms of technical and stylistic superiority over rival anthologies. With plays such as "Dry Run" and "Shakedown Cruise" (both set on a flooded submarine, built in the studio) and "Twelve Angry Men," *Studio One* was the first to use four-walled sets, hiding the cameras behind flying walls or using portholes to conceal cameras between shots. The freedom to innovate was in part due to CBS's policy of giving directors rel-

ative autonomy from network interference and the stability of the Schaffner-Nickell partnership, but it is also a pioneering quality that can be traced back to Worthington Miner and the late 1940s. Miner was quite clear that he wanted *Studio One* to advance the medium via its experimental storytelling techniques: "I was fascinated by the new medium and convinced that television was somewhere between drama and film... a live performance staged for multiple cameras."

However, with the mature *Studio One* productions of the early and mid-1950s, one has the sense that the movements of the cameras were *not* subordinate to the requirements of the performance—quite the opposite. For example, "The Hospital" was an adaptation produced during the 1952 season and directed by Schaffner. This play seemed to achieve the impossible: it literally denied the existence of live studio time. Flashbacks and other interruptions could be achieved with some narrative jiggling to allow for costume and scene changes. Still, unlike film, live studio time was real time, and the ineluctable rule of live drama was that the length of a performance was as long as it took to see it. But Schaffner had a reputation for thinking that nothing was impossible for live television. Most other anthologies of the period used a static three-camera live-studio setup, where two cameras were used for close-ups and the other for the two-shots. In such an arrangement, the television camera acted as a simple, efficient, relay. Schaffner favored instead a mobile *mise-en-scène*; his cameras were constantly on the move, with actors and props positioned and choreographed for the cameras.

This play concerned the drama of a local hospital, following the various staff and patients through typical medical crises. Although the transmitted play lasted 50 minutes, the story time took up only 18 minutes. Some scenes were therefore repeated during the three acts, using a different viewpoint and requiring the actors to restage precisely their initial scenes. As some scenes were lengthened or modified in the light of what viewers saw previously, the audience gained a greater understanding of the events from each character's viewpoint. Although this would be relatively simple to achieve on film, for live drama it involved complex methods of panning and camera movement to capture and expand the chronicity of events and repeat them exactly as it had gone before. Schaffner achieved this by using several cranes to snake through the various sets as the scenes were played and repeated, often in a different order. Doing what seemed technically impossible was therefore foregrounded in this drama, and the complexity of this achievement was emphasized by the ironic commentary of one of the hospital patients



who, with head bandaged, was able to explain at the end, as the sponsors shouted for their advertisements, "Time? There is no time. Time is only an illusion." And *Studio One* could prove it.

JASON J. JACOBS

See also **Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; Miner, Worthington; Schaffner, Franklin**

### Spokesperson (1949–58)

Betty Furness

### Producers

Herbert Brodtkin, Worthington Miner, Fletcher Markle, Felix Jackson, Norman Felton, Gordon Duff, William Brown, Paul Nickell, Franklin Schaffner, Charles H. Schultz

### Programming History

466 episodes

CBS

November 1948–March 1949	Sunday 7:30–8:30
March 1949–May 1949	Sunday 7:00–8:00
May 1949–September 1949	Wednesday 10:00–11:00

September 1949–September 1958 Monday  
10:00–11:00

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## Subtitling

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Subtitling is the written translation of the spoken language (source language) of a television program or film into the language of the viewing audience (the target language); the translated text usually appears in two lines at the foot of the screen at the same time that the dialogue or narration in the source language is heard.

This simultaneous provision of meaning in two different languages, one in oral and the other in written text, is thus a new form of language transfer created by film and further developed by television. It combines the two ancient forms of interlingual communication: "interpretation," involving speaking only, and "translation," involving writing only. The concept is sometimes used synonymously with "captioning." In terms of technical production and display on the screen, there is no difference between the two, although it is useful to reserve the term "caption" for the screen dis-

play of writing in the same language as the oral text.

Subtitling is, together with dubbing, the main form of translation or "language transfer" in television, which is increasingly developing into a global medium in a world fragmented by about 5,000 languages. The scope of language-transfer activity depends on the relative power of the television market of each country; its cultural, linguistic, and communication environment; and audience preferences. For example, compared to North America, the countries of the European Union have a larger population, more TV viewers, more TV households, and more program production. However, linguistic fragmentation has undermined these countries' ability to perform effectively in the global market or compete with the powerful, monolingual audiovisual economy of the United States. As a step toward the building of a "European single mar-

ket," the Council of European Communities took measures in 1990 to overcome the "language barrier" by, among other means, promoting dubbing, subtitling, and multilingual broadcasting. The deregulated market of eastern Europe, too, is linguistically fragmented and heavily dependent on imports, with the annual total of foreign programs broadcast in eastern Europe estimated to be 19,000 hours in 1992. English has emerged as the largest source language in the world. Many countries prefer to import programs from the Anglophone audiovisual market in part because it is more economical to conduct language transfer from a single source language.

The ideal in subtitling is to translate each utterance in full and display it synchronically with the spoken words on the screen. However, the medium imposes serious constraints on full-text translation. One major obstacle involves the limitations of the screen space. Each line, recorded on videotape, consists of approximately 40 characters or typographic spaces (letters, punctuation marks, numbers, and word spaces) in the Roman alphabet, although proportional spacing (e.g., more space for "M" and less for "l") allows more room for words, which average five letters in English. Another constraint is the duration of a subtitle, which depends on the quantity and complexity of the text, the speed of the dialogue, the average viewer's reading speed (150–180 words per minute), and the necessary intervals between subtitles. Taking into account various factors, the optimum display time has been estimated to be four seconds for one line and six to eight seconds for two lines. As a result, the subtitler often presents the source-language dialogue or narration in condensed form. Loss or change of meaning also happens because the written text cannot transfer all the nuances of the spoken language. Other problems relate to the reception process. Unlike the printed page, the changing screen does not allow the viewer to reread a line, which disappears in a few seconds. Audiences have to divide the viewing time between two different activities, reading the subtitles and watching the moving picture, and constantly interrelating the two kinds of text. Thus, subtitling has created not only a new form of translation but also new reading processes and reading audiences. This type of reading demands different literacy skills, which are individually and, often, effectively acquired in the process of viewing.

Despite the limitations of subtitling, selectively outlined here, some broadcasters and viewers prefer it to dubbing insofar as it does not interfere with the source language. Although viewers of subtitled programs are not usually familiar with the source language, it is argued that they derive more authentic

meaning by hearing the original speech. Preference for one or the other form of language transfer depends on the cultural, political, linguistic, and viewing traditions of each country as well as economic considerations, such as audiovisual market size, import policies, and the relative cost of each transfer method. It is known, for example, that Europe is divided into "subtitling countries" (e.g., Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Greece, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Scandinavia) and "dubbing countries" (France, Germany, Italy, and Spain). Dubbing is usually more expensive, more complex, and more time consuming than subtitling or voice-over. Still, some of the economically troubled countries of eastern Europe (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) dubbed the majority of their imported programs in 1992. In these countries, as in others, the professional community of actors supports the dubbing process as a source of employment.

Language transfer involves more than facilitating the viewer's comprehension of unfamiliar language. For example, the European Commission has recommended subtitling as a means of improving knowledge of foreign languages within the European Union. Technological innovations are rapidly changing the production, delivery, and reception of subtitles. Some satellite broadcasters provide multilingual subtitling by using a teletext-based system, which allows the simultaneous transmission of up to seven sets of subtitles in different languages. The viewer can choose any language by dialing the assigned teletext page. Subtitling has usually been a postproduction activity, but real-time subtitling for live broadcasting is available. An interpreter watches a live broadcast and provides simultaneous translation (interpretation) by speaking into a microphone connected to the headphone of a high-speed "audio typist." The interpreted text appears on the screen while it is keyed on the adapted keyboard of a computer programmed for formatting and boxing subtitles. This kind of heavily mediated subtitling will no doubt be simplified when technological advance in voice recognition allows the direct transcription of the interpreted text. By the early 2000s, the demand for subtitling was growing, especially in Europe, Asia, and Africa; digital broadcasting is expected to revolutionize audiovisual translation by, among other things, facilitating live subtitling; at the same time, a variety of software systems already allows more efficient production of subtitles.

AMIR HASSANPOUR

*See also* Closed Captioning; Dubbing; Language and Television; Voice-Over

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## Sullivan, Ed (1902–1974)

U.S. Variety Show Host

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Anyone who watched television in the United States between 1948 and 1971 saw Ed Sullivan. Even if viewers did not watch his Sunday night variety show regularly, chances are they tuned in occasionally to see a favorite singer or comedian. Milton Berle may have been Mr. Television in the early years of TV, but for almost a quarter of a century, Sullivan was Mr. Sunday Night. Considered by many to be the embodiment of banal, middlebrow taste, Sullivan exposed a generation of Americans to virtually everything the culture had to offer in the field of art and entertainment.

Sullivan began as a journalist. It was his column in the *New York Daily News* that launched him as an emcee of vaudeville revues and charity events. This led to a role in a regular televised variety show in 1948. Known as the *Toast of the Town* until 1955, it became *The Ed Sullivan Show* in September of that year. According to Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) president William S. Paley, Sullivan was chosen to host the network's Sunday night program because CBS could not hold anyone comparable to Berle. Ironically, Sullivan outlasted Berle in large measure because of his (Sullivan's) lack of personality. Berle came to be identified with a particular brand of comedy that was fading from popularity. On the other hand, Sullivan simply introduced acts, then stepped into the wings.

Ed Sullivan's stiff physical appearance, evident discomfort before the camera, and awkward vocal mannerisms (including the oft-imitated description of his program as a "reeeeeelly big shoe") made him an unlikely candidate to become a television star and national institution. But what Sullivan lacked in screen presence and personal charisma he made up for with a canny ability to locate and showcase talent. More than anything else, his show was an extension of vaudeville tradition. In an era before networks attempted to gear a

program's appeal to a narrow demographic group, Sullivan was obliged to attract the widest possible audience. He did so by booking acts from every spectrum of entertainment: performers of the classics such as Itzhak Perlman, Margot Fonteyn, and Rudolf Nureyev; comedians such as Buster Keaton, Bob Hope, Henny Youngman, Joan Rivers, and George Carlin; and



Ed Sullivan.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

singers such as Elvis Presley, Mahalia Jackson, Kate Smith, the Beatles, James Brown, and Sister Sourire, the Singing Nun. Sports stars appeared on the same stage as Shakespearean actors. Poets and artists shared the spotlight with dancing bears and trained dogs. And then there were the ubiquitous "specialty acts," such as Topo Gigio, the marionette mouse with the thick Italian accent enlisted to "humanize" Sullivan, and Señor Wences, the ventriloquist who appeared more than 20 times, talking to his lipstick-smeared hand and a wooden head in a box. Sullivan's program was a variety show in the fullest sense of the term. While he was not so notable for "firsts," Sullivan did seem to convey a kind of approval on emerging acts. Elvis Presley and many other performers had appeared on network television before ever showing up on the Sullivan program, but taking his stage once during prime time on Sunday night meant more than a dozen appearances on any other show.

Although Sullivan relented to the blacklist in 1950, apologizing for booking tap dancer and alleged Communist sympathizer Paul Draper, he was noted for his support of civil rights. At a time when virtually all sponsors balked at permitting black performers to take the stage, Sullivan embraced Pearl Bailey over the objections of his sponsors. He also showcased black entertainers as diverse as Nat "King" Cole, Leontyne Price, Louis Armstrong, George Kirby, Richard Pryor, Duke Ellington, Richie Havens, and the Supremes.

Sullivan attempted to keep up with the times, booking rock bands and young comedians, but by the time his show was canceled in 1971, he had been eclipsed in the ratings by "hipper" variety programs, such as *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* and *The Flip Wilson Show*. Sullivan became victim to his own age and CBS's desire to appeal to a younger demographic, regardless of his show's health in the ratings. He died in 1974.

Since *The Ed Sullivan Show* ended in 1971, no other program on American television has approached the diversity and depth of Sullivan's weekly variety show. Periodic specials drawing from the hundreds of hours of Sullivan shows, as well as the venue of the *Late Show with David Letterman* (taped in the same theater used for *The Ed Sullivan Show*), continue to serve as a tribute to Sullivan's unique place in broadcasting. Ed Sullivan remains an important figure in American broadcasting because of his talents as a producer and his willingness to chip away at the entrenched racism that existed in television's first decades.

ERIC SCHAEFER

*See also Ed Sullivan Show, The*

**Ed(ward Vincent) Sullivan.** Born in New York City, September 28, 1902. Married: Sylvia Weinstein, 1930; one daughter. Covered high school sports as a reporter, *Port Chester Daily Item*; joined *Hartford Post*, 1919; reporter and columnist, *New York Evening Mail*, 1920–24; writer, *New York World*, 1924–25, and *Morning Telegraph*, 1925–27; sportswriter, *New York Evening Graphic*, 1927–29, Broadway columnist, 1929–32; columnist, *New York Daily News*, from 1932; launched radio program over Columbia Station WCBS (then WABC), showcasing new talent, 1932; staged benefit revues during World War II; host, CBS radio program *Ed Sullivan Entertains*, from 1942; host, CBS television variety program *Toast of the Town* (later *The Ed Sullivan Show*), 1948–71. Died in New York, October 13, 1974.

#### Television Series

1948–71 *Toast of the Town* (became *The Ed Sullivan Show*, 1955)

#### Films (writer)

*There Goes My Heart* (original story), 1938; *Big Town Czar* (also actor), 1939; *Ma, He's Makin' Eyes at Me*, 1940.

#### Radio

*Ed Sullivan Show*, 1932; *Ed Sullivan Entertains*, 1942.

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# Super Bowl

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The Super Bowl is the premier annual television event in the United States. Early in its history, it became the most-watched television show of the year and the most expensive advertising time in American television. It is the championship game between the winning teams in the American Football Conference (AFC) and the National Football Conference (NFC) to determine the championship of the National Football League (NFL).

First played in 1967 with the official title "The First AFL-NFL World Championship Game," the Super Bowl was given its current name two years later when a high-bouncing consumer toy, the "superball," inspired Lamar Hunt to suggest it to Pete Rozelle, then commissioner of the NFL. In addition, in 1969, the New York Jets of the upstart younger and less respected of the two leagues became the first AFC team to win the Super Bowl, signaling a new parity between the leagues. The first two Championship Games had been won easily by the Green Bay Packers under legendary coach Vince Lombardi. When AFC teams won Super Bowls III and IV (NFL marketing also settled early on the monumental-looking Roman numerals for each year's game), the status of the Super Bowl as football's pinnacle was irrevocably established. Sports had been a staple of television programming since the first telecast of a Columbia University baseball game on May 17, 1939, by the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC's) experimental station W2XBS. A professional football game was telecast later that year in which the Brooklyn Dodgers beat the Philadelphia Eagles 23 to 14, and football in ensuing decades established itself as an ideal sport for the particular framing, presentation, and pace of television.

Super Bowl audience size and advertising costs became the highest of any television programming in the early 1970s. All the 10 top-rated television programs of all time are Super Bowls. Annual viewership in the United States has exceeded 130 million for recent Super Bowls, and ratings have usually exceeded 40.0 with a 60 share. To reach the Super Bowl audience, advertising costs were under \$100,000 for a 30-second spot for the first half dozen games, but three decades later 30 seconds of airtime cost more than \$2 million. A segment of the audience watches primarily to view the expensively produced advertisements being rolled out for the first time in the Super Bowl telecast, and the new ads are instantly evaluated and discussed in news-

papers, talk shows, and elsewhere. Among the most famous of the one-time-only Super Bowl ads is the 1984 Macintosh "Brave New World" ad, in which a lone dissenter charges forward to smash a huge television screen transmitting Big Brother dictates to the docile masses. The advertisement was kept under wraps prior to the game and never aired again commercially despite its storied success. Advertisers consider the Super Bowl audience ideal because of its size, inclusive demographics, and event atmosphere.

Pregame and halftime entertainment at the Super Bowl have grown from standard football fare to major extravaganzas. The first Super Bowls featured university marching bands playing the "Star Spangled Banner" to open the game and performing numbers on the field between halves. As the prominence of the Super Bowl became more massive, the anthem was given over to celebrities; past performers have included Mariah Carey, the Dixie Chicks, Jewel, Cher, Billy Joel, Aaron Neville, and Whitney Houston. The halftime ceremony also grew into a massively expensive and complex entertainment extravaganza featuring the biggest names in American popular music, including No Doubt, Shania Twain, Backstreet Boys, Aerosmith, N'Sync, U2, and Britney Spears. The game is packaged with extravagant features: breathless analysis during the preceding week, pregame specials, grandiose player introductions, the massively produced national anthem with jet flyovers and fireworks, a blimp hovering overhead like a holy spirit, aerial pictures of the stadium, tightly edited fast-paced openings and bridges, verbal hyperbole by the announcers, and an overall pageantry and spectacle traditionally reserved for the most important and sacred of public occasions. The network that has bought rights to the game employs several dozen cameras and nearly as many videotape machines to capture the action. Network program promotions crowd in next to the pricey commercials, and the whole package is transmitted overseas to American troops who are, in turn, shown watching the game at a preselected post in Afghanistan, Iraq, or another far-flung American military location.

The game is not played at either team's home site but rather in a neutral, usually fair-weather city, most commonly New Orleans, Miami, Los Angeles. The first 35 televised Super Bowls occurred in January,

## Super Bowl

shifting over the years from mid- to late January, but the league now leans toward an early February date. This is a prime television period because of winter weather in many parts of the country and the absence of competing events. The date also allows the NFL to complete a 16-game regular season, with a bye week for each team, and four rounds of playoff games. The winning team is awarded the Lombardi Trophy, made by Tiffany & Co. of New York and valued at \$12,000; each winning team member receives a Super Bowl ring valued at \$5,000 and a payment larger than the median annual income for Americans. The winners become heroes to millions and later pay a visit to the White House to meet the president.

Critics have noted that America's number one media event features a male-only game, although the television coverage incorporates women and the NFL markets itself strategically to women. The game is also physically violent compared to most sports. African-American athletes are very overrepresented on NFL rosters compared to their proportion in the total population, but they are underrepresented among team owners. The Super Bowl attracts interest outside North America largely as a curiosity. Despite NFL marketing overseas and sponsorship of NFL Europe, few people outside the United States and Canada understand American football or care. The international equivalent to the Super Bowl is the soccer World Cup Final, which attracts an audience several times larger than the Super Bowl.

The Super Bowl is primarily a television event, but in the days preceding the game, it also generates television specials, newspaper pullout sections, magazine cover stories, special meal recipes, commercial product tie-ins, celebrity features, and every other accoutrement that accompanies extreme public attention. Rising above politics, religion, or other partisan loyalties, it has become virtually mandatory viewing, an occasion for major celebrations with family and friends, and the most prominent secular high holiday in American culture.

MICHAEL R. REAL

*See also Sports and Television*

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## Superstation

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A superstation is an independent broadcast station whose signal is picked up and redistributed by satellite to local cable television systems. Within its originating market, the station can be received off the air using a home antenna. Once uplinked to a satellite, however, the station functions as a cable program service or cable "network."

The origins of modern superstations can be traced back to the start of distant signal importation by early cable (CATV) systems using microwave relays. At first, the relays simply brought signals to communities too remote to receive them using rooftop or community antennas, but as cable systems began to penetrate television markets with one or more local stations, op-

erators often would import the signals of popular, well-financed stations from major metropolitan areas to make their service more appealing to potential subscribers. In effect, the distant signals were combined with local signals to create a distinct cable programming package. All of today's superstations were carried by microwave at one time; however, the actual term "superstation" was not used until the late 1970s, shortly after Ted Turner's Atlanta, Georgia, station, WTBS, became the first independent station to be carried by satellite.

Not only was Turner's station the first satellite-delivered independent station (and the second satellite-delivered cable program service overall), it was an

# SuperStation WTBS

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

innovator in the type of programming that would be most successful on cable. As with many cable-only program services, the popularity of superstations stems largely from their numerous movie screenings and extensive sports coverage—program types available in much smaller quantities from the broadcast networks and their affiliates. Superstation status also gives an independent station an economic advantage when competing with other stations for the broadcast rights to popular syndicated series. The evolution of WTBS's successful program schedule represents an aggressive effort to acquire these sorts of programs.

The existence of WTBS dates back to 1968, when Turner purchased a failing UHF (ultrahigh frequency) station. He quickly changed the fortunes of his new station (which he called WTCG during its early years) by using old movies and syndicated television series to counterprogram network affiliate stations, going after such audience segments as children and people not watching the news. By the early 1970s, Turner's station also offered local sports programming: first professional wrestling and later baseball, basketball, and hockey. By 1972, WTCG had become popular enough in the Atlanta metropolitan area that its signal had begun to be carried by microwave to cable systems throughout Georgia and northern Florida. In 1976, when Turner uplinked his signal to a communications satellite, WTCG's potential coverage was extended to locations as distant as Canada and Alaska. The station was renamed WTBS (for Turner Broadcasting System) in the late 1970s to reflect the scope of its new operations.

Within the next few years, the signals of other major-market independent stations also began to be carried on satellite. However, the stations that followed WTBS to satellite carriage represent a different category of superstation. WTBS is considered to be an "active" superstation because it pursues superstation status as part of day-to-day operations: programming targets a nationwide market more than a local market, and national advertising is sought. WTBS currently is the only active superstation.

"Passive" superstations, by contrast, traditionally have done little or nothing to acknowledge themselves

as superstations. Satellite common carriers such as United Video, Inc., and EMI Communications Corp. retransmit the stations' signals without any formal consent, sometimes against the stations' wishes. Despite their potential to be viewed thousands of miles away, passive superstations have continued to direct the greater portion of their programming and advertising toward local or regional markets. As with any cable program service, cable operators pay per-subscriber fees for the use of passive superstations' signals. However, the fees are paid to the common carriers, not to the stations.

As cable's popularity continues, passive superstations are giving more recognition to their own superstation status, often having an employee who functions as a liaison to the satellite carrier and possibly to the cable systems taking the service. Nonetheless, most continue to feel that their priorities remain with their local markets.

The five "passive" superstations currently in operation are: WOR and WPIX, New York; WSBK, Boston; WGN, Chicago; KTLA, Los Angeles; and KTVT, Dallas, Texas. It is worth noting that this group includes some of the country's most long-standing broadcast stations. Like WTBS, these stations have been extremely successful in counterprogramming other stations. All carry local sports, for example. WOR features Mets baseball, WPIX the Yankees, WSBK the Red Sox, WGN the Cubs, KTLA the Dodgers, and KTVT the Rangers. All these stations also carry other sports teams. Most also feature regularly scheduled movie programs, often with well-known hosts. Since the late 1990s, several of the passive superstations have opted to affiliate with the new broadcast "mininetworks" (United Paramount Network [UPN] and The WB), enhancing their own programming schedules as well as providing additional viewership for the new networks. For example, Chicago's WGN is affiliated with The WB network.

The popularity of independent stations as cable program services has surprised many, particularly those who have touted cable's potential to provide programming substantially different from that of broadcast television. This popularity indicates quite a lot about the economics of satellite-served cable, a new vehicle for television programming that has had to compete with the established and resource-laden broadcast networks. In many instances, the formula for success has been found in program schedules that are familiar to television audiences but that nonetheless differ from those of the "big three" networks (American Broadcasting Company [ABC], National Broadcasting Company [NBC], and Columbia Broadcasting System

## Superstation

[CBS])—a formula that independent stations have been following for decades.

MEGAN MULLEN

*See also* **Cable Networks; Geography and Television; Turner Broadcasting Systems; Turner, Ted; United States: Cable Television; UPN Television Network; WB Television Network**

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# Survivor

## U.K./U.S. Reality Show

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For 13 consecutive weeks during the summer of 2000, the Columbia Broadcasting System's (CBS's) *Survivor* ruled U.S. television by attracting audiences from all demographics (especially from the coveted key advertiser demographic of adults 18–49) who kept tuning in to find out the whereabouts of the adventure game's contestants. Adapted from a British series, *Survivor* is a reality-based show that strands 16 castaways for 39 days in a remote location (the first installment was set on the island of Pulau Tiga, 20 miles off the coast of Borneo), with the show's host, Jeff Probst, as their sole contact with the outside world. Equipped only with essential clothing and one "luxury" item, contestants had both to help and to compete with each other in order to "survive"—that is, be the last person standing on the island. The last "survivor" would win \$1 million. *Survivor* became a cultural phenomenon with ratings that proved the viability of scheduling original TV programming during the summer. Furthermore, it ushered in (with a short decline after the events of September 11, 2001) network television's foray into reality-based shows as a financial alternative to more expensive scripted programming. In response to the subsequent explosion of "reality TV" heralded by *Survivor*, the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences created two prime-time categories in its Emmy Awards competition. In August 2001, *Survivor* won two awards: Outstanding Non-Fiction Program with a game show element and Outstanding Sound Mixing for a Non-Fiction Program.

Even if unscripted, *Survivor* provided a rather stable narrative structure. Right before arriving to the island, the 16 contestants were divided into two groups (named after two Pulau Tiga beaches): the Tagi Tribe and the Pagong Tribe. Every few days, the tribes will compete against each other in two different types of challenges: the first one provided specific material prizes (maps, food, beer, matches, and the use of cell phones), and the second one excused the winning tribe from going to Tribal Council (the place for voting contestants off the game and the only traditional shooting stage on the island). Consequently, winning the second challenge meant not having to eliminate a member of the tribe. When the number of contestants went down to ten, the two tribes were merged into the Rattana tribe. Its members were, in the order that they were voted off ending with the winner, Gervase, Gretchen, Greg, Jenna, Colleen, Sean, Susan, Rudy, Kelly, and Richard. At this point, the structure of the two challenges remained in place; however, prizes went to single contestants, and the second challenge provided individual immunity against being voted off during Tribal Council.

The importance both of winning challenges and of remaining on the island, along with the physical and psychological demands of the whole experience, created a dramatic intensity among the contestants that lent itself to very crude and emotional interpersonal encounters. As Executive Producer Mark Burnett explains, *Survivor* is about both "Machiavellian poli-



tics at their most primal” and “how [someone] can manipulate complicated team dynamics under pressure.” Since contestants were taped 24 hours of the day (by cameramen or recording devices hidden all over the island), viewers had access to these high-strung, spontaneous responses, which became the core of the show’s spectacle. The ubiquitous state of surveillance under which the castaways lived, along with particular acts of “self-preservation” (e.g., creating alliances and backstabbing other contestants), and excessive sensationalism (e.g., eating bugs and rats and killing a wild boar) made the popular press call *Survivor* both “voyeur TV” and an “extreme reality show.”

These two rubrics point toward the show’s broader genre (“reality TV”), which was further layered with an eclectic construction design to appeal to diverse audiences. As Burnett explains, he envisioned *Survivor* as “something akin to *Gilligan’s Island* meets *Lord of the Flies* meets *Ten Little Indians* meets *The Real World*.” Burnett’s allusion to literary texts and contemporary media phenomena exemplifies the show’s attempt to cater to CBS’s older and more traditional core audience while bringing younger viewers to the network. The show succeeded in all ratings fronts. As Rick Kissell explained, helped by its final episode’s exceptional ratings, *Survivor* ranked as “the most-watched series of the 1999–2000 season, with its 13-episode average of 28.25 million viewers.” The two-hour finale averaged 51.69 million viewers, more than any program during the season, except the Super Bowl. The final episode “topped a 50 share in all key demo breakdowns, including a 54 in adults 18–49 and an incredible 60 share in adults 18–34.” In addition, *Survivor*’s 28.6 rating and 45 share in homes “makes it the highest-rated summer broadcast since such marks were first kept beginning in 1987.”

*Survivor*’s ratings success was even more impressive since it aired during the summer, a period when TV viewership dwindles considerably. *Survivor* further accomplished a very desirable feat for any TV series: its ratings, both overall and in all key demographics, increased with each successive episode (with the exception of the fifth installment that posted slight dips). As Josef Adalian and Michael Schneider reported, CBS capitalized on the series’ popularity by asking “as much as \$600,000 for 30-second spots during the skein’s Aug. 23 finale—a rate on par with what NBC usually gets for ads on *ER*.” At this point, the network’s ad revenues were considerably substantial since CBS “had pre-sold the show to eight sponsors in order to hedge [its] gamble.” Furthermore, as Josef Adalian indicated, “*Survivor* served as a successful first test of the new age of corporate synergy within

the newly merged Viacom/CBS behemoth,” with ads for the reality show appearing frequently in “younger-friendly Viacom outlets such as MTV [Music Television] and VH1 [Video Hits 1]” as well as “three separate Infinity radio stations.” After its summer success, CBS moved the *Survivor* franchise to Thursday nights during TV’s regular season. Six more installments have already aired (*Survivor: The Australian Outback*, *Survivor: Africa*, *Survivor: Marquesas*, *Survivor: Thailand*, *Survivor: The Amazon*, and *Survivor: Panama*). *Survivor* has helped CBS regain competitiveness in the ratings battle by shaking up its “elderly-oriented” image and bringing younger audiences to the network. In addition, the franchise’s voyeuristic and sensationalist elements triggered debates about the strategies that *Survivor* as well as other reality-TV shows were employing to attract audiences.

GILBERTO M. BLASINI

### See also Reality Television

#### Host

Jeff Probst

#### Original Contestants

Tagi Tribe: Dirk Been, Rudy Boesch, Sonja Christopher, Richard Hatch, Susan Hawk, Sean Kenniff, Stacey Stillman, Kelley Wiglesworth  
Pagong Tribe: B.B. Andersen, Greg Buis, Gretchen Cordy, Ramona Gray, Colleen Haskell, Joel Klug, Jenna Lewis, Gervase Peterson

#### Producers

Maria Baltazzi, Jay Bienstock, John Feist

#### Programming History (U.S.)

CBS	Thursday 8:00–9:00
Season 1:	May 31, 2000–August 23, 2000
Special:	<i>Survivor: The Reunion</i> , August 23, 2000
Season 2:	January 28, 2001–May 3, 2001
Special:	<i>Survivor: The Outback Reunion</i> , May 3, 2001
Special:	<i>Back from the Outback</i> , May 10, 2001
Special:	<i>Survivor: Countdown to Africa</i> , October 4, 2001
Season 3:	October 11, 2001–January 10, 2002
Special:	<i>Survivor: Africa—The Reunion</i> , January 10, 2002
Special:	<i>Survivor: Back from Africa</i> , January 17, 2002

## Survivor

- Season 4: February 28, 2002–May 19, 2002  
Special: *Look Closer: The First 24 Days*, April 24, 2002  
Special: *Survivor: Marquesas—The Reunion*, May 19, 2002  
Season 5: September 19, 2002–December 19, 2002  
Special: *A Closer Look*, November 27, 2002  
Season 6: February 13, 2003–May 11, 2002  
Special: *Amazon Redux*, April 17, 2003  
Special: *Survivor: The Amazon Reunion*, May 11, 2003  
Season 7: September 18, 2003–

## Further Reading

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Adalian, Josef, and Michael Schneider, "Eye to Keep Reality in Check, Prexy Sez," *Variety* (July 24, 2000)  
Burnett, Mark, with Martin Dugard, *Survivor: The Ultimate Game: The Official Companion Book to the CBS Television Show*, New York: TV Books, 2000  
"Eye in Shipshape for Start of *Survivor*," *Variety* (June 1, 2000)  
Kissell, Rick, "An Eye-land Paradise," *Variety* (August 24, 2000)  
Schneider, Michael, and Josef Adalian, "Peek-a-boo Boom," *Variety* (June 21, 2000)

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# Suspense

## U.S. Anthology Series

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*Suspense*, an anthology drama featuring stories of mystery and the macabre, was broadcast live from New York on Tuesday evenings from 9:30 to 10:00 P.M. over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The original series began on March 1, 1949, and continued for four seasons until August 1954. It was revived briefly between March and September 1964.

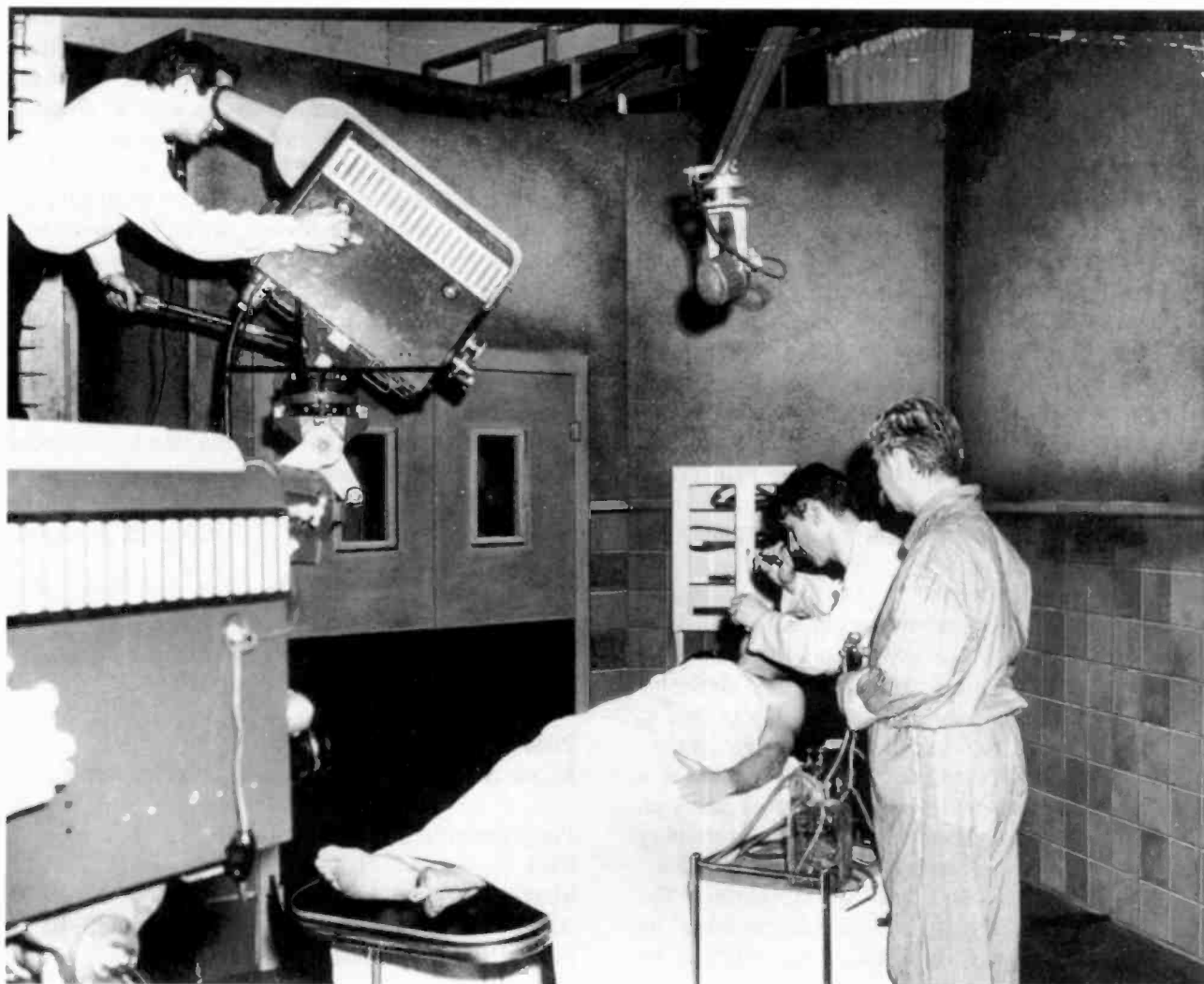
*Suspense* was based on the famous radio program of the same name and was one of many early television shows that had its origin in the older medium. The radio program began in 1942 and was broadcast weekly from Hollywood. Scripts were generally of high quality and featured at least one well-known stage or film performer. The famous broadcast of 1948 titled "Sorry Wrong Number" starred Agnes Moorehead in a thrilling tale of an invalid woman who accidentally overhears a telephone conversation in which arrangements for her own murder are being discussed. For the rest of the program, she tries frantically to telephone someone for help. A stunning concept for the aural medium, the episode was later made into a film. In addition to such fine writing, the radio *Suspense* featured outstanding music by Bernard Herrmann and excellent production values. The program attracted a loyal following of listeners until September 1962. When it left the air, *Suspense* was the only remaining regularly scheduled drama on commercial network radio.

The television version of this popular show attempted to create the atmosphere of its radio predecessor by using the same opening announcement—"And

now, a tale well calculated to keep you in...SUSPENSE!"—accompanied by the Bernard Herrmann theme played on a Hammond organ rather than by an orchestra. The television version, however, was not able to attain the generally high quality of the radio program. Part of the problem was the program's length. Thirty minutes hardly allowed sufficient time to develop characters of any subtlety. In addition, the fact that the program was broadcast live from a New York studio severely restricted the mobility of its actions. It seemed too that writers sometimes offended the public by presenting subjects considered to be too violent for the conservative tastes of the early 1950s.

The first broadcast, titled "Revenge," was given a very negative review by *New York Times* radio and television columnist Jack Gould. He candidly stated that the program had more "corn than chill" and that the drab story about a man who stabs his wife while she is posing for a photograph gave actors "little opportunity for anything more than the most stereotyped portrayals." Gould noted that the most interesting thing about the program was its interspersing of live studio material with film to show exterior actions. Despite the interesting technique, Gould asserted that the exteriors could have been dispensed with entirely without doing harm to the story.

He also complained of the excessive verbal explanation and dialogue that was too simplified. He contended that the presence of pictures should free the dialogue from exposition and allow it to be more elo-



*Suspense.*

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

quent. As he put it, "With the pictures saying so much, the dialogue can afford to have more substance and be more subtle." His review concluded with a telling observation on the new medium: "The lesson of the first installment of *Suspense* is that among all the mass media, television promises to demand a very high degree of compact and knowing craftsmanship for a mystery to be truly successful."

Gould continued to attend to the series, however, and became incensed about another episode, titled "Breakdown." Written by Francis Cockrell and Louis Polloch, the episode starred Ellen Violet and Don Briggs. The story focuses on a cruel and tyrannical office boss who breaks his neck in a plane crash and is taken for dead until just before his body is cremated.

Gould did not object so much to the story as to its mode of presentation. He was particularly upset by

what he called "the unrelieved vividness of the details of death which no war correspondent would think of mentioning even in a dispatch from a battlefield." In closing, Gould stated, "Both the sponsor, an auto accessories concern, and CBS should be thoroughly ashamed of themselves for their behavior last night. Mystery, murders, and suspense certainly have their place in any dramatic form. But a sustained and neurotic preoccupation with physical suffering for its own sake has nothing whatever to do with good theater. It is time for everyone concerned with *Suspense* to grow up."

Most *Suspense* episodes were more conventional than "Breakdown." The program titled "F.O.B. Vienna" of April 28, 1953, was fairly typical. It starred Walter Matthau and Jayne Meadows in the story of an American businessman who has accompanied a ship-

ment of lathes to Austria and is trying to keep them out of the hands of Communists. The shipment ends up in Hamburg, and Matthau tracks it there with the help of Meadows, who plays a newspaper reporter. At the last minute, he is able to destroy the shipment as the police arrive to round up the Communists. The ordinary script was not, in fact, very suspenseful, and much of it cried for action impossible to depict within the confines of the studio.

A more successful broadcast was "All Hallows Eve" of October 28, 1952. Based on the story "Markheim" by Robert Louis Stevenson, this is the account of a man who murders his pawnbroker and is then visited by the devil, who urges him to kill the man's housekeeper in order to cover up his crime. In an attempt to atone for his utterly delinquent life, the man draws back at the last moment and tells the housekeeper to call the police because he has just murdered her master. Thwarted in his efforts to gain another soul, the devil disappears. Produced by Martin Manulis, this episode made excellent use of the pawnshop set. With its peculiar artifacts and many mirrors that reflect the face of the murderer as he thinks guiltily about his deed, the sense of confined space becomes central to the tale. Franchot Tone gave an outstanding performance as the main character. *Suspense* broadcast a number of other adaptations during its four years on the air. The program drew heavily on classic mystery and suspense offerings, including "The Suicide Club" and "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" by Stevenson, "The Mystery of Edwin Drood" and "The Signal Man" by Charles Dickens, and "The Cask of Amontillado" by Edgar Allen Poe.

On May 26, 1953, *Suspense* broadcast its only Sherlock Holmes story. "The Adventure of the Black Baronet" was written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and John Dickson as an extension of the original Sherlock Holmes stories. The television adaptation was by Michael Dyne and starred Basil Rathbone as Holmes and Martyn Green as Dr. Watson. Jack Gould gave the program an unfavorable review, saying that much subtlety and brilliance of the Holmes character had been sacrificed by the compression of the story into 30 minutes. He added that Rathbone seemed unhappy with his part and that Martyn Greene was not as effective as Nigel Bruce, who had played Dr. Watson to Rathbone's Holmes on the radio. The production was only one of many instances in which the television version of *Suspense* paled in comparison to its radio counterpart.

HENRY B. ALDRIDGE

*See also Anthology Drama*

**Narrator**  
Paul Frees

**Producers**  
Robert Stevens, David Herlwell, Martin Manulis

**Programming History**  
CBS  

March 1949–June 1950	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
August 1950–August 1954	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
March 1964–September 1964	Wednesday 8:30–10:00

## Susskind, David (1920–1987)

U.S. Producer, Talk Show Host

David Susskind was a key "mover and shaker" in the television industry during the medium's "golden age" and continued to take a high profile as a media personality long after the gold turned to waste through some kind of reverse alchemy. In the process of leaving his mark on the histories of both live drama and television talk, Susskind would be honored with a Peabody Award, a Christopher Award, and 47 Emmy Awards.

As Jack Gould observed in 1960, there were "virtually two Susskinds." One was a behind-the-scenes fig-

ure who was a major force, perhaps the major force, in the East Coast branch of the television industry in the 1950s; the other Susskind was the public man who would first achieve celebrityhood as the moderator-interviewer of *Open End*, a Sunday night discussion series aired by WNTA-TV in New York City. Some might say that his achievements were surpassed only by his arrogance. Described by his critics as "combative," "controversial," "blunt," and "endearingly narcissistic," Susskind once aspired to be "the Cecil B.



David Susskind, 1965.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

DeMille of television.” As a self-styled “iconoclast” and “rebel,” Susskind cultivated a reputation as a television insider who was an outspoken critic of the medium and its mediocrity. According to Susskind, “Ninety-five percent of the stuff shown on it [TV] is trash.”

Susskind’s ability to get things done, his genius as a logistician, was honed in the U.S. Navy during World War II. Serving as a communications officer aboard an attack transport, Susskind saw action at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. By the time he was discharged in 1946, he had given up his old ambition of landing a “job at Harvard as a teacher” and set his sights on show business. He actually went looking for his first job in his Navy uniform and quickly found a position as a press agent for Warner Brothers studios.

It was as an agent, that most despised, parasitic, and necessary of show business professionals, that the behind-the-scenes Susskind would first encounter success. After a brief stint as a talent scout for Century Artists, Susskind worked his way into the Music Corporation of America’s television program department, where he managed such personalities as Jerry Lewis and Dinah Shore. In the early 1950s, he came to New York and joined Alfred Levy to form Talent Associates, Ltd, an agency that would represent creative per-

sonnel rather than actors and specialize in packaging programs for the infant television industry. The new firm’s first package sale was the *Philco Television Playhouse*, a live, one-hour drama series on which Susskind would later find his first job as producer, filling in for one of his clients, Fred Coe. After this heady experience, Susskind reinvented himself as a producer whose horizons extended far beyond the small screen, producing more than a dozen movies and more than half a dozen stage plays in his 40-year career. As to television, in addition to serving as a producer on *The Kaiser Aluminum Hour*, *The duPont Show of the Week*, and *Kraft Television Theatre* (among others), he was also the executive producer of *Armstrong Circle Theatre*. During this period, Talent Associates, Ltd, also thrived. In 1959, Susskind’s company contracted for \$9 million in live shows, more than the combined efforts of the three major television networks.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, Susskind would come into his own. *Open End*, a forum that sometimes lasted for hours, went on the air in 1958. Called “Open Mouth” by Susskind’s detractors, the show originally started at 11:00 P.M. and ran until the topics—or the participants—were exhausted. In 1961, the show was cut to two hours and went into syndication; in 1967, the title was changed to *The David Susskind Show*. Susskind’s most significant interview by far was with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. Broadcast in October 1960, during the chilliest days of the Cold War, the interview dominated the headlines across the United States. Although station breaks featured a spot for Radio Free Europe depicting an ax-wielding Communist soldier smashing a radio set, most observers scored the event as a propaganda coup for the impish Krushchev. As Jack Gould put it, “The televised tête-à-tête terminated in an atmosphere of Russian glee and Western chagrin.”

In his 29 years as a talk show host and moderator, the abrasive Susskind would often rub a guest the wrong way, resulting in what he termed “awkward moments.” Tony Curtis even threatened to punch him “right on his big nose” after Susskind characterized Curtis as “a passionate amoeba.” Susskind courted controversy by addressing such hot-button subjects as civil rights, abortion, terrorism, drugs, and a number of exotic or alternative lifestyles. His guests were as wide ranging as his discussion topics. The roster of people who accepted invitations to appear on his show includes Harry S. Truman, Richard M. Nixon, Robert F. Kennedy, Vietnam veterans, and even a ski-masked professional killer.

Susskind continued to be intermittently involved as a producer of prestige programming, including *Hedda Gabler* (1961), *The Price* (1971), *The Glass*

Susskind, David

*Menagerie* (1973), and *Eleanor and Franklin* (1976). It is ironic, yet somehow fitting, that the grand impresario who introduced millions of television viewers to Willy Loman would himself suffer the death of a traveling salesman. Susskind died of a heart attack at the age of 66 in 1987.

JIMMIE L. REEVES

See also "Golden Age" of Television; Talk Show

**David Susskind.** Born in New York City, December 19, 1920. Educated at University of Wisconsin; Harvard University, graduated with honors 1942. Married: 1) Phyllis Briskin, 1939 (divorced); 2) Joyce Davidson, 1966 (divorced, 1986); three daughters and one son. Served in U.S. Navy, 1943–46. Began career as a press agent; founder with Alfred Levy, Talent Associates Ltd; hired by Music Corporation of America to produce *Philco Television Playhouse*; produced other early television programs; hosted own talk show for nearly 30 years; expanded production activities to Broadway and films; company purchased by Norton Simon, Inc., renamed Talent Associates-Norton Simon, for theatrical as well as film production, 1970; company sold to Time-Life Films, 1977. Recipient: Peabody Award, Christopher Award, and numerous Emmy Awards. Died in New York City, February 22, 1987.

**Television Series (selected)**

1947–58 *Kraft Television Theatre*  
1948–55 *Philco Television Playhouse*  
1950–63 *Armstrong Circle Theater*  
1952–55 *Mr. Peepers*  
1956–57 *Kaiser Aluminum Hour*  
1954–56 *Justice*  
1958–67 *Open End* (host)

1958–87 *The David Susskind Show* (formerly *Open End*; host)  
1960–61 *Witness*  
1962 *Festival of Performing Arts*  
1963–64 *East Side/West Side*  
1965–67 *Supermarket Sweep*  
1965–70 *Get Smart*  
1967–70 *He and She*  
1967 *Good Company*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

1960 *The Moon and Sixpence*  
1967 *The Ages of Man*  
1967 *Death of a Salesman*  
1972 *Look Homeward, Angel*  
1973 *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*  
1973 *The Glass Menagerie*  
1976 *Caesar and Cleopatra*  
1976 *Truman at Potsdam*  
1976 *Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years*

**Films (selected)**

*Edge of the City*, 1957; *Raisin in the Sun*, 1961; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1961; *All the Way Home*, 1963; *Lovers and Other Strangers*, 1969; *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 1974; *Loving Couples*, 1980; *Fort Apache, The Bronx*, 1981.

**Stage (selected)**

*A Very Special Baby*, 1959; *Rashomon*, 1959; *Kelly*, 1965; *All in Good Time*, 1965; *Brief Lives*, 1967.

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## Sustaining Program

### U.S. Programming Policy

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In the U.S. broadcasting industry, a program that does not receive commercial sponsorship or advertising support is known as a sustaining program. When the term was first used, sustaining programming included a wide variety of noncommercial programming offered

by radio stations and networks to attract audiences to the new medium. Currently, most sustaining programming on commercial television is confined to public affairs, religious, and special news programs that are not sponsored.



*Howdy Doody*, Howdy Doody, Buffalo Bob Smith, 1947–60; 1948 episode.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

At its inception, radio programming was envisioned by many, including industry leaders (such as David Sarnoff, a guiding force behind the development of the Radio Corporation of America [RCA] and the National Broadcasting Company [NBC]) and government officials (such as then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover) as sustaining, that is, provided by stations or networks as a public service. Since programming was needed in order to sell radio transmitters and receivers, it was expected that the stations and networks established by manufacturers such as RCA would provide this programming and finance it from the profits on the sale of equipment. Programming provided by stations not associated with manufacturers was expected to be supported through endowments or municipal financing.

The vision of a commercial-free, public service medium was short lived, as American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) began exploiting the commercial potential of radio in 1922. However, the public service responsibility of stations licensed to operate on scarce, public broadcast frequencies was affirmed in the Radio Act of 1927 and reaffirmed in the Communications Act of 1934 (section 303), which states that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) shall regulate

the industry as required by “public convenience, interest, or necessity.” The “public interest” standard was further delineated by the FCC in a 1946 document titled *Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees*, commonly known as the “Blue Book.” It states that devoting a reasonable percentage of broadcast time to sustaining programs is one criterion for operating in the public interest. Sustaining programming was deemed to be important because it helped the station maintain a balance in program content and provided time for programs not appropriate for sponsorship, programs serving minority interests or tastes, and nonprofit and experimental programs. All licensees were expected to broadcast sustaining programs throughout the program schedule at times when the audience was expected to be awake. Thus, the importance of sustaining programming was firmly established before television began operation, and these standards were applied to the new medium.

Sustaining programming also became important in network affiliate contracts. In the early days of radio, NBC charged its affiliates for the sustaining programs they accepted and paid affiliates a small flat fee for broadcast of sponsored programs. In the early 1930s, William Paley, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), used sustaining programs to secure greater carriage of sponsored programs, offering the sustaining schedule free in return for an exclusive option on any part of the affiliate’s schedule for sponsored programs. Thus, sustaining programming became a bargaining point in network affiliate contracts.

When experimental television was launched in the late 1930s, only sustaining programming was authorized by the FCC. The NBC schedule in 1939 included films supplied by outside sources; in-studio performances, including interviews, musical performances, humorous skits, and educational demonstrations; and remote broadcasts, mostly of sporting events. Although NBC did not receive compensation to air these programs and shouldered much of the live and remote production costs, advertisers still had an influence on sustaining programming. In the January 1941 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy*, David Sarnoff, then president of RCA and chairman of the board of NBC, wrote that “invitations have been extended to members of the advertising industry to work with us in creating programs having advertising value, at no cost to the sponsors during this experimental period.” When commercial operation was authorized in July 1941, NBC was prepared to convert many of its sustaining programs to commercially sponsored programs; however, World War II curtailed the development of television and of commercial and sustaining programming.

As television regrouped after the war, sustaining programming became an important part of the industry's push to sell television receivers and transmitters. Since the financial strategy of many organizations was to use radio profits to provide funds for the fledgling television medium, a side effect of increased sustaining programming on television was the decrease in sustaining programming on radio as programs were dropped in favor of sponsored programming. Sustaining programming on television was varied, including dramatic series, educational programs, political events, and public affairs programs. However, many programs (such as *The Howdy Doodly Show*) that began as sustaining quickly found sponsors once they became popular. As a result, the amount of sustaining programming on commercial television quickly diminished.

Further, after the freeze on the allocation of station licenses was lifted in 1950, channel space was allotted for educational stations. Industry leaders began to argue that much of the public service responsibility of broadcasting was being shouldered by these stations.

One of the more remarkable recent sustaining programs on commercial television was *Cartoon All-Stars to the Rescue* (an animated antidrug program), which was aired without advertisements in 1990 simultaneously on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), CBS, NBC, FOX, Telemundo, Univision, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CTV, Global Television (Canada), Televisa (Mexico), and Armed Forces Television; several hundred independent stations; plus the Black Entertainment Network, Disney Channel, Nickelodeon, the Turner Broadcasting System, and the USA Network on cable. However, this program is the exception.

With the deregulatory push of the 1980s and the ar-

gument that nonprofit, experimental, and minority programming is being provided by educational and public television, little regulatory attention is given to sustaining programming on commercial television. Currently, many programs that fulfill the FCC requirement for "public service" programming are sponsored and are, therefore, not sustaining.

SUZANNE WILLIAMS-RAUTIOLLA

**See also Advertising; Advertising, Company Voice; Programming; Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity; Sponsor; United States: Networks**

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## Suzuki, David (1936- )

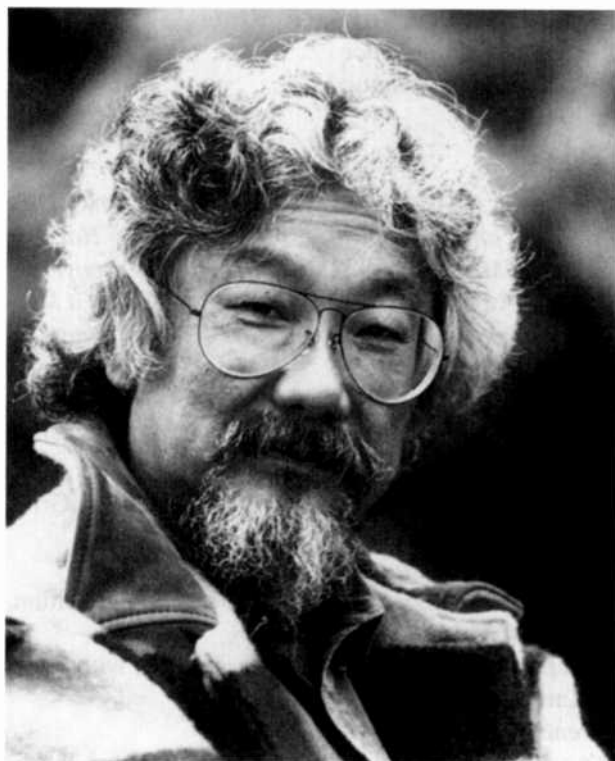
Canadian Scientist, Television Personality, Host

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A household name in English-speaking Canada, David Suzuki has almost single-handedly popularized some of the most complex scientific issues of our times, largely through the medium of television. While students, teachers, and heads of state continually laud his attempts to demystify contemporary science and nature, some in Canada's science community argue that

Suzuki's work on environmental issues in particular is politically biased. Politics aside, Suzuki's awards of recognition clearly attest to his accomplishments: Canada's most prestigious award, the Order of Canada; UNESCO's Kalinga Prize; and the United Nations Environmental Program Medal are among the honors he has been granted.





David Suzuki.  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

Growing up as a third-generation Japanese Canadian, Suzuki, along with his sisters and his mother, was placed in internment camps in 1942 by the Canadian government. After the war, Suzuki and his family were forbidden by law to return to their Vancouver home, so they relocated to London, Ontario.

As a young academic on the faculty at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Suzuki began his illustrious television career by teaching science on campus TV. Some ten years later, this experience, coupled with his scientific expertise, landed Suzuki (now on the faculty of the University of British Columbia) a host position on the weekly television program *Suzuki on Science*, broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC; 1971–72). Suzuki would later extend his skills to radio, where in 1974 he launched the CBC science affairs program *Quirks and Quarks*.

Although Suzuki continued on radio, his greatest impact clearly remains in the sphere of Canadian public television. In 1974, he embarked on his most successful broadcasting position, first as host of the CBC's television series *Science Magazine*. More important, five years later he became host of the well-established series *The Nature of Things*. The longest-running science and nature television series in North America, *The Nature of Things* is the CBC's top-

selling international program. Established in 1960, the program has been seen by viewers in more than 90 countries, including on the Discovery Channel in the United States. The program's mandate is to cover a broad range of topics, including natural history and the environment, medicine, science, and technology.

*The Nature of Things*, like Suzuki's work in general, surveys the scientific landscape through a critical, humanistic lens. Such an approach has increasingly lent itself to investigations of controversial contemporary issues of social importance. Suzuki's outspoken views on the clear-cutting of old-growth forests on Canada's west coast, for example, has gained him many friends (and enemies) in logging and environmentalist circles. Whatever one's opinion of his views, however, it would be safe to say that Suzuki remains the voice of popular science on the Canadian airwaves.

GREG ELMER

See also *Nature of Things, The; Science Programs*

**David Suzuki.** Born in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, March 24, 1936. Educated at Amherst College, Massachusetts, B.A. 1958; University of Chicago, Ph.D. 1961; postdoctoral research, the Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory. Married: 1) Setsuko Joane Sunahara, 1958 (divorced, 1965); children: Tamiko, Laura, Troy; 2) Tara Elizabeth Cullis, 1972; children: Severn Cullis-Suzuki and Sarika Cullis-Suzuki. Held positions as research and teaching assistant, 1957–59; research associate, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tennessee, 1961; assistant professor, University of Alberta, 1962–63; assistant professor, 1963–69, and professor, 1969–2001; professor emeritus since 2001, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; television and radio host, various science programs; syndicated newspaper columnist, since 1989; author of numerous books and scientific articles; president, 1991–94, and chair, since 1994, David Suzuki Foundation. Recipient: E.W.R. Steacie Memorial Fellowship, 1969–71; Outstanding Japanese-Canadian of the Year Award, 1972; Order of Canada, 1976; Science Council of British Columbia Gold Medal, 1981; United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) Medal, 1985; Biological Council of Canada Gold Medal, 1986; UNESCO's Kalinga Award, 1986; Global 500 Roll of Honor, UNEP, 1989; Canadian Booksellers Association's Author of the Year, 1990; Environmental Achievement Award, Environment Canada, 1990; Gemini Award, 1992, 1994, and 1997.

#### Television Series

1971–72 *Suzuki on Science*  
1974–74 *Interface: Science and Society*

Suzuki, David

- 1974–79 *Science Magazine*  
1979– *The Nature of Things*  
1979 *Chickadee*  
1980 *Just Ask, Inc.*  
1984 *Night Video*  
1984 *Futurescan*  
1985 *A Planet for the Taking*  
1993 *The Secret of Life* (Public Broadcasting Service [PBS] title; on BBC as *Cracking the Code*)  
1995 *The Brain: Our Universe Within*

#### Television Specials

- 1972 *Men, Money and Microscopes*  
1975 *Earthwatch*  
1977 *The Hottest Show on Earth* (also co-writer)  
1977 *Trouble in the Forest*  
1978 *Tankerbomb*  
1979 *Why Should I Care?*  
1979 *How Will We Keep Warm* (Part 1 of *The Remarkable Society* series)  
1986 *Fragile Harvest* (narrator)  
1989 *Alaska Turns 30*  
1989 *The Nature Connection*  
1991 *Voices in the Forest*  
1991 *James Bay: The Wind That Keeps on Blowing*  
1991 *Dealing with Drugs*  
1992 *A Climate for Change*  
1992 *Sea of Slaughter*  
1993 *Trading Futures: Living in a Global Economy*

- 1994 *Water: To the Last Drop*  
1995 *Cyberspace*  
1995 *The Damned*

#### Radio

*Quirks and Quarks*, 1974–79; *Earthwatch*, 1980; *Discover with David Suzuki*, 1981; *Expanding Horizons in Medicine*, 1982; *David Suzuki's Discovery*, 1983–96; *U.B.C. Perspectives*, 1986–89; *It's a Matter of Survival*, 1989; *From Naked Ape to Super-species*, 1999.

#### Publications (selected)

- An Introduction to Genetic Analysis*, with A.J.F. Griffiths, 1976  
*Metamorphosis: Stages in a Life*, 1987  
*David Suzuki Talks about AIDS*, 1987; second edition, 1989  
*Genethics: The Ethics of Engineering Life*, with Peter Knudtson, 1989; fifth edition, 1993  
*Inventing the Future*, 1989  
*It's a Matter of Survival*, 1990  
*Wisdom of the Elders*, with Peter Knudtson, 1992  
*The Secret of Life: Redesigning the Living World*, with Joseph Levine, 1993  
*Time to Change: Essays*, 1994  
*The Japan We Never Knew: A Journey of Discovery*, with Keibo Oiwa, 1996  
*Earth Time: Essays*, 1998  
*The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature*, with Amanda McConnell, 1998

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## Swallow, Norman (1921–2000)

British Producer, Media Executive

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Norman Swallow's career in British broadcasting, from his joining the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 1946 through to his continuing involvement in independent production, was that of a major pioneer of the British television documentary and, more broadly, a significant contributor to public service television.

Swallow went to school in Manchester, England, and studied history at Oxford before entering wartime

military service. His first work for the BBC was in radio "drama-documentary," where he tackled a number of historical and social themes as a writer and producer. After moving to television, Swallow was a producer of the general-election broadcast of 1951, which marked a decisive shift in television's treatment of elections, to a distinctive form of extended national coverage and commentary. One year later, he became the series director of *Special Enquiry*, a BBC docu-

mentary series that concerned itself primarily with investigation into contemporary social issues. The series ran from 1952 to 1957 and was undoubtedly one of the most important innovations in television journalism of the period, acting as an influence on a whole range of later work. In devising the series with his colleagues, Swallow was influenced both by the work of the 1930s British documentary film movement (as represented in films such as *Housing Problems* [1935]) and by the kind of feature journalism, making extensive use of location interviews, developed within BBC Radio.

*Special Enquiry* started with a program investigating life in the slum tenements of Glasgow. Following this program, newspapers expressed widespread and positive appreciation of the new series. *Special Enquiry* went on to engage with a variety of issues to do with housing, poverty, health, aging, and education, among other topics. As quoted in *Popular Television in Britain*, Swallow described the response the first program received: "We had many phone calls, even letters, from people who, because they know nothing about it, hadn't seen that sort of thing before, wouldn't believe it. They thought we were lying. That it was somehow fiction. So this was a television breakthrough."

One of the most controversial programs in the series, "Has Britain a Colour Bar?," investigated racial prejudice against immigrants, taking the city of Birmingham as an example. Like all the programs in the series, it consisted of a filmed report by an on-location investigative reporter (here Rene Cutforth), together with interview sequences. Following a convention of the period, interviews in *Special Enquiry* were often presented as direct-to-camera testimony, giving the series something of the feel of an "access program" and linking it back to the precedent of direct address by ordinary people in the 1930s "classic" *Housing Problems*. The "Colour Bar" edition caused extensive public discussion, not least for the frankness with which racial prejudice was revealed in the speech of some of the participants, including trade union officials. There was also a powerful, partly dramatized scene in which a newly arrived immigrant looked for lodgings, to be repeatedly turned away by landladies, sometimes with the reason made perfectly clear. The *Daily Express* thought the program to be "one of the most outspoken... ever screened."

At the time, Swallow was also the series producer of *The World Is Ours*, made in cooperation with the United Nations and produced within the BBC's new documentary department, headed by the distinguished filmmaker Paul Rotha. In 1960, Swallow became assistant editor of *Panorama* at a time when this series

was establishing itself as the leading current affairs program on British television. Three years later, he resigned to set up an independent company with Denis Mitchell, one of the most brilliantly original documentary directors ever to work for British television. Together, the two did a series for Granada called *This England*, which further extended television's exploration of working-class life through a relaxed approach that kept commentary to a minimum. During this period, Swallow made *A Wedding on Saturday*, a film about a wedding in a northern mining village, which won the Prix Italia in 1965.

Going back to the BBC in 1968, after a period of work that included the first Anglo-Soviet coproduction, *Ten Days That Shook the World* (on the Russian Revolution) for Granada, Swallow became series editor of the arts program *Omnibus*. During his first year, editions of this series included Ken Russell's much-admired biographical film on Delius and Tony Palmer's pathbreaking program on popular music, *All My Loving*. Swallow went on to become the BBC's head of arts features before shifting northward again, to rejoin Granada, where, among other things, he worked on the 1985 series *Television*, an ambitious attempt at tracing the history and significance of the medium across the world.

Swallow wrote extensively on the medium for newspapers and journals, and his widely cited book *Factual Television* remains one of the most thoughtful and sustained reflections on its subject by a practitioner. He was television adviser for the planning of the British Film Institute's Museum of the Moving Image, established in London's South Bank arts complex.

The career of Swallow was both distinctive and representative. It was distinctive in his contribution (particularly in the shaping and supportive role of series editor) both to the investigative documentary and to arts programming, where his interests, enthusiasm, and creative empathy extended well beyond the confines of southern middle-class England. It was representative insofar as his ability to be both popular and serious, intellectually engaged yet fully aware of the need to address a general audience, displayed the best qualities of British public service television. Swallow died in 2000.

JOHN CORNER

**See also** *British Programming; Panorama; Producer in Television*

**Norman Swallow.** Born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, February 17, 1921. Attended Manchester Grammar School; Keble College, Oxford. Served in

Swallow, Norman

British Army, 1941–46. Began career as writer-producer of documentaries, BBC, 1948; producer of documentaries, from 1950; coproduced television coverage of the general election, 1951; produced monthly BBC program *Special Inquiry*, 1952–57; study tour of Middle East, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), 1956–57; assisted head of films for the BBC, 1957; writer-producer for *On Target*, 1959; appointed chief assistant, BBC Television, 1960; assistant editor, *Panorama*, 1961; joined Denis Mitchell Films, 1963; head of arts features, BBC Television, 1972–74; executive producer, Granada Television, from 1974; freelance producer-director, since 1985. Recipient: Desmond Davis Award, 1977; Emmy Award, 1982. Died in London, December 5, 2000.

#### Television Series

- 1952–57 *Special Inquiry* (producer)  
1953 *Panorama* (assistant editor)  
1954–56 *The World Is Ours* (producer)  
1959 *On Target* (producer and writer)  
1968–72 *Omnibus* (producer)

#### Television Specials

- 1964 *A Wedding on Saturday* (producer and writer)  
1977 *The Christians* (producer)  
1978 *Clouds of Glory* (producer)  
1979 *I Look Like This* (producer)  
1980 *This England* (coproducer)  
1982 *A Lot of Happiness* (producer)  
1986 *The Last Day* (producer and director)  
1989 *Johnny and Alf Go Home* (producer)

#### Publications (selected)

- “Documentary TV Journalism,” in *Television in the Making*, edited by Paul Rotha, 1956  
*Factual Television*, 1966  
“Denis Mitchell,” *The Listener* (April 24, 1975)  
*Eisenstein: A Documentary Portrait*, 1976

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- Corner, John, “Documentary Voices,” in *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*, London: British Film Institute, 1991

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## Sweden

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For 67 years, broadcasting in Sweden was entrusted to a publicly owned and regulated company financed on a totally noncommercial basis. Only in 1992 were privately owned commercial radio and television services allowed.

Radio broadcasting started in 1925. The single network was patterned after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), with a strong commitment to public service ideology, while the chaotic situation in the United States at the time was a model to be avoided. Three lodestars for Swedish broadcasting policy had emerged as guiding principles for broadcasting: accountability by parliamentary control, popular education as a primary purpose, and equal service to all. All services developed within these goals were to be financed by a license fee paid on radio receivers.

Television services started in 1957. The decision to entrust them to the same public service company as radio was controversial. Television in Sweden was long synonymous with Sveriges Radio and, after 1978, the separate but affiliated company Sveriges Television (SVT). Public service television had a monopoly on

Swedish viewers from the start in September 1957 until New Year's Eve 1987, when the first satellite channel started transmitting to Swedish households from the United Kingdom. In the monopoly era, radio and television were characterized by a kind of cultural paternalism; as defined by the early planners for radio, the media should enlighten and teach. The cultural elite remained highly skeptical of commercialism in broadcasting.

Television took Sweden by storm. Households were quick to purchase TV sets despite their relatively high price. Living rooms throughout the land were rearranged around the new medium. Paternalistic or not, whatever the single channel had to offer got nationwide attention.

Television soon became, and still is, the dominant medium during election campaigns, and the parties anxiously monitor every newscast and debate. The World Cup Soccer tournament of 1958 was a technical triumph for the fledgling company, and with it SVT entered into international collaboration. News reporting evolved into a daily evening newscast (Aktuellt) in 1962.

Theatrical productions, documentaries, and other nonfiction dominated programming, while feature films, serial fiction, and entertainment occupied a smaller share of airtime. Original dramatic productions have been important for SVT from the start. The legendary film director Alf Sjöberg directed *Hamlet* for live trial transmission as early as 1955. Ingmar Bergman made his television debut in 1957 and continued to produce widely acclaimed productions for SVT, including *Scenes from a Marriage*, *The Magic Flute*, and *Fanny and Alexander*.

A special fee for television (in addition to the radio license fee) generated revenue that enabled the company to extend distribution and expand production capacity. However, Parliament, which controlled the purse strings, was not particularly keen for the company to lengthen program schedules. The general sentiment there was that people should not spend too much time watching television.

In spite of this view, 12 years after the first channel came on the air, Swedish viewers gained access to a second channel, also produced by Sveriges Television and financed by receiver license revenue. The control of television by the nonprofit monopoly came under fire again in the 1960s, but in 1966, Olof Palme, then minister of cultural affairs (later prime minister), emphatically rejected the idea of a privately owned, commercial rival. The profit motive, he argued, was a threat to program quality.

In the wake of the wave of radicalism that swept through Europe in the late 1960s, Sveriges Television experienced some hard times. Some programs had been highly critical of the Social Democrats and their allies, the trade unions. These programs were analyzed in detail after complaints were filed with the Broadcasting Commission, the regulatory organ that supervises public service broadcasters' fulfillment of the Broadcasting Act and their contractual agreements with the government. The Board of Governors, which at that time included representatives of central institutions of Swedish society, were also asked to keep a tighter rein on the company's staff. Some believe that the government's irritation lay behind a program of budget reductions that was imposed on the company in the 1970s. By that time, virtually all Swedish households had TV sets, ending the possibility of increases in funds derived from licensing more and more sets; any increase in SVT's budget would instead require raising the amount of the annual fee.

In 1986, the two channels were given new, contrasting missions. TV1 remained an all-round channel with all in-house production located in Stockholm. TV2, however, was to produce all its programs from ten district offices that the Riksdag had instructed SVT to

establish. At least half of all first-run productions (excluding news and live sports) were to originate in TV2. The aim was to ensure that more of the country would be represented in programming and to create a wider market for independent producers. (In the current contractual agreement, for 2002–06, the quota for programming originating through this strategy has been raised to 55 percent.)

In addition to original material created by TV1 and TV2, both channels filled out their schedules with a selection of foreign programs. Programs from the BBC and ITV have always been a priority. Despite an ambition to mirror many different cultures outside Sweden, a good share of program imports comes from the United Kingdom and the United States.

What finally brought the Riksdag to dissolve SVT's monopoly in 1991 was the advent of foreign-based satellite channels that addressed the Swedish audience directly as well as via carriage on cable networks. It became apparent that further resistance was futile. Unless a domestic commercial channel were allowed, advertising revenue that might be used for domestic production would flow abroad. Therefore, in 1992 a concession to transmit over the terrestrial network was granted to TV4, a private channel. The terms of the concession contained assumptions similar to those supporting public service broadcasting: TV4 must be accessible throughout Sweden, offer good news coverage of the entire country, and carry a specified volume of Swedish-produced programming for children and youth. In return, the channel would have a monopoly on TV advertising over the terrestrial network, albeit the rules for advertising were less liberal than the European Union (EU) regulation applying to satellite channels based in other EU countries.

TV4 had started as a satellite/cable channel. When it began transmitting via the terrestrial network, it was an immediate success in terms of both economic returns and ratings. Within a few years, TV4 had become the single most popular channel in Sweden and the prime commercial contender. Today, Bonnier, Sweden's largest media group, controls the largest share of the channel. TV4's principal rivals in the competition for advertising revenue are TV3 and U.S.-owned Kanal5. That TV4 is accessible to all households and can sell local advertising gives the channel a competitive advantage.

Two companies now dominate viewers' consumption: SVT (42 percent), whose two channels are exclusively license financed, and TV4 (28 percent). Other Swedish commercial channels together have about 20 percent of the market, while the remaining 10 percent is shared by a number of pay-TV channels and foreign satellite channels. Digital distribution got under way in

1999 and is slowly growing. Still, it will be some years before a multitude of digital channels fragments the audience because the size of the Swedish market will limit the number of viable channels.

The Swedish market is small, about 4 million households, which means that potential payers of license fees, targets for TV commercials and subscribers to pay-TV channels are few. They can support only a limited number of costly productions or upscale program acquisitions. The occasions when mass audiences do gather around their sets (major sports events and very popular entertainment programs) suggest, however, that television might attract more viewers more of the time were greater resources put into programs.

The public service channels continue to be predominantly informational, although they do offer some very popular serial fiction, entertainment, and special events that reach a good share of the population. The Olympic Games and World Cup Soccer Championships are examples, as is *Robinson*, the Swedish version of the British format best known by its American title, *Survivor*. Commercially financed channels are steered by demographics and relatively small budgets. In recent years, several Swedish program concepts have been exported to other European countries. So far, the growing pay-TV market has invested little in commissioned Swedish production except for soccer and ice hockey matches. Even though SVT's share of total television revenue is less than half, the public service broadcaster still puts more money into Swedish productions than all the commercial channels together.

For the public service channels, the public's willingness to pay the receiver license fee (currently SEK 1,740 p.a., of which 60 percent goes to SVT, 35 percent to public service radio, and 5 percent to educational broadcasting) is crucial. Yearly polls show that most people feel they are getting value for money. A majority of Swedes want the SVT channels to remain free of commercials, and the share voicing that view has increased over the past decade. Irritation over advertising messages on the commercial channels is growing. In many countries, pay TV has proven a strong competitor, but Swedish households remain lukewarm. In fact, one viewer in three is content with only the three nationally distributed terrestrial channels: SVT1, SVT2, and TV4.

TV4 is the largest channel thanks to a combination of news, family entertainment, and commissioned serial fiction. In the late 1990s, TV4 altered its program mix to include more fiction and entertainment after having lost some of its market share to satellite channels. Competition for young viewers tops the agenda for all channels operating on the Swedish market today. In their attempts to capture young viewers, all the

channels are offering more Swedish and Anglophone entertainment: serial drama, reality soaps, and magazines.

Swedish programs do attract viewers. In 2000, they represented 70 to 80 percent of total airtime on the SVT channels. The commercial channels carry less: 50 percent of the programs on TV4 are Swedish productions and roughly 15 percent on the principal Swedish satellite channels. SVT produces most of its Swedish output in house, with the exception of some entertainment and programs for youth. The other companies commission programs mainly from independent producers, which has stimulated growth in this business sector.

SVT has a strong position among children and older viewers and dominates in news production and Swedish drama. Teenagers and young adults prefer the private channels, which offer more fiction and series. But SVT's fiction production is highly valued both by Swedish viewers and on the international program market. The company's capacity enables it to take part in coproductions and makes it one of the leading film producers in northern Europe. SVT has been recognized with a number of International Emmy Awards: for the original drama, *The Tattooed Widow*, in 1998; for photographer Lennart Nilsson's remarkable medical series, *The Miracle of Life*, in 1996; and for the ballet performance, *Rök*, also in 1996.

Despite the proliferation of channels, viewing time has not increased notably since the days before satellite and cable. Sweden has among the lowest viewing figures in Europe, with an average 2.5 hours per day and person. In the monopoly era, the low figures were generally attributed to the seriousness of SVT's output. More important factors are probably the high rate of employment outside the home among women and leisure activities outside the home. Then there is the "midnight sun factor": viewing plummets during the summer months.

### Digital Television

Conversion to digital mode has been discussed in Sweden since the mid-1990s. In 1996, the Riksdag moved to allocate a number of digital frequencies in the terrestrial network that might accommodate 35 to 40 channels (compared to three analog channels today). Satellite channels are almost totally digital, and cable is partially converted. The role of the public sector in this development is controversial; critics find it an inappropriate use of public funds. Most viewers (two out of three) receive television via cable or satellite dish and have no use for the terrestrial network. Judgments differ as to whether the terrestrial network, with its

fewer channels and higher cost of distribution, will be competitive with other digital platforms. All things considered, it would appear that multiple distribution systems will continue to operate alongside one another in the digital age.

Digital television poses many challenges. For SVT, the challenge is how to finance a more segmented output without either commercial revenue or commercial incentives. The public service broadcaster's presence in a variety of technical platforms is accorded value per se. SVT plans at least four digital channels: the present all-around channels plus niche channels for news and special events and young viewers. The commercial channels have a similar strategy in mind: a broad channel to enhance brand-name awareness, complemented by specialized channels and interactive services for pay. For them, the challenge is to retain their commercial revenue in an increasingly international media environment.

OLOF HULTÉN

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## Sweeney, The

### British Police Drama

*The Sweeney* was the top-rated British police series of the 1970s, bringing a new level of toughness and action to the genre and displaying police officers bending the rules to beat crime. The series was created by Ian Kennedy-Martin and produced by Ted Childs for Euston Films (a Thames Television subsidiary) and went out midweek in prime time on ITV, the main commercial channel. In all, 54 episodes were made, and the program ran for four seasons.

*The Sweeney* focused on the exploits of Jack Regan, a maverick detective inspector (D.I.) attached to the Flying Squad, the metropolitan police's elite armed-robbery unit, and featured John Thaw in the leading role. The program, which derived its title from "Sweeney Todd," the Cockney rhyming slang for "Flying Squad," was a spin-off from the successful 1974 TV film *Regan*, which had first introduced the protagon-

ist and established his professional relationships with his assistant, Detective Sergeant (D.S.) George Carter (played by Dennis Waterman) and his "governor," Detective Chief Inspector (D.C.I.) Haskins (played by Garfield Morgan). Each episode in the series adopted the same basic narrative format—a three-act structure (with acts separated by advertisements) preceded by a prologue that triggered the crime narrative. The first two acts were devoted to obtaining intelligence about a forthcoming robbery, often through tip-offs from informers or surveillance; the third involved the capture of the robbery gang, characteristically involving adrenalin-pumping action with car chases, screaming tires, spectacular smashes, and hand-to-hand fighting. The narrative was often further complicated through the addition of an antiauthority thread in which Regan challenged Haskins's "rule-book" approach or through

the introduction of casual sex relationships in which one of the detectives became involved with an available woman.

The program's realism was considerable, and few other crime series have achieved so authentic an impression of the policing of London's underworld. To an extent, this was achieved by adopting the same visual style, fast action, and cynical outlook as contemporary rogue-cop films, such as *Dirty Harry* and *The French Connection*. Equally, though, the program relied on detailed inside knowledge of the actual circumstances in which the Flying Squad operated and the sometimes rather dubious means used to secure prosecutions. The series' storylines frequently blurred the sharp distinctions that are normally drawn between good and evil characters in crime melodrama. Regan and Carter were shown inhabiting the same sleazy world as the criminals, mixing with low-lives to obtain their leads, and adopting the same vernacular. Both law enforcers and lawbreakers indulged in womanizing and heavy drinking and used physical violence to achieve their objectives. The extent to which Regan was prepared to bend and break the rules to "nick villains" was well established in the pilot film, when he threatened a suspect with a longer sentence if he did not cooperate: "My sergeant is going to hit me, but I am going to say it's you." Throughout the series, however, the viewer's sense of Regan's integrity remained secure. Even though he might need to beat up suspects, strike deals with criminals, or, on one occasion, burglarize the office of the D.C.I. to read his own personal file, such actions were legitimized in the narrative as the only means available to the serious crime fighter to keep on top and to cut through the dead weight of bureaucracy that continually threatened to impede the cause of justice.

Unsurprisingly, the series provoked fierce controversy, chiefly because of its potential to influence the public image of the police at a time of considerable social upheaval. However, the dark (if not confused) moral world that the series represented was difficult to fault on purely realistic grounds since, at the time of transmission, a prominent officer in the Squad was under investigation and was eventually imprisoned for corruption. Considered in wider cultural terms, the program has been viewed as part of the general ideological shift to the right that occurred in the 1970s in Britain, as the postwar social-democratic consensus broke down. James Donald, notably, has argued that *The Sweeney* was fueled by popular anxieties about law and order stimulated by the press campaign on mugging and that episodes provided a "mapping fan-

tasy" for the acting out of unconscious authoritarian urges.

*The Sweeney* had sold to 51 countries by 1985 and inspired two successful feature films. It also established Dennis Waterman and John Thaw as household names with the British public. The series secured the reputation of Euston Films as a leading production company, and it created an influential model in Britain not just for crime series on ITV but for the production of cost-effective, high-quality drama in general. The lean and efficient production operation that Euston pioneered in *The Sweeney*, relying on short-term contracts and shooting entirely with 16-millimeter film, has been generally adopted across the industry; with the exception of soap operas, the great majority of drama projects today are manned by freelance crews and produced on film.

BOB MILLINGTON

See also **Thaw, John; Waterman, Dennis**

#### Cast

D.I. Jack Regan	John Thaw
D.S. George Carter	Dennis Waterman
D.C.I. Frank Haskins	Garfield Morgan

#### Producer

Ted Childs

#### Programming History

53 50-minute episodes; 1 77-minute episode  
ITV

January 1975–March 1975	14 episodes
September 1975–November 1975	13 episodes
September 1976–December 1976	13 episodes
September 1978–December 1978	14 episodes

#### Further Reading

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# Switzerland

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Switzerland, surrounded by Germany, Italy, France, Austria, and the small country of Liechtenstein, is a multilingual and multicultural society. Because of its unique topography—a total of 41,293 square miles, most of it unpopulated mountain ranges—Switzerland is highly segmented. Nearly 7 million inhabitants speak different languages and live in completely different surroundings. From industrialized cities such as Basel or Zurich to remote locations in closed-off valleys, they share a somewhat vague notion about what it means to be “Swiss.” Still, commonalities have succeeded in overcoming the ever-present language barriers. So far, they have proven strong enough to keep Switzerland one of the few countries in western Europe out of the European Union.

Television in Switzerland began in 1949 with an official delegation of Swiss technicians (and some staff members of General Electric) watching an experimental program, broadcast from Torino in Italy about 90 miles away. The first programs produced in Switzerland, in 1953, were received in Zurich only. By 1955, there were 8,600 television sets in Switzerland, 2,300 of them in public rooms and 6,300 in private households. In 1994, there were 2.6 million television license fee holders in Switzerland.

Television, as developed in the 1950s and 1960s, was meant to be a tool of public communication and education. The technical objective was reception in all Swiss households (a goal still not attained because of topography), but television broadcast had a political and social mission as well. “Audiovision,” as it was termed, was supposed to play an important part in the national integration of different languages, regions, religions, generations, and ways of living. Since there was, until 1992, only one network officially assigned with the mission to broadcast television programs, politicians of all parties kept an eye on content and on those responsible for developing and managing the broadcasting system.

The date July 20, 1953, marked the official beginning of Swiss broadcasting. Programming that night consisted of a demonstration of traditional Swiss woodcrafts and the recitation of a poem, “The Blind.” Older Swiss citizens often remember broadcasts of live sports events that were viewed in crowded restaurants rather than at home. At the time, television was a social event.

Early viewers were especially interested in nature programs. And though educational programs rarely dealt with social problems, news and documentaries were something else. “Objectivity” was the key word during the 1970s, and some television programmers, labeled as left-wing radicals by more conservative parties, were constantly accused of undermining Swiss democracy.

When the French- and Italian-speaking communities received their own television programs, news was still produced in one place, with different crews using the same facilities and sharing a single set until 1982. Heidi Abel began announcing programs in 1954 and went on to present many different kinds of programs. She finally found her place as a talk show host covering the most sensitive topics with wit and courage.

Fiction programs, expensive to produce, did not develop for some time. Early production included Swiss plays, mostly comedies, that were adapted for the stage and televised rather than being true television productions. All other types of fiction required coproduction with wealthier neighbors. Some miniseries and series have been developed, including *Die Sechs Kummerbuben*, *Heidi*, and *Die Direktorin*. The animated children’s series *Pingu* achieved worldwide fame.

In the 1990s, family sitcoms based on American examples have become popular in all regions. In the German-speaking region, the popular program is *Fascht e Familie*, while in the French region, the favorite is *La petit Famille*. It is worth noting that some of the local stations have begun to produce experimental fiction. *The Eden Family*, for example, is a “dark” family sitcom, a parody of *The Addams Family* in which the characters live in a gay community.

The Swiss Broadcasting Company (SBC) is still organized as a private nonprofit association, not as a state institution. It is supported with license fees paid every month. Advertising on television was introduced in 1965 and proved to be a most important additional source of income.

The system appears as complex as its political structure and its somewhat fragmented cultural identity. Radio and television stations are commercially or noncommercially organized. Yet the public broadcaster SBC (radio and television) is still by far the biggest distributor of programs, beating other (foreign) stations in ratings. The SBC provides programs for a

mainly German-speaking audience (64 percent) as well as the considerably smaller French-speaking (19 percent) and Italian-speaking (8 percent) communities. There is also a tiny Romansh-speaking audience in the east of the country (0.6 percent in 1990) counting on at least one weekly newsmagazine being broadcast. There are four SBC television channels and nearly a dozen SBC radio channels all together, all of them distributed terrestrially. Seventy-six percent of all Swiss television and radio households are cabled.

A considerable number of small, local television stations and/or text services were registered by 1995, most of them experimental and with very limited frequency ranges each. This domestic competition has been less influential than that caused by international developments such as the ongoing deregulation process in the European television market. More and more commercial television stations have emerged through-

out Switzerland since the 1980s, changing viewing habits and taking a toll on the ratings. When legislation changed in 1992, allowing private television broadcasters to find (or at least search for) their specific segments in a more open market, those broadcasters were waiting in the wings, thus urging the public broadcaster SRG to develop market-oriented strategies as well.

URSULA GANZ-BLAETTLER

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## Sykes, Eric (1923– )

British Comedy Actor

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Eric Sykes, who cultivated his talent for comedy while serving in the army in World War II, worked as a writer on radio and a writer-performer on television through the 1950s before having his greatest success, the long-running British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) sitcom *Sykes Versus TV*, which debuted in 1960. The services had proved to be fertile ground for aspiring entertainers, and many of Britain's favorite stars of the 1950s had discovered their performing skills while on wartime duty. Following the end of hostilities, these talents found themselves taking their acts on stage before getting the chance to do radio or television. Sykes was one such talent. He wrote comedy scripts as well as performing and eventually scripting one of radio's most popular comedies, *Educating Archie*, which was a prolific breeding ground for comic talent. His many appearances on TV were usually comedy-variety specials, and he developed a format for such one-offs featuring himself as a harassed producer struggling to put on a show and meeting with various obstacles.

But it was in 1960 that Sykes enjoyed his most enduring success, with his *Sykes and a ...* Comedy writer Johnny Speight collaborated with Sykes on the idea of a sitcom based loosely on Sykes existing stage persona.

In the idea, Sykes would live in suburbia with his wife, getting involved in simple plots centering on everyday problems. However, Sykes soon realized that by making his partner his sister rather than his wife, he would have more scope in storylines, with either or both of them able to get romantically entangled with other people. Comedy actor Hattie Jacques, who had worked with Sykes on the radio, was chosen as the sister, and the first series, written by Speight, proved to be a success. The second series, written by Sykes and other writers from storylines suggested by Speight, consolidated that success. Subsequent series were all written by Sykes alone. The TV character Sykes was a proud, rather work-shy individual with somewhat childish habits, as if part of him had not grown up. His sister Hattie was formidable in stature but timid by nature and was easily inveigled into her brother's schemes. It was a departure for a big woman to be portrayed on TV in this way, but it was probably Hattie Jacques's radio career that had allowed her to formulate such characters, as her gentle voice belied her size, allowing her to portray, on radio, small, timorous women.

The format was simple but enduring. Each week a single idea would be taken, and every possible

comedic situation of the theme would be exploited. For example, in one episode ("Sykes and a Bath"), Sykes gets his toe stuck in the tap while having a bath, and the entire program revolves around efforts to free him; in another highly memorable segment, Sykes and his sister accidentally get handcuffed together and spend the whole episode trying to do cope with ordinary domestic situations while remaining connected. By concentrating on this technique, Sykes was able to come up with seemingly endless storylines in which to place his characters.

The series was called simply *Sykes and a . . .*, with that week's theme filling the blank word (e.g., "Sykes and a Telephone" and "Sykes and a Holiday"). It became the longest-running sitcom of its time, continuing, with one notable seven-year break between 1965 and 1972, for 127 episodes, until Hattie Jacques's death in 1980. (On its return in 1972, the program was retitled *Sykes*.)

During the run of the sitcom, Sykes also made a series of short, dialogue-free films for the cinema, utilizing the same structure as the TV show: one idea exploited to the limit, comedically. The most famous of these was called *The Plank* (1967) and focused just on the mishaps caused by a man carrying a large plank around—incidentally, one of the *Sykes* episodes also used this concept. Later he remade two of these short films, *The Plank* and *Rhubarb* (1969), for television: *The Plank* (Thames, 1979) and *Rhubarb, Rhubarb* (Thames, 1980). Subsequently, Sykes, now a huge comedy star because of the success of the famous sitcom, appeared in specials and the odd series but never managed to re-create the popularity of *Sykes*. His long-lasting top-flight career is even more remarkable considering that he has been dogged by hearing problems since 1952 and later from sight problems as well. Despite such challenges, he has continued working apace, appearing in the 2001 horror film *The Others* and on the London stage (also in 2001) in Ray Cooney's farce *Caught in the Net*.

DICK FIDDY

**Eric Sykes.** Born in Oldham, England, May 4, 1923. Served in British Army, World War II. Married: Edith. Began career as performer in military service; radio and television writer, 1950s; star of comedy series, *Sykes and a . . .*; star of short films based on television character. Recipient: O.B.E., 1986.

#### Television Series (selected)

1952	<i>The Howerd Crowd</i> (writer)
1958–65	<i>Sykes and a . . .</i>
1969	<i>Curry and Chips</i>
1972–80	<i>Sykes</i>
1989	<i>The Nineteenth Hole</i>

#### Television Specials (selected)

1955	<i>Pantomania</i> (writer, director, performer)
1955	<i>Sykes Directs a Dress Rehearsal</i>
1959	<i>Gala Opening</i>
1971	<i>Sykes and a Big, Big Show</i>
1978	<i>Sykes and a Big, Big Show</i>
1979	<i>The Plank</i>
1980	<i>Rhubarb, Rhubarb</i>

#### Films (selected)

*Watch Your Stern*, 1960; *Invasion Quartet*, 1962; *Kill or Cure*, 1962; *Heaven's Above*, 1963; *One Way Pendulum*, 1965; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965; *Rotten to the Core*, 1965; *The Liquidator*, 1966; *The Spy with the Cold Nose*, 1966; *The Plank*, 1967; *Shalako*, 1968; *Monte Carlo or Bust*, 1969; *Rhubarb*, 1970; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *Theatre of Blood*, 1973; *Splitting Heirs*, 1993; *The Others*, 2001.

#### Radio (selected)

*Educating Archie*; *Variety Bandbox*.

#### Stage (selected)

*Big Bad Mouse*; *The Nineteenth Hole*, 1992; *Caught in the Net*, 2001.

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# Sylvania Waters

## Australian Documentary

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*Sylvania Waters*, a documentary television series that followed the lives of an Australian family, premiered on Australian television in 1992. A 12-part coproduction by the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the controversial program chronicled the existence of a couple, Noeline Baker and Laurie Donaher, and their largely adult offspring. The series took its name from the wealthy harborside suburb in southern Sydney where Noeline and Laurie reside.

Billed as a "real life" soap opera, *Sylvania Waters* was shot over a six-month period by a camera crew who lived with the Donaher-Bakers. According to an agreement struck with the family, the crew was allowed to film "anywhere, at any time—except when family members were using the bathroom or making love." While ABC publicity for the documentary series emphasized the couple's newfound wealth and luxurious lifestyle, the tightly edited result ruthlessly scrutinized the entrenched interpersonal conflicts that lay beneath the surface of the blended family's easygoing facade.

Like its 1978 British prototype, *The Family*, which brought instant infamy to the Wilkins family of Reading, and the 1973 U.S. program *An American Family*, which chronicled the lives of the Loud family in Santa Barbara, California, *Sylvania Waters* focused a national microscope on the values and behavior of the Donaher-Baker family. Noeline and Laurie's unwed status, Noeline's drinking problem, Laurie's racism, their materialism, and the family's routine domestic disputes all became issues discussed widely in the Australian media.

A particularly passionate public debate erupted over the question of whether executive producer of *Sylvania Waters*, Paul Watson, who also produced *The Family* for the BBC, had chosen an Australian family that pandered to a British stereotype. Writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, popular cultural critic Richard Glover summed up these concerns when he wrote that the family was "hardly a surprising British choice: in Noeline and Laurie, every British preconception about the Aussies comes alive. . . . Meet Australia's new ambassadors: a family whose members are variously ma-

terialistic, argumentative, uncultured, heavy drinking, and acquisitive."

The debate intensified when the series screened in Britain and became the subject of widespread commentary in the press there. The tabloid newspaper *The Sun* headlined a story on the series "Meet Noeline: By Tonight You'll Hate Her Too," while *The Guardian* criticized "Noeline's bigotry and gruesome materialism." Critics of *Sylvania Waters* argued that this adverse publicity was proof that the producers of the series had effectively "set up" the Donaher-Baker family to feed British prejudices about Australians.

During the screening of the series, Noeline Baker, Laurie Donaher, and their extended family also became the subject of intense media interest. While a number of family members claimed that the series had caused a family rift, they continued to give numerous press, radio, and television interviews and guest hosted radio and television programs, both in Australia and in the United Kingdom.

On the level of genre, *Sylvania Waters* was also widely understood as representing a new trend dubbed "reality" television. This ambiguous term—generally identified by the use of unembellished documentary-style footage of ordinary people for entertainment purposes—has been used to describe a number of programs that debuted in Australia in the early 1990s, including *Cops*, which showed footage of police arresting suspects, and *Hard Copy*, a current affairs program that made frequent use of amateur video material.

CATHARINE LUMBY

### Executive Producers

Paul Watson, Pamela Wilson

### Programming History

12 half-hour episodes

ABC

July 1992–October 1992      Tuesday 9:30–10:00

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# Syndication

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Syndication is the practice of selling rights to the presentation of television programs, especially to more than one customer, such as a television station, a cable channel, or a programming service such as a national broadcasting system. The syndication of television programs is a fundamental financial component of television industries. Long a crucial factor in the economics of the U.S. industry, syndication is now a worldwide activity involving the sales of programming produced in many countries.

A syndicator is a firm that acquires the rights to programs for purposes of marketing them to additional customers. In fact, the syndication marketplace provides the bulk of programming seen by the public. For the internal U.S. market, for example, syndication is the source of the reruns often seen on broadcast television and of much material seen on cable networks. Internationally, large amounts of American television programming are sold through syndication for programming alongside material produced locally. Material not available in syndication includes current network prime-time programs, live news programs, and live coverage of sporting and other special events. Even current U.S. programs, however, may be syndicated in international markets, and U.S. viewers may sometimes see imported programs, usually from England or Latin America, currently programmed in other countries.

The price for a syndicated television series is determined by its success with audiences and the number and type of "run" in which the program appears. A *national run* is the presentation of a film or program one time to a national audience. This notion of national run has been borrowed from the history of distributing theatrical films. Any number of theaters or communities may be included in the first run of a production, but as soon as any location receives a second presentation, the second national run has begun. Generally, the cost of rights to present a television series declines as it is presented in later and later runs, although, as indicated here, that rule does not always hold in the international market.

Repeated sales of television programs, both within the United States and throughout the world, have long been central to the profitability of the U.S. television industry. Soon after U.S. television production shifted from live performance to film in the late 1950s, shrewd

sales personnel realized that television products had additional life. Audiences would watch the same program a second time and perhaps return for repeated viewing. Moreover, many countries found it far more economical to purchase the syndicated rights to U.S. television programs than to produce their own, opening a vast market for American products.

The cost of U.S. television programming in the international marketplace is generally based on whatever those markets will bear. Programs often cost more in European markets than in Africa or Latin America. No matter how small the syndication fee, however, the sales of programming produce additional income for their original production companies. In abstract economic terms, this is an example of "public good theory," in which new profits are gained at no additional costs or at the marginal costs incurred in the marketing process.

Historically, syndication, whether domestic or international, served to underwrite the risky process of producing for U.S. network television. From the late 1960s through the mid-1990s, special regulations (the "Financial Interest and Syndication" rules) governed relations between television networks and independent production companies. Under these rules, ownership of the rights to the programs reverted to the producer/production company after a specified number of network runs. Profits from any other sales, including syndication, generally benefited the production community. For this reason, many production companies were willing to produce original programs at a loss, betting on the enormous income that might rise from successful syndication. Many "failed" programs could be created with the profits from one or two successfully syndicated shows.

One way of classifying television programs in the syndication marketplace is by the first national run of the program. If the first run of a program was as part of a national network schedule, then as the program is marketed for subsequent runs to other programmers, it is referred to as "off-network syndication." Thus, a cable programmer who buys the rights to presentation of a situation comedy presented by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is buying off-network syndication. *Dallas*, presented in first run on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the 1978 season, was (and still is) heavily programmed throughout the world through off-network syndication.

If a program is initially made to be sold to programmers other than the major networks, however, then the program is known as "first-run syndication." An example would be the weekly program *Star Search with Ed McMahon*, produced by Television Program Executives (TPE) and Bob Banner Associates. Similarly, Paramount Television's *Star Trek: The Next Generation* was produced for first-run syndication. On occasion, a television program originally developed for network programming will be shifted into the first-run syndication mode. This is the case with *Baywatch*. A program that failed to attract a sufficient audience when programmed by NBC in 1989, this series was canceled after a single season, but it then went into production as a first-run syndicated product and became enormously successful in international markets.

First-run syndication is often the origin of programs presented as programming "strips," that is, at the same time Monday through Friday. This is the case with *Entertainment Tonight*, another Paramount production, and also with numerous programs in the "tabloid TV," game show, and cartoon genres.

*Barter syndication* is a financial arrangement that supports a growing segment of the syndication marketplace. In barter syndication, an advertiser purchases in advance all or some part of the advertising opportunities (commercial spots) in a syndicated program, no matter where the production is to be seen in any run. The advertiser benefits from the barter arrangement by ensuring a friendly program environment for ads. The programmer—an independent station or a cable programmer—benefits because advertising slots are presold, ensuring that the cost to acquire the program will be at least partially covered. While this practice may reduce opportunities for the programmer to sell advertising time, the trade-off is considered a favorable one. The producer of the program also benefits because the prior purchase of advertising opportunities provides funds that may represent an important part of the production budget.

Increasingly, syndication is part of the worldwide television marketplace, and the producers are not always part of the U.S. industry. Brazilian, Venezuelan, and Mexican *telenovelas* are programmed throughout

the Spanish-speaking world and even in less predictable contexts such as India and Russia. British programming is seen in North America and Australia, throughout Europe, and across the rest of the world. In these cases and many others, syndication is seen as an economic benefit. As in the U.S. context, the profits generated by syndication can be used to produce other material on a speculative basis and to bolster the production of the first-run production process. As television-distribution channels proliferate throughout the world and the demand for product to fill those channels grows, it is likely that more and more producers in more and more contexts will create materials for sale to the syndication market.

JAMES E. FLETCHER

**See also** *Cable Networks; Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; International Television Program Markets; National Association of Television Programming Executives; Prime-Time Access Rule; Programming; Superstation; Reruns/Repeats; Turner Broadcasting System*

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## Tabloid Television in the United States

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"Tabloid television" is the name often used to describe a group of journalistic program formats that achieved high visibility and great popularity during the mid- to late 1980s and early 1990s. Generally used with a derisive intonation, the label designates a loosely delineated collection of related genres rather than a singular cohesive one. It has typically been taken to include three primary types of popular journalism. The first is so-called "reality TV," which inserts minicams into a variety of ordinary scenarios such as urban law enforcement, and extraordinary ones such as spectacular accidents and rescues. Examples include *COPS*, *American Detective*, and *Rescue 911*. In "reality TV," however, post-hoc reenactments may substitute for "actual footage," and "actual footage" might itself be carefully orchestrated and edited in a variety of ways to match social expectations regarding the characteristics of cops and criminals, for example, and the conventions of television narrative. Tabloid television's second primary type includes unconventional newscasts and documentary programs such as *A Current Affair*, *Sightings*, and *Unsolved Mysteries*. Each of these shows simultaneously embodies and violates television's established journalistic conventions.

*A Current Affair*, for instance, copies the structure of the evening newscast, at times apparently only to parody it by transgressing norms of realistic representation or substituting mockery and laughter for high seriousness and reverentially solemn tones. The third

primary type of tabloid television is the issue-oriented talk show, including *Donahue*, *Oprah* and *The Ricki Lake Show*. Like the other kinds of tabloid TV programs, these differ from "serious journalism" both in form and content. They typically value confrontation over "impartiality" and "objectivity," and include a multiplicity of contesting voices that challenges the traditional central role of the journalistic commentator or anchor. Additionally, they often deal with issues considered too "offensive" or "trivial" for serious journalism (such as marginalized sexual practices or the politics of romance and family life).

In the United States, tabloid television's explosion was abetted by a number of significant changes in broadcasting that occurred during the 1980s. Among the most important of these were the expansion of cable television, a threefold increase in the number of independent broadcasting stations operating in the United States, and the appearance of the FOX Network, owned by tabloid newspaper mogul Rupert Murdoch. One consequence of these industrial changes was an unprecedented level of demand for new programs designed specifically for syndication. Because of their relatively low production costs compared to fictional television, tabloid shows began to look increasingly attractive to producers of syndicated programming. Moreover, a long writers' strike in 1988, by reducing the production of drama on U.S. television, enhanced the value of "reality TV" and was

directly responsible for tabloid-style FOX Network shows such as *COPS* and *America's Most Wanted*. These shows, produced with a minimum of narration or dialogue, were considered "writer proof," unaffected by unplanned production interruptions such as strikes.

The forms of tabloid television that emerged and became popular in the 1980s were not merely products of industrial dynamics and economics, though. They were also inevitably linked to the social context of the period, much of which in the United States was defined by Reaganism. As social historian Paul Boyer puts it, "Reaganism was a matter of mood and symbolism as much as of specific [government] programs." Assuming that the media do not "reflect" social history so much as they increasingly become an arena within which it is struggled over and played out, it is possible to find both consonance and dissonance between tabloid television and Reaganism.

Among the significant currents of meaning that Reaganism brought to the surface of American culture during the 1980s were those swirling around collective anxieties over crime, drugs and, ultimately, race. For example, Reaganism helped popularize both a "war on drugs" and a politically successful "victims' rights" movement. The "war on drugs" saturated the electronic media with images of an urban battleground steeped in violent criminality that all too often struck at "innocent victims." Tabloid television played a significant role in both the circulation of images associated with the "drug war" and in the articulation of a populist sense of "victimhood." FOX's *America's Most Wanted*, for example, specialized in cinematically sophisticated reenactments of "actual crimes" followed by an open call for audience members to phone in whatever tips they might be able to provide the police that would help track down missing suspects or escaped fugitives. This premise implies not only a supportive stance towards police departments and crime victims, but also suggests that, in and of themselves, official institutions are incapable of ensuring social order. This was a premise that was extended in local as well as network broadcasting.

Thus, questions about the politics of these programs, which are quite contradictory and therefore difficult to assess, are unavoidable. On the one hand, the popularity of the shows indicates a level of popular distrust toward social institutions from which many people feel alienated. This distrust is often articulated as a class antagonism directed against "the system." Much crime-fighter tabloidism therefore appeals to the populist perception that only the people are capable of looking after their own interests, for "the system" is too often concerned with the narrow interests of the socially privileged. Thus, programs such as *COPS*,

where minicams follow "the men and women of law enforcement" into dangerous situations, aren't interested in the upper echelons of police management and administration, but rather focus on the rank and file. In their emphasis upon the working conditions of "ordinary" cops, such programs resonate powerfully with a working-class awareness that blue-collar folks inevitably labor under treacherous and difficult conditions and are poorly rewarded for it. As well, they appeal to a very real sense of vulnerability produced by a society in which the socially weak are far more likely to be criminally victimized than the powerful and the privileged.

On the other hand, these programs are part of a contemporary form of white racism that substitutes coded words and issues such as "crime" and "drugs" for explicit ways of talking about race. As John Fiske has argued, this facilitates the exertion of racial power while enabling its agents to deny that race is involved at all. So, even though the individual criminals and suspects represented in these programs may often be white (albeit lower-class "white trash"), an emphasis on rampant urban disorder appeals to deeply rooted anxieties in the white imagination regarding people of color presumed to be "out of control" and therefore in need of stepped-up policing. One of the primary responses to these white anxieties in contemporary America has been a massive expansion of urban surveillance systems. Such systems have the two-fold aim of "visibilizing" non-white populations in particular—and therefore making them available for social discipline—and of encouraging people to police themselves with greater circumspection and vigor. There is much justification for the view that reality-based "tabloid TV" is partly an extension of such surveillance practices. The case of Stephen Randall Dye, a fugitive who turned himself over to police after agonizing for two weeks over a story about him on *America's Most Wanted*, provides anecdotal evidence in support of this position (Bartley, 1990).

Tabloidism's partial and populist distrust toward institutions of law and order is extended to the judicial system in the programs *Final Appeal* and *Trial and Error*. Like *America's Most Wanted*, these shows produce reenactments of crimes, but these are supplemented by further reenactments of the trials of the people accused and convicted of those crimes. Rather than supporting these convictions, *Final Appeal* and *Trial and Error* reexamine and question the validity of those criminal verdicts that have resulted in actual incarcerations. The voice-over narration from *Trial and Error's* opening segment encapsulates the logic these programs follow:

"Beyond a reasonable doubt." This is the guardian phrase that empowers juries to protect the innocent in



America... The most conservative estimates say that we wrongfully convict and imprison between six and seven thousand people every year. Two half-brothers were within sixteen hours of being executed when it was discovered that the prosecution's star witness was actually nowhere near the crime scene, and she'd only seen it in a dream. A couple in Southern California was convicted of a murder that never even occurred. The alleged victim was found alive and well and living in San Francisco years later... Witnesses sometimes lie, confessions are sometimes coerced, lawyers are sometimes incompetent, and sometimes juries make mistakes.

*Final Appeal* and *Trial and Error* ultimately question whether our courts ever operate "beyond a reasonable doubt." In doing this, they appeal to a form of popular skepticism that, at particular times and in particular contexts, turns against the judicial system and rejects its discursive power to produce authoritative truths. The first trial of the police officers accused of assaulting Rodney King and the urban uprisings that answered its "not-guilty" verdict (despite the beating having been captured on video) provide the most obvious examples of this sort of popular skepticism erupting explosively, and demonstrate that faith in American criminal justice is largely a consequence of one's position in American society. In turn, programs such as *Final Appeal* and *Trial and Error* demonstrate one of the ways in which tabloid television is capable of tapping into widespread suspicions of officialdom shared by many people who occupy positions of social subordination.

The view that tabloid television circulates beliefs that appeal to a popular skepticism toward official truths receives anecdotal support from California's Attorney General Dan Lungren. Lungren has coined the term "Oprahization" to describe changes in American juries that many prosecutors feel have increased the difficulty of securing criminal convictions. Says Lungren, "people have become so set on the *Oprah* view, they bring that into the jury box with them" (Gregory, 1994). According to a professional jury consultant, "talk-show watchers...are considered more likely" than others "to distrust the official version" of events produced by prosecuting attorneys in courtrooms across the land (Gregory, 1994). Los Angeles District Attorney Gil Garcetti has gone so far as to pronounce that the criminal justice system is "on the verge of a crisis of credibility" due to these changes in the sensibilities of jurors (Gregory, 1994).

Talk shows, then, also appeal to a popular skepticism toward official truths. And like the other tabloid programs, their emergence and success bears no small relationship to Reaganism. In Elayne Rapping's words, "the people on these shows are an emotional vanguard, blowing the lid off the idea that America is anything like the place Ronald Reagan pretended to live in." It's

no coincidence that tabloid talk shows achieved their highest visibility and popularity in the wake of Reagan, for Reaganism's widening of gaps between rich and poor, men and women, and whites and blacks, brought social differences into clear definition and sharpened the conflicts around them (Fiske, 1994). If Reaganism entailed a widespread cultural repression of voices and identities representing social difference, Reaganism's repressed others returned with a vengeance on TV's tabloid talk shows, which invite the participation of people whose voices are often excluded from American commercial media discourse, such as African Americans, Latinos and Latinas, sex-industry workers, "ordinary" women, blue- and "pink-" collar laborers, the homeless, the HIV-positive, people living with AIDS, youths, gay men, lesbians, cross-dressers, transsexuals, convicted criminals, prison inmates, and other socially marginalized groups. This is not to say that tabloid talk shows have a political agenda of anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-classism, or anti-homophobia, but rather that in opening themselves to the participation of a very broad range of voices, they necessarily encourage potentially progressive conflicts over cultural, racial, and sexual politics. In particular, these shows often emphasize what we might call "the politics of normality." A number of prominent commentators such as Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault have examined the role of norms as instruments of power that facilitate the efficient identification of deviance, which is typically punished or subjected to "treatment" and social discipline. But tabloid talk shows are marked by a level of indiscipline that often disrupts the enforcement of norms and allows people who are disadvantaged by those norms to talk back against them.

The last genre of tabloid television includes unconventional newscasts and documentary programs such as *A Current Affair* and *Sightings*. It is difficult to generalize about these programs, though often they utilize approaches to storytelling that violate the norms of mainstream journalistic practice in a number of ways. One is to disavow the seriousness of conventional journalism. For example, *A Current Affair*, one of the early definers of American television's tabloid style, was originally anchored by Maury Povich, a refugee from "serious" news whose style was playfully irreverent. This gave much offense to conventional journalists such as Philip Weiss, who writes of Povich that "the rubber-faced lewdness his role calls for, the alacrity with which he moves through a half-dozen expressions and voices (from very soft to wired and mean) is a motility reminiscent of the veteran porn star." In his autobiography, Povich writes that his own scorn for the pretensions of the quality press shaped the agenda at *A Current Affair*, which he describes as a "daily fix of silliness, irony, and tub-thumping anger" infused with

"an odor of disrespect for authority." He explains that "somehow the notion had come about that news was church business and had to be uttered with ponderous and humorless reverence; instead news was a circus delivered by clowns and dancing bears and should be taken with a lot of serious skepticism."

The significance of *A Current Affair's* frequent disavowal of the seriousness of more traditional or "respectable" journalistic forms is suggested in Allon White's observation that "seriousness always has more to do with power than with content. The authority to designate what is to be taken seriously (and the authority to enforce reverential solemnity in certain contexts) is a way of creating and maintaining power." Official definitions of "serious journalism," such as those taught in university courses and circulated by the "respectable press," seemed to reinforce an established vision of "that information which the people need," often as prescribed by a community of experts whose lives are quite removed from those of ordinary people. Consequently, analysts such as Fiske argue that tabloid television's negotiated refusal of mainstream journalistic seriousness embodies an irreverent, laughing popular skepticism toward official definitions of truth that serve the interests of the socially powerful despite their constant appeals to "objectivity."

Besides mocking the seriousness of mainstream news, some tabloid programs, such as *Sightings* and *Unsolved Mysteries*, confer seriousness upon issues that would likely be treated with laughing dismissal, if at all, in traditional newscasts. Thus, *Sightings* featured stories about house hauntings, werewolves in the British countryside, and psychic detectives, while *Unsolved Mysteries* has delved into the paranormal terrain of UFO sightings and alien abductions. Popular interest and "belief" in such issues persists despite, or perhaps because of, official denials of their "truth" and "seriousness," and this antagonism between popular belief and official truth is part of the more general antagonism between the social interests of ordinary people and those of the powerful. *Sightings* opened each broadcast with a refreshing disclaimer that nicely encapsulates the difference between its attitude toward the process of informing and that which guides more conventional journalistic enterprises: "The following program deals with controversial subjects. The theories expressed are not the only possible interpretation. The viewer is invited to make a judgment based on all available information."

By transgressing certain norms of conventional journalism, tabloid television has drawn the scorn of a great many critics who feel that journalistic TV should address "loftier" issues in more "tasteful" and serious ways. And it has shown that television can be quite

adept at speaking to a variety of forms of the popular skepticism with which some of our social institutions, and the versions of truth they pronounce, are viewed.

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See also *America's Most Wanted; COPS*

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# Taiwan

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The birth of the television era in Taiwan began when the China Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) brought Chiang Kai-shek's third Presidential Inauguration live to 50 television screens in May 1960. This event also marked the beginning of the extensive political influence of the three terrestrial broadcasting systems on all facets of life in the country. Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), the first network, was established in 1962 with a significant transfer of Japanese expertise and an initial 40 percent investment by the four leading Japanese electronic firms. China Television Company (CTV) was launched with exclusively domestic financing in 1969, and Chinese Television System (CTS) was transformed from an educational to a general broadcasting service in 1971. More than three decades later, these three networks remain dominated by their stockholders which are, respectively, the Taiwan Provincial Government, the political party Kuomintang, and the Ministries of Defense and Education. Ideological control—exercised by these major underwriters—remains apparent in both news and entertainment programming. In order to claim its political legitimacy over local Taiwanese politics, for example, the KMT government pronounced Mandarin as the official language in Taiwan and restricted the use of Fukienese to only 20 percent of television programming, despite the fact that it was used by the vast majority of the population in the 1960s.

Since the development of a political movement by opposition parties, principally the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), in the early 1980s, the KMT government has been under pressure to begin relaxation of its media monopoly. Opposition leaders fought for alternative voices with a massive wave of print-media publications, followed by the creation of numerous underground radio broadcasting stations. Government crackdown on these activities proved ineffective when many opposition-party members were voted into the legislature, and the movement was backed by a significant number of intellectuals. In 1995, the Taipei city government, headed by a renowned DPP leader, fought for a 30 percent share of TTV by threatening to block a signal license renewal. Ultimately, the attempt was dropped in exchange for a goodwill promise on the part of TTV to tone down its political partisanship. Furthermore, the legislature passed a regulation in 1996 that raised every terrestrial station's annual li-

cence fee from TWD\$60,000 (approximately US\$2,000) to TWD\$10 million (approximately US\$330,000), effective immediately.

These developments signal a passing of a television monarchy controlled by the three networks, which coincides with the emergence of the Fourth Channel, a catch-all name for all underground cable systems and channels. This Fourth Channel surfaced as a powerful media alternative in 1994 with the official launch of TVBS and its landmark call-in program, *2100 All Citizens Talk*. A fourth official national television network is also in development, its license granted to People's Broadcasting Corporation, which consists largely of supporters of the opposition party, DPP. It is scheduled to be on air in February 1997, one year earlier than originally planned.

When the fourth channel begins programming, like the other broadcasters, it will turn to one of three types of sources for content: internal production by the networks, contracted domestic production by independent production companies, and foreign imports. The government ruled that foreign imports should not exceed 30 percent of the total daily programming hours, and all foreign programs are required to use either Mandarin voice-over or Mandarin subtitles. CTS is particularly known for its effort in localizing its entertainment programming; the network wrote television history in 1994 when it first mixed Mandarin with Fukienese in its 8:00 P.M. prime-time drama series, *When Brothers Meet*. Instead of the never-ending Romeo and Juliet-style of love-and-hate romance, this program established a dramatic genre new to Taiwanese television, in which real-life conflicts were recreated in the context of real-life societal events. *When Brothers Meet* not only took the lead in the television prime-time ratings, it also began a continuing success in television drama for CTS.

With the exception of news, all television programs are subject to review by the Government Information Office (GIO). Even in newsrooms, however, self-censorship is practiced. Commercial air time (advertising) is limited to ten minutes per hour on terrestrial systems. Cable systems are limited to six minutes per hour, and coalition efforts are underway for some regional satellite broadcasters to unite in protesting the government's preferential treatment of the free-to-air terrestrials. In other areas, however, cable has its own

advantages. Cigarette and liquor commercials are barred from free-to-air stations, yet in 1996 commercials for liquor were allowed on cable after 9:00 P.M.

Such regulations are truly significant in economic terms. While 99.9 percent of the country receives broadcast television and 67 percent of homes own at least two television sets, cable has penetrated 76 percent of the 5.6 million television households, according to Nielsen-SRT's second quarterly Media Index Report, released in July 1996. It is receivable in over 4.4 million homes and, since 1994, the channel share of all cable stations has surpassed the combined share of the three terrestrial systems. As of June 1996, cable homes or cable individuals spent two-thirds of their viewing time with cable. Certainly, the phenomenal cable growth in Taiwan from 18 percent of market penetration in 1991 to 50 percent in 1993 and the 76 percent of 1996 coincides with the economic well-being of the country.

Not surprisingly, the cable industry has been considered a highly lucrative market by both domestic and foreign investors. The Cable Law, however, passed in August 1993, explicitly outlawed foreign shareholding. Cross-media ownership is disallowed between newspaper owners, free-to-air broadcasters, and cable operators and programmers. Further regulations restrict any shareholder to no more than 10 percent of the total assets value.

Other regulations focus more precisely on cable systems. In the area of programming, for example, domestically produced programs must represent at least 20 percent of the total programming hours. Nevertheless, in light of the fact that the Cable Law is designed exclusively to bring the system operators under control, cable programmers have often tested the limit of the law and frequently go their own way. The constant power struggles between system operators and cable-program suppliers have left the GIO powerless most of the time.

In one area, however, the cable industry finally came under restriction in the fall of 1994 after severe protests by U.S. copyright organizations. Cable operators engaged in extreme violations of copyright laws, airing everything from movies to sitcoms and variety shows without payment, which resulted in substantial revenue loss to the program copyright owners. Under threat from the U.S. government, authorities in Taiwan finally began an all-out effort to crack down on the illegal cable operators. The resulting rising costs for program purchases drove some operators out of business and contributed to a significant consolidation of cable systems in recent years.

Financial concerns also affect the terrestrial systems. Despite the fact that all three are financially dominated by the various government offices, they are

essentially commercial rather than public stations. In 1995, they garnered 5 percent of the total TWD\$29.6 billion (US\$985 million) advertising revenues, with TTV slightly edging ahead of CTS by 3 percent and CTV by 6 percent. In the same year, television advertising revenues accounted for approximately 40 percent of total advertising expenditures, topping newspapers by nearly 10 percent. With significant cable growth, 90 percent of the top 300 advertisers replied in a 1995 survey that they were prepared to invest 15–20 percent of their advertising budget in cable.

Essentially, the TV-advertising market has changed from a sellers' market to a buyers' market. The three terrestrial networks are predicted to lose a quarter of net television advertising to other channels in 1997 and, by 2005, less than half the net total is expected to go to the terrestrial systems. On the other hand, TV advertising is predicted to nearly double between 1995 and 2000 to US\$1.8 billion, and will almost triple to US\$2.7 billion in 2005. International advertisers dominate the top-20 list of largest advertisers in Taiwan. Ford leads the category with total annual billings of some TWD\$1.592 billion (US\$53 million), followed by Procter and Gamble with TWD\$1.103 billion (US\$37 million), Toyota with TWD\$1.005 billion (US\$33.5 million), and Mavibel, Kao, Matsushita, Hong Kong Shanghai Bank, AC Johnson, and Nestlé among the biggest spenders.

These advertisers present their products in one of the most complex, multicultural media environments in the world. In a country with a population of more than 22 million, more than 180 satellite channels and 130 cable operators compete for audiences. A typical cable household receives 70 channels, all as part of the basic tier. In the movie category alone, more than 12 channels show movies originating from the United States, Spain, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Russia, Japan, China, Hong Kong, and other countries.

In the face of this 70-channel environment, all regional satellite channels have made "channel localization" an integral part of their programming effort. They have created specific channel "identities" related to specific Asian countries and regions. Such localization has gone beyond the use of specific languages and has led regional broadcasters to produce "locally correct" cable content by teaming up with the local production entities or houses in the various Asian countries. The Discovery Channel, HBO, ESPN, MTV, and Disney are all prime examples of entities competing against these local cable channels and their localized content. Much of the programming effort by these "global" suppliers was, in fact, launched as an attempt to use the Taiwan market as a testbed for eventual programming in China.

The influx of new local and international cable channels is far from over. For every type of channel already in place, another is in formation. The Scholars' Corporation announced the launch of a five-channel package in May 1996; a very popular local channel, SanLi, was preparing for the release of its third channel; the Videoland Group was getting ready for its fourth channel; and the general-interest Super Channel, which came on the scene in October 1995, added another channel devoted to sports.

The cable attraction has resulted in a large decline of viewership on the three terrestrial networks. Even the 7:00–8:00 P.M. news hour on the networks, dominant for almost three decades, is losing audience share to cable. Individual program ratings among viewers aged four and above have generally declined among all program genres.

On the other hand, almost every regional satellite channel and cable station has steadily gained viewership and momentum. Cable's niche-programming orientation has led to the creation of many channels with clearly definable audience profiles. When analyzed within target audiences, some cable channel ratings even surpass those of the three networks. The current television climate may be summarized as follows: (1) A typical viewer spends an average of 2.2 hours daily watching television. Individuals with cable spend more time watching television than their non-cable counterparts. (2) "Program loyalty" has replaced "channel loyalty" in describing the viewer's logic of television choice. Viewers select specific types of programs and move among channels to do so. (3) Related to this development, a cable channel is often recognized because it carries a few popular programs. It is programs that define the character of any channel, not the channel itself, even for the 24-hour news channel. (4) Prime time on cable is virtually 23 hours a day; the only hour excluded is the 8:00–9:00 P.M. slot for the daily drama series. (5) The new television ecology has gradually given rise to new sales and marketing concepts. Program suppliers can no longer simply emphasize "how many" viewers are watching; instead, it is the determination of "who" is

watching that helps deliver the audience to the advertisers, who have been obliged to follow the same trend as program-makers in tailoring their advertisements to ever-more carefully targeted niche audiences.

Behind this multi-channel, multicultural viewing environment is a series of questions baffling the policy-makers. The seemingly vast program choices conceal the reality that programming homogeneity still outweighs its heterogeneity. Not only are schedules for the three terrestrial networks similar across all parts of the day, but the same high level of repetition is also frequently observed within and among the cable channels. The 130 cable operators have spent a great deal of money buying channels only to find that such operations are virtually the opposite of the principle of a "natural monopoly" normally used to describe the cable industry. The government, for its part, is busy making cable laws only to find that participants in the industry have invented new games that defy the regulations. While new channels continue to be rolled out on a monthly basis, new communications technologies such as the Internet are aggressively pursued and applied by many programmers to add to their marketing effort and competitive edge. The television market in Taiwan is far from saturated. It is instead loaded—with selection, repetition, excitement, energy, and challenges.

ZOE TAN

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## Talk Shows in the United States

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Like the soap opera, the talk show is an invention of 20th-century broadcasting. It takes a very old form of communication—conversation—and transforms it into

a low-cost but highly popular form of information and entertainment through the institutions, practices, and technologies of television. The talk show developed

out of 40 years of television practice and antecedent talk traditions from radio, vaudeville, and popular theater.

A talk show is quite clearly and self-consciously built around its talk. To remain on the air in commercial television, a talk show must adhere to strict time and money constraints—allowing time, for instance, for the advertising spots that must appear throughout the show. The talk show must begin and end within these rigid time limits and, playing to an audience of millions, be highly tuned to topics that will interest that mass audience. For its business managers, the television talk show is one product among many, and these managers are usually not amenable to anything that will interfere with profits and ratings. Finally, this kind of show is almost always anchored by a host or team of hosts.

### Host/Forms

Talk shows are often identified by the host's name in the title, an indication of the importance of the host in the history of the television talk show. A good example of the importance of the host to the form a talk show takes would be *The Tonight Show*. *The Tonight Show* premiered on NBC in 1954 with Steve Allen as its first host. While it maintained a distinctive format and style throughout its first four decades on the air, *The Tonight Show* changed significantly with each successive host. Steve Allen, Ernie Kovacs, Jack Paar, and Johnny Carson each took *The Tonight Show* in a significant new direction, as has its current host, Jay Leno. Each of these hosts imprinted the show with distinctive personalities and management styles.

Although many talk shows run for only weeks or months before being taken off the air, once established, talk shows and talk-show hosts tend to have long runs. The average number of years on television for the 35 major American talk-show hosts listed at the end of this essay was 18 years. Successful talk show hosts such as Mike Wallace, Johnny Carson, and Barbara Walters bridge generations of viewers. The longevity of these "superstars" increases their impact on the forms and formats of television talk with which they are associated.

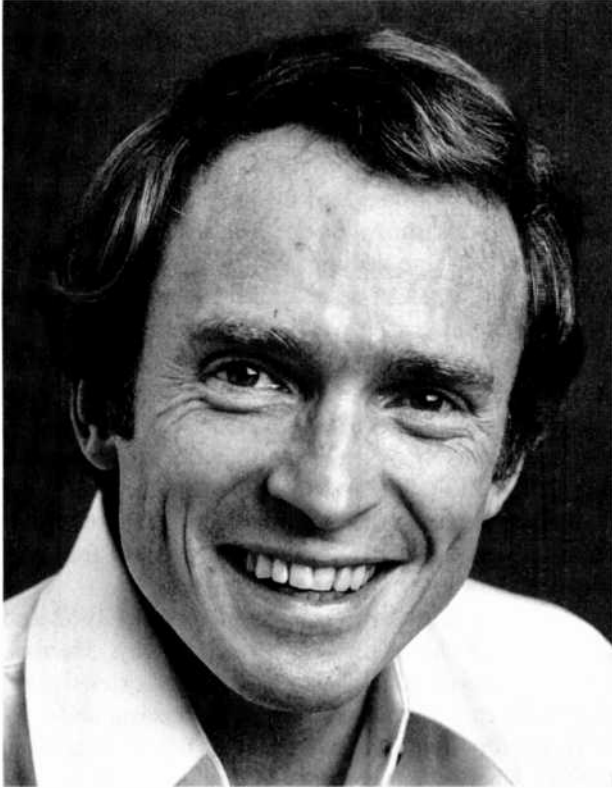
Television talk shows originally emerged out of two central traditions: news and entertainment. Over time, hybrid forms developed that mixed news, public affairs, and entertainment. These hybrid forms occupy a middle-ground position between news and entertainment, although their hosts (Phil Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, and Geraldo Rivera, for example) often got their training in journalism. Approximately one-third of the major talk-show hosts listed at the end of the essay

came out of news. The other two-thirds came from entertainment (comedy in particular).

Within the journalistic tradition, the names Edward R. Murrow, Mike Wallace, Ted Koppel, and Bill Moyers stand out. News-talk hosts such as Murrow, Koppel, and Moyers do not have bands, sidekicks, or a studio audience. Their roles as talk-show hosts are extensions of their roles as reporters and news commentators. Their shows appear in the evening, when more middle-aged and older-aged viewers are watching. The morning host teams that mix "happy talk" and information also often come from a news background. This format was pioneered by NBC's Sylvester "Pat" Weaver and host Dave Garroway with the *Today* show in the early 1950s. Hosts who started out on early-morning news-talk shows and went on to anchor the evening news or prime-time interview shows include Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor, Barbara Walters, Tom Brokaw, and Jane Pauley. Each developed a distinctive style within the more conversational format of her or his morning show.

Coming from a journalism background but engaging in a wider arena of cultural topics are hosts such as Donahue, Winfrey, and Rivera. Mixing news, entertainment, and public affairs, Donahue established "talk television," an extension of the "hot topic" live radio call-in shows of the 1960s. Donahue himself ran a radio show in Dayton, Ohio, before premiering his daytime television talk show there. Donahue's Dayton show, later syndicated nationally, featured audience members talking about the social issues that affected their lives.

Within the field of entertainment/variety talk, it was the late-night talk show that assumed special importance. Late-night talk picked up steam when it garnered national attention during the talk-show "wars" of the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this time, Carson defended his ratings throne on *The Tonight Show* against challengers Joey Bishop, David Frost, Dick Cavett, and Merv Griffin. Late-night talk-show wars again received front-page headlines when Carson's successors, Leno, David Letterman, Chevy Chase, Arsenio Hall, Dennis Miller, and others engaged in fierce ratings battles after Carson's retirement. Within the United States these talk-show wars assumed epic proportions in the press, and the impact that late-night entertainment talk-show hosts had over their audiences seemed, at times, to assume that of political leaders or leaders of state. In an age in which political theorists had become increasingly pessimistic about the possibilities of democracy within the public sphere, late-night talk-show hosts became sanctioned court jesters who appeared free to mock and question basic American values and political ideas through hu-



Dick Cavett.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

mor. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Carson's monologue on *The Tonight Show* was considered a litmus test of public opinion, a form of commentary on the news. Leno and Letterman's comic commentary continued the tradition.

At times of crisis, the limitation of the court jester's role within commercial television sometimes becomes more evident. This happened when Bill Maher made a joke on ABC's late-night talk show *Politically Incorrect* after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. His joke was in the form of a question that asked how much courage it took to bomb radical Islamic guerrilla fighters hiding in caves from a strategic fighter jet thousands of feet in the air. The joke brought down a firestorm of outrage on Maher, including threats from advertisers to cancel their commercials and refusals by local stations to air the show, although there were some who defended the host's right to make the joke, and even an email campaign in his support. After the events of September 11, at least from the point of view of commercial broadcasting, the freedom to make jokes only extended so far, and many comedy writers and talk-show hosts curtailed their jokes about President George W. Bush and his administration during this time.

The ratings battle between Leno and Letterman in the early 1990s echoed the earlier battles between Carson, Cavett, and Griffin. But it is not just comic ability that has been demanded of the late-night hosts. They must possess a lively, quick-paced interview technique, a persistent curiosity arising directly from their comic worldviews, lively conversational skills, and an ability to listen to and elicit information from a wide range of showbusiness and "civilian" guests. It is no wonder that a relatively small number of 1990s hosts survived more than a few years on the air to become stars. Indeed, in all categories of the television talk show over four decades on the air, fewer than three dozen news and entertainment talk show hosts in the United States have achieved the status of stars.

### Talk Formats

While talk-show hosts represent a potpourri of styles and approaches, the number of talk-show formats is actually quite limited. For example, a general-interest hard-news or public-affairs show can be built around an expert panel (such as *Washington Week in Review*), a panel and news figure (*Meet the Press*), a magazine format for a single topic (*Nightline*), a magazine format that deals with multiple topics (*60 Minutes*), or a one-on-one host-guest interview (Moyers's *World of Ideas*). These are the standard formats for the discussion of hard-news topics. Similarly, a general-interest soft-news talk show that mixes entertainment, news, and public affairs can also be built around a single topic (such as *Donahue*, *Oprah*, or *Geraldo*), a magazine multiple-topic format (*Today*, *Good Morning America*), or a one-on-one host-guest interview (Barbara Walters's interview specials). There are also special-interest news/information formats that focus on such subjects as economics (*Wall Street Week*), sports (*Sports Club*), homemaking/fashion (*Ern Westmore Show*), personal psychology (*Dr. Ruth*), home repair (*This Old House*), literature (*Author Meets the Critic*), and cooking (Julia Child's programs).

Entertainment talk shows are represented by a similarly limited number of formats. By far the most prevalent is the informal, celebrity-guest/host talk show, which takes on different characteristics depending on when in the day it is broadcast. The late-night entertainment talk show, with the publicity it received through the "talk-show wars," grew rapidly in popularity among viewers during its first four decades on the air. There have also been morning versions of the informal, host-guest entertainment variety show (such as the *Will Rogers Jr. Show*), daytime versions (*The Robert Q. Lewis Show*), and special topic versions (*American Bandstand*). Some entertainment talk





*Mike Douglas Show*, Mike Douglas, Ralph Nader, 1961–82; 1973 episode. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

shows have featured comedy through satirical takes on talk shows (*Fernwood Tonight*, *The Larry Sanders Show*), monologues (*The Henry Morgan Show*), or comedy dialogue (*Dave and Charley*). Some game shows have been built sufficiently around their talk so that they are arguably talk shows in disguise (Groucho Marx's *You Bet Your Life*, for instance). There are also a whole range of shows that are not conventionally known as "talk shows" but feature "fresh" talk and are built primarily around that talk. These shows center on social encounters or events adapted to television, such as a religious service (*Life Is Worth Living*), an academic seminar (*Seminar*), a talent contest (*Talent Scouts*), a practical joke (*Candid Camera*), mating rituals (*The Dating Game*), a forensic event (*People's Court*), or a mixed social event (*House Party*). The line between "television talk" and what formally constitutes a talk show is often not easy to draw and shifts over time as new forms of television talk emerge.

### Cycles of Talk: The History of the Television Talk Show

Although new hosts and talk shows in the United States often appear in rapid succession, usually following expansion cycles in the industry, significant changes in television talk occur more slowly. These changes have traditionally come about at the hands of a relatively small number of influential talk-show hosts and programmers, and have occurred within distinct periods of television history.

The term "talk show" was a relatively late invention, coming into use in the mid-1960s, but shows based on various forms of more-or-less spontaneous talk were a staple of broadcasting from its earliest days. Radio talk shows of one kind or another made

up 24 percent of all radio programming from 1927 to 1956, with general-variety talk, audience-participation, human interest, and panel shows comprising as much as 40 to 60 percent of the daytime schedule. Network television from 1949 to 1973 filled over half its daytime program hours with talk programming, devoting 15 to 20 percent of its evening schedule to talk shows of one kind or another. As the networks went into decline, their viewership dropping from 90 percent to 65 percent of the audience between the 1980s and the 1990s, talk shows were one form of programming that continued to expand on the networks and in syndication. By the summer of 1993, the television page of *USA Today* listed 17 talk shows and local papers as many as 27. In all, from 1948 to 1993, more than 200 talk shows appeared on the air. These shows can be broken down into four cycles of television talk-show history, which correspond to four major periods of television history itself.

The first cycle took place from 1948 to 1962 and featured such hosts as Godfrey, Garroway, Murrow, Arlene Francis, and Paar. These hosts had extensive radio experience before coming to television, and they were the founders of television talk. During this time, the talk show's basic forms—coming largely out of previous radio and stage traditions—took shape.

The second cycle covers the period from 1962 to 1972, when the networks took over from sponsors and advertising agencies as the dominant forces in talk programming. A small but vigorous syndicated talk industry grew during this period as well. In the 1960s and early 1970s, three figures established themselves on the U.S. networks as talk hosts with staying power: Carson, Walters, and Wallace. Each was associated with a program that became an established profit center for its network, and each used that position to negotiate a sustained status with the network that propelled her or him into the 1970s and 1980s as a star of television talk.

The third cycle of television talk lasted from 1970 to 1980. During this decade, challenges to network domination arose from a number of quarters. While the networks themselves were initiating few new talk shows by 1969, syndicated talk programming exploded. Twenty new talk shows went on the air in 1969 (until then, the average number of new shows rarely exceeded five per year). It was a boom period for television talk—and the time of the first nationally publicized "talk-show wars." New technologies of production (cheaper television studios and production costs), new methods of distribution (satellite transmission and cable), and key regulatory decisions by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) made nationally syndicated talk increasingly profitable and attractive to investors.





*Live with Regis and Kathie Lee*, Kathie Lee Gifford, Regis Philbin. *Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Talk show hosts such as Donahue took advantage of the situation. Expanding his program from 40 markets in 1974 to a national audience of 167 markets in 1979, Donahue became the number one syndicated talk-show host in the United States by the late 1970s. Other new talk-show hosts entered the field as well. *Bill Moyers' Journal* went on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1970, and William Buckley's *Firing Line*, which had appeared previously in syndication, launched on PBS a year later. Both Moyers and Buckley—representing liberal and conservative viewpoints, respectively—were to remain significant figures on public broadcasting for the next two decades. During this time, independent stations and station groups, first-run syndication, cable, and VCRs all began to weaken the networks' once invincible hold over national audiences.

The fourth cycle of television talk took place in the period from 1980 to 1992, a period that has been commonly referred to as the "post-network" era. Donahue's success in syndication was emulated by others, most notably Winfrey, whose Donahue-style audience-participation show went into national syndication in 1986. Winfrey set a new record for syndication earnings, grossing over \$100 million per year from the start of her show's syndication. She became, financially, the most successful talk show host on television.

But since the early 1980s the networks had been vigorously fighting back. CBS's *Late Night with David Letterman* and Koppel's *Nightline* on ABC were two network attempts to win back audiences. Both shows gained steady ratings over time and established Koppel and Letterman as stars of television talk.

A fifth cycle of talk was represented by the rise of a series of new talk-show hosts who gained large followings. By the mid-1990s, "trash talk" had become increasingly popular, and Ricki Lake, one of the first



*The Ricki Lake Show*, Ricki Lake. *Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

syndicated talk-show hosts to capitalize on this form, had been outdistanced by Jerry Springer, who took this carnivalesque form of TV talk, supported by a clever multimedia merchandizing strategy, to new levels of grotesquerie. Also in the 1990s, Rosie O'Donnell reestablished the warm, "family" tradition of the daytime talk show pioneered by the comfortable daytime syndicated talk-show hosts of the 1970s (Dinah Shore, Griffin, and Mike Douglas). Garry Shandling took the self-reflexive traditions of TV talk developed by Letterman to a new level in *The Larry Sanders Show*, mixing fictional and improvisational forms of TV talk. And Maher took his successful Comedy Central fusion of news talk and comedy, *Politically Incorrect*, to a regular berth on ABC after Koppel's *Nightline*. The audiences were treated to other mixtures and experiments: shows such as *The Man Show*, which satirized male gender roles (or celebrated them, depending on your point of view), or *The View*, featuring veteran talk star Walters but representing a successful experiment of five women hosting a show collectively. The 1990s, as the above examples indicate, were a time in which new forms, blends, mixtures, and experiments made an appearance among the tried-and-true formulas of television talk.

### Paradigm Shifts in Late-Night Entertainment: Carson to Letterman

Johnny Carson, for 30 years the "King of Late Night," and his successor, David Letterman, are in many ways alike. Their rise to fame could be described by the same basic story. A young man from the American heartland comes to the city, making his way through its absurdities and frustrations with feckless humor. This exemplary middle American is "square" and at the same time sophisticated; innocent, though also ironic and irreverent. Straddling the worlds of common sense and showbusiness, the young man becomes a national jester—and is so anointed by the press.

The "type" Carson and Letterman represent can be traced to earlier archetypes: the "Yankee" character in early American theater and the "Toby" character of 19th-century tent repertory. Carson brought his version of this character to television at the end of the Eisenhower and beginning of the Kennedy era, poking fun at American consumerism and politics in the late 1950s and 1960s.

Letterman brought his own version of this sharp-eyed American character to the television screen two decades later, at the beginning of the Reagan era. By this time the youth revolts of the 1960s and 1970s were already on the wane, and Letterman replaced the politics of confrontation represented by the satire of such shows as *Saturday Night Live* and *SCTV* with a politics of accommodation, removal, and irony. His ironic stance was increasingly acknowledged as capturing the "voice" of his generation and, whether as cause or effect, Letterman became a generational symbol.

The shift from Carson to Letterman represented not only a cultural change but a new way of looking at television as a medium. Carson's camera was rooted in the neutral gaze of the proscenium-arch tradition; Letterman's camera, by contrast, roamed wildly and flamboyantly through the studio. Carson acknowledged the camera with sly asides; Letterman's constant, neurotic intimacy with the camera, characterized by his habit of moving right up to the lens and speaking directly into it, represented a new level of self-consciousness about the medium. He extended the "self-referentiality" that Carson himself had promoted over the years on his talk show. Indeed, Letterman represented a movement from what has been called a *transparent* form of television—the viewer taking for granted, and looking through, the forms of television (camera, lighting, switching, and so on)—to an *opaque* form, in which the technology and practices of the medium itself become a focus of the show. Letterman changed late-night talk forever with his postmodern irreverence and mocking play with the forms of television talk.

### Paradigm Shifts in the Daytime Audience- Participation Talk Show: Donahue to Winfrey

When Oprah Winfrey rose to national syndication success in 1986 by challenging Phil Donahue in major markets across the United States and winning ratings victories in many of these markets, she did not change the format of the audience-participation talk show. That remained essentially as Donahue had established it 20 years before. What changed was the cultural dynamics of this kind of show, and that shift was in turn a direct reflection of the person who hosted it.

The ratings battle that ensued in 1986 was between, on the one hand, a black woman raised by a religious grandmother and strict father within the fold of a black church in the South, and on the other, a white, male, liberal, Catholic Midwesterner who had gone to the University of Notre Dame and been permanently influenced by the women's movement. Just as Jackie Robinson had broken professional baseball's color barrier four decades earlier, Winfrey broke the color line for national television talk show hosts in 1986. Like the hero of a children's story by Horatio Alger, she became one of the great rags-to-riches successes of the 1980s (by the early 1990s, *People Weekly* was proclaiming her "the richest woman in show business," with an estimated worth of \$200 million), and as Arsenio Hall and Bob Costas ended their six- and seven-year runs on talk television in the early 1990s, it became clear that Oprah Winfrey had staying power. She remained one of the few prominent talk show hosts of the 1980s to survive within the cluttered talk-show landscape of the mid-1990s, and now into the 21st century.

Several factors contributed to this success. For one thing, Winfrey had a smart management team and a full-press, national marketing campaign to catapult her into competition with Donahue. The national syndication deal had been worked out by Winfrey's representative, attorney-manager Jeffrey Jacobs, and thanks to management at her show's distributor, King World, her marketing plan was a classic one. Executives at King World believed the media would pounce on "a war with Donahue," so they created one. The first step was to send tapes of Winfrey's shows to "focus groups" in several localities to see how they responded. The results were positive. The next step was to show tapes to selected station groups—small network alliances of a half-dozen or more stations under a single owner. These groups would be offered exclusive broadcast rights. As the reactions began to come in, King World adjusted its tactics. Rather than making blanket offers, they decided to open separate negotiations in each city and market. The gamble paid off. Winfrey's track

record proved her a hot-enough commodity to win better deals through individual station negotiation.

To launch Winfrey on the air, King World kicked off a major advertising campaign. Media publications trumpeted *The Oprah Winfrey Show's* ratings victories over *Donahue* in Baltimore and Chicago. The "Donahue-buster" strategy was tempered by Winfrey herself, who worked hard not to appear too arrogant or conceited. When asked about head-on competition with Donahue, she replied that in a majority of markets she did not compete with him directly, and that while Donahue would certainly remain "the king," she just wanted to be "a part of the monarchy." By the time *The Oprah Winfrey Show* went national in September 1986, it had been picked up by more than 180 stations—approaching *Donahue's* 200-plus.

In addition to refined marketing and advertising techniques, cultural issues also featured prominently in Winfrey's campaign. Winfrey's role as talk-show host was inseparable from her identity as an African-American woman. Her African-American heritage and roots surfaced frequently in press accounts. One critic described her in a 1986 *Spy* magazine article as "capaciously built, black, and extremely noisy." These and other comments on her "black" style were not lost on Winfrey. She confronted the issue of race constantly and was very conscious of her image as an African-American role model.

When a *USA Today* reporter queried Winfrey bluntly about the issue of race in August 1986, asking her, "as someone who is not pencil-thin, white, nor blond," how she was "transcending barriers that have hindered many in television," Winfrey replied as follows:

I've been able to do it because my race and gender have never been an issue for me. I've been blessed in knowing who I am, and I am a part of a great legacy. I've crossed over on the backs of Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman, and Fannie Lou Hamer, and Madam C.J. Walker. Because of them I can now soar. Because of them I can now live the dream.

Winfrey's remarks represent the "double-voiced" identity of many successful African-American public figures. Such figures, according to Henry Louis Gates, demonstrate their "own membership in the human community and then . . . resistance to that community." In the mid-1980s, then, the image of Winfrey as national talk-show host played against both white and black systems of values and aesthetics. It was her vitality as a double sign, not simply her role as an Horatio Alger figure, that made her compelling to a national audience in the United States.

In the late 1990s and into the new century, a number

of new talk-show hosts emerged. Two hosts who began their careers on the cable channel Comedy Central, Bill Maher and Jon Stewart, gained increasing national visibility around this time. As noted previously, Maher moved his *Politically Incorrect* show to a late-night time slot on ABC. As host of *The Daily Show* on Comedy Central, Stewart has received many accolades, including a "talk show host of the year" award from *Time* magazine and a Peabody Award for his comedy news coverage of the 2000 elections. In daytime talk, Rosie O'Donnell's entry into the increasingly crowded daytime talk market employed a national syndication marketing campaign that was reminiscent of Winfrey's, and probably learned from it. O'Donnell created a strong following immediately after appearance on the air in 1996 and maintained it through the 1990s. In 2002 news that O'Donnell was gay, and openly so, did not seem to damage her show or her relationship with her national audience, but O'Donnell nevertheless chose to make that year her last on as a talk-show host. In news talk, Katie Couric, who had been co-anchor of the *Today* show since the early 1990s, signed a multiyear, multimillion-dollar contract in 2002 that put her in the superstar category. Couric's life off-camera (the death of her husband, her single-mother status, and her high-profile relationship with producer Tom Werner) helped stimulate interest in her career from fans and network executives. The personal lives of female hosts—Winfrey, O'Donnell, and Couric, for example—all seemed to receive more attention than those of their male peers.

## Conclusion

Talk shows have become increasingly important on U.S. television and their hosts increasingly influential. They speak to cultural ideas and ideals as forcefully as politicians or educators. National talk-show hosts become surrogates for the citizen. Interrogators on the news or clown princes and jesters on entertainment talk shows, major television hosts have a license to question and mock—as long as they play within the rules. An investigation of the American television talk show must, finally, delineate and examine those rules.

The first governing principle of the television talk show is that everything that occurs on the show is framed by the host, who characteristically has a high degree of control over both the show and the production team. From a production point of view, the host is the managing editor; from a marketing point of view, the host is the label that sells the product; from a power and organizational point of view, the host's star value is the fulcrum of power in contract negotiations with

advertisers, network executives, and syndicators. Without a "brand-name" host, a show may continue, but it will not be the same.

A second principle of the television talk show is that it is experienced in the present tense. This is true whether the show is live or taped in front of a studio audience and shown as if live a few hours later. Live, taped, or shown in "reruns," talk shows are conducted, and viewers participate in them, as if host, guest, and viewer occupy the same moment.

As social texts, television talk shows are highly sensitive to the topics of their social and cultural moment. These topics may concern passing fashions or connect to deeper preoccupations. References to the O.J. Simpson trial on television talk shows in the mid-1990s, for example, reflected a preoccupation in the United States with domestic violence and issues of gender, race, and class. Talk shows are, in this sense, social histories of their times.

While it is host-centered, occurring in a real or imagined present tense, sensitive to the historical moment, and based on a form of public/private intimacy, the television talk show is also a commodity. Talk shows traditionally have been cheap to produce. In 1992 a talk show cost less than \$100,000 (compared to up to \$1 million or more for a prime-time drama of the same length). By the early 1990s developments in video technology made talk shows even more economical to produce and touched off a wave of new talk shows on the air. Still, the rule of the marketplace prevailed. A joke on Carson's final episode of *The Tonight Show* that contained 75 words and ran 30 seconds was worth approximately \$150,000—the cost to advertisers of a 30-second "spot" on that show. Each word of the joke cost approximately \$2,000. Although the rates of Carson's last show were particularly high, commercial time on television is always expensive, and an industry of network and station "reps," time buyers and sellers work constantly to negotiate and manage the cost of talk commodities on the television market. If a talk show makes money over time, its contract will likely be renewed. If it does not, no matter how valuable or critically acclaimed it may be, it will be pulled from the air. A commodity so valuable must be carefully managed and planned. It must fit the commercial imperatives and time limits of for-profit television. Although it can be entertaining, even "outrageous," it must never seriously alienate advertisers or viewers.

As we can see from the examples above, talk shows are shaped by many hands and guided by a clear set of principles. These rules are so well known that hosts, guests, and viewers rarely stop to think about them. What appears to be one of television's most unfettered and spontaneous forms turns out to be, on closer inves-

tigation, one of its most complex and, occasionally, artful creations.

BERNARD M. TIMBERG

*See also* Allen, Steve; *Arsenio Hall Show, The*; Carson, Johnny; Couric, Katie; Donahue, Phil; Emerson, Faye; *Ernie Kovacs Show, The (Various)*; Frost, David; Griffin, Merv; King, Larry; Kovacs, Ernie; *Late Show with David Letterman (Late Night with David Letterman)*; Letterman, David; Murrow, Edward R.; Parkinson; Pauley, Jane; Philbin, Regis; Rivera, Geraldo; Shore, Dinah; Susskind, David; Wallace, Mike; Walters, Barbara; Winfrey, Oprah

### Major U.S. Talk Show Hosts, 1948–2002

Faye Emerson (1949–60), Arthur Godfrey (1948–61), Arlene Francis (1949–75), Dave Garroway (1949–61, 1969), Garry Moore (1951–77), Art Linkletter (1950–70), Steve Allen (1950–84), Ernie Kovacs (1951–61), Mike Wallace (1951–), Merv Griffin (1951–86), Edward R. Murrow (1952–59), Dinah Shore (1951–63, 1970–84, 1987–91), Jack Paar (1952–65, 1975), Mike Douglas (1953–82), Johnny Carson (1951–92), David Susskind (1958–87), Barbara Walters (1961–), Regis Philbin (1963–), David Frost (1964–65, 1969–73, 1977–), William Buckley (1966–), Dick Cavett (1968–72, 1975, 1977–82, 1986, 1992–), Joan Rivers (1969, 1983–), Phil Donahue (1969–96, 2002), Bill Moyers (1971–), Tom Snyder (1973–82, 1994–), Geraldo Rivera (1974–), Jane Pauley (1976–), Jay Leno (1977, 1987–), Ted Koppel (1979–), David Letterman (1980–), John McLaughlin (1982–), Arsenio Hall (1983–), Larry King (1983–), Oprah Winfrey (1986–), Sally Jesse Raphaël (1986–), Katie Couric (1990–), Jerry Springer (1991–), Jon Stewart (1991–), Rosie O'Donnell (1996–2002), Bill Maher (1998–2002).

COMPILED BY ROBERT ERLER AND BERNARD TIMBERG

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## Talking Heads

### U.K. Series

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*Talking Heads* was a series of six critically acclaimed dramatic monologues penned for television by the renowned writer Alan Bennett. Eschewing visual dynamism in favor of strong writing and intimate solo performances, the series featured different characters relating, direct to camera, compelling tales of mundane personal drama and private unhappiness. First transmitted in Britain in 1988, it was followed up ten years later by another series of six programs under the banner *Talking Heads 2*.

Known for his stage plays (such as *Forty Years On*, 1968) and feature films (such as *The Madness of King George*, 1995), as well as his writing for television, Bennett wrote the first series after experimenting with the format in the 1982 television and radio play *A Woman of No Importance*. In interview with Albert Hunt, Bennett claimed that the simple format and economy of production of *A Woman of No Importance* was partly inspired by his own original desire to direct, something he had never done before on stage or television. Yet Bennett may have recognized the dramatic possibilities of the form while delivering satirical monologues on stage as part of *Beyond the Fringe* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1960. In the event, Bennett did *not* direct *A Woman of No Importance*, but he was able to go on and direct one of the dramas in the first series of *Talking Heads*, "Bed Among the Lentils," and act in another, "A Chip in the Sugar."

Crucially, the monologue format, with an almost static camera, pared-down visuals, and direct address, allowed Bennett to demonstrate his finely tuned sense of observation which explored the warm humor of the everyday, while also drawing on some of the darker themes of his larger oeuvre. The themes of *Talking Heads* are distinctly adult, not in the sense that there

are explicit sexual references or bad language, but because they are predominantly about, and performed by, people in middle age or older, particularly women.

With scripts written with particular performers in mind (recurring names being Patricia Routledge, Julie Walters, and Thora Hird) colloquialisms or turns of phrase powerfully evoke a specific class, region, or generation. Bennett's scripts depict ordinary people trapped by frustration or loneliness, people marginalized, often by the most mundane circumstances, and out of touch with mainstream cosmopolitan and popular culture. Most of the stories, running between 30 and 50 minutes, are set in a drab suburban or provincial milieu—often signified by dull domestic settings such as living rooms or kitchens.

Yet what is also significant about Bennett's *Talking Heads* scripts is what is often *not* said, or only vaguely hinted at—with implicit references to mental illness, repressed homosexuality, or sexual abuse. As each drama unfolds over a series of sequences—with the told events predominantly taking a downward trajectory—the viewer gains more insight into the character and what motivates them, sometimes with surprising consequences. In "A Woman of Letters," for example, Patricia Routledge plays Miss Ruddock, a lonely woman who obsessively writes letters of complaint. At first appearing to be a public-spirited busybody, it soon becomes apparent that she has caused upset with accusations of child abuse and neglect, and has been before the courts on charges of harassment. The program concludes with Miss Ruddock in jail, yet a more fulfilled and less lonely woman.

Significantly, the program format not only emphasizes the strength of writing, but also of theatrical performance, and this has two closely related dramatic

effects. First, the mid- to close-up shots of actors speaking directly to camera demands carefully nuanced and intimate performances, with actors unable to hide in the long shot, or among other characters. Furthermore, long takes (some lasting as long as eleven minutes) add an extra layer of tension to the performance. Second, as Albert Hunt argues, the direct address to camera establishes a theatrical relationship between actor and audience, unlike the action between characters viewed by an audience separated by a fourth wall.

This direct address, alienating and adding to the "staginess" of the drama on the one hand, fuses profoundly with the subject matter, on the other, as the narration of what Hunt describes as "gossip" treats the viewer as a confidante or friend. This has much in common with what the psychologists Donald Horton and R. Richard Wohl describe as a "para-social interaction," where direct address to camera emulates the basic form of human face-to-face interaction, establishing a form of "intimacy at a distance." As such, the viewer comes to sympathize with the character's experience or dilemma, and perhaps even feel complicit in and accepting of the action being related. Yet "para-social interaction" is a one-way process where the viewer is free from reciprocal obligations and therefore does not have to befriend the character or do anything to alleviate their situation. Reading between the lines, picking up on what is not said, the viewer can even take a patronizing, omnipotent position—seeing or knowing more than the main character themselves.

This raises the question of whether *Talking Heads* is an enhancing or pessimistic view of the human condition. On the one hand, John Pym has argued that *Talking Heads* is characterized by "unrelieved melancholy," and that most of the characters in the first series are self-deluders. Indeed, it could be argued that this is never more cruelly demonstrated than by Julie Walter's character in "Her Big Chance," a relentlessly dimwitted actress trying to take herself seriously in a cheap, schlock video. These stories might therefore depict persons felled by hubris, or suggest that people are necessarily blind to what they cannot see, that no one can live outside of their own context or "think outside the box."

On the other hand, Bennett's accounts are often described as warm, wry, or affectionate, and Albert Hunt suggests that the behavior of the alcoholic protagonist in "Bed Among the Lentils" provides a "blueprint for survival." So too it could be argued that all the characters in these tales are trying to make do in a difficult world, and that survival is, ultimately, honorable. In any event, Bennett's rich and multi-layered scripts,

and his actors' compelling performances, provide nothing less than mature, sophisticated and often moving drama.

ROB TURNOCK

See also **Bennett, Alan**

**Cast**

Graham ("A Chip in the Sugar," series one)	Alan Bennett
Miss Ruddock ("A Lady of Letters," series one)	Patricia Routledge
Susan ("Bed Among the Lentils," series one)	Maggie Smith
Muriel ("Soldiering On," series one)	Stephanie Cole
Leslie ("Her Big Chance," series one)	Julie Walters
Doris ("A Cream Cracker Under the Settee," series one)	Thora Hird
Miss Fozzard ("Miss Fozzard Finds Her Feet," series two)	Patricia Routledge
Celia ("The Hand of God," series two)	Eileen Atkins
Wilfred ("Playing Sandwiches," series two)	David Haig
Marjory ("The Outside Dog," series two)	Julie Walters
Rosemary ("Nights in the Gardens of Spain," series two)	Penelope Wilton
Violet ("Waiting for the Telegram," series two)	Thora Hird

**Producers**

Innes Lloyd (series one), Mark Shivas (series two)

**Programming History**

12 Episodes  
 BBC 2  
 April–May 1988                      Sunday 9:30–10:00/10:20  
 October–November 1998          Tuesday 9:50–10:20/10:30

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## Tarses, Jay (1939– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Jay Tarses, a self-proclaimed outsider from the mainstream Hollywood television industry, achieved a reputation in the 1970s and 1980s as a “maverick” writer and producer. Tarses has been critically praised for introducing a bold new form of half-hour comedy series, often called character comedy or “dramedy,” which achieved a radical stylistic break from the traditional sitcom formula. Tarses has had an ambivalent relationship with the three major U.S. networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC), which have often criticized, and frequently canceled, his shows for being too dark, inaccessible, and not “funny” enough for traditional sitcom audience expectations.

Beginning as a writer and actor with a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, theater company, Tarses reportedly worked as a New York City truck driver for the *Candid Camera* series before beginning a career in advertising. In the late 1960s he teamed with Tom Patchett as a stand-up comedy duo performing dry, semi-satirical material on the coffeehouse circuit. The Patchett-Tarses team turned to television writing, gaining credits on musical variety shows and assorted sitcoms prior to working on the writing staff of *The Carol Burnett Show*, for which they won an Emmy in 1972. The two went on to become collaborative executive producers for MTM Enterprises, where they achieved their first major impact on television history, as writers and producers for the original *Bob Newhart Show* (CBS, 1972–78), in which Newhart played an introverted psychologist surrounded by a circle of interesting and quirkily eccentric characters.

Building upon their success with *The Bob Newhart Show*, Tarses and Patchett developed *The Tony Randall Show* (ABC/CBS, 1976–78), another MTM series, starring Randall as a widowed Philadelphia judge surrounded by his children, housekeeper, secretary, friends, and legal associates. Apparently, this sitcom was the site of great tension between the producers and the networks over the nature and style of the type of innovative “character comedy” that Tarses and Patchett were trying to introduce. During this period, they also produced several other short-lived and often-controversial series, including *We’ve Got Each Other* (CBS, 1977–78), a domestic sitcom about the personal and professional lives of a professional couple, their

colleagues, and neighbors, and *Mary* (CBS, 1978), a comedy/variety hour attempting to revive the televisual charisma of Mary Tyler Moore. However, *Mary* was a ratings disaster of such magnitude that it was canceled after three episodes, and its embarrassing failure “drummed us out of the TV business for a while,” according to Tarses. During a hiatus from television following this experience, the Patchett-Tarses team turned to writing screenplays, including two Muppet movies. The writing/producing team returned to television with the poorly received *Open All Night* (ABC, 1981–82), a sitcom about a convenience store with an ensemble of eccentric customers, and the notable *Buffalo Bill* (NBC, 1983–84), about an unlikable, egomaniacal talk show host, Bill Bittinger (played by Dabney Coleman), and his ensemble of television station coworkers.

During this period, Tarses split from Patchett and developed *The Faculty* (ABC, 1985). Canceled after one episode, this program about embattled high-school teachers was characterized by its black humor and mock documentary interviews. The ABC network reportedly asked Tarses to reshoot the pilot because they felt it was too dark and they wanted more emphasis on the students rather than the faculty; when he refused, the series was dropped.

Tarses achieved a critical comeback as producer and occasional writer and director of the controversial “dramedy” *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* (NBC/Lifetime, 1987–91). Originally produced for NBC, this series starred Blair Brown as a divorced woman living alone on New York City’s Upper West Side, surrounded by an ensemble of quirky and likable characters representing her family, friends, and lovers. After it was canceled by NBC, the series was picked up by the Lifetime cable network, which continued production of the series, reshaped to be aimed strategically at a female audience of a certain age, class, and income level. The same year that *Molly Dodd* debuted, Tarses also introduced *The “Slap” Maxwell Story* (ABC, 1987–88), another critically acclaimed “dramedy” about the professional and personal tribulations of an arrogant, provocative sportswriter, played by Dabney Coleman. In the 1990s, Tarses was far less active as a television producer; his most notable production in this

decade was *Public Morals*, which he cocreated with Steven Bochco. On CBS's schedule for the fall of 1996, this ensemble cop sitcom became the target of a protest campaign by the American Family Association and other conservative watchdogs because its dialogue was peppered with profanity and sexual references. Twelve episodes of the series were shot, but only one made it to air before CBS canceled the program.

In addition to writing and producing, Tarses has occasionally played cameo roles in his series (for example, as a neighborhood cop in *Open All Night* and a garbage collector in *Molly Dodd*) as well as playing a writer for a cartoon studio in a 1984 MTM sitcom, *The Duck Factory*, and appearing in episodes of a number of other programs and in one film (*Teen Wolf*, 1985).

The dramatic/character comedies written and produced by Tarses have operated in what has been considered "uncharted territory" in the U.S. television industry. In terms of production style, they have generally not been shot as traditional sitcoms (four cameras, on videotape, in a studio before a live audience, with an added laugh track). Tarses has generally worked independently of the studio system, shooting in a cinematic style in warehouses or on location, and using a single 35mm film camera. He has characterized his work as low budget, preferring to put his money into writing and actors rather than sets. Tarses's characters are distinguished as not always sympathetic or charismatic (an example is Bill Bittinger on *Buffalo Bill*). His dialogue is markedly low key and "quirky," with a humor best described as biting and often darkly satirical, sometimes surreal, and written in a subtle comedic rhythm that eschews punch lines. Unlike traditional episodic sitcoms, which attempt to solve problems in one episode, the narrative elements of Tarses's dramedies are serial, continuing from episode to episode.

Perhaps Tarses's two greatest contributions to the U.S. television industry have been his creativity in constantly pushing the limits of television style—both visually and narratively, and his willingness (often eagerness) to do battle with the networks to champion the broadcasting of innovative and nonformulaic forms of narrative television at the expense of audience ratings. Tarses has increasingly refused to play the Hollywood programming "game," yet he produced what were some of the freshest and most daring television series of the 1970s and 1980s.

PAMELA WILSON

*See also* **Dramedy**

**Jay Tarses.** Born in Baltimore, Maryland, July 3, 1939. Educated at Williams College, Williamstown,

Massachusetts; Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York, B.F.A. Married Rachel Newdell, 1963; three children, including Jamie Tarses, the first woman to become president of a U.S. network (ABC). Production assistant in New York for *Candid Camera*, 1963; worked in advertising and promotion, Armstrong Cork Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; joined Tom Patchett in stand-up comedy team, playing the coffeehouse and college circuit, late 1960s; with Patchett, television writer, staff of *The Carol Burnett Show*, *The Bob Newhart Show*, and others; independent television producer since 1981. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1972; Writers Guild of America Award, 1987.

#### Television Series

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 1967–79             | <i>The Carol Burnett Show</i> (with Tom Patchett; writer)                             |
| 1970–71             | <i>Make Your Own Kind of Music</i> (performer, writer)                                |
| 1972–78             | <i>The Bob Newhart Show</i> (with Tom Patchett; executive producer, writer)           |
| 1976–78             | <i>The Tony Randall Show</i> (with Tom Patchett; creator, executive producer, writer) |
| 1977–78             | <i>We've Got Each Other</i> (with Tom Patchett; creator, executive producer, writer)  |
| 1978                | <i>Mary</i> (with Tom Patchett; creator, producer, writer)                            |
| 1981–82             | <i>Open All Night</i> (with Tom Patchett; actor, creator, producer, writer)           |
| 1983–84             | <i>Buffalo Bill</i> (with Tom Patchett; creator, executive producer, writer)          |
| 1984                | <i>The Duck Factory</i> (actor)   |
| 1987–88,<br>1989–91 | <i>The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd</i> (creator, producer, writer, director, actor) |
| 1987–88             | <i>The "Slap" Maxwell Story</i> (creator, producer, writer, director)                 |
| 1992                | <i>Smoldering Lust</i> (creator, producer, writer, director)                          |
| 1996                | <i>Public Morals</i> (with Steven Bochco; creator, producer)                          |

#### Television Pilots

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1977 | <i>The Chopped Liver Brothers</i> (executive producer, actor; with Tom Patchett) |
| 1985 | <i>The Faculty</i> (executive producer, director, writer)                        |
| 1990 | <i>Baltimore</i>   |
| 1994 | <i>Harvey Berger, Salesman</i>   |
| 1995 | <i>Jackass Junior High</i>   |
| 1997 | <i>Veronica's Video</i>  |



**Films**

*Up the Academy* (writer, with Tom Patchett), 1977; *The Great Muppet Caper* (writer, with Tom Patchett), 1981; *The Muppets Take Manhattan* (writer, with Tom Patchett), 1984; *Teen Wolf* (actor), 1985.

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## Tartikoff, Brandon (1949–1997)

U.S. Media Executive, Producer

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An independent producer and former president of Paramount Pictures, Brandon Tartikoff served from 1980 to 1991 as the youngest and most accomplished president of NBC's entertainment division. During his tenure at NBC, Tartikoff developed a blockbuster Thursday-night lineup that helped the ailing network rank number-one in primetime for the first time in 30 years.

Tartikoff, an admitted "child of television," confessed that he once dreamed of being the next Ed Sullivan, but his television career began at the local level. After undergraduate work in broadcasting at Yale, Tartikoff broke into the business at WTNH in New Haven, Connecticut. Driven to make it to the big leagues, he soon landed a job at the ABC-owned-and-operated WLS in Chicago, the third-largest market in the country. He worked under the tutelage of Lew Erlicht, his eventual rival.

In the mid-1970s, ABC President Fred Silverman was impressed by Tartikoff's high-camp promo for a series of "monkey-movies" dubbed "Gorilla My Dreams." Silverman recruited Tartikoff for manager of dramatic development at ABC. Three years later, the up-and-coming 30-year-old "boy wonder" of television was snatched up by third-place NBC, where Silverman had become president in 1978. Tartikoff was named head of the entertainment division, where he

stayed for the next 12 years, the longest any individual has held that position.

NBC's ratings breakthrough came in 1984, when Tartikoff happened to see Bill Cosby doing a monologue on *The Tonight Show*. Convinced Cosby's family-based banter would make for an excellent sitcom, Tartikoff recruited the comedian and producers Tom Werner and Marcy Carsey. The resulting *Cosby Show* not only helped resurrect the failing sitcom format, but became the building block for a Thursday-night schedule that included *Family Ties*, *Cheers*, and *Night Court*.

Tartikoff was at the helm for the development of *Hill Street Blues*, produced by MTM Entertainment, which exploded in popularity among its fiercely loyal audience in its second season after receiving critical acclaim and an armload of Emmy awards in its first. He shepherded *An Early Frost*, the first made-for-television movie about AIDS, through production. *Miami Vice* was also conceived under Tartikoff; according to executive producer Michael Mann, the head of entertainment presented him with a short memo which read: "MTV. Cops."

By 1991, when Tartikoff left NBC to head Paramount Pictures, the network had been ranked first in the ratings for six consecutive years. Tartikoff was replaced by Warren Littlefield. A series of organiza-



Brandon Tartikoff.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

tional changes at Paramount and a near-fatal auto accident later led Tartikoff out of the studio arena and into the realm of independent production. Tartikoff passed away due to Hodgkins disease on August 27, 1997.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

*See also* **Cosby Show, The; Early Frost, An; Hill Street Blues; Miami Vice; National Broadcasting Company**

**Brandon Tartikoff.** Born on Long Island, New York, January 13, 1949. Educated at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, B.A. with honors 1970. Married: Lily Samuels, 1982; one daughter. Director of advertising and promotion, WTNH-TV, New Haven, 1971-73; programming executive for dramatic programming, WLS, Chicago, 1973-76; manager, dramatic development, ABC, New York City, 1976-77; writer, producer, Graffiti; director of comedy programs, NBC entertainment, Burbank, California, 1977-78, vice president of programs, 1978-80, president, 1980-90; chair, NBC Entertainment Group, until 1991; chair, Paramount Pictures, 1991-92; independent producer, from 1992. Recipient: Tree of Life Award, Jewish National Foundation, 1986; Broadcaster of the Year, Television, Radio and Advertising Club of Philadelphia, 1986. Died August 27, 1997.

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## Taxi

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Taxi's* television history is filled with contradictions. Produced by some of U.S. television comedy's most well-regarded talent, the show was canceled by two

different networks. Despite winning 14 Emmy Awards in only five seasons, the program's ratings were rock bottom for its final seasons. Although it thrives in syn-



*Taxi.*  
*Photo courtesy of David Davis*

dication and is still well loved by many viewers, *Taxi* will be best remembered as the ancestral bridge between two of the most successful sitcoms in U.S. television history: *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Cheers*.

In the mid-1970s, MTM Productions had achieved both critical and popular success with a range of programming. So it was an unexpected move when four of the company's finest writers and producers, James L. Brooks, Stan Daniels, David Davis, and Ed Weinberger, jumped off the stable ship of MTM in 1978 to form their own production company, John Charles Walters Company. To launch their new venture, they looked back to an idea that Brooks and Davis had previously considered with MTM: the daily life of a New York City taxi company. From MTM head Grant Tinker, they purchased the rights to the newspaper article that had initiated the concept and began producing this new show at Paramount for ABC. They brought a few other MTM veterans along for the ride, including director James Burrows and writer/producers Glen and Les Charles.

Although *Taxi* certainly bore many of the trademark signs of "quality television" as exemplified by MTM, other changes in style and focus distinguished this program from an MTM product. After working on the middle-class, female-centered worlds of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Rhoda*, and *Phyllis* for years, the group at John Charles Walters wanted to create a program focusing on blue-collar male experience. MTM programs all had clearly defined settings, but *Taxi*'s creators wanted a show that was firmly rooted in a city's identity—*Taxi*'s situations and mood were distinctly New York. Despite MTM Productions' innovations in creating ensemble character comedy, there was always one central star around which the ensemble revolved. In *Taxi*, Judd Hirsch's Alex Rieger was a main character, but his importance seemed secondary to the centrality of the ensemble and the Sunshine Cab Company itself. While *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* proudly proclaimed that "you're going to make it on your own," the destitute drivers of *Taxi* were doomed to perpetual failure; the closest any of them came to happiness was Rieger's content acceptance of his lot in life.

*Taxi* debuted on September 12, 1978, amid a strong ABC Tuesday-night lineup. It followed *Three's Company*, a wildly successful example of the type of show against which MTM "quality" sitcoms reacted. *Taxi* used this strong position to end the season ninth in the ratings and garner its first of three straight Emmys for Outstanding Comedy Series. The show's success was due to its excellent writing, Burrows's award-winning directing (using his innovative four-camera tech-

nique), and the largely unknown but talented cast. Danny DeVito's Louie DePalma soon became one of the most despised men on television, possibly the most unredeemable and worthless character ever to reside on the small screen. Andy Kaufman's foreign mechanic Latka Gravas provided over-the-top comedy within an ensemble emphasizing subtle character humor. But Kaufman sometimes also brought a demonic edge to the character, an echo of his infamous appearances on *Saturday Night Live* as a macho wrestler of women and Mighty Mouse lip-syncher. In the second season Christopher Lloyd's Reverend Jim Ignatowski was added to the group as television's first drugged-out, 1960s-generation burn-out character. But Lloyd's Emmy-winning performance created in Jim more than just a storehouse of fried brain cells; he established a deep, complex humanity that moved far beyond mere caricature. The program launched successful movie careers for DeVito and Lloyd, as well as the fairly notable television careers of Tony Danza and Marilu Henner; Kaufman's controversial career would certainly have continued had he not died of cancer in 1984.

In its third season, ABC moved *Taxi* from beneath *Three's Company*'s protective wing to a more competitive Wednesday night slot; the ratings plummeted, and *Taxi* finished the next two years in 53rd place. ABC canceled the show in early 1982 as part of a larger network push away from "quality" and toward the Aaron Spelling-produced popular fare of *Dynasty* and *The Love Boat*. HBO bid for the show, looking for it to become the first ongoing sitcom for the pay channel, but it lost out to NBC, which scheduled the series for the 1982–83 season. Ironically, this reunited the show's executive producers with their former boss Tinker, who had taken over NBC. Tinker's reign at NBC was focused, not surprisingly, on "quality" programming, which he hoped would attract viewers to the perennially last-place network. *Taxi* was partnered with a very compatible show on Thursday night, *Cheers*, created by *Taxi* veterans Charles, Burrows, and Charles. Although this lineup featured some notably distinctive and successful programs (the comedies were sandwiched between the dramas *Fame* and *Hill Street Blues*) the ratings were dreadful, and *Taxi* finished the season in 73rd place. NBC was willing to give the low-rated *Cheers* another chance, but the network felt *Taxi* had run its course and canceled it at the end of the season. Had *Taxi* been given another year or two in the same slot, it would have been part of one of the most successful nights on television, featuring *The Cosby Show* (co-created by *Taxi* creator Weinberger), *Family Ties*, *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and eventual powerhouse *Cheers*.

*Taxi* lives on in syndication, and was recreated with original cast members in the 1999 Andy Kaufman biopic, *Man on the Moon*, but its most significant place in U.S. television history is as the middle generation between *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Cheers*. It served as a transition between the star-driven, middle-class character comedy of MTM programs and the location-centered, ensemble comedy inhabited by the losers of *Cheers*. Considered one of the great U.S. sitcoms of its era, *Taxi* stands as a prime example of the constant tension in television programming between standards of quality and reliance on high ratings to determine success.

JASON MITTELL

See also Brooks, James L.; Burrows, James; Charles, Glen and Les; *Cheers*; Comedy, Workplace Settings; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*; Weinberger, Ed

#### Cast

Alex Rieger	Judd Hirsch
Bobby Wheeler (1978–81)	Jeff Conaway
Louie DePalma	Danny DeVito
Elaine Nardo	Marilu Henner
Tony Banta	Tony Danza
John Burns (1978–79)	Randall Carver
Latka Gravas	Andy Kaufman
Reverend Jim Ignatowski (1979–83)	Christopher Lloyd
Simka Gravas (1981–83)	Carol Kane

#### Producers

James L. Brooks, Stan Daniels, Ed Weinberger, David Davis, Glen Charles, Les Charles, Ian Praiser, Richard Sakai, Howard Gewirtz

#### Programming History

111 episodes	
ABC	
September 1978–October 1980	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
November 1980–January 1981	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
February 1981–June 1982	Thursday 9:30–10:00
NBC	
September 1982–December 1982	Thursday 9:30–10:00
January 1983–February 1983	Saturday 9:30–10:00
March 1983–May 1983	Wednesday 9:30–10:00
June 1983–July 1983	Wednesday 10:30–11:00

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## Teaser

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A teaser is a television strategy for attracting the audience's attention and holding it over a span of time. Typically, a teaser consists of auditory or visual information, or both, providing the viewer a glimpse of what he or she can expect as programming continues. Teasers are used in several types of programming.

In news broadcasts, for example, a newscaster may address viewers in a fashion such as: "The state legislature gets ready for a showdown on taxes. Details when we return." The audience is being teased with information, and the purpose is to keep a viewer tuned to the station during a commercial. Similarly, teasers can also be used to keep a viewer tuned to a newscast. An

anchor may begin a newscast with a tease for an upcoming story, like the state legislature story above, then shift the focus: "But first, we bring you our top story..."

According to David Keith Cohler, there are two types of news teasers. The first is best described as a headline, which contains the essential information about a story. In sports the headline may be: "Angels shut-out Pirates. Highlights when we return." The second type of teaser is more vague and leaves the reader wondering what exactly the news is about to report, as in the "showdown on taxes" example mentioned above.

For Richard D. Yoakam and Charles F. Cremer, there is little difference between “teasers” and “bumpers,” since both are designed to promote upcoming stories. Thus, a simple, “We’ll return in a moment” would qualify as a teaser as well as a bumper. So would a short video clip of a dramatic moment or a humorous exchange of words taken from the segment coming up after some commercials. Thus, anything designed to get the attention of viewers and hold their attention through some span of time may be referred to as a teaser.

This is clearly the case in other types of programming. Daytime talk shows, for example, often open with provocative summaries of their content, then cut to commercials. The teaser is designed to titillate the audience and entice it into returning.

Teasers for dramatic programming are similar. Short clips from the upcoming program can be used to highlight the most powerful or humorous moments. Bits of tense dialogue, jokes, or tender moments can all be excerpted for use as an immediate promotion of the program at hand.

A related programming strategy uses the precommercial sequence to remind the audience of past events at the same time it pulls them into the current program. These summaries are often introduced with a voice-

over announcement: for example, “Previously on *Hill Street Blues*.” In many cases (*Dallas* is a good example), the summary-teaser also serves as a prologue, indicating which stories, from the ever-growing collection of interrelated narratives, will be explored in the upcoming episode.

In the age of the remote-control device, a number of programs have abandoned teasers, plunging directly into the dramatic action of the narrative, sometimes without even an intervening commercial between the end of one program and the start of the next. However, in some cases it is still a prologue or a teaser, selected from the most powerful moments of previous and new material, that is presented to the fickle audience. This strategy, it is hoped, prevents viewers from instantly changing the channel to “surf” between programs.

RAUL D. TOVARES

### Further Reading

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## Technology, Television

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Although television seems a thoroughly modern invention, widely available only since the mid-20th century, the concept of recreating moving images electrically was developed much earlier than is generally thought. It can be traced at least to 1884 when Paul G. Nipkow created the rotating scanning disk, which provided a way of sending a representation of a moving image over a wire using varying electrical signals created by mechanically scanning that moving image.

Mechanical scanning of an image involved a spinning disk, with a spiral grouping of holes, located at both the sending and receiving ends. At the sending end, a photocell-like device varied the strength of an electrical signal at a rate proportional to the amount of light hitting the cell through the holes in the disk. At the receiving end, a source of light correspondingly varied in intensity at the rate of the electrical signal it received and could be seen through the holes in the rotating disk, thereby recreating a crude copy of the im-

age scanned at the sending end. Today, moving images are scanned electronically as described below and the varying electronic signal representing the scanned images can be transmitted or sent through wire to be recreated at the receiver or monitor.

The earliest practical mechanical scanning and transmitting of moving images occurred in the mid-1920s, and by the early 1930s electronic scanning had generally replaced the mechanical scanning methods. At first, the images were crude—little more than shadow-pictures—but as the potential for television as a profit-making medium became apparent, more money and effort went into television experimentation, and improvements continued through the 1930s; regular transmissions by the BBC began in Britain in 1936, using a 405-line, electronic system developed by EMI.

By 1941 technical standards for the scanning and transmission of television images in the United States had been agreed upon, and these standards have, in

general, been maintained ever since. The U.S. standard, known as National Television System Committee (NTSC), utilizes 525-line, 60-field, 30-frame, interlaced scanning. This means that images are scanned in the television camera and reproduced in the television receiver or monitor 30 times each second. Each full image, or frame, is scanned by dividing the image into 525 horizontal lines and then sequentially scanning first all the even lines (every other line) from top to bottom, creating one field, and then scanning the odd-numbered lines in the same manner, creating a second field. The two fields, when combined (interlaced), create one frame. Therefore, 30 complete images or frames, each made up of two fields, are created each second. Because it is not possible to perceive individual changes in light and image happening so quickly, the 30-times-per-second scanned images are perceived as continuous movement, a trait known as "persistence of vision," similar to motion-picture viewing (which operates at 24 frames per second). The NTSC standard is used in Canada, parts of Asia, including Japan, and much of Latin America, as well as in the United States. There are two other "standards" in common use today. The PAL systems, a 25-frame-per-second standard with a number of variants, are used throughout most of western Europe and India, as well as other areas. The SECAM 25-frame-per-second standard is used in many parts of the world, including France, Russia, and most of eastern Europe. Both PAL and SECAM use a 625-line picture, giving a sharper image resolution than NTSC. Countries that use 60-hertz (cycles per second; Hz) AC (alternating current) power have adopted a 30-frame-per-second television system. Countries that utilize a 50-Hz power system have a 25-frame-per-second television system. In all these television systems, therefore the frame-per-second rate is equal to half the AC power frequency.

The aspect ratio of the television screen—the ratio of the horizontal dimension to the vertical dimension—is 4:3. For instance, if a TV receiver screen is 16-inches wide, the screen will be 12-inches high. (TV picture tubes are defined by their diagonal measurement, so in this example the screen would be described as a 20-inch TV.) Often, motion pictures are shown on television in a "letter-box" format. Because motion pictures are usually shot in an aspect ratio greater than 4:3, it is necessary to leave a black space at the top and bottom of the television screen so that the film can be viewed in a form resembling its theatrical dimensions, without cutting off the sides. High-definition television (HDTV) also utilizes a greater aspect ratio, generally 16:9.

The television camera consists of a lens to focus an image onto the front surface of one or more pick-up-

devices, and—within the camera housing—the pick-up-device(s) and the electronics to make the camera work. A viewfinder to monitor the camera's images is normally mounted in or on the camera. The pick-up-device, either a camera tube or charge-coupled device (CCD), reads the focused visual image and converts the image into a varying electronic signal that represents the image. On high-quality cameras, three pick-up-devices are often utilized; one to pick up each of the three additive primary colors (blue, green, and red) that make up the color image.

The face of the camera tube has a photoemissive material that gives off electrical energy when exposed to light. The stronger the light at any given point, the more energy is emitted by the tube. By reading the amount of energy on the surface of the camera tube at each point, an electronic representation of the visual image can be created. The camera tube "reads" the amount of energy that the focused image creates on its surface by scanning the image, both horizontally and vertically, with a moving electron beam. The scanning functions by means of precise magnetic deflection of the beam.

The CCD replaces the camera tube in most modern cameras, commonly called "chip cameras." This solid-state device measures the energy at each one of a grid of discrete points on its surface, known as pixels; converts this information into a numeric equivalent and stores this figure as binary information; and then sends out this varying electronic signal, which represents the image. CCD image pick-up devices are becoming more popular due to their small size, long life, greater sensitivity and light tolerance, minimal power requirements, less image distortion, and ruggedness.

In the receiver's, or monitor's, picture tube, the camera tube process is essentially reversed. The face of the picture tube is coated with a phosphor-like material that glows when struck by a beam of electrons. The glow lasts long enough to make the scanned image visible to the viewer. An electron gun shoots the thin beam of electrons at the face of the screen from within the picture tube. The beam's direction is varied in a precise manner by magnetic deflection in a way that matches or synchronizes with the original image scanned by the television camera. Color picture tubes can have one electron gun (such as in the Trinitron), or three guns, one for each primary color. One major difference between a receiver and a monitor should be mentioned here. A receiver (such as a domestic TV set) is able to tune in a television station frequency and show the images being transmitted. A monitor (such as those used to display CCTV pictures in a security control room) does not have a tuning component and can receive video signals by wire only.

At a television station, the electronic signal from a television camera can be combined or mixed with video signals from other devices—such as video tape players, computers, film chains or telecines (motion-picture and slide-projector units whose outputs have been converted to video signals)—using what is known as a switcher. The switcher is also used to create various special visual effects electronically. The video output from the switcher can then be recorded, sent to another studio or master control room, or sent directly to a transmitter.

The complete video signal sent to a transmitter or through wire to a monitor consists of signals representing the picture (luminance), color (chrominance), and synchronization. Synchronizing signals force the receiver to lock onto (sync-up) and reproduce the original image correctly. Otherwise, for example, the receiver might begin to scan an image that starts halfway down the screen.

Television stations are assigned a specific transmitting frequency and operating power. In the United States, VHF (very-high frequency) television, channels 2 through 13, occupies a portion of the electromagnetic spectrum between 54 and 216 MHz (million Hertz, or 1 million cycles-per-second). Channels 2–6 are located between 54 and 88 MHz. The FM radio band, 88–108 MHz, is located between television channels 6 and 7. Channels 7 through 13 are located between 174 and 216 MHz. UHF (ultra-high frequency) television, originally channels 14 to 83, was assigned the frequency range from 470 to 890 MHz. In 1966 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) discontinued issuing licenses for UHF television stations above channel 69. In 1970 the FCC took away the frequency range from 807 to 890 MHz for other communication uses, and so the UHF band now consists of channels 14–69, from 470 to 806 MHz. The upper end of this current range, channels 52 through 69, is being coveted for other frequency spectrum uses, and it appears that the number of channels in the UHF band available for use by television will continue to decrease. Each television channel has a frequency bandwidth of 6 MHz. So, for instance, channel 2 occupies the spectrum between 54 MHz and 60 MHz. Within its assigned band, each station transmits the video signal as described earlier, an audio signal, and specialized signals such as closed-captioning information.

In the television transmitter, a carrier wave is created at an assigned frequency. This carrier wave travels at the speed of light through space with specific transmission or propagation characteristics determined by the individual frequency. The video signal is piggy-

backed onto the much higher-frequency carrier wave using a process known as “modulation.” Modulation, in the simplest terms, means that the carrier wave is modulated, or varied slightly, at the rate of the signal being piggy-backed. In a television transmission, the video signal varies the amplitude or strength of the carrier wave at the rate of the video signal. This is known as “amplitude modulation” (AM) and is similar to the method used to transmit the audio of an AM radio station. However, the television station audio signal is piggy-backed onto the carrier wave using frequency modulation (FM). With television audio, the carrier wave’s frequency (instead of its amplitude) is varied slightly at the rate of the audio signal.

The modulated carrier wave is sent from the transmitter to an antenna. The antenna then radiates the signal out into space in a pattern determined by the physical design of the transmitting antenna. Traditionally, the transmitter and antenna were terrestrially located, but now television signals can be radiated or delivered by transmitters and antennas located on satellites in orbit around Earth. In this case, the television signal is transmitted to the satellite at one frequency and then retransmitted at a different frequency by the satellite’s transmitter back to Earth.

Besides delivery by carrier-wave transmission, television is often sent through cable directly to homes and businesses. These signals are delivered by satellite, over-the-air from terrestrial antennas, and sometimes directly from video players to the distribution equipment of cable television (CATV) service providers for feeding directly into homes. The signals are sent at specific carrier-wave frequencies (sometimes called “radio frequencies” [RF]) as chosen by the cable service provider.

A television receiver picks up the transmitted television signals sent over the air or by cable or satellite, selects the necessary video and audio signals that have been piggy-backed on the carrier wave, discards the carrier wave, and amplifies and converts the video and audio signals into picture and sound. A television monitor accepts direct video signals to provide pictures and, sometimes, audio signals to provide sound. As mentioned above, a monitor cannot receive carrier waves.

As computer and digital technologies are merged with traditional television, significant and positive changes are being witnessed in a number of areas. The utilization of digital storage equipment and methods is providing ever-more effective means of accessing, duplicating, archiving, and transferring traditional program materials. When such materials are stored on computer-like servers, the need for moving-part



recording and playback equipment can sometimes be eliminated, thereby improving reliability. In addition, digital storage saves significant physical space. The FCC has mandated that all U.S. television stations must transmit digitally by 2006. By early 2002, 229 stations in 80 markets, representing 74 percent of U.S. TV households, were transmitting a digital signal. With a conversion cost of \$2 million to \$10 million per station (a not-insignificant expense), two results are being seen. First, a strong market is being created for companies offering digital transmitters and other digital equipment. Second, a large number of stations have begun requesting extensions from the FCC, putting into question the viability of the 2006 deadline. An additional factor is that consumers seem to have little interest in digital television. As of 2003, it remained to be seen whether or not the FCC will require that all future television sets be able to receive digital signals in order to strengthen the market for digital television. In the United Kingdom, where the government has announced that analogue transmissions will be turned off in a rolling program between 2006 and 2010, both the BBC and commercial broadcasters have created several new channels that are free-to-air but only available digitally, as a way of encouraging and accelerating the take-up of new digital TV sets.

High-definition television (HDTV) advances have been slow, owing to a continuing reluctance to agree standards, limited program material, and an accompanying lack of consumer confidence and a viable market. As more television stations and networks show letterbox-formatted programming, there should be increasing acceptance, and eventual consumer demand for HDTV. In the meantime, however, high-definition, as well as digital, technology is being used more and more in the production of programming material.

As television technology continues to evolve, equipment quality is becoming more refined, weight and size are decreasing, and costs are becoming lower. An important example of this can be seen in videophone technology for television. First used commercially by CNN in April 2001 while covering the incident of a U.S. spy plane forced to land by the Chinese, within six months this technology had been integrated into the standard equipment of international news correspondents. The videophone gear, slightly larger than a laptop computer, allows field reporters in remote locations to send television camera images via satellite

to their bureaus across the world. As coalition military forces became engaged in Afghanistan in late 2001 and 2002, this equipment emerged as the standard way for correspondents to report from the field.

From primitive experimentation in the 1920s and 1930s through the advent of commercial television in the late 1940s to the establishment of color television as the standard by the mid-1960s, television has grown quickly to become perhaps the most important single influence on society today. From a source of information and entertainment to what some have dubbed the real "soma" of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, television has become the present era's most influential medium. While the medium continues to evolve and change, its importance, influence, and pervasiveness appear to continue unabated. How will new technology change the face of television? Once the realm of science fiction, we are now seeing new delivery systems, on-call access, a greater number of available channels, two-way interaction, and the coupling of television and the computer. We are in the process of experiencing better technical quality, including improved resolution, HDTV, the convenience of flatter and lighter television receivers, and digital processing and transmission. And yet, the basic standard for television broadcast technology in the United States has been with us, with only minor changes and improvements, for well over 50 years.

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*See also* **High-Definition Television**

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## Teenagers and Television in the United States

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Emerging somewhat concurrently in American popular consciousness during the 1930s and 1940s, television and teenagers (that is, the awareness of teenage years as a phase of life distinct from childhood and adulthood) have a lengthy, albeit uneven, relationship, particularly with regard to representation. Indeed, programming schedules from the early years of telecasting to the present reveal significant fluctuations in TV's depiction of teenagers. The two periods in which teenagers received the most attention from the television industry in the United States are approximately 1946–66 and 1980–2000, periods marked by substantial upswings in the American economy and teen population, as well as experimentation with TV programming strategies. In contrast, the years between 1966 and 1980, which were marked by economic recession and a decline in the teen population, witnessed the least amount of teen-oriented programming.

With a few notable exceptions, teen programming has focused primarily on white, heterosexual, middle-class teenagers, who compose one of the most lucrative consumer markets, given their propensity to shop often and indiscriminately, as well as their willingness to spend money on new and non-essential products. While TV reviews and programming schedules from the initial period of network television suggest that teenagers were the targeted demographic for early teen programming, as discussed in more detail below, contemporary TV ratings and marketing research suggest that today's teen programming is directed less to teenagers than to an audience comprised of viewers between 12 and 34 who share a youthful sensibility.

### Teen Programming, Late 1940s to Mid-1960s

The development of teen-specific television programming must be considered within the larger context of the history of the teen consumer market. Due to the decrease in available jobs and the rise of progressive education initiatives during the Depression, adolescents were increasingly separated from adult work environments and encouraged to enroll in school over the course of the 1930s. This phenomenon led to a popular understanding of youth in their "teen" years (13 to 19) as forming a unique demographic group. With the rise of U.S. involvement in World War II, many adolescents left school and earned considerable income

through their participation in the war economy. Because of an increase in their spending habits and purchasing power, these war-time youth laborers formed the first teenage consumer market. Media industries were quick to cash in on this new niche market, and teen-specific texts appeared in virtually every medium possible across the entertainment landscape of the 1940s, including novels, theatrical plays, motion pictures, comic books, and radio programs.

With its development curtailed during World War II, television was the last form of media to direct its attention to teenagers. Yet, given TV's emergence within the broadcasting industry, which was already catering to teenage consumers via radio, it took but moments for television to join in the feeding frenzy over the burgeoning teen market. Indeed, although families were appealed to as the primary audience during television's initial phase, reviews and programming schedules demonstrate that the early TV industry attempted to attract the lucrative teenage consumer market through a broad assortment of teen-oriented programs.

The first teen series to appear on television was *Teen Canteen*, which debuted in 1946. Broadcasting youth talent from a variety of teen canteens in New York state, the show remained on the air for two years, moving from its original home on WRGB in Schenectady to WPIX in New York City. Several other teen-oriented variety shows, such as *Teen Time Tunes* (Dumont 1949), were introduced during TV's initial experimental period, as were teenage quiz shows such as *Junior High School Quiz* (CBS 1946), talent shows such as *Paul Whiteman's TV Teen Club* (ABC 1949–54), and sports programs such as *High School Football* (WNBW-Washington, D.C. 1950). As was the case for much early TV programming content, several music shows popular with teenagers migrated from radio to television during this period also, including *Coke Time with Eddie Fisher* (NBC 1953–57). Perhaps the most successful programs with teenage viewers were those shows that combined popular music and dance, such as *Teen Twirl* (WNBK-Cleveland 1955), *Teen Club Party* (WGN-Chicago 1957), and the enormously popular *American Bandstand* (WFIL-Philadelphia 1952–57; ABC 1957–87), the longest-running music/dance show on U.S. television to date.

A variety of educational shows were also produced for teenagers during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

For example, several teenage discussion programs, such as *Teenage Book Club* (ABC 1948) and *Today's Teens* (WENR-Chicago 1951), appeared during this initial phase of telecasting. Several teen news magazines debuted during this period also, including *Youth Wants to Know* (NBC 1951–58), *The New York Times Youth Forum* (Dumont 1952–55), and *Junior Press Conference* (WFIL-Philadelphia 1952; ABC 1953–60). The first (if not the only) juvenile court series, *Youth Court* (KTLA-Los Angeles 1958), was introduced during television's first decade also.

While real teenagers were featured in many of TV's first news, music, and talent programs, teen characters made their television debut via several early prime-time domestic comedies that migrated from radio, such as *The Aldrich Family* (NBC 1949–53), *The Goldbergs* (CBS/NBC/Dumont 1949–54), and *The Life of Riley* (NBC 1949–50, 1953–58). As the TV and advertising industries began to focus more specifically on middle-class suburban consumers during the 1950s, a slew of situation comedies featuring white, middle-class families dominated the prime-time programming schedule, including *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (ABC 1952–66), *Make Room for Daddy* (ABC/CBS 1953–64), *Father Knows Best* (CBS/NBC 1954–62), *Leave It to Beaver* (CBS 1957–58; ABC 1958–63), and *The Donna Reed Show* (ABC 1958–66). Interestingly, each of these suburban family sitcoms featured teenage characters who, over the course of the 1950s, moved further into the spotlight on such shows, perhaps due to marketers' discovery that teenagers had considerable power in establishing consumer trends among both younger and older viewers.

More significant to the development of teen TV programming, however, was the introduction of several school comedies during the 1950s, such as *Mr. Peepers* (NBC 1952–55) and *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS 1952–56). Unlike family programs, these school shows placed teenagers in non-domestic contexts, and thus called attention to the different social activities, spaces, and relationships that separated teens from adults and produced a distinct teen culture. By depicting teenagers in educational settings rather than family homes, these shows set the stage for later teen-oriented series, such as *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* (CBS 1959–63). Although *A Date with Judy* (ABC 1951, 1952–53) and *Meet Corliss Archer* (CBS 1951–52; syndicated 1954–55) were the first TV shows whose titles featured a teen character's name, *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* was the first prime-time series to consistently privilege teenage characters, activities, and spaces over those associated with family shows.

Following the success of *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis*, particularly with young female viewers, a num-

ber of girl-centered sitcoms emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s, including *Too Young to Go Steady* (NBC 1959), *Peck's Bad Girl* (CBS 1959–60), *Margie* (ABC 1961–62), *Fair Exchange* (CBS 1962–63), *The Patty Duke Show* (ABC 1963–66), *Karen* (NBC 1964–65), *Tammy* (ABC 1965–66), and *Gidget* (ABC 1965–66). Together with *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis*, these girl sitcoms helped to solidify many of the conventions of teen-oriented TV programming: the foregrounding of teen characters over adults, the privileging of schools over family homes as settings for action, and a focus on various stereotypical coming-of-age issues, especially dating, earning spending money, and negotiating intergenerational conflict. In turn, all of these sitcoms reproduced the white, middle-class, heterosexual milieu associated with earlier family and school comedies.

In light of the increasing popularity of rock music among teenagers during the late 1950s and early 1960s (particularly after Elvis Presley's successful appearance on several variety shows), TV executives further integrated this new music into programming in order to attract the teen demographic. For example, ABC brought several music programs to a national audience in the late 1950s and early 1960s, including the enormously successful *American Bandstand* and *Shindig* (1964–66). Interestingly, it was because of these shows' focus on rock, a form of popular music derived in part from African-American music, that the first black teenagers appeared on television.

Although teenagers appeared in a wide assortment of television shows and thus across the daily broadcasting schedule during TV's initial experimental period, teen programming became increasingly confined to two genres—the music/dance show and the situation comedy—as well as two timeslots—late afternoons and early prime-time—over the course of the late 1950s and early 1960s. This trend would continue until the early 1990s.

The considerable attention paid to teenagers in programming during television's first two decades is best explained by several developments in the TV industry's programming patterns. First, the early years of telecasting were quite experimental, and a wide assortment of programming content was tested in both local and national markets, including shows directed to teenagers. Second, since the advertising industry was extremely interested in the teen demographic during this period, numerous teen-centered shows were programmed in an attempt to reach that market. Third, the large amount of teen programming during the first two decades of television is related to the development of ABC as a TV network. Often constructed in postwar broadcasting discourse as the "new kid on the block"

because of its late emergence, ABC struggled far behind CBS and NBC during the networks' transition into television. In an effort to build its audience and gain more advertising revenue, ABC exploited its reputation as the youthful TV network by programming shows appealing to young families with children.

ABC's reputation as the youth-oriented network was further enhanced in the mid-1950s through a partnership with Walt Disney Studios that resulted in the network's broadcasting of *Disneyland* (1954–61). ABC's ties to youthfulness did not begin or end with Disney, however, as is evidenced by the network's ongoing appeal to teenagers throughout the 1950s and 1960s via such programs as *A Date with Judy*, *Junior Press Conference*, *American Bandstand*, and *Gidget*. In fact, ABC was also the first network to feature a teenager in a cartoon series, Judy in *The Jetsons* (1962–63). Furthermore, the network's placement of *Shindig* and *The Patty Duke Show* back-to-back during the 1964–65 season created the first block of teen programming on prime-time television. Thus, to a much greater degree than the other two TV networks, ABC helped to integrate teenagers and television during the medium's first two decades in the United States.

### Teen Programming, Mid-1960s to Late 1970s

In comparison to the early years of network television, the period between the mid 1960s and the late 1970s saw far less attention paid to teenagers by the TV industry and advertisers. Indeed, despite the popularity of teen-centered sitcoms in the late 1950s and early 1960s, all of those series had ceased production by the summer of 1966. The decline of the teen sitcom during this period is partly the result of teen and media marketing research that demonstrated teenagers' minimal television viewing due to their involvement in various activities outside the family home. Beholden to advertisers for revenue, the TV networks were hesitant to program content for demographic groups that did not often watch television, and therefore commercials.

This rapid decrease in teen representation on television is related also to other transformations happening within the United States during this period. Most significantly, American youth culture changed dramatically over the course of the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, in the mid 1960s the teenage population as a proportion of the total U.S. population began to decline rapidly, a phenomenon that would continue throughout the 1970s as a result of a substantial decrease in the U.S. birth rate. Moreover, by the mid 1960s, the first teenagers exposed to television had aged into young adults, and many were attending college and becoming involved in political and social ac-

tivism. Often postponing marriage, children, and full-time labor as they pursued further education and alternative lifestyles, these young adults required new forms of entertainment that appealed to their increased knowledge and mature experiences. As a result of these various phenomena, the television industry of the 1960s and early 1970s redirected its attention away from teenagers and teen sitcoms, and toward young adults and more mature fare, producing such programs as *The Mod Squad* (ABC 1968–73), and *Hank* (NBC 1965–66)—the first prime-time show centering on college life.

Although teenagers received little representation in the form of teen sitcoms during the late 1960s and 1970s, teen characters were featured in several animated cartoon series from this period, including *The Archie Show* (CBS 1968–76; NBC 1977–78), *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (CBS 1969–74; NBC 1977–78), *Scooby-Doo* (CBS 1969–71, 1978–79), and *Josie and the Pussycats* (CBS 1970–74; NBC 1975–76). In addition, teenagers appeared in several family sit-coms, including *The Brady Bunch* (ABC 1969–74) and *The Partridge Family* (ABC 1970–74). Not surprisingly, these cartoons and family shows featured the same type of characters as their targeted audience members: white, middle-class heterosexuals.

While cartoon series and family sitcoms from the late 1960s and early 1970s rarely addressed topical social issues, such as the Vietnam War or the civil rights movement, other programs from this period did attempt to draw attention to some of these contemporary concerns. For example, *Room 222* (ABC 1969–74), the first dramatic school series, focused on a racially integrated high school in Los Angeles. One of the few teen-centered shows of this period, *Room 222* was highly regarded for its foregrounding of contemporary teenage problems, such as drug use and dropping out of school.

In addition to *Room 222*, several sitcoms were introduced during this period that also drew attention to the experiences of African Americans, including *Good Times* (CBS 1974–79), a family comedy which focused on working-class, urban struggle, and *What's Happening!!* (ABC 1976–79), a teen-oriented sitcom about three male adolescents. *Soul Train* (WCIU-Chicago 1970; syndicated 1971–present), a music/dance program that modeled itself after *American Bandstand*, but featured African-American music, performers, and fans, was introduced during this period also. As the presence of these African-American-themed series suggests, 1970s' television programming demonstrated far more recognition of racial diversity than that of earlier periods. Moreover, such programming revealed an increase in the amount of attention paid to the African-

American consumer market by TV executives and advertisers.

Although the introduction of African-American shows during the 1970s signaled transformations in not only the TV industry but U.S. society at large, there was a considerable segment of the white, middle-class television audience that longed for the allegedly more wholesome times of the 1950s, when issues such as race and class oppression were not explicitly addressed on TV. In addition, several influential interest groups were lobbying the FCC during this period for less sex and violence on television. In response to such concerns, TV executives programmed a variety of nostalgia shows, such as *Little House on the Prairie* (NBC 1974–83) and *The Waltons* (CBS 1972–81), which focused on rural white families during earlier periods of American history.

In an effort to compete with such “quality” nostalgia programming, ABC introduced two domestic series that merged traditional values with contemporary social issues, *Eight is Enough* (ABC 1977–81), which focused on a middle-class white family with eight children, and *Family* (1976–80), which centered on a middle-class white working couple and their children. Both of these series featured teenage characters and often raised contemporary teen issues, such as substance abuse and homosexuality. (Interestingly, despite the television industry’s relative lack of attention to teenagers during this period, Kristy McNichol became the first teenage actor to earn an Emmy. In fact, she received two awards for her performance as the teenage daughter on *Family*.)

As a result of a gradual upswing in the teen population and the American economy during the mid-to-late 1970s, teen-specific shows slowly returned to television. The most popular of these shows was *Happy Days* (ABC 1974–84), a sit-com that focused on white, middle-class teenage life in the 1950s. ABC executives attempted to tap further into teen interest and adult nostalgia by adapting two book series continuously popular with different generations of young readers, *The Hardy Boys* and *The Nancy Drew Mysteries* (ABC 1977–79). In addition to *What’s Happening!!*, *Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC 1975–79), which focused on delinquent white, male youth in a Brooklyn school, was one of the few teen programs of the 1970s to focus on contemporary teenagers.

### Teen Programming, Early 1980s to Early 2000s

Although teen characters appeared in several family sit-coms of the 1980s, including *Family Ties* (NBC 1982–89), *The Cosby Show* (NBC 1984–92), *Mar-*

*ried...with Children* (FOX 1987–97), and *Roseanne* (ABC 1988–97), teenagers gained far more representational space during this period via shows that featured them outside the family home. In fact, the majority of 1980s’ teen series focused specifically on high-school experiences. For example, *The Facts of Life* (NBC 1979–88) featured the predominantly teen female milieu of a girls’ boarding school. (Though audiences had been introduced to contemporary teen girl issues via the family sitcom *One Day at a Time* [CBS 1975–84], *The Facts of Life* was the first girl-centered sitcom broadcast since 1966, and thus marked a shift away from the male-dominated teen programming of the 1970s.)

Several other school-oriented shows were introduced in the 1980s also, including *Fame* (NBC 1982–83), a dramatic series based on a film about the racially and class-integrated High School of Performing Arts in New York City; *Head of the Class* (ABC 1986–91), which focused on students “gifted” with superior intelligence; and *Saved by the Bell* (NBC 1989–93), which began airing during afternoons and moved later into prime-time. Although not strictly located within the educational milieu, *The Wonder Years* (ABC 1988–93) often made use of school sitcom conventions in its depiction of a teenage boy growing up in the 1960s. *Doogie Howser, M.D.* (ABC 1989–93) attempted to merge the different spheres of high school and higher education by focusing on a gifted teen in medical school. Meanwhile, *A Different World* (NBC 1987–93), a spin-off of *The Cosby Show*, featured the first African-American college youth on TV.

Perhaps the most significant teen-specific television phenomenon of the 1980s was the introduction of Music Television (MTV). Debuting in 1981, MTV began as a cable network devoted to the broadcasting of promotional videos for popular music. Taking many of its cues from earlier teen-oriented music shows, like *American Bandstand*, MTV has consistently promoted itself as a youth-oriented medium. Continuously ranked as the network most watched by teenagers, MTV has appealed primarily to white, upper-middle-class, male adolescent viewers (specifically those with cable or satellite subscriptions), a niche market that prior to the 1980s showed little interest in watching television.

As MTV expanded its appeal to teenagers throughout the 1990s and afterwards, particularly by internationalizing its operations and moving beyond its original music-oriented programming, other TV networks also increased their attention to teens. Indeed, teenagers had more prime-time representation between 1990 and 2000 than during the previous two decades combined. The large amount of teen-specific programming during this period was no doubt the result of tremendous booms in

both the American economy and the teen population. In turn, this rise in teen programming is related to various transformations in the TV industry, especially the increased amount of media-industry conglomeration and the introduction of cable and satellite delivery systems.

One of the more significant aspects of this period was the TV and advertising industries' specific appeal to female youth as television viewers. Given the considerable amount of recent marketing research demonstrating that girls tend to watch TV more than boys (due in part to female youth having less independence from parents and homes), girls, who also tend to shop more than boys, became the most appealing niche market for those advertisers interested in attracting the large 1990s' teen demographic.

Not surprisingly, the teen sitcom was one of the primary genres to feature teenagers in the 1990s. Several popular teen comedies from the 1980s continued into the next decade, while a considerable number of new shows were introduced also, including *Hull High* (NBC 1990), *Fresh Prince of Bel Air* (NBC 1990–96), *Blossom* (NBC 1991–95), *Phenom* (ABC 1993–94), *Boy Meets World* (ABC 1993–2000), *Sister, Sister* (WB 1994–99), *Moesha* (UPN 1995–2001), *Clueless* (ABC 1996–97; UPN 1997–99), *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (ABC 1996–2001; WB 2001–present), and *That '70s Show* (FOX 1998–present). Attesting to the considerable popularity of *Saved by the Bell*, when the series ended in 1993, a new show based on the original was introduced, *Saved by the Bell: The New Class* (NBC 1993–2000).

Although teenage representation in 1990s' television was largely associated with the teen sitcom, teenage characters also appeared in animated cartoons, such as *Beavis and Butt-head* (MTV 1993–97) and *Daria* (MTV 1997–2001). One of the most significant programming phenomena of this period, however, was the emergence of the teen-centered dramatic serial, which merged conventions of soap operas, teen sitcoms, and other genres that have traditionally featured adult characters, such as horror and science fiction. Some of the more popular teen serials introduced in the 1990s include *Beverly Hills, 90210* (FOX 1990–2000), *Party of Five* (FOX 1994–2000), *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (WB 1997–2001; UPN 2001–2003), *Dawson's Creek* (WB 1998–2002), and *Roswell* (WB 1999–2002).

Many of these teen serials relied on the coming-of-age tropes already associated with the teen sitcom; however, due to their adherence to melodramatic conventions, these serials also included issues of concern to contemporary teenagers, such as sexual experimentation, gang membership, and teen pregnancy. While the majority of 1990s' teen programs focused on white, middle-class teenagers, a considerable number

of series included various types of youth marginalized by the TV industry in earlier periods. For example, several teen sitcoms focused specifically on African-American youth, including *Hull High*, *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, *Moesha*, and *Sister, Sister*, while many other teen shows featured mixed-race casts. In turn, several teen serials from this period included forms of youth identity traditionally excluded from TV programming. For instance, *My So-Called Life* (ABC 1994–95) was the first prime-time series to include a bisexual teenager; *The Mystery Files of Shelby Woo* (Nickelodeon 1996–99) was the first prime-time program to feature an Asian-American teen; and *Dangerous Minds* (ABC 1996–97) was the first prime-time show to focus on Latino youth.

### Teenage TV Viewing and the "Teen" Demographic

While the broadcasting of teen programming is clearly related to marketers' attempts to attract a specific group of consumers, research on TV viewing habits conducted at various points during the past five decades demonstrates that teenagers use this medium far less than any other demographic group except in infants. Because of their interest in non-domestic activities that involve the privileging of peer, rather than familial, relationships, many teenagers do not rely on television as their primary leisure activity. Although television has always competed for teen consumers with other forms of entertainment and leisure, the increasing penetration of personal computers, the Internet, and the World Wide Web into American homes over the course of the late-20th and early-21st centuries has led to an even greater decline in teen TV viewing.

The fifty-odd-year tradition of teenagers' minimal television use calls into question the assumed relationship between teen programming and teenage viewers. Indeed, ratings for many recent teen-centered series suggest that those individuals perhaps most invested in teen programming today are not teenagers (who typically steer clear of products marketed as "teen"), but rather those viewers who look to teenagers as role models, especially pre-teens and young adults. Thus, while the teen audience originally constructed by early TV executives and advertisers may have been restricted to actual teenagers, today's "teen" demographic now encompasses viewers between the ages of 12 and 34.

The recent expansion of TV's "teen" demographic is due to transformations in both the television industry and generational identities over the last few decades. For instance, better nutrition is causing children to mature physically at an earlier age than ever before, and advertisers are encouraging them to adopt aspirational behav-

iors at younger ages than members of previous generations. These children often look up to teenagers as their primary role models. At the same time, an increasing number of young adults, particularly those of the middle class, are prolonging adolescence via their enrollment in college, as well as graduate and professional schools. Moreover, a considerable number of these young adults are postponing or rejecting the traditional rituals of adulthood, particularly marriage and children, and continue to be drawn to various aspects of youth culture.

As a result of these various social phenomena, adolescence is no longer a life stage associated with only those in their teenage years, and has become instead an identity that describes a much broader group of individuals. This expansion of adolescent identity works well in relation to the marketplace, since youthfulness is an attitude and lifestyle that is particularly exploitable in American society. Thus manufacturers, retailers, and advertisers use youthfulness to cash in on not just teenagers, but also pre-teens, who are encouraged by the market to buy commodities produced for older consumers, as well as many adults, who, despite their age, are encouraged by the market to think, act, look, and, most importantly, shop as if they were young.

These changes in generational identity are interestingly related to recent transformations in the television industry. For instance, over the last two decades, the traditional mass audience has been increasingly fragmented due to the greater amount of programming made possible via cable and satellite delivery systems. Thus, networks are no longer able to rely on earlier programming strategies to attract a large audience, such as broadcasting programs targeting families with children. As a result, in the 1980s and early 1990s networks began to turn to other programming strategies, especially narrowcasting, which appeals to smaller, lucrative demographic segments, such as middle-class women. Nevertheless, since narrowcasting cannot attract a large enough number of viewers to maintain the high ratings needed to satisfy advertisers, new networks struggling to get a foothold in the industry have built their audiences by attracting a coalition of viewers who do not share a similar demographic identity, but have a similar sensibility or aspire to a similar lifestyle. (This strategy of targeting viewers with particular interests is now far easier as the result of new digital TV technologies, such as TiVo, that record data on individual viewers' programming interests, which is then made available to advertisers.)

Given that the "teen" demographic is now seen as one of the most lucrative markets, young networks such as FOX and WB have targeted upscale viewers aged 12 to 34 who share a youthful sensibility to build their coalition audiences. To attract such viewers, these

networks have relied considerably on teen programming. Moreover, in an attempt to reach the most lucrative segment of this demographic—those who own a personal computer and subscribe to an Internet service provider—these networks have developed websites, like [www.buffy.com](http://www.buffy.com), that supplement their teen series. By visiting such a website, viewers can join a show's official fan club, purchase products related to the series or its network, and obtain information about the show's history, stars, and upcoming episodes. In addition, several websites associated with teen series include chat rooms where fans communicate with other viewers and, at times, a show's production staff.

The development of such TV-associated websites, the transformation of the teen demographic, the inclusion of teenagers in traditionally adult-oriented genres, and the debut of teen-oriented cable networks are all evidence of the profoundly different nature of the contemporary television industry and teen programming. Given that the teenage population in the United States is predicted to increase until 2010, and marketers' reliance on discourses of youthfulness shows no evidence of abating anytime soon, we can reasonably expect that teenagers will continue to have a strong presence in TV programming during the remainder of the 21st century's first decade.

MARY CELESTE KEARNEY

*See also American Bandstand; Beavis and Butt-head; Beverly Hills, 90210; Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Different World, A; Happy Days; Monkees, The; MTV; Room 222; Wonder Years, The*

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## Telcos

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Telephone companies (telcos) have always figured in the history of U.S. television, though in most other countries they have been minor players until the convergence of telephony, computer, and broadcasting technologies in the 1990s. The earliest involvement of telephone companies in broadcasting dates to AT&T's interest in radio. Before World War I, AT&T was one among several companies actively experimenting with radio waves in order to control what seemed to be an imminent wireless communication era. AT&T's ownership stake in the government-formed Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in the early 1920s seemed to guarantee the phone company a role in radio broadcasting, specifically with respect to developing the international market, selling transmitters, and providing telephony. However, AT&T's definition of telephony broadened in 1922 when it offered a special toll broadcasting service allowing people to use its "radio telephony" channels to send out their own programs—for a fee. At that time, AT&T eschewed any interest in controlling content. It used its long-distance lines to broadcast sports events, music, and other entertainment, avowing that it desired only its rightful opportunity to transmit. Nevertheless, by 1924 the phone company had a regular radio programming schedule.

Its early control over broadcasting was broken up, however, by the Federal Trade Commission's objections to the apparent growing monopoly power in radio. In 1926 a new structure was created to answer monopoly charges against AT&T, relegating the phone company to a role in transmission only while other companies involved in radio (General Electric, Westinghouse, and RCA) formed the National Broadcasting Company and developed programming and an audience-oriented service.

AT&T, then the United States' regulated, dominant national telephone carrier, operated as the transmission system for networked broadcasting for several decades, conveying first radio and later television signals across the country, thereby enabling the formation of national networks through its long-distance links. The carriage fees it accumulated from broadcasters were enormous, and as the sanctioned, monopoly inter-state common carrier, AT&T had the business to itself even though that monopoly role was at times contested. The company's first serious setbacks in the form of competition from other carriers did not occur until the mid-1970s.

In the 1970s regulatory liberalization in two realms undermined AT&T's control of transmission services essential to television. First, communication satellites, an outgrowth of the U.S. space program, provided new, efficient and economical ways to transmit messages or signals over long distances. Although AT&T retained a major role for itself in international satellite communication through provisions in the 1962 Communication Satellite Act (it was a partner in the public corporation Comsat, designated to operate U.S. satellite communications within the international satellite network Intelsat), that Act set the stage for other companies to enter into domestic satellite services. The so-called "open skies" policy adopted in 1972 by the Federal Trade Commission's successor in the real of broadcasting, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), allowed financially qualified carriers to provide domestic satellite communications, opening a new market and method for interstate transmissions. Ultimately, this development provided crucial alternatives to television's (and cable television's) continued reliance on AT&T for transmission. In particular, telephone companies were unable to control domestic satellite services, which became the preferred and cost-effective method for broadcast and cable television networks to deliver their signals, thus ending their dependence on AT&T for interconnection. The successful launch of HBO nationwide on RCA's Satcom satellite in 1975 bypassed AT&T and illustrated a future for cable television independent of the telcos. The Public Broadcasting Service moved to satellite distribution of its signal in 1978, followed by the major television networks' migration from AT&T to satellites controlled by other carriers in the mid-1980s.

The second realm concerned the cable industry. Skirmishes between telcos and the young cable television industry prompted the FCC and Congress to limit telcos' ability to own and operate cable television systems. Because early cable systems relied on retransmitted broadcast fare, it seemed logical for a carrier such as AT&T to establish cable systems using its lines to transmit content from broadcasters to subscribers. However, the FCC ruled in 1970 that telcos could operate systems only in small, rural populations. As well, in 1978, affirming that AT&T had abused its power in overcharging companies that wished to use its poles to establish cable television service, Congress enacted



the Pole Attachment Act authorizing the FCC to "regulate the rates and conditions for pole attachments," effectively removing the telcos' control over a key access and right-of-way issue and allowing cable television to expand under more favorable terms. It was clear that the FCC intended to restrain the telcos' ability to enter into or otherwise control this new television medium. The cable television industry's insistence on this restraint is in part reflected in a section of the later 1984 Cable Communications Act that reiterated the 1970 telco-cable cross-ownership ban and explicitly forbade telephone companies from offering cable television services.

However, telephone companies' interest in video services never died. If the aforementioned two new communication technologies ultimately underscored telcos' limited hold on an expanding set of services, they also can be counted among the causes of a massive restructuring of the U.S. telephone system under the 1982 Modification of Final Judgment (MFJ), a federal court ruling that broke up AT&T's monopoly telephone service in the United States. The result of a long-standing inquiry into AT&T's vertical integration and possible abuse of power under antitrust laws, the MFJ separated long-distance (interexchange) service from local telephone service, determining that the former would be a new competitive marketplace while the latter would be relegated to continuing monopoly service. AT&T restructured, spinning off the "Baby Bells" (regional companies that were restricted to the provision of a local telephone service) and moving into the newly competitive long-distance service market. Both sets of companies, AT&T and other long-distance service providers (interexchange carriers), as well as the local service providers, again eyed the provision of video services as one among a number of future competitive possibilities.

The MFJ put several restrictions on AT&T, the most notable being a seven-year restriction on entering into "electronic publishing." Nevertheless, by the late 1980s and 1990s AT&T, as well as several other telcos, had constructed a number of strategic liaisons with cable television, computer, software, and even movie companies in order to position themselves for new video and multimedia services. Such liaisons built on the telephone companies' longstanding interest in new media as well as their abortive history of attempting to provide teletext or videotext services in conjunction with publishers.

In the 1980s and 1990s, notions of media competition were shifting, and many industries, analysts and policymakers foresaw a future in which various media platforms could provide services that cut across traditional industry definitions. Amid the deregulatory

fever of the 1980s initiated by the AT&T divestiture, the FCC recommended lifting the cable-telco cross-ownership ban in 1988, but the requisite Congressional action was not forthcoming. Nevertheless, continued restructuring of telecommunications industries proceeded, ultimately facilitating the convergence of what had been conceived originally as quite separate video, voice, and data services.

Moving toward the landmark 1996 Telecommunications Act, in 1992 the FCC issued its "Video Dialtone" order allowing telcos (such as the "Baby Bells" or other local exchange companies) to provide the technological platforms for video services to subscribers. Essentially this also allowed them to enter the video services business, albeit without permitting them directly to own programming. One year later, in response to separate suits brought by telcos, several district courts began lifting the cable-telco cross-ownership ban. The first such suit was brought in 1993 (*Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. of Virginia v. U.S.*, 830 F. Supp. 909) by Bell Atlantic, a telco that, in the same year, proposed a merger with the largest cable company in the United States, TCI, a deal which later collapsed. Additionally, in the mid-1990s several telcos announced plans to provide video services as cable companies which would allow them to own programming rather than as telephone companies operating a video dialtone platform. Full-scale telco competition with cable companies and their broad entry into the video programming marketplace seemed imminent.

The desire of telephone companies to enter new markets, especially those providing video programming, was one major impetus behind the 1996 legislation that restructured American media industries. The 1996 Telecommunications Act authorized telephone and cable companies to enter each other's businesses, and also allowed then-monopoly local-exchange phone companies, the Baby Bells, to compete with long-distance companies (and vice versa), and to move into various other businesses as well. The act prompted major new initiatives and restructuring across the telecommunications industries. However, in spite of Congress's anticipation of the emergence of a far more competitive framework for delivering video programming, the cable-telco struggle did not materialize. Instead, wholesale mergers and acquisitions ensued in numerous communications industries, resulting in a new corporate and organizational profile for radio, broadcasting, cable, and telephony providers, and the newer service of providing Internet access. Because the Act coincided with a burst of services dependent on fast, packet-switched networks and growing computer penetration in homes and businesses, organizational restructuring

was accompanied by the emergence of new services that once again depended heavily on existing transmission providers and the networks operated by telephone companies.

The raft of mergers among telephone companies accompanied new service opportunities. The industry shrank to many fewer companies within a few years of the 1996 act. For example, by 2001 the seven Baby Bells had become four: Southwestern Bell purchased PacTel (serving the west coast) and Ameritech (serving the Midwest), and later renamed itself SBC; Bell Atlantic (eastern seaboard) merged with NYNEX (New York region), and later merged again with the large independent phone company GTE to become Verizon; US West, serving 14 western states, was bought by long-distance carrier Qwest. Only Bell South made no major, comparable acquisition. However, even as their numbers shrank, the companies themselves took on more extensive services, including providing both dial-up and broadband Internet connections, wireless telephony, backbone Internet transmission (Qwest and Sprint in particular) and local and long-distance voice communications.

On the long-distance company front, AT&T's old competitor MCI was purchased by upstart long-distance company Worldcom in 1997, only for that company to be distressed under accounting scandals (filing for bankruptcy in 2002). AT&T was split into several different companies since its divestiture, and the 1996 act catalyzed its merger with the large cable Multiple System Operators MediaOne, and later TCI, in March 1999, making AT&T the largest cable company in the country. As part of that merger it acquired the substantial programming resources of Liberty Media, a holding company controlling numerous cable programming networks that AT&T spun off in August 2001. AT&T Broadband later merged with Comcast, yet another large cable operator.

What was common to all the telecommunications companies was the recognition that the networks—particularly new, digital, fiber-based networks—were, in the emerging age of the Internet, of renewed importance. Some, such as Sprint and Qwest, invested large sums of money in constructing digital nationwide packet-switched networks in order to be ready for an environment dependent on Internet protocol modes. Qwest also began to offer video programming over its telephone lines in a handful of markets using fiber-based, very high-speed digital subscriber lines (DSLs). The Baby Bells, which experienced relatively little erosion of their customer base to competition within the first five years after the 1996 Act, focused more on achieving the ability to offer long-distance telephone services within their territories and on readying their

networks in metropolitan regions for offering broadband ISP connections. Such services, based on digital subscriber-line technology that conventionally utilizes the already in-place copper wires, accelerated among the telcos when cable companies offered broadband cable modem services. The telcos' DSL services had the advantage of using already existing connections to homes to support phone and Internet access services simultaneously. At the same time, cable systems upgraded their regional infrastructure to hybrid fiber-coaxial cable physical plant to enable digital programming delivery as well as fast Internet access using cable modems. The cable companies were finally competing with the telephone companies, but in the unanticipated service area of providing high-speed Internet connectivity.

A significant development barely glimpsed at the time of the 1996 Telecommunications Act—the growing significance of the Internet and its future role in providing audio and video content—has reshaped the business plans of telephone companies alongside those of all other media businesses. Competition between cable operators and telephone companies primarily has focused on Internet services in the first years of the new century, each industry using its own enhanced infrastructure rather than building entirely new networks. However, the telephone companies are poised to make that investment in new plant, as packet-switched networks become mandatory for services dependent on Internet protocols. For example, Voice over Internet Protocol or VoIP is one such service that enables inexpensive long-distance calling using packet-switched networks. Additionally, some telephone companies are offering cable-style television services over their broadband networks. Enabling high-speed connections to subscribers and cost-efficient connections to the national Internet backbones are far higher priorities in the early 21st century than could have been anticipated in 1996, and entirely new services are probably not far behind.

With new emphasis on creating an information infrastructure providing multiple services, the role of telephone companies, in providing digital video programming and Internet-based audio and video media, seems certain. Deregulating telcos and other communications industries has set the stage for creating a new generation of digital services as well as an entirely new set of corporate powers. A new tier of services will join voice and data transmission as key elements in the telephone business, and television is likely to be one of them.

SHARON STROVER

*See also U.S. Policy: Telecommunications Act of 1996*

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# Telecommunications Act of 1996

## U.S. Communications Policy Legislation

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The Telecommunications Act of 1996, which passed on February 1 of that year, became the first successful attempt to rewrite the 70-year old Communications Act of 1934. The 1996 law, which took nearly four years of legislative work, refocused federal communications policymaking after years of confused, inter-governmental attempts to regulate the rapidly evolving telecommunications industry. The act provided for increased competition among different technologies and greatly lessened ownership and regulatory burdens in various telecommunications sections, while preserving Congress's leadership role as the dominant policymaker.

While portions of the act became effective immediately after President Bill Clinton signed the legislation, much of the implementation needed to wait for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to promulgate new or revised rules and regulations. Noting the historic nature of the bill, President Clinton claimed that the legislation would "provide open access for all citizens to the Information Superhighway." However, many public-interest groups expressed concern that the effect of the act would be to undermine public-interest values of access.

At the time of passage, the act included several highly controversial provisions that were seen as restricting speech and violating constitutional protections. Within hours of the president's signing, a number of civil liberties groups, led by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), sought an injunction against indecency provisions included in the legislation.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 is a complex reform of U.S. communication policymaking, which attempts to provide similar ground rules and a level

playing field in virtually all sectors of the communications industries. The act's provisions fall into five general areas: radio and television broadcasting; cable television; telephone services; Internet and online computer services; and telecommunications equipment manufacturing.

The Telecommunications Act fundamentally changed U.S. communication policy by abolishing many of the cross-market barriers that prohibited dominant players from one communications-industry sector, such as telecommunications, from providing services in another industry sector, such as cable television. Since 1996 new mergers and acquisitions, consolidations, and integration of services previously barred under FCC rules and antitrust provisions of federal law have occurred.

### Radio and Television Broadcasting

The act incorporated numerous changes to the rules dealing with radio and television ownership under the Communications Act of 1934. Notably, broadcasters received substantial regulatory relief from federal restrictions on station-ownership requirements. The basic structure of the broadcast industry was fundamentally altered, abolishing 60 years of restrictions upheld since the Communications Act of 1934. Ownership limits on television stations were lifted, with group owners now able to purchase television stations with a maximum service-area cap of 35 percent of the U.S. population. Limits on the number of radio stations that may be commonly owned were completely lifted, although the legislation prescribes limits on the number of licenses that may be owned within specific markets or geographical areas.

Terms of license for both radio and television were increased to eight years, and previous rules allowing competing applications for license renewals were dramatically altered in favor of incumbent licensees. New provisions under the act prevent the filing of a competing application at license-renewal time unless the FCC first finds that a station has *not* served the public interest or has committed other serious violations of agency or federal rules. This provision has made it very difficult for citizens' groups to mount a license challenge against a broadcast station. The language in the 1996 bill gives the FCC no guidance as to how to interpret the "public-interest" standard in light of the legislated mandates embedded in the act. According to public-interest groups opposed to the relaxation of ownership provisions, the combined effect of the new rules has been to accelerate increased ownership of most major media outlets by a few communications conglomerates. Within five years of the act's passage, substantial consolidation within the broadcasting industry and telecommunications sectors had occurred.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 also made significant changes in FCC rules regarding station affiliations and cross-ownership restrictions. Stations may choose affiliation with more than one network. Although broadcasting networks are barred from merging or buying-out other networks, they have been freed to start new program services. For the first time, broadcasters can own cable television systems, and some television licensees have been granted waivers to operate newspapers in the same market. The legislation also affirmed the continuation of local marketing agreements (LMAs) and waived previous restrictions on common control of radio and television stations in the top fifty markets, the one-to-a-market rule.

Perhaps the biggest concession to the broadcast industry centered around provisions for allowing the FCC to allocate extra spectrum for the creation of advanced television (ATV) and ancillary services. Eligibility for advanced television licenses was limited to existing television licensees, ensuring current broadcasters a future in providing digital and enhanced television services. Subsequent actions by the FCC authorized an additional 6-MHz spectrum for a digital television service. The commission has developed a timetable and plan for migration to digital television. However, although the FCC has established a transition deadline, set for 2006, it seems unlikely that broadcasters will have digital television services in place by that time.

Not all portions of the Telecommunications Act were welcomed by broadcasters. The use of the V-chip was opposed by many in the broadcast industry. The

law mandates use of new technology to allow parents to exercise control over channels viewed, and section 551 requires the development of a system to identify and rate video programming that contains sexual, violent, or indecent material. Congress also included language within the act to mandate the manufacture of televisions with V-chip technology, and the FCC has implemented rules.

Generally, however, the Telecommunication Act of 1996 provides for new possibilities for broadcasters and calls for the FCC to eliminate unnecessary oversight rules. Under the mandate, the FCC is required to revisit its regulatory requirements biennially to determine whether the rules are in the public interest. This review process has allowed the commission to restate its policy interpretations as leadership in the commission has changed.

### **Common Carriers and Telecommunication Services**

While the Telecommunications Act set out to create a deregulated environment to promote competition in telephony and speed the introduction of advanced communication services by opening all telecommunications markets to competition, there is debate within the policy community as to the effectiveness of the legislation. Within the area of long-distance telephony, major players have seen a sharp increase in competition from smaller service providers, but consolidation in the industry has resulted in a sharp decline of the number of regional Bell operating companies (RBOCs) providing local telephony service. Language within title 2 of the bill, meant to encourage competition within local telephony markets, has failed to generate meaningful competition in most areas of the United States.

The Telecommunications Act also provides for cable television and other public utilities to be able to provide telecommunications services in competition with telephone companies. High-speed broadband services using cable modems and Internet telephony are two examples of services allowed as a result of the legislation, although the introduction and consumer acceptance of such services has been relatively slow. Common carriers were allowed to provide video services through telecommunications networks on a nondiscriminatory basis. To make competition among common carriers more viable, telephone-number portability was mandated in the act, as was access to local network connections.

The law preserved the longstanding notion of providing "universal service" (affordable telecommunications services to all users), and language within the act

called for making enhanced telecommunications services available to rural as well as urban users. The act also provided for the interconnection of all schools to advanced telecommunication services, paid through access fees assessed to long-distance telephone calls. Hospitals and libraries benefited from universal access provisions of the act.

Perhaps the most controversial portion of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was subsection title 5, the Communications Decency Act (CDA). The CDA made it a criminal offense for Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to knowingly disseminate indecent material to minors. Prior to passage of the bill, language in the CDA was roundly criticized by civil rights and First Amendment groups alike, and Congress, fearing a constitutional challenge to the entire legislative package, provided for fast-track judicial review of title 5. In June 1997, in *Reno v. ACLU*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Communications Decency Act to be unconstitutional, although it continued to affirm the FCC's right to enforce an indecency standard on broadcasters.

States and local entities are restricted under the act from imposing local zoning regulations to prohibit the placement and growth of the wireless telecommunication services within the local community.

### Cable Television Services

The Telecommunications Act lifted the cable/telephony company (telco) cross-ownership and service restrictions that had been imposed by the Cable Act of 1984. A wide range of cross-ownership barriers between broadcast, cable, and telecommunications were lifted in the hope of spurring competition. As a result, AT&T, the largest long-distance carrier in the United States, became the largest cable operator when it purchased TeleCommunications Incorporated (TCI), to provide enhanced telecommunications services via cable. The act also deregulated upper-tier rates for cable services and allowed cable operators to aggregate their equipment costs in more traditional accounting methods in hopes of providing incentives for new programming and services.

Cable operators were eligible to purchase broadcasting facilities and to provide telecommunication services that could compete with telephony companies. Broadband services, such as high-speed cable modems, and IP telephony are examples of advanced services that Congress hoped would provide competition to common carriers. Five years after the passage of the act, however, only 6 percent of Americans were receiving advanced services through cable operators.

### The Telecommunications Act's Impact

The overall impact of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 on consumers has been hard to gauge. Generally, the law's passage coincided with a buoyant economy and a broad expansion of telecommunication investment and growth of Internet services. Investment in telecommunications grew at an unprecedented 25 percent per year rate until 2001, when there was a marked slowdown in each of these areas. However, an overextension in installing new telecommunication infrastructure and shaky accounting practices caused the demise of many small and large telecommunications companies. As a result, since 2001 there has been a general retrenchment of telecommunications revenues and deflating of investment in the industrial sector. In the five years after the law passed, telecommunications services did not see the expected increase in competition or lowering of costs associated with moving toward a market economy. By 2002, traditional local telephone companies still controlled 92 percent of all local traffic, and long-distance telephone services look virtually unchanged from 1996. Growth in wireless telephony has been significant, but the major players are giant telecommunications conglomerates.

Competition within industry segments has failed to materialize. Cable television has seen some growth in competition from direct broadcast satellite services, but the number of players in the broadcasting field has generally diminished, marginalizing smaller broadcasters in favor of larger group owners. Competition between service sections has failed to materialize too, as both cable- and satellite-service companies continue to consolidate. The hoped-for competition between cable- and telecommunications-service providers has also not occurred. Few telecommunications companies appear interested in providing video-service options, and growth in IP telephony has failed to meet industry expectations. In broadcasting, most television stations missed the deadline for meeting FCC requirements in the transition to digital television, and consumer acceptance of digital sets has been slowed by standardization problems between broadcasters and cable operators for set-top boxes and digital must-carry requirements.

Critics of the legislation point to the continued convergence of telecommunications services among several large media conglomerates as an indication that the act has failed in its intent to establish new and low-cost alternatives to traditional telecommunication services. Consumer groups point to rising cable and local telephone rates as indicators of failed attempts to stimulate cross-industry competition. While growth in telecommunications is seen as essential, the overall ef-

fect of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 in the first five years since its passage was disappointing.

FRITZ MESSERE

**See also Allocation; Cable Networks; Cable Television: United States; Communications Act of 1934; License; Ownership; Telcos**

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# Telefilm Canada

## Canadian Television and Film Development Corporation

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Telefilm Canada is a Crown Corporation of the Canadian federal government. Its mandate is to support the development and promotion of television programs and feature films by the Canadian private sector. Telefilm is neither a producer nor a distributor, and it is not equipped with a production studio; instead, it acts primarily as a banker and deals principally with independent Canadian producers. To this end, Telefilm invests over \$175 million annually through a variety of funds and programs that encompass production, distribution, and marketing, scriptwriting, dubbing and subtitling, festivals, and professional development. In 2000–2001, Telefilm funded the development or production of nearly 800 projects. Telefilm Canada also administers the official coproduction treaties that exist between Canada and 57 countries, including France, Great Britain, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand.

Until 1984 Telefilm Canada was known as the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC). The CFDC began operations in 1968 with a budget of \$10 million and a mandate to foster and promote the development of a feature-film industry in Canada through the provision of loans, grants, and awards to Canadian producers and filmmakers. Unlike the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), or the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the CFDC was expected to be-

come a self-financing agency, interested as much (if not more) in the profitability of the films it supported as in their contribution to Canada's cultural life.

By 1971 the CFDC had exhausted its original budget and recouped barely \$600,000, or roughly 9 percent, of its investments in 64 projects. In keeping with its commercial orientation, the CFDC contributed to a number of films, such as *Love is a 4 Letter World* (1970), that came to be referred to as "maple-syrup porn." At the same time, the CFDC invested in a number of films such as *Goin' Down the Road* (1970) that have come to be regarded as Canadian classics.

The federal government approved a second allotment of \$10 million in 1971, and for the next six years the CFDC and industry representatives struggled to establish a clear set of corporate objectives. One option, which would have transformed the CFDC into something of an arts council for feature films and brought it closer in line with the mandate of the NFB, was to rechannel CFDC money into a system of grants that would provide for the production of a small number of Canadian films a year. The other option was to rechannel the CFDC's priorities toward the production of feature films with strong box-office potential, in particular films that would be attractive to the Hollywood majors.

This second option became viable after changes in

tax regulations were accompanied by a change in the CFDC's financial practices. In 1974 the capital cost allowance for Canadian feature films was extended from 30 percent to 100 percent. In 1978 the CFDC shifted its focus from the provision of equity financing for low- and medium-budget Canadian films to the provision of bridge financing for projects that were designed to take advantage of the tax shelter. Both the number of productions and average budgets soared. Measured in terms of employment and total dollars spent, the tax-shelter boom was a success. However, many of the films produced during this period were never distributed, and many of the ones that did receive distribution were second-rate attempts at films that mimicked Hollywood's standard fare (notable examples include *Meatballs* and *Running*). By 1980 there was growing criticism of the direction taken by the CFDC, particularly from French-Canadian producers and filmmakers who benefited far less than their English-Canadian counterparts from the CFDC's shift in investment priorities. The tax-shelter boom came to a crashing halt in 1980.

The establishment of the Canadian Broadcast Program Development Fund in July 1983 dramatically shifted the CFDC's priorities from feature films to television programming. To reflect this shift in investment priorities, the CFDC was renamed Telefilm Canada in February 1984. The Broadcast Fund has four overall objectives: to stimulate production of high-quality, culturally relevant Canadian television programs in targeted categories (drama, children's, documentary, and variety programming); to reach the broadest possible audience with those programs through scheduling during prime-time viewing hours; to stimulate the development of the independent production industry; and to maintain an appropriate regional, linguistic, and private/public broadcaster balance in the distribution of public funds. The fund had an initial budget of \$254 million spread over five years. Since 1988 Telefilm has invested more than \$60 million annually in television programming. On average its participation represents 33 percent of the total production budget.

The Broadcast Fund has been enormously successful in achieving its original objectives. Between 1986 and 1990, for example, the fund helped finance close to \$800 million in total production volume in 2,275 hours of original television programming, of which more than 1,000 hours consisted of dramatic programming exhibited during peak viewing hours. Among these programs were *Anne of Green Gables*, the various *Degrassi* series, *E.N.G.*, *Danger Bay*, *Love and War*, *Due South*, and *The Boys of St. Vincent*. In terms of audience reach, viewing of Canadian programs in peak time has increased substantially. The Broadcast

Fund has also played a crucial role in providing independent Canadian producers with the leverage to expand into export markets.

In April 2001 Telefilm undertook the administration of a new Canadian Feature Film Fund (CFFF). With an annual budget of \$100 million, the CFFF has four objectives: to develop and retain talented creators in Canada; to encourage quality and diversity of Canadian feature films; to build larger audiences through improved marketing and distribution; and to preserve and disseminate a collection of Canadian films.

As a lender, Telefilm Canada is still a failure in the sense that it recoups only a small percentage of its annual investments. As a cultural agency and a support structure for Canada's independent producers, Telefilm has been remarkably successful, especially in terms of television programming. It is still the case that Canadians view far more foreign than domestic programming, but without Telefilm's presence there would be virtually no production of Canadian dramatic programming.

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*See also Anne of Green Gables; Boys of St. Vincent, The; Canadian Programming in English; Canadian Programming in French; Danger Bay; Degrassi; E.N.G.*

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# Telemundo

## U.S. Network

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Telemundo is the second-largest Spanish-language television network in the United States, reaching 90 percent of Hispanic households in 100 U.S. markets. As of 2002, Telemundo owns and operates 10 full-power UHF stations and 8 low-power stations, has 40 broadcast affiliates, and is offered on 310 cable and wireless systems. While the network has grown steadily since its inception in 1986, it has also consistently run a distant second behind Spanish-language broadcasting giant Univision. As a result of its second-place status, Telemundo has undergone a number of key transformations in terms of programming strategies, management, and ownership. At the heart of these changes are competing definitions of the Hispanic audience and its importance in the U.S. media economy. Charting the ebb and flow of Telemundo's fortunes sheds light not only the growing importance of Spanish-language broadcasting in U.S. television, but also the relationship between media and identity in a multi-cultural environment.

Telemundo's history is marked by an initial period of expansion followed by instability, changing ownership, and increasing diversification. Telemundo Group, Inc. first emerged on the television radar in 1986 under the control of investors Saul Steinberg and Henry Silverman of Reliance Capital Group. Steinberg and Silverman were enticed by the growth potential of the Hispanic market and initially invested in a number of television stations directly serving that market. The first two stations acquired by the investors, and used as the foundation for Telemundo, were WSCU in Miami and KWAQ in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Following these initial purchases, the company quickly expanded by taking over WNJU in Linden, New Jersey, as well as KTMD in the important Texas market of Houston/Galveston. It also established affiliations with Chicago station WSNS, and KVDA in San Antonio. According to Patricia Constantakis-Valdés, in the period between 1988 and 1991, Telemundo expanded even further, with stations and affiliates in Dallas/Ft. Worth, Lubbock, Albuquerque, Tucson, Phoenix, and Yakima in Washington.

The network's programming during this period stayed fairly close to the format established by Univision: news, sports, variety shows, talk shows, and

tabloid news shows. The network also scheduled *telenovelas*—the staple of Spanish-language programming—mostly imported from Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil. One particularly important *telenovela*, however, was *Angelica Mi Vida*, produced in Puerto Rico and based on the lives of Hispanic Americans. Additionally, the nightly news segment, *Noteciero Telemundo*, was produced in Hialeah, Florida (the location of the network's corporate headquarters). This emphasis on shows produced in the U.S. and targeting a specifically Hispanic identity has continued to sit at the tumultuous center of Telemundo's programming strategies.

Following the initial period of growth, Joaquin F. Blaya, who had previously served as president and CEO of Univision, took over the same post at Telemundo. With Blaya at the helm, Telemundo continued to expand its holdings and increase its emphasis on young Hispanic viewers. During this time, Telemundo, Univision, and Nielson Media Research developed a ratings system specifically designed to chart the viewing habits of the Hispanic community in the U.S. Continuous expansion and investment without the benefit of comparably increasing advertising revenue, however, led to a financial collapse in July 1993, and the network filed for bankruptcy.

As detailed by Alex Avila, Telemundo was resuscitated in 1994 when Leon Black and his company, Apollo Advisors L.P., purchased the network for \$83 million. Shortly thereafter, Joaquin Blaya resigned his position and Roland Hernandez took over as President and CEO. Under Hernandez, Telemundo arranged for access to *telenovelas* from TV Azteca, the largest independent network in Mexico—a move that would ease the burden of costly U.S.-based production. This move also allowed the network new competitive leverage with Univision, whose exclusive deals with production and export giants Televisa (Mexico) and Venvision (Venezuela) had previously crippled Telemundo's access to relatively inexpensive Spanish-language programming sources outside the U.S. As a result, Telemundo's programming continued to look like that of Univision, despite continued efforts to differentiate itself and pursue younger viewers. Patricia Constantakis-Valdés indicates that, as of 1995, Telemundo's programming consisted mostly of movies and



*telenovelas*, but still included game shows, talk shows, variety shows, sports, and news. As with Univision, approximately half of this programming was being produced in the U.S. By 1996, Telemundo's advertising revenues had increased by over 20 percent from the previous year.

But competing with Univision proved no simple task, and access to TV Azteca's programs was no cure for deeper problems at the network. Univision's dominance was, in large part, a matter of habit and familiarity for a large number of older viewers, and no injection of like-minded programming was going to undo a more than two-decade head start. Furthermore, the Mexico-produced *telenovelas* from TV Azteca failed to connect with younger viewers who found them increasingly irrelevant to their own experience. Despite the increased ad revenues, Telemundo's share of the Hispanic audience continued to drop, from 37 percent in 1993 to 18 percent in 1996. As ratings failed to rise, advertisers began to abandon the network, and by 1997, Telemundo was in dire straits again. In an effort to stem the tide of advertiser attrition and to give the ratings a boost, Telemundo decided to change direction and counter-program against Univision, removing *telenovelas* and replacing them with nightly feature films, and moving their news an hour earlier to avoid direct competition. At the same time, the network began actively to seek out potential investors and programming partners. Interested groups included syndication giant King World Productions, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, and Sony Pictures Entertainment.

In November 1997, Sony teamed up with Liberty Media, Apollo Management, and Bastion Capital Fund to purchase Telemundo for \$539 million. Apollo retained 50 percent ownership while Sony and Liberty, because of regulatory restrictions, each held a 25 percent share. The deal received FCC approval in July 1998. The immediate effects of this transition were the removal of Roland Hernandez as president and CEO, a programming overhaul that included radical counter-programming strategies, and a growing fear that the network would be assimilated into the mold of one of the U.S. networks.

Hernandez was replaced by Peter Tortorici in August 1998. Tortorici was a veteran of U.S. television with experience at the network level, having served as an executive in CBS's entertainment division. The programming overhaul also betrayed a move toward the U.S. network model. Under the direction of a new president of entertainment, Nely Galan, Telemundo mounted a campaign designed to court the younger, bilingual Hispanic audience. As Galan herself stated in November 1998: "Our projection is all about Latinos in the U.S. It's not about Latin Americans." The result

of this strategy was a greater emphasis on U.S.-produced programs and a focus on the genres that drive English-language television: sitcoms, action-adventure series, reality shows, talk shows, and game shows. Emphasizing the bi-cultural slant of this strategy, the network's motto during this period was "The Best of Two Worlds."

For the 1998-99 season, Tortorici and Galan oversaw the scheduling of a number of series that were essentially Spanish-language re-makes of once-popular U.S. hits, the licenses for which were, not coincidentally, owned by Sony. These shows included: *Angeles (Charlie's Angels)*, *Solo En América (One Day at a Time)*, *Reyes y Rey (Starsky and Hutch or Miami Vice)*, *Una Familia con Angel (Who's The Boss?)*, *Los Recien Casados (The Newlywed Game)*, and *Buscando Pareja (The Dating Game)*. Additionally, the network experimented with English subtitles and programs in "Spanglish."

These counter-programming moves initially helped boost the ratings, but only for a short period. As soon as the novelty of the effort wore away, network affiliates began to report precipitous drops in their audience share. In July 1999, Tortorici was replaced by James McNamara (born and raised in Panama), and Telemundo unceremoniously dropped most of the re-makes from the schedule. McNamara returned telenovelas to the center of the network's programming strategy, taking advantage of a new production deal with TV Azteca (negotiated by Tortorici before his departure). The network also purchased CBS/TeleNoticias, a Spanish and Portuguese news network. As McNamara stated: "We feel there are a few fundamental building blocks or pillars to building our business; novelas, news, sports, and variety/comedy shows." He also insisted on a return to strictly Spanish-language programming. Nely Galan also left the network in 1999.

Despite the network's movement back toward more traditional and proven programming, Telemundo has continued to move forward as well, diversifying its holdings and growing as a media corporation under McNamara. The network controls Telemundo Cable, which owns two cable networks: Telemundo International, and Mun2. In keeping with long-held desires to capture the youth market, Mun2 targets 18-34 year old viewers with a steady diet of music videos, entertainment shows, young dramas, comedies, movies, and game shows. Telemundo Cable also distributes Videorola, a Mexico-based music video channel.

But the network's growth, as the Sony purchase indicated, is in turn part of other diversification strategies as well. In 2000, NBC purchased Telemundo from Sony for nearly \$2 billion. The once autonomous Spanish-language network has now been folded into

NBC's own growth strategy as it eyes the increasingly lucrative Latino market. That market currently accounts for almost 13 percent of the entire U.S. population and is expected to continue to be the fastest-growing population group in the United States for many years to come.

One of the major fears in the Hispanic media market following Sony's purchase of the network was that the relationship between Spanish-language television networks and the Hispanic communities they served would be irrevocably altered: that conglomeration would adversely affect the identity of the Spanish-language networks themselves and thus reduce their effectiveness in serving the Hispanic community. And while Telemundo seems to have regained a solid footing in the Hispanic media market thanks to its own diversification strategies, the future of its programming under NBC's guiding hand remains to be seen.

JONATHAN NICHOLS-PETHICK

See also **Telenovela**; **Univision**

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## Telenovela

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The *telenovela* is a form of melodramatic serialized fiction produced and aired in most Latin-American countries. These programs have traditionally been compared to English-language soap operas. However, even though the two genres share some characteristics and similar roots, the *telenovela* has evolved in the last three decades into a genre with its own unique characteristics. For example, *telenovelas* in most Latin-American countries are aired in prime-time six days a week, attract a broad audience across age and gender lines, and command the highest advertising rates. They last about six months and come to a climactic close.

*Telenovelas* generally vary from 180 to 200 episodes, but sometimes specific *telenovelas* might be extended for a longer period due to successful ratings. The first *telenovelas* produced in Latin America in the 1950s were shorter, lasting between 15 and 20 episodes, and were shown a few times a week. As they became more popular and more technically sophisticated, they were expanded, becoming the leading genre in the daily prime-time schedule.

Unlike U.S. soap operas that tend to rely on the family as a central unit of the narrative, Latin American *telenovelas* focus on the relationship between a romantic

couple as the main motivator for plot development. During the early phases of their evolution in Latin America, until the mid-1960s, most *telenovelas* relied on conventional melodramatic narratives in which the romantic couple confronted opposition to their staying together. As the genre progressed in different nations at different rhythms, it became more attuned to local culture. The Peruvian *Simplemente Maria*, for example, a version of the Cinderella story, dealt with the problems of urban migration. The Brazilian *Beto Rockfeller* presented the story of an antihero who worked as a shoe-shop employee and pretended to be a millionaire; he became simultaneously involved with two women, one rich and one poor. An immediate hit in 1968, this *telenovela* appears to have led to the most dramatic changes in that nation's version of the genre: it introduced the use of colloquial dialogue, presented social satire, and offered new stylistic elements, such as the use of historical events in the plot, more natural acting, and improvisation.

The Globo network, Brazil's largest, which was only beginning to produce *telenovelas* in the late 1960s, soon took the lead and imposed these new trends upon the *telenovela* market. Indeed, Globo

owes its international recognition and economic powerhouse status to the *telenovela*. In the 1970s Globo invested heavily in the quality of its *telenovelas*, using external locations traditionally avoided because of production costs. Globo's export success forced other producers in the region to implement changes in production values and modernize their narratives to remain competitive. Mexico, for example, after dominating the international market for several years, had to adapt its *telenovelas* according to the influences of its main competitors, especially Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.

There are important national distinctions within the genre in the areas of topic selection, structure, and production values, and there are also clear distinctions between the *telenovelas* produced in the 1960s and those made in the 1990s, in terms of both content and production values. As Patricia Aufderheide has pointed out, recent *telenovelas* in Brazil "dealt with bureaucratic corruption, single motherhood, and the environment; class differences are foregrounded in Mexican *novelas* and Cuba's *novelas* are biting topical as well as ideologically correct." In Colombia recent *telenovelas* have dealt with the social violence of viewers' daily lives, but melodramatic plots that avoid topical issues are becoming more popular. In Brazil, the treatment of racism is surfacing in *telenovelas* after being considered a taboo subject for several years.

The roots of the Latin American *telenovelas* go back to the radio soap operas produced in the United States, but they were also influenced by the serialized novels published in the local press. The origins of the melodramatic serialized romance date back to the sentimental novel in 18th-century England, as well as 19th-century French serialized novels, the *feuilletons*. In the late-19th and early-20th centuries, several Latin American countries also published local writers' novels in a serialized form. However, the proliferation of *radionovelas* that would later provide personnel as well as expertise to *telenovela* producers started in Cuba in the late 1930s. According to Katz and Wedell, the Colgate and Sydney Ross companies were responsible for the proliferation of *radionovelas* in pre-Castro Cuba. In the beginning stages of *telenovelas* in Latin America, in the 1950s, Cuba was an important exporter of the genre to the region, providing actors, producers, and screenplays. U.S. multinational corporations and advertising agencies were also instrumental in disseminating the new genre in the region. Corporations such as Unilever were interested in expanding their market to housewives by promoting *telenovelas* that contained their own product tie-ins. Direct influence of the United States on the growth and development of *telenovelas* in the region subsided af-

ter the mid-1960s, and the genre slowly evolved in different directions in different countries. In the 1950s and early 1960s, *telenovelas* were primarily adaptations of novels and other literary forms, and only a few Latin-American scriptwriters constructed original narratives. By the late 1960s, local markets started producing their own stories, bringing in local influences, and shaping the narratives to particular audiences.

Today, the leading *telenovela* producers in the region are Televisa, Venevision, and Globo, the leading networks in Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil, respectively. These networks not only produce *telenovelas* for the local market but also export to other Latin American nations and to the rest of the world. Televisa, for instance, is the leading supplier of *telenovelas* to the Spanish-speaking market in the United States. Since the mid-1990s, however, the supremacy of Televisa and Globo has been challenged. In Mexico, the upstart TV Azteca produced more contemporary *telenovelas* dealing with social and political issues as a way of challenging Televisa's hold on the audience. In Brazil, SBT, the second-largest network in the country, attempted to increase its own production as well as coproductions with an Argentinean network, but high costs and low ratings for those productions pushed the network to rely on Mexican melodramas, which proved a challenge to Globo's supremacy. *Marimar*, produced by Televisa and broadcast in Brazil in late 1996, helped to solidify SBT as a serious player during prime time.

However, the decade's success story was *Betty La Fea*, a Colombian *telenovela*. A success in Latin America, it became a hit in the United States, boosting Tele-mundo's ratings. *Betty La Fea* was the story of the antiheroine, and the actress in the title role had to undergo hours of makeup to become *La Fea*, the ugly one. In this *telenovela*, the "ugly woman" becomes a successful businesswoman and gains the love of the hero without compromising her integrity. The story seemed to strike a chord among viewers in the region, and *Betty La Fea* became, like *Simplemente Maria* and *Escrava Isaura*, a landmark in the history of the genre.

ANTONIO C. LA PASTINA

See also **Brazil; Mexico; Soap Opera; Téléroman**

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## Téléroman

As a television genre, the weekly, prime-time *téléroman* can be defined as a television drama in a realist style, comprising a series of continuous episodes, broadcast at the same time each week and characterized by a sequentiality that is either episodic, overlapping, or both.

The genre is generally recognized, both at home and abroad, as being specific to the French-language television industry in Canada, located in the province of Quebec and intimately associated with Quebec society and its dominant Francophone culture (French speakers make up 82 percent of the province's nearly 7 million inhabitants).

The term literally means "television novel," which strongly suggests its direct lineage with the modern, especially the 19th-century, popular novel. The serial character of the *téléroman* makes it a descendant of Charles Dickens, Alexandre Dumas, and Eugene Sue, whose works were published as series, one chapter or episode at a time, in the popular daily penny-press, weekly journals, or monthly magazines of their time; only after the serialization had finished would a novel be published in book form. The purpose was, of course, to build customer loyalty for the papers and magazines, a function not unlike that of the *téléroman* for the visual medium of television.

This new literature of the 19th century testified to the technologies of modern mass communications in a liberal, urban, industrial, capitalist society. Because of its proximity to the United States, Quebec has bene-

fited and profited from these new technologies and even produced a cottage industry of popular serial novels, both within the pages of the popular press and between the covers of chapbooks.

With the advent of radio, both public and private, the serial novel became a permanent fixture of programming with such favorite *radioromans* (radio novels) as *La Pension Velder*, *Jeunesse dorée*, *La famille Plouffe*, and the granddaddy of them all, *Un homme et son péché*. These serials developed, of course, under the far-reaching shadow of the U.S. radio soap opera. While importing many of that genre's basic characteristics, the Quebec *radiroman* showed the imprint of local cultural moorings, particularly in its reference to the history of this French-speaking population on the North American continent dating back to the establishment of the colony in 1604, its nationalistic fervor, its agrarian heritage, and its forced adaptation to accelerated industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.

There were no in-house writers for these radio plays; one could not earn a decent living writing *radioromans* or, for that matter, any type of novel. Still, many of the first *telenovelists* were *radionovelists*, who were also established literary novelists. A literary profession of successful, independent novelists and *telenovelists* has only emerged since the mid-1980s.

With the advent of television, classical and modern theater (also prominent on Canadian radio, as in the United States) moved onto the small screen along with



The Plouffe Family.  
 Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

the *radiatoroman*. As elsewhere, theater was short-lived on TV while the *radiatoroman* went on to become the *téléroman*. Building on the loyal following of the *radiatoroman* by “bringing to life” the main characters of two of the best-loved and most enduring radio productions, *Un homme et son péché* and *La famille Plouffe*, the *téléroman* was able to experiment with new themes and new styles of writing. It thus adapted the century-old popular novel to this modern medium without sacrificing tradition and its most endearing qualities.

As an indication not only of the rapid growth of the *téléroman* but also of the centrality of the position it holds within both the television industry and the public discourse on television itself, one can cite the following figures. A recent repertoire lists nearly 600 titles of original works of fiction, including *téléromans*, pro-

duced by Quebecois screenwriters to the delight of tens of millions of television viewers from 1952 to 1992. A comparable feat is not to be found in any other French-language television industry, including France’s. Nor is the popularity of locally produced television fiction in Quebec to be equaled anywhere else, particularly in terms of the loyalty that the *téléroman* commands. For example, in the early 1980s the “Who Killed J.R.?” episode of *Dallas* set a new standard in U.S. television market research with its 54-point market share, and it has rarely been challenged since. In contrast, in Quebec a 50-point market share is considered the basic standard of a successful show, with the yearly bestsellers reaching the high 70s and low 80s.

Not surprisingly, the *téléroman* has spawned some small but vibrant secondary commercial ventures and

represents some notable investments by other communications industries. For example, a glossy magazine, *Téléroman*, is published four times a year with a readership of some 50,000. The well-established television guides, such as *TV Hebdo* (with nearly 1 million readers), often feature well-known faces of actors or characters of popular *téléromans* on its cover. Each year, moreover, *TV Hebdo* devotes a special edition to the current lineup of best- and least-known *téléromans*. Every major daily newspaper publishes the weekly schedule of television programming and has a television critic whose main subject is the *téléroman*: its costs, production, writers, actors, characters, intrigues, and audience rates. Talk shows quite regularly invite authors, actors, and TV characters to meet live studio audiences. Even "serious" public affairs television shows, magazines, and newspapers give thoughtful attention to the phenomenon. Of course, the *téléroman*, with its well-known and beloved characters, is a bonanza for advertising agencies selling everything from sundries to soft drinks to automobiles; *téléroman* actors are the spokespersons for industries; they appear on public announcements and telethons for the sick and the needy.

Most importantly, these well-known and well-loved actors and characters have contributed to the birth and growth of a thriving, creative, French-language Quebec-based advertising industry. Not too many years ago, this industry's main revenue came from translating English language, Toronto- or New York-conceived television commercials. Today, French-language advertisements for national Canadian and American brand names are conceived and produced in Quebec. This industry has become a remarkable success story in its own right, creating ads for Pepsi, Bell Canada, General Motors, and others.

Another commercial spin-off, besides the inevitable merchandizing of images of *téléroman* characters as dolls, on lunch boxes, and on posters, is the phenomenon of "living museums." Here the sets—whether original or reconstructed—of *téléromans* such as *Un homme et son péché*, *Le temps d'une paix*, *Les filles de Caleb*, or *Cormoran* are rebuilt in their "natural" outdoor surroundings. These *téléromans* are historically grounded, either in a specific timeframe such as the 1930s or 1940s, or in the lives of past public and semipublic figures. The actual historical site on which these sets are built, the authentic dwellings upon which they are grafted, even the now-permanent presence of actual descendants of the romanticized characters in these reconstructed settings, all lend a "museum-like" and educational quality to these commercial enterprises. The *téléroman* is thus much more than a television genre, it is also an industry in itself and a

generator of economic activities in industrially related sectors.

One of the recurring themes in the *téléroman* is the city, and this city is Montreal, the largest French-language city in North America. It is a character in its own right in the same manner as the London of Dickens, the Paris of Honoré de Balzac and Émile Zola, or New York and Los Angeles for the modern U.S. television series. The *téléroman* often looks and sounds like an indictment of the city with its wealth of social problems—anonymous violence, corruption, abused children, battered women, drug abuse, solitude, poverty, homelessness. However, it is also an ode to the city's magnetism—riches, arts, adventure, beauty, fulfillment, empowerment, enlightenment, and, above all, the chance for true love. The *téléroman* exudes both a sense of *déjà vu* and "elsewhereism."

The *téléroman* focuses on the ordinary, even on the antihero who is allowed to fail, sometimes disastrously. It reaches into the banality of everyday life to gather the stuff out of which characters of flesh and blood appear on the television screen, live and evolve, cry and laugh, cheat and repent, love and hate, and sometimes disappear. The fact that ordinariness can be both enticing and serialized yet still command loyalty from seasoned viewers of a half-century of television drama, is the greatest homage that can be paid to these writers, producers, and actors. The popularity, for example, of *Chambres en ville*, an exploration of the pains and joys of growing up as a teenager in Montreal, attests to the skill of these professionals.

Another remarkable feature of the Quebecois *téléroman* lies in its distinctive mixture of gendered world-views. This particular mixture can be traced to the presence and influence of the women working in the *téléroman*'s creative communities. *Telenovelists* include women such as former journalist Fabienne Larouche, former journalist and Quebec cabinet minister Lise Payette, and her daughter Sylvie. Renowned female actors of both theater and screen play lead roles in the *téléroman*, and women novelists whose best-selling novels have been adapted to the television genre, such as Arlette Cousture (*Les filles de Caleb*) and Francine Ouellet (*Au nom du père*), often contribute to the creative process.

The last few years have seen three unrelated but significant shifts, whose impact on the *téléroman* is yet to be measured. First, the weekly episodes of a regular series are decreasing in number. Second, the traditionally weak export market may have found its niche: the selling of franchised concepts rather than dubbing rights for televised series. Finally, the arrival of a new technology combining television with the Internet means, for example, that while one is watching a dra-

matic series, one may chat interactively on the Internet about the show, with both the program and the chat window appearing simultaneously on the TV screen.

The *téléroman*, like other works of fiction in many other societies, is a testimony to the creative use of technology, in this case a technology to transmit at a distance and in real time, images and sounds. Through the efforts and talents of many artists, professionals, and technicians, a world of fiction is created. It is a world in which reality takes on certain meanings for a geographically, socially, historically,

and culturally designated community. That the *téléroman* succeeds in achieving this sort of world is not unique; what is unique is the fashion in which it does so. The *téléroman* thus contributes a small but original viewpoint, or narrative, to the accumulated human legacy of past efforts to give meaning to the lives of ordinary people.

ROGER DE LA GARDE AND GISÈLE TCHOUNGUI

*See also Canadian Programming in French; Famille Plouffe, La; Soap Opera; Telenovela*

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## Teletext

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Teletext is a system of transmitting text and graphics as part of a television signal. The teletext information is contained in the vertical blanking interval, the portion of the television signal in which the electron beam is turned off between frames. Another service that uses the vertical blanking interval is closed captioning.

Teletext systems transmit news and information to subscribers, either superimposed over the television picture or on separate, full-screen pages. To receive teletext information, the receiving television requires either a built-in or add-on decoder. The viewer typically accesses the information via a remote-control keypad. Teletext is distinguished from videotex in that it is essentially a one-way system, while videotex offers greater interactivity.

By modern computer standards, teletext is a low-resolution medium. A broadcast signal can transmit up to 200 user-selectable pages. When a user selects a page, it can take up to 20 seconds to load. Each page is limited to seven colors, plus black and white, and can hold up to 24 rows of 40 characters. This means that a one-screen news story is limited to about 80 words.

In the 1970s and early 1980s there was substantial development in creating teletext technology and programming. In the United Kingdom, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began its CEEFAX service in 1974. The IBA instituted its ORACLE system in 1975. While teletext achieved high levels of awareness in the U.K., it reached small audiences compared to the television viewing audience; its most common (and still continuing) use there is to provide subtitles for the hearing-impaired.

Canada's TELIDON system featured a vector-based graphic system that permitted more advanced graphics to be loaded in the low-bandwidth medium. This technology became part of the NABTS protocol that became most popular in the United States, where the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) authorized teletext service in 1983. The FCC declined to set a technical standard for teletext, opening the door for many incompatible systems. In the US there were also many different business models for teletext. An early version, KEYFAX, was transmitted via satellite on superstation WTBS beginning in 1982, and cost \$19.90 per month, including rental of the decoder. This system survived for two years, when it was abandoned for a videotex service. Other systems required the viewer to purchase a decoder for up to \$300. Some were created to be advertiser-supported or were designed to appeal to narrow audiences, such as classified ads or financial information.

By 1985, teletext was in decline in the United States. It was hampered by availability and price of decoders, lack of technical standards, increased interest in videotex, poor-quality graphics, limited information, and no clear business model. Videotex systems that followed also struggled, until the Internet gained the necessary critical mass to deliver the kinds of services the pioneers of teletext systems had dreamed of and hoped to provide.

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*See also Closed Captioning; Videotex and Online Services*

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## Telethon

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A telethon is a live program devised to raise money for national or local charities, or for nonprofit organizations. Their unusual length (often taking up most of a day's programming, or running through the night) led them to be described colloquially as "television marathons," and thus eventually "telethons." Numerous examples of the form all over the world have raised billions of dollars for various causes. For American viewers, the Jerry Lewis Muscular Dystrophy Association (MDA) effort is perhaps the quintessential telethon. Hosted by Lewis since 1966, it is broadcast internationally, free of charge, by local U.S. stations signing on as part of the annual Labor Day "Love Network." The event, along with Lewis's off-key, emotional rendition of the song "Walk On," have become synonymous with Labor Day itself.

The first telethon, a 16-hour event broadcast by NBC and hosted by Milton Berle in 1949, raised \$1.1 million for the Damon Runyan Memorial Cancer Fund. Berle's pioneering effort set the tone for years to follow: a big-name star at the fore; a battery of telephone operators to collect pledges; and stage, film, and TV personalities appearing among impassioned pleas for donations. Jerry Lewis was one of the personalities to appear with Berle during the first telethon.

Telethons began showing their age in the early 1990s, as various groups representing the disabled argued that telethons, with their accent on cures, paint a helpless and pathetic picture of people with disabilities. Lewis, a fervent campaigner for finding a cure for muscular dystrophy, has dismissed such complaints and continues his traditional approach. The MDA telethon has raised over \$1.5 billion for muscular dystrophy, receiving \$56.8 million in pledges in 2001.

In addition to the MDA event, other annual telethons in the United States include those for Easter Seals, the Arthritis Foundation, United Cerebral Palsy, and the United Negro College Fund. On the local level, U.S. public television stations have borrowed from the form to raise money during their viewer pledge drives.

On September 21, 2001, a telethon became the focal point for an unprecedented instance of cooperation in the television industry. That evening, ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC, PBS, and two dozen U.S. cable channels all simulcast the two-hour, commercial-free telethon *America: A Tribute to Heroes*, which raised millions of dollars for a United Way-administered relief effort for the victims of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States. The telethon was also broadcast live in 150 other nations, with an estimated audience of 60 million viewers, and it has been released on video, CD, and DVD.

In the United Kingdom, the two most durable telethons have been the annual Children in Need Appeal (since 1980), and the more irregular Comic Relief



Jerry Lewis with poster child at the Labor Day MDA Telethon. Courtesy of the Everett Collection





Jerry Lewis hosts the Labor Day weekend telethon for Muscular Dystrophy, 1980s.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Day (since 1988), both broadcast on the BBC. Rather than appealing for individual causes, both these events raise money for a large coalition of charities—Children in Need for medical, educational, and social-program charities working with children, and Comic Relief splitting its funds between agricultural and sanitation projects in the developing world and disability and poverty-alleviation work in the United Kingdom.

Both telethons show events from around the country that have been locally organized to raise money by individual sponsorship (often with an element of the

ridiculous, such as people getting their friends to sponsor them to sit in a bath of custard). These spots are interspersed in the program with appearances by celebrities, who generally perform rather than make direct appeals for money themselves. Comic Relief is fronted by comedians, who often produce elaborate original material for broadcast during the event. The third element in the programming are short films showing the people around the world on whom the money is spent, always carefully emphasizing their dignity and resilience in the face of adversity rather than portraying them as helpless. Children in Need raised £26 million (\$47 million) in 2002, while the Comic Relief event in March 2003 raised more than £61 million (\$110 million).

Perhaps the most spectacular one-off telethon was Live Aid, broadcast on July 13, 1985, comprising two overlapping concerts, one from Wembley Stadium in London, the other from JFK Stadium in Philadelphia, which together formed a continuous 16-hour event featuring many of the world's most famous bands of the time. Worldwide viewing figures were estimated at 1.5 billion, and pledges received during and after the concert totaled about \$100 million.

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*See also Special/Spectacular*

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## Television Studies

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"Television studies" is the relatively recent name given to the academic study of television. Modeled by analogy with longer-established fields of study such as "film studies," the name suggests that there is an ob-

ject, "television," which, in courses named, for example, "Introduction to Television Studies," is the self-evident object of study using accepted methodologies. This may be increasingly the case, but it is important

to grasp that most of the formative academic research on television was first developed for other fields and contexts. The "television" of television studies is a relatively new phenomenon, just as many of the key television scholars are employed in departments of sociology, politics, communication arts, speech, theater, media, and film studies. If it is now possible to speak of this field of study in the English-speaking world in a way in which it was not in, say, 1970, its distinctive characteristics include disciplinary hybridity and a continuing debate about how to conceptualize the object of study, "television." These debates, which are and have been both political and methodological, are further complicated in an international frame by the historical peculiarities of national broadcasting systems. Thus, for example, the television studies that developed in Britain or Scandinavia, while often addressing individual U.S. television programs, did so within the taken-for-granted dominance of public-service models. In contrast, the U.S. system is distinguished by the normality of advertising spots and breaks. In the first instance then, television studies signifies the contested, often nationally inflected, academic address to television as the primary object of study—rather than, for example, television as part of international media economies or television as the site of drama in performance. (Significantly, as advertiser-supported commercial television has spread throughout the world, often altering the reach, role, and function of public-service television, those who study either system have found it necessary to reconfigure some of their motivating questions and methods.)

There have been two prerequisites for the development of television studies in the West—and it is primarily a Western phenomenon, which is not to imply that there is not, for example, a substantial literature on Indian television (cf. Krishnan and Dighe, 1990). The first was that television as such be regarded as worthy of study. This apparently obvious point is significant in relation to a medium that has historically attracted distrust, fear, and contempt. These responses, which often involve the invocation of television as both origin and symptom of social ills, have, as many scholars have pointed out, homologies with responses to earlier popular genres and forms such as the novel and the cinema. The second prerequisite was that television be granted, conceptually, some autonomy and specificity as a medium. Thus television had to be regarded as more than simply a transmitter of world, civic, or artistic events, and as distinguishable from other of the "mass media." Indeed, much of the literature of television studies could be characterized as attempting to formulate accounts of the specificity of television, often using comparison with, on the one hand, radio

(broadcast, liveness, civic address) and on the other, cinema (moving pictures, fantasy), with particular attention, as discussed below, to debate about the nature of the television text and the television audience. Increasingly significant also are the emergent histories of television, whether it be the autobiographical accounts of insiders, such as Grace Wyndham Goldie's history of her years at the BBC, *Facing the Nation*, or the painstaking archival research of historians such as William Boddy with his history of the quiz scandals in 1950s U.S. television or Lynn Spigel with her pioneering study of the way in which television was "installed" in the U.S. living room in the 1950s, *Make Room for TV*.

Television studies emerges in the 1970s and 1980s from three major bodies of commentary on television: journalism, literary/dramatic criticism, and the social sciences. The first, and most familiar, was daily and weekly journalism. This has generally taken the form of guides to viewing and reviews of recent programs. Television reviewing has, historically, been strongly personally voiced, with this authorial voice rendering continuity to the diverse topics and programs addressed. Some of this writing has offered formulations of great insight in its address to television form—for example the work of James Thurber, Raymond Williams, Philip Purser, or Nancy Banks-Smith—which is only now being recognized as one of the origins of the discipline of television studies. The second body of commentary is also organized through ideas of authorship, but here it is the writer or dramatist who forms the legitimation for the attention to television. Critical method here is extrapolated from traditional literary and dramatic criticism, and the television attracts serious critical attention as a "home theater." Representative texts here would be the early collection edited by Howard Thomas, *Armchair Theatre* (1959) or the later, more academic volume edited by George Brandt, *British Television Drama* (1981). Until the 1980s, the address of this type of work was almost exclusively to "high culture": plays and occasionally series by known playwrights, often featuring theatrical actors. Only with an understanding of this context is it possible to see how exceptional is Raymond Williams's defense of television soap opera in *Drama in Performance* (1968), or Horace Newcomb's validation of popular genres in *TV: The Most Popular Art* (1974).

Both of these bodies of commentary are mainly concerned to address what was shown on the screen, and thus conceive of television mainly as a text within the arts and humanities academic traditions. Other early attention to television draws, in different ways, on the social sciences, addressing the production, circulation, and function of television in contemporary society.

Here, research has tended not to address the television text as such, but instead to conceptualize television either through notions of its social function and effects, or within a governing question of *cui bono?* (whose good is served?). Thus television, along with other of the mass media, is conceptualized within frameworks principally concerned with the maintenance of social order: the reproduction of the status quo, the relationship between the state, media ownership, and citizenship, and the constitution of the public sphere. With these concerns, privileged areas of inquiry have tended to be non-textual: patterns of international cross-media ownership; national and international regulation of media production and distribution; professional ideologies; public opinion; media audiences. Methodologies here have been greatly contested, particularly in the extent to which Marxist frameworks, or those associated with the critical sociology of the Frankfurt School, have been employed. These debates have been given further impetus in recent years by research undertaken under the loose definition of cultural studies. In this case the privileged texts—if attention has been directed at texts—have been news and current affairs, and particularly special events such as elections, industrial disputes, and wars. It is this body of work that is least represented in “television studies,” which, as an emergent discipline, tends toward the textualization of its object of study. The British journal *Media, Culture and Society* provides an exemplary instance of media research—in which television plays some part—in the traditions of critical sociology and political economy.

Much innovative work in television studies has been focused on the definition of the television text. Indeed, this debate could be seen as one of the constituting frameworks of the field. The common-sense view points to the individual program as a unit, and this view has firm grounding in the way television is produced. Television is, for the most part, made as programs or runs of programs: series, serials, and miniseries. However, this is not necessarily how television is watched, despite the considerable currency of the view that it is somehow better for the viewer to choose to watch particular programs rather than just having the television on. Indeed, BBC television in the 1950s featured “interludes” between programs—most famously “The Potter’s Wheel,” a short film showing a pair of hands making a clay pot on a wheel—to demarcate programs clearly and ensure that viewers did not just drift from one to the next. It is precisely this possible “drifting” through an evening’s viewing that has come to seem, to many commentators, one of the unique features of television watching, and hence something that must be attended to in any account of the television text.

The inaugural formulation is Raymond Williams’s argument, in his 1974 book, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, that “the defining feature of broadcasting” is “planned flow.” Williams developed these ideas through reflecting on four years of reviewing television for the BBC’s weekly periodical *The Listener*, when he suggests that the separating of the television text into recognizable generic program units, which makes the reviewer’s job much easier, somehow misses “the central television experience: the fact of flow” (1974). Williams’s own discussion of flow draws on analysis of both British and U.S. television, and he is careful to insist on the national variation of broadcasting systems and types and management of flow, but his attempt to describe what is specific to the watching of television has been internationally generative, particularly in combination with some of the more recent empirical studies of how people do (or do not) watch television.

If Williams’s idea of flow has been principally understood to focus attention on television viewing as involving more viewing and less choosing than a critical focus on individual programs would suggest, other critics have picked up the micro-narratives of which so much television is composed. Thus John Ellis approached the television text using a model ultimately derived from film studies, although he is precisely concerned, in his book *Visible Fictions*, to differentiate cinema and television. Ellis suggests that the key unit of the television text is the “segment,” which he defines as “small, sequential unities of images and sounds whose maximum duration seems to be about five minutes” (1982). Broadcast television, Ellis argues, is composed of different types of combinations of segment: sometimes sequential, as in drama series, sometimes cumulative, as in news broadcasts and commercials. As with Williams’s “flow,” the radical element in Ellis’s “segment” is the way in which it transgresses common-sense boundaries such as “program,” “documentary,” or “fiction” to bring to the analyst’s attention common and defining features of broadcast television as a medium.

However, it has also been argued that the television text cannot be conceptualized without attention to the structure of national broadcasting institutions and the financing of program production. In this context, Nick Browne has argued that the U.S. television system is best approached through a notion of the “super-text.” Browne is concerned to address the specificities of the U.S. commercial television system in contrast to the public-service models—particularly the British one—which have been so generative a context for such thinkers as Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall. Browne defines the “super-text” as, initially, a televi-

sion program plus all of the introductory and interstitial material (trailers, commercials, voice-overs and so on) encountered during that program's slot in the schedule. He is thus insisting on an "impure" idea of the text, arguing that the program as broadcast at a particular time in the working week, interrupted by advertisements and announcements, condenses the political economy of television. Advertising, in Browne's schema, is the central mediating institution in U.S. television, linking program schedules to the wider world of production and consumption.

The final concept to be considered in discussing the television text is Newcomb and Hirsch's idea of the "viewing strip" (1987). This concept suggests a mediation between broadcast provision and individual choice, attempting to grasp the way in which each individual negotiates his or her way through the "flow" on offer, putting together a sequence of viewing of their own selection. Thus different individuals might produce very different "texts"—viewing strips—from the same night's viewing. Implicit within the notion of the viewing strip—although not a prerequisite—is the remote-control device, allowing easy channel changing and surfing. And it is this tool of audience agency, embodied in the remote control, that points us to the second substantial area of innovatory scholarship in television studies, the address to the audience.

The hybrid disciplinary origins of television studies are particularly evident in the approach to the television audience. Here, particularly in the 1980s, we find the convergence of potentially antagonistic paradigms. Very simply, on the one hand, research traditions in the social sciences focus on the empirical investigation of the already existing audience. Research design here tends to seek representative samples of particular populations presumed to correlate with viewers of a particular type of programming (adolescent boys and violence; women and soap opera, and so on). Research on the television audience has historically been dominated, particularly in the United States, by large-scale quantitative surveys, often designed using a model of the "effects" of the media, of which television is not necessarily a differentiated element. Within the social sciences, this "effects" model has been challenged by what is known as the "uses and gratifications" model. In James Halloran's famous formulation, "we should ask not what the media does to people, but what people do to the media" (Halloran, 1970). Herta Herzog's 1944 research on the listeners to radio daytime serials was an inaugural project within this "uses and gratifications" tradition, which in the late 1980s produced the project on the international decoding of the U.S. prime-time serial, *Dallas* (Liebes and Katz, 1990).

On the other hand, this social-science history of empirical audience investigation has been confronted by ideas of a textually constituted "reader"—a concept originating in literary and film studies. This produces a very different conceptualization of the audience, drawing on literary, semiotic, and psychoanalytic theory to suggest—in different and disputed ways—that the text constructs a "subject position" from which it is intelligible. In this body of work, the context of consumption and the social origins of audience members are irrelevant to the making of meaning, which originates in the text. However—and it is thus that we see the potential convergence with social-science "uses and gratifications" models—literary theorists such as Umberto Eco have questioned the extent to which the reader should be seen as active in meaning-making (1979). It is, in this context, difficult to separate the development of television studies, as such, from that of cultural studies, for it is within cultural studies that we begin to find the most sophisticated theorizations and empirical investigations of the complex, contextual interplay of text and "reader" in the making of meaning.

The first discussions of television in the field of cultural studies are those of Stuart Hall in essays such as his 1974 paper "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse" (Hall, 1997) and David Morley's audience research (1980). However, this television-specific work cannot theoretically be completely separated from other cultural studies work conducted at Birmingham University in the 1970s, such as that of Dick Hebdige and Angela McRobbie, which stressed the often oppositional agency of individuals in response to contemporary culture. British cultural studies has proved a successful export, its theoretical paradigms meeting and sometimes clashing with those used internationally in the more generalized academic reorientation toward the study of popular culture and entertainment in the 1970s and 1980s. Influential scholars working within, or closely related to, cultural-studies paradigms include Ien Ang and John Fiske. Ang's work on the television audience ranges from a study of *Dallas* fans in the Netherlands to the interrogation of existing ideas of audience in a postmodern, global context. John Fiske's work has been particularly successful in introducing British cultural studies to a U.S. audience, and his 1987 book *Television Culture* was one of the first books about television to take seriously the feminist agenda that has been so important to the recent development of the field. For if television studies is understood as a barely established institutional space, carved out by scholars of television from, on the one hand, mass communications and traditional Marxist political economy, and on the other, cinema, drama,

and literary studies, then the significance of feminist research to the establishment of this connotationally feminized field cannot be underestimated, even if it is not always recognized. E. Ann Kaplan's collection, *Regarding Television*, gives some indication of formulations in this area from the early 1980s.

The interest of new social movements in issues of representation, which has been fruitful for film and literary studies as well as for television studies, has produced sustained interventions by a range of scholars, approaching mainly "texts" with questions about the representation of particular social groups and the interpretation of programs such as *thirtysomething*, *Cagney and Lacey*, *The Cosby Show*, or various soap operas. Feminist scholars have, since the mid-1970s, tended to focus particularly on programs "for" women and those that have key female protagonists. Key work here includes Julie D'Acci's study of *Cagney and Lacey* and the now substantial literature on soap opera (Seiter *et al.*, 1989). Research by Sut Jhally and Justin Lewis has addressed the complex meanings about class and "race" produced by viewers of *The Cosby Show*, but most audience research in this "representational" paradigm has been with white audiences. Jacqueline Bobo and Ellen Seiter argue that this is partly a consequence of the "whiteness" of the academy, which makes research about viewing in the domestic environment potentially a further extension of surveillance for those ethnicized by the dominant culture.

Television studies in the 1990s, was characterized by work in four main areas. The most formative for the emergent discipline have been the work on the definition and interpretation of the television text and the new media ethnographies of viewing, which emphasize both the contexts and the social relations of viewing. However, there is a considerable history of "production studies," which trace the complex interplay of factors involved in getting programs on screen. Examples here might include Tom Burns's study of the professional culture of the BBC (1977), Philip Schlesinger's study of "The News" (1978), the study of MTM co-edited by Jane Feuer, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi (1984), or Todd Gitlin's *Inside Prime Time* (1983, 2000). The fourth area, television history, has also been increasingly significant. Not only does the historical endeavor frequently necessitate working with vanished sources—such as the programs—but it has also involved the use of material of contested evidentiary status (for example, advertisements in women's magazines, as opposed to producer statements). This history of television is a rapidly expanding field, creating a retrospective history for the discipline, but also documenting the period of nationally regulated terres-

trial broadcasting—the "television" of "television studies"—which was coming to an end.

The changes in the television industries occurring from the mid-1980s to the present led to still other questions, some of them variations on old themes, others developed in response to shifts in technology, policy, programming strategies, or alterations in social contexts. Studies of television texts continued to explore form and history, as in Aniko Bodroghkozy's *Groove Tube*, an exploration of television programs as they related to, represented, and appealed to young people. The popularity and socio-cultural significance—and financial success—of so-called "reality television" and "tabloid" television were explored in James Friedman's *Reality Squared: Televisual Discourse and the Real* (2002) and Kevin Glynn's *Tabloid Culture* (2000). These works not only worked toward definitions of these forms, but related them to earlier versions and examined responses from a range of sources. Other studies recognized that definitions of television studies tightly bound to prime-time fictional programming, or to news, or soap opera—and focused primarily on the experience of these forms in the home—were limited from the outset. Anna McCarthy's *Ambient Television* (2001), for example, explored the uses of television in taverns, department stores, installations, and other locations outside the home, thus calling into question conventional notions about the medium, its "viewers and audiences," and their practices.

Other studies were focused on technological changes that altered practices in the television industries, the experience of television users, or both. John Thornton Caldwell's *Televisuality* (1995) argued for a powerful redefinition of the medium based on the rise of digital production technologies and the expansion of distribution systems. Ellen Seiter's *Television and New Media Audiences* (1998) extended approaches developed in the analysis of popular television to users of new media such as the internet. Significantly, the first academic journal to use the term "television studies" was *Television and New Media Studies*, first published in 2000. Article titles ranged over all the topics mentioned here, from textual definition and theory, to analysis of specific programs, to essays on television history, and, as the journal title indicates, to exploration of new "screen" media. In these ways, television studies has kept pace with alterations in the varied experiences of the medium—industrial, individual, social, and cultural.

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*See also Audience Research; Criticism, Television (Journalistic)*

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## Terrorism

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"Terrorism" is a term that cannot be given a stable definition; to do so forestalls any attempt to examine the major feature of its relation to television in the contem-

porary world. As the central public arena for organizing ways of picturing and talking about social and political life, TV plays a pivotal role in the contest

between competing definitions, accounts, and explanations of terrorism.

Politicians frequently try to limit the terms of this competition by asserting the primacy of their preferred versions. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, former U.S. representative to the United Nations, for example, had no difficulty recognizing “terrorism” when she saw it, arguing that “what the terrorist does is kill, maim, kidnap, torture. His victims may be schoolchildren . . . industrialists returning home from work, political leaders or diplomats”. Television journalists, in contrast, prefer to work with less elastic definitions. The BBC’s *News Guide*, for example, advises reporters that “the best general rule” is to use the term “terrorist” when civilians are attacked and “guerrillas” when the targets are members of the official security forces.

Which term is used in any particular context is inextricably tied to judgments about the legitimacy of the action in question and of the political system against which it is directed. Terms like “guerrilla,” “partisan,” or “freedom fighter” carry positive connotations of varying degrees, suggesting a perhaps justified struggle against an occupying power or an oppressive state; to label an action as “terrorist” is, by the same token, to consign it to illegitimacy.

For most of the television age, from the end of World War II to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the deployment of positive and negative political labels was an integral part of Cold War politics and its dualistic view of the world. In the West, the term “terrorism” was used extensively to characterize enemies of the United States and its allies, as in President Reagan’s assertion in 1985 that Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua, and North Korea constituted a “confederation of terrorist states” intent on undermining American attempts “to bring stable and democratic government” to the developing world. Conversely, friendly states, such as Argentina, could wage a full scale internal war against “terrorism,” using a definition elastic enough to embrace almost anyone who criticized the regime or held unacceptable opinions, and attract comparatively little censure from Western governments despite the fact that this wholesale use of state terror killed and maimed many more civilians than the more publicized incidents of “retail” (in distinction to “wholesale”) terror—targeted assassinations, kidnappings and bombings.

The relations between internal terrorism and the state raise particularly difficult questions for liberal democracies. By undermining the state’s claim to a legitimate monopoly of force within its borders, acts of “retail” terror pose a clear threat to internal security. And, in the case of subnational and separatist movements that refuse to recognize the integrity of those borders, they directly challenge its political legitimacy.



The siege of the Munich Olympic Village, 1972: The apartment of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich after the Arab guerrilla terrorist attack, 1972.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

Faced with these challenges, liberal democracies have two choices. Either they can abide by their own declared principles, permit open political debate on the underlying causes and claims of terrorist movements, uphold the rule of law, and respond to insurgent violence through the procedures of due process. Or they can curtail public debate and civil liberties in the name of effective security. The British state’s response to the conflict in Northern Ireland, and to British television’s attempts to cover it, illustrate this tension particularly well.

Television journalism in Britain has faced a particular problem in reporting “the Irish Question” since the Republican movement has adopted a dual strategy using both the ballot box and the bullet, pursuing its claim for the ultimate reunification of Ireland electorally, through the legal political party, Sinn Féin, and militarily, through the campaign waged by the illegal Irish Republican Army. Added to which, the British state’s response has been ambiguous. Ostensibly, as Prime Minister Thatcher argued in 1990, although “they are at war with us . . . we can only fight them with the civil law.” Then Home Secretary Douglas Hurd admitted in 1989 that, in his view “with the Provisional IRA . . . it is nothing to do with a political cause any more. They are professional killers . . . No political solution will cope with that. They just have to be extirpated.” Television journalists’ attempts to explore these contradictions produced two of the bitterest peacetime confrontations between British broadcasters and the British state.

Soon after British troops were first sent to Northern Ireland in the early 1970s, there were suspicions that the due process of arrest and trial was being breached by a covert but officially sanctioned shoot-to-kill pol-



icy directed against suspected members of Republican paramilitary groups. In 1988, three members of an IRA active service unit were shot dead by members of an elite British counter-terrorist unit in Gibraltar. Contrary to the initial official statements, they were later found to be unarmed and not in the process of planting a car bomb as first claimed. One of the leading commercial television companies, Thames Television, produced a documentary entitled *Death on the Rock*, raising questions about the incident. It was greeted with a barrage of hostile criticism from leading Conservative politicians, including Prime Minister Thatcher. The tone of official condemnation was perfectly caught in an editorial headline in the country's best-selling daily paper *The Sun*, claiming that the program was "just IRA propaganda."

The representation of the Provisional IRA was at the heart of an earlier major conflict, over a 1985 BBC documentary entitled *At the Edge of the Union*. This featured an extended profile of Martin McGuinness of Sinn Féin, widely thought to be a leading IRA executive responsible for planning bombings. The program gave him space to explain his views and showed him in his local community and at home with his family. The then Home Secretary Leon Brittan (who had not seen the film) wrote to the chairman of the BBC's Board of Governors urging them not to show it, arguing that "Even if [it] and any surrounding material were, as a whole, to present terrorist organizations in a wholly unfavorable light, I would still ask you not to permit it to be broadcast." The governors convened an emergency meeting and decided to cancel the scheduled screening. This very public vote of no confidence in the judgment of the corporation's senior editors and managers was unprecedented and was met with an equally unprecedented response from BBC journalists. They staged a one-day strike protesting against government interference with the Corporation's independence.

In his letter, Brittan had claimed that it was "damaging to security and therefore to the public interest to provide a boost to the morale of the terrorists and their apologists in this way." Refusing this conflation of "security" with the "public interest" is at the heart of television journalism's struggle to provide an adequate information base for a mature democracy. As the BBC's assistant director general put it in 1988, "it is necessary for the maintenance of democracy that unpopular, even dangerous, views are heard and thoroughly understood. The argument about the 'national interest' demanding censorship of such voices is glib and intrinsically dangerous. Who determines the 'national interest?' How far does the 'national interest' ex-

tend?" His argument was soundly rejected by the government. In the autumn of 1988, they instructed broadcasters not to transmit direct speech from members of eleven Irish organizations, including Sinn Féin, leading to the ludicrous situation in which actors dubbed the words of proscribed interviewees over film of them speaking. This ban was lifted in 1994, but its imposition illustrates the permanent potential for conflict between official conceptions of security and the national interest and broadcasters' desire to provide full information, rational debate, and relevant contextualization on areas of political controversy and dispute. As the BBC's former director general, Ian Trethowan, pointed out, the basic dilemma posed by television's treatment of terrorism is absolutely "central to the ordering of a civilized society: how to avoid encouraging terrorism and violence while keeping a free and democratic people properly informed."

Television's ability to strike this balance is not just a question for news, current affairs, and documentary production, however. The images and accounts of terrorism offered by television drama and entertainment are also important in orchestrating the continual contest between the discourse of government and the state, the discourses of legitimated opposition groups, and the discourses of insurgent movements. This struggle is not simply for visibility—to be seen and heard. It is also for credibility—to have one's views discussed seriously and one's case examined with care. The communicative weapons in this battle are, however, unevenly distributed.

As the saturation coverage that the U.S. news media gave to the Shi'ite hijacking of a TWA passenger jet at Beirut in 1985 demonstrated very clearly, spectacular acts of retail terror can command a high degree of visibility. But the power to contextualize and to grant or withhold legitimacy lies with the array of official spokespeople who comment on the event and help construct its public meaning. As the American political scientist David Paletz has noted, because television news "generally ignores the motivations, objectives and long-term goals of violent organizations," it effectively prevents "their causes from gaining legitimacy with the public." This has led some commentators to speculate that exclusion from the general process of meaning-making is likely to generate ever more spectacular acts designed to capitalize on the access provided by the highly visible propaganda of the deed.

Bernard Lewis, one of America's leading experts on the Arab world, noted in his comments on the hijacking of the TWA airliner that those who plotted the incident "knew that they could count on the American press and television to provide them with unlimited



publicity and perhaps even some form of advocacy," but because the coverage ignored the political roots of the action in the complex power struggles within Shi'ite Islam, it did little to explain its causes or to foster informed debate on appropriate responses. As the television critic of the *Financial Times* of London put it: "There is a criticism to be made of the coverage of these events, but it is not that television aided and abetted terrorists. On the contrary, it is that television failed to convey, or even to consider, the reasons for what President Reagan called 'ugly, vicious, evil terrorism.'"

News is a relatively closed form of television programming. It privileges the views of spokespeople for governments and state agencies and generally organizes stories to converge around officially sanctioned resolutions. Other program forms—documentaries, for example—are potentially at least more open. They may allow a broader spectrum of perspectives into play, including those that voice alternative or oppositional viewpoints. They may stage debates and pose awkward questions rather than offer familiar answers.

Both these strategies became brutally apparent following the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. News coverage was the dominant form, beginning with live coverage of the actions. Many viewers were tuned to ongoing reports of the first plane's strike when they saw the second strike on their television screens. News reports of the attack on the Pentagon were interspersed with speculation regarding still other planes headed toward Washington. The crash of the fourth plane in Pennsylvania was described cautiously at first as "potentially" involved in the coordinated attacks, then, with information from telephone messages from passengers, confirmed as part of the plan.

News coverage continued for days, providing information on events, rescue efforts, background, responses, and other related factors. But it also included interviews with the families of victims, often drawing heavily on emotional moments. Viewers could easily relate to these more personal accounts, given that the entire country was caught up in its first-ever experience of something so immediate and, to rely on the term, terrifying.

Some of these news accounts were quickly edited with other information into network "examinations" of the events, programs approaching conventional documentaries in length and style—file footage, talking-head interviews, background information, speculation as to motive, intent, technique, and long-term implications.

In the following months, numerous documentaries

have explored specific aspects of the events of September 11. Many of these have attempted varying types of "explanation," from computerized analyses of how and why the buildings were vulnerable to such attacks, to explorations of individual lives. A few have challenged conventional accounts of events to take a more critical look at alternative explanations of the political events and personalities, the strategies of the attackers, and the role of the U.S. government, the responses of various agencies involved, and the implications for future international relations. Still other documentaries have explored Islamic culture, international attitudes toward U.S. policies and culture, and such specific topics as responses of children, religious understanding of the problem of evil, and plans to build memorials at "Ground Zero."

In the aftermath of the attacks, in the ongoing "War on Terror" conducted by the Bush administration, a war that has led to engagement in Afghanistan, the defeat of the Baathist regime in Iraq, and the capture of Saddam Hussein, television's reliance on notions of "terror" and "terrorism" has come to occupy an almost regular spot on the schedules. It is unlikely that, for many years to come, September 11th will pass in the United States without news and documentaries that return in some way to that day in 2001 and to the topic.

Television in a democratic society requires the greatest possible diversity of open program forms if it is to address the issues raised by terrorism in the complexity they merit. Whether the emerging forces of technological change in production and reception, channel proliferation, increased competition for audiences, and transnational distribution will advance or block this ideal is a question well worth examining.

GRAHAM MURDOCK

*See also Death on the Rock*

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## That Girl

### U.S. Situation Comedy

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*That Girl* was one of the first television shows in the United States to focus on the single working woman, preceding CBS's *Mary Tyler Moore Show* by four years. This situation comedy followed heroine Ann Marie's adventures as she struggled to establish herself on the New York stage while supporting herself with a variety of temporary jobs.

*That Girl* was reputedly inspired by the life of its star, Marlo Thomas. The daughter of famous television comedian Danny Thomas wanted success on her own merits, so she moved to Britain, where her father was unknown. After five years struggling, she won acclaim in Mike Nichol's 1965 London production of *Barefoot in the Park*. Returning home, she starred in an ABC pilot, *Two's Company*, about a model married to a photographer. Although it was not picked up, ABC head Ed Sherick offered Thomas other roles, including the lead in *My Mother, the Car*. She rejected these parts and instead approached the network with an idea for a show called *Miss Independence*, centered on the life of a young, single career woman. ABC was interested but wanted some kind of chaperone as a regular character.

Like *The Patty Duke Show*, *Peyton Place*, and *Gidget*, *That Girl* was one of many shows ABC targeted at the young female audience during the mid- to late 1960s. The network had successfully turned to this up-and-coming demographic as early as 1963, capitalizing on the nascent women's movement and youth revolution. Like most of these shows, *That Girl* followed an already established trend, offering a diluted and sanitized version of the glamorized single-woman lifestyle popularized by the likes of Helen Gurley Brown, Mary McCarthy, and Jacqueline Susann. Un-

like those writers' heroines, however, Ann Marie remained, at the behest of network standards and practices offices, chaste. The executives even wanted her to marry steady boyfriend, magazine executive Don Hollinger (whom she met in the first episode), but Thomas resisted, consenting only to a September 1970 engagement.

While it focused on a self-supporting woman, *That Girl* did not center on the workplace (unlike *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*), largely because Ann's employment was essentially itinerant. Instead, her efforts to succeed revealed a merging of public and private life. The erratic nature of her employment undermined everyday routines of working life, positioning her independence as highly precarious—particularly when contrasted to the steady rituals of Don's career. Ann's temporary jobs presented comedic opportunities as she struggled to retain her dignity in the face of often demeaning circumstances while foregrounding her continued reliance on her parents and Don. Female independence was thus presented as a site of struggle, both against the restrictions of the male-dominated workplace and the social and familial pressures for marriage. Meanwhile, Ann's very choice of profession—the stage—undermined her desire for success, casting it in terms of fantasy. This lack of realism was evident from the start. Even Thomas noted that her struggling actress heroine never changed or developed. This refusal of change ultimately led to the show's 1971 cancellation: despite good ratings, Thomas announced that she could not face playing the same character for eternity.

MOYA LUCKETT

See also *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*



*That Girl*, Marlo Thomas, 1966–71; 1969 episode.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

**Cast**

Ann Marie	Marlo Thomas
Don Hollinger	Ted Bessell
Lou Marie	Lew Parker
Helen Marie (1966–70)	Rosemary DeCamp
Judy Bessemer (1966–67)	Bonnie Scott
Dr. Leon Bessemer (1966–67)	Dabney Coleman
Jules Benedict	Billie De Wolfe

Jerry Bauman	Bernie Kopell
Ruth Bauman (1967–69)	Carolyn Daniels
Ruth Bauman (1969–71)	Alice Borden
Harvey Peck (1966–67)	Ronnie Schell
George Lester (1966–67)	George Carlin
Seymour Schwimmer (1967–68)	Don Penny
Margie “Pete” Peterson (1967–68)	Ruth Buzzi
Mary	Reva Rose
Gloria	Bobo Lewis
Jonathan Adams	Forest Compton
Bert Hollinger	Frank Faylen
Mildred Hollinger	Mabel Albertson
Sandi Hollinger	Cloris Leachman
Nino	Gino Conforti
Mr. Brantano	Frank Puglia
Mrs. Brantano	Renata Vanni
Sandy Stone	Morty Gunty

**Producers**

Bill Persky, Sam Denoff, Bernie Orenstein, Saul Turteltaub, Jerry Davis

**Programming History**

136 episodes  
ABC  
September 1966–April 1967      Thursday 9:30–10:00  
April 1967–January 1969      Thursday 9:00–9:30  
February 1969–September  
1970      Thursday 8:00–8:30  
September 1970–September  
1971      Friday 9:00–9:30

**Further Reading**

Cole, Stephen, *That Book about That Girl: The Unofficial Companion*, Los Angeles: Renaissance Books, 1999  
Douglas, Susan J., *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*, New York: Times Books, 1994

# That Was the Week That Was

## British Satirical Review

The idea for *That Was the Week That Was* (which familiarly became known as *TW3*) came partly from the then director general of the BBC, Hugh Greene, who wanted to “prick the pomposity of public figures.” However, it

was the team of Ned Sherrin, Alasdair Milne, and Donald Baverstock that was responsible for developing the program’s successful format. The trio had previously worked on the BBC’s daily early-evening news maga-

zine show *Tonight* (1957–65; revived and revamped version, 1975–79) and the lighthearted style and wide-ranging brief of that show often allowed certain items to be covered in a tongue-in-cheek, irreverent, or even satirical way. *TW3*, in its late-night Saturday slot, moved those elements a stage further and, taking a lead from the increased liberalism of theater and cinema in Britain, was able to discuss and dissect the week's news and newsmakers using startlingly direct language and illustration. Whereas *Tonight* was gentle, *TW3* was savage, unflinching in its devotion to highlighting cant and hypocrisy and seemingly fearless in its near-libelous accusations and innuendos. It became an influential, controversial, and groundbreaking satire series, which pushed back the barriers of what was acceptable comment on television. Complaints poured in, but so did congratulations and, despite enormous political pressure, Hugh Greene—determined in his quest to see a modern, harder BBC through the 1960s—stood by his brainchild.

Stylistically, the show broke many rules. Although it was commonplace on “live” shows of the 1950s (such as the rock ‘n’ roll show *6–5 Special*) to see the cumbersome cameras being pushed from one set to the next, *TW3* went beyond that. A camera mounted high up in the studio would offer a bird’s-eye view of the entire proceedings, showing the complete studio set-up with the flimsy sketch sets, the musicians, backroom personnel, the audience, other cameras, and so on. It seemed to indicate that the viewing audience was to be treated as equals, and that both creator and viewer knew it was a studio, knew the sketches were not really set in a doctor’s waiting-room but in a three-walled mock-up, knew that make-up girls would wait in the wings with powder and paint—so why hide it? The format of the show was simple, rigid enough to keep it all together, flexible enough to let items lengthen or shorten or disappear altogether, depending on time. Millicent Martin (the only permanent female member of the team) would sing the title song (music by Ron Grainer, with Caryl Brahms providing a new set of lyrics each week relating to the news of the past few days), then David Frost, as host, would introduce the proceedings and act as link man between the items, often appearing himself in sketches or giving monologues. (Originally, John Bird was to be host, but declined; Sherrin saw Frost at a club, doing an act where he gave a press conference as Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, and offered him the role of cohost with Brian Redhead, who dropped out after doing the untransmitted pilot.) Bernard Levin interviewed people in the news or with strongly held views, and his acid wit added an edge that occasionally produced flare-ups both verbal and physical. (A member of the studio au-

dience once punched Levin during the program, rather ineffectually, following a scathing review he had written.) Lance Percival acted in sketches and sang topical calypsos (a device used on *Tonight*), many of which were ad-libbed. David Kernan was a resident singer whose strength was his ability to parody other singers and styles; Timothy Birdsall drew cartoons, Al Mancini pulled faces, and the engine room was provided by Willie Rushton, Kenneth Cope, and Roy Kinnear who fleshed out the sketches and comic chatter. The show occasionally featured guest artists—most famously, comedian Frankie Howerd, whose popularity had waned somewhat. His one appearance on *TW3* managed to dramatically resurrect his career, as his humor seemed to work for both traditionalists and this new, younger, harder generation.

The writing credits for the show read like a *Who’s Who* of the sharp young talent of the time: John Albery, John Antrobus, Christopher Booker, Malcolm Bradbury, John Braine, Quentin Crewe, Brian Glanville, Gerald Kaufman, Herbert Kretzmer, David Nathan and Dennis Potter, David Nobbs, Peter Shaffer, Kenneth Tynan, Stephen Vinaver, Keith Waterhouse, and Willis Hall—plus contributions from the show’s creative staff: Sherrin, Frost, and Levin.

Memorable moments from the series include Gerald Kaufman’s list of silent MPs, highlighting politicians who had not spoken in the House of Commons in ten or fifteen years. The sketch caused a furor when it was read out by the team, despite the fact that the information was readily available. Kenneth Cope’s “confession” monologue (written by John Braine) featured a figure, hidden in shadows, who confessed to being heterosexual and related the misery this identity can cause. Frost’s scathing profile of Home Secretary Henry Brooke insinuated, among other things, that his intractability in an immigration case had led to the murder of the subject. Millicent Martin sang with black-faced minstrels about racism in the southern United States. And most memorable of all was the truly serious edition immediately following President John Kennedy’s assassination. The whole show was given over to the subject, tackling the shock felt and the implications of the shooting with rare solemnity and dignity. (That episode was lodged at the Smithsonian Institution.)

A U.S. version of the series (also featuring Frost) debuted 10 January 1964 on NBC and ran until May 1965. Singer Nancy Ames took the Millicent Martin role and Buck Henry, Pat Englund, and Alan Alda were among the regulars. The show proved equally groundbreaking in the United States and, like the British version, was no stranger to controversy.

DICK FIDDY

See also Frost, David

#### Cast

David Frost  
 Millicent Martin  
 Bernard Levin  
 Lance Percival  
 Roy Kinnear  
 William Rushton  
 Timothy Birdsall  
 John Wells  
 Kenneth Cope  
 David Kernan  
 Al Mancini  
 John Bird  
 Eleanor Bron  
 Roy Hudd

#### Producer

Ned Sherrin

#### Programming History

36 50-minute episodes; 1 150-minute special; 1 100-minute special

BBC

September 29, 1962	150-minute special
November 24, 1962–April 27, 1963	23 episodes
September 28, 1963–December 21, 1963	13 episodes
December 28, 1963	100-minute special

#### Further Reading

Campey, George, J.T. Archer, and Ian Coates, *The BBC Book of That Was the Week That Was*, London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1963

Frost, David, *That Was the Week That Was*, London: W.H. Allen, 1963

## Thaw, John (1942–2002)

British Actor

A versatile and successful British actor, John Thaw worked in television, theater, and cinema. But the small screen guaranteed him almost continual employment throughout his exceptional career.

After training at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, at a 1960 stage debut he was “discovered” and promoted by Granada TV. His first TV outing was in 1961; after that he took the lead role in an impressive array of series. He had parts ranging from *The Avengers* to *Z Cars*, and the lead in the series *Redcap* before his big break in *The Sweeney* (1974–78), a landmark in the police-action genre. Thaw played rough-mannered detective Jack Regan of the Flying Squad. *The Sweeney* was described as a U.S.-influenced imitation of West Coast shows, and was prominent in debates about the levels of violence and bad language on television, being criticized for glamorizing guns and car chases. Its superiority over standard violent fare, however, owed much to Thaw’s performance, along with the growing rapport between his and Dennis Waterman’s characters and the show’s constant originality.

For years after *The Sweeney*, Thaw found it difficult to throw off the Jack Regan image, but in 1987 he began another long-running detective series for which he is perhaps best known. *Inspector Morse* was remarkably popular with critics and audiences internationally. Its ITV ratings in Britain were second only to those of *Coronation Street*. Again, the show owed much of its success to Thaw’s central performance, for which he twice won a British Academy of Film and Television Award (BAFTA). He held together Morse’s eccentricities, as the irascible, world-weary, and introspective crossword and classical-music lover. Julian Mitchell, writer of several episodes of *Morse*, saw Thaw as the consummate TV actor: “His technique is perfect, and by seeming to do very little he conveys so much.” In this way he suggested hidden depths to Morse, and conveyed his troubled morality. The tranquility and gentle English manner associated with *Morse* were a far cry from *The Sweeney*, and it gained fans as an antidote to violent American television.

Audiences were accustomed to Thaw’s downbeat manner in gloomy roles, but he claimed to prefer do-



John Thaw, in the *Inspector Morse* TV series; episode "The Wolvercote Tongue," December 1988.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

ing comedy. He played the lead in the sitcom *Home to Roost*, appeared with *Sweeney* partner Waterman in the 1976 *Morecambe and Wise Christmas Show*, and starred in the widely derided *A Year in Provence*, which lost a record 10 million viewers during one series.

Despite this, Thaw remained a very bankable star. *Kavanagh QC*, a part written especially for him after *Provence*, was another big hit. He was back on familiar territory as a barrister reconciling principle and his working-class roots with a lucrative law practice.

Thaw saw himself as a "jobbing actor, no different from a plumber." Part of his success may have been a result of his ability to play everyman roles that people could relate to easily. Despite a distinctly unclassical repertoire, he continued to act on stage whenever his busy TV career allowed, latterly in "special guest star" roles. He also appeared in several feature films, including two *Sweeney* films, and Richard Attenborough's *Cry Freedom* (1987). John Thaw died on February 21, 2002.

GUY JOWETT

See also *Sweeney, The*

**John Thaw.** Born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, January 3, 1942. Attended Dulcie Technical High School, Manchester; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (Vanbrugh Award, Liverpool Playhouse Award). Married: 1) Sally Alexander (divorced); child: Abigail; 2) Sheila Hancock, 1973; children: Joanna and stepdaughter Melanie. Stage debut, Liverpool Playhouse, 1960; London debut, Royal Court Theatre, 1961; became widely familiar to television audiences in *The Sweeney* and subsequently as star of the *Inspector Morse* series. Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award for Best Television Actor, 1990 and 1993. Died February 21, 2002, due to cancer of the esophagus.

#### Television Series and Miniseries

1965–66	<i>Redcap</i>
1974	<i>Thick As Thieves</i>
1974–78	<i>The Sweeney</i>
1983	<i>Mitch</i>
1985–89	<i>Home to Roost</i>
1987–2000	<i>Inspector Morse</i>
1991	<i>Stanley and the Women</i>
1992	<i>A Year in Provence</i>
1995–2001	<i>Kavanagh QC</i>
1999	<i>Plastic Man</i>
1999	<i>The Second World War in Color</i> (voice only)
1999	<i>The Waiting Time</i>
2000	<i>Britain at War in Color</i> (voice only)
2001	<i>The Glass</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1981	<i>Drake's Venture</i>
1997	<i>Into the Blue</i>
1998	<i>Goodnight Mr. Tom</i>
2001	<i>Buried Treasure</i>

#### Television Specials

1974	<i>Regan</i>
1984	<i>The Life and Death of King John</i>
1992	<i>Bomber Harris</i>
1993	<i>The Mystery of Morse</i>
1994	<i>The Absence of War</i>

#### Films

*Nil Carborundum*, 1962; *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*, 1962; *Five to One*, 1963; *Dead Man's Chest*, 1965; *The Bofors Gun*, 1968; *Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition*, 1970; *The Last Grenade*, 1970; *The Abominable Dr. Phibes*, 1971;

*Dr. Phibes Rises Again*, 1972; *The Sensible Action of Lieutenant Holst*, 1976; *The Sweeney*, 1977; *The Sweeney II*, 1978; *Dinner at the Sporting Club*, 1978; *The Grass is Singing*, 1981; *Asking for Trouble*, 1987; *Business As Usual*, 1987; *Cry Freedom*, 1987; *Charlie*, 1992; *Monsignor Renard*, 1999.

### Stage

*A Shred of Evidence*, 1960; *The Fire Raisers*, 1961; *Women Beware Women*, 1962; *Semi-Detached*,

1962; *So What About Love?*, 1969; *Random Happenings in the Hebrides*, 1970; *The Lady from the Sea*, 1971; *Collaborators*, 1973; *Absurd Person Singular*, 1976; *Night and Day*, 1978; *Sergeant Musgrave's Dance*, 1982; *Twelfth Night*, 1983; *The Time of Your Life*, 1983; *Henry VIII*, 1983; *Pygmalion*, 1984; *All My Sons*, 1988; *The Absence of War*, 1993.

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## Theme Songs

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Theme songs are perhaps television's most underrated aesthetic component. While scholarly attention has long been lavished on issues of representation, narrative, and (to a somewhat lesser extent) visual style, television music has been only rarely considered, and theme songs even less so. However, theme songs are one of the most iconic aspects of a series, branding it with an aural identity that is ritually repeated in every episode (and subsequent rerun), and firmly lodged in the collective brain of popular culture. Just a few notes from a popular theme song such as *The Twilight Zone* or *Scooby-Doo* can quickly convey an entire sensibility. Theme songs come in several varieties: instrumentals, songs with lyrics, and previously existing compositions adapted to a particular series.

Instrumental themes have long been effective in anchoring programs to particular aesthetic and cultural sensibilities. For example, Henry Mancini's smoky, driving *Peter Gunn* theme is still an evocative take on the postwar private eye. Similarly, a few years later, Laurie Johnson's jaunty theme for *The Avengers* effectively captured that series' signature cocktail of sex, wit, and derring-do, while Lalo Schiffrin's blazingly minimalist *Mission: Impossible* theme became one of the most recognizable themes of all time. Other hailed instrumentals include the themes to *The Twilight Zone* and *The X-Files*, which eerily suggest the fear of the unknown; the themes to *Doctor Kildare* and *St. Elsewhere*, which calmly indicate melodrama and care; and the themes to *The Andy Griffith Show* and *Northern Exposure*, which convey a laid-back, rural sensibility.

Instrumental themes also mark significant changes in genre. The themes of 1950s police series such as *Dragnet* and *Highway Patrol* emphasized a martial,

no-nonsense "law and order" mood. However, police series of the 1970s, such as *Hawaii Five-O* or *S.W.A.T.*, generally featured hard, brassy themes that promised gritty urban action, while recent themes have been more brooding than ballistic, reflecting their series' contemplative moods (for instance, *Homicide: Life On The Streets* and *NYPD Blue*). Instrumental sitcom themes have ranged over an even greater terrain, taking in bouncy and childlike (*Leave It To Beaver*); suburban and swinging (*The Dick Van Dyke Show*); urban and funky (*Sanford And Son*); sensitive and melancholic (*Taxi*); easygoing and jazzy (*The Cosby Show*); bluesy and working class (*Roseanne*); and ironic and chaotic (*The Simpsons*), among many other moods.

Theme songs with lyrics convey a more intimate expression of a series' context, as their explicit declarations match their protagonists' depicted social and emotional aspirations. Accordingly, such themes are often heard in post-1970 sitcoms, which generally focus on their characters' quests for community and emotional security, such as *Alice*, *All In The Family*, *Diff'rent Strokes*, *Friends*, *The Golden Girls*, *Good Times*, *Laverne & Shirley*, *Malcolm In The Middle*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *One Day At A Time*, *Scrubs*, *Welcome Back, Kotter*, and *WKRP In Cincinnati*. In the case of *All In The Family*, the theme was even performed on camera by two of its main characters (Archie and Edith Bunker) in every episode, vividly depicting their perspectives.

Occasionally, sitcom lyrics even provide a detailed exposition of a program's basic situation. This trend was heard most famously in the themes to 1960s and 1970s series such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *The Brady Bunch*, *F Troop*, *Gilligan's Island*, *Green Acres*, and

## Theme Songs

*The Patty Duke Show*. Such themes were archly resurrected in a few 1990s sitcoms (such as *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, *Herman's Head*, and *The Nanny*, which managed to rhyme "crushing scenes" with "Flushing, Queens").

Existing compositions have also often become popular television theme songs. Charles Gounod's "Funeral March of the Marionettes" is probably better known as the theme to *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, while John Philip Sousa's "Liberty Bell March" now has a similar connotation thanks to its use on *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. Seventeenth century composer Jean-Joseph Mouret's Rondeau from *Symphonies and Fanfares for the King's Supper* still serves as the fanfare to *Masterpiece Theatre*. The original hit recording of "Rock Around The Clock" (performed by Bill Haley and the Comets) appropriately opened each episode of *Happy Days* during its first two seasons (complete with a jukebox motif, with the song starting as the needle hit the record), before being replaced with an original, eponymous song. A languid instrumental of "Georgia On My Mind" was used as the theme for the Atlanta-set *Designing Women* until its last season, when Ray Charles appeared in the credits (with the cast draping his piano), to sing the song. More recent uses of existing songs include: Carole King's "If You Leave I Will Follow" (from her popular 1970 album *Tapestry*), which was re-recorded as a duet between King and her daughter Louise Goffin to evoke the mother-daughter sentiments of *Gilmore Girls*; The Who's "Who Are You?," which graces *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* for its

rock ethos, familiarity with the target audience, and lyrical confluence with the series' subject matter; and Diane Warren's soft-rock ballad "Where My Heart Will Take Me," which bombastically connects the spacefarers of *Star Trek: Enterprise* to sentimental longing.

Although well-conceived television theme songs become popular and recognizable with viewers, they have only rarely become full-fledged pop hits with listeners, in terms of radio airplay and sales. Jan Hammer's *Miami Vice* theme, released as a single in 1985, is still the all-time best-selling television theme song; other notable hits include the themes from *The Greatest American Hero*, *S.W.A.T.*, and *Welcome Back, Kotter*. Beyond the theme song, entire soundtrack albums have been released featuring music heard in (or "inspired by") particular series. This practice began in the 1950s with the likes of Mancini's *Mr. Lucky* and *Peter Gunn* albums, but continues to this day. Some soundtrack releases are collections of incidental music (e.g. *Star Trek*, *The Twilight Zone*, *Xena: Warrior Princess*), while others are compilations of pop songs that are featured in their respective programs (e.g. *Beverly Hills 90210*, *Friends*, *The Heights*, *Smallville*).

DEREK KOMPARE

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# thirtysomething

## U.S. Drama

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Winner of an Emmy Award for Best Dramatic Series in 1988, *thirtysomething* (ABC, 1987-91) represented a new kind of hour-long drama, a series that focused on the domestic and professional lives of a group of young urban professionals ("yuppies"), a socio-economic category of increasing interest to the television industry. The series attracted a cult audience of viewers who strongly identified with one or more of its eight central characters, a circle of friends living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Its stylistic and storyline innovations led critics to respect it for being "as close

to the level of an art form as weekly television ever gets," as the *New York Times* put it. When the series was canceled due to poor ratings, a *Newsweek* eulogy reflected the sense on the part of "baby boomers" of losing a rendezvous with their mirrored lifestyle: "the value of the Tuesday night meetings was that art, even on the small screen, reflected our lives back at us to be considered as new." Hostile critics, on the other hand, were relieved that the self-indulgent whines of "yuppiedom" had finally been banished from the schedules.

The show *thirtysomething* spearheaded ABC's drive



to reach a demographically younger and culturally more capital-rich audience. Cover stories in *Rolling Stone* and *Entertainment Weekly* explored the parallels between the actors' and characters' lives, as well as the rapport the program generated with its audience, who were seen as sharing the characters' inner conflicts. Michael Steadman, an advertising copywriter struggling with the claims of his liberal Jewish background, and his wife Hope, a part-time journalist and activist and a full-time mother, were the "settled" couple. The Steadmans were contrasted with Elliot, a not-really-grown-up graphic artist who was Michael's best friend at the University of Pennsylvania, and Elliot's long-suffering wife Nancy, an illustrator who separated from him and developed ovarian cancer in subsequent seasons. Three unmarried friends also dating back from college days complete the roster of characters: Ellyn, a career executive in city government; Gary, English teacher at a liberal arts college; and Melissa, a freelance photographer and Michael's cousin. While the two couples wrestled with their marriages and raising their children, the three others had a series of love affairs with outsiders to the circle. For Gary, after a quasi-incestuous relation with Melissa, fate held a child out of wedlock with a temperamental feminist named Susanna; failure to win tenure at the college; life as a househusband; and, finally, in one of the series' most publicized episodes, sudden death in an automobile accident.

The title, referring to the age of the characters, was written as one word (to represent "togetherness") and in lower case (to evoke e.e. cummings and the refusal of authority). "Real life is an acquired taste" was the network promo for the series, as its makers explored the boundaries between soap operatics and verisimilitude, between melodrama and realism. Co-creators Edward Zwick and Marshall Herskovitz (who had met at the American Film Institute) claimed a "mandate of small moments examined closely," dealing with "worlds of incremental change" loosely modeled on their own lives and those of their friends. Central to Zwick and Herskovitz's sense of this fictional world was a high degree of self-consciousness and media awareness. "Very *Big Chill*," as one character put it, referring to Lawrence Kasdan's 1983 film. That movie was often seen as a progenitor of the series, defining a generation through its nostalgia for its fancy-free days before adulthood. *The Big Chill* focus on a "reunion of friends" in turn refers to the small-budget film *Return of the Secaucus Seven* made by John Sayles in 1980. Yet another touchstone for the cinematically literate makers of *thirtysomething* was Frank Capra's film *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), the perennial favorite of American moviegoers, to which homage was paid in



*thirtysomething*, Ken Olin and Mel Harris, 1987–91.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the production company's "Bedford Falls" logo. Capra's political liberalism emerged in the series in the distaste for patriarchal and capitalist power (with that power embodied in Miles, the ruthless CEO of the advertising company where Michael and Elliot worked), while a film aesthetic carried over into the series' cinematography, intertextual references, and ambitious storylines, which occasionally incorporated flashback, daydream, and fantasy sequences. This complex mixture of cinematic and cultural antecedents can be summed up by suggesting that in many ways *thirtysomething's* four seasons brought the sophistication of Woody Allen's films to the small screen.

Although in the vanguard for centering on "new" (postfeminist) men, for privileging "female truth," and for dealing with touchy issues within sexual relations as well as with disease and death, the series never really challenged gender roles. It is true that the problem of the domestication of men, of defining them within a familial role without lessening their desirability and their sense of self-fulfillment, was one of the series' key pre-

occupations, but *thirtysomething* ultimately endorsed the traditional sexual division of labor. Although it was the first series to show a homosexual couple in bed together, the series posed any alternative to the heterosexual couple very gingerly. Nevertheless, the prominence of a therapeutic discourse, and the negotiation of identity in the postmodern era, won *thirtysomething* accolades from professional psychologists.

The series was occasionally criticized, too, for its social and political insularity, for not dealing with problems outside the affluent lifestyle and 1960s values of its characters. Zwick and Herskovitz described it as "a show about creating your own family. All these people live apart from where they grew up, and so they're trying to fashion a new sense of home—one made up of friends, where holidays, job triumphs, illnesses, and gossip all take on a kind of bittersweet significance."

The series' influence was evident long after it moved to syndication on the Lifetime cable network and its creators moved on to feature-film careers and other television series. That influence can be noted in the look and sound of certain TV advertisements, in other series with feminine sensibilities and preoccupations with the transition from childhood to maturity (*Sisters*), and in situation comedies about groups of friends who talk all the time (*Seinfeld*). *My So-Called Life* (ABC, 1994), a later and less successful series produced by many of the same personnel, extended the subjectivity principle to a teenage girl caught between her family and school friends. That series was perhaps an indication of a new shift in the targeting of "generational audiences," the new focus now on "twentysomethings," as television searched for a way to reach the offspring of the baby boomers.

SUSAN EMMANUEL

See also Zwick, Edward and Marshall Herskovitz

#### Cast

Michael Steadman                      Ken Olin  
Hope Murdoch Steadman              Mel Harris

Janey Steadman

Elliot Weston  
Nancy Weston  
Ethan Weston  
Brittany Weston  
Melissa Steadman  
Ellyn Warren  
Professor Gary Shepherd  
Miles Drentell (1989–91)  
Susannah Hart (1989–91)

Brittany and Lacey  
Craven

Timothy Busfield  
Patricia Wettig  
Luke Rossi  
Jordana "Bink" Shapiro  
Melanie Mayron  
Polly Draper  
Peter Horton  
David Clennon  
Patricia Kalember

#### Producers

Edward Zwick, Marshall Herskovitz, Scott Winant

#### Programming History

85 episodes

ABC

September 1987–September  
1988

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

December 1988–May 1991

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

July 1991–September 1991

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

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## This Hour Has Seven Days

Canadian Public Affairs Series

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*This Hour Has Seven Days* has repeatedly been cited as the most exciting and innovative public affairs television series in the history of Canadian broadcasting. It

was certainly the most popular, drawing more than 3 million viewers at the time of its controversial cancellation by CBC management, which was unable to

withstand the cries of outrage from offended guardians of public morality and the growing insurgence of the *Seven Days* production team. The creation of two young producers, Patrick Watson and Douglas Leiterman, the series debuted on October 4, 1964 and came to its well-publicized end after 50 episodes on May 8, 1966.

Watson and Leiterman had worked together as co-producers on two previous public affairs series, *Close-Up* and *Inquiry*. Given the go-ahead to create a new public-affairs series, they envisioned a show that would be stimulating and exciting for the Canadian public, and that would develop a wider and more informed audience than previous public-affairs shows. Both producers were deeply committed to the importance of public-service broadcasting and to the importance of pushing the boundaries of television journalism to reflect the techniques of investigation and advocacy more prevalent in print journalism. Leiterman in particular argued against the prevailing ideology of CBC journalistic practice that called for adhering to the strict tenets of objectivity and "studious neutrality." Watson brought a more intellectual approach to the show, having studied English literature and linguistics in undergraduate and graduate school.

The show was launched by the CBC with great fanfare in the fall of 1964 with a relatively large budget of over \$30,000 per show, about twice the average of other public-affairs programs. The first year's shows were cohosted by John Drainie, Laurier LaPierre, an academic historian turned TV talent, and Carole Simpson, soon replaced by Dinah Christie. The role of the women was limited primarily to songs or satire. Upon Drainie's illness at the start of the second year, Watson was persuaded to abandon his producer role to join the on-air team, a move that CBC management thought would reduce the controversial style of the program. A very talented and energetic young team of producers, reporters, interviewers, and filmmakers was recruited. They included some of the prime future talent in Canadian documentary film and television, such as Beryl Fox, Donald Brittain, Allan King, Daryl Duke, Peter Pearson, Alexander Ross, and Larry Zolf.

Clearly inspired by the earlier British satirical review of the news, *That Was the Week That Was*, *Seven Days* employed a one-hour, magazine format that combined satirical songs and skits with aggressive bear-pit-style interviews, investigative reports, and mini-documentaries. On an irregular basis, the entire show would be devoted to an in-depth documentary film under the title "Document." Several important award-winning films were produced and shown. One of the most noted was Beryl Fox's "Mills of the Gods," a moving examination of life for U.S. soldiers and Vietnam peasants during the Vietnam War. A distinct

point of view, which was new to public-affairs TV, was often clearly present in these productions.

A concrete example of one show's lineup might best illustrate the basic elements of the magazine format and explain why the series made CBC executives nervous, while upsetting the more traditional journalists and members of the public. The episode for 24 October 1965 opened with a satirical and irreverent song by Christie about the Ku Klux Klan, followed by preview cuts of later show segments, credits, and a welcome of the live studio audience by LaPierre. (Live audiences were a staple of the program, contributing to its actuality impact.) The first story was a filmed report on the funeral for a Sudbury, Ontario, policeman, including an interview with his family and a colleague. It underscored the important role of unrecognized policemen across Canada. The second story focused on the current federal election, featuring sometimes irreverent street interviews from Toronto and Vancouver and finishing with a shot of an empty chair and the question of whether the party leaders will show up to be questioned. The next segment was a satirical sketch portraying Harold Wilson, then prime minister of the United Kingdom, in conversation with Lester Pearson, then prime minister of Canada and running for reelection. The fourth story was a short feature on *Penthouse* magazine with pictures, interviews with the publisher and two British clergy, and commentary about the objectification of women. The fifth story was an on-location interview of Orson Welles by Watson. The sixth story was a filmed, almost lyrical, portrait of the Canadian boxer George Chuvalo. Running almost 23 minutes was the final story on the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). After an introduction by Christie, a satire of the Ku Klux Klan appearance before the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee, and a short film on the civil rights struggle in the United States, two members of the Klan were invited into the "hot seat" to be interviewed in full costume. About halfway through the interview and after a question as to whether the Klansmen would shake hands with a black man, a black civil rights leader from the United States was invited to join the interview. There was some exchange of views, then the interviewer tried to get the KKK members to shake hands with the black leader, at which time they stood up and left the set. The show closed with a request for feedback and a reprise of the Christie song.

The fast pace, the topicality of many of the segments, the portrayal and incitement of conflict, the irreverence of songs and skits, and the occasional emotionalism of the on-air team members, all added to the popularity and the controversy that built around *Seven Days*. LaPierre was once shown wiping away a tear after a filmed interview—a gesture that the CBC President

Ouimet remembered angrily years later as one more affront to appropriate journalistic practice. The production team was proud of its nontraditional approaches to portraying the news, selecting guests, and even the way it gathered material for the show. At different times, "regular" journalists accused *Seven Days* reporters of stealing material or of poaching on their territory. One of the final straws for the program was going behind the scenes of a "Miss Canada Pageant" to film and interview contestants in their hotel rooms and bedclothes, despite the fact that the rival CTV network had an exclusive coverage contract with the pageant. This and other journalistic "improprieties" led to a memo from Bud Walker, vice president of the CBC, that foreshadowed the demise of the series.

The cancellation of *Seven Days* and the firing of Watson and LaPierre in the spring of 1966 (Leiterman was later forced out also) was met with a large public outcry, probably the largest in Canadian history for any TV program, and certainly for any public affairs program. Partly orchestrated by Watson, Leiterman, and LaPierre, there were public demonstrations, thousands of letters and phone calls, indignant editorials, threats to resign by CBC staff, and calls for Parliamentary inquiries. As a result, a Parliamentary committee hearing that favorably featured the *Seven Days* team stretched over several weeks. Prime Minister Pearson appointed a special investigator, which kept the program in the news for several more weeks. The final reports seemed to chastise both sides in the dispute but was harshest with the CBC for its heavy-handedness and bureaucratic timidity. Watson, Leiterman, and LaPierre were public heroes for a time. Several members of management resigned, at least two in protest at the handling of the show and its principals. Vice president Walker lost his job, ostensibly for the way he handled the dispute but also as a demonstration to politicians that the CBC had gotten the message.

Despite its nontraditional approaches, *Seven Days* usually dealt with mainstream concerns and issues, taking a slightly left-leaning perspective on social issues. It might have challenged members of the Canadian elite, but it rarely went outside the frame of dominant beliefs. It was often creative in the way that it visualized stories originating in studio, considering the available technology; further, it imaginatively took advantage of the recent breakthroughs in hand-held cameras and portable sound recording in its filmed stories and documentaries. Watson, Leiterman, and the *Seven Days* team often seemed to achieve the goal of involving the viewer in the emotion and actuality of

television, while innovating on and stretching the conventions of TV journalism. It is also clear that the team was often seduced by the power of television to embarrass guests or sensationalize issues through manipulative set-ups, such as the KKK interview. The series often entertained, perhaps more than it informed, foreshadowing the current concern and debate over the line between news and entertainment. While the program demonstrated ways to attract, provoke, and stimulate a mass audience for current affairs, the conflict and ultimate sanction that resulted made it difficult for television journalists to experiment or take on controversial issues for several years afterward. In the years since *Seven Days* aired, it has taken on the mythic mantle of "that was the way it was in the good old days" of Canadian TV journalism. While much of that reputation is deserved, the series also needs to be appreciated with a critical eye and ear.

WILLIAM O. GILSDORF

See also **Watson, Patrick**

#### Hosts

Laurier LaPierre, John Drainie, Patrick Watson, Dinah Christie, Carole Simpson, and others

#### Producers

Patrick Watson, Douglas Leiterman, Bill Hogg, Reeves Haggan, Hugh Gauntlett, Robert Hoyt, Ken Lefolii

#### Director

David Rushkin

#### Programming History

CBC

October 4, 1964–May 8, 1966 Sunday 10:00–11:00

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# This Is Your Life

## U.S. Biography Program

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*This Is Your Life*, which was broadcast from 1952 to 1961, is one of the best-remembered television series from the 1950s. The format of *This Is Your Life* was based on a rather simple principle—guests were surprised with a presentation of their past life in the form of a narrative read by host Ralph Edwards and reminiscences by relatives and friends. But the format was also quite shrewd in its exploitation of television's capacity for forging intimacy with viewers through live transmission and on-air displays of sentimentality.

*This Is Your Life* was the creation of Edwards, who was also the host of radio's popular *Truth or Consequences*. In a 1946 radio broadcast of the latter program, Edwards presented a capsule narrative of the past life of a disabled World War II veteran who was having difficulties adjusting to postwar life. Edwards received such positive feedback from this show that he developed the formula for a separate radio program called *This Is Your Life*. It began airing on radio in 1948 and became a live television program in 1952, running on the NBC network until 1961, and reappearing in syndicated versions briefly in the early 1970s and 1980s (during this last period, it was hosted by actor Joseph Campanella). The British version of the program had a longer lifespan. Beginning on the BBC in 1955 and hosted by Eamonn Andrews, it ran first until 1964, then (still with Andrews) transferred to Thames Television in 1969, where it ran continuously until 1993, with Michael Aspel succeeding Andrews as host in 1988. It then transferred back to the BBC, still fronted by Aspel, for a final nine-year run from 1994 until its final cancellation in 2003.

In its network television years, the U.S. *This Is Your Life* alternated in presenting the life stories of entertainment personalities and those of "ordinary" people who had contributed in some way to their communities. Edwards always insisted that the theme of "Love thy neighbor" was clear no matter who was the subject of a particular program. The host was often quoted as saying that the lives under examination must represent something "constructive," must have been "given a lift 'above and beyond the call of duty' and . . . in turn, he or she has passed on the help to another." For that reason, the emotion expressed by the guest, who having first been surprised by Edwards with the on-air an-

nouncement, "This is your life!," and then with the appearance of people from his or her past, was justified as a source of audience inspiration rather than voyeurism.

Entertainment personalities who were subjects of the program ranged from broadcast journalist Lowell Thomas (who displayed obvious anger and embarrassment over the "surprise") to singer Nat "King" Cole, from the famous silent film star Gloria Swanson to contemporary movie favorite Debbie Reynolds. While Edwards claimed that there were few "leaks" to the subjects about the show (if there were leaks, that subject was immediately dropped), there were several notable occasions when guests were informed in advance of their tributes—for example, Eddie Cantor was told because his heart trouble worried producers regarding the show's "surprise factor," and singer-actress Lillian Roth and actress Frances Farmer were told because their well-known troubled pasts were considered subjects too delicate (and perhaps unpredictable) for the program's usual spectacle of surprise.

When *This Is Your Life* reviewed the lives of "ordinary people," Edwards and the show staff relied on help from the individual's community. In some ways the program's coverage of individuals whose accomplishments were achieved despite handicaps was ahead of its time when indicating how the subject had surmounted societal bigotry. However, even as the series displayed some of the contradictions so prevalent in the 1950s, it also shared with its time a Cold War fervor for conformity and patriotism that worked against its more liberal impulses. For example, in a 1958 program featuring a Japanese-American druggist who had been sent to an internment camp during World War II, the life narrative recounts his struggle to establish a pharmacy practice in a bigoted community. But Edwards praises the subject's behavior in the internment camp when he squelched a camp uprising protesting forced labor. At the end of the show, members from his most recent community embrace him and Edwards announces that Richard Nixon (then vice president of the United States) has donated an American flag, and Ivory soap has donated money for a flagpole for the town, in recognition of its overcoming racial prejudice.

## This Is Your Life

In the late 1980s Edwards and his production company made many of the episodes featuring Hollywood celebrities that are now available for rebroadcast. American Movie Classics (AMC) cable network channel aired these for several years to accompany screenings of movies from studio-era Hollywood.

MARY DESJARDINS

### Host

Ralph Edwards

### Announcer

Bob Warren

### Producers

Axel Greenberg, Al Pascholl, Richard Gottlieb, Bill Carruthers, Jim Washburn

### Programming History

NBC

October 1952–June 1953    Wednesday 10:00–10:30

June 1953–August 1953    Tuesday 9:30–10:00

July 1953–June 1958    Wednesday 9:30–10:00

September 1958–

September 1960    Wednesday 10:00–10:30

September 1960–

September 1961    Sunday 10:30–11:00

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# Thomas, Danny (1914–1991)

U.S. Comedian, Actor

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Danny Thomas was one of television's most beloved and enduring entertainers. His comedic talents were surpassed only by his shrewd production activities and his well-known philanthropy. Thomas began his career as the stand-up comic Amos Jacobs, developing his storytelling shtick into a familiar routine of lengthy narratives peppered with a blend of Irish, Yiddish, Lebanese, and Italian witticisms. Quite often these routines tended toward sentimentality, only to be rescued in the end by what Thomas called the "treacle cutter," a one-liner designed to elevate the maudlin bathos into irony.

Like many early television comics, Thomas developed his routines touring in a variety of clubs. Restricted mostly to his home environs of the Midwest, he secured a three-year deal at Chicago's 5100 Club, where he was spotted by the powerful head of the William Morris Agency. "Uncle" Abe Lastfogel was to become Danny's mentor, overseeing his New York nightclub appearances, arranging a USO tour for him with Marlene Dietrich, and landing him a part on Fanny Brice's radio show. By 1945 Thomas was declared "best newcomer in radio" by the trade papers, and Joe Pasternak cast him in his film, *The Unfinished*

*Dance*. Refusing the advice of three different studio heads to surgically alter his trademark nose, Thomas's film career was short-lived, but fairly respectable. In the early 1950s he left the film industry to good reviews for his costarring role in the Doris Day vehicle *I'll See You in My Dreams* (1951), and for his title role appearance in the 1953 Warner Brothers remake of *The Jazz Singer*.

Meanwhile, tired of the nightclub circuit, Thomas was anxiously pursuing a television series. His first television appearance was on NBC's *Four Star Revue*, where he costarred with Jimmy Durante, Jack Carson, and Ed Wynn. The variety-show format, with its fast-paced, three-minute sketches, was ill-suited to Danny's comedic style, which depended upon expository monologues and lengthy narratives. For the series' second season, the network ordered a format change wherein the four rotating hosts were replaced by a procession of headliners. With all the hosts except Ed Wynn departing, the program became the *All Star Revue*.

Thomas obtained his own program when agent Abe Lastfogel pressured fledgling network ABC into accepting Thomas as part of their terms for acquiring the

much-coveted Ray Bolger. ABC, familiar with Thomas's previously ill-received television performances, insisted upon a sitcom. It was during a prolonged brainstorming session with producer Lou Edleman and writer Mel Shavelson that Thomas inadvertently came up with the autobiographical premise that was to become *Make Room for Daddy*. As the three worked futilely into the night, Thomas grew impatient and pleaded that he simply wanted a series so that he could stay put with his family for awhile. The result was *Make Room for Daddy*, a show that revolved around the absentee-father dilemmas of traveling singer-comic "Danny Williams." The title was suggested by Thomas' real-life wife, Rose Marie, who during Danny's frequent tours allowed their children to sleep with her. Upon her husband's return, the children would have to empty dresser drawers and leave the master bed to, quite literally, "make room for Daddy."

Incorporating Thomas's singing and story-telling talents, the program was a blend of domestic comedy and variety program (during Danny's fictionalized "nightclub engagements"). It became one of television's most successful comedies, winning numerous awards, including best new show for the 1952-53 season. Despite its success, the program underwent a number of transformations, most notably when Jean Hagen, who played the part of wife Margaret, left the series to attend to her film and stage careers. For the fourth season, Danny played a widower, and a succession of guest stars appeared as potential replacement wives. In the 1956 season finale, Danny proposed to guest star Marjorie Lord, who, along with child star Angela Cartwright, joined the Williams family for the program's remaining seven years. The start of the 1957 television season also saw the program on a new network (CBS), after ABC president (and Hagen ally) Robert Kintner lost interest in the series. The newly titled *Danny Thomas Show* slid into the spot formally occupied by CBS's mega-hit *I Love Lucy*, where it remained in the top ten until voluntarily leaving the network when the performers sought new avenues of creative expression.

While starring in *Make Room for Daddy*, Thomas met Sheldon Leonard, a former gangster-type actor with aspirations to directing. Leonard took over as director of the program midway into its first season, eventually becoming executive producer. Together, Thomas and Leonard established Thomas-Leonard Productions, a powerhouse production company based on the Desilu lot; their company was responsible for a multitude of successful series, including *The Real McCoys*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, *The Joey*



Marlo and Danny Thomas, father and daughter, during the 1980s.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

*Bishop Show*, *The Bill Dana Show*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*: In 1965, when Leonard left to develop *I Spy*, Thomas continued independently, producing *The Danny Thomas Hour*, an anthology series for NBC, and joining with Aaron Spelling to create and produce *The Mod Squad* and other programs. While a 1967 attempt to buy Desilu from Lucille Ball was unsuccessful, Thomas continued to create and produce programs under the banner of Danny Thomas Productions.

Thomas had an enormous and positive impact upon the growing medium. The off-camera stand-up routines he performed for the in-studio audience just prior to filming each episode of *Make Room for Daddy* were imitated on other programs and institutionalized as the now commonplace "warm-up." *The Andy Griffith Show* was the first real spin-off for network television, originating in a 1960 episode of *The Danny Thomas Show*. As a producer, Thomas read scripts and supervised a plethora of top-rated programs, and he was personally responsible for casting Mary Tyler Moore as Laura Petrie in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. His influence as producer continued not only in his own projects but

Thomas, Danny

through the work of his children, notably daughter Marlo, who is a renowned actress, producer, and director, and his son Tony, who with partners Susan Harris and Paul Junger Witt is responsible for a veritable catalogue of 1970s and 1980s hit programs, including *Soap* and *The Golden Girls*.

Danny Thomas's personal integrity was as well known as his acting and producing talents. In the 1950s he successfully protected two blacklisted writers who continued to write for his television series under assumed names. In 1983 he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his work in establishing the St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital, a cause he continued to promote and support until his death in 1991.

NINA C. LEIBMAN

*See also Andy Griffith Show, The; Dick Van Dyke Show, The*

**Danny Thomas.** Born Muzyad Yakhoob in Deerfield, Michigan, January 6, 1914. Married: Rose Marie Casaniti, 1936; two daughters and one son. Began career in radio, Detroit, Michigan, 1934; worked as master of ceremonies in nightclub, 1938–40; appeared on Chicago radio, 1940; worked as master of ceremonies, 5100 Club, Chicago, 1940–43; developed own radio and television programs, performed in clubs and theaters worldwide throughout 1940s; performed overseas during World War II with Marlene Dietrich and company, and solo; performed with Fanny Brice on radio, 1944; made motion picture debut in *The Unfinished Dance*, 1946; starred in long-running television series, *Make Room for Daddy*; produced successful television series such as *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Founder, St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, 1962, Memphis, Tennessee. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1954; Layman's Award from the American Medical Association; Better World Award from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, 1972; Michelangelo Award from Boys Town of Italy, 1973; Humanitarian Award from Lions International, 1975; Father Flanagan–Boys Town Award, 1981; Murray-Green-Meany Award, AFL-CIO, 1981; Hubert H. Humphrey Award, Touchdown Club, 1981; American Education Award, 1984; Humanitarian Award, Variety Clubs International, 1984; Congressional Medal of Honor, 1984; Sword of Loyola Award, Loyola University, Chicago, 1985; decorated Knight of Malta; knight commander with star, Knights of the

Holy Sepulchre, Pope Paul VI. Died in Los Angeles, California, February 6, 1991.

#### Television Series

1950–52 *All Star Revue*  
1953–57 *Make Room for Daddy*  
1957–64 *The Danny Thomas Show*  
1964–68 *Danny Thomas Specials*  
1967–68 *The Danny Thomas Hour*  
1970 *Make Room for Granddaddy*  
1976–77 *The Practice*  
1980–81 *I'm a Big Girl Now*  
1986 *One Big Family*

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1988 *Side By Side*

#### Films

*The Unfinished Dance*, 1946; *The Big City*, 1947; *Call Me Mister*, 1948; *I'll See You in My Dreams*, 1951; *The Jazz Singer*, 1953

#### Publication

*Make Room for Danny* (with Bill Davidson), 1991

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# Thomas, Tony (1948– )

U.S. Producer

Tony Thomas, a native of California and member of one of U.S. television's leading families (his father was Danny Thomas), began his own TV career as an associate producer at Screen Gems, moving from that position to become a producer at Spelling/Goldberg Productions. These associations brought Thomas into early contact with his future partner, Paul Junger Witt, who also started his career at Screen Gems. Indeed, their first significant venture together was the award-winning made-for-television movie *Brian's Song*, which Witt produced. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences recognized *Brian's Song* with five Emmys, including one for Outstanding Single Program.

In 1975, Thomas and Witt formed their own company, Witt/Thomas Productions, and a year later the two men joined with the talented writer Susan Harris to form a second entity, Witt/Thomas/Harris. The three launched their first series in 1977, the highly acclaimed *Soap*. Brutally attacked by a reviewer for *Newsweek*, who had not even seen the show, *Soap* quickly drew fire from uninformed conservative religious leaders who threatened to boycott the ABC comedy. As Thomas recalls, it was very close to the time of the first broadcast before a full complement of sponsors was assembled. Sponsorship of the series was a continuing difficulty for the network. The producers credit Fred Silverman of ABC for standing firmly behind their creation in spite of the attacks.

There followed a string of successes, including *Empty Nest*, *Benson*, and *The Golden Girls*, for which Thomas, along with Witt and Harris, received Emmys in 1985–86 and 1986–87. Other series from the production company have included *Blossom* (1991–95), *The John Larroquette Show* (1993–96), *Pearl* (1996), *Common Law* (1996), and *The Secret Lives of Men* (1998).

Through the company, Thomas also began producing feature films with Witt. Working with Touchstone Pictures, they produced the Oscar-winning film *Dead Poets' Society* (1989). Their feature work also includes the 1992 release *Final Analysis*, and the 2002 film *Insomnia* starring Al Pacino and Robin Williams, coproduced by Steven Soderbergh and George Clooney.

Tony Thomas is active in fundraising efforts on be-

half of St. Jude's Hospital, founded by his father in 1961. It is the world's largest childhood cancer research center.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also Benson; Golden Girls; Harris, Susan; Soap; Witt Paul Junger*

**Tony (Anthony C.) Thomas.** Born in Los Angeles, California, December 7, 1948. Educated at the University of San Diego. Assistant to the producer, *Young Rebels*, 1970; associate producer, *Getting Together*, 1971; associate producer, *Brian's Song*, 1972; associate producer and producer for numerous other television series; with Paul Junger Witt formed Witt/Thomas production company, 1975; later, with Susan Harris, formed Witt/Thomas/Harris production company, 1976. Recipient: two Emmy Awards.

## Television Series (selected)

1970–71	<i>Young Rebels</i> (assistant to the producer)
1971–72	<i>Getting Together</i> (associate producer)
1976–77	<i>The Practice</i>
1977	<i>Loves Me, Loves Me Not</i>
1977–81	<i>Soap</i>
1979–86	<i>Benson</i>
1982–83	<i>It Takes Two</i>
1983	<i>Just Married</i>
1985–92	<i>The Golden Girls</i>
1987–90	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>
1988–95	<i>Empty Nest</i>
1991–93	<i>Nurses</i>
1991	<i>Good and Evil</i>
1991–95	<i>Blossom</i>
1991–93	<i>Herman's Head</i>
1991–93	<i>Nurses</i>
1993	<i>Whoops</i>
1993–96	<i>The John Larroquette Show</i>
1995	<i>Brotherly Love</i>
1995	<i>Muscle</i>
1996	<i>Local Heroes</i>
1996	<i>Pearl</i>
1996	<i>Common Law</i>
1996	<i>Radiant Heroes</i>

Thomas, Tony

1998 *The Secret Lives of Men*  
1999 *Everything's Relative*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

1972 *Brian's Song* (associate producer)  
1973 *Blood Sport*

**Films**

*Firstborn*, 1984; *Dead Poets' Society*, 1988; *Final Analysis*, 1992; *Mixed Nuts*, 1994; *Insomnia*, 2002.

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## Thorn Birds, The

### U.S. Miniseries

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The miniseries *The Thorn Birds*, based on Colleen McCullough's 1977 best-selling novel, was broadcast on ABC for 10 hours between March 27 and 30, 1983. Set primarily on Drogheda, a fictional sheep station in the Australian outback, the melodrama focused on the multigenerational Cleary family and spanned the years from 1920 to 1962.

At the outset, the family—patriarch Paddy Cleary (Richard Kiley), his wife, Fiona (Jean Simmons), and children—moved from New Zealand to Australia to help run Drogheda, owned by Paddy's wealthy sister, Mary Carson (Barbara Stanwyck). Over the years, numerous deaths and disasters (fire, a drowning, a goring by a wild boar) were to befall the family.

While the saga recounted the story of the entire Cleary clan, it focused primarily on the lone Cleary daughter, Meggie (Rachel Ward) and her relationship with Father Ralph de Bricassart (Richard Chamberlain). Although they met when she was just a child, Meggie grew up and fell in love with the handsome young Catholic priest who had been banished to the outback for a previous disobedience. Father Ralph was torn between his own love for Meggie, his love for God, and his ambition to rise in the Catholic hierarchy. Spurred on by the spiteful Mary Carson, who was herself attracted to the priest, Father Ralph was forced to choose between his own advancement in the Church and his love for Meggie. He chose the former and soon found himself at the Vatican. As Father Ralph rose quickly through the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (eventually becoming a cardinal), Meggie married a sheep shearer named Luke O'Neill (Bryan Brown), bore a daughter (played as an adult by Mare Winningham), and ended up working as a maid in Queensland.

Years later, de Bricassart returned to Australia and to

Meggie, who eventually left her husband. In the controversial third episode, the two consummated their relationship in what *Newsweek's* Harry F. Waters called "the most erotic love scene ever to ignite the home screen," but de Bricassart still was unable to give up the Church. Unbeknownst to him, Meggie gave birth to his son (played as an adult by Philip Anglim), who in an ironic twist of fate himself became a priest before dying in a drowning accident. As in McCullough's novel, the key underlying message of this miniseries was that each generation is doomed to repeat the missteps and failures of the previous generation.

While winning the 1983 Golden Globe Award for Best Miniseries, *The Thorn Birds* was not without controversy. The subject matter of a priest breaking his vow of celibacy was contestable enough, but the fact that ABC chose to broadcast the program beginning on Palm Sunday and running through Holy Week raised the ire of the United States Catholic Conference. In response, McDonald's Corporation initially requested that its franchisees not advertise during the broadcasts. In the end, however, the company simply advised its franchisees to advertise only before Father Ralph and Meggie had consummated their relationship.

Despite its controversial subject matter (or perhaps because of it), *The Thorn Birds* garnered an average 41 rating and 59 share over the course of its four-night run, making it then the second-highest-rated miniseries ever, after *Roots* (1977). Its controversial third episode, in which Meggie and Father Ralph consummated their relationship, was at the time the fourth-highest-rated network entertainment show of all time (preceded only by the final episode of *M\*A\*S\*H*, the "Who Shot J.R.?" episode of *Dallas*, and the eighth episode of *Roots*). In the end, an estimated 110–140



*The Thorn Birds*, Christopher Plummer, Richard Chamberlain, 1983.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

million viewers saw all or some of the miniseries. *TV Guide*, in fact, has listed *The Thorn Birds* as one of the top 20 programs of the 1980s.

Produced for an estimated \$21 million, *The Thorn Birds* appeared during the heyday of the network television miniseries, from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, when the form was seen as “the salvation of commercial television.” In this context, *The Thorn Birds* stood out for both its controversial qualities and its success. Like *Roots* and *The Winds of War* before it, *The Thorn Birds* exemplified the miniseries genre—family sagas spanning multiple generations, featuring large, big-name casts, and laden with tales of love, sex, tragedy, and transcendence that kept the audience coming back night after night. In 1996 ABC broadcast a sequel to *The Thorn Birds*, in which Father Ralph and Meggie are again separated and again struggle with their passion and their consciences. Though widely promoted, the program received far less attention from both critics and audiences.

SHARON R. MAZZARELLA

**Cast**

Father Ralph de Bricassart	Richard Chamberlain
Meggie Cleary (as a girl)	Sydney Penny
Meggie Cleary (adult)	Rachel Ward
Mary Carson	Barbara Stanwyck
Fiona Cleary	Jean Simmons
Archbishop Contini-Verchese	Christopher Plummer



*The Thorn Birds*, Rachel Ward, Richard Chamberlain, 1983.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Rainer Hartheim  
 Justine O'Neill  
 Anne Mueller  
 Paddy Cleary  
 Luddie Mueller  
 Luke O'Neill  
 Sarah MacQueen  
 Stuart Cleary  
 Alastair MacQueen  
 Angus MacQueen  
 Stuart Cleary (as a boy)  
 Miss Carmichael  
 Judy  
 Dane O'Neill  
 Frank Cleary  
 Mrs. Smith  
 Harry Gough  
 Pete  
 Jack Cleary

Ken Howard  
 Mare Winningham  
 Piper Laurie  
 Richard Kiley  
 Earl Holliman  
 Bryan Brown  
 Antoinette Bower  
 Dwier Brown  
 John de Lancie  
 Bill Morey  
 Vidal Peterson  
 Holly Palance  
 Stephanie Faracy  
 Philip Anglim  
 John Friedrich  
 Allyn Ann McLerie  
 Richard Venture  
 Barry Corbin  
 Stephen Burns

Thorn Birds, The

Bob Cleary  
Annie  
Sister Agatha  
Barker at the fair  
Arne Swenson  
Doc Wilson  
Martha  
Phaedre

Brett Cullen  
Meg Wylie  
Nan Martin  
Wally Dalton  
Chard Hayward  
Rance Howard  
Lucinda Dooling  
Aspa Nakopolou

#### Programming History

4 episodes  
ABC  
March 27–30, 1983

#### Further Reading

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Morris, Gwen, "An Australian Ingredient in American Soaps: *The Thorn Birds* by Colleen McCullough," *Journal of Popular Culture* (Spring 1991)  
Waters, Harry F., "Sex and Sin in the Outback," *Newsweek* (28 March 1983)

#### Producers

David Wolper, Edward Lewis, Stan Margulies

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## Three's Company

U.S. Situation Comedy

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*Three's Company*, an enormously popular yet critically despised sitcom farce about a young man living platonically with two young women, aired on ABC from 1977 to 1984. After a spring try-out of six episodes beginning Thursday March 15, 1977, *Three's Company* ranked number 11 among all U.S. TV shows for the entire 1976–77 season—at that time, an unheard-of feat for a new show. The next year, *Three's Company* moved to Tuesdays behind ABC powerhouses *Happy Days* and *Laverne and Shirley*, which it also followed that year as number three in the ratings. In 1978–79 *Three's Company* nudged out *Happy Days* for the number-two spot, and late in that season moved its caustic landlords onto their own short-lived spin-off, *The Ropers* (which ranked number eight among all network shows after a spring tryout of six episodes, but was canceled in 1980 after a dismal second season). In 1979–80 *Three's Company* shot past both of its lead-ins to become the highest-rated TV comedy in the United States. That summer ABC ran back-to-back reruns of the show in its daytime lineup, foreshadowing huge success in syndication, which the series entered in 1982, two years before its network demise.

*Three's Company* entered the television scene in the midst of TV's "jiggle era," which began in 1976 with ABC's *Charlie's Angels* and was the medium's response to the sexual revolution and the swinging single. *Three's Company*, though otherwise apolitical in content, was the first sitcom to address the sexual im-

plications and frustrations of unmarried and unrelated men and women living together, which in 1977 was still somewhat taboo. In the minds of many, male-female cohabitation was anything but innocent and, apparently, would lead only to the evils of premarital sex. *Three's Company* toyed with this dilemma in its premise, an Americanized version of the 1973–76 British TV comedy *Man about the House*.

Set in Santa Monica, California, the series chronicled the innuendo-laden, slapstick-prone misadventures of the affably klutzy bachelor Jack Tripper (played by John Ritter) and two single, attractive women, one a cute, down-to-earth brunette named Janet Wood (Joyce DeWitt), the other a sexy, dim-witted blonde named Christmas "Chrissy" Snow (Suzanne Somers). The three shared an apartment in order to beat the high cost of living, but Jack was also present to provide "manly protection." Though he never broke his vow of keeping a "strictly platonic" relationship with his roommates (the three were really best friends who always looked after each other), the series was rife with double entendres. Antagonists in this domestic farce were the trio's downstairs landlords, first the prudish Stanley Roper, an Archie Bunker-type played by Norman Fell, and later the comically swaggering "ladies man" Ralph Furley, played by Don Knotts. The landlords were so suspicious of the "threesome" arrangement that they would not permit it until after Jack told them he was gay, a

"lifestyle" against which, ironically, neither discriminated by refusing housing. Though Jack was a heterosexual with many girlfriends, he masqueraded as an effeminate "man's man" around the near-sighted Roper, who called him "one of the girls," and Furley, who often tried to "convert" him; this comic device played heavily at first but was toned down considerably by the show's fourth season. When out of Roper's and Furley's reach, Jack and his upstairs buddy, Larry Dallas (Richard Kline), leered at and lusted after every female in sight, including, in early episodes, Janet and Chrissy. Chrissy, especially, was prone to bouncing around the apartment, braless, in tight sweaters, when she was not clad in a towel, nightie, short-shorts, or bathing suit. The irony here was that even though sex was so ingrained in the *Three's Company* consciousness, nobody on the show ever seemed to be actually engaging in intercourse, not even the show's only married characters, the sex-starved Helen Roper (Audra Lindley) and her impotent handyman husband, Stanley, the butt of numerous faulty plumbing jokes.

*Three's Company's* sexiness and libidinal preoccupation helped gain the show tremendous ratings and media exposure. A February 1978 *Newsweek* cover story on "Sex and TV" featured the trio in a sexy, staged shot. *Sixty Minutes* presented an interview with Somers, who, in the tradition of *Charlie's Angels'* Farrah Fawcett, became a sex symbol and magazine cover-girl with top-selling posters, dolls, and other merchandise. TV critics and other intellectuals rallied against the show, calling its humor sophomoric, if not insulting. Feminists objected to what they called exploitative portrayals of women (primarily in the Chrissy character) as bubble-brained "sexpots." And while *Three's Company* was not as harshly condemned among conservative educators and religious organizations as its ABC counterpart *Soap* (a more satirical comedy with a shock value so high that ABC almost delayed its premiere in the fall of 1977), it received low marks from the Parent-Teacher Association and was targeted in a list of shows whose sponsors were to be boycotted, produced by Reverend Donald Wildmon's National Federation for Decency.

Although *Three's Company* would become notorious as titillation television, its origins are that of British bedroom farce and "socially relevant" American sitcoms. In 1976, *M\*A\*S\*H* writer and producer Larry Gelbart penned an initial *Three's Company* pilot script, borrowing scenario and characterizations from Thames Television's *Man about the House*. However, that pilot, with Ritter, Fell, Lindley, and two other actresses, did not sell. Fred Silverman, programming chief at ABC, requested a revamped pilot for a show he believed would be a breakthrough in sexiness the



*Three's Company*. Joyce DeWitt, John Ritter, Suzanne Somers, 1977–84; first season.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

same way that CBS's *All in the Family* was in bigotry. Therefore, show owners Ted Bergman and Don Taffner commissioned *All in the Family* Emmy-winning head writers and *Jeffersons* producers Don Nicholl, Michael Ross, and Bernie West to rewrite the pilot. The roommates, in Gelbart's script an aspiring filmmaker and two actresses, took on more bourgeois jobs in the new pilot—Jack became a gourmet cooking student, Janet a florist, and Chrissy an office secretary. The female leads were recast (DeWitt was added for the second pilot, and Somers for the third), the chemistry clicked, and ABC bought the series.

Most critics called *Three's Company* an illegitimate attempt to use the TV sitcom's new openness for its own cheap laughs. However, Gerard Jones, author of *Honey, I'm Home! Sitcoms, Selling the American Dream*, notes that the minds behind *Three's Company* intelligently responded to the times. He suggests that producers Nicholl, Ross, and West recognized that even the highly praised work of producer Norman Lear "had always been simple titillation." The producers simply went a step further. They "took advantage of TV's new hipness" to present even more titillation "in completely undemanding form," thus creating "an ingenious trivialization that the public was waiting for."

Although *Three's Company* jiggled beneath the thin clothing of titillation, the show was basically innocent and harmless, a contradiction that annoyed some critics. Its comedy, framed in the contemporary trapping of sexual innuendo, was basically broad farce in the tradition of *I Love Lucy*, very physical and filled with misunderstandings. (Lucille Ball loved *Three's Company* and Ritter's pratfalls so much she hosted the show's 1982 retrospective special.) As fast-paced, pie-in-your-face farce, *Three's Company* spent little time

## Three's Company

on characterization, but underlying themes of care and concern among the roommates often fueled the comedy and occasionally led to a tender resolve by episode's end.

Behind the scenes, three was company until the fall of 1980, when Somers and her husband/manager, Alan Hamel, asked for a raise for her from \$30,000 per episode to \$150,000 per episode plus 10 percent of the show's profits. Costars Ritter and DeWitt, confused and angry, refused to work with Somers, whose role was reduced to a phone-call from a separate soundstage at the end of each episode (Chrissy had been sent to take care of her ailing mother in Fresno, California). For the remainder of the 1980-81 season, Jenilee Harrison performed as a "temporary" roommate, Chrissy's clumsy cousin Cindy Snow. By the fall of 1981, Somers was officially fired, and Priscilla Barnes was cast as a permanent replacement, playing nurse Terri Alden, a more sophisticated blonde (Harrison's character moved out to attend a university but occasionally visited through the spring of 1982). Viewership dropped when Somers left, but *Three's Company* remained very popular, focusing more on Ritter's physical abilities and his character's transition from cooking student to owner of Jack's Bistro, a French cuisine restaurant.

*Three's Company*, weathering key cast changes and Americans' waning interest in sitcoms, remained a top-ten hit through the 1982-83 season. In 1984, however, after 174 episodes, a final People's Choice Award as Favorite Comedy Series, and an eighth, embattled season in which it dropped out of the top 30 in the face of competition from NBC's *The A-Team*, *Three's Company* changed its format. A final one-hour episode saw Janet get married, Terri move to Hawaii, and Jack fall in love and move in with his new girlfriend. Ritter, who won an Emmy for Outstanding Male Lead in a Comedy in 1984, was the only *Three's Company* cast member to remain when production resumed in the fall with a new cast and new title. Recycling much of its parent show's comic formula, *Three's a Crowd* focused on Jack Tripper's relationship with his live-in girlfriend (Mary Cadorette), whose disapproving father (*Soap's* Robert Mandan) became their landlord. This incarnation lasted one season.

*Three's Company* might seem tame television by more recent standards, but it pushed the proverbial en-

velope in the late 1970s, opening the door for sexier, if not sillier, comedies offering audiences both titillation and mindless escape.

CHRIS MANN

*See also Comedy, Domestic Settings*

### Cast

Jack Tripper	John Ritter
Janet Wood	Joyce DeWitt
Chrissy Snow (1977-81)	Suzanne Somers
Helen Roper (1977-79)	Audra Lindley
Stanley Roper ((1977-79)	Norman Fell
Larry Dallas (1978-84)	Richard Kline
Ralph Furley (1979-84)	Don Knotts
Lana Shields (1979-80)	Ann Wedgeworth
Cindy Snow (1980-82)	Jenilee Harrison
Terri Alden (1981-84)	Priscilla Barnes
Mike, the Bartender (1981-84)	Brad Blaisdell

### Producers

Don Nicholl, Michael Ross, Bernie West, Budd Gossman, Bill Richmond, Gene Perret, George Burdit, George Sunga, Joseph Staretski

### Programming History

164 episodes

ABC

March 1977-April 1977 Thursday 9:30-10:00

August 1977-September 1977

Thursday 9:30-10:00

September 1977-May 1984

Tuesday 9:00-9:30

May 1984-September 1984

Tuesday 8:30-9:00

### Further Reading

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# Thunderbirds

## British Children's Program

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*Thunderbirds*, an action-packed, science fiction puppet drama that portrayed the heroic adventures of the members of the secret International Rescue organization, was first broadcast in 1965. At a moment's notice, the IR would mobilize its high-tech rescue craft to disasters on land, underground, underwater and in outer space. The program became a worldwide success and still remains on television today.

AP Films (Anderson Provis Films) had a successful track record in the production of puppet series for children with *The Adventures of Twizzle*, *Torchy the Battery Boy*, and *Four Feather Falls*. Under the patronage of Lew Grade at ATV (Associated Television) they had achieved international success with *Supercar*, *Fireball XL5*, and *Stingray*. In 1964, when Lew Grade asked Gerry Anderson for a new series, AP Films produced "Trapped in the Sky," a 25-minute pilot for *Thunderbirds*. Lew Grade asked that the programs be lengthened to an hour at a cost of nearly £40,000 an episode. (AP Films' first three series with ATV had earned over £3 million in the United States alone.)

Gerry Anderson and his team—his wife Sylvia, Reg Hill, John Read, Derek Meddings and Barry Gray—had built up a wealth of experience creating their new form of puppet program. Great care was taken to disguise the jerky movements of the puppets; the tungsten strings were sprayed with color powder, shots of the puppets walking were minimal (they were often shot from the waist up) and real hands were often used for close-ups. Departing from traditional puppet show techniques in which puppets were dangled in front of flat backdrops, the puppets were placed into three-dimensional action scenes. This was achieved by use of detailed scenery and model-making, developing the puppets electronically enabling them to lip-sync the pre-recorded dialogue, creating realistic special effects in miniature, and use of specialized sound effects. The company dubbed this new type of production "Supermarionation."

Shot in color (like *Stingray*), *Thunderbirds* was made for adults as well as children. For this reason it was given an early evening slot of 6:35 P.M. when first broadcast on Saturday, October 2, 1965. Set in 2063, *Thunderbirds* revolved around the lives and adven-

tures of the Tracy family, the principal members of the International Rescue organization, based on a remote Tracy Island in the Pacific. The head of the family was Jeff Tracy, a millionaire ex-astronaut with five sons; Scott, Virgil, Alan, Gordon, and John (named after five of the seven original Mercury astronauts). The five sons manned the five specialized rescue craft, the Thunderbirds. Thunderbird 1, piloted by Scott, was usually the first on the scene and would co-ordinate rescue operations. Thunderbird 2, piloted by Virgil, was a heavy transport craft that carried specialized rescue equipment in a detachable "pod." Thunderbird 3, piloted by Alan, was a spacecraft. Thunderbird 4, piloted by Gordon, was an underwater rescue craft, usually transported via Thunderbird 2. Thunderbird 5, manned by John, was a permanent space station monitoring communications for rescue calls. The Tracy family was joined on the island by scientific genius "Brains," faithful servant Kyrano and his daughter Tin Tin (Alan's love interest) with an occasional appearance from Grandma. Two other members of the International Rescue team were based in the UK—the glamorous London agent, Lady Penelope Creighton-Ward, and her cockney chauffeur Parker. Parker drove Lady Penelope's heavily armed pink Rolls Royce, registration plate FAB 1. Lady Penelope also owned a yacht, FAB2. (The letters F.A.B. were also used in communications between the Tracy brothers and base—usually to confirm instructions.) In his biography Gerry Anderson comments that "part of the success of *Thunderbirds* was due to the fact that it ran for an hour an episode. That enabled the character development we couldn't feature in previous shows."

The program always started with a dramatic countdown, illustrated with the five aircraft, accompanied by "5, 4, 3, 2, 1... Thunderbirds are go!" Then came a montage of highlights of the following program. The launches of Thunderbirds 1, 2, and 3 were particularly memorable sequences. Thunderbird 1 would launch from its underground silo through the retractable swimming pool. Thunderbird 2 would emerge from behind an artificial cliff-face and crawl between two lines of palm trees that bent to the ground to allow its

## Thunderbirds

wings to pass. Thunderbird 3 would blast off through the center of the circular house. These unconventional take offs were all a part of the emphasis on the secrecy of International Rescue and its base. Photography and tracking of the aircraft was prohibited. The greatest IR adversary was a villain called The Hood who possessed strange mind-altering powers, especially effective on his half-brother Kyrano. The Hood made frequent appearances at the scenes of disasters (usually in disguise) hoping to photograph the Thunderbirds and their crew in action.

Storylines mainly revolved around rescue operations. The disasters were a mixture of man-made (machinery going haywire, sabotage), and natural (floods and landslides). In his biography Anderson says the decision to avoid politics and make the causes of the disasters natural disasters or sabotage was deliberate. Tension was built up to a dramatic finale with a well-paced story, underscored by Barry Gray's incidental music.

First shown on the Independent Television network at different times across the UK, it was not until 1991 that *Thunderbirds* was first networked, attracting an audience of 5 million viewers when re-run on BBC 2. A digitally remastered *Thunderbirds* was broadcast on BBC 2 in 2000. Two feature films were also made. *Thunderbirds Are Go!* was released in 1966 and *Thunderbird Six* in 1968. In January 1993 the long-running children's program *Blue Peter* was overwhelmed with requests for fact-sheets on how to make a model of Tracy Island, which had been demonstrated on the program. After 90,000 requests the BBC decided to repeat the program instead. *Thunderbirds* characters have continually remained in the spotlight; in advertising campaigns; when Parker was featured in Dire Straits's "Elvis Calling" video, and in Lady Penelope's "guest appearance" in an episode of *Absolutely Fabulous*.

The program has been spoofed on many occasions. One of the best known was Peter Cook and Dudley Moore's "Superthunderstingcar" performed in the first series of *Not Only... But Also*. A stage show, *Thunderbirds FAB*, mimicked the actions of the Thunderbirds and Captain Scarlet puppets to the accompaniment of Barry Gray's music. The show appeared on London's West End stage in 1991 and returned in 1993 and 2000.

KATHLEEN LUCKEY

### Broadcast History

32 50 minute episodes

ATV

October 2, 1965–April 2, 1966

October 2–30, 1966 and December 25, 1966.

### Principal credits

AP Films in Association with ATV and ITC Worldwide Distribution

Created by Gerry and Sylvia Anderson

Executive Producer: Gerry Anderson

Producer: Reg Hill

Director of Photography: John Read

Music: Barry Gray

Art Director: Bob Bell

Special Effects Supervisor: Derek Meddings

Puppetry Supervision: Mary Turner

Character visualization: Sylvia Anderson

Directors: Brian Burgess, David Elliott, David Lane, Alan Pattillo and Desmond Saunders.

Scripts: Gerry and Sylvia Anderson, Tony Barwick, Martin Clump, Alan Fennell, Alan Pattillo, Donald Robertson and Dennis Spooner.

### Voices

Jeff Tracy	Peter Dyneley
Scott Tracy	Shane Rimmer
Virgil Tracy	David Holliday, Jeremy Wilkin
Alan Tracy	Matt Zimmerman
Gordon Tracy	David Graham
John Tracy	Ray Barrett
Brains	David Graham
Parker	David Graham
Kyrano	David Graham
Tin Tin	Christine Finn
Lady Penelope	Sylvia Anderson
The Hood	Ray Barrett

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# Tiananmen Square

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Tiananmen Square will forever be remembered as a political rally that turned into a bloody massacre viewed on live television. The square in Beijing, China, was the site of a pro-democracy student demonstration in the spring of 1989, a demonstration violently crushed by the Chinese military. News organizations from all over the world had previously stationed prime-time news anchors and camera crews in Beijing to provide live broadcasts of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the city. Consequently, scenes of the brutal crackdown were broadcast throughout the world. These images embittered the international public toward the Chinese government and had a profound impact on subsequent foreign-policy decisions.

Thousands of students from China's pro-democracy movement planned to use the state visit and the obligatory media coverage for their purposes. They had assembled and camped in Tiananmen Square for two weeks in late May and early June. Among their demands were the rights to free speech and a free press, and they erected a statue—modeled on the Statue of Liberty though with both arms supporting the torch—that they named the "Goddess of Democracy." Their cause and the images they employed thus resonated with audiences around the world.

However, this hopeful demonstration came to a sudden and horrifying end. On the night of June 3 and into the early morning hours of June 4, the army launched an assault on the unarmed civilians in the square. The military stormed the area with tanks and machine guns, firing into the crowd at random. Hundreds of young students were killed and thousands wounded in the attack. Scenes of brutality and chaos were broadcast from Tiananmen Square, and there were reports of students and civilians being imprisoned in other parts of China.

The fear inspired by the government's crackdown was so powerful that, almost immediately, students and demonstration organizers stopped talking to the media. The excitement and generous spirit with which interviews had been granted just two days before had eerily disappeared. An official news blackout was imposed, and in addition to sources drying up, reporters and crews themselves were being threatened and interrogated. In a tragic distortion of intentions, the televised interviews and pictures were also used by

Chinese officials to identify and incarcerate many of the students involved. The Chinese citizens outside Beijing never really saw or heard the true horror of what happened. They received "official" versions from the state-run news organization. These broadcasts described scenes of violent student protesters and angry dissidents attacking innocent government authorities.

The Western media was not so easily manipulated. Even though human-rights violations were thought to be commonplace under Communist Party rule, the topics had received little consistent or significant mention in the mainstream media. Tiananmen Square, however, received continuous coverage during the first day of the massacre, representing one of the earliest efforts by U.S. news media to devote non-stop air-time to a breaking international news event. Seldom before had live television so graphically exposed the abuse of individual rights and disregard for human life. In one of the most dramatic moments of the event, audiences were able to watch a Chinese government official physically unplug the satellite transmitter carrying CBS's broadcast. As *CBS Evening News* anchor Dan Rather stood by, registering his protest, television screens suddenly carried nothing but blurred static until New York transmission opened its own feed to network affiliate stations.

China experienced nearly three years of economic sanctions and scorn from the international community after the massacre, yet the Chinese government continued its hard-line policies toward all civilian dissent. On subsequent anniversaries of the military attack, Beijing has maintained an official position of denial and repression. Each year on June 4, a heavy police presence stifles the city and international news broadcasts commemorating the event are interrupted and blocked. Hotels have all been instructed to unplug their satellite connections to CNN.

Despite the government's attempts at censorship, the images broadcast from Tiananmen Square cannot be erased from public memory. However, the anger of the international community seems to have dissipated over the years, as evidenced by Beijing's successful bid to host the 2008 Olympics. When that announcement was made in 2001, hundreds of thousands of people once again flocked to the square—this time to celebrate before the television cameras. Nevertheless, few who watched the coverage will ever forget the sight of a



The student uprising in Tiananmen Square.  
*Courtesy of AP/Wide World Photos*

lone student standing defiantly against a column of army tanks, or of soldiers clubbing demonstrators until they were bloody and lifeless, or the panic-stricken faces of the people in the square. Although the Chinese government would like to strike Tiananmen Square from the record books, television has ensured that its lessons will be taught for many years to come.

JENNIFER HOLT

*See also News, National; Satellite*

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# Till Death Us Do Part

## British Situation Comedy

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One of the first British shows to take a serious and sustained interest in race themes was *Till Death Us Do Part*, originally broadcast in the mid-1960s on BBC1. Five weeks into the first series, the show had already toppled its immediate competitor, *Coronation Street*, in the ratings war. Although the idea for the series had been in the mind of its creator, Johnny Speight, for several years, it was not until Frank Muir took over comedy at the BBC that production began, initially as a pilot but subsequently as a fully fledged series. The comedy centered on the Garnett family, with the main "star" of the show in the person of the patriarch, Alf, sometimes known as Chairman Alf for his willingness to engage in scurrilous diatribes against the Labour party. The other significant target of his rantings were black people, and it is for the extreme views expressed by Alf on issues of race that the program is most remembered (and denounced).

Although Alf's creator argued at the time of the original broadcasts (and since) that his intention was to expose racist bigotry through the exaggerated utterances of Alf, many commentators contend that this intention backfired. The enormous popularity of the show signified that there was something about it that appealed to a significant proportion of the viewing public. Wherever the series has been shown—in Great Britain or in the United States or Germany (the last two in local adaptations)—the effects have by no means always been what the author intended. Alf's rhetoric was not always seen as the voice of the ignorant bigot, but often as the stifled cry of the authentic (white) working class. While the Garnett family, and Alf in particular, were clearly represented as disgraceful and abject characters, extreme even as caricatures, many critiques of the show suggest that part of its fascination for the audience was the "kernel of truth" buried in the lunatic wailings. Thus, the crucial difference between Alf's grotesque soliloquies and the viewers' beliefs was that Alf was simply too stupid to understand that racist sentiment must be concealed beneath a sheen of respectability: the persuasive and polished performance of Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of the dictator, in her Italian political career is more credible than Alf's degenerate ramblings, but contains much the same message.

The inflammatory and controversial subject matter of the show and its U.S. counterpart, *All in the Family*, ensured that both programs became the focus of academic inquiry. Research findings were mixed, some suggesting that such shows had a neutral effect on viewers while others claimed that viewers identified heavily with the xenophobic ravings of Alf/Archie. It is likely that many British viewers, worried by the alleged "immigrant avalanche" constantly reported in the media during the 1960s, and fueled by Irish Protestant leader Enoch Powell's rabid jingoism, found a certain resonance in the racist bigotry espoused by Alf. Although Alf was challenged in his more ludicrous diatribes by his daughter Rita and son-in-law Mike, with the odd wry observation from his long-suffering wife, "Old Moo," Warren Mitchell's powerful performance as Alf relegated the rest to mere bit players, as deserving butts of his wild wit.

Through Alf, a cascade of fear and prejudice was given unique prime-time exposure and articulated with such passion that during its transmission, 12 million viewers (then half the adult British population) tuned in to watch. It is highly unlikely that all these viewers were laughing at—rather than with—Alf, that they were all making wholly satirical readings of Alf's obscene racism and applauding Speight's clever exposition as they cackled at the "jokes." Looking again at the show from today's perspective, the virulent racism stands out as extraordinary, and its nature and extent have never been repeated on British television. *Till Death Us Do Part* may have been written as brave social commentary, but decades later, it looks seriously flawed and gives the lie to the notion that what the writer intends is always "correctly" interpreted and understood by her/his audience.

There is little evidence to support the claim of program producers and writers that mixing humor with bigotry will automatically underline the stupidity of the latter through the clever device of the former. If bigots do not perceive such programs as satire, and much of the research conducted so far seems to indicate that a satirical reading is by no means universal, then they are unlikely to become less prejudiced as a result of watching these shows. At the end of the 1980s, an Alf Garnett exhibition was staged at London's Museum of the

## Till Death Us Do Part

Moving Image, where visitors pressed buttons representing particular social problems and Alf appeared on video to opine on the selected subject. It is a strange idea and exemplifies the ease with which TV characters can make the transition from one medium to another, in this instance mutating from demon to sage in one easy movement. If it is a little too glib, from the smug security of a contemporary standpoint, to label *Till Death Us Do Part* as a straightforwardly racist text, it is nonetheless instructive to consider the limits of acceptability that prevail in any given decade and to continue the campaign for equality and respect while at the same time supporting the radical take.

More than three decades since it first aired, repeats of *Till Death Us Do Part* continue to be broadcast. The program continues to be a subject for comment and criticism.

KAREN ROSS

See also *All in the Family*; Speight, Johnny

### Cast

Alf Garnett	Warren Mitchell
Else Garnett	Dandy Nichols
Rita	Una Stubbs
Mike	Anthony Booth

### Producers

Dennis Main Wilson, David Croft, Graeme Muir

### Programming History

52 half-hour episodes; 1 45-minute special

BBC

July 1965	Comedy Playhouse (pilot)
June 1966–August 1966	7 episodes
December 1966–February 1967	10 episodes
January 1968–February 1968	7 episodes
September 1972–October 1972	6 episodes
December 1972	Christmas special
January 1974–February 1974	7 episodes
December 1974–February 1975	7 episodes
November 1975–December 1975	6 episodes

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## Tillstrom, Burr (1917–1985)

U.S. Puppeteer

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Burr Tillstrom, the creative talent behind the extraordinarily successful *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* programs, was one of television's earliest pioneers and a principal participant in a number of television "firsts." In the late 1930s Tillstrom joined the RCA Victor television demonstration show for a tour throughout the mid-western United States. At the completion of the tour, he was invited to present his Kuklapolitan Players at the 1939 New York World's Fair, where he demonstrated the new medium at the RCA Victor exhibit. In the spring of 1940, RCA sent Tillstrom to Bermuda to do the first ship-to-shore telecasts. The Kuklapolitans

were also featured on the 1941 premiere broadcast of the Balaban and Katz station WBKB in Chicago. By drawing large audiences for television puppetry, Tillstrom opened the door for future puppeteers and their puppets, such as Paul Winchell and Jerry Mahoney, Shari Lewis and Lamb Chop, and Jim Henson and the Muppets.

Tillstrom demonstrated his improvisational talents at an early age when he entertained neighborhood children using teddy bears, dolls, and any other objects that he could animate to mimic performances and film stories. Following one year of college during the mid-

1930s, he joined the Chicago Park District's puppet theater, created under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and developed his own puppets and characters after work. Kukla, the puppet who was the first member of the Kuklapolitan Players, was actually designed and constructed by Tillstrom for a friend in 1936, but Tillstrom found he could not part with his creation. The character remained nameless until a chance meeting with Russian ballerina Tamara Toumanova, who, upon seeing the puppet, called him "kukla" (Russian for "doll" and a term of endearment).

The format for *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* had its roots in Tillstrom's work at the 1939 World's Fair. His puppets, who served as an entr'acte for another marionette group, made comments to the audience and interacted with actresses and models (exhibit spokespersons) invited onto the stage. Tillstrom performed more than 2,000 shows at the fair, each performance different because he disliked repetition.

Tillstrom continued to hone his craft by performing with other marionette troupes and managing the puppet theater at Marshall Field's department store in Chicago. He performed benefits for the United Service Organization (USO) during World War II and at local hospitals for the Red Cross. During a 1941 bond-selling rally in Chicago, Tillstrom met a young radio singer and personality, Fran Allison, who later joined his troupe for a trial 13-week local program, a trial that lasted for many years and attracted millions of fans.

Tillstrom created each puppet on *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* by hand and was the sole manipulator and voice for 15 characters. He shifted easily—usually with only a momentary pause—among characters, and created unique personalities and voices for each "kid" (as he referred to his creations), ranging from the sweet voice of Kukla, the baritone singing voice of Ollie, and the flirtatious Buelah Witch, to the indistinguishable gibberish of Cecil Bill. Standing behind the small stage, Tillstrom could observe the onstage action through the use of a small monitor, a technique that was later adopted and expanded by Jim Henson for *The Muppet Show*.

Although he is most closely identified with *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*, Tillstrom was featured on the U.S. version of *That Was the Week That Was* (TW3) in 1964 without the Kuklapolitans. He won a special Emmy Award for a hand-ballet symbolizing the emotional conflicts caused by the Berlin Wall crisis. His work on TW3 was cited by the George Foster Peabody committee, which in 1965 decided to recognize distinguished individual achievements rather than general program categories after chiding the radio and television indus-



*Kukla, Fran and Ollie*, Kukla, Burr Tillstrom, Oliver J. Dragon, 1952–62.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

try for "a dreary sameness and steady conformity" in its programming.

Following his success on television in various reincarnations and syndicated specials of *Kukla, Fran and Ollie*, including a Broadway production, annual holiday productions at Chicago's Goodman Theatre, and a sound recording (for which he was nominated for a Best Recording for Children Grammy Award in 1972), Tillstrom brought his characters to the printed page in his 1984 work *The Dragon Who Lived Downstairs*. A generous spirit who enjoyed sharing his knowledge and experience with future performers, Tillstrom served as an artist-in-residence at Hope College in Holland, Michigan. At the time of his death in December 1985, he was working on a musical adaptation of his life story for television. On March 23, 1986 Tillstrom was inducted posthumously into the Hall of Fame of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for his significant contributions to the art of television. Fran Allison accepted the award on his behalf.

SUSAN R. GIBBERMAN

*See also Allison, Fran; Chicago School of Television; Children and Television, Henson, Jim; Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*

**Burr Tillstrom.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, October 13, 1917. Attended the University of Chicago, 1935. Puppeteer from the early 1930s; created the puppet Kukla, 1936; manager of the puppet exhibits and marionette theater, Marshall Field and Company, Chicago, 1938; joined the RCA Victor television demonstration show, 1939; produced television show on Chicago television station WBKB with his "Kuklapolitans," 1947; pro-

gram picked up by NBC, 1948–52; show moved to ABC, 1954–57; revived for PBS, 1969; staged a Broadway production with the Kuklapolitans, 1960; host, CBS Children's Film Festival, 1970s; appeared on NBC series *That Was the Week that Was*, 1964–65. Recipient: More than 50 entertainment awards, including five Emmys. Died in Palm Springs, California, December 6, 1985.

#### Television Series

1948–52, 1954–57,	<i>Kukla, Fran and Ollie</i>
1961–62, 1969–71,	
1975–76	
1964–65	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>

#### Television Specials (selected)

1953	<i>The Ford 50th Anniversary Show</i>
1953	<i>St. George and the Dragon</i>
1954	<i>The Kukla, Fran and Ollie Mikado</i>
1954	<i>Many Moons</i> (adaptation)
1955	<i>The Kuklapolitan Easter Show</i>
1955	<i>Alice in Wonderland</i> (Cheshire Cat)
1968	<i>The Reluctant Dragon</i>

#### Publication

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## Time Shifting

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The practice of recording a television program onto videotape with a video cassette recorder (VCR) or onto a computer hard drive in a digital video recorder (DVR, also known as the personal video recorder, PVR) for the purpose of playing the program back later at a more convenient time for the viewer, is known as "time shifting." By law, with few exceptions, a person is not permitted to make an unauthorized copy of a copyrighted work like a television show. One exception to this is the concept of "fair use." Fair use allows for the copying and use of copyrighted material for certain nonprofit, educational, and/or entertainment purposes.

The VCR was introduced into the home television market in the United States during the mid-1970s. As the sale of VCRs increased in the early 1980s, more and more viewers began taping programs off the air. Program producers and other copyright owners went

to court to stop what they believed to be infringement of their copyrights. Universal Studios sued Sony Corporation, the inventor and patent holder of the Beta-max VCR, in hopes of either stopping home taping of television programs or charging royalties for such copying. A U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in Universal's favor, but the matter went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which issued its famous "Betamax" decision in 1984. In that decision, the justices granted permission for home television viewers to record television shows for purposes of viewing them later at a more convenient time (i.e., time shifting). The high court ruled that such copying constituted fair use and would not hurt the market value of the programming itself to program producers. The court's decision was vague on the issue of "warehousing" tape copies. For example, if a viewer is a fan of a soap opera such as *As The World Turns* and makes copies of each and every episode with the inten-

tion of building a library of the entire program series for repeated playback in the future, that would be warehousing. The court may have left this matter deliberately vague, however, because it would be virtually impossible to enforce a ban on such warehousing without violating a person's right to privacy. The unauthorized copying issue is raised again each time a new electronic media technology is introduced to the public. The courts are likely to continue to support the concept of time shifting and other, similar personal uses of these technologies in the future. Programming schedules have begun to reflect this practice. In the United Kingdom, for example, educational programs for both schools and the Open University are shown through the night on the assumption that teachers and other users will record them for use during the day.

The introduction of the DVR in the late 1990s made copying and storing programs still easier for viewers. The digital technology required no bulky tapes to purchase, no clock to set for timed recording, and no storage and searching for tapes when playback is desired. Instead, the television set is connected to a digital hard drive comparable to that in a computer. By subscribing to a commercial service, viewers are able to select programs weeks in advance and, with the touch of a button, command the machine to record and store the program. The user may even program the machine to collect every episode of a television series, or to search for similar programs. The digital recorder also allows viewer control of "live television," pausing the recording, delaying initial viewing, and fast-forward through commercials.

The TiVo was the first digital recorder on the market, soon followed by Replay. The first Replay machines automatically skipped commercials in recorded material. The technology also allowed for digital "file swapping." Faced with lawsuits, Replay removed these capabilities from the machines, though it is still possible to fast-forward through the interruptions.

One other form of time-shifting also developed at the end of the decade. "Re-purposing" became a programming strategy in which television distributors provided the same program in different venues, often within very short time periods. Re-purposing meant that a program appearing on network television might appear on a cable network later in the same week. While the practice was frustrating for traditional broadcasters who realized viewers might forego their network programming for other preferences when the content would be available at a later time, it was financially attractive to the owners of multiple distribution outlets. To date the practice is not widely used.

ROBERT G. FINNEY

*See also* **Betamax Case; Copyright Law and Television; Home Video; Sony Corporation; Videocassette; Videotape**

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## Time Warner

U.S. Media Conglomerate

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Time Warner, known as AOL Time Warner from 2001 to 2003, has evolved from its origins in film and publishing into one of the world's largest media conglomerates. Time Warner's television interests encompass both cable and broadcasting, and both distribution and programming. Time Warner Cable is one of the largest multiple system cable operators in the U.S. Time Warner's broadcast network, the WB, founded in 1995, has carried hit series such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Dawson's Creek*, and *Seventh Heaven*.

Warner's film and television production subsidiaries have produced programming shown on a variety of broadcast and cable networks, including *Friends*, *ER*, *Gilmore Girls*, *The West Wing*, *Everybody Loves Raymond*, *The Drew Carey Show*, *Six Feet Under*, and *Smallville*. Time Warner's cable networks include premium pay cable channels such as Cinemax and Home Box Office. The Turner networks (Turner Network Television, Turner Broadcasting System, Turner Classic Movies, Cartoon, and Cable News Network) are

among the top-rated cable networks for both general and niche audiences.

Time Warner's other subsidiaries include film production and distribution (Warner Brothers, Castle Rock, New Line), home video (Warner Home Video), and theatrical film exhibition (over 1,000 screens internationally). The Time/Life magazine publishing division, founded by Henry Luce in 1922, includes *Time*, *People*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *In Style*, and accounts for nearly a fifth of all magazine advertising revenues. Time Warner's book-publishing division includes Warner Books and Little, Brown and Company. Time Warner has stakes in various online media, including the Netscape browser, CompuServe, MovieFone, Instant Messenger, and America Online, the largest single internet service provider.

Although Warner Brothers had diversified its film business into the recording industry in the 1920s with the advent of sound movies, it only became a full-fledged diversified media conglomerate when Steve Ross's Kinney Corporation acquired it in 1969. Ross renamed it Warner Communications, Inc., and expanded into cable, publishing, and video games (for the Atari computer). Ross's management strategy was to foster competition and creative autonomy among divisions in order to attract and retain creative and managerial talent. WCI was known for its fractious internal politics, usually smoothed over by favors from Ross, a polymath with a taste for sweeping gestures and private jets. In 1989, looking to merge with a partner with complementary media holdings, Ross won a protracted legal battle with Paramount over Time Inc., publishers of *Time* magazine. However, the resulting merged company, Time Warner, went heavily into debt to finance the merger. When Ross died from cancer a few years later, bitter internal debates among Time Warner's film, music, and publishing divisions over "synergy" resulted in a protracted power struggle.

By 1993 Gerald Levin emerged the winner. Levin, a lawyer by training, had joined Time in 1972 when it acquired a small cable company in Manhattan known as Home Box Office. In 1976 Levin convinced Time to put HBO on a satellite feed (rather than microwave or landline) to deliver exclusive sports and film programming to local cable-operating systems. This innovation galvanized the growth of national cable networks and the subsequent increase of cable penetration into the majority of U.S. homes. Levin had paired an old distribution system (cable wires) with a new one (satellite feeds); he would attempt to replicate this early success throughout his tenure at Time Warner.

However, tensions over "synergy" simmered throughout the 1990s. For example, the film division re-

fused to sell pay-cable rights for its films to HBO for less than what it thought it could receive from other pay-cable services. Warner Music was reluctant to license its artists' work to the film division. Conflicts among the divisions reflected concerns that each would suffer reduced divisional profits if forced to sell their products at a discount to buyers within the conglomerate. Thus, despite occasional successes such as the franchise of *Batman* feature films, the concept of "synergy" fell from favor. In 1996 Levin reversed his course toward streamlining the conglomerate and instead oversaw the purchase of cable magnate Ted Turner's company (TBS, TNT, CNN). The absorption of Turner's cable networks solidified Time Warner's market power in television: its combination of cable-operating systems in top markets with Turner's highly rated cable networks gave Time Warner strong negotiating leverage with competitors. Time Warner also developed an interactive television service, the Full Service Network. Unlike one-way cable service, this was a two-way distribution platform that could provide video-on-demand, retail sales, games, and communication services. However, the technology and implementation costs remained too high in the mid-1990s; Time Warner was forced to take large losses on its investment.

By the late 1990s, Internet networking and the World Wide Web threatened to replace or converge with television as the next mass-distribution platform. Levin oversaw a number of online initiatives at Time Warner, including Pathfinder, an attempt to link Time Warner's companies through the Web. In 1999, concerned that Time Warner would lose its competitive edge because of its dependence on "old media" businesses such as magazines and film, Levin reached an agreement with Steve Case, then head of America Online, to merge the two companies.

America Online had evolved from a small online game company to the largest single Internet service provider (ISP) in the world, peaking at over 20 million subscribers in 2000. Case's clever marketing strategies for AOL were rooted in his own experience as a frustrated online user in the 1980s. Case realized that if the online experience could be easy to use, fun, and affordable, it could reach a mass market. Instead of trying to sell its software to consumers wary of computers, AOL freely distributed millions of copies of its software through mass mailings. Having had a free introduction to the service, users then paid AOL based on time spent online. By 1992, AOL had overtaken competing ISPs, redesigned itself to provide its subscribers access to the rest of the Internet from within AOL, and changed its pricing to a flat monthly fee. Noting that most subscribers preferred user-



generated content such as chat rooms, AOL also reversed its relationships with professional content providers, such as *Newsweek* magazine. Rather than paying to display repurposed content, AOL asked the providers to pay for access to AOL users' screens. This not only reduced overhead but generated a new form of revenue for AOL, as content providers accepted AOL's terms in order to maintain access to millions of potential customers.

However, AOL's rapid success and subsequently overvalued stock exposed the company to hostile takeover attempts (from powerful companies such as Microsoft). Case also knew that the dial-up Internet access market would begin to shrink once broadband Internet access became more available. Broadband, whether over DSL phone lines or cable lines, offered the possibility of larger markets for online content and services. Case's selection of Time Warner as a merger partner was thus predicated in part on Time Warner's control of cable-operating systems in top markets. After having had little success in convincing other cable operators to offer AOL broadband services over their wires, Case and Levin theorized that the combination of AOL's online services brand with Time Warner's cable pipes would give AOL Time Warner a competitive advantage.

The merger of AOL and Time Warner, announced in January 2000 just before the collapse of the dot-com boom in April 2000, was completed in January 2001. In order to gain regulators' approval for their merger, AOL Time Warner had to contend with claims by competitors that its online and cable market dominance would create "bottlenecks," which would allow AOL Time Warner to discriminate against unaffiliated content providers. AOL Time Warner had to guarantee competitors' access to its cable lines. Confident that they could aggregate the conglomerate's 100 million subscribers, Case and Levin argued that the conglomerate's cross-promotion of AOL online services (both dial-up and broadband), *Time* magazine subscriptions, Time Warner cable subscriptions, as well as HBO subscriptions, would provide a stable source of revenue as well as fuel for rapid growth. AOL Time Warner would be positioned to become the market leader in entertainment technology services such as video-on-demand, interactive television, and broadband.

However, by 2003, as Time Warner's stock price suffered severe decline, the merger was heavily criticized by investors for pursuing the aim of media convergence at the cost of its core businesses. Broadband penetration lagged behind optimistic estimates, and the feasibility of interactive television was unclear. Conflicts between Time Warner executives and AOL executives broke out into the open. The number of AOL's dial-up subscribers flattened out, and its advertising revenues dropped drastically after the collapse of many of its dot-com advertisers. AOL, rather than being the "crown jewel" of the new, merged company, threatened to pull down the value of the entire conglomerate. A series of executive resignations followed, including Levin and Case, who continued to insist that their vision that "convergence is the wave of the future" was accurate despite the market's slowness in accepting it.

Renamed Time Warner in 2003, CEO Richard Parsons reduced the conglomerate's debt by selling less profitable divisions, such as Warner Music Group, and its interest in the cable network Comedy Central. Although the AOL Time Warner merger did not immediately result in a "fundamental transformation of the media and communications industries," as Case had claimed in 2001, Time Warner's focus on amalgamation as its key strategy for managing risk and reducing competition continues to shape the structure of the television industry, as well as the media and entertainment industry at large.

CYNTHIA B. MEYERS

*See also* Case, Steve; Levin, Gerald; Media Conglomerates

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## Tinker, Grant (1926– )

U.S. Producer and Media Executive

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Although Grant Tinker's career in television spanned more than 30 years and a number of positions in network programming and production, he is best known for his work in the 1970s and 1980s as founder and president of MTM Enterprises, and as "the man who saved NBC" when he served as the network's chair and chief executive officer from 1981 to 1986. Throughout his career, he has been associated with literate, sophisticated programming usually referred to as "quality television."

His stint as chair and chief executive officer was not Tinker's first experience with NBC. In 1949, after graduation from Dartmouth College, he became the network's original executive trainee, learning about each of its departments before settling into a job in the station's night operations. He left the network in 1951 for employment in a series of production and programming jobs in radio, television, and advertising. He served as director of program development at McCann Erickson in the early 1950s, when advertisers were responsible for producing much of the networks' schedules, and at Warwick and Legler, where he rehabilitated Revlon's corporate image after it had been tarnished in the quiz-show scandals. He also served as Benton and Bowles's vice president in charge of programs, where he was involved in developing Procter and Gamble's *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, and where he met his second wife, Mary Tyler Moore.

Tinker returned to NBC in the early 1960s as west-coast head of programs, with responsibility for program development of a number of popular series, including *Bonanza*, *I Spy*, *Dr. Kildare*, and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* After returning to New York to serve as the network's vice president in charge of programs, he left NBC to work as a production executive at Universal (where he was instrumental in birthing *It Takes a Thief* and *Marcus Welby, M.D.*), as well as *The ABC Movie of the Week*) and Twentieth Century-Fox.

When Mary Tyler Moore was offered a 13-episode series commitment from CBS in 1970, the couple formed MTM Enterprises to produce *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Tinker put into practice his philosophy of hiring the best creative people and letting them work without interference from executives at the networks or at MTM. He built MTM into a "writers' company"

that produced some of the most successful and award-winning series of the 1970s and 1980s. Beginning with the writer-producer team of James Brooks and Allan Burns, who created *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Tinker and MTM nurtured the talents of a host of top writers and producers whose work would go on to dominate U.S. network television schedules and the Emmy Awards through the 1990s. The staff included Gary David Goldberg, Steven Bochco, Bruce Paltrow, Mark Tinker, Hugh Wilson, Joshua Brand, and John Falsey. MTM's early hits were primarily sitcoms in the *Mary Tyler Moore* mold (including spin-offs *Rhoda* and *Phyllis*) as well as *The Bob Newhart Show* and *WKRP in Cincinnati*. Beginning in the late 1970s and 1980s, however, MTM produced a number of network television's most successful and innovative dramas, including *Lou Grant*, *The White Shadow*, *Remington Steele*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *St. Elsewhere*, shows that benefited from Tinker's combination of benign neglect in creative matters and tenacious support in dealing with the networks.

In 1981 Tinker left MTM to become chair and chief executive officer of NBC, the perennial last-place network. With no shows in the Nielsen top ten, and only two in the top twenty, NBC had suffered through a season of dismal profits (one-sixth the level of ABC's or CBS's) and affiliate defections. Based on the belief that good-quality programming makes a strong network, Tinker worked with programming chief Brandon Tartikoff to revitalize NBC's prime-time schedule. They allowed low-rated but promising series to remain on the schedule until those programs built an audience, and they courted the best producers to supply the network with programs. Under this philosophy, NBC recovered the upscale urban audience prized by advertisers, earned industry approval with more Emmy Awards than CBS and ABC combined, and finally rose to first place in the ratings with such blockbusters as the famed Thursday night lineup—*Cosby*, *Family Ties*, *Cheers*, *Night Court*, and *Hill Street Blues*—billed as "the best night of television on television." That his programming strategy relied heavily on work from MTM (*Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *Remington Steele*) and MTM alumni (Goldberg's *Family Ties*, Charles Burrows and Glen and Les Charles's *Cheers*)



Grant Tinker with wife Mary Tyler Moore.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

eventually cost Tinker his share of MTM, when NBC's parent company RCA ordered him to sell in the early 1980s. In any case, NBC's turnaround helped shore up the network system in an era when new programming alternatives such as cable and VCRs had begun eroding the once-monolithic network audience. Tinker left NBC in 1986, shortly after it was acquired by General Electric.

Tinker next tried to repeat the success of MTM Enterprises by forming GTG (Grant Tinker-Gannett) Entertainment with the communications giant Gannett, producer of the syndicated news-magazine *USA Today on TV* and the dramatic program *WIOU*, which aired for a short time on CBS. The partnership was dissolved in 1990. Since then, Tinker has written an autobiography, served on the boards of a variety of charitable organizations, and maintained his position as watchdog

for good taste on television. Tinker joined Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman in calling for more responsible programming during Congressional hearings in 1998, and was an outspoken critic of the genre of "reality programming" in 2000 and 2001. Tinker has earned a variety of awards celebrating his career in television, including the Producers Guild's Lifetime Achievement Award in television (1991) and induction into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences' Television Hall of Fame (1997).

SUSAN MCLELAND

*See also Dick Van Dyke Show, The; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The; Moore, Mary Tyler; National Broadcasting Company*

**Grant Tinker.** Born in Stamford, Connecticut, January 11, 1926. Educated at Dartmouth College. Married: 1) Ruth Byerly (divorced); one daughter and three sons; 2) Mary Tyler Moore, 1963 (divorced, 1981). Worked in radio program department, NBC, 1949–51; TV department, McCann-Erickson Advertising Agency, 1954–58; Benton and Bowles Advertising Agency, 1958–61; vice president of programs, west coast, NBC, 1961–66; vice president in charge of programming, west coast, NBC, New York City, 1966–67; vice president, Universal TV, 1968–69; vice president, Twentieth Century-FOX, 1969–70; president, Mary Tyler Moore (MTM) Enterprises, Inc., 1970–81; chair of the board and chief executive officer, NBC, Burbank, California, 1981–86; independent producer, Burbank, since 1986; president, GTG Entertainment, Culver City, California, 1986–90. Recipient: Producers Guild's Lifetime Achievement Award in television, 1991; inducted into Academy of Television Arts and Sciences' Television Hall of Fame, 1997.

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# Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy

British Thriller/Miniseries

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When first broadcast in September 1979, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* was variously regarded as "turgid, obscure, and pretentious," or as "a great success." It is in keeping with the ambiguous nature of John Le Carré's narratives that one can simultaneously agree with both formulations without contradiction. As one character in the story, Roy Bland, paraphrasing F. Scott Fitzgerald, observes: "An artist is a bloke who can hold two fundamentally opposing views and still function." The tension is a consequence of the themes of deception and duplicity at the center of the narrative: To those who, like former BBC Director General Sir Hugh Greene, prefer the moral certainties of novelist John Buchan's version of British Intelligence, Le Carré's world will not only be difficult to follow but morally perplexing. On the other hand, the success of the serial was not only demonstrated by good audience ratings but also by general critical acclaim for the acting, a judgment ratified by subsequent BAFTA awards for best actor (Alec Guinness), and for the camerawork of Tony Pierce-Roberts. An ambivalent reception also greeted *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* in the United States, where the serial failed to be picked up for broadcast by the networks but won critical acclaim when shown on PBS.

Le Carré published his first novel, *Call For the Dead*, in 1961, and his first major novelistic success, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1963), was turned into a film in 1966, but *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, which also began as a novel, published in 1974, was his first venture into television. He rejected the project of turning it into a film because the plot would have to be compressed in order to fit a feature-length movie, but he thought that the space afforded by TV serialization would do justice to his narrative. He was also impressed with the skill of Arthur Hopcraft's teleplay, which extensively reordered the structure of the novel in order to clarify the narrative for a television audience without violating its essential character (for example, Hopcraft began the narrative with the debacle in Czechoslovakia, which the novel does not treat until chapter 27). Le Carré was even more taken by the interpretation of protagonist George Smiley provided by Alec Guinness. Indeed, as he was writing *Smiley's*

*People* (1980), Le Carré found himself visualizing Guinness in the role and incorporated some of the insights afforded by the actor in the final part of the trilogy (the second part, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 1977, has not been dramatized). A trivial example will stand for many. During the production of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, Guinness complained that the characterizing idiosyncrasy of Smiley, polishing his glasses with the fat end of his tie, cannot be done naturally because in London's cold weather, Smiley would wear a three-piece suit, thus a handkerchief must be substituted for the tie. At the end of *Smiley's People*, Le Carré includes a teasingly oblique rejoinder: "From long habit, Smiley had taken off his spectacles and was absently polishing them on the fat end of his tie, *even though he had to delve for it among the folds of his tweed coat*" (emphasis added). *Smiley's People* was itself dramatized by the BBC, with Alec Guinness reprising the title role to great acclaim, in 1982.

The story of *Tinker, Tailor* has an archetypal simplicity reminiscent of the *Odyssey*: the scorned outsider investigates the running of the kingdom, testing the loyalty of his subjects and kin by means of plausible stories before disposing of the usurpers and restoring righteous rule. In Le Carré's modern story, the elements are transposed onto the landscape of conflicted modern Europe in the throes of the Cold War.

A botched espionage operation in Czechoslovakia ensures that Control (Head of British Intelligence) and his associates are discredited. Shortly after this debacle, Control dies; his able lieutenant Smiley is retired; and the two are succeeded by four operatives they have trained whose codenames are Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, and Spy: Percy Alleline, Bill Haydon, Roy Bland, and Toby Esterhaze. Six months later, Riki Tarr, a maverick Far Eastern agent, turns up in London with a story suggesting there is a mole (a deeply concealed double agent) in the Circus (intelligence headquarters, located at Cambridge Circus). Lacon of the Cabinet Office entices Smiley out of retirement to investigate the story. Smiley gradually pieces together the story by analyzing files, interrogating witnesses, and trawling through his own memory and those of other retired Circus personnel, notably Connie Sachs (a brilliant cameo role

played by Beryl Reid), until he finally unmasks the mole "Gerald" at the heart of the Circus.

The mood of the story, however, is far from simple. Duplicity and betrayal, personal as well as public (Smiley's upper-class wife is sexually promiscuous, betraying him with "Gerald"), informs every aspect of the scene. While the traitor is eventually unmasked, the corrupt nature of the intelligence service serves as a microcosm of contemporary England: secretive, manipulative, class-ridden, materialistic, and emotionally sterile. Thus, if the Augean stables have been cleaned, they will soon be soiled again. This downbeat tone accounts for the serial not being taken up by the U.S. networks and marks it off from the charismatic spy adventures of James Bond, but it also accounts for its particular appeal to British middle-brow audiences.

The spy genre is virtually a British invention: although other countries produce spy writers, the centrality of the genre to British culture is long-standing and inescapable: John Buchan, Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, Frederick Forsyth, and Len Deighton, as well as Le Carré, have all achieved international success for their spy stories—not to mention the achievements in television drama by Dennis Potter (*The Blade on the Feather*) and Alan Bennett (*An Englishman Abroad* and *A Question of Attribution*). To account for this obsession with spies, we only have to consider the political circumstances of Britain in the 20th and 21st centuries: a declining imperial power, whose overseas possessions must be ruled and defended more by information than by outright physical force; an offshore island of a divided Europe, seeing itself threatened in the 20th century by German, then Soviet, military ambitions. Perhaps even more significant than these external threats are those from within. Holding a disproportionate share of positions of power in the cabinet, Whitehall, the BBC, and government institutions, the ruling class comprises an elite educated in public schools and at Oxbridge, and such a class, which maintains its grip on power by exclusion, is liable to marginalize or demonize those who openly challenge its assumptions. The result is liable to be subversion from within—a tactic fostered by the duplicitous jockeying for power of rival gangs in the enclosed masculine world of the public schools. The symbolic and emotional link between the world of the public school and that of the Circus is established in *Tinker, Tailor* by the character of Jim Prideaux. This injured and betrayed agent teaches at a prep school after his failed Czech mission and enlists the aid of a hero-worshipping pupil as his watcher. Thus,

the fictions that Le Carré invented have their counterpart in the real world and tap familiar English fears and obsessions. In the same year, 1979, that saw the serialization of *Tinker, Tailor*, the BBC also produced two documentary series, *Public School* and *Spy*, that reinforced the connections between real events and Le Carré's work. An episode in the latter series, "The Climate of Treason," concerned itself with speculating about the identity of the "Fourth Man" (a fourth double agent within MI5, after Burgess, MacLean, and Philby). On November 15, 1979, Margaret Thatcher publicly identified the art historian Sir Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures (curator of the royal collection), as the Fourth Man, recruited by the Russians in the 1930s while at Cambridge. Le Carré's novel was read as a fictionalized version of these events.

The success of *Tinker, Tailor* lies in its realism, which is portrayed not only in the characters (and Guinness's Smiley is as definitive a performance as Sir Laurence Olivier's Richard in *Richard III* or Edith Evans as Lady Bracknell) but also in the serial's depiction of the way intelligence institutions work. However, the claim for realism must not be pressed too far; Le Carré has admitted that he invented much of the vocabulary used in the novel—babysitters, lamplighters, the Circus, the nursery, moles—though he was also amused to discover that real agents appropriated some of his terms once the stories were published. Moreover, much intelligence work is bureaucratic and boring: Smiley's reflections turn the drudgery of reading files into a fascinating intellectual puzzle that, unlike the real experience, always produces significant information.

At the symbolic level, however, the portrayal of the workings of bureaucracy is authentic: bureaucracies serve those who govern by gathering, processing, and controlling access to information. In a world increasingly governed by means of information, those who control it have power and wealth, so that the resonance of Le Carré's story will carry beyond the Cold War setting that is its point of departure.

BRENDAN KENNY

#### Cast (selected)

George Smiley	Alec Guinness
Annie Smiley	Siân Phillips
Tinker (Percy Alleline)	Michael Aldridge
Soldier (Roy Bland)	Terence Rigby
Poor Man (Toby Esterhaze)	Bernard Hepton
Peter Guillam	Michael Jayston
Lacon	Anthony Bate
Control	Alexander Knox

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy

**Producer**

Jonathan Powell

**Programming History**

7 50-minute episodes

BBC

September 10, 1979–October 22, 1979

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## Tisch, Laurence (1923–2003)

### U.S. Media Mogul

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In 1986, Laurence Tisch, a fabled Wall Street investor, took control of CBS, often considered the crown jewel of American broadcasting. Tisch ran the CBS network, its owned and operated television stations, and other corporate properties until 1995. Throughout the decade he was in charge, he manipulated and modified CBS, looking to cash in with an eventual sale of the property. In 1995 the deal came through. Westinghouse offered \$5 billion for CBS; Tisch personally made an estimated \$2 billion.

In the view of many television critics and media industry observers, Tisch badly mismanaged the former "Tiffany network" with policies that caused ratings to drop, earnings to fall, and affiliates to defect. In a stunning pair of 1994 deals, fellow mogul Rupert Murdoch contracted broadcasting rights for the National Football League (NFL) and tempted a number of CBS affiliates to switch to the FOX Broadcasting Company. CBS was further embarrassed when Tisch demoted Connie Chung from her position as co-anchor with Dan Rather of the *CBS Evening News*. Media pundits lambasted Tisch for CBS's decision to offer golf coverage on a Sunday afternoon in May 1995, while ABC and NBC carried President Bill Clinton's address to the mourners of the Oklahoma City bombing. CBS opted to stay with the golf tournament to save \$1 million in advertising.

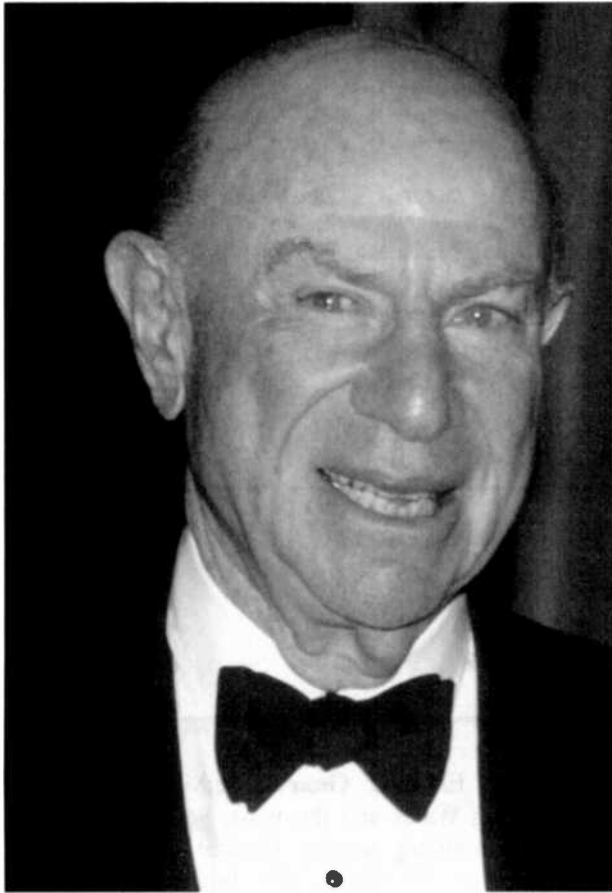
Andy Rooney, long a fixture on CBS's highest-rated show, *60 Minutes*, stated openly what many in the industry felt about Tisch's negative impact on CBS's long-fabled news division. On rival network ABC's *Primetime Live*, Rooney castigated Tisch for allowing CBS to slip: "We need a hero in the business. I don't see why someone like Larry Tisch... doesn't say, 'I've

got all this money, why don't I just make the best news division in the world.'"

Tisch's relations with CBS had not begun on such a rancorous note. During the mid-1980s, when Ted Turner tried to make a hostile bid for CBS, longtime CBS chief William S. Paley looked for a "white knight" to save his beloved company. In October 1985 Paley and his hand-chosen corporate directors asked Tisch to join the CBS board and thwart Turner. Before his takeover, Tisch had simply been another anonymous New York City multimillionaire, making money in tobacco, insurance, and hotels. His rescue of CBS made him a media celebrity.

After serving in the U.S. Army's intelligence office during World War II, Tisch joined forces with his younger brother, Bob, and began his rise to corporate power and profit with the 1949 purchase of Laurel-in-the-Pines, a New Jersey hotel. For the next decade, the brothers bought and sold hotels, particularly in Miami Beach, Florida, and Atlantic City, New Jersey. In 1959 the Tisch brothers bought the Loews theater chain from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and changed the name of their company to Loews Corporation.

From this base they continued to expand their investment efforts and by the mid-1980s, Loews Corporation ranked as a multibillion-dollar conglomerate success story. Loews was built by acquiring other companies through tender offers, beginning with the takeover of Lorillard, a tobacco products company, in 1968. In early 1974 Loews announced it had acquired just over 5 percent of an insurance subsidiary, CNA Financial, then an independent company. Before the end of that year, Loews had successfully completed a hostile tender offer for the company's stock, and CNA be-



Laurence Tisch, 1999.  
©Sean Roberts/Everett Collection

came the principal source of Loews' income. In the case of both Lorillard and CNA, the Tisch brothers reversed the fortunes of ailing companies and made millions in the process.

Privately, Laurence Tisch then began to undertake philanthropic causes. He managed the investments of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided endowment and buildings for New York University, and led fundraising for the United Jewish Appeal.

In 1986, Paley stepped aside and Tisch became not only CBS's major stockholder but also its chief executive officer. To no-one's surprise, Tisch restructured the company into a "lean and mean" operation. Within months he had launched the biggest single staff and budget reduction in network TV history. When the dust had settled, hundreds had lost their long-secure jobs, news bureaus had been shuttered, and CBS was a shell of its former self.

On a larger corporate scale, Tisch systematically began to sell every CBS property not connected to televi-

sion. First sold was CBS's educational and professional publishing, which included Holt, Rinehart and Winston, one of the United States' leading publishers of textbooks; and W.B. Saunders, a major publisher of medical books. CBS picked up \$500 million in the deal.

That sum proved to be small change when compared to the \$2 billion paid by Sony Corporation of Japan for the CBS Music Group. One of the world's dominant record and compact disc companies, CBS Music boasted a stable of stars that then included Bruce Springsteen, Michael Jackson, the Rolling Stones, Billy Joel, Cindy Lauper, Paul McCartney, and James Taylor. This single 1987 sale enabled the new CBS to earn a substantial profit that year.

With the layoffs, budget cuts, and sales of CBS properties completed, Tisch faced the need to improve TV programming. This proved difficult, and speculation began about precisely when Tisch would cash in his CBS stock. Potential buyers for the network included MCA/Universal Pictures, Disney, Viacom, and QVC, a television home-shopping company. Throughout the early 1990s, Tisch quietly engineered stock repurchases by CBS, and, by selling much of his own stock back to the corporation, he covered his original investment. Whatever he would receive for his remaining 18 percent of the company would be pure profit. Thus, the 1995 Westinghouse deal moved Tisch from the status of a multimillionaire to a multibillionaire. In television history, however, Laurence Tisch will be remembered for first rescuing, and then decimating, the once-dominant television network.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

*See also* **Columbia Broadcasting System; Paley, William S.**

**Laurence Alan Tisch.** Born in New York City, March 15, 1923. Educated at New York University, B.S., 1942; University of Pennsylvania, M.A. in industrial engineering, 1943; studied at Harvard Law School, 1946. Married: Wilma Stein, 1948; four sons. Served in U.S. Army, Office of Strategic Services, during World War II. President, Tisch Hotels, Inc., New York City, 1946-74; chair of the board and chief executive officer, Loews Corp., New York City, from 1960, co-chief executive officer, from 1988; president, chief executive officer, CBS Inc., New York City, from 1986, chair, president, chief executive officer, board of directors, from 1990. Chair and member of board of directors, CNA Finance Corporation, Chicago. Board of directors: Bulove Corporation, New York City; ADP Corporation; Petrie Stores Corporation; R.H. Macy and Company; United Jewish Appeal Federation;

Tisch, Laurence

chair, board of trustees, New York University. Trustee: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; New York Public Library; Carnegie Corporation. Died November 15, 2003.

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# Tiswas

## U.K. Children's Series

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*Tiswas* (an acronym for "Today Is Saturday, Watch And Smile") initially aired on January 5, 1974, not networked but broadcast on ITV in the Midlands area only, the area of Britain where the commercial television franchise was held by ATV (Associated TeleVision). A freewheeling, loosely scripted, and unpredictable mish-mash of jokes, sketches, cartoons, pop clips, celebrity guests, and spoof features, the show quickly became essential watching for pre-teens fascinated by its irreverent approach and scatological style, which frequently involved guests getting soaked or immersed in "gunge." Each week an audience of lucky youngsters would cram in the studio to watch the riotous action take place, and occasionally get involved in the mayhem. The main presenter in those early days was John Asher, aided and abetted by Trevor East and Chris Tarrant (later to become producer of the series), who would make the largest initial on-screen splash and who, much later, would reach even greater heights as the host of *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?* Tarrant seemed totally at ease among the chaos and cheerfully kept going as the madness unfolded around him. By the second series the show was even crazier, and was beginning to attract an older audience in addition to the targeted pre-teens.

In 1976 the BBC started its own live marathon-length Saturday morning children's show, *The Multi Coloured Swap Shop* and, seemingly to counteract the impact of this move, some other ITV regions (Anglia

serving east England, Granada serving Lancashire, HTV serving Wales and the west, Southern TV, and Scottish Television serving Central Scotland) also started carrying *Tiswas*. By this time John Asher had left the team and Sally James had joined. This last move served to attract even more older audience members, especially adolescent boys and their fathers, who took a shine to James and her "rock chick" appeal. The presenters continued to deal out doses of slime and buckets of water, but the slop value of the show was increased considerably the following year (1977) with the introduction of the Phantom Flan Flinger, a masked custard-pie throwing and water-slinging mystery man who would be responsible for drenching many of the celebrity guests who appeared on the show.

The series went from strength to strength and further consolidated in 1979, when it was also transmitted in the Grampian (North East Scotland), LWT (London), Westward (South West England), and Yorkshire Television regions, virtually covering the land. This was to be the show's most popular period, with a winning team of varying personnel including, alongside Tarrant and James, larger-than-life impressionist Lenny Henry; comedian (later *Dr. Who* star) Sylvester McCoy; former pop singer John Gorman; veteran Irish comic Frank Carson, and the dry-witted Bob Carolgees whose puppet, punk dog Spit, became a firm favorite with audience members and home viewers. By this time celebrities were lining up to be on the show.



Victims included Paul McCartney, Genesis, Cliff Richard, Kate Bush, The Clash, and senior newscaster Trevor McDonald—mercilessly soaked while reading a spoof news item. Other recurring favorite moments of the show were: The Cage, in which adult audience members were imprisoned and regularly soaked by having buckets of water thrown over them; Compost Corner, a pastiche gardening segment also ending up with someone getting wet; the Dying Fly, in which the audience members were encouraged to lie on their back and wiggle their legs and arms in the air; the pop interview, which would start normally enough but was prone to end in chaos; and the small children talent slot, during which young audience members were given the chance to show off their (often excruciating) party pieces.

By the end of the 1979 season the show had become so popular that the central team (Tarrant, James, Gorman and Carolgees) had toured as The Four Bucketeers, soaking audiences up and down the country and releasing a minor hit single ("The Bucket of Water Song"). The adult appeal of *Tiswas* had grown considerably; this was reflected occasionally by the (often unintentionally) risqué nature of some of the items. It proved impossible to resist this older appeal and Tarrant, Gorman and Carolgees left in 1981 to produce and present *OTT* (Over The Top) from 1982, a late-night adult version of *Tiswas*. However, the intentionally rude and crude nature of the new show failed to spark interest or engender the sort of cult appeal that had turned *Tiswas* into a phenomenon. *Tiswas* itself continued unabashed at first, but soon after showed signs of wear and tear, and ended in April 1982. The series had revolutionized U.K. children's broadcasting, paving the way for a saucier, livelier approach to the field and demonstrating to no little extent the appeal of

slapstick comedy, pop music, and silliness to both the young and the young at heart.

DICK FIDDY

*See also* **Children and Television**

**Cast (Presenters/Performers)**

John Asher (1974)  
 Chris Tarrant (1974–81)  
 Trevor East (1975–78)  
 Sally James (1977–82)  
 John Gorman (1977–81)  
 Lenny Henry (1977–81)  
 Bob Carolgees (1979–81)  
 Frank Carson  
 Jim Davidson  
 Sylvester McCoy (1977–79)  
 Clive Webb (1980–82)  
 Gordon Astley (1981–82)  
 Dan Hegarty (1980–82)  
 David Rappaport (1981–82)  
 Emil Wolk  
 Terry Coates  
 Trevor James

**Producer**

Chris Tarrant

**Program Compiler**

Peter Matthews

**Production Company**

ATV  
 1974–1982      Saturday morning

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**TiVo™**. *See* **Convergence**

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**Todman, Bill.** *See* **Goodson, Mark, and Bill Todman**

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# Tommy Hunter Show, The

## Canadian Country Music Program

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Known as "Canada's Country Gentleman," Tommy Hunter was for many years one of Canada's most popular and best-known television personalities. He became a fixture on Canadian television as the host of *The Tommy Hunter Show*, one of North America's longest-running variety shows, and is also one of the few figures in Canadian popular music to have established his reputation through television rather than through recording and radio airplay. He has received numerous awards for his role in television, in country music, and in Canadian cultural life.

The Ontario native's career in television started when he was 19 years old on *Country Hoedown*, a weekly country-music program produced by and aired on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), where Hunter would spend the rest of his television career. The show was an on-stage revue with a house band and featured various musical guests from both Canada and the United States. Starting out as a rhythm guitarist, Hunter soon became a featured performer on the show, which led to his own daily noontime CBC radio program, *The Tommy Hunter Show*; it became a television series in 1965.

Much of *Country Hoedown's* format and tone were carried over into *The Tommy Hunter Show*. Over its 27-year run on CBC (1965–92)—rerun three times a week on the Nashville Network between 1983 and 1991—the show was noted for nurturing Canadian country music, which it showcased alongside big-name American country stars. Hunter wanted to break with the hokey, country-hick feel that characterized such shows as *Hee Haw*, however, and tried to present country music as "respectable." The result was a program that some labeled a country version of *The Lawrence Welk Show*. Inspired by television variety-show hosts such as Johnny Carson and Perry Como, Hunter felt that the host should have a relaxed, comfortable style, establishing a certain rapport with the audience. By sticking to his country-purist approach, he was able to establish such a rapport, building up an intensely loyal fan base that planned its Saturday evenings around *The Tommy Hunter Show*. Over the years, Hunter sustained an ongoing battle with CBC producers who wanted to rely on demographics and make the show more slick. He maintained that targeted programming precluded estab-

lishing a real relationship with the audience. His show relied upon the on-stage revue format, which mixed various musical sequences with dance and other country entertainment. Despite attempts to alter the program by incorporating other styles and sensibilities, Hunter persevered in maintaining the show's traditional country tone. It was this purist approach that would ultimately sound the show's death knell, however, and a lack of younger viewers and slipping audience ratings led to its cancellation in 1992.

As a long-running music television program, *The Tommy Hunter Show* demonstrates that television's imbrication with popular music dates back long before the rise of MTV and the music video. Hence, while it provided country music fans with entertainment each week, Hunter's program also helped to rearticulate a brand of country music that many associated with Nashville as a Canadian popular-music genre, in a period that saw the rise of a Canadian cultural nationalism that sought to define itself principally by contrast with American culture. Indeed, through the program's year-in, year-out presence on the CBC, the state-owned broadcaster and self-styled "national network," the country music of *The Tommy Hunter Show* became a national symbol for many Canadians, and Tommy Hunter a figure of "Canadianness." This ability of television to reach around the generic division of popular music into record or radio formats, then, helped shape a "Canadian country music" genre, which would combine the traditional music of Canadian folk performers with the country music of artists like Tommy Hunter.

As much as *The Tommy Hunter Show* displayed how television intervenes into other areas of popular culture such as popular music, it also threw into relief the tensions that arise between them. Behind-the-scenes conflict between CBC television workers and Tommy Hunter, a country musician, derived from their emergence from two separate cultural formations: on the one hand, the world of television production, with its own sensibilities and priorities; and on the other hand, the world of country music, with its distinctive internal organization and logic. CBC personnel wanted to target specific demographic ranges in their audience by "updating" the show with natty set designs and a wider variety of musical styles. But Hunter's desire for austere



Tommy Hunter.  
 Courtesy of Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum

sets and traditional country music, and his concern for providing family entertainment for a country audience, derived from the emphases on "sincerity" and "authenticity" that underpin country music's self-image as a genre and define fundamental aspects of the country music world. Indeed, the conflicts behind *The Tommy Hunter Show* foreshadowed a later reticence toward music videos on the part of the country music industry as a whole, wary of the video-clip format's "slickness" as being antithetical to country music's "authenticity."

The privileged role played by authenticity in country music, with its accompanying stress on "ordinary people," was central to *The Tommy Hunter Show*. Although based in Toronto, the show went on the road frequently, playing to sold-out audiences across Canada. Hunter's insistence that the set in each city reflect the locale of the taping illustrated his constant striving to reinsert a local feel into the globalizing pull of television. A harsh critic of the television industry even as a television star, Hunter felt that TV programmers had little understanding of country-music audi-

ences; for Hunter, the institutional imperatives of a mass-mediated country music compromised his audience's position. These views carried over to his recording career. Hunter preferred to record albums independently rather than with major record labels, reasoning that this would allow him to aim at pleasing country audiences, rather than radio stations. And in 1992, following cancellation of *The Tommy Hunter Show*, he toured Canada with a stage version of the show, playing to sold-out audiences, meeting his fans from the other side of the television screen.

The only program to survive a wave of rural, family-oriented CBC programming in the 1950s and 1960s that included such shows as *Don Messer's Jubilee*, *The Tommy Hunter Show* was a country show produced in an urban environment. It was a family-oriented show in an age of splintering demographics. It made a country singer into a television star. And in the process it had a profound impact on the Canadian popular-music landscape. By the end of the show's run, Hunter had won three Juno Awards as Canada's best male country singer (1967–69) and become the fifth Canadian to be inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame's Walkway of Stars (1990) for his music; he received an award from the Broadcast Executive Society as well as a Gemini Award for best Canadian variety show (1991); and he was named to the Order of Canada for his part in Canadian cultural life.

BRAM ABRAMSON

### Regular Performer

Tommy Hunter

### Producers

Dave Thomas, Bill Lynn, David Koyle, Les Pouliot, Maurice Abraham, Joan Toson, and others

### Programming History

CBC

1965–70	Half-hour weekly during fall/winter season
1970–92	One-hour weekly

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# Tonight

## British Magazine Program

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*Tonight* was a 40-minute topical magazine program broadcast every weekday evening between 6:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M., and was first broadcast by the BBC in February 1957. The program was produced under the aegis of the BBC's Talks Department by Alasdair Milne (who became director-general of the BBC in the 1980s) and edited by Donald Baverstock (who became head of programmes for BBC television in the 1960s). It was presented by Cliff Michelmore, who had already collaborated with Baverstock and Milne on *Highlight*, a shorter, less ambitious version of *Tonight*. With *Tonight*, Michelmore quickly acquired status as a broadcaster, picking up an award for artistic achievement, and twice named Television Personality of the Year. Indeed, *Tonight* was significant for its ability to attract and cultivate new broadcasting talent, and over its eight-year run managed to launch a number of notable careers, including those of Alan Whicker, Ned Sherrin, Julian Pettifer, and Trevor Philpott.

The program was conceived by the BBC as their way to fill the space created by the then-recent relaxation of the rule of the "toddlers' truce," when television had previously closed down for an hour to allow parents to see their children off to bed. As such, *Tonight* went out to a new and untried audience, an audience who, at this time of the evening, would be quite active rather than settled, who would be busy preparing food, putting children to bed, or getting ready to go out. *Tonight* was designed around the needs of this audience, and its style reflected this: the tone was brisk and informal, mixing the light with the serious, and items were kept short, allowing audiences to "dip in" at their convenience. This emphasis on the needs of the audience was something of a departure for the BBC, which had tended to adopt a paternalistic tone with its viewers, giving them not what they wanted but what they *should* want. *Tonight* was going to be different. It was not to talk down to the viewer, but would, as the *Radio Times* put it, "be a reflection of what you and your family talk about at the end of the day." In Baverstock's words, *Tonight* would "celebrate communication with the audience," and, indeed, the program came across not as the institutional voice of the BBC but as the voice of the people.

*Tonight* was recognized by many to be evidence of the BBC's fight back against the new Independent

Television (ITV) companies that were quickly gaining ground and by 1957 had overtaken the BBC (which was still broadcasting only one TV channel), with a 72 percent share of the audience. But if *Tonight* was largely a result of competition and the breaking of the monopoly, which in effect forced the BBC to adopt a more populist programming philosophy, the style and content of the program also reflected broader social and cultural changes. *Tonight* seemed to capture an emerging attitude of disrespect and popular skepticism toward institutions and those in authority. Furthermore, the adjectives that were often used to describe the program at the time, such as "irreverent," "modern," and "informal," could have easily described the mood that was beginning to inform other areas of the arts and popular culture in Britain at that time.

*Tonight* introduced a number of innovations to British television. It was one of the first programs to editorialize and adopt a point of view, flaunting the public-service demands of balance and impartiality. The program also introduced a new (some might say aggressive) style of interviewing, where guests would be pushed and harassed if it was thought they were being evasive or dishonest. *Tonight* eschewed the carefully prepared question-and-answer format that had prevailed in current affairs programming until then. Furthermore, broadcasters had tended to fetishize the production process, concealing the means of communication and carefully guarding against mistakes and technical breakdowns that threatened to demystify the production. *Tonight*, however, kept in view such things as monitors and telephones. Its interviews were kept unscripted and any technical faults or mistakes were skillfully incorporated into the program flow, giving *Tonight* an air of spontaneity and immediacy.

*Tonight* was meant to be a temporary response to the ending of the "toddlers' truce," and was initially given a three-month run. It quickly proved popular, however, and within a year was drawing audiences of over 8 million. In addition, the program won critical acclaim, receiving the Guild of Television Producers Award for best factual program in 1957 and 1958. The program generated other material as well, including feature-length documentaries, and was the inspiration behind *That Was the Week That Was*, a show that stepped up

*Tonight's* irreverent, hard-hitting approach for a late-night adult audience.

Baverstock left *Tonight* in 1961 to become assistant controller of programs, and his place was taken by Alasdair Milne. Milne proved to be a capable editor and indeed oversaw a number of innovations, including the feature-length documentaries.

However, the program would not be the same without Baverstock, whose leadership and vision had made *Tonight* something of an individual success. By 1962 it was argued that the program had become rigid and stale. As is the case with many innovative and groundbreaking enterprises, the program could not sustain the pace of its initial inventiveness. The final edition went out in June 1965. Nevertheless, in its eight-year run, *Tonight* had established a format for current-affairs programming that mixed the light with the serious, which blurred distinctions between education and entertainment, and which managed in the process to soften the image of the BBC, transforming it, as Watkins has noted, from an "enormous over-sober responsible corporation," to something that looked "more like a man and a brother."

PETER MCLUSKIE

**Anchor**

Cliff Michelmore

**Field Reporters**

Derek Hart

Geoffrey Johnson Smith

Alan Whicker  
 Fyfe Robertson  
 Trevor Philpott  
 Macdonald Hastings  
 Julian Pettifer  
 Kenneth Allsop  
 Brian Redhead  
 Magnus Magnusson

**Producer**

Donald Baverstock

**Director**

Alasdair Milne

**Programming History**

BBC

1957-65                      Weeknights 6:00-7:00

**Further Reading**

Briggs, Asa, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, volume 5: *Competition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

Corner, John, editor, *Popular Television in Britain*, London: British Film Institute, 1991

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# Tonight Show, The

U.S. Talk/Variety Show

A long-running late-night program, *The Tonight Show* was the first, and for decades the most-watched, network talk program on U.S. television. Since 1954 NBC has aired a number of versions of the show, which has seen four principal hosts and consistently used one format, except for a brief diversion in the series' early days, when what started out as a music, comedy, and talk program hosted by Steve Allen became, for a time, a magazine-type program, broadcasting news and entertainment segments from various

correspondents located in different cities nationally; that short-lived format, however, lacked the appeal of a comedy-interview show revolving around one dynamic host. From mid-1957 until the time of writing, Jack Paar, Johnny Carson, and Jay Leno have each followed Allen's lead and hosted a show of celebrity interviews, humor, and music, although each host has led the show with his own signature style.

Late night talk in the first three decades of U.S. television was dominated by *The Tonight Show* and, for



*The Tonight Show with Jay Leno.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

the majority of that time, by Johnny Carson. However, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the late-night landscape began to change as more talk shows took to the air. Change was accelerated by the appeal of David Letterman and a combination of other factors, including the relative inexpensiveness of producing such shows, audience interest in celebrity and entertainment gossip, and an overall increased reliance in U.S. culture on the talk show as a forum for information and debate about the important, as well as unimportant, issues of the day. The late-night talk genre expanded as network competitors and comrades sought the kind of success that was originally the province of *The Tonight Show*.

Each of *The Tonight Show's* principal hosts has brought his own unique talent and title to the program. All of the shows have featured an opening monologue, a sidekick or cohost, in-house musicians, and cadre of guest hosts. Steve Allen's *Tonight!* featured his musical talents and penchant for a distinctive brand of comedy. He was well known for performing his own musical numbers on the piano and for humorous antics such as on-the-street improvisations and bantering with the audience, both of which were forerunners to the kinds of comedy stunts that became a staple much later on *Late Night with David Letterman*, also on NBC. In 1957 Allen left *Tonight!* to concentrate on another variety show he hosted on Sunday evenings.

Allen's version of the show was immediately followed by the unsuccessful magazine format, *Tonight:*

*America After Dark*, which lasted only a few weeks. That show was led by Jack Lescoulie, but he was never the central figure Allen had been. Essentially, Lescoulie introduced the segments and correspondents around the nation.

In July 1957 Jack Paar took over as new host of *The Jack Paar Show*. Paar brought the show back to its in-studio interview format. More a conversationalist than comedian, Paar drew audiences to his show by bringing on interesting guests, from entertainers to politicians. Audiences also watched for the controversy that occasionally erupted on the show. Paar did not shy away from politics or confrontation and often became emotionally involved with his subject matter and guests. He had a few stormy run-ins, both on camera and off, and finally left the show following controversy surrounding his broadcast from the Berlin Wall in 1962.

With another change in hosts came a complete change in tone and style. In October 1962 Johnny Carson took over as host of *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. Carson was more emotionally detached and less political than Paar; like Allen, he was a comic. Named the "king of late night," Carson hosted the show for 30 years, from 1962 to 1992. During that time, the show moved from New York City to Burbank, California. Carson was known for his glib sense of humor and his middle-American appeal, and quickly recognized his increasing popularity as well as the strain of doing comedy and talk five nights a week. He threatened to leave the show, but he was lured back with a generous offer that included a huge salary increase and more time off. Guest hosts during Carson's tenure included comedians Joan Rivers, Jay Leno, and David Letterman.

When Carson retired, Leno was appointed the next principal host of the series, now named *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. A well-known stand-up comedian, Leno brought to the show his own writers and comic style, showcasing the latter in his opening monologues, banter with guests, and unique comic bits.

Changes in Leno's show have reflected major changes in television since the medium's earlier days. For example, by the late 1980s, shows hosted by Joan Rivers and Arsenio Hall helped late-night talk to become slightly less dominated by white males, while on Leno's program the studio band has been led by two black musicians: the first leader was accomplished jazz musician Branford Marsalis; he has been followed by Kevin Eubanks.

Another big change for *The Tonight Show* during Leno's tenure has been the program's first serious competition. Starting in the mid- to late 1980s, television talk shows, both daytime and late-night, multi-



*The Tonight Show*, Ed McMahon, Johnny Carson, 1962–92.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

plied in number. The in-studio talk program was inexpensive to produce, and audiences were increasingly drawn to the sensationalism and celebrity showcased each day and night on television. Some late-night talk shows—including those hosted by Joan Rivers, Chevy Chase, and Pat Sajak on the FOX network—came and went quickly. Popular comedian Arsenio Hall's late-night talk show was on the air for several years before cancellation; for a time *The Arsenio Hall Show* had a wide following, attracting mostly a young black audience, a segment previously ignored in late-night talk. Especially successful in late night was the up-and-coming David Letterman. *Late Night with David Letterman* started out on NBC, airing immediately after *The Tonight Show* from 1982 until 1993. Passed over for the host position on *The Tonight Show* when Leno

was chosen for the post, Letterman moved to CBS where his new show, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, has run in direct competition with Leno.

Since the debut of *The Late Show*, *The Tonight Show* has for the first time had to share the late-night spotlight. The competing host/comedians, Leno and Letterman, are polished performers with large audiences. They have become, as Carson had been, the gauge by which mainstream entertainment and politics are measured. On both programs comedy is delivered—and guests and issues of the day are treated—in the same way, as gossip and light entertainment. The growing influence of both programs can also be measured by the influential guests each has featured. Political figures such as Bill Clinton, Al Gore, George W. Bush, and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani have all



Kinescope of Jack Paar quitting as host of *The Tonight Show* (1957–60) after NBC censored his “water closet” joke, 1960. Courtesy of the Everett Collection

made appearances on the late-night programs to reach large audiences, thus enhancing the shows’ cultural influence. After more than four decades, *The Tonight Show* still outlines and defines, even when it is not at the forefront of, the essence of contemporary televised culture in the United States.

KATHERINE FRY

**See also Allen, Steve; Arsenio Hall Show, The; Carson, Johnny; Downs, Hugh; Leno, Jay; Letterman, David; Talk Show**

**The Tonight Show**  
September 1954–January 1957

**Hosts**

Steve Allen  
Ernie Kovacs (1956–57)

**Regular Performers**

Gene Rayburn  
Steve Lawrence  
Eydie Gorme  
Pat Marshall (1954–55)  
Pat Kirby (1955–57)  
Hy Averbach (1955)  
Skitch Henderson and His Orchestra  
Peter Handley (1956–57)





*The Tonight Show with Steve Allen, 1954–57.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Maureen Arthur (1956–57)  
Bill Wendell (1956–57)  
Barbara Loden (1956–57)  
LeRoy Holmes and Orchestra (1956–57)

**Tonight! America after Dark**  
January 28, 1957–July 26, 1957

**Hosts**  
Jack Lescoulie (January 1957–June 1957)  
Al “Jazzbo” Collins (June–July 1957)

**The Jack Paar Show**  
July 1957–March 1962

**Host**  
Jack Paar

**Regular Performers**  
Hugh Downs  
Jose Melis and Orchestra  
Tedi Thurman (1957)  
Dody Goodman (1957–58)

**The Tonight Show**  
April 2, 1962–September 28, 1962

**Announcers**  
Hugh Downs  
John Haskell  
Ed Herlihy

Tonight Show, The

**Regular Performers**

Skitch Henderson and His Orchestra

**The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson**

October 1962–May 1992

**Host**

Johnny Carson

**Regular Performers**

Ed McMahon

Skitch Henderson (1962–66)

Milton Delugg (1966–67)

Doc Severinsen (1967–92)

Tommy Newsom (1968–92)

**The Tonight Show with Jay Leno**

May 1992–

**Host**

Jay Leno

**Regular Performers**

Branford Marsalis (1992–95)

Kevin Eubanks (1995–)

**Programming History (all versions)**

NBC

September 1954–October 1956 Monday-Friday 11:30 P.M.–1:00 A.M.

October 1956–January 1957 Monday-Friday 11:30 P.M.–12:30 A.M.

January 1957–December 1966 Monday-Friday 11:15 P.M.–1:00 A.M.

January 1965–September 1966 Saturday or Sunday 11:15 P.M.–1:00 A.M.

September 1966–September 1975 Saturday or Sunday 11:30 P.M.–1:00 A.M.

January 1967–September 1980 Monday-Friday 11:30 P.M.–1:00 A.M.

September 1980–August 1991 Monday-Friday 11:30 P.M.–12:30 A.M.

September 1991– Monday-Friday 11:35 P.M.–12:35 A.M.

**Further Reading**

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# Top of the Pops

## British Music Program

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*Top of the Pops* is Britain's longest-running pop-music program. It was first broadcast in January 1964 and since then has occupied a prime-time slot on BBC television. Its primary value has been in introducing generations of youngsters to the pleasures and excitement of pop music, while for older people the show has become a reassuringly familiar item in the television schedules.

The key to the show's initial success lay in its revolutionary new format. Before 1964 (and to a large extent after), pop shows tended to respond to emerging

trends and fashions. Earlier shows such as *The Twist* and *The Trad Fad* were a response to current dance and music styles, while the highly popular *Ready, Steady, Go!* was largely a mod program and tended to showcase mod lifestyles and tastes. The problem with such shows was that their life cycle was bound to the fashion or style that it reflected: when the trend passed, so did the show. The *Top of the Pops* format was unique because it was based upon the top-20 music chart (expanding to the top 40 in 1984). This has meant that the show has not been associated with any particu-

lar fashion or trend; it has no angle on pop music but merely responds objectively to whatever is popular at a given moment. In this way, *Top of the Pops* is always going to be current, and at the cutting edge of pop music.

The format of the chart “countdown,” coupled with the policy of only featuring records moving up the charts, has provided the show with a certain structure and dynamism. Unlike many other pop shows, *Top of the Pops* contains the narrative ingredients of development, anticipation, and closure: with each episode, as the countdown commences, the audience is kept in suspense by the big question: “Who will be top of the pops this week?”

In many respects, the *Top of the Pops* format has been informed by radio, which traditionally had been closer to the pulse of teen tastes and pop trends than TV. The top-20 format was already an established feature of radio, and *Top of the Pops* presenters were nearly always radio DJs. To this end, early episodes of the program tended to show a DJ putting the disc on the turntable with a fade to the performer miming to the song. The program was about records and hits, and even when the performer was unavailable for the show, the record would still go on, a policy that sometimes meant using improvised, and often innovative, visual effects to cover the absence of the performer.

Another factor contributing to the show’s continuing popularity is its accessibility: while ostensibly aimed at a fairly narrow age-range of teenagers, *Top of the Pops* has nevertheless always thought of itself as a family show. Indeed, audience research carried out in the 1980s found that the majority of the viewing constituency was over 25 years old. This appeal to a wider family audience has no doubt contributed to the show’s continuing success and buoyant ratings. However, it has also left the show open to charges of conservatism and policing standards in musical taste; the show’s infamous banning of the Sex Pistols and Frankie Goes to Hollywood is often cited as proof of this conservatism.

*Top of the Pops* has been an important actor in the music business, with immense ability to make or break a performer. An appearance on the show can almost guarantee an immediate leap up the charts. Similarly, pop-music retailers have found that their sales often peak the day after the show is broadcast. There is no doubt therefore that *Top of the Pops* has functioned as a powerful gatekeeper to the industry, and performers and promoters continue to clamor for a spot on the show.

Although the basic format of the chart countdown has remained constant over the years, the show has introduced many changes to keep itself up to date. Innovations such as the video chart, the “breakers” spot,



*Top of the Pops.*  
Copyright © BBC Photo Library

Europarade, and the introduction of live broadcasts, have all functioned to keep *Top of the Pops* in step with new audiences and a changing music scene.

The program’s high point was the mid-1970s, when audience figures regularly reached 16 million. This popularity undoubtedly reflected trends in the music industry that saw record sales peak at roughly the same time. However, the acts that were appearing on the show were peculiarly televisual and complemented perfectly the medium’s newly acquired color: the dominance of television-inspired novelty acts such as the Goodies and the Wombles, as well as the emergence of glam rock with its theatricality and glitz, seemed to return pop music to the values of showbiz and entertainment.

The number of viewers steadily declined after the mid-1970s. At first, some blamed the initial shock of punk music, which lacked the kind of “razzmatazz” on which *Top of the Pops* thrived. Punk reintroduced notions of authenticity, and its anticommmercial stance sat uneasily with the show’s emphasis on glamour and en-

tainment. But even though the 1980s saw the return of flamboyant pop performers, led by New Romanticism and the New Pop, the loss of viewership nevertheless continued. This loss was partly related to a decline in the singles market and an increase in television channels dedicated to the music scene. It also reflected the general competitiveness of the television industry in the 1980s. Some feared the series would soon be cancelled.

However, by the mid-1990s the series began to make a return. This revival has been largely attributed to the vision of the producer Chris Cowey, who introduced a number of innovations—including a format less dependent on the charts; the banning of music videos, which meant artists had to appear in person; and the banning of miming, which meant that artists had to actually perform. The success of the format abroad has also meant the series has come to play an important role in the BBC's commercial fortunes: by 2000 estimates suggested that the format is broadcast in 87 countries and that revenue generated by this li-

censing has amounted to more than £10 million a year. As a result, the series will likely continue to make a regular appearance in the BBC schedules.

PETER MCLUSKIE

*See also Music on Television*

**Producers**

Johnny Stewart, Robin Nash, Chris Cowey

**Programming History**

BBC

January 1964–

**Further Reading**

Blacknell, S., *The Story of Top of the Pops*, London: Patrick Stephens, 1985

Cubitt, S., "Top of the Pops: The Politics of the Living Room," in *Television Mythologies*, edited L. Masterman, London: Comedia, 1986

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## Touched by an Angel

### U.S. Drama Series

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*Touched by an Angel* was not the first television program to address religious topics in prime time, but it has been widely hailed as both the most successful and the most influential program to do so. The program began airing on CBS in 1994, and although many critics initially scorned the show for its sentimentality, it became one of that network's strongest shows in its second year. During its peak seasons between 1996 and 1999, *Touched by an Angel* was consistently rated one of the top three most-watched television dramas, according to Nielsen audience measurement surveys. Although its ratings had dipped by the 2000–2001 season, it was the first dramatic program CBS chose to air after news coverage of the September 11, 2001, events had ceased. Following that event, the feel-good program surged to some of the best Nielsen numbers in its history.

The program held significance for several reasons. The initial and surprising success of *Touched by an Angel* rescued CBS from its financially beleaguered position and moved it out of its third-place position in

mid-1990s audience ratings. More significantly for the long-term, however, the program demonstrated that dramatic television could address religious topics and find a sizeable audience in doing so. In an era often characterized by programs featuring a cynical viewpoint, such as *Seinfeld*, this came as a surprise and led to several other experiments with religion on television. The 1997 season alone heralded seven series that made some reference to religion or spirituality in the wake of the popularity of *Touched by an Angel*. The trend continued into 2003, when the series *Joan of Arcadia*, about a young woman who receives visitations from God in the guise of ordinary people, had its debut.

The show was originally created in response to the television audience's reported interest in seeing more prime-time programming about religion. Before the pilot aired, however, CBS president Peter Tortorici replaced the program's creator, John Masius (also of *St. Elsewhere*), with Martha Williamson, who was brought in to brighten the story. Williamson, a longtime pro-

ducer and “show doctor,” wanted to create an uplifting story with a spiritual feel. With her guidance, the program approached religious faith earnestly yet gingerly, referencing familiar Christian scriptures, prayer, and of course angelic messengers, yet rarely mentioning particular religious traditions or organizations. The angels, Tess (Della Reese), Monica (Roma Downey), and Andrew (John Dye) talked people out of crime and suicide, rescued children from fires, guided people through illnesses and death, and led people to participate in ethical behavior and even advocacy efforts, in each episode telling the suffering, “God loves you.” *Touched by an Angel* tackled AIDS, spouse abuse, autism, and mental illness, but also (and more controversially) civil rights in China, slavery in the Sudan, global warming, and cloning. While the program’s core audience was older women, it was frequently heralded as one of few shows that parents could watch with their children in the early prime-time hours.

Special guest stars to the series have included Bill Cosby, Kirk Douglas, Debbie Reynolds, Phylicia Rashad, Hank Aaron, John Heard, Charlotte Church, Kirk Cameron, Stephanie Zimbalist, Margot Kidder, Chad Lowe, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and many others.

*Touched by an Angel* tapped into the widespread changes that are altering the religious landscape of America at the beginning of the millennium. In addition to a rising number of people who affirm their belief in angels, more Americans now identify themselves as “spiritual” and view spirituality as a personal practice that may be distinct from more formal practices of religion. *Touched by an Angel* succeeded

Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A

in acquainting Hollywood decision-makers with the potential for viable religious programming in this new religious environment.

LYNN SCHOFIELD CLARK

See also **Religion on Television**

**Cast (selected)**

Tess	Della Reese
Monica	Roma Downey
Andrew	John Dye
Gloria (2001–03)	Valerie Bertinelli
CBS Productions in association with Moon Water Productions	

**Executive Producer**

Martha Williamson

**Co-Executive Producer**

Brian Bird

**Creator**

John Masius

**Programming History**

CBS	
1994–1995	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
1995–1996	Saturday 9:00–10:00
1996–2001	Sunday 8:00–9:00
2001–2003	Saturday 8:00–9:00

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## Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy, A

U.S. Documentary

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On the night of February 14, 1962, three out of four American television viewers tuned to CBS or NBC to watch *A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy*. Four nights later, ABC rebroadcast the program to a sizable national audience before it then moved on to syndication in more than 50 countries around the globe. In all, it was estimated that hundreds

of millions of people saw the program, making it the most widely viewed documentary during the genre’s so-called “golden age.” The White House tour is also notable because it marked a shift in network news strategies, since it was the first prime-time documentary to court explicitly a female audience.

Between 1960 and 1962, most network documen-



Jacqueline Kennedy.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

taries focused on major public issues such as foreign policy, civil rights, and national politics. These domains were overwhelmingly dominated by men, and the programs were exclusively hosted by male journalists. Yet historians of the period have shown that many American women were beginning to express dissatisfaction with their domestic roles and their limited access to public life. Not only did women's magazines of this period discuss such concerns, but readers seemed fascinated by feature articles about women who played prominent roles in public life. Jacqueline Kennedy was an especially intriguing figure as she accompanied her husband on diplomatic expeditions and was seen chatting with French President De Gaulle, toasting with Khrushchev, and delivering speeches in Spanish to enthusiastic crowds in Latin America. She even jetted off to India on her own for a quasi-official goodwill visit. She quickly became a significant public figure in the popular media, her every move closely followed by millions of American women.

Consequently, Jacqueline Kennedy's campaign to redecorate the White House with authentic furnishings and period pieces drew extensive coverage. Taking the lead in fund-raising and planning, she achieved her goals in a little over a year, and, as the project neared completion, she acceded to requests from the networks for a televised tour of the residence. It was agreed that CBS producer Perry Wolff, Hollywood feature-film director Franklin Schaffner, and CBS correspondent Charles Collingwood would play leading roles in organizing the program, but that the three networks would share the costs and each would be allowed to broadcast the finished documentary. The weekend before the

videotaping, nine tons of equipment were put in place by 54 technicians, and cut-away segments were taped in advance. The segments featuring Jacqueline Kennedy were recorded during an eight-hour session on the following Monday.

The final product, though awkward in some regards, effectively represents changing attitudes about the public and private roles of American women. On the one hand, here was Jacqueline Kennedy fulfilling her domestic duty by providing visitors with a tour of her home. On the other hand, she also was performing a public duty as the authoritative voice of the documentary: providing details on her renovation efforts, informing the audience about the historical significance of various furnishings, and even assuming the position of voice-over narrator during extended passages of the program. In fact, this was the first prime-time documentary from the period in which a woman narrated large segments of the text. Her authoritative status is further accentuated by her position at the center of the screen. This framing is striking in retrospect because correspondent Charles Collingwood, who "escorts" Mrs. Kennedy from room to room, repeatedly walks out of the frame, leaving her alone to deliver descriptions of White House decor and its national significance. Only at the very end of the program, when President Kennedy "drops in" for a brief interview, is Jacqueline repositioned in a subordinate role as wife and mother. Sitting quietly as the two men talk, she listens attentively while her husband hails her restoration efforts as a significant contribution to public awareness of the nation's heritage.

The ambiguities at work in this program seem to be linked to widespread ambivalence about the social status of the American woman at the time of this broadcast. Jacqueline Kennedy takes a national audience on a tour of her home, which is at once a private and public space. It is her family's dwelling, but also a representation of the nation's home. Furthermore, she is presented both as a mother—indeed, the national symbol of motherhood—and as a modern woman: a patron of the arts, a historical preservationist, and a key figure in producing the nation's collective memory. In these respects, she might be seen as symbolic of female aspirations to enter the public sphere, and this may help to explain the documentary's popularity with female viewers.

The White House tour was soon joined by a number of similar productions, each of which drew prime-time audiences as large as those for fictional entertainment. For example, *The World of Sophia Loren* and *The World of Jacqueline Kennedy* each drew a third of the nightly audience, while *Elizabeth Taylor's London* drew close to half. In general, elite television critics re-

viewed these programs skeptically, noting that entertainment values were privileged at the expense of a more critical assessment of their subject matter. Yet the appeal of these programs may have had less to do with the dichotomy between entertainment and information *per se* than with the way in which they tapped into women's fantasies about living a more public life while largely maintaining their conventional feminine attributes. As numerous feminist scholars have argued, one of the fundamental appeals of television programming is the opportunity it affords for the viewer to fantasize about situations and identities that are not part of one's everyday existence. In the early 1960s, such fan-

tasies may have been important not only for women who chafed at the constraints of domesticity, but also for women who were imagining new possibilities.

MICHAEL CURTIN

*See also* **Documentary; Secondari, John**

### Further Reading

Curtin, Michael, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995

Watson, Mary Ann, *The Expanding Vista: American Television in the Kennedy Years*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990

## Trade Magazines

The television industry is analyzed and reported on by a variety of trade magazines reflecting the perspectives of programmers, producers, advertisers, media buyers, networks, syndicators, and station owners, as well as those in emerging technology sectors. The general television trade press is complemented by coverage of television in the advertising and entertainment industry trade press. Additional specialty magazines cover cable television, satellites, newsgathering, religious programming, and public broadcasting. The advent of satellite distribution and the expansion of transnational media corporations have led to a growing internationalization of television-industry press coverage.

*Broadcasting and Cable* covers top stories of general industry interest, including regulatory issues, ratings, company and personnel changes, advertising and marketing strategies, and programming trends. Aimed at broadcast executives, *Broadcasting and Cable's* concise journalistic coverage has been recognized as an authoritative source for industry news. Originating as a radio trade paper named *Broadcasting* in 1931, the weekly eventually expanded its coverage into the media of television and cable. Along the way, it was also known as *Broadcasting-Telecasting* (1945–57), and absorbed other important trade publications such as *Broadcast Advertising* (in 1936) and *Television* (in 1968). Currently, *Broadcasting and Cable* consists of sections that cover the top weekly stories, broadcasting, cable, and technology. Additional columns treat federal lawmaking, personnel moves, and station sales. Recently, *Broadcasting and Cable* has expanded coverage of new media technologies; its "Telemedia

Week" section covers the World Wide Web, interactive media, CD-ROMs, and Internet developments.

*Television Week*, formerly known as *Electronic Media* (1982– ), a tabloid-size weekly, covers American visual electronic media (television, cable, and video). Aimed at managerial executives, *Television Week* reports on production and distribution, emerging and interactive technologies, network and affiliate news, regulatory developments, and programming. *Television Week* often draws on perspectives from throughout the industry when it covers such debates as the conversion to digital television. With its regular features such as "The Insider," "Viewpoint," and "Converging Media," and sections on deals, ratings, Hollywood, Washington, career moves, and special reports on a variety of topics, *Television Week* is an excellent source for tracking current events in the television industry.

Since the majority of U.S. television viewers subscribe to cable, there are several important trade publications devoted to the cable industry. Since 1980, the tabloid-size weekly *Multichannel News* has sought to provide breaking news to managers and suppliers of cable operating systems, including stories on programming, marketing, regulatory issues, and industry deal-making. Features such as "Broadband Week" and "Pay-per-View" highlight how changing technologies are affecting the cable-operating business. *Cable FAX's CableWORLD*, a biweekly since 1989, is aimed at the cable executive with little spare time and provides concise news sections on cable operations, technology, financing, advertising, and programming, as well as broadband services.

Satellite transmission, while crucial to distributing network and cable programming, has developed into a key competitor to cable with the advent of direct broadcast satellite services (DBS). The monthly *Satellite Broadband* covers the latest technology trends affecting both broadcasting and broadband services. *Via Satellite* (1986– ) covers the applications of satellite technology to international broadcasting. In addition to satellite company and personnel news, articles in *Via Satellite* address the financial and technological issues of satellite broadcasting, the changing policy and regulatory environments worldwide, and potential future applications of satellite broadcasting. Likewise, *Satellite Week* (1979– ) reports on the satellite broadcasting industry, its changing international markets and regulatory environments.

Advertising industry trades *Advertising Age* (1930–) and *Adweek* (1960–) cover television from the perspective of media buyers. Advertising agencies buy time on television for their clients' commercials and thus seek up-to-date and accurate information on ratings, programming strategies, schedule shifts, regulatory changes, and personnel moves. Pertinent articles in both weeklies concern specific commercial campaigns, sponsorship issues, demographic research, effectiveness of network versus cable television advertising, advertising agency activities, production company news, and ratings information. Since media buyers are customers of station managers and network executives, the editorial opinions of *Advertising Age* and *Adweek* sometimes differ from those of *Broadcasting and Cable* and *Television Week*.

The long-lived show business trade periodicals *Variety* (weekly), *Daily Variety*, and *The Hollywood Reporter* also report on the television industry. The tabloid-size weekly *Variety* has covered entertainment industries such as vaudeville, film, television, radio, music, and theater since 1905. In addition to extensive hard-news coverage of show-business and insider "buzz," *Variety* is renowned for its often jocular headline style (for example, "Vid Biz in Rewind," and "Greenlights Turn Red"). *Variety's* television section includes news about programs, talent deals, production companies, broadcast and cable networks, regulatory issues, syndication deals, and regular Nielsen ratings reports. *Variety's* "World News" section also includes articles on international broadcasting. Additionally, in-depth television program reviews provide production information, analysis of production values, and predictions of a program's potential success or failure. *Daily Variety*, the daily counterpart to the weekly *Variety*, provides daily updates in two editions, one from Hollywood, the other from New York ("Gotham").

*The Hollywood Reporter* has been a daily news magazine for the entertainment industry since 1930. It also

publishes an International Weekly edition, as well as Special Editions on various topics. Its television coverage includes ratings, business and financial news, studio and talent deals for new programs, distribution, stock prices, personalities, and entertainment industry events. *The Hollywood Reporter's* television program reviews include behind-the-scenes production information. Its regular section "Convergence" addresses how digital technologies are affecting entertainment industries.

Other trade publications address specific television fields. For information on the broadcast news business, *Communicator* (1988– ), published monthly by the Radio-Television News Directors' Association, offers coverage of television news production, personnel moves, network-station relations, and local news markets. For religious broadcasters, *NRB Magazine* (1969–) is published by the National Religious Broadcasters group. *NRB Magazine* covers religious programming strategies, personnel training, international religious broadcasting, and news analysis. The bi-weekly newsletter, *Public Broadcasting Report*, serves noncommercial broadcasters such as CPB, PBS, and NPR, covering topics such as regulation, programming, funding, career moves, and new technologies.

For historical research purposes, several now-defunct trade publications offer much information on the earlier decades of the television industry. In addition to *Broadcasting-Telecasting* mentioned above, *Sponsor* (1946–68) and *Television* (1944–68) are excellent sources for articles on evolving programming strategies, regulatory issues, financing, advertising techniques, and intra-industry competition. Early issues of *Television* include many "how to" articles, often designed for the advertising agencies then in charge of much program production. Likewise, early issues of *Sponsor*, which was subtitled *Buyers of Broadcast Advertising*, trace the attitudes of advertisers and sponsors toward the decline of national network radio and the rise of network television, reflecting shifts in programming strategies and increased network control of television programming.

The biweekly *Television/Radio Age*, which originated as *Television Age* in 1953, provided analytic coverage of television-industry issues until 1989. Arguing that few other industries had grown as rapidly or faced as many problems as television, the magazine's editors sought to provide in-depth analysis with which to address the television industry's regulatory, financial, and programming concerns. In addition to publishing articles written by major broadcasting executives, many *Television/Radio Age* articles closely examine specific advertising campaigns, ratings trends and techniques, network programming strategies, and Wall Street financing.

The discontinued *Channels* (1981–90) is also a



good source for analytic articles on the television industry of the 1980s. Originally subtitled *of Communications*, and edited by well-known television journalist Les Brown, *Channels* was later subtitled *The Business of Communications*, and sought to analyze the expanding role of television in society while reporting on the regulatory environment, production deals, programming strategies, and media markets.

Trade publications in Canada, Australia, and Great Britain not only cover national television industries but also report on the international aspects of the television industry. The Canadian monthly *Broadcaster* (1942–) often addresses issues such as how to develop and sustain Canadian-produced programming that can be competitive with well-financed and well-distributed programming from the United States. Aimed at broadcast managers, *Broadcaster* reports on developments in technology, financing, advertising, and programming, in addition to news about the state-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *Canadian Communication Reports* monitors Canada's broadcasting, cable, and pay-TV distribution industries. Information about the Canadian cable television industry can be found in *Cablecaster* (1989–), which covers the management, technology, regulation, and programming of Canadian cable television. A more technical perspective on Canadian broadcasting is provided by *Broadcast Technology* (1975–), also known as *Broadcast I Technology*. Although originally designed for technicians, *Broadcast Technology* has expanded into business reporting and includes articles on programming, marketing, and personnel changes.

The Australian television industry is covered by *Encore*, which reports on all audiovisual production industries in Australia. *Encore* emphasizes production news, including stories on new program series and financing arrangements, but it also covers new technology developments and regulatory issues. *B and T* (1950–), formerly known as *Broadcasting and Television*, covers Australian media markets, ratings, new productions, network strategies, and media personnel moves, as does the more advertising-trade oriented *AdNews*.

British television trade press maintains a strong international slant and is a useful source for news about European television industries. The weekly *Broadcast* (1973–), formerly known as *Television Mail*, covers British television and cable programming, regulation, financing, technology, and ratings, in addition to articles on the international scope of trends in programming and technology. *Screen Digest* (1971–) provides summaries of world news of the film, television, video, satellite, and consumer electronics industries. *Screen Digest* covers industry events and conventions, publications, and market research data for "screen media worldwide." *TBI* (or *Television Business International*, 1988–) covers in-

ternational broadcast, cable, and satellite markets for the broadcast executive, including articles in English, German, and Japanese. *TV World* (1977–), subtitled *Award Winning International Magazine for the Television Industry*, focuses on programming, usually profiling the trends in a particular country for a section of each issue, in addition to reviewing specific productions and festivals. Designed for executives in broadcast production and distribution, both commercial and public-service, *TV World* also covers the technological developments in satellite and cable delivery systems, the shifting alliances among transnational media companies, and international conventions such as NATPE and VIDCOM. *TV World's* truly international scope makes it an excellent source for information on the television industry worldwide.

The diversity of these trade magazines reflects the multifaceted nature of today's television industry. Since its beginnings, the television industry has been closely tied to the film and advertising industries. Now television has expanded beyond broadcasting into cable, satellites, and interactive technologies. An examination of trade publications reflecting these different perspectives should provide the reader with insights into the history and future of the rapidly changing international television industry.

CYNTHIA MEYERS

### Further Reading

*Advertising Age*  
Crain Communications  
711 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017  
USA  
[www.adage.com](http://www.adage.com)

*AdNews*  
[www.adnews.com.au](http://www.adnews.com.au)  
*Adweek*  
770 Broadway  
New York, NY 10003  
USA  
[www.adweek.com](http://www.adweek.com)

*B and T Weekly*  
Locked Bag 2999  
Chatswood DC  
NSW Australia 2067  
[www.bandt.com.au](http://www.bandt.com.au)

*Broadcast*  
Emap Media Ltd.  
33–39 Bowling Green Lane  
London EC1R 0DA  
United Kingdom  
[www.broadcastnow.co.uk](http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk)

## Trade Magazines

### *Broadcaster*

Southam Business Communications  
1450 Don Mills Rd.  
Toronto, Ontario M3B 2X7  
Canada  
[www.broadcastermagazine.com](http://www.broadcastermagazine.com)

### *Broadcasting and Cable*

360 Park Avenue South  
New York, NY 10010  
USA  
[www.broadcastingcable.com](http://www.broadcastingcable.com)

### *Cable FAX's CableWORLD*

PBI Media  
1201 Seven Locks Road, Suite 300  
Potomac, MD 20854  
USA  
[www.cableworld.com](http://www.cableworld.com)

### *Cablecaster*

1450 Don Mills Rd.  
Toronto, Ontario M3B 2X7  
Canada  
[www.cablecastermagazine.com](http://www.cablecastermagazine.com)

### *Canadian Communications Reports*

1800-160 Elgin Street  
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2C4  
Canada  
[www.decima.ca/publishing](http://www.decima.ca/publishing)

### *Communicator*

Radio-Television News Directors Association  
1600 K Street NW, Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20006  
USA  
[www.rtnda.org/communicator/current.shtml](http://www.rtnda.org/communicator/current.shtml)

### *Daily Variety*

5700 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 120  
Los Angeles, CA 90036  
USA  
[www.variety.com](http://www.variety.com)

### *Encore* (address unconfirmed)

Reed Business Information  
[www.encoremagazine.com.au](http://www.encoremagazine.com.au)

### *The Hollywood Reporter*

5055 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, CA 90036  
USA  
[www.hollywoodreporter.com](http://www.hollywoodreporter.com)

### *Multichannel News*

Reed Business Information  
360 Park Avenue South  
New York, NY 10010  
USA  
[www.multichannelnews.com](http://www.multichannelnews.com)

### *NRB Magazine*

National Religious Broadcasters  
9510 Technology Drive  
Manassas, VA 20110  
USA  
[www.nrb.org/nrbmagazine](http://www.nrb.org/nrbmagazine)

### *Public Broadcasting Report*

Warren Communications News  
2115 Ward Court, NW  
Washington, DC 20037  
USA  
[www.warren-news.com](http://www.warren-news.com)

### *Satellite Broadband*

Primedia, Inc.  
745 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10151  
USA

### *Satellite Week*

Warren Communications News  
2115 Ward Ct., NW  
Washington, DC 20037  
USA  
[www.warren-news.com](http://www.warren-news.com)

### *Screen Digest*

Lymehouse Studios  
38 Georgiana Street  
London NW1 0EB  
United Kingdom  
[www.screendigest.com](http://www.screendigest.com)

### *Television Business International*

Informa Telecoms and Media Group  
Mortimer House  
37-41 Mortimer Street  
London W1T 3JH  
UK  
[www.informamedia.com](http://www.informamedia.com)

### *Television Week*

6500 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 2300  
Los Angeles, CA 90048  
[www.tvweek.com](http://www.tvweek.com)

### *Variety*

Reed Business Information  
5700 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 120  
Los Angeles, CA 90036  
USA  
[www.variety.com](http://www.variety.com)

### *Via Satellite*

PBI Media  
1201 Seven Locks Road, Suite 300  
Potomac, MD 20854  
USA  
[www.telecomweb.com](http://www.telecomweb.com)

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## Translators and Boosters

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Television translators are broadcast devices that receive a transmitted signal from over the air, automatically convert the frequency, and re-transmit the signal on a separate channel. Closely related are TV boosters, which amplify the incoming channel and re-transmit it, but without translating from one frequency to another.

In the United States, television stations originally were assigned to specific channels and communities, in a pattern designed to distribute service as widely as possible to all communities. The distribution plan adopted by the Federal Communications Commission in 1952 utilized a highly simplified model of physical terrain, and predicted desired coverage in a fairly smooth radius outward from the transmitter location. In reality, an obstacle such as a 9,000-foot mountain would completely block any reception.

TV boosters began as a practical self-help solution to this problem wherever the terrain was mountainous, but especially in the inter-mountain West between the Front Range of the Rockies and the Cascades (in the northern United States) through the Sierra and Coastal ranges of California in the south. Typically, a local TV repairman or appliance salesman offering the latest in console TV sets would install a sensitive receiver on the other side of the ridge, bring the signal to the near side, and boost the signal on channel from high above the community into the valley floor.

The first booster probably was built by Ed Parsons in 1948, to extend the reach of his cable system in Astoria, Oregon. Other boosters in the Pacific Northwest soon followed. In 1954, an FCC inspector went out to Bridgeport, Washington, and ordered the local booster shut down, because it was operating without a license. It soon was returned to extra-legal operation, under the auspices of the Bridgeport Junior Chamber of Commerce. The FCC issued a cease-and-desist order, but on appeal, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit refused to enforce the order, holding that the FCC had a statutory duty to make provision for the use of broadcast channels, and had been remiss in not devising a means for boosters to be licensed (*C. J. Community Services v. FCC*, D.C. Cir., 1957).

In Colorado, Governor Ed Johnson began issuing state "licenses," appointing the local operators to his communication "staff," and ordering them to continue their efforts to boost television signals on channel. By 1956, there already were some 800 unlicensed boost-

ers and translators known to be in operation. The first stirrings of cable television, or community antenna television, as it was then known, were in the same interval after 1948. As an alternative delivery mechanism, cable was the natural competitor to boosters and translators. Where cable gained initial inroads, as in Pennsylvania, it had the advantage that each home user was connected and could be charged a monthly fee. The boosters were typically supported by donations, and were a broadcast service with no toll-keeper. As cable took its initial steps as a fledgling industry, it sought protection from the FCC, urging that translators and boosters be restricted or outlawed.

Because of this early rivalry, and especially because the FCC was wedded to its pre-conceived plan for the orderly development of television in accord with the assignments it issued, the FCC refused to approve boosters and authorized translators in 1956, except for the virgin territory of UHF (channels 10–83). Power was limited to 10 watts. The rural residents essentially ignored this action, and continued to offer VHF service on channels 2 through 13, increasingly moving away from the primitive booster, in favor of cleaner translator technology.

In 1958 the FCC announced that it was stepping up enforcement efforts, intending to get the extra-legals off the air in 90 days. Congress was deluged with protests of this action, and the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce conducted field hearings during 1959 in Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. In July 1960 Congress amended the Communications Act to waive operator requirements and otherwise authorize booster and translator operations, including those already on the air. Three weeks later, the FCC authorized VHF translators for the first time.

Translators continue to be an important component of rural TV delivery, especially in the West. As of December 31, 1995 the FCC reported 4,844 licensed translators, slightly over one-half operating on UHF. All of these re-broadcast a primary TV station. In 1982, the FCC made provision for them to originate their own programs, as low-power television stations broadcasting to a restricted local radius, and an additional 1,787 LPTVs have been licensed.

MICHAEL COUZENS

*See also* **Low Power Television; United States: Cable Television**

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# Tribune Broadcasting

## U.S. Broadcaster

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Tribune Broadcasting, a division of the Chicago Tribune Company, is the fourth-largest broadcaster in the United States, and the country's largest television group not owned by a network. It currently owns and operates 23 television stations, with ten in the 12 largest markets and sixteen in the top 30 markets. Combined with cable and satellite coverage from its national superstation, WGN-TV, in the early part of the new millennium Tribune Broadcasting reaches more than 80 percent of television households in the United States.

A preeminent model of growth and diversity, Tribune Broadcasting's influence and impact is also enhanced by ownership of 50,000-watt Chicago-based WGN-AM, plus minority investments totaling approximately 25 percent ownership in the WB television network, 31 percent in the TV Food Network, 9 percent in the Golf Channel, and 25 percent in the iBlast Networks, the latter a company utilizing the digital television spectrum for distributing broadband content and data services to consumers. According to the Tribune Company's *Annual Report* for 2000, "iBlast has aggregated part of the spectrum from local television stations in 246 markets covering 93 percent of the United States."

Historically, the Tribune Company's roots trace back to publication of its parent-company newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*, beginning in 1847. In 1924, it began broadcasting on its AM pioneer, WGN (World's Greatest Newspaper), and in 1948, jumped on the television bandwagon with WGN-TV and New York-based WPIX-TV. In 1981, Tribune Broadcasting was formed and James C. Dowdle was hired as its first president and chief executive officer. A year later, the Tribune Entertainment Company was created as a Tribune Broadcasting subsidiary and quickly became a leading developer and supplier of television program-

ming to domestic and international markets via syndication, cable, and broadcast networks.

In May 1985, Tribune Broadcasting increased its television holdings to six stations when it acquired Los Angeles-based KTLA-TV for a record-setting \$510 million. Anticipating revenues of approximately \$100 million and expanding the Tribune's reach to 19.6 percent of all U.S. television households, as *Business Week* reported on June 13, 1985, the KTLA purchase enhanced Dowdle's plan to utilize viewership of Tribune Broadcasting outlets "as a captive customer base" for Tribune programming.

Early Tribune programming efforts are numerous and offer a variety of formats including movies, cartoon and action series, miniseries, specials, late night entertainment, and targeted programming for minority audiences. In sports, national broadcasts of the Chicago Cubs baseball team, a Tribune Company acquisition in 1981, realized daily audiences of nearly 30 million households via WGN-TV. In 1987, Tribune Broadcasting gave the controversial talk-show host Geraldo Rivera a home, and his across-the-board show aired successfully for 11 years. Then, in 1990, a joint venture with Ted Turner's Cable News Network brought CNN affiliate status to Tribune stations. Under terms of the initial 10-year contract, the two companies would also co-produce documentaries, miniseries, and news specials.

Continuing its expansion, in 1991, Tribune Broadcasting launched its first regional television programming service, ChicagoLand Television (CLTV), under the auspices of its new subsidiary, Tribune Regional Programming, Inc. Dedicated to Chicago-area news, sports, and information, CLTV capitalized on the multimedia resources of the *Chicago Tribune*, WGN radio, WGN television and the Chicago Cubs with the bulk of its programming to be produced by its own staff in

its own studios. Within two years, Tribune Regional Programming combined with Tele-Communications, Inc. (TCI) to provide CLTV 24 hours a day to TCI's 300,000 metropolitan-Chicago cable customers.

In 1993, Tribune Broadcasting combined with Warner Brothers for the creation of a new prime-time television network, the WB, slated to begin operations in the fall of 1994. Tribune stations in New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Denver, and New Orleans were initially slotted as affiliates, and the network, reaching out to 18-49-year-olds in prime time evening slots, instantly covered 85 percent of American households. As of 2000, 16 of Tribune Broadcasting's 23 stations were network affiliates and network programs included such popular notables as *Seventh Heaven*, *Felicity*, *Angel*, *Dawson's Creek* and *Gilmore Girls*.

On August 1, 1994, in an organizational restructuring, Dowdle was promoted to executive vice president of Tribune Media Operations and Dennis J. Fitz-Simons, former Tribune television-group president, was elevated to Tribune Broadcasting executive vice president. Reporting to Dowdle, Fitz-Simons would direct operations of the unit's then-eight television stations, the Tribune News Network, Tribune Entertainment, the six station radio group, Tribune Radio Networks and the recently acquired Farm Journal Inc. In 2000, when Dowdle retired, Fitz-Simons was promoted to executive vice president of the Tribune Company, retaining his Tribune Broadcasting presidency and assuming responsibility for publishing, entertainment, and the Chicago Cubs.

By 2001, the Los Angeles-based Tribune Entertainment subsidiary was distributing nine series representing approximately 15 hours of first-run and off-network programming per week, including four of the season's top-ten weekly syndicated hours: *Mutant X*, *Gene Roddenberry's Andromeda*, *BeastMaster*, and *Gene Roddenberry's Final Conflict*. In addition, Tribune Entertainment distributed the weekly *Soul Train*—at 30 seasons, the nation's longest-running music and variety program, and *U.S. Farm Report*, the longest-running series in syndication history at more than 36 years. Tribune Entertainment continued its distribution of television movies to domestic stations, and its distribution of specials, such as *Live from the Academy Awards*, the *Prism Awards*, and the *Soul Train Music Awards*. It was also handling barter arrangements for programs from numerous television production companies including, among others, NBC Enterprises' *Weakest Link* and FremantleMedia North America's *Family Feud*.

Maintaining an edge in state-of-the-art facilities, Tribune Entertainment announced in February 2001 the formation of Tribune Studios—renovation and

conversion of 70,000 square feet of soundstage space on the former ten-acre KTLA-TV Hollywood studio lot. Phased for completion over a two-year period, Tribune Studios would represent the first all-digital studio lot in the United States.

As Dowdle pointed out in his profile in *Channels* magazine of August 13, 1990, Tribune Broadcasting has been successful by capitalizing on those things under its control: effective management, production, acquisition, and marketing. Through aggressive movement, confident development in multiple directions, and the strong leadership of Dowdle and Fitz-Simons, the company has grown and diversified, resulting in the creation of a competitive Tribune Broadcasting footprint that is influential in both the domestic and international marketplace.

JOEL STERNBERG

*See also* **WB Television Network**

### **Tribune Broadcast Holdings**

#### **Television Stations**

WPIX-TV, New York  
 KTLA-TV, Los Angeles  
 WGN-TV, Chicago  
 WPHL-TV, Philadelphia  
 WLVI-TV, Boston  
 KDAF-TV, Dallas  
 WBDC-TV, Washington  
 WATL-TV, Atlanta  
 KHWB-TV, Houston  
 KCPO-TV, Seattle  
 KTWB-TV, Seattle  
 WBZL-TV, Miami/Ft. Lauderdale  
 KWGN-TV, Denver  
 KTXL-TV, Sacramento  
 KSWB-TV, San Diego  
 WXIN-TV, Indianapolis  
 WTIC-TV, Hartford/New Haven  
 WTXN-TV, Waterbury CT  
 WXMI-TV, Grand Rapids  
 WGNO-TV, New Orleans  
 WNOL-TV, New Orleans  
 WPMT-TV, Harrisburg-Lancaster-Lebanon-York  
 WEWB-TV, Albany

#### **Cable Holdings**

CLTV News, Chicago  
 Central Florida News 13 (joint venture with Time Warner Communications), Orlando  
 TV Food Network (31 percent)  
 WB Network (25 percent)  
 The Golf Channel (9 percent)

### Radio Stations

WGN-AM, Chicago (and others)

### Sports Franchises

Chicago Cubs

### Digital Networks

iBlast Networks (25 percent)

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## Trodd, Kenith

### British Producer

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Few television producers ever gain name recognition beyond their industry, but Kenith Trodd is arguably one who has. Described as the most successful of all British television drama producers, he is the winner of countless awards for the many one-off plays and films he has shepherded to the screen, and a figure seen as indispensable to the health of the drama department of the BBC, in which he has worked almost continuously for more than 30 years. Trodd's career is also unusual in that it has spanned the history of British television drama—from its golden age of experimentation in the 1960s to today's more hard-nosed era of cost-efficiency and ratings imperatives.

Trodd is perhaps best known for his work with the doyen of television playwrights, Dennis Potter. Both came from similar working-class and Christian fundamentalist backgrounds (the son of a crane driver, Trodd was brought up as a member of the Plymouth Brethren). Both did National Service as Russian-language clerks at Whitehall, where, during the height of the Cold War, they became firm friends with shared left-wing convictions. It was only at Oxford, from 1956 to 1959, that they found a convenient outlet for their political views, rising to become stars of a radical network of working-class students that gained national media coverage and taught them about the value of courting public controversy.

Originally, Trodd had intended to become an academic, and it was only after returning from a stint of teaching in Africa in 1964 that he received an offer from another ex-Oxford friend, Roger Smith, that would change his life. Smith had been appointed story editor of the innovative *Wednesday Play* slot and desperately needed two assistants to help him recruit as many new writers to television as possible. Along with Tony Garnett, Trodd joined the BBC just at the time the single television play was entering a radical phase of experimentation and permissiveness, as a new generation of talent began to make its presence felt. Working as a story editor on *The Wednesday Play* and *Thirty Minute Theatre* (a shorter experimental play slot), Trodd became central to this wave of innovation in the 1960s, nurturing writers such as Potter, Jim Allen, and Simon Gray.

In 1968 Trodd gained his chance to become a drama producer when, along with Garnett, he was lured to the rival commercial company London Weekend Television (LWT), on the promise of forming an autonomous unit within the organization. Notable as the first independent drama production company in British TV, Kestrel scored some successes during its two-year association with LWT, but the arrangement ended in acrimony, with Trodd eventually decamping back to the BBC, where he became producer of the *Play for Today* slot throughout the 1970s.

Never any stranger to trouble, he returned to a drama department in political turmoil, as managers cracked down on the freedoms program-makers had enjoyed during the 1960s. While producing some of Potter's most controversial work, Trodd often had to make a public fuss to defend the writer's freedom, most notably in 1976 when BBC management decided not to broadcast *Brimstone and Treacle*. He also found himself held at arm's length by BBC management as a suspected communist sympathizer for his support of a range of radical left-wing practitioners.

Though these difficulties were eventually resolved, Trodd continued to campaign for greater independence within the BBC, particularly after the success of his Potter serial *Pennies from Heaven* in 1978. In marked contrast to Potter, he became a passionate advocate for TV drama filmed on location rather than recorded in the studio (the dominant practice up to that time). This drive for change came to a head in 1979, when he again left the BBC for LWT, as part of a deal involving the formation of an independent production company with Potter. Once more, the arrangement ended in acrimony. Trodd returned to the BBC, but this time on the eve of the foundation of Channel 4 (1982), the network that would do so much to legitimize the concept of the independent producer in British television.

In the early 1980s, Trodd became chair of the Association of Independent Producers as one of the new breed of "independents," although he continued to work within the very heart of institutional television at the BBC. Under his influence, however, things were changing there, too. He had finally achieved his goal of remaining within the corporation while being able to produce independent projects as well. This ideal soon became accepted practice, as did his campaign for shooting on film.

In 1984 Trodd formed part of a BBC working party convened to examine how the corporation should respond to the feature filmmaking for TV and theatrical release that Channel 4 had pioneered. The outcome was the abandonment of the old concept of the studio *Play for Today* and the introduction of new BBC film slots, *Screen One* and *Screen Two*, with Trodd helping to oversee the first batch of films in 1985.

Despite the success of his campaigning, Trodd's career after that point raises uncomfortable questions about whether he has made himself somewhat redundant by the changes he helped bring about in the 1980s. The decline in the annual number of single-drama slots due to the increased costs of filmmaking, plus the corresponding decline in writers and directors required to fill these slots, indicates a much tougher and more competitive environment than the one that allowed him to experiment with new ideas and untried

talent in the 1960s. Nor, despite the success of a few of his BBC "single films," such as *After Pilkington* (1987) and *She's Been Away* (1989), has there been anything like the constant stream of outstanding material that secured his reputation in the 1970s. A rift with Potter in the late 1980s also did not help matters in this respect; however, the two reconciled before the playwright's death in 1994, and Trodd produced Potter's last two works for television, *Karaoke* and its sequel *Cold Lazarus*, both in 1996. Despite these projects, it remains true that Trodd's function has changed from the days when, as a BBC tyro, he filled his many play slots with a motley crew of young writers and directors—the question is whether it has changed for the best.

JOHN COOK

See also **British Programming; Channel 4; Film on Four; Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken; Pennies from Heaven; Potter, Dennis; Wednesday Play**

**Kenith Trodd.** Born in Southampton, Hampshire, England. Educated at Oxford. Began television career as story-editor, *The Wednesday Play*, 1964; producer, London Weekend Television, 1968–70; producer, BBC Drama Department, 1970–79; producer, London Weekend Television, and partner with playwright Dennis Potter, 1979; BBC Drama Department and independent film producer, from 1980. Recipient: Royal Television Society Silver Medal, 1986–87; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Alan Clarke Award, 1993.

#### Television Plays (selected)

1969	<i>Faith and Henry</i>
1969	<i>Moonlight on the Highway</i>
1971	<i>Roll on Four O'Clock</i>
1971	<i>Paper Roses</i>
1975	<i>The Whip Hand</i>
1976	<i>Double Dare</i>
1976	<i>Brimstone and Treacle</i>
1976	<i>Your Man from the Six Counties</i>
1978	<i>Pennies from Heaven</i>
1978	<i>Dinner at the Sporting Club</i>
1979	<i>Blue Remembered Hills</i>
1979	<i>Coming Out</i>
1980	<i>Billy</i>
1980	<i>Shadows on Our Skin</i>
1980	<i>Caught on a Train</i>
1980	<i>Blade on the Feather</i>
1980	<i>Rain in the Roof</i>
1980	<i>Cream in My Coffee</i>
1981	<i>A United Kingdom</i>
1982	<i>The Ballroom of Romance</i>

Trodd, Kenith

1983 *Videostars*  
1985 *Four Days in July*  
1985 *Unfair Exchanges*  
1986 *The Singing Detective*  
1986 *Past Caring*  
1987 *After Pilkington*  
1987 *Brimstone and Treacle*  
1987 *Visitors*  
1988 *Christabel*  
1989 *Here Is the News*  
1989 *She's Been Away*  
1990 *He's Asking for Me*

1990 *Old Flames*  
1991 *They Never Slept*  
1992 *Femme Fatale*  
1994 *Bambino Mio*  
1995 *It Might Be You*  
1996 *Karaoke*  
1996 *Cold Lazarus*  
1997 *The Fix*

**Film**

*Circle of Friends*, 1994

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## Troughton, Patrick (1920–1987)

British Actor

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Patrick Troughton was the second actor to take on the mantle of British television's Doctor Who in the long-running science-fiction series of the same name, playing the role for three years, from 1966 to 1969. This was by no means the only part he played on television, and he also had a full and varied career as an actor in the theater and in the cinema. However, it is for his flamboyant and quixotic portrayal of BBC's celebrated Time Lord that he is usually remembered.

Troughton followed William Hartnell as Doctor Who after his predecessor, suffering from multiple sclerosis and disillusioned with the changing character of the program (which had originally been intended to have a strong educational content), withdrew from the series. Troughton determined at once that his Doctor would be in marked contrast to the white-haired dotty professor-type depicted by Hartnell, and in his hands the Doctor became a colorfully whimsical and capricious penny-whistle-playing eccentric who could be testy, courageous, and downright enigmatic as the mood took him. Such a radical change in character was made possible within the confines of the program through the introduction of the concept that the Doctor underwent a mysterious regenerative metamorphosis at various stages of his centuries-long existence.

Troughton settled quickly into the role, and children throughout Britain cowered behind the sofa as his Doctor did weekly battle with such fearsome alien foes as the Daleks and the Cybermen. After three years, he

finally passed the responsibility for playing television's famous Time Lord on to Jon Pertwee.

By the time he was selected to play Doctor Who, Troughton had long established his reputation as a performer in a wide range of roles and productions, being particularly well regarded as a Shakespearean actor. Among the most acclaimed of his previous appearances had been his performance as Adolph Hitler in the play *Eva Braun* at Edinburgh's Gateway Theatre in 1950, and supporting roles in Laurence Olivier's Shakespearean films *Hamlet* and *Richard III*. On television he had made appearances in such enduringly popular series as *Coronation Street*, in which he was George Barton, and *Doctor Finlay's Casebook*. Notable among his later credits on the small screen were the series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, in which he was cast as the Duke of Norfolk, the World War II prison-camp drama *Colditz*, and the sitcom *The Two of Us*, in which he gave his usual good value as Nicholas Lyndhurst's grandfather Perce (after Troughton's death, Tenniel Evans took over the role). Always a jobbing actor who was ready to turn his hand to a variety of roles of contrasting sizes, his familiar face would pop up in all manner of series, and he guest starred on *Special Branch*, *The Protectors*, *The Goodies*, *Churchill's People*, *Minder*, and *Inspector Morse*, to name but a few.

But it was with *Doctor Who* that Troughton's name was destined to remain indelibly linked in the last





Patrick Troughton as Doctor Who.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

years of his life. His death occurred while he was actually attending a *Doctor Who* convention in the United States.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Doctor Who*

**Patrick George Troughton.** Born in London, March 25, 1920. Attended schools in London; Embassy School of Acting, London; Leighton Rollin's Studio for Actors, Long Island, New York. Married three times; children: Joanna, Jane, Jill (stepdaughter), David, Michael, Peter, Mark, and Graham (stepson). Served in Royal Navy during World War II. Joined Bristol Old Vic, concentrating on Shakespeare productions, 1946; made film and television debuts, 1948; achieved fame as central character in television's *Doctor Who*, 1966. Died March 28, 1987.

#### Television Series

- 1962–63 *Man of the World*  
 1966–69 *Doctor Who*  
 1970–71 *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*  
 1972–74 *Colditz*  
 1982–84 *Foxy Lady*  
 1986–87 *The Two of Us*

#### Television Specials

- 1950 *Toad of Toad Hall*  
 1953 *Robin Hood*  
 1955 *The Scarlet Pimpernel*  
 1960 *The Splendid Spur*  
 1987 *Knights of God*

#### Films

*Hamlet*, 1948; *Escape*, 1948; *Cardboard Cavalier*, 1949; *Badger's Green*, 1949; *Waterfront*, 1950; *Treasure Island*, 1950; *Chance of a Lifetime*, 1950; *The Woman with No Name*, 1950; *White Corridors*, 1951; *The Franchise Affair*, 1951; *The Black Knight*, 1954; *Richard III*, 1955; *The Curse of Frankenstein*, 1957; *The Moonraker*, 1958; *Misalliance*, 1959; *Phantom of the Opera*, 1962; *Jason and the Argonauts*, 1963; *The Gorgon*, 1964; *Frankenstein and the Monster from Hell*, 1973; *The Omen*, 1976; *Sinbad and the Eye of the Tiger*, 1977.

#### Stage (selected)

*Eva Braun*, 1950

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## Turkey

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The case of Turkey, where the deregulation of the broadcasting industry followed the penetration of technology, offers an interesting and illuminating example

of the relationship between technological change, globalization, and national identity. Until 1990, when the first commercial channel began broadcasting from

abroad (illegally, via satellite), TV and radio broadcasts were tightly controlled by the government. While popular programming on state television was dominated by American imports, educational and informational programs were indicative of high governmental influence. This was due to a turbulent political landscape shaped, from the republic's inception on, by Kemalist ideologies (such as secularism and Western modernism), state and military intervention in every aspect of life, and a culturalist approach to all things "national." Like radio, television, in this landscape, was seen as a handy but highly risky tool. While total control over state broadcasts meant power to shape public opinion for the government, allowing broadcasters other than the state was a risky road not to be taken until the 1990s.

From its inception in the 1930s, the broadcasting service in Turkey was set up as a centralized and state-controlled entity, similar to the telegraph and telephone services that preceded it. Although radio broadcasting in Turkey began at around the same time as in other countries, television broadcasting came very late. The primary reason for the delay was economic. By the 1950s, Turkey had left behind the early republican era in favor of multiparty politics, popular elections, and more liberal economics. Despite these changes, Turkey would see a series of economic crises and breakdowns of democracy in following decades. Although it was resolved that television broadcasting would contribute to the fast-changing social structure of Turkey, it was thought to be an unnecessarily expensive investment to make. Thus, regular broadcasting had to wait until the late 1960s.

The preparations for providing a laboratory environment that would allow experimentation with TV broadcasting began in 1948, and the first such broadcast was made from a transmission station at the Department of Electrical Engineering at Istanbul Technical University (ITU) on July 9, 1952. The two-hour broadcasts continued once a week on Saturdays, and included domestic and foreign films, entertainment, and discussion programs, but were received by a very limited number of viewers in Istanbul. Since the system was experimental, there was no broadcasting policy, directorial board, or administrative unit in charge of programming. By 1957, there were 160–170 receivers in Istanbul.

The 1960s marked Turkish political and social life with many significant incidents, including the beginning of state television broadcasts. Following the technical aid agreement signed between the German Federal Republic and Turkey in 1963, a television training center was built in Ankara. After the 1960 mil-

itary coup, the 1961 constitution, in order to prevent abuse of the airwaves by the ruling party, redefined the broadcast institution's status as an autonomous state organization. Thus, on January 31, 1968, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), successor to the earlier radio broadcasting institution, broadcast its first program, *The History of the Turkish Revolution*, to its Ankara audiences. Broadcasting to Istanbul and Izmir was made possible in 1971 when a radio-link line was finished by the PTT (Post Telephone and Telegraph). TV sets, at first considered luxury items, soon became commonplace. Even the poorest neighborhoods with no running water or phone lines were soon to meet *Bonanza* and *Dennis the Menace*.

The late 1960s witnessed constant tension between the government and the now-autonomous TRT. Within two years of the 1960 coup, Süleyman Demirel and his Justice Party (JP) came to power. The new government had little sympathy for the liberal reforms instigated by the military. This created a series of conflicts. Because the new government was unsuccessful in its attempts to strip the TRT of its autonomy, it then attempted to exert pressure on it by, for example, freezing the license fee to restrict budgets and by increasing intervention in programming content. On February 16, 1969, for example, a labor march took place in Istanbul that ended with fights between marchers and police. The TRT, which included the march in its evening news hour with footage of the incident, was immediately prohibited from broadcasting the program by Demirel. In short, the first years of television broadcasting in Turkey, up until 1970, were marked by the TRT administration's struggle against the government to maintain its autonomy.

Meanwhile, the regular ITU broadcasts had continued, and went on until March 6, 1970, when they were halted due to the student movements that preceded the military coup of the following year. In 1971, all broadcasting facilities and transmitters of ITU were transferred to the TRT when the military declared martial law, accusing Demirel of abusing the state institutions and of wrongdoing, and forcing him to resign. The newly amended constitution, issued following the coup, had an authoritarian bent, which also affected broadcasting. Control of TRT was given to a general, and broadcasting once again became state-dominated. Although the 1972 constitution affirmed the TRT's independence from party politics, instead of speaking of the TRT as autonomous, it was now described as "impartial," which in practice meant that the TRT remained a medium of the governing party throughout this era.

Until the end of the 1970s, directors-general of the

TRT came and went, each being subject to criticism either from the right or the left. Television broadcasting in this era, far from introducing a more pluralistic media scene, merely represented the state of institutional politics. It was during this era that politics and politicians became mediatized in Turkey. Addresses to the nation and election campaign speeches were regular fare on the TRT's broadcasts, along with sports programs and popular American series.

Domestic right-left clashes, which claimed hundreds of lives up until 1980, led to a new military coup, and an army general once again took over the TRT as its new director general. As after the previous coup, the 1982 constitution and the 1983 broadcasting legislation that emerged from it paid lip service to reducing governmental control over the TRT and maintaining its impartiality. As part of the legislation that went into force on January 1, 1984, a High Authority Commission for radio and television was established with members appointed largely by the president of the republic. That body in turn appointed the administrative council and the director general of the TRT. The High Authority Commission established program policy guidelines for broadcasting, but could control programs only after their airing. The Commission also made recommendations on the establishment of new broadcast stations, and granted licenses for non-public and cable television, which came in 1988. Although all members of the Commission were required to hold university degrees, and eight of the twelve members were selected from noted personalities in broadcasting, in practice the presidents of the republic tended to sympathize with the government, and thus the commission had a substantial partisan tilt despite all of its educational credentials.

In terms of programming content, the 1983 legislation provided for indigenous programs to be given priority over foreign ones (which were seen as having corrupting effects, to some degree), so as to help stimulate necessary social changes. However, imported programs continued to constitute a substantial amount of airtime. The government also had the right to present its own monthly half-hour programs, and could ban programs or news items for security reasons. Programs were required to operate in accordance with the principles of the constitution, which gave the TRT the task of promoting values such as patriotism and Kemalism. Television programs at this time were seen as an important element in the creation of a sense of national unity, through use of an homogenized official Turkish language, programming national folkloric music, and presenting a collective understanding of national history. Another very important issue that led to

further tightening of governmental control over the TRT in the mid-1980s was the clash between the Turkish state and the separatist movement started by Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). As a result of the growing conflict, programs about "anarchy and terror" were required to be broadcast on a regular basis. The TRT was supposed to assume a standpoint supporting the state regarding the Kurdish problem and terrorism. During the mid-1980s, the TRT was also seeking means to bring broadcasts to more people in remote areas, especially in the southeast, to counter propaganda from the PKK. Second and third channels, TRT 2 (1986) and TRT 3 (1989), together with GAP TV (targeting audiences in southeast Turkey), were attempts to satisfy this need for diversity in programming by the TRT. TRT 2 was of cultural nature, broadcasting quality programs like classic films, documentaries, and news hours in English for foreign diplomats and visitors, while the TRT3 was mainly targeted at young audiences, for educational and entertainment purposes.

The TRT broadcasts went color in 1984, and weekly broadcasting was increased from 113 to 130 hours in 1988. Despite the technical progress it achieved, TRT programming in the 1980s was extremely ideology-laden, aimed at shaping public opinion on issues ranging from economic measures to state security policies. In short, throughout the 1980s the TRT remained a highly bureaucratic and politicized body, and "impartiality" remained a thing of legislative rhetoric rather than of deed. However, there was not much that could be done by the TRT itself, which was restrained by the TRT law.

In 1990, TRT 4 started experimental broadcasts of an educational nature, and the same year day-time programs were also initiated, targeted primarily to a female audience. The TRT, at this time, was also seeking opportunities to become a major player in the Turkish geolinguistic market. Outcomes of this endeavor included TRT-INT, beamed via satellite in 1990 primarily to Turkish citizens living abroad (mainly in Germany but including all of Europe and North Africa), and TRT-AVRASYA, beaming programs via satellite to the Turkic republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan in 1992. But the most important development of the early 1990s was the first private channel's pirate broadcasts in 1990, which changed the whole electronic-media scene in Turkey.

Although many private satellite dishes were already installed to receive European channels and CNN, the Swiss-based station, Star 1 (owned by Magic Box), broadcasting from Germany via EUTELSAT F-10 East, hit the medium as the first private channel to reach Turkey in 1990. The very legality of Star 1 was,

of course, the major issue at stake. However, there was very little political debate at the beginning, and the station had the president's blessing. One of the partners of Magic Box was Ahmet Özal, the elder son of the president of the time, Turgut Özal, an absolute free marketer and aggressive advocate of the free circulation of goods and ideas. Özal told reporters that even though it was unconstitutional to set up private television channels on Turkish soil, there was nothing illegal about broadcasting into Turkey from abroad, as did CNN. Private broadcasts went on, but the policy changes would not catch up until the mid-1990s.

Other channels followed rapidly in Star 1's wake. By the end of 1992, Show TV, Kanal 6, Flash TV, HBB, and the second Magic Box station, Teleon, were also broadcasting into Turkey from abroad. At the beginning, viewers had to have satellite dishes. Soon, municipalities bought dishes and transmitters and re-broadcast the satellite channels locally, an easy way to win popular support.

The TRT suffered heavy audience-share losses in a matter of few years following the emergence of the private TV channels. But private broadcasting was immediately welcomed as a part of Turkey's media scene by the audience *and* by certain agencies of the state, even though the stations were of "illegal" status. For instance, the Turkish Football Federation, a unit of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, signed agreements with Magic Box to sell the right to broadcast Turkish soccer league games to Star 1, with devastating consequences for TRT's ratings. The TRT, in this process, began to imitate the global channels, modifying its formerly elitist and culturalist agenda. While some circles criticized the TRT for damaging its position as a public institution by engaging in commercial competition and promoting consumerism, some saw it as a positive change.

The private channels' popularity was also due to their policy of giving significant airtime to newsworthy topics, and to the presentation of their version of national news, which often conflicted with that of the TRT. In one incident, for example, stringers covering a May Day parade filmed police beating marchers and even a member of Parliament, while the TRT's version of the event was one of "disturbances caused by fringe radicals." Social and political issues such as sexuality, homosexuality, and Kurdish and Islamic identities also became everyday topics of the news hours and TV forums. Thus, formerly restricted topics such as military

personas and coups immediately became regular fare on comedy programs. Nevertheless, while a few programs, such as *Siyaset Meydani* (Political Forum), dealt with the issues in a serious light, most others made it part of their sensational discourse. Responses were mixed. Academic and intellectual circles both praised the private channels for challenging the TRT and heavily criticized them for their extremely commercialized program content. Conservatives, on the other hand, were enraged with morally "loose" programming, and "family" channels came into existence. This played a role in the rapid rise of political Islam in the 1990s. All in all, through the commercial channels, ethnic/cultural differences and political identities that had been excluded from the TRT's rhetoric of "homogenous nationhood" became part of a collective consciousness for Turkish audiences throughout the 1990s.

In line with its turbulent history, Turkish television in the early 2000s remains in flux. Today, in addition to the TRT channels, 16 national, 14 regional, and 294 local TV channels are in operation. The High Commission is still responsible for monitoring all the broadcasting for any "indiscreet," "indecent," or "unauthorized" programming, although promising amendments that will give further freedoms to media outlets seem to be on the way. Although many have come to regard the TRT as a public enterprise, "real" public-service television is still missing from the Turkish media scene. Filling that gap would be the next positive development for Turkish audiences.

MIYASE CHRISTENSEN

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# Turner Broadcasting System

## U.S. Media Conglomerate

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Over the course of four decades, Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) has grown from a regional outdoor advertising firm into one of the world's largest and most successful media conglomerates. Beginning in the late 1960s, Ted Turner changed his father's company, Turner Advertising, first into Turner Communications Company and then into Turner Broadcasting System. Each name-change represented a stage in the building of an empire that would come to encompass broadcast television and radio, cable program services, movie and television production companies, home video, and sports teams.

TBS began with Turner's purchase in 1968 of failing UHF station WJRJ in Atlanta, Georgia. He immediately renamed the station WTCG (for Turner Communications Group) and began to look for programming. What Turner found were old movies and syndicated television series, many of which he purchased outright with a view toward unrestricted future showings. He used these to counterprogram the network affiliates, going after such audience segments as children and people who did not watch the news. By the early 1970s, WTCG also offered local sports programming—first professional wrestling and then Atlanta Braves baseball, Atlanta Hawks basketball, and Atlanta Flames hockey. In 1976 Turner purchased the Braves, securing long-term access to his single most critical source of programming.

The combination of old movies and TV programs and the sports coverage proved to be a formula for success. By 1972 WTCG boasted a 15 percent share of the Atlanta audience, and the station's signal had begun to be carried by microwave to cable systems in the Atlanta region. When Turner heard about Home Box Office's groundbreaking satellite debut in 1975, he quickly began preparations to use the same technology to extend WTCG's signal. Through a series of adroit negotiations, Turner set up (as a business separate from Turner Communications) a company called Southern Satellite Systems, Inc., to uplink WTCG's signal to an RCA communications satellite. In 1976 WTCG became the second satellite-delivered cable program service and the first satellite superstation.

The superstation was renamed WTBS in the late 1970s. In 1980 Cable News Network (CNN), the first

of Turner Broadcasting System's cable-only program services, was launched. Throughout the following decade, CNN branched into specialized news services, including CNN Radio, CNN International, CNN Headline News, and CNN Airport Network.

During the 1980s, strategic programming acquisitions led to more new cable ventures for Turner Broadcasting. In 1986 Turner added the entire MGM film library to his existing stock of old movies. Two years later, Turner Network Television (TNT), a general-interest cable program service that features many movies, was launched. The Turner film library also supplies Turner Classic Movies, launched in 1994. Turner's 1991 acquisition of Hanna-Barbera Cartoons (both the production studio and the syndication library), ensured a continuous supply of programming for both the TBS superstation and the Cartoon Network, launched in 1992. Several foreign-language versions of the Cartoon Network now exist or are being developed. Finally, in addition to the TBS superstation's established market position as a sports programming outlet, Turner Broadcasting also owns Sportsouth, a regional sports programming service.

Other Turner holdings include New Line Cinema, Castle Rock Entertainment, Turner Entertainment Company, Turner Pictures Worldwide, Turner Home Entertainment, Turner Publishing, Turner Educational Services, Turner Interactive, and the Atlanta Hawks.

From the earliest efforts to revamp WTCG, much of Ted Turner's television success has been based on his ability, and that of his employees, to acquire innovative and inexpensive sources of programming and to make that programming available through as many outlets as possible. Thus, Turner Broadcasting System's current holdings represent both program material—in the form of film and television libraries, production houses, and sports teams—and the means of distributing that programming.

In 1995 TBS entered into an agreement to become part of the Time Warner media conglomerate. The merger was approved, and in 2001 the corporation merged yet again with America Online, the nation's largest Internet service provider. Those companies originally launched as part of the Turner Broadcasting empire continue to grow and play a major role as con-

tent producers for AOL Time Warner, now the world's largest media conglomerate. In March 2001 veteran television executive Jamie Kellner (former chairman of the WB network) was brought in to head the Turner Broadcasting division of AOL Time Warner (now Time Warner).

MEGAN MULLEN

**See also Cable Networks; Cable News Network; Superstation; Turner, Ted; United States; Cable**

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## Turner, Ted (1938– )

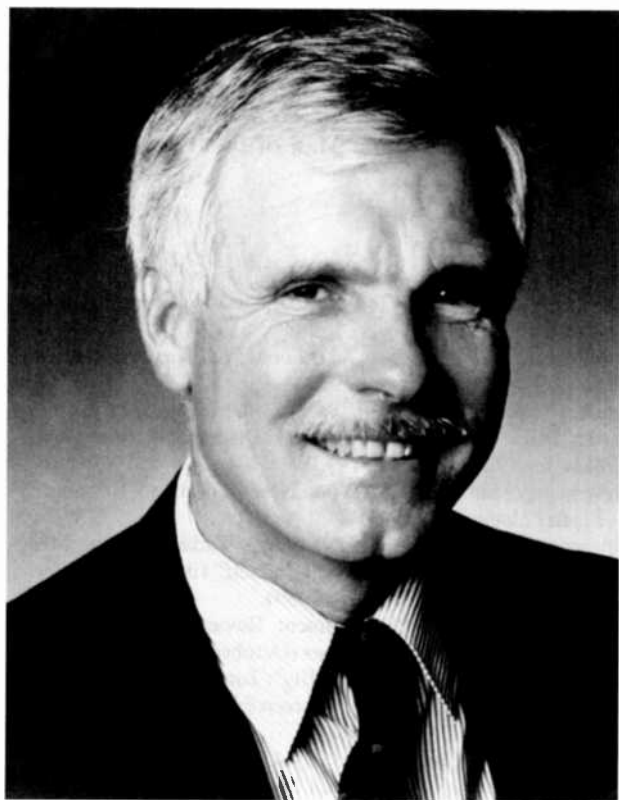
U.S. Media Executive

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Ted Turner is one of the entrepreneurs responsible for rethinking the way we use television, especially cable television, from the 1970s onward. However, Turner is known, loved, or hated as much for his unique personal style as for any particular accomplishment. He is a flamboyant Southern businessman in industries normally run from New York and Los Angeles. Turner's penchant for wringing every possible use from his corporations enabled him to establish a corporate empire that touched virtually every area of the entertainment industry. In 1995, in what could be the most significant personal and financial deal of his career, he agreed to merge his holdings with those of international media conglomerate Time Warner, an unusually powerful managing partner. His wealth and personal influence grew as a result, until Internet service provider America Online (AOL) purchased Time Warner-Turner in 2000, and he was shifted out of the conglomerate's power center. Marginalized as AOL Time Warner's figurehead vice president, Turner watched as the corporation's chief executive, Gerald Levin, took over control of Turner's former media holdings. Turner has since decried the increasing conglomeration of the cable marketplace.

Turner's career in broadcasting began in 1970, when Turner Communications, a family billboard company, merged with Rice Broadcasting and gained control of WTCG, Channel 17, in Atlanta, Georgia. WTCG succeeded under Turner's ownership; where it was losing \$900,000 before the merger in 1970, it earned \$1.8 million in revenue in 1973. Turner made WTCG cable's first "superstation," broadcast by satellite to cable households throughout the United States. Renamed WTBS (for Turner Broadcasting System) in 1979, the station remained one of the most popular basic-cable options as the number of cable households grew in the 1980s. The program schedule featured a mixture of movies and series produced by Turner subsidiaries, reruns from Turner's vast entertainment libraries, broadcasts of Turner-owned Atlanta Braves' and Hawks' games, and shows related to Turner's interest in the environment, such as explorer *Jacques Cousteau's Undersea Adventures* and Audubon Society specials.

Turner's second great innovation in cable, the Cable News Network (CNN), was launched in 1980. Turner's personal involvement in CNN appeared to handicap the network from the start, since WTBS's joke-filled late-night news program and CNN's



Ted Turner.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

shoestring budget suggested that Turner would not commit to serious journalism. But CNN's 24-hour news programming gained viewer loyalty and industry respect as it challenged—and often surpassed—the major networks' authority in reporting breaking events, most notably the Persian Gulf War in 1991, which first brought CNN to widespread international attention. Turner, as well, refashioned himself as a global newsman as CNN expanded into new markets (by 1995, it reached 156 million subscribers in 140 countries around the world); for example, he banned the word "foreign" from CNN newscasts in favor of "international." Following Turner's philosophy of finding as many outlets for his products as possible, the CNN franchise has grown to include CNN International, CNN Headline News, CNN Radio, and CNN Airport Network, as well as a variety of computer online services.

Turner's holdings were not limited to cable networks, although he also owned Turner Network Television (TNT), Turner Classic Movies, Sportsouth, and the Cartoon Network. His Turner Entertainment Company managed one of the world's largest film libraries, including the MGM library, with licensing rights for

Hollywood classics such as *Gone with the Wind*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and *Citizen Kane*. Production companies included New Line Cinema, Castle Rock Entertainment (which produced *Seinfeld*), Hanna-Barbera Cartoons, and Turner Pictures Worldwide; all provided programming sources for his cable and broadcast outlets. His Turner Home Entertainment managed the video release of titles from the Turner library, as well as overseeing a publishing house, educational services company, and a division devoted to exploring ways to bring Turner titles online. Throughout his career, Turner also endeavored to purchase one of the three major networks, targeting each for takeover as it became financially vulnerable.

Turner's possessions cannot begin to capture the essence of the personality that has made him one of the entertainment industry's most recognizable figures. He earned the nickname "Captain Outrageous" during his yachting days (winning the America's Cup in the *Courageous* in 1977, but losing the sail-off to defend it for the United States in 1980), but his reputation for eccentric behavior has not been limited to the sporting arena. When his efforts to "colorize" films from his extensive black-and-white movie library—thereby broadening the films' appeal to audiences who prefer color—raised the hackles of film lovers and prompted congressional hearings on the authorship and ownership of cinematic texts, Turner threatened to add color to *Citizen Kane*, the 1941 Orson Welles classic that has been lauded as the greatest film ever made (he did not follow through on that threat).

Turner has actively sought publicity both for himself and for a number of causes he supports, such as the environmental movement and world peace. Most spectacularly, he earned front-page headlines in 1997 for donating \$1 billion of his then approximately \$3 billion fortune to the United Nations for peacekeeping, health, and children's issues. Other causes earned support through their association with Turner's media or sports holdings. Two examples are WTBS's *Captain Planet* environmental cartoon and the Goodwill Games between U.S. and Soviet athletes (then internationally, between 1986 and 2001), to which Turner had broadcasting rights. With his third wife, the former actress, fitness guru, political activist, and multimedia mogul Jane Fonda, Turner added support for Native American causes (including a series of original films on TNT) to atone for his earlier "racist" promotions of the Atlanta Braves. Long accustomed to his role as "captain of his own fate," Turner suffered a series of personal and professional losses in 2000 and 2001, from the dissolution of his marriage to Fonda to the erosion of his power base in the corporate United States. Still, Turner remains one of the world's richest

men, managing his charitable foundation, promoting the benefits of bison meat from his Montana ranch, and producing historical films in lieu of a more traditional retirement.

SUSAN MCLELAND

**See also Cable Networks; Cable News Network; Colorization; Superstation; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting System; United States: Cable**

**Ted (Robert Edward) Turner.** Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 19, 1938. Educated at Brown University. Married: 1) Judy Nye, 1960 (divorced); one daughter and one son; 2) Jane Shirley Smith, 1965 (divorced, 1988); one daughter and two sons; 3) Jane Fonda, 1991 (divorced, 2001). Account executive, Turner Advertising Company, Atlanta, Georgia, 1961–63, president and chief operating officer, 1963–70; president and chair of the board, Turner Broadcasting System, Inc., Atlanta, from 1970; chair of the board, Better World Society, Washington, 1985–90. Honorary degrees: D.Sc. in Commerce, Drexel University, 1982; LL.D., Samford University (Birmingham, Alabama), 1982, Atlanta University, 1984; D. Entrepreneurial Sciences, Central New England College of Technology, 1983; D. in Public Administration, Massachusetts Maritime Academy, 1984; D. in Business Administration, University of Charleston, 1985. Board of directors: Martin Luther King Center, Atlanta. Recipient: America's Cup in his yacht *Courageous*, 1977; named yachtsman of the year four times; outstanding Entrepreneur of the Year Award, *Sales Marketing and Management Magazine*, 1979; National Cable Television Association President's Award, 1979 and 1989; National News Media Award, Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), 1981; Special Award, Edinburgh International Television Festival, Scotland, 1982; Media Awareness Award, United Vietnam Veterans' Organization, 1983; Special Olympics Award, Special Olympics Committee, 1983; World Telecommunications Pioneer Award, New York State Broadcasters' Association, 1984; Golden Plate Award, American Academy of Achievement, 1984; Silver Satellite Award, American Women in Radio and Television; Lifetime Achievement Award, New York International Film and Television Festival, 1984; Tree of Life Award, Jewish National Fund, 1985; Golden Ace Award, National Cable Television Academy,

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## 20th Century, The

### U.S. Historical Documentary Program

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From the one-hour premiere episode "Churchill, Man of the Century" (October 20, 1957) to its last episode, *The 20th Century* unit produced 112 half-hour historical compilation films and 107 half-hour "originally photographed documentaries" or contemporary documentaries. Narrated by Walter Cronkite, the series achieved critical praise, a substantial audience, and a dedicated sponsor, the Prudential Insurance Company of America, primarily with its historical compilation films. The compilation documentaries combined film footage from disparate archival sources—national and international, public and private—with testimony from eyewitnesses, to represent history. Programs averaged 13 million viewers a week but periodically reached 20 million for the action-oriented installments. The series foreshadowed the production and marketing strategies of weekly compilation and documentary series that populate cable television today.

Irving Gitlin, CBS vice president of public affairs programming, originally conceived the series as broad topic compilations based on Mark Sullivan's writings, *Our Times*. Burton Benjamin, whose career at CBS news began as the series' producer and progressed to executive producer, radically revised the concept. He stressed compilations focused on one man's impact on his times, or an event (such as "Patton and the Third Army" or "Woodrow Wilson: The Fight for Peace"). These were to be interspersed with more traditional biographical sketches of individual lives (such as "Mussolini," "Gandhi," and "Admiral Byrd"). Benjamin also added a mix of "back of the book" stories, or historical episodes receiving scant attention in English-language history texts and unfamiliar to the general public in the United States. These "essays" dealt with individuals, such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ("The Incredible Turk"), and topics, such as the Kiska campaign ("The Frozen War"), and the Danish resistance movement ("Sabotage"), both lesser-known fronts of World War II. The series' researchers, both literary and film, were instructed to pursue detailed factual information that would add the unknown to the familiar. Information such as the \$8.50 price levied on those who wished to watch Goering's wedding parade or the details of Rommel's visit to his family on D-Day surrounded primary story elements. With the assis-

tance of associate producer Isaac Kleinerman, editor and film researcher for *Victory at Sea* (NBC, 1952–53) and *Project XX* (NBC, 1954–73), the series established a successful formula by stressing pivotal dramatic incidents in battles, conflicts, political uprisings, and the repercussions of actions by great (though always male) leaders. Accounting for the many battle-oriented programs, Benjamin admitted that the series was "as much a show biz show as any dramatic half-hour." But when the availability of dramatic and unusual footage of personalities existed for an historical period or event, such as "Paris in the Twenties" and "The Olympics," the unit produced broad-canvas compilation films. On a weekly basis, audiences stayed with the series, expecting the unique and unfamiliar even in recognizable topics.

When the series started to look familiar, Benjamin revised. In the third season the series shifted to the individual in history and more contemporary topics. The biographical form slowly expanded to contemporary persons in the arts and sciences, law, and politics while giving "eyewitnesses" a more complex role in the compilation films. The striking contribution by German Captain Willi Bratgi to the episode "The Remagen Bridge," dramatically describing how a U.S. shell changed history's course by accidentally severing a detonation cable and thus preventing the destruction of the allies' last crossing-point over the Rhine in March 1945, led the production team to search out other such figures with strong emotional and informational ties to the past. From 1961 through the series' end, the most innovative compilations used central, compelling personalities to weave a dramatic structure. These included Countess Nina Von Stauffenberg and Captain Axel Von Dem Bussche in "The Plots against Hitler," and Mine Okubo, author of *Citizen 13360* in "The Nisei: The Pride and the Shame." But as the series progressed, contemporary documentaries gradually outnumbered compilation films. Contemporary documentaries depicted the enduring value of democracy's struggle against communism, the modernization of the United States, and the pioneering human spirit facing adversity.

Although accepted by the public, a group of 28 of the contemporary documentaries shown over the 9



*The 20th Century.*  
*Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research*

years were greeted with criticism. These depicted U.S. military defense systems and hardware and functioned as publicity releases for the Department of Defense, and were criticized for their simple equation of liberty with technology. A dozen of these documentaries dealt

with aviation, space exploration, or plane and rocket development because of Cronkite's interest in these topics. By filming documentaries such as "Vertijet" and "SAC: Aloft and Below," the producers received extraordinary military assistance in declassifying

footage in government archives for the compilation films. Still, Benjamin strove for journalistic integrity in a politicized atmosphere, even canceling biographies on General MacArthur and Curtis LeMay when the military requested final script approval.

Social and political change overseas dominated the list of contemporary subjects. Although evident in the compilation films, the series' anticommunist ideology and commitment to democratic modernization was blatant in programs such as "Poland on a Tightrope" and "Sweden: Trouble in Paradise." Periodically, the producers sought new approaches to the contemporary documentary, in response to waning critical reception and audience desire for the dramatic. When the NFL football player Sam Huff was outfitted with a microphone and transmitter, in "The Violent World of Sam Huff," the landscape of television documentary shifted. Other experiments in quasi-cinema-verité documentaries, such as "Rhodes Scholar" and "Duke Ellington Swings through Japan," illustrated new approaches for television. But strong diversions from the series' dominant form and content, such as the grim Appalachian conditions depicted in "Depressed Area, U.S.A.," were rare and usually came from freelance film directors such as Willard Van Dyke and Leo Seltzer.

CBS executives admired the series' meticulous production process. The producers allocated 24 weeks for a program's production, with each stage such as literary research, film research, location shooting, editing, script writing, and music allocated a specific time parameter on a flow chart. By the sixth season, the series ran itself, allowing Benjamin to work simultaneously on other CBS news projects. Into this production mechanism, Benjamin periodically added the attraction of established journalists and historians, including John Toland, Robert Shaplen, Sidney Hertzberg, and Hanson Baldwin. Although Alfredo Antonini composed music for 50 percent of the programs, Franz Waxman, Glen Paxton, George Kleinsinger, George Antheil, and others contributed original scores, working with Antonini and the CBS Orchestra within strict time limitations. This would be the last time a documentary series turned consistently to talent outside a network.

The sponsor, Prudential, supported the series' use of these film, literary, and musical figures, but became a restraint on the series' creative potential. The company approved and prioritized each year's topics, submitted by Benjamin and Kleinerman, and admitted not wanting controversial programs on social and religious topics. The sponsor—and the Department of Defense—also expected a conservative and uncritical representation of military activity, past and present.

Certain subjects, such as gambling, the labor movement, and U.S. relations with Canada, were rejected by Prudential. Even though Benjamin was aware of the corporate perspective, he fought several years for the approval to air biographies of Lenin, Trotsky and the American socialist Norman Thomas. Prudential directly limited the boundaries of subjects and investigation of any issue they deemed potentially upsetting to a large audience. Prudential withdrew sponsorship after the ninth season, when sports programming reduced the number of available time slots to 18, and the production unit's value to new directions in news and documentary could not assure Prudential the recognizable and dramatic compilation film and documentary subjects deemed suitable for its audience.

RICHARD BARTONE

*See also* **Columbia Broadcasting System; Cronkite, Walter**

#### Narrator

Walter Cronkite

#### Programming History

219 episodes

CBS

October 1957–May 1958	Sunday 6:30–7:00
September 1958–August 1961	Sunday 6:30–7:00
September 1961–August 1966	Sunday 6:00–6:30
January 1968–October 1968	Sunday 6:00–6:30
January 1969–September 1969	Sunday 6:00–6:30
January 1970	Sunday 6:00–6:30

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## 20/20

### U.S. News Magazine Program

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*20/20*'s premiere on July 6, 1978 elicited such brutal reviews that Roone Arledge, president of ABC News and ABC Sports, took control of the series' production from Robert Shanks, the executive producer. Arledge supported Shanks's choices of co-anchors Robert Hughes, art critic for *Time* (and later famous for his classic 1981 series on modern art for the BBC, *The Shock of the New*), and Harold Hayes, previously the editor of *Esquire*, hoping print journalists would improve television news standards at ABC. But Hughes's Australian and Hayes's southern U.S. accents were almost incomprehensible to Arledge. The first episode, with a haphazard structure that ended with embarrassing animated segments of Jimmy Carter singing "Georgia on my Mind," and Walter Cronkite parodying himself, was disappointing. Hughes and Hayes were fired and Arledge appointed Hugh Downs anchor for the second show amid criticism of what some considered Downs's bland on-camera persona.

The series shifted from a monthly to weekly schedule in fall 1979 with Av Westin as Executive Producer. By early 1984, *20/20* delivered health reports, the popular consumer alert segment "Give Me a Break" by John Stossel, crime stories, segments on popular-culture trends, investigative reports, and interviews by Barbara Walters. Although Westin trusted his producers' skills and judgments in pursuing unorthodox stories, he defined their audience as having "zero knowledge and zero tolerance." Consequently, a story needed to immediately inform within an emotional and compelling narrative. Westin frequently scruti-

nized demographics, noting story topics receiving high ratings and redirecting upcoming stories for that demographic profile.

In September 1984 Barbara Walters became co-anchor, bringing a reputation for high-profile exclusive interviews. Downs expressed concern that Walters's interviews evaded the newsworthy, that she opted instead to probe the personal lives of people in entertainment, sports, politics, and current headlines. Still, Walters's interviews sparked powerful emotional moments and discovered painful vulnerabilities in order to display empathy toward her subjects, and in some cases Americans heard significant national and international political leaders for the first time when being interviewed by her. Some interviews did remain troubling when ABC News promoted them as covering a wide range of pressing issues, only for Walters to focus on personal matters. And in 1998 Downs would not be associated with what he termed "tabloid journalism," and refused to co-anchor when Walters' interviewed ex-sports commentator Marv Albert, whose guilty plea for assault led to an exposé of a sordid sexual lifestyle.

From the series' inception, Arledge believed the passionate reporting of another contributor, Geraldo Rivera (credited as "Special Correspondent"), was one key to success. A moral imperative informed Rivera's investigative reports, protecting the public from social injustice, institutional corruption, and government oppression. Rivera completed some of the earliest news magazine stories on AIDS, HIV in the nation's blood supply, and Agent Orange, approaching each story as a

battle between the disenfranchised and a powerful, uncaring government. Combative and often angry, Rivera did what was necessary to get a story. But he was accused of unethical journalistic practices often enough for Arledge to create a groundbreaking television series, *Viewpoint*, where television journalists interrogated their techniques and the public interrogated broadcast journalists. Embroiled in controversy, Rivera's "resignation" finally came in October 1985 after publicly condemning Arledge for killing a colleague's story on the relationship between Marilyn Monroe and Robert F. and John F. Kennedy.

The production history of *20/20* reveals much about the relationship between ABC's Entertainment and News Divisions as well as about tense dynamics within the ABC News Division. In February 1987, to the production unit's dismay, Av Westin was fired after circulating within ABC News a document critical of Arledge's management. Within a few months, the Entertainment Division announced they would take over *20/20*'s Thursday time slot in fall 1988 to revive a dramatic series, shifting *20/20* to Friday at 10 P.M. Since Friday evening had a smaller potential audience and a different demographic profile, the move seemed to indicate that *20/20* was being set up for imminent failure. Arledge fought the change but had no influence on the Entertainment Division's attitude toward *20/20*'s contribution to the network. The production unit was demoralized and felt "betrayed" by ABC.

But the low production costs of *20/20* made it a profitable venture and ABC News began adding editions, airing between two and four weekly editions from fall 1997 through summer 2002. Two editions of *20/20*, on Thursday and Friday, aired in fall 1997. But in the same period a slow-simmering tension between *20/20* and the ABC news magazine series *Primetime Live* finally erupted. Co-anchored by Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson, *Primetime Live* had appeared since 1991 on Wednesday evening. The press reported intense battles of egos, deceptions, and backstabbing between Sawyer and Walters to secure the "must-get" interview. ABC tried to squelch media coverage, and reduce time-consuming competition by changing the title of *Primetime Live* to *20/20 Wednesday* in fall 1998. Sawyer and Walters were teamed on a fall 1998 edition of *20/20 Sunday* to demonstrate no hard feelings existed between the celebrity reporters. This Sunday collaboration did not last beyond spring 1999.

In October 1999, ABC News premiered *20/20 Downtown* on Thursday designed, according to Victor Neufeld, to capture a younger audience with "ultra-fascinating" stories and "very compelling and intense" narratives for an "edgier," non-traditional viewer. ABC News had declared *20/20* a franchise, positioned to

build a brand image, but the attempt proved short-lived.

*20/20* did air four editions a week during part of the 1998–99 season, but ABC News never developed the different *20/20* editions so that three or four ran concurrently for a substantial period of time. Confusion reigned as anchors and correspondents moved from one edition to another. Certain editions were cancelled after one season or went on hiatus for weeks or months. Program titles changed several times for most of the editions. *20/20* became *20/20 Monday*, and *20/20 Thursday* became *20/20 Downtown*.

Various editions became defined by the egos, personalities, and journalistic styles within each production unit. Amid a flurry of change, ABC announced in May 2000 that *Primetime Thursday*, anchored by Diane Sawyer, would begin in the fall. With *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* as a lead-in, *Primetime Thursday* received excellent ratings. Thus, *20/20* lost a strong Thursday position and Walters publicly expressed dismay at ABC for failing to support *20/20 Friday* with a strong lead-in show, an issue that would be raised at her contract renewal.

*20/20* did develop strength on Friday, however, with Neufeld as executive producer, but ABC Entertainment "bounced" *20/20* to Wednesday evenings from September 1, 2000 to January 11, 2001, using Friday to revive another dramatic series. The shift to Wednesday lasted seven weeks and the series then went on hiatus until December. The series ran the risk of losing its audience. Infuriated, Barbara Walters told the press a clause in her contract permitted departure from the series, and criticized ABC executives on her afternoon talk show, *The View*, for mistreating her and for their disregard for the series.

During the 1999–2000 season reservations about the news judgment of Victor Neufeld, executive producer of all editions from 1987 through spring 2000, became pronounced inside ABC. Neufeld, it was suggested, took no risks, claiming *20/20* viewers were "conservative" and occupied a "traditional household" (one reason ABC News developed *20/20 Downtown*). Neufeld insisted that *20/20*'s success came from the "high impact, high emotion story" about the human condition. Producers working to maintain new editions of *20/20* took this to mean more "tabloid journalism." For the PBS on-line edition of *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer* on January 13, 1999, correspondent Terrence Smith discussed limitations in the types of stories being aired, and an absence of news qualities on all magazine shows. Asked why foreign stories rarely, if ever, appeared on *20/20*, Neufeld replied he "hadn't found that many interesting foreign stories." He also told researchers conducting a study on television news maga-

zines for the "Project for Excellence in Journalism" that: "Our obligation is not to deliver the news. Our obligation is to do good programming." In the summer of 2000 Neufeld was "moved up" to senior executive producer of *20/20*. Different executive producers were appointed for the remaining editions.

As the reformulation of *20/20* editions played out, Hugh Downs retired in September 1999 from what became the flagship Friday evening edition of *20/20*. Walters remained sole anchor until January 2002 when John Miller, a reporter at ABC News since 1997, became co-anchor. Miller resigned in December 2002 to pursue a different career and John Stossell was quickly named co-anchor in May 2003. The end result of the flurry of competitive activity at ABC News, and Barbara Walters's perseverance in fighting for important stories and "must-get" interviews, is one remaining edition of *20/20*, scheduled, as of fall 2003, for Fridays at 10 P.M.

RICHARD BARTONE

*See also American Broadcasting Company; Arledge, Roone; Downs, Hugh; News, Network; Walters, Barbara*

#### Hosts/Anchors

Premiere episode	Harold Hayes
Premiere Episode	Robert Hughes
1978-1999	Hugh Downs
1984-	Barbara Walters
1998-2002	Connie Chung
1998-2000	Charles Gibson
1998-2000	Diane Sawyer
1999-2002	Jack Ford
2002-2003	John Miller
2003-	John Stossel

#### Producers

Bob Shanks (1978-1979); Av Westin (1979-1987); Victor Neufeld (1988-2000)

#### Executive Producer

Victor Neufeld (2000-2003)

#### Senior Executive Producer

David Sloan (2000- )

#### Reporters/Correspondents

1978-	Timothy Johnson
1978-1984	Thomas Hoving
1978-1981	Dave Marash

1978-1986; 1998-2001	Sylvia Chase
1978-1985	Geraldo Rivera
1978-1980	Dr. Carl Sagan
1977-1991	Sandy Vanocur
1979-	Tom Jarriel
1980-	Bob Brown
1981-	Joel Siegel
1981-2002	John Stossel
1981-1984	Barbara Walters
1986-1991	Stone Philips
1986-	Lynn Sherr
1989-	Jay Schadler
1993-1995	Catherine Crier
1994-	Brian Ross
1995-	Arnold Diaz
1995-	Deborah Roberts
1997-2001	John Miller
1997-	Bill Ritter
1998-	John Quinones
1998-	Chris Wallace
1999-	Christopher Cuomo
1999-	Cynthia McFadden
1999-2002	Nancy Snyderman
1999-	Elizabeth Vargas
2000-	Jamie Floyd
2001-	Juju Chang

#### Broadcast History

June 6, 1978 Premiere	Thursday 10:00-11:00
June 1978-August 1978	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
September 1978-April 1979	(sporadically broadcast, time and day varied)
May 1979-August 1987	Thursday 10:00-11:00
September 1987-September 2001	Friday 10:00-11:00
September 1997-December 1997	Thursday 10:00-11:00
June 1998-August 1998	Monday 9:00-10:00
September 1998-August 2000	Wednesday 10:00-11:00
November 1998-March 1999	Sunday 9:00-10:00
October 1998-August 2000	Thursday 10:00-11:00
February 1999-January 2000	Monday 8:00-9:00
September 2000-December 2000	Monday 8:00-9:00
June 2001-July 2001	Monday 8:00-9:00
September 2001-November 2001	Wednesday 10:00-11:00
January 2002-April 2002	Wednesday 10:00-11:00 P.M.
January 2002-	Friday 10:00-11:00

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## 24-Hour News

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Today, cable television subscribers can watch news at any time of the day or night. Continuous live news coverage from around the world (made possible, in large part, by satellite technology) is available 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Three major U.S. cable news networks—CNN, MSNBC, and FOX News—present live news as well as talk, opinion, debate, and punditry, while sister networks focus on specific areas such as top stories (CNN Headline News) and financial news (CNBC). C-SPAN (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network) and C-SPAN 2 offer live, unedited coverage of the proceedings of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, respectively, in combination with coverage of political conventions, news conferences, and national campaigns. Local 24-hour news channels—NY1 in New York City and BayTV in San Francisco, to name just two—have proliferated across the United States. In addition, news programming is available 24 hours a day on such international networks as BBC World.

Before the 1980s, the three national broadcast networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—were the gatekeepers of news on television in the United States. At 6:30 P.M. Eastern Time, Monday through Friday, each of the three majors presented 22 minutes of news (plus commercials) to the nation from their headquarters in New York. When, in 1980, Atlanta-based cable entrepreneur Ted Turner launched CNN (Cable News Network), a round-the-clock, all-news network reaching 1.7 million cable television households, skeptics said he would never come up with enough news to fill 24 hours of programming. CNN was widely maligned as "Chicken Noodle News." But over the next two decades, CNN came to redefine what qualified as news, what news viewers demanded, and what sort of news programming both

cable and broadcast networks provided, in the United States and around the world.

Although CNN failed to turn a profit in its first five years, it continued to expand and diversify, with the launch of CNN Headline News in 1981 and CNN International in 1985. A few news events proved to be major milestones for CNN, and for the public's understanding and growing viewership of "news on demand." In 1986, when the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded shortly after takeoff, CNN was the only network airing live coverage of the launch—and, therefore, of the crisis. By 1989, CNN reached 50 million U.S. television households. But the network truly came of age in 1991, when it was the only network to report live from the Iraqi capital on the opening night of the Persian Gulf War, and a worldwide audience of one billion people—one of the largest in television history for a non-sporting event—tuned in. Later that year, *Time* magazine recognized Turner, CNN's founder, as its "Man of the Year." By 1996, CNN had been acquired by media giant Time Warner, and it was more profitable than the three major networks' news divisions combined (though its ratings have, over the years, remained at a fraction of the overall ratings of ABC, CBS, NBC, and Australian media tycoon Rupert Murdoch's relative newcomer FOX network).

CNN has garnered praise for its focus on international news, maintaining many more overseas bureaus than its U.S. competitors. It has also been cited as emblematic of an era in which information has proliferated but knowledge is ever more scarce—and television news standards have degenerated. In the 1990s, the network drew many viewers, but also much criticism, for its in-depth coverage of events that never would have gained such attention from the broadcast networks—its live cablecast of the 1992 press confer-

ence in which Gennifer Flowers revealed her affair with presidential candidate Bill Clinton, for instance, or its gavel-to-gavel coverage of the criminal trial of celebrity sports figure O.J. Simpson. CNN's ratings soared during such high-profile events, but diminished considerably once the events had played out.

Still, by the mid-1990s, major media outlets were scrambling to reinvent themselves in light of CNN's ascendancy. The U.S. broadcast networks could not compete with CNN in terms of immediacy or range of coverage, so their national news broadcasts began to focus on fewer stories with more analysis, as well as on "soft" news relating to health and lifestyle trends.

In 1995–96, ABC, NBC, and FOX each announced plans to launch their own 24-hour news networks. ABC's project died on the drawing board. But FOX News Channel and MSNBC, a collaboration between NBC and high-tech corporation Microsoft, remain CNN competitors to this day. Both of these newer networks defined themselves in contrast to CNN's style and content. While CNN's viewers tend to be close to or older than the legal retirement age, MSNBC went for the coveted 25-to-54 demographic with slick sets and a more youthful focus. From the outset, MSNBC emphasized the synergy between its television channel and website, with an eye toward the future of 24-hour news on the Internet. FOX's Murdoch has long complained about the "liberal bias" of the news media (and of CNN in particular), and his FOX News Channel, while promising "fair and balanced" coverage, tends to reflect its owner's conservative politics, most notably in the popular opinion program *The O'Reilly Factor*, with vitriolic host Bill O'Reilly. By early 2002, FOX News boasted a daily viewership of 654,000; CNN, 595,000; and MSNBC, 295,000. FOX's edge was particularly significant because that channel was available in 9 million fewer homes than CNN's total of 86.2 million.

Following a different trajectory from the other cable news networks, non-profit C-SPAN was founded in 1979 as a public service by a group of cable industry executives. It began 24-hour-a-day programming in 1982, and C-SPAN 2, launched in 1986, went to 24 hours in 1987. The channels' position in the cable landscape began to look uncertain after the 1992 cable act's "must-carry" provision led some cable operators to drop C-SPAN to make room for broadcast stations they were now required to carry, and again in 1996, when Rupert Murdoch offered the country's largest cable company, TCI (TeleCommunications, Inc.), the unheard-of price of \$11 per subscriber to carry his FOX News Channel. But after an impassioned letter-writing campaign among C-SPAN fans, an op-ed onslaught by C-SPAN head Brian Lamb, and a change of leadership at TCI, C-SPAN ended the 1990s in a more

secure position. In 2002, C-SPAN reached 86.5 million subscribers.

Local all-news cable channels—some owned by cable companies, others owned or operated by major daily newspapers, and still others independent ventures—began to enter the fray as early as the late 1980s, and continue to grow in number. At the other end of the spectrum are international 24-hour news channels like BBC World and EuroNews, launched by a consortium of European public service broadcasters, competing in the global market with CNN International and maintaining a non-U.S.-centric perspective on world news. In mid-2003, BBC World (launched in 1995) was available in more than 250 million homes in over 200 countries; its success is attributed to a combination of its ability to use the full resources of BBC News—the largest broadcast news-gathering organization in the world—and the careful localization of its non-news programming to reflect the varying interests of its regional markets.

Many commentators point to the fact that the advent of 24-hour news has shaped more than how viewers understand their world. The term "CNN effect" is used in two ways. One sense refers to a drop in consumer spending when people stay home to watch the news during a crisis. The sense in which the "CNN effect" (or "CNN factor" or "CNN curve") is more commonly employed, however, refers to the diplomatic repercussions of widely available news on demand. To what degree does instant news or continuous coverage of an event affect foreign-policy decisions? Are officials more likely to intervene in far-off conflicts—and possibly make over-hasty choices—if the events are immediately visible on TV? In this view, 24-hour news marks an important chapter not only in media history, but in world history.

BETH KRACKLAUER

**See also** Cable News Network (CNN); FOX Broadcasting Company; MSNBC; Murdoch, Rupert K.; Turner, Ted

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## Twilight Zone, The

### U.S. Science-Fantasy Anthology

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*The Twilight Zone* is generally considered to be the first "adult" science-fantasy anthology series to appear on American television, introducing the late 1950s TV audience to an entertaining, and at the same time thought-provoking, collection of human-condition stories wrapped within fantastic themes. Although the series is usually labeled a science fiction program, its true sphere was fantasy, embracing elements of the supernatural, the psychological, and "the almost-but-not-quite; the unbelievable told in terms that can be believed" (Rod Serling).

During the show's five-year, 155-episode run on CBS (1959–64), it received three Emmy Awards (Rod Serling, twice, for Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama, and George Clemens for Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography), three World Science Fiction Convention Hugo Awards (for Dramatic Presentation: 1960, 1961, 1962), a Directors Guild Award (John Brahm), a Producers Guild Award (Buck Houghton for Best Produced Series), and the 1961 Unit Award for Outstanding Contributions to Better Race Relations, among numerous other awards and presentations.

The brainchild of one of the most successful young playwrights of his time (with such "Golden Age" TV successes as *Patterns* and *Requiem for a Heavyweight*), Serling's *The Twilight Zone* began life as a story called "The Time Element," which Serling had submitted to CBS, where it was produced as part of the *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* anthology. Although it was little more than a simple time-warp tale, starring William Bendix as a man who believes he goes back in time to the attack on Pearl Harbor, the TV presentation received an extraordinary amount of complimentary mail and prompted CBS to commission a *Twilight Zone* pilot for a possible series. With his "Time Ele-

ment" script already used, Serling prepared another story that would be the pilot episode for the series. "Where Is Everybody?" opened *The Twilight Zone* on October 2, 1959 and featured a riveting one-man performance by Earl Holliman as a psychologically stressed Air Force man who hallucinates that he is completely alone in a deserted but spookily "lived in" town (he is actually undergoing an isolation experiment). It was this hallucinatory human stress situation placed in a could-be science-fantasy landscape, complete with an O. Henry-type "snapper ending," that was to become the standard structure of *The Twilight Zone*. "Here's what *The Twilight Zone* is," explained Serling to *TV Guide* in November 1959. "It's an anthology series, half hour in length, that delves into the odd, the bizarre, the unexpected. It probes into the dimension of imagination but with a concern for taste and for an adult audience too long considered to have IQs in negative figures."

Serling's contract with the network stipulated that he would write 80 percent of the first season's scripts, which would be produced under Serling's own Cayuga Productions banner. In fact, the prolific Serling ended up writing well over 50 percent of the show's teleplays during its entire five-year run. This enormous output was for the most part supported by two other writers of distinction in the science-fantasy genre: Richard Matheson and Charles Beaumont. Matheson's literary and screenplay work before and during the series ran parallel to that of Beaumont—not surprisingly, since they were personal friends and often script-writing collaborators during their early days in television. Matheson's early writing had included the short story collection *Born of Man and Woman* and a novel, *I Am Legend* (both published 1954), and later the screenplays for *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957; from his own



*The Twilight Zone*, Jonathan Winters, Jack Klugman, 1959–64; "A Game of Pool."  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

novel), and the Poe adaptations *House of Usher* (1960), and *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961). Beaumont's work included similar science fiction and horror-fantasy writings, with the short-story collections *Shadow Play* (published 1957) and *Yonder* (1958), as well as screenplays for *Premature Burial* (1962) and *The Haunted Palace* (1963), alongside others in a similar vein. Their individual scripts for *The Twilight Zone* were perhaps the nearest in style and story flavor to Serling's own work.

George Clayton Johnson was another young writer who, emerging from Beaumont's circle of writer friends, produced some outstanding scripts for the series, including the crackling life-or-death bet story "A Game of Pool," featuring excellent performances from Jack Klugman and Jonathan Winters. Earl Hamner, Jr., later to be creator and narrator of the long-running *The Waltons*, supplied eight scripts to the series, most of which featured good-natured rural folk and duplicitous city slickers. The renowned science fiction author Ray Bradbury was asked by Serling to contribute to the series before the show had even started, but due to the richness of Bradbury's written work, he contributed



*The Twilight Zone*, Anne Francis, James Milhollin, 1959–64; "The After Hours."  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

only one script, "I Sing the Body Electric," based on his own short story.

As an anthology focusing on the "dimension of imagination" and using parable and suggestion as basic techniques, *The Twilight Zone* favored only a dozen or so story themes. For instance, the most recurring theme involved time warps and accidental journeys through time: a World War I flier lands at a modern jet air base (Matheson's "The Last Flight"); a man finds himself back in 1865 and tries to prevent the assassination of President Lincoln (Serling's "Back There"); three soldiers on National Guard maneuvers in Montana find themselves back in 1876 at Little Big Horn (Serling's "The 7th Is Made up of Phantoms"). Another theme explored the confrontation with death/the dead: a girl keeps seeing the same hitchhiker on the road ahead, beckoning her toward a fatal accident (Serling's "The Hitchhiker," from Lucille Fletcher's radio play); an aged recluse, fearing a meeting with Death, reluctantly helps a wounded policeman on her doorstep and cares for him overnight before she realizes that he is Death, coming to claim her (Johnson's "Nothing in the Dark"). Expected science fiction motifs regarding aliens and alien contact, both benevolent and hostile, provide another story arena: a timid little fellow accustomed to being used as a doormat by his



*The Twilight Zone*, Burgess Meredith, 1959–64; “Time Enough at Last.”  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*The Twilight Zone*, Art Carney, 1959–64; “Night of the Meek.”  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

fellow man is endowed with superhuman strength by a visiting scientist from Mars (Serling’s “Mr. Dingle, the Strong”); visiting aliens promise to show the people of Earth how to end the misery of war, pestilence, and famine until a code clerk finally deciphers their master manual for Earth and discovers a cookbook (Serling’s “To Serve Man,” from a Damon Knight story). Other themes common to the series were robots, with Matheson’s excellent “Steel” a standout; the devil (Beaumont’s “The Howling Man”); nostalgia (Serling’s “Walking Distance” and “A Stop at Willoughby”); machines (Serling’s “The Fever”); angels (Serling’s poetic “A Passage for Trumpet”); and premonitions, dreams, and sleep (Beaumont’s “Perchance to Dream”). The general tone of many *Twilight Zone* stories was cautionary, that humans can never be too sure of anything that appears real or otherwise.

In 1983 Warner Brothers, Steven Spielberg, and John Landis produced *Twilight Zone: The Movie*, a four-segment tribute to the original series. The film presents pieces directed by Landis (also written by Landis), Spielberg (written by George Clayton Johnson, Richard Matheson, Josh Rogan, based on the original 1962 episode “Kick the Can”), Joe Dante (written

by Matheson, based on the original 1961 episode “It’s a Good Life”), and George Miller (written by Matheson from his own story and original 1963 episode “Nightmare at 20,000 Feet”).

From 1985 onward, CBS Entertainment produced a new series of *The Twilight Zone*. Honored science fiction scribe Harlan Ellison acted as creative consultant under executive producer Philip DeGuere; the series is particularly noted for the prominent participating directors, such as Wes Craven, William Friedkin, and Joe Dante. In more recent times, *Twilight Zone: Rod Serling’s Lost Classics* presented a two-hour TV movie based on two unproduced works discovered by the late writer’s widow and literary executor, Carol Serling. Robert Markowitz directed both “The Theater” (scripted by Matheson from Serling’s original story) and “Where the Dead Are” (from a completed Serling script).

With its subtext of escape from reality, a nostalgia for simpler times, and a hunger for otherworldly adventures, it seems appropriate that the original *Twilight Zone* series appeared at about the right time to take viewers away (albeit briefly) from the contemporary

## Twilight Zone, The

real-life fears of the Cold War, the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and John Kennedy's assassination. *The Twilight Zone* directly or indirectly inspired such later fantasy and science fiction anthologies as *Thriller* (1960–62), with its dark Val Lewtonesque atmosphere, and the superb *Outer Limits* (1963–64), a tribute to 1950s science fiction cinema when it was at its most imaginative. Such programs testify to both Rod Serling's and *The Twilight Zone*'s spirit of poetry and principle.

TISE VAHIMAGI

See also **Science Fiction Programs; Sterling, Rod**

### Host/Creator

Rod Serling (1959–65)

### Narrators

Charles Aidman (1985–87)

Robin Ward (1988–89)

### Producers

Buck Houghton (1959–62), Herbert Hirschman (1963), Brad Granet (1963–64), William Froug (1963–64), Harvey Frand (1985–86)

### Programming History

1959–64:	137 30-minute episodes; 18 1-hour episodes
1985–87:	24 1-hour episodes; 19 30-minute episodes
1988–89:	30 30-minute episodes
CBS	
October 1959–September 1962	Friday 10:00–10:30

September 1961–September

1964 Friday 9:30–10:00

January 1963–September

1963 Thursday 9:00–10:00

May 1965–September 1965 Sunday 9:00–10:00

September 1985–April 1986 Friday 8:00–9:00

June 1986–September 1986 Friday 8:00–9:00

September 1986–October

1986 Saturday 10:00–11:00

December 1986 Thursday 8:00–8:30

July 1987 Friday 10:00–11:00

1987–88 First-run syndication

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# Twin Peaks

U.S. Serial Drama

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Scheduled to appear as a limited-run, midseason replacement series on ABC, *Twin Peaks* attracted considerable critical attention even before its premiere in

the spring of 1990. Both the network and national critics aggressively publicized the show as an unprecedented form of television drama, one that promised to

defy the established conventions of television narrative while also exploring a tone considerably more sinister than previously seen in the medium. In short, critics promoted the series as a rare example of television “art,” a program that publicists predicted would attract a more upscale, sophisticated, and demographically desirable audience to television. Upon its premiere, the series generated even more critical admiration in the press, placed higher than expected in the ratings, and in speculating on the question “Who killed Laura Palmer?” gave Americans the most talked-about television enigma since “Who Shot J.R.?”

The “artistic” status of *Twin Peaks* stemmed from the unique pedigrees of the series’ co-creators, writer-producer Mark Frost and writer-director David Lynch. Frost was most known for his work as a writer and story editor for the highly acclaimed *Hill Street Blues*, where he had mastered the techniques of orchestrating a large ensemble drama in a serial format. Lynch, meanwhile, had fashioned one of Hollywood’s more eccentric cinematic careers as the director of the cult favorite *Eraserhead* (1978), the Academy Award-winning *The Elephant Man* (1980), the epic box-office flop *Dune* (1984), and the perverse art-house hit *Blue Velvet* (1986). A prominent American auteur, Lynch was already well known for his oblique narrative strategies, macabre mise-en-scènes, and obsessive thematic concerns.

*Twin Peaks* combined the strengths of both Frost and Lynch, featuring an extended cast of characters occupying a world not far removed from the sinister small town Lynch had explored in *Blue Velvet*. Ostensibly a murder mystery, the series centers on FBI agent Dale Cooper and his investigation of a murder in the northwestern town of Twin Peaks, a few miles from the Canadian border. The victim, high-school prom queen Laura Palmer, is found wrapped in plastic and floating in a lake. Cooper gradually uncovers an ever-more baroque network of secrets and mysteries surrounding Laura’s death, all of which seem to suggest an unspeakable evil presence in the town. Quickly integrating himself into the melodramatic intrigues of the community, Cooper’s search for Laura’s murderer eventually leads him to track “Killer Bob,” a malleable and apparently supernatural entity inhabiting the deep woods of the Pacific Northwest.

Although the enigma of Laura’s killer was pivotal to the series’ popularity—so much so that *TV Guide* featured a forum of popular novelists offering their own solutions to the murder mystery—*Twin Peaks* as an avowedly “artistic” text was in many ways more about style, tone, and detail than narrative. Many viewers were attracted to the series’ calculated sense of



*Twin Peaks*, Joan Chen, Michael Ontkean, Kyle MacLachlan, Piper Laurie, 1990–91.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

strangeness, a quality that led *Time* to dub Lynch as “the czar of bizarre.” As in Lynch’s other work, *Twin Peaks* deftly balanced parody, pathos, and disturbing expressionism, often mocking the conventions of television melodrama while defamiliarizing and intensifying them. The entire first hour of the premiere episode, for example, covered only a single plot point, showing the protracted emotional responses of Laura’s family and friends as they learned of her death. This slow yet highly overwrought storyline was apparently considered so disruptive by ABC that the network briefly discussed airing the first hour without commercial interruption (although this could have been a strategy designed to promote the program as “art”). Throughout the run of the series, the storyline accommodated many such directorial set-pieces, stylistic tours-de-force that allowed the “Lynchian” sensibility to make its artistic presence felt most acutely. The brooding synthesizer score and dreamy jazz interludes provided by composer Angelo Badalamenti, who had worked previously with Lynch, also greatly enhanced the eerie, bizarre, and melancholy atmosphere.

As the series progressed, its proliferation of sinister enigmas led the viewer deeper into ambiguity and continually frustrated any hope of definitive closure. Appropriately, the first season ended with a cliff-hanger that left many of the major characters imperiled, and still provided no clear solution to Laura Palmer’s murder. Perhaps because of the series’ obstinate refusal to move toward a traditional resolution, coupled with its escalating sense of the bizarre, the initially high ratings dropped over the course of the series’ run. Despite such difficulties, and in the face of a perhaps inevitable

critical backlash against the series, ABC renewed the show for a second season, moving it to the Saturday schedule in an effort to attract the program's quality demographics to a night usually abandoned by such audiences. After providing a relatively "definitive" solution to the mystery of Laura's killer early in the second season, the series attempted to introduce new characters and enigmas to reinvigorate the storyline, but the transition from what had essentially been an eight-episode miniseries in the first season to an open-ended serial in the second had a significant, and many would say negative, impact on the show. The series attempted to maintain its sense of mystery and pervasive dread, but having already escalated its narrative stakes into supernatural and extraterrestrial plotlines, individual episodes increasingly had to resort to either absurdist comedy or self-reflexive commentary to sustain an increasingly convoluted world. After juggling the troubled series across its schedule for several months, ABC finally canceled the series after just 30 episodes in total, packaging the second season's concluding two episodes together as a grand finale.

Exported in slightly different versions, *Twin Peaks* proved to be a major hit internationally, especially in Japan. In the United States, the brief but dramatic success of *Twin Peaks* inspired a cycle of shows that attempted to capitalize on the American public's previously untested affinity for the strange and bizarre. Series as diverse as *Northern Exposure* (CBS), *Picket Fences* (CBS), *The X-Files* (FOX), and *American Gothic* (CBS) have all been described in journalistic criticism as bearing the influence of *Twin Peaks*. The series also spawned a devoted and appropriately obsessed fan culture. In keeping with the program's artistic status, fan activity around the show concentrated on providing ever-closer textual readings of the individual episodes, looking for hidden clues that would help clarify the series' rather obtuse narrative logic. This core audience was the primary target of a cinematic prequel to the series released in 1993, *Twin Peaks: Fire Walk with Me*. Again directed by Lynch, *Fire Walk with Me* chronicled Laura Palmer's activities in the days just before her death. Freed from some of the constraints of network standards and practices, Lynch's cinematic treatment of *Twin Peaks* was an even more violent, disturbing, and obsessive reading of the mythical community, and it provided an interesting commentary and counterpoint to the series as a whole.

Lynch once again attempted to bring his neo-noir surrealism to network television with *Mulholland Drive*, a pilot that was ultimately rejected by a cautious ABC. Lynch had the last laugh, however, at least artistically. Taking the core footage of the pilot, Lynch rescripted and reshaped the project into a feature-length

film. *Mulholland Drive* went on to be one of the most critically acclaimed films of 2001.

JEFFREY SCONCE

*See also* **Movie Professionals and Television**

**Cast**

Dale Cooper	Kyle MacLachlan
Sheriff Harry S. Truman	Michael Ontkian
Shelly Johnson	Madchen Amick
Bobby Briggs	Dana Ashbrook
Benjamin Horne	Richard Beymer
Donna Marie Hayward	Lara Flynn Boyle
Audrey Horne	Sherilyn Fenn
Dr. William Hayward	Warren Frost
Norma Jennings	Peggy Lipton
James Hurley	James Marshall
"Big Ed" Hurley	Everett McGill
Pete Martell	Jack Nance
Leland Palmer	Ray Wise
Catherine Packard Martell	Piper Laurie
Montana	Rick Giolito
Midge Loomer	Adele Gilbert
Male Parole Board Officer	James Craven
Female Parole Board	
Member #2	Mary Chalon
Emory Battis	Don Amendolia
The Dwarf	Michael J. Anderson
Jeffrey Marsh	John Apicella
Ronette Pulaski	Phoebe Augustine
Johnny Horne	Robert Bauer
Mrs. Tremond	Frances Bay
Ernie Niles	James Booth
Mayor Dwyane Milford	John Boylan
Richard Tremayne	Ian Buchanan
Blackie O'Reilly	Victoria Catlin
Josie Packard	Joan Chen
The Log Lady/Margaret	Catherine E. Coulson
Herself	Julee Cruise
Sylvia Horne	Jan D'Arcy
Leo Johnson	Eric DaRe
Maj. Garland Briggs	Don S. Davis
Eileen Hayward	Mary Jo Deschanel
DEA Agent Dennis/Denise	
Bryson	David Duchovny
Agent Albert Rosenfield	Miguel Ferrer
Deputy Andy Brennan	Harry Goaz
Nancy O'Reilly	Galyn Gorg
Annie Blackburn	Heather Graham
Vivian Smythe	Jane Greer
Nicolas "Little Nicky"	
Needleman	Joshua Harris
Mike Nelson	Gary Hershberger
Deputy Tommy "Hawk" Hill	Michael Horse

Jerry Horne  
 Madeleine Ferguson/Laura  
 Palmer  
 Lana Budding  
 Malcolm Sloan  
 Pierre Tremond  
 Agent Gordon Cole  
 Diane, Cooper's secretary  
 Caroline Powell Earle  
 Evelyn Marsh  
 Hank Jennings  
 Andrew Packard  
 Jones  
 RCMP Officer Preston King  
 Jacques Renault  
 The Giant  
 Jonathan Kumagai  
 Jean Renault  
 Lucy Moran  
 Janek Pulaski  
 Doctor Lawrence Jacoby  
 Nadine Hurley  
 Bob  
 Suburbis Pulaski  
 Elizabeth Briggs  
 Harold Smith  
 Trudy  
 Philip Michael Gerard/  
 Mike/The One-Armed Man  
 Harriet Hayward  
 Bartender  
 Thomas Eckhardt  
 Swabbie  
 Windom Earle  
 Joey Paulson  
 Bernard Renault  
 Emerald/Jade  
 Roger Hardy  
 Chet  
 Mrs. Tremond  
 Jared  
 The Room-Service Waiter  
 Tojamura  
 Sarah Palmer  
 John Justice Wheeler  
 Gwen Morton  
 Female Parole Board  
 Member #1  
 Einar Thorson  
 Heba  
 Theodora Ridgely  
 Jenny  
 Decker  
 Tim Pinkle

David Patrick Kelly  
 Sheryl Lee  
 Robyn Lively  
 Nicholas Love  
 Austin Jack Lynch  
 David Lynch  
 Carol Lynley  
 Brenda E. Mathers  
 Annette McCarthy  
 Chris Mulkey  
 Dan O'Herlihy  
 Brenda Strong  
 Gavan O'Herlihy  
 Walter Olkewicz  
 Carel Struycken  
 Mak Takano  
 Michael Parks  
 Kimmy Robertson  
 Alan Ogle  
 Russ Tamblyn  
 Wendy Robie  
 Frank Silva  
 Michelle Milantoni  
 Charlotte Stewart  
 Lenny Von Dohlen  
 Jill Rogosheske  
 Al Strobel  
 Jessica Wallenfells  
 Kim Lentz  
 David Warner  
 Charlie Spradling  
 Kenneth Welsh  
 Brett Vadset  
 Clay Wilcox  
 Erika Anderson  
 Clarence Williams III  
 Lance Davis  
 Mae Williams  
 Peter Michael Goetz  
 Hank Worden  
 Fumio Yamaguchi  
 Grace Zabriskie  
 Billy Zane  
 Kathleen Wilhoite  
 Mary Bond Davis  
 Brian Straub  
 Mary Stavin  
 Eve Brent  
 Lisa Ann Cabasa  
 Charles Hoyes  
 David L. Lander

Gersten Hayward  
 Mr. Neff  
 Eolani Jacoby

Alicia Witt  
 Mark Lowenthal  
 Jennifer Aquino

#### Producers

David Lynch, Mark Frost, Gregg Fienberg, David J. Latt, Harley Peyton

#### Programming History

30 episodes  
 ABC  
 April 8, 1990 Sunday 9:00–11:00  
 April 1990–May 1990 Thursday 9:00–10:00  
 August 1990–February 1991 Saturday 10:00–11:00  
 March 1991–April 1991 Thursday 9:00–10:00  
 June 10, 1991 Monday 9:00–11:00

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## 2000 Presidential Election Coverage

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Although network television projections had prematurely awarded New Mexico to Democratic candidate Al Gore, the epicenter of controversy surrounding electronic media coverage on the night of November 7, 2000 consisted of two consecutive pronouncements—both of them wrong—awarding Florida, and ultimately the presidency, first to Gore, and then to George W. Bush. In one of the tightest presidential elections in American history, NBC declared Gore the victor at 7:49 P.M. EST based on Voter News Service (VNS) tabulations of exit polls and early precinct totals in Florida. Within minutes, CBS, CNN, FOX, ABC, and VNS itself followed suit, and declared Gore the winner. At 9:38 P.M., however, VNS retracted its projection for Florida after CNN discovered a tabulation error that mistakenly gave Gore a 96 percent margin of victory in the state's historically conservative Duval County. CNN withdrew its call for Gore at 9:45 P.M., and within minutes, CBS, FOX, and ABC followed suit. Then, at 2:16 A.M., under the leadership of Bush's first cousin John Ellis, the election coverage team for the Fox News Network declared Bush the winner. Within minutes, ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC followed suit.

Ending weeks of litigating, political maneuvering, and heated public denunciations of so-called liberal media bias, the U.S. Supreme Court ultimately intervened in the election on December 12, 2000, voting 5-4 to bar a recount of the Florida vote and thus effectively anointing Bush president. Despite losing the popular vote to Gore by more than half a million votes, Bush received 271 electoral college votes to Gore's 267, the narrowest margin since 1876, when Rutherford B. Hayes, after disputed recounts in four states, beat Samuel J. Tilden by a single electoral vote.

The evening topped off a campaign that might otherwise have been more memorable for the satirical impersonations of Will Ferrell as Bush and Darrell Hammond as Gore on the popular late-night comedy-variety show *Saturday Night Live*. Despite early tempests involving allegedly subliminal Republican campaign ads ("RATS" briefly appeared in one television advertisement for Bush as part of an animated special effect flying the word "DEMOCRATS" into the shot) and an instance when Bush was caught on tape calling *New York Times* reporter Adam Clymer an obscene term, the election seemed primarily notable for the lackadaisical voter response it generated.

After November 7, a new iconography for the presidential campaign emerged on television. Dan Rather infamously boasted early in the evening to CBS viewers "if we say somebody's carried the state, you can take that to the bank. Book it!" After the predictions seemed less invincible, NBC political analyst Tim Russert made the low-tech combination of personal whiteboard and red dry erase marker a household image. The cable channel C-SPAN, normally broadcasting hearings and Congressional votes to fulfill its public affairs programming mandate, featured reruns of the *Saturday Night Live* sketches. The image of wide-eyed Judge Robert Rosenberg inspecting questionable Broward County ballots behind a magnifying glass became a lightning rod for all that was wrong with the voting and recount process in Florida.

Rather than pursue disturbing, historic, and ongoing irregularities in the voting process, such as the deliberate purging of black voters from Florida's voter rolls, subsequent Congressional hearings focused on television coverage of election night. Billy Tauzin (R-LA), chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, set the tone of the investigation in the months leading up to the February 14, 2001, hearings when he accused the networks of harboring "probable bias" in painting "a very disturbing picture," in which television executives wanted the country to believe "that Al Gore was sweeping the country." Hauling the executives of FOX, CBS, CNN, NBC, and the Voter News Service before Congress, Tauzin proceeded to soften his charges of network bias. Network executives, in turn, proceeded to blame Voter News Service as the culprit, and pledged both to take a more active role in VNS's affairs by sitting on its Board of Directors, as well as to overhaul the consortium's data-gathering procedures to better reflect changes in the electorate, such as accounting for a rise in absentee ballots.

While the 2000 Presidential Election was in large part marked by how its aftermath played out on television, it also was marked by what was not seen: an encroaching privatization of the public interest, and increasingly sophisticated forms of virtual gerrymandering (or dividing an area into voting districts so as to give an advantage to one party). For example, VNS was symptomatic of the massive downsizing of network news operations beginning in the 1980s. Rather than conduct their own research competitively, ABC,



CBS, CNN, NBC, and the Associated Press formed the consortium after the 1992 election to create a monolithic election-day newsgathering entity. In February 2000, VNS threatened to sue both the online *Slate* magazine and *National Review Online* after their websites published VNS exit poll data. Given that VNS was the sole source for election news, this oligopolistic behavior seemed somewhat at odds with the commitment to the First Amendment normally found among media organizations. After the November 2000 elections, VNS contracted the Battelle Memorial Institute, a defense and CIA contractor, to develop an entirely new computerized system to tabulate election results. However, the \$8 million overhaul of VNS's data analysis became overloaded and crashed early during coverage of the Congressional elections on November 5, 2002. By January 2003, the major cable operators and networks had decided to disband their consortium, but not before valuable demographic data of that election had been lost forever.

Meanwhile, the story of how Florida Governor Jeb Bush, Secretary of State Katherine Harris, and Florida Director of Elections Clayton Roberts paid \$4 million to DBT, a private company that ended up purging elec-

toral rolls of 22,000 black Democratic voters, has yet to be covered by a single mainstream newsmedia outlet in the United States. The story instead aired in Great Britain as part of the BBC television news-magazine show *Newsnight* on February 16, 2001.

STEVEN CARR

*See also* **Political Processes and Television; U.S. Presidency and Television**

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## 227

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

The show 227, initially aired in September 1985, was broadcast for five seasons on NBC before its final episode in July 1990. Based on a play of the same name, this situation comedy was set primarily around an apartment building (number 227) located in a racially mixed neighborhood of Washington, D.C. Featuring an ensemble cast that included such noted African-American television personalities as Marla Gibbs, Hal Williams, Alaina Reed Hall, and Jackee (Harry), 227 succeeded in becoming a top-rated television program. Surviving criticisms and early comparisons to other television programs with predominantly African-American principals, 227 proved a successful comedy, humorously portraying the everyday lives of apartment building 227.

The original play, 227, had been written by Christine Houston of Chicago and performed by Marla

Gibbs's own Cross Roads Academy, a local community theater troupe in Los Angeles. After its successful theatrical debut, 227 was soon adapted and produced for television by Lorimar. In its earliest episodes, 227 was criticized as being too much like *The Cosby Show*, another highly successful, predominantly African-American sitcom broadcast on NBC in the 1980s. However, even in its first year, 227 proved successful in its own right, earning top ratings that opening season. While *The Cosby Show* portrayed an image of upper-middle-class success, 227 supporters argued, 227 depicted a more working-class image of the same strong community and family values.

With most episodes taking place within and around the apartment building, from the front steps to the laundry room to the individual apartments, 227 invited the viewer within the most mundane and personal as-

pects of its characters' lives. The Jenkins, Mary and Lester, were one of the families struggling day by day to survive their various duties and commitments. Mary, played by Marla Gibbs (whose 11 seasons as the feisty, verbally aggressive maid Florence on *The Jeffersons* no doubt prepared her for this similarly outspoken character), was a mother of one, juggling the numerous responsibilities of household, family, and personal life with invariably humorous results. Lester, played by Hal Williams, was a father and small-time contractor struggling to stay on top of his own family and job responsibilities. Together, Mary and Lester had their hands full with daughter Brenda (Regina King), a studious, talented, and mostly well-behaved girl just beginning adolescence.

Other important characters included Rose Holloway, Mary's confidante in gossip, portrayed by Alaina Reed. Rose, the landlady of building 227, often sat with Mary on the front steps as they laughed and gossiped about various other residents. In particular, Rose and Mary enjoyed discussing and berating sexually outspoken tenant Sandra Clark, the building's resident vamp. Played by Jackee, the one-named wonder who made Sandra, and herself, famous, Sandra's whining voice and wiggling, tight-dressed body became staple features of 227. Her many men friends and sexually oriented antics a source of constant humor, Sandra sauntered through episode after episode, occasionally eliciting help from Mary for some dilemma she was experiencing. Another frequent front-porch gossip was Pearl Shay (Helen Martin), an older woman who often leaned out her front window to comment on Rose and Mary's discussions. The grandmother of young Calvin Dobbs (Curtis Baldwin), the burgeoning love interest of Brenda Jenkins, Pearl's time was frequently spent scolding and disciplining this gangly adolescent grandson.

Successful in depicting the everyday aspects of its many characters' lives, 227 offered an interesting working-class version of African-American values and images. The program brought the viewer within its characters' lives, providing a personal look within this entertaining apartment complex.

BRENT MALIN

**See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

### Cast

Mary Jenkins	Marla Gibbs
Lester Jenkins	Hal Williams
Rose Lee Holloway	Alaina Reed-Hall
Sandra Clark	Jackee (Harry)
Brenda Jenkins	Regina King
Tiffany Holloway (1985–86)	Kia Goodwin
Pearl Shay	Helen Martin
Calvin Dobbs	Curtis Baldwin
Alexandria DeWitt (1988–89)	Countess Vaughn
Eva Rawley (1989–90)	Toukie A. Smith
Julian C. Barlow (1989–90)	Paul Winfield
Dylan McMillan (1989–90)	Barry Sobel
Travis Filmore (1989–90)	Stoney Jackson
Warren Merriwether (1989–90)	Kevin Peter Hall

### Producers

Bill Boulware, Bob Myer, Bob Young

### Programming History

116 episodes

NBC

September 1985–March 1986	Saturday 9:30–10:00
April 1986–June 1986	Saturday 9:30–10:00
June 1986–May 1987	Saturday 8:30–9:00
June 1987–July 1987	Saturday 8:00–8:30
July 1987–September 1988	Saturday 8:30–9:00
October 1988–July 1989	Saturday 8:00–8:30
September 1989–February 1990	Saturday 8:30–9:00
April 1990–May 1990	Sunday 8:30–9:00
June 1990–July 1990	Saturday 8:00–8:30

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## Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception, The

U.S. Documentary

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The *CBS Reports* documentary "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," which aired on January 23, 1982, engendered one of the most bitter controversies in television history. The 90-minute program spawned a three-year ordeal for CBS, including disclosures by *TV Guide* that the report violated CBS News standards, an internal investigation by Burton (Bud) Benjamin, and an unprecedented \$120 million libel suit by retired U.S. Army General William C. Westmoreland.

Westmoreland sued producer George Crile III, correspondent Mike Wallace, and others for alleging that Westmoreland participated in a conspiracy to defraud the American public about progress in the Vietnam War. The suit was dropped, however, before reaching the jury, with CBS merely issuing a statement saying the network never meant to impugn the general's patriotism.

CBS subsequently lost its libel insurance. The controversy also had implications for the debate over repeal of the financial interest and syndication rules. CBS chair Tom Wyman twice admonished his news division in 1984 for hindering broadcast deregulation. In part as a result of the controversies, fewer CBS documentaries were produced than ever before.

The lawsuit generated an abundance of literature, as well as soul-searching among broadcast journalists regarding ethics, First Amendment protection, libel law, and the politicization of TV news. Unlike the case for a

similar, but lesser, controversy over *The Selling of the Pentagon*, "The Uncounted Enemy" failed to uplift TV news and instead contributed to the documentary's decline.

The program states that the 1968 Tet Offensive stunned Americans because U.S. military leaders in South Vietnam arbitrarily discounted the size of the enemy that was reflected in Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) reports. Former intelligence officers testify that field command reports withheld information from Washington and the press, ostensibly under orders from higher military command, and that a 300,000-troop ceiling was imposed on official reports to reflect favorable progress in the war. This manipulation of information was characterized as a "conspiracy" in print ads and at the top of the broadcast.

The first part of the documentary chronicles the CIA-MACV (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam) dispute over intelligence estimates. Part 2 reports that prior to Tet, infiltration down the Ho Chi Minh Trail exceeded 20,000 North Vietnamese per month. Again, the report alleges, these figures were discounted. The last segment charges that intelligence officers purged government databases to hide the deception.

The most provocative scene features correspondent Mike Wallace interviewing Westmoreland. An extreme close-up captures the general trying to wet his dry mouth as Wallace fires questions. The visual image in

conjunction with other program material suggests that Westmoreland engineered a conspiracy, and, as viewers can see, he appears guilty. Westmoreland publicly rebuked these claims and demanded 45 minutes of open airtime to reject "The Uncounted Enemy" assertions. CBS refused the request.

In the spring of 1982, a CBS News employee disclosed to *TV Guide* that producer George Crile had violated network standards in making the program. The May 24 story by Sally Bedell and Don Kowet, "Anatomy of a Smear: How CBS News Broke the Rules and 'Got' Gen. Westmoreland," stipulated how the production strayed from accepted practices. Significantly, *TV Guide* never disputed the premise of the program. The writers attacked the journalistic process, pointing out, for instance, that Crile screened interviews of other participants for one witness and then shot a second interview, that he avoided interviewing witnesses who would counter his thesis, and that answers to various questions were edited into a single response.

CBS News president Van Gordon Sauter, who was new to his position, appointed veteran documentary producer Burton Benjamin to investigate. His analysis, known as the "Benjamin Report," corroborated *TV Guide's* claims.

According to a report in *The American Lawyer*, several conservative organizations, such as the Richard Mellon Scaife Foundation, the Olin Foundation, and the Smith Richardson Foundation, financed Westmoreland's suit in September 1982. One goal of the Smith Richardson Foundation was to kill *CBS Reports*. Another was to turn back the 1964 *New York Times v. Sullivan* rule, which required that public officials prove "actual malice" to win a libel judgment. The *Westmoreland* case went to trial two years later and was discontinued in February 1985.

One of the significant by-products of the controversy is the "Benjamin Report." Benjamin's effort remains widely respected within the journalistic community for revealing unfair aspects of the program's production. Some observers, however, have criticized the report for having a "prosecutorial tone," for failing to come to terms with the producer's purpose, and for measuring fairness and balance by a mathematical scale. In his conclusion, Benjamin acknowledges the enduring value of the documentary: "To get a group of high-ranking military men and former Central Intelligence Agents to say that this is what happened was an achievement of no small dimension." The production flaws, however, overshadowed the program's positive attributes.

While the legal controversy raged in the press, there was much debate about whether the libel suit and the internal investigation by CBS News would have a chill-

ing effect on journalism and lead to self-censorship. Most journalists believed that reporting would continue unabated and that the self-scrutiny and review of procedures caused by the event were good for the profession. At corporate-executive levels, however, the impact of the Westmoreland lawsuit was profound.

In 1993 the General Motors Corporation sued NBC over a report on *Dateline*, in which a GM truck was rigged to burst into flames upon impact in a demonstration crash. NBC corporate management fired the news director and producer and issued a public apology in exchange for GM dropping the suit. In 1995 Philip Morris sued Capital Cities/ABC for an unprecedented \$10 billion over a report on the newsmagazine *Day One* that alleged that the tobacco company manipulated cigarette nicotine levels. The case was settled without trial. And later in 1995, the Brown and Williamson tobacco company threatened to sue CBS if they aired an interview on *60 Minutes* in which a former Brown and Williamson employee testified that it was widely known in the industry that cigarettes were a delivery device for nicotine and that smoking was addictive. CBS pulled the segment rather than risk a lawsuit. Eventually, the information became public, which contributed to the landmark settlement between the tobacco industry and various governments. Even though CBS had a scoop that proved to be factual, the network censored itself to avoid a lawsuit. The controversy that enveloped "The Uncounted Enemy" demonstrated that wealthy corporations, political foundations, or individuals can use the threat or action of litigation to chill the press and prevent a full airing of matters of public interest.

"The Uncounted Enemy" helps explain an aspect of Tet and gives voice to intelligence officers who were silenced during the war. But the program tries unsuccessfully to resolve a complex subject in 90 minutes, and it fails to convey the context of national self-delusion presented in lengthier treatments, such as the 13-hour PBS series, *Vietnam: A Television History* (1983) or Neil Sheehan's book *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988). CIA analyst George Allen, who was interviewed in "The Uncounted Enemy," explained in a letter to Burton Benjamin in June 1982 his belief that the intelligence dispute was "a symptom of a larger and more fundamental problem, i.e., the tendency of every American administration from Eisenhower through Nixon toward self-delusion with respect to Indochina." Allen reasserted his support for "The Uncounted Enemy" as a valid illustration of the larger issue and subsequently used the program as a case study in politicized intelligence.

Although many works disprove the conspiracy charge, General Westmoreland did subsequently acknowledge the potential significance of a public dis-

closure of intelligence information prior to Tet. Appearing on the NBC *Today* show in May 1993, Westmoreland explained: "It was the surprise element, I think, that did the damage. And if I had to do it over again, I would have called a press conference and made known to the media the intelligence we had."

Many of the individuals who appeared in or produced the documentary have subsequently died: Col. Gains Hawkins (1987), Sam Adams (1988), Burton Benjamin (1988), Roger Colloff (1992), George Carver Jr. (1994), Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham (1996). George Crile III continues to produce stories for CBS News, including the premiere segment of *60 Minutes II*.

TOM MASCARO

**See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Documentary; Stanton, Frank; Wallace, Mike**

**Correspondent**  
Mike Wallace

**Producer**  
George Crile III

**Programming History**  
CBS  
January 23, 1982

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## Undercurrents

### British Video Magazine

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*Undercurrents* is a British video magazine specializing in alternative news stories that mainstream television news programs tend to ignore, marginalize, or cover in a one-sided fashion. *Undercurrents* emerged as an outlet for material being filmed by Thomas Harding and colleagues at Small World Productions, a nonprofit media production company specializing in environmental and campaigning videos shot on minimal budgets using camcorders. Frustrated with trying to produce material acceptable to mainstream television, Harding and colleague Jamie Hartzell invested in a VHS edit suite and set about editing material from more than 100 videotapes shot by themselves and other video activists, covering a variety of environmental and social justice protests.

The first issue of *Undercurrents*, published in April 1994, featured "ninety minutes of high energy, passionate, in-yer-face action. Not what you see on television." (Harding, 1997). Each issue of *Undercurrents* contained a range of items, on different topics and of varied duration. A summary of the items in the first issue gives a good idea of the nature of the material:

"Street Stories" was a ten-minute round-up of stories not covered on mainstream television; "Totally Out of Order" a 16-minute, four-part film on the new Criminal Justice Act and its likely effect on the activities of protesters, ravers, travelers, and squatters; "The Drainer" was a three-minute film about an unemployed man who supplements his benefit by retrieving coins from gutters; "When Seals Take Control" presented a light-hearted look at media coverage of direct action, lasting six minutes; "Bash the Baddy" was a seven-minute film of an Oxford Councillor being interrogated by an environmental activist on the subject of traffic in Oxford city center; and the longest item was "You've Got To Be Choking," a two-part award-winning film, lasting 35 minutes, charting the progress of the campaign to stop the building of a link road to the M11 motorway in northeast London.

The variety and eclecticism of the contents of each video was intentional, a deliberate departure from the formulaic predictability of mainstream news and current affairs where the agenda is predetermined and where stories are dealt with in a conventional manner.



*Undercurrents.*  
Photo courtesy of CBC Television

Paul O'Connor, a video activist involved with *Undercurrents* from the beginning, was responsible for editing issue 6 in 1996, a process lasting five months that he describes in Thomas Harding's *The Video Activist Handbook* (1997). After deciding on a list of possible issues to be covered and recruiting activists to film and edit them (a process that lasted from July to October) O'Connor started putting all the material together for the finished video: "I start seeing the advantage of having a wide diversity of videos. They complement each other—the rough with the smooth, the long with the short, the humorous with the serious—and I can see that people are making a change in all walks of life, in many different ways" (Harding, 1997). By the end of November, 500 copies of issue 6 had been duplicated, to be sent out to subscribers, the majority of copies of *Undercurrents* being sold by mail order rather than through retail outlets, resulting in a higher percentage of the takings going to the producers. While only 1,000 copies of each issue were duplicated, Harding estimates the total audience to be over 40,000, including group screenings and tapes being passed on to friends.

*Undercurrents* is not only a video magazine but an organization responsible for training activists from all over Britain in the use of camcorders in their campaigns. It has also helped to set up two other video

magazines in the Netherlands and in Australia. Along with other oppositional groups, *Undercurrents* has clearly benefited from the "camcorder revolution" of the 1990s, with the inexpensive, lightweight domestic camcorder being adopted for a range of alternative, political purposes. Given the conservatism of the mainstream news media, organizations like *Undercurrents* have exploited the opportunity to provide an alternative viewpoint on contemporary social issues, especially the environment and global capitalism. While the broadcasting corporations have a stranglehold over most news reporting, the video magazine offers an alternative form of news distribution, providing an opportunity to bypass the conventional news media and make available alternative and oppositional views on important topics.

Issue 10 of *Undercurrents* was published in April 1999 and included an item on the new Labour government's arms sales to repressive regimes, showing that *Undercurrents* was not restricted to targeting the Conservative government whose policies had encouraged the growth of video activism. Since issue 10, publication of the video magazine has been discontinued, but *Undercurrents* continues its alternative news activities via its website. The rise of demonstrations against global capitalism has shown that there is still a need for an alternative news organization, and in December 2001 *Undercurrents* released a video on "Globalization and the Media," exploring mainstream reporting of "the increasing Corporate control of the world" (*Undercurrents* website press release, December 6, 2001). The video featured activist footage from the G8 protests in Genoa, links between Britain's main commercial broadcaster and Shell Oil, and the ways in which media activists are using the Internet to bypass mainstream media. Indeed the Internet may prove to be the main outlet for *Undercurrents* as an alternative news agency in the 21st century.

LEZ COOKE

*See also* **Activist Television; Camcorder**

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## Unions/Guilds

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The television industry is one of the more highly organized, or, unionized, in the United States. Qualified candidates are numerous for a few available jobs. Producing and airing programs lend themselves to odd working hours, location shoots, holidays, weekends, long working days, and often short-term temporary employment. Such conditions would normally permit management to exploit employees by offering low wages, few fringe benefits, and no job security to employees. Historically, unionization in U.S. industry began to eliminate such exploitation, and the television industry is no exception.

Although some of the unions in television and film today grew out of earlier creative guilds like Actors' Equity and the Dramatists' Guild, the primary reference point for effective unionization of the industry was passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935. Known as the Wagner Act, in honor of its congressional sponsor, it was a major piece of "New Deal" legislation passed during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. The NLRA made it legal for workers to form unions. It set up the National Labor Relations Board as an arm of government to enforce it. Unions could bargain for wages and working conditions.

Today, unions and guilds representing employees in television and film bargain with networks and production companies for minimum wage scales, pension funds, and other fringe benefits. A major bargaining issue in recent years between producers and creative guilds has been residuals—royalties paid to actors, directors, and writers for airing programs originally and in subsequent replays and reruns and for cassette sales and rentals.

The degree of unionization in television today varies considerably by geographic region. Television stations and cable systems in most of the larger media markets, like New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago, are almost totally unionized. Local television stations and cable systems in small markets, however, may not be unionized. Networks and major production companies are all unionized, whereas small independent producers tend not to be.

The term "union" in the television industry describes labor organizations that represent technical personnel and are referred to as "below-the-line" unions. The term "guild" describes labor organizations that represent creative personnel, and are referred to as

"above-the-line" unions. These designations result from their actual position on the pages of production budgets in which "creative" and "technical" costs are divided by a line. In a typical television show production budget, below-the-line costs are fixed, whereas above-the-line costs are flexible. For example, the budget for a one-hour drama enters a camera operator's wages below the line because there is a standard wage scale in the union contract with management for camera operators shooting a one-hour drama. The salary for the show's leading actor is entered above the line because there is considerable disparity between a relatively unknown actor's salary and the salary of a major TV star.

Four very large unions represent most below-the-line technical personnel in television and cable today: the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE), and the Communication Workers of America (CWA).

NABET began as a union of engineers at NBC in 1933. It is the only union among the four devoted exclusively to representing workers employed in broadcasting, film, recording, and allied industries. Today it is the exclusive bargaining agent for below-the-line personnel at the ABC, NBC, FOX, and PBS networks, as well as at many local independent television stations in large cities.

IBEW is one of the largest unions in the United States and represents workers in construction, manufacturing, and utilities, in addition to below-the-line personnel at CBS, Disney, independent TV stations, and some cable companies.

IATSE was founded in New York City in 1893 as the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. Today, it is organized primarily along craft lines with over 800 local chapters, each representing specialized occupations within the union's overall national membership of more than 70,000 workers. In the Los Angeles area alone, some of the occupations represented by separate local chapters are: set designers-model makers, illustrators-matte artists, costumers, makeup artists-hair stylists, film editors, film cartoonists, script supervisors, film set painters, studio electricians, stagehands, and story analysts. IATSE represents almost every below-the-line occupation at the major

production studios and many independent production companies that produce shows on film for theaters, television, and cable.

CWA, historically, has represented workers in the telephone industry and other common carrier fields. In recent years, it has increased its membership and influence in the cable television industry, and represents below-the-line personnel in cable multiple system operators, cable networks, and local cable companies.

There are many above-the-line guilds representing creative workers in television. The major guilds with the most influence are: the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA), the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), the Directors Guild of America (DGA), the Writers Guild of America (East and West; known as WGAE and WGAW), and the American Federation of Musicians (AFM). Most members of these unions do not work full time or regularly, and those who do almost never work for minimum wage scale.

AFTRA grew out of the American Federation of Radio Artists, founded in 1937. It added television performers and "television" to its name in 1952. Today, AFTRA represents over 70,000 performers nationally who appear on television or cable programs that are produced on videotape or broadcast live. In addition to actors, this number includes many performers such as announcers, dancers, newsmen, sportscasters, game show emcees, talk show hosts, stunt people, and sound effects artists. AFTRA has about 30,000 members in its Los Angeles area alone, a small percentage of whom earn their living primarily from performing on radio, cable, or television. Most television performers work other jobs to support themselves while seeking occasional temporary employment as a television, cable, film, or radio performer.

SAG represents performers who appear on television or cable programs produced on film. These include feature films produced for theatrical release and later aired on television in addition to film programs produced expressly for television exhibition. Related to SAG is the Screen Extras Guild (SEG), which represents bit performers who appear in programs produced on film. Most celebrities and successful performers belong to both AFTRA and SAG, so they are not limited from performing in all three production modes of live, tape, or film.

The DGA was organized originally in 1936 as the Screen Directors Guild by a group of famous film directors, including King Vidor and Howard Hawks. Television directors were admitted in 1950, and the name Directors Guild of America was adopted in 1960. Today, it has a West chapter in Hollywood and

an East chapter in New York City. It represents directors, associate directors, unit production managers, stage managers, and production assistants in television, and directors, assistant directors, and stage managers in film. Both chapters work cooperatively to represent their members regardless of the location of a production or shoot. The East chapter, for example, represents most play directors, and the West chapter represents most film directors.

The WGAE (East) and the WGAW (West) are incorporated separately because of differing laws of incorporation in New York and California. WGAE is located in New York City, and WGAW is located in Los Angeles. Though incorporated separately, they function as a single organization that represents the interests of over 8,000 members nationally, although the WGAE has only half the membership of the WGAW, and has a significant number of playwrights among its membership, whereas WGAW is dominated by screenwriters. In 1962 WGA also joined with sister guilds in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to form an international union alliance among these English-speaking nations.

The AFM began in 1896 and represents musicians, including vocalists and instrumentalists who perform live or on film, tape, record, or disk. It has local chapters throughout the United States that bargain with local television stations and cable systems in geographic regions they cover.

With computers, satellites, and digital technology globalizing electronic communication, unions and guilds will continue to add new occupational groups to their membership and become increasingly more international in scope. These new technologies have also led to a wide range of new issues for the groups. Rights and ownership have been complicated by the ease of digital copying. Payment for new forms of distribution, such as DVD collections of television series, is central to negotiations by writers and directors. Original programs developed for cable television are sometimes compensated at rates that differ from network broadcast, and in other situations programs written and produced for broadcast are moved by owners to cable outlets in the strategy of "repurposing." All these developments have made the work of guild leaders and representatives more complicated in their efforts to protect the interests of members. In a democratic society like the United States, viable unions remain necessary to provide oversight of big business and management policies and practices toward their employees, and these tasks will undoubtedly become even more complex in the future.

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## United Kingdom. *See* British Television; Ireland; Scotland; Wales

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## United States Congress and Television

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The first effort to link the U.S. Congress and broadcasting occurred in 1922, when Representative Vincent M. Brennan introduced a bill to allow radio coverage of U.S. House of Representatives proceedings. The bill failed, and not until the late 1940s was the idea revived. Television, having arrived as a mass medium by then, was allowed in 1948 to cover hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Since few Americans had television receivers in 1948, it was not until the early 1950s that televised congressional hearings generated any viewer interest.

Two televised Senate hearings during the 1950s caused a sensation. Hearings conducted by the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce brought the faces and words of notorious mobsters into millions of U.S. homes via coast-to-coast network television. A short time later, Americans once more were drawn to their television screens to watch the hearings of a Senate Committee on Government Operations subcommittee investigating alleged communist infiltration of the U.S. Armed Forces. The hearings were better known as the Army-McCarthy Hearings, identified closely with subcommittee chairperson, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Two decades later, in 1973, the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities conducted what became known as the Watergate Hearings. Evidence of misdeeds by President Richard Nixon led the next year to House Judiciary Committee hearings on articles of presidential impeachment. Nearly all public deliberations of both of these committees were televised gavel-to-gavel.

Serious attention to allowing television coverage of actual congressional floor proceedings arose once more with the 1973 formation of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. The committee's charge was to examine means by which Congress could better communicate with the American public. The committee's subsequent recommendation that television be allowed in the U.S. House and Senate chambers met with resistance in the latter body, but House members seemed more receptive. As a result, House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill Jr. ordered testing of a House television system to begin in March 1977. Remote-controlled cameras placed at strategic locations in the House chamber were to be used so as not to disrupt House decorum. The television test proved a success. However, full implementation of House television



Live television coverage of the 104th U.S. Congress.  
*Photo courtesy of C-SPAN*

coverage awaited a decision from the House Rules Committee on who would finally control the television cameras—the House itself or television networks, who would remain independent of House authority. The Rules Committee decision that the House would best be served by retaining such control was approved by a vote of 235-to-150 in June 1978. Nine months later, on March 19, 1979, the House television system was fully in place, and live telecasts of House floor deliberations began.

Television from the U.S. Senate chambers would have to wait still longer. Although a number of senators supported the idea of Senate television, a powerful block opposed it. Senate television opponents saw cameras as disruptive to Senate decorum and incapable of presenting a favorable image of Senate debate to the American public. Senate television proponents nonetheless prevailed, and the Senate Rules Commit-

tee recommendation to allow testing of a Senate chamber television system was approved by a vote of 67-to-21 on February 27, 1986. The tests were satisfactory enough to convince members of the Senate to vote on July 29, 1986, to allow gavel-to-gavel coverage of Senate floor proceedings.

Both the U.S. Senate and House include rules for television coverage among their general procedural rules for committee and chamber conduct. Concern over protecting witness privacy and due-process rights led the Senate to allow individual committee chairpersons to adopt television rules most appropriate for their particular committee. Such rules generally require that television coverage be prohibited at the request of a committee witness; that television cameras, lights, and microphones be unobtrusive; that television personnel conduct themselves in an orderly fashion inside the hearing room; and that no commer-

cial sponsorship of committee hearings be allowed. House rules are similar to Senate rules regarding the conduct of televised hearings. However, House rules require that television be allowed to cover House committee hearings only upon a majority vote of the committee members.

The manner by which House floor proceedings are televised is entirely under the authority of the speaker of the House. The speaker decides when and if proceedings will be televised and who will be authorized to distribute the television signals to the public. House rules originally required that television cameras focus only on House members as they spoke from lecterns or in the well of the House. Cameras were not to pan the House chamber to show what oftentimes was a sea of empty chairs. Rules prohibiting such panning were abolished by the speaker in 1984.

Senate rules for televising chamber proceedings fall under the authority of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. Most rules are similar to those in the House, save for the prohibition on panning the chamber that remains in effect (except during roll-call votes) for the Senate chamber.

When television coverage of their respective chambers was under discussion, few if any members of Congress anticipated the role television might play in presidential impeachment. Nonetheless, from late 1998, when the U.S. House voted to impeach President Bill Clinton, until early 1999, when the U.S. Senate tried the president, television provided unprecedented, nearly gavel-to-gavel coverage of these momentous events. Some precedent had been set in 1974, when U.S. House and Senate leadership had prepared ground rules for television's presence during possible impeachment proceedings against President Nixon. At that time, rules for how television would cover events as they unfolded in both the House and Senate chambers without disturbing decorum or damaging the president's due process rights had been determined. Congressional leaders had only to update slightly these rules for their application to President Clinton's impeachment and trial. Congressional participants joined with millions of worldwide viewers at the trial's conclusion in near-universal praise of the manner by which television had fulfilled its crucial role during such a historic occasion.

Whether television has improved public debate in either the House or Senate is uncertain. Some observers argue that television has led to more grandstanding and contentious rhetoric on the House floor, whereas Senate debate appears more disciplined and

more substantive. However, there is general agreement that persons who view televised House and Senate proceedings are introduced to a vast array of issues and debates unimagined before television arrived.

RON GARAY

*See also* **Parliament and Television; Political Processes and Television; U.S. Presidency and Television; Watergate**

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# United States Presidency and Television (Historical Overview)

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Ten dates, some momentous, some merely curious, tell the story of presidential television. In its own way, each date sheds light on the complex relationship between the U.S. presidency and the American television industry. Over the years, that relationship has grown complex and tempestuous (virtually every president from Harry Truman through Bill Clinton has become disaffected with the nation's press). More than anything else, however, this relationship has been symbiotic—the president and the press now depend upon one another for sustenance. Ten dates explain why.

## **September 23, 1952: Vice Presidential Candidate Richard Nixon's "Checkers" Speech**

Oddly, it was Richard Nixon, who was pilloried by the press throughout his career, who discovered the political power of the new medium of television. Imaginatively, aggressively, in the "Checkers" speech, vice presidential candidate Nixon used television in a way it had never been used before, in order to lay out his personal finances and his cultural virtues and, hence, to save his place on the Republican national team (and, ultimately, his place in the American political pantheon). That same year, 1952, also witnessed the first televised coverage of a national party convention and the first TV advertisements. However, it was Nixon's famous speech that transformed the political environment from party-based to candidate-controlled. By using television as he did—personally, candidly, visually (his wife Pat sat demurely next to him during the broadcast)—Nixon single-handedly created a new political style.

## **January 19, 1955: President Dwight Eisenhower's Press Conference**

When he agreed to let the television cameras into the White House for the first time in U.S. history, Dwight Eisenhower changed the presidency in fundamental ways. Until that point, the White House press corps had been a cozy outfit but very much on the president's leash or, at least, the lesser partner in a complex politi-

cal arrangement. Television changed that. The hue and cry let out by the deans of U.S. print journalism proved it, as did television's growing popularity among the American people. More proof awaited. It was not long after Eisenhower opened the doors to television that U.S. presidents found themselves arranging their workdays around network schedules. To have a political announcement receive top billing on the nightly news, that announcement had to be made by 2:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time. If the news to be shared was bad news, the White House would choose the slowest news days, Saturday and Sunday, to make the announcement. These may seem like small expediencies, but they pre-saged a fundamental shift of power in Washington, D.C. After Eisenhower, television was no longer a novelty but a central premise in all political logic.

## **January 25, 1961: President John F. Kennedy's Press Conference**

Before Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton, there was John F. Kennedy. No U.S. president has better understood television than these three. By holding the first live press conference in the nation's history, Kennedy showed that boldness and amiability may trump all suits in an age of television. In his short time in office, Kennedy also showed that all communication, even presidential communication, must be relational; that the substance of one's remarks is irrelevant if one cannot say it effortlessly; and that being "online" and "in real time" bring a special energy to politics. Prescient as he was, Kennedy would therefore not have been surprised to learn that 50 percent of the American people now find television news more believable and more attractive than print news (which attracts a mere quarter of the populace). Kennedy would also not be surprised at the advent of CNN, the all-news, all-day channel, nor would he be surprised to learn that C-SPAN (Congress's cable channel) has also become popular in certain quarters. Being the innovator he was, Kennedy fundamentally changed the temporal dimensions of U.S. politics. Forever more, his successors would be required to perform the presidency during each moment of each day they held office.

### **February 27, 1968: CBS Anchorman Walter Cronkite's Evaluation of the Vietnam War**

President Lyndon Johnson, we are told, knew he had lost the Vietnam War when, during an evening documentary, CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite declared the conflict a "quagmire." To be sure, Cronkite's hard-hitting special was nuanced and respectful of the presidency, but it also brought proof to the nation's living rooms that the president's resolve had been misplaced. Cronkite's broadcast was therefore an important step in altering the power balance between the White House and the networks. CBS's Dan Rather continued that trend, facing-down Nixon during one cantankerous press conference and, later, George H.W. Bush during an interview about the Iran-Contra scandal. Sam Donaldson and Ted Koppel of ABC News also took special delight in deflating political egos, as did CNN's Peter Arnett who frustrated George Bush Sr.'s efforts during the Gulf War by continuing to broadcast from the Baghdad Hilton even as U.S. bombs were falling on that city. Some attribute the press's new aggressiveness to their somnolence during the Watergate affair, but it could also be credited to the replacement of politics' old barter system, which featured material costs and rewards, by an entertainment-based celebrity system featuring personal achievements and rivalries. In this latter system, it is every person for him- or herself, the president included.

### **November 25, 1968: The Inauguration of the White House's Office of Communication**

One of Nixon's first acts as president was to appoint Herb Klein to oversee a newly enlarged unit in the White House that would coordinate all out-going communications. This act, perhaps more than any other, signaled that the new president would be an active player in the persuasion game and that he would deal with the mass media in increasingly innovative ways. Perhaps Nixon sensed the trends scholars would later unearth: (1) that citizens who see a political speech in person react far more favorably than those who see it through television reporters' eyes; (2) that the average presidential "sound bite" has been reduced to 9.8 seconds in the average nightly news story; and (3) that negative news stories about the president have increased over time. This is the bad news for presidents in the age of television. The good news is that 97 percent of CBS's nightly newscasts feature the president (usually as the lead story), and 20 percent of a typical broadcast will be devoted to comings and goings in the

White House. In other words, the president is the fulcrum around which television reportage pivots; hence, he is well advised to monitor carefully the information he releases (or refuses to release).

### **September 17, 1976: President Gerald Ford's Pasadena Speech**

Neither President Gerald Ford's address nor the occasion was memorable. His was a standard stump speech, this time at the annual reception of the Pasadena Golden Circle. However, the speech's sheer banality signaled its importance; Ford spoke to the group not because he needed to convince them of something but because their predictable, on-camera applause would certify his broader worthiness to the American people. Ford gave some 200 speeches of this sort during the 1976 campaign. Unlike President Truman, who spoke to all-comers on the village green during the 1948 election, Ford addressed such "closed" audiences almost exclusively during his re-election run. In addition, Ford and his successors spoke in ritualistic settings 40 percent of the time, since bunting, too, photographs well. The constant need for media coverage has thereby turned the modern president into a continual campaigner and the White House into a kind of national booking agency. It is little wonder, then, that the traditional press conference, with its contentiousness and unpredictability, has become rare.

### **January 20, 1981: The Inauguration of President Ronald Reagan**

Ronald Reagan grew up with television, and television with him. By the time he became president, both had matured. Reagan brought to the camera what the camera most prized: a strong visual presence and a vaunted affability. He was the rare kind of politician who even liked his detractors, and television made those feelings obvious. Reagan also had the ability to concretize the most abstract of issues—deficits, territorial jurisdictions, nuclear stalemates. By finding the essential narrative in these matters, and then by humanizing those narratives, he produced his own unique style. Television favors that style, since TV is, after all, the most intimate of the mass media, with its ability to *show* emotion and to do so in tight-focus. Thus, it is not surprising that political advertising has now become Reaganesque: visual, touching, elliptical, never noisy or brash. Like Reagan, modern political advertising never extends its stay; typically, it says in 30 seconds all that needs to be said and then it says no more.

### **January 16, 1991: President George Bush Sr.'s Declaration of the Gulf War**

From the beginning, President George H.W. Bush was determined not to turn the Gulf War into another Vietnam. His military commanders shared that determination. But what, exactly, are the lessons of Vietnam? From the standpoint of television they are these: (1) make the conflict an air war, not a ground war, because ground soldiers can be interviewed on camera; (2) make it a short war, not a long war, because television has a short attention span; and (3) make it a technical war, not a political war, because Americans love the technocratic and fall out with one another over ends and means. Blessedly, the Gulf War was short, and, via a complex network of satellite feeds, it entertained the American people with its visuals: SCUD missiles exploding, oil-slicks spreading, yellow ribbons flying. Iraq's Saddam Hussein fought back, on television, in avuncular poses with captured innocents and by staying tuned to CNN from his bunker. The Gulf War therefore marked an almost postmodern turn in the history of warfare.

### **October 25, 1992: The Richmond, Virginia, Presidential Candidates' Debate**

Several trends converged to produce the second presidential debate of 1992. In the capital of the Old South, President George Bush Sr., Democratic Party candidate Clinton, and Reform Party candidate Ross Perot squared off with one another in the presence of 200 "average Americans," who questioned them for some 90 minutes. The debate's format, not its content, became its headline; the working press had been cut out of the proceedings, and few seemed to mourn their passing. The president of the United States face-to-face with the populace; here, surely, was democracy recaptured. The 1992 campaign expanded upon this theme, with the candidates repairing to the cozy studio (and cozy questions) of talk show host Larry King. Thereafter, they made the rounds of the morning talk-over-coffee shows. The decision to seek out these friendly climes followed from the advice politicians had been receiving for years: choose your own audience and occasion, forsake the press, emphasize your humanity. Coupled with fax machines, e-mail, cable specials, direct-mail videos, and the like, these "alternative media formats" completed a cycle whereby the president became a rhetorical entrepreneur and the nation's press an afterthought.

### **April 20, 1993: President Bill Clinton's MTV Appearance**

Not a historic date, perhaps, but a suggestive one. It was on this date that President Clinton discussed his underwear preferences with the American people (briefs, not boxers, as it turned out). In television's increasingly postmodern world, all texts, whether serious or sophomoric, swirl together in the same discontinuous field of experience. To be sure, Clinton made his disclosure because he had been asked to do so by a member of the MTV generation, not because he felt a sudden need to purge himself. In doing so, however, Clinton exposed several rules connected to the new phenomenology of politics: (1) because of television's celebrity system, presidents are losing their distinctiveness as social actors and hence are often judged by standards formerly used to assess rock singers and movie stars; (2) because of television's sense of intimacy, the American people feel they know their presidents as persons and hence no longer feel the need for party guidance; (3) because of the medium's archly cynical worldview, those who watch politics on television are increasingly turning away from the policy sphere, years of hyperfamiliarity having finally bred contempt for politics itself.

For good and ill, then, presidential television grew apace between 1952 and the present. It began as a little-used, somewhat feared, medium of exchange and transformed itself into a central aspect of American political culture. In doing so, television changed almost everything about life in the White House. It changed what presidents do and how they do it. It changed network programming routines, launched an entire subset of the U.S. advertising industry, affected military strategy and military deployment, and affected how and why voters vote and for whom they cast their ballots. In 1992 presidential hopeful Perot tested the practical limits of this technology by buying sufficient airtime to make himself an instant candidate as well as an instantly serious candidate. History records that he failed to achieve his goal. However, if another independent candidate has sufficient money and has sufficient skill to harness television's capacity to mold public opinion, that candidate may succeed at some later time. This would add yet another important date to the history of presidential television.

RODERICK P. HART AND MARY TRIECE

*See also Clinton Impeachment Trial; Political Processes and Television; 2000 Presidential Election Coverage*

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## Universal (NBC-Universal, Vivendi Universal)

### International Media Conglomerate

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In 2000 the flamboyant French executive Jean-Marie Messier proudly announced the takeover of the North American beverages giant Seagram by the Paris-based conglomerate Vivendi. Through this deal, Vivendi en-

gulfed Seagram's interests in the global media and cultural industry. The former French waterworks firm Vivendi suddenly became one of the major multimedia conglomerates in the world and a significant power in

the film, television, music, publishing, advertising, telecoms, and other entertainment sectors. The most prestigious jewel in Vivendi's media crown was Universal (including film and television production and distribution, theme parks, cable television, music and book publishing activities), establishing the French (European) dream to counter the American hegemony in the film entertainment industry. Three years later, however, the dream was over and, after an intense period of controversy and rivalry, Vivendi Universal (VU) sold its major U.S. entertainment assets to General Electric, the owner of NBC.

In order to understand this turbulent and strange episode in the history of American-European media business relations, it is best to go back to the roots of Vivendi and its predecessor CGE. Founded in 1853, the *Compagnie Générale des Eaux* (CGE) began as a civil engineering and utilities (water) company. In the 19th and 20th centuries, CGE grew into a stable multinational player with an impressive workforce all over Europe and with interests in energy, transport, construction, and communications. In the 1980s and 1990s, CGE increased its interests in the media and communication sector with new major activities in the fields of television (mainly through the establishment in 1983 of the Canal 1 pay TV group), telecom (e.g., in Poland and Cegetel, the second largest operator in France), publishing, and advertising. In the meantime it also developed a similar acquisition policy in various other fields, such as transportation (e.g., Scandinavia, New Zealand). When in 1998 CGE finally controlled Havas, the powerful French conglomerate with major activities in the world of publishing, advertising, and news services, the group became known as Vivendi.

By 2000, when Vivendi's chief executive Jean-Marie Messier turned his attention to Seagram, Vivendi had become an ambitious and (for some observers) voracious player in various businesses, with an increased interest in the media and communications sectors. Similar to CGE/Vivendi, Seagram had moved from its original core business (beverages) into a wider area with increasing media-oriented activities. Especially since the mid-1990s, the Bronfman family (major stakeholders in Seagram) had increased its interests in several communications sectors, mainly through acquisitions in the publishing (e.g., Putnam Berkley in 1996), television, music, and film industries. A historical deal occurred in 1995, when Seagram bought MCA from Matsushita for \$5.7 billion, renaming it Universal. This deal was considered at the time as a major loss for the Japanese corporation and manufacturer of audiovisual hardware brands such as Panasonic and JVC, because it had acquired MCA/Universal only

five years earlier for a record bid of \$6.9 billion. Another important transaction, putting Seagram in the forefront of the global cultural industry, dealt with the \$10.4 billion acquisition of Philips' software arm Polygram in 1998.

From this perspective, the 2000 deal to buy Seagram for \$34 billion fully illustrated Messier's aggressive policy and megalomaniac vision. At the time of Seagram's acquisition, French and Western European news media wholeheartedly welcomed the creation of the new group, named Vivendi Universal (VU) and headquartered in Paris. Through this merger, the corporation became the world's leading music company, while it possessed the second largest film library and controlled an impressive network of theme parks. VU also increased its control in the audiovisual (film and television) production and distribution field, as well as in the publishing, advertising, Internet, and telecom sectors. At the same time, Messier decided to concentrate more fully on these communications and media activities, gradually selling off Vivendi's other (new) interests, such as those in the beverages business.

However, Messier's position ran into conflicts with major stakeholders such as Edgar Bronfman Jr., the former chairman of Seagram, while its breakneck expansion strategy soon proved to be financially disastrous. In two years time, VU had an overall debt of 19 billion euro. The Messier saga ended in the summer of 2002, when he was fired and replaced by Jean-René Fourtou. The new chief executive immediately announced that he would focus on diminishing the company's debt and remove those departments within the corporation currently losing revenue.

First, Fourtou decided to sell a major part of Vivendi Environnement, the older engineering and services arm, reducing Vivendi's part in it from 63 to 40.8 percent. Second, Vivendi Publishing, one of the major publishing corporations in the world, was put up for sale, and acquired by the French publisher Lagardère. Other publishing companies, such as Houghton Mifflin, were sold to a consortium of U.S. investors. Many other parts of the VU empire were displayed for sale, including several European cable channels such as the Italian Telepiu.

In the midst of this intense selling campaign, VU urgently needed more investment to retain its majority stake of 70 percent in Cegetel, which had grown into one of the world's leading mobile phone companies. While Fourtou first claimed that VU's American media and communications branch (Vivendi Universal Entertainment) was not for sale, he decided by April 2003 to dismantle VU's activities in the United States. After a turbulent summer of bidding and exchanges, VU entered exclusive talks with General Electric's NBC over



the formation of a new company, to be called NBC Universal. The new company, with an estimated value of \$43 billion, is now owned 80 percent by GE and 20 percent by VU.

This merger, which illustrates once more the intensity of globalization and concentration tendencies in today's communications sector, creates another world leader with many assets, to sit alongside Time-Warner, Viacom, Disney, and News Corp. For Fourtoun, who claimed that VU might soon change its name, the deal with GE constituted an important step in consolidating VU's media and communications interests and in making it a profitable company again. For NBC, the

merger created a link to one of the major film studios and its impressive library.

DANIEL BILTEREYST

*See also Media Conglomerates; Mergers and Acquisitions; National Broadcasting Company*

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## University Challenge

### U.K. Quiz Show

*University Challenge* was first broadcast on Britain's ITV network in 1962. Originally made for a 13-week run, it came off the air in 1987 and was Britain's longest running television quiz show. Resurrected by its makers Granada Television for BBC 2 in 1994, it has celebrated its 40th anniversary and is still going strong.

*University Challenge* was conceived during the early years of U.K. commercial television. Granada had only started broadcasting in 1956, but three years later it was mired in Britain's quiz show scandal. Granada's *Twenty One* quiz paid out the largest amount of cash ever by a British TV show. Shortly thereafter, a runner-up contestant went public with the fact that he received help with his answers. In 1960 Granada submitted evidence to the Pilkington Committee on commercial television, stating "It is a mistake to think of programs as 'highbrow' or 'lowbrow'... [these] are snob words... never underestimate the public's intelligence—always underestimate their knowledge." Granada and ITV were ripe for an intellectual quiz, where kudos were the greatest prize.

Based on the Emmy award-winning American program *College Bowl*, the format was simple. Two teams of four university students each competed. The questions were noted for their difficulty and went from the classics and applied sciences to general knowledge. Individuals would buzz in for an initial question, the "starter for ten" (points). A successful answer would give the team a chance to answer three more themed

questions, each worth five points. For these the team could confer, but must always answer through the captain, who sits third from the left. Incorrect interruptions of the starter would cost the team five points, and the starter (and chance for the bonuses) would be thrown over to the other team. Incorrect answers to the bonus questions would not be passed across. The quiz rules only varied slightly through the years. In the first series any contestant could be asked to speak on any subject for 45 seconds. The show always included two picture rounds and one music round. Originally teams would attempt to win three matches in a row to qualify for an end-of-series knockout. When the show moved to the BBC this was replaced by a straight knockout format.

The affable Bamber Gascoigne fronted the new program. A Cambridge graduate, he brought with him the scholarly humor of the university common room. His ease with the complexity of the questions (sometimes up to 50 or so words long) and background knowledge helped each episode maintain its momentum. The quiz indeed felt like a varsity race, with the questions being delivered with greater and greater speed until the final gong. Gascoigne was always ready to say "have to hurry you," which, with "starter for ten" became recognizable catchphrases. The program's iconography also included a split screen effect. Both teams were seated at long desks in the studio, but on screen one team was positioned directly above the other. During one season the two tier desks were built in the studio,

but this was later abandoned. Partisan studio audiences and the range of team mascots helped to enliven the program. Students would introduce themselves at the beginning, and after their name would always give the subject that they were "reading" (studying or majoring in). Competitors were addressed by their surnames throughout, and on buzzing in the announcer would quickly give the college name and the surname of the student before the answer was given.

Despite its 10:45 P.M. slot, the program succeeded in the ratings. Within two years it moved to a networked prime-time 7:00 p.m. slot, immediately preceding the ITV hit *Coronation Street*, also made by Granada. Ratings reached up to 12 million. As the ratings fell the program was bounced around the schedules, later becoming a regular staple of Sunday afternoons. Regional scheduling then denied the program a networked slot.

Eventually the show seemed to lose its appeal and was dropped by the London weekend franchisee LWT in 1983. With Thames, the London weekday broadcaster, refusing to dislodge any other program to show *University Challenge*, the end was in sight. In 1987, after an attempt to strip the show across the weekday daytime schedule, the plug was pulled. *University Challenge* went off the air 25 years after the first match between Leeds and Reading universities. Gascoigne had never missed a recording.

In 1992 a celebrity special was made as part of a BBC 2 theme night tribute to Granada. Gascoigne, the split screen, mascots, and "starters for ten" were back. This one-off proved popular, and BBC 2 commissioned the show. Gascoigne, however, was not to return. After much media speculation, the host's position was given to Jeremy Paxman, a journalist and already a familiar figure in the United Kingdom. The regular front man of the BBC 2 flagship current affairs program *Newsnight*, Paxman was known for his acerbic wit and aggressive interviewing style. Where Gascoigne had affability, Paxman brought authority, and although ready to congratulate or chat with the contestants, he carried with him a ready putdown and a hint of menace. The set was updated and mascots were banned. Gascoigne made a special appearance to present the trophy to the first season's winners.

In 2002, the program's 40th anniversary, a series of *University Challenge Reunited* was aired, bringing together past team members to compete against other teams from seasons past. Past competitors had made it into the elite of British politics, journalism, and enter-

tainment. These included politicians David Mellor and Malcolm Rifkind, journalists John Simpson, Andrew Morton, and Clive James, and actor Stephen Fry.

*University Challenge* reflected huge changes in British society and higher education. It showed the new reach of higher education, and always featured the Twentieth Century "Redbrick" universities as well as the traditional Oxford and Cambridge [Oxbridge] colleges. In the 1990s, most U.K. polytechnics became universities and, along with the Open University, often appear. The 1997 Open University team won the series and included the show's oldest ever player, Ida Staples (73 years old). Notable failures by teams were traditionally picked over by the press, always ready for an excuse to rail against the state of Britain's education system.

NIGEL SPICER

*See also* **Quiz and Game Shows; Quiz Show Scandals**

#### **Presenters**

Bamber Gascoigne (1962–87)  
Jeremy Paxman (1994– )

#### **Creator**

Don Reid

#### **Producers**

Barrie Heads, Patricia Owtram, Douglas Terry, Peter Mullings, Kieran Roberts, Peter Gwyn

#### **Programming History**

ITV  
1962–87 Scheduling varied according to ITV region  
BBC 2  
1992–2002 Wednesday 8.00–8.30 or 8.30–9.00  
University Challenge Reunited: Monday 8.30–9.00

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# Univision

## U.S. Network

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Univision (in Spanish, *Univisión*), the largest Spanish-language television network in the United States with more than 600 affiliates, has historical roots in Mexican broadcasting. Since 1992, Univision has been owned by a consortium headed by Jerry Perenchino, an entertainment financier who once owned a New Jersey Spanish language television station. Twenty-five percent of the network is owned by Venevisión, a Venezuelan media company, another 25 percent by the Mexican entertainment conglomerate, Televisa, the largest producer of Spanish-language television programming in the world.

This structural configuration is often viewed as but a marginal variation in Televisa's long-standing domination of U.S. Spanish-language television. The majority of Univision programming is produced in Mexico, by Televisa, as it has been since the first Spanish-language television stations were established in the United States in 1961. The network was then called SIN, the Spanish International Network. In 1986, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) found SIN to be in violation of the U.S. law that prohibits foreign ownership of U.S. broadcast stations. Televisa was ordered to divest itself of its U.S. subsidiary, and SIN was sold to Hallmark Cards of Kansas City, Missouri, and renamed Univision.

Under Hallmark ownership, about half of Univision programming was Televisa rebroadcasts (*telenovelas* or soap operas, sports, movies, and variety programming), and half was produced in the United States. The U.S.-produced programming, which included a *telenovela*, a situation comedy, and greatly expanded national U.S. news and public affairs programming, proved popular with U.S. Latino audiences. Nonetheless, between 1986 and 1992, Hallmark, which had financed its purchase of the Spanish-language network with junk bonds, was unable to recover its initial investment in Univision. In 1992 Hallmark sold the network to the Perenchino group, which prominently featured Televisa. Among the new owners' first moves was the firing of about a third of the network's Miami-based staff. This resulted in the cancellation of most of the U.S.-produced programs, and the re-creation of a broadcast day largely comprised of Televisa programs.

Univision has been at the forefront of the creation of a national "Hispanic market," the notion that U.S. Latinos are an attractive, commercially viable market segment, and so an audience that advertisers should attempt to reach. Prior to the mid-1980s, the Hispanic population was configured as three markets: Puerto Rican in the eastern United States, Cuban in south Florida, and Mexican in the southwest. Advertising agencies, accordingly, produced three separate Spanish-language advertising campaigns. Univision's extensive market and audience research persuaded Madison Avenue that these three audiences should be considered one national audience. This effort was given a major boost by the Hispanic Nielsen Survey, a



*Courtesy of Univision*

specially designed methodology for measuring U.S. Spanish-language television audiences, commissioned by Univision and Telemundo, and implemented by the A.C. Nielsen Company in the early 1990s. This new audience measurement system found a U.S. Spanish-language television audience 30 to 40 percent larger than had previously been identified.

Network research conducted by Univision shows that most of its audience are recent Latin American immigrants. Another group is made up of those who have lived in the United States for years, who, because of a myriad of factors, prefer to view television in the Spanish language. Most of these immigrant audience members are from Mexico, though an increasing proportion are Central American. A smaller portion of the Univision audience is more acculturated, bilingual U.S. Latinos, a generally wealthier group much sought after by network planners. Overall, Univision research shows that about 70 percent of the Univision audience is Mexican or Mexican American, 10 percent each Puerto Rican and Cuban American, with the remainder from other Latin American countries.

The most watched Univision programs are Televisa *telenovelas*, serialized melodramas which, in contrast to U.S. soap operas, usually end after two or three months. Also, notably present in the Univision top is the nightly U.S. national newscast, the *Noticiero Univisión*. Apparently the Univision immigrant audience, while maintaining its links to "the old country" through the traditional *telenovelas*, is also seeking out knowledge of its adopted U.S. home. Each year the U.S. Spanish-speaking audience has more television programs among which to choose. Telemundo, another

U.S. Spanish-language television network founded in 1986, has grown to several hundred affiliates. Galavisión and Showtime en Español, two premium cable channels, as well as several regional Spanish-language cable networks, including Spanish-language ESPN and MTV, are challenging Univision's previously uncontested hold on U.S. Spanish-language television.

AMERICA RODRIGUEZ

*See also Spanish International Network; Telemundo; Telenovela*

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## Untouchables, The

### U.S. Crime Series

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Based on the 1947 novel by Eliot Ness and Oscar Fraley, *The Untouchables* was the first dramatic series created at Desilu Productions, the studio owned by Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball, which became famous for providing situation comedies to U.S. television. Airing on ABC from 1959 to 1963, the series was panned for what critics at the time deemed "excessive and senseless violence." However, it was enormously popular

with audiences and made names for producer Quinn Martin and actor Robert Stack.

The series centered on a greatly embellished version of the real-life Eliot Ness, played by Stack, and his incorruptible treasury agents whom Chicago newspapers had dubbed "the Untouchables." Their battles against organized crime served as the source material for the television series. While the fictional Ness and his Un-



*The Untouchables*, 1959–63, Robert Stack.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

touchables were somewhat lifeless characters, the back-stories and motivations established for the series' criminals were incredibly well defined. This was due, in large part, to the talented guest actors—including Robert Redford, William Bendix, Lloyd Nolan, J. Carroll Naish, and Peter Falk—who played the series' criminal kingpins. This led to one of the basic problems of the series: the criminals appeared more human than the heroes.

The series began as a two-hour made-for-television movie documenting Ness's fight against Chicago mob leader Al Capone. The movie, and its episodic counterpart, maintained an earthy grittiness through the use of stark sets and dark, studio back-lot exterior sequences. A realistic mood was added by narrator Walter Winchell (who had, incidentally, a few years before, broken the real-life scandal of Lucille Ball's alleged communist ties during the McCarthy-era blacklisting period). Winchell's staccato delivery of introductory background material set the stage for each week's episode.

ABC justified the series' violence on grounds of historical accuracy, yet the network often violated the

same rule by having their fictional Ness responsible for nabbing mob leaders such as George "Bugsy" Moran and Ma Barker, figures with whom he had no actual dealings. Indeed, a number of FBI agents complained about their real-life victories being credited to the fictionalized Ness. Such pressure eventually forced ABC to create additional FBI characters to portray more accurately the people involved in the show's historically based cases.

*The Untouchables* also drew controversy for its stereotyped ethnic characters. The Italian-American community protested the series' use of Italian names for criminal characters. The Capone family also brought a \$1 million lawsuit against producer Arnaz for using the Capone likeness for profit. This was particularly upsetting for Arnaz, a classmate and friend of Capone's son.

The show was tremendously successful in its second season, but its popularity rapidly declined when NBC countered with the musical variety program *Sing Along with Mitch*. Producer Martin converted his *Untouchables* success into an impressive string of cop-based dramatic hits, including *The FBI* (1965) and *The Streets of San Francisco* (1972). Stack became a popular TV actor and starred in other successful dramas in which he played similar crime fighters and adventurers. Since 1987, he has hosted *Unsolved Mysteries*, a popular "reality" program. *The Untouchables* inspired two revivals: a 1980s movie version, as well as a 1990s syndicated series.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

*See also* **Arnaz, Desi; Martin, Quinn; Police Programs; Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse**

#### **Narrator**

Walter Winchell

#### **Cast**

Eliot Ness	Robert Stack
Agent Martin Flaherty (1959–60)	Jerry Paris
Agent William Youngfellow	Able Fernandez
Agent Enrico Rossi	Nick Georgiade
Agent Cam Allison (1960)	Anthony George
Agent Lee Hobson (1960–63)	Paul Picerni
Agent Jack Rossman (1960–63)	Steve London
Frank Nitti	Bruce Gordon
Al Capone	Neville Brand
"Bugsy" Moran	Lloyd Nolan
Dutch Schultz	Lawrence Dobkin
"Mad Dog" Coll	Clu Gulager

Untouchables, The

### Producers

Quinn Martin, Jerry Thorpe, Leonard Freeman, Howard Hoffman, Alan A. Armer, Alvin Cooperman, Lloyd Richards, Fred Freiberger, Charles Russell

### Programming History

114 episodes

ABC

October 1959–October 1961

Thursday 9:30–10:30

October 1961–September

1962

Thursday 10:00–11:00

September 1962–September

1963

Tuesday 9:30–10:30

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## UPN Television Network

### U.S. Network

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In January of 2002, when CBS President and CEO Les Moonves added the United Paramount Network (UPN) to his Viacom-rooted media dynasty, he steadfastly maintained that UPN would retain its own "identity." Ironically, the acquisition of a clear brand identity has been fairly elusive for UPN. The fledgling network or "netlet's" trek toward fifth network status, in terms of its programming strategies and its internal and external corporate frameworks, has been both arduous and precarious. Since its launch in January of 1995, UPN has been a netlet desperately seeking a safe, secure, and lucrative niche.

While *Star Trek Voyager* was considered the mainstay of the netlet's first season of programming, by the fall of its second season, UPN (like its netlet brethren, the WB) turned to narrowcasting to build an "urban" audience base—adopting the "black block" programming strategy first utilized by FOX in the early 1990s. By 1996 UPN's primetime lineup (*In the House*, *Malcolm and Eddie*, *Goode Behavior*, and *Sparks*) mirrored the counter-programming strategy used by FOX through the mid-1990s with the multicultural Thursday night lineup of *Martin*, *Living Single*, and *New York Undercover*. UPN President and CEO Dean Valentine (1997–2002) acknowledged that the netlet's early strategy had been "to jumpstart and gain an audience by targeting African Americans." This strategy, introduced by his predecessor, Lucy Salhany (1995–97), had brought a large number of African-American viewers into the UPN fold—and, as Valentine noted, "we

are happy to have them." By 2000 UPN's Monday night black comedy block boasted the positivist teen sitcom, *Moesha* (1996–2001), the second highest rated UPN series behind *Voyager*; the "movin' on up" domestic comedy and transplant from ABC, *The Hughleys* (1998–2002); and the decidedly broader mother-daughter *Moesha* spin-off, *The Parkers* (1999– ), which has been the highest rated series among the African-American audiences since its premiere.

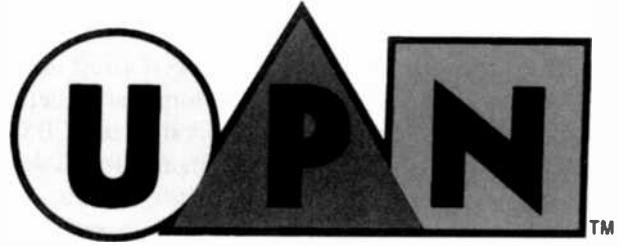
UPN, along with the WB, avoided condemnation when Kwesi Mfume, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People president, blasted the networks for offering a 1999–2000 fall lineup that was "a virtual whitewash of programming," and threatened a boycott of network programming. However, the netlet's niche product has not been unproblematic. As "The African American Television Report," aptly states, over half of the African-American characters seen on network television as series regulars are in sitcoms, with a majority on the upstart netlets, UPN and the WB. Unfortunately, on UPN, those comedies included such short-lived series like the ill-conceived *Homeboys from Outer Space*, which took minstrelsy into the future, and the Civil War sitcom, *The Secret Diary of Desmond Pfeiffer*, which was taken off the air in response to widespread public outcry. Furthermore, even series developed in the post-1999 era of "new" racial consciousness, like *Girlfriends* and *The Parkers* (members of UPN's sitcom class of 1999 and 2000, respectively), seem to lapse into stereotypical represen-

tations of hyper-sexualized black women and broad, boisterous comedy.

Until the 1999–2000 season, UPN's ratings fate was tied to maintaining the viewership for its black situation comedies. For the most part, with the exception of a respectable trekker following for *Voyager* (and a small but dedicated fan base for the supernaturally tinged cop series, *The Sentinel*), no other type of programming had established an audience. Thus the netlet's "urban" niche constructed a de facto brand identity—at least temporarily. Since 1996, two of the netlet's programming hours had been dedicated to a brand of niche programming that caters to the black audience, a population not being adequately served by the major networks. However, as UPN's programming schedule expanded from three nights (six hours) to five nights (ten hours), the amount of programming time dedicated to black-oriented shows remained unchanged. Valentine maintained that the broadening of the audience was necessary because "any network following a narrowcast is ultimately doomed to failure." Valentine's assertion—that broadcasters have a "social responsibility to court a wider audience" and thus "bring America together and unite it"—justified a shift in the netlet's programming paradigm. The implementation of this new, and more expansive approach proved correct the prediction made by A.J. Jacobs in his 1996 article, "Black to the Future": "the bigger UPN and the WB get, the whiter they become."

Fiscal solvency had proven to be as elusive for UPN as creating a brand identity and finding an audience. UPN had lost over \$500 million by the time Viacom activated a buy-sell clause in its contract in April of 2000, forcing partner Chris-Craft to sell its half-interest. When Viacom placed UPN under the umbrella of CBS with Moonves at the helm, there was the expectation that, by combining the networks' management and operations, both the network and the netlet would benefit. Despite the less than amicable departures of UPN president and CEO Dean Valentine, and Paramount Television Group's chairman Kerry McCluggage, who had overseen UPN programming since its 1995 inception, both Moonves and Viacom President Mel Karmarzin repeatedly mentioned the retention of each media outlet's distinct identity on the air.

Under Moonves's tutelage, CBS had gone from the "blue-haired" programming of *Murder She Wrote* and solid numbers with the over-35 crowd to the pinnacle of "cool" reality programming with the *Survivor* franchise, dramatic hipness with *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, and a decade high rating with the lucrative 18–49 demographic. While Moonves tried to assuage fears that UPN would become CBS2 by assuring that the netlet would retain its own identity, UPN remained



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

a netlet without a unified programming profile with black-oriented sitcom staples in the same lineup as the testosterone-tinged shows.

Since adding the World Wrestling Federation's *WWF Smackdown* as the centerpiece of the Thursday night lineup in 1999 and by airing other new and ongoing male-oriented programs—including science fiction-influenced series like netlet mainstay, *Voyager*, its prequel successor, *Enterprise*, and the time travel thriller, *Seven Days*—UPN continues to offer an alternative to netlet rival the WB's teen-centered programming (*Dawson's Creek*, *Felicity* and a swath of less successful adolescent dramedies). Despite the fact that the *Smackdown* deal gave both the fiscal and programming advantage to WWF's Vince McMahon, the initial acquisition expanded the UPN audience base by adding the "boy block" to the "black block." While the WWF-inspired viewer surge bode well for UPN as their overall numbers moved closer to those of the network Big Four, it clearly illustrated how viewer allegiances were usually tied to only one of the five nights of programming—each of which seemed constructed for a different niche.

In the new millennium, the netlet continues to broaden its audience base—this time narrowcasting for the female demographic. In 2001 UPN was able to woo Joss Whedon's teen occult dramedy, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* away from the WB by paying more than twice the previous per episode cost (from \$1 million per episode to \$2.3 million per episode) and by granting the series' creative team greater artistic freedom. *Buffy's* presence (airing Tuesday) and the addition of *Enterprise* (airing Wednesday) in the netlet's prime-time lineup undoubtedly contributed to its double-digit jump (25 percent) in the highly coveted 18–34 demographic, and 27 percent with females 18–34.

As a part of this audience expansion strategy, Moonves's choice of former Lifetime Channel senior programming executive, Dawn Tarnofsky-Ostroff, speaks to the netlet's desire to broaden a cross-gender viewer base and bring some sense of consistency to

UPN's rather eclectic brand identity. In the spring of 2002, UPN's pursuit of branding was further problematized when Moonves and Tarnofsky-Ostroff allocated or "repurposed" time slots from the netlet's prime-time schedule for airing short-lived CBS-developed projects (like the occult drama *Wolf Lake*, and the reality show *The Amazing Race*). Despite the less than enthusiastic audience response to recycled CBS shows, the CBS-UPN marriage, which does little to brand UPN, continues to provide myriad opportunities for network-netlet programming synergy.

While the fate of any netlet is relatively uncertain, UPN, as a new adoptee in the vast Viacom fold, under the "protection" of CBS, its network big brother, this netlet without a niche, may end up rounding out the "Big Five."

BAMBI L. HAGGINS

See also Moonves, Leslie R.; WB Television Network

### Further Reading

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- Schlosser, Joe, "Eye to Eye with Moonves," *Broadcasting and Cable* (January 21, 2002)

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## Upstairs, Downstairs

### British Serial Drama

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*Upstairs, Downstairs*, originally produced in England by Sagitta Productions for London Weekend Television (LWT), became one of the most popular programs in the history of *Masterpiece Theatre* on the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and is beloved throughout much of the world. The series presents the narrative of the upper-class Bellamy family and their servants during the turbulent first third of the 20th century in Britain. Their stories, focused individually but always illustrative of complex and intertwined relationships, unfold chronologically, highlighting members of both the upstairs biological family and the downstairs "work family" of servants.

The series accurately represented and mirrored the societal milieu of its time and has been greatly acclaimed for the producers' and authors' meticulous attention to accurate period detail. Historical events served as the context for the characters' situations and actions in a narrative that carried them from 1903 Edwardian England, through World War I and the political upheavals of the 1920s, to a conclusion set soon after the stock market crash in the summer of 1930. *Upstairs, Downstairs* captured and held a rapt televi-

sion audience through 68 episodes in Britain and 55 in the United States. It was the most extensive series on *Masterpiece Theatre* and brought a new and refreshing image of British television to many Americans whose only perception of British programming, not necessarily correct, was of ponderous adaptations of dated British literature. In so doing, the series brought a great many new viewers to PBS and *Masterpiece Theatre*.

According to long-time *Masterpiece Theatre* host Alistair Cooke, quoted in Terrence O'Flaherty's *Masterpiece Theatre*, "I loved *Upstairs, Downstairs*. When I first saw it, my reaction was, 'I'll be amazed if this thing doesn't really hit the headlines. It's marvelous. It allows you to identify with the downstairs people while vicariously enjoying the life of the upstairs people.'" Followed closely episode by episode, the upstairs and downstairs families became a part of "our" family. The audience genuinely cared about the characters, came to know them intimately, and developed a strong empathy for them.

The Bellamys and their staff of domestic servants resided in a five-story townhouse at 165 Eaton Place, Belgravia, in London, an address well known to the se-





*Upstairs, Downstairs.*  
 Photo courtesy of Frank Goodman Associates

ries' many fans. The upstairs family includes Lord Richard Bellamy (David Langton); his first wife, Lady Marjorie (Rachel Gurney), who dies tragically on the Titanic; their two children, James (Simon Williams) and Elizabeth (Nicola Pagett); Richard's second wife, Virginia (Hannah Gordon); James's wife, Hazel (Meg Wynn Owen), who dies in a flu epidemic; and Georgina Worsley (Lesley-Anne Down), cousin to James and Elizabeth. Among the most memorable of

the downstairs staff are Hudson the butler (Gordon Jackson), Mrs. Bridges the cook (Angela Baddeley), Rose (Jean Marsh), Ruby (Jenny Tomasin), Edward (Christopher Beeny), and Daisy (Jacqueline Tong). Among the many other characters who appeared in a number of episodes, perhaps Sarah (Pauline Collins), Watkins (John Alderton), Sir Geoffrey the family solicitor (Raymond Huntley), and Lady Pru (Joan Benham) are the most fondly remembered by viewers. The

large cast, only partially noted here, is considered to include some of the best actors from British stage, film, and television. The series earned the respect of professional peers as well as that of the audience. Its cast won numerous awards, both in Britain and the United States, including eight Emmys, Writers Guild of Great Britain Awards, American Drama Critics Circle Awards, Golden Globe Awards, and a Peabody Award. Angela Baddeley received the Commander of the British Empire, awarded in the Queen's 1975 New Year's Honours List. According to Queen Elizabeth II, *Upstairs, Downstairs* was her favorite program in 1975, and Baddeley's Mrs. Bridges was her favorite character. In addition, Gordon Jackson received the coveted Queen's Order of the British Empire Award.

The idea for the series came from actresses Jean Marsh (who played the role of house-parlor maid Rose) and Eileen Atkins. The series was developed by John Hawkesworth, whose long and distinguished career in film and television extends from art director on the film *The Third Man* to producer of the well-regarded Sherlock Holmes series featuring Jeremy Brett. *Upstairs, Downstairs* was the first program from LWT to be purchased for *Masterpiece Theatre* and only the second non-BBC program to be scheduled. *Upstairs, Downstairs* was one of the first series of its type to be produced on videotape rather than film (though certain scenes, mainly exteriors and location shots, were shot on film). It was one of the first series on *Masterpiece Theatre* that was not biographical or based on a written work. It was created purely for television. As originally produced for British television, each episode in the series was written in three acts. On *Masterpiece Theatre*, each episode was shown without interruption.

Significant confusion was created when the series was shown on U.S. television because 13 of the first 26 episodes produced for British television were not shown. This created a rather bizarre lack of continuity. Six of the first original British episodes had been taped in black and white due to a strike. *Masterpiece Theatre* only wanted episodes in color and so the first episode ("On Trial") was revised and reshot in color for American television. Of the first 26 original episodes shot for British TV, episodes 2 through 9, 11 and 12, 16, 19, and 20 were not shown on U.S. television. These "lost" episodes were not made available for American viewing until 1989. The original black-and-white version of episode 1 has never been made available to American television.

*Upstairs, Downstairs* was first shown on British television in 1971 and continued through four series of

13 episodes each (two Edwardian series, a later prewar series, and a World War I series) and a fifth series of 16 episodes (postwar), making a total of 68 episodes produced and broadcast. A spin-off from the original series, *Thomas and Sarah*, featured the continued story of Sarah the parlor maid (Pauline Collins) and Thomas Watkins the chauffeur (John Alderton) together after leaving service at 165 Eaton Place. A total of 13 one-hour episodes were produced by LWT for original broadcast in 1979.

On *Masterpiece Theatre*, the original 26 Edwardian period episodes, pared down to 13, were first shown January 6 to March 31, 1974. From November 3, 1974, to January 26, 1975, the post-Edwardian, prewar series of 13 episodes was broadcast. The 13 World War I episodes were shown January 1 to March 28, 1976. The final series of 16 postwar episodes was broadcast January 16 to May 1, 1977 making, in all, 55 episodes shown on *Masterpiece Theatre*. The 55 episodes were later repeated on *Masterpiece Theatre*, and selected episodes were shown as a part of a "10th Anniversary Season Festival of Favorites" and as a part of the "Twentieth Anniversary Favorites" series early in 1991. *Upstairs, Downstairs* was the inspiration for the short-lived CBS television series *Beacon Hill*, which concerned a well-to-do Boston family and their domestic staff during the 1920s (broadcast fall 1975).

*Upstairs, Downstairs* is one of the highest rated programs in the history of PBS. The series has been syndicated to both commercial and noncommercial stations in the United States and is one of the most successful and watched dramatic series in television history. It is estimated that approximately 1 billion people in more than 40 countries have enjoyed *Upstairs, Downstairs*, and the series is still in active syndication. The entire series has been released on videotape and DVD.

STEVE RUNYON

**See also British Programming; Jackson, Gordon; Miniseries**

**Cast**

Lady Marjorie Bellamy	Rachel Gurney
Richard Bellamy	David Langton
James	Simon Williams
Elizabeth	Nicola Pagett
Hudson	Gordon Jackson
Mrs. Bridges	Angela Baddeley
Rose	Jean Marsh
Sarah	Pauline Collins
Emily	Evin Crowley
Alfred	George Innes

Roberts  
Pearce  
Edward  
Laurence  
Ruby  
Watkins  
Hazel  
Daisy  
Georgina Worsley  
Virginia  
Alice  
William  
Frederick  
Lily

Patsy Smart  
Brian Osborne  
Christopher Beeny  
Ian Ogilvy  
Jenny Tomasin  
John Alderton  
Meg Wynn Owen  
Jacqueline Tong  
Lesley-Anne Down  
Hannah Gordon  
Anne Yarker  
Jonathan Seely  
Gareth Hunt  
Karen Dotrice

**Producers**

Rex Firkin, John Hawkesworth

**Programming History**

68 50-minute episodes  
ITV  
October 1971–March 1972  
October 1972–January 1973  
October 1973–January 1974  
September 1974–December 1974

**Further Reading**

Cooke, Alistair, *Masterpieces: A Decade of Masterpiece Theatre*, New York: VNU Books International-Alfred A. Knopf, 1981  
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Hardwick, Mollie, *The World of Upstairs, Downstairs*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976  
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## Valour and the Horror, The

Canadian Documentary

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Aired on the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), *The Valour and the Horror* is a Canadian-made documentary about three controversial aspects of Canada's participation in World War II. This three-part series caused a controversy almost unprecedented in the history of Canadian television. Canadian veterans, outraged by what they considered an inaccurate and highly biased account of the war, sued Brian and Terence McKenna, the series directors, for libel. An account of the controversy surrounding *The Valour and the Horror*, with statements by the directors and the CBC ombudsman as well as an examination of the series by various historians can be found in David J. Bercuson and S.F. Wise's *The Valour and the Horror Revisited*.

*The Valour and the Horror* consists of three separate two-hour segments, which aired on consecutive Sunday evenings in 1992. In the first, "Savage Christmas Hong Kong 1941," the McKennas explore the ill-preparedness of the Canadian troops stationed in Hong Kong, the loss of the city to the Japanese, and the barbarous treatment of Canadian troops interned in slave-labor camps for the duration of the war. Arguably the most moving of the three episodes, "Savage Christmas" was the least controversial. The eyewitness testimony of two surviving veterans, combined with archival photographs and reenactments of letters written by prisoners of war, testifies to the strength of emotion that can be generated by television documentary.

The second episode, "Death by Moonlight: Bomber Command," proved to be the most controversial of the three episodes. It details the blanket bombing of German cities carried out by Canadian Lancaster bombers, including the firestorm caused by the bombings of Dresden and Munich. The McKennas claim that the blanket bombing, which caused enormous casualties among both German civilians and Canadian air crews, did nothing to hasten the end of the war and was merely an act of great brutality with little military significance. In particular, British commander Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris is cited for his bloodthirstiness.

"In Desperate Battle: Normandy 1944," the third episode, deals primarily with the massive loss of Canadian troops at Verrieres Ridge during the assault on Normandy, citing the incompetence and inexperience of Canadian military leadership as the cause for the high casualty rate. This episode also accuses the Canadian forces of war crimes against German soldiers—war crimes that were never prosecuted after the war.

All three episodes combine black-and-white archival footage of the war with present-day interviews with both allied and enemy veterans and civilians. Each episode has a voice-over narration by Brian McKenna and is accompanied by music taken from Gabriel Faure's Requiem of 1893. The sections taken from the Requiem are those sung primarily by young boys. The accompaniment was perhaps chosen because, throughout each episode, the McKennas em-



*The Valour and the Horror.*  
Photo courtesy of Galafilm, Inc.

phasize the youth of the combatants and the terrible but preventable waste of both Canada's young men and innocent German civilians, including babies ripped from their mothers' arms by the wind during the firestorms that followed the bombing.

The youthfulness of the soldiers is also emphasized in some very controversial reenactments in which actors speak lines taken from the letters and diaries of Canadian and British military personnel. Although these reenactments are well marked as such, veterans have claimed that they are misleading and extremely selective about what they include. Reenactments, which are more characteristic of "reality" TV programs such as *America's Most Wanted* and *Rescue 911*, are problematic in conventional documentary practice. As Bill Nichols argues in *Representing Reality*, "documentaries run some risks of credibility in reenacting an event: the special indexical bond between image and historical event is ruptured." Certainly, reenactments are more conventional in television than in cinematic documentary.

The battle that ensued over *The Valour and the Hor-*

*ror* was a battle over the interpretation of history and the responsibilities of publicly funded television. The McKennas have argued that, in the tradition of investigative journalism, they wished to set aside the official account of the war and examine events from the point of view of the participants. They have also argued that the real story has never been told and that their own research has shown gross incompetence, mismanagement, and cover-ups on the part of the Canadian government. Historians and veterans have argued that *The Valour and the Horror* is a revisionist history that is both historically inaccurate and poorly researched.

The major complaints against *The Valour and the Horror* by historians are its lack of context, poor research, and bias that led to misinterpretation and inaccuracy. The McKennas, in defending themselves, have to a degree been their own worst enemies. By claiming that their series is fact, and contains no fiction, and also by claiming that their research is "bullet proof," they have set themselves up for all kinds of attacks—attacks that have also affected the status of publicly funded television in Canada. Publicly funded institutions are

particularly vulnerable to attacks by powerful lobbies, whose animosity can and does jeopardize the institutions' financial stability. *The Valour and the Horror* can be seen as a particularly acrimonious chapter in the continuing battle between a publicly funded institution and the taxpayers who support it. In this, it is not unlike the battle waged in the United States between veterans and the Smithsonian Institute over the representation of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

JEANNETTE SLONIOWSKI

#### Producers

Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky (National Film Board of Canada producer), Darce Fardy (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation producer)

#### Directors

Brian McKenna, Terence McKenna

#### Writers

Brian McKenna, Terence McKenna

#### Programming History

January 1992 three parts

#### Further Reading

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## Van Dyke, Dick (1925- )

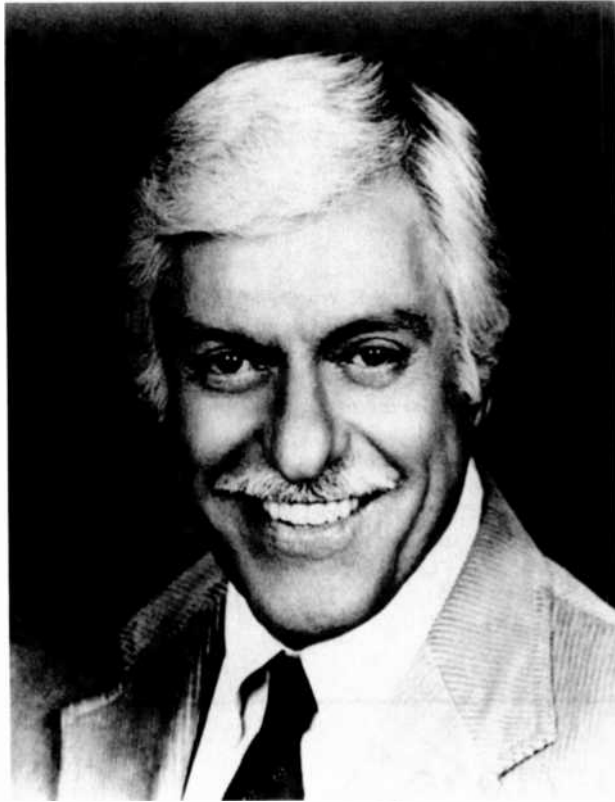
U.S. Actor

Dick Van Dyke's entertainment career began during World War II, when he participated in variety shows and worked as an announcer while serving in the U.S. military. That career has continued into the present, with more than five decades of work as an actor on network and local television, on stage, and in motion pictures. Van Dyke began working in television as host of variety programs in Atlanta, Georgia, and his first foray into network television came in 1956, as the emcee of CBS Television's *Cartoon Theatre*.

It was Van Dyke's role as Rob Petrie on the classic CBS situation comedy *The Dick Van Dyke Show* that ensured his place in television history. He was cast by series creator Carl Reiner and series producer Sheldon Leonard in the role of a television comedy writer (Reiner himself played this role in the series pilot, *Head of the Family*). Selected over another television pioneer, Johnny Carson, and plucked from a starring role on the Broadway stage in *Bye Bye Birdie*, Van Dyke used his unique talent for physical comedy, coupled with his ability to sing and dance, to play Robert Simpson Petrie, the head writer of the *Alan Brady Show*. Complementing Van Dyke was a veteran cast of talented comedic actors including Rose Marie, Morey Amsterdam, Jerry Paris, Carl Reiner (as Alan Brady),

as well as a newcomer to television, Mary Tyler Moore, who played Rob's wife Laura Petrie.

In many ways, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* broke new ground in network television. The series created quite a stir when, in the early 1960s, husband and wife, although still depicted sleeping in separate beds, were shown to have a physical relationship. Moore was also allowed to wear capri pants, a style unseen on TV at the time. However, the quintessential example of the innovations offered by *The Dick Van Dyke Show* are seen in the episode "That's My Boy??" The network initially rejected the script for this episode, and only an appeal from Leonard himself secured permission to film it. In this episode, Rob is convinced that the baby he and Laura brought home from the hospital is not theirs, but a baby belonging to another couple, the Peters. Constant mix-ups with flowers and candy at the hospital, caused by the similarity in names (Petrie and Peters), leads Rob to believe that the babies were somehow switched, and he decides to confront the Peters family. Only when the Peters show up at Rob and Laura's house does Rob learn that the Peters are African American. Some have speculated that the overwhelming positive reaction by audiences to this episode inspired Leonard to cast



Dick Van Dyke.  
Photo courtesy of Dick Van Dyke

another future television megastar, Bill Cosby, in *I Spy*.

Van Dyke won three Emmy Awards for his role in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, and the series received four Emmy Awards for outstanding comedy series. The series, which began in 1961, ended its network television run in 1966, although audiences have continued to enjoy the program through its extended life in syndication.

Van Dyke went on to star in such feature films as *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, *Mary Poppins*, and *The Comic*, while also continuing to be a staple on network television in *The New Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Van Dyke and Company* (for which he received his fourth Emmy), and a critically acclaimed and Emmy-nominated dramatic performance in the made-for-television movie *The Morning After*. In the 1990s, he starred in the prime-time series *Diagnosis Murder* for CBS, which costarred his son Barry Van Dyke.

THOMAS A. BIRK

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings; Comedy, Workplace; Dick Van Dyke Show, The; Moore, Mary Tyler; Reiner, Carl**

**Dick Van Dyke.** Born in West Plains, Missouri, December 13, 1925. Married: Marjorie Willett, 1948 (divorced, 1984); children: Barry, Carrie-Beth, Christian, and Stacy. Served in U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II. Founded advertising agency with Wayne Williams, Danville, Illinois, 1946; appeared with Phillip Erickson in pantomime act *The Merry Mutes*, Eric and Van, 1947–53; television master of ceremonies, *The Music Shop*, Atlanta, Georgia; hosted television variety show, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, New Orleans, Louisiana; master of ceremonies, *The Morning Show*, CBS, 1955, and *Cartoon Theatre*, 1956; hosted weekly television show *Flair*, ABC, 1960; performed on Broadway in *Bye Bye Birdie*, 1960–61; starred in weekly television sitcom *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, CBS, 1961–66; performed in such films as *Mary Poppins*, 1965, and *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, 1968; returned to television series format with *Diagnosis Murder*, 1993; chair, *Nick at Nite*, from 1992. Recipient: Theater World Award, 1960; Antoinette Perry Award, 1961; four Emmy Awards.

#### Television Series (selected)

1955–56	<i>The Morning Show</i> (master of ceremonies)
1956	<i>Cartoon Theatre</i> (host)
1958–59	<i>Mother's Day</i> (host)
1959	<i>Laugh Line</i> (host)
1960	<i>Flair</i> (host)
1961–66	<i>The Dick Van Dyke Show</i>
1971–74	<i>The New Dick Van Dyke Show</i>
1976	<i>Van Dyke and Company</i>
1988	<i>The Van Dyke Show</i>
1993–2001	<i>Diagnosis Murder</i>
2003	<i>The Alan Brady Show</i> (voice)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1974	<i>The Morning After</i>
1977	<i>Tubby the Tuba</i> (voice only)
1982	<i>Drop-Out Father</i>
1982	<i>The Country Girl</i>
1983	<i>Found Money</i>
1985	<i>Breakfast with Les and Bess</i>
1986	<i>Strong Medicine</i>
1987	<i>Ghost of a Chance</i>
1991	<i>Daughters of Privilege</i>
2002	<i>A Town Without Pity</i>
2002	<i>Without Warning</i>
2003	<i>The Gin Game</i>

#### Films

*Bye Bye Birdie*, 1963; *What a Way To Go*, 1964; *Lt. Robin Crusoe, USN*, 1965; *Mary Poppins*, 1965;



*Divorce American Style*, 1967; *Never a Dull Moment*, 1967; *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, 1968; *The Comic*, 1969; *Some Kind of Nut*, 1969; *Cold Turkey*, 1971; *The Runner Stumbles*, 1979; *Drop-Out Father*, 1982; *Dick Tracy*, 1990; *Freddie Goes to Washington* (voice only), 1992.

### Stage

*The Girls Against the Boys*, 1959; *Bye Bye Birdie*, 1960–61.

### Publication

*Faith, Hope, and Hilarity*, 1970

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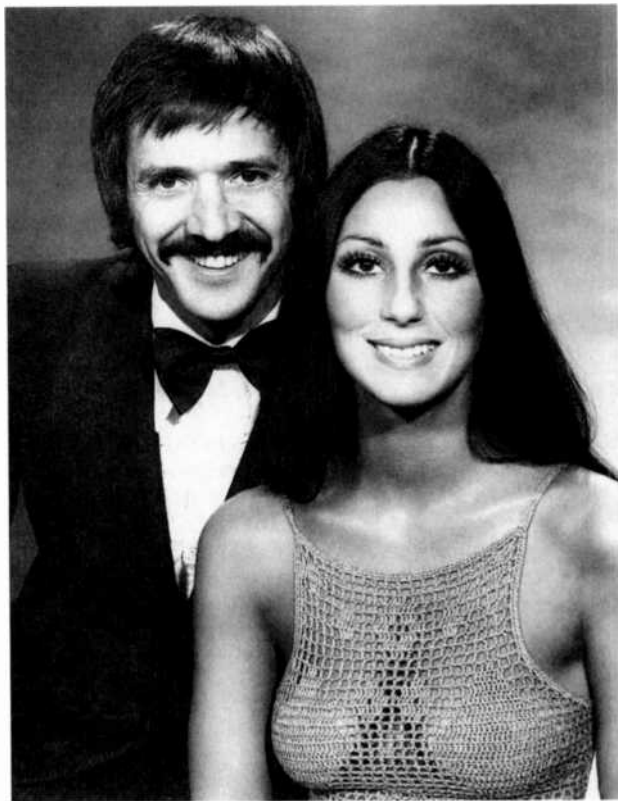
## Variety Programs

Variety programs were among the most popular prime-time shows in the early years of American television. *Texaco Star Theater* starring Milton Berle was so popular for its first two or three years in the late 1940s and early 1950s that restaurants closed the night it was on, water usage plummeted during its hour, and, in 1949, almost 75 percent of the television audience watched it every week. Whether emphasizing musical performance or comedy, or equal portions of each, the variety genre provided early television with the spectacular entertainment values that television and advertising executives believed were important to its growth as a popular medium.

Variety shows almost always featured musical (instrumental, vocal, and dance) performances and comedy sketches, and sometimes acrobatics, animal or magic tricks, and dramatic recitations. Some had musical or comedy stars as hosts, often already known from radio or the recording industry, who displayed their talents solo or with guest performers. Others featured personalities, such as Ted Mack or Ed Sullivan, who acted as emcees and provided continuity for what was basically a series of unrelated acts. This genre was produced by both networks and local television stations. Some of the most popular musical variety programs,

such as *The Lawrence Welk Show* and *The Liberace Show*, began as local productions for Los Angeles stations. The form has its heritage in 19th-century American entertainment—minstrel, vaudeville, and burlesque shows—and the 20th-century nightclub and Catskills resorts revues (where such talents as Sid Caesar, Imogene Coca, and Carl Reiner were found).

These forms of entertainment emphasized presentational or performative aspects—immediacy, spontaneity, and spectacle—over story line and character development. Performers might develop a "persona," but this character mask would usually represent a well-known stereotype or exhibit a particular vocal or dance talent, rather than embody a fleshed-out character growing within the context of dramatic situations. The vaudeville show, which had achieved a middle-class following by the 20th century, presented a series of unrelated acts, featured stars or "headliners," in addition to supporting acts. Many of the form's most important stars made the transition to radio or films in the 1920s and 1930s, and some of these, such as Ed Wynn, were also among the stars of television's first variety shows. Two of the most significant "headliners" of vaudeville and stars of radio, Jack Benny and Burns and Allen made a successful transition to television, but while



*The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour*, Sonny and Cher, portrait for the debut episode, August 1, 1971.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

their shows retained aspects of vaudeville and variety (especially Benny's program with movie star guests and the regularly featured singer Dennis Day), they also combined those elements with the narrative features of situation comedy. A less-successful radio comedian, Milton Berle, brought vaudeville back in a much bigger way (his and other television variety-vaudeville shows were called "vaudeo") because his performances emphasized the visual spectacle of the live stage impossible on radio.

The spontaneous, rowdy antics and adult humor of Milton Berle, or of Sid Caesar and company on *Your Show of Shows*, were most popular on the east coast, where they could be aired live (before the coaxial cable was laid across the country), and where an urban population might be familiar with these performance styles from nightclubs and resorts. As demographics and ratings from other parts of the country became more important to advertisers and networks, as telefilm programming (usually sitcoms and western dramas) became more successful, and as moral watchdog groups and cultural pundits criticized the genre for its

"blue" jokes, some comedy-variety shows fell out of favor. The gentle, childlike humor of Red Skelton became more popular than the cross-dressing of Berle, just as the various comic "personas" of Jackie Gleason (such as the Poor Soul, Joe the Bartender, and Ralph Kramden) proved more acceptable to wide audiences than the foreign-movie spoofs performed by Caesar and company. While Berle and Caesar stayed on the air for most of the 1950s, it was these other comics and their variety hours that made the transitions into the 1960s.

Variety shows emphasizing music, such as *The Dinah Shore Show*, *The Perry Como Show*, *The Tennessee Ernie Ford Show*, *The Lawrence Welk Show*, *Your Hit Parade*, *The Bell Telephone Hour*, and *The Voice of Firestone* (the latter two emphasizing classical music performance), had long runs and little controversy. Nat "King" Cole, the first major black performer to have a network variety series, had a great difficulty securing sponsors for his show when it debuted in 1956, and most of the important black musical stars of the time (and many of the white ones as well) appeared for reduced fees to help save the show. NBC canceled it a little over a year after its debut.

Besides several of the above mentioned shows, *The Smothers Brothers Show*, *The Carol Burnett Show*, and *The Ed Sullivan Show* (which would leave the air in 1971 after 23 years) found success in the 1960s, even as the prime-time schedule became more and more filled with dramatic programs and situation comedies. *The Smothers Brothers Show* caused some controversy with its anti-Vietnam War jokes, and the brothers tangled with CBS over Pete Seeger's singing of "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy." Ed Sullivan stayed popular by booking rock acts, such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, and Carol Burnett continued the delicious spoofing of films that *Your Show of Shows* had started. For the most part, however, the cultural changes in the late 1960s and 1970s overtook the relevance of the variety form. *The Glen Campbell Goodtime Hour*, *The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour*, *Tony Orlando and Dawn*—all shows featuring popular music stars with a youth culture following—achieved some popularity in the 1970s. *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, a different type of variety program, prefigured the faster, more culturally literate and irreverent style that would survive, in limited form, into the 1990s. Clearly more oriented toward satire and sketch comedy than to the music-variety form of other programs, *Laugh-In* in its way recalled the inventiveness of *Your Show of Shows*.

Only one show from the 1970s, with the focus on the youth demographic, has lasted into the 21st cen-

ture: NBC's *Saturday Night Live*. This program, mainly emphasizing satirical comedy and featuring a different host and musical guest or group every week, has captured the teen, college, and young adult crowd with a late-night airing (11:30 P.M. Eastern and Pacific time). Although critics periodically call for its demise as the quality of writing waxes and wanes, the show has created film and television stars out of many of its regular performers. In the late 1990s, FOX Television started airing *MAD TV*, its own entry into Saturday late-night variety programming. *MAD TV*, based on the irreverent satire magazine of the same name published since the 1950s, is actually structured much like its NBC competitor, but it features celebrity or musical guests less frequently. Although these network variety shows have remained popular and a reunion special of *The Carol Burnett Show* in late 2001 received surprisingly high ratings, the general lack of the genre on television despite the proliferation of new channels, may suggest its permanent eclipse, as the viewer with a remote control can now create his or her own variety show, switching from stand-up comedy on A&E or Comedy Central to ballet and opera on PBS or Bravo, from rock and roll on MTV to country music on TNN.

MARY DESJARDINS

*See also Burnett, Carol; Carol Burnett Show, The; Ed Sullivan Show, The; Original Amateur Hour, The; Saturday Night Live; Sullivan, Ed; Special/Spectacular*

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## Very British Coup, A

### U.K. Drama Series

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A *Very British Coup* was a high-minded political drama serial that posited a simple question: how would the establishment and the United States respond to the popular election of a far-left government in the United Kingdom? A well-acted and compelling drama, first transmitted in the summer of 1988, it reflected growing public concerns and anxieties about the right-wing politics of the Reagan-Thatcher era and the burgeoning industrial military complex.

The series was based on the 1982 same-titled novel written by Labour Party supporter, and later member of Parliament, Chris Mullin. It was adapted by the respected scriptwriter Alan Plater, who had a list of credits to his name, including episodes of the police series *Z Cars*, and adaptations of major literary works such as *The Barchester Chronicles* (1983), based on books by Anthony Trollope.

The drama surrounded the election of a far-left Labour government in the "near future" led by third-generation steelworker and socialist Harry Perkins. Played by Ray McAnally, Perkins sported a Stalin-like moustache, displayed Machiavellian cunning, but retained an avuncular manner and a passion for equality and decency. With a radical agenda to re-nationalize major industries, increase spending on welfare provision, introduce "open government," curb press monopoly, oust the American military from U.K. soil, and unilaterally disarm Britain's nuclear capability, Perkins and his government made many enemies in the political, economic, media, and military establishment.

The first episode followed Perkins from election through to an economic crisis, with the International Monetary Fund only offering to bail out the British economy with a loan conditional on a policy U-turn.

The episode ended on a triumphant note instead, when the foreign secretary secured a more preferable loan from the Moscow State Bank after a secret visit to Sweden. The second episode saw the honeymoon over, and secret service and press colluding to make the foreign secretary resign. The country started to sink to its knees after a debilitating power-workers strike, and, for many British viewers, this was a strong reminder of the power strikes during the "winter of discontent" 1978-79. The strike was only broken, however, when the union leader in charge was exposed as a CIA agent provocateur.

In the final episode, Perkins horrified the U.S. government and British military after showing the decommissioning of a nuclear missile live on television. In an attempt to stop Perkins from going any further, the "behind-the-scenes powers-that-be" conspired to force him to resign in favor of a more moderate candidate. Yet in the climactic resignation address to the nation, Perkins melodramatically turned the tables, exposing those who had sought to topple him, and called for a general election to canvass the will of the people. As Perkins made his speech live on television, the drama cut to a reaction shot of the head of the secret service, surrounded by senior military officers, repeating Henry II's infamous plea to the knights who murdered Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral: "Who will free me from this turbulent priest?"

In the final scene, the ending was, in one sense, ambiguous, but the implication was clear. Perkins stood in front of his mirror in his Sheffield Council flat, shaving in anticipation of polling day (returning almost full circle to where the drama began). As the screen faded to black, the sound of helicopters grew louder.

Out of context, the drama of *A Very British Coup* seems overly paranoid and melodramatic, yet at the time of transmission it reflected a real world of disquiet and anxiety. In Britain, the 1980s was a period of rapid social change. On the one hand it could be characterized by the yuppie boom, the growth in communications technologies and white collar employment, and the birth of the "me" generation. On the other hand it also saw rising unemployment and the suppression of the union movement, the (temporary) collapse of the Labour Party, the concentration of media power in the hands of a partisan minority, and the fear of increased government surveillance. The return to an aggressive anti-communist cold-war rhetoric concerned many, as did the stationing of U.S. nuclear weaponry on British soil. Many genuinely feared the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

On transmission, Plater's adaptation also seemed to have a louder ring of truth as it closely followed allegations that senior British secret service officers at MI5 had plotted to overthrow the Labour Prime Min-

ister Harold Wilson in the early 1970s. These potentially spurious allegations were given an additional filip when the British government banned publication of these claims in the United Kingdom.

Tapping into this unease, the aesthetic style of *A Very British Coup* often overlaps dialogue with images of people talking on telephones, computer screens scrolling through banks of data, and shots of undercover officers sitting in cars or on motorbikes observing the action. This suggests an overwhelming sense of surveillance. In a subtle post-Watergate twist, the drama also suggests that the calls of the prime minister are not bugged by MI5, but by U.S. intelligence, and then passed to the British secret service.

Notably, in *A Very British Coup*, the political realm is marked out as a profane place. Several scenes with Perkins take place in toilets, or while he is shaving (the first episode begins with a shot of urine splashing into a toilet bowl). This has the double effect of humanizing Perkins and his cause, whilst also showing that all power has a visceral and vulnerable side.

Ray McAnally was surrounded by an excellent cast: Keith Allen as a rough diamond investigative journalist turned spin doctor; Alan MacNaughtan as the intransigent secret service chief; and Tim McInnerny, playing against type, as a humorless secret service henchman. It was directed by Mick Jackson, whose career began in documentary before making the shocking drama-documentary *Threads* (1984), about a nuclear attack on Britain. He later moved to Hollywood to work on *LA Story* (1991) and *The Bodyguard* (1992). The program won numerous awards, including an Emmy for best television drama.

ROB TURNOCK

#### Cast

Harry Perkins	Ray McAnally
Sir Percy Browne	Alan MacNaughtan
Thompson	Keith Allen
Liz	Christine Kavanagh
Wainwright	Geoffrey Beevers
Fiennes	Tim McInnerny
Newsome	Jim Carter
Fison	Philip Madoc

#### Producers

Sally Hibbin, Ann Skinner

#### Programming History

Channel 4

June 19, June 26, and

July 3, 1988

Sunday 9:15-10:15

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# Victory at Sea

## U.S. Compilation Documentary

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*Victory at Sea*, a 26-episode series on World War II, represented one of the most ambitious documentary undertakings of early network television. The venture paid off handsomely for NBC and its parent company, RCA, in that it generated considerable residual income through syndication and several spin-off properties. It also helped establish compilation documentaries, programs composed of existing archival footage, as a sturdy television genre.

The series premiered on the last Sunday of October 1952, and subsequent episodes played each Sunday afternoon through May 1953. Each half-hour installment dealt with some aspect of World War II naval warfare and highlighted each of the sea war's major campaigns: the Battle of the North Atlantic, the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Battle of Midway, antisubmarine patrol in the South Atlantic, the Leyte Gulf campaign, and others. Each episode was composed of archival footage originally accumulated by the U.S., British, Japanese, or German navies. The footage was carefully edited and organized to bring out the drama of each campaign. That drama was enhanced by the program's sententious voice-over narration and by Richard Rodgers's stirring musical score.

*Victory at Sea* won instant praise and loyal viewers. Television critics greeted it as breakthrough for the young television industry: an entertaining documentary series that still provided a vivid record of recent history. The *New York Times* praised the series for its "rare power"; *The New Yorker* pronounced the combat footage "beyond compare"; and *Harper's* proclaimed that "*Victory at Sea* [has] created a new art form." The program eventually garnered 13 industry awards, including a Peabody and a special Emmy.

The project resulted from the determination of its producer, Henry Salomon, and from the fact that NBC was in a position to develop and exploit a project in compilation filmmaking. Salomon had served in the U.S. Navy during the war and was assigned to help historian Samuel Eliot Morison write the Navy's official history of its combat operations. In that capacity, Salomon learned of the vast amounts film footage the various warring navies had accumulated. He left military service in 1948, convinced that the footage could

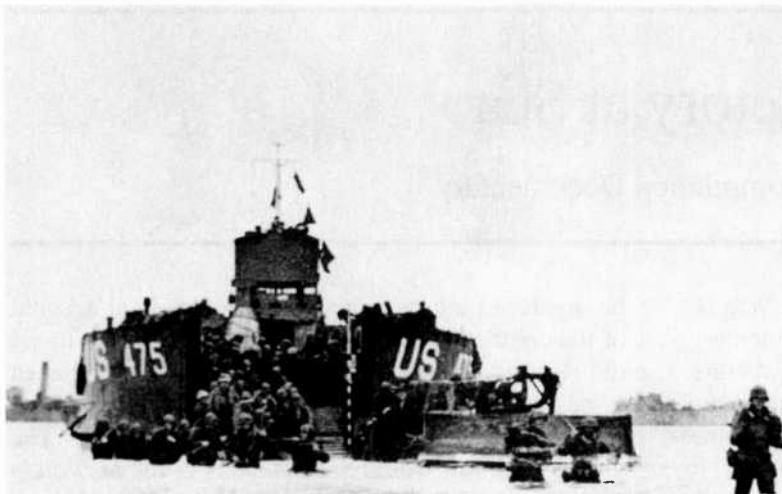
be organized into a comprehensive historical account of the conflict. He eventually broached the idea to his old Harvard classmate Robert Sarnoff, who happened to be the son of RCA Chairman David Sarnoff and a rising executive in NBC's television network. The younger Sarnoff was about to take over the network's new film division as NBC anticipated shifting more of its schedule from live to filmed programming. A full documentary series drawn entirely from extant film footage fit perfectly with plans for the company's film division.

Production began in 1951 with Salomon assigned to oversee the enterprise. NBC committed the then-substantial sum of \$500,000 to the project. Salomon put together a staff of newsreel veterans to assemble and edit the footage. The research took them to archives in North America, Europe, and Asia through 1951 and early 1952. Meanwhile Salomon received the full cooperation of the U.S. Navy, which expected to receive beneficial publicity from the series. The crew eventually assembled 60 million feet of film, roughly 11,000 miles. This was eventually edited down to 61,000 feet. Salomon scored a coup when musical celebrity Richard Rodgers agreed to compose the program's music. Rodgers was fresh from several Broadway successes, and his name added prestige to the entire project. More important, it offered the opportunity for NBC's parent company, RCA, to market the score through its record division.

When the finished series was first broadcast, it did not yet have sponsorship. NBC placed it in the lineup of cultural programs on Sunday afternoon. The company promoted it as a high-prestige program, an example of history brought to life in the living room through the new medium of television. In so doing, the company was actually preparing to exploit the program in lucrative residual markets. As a film (rather than live) production, it could be rebroadcast indefinitely. Furthermore, the fact that *Victory at Sea* dealt with a historical subject meant that its information value would not depreciate as would a current-affairs documentary.

*Victory at Sea* went into syndication in May 1953 and enjoyed a decade of resounding success. It played on 206 local stations over the course of ten years. It

## Victory at Sea



*Victory at Sea*, 1952–53.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

had as many as 20 reruns in some markets. This interest continued through the mid-1960s, when one year's syndication income equaled the program's entire production cost. NBC also aggressively marketed the program overseas. By 1964 *Victory at Sea* had played in 40 foreign markets. Meanwhile, NBC recut the material into a 90-minute feature. United Artists distributed the film theatrically in 1954, and it was subsequently broadcast in NBC's prime-time schedule in 1960 and 1963. The Richard Rodgers score was sold in several record versions through RCA-Victor. By 1963 the album version had grossed \$4 million, and one tune from the collection, "No Other Love," earned an additional \$500,000 as a single.

The combination of prestige and residual income persuaded NBC to make a long-term commitment to the compilation documentary as a genre. NBC retained the *Victory at Sea* production crew as Project XX, a permanent production unit specializing in prime-time documentary specials on historical subjects. The unit continued its work through the early 1970s, producing some 22 feature-length documentaries for the network.

*Victory at Sea* demonstrated the commercial possibilities of compilation documentaries to other networks as well. Such programs as *Air Power* and *Winston Churchill: The Valiant Years* directly imitated

the *Victory at Sea* model, and the success of CBS's long-running historical series *The 20th Century* owed much to the example set by Salomon and his NBC colleagues. The fact that such programs still continue to play in syndication in the expanded cable market demonstrates the staying power of the compilation genre.

VANCE KEPLEY JR.

### See also **War on Television**

**Narrator**  
Leonard Graves

**Producer**  
Henry Salomon

**Music Composer**  
Richard Rodgers

**Programming History**  
26 episodes  
NBC  
October 1952–May 1953

Sunday nonprime time



*Victory at Sea, 1952–53.*  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

### Further Reading

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## Video Editing

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Television historians have had little to say about post-production, despite the central role that video-editing practices and technologies have played in the changing look and sound of television. Video editing developed

through three historical phases: physical film/tape cutting, electronic linear editing, and digital nonlinear editing. Even before the development of a successful videotape recording format in 1956 (the Ampex VR-

1000), time zone requirements for national broadcasting required a means of recording and transporting programs. Kinescopes, filmed recordings of live video shows for delayed airing in other time zones, were used for this practice. Minimal film editing of these kinescopes was an obligatory part of network television.

Once videotape found widespread use, the term "stop-and-go recording" was used to designate those "live" shows that would be shot in pieces then later edited together. Physically splicing the two-inch quad videotape proved cumbersome and unforgiving, however, and NBC/Burbank developed a system in 1957 that used 16mm kinescopes, not for broadcasting, but as "work-prints" to rough-cut a show before physically handling the videotape. Audible cues on the film's optical soundtrack allowed tape editors to match-back frame-for-frame each cut. Essentially, this was the first "offline" system for video. Known as ESG, this system of rough-cutting film and conforming on tape (a reversal of what would become standard industry practice in the 1990s) reached its zenith in 1968 with *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*. That show required 350 to 400 tape-splices and 60 hours of physical splicing to build up each episode's edit master.

A cleaner way to manipulate prerecorded video elements had, however, been introduced in 1963 with Ampex's all electronic Editec. With VTRs (videotape recorders) now controlled by computers, and in- and out-points marked by audible tones, the era of electronic "transfer editing" had begun. Original source recordings were left unaltered, and discrete video shots and sounds were re-recorded in a new sequence on a second-generation edit master. In 1967 other technologies added options now commonplace in video-editing studios. Ampex introduced the HS-100 videodisc recorder (a prototype for now requisite slow-motion and freeze-frame effects) that was used extensively by ABC in the 1968 Olympics. Helical-scan VTRs (which threaded and recorded tape in a spiral pattern around a rotating head) appeared at the same time and ushered in a decade in which technological formats were increasingly miniaturized (enabled in part by the shift to fully transistorized VTRs, like the RCA TR-22, in 1961). New users and markets opened up with the shift to helical: educational, community activist, and cable cooperatives all began producing on the half-inch EIAJ format that followed; producers of commercials and industrial video made the three-quarter-inch U-matic format pioneered by Sony in 1973 its workhorse platform for nearly two decades; newsrooms jettisoned 16mm news film (along with its labs and unions) for the same videocassette-based format in the late 1970s;

even networks and affiliates replaced venerable two-inch quad machines with one-inch helical starting in 1977.

The standardization of "time-code" editing, more than any other development, made this proliferating use viable. Developed by EECO in 1967, time-code was awarded an Emmy in 1971 and standardized by SMPTE shortly thereafter. The process assigned each video frame a digital "audio address," allowed editors to manage lists of hundreds of shots, and made frame accuracy and rapidly cut sequences a norm. The explosive growth of nonnetwork video in the 1970s was directly tied to these and other refinements in electronic editing.

Nonlinear digital editing, a third phase, began in the late 1980s both as a response to the shortcomings of electronic transfer editing, and as a result of economic and institutional changes (the influence of music video, and the merging of film and television). To creative personnel trained in film, state-of-the-art online video suites had become little more than engineering monoliths that prevented cutting-edge directors from working intuitively. In linear time-code editing, for example, changes made at minute 12 of a program meant that the entire program after that point had to be re-edited to accommodate the change in program duration. Time-code editing, which made this possible, also essentially quantified the process, so that the art of editing meant merely managing frame in/out numbers for shots on extensive edit decision lists (EDLs). With more than 80 percent of prime-time television still shot on film by the end of the 1980s, the complicated abstractions and obsolescence that characterized these linear video formats also meant that many Hollywood television producers simply preferred to deliver programs to the networks from film prints—cut on flatbeds and conformed from negatives. The capital-intensive nature of video postproduction also segregated labor in the suites. Directors were clients who delegated edit rendering tasks to house technicians and DVE artists. Online linear editing was neither spontaneous nor user-friendly.

Nonlinear procedures minimized the use of videotape entirely and attacked the linear straightjacket on several fronts. Beginning in 1983, systems were developed to download or digitize (rather than record) film/video footage onto videodiscs (LaserEdit, LucasArts' EditDroid, CMX 6000) or computer hard-drive arrays (Lightworks, the Cube). This created the possibility of random-access retrieval as an "edited" sequence. Yet nonlinear marked an aesthetic and methodological shift as much as a technological breakthrough. Nonlinear technologies desegregated the edit-



ing crafts; synthesized postproduction down to the desktop level, the personal-computer scale; allowed users to intervene, rework, and revise edited sequences without re-creating entire programs; and enabled editors to render and recall for clients at will numerous stylistic variations of the same show. Directors and producers now commonly did their own editing, in their own offices. When Avid launched its Composer in 1989, the trade journals marveled at its "32 levels of undo," and its ability to eliminate changes and restore previously edited sequences. Nothing was locked in stone.

This openness allowed for a kind of experimentation and formal volatility perfectly suited for the stylistic excesses that characterized contemporary television in the late 1980s and 1990s. When systems like the Avid and the Media 100 were upgraded to on-line mastering systems in the 1990s—complete with on-command digital video effects—the anything-can-go-anywhere premise made televisual embellishment an obligatory user challenge. The geometric growth of hard-disc memory storage, the pervasive paradigm of desktop publishing, and the pressure to make editing less an engineering accomplishment than a film artist's intuitive statement sold nonlinear procedures and technologies to the industry.

Video editing faces a trajectory far less predictable than that of the 1950s, when an industrial-corporate triumvirate of Ampex/RCA/NBC controlled technology and use. The future is open largely because editing applications have proliferated far beyond those developed for network oligopoly. Video is everywhere. Nonlinear established its beachhead in the production of commercials and music videos, not in network television. Still, by 1993, the mainstream Academy of Television Arts and Sciences had lauded Avid's nonlinear system with an Emmy. By 1995 traditional television equipment manufacturers such as Sony, Panasonic, and Grass Valley were covering their bets by selling user-friendly, nonlinear Avid-clones even as they continued slugging it out over digital tape-based electronic editing systems.

Although prime-time producing factories like Universal/MCA Television continued using a range of film, linear, and nonlinear systems through the mid-1990s, in a few short years digital technology would dominate postproduction. Even as Avid's Composer and Symphony systems were standard in high-resolution online work, a range of new technologies and standards undercut Avid's market share. While marketed initially as "industrial" and "nonbroadcast" technologies, Sony's DVCAM format and Apple's firewire protocol (both with 4:1:1 compression), pro-

vide cost-effective alternatives for image processing and data storage, and edit systems utilizing these formats rapidly spread in popularity. Sensing corporate decline, Avid rebuffed the very partner (Apple) that had made Avid synonymous with nonlinear work, by announcing that it would discontinue Macintosh support and make systems only for NT platforms in 1997–98. Apple got the last laugh, however, with its launch of Final Cut Pro (FCP) in 1999, an inexpensive editing program for Macintoshes that was built internally around the new DV compression and firewire.

Today, FCP makes filmmaking available to any consumer, even as it is widely utilized in postproduction, providing a system that even online editors can use outside of the online suites. Initially denigrated by high-end editors, FCP systems now are available with uncompressed and high-definition boards manufactured by Pinnacle and others; a development that further complicates the institutional appetite for segregating prime-time/high-definition work from industrial/consumer applications. Many of the new prime-time reality shows of the early 2000s, such as *Temptation Island*, for example, employed FCP, since the thousands of "unplanned" hours of DV-CAM footage now had to be waded through by gangs of low-paid production assistants before they could ever be assembled as a show by editors. In some ways, this was a throwback to the old Hollywood studio system, which utilized many assistants, and a retreat from the new status nonlinear had achieved by combining the entire editing process into single multitasked workstation. In this way, aesthetic and generic changes in television affect changes and uses of technologies.

The need for ever-higher resolutions (and therefore faster processing and increased data storage) continues to challenge editors and manufacturers. Rather than forever increase the storage, speed, and cost of each nonlinear work station, companies such as Quantel have developed common, large "servers" that can be accessed by scores of editors working simultaneously at remote workstations. These "wide area networks" represent but one way that postproduction executives and manufacturers juggle the inflationary costs of higher-resolution quality with the economies of data storage. At the same time, audiences at home now edit their own programming flows with personal video recorders such as TiVo and Video Replay that utilize the very storage and processing technologies that standardized nonlinear editing in the industry.

JOHN THORNTON CALDWELL

See also Videotape

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## Video-on-Demand. *See Pay-per-View/Video-on-Demand*

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## Videocassette

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In 1956 the Ampex company announced that it had developed a new device: the videotape machine. This large reel-to-reel tape machine used four record heads (and was for this reason given the name "quad") and two-inch wide tape. The invention was quickly embraced by the broadcasting community, and on November 30, 1956, CBS broadcast the first program using videotape. Videotape is very similar in composition to audiotape. Most videotape consists of a Mylar backing, a strong, flexible plastic material that provides a base for a thin layer of ferrous oxide. This oxide is easily magnetized and is the substance that stores the video and audio information.

In 1969 Sony introduced its EIAJ-standard three-quarter-inch U-Matic series videocassette system. Although there were earlier attempts to establish a standard cassette or cartridge system, the U-Matic format was the first to become solidly accepted by educational and industrial users. Similar in construction and function to the audiocassette, the videocassette is a plastic container in which a videotape moves from supply reel to take-up reel, recording and playing back short program segments through a videocassette recorder. This form of construction emerged as a distinct improvement on earlier, reel-to-reel videotape recording and playback systems. The cassette systems, especially after they were integrated with camera and sound systems, enabled ease of movement and flexible shooting arrangements. The new devices helped create a wave of video field production ranging from what is

now known as "electronic news gathering" to the use of video by political activist groups, educators, and home enthusiasts.

This last group was always perceived by video hardware manufacturers as a vast opportunity for further sales. After several abortive attempts to establish a consumer market with a home cartridge or cassette system, Sony finally succeeded with its Betamax format. Sony's success with Betamax was followed closely by other manufacturers with VHS (the "video home system"), a consumer-quality half-inch videocassette system introduced by JVC. Although the VHS format still dominates the home entertainment field, several competing formats are vying for both the consumer market and the professional field. The greatly improved Super-VHS (S-VHS) format has technical specifications that equal broadcast and cable TV quality. The S-VHS system is in turn being challenged by two 8mm cassette formats—Video 8 (a consumer-grade video format developed by Sony that uses eight-millimeter-wide tape) and Hi8 (an improvement on Sony's Video-8 format that uses metal particle tape and a higher luminance bandwidth). Other formats that are competing for the professional market include the half-inch Betacam and Betacam SP systems, the half-inch M-formats (M and M-II), three-quarter-inch U-matic SP, and the even more recent digital formats (D-1 and D-2).

It is safe to say that the development of videocassette systems has transformed many aspects of television industries and more general experience with

television. The innovations within news services, the rapid expansion of home video systems that transformed the financial base of the film industry, and the acceptance of "video" as an everyday aspect of contemporary experience all rely to a great extent on the videocassette.

ERIC FREEDMAN

**See also Ancillary Markets; Betamax Case; Camcorder; Home Video; Sony Corporation; Videotape**

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## Videodisc

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Videodiscs are a storage medium for video programming. While some early mechanical television systems, such as John Logie Baird's, used spinning discs as part of the apparatus, modern videodiscs were developed and marketed in the 1970s as an alternative to videotape for the developing home video industry.

TelDec, a partnership between Telefunken and Decca, introduced an early disc system in 1975 in Germany. Called TeD (for Television Disc) it resembled a conventional phonograph system, with a needle reading grooves in the discs. The disc ran at 1,500 revolutions per minute (rpm) and played about ten minutes per disc. The system failed due its short playing time, lack of a software market, and many technical problems due to its fairly primitive hardware base, which couldn't deliver the bandwidth necessary for quality video playback.

Subsequent development of videodisc systems was divided into two distinct technical approaches. Capacitance systems resembled traditional phonograph systems, although the grooves' function is simply to guide the stylus over the disc surface, where pits on the disc would be read as an electrical signal and decoded into audio and video. Optical systems used a laser beam to read pits on a disc.

Both RCA in the United States and JVC in Japan developed capacitance systems in the 1970s. JVC's format was called VHD and utilized a ten-inch disc spinning at 900 rpm, yielding two video frames per rotation. VHD was sold only in Japan, and was eventually withdrawn after optical videodiscs came to dominate the Japanese market in the early 1990s.

In March 1981, RCA introduced its SelectaVision videodisc system after a substantial research program

and a massive advertising campaign. This system featured a 12-inch vinyl disc that spun at speeds of up to 450 revolutions per minute, with four frames read in each rotation. When not playing, the disc was protected by a plastic caddy. The RCA system was a contact system, with an electrode at the end of a stylus reading variations in capacitance on the grooved disc.

RCA supported its rollout of SelectaVision by marketing discs of recent films, classic films, documentaries and how-to programs. They were sold at RCA dealers and were priced between \$14.95 and \$24.95. At launch, there were 100 titles available.

Philips and MCA developed similar optical videodisc systems that used a laser to read pits on a disc in 1972. Their systems were conformed in 1976, and players using this standard were first available in 1978. This system used a disc rotation of 1,800 rpm, and held 54,000 frames per side of disc, for a continuous playing time of 30 minutes. This method of encoding, called CAV (constant angular velocity) put each frame in its own track, with the adjacent tracks in concentric circles from the inside to the outside. Since each frame had its own unique address, CAV discs excelled at displaying still frames, short motion sequences, slow motion, and random access to individual frames or sequences.

These special features made it possible to use video, and video players, in entirely new ways. Educators embraced the discs as powerful teaching tools, and corporations adopted videodisc for industrial training and sales kiosks. Interactivity was boosted, first, by the creation of bar codes that could be bound into a book or lesson plan, making short motion sequences or still frames available on demand with the simple swipe of a

light pen. Educational technologists called this "level 1 interactivity." Later, sophisticated videodisc machines with microprocessors provided built-in interactivity (level 2), and, finally, external microcomputers were linked to videodisc players. In this setup (level 3 interactivity) the student would follow a text on a computer screen, occasionally clicking a button that would trigger a motion sequence on an adjacent video screen.

Later, in order to fit an entire feature film on one disc, the CLV subformat was developed. This system could hold up to 60 minutes of video per side by varying the rotational speed of the disc from 600 to 1,800 rpm and by arraying the tracks in a long spiral, similar to a record album. While this system was more efficient than CAV, ordinary players could not access the special features available on CAV discs.

Videodiscs appeared after consumer videotape formats such as Betamax and VHS were introduced, and struggled to reach success in the marketplace. While videodisc players offered high-quality audio and video playback, consumers regarded videocassette recorders, which could record off the air as well as play prerecorded movies, as being more flexible.

As the home video industry evolved, tape became the most common rental medium, further limiting the sales of videodisc hardware and software. Competing formats also hurt the videodisc industry, in comparison to the video rental industry, which settled on VHS tape. As home videocassette recorders became a mass medium, their prices dropped significantly, while videodisc players, as a niche medium, remained expensive.

RCA bowed out of the home videodisc market in April 1984, after selling only about 550,000 players

and losing \$580 million in the venture. MCA's optical system, initially called DiscoVision, and later, LaserDisc, got a renewed lease on life by becoming the de facto disc system. As home video became more popular, connoisseurs would purchase videodiscs as the best signal source for their large-screen televisions and surround sound systems. As the audio compact disc diffused into the marketplace, videodisc players were developed that could play audio CDs, as well as new digital soundtracks on conventional videodiscs. These "combi-players" helped keep the format alive into the 1990s.

As the audio compact disc gained in popularity in the 1990s, researchers set out to develop a videodisc with the same appealing form factor. An early attempt was Philips's CD-I, or compact disk-interactive format. The CD-I players required a hardware add-on cartridge to handle MPEG decoding, and the discs faced the same limitation of laserdiscs: they could only hold about an hour of video. Since feature films typically run up to two hours, this meant that movies on CD-I had to be distributed on two discs.

It was not until the development of DVD that the right combination of technology, price, software support, and consumer acceptance converged to deliver a successful, mass market videodisc format.

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## Videotape

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As the 21st century began, videotape was probably familiar to most of the world's television viewers. The videocassette recorder was widely used in the home, in industry, and in education. Despite these widespread and common uses, however, videotape is of relatively recent origin. Its immediate antecedent is, of course, audiotape. Its immediate successor may be the digitally formatted disk (DVD), with even newer storage media under development.

The processes of recording audiotape and videotape

work on the same principle. An audio or video recording head is a small electromagnet containing two coils of wires separated by a gap. An electrical current passing through the wires causes a magnetic charge to cross the gap. When tape coated with metal particles passes through the gap, patterns are set on the material. On audiotape, each syllable, musical note, or sneeze sets down its own distinct pattern. For videotape, which carries several hundred times as much information as audiotape, each image has its own pattern.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the explosive growth of television created an enormous demand for a way to record programs. Until links could be established through television lines or microwave broadcast relay, a blurry kinescope was the only means by which a network program could be recorded and replayed on different local television stations. As a result, television programs were unstable, ephemeral events. Once transmitted electronically, they were, for the most part, lost in time and space, unavailable for repeated use as either aesthetic, informational, or economic artifacts.

In 1951 engineers at Bing Crosby Enterprises demonstrated a black-and-white videotape recorder that used one-inch tape (tape size refers to tape width) running at 100 inches per second. At that rate, a reel of tape three feet in diameter held about 15 minutes of video. Crosby continued to fund the research, driven not only by a sense of commercial possibilities for videotape, but reportedly also by his wish to record television programs so that he could play golf without being restricted to live performances. Two years later, RCA engineers developed a recorder that reproduced not only black-and-white but color pictures. However, tape ran past the heads at a blinding 360 inches per second, which is 20 miles per hour. Neither machine produced pictures of adequate quality for broadcast. It simply was not possible to produce a stable picture at such a high tape speed.

During this same period, Ampex, a small electronics firm in California, was building a machine on a different principle, spinning the recording head. They succeeded in 1956 with a recorder the size of two washing machines. Four video heads rotated at 14,400 revolutions per minute, each head recording one part of a tape that was two inches wide. One of the engineers on the project, Ray M. Dolby, later became famous for his tape noise reduction process and his multisource theater sound system.

The quality of Ampex recordings was such an improvement over fuzzy kinescope images that broadcasters who saw the first demonstration, presented at a national convention, actually jumped to their feet to cheer and applaud. The television industry responded so enthusiastically that Ampex could not produce machines fast enough. It was the true beginning of the video age.

West Coast television stations could now, without sacrificing picture quality, delay live East Coast news and entertainment broadcasts for three hours until evening prime time, when most viewers reached their homes after work. By 1958 the networks were recording video in color, and by 1960 a recorder was synchronized with television studio electronics for the

familiar film-editing techniques of the "dissolve" and "wipe."

Large two-inch reel-to-reel Ampex machines survived for a generation before they were replaced by more compact and efficient one-inch reel-to-reel machines and three-quarter-inch cassette machines. By 1990 most of the bigger recorders had been retired.

While U.S. companies were manufacturing two-inch, four-head, quadruplex scan machines, Japanese engineers were building the prototype of a helical scan machine that employed a single spinning head. Toshiba introduced the first helical scan VTR machine in 1959. JVC soon followed. The picture quality produced by these machines would remain inferior to "quad" machines for another ten years, unsuitable for the broadcast industry. But the smaller, more user-friendly helical scan machines, costing a fraction of the price of larger machines, quickly dominated the industrial and educational markets.

In 1972 Sony introduced the Port-a-pak black-and-white video recorder, weighing less than ten pounds. The tape had to be threaded by hand, but the Port-a-Pak was an important step on the way to electronic news gathering, known in the television industry as ENG. The next big step, Sony's U-matic three-quarter-inch tape machine, which played tape cassettes, eliminated physical handling of tape. CBS-TV News sent a camera team equipped with an Ikegami video camera and a U-Matic tape recorder to cover President Richard Nixon's trip to Moscow. News stories were soon being microwaved back to stations for taping or live feeds. Prior to these developments, the visual portion of news broadcasts had been produced on film. Videotape was the far superior medium for news. It needed no developing time, was reusable, and was more suited to the television's sense of immediacy. With the coming of videotape, television news editors replaced razor blades with electronic editing devices.

With broadcasting, educational, and industrial markets in hand, Japanese video companies turned their attention to the potentially vast home market. Hobbyists had already shown the way. With slightly modified portable reel-to-reel machines, they were taping television programs at home to play again later.

Sony, whose research was led by Nobutoshi Kihara, had considered the home market from the start. Recognizing that not only television stations but viewers ought to be able to time-shift programs, Sony president Akio Morita said, "People do not have to read a book when it's delivered. Why should they have to see a TV program when it's delivered?" Sony introduced its half-inch Betamax machine in 1975. A year later, rival Japanese companies, led by JVC, brought out VHS

machines, a format incompatible with Betamax. VHS gradually captured the home market. People at home could simply and inexpensively record television programs and could buy or rent tapes. At last it was possible to go to the movies without leaving home.

Tape renting began when businessman Andre Blay made a deal to buy cassette production rights to 50 Twentieth Century Fox movies. Blay discovered that few customers wanted to buy his tapes, but everyone wanted to rent them.

The motion picture industry considered the videodisc a better way to bring a movie into the home, pointing out its sharper picture image, stereo sound, lower cost, and copy protection. However, the public wanted recording capability, not so much to copy rented films illegally as to record movies and television programs off the air for later playback. Videodisc players could not match the flexibility of videocassette recorders for time-shifting. In the battle over competing disc and tape formats, VHS tapes emerged the clear winner—at least in the first round.

In the first decade of the 21st century, a little more than 100 years after motion pictures were invented, millions of users could make movies, aided by nonlinear editing machines and computer programs that became better and cheaper year by year. Video cameras found their way into schools as learning tools. The high school library is now often referred to as “the media center,” and the video yearbook has joined the printed version. Even in elementary schools, curious fingers are pushing camera buttons.

Videotape has also introduced specific changes at a very different level, expanding the production community in the professional arena. It is possible to produce a motion picture of technically acceptable quality at modest cost. For example, two young men barely out of college used videotape and nonlinear editing to make the feature film *The Blair Witch Project*; costing around \$35,000 to produce, that movie has reportedly earned upward of \$150 million. The phrase “desktop video” has become part of our language, often in relation to desktop publishing.

Videotape has had wide impact everywhere on Earth, including remote villages, where inexpensive tapes bring information and entertainment. A truck carrying a videotape player, a television set, and a portable generator is not an uncommon sight in many parts of the world. People living as far from urban centers as the Kayapo of the Brazil rainforest and the Inuit of northern Canada have been introduced to video and have themselves produced tapes to argue for political justice and to record their cultural heritage.

Several Third World governments have actively promoted videotape programs for adult education. For

example, the Village Video Network in several countries provides an exchange for tapes on such subjects as farming, nutrition, and population control. International groups have given some villages video cameras and training to produce their own films, which are later shown to other villages.

Another result of video diffusion has been a widening of video journalism capability. The taping of Rodney King being beaten by members of the Los Angeles Police Department is just one example of how ordinary citizens are making a difference not only in news coverage but in the course of events. The potential for a video vigilantism by “visualantes” has not gone unnoticed, with its effects reaching not only journalism but law enforcement itself.

Far less significant uses of videotape technology have also developed. Replacing the traditional matchmaker, for example, is the video dating club. Participants tell a video camera of their interests, their virtues, and the type of person they would like to meet. They look at other videotapes and their videotape is shown to prospects.

Serious social and legal problems are also directly related to the easy use of this technology. Video piracy is rampant. A vast underground network feeds millions of illegal copies of videotaped movies throughout the world. The national film industries of a number of countries have been battered both by the pirating of their own films and by the influx of cheap illegal copies of Western films.

Some of these issues may be resolved with the development of still newer technologies. For both the video and computer industries, the future of information storage and retrieval may lie not with tape but with such optical media as CD-ROM and DVD, which offer the advantages of high density, random access, and no physical contact between the storage medium and the pickup device. As with the earlier videotape “revolution,” the television and film industries are now shifting their investments and altering their industrial practices to deal with the newer, digitally based devices. The results of these changes for consumers, educators, and journalists are not easily predicted, yet there is no question that all these groups will experience alteration in media use akin to that caused by the introduction of videotape.

IRVING FANG

*See also* **Betamax Case; Home Video; Reruns/Repeats; Sony Corporation**

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## Videotex and Online Services

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Videotex is the umbrella term used to describe interactive services built on computing and telecommunications technologies. Intended for personal use by a mass market, videotex systems electronically deliver text, graphics, audio, and video content via telephone lines or coaxial cable for display on a television set, video terminal, or personal computer. Users communicate with the service provider's computer and access through computer links called gateways content from outside information providers. All online systems, including the Internet, fall under this definition.

In the United States, videotex systems developed erratically as first newspaper publishers, then database operators, explored its technical and commercial potential. Early European videotex systems, such as the highly successful French Teletel service, became better established thanks to direct government support. Ultimately, the confluence of advancing personal computing technology, graphical user interface software, and the development of the World Wide Web portion of the Internet created a global standard for interactivity, displacing earlier videotex models.

Great Britain is credited with developing the first videotex system. Created by the British Post Office, Viewdata, later renamed Prestel, was demonstrated in 1974 and launched commercially in 1979. It operated until 1994. Other nations such as Germany, Japan, Finland, and the Netherlands introduced videotex services in the early 1980s, but France was the most successful.

France's Teletel, a simple text and graphics system commonly known as Minitel, was publicly demonstrated in 1980 and tested using 270,000 Minitel terminals. Equipped with a small screen and fold-down keyboard, the Minitel terminals were supplied free by state-owned France Telecom and installed in 2.5 million homes and offices by 1986. In addition to government support, another key to Minitel's national acceptance was the creation of a "trigger application" that would encourage repeat usage. Fast access to a national telephone directory provided this incentive, and consumer use of thousands of services, especially train schedules and reservations, dating services, and chat rooms grew rapidly.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, by the end of 1990 there were 6.8 million videotex users outside the United States. Germany's Bildschirmtext had over 250,000

users, and Great Britain's Prestel had 160,000. France's Minitel was the leader, and by November 1994, 14 million people were accessing services from 26,000 providers. Minitel use grew further in the mid-1990s thanks to access-enabling modem cards for personal computers. However, Minitel usage declined with the growth of the more sophisticated Internet. In 2000 Minitel use in total minutes dropped 11 percent after declining 7 percent in 1999. Although still useful in noncomputer households, Minitel's eventual demise is generally accepted.

The U.S. introduction of videotex dates to trials and commercial launches by newspaper publishers in the 1980s. Concerned with declining readership, publishers saw videotex as their electronic future and partnered with leading technology and telecommunication companies to offer text-and-graphics capable videotex systems. Their arrival was trumpeted by forecasts of extraordinary consumer market potential.

Knight-Ridder and AT&T partnered to form Viewtron, launched a trial in 1980, and started commercial operation in October 1983. The Miami area service required a dedicated AT&T Sceptre terminal, which retailed for about \$600. To attract more subscribers, Viewtron later experimented with terminal rental, reduced monthly fees, and personal computer compatibility. The system folded in March 1986 with losses estimated at \$50 million.

Gateway, a joint venture between Times Mirror and Infomart, a Canadian software firm, introduced its system in Orange County, California, in October 1984. Service was provided through decoder boxes attached to television sets. By mid-1985, the television-based service was discontinued, and personal computer owners were targeted. Nevertheless, Gateway closed in March 1986 after reportedly losing \$30 million.

The *Chicago Sun-Times*, Centel Communications, and Honeywell began operating KeyCom in Chicago in January 1985. KeyCom also targeted the growing personal computer market but attracted few paying customers and closed after just six months.

The pioneering videotex services failed to realize commercial success for a number of reasons: system interfaces were complex; many followed a newspaper model, providing news and information already available less expensively in other media; some required the simultaneous use of the television and telephone by

one person in the household, limiting the activities of others; and consumers felt the connect time and equipment charges were too high.

During this time, interest in online, text-only database and bulletin board services was growing among computer hobbyists. In 1978 CompuServe, which began as a mainframe time-sharing service, started offering to PC users access to a bulletin board with connect time paid for in one-minute increments. By 1980 CompuServe had attracted several thousand subscribers, and *The Columbus Dispatch* became the first newspaper to offer an electronic edition on the service. Within two years, 11 U.S. newspapers were on CompuServe, which, by the end of 1983, had 63,000 subscribers. Other database services included Delphi, founded by General Videotex Corporation in 1982 as an online encyclopedia, and General Electric's Genie, which entered the market in October 1985 with stock purchasing and financial advice services.

These database systems were joined by two text-and-graphics services designed for personal computer owners. IBM, Sears, and CBS (which dropped out in 1986) formed Trintex, later renamed Prodigy, in 1984. Test marketing began in mid-1988 followed by a national rollout of the service in September 1990. Quantum Computer Services, founded in 1985 and later renamed America Online, Inc., launched its Applelink and PC-link videotex services in 1988.

In the early 1990s, these online services worked to develop their user interfaces and create the most compelling package of content and services, pricing, and promotion. They all offered a bundle of proprietary content and services, including electronic mail, sports, weather, news from full-text magazines and newspapers, stock quotes, brokerage services, games, interest group forums and bulletin boards, and travel booking. Subscribers typically paid for a basic level of service plus surcharges for additional time and access to so-called enhanced or professional services.

By January 1991, IBM and Sears had spent approximately \$650 million on Prodigy. A year later the service claimed 1.25 million subscribers, displacing CompuServe as the largest U.S. online service. But strategic missteps made Prodigy a lightning-rod for criticism. High electronic mail volume led Prodigy to levy a surcharge on heavy users. Subscribers were angered and thousands left the service. Prodigy also raised contentious First Amendment issues by censoring its online bulletin board postings for sexual content, going so far as to shut down its sexually explicit "frank discussion" forum.

In 1992, as competition intensified, Prodigy and CompuServe revised their price and content packages to attract new members. To address consumer concerns

of accumulating excessive charges, Prodigy introduced basic and enhanced service packages for flat monthly fees. CompuServe, relatively unknown outside the computer industry, rolled out new advertising intended to boost its brand awareness. Meanwhile, AOL's membership was increasing rapidly, and the service developed a Windows version that became available in January 1993.

The mid-1990s was a time of extraordinarily rapid change for online services. Subscribership grew as consumers who bought computers sought to maximize their utility. Graphical interfaces were created to facilitate online service use. Mosaic, the first graphical browser for the World Wide Web, was released by the University of Illinois, soon to be followed by Netscape's first navigator.

Prodigy defined online services for mainstream America with its 1993 national television advertising telling consumers "You gotta get this thing!" In April 1993, AOL revised its pricing plan to provide more hours for a set monthly fee, while, in July, Prodigy again angered its customer base by abandoning its just-introduced flat rate pricing in favor of standard, monthly fee plus hourly use packages.

Subscriber growth accelerated in 1994 with AOL, which reported 600,000 members in February reaching 1 million users by July. Prodigy reported over 2 million subscribers in May. Not to be left behind on the Internet front, AOL set to work on its own Web browser and Prodigy was offering Web browsing by the year's end.

Chaos continued to reign in 1995 as the online services expanded their content, upgraded their interfaces, introduced audio and video content, and waged price wars. Overall subscribership increased 64 percent, reaching 8.5 million users. A mass market was being created amidst the cutthroat competition.

Aggressive marketing enabled AOL, whose proprietary content offered novices a well-outfitted first stop on the Web, to exceed 4 million subscribers at the close of 1995. CompuServe held second place with 3.9 million users, and Prodigy, the first family-oriented service, saw its growth stalled at 2 million subscribers. The Microsoft Network (MSN) debuted in the summer, quickly attracting 600,000 subscribers. Losers in the competition were industry also-rans Delphi and GENie.

Looking for additional avenues of growth, the online services were exploring service delivery to America's televisions. WebTV Networks, Inc., founded in 1995, blazed the trail, but the service failed to gain a significant following. Microsoft purchased WebTV in August 1997, renaming it MSN TV in July 2001. With fewer than 1 million subscribers and no recent growth, MSN TV appears to be fading.



In 1996 the online services were aligning with the World Wide Web to grow subscribership and revenues with updated Web-based content and electronic commerce. AOL and Prodigy enhanced their Internet access, but for Prodigy the effort came too late. Once the leading online service, by May Prodigy lost nearly half of its 2 million subscribers due to lagging technology, underdeveloped content, and difficulty of use. After investing over \$1 billion, IBM and Sears sold the service to International Wireless. General Electric also sold GENie after its user base declined from over 200,000 to 20,000.

AOL's tremendous growth overwhelmed its system, which crashed for almost the entire day on August 7, 1996, earning it the nickname "America Offline." Nevertheless, just weeks later, AOL acted to gain even more subscribers by adopting flat-rate pricing of \$19.95 per month for unlimited access, breaking with the industry's traditional pricing model. Competitors had little choice but to follow suit.

By the late 1990s, online services had evolved into Internet service providers (ISPs), aggregating content and serving as portals for exploring the Internet. AOL continued to experience service reliability problems and agreed to refunds for millions of its members. In early 1997, CompuServe and Prodigy created ads ridiculing those service lapses. Still, it was clear AOL's marketing strategies were working.

By the turn of the century, there were over 4,500 ISPs in the United States. The online service business had matured with communications functions—e-mail, chat, instant messaging—and the Internet among its main attractions. Videotex had arrived. Telecommuni-

cations Reports International reported a third quarter 2001 total of 67.9 million U.S. subscribers to online services. AOL, which had acquired CompuServe and Netscape, remained the dominant player with over 25 million members, followed distantly by MSN, Prodigy, CompuServe, and others.

The migration of dial-up ISP subscribers to higher capacity broadband cable and digital subscriber line (DSL) services is the industry's most recent trend. Of the available methods of Internet access, only cable modem and DSL are showing sizable growth. This will undoubtedly create more change in this dynamic medium.

RANDY JACOBS

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# Vietnam: A Television History

## U.S. Compilation Documentary

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When it aired in 1983, *Vietnam: A Television History* was the most successful documentary produced by public television. Nearly 9 percent of all U.S. households tuned in to watch the first episode, and an average of 9.7 million Americans watched each of the 13 episodes. A second showing of the documentary in the summer of 1984 garnered roughly a 4 percent share in the five largest television markets.

Before it aired in the United States, more than 200

high schools and universities nationwide paid for the license to record and show the documentary in the classroom as a television course on the Vietnam War. In conjunction with this educational effort, the Asian Society's periodical, *Focus on Asian Studies*, published a special issue titled "Vietnam: A Teacher's Guide" to aid teachers in the use of this documentary in the classroom.

The roots of the documentary reach back to 1977,

Vietnam: A Television History



*Vietnam: A Television History*, Vietnamese families fleeing village, carrying belongings.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research



*Vietnam: A Television History*, U.S. soldiers marching in front of airplane.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

when filmmaker Richard Ellison and foreign correspondent Stanley Karnow first discussed the project. Karnow had been a journalist in Paris during the 1950s and a correspondent in French Indochina since 1959. Karnow and Ellison then signed on Lawrence Lichty, then professor at the University of Wisconsin, as director of media research to help gather, organize, and edit media material ranging from audio- and videotapes and film coverage to still photographs and testimonials. As a result, *Vietnam: A Television History* became a "compilation" documentary, relying heavily on a combination of fixed moments (photographs, written text) as well as fluid moments (moving video and film).

The final cost of the project totaled approximately \$4.5 million. At the time of its broadcast in 1983, it



*Vietnam: A Television History*. Henry Kissinger and Nguyen Van Thieu shaking hands.  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

was one of the most expensive ventures ever undertaken by public television. While the initial funding came from WGBH-TV Boston and the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting refused financial support. Ellison and Karnow sought additional backing abroad, gaining support from Britain's Associated Television (later to become Central Independent Television). Coproduction with French Television (Antenne-2) enabled the documentarians to gain access to important archives from the French occupation of the region. Antenne-2 produced the earliest episodes of the documentary, and Associated Television partially produced the fifth episode.

Karnow and Ellison saw the documentary as an opportunity to present both sides of the Vietnam War story, the U.S. perspective and the Vietnamese perspective. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, documentaries and films on the Vietnam War tended to look solely at U.S. involvement and its consequences both at home and in the war-torn region. Karnow and Ellison sought to produce a more comprehensive historical account that traced the history of foreign invasion and subsequent Vietnamese cultural development over several hundred years. Both producers believed that by providing a more comprehensive view of Vietnam, the documentary could become a vehicle for reconciliation as well as reflection.

The series aired first in Great Britain to good reviews, although it did not receive the high ratings it achieved in the United States. At the time of its broadcast in the United States in the fall of 1983, the documentary received very positive reviews from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *Variety*. Furthermore, both *Time* and *Newsweek* hailed the series as fair, brilliant, and objective.

However, other critics of the documentary were less complimentary and viewed it as overly generous to the North Vietnamese. The organization Accuracy in Media (AIM) produced and aired a response to the documentary seeking to "correct" the inaccurate depiction of Vietnam in the series. PBS's decision to air the two-hour show, titled *Television's Vietnam: The Real Story*, was seen by many liberal critics as bowing to overt political pressure. In fact, PBS's concession to air AIM's response to the documentary (its own production) was rare, perhaps unprecedented, in television history.

The controversy surrounding *Vietnam: A Television History* and the response to it, *Television's Vietnam: The Real Story*, raise the important question of bias in documentary production. Bias in the interpretation of historical events has fueled, and continues to fuel, rig-

orous debates among historians, politicians, and citizens. The experience Karnow and Ellison had in creating this documentary underscores the sense that the more "producers" involved in a project, the more difficult the task of controlling for bias becomes. The episodes prepared by the British and French teams were noticeably more anti-American in tone.

Despite the controversy, *Vietnam: A Television History* remains one of the most popular history documentaries used in educational forums. It inspired Stanley Karnow's best-selling book *Vietnam: A History*, which was billed as a "companion" to the PBS series. Both in the United States and around the world, the book remains a popular history text for college courses concerning the war and the controversy surrounding that conflict.

HANNAH GOURGEY

See also **Documentary: War on Television**

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## Vietnam on Television

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Vietnam was the first "television war." The medium was in its infancy during the Korean conflict, its audience and technology still too limited to play a major role. The first "living-room war," as Michael Arlen called Vietnam, began in mid-1965, when President Lyndon Johnson dispatched large numbers of U.S. combat troops, beginning what is still surely the biggest story television news has ever covered. The Saigon bureau was for years the third largest the networks maintained, after New York and Washington, D.C., with five camera crews on duty most of the time.

What was the effect of television on the development and outcome of the war? The conventional wisdom has generally been that, for better or for worse, the medium was an antiwar influence. It brought the horror of war night after night into people's living rooms and eventually inspired revulsion and exhaustion. The argument has often been made that any war reported in an unrestricted way by television would eventually lose public support. Researchers, however, have quite consistently told another story.

There were, to be sure, occasions when television did deliver images of violence and suffering. In August 1965, after a series of high-level discussions that illustrate the unprecedented character of the story, CBS aired a report by Morley Safer that showed U.S. Marines lighting the thatched roofs of the village of Cam Ne with Zippo lighters and included critical commentary on the treatment of the villagers. This story could never have passed the censorship of World War II or Korea, and it generated an angry reaction from President Johnson. In 1968, during the Tet offensive, viewers of NBC news saw Col. Nguyen Ngoc Loan blow out the brains of his captive in a Saigon street. And in 1972, during the North Vietnamese spring offensive, the audience witnessed the aftermath of an errant napalm strike, in which South Vietnamese planes mistook their own fleeing civilians for North Vietnamese troops.

These incidents were dramatic, but far from typical of Vietnam coverage. Blood and gore were rarely shown. Just under a quarter of film reports from Viet-

nam showed images of the dead or wounded, most of these fleeting and not particularly graphic. Network concerns about audience sensibilities combined with the inaccessibility of much of the worst suffering to keep a good deal of the horror of war off the screen. The violence in news reports often involved little more than puffs of smoke in the distance, as aircraft bombed the unseen enemy. Only during the 1968 Tet and 1972 spring offensives, when the war came into urban areas, did its suffering and destruction appear with any regularity on TV.

For the first few years of the “living room war,” most of the coverage was upbeat. It typically began with a battlefield round-up, written from wire reports based on the daily press briefing in Saigon (the “Five O’clock Follies,” as journalists called it) read by the anchor and illustrated with a battle map. These reports had a World War II feel to them—journalists no less than generals are prone to “fighting the last war”—with fronts and “big victories” and a strong sense of progress and energy.

The battlefield round-up would normally be followed by a policy story from Washington, and then a film report from the field—typically about five days old, since film had to be flown to the United States for processing. As with most television news, the emphasis was on the visual and above all the personal: “American boys in action” was the story, and reports emphasized their bravery and their skill in handling the technology of war. A number of reports directly countered Morley Safer’s Cam Ne story; they showed the burning of huts, which was a routine part of many search-and-destroy operations, but emphasized that it was necessary because these were Communist villages. On Thursdays, the weekly casualty figures released in Saigon would be reported, appearing next to the flags of the combatants, and, of course, always showing a good “score” for the United States.

Television crews quickly learned that what New York wanted was “bang-bang” footage, and this, along with the emphasis on the U.S. soldier, meant that coverage of Vietnamese politics and of the Vietnamese generally was quite limited. The search for action footage also meant it was a dangerous assignment: nine network personnel died in Indochina, and many more were wounded.

Later in the war, after Tet and the beginning of U.S. troop withdrawals in 1969, television coverage began to change. The focus was still on “American boys,” to be sure, and the troops were still presented in a sympathetic light. But journalists grew skeptical of claims of progress, and the course of the war was presented more as an eternal recurrence than a string of decisive victories. There was more emphasis on the human

costs of the war, though generally without graphic visuals. On Thanksgiving Day 1970, for example, Ed Rabel of CBS reported on the death of one soldier killed by a mine, interviewing his buddies, who told their feelings about his death and about a war they considered senseless. An important part of the dynamic of the change in TV news was that the “up-close and personal” style of television began to cut the other way: in the early years, when morale was strong, television reflected the upbeat tone of the troops. But as withdrawals continued and morale declined, the tone of field reporting changed. This shift was paralleled by developments on the home front. Here, divisions over the war received increasing air time, and the antiwar movement, which had been vilified as Communist-inspired in the early years, was more often accepted as a legitimate political movement.

Some accounts of television’s role in this war assign a key role to a special broadcast by Walter Cronkite wrapping up his reporting on the Tet Offensive. On February 27, 1968, Cronkite closed his special broadcast titled *Report from Vietnam: Who, What, When, Where, Why?* by expressing his view that the war was unwinnable, and that the United States would have to find a way out. Some of Lyndon Johnson’s aides have recalled that the president watched the broadcast and declared that he knew at that moment he would have to change course. A month later, Johnson declined to run for reelection and announced that he was seeking a way out of the war; David Halberstam has written that “it was the first time in American history a war had been declared over by an anchorman” (see Singal, 1987).

Cronkite’s change of views certainly dramatized the collapse of consensus on the war. But it did not create that collapse, and there were enough strong factors pushing toward a change in policy that it is hard to know how much impact Cronkite had. By the fall of 1967, polls were already showing a majority of Americans expressing the opinion that it had been a “mistake” to get involved in Vietnam; and by the time of Cronkite’s broadcast, two successive secretaries of defense had concluded that the war could not be won at reasonable cost. Indeed, with the major changes in television’s portrayal of the war still to come, television was probably more a follower than a leader in the nation’s change of course in Vietnam.

Vietnam has not been a favorite subject for television fiction, unlike World War II, which was the subject of shows ranging from action-adventure series like *Combat* to such sitcoms as *Hogan’s Heroes*. During the Vietnam War itself, it was virtually never touched in television fiction—except, of course, in disguised form on *M\*A\*S\*H*. After Hollywood scored commer-

cially with *The Deer Hunter* (1978), a number of scripts were commissioned, and NBC put one pilot, *6:00 Follies*, on the air. All fell victim to bad previews and ratings, and to political bickering and discomfort in the networks and studios. Todd Gitlin quotes one network executive as saying, "I don't think people want to hear about Vietnam. I think it was destined for failure simply because I don't think it's a funny war." World War II, of course, was not any funnier. The real difference is probably that Vietnam could not plausibly be portrayed either as heroic or as consensual, and commercially successful television fiction needs both heroes and a sense of "family" among the major characters.

An important change did take place in 1980, just as shows set in Vietnam were being rejected. *Magnum, P.I.* premiered that year, beginning a trend toward portrayals of Vietnam veterans as central characters in television fiction. Before 1980, vets normally appeared in minor roles, often portrayed as unstable and socially marginal. With *Magnum, P.I.* and later *The A-Team*, *Riptide*, *Airwolf*, and others, the veteran emerged as a hero, and in this sense the war experience, stripped of the contentious backdrop of the war itself, became suitable for television. These characters drew strength from their Vietnam experience, including a preserved wartime camaraderie that enabled them to act as a team. They also tended to stand apart from dominant social institutions, reflecting the loss of confidence in these institutions produced by Vietnam, without requiring extensive discussion of the politics of the war.

Not until *Tour of Duty* in 1987 and *China Beach* in 1988 did series set in Vietnam find a place on the schedule. Both were moderate ratings successes; they stand as the only major Vietnam series to date. The most distinguished, *China Beach*, often showed war from a perspective rarely seen in post-World War II popular culture: that of the women whose job it was to patch up shattered bodies and souls. It also included plenty of the more traditional elements of male war stories, and over the years it drifted away from the war, in the direction of the traditional concern of melodrama with personal relationships. But it does represent a significant Vietnam-inspired change in television's representation of war.

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*See also China Beach; Documentary; Selling of the Pentagon, The; 60 Minutes; Uncounted Enemy, The; Wallace, Mike; War on Television*

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## Violence and Television

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Underlying concern for the level of violence in society has lead authorities in several countries to set up investigative bodies to examine the portrayal of violence on television. In 1969 the U.S. Surgeon General was given the task of exploring evidence of a link between television and subsequent aggression. The research that was a product of this inquiry attempted to find a "scientific" answer to the issue of whether television violence causes aggressive behavior, in much the way an earlier investigation had examined the link between cigarettes and lung cancer. The conclusions of the report were equivocal, and while some saw this as reflecting vested interests in the membership of the committee, research over the following years has not silenced the debate. While in 1985 the American Psychological Association stated that the overwhelming weight of evidence supports a causal relation, there is not unanimity even among American psychologists for this position. Not only the specific conclusions but the whole "scientific" framework of what has become known as "effects research" has been challenged. Reports by the British Broadcasting Standards Council and the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal investigation into TV violence in Australia, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, reflect a very different set of questions and perspectives.

The traditional question of whether viewing violence can make audiences more aggressive has been investigated by a variety of techniques. As social science, and psychology in particular, attempted to emulate the rigorous methods of the physical sciences, the question of television and violence was transferred to careful laboratory experiments. Inevitably, the nature of the issue placed practical and ethical constraints on scientific inquiry. A range of studies found evidence that subjects exposed to violent filmed models were subsequently more aggressive (see Bandura). Questions have been raised, however, as to what extent these findings can be generalized to natural viewing situations. What did participants understand about the task they were given? What did they think was expected of them? Can the measures of aggression used in such studies, such as hitting dolls or supposedly inflicting harm by pushing buttons be compared to violent behavior in real-world settings? Are these effects too short-term to be of practical concern?

One strategy to overcome some of these problems

was to conduct studies in natural settings such as preschools or reform homes. Children watched violent or nonviolent television over a period of several weeks and the changes in their behavior were monitored. Such studies resemble more closely the context in which children normally watch television and measure the kinds of aggressive behavior that create concern. Results, however, have been varied, and the practical difficulties of controlling natural environments over a period of time mean that critics have been quick to point to flaws in specific studies.

From time to time, researchers have been able to capitalize on naturally occurring changes, gathering data over the period when television is first introduced to a community. A Canadian study compared children in two communities already receiving television to those in a community where television was introduced during the course of the study. Increases in children's aggressive behavior over time were found to accompany the introduction of television. A similar conclusion was drawn from a major study into the effects of the introduction of television in South Africa.

An alternative to manipulating or monitoring group changes in exposure to violence is simply to measure the amount of television violence children view and relate it to their level of aggressive behavior. While many studies have found a clear association between higher levels of violent viewing and more aggressive behavior, proving that television caused the aggression is a more complex issue. It is quite possible that aggressive children choose to watch more violent programs, or that features of their home, socioeconomic, or school background explain both their viewing habits and their aggression. Attempts to test these alternative models have involved complex statistical techniques and, perhaps most powerfully, studies of children over extended periods of time, in some cases over many years. Studies by Huesmann and his colleagues have followed children in a variety of different countries. They argue that the results of their research demonstrate that the extent of TV viewing in young children is an independent source of later aggression. They also suggest that aggressive children choose to watch more violent programs, which in turn stimulates further aggression. The research group gathered data from a range of countries, and these data indicate that the relationship can be found even in countries where





*The Lawman*, John Russell, Peter Brown, 1958–62.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

screen violence is much lower than in the United States. A comparison of Finland to the United States found, however, no relationship between violent viewing and aggressive behavior in Finnish girls. This suggests that the impact of television has to be understood in a cultural context and involves social expectations about appropriate gender roles.

Critics of these attempts to relate viewing and aggression have questioned both the accuracy of the methods by which reports of television habits and preferences were gained, either from parents or by retrospective recall, and the measures used to demonstrate aggression. In reviewing debates on research findings, it becomes clear that any study can be perceived as flawed by those taking an opposing position. However, supporters of the effects tradition point to the cumulative weight of research with different methodological characteristics; a meta-analysis by Paik and Comstock of more than 200 studies found a moderate effect of screen violence on aggressive behavior.

Even among researchers who are convinced of a causal link between television and violence, explanations of when and why such a link is forged are varied. One of the simplest ideas is that children imitate the violence they see on television. Items associated with

violence through television viewing can serve as cues to trigger aggressive behavior in natural settings. The marketing of toys linked to violent programs taps into these processes. Children are more likely to reenact the violence they have seen on television when they have available products that they have seen being used in violent scenarios. The challenge for social-learning theorists has been to identify under what conditions modeling occurs. Does it depend on viewers' emotional state (for instance, a high level of frustration) or on a permissive social environment? Is it important whether the violence is seen to be socially rewarded or punished? It has also been claimed that high levels of exposure to violent programs desensitize children, making them more tolerant of and less distressed by violence. Thus, children who had been watching a violent program were less willing to intervene and less physiologically aroused when younger children whom they had been asked to monitor via a television screen were seen fighting than those children who had watched a nonviolent program. Alternatively, high arousal itself has been suggested as an instigator of violence. The significance of such an explanation is that it does not focus on violence as such; other high-action, faster-cutting programs may also stimulate aggression. It is evident that once focus shifts from proving causation to identifying processes, the characteristics of particular violent programs become important, because programs vary in many ways besides being classifiable as violent or nonviolent.

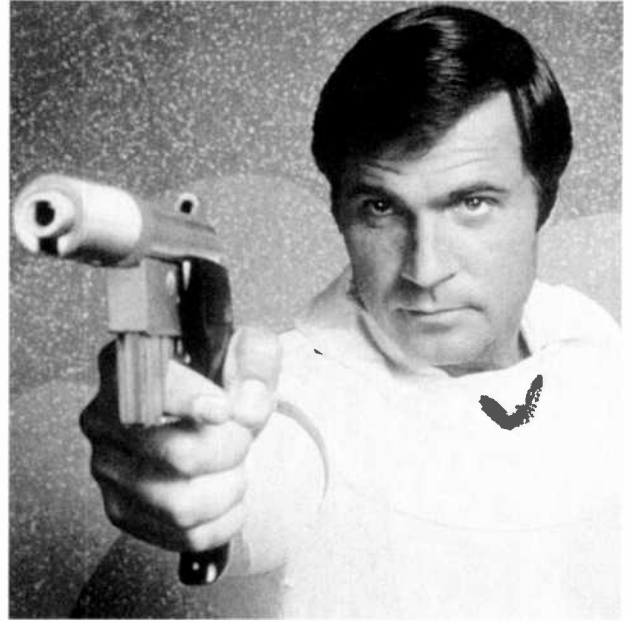
The traditional violence-effects approach has been criticized as employing a hypodermic model, where the link between television violence and viewer aggression is seen as automatic. Such an approach not only ignored the complexity of television programs but also how responses to television are mediated by characteristics of viewers, by their thoughts and values. As psychology has become more concerned with human thinking, there has been greater interest in how viewers, particularly children, interpret the television they watch. Research has shown that children's judgments of violent actions relate to their understanding of the plot. This understanding in turn may be influenced by such issues as plot complexity, the presence and placement of commercial breaks, the age of the child, and so on. Rather than seeing violence as a behavior pattern that children internalize and reproduce on cue, children are seen to develop schematic understandings of violence. The values they attach to such behavior may depend on more complex issues, such as the extent to which they identify with a violent character, the apparent justifiability of their actions, and the rewards or punishments perceived for acting aggressively.

It has often been feared that children are particularly





*The Untouchables*, Robert Stack, 1959–63.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection



*Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, Gil Gerard, 1979–81.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vulnerable to violence on television because their immature cognitive development does not enable them to discriminate between real and fictional violence. In a detailed study of children's responses to television and cartoons in particular, Hodge and Tripp found that children could make what they termed "modality judgments" as young as six years old. They were well aware that the cartoon was not real. What developed at a later stage was an understanding of certain programs as realistic, building the links between television and life experience. Such research demonstrates a coming together of psychological and cultural approaches to television. Researchers interested in the structure of program meanings and in children's psychological processes can collaborate to increase our knowledge of how children actively interpret a violent cartoon.

Another dimension of the television violence debate has been a concern that frequent viewing of violence on television makes people unrealistically fearful of violence in their own environment. Gerbner's "enculturation" thesis appeared supported by evidence that heavier viewers of television believed the world to be more violent than those who watched television less. Alternative explanations have been offered for these findings, with reference to both social class (heavy viewers may actually live in more dangerous areas) and personality variables. It has also been suggested that those fearful of violence may choose to watch violent programs such as crime dramas, where offenders

are caught and punished. Again, viewers are seen as actively responding to violence on television, rather than simply being conditioned by it. Gerbner presents a valuable description of the violent content on television, differentiating between those who are portrayed as attackers and those who are the victims in our television world. Yet, Greenberg has argued against a cumulative drip-drip-drip view of how television affects viewers' perceptions of the world. Instead, he poses a "drench" hypothesis that single critical images can have powerful effects, presumably for good or ill.

Traditional television-violence-effects research employed simple objective criteria for determining the extent of violence in a program. A feature of this approach has been the development of objective definitions of violence that have enabled researchers to quantify the extent of violence on our screens (80 percent of prime-time American television contains at least one incident of physical violence). From this perspective, cartoons are just as violent as news footage, and a comic cartoon like *Tom and Jerry* is among the most violent on television. Such judgments do not accord with public perceptions, and in recent years there has been an interest in discovering what the public consider violent. A carefully controlled study of audience perceptions of violence was conducted in Britain by Barrie Gunter. He found that viewers rated an action as more violent if the program were closer to their life experience than if the same sort of action appeared



*Hunter*, Stephanie Kramer, Fred Dryer, 1984.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

on a cartoon, western, or science fiction drama. He also found that ratings of violence were linked in complex ways to characteristics of the attacker, victim, and setting, and to the personality of the rater. This focus on what audiences found violent and disturbing and what they believed would disturb children has provided a rather different framework for considering issues of violence on television.

Research for the Australian investigation of violence on television, in contrast to the U.S. Surgeon General's report, was not concerned with establishing causal links but on finding how audience groups reacted to specific programs. The aim was to improve the quality of guidelines to programmers and the information provided for prospective audiences. The research concluded that the most important dimension for viewers in responding to violence was whether the subject matter was about real life. The interest in public perceptions of violence of television has stimulated new research techniques. British researchers have asked

their subjects to make editing decisions as to what cuts are appropriate before material is put to air. Docherty has argued that certain material, both fiction and non-fiction, can elicit strong emotional reactions, which he has termed "deep play." Individuals' reactions to a horror movie such as *Nightmare on Elm Street* appeared largely a question of taste. In contrast, a docudrama about soccer (football) hooliganism provoked polarized and intense reactions. Some viewers thought the violent material was important and should not be cut; others reacted with great hostility to a portrayal of violence that challenged their sense of social order.

The issue of the appropriate level of televised violence arises not just with fictional violence but also with the televising of news footage. When terrorists attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, some of the televised images—particularly the crashing of the second airplane into the World Trade Center and the subsequent collapse of the two towers—resembled scenes from the disaster-movie genre, but this violence

clearly generated an intense emotional reaction based on its reality, immediacy, and national threat. For a time, the significance of the story and the saturation media coverage overwhelmed concerns about the impact of the footage on the young and vulnerable. Generally, however, television stations attempt a balance between reporting what is occurring in the world and making the violence they cover palatable for the living room. Reporters have put themselves at risk attempting to film savage violence in a way that can tell their story but not overwhelm the viewers. The violence of the Vietnam War played out nightly in American living rooms, and this coverage has been seen as a major factor in generating the antiwar movement. Coverage of the Gulf War and the "war on terrorism," however, indicates how use of the media, especially television, has become part of policymakers' wartime strategy. Research on the role of the media in the Gulf War suggests that viewers were often happy to be spared the details of the war as long as their side was winning. It is perhaps unsurprising that, despite concern expressed about the impact of such a violent crisis on impressionable children, the news image that evoked most anger and sadness in British children was on the plight of sea birds covered in oil.

The televised portrayal of the war—the sanitized images of high technology, the frequently employed analogy of the video game, the absence of blood and gore—is thus relevant to the discussion of violence and television. The fact that the political debates about violence on television have focused so strongly on the potential harm to children may act to divert attention away from the way certain violence is censored in the interests of the state. An excessive focus on screen violence can deflect attention from the complex issues of state and interpersonal violence that exist in our world.

Until recently, the potential of television to challenge viewers to think about issues of violence has been largely ignored. A study by Tulloch and Tulloch of children's responses to violence in a series of programs has found young people more disturbed by a narrative about a husband's violent assault on his wife than the objectively more serious violence of a Vietnam War series. Their research has demonstrated clearly that the meanings children attach to violence on television is a function of their age, gender, and social class. Not only does this confirm other findings that relate the perception of violence to personal significance, it points to the potential educative effects of violence on television. Once the portrayal of violence is not seen as necessarily increasing violence, the ways programs can work toward the promotion of nonviolence can be investigated.

However, despite attempts to broaden the debate about violence and television, the dominance within the United States of the media-effects tradition was again illustrated in responses to a series of headline-grabbing incidents of violence in American schools, particularly the deadly shootings in April 1999 at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. At this time, new-media forms, video games, and the Internet were identified alongside television and film as causes of young people's aggression. The debates that followed the shootings, including testimony given to Congress, illustrated the gap between causal and cultural models. Grossman, a military psychologist, extended the desensitization approach to television violence to claim that video games are training children to be killers by helping to erode a natural reluctance to take human life. Taking a media studies perspective, Henry Jenkins argued that it was important to look at what young people did with the media, not what the media did to them. Young people are active media consumers, taking from media their own meanings. Some of these meanings are destructive of themselves and others, while some are a basis for creativity and positive social interaction. From this perspective, if we wish to engage with concerns about media violence, we need to foster young people's critical consumption of a diversity of media forms and content.

MARIAN TULLOCH AND JOHN TULLOCH

**See also Audience Research: Effects Analysis; Audience Research: Industry and Market Analysis; Broadcasting Standards Commission; Children and Television; Detective Programs; Police Programs; Standards and Practices; Terrorism; War on Television; Western**

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Vivendi. *See* Universal

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## Voice of Firestone, The

### U.S. Music Program

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One of network television's preeminent cultural offerings, *The Voice of Firestone* was broadcast live for approximately 12 seasons between 1949 and 1963. With its 46-piece orchestra under the direction of Howard Barlow, this prestigious, award-winning series offered viewers weekly classical and semi-classical concerts featuring celebrated vocalists and musicians. This series was also highly representative of the debate that still rages over the importance of ratings and mass-audience appeals as opposed to cultural-intellectual appeals targeted to comparatively small audiences in the development of network television schedules.

Sponsored throughout its history by the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, *The Voice of Firestone* began as a radio offering in December 1928 and transferred to television as an NBC simulcast on September 5, 1949. Long on musical value but often short on television production value, the show was faulted occasionally for its somewhat stilted visual style, its pretentious nature, and its garish costume choices. In time, however, the series drew critical praise and a consistent audience of 2 million to 3 million people per broadcast.

Notwithstanding its "small" viewership, the Firestone series vigorously maintained its classical/semi-

classical format, adding only an occasional popular music broadcast with stars from Broadway, night clubs, or the recording industry, as well as an occasional theme show developed around various topics of interest, such as 4-H clubs, highway safety, or the United Nations. The program attracted the great performers of the day for nominal fees, with Rise Stevens setting the record for most program appearances at 47. In his *Los Angeles Times* feature of November 1, 1992, Walter Price observed that the Metropolitan Opera star "had the face, figure, and uncanny sense of the camera to tower above the others in effect."

In 1954 *The Voice of Firestone's* audience size became a major issue. Citing low ratings and the negative effect of those ratings on other programs scheduled around it, NBC demanded a time change. Historically, the show had been broadcast in a Monday, 8:30–9:00 P.M., prime-time period. As an alternative, NBC officials suggested leaving the Monday evening radio program in its established time but moving the television version to Sunday at 5:30 P.M., or to an earlier or later slot on Monday. Firestone officials, considering the millions of dollars their company had spent for air time and talent fees over the previous 26 years, refused to budge.

Determined to lure viewers away from *Arthur God-*

*frey's Talent Scouts*, CBS's highly rated competition for the time period, NBC exercised control of its schedule and canceled both the radio and television versions of *The Voice of Firestone*, effective June 7, 1954. The following week, the simulcast reappeared on ABC in its traditional day and time, where it remained until June 1957. In that month, the radio portion was dropped, but after a summer hiatus the television show returned on Monday evenings at 9:00 P.M. In June 1959, despite more popular music in its format, poor ratings again forced the show's cancellation, it being replaced by the short-lived detective series *Bourbon Street Beat*.

Amid numerous critical outbursts, threats of Federal Communications Commission action, and a joint resolution by the National Education Association and National Congress of Parents and Teachers lamenting its cancellation, all three networks offered *Voice of Firestone* fringe time slots, which the Firestone Company rejected. ABC officials indicated that the series was simply the victim of the greater attention paid to television ratings. In radio, critics pointed out, audience delivery to program adjacencies was never considered as important as it was in television, and concert music programs in prime time were regarded as too weak to hold ratings through the evening schedule. Condemning the loss of the Firestone program, Norman Cousins wrote in his May 9, 1959, *Saturday Review* editorial that stations were now pursuing a policy designed to eliminate high-quality programs "even if sponsors are willing to pay for them." Cousins decried the fact that station managers measured program weakness through ratings, and a "'weak spot' in the evening programming... must not be allowed to affect the big winners."

*The Voice of Firestone* was brought back to ABC on Sunday evenings, 10:00–10:30 P.M., in September 1962. However, despite numerous commendations, positive critical reviews, and a star-studded rotation of musical conductors and performers, the audience remained at 2.5 million people. *The Voice of Firestone* left the air for its third and final time in June 1963. With its passing, the American public lost an alterna-

tive form of entertainment whose long heritage was one of quality, good taste, and integrity.

JOEL STERNBERG

**See also Advertising, Company Voice; Music on Television**

**Narrator**

John Daly (1958–59)

**Regular Performers**

Howard Barlow and the Firestone Concert Orchestra

**Programming History**

NBC

September 1949–June 1954 Monday 8:30–9:00

ABC

June 1954–June 1957 Monday 8:30–9:00

September 1957–June 1959 Monday 9:00–9:30

September 1962–June 1963 Sunday 10:00–10:30

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## Voice-over

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Voice-over is the speaking of a person or presenter (announcer, reporter, anchor, commentator, etc.) who is not seen on the screen while her or his voice is heard. Occasionally, a narrator may be seen in a shot but not be speaking the words heard in the voice-over.

Voice-over has diverse uses in a variety of television genres. Like other forms of television talk, it aims at being informal, simple, and conversational. However, except for on-the-spot reporting such as sports events, voice-over is often less spontaneous than the language of talk shows; it is heavily scripted, especially in genres such as the documentary. Voice-over is not simply descriptive; it also contextualizes, analyses, and interprets images and events. Commentaries have the power to reverse the significance of a particular visual content. Voice-over is, therefore, an active intervention or mediation in the process of generating and transmitting meaning. However, viewers are rarely aware or critical of the scope of mediation in part because the visual image itself confers credibility and authenticity on the voice-over. But voice is at times more credible than vision; it is an integral part of a person's identity. This was experienced in the 1988 British government ban on broadcast interviews with representatives of 11 Irish organizations, including Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army. Broadcasters were allowed, however, to voice-over or caption a banned representative's words.

Voice-over is used as a form of language transfer or translation. Viewers of news programs are familiar with the use of voice-over translation of statements or responses of interviewees who do not speak in the language of the viewing audience. Inherited from radio, this form of language transfer allows the first and last few words in the original language to be heard, and then fades them down for revoicing a full translation.

The voice-over should be synchronous with the speaker's talk, except when a still picture is used to replace footage or live broadcast. Usually gender parity between the original and revoiced speakers is maintained.

As a form of language transfer, voice-over is not limited to the translation of brief monologues; sometimes it is used to cover whole programs such as parliamentary debates, conferences, or discussions. Its production is usually less expensive than dubbing and subtitling. Some countries, such as Poland and the Balkan states, use voice-over as the main method of revoicing imported television programs. Usually, the revoicing is done without much performance or acting, even when it involves drama genres.

AMIR HASSANPOUR

*See also* **Dubbing; Language and Television; Subtitling**

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# W

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## W (formerly Women's Television Network)

Canadian Cable Network

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The development of cable television as a feasible distribution system gave rise to increased opportunities and demand for channels delivering distinctive content. In many contexts "women's networks" of various types have provided one popular form of distinction. These networks advertise themselves as serving female viewers, often scheduling programming conventionally associated with female viewing pleasures, such as talk shows, versions of soap opera, or melodrama. Given the size of the female audience, the volume of women's household goods purchases, and their presumably identifiable viewing habits, the strategy of targeting a sex-specific audience developed as one of the more feasible and successful experiments involving "niche audiences."

In June 1994, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) granted a license for the Women's Television Network (WTN), which became one of seven "specialty" channels added to Canadian cable offerings in January 1995. Supporters argued the need for such a niche network for business reasons, citing the quantity of female viewership (the impetus behind the U.S. cable network Lifetime). But the license was also granted in recognition of the limited access women had to creative, production, and executive positions in Canadian television.

Yet WTN was mired in controversy from its inception. The issue was not its programs but the manner in

which cable providers introduced the seven specialty channels in 1995. Initially, cable subscribers were forced to accept a rate hike with the addition of most of the channels. Later, however, they were given an option not to accept those channels requiring an increase in monthly fees. WTN was fortunate to be included among channels offered within the standard package, requiring no additional fee for its service. This was a key to ensuring the network had ample time to develop its identity and audience.

Moffat Communications controlled a 68 percent interest in WTN at its launch. Other stakeholders included a group of women investors, The Barde Group (8.42 percent), Ron Rhodes (12 percent), and Michael Ihnat (10 percent), all of whom had lobbied for a women's network until they found a corporation large enough to make a cable license possible. Moffat was a moderate-sized cable and broadcast entity at the time that also owned CKY-TV, the CTV affiliate in Winnipeg, and various other cable interests. Moffat's ownership also based the network in Winnipeg, rather than the more common media center, Toronto. Although it purchased some high-profile programming from other sources, WTN mandated that 70 percent of its schedule be Canadian and spent \$9 million on Canadian productions in 1996. The network featured some U.S. exports, including *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Rhoda*, as well as, in its early years, British drama and comedies such as *French and Saunders*. It also pro-

grammed documentaries and biography series focused on women and their lives and featured regular film blocks in prime time. For example, on Fridays WTN offered *Through Her Eyes*, a series of films directed by women from around the world.

The network achieved limited success in its first few months (an estimated audience of 23,000 in February 1995). The network was initially unavailable in Montreal, preventing it from reaching that city's sizable market. At the end of six months it was the least watched of the new specialty channels. As a result, executives responded to criticism that the initial programming was too serious and feminist by reconfiguring the network's profile. One television critic cited the replacement of the hard-hitting public affairs talk show *POV: Women with Take 3* (a lifestyle series) as illustrative of the shift introduced by the fall of 1995.

The program alterations proved successful, garnering many positive reviews of the network, and by August 2000 WTN's viewership ranked in the upper half of specialty channels. After establishing itself the network was able to reincorporate some of the more serious public affairs programming. *Open for Discussion*, for example, featured a regular call-in show scheduled to follow issue-oriented movies exploring topics such as domestic abuse or rape. WTN also made a significant public service investment through its WTN Foundation, which sponsored projects such as a girls' television camp in Ottawa and other outreach programs, many aimed at helping women enter the television industry. Other projects benefited women in a more general sense—inmates from a women's correctional facility, for example, staffed *Open for Discussion*, earning money for their families.

By 2000 Moffat was the sole owner of WTN, and in March 2001 sold the network to Corus Entertainment Inc. for \$205 million (Canadian). Corus, a spin-off of Shaw Communication, is one of Canada's leading en-

tertainment conglomerates, with holdings including 52 radio stations as well as specialty, pay, conventional, and digital television services. Corus quickly drew criticism by closing the Winnipeg office and firing all but three of nearly 80 WTN employees. The network was moved to the Corus facility in Toronto, where it expected to employ no more than 25.

Corus relaunched WTN as W in April 2002, adding U.S. exports *Ally McBeal*, *The Huntress*, and *Chicago Hope* to the schedule, while eliminating the *Herstory* biography series, *Hot Topics*, and the weekly screening of international films. Public relations staff described the network's new focus as featuring more movies and music specials and less "femme-related" programming. The network also added a dual feed for western Canada.

W airs programs also available on U.S. women's networks Lifetime and Oxygen Media, including *Strong Medicine*, *The Division*, and *Beyond Chance*, all produced for Lifetime. Oxygen airs *The Sunday Night Sex Show* and *Debbie Travis' Painted House*, both originally produced for WTN. Before the relaunch as W, the Canadian network bore more similarity to Oxygen, with its more explicitly feminist address. The adjustment in programming and the brand shift have made it more comparable to the generally "feminine" address of Lifetime.

AMANDA LOTZ

*See also Gender and Television; Lifetime*

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## Wagon Train

U.S. Western

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*Wagon Train*, a fusion of the popular western genre and the weekly star vehicle, premiered on Wednesday nights, 7:30–8:30 P.M., in September 1957 on NBC. The show took its initial inspiration from John Ford's 1950 film *The Wagonmaster*. NBC and Revue produc-

tions, an MCA unit for producing telefilms, conceived of the program as a unique entry into the growing stable of western genre telefilm, combining quality writing and direction with weekly guest stars known for their work in other media, primarily motion pictures.





*Wagon Train*, Robert Horton, Ward Bond, 1957–65.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Each week, a star such as Ernest Borgnine (who appeared in the first episode, “The Willie Moran Story”), Shelly Winters, Lou Costello, or Jane Wyman would appear along with series regulars Ward Bond and Robert Horton. The show, filmed on location in California’s San Fernando Valley, had an impressive budget of \$100,000 per episode, at a time when competing hour-long westerns, such as ABC’s *Sugarfoot*, cost approximately \$70,000 per episode.

Star presence enticed viewers; powerful writing and directing made the show a success. With experience in other westerns, such as *Gunsmoke* and *Tales of Wells Fargo*, writers including western novelist Borden Chase and future director Sam Peckinpah developed scripts that eventually became episodes. Directors familiar with the western telefilm contributed experience, as did personnel who had been involved with *GE Theatre*, a program influential in the conception of *Wagon Train*’s use of stars. Promotional materials suggested that motion picture directors John Ford, Leo McCarey, and Frank Capra had expressed interest in directing future episodes; whether wishful thinking or real possibility, *Wagon Train*’s producers envisioned their western as television on a par with motion pictures.

Each episode revolved around characters and personalities who were traveling by wagon train caravan from St. Joseph, Missouri, to California. Series regulars conducted the train through perils and adventures associated with the landscapes and inhabitants of the American West. The star vehicle format worked in tandem with the episodic nature of series television, giving audiences a glimpse into the concerns of different pioneers and adventurers from week to week. Returning cast members gave the show stability: audiences expected complaints and comedy from Charlie Wooster, the train’s cook, and clashes of experience with exuberance in the relationship between the wagonmaster and his dashing frontier scouts. The recurring cast’s interrelationships, problems, and camaraderie contributed greatly to the sense of “family” that bound disparate elements of the series together.

*Wagon Train* lasted eight seasons, moving from NBC to ABC in September 1962. Its format expanded to 90 minutes in 1963 but returned to hour length for its final run from 1964 to 1965. It survived several cast changes: Ward Bond (Major Adams), the original wagonmaster, died during filming in 1960 and was replaced by John McIntyre (Chris Hale); Robert Horton (Flint McCullough) left the series in 1962 and was replaced as frontier scout by Robert Fuller (Cooper Smith). Only two characters survived the eight-year run in their original positions: Frank McGrath, as comical cook Charlie Wooster, and Terry Wilson’s assistant wagonmaster Bill Hawks.

The show’s ability to survive a network switch and periodic cast changes during its eight-year run attests to its popularity. In the fall of 1959, two years after its inception, the show was number one in Great Britain; of seven westerns in the Nielsen top ten in the United States, *Wagon Train* competed constantly with *Gunsmoke* for supremacy. By 1959 the show was firmly ensconced in the top 25 programs in the United States; it bounced as high as number one in the spring of 1960 and maintained its number one position over *Gunsmoke* throughout the 1961–62 season. In a field awash with westerns, *Wagon Train* established a unique style reminiscent of the anthology drama but indelibly entrenched in western traditions.

KATHRYN C. D’ALESSANDRO

*See also Cheyenne; Gunsmoke; Have Gun—Will Travel; Warner Brothers Presents; Western*

#### Cast

Major Seth Adams (1957–61)	Ward Bond
Flint McCullough (1957–62)	Robert Horton
Bill Hawks	Terry Wilson
Charlie Wooster	Frank McGrath
Duke Shannon (1961–64)	Scott Miller

## Wagon Train

Chris Hale (1961–65)  
Barnaby West (1963–65)  
Cooper Smith (1963–65)

John McIntire  
Michael Burns  
Robert Fuller

September 1963–September  
1964  
September 1964–September  
1965

Monday 8:30–9:30  
Sunday 7:30–8:30

### Producers

Howard Christie, Richard Lewis

### Programming History

442 episodes

NBC

September 1957–September  
1962

Wednesday 7:30–8:30

ABC

September 1962–September  
1963

Wednesday 7:30–8:30

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## Wales

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As a small but culturally and linguistically distinct nation within the United Kingdom, Wales offers an enlightening case study of the role of television in constructing cultural identity. Broadcasting in Wales has played a crucial role in ensuring the survival of the Welsh language, one of the oldest languages spoken on a daily basis in Europe. Coupled with recent educational policies, which include Welsh-language instruction as either a core or secondary subject in all Welsh schools, and Europe-wide recognition of the cultural and linguistic rights of indigenous speakers, the nation has seen a slight increase in the percentage of Welsh speakers. Welsh television currently comprises BBC 1 Wales and BBC 2 Wales; the independent television (ITV) commercial-franchise holder, Harlech Television (HTV Wales); and Sianel Pedwar Cymru (Channel 4 Wales [S4C]), the Welsh equivalent of Britain's commercial Channel 4. BBC 1 Wales, BBC 2 Wales, and HTV Wales broadcast entirely in English, whereas S4C's schedules contain a mix of locally produced Welsh-language and English-language Channel 4 U.K. programs. Welsh-language television is the progeny of battles over the national and cultural rights of a linguistic minority who, from the outset of television in Britain, lobbied hard for Welsh-language programming. Of the 2.7 million population of Wales, 20 percent (500,000) speak Welsh, and since November 1,

1982, the bilingual minority have been able to view Welsh-language programs on S4C during the lunch and prime-time periods, seven days a week.

From the outset of television in Wales, the mountainous topography of the country presented broadcasters with transmission problems; despite the construction of new and more powerful transmitters, gaps in service persisted as late as the 1980s. At the time of the opening of the first transmitter in Wales, 36,236 households had a combined radio and television license, a number that more than doubled to 82,324 by September 1953, in anticipation of the televising of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. By 1959, 50 percent of Welsh households had a television set (450,720 licenses); 70 percent of those viewers received their broadcasts from the Welsh transmitter (Wenvoe), which also reached an identical viewing base in southwest England. However, 10 percent of the Welsh population could still not receive television, and 20 percent received their programs from transmitters located in England.

A key player in early Welsh-language television was Alun Oldfield-Davies (senior regional BBC controller from 1957 to 1967), who persuaded the BBC in 1952 to allow Welsh-language programs to be occasionally transmitted from the Welsh transmitter outside network hours. Oldfield-Davies went on to become an in-

veterate campaigner for Welsh-language television and stepped up his lobbying with the introduction of commercial television in Wales in 1956. The first television program broadcast entirely in Welsh was transmitted on St. David's Day (Wales's patron saint's day), March 1, 1953, and featured a religious service from Cardiff's Tabernacle Baptist Chapel. The first Welsh-language feature program was a portrait of the Welsh bibliophile Bob Owen; despite replacing only the test card, the program antagonized English viewers, who complained about the incomprehensible language. This reaction was to intensify in later years, when English programs were substituted by Welsh-language productions.

The Broadcast Council for Wales (BCW) was established as an advisory body in 1955, although its presence had little impact on the tardy appearance of full production facilities in Cardiff, the last regional center in the United Kingdom to be adequately equipped for production in 1959. (The BBC expanded the Broadway Methodist Chapel in Cardiff, a site that had functioned as a drive-in studio since 1954.) The first program filmed before a live audience in Wales took place in 1953, while the first televised rugby match and Welsh-language play, *Cap Wil Tomos* (Wil Tomos's Cap) were both transmitted in January 1955. (The first televised English-language play produced in Wales, *Wind of Heaven*, was broadcast in June 1956.) However, despite these important breakthroughs in Welsh television, the number of programs locally produced for both bilingual and English-speaking audiences remained small; for example, in 1954, only 2 hours and 40 minutes of English programming and 1 hour and 25 minutes of Welsh-language programming were broadcast each week. The first regular Welsh-language program, *Cefndir* (Background), aired in February 1957; introduced by Wyn Roberts, the show adopted a magazine format featuring topical items.

The BBC's monopoly in British broadcasting was broken with the launch of ITV, which could first be received by the inhabitants of northeast Wales (and many in northwest Wales) in 1956, following the launch of Granada television in Manchester, England. South Wales did not receive ITV until Television Wales West (TWW) was awarded a franchise in 1958 and opened a transmitter in the south, which also served the southwest of England. More than a little complacent that the commercial imperatives of ITV would preclude Welsh-language ITV broadcasts, the BBC was stunned when the ITV Granada studios in Manchester launched a series of twice-weekly, 60-minute Welsh-language programs, greatly overshadowing the BBC's weekly provision of one half-hour. As a result, the political stakes involved in addressing

the interests of Welsh-language viewers were raised, although both the BBC and ITV recognized the low ratings generated by such programs, given the minority status of Welsh-language speakers. Gwynfor Evans, who went on to play a pivotal role in the emergence of S4C in the early 1980s, joined the BCW in 1957 and, along with Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party), vigorously lobbied for an increase in Welsh-language broadcasting. The issue of Welsh-language programming for children also assumed a greater urgency in the late 1950s. The broadcasting demands of the campaigners were given institutional recognition in 1960 with the publication of the findings of the Pilkington Committee (the first broadcasting inquiry mainly concerned with television), which argued that "the language and culture of Wales would suffer irreparable harm" if Welsh-language production were not increased.

A second ITV franchise, Television Wales West and North (TWWN, known in Wales as Teledu Cymru [Welsh Television]), began broadcasting in Wales in September 1962. Initially transmitting 11 hours a week of Welsh-language and Welsh-interest programming, TWWN obtained half of its programs from TWW. However, TWWN's future as a broadcaster was short-lived; facing bankruptcy, it was taken over by TWW in September 1963. At this time, the BBC and ITV reached an agreement over the scheduling of Welsh-language programs, requiring that each broadcaster's schedule be exchanged so as to avoid a clash of Welsh-language programs (which would leave non-Welsh speakers no alternative broadcast during this time slot). By and large, the policy worked, although some overlapping did occur.

In 1963 the BBC in Wales broadcast three hours of programming for Welsh viewers per week and occasionally produced programs exclusively for the network. *Heddiw* (Today), a long-running Welsh-language weekday news bulletin, was broadcast outside network hours from 1:00 to 1:25 p.m., while its English-language equivalent, *Wales Today*, occupied an early-evening slot between 6:10 and 6:25 p.m. TWW also had its own Welsh-language magazine program called *Y Dydd* (The Day).

BBC Wales was launched in February 1964, when it received its own wavelength for television broadcasting (Channel 13). Oldfield-Davies was central in orchestrating the move and oversaw its implementation (television sets had to be converted in order to receive Channel 13). Up to this point, most Welsh-language programs had been transmitted during nonnetwork hours; the introduction of BBC Wales meant that Wales would opt out of the national service for a prescribed number of hours per week (8.9 hours per week

in 1964) in order to transmit locally produced English- and Welsh-language programs. However, the arrival of BBC Wales meant that non-Welsh-speaking viewers whose aerials received BBC Wales from Welsh transmitters had no way of opting out of this system, unless they could also pick up the national BBC service by pointing their aerials toward English transmitters. The inclusion of a small number of Welsh-language programs on the television schedules at this time thus incensed some English-speaking Welsh viewers, who claimed that they were more poorly served by the BBC than other English-speaking national minorities, such as the Scots, and resented losing programs to Welsh-language productions. By the fall of 1984, 68 percent of Welsh people received programs from transmitters offering BBC Wales, a number that increased to 75 percent by June 1970. BBC 2, the first BBC service transmitted on UHF, was launched in southeast England in 1962, reaching south Wales and southwest England in 1965. By the early 1970s, it was available to 90 percent of Welsh television homes. The first color program produced by BBC Wales was transmitted on July 9, 1970, and consisted of coverage of the Llangollen Eisteddfod.

As pressure for more Welsh-language programs increased, TWW's franchise was successfully challenged in 1968 by John Morgan and Lord Harlech. Commencing in March 1958, HTV pledged to address the "particular needs and wishes of Wales," and a ten-member committee was established to consider a range of topics affecting broadcasting in Wales. These issues were addressed more forcefully in a 1969 booklet published by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) titled *Broadcasting in Wales: To Enrich or Destroy Our National Life?* Facing a wall of silence from BBC Wales following publication of the document, three members of the society embarked on a campaign of civil disobedience and in May 1970 interrupted a program broadcast from Bangor in north Wales. The following year, a small group of men unlawfully gained entry to the Granada television studios in Manchester and caused limited damage to television equipment; television masts were also climbed; Parliament was interrupted; and roads were blocked. In addition to these high-profile disturbances, hundreds of people were prosecuted for not paying their television license fees. In the fall of 1970, the society submitted a document to the Welsh Broadcasting Authority (WBA) containing the first proposal for a fourth Welsh channel; an interim scheme proposed by the society suggested that the unallotted fourth UHF channel in Wales should transmit 25 hours of Welsh-language programming a week and should be jointly administered by a BBC Wales and HTV committee.

Soon after, ITV made a formal submission requesting that the fourth channel be used as a second ITV service broadcasting all HTV's current Welsh-language programming and making HTV Wales an all-English channel. The battle for a Welsh fourth channel had begun in earnest.

Against a backdrop of ongoing campaigns by the Welsh Language Society in the early and mid-1970s, the Crawford Committee on Broadcast Coverage examined patterns of rural reception in Wales and explored the possibility of using the fourth channel for Welsh-language programming. Those in favor of retaining the current system of integration argued that a separate Welsh-language channel would "ghettoize" the language and culture (a view supported by the 1977 Annan Report commissioned by the Labour government); they also drew attention to the fact that English-speaking viewers would still be deprived of English programs broadcast on the U.K. fourth channel and questioned whether there was a solid enough economic and cultural base in Wales to maintain a fourth channel. An average of 12 hours a week of Welsh- and English-language programs (seven and five hours, respectively) were broadcast on BBC Wales between 1964 and 1974, with almost half the time taken up with news and current-affairs programs such as *Heddiw*, *Cywain* (Gathering), *Wales Today*, and *Week In Week Out*.

Welsh-language television up to this point had gained a reputation of being quite highbrow, often consisting of nonfiction programs examining major Welsh institutions and traditions. However, sports, especially the national game of rugby, were enormously popular and always guaranteed representation and high ratings on the schedules. Moreover, the 1974 launch of the hugely successful Welsh-language soap opera *Pobol y Cwm* (People of the Valley) did even more to shift the balance toward popular programming. *Pobol y Cwm*'s 20-minute episodes are currently broadcast five days a week; the continuing serial is the highest-rated program on S4C, attracting an average viewership of 180,000. English subtitles are available on teletext on daily episodes, and the five episodes are repeated on Sunday afternoon with open subtitles.

Welsh-speaking comedic stars also made their mark in light entertainment during the 1970s; performers included Ryan Davies, who enjoyed widespread fame with his partner Ronnie Williams in the 1971 show *Ryan a Ronnie*, and in the first Welsh sitcom, *Fo a Fe* (Him and Him; the title derived from north and south Walean dialects for "him"), written by Rhydderch Jones. Stand-up comedian Max Boyce also became a household name with his own 1978 one-man series. Religious programming was still popular with audi-

ences (as it had been on radio), and a BBC Sunday half-hour hymn-singing program titled *Dechrau Canu, Dechrau Canmol* (Begin Singing, Begin Praising) drew large audiences. Two successful English-language programs made for the BBC network in the mid-1970s included a seven-hour miniseries on the life of Welsh politician David Lloyd George (1977) and an animated children's cartoon titled *Ivor the Engine* (1976). One of the most successful English-language dramas of the 1970s, a program regularly repeated on Welsh television, was *Grand Slam* (1975), which hilariously documented the exploits of a group of Welsh rugby fans traveling to Paris for an international match.

Meanwhile, political lobbying for a fourth Welsh-language channel intensified as the Welsh Language Society organized walking tours, petitions, leaflet distribution, and the public burning of BBC television licenses. Published in November 1975, the government-sponsored Siberry Report recommended that the Welsh fourth channel should broadcast 25 hours a week of Welsh-language programs, with the BBC and HTV each responsible for three and a half days a week. Welsh members of Parliament also argued that the seven hours of programming on BBC Wales opened up by the transfer of Welsh-language programs to a fourth channel should be filled with BBC Wales programs in English, rather than BBC network material. In their 1979 general election manifestos, both Labour and Conservative parties pledged support for a fourth Welsh channel; however, facing resistance to the plan from the independent broadcasting authority (IBA) and HTV, Conservative Party Home Secretary William Whitelaw repudiated the Welsh fourth channel in a speech given at Cambridge University in September 1979. Welsh reaction was swift; at Plaid Cymru's annual conference in October, a fund was established into which supporters opposed to Whitelaw's decision could deposit their television license fee (2,000 protesters pledged support and a number received prison sentences the following spring). Noted political and academic figures in Wales also joined the campaign and were arrested for civil disobedience. It was, however, the intervention of Plaid Cymru member of Parliament Gwynfor Evans that had the most profound effect on public and political opinion. In May 1980, Evans announced that he would go on a hunger strike on October 5 and continue with the protest until the government restored its earlier promise of giving Wales a fourth Welsh-language channel. In the wake of public demonstrations during visits to Wales by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Welsh Secretary Nicholas Edwards, Cledwyn Evans (Labour's former foreign secretary) led a depu-

tation to Whitelaw's office in London demanding that the decision be reversed. The government finally backed down on September 17, stating that a Welsh Fourth Channel Authority would be formed (provisions were incorporated into the 1980 Broadcasting Bill through a House of Lords amendment). The BBC would be responsible for providing ten hours per week, and HTV and independent companies eight hours per week. S4C had finally arrived.

Funded by an annual budget from the Treasury, which is based on a rate of 3.2 percent of the net advertising revenue of all terrestrial television in the United Kingdom, S4C is a commissioning broadcaster (rather than a program producer), with program announcements and promotions the only material produced in-house. By the mid-1990s, S4C was annually transmitting approximately 1,753 locally produced hours of programming in Welsh, and 5,041 hours in English; the English-language broadcasts were rescheduled U.K. C4's output. These figures translate into roughly 30 hours of programming per week in Welsh and 93 hours per week in English. S4C reaches a target share of approximately 20 percent of Welsh-speaking viewers, although its remit also includes targeting both Welsh learners and English speakers through the use of teletext services that enable participating viewers to call up English subtitles for most Welsh programs. Some 75 percent of all local advertisers produce campaigns in both Welsh and English on S4C, while a number of multinational companies, such as McDonald's and Volvo, have also advertised in Welsh.

Of the 30 hours of Welsh-language programming shown on S4C each week, ten hours come from BBC Wales; the remaining 20 come from HTV Wales and independent producers. BBC Wales also produces ten hours of English-language programming for viewers living in Wales, which is broadcast on BBC 1 and BBC 2. The BBC's Royal Charter charges the BBC to provide services reflecting "the cultures, tastes, interests, and languages of that country," and via the BCW, the service is regularly reviewed to ensure that programs meet the requirements set down in the Royal Charter. HTV Wales produced 588 hours of English-language programs for Wales during 1995, a figure that amounted to approximately 25 hours per week.

Since January 1, 1993, S4C has been responsible for selling its own advertising (previously overseen by HTV); this has meant that revenues can now be plowed directly back into program production. S4C provides a wide range of program genres, including news and current affairs, drama, games, and quizzes, and youth and children's programming. The main S4C news service, *Newyddion* (News), is provided by BBC

Wales; S4C also has two investigative news shows, *Taro Naw* (Strike Now) and *Yr Byd ar Bedwar* (The World on Four), as well as documentaries exploring the diverse lives of Welsh men and women: *Hel Straeon* (Gather Stories), *Cefn Gwlad* (Countryside), and *Filltir Sgwar* (Square Mile). Recent comedy series have included *Nosan Llawen* (Folk Evening of Entertainment), *Licyris Olsorts* (Licorice Allsorts), and the satirical show *Pelydr X* (X-Ray). Series examining contemporary issues through the lens of popular drama have included *Hafren*, a hospital drama; *Halen yn y Gwaed* (Salt in the Blood), which followed the lives of a ferry crew sailing between Wales and Ireland; *A55*, a hard-hitting series about juvenile crime; and *Pris y Farchnad* (Market Price), which examined the lives of a family of auctioneers. Children and teenage viewers are catered to via *Sali Mali*; *Rownd a Rownd* (Round and Round), which looks at the exploits of a paper round; and *Rap*, a magazine program for Welsh learners.

Non-Welsh-speaking viewers receive their local news from BBC Wales's *Wales Today* and HTV Wales's *Wales This Week*. Other recent nonfiction programs have included *Grass Roots*, *The Really Helpful Show*, *The Once and Future Valleys*, and *The Infirmary*, from HTV Wales; and *Between Ourselves*, *All Our Lives*, and *Homeland*, produced by BBC Wales.

Thanks to S4C, Wales now has a thriving independent production sector centered in Cardiff (where 46 percent of the Welsh media industry is located) and Caernarfon. Welsh television's success in the field of children's animation has continued, with *Wil Cwac Cwac* and *SuperTed* making their first appearance in 1982 (both have appeared on the Disney Channel in the United States), followed by *Fireman Sam* and *Toucan Tecs*. By the early 1990s, Cardiff boasted five animation houses, 45 independent production companies, and a pool of approximately 150 professional animators. Animation coproductions from the mid-1990s included *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, *Operavox: The Animated Operas*, *Testament: The Bible in Animation*, *The Little Engine That Could*, and *The Legend of Lochnagar*. More than 90 of S4C's programs have been exported to almost 100 countries worldwide, and coproductions have been negotiated with production companies in France, Italy, Germany, Australia, and the United States.

It is important to note that the political advocacy that secured the rights of Welsh speakers within a broadcasting system for Wales ultimately benefited both Welsh and English speakers, since the language campaign fostered the production of more English-language programs for Wales as a whole. The current system of Welsh broadcasting would certainly never

have existed had it not been doggedly pursued by Welsh-language activists. Recent audience research into the penetration levels of S4C indicates that in the mid-1990s, between 80 and 85 percent of Welsh speakers watched S4C at some point each week, and between 65 and 70 percent of all viewers (English- and Welsh-speaking) tuned in to S4C some time each week. The S4C model in Wales has been emulated by several other European linguistic minorities, including the Basque channel Euskal Telebista 1 in Spain (launched in 1982) and a Catalan channel started in 1983.

Digital television, which was being received in 30 percent of Welsh homes by the end of 2000, has doubtless had an impact on the terrestrial channels serving Wales. If the obvious benefits of digital television—greater channel choice, Internet access, and interactive services—far outweigh the disadvantages, S4C, BBC Wales, and HTV Wales are nevertheless concerned that they will lose viewers to digital television. S4C in west and southwest Wales saw an increase in its share of Welsh-speaking viewers in peak time, but the number of Welsh-speaking viewers in north Wales diminished. Digital television is therefore something of a mixed blessing for S4C, since it is now committed to providing programming for its digital service (expanding Welsh-language programming to morning and late-night television) while also ensuring quality programming on its analog service. S4C therefore continues to deal with the challenge of catering to widely varying tastes in its commissioning of programs, attempting to reflect the social, cultural, and geographical diversity of Wales on one channel. One criticism has focused on the incursions of English and “low-quality” Welsh expressions into programming, although S4C executives argue that the desire to maintain high linguistic standards on S4C is tempered by the need to inject realism into the representation of Welsh-language use.

The two-and-one-half-year-old BBC channel Choice Wales, which featured new talent and experimental approaches to programming, was replaced in March 2001 by BBC 2 Wales digital service. There is great optimism about this service for Wales; it is generally hoped that it will lead to innovative programming and a larger share for Welsh-speaking audiences. BBC 2 Wales digital also means that Welsh expatriates will be able to receive the service via satellite throughout the United Kingdom. Drama and major documentary series, while costly (the average cost for all-Welsh-language programs is £27,093 [approximately \$40,000]), are still considered good value for money, with their high production costs offset by an increase in repeated programs and acquired programming that can be broadcast on digital platforms. Network exposure for programming from Wales has struggled to at-

tract audiences, with the much anticipated drama series *Border Café* coming under heavy criticism for its poor audience ratings. Many viewers in Wales continue to take issue with the crass stereotypes of Welsh people and Welsh culture on network programs, and some have lobbied BBC Wales for more programs made in Wales about Wales for the British network audience. With more programming hours to fill in both Welsh and English, terrestrial and digital broadcasters face exciting new challenges as they battle for audiences in an increasingly competitive and splintered marketplace.

ALISON GRIFFITHS

See also **Ireland; Language and Television; Scotland**

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## Walking with Dinosaurs

British Natural History/Science Series

Television natural history programming remains a staple of the medium and has been responsible for a vast body of spectacular and fascinating material. By the end of the 1990s, however, though its popularity seemed as great as ever and several dedicated cable and satellite channels endlessly recycled its output, the feeling was taking hold that, despite the continuous search for gimmicky new techniques, there was virtually no scope for innovation in the genre. Then along came *Walking with Dinosaurs*, which took as its starting point the presentation of the life of extinct creatures in much the same way as living creatures were presented in conventional natural history programs.

The obvious inspiration was the Steven Spielberg movie *Jurassic Park*, which not only had demonstrated the technical ability to present credible moving images of dinosaurs, but had created intense public interest in the subject. The same Soft Image software as had been used in the movie was employed for the tele-

vision series, with the images created at the Framestore facility in London, and similarly large-scale animatronic heads were also used for close-ups on location. Academic experts on dinosaurs were consulted throughout the process in order that the lives of these creatures be portrayed as accurately as possible, although some things, like their color, remain unknown and had to be guessed.

Unlike *Jurassic Park*, however, the dinosaurs had to be placed in locations that contained the correct ancient species of trees and other habitat. These were found in Chile, New Zealand, and New Caledonia, amongst others. The animators then had to place the dinosaurs into the locations in such a way that the lighting of both images was consistent and the dinosaurs looked as though they were interacting with the location.

To increase the sense of a traditional natural history program, the producers decided to present it as though

individual living dinosaurs were being filmed by a camera team and the narrative built around the footage captured. Series producer Tim Haines, interviewed in *Radio Times* (October 2–8, 1999), said, “We followed all the rules the paleontologists gave us, then directed the action like it was a real natural history programme. We had to be utterly convinced it was all real, even though we were making educated guesses. It’s the conviction that what you see is real that drags you into accepting it.”

The six parts of *Walking with Dinosaurs* covered such topics as the growth of a long-necked sauropod from birth to adulthood, dinosaur life in the waters and the skies, and the reasons dinosaurs became extinct. Though originated in Britain, it was a major international coproduction, the BBC’s partners being the Discovery Channel (United States), TV Asahi (Japan), Proseiben (Germany), and France 3. As with other natural history coproductions, this enabled easy versioning for different countries and helped ensure worldwide success. The British version was narrated by actor Kenneth Branagh.

In Britain, *Walking with Dinosaurs* came at a time when educational documentary programming in the public service tradition was considered under threat from “infotainment” and the ubiquitous “docusoaps.” Following its success, it was cited as proof that well-made educational programming was capable of capturing significant audiences, and it prompted an overdue policy shift in the commissioning of factual programming.

Naturally, it also instigated a series of follow-up programs from the same production team. As well as the inevitable “making of” documentary, a Christmas special, *The Ballad of Big Al*, and accompanying documentary *Big Al Uncovered* (BBC, 2000) explored the life of an allosaur. The next full series was *Walking with Beasts* (BBC, 2002), which used the same techniques to present a natural history of the now-extinct giant mammals that lived in the period between the disappearance of the dinosaurs and the coming of man. A further innovation associated with this series was the presentation of background detail on an interactive television service.

STEVE BRYANT

**Narrator**

Kenneth Branagh

**Producers**

John Lynch, Tim Haines, Jasper James

**Program History**

Six episodes, plus “making of” documentary and series special

BBC/Discovery Channel/TV Asahi/Prosieben Media/France 3

October 4, 1999–November 8, 1999

*Walking with Dinosaurs Special: The Ballad of Big Al*  
December 25, 2000

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## Wallace, Mike (1918– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Although he spent many years in broadcasting before turning to journalism, Mike Wallace became one of the United States’ most enduring and prominent television news personalities. Primarily known for his work on the long-running CBS magazine series *60 Minutes*, he developed a reputation as an inquisitorial interviewer, authoritative documentary narrator, and powerful investigative reporter. While his journalistic credentials and tactics have been questioned at times, his longevity, celebrity, and ability to land big interviews have made him one of the most important news figures in the history of television.

Wallace’s early career differed from those of his well-known peers at CBS News. Edward R. Murrow, Walter Cronkite, Eric Sevareid, Andy Rooney, and others worked as wartime radio and print correspondents before moving to television. Wallace, however, studied broadcasting at the University of Michigan and began an acting and announcing career in 1939. Throughout the 1940s, he performed in a variety of radio genres—quiz shows, talk shows, serials, commercials, and news readings. After service in the Navy, the baritone-voiced radio raconteur landed a string of early television jobs in Chicago. As early as 1949, “Myron”



Wallace acted in the police drama *Stand by for Crime*, and he later appeared on the CBS anthology programs *Suspense* and *Studio One*. He emceed local and network TV quiz and panel shows while also working in radio news for CBS from 1951 to 1955. Wallace's move into interviewing at the network level came in the form of two husband-and-wife talk shows, *All Around the Town* and *Mike and Buff*, which CBS adapted from a successful Chicago radio program. With his wife, Buff Cobb, Wallace visited New York locations and conducted live interviews with celebrities and passers-by. After a three-season run on CBS, Wallace had a brief stint in 1954 as a Broadway actor before returning to television.

In 1955 Wallace began anchoring nightly newscasts for the DuMont network's New York affiliate. The following year his producer, Ted Yates, created the vehicle that brought Wallace to prominence. *Night Beat* was a live, late-night hour of interviews in which Wallace grilled a pair of celebrity guests every weeknight. Armed with solid research and provocative questions, the seasoned announcer with a flair for the dramatic turned into a hard-hitting investigative journalist and probing personality reporter. With the nervy Wallace as its anchor, *Night Beat* developed a hard edge lacking in most television talk. Using only a black backdrop and smoke from his cigarette for atmosphere, Wallace asked pointed, even mischievous questions that made guests squirm. Most were framed in tight close-up, revealing the sweat elicited by Wallace's barbs and the show's harsh klieg lights.

After a successful first season, during which Wallace interviewed such celebrities as Norman Mailer, Salvador Dali, Thurgood Marshall, Ayn Rand, Hugh Hefner, William Buckley, and prominent politicians, the program moved to ABC as a half-hour prime-time show called *The Mike Wallace Interview*. Promoted as "Mike Malice" and "the Terrible Torquemada of the TV Inquisition," Wallace continued to talk to prominent personalities about controversial issues. However, ABC executives, particularly after brushes with libel suits, proved wary of Wallace's brinkmanship. The show lasted only through 1958, turning more cerebral in its final weeks when the Ford Foundation became its sponsor. Intellectuals such as Reinhold Niebuhr, Aldous Huxley, and William O. Douglas replaced the Klansmen, ex-mobsters, movie stars, and more sensational interviewees seen before.

For the next five years, Wallace continued to parlay his celebrity into odd jobs on New York and network TV as quizmaster, pitchman for cigarettes, chat show host (*PM East*, 1961–62), and newsreader, but he began to sharpen his focus on mainstream journalism as well. He anchored *Newsbeat* (1959–61), one of the first half-hour nightly news programs, for an indepen-



Mike Wallace.  
Photo courtesy of Mike Wallace

dent New York station and also began working as host for David L. Wolper's TV documentary series *Biography*, narrating 65 episodes of the syndicated program. (His distinctive voice continues to be heard in many such educational productions, including *The 20th Century with Mike Wallace*, which CBS produces as a cable series for A&E and the History Channel. Increasingly, he became a field correspondent. After a chain of Westinghouse-owned stations hired Wallace to cover the 1960 political conventions, he started traveling extensively, supplying the stations with daily radio and TV reports from across the country (*Closeup U.S.A.*, 1960) and abroad (*Around the World in 40 Days*, 1962).

At this point in his life, as he described in his 1984 autobiography, Wallace decided to "go straight," giving up higher-paying entertainment jobs for a career exclusively devoted to news. In 1963 (a year in which the networks expanded their news divisions), the *CBS Morning News with Mike Wallace* premiered. Wallace remained on the show for three years before resuming full-time reporter's duties. Although seen frequently on other CBS News assignments (Vietnam, the Middle East), Wallace's beat was the Richard Nixon comeback campaign. A confessed Nixon apologist, he neverthe-

less rejected an offer in 1968 to be the candidate's press secretary.

Instead, that fall Wallace began regular duties for *60 Minutes*, the prime-time news magazine for which he and Harry Reasoner had done a pilot in February 1968. To contrast with the mild-mannered Reasoner, producer Don Hewitt cast Wallace in his usual role as the abrasive, tough-guy reporter. While he could be charming when doing softer features and celebrity profiles, Wallace maintained his reputation as a bruising inquisitor who gave his subjects "Mike fright." With his personal contacts in the Nixon (and later Reagan) circles, he proved an adept reporter on national politics, particularly during Watergate. Throughout his run on *60 Minutes*, he consistently landed timely and exclusive interviews with important newsmakers.

As *60 Minutes* was becoming a mainstay of TV news, Wallace developed its most familiar modus operandi: the ambush interview. Sometimes using hidden cameras and one-way mirrors, Wallace would confront scam artists and other wrongdoers caught in the act. Field producers did most of the investigative work, but Wallace added the theatrical panache as he performed his on-camera muckraking. His tactics have been both praised and criticized. While he has won numerous awards as a sort of national ombudsman, a reporter with the resources and ability to expose corruption, some critics have judged his methods too sensational, unfair, and even unethical.

Twice Wallace was entangled in landmark libel cases. His *60 Minutes* report "The Selling of Colonel Herbert" (1973) questioned a whistleblower's veracity about war crimes. Herbert sued Wallace's producer. Although the news team was exonerated, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Herbert v. Lando* (1979) that the plaintiff had the right to examine the materials produced during the editorial process. A far bigger case followed when Wallace interviewed General William Westmoreland for the *CBS Reports* documentary "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception" (1982). When *TV Guide* and CBS's own in-house investigation charged that the producers had violated standards of fairness, Westmoreland sued the network. The charges Wallace aired—conspiracy to cover up the actual number of Viet Cong troops—were substantiated by trial evidence, but CBS's editorial tactics proved suspect. Early in 1985, just before Wallace was to testify, CBS issued an apology and Westmoreland dropped the suit.

Despite such occasional setbacks, Wallace continued his globetrotting reports and "make-'em-sweat" interviews into the next century. A CBS News special, *Mike Wallace, Then and Now* (1990), offered a retrospective of his first 50 years in broadcasting. In the de-

cade that followed, he offered another televised memoir, *Mike Wallace Remembers* (1997), and hundreds more hours of news programming. Considerable notoriety surrounded his 1995 interview with Dr. Jeffrey Wigand, a former tobacco executive turned whistleblower. CBS lawyers suspended the broadcast, until leaked transcripts appeared in print. Wallace criticized his network in a 1996 exposé coproduced by PBS and CBC. The story of Wigand, Wallace, and Wallace's producer was dramatized in the Hollywood film *The Insider* (1999). Amid it all, the senior correspondent of U.S. television journalism continued his *60 Minutes* work unabated, surpassing 1,500 episodes in 2001. In April 2002, however, Wallace announced his intent to cut back considerably on his television work and, beginning with the 2002–03 season, to appear less frequently on *60 Minutes*.

DAN STREIBLE

*See also 60 Minutes; Talk Show; Uncounted Enemy, The*

**Mike (Myron Leon) Wallace.** Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, May 9, 1918. Educated at the University of Michigan, B.A., 1939. Married: 1) Norma Kaphan, 1940 (divorced, 1948); 2) Buff Cobb, 1949 (divorced, 1955); 3) Lorraine Perigord, 1955 (divorced); 4) Mary Yates; children: Peter (deceased), Christopher, and Pauline. Served in U.S. Navy, 1943–46. Newscaster, announcer, and continuity writer, radio station WOOD WASH, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1939–40; newscaster, narrator, announcer, WXYZ Radio, Detroit, Michigan, 1940–41, on such shows as *The Lone Ranger* and *The Green Hornet*; freelance radio worker, Chicago, announcer for the soap opera *Road of Life*, 1941–42, *Ma Perkins*, and *The Guiding Light*; acted in *The Crime Files of Flammion*; news radio announcer, *Chicago Sun's Air Edition*, 1941–43, 1946–48; announced radio programs such as *Curtain Time*, *Fact or Fiction*, and *Sky King*; host, *Mike and Buff*, with his wife, New York City, 1950–53; host, various television and radio shows and narrator, various documentaries, 1951–59; star, Broadway comedy *Reclining Figure*, 1954; organized news department for DuMont's WABD-TV, 1955; anchor in newscasts and host for various interview shows, 1956–63; CBS News staff correspondent, since 1963; co-editor and cohost of *60 Minutes*, since 1968. Member: American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (executive vice president, 1960–61). Recipient: 20 Emmy Awards; Peabody Awards, 1963, 1971, and 1993; duPont-Columbia Journalism Awards, 1971 and 1983;

Golden Globe, 1958; Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award, 1996.

#### Television Series (selected)

1951–53	<i>Mike and Buff</i>
1951–52	<i>All Around Town</i>
1953–54	<i>I'll Buy That</i>
1956–57	<i>The Big Surprise</i>
1956–57	<i>Night Beat</i>
1957–58	<i>The Mike Wallace Interview</i>
1961–62	<i>PM East</i>
1963–66	<i>CBS Morning News with Mike Wallace</i>
1968–	<i>60 Minutes</i>
1995–	<i>20th Century with Mike Wallace</i>

#### Stage

*Reclining Figure* (actor), 1954.

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## Walsh, Mary (1952– )

Canadian Performer

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Mary Walsh can be credited with single-handedly bringing Newfoundland culture to the rest of Canada through the medium of television. As the creator and costar of *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, Walsh has won 11 Gemini Awards, Canada's television honors. The bitingly satirical show has become a favorite, skewering politics in general, Toronto in particular, and anything else that strikes Walsh's fancy. No topic is taboo. The show takes its title from the outrageously controversial newsmagazine show *This Hour Has Seven Days*, which ran on CBC from 1964 to 1966.

A Canadian precursor to Britain's Tracey Ullman, Walsh has introduced Canadian audiences over the years to a range of wacky Newfoundland archetypes, including the sharp-tongued, purple-housecoated know-it-all, Marg Delahunty, and the slovenly rooming-house owner, Mrs. Budgell. Her costars, fellow Newfoundlanders Cathy Jones, Greg Thomey, and Rick Mercer, all write their own characters as well.

Walsh's off-the-wall but pointed humor results in part from her unusual upbringing in St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland. One of eight siblings, at the age of eight months she contracted pneumonia and was dispatched next door to live with a still-beloved maiden aunt. She thus grew up away from her own troubled and hard-drinking family, feeling abandoned. She was also influenced by the strict rules of a convent education in the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic province of Newfoundland.

After taking acting classes at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto and working a summer job at CBC radio in St. John's, Walsh began acting at Theatre Passe Muraille in Toronto. It was there that she met Cathy Jones, Dyan Olsen, Greg Malone, and Tommy Sexton; together they would become the comedy troupe Codco, named after the fish that has, until recently, supported the Newfoundland culture and economy for hundreds of years. Their first production, *Cod on a Stick* (1973), was a play based on the experiences of Newfoundlanders in Toronto. It was a time of "Newfie jokes," Canada's equivalent of the racist "Polack jokes." But Codco turned the tables on Torontonians, forcing them to laugh at themselves.

After touring the play successfully throughout Newfoundland, Codco stayed in their home province and

continued to develop wickedly satirical sketches and characters, which they soon parlayed into the CBC television series *Codco*. The half-hour show lasted seven seasons, from 1987 to 1993, reaching a nationwide audience.

Politicians are a particular target of the left-wing Walsh's wrathful humor: referring to Preston Manning, the conservative leader of the Reform Party, she put these words in the mouth of Marg Delahunty: "I've always enjoyed Mr. Manning's speeches. And I'm sure they're even more edifying in the original German." About a right-wing media figure, she has this to say: "That's typical of those people: they want everything—all the power and the money, and the right to call themselves victims too." Of the ongoing one-way rivalry between Newfoundland and Toronto, she has said: "I forgive Toronto and all the people in it. Toronto was the first large city I ever went to and I thought every large city was like that—cold and icy, like being in Eaton's [department store] all the time. But then I realized... it's very much a part of being specifically Toronto. It is just its outward style." She also jabs at the United States, describing her short stay in Colorado after high school and her exasperation at some Americans' misguided belief that they defeated Canada in the War of 1812.

Walsh, who is actively involved in social issues through her work in the theater, won the Best Supporting Actress Award at the Atlantic Film Festival in 1992 for her performance in *Secret Nation* and has guest-starred on the children's show *The Adventures of Dudley the Dragon*. She also starred as Molly Bloom at Ottawa's National Arts Centre, as well as in Eugene O'Neill's *A Moon for the Misbegotten*, in London, Ontario. In 1992, she directed Ann-Marie MacDonald's *Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet* at Montreal's Centaur Theatre.

Walsh also hosts her own series on CBC, *Mary Walsh: Open Book*, which is a literary talk show, and continues to appear in films.

JANICE KAYE

*See also Canadian Broadcasting in English; Codco*

**Mary Walsh.** Born in St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 1952. Studied at Ryerson Polytechnical Insti-

tute, Toronto. Began career at CBC radio, St. John's, Newfoundland; began acting career at Theatre Passe Muraille, Toronto; cofounder, Codco performance group, 1973; toured Canada with Codco, 1970s–80s; with *Codco* television program, 1987–93; in film, from 1991. Recipient: Best Supporting Actress, Atlantic Film Festival, 1992; numerous Gemini Awards.

#### Television Series

1987–93     *Codco*  
1993–       *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*

#### Television Miniseries

1993        *Boys of St. Vincent*  
2002        *Random Passage*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1997        *Major Crime*  
2002        *Bleacher Burns*  
2002        *Behind the Red Door*

#### Films

*Secret Nation*, 1991; *Buried on Sunday*, 1993; *Extraordinary Visitor*, 1998; *The Divine Ryans*, 1999; *New Waterford Girl*, 1999; *Violet*, 2000; *Mambo Italiano*, 2003.

#### Stage

*A Moon for the Misbegotten*; *Goodnight Desdemona*, *Good Morning Juliet* (director).

## Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)

### U.S. Cartoons, Films, and Children's Programming

Walt Disney was not only one of the most important producers in motion picture history but one of the most important producers in American television history as well. He pioneered a relationship between the motion picture industry and the fledgling television industry, helped ensure the success of a third television network, promoted the transition from live broadcasts to film, and championed the conversion to color television in the mid-1960s.

Although Disney was quoted in the 1930s as having no interest in television, that opinion had changed by the early 1950s, when television burst onto the American social scene. On Christmas Day in 1950 for NBC, and again in 1951 for CBS, Disney produced hour-long specials that employed a number of clips from various Disney films and short subjects. Both specials achieved excellent ratings, and soon all three networks were wooing Disney to create an entire series for them.

Disney's interest in television was stimulated by his attempts to construct the Disneyland theme park in Anaheim, California. Encountering difficulty in financing the project, Walt offered network executives a television series in return for the network making a substantial investment in the park. ABC, trailing substantially behind NBC and CBS, had just merged with United Paramount Theatres in 1953 and used this new influx of cash to fulfill Disney's request. The resultant

anthology series, appropriately named *Disneyland*, premiered in late 1954, quickly becoming the first ABC program to crack the Nielsen top 20.

Disney's relationship with ABC contradicted the strategy espoused by the rest of the film industry. During this period, Hollywood studios viewed television as a competitor to motion pictures and attempted to crush the medium. Walt Disney, however, quickly saw TV's potential as a promotional tool. The first two specials combined old footage with promotions for upcoming theatrical releases such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). Disney's first Emmy Award would be awarded for an hour-long *Disneyland* episode about the filming of *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1954), which was titled "Operation Undersea" but humorously known in the industry as "The Long, Long Trailer." The series also worked to advertise the park, with individual episodes devoted specifically to its construction.

Other studios soon attempted to duplicate Disney's success. Series such as *The MGM Parade* and *Warner Brothers Presents* quickly appeared, promoting the studios' latest releases. These programs disappeared almost as quickly, mainly because Disney and his studio had constructed a unique image for themselves as producers of family entertainment. With a backlog of animated features and shorts, Disney came to television already known for entertaining children around

## Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)

the world (knowing the value of this backlog, Disney held onto the television rights to all of his films, at a time when all the other studios were raising revenue by selling off the permanent television rights to their entire pre-1948 film catalogs). From years of marketing toward children, Disney understood how children could influence their parents to buy products. After *Disneyland*'s "Davy Crockett" episodes created a merchandising phenomenon, Disney introduced *The Mickey Mouse Club*, a daily afternoon series. With this show, one of the first attempts to target television programming at children, advertisers now conceived of children as a marketable group and initiated a tradition of weekday-afternoon programming oriented toward younger audiences.

The studio's background in film production led to the decision to film the *Mickey Mouse Club* episodes, allowing for higher production values, rather than performing them live. The high-quality look of the series (and the subsequent involvement of other film studios in television production) helped shift television programming from live broadcasts to filmed entertainment. Long before color television technology became regulated and promoted, *Disneyland* episodes were filmed in color. Disney would promote the conversion to color when the anthology series, renamed *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color*, moved in 1961 to NBC, which was beginning color broadcasts.

Disney's importance to television as a producer of programming is incalculable. His success had an enormous effect on decisions by motion picture studios to enter into television production, thus guaranteeing programming for the fledgling medium. Yet Disney is important as a television icon as well. Working as host for the anthology series bearing the Disney name until the end of his life in 1966, Walt Disney quickly became identified by most children as "Uncle Walt." With an easy-going manner and a warm smile, he spoke to viewers in a Midwestern twang, enthusiastically demonstrating how certain special effects were created for his films, explaining the latest advances in space technology, or narrating a beloved fairy tale accompanied by scenes from his animated features. Usually filmed in a set that looked like his studio office, Disney gave the impression that he would drop all business to spend some time with his audience or engage in banter with cartoon characters Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck (who "magically" interacted with him as if they actually existed in the same space). More than in any other way, Disney's presence and persona helped represent his company as promoter of American family values and television itself as a "family medium." Even after his death, the company's television produc-

tions and subsequent cable channel have reinforced that image of wholesome family entertainment.

SEAN GRIFFIN

See also **Cartoons; Disney, Walt; Eisner, Michael**

### *Disneyland*

#### **Executive Producer/Host**

Walt Disney

#### **Programming History**

ABC

October 1954–September 1958      Wednesday 7:30–8:30

### *Walt Disney Presents*

#### **Executive Producer/Host**

Walt Disney

#### **Programming History**

ABC

September 1958–September 1959      Friday 8:00–9:00  
September 1959–September 1960      Friday 7:30–8:30  
September 1960–September 1961      Sunday 6:30–7:30

*Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color* (title changed to *The Wonderful World of Disney*, 1969–79; as *Disney's Wonderful World*, 1979–81)

#### **Executive Producer/Host**

Walt Disney (1961–66)

#### **Narrator**

Dick Wesson (from 1966)

#### **Programming History**

NBC

September 1961–August 1975      Sunday 7:30–8:30  
September 1975–September 1981      Sunday 7:00–8:00

### *Walt Disney*

#### **Programming History**

CBS

September 1981–January 1983      Saturday 8:00–9:00  
January 1983–February 1983      Tuesday 8:00–9:00  
July 1983–September 1983      Saturday 8:00–9:00

***The Disney Sunday Movie***

**Executive Producer/Host**  
Michael Eisner

**Programming History**

ABC  
February 1986–September 1987    Sunday 7:00–9:00  
September 1987–September 1988    Sunday 7:00–8:00

***The Magical World of Disney***

**Executive Producer/Host**  
Michael Eisner

**Programming History**

NBC  
October 1988–July 1989    Sunday 7:00–8:00  
July 1989    Sunday 8:00–9:00  
August 1989–May 1990    Sunday 7:00–8:00  
May 1990–July 1990    Sunday 7:00–9:00

July 1990–August 1990    Sunday 8:00–9:00  
August 1990–September 1990    Sunday 7:00–8:00

***The Wonderful World of Disney***

**Executive Producer/Host**  
Michael Eisner

**Programming History**

ABC  
September 1997–    Sunday 7:00–9:00

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## Walters, Barbara (1931– )

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

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Although Barbara Walters would later downplay her relationship with the feminist movement, her early career is marked by a number of moves that were partially responsible for breaking down the all-male facade of U.S. network news. A *Today* show regular for 15 years, including two years as the first official female cohost, she was originally a visible presence in the program's feature segments and then went on to cover hard news—including President Richard Nixon's historic visit to the People's Republic of China in 1972, when she was part of the NBC News team. Her most controversial breakthrough involved her decision in 1976 to leave *Today* to coanchor the *ABC Evening News* with Harry Reasoner, the first time a woman was allowed the privileged position of network evening anchor, for a record-breaking seven-figure salary. Public reaction to both her salary and approach

to the news—which critics claimed led to the creeping infotainment mentality that threatens traditional (male) reporting—undercut ABC News ratings, and she was quickly bumped from the anchor desk.

After that public relations disaster, Walters undertook a comeback on ABC with *The Barbara Walters Special*, an occasional series of interviews with heads of state, newsmakers, sports figures, and Hollywood celebrities that have consistently topped the ratings and made news in themselves. In 1977 she arranged the first joint interview with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin; she has interviewed every U.S. president and first lady since the Nixon administration, as well as political figures as diverse as British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, U.S. presidential contender Ross Perot, and Russian president Boris Yeltsin. Walters had numerous



Barbara Walters.

Photo courtesy of Barbara Walters/Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.

comebacks and triumphs. Returned to ABC's anchor desk in 1984 as cohost (with Hugh Downs) of the newsmagazine *20/20*, she became sole anchor in 1999. Her pre-Oscar and "Ten Most Fascinating People of the Year" broadcasts have become annual television events. In 1997 she returned to daytime with *The View*; a popular and celebrated news/issues/talk show featuring Walters and a team of "real women" commentators who discuss, kvetch, interview, and opine about current events.

Despite her status as both national celebrity and the recipient of numerous awards from journalists, television broadcasters, and women's groups, public reaction to Walters has remained ambivalent, perhaps as a result of changing notions of the nature of "news" in the television era. Walters's interviews have not been limited to figures embroiled in the matters covered by hard-news subjects such as politics and war; many of her more popular specials (and *20/20* segments) have been celebrity interviews and chats with more tawdry news figures. Her 1999 interview with Monica Lewinsky, the intern whose affair with President Bill Clinton led to his impeachment, was the highest-rated "news" program ever broadcast by a single network. Other memorable moments (such as the time she asked actress Katherine Hepburn what kind of tree she would

like to be) have worked to undercut her image as a serious journalist. The late Gilda Radner's classic parody of Walters's distinctive style as "Baba Wawa" on *Saturday Night Live* remains popular as a timeless critique of the cult of personality in television journalism.

Walters began her career in broadcast journalism as a writer for CBS News. She also served as the youngest producer with NBC's New York station, WNBC-TV, before joining *Today*. After less than a year as a writer for *Today*, she was promoted to reporter-at-large (or, as then-host Hugh Downs described her, "the new 'Today girl'"), although gender politics at the time severely constrained her role. According to Walters, she was not allowed to write for the male correspondents or to ask questions in "male-dominated" areas such as economics or politics, and she was forbidden to interview guests on-camera until all of the men on *Today* had finished asking their questions. Thanks in part to Walters's contributions, these commandments no longer apply.

SUSAN MCLELAND

*See also* Anchor; Gender and Television; News, Network

**Barbara Walters.** Born in Boston, Massachusetts, September 25, 1931. Educated at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, B.A. in English, 1953. Married: 1) Robert Katz (annulled); child: Jacqueline Dena; 2) Lee Guber, 1963 (divorced, 1976); 3) Merv Adelson, 1986 (divorced, 1992). Worked as a secretary at an advertising agency; assistant to the publicity director, NBC's WRCA-TV, New York; producer and writer, WRCA; writer and producer, WPIX Radio and CBS-TV; worked for a theatrical public relations firm; hired for NBC's *Today* show, 1961, regular panel member, 1964-74, cohost, 1974-76; moderator of the syndicated program *Not for Women Only*, 1974-76; newscaster, *ABC Evening News*, 1976-78; host, *The Barbara Walters Special*, since 1976; cohost, ABC-TV news show *20/20* since 1984 and ABC-TV talk show *The View* since 1997. L.H.D.: Ohio State University, 1971, Marymount College, 1975, and Wheaton College, 1983. Recipient: National Association of Television Program Executives Award, 1975; International Radio and Television Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1975; Emmy Awards, 1975, 1980, 1982, and 1983; Lowell Thomas Award, 1990; International Women's Media Foundation Lifetime Achievement Award, 1992; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1990.

**Television**

1961-76	<i>Today</i> (cohost, 1974-76)
1974-76	<i>Not for Women Only</i>



1976–78	<i>ABC Evening News</i> (coanchor)
1976–	<i>The Barbara Walters Special</i>
1984–	<i>20/20</i> (anchor)
1997–	<i>The View</i> (producer, cohost)
2001	<i>Iyanla</i> (executive producer)

### Radio

*Emphasis*, early 1970s; *Moderator*, early 1970s.

### Publication

*How to Talk to Practically Anybody About Practically Anything*, 1970

### Further Reading

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# Waltons, The

## U.S. Drama

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*The Waltons* was a highly successful family drama series of the 1970s that portrayed a sense of family in sharp contrast to the problem-ridden urban families of such "socially relevant" sitcoms as *All in the Family*, *Maude*, or *Sanford and Son*, which vied with it for top billing in the Nielsen ratings. Set in the fictitious rural community of Walton's Mountain, Virginia, during the 1930s, the episodic narrative focused on a large and dignified, "salt-of-the-earth" rural white family consisting of grandparents, parents, and seven children. Based on the semiautobiographical writings of Earl Hamner Jr., much of the early narrative was enunciated from the perspective of the oldest son, John Boy, an aspiring writer. The series was based on Hamner's novel *Spencer's Mountain*, which had been made into a feature film of the same name and subsequently adapted as a CBS-TV holiday special, *The Homecoming*, in 1971. The initial public reaction to the special was so overwhelming that executives Lee Rich and Bob Jacks of the newly formed Lorimar Productions convinced CBS to continue it as a series, with Hamner as co-executive producer and story editor.

Lorimar executives constructed the series to emphasize both the locale (the Blue Ridge Mountains) and the historical period (the Great Depression), hoping to

evoke a nostalgia for the recent past. They proposed to walk that fine line between "excessive sentimentality and believable human warmth" and took care not to caricature the mountain culture of the family, desiring to portray them as descendants of pioneer stock rather than stereotypical "hillbillies." Production notes in the Hamner papers emphasize the respect to be afforded the family and its culture: "That the Waltons are poor should be obvious, but there should be no hint of squalor or debased living conditions usually associated with poverty." Producers also stressed that *The Waltons* would not be like earlier wholesome family series *Father Knows Best* or *I Remember Mama* transplanted to the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, but instead would be "the continuing story of a seventeen-year-old boy who wants to be a writer, growing up during the Depression in a large and loving family."

Premiering in the fall of 1972, the hour-long dramatic series was scheduled in what was considered a "suicidal" time slot against two popular Thursday-night shows, ABC's *The Mod Squad* and NBC's top-rated *The Flip Wilson Show*. By its second season, *The Waltons* achieved the valedictory rank in the overall ratings and stayed in the top 20 shows for the next several years. During its first season, the series garnered



*The Waltons*, Michael Learned, Richard Thomas, Ralph Waite, Jon Walmsley, Ellen Corby, Will Geer, Kami Cotler, David W. Harper, Judy Norton-Taylor, Eric Scott, Mary Beth McDonough, 1972–81.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

Emmy Awards for Outstanding Drama Series, Best Dramatic Actor (Richard Thomas) and Actress (Michael Learned), Best Supporting Actress (Ellen Corby), and Best Dramatic Writing (John McGreevey), and it continued to receive Emmys for acting and/or writing for the next half a decade. The series endured until 1981, with the extended family maturing and changing, surviving the loss of some characters, the addition of new supporting characters, and the sociohistorical changes as the community weathered the Depression era and entered that of World War II. The cast has reunited for a number of holiday and wedding specials in the nearly 15 years since the series ended, and the Walton family has endured in the United States' mythic imagination as well as in ratings popularity.

The Walton family was portrayed as a cohesive and nearly self-sufficient social world. The family members operated as a team, full of collective wisdom and

insight, yet always finding narrative (and physical) space for their individuality. In addition to the continuing narrative development of each regular character and of the family dynamics over the course of the series, each episode frequently dealt with a conflict or tension introduced by an outsider who happened into the community (Robert E. Ziegler described these characters as “foreigners, drifters, fugitives, orphans, and others just passing through”), bringing their own problems, which were potentially disruptive influences on the harmony and equilibrium of the Walton’s Mountain community. The narrative of each episode worked through the resolution of these tensions within the household, as well as the healing or spiritual uplift achieved by the outsider characters as they assimilated the values of the family and learned their lessons of love and morality.

The series was critically praised as being bitter-sweet, “wholesome,” emotion-laden viewing. Reviewers noted that the series conveyed a vivid authenticity of both historical time and cultural place, as well as an emotional verisimilitude regarding the portrayal of a certain type of family life rooted in that time and place. Devoted viewers besieged the network, producers, and cast members with fan letters praising the show and expressing their degree of emotional identification with many aspects of the series. Many considered the series to be the epitome of television’s capacity for romantic, effective, and moving storytelling in its evocation of childhood and its ability to tap into a deep desire for a mythicized community and family intimacy.

Yet the series also had its detractors, who complained that *The Waltons* was too sweet, soppily sentimental, and exploitative of viewers’ emotions. Hal Crowther remarked that its “homey wisdom and Sunday school platitudes have been known to make me gag”; others labeled it an “obviously corny, totally unreal family” with characters too good to be true. Many recognized in the show an “intolerable wistfulness” for a romanticized past constructed through the creation of false memory and hopeless longing. Some critics noted that such a romanticized image of the era could make viewers forget the real nature of rural poverty. “The Depression was not a time for the making of strong souls” or healthy, well-nourished bodies, according to Anne Roiphe, who criticized the series for associating poverty with elevated moral values and neutralizing the social, economic, and political upheavals of the 1930s “behind a wall of tradition, goodness and good fortune.” Roiphe noted how skillfully the media producers were able to design and articulate myths of American happiness and innocence during

the historical period the series portrayed; however, the viewers who admired the series also eagerly participated in that construction of a mythical past. Other critics have noted that despite its embrace of liberal humanitarian values (against racism, etc.), *The Waltons*' inherent conservatism has made it ripe for appropriation by right-wing "family values" religious groups. Indeed, it became a benchmark series for the Family Channel, the media outlet for Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which held exclusive syndication rights for the series in the early 1990s. In the intervening years, conservative politicians have often cited *The Waltons* as the archetypal family embodying wholesome American "family values." In the American collective imagination, then, Hamner's family has become more than just a television series; it is a signifier that elicits the mythos of an era of prewar innocence and of a particular structure of intergenerational family and community relationships.

PAMELA WILSON

See also **Family on Television; Melodrama**

#### Narrator

Earl Hamner Jr.

#### Cast

John Walton	Ralph Waite
Olivia Walton (1972–80)	Michael Learned
Zeb (Grandpa) Walton (1972–78)	Will Geer
Esther (Grandma) Walton (1972–79)	Ellen Corby
John Boy Walton (1972–77)	Richard Thomas
John Boy Walton (1979–81)	Robert Wightman
Mary Ellen Walton Willard	Judy Norton-Taylor
Jim-Bob Walton	David W. Harper
Elizabeth Walton	Kami Cotler
Jason Walton	Jon Walmsley
Erin Walton	Mary Elizabeth Mc-
Donough	
Ben Walton	Eric Scott
Ike Godsey	Joe Conley
Corabeth Godsey (1974–81)	Ronnie Claire Edwards

Sheriff Ep Bridges	John Crawford
Mamie Baldwin	Helen Kleebe
Emily Baldwin	Mary Jackson
Verdie Foster	Lynn Hamilton
Rev. Matthew Fordwick (1972–77)	John Ritter
Rosemary Hunter Fordwick (1973–77)	Mariclare Costello
Yancy Tucker (1972–79)	Robert Donner
Flossie Brimmer (1972–77)	Nora Marlowe
Maude Gormsley (1973–79)	Merie Earle
Dr. Curtis Willard (1976–78)	Tom Bower
Rev. Hank Buchanan (1977– 78)	Peter Fax
J.D. Pickett (1978–81)	Lewis Arquette
John Curtis Willard (1978– 81)	Marshall Reed and
Michael Reed	
Cindy Brunson Walton (1979–81)	Leslie Winston
Rose Burton (1979–81)	Peggy Rea
Serena Burton (1979–80)	Martha Nix
Jeffrey Burton (1979–80)	Keith Mitchell
Toni Hazleton (1981)	Lisa Harrison
Arlington Wescott Jones (Jonesy) (1981)	Richard Gilliland

#### Producers

Lee Rich, Earl Hamner Jr., Robert L. Jacks, Andy White, Rod Peterson

#### Programming History

178 episodes  
CBS  
September 1972–August 1981 Thursday 8:00–9:00

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# War Game, The

## British Drama

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More than three decades after its production, *The War Game* remains the most controversial and, perhaps, the most telling television film on nuclear war. Directed by the young Peter Watkins for the BBC, its depiction of the impact of Soviet nuclear attack on Britain caused turmoil at the corporation and in government. Although it went on to win an Oscar for Best Documentary Feature in 1966, it was denied transmission in Britain until 1985. Announcing the decision to hold back *The War Game* in 1965, the BBC explained that the film was too horrifying for the medium of broadcasting, expressing a particular concern for "children, the very old, or the unbalanced."

However, both BBC internal documents and declassified Cabinet papers of the period reflect the high degree of political anxiety generated by the film and suggest that although the BBC was keen to assert its independence and its liberalism, *The War Game* was indeed the victim of high-level censorship. The popular press of the day, for their part, largely approved the ban, often reading the film as propaganda for the youthful Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The film imagines a period of some four months, beginning with the days leading up to nuclear attack. In a show of solidarity with the Chinese invasion of South Vietnam, the Russian and East German authorities have sealed off all access to Berlin and have threatened to invade the western sector of the city unless the United States withdraws its threat to use tactical nuclear weapons against the invading Chinese. When two North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) divisions attempt to reach Berlin, they are overrun by communist forces, triggering the U.S. president's release of nuclear warheads to NATO. The Soviet Union calls NATO's bluff, leading to a preemptive strike by the allies and, in a self-protective measure, the Soviet launch against Britain.

Shot in newsreel-style black and white, and running just over three-quarters of an hour, *The War Game* works on a number of levels. The main discourse is that of the documentary exposition itself, chronicling and dramatizing the main stages and the key features of the countdown to attack and the immediate consequences of the bombing. A second discourse, also playing on the relationship between documentary and drama, takes the form of two types of *vox pop* inter-

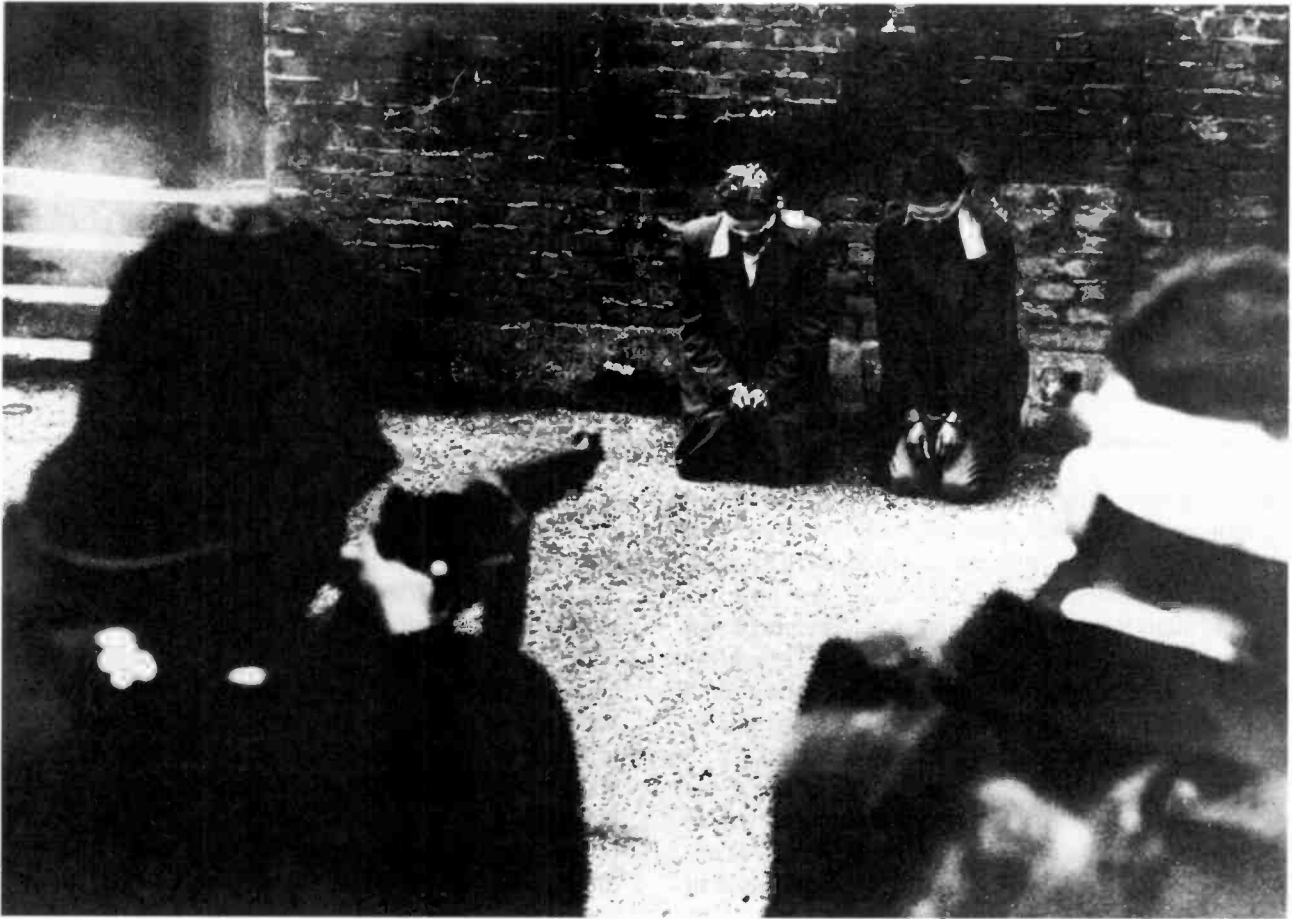
views, which punctuate the text: interviews that illustrate the contemporary public's consciousness of the issues, exposing widespread ignorance; and clearly fictional interviews with (imaginary) key figures as the attack scenario itself develops and extends.

Further elements go some way to suggesting contexts for the public's failure to perceive the realities of nuclear war. One strand of the film highlights the pathetically inadequate information purveyed by the official civil defense self-help manual (cover price: nine old pence). A fourth level of comment, provided by intertitles, exposes the bankruptcy of statements on the nuclear threat emerging from religious sources such as Vatican Council II of the Roman Catholic Church.

The film concentrates on southeast England and, in particular, the town of Rochester in Kent. It bleakly illustrates the social chaos of the period before attack, focusing on the personal and ideological conflicts likely to arise from the enforced evacuation of large numbers of the urban population and on the impracticality of building viable domestic shelters capable of withstanding the power of the nuclear bomb—as the price of basics such as planks and sandbags escalates nonetheless. The film depicts the immediate horrors of a nuclear explosion by invoking memories of the firestorms of Dresden and Hiroshima, the earthquakes and the blinding light, 30 times more powerful than the midday sun, which is capable of melting upturned eyeballs from many miles away.

The remainder of the film concentrates on the rapid disintegration of the social fabric in the aftermath of the attack, as civilization disappears. In images of chilling and provocative power, policemen are depicted as executioners of the terminally ill and of minor criminals. The effects of radiation sickness are explained and illustrated, along with the psychological devastation that would befall survivors and the dying in a mute and apathetic world. There is a good chance of all this happening, the film suggests, by 1980.

The film's enduring power thus derives from a variety of sources. These include its cool articulation of momentary images—a child's eyes burned by a distant nuclear airburst as the film itself goes into negative; a bucketful of wedding rings collected as a register of the dead; a derelict building that has become an impromptu furnace for the incineration of bodies too nu-



*The War Game*, 1965.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

merous to bury; “Stille Nacht” playing on a gramophone, which, in the absence of electricity, must be turned by hand.

At a structural level, the film achieves its overall rhetorical power through both its mixture and its separation of documentary and dramatic modes. It does not, for example, offer the purely “dramatic” spectacle of later TV nuclear dramas such as the U.S. *The Day After* (1983) or the British *Threads* (1984), with their more traditional identifications around character and plot. Nor does it simply document the drama in the manner of Watkins’s previous *Culloden* (1965), in which the television camera revisits the battlefield of 1746 and interviews participants, or of *Cathy Come Home* (1966), Ken Loach’s similar merging of the domains of documentary and drama to survey the rising problem of homelessness in 1960s Britain.

*The War Game*, on the contrary, confuses and yet demarcates the two modes, documentary and drama. The “dramatic” sequences, with their highly “documentary” look, are retained as fragmentary and discon-

tinuous illustrations of an ongoing documentary narrative, which itself disorientingly moves back and forth between, on the one hand, statements and assumptions that this is “really happening” before our eyes and, on the other hand, other signals and warnings that this is how it “could be” and “might look.”

The British television audience was deprived of *The War Game* for two decades, until a moment in history that was ironically close to the events in Eastern Europe that canceled the particular cold war scenario underpinning the film. The banning of it, however, made the film a cause célèbre, and its notoriety grew in the troubled later 1960s, as the film reached significant audiences in art-house cinemas and through the antinuclear movement. Introducing the 1985 broadcast, Ludovic Kennedy estimated that, by then, the film had already reached as many as 6 million viewers.

PHILLIP DRUMMOND

See also Watkins, Peter

**Producer**

Peter Watkins

**Programming History**

BBC 1

July 31, 1985 (produced, 1965)

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## War on Television

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War on television has been the subject of both fictional accounts and extensive, often compelling news coverage. War and kindred bellicose activities have inspired television documentaries, docudramas, dramatic series, and situation comedies. Fictional accounts of war and documentary accounts of historical wars are, however, not discussed in this entry, which focuses instead on televised coverage of contemporary warfare and related martial actions.

The first noteworthy war to occur in the television age was the Korean War (1950–53). Television was in its infancy as a mass medium at the time and, as a consequence, the Korean conflict is not widely thought of as a televised war. Not only did relatively few viewers have access to television sets, but, because satellite technology was not yet developed and television film had to be transported by air to broadcasters, by the time such film arrived its immediacy was much diminished. Often, therefore, newspapers and radio remained the media of first choice for timely information. Nonetheless, in August 1950, a CBS television news announcer reported an infantry landing as it was in progress. The controversy caused by this putative security breach foreshadows conflicts that would long continue between military authorities waging war and television reporters covering warfare.

Years later, these concerns persisted and found one of their most surreal expressions in connection with the 1992 U.S.-led occupation of Somalia, when early waves of U.S. occupation forces landed on Somali beaches at night and found their landings illuminated by the television lights of international news organizations. Criticism of the security risk this illumination entailed harks back to similar criticism of the 1950 CBS report on the infantry landing in Korea, and it seems a valid military concern, as does concern during the second Gulf War that certain television correspondents reported in real time on troop movements. Other

aspects of the media-military relationship, however, are less clear-cut, especially as to whether military manipulation of the media is a proper military concern or an undue intrusion into civilian politics.

In many national contexts, concerns about troop security and public perceptions have led to formal legal censorship of television war coverage, although, perhaps as frequently, physical or technological obstacles inherent to television broadcasting from theaters of war, or erected by military personnel at the scene of a conflict, have often served a similar censorship purpose. While debates about formal censorship raged during many of the 20th century's wars, informal censorship was, presumably, even more frequent, as early on when during the 1956 Suez expedition British media were requested to refrain from reporting certain information but were not forced to do so under penalty of law. Or, as almost half a century later, when U.S. military authorities, as a prelude to the second Gulf War, purchased all available time on orbiting photo-satellites to make their images publicly unavailable, and unavailable also to besieged Iraqi forces.

Other post-World War II conflicts notwithstanding, television coverage of the U.S. war with Vietnam (1962–75) seems to have inspired the most controversy worldwide. Despite clear evidence that the U.S. war effort was less than successful in objective terms, U.S. popular opinion and much expert military opinion continue to regard the Vietnam War as one that could have brought victory to the United States on the battlefield but was lost in the living room (where viewers watched their television sets and many eventually withdrew their support for the effort). Reporters who themselves covered the Vietnam War in the early 1960s remember, however, that most of that early coverage was laudatory and, in the words of Bernard Kalb, who would later join the Cable News Network (CNN), that there was "an awful lot of jingoism... on the part



The troubles of Northern Ireland: British soldier chasing a demonstrator during a riot in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, 1972.  
*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

of the press in which it celebrated the American involvement in Vietnam.” Methodical scholarly accounts of televised coverage also report that television coverage was inclined overall to highlight positive aspects of the Vietnam War and that viewers exposed to the most televised coverage were also those most inclined to view the military favorably. Nonetheless, domestic social schisms attributed to controversy about the Vietnam War and that war’s ultimate failure to sustain a noncommunist regime in Vietnam are often blamed on television and other media.

Whether the public turned against the Vietnam War because television, in particular, and the media, in general, presented it unfavorably, or whether the public turned against the war because the media accurately

depicted its horrors and television did so most graphically of all remains an open and hotly contested question. There is, however, no historic evidence to prove that a graphic portrayal of war disinclines a viewing public to engage in a war. Some scholars even suggest that the opposite may be the case when a public considers a war justified and that public is exposed to images of its side enduring great—and presumably righteous—suffering.

Despite a still less-than-definitive understanding of the relationship between television coverage and popular support for war efforts, military strategists continued to integrate domestic public relations (PR) strategy into overall military strategy during and after the U.S.-Vietnam War. As the war progressed, analysts





Two soldiers comfort each other under the strain of combat in Pleiku, South Vietnam, 5/26/67.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives*

continued to debate whether it was appropriate for the military itself—rather than some other government agency—to attempt to influence civilian public policy through such efforts. Within military circles in the wake of that war, most such debates were left behind and the military's media relations strategies began moving far beyond censorship and toward a full-fledged engagement (some say co-optation) of televised media. This trend remained strong through the second Gulf War as documented most recently by PR experts who authored *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq*.

Hints of this new military strategy surfaced soon after the U.S.-Vietnam War. During 1976 naval conflicts between Britain and Iceland over fishing rights, for example, various strategies to influence televised coverage were used by the Icelandic side to depict Britain as the aggressive party, while the British Navy (then less media savvy) refused to allow television crews on its ships. As late as the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War, during which Great Britain successfully reclaimed South Atlantic islands that Argentina's military dictatorship had occupied, British military strategists had yet to develop a comprehensive media strategy. Although by then the British Navy did allow television

and other media personnel to travel aboard its ships to the South Atlantic, the British did not systematically endeavor to control the content of the war coverage by influencing television media.

The following year, when the United States invaded Grenada, concerns regarding less-than-favorable television coverage prompted military planners to exclude civilian camera crews entirely in favor of military television crews. Sensitivity to unfavorable television coverage was heightened at that time by the deaths of 230 U.S. Marine and 50 French peacekeepers in a bomb attack during operations in Beirut. But in 1989, when the United States invaded Panama, the exclusion of civilian television crews was not feasible, and thanks to satellite technology and round-the-clock CNN coverage, television viewers were able to watch the progress of military operations with much immediacy. As had been the case, however, during the early 1960s in Vietnam, the television media were generally inclined to stress the salutary aspects of the Panama invasion, and U.S. planners also did a more effective job of controlling the public perception of the invasion.

The very short duration of the Panama, Grenada, and Falklands/Malvinas operations may have forestalled adverse reactions among the civilian populations who watched their governments wage war on television. This led some observers to argue that short-lived military engagements are suited to the television age, as they are less likely to generate adverse television coverage and public opposition. Yet a surfeit of short-lived military endeavors notwithstanding, long-term warfare is still waged in the television age. Still other observers suggest that a lack of widely available independent television coverage, especially in developing nations, was what long made extended warfare in certain regions palatable to the international community. The rise in the rest of the world of major television networks dedicated to independent coverage of news, such as Al Jazeera, is bound to factor into that equation in the coming years.

Meanwhile, no clear relationship between television coverage and a war's intensity or duration seems apparent. On the one hand, for example, the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) received often negligible international television coverage and lasted years; on the other, civil wars in various parts of the former Yugoslavia (1991–98) continued for years as well, despite often extensive international coverage. Other extended or particularly brutal conflicts, terrorist campaigns, coups d'état, civil wars, and genocidal endeavors also received widely varying levels of television coverage. Such latter-day wars have been waged in Algeria, Angola, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Chad, Chechnya, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Guatemala,



Liberia, Nigeria, Peru, Rwanda, the Sudan, Yemen, the former Zaire, and in other places far too numerous to mention. Through these myriad conflicts, horrific imagery also found its way to television screens, sometimes leading to calls for and the deployment of peacekeeping missions, sometimes not. The Balkan wars of the 1990s, in particular, featured horrific scenes of emaciated prisoners of war and poignant images of civilians shot down in the street—notably, images televised for days of corpses belonging to Admir Ismic and Bosko Brkic, Romeo-and-Juliet-type lovers from opposite sides of the Bosnian conflict shot down by snipers during a clandestine rendezvous atop a Sarajevo bridge. Broadcast scenes of those sorts led ultimately to international intervention in the Balkans, though similar scenes of civilians, both adults and children, shot by automatic gunfire in the Occupied Territories of Palestine led to no such intervention. Disturbing televised images from that conflict include those of 12-year-old Muhammad Al-Dura being shot dead, while Jamal, his father, attempted in vain to shelter him from a hail of automatic fire (television cameras captured the Al-Dura shooting in almost its every detail, and as of this writing, a video of the event is available through the BBC website, news.bbc.co.uk).

Other campaigns of mass armed atrocity, such as those in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), received less televised coverage or none at all. It is noteworthy, however, that conflicts in Liberia and other parts of Africa received major televised coverage when European and U.S. troops became involved as peacekeepers. *The Zanzibar Chest*, by a Reuter's reporter who covered Africa's many wars during the 1990s, and *Charlie Wilson's War*, about covert U.S. support to one-half-million Afghan and other Muslim troops fighting Soviet occupation in the 1980s, both provide vivid details about warfare not prominently televised; but, especially as regards Afghanistan, it is unfair to suggest that those struggles were entirely ignored by Western television. Most famously, Dan Rather, head anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, donned disguises and reported from among the Afghan troops on two occasions. Other Western television journalists also habitually burnish their reputations by covering certain major wars on location.

Nonetheless, even the example of Eastern Europe further bolsters arguments that regional conflicts removed from centers of Western interest garner significantly less coverage. The most far removed of these Eastern European conflicts, Chechnya's efforts to end Russian control over that part of the Caucasus, received less coverage than did the Balkan wars and much less than the various earlier uprisings that ended Soviet hegemony over the area.

Removed geographically but not economically from the Western sphere of influence, the two Persian Gulf Wars received the most televised coverage of any armed endeavor in recent years, with the single exception of the September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda attacks on the U.S. mainland. In the aftermath of both Gulf Wars, television and other media were criticized for having failed to provide balanced and complete accounts. Entman argues, in addition, that the media simply gave up trying to construct a coherent narrative for viewers in the long occupation of Iraq after the second Gulf War. As regards the first Gulf War, some critics, most notably Douglas Kellner in *The Persian Gulf TV War*, argued that television and other media failed to provide a balanced and complete account of the war because the corporate owners of commercial networks felt it was not in their business interests to do so. Other critics, also as regards the first Gulf War, suggested that television coverage simply reflected popular prejudices.

To a great extent, however, during the conduct of the Gulf Wars, as in almost all wars, the various national media had to rely on the military forces for access to events and for access to their broadcast networks. According to the *Wall Street Journal's* John Fialka, the central importance of military cooperation is seen in this: that U.S. Marines, despite their smaller role in the first Gulf War, received much more U.S. news coverage than the U.S. Army, in part, because U.S. Marines were more dedicated to opening the lines of communication between reporters in their operations area and the reporters' news organizations back home. Interestingly, British television coverage—benefiting from thoughtful media access policies put in place after the Falklands/Malvinas War—featured the timeliest reports on frontline action during the first war. The British military forces were at that time in the early 1990s the only ones to allow satellite uplinks near the front lines.

The second Gulf War brought new innovations to media relations with the public and the military. Critics continued to suggest that complicit media ownership constrained critical coverage during the war, but, more notable still, jingoistic attitudes fostered in the media by the 2001 Al Qaeda attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., created a strongly promilitary television audience in the United States that found FOX News coverage and other ardently promilitary television coverage very much to its liking. The major development in media relations with the military itself was the "embed" system: a military practice whereby reporters were "embedded" with specific military units for the duration of the war.

The implications of this system, as opposed to the "pool" system whereby groups of reporters in earlier

wars were given tours at some distance behind the front, are still being examined as of this writing. Some critics suggest, however, that the embed system creates a kinship between reporters and the troops that precludes the critical distance some believe reporters need to report objectively on what they see. Other argue the embed system makes it difficult for reporters to glean an overview of the military situation as a whole. Meanwhile, reporters who remained in Baghdad as it was besieged were able to provide a different viewpoint to television viewers worldwide. Also, the Arabic-language news network Al Jazeera, free of close ties to the West, provided yet another alternative. Thanks to many such media developments in recent years, it has become possible to see military actions from multiple perspectives, to hear interviews with political and military leaders from all factions, to witness human interest stories from within the very combat zone, and to examine battles and shelling from civilian points of view as well as through combatant or diplomatic eyes. Many viewers have, however, decided instead to gravitate to media that parrot their prejudices.

As for televisual scenes of war, during the 1991 Gulf War, military cooperation with the media made possible that war's most striking television images. These were otherwise closed-circuit video images that emanated from camera-equipped high-tech weaponry directed against Iraqi targets. Thanks to access provided by the military, television viewers were literally able to see through the crosshairs of missiles and other weapons as these bore down on Iraqi civilian and military targets—mostly vehicles, buildings, and other inanimate infrastructure. Significantly, however, according to Fialka, videotape from cameras mounted on U.S. Army Apache helicopter-gunships "showing Iraqi soldiers being mowed down by the gunship's Gatling gun" was seen by a single *Los Angeles Times* reporter but was suppressed thereafter and made unavailable for television broadcast.

During the 2003 Gulf War, by contrast, the most striking images emanated from Baghdad itself, and not from military lenses either, but from television cameras based in the Iraqi capital city, especially from lenses equipped with night-vision equipment. That U.S. military forces could not prevent the broadcast of such televised images seems, however, not to have deterred them from pursuing their bombing—far from it, perhaps because they recognized, as several scholars have argued, that the American public had already been sold on the war.

During the second Gulf War, the U.S. military also appears to have overlooked ABC News interviews with troops in the field who criticized the U.S. secretary of defense, though a similar battlefield complaint

by a U.S. lieutenant during the U.S.-Vietnam War led to a court-martial. Yet the military leaders' relatively sanguine attitude toward such irregularities notwithstanding, the control of televised imagery still seems a goal of theirs. They seem willing now to engage the media relations aspects of warfare, as if exercising this control were just another aspect of military strategy and not a looming threat to the continued distinction between military and civilian political authority. U.S. military propagandists are, for instance, suspected of having instigated the toppling of Saddam Hussein's statue in Baghdad and of having staged the rescue of captured U.S. troops who, other reports have it, were not being guarded at all, fleeing Iraqi troops having left their captives to the care of civilian medical authorities. The U.S. military's staging of such events would, if not strictly in keeping with the highest traditions of military nonintervention in civilian affairs, at least accord with its tradition of remaining at the cutting edge of technological and tactical developments, for event management, as such dramatizations might be deemed, is indeed a cutting-edge tactic for the purposes of public relations.

Far from the contentious early days, when most military organizations considered television coverage a mere nuisance or a possible security risk, military planners today use many aspects of television to promote wars, and even to prepare for them. As Der Derian and other futurists pointed out several years ago, televised image technology is used to provide military personnel with virtual reality training using authentic images of war conditions and maneuvers; moreover, the next leg of military technological development they predicted is now in its nascent stages. This is the phase of "virtual warfare," during which military and paramilitary personnel remain safely ensconced at distant locations as televised imagery and other telemetry allow them to direct weaponry against remote targets. Remote missile attacks on suspected Al Qaeda militants in Afghanistan and Yemen are the most well-publicized recent uses of such technology. The use of such technology, now a part of our world, adds weight to the words of yet another forward thinker: the media guru Marshall McLuhan, who wrote in 1968 that "television war (will have) meant the end of the dichotomy between civilian and military."

That dichotomy did not, however, become moot exactly in the manner McLuhan predicted (i.e., thanks to televisual technology's facilitating the prosecution of war at a distance); rather it happened in precisely the opposite fashion, when war was prosecuted up close by Al Qaeda operatives flying fully-fueled jets into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Subsequently, every single broadcast on television has been at first or

second or some further remove a broadcast of war on television.

DAVID HUMPHREYS

See also **Terrorism; Vietnam on Television**

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## Warner Brothers Presents

### U.S. Dramatic Series

*Warner Brothers Presents*, the first television program produced by Warner Brothers Pictures, appeared on ABC during the 1955–56 season. Hosted by Gig Young, the series featured an omnibus format with weekly episodes drawn from three rotating series based loosely on the Warner Brothers movies *King's Row*, *Casablanca*, and *Cheyenne*. Although a one-hour series, each weekly episode reserved the final ten minutes for a segment titled "Behind the Cameras at Warner Brothers." This segment featured behind-the-scenes footage, revealing the inner workings of a major movie studio and promoting the studio's recent theatrical releases.

This short-lived series was a hit with neither critics nor viewers, and yet it still stands as a milestone be-

cause it marked the introduction of the major Hollywood studios into television production. The 1955–56 season saw the television debut not only of *Warner Brothers Presents* but also of the *Twentieth Century-Fox Hour* on CBS and *MGM Parade* on ABC. The common inspiration for these programs was the success of *Disneyland*, which had premiered the previous season on ABC and had given Walt Disney an unprecedented forum for publicizing the movies, merchandise, and amusement park that carried the Disney trademark. Following Disney, Warner Brothers executives saw television as a vehicle for calling attention to their motion pictures. They were much less interested in producing for television than in using the medium to increase public awareness of the Warner Brothers trademark.

ABC had its own vested interests in acquiring a Warner Brothers series. By recruiting one of Hollywood's most venerable studios to television, ABC scored a valuable coup in its bid for respectability among the networks. As the perennial third-place network, ABC welcomed the glamour and prestige associated with a major Hollywood studio. The opening credits for *Warner Brothers Presents* pointedly reminded viewers of the studio's moviemaking legacy. As the screen filled with the trademark Warner Brothers logo superimposed over a soaring aerial shot of the studio, an announcer exclaimed, "From the entertainment capital of the world comes *Warner Brothers Presents*. The hour that presents Hollywood to you. Made for television by one of the great motion picture studios." Marketing the Warner Brothers' reputation, ABC signed contracts with several sponsors who had never before advertised on the network, including General Electric and the tobacco company Liggett and Myers, two of the largest advertisers in broadcasting.

The alternating series of *Warner Brothers Presents* were seen by both studio and network as an ongoing experiment in an effort to gauge the public taste for filmed television drama. *King's Row* was a pastoral melodrama about a small-town doctor (Jack Kelly) who returns home following medical school to aid the community members and play a role in various soothing tales of moral welfare. *Casablanca* reprised the Academy Award-winning movie, with Charles McGraw in the role made famous by Humphrey Bogart. Rick's Café Americain became the setting for tales of star-crossed romance and, to a much lesser extent, foreign intrigue. The only series to make a significant impression in the ratings was *Cheyenne*, a rough-and-tumble Western starring Clint Walker as a wandering hero who dispenses justice while riding through the old West.

Since the studio's objective was to reach viewers with its promotional messages, the "Behind the Cameras" segments provided a fascinating glimpse into the production process at a movie studio. They introduced viewers to the various departments at the studio, demonstrating the role played by editing, sound, wardrobe, lighting, and so forth in the production of a motion picture. Each segment featured exclusive footage and interviews with top movie stars and directors. On the set of *Giant* a wry James Dean demonstrated rope tricks and, in a rather macabre twist given his untimely death, talked about traffic safety. A gruff John Ford commanded the Monument Valley location of *The Searchers*. Director Billy Wilder and Jimmy Stewart explained how they recreated Charles Lindbergh's legendary flight in *The Spirit of St. Louis*.

When the series failed to find an audience, however, the advertisers balked at the studio's emphatic self-promotion in these segments, particularly when the studio seemed unable to create dramatically compelling episodes. Critics, sponsors, and network executives agreed that the dramatic episodes were formulaic in their writing and perfunctory in their production. In part, this reflected the economics of early telefilm production. The entire \$3 million budget that ABC paid for 39 hour-long episodes of *Warner Brothers Presents* represented only a fraction of the budget for a single studio feature like *Giant* or *The Searchers*. Consequently, episodes of *Warner Brothers Presents* were written, produced, and edited on minuscule budgets at a frenetic pace unseen at the studio since the B-grade movies of the 1930s.

After considerable tinkering—including the recycling of scripts from several of the studio's western movies—*Cheyenne* emerged as the sole hit among the *Warner Brothers Presents* series. Had its ratings been calculated separately, it would have finished the season among the 20 highest-rated series. Observing the success of the bluntly conflict-driven *Cheyenne*, ABC asked the studio to heighten the dramatic tension in both *King's Row* and *Casablanca*, fearing, in the words of ABC President Robert Kintner, that neither series was "lusty and combative" enough to appeal to viewers. New scripts were written for both series, introducing murderous kidnappers and mad bombers, but neither series found an audience, and they were both canceled before the end of the season. In their place, *Warner Brothers Presents* substituted an anthology series, *Conflict*, which alternated with *Cheyenne* for the remainder of the season and for the next.

Due to the difficulties in gearing up for the rapid pace of television production, Warner Brothers lost more than a half-million dollars on *Warner Brothers Presents*. But the studio also achieved two lasting benefits. First, with the production of this initial series, Warner Brothers crossed the threshold into television production where, in just four years, it would become the largest producer of network series. Second, it launched the studio's first hit series, *Cheyenne*, which went on to have an eight-year run on ABC.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

*See also Cheyenne; Western*

**Host**

Gig Young

**Programming History**

ABC

September 1955–September 1956 Tuesday 7:30–8:30

**Casablanca (September 1955–April 1956)****Cast**

Rick Jason	Charles McGraw
Capt. Renaud	Marcel Dalio
Sasha	Michael Fox
Sam	Clarence Muse
Ludwig	Ludwig Stossel

**Cheyenne (See separate entry)****King's Row (September 1955–January 1956)****Cast**

Dr. Parris Mitchell	Jack Kelly
Randy Monaghan	Nan Leslie

Drake McHugh

Dr. Tower

Grandma

Dr. Gordon

Robert Horton

Victor Jory

Lillian Bronson

Robert Burton

**Further Reading**

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# Watch Mr. Wizard

## U.S. Children's Science Program

*Watch Mr. Wizard*, one of commercial television's early educational efforts, was highly successful in making science exciting and understandable for children. Presenting scientific laboratory demonstrations and information in an interesting, uncomplicated, and entertaining format, this long-running series was a prime example of the Chicago School of Television and of quality education in a visual format. Created and hosted by Don Herbert, the show's low-key approach, casual ad lib style, and resourceful, often magiclike demonstrations led to rapid success and brought Herbert instant recognition and critical acclaim as an innovative educational broadcaster and as a teacher of science.

Donald Jeffry Herbert, a general science and English major at LaCrosse State Teachers College in Wisconsin, had originally planned to teach dramatics. Following his graduation in 1940, he acted in summer and winter stock and then traveled to New York with an eye toward Broadway. World War II interrupted his career, and the young actor entered the Army Air Forces as a private. As a B-24 bomber pilot, he flew 56 missions with the Fifteenth Air Force and subsequently participated in the invasion of Italy. Discharged as a captain in 1945, Herbert had earned the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with three oak leaf clusters.

After the war Herbert accepted offers of radio work in Chicago. He acted in such children's programs as *Captain Midnight*, *Jack Armstrong*, and *Tom Mix* and sold scripts to *Dr. Christian*, *Curtain Time*, and *First Nighter*. In October 1949, as coproducer of the documentary health series *It's Your Life*, he was able to combine his interests in science and drama. Most importantly, his idea for *Mr. Wizard* began to take form. He became fascinated with general science experiments and studied television as a medium of presentation.

Herbert sold his idea for *Mr. Wizard* to WNBQ-TV, the Chicago outlet for NBC, and the series premiered on March 3, 1951, with Herbert as the Wizard and Bruce Lindgren as the first of his young assistants. Produced in cooperation with the Cereal Institute, Incorporated, the 30-minute show was targeted at pre-teenagers and initially broadcast on Saturdays from 4:00 to 4:30 P.M.

Within four months, the series had climbed to third place among children's programs in ARB ratings and its audience was growing. Chicago's Federated Advertising Club created an award especially for the show and the Voice of America entered a standing order for recorded transcripts of each program. Within two years, approximately 290 schools were using the series as required homework. In its quiet way, wrote *Variety*



*Watch Mr. Wizard.*  
Photo courtesy of Don Herbert

on September 10, 1952, "this cleverly contrived TV tour into the world of science probably adds as much to NBC's prestige as some of the network's more highly touted educational ventures."

By 1954 *Watch Mr. Wizard* was seen live on 14 stations and via kinescope on an additional 77. The National Science Foundation (NSF) cited Herbert and his show for promoting interest in the sciences, and the American Chemical Society presented him its first citation ever awarded for "important contributions to science education." Three years into Herbert's network run, there were more than 5,000 Mr. Wizard Science Clubs across North America with a membership totaling in excess of 100,000.

Sensing the decline of Chicago as a production center, Herbert moved his show to New York in 1955. During this time, he would win a number of national awards including the prestigious Peabody Award and three Thomas Alva Edison National Mass Media Awards. The total number of *Mr. Wizard* fan clubs would increase nearly tenfold to 50,000. Notwithstanding these accomplishments, NBC canceled the series on September 5, 1965.

Herbert's abilities as a teacher-producer of quality televised science education led him to the National Educational Television network, where he produced a series of shows under the title *Experiment* (1966). He also produced films for junior and senior high schools, wrote a number of books on science, and developed the Mr. Wizard Science Center outside of Boston. On September 11, 1971, NBC revived *Watch Mr. Wizard*, but Herbert's old leisurely pace of the 1950s seemed outdated, and the show left the air on September 2, 1972.

Undaunted by his second cancellation, and challenged by the NSF to create an awareness of science in children, in the early 1970s Herbert and his wife, Norma, developed *Mr. Wizard Close-Ups* for broadcast on NBC's daily morning schedule. At the end of the decade, the husband and wife team also developed traveling elementary school assembly programs featuring young performers and live science demonstrations. By 1991 these tours were annually presenting programs to approximately 3,000 schools and 1.2 million students.

With the financial backing of the NSF and General Motors, in 1980 Herbert began production of *How About*—a long-running series of 80-second reports on developments in science and technology to be used as inserts in local news programs across the country. In time, the series would earn special praise from the American Association for the Advancement of Science—Westinghouse Science Journalism awards committee. Not content to rest on his laurels, in 1984 Herbert developed an updated and faster-paced *Mr. Wizard's World* that was seen three times a week on Nickelodeon, the children's cable network.

In 1991 Herbert received the Robert A. Millikan award from the American Association of Physics Teachers for his "notable and creative contributions to the teaching of physics." Three years later, in his late 70s, he developed another new series, *Teacher to Teacher with Mr. Wizard*—a series of NSF-sponsored 15-minute programs airing on Nickelodeon and highlighting exemplary elementary science teachers and projects. In addition, the seemingly indefatigable Herbert created, among other items, Mr. Wizard Science Secrets kits with clips from *Watch Mr. Wizard*, a Mr. Wizard Science Video Library with 20 videos from the *Mr. Wizard's World* series, and in 1997, Mr. Wizard's Science Assembly Programs using interactive techniques to assist in the demonstration of science principles to live audiences. Moving into the 21st century, nearly 50 years after his first telecast, Herbert and his wife launched an updated series of *Mr. Wizard's World* and the Whelmer Workshops—the latter providing instruction for teachers in techniques developed by Herbert throughout his long career.

In March 1984, Herbert told *Discover* magazine his purpose in life was not to teach but to have fun. "I just restrict myself to fun that has scientific content." Fortunately, for generations of children and adults attracted to his Mr. Wizard persona, this soft-spoken, Minnesota-born personality had the ability to communicate and inspire in others his passion for the "fun" to be had with science.

JOEL STERNBERG

*See also Children and Television*

**Host (as Mr. Wizard)**

Don Herbert

**Producers**

James Pewolar (1955–65); Del Jack (1971–72)

**Programming History**

NBC

May 1951–February 1952	Saturday 6:30–7:00
March 1952–February 1955	Saturday 7:00–7:30
1955–1965	various times
September 1971–September 1972	various times

**Further Reading**

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Margulies, Lee, “Mr. Wizard’s Science Reports for Adults,” *Chicago Sun-Times* (March 26, 1980)

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“Mr. Wizard,” *Variety* (September 10, 1952)

“Mr. Wizard Science Assembly to Visit Almond School,” *Los Altos Town Crier* (April 23, 1997)

“NBC-TV ‘Wizard’s’ Wizardry Clinches 54-Station Ride,” *Variety* (March 18, 1953)

“The Robert A. Millikan Medal,” *Physics Teacher* (November 1991)

“‘Wizard’ Hot on Kinnies,” *Variety* (January 13, 1954)

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## Watch with Mother

### British Children’s Program

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*Watch with Mother*, the general title of a series of five individual programs, formed a central element in making television a domestic and family medium in Britain. Although the title *Watch with Mother* did not come into existence until 1952, *Andy Pandy*, the mainstay of the series, was first broadcast in July 1950. Two years later it was joined by *The Flowerpot Men*; later, these shows were scheduled alongside *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail*, in 1953, and *Picture Book* and *The Woodentops*, in 1955. Initially, *Andy Pandy* was shown in the afternoon between 3:45 and 4:00 P.M. at the end of the women’s program *For Women*. In the 1960s, however, *Watch with Mother* was scheduled at lunch time. The different programs within the series were shown on specific days of the week: *Picture Book* on Monday; *Andy Pandy* on Tuesday; *The Flowerpot Men* on Wednesday; *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail* on Thursday; and *The Woodentops* on Friday. The series was eventually taken off the air and replaced by *See-Saw* in 1980.

*Watch with Mother* was the first television program series to address specifically a preschool audience, and along with BBC radio’s *Listen with Mother*, which began in 1950, it represented a shift in BBC policy to

make programs, both on radio and television, for this very young audience. Until this time, the BBC had made occasional radio programs for the very young; however, in the words of Derek McCulloch (“Uncle Mac”), director of *Children’s Hour* radio, the network did not think that the young should be “catered for deliberately.” This audience, according to McCulloch, came “into no real category at all.” (An earlier program, *Muffin the Mule*, which was originally shown from 1946 on BBC children’s television, had all the appearances of a preschool children’s program but was in fact addressed to all children and was popular with adults as well.)

During the planning stages of *Andy Pandy*, there was clearly some reticence about introducing a television program for very young children, and the BBC had a special panel to advise it, consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Institute of Child Development, the Nursery Schools’ Association, and some educational child psychologists. There was particular concern about children watching television on their own, leaving the “mother” free to do other things. To counter these concerns about the develop-

ment of the child and the responsibilities of the mother, *Andy Pandy*, and the later programs, needed to be imagined in such a way as to allay such fears. The textual form of the program and its scheduling were important in this respect.

Created by Freda Lingstrom (head of Children's Television Programs at the BBC between 1951 and 1956) and her long-standing friend, program-maker Maria Bird, *Andy Pandy* was designed to be a program specifically directed at the preschool audience. Lingstrom, while assistant head of BBC School's Broadcasting, had been responsible for *Listen with Mother* and was asked to make a television equivalent on music and movement lines. *Andy Pandy* had no linear narrative structure. Instead, it presented a series of tableaux with no apparent overarching theme. For example, in one program, Andy starts by playing on a swing, accompanied by Maria Bird singing, "Swinging high, swinging low." He is joined by Teddy. The camera then focuses on Teddy, who enacts the movements to the nursery rhyme "Round and Round the Garden." Finally, after a scene with Andy and Teddy playing in their cart and a scene with Looby Loo singing her song, "Here we go Looby Loo," the two male characters return to their basket and wave goodbye and Maria Bird sings, "Time to go home." Lingstrom argued that the tempo was slow and there was no story so that the action could move from one situation to another in a way totally acceptable to the very young child.

The program was designed to bring three-year-olds into a close relationship with what was seen on the screen. *Andy Pandy* was intended to provide a friend for the very young viewer, and as a three-year-old actor was out of the question, a puppet was the obvious answer. The characters took part in simple movement, games, stories, nursery rhymes, and songs. The use of nursery rhymes was seen as particularly important, as it worked both to establish a relationship between the mother and the development of the child and also to connect the child to a tradition and community of preschool childhood. The children were invited not only to listen and to watch the movements of the puppets but also to respond to invitations to join in by clapping, stamping, sitting down, standing up, and so forth.

*Andy Pandy* drew upon the language of play in order to make itself, and also television, homely. Mary Adams, head of Television Talks at the BBC, argued that the puppet came to the child in the security of his or her own home and brought nothing alarming or contradictory to the safe routines of the family. In *Andy Pandy*, and also in *The Flowerpot Men*, the fictional

world of preschool childhood was presented within the confines of the domestic. Andy, Teddy, and Looby Loo were always presented within the garden or the living room. Likewise, in *The Flowerpot Men*, the characters were presented within the garden and in close proximity to the little house that was pictured at the beginning of each program. In *Andy Pandy* we hear nothing of the outside world, whereas in *The Flowerpot Men* the only off-screen character we hear about is the gardener, whose character, neither seen nor heard, signifies the limits of this imaginary world.

*Watch with Mother* was never scheduled within the main bulk of children's programs between 5:00 and 6:00 P.M. When, in September 1950, there was discussion that *Andy Pandy* should be shown with the rest of children's programs, Richmond Postgate, acting head of Children's Television Programmes at the BBC, firmly responded by stating that at 5:00 P.M. three-year-olds should be thinking of bed. The program was designed to fit into the routines of both mothers and small children, and it was scheduled at different times during its early history. However, changes to its scheduling caused minor revolts, which were widely reported in the press. For example, when in 1963 the BBC planned to show *Watch with Mother* at 10:45 A.M., the *Daily Sketch* declared that "for most small children 10:45 is a time to 'Watch without Mother.' And there's not much joy in that." However, although the timing of the program was intended to provide a space especially for mother and small child, it is clear that some viewers saw it as a means to do other things.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a new stream of programs were invented for the series (e.g., *Pogles' Wood*; *Trumpton*; and *Mary, Mungo, and Midge*). There was still significant emotional investment in the older programs, however. For example, there was much concern in 1965 when viewers thought that *Camberwick Green* was to replace *Andy Pandy* and *The Flowerpot Men*. Doreen Stephens, head of Family Programmes, reassured the audience, stating that the familiar shows would be shown, which they were, although less frequently until 1970. It was no surprise that when a number of the older programs were released on a *Watch with Mother* video in 1986, it became a best-seller and topped the BBC's video charts.

DAVID OSWELL

See also **British Programming; Children and Television**

**Producer**  
Freda Lingstrom



**Andy Pandy**

**Writer-Composer**  
Maria Bird

**Singer**  
Gladys Whitred

**Puppeteers**  
Audrey Atterbury, Molly Gibson

***The Flowerpot Men***

**Writer-Composer**  
Maria Bird

**Puppeteers**  
Audrey Atterbury, Molly Gibson

**Voices and Sound Effects**  
Peter Hawkins, Gladys Whitred, Julia Williams

***Rag, Tag, and Bobtail***

**Story Narrator**  
Charles E. Stidwell

**Story Writer**  
Louise Cochrane

**Glove Puppeteers**  
Sam and Elizabeth Williams

***The Woodentops***

**Writer and Music Composer**  
Maria Bird

**Puppeteers**  
Audrey Atterbury, Molly Gibson

**Voices**  
Eileen Brown, Josephina Ray, Peter Hawkins

***Picture Books***

**Storytellers**  
Patricia Driscoll, Vera McKechnie

**Programming History**  
BBC  
1952–80          Various times

**Further Reading**

Oswell, David, "Watching with Mother in the early 1950s," in *In Front of the Children*, edited by Cary Bazelgette and David Buckingham, London: British Film Institute, 1995

## Watergate

"Watergate" is synonymous with a series of events that began with a botched burglary and ended with the resignation of a U.S. president. The term itself formally derives from the Watergate building in Washington, D.C., where, on the night of June 17, 1972, five burglars were arrested in the Democratic National Committee offices. Newspaper reports from that point began revealing bits and pieces of details that linked the Watergate burglars with President Richard Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. The president and his chief assistants denied involvement, but as evidence of White House complicity continued to grow, the U.S. Congress was compelled to investigate what role the

Watergate matter might have played in subverting or attempting to subvert the electoral process.

On February 7, 1973, the U.S. Senate, by a 77-to-0 vote, approved a resolution to impanel the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities to investigate Watergate. Known as the Ervin Committee for its chairperson, Senator Sam Ervin, the committee began public hearings on May 17, 1973; these hearings soon came to be known as the "Watergate Hearings."

Television cameras covered the Watergate hearings gavel-to-gavel, from day one until August 7. Three-hundred-nineteen hours of television were amassed, a record covering a single event. All three commercial

television networks then in existence (NBC, CBS, and ABC) devoted an average of five hours per day covering the Watergate hearings for their first five days. The networks devised a rotation plan that, beginning on the hearings' sixth day, shifted coverage responsibility from one network to another every third day. Any of the three networks remained free to cover more of the hearings than required by their rotation agreement, but only once did the networks choose to exercise their option. All three networks elected to carry the nearly 30 hours of testimony by key witness and former White House counsel John Dean.

The noncommercial Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) aired the videotaped version of each day's Watergate hearing testimony during the evening. Many PBS station managers who were initially reluctant to carry such programming found that as a result of the carriage, station ratings as well as financial contributions increased.

As the Ervin Committee concluded its initial phase of Watergate hearings on August 7, 1973, the hearings' television audience had waned somewhat, but a majority of viewers continued to indicate a preference that the next hearing phase, scheduled to begin on September 24, also be televised. The networks, however, felt otherwise. The Ervin Committee continued the Watergate hearings until February 1974 but with only scant television coverage.

Television viewers were attracted to the Watergate hearings in impressive numbers. One survey found that 85 percent of all U.S. households had tuned in to at least some portion of the hearings. Such interest was not universal, however. In fact, Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox had argued that television's widespread coverage of Watergate testimony could endanger the rights of witnesses to a fair trial and in doing so, could deprive Americans of ever hearing the full story of Watergate. The Ervin Committee refused Cox's request to curtail coverage, saying that it was important that television be allowed to carry Watergate testimony to the American public firsthand.

On February 6, 1974, a new phase of Watergate began when the U.S. House of Representatives voted 410 to 4 to authorize the House Judiciary Committee to investigate whether sufficient grounds existed to impeach President Nixon. If so, the committee was authorized to report necessary articles of impeachment to the full House.

The Judiciary Committee spent late February to mid-July 1974 examining documents and testimony accumulated during the Senate's Watergate hearings. When this investigatory phase ended, the Judiciary Committee scheduled public deliberations on July 24–27, 29, and 30 to debate what, if any, impeachment recommen-

dations it would make to the House. Three articles of impeachment eventually were approved by the committee, recommending that the House begin formal impeachment proceedings against President Nixon.

The decision to televise Judiciary Committee meetings was not immediate, nor did it meet with overwhelming approval. Only after several impassioned pleas from the floor of the U.S. House that such an extraordinary event should be televised to the fullest extent did the House approve a resolution to allow telecast of the Judiciary Committee's impeachment deliberations. The committee itself had final say on the matter and voted 31 to 7 to concur with the decision of their House colleagues. One major requirement of the Judiciary Committee was that television networks covering the committee not be allowed to break for a commercial message during deliberations.

The Judiciary Committee began its televised public debate on the evening of July 24. The commercial networks chose to rotate their coverage in the same manner as utilized during the Senate Watergate hearings. What is more, the commercial networks telecast only the evening portions of Judiciary Committee deliberations, while PBS chose to telecast the morning and afternoon sessions as well. As a result, television viewers were provided nearly 13 hours of coverage for each of the six days of Judiciary Committee public deliberations.

Eventually, the full House and Senate voted to allow television coverage of impeachment proceedings in their respective chambers, once assurances were made that the presence of television cameras and lights would not interfere with the president's due process rights. Final ground rules were being laid and technical preparations for the coverage were under way when President Nixon's resignation, on August 9, 1974, brought the impeachment episode to an end.

RONALD GARAY

### **See also Political Processes and Television; United States Congress and Television**

### **Further Reading**

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- Hamilton, James, *The Power to Probe*, New York: Random House, 1976
- Kurland, Philip B., "The Watergate Inquiry, 1973," in *Congress Investigates: A Documented History, 1792–1974*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Roger Bruns, New York: Chelsea House, 1975
- U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, *Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States*, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, 1974
- U.S. Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, *The Final Report*, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, 1974

# Waterman, Dennis (1948– )

British Actor

Dennis Waterman has the distinction of being well known to the British television public, somewhat known in Australia, and almost completely unknown to the North American audience. As a screen character, Waterman is heavily dependent on a strong partner; in comedy, especially, he usually acts as a straight figure to the comic excesses of his counterparts. When he does play solo, as in the thriller *Circle of Deceit* (Independent Television, 1993, 1995–97), he shows himself to lack color and charisma.

Born in London in 1947, Waterman became a child actor, appearing in the feature film *Night Train for Inverness* (1960) and in a West End production of the musical *The Music Man*. In 1961 he landed the title role in the children's television series *William*, produced by the BBC. This series of 13 half-hour episodes was based on the very popular children's books by Richmal Crompton, adapted by writer C.E. Webber.

Waterman spent the following year in Hollywood working on the CBS situation comedy *Fair Exchange*. He was one of four British actors imported for the series, which concerned two families, one from New York and the other from London, who arranged to swap teenage daughters. Waterman played a younger boy in the London family who suddenly had to contend with a teenage American "sister." The series was unusual only because it extended the situation comedy format to hour-long episodes. However, it provoked only lukewarm interest and was dropped after three months. It was briefly revived in half-hour episodes but fared no better.

Waterman's voice broke; his appearance changed; and the child actor faded. In 1976 he landed the role of Detective Sergeant George Carter in the British police crime series *The Sweeney*, produced by Thames Television's Euston Films. *The Sweeney* was premised on a fictional version of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad, a police car unit concerned with major crimes such as armed robberies. (The series title came from Cockney rhyming slang: Sweeney Todd / The Flying Squad.) *The Sweeney* was well made, characterized by excellent action scenes, good stories, and fine acting from leads John Thaw as Detective Inspector Jack Regan, Waterman as his assistant, and Garfield Morgan as their boss, Detective Chief Inspector Hoskins.

*The Sweeney* offered Waterman not only considerable fame but also a second career. As a child actor, his accent had been middle-class and he had projected sensitivity and vulnerability. In *The Sweeney* he conveyed energy, toughness, and a gritty Cockney sense of how the world really worked. Although his character played second fiddle to Jack Regan, Waterman still managed to infuse Carter with considerable color and guts.

Waterman's career was boosted even further by his next series, the enormously popular *Minder*. This program, which introduced the character of Arthur Daley, a shady London car dealer, and Terry McCann, his ex-convict bodyguard and partner, has been described as a perfect blend of dark humor and colorful characterization. *Minder* was built around the inspired casting of George Cole as Arthur and Waterman as Terry. Cole was a veteran of British cinema, who had created a memorable forerunner to Arthur Daley in the figure of the Cockney Flash Harry, in three very funny St. Trinian films in the 1950s and 1960s. Drawing partly from the figure of Carter in *The Sweeney*, Waterman's Terry was tough and Cockney streetwise. What was new was that Waterman was playing comic straight man as the often hapless Terry, who was usually no match for Arthur. Although *Minder* was named after the figure of Terry, it was Arthur who was the mainstay of the series, a fact underlined by its revival in 1991, some six years after Waterman's departure, with Gary Webster filling the minder role.

In 1986 Waterman's on-screen woman troubles began with BBC 2's four-hour miniseries *The Life and Loves of a She Devil*. A gruesome black comedy that combined outrageous fantasy with close-to-the-bone social comment, *She Devil* was an enormous popular success. The series concerned an unfaithful husband (Waterman) whose ex-wife, the figure of the title, wreaks a truly memorable set of punishments on her hapless mate. In portraying Waterman as a womanizer who is finally unable to control the feminine forces that he has unleashed, *She Devil* added an interesting new dimension to the actor's screen persona.

In 1989 Waterman returned to comedy-drama with the series *Stay Lucky* for Yorkshire Television. The title, which referred to nothing in particular, was some-

what indicative of the series' problems as a whole. Like *The Sweeney* and *Minder*, *Stay Lucky* concerned a partnership, although in this instance one that was romantic as well as professional. Set aboard a houseboat, the series concerned a set of predictable oppositions between male and female leads, with Waterman as Thomas and Kay Francis as Sally. As a Cockney, he was streetwise and realistic; as a northerner, she was glamorous, sophisticated, and headstrong.

*Stay Lucky* attempted to mix the comedy of the sexes with the darker world of London crime and poverty, but the mixture did not quite gel. However, the series was at its strongest when it gravitated to the former theme, with Waterman usually generating solid comic exasperation, not at the outrageous schemes of an Arthur Daley, but at the outlandish stratagems of a willful, attractive woman.

Waterman was also featured in the BBC 1 situation comedy serial *On the Up*. Eighteen half-hour episodes were made between 1990 and 1992, and the comedy-drama blend was much more successful than in *Stay Lucky*. The series concerned a Cockney self-made millionaire, Tony (Waterman), who was less successful running both his marriage (to a beautiful, headstrong, upper-class woman) and a household of servants and friends. Waterman's appearances on television in the 1990s were otherwise somewhat limited: five times in the mid-1990s, he played John Neil, the lead in the occasional thriller series *Circle of Deceit*, and in 2001 he appeared on the small screen in a BBC 2 broadcast of *My Fair Lady* staged at the Royal National Theatre.

ALBERT MORAN

See also **British Programming**; *Minder*; *Sweeney, The*

**Dennis Waterman.** Born in London, February 24, 1948. Attended Corona Stage School. Married: 1) Penny (divorced); 2) Patricia Maynard (divorced); children: Hannah and Julia; 3) Rula Lenska. Stage debut, at the age of 11, 1959; by the age of 16 had spent a season with the Royal Shakespeare Company, Stratford-upon-Avon, and worked in Hollywood; star, *William* TV series and other productions, 1962; star, *The Sweeney* and the *Minder* series; later appeared mainly in comedy parts; has also had some success as a singer.

#### Television Series

1962	<i>William</i>
1962	<i>Fair Exchange</i>
1972	<i>The Sextet</i>
1975–78	<i>The Sweeney</i>
1979–85, 1988–93	<i>Minder</i>

1986	<i>The Life and Loves of a She Devil</i>
1989–91, 1993	<i>Stay Lucky</i>
1990–92	<i>On the Up</i>
1995–97	<i>Circle of Deceit</i>
1995	<i>Match of the Seventies</i> (presenter)

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1973	<i>The Common (British Play of the Month series)</i>
1974	<i>Joe's Ark (Play for Today series)</i>
1982	<i>The World Cup: A Captain's Tale</i> (also coproducer)
1985	<i>Minder on the Orient Express</i>
1987	<i>The First Kangaroos</i>
1988	<i>Mr. H. Is Late</i>
1993	<i>Circle of Deceit</i>

#### Television Specials

1959	<i>Member of the Wedding</i>
1960	<i>All Summer Long</i>
1974	<i>Regan</i>
1980	<i>Comedy Tonight</i>
1999	<i>Britain's Richest Lottery Winners</i> (narrator)
2000	<i>The Krays: Inside the Firm: Unfinished Business</i> (narrator)
2001	<i>My Fair Lady</i>

#### Films

*Snowball*, 1960; *Night Train for Inverness*, 1960; *Pirates of Blood River*, 1961; *Go, Kart, Go*, 1964; *Up the Junction*, 1967; *School for Unclaimed Girls*, 1969; *A Smashing Bird I Used to Know*, 1969; *A Promise of Bed*, 1969; *I Can't... I Can't (Wedding Night)*, 1969; *My Lover, My Son*, 1970; *The Scars of Dracula*, 1970; *Fright*, 1971; *Man in the Wilderness*, 1971; *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1972; *The Belstone Fox*, 1973; *The Sweeney*, 1977; *The Sweeney II*, 1978; *Cold Justice*, 1989; *Vol-au-Vent*, 1996; *Arthur's Dyke*, 2001.

#### Recordings (selected)

*Night Train to Inverness*, 1958; *I Could Be So Good for You*, 1980; *What Are We Gonna Get 'er Indoors*, 1983; *Down Wind with Angels Waterman*.

#### Stage (selected)

*The Music Man*; *Windy City*; *Cinderella*; *Same Time Next Year*; *Carving a Statue*; *Saved*; *Twelfth Night*;

*Serjeant Musgrave's Dance; A Slice of Saturday Night; The Winter's Tale; Taming of a Shrew; Saratoga; Alfie; Double Double; Jeffrey Bernard Is Unwell; Fools Rush In; Killing Time; Bing*

*Bong; Don't Dress for Dinner; My Fair Lady*, 2001.

#### Publication

*ReMinder*, with Jill Arlon (autobiography), 2000

## Waters, Ethel (1896–1977)

U.S. Actor

Ethel Waters, one of the most influential jazz and blues singers of her time, popularized many song classics, including "Stormy Weather." Waters was also the first African-American woman to be given equal billing with white stars in Broadway shows and to play leading roles in Hollywood films. Once she had established herself as one of the highest-paid entertainers in the United States, she demanded, and won, dramatic roles. Single-handedly, Waters shattered the myth that African-American women could perform only as singers. In the early 1950s, for example, she played a leading role in the stage and screen versions of Carson McCullers's *The Member of the Wedding*. Waters played a Southern mammy, but she demonstrated with a complex and moving performance that it was possible to destroy the one-dimensional Aunt Jemima image of African-American women in American theater and cinema.

In a career that spanned almost 60 years, there were few openings for an African-American woman of Waters's class, talent, and ability. She appeared on television as early as 1939, when she made two experimental programs for NBC: *The Ethel Waters Show* and *Mamba's Daughters*. But it was her regular role as the devoted, cheerful maid in ABC's popular situation comedy *Beulah* (1950–53) that established her as one of the first African-American stars of the small screen.

Waters's dramatic roles on television were also stereotyped. Throughout the 1950s she made appearances in such series as *Favorite Playhouse*, *Climax*, *General Electric Theater*, *Playwrights '56*, and *Mattinee Theater*. Without exception, Waters was typecast as a faithful mammy or suffering mother. In 1961 she gave a memorable performance in a *Route 66* episode, "Good Night, Sweet Blues," as a dying blues singer whose last wish is to be reunited with her old jazz

band. Consequently, Waters became the first black actress nominated for an Emmy Award. She later appeared in *The Great Adventure* ("Go Down Moses"), with Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee in 1963; *Daniel Boone* ("Mamma Cooper") in 1970; and *Owen Marshall, Counselor at Law* ("Run, Carol, Run") in 1972. However, as African-American film and television historian Donald Bogle notes in *Blacks in American Films and Television* (1988):



Ethel Waters, 1930s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Waters, Ethel

Waters' later TV appearances lack the vitality of her great performances (she has little to work with in these programs and must rely on her inner resources and sense of self to get by), but they are part of her evolving image: now she's the weathered, ailing, grand old woman of film, whose talents are greater than the projects with which she's involved.

In the late 1950s, ill health forced Waters into semiretirement. A deeply religious woman, most of her public appearances were restricted to Billy Graham's rallies. She died in 1977 at the age of 80.

STEPHEN BOURNE

See also *Beulah*; **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television**

**Ethel Waters.** Born in Chester, Pennsylvania, October 31, 1896. Married: 1) Merritt Pernsley, c. 1910; 2) Clyde Matthews, c. 1928. Worked numerous maid, dishwasher, and waitressing jobs, 1903–17; sang and toured vaudeville circuit, 1917–30s; appeared in numerous theatrical productions, 1919–56; appeared in numerous films, 1929–63; appeared in numerous television programs, including the series *Beulah*, 1950–52; worked for the Billy Graham Crusade from the late 1950s. Recipient: New York Drama Critics Award for performance in *The Member of the Wedding*, 1950; U.S. Postal Service commemorative stamp, 1994. Died in Chatsworth, California, September 1, 1977.

### Television Series

1950–53 *Beulah*

### Television Special (selected)

1939 *The Ethel Waters Show*

### Films

*On with the Show*, 1929; *Rufus Jones for President*, 1933; *Bubblin' Over*, 1934; *Tales of Manhattan*, 1941; *Cairo*, 1942; *Stage Door Canteen*, 1943; *Cabin in the Sky*, 1943; *Pinky*, 1950; *The Member of the Wedding*, 1952; *Carib Gold*, 1955; *The Sound and the Fury*, 1959.

### Stage

*Rhapsody in Black*, 1931; *As Thousands Cheer*, 1933; *At Home Abroad*, 1935; *Mamba's Daughters*, 1939; *Cabin in the Sky*, 1940–41.

### Publication

*His Eye Is on the Sparrow*, with Charles Samuels, 1951

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## Watkins, Peter (1935– )

British Director

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Peter Watkins stands as one of the most singular, committed, and powerful directors of the last 40 years. His prizewinning experimental documentaries *Diary of an Unknown Soldier* (1959) and *The Forgotten Faces* (1960), reconstructing respectively World War I and the Hungarian uprising of 1956, earned screenings and a job at the BBC, which he used to make the remarkable *Culloden*, a Brechtian deconstruction of documentary technique in an account of the bloody defeat of the 1742 Jacobin rebellion in Scotland. *Culloden* already exhibits hallmark techniques: handheld camera, direct-to-camera address from historical and fictional

characters, and interviews with them, though the near surrealism of placing a modern on-camera reporter on the battlefield is a humorous touch rarely paralleled in his later work. Using, as he has throughout his oeuvre, the heightened naturalism of amateur actors, the program contrasts the effete figure of Bonnie Prince Charlie, actually a European adventurer, with the impoverished and still feudally bound Gaelic-speaking peasantry of the Highlands, a cruel indictment of both Scottish patriotism and the brutal British reprisals on the Highlanders. His next work, *The War Game*, "pre-constructs" the effects of a nuclear attack on southern

England. Perhaps it was not just Watkins's deadpan voice-over, nor the matter-of-fact delivery of official prognostications of casualties and security measures, but his comparison of nuclear firestorms with the ever-sensitive British bombing of Dresden in 1945 (subject of two later banned programs in the United Kingdom) that saw the film banned. Reduced to fund-raising shows for nuclear disarmament groups, the program has rarely been discussed in terms other than those of its subject and its political fate. But its groundbreaking and still-powerful juxtaposition of interview, reconstruction, graphics, titles, and the collision of dry data with images of horror still shock, the grainy black-and-white imagery and use of telephoto, sudden zooms, and wavering focus creating an atmosphere of immediacy unique in British television. Fifty minutes that shook the world, it was banned for 25 years by the BBC amid storms of controversy, which were reopened when it finally made British TV screens in a Channel 4 season of banned titles.

*The War Game* took the 1966 best documentary Oscar, opening the door to Hollywood. Universal bankrolled the feature film *Privilege* about a pop messiah in a near-future police state but pulled the plug on an ambitious reconstruction of the Battle of Little Big Horn and the subjugation of the Native Americans. From the late 1960s, Watkins's career is marked by projects cut, abandoned, or suppressed: Watkins himself listed 14 in a document seeking support for his 1980s film *The Journey*. *The Gladiators*, made for Swedish TV, about popular acquiescence in militarism, used the device of a fictional television program, "The Peace Game," in which generals play games of strategy, and the savage 16-millimeter allegory of Nixon's America Punishment Park, in which "deviants" are given their chance to survive in a nightmarish outlaw zone, both saw broadcast and theatrical release, though limited. These two titles extend Watkins's repertoire of effects by their focus on individual characters caught up in evil times, though the use of montage cutting and extreme naturalism in performances combine to minimize identification, and increase the intellectual engagement of the viewer with the narrative. Closer in technique to Brecht's practice than his theory, Watkins failed to benefit either from the vanguardism of contemporary film theory or the political clout of less challenging auteurs like Ken Loach and Denis Potter.

Other completed projects like *The Seventies People* (on suicide and the failures of social democracy) and *Evening Land* (a terrorist kidnap contrasted with the quelling of a strike in a military shipyard), both for Danish TV, were suppressed. Only the biopic of Norwegian painter Edvard Munch has had major distribution, though mainly as theatrical film, rather than the

three-part series it was originated as. *Edvard Munch's* passion derives not only from the subject and Watkins's handling, but from the identification between director and derided artist. The series is distinguished again by direct-cinema techniques, but also by complex editing around motifs, especially faces and flowers, and by multitracked sound design layering the characters' past, present, and future into a rich montage. As in his earlier documentaries, *Munch* adds voice-over to the sound mix, sometimes even over blank screens, to connect the narrative with worldwide events and political analysis. Carrying the use of natural light pioneered in his BBC projects into color, the film achieves a profoundly affecting image of a consumptive society unable to credit those who warn of its demise until it is too late. It is its political analysis and, stylistically, its use of sophisticated montage editing that distinguish *Munch* and its predecessors from the handheld stylistics of some recent U.S. cop shows.

In 1982 an attempt to remake *The War Game* with Central TV fell through, and Watkins devoted the following three years to accruing donations and help to make *The Journey*, perhaps his greatest achievement. Running at over 14 hours, the film was a rarely screened account, shot in over a dozen nations, of nuclear war and its effects. It has yet to be broadcast. *The Freethinker* (1994), an imaginative account of August Strindberg made with students, was boycotted by Swedish TV. In 2000 Watkins completed a 345-minute video, *La Commune*, recounting the 1871 Paris uprising through an imaginary community TV station, again working with amateurs, tearing across centuries to cross drama with politics. This remarkable project has again found its main audience on the festival and film school circuit. Watkins's mountain of suppressed work, his occasional embittered testament to intelligence, passion, and skill have perhaps contributed to a peripatetic life, consistently dogged by controversy. He is the most neglected and perhaps the most significant British director of his generation.

Watkins's mountain of suppressed work, his occasional embittered testament to intelligence, passion, and skill have perhaps contributed to a peripatetic life, consistently dogged by controversy.

SEAN CUBITT

*See also Director, Television; The War Game; War on Television*

**Peter Watkins.** Born in Norbiton, Surrey, England, October 29, 1935. Attended Christ College, Grevknockshire; studied acting at Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London. Served with East Surrey Regiment. Began career as assistant producer of television short

Watkins, Peter

subjects and commercials, 1950s; assistant editor and director of documentaries, BBC, 1961; director, *The War Game*, banned by the BBC, 1966; director, feature film, *Privilege*, 1967; moved to Sweden, 1968; worked in United States, 1969–71; resides in Sweden.

#### Television

1964 *Culloden*

#### Films

*The Web*, 1956; *The Field of Red*, 1958; *Diary of an Unknown Soldier*, 1959; *The Forgotten Faces*, 1961; *Dust Fever*, 1962; *The War Game*, 1966; *Privilege*, 1967; *The Gladiators*, 1969; *Punishment Park*, 1971; *Edvard Munch*, 1974; *The Seventies People*, 1975; *The Trap*, 1975; *Evening Land*, 1977; *The Journey*, 1987; *The Freethinker*, 1994; *La Commune*, 2000.

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## Watson, Patrick (1929– )

Canadian Producer, Host

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Patrick Watson has played a key role in the development of Canadian television, first producing, then hosting, many of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) groundbreaking public affairs series. In 1989, he was named chair of the CBC board of directors, a position he resigned in June 1994. His career in Canadian broadcasting, with several short detours into U.S. television, has been recognized by many for its innovative and substantive contribution to television journalism. He holds two honorary degrees and is an Officer of the Order of Canada for his journalistic efforts. At the same time, his career has been distinguished by well-publicized struggles with CBC

management and a number of Canadian politicians, both as producer and board chair. Lending substance to his television journalism has been his wide-ranging interest in the arts and social affairs.

Watson's first broadcast experience was as a radio actor in 1943 in a continuing CBC children's dramatic series called *The Kootenay Kid*. He has maintained his interest in dramatic television production by performing in several CBC dramas and by producing and performing in his two dramatized series of fictional encounters with great historical figures: *Titans* and *Witness to Yesterday*. In 1983, he wrote and acted in a one-man stage version of the Old Testament's *The Book of Job*.



Canadian television received its bilingual launch on Saturday, September 6, 1952, on CBFT, a CBC station in Montreal. Watson's involvement with television started in those early years, first as a freelancer in 1955, then as producer of *Close-Up*, 1957–60, and the national-affairs series *Inquiry*, 1960–64. Both shows were noted for their hard-hitting, sometimes confrontational interviews with the Canadian elite. *Inquiry* established an exciting and stimulating public affairs television show that would attract a larger audience than the typical narrow, well-educated one.

Watson's next project attracted the largest audience for a public affairs program in Canadian history and also proved to be the most controversial series of its kind. *This Hour Has Seven Days* was the creation of Watson and his coproducer from *Close-Up* and *Inquiry*, Douglas Leiterman. Broadcast before a live audience on Sunday nights from the fall of 1964 to the spring of 1966, this public affairs show became the darling of more than 3 million Canadians until its demise at the hands of CBC management, who could no longer withstand the criticism from Parliament or the insubordination of the *Seven Days* team. Shows featured satire of politicians in song and skit mixed with "bear pit" interviews, probing film documentaries, on-location stakeouts, and street interviews—all dealing with important, but often ignored, social and political issues. Critics hailed it for its freshness and probing investigations and condemned it for its sometimes sensational and "yellow" journalism. Watson was the coproducer for the first season of *Seven Days*, and he became the on-air cohost and interviewer in the second year in a move that the CBC management thought would curb some of the more controversial ideas and methods of the series. Watson and the extraordinary team of producers and writers assembled for the program (many of whom became influential documentarians and producers through the 1960s and 1970s) became even more innovative and "in your face" with their journalism, daring the CBC management to take action. In a later interview Watson admitted to the arrogance of those days, inciting his crew to "make people a little bit angry, frustrate them... come socking out of the screen." The management took the dare and canceled the show to the outrage of many, some of it orchestrated by the *Seven Days* team to try and save the show. There was an avalanche of calls and letters, public demonstrations, a parliamentary committee hearing, and a special investigation by an appointee of the prime minister—quite a response to the cancellation of a TV show. The series has taken on mythic proportions in the history of television journalism. It certainly pushed the boundaries of what was considered appropriate journalism, predated the cur-



Patrick Watson.

Photo courtesy of CBC Television/Fred Phipps

rent concern over the fine line between news and entertainment, and created a very chilly environment for CBC producers of public affairs for many years.

Because of his highly visible contribution to *Seven Days* and the aftermath to its cancellation, Watson was popularly touted for president of the CBC. He let it be known that he was interested, but he was not to reach high administrative office in the CBC until 25 years later. In the intervening years he turned his attention to a number of creative projects in and out of television. In addition to those already mentioned, he wrote, produced, hosted, and directed for *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*, *The Watson Report*, *The Canadian Establishment*, *Lawyers*, and *The Fifty-first State* (for PBS Channel 13, New York), among others. In 1989, before being named chair of the CBC, he created, produced, and hosted the ten-part international coproduction television series *The Struggle for Democracy*. It was the first documentary ever to appear simultaneously in French and English on the CBC's two main networks with the same host. Researched in depth and reflecting the dominant values of Western democracy, this substantive and ambitious series took the viewer across the world and into history, to the sites of many experiments, successes, and failures of the democratic effort. In the years after *Seven Days*, Watson was frequently and deservedly praised for his skills as a host and interviewer.

Watson's years as chair of the CBC board of directors were difficult ones for him and the corporation. The CBC had to face many severe budget cuts, subsequent layoffs, and the closing of regional outlets. Watson was dealing with a board becoming stacked with Tory appointees, several of whom advocated the privatization of the CBC. He was expected to both manage

the board and lobby Parliament. Though he toured the country speaking up for public television, he was seen by many CBC staffers and some of the public as less than effective in his efforts. In his last year, the CBC was hit with a new controversy over a public affairs series on the Canadian effort in World War II called *The Valour and the Horror*. This program challenged many standard versions of World War II history by critically examining the actions and the fallibility of military and political leaders. While the series won awards and was praised by many, it was vilified by veterans' groups and conservative politicians. After intense pressure, including a senate hearing controlled by the critics of the program, the CBC issued an ombudsman's report, supported by statements from the president of the CBC and the board, that essentially chastised the show's producers for their research, methods of presentation, and conclusions. As chair of the board, Watson was criticized for not speaking out publicly in support of the journalists and for not resigning. Insiders, including the producers of the show, credit Watson for moderating the board's and the president's response and mediating the dispute with CBC management.

Watson is the creative director and principal writer of the Historica Foundation's *The Heritage Minutes*. He is the commissioning editor, host, and narrator for History Television's *The Canadians*, *Biographies of a Nation*.

In 2002 Watson was awarded the Margaret Collier Award of the Gemini Awards, which is presented in recognition of a writer's body of work and significant contribution to the national and international profile of Canadian television.

WILLIAM O. GILSDORF

See also **Canadian Programming in English**; *This Hour Has Seven Days*

**Patrick Watson.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1929. Educated at University of Toronto, B.A., M.A.; studied linguistics at University of Michigan. Married: 1) Beverly (divorced, 1983), three children; 2) Caroline Bamford. Joined CBC-TV, early 1950s; founder, Patrick Watson Enterprises, 1966; cofounder, Immedia Inc., 1967; helped pioneer CBS Cable Network during 1980s; chair, CBC, 1989-94; first North American filmmaker to film in the People's Republic of China. Officer of the Order of Canada. Recipient: Bruxelles Festival Award, 1984; 12 Junos; two ACTRA Awards.

**Television**

- 1957-60 *Close-Up* (coproducer)
- 1960-64 *Inquiry* (producer and director)

- 1964-66 *This Hour Has Seven Days* (executive producer and cohost)
- 1967 *Search in the Deep* (producer)
- 1967 *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau* (producer)
- 1968 *Science and Conscience* (host)
- 1973-75 *Witness to Yesterday* (interviewer and writer)
- 1975-81 *The Watson Report* (interviewer)
- 1977 *The Fifty-first State* (editor and anchor)
- 1978 *Flight: The Passionate Affair* (host and writer)
- 1980 *The Canadian Establishment* (host and contributing writer)
- 1981 *The Chinese* (host, narrator, and contributing writer)
- 1981-82 *CBS Cable Service* (host)
- 1981 *Titans* (interviewer and writer)
- 1985 *Lawyers* (host)
- 1989 *The Struggle for Democracy* (ten parts; writer, host, and executive editor)

**Television Special**

- 1983-86 *Live from Lincoln Center* (host)

**Films**

- Bethune* (actor), 1963; *The 700 Million* (producer and director), 1964; *The Terry Fox Story* (actor), 1982; *Countdown to Looking Glass* (actor), 1984; *The Land That Devours Ships* (coproducer), 1984.

**Radio**

- The Kootenay Kid* (actor), 1943.

**Stage**

- The Book of Job* (writer and performer).

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## Wayne and Shuster

### Canadian Comedy Act

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Wayne and Shuster, who won international acclaim for their distinctive gentle satiric sketches, were the founding fathers of English-Canadian TV comedy. Appearing fairly regularly on CBC radio and television from the 1940s until Wayne's death in 1990, they helped to pave the way for such successful Canadian acts as the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* and *Kids in the Hall*. At the same time, however, their near monopoly on the CBC's commitment to TV comedy for many years may have hindered the growth of other comedic talent in Canada. During their early years, they wrote all their own material, but later made use of other writers as well.

On television, they were initially a bigger sensation in the United States than in Canada. They made a record-setting 67 appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, and edited versions of their many specials for CBC-TV were highly popular in U.S. syndication. Over the years, they also made frequent appearances on the BBC and won numerous awards, including the illustrious Silver Rose of Montreux.

The eldest of seven children of a successful clothing manufacturer who spoke several languages, Johnny Wayne was born John Louis Weingarten on May 28, 1918, in the heart of downtown Toronto. Although also born in Toronto, on September 5, 1916, Frank Shuster grew up in Niagara Falls, Ontario, where his father ran a small theater called the Colonial. Most evenings of his childhood were spent watching silent movies (and learning to read the intertitles), until his father was put out of business by a larger operation down the street. Failing to join other relatives in the United States (Frank's first cousin, Joe, who drew the *Superman* comic strip, lived in Cleveland, Ohio), the family returned to Toronto.

The future comics first met in tenth grade at Harbord Collegiate—seated in the same class alphabetically, S

happened to be close to W. Under the influence of Charles Girdler, who taught ancient history at Harbord and set up the Oola Boola Club to teach students how to do sketches and variety, they wrote a series of comedy dramas for the school's dramatic guild. One of Wayne's long-standing characters, Professor Waynegartner, originated in a geometry lesson written by Girdler poking fun at one of the other teachers. To take the sting out of it, Girdler suggested that it be done with a German accent.

Both men completed degrees in English at the University of Toronto, where they wrote, produced, and starred in a number of variety shows. They also edited and wrote for the university newspaper, the *Varsity*. In 1941 they began a show on Toronto radio station CFRB called *Wife Preserves*, which paid them \$12.50 each per week to dispense household hints for women over a network of Ontario stations. They were then contracted to write and perform on the *Shuster and Wayne* (sic) comedy show on the CBC's Trans-Canada Network for one year.

In 1942 they left the CBC to join the infantry and were soon writing and performing for the big Army Show. They toured military bases across Canada and later, when the show was split into smaller units, took the Invasion Review into Normandy after D-Day. Later they wrote a 52-week series for veterans and spent six weeks entertaining the Commonwealth Division in Korea.

In 1946 the duo returned to CBC Radio on the *Wayne and Shuster Show*, broadcast live at 9:30 p.m. on Thursdays. It was one of the few Canadian programs to compete successfully against U.S. imports. Among their radio creations were the undefeated Mimico Mice, who competed against the Toronto Maple Leafs. Legendary radio sports announcer Foster Hewitt did the play-by-play using the names of



Wayne and Shuster.  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

real Leaf players, but only Wayne and Shuster played for the Mice.

Although they began appearing as guests on various U.S. TV programs as early as 1950, their biggest television success came in 1958 when Ed Sullivan, whose ratings had slipped, invited them to appear on his Sunday-night variety show. He insisted that they stick to the kind of comedy they were doing in Canada and gave them a one-year contract with complete freedom to decide on the length, frequency, content, sets, and supporting cast of all their sketches. Jack Gould of *The New York Times* described them as “the harbingers of literate slapstick.” Sullivan, who became very fond of them both personally and professionally, said they were his biggest hit in ten years. In fact, his ratings shot up whenever they performed, and their contract was renewed again and again (in the end, they appeared on his show 58 times). Also renewed repeatedly was their CBC contract, which had been on the verge of being canceled before their U.S. success.

In 1961 Wayne and Shuster unwisely agreed to do a dreadful 13-week sitcom called *Holiday Lodge*, written by others as a summer replacement for Jack Benny on CBS. But they soon returned to the sophisticated sketches they did best, and in 1962 and 1963, they were ranked as the best comedy team in the United States in polls by *Motion Picture Daily* and *Television Today*.

Fearing overexposure, they avoided doing a weekly show for CBC-TV and instead contracted for a certain number of hour-long specials each year. Their style,

which consisted of a mixture of slapstick, pantomime, and groan-inducing jokes, depended heavily, at times excessively, on sets and props. Many of their early sketches were takeoffs on classic situations, such as putting Shakespearean blank verse into the mouths of baseball players. In their first appearance on *Ed Sullivan*, Wayne played a Roman detective investigating the murder of Julius Caesar in “Rinse the Blood off My Toga.” His use of “martinus” as the singular of “martini” quickly became a catchphrase (some New York bars began advertising “Martinus Specials”), as did the line “I told him, ‘Julie, don’t go,’” uttered several times by actress Sylvia Lennick playing Caesar’s wife. Even Marshall McLuhan complimented them on their word games, as when the hero of their western version of *Hamlet* refused a drink from the bar and ordered “the unkindest cut of all.”

Some of the most memorable moments on their TV shows for CBC arose from tricks of the camera—they would walk down an apparently infinite number of stairs or defy gravity as painters on the Tower of Pisa. Although Shuster tended to play the straight man, both portrayed a variety of characters. In general, their comedy was literate, middlebrow, and upbeat. They always disdained cruel humor, preferring the send-up to the put-down. Wayne thought that the best description of their style was the phrase “innocent merriment” from Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Mikado*.

By the late 1970s, some Canadian critics were complaining that the comic duo were merely going through the motions, that their comedy was hopelessly out of date, more sophomoric than sophisticated, and often embarrassingly bad. It was suggested that they had become too comfortable with the world, that they had lost the anger or frustration necessary for good comedy. There was also some criticism of their decision to do commercials for U.S.-owned Gulf Oil. Nonetheless, they remained quite popular, especially among the under-30 and over-55 age groups. The syndication of 80 half-hour specials in the United States, South Africa, and half a dozen other countries in 1980 was the CBC’s largest dollar sale of programming to that date.

Despite several enticing offers from the United States, Wayne and Shuster always chose to stay in Toronto. In addition to giving Canadians the confidence to do their own comedy, they spoke passionately on behalf of Canadian cultural sovereignty. In 1978, for example, Wayne told a joint luncheon of the Ottawa Men’s and Women’s Clubs that “an imbalanced television system has made us a nation of American watchers, totally ignorant of our own way of life. We are being robbed of our national identity. We’ve put Dracula in charge of the blood bank.”

Johnny Wayne died in Toronto in 1990. In 1995 Frank Shuster donated his records to the National Archives of Canada, including about 450 radio, TV, and stage scripts. He died in Toronto on January 13, 2002.

ROSS A. EAMAN

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# WB Network

## U.S. Network

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The WB Network is widely recognized as the first television network to capitalize on the trend toward increasingly fragmented television audiences. By targeting programming specifically to teens and to young adults, the WB has established a focused and successful broadcast network in an era defined by cable television's incursion into the national television broadcast audience. The network, which reaches 88 percent of the U.S. audience through both broadcast and cable channels, airs prime-time programming Sunday through Friday and a children's lineup on weekday afternoons and Saturday mornings.

The WB had its start in 1995 as a joint venture owned by Time Warner, the Tribune Company, and the network's founder, Jamie Kellner. The network was established as a direct result of changes in the television regulatory environment that year that allowed television networks to produce and syndicate more of their own programming. Independent studios like Paramount and Warner Brothers (which at the time was the largest supplier of television series in Hollywood) were concerned that more products from the studios of NBC, CBS, ABC, and FOX would shut out the independent studios or leave them vulnerable to unfavorable deals. Forming a network of television station groups was a way for Warner Brothers to ensure a broadcast outlet for its studio's products. It also opened up the possibility that studios could benefit from the advertising revenue generated by their programs, rather than waiting for returns from their sale into syndication. Paramount established its own broadcast network at the same time for similar reasons, and thus the two fledgling networks entered into a race to become the fifth network.

The number of independent broadcast stations avail-

able was limited, however, making it a challenge for the two competing networks to develop their reach while maintaining financial solvency. In an innovative yet risky move, Kellner sought a deal that would require stations to share revenue with the studio when the network delivered increased ratings. Rival UPN followed a more traditional syndication route, paying compensation to affiliates while withholding national time within programs and allowing stations to sell the remaining time. Initially, the UPN plan was more attractive, and the WB was left with weak broadcast stations or with no outlets at all in some areas. At its launch the network included 45 broadcast stations, and although most of them were new, unestablished, and in medium-sized markets, together the channels reached nearly 55 percent of the U.S. audience. Cable heavily bolstered the WB's initial reach, as the network relied on the Tribune-owned Chicago superstation WGN to bring nearly 20 percent of the country to the potential audience. This brought the network's total reach close to 75 percent. By early in the 1995–96 season, the purchase of additional stations brought the network to coverage of 83 percent of the United States.

The WB's shared revenue policy was reversed in a 1997 deal with the Sinclair Broadcast Group that secured 14 new affiliates, which resulted in some griping from existing affiliates but no withdrawals. In 1998 the network further extended its reach when it entered another innovative joint venture with cable operators and television stations, enabling the network to reach smaller markets where the number of broadcast stations available is limited. When superstation WGN ceased its distribution of the network outside of the Chicago market in 2000, the WB encountered its first ratings slump in its then five-year history. In 2001,



*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

when Time Warner merged with AOL, the WB became part of Turner Broadcasting Systems, Inc., which included almost all of the AOL Time Warner broadcast properties.

From its beginnings, WB founder and CEO Jamie Kellner believed that the success of the network would rest on its ability to create a recognizable “brand name.” At the request of Warner Brothers studio, Kellner had come to the WB from the FOX Broadcasting Company, where he had successfully tapped the 18-to-34 audience with such programs as *Beverly Hills, 90210* and *The Simpsons*. He brought with him from FOX Garth Ancier, the WB network’s first head of programming, and Susanne Daniels, who succeeded Ancier to become the WB’s entertainment president in 1998 (current WB entertainment president Jordan Levin joined Ancier and Daniels from Disney/Touchstone television as the network’s head of comedy development and current programming). Kellner also brought to the WB some of the talent he had employed at FOX, including the producers of *Married... With Children* and Shawn and Marlon Wayans, brothers of *In Living Color* stars Keenen Ivory and Damon Wayans. Intent on appealing to the youthful demographic so important to advertisers, the network eschewed a more serious network logo in favor of a mascot drawn from a 1955 Warner Brothers cartoon, Michigan J. Frog.

The network launched January 11, 1995, with one night of comedy programming on Wednesday evenings, largely targeted to racial/ethnic audiences.

While the prime-time ratings were marginal, the WB’s Saturday-morning kids lineup was beating the ratings of the ABC kids block by early in the 1995–96 season. That fall, the network premiered *7th Heaven*, a project executive-produced by Brenda Hampton (*Mad About You*), Aaron Spelling (*Beverly Hills, 90210*), and E. Duke Vincent. Airing on Monday nights, it directly competed with *Melrose Place*, another Spelling program airing on FOX. Featuring Stephen Collins and Catherine Hicks as a minister and his wife with five children, *7th Heaven*’s teen stars Jessica Biel and Barry Watson quickly gained a youthful following, and the program’s positive messages garnered praise among parents’ organizations. Despite its tepid reception among critics, the program has been one of the network’s top-rated shows since its debut.

In light of the new ownership rules that originally motivated the network’s inception, it is ironic that some of the WB’s early successes came from programs originally produced by the studios of its rival television networks, Twentieth Century Fox and Paramount. While *7th Heaven* had come from the Paramount studio, it was the FOX-produced *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* that truly sparked the network’s success streak and established the teen audience the network craved. Created by Joss Whedon, who wrote the unremarkable teen movie of the same name, the midseason replacement quickly established itself as a cult favorite and critics’ darling. *Buffy*, played by Sarah Michelle Gellar, was hailed as a postfeminist icon and strong, positive role model for teen girls.

The network hit its stride the next year when it paired *Buffy* with the coming-of-age high school melodrama *Dawson’s Creek* (Columbia TriStar), starring then-unknowns James Van Der Beek, Katie Holmes, Joshua Jackson, and Michelle Williams and created by screenwriter Kevin Williamson (*Scream I, II; I Know What You Did Last Summer*). WB executives gloated that *Dawson’s Creek* had been rejected by FOX before finding its way to the network. As the FOX network abandoned its initial youthful identity in an attempt to “age” its network with programs like *Ally McBeal*, the WB became the number one network among teens in the U.S. just three years after its launch, enjoying a 32 percent increase in ratings among teens 12 to 17 that season.

The network continued its winning streak and its emphasis on strong teen female leads with the fall 1998 additions of the J.J. Abrams–created and critically acclaimed *Felicity*, starring Keri Russell as a soul-searching college coed, and a second Spelling program, the surprise hit *Charmed*, starring Shannon Doherty (formerly of *90210*), Holly Marie Combs, and Alyssa Milano as three sisters with supernatural pow-

ers. With these programs and the continuing strength of *Buffy* and *Dawson's*, the WB enjoyed its best ratings in its five-year history and more than doubled its advertising revenues between the 1996–97 and 1998–99 seasons. The network also strengthened its afternoon programming block, Kids WB, with the addition of the popular Japanese anime program *Pokemon*.

The next season, 1999–2000, saw the debut of *Angel* (starring David Boreanaz), the successful spin-off of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* penned by Buffy's creator, Joss Whedon (and another product of Twentieth Century Fox Television). For its Friday-night lineup of ethnic-oriented comedies, the network also picked up Eddie Murphy's animated series *The PJ's*, dropped from FOX. Ratings stumbled that year, however, especially among the audiences for *Felicity*, who infamously cut her long tresses, and *Dawson's Creek*, which lost its creator to film projects. The loss of WGN's distribution of the network hurt ratings, as well.

The network was able to turn its slide around the following year, and for the first time in 2001, the network reached the coveted fifth place in ratings among overall TV households and in the 18-to-49 demographic. Adding to the strength of its continuing series, the WB rolled out *Gilmore Girls*, the critically acclaimed, multigenerational and multiethnic drama about a single mother and her teenage daughter (played by Lauren Graham and Alexis Bledel) created by Amy Sherman-Palladino. *Gilmore Girls* was the first program developed by the Family Friendly Forum, an initiative launched by Procter and Gamble, Johnson and Johnson, IBM, and other major advertisers in cooperation with the WB, in an effort to develop programming that families could watch together.

The 2001–02 season was another strong one for the WB despite the move of two of its programs, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Roswell*, to rival network UPN. *Gilmore Girls* and *Angel* achieved increased ratings, *7th Heaven* held its place as the network's top-rated program for the fourth year in a row, while the ratings for *Charmed* remained strong. *Smallville*, a new fall drama from Warner Brothers' own studio about Superman's teen years, quickly became the top-rated program for all teens. With the addition of *Reba*, featuring country music star Reba McEntire, the WB strengthened its Friday-night sitcom ratings, despite its controversial decision to pull the plug on its comedies featuring racial or ethnic leads. Minor roles for racial or ethnic characters in its centerpiece programs and the promise of other ethnically based comedies like *Greetings from Tucson*, a fall 2003 entry focused on a Mexican-American family, were designed to address this unfortunate turn.

In addition to its programming focus on teen angst and its strong young female leads, the good fortune of the WB can be attributed to its aggressive, innovative, and largely successful marketing ventures. Efforts were taken to new levels when *Dawson's Creek* was introduced at midseason in 1998. Before its debut the network spent \$3.3 million on billboard, television, bus, and radio ads and had its stars serve as models in the latest J. Crew catalog, all in an effort to bring new viewers to the network. The WB even created a trailer for the program that was paired with teen-oriented films like *Scream II*.

The WB was also the first television network to offer music promotions in exchange for a break on licensing fees, enabling *Dawson's Creek*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, and later WB dramas such as *Roswell* and *Smallville* to use popular new music in a much more affordable arrangement. Certain songs, featured in each episode following the style of film soundtracks, were highlighted at the conclusion of each episode with a five-second snippet accompanied by the band's CD cover. The approach gave the program credibility with its teen audience while also saving money for the network.

Naturally, the WB's appeal to the lucrative teen audience has been of interest to advertisers, and ad rates on the network's highest-rated series are triple what they were when the network launched, now besting rates from such venerated programs as CBS's *60 Minutes*. The WB has also experimented with product placement and advertiser funding for script development. Yet while *Gilmore Girls* was a successful example of the latter, not all advertiser and network innovations have been so well received. Critics and audiences roundly balked at the 2002 reality program *No Boundaries*, the title of which mirrored the slogan of its program's sponsor, the Ford Motor Company (which also provided vehicles for the program). Similarly, the Coca-Cola-sponsored 2000 summer series *Young Americans* was pilloried for its placement of Coke in the series' romantic scenes.

Regardless of these missteps, there is no doubt that the WB's parent company, AOL Time Warner, has profited from cross-promotional strategies involving other aspects of the Time Warner franchise. The theme song to *Dawson's Creek* was Paula Cole's "I Don't Want to Wait," featured on the Warner Brothers record label, and the network also regularly promotes films produced by its Warner Brothers studio. In 2000 the WB teamed up with AOL Time Warner-owned *TV Guide*, MilkPEP, and Dairy Management Inc. to create a series of television spots and posters folded into *TV Guide* that featured WB stars with milk mustaches. Moreover, TNT regularly airs repeats of *Charmed* and

the after-school block of Kids' WB Programming airs on the Cartoon Network and on its partner website, while WB programs are frequently promoted on AOL, TNT, and TBS.

Despite its many successes, the WB is the only network that had not yet received a single Emmy nomination as of 2001. That same year, it was also the only network that had shown growth in every demographic when compared with the 1995–96 season when it was launched, and the only network to show an increase in up-front revenue and ad rates. The WB has launched more relative unknown actors into television and film stardom than any other network in the past few years and has also had more of its series enter syndication than any other network since its launch in 1995. Clearly, the people at the WB have been successful in meeting their goals of establishing a well-received brand identity among today's young and highly desirable consumers, and the Academy's recognition for some of its programming is sure to follow.

LYNN SCHOFIELD CLARK

*See also Buffy the Vampire Slayer; Kellner, Jamie; Teenagers and Television; UPN*

**Network Administration**

CEO of WB, 1995–2001	Jamie Kellner
Head of programming, 1995–98	Garth Ancier
WB entertainment president, 1998–2001	Susanne Daniels
WB entertainment president, 2001–	Jordan Levin
Chairman and CEO, Turner Broadcasting Systems, 2001–	Jamie Kellner
Chairman and CEO, AOL Time Warner, 2001–	Richard D. Parsons
COO, AOL Time Warner, 2001–	Robert W. Pittman

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# Wearing, Michael

British Producer

Michael Wearing is one of Britain's most well-respected and successful producers of authored serial drama, responsible for developing a string of award-winning miniseries in the 1980s, including *Boys from the Blackstuff*, one of the landmarks in British television drama. His career in television began in 1976, when he was appointed script editor to the BBC's English Regions Drama Department in Birmingham. From 1980 Wearing was producing both single plays and series for the unit; he came into prominence in 1981 with the adaptation of Malcolm Bradbury's novel, *The History Man*.

In the development of single plays BBC producers have enjoyed considerable autonomy and, following the trend in contemporary theater, Wearing was keen to

commission socially challenging material. However, by the early 1980s, single plays were being squeezed out of the schedule, and their potential to create a social stir had diminished accordingly. Wearing's contribution to television drama hinges on his success in carrying over the progressive tendencies of the single play into the short series/serial—an altogether more difficult format to negotiate with management because of the higher costs and risks incurred.

In Britain, the most celebrated of these programs was Alan Bleasdale's *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982), a five-part play series, which explored the impact of unemployment on a gang of asphalt workers in Liverpool. The hard-hitting program coincided with a rocketing unemployment rate and gave voice to the despair



of the 3 million people in Britain forced to go on the dole at the time. The series touched a vital nerve and stimulated a national debate on a major social issue like few other dramas before it.

Wearing moved to London to play a substantial role in producing the last season of single plays on the BBC in 1984. He then began work on *The Edge of Darkness*, a nuclear thriller serial by Troy Kennedy-Martin. Once again the moment was highly opportune, as the program's transmission in 1985 coincided with widespread anxiety about the nuclear issue in the wake of Chernobyl and the deployment of cruise missiles. Subsequently the program was sold to 26 countries and proved to be one of the BBC's most successful exports to North America. Other award-winning programs followed, including Peter Flannery's *Blind Justice* series in 1988, which exposed the inadequacies of the British criminal justice system.

Wearing became a head of department in the BBC Drama group in 1988 and was head of drama serials until 1998. The BBC serials product, much more than a conventional miniseries, is required to contribute to the prestige of the corporation. In the bureaucratic turmoil of the early 1990s, when the corporation was attempting to secure its charter renewal, there was considerable reappraisal as to how drama might best contribute. Under Wearing's stewardship the classic serial was reintroduced, and Andrew Davies's adaptations of *Middlemarch* and *Pride and Prejudice* enjoyed significant international success. However, Wearing also managed to preserve the space for socially engaged contemporary programs, such as *The Buddha of Suburbia*, *Family*, *The Final Cut*, and Peter Flannery's *Our Friends in the North*, an ambitious saga of friendship set against key moments in recent British politics.

By 1998 the transition from producer-led to consumer-led product in British TV was complete, and Wearing's position in the BBC had become untenable. He tendered his resignation, lashing out in the process at the "rampant commercialism" of top executives and their undue reliance on focus groups as a means of determining project viability. He continues to develop socially engaged contemporary material, working as an associate producer in the Anglo-Irish film industry.

BOB MILLINGTON

*See also* *Boys from the Blackstuff*; *Our Friends in the North*

**Michael Wearing.** Theater director; script editor, BBC's English Regions Drama Department, Birmingham, 1976–81; produced *Boys from the Blackstuff*, 1982; moved to BBC's London departments; head of department, BBC, 1988–98.

#### Television Series and Miniseries (selected)

1982	<i>Boys from the Blackstuff</i>
1988	<i>Blind Justice</i>
1995	<i>The Final Cut</i>
1996	<i>Our Friends in the North</i>
1996	<i>Hetty Wainthropp Investigates</i>
1997	<i>Born to Run</i>
1997	<i>The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling</i>
1998	<i>Our Mutual Friend</i>
1999	<i>Aristocrats</i>
2000	<i>Gormenghast</i>

#### Made-for-Television Films (selected)

1981	<i>The History Man</i>
1985	<i>The Edge of Darkness</i>
1993	<i>The Buddha of Suburbia</i>
1995	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>
1997	<i>The Missing Postman</i>
1997	<i>Bright Hair</i>
2001	<i>The American</i>

#### Films (selected)

1999	<i>Human Traffic</i>
2000	<i>When the Sky Falls</i>
2001	<i>South West 9</i>
2002	<i>Mystics</i>
2004	<i>Red Light Runners</i>

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## Weaver, Sylvester (Pat) (1908–2002)

U.S. Media Executive, Programmer

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Sylvester (Pat) Weaver had a well-deserved reputation as one of network television's most innovative executives. His greatest impact on the industry came during his tenure as programming head at NBC in the late 1940s and early 1950s. There he developed programming and business strategies the other networks would imitate for years to come. He is also remembered for supporting the idea that commercial television could educate as well as entertain, and he championed cultural programming at NBC under a policy he labeled Operation Frontal Lobes.

Weaver studied philosophy and classics at Dartmouth College, graduating magna cum laude. After military service in World War II, he worked in advertising at the Young and Rubicam Agency. At that time, advertisers owned the programs that were broadcast on network radio and television, and Weaver worked on program development for the agency's clients. This experience prepared him to make the move to network television.

Weaver joined NBC in 1949 to help the company develop its new television network and held several top-management positions, culminating in his appointment as chair of the board in 1956. During that time, he maintained close control over television programming at the network and shaped NBC's entire programming philosophy.

To promote growth in the fledgling network, Weaver commissioned a series of specials he called "spectaculars." These heavily promoted, live specials were designed to generate interest in the NBC schedule in particular and the television medium in general. He hoped that families would purchase their first television sets specifically to watch such events and would then develop regular viewing habits. The strategy especially promised to benefit NBC's parent company, RCA, which controlled most patents on new receiver sets. Programming events such as Mary Martin's *Peter Pan* and the 1952 Christmas Eve broadcast of *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, the first opera commissioned for television, resulted from this plan.

While overseeing NBC's growth, Weaver also worked to enhance its power in relation to advertisers. His experience at Young and Rubicam convinced him

that sponsors rather than network programmers actually ran the television industry. Because sponsors owned shows outright, the networks had minimal control over what was broadcast through their services. Some sponsors could even dictate when a show would appear in the weekly schedule. Weaver moved to shift this power to the networks by encouraging NBC to produce programs and then to offer blocks of time to multiple sponsors. He developed certain programs, such as *Today* and *The Tonight Show*, to provide vehicles for this practice. Advertisers could buy the right to advertise in particular segments of such shows but could not control program content. Weaver called this the "magazine concept" of advertising, comparing it to the practice in which print advertisers bought space in magazines without exercising editorial control over the articles. His ambition was for NBC to develop a full schedule of programs and then persuade advertisers to purchase commercial time here and there throughout that schedule. Any given program would carry commercials of several different sponsors. Other networks eventually followed the NBC model, and by the 1960s it had become the television industry standard, commonly known as "participation advertising."

Weaver took pride in his classical education, and he championed the idea that commercial television had an educational mission. He proposed a series of cultural and public affairs programs for NBC, which he promoted under the banner Operation Frontal Lobes. The goal, Weaver announced in 1951, was "the enlargement of the horizon of the viewer." The campaign included a number of prime-time documentary specials. For example, Project XX was a full-time documentary production unit that made feature-length documentaries on historical events. The *Wisdom* series consisted of interviews with major artists and intellectuals (Edward Steichen, Margaret Mead). Weaver even required that educational material be mixed into the entertainment schedule. For example, the popular comedy-variety program *Your Show of Shows* might include a performance of a Verdi aria among its normal array of comic monologues and Sid Caesar skits.



Sylvester (Pat) Weaver, 1955.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

Weaver left NBC in 1956, when it became clear that the network could no longer follow his philosophy of program variety and innovation. His successor, Robert Kintner, pushed the network schedule toward more standardized series formats. Weaver's last major effort at television innovation came in the early 1960s, when he headed Subscription Television, Inc. (STV), an early venture into the pay-cable industry. His effort to set up a cable service in California was blocked by a referendum initiated by traditional broadcasters. Weaver challenged them in court, and the U.S. Supreme Court subsequently ruled the referendum unconstitutional. STV, however, was bankrupted by the process. Although Weaver's cable venture failed, the case helped remove certain barriers to the eventual development of cable television.

VANCE KEPLEY, JR.

*See also Advertising; Advertising Agency; National Broadcasting Company; Sarnoff, David; Special/Spectacular; Tonight Show, The*

**Sylvester (Pat) Weaver.** Born Sylvester Laflin Weaver Jr. in Los Angeles, California, December 21, 1908. Dartmouth College, B.A. magna cum laude, 1930. Married: Elizabeth Inglis (Desiree Mary Hawkins), 1942; children: Trajan Victor Charles and Susan (Sigourney). Served in the U.S. Navy, 1942–45. Worked for Young and MacCallister, an advertising and printing firm; announcer, writer, producer, director, actor, and salesman, radio station KHJ, Los Angeles, 1932; program manager, station KFRC, San Francisco, 1934; worked for NBC and the United Cigar Company, 1935; joined Young and Rubicam advertising agency, 1935; supervisor of programs, Young and Rubicam's radio division, 1937; advertising manager, American Tobacco Company, 1938–46; associate director of communications, Office of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs, 1941; vice president in charge of radio and television for Young and Rubicam, also serving on executive committee, 1947–49; vice president, vice chair, president, then chair, NBC, 1949–56; chair, McCann Erickson, 1958–63; president, Subscription TV, Los Angeles, 1963–66; chair, American Heart Association, 1959–63; member, board of directors, Muscular Dystrophy Association, from 1967; president, Muscular Dystrophy Association, from 1975. Member: Phi Beta Kappa. Recipient: Peabody Award, 1956; Emmy Award, 1967; named to Television Hall of Fame, 1985. Died in Santa Barbara, California, March 16, 2002.

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## Webb, Jack (1920–1982)

U.S. Actor, Producer

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Although he will be remembered most for his physically rigid portrayal of the morally rigid cop Joe Friday on *Dragnet*, Jack Webb had one of the most varied and far-reaching careers in television history. In his four decades in broadcasting, Webb performed nearly every role imaginable in the industry: actor, director, producer, writer (under the pseudonym John Randolph), editor, owner of an independent production company, and major studio executive. Webb's importance stems not only from his endurance and versatility but also from his innovation and success.

Webb entered broadcasting as a radio announcer in 1945. After leading roles in radio dramas such as *Pat Novak for Hire*, he conceived of his own police program based on discussions with Los Angeles police officers about the unrealistic nature of most "cop" shows. *Dragnet* began on NBC Radio in 1949, based on "actual cases" from the files of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and featuring Webb as director, producer, co-writer, and star in the role of the stoic Sergeant Joe Friday. Webb broke the traditional molds of both "true story" crime dramas and "radio noir" by de-emphasizing violence, suspense, and the personal life of the protagonists; he instead strove for maximum verisimilitude by using police jargon, showing "business-only" cops following dead-end leads and methodical procedures, and sacrificing spectacle for authenticity. Webb's personal ties to the LAPD (which approved scripts and production for every *Dragnet* episode) and his own admitted "ultraconservative" political beliefs tinted his version of "reality" in all of his productions, where good always triumphed over evil and the law always represented the best interests of all members of society at large.

*Dragnet* was a huge success, moving to television in 1951, where it became the highest-rated crime drama in broadcast history. The television version featured more Webb innovations, including passionless dialogue and acting (obtained by forcing actors to read dialogue "cold" from cue cards) and using camera and editing techniques taken from a film model. The show's success fueled Webb's career as an independent producer and director of both television and feature films. His Mark VII Limited production company produced *Dragnet* throughout its run on television, in-

cluding its four-year return in the late 1960s. Webb also produced numerous other shows, including *Adam-12*, *Emergency*, and *General Electric True*; these met with varied degrees of success, but all Mark VII productions featured Webb's special blend of heightened realism, rapid-fire emotionless dialogue, and conservative politics. In 1954 *Dragnet* spawned one of the first in a long line of successful television-inspired films. Webb directed and produced more feature films throughout the 1950s, most notably an acclaimed version of *Pete Kelly's Blues* in 1955.

Webb's least successful venture was his brief tenure as a studio executive. Webb, whose association with Warner Brothers ran back to his mid-1950s film proj-



*Dragnet*, Jack Webb, 1952–59.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

ects, was named head of production at Warner Brothers Television in early 1963. Although his previous successes created high expectations, he was only able to sell one show to a network (NBC's short-lived western *Temple Houston*), and his singular style was incompatible with Warner's only other series on the air, *77 Sunset Strip*. This "ultrahip" crime show was created in direct opposition to the grim procedural quality of *Dragnet*, but Webb pushed the already-waning show in a new direction—toward the stark realism of his previous work. *77 Sunset Strip* was canceled at the end of the season, but Webb did not last as long—he was fired in December 1963, ending a failed ten-month tenure.

Upon Webb's death in 1982, most reports and coverage focused on Joe Friday. His performance style has been parodied since his emergence in the 1950s, but Webb's impact on television has never been properly assessed. Always anomalous and bucking the tide of televisual convention, Webb's style lives on in syndicated episodes of *Dragnet*, while his innovations and creations are consistently being copied or forsaken on every crime show today.

JASON MITTELL

See also **Detective Programs; *Dragnet*; Police Programs**

**Jack Webb.** Born in Santa Monica, California, April 2, 1920. Educated at Belmont High School. Married: 1) Julie Peck (London), 1947 (divorced, 1954); children: Stacy and Lisa; 2) Dorothy Thompson, 1955 (divorced, 1957); 3) Jackie Loughery, 1958 (divorced, 1964). Served with the U.S. Army Air Force during World War II, 1942–45. Radio announcer, star, and producer, 1945–61; television producer, director, and actor, from 1951; star and director of motion pictures, from 1948; founder, production company Mark VII, Ltd., and music publishing firms of Mark VII Music and Pete Kelly Music; executive in charge of television production, Warner Brothers Studios, 1963. Member: Screen Actors Guild; Screen Directors Guild; American Society of Cinematographers; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; United Cerebral Palsy Association (honorary chair). Recipient: Academy of Television Arts and Sciences' Best

Mystery Show, 1952–54; more than 100 commendations of merit awarded by radio and television critics. Died in Los Angeles, California, December 23, 1982.

#### Television Series (executive producer)

1951–59	<i>Dragnet</i> (actor, producer, and director)
1968–70	<i>Adam 12</i> (creator and producer)
1970–71	<i>The D.A.</i>
1970–71	<i>O'Hara, U.S. Treasury</i>
1971–75	<i>Emergency!</i>
1973	<i>Escape</i> (narrator only)
1973	<i>Chase</i>
1974–75	<i>The Rangers</i>
1975	<i>Mobile Two</i>
1977	<i>Sam</i>
1978	<i>Project U.F.O.</i>
1978	<i>Little Mo</i>

#### Films (selected; actor)

*He Walked by Night*, 1948; *Sunset Boulevard*, 1950; *The Men*, 1950; *Halls of Montezuma*, 1950; *You're in the Navy Now*, 1951; *Dragnet* (also director), 1954; *Pete Kelly's Blues* (also director), 1955; *The D.I.* (also director), 1957; *The Last Time I Saw Archie* (also director), 1961.

#### Radio

*Pat Novak for Hire*, 1946; *Johnny Modero Pier 23*, 1947; *Dragnet* (creator, director, producer, and star), 1949–55; *Pete Kelly's Blues* (creator), 1951; *True Series* (creator), 1961.

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**WebTV.** See **Convergence**

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# Wednesday Play, The

## British Anthology Series

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*The Wednesday Play* is now nostalgically remembered as part of the legendary past of British television drama—a halcyon time in the 1960s when practitioners had the luxurious freedom of exploring the creative possibilities of the medium through the one-off television play, egged on by broadcasters and audiences alike. To many writers and directors today, it stands as a wistful beacon, a symbol of the possible, as they gaze enviously at the apparent freedoms of their forebears from the seemingly ratings-led, series-dominated wasteland of their TV dramatic present.

As with any legend, there is more than a grain of truth to this view of the past, but also a considerable amount of misty idealization. *The Wednesday Play* arose, in fact, not as a benign gift of liberal broadcasters but as a desperate attempt by the head of BBC-TV drama, Sydney Newman, to save the single play from being axed from the BBC's premier channel (BBC 1), due to poor ratings. Newman, who had been impressed by Scots director James MacTaggart's work on the earlier experimental play strands *Storyboard* (1961) and *Teletale* (1963), hired him as producer of the new BBC 1 play slot, handing him a brief to commission a popular series of plays.

Newman's stipulations were significant. He wanted a play slot that would be relevant to the lives of a mainstream popular audience and that would reflect the "turning points" of society: the relationship between a son and a father; a parishioner and his priest; a trade union official and his boss. He also wanted plays that would be fast—not only telling an exciting narrative sparsely, rather than building up mood, but also hooking the audience's attention by way of an intriguing pretitles "teaser" sequence. Borrowing from the techniques of the popular series that was threatening to displace the single play in the schedules, Newman wanted the slot to have a recognizable "house style," so that audiences knew that if they tuned in each week, they could expect to see a certain type of show. Finally, mimicking his own success in commercial television several years earlier (on ITV's *Armchair Theatre* slot), Newman prioritized a search for material that would more accurately reflect the experience of the audience, by instituting a system of story editors whose task it was to bring fresh new writers to television.

MacTaggart absorbed Newman's guidelines but translated them in his own way, not least by appointing as his story editor a young writer and actor with whom he had worked on *Teletale*: Roger Smith. It was with Smith's help that the play slot soon came to acquire the reputation for "controversy" and "outrage" that would mark its subsequent history. The script commissioned for MacTaggart and Smith's very first *Wednesday Play* outing in January 1965 set the seal for what would follow. Written by a convicted murderer (James O'Connor) and depicting the cynical progress of a villain from gangster to baronet, *A Tap on the Shoulder* marked a conscious break with the conventions of the polite, "well-made" TV play.

Its determination to break new ground came to characterize *The Wednesday Play* ethos as a whole—from the first crucial season in 1965 to the last in 1970. The slot also acted as a showcase for new talent, in keeping with Newman's original vision. Many well-known practitioners gained their first big break on *The Wednesday Play*, including Tony Garnett and Kenith Trodd (recruited by Smith as assistant story editors), Dennis Potter, and Ken Loach, director of *A Tap*, whose contributions to the slot eventually numbered some of the most seminal TV plays of the 1960s: the "docudramas" *Up the Junction* (1965) and *Cathy Come Home* (1966).

As *The Wednesday Play* developed, shifts in emphasis, however, took place. Under the first season of MacTaggart and Smith, the plays were much more "expressionist" in style and concerned with exploiting the resources of the television studio, as the earlier *Teletale* had done. It is significant that the slot's first nonnaturalistic dramas, from such writers as Dennis Potter and David Mercer, were commissioned at this time. In later seasons, however, after MacTaggart and Smith had departed and Tony Garnett was named chief story editor, many of the plays became noticeably more "documentary," reflecting a determination to transcend the confines of the TV studio in order to record more faithfully the rapidly changing character of life in 1960s Britain. Having gained access to lightweight 16-millimeter filming equipment, Garnett and his collaborator Loach abandoned the studio for location shooting, and their form of filmed documen-

tary realism became one of the most familiar hallmarks of *The Wednesday Play*.

The Loach-Garnett documentary style also became quite controversial and was criticized both outside and within the BBC for unacceptably blurring the distinctions between fictional drama and factual current affairs. Meanwhile, the play slot itself came under attack from some quarters for its general "filth" and "squalor." "Clean-Up TV" campaigner Mary Whitehouse harried it for what she saw as its gross sexual immorality, although the effect of her attacks was simply to boost publicity and the all-important ratings. Audiences climbed from 1 million to 8 million, as people tuned in each week to see for themselves the latest play trailed as "controversial" in the press. For one of the very few times in TV history, Newman's dream of a popular series of plays became reality. By the end of the 1960s, however, it was clear the slot had become a victim of its own past reputation: its perceived "permissiveness" and antiestablishment bias had inspired a negative reaction among significant proportions of the audience, who were now deliberately not tuning in. Accordingly, Newman's successor as head of drama, Shaun Sutton, tried to win new audiences by giving the BBC's contemporary play slot a new time and title. In 1970 he altered the title to become *Play for Today*, thereby inadvertently creating the legend of the lost "golden age" that *The Wednesday Play* has become.

JOHN COOK

See also **British Programming; Cathy Come Home; Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken; Mercer, David; Potter, Dennis; Trodd, Kenith**

#### Programming History

172 episodes

BBC

January 1965–70

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## Weinberger, Ed

U.S. Writer, Producer

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Ed Weinberger is one of television's most respected writer-producers who, along with James L. Brooks, David Davis, Allan Burns, and Stan Daniels, made up the heart of the MTM Enterprises creative team. Weinberger has received many awards for his contributions to a number of successful or critically acclaimed series for both MTM and the John Charles Walters Company, of which he was a partner.

Weinberger's early TV experience included writing for *The Dean Martin Show*; where he was teamed with Stan Daniels, who eventually became Weinberger's writing partner at MTM. Weinberger had also been a writer for Bob Hope, traveling with him to Vietnam. In

the late 1960s, Weinberger wrote a screenplay about a divorced woman who was struggling to make it on her own. Although it was never produced, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* creators James L. Brooks and Allan Burns saw a copy of the script and hired Weinberger during the series' second season.

In addition to his Emmy Award-winning work on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Weinberger, along with Daniels, created and produced the MTM sitcoms *Phyllis*, *Doc*, and *The Betty White Show*. In 1977 Weinberger, Brooks, Davis, and Daniels were all wooed away by Paramount, which was looking to finance other independent production companies for ABC pro-

gramming. The MTM alumni welcomed the change, if only because the cozy MTM atmosphere was being gradually replaced by a growing bureaucracy that hampered creativity. Brooks, Davis, Daniels, and Weinberger formed the John Charles Walters Company, which produced its most famous sitcom, *Taxi*, in 1978.

In *Taxi*, Weinberger and the other members of the new creative team were able to successfully echo the quality television that had become synonymous with MTM. Much like an MTM show, *Taxi* was a sophisticated example of humor derived from carefully crafted character exploration. *Taxi* also pursued the "workplace-as-family" theme so prominent in the best of MTM sitcoms. Canceled in 1982 by ABC, *Taxi* was picked up by NBC for a subsequent season. Thus, Weinberger helped deliver a second generation of quality television that extended into the 1980s.

In 1983, after NBC also canceled *Taxi*, Weinberger seemed to take a giant step backward when he coproduced *Mr. Smith*, a sitcom featuring a talking chimp for which Weinberger provided the voice. This was not the first time Weinberger had used his voice-over talents; the sigh in the John Charles Walters Company end-credit logo is Weinberger's as well. In 1984 Weinberger was back on the quality track when he co-wrote the Emmy Award-winning pilot episode for *The Cosby Show*. Weinberger's later production credits also included the disappointing-yet-successful series *Amen*, as well as the critically acclaimed yet unpopular sitcom *Dear John*.

MICHAEL B. KASSEL

See also *Amen*; *Cosby Show*, *The*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *The*; *Taxi*

**Ed Weinberger.** Attended Columbia University, New York City. Married: Carlene Watkins. Writer for night-

club comedians, monologues for Johnny Carson, Bob Hope in Vietnam, Dick Gregory in Mississippi, and Dean Martin specials; creator, writer, and producer of television comedy, since 1970s, working with Stan Daniels for the early part of his career. Recipient: 13 Emmy Awards; three Golden Globes; Writers Guild Foundation Career Achievement Award, 2000.

#### Television Series (selected)

1965	<i>The Tonight Show</i> (writer)
1965-74	<i>The Dean Martin Show</i> (writer)
1970-77	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i> (writer and producer)
1975-76	<i>Doc</i> (producer)
1975-77	<i>Phyllis</i> (writer and producer)
1977-78	<i>The Betty White Show</i> (producer)
1978-83	<i>Taxi</i> (creator, writer, and producer)
1983	<i>Mr. Smith</i> (creator and producer)
1984-92	<i>The Cosby Show</i> (co-creator and writer)
1986-91	<i>Amen</i> (creator and producer)
1989-91	<i>Dear John</i> (producer)
1991-92	<i>Baby Talk</i> (producer)
1996-98	<i>Sparks</i> (executive producer)
1997	<i>Good News</i> (creator and executive producer)

#### Made-for-Television Movie

1978	<i>Cindy</i> (co-writer)
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#### Film

*The Lonely Guy* (writer), 1984.

#### Further Reading

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## Weldon, Fay (1931- )

British Writer

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Most widely known in Britain and abroad as an irreverent novelist usually concerned with women's issues, Fay Weldon has also pursued a wide variety of projects for television, radio, and the stage. The daughter of a novelist, granddaughter of a *Vanity Fair* editor, and a

niece of novelist-screenwriter-radio and television dramatist Selwyn Jepson, Weldon's first published novel in 1967 simply expanded on her 1966 teleplay for *The Fat Woman's Tale*. The teleplay had been written while Weldon was working as a highly successful



copywriter for English print and television advertising; her previous work included the still-remembered “Get to work on an egg” campaign. Weldon remained in advertising until the 1970s, yet she still produced teleplays for productions such as *A Catching Complaint* (1966) and *Poor Cherry* (1967).

While Weldon’s real progress as a writer has often been traced back to the mid-1960s, it was in the early 1970s that she began fully to establish both her name and public voice. Where Weldon fit in British culture was another matter. *The Fat Woman’s Tale* had told a decidedly profeminist story of a housewife’s anger toward her philandering husband, yet Weldon’s public espousal of domestic joys and the use of “Mrs.” seemed to mark her as an opponent to the growing British women’s rights movement. But as David Frost learned in 1971, Weldon’s relation to feminism is not always what it might seem: invited onto Frost’s television program to rebut feminist activists, she instead surprised everyone by publicly embracing their complaints. That same year Weldon won the best series script award from the Writers Guild of Great Britain for “On Trial,” the first episode of *Upstairs, Downstairs*. She wrote only one other episode, and in many ways the series’ sober, understated visual style was quite different from the satiric, reflexive, often fantastic surfaces of much of Weldon’s other work, including her sedate, but still barbed, television adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* (1980).

Perhaps it is no coincidence that the imagined recipient of Weldon’s *Letters to Alice: On First Reading Jane Austen* (1984) is a punk-haired but literary niece; that juxtaposition of texts and attitudes, together with Weldon’s own later televised comments on the (mis)teaching of Austen, led some critics to accuse Weldon of unjustly attacking Austen’s work.

Yet the melodramatic pleasures of both *Upstairs, Downstairs* and *Pride and Prejudice* run through nearly all of Weldon’s work and inform her understanding of gender. She not only won a prestigious Booker Prize nomination for *Praxis* (1978) but also chaired the prize’s 1983 panel. Yet Weldon has never divorced her “serious” literary work from her own enjoyment of what she calls “that whole women’s magazine area, the communality of women’s interests, and the sharing of the latest eye-shadow.” With such an attitude, Weldon penned the polemical prison docudrama *Life for Christine* (1980), polished the script for Joan Collins’s *Sins* miniseries (1985), and turned a critical eye toward pastoral life in *The Heart of the Country* (1987).

Despite her willingness to adapt the work of others, Weldon has been protective of the rights to her own work. Nevertheless, she has been most notably repre-



Fay Weldon.  
Photo courtesy of Fay Weldon and Isolde Ohlbaum

sented on television in Britain and abroad not through her own scripts, but through two popular multipart adaptations of her novels: *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* (1983, televised 1986), which sharply satirized conventions of both heterosexual romance and the romance novel, and *The Cloning of Joanna May* (1989, televised 1991), a slightly more genteel version of *She-Devil*’s antics, this time as practiced by a devilish husband. The same creative team (including writer Ted Whitehead, director Philip Saville, and star Patricia Hodge) helmed both adaptations, but it is the highly praised *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* that remains the strongest evocation of Weldon’s own ethos, despite the intervening memory of Susan Seidelman’s limp, Americanized film adaptation (*She Devil*, 1990).

Oddly enough, Seidelman’s film omitted Weldon’s most visually rich and outrageous portion, the fantastic surgical reconstruction of the *She-Devil* into her nemesis, the physical form of female romantic perfection. This excision removed what is most remarkable throughout much of Weldon’s work: her Mary

Weldon, Fay

Shelley-like coupling of deliberately excessive Gothic fantasy with sharp feminist perception.

Weldon has not been alone in the use of such fantastic elements. Indeed, as Thomas Elsaesser (1988) has suggested, Weldon and "New Gothic" companion Angela Carter (*The Magic Toyshop*, 1986) may present a female-centered television parallel to the male-centered and often fantastic films of Peter Greenaway, Derek Jarman, and other directors prominent in the 1980s "New British Cinema." If these filmmakers were "learning to dream" again (to quote the familiar title of James Park's study), then Weldon has been one of British television's more prominent instructors in the same task.

ROBERT DICKINSON

*See also* **British Programming**

**Fay Weldon.** Born Fay Birkinshaw in Alvechurch, Worcestershire, England, September 22, 1931. Grew up in New Zealand. Attended University of St. Andrews, M.A. in economics and psychology, 1954. Married: 1) Ron Weldon, 1962 (died, 1994); 2) Nick Fox, 1995; four sons. Writer for Foreign Office and *Daily Mirror*, London, late 1950s; worked in advertising; author of television and radio plays, dramatizations and series, and novels and stage plays. Chair, Booker McConnell Prize judges' panel, 1983. Recipient: Writers Guild Award, 1973; Giles Cooper Award, 1978; Society of Authors traveling scholarship, 1981; *Los Angeles Times* Award, 1989.

**Television Series**

1980	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>
1986	<i>The Life and Loves of a She-Devil</i>
1987	<i>Heart of the Country</i>
1998	<i>Big Women</i> (miniseries)

**Television Plays/Movies (selected)**

1966	<i>The Fat Woman's Tale</i>
1966	<i>A Catching Complaint</i>
1967	<i>Poor Cherry</i>
1972	<i>Splinter of Ice</i>
1980	<i>Life for Christine</i>
1991	<i>The Cloning of Joanna May</i>
1991	<i>Growing Rich</i>
1992	<i>President's Child, The</i>
1992	<i>Growing Rich</i>

**Film**

*She-Devil*, 1990.

**Radio**

*Spider*, 1973; *Housebreaker*, 1973; *Mr. Fox and Mr. First*, 1974; *The Doctor's Wife*, 1975; *Polaris*, 1978; *Weekend*, 1979; *All the Bells of Paradise*, 1979; *I Love My Love*, 1981.

**Stage**

*A Small Green Space*, 1989 (libretto).

**Publications (selected)**

*Affliction* (novel), 1994  
*Auto da Fay: A Memoir*, 2003  
*The Cloning of Joanna May* (novel), 1989  
*Darcy's Utopia* (novel), 1990  
*Down Among the Women* (novel), 1971  
*The Fat Woman's Joke* (novel), 1967; as ... and the *Wife Ran Away*, 1968  
*Female Friends* (novel), 1975  
*Growing Rich* (novel), 1992  
*The Heart of the Country* (novel), 1987  
*The Hearts and Lives of Men* (novel), 1987  
*Leader of the Band* (novel), 1988  
*Letters to Alice: On First Reading Jane Austen*, 1984  
*Life Force* (novel), 1992  
*The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* (novel), 1983  
*Natural Love* (novel), 1993  
*Praxis* (novel), 1978  
*The President's Child* (novel), 1982  
*Puffball* (novel), 1980  
*Remember Me* (novel), 1976  
*The Rules of Life* (novella), 1987  
*Splitting* (novel), 1995  
*Watching Me, Watching You* (short stories), 1981  
*Wicked Women* (short stories), 1995  
*Words of Advice*, 1977; as *Little Sisters*, 1978  
*Worst Fears*, 1997

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# Welland, Colin (1934– )

British Actor, Writer

Colin Welland is widely respected both as an actor and writer for television, the cinema, and the stage. Rotund and unfailingly good-humored, he has given invaluable support in a range of plays and serials.

Welland first became a familiar face on British television when he landed the role of Constable David Graham, one of the original characters based at Newtown police station in the long-running police serial *Z Cars* in the 1960s. The series broke new ground, introducing a fresh realism to police dramas, and the regular stars all became household names. Welland stayed with the show for some time, as PC (Police Constable) Bert Lynch's second partner on the beat, before eventually leaving for new pastures. He reappeared, together with other stars from the early years of the show, when the last episode was filmed in 1978.

Thus established in television as a performer, Welland went on to star in various plays and television movies, often also contributing the scripts (he was voted Best TV Playwright in Britain in 1970, 1973, and 1974). True to his Lancashire roots, his plays often had an earthy northern humor and dealt with themes accessible to the working-class "man in the street." He also enjoyed huge success as a writer for the cinema, notably with his screenplays for *Yanks* and *Chariots of Fire*, an Oscar-winning smash that was heralded (somewhat prematurely) as signaling a new golden era in British moviemaking. Welland himself picked up an Academy Award for Best Screenplay. Among subsequent films that have garnered their share of praise have been *A Dry White Season*, a drama dwelling on the cruelties imposed by the policy of apartheid in South Africa (co-written with Euzhan Palcy), and *The War of the Buttons*, delving into the often dark and violent world of children. Also much admired were his appearances in such films as *Kes*, in which he played the sympathetic Mr. Farthing, and Willy Russell's *Dancing Through the Dark*, which was set in familiar northwestern territory, in the bars and clubs of Liverpool.

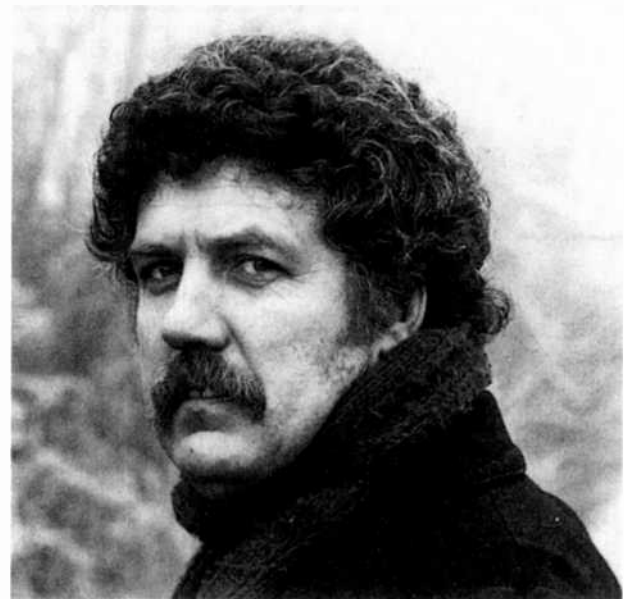
Perhaps the most memorable image from Welland's lengthy career as a television actor came in 1979, when he was one of a first-class cast that was chosen to appear in Dennis Potter's award-winning play *Blue*

*Remembered Hills*, which recalled the long-lost days of his own childhood. In company with Helen Mirren, Michael Elphick, Colin Jeavons, and John Bird, among others, all of whom were adults playing the roles of young children, Welland cavorted gleefully around woods and fields, his bulk grotesquely crammed into a pair of boy's shorts. Potter's brilliantly realized play, exposing the native cruelty beneath the outwardly innocent world of children, was hailed as a masterpiece, and Welland himself, not for the first time in his distinguished career, was singled out for special praise.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Z Cars*

**Colin Welland.** Born Colin Williams in Leigh, Lancashire, England, July 4, 1934. Attended Newton-le-Willows Grammar School; Bretton Hall College; Goldsmith's College, London, Teacher's Diploma in



Colin Welland.  
Photo courtesy of Peter Charlesworth Ltd.

Welland, Colin

Art and Drama. Married: Patricia Sweeney, 1962; children: Genevieve, Catherine, Caroline, and Christie. Art teacher, 1958–62; joined Library Theatre, Manchester, 1962–64; established popular fame as PC Graham in *Z Cars*, 1962–65; has since worked as writer and actor for film, television, and theater. Recipient: Best Television Writer and Best Supporting Film Actor, British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1970; Best Television Playwright, Writers Guild, 1970, 1973, and 1974; Academy Award, 1981; *Evening Standard* Award, 1981; Broadcasting Press Guild Awards, 1973, 1981.

**Television Series (actor)**

1962–65 *Z Cars*

**Made-for-Television Movies (actor)**

1976 *Machine Gunner*  
1979 *Blue Remembered Hills*  
1990 *The Secret Life of Ian Fleming/Spy maker: The Secret*  
1993 *Femme Fatale* (also writer)  
1998 *Bramwell*

**Television Plays (writer)**

1969 *Bangelstein's Boys* (also actor)  
1970 *Say Goodnight to Grandma*

1970 *Roll on Four O'Clock* (also actor)  
1973 *Kisses at Fifty* (also actor)  
1974 *Leeds United* (also actor)  
1974 *The Wild West Show*  
1974 *Jack Point*  
1976 *Your Man from Six Counties* (also actor)  
1977 *Bank Holiday*  
1994 *Bambino Mio*

**Films (actor)**

*Kes*, 1969; *Straw Dogs*, 1971; *Villain*, 1971; *Sweeney!*, 1977; *Dancing Through the Dark*, 1990.

**Films (writer)**

*Yanks*, 1979; *Chariots of Fire*, 1981; *Twice in a Lifetime*, 1985; *A Dry White Season*, 1989; *War of the Buttons*, 1994; *The Yellow Jersey*.

**Stage (writer)**

*Say Goodnight to Grandma*, 1973; *Roll on Four O'Clock*, 1981.

**Publications**

*A Roomful of Holes* (play), 1972  
*Say Goodnight to Grandma* (play), 1973  
*Anthology of Northern Humour*, 1982

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## Wendt, Jana (1956– )

Australian Broadcast Journalist

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Jana Wendt is Australian television's best-known female current-affairs reporter and presenter. She is also widely regarded as one of Australian commercial television's most skilled interviewers.

The daughter of Czech immigrants, Melbourne-born Wendt began her career in journalism researching documentaries for the government-funded Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1975. After completing an arts degree at Melbourne University, she accepted a job in commercial television, joining Ten Network as an on-camera news reporter in its Melbourne newsroom. Shortly after moving into the role of news presenter at Ten Network, Wendt was offered a position as

a reporter on Nine Network's new prime-time current-affairs show, *60 Minutes*.

Under the guidance of executive producer Gerald Stone, an American with broad experience in both Australian and U.S. news and current-affairs programming, *60 Minutes* proceeded to set the standard for quality commercial current affairs in Australia both in terms of content and production values. The youngest correspondent to join the *60 Minutes* team, Wendt quickly established a reputation for her aggressive interviewing style and glamorous, ice-cool on-camera demeanor. It was this combination of acuity and implacability that earned Wendt her nickname "the perfumed steamroller."

In 1987 Wendt left *60 Minutes* to anchor another Nine Network program, the nightly prime-time half-hour current-affairs show, *A Current Affair*, where she cemented her journalistic reputation with a series of incisive and revealing interviews with national and international political figures. Her subjects included Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, U.S. vice president Dan Quayle, former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger, former Philippines president Ferdinand Marcos, and media barons Rupert Murdoch and Conrad Black. In 1994 Wendt returned to *60 Minutes* to fill the newly created role of anchor.

Wendt's departure from *A Current Affair* the previous year followed accelerating criticism of the program for its increasingly tabloid accent. The trend, evidenced for critics by *A Current Affair's* frequent use of hidden cameras, walk-up interviews, and stories with a voyeuristic, sexual theme, was at odds with Wendt's image as a guarantor of dispassionate investigative reporting. While she declined to criticize the program on her departure, she did register her general professional objections to the "tabloidization" of Australian current affairs on her return to Nine Network in 1994. The first *60 Minutes* she hosted was an hour-long studio debate on journalistic ethics and the tabloidization of news and current affairs.

A traditionalist who endorses the notions of journalistic objectivity and the watchdog role of the media in the public sphere, Wendt is an icon of an era many media analysts believe to be passing in Australian commercial current-affairs television. The approach of pay television, as well as the debt burdens many network owners inherited in the 1980s, caused Australian broadcast networks to look carefully at their produc-

tion budgets and demand that news and current-affairs divisions show increasing profitability. The result has been an attempt to move the focus of such programs away from public sphere issues such as politics, economics, and science and concentrate on domestic matters such as relationships, consumer issues, sexuality, and family life. In many instances, this shift in focus has been accompanied by a more melodramatic, emotional approach on the part of journalists and hosts. It is a trend that Wendt has consistently resisted and that has led her to become a respected, but somewhat isolated figure in today's commercial current-affairs landscape.

CATHARINE LUMBY

See also **Australian Programming**

**Jana Wendt.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, 1956. Educated at Melbourne University. Researcher, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) TV documentaries, 1975–77; field reporter, ATV-10 News, 1979, coanchor, 1980; reporter, Nine Network's *60 Minutes*, 1983–87, 1994; host, Nine's *A Current Affair*, 1988–93; host and reporter, *60 Minutes*, from 1994; host, Seven Network's current-affairs program *Witness*, 1995–97, ABC-TV's *Uncensored*, 1997–98, and SBS-TV's *Dateline*, from 1999.

#### Television Series

1988–93	<i>A Current Affair</i>
1983–87, 1994	<i>60 Minutes</i>
1995–97	<i>Witness</i>
1997–98	<i>Uncensored</i>
1999–	<i>Dateline</i>

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## Western

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The western has always been a dusty rear-view mirror for reflecting back on the U.S. experience. Whether celebrating the pioneering spirit of the Scotch-Irish invading class or lamenting the genocidal whitewashing of the continent under the banner of "manifest destiny," the western has operated as an instrument for navigating through the fog of contemporary political, social, and cultural anxieties by reinterpreting and rewriting the nation's mythic past. In the 1930s, during the most desperate days of the Great Depression,

singing cowboys sporting white hats offered hopeful visions of good guys finishing first to a nation starved for optimism; during the dawning of the cold war era, Hollywood's "A" westerns provided relatively safe vehicles for commenting on McCarthyism (*High Noon*) and American apartheid (*The Searchers*); prime-time westerns in the 1960s often addressed, though allegorically and indirectly, the generational discord of the decade, as well as the conflicting frustrations over U.S. involvement in an undeclared war; and in the 1980s



*The Virginian*, Roberta Shore, Clu Gulager, Doug McClure, Lee J. Cobb, Randy Boone, James Drury, 1962–71; 1964 episode.

Courtesy of the Everett Collection

and 1990s, revisionist westerns have taken multicultural angles on the Western Expansion (*Dances with Wolves*) or libertarian spins on the genre's long-standing infatuation with law and order (*The Unforgiven*). The western is, in other words, best understood as a "hindsight" form—a form that deploys the rich imagery of the old West in an ongoing rewriting of the pride and shame of what it means to be American.

This rewriting and reinterpreting of the American experience is even evident in the first "modern" western novel, Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. Published in 1902, Wister's classic cowboy novel sparked something of a range war in the heartland of popular literature. According to contemporary literary critics, Wister's novel and the rise of the cowboy hero represented a masculinist and secular reaction to the so-called "sentimental novel" that had been so popular in the late 19th century. In the tradition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women*, the sentimental novel celebrated feminine moral authority, domesticity, and religion. The 20th-century western, in stark contrast, denounced the civilized world of women and flaunted, instead, rugged images of courageous men free from the constraints of family. Ultimately, these taciturn men were more given to flirtation with death than with women, and more attached to their horses and six-shooters than they were to their mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives, or daughters.

Although rooted in the novel, the first westerns appearing on television were more directly connected to Hollywood's mass-produced version of the genre. In television's infancy, recycled "B" westerns from marginal production companies like Mascot, Mono-

gram, PRC, Lonestar, and Republic played a prominent role in transforming television into a mass medium, by stimulating much of the initial enthusiasm for the medium especially among youngsters and rural audiences. Formulaic features and serials displaying the exploits of familiar names like Ken Maynard, Bob Steele, Hoot Gibson, and Tex Ritter were telecast locally, usually during juvenile viewing hours, in showcases with names such as *Six-Gun Playhouse*, *Sage-Brush Theater*, and *Saddle and Sage Theater*. Thanks to such scheduling, a survey of the programming preferences of children in New York City conducted in April 1949 ranked westerns at the top of the list, a full two percentage points ahead of *Howdy Doody*.

The astute marketing of William Boyd's Hopalong Cassidy was by far the most profitable repackaging of a B western hero in television's infancy. Performing as a romantic leading man in silent films, Boyd had trouble even mounting a horse when he first landed the role of Hopalong Cassidy in 1935. However, by 1948, after completing 66 western features, Boyd was not only at home in the saddle but also savvy enough to secure the TV rights to his Hoppy films. In 1949, as a weekly series on NBC, *Hopalong Cassidy* ranked number seven in the Nielsen ratings—and Boyd quickly cashed in on his popularity through product endorsements that included Hoppy roller skates, soap, wristwatches, and, most notably, jackknives (of which 1 million units were sold in ten days). Clearly influenced by the *Hopalong Cassidy* phenomenon, the first wave of made-for-TV westerns was targeted specifically at the juvenile market, which was a particularly appealing and expansive demographic segment because of the postwar baby boom. Some of the first western series produced expressly for television, most notably *The Gene Autry Show* and *The Roy Rogers Show*, recycled prominent stars of the B western. Others, like *The Cisco Kid* and *The Lone Ranger*, were more familiar as radio series. All featured squeaky-clean heroes who modeled what was considered positive roles for their prepubescent fans.

Perhaps the most self-conscious moralist of television's first western stars was Gene Autry, who in the early 1950s authored the Cowboy Code:

1. A cowboy never takes unfair advantage, even of an enemy.
2. A cowboy never betrays a trust.
3. A cowboy always tells the truth.
4. A cowboy is kind to small children, to old folks, and to animals.
5. A cowboy is free from racial and religious prejudice.

6. A cowboy is always helpful, and when anyone's in trouble, he lends a hand.
7. A cowboy is a good worker.
8. A cowboy is clean about his person, and in thoughts, word, and deed.
9. A cowboy respects womanhood, his parents, and the laws of his country.
10. A cowboy is a patriot.

With its emphasis on the work ethic and patriotism, the Cowboy Code adequately captures the seemingly benign, though unapologetically sexist values animating the juvenile westerns of America's cold war culture. But "Thou shall not kill" is noticeably missing from Autry's Ten Commandments—and this omission would later come to be the source of much public concern.

In the mid-1950s, as major powers in Hollywood stampeded into the television industry, a second wave of made-for-TV westerns would elevate the production values of juvenile programs and, more important, introduce the first of the so-called adult western series. On the kiddie frontier, Screen Gems, the TV subsidiary of Columbia Pictures, blazed the trail for tinsel town with *The Adventures of Rin Tin Tin*, which premiered on ABC in October 1954. Walt Disney Productions ventured into the territory of TV westerns with three hour-long installments of the *Disneyland* anthology show that presented Fess Parker's clean-cut portrayal of an American legend: *Davy Crockett*, *Indian Fighter* (first telecast on December 15, 1954); *Davy Crockett Goes to Congress* (January 26, 1955); and *Davy Crockett at the Alamo* (February 23, 1955). The merchandising hysteria that accompanied the initial broadcasting of the Crockett trilogy even surpassed the earlier Hopalong frenzy as Americans consumed around \$100 million in Crockett products, including 4 million copies of the record "The Ballad of Davy Crockett" and 14 million Davy Crockett books. In the fall of 1957, Disney would branch out into series production with *Zorro*, which celebrated the heroics of a masked Robin Hood figure who was fond of slashing the letter "Z" onto the vests of his many foes.

On the adult frontier, four series premiering in September 1955 would start a programming revolution: *Gunsmoke* on CBS, *Frontier* on NBC, and on ABC, *Cheyenne* and *The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp*. While *Cheyenne* is notable for being part of Warner Brothers Studio's first foray into television production, the most important and enduring of the original adult westerns is, without a doubt, *Gunsmoke*. Adapted from a CBS radio series in which the rotund William Conrad provided the mellifluous voice of Marshall Matt Dillon, the television version recast the



*Rawhide*, Clint Eastwood, Paul Brinegar, Eric Fleming, 1959–66.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

taller, leaner, and more telegenic James Arness in the starring role. Destined to become one of the longest running prime-time series in network television history, the premiere episode of *Gunsmoke* was introduced by none other than John Wayne. Positioned behind a hitching post, Wayne directly addressed the camera, telling viewers that *Gunsmoke* was the first TV western in which he would feel comfortable appearing. Linking the program to Hollywood's prestigious, big-budget westerns, Wayne's endorsement was obviously a self-conscious attempt by CBS to legitimize *Gunsmoke* by setting it apart from typical juvenile fare.

The impact of the adult western was stunning and immediate. In the 1958–59 television season, there were 28 prime-time westerns crowding the network schedule. That year seven westerns (*Gunsmoke*; *Wagon Train*; *Have Gun, Will Travel*; *The Rifleman*; *Maverick*; *Tales of Wells Fargo*; and *The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp*) ranked among the top ten most-watched network programs. But the extraordinary commercial success of the television western was not without its detractors. Although adult westerns displayed characters with more psychological complexity and plots with more moral ambiguity than their juvenile counterparts, the resolution of conflict still involved violent confrontations that left saloons, main streets, and landscapes littered with the dead and dying. The body count attracted the scorn of a number of concerned citizens—but by far the most powerful and threatening figure to speak out against such violence was Newton Minow. On May 9, 1961, soon after being appointed the chair of the Federal Communications



*Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*, Jane Seymour, 1993–98.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

Commission (FCC) by President John F. Kennedy, Minnow delivered his “vast wasteland” speech to a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters. In this famous harangue, the FCC chairman singled out the TV western for special denunciation. After roundly condemning the “violence, sadism, murder, western badmen, western good men” on television, Minnow rebuked westerns as a hindrance in the not-so-cold propaganda war with the Soviet bloc. “What will the people of other countries think of us when they see our western badmen and good men punching each other in the jaw in between the shooting?” Minnow asked. “What will the Latin American or African child learn from our great communications industry? We cannot permit television in its present form to be our voice overseas.”

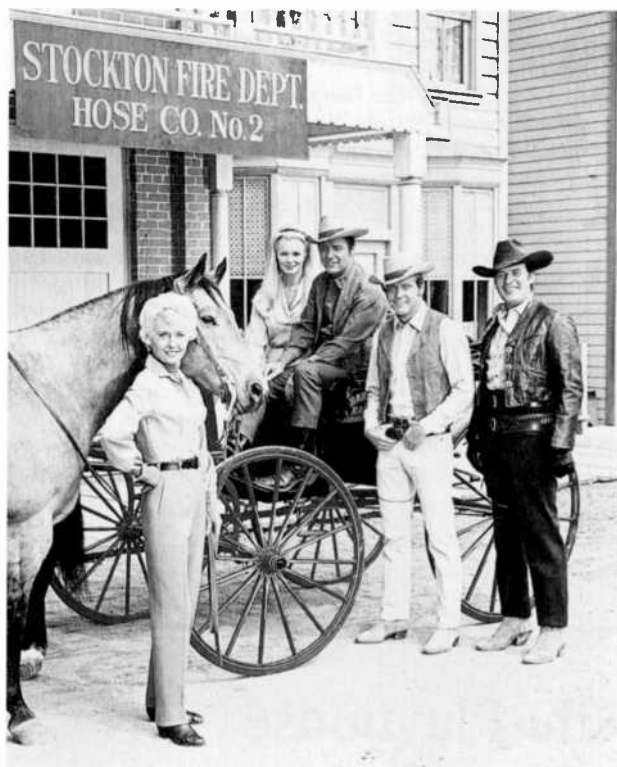
In part because of such criticism from high places, and in part because of burnout in the mass audience, the western would, once again, be rewritten in the 1960s. As the networks attempted to de-emphasize vi-

olence, the domestic western emerged as a kinder, gentler programming trend. In contrast to action-oriented westerns dealing with the adventures of law officers (*The Deputy*), bounty hunters (*Have Gun, Will Travel*), professional gunmen (*Gunslinger*), scouts (*Wagon Train*), cowpunchers (*Rawhide*), gamblers (*Maverick*), and trail-weary loners (*The Westerner*), the domestic western focused on the familial. The patriarchal Murdoch Lancer and his two feuding sons in *Lancer*, the matriarchal Victoria Barkley and her brood in *The Big Valley*, and the Cannon clan in *The High Chaparral*—all were ranching families in talky melodramas that attempted to replicate the success of the Cartwrights of *Bonanza* fame (Lorne Greene’s Ben, Pernell Roberts’s Adam, Dan Blocker’s Hoss, and Michael Landon’s Little Joe). Television’s most distinguished domestic western—and the first western series to be televised in color—*Bonanza* ranked among the top ten TV shows for ten of its 14 seasons and for three consecutive years from 1964 to 1967 was the nation’s most-watched program.

Unfortunately, this gloss of the western cannot do justice to all of the interesting wrinkles in the genre. The innovations of series like *Branded* and *Kung Fu* are lost in such a brief accounting—and comedic westerns like *The Wild, Wild West* and *F Troop* can be mentioned only in passing. It is also impossible to catalog the accomplishments and contributions of the many talented artists who brought the western to life on television—whether working behind the camera (Lewis Milestone, Sam Fuller, Robert Altman, and Sam Peckinpah, for instance) or in front of it (Amanda Blake, Ward Bond, Richard Boone, Robert Culp, Clint Eastwood, Linda Evans, James Garner, Steve McQueen, Hugh O’Brian, Barbara Stanwyck, and Milburn Stone, to name a few). Suffice it to say that this dinosaur of a programming form once attracted many of television’s most creative storytellers and most compelling performers.

In fact, no one was really surprised in 1987 when J. Fred MacDonald wrote the TV western’s obituary in his book, *Who Shot the Sheriff?* Declaring that the western was “no longer relevant or tasteful,” MacDonald noted the irony that “the generation [baby boomers] that once made the western the most prolific form of TV programming has lived to see a rare occurrence in American popular culture: the death of a genre.” Indeed, between 1970 and 1988, fewer than 28 new westerns in total were introduced as regular network series. The last time a western made the top ten list of weekly prime-time programs was in 1973 when *Gunsmoke* was ranked eighth. With the exception of the strange popularity in the early 1980s of made-for-TV movies starring singer Kenny Rogers in the role of





*Big Valley*, Barbara Stanwyck, Linda Evans, Richard Long, Lee Majors, Peter Breck, 1965–69.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

“The Gambler,” the thunder of the western has been silenced in prime time.

Even so, after the publication of MacDonald’s book, the TV western would have at least one more moment of glory when the adaptation of Larry McMurtry’s epic western novel *Lonesome Dove* became the television event of the 1988–89 season. The highest-rated miniseries in five years, *Lonesome Dove* documented the final days of a lifelong partnership between two characters who represent distinctly different models of manhood: Woodrow Call and Augustus “Gus” McCrae. Call enacted the strong, silent tradition of the western hero. Like John Wayne’s characters in *Red River* (Tom Dunson) and *The Searchers* (Ethan Edwards), Call was a powerful, tireless, generally humorless leader who outwardly feared no enemy, though his rugged individualism drove him toward the misery of self-imposed isolation. Call was masterfully portrayed by Tommy Lee Jones—but it was Robert Duval’s performance of McCrae that stole the show. Where Call’s outlook was utilitarian, Gus’s was romantic. In some ways, Gus resembled the funny, spirited sidekicks of westerns past: Andy

Devine in *Stagecoach*, Walter Brennan in *Red River*, Pat Brady in *The Roy Rogers Show*, or Dennis Weaver and Ken Curtis in *Gunsmoke*. But in *Lonesome Dove*, the eccentric sidekick achieved equal status with the strong silent hero—and as a counterpoint to Call, Gus rewrote the meaning of the western hero. Valuing conversation, irony, the personal, and the passionate, Gus openly shed tears over the memory of a sweetheart. In a genre marred by misogyny since the publication of *The Virginian* in 1902, Gus was no woman-hater. Instead, Gus actively sought the company of women, not merely for sexual gratification, but for their conversation and civilization: he was as comfortable around women as he was around men. The rewriting of the western hero in the Gus character, then, goes a long way toward explaining why *Lonesome Dove* attracted a mammoth audience in which the women viewers actually outnumbered the men. For a story in a genre that has traditionally been written almost exclusively by men for men, this was no small accomplishment.

At the end of *Lonesome Dove*, Call returns to Texas after leading the first cattle drive to Montana. The quest for untamed land beyond the reach of bankers, lawyers, and women has been costly for Call. Narrow graves scattered along the trail north contain the remains of men who served with Call in the Texas Rangers, who worked with him in the Hat Creek Cattle Company, and who looked to him for friendship, leadership, and discipline. As Call surveys the ruins of the forlorn settlement that he once called his headquarters, he is approached by a young newspaper reporter from San Antonio. An agent of the expanding civilization that Call has spent a lifetime loathing and serving, the reporter presses the uncooperative Call for an interview. “They say you are a man of vision,” says the reporter. Reflecting with anguish on the deaths of his friends (including Gus, whose dying words were “What a party!”), Call replies, “A man of vision, you say? Yes, a hell of a vision.”

As the final words of the miniseries, “hell of a vision” spoke to Call’s disillusionment with the dream of Montana as “Cattleman’s Paradise”—a vision that inspired the tragic trail drive. Defeated and alone, his invading heart had, finally, been chastened. But in punctuating what appears to be the great last stand of the cowboy on the small screen, “hell of a vision” takes on even more profound connotations as an epitaph—an epitaph for the television western.

JIMMIE L. REEVES

*See also Cheyenne; Guns smoke; Wagon Train; Warner Brothers Presents; Walt Disney Programs; Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse; Zorro*

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## Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse

### U.S. Anthology Series

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*Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*, an anthology series broadcast on CBS between 1958 and 1960, never received the critical acclaim of *Playhouse 90* or *Studio One*; nor did it last as long as those two dramatic programs. However, among the episodes in its brief run were two productions that, in effect, served as pilots for *The Twilight Zone* and *The Untouchables*, two of the most memorable (and most widely syndicated in reruns) television shows of the 1960s.

*Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* was produced by Desilu, a telefilm production company owned by Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball that owed its genesis and initial success to a single series—*I Love Lucy* (CBS, 1951–57). By the late 1950s, the company was producing, through a variety of financial arrangements (wholly owning, coproducing, leasing of facilities and personnel), several situation comedies and western dramas. *Desilu Playhouse* was to be the realization of Arnaz's dream to make Desilu the most significant telefilm production company and to give himself the opportunity for creative play and control beyond his role as producer and actor on *I Love Lucy* and *The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour* (an hour-long comedy series with the cast and characters of *I Love Lucy* that aired once a month during the 1957–58 television season). Departing from the standard practice of networks com-

mitting to series only after a sponsor had agreed to bankroll production costs, CBS bought *Desilu Playhouse* on the strength of the Desilu track record and with a promise that *The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour* would be among the planned package of dramas, comedies, and musical spectaculars.

Westinghouse committed to sponsorship a month after the sale to CBS in early 1958, agreeing to a record of \$12 million production-cost outlay. The company was already sponsor of the prestigious anthology series *Studio One*, but that show was canceled shortly after the deal with Desilu. Historians as well as former personnel of Desilu and Westinghouse suggest that it was Westinghouse president Mark Cresap's love of *I Love Lucy* and the persuasiveness of the charming Arnaz—who promised Cresap that the series would double Westinghouse's business in the first year—that encouraged the company to lay out so much money for the telefilmed anthology series.

The first episode of the *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*, which aired in October 1958, was "Lucy Goes to Mexico," a *Lucy-Desi Hour* with guest star Maurice Chevalier. The following week the first dramatic hour premiered, "Bernadette" (a biography of Saint Bernadette, the young girl claiming visitation from the Virgin Mary in 19th-century Lourdes, France), starring

Pier Angeli. Despite Arnaz's claim that the series would never show anything offensive to children, its highest-rated telecasts were the two hours of "The Untouchables," featuring Robert Stack as Eliot Ness, leader of the crack FBI team who pursued Al Capone and other gangsters during Prohibition. When *The Untouchables* became a regular series on ABC in 1959, it was the subject of great controversy because of its violence and allegedly negative stereotypes of Italian Americans.

*Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* did not survive long for a variety of reasons—the show's inability to attract big-star guests every week, the waning power of the anthology series form due to cost and subject matter, the growing popularity of other dramatic programming (such as westerns and cop shows), and the divorce of Ball and Arnaz, which ended their partnership as Lucy and Ricky Ricardo as well. Although *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* did prove Desilu to be multifaceted at telefilm production, Arnaz did not get a chance to expand his acting range, and the musical spectaculars he had envisioned producing for the series fell short of the quantity and quality promised to Westinghouse. The legacy of the series lies in its launching of *The Twilight Zone* and *The Untouchables* and its continuation of *The Lucy-Desi Hour*, which still appears regularly in syndicated reruns.

MARY DESJARDINS

See also **Anthology Drama; Arnaz, Desi; Ball, Lucille**

**Host**

Desi Arnaz

**Westinghouse Spokesperson**

Betty Furness

**Producers**

Desi Arnaz, Bert Granet

**Programming History**

48 episodes

CBS

October 1958–September 1959 Monday 10:00–11:00

October 1959–June 1960 Friday 9:00–10:00

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## Weyman, Ron (1915– )

Canadian Producer

The story of Ron Weyman is the story of the beginning of film drama on Canadian national television in the 1960s and early 1970s, a time when there were no full-length dramatic features being made on a regular basis in Canada. In Weyman's own words, "I was in the business of getting home-town (i.e., Canadian) writers to write films, which would in fact be feature pictures. They could then break through the artificial relationship (as I saw it) between television and the screen."

Weyman, an executive producer of film drama, took on this mission in the midst of a varied career. In the 1950s, he spent a number of years with the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) as producer, director, writer, and editor of more than 20 films. He traveled extensively and learned the craft of shooting film on

location, a skill that he eventually brought back to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), where he was responsible for moving the CBC into the production of filmed series and encouraging a corporate commitment to dramatic film production.

Several years earlier, when technologies had improved and business had changed to the point that the U.S. model of the filmed series obliterated the live-television anthology genre, Weyman had begun to explore the possibilities offered by film in a form new to Canada—the serial. Serials were still studio-bound in Canada, but Weyman put film crews out on locations across the land to film sequences for insertion into the stories. The response was remarkable. Viewers loved to see where they lived—and other places in their

sprawling country—on television. At the same time, with Weyman's support, Philip Keately was producing four or five stories in his limited series *Cariboo Country*—on film, on location in the Chilcotin.

The relationship between the National Film Board and the CBC was characterized at this time by uneasy and intermittent cooperation. Opinions on the relationship are divided. It is clear that as far as the medium of film—as opposed to kinescope copies of “live” or “live to tape”—productions were concerned, the two agencies were rivals in some areas. As in many other countries, film was considered to be the paramount medium in a hierarchy of entertainment that excluded theater but included radio and television. When the question of television drama on film was raised, the perceived wisdom was that this was the NFB's job. When both agencies were urged to coproduce fictional films for Canada's centennial year (1967), the premise was that CBC director-producers understood actors and NFB producers and directors (their roles were separate in film but not in television) understood film. Inevitably, this led to internal conflicts and overspent budgets. The result was three rather ordinary dramas on film, broadcast on the CBC flagship Sunday-night anthology *Festival*. The one remarkable color film from that period, *The Paper People*, did not involve the NFB. Physically removed from the working headquarters of the CBC (English) language division, Weyman and his crews and editors were free from middle management's interference—and were seen as a drama production unit of their own.

The result of this freedom was the hit series *Wojeck* (a concept that was run through the Hollywood blender to emerge as the bland *Quincy*) and *Corwin*, a medical series. Meanwhile, with David Gardner, Weyman also produced another hit series, *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*, about an idealistic member of Parliament. This program was shot on tape but still went on location for part of each episode and made a star of actor Gordon Pinsent. Weyman also produced a half-hour comedy program set in an 1837 pioneer settlement, *Hatch's Mill*, and *McQueen: The Actioneer*, a series about a newspaper columnist.

The common thread in all of these works, even *Hatch's Mill*, was engagement with topical social issues, an examination of the uses and abuses of power, and questions of individual and communal responsibility. Most episodes raised uncomfortable questions for

the audience and often chose not to present the easy answers supplied by most television drama at that time. Within the series form, Weyman fused the documentary style and spirit of inquiry with the personalized focus of continuing characters, who were supplied with literate dialogue, and the subtext, nuance, and structural freedoms of fiction.

Weyman's influence continues to be felt in the work of producer Maryke McEwan, who began with the docudramas of *For the Record*, shaped the series *Street Legal*, and then returned to documentary and docudrama specials. Many successful series in Canada still reflect the blend of documentary and drama that Weyman and Keately created more than 30 years ago.

MARY JANE MILLER

See also *Quentin Durgens, M.P.*; *Wojeck*

**Ron Weyman.** Born in Kent, England, 1915. Studied briefly at Art Students' League in New York City. Married: Giovanna; two sons. Served as lieutenant-commander RCNVR RN, on destroyer escort duty in North Atlantic, aboard landing craft at Normandy during the D-Day invasion, and in Southeast Asia, 1940–45. Producer, writer, and director, more than 20 films, National Film Board of Canada, 1946–54; director and producer, CBC, 1954–80; author of books, since 1980. Recipient: Venice Film Festival First Award; Canadian Film Awards First Award.

#### Television Series (selected)

1961	<i>Jake and the Kid</i>
1965	<i>The Serial</i>
1966, 1968	<i>Wojeck</i>
1966–69	<i>Quentin Durgens, M.P.</i>
1969–71	<i>Corwin</i>
1969–70	<i>McQueen: The Actioneer</i>
1970–71	<i>The Manipulators</i>

#### Films (selected shorts)

*The Safety Supervisor* (writer and director), 1947; *After Prison, What?* (writer and director), 1951; *Inland Seaport* (writer and director), 1953; *Men in Armour* (writer and director), 1954; *Man Is a Universe* (writer and director), 1954; *The Research Director* (director), 1954; *Problem Clinic* (director), 1955; *Sable Island* (writer), 1956; *Railroad Town* (writer), 1956.

# Wheel of Fortune

## U.S. Game Show

With a global audience of more than 100 million and lifetime profit estimates as high as \$4 billion, *Wheel of Fortune* is the most popular television game show in the world. *Daily Variety* even speculates, “*Wheel of Fortune* could indeed be the most widely watched and wildly profitable television show ever” (Frankel, p. A1). From its first airing in the United States in 1975 to its many global incarnations today, *Wheel of Fortune* has resonated the world over.

The goal of the game is for contestants (and home viewers) to solve a secret word puzzle, knowing only the category and length of the word or phrase, by guessing the letters it contains and accruing dollars and prizes for each correct guess. Play is determined by the titular Wheel of Fortune. Three contestants take turns spinning the giant wheel, which contains a set of wedges each labeled with dollar amounts, prizes, or penalties. If the contestant lands on a dollar amount or prize wedge, she chooses a consonant she hopes is in the word puzzle. If it is, she is awarded that dollar amount multiplied by the number of times the letter appears or the single prize, and gets another turn. If not, play moves on to the next contestant. It is also possible to land on such wedges as “Bankrupt” and “Lose a Turn,” and contestants may choose to buy a vowel rather than spin the wheel. A contestant may solve the puzzle at any time, and if correct, he keeps the money and prizes he has accrued since the beginning of that round. The game generally goes four rounds, and whoever has accumulated the most cash and prizes at the end of those rounds is the overall winner. This contestant then plays a bonus round for an additional prize.

*Wheel of Fortune* first aired on the NBC daytime schedule on January 6, 1975. The program was created by Merv Griffin, who was inspired by the kids’ game Hangman and added the wheel concept to make the game more exciting (and less morbid). The pilot was originally titled “Shopper’s Bazaar,” because contestants spent their round winnings on displayed merchandise in themed rooms, such as “Things for Outside” and “Trips.” In the late 1980s, the U.S. version dropped this format when producers decided it slowed down the pacing of the show, plus contestants complained that they had to pay outrageous taxes on

the merchandise and thus preferred to receive cash. However, some global versions of the show have retained the shopping element.

The hosts of *Wheel of Fortune*’s original pilot were Chuck Woolery and Edd “Kookie” Byrnes; only Woolery remained for the show’s official run, however. Woolery left the show in December 1981 after a futile demand for a substantial pay hike, and Pat Sajak then joined *Wheel*, followed a year later by Vanna White, who replaced original hostess Susan Stafford in December 1982.



*Wheel of Fortune.*  
Photo courtesy of *Wheel of Fortune*/Steve Crise

In 1983 *Wheel of Fortune* split into two versions: NBC kept a version of the show on its daytime schedule but sold the syndication rights to King World Productions for only \$50,000, a stunning figure given how much the show has earned in syndication since. The syndicated version, which initially differed from its daytime counterpart only in offering richer prizes, began airing in the early-evening prime-time access slot on local stations across the nation.

*Wheel of Fortune* exploded in popularity after the move to prime time and became the top-rated syndicated show in 1984. It has largely owned that title since, sharing it only occasionally with another Griffin-created game show, *Jeopardy!* *Wheel* also achieved pop culture icon status by the mid-1980s, as Vanna White appeared on the cover of *Newsweek* in 1986, Pat Sajak was mocked on *Saturday Night Live*, and home versions of the show flew off of store shelves.

This popularity also had global dimensions. In 1981 Australia became the first country to produce its own licensed version of the show, starring hosts Ernie Sigley and Adriana Xenides. Since then, locally produced versions of *Wheel of Fortune* have appeared in more than 25 countries, including Belgium (*Rad Van Fortuin*), Brazil (*Roletrando Novelas*), Croatia (*Kolo Sreće*), Denmark (*Lykkehjulet*), Finland (*Onnen Pyörä*), France (*Le roué de la fortune*), Italy (*Le Ruota Della Fortuna*), Germany (*Glucksrad*), and the United Kingdom. A raft of additional countries air the syndicated U.S. version, including the Philippines and Columbia.

As this list attests, *Wheel of Fortune* has enormous global popularity. In part, this is because of the worldwide popularity of game shows in general. Such programs are relatively cheap to produce, allowing nations with less affluent television systems to satisfy their audiences' desire for indigenous programming instead of foreign imports. Further, the inherent qualities of live television and audience participation lend excitement to the genre, as does the combined display of sexuality and commodification, a factor explored by John Fiske in *Television Culture*. Finally, the allure of the television personality is provided by the host figures, as the 1980s American fascination with Vanna White and her fashions illustrates.

However, *Wheel of Fortune* has succeeded well beyond the typical game show. Partly this is because of its simplicity. It is easy for the average person to play, both on the set and at home, and especially in comparison to more knowledge-based shows like *Jeopardy!* It equally balances qualities of skill and luck. Contestant and home viewer play also strongly com-

plement each other: contestants hope to accumulate as much money as possible in a round, so they often choose not to answer the puzzle until they have guessed most of the letters. This both raises suspense, given the possible bankruptcies and lost turns along the way, and allows the game player at home the satisfaction of shouting out the answer before the contestants do.

Finally, the format of the show is adaptable to varied cultural circumstances. As Michael Skovmand has illustrated in his study of *Wheel of Fortune* and four of its global versions (U.S., German, Scandinavian, and Danish), the show is generally homogeneous across its various versions, but there are significant differences: the European word puzzles are generally more challenging than the U.S. ones; the American version has a high level of audience participation with the on-stage contestants compared with little in the German version and none in the Danish version; and the U.S. version has a gaudy, glittery set, while the German incarnation displays matter-of-fact decor.

CHRISTINE BECKER

See also *Jeopardy; Quiz and Game Shows*

### Wheel of Fortune (U.S.)

#### Talent

Host (daytime, 1975–81)	Chuck Woolery
Host (daytime, 1981–88)	Pat Sajak
Host (daytime, 1989)	Rolf Benirschke
Host (daytime, 1989–91)	Bob Goen
Host (syndication, 1983– )	Pat Sajak
Hostess (daytime, 1975–82)	Susan Stafford
Hostess (daytime & synd., 1982– )	Vanna White
Announcer (1975–88)	Jack Clark
Announcer (1975–82; 1989– )	Charlie O'Donnell

#### Producers

Creator/executive producer	Merv Griffin
Producer (1995– )	Harry Friedman
Producer (1985–95)	Nancy Jones

#### Programming History

NBC	
January 1975–June 1989	Weekdays
January 1991–September 1991	Weekdays
CBS	
July 1989–January 1991	Weekdays
Syndication	
1983–present	

### Further Reading

- Fiske, John, *Television Culture*, London: Routledge, 1987
- Frankel, Daniel, "TV's Best Bet?" *Daily Variety* (November 5, 2002)
- Moran, Albert, *Copycat Television: Globalisation, Program Formats, and Cultural Identity*, Luton, England: University of Luton Press, 1998

- Schwartz, David, Steve Ryan, and Fred Westbrock, *The Encyclopedia of TV Game Shows*, New York: Checkmark Books, 1988; 3rd edition, 1999
- Skovmand, Michael, "Barbarous TV International: Syndicated Wheel of Fortune," in *Media Cultures: Reappraising Transnational Media*, edited by Michael Skovmand and Kim Christian Schroeder, London: Routledge, 1992

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## Wheldon, Huw (1916–1986)

British Producer, Media Executive

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Sir Huw Wheldon was one of the leading figures among BBC television program makers in the 1960s and a top BBC administrator in the 1970s. A man of profound intellect and understanding, he inspired great loyalty among those who had the privilege of working with him.

After a distinguished war career, Wheldon became the arts council director for Wales and was awarded an OBE for his contributions to the Festival of Britain. Joining the BBC publicity department in 1952, he quickly established himself as a gifted television presenter with the children's program *All Your Own*. Wheldon's greatest contribution to modern television in Britain was his editorship of the arts program *Monitor* from 1958 to 1964. He both produced the program and appeared as its principal interviewer and anchor, surrounding himself with a brilliant team of young directors, which included David Jones, Ken Russell, and Melvyn Bragg. Wheldon was a wonderful encourager. He made a major contribution to the work of young directors like Ken Russell, whose career was boosted by his *Monitor* film on the life of Edward Elgar.

Wheldon made *Monitor* the seminal magazine program of the arts. As interviewer, he guided his audience by his readiness to learn and to inquire rather than to pontificate. His sensitivity to language and his skilled use of film sequences made *Monitor* the outstanding arts program of its day. Though some criticized his editorship as promoting a "middle culture" that was neither high art nor pop art, *Monitor* captured and held a large and varied audience. Wheldon described this group as "a small majority, the broad section of the public well-disposed to the arts."

The second part of Wheldon's career was as a manager and administrator. He became head of documen-

tary programs in 1962, a post that was enlarged the following year to head of music and documentary programs. He proved himself a good administrator who could detect and promote real talent. At that time Wheldon believed it was difficult to find superior documentary makers outside the department, and he seldom used freelancers. Three years later, however, when he became controller of programs, he accepted the value of the BBC's employing brilliant freelance filmmakers such as Jack Gold, Ken Russell, and Patrick Garland. In 1968 Wheldon succeeded Kenneth Adam as director of BBC television.

The post was later redesignated as managing director, and in that position Wheldon was committed to three conflicting objectives: to maintain and enhance standards; to secure at least half of the viewing audience in competition with ITV; and to contain costs in an era of inflation. Wheldon easily maintained and enhanced standards, but the challenge of competitive scheduling was formidable. His published paper *The British Experience in Television* revealed how the BBC television audience as a whole suffered because the ITV companies ran very popular programs such as *Coronation Street* and *Emergency Ward 10* at 7:30 P.M., thus winning the audience in the early evening and keeping it. Wheldon's solution was to fight like with like, pitting film against film, current affairs against current affairs. He wrote, "Both BBC-1 and ITV had to adopt broadly competitive policies if they were to remain, each of them in a 50–50 position. Neither could afford to be in a 20–80 position. . . . A 50–50 position was achieved in the sixties and, broadly speaking, has prevailed ever since."

Containing costs was an ever-harder task; the BBC employed the management consultants McKinsey to

make recommendations, and as a result of their report, the corporation, through the efforts of Wheldon and others, introduced a system of total costing. Under this system, individual programs were charged a true proportion of the overheads. The prospect of employment casualization worried the broadcasting unions; every time Wheldon imposed cutbacks, the unions became restive. Wheldon believed that 70 percent of the program staff should be on permanent budget, and the other 30 percent on temporary or short-term contracts.

Sir Ian Trethowan, who succeeded Wheldon as managing director of television, described Wheldon's style of leadership as tending toward the flamboyant and inspirational. Wheldon was also a shrewd professional broadcaster, with a passion for the public-service role of the BBC. He believed it was the BBC's organizational foundation that made it possible to work well and achieve excellence. For Wheldon, the singularity of the BBC lay in its privileged position. Supported by the license fee, and armed with all the radio channels and two television channels, it could afford excellence.

Huw Wheldon was perhaps the last great leader in BBC television; none of his successors measured up to his achievements. He was described as the "last of the great actor-managers," but such a judgment underestimates a man who was much more than a performer. It is fascinating to speculate what would have happened if age had not debarred him from succeeding Charles Curran as director general. Instead, the job went to his immediate successor as managing director of television, Ian Trethowan. It was Wheldon's misfortune that his luck ran out just when he could have made his greatest contribution to the fortunes of the BBC as director general.

ANDREW QUICKE

See also **British Television; Russell, Ken**

**Huw Wheldon.** Born in Wales, 1916. Attended schools in Wales and Germany. Served in armed forces during World War II; Military Cross, 1944. Publicity officer, BBC, 1952; producer and presenter, various children's programs; editor and presenter, arts program *Monitor*, 1957–64, commissioning first films from Ken Russell, John Schlesinger, and Humphrey Burton; head of documentary and music programs, 1963–65, and controller of programs, 1965–68; managing director of television, BBC, 1968, deputy director general, BBC, 1976; after retirement from senior posts at the BBC, continued to work as a writer and presenter. President, Royal Television Society, 1979–85. Officer of the Order of the British Empire. Died 1986.

#### Television Series (presenter)

1954	<i>All Your Own</i>
1958–64	<i>Monitor</i> (also editor)
1977	<i>Royal Heritage</i> (also co-writer)

#### Publications

- Monitor: An Anthology*, 1962  
"British Traditions in a World Wide Medium," 1973  
"The Achievement of Television: A Lecture," 1975  
"The British Experience in Television," 1976

#### Further Reading

- Bakewell, Joan, with Nicholas Garnham, *The New Priesthood: British Television Today*, London: Allen Lane, 1970  
Ferris, Paul, *Sir Huger: The Life of Huw Wheldon*, London: Joseph, 1990

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## Whicker, Alan (1925– )

British Broadcast Journalist

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Alan Whicker is a globe-trotting television commentator without equal. For some 40 years, on behalf of both the BBC and independent British television networks, he has roamed far and wide in search of the eccentric, the ludicrous, and the socially revealing aspects of everyday life as lived by some of the more colorful of the world's inhabitants.

Since the late 1950s, when the long-running *Whicker's World* documentary series was first screened, Whicker—a former journalist and reporter for television's *Tonight* program (he was once reported dead while working as a war correspondent in Korea)—has probed and dissected the often secretive and unobserved private worlds of the rich and famous,



rooting out the most implausible and sometimes ridiculous characters after gaining admittance to the places where they conduct their leisure hours. These have ranged from fabulously appointed cruise ships and the Orient Express to cocktail parties, world tours, health spas, and gentlemen's clubs. His focus has been truly international, with series from Australia, the Indian subcontinent, and Hong Kong, as well as Britain and the United States.

Whicker's satire is so subtle it is often almost undetectable. The objects of his interest are allowed to condemn or recommend themselves and their way of life almost entirely through their own words and appearances, with often little more than the odd encouraging question or aside from Whicker himself. With long-practiced ease and studied diffidence, he infiltrates the most select clubs and institutions and moves almost invisibly from person to person, seeking out the most promising individuals and generally being more than amply rewarded with the results. Never aggressive in his questioning and carefully cultivating the image of the relaxed but politely interested expatriate ready to accept the world as it comes, he has lured countless individuals into allowing him a privileged glimpse of sometimes extraordinary lives.

Over the years Whicker has on occasion concentrated his attention on a single individual, usually someone of immense influence or prestige who is rarely seen in the public eye. Attracted by the air of mystery surrounding such personages, he has drawn general conclusions about the problems and privileges of living with wealth and power through his detailed portraits of such enigmatic and sometimes deeply disturbed (and disturbing) figures as billionaire John Paul Getty, Paraguay's General Stroessner, and Haiti's greatly feared dictator "Papa Doc" Duvalier. Sometimes the tone is openly critical, but more often the viewer is allowed to draw her or his own conclusions.

*Whicker's World*, over the years, has consistently claimed a place in the top ten ratings, and Whicker himself has been widely recognized for his talents as a social commentator, winning numerous major awards.

DAVID PICKERING

See also **British Programming; Tonight**

**Alan Donald Whicker.** Born in Cairo, Egypt, August 2, 1925. Attended Haberdashers' Aske's School, London. Served as captain in Devonshire Regiment, World War II; director, Army Film and Photo Section with British 8th Army and U.S. 5th Army. Newspaper war correspondent in Korea; foreign correspondent, novelist, writer, and radio broadcaster; joined BBC television, 1957, and presented nightly film reports

from around the world for *Tonight*, as well as studio interviews and outside broadcasts; participated in first Telstar two-way transmission at opening of United Nations, 1962; host, *Whicker's World*, BBC, 1959–60; helped launch Yorkshire Television, 1967; left BBC, 1968; producer and host, numerous television specials and documentaries and further series of *Whicker's World*; worked for BBC, 1982–92; returned to ITV, 1992. Fellow, Royal Society of Arts, 1970. Recipient: numerous awards, including Screenwriters Guild Best Documentary Script Award, 1963; Guild of Television Producers and Directors Personality of the Year, 1964; Royal Television Society Silver Medal, 1968; University of California DuMont Award, 1970; Hollywood Festival of TV Best Interview Program Award, 1973; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Dimbleby Award, 1978; *TV Times* Special Award, 1978; Royal Television Society Hall of Fame, 1993.

#### Television Series

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1957–65 | <i>Tonight</i>  |
| 1959–60 | <i>Whicker's World</i>  |
| 1961    | <i>Whicker Down Under</i>   |
| 1962    | <i>Whicker on Top of the World!</i>   |
| 1963    | <i>Whicker in Sweden</i>  |
| 1963    | <i>Whicker in the Heart of Texas</i>  |
| 1963    | <i>Whicker Down Mexico Way</i>  |
| 1964    | <i>Alan Whicker Report Series: The Solitary Billionaire (J. Paul Getty)</i> |
| 1965–67 | <i>Whicker's World</i>  |
| 1968    | <i>General Stroessner of Paraguay</i>                                       |
| 1968    | <i>Count von Rosen</i>  |
| 1968    | <i>Papa Doc—The Black Sheep</i>   |
| 1969    | <i>Whicker's New World</i>  |
| 1969    | <i>Whicker in Europe</i>  |
| 1970    | <i>Whicker's Walkabout</i>  |
| 1971    | <i>World of Whicker</i>   |
| 1972    | <i>Whicker's Orient</i>   |
| 1972    | <i>Broken Hill—Walled City</i>  |
| 1972    | <i>Gairy's Grenada</i>  |
| 1972    | <i>Whicker Within a Woman's World</i>                                       |
| 1973    | <i>Whicker's South Seas</i>   |
| 1973    | <i>Whicker Way Out West</i>   |
| 1974–77 | <i>Whicker's World</i>  |
| 1976    | <i>Whicker's World—Down Under</i>   |
| 1977    | <i>Whicker's World: U.S.</i>  |
| 1978    | <i>Whicker's World: India</i>   |
| 1979    | <i>Whicker's World: Indonesia</i>   |
| 1980    | <i>Whicker's World: California</i>  |
| 1980    | <i>Peter Sellers Memorial Programme</i>                                     |
| 1982    | <i>Whicker's World Aboard the Orient Express</i>                            |
| 1982    | <i>Around Whicker's World in 25 Years</i>                                   |

Whicker, Alan

1982 *Whicker's World—The First Million Miles*  
1984 *Whicker's World—A Fast Boat to China*  
1984 *Whicker!*  
1985 *Whicker's World—Living with Uncle Sam*  
1987–88 *Whicker's World—Living with Waltzing Matilda*  
1990 *Whicker's World—Hong Kong*  
1992 *Whicker's World—A Taste of Spain*  
1992 *Around Whicker's World—The Ultimate Package!*  
1992 *Whicker's World—The Absolute Monarch*  
1993 *Whicker's Miss World*  
1993 *Whicker's World—The Sun King*  
1994 *Whicker's World Aboard the Real Orient Express*  
1994 *Whicker—The Mahatir Interview*

1994 *Pavarotti in Paradise*  
1998 *Auntie's Greatest Hits*

#### Film

*The Angry Silence*, 1960.

#### Radio

*Start the Week* (chair); *Whicker's Wireless World*, 1983; *Around Whicker's World*, 1998; *Whicker's Week*, 1999; *Whicker's New World*, 1999.

#### Publications (selected)

*Within Whicker's World: An Autobiography*, 1982  
*Whicker's New World*, 1985  
*Whicker's World Down Under*, 1988  
*Whicker's World—Take 2*, 2000

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## White, Betty (1922– )

U.S. Actor

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One of television's most beloved, talented actresses, Betty White began as a local TV "personality" and then, defying convention, became star and producer of her own nationally broadcast sitcom. In a pair of very different roles on sitcom hits, in the 1970s and 1980s, her skillful acting as part of an ensemble and her way with a comic line earned her acclaim and a loving following—a following that has made her a legend.

Early on, White played leads at Beverly Hills High School. After graduation, she took on stage roles at the Bliss-Hayden Little Theater Group. She began to work as a radio actress as well; local TV quickly followed since it was a natural "option for someone just starting." In 1949 Los Angeles TV personality Al Jarvis called White and gave her her first regular TV assignment. Jarvis took to the airwaves six days a week on KLAC to act as a "disc jockey," to play records just like on radio. Between selections, he delivered commercials, performed in sketches, and conducted interviews. White was hired as his on-air "girl Friday" to do much of the same. Jarvis left in 1952, and soon after White took over full hosting duties.

While still appearing on daily Los Angeles televi-

sion, White, with two male partners, cofounded Bandy Productions in 1952 to produce her own self-starring situation comedy. A direct outgrowth of some of White's daytime sketches, *Life with Elizabeth* told the story of married couple Elizabeth and Alvin (played by Del Moore). It was an unusual program in several respects, not the least of which was its 28-year-old cocreator, producer, and star. White was one of only two women in the early days of television (Gertrude Berg being the other) to wield creative control both in front of and behind the camera. A second distinctive feature of the program was its nonlinear stories—each episode consisted of three vignettes, three different plots. Leisurely paced, *Elizabeth's* stories had a ring of *I Love Lucy* about them. While Elizabeth never launched any outrageous schemes, the comic conflicts often grew out of husband Alvin's disapproval of her logic.

Originally, *Elizabeth* aired only in the Los Angeles area, but by 1953 Guild Films began to syndicate the series nationally, and the program was in production until 1955. Afterward, the show's three-act format made it possible for each episode to be divided up and marketed to stations as fillers. As ten-minute segments,

*Elizabeth* ran successfully and profitably for many years. Betty White earned her first Emmy in 1952 for *Life with Elizabeth*.

While *Elizabeth* was still in production, White moved to NBC and to her own daily daytime variety show. Bandy Production's *The Betty White Show* premiered February 1954. White would appear in the two programs simultaneously for a year. The NBC daytime show ended in early 1955, and White filled the next two years working, primarily, for game show packagers Goodman and Toddson.

In 1957 White co-created the prime-time sitcom *A Date with the Angels*. She played Vicki Angel, and Bill Williams starred as her husband, Gus. More typical in its format and stories than *Life with Elizabeth*, the Angels were newlyweds and were seen fumbling through their first year of wedded bliss. The program aired on ABC for six months before the network retooled it into the comedy-variety vehicle *The Betty White Show*. Lackluster ratings, which inspired the revamping, lingered, and that program ended in April 1958.

Over the next several years, White concentrated on guest work. She was a regular visitor to *The Jack Paar Show*, where her funny, slightly risqué remarks made her an audience favorite. She also was a frequent visitor to daytime, as a game show panelist.

It was on *Password* in 1961 that White met her husband, host Allen Ludden. They were married in Las Vegas in 1963. The Luddens were good friends of actress Mary Tyler Moore and her producer husband Grant Tinker, the two powerhouses behind the hit *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. When script number 73 for the series came along it called for an "icky sweet Betty White type," and the show's casting director eventually decided to call the genuine article. Though usually thought of as a series regular, White did not make her first appearance on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* until the program's fourth year, and in her most active season she appeared in only 12 of 26 regularly scheduled episodes. Nevertheless, she made herself an integral part of that show's family and dynamic. As Sue Ann Nivens, the host of "The Happy Homemaker," White created a sparkling presence. Satirizing her own image, White threw herself into the role of a catty, man-chaser who hid her true self behind a gooey shell of sugar. White won Emmys in the 1974-75 and 1975-76 seasons for Best Supporting Actress. She was part of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*'s final episode in 1977.

After its end White began her own series. The sitcom *The Betty White Show* premiered in 1977 on CBS. Critically acclaimed and costarring such pros as John Hillerman and Georgia Engel, the program faced tough competition on Monday nights, and CBS did not wait



Betty White.  
Photo courtesy of Betty White

for the show to build an audience. It was canceled in early 1978.

In 1983 White joined the small, exclusive group of women to have hosted a daytime game show. *Just Men!* had White as host and seven male guest stars who tried to help two female contestants win cars. Though the program lasted only six months, White proved funny and unflappable as "femcee" and won the Emmy for best game show host that year. She remains, to date, the only female winner of that top honor. Back on prime time she took guest roles on *St. Elsewhere* and other shows.

In 1985 White, at age 63, began the biggest hit of her career. *The Golden Girls*, from Disney, reunited three of TV's greatest comedienne: White, Beatrice Arthur, and Rue McClanahan. (From the New York stage it imported Estelle Getty.) A highly anticipated show, it was the biggest hit of NBC's new fall season. At the end of the first year, all three lead actresses were nominated for Emmys. White won for her innocent, adorably ignorant Rose Nylund, whose nature bespoke of a more optimistic and trusting time.

*Golden Girls* ran for seven years. The program was repackaged, without Arthur, for CBS the following

White, Betty

season. *Golden Palace*, with White, McClanahan, and Getty running a Florida hotel, aired for one year. White has continued to act in sitcoms and to do guest appearances and television commercials.

White's eagerly awaited autobiography, *Here We Go Again: My Life in Television*, was published that summer not long after it was announced that she would return to series TV. *Maybe This Time*, a Disney-produced sitcom costarring actress and singer Marie Osmond premiered in the fall of 1995. That same year saw White's induction into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences' Hall of Fame. Inducted along with Dick Van Dyke, Bill Moyers, and Jim McKay, among others, White was the tenth woman so honored.

CARY O'DELL

See also *Golden Girls, The; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*

**Betty White.** Born in Oak Park, Illinois, January 17, 1922. Attended public schools in Beverly Hills, California. Married: Allen Ludden, 1963 (died). Began career with appearances on radio shows; has appeared as star, regular, and guest in various television series, from 1950s. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1952, 1975, 1976, and 1986. Inductee, Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1996.

#### Television Series (selected)

1953–55	<i>Life with Elizabeth</i>
1954–58	<i>The Betty White Show</i>
1957–58	<i>A Date with the Angels</i>
1970–77	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i>
1971	<i>The Pet Set</i>
1977–78	<i>The Betty White Show</i>
1979	<i>The Best Place to Be</i>
1980	<i>The Gossip Columnist</i>

1985–92	<i>The Golden Girls</i>
1992–93	<i>The Golden Palace</i>
1993	<i>Bob</i>
1995–96	<i>Maybe This Time</i>
1998–99	<i>Disney's Hercules</i>
1999–2001	<i>Ladies' Man</i>

#### Television Specials and Movies (selected)

1982	<i>Eunice</i>
1986	<i>Walt Disney World's 15th Birthday Celebration</i> (cohost)
1991	<i>The Funny Women of Television</i> (cohost)
1996	<i>The Story of Santa Claus</i>
1996	<i>A Weekend in the Country</i>
2003	<i>Stealing Christmas</i>

#### Film (selected)

*Advice and Consent*, 1962; *Dennis the Menace Strikes Again*, 1998; *Hard Rain*, 1998; *Lake Placid*, 1999; *The Story of Us*, 1999.

#### Stage (selected)

Summer stock presentations from late 1960s: *Guys and Dolls*; *Take Me Along*; *The King and I*; *Who Was That Lady?*; *Critic's Choice*; *Bells Are Ringing*.

#### Publications

*Betty White in Person*, 1987  
*Here We Go Again: My Life in Television*, 1995

#### Further Reading

O'Dell, Cary, *Women Pioneers in Television*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1996

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## Whitfield, June (1925– )

British Comedy Actor

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June Whitfield is a durable comedy actor whose entire career has been spent providing excellent support to virtually every major British comedian on radio and television. In the 1950s, she became a radio favorite, playing the perennially engaged Eth in the famous Jimmy Edwards comedy series *Take It from Here*, but

her lasting stardom can be attributed to a remarkable succession of television appearances supporting Britain's best-loved comedians and to her long-running sitcom series, *Terry and June*. The list of male comedians with whom Whitfield has worked reads like a *Who's Who* of British comedy talent and includes



June Whitfield.  
Photo courtesy of June Whitfield

Benny Hill, Tony Hancock, Frankie Howerd, Morecambe and Wise, and Dick Emery. However, she is most closely associated with Jimmy Edwards, with whom she costarred in a number of comedy playlets under the generic title *Faces of Jim* (*Seven Faces of Jim*, 1961; *Six More Faces of Jim*, 1962; and *More Faces of Jim*, 1963; all BBC). She also appeared in many series with Terry Scott, including *Scott on...* (BBC, 1964–74) and *Terry and June* (BBC, 1979–87), which was a continuation of an earlier series, *Happy Ever After* (BBC, 1974–78).

Whitfield made her debut on television in 1951 in *The Passing Show* (BBC), and later appeared as support to Bob Monkhouse and Derek Goodwin in *Fast and Loose* (BBC, 1954). After guesting in various sitcoms for 12 years, she landed a starring role in *Beggar My Neighbour* (1966–68), a show about ill-matched neighbors.

*Terry and June* was Whitfield's most famous vehicle, and while her portrayal of a typical long-suffering wife (June Fletcher) with a perennially adolescent husband (Terry Fletcher, played by Terry Scott) did not stretch her talent as an actor, it nevertheless demon-

strated her amazing consistency and willingness to bring the best out of any material. Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, she also reestablished herself as a radio star, working with comedian Roy Hudd in *The News Huddlines*, where she demonstrated a hitherto unknown talent for impersonation, particularly with her imitation of Margaret Thatcher.

The "new wave" of comedy that began to make serious inroads into British television in the 1980s provided Whitfield with further opportunities. Comedians Dawn French and Jennifer Saunders used the actor in their sketch show, *French and Saunders* (BBC, 1987– ), and Jennifer Saunders later chose her for the role of Mother in *Absolutely Fabulous* (BBC, 1992–96, 2001– ).

*Absolutely Fabulous* was a groundbreaking British sitcom of the 1990s, with a dazzling mix of the politically incorrect, outrageousness, and savage wit. The clever casting of Whitfield as Mother allowed Saunders to utilize the actor's housewife persona in a subversive way, employing dialogue and plot to investigate areas of the character never glimpsed in *Terry and June*. When *Absolutely Fabulous* came to a premature end in 1996, writer Jennifer Saunders used the cast (including Whitfield) in a new, equally outrageous comedy, *Mirrorball* (BBC, 2000), which was intended as a pilot to a series but which actually just convinced Saunders that there was more mileage in the *Absolutely Fabulous* format, to which she returned in 2001.

*Absolutely Fabulous* and similar shows written by and starring women are no longer rarities on British television, but the majority of Whitfield's career has been spent supporting male comedians who dominated the medium, with most of the programs on which she worked bearing the name of the male star (*The Benny Hill Show* and *The Dick Emery Show*, among others). She is not the only funny woman of British television to have had such a comedy-support career, but she is arguably one of the busiest. One can only lament that it has never been considered viable in British television to produce *The June Whitfield Show*.

DICK FIDDY

See also *Absolutely Fabulous*; **British Programming**

**June Rosemary Whitfield.** Born in London, November 11, 1925. Attended Streatham High School; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, diploma 1944. Married: Timothy John Aitchison, 1955; child: Suzy. Has appeared in revue, musicals, pantomime, films, radio, and television, from 1950s; formed long-running situation comedy partnership with Terry Scott, 1969–88. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1985; Com-

Whitfield, June

mander of the British Empire, 1998. Freeman, City of London, 1982. Recipient: British Comedy Awards' Lifetime Achievement Award, 1994.

#### Television Series

1954	<i>Fast and Loose</i>
1961–63	<i>Faces of Jim</i>
1964–74	<i>Scott on . . .</i>
1966–68	<i>Beggar My Neighbour</i>
1967	<i>Hancock's Hour</i>
1969	<i>The Best Things in Life</i>
1969	<i>The Fossett Saga</i>
1974–78	<i>Happy Ever After</i>
1979–87	<i>Terry and June</i>
1990	<i>Cluedo</i>
1992–96, 2001–	<i>Absolutely Fabulous</i>
1994–95	<i>What's My Line?</i>
2000	<i>Mirrorball</i> (pilot)

#### Made-for-Television Movie

2000	<i>Last of the Blonde Bombshells</i>
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#### Films (selected)

*Carry on Nurse*, 1959; *The Spy with a Cold Nose*, 1966; *Carry on Abroad*, 1972; *Bless This House*, 1972; *Carry on Girls*, 1973; *Carry on Columbus*, 1992.

#### Radio

*Take It from Here*, 1953–60; *The News Huddlines*, 1984– ; *JW Radio Special*, 1992; *Murder at the Vicarage*, 1993; *A Pocketful of Rye*, 1994; *At Bertram's Hotel*, 1995.

#### Stage (selected)

*A Bedful of Foreigners*; *Not Now, Darling*; *An Ideal Husband*, 1987; *Ring Round the Moon*, 1988; *Over My Dead Body*, 1989; *Babes in the Wood*, 1990, 1991, 1992; *Cinderella*, 1994.

#### Publication

... *And June Whitfield* (autobiography), 2000

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## Who Wants to Be a Millionaire

### U.K. and U.S. Game Show

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*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* premiered in the United Kingdom on September 4, 1998, produced there by the U.K.-based company Celador, which is also in charge of *Millionaire's* production in the United States. The American version first appeared on television screens in the summer of 1999 and immediately caused something of a programming sensation. The program uses a combination of trivia questions and educational knowledge to test its contestants, who are preselected in telephone contests. Contestants who answer one question correctly remain in a pool of contenders. This group is further reduced through luck and their success in live rehearsals, where selections are also made based on the on-screen appearance of contestants. Once in the studio, all contestants compete to correctly arrange four answers to a single question. The winner of this round—the contestant who correctly arranges the answers in the shortest possible time—goes on to sit in the “hot seat” facing the host (Regis Philbin in the first U.S. version) and competes for up to \$1 mil-

lion in prize money. As with many game shows, the prizes rise in value as questions rise in difficulty, beginning at the \$100 level and going to \$200, \$300, \$500, and \$1,000. Questions leading up to the \$1,000 level are not particularly difficult and are often played for humor. The \$1,000 level also marks a “milestone”; despite incorrect answers above this level, contestants still keep the \$1,000. The next tier, in which the prize doubles five times from \$1,000 to \$32,000, is considerably more difficult and constitutes a more serious level of the game. At \$32,000, contestants reach a second milestone, and many contestants consider reaching this level as their primary goal—the following five questions, leading up to the million-dollar peak, are of such difficulty that many contestants fail.

Another distinctive aspect of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* is that the game allows its contestants to use outside help in the form of three “lifelines.” In the first lifeline, called “50/50,” a computer erases two of the four multiple-choice questions. Another lifeline, “ask

the audience,” polls the audience regarding the correct answer to a question. While the audience guesses are often correct, in some instances contestants have relied on the audience and answered a question incorrectly. The final lifeline, “phone a friend,” allows contestants to make a call to one of five preselected friends who possess expertise in an area relevant to the question. These lifelines provide an interesting link between the contestant, the studio audience, and the home audience. Besides the role the lifelines play in the competition itself, they create a close involvement for both the studio and the home audience. This participatory aspect creates a distinctive text-audience relationship that sets *Millionaire* apart from most other shows of its kind.

*Millionaire* is also particularly pleasurable in its use of contestants considered average or “common people.” This seems to create easy identification with on-air contestants and also allows audience members to imagine that they might be in the hot seat rather than the current contestant. This impression is further enhanced by the easy access to the initial selection process via telephone and by the availability of an online version of *Millionaire* hosted by ABC.go.com. Ideologically, the easy identification with highly successful contestants reinforces the myth that within U.S. capitalist culture it is possible for everyone to become successful and rich, the belief that everyone can become a millionaire.

While the structure of the show is generally the same in both the British and U.S. versions, the difficulty level seems to have been lowered in the United States to allow more contestants to win high amounts of prize money and create additional public attention. At the same time, publicity surrounding the program often emphasizes the intellectual capabilities of the most successful contestants. The first \$1 million winner, John Carpenter, appeared on *Millionaire* on November 19, 1999, and received significant media attention highlighting his superior mental abilities. Perhaps to generate particularly high ratings for *Millionaire*, host Regis Philbin announced this event on his other show, *Live with Regis and Kelly*, on the morning of the November 19 broadcast.

The fall 1999 and spring 2000 season of *Millionaire* marked the highest ratings for the show, peaking at an audience share of 30 percent. By the fall of 2001, the ratings of *Millionaire* had dropped significantly. While the show had been broadcast up to four times a week at its peak of success, it was reduced to two broadcasts on Monday and Thursday, scheduled against other highly competitive shows. Some of *Millionaire*'s ratings in the fall 2001 season were as low as a 10 percent share. While the future of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* as a prime-time network show might be in doubt, a syndicated daytime version, with



Regis Philbin.  
Photo courtesy of ABC Photo Archives

Meredith Viera as host, has been highly successful in the United States.

OLAF HOERSCHELMANN

See also Philbin, Regis; Quiz and Game Shows

#### *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* (U.S.)

##### **Talent**

Host (1998–)	Regis Philbin
Host (daytime syndication, 2002–)	Meredith Viera

##### **Creator**

Michael P. Davies

##### **Executive Producers**

Michael P. Davies, Paul Smith

##### **Supervising Producers**

Ann Miller, Michael Binkow, Tiffany Trigg

##### **Director**

Mark Gentile

Who Wants to Be a Millionaire

**Co-Executive Producer**

Leigh Hampton

**Senior Producer**

Patrick Sheridan

**Coordinating Producer**

Susan A. Claxton

**Programming History**

ABC

Thursday, 9:00

**Further Reading**

Caldwell, John Thornton, *Televisuality: Style, Crisis, and Authority in American Television*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995

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Holbrook, Morris, *Daytime Television Gameshows and the Celebration of Merchandise: The Price Is Right*, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, 1993

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## Widows

### British Crime Drama

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*Widows*, a drama series of six 52-minute episodes written by Lynda La Plante, was first broadcast on British television in the spring of 1983. The series had a simple, effective conceit, which was initially condensed into the opening credits, in which viewers saw a carefully planned robbery of a security van go badly wrong, with the apparent death of all participants. The widows of the title are the three women left alone by this catastrophe that has befallen Harry's gang. The women decide, under the leadership of Harry's widow, Dolly (Ann Mitchell), to follow through the already-laid plans for the next robbery—which they will conduct themselves after recruiting another recently widowed woman, Bella (Eva Mottley). This simple variation on a traditional crime-story formula—the gang of robbers planning and carrying out a raid under the surveillance of the police—offered a series of pleasures for both male and female viewers in what is traditionally a men's genre.

The series' production company, Euston Films, a wholly owned subsidiary of Thames Television, was set up in 1971 to make high-quality films and film series for television and had a strong track record with the crime genre, being responsible for *Special Branch*, *The Sweeney*, *Out*, and *Minder*. Characteristics of the Euston series included London location shooting in a "fast" realist style, working-class and often semicriminal milieus, and sharp scripts. *Widows* offered these familiar pleasures but also engaged with changing ideas

of appropriate feminine behavior by audaciously presenting the widows of the title tutoring themselves in criminality so they could be agents, not victims. In this sense, the series, which had Verity Lambert as executive producer and Linda Agran as producer, was clearly a Euston product; the series also must be understood in relation to earlier shows that had tried to insert women into the crime genre—such as *Cagney and Lacey*, *The Gentle Touch*, and *Juliet Bravo*. The difference with *Widows* was that the women were on the wrong side of the law.

Following the success of the first series of *Widows*—which had six episodes and a continuous narrative—a second series was commissioned, and the two were broadcast together in 1985. Again, the narrative was continuous over the two series, and at the end of *Widows II*, the central character, Dolly Rawlins, was imprisoned. Some years later, in 1995, La Plante, the writer of the first series, produced the final part to what had become a trilogy, *She's Out*, in which Dolly returns. *She's Out* reprises *Widows I* to some extent, in that its climax was a carefully planned train robbery—conducted, spectacularly, by women on horseback—but the general critical consensus was that neither of the sequels quite matched *Widows I*. (La Plante also adapted and produced a remake of *Widows* for a 2002 ABC miniseries of the same name, with Mercedes Ruehl as Dolly and also starring Brooke Shields and Rosie Perez.)





*Widows.*  
Courtesy of ©FremantleMedia Enterprises

Retrospectively, *Widows* is now perhaps most interesting as La Plante's first successful foray into a territory she has made peculiarly her own, the hard world of women in the television crime genre. Her subsequent projects, which include the internationally successful *Prime Suspect*, in which Helen Mirren plays a chief inspector on a murder case, and *The Governor*, in which Janet McTeer plays an inexperienced governor given a prison to run, have tended to place their central female characters within a male hierarchy and visual repertoire. Here the women must both confront the prejudice of their colleagues and successfully inhabit and wield power in the context of law enforcement and criminal justice. In contrast, *Widows*, the first of La Plante's "women in a man's world" dramas, was set explicitly in a criminal milieu, with the women attempting to support themselves through robbery rather than learning how to occupy masculine positions of power. This approach had a series of interesting consequences.

First, the representation of female criminality in the crime series is strongly focused around the figures of the prostitute and the shoplifter, not the ambitious and successful bank robbers viewers find in *Widows*. Thus,

the series shook up expectations about what women in crime series can do. Second, because the women are having to learn to perform as men, femininity is "made strange" and becomes a mode of behavior that the women consciously turn on when they need to escape detection. Finally, it should be noted that the heroes of this series, three white, one black, were all working class in origin—although Dolly, well-off from the proceeds of Harry's crimes, listens to opera—and the series thus has a place in the history of honorable endeavor by both Euston Films and La Plante to depict working-class life as diverse and contradictory—and more than comic.

CHARLOTTE BRUNSDON

See also **British Programming; La Plante, Lynda; Prime Suspect**

#### Cast

Dolly Rawlins	Ann Mitchell
Bella O'Reilly	Eva Mottley
Linda Perelli	Maureen O'Farrell
Shirley Miller	Fiona Hendley
Det. Inspector George Resnick	David Calder
Det. Sergeant Alec Fuller	Paul Jesson
Det. Constable Andrews	Peter Machin
Eddie Rawlins	Stanley Meadows
Harry Rawlins	Maurice O'Connell

#### Producers

Verity Lambert, Linda Agran

#### Programming History

Six 52-minute episodes  
March 16, 1983–April 20, 1983

#### Further Reading

- Alvarado, Manuel, and John Stewart, editors, *Made for Television: Euston Films Limited*, London: British Film Institute, 1985
- Baehr, Helen, and Gillian Dyer, editors, *Boxed In: Women and Television*, London: Pandora, 1987

# Wild Kingdom

## U.S. Wildlife/Nature Program

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*Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom* (also titled *Wild Kingdom*) was one of television's first wildlife/nature programs and stands among the genre's most popular and longest-running examples. *Wild Kingdom* premiered in a Sunday-afternoon time slot on NBC in January 1963 and remained a Sunday-afternoon staple until the start of the 1968–69 television season, when it was moved to Sunday evenings. NBC dropped *Wild Kingdom* from its regular series lineup altogether in April 1971, as part of the programming changes and cutbacks each of the three networks were making at that time in response to the newly created Prime-Time Access Rule. Interestingly, *Wild Kingdom* found its largest audience as a prime-access syndicated program, playing to an estimated 34 million people on 224 stations by 1974, and beating out the likes of *The Lawrence Welk Show* and *Hee Haw* to top the American Research Bureau ratings for syndicated series in October of that year. Many of the episodes airing after 1971 were repackaged reruns from earlier network days, but new episodes continued to be produced and included in the syndicated program packages as well. *Wild Kingdom* was produced and distributed in first-run syndication until the fall of 1988.

The perennial host and figurehead of *Wild Kingdom* was zoologist Marlin Perkins. Perkins began his zoological career as reptile curator at the St. Louis Zoo (Missouri) in 1926. He served as director of the Buffalo Zoo (New York) in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Lincoln Park Zoo (Chicago) through the 1950s, and finally the St. Louis Zoo, a position he held from 1962 until his death on June 14, 1986. Throughout his career, Perkins was drawn to the medium of television as a means of promoting a conservationist ethic and popularizing a corresponding understanding of wildlife and the natural world.

Perkins initiated his involvement in the production of nature programming in 1945, when television itself was only beginning to work its way into the fabric of American life. Having recently been named director of Lincoln Park Zoo, Perkins began hosting a wildlife television program on a small, local Chicago station, WBKB. He then became the host of *Zoo Parade* in 1949, which began its eight-year run on Chicago station WNBQ before becoming an NBC network show

early in 1950. A precursor of sorts to the regularly featured animal segments on *The Tonight Show* and other late-night talk shows, *Zoo Parade* was a location-bound production (filmed in the reptile house basement) in which Perkins would present and describe the life and peculiarities of Lincoln Park Zoo animals. Soon after his move to the St. Louis Zoo in 1962, Perkins and *Zoo Parade*'s producer-director Don Meier were convinced by representatives of the Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company to create *Wild Kingdom*. Perkins remained involved with the production of *Wild Kingdom* until a year before his death in 1986.

Unlike *Zoo Parade*, *Wild Kingdom* was shot on film almost entirely in the field and featured encounters with wild animals in their natural habitats. Indeed, one of the program's signature features was the footage of Marlin Perkins, or his assistants Jim Fowler and later Stan Brock, pursuing and at times physically engaging with the wildlife-of-the-week, whether that meant mud-wrestling with alligators, struggling to get free from the viselike grip of a massive water snake, running from unexpectedly awakened elephants or seemingly angered sea lions, or jumping from a helicopter onto the back of an elk in the snows of Montana. Edited to emphasize the dangerous, dramatic, or comedic interplay between man and beast, accompanied by the appropriate soundtrack mix of music and natural sound, and always punctuated by the familiar voice-overs of Marlin or Jim, the popular narrative conceit of *Wild Kingdom* was criticized at times by some zoologists and environmentalists for putting entertainment values before those of ecological education. Yet *Wild Kingdom* reflected in precisely these ways many of the dominant ecophilosophical and ecological tenets of its day. Set "out in nature," as one reviewer put it, and structured around the actions of protagonists who have left the ordered world of the zoo to explore the unpredictable and often alien natural landscape, *Wild Kingdom* echoed the conservationist idea of the natural world and the human world as, at best, separate but equal kingdoms.

Many wildlife/nature series since *Wild Kingdom* have developed different and less human-centered narrative strategies with which to represent the natural



*Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*, Marlin Perkins feeding a lion cub, 1963–85.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

world, strategies that may themselves reflect a contemporary shift away from the anthropocentric essence of conservationism toward a more ecocentrically defined environmentalism. In their day, however, Marlin Perkins and Jim Fowler were, in the words of Charles

Seibert, “television’s cowboy naturalists,” and their weekly rides proved to be among the most popular in television history.

JIM WEHMEYER

**Hosts**

Marlin Perkins  
 Jim Fowler  
 Stan Brock

**Programming History**

NBC

January 1963–December 1968	Sunday non–prime time
January 1968–June 1968	Sunday 7:00–7:30
January 1969–June 1969	Sunday 7:00–7:30
September 1969–June 1970	Sunday 7:00–7:30
September 1970–April 1971	Sunday 7:00–7:30
1971–1988	First-run syndication

**Further Reading**

Cimons, Marlene, “It’s Not Easy to Deceive a Grebe,” *TV Guide* (October 26, 1974)

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Kern, J., “Marlin Perkins’ Wild Wild Kingdom,” *TV Guide* (April 20, 1963)

“Marlin Perkins,” in *Variety Obituaries*, New York: Garland, 1988

Rouse, Sarah, and Katharine Loughrey, compilers, *Three Decades of Television: The Catalog of Television Programs Acquired by the Library of Congress, 1949–1979*, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989

Siebert, Charles, “The Artifice of the Natural,” *Harper’s* (February 1993)

Walsh, Patrick, “Television’s Dr. Dolittle Returns to the Air,” *TV Guide* (February 17, 1968)

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## Wildlife and Nature Programs

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Television has long capitalized on a cultural fascination with the nonhuman, the mysterious, the unknown, the exotic, and the remote aspects of the natural world in the form of programs devoted to the study and presentation of wildlife, geography, and other features of the biological universe. The past decade, however, has seen even greater expansion in wildlife and nature programming. Entire cable channels such as Discovery’s

Animal Planet and the National Geographic channel are heavily invested in the genre. Watching such offerings, viewers can “go” to locations normally inaccessible because of physical and fiscal limitations. While there is certainly an entertainment value to such programs, they also play an important educational role. And, like all such offerings, while entertaining and educating, they also construct their own interpretation of



*The Wonderful World of Disney: King of the Grizzlies*, Wahn the grizzly bear, John Yesno, 1973.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

“nature” or “the wild” or “the animal kingdom.” Indeed, wildlife and nature presentations are among the most prominent in emphasizing television’s capacity for “framing” and “constructing” particular points of view, while omitting others.

Current debates over the cinematic, cultural, ethical, and industrial foundations of wildlife and nature programs can be traced to its roots in early questions surrounding developments in visual media. Among the first subjects captured on continuous-motion film during the late 1800s were animals. These early wildlife and nature films were more often perceived as anthropological and ethnographic documents than as entertaining or educational narratives. The cinematic records of distant cultures and wildlife also served as souvenirs for wealthy travelers who embarked on tourist-as-ethnographer safaris. Continuing into the 20th century, cultural and social elites found documenting primitive nature a chic sign of modernity. It was not until the popular masses flooded movie theaters to see these first wildlife films, however, that they were established as a distinct and significant cinematic genre.

The popularity of wildlife and nature programming

certainly continued to grow as television entered the American home during the 1950s. During those formative television years, two large categories of wildlife and nature programs emerged, and though they still exist, they are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. The first branch, the nature documentary, follows the conventions of direct-cinema documentary filmmaking. These films involve little to no interference with the subject and focus on simple, scientific documentation of the subject being filmed. The goal of such films is to enlighten audiences about some animal, culture, or environment. Thus, their entertainment value serves merely as a means to the primary goal of elucidation. Although any cinematic or videographic presentation involves selection and editing, these programs generally emphasize information and education over entertainment and sensationalism. The second type of wildlife and nature programming, the wildlife film, is more grounded in a “Hollywood model.” These films employ narrative strategies, storytelling codes, and constructed dramatic structures to examine the subject being filmed. They provide little if any social commentary.

Most wildlife and nature programs of either type are presented as and certainly fit basic documentary formats and can be further roughly subdivided into three related categories: tourism, scientific discovery, and environmental preservation. Of these categories, the first may be distinguished from purely educational or scientific inquiry because of its commercial connection. The last is also distinct because of its political motivation.

Regardless of approach or type, most wildlife and nature programs, like other documentaries, have narrative elements. In the case of nature documentaries, the narrative elements rarely take precedence over the information or content being presented, while conversely, the content or information presented in wildlife films is often shaped to fit a narrative structure conceived prior to filming. In general, there are at least three narrative elements typically present in most wildlife and nature programs: (1) characterization and personification of animals; (2) the presence of struggle; and (3) the use of traditional, rather than experimental or innovative, narrative techniques. These elements are not mutually exclusive or exhaustive, and programs can apply several in a single episode.

The characterization and personification of animals often occurs when programs give them "character names" or compare the animal's attributes with those of humans. Programs also frequently present and dramatize struggle in the wild. This struggle is intended to illustrate the constant battling forces of "brute nature." These accounts often uncover one or more of the following types of struggle: (1) protagonist versus antagonist; (2) hunter versus hunted; and (3) animals (protagonist) versus elements. The protagonist versus antagonist struggle presents one creature as the innocent (e.g., a naturally occurring species of bee) being attacked by another, unwelcome creature (e.g., the foreign killer bee, which is decimating bees native to the area). The hunter versus the hunted illustrates the "eternal" struggle between predator (e.g., fox) and prey (e.g., rabbit). Conflicts between wild animals and the environment may reveal how creatures adapt to continuing human encroachment on nature. Such programs usually present some ecological message concerning the importance of managed growth and respect for wildlife.

Many programs also use a variety of traditional narrative techniques to construct their stories. A common device is the use of narrators not only to provide information but to add dramatic highlights and to help the story flow in a conventional manner. Programs also use audio tracks to emphasize action. Music often builds in intensity to underscore climactic moments, as when a predator seizes its prey. Slow motion, freeze-

framing, cross-cutting between "characters" in a dramatic narrative—all these add qualities and evoke emotional and cognitive responses often associated with fiction and familiar from viewer knowledge of fictional presentations.

Since most documentaries are shot on location, production costs are relatively high and grants or sponsorship of some kind are necessary to sustain them. On location, film crews are kept small and efficient to minimize costs. The director often doubles as stand-up and voice-over narrator. Equipment usually consists of a single camera, microphone, sound recorder, and lighting kit, where necessary.

Wildlife and nature programming first appeared on U.S. television in 1948 with the success of a 15-minute science program called *The Nature of Things*. The series' success lasted until 1954 and paved the way for a host of nature programs to follow. From the start, the introduction of nature and wildlife programming attracted audiences as a "great escape." These programs were fun and exhilarating to watch and had viewers on the edge of their seats waiting for the commercial breaks to end and the show to resume. Programs such as *Zoo Parade* (1950–57), a half-hour Sunday-afternoon series that looked at animals and animal behavior, included travel footage from such locations as the Amazon jungles. Another such program, *Expedition* (1960–63), documented journeys to various remote regions of the world and became known for presenting exciting and sometimes controversial places around the globe: one episode presented a tribe in New Guinea ruled by Tambaran—the cult of the ghost that venerated the sweet potato. In another episode, *Expedition* presented an aboriginal Indian tribe that had never before seen a white man.

After the success of adult-oriented programs such as *Zoo Parade* and *Expedition*, nature and wildlife shows changed strategies and focused attention on attracting younger audiences. Programs were often set up in a format designed to "introduce" the phenomena of wildlife and nature. *Exploring* (1962–66) targeted children ages five to 11 by using methods such as storytelling, mathematics, music, science, and history. *Discovery* (1962–71) searched the world over for natural wonders, as did *Zoo Parade* and *Expedition*, but with the aim of attracting a younger audience. The *Discovery* series was designed to stimulate the cultural, historical, and intellectual curiosity of 7- to 12-year-olds regarding nature. Young people were piloted through a spectrum of wonders including how animals use their tails, dramatized essays on the history of dance, the voyage of Christopher Columbus, and a visit to a Texas ranch, and they were introduced to the desert Native Americans. In keeping with the same

format, *First Look: Wonders of the World* (1965–66) was designed to provide young children with an introduction to natural history, science, and the various inventions of the world. *First Look's* topics varied from exploring sea life to experiencing a simulated prehistoric expedition during the dinosaur period.

From the 1960s through the 1970s, wildlife and nature programming introduced a new format designed to give audiences an "untamed" and "dangerous" view into the world of nature. Programs became more "adventurous" in their presentational style. Perhaps the best known and successful of such series was *Wild Kingdom* (1963–71), sponsored by Mutual of Omaha and hosted for most of its duration by Marlin Perkins. *Wild Kingdom* traveled to out-of-the way places in Africa, South America, the Arctic, Alaska, the continental United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union in search of unusual creatures and wild adventures. The series covered such diverse topics as animal survival in the wilds, treatment of animals in captivity, and the lives and habitats of animals and primitive people and their struggle for survival. Similar documentary series followed that focused on animals and their struggle for survival, including *The Untamed World* (1969–71); *Wild, Wild World of Animals* (1973–76); *The World of Survival* (1971); *Safari to Adventure* (1971–73); and *Animal World (Animal Kingdom)* (1968–80). Another such program was *Jane Goodall and the World of Animal Behavior* (1973–74). ABC aired several nature documentaries featuring Miss Goodall, who came to national attention as a scientist who lived among the apes. Here the scientist as "adventurer-hero" became a central narrative focus. Two successful efforts in her ABC series were "The Wild Dogs of Africa" (1973) and the "Baboons of Gombe" (1974), which attracted audiences with their "realism" and intimate visual portraits.

To give audiences an alternative to the harsh realities of nature, wildlife programs added a sophisticated approach with the airing of such programs as the *National Geographic Specials* (1965–). Produced in cooperation with the National Geographic Society, this long-running series of specials on anthropology, exploration, and biological, historical, and cultural subjects first aired on CBS (1965–73), then on ABC (1973–74), and currently can be seen on PBS (1975–). The *National Geographic Specials*, in keeping with the traditions of the journal and the society that stand behind them, are noted for exceptional visual qualities. Another such program was *Animal Secrets* (1966–68), which disclosed the mysteries of wildlife behavior in an appealing nature series and explored such phenomena as how bees buzz, how fish talk, and why birds migrate. An episode titled "The Primates," filmed in

Kenya, presented a study of baboons; their social order and living patterns were observed to find clues to the development of man. The high-quality film series *Nova* (1974–) also relies on detailed productions with exceptional production values. *Nova* is noted for examining complex scientific questions in a manner comprehensible to the layperson and in a relatively entertaining fashion. For the most part, the series concerns itself with the effects on nature and society of new developments in science. The close connection of this program with the Public Broadcasting Service has almost reached "brand" identification, and the program is often cited as an example of what PBS is and can do.

For a short period of time, wildlife documentaries added a new frontier to the nature of inquiry by examining oceans and marine worlds. With the appearance of such programs as *Water World* (1972–75) and the very popular *Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*, a new market was opened and added to the previous audience. *The Undersea World* centered around the scientific expeditions of Captain Jacques Cousteau and the crew of his specially equipped vessel, the *Calypso*. The first show began on ABC in 1968 and continued for nearly eight years. ABC dropped the series in 1976, but it continued on PBS with underwriting by the Atlantic Richfield Corporation. Since 1981, Cousteau's environmental series and specials have been produced for Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) in a number of short series.

As the decade of the 1970s closed there was a movement toward bringing back traditional methods of presenting wildlife and nature programming—as if reintroducing the areas would stir up an interest in the subject. One such program, *Animals, Animals, Animals* (1976–81), explored the relationship of animals and man in order to help youngsters and inquiring adults understand various wildlife phenomena and the inter-related scheme of nature. An entertainment focus was combined with an introduction to the world of science, zoology, and biology, and each episode focused on a particular animal in an exciting, yet simplistic manner. By the 1980s, a few wildlife and nature programs such as *Nature* (1982–) and *Wild America* (1982–) sustained the "adventurous" format that marked the era of the 1960s and 1970s. For the most part, however, 1980s programming appeared to make great strides when the focus was on ecology and "saving the planet." During this period, programs such as *Universe (Walter Cronkite's Universe)* (1980–82) and *Life on Earth* (1982) often focused on space—the solar system and beyond—in order to understand the phenomena of nature and society.

Another major advancement in wildlife and nature programming occurred in 1985 when the Discovery

Channel, an all-documentary cable network, was launched into homes across the nation. This network was devoted chiefly to presenting documentaries on nature, science-technology, travel, history, and human adventure—finally, there was something for everyone. In 1990 the Discovery Channel's penetration passed the 50 million mark, making it one of the fastest growing cable networks of all time. Today, the Discovery Channel has become an alternative outlet for the kind of nature and wildlife programming that in the 1980s had to depend on public television for exposure. With the success of Discovery Channel, another cable network has joined the nature campaign. Nickelodeon (1979– ), a children's programming network, recently teamed with Sea World of Florida to educate young people about the importance of conserving Earth's natural resources, protecting endangered species, preventing pollution, and recycling. In the 1990s, Nickelodeon's Cable in the Classroom service and Sea World's Shamu TV: Sea World Video Classroom service began providing hands-on programs about sea life and ecology for audiences from preschoolers to college postgraduates.

A number of programs focused on nature and wildlife have stepped beyond the most common U.S. television goals of entertaining and informing. They have attempted not only to support the preservation of species and environments but to hold corporations and government agencies accountable for acts of pollution and destruction. Films of this type often record dramatic confrontations between those who seek to conserve and those who seek to exploit the environment. The environmental activist group Greenpeace, for example, adopts as part of its policy the need to identify and protest callous indifference toward animals and the environment, and it has used such films to great advantage. It remains to be seen whether television will eventually be used in a similar manner, whether "nature" will continue to be presented either as an entertaining commodity or as an exotic topic for popular education.

As of the beginning of the 21st century, some cable and satellite channels are fully dedicated to the study of animals and nature, namely, the Discovery Channel and Animal Planet. BBC America also provides access to magnificent documentaries on a variety of environmental and nature topics. The audience segmentation reflected by the growth of such channels has given wildlife and nature programs a stature and importance of their own and has led to further subdivisions within the general categories.

The increasing popularity of "reality television" also seems to be causing a shift in the content of some nature genres. There is a movement away from objec-

tive, unobtrusive observation of nature (from a safe distance) to subjective or invasive involvement with nature (dangerously close at hand). In the first kind, as we have seen above, the recorded drama usually consists of conflict between animals themselves; in the second, the recorded drama consists of conflict between naturalist and quarry. Sadly, the more dangerous the exposure or risky the involvement, the more fascinating it is to the audience.

The entertaining wildlife format, for example, has led to development of a new subgenre of wildlife and nature programming that can be called the "extreme" wildlife program. Extreme wildlife programming began with Marty Stouffer's *Wild America*, which ran on PBS for 12 years. *Wild America* featured Stouffer's treks into nature and his encounters with wildlife and emphasized the more violent aspects of nature, including a high ratio of attack and hunting scenes. Stouffer's show faced criticism in the 1990s for being too violent and for staging some of the predator-versus-prey scenes, and it was eventually canceled by PBS, though reportedly for unrelated reasons.

Perhaps the most successful example of extreme wildlife programming is the Animal Planet's *Crocodile Hunter*. This show features Australian zoo director Steve Irwin and his excursions in the wilderness, aggressively chasing down and capturing extremely dangerous animals, such as cobras, scorpions, rattlers, and, of course, crocodiles. The growing popularity of extreme wildlife programs like *Crocodile Hunter*—which hosts a fan club, sells videos and other related merchandise, and has even been turned into a fictional, full-length motion picture—seems to demonstrate audiences' craving for this new, exciting subgenre. Such programs also illustrate a new trend in wildlife and nature programming, toward increasing use of interaction and interference with wildlife rather than documentation in an observational mode. It should be noted that Animal Planet's parent channel, the Discovery Channel, offers a tamer version of *Crocodile Hunter*, which also features an Aussie and his outdoor adventures, titled *Nigel's Wild, Wild World*.

Hosts of the more extreme shows, such as Irwin or Jeff Corwin, prove their bravery and daring by capturing animals in the wild and holding them up to the camera for close inspection. There is no doubt that the close encounter with the animals provides a more intimate knowledge of them, but the exposure seems of lesser importance than the human struggle to capture them. The "bravery" that is involved, no matter how well intended, borders on foolhardiness, for hosts are often bitten or stung or clawed in the process. In the older type of nature films (for example, David Attenborough's documentaries) the host was generally a



## Wildlife and Nature Programs

spectator who hardly ever placed himself or herself in danger. It was a matter of principle not to interfere with the natural processes being filmed for aesthetic and scientific reasons.

Thus, in spite of audience demand for more wildlife and nature programming, questions regarding the accuracy, the purpose, and even the veracity of the programming have emerged. Because these programs have the potential to influence millions of viewers with their interpretations of nature, their accuracy stands as an important point of contention. At the core of the discussion is a central question: Are wildlife and nature programs documentaries, with a primary goal of documentation and education, or are they carefully constructed narratives with a primary goal of entertaining audiences rather than educating them? Within this context the definition, description, and classification of wildlife and nature programs continue to be examined within the television industries as well as in commentary surrounding the forms.

Though the newer breed of naturalists' enthusiasm for their quest, and their admiration of the beauty of nature, can hardly be questioned, the risks they take

seem to border on sensationalism and contrived heroism, rather than love of nature or dispassionate observation. It can only be hoped that the public's fascination with such reality television will diminish and be replaced with a renewed interest in the natural world and its conservation.

LISA JONIAK AND RICHARD WORRINGHAM

See also *Animal Planet*; *Discovery Channel*

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## Wildmon, Donald (1938- )

U.S. Minister, Media Reformer

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As social mores have evolved in the United States in recent years, outspoken "media reformers" such as Donald Wildmon, the chair of the American Family Association (AFA), have expressed increasing concern about the role of the media, particularly that of television, in American culture. Wildmon is regarded by some as a self-appointed censor. To others, he is a minister whose congregation crosses the nation and comprises followers upset with the kinds of material seen on television.

Wildmon, a soft-spoken fundamentalist Methodist minister from Tupelo, Mississippi, graduated from Emory University's Divinity School. He has spoken often of the roots for his current cause: in 1977, when his family of young children were gathered around the TV set, he found nothing for them to watch that was not marked by sex, violence, adultery, and swearing. He vowed to his family that he would do something about it.

At the time he was the pastor of a Methodist church in Mississippi. He asked his congregation to go without television for one week and found such a striking reaction to the content of programming and to this action taken against the medium that he formed the National Federation for Decency (NFD; renamed American Family Association in 1988). From that time he never reentered the regular ministry.

Early on, Wildmon discovered that preaching to network chiefs, advertisers, and programmers was not an easy task. By 1980 he had joined with the Reverend Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, to form the Coalition for Better Television (CBTV). Members began to observe and record, with a form of "content analysis," the numbers of sexual references, instances of episodes ridiculing Christian characters, and other aspects of programming deemed offensive. Armed with statistics that, to him, demonstrated the erosion of Christian principles by television programs, Wildmon



visited corporate heads. On one occasion he convinced the chairman of Procter and Gamble to withdraw advertising from approximately 50 TV shows.

Disputes between Wildmon and Falwell broke up CBT, and Wildmon started another group, Christian Leaders for Responsible Television (CLEAR-TV). His concern spread from television to movies to the distribution of adult magazines. He targeted movie studios such as MCA-Universal, distributor of *The Last Temptation of Christ*, with its “blasphemous depiction” of biblical accounts. He organized campaigns against retail chains 7-Eleven and Kmart (parent company of Waldenbooks), where adult magazines were sold. Also, he protested against hotel chains such as Holiday Inn for carrying adult movies on in-house cable systems.

Wildmon’s boycotting strategies have been both direct, going to the heads of companies to request that they not sponsor anti-Christian materials, and indirect, asking media users to not buy those products advertised on questionable programs. In some cases, he seems to have been successful. Pepsico was persuaded to cancel commercials in which the pop singer Madonna’s uses of religious imagery appeared. Mazda Motor of America withdrew advertising from NBC’s *Saturday Night Live* because of its “indecent, vulgar, and offensive” nature. When Burger King was found advertising on TV shows containing “sex, violence, profanity, and anti-Christian bigotry,” it was induced to run a newspaper ad, an “Open Letter to the American People,” declaring its support of “traditional American family values on TV.” Some of Wildmon’s critics question whether such persuasion by Wildmon is a form of censorship. Others, including Wildmon, insist that such boycotts and public pressure are “as American as the Boston tea party.”

To communicate with its supporters and encourage their activism, the AFA uses a variety of media, including a journal, a radio network, print and electronic newsletters, the Internet, and videotapes. The *AFA Journal* (which is available in print and online) and the association’s website regularly present descriptions of “troublesome” TV programs and identify the advertisers supporting the shows. Accompanying this material are the names and addresses of the offending corporations and their chief executive officers, so AFA followers can lodge their complaints and pressure sponsors and producers to change their ways. The AFA also uses its journal and website to link individuals to their representatives in Congress, thereby promoting active citizen participation in the lawmaking process. Articles in the journal cover a number of topics, such as the National Endowment for the Arts’ funding of “anti-Christian” art; legal and legislative contests over



Rev. Donald Wildmon with Hodding Carter on *Inside Story Special Edition: Eye of the Beholder*, 1981.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

prayer in public schools, abortion, and gay rights; advice for families and individuals seeking to live according to moral precepts upheld by the AFA; and the activities of politicians and others who support or oppose the AFA’s priorities. Supporters can sign up for the AFA’s e-mail “Action Alerts,” outlining issues and appropriate actions to take. The AFA also distributes the *Fight Back Book* (a directory of television advertisers and products) and sells video exposés of forces seeking to undermine the AFA’s vision of a Christian America. One such video, titled *MTV Examined*, was described as a “comprehensive—and sometimes shocking—look at the destructive effects of MTV and how the programming often crosses the line from entertainment to promotion of illicit sex, violence, drug abuse, immorality, profanity, and liberal politics.”

More liberal forms of media have been outspoken critics of these efforts. *Playboy* has regularly lashed out against Wildmon, presumably because of his attacks on retail outlets that sell the magazine. Other media outlets often simply ignore him.

In 1994 Wildmon’s attacks hit a crescendo and gained national attention when he brought to public attention, before its airing on ABC, the controversial cop show *NYPD Blue*. The show’s producer, Steven

Bochco, had indicated that he would push the frontier of what would be seen on prime-time TV with a series that included controversial language, adult situations, and brief scenes of nudity. This would be television akin to what might be seen in R-rated movies. Wildmon called for a boycott. Amid Bochco's promotions and Wildmon's protests, the show attracted viewers and received good ratings, as well as many positive critical notices. A number of ABC affiliates chose not to carry the show, however, and there was some controversy surrounding its advertisers. However, the viewing public soon became acclimated; the show did not seem strikingly indecent to many, and it continued to employ strong language, sexual imagery, and mature themes into the early 2000s. Although Wildmon later conceded that his vigorous protests against the show probably attracted attention to it, he remains convinced that he can improve American culture by voicing his objections to other programs that do not meet his moral standards. For example, when ABC broadcast *Ellen*, a sitcom in which the title character came out as a lesbian, Wildmon and the AFA again targeted the network and the program's sponsors, and the association took credit when the show was later canceled. AFA likewise pressures advertisers to make "moral" commercials, free of overt sexual references and imagery that the AFA deems disrespectful to Christianity. For instance, in 2002 the AFA urged Americans to boycott Hellmann's/Best Foods because it featured male strippers in a mayonnaise spot.

While the idea of consumer activism and consumer boycotting originated with liberals in the 1960s and 1970s, in ensuing decades such causes and tactics frequently came from the political right. Wildmon, as leader of the forces attacking the media and television in particular, brought to many people the idea that they were not helpless in countering media influences. In doing so, he has taken a prominent place in a long line of advocates addressing the social and cultural role of television.

VAL E. LIMBURG

**See also Advertising; Censorship; Religion on Television**

**Donald Wildmon.** Born in Dumas, Mississippi, January 18, 1938. Attended Mississippi State University, graduated from Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi, 1960; Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, master of divinity. Married: Lynda Lou Bennett, 1961; two daughters and two sons. Served in U.S. Army, 1961–63. Ordained as minister, 1964; quit pastorate to protest pornography and violence in media, 1977; founded National Federation for Decency, 1977 (changed name to American Family Association, 1988); founded Coalition for Better Television, 1981 (disbanded, 1982); organized Christian Leaders for Responsible Television, 1982; widened scope of protests by submitting lists of sellers of pornographic magazines and books to Attorney General Edwin Meese's commission on pornography, 1986; convinced Federal Communications Commission to issue warning to radio personality Howard Stern, 1987; protested release of film *The Last Temptation of Christ*, 1988; protested video for and advertising use of Madonna's song "Like a Prayer," 1989; has protested National Endowment for the Arts policies, since 1989.

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**Will & Grace.** *See Family on Television; Queer as Folk; Sexual Orientation and Television*

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# Williams, Raymond (1921–1988)

British Media Critic

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Raymond Williams was one of Britain's greatest postwar cultural historians, theorists, and polemicists. A distinguished literary and social thinker in the Left-Leavisite tradition, he sought to understand literature and related cultural forms not as the outcome of an isolated aesthetic adventure, but as the manifestation of a deeply social process that involved a series of complex relationships between authorial ideology, institutional process, and generic/aesthetic form. Pioneering in the context of the British literary academy, these concerns are heralded in the brief-lived postwar journal *Politics and Letters*, which he cofounded. Williams's theories are perhaps best summarized in his *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (1958; 2nd edition, 1983), his critical panorama of literary tradition from the romantics to George Orwell, predicated on the key terms "industry," "democracy," "class," "art," and "culture." This ideological sense of cultural etymology became the basis of his influential pocket dictionary *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976).

Marked by a commitment to his class origins and his postwar experiences of adult education, Williams's efforts to expand the traditional curriculum for English also entailed an early engagement with the allied representational pressures of drama and cinema, in books such as *Drama from Ibsen to Eliot* (1952; 2nd revised edition as *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*, 1968), *Preface to Film* (1954), *Drama in Performance* (1954; revised edition, 1968), and *Modern Tragedy* (1966; revised edition, 1979). His perception of the links between film and drama remains evident in his 1977 *Screen* essay on the politics of realism in Loach's TV film *The Big Flame* (1969), and in his historical introduction to James Curran and Vincent Porter's *British Cinema History* (1983).

Williams's preoccupation with the relationships between ideology and culture, and the development of socialist perspectives in the communicative arts, was to continue in such works as *The Long Revolution* (1961; revised edition, 1966), *May Day Manifesto 1968* (1968), *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence* (1970), *The Country and the City* (1973), *Marxism and Literature* (1977), *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays* (1980), *Culture* (1981), *Towards 2000* (1982), *Writing in Society*

(1983), *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (1989), and *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (1989). The Williams collection *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review* (1981) provides a useful retrospective on his work.

In the 1960s, Williams's work took on new dimensions. In 1960 he published his first, autobiographical novel, *Border Country*, which was to be followed by other works of fiction: *Second Generation* (1964), *The Volunteers* (1978), and *The Fight for Manod* (1979). In 1962, he published his first book to address directly the new world of contemporary mass media, *Communications*, an informative volume in the early history of media studies that has been influential in Great Britain and internationally. He moved to the center of left cultural politics, in the crucible of 1968, with his chairmanship of the Left National Committee and his edition of the *May Day Manifesto 1968*.

Throughout the 1960s, Williams participated in what he remembered as innumerable TV discussion programs, as the young medium found its style. Two of his novels became TV plays, now sadly lost—a "live" version of *A Letter from the Country* (1966) and *Public Inquiry* (1967), filmed in his native Wales.

From 1968 to 1972, Williams contributed a weekly column on TV to the BBC magazine *The Listener*. Now collected as *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings* (1989), these writings illustrate his response to a wide range of TV themes and pleasures—from an enthusiasm for television sport to a distrust in the medium's stress on "visibility," to arguments about the economic and political relationships between production and transmission.

Williams went on to develop these ideas more formally in the book *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (1974), one of the first major theoretical studies of the medium, which he wrote largely while on a visiting professorship at Stanford University in 1972. There he soaked up American TV, developed his influential concept of TV "flow," and encountered the newly emerging technologies of satellite and cable.

In 1970 he had contributed a personal documentary, "Border Country," to the BBC series *One Pair of Eyes*, which was to be followed at the end of the decade by

"The Country and The City: A Film with Raymond Williams," the last of five programs in the series *Where We Live Now: Five Writers Look at Our Surroundings* (1979). In the 1980s, he contributed to a trio of Open University/BBC programs—*Language in Use: "The Widowing of Mrs Holroyd"* (1981), *Society, Education, and the State: Worker, Scholar, and Citizen* (1982), and *The State and Society in 1984* (1984). He also appeared in *Identity Ascendant: The Home Counties* (1988), an episode in the HTV/Channel 4 series *The Divided Kingdom*, and in *Big Words, Small Worlds* (1987), Channel 4's record of the Strathclyde Linguistics of Writing Conference.

Williams's contribution to cultural thinking was that of a Cambridge professor who never forgot the Welsh village of his childhood. He was a theorist of literature who himself wrote novels; a historian of drama who was also a playwright; and a commentator on TV and the mass media who himself regularly contributed to the television medium in a variety of ways. For him, unlike so many academics, the medium of television was a crucial cultural form, as relevant to education as the printed word. When Channel 4 began transmission in Great Britain in 1982, it was entirely appropriate that this innovative channel's opening feature film should be *So That You Can Live*, Cinema Action's elegy for the industrial decay of the Welsh valleys, explicitly influenced by the work of Williams, from whose work the film offers us readings.

The Second International Television Studies Conference, held in London in 1986, was honored to appoint Williams as its copresident, alongside Hilde Himmelweit. However, by the time the next event came round in 1988, the conference sadly honored not Williams's presence, but his passing. The breadth of his impact in the U.K. cultural arena can be gauged from the British Film Institute monograph *Raymond Williams: Film/TV/Cinema* (edited by David Lusted; 1989), produced to accompany a Williams memorial season at the National Film Theatre and containing a contribution by his widow.

PHILLIP DRUMMOND

See also **Television Studies**

**Raymond (Henry) Williams.** Born in Llanfihangel Crocorney, Wales, August 31, 1921. Attended Abergavenny Grammar School, 1932–39; Trinity College, Cambridge, M.A., 1946. Served in Anti-Tank Regiment, Guards Armoured Division, 1941–45. Married: Joyce Marie Dalling, 1942; children: one daughter and two sons. Editor, *Politics and Letters*, 1946–47; extramural tutor in literature, Oxford University, 1946–61; fellow, Jesus College, Cambridge, from 1961; reader,

Cambridge University, 1967–74; professor of drama, Cambridge University, 1974–83; visiting professor of political science, Stanford University, 1973; general editor, *New Thinkers Library*, 1962–70; reviewer, *The Guardian*, from 1983; adviser, John Logie Baird Centre for Research in Television and Film, from 1983; president, Classical Association, 1983–84. Litt.D.: Trinity College, Cambridge, 1969; D.Univ.: Open University, Milton Keynes, 1975; D.Litt.: University of Wales, Cardiff, 1980. Member: Welsh Academy. Died in Cambridge, January 26, 1988.

#### Television Plays

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|------|----------------------------------|
| 1966 | <i>A Letter from the Country</i> |
| 1967 | <i>Public Inquiry</i>            |
| 1979 | <i>The Country and the City</i>  |

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- Reading and Criticism*, 1950  
*Drama from Ibsen to Eliot*, 1952; 2nd revised edition as *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*, 1968  
*Drama in Performance*, 1954; revised edition, 1968  
*Preface to Film*, with Michael Orram, 1954  
*Culture and Society, 1780–1950*, 1958; second edition, 1983  
*Border Country* (novel), 1960  
*The Long Revolution*, 1961; revised edition, 1966  
*Communications*, 1962; 3rd edition, 1976  
*Second Generation* (novel), 1964  
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## Wilson, Flip (1933–1988)

U.S. Comedian

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In the early 1970s, Flip Wilson was among a group of rising black comics that included Bill Cosby, Nipsey Russell, and Dick Gregory. Wilson is best remembered as the host of the variety program *The Flip Wilson Show*—the first variety series since *The Nat “King” Cole Show* (1956–57) to be hosted by and named after an African American—and for his role in renewing stereotype comedy.

With a keen wit developed during his impoverished youth, Clerow Wilson rose quickly to fame as a stand-up comic and television show host. Under the stage name “Flip,” given to him by Air Force pals who joked he was “flipped out,” Wilson began performing in cheap clubs across the United States. His early routines featured black stereotypes of the controversial *Amos ‘n’ Andy* type. After performing in hallmark black clubs such as the Apollo in Harlem and the Regal in Chicago, Wilson made a successful appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Recommended by Redd Foxx, Wilson also performed on *The Tonight Show* to great accolades, becoming a substitute host.

After making television guest appearances on such shows as *Love, American Style* and *That’s Life*, and starring in his own 1969 NBC special, Wilson was of-

fered an hour-long prime-time NBC show, *The Flip Wilson Show*, which saw a remarkable four-year run. Only Sammy Davis Jr. had enjoyed similar success with his song-and-dance variety show; comparatively, earlier shows hosted by Nat “King” Cole and Bill Cosby were quickly canceled, owing to lack of sponsorship and narrow appeal. At the high point of *The Flip Wilson Show*, advertising rates swelled to \$86,000 per minute, and by 1972 the series was rated the most popular variety show, and the second-most popular show overall in the United States.

Wilson’s television success came from his unique combination of “new” stereotype comedy and his signature stand-up form. His style combined deadpan delivery and dialect borrowed from his role models, Foxx and Cosby, but Wilson replaced their humorous puns with storytelling. His fluid body language, likened to that of silent-screen actor Charlie Chaplin, gave Wilson’s act a dynamic and graceful air. The show benefited from his intensive production efforts, unprecedented for a black television performer; he wrote one-third of the show’s material, heavily edited the work of writers, and demanded a five-day workweek from his staff and guests to produce each one-



Flip Wilson.  
Photo courtesy of Flip Wilson

hour segment. Audiences appreciated the show's innovative style elements, such as the intimate theater-in-the-round studio and the use of medium-long shots, which replaced close-ups in order to capture fully Wilson's expressive movements.

Wilson altered his club act for television in order to accommodate family viewing, relying on descriptive portraits of black characters and situations rather than ridicule. Still, his show offended many African Americans and civil rights activists who believed Wilson's humor depended on race. A large multiethnic television audience, however, found universal humor in the routines, and others credited Wilson with subtly ridiculing the art of stereotyping itself. Wilson denied this claim, strongly denouncing suggestions that his race required that his art convey anti-bias messages.

In fact, these divergent interpretations reflect the variety among Wilson's characters. Some were rather offensive, such as the money-laundering Reverend Leroy and the smooth swinger, Freddy the Playboy. Others, such as Sonny, a White House janitor and the "wisest man in Washington," were positive black portraits. The show's most popular character, Geraldine, exemplifies Wilson's intention to produce "race-free" comedy. Perfectly coifed and decked out in designer

clothes and chartreuse stockings, Geraldine demanded respect and, in Wilson's words, "Everybody knows she don't take no stuff." Liberated yet married, outspoken yet feminine, ghetto-born yet poised, Geraldine was neither floozy nor threat. This colorful black female image struck a positive chord with viewers; her one-liners—"The devil made me do it," and "When you're hot, you're hot"—became national fads. Social messages were imparted indirectly through Wilson's characters; the well-dressed and self-respecting Geraldine, for example, countered the female-degrading acts of other popular stand-up comics. Through Geraldine, Wilson also negotiated racial and class biases by positively characterizing a working-class black female, in contrast to the absence of female black images on 1970s television (with the exception of the middle-class black nurse of the 1969 sitcom *Julia*).

Wilson sometimes did address race more directly through story and theme; one skit, for example, featured Native American women discourteously greeting Christopher Columbus and crew on their arrival in North America. Such innovative techniques enabled Wilson's humorous characters and themes to suggest racial and gender tolerance.

Wilson's career lost momentum when his show was canceled in 1974. Although he was the recipient of a 1970 Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing and a 1971 Grammy for Best Comedy Record, Wilson's career never rekindled. He continued to make television specials and TV guest appearances; made his film debut in Sidney Poitier's successful post-blaxploitation movie *Uptown Saturday Night*; and performed in two subsequent unsuccessful films. His 1985 television comeback, *Charlie and Company*—a sitcom following *The Cosby Show*'s formula—had a short run.

Wilson saw himself first as an artist, and humor was more prominent than politics in his comic routines. This style, however, allowed him to impart successfully occasional social messages into his act. Moreover, he achieved unprecedented artistic control of his show, pressing the parameters for black television performers and producers. Through Geraldine, Wilson created one of 1970s television's few respectful images of black women, who were generally marginalized by both the civil rights and women's movements of that era. Finally, although no regular black variety show took up where Wilson left off, the success of his program paved the way for the popularity of later sitcoms featuring middle- and working-class black families, situations, and dialect, shows such as *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons*, and *Good Times*.

PAULA GARDNER

**See also *Flip Wilson Show, The*; *Racism, Ethnicity, and Television***

**Flip Wilson.** Born Clerow Wilson in Jersey City, New Jersey, December 8, 1933. Married: Cookie MacKenzie, 1957 (divorced, 1967); four children: Kevin, David, Stephanie, Stacey. Served in U.S. Air Force, 1950–54. Bellhop and part-time entertainer, Manor Plaza Hotel, San Francisco, 1954; traveled United States performing in night clubs, late 1950s; regular act at New York City's Apollo Theater, early 1960s; appearances on *The Tonight Show*, from 1965; appeared in numerous television shows, including *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, 1967–68; recorded comedy records, 1967–68; star, *The Flip Wilson Show*, 1970–74; appeared in films, from 1970s; appeared in television series *Charlie and Company*, 1985–86. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1970; Grammy Award, 1971. Died in Malibu, California, November 25, 1998.

#### Television Series

1970–74 *The Flip Wilson Show*  
 1984 *People Are Funny*  
 1985–86 *Charlie and Company*

#### Television Specials

1974 *Flip Wilson... Of Course*  
 1974 *The Flip Wilson Special*  
 1975 *The Flip Wilson Special*  
 1975 *The Flip Wilson Special*  
 1975 *Travels with Flip*  
 1975 *The Flip Wilson Comedy Special*

#### Films

*Uptown Saturday Night*, 1974; *Skatetown, U.S.A.*, 1979; *The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh*, 1979.

#### Recordings

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## Winant, Ethel (1925–2003)

U.S. Network Executive

Ethel Winant's career as a casting director, producer, program developer, and network executive spanned the history of television, and she was among the most important and influential women ever to have worked in the television industry.

Winant's television work began after she watched the anthology program *Studio One*. She was struck by the quality of the show, wrote the producers to inquire about the production, and was subsequently invited to watch a rehearsal of the program. She shrewdly parlayed that meeting into a job running errands for the crew. Not long thereafter, when one actor failed to appear for a particular episode, Winant quickly managed to track down a replacement for him, thus launching her career as a casting director.

Winant subsequently went to work for Talent Associates in 1953, casting episodes of such anthology programs as *Armstrong Circle Theater* and *Philco Playhouse*, and she continued to distinguish herself

within the anthology genre while employed as a casting director at CBS. For Rod Serling's *The Twilight Zone*, Winant cast such beloved episodes as "Eye of the Beholder" and "Long Distance Call," and she both cast and helped produce episodes of *General Electric Theater* and *Playhouse 90*, working alongside some of the most important creative figures in early television, including John Frankenheimer, John Houseman, Arthur Penn, George Roy Hill, and Sidney Lumet.

For *Playhouse 90*, Winant developed a casting strategy that added to the show's reputation as one of the most prominent and prestigious programs on television. Throughout its run, *Playhouse 90* strove for all of the markers of high culture available in television. Winant recalled of the show, "Everything we had learned the previous ten years came with that show. It was the best of *Philco [TV Playhouse]* and *U.S. Steel*, the best writers and directors. It all came together and produced this magical moment. That was *Playhouse 90*" (Kisseloff, p.

230). The producers had hoped to cast big-name Hollywood stars to underscore the show's prestige, but the highest tier of film stars refused to do television, and only fading and lesser-known stars would agree to appear. As a result, Winant utilized a strategy she called "stunt casting," or off-casting the star and then publicizing that performance as prestigious and artistic because of its uniqueness and creativity, no matter the status of the featured actor. Examples of stunt casting on *Playhouse 90* included teen idol Tab Hunter playing a Soviet spy, comedian Ed Wynn portraying an embattled boxing trainer, and affable actor Mickey Rooney depicting an egomaniacal, destructive, and crass television comedian, a role for which he received an Emmy nomination. This successful strategy illustrated that Winant's talents lay not just in choosing actors, but also in matching them with perceptive programming decisions.

These combined abilities helped Winant ascend through the ranks at CBS, and in 1973 she became the first female network executive in the television industry after a promotion to a vice presidency position, which gave her the power to cast all network pilots, series, and specials, as well as responsibilities for program development. Winant said of this advancement:

I'm not really sure why they made me vice president. I guess someone in corporate decided they wanted a woman, which probably had to do with the Women's Movement. . . . It never occurred to me that I'd be a vice president. I wasn't interested in climbing the corporate ladder. I just wanted to make shows. (Gregory, p. 11)

She did precisely that through the 1970s. She cast the principle actors for *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, left CBS in 1975, and went on to produce the 1977 PBS miniseries *The Best of Families* for the Children's Television Workshop. She subsequently moved to NBC in 1978 as a vice president of talent and later a senior vice president of miniseries and novels, developing such notable miniseries as *Shogun*, *Murder in Texas*, and *Little Gloria . . . Happy at Last*.

Winant's career was briefly derailed after she went blind from macular degeneration in the mid-1980s, but she persevered in learning Braille, mastering it so thoroughly that she subsequently taught it to others. She then returned to a steady career of producing and consulting, working on such projects as *World War II: When Lions Roared* and *Fail Safe*, and reteaming with John Frankenheimer on the Emmy-nominated *Andersonville* and *George Wallace*, as well as the 1998 feature film, *Ronin*.

Known for her tenaciousness, liberal spirit, and high energy, Winant let her creative passions guide her entire career. She died December 2, 2003.

CHRISTINE BECKER

**Ethel Winant.** Born Ethel Wald in Worcester, Massachusetts, August 5, 1925. Education: B.A., University of California, Berkeley; Pasadena Playhouse; M.T.A., Whittier College. Married: H.N. Winant (divorced); three children (William, Bruce, Scott). Head of casting, Talent Associates, New York City, 1953–56; various casting and program development positions, CBS, 1960–73; vice president of talent and director of program development, CBS, 1973–75; vice president, Children's Television Workshop, 1975–77; vice president of talent, NBC, 1978; vice president of miniseries and novels for TV, NBC, 1979–81; senior vice president of creative affairs, Metromedia Producers Corp., 1981. Inducted into the Women in Film Hall of Fame in 1992 and the Television Hall of Fame in 1999. Died December 2, 2003.

**Television Series: Casting (selected)**

1953–55 *Armstrong Circle Theater*  
 1953–55 *Philco Playhouse*  
 1956–60 *Playhouse 90*  
 1960 *The Twilight Zone*  
 1965 *The Wild Wild West*  
 1967 *He & She*  
 1968 *Hawaii Five-O*  
 1970 *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*  
 1972 *The Waltons*  
 1972 *The Bob Newhart Show*

**Television Production and Program Development (selected)**

1956–60 *Playhouse 90* (associate producer)  
 1963–65 *The Great Adventure* (producer)  
 1974 *The Migrants*  
 1975 *Benjamin Franklin*  
 1976 *Bicentennial Minutes*  
 1977 *The Best of Families* (executive producer)  
 1980 *Shogun*  
 1981 *Murder in Texas*  
 1982 *Little Gloria . . . Happy at Last*  
 1986 *A Time to Triumph* (executive producer)  
 1987 *Media Access Awards* (executive producer)  
 1994 *World War II: When Lions Roared* (executive producer)  
 1996 *Andersonville* (executive producer)  
 1997 *George Wallace* (executive producer)  
 2000 *Fail Safe* (executive consultant)

**Feature Films**

1962 *All Fall Down* (associate producer)  
 1962 *Two Weeks in Another Town* (associate producer)  
 1998 *Ronin* (associate producer)



### Publications

"Event Programming," *Journal of the Caucus for Television Producers, Writers, and Directors*, 1993

### Further Reading

Auletta, Ken, *Three Blind Mice: How the TV Networks Lost Their Way*, New York: Vintage Books, 1991

Brown, Irby, and Robert S. Alley, *Women Television Producers: Transformation of the Male Medium*, Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002

Gitlin, Todd, *Inside Prime Time*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000

Gregory, Mollie, *Women Who Run the Show*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002

Kisseloff, Jeff, *The Box: An Oral History of Television*, New York: Penguin, 1997

# Wind at My Back

## Canadian Family Drama

A successful family drama from Canadian producer Sullivan Entertainment, *Wind at My Back* followed the winning formula of Sullivan's previous hit *Road to Avonlea*, combining period setting and episodic family drama broadcast during the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) Sunday-evening family-hour slot, with *Wind at My Back* running five seasons, from 1996 to 2001. A one-off reunion television movie, *A Wind at My Back Christmas*, was produced in 2001 and broadcast in December of that year, again on the CBC. There are many similarities between *Wind at My Back* and *Road to Avonlea*, both in industrial/production terms and in textual/formal terms, with *Wind at My Back* apparently designed with the successful aspects of *Road to Avonlea* in mind. Like *Road*, *Wind at My Back* was a commercially successful production both domestically and internationally, initially securing strong audiences for the CBC's Sunday 7:00 P.M. time slot and with robust international sales to 40 countries, including the United States, France, and Australia.

Set in the fictitious town New Bedford, Ontario, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, *Wind at My Back* was a one-hour episodic program chronicling the ups and downs of the lives of the Bailey family as they endured the hardships characteristic of rural Canada in the 1930s. Loosely based on characters, settings, and locations created by Canadian novelist Max Braithwaite (best known for *Who Has Seen the Wind*, which was adapted into a successful Canadian film) in his book *Never Sleep Three on a Bed*, among other 1930s-set fictions, the program's narrative structure turned on relationship between the various generations of the Bailey family and the other residents of New Bedford.

The story begins as Honey Bailey's husband, Jack, dies suddenly, causing Honey to lose her home and the family business. Her domineering mother-in-law, May Bailey, matriarch of the town's wealthy mining family, is unsupportive, takes custody of Honey's two boys, "Hub" (Hubert) and "Fat" (Henry), in the family mansion, and sees that Honey's baby daughter, Violet, is sent to live with distant relatives. Eventually remarrying, this time to school teacher Max Sutton, Honey manages to forge a new life for herself in New Bedford, a town dominated by the influence of her late husband's family.

Just as *Road to Avonlea* did, *Wind at my Back* constructed a predominately nostalgic world, not simply through costume-period depictions of family struggle during the Depression, but also through the evolving children's relationships (particularly Hub and Fat) to their elders and their gradual transformation by the later seasons into boys maturing into adolescence, providing further avenues for exploring the coming-of-age themes so common to family entertainment of this kind. The Depression-era setting provided many opportunities to celebrate family bonds and community spirit by confronting characters with difficulties that were only satisfactorily resolved with the help of kin or community. Family crises intertwined with the presence and influence of other citizens of the town (Ollie Jefferson [Neil Crane], owner of Jefferson's Garage, and Archie Attenborough [Richard Blackburn], who ran Stutts Pharmacy, for example) and in certain instances with larger social issues. Like *The Waltons* before it, *Wind at my Back* created a liberal-humanist view of the world in which the global financial crisis of the Depression provided a suitable backdrop of diffi-

## Wind at My Back

culty on which was painted a warm canvass of cross-generational familial and community struggle and co-operation.

*Wind at My Back* can be seen as a representative example of the recent successes of state intervention in the Canadian television industries. Produced by a private production company, the program was made in association not only with the CBC, the national broadcaster, but also with the participation of several of the nation's industrial incentive programs for television including the Canadian Television Fund (a partnership between the Canadian government and the Canadian cable television companies), Telefilm Canada's Equity Investment Program, the Canadian Television Fund's License Fee Program, and the Government of Canada Film or Video Production Tax Credit Program. Through these various instruments of incentive, the Canadian government has largely achieved the goals of cultural policy, as programs such as *Wind at My Back* illustrate, by creating indigenous, relatively popular, nationally specific entertainment programs, and the goals of industrial policy, by generating capital, contributing to the establishment of a sufficiently large and capably trained workforce for the specialized needs of television production, and creating exportable, internationally salable cultural commodities.

The series and the Christmas special have been re-run on the CBC, and the series ran on Encore's WAM! Channel in the United States and Disney Channels in France and Australia.

PETER URQUHART

*See also Road to Avonlea*

### Cast

Honey Bailey (seasons 1–3)	Cynthia Belliveau
Honey Bailey (seasons 4–5)	Laura Bruneau
“Hub” Bailey	Dylan Provencher
“Fat” Bailey	Tyrone Savage
May Bailey	Shirley Douglas
Grace Bailey	Kathryn Greenwood
Max Sutton	James Carroll
Topsy Bailey	Robin Craig

### Producers

Kevin Sullivan and Trudy Grant

### Programming History

65 one-hour episodes and one two-hour special  
CBC

December 1996–April 2001      Sunday nights  
Christmas special, December 2001

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## Windsor, Frank (1927– )

British Actor

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Frank Windsor is one of the best-known stalwarts of British police drama serials, having costarred in several such productions since the 1960s. His career as a television performer started in radically different shows from those with which he was destined to become most closely associated, with appearances in the Shakespearean anthology *An Age of Kings* and subsequently in the science fiction series *A for Andromeda*, in which he played scientist Dennis Bridger. In 1962, however, he made his debut in the role with which he became virtually synonymous—that of Newtown's Detective Sergeant John Watt. As one of the crime-busting team crewing *Z Cars*, Watt was right-hand man to Detective Inspector Barlow (Stratford Johns) and was often placed in the role of the “nice guy” to

Stratford John's more aggressive, often bullying senior officer. The two actors formed a dynamic, absorbing partnership that survived well beyond their departure from the series in 1965.

The two stars resumed the same screen personas in their own follow-up series, *Softly, Softly*, a year after leaving the Newtown force. With Barlow raised to the rank of detective chief superintendent and Watt detective chief inspector, the pair continued to hunt down criminals in their “nice and nasty” partnership, though now based in the fictional region of Wyvern, which appeared to be somewhere near Bristol. Three years into the series, the pair were relocated to Thamesford Constabulary's CID Task Force, and the program itself was retitled *Softly, Softly—Task Force*. Barlow



Frank Windsor.  
Photo courtesy of Frank Windsor

disappeared from the series in 1969, when he left for his own series, *Barlow at Large*, leaving Watt to continue the battle with new partners for another seven years.

Barlow and Watt were brought together again in 1973, when they disinterred the case files connected with the real-life Jack the Ripper murders of the 1880s. They pored over the various theories concerning the identity of the murderer, including the possibility that he might have been a member of the royal family, but in the end even television's two most celebrated police detectives could draw no firm conclusion. Along similar lines was *Second Verdict*, another short series in which the two characters investigated unsolved murder cases from real life.

The extent to which Windsor became linked to just one role has subsequently militated against his taking parts that would challenge public perceptions of his original persona. He has, however, appeared as a guest

in supporting roles in a number of established series (including *All Creatures Great and Small*, *Boon*, and *Casualty*), participated in quiz shows, and also accumulated a number of film and stage credits.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also Z Cars*

**Frank Windsor.** Born in Walsall, Staffordshire, England, July 12, 1927. Attended St. Mary's School, Walsall. Married: Mary Corbett; children: Amanda and David. Began career as performer on radio; founding member, Oxford and Cambridge Players, later the Elizabethan Players; acted classical roles on British stage; television actor as Detective Sergeant Watt in the series *Z Cars*; has since appeared in additional police series and other productions.

#### Television Series

1960	<i>An Age of Kings</i>
1961	<i>A for Andromeda</i>
1962–65	<i>Z Cars</i>
1966–70, 1970–76	<i>Softly, Softly</i>
1976	<i>Second Verdict</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies (selected)

1981	<i>Dangerous Davies—The Last Detective</i>
1982	<i>Coming Out of the Ice</i>

#### Films

*This Sporting Life*, 1963; *Spring and Port Wine*, 1970; *Sunday, Bloody Sunday*, 1971; *Hands of the Ripper*, 1971; *The Dropout*, 1973; *Barry MacKenzie Holds His Own*, 1974; *Assassin*, 1975; *Who Is Killing the Great Chefs of Europe?* 1978; *The London Connection*, 1979; *Night Shift*, 1979; *The Shooting Party*, 1984; *Revolution*, 1985; *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1986; *First Among Equals*, 1987; *Out of Order*, 1987.

#### Stage (selected)

*Androcles and the Lion*; *Brand*; *Travesties*; *Middle-Age Spread*; *Mr. Fothergill's Murder*.

#### Further Reading

Corner, John, editor, *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*, London: British Film Institute, 1991

# Winfrey, Oprah (1954– )

U.S. Talk Show Host

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Oprah Winfrey, known primarily as the host of the nationally and internationally syndicated American talk show *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, has successfully charted and navigated a career that has built on the television industry as a form of public therapy. On *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, both ordinary people and guest celebrities are there to reveal their inner truths, and it is these revelations that create in the audience the dual sentiments that have been critical to the success of *Oprah*: there is a voyeuristic pleasure in hearing about what is normally hidden by others, and there is the cathartic sensation that the public revelation will lead to social betterment.

One of the key features of Winfrey's television persona is that her own private life has been an essential element of her talk show format of public therapy. Her accounts of growing up as a poor black child and of her past and current problems with child abuse, men, and weight have made Winfrey an exposed public personality on television and have allowed her loyal audience to feel that they "know" her quite well. This televisual familiarity is part of the power of Oprah Winfrey.

Winfrey's path into the profession was partially connected to her success in two beauty pageants. At 16, Winfrey was the first black Miss Fire Prevention for Nashville. From that position, and with her obvious and demonstrated abilities in public speaking, she was invited to be the newsreader on a local black radio station, WVOL. Later, she maintained her public profile by winning the Miss Black Tennessee pageant and gained a scholarship to Tennessee State University. In her final year of studying speech, drama, and English, Winfrey was offered a position as coanchor on the television news program of the CBS affiliate WVTF. She has described her early role model for news broadcasting as Barbara Walters.

Although not entirely comfortable with her role as news journalist/anchor, Winfrey gained a more lucrative coanchor position at WJZ, the ABC affiliate in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1977. She struggled for several months in the position; her greatest weaknesses derived from not reading the news copy before airtime and from her penchant for extensive ad-libbing. She was pulled from the anchor position and given the role

of cohosting a morning chat show, *People Are Talking*. Able to be relaxed and natural on air, Winfrey excelled in this position. By the end of her run, her local morning talk show had transformed into a program dealing with more controversial issues, and Winfrey's presence helped the show outdraw the nationally syndicated talk show *Donahue* in the local Baltimore market.

In 1983 Winfrey followed her associate producer Debra Di Maio to host *A.M. Chicago*, a morning talk show on Chicago station WLZ-TV. By 1985 the name was changed to *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, and once again Winfrey's program was drawing a larger audience than *Donahue* in the local market. Winfrey also gained a national presence through her Oscar-nominated role in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985). The large television program syndicator King World, realizing the earning potential of Winfrey, took over production of her show in 1986 and reproduced the daily program for the national market. Within weeks of the launch in September 1986, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* became the most-watched daytime talk show in the United States.

The deal struck with King World in 1986 instantly made Winfrey the highest-paid performer in the entertainment industry, with estimated earnings from the program of \$31 million in 1987. She has continued to be one of the wealthiest women in the entertainment industry and has used that power to establish her own production company, Harpo Productions. Harpo's presence on television has been evident in a number of arenas. First, in dramatic programming, Harpo produced the miniseries *The Women of Brewster Place* (1989) and the follow-up situation-drama/comedy *Brewster Place* (1990). Winfrey both starred in and produced these programs. She has produced and hosted several prime-time documentaries, including one specifically on children and abuse. In recent years, she has sometimes supplanted Walters in securing one-off interviews with key celebrities. Winfrey's prime-time interview of Michael Jackson in February 1993 (ABC) garnered a massive television audience both nationally and internationally. Similarly, her interview with basketball star Michael Jordan in October 1993 reaffirmed Winfrey's omnipresence and power in tele-



Oprah Winfrey, 1987.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

vision. In the late 1990s, Winfrey continued to operate as producer with many special programs, films, and series, including Jonathan Demme's feature film *Beloved* (1998), in which she also played a part; the television miniseries *The Wedding* (1998); and the made-for-television movie *Tuesdays with Morrie* (1999), based on a best-selling book Winfrey had featured on her talk show.

The centerpiece of both Winfrey's wealth and her public presence continues to be her daily talk show, which is also broadcast successfully internationally. Borrowing the "run and microphone thrust" device from Donahue, she makes the television audience part of the performance. With this and other techniques, Winfrey has managed to create an interesting public forum that transforms the feminist position that "the personal is political" into a vaguely political television program. Themes range from the bizarre ("Children Who Abuse Parents") to the titillating ("How Important Is Size in Sex?"), from the overtly political ("Women of the Ku Klux Klan") to the personal trials and tribulations of her own weight loss/gain and the "problems" of fellow celebrities.

In direct counterpoint to programs such as the talk

shows hosted by Jerry Springer and Ricki Lake, Winfrey has consolidated an older, and perhaps more middle-class, audience as she has moved to edify her audience. One effort to distance her program from the more scandal-driven talk shows, the "Oprah's Book Club" feature, has had a significant impact on the book industry, as Winfrey's endorsements of particular titles have become the harbinger of success for the authors of those works. Winfrey's role in book sales has become so important as to frequently spark debate. In particular, Jonathan Frantzen's decision in 2001 to decline an invitation to have his novel *The Corrections* discussed on air in her book club, and Winfrey's own announcement in 2002 that she intended to end the feature because she could not find enough satisfactory works, inspired many pundits to comment on the state of contemporary literature. In 2003 Winfrey resuscitated her book club, with John Steinbeck's *East of Eden*.

In 2001, through Harpo Productions, Winfrey successfully launched the lifestyle magazine *O*, the cover of which is almost exclusively a photo of her. Her website, *oprah.com*, consolidates the wealth of material that now is circulated by Winfrey and her loyal and large audience and is associated with the larger media entity Oxygen Media. Thus, Winfrey continues to represent a televisual and now multimedia path to self-actualization.

P. DAVID MARSHALL

See also *Talk Show*; *Women of Brewster Place*, *The*

**Oprah Winfrey.** Born in Kosciusko, Mississippi, January 29, 1954. Educated at Tennessee State University, B.A. in speech and drama, 1987. Began career as news reporter for WVOL Radio, Nashville, Tennessee, 1971-72; reporter, news anchorperson, WTVF-TV, Nashville, 1973-76; news anchorperson, WJZ-TV, Baltimore, Maryland, 1976-77; host, morning talk show, *People Are Talking*, 1977-83; host, *A.M. Chicago* talk show, WLS-TV, Chicago, 1984; host, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*; locally broadcast in Chicago, 1985-86, nationally syndicated, since 1986; received Oscar and Golden Globe nominations for dramatic film debut in *The Color Purple*, 1985; owner and producer, Harpo Productions, since 1986; moved to television acting with *Brewster Place* miniseries on ABC, 1990; host, series of television specials, including *Oprah: Behind the Scenes*, from 1992. Recipient: Woman of Achievement Award, National Organization of Women, 1986; numerous Emmy Awards; named Broadcaster of the Year, International Radio and TV Society, 1988; America's Hope Award, 1990; Industry Achievement Award, Broadcast Promotion Marketing

## Winfrey, Oprah

Executives/Broadcast Design Association, 1991; Image Awards, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1992; Entertainer of the Year Award, NAACP, 1989; CEBA Awards, 1989, 1990, and 1991.

### Television Series

1977–83 *People Are Talking*  
1984 *A.M. Chicago*  
1986– *The Oprah Winfrey Show*  
1990 *Brewster Place* (actor and producer)

### Made-for-Television Movies

1989 *The Women of Brewster Place* (actor and producer)  
1992 *Overexposed* (executive producer)  
1993 *There Are No Children Here* (actor and producer)  
1997 *Before Women Had Wings* (actor and producer)  
1998 *David and Lisa* (producer)  
1999 *Tuesdays with Morrie* (producer)  
2001 *Amy and Isabelle* (producer)

### Television Miniseries

1998 *The Wedding*

### Television Specials

1991–93 *ABC Afterschool Special* (host and supervising producer)

1992 *Oprah: Behind the Scenes* (host and supervising producer)  
1992 *Lincoln* (voice)  
1993 *Michael Jackson Talks... to Oprah: 90 Prime-Time Minutes with the King of Pop*  
1997 *About Us: The Dignity of Children* (host and producer)

### Films

*The Color Purple*, 1985; *Native Son*, 1986; *Beloved*, 1998.

### Further Reading

Barthel, Joan, "Here Comes Oprah! From *The Color Purple* to TV Talk Queen," *Ms.* (August 1986)  
Gillespie, Marcia Ann, "Winfrey Takes All," *Ms.* (November 1988)  
Haag, Laurie L., "Oprah Winfrey: The Construction of Intimacy in the Talk Show Setting," *Journal of Popular Culture* (spring 1993)  
Harrison, Barbara Grizzuti, "The Importance of Being Oprah," *New York Times Magazine* (June 11, 1989)  
King, Norman, *Everybody Loves Oprah!: Her Remarkable Life Story*, New York: Morrow, 1987  
Mair, George, *Oprah Winfrey: The Real Story*, Secaucus, New Jersey: Carol, 1994  
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Mascariotte, Gloria-Jean, "'C'mon Girl': Oprah Winfrey and the Discourse of Feminine Talk," *Genders* (fall 1991)  
Waldron, Robert, *Oprah!* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988  
White, Mimi, *Tele-Advising: Therapeutic Discourse in American Television*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992

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## Winters, Jonathan (1925– )

U.S. Comedian

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Jonathan Winters began his career in radio as a disc jockey on station WING (Dayton, Ohio) and then moved to television at WBNS (Columbus, Ohio), where he hosted a local program for three years. He moved to New York in the 1950s and performed in night clubs on Broadway. But it is TV that has made Winters both famous and familiar to a huge and grateful U.S. audience for more than four decades. Known for his numerous characters and voices, his stream-of-consciousness humor has influenced countless other

performers, a prime example being the contemporary comic actor Robin Williams.

Winters's first network television appearances came during the 1950s, with enormously successful guest spots on talk-variety shows such as *The Jack Paar Show*, *The Steve Allen Show*, and *The Tonight Show*. He went on to appear in many television programs, including *Omnibus* (where he was the show's first stand-up comedian), *Playhouse 90*, *Twilight Zone*, and *Here's the Show* (a summer replacement for *The*



Jonathan Winters.  
Photo courtesy of Jonathan Winters

George Gobel Show). *The NBC Comedy Hour*, originally designed as a Sunday showcase for new talent, was revamped to feature Gail Storm as the hostess and Winters as the show's comedian. He also hosted his own program, *The Jonathan Winters Show*, in 1956–57. Aired on NBC from 7:30 to 7:45 P.M. to fill a 15-minute spot following the NBC evening news, the show was structured around Winters's sketches, black-outs, and monologues. The program was revived by CBS in a one-hour format for two seasons beginning in December 1967 and featured the famous Maude Frickert, as well as the Willard "From the Couple up the Street" sketch. In some ways, these shows indicated that Winters's comedy was almost too unpredictable for conventional network television, and he was allowed more freedom in *The Wacky World of Jonathan Winters*, a syndicated program that focused on his bravura improvisations.

Younger viewers may remember Winters from *Mork and Mindy*, where he played the role of Mork and Mindy's son. Paired with Robin Williams in the role of Mork, Winters was wildly inventive. The comedy in this show was at times truly explosive, with one improvisational genius playing off the other. In the more conventional sitcom, *Davis Rules*, Winters was

confined to a character, yet somehow managed to work many of his other personae into the stories. His performance earned an Emmy for Best Supporting Actor in a Comedy. In addition to on-camera roles, Winters frequently provides the voice for commercials and cartoons. These performances are usually wedded to his distinctive style, allowing audiences the pleasure of recognition for yet another Jonathan Winters moment.

WILLIAM RICHTER

**Jonathan Winters.** Born in Dayton, Ohio, November 11, 1925. Educated at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, 1946; Dayton Art Institute, B.F.A., 1950. Married: Eileen Schauder, 1948; one daughter and one son. Served in U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1943–46. Began career at radio station WING, Dayton, Ohio, 1949; disc jockey, station WBNS-TV, Columbus, Ohio, 1950–53; nightclub comedian, New York, 1953; successful in film and as author and painter; recorded 12 albums for Verve. Honorary chair, National Congress of American Indians. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1991.

#### Television Series (selected)

1956–57	<i>The Jonathan Winters Show</i>
1967–69	<i>The Jonathan Winters Show</i>
1972–74	<i>The Wacky World of Jonathan Winters</i>
1975–80	<i>Hollywood Squares</i>
1978–82	<i>Mork and Mindy</i>
1991–92	<i>Davis Rules</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1968	<i>Now You See It, Now You Don't</i>
1980	<i>More Wild, Wild West</i>
1985	<i>Alice in Wonderland</i>
1987	<i>The Little Troll Prince</i> (voice only)

#### Television Specials (selected)

1964	<i>The Jonathan Winters Special</i>
1965	<i>The Jonathan Winters Show</i>
1965	<i>The Jonathan Winters Show</i>
1967	<i>Guys 'n' Geishas</i>
1970	<i>The Wonderful World of Jonathan Winters</i>
1976	<i>Jonathan Winters Presents 200 Years of American Humor</i>
1977	<i>Yabba Dabba Doo! The Happy World of Hanna-Barbera</i> (cohost)
1986	<i>King Kong: The Living Legend</i> (host)
1991	<i>The Wish That Changed Christmas</i> (voice)

### Films

*It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 1963; *The Loved One*, 1964; *The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!* 1966; *Penelope*, 1967; *The Midnight Oil*, 1967; *8 on the Lam*, 1967; *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mama's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Sad*, 1968; *Viva Max*, 1969; *The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh*, 1979; *The Longshot*, 1986; *Say Yes*, 1986; *Moon over Parador*, 1988; *The Shadow*, 1994; *The Flintstones*, 1994; *The Adventures of Rocky and Bullwinkle*, 2000.

### Publications

*Mouse Breath, Social Conformity, and Other Ills*, 1965  
*Winters' Tales: Stories and Observations for the Unusual*, 1987; revised edition, 2001  
*Hang Ups: Paintings by Jonathan Winters*, 1988

### Further Reading

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Sanoff, Alvin P., "The Stand-Up Art of Jonathan Winters," *U.S. News and World Report* (December 5, 1988)

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## Wiseman, Frederick (1930– )

### U.S. Documentary Filmmaker

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Since the late 1960s, Frederick Wiseman has arguably been the most important American documentary filmmaker. A law professor turned filmmaker in 1967, Wiseman, in his most dramatically powerful documentaries, has poignantly chronicled the exercise of power in American society by focusing on the everyday travails of the least fortunate Americans caught in the tangled webs of social institutions operating at the community level. An underlying theme of many of these documentaries is the individual's attempt to preserve his or her humanity and dignity while struggling against laws and dehumanizing bureaucratic systems. Wiseman functions as producer, director, and editor of the films, which numbered 32 by 2001. Most of the documentaries have been broadcast on public television in the United States, presented by New York station WNET, and have regularly marked the opening of the new PBS season. Wiseman's documentaries have won numerous awards, including three Emmys and a Dupont Award. Wiseman was awarded the prestigious MacArthur Prize Fellows Award in 1982, and he has received a Peabody Award for his contribution to documentary film.

Wiseman's aesthetic falls squarely in the "direct cinema" tradition of documentary filmmaking, which emphasizes continued filming, as unobtrusively as possible, of human conversation and the routines of everyday life, with no music, no interviews, no voice-over narration, and no overt attempt to interpret or explain the events unfolding before the camera.

Wiseman calls his films "reality-fictions," reflecting his tight thematic structuring of the raw footage in the editing process. Eschewing "leading characters," Wiseman skillfully interweaves many small stories to provide contrast and thematic complexity.

Wiseman's debut as a documentarian was both auspicious and highly controversial. His first film, *Titicut Follies* (1967), was shot in the Massachusetts State Hospital for the Criminally Insane at Bridgewater. Here we see the impact of a social institution—a publicly funded mental hospital—on society's rejects. Often described as an "exposé" (a description Wiseman rejects), *Titicut Follies* chronicled the indignities suffered by the inmates, many of whom were kept naked and force-fed through nasal tubes. *Titicut Follies* caused a public outcry and demands for institutional reform. The film was officially barred from general public showings until 1993 by order of a U.S. court, on grounds that it violated an inmate's privacy.

A succession of critically acclaimed documentaries quickly followed. In *High School* (1968), Wiseman examined a largely white and middle-class Philadelphia high school and the authoritarian, conformist value system inculcated in students by teachers and administrators. The official ideology reflected in the educational power structure was largely seen as an expression of the value framework of the surrounding community.

*Law and Order* (1969) was filmed in Kansas City, Missouri. Here, Wiseman cast his gaze on the daily





Frederick Wiseman.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

routine of police work in the Kansas City police department. Most of the sequences were filmed in the black district of the city. Examples of police brutality and insensitivity were juxtaposed with other examples of sympathetic patrol officers attempting to assist citizens with a variety of minor, and sometimes humorous, problems. On the whole, however, police behavior was depicted as symptomatic of deeper social crises, including racism, poverty, and the resultant pervasive violence in the inner city.

His next film, *Hospital* (1969), for which Wiseman won two Emmys for Best News Documentary, was set in the operating room, emergency ward, and outpatient clinics of New York City's Metropolitan Hospital. As in *Law and Order*, Wiseman used an institutional setting to examine urban ills. Stabbing and drug-overdose victims, abused children, the mentally disturbed, and the abandoned elderly pass through the public hospital. But unlike the authority figures in *Titicut Follies*, the doctors, nurses, and orderlies at Metropolitan come off as much more humane, responding to patients with sympathy and understanding.

In *Juvenile Court* (1973), as in *Hospital*, Wiseman reveals the compassionate side of authority. The court officials in the Memphis, Tennessee, juvenile court

discuss, with evident concern, the futures of young offenders accused of crimes such as child abuse and armed robbery.

*Welfare* (1975) is one of the most provocative and understated of Wiseman's institutional examinations. Shot in a New York City welfare office, the documentary, in seemingly interminable shots, chronicles the frustration and pain of abject welfare recipients who spend their time sitting and waiting, or being shunted from office to office, as the degrading milieu of the welfare system grinds on. Welfare bureaucrats are largely seen as agents of dehumanization.

*The Store* (1983), Wiseman's first color film, at first glance appears to depart from the typical "weighty" subject matter of most of his previous films. That, however, is deceptive. For while the institution under scrutiny, the world-famous Neiman-Marcus department store in Dallas, Texas, may seem to be lightweight material, Wiseman's treatment of the activities of store employees and the mostly wealthy customers ultimately reveals the shallow lives of the United States' economic elite and those who service them. Conspicuous consumption is everywhere in evidence. The clientele while away days in the store's dressing rooms, trying on expensive gowns and furs. A compliant group of saleswomen are led in smile exercises as they prepare to meet their condescending customers. The bourgeoisie and proletariat are complicit in this sordid dance of money and unproductive leisure. *The Store* stands in stark and powerful contrast to the despair depicted in *Welfare*.

The ethics of Wiseman's filmmaking have been criticized by some as invading the privacy of the films' subjects (*Titicut Follies* is the clearest case in point). Wiseman's response is unequivocal. He argues that if an institution receives public tax support, citizens are entitled to observe its operation. Reportorial access, Wiseman adds, is a constitutional right with regard to public institutions. In his early documentaries, if any subject objected at the time of shooting to being filmed, Wiseman eliminated the footage in question from the final cut. Later, however, he denied subjects veto rights. Some subjects, while initially pleased with their portrayals, later became upset with others' negative reactions to those portrayals. This may be one of Wiseman's major contributions to the documentary form, to permit subjects to examine their own behavior—to confront the consequences of their own social actions—as seen through the eyes of others.

HAL HIMMELSTEIN

**Frederick Wiseman.** Born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 1, 1930. Educated at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, B.A., 1951; LL.B., Yale

Wiseman, Frederick

University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1954. Worked as law professor; turned to television documentary filmmaking, 1967. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1969 (twice), and 1970; John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 1980–81; John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellowship, 1982–87; International Documentary Association Career Achievement Award, 1990; Peabody Award, Personal Award, 1991.

**Television Documentaries (all as producer, director, and editor)**

1967 *Titicut Follies*  
1968 *High School*  
1969 *Law and Order*  
1970 *Hospital*  
1971 *Basic Training*  
1972 *Essene*  
1973 *Juvenile Court*  
1974 *Primate*  
1975 *Welfare*  
1976 *Meat*  
1977 *Canal Zone*  
1978 *Sinai Field Mission*  
1979 *Manoeuvre*  
1980 *Model*  
1982 *Seraphita's Diary*  
1983 *The Store*  
1985 *Racetrack*  
1986 *Blind*

1986 *Deaf*  
1986 *Adjustment and Work*  
1986 *Multi-Handicapped*  
1987 *Missile*  
1989 *Near Death*  
1989 *Central Park*  
1991 *Aspen*  
1993 *Zoo*  
1994 *High School II*  
1995 *Ballet*  
1996 *La Comedie Francaise*  
1997 *Public Housing*  
1999 *Belfast, Maine*  
2001 *Domestic Violence*

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Barnouw, Erik, *Documentary: A History of the Nonfiction Film*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974; revised edition, 1983  
Denby, David, "Documentary in America," *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1970)  
Rifkin, Glenn, "Wiseman Looks at Affluent Texans," *New York Times* (December 11, 1983)  
Rosenthal, Alan, editor, *New Challenges in Documentary*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988

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## Witt, Paul Junger (1941– )

U.S. Producer

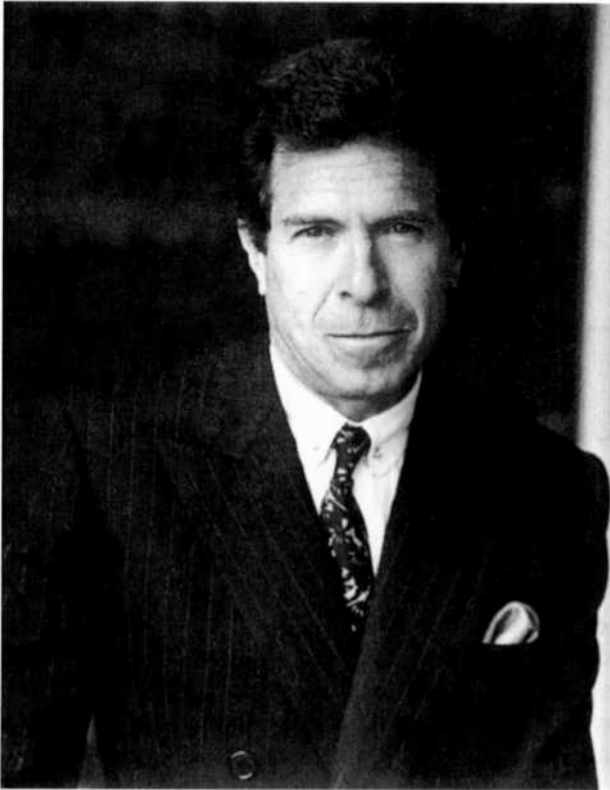
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Native New Yorker Paul Junger Witt took his first television position with Screen Gems in Los Angeles immediately following his graduation from the University of Virginia. At Screen Gems, one of Hollywood's most active television production companies, he worked as an associate producer and director of *The Farmer's Daughter* and *Occasional Wife*. In 1971 Witt produced the enormously successful and influential—and Emmy-winning—made-for-television movie *Brian's Song*. On that project he worked for the first time with his future partner, Tony Thomas. He then assumed producer-director duties on *The Partridge Family*.

In 1971 he moved on to become a producer with

Spelling-Goldberg Productions, where he was involved in several films. A year later, he joined Danny Thomas Productions as president, serving as executive producer of five movies for television and two series, including *Fay*, which was created and written by Susan Harris.

In 1975 Witt joined with Tony Thomas (son of the legendary comedian Danny Thomas) to form Witt/Thomas Productions. A year later, the two men teamed up with Susan Harris to form Witt/Thomas/Harris Productions. Their first venture, *Soap*, was both a critical and popular success, although it was roundly attacked by religious and cultural conservatives. Witt found the



Paul Junger Witt.  
Photo courtesy of Witt-Thomas-Harris Productions

criticisms particularly disturbing since no one in the groups making the attacks had ever seen the series. Yet several ABC affiliates responded to the critiques and either refused to air *Soap* or relegated it to late hours. It is Witt's belief that the unfair depictions of the show by those bent on removing it from the air continued to have a chilling effect on advertisers for all the remaining years that the program was on ABC.

A unique television event, *Soap* set in motion a long string of major television hits for the three partners, including *Benson*, *The Golden Girls*, and *Empty Nest*. Of these series, *Soap* and *Golden Girls* reflected a continuing emphasis on strong female characters. The company also produced at least five other shows with modest success that focused on women. In addition, Witt/Thomas produced *Beauty and the Beast*, *Blossom*, *The John Larroquette Show*, *The Secret Lives of Men*, and *Everything's Relative*.

The huge success of the company solidified Witt/Thomas/Harris as a powerful force in the television industry. Witt observed that their reputation gave them significant access to network time slots. In 1984, Witt/Thomas also began production of feature films including *Dead Poets Society* and *Three Kings*.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

*See also Benson; Golden Girls; Harris, Susan; Soap; Thomas, Tony*

**Paul Junger Witt.** Born in New York City, March 20, 1941. Educated at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, B.A. in fine arts, 1963. Married: Susan Harris; one son, Oliver; one daughter and two sons from a previous marriage. Associate producer and director, Screen Gems, Hollywood, California, 1965–67, producer and director, 1967–71; producer, Spelling/Goldberg Productions, Hollywood, 1971–73; president and executive producer, Danny Thomas Productions, Hollywood, 1973–74; founder and executive producer, Witt/Thomas/Harris Productions, Hollywood, 1976–81, executive producer, since 1975; executive producer, Witt/Thomas/Harris Productions, Witt/Thomas Productions, Witt/Thomas Films, 1992. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1972, 1985, and 1986. Member: Board of Directors, Environmental Defense Fund; National Board, Medicine Sans Frontiers; Directors Guild of America; Writers Guild of America.

#### Television Series (selected)

1972–76	<i>The Rookies</i>
1977–81	<i>Soap</i>
1980–81	<i>I'm a Big Girl Now</i>
1980–82	<i>It's a Living</i>
1982–83	<i>It Takes Two</i>
1983	<i>Condo</i>
1985	<i>Hail to the Chief</i>
1985–92	<i>The Golden Girls</i>
1987–90	<i>Beauty and the Beast</i>
1988–95	<i>Empty Nest</i>
1991–95	<i>Blossom</i>
1991	<i>Good and Evil</i>
1991–93	<i>Herman's Head</i>
1991–93	<i>Nurses</i>
1993	<i>Whoops</i>
1993–96	<i>The John Larroquette Show</i>
1995	<i>Muscle</i>
1996	<i>Local Heroes</i>
1996–97	<i>Pearl</i>
1996	<i>Common Law</i>
1998	<i>The Secret Lives of Men</i>
1999	<i>Everything's Relative</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1972	<i>Brian's Song</i>
1972	<i>No Place to Run</i>
1972	<i>Home for the Holidays</i>
1973	<i>A Cold Night's Death</i>
1973	<i>The Letters</i>
1973	<i>Bloodsport</i>

1974	<i>Remember When</i>
1974	<i>The Gun and the Pulpit</i>
1975	<i>Satan's Triangle</i>
1976	<i>Griffin and Phoenix</i>
1976	<i>High Risk</i>
1980	<i>Trouble in Big Timber Country</i>
1996	<i>Radiant City</i>

#### Films

*Firstborn*, 1984; *Dead Poets Society*, 1988; *Final Analysis*, 1992; *Mixed Nuts*, 1994; *Three Kings*, 1999; *Insomnia*, 2002.

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## Wojeck

### Canadian Drama Series

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First aired on the anglophone network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for two seasons (1966 and 1968), *Wojeck* was a magnificent aberration: a popular, homegrown dramatic series made for the pleasure of English-Canadian viewers. Early on, francophone producers in Montreal had developed a particular genre of social melodrama, known as the *téléroman*, that captivated the imagination of French-Canadian viewers. Their anglophone counterparts had no such history of success. The record of domestic dramatic series in English Canada had been short and dismal, a collection of failures, or at best partial successes, usually modeled on U.S. hits but lacking either the inspiration or the funding necessary to succeed. Audiences much preferred watching the originals, the stories Hollywood had made, until *Wojeck* arrived. Early in its first season, *Wojeck* was purportedly attracting more viewers than many U.S. imports, and it received even higher ratings when rebroadcast in the summer of 1967.

Part of the success of *Wojeck* rested on its visual style. It was the first time the CBC had produced a filmed dramatic series for its national audience. Executive producer Ronald Weyman drew on his experience at the National Film Board to deliver stories that had the look of authenticity. This was especially true in the first season, when each episode was in black and white and scenes were sometimes shot with a handheld camera, giving the productions a gritty, realistic quality that at times suggested the news documentary. The look of authenticity was less apparent in the second season, when the series was shot in color.

Success, however, had as much to do with the subject, the script, and above all the acting. *Wojeck* told stories about a big city coroner and his quest for jus-

tice. The character and setting were novel twists on the very popular 1960s U.S. genre of workplace dramas that focused on the exploits of such professionals as lawyers, doctors, and even teachers and social workers. A decade later, the hit U.S. series *Quincy*, which began its long run on NBC in 1976, made the notion of a crusading coroner much more familiar to North American audiences. But at the time that it aired, *Wojeck* was an original, possibly inspired by the much-publicized exploits of an actual coroner of the city of Toronto.

The show did conform nonetheless to the formula of such U.S. hits as *Ben Casey* (1961–66) and *Mr. Novak* (1963–65). All of the episodes of *Wojeck* (written in the first season by Philip Hersch) center on the seamy side of life: racism, ageism, discrimination (one program deals with male prostitution and homosexuality), and other species of injustice. Often the “heavy” is society itself, whose indifference or intolerance has bred evil. *Wojeck* was a kind of “edutainment,” since viewers were supposed to absorb some sort of moral lesson about the country’s social ills while enjoying their hour of diversion. The first show, an outstanding episode titled “The Last Man in the World,” looks at why an Indian committed suicide in the big city, exposing “Canada’s shame”: its mistreatment of its native peoples.

*Wojeck* features a strong male lead, Dr. Steve Wojeck, superbly played by John Vernon, who is backed up by a “team” that includes his wife (the understanding helpmate), an assistant (efficient but unobtrusive), and a sometimes reluctant crown attorney (the well-meaning bureaucrat). *Wojeck* is emphatically masculine: big and rough, aggressive, short-tempered, and domineering. These qualities are most apparent when



*Wojeck.*  
Photo courtesy of National Archives of Canada/CBC Collection

he deals with the police and other authorities. He is easily moved to anger and moral outbursts but is much more understanding when he deals with society's outcasts. *Wojeck* is the engaged liberal: an advocate for the powerless committed to reforming the practices of the system so that it ensures justice for all. Like his Hollywood counterparts, *Wojeck* embodied the 1960s myth of the professional as hero who will turn his talents and skills to making our sadly flawed world a better place.

*Wojeck* had no real successors. Weyman and others did produce a number of forgettable dramas in the next few years, but none could match the appeal of the imports. Ironically, the very success of *Wojeck* had

spelled trouble for CBC's drama department. John Vernon was lured away to Hollywood, where he came to specialize in playing villains. Indeed, Weyman later claimed that much of the talent that had contributed to the appeal of *Wojeck* was drawn away to the greener pastures down south. The memory of that brief, glorious moment was sufficient to justify replaying some of the episodes of *Wojeck* on the CBC network more than 20 years later.

PAUL RUTHERFORD

**See also Canadian Programming in English; Weyman, Ron**

**Cast**

Dr. Steve Wojeck	John Vernon
Marty Wojeck	Patricia Collins
Crown Attorney Bateman	Ted Follows
Byron James	Carl Banas

**Producer**

Ronald Weyman

**Programming History**

20 episodes  
 CBC  
 September 1966–November 1966      Tuesday 9:00–10:00  
 January 1968–March 1968      Tuesday 9:00–10:00

**Further Reading**

Miller, Mary Jane, *Turn Up the Contrast: CBC Television Drama Since 1952*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987  
 Rutherford, Paul, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952–1967*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990  
 Wolfe, Morris, *Jolts: The TV Wasteland and the Canadian Oasis*, Toronto: Lorimer, 1985

## Wolf, Dick (1946– )

U.S. Writer, Producer

Artist and entrepreneur Dick Wolf revitalized television drama in the nineties with the artistic success and popularity of his *Law & Order* franchise. Combining

savvy business acumen with an acute storytelling sense, Wolf devised a paradigm for a television series in the age of fragmentation and erosion of the network

audience. His fascination with real-life crime inspired an almost documentary approach to the police and legal genre, complete with intricate story structure and fully realized characters, which became a model for future network programming.

Following in his father's footsteps, Richard A. Wolf began his career as an advertising copywriter and producer, responsible for more than 100 commercials in the early seventies. He helped launch campaigns for Crest toothpaste ("You can't beat Crest for fighting cavities") and National Airlines ("I'm Cheryl, fly me"), learning the power of the brand in the process. During the mid-1970s, he pursued screenwriting, but few of his scripts became finished films. Wolf himself produced his first film, *Skateboard* (1978), a teenage story starring Leif Garrett. The failure of his second film, *Gas* (1981), about phony fuel shortages, led to writing stories for the seminal police series *Hill Street Blues*, whose creator Steven Bochco was a childhood friend. During this period he changed his screen credit to the more casual Dick Wolf. He also wrote scripts for the stylish *Miami Vice*, later becoming story editor and executive producer of the Michael Mann series. Wolf continued his movie career, writing such diverse films as *No Man's Land* (1987), an undercover police adventure with Charlie Sheen; *Masquerade* (1988), a romantic thriller in the tradition of Hitchcock starring Rob Lowe; and *School Ties* (1992), a teenage drama about anti-Semitism featuring early appearances by Brendan Fraser, Matt Damon, and Ben Affleck. Throughout his career Wolf would experiment with a variety of genres, but his affinity is clearly for the traditional crime drama.

Tackling his own television projects, Wolf eschewed the serialized narrative of *Hill Street Blues* and drew inspiration in the self-contained stories of such 1950s staples as *Dragnet* and *Perry Mason*. In the crowded television universe Wolf wanted to create a recognizable landscape where plots are resolved each week with a distinct, formulaic pacing so that viewers could tune in any time and still understand what was transpiring. Wolf created a series with four lead characters, two detectives and two lawyers. *Law & Order*, a hybrid police and legal series with a complex perspective on the criminal justice system, was rejected by two networks before NBC took a chance in 1990 when such comedies as *Roseanne* and *The Cosby Show* ruled the airwaves. Wolf himself hedged his bets, thinking his hour-long drama could be sold as two half-hours in syndication. *Law & Order* started slowly, but it was on cable, first on A&E and then TNT, that the series, seen as an hour program repeated throughout the day, reached cult status.

Starting with *Law & Order*, Wolf developed several

production strategies that would define his best series. He based episodes on actual events in the news. With this "ripped from the headlines" approach, Wolf and his writers could turn real life into fiction faster than any television movie or theatrical film. Wolf also carried on the legacy of *Naked City* and *The Defenders* by filming in the streets of New York City. The multicultural diversity and surreal insanity of urban life became constant motifs in Wolf's work. Wolf has also consciously made action as important as character in his core series, making sure that any changes in the cast, for whatever reason, would not disrupt the pleasure of his narrative.

One of Wolf's major ambitions is to head an independent production company responsible for quality programming, very much in the tradition of Grant Tinker's MTM. As *Law & Order* developed a critical and popular momentum in the early 1990s, Wolf attempted other projects, but they were short-lived and largely forgettable, including the futuristic cop show *Mann & Machine* (1992) and a reformed con artist drama, *South Beach* (1993). He was more successful with *New York Undercover* (1994-98), a FOX series that combined his gritty, *cinéma vérité* visuals with the beat of the emerging hip-hop culture. When other excursions into the crime genre failed (*Feds*, 1997, and *Players*, 1997-98), Wolf, with his adman sensibility, decided to brand *Law & Order*, creating other series with the same contained story formula and similar dramatic beats. In 1999 *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* debuted, with an emphasis on the investigation of sex crimes. In 2001 Wolf extended the franchise with *Law & Order: Criminal Intent*, a journey into the deviant mind led by a modern-day Sherlock Holmes. The original *Law & Order* is signed through 2005, which will make it the longest-running hour drama in television history.

As the *Law & Order* brand extends into books, computer games, and DVDs, Wolf continued the search for another hit series. He has tested the reality genre several times, including *Arrest & Trial* (2000), a first-run syndication series following criminal cases from investigation through the final verdict, and *Crime & Punishment* (2002), a "drama-mentary" spotlighting actual trials, organized around Wolf's patented four-act structure. Wolf tried to revive the newspaper genre with *Deadline* (2000), about a crusading columnist who recruits graduate students to take on New York's power brokers. He was more successful in resurrecting a police show that inspired him: *Dragnet*, with Ed O'Neil as Joe Friday.

As head of the independent company he founded in association with Universal Television, Wolf likens himself to a CEO whose main role is to hire the right

people to keep his productions running smoothly. He has taken on the role of an industry leader, speaking out against the V-chip and the ratings system. Although his shows are concerned with the consequences of crime, and not the gruesome act, he is outspoken against any regulation of violent content. His "media juggernaut" *Law & Order* was one of the crown jewels in the Vivendi Universal corporation that was pur-

chased by NBC, the network Wolf helped to sustain well over a decade. But business aside, it has been Wolf's uncommonly keen sense of storytelling that has kept several media giants thriving.

RON SIMON

*See also Law and Order*

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## Wolper, David L. (1928– )

U.S. Producer

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David L. Wolper is arguably the most successful independent documentary producer to have ever worked in television. Through a career span of nearly 50 years, this prolific filmmaker has left his imprint with documentary specials, documentary series, dramatic mini-series, movies made for theatrical release, movies made for television, television sitcoms, entertainment specials, and entertainment special events.

Wolper began his career in the late 1940s by selling B movies, English-dubbed Soviet cartoons, and film serials, including *Superman*, to television stations. Interested in producing television documentaries, in 1958 he established Wolper Productions. Working with exclusive Russian space program footage and NASA cinematography of U.S. missile launches, within two years his first film, *The Race for Space*, was completed and had attracted a sponsor. Wolper offered the film to all three networks, but an unofficial rule of the time dictated that only news programs and documentaries produced by network personnel were allowed on the air. Not to be discouraged, the young producer fell back on his sales experience and syndicated the film to 104 local stations across the United States—the overwhelming majority of these stations network affiliates willing to preempt other programming for the Wolper show. For the first time in television history, a nonnetwork documentary special achieved near-national audience coverage. Having been released to theaters prior to television, *The Race for Space* also received an Academy Award nomination in the Best Documentary category—another first for a television film.

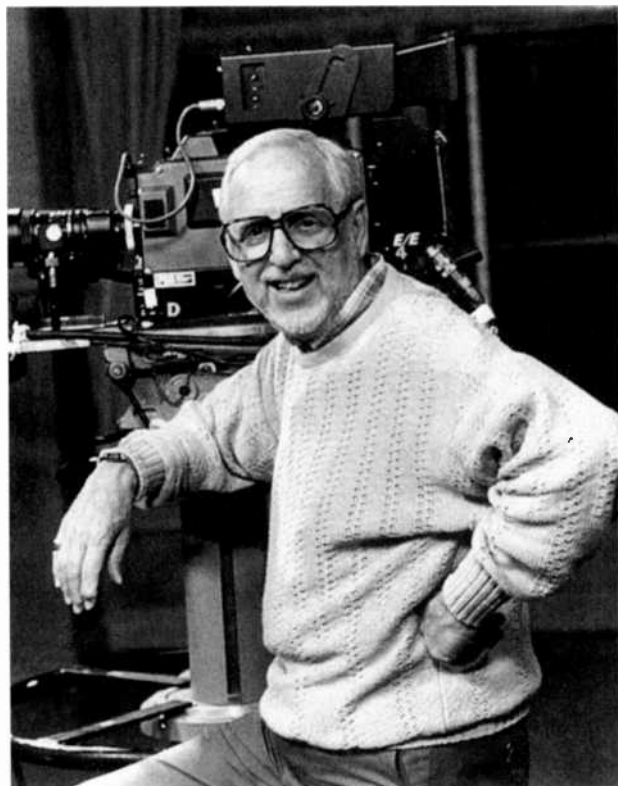
Wolper's notoriety helped to launch a significant number of documentary projects that found their way

to network time slots. Utilizing a basic compilation technique, these early films consisted of editing photo stills and film clips to narration and music, with occasional recreations of footage, minimal editorial viewpoint, and high-information, high-entertainment value. Increasingly successful, within four years of establishing Wolper Productions, Wolper's method would place him on a level with NBC and CBS as one of the three largest producers of television documentaries and documentary specials.

A major turning point in Wolper's career occurred in 1960 when he bought the rights to Theodore H. White's book *The Making of the President*. Aired on ABC, Wolper's potentially controversial film presented an incisive look at the American political process, won four Emmy Awards including 1963 Program of the Year, and guaranteed Wolper's celebrity.

In 1964 Wolper sold his documentary production unit to Metromedia but stayed on as the company's chief of operations. With this media giant's backing, Wolper's projects grew in scope and substance. He became a regular supplier of documentary programs to all three commercial networks creating such memorable series as *The March of Time*, in association with Time, Inc., and a series of nature specials in collaboration with the National Geographic Society. For the latter, he introduced American audiences to French oceanographer Jacques Cousteau. This in turn led to the first-ever documentary spin-off, *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*.

Breaking away from Metromedia in 1967, Wolper continued his documentary work but also tried his hand at theatrical release motion pictures. He created a number of unexceptional films including *The Bridge at*



David L. Wolper.  
Photo courtesy of Wolper Organization, Inc

*Remagen* (1968), *If It's Tuesday, This Must be Belgium* (1969), and *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (1971). In fiction television, he found more success with regularly scheduled television series that included *Get Christie Love!* (1974–75) featuring the first black policewoman character in television history, *Chico and the Man* (1974–78), and *Welcome Back, Kotter* (1975–79).

Perhaps Wolper's most significant accomplishment was his developmental work with the television non-fiction drama miniseries. In the mid-1970s, after bypass heart surgery and sale of his company to Warner Brothers, he helped to invent the docudrama genre with his award-winning production of Alex Haley's acclaimed family saga, *Roots*. Reconstructing history in an unprecedented 12-hour film, the series was broadcast in one- and two-hour segments over an eight-day period in January 1977. Contrary to initial concerns over the high-risk nature of the venture, the series brought ABC a 44.9 rating and 66 percent share of audience to set viewership records that place it among the most-watched programs in the history of television.

In 1984 Wolper stepped out of his usual role as film

producer to orchestrate the opening and closing ceremonies for the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. The first ever to be staged by a private group, the ceremonies received a 55 percent share of audience, out-ranking all other Olympic coverage. For his efforts, Wolper was rewarded with a special Emmy and the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award at the Oscar ceremony in 1985. The following year he was recruited to produce the Liberty Weekend 100th anniversary celebration for the Statue of Liberty. The four-day event was viewed by 1.5 billion people worldwide.

In 1999 Wolper's *Celebrate the Century*, a ten-hour CNN documentary on the defining moments of the 20th century, was broadcast in May and June. In the same year, his *Great People of the 20th Century* aired on the Discovery cable network. As reported in the November 13, 2000, issue of *Broadcasting & Cable*, Wolper is excited about the opportunities offered by cable. "It's been tough for independent documentary filmmakers," he said. "Here comes cable; and the whole world opens. I am jealous; I wish I was starting now."

As a producer, filmmaker, entrepreneur, historian, and visionary, David Wolper's career has been one of taking risks and continually breaking new ground. Most important, through his more than 600 films, his innovative and creative spirit has educated and entertained millions.

JOEL STERNBERG

*See also Documentary; Roots*

**David Lloyd Wolper.** Born in New York City, January 11, 1928. Studied at Drake University, 1946; University of Southern California, 1948. Married: 1) Margaret Davis Richard, 1958 (divorced, 1969); one daughter and two sons; 2) Gloria Diane Hill, 1974. Began career as vice president, then treasurer, Flamingo Films, TV sales company, 1948–50; vice president, West Coast Operations, 1954–58; chair and president, Wolper Productions, Los Angeles, since 1958; president, Fountainhead International, since 1960; president, Wolper TV Sales Company, since 1964; vice president, Metromedia, Inc., 1965–68; president and chair, Wolper Pictures Limited, since 1968; consultant and executive producer, Warner Brothers, Inc., since 1976. Member: U.S. Olympic Team Benefit Committee; advisory committee, National Center for Jewish Film; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; Producers Guild of America; Caucus for Producers, Writers, and Directors. Trustee: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984; American Film Institute; Los Angeles Thoracic and Cardiovascular Foundation.



Board of directors: Amateur Athletic Association of Los Angeles, 1984; Los Angeles Heart Institute; Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games, 1977; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Foundation, 1983; University of Southern California Cinema/Television Department. Recipient: Award for documentaries, San Francisco International Film Festival, 1960; Distinguished Service Award, U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Monte Carlo International Film Festival Award, 1964; Cannes Film Festival Grand Prix for TV Programs, 1964; Academy Award: Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award, 1985; named to TV Hall of Fame, 1988; Medal of Chevalier, French National Legion of Honor, 1990; Lifetime Achievement Award, Producers Guild of America, 1991; Honorary Doctor of Fine Arts, University of Southern California (USC), 1997; USC School of Cinema-Television's Mary Pickford Award, 1999; eight Globe Awards; five Peabody Awards; 40 Emmy Awards; numerous other awards.

**Television Series (selected)**

1961-64, 1979 *Biography*  
 1962-65 *Story of...*  
 1963-64 *Hollywood and the Stars*  
 1965-66 *March of Time*  
 1965-76 *National Geographic*  
 1968-76 *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau*  
 1971-73 *Appointment with Destiny*  
 1972-73 *Explorers*  
 1974-78 *Chico and the Man*  
 1974-75 *Get Christie Love!*  
 1975-79 *Welcome Back, Kotter*

**Television Miniseries (selected)**

1976 *Victory at Entebbe*  
 1977 *Roots*  
 1979 *Roots: The Next Generations*  
 1983 *The Thorn Birds*  
 1985 *North and South, Book I*  
 1986 *North and South, Book II*  
 1987 *Napoleon and Josephine*  
 1996 *The Thorn Birds: The Missing Years*  
 1999 *Celebrate the Century*

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

1973 *500 Pound Jerk*  
 1974 *Men of the Dragon*  
 1974 *Unwed Father*  
 1974 *The Morning After*

1974 *Get Christie Love*  
 1976 *Brenda Starr*  
 1982 *Agatha Christie Movie: Murder Is Easy*  
 1983 *Agatha Christie Movie: Sparkling Cyanide*  
 1984 *Agatha Christie Movie: Caribbean Mystery*  
 1987 *The Betty Ford Story*  
 1988 *Roots: The Gift*  
 1989 *The Plot to Kill Hitler*  
 1989 *Murder in Mississippi*  
 1990 *Dillinger*  
 1990 *When You Remember Me*  
 1991 *Bed of Lies*  
 1992 *Fatal Deception: Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald*  
 1993 *Queen*  
 1993 *The Flood: Who Will Save our Children?*  
 1994 *Without Warning*

**Television Specials (selected)**

1958 *The Race for Space*  
 1959 *Project: Man in Space*  
 1960 *Hollywood: The Golden Years*  
 1960, 1964, 1968 *The Making of the President*  
 1961 *Biography of a Rookie*  
 1961 *The Rafer Johnson Story*  
 1962 *D-Day*  
 1962 *Hollywood: The Great Stars*  
 1963 *Hollywood: The Fabulous Era*  
 1963 *Escape to Freedom*  
 1963 *The Passing Years*  
 1963 *Ten Seconds That Shook the World*  
 1963 *Krebiozen and Cancer*  
 1963 *December 7: Day of Infamy*  
 1963 *The American Woman in the 20th Century*  
 1964 *The Legend of Marilyn Monroe*  
 1964 *The Yanks Are Coming*  
 1964 *Berlin: Kaiser to Khrushchev*  
 1964 *The Rise and Fall of American Communism*  
 1964 *The Battle of Britain*  
 1964 *Trial at Nuremberg*  
 1965 *France: Conquest to Liberation*  
 1965 *Korea: The 38th Parallel*  
 1965 *Prelude to War*  
 1965 *Japan: A New Dawn over Asia*  
 1965 *007: The Incredible World of James Bond*  
 1965 *Let My People Go*

- 1965 *October Madness: The World Series*  
 1965 *Race for the Moon*  
 1965 *The Bold Men*  
 1965 *The General*  
 1965 *The Teenage Revolution*  
 1965 *The Way Out Men*  
 1965 *In Search of Man*  
 1965 *Mayhem on a Sunday Afternoon*  
 1966 *The Thin Blue Line*  
 1966 *Wall Street: Where the Money Is*  
 1966 *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the White House*  
 1967 *China: Roots of Madness*  
 1967 *A Nation of Immigrants*  
 1967 *Do Blondes Have More Fun?*  
 1968 *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*  
 1968 *On the Trail of Stanley and Livingstone*  
 1970 *The Unfinished Journey of Robert F. Kennedy*  
 1970–72 *George Plimpton*  
 1971 *Say Goodbye*  
 1971 *They've Killed President Lincoln*  
 1971–73 *Appointment with Destiny*  
 1973–74 *American Heritage*  
 1973–75 *Primal Man*  
 1974 *Judgment*  
 1974 *The First Woman President*  
 1974–75 *Smithsonian*  
 1975–76 *Sandburg's Lincoln*  
 1976 *Collision Course*  
 1980 *Moviola*  
 1984 *Opening and Closing Ceremonies, 1984 Olympic Games*  
 1986 *Liberty Weekend*  
 1988 *What Price Victory*  
 1999 *Great People of the 20th Century*  
 2001 *Roots: Celebrating 25 Years*

**Films (selected)**

- Four Days in November*, 1964; *Devil's Brigade*, 1967;  
*The Bridge at Remagen*, 1968; *If It's Tuesday, This*

- Must Be Belgium*, 1968; *I Love My Wife*, 1970; *The Helstrom Chronicle*, 1971; *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, 1971; *King, Queen, Knave!* 1972; *One Is a Lonely Number*, 1972; *Wattstax*, 1973; *Visions of Eight*, 1973; *Birds Do It... Bees Do It...*, 1974; *The Animal Within*, 1974; *Victory at Entebbe*, 1976; *The Man Who Saw Tomorrow*, 1980; *This Is Elvis*, 1981; *Imagine: John Lennon*, 1988; *Murder in the First*, 1994; *Surviving Picasso*, 1996; *L.A. Confidential*, 1997.

**Further Reading**

- Angelo, Bonnie, "Liberty's Ringmaster of Ceremonies," *Time* (July 7, 1986)  
 Arar, Yarden, "And the Show Goes On," *Los Angeles Daily News* (May 2, 1990)  
 Bluem, A. William, *Documentary in American Television: Form, Function, Method*, New York: Hastings House, 1965  
 Berlin, Joey, "David Wolper's *Imagine* Takes a Documentary Approach," *New York Post* (October 5, 1988)  
 "David L. Wolper," *Broadcasting and Cable* (November 13, 2000)  
 Goldenson, Leonard H., with Martin J. Wolf, *Beating the Odds: The Untold Story Behind the Rise of ABC: The Stars, Struggles, and Egos That Transformed Network Television by the Man Who Made It Happen*, New York: Scribner's, 1991  
 Harvey, Alec, "Tragedy Is Tale of Hope, Says Wolper," *Birmingham News* (February 2, 1990)  
 "Hollywood Fights Back," in *Television Today: A Close-Up View Readings from TV Guide*, edited by Barry Cole, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981  
 Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson, *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1992  
 O'Connor, Colleen, with Martin Kasindorf, "Wolper: Impresario of the Big Event," *Newsweek* (July 7, 1986)  
 Peterson, Brian, "David L. Wolper: L.A. Influential," *USC Trojan Family Magazine* (autumn 1999)  
 Peterson, Brian, "The Producer as a Trojan," *USC Trojan Family Magazine* (autumn 1999)  
 "Wolper, David L.," in *1993 International Television and Video Almanac*, edited by Barry Monush, New York: Quigley, 1993  
 "Wolper, David L(oyd)," in *Current Biography Yearbook*, edited by Charles Moritz, New York: Wilson, 1987  
 "Wolper Performs Hat Trick Again: Documentaries on All 3 Webs," *Variety* (May 11, 1966)  
 "Young King David," *Newsweek* (November 23, 1964)

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# Women of Brewster Place, The

## U.S. Miniseries

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*The Women of Brewster Place*, a miniseries based on the novel by Gloria Naylor, was produced in 1989 by Oprah Winfrey's firm Harpo, Inc. Winfrey served as executive producer and starred along with noted actors Mary Alice, Jackee, Lynn Whitfield, Barbara Montgomery, Phyllis Yvonne Stickney, Robin Givens, Olivia Cole, Lonette McKee, Paula Kelly, Cicely Tyson, Paul Winfield, Moses Gunn, and Douglas Turner Ward. The story, spanning several decades, includes a cast of characters that depict the constant battles fought by African-American women against racism, poverty, and sexism. Interpersonal struggles and conflicts also pepper the storyline, often revolving around black men who may be fathers, husbands, sons, or lovers.

The Winfrey character, Mattie, opens the drama. Her road to Brewster Place begins when she refuses to reveal the name of her unborn child's father to her parents (Mary Alice and Paul Winfield). Milestones for Mattie include living in the home of Eva Turner (Barbara Montgomery) until she dies and wills the house to Mattie; then forfeiting the house when her son, Basil, jumps bail after Mattie uses their home as collateral for his bond. The other characters' journeys to the tenement on Brewster Place are just as unpredictable and crooked. Kiswana, portrayed by Robin Givens, moves to the neighborhood to live with her boyfriend. They work to organize the neighbors, to plan special activities for the neighborhood, and to protest their excessive rent. One of the most powerful scenes in the drama occurs between Kiswana and her mother, Mrs. Browne (Cicely Tyson). When Tyson comes for a visit, she and Givens begin a conversation that progresses into a heated argument regarding Kiswana's name change. Mrs. Browne reveals why she named her daughter Melanie (after her grandmother) and in a powerful soliloquy tells the story of that grandmother's strength and fearlessness when facing a band of angry white men.

Other women from the building reveal bruises inflicted either by the men in their lives or by the world in general. Cora Lee (Phyllis Stickney) continues to have children because she wants the dependency of in-

fant; once they become toddlers, her interest in them falters. By the end of the series, however, she begins to see the importance of all her children, and after being prodded by Kiswana, she attends the neighborhood production of an African-American adaptation of a Shakespearean play. Through this experience and her children's reaction to it, the audience sees a change in Cora Lee.

Miss Sophie (Olivia Cole), an unhappy woman and the neighborhood busybody, spreads vicious gossip about her neighbors in the tenement. Etta Mae (Jackee), Mattie's earthy, flamboyant, and loyal childhood friend, moves to Brewster Place for refuge from her many failed romances. Lucielia Louise Turner (Lynn Whitfield), housewife and mother, lives a somewhat happy life with her husband, Ben (Moses Gunn), and daughter, Serena, in one of the tenement apartments until Ben loses his job and leaves home. Lucielia then aborts their second child, and Serena is electrocuted when she uses a fork to chase a roach into a light socket. Theresa and Lorraine (Paula Kelly and Lonette McKee) decide to reside on Brewster Place because as lesbians they are seeking some place where they can live without ridicule and torment. Their relationship, soon discovered by their neighbors, becomes the backdrop for the drama's finale.

Criticism of the miniseries began before the drama aired. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People requested review of the scripts before production to determine whether the negative images of the African-American male present in the Naylor book appeared in the television drama. This request was denied, but Winfrey, also concerned with the image of black men in the novel, altered several of the male roles. Ben Turner, the tenement's janitor and a drunk in Naylor's novel, was revamped for the teleplay and, in a scene created especially for the series, explains why he felt pressed into desertion. The producers also attempted to cast actors who could bring a level of sensitivity to the male roles and create characters who were more than one-dimensional villains.

Still, in a two-part series for the *Washington Post*, newspaper columnist Dorothy Gilliam criticized the



*Women of Brewster Place*, Jackee, Paula Kelly, Lonette McKee, Phyllis Yvonne Stickney, Oprah Winfrey, Lynn Whitfield, Olivia Cole, Robin Givens, Cicely Tyson, 1989.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

drama as one of the most stereotype-ridden polemics against black men ever seen on television, a series that, she claimed, trotted out nearly every stereotype of black men that had festered in the mind of the most feverish racist. In spite of such criticism, the series won its time period Sunday and Monday nights against heavy competition, *The Wizard of Oz* on CBS and the *Star Wars* sequel *Return of the Jedi* on NBC.

Though criticized for its portrayal of African-American men and women, *The Women of Brewster Place* offered its audience a rare glimpse of the United States' black working class and conscientiously attempted to probe the personal relationships, dreams, and desires of a group of women who cared about their children and friends, worked long hours at jobs they

may have hated in order to survive, and moved forward despite their disappointments. A spin-off of the miniseries titled *Brewster Place*, also produced by Harpo, Inc., aired for a few weeks in 1990 on ABC but was canceled because of low ratings. The original miniseries continues to air, as a feature film, on cable television channels such as Encore, Lifetime, and BET.

BISHETTA D. MERRITT

See also **Racism, Ethnicity, and Television; Winfrey, Oprah**

**Cast**

Mattie Michael	Oprah Winfrey
Etta Mae Johnson	Jackee
Mrs. Browne	Cicely Tyson
Kiswana Browne	Robin Givens
Lorraine	Lonette McKee
Cora Lee	Phyllis Stickney
Ben	Moses Gunn
Butch Fuller	Clark Johnson
Ciel	Lynn Whitfield
Basil	Eugene Lee
Mattie's father	Paul Winfield
Mattie's mother	Mary Alice
Eva Turner	Barbara Montgomery
Reverend Wood	Douglas Turner Ward
Miss Sophie	Olivia Cole

**Producers**

Oprah Winfrey, Carole Isenberg

**Programming History**

ABC  
 March 19–20, 1989 9:00–11:00

**Further Reading**

- Bobo, Jacqueline, and Ellen Seiter, "Black Feminism and Media Criticism: *The Women of Brewster Place*," *Screen* (autumn 1991)
- Kort, Michele, "Lights, Camera, Affirmative Action," *Ms.* (November 1988)

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# Wonder Years, The

## U.S. Domestic Comedy

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*The Wonder Years*, a gentle, nostalgic look at “baby-boom” youth and adolescence, told stories in weekly half-hour installments presented entirely from the point of view of the show’s main character, Kevin Arnold. Fresh-faced Fred Savage portrayed young Kevin on screen, while adult Kevin, whose voice was furnished by unseen narrator Daniel Stern, commented on the events of his youth with grown-up wryness, 20 years after the fact. The series traced Kevin’s development in suburban America from 1968, when he was 11 years old, until the summer of 1973, his junior year in high school.

A typical week’s plot involved Kevin facing some rite of passage on the way to adulthood. His first kiss, a fleeting summer love, his first day at high school, the struggle to get Dad to buy a new, color TV—these are the innocuous narrative problems of *The Wonder Years*. The resolutions seem simple but often are surprising. Kevin the narrator always conveys the unsettling knowledge that, in our struggle toward maturity, we make decisions that prevent us from going back to the comfortable places of youth. For example, when pubescent Kevin stands up to his mother’s babying, he takes pride in his new independence, but his victory is bittersweet—he realizes that he has hurt his mother, Norma, by reacting harshly to her well-meaning mothering, and that he has lost a piece of the relationship forever.

On the program, mundane situations that would resonate with most Americans’ youth experiences are played out against the backdrop of everyday life in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Hip-hugger pants, army-surplus gear, and toilet-paper-strewn yards helped to place the show in the collective memory of the baby boomers who were watching it (and whose dollars advertisers were vigorously seeking). Attention to period detail was often thorough, but occasional anachronisms managed to slip through, such as the use of a television remote control device in the Arnold home in about 1970. Episodes often open with TV news clips from the era—showing a war protest, President Nixon waving good-bye at the White House, or some other instantly recognizable event—accompanied by a classic bit of rock music. Joe Cocker’s rendition of “I Get

By with a Little Help from My Friends” was the show’s theme song, played over a montage of home movie clips depicting a harmonious Arnold family and Kevin’s friends Paul and Winnie.

Much of the series’ historical identification has to do with oblique references to hippie counterculture and the Vietnam War. Kevin’s older sister, Karen, is a hippie, but Kevin is not, and his observation of the counterculture is from the sidelines. While Karen struggles to define her identity against the grain of her parents’ traditions, Kevin, for the most part, accepts the world around him. He is portrayed as an average kid, personally uninvolved with most of the larger cultural events swirling about him. One serious treatment of the Vietnam War does intrude in Kevin’s personal experience, however, when Brian Cooper, older brother of his neighbor and girlfriend, Winnie, is killed. Kevin struggles to support Winnie, first in the loss of her brother and, later, after her parents’ separation results from the brother’s death.

Episodes of *The Wonder Years* often center on challenges in Kevin’s relationship with a family member, friend, authority figure, or competitor. Kevin’s father, Jack; mother, Norma; sister, Karen; brother, Wayne; neighborhood best friend, Paul Pfeiffer; and childhood sweetheart, Winnie Cooper, are heavily involved in the storyline. Much of the action takes place in and around the middle-class Arnold home or at Kevin’s school (Robert F. Kennedy Junior High and, later, William McKinley High School).

While each episode is self-contained, Kevin’s struggles and changes are evident as the series develops. In one episode, Kevin’s older sister becomes estranged from their father because of her involvement in the hippie culture. Other episodes reflect that estrangement, and, in a later season, the program depicts Karen’s reconciliation with her father. Kevin’s observations and feelings, of course, remain central to exploring such issues. Although episodes sometimes show how characters’ perspectives shift, the emphasis is on Kevin’s own observation of his world. This acknowledgment of the character’s egocentrism melds with a major program theme—adolescent self-involvement.



*The Wonder Years.*  
Photo courtesy of New World Entertainment

Sometimes, the primary point of the program is the effect of another character's struggle on the egocentric Kevin. He watches as father Jack quits a stultifying middle-manager's job at the Norcom corporation and as frustrated homemaker Norma enrolls in college classes and launches her own career. Often, Kevin spends much of his time reacting to the personal impact of such events, then feeling guilty about expressing his selfish thoughts. At the end of each episode, relations, although marked by change, typically become harmonious once again.

As an example of a "hybrid genre," the half-hour dramedy, *The Wonder Years* never amassed the runaway ratings of a show such as *Cheers* (although it did wind up in the Nielsen top ten for two of its five seasons). After a time, it was apparent to producers and the television audience that Kevin Arnold's wonder years were waning. Creative differences between producers and ABC began to spring up from such plot elements as Kevin's touching a girl's breast during the 8 o'clock hour usually reserved for "family viewing." Economic pressures, including rising actor salaries and the need for more location shooting after Kevin acquired a driver's license, also helped to end the show. During its 115-episode run, however, *The Wonder Years* generated intensely loyal fans and collected important notices from critics.

The final episode, on May 12, 1993, exercised a luxury few series have when they conclude their runs: tying up loose ends. Bob Brush, executive producer of the show after creators Neal Marlens and Carol Black left in the second season, took a cue from sagging ratings when the last episode was shot. In it, Kevin quits his job working in Jack Arnold's furniture store and strikes out on his own. Sadly, for some viewers, he and Winnie Cooper do not wind up together. Unfortunately, the show's resolution occurs in the summer following Kevin's junior year in high school, so the formal finality of graduation, a rite of passage so familiar to much of the audience, is missing.

Among the awards bestowed on *The Wonder Years* were an Emmy for Best Comedy Series in 1988 (after only six episodes had aired) and the George Foster Peabody Award in 1990. *TV Guide* named the show one of the 1980s' 20 best.

KAREN E. RIGGS

See also **Comedy, Domestic Settings**

#### Cast

Kevin Arnold (as adolescent)	Fred Savage
Kevin (as adult; voice only)	Daniel Stern
Wayne Arnold	Jason Hervey
Karen Arnold	Olivia d'Abo
Norma Arnold	Alley Mills
Jack Arnold	Dan Lauria
Paul Pfeiffer	Josh Saviano
Winnie (Gwendolyn) Cooper	Danica McKellar
Coach Cutlip	Robert Picardo
Becky Slater	Crystal McKellar
Mrs. Ritvo (1988-89)	Linda Hoy
Kirk McCray (1988-89)	Michael Landes
Carla Healy (1988-90)	Krista Murphy
Mr. DiPerna (1988-91)	Raye Birk
Mr. Cantwell (1988-91)	Ben Stein
Doug Porter (1989)	Brandon Crane
Randy Mitchell (1989)	Michael Tricario
Craig Hobson (1989-90)	Sean Baca
Ricky Halsenback (1991-93)	Scott Nemes
Jeff Billings (1992-93)	Giovanni Ribisi
Michael (1992)	David Schwimmer

#### Producers

Neal Marlens, Carol Black, Jeffrey Silver, Bob Brush

#### Programming History

115 episodes	
ABC	
March 1988-April 1988	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
October 1988-February 1989	Wednesday 9:00-9:30

February 1989–August 1990	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
August 1990–August 1991	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
August 1991–February 1992	Wednesday 8:30–9:00
March 1992–September 1993	Wednesday 8:00–8:30

### Further Reading

Blum, David, "Where Were You in '68?" *New York Times* (February 27, 1989)

Gross, Edward A., *The Wonder Years*, Las Vegas, Nevada: Pioneer Books, 1990

Kaufman, Peter, "Closing the Album on *The Wonder Years*," *New York Times* (May 9, 1993)

Kinosian, Janet, "Fred Savage: Having Fun," *Saturday Evening Post* (January–February 1991)

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## Wood, Robert (1925–1986)

### U.S. Media Executive

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Robert Wood moved network prime-time programming out of TV's adolescent phase into adulthood. As president of CBS, in 1971 he broke with patterned success by jettisoning long-lived popular shows in order to attract younger audiences coveted by advertisers. At the same time, he set aside traditional standards of gentle and slightly vacuous comedy for "in your face" dialogue and contemporary situations that delighted masses, offended some, and pulled network entertainment into the post-assassination/civil rights/Vietnam era.

Wood's strategy in 1970 was to cancel rural and older-skewed classic series (*Green Acres*, *Beverly Hillbillies*, *Petticoat Junction*, and *Hee Haw*) and veteran stars (Red Skelton, Jackie Gleason, Ed Sullivan, and Andy Griffith) in favor of more contemporary, urban-oriented programming. He scheduled the challenging comedy *All in the Family*, developed by producer Norman Lear, which ABC had twice rejected. After a weak initial half season, in the spring of 1971, the series built a strong viewership during summer reruns and became a sensation by the fall season. Attracting massive audiences, including sought-after younger adults, and critical praise, *All in the Family* helped CBS to decide to add to its schedule a number of other programs from Lear's production company, including *The Jeffersons*, *Maude*, *Good Times*, *Sanford and Son*, and *One Day at a Time*. Rather than farcical situation comedies (sitcoms), these shows were based on issues affecting characters as interacting persons, thus becoming "character comedies."

Wood presided over the entertainment revolution that changed what Americans watched on evening television. Other networks emulated the move, some-

times outpacing CBS's entries in teasing audience acceptability with double entendre. But the nation's TV screens had moved to a new plateau (some cynics would claim a lower one) with Wood's determined risk taking. TV and cable in the following decades pushed forward dramatic and comedic themes from that position.

Wood was energetic, optimistic, thoughtful, and shrewd. But his strategies never undercut people as he formed policies for the stations he managed (KNXT, Los Angeles; the CBS television stations division of owned-and-operated outlets) and the network he led (CBS-TV) from 1969 to 1976. He was the longest-lived and last executive totally in command of the national television fortunes of CBS Inc.

As the industry grew more complex, he advocated shifting the programming department from network headquarters in New York City to the West Coast, where most entertainment programming was developed. After he retired from the network, his position was eventually divided into several presidencies, including TV network, entertainment (programming—on the West Coast), sports, affiliate relations, sales, and marketing. Competing networks had already begun splitting network executives' responsibilities, after Wood had proposed such a structure within CBS.

Wood was the rare network executive who was respected and liked, often with genuine affection, by broadcast colleagues, executives, staff members, local station managers, program producers, and talented actors. He dealt with each person graciously and with good cheer, caring for those with whom he worked and not taking himself too seriously. He was totally committed to his top-management responsibilities, which



Robert D. Wood, 1974.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection/CSU Archives

he handled skillfully and with enormous success. After a brief stint as an independent producer, he became president of Metromedia Producers Corporation in 1979. He died in 1986.

JAMES A. BROWN

*See also* Columbia Broadcasting System; Demographics

**Robert Wood.** Born in Boise, Idaho, April 17, 1925. Educated at the University of Southern California, B.S. in advertising, 1949. Married: Nancy Harwell, 1949; children: Virginia Lucile and Dennis Harwell. Served in U.S. Naval Reserve, 1943–46. Worked as sales service manager, KNXT, Los Angeles, California, 1949; account executive, KTTV, c. 1950–51; account executive, CBS-owned-and-operated KNXT-TV station, Los Angeles, 1952–54; account executive, CBS television stations division's national sales department, 1954; general sales manager, KNXT-TV, 1955–60; vice president and general manager, KNXT-TV, 1960–66; executive vice president, CBS television stations division, 1966–67; president, CBS television stations division, 1967–69; president, CBS, 1969–1976; later headed own TV production company. Died in Santa Monica, California, May 20, 1986.

#### Further Reading

- Halberstam, David, *The Powers That Be*, New York: Knopf, 1979
- Metz, Robert, *CBS: Reflections in a Bloodshot Eye*, Chicago: Playboy Press, 1975
- Paley, William S., *As It Happened: A Memoir*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979
- Paper, Lewis J., *Empire: William S. Paley and the Making of CBS*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987
- Slater, Robert, *This... Is CBS: A Chronicle of 60 Years*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988
- Smith, Sally Bedell, *In All His Glory: The Life of William S. Paley: The Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990

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## Wood, Victoria (1953– )

British Comedy Actor, Writer, Singer

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Victoria Wood is a talented comedy actor, writer, and singer who has built a national reputation following a string of self-written TV plays, films, and sketch shows. Born in 1953 in Lancashire, in northern England, she first had small-screen exposure on the TV talent search show *New Faces*, where she sang comedy songs of her own composition. Accompanying herself on the piano, she scored heavily with viewing audi-

ences with her jaunty tunes, which often belied her sharp, poignant lyrics. Her regular themes of unrequited love, tedium, mismatched couples, and suburban living, as well as her ability to find humor in the minutiae of modern life, stood her in good stead when she moved into writing plays for the stage and later for television.

*Talent*, her first play adapted for television (Granada,



August 5, 1979), reunited her with Julie Walters, whom she had met while studying at Manchester Polytechnic. Their partnership would launch both their careers. *Talent* dealt with a mismatched couple: the ambitious would-be cabaret singer Julie Stephens (Walters) and the eternally sniffing Maureen, her plump, dull, but loyal friend (played by Wood), who had accompanied Julie to a talent contest. The bittersweet comedy explored themes of desperation, dashed hopes, lost ambition, and hopeless romances. The fact that *Talent* managed to be both funny and truthful demonstrated Wood's skill as a writer and the pair's acting ability. A sequel, *Nearly a Happy Ending* (Granada, June 1, 1980), appeared the following year. This time the couple were going out for a night on the town, pausing en route at a slimming club. Wood was then quite portly, and occasionally her material dealt with what being overweight meant to oneself and others. Later in her career, she slimmed down considerably.

Following *Nearly a Happy Ending*, Wood and Walters appeared in a one-off special, *Wood and Walters: Two Creatures Great and Small* (Granada, January 1, 1981), which led to the series *Wood and Walters* (Granada, 1982). It was the series *Victoria Wood: As Seen on TV* (BBC), however, that truly established Wood as a major TV star. A sketch show introduced by a stand-up routine from Wood, the program also featured a musical interlude. Julie Walters, Patricia Routledge, Susie Blake, Duncan Preston, and Celia Imrie provided strong support, and one favorite section of the show was "Acorn Antiques," a spoof of cheaply made soap operas.

As Walters's film career blossomed, Wood's comedic talent continued to mature, and by the end of the 1980s she was a big draw on the live circuit. Her stand-up routine relied on observational humor as she drew laughs from finding the idiosyncrasies of normal modern life. She followed a long line of (male) northern comedians with her style of taking her storylines into surreal areas, as well as her character inventions, especially the gormless Maureen. On television she remained determined to try something new and not merely revamp winning ideas. To this end, she wrote and starred in a number of half-hour comedy playlets under the generic title *Victoria Wood* (BBC, 1989), her first series not to attract universal acclaim. She also appeared in a number of solo stand-up shows, and in a one-off spoof of early-morning television news magazine programs, *Victoria Wood's All Day Breakfast* (BBC, December 31, 1992).

The feature-length TV film *Pat and Margaret* (BBC, September 11, 1994), Wood's most ambitious project to date, was her most accomplished reworking of her mismatched couple theme. In this context, Pat (Julie



Victoria Wood.  
Courtesy of Victoria Wood

Walters) was a successful English actor in a hit U.S. soap (à la Joan Collins), who was reunited with her sister Margaret (Wood) on a TV chat show. The pair had not been in touch for 27 years, and neither was happy about the meeting. Once again, bittersweet themes of escape and despair were explored; once again, despite this tone, Wood's comedic ability triumphed.

After *Pat and Margaret*, Wood returned to live performance, and many of her subsequent TV appearances have been recordings of her live acts. She returned to the sketch show format for seasonal specials before turning to that hardest of genres, the sitcom. Anticipation was high when it was announced that Wood was working on a sitcom, as the genre had been laboring at the time in the United Kingdom, and viewers and professionals alike thought that Wood might have the magic touch sadly missing elsewhere. *dinnerladies* (BBC, 1998–2000) was set in the works canteen of a north-of-England firm and was full of the sort of well-drawn, earthy characters that inhabited much of Wood's work. The program provided another memorable role for Wood's long-term sparring partner Walters, here playing Wood's character's mad mother. Initially, the reaction to *dinnerladies* was somewhat muted. It did not seem to live up to the great expectations, but the number of viewers was consistently high. With the second series, however, it was as if everybody suddenly "got" the idea, and the show soared to stratospheric viewing figures and attracted critical ku-

Wood, Victoria

dos. Wood said from the start there would only be two series of *dinnerladies*, and she was as good as her word, neatly rounding up all the loose ends in the final couple of episodes. She confessed that the sitcoms were the hardest writing she had ever attempted, but once again she had risen to the challenge.

DICK FIDDY

*See also* **British Programming**

**Victoria Wood.** Born in Prestwich, Lancashire, England, May 19, 1953. Attended Bury Grammar School for Girls; University of Birmingham, B.A. in drama and theater arts. Married: Geoffrey Durham, 1980; one son and one daughter. Worked on regional television and radio, 1974–78; theater writer; formed television comedy partnership with Julie Walters; star of her own series and one-woman stage shows, writing her own material; appeared in numerous television series; author of several books. D.Litt: University of Lancaster, 1989, University of Sunderland, 1994. Recipient: Pye Colour Television Award, 1979; Broadcasting Press Guild Award, 1985; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards, 1985 (twice), 1986, 1987, and 1988 (twice); Variety Club BBC Personality of the Year Award, 1987; Writers Guild Award, 1992; Broadcasting Press Guild Award, 1994; Monte Carlo Best Single Drama Critics' Award, 1994; Monte Carlo Nympe d'Or Award, 1994; British Comedy Awards for Best Female Comedy Performance, 1995, and Writer of the Year, 2000. Received Order of the British Empire, 1997.

**Television Series**

1976 *That's Life!*  
1981–82 *Wood and Walters*  
1984, 1986 *Victoria Wood: As Seen on TV*  
1989 *Victoria Wood*

1994 *Victoria Wood Live in Your Own Home*  
1998–2000 *dinnerladies*

**Made-for-Television Movie**

1994 *Pat and Margaret*

**Television Specials (selected)**

1979 *Talent*  
1980 *Nearly a Happy Ending*  
1981 *Happy Since I Met You*  
1988 *An Audience with Victoria Wood*  
1992 *Victoria Wood's All Day Breakfast*  
2000 *Victoria Wood with All the Trimmings*  
2001 *Victoria Wood's Sketch Show Story*

**Stage (selected)**

*Talent*, 1980; *Good Fun*, 1980; *Funny Turns*, 1982; *Lucky Bag*, 1984; *Victoria Wood*, 1987; *Victoria Wood Way up West*, 1990; *Victoria Wood: At It Again*, 2001.

**Publications (selected)**

*Up to You, Porky*, 1985  
*Good Fun and Talent*, 1988  
*Mens Sana in Thingummy Doodah*, 1990  
*Barmy: The Second Victoria Wood Sketch*, 1993  
*Pat and Margaret*, 1994  
*Chunky*, 1996  
*Wood Plays I*, 1998  
*Dinnerladies: First Helpings*, 1999

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## Woodward, Edward (1930– )

British Actor

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Edward Woodward has enjoyed a long and varied career since he first became a professional performer in 1946. A graduate of the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, he has acted in England, Scotland, Australia, and

the United States, and on both London and Broadway stages, appearing in a wide range of productions from Shakespeare to musicals. Despite being known for dramatic roles, he can also sing and has made more than a

dozen musical recordings. In recent years, his distinctive, authoritative voice has narrated a number of audio books.

Although he has played supporting roles in such prestigious films as *Becket* (1964) and *Young Winston* (1972), Woodward is best known for two hit television series, *Callan* in Britain and *The Equalizer* in the United States. Despite the fact that the series were made more than a decade apart, Woodward played essentially the same character in each—a world-weary spy with a conscience.

Woodward's definitive screen persona of an honorable gentleman struggling to maintain his own personal morality in an amoral, even corrupt, world was prefigured in two motion pictures in which the actor starred, *The Wicker Man* (1974) and *Breaker Morant* (1980). In *The Wicker Man* Woodward played a priggish Scottish policeman investigating a child's disappearance; he stumbles upon an island of modern-day pagans led by Christopher Lee. In *Breaker Morant* Woodward starred as the title character, a British Army officer well respected by his men, who is arrested with two other soldiers for war crimes and tried in a kangaroo court during the Boer War. In both cases, Woodward's character's life is sacrificed, a victim of larger hostile social and political forces he is too decent to understand or control.

*Callan*, an hour-long espionage series that ran in Britain on Thames Television from 1967 to 1973, starred Woodward as David Callan, an agent who carries a license to kill, working for a special secret section of British Intelligence. The section's purpose is "getting rid of" dangerous or undesirable people through bribery, blackmail, frame-ups, or, in the last resort, death. Described in one episode as "a dead shot with the cold nerve to kill," Callan is the section's best operative, and indeed, killing seems to be his main occupation. The character pays a high moral and emotional price for his expertise—he is brooding, solitary, and friendless except for a grubby petty thief named Lonely (Russell Hunter), and his only hobby is collecting toy soldiers. Callan also has two personal weaknesses: he is rebellious and he cares. Although he always does what his bosses tell him, he inevitably argues with or defies them, particularly as he becomes concerned or involved with those whose paths he crosses during the course of his assignments. Despite its bleak subject matter, *Callan* was a hit in Britain. It spawned both a theatrical film (*Callan*, 1974) and later a television special (*Wet Job*, 1981), in which loyal viewers learned of Callan's ultimate fate.

On one *Callan* episode, "Where Else Could I Go?," a psychiatrist working for British Intelligence says that Callan is "brave, aggressive, and can be quite ruthless



Edward Woodward, c. mid-1980s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

when he believes in the justice of his cause." This description could also be applied to Robert McCall, the lead character of *The Equalizer*, which ran in the United States on CBS from 1985 to 1989. McCall was a retired espionage agent who had been working for an American agency (probably the Central Intelligence Agency). After forcing the agency to let him go, he decides to use his professional skills to aid helpless people beset by human predators in the urban jungle, usually free of charge. His ad running in the *New York Classifieds* reads, "Got a problem? Odds against you? Call the Equalizer." Although McCall's clients come from all walks of life, they share one thing in common: they all have problems that conventional legal authorities, such as the courts and the police, cannot handle. McCall has an ambivalent relationship with his ex-superior, Control (Robert Lansing), but often borrows agency personnel (Mickey Kostmayer, played by Keith Szarabajka, was a frequent supporting player) to assist in the "problem solving."

In a time of rising crime rates, *The Equalizer* was a potent paranoiac fantasy, made more so because Woodward as McCall cut a formidable figure. He seemed the soul of decency, always polite and impeccably dressed, but one could also detect determination in his steely-eyed gaze and danger in his rueful laugh. To many critics familiar with *Callan*, McCall seemed to be just an older, grayer version of the same character. However, there were significant differences. Like *Callan*, McCall suffered from a crisis of conscience, but unlike the earlier character, McCall found a way to expiate his sins. Whereas *Callan* was the instrument and even the victim of his superiors, McCall was the master of his fate.

A year after *The Equalizer's* run, Woodward starred in another detective drama, *Over My Dead Body*. An attempt by producer William Link to create a male version of his successful *Murder, She Wrote*, the show paired Woodward as a cranky crime novelist with a young reporter-turned-amateur-sleuth, played by Jessica Lundy. However, there was a lack of chemistry between the stars, and the series lasted barely a season.

In 1994 Woodward returned to England to lend his authoritative voice and presence to a real-life crime series called *In Suspicious Circumstances*, a sort of British version of the American show *Unsolved Mysteries*. That same year, he also starred in a British series that explored working-class themes, the comedy-drama *Common as Muck*. The lead role was rather uncharacteristic for Woodward—that of a “bin-man” (trash collector) from the “up-North” town of Hepworth. By 1995, however, Woodward was back in a role better suited to his on-screen persona. In two TV movies filmed in Toronto, *The Shamrock Conspiracy* and *Harrison: Cry of the City*, Woodward played Edward Harrison, a retired Scotland Yard inspector who is as cynical and world-weary, but also as tenacious and deeply moral, as Robert McCall. In 1998 Woodward was recruited to play Harry Malone, the gruff “controller” of a team of operatives combating crime and terror around the world in *CI5: The New Professionals*. This updated version of the British cult series *The Professionals* was aired in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia, but it neither pleased fans of the original nor found a new audience and ended after 13 episodes. Still, Woodward continued to play the role of spy boss when he joined the USA Network cable series *La Femme Nikita* in its fifth and final season, as the Head of Center, the real “Mr. Jones.” Woodward also guest-starred on *Babylon5: Crusade*, another short-lived series, on which his son, Peter, was a cast regular.

Woodward has also appeared in several other televi-

sion movies both in Britain and the United States. His roles have been offbeat, to say the least, including most notably Merlin in *Arthur the King*, a strange version of the Camelot legend told by way of Lewis Carroll; the Ghost of Christmas Present in the very fine 1984 production of *A Christmas Carol*, starring George C. Scott as Scrooge; and as the Lilliputian Drunlo in the award-winning 1996 version of *Gulliver's Travels*.

CYNTHIA W. WALKER

**Edward Woodward.** Born in Croydon, Surrey, England, June 1, 1930. Attended Eccleston Road and Sydenham Road School, Croydon; Elmwood School, Wallingford; Kingston College; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. Married: 1) Venetia Mary Collett, 1952 (divorced); children: Sarah, Tim, and Peter; 2) Michele Dotrice, 1987; child: Emily Beth. Began career as stage actor at the Castle Theatre, Farnham, 1946; worked in repertory companies throughout England and Scotland; first appeared on the London stage, 1955; continued stage work in London over next four decades, occasionally appearing in New York as well; has appeared in numerous films and in more than 2,000 television productions, including *Callan*, 1967–73, and *The Equalizer*, 1985–89; has recorded albums of music (vocals), albums of poetry, and books on tape. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1978. Recipient: Television Actor of the Year, 1969, 1970; Sun Award for Best Actor, 1970, 1971, 1972; Golden Globe Award; numerous other awards.

#### Television Series

1967	<i>Sword of Honour</i>
1967–73, 1981	<i>Callan</i>
1972	<i>Whodunnit?</i> (host)
1977–78	<i>1990</i>
1978	<i>The Bass Player and the Blonde</i>
1981	<i>Winston Churchill: The Wilderness Years</i>
1981	<i>Nice Work</i>
1985–89	<i>The Equalizer</i>
1987	<i>In Suspicious Circumstances</i>
1991–92	<i>America at Risk</i>
1994	<i>Common as Muck</i>
1998	<i>CI5: The New Professionals</i>
2000	<i>Dark Realm</i>
2001	<i>La Femme Nikita</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1983	<i>Merlin and the Sword</i> (U.S. title, <i>Arthur the King</i> )
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1983	<i>Love Is Forever</i>
1984	<i>A Christmas Carol</i>
1986	<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i>
1988	<i>The Man in the Brown Suit</i>
1990	<i>Hands of a Murderer</i>
1993	<i>A Christmas Reunion</i>
1995	<i>The Shamrock Conspiracy</i>
1996	<i>Harrison: Cry of the City</i>

**Television Specials**

1969	<i>Scott Fitzgerald</i>
1970	<i>Bit of a Holiday</i>
1971	<i>Evelyn</i>
1979	<i>Rod of Iron</i>
1980	<i>The Trial of Lady Chatterley</i>
1981	<i>Wet Job</i>
1980	<i>Blunt Instrument</i>
1986	<i>The Spice of Life</i>
1988	<i>Hunted</i>
1990	<i>Hands of a Murderer, or The Napoleon of Crime</i>
1991	<i>In My Defence</i>
1995	<i>Cry of the City</i>
1996	<i>Gulliver's Travels</i>
2000	<i>Messiah</i>

**Films**

*Where There's a Will*, 1955; *Inn for Trouble*, 1960; *Becket*, 1964; *File on the Golden Goose*, 1968; *Incense for the Damned*, 1970; *Charley One-Eye*, 1972; *Young Winston*, 1972; *Hunted*, 1973; *Sitting Target*, 1974; *The Wicker Man*, 1974; *Callan*, 1974; *Three for All*, 1975; *Stand Up Virgin Soldiers*, 1977; *Breaker Morant*, 1980; *The Appointment*, 1981; *Comeback*, 1982; *Who Dares Wins*, 1982; *Champions*, 1983; *King David*, 1986; *Mister Johnson*, 1990; *Deadly Advice*, 1993; *The House of Angelo*, 1997; *Marcie's Dowry*, 1999.

**Stage (selected)**

*Where There's a Will*, 1955; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1958; *Hamlet*, 1958; *Rattle of a Simple Man*, 1962; *Two Cities*, 1968; *Cyrano de Bergerac*, 1971; *The White Devil*, 1971; *The Wolf*, 1973; *Male of the Species*, 1975; *On Approval*, 1976; *The Dark Horse*, 1978; *The Beggar's Opera* (also director), 1980; *Private Lives*, 1980; *The Assassin*, 1982; *Richard III*, 1982; *The Dead Secret*, 1992.

**Further Reading**

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## Woodward, Joanne (1930–)

U.S. Actor

Joanne Woodward has been recognized as an exceptional television performer from the beginning of her career in 1952, when she appeared on *Robert Montgomery Presents* in a drama titled "Penny." She performed in more than a dozen live New York productions from 1952 to 1958 and was also active on the stage during that period, a vocation she has pursued throughout her career. In those early years Woodward made appearances on *Goodyear Playhouse*, *Omnibus*, *Philco Television Playhouse*, *Studio One*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, *U.S. Steel Hour*, *Playhouse 90*, and *The Web*, in which she played opposite her future husband Paul Newman in 1954. Woodward remembers those experiences as "marvelous days."

In 1957 Woodward was cast in her first starring role in a feature film, *The Three Faces of Eve*, for which

she received an Academy Award as Best Actress. Since then, Woodward has been recognized primarily as a feature film actress; however, her television roles have been numerous and highly memorable.

Woodward received an Emmy Award for her starring performance in *See How She Runs* on CBS in 1978. In 1985 she won a second Emmy for her role in *Do You Remember Love?*, a provocative and moving drama about the impact of Alzheimer's disease. In 1990 she received her third Emmy Award for producing and hosting a PBS special, *American Masters*. In addition, she has been nominated three times for other performances on television.

Her roles in television drama have frequently addressed social issues. Her 1981 performance as Elizabeth Huckaby in the CBS drama *Crisis at Central*



Joanne Woodward, c. late 1950s.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

*High* is an example of her unique ability to draw the audience into the character by becoming that character.

ROBERT S. ALLEY

**Joanne Gignilliat Woodward.** Born in Thomasville, Georgia, February 27, 1930. Attended Louisiana State University, 1947–49; graduated from Neighborhood Playhouse Dramatic School, New York City. Married: Paul Newman, 1958; three daughters. Made first television appearance in “Penny” for *Robert Montgomery Presents*, 1952; numerous appearances in specials and television movies; appeared in numerous stage plays and films. Recipient: Kennedy Center Honors for Lifetime Achievement in the Performing Arts (with Paul Newman); Academy Award, 1957; Foreign Press Award, 1957; Cannes Film Festival Award, 1972; New York Film Critics Award, 1968, 1973, and 1990; Emmy Awards, 1978, 1985, 1990.

**Made-for-Television Movies (selected)**

- 1952 *Robert Montgomery Presents: “Penny”*
- 1976 *All the Way Home*
- 1976 *Sybil*
- 1977 *Come Back, Little Sheba*

- 1978 *See How She Runs*
- 1979 *Streets of L.A.*
- 1980 *The Shadow Box*
- 1981 *Crisis at Central High*
- 1985 *Do You Remember Love?*
- 1989 *Foreign Affairs*
- 1993 *Blind Spot*
- 1994 *Hallmark Hall of Fame: Breathing Lessons*

**Television Specials**

- 1989 *Broadway’s Dreamers: “The Legacy of the Group Theater”*
- 1990 *American Masters*
- 1996 *Great Performances: “Dance in America: A Renaissance”*

**Films (actress; selected)**

*Count Three and Pray*, 1955; *A Kiss Before Dying*, 1956; *The Three Faces of Eve*, 1957; *No Down Payment*, 1957; *Rally Round the Flag Boys*, 1958; *The Long Hot Summer*, 1958; *The Sound and the Fury*, 1959; *The Fugitive Kind*, 1960; *Paris Blues*, 1961; *The Stripper*, 1963; *A New Kind of Love*, 1963; *A Big Hand for the Little Lady*, 1965; *A Fine Madness*, 1965; *Rachel, Rachel*, 1968; *Winning*, 1969; *WUSA*, 1970; *They Might Be Giants*, 1971; *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds*, 1972; *Summer Wishes, Winter Dreams*, 1973; *The Drowning Pool*, 1975; *The End*, 1978; *Harry and Son*, 1984; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1987; *Mr. and Mrs. Bridge*, 1990; *Philadelphia*, 1993; *The Age of Innocence* (narrator/voice only), 1993; *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports* (narrator), 1998.

**Films (director)**

*Come Along with Me*, 1982; *The Hump Back Angel*, 1984.

**Stage (selected)**

*Picnic* (understudy), 1953; *Baby Want a Kiss*, 1964; *Candida*, 1982; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1985; *Sweet Bird of Youth*, 1988.

**Further Reading**

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- Netter, Susan, *Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward*, London: Piatkus, 1989
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## Workplace Programs

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U.S. television, from its earliest years, has developed prime-time programs that focus on the workplace. This trend is understandable enough, given TV's essential investment in the "American work ethic" and in consumer culture, although it also evinces TV's basic domestic impulse. By the 1970s and 1980s, in fact, TV's most successful workplace programs effectively merged the medium's work-related and domestic imperatives in sitcoms like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, *Taxi*, and *Cheers*, and in hour-long dramas like *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *LA Law*. While conveying the working conditions and the professional ethos of the workplace, these programs also depicted coworkers as a loosely knit but crucially interdependent quasi-family within a "domesticated" workplace. This strategy was further refined in 1990s sitcoms like *Murphy Brown* and *Frasier*, and even more notably in hour-long dramas like *ER*, *NYPD Blue*, *Picket Fences*, *Chicago Hope*, *Ally McBeal*, *The Practice*, and *Homicide: Life in the Streets*. These latter series not only marked the unexpected resurgence of hour-long drama in prime time, but in the view of many critics evinced a new "golden age" of American television.

This integration of home and work was scarcely evident in 1950s TV, when the domestic arena and the workplace remained fairly distinct. The majority of workplace programs were male-dominant law-and-order series that generally focused less on the workplace itself than on the professional heroics of the cops, detectives, town marshals, and bounty hunters, who dictated and dominated the action. *Dragnet*, TV's prototype cop show, did portray the workaday world of the L.A. police, albeit in uncomplicated and superficial terms. The rise of the hour-long series in the late 1950s brought a more sophisticated treatment of the workplace in courtroom dramas like *Perry Mason*, detective shows like *77 Sunset Strip*, and cop shows like *Naked City* (which ran as a half-hour show in the 1958–59 season and then returned as an hour-long drama in 1960). More than simply a "home base" for the protagonists, the workplace in these programs was a familiar site of personal and professional interaction.

The year 1961 saw three important new hour-long workplace dramas: *Ben Casey*, *Dr. Kildare*, and *The Defenders*. The latter was a legal drama whose principals spent far less time in the courtroom and more time in the office than did Perry Mason. And while Mason's

cases invariably were murder mysteries, with Mason functioning as both lawyer and detective, *The Defenders* treated the workaday legal profession in more direct and realistic terms. Both *Ben Casey* and *Dr. Kildare*, meanwhile, were medical dramas set in hospitals, and they too brought a new degree of realism to the depiction of the workplace setting—and to the lives and labors of its occupants. As *Time* magazine noted in reviewing *Ben Casey*, the series "accurately captures the feeling of sleepless intensity of a metropolitan hospital."

Another important and highly influential series to debut in 1961 was a half-hour comedy, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, which effectively merged the two dominant sitcom strains—the workplace comedy with its ensemble of disparate characters and the domestic comedy centering on the typical (white, middle-class) American home and family. At the time, most workplace comedies fell into three basic categories: school-based sitcoms like *Mr. Peepers* and *Our Miss Brooks*; working-girl sitcoms like *Private Secretary* and *Oh Suzanna*; and military sitcoms like *The Phil Silvers Show* and *McHale's Navy*. The vast majority of half-hour comedies were domestic sitcoms extolling (or affectionately lampooning) the virtues of home and family. These occasionally raised work-related issues—via working stiffs like Chester Riley (*The Life of Riley*) lamenting an American Dream just out of reach, for instance, or an "unruly" housewife like Lucy Ricardo (*I Love Lucy*) comically resisting her domestic plight. And some series like *Hazel* centered on "domestic help" (maids, nannies, etc.), thus depicting the home itself as a workplace.

*The Dick Van Dyke Show* created a hybrid of sorts by casting Van Dyke as Rob Petrie, an affable suburban patriarch and head writer on the fictional Alan Brady Show. Setting the trend for workplace comedies of the next three decades, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* featured a protagonist who moved continually between home and work, thus creating a format amenable to both the domestic sitcom and the workplace comedy. The series' domestic dimension was quite conventional, but its treatment of the workplace was innovative and influential. The work itself involved television production (as would later workplace sitcoms like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Buffalo Bill*, and *Murphy Brown*), and thus the program carried a strong self-

reflexive dimension. More important, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* developed the prototype for the domesticated workplace and the work-family ensemble—Rob and his staff writers Buddy (Morey Amsterdam) and Sally (Rose Marie); oddball autocrat Alan Brady (Carl Reiner, the creator and executive producer of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*); and Alan's producer and brother-in-law, the ever-flustered and vaguely maternal Mel (Richard Deacon). Significantly, Rob was the only member of the workplace ensemble with a stable and secure home life, and thus he served as the stabilizing, nurturing, mediating force in the comic-chaotic and potentially dehumanizing workplace.

The influence of *The Dick Van Dyke Show* on TV's workplace programs was most obvious and direct in the sitcoms produced by MTM Enterprises in the early 1970s, particularly *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *The Bob Newhart Show*. While these and other MTM sitcoms featured a central character moving between home and work, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was the most successful in developing the workplace (the newsroom of a Minneapolis TV station, WJM) as a site not only of conflict and comedic chaos but of community and kinship as well. And although Moore, who had played Rob's wife on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, was cast here as an independent single woman, her nurturing instincts remained as acute as ever in the WJM newsroom.

While the MTM series maintained the dual focus on home and work, another crucial workplace comedy from the early 1970s, *M\*A\*S\*H*, focused exclusively on the workplace—in this case a military surgical unit in war-torn Korea in the early 1950s (with obvious pertinence to the then-current Vietnam War). Alan Alda's Hawkeye Pierce was in many ways the series' central character and governing sensibility, especially in his caustic disregard for military protocol and his fierce commitment to medicine. Yet *M\*A\*S\*H* was remarkably democratic in its treatment of the eight principal characters, developing each member of the ensemble, as well as the collective itself, into a functioning work-family. While ostensibly a sitcom, the series often veered into heavy drama in its treatment of both the medical profession and the war; in fact, the laugh track was never used during the scenes set in the operating room. And more than any previous workplace program, whether comedy or drama, *M\*A\*S\*H* was focused closely on the professional "code" of its ensemble, on the shared sense of duty and commitment that both defined their medical work and created a nagging sense of moral ambiguity about the military function of the unit—that is, patching up the wounded so that they might return to battle.

A domestic sitcom hit from the early 1970s, *All in*

*the Family*, also is pertinent here for several reasons. First, in Archie Bunker (Carroll O'Connor), the series created the most compelling and comic-pathetic working stiff since Chester Riley. Second, parenting on the series involved two grown "children," with the generation-gap squabbling between Archie and son-in-law Mike (Rob Reiner) frequently raising issues of social class and work. Moreover, their comic antagonism was recast in other generation-gap sitcoms set in the workplace, notably *Sanford and Son* and *Chico and the Man*. And third, *All in the Family* itself evolved by the late 1970s into a workplace sitcom, *Archie Bunker's Place*, with the traditional family replaced by a work-family ensemble.

The trend toward workplace comedies in the early 1970s was related to several factors both inside and outside the industry. One factor was the sheer popularity of the early-1970s workplace comedies, and their obvious flexibility in terms of plot and character development. These series also signaled TV's increasing concern with demographics and its pursuit of "quality numbers"—the upscale urban viewers coveted by sponsors. Because these series often dealt with topical and significant social issues, they were widely praised by critics, thus creating an equation of sorts between quality demographics and "quality programming." And in a larger social context, this programming trend signaled the massive changes in American lifestyles that accompanied a declining economy and runaway inflation, the sexual revolution and women's movement, the growing ranks of working wives and mothers, and rising divorce rates.

Thus, the domestic sitcom, with its emphasis on the traditional home and family, all but disappeared from network schedules in the late 1970s and early 1980s, replaced by workplace comedies like *Alice*, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Taxi*, *Cheers*, *Newhart*, *Night Court*, and *Welcome Back, Kotter*. The domestic sitcom did rebound in the mid-1980s with *The Cosby Show* and *Family Ties*, and by the 1990s the domestic and workplace sitcoms had formed a comfortable alliance, with series like *Murphy Brown*, *Coach*, and *Frasier* sustaining the MTM tradition of a central, pivotal character moving between home and the workplace.

TV's hour-long workplace dramas underwent a transformation as well in the 1970s, which was a direct outgrowth, in fact, of MTM's workplace sitcoms. In 1977 MTM Enterprises retired *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and created a third and final spin-off of that series, *Lou Grant*, which followed Mary's irascible boss (Ed Asner) from WJM-TV in Minneapolis to the *Los Angeles Tribune*, where he took a job as editor. *Lou Grant* was created by two of MTM's top comedy writer-producers, James Brooks and Allan Burns,



along with Gene Reynolds, the executive producer of *M\*A\*S\*H*. It marked a crucial new direction for MTM, not only because it was an hour-long drama, but also because of its primary focus on the workplace (à la *M\*A\*S\*H*) and its aggressive treatment of “serious” social and work-related issues. In that era of Vietnam, Watergate, and *All the President’s Men*, *Lou Grant* courted controversy week after week, with Lou and his work-family of investigative journalists not only pursuing the truth, but agonizing over their personal lives and professional responsibilities as well.

MTM’s hour-long workplace dramas hit their stride in the 1980s with *Hill Street Blues* and *St. Elsewhere*, which effectively revitalized two of television’s oldest genres, the police show and the medical show. Each shifted the dramatic focus from the all-too-familiar heroics of a series star to an ensemble of coworkers and to the workplace itself—not simply as a backdrop, but as a social-service institution located in an urban-industrial war zone with its own distinctive ethos and sense of place. Each also used serial story structure and documentary-style realism, drawing viewers into the heavily populated and densely plotted programs through a heady, seemingly paradoxical blend of soap opera and *cinéma vérité*. Documentary techniques—location shooting, handheld camera, long takes and re-framing instead of cutting, composition in depth, and multiple-track sound recording—gave these series (and the workplace itself) a “look” and “feel” that was utterly unique among police and medical dramas.

*Hill Street Blues* and *St. Elsewhere* also emerged alongside prime-time soap operas like *Dallas* and *Falcon Crest* and shared with those series a penchant for “continuing drama.” While this serial dimension enhanced both the Hill Street precinct and St. Eligius hospital as a “domesticated workplace,” the genre requirements of each series (solving crimes, healing the sick) demanded action, pathos, jeopardy, and a dramatic payoff within individual episodes. Thus, a crucial component of MTM’s workplace dramas was their merging of episodic and serial forms. The episodic dimension usually focused on short-term, work-related conflicts (crime, illness), while the serial dimension involved the more “domestic” aspects of the characters’ lives—and not only their personal lives, since most of the principals were “married to their work,” but also the ongoing interpersonal relationships among the coworkers.

*Hill Street* co-creator Steven Bochco left MTM in the mid-1980s and developed *LA Law*, which took the ensemble workplace drama “upscale” into a successful big-city legal firm. While a solid success, this focus on upscale professionals marked a significant departure from *Hill Street* and *St. Elsewhere*—and from most workplace dramas in the 1990s as well. Indeed, prime-

time network TV saw a remarkable run of MTM-style ensemble dramas in the 1990s, notably *ER*, *Homicide*, *Law and Order*, *Chicago Hope*, and another Bochco series, *NYPD Blue*. Most of these were set, like *Hill Street* and *St. Elsewhere*, in decaying inner cities, and they centered on coworkers whose commitment to their profession and to one another was far more important than social status or income. Indeed, a central paradox in these programs is that their principal characters, all intelligent, well-educated professionals, eschew material rewards to work in underfunded social institutions where commitment outweighs income, where the work is never finished nor the conflicts satisfactorily resolved, and where the work itself, finally, is its own reward.

Despite these similarities to *Hill Street* and *St. Elsewhere*, the 1990s workplace dramas differed in their emphasis. Those earlier MTM series carried a strong male-management focus, privileging the veritable “patriarch” of the work-family—Captain Frank Furillo and Dr. Donald Westphall, respectively—whose role (like Lou Grant before them) was to uphold the professional code and the familial bond of their charges. The 1990s dramas, conversely, concentrated mainly on the workers in the trenches, whose shared commitment to one another and to their work defines the ethos of the workplace and the sense of kinship it engendered.

More conventional hour-long workplace programs have been developed alongside these MTM-style dramas, of course, from 1970s series like *Medical Center*, *Ironside*, and *Baretta* to more recent cop, doc, and lawyer shows like *Matlock*, *T.J. Hooker*, and *Quincy*. In the tradition of *Dragnet* and *Marcus Welby*, the lead characters in these series are little more than heroic plot functions, with the plots themselves satisfying the generic requirements in formulaic doses and the workplace setting as mere backdrop. Two recent hour-long dramas more closely akin to the MTM-style workplace programs are *Northern Exposure* and *Picket Fences*. Both are successful ensemble dramas created by MTM alumni who took the workplace form into more upbeat and offbeat directions—the former a duck-out-of-water doc show set in small-town Alaska that veered into magical realism, the latter a hybrid cop-doc-legal-domestic drama set in small-town Wisconsin. But while both are effective ensemble dramas with an acute “sense of place,” they are crucially at odds with urban-based medical dramas like *ER* and *Chicago Hope* and police dramas like *Homicide* and *NYPD Blue*, whose dramatic focus is crucially wed to the single-minded professional commitment of the ensemble and is deeply rooted in the workplace itself.

Indeed, *ER* and *Homicide* and the other MTM-style ensemble dramas posit the workplace as home and work itself as the basis for any real sense of kinship we

are likely to find in the contemporary urban-industrial world. As Charles McGrath writes in *The New York Times Magazine*, "The Triumph of the Prime-Time Novel," such shows appeal to viewers because "they've remembered that for a lot of us work is where we live more of the time; that, like it or not, our job relationships are often as intimate as our family relationships, and that work is often where we invest most of our emotional energy." McGrath is one of several critics who view these workplace dramas as ushering in a renaissance of network TV programming, due to their Dickensian density of plot and complexity of character, their social realism and moral ambiguity, and their portrayal of workers whose heroics are simply a function of their everyday lives and labors.

The workplace in these series ultimately emerges as a character unto itself, and one that is both harrowing and oddly inspiring to those who work there. For the characters in *ER* and *NYPD Blue* and the other ensemble workplace dramas, soul-searching comes with the territory, and they know the territory all too well. They are acutely aware not only of their own limitations and failings but of the inadequacies of their own professions to cure the ills of the modern world. Still, they maintain their commitment to one another and to a professional code that is the very lifeblood of the workplace they share.

In the mid- to late 1990s, the shows of producer David E. Kelly especially exemplified this trend of replacing the home with the workplace, and positing coworkers as, essentially, family. His two legal dramas, *The Practice* and *Ally McBeal*, approached this development in markedly different ways. In *The Practice* a small firm of defense lawyers develop deep, familial bonds. Professional and personal relationships often overlap. The primary example of this is the relationship between the firm founder, Bobby Donnell (Dylan McDermott), and associate Lindsay Dole (Kelli Williams). The two married at the end of season four, only to separate in the seventh season. Prior to their separation, Lindsay had left the practice to form her own firm.

Kelly's other lawyer program, *Ally McBeal*, elevated the personal relationships among the staff members over their professional ones. Ally McBeal (Calista Flockhart) joined the firm of Cage/Fish & Associates, where her fellow employees included childhood sweetheart Billy Thomas (Gil Bellows) and his wife, Georgia (Courtney Thorne-Smith). The romantic entanglements of the lawyers at the firm—both with each other, with lawyers at other firms, and with those outside the legal realm—were the primary focus of the show. The actual court cases, which were generally based around unrealistic or whimsical premises, were generally notable only as they supported or reflected the personal relationships among the lawyers. In programs such as these, distinctions between the home and the workplace became essentially meaningless.

THOMAS SCHATZ

*See also All in the Family; Ally McBeal; Cheers; Detective Programs; Dick Van Dyke Show, The; Hill Street Blues; LA Law; Lou Grant; Mary Tyler Moore Show, The; M\*A\*S\*H; Murphy Brown; Police Programs; St. Elsewhere; Taxi*

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## World at War, The

### U.K. Documentary Series

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*The World at War* is a British historical documentary series made by the ITV company Thames Television and first broadcast in 1973. A hugely ambitious 26-episode

history of World War II, combining archive film with interviews with war veterans, the series was the brainchild of producer Jeremy Isaacs, who first proposed the idea

to Thames Television in the autumn of 1970. The company bravely approved the project and a team of experts assembled by Isaacs started work early in 1971.

Isaacs was determined that the series would be the most comprehensive history of the war yet attempted, based on extensive research, and would aim to meet the highest standards. Operating in no less than 18 countries over a period of four years, the team was faced with a massive task, trawling through 3 million feet of archive film (much of it unseen since the war) and adding to this a further 1 million feet of material comprising interviews and location filming. Everything the researchers viewed was carefully cataloged and recorded in a central log book to facilitate future reference. The checking of historical accuracy was placed in the hands of the academic Dr. Noble Frankland.

The interviews with surviving veterans were considered a crucial element of the project, and much effort was devoted to obtaining the recollections of a wide selection of veterans, ranging from key military and political personalities to ordinary soldiers and civilians caught up in the conflict. Among the interviewees were such notable (and sometimes controversial) figures as Hitler's personal secretary, Traudl Junge; U-boat commander and head of the German Navy Karl Donitz; German armaments minister Albert Speer; Himmler's adjutant, Karl Wolff; British foreign secretary (and later prime minister) Anthony Eden; Winston Churchill's parliamentary private secretary, John Colville; head of RAF Bomber Command Arthur "Bomber" Harris; U.S. ambassador to Russia Averill Harriman; and Hollywood film star and USAAF bomber pilot James Stewart. Some of the most telling interviews, however, were those made with the ordinary people of all nationalities who found themselves overtaken by the war, ranging from fighter pilots and shipwrecked seamen to Russian housewives and concentration camp survivors. Their testimony brought vivid realism to the unfolding of the events that took place between the rise of the Nazis in prewar Germany and the Japanese surrender following the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There were many technical challenges to be met. As well as having to combine color with monochrome film and amateur with professionally filmed footage, the team also had to do extensive work on the soundtrack, much of the original film being silent. Every effort was made to ensure that the soundtrack for the series was as authentic as possible, with recordings being specially made of the various armaments depicted. To provide an appropriately grave tone the duty of narrating the series was entrusted to the most celebrated figure on the contemporary stage, the British actor Sir

Laurence Olivier, whose masterly delivery added both authority and humanity to the series. Other important finishing touches included the compilation of a striking title sequence (18 months in the preparation) to a memorable score by Carl Davis.

Shot on 16 millimeter, the first episode of the finished series (which cost in all around £1 million), titled *A New Germany*, went out on Wednesday, October 31, 1973, at 9 P.M.—although a television station in Houston had in fact already started showing the series some three weeks earlier. The whole series was broadcast as 26 one-hour episodes over a period of six months and met with immediate acclaim. The program attracted huge audiences, and one episode titled *Morning*, covering the D-Day landings, appeared in the top 10 audience ratings—an unprecedented success for a documentary program. The series was universally recognized as one of the most ambitious television documentary projects ever undertaken and won awards all round the world, among them an International Emmy and the George Polk Memorial Award.

Only one-hundredth of the material originally gathered by the research team was used in the final series. Selections of what remained was used for six *World at War* specials made three years later (1975), with another Shakespearean actor, Eric Porter, succeeding Olivier as narrator. The original series has been screened in nearly 100 countries and was repeated on BBC 2 in 1994 (and again in 2000). The program has aged well and remains unrivalled as a televisual source on the war, if only because many of the eyewitnesses interviewed are no longer living and available for further questioning. The account of events and the analysis offered in the narration have never been seriously challenged by experts on the period. The accompanying book to the series sold half a million copies and was translated into 14 languages, and the original 26 episodes have also been made available on videotape.

Many of the people involved in producing the series went on to further success in the British media. Writer Charles Douglas-Home was appointed editor of *The Times*, while producer and director David Elstein became director of programmes at Thames and chief executive of Channel 5 in the United Kingdom. Another producer, Ted Childs, carved a reputation as an influential maker of British television drama, with such series as *The Sweeney*, *Inspector Morse*, and *Kavanagh QC*. Jeremy Isaacs, the prime mover behind the whole undertaking, became founding chief executive of Channel 4 and subsequently general director of the Royal Opera House.

DAVID PICKERING

*See also* **Documentary; War on Television**

World at War, The

**Creator/Producer**

Jeremy Isaacs

**Programming History**

ITV

Produced by Thames Television

1973

26 one-hour episodes

Repeat airings:

BBC 2

1994, 2000

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## World in Action

British News Documentary

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*World in Action*, Britain's long-running and most illustrious current-affairs program, goes out in prime time on ITV (the main commercial channel) and is produced by Granada Television, a company with a reputation for innovation and "quality" programming. First launched in 1963, with Tim Hewat, an ex-*Daily Express* reporter, as its editor, *World in Action* was the first weekly current-affairs program in Britain to pioneer pictorial journalism on film and to risk taking an independent editorial stance. In comparison with *Panorama*, the BBC's rival current-affairs program, which was studio based and featured several items, *World in Action* was, in the words of Gus McDonald, "born brash." It devoted each half-hour episode to a single issue and, abandoning the studio and presenter, put the story itself up-front. The lightweight film equipment gave the production team the mobility to follow up the stories firsthand and to bring raw images of the world into the living room. A conspicuous and influential style evolved with interviewees framed in close-up talking directly to camera, cross-cut with fast-edited observation of relevant action and environmental detail. The hard-hitting approach compelled attention and made complex social issues accessible to a mass audience for the first time.

Having firmly established the idea of picture journalism on TV, *World in Action* consolidated its position in 1967 under David Plowright when an investigative bureau was set up, and it is on the quality of its investigative journalism that the program's reputation chiefly rests. Award-winning episodes have included "The Demonstration" (1968) observing the mass protest outside the U.S. embassy against the

bombing of North Vietnam; "Nuts and Bolts of the Economy" (1976), a series exploring different aspects of the world economy; and an investigation into "The Life and Death of Steve Biko" (1978). The program has been equally wide ranging with domestic topics, covering the exposure of police corruption in "Scotland Yard's Cocaine Connection" (1985), revealing the British Royal Family's tax loophole (1991), and investigating the dangers of different types of contraceptive pill (1995). Over the years, the program has fearlessly and impartially pursued the truth, exposing injustice and falsehood, and frequently running at odds with the powers that be. In this respect the program's long-standing, but eventually successful, fight to secure the release of the six men wrongfully convicted for the IRA pub bombing in Birmingham provides the outstanding example.

*World in Action* stands as one of the finest achievements of public service television in Britain—of programming driven by the desire to inform and educate viewers as much as to entertain them. In the course of its long run it has provided the training ground for some of the most distinguished names in British broadcasting, as well as pioneering innovative program approaches such as undercover and surveillance work and drama documentary. How it will continue to fare in the more competitive broadcast market following deregulation remains to be seen. However, it is possible that to maintain its prime-time slot the emphasis will shift away from costly long-term investigations and international stories to focus on populist health and consumer issues that can be guaranteed to deliver large audiences.

JUDITH JONES AND BOB MILLINGTON

**Programming History**

ITV  
1963–1965  
1967–

**Further Reading**

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*Granada: The First Twenty-Five Years*, London: British Film Institute, 1988

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## Worrell, Trix

British Writer

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Trix Worrell has lived in Britain for most of his life, having moved there from St. Lucia when he was five. When he began his acting career, he also started writing because there were so few good parts for black actors to play. As a teenager, Worrell worked with the Albany Theatre in South London, where he wrote and directed his first play, *School's Out*, in 1980. Eventually, he enrolled at the National Film and Television School (NFTS), initially as a producer, but soon decided to concentrate on writing and directing. Even before his NFTS course, he had achieved recognition as a writer.

In 1984 Worrell won Channel 4 Television's Debut New Writers competition with his play *Mohicans*, which was broadcast on Channel 4 as *Like a Mohican* in 1985. At that time, the young Worrell was a more modest individual, and it was a colleague rather than Worrell himself who sent in the script to the competition. When he won, his pleasure was somewhat dulled when he realized that despite his success, the small print of the competition meant that Channel 4 did not actually have to broadcast his work. Showing the determination that would stand him in good stead for subsequent battles with commissioning editors, Worrell fought to have his play broadcast and successfully challenged Channel 4's insistence that single dramas were too expensive to produce. Having leapt that first hurdle, he then argued forcefully for the play to keep its original language, including the ubiquitous swearing that is an intrinsic part of polyglot London's authentic voice. Fortunately, his persistence paid off, and after this success he went on to coauthor (with Martin Stellman) the feature film *For Queen and Country* (1989) before returning again to the small screen.

In the late 1980s, Channel 4 was interested in commissioning a new sitcom, and Worrell contacted the producer Humphrey Barclay with a view to working

up an idea. Though he had never written television comedy before, he had penned various satirical works for the theater and felt confident, if slightly anxious, about entering this extremely difficult terrain. Worrell has recounted that he was on his way to meet Barclay to talk through possibilities when his bus pulled up at a traffic light and he saw a barber shop with three barbers peering through the shop window to ogle the women going past: suddenly he had found his comedy situation. The subsequent show, *Desmond's*, was one of Channel 4's most successful programs, producing seven series in five years, from 1989 to 1994. As with all good sitcoms, *Desmond's* was organized around a particular location, in this case, the inside of the barber shop, with occasional shoots in the world outside or scenes set in the flat over the shop, which served as home for the eponymous Desmond and his family.

Although this was not the first British comedy series about a black family, Worrell was keen to work through a number of complex issues and important features of black migrant experiences in Britain in ways that would make sense to both black and white viewers. *Desmond's* was always intended for a mixed audience, and Worrell wanted to expose white audiences to an intact black family whose members experienced precisely the same problems and joys as those of white families. At the same time, he wanted to reflect a positive and realistic black family for black viewers as an antidote to the routinely stereotypical portraits that more usually characterize programs about black people in Britain.

In talking about the production of *Desmond's*, Worrell has revealed the considerable antagonisms he faced from black colleagues who regarded writing sitcoms as an act of betrayal, or at the very least as a soft-option sellout. But this type of criticism misses the point: powerful sentiment and subversive commentary can be

made by comedy characters precisely because their comedic tone and domesticated milieu are unthreatening—the viewer is invited to laugh and empathize with the characters, not to scorn them. In later episodes of *Desmond's*, program narratives were pushed into more controversial areas such as racism because identification and loyalty had already been secured from the audience and more risks could be taken.

Worrell is very aware of the limited opportunities that exist for black writers wanting to break into television. By the third series of *Desmond's*, he had brought together a new team to work on the show, enabling him to concentrate more on directing as well as providing valuable production experience to a cohort of black writers, many of whom were women. Despite the considerable success of *Desmond's*, Worrell has contended that he still has to fight much harder than white colleagues to get new program ideas accepted. There are significant problems in trying to negotiate new and challenging territory that questions the cozy prejudices of the status quo, and British broadcasters now tend toward the conservative rather than the innovative in their relentless battle to retain market share. While there is a continued interest in series that reflect the assumptions and preconceptions that white editors have about black communities, Worrell is keen to explore the diversities of life as it is actually lived by Britain's blacks. His work breaks out of the suffocating straightjacket of dismal (racist) stereotypes, instead examining the complex realities of black experiences, which are as much about living, loving, and working within strongly multicultural environments as about the hopeless crack-heads, pimps, and villains who inhabit London's ghetto slums. There is no one story—there are many.

In late 1994, Worrell teamed up with Paul Trijbits to create the film and TV production company, Trijbits-Worrell. Although Worrell is quite pessimistic about the future for black writers, producers, and directors trying to penetrate the industry, the continued success of his own work ensures that there is at least one act to follow.

KAREN ROSS

*See also* **British Programming; *Desmond's***

**Trix Worrell.** Born in St. Lucia; immigrated to Britain at the age of five. Educated at the National Film and Television School, London. Writer and actor, Albany Youth Theatre, Deptford, South East London; winner of Channel 4's Debut '84 New Writers competition for *Mohicans*; *Like a Mohican* aired on Channel 4, 1985; writer and director, *Desmond's*, Channel 4 situation comedy, 1989–94, *Porkpie*, 1995–96, and *Dad*, 1997–99; executive producer, science fiction film, *Hardware*, 1990; cofounder, with Paul Trijbits, Trijbits-Worrell, film and television production company, 1994.

#### Television Series

1989–94 *Desmond's*  
1995–96 *Porkpie*  
1997–99 *Dad*

#### Television Miniseries

1999 *Laughter in the House: The Story of British Sitcom*

#### Television Play

1985 *Like a Mohican*

#### Films

*For Queen and Country* (with Martin Stellman), 1989; *Hardware* (executive producer), 1990.

#### Stage

*School's Out*, 1980.

#### Further Reading

Pines, Jim, editor, *Black and White in Colour: Black People in British Television Since 1936*, London: British Film Institute, 1992

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## Wrather, Jack (1918–1984)

U.S. Media Executive, Producer

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Born in Amarillo, Texas, Jack Wrather became an oil "wildcatter" who eventually rose to be president of an oil company founded by his father. He later expanded

his resources into real estate, hotels, motion pictures, and broadcast properties. Following service in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II, Wrather relocated



Producer Jack Wrather with fellow producer and wife Bonita Granville, 1947.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

to California, where he diversified his holdings in the movie business, creating Jack Wrather Pictures, Inc., and Freedom Productions. Between 1946 and 1955, Wrather produced feature films for Eagle Lion, Warner Brothers, Allied Artists, and United Artists, including *The Guilty*, *High Tide*, *Perilous Waters*, *Strike It Rich*, *Guilty of Treason*, *The Lone Ranger and the Lost City of Gold*, *The Magic of Lassie*, and *The Legend of the Lone Ranger*.

During the 1950s, Wrather, a true entrepreneur, established such television syndication services as Television Programs of America and Independent Television Corporation. He was also co-owner of television stations licensed to Wrather-Alvarez Broadcasting Company in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and San Diego and Bakersfield, California.

Wrather is perhaps most noted for several of the television series he produced: *The Lone Ranger*, *Lassie*, and *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*. These programs, which were standards among early syndicated television offerings, served stations affiliated with networks as well as independent stations, and they demonstrated that formulaic, filmed entertainment

could attract audiences while providing a resalable product. In many ways, Wrather's operations foreshadowed some of the most significant developments in the economic support structure for the next generation of television, a fact he obviously recognized.

After paying \$3 million to George W. Trendle for rights to *The Lone Ranger*, Wrather considered his purchase an important part of American history. The 221-episode half-hour western series, licensed through the years to ABC, CBS, and NBC, remains in syndication today. In the 1950s, Wrather also produced the popular weekly *Lassie* adventure series and 78 episodes of *Sergeant Preston*.

Among other Wrather holdings were the ship *Queen Mary* and Howard Hughes's transport aircraft, the *Spruce Goose*. He also owned Disneyland Hotel and served as board director or board chair for Continental Airlines, TelePrompTer, Muzak, Inc., and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Wrather was among several prominent business executives who became members of Ronald Reagan's original transition committee when Reagan became president in 1981. Jack Wrather died of cancer in 1984 at age 66.

DENNIS HARP

***See also Lassie; Lone Ranger, The; Syndication***

**Jack Wrather.** Born John Devereaux Wrather Jr. in Amarillo, Texas, May 24, 1918. Educated at the University of Texas at Austin, B.A., 1939. Married: Bonita Granville, 1947; children: Molly, Jack, Linda, and Christopher. Served in U.S. Marine Corps Reserves, 1942–53. Independent oil producer in Texas, Indiana, and Illinois; president, Evansville Refining Company, 1938–40, Overton Refining Company, Amarillo Producers, and Refiners Corporation, Dallas, 1940–49; owner, Jack Wrather Pictures, Inc., 1947–49, and Freedom Productions Corporation, from 1949; president, Western States Investment Corporation, from 1949; president, Wrather Television Productions, Inc., from 1951; Wrather-Alvarez Broadcasting, Inc.; Lone Ranger, Inc.; Lassie, Inc.; and Disneyland Hotel, Anaheim, California; owner, KFMB, KERO, and KEMB-TV in San Diego; owner, KOTY-TV in Tulsa, Oklahoma; part owner, WNEW, New York City; chair, Muzak, Inc., Independent Television Corporation and Television Programs of America, Inc., Stephens Marine, Inc.; president and chair, Wrather Corporation; director, TelePrompTer Corporation, Continental Airlines, Transcontinent Television Corporation, Jerold Electronics Corporation, Capitol Records, Inc.; board of directors, Community Television of Southern California, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1970. Member: development

Wrather, Jack

board, University of Texas; board of counselors for performing arts, University of Southern California; Independent Petroleum Association of America; International Radio and Television Society; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; National Petroleum Council, 1970. Died in Santa Monica, California, November 12, 1984.

**Television Series (producer)**

1949–57     *The Lone Ranger*  
1957–74     *Lassie*  
1955–58     *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*

**Films (producer)**

*The Guilty*, 1946; *High Tide*, 1947; *Perilous Water*, 1947; *Strike It Rich*, 1948; *Guilty of Treason*, 1949; *The Lone Ranger and the Lost City of Gold*, 1958; *The Magic of Lassie*, 1978; *The Legend of the Lone Ranger*, 1981.

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## Wrestling on Television

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At the end of the 19th century, professional wrestling was as “authentic”—as genuinely competitive—as the NFL is today. Similar to modern amateur wrestling in terms of style, holds, and strategy, professional matches during this “authentic” stage frequently lasted for hours in one- and two-hold stalemates. Although it is not clear exactly how wrestling’s transformation to stage-managed spectacle was accomplished, by the 1930s its essential redefinition was complete. The economic imperatives associated with luring crowds back to the arena resulted in stylistic, promotional, and structural modification of the sport form. In this radical reformation, the ethic of competition was discarded and replaced by a new set of codes and values associated with “kayfabe.” An old carnie term, kayfabe is akin to “honor among thieves.” A kind of swindler’s agreement, the unwritten laws of kayfabe dictate that insiders always maintain the illusion of a confidence game even when confronted by outsiders with overwhelming evidence that the con is all an act. It is important to note, here, that the kayfabe era in professional wrestling, with its gymnastic moves, theatrical contrivances, and control by flamboyant promoters, was established decades before the introduction of television. So, while professional wrestling has thrived during the age of television, sport purists cannot hold the medium accountable for wrestling’s theatrical transformation.

Even so, professional wrestling performed an especially prominent role in television’s early history as a mass medium. During the age of live programming, wrestling’s choreographed violence and grand pantomime made it an entertainment form that was partic-

ularly well-suited to the limitations of primitive television sets. Although the faux sport was most closely associated with the ABC and Dumont networks, between 1948 and 1955 (during what is now known as the “golden era” of the sport), wrestling programs appeared at one time or another on the prime-time schedules of all four major national broadcast networks. Chicago was home to the two longest-running wrestling shows of this period. On almost every Wednesday night for six years, ABC telecast matches from the Windy City’s Rainbow Arena with Wayne Griffin performing as announcer. On Saturday nights during roughly the same time span, Marigold Gardens was the setting for Dumont’s “Wrestling from Chicago” with Jack Brickhouse providing the commentary. But the most noteworthy of the early announcers, Dennis James, appeared on another Dumont production that originated from various arenas in and around New York City. Remembered for the catchphrase “Okay, Mother,” James’s enthusiasm for the sport was both legendary and infectious.

During this golden era of kayfabe wrestling, matches pitted fan favorites like Verne Gagne, Lou Thesz, and Bruno “The Italian Superman” Sammartino against larger-than-life villains like “Classy” Freddie Blassie, Killer Kowalski, and “Nature Boy” Buddy Rogers. But by far the most significant wrestling star of this period was George Wagner—millions knew (and hated) him as Gorgeous George. After ten years of wrestling in obscurity, Wagner became something of an alchemist when he discovered how to turn homophobia into gold. In a day when most wrestlers and their male fans sported crew cuts and flattops, Gor-

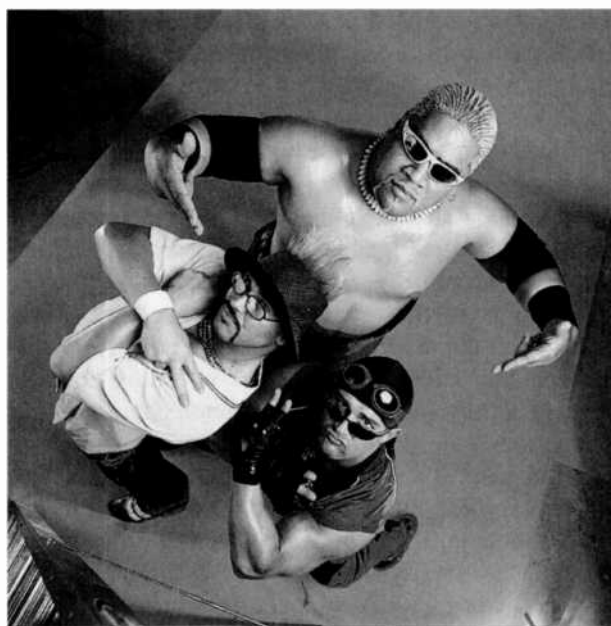


geous George's long, curly, platinum blond locks made him stand out. His many theatrical innovations included deploying a supporting cast/entourage and playing provocative theme music: male valets named Geoffrey and Thomas Ross would spray Wagner's corner of the ring with perfume before George, with "Pomp and Circumstance" blaring on the loud speakers, made a grand entrance that might last longer than his actual match. Wagner's showmanship would have a lasting impact on the sport, inspiring generations of imitators like Adrian Street, "Superstar" Billy Graham, Ric Flair, "Adorable" Adrian Adonis, Goldust, and Randy "Macho Man" Savage (whose theme song was also "Pomp and Circumstance"). The importance of Gorgeous George Wagner, then, is that he was the first of TV's sports performers to establish that personality, character, and color are as interesting to audiences and as crucial to television stardom as run-of-the-mill competitive superiority.

The golden era of pro wrestling would end in 1955, when wrestling vanished from all of the networks' prime-time schedules. Surviving in the ghetto time-slots of local late-night and weekend schedules, wrestling programming during the next 25 years was largely produced and distributed by regional promoters who developed a cast of heroes and villains that replicated and exploited prevailing cultural conflicts and ethnic rivalries. In Lubbock, Texas, for example, "Rapid" Ricky Romero was a popular "good guy" who appealed to the area's large Mexican-American population, while the Funks (a ranching family made up of father Dory and sons Dory Jr. and Terry) catered to Anglo fans. Where Gorgeous George exploited homophobia, many of the wrestling villains of the 1960s and 1970s capitalized on the xenophobia of cold war America. Lord Alfred Hayes, "Russian Bear" Ivan Koloff, Baron Mikel Scicluna, Baron von Raschke, The Sheik, Professor Toru Tanaka, Mr. Fuji: all were portrayed as foreign-born villains.

Another notable trend of this period was the emergence of masked wrestlers who seemed to be refugees from pages of comic books. In the United States, masked wrestlers like the Destroyer, the Bolos, Dr. X, Mr. Wrestling, and Mr. Wrestling II achieved moderate success as villains. But south of the U.S. border, colorful masked men dominated the character cosmos of what is called *Lucha Libre* (literally, free-form fighting). From the legendary El Santo and Blue Demon through the flamboyant Mil Mascaras to such contemporary young superstars as Rey Mysterio Jr. and Juventud Guerrera, the masked *luchador* is the defining figure in Mexican professional wrestling.

Back in the United States, the fragmentation of wrestling in the 1960s and 1970s is perhaps best illus-



WWF *Smackdown*. Rikishi Fhatu (Solofa Fatu), with 2Cool, Grandmaster Sexay (Brian Lawler) and Scotty 'Too Hotty' Taylor. Season 2.

*Courtesy of the Everett Collection*

trated by the contested object that motivated the main line of action in the always-developing masculine melodrama: the championship belt. The smallest wrestling circuits attached grandiose titles to belts that made the huge buckles of rodeo hardware look puny. Even so, the three most prestigious "World" heavyweight titles during this era were sanctioned by what were then the three largest wrestling associations: the American Wrestling Association (AWA), the National Wrestling Alliance (NWA), and the World Wide Wrestling Federation (WWWF). First awarded to Frank Gotch in 1904, the NWA's World Wrestling Championship was the oldest belt recognized in the United States.

In keeping with a familiar business trend in the entertainment industry, it would not be one of the three established powers that propelled professional wrestling into a hyper-golden age of global proportions. Instead, the seeds of wrestling's postmodern future would take root in a small East Coast operation known as the Capitol Wrestling Federation. In 1982, Vincent Kenneth McMahon Jr. and his wife, Linda, acquired the marginal enterprise from a partnership headed by Vincent Kenneth McMahon Sr. for \$1 million divided into four quarterly payments. Like his main rival, Ted Turner, McMahon understood the economic opportunities afforded by the satellite/cable revolution. Renaming his company the World Wrestling

Federation (WWF), McMahon signed a deal with the USA Network that enabled him to cultivate a national cable audience.

McMahon was not concerned with maintaining the so-called "credibility" of the sport form. Dropping any pretense that pro wrestling was an authentic sport, McMahon violated kayfabe when he freely admitted that matches were rigged. In fact, discarding the burden of credibility enabled McMahon to connect wrestling to another superhistrionic spectacle: rock music. With the aid of pop stars (most notably, Cyndi Lauper), McMahon forged a rock-wrestling connection that successfully pitched his pyrotechnic productions to the MTV generation. McMahon's targeting of the youth market was also apparent in the WWF's new line of wrestling superstars. Hulk Hogan, Andre the Giant, and Randy "Macho Man" Savage would become internationally known names in the rapidly expanding culture of global telecommunications technology.

McMahon's greatest achievements have been in pay-per-view television. The 1985 debut of McMahon's *Wrestlemania* was a headline-grabbing experiment. The first *Wrestlemania* was staged in New York's Madison Square Garden. With Muhammad Ali serving as guest referee, Liberace keeping time, and baseball's Billy Martin performing as ring announcer, *Wrestlemania I*'s marquee event was a grudge tag-team match that partnered Hulk Hogan and the *A Team*'s Mr. T against Rowdy Roddy Piper and Paul "Mr. Wonderful" Orndorff. The outcome of the match is, of course, not as important as the fact that the experiment *almost* made money.

Two years later, *Wrestlemania III* erased any lingering doubts about the profitability of pay-per-view wrestling. A record 93,173 spectators jammed the Pontiac Silverdome to make *Wrestlemania*'s third installment rank then as the "largest indoor sports event or entertainment event of all time" (the previous indoor attendance record was for a 1981 Rolling Stones concert in New Orleans at the Superdome). Producing \$1.7 million in ticket sales and \$30 million more in pay-per-view and merchandising receipts, *Wrestlemania III* established McMahon as the architect of a new media synergy that went beyond the way professional wrestling had traditionally used televised matches to hype live events. Whether distributed on a major broadcast network (NBC's *Saturday Night's Main Event*), a minor broadcast network (UPN's *Smackdown!*), or a basic cable network (USA's *Raw*), McMahon's "free" wrestling shows—though highly rated and profitable—would come to represent relatively modest revenue streams compared with their promotional value for building anticipation and expectations

for the orgy of excess and profit taking that is *Wrestlemania*.

In the world of pro wrestling, McMahon now reigns supreme, having finally vanquished his only serious rival, Ted Turner. This accomplishment is even more impressive considering Turner's ten-year head start in the wrestling business. Though Turner is better known for his ownership of the Atlanta Braves, professional wrestling was actually his first venture into the world of sports programming. Soon after purchasing a money-losing UHF station in Atlanta in 1970, Turner enlisted the aid of a former girlfriend (who was married to one of Atlanta's top wrestling promoters) to help him steal a popular wrestling show from the local ABC affiliate. Outfitting Channel 17's small studio with a full-sized ring, Turner scheduled wrestling three times a week—and the station's ratings started moving upward. That small independent station would eventually become WTBS. For the next three decades, wrestling would be a key programming ingredient of Turner's cable empire. However, in the 1980s, when McMahon was taking wrestling to new heights with *Wrestlemania*, Turner was preoccupied with other matters: establishing CNN, trying to buy CBS, launching the Goodwill Games, acquiring MGM's film archive, and fighting off creditors. In the mid-1990s, though, Turner would go on the offensive. Changing the name of his wrestling property from the National Wrestling Alliance to World Class Wrestling (WCW), Turner retooled its programming with higher production values and more convoluted, melodramatic storylines. Beginning in July 1996, for 83 straight weeks, Turner's WCW attracted larger television audiences than McMahon's WWF fare.

McMahon mounted a counteroffensive with a makeover of the WWF that included hiring writers from MTV and the *Conan O'Brien Show* to dream up sleazy plots and odious stunts. One Thanksgiving installment, for instance, featured two women grappling in gravy. Though such tasteless gimmickry resulted in Coca Cola pulling its ads from *SmackDown!*, McMahon's strategy would bring viewers flooding back to the WWF. By 2000, WWF programming had doubled the ratings of WCW. And in March 2001, McMahon acquired the WCW from AOL Time Warner for \$10 to \$20 million. After the takeover, the WCW's top stars, Goldberg and Ric Flair, would go on to share the WWF spotlight with Stone Cold Steve Austin, Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, and Mick "Mankind" Foley.

But there was something hollow about McMahon's ringing victory over his old enemy, for the WCW was not the only sport/entertainment enterprise to fold in the spring of 2001. On May 10 of that memorable year,

a little over a month after the WWF-WCW merger, McMahon and his collaborators at NBC were forced to also pull the plug on the XFL, a new football league that failed to catch on with the public. Just before the launch of the XFL, McMahon had himself achieved billionaire status when a share of WWF stock was trading at \$22; soon after the XFL failure, the price of WWF stock was cut in half—and it would dip as low as \$7.43 in 2002.

Despite the XFL debacle, the man who brought the world Wrestlemania still stands as an impresario whose showmanship rivals that of the legendary P.T. Barnum. In addition to being associated with a low-brow cultural form, McMahon's legend is stigmatized by the widely held belief that his sizable personal fortune has been built on the blood, sweat, and tears (and chemical enhancement) of others. In fact, years before the demise of the XFL damaged McMahon's reputation, his public persona had been tainted by skullduggery. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a steroid scandal tarnished not only McMahon's name but also the wholesome good-guy credentials of Hulk Hogan. Later, McMahon settled for a reported \$18 million in a wrongful death suit filed by the family of Owen Hart. Hart, a journeyman wrestler, was fatally injured on May 23, 1999, when he fell 78 feet during an aerial stunt at a WWF show in Kansas City. And, more recently, deaths of at least two children have been attributed to juvenile violence inspired by the WWF. In the most publicized of these cases, Lionel Tate was given life in prison by a Florida court after being found

guilty of body-slammings and kicking six-year-old Tiffany Eunick to death. Tate was 14 years old at the time of his sentencing.

McMahon's advice to parents concerned that his crude, misogynist, and violent programming is not suitable for children is to "Chill!" As he told Matt Meagher of *Inside Edition*, "We're not trying to corrupt the public . . . We're trying to do one thing only: Entertain you! And based upon our TV ratings, that's what we're doing." On May 5, 2002, McMahon renamed his outfit World Wrestling Entertainment, Inc. (WWE). McMahon's wife, Linda, who was speaking as CEO of WWE, declared, "Our new name puts an emphasis on the 'E' for entertainment, what our company does best. WWE provides us with a global identity that is distinct and unencumbered, which is critical to our U.S. and international growth plans." Putting the emphasis on the "E" also speaks to the chief economic motive behind Vince McMahon's rejection of the pretense that pro wrestling is a sport—it provides him with a strategy for disowning the negative consequences of his business. His well-rehearsed and oft-spoken defense of his product basically boils down to a verbal shell game that equates and conflates "harmlessness" with "entertainment"—a semantic move that covers a multitude of sins and makes one nostalgic for the good old-fashioned dishonesty of kayfabe.

JIMMIE REEVES

See also *Sports and Television*; Turner, Ted

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## Wright, Robert C. (1943– )

U.S. Media Executive

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Robert C. Wright succeeded the legendary Grant Tinker as president of NBC in 1986 when the "Peacock Network" was acquired by General Electric (GE) for \$6.3 billion. Under General Electric chief executive officer Jack Welch, Wright immediately began to shape a new NBC, moving it out of radio altogether and headlong into cable television. In 1988 Wright allied with Cablevision Systems, Inc., in a \$300 million deal that led in the following year to the start up of a 24-hour cable network, CNBC. He also acquired shares of the cable channel CourtTV, and of Visnews,

an international video news service. Following these acquisitions, he immediately initiated selling NBC News products to hundreds of clients overseas.

The first half of the 1990s was equally busy for Wright. The Australian Television Network became NBC's first overseas affiliate. In 1991 NBC bought out CNBC's chief rival, the Financial News Network, for well in excess of \$100 million, closed it down, and merged its core components into CNBC. Wright invested in the Super Channel, an advertising-supported satellite service based in London; began NBC Asia;

Wright, Robert C.

and poured millions into NBC's News Channel, a TV wire service based in Charlotte, North Carolina. But the biggest deal during the first half of the 1990s came when Wright and Bill Gates announced a multimillion-dollar alliance of NBC and Microsoft to create an all-news channel, MSNBC, to rival CNN around the world.

Wright, under the tutelage of Jack Welch, remade NBC within ten years and has served as the longest-reigning NBC head since David Sarnoff. Like his mentor Welch, Wright comes from a Catholic household, is the son of an engineer, did not go to an Ivy League college, is devoted to GE, and is no fan of television. Wright had entered the GE corporate ladder as a staff attorney but quickly moved to the decision-making side, running GE's plastic sales division (1978-80), working as the head of the housewares and audio equipment division (1983-84), and being promoted to the presidency of GE Financial Services (1984-86).

Wright's first ten years at NBC were not without failure. Most notably he led NBC to well in excess of \$50 million in losses by way of its pay-per-view venture Triplecast during the 1992 Olympics. But his years with NBC have also been filled with triumphs. He turned the cable news channels CNBC and MSNBC into profitable ventures and helped make A&E and the History Channel into popular cable networks. Because of such successes, GE promoted him in June 2001 to chairman and chief executive officer of NBC and a vice president of the GE board, as the company pushed beyond the Jack Welch era. In 2003 Wright managed GE's and NBC's purchase of Vivendi-Universal, taking the network into a new era of studio ownership and tighter vertical and horizontal integration.

DOUGLAS GOMERY

**See also National Broadcasting Company; United States: Networks**

**Robert Charles Wright.** Born in Hempstead, New York, April 23, 1943. Holy Cross College, B.A. in history, 1965; University of Virginia, LL.B., 1968. Married: Suzanne Werner, 1967; children: Kate, Christopher, and Maggie. Served in U.S. Army Reserve. Admitted to Bar: New York, 1968; Virginia, 1968; Massachusetts, 1970; New Jersey, 1971. Attorney, General Electric Company, 1969-70 and 1973-79; general manager, plastics sales department, 1976-80; law secretary to chief judge, U.S. District Court, New Jersey, 1970-73; president, Cox Cable Communications, Atlanta, Georgia, 1979-83; executive vice president, Cox Communications, 1980-83; vice president and general manager, GE housewares, electronics, and cable TV operations, 1983-84; president and chief executive officer, GE Financial Services, Inc., 1984-86; president and chief executive officer, NBC, New York City, from 1986; chief executive officer and chairman, NBC, and vice chairman of GE board since 2001. Recipient: Steven J. Ross Humanitarian of the Year award from the UJA-Federation of New York; Gold Medal Award from the International Radio and Television Society Foundation. Inductee into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame.

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## Writer in Television

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A commonplace in the television industry is that "it all begins with the script." In part, this notion recognizes the centrality of writers in the early days of live television, when authors such as Reginald Rose, Paddy Chayevsky, and Rod Serling established the medium as an arena for the exploration of character, psychology, and moral complexity in close intimate settings.

With the television industry's move to Hollywood in the 1950s, and its increasing reliance on filmed, formulaic, studio factory productions, writers were often reduced to "hack" status, churning out familiar material that was almost interchangeable across genres. This week's western could be reformatted for next week's crime drama. This view oversimplifies, of course, and

ignores extraordinary work in television series such as *Naked City*, *The Defenders*, *Route 66*, and others. But it does capture conventional assumptions and expectations.

In the 1970s, with the rise of socially conscious situation comedy often identified with producer Norman Lear and the "quality" comedies associated with MTM Productions, writers once again moved to positions of prominence. Lear himself was a writer-producer, one of the many "hyphenates" who would follow into positions of authority and control. And Grant Tinker, head of MTM, sought out strong writers and encouraged them to create new shows—and new types of shows—for television. Indeed, the legacy of MTM stands strong in today's television industry. Names such as James Brooks, Allan Burns, Steven Bochco, David Milch, and others can trace their careers to that company.

At the present time almost every major producer in American television is also a writer. Writers oversee series development and production, create new programs, and see to the coordination and conceptual coherence of series in progress. Their skills are highly valued and, for the very successful few, extremely highly rewarded. Nevertheless, the role of the writer is affected by many other issues and despite new respect and prominence, remains a complex, often conflicted position in the television industry.

The film and television industries, for example, have been until quite recently very separate entities. Even in the early years of television writers were recruited not from film but from radio and the theater. In many ways, the environment for writers in television still remains distinct from that of the film industry. TV writers are quick to remark that it is nearly impossible to start out in television and move on to film, but that there are no barriers to moving in the other direction—it is, rather, a fact that writers in the film industry will not write television "unless they are starving." This belief summarizes a power relationship in which writers are clearly identified as *either* "television" or "film," or even by genre, early in their careers. One important difference lies in the common perception that writers in television have more clout, simply because there is a well-defined career path by which writers can move up through the ranks of a production company to become a senior producer and therefore control their work in ways typically denied to film scriptwriters.

An interesting aspect of writing for television is the hierarchical organization of the profession. Many production companies now employ "staff writers," although most TV writers work as freelancers competing for a diminishing number of assignments. At the bottom of the pyramid are the outside freelancers who

may write no more than two or three episodes a season for various shows. At the top are the producers and executive producers. In between are readers, writer's assistants, a handful of junior staff writers (with contracts of varying lengths), and assistant and associate producers. Producer titles are often given to writers and are usually associated with seniority and supervisory responsibilities for a writing team. The desirable career path, then, involves moving from freelancer to staff writer to associate producer to supervising producer to executive producer. Executive producers are given sole responsibility for controlling a television series, are usually owners or part owners of the series, and may work on several series at once.

Writers usually become executive producers by creating their own series. But this generally occurs only after writing successfully in other positions, and after being recognized by studio and network executives as someone with the potential to create and control a series. Only in the rarest of circumstances are new program ideas purchased or developed from freelancers or beginning writers.

Readers are a critical element in a freelance television writer's working life, because they control whether or not one's work reaches senior staff with hiring authority. Readers analyze samples of a writer's work and evaluate the appropriateness of a writer's skills, experience, and background for the series, and they are used routinely as a "first cut" mechanism throughout the industry. The criteria used by readers is often very specific, sometimes seemingly arbitrary, but because of their importance TV writers learn to "write to the reader" in order to advance to the next assessment level. An entire subordinate industry exists in Los Angeles to educate writers about the process and criteria reviewers employ, even though readers describe themselves as without significant influence.

Agents are also a fact of a television writer's life because production companies and their readers generally will not consider any work from a writer unless it is submitted by an agent, preferably an agent known to that production company. A common frustration for writers is that agents refuse to represent writers without credits but credits cannot be earned without agent representation.

The Writers Guild of America (WGA), founded in 1912, is the official trade union and collective bargaining unit for writers in the film and television industries and actively monitors working conditions for writers. The WGA has warned that contemporary writers face a hostile environment with ageism and sexism a common complaint. Hollywood is enamored with youth culture and consequently producers and network executives often seek creative talent they feel will be capa-

ble of addressing that audience. According to WGA statistics, a definite bias toward younger writers has emerged in the industry. In addition, the WGA and another organization, Women in Film, recently released reports showing that although women make up 25 percent of the Hollywood writing pool they receive a smaller share of assignments proportional to their number. Although there are several prominent female writers and producers in television, many industry observers believe there exist structural and cultural barriers to the advancement of women throughout the industry that cannot be easily removed.

Because the production of most television shows (prior to syndication sales) must be "deficit financed" (network payment for the rights to the series is less than the cost to produce the episodes), writers often bear the brunt of the resulting financial insecurity, taking less cash up-front in salary or per-episode fees and hoping for healthy residuals if the series becomes successful. Although the WGA sets minimum payments for each type of writing assignment, writers are often seen at the popular "Residuals Bar" in Van Nuys where a residuals check for \$1 or less earns the bearer a free drink. Seventy percent of television writers earn less than \$50,000 a year through their efforts in this field. In spite of this harsh reality, hundreds of aspiring writers write thousands of new scripts each year, hoping for the chance to write the next huge hit.

In other television systems writers continue to enjoy a similar sort of prestige. Television authors such as Dennis Potter and Lynda La Plante have offered audiences outstanding, formally challenging work for this medium. Because of their work as well as because of the American system's financial and aesthetic rewards, television writing is now perhaps recognized as a truly legitimate form of creativity and has taken its place

alongside the novel, the stage play, and the film screenplay as one of the most significant expressive forms of the age.

CHERYL HARRIS

**See also Chayefsky, Paddy; Bochco, Steven; Huggins, Roy; La Plante, Lynda; Mercer, David; Potter, Dennis; Rose, Reginald; Serling, Rod; Silliphant, Sterling; Tarses, Jay**

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## Wyman, Jane (1916– )

U.S. Actor, Producer

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Jane Wyman is one of the few Hollywood movie stars to have had an equally successful television career. She was at the height of her film career in the mid-1950s when she launched her first television series, *Jane Wyman Theater*. Modeled after the successful *The Loretta Young Show*, the prime-time filmed anthology series presented a different drama each week, with

Wyman as host, producer, and sometimes actress. Between 1958 and 1980, Wyman appeared occasionally as a guest star on television series and in made-for-TV movies. Then, in 1981, she scored another series success with her portrayal of ruthless matriarch Angela Channing on CBS's prime-time soap opera *Falcon Crest*.

Wyman broke into movies in the early 1930s as a Goldwyn Girl and continued to play chorus girls until the mid-1940s. By 1948, when she won the Best Actress Academy Award for *Johnny Belinda*, her image was that of a capable dramatic actress. In the early 1950s, her success continued with romantic comedies such as *Here Comes the Groom* (1951) and such melodramas as *Magnificent Obsession* (1954). She was considered a "woman's star," mature yet glamorous, a woman with whom middle-class, middle-aged women could identify. Amid speculation as to why a currently successful film star would want to do series television, Wyman started work on her own anthology drama series. According to her, television seemed like the right thing to do at that time. The movie industry was changing, and she wanted to try the new medium. Moreover, film roles for fortyish female stars were in short supply.

Procter and Gamble's *Fireside Theatre*, a filmed anthology series, had been a fixture on NBC since 1949, but by the end of the 1954–55 season, ratings had slipped. The show was overhauled in 1955 and became Wyman's series. Her production company, Lewman Productions (co-owned with MCA's Revue Productions), produced the series. As host, she was glamorous Jane Wyman. As producer, she chose the stories. As actress, she chose her occasional roles. Presentations were dramas or light comedies, with Wyman acting in about half of the episodes. The series carried on the tradition established by *Fireside Theatre* and *The Loretta Young Show*—filmed, half-hour anthology dramas that attracted substantial audiences, while critics praised live, 60- and 90-minute anthology dramas such as *Studio One* and *Playhouse 90*.

Wyman's series was initially titled *Jane Wyman Presents the Fireside Theatre*, but the title was later shortened to *Jane Wyman Theater*. (It was called *Jane Wyman Presents* when ABC aired reruns in 1963.) Like *The Loretta Young Show*, Wyman's series was rerun on network daytime schedules (to target women audiences) and in syndication. (The aspiring writer Aaron Spelling found work with *Jane Wyman Theater* and later became one of television's most successful producers.) Wyman also hosted a summer series that featured teleplays originally shown on other anthology dramas. This 1957 program was called *Jane Wyman's Summer Playhouse*.

In the years following the cancellation of *Jane Wyman Theater*, Wyman guest-starred on television programs, made a few feature films (with starring roles in two Disney films), and appeared in a made-for-TV movie. In 1971 Wyman guest-starred on an episode of *The Bold Ones* as Dr. Amanda Fallon. This production provided the basis for a series pilot but never became a



Jane Wyman.  
Photo courtesy of Jane Wyman

series. In 1979 she received attention for her supporting role in the made-for-TV movie *The Incredible Journey of Dr. Meg Laurel*. She then made appearances on two of Aaron Spelling's series, *The Love Boat* and *Charlie's Angels*.

The spotlight really returned in 1981. As the ex-wife of newly elected President Ronald Reagan, Wyman was sought out by the media. Her publicity value did not escape Lorimar Productions' Earl Hamner and CBS. Seeking to capitalize on their success with *Dallas* and *Knots Landing*, Lorimar and CBS launched *Falcon Crest* in 1981, with Wyman starring as a female version of *Dallas*'s ruthless and manipulative J.R. Ewing. For nine seasons, she portrayed Angela Channing, the powerful matriarch of a wealthy, wine-making family. Wyman thus made a successful return to series television, but in a role quite different from her earlier work. As Angela Channing, she was not the likable, clean-cut woman she had so often portrayed in



the past, but she played the part of Channing to perfection. In 1984 she won a Golden Globe Award for her *Falcon Crest* performances and was reported to be the highest-paid actress on television at that time.

Jane Wyman's television career began in the mid-1950s, after she had already achieved stardom in the movies. Like Loretta Young and Lucille Ball, she was one of the few film stars and one of relatively few women to have her own successful television series. She also was one of the few women to star in her own anthology drama series. Thirty years later, in the 1980s, Wyman accomplished something even more unusual: as an actor of old Hollywood and early television, she starred in another, even more successful series, *Falcon Crest*.

MADelyn M. RITROSKY-WINSLOW

**See also** *Fireside Theater*; **Gender and Television**; **Melodrama**; **Young, Loretta**

**Jane Wyman.** Born Sarah Jane Fulks in St. Joseph, Missouri, January 4, 1916. Attended the University of Missouri, Columbia, 1935. Married: 1) Myron Futterman, 1937 (divorced, 1939); 2) Ronald Reagan, 1940 (divorced, 1948); children: Maureen and Michael; 3) Freddie Karger, 1952 (divorced, 1955) and 1963-65. Actress in films, from 1932; debuted as Sarah Jane Fulks in *The Kid from Spain*; radio singer under the name of Jane Durrell; contract with Warner Brothers, 1936-49; host and actor in television series *Jane Wyman Theater*, 1955-58; starring role in *Falcon Crest*, 1981-90. Recipient: Best Actress Academy Award, 1948; Golden Globe Award, 1984.

#### Television Series

1955-58 *Jane Wyman Theater*  
1957 *Jane Wyman's Summer Playhouse*  
1981-90 *Falcon Crest*

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1971 *The Failing of Raymond*  
1979 *The Incredible Journey of Dr. Meg Laurel*

#### Films

(as Sarah Jane Fulks) *The Kid from Spain*, 1932;  
*Elmer the Great*, 1933; *College Rhythm*, 1934;  
*Rumba*, 1935; *All the King's Horses*, 1935; *Stolen*

*Harmony*, 1935; *King of Burlesque*, 1936; *Anything Goes*, 1936; *My Man Godfrey*, 1936; (as Jane Wyman) *Stage Struck*, 1936; *Cain and Mabel*, 1936; *Polo Joe*, 1936; *Smart Blonde*, 1936; *Gold Diggers of 1937*, 1937; *Ready, Willing, and Able*, 1937; *The King and the Chorus Girl*, 1937; *Slim*, 1937; *The Singing Marine*, 1937; *Mr. Dodd Takes the Air*, 1937; *Public Wedding*, 1937; *The Spy Ring*, 1938; *Fools for Scandal*, 1938; *She Couldn't Say No*, 1938; *Wide Open Faces*, 1938; *The Crowd Roars*, 1938; *Brother Rat*, 1938; *Tail Spin*, 1939; *Private Detective*, 1939; *The Kid from Kokomo*, 1939; *Torchy Plays with Dynamite*, 1939; *Kid Nightingale*, 1939; *Brother Rat and a Baby*, 1940; *An Angel from Texas*, 1940; *Flight Angels*, 1940; *My Love Came Back*, 1940; *Tugboat Annie Sails Again*, 1940; *Gambling on the High Seas*, 1940; *Honeymoon for Three*, 1941; *Bad Men of Missouri*, 1941; *You're in the Navy Now*, 1941; *The Body Disappears*, 1941; *Larceny, Inc.*, 1942; *My Favorite Spy*, 1942; *Footlight Serenade*, 1942; *Princess O'Rourke*, 1943; *Make Your Own Bed*, 1944; *Crime by Night*, 1944; *The Doughgirls*, 1944; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *The Lost Weekend*, 1945; *One More Tomorrow*, 1946; *Night and Day*, 1946; *The Yearling*, 1946; *Cheyenne*, 1947; *Magic Town*, 1947; *Johnny Belinda*, 1948; *A Kiss in the Dark*, 1949; *The Lady Takes a Sailor*, 1949; *It's a Great Feeling*, 1949; *Stage Fright*, 1950; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1950; *Three Guys Named Mike*, 1951; *Here Comes the Groom*, 1951; *The Blue Veil*, 1951; *Starlift*, 1951; *The Story of Will Rogers*, 1952; *Just for You*, 1952; *Let's Do It Again*, 1953; *So Big*, 1953; *Magnificent Obsession*, 1954; *Lucy Gallant*, 1955; *All That Heaven Allows*, 1955; *Miracle in the Rain*, 1956; *Holiday for Lovers*, 1959; *Pollyanna*, 1960; *Bon Voyage*, 1962; *How to Commit Marriage*, 1969; *The Outlanders*.

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## Xena: Warrior Princess

U.S. Drama

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"In a time of ancient gods, warlords, and kings, the world cried out for a hero. She was Xena, a mighty princess forged in the heat of battle.... Her courage will change the world." This description of the hero of the syndicated television series *Xena: Warrior Princess*, recited over the opening credits of each episode, aptly lays out the basic premise of this popular show. Filmed on location in New Zealand, *Xena* emerged in 1995 as a spin-off of the syndicated series *Hercules: The Legendary Journey*, and like that show, it is immersed in Greek mythology, with many plots centered on well-known myths and legends. Xena had previously appeared in three episodes of *Hercules* as a cruel female warrior, infamous for her evil actions throughout ancient Greece. By the end of her sojourn with Hercules, Xena decided to change her evil ways and set off on her own to begin atoning for her past sins. In a short time, *Xena* overtook *Hercules* in terms of its popularity as a cult show, both in the United States and abroad.

However, *Xena* is about much more than a formerly evil woman making up for her past. While redemption remains a major theme in the series, the more predominant focus in the show is the deep and meaningful bond between Xena (Lucy Lawless) and her "sidekick," a young woman named Gabrielle (Renee O'Connor). In the premiere episode of the series, Xena helps to free Gabrielle and her female companions from slavery. Later, Gabrielle decides that she is not

cut out for the life her family has planned for her—marriage and children, continuing to live in her home village—and sets out in search of Xena. The two women begin to travel together, with Xena fighting evil people, gods, and creatures, and Gabrielle recording their exploits in what becomes known as "The Xena Scrolls."

What sustained *Xena* as a hit (the series has a remarkable following on the Internet and generated a profitable convention-going circuit) was the intense and ambiguous relationship that developed between Xena and Gabrielle. Fans of the series soon began speculating that Xena and Gabrielle were, in fact, a loving lesbian couple. The show developed a substantial lesbian fan base, and viewers delighted in the rather obvious lesbian subtext, which became a hallmark trait of the series. One of the most famous "subtext episodes," "A Day in the Life," showed Xena and Gabrielle naked in a hot tub together, and much of the dialogue contained comical double entendres. Numerous episodes created reasons for the two women to kiss and caress each other, from people being trapped in others' bodies to the need for CPR to be administered to Xena and Gabrielle "playing lesbian" to seduce evil men into letting their guards down. In the show's final season, the episode "You Are There" featured a tabloid TV reporter intent on discovering "the truth" about the two women's relationship; when he finally obtains an on-air interview and asks them if they are lovers, the

feed is cut and the viewers never get to hear the answer to the question.

The presence of a tabloid TV reporter in ancient Greece is just one example of what made *Xena* generically distinctive. While Xena and Gabrielle travel as action heroes in a world dominated by Greek gods and mythological creatures, the series plays with Greek legends and unhesitatingly rewrites history as well. In addition, the show's use of fantasy (and some science fiction) makes historical impossibilities a regular part of the series. Sometimes this element of the show is used to create humor. Ares (Kevin Smith) is constantly present, trying to get Xena to return to her evil ways by playing tricks on her and Gabrielle (and at other times respecting her choices because of a deep love he has for her). Aphrodite (Alexandra Tydings) loves to pull magical jokes on Xena and Gabrielle and develops a strong friendship with Gabrielle in particular. When Aphrodite makes an evil warlord from Xena's past fall in love with Gabrielle, his attempts to steal a magical lyre to woo Gabrielle lead to a "battle of the bands" episode in which various contestants perform rap, disco, heavy metal, and R&B numbers ("Lyre, Lyre"). In another episode ("Here She Comes, Miss Amphipolis"), Xena and Gabrielle go undercover at a beauty pageant where contestants are being attacked; in the end, Miss Artyphys, a male transvestite, wins the pageant. The characters of Joxer (a hapless warrior in love with Gabrielle, played by Ted Raimi) and Autolycus (a smarmy thief played by Bruce Campbell) also support the show's humorous tone.

While such occurrences made *Xena* regularly funny and campy (especially with the use of acrobatic fight scenes in which the laws of physics are suspended), the series also had many melodramatic storylines, some of which lasted for a full season or longer. In those narratives, Greek mythology continued to play a role, but Nordic and Christian mythology, and also Eastern Asian religions and philosophies, were used as well. For example, throughout the show, the Amazon community plays a large part in the more serious stories, especially after Gabrielle becomes an Amazon queen. In the third season, a demon spirit rapes Gabrielle, leading to the creation of Stonehenge. She later gives birth to a demon child who kills Xena's son, setting the two women against each other. (Their anger and grief is dealt with in a lavish musical episode, "The Bitter Suite.") The following year, Julius Caesar (Karl Urban), a former lover of Xena, crucifies Xena and Gabrielle when they aid a religious revolutionary; in heaven the women meet the archangel Michael and are brought back to a life. While in heaven, Xena and Callisto (who has died) reconcile and Callisto is reborn

as Xena's "virgin birth" child, a child destined to end the reign of the Greek gods and introduce monotheism to the world (Eve, played by Adrienne Wilkinson).

*Xena* ended in 2001 after six seasons. The final year introduced Lucifer/Satan, Xena's past as a Valkyrie, and even two episodes set in 2001 that focused on fans of *Xena* in relation to the "real" Xena and Gabrielle. In the two-hour series finale, Xena and Gabrielle travel to Japa (Japan) to help Xena atone for having accidentally killed 40,000 people in her past. Xena becomes a ghost in order to kill the demon tormenting the 40,000 souls, and she leaves Gabrielle alive (after an other-worldly "kiss," of course) to continue their legendary journeys on her own. *Xena's* remarkable success in no small measure paved the way for later action series featuring women. Shows such as *La Femme Nikita*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Dark Angel*, and *Alias* are part of a lineage that owes much to *Xena: Warrior Princess*.

SHARON MARIE ROSS

*See also Buffy the Vampire Slayer; La Femme Nikita; Gender and Television; Sexual Orientation and Television*

#### Cast

Xena	Lucy Lawless
Gabrielle	Renee O'Connor
Ares	Kevin Smith
Callisto (1996–2000)	Hudson Leick
Joxer (1996–2001)	Ted Raimi
Julius Caesar (1996–2001)	Karl Urban
Autolycus (1996–99)	Bruce Campbell
Aphrodite (1997–2001)	Alexandra Tydings
Eve (2000–01)	Adrienne Wilkinson

#### Producers

Sam Raimi and Rob Tapert

#### Programming History

134 episodes

(Syndicated on local stations, afternoons and prime time, 1995–2001)

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# X-Files, The

## U.S. Science Fiction Program

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Created and produced by Chris Carter, *The X-Files* was a strange brew of the science fiction, horror, and detective genres in which D.C.-based FBI agents Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson), the only two regulars for seven seasons, staffed a much-maligned unit devoted to investigating paranormal phenomena. Interspersed with these stand-alone X-File cases were episodes constituting the serialized "mythology arc" typically featured during ratings sweeps periods. The "mytharc" chronicled the brooding, iconoclastic Mulder's search for the truth behind his sister's disappearance and the extraterrestrial colonizers and government conspirators he believed culpable. Anderson's real-life pregnancy prompted a season-two plot in which Scully was herself briefly abducted, thereby integrating her character into this ongoing narrative.

Recurring characters included the agents' superiors, Walter Skinner (Mitch Pileggi) and Alvin Kersh (James Pickens Jr.), the sinister conspirator "Cigarette Smoking Man" (William B. Davis), the renegade agent Alex Krycek (Nicholas Lea), a trio of Mulder's computer-nerd buddies referred to as the "Lone Gunmen" (Tom Braidwood, Bruce Harwood, and Dean Haglund), his shady informants "Deep Throat" (Jerry Hardin), "X" (Steven Williams), and Marita Covarrubias (Laurie Holden), and Scully's steadfast mother, Maggie (Sheila Larken).

*The X-Files* reached a creative and commercial pinnacle in its fourth season when, in addition to accruing international renown, it moved from Friday to Sunday nights as part of a male-oriented lineup that included *The Simpsons* and FOX's afternoon football broadcasts. In the summer of 1998, it became the first U.S. series to sprout a successful feature film, *X-Files: Fight the Future*, while its prime-time run was still in full swing. Production shifted from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Los Angeles in season seven, and it was at the end of that year that Duchovny left to pursue other projects amid controversy over a lawsuit, eventually settled out of court, in which he charged FOX with undercutting his contracted profit share by noncompetitively selling the series' syndication rights to its own outlets. He agreed to appear in a handful of episodes in season eight, during which two new regulars, Agents John Doggett (Robert Patrick) and Monica Reyes

(Annabeth Gish), were introduced. The series limped into a ninth season without its original male lead, but the ratings, which had been slipping from their zenith in the top 20 since season five, soon guaranteed that the series finale, for which Duchovny would return, was close at hand.

The paranormal entities investigated by forensic pathologist Scully and psychologist/profiler Mulder, many of which could take human form, generate both literal and metaphorical meanings. Whatever a viewer's bogeyman or paranoia in the millennial, post-cold war era—corporate power, government conspiracies, "alien" others, or the dehumanizing encroachment of technology—the series was perfectly calibrated to exploit it. From a psychic who predicts his own bizarre death in "Clyde Bruckman's Final Repose" to a liver-eating mutant who slithers through ventilation systems in "Squeeze" to a criminal who mentally induces others to commit murder in "Pusher," little is as it first appears. Like the agents' emblematic flashlights, two slogans headlined in the series, "the truth is out there" and "trust no one," guide both characters and audience on their journey.

*The X-Files* inspired a cult following that developed along with the Internet itself and soon rivaled that of the *Star Trek* franchise. "X-philes" created fan fiction, websites, and bulletin boards that eventually reflected factionalism that might be attributed to the show's postmodern tenor, especially the innovative yet schizophrenic narrative structure in which plot-driven "monster-of-the-week" episodes were periodically suspended in favor of the sprawling and often nebulous mythology. Some fans preferred the former, while others relished the character arcs dominating the latter: Scully's abduction and the cancer and supposed infertility that resulted; and Mulder's search for his sister and the discovery of his "alien" DNA.

Carter bucked the network in hiring the quietly attractive Anderson for the female lead rather than an archetypal "bombshell." As many women as men approved and flocked to the show, also savoring the gender role reversal in which skeptical Scully furnished the scientific counterpoint to Mulder's intuitive leaps to paranormal (but usually valid) solutions. Fans split over the related issue of whether the agents, who exuded unresolved sexual tension, should become an



*The X-Files*, Gillian Anderson, David Duchovny, 1993–2002.  
©20th Century Fox / Courtesy of the Everett Collection

“item.” Those intrigued by the character arcs tended to answer yes, while most plot-focused fans replied nay. Carter vowed that fans would “never see” a romance and, on a technicality, he kept his word. It wasn’t until Mulder’s parting scene in season eight that it seemed at all plausible that Scully’s newborn could have been conceived the old-fashioned way. The agents sealed the deal with a nonplatonic kiss but, otherwise, little of the romance’s progression occurred on-screen for viewers to actually “see.” Baby William later exhibited “otherworldly” traits and, like Clark Kent or Luke Skywalker, was farmed off for safekeeping in order to reappear, perhaps, in a sequel series.

The program is the recipient of myriad awards and nominations, including three Golden Globes for Best Drama Series, as well as laurels for such contributions as acting, directing, writing, cinematography, special effects, sound, music, and makeup. Carter, Frank Spotnitz, Vince Gilligan, Darin Morgan, Glen Morgan, and James Wong proved to be some of the series’ most prolific and oft-nominated writers, with an occasional as-

sist from several of the actors and such notables as Stephen King and William Gibson.

CHRISTINE SCODARI

*See also Science Fiction Programs*

**Cast**

- |                                   |                     |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Fox Mulder (1993–2002)            | David Duchovny      |
| Dana Scully (1993–2002)           | Gillian Anderson    |
| John Doggett (2000–02)            | Robert Patrick      |
| Monica Reyes (2001–02)            | Annabeth Gish       |
| Walter Skinner (1994–2002)        | Mitch Pileggi       |
| John Byers (1994–2002)            | Bruce Harwood       |
| Melvin Frohike (1994–2002)        | Tom Braidwood       |
| Richard Langly (1994–2002)        | Dean Haglund        |
| Cigarette Smoking Man (1993–2002) | William B. Davis    |
| Alex Krycek (1994–2002)           | Nicholas Lea        |
| Maggie Scully (1994–2002)         | Sheila Larken       |
| Alvin Kersh (1998–2002)           | James Pickens, Jr.  |
| X (1994–2002)                     | Steven Williams     |
| Marita Covarrubias (1995–2002)    | Laurie Holden       |
| Deep Throat (1993–99)             | Jerry Hardin        |
| Billy Miles (1993–2001)           | Zachary Ansley      |
| Scott Blevins (1993–97)           | Charles Cioffi      |
| Melissa Scully (1994–97)          | Melinda McGraw      |
| Chuck Burks (1995–2001)           | Bill Dow            |
| Teena Mulder (1995–2000)          | Rebecca Toolan      |
| Alien Bounty Hunter (1995–2000)   | Brian Thompson      |
| Bill Mulder (1995–99)             | Peter Donat         |
| Samantha Mulder (1995–99)         | Megan Leitch        |
| Albert Hosteen (1995–99)          | Floyd “Red Crow”    |
| Westerman                         |                     |
| Agent Pendrell (1995–97)          | Brendan Beiser      |
| Well-Manicured Man (1995–96)      | John Neville        |
| Jeremiah Smith (1996–2001)        | Roy Thinnes         |
| Michael Kritschgau (1996–99)      | John Finn           |
| Bill Scully, Jr. (1997)           | Pat Skipper         |
| Morris Fletcher (1998–2002)       | Michael McKean      |
| Gibson Praise (1998–2002)         | Jeff Gulka          |
| Jeffrey Spender (1998–2002)       | Chris Owens         |
| Cassandra Spender (1998–99)       | Veronica Cartwright |
| Diana Fowley (1998–99)            | Mimi Rogers         |
| First Elder (1998–99)             | Don S. Williams     |
| Second Elder (1998–99)            | George Murdock      |
| Agent Crane (2000–01)             | Kirk B.R. Woller    |
| Brad Follmer (2001–02)            | Cary Elwes          |
| Knowle Rohrer (2001–02)           | Adam Baldwin        |

**Producers**

Chris Carter, Vince Gilligan, R.W. Goodwin, Howard Gordon, Frank Spotnitz

**Programming History**

201 Episodes

FOX

September 1993–May 1996 Friday 9:00–10:00

October 1996–May 2002 Sunday 9:00–10:00

**Further Reading**

Badley, Linda, "Scully Hits the Glass Ceiling: Postmodernism, Postfeminism, Posthumanism," in *Fantasy Girls: Gender in the New Universe of Science Fiction and Fantasy Television*, edited by Elyce Helford, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000

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## XYY Man, The

### British Police/Crime Drama

Based on a series of novels by Kenneth Royce first published in 1970, this collection of two- and three-part serial stories within a series was developed around a reformed cat burglar, "Spider" Scott (Stephen Yardley), who was manipulated by British Intelligence to carry out various less-than-legitimate undercover tasks.

By way of clarifying the enigmatic title, the backstory in the series' opening episode informs us that when burglar William "Spider" Scott emerged from prison he knew something about himself that he had been unaware of before. His body chemistry bore an extra male chromosome. The normal chromosome structure is known as XY, but Scott was an XYY man, which often marks a genetic compulsion toward crime.

This short-lived cops-crooks-spies series had its antecedents in the 1960s British espionage-escapist genre of such series as *The Avengers*, *The Man in Room 17* (ITV, 1965–66), and *The Corridor People* (ITV, 1966). It would have passed by without great interest if not for the presence of a secondary character, Scott's sinister police adversary, Sergeant George Bulman, a tough bullying cop determined to nail him as a common criminal. Rather surprisingly, the obnoxious Bulman (with a penchant for constantly wearing wool

gloves) became something of an overnight favorite with both viewers and critics. Perhaps it was because Bulman was clearly the most interesting character in the series and was someone the viewer could associate with amid the complex, serialized plotting. The craft in developing the characterization belonged to actor Don Henderson, a former Royal Shakespeare Company player who had appeared in such television productions as *Warship* (BBC, 1973–77; in which he was a regular), *Poldark*, *Ripping Yarns*, and *The Onedin Line* before being signed by Granada for *The XYY Man*.

In view of the Bulman character's sudden popularity, *XYY Man* producers Granada Television decided to develop a completely new series based around this most unexpected of characters. The police drama *Strangers* saw Detective Sergeant Bulman and his colleague Detective Constable Willis (actor Dennis Blanch continuing his role from the previous series) transferred from London's Metropolitan Police to a northern city as part of a new racket-busting squad. Bulman was made noticeably less menacing here and was provided with a set of characteristic peculiarities: he always wore a pair of worn string gloves (something of a carryover from *The XYY Man*), carried a plastic carrier-bag stuffed with Open University pa-

pers, constantly used a nasal inhaler, and was often given to literary quotations and classical allusions.

At a time when tough, violent British cop series such as *The Sweeney* (ITV, 1975–78) and *Target* (BBC, 1977–78) had reached the peak of their popularity, *Strangers*, as a slightly less aggressive alternative, presented a singular police detective drama, full of quirky, often humorous characters and colorful dialogue (“Johnny thinks you are as genuine as a nun in a tartan hat”), and taking an unorthodox approach to its storylines. Midway through the series, Bulman was promoted to the rank of detective chief inspector and his energetic Inter-City Squad, as they were known, fought crime around different parts of Britain, spanning the underworld milieus from London to Edinburgh.

While producer Richard Everitt (who had also produced *Man in Room 17* and *Corridor People*) was responsible for the overall style and visual texture of *Strangers*, at times employing some very unusual camera angles for a prime-time British television series (which was also a visual characteristic of *The XYY Man*), it was Murray Smith, the principal author of the scripts, who fashioned the offbeat, scruffy Bulman character into a figure attaining cult status. However, much of the credit for the character’s popularity and celebrity was due still to Henderson’s delightfully idiosyncratic performance.

Henderson and Bulman returned in 1985, this time in his own series, *Bulman*. The character had retired from the police force and had established his own south London antiques-cum-junk shop as a repairer of antique clocks. Much to his reluctance, he is coerced by new colleague Lucy McGinty (Siobhan Redmond), a university dropout-turned-criminologist, to try his hand at the private detective business. Granada Television, hoping that the character was still something of an appealing enigma, decided to extend Bulman’s eccentricities into virtual caricature. Acquiring now the affectionate nickname “Old GBH” (for Grievous Bodily Harm) and sporting an ankle-length wool scarf, he also wears a t-shirt bearing a head of Shakespeare and the slogan “Will Power.”

While the first series of *Bulman* (13 episodes) enjoyed the interest of observing the outlandish character as, basically, one-half of a male-female private eye team, the program contributed very little to the small-screen gumshoe genre. Inexplicably, the second series was not broadcast until some two years later and, of an anticipated 13-episode run, only seven stories were transmitted. Despite the acceptable ratings (by U.K. standards) and an average of 14 million viewers, Granada Television had lost interest in *Bulman* and was now focusing its production energies (and bud-

gets) on the drug-running thriller serial *Floodtide* (ITV, 1987–88) and the comedy-drama series *Small World* (ITV, 1988).

Nevertheless, George Bulman remains one of the few fascinating British television characters to have spanned three different series. From his first appearance in *The XYY Man* as the grim detective sergeant to the chief inspector of the crime-busting unit in *Strangers*, and finally as eccentric private investigator *Bulman*, Don Henderson’s quirky character creation was hailed as a national TV favorite. At the height of his fame there were fan clubs and fanzines idolizing the character, and even a pop song was written about him. Henderson himself recorded a song called “Strangers” in 1982.

TISE VAHIMAGI

**Cast**

William “Spider” Scott	Stephen Yardley
Sergeant/Detective Sergeant	
George Bulman	Don Henderson
Detective Constable Derek Willis	Dennis Blanch

**Producer**

Richard Everitt

**Creator**

Richard Everitt, from the novels by Kenneth Royce

**Programming History**

1976	3 one-hour episodes
1977	10 one-hour episodes
ITV	
July 1976	Saturday 9:30–10:30
June–August 1977	Monday 9:00–10:00

**Strangers**

**Cast**

Detective Sergeant/Detective	
Chief Inspector George Bulman	Don Henderson
Detective Constable/Detective	
Sergeant Derek Willis	Dennis Blanch
Detective Sergeant Singer	John Ronane
Detective Constable Linda	
Doran (1978–79)	Frances Tomelty
Detective Constable Frances	
Bennett (1979–82)	Fiona Mollison
Detective Chief Superintendent	
Lambie (1980–82)	Mark McManus
Security Chief Bill Dugdale	
(recurring guest role, 1980–82)	Thorley Walters

**Producer**

Richard Everitt

**Creators**

Richard Everitt, Murray Smith, based on characters created by Kenneth Royce

**Programming History**

1978	7 one-hour episodes
1979	5 one-hour episodes
1980	7 one-hour episodes
1981	6 one-hour episodes
1982	7 one-hour episodes
ITV	
June–July 1978	Monday 9:00–10:00
January–February 1979	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
October–November 1980	Tuesday 9:00–10:00
September–October 1981	Friday 9:00–10:00
September–October 1982	Wednesday 9:00–10:00

**Bulman**

**Cast**

George Bulman	Don Henderson
Lucy McGinty	Siobhan Redmond

Security Chief Bill Dugdale  
(recurring guest role)  
Detective Chief Superintendent Lambie (1985)  
Detective Sergeant Derek Willis (1985)

Thorley Walters  
Mark McManus  
Dennis Blanch

**Executive Producer**

Richard Everitt

**Producers**

Steve Hawes (1985), Sita Williams (1987)

**Programming History**

1985	13 one-hour episodes
1987	7 one-hour episodes
ITV	
June–August 1985	Wednesday 9:00–10:00
June–August 1987	Saturday 9:30–10:30

**Further Reading**

Harris, Mark, "Glove Story," *Primetime* (winter 1990–91)







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## Yentob, Alan (1947– )

British Producer, Executive

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British television history is littered with examples of outstanding program makers who have been promoted to executive positions that have been less suited to their talents. Nobody personifies this trend more than Alan Yentob, although, unlike David Attenborough and others, he did not quickly abandon this career path in favor of a return to direct program making.

Yentob's television career has been entirely at the BBC, which he joined in 1968 as a general trainee, the way into the industry taken by many talented personalities. His main interests were in the field of the arts, and he quickly established himself as a director and producer of arts programming in the early 1970s, concentrating on popular culture and the avant-garde rather than the more traditional approach. The program that most clearly defined his style was "Cracked Actor: A Film About David Bowie," which Yentob produced and directed for the mainstream arts series *Omnibus* in 1975. This was the first time a traditional arts program had tackled a rock musician as a subject, though Bowie was the perfect artist to demonstrate the validity of the approach. Yentob found himself very much at home in the company of creative artists. His ability to share and develop their vision of how they should be presented on television was to produce many valuable collaborative partnerships. Bowie became a subject to whom Yentob would return throughout his career.

Yentob's next main move was to the program with which he is most associated: BBC 2's *Arena*. Origi-

nally split into strands on cinema, theater, and art and design, *Arena* became a byword for innovation and provocation under Yentob's direction. Though he was series editor from 1978 to 1985, he was also a highly active producer, director, and interviewer for the program, which became a home for those interested in the serious analysis of popular culture, cinema, and music, as well as for the presentation of the avant-garde and for the sort of quirky concept programs that themselves aspired to be works of art. Typical of the post-modernist investigations of everyday art was "The Private Life of the Ford Cortina" (1982), examining the impact of a particular make of car on British cultural life. Yentob himself produced another program that typified the program's style: "My Way" (1979), which presented and analyzed different interpretations of the famous Frank Sinatra song. Musicians profiled included Lene Lovich, Dire Straits, the Everly Brothers, and Jerry Lee Lewis, while the cinema was represented by the likes of Marcel Carne, Mel Brooks, and Luis Buñuel, theater by Robert Wilson and Joe Orton, and literature by Milan Kundera and Kurt Vonnegut, among many others.

Yentob continued to use his rapport with artists toward program-making ends, persuading Orson Welles to give a career-summarizing interview, which he produced as a three-part special in 1982, and exploring the television work of Dennis Potter in another memorable *Arena* interview conducted by himself. Talented arts

program makers who flourished under Yentob's regime included Nigel Finch, Leslie Megahey, and Anthony Wall. *Arena* won six British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) awards under Yentob's editorship.

The next step up the ladder for Alan Yentob was a promotion to head of music and arts at BBC Television, a post he held from 1985 to 1988. Though the main thrust of the job was directing the work of others, Yentob did not entirely withdraw from the program development process in this period, conducting the Dennis Potter interview mentioned earlier and also interviewing Arthur Miller for *Omnibus*. Indeed, Yentob was very much at home in this job, and he was the obvious choice in 1988 for the controllership of BBC 2, the BBC's more serious-minded television channel.

One of Yentob's first acts as channel controller was to set a regular end to each weekday evening on BBC 2. The highly influential daily current-affairs program *Newsnight* was for the first time given a regular 10:30 start time (where it can still be found), and it was followed every day from 11:15 to midnight (or beyond) by an innovative arts, discussion, and review program, *The Late Show*, edited by Michael Jackson, who was later to follow in Yentob's footsteps as BBC 2 controller.

Among Yentob's most successful commissions for BBC 2 were the topical news quiz show *Have I Got News for You* and the innovative comedy *Absolutely Fabulous*, both of which later transferred to BBC 1, as did Yentob himself, becoming controller of the BBC's mainstream television channel in 1993. Never a populist, this was not really the right job for him, and his

years in charge of BBC 1 and thereafter as BBC director of television (1996) and director of drama, entertainment, and children's television (2000) showed that the BBC did not really know what to do with one of its greatest talents. Many were reported to be frustrated by his lack of decisiveness, and although ultimately considered for the top job of BBC director-general, his further elevation was never really likely.

In the meantime, he maintained his links with the world of the arts through a series of cultural directorships, including chairing the Institute of Contemporary Arts. The BBC, however, came under fire for a serious decline in this area and was accused of "dumbing down" its arts coverage. To counter that, in 2003 Alan Yentob returned to program making, first as the writer and presenter of a three-part series on Leonardo da Vinci, and then as editor and presenter of a new mainstream arts series, *Imagine...*, on BBC 1.

STEVE BRYANT

*See also British Television; Have I Got News for You*

**Alan Yentob.** Born in London, March 11, 1947. One son and one daughter by Philippa Walker. Joined the BBC as a general trainee in 1968. Thereafter, producer/director arts programming, 1970–78; editor, *Arena*, 1978–85; head of music and arts, BBC-TV, 1985–88; controller, BBC 2, 1988–93; controller, BBC 1, 1993–96; director of programs, BBC-TV, 1996–2000; director of drama, entertainment, and children's programs, BBC-TV, 2000–.

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## Yes, Minister

### British Situation Comedy

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*Yes, Minister*, a classic situation comedy exposing the machinations of senior politicians and civil servants in Great Britain, was first broadcast by the BBC in 1980. Such was the standard of scripts and performance and the accuracy of the satire that the program became required viewing for politicians, journalists, and the general public alike, and both the initial three-season series and the two-season sequels that were made in the 1980s under the title *Yes, Prime Minister* were consistently among the top-rated shows.

The idea for the series was developed by writer Antony Jay and former *Doctor in the House* star

Jonathan Lynn while both were on the payroll of the video production company set up by John Cleese in the mid-1970s. The BBC bought the rights to the pilot episode, and work on a full series finally got under way in 1979.

The humor of each episode revolved around the maneuverings of the Right Honourable James Hacker, M.P., the idealistic and newly installed minister for administrative affairs (and ultimately prime minister), and his cynical and wily permanent undersecretary, Sir Humphrey Appleby, who was committed to seeing that his ministerial charge never meddled too much in the



*Yes, Minister*, Paul Eddington, 1980–82.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

## Yes, Minister

business of the department and that the real power remained securely in the hands of the civil service. Every time Hacker conceived some notion aimed at reform of the ministry, Sir Humphrey and Private Secretary Bernard Woolley were there to thwart him by various ingenious means. If Hacker inquired too closely into the reasons why he was not going to get his way about something, Sir Humphrey was more than able to throw up a smokescreen of obfuscation and technical jargon, which as often as not discouraged further questioning and persuaded the civil servant that his charge was now nearly "house-trained." This was not to say that Sir Humphrey always got his way, however: sometimes a last-minute development would deliver him into the minister's hands, leaving the civil servant speechless with rage and indignation.

The script of *Yes, Minister* was both perceptive and hugely funny, and the casting of the main roles was perfect. Paul Eddington was completely convincing as the gullible and idealistic Hacker, while Nigel Hawthorne was masterly as the Machiavellian Sir Humphrey, assisted by Derek Fowlds as the genial Bernard Woolley. The show was an immediate success and was showered with numerous awards. Among its many devotees were such distinguished figures as Margaret Thatcher, who named it as her favorite program and saw to it that writer Antony Jay received a

knighthood (Eddington and Hawthorne both were appointed Commander of the British Empire in the 1986 New Year's Honours list). Also connected with the program, providing invaluable insights into the operations of Whitehall behind the scenes, was Harold Wilson's one-time secretary, Lady Marcia Falkender.

DAVID PICKERING

### Cast

Rt. Hon. James Hacker	Paul Eddington
Sir Humphrey Appleby	Nigel Hawthorne
Bernard Woolley	Derek Fowlds

### Producers

Stuart Allen, Sydney Latterby, Peter Whitmore

### Programming History

37 30-minute episodes; 1 special

BBC 2

February 1980–April 1980	7 episodes
February 1981–April 1981	7 episodes
November 1982–December 1982	7 episodes
December 17, 1984	Christmas special
January 1986–February 1986	8 episodes
December 1987–January 1988	8 episodes

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## Young, Loretta (1914–2000)

U.S. Actor

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Loretta Young was one of the first Hollywood actors to move successfully from movies to a television series. She made that transition in 1953 with *Letter to Loretta* (soon retitled *The Loretta Young Show*), an anthology drama series. Anthology dramas were a staple of 1950s programming, presenting different stories with different characters and casts each week. Young hosted and produced the series and acted in more than half the episodes as well. Capitalizing on her glamorous movie star image, her designer fashions became her television trademark. The show's success spurred other similar series, but Young's was the most successful. She was one of the few women who had control of her own successful series, the first woman to have her own dramatic anthology series on network television, and the

first person to win both an Academy Award and an Emmy Award.

Loretta Young began her acting career with bit parts as a child extra in silent films. By the mid-1930s, fashion and glamour were important components of her star image. By 1948, after more than 20 years in films, she was recognized for her acting when she won the Best Actress Academy Award for her performance in *The Farmer's Daughter*, a romantic comedy. In 1952 she made her last feature film (released in 1953) and jumped eagerly into television. For older movie actors, television offered new opportunities, and at 40 Young was considered "older" when she began her series. Following her lead with prime-time anthology dramas were actors Jane Wyman, June Allyson, and Barbara Stanwyck.



Loretta Young.  
 Courtesy of the Everett Collection

As a movie star and as a woman, Young realistically had two options for a television series in 1953. CBS, the situation comedy network, home of Lucille Ball and *I Love Lucy*, suggested a sitcom. NBC offered an anthology drama. Not a zany comedian like Ball or Martha Raye (who appeared in comedy-variety shows), Young went for the anthology drama. In doing so, she would follow film actor Robert Montgomery (*Robert Montgomery Presents*) to prime-time success as host and actor in her own dramatic anthology series. She wanted—and the anthology format afforded—acting variety, a format for conveying moral messages, and a showcase for her glamorous, fashionable movie star image. Though many anthology dramas were broadcast live, Young, like most movie stars trying series TV, chose telefilm production, a mode that was not only more familiar but also able to bring future profit through syndication.

Young and husband Thomas Lewis (who was instrumental in setting up Armed Forces Radio during World War II and developed numerous radio programs) created Lewislors Enterprises to produce the series. Although Young and Lewis both functioned as executive producers, it was Lewis who was initially credited as

the official executive producer. When he left the series by the end of the third season, Young became the sole executive producer. However, her name never appeared in the credits as a producer of the show. When her five-year contract with NBC was up, Young formed a new company, Toreto Enterprises, which produced the series' last three seasons.

Religious and moral questions had long concerned Young. Known for her religious faith and work on behalf of Catholic charities, the stories she selected for production in her series carried upbeat messages about family, community, and personal conviction, and every story was summed up with a quotation from the Bible or some other recognized source. Concerned about postwar changes in American society, Young advocated TV entertainment with a message. Scripts hinged on the resolution of moral dilemmas. Numerous civic and religious groups honored her for this. She also won three Emmys, the first in 1955 as Best Dramatic Actress in a Continuing Series.

Fashion had also been an important component of Young's star image and was central to her television program. Indeed, fashion may be the most memorable feature of *The Loretta Young Show*. Every episode opened with Young making a swirling entrance showcasing her designer dresses, a move that became her television trademark. Many of the dresses she wore on the show were designed by Dan Werle, and some were marketed under the label Werle Originals. Young's strong feelings about fashion were publicized again in the early 1970s, when she won a suit against NBC for allowing her then-dated fashion introductions to be shown in syndication. While this emphasis on fashion actually served Young's conviction that women had to maintain their femininity, as a star she epitomized a supposed paradox: she was beautiful and feminine, but she was also a strong-willed woman with a career.

While the star and her fashions often attracted reviewers, some complained that Young and her show were sentimental, lowbrow women's entertainment, a typical criticism of women's fiction, where stories focus on the relationships and emotions constituting women's traditional sphere of home and family. The criticism was also typical of a 1950s conceit that filmed television series were inferior to prestigious live anthology dramas such as *Studio One* and *Philco Television Playhouse*.

Young's anecdotal and philosophical book, *The Things I Had to Learn*, was published in 1961, the same year her prime-time series went off the air. Her philosophies about life, success, and faith were the basis of the book, just as they had been for *The Loretta Young Show*. However, it should be noted that Helen

Ferguson, Young's publicist, really wrote most, if not all, of the book.

She returned to series television in the 1962–63 season with *The New Loretta Young Show*, a situation comedy, and formed LYL Productions to produce the series. The story originally centered on her as a widowed writer-mother, but her character was married by the end of the season. This new series lasted only one season, and Young did not return to television again until 1986, when she appeared in a made-for-TV movie, *Christmas Eve*. She won a Golden Globe Award for that performance. Her last television performance and dramatic role was in another made-for-TV movie, *Lady in the Corner* (1989), in which she played the publisher of a fashion magazine. In August 2000, Loretta Young's long career finally came to an end when she succumbed to ovarian cancer.

Loretta Young is probably most important to television's history as a woman who blazed a path for other women as both an actor and a producer, who succeeded with her own prime-time show in a format that was not a situation comedy, and who was able to transfer success in film to success in television. Few film stars have made this transition, and certainly none have done so with more glamour or grace than the inimitable Loretta Young.

MADELYN M. RITROSKY-WINSLOW

See also **Anthology Drama; Gender and Television; Loretta Young Show, The; Wyman, Jane**

**Loretta Young.** Born Gretchen Michaela Young in Salt Lake City, Utah, January 6, 1914. Attended Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, California. Married: 1) Grant Withers, 1930 (divorced, 1931); child: Judy; 2) Thomas H.A. Lewis, 1940; children: Christopher Paul and Peter. Debuted as an extra in *The Only Way*, 1919; contract with First National film company, late 1920s; contract with Twentieth Century Fox, 1933–40; host, producer, and often actor in anthology series, *The Loretta Young Show*, 1953–61; star of series *The New Loretta Young Show*, 1962–63. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1955, 1956, 1959; Special Prize, Cannes Film Festival; Academy Award, 1947; Golden Globe Award, 1986. Died in Los Angeles, California, August 12, 2000.

#### Television Series

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1953–61 | <i>The Loretta Young Show</i> (titled <i>Letter to Loretta</i> , 1953–February 1954) |
| 1962–63 | <i>The New Loretta Young Show</i>  |

#### Made-for-Television Movies

- |      |                           |
|------|---------------------------|
| 1986 | <i>Christmas Eve</i>      |
| 1989 | <i>Lady in the Corner</i> |

#### Films

*The Only Way*, 1919; *Sirens of the Sea*, 1919; *The Son of the Sheik*, 1921; *Naughty but Nice*, 1927; *Her Wild Oat*, 1928; *The Whip Woman*, 1928; *Laugh, Clown, Laugh*, 1928; *The Magnificent Flirt*, 1928; *The Head Man*, 1928; *Scarlett Seas*, 1928; *The Squall*, 1929; *The Girl in the Glass Cage*, 1929; *Fast Life*, 1929; *The Careless Age*, 1929; *The Show of Shows*, 1929; *The Forward Pass*, 1929; *The Man from Blankley's*, 1930; *The Second-Story Murder*, 1930; *Loose Ankles*, 1930; *Road to Paradise*, 1930; *Kismet*, 1930; *The Truth About Youth*, 1930; *The Devil to Pay*, 1930; *Bea Ideal*, 1931; *The Right of Way*, 1931; *Three Girls Lost*, 1931; *Too Young to Marry*, 1931; *Big Business Girl*, 1931; *I Like Your Nerve*, 1931; *Platinum Blonde*, 1931; *The Ruling Voice*, 1931; *Taxi*, 1932; *The Hatchet Man*, 1932; *Play Girl*, 1932; *Weekend Marriage*, 1932; *Life Begins*, 1932; *They Call It Sin*, 1932; *Employee's Entrance*, 1933; *Grand Slam*, 1933; *Zoo in Budapest*, 1933; *The Life of Jimmy Dolan*, 1933; *Midnight Mary*, 1933; *Heroes for Sale*, 1933; *The Devil's in Love*, 1933; *She Had to Say Yes*, 1933; *A Man's Castle*, 1933; *The House of Rothschild*, 1934; *Born to Be Bad*, 1934; *Bulldog Drummond Strikes Back*, 1934; *Caravan*, 1934; *The White Parade*, 1934; *Clive of India*, 1935; *Shanghai*, 1935; *Call of the Wild*, 1935; *The Crusades*, 1935; *The Unguarded Hour*, 1936; *Private Number*, 1936; *Ramona*, 1936; *Ladies in Love*, 1936; *Love Is News*, 1937; *Café Metropole*, 1937; *Love Under Fire*, 1937; *Wife, Doctor, and Nurse*, 1937; *Second Honeymoon*, 1937; *Four Men and a Prayer*, 1938; *Three Blind Mice*, 1938; *Suez*, 1938; *Kentucky*, 1938; *Wife, Husband, Friend*, 1939; *The Story of Alexander Graham Bell*, 1939; *Eternally Yours*, 1939; *The Doctor Takes a Wife*, 1940; *The Lady from Cheyenne*, 1941; *The Men in Her Life*, 1941; *Bedtime Story*, 1942; *A Night to Remember*, 1943; *China*, 1943; *Ladies Courageous*, 1944; *And Now Tomorrow*, 1944; *Along Came Jones*, 1945; *The Stranger*, 1946; *The Perfect Marriage*, 1947; *The Farmer's Daughter*, 1947; *The Bishop's Wife*, 1947; *Rachel and the Stranger*, 1948; *The Accused*, 1949; *Mother Is a Freshman*, 1949; *Come to the Stable*, 1949; *Key to the City*, 1950; *Cause for Alarm*, 1951; *Half Angel*, 1951; *Paula*, 1952; *Because of You*, 1952; *It Happens Every Thursday*, 1953.

#### Stage

*An Evening with Loretta Young*, 1989.

#### Publication

*The Things I Had to Learn*, as told to Helen Ferguson, 1961

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Morella, Joe, and Edward Z. Epstein, *Loretta Young: An Extraordinary Life*, New York: Delacorte, 1986

Siegel, S., and B. Siegel, *The Encyclopedia of Hollywood*, New York: Facts on File, 1990

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## Young, Robert (1907–1998)

U.S. Actor

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Robert Young came to television out of film and radio, and for nearly 30 years he was revered as television's quintessential father figure. In his role as Jim Anderson in the domestic melodrama *Father Knows Best* and as the title character in the long-running medical drama *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, he was admired as a strict but benevolent patriarch. Gentle, moralistic, and highly interventionist, Young's television persona corrected and guided errant behavior, initially in a family setting, then as an omnipotent doctor, and, perhaps most self-consciously, when he portrayed "himself" in a decade-long series of commercials for decaffeinated coffee. With a simple raised eyebrow and a tilt of the head, Young's character convinced even the most hedonistic of costars to relinquish their selfish ways for a greater noble purpose.

Young began his career as a second lead in Hollywood films. Displaying a generally unrecognized versatility, Young portrayed villains, best buddies, and victims with equal aplomb and performed for many of Hollywood's finest directors, including Alfred Hitchcock, Frank Borzage, and Edward Dmytryk. Frustrated with his secondary status (he described his parts as those refused by Robert Montgomery), Young ventured in 1949 into radio, where he coproduced (with his good friend and business partner Eugene Rodney) and starred in a family comedy, *Father Knows Best?* Running for five years, the program was a soft-hearted look at a family in which the benevolent head of the family was regarded with love but skepticism and in which mother generally supplied the wisdom. At the time, most family comedies were characterized by wisecracking moms and inept fathers. Young took the role on the condition that the father, in his words, not be "an idiot. Just make it so he's unaware. He's not running the ship, but he thinks he is."

In 1954 Young and Rodney were approached by Screen Gems to bring the program to television. While Young was hesitant at first, a promise of joint ownership in the program convinced him to make the move. Upon network insistence, the question mark was dropped (they thought it demeaning), and *Father Knows Best* premiered on CBS, under the sponsorship of Kent cigarettes. Because of advertising and network time-franchises, the program was placed too late in the evening to attract a family audience and quickly died in the ratings. A fan-letter campaign and the personal intervention of Thomas McCabe, president of the Scott Paper Company, resurrected the program, which was to become an NBC staple for the next five years.

The television series was quite different from the radio version. Most significantly, the radio program's ambivalence about the father's wisdom was removed and replaced by an emphatic belief that Jim Anderson was the sole possessor of knowledge and child-rearing acumen. Although the original head writer, Roswell Rogers, remained with the program, most of the radio scripts had to be rewritten or completely scrapped for the visual television medium. With the exception of Robert Young, the Anderson family was completely recast, with Jane Wyatt signing on after a yearlong search. Many of the episodes were based on the real-life exploits of Young's daughter Kathy, while Wyatt was described as an amalgamation of the wives of Young, Rodney, and Rogers.

The program was heralded by the popular press and audiences alike as a refreshing change from "dumb Dad" shows. With near-irritating consistency, Jim Anderson resolved his family's dilemmas through a pattern of psychic intimidation, guilt, and manipulation, causing the errant family member to recant his or her selfish desires and put the good of the community,

family, and society ahead of personal pleasure. The wife and the three children, played by Elinor Donahue, Billy Gray, and Laurin Chapin, were lectured with equal severity by the highly exalted father, whose virtues were often the focus for episodic tribute.

The program won numerous awards and spawned a host of domestic melodramas that were to dominate the television schedule (including *The Donna Reed Show* and *Leave It to Beaver*). So popular was the program and so powerful its verisimilitude that viewers came to believe the Anderson family really existed. Women wrote to star Jane Wyatt with questions about cooking and advice about home decorating or child rearing. Young was named Mount Sinai "father of the year" and gathered similar honors throughout the series' run. In one of the stranger blends of fact and fiction, the producers were approached to do a U.S. Savings Bond benefit for the American Federation of Labor and the Treasury Department. "Twenty-four Hours in Tyrant Land" depicted the Anderson's fictional Springfield community caught in the clutches of a tyrannical despot. Never aired on television, the episode toured the country's town halls and churches.

By 1960 the personal difficulties of both Young and the teenage cast members, and the creative fatigue of Rogers, prompted the producers to cease first-run production, although reruns continued to air in prime time on ABC for two more years.

Despite a couple of television films, Young's career was basically dormant during the 1960s until the highly acclaimed television movie, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* The pilot film, revolving around the heroic efforts of a kindly general practitioner and his "anti-establishment" young assistant (played by James Brolin), became a hit television series that was to air on ABC for the next seven years. Each phenomenally slow-moving episode, featured Welby, his partner Dr. Steven Kiley, and the friendly (but usually confused) nurse, Consuella, treating a single patient whose disease functioned as some sort of personal or familial catastrophe. Even for the 1970s, the program was anachronistic—Welby practiced out of his well-appointed Brentwood home, and both he and Kiley made house calls. Significantly, the show did try to bring public attention to current health crises or recent medical discoveries. Thus, episodes dealt with Tay-Sach's disease, amniocentesis, and abortion rights (when abortion was still illegal). With kindly didacticism, Welby would lecture the guest star (and the television viewer) on the importance of consistent medical care, early detection, immunization, and the like.

By the mid-1970s, Young grew weary of the program, and this along with Brolin's career ambitions and a post-Watergate viewership hostile toward elderly

male authority figures contributed to the program's demise. With the end of the program, Young continued to work in television, starring in a couple of *Welby* movies and a *Father Knows Best* reunion. He gained critical acclaim in a television film dealing with Alzheimer's disease and euthanasia. His bitterness toward Hollywood casting practices never diminished, however, and in the early 1990s Young attempted suicide, revealing a vulnerability and despair totally at odds with his carefully constructed patriarchal persona.

NINA C. LEIBMAN

See also *Father Knows Best*; *Marcus Welby, M.D.*

**Robert (George) Young.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, February 22, 1907. Attended Lincoln High School, Los Angeles. Married: Elizabeth Louise Henderson, 1933; children: Carol Anne, Barbara Queen, Elizabeth Louise, and Kathleen Joy. Earned living as clerk, salesman, reporter, and loan company collector during four years of studies and acting with the Pasadena Playhouse; toured with stock company production *The Ship*, 1931; contract with MGM, 1931–45; on radio program *Good News of 1938*, and on *Maxwell House Coffee Time*, 1944; cofounder, with Eugene Rodney, of Cavalier Productions, 1947; star of radio series *Father Knows Best?*, 1949–54; star of television version of same, 1954–61; star of *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, 1969–76. Recipient: Emmy Awards: 1956, 1957. Died in Westlake, California, July 22, 1998.

#### Television Series

1954–60	<i>Father Knows Best</i>
1961–62	<i>The Window on Main Street</i>
1969–76	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>
1979	<i>Little Women</i>

#### Made-for-Television Movies

1969	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.: A Matter of Humanities</i>
1971	<i>Vanished</i>
1972	<i>All My Darling Daughters</i>
1973	<i>My Darling Daughters' Anniversary</i>
1977	<i>The Father Knows Best Reunion</i>
1978	<i>Little Women</i>
1984	<i>The Return of Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>
1987	<i>Mercy or Murder?</i>
1989	<i>Conspiracy of Love</i>

#### Films

*The Black Camel*, 1931; *The Sin*, 1931; *The Guilty Generation*, 1931; *The Wet Parade*, 1931; *New Morals for Old*, 1932; *Unashamed*, 1932; *Strange*



*Interlude*, 1932; *The Kid from Spain*, 1932; *Men Must Fight*, 1933; *Today We Live*, 1933; *Hell Below*, 1933; *Tugboat Annie*, 1933; *Saturday's Children*, 1933; *The Right to Romance*, 1933; *La Ciudad de Carton*, 1933; *Carolina*, 1934; *Spitfire*, 1934; *The House of Rothschild*, 1934; *Lazy River*, 1934; *Hollywood Party*, 1934; *Whom the Gods Destroy*, 1934; *Paris Interlude*, 1934; *Death on the Diamond*, 1934; *The Band Plays On*, 1934; *West Point of the Air*, 1935; *Vagabond Lady*, 1935; *Calm Yourself*, 1935; *Red Salute*, 1935; *Remember Last Night*, 1935; *The Bride Comes Home*, 1935; *Three Wise Guys*, 1936; *It's Love Again*, 1936; *The Bride Walks Out*, 1936; *Secret Agent*, 1936; *Sworn Enemy*, 1936; *The Longest Night*, 1936; *Stowaway*, 1936; *Dangerous Number*, 1937; *I Met Him in Paris*, 1937; *Married Before Breakfast*, 1937; *The Emperor's Candlesticks*, 1937; *The Bride Wore Red*, 1937; *Navy Blue and Gold*, 1937; *Paradise for Three*, 1938; *Josette*, 1938; *The Toy Wife*, 1938; *Three Comrades*, 1938; *Rich Man—Poor Girl*, 1938; *The Shining Hour*, 1938; *Honolulu*, 1939; *Bridal Suite*, 1939; *Miracles for Sale*, 1939; *Maisie*, 1939; *Northwest Passage*, 1940; *Florian*, 1940; *The Mortal Storm*, 1940; *Sporting Blood*, 1940; *Dr. Kildare's Crisis*, 1940; *The Trial of Mary Dugan*, 1941; *Lady Be Good*, 1941; *Unmarried Bachelor*,

1941; *H.M. Pulham, Esq.*, 1941; *Joe Smith—American*, 1942; *Cairo*, 1942; *Journey for Margaret*, 1942; *Slightly Dangerous*, 1943; *Claudia*, 1943; *Sweet Rosie O'Grady*, 1943; *The Canterville Ghost*, 1944; *The Enchanted Cottage*, 1945; *Those Endearing Young Charms*, 1945; *Lady Luck*, 1946; *The Searching Wind*, 1946; *Claudia and David*, 1946; *They Won't Believe Me*, 1947; *Crossfire*, 1947; *Relentless*, 1948; *Sitting Pretty*, 1948; *Adventure in Baltimore*, 1949; *Bride for Sale*, 1949; *That Forsyte Woman*, 1949; *And Baby Makes Three*, 1949; *The Second Woman*, 1951; *Goodbye, My Fancy*, 1951; *The Half Breed*, 1952; *Secret of the Incas*, 1954; *Born Free*, 1966.

#### Radio

*Good News of 1938*; *Father Knows Best?*, 1949–53.

#### Publication

"How I Won the War of the Sexes by Losing Every Battle," *Good Housekeeping* (January 1962)

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## Your Hit Parade

### U.S. Music Variety

*Your Hit Parade* was a weekly network television program that aired from 1950 to 1959. The program enjoyed some popularity but was never as successful as its radio predecessor, which began in 1935 and ran for 15 years before moving to television. Both the radio and television versions featured the most popular songs of the previous week, as determined by a national "survey" of record and sheet-music sales. The methodology behind this survey was never revealed, but most audience members were willing to accept the tabulations without question. Both the TV and radio versions were sponsored by the American Tobacco Company's Lucky Strike cigarettes.

Original cast members for the TV program included Eileen Wilson, Snooky Lanson, Dorothy Collins, and a

wholesome array of young fresh-scrubbed "Hit Parade Singers and Dancers." Gisele MacKenzie joined the cast in 1953.

The TV version featured the top seven tunes of the week and several Lucky Strike extras. These extras were older, more established popular songs that were very familiar to audiences. The top seven tunes were presented in reverse order, not unlike the various popular music countdowns currently heard on radio. The top three songs were presented with an extra flourish, and audience members would speculate among themselves as to which tunes would climb to the top three positions and how long they would stay there.

The continuing popularity of certain songs over a multiple-week period had never been a problem for

## Your Hit Parade

the radio version of the program with its top ten list. Regular listeners were willing to hear a repeat performance of last week's songs, perhaps with a different vocalist than the previous week to provide variation. The television *Hit Parade* attempted to dramatize each song with innovative skits, elaborate sets, and a large entourage of performers. Creating new skits for longer-running popular songs proved much more difficult on television, particularly when we recall such hits from the period as "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window" and "Shrimp Boats Are Coming."

A much more serious problem facing the program was the changing taste in American popular music. Rock 'n' roll was displacing the syrupy ballads that had been the mainstay of popular music during the 1930s and 1940s. The earlier music had a multigenerational appeal, and the radio version of *Your Hit Parade* catered to a family audience. The rock music of the 1950s was clearly targeted to younger listeners and actually thrived on the disdain of its older critics.

Further, much of the popularity of the faster-paced rock hits was dependent on complex instrumental arrangements and the unique styling of a particular artist or group. Rock music's first major star, the brooding, sensuous Elvis Presley, was a sharp contrast to the sedate styles of Snooky Lanson and Dorothy Collins. As rock (and Presley) gained in popularity, the ratings for *Your Hit Parade* plummeted. The cast was changed in 1957, and the show was temporarily canceled in 1958, then revived under new management with Dorothy Collins and Johnny Desmond. Despite these changes, the program was simply out of touch with the current musical scene, and the last program was broadcast on April 24, 1959.

NORMAN FELSENTHAL

*See also Music on Television*

### Announcers

Andre Baruch (1950–57)  
Del Sharbutt (1957–58)

### Vocalists

Eileen Wilson (1950–52)  
Snooky Lanson (1950–57)  
Dorothy Collins (1950–57, 1958–59)  
Sue Bennett (1951–52)  
June Valli (1952–53)  
Russell Arms (1952–57)  
Gisele MacKenzie (1953–57)  
Tommy Leonetti (1957–58)  
Jill Corey (1957–58)  
Alan Copeland (1957–58)  
Virginia Gibson (1957–58)  
Johnny Desmond (1958–59)  
Kelly Garrett (1974)  
Chuck Woolery (1974)  
Sheralee (1974)

### Dancers

The Hit Paraders (chorus and dancers) (1950–58)  
Peter Gennaro Dancers (1958–59)  
Tom Hansen Dancers (1974)

### Orchestra

Raymond Scott (1950–57)  
Harry Sosnik (1958–59)  
Milton Delugg (1974)

### Producers

Dan Lounsberry, Ted Fetter

### Programming History

NBC	
July 1950–August 1950	Monday 9:00–9:30
October 1950–June 1958	Saturday 10:30–11:00
CBS	
October 1958–April 1959	Friday 7:30–8:00
August 1974	Friday 8:00–8:30

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# Youth Television

## Canadian Youth Specialty Channel

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Youth TV (YTV) is a Canadian specialty television channel aimed at young people up to the age of 18 years. Since its launch in September 1988, YTV has proven remarkably successful, far surpassing even its most optimistic economic and audience projections. As of 2001, it reached 8.2 million Canadian homes (out of 11 million TV households). An important part of YTV's success is predicated upon its ownership structure. It was originally majority owned by two cable firms, CUC Ltd. and Rogers Communications, the latter being Canada's largest cable operator. Their financial interest helped make YTV available in the vast majority of Canadian homes with cable. Its historically high rate of penetration in turn made it an attractive advertising vehicle for products and services aimed at a youth demographic.

By 1996 another cable firm, Shaw, the second largest in Canada and a leading satellite operator, had acquired full control of YTV. In 2000, Shaw spun off its entertainment assets, including YTV, to a new subsidiary, Corus Entertainment. YTV is part of Corus's full range of youth-oriented media including Treehouse TV (for preschoolers), edgy radio stations (directed at teenagers and young adults), and niche digital channels (Discovery Kids, YTV Pow!, EdgeTV) for teens and preteens.

YTV has successfully inserted itself into a traditional area of Canadian programming strength, children's and young people's programming. This has been an area of strength because (a) children's programming was relatively inexpensive; (b) it could easily be exported; and (c) it tended to be neglected by more powerful U.S. production companies. As a result, YTV has been able to draw on a considerable catalog of Canadian children's programming and to provide opportunities for the expansion of this traditional area of expertise.

Finally, YTV has proven very successful in attracting its target audience. It engages in extensive polling of young people to determine their aspirations and concerns, buying patterns, and political views, and to spot trends. As a result, YTV has crafted a schedule mixing old, familiar shows with new, highly targeted programs. YTV has therefore very rapidly emerged not

only as a leading showcase but also as an important producer of children's programming. It has produced or coproduced such shows as *ReBoot*, *Shadowriders*, and *Freaky Stories*, some of which have received wide international distribution. Additionally, YTV regularly exceeds the programming and spending commitments imposed by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

YTV has also emerged as a socially conscious broadcaster that contributes to numerous charities and fund-raisers (National Kids' Day, The Children's Charity, United Way, Children's Wish Foundation, etc.) and that provides educational grants. YTV has received numerous national and international awards for excellence in programming, for promoting international human rights, for aiding the cause of literacy, and for work in other areas of social concern.

Ironically, YTV's greatest problems have come not from the marketplace or from viewers but from the CRTC. The regulatory commission determined that YTV should not appeal to audience members or age groups beyond its mandated audience, since a wider appeal would threaten the market of established broadcasters; therefore, the CRTC instituted the "protagonist clause," also known as the "Little Joe" rule. This clause requires that 100 percent of YTV's drama programming broadcast in the evening feature "a major protagonist that is a child, youth under the age of 18 years, puppet, animated character, or creature of the animal kingdom."

The clause acquired its nickname when YTV discovered that Little Joe, a main character of *Bonanza*, which it had purchased to strip in prime time, actually celebrated his 19th birthday in one of the early episodes. The CRTC ordered *Bonanza* off the air, and YTV has since lobbied to have the clause removed or altered.

YTV complains that the protagonist clause prevents it from showing material that legitimately appeals to its target audience: characters such as Superman, Batman, and Robin Hood, who are all well over 18; programming featuring hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky; works of classic literature such as *Great Expectations*, in which the hero starts as a child but grows past 18;

## Youth Television

the life stories of most musical groups; and so on. YTV claims that it is difficult to coproduce or sell internationally if a major protagonist must be "a puppet, animated character, or creature of the animal kingdom."

YTV's efforts met with some success when the CRTC amended the protagonist clause in 1992 to include comic book characters, folk and superheroes, and

classical or historical heroes. Despite the CRTC's restrictions, YTV has generally managed to reach a loyal audience, produce hundreds of hours of original content, and ensure its financial success while also meeting public service and social responsibility objectives.

PAUL ATTALLAH

*See also* **Children and Television**

# Z

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## Z Cars

### British Police Series

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*Z Cars* was the innovative, long-running BBC police series of the 1960s, which programmed more episodes (667) than any other weekly crime program on British television. Created by Troy Kennedy-Martin and Elyn Jones, and produced by David Rose, the series brought a new realism to the genre as it featured day-to-day policing in Newtown, a fictitious town to the north of Liverpool. At the spearhead of operations were four police constables: "Jock" Weir, "Fancy" Smith, Bob Steele, and Bert Lynch. They occupied the two radio crime cars called Z-Victor 1 and Z-Victor 2, from which the series gained its title. Supervising operations via a VHF radio operator in the station, and securing prosecutions in the interrogation room, were Detective Sergeant Watt and the formidable Detective Inspector Barlow. Watched by nearly 14 million viewers in its first season, *Z Cars* rapidly captured the public imagination, and the leading characters became household names. Although in later seasons new characters might be brought in as replacements and the crime cars updated, the same basic formula applied. Bert Lynch, played by James Ellis, remained throughout the program's run. Promoted to station sergeant in 1966, he was still in place at the desk when the doors on the cars were finally closed for good in 1978.

In terms of program aesthetics, *Z Cars* attempted to counter the film appeal of early U.S. cop programs, such as *Highway Patrol*, with "gritty" realism. This was achieved by close attention to authentic police

procedure, observation of working-class behavior, and, most especially, the adoption of regional speech. "Northern" working-class subject matter was prominent in 1960s culture, exemplified in feature films like *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *A Taste of Honey*. However, *Z Cars* had more in common with the dialogue-led drama and actor-centered performances of ATV's *Armchair Theatre* and the early years of Granada's *Coronation Street*. Although later series were able to make more use of film and locations, the look of *Z Cars* was constructed almost entirely in the television studio. The 50 minutes of continuous recorded performance provided the space for displays of male comradeship and teamwork, sharp verbal exchanges with members of the community, and, most characteristic of all, intense drama in the interrogation room as Barlow bullied and coaxed confessions from his suspects.

Overall, *Z Cars* succeeded in presenting a more human and down-to-earth image of the police than had been previously created on British television. Major crime remained at the periphery of the series, and the emphasis was placed instead on domestic and juvenile crime. The program adopted the social-democratic view of society so prevalent in 1960s Britain, and at times the police constables (PCs) behaved more like social workers than policemen, as criminal behavior was explained in terms of social deprivation. The liberal approach, however, was showing signs of exhaus-

tion. Barlow upheld the law with a fierce authoritarianism in the station, and the PCs needed all their ingenuity and skill to enforce it effectively in the community. An ongoing theme was the personal cost of securing law and order, and most of the police characters had unsatisfactory family relationships. In one episode, for instance, Watt was shown agreeing to a divorce, and in another Steele beat up his wife. The image of policemen as fallible human beings created some controversy, and for a time the chief inspector of Lancashire withdrew his support from the program, apprehensive that it might undermine public confidence in the police.

In the course of its long run, the program established the reputations of many production participants, including actors such as Stratford Johns, Frank Windsor, Colin Welland, Brian Blessed, and James Ellis; producers and directors such as Shaun Sutton, David Rose, and John McGrath; and writers such as Troy Kennedy-Martin, John Hopkins, Alan Plater, and Allan Prior. *Z Cars* has been a major influence on the course of TV police fiction in Britain. The long-running CID (Criminal Investigation Department) series *Softly Softly* (1966–75) was a direct spin-off from it, achieved by promoting Barlow to the rank of chief inspector, transferring him to a regional crime squad, and replacing the squad car with a dog-handling unit. More recent British programs about community policing as different as *The Bill* and *Heartbeat* have continued to draw from the *Z Cars* idea. One of the most interesting reworkings of the program's basic format was the BBC's *Juliet Bravo* (1980–88), which, in keeping with 1980s gender politics, transferred the power from male CID officers to a uniformed female inspector.

BOB MILLINGTON

See also **Welland, Colin; Windsor, Frank**

#### Cast

Charlie Barlow	Stratford Johns
John Watt	Frank Windsor
Bert Lynch	James Ellis
Fancy Smith	Brian Blessed
Jock Weir	Joseph Brady
Bob Steele	Jeremy Kemp
Sgt. Twentyman	Leonard Williams
Ian Sweet	Terence Edmond
Insp. Dunn	Dudley Foster
David Graham	Colin Welland
Sgt. Blackitt	Robert Keegan
Sally Clarkson	Diane Aubrey
Insp. Bamber	Leonard Rossiter
PC Robbins	John Philips
Insp. Millar	Leslie Sands

Ken Baker	Geoffrey Whitehead
Arthur Boyle	Edward Kelsey
PC Foster	Donald Webster
PC Boland	Michael Grover
Ray Walker	Donald Gee
Sam Hudson	John Barrie
Tom Stone	John Slater
Steve Tate	Sebastian Breaks
Alec May	Stephen Yardley
Owen Calshaw	David Daker
Jane Shepherd	Luanshya Greer
Insp. Brogan	George Sewell
PC Newcombe	Bernard Holley
Insp. Todd	Joss Ackland
PC Jackson	John Wreford
Insp. Witty	John Woodvine
PC Roach	Ron Davies
PC Bannerman	Paul Angelis
Insp. Goss	Derek Waring
Joe Skinner	Ian Cullen
Mick Quilley	Douglas Fielding
PC Culshaw	John Challis
Sgt. Moffat	Ray Lonnen
Jill Howarth	Stephanie Turner
PC Covill	Jack Carr
PC Lindsay	James Walsh
PC Scatliff	Geoffrey Hayes
PC Render	Alan O'Keefe
PC Hicks	Godfrey James
PC Logie	Kenton Moore
PC Birch	John Woodnutt
Sgt. Hagger	John Collin
WPC (Woman Police Constable) Cameron	Sharon Duce
Insp. Connor	Gary Watson
PC Yates	Nicholas Smith
WPC Bayliss	Alison Steadman
DC (Detective Constable) Braithwaite	David Jackson
Sgt. Knell	John Dunn-Hill
PC Preston	Michael Stirrup
Sgt. Chubb	Paul Stewart
DC Bowker	Brian Grellis
Insp. Maddan	Tommy Boyle
WPC Beck	Victoria Plucknett

#### Producers

David Rose, Colin Morris, Ronald Travers, Richard Benyon, Ron Craddock, Roderick Graham

#### Programming History

291 50-minute episodes; 376 25-minute episodes  
BBC  
January 1962–July 1962                      31 episodes

September 1962–July 1963	42 episodes
September 1963–June 1964	42 episodes
September 1964–June 1965	43 episodes
October 1965–December 1965	12 episodes
March 1967–April 1971	334 episodes
August 1971–March 1972	28 25-minute episodes, one 50-minute episode
April 1972–August 1972	14 25-minute episodes; 11 50-minute episodes
September 1972–July 1973	28 episodes
September 1974–May 1975	31 episodes
January 1976–March 1976	12 episodes
April 1977–July 1977	13 episodes
June 1978–September 1978	13 episodes

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## Zapping

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Zapping is the use of a remote control device (RCD) to avoid commercials by switching to another channel. The process is often paired with “zipping,” fast-forwarding through the commercials in recorded programs. Although zapping and zipping have received much attention, viewers have always avoided commercials by changing channels, leaving the viewing area, or simply shifting their attention away from the set. When the penetration of RCDs increased to about 90 percent and that of videocassette recorders (VCRs) increased to more than 75 percent of U.S. households by the early 1990s, advertiser concern over zapping and zipping accelerated. RCDs and VCRs, combined with a multitude of viewing options on cable and digital satellite systems, have led to the zapping or zipping of 10 to 20 percent of all commercials, according to some industry studies. Cable networks specializing in short-form programming (music videos, news stories, comedy shorts) are well suited to filling commercial breaks. Thus, the once “captive” audience of television is exercising its option to zap or zip boring or annoying commercials. Indeed, several studies of RCD gratifications have consistently identified commercial avoidance as a major motivation to use remote control devices.

In the 1980s, RCDs and VCRs proliferated, while the advertising and television industries debated the relative impact of zapping and zipping. Advertisers argued that program ratings did not reflect decreasing

audience attention to commercials, while broadcasters cited studies that minimized the increase in channel changing during commercials. Several studies showed that the content of a commercial greatly affected the degree of zapping, encouraging many advertisers to restructure their television commercials by focusing on more entertaining content, fast-paced editing, or high-quality special effects. When research showed that commercials placed during sports programming were particularly susceptible to zapping, some advertisers responded with commercials that combined both program and advertising elements. For example, IBM’s “You make the call” commercials inserted an advertising message between question-and-answer segments of a sports quiz. Advertisers also tried to thwart the RCD’s impact through more careful audience targeting and by reducing the length of some commercials. As the decade wore on, advertisers increased their use of place-based advertising and integrated marketing to replace the ad exposures lost to zapping and zipping.

Although some observers see RCD-enhanced zapping as a modest intensification of the television audience’s long-standing urge to avoid bad commercials, others have argued that zapping and zipping will lead to gradual structural changes in the commercial television industry. Refinements in RCDs and VCRs may make zapping and zipping even easier, whereas the introduction of personal video recorders (PVRs) sold under brand names such as Tivo and Ultimate TV have

## Zapping

made commercial zipping much more likely. These devices record 30 or more hours of programming on a computer hard drive. The commercials embedded in this programming can be easily zipped using an RCD that can be upgraded, adding new functions. Research on early PVR users shows that as much as 80 percent of the advertising is skipped. As these sources of commercial avoidance decrease the value of commercially sponsored programming, advertisers may continue to shift resources to other advertising media and marketing approaches, or they may begin to offer compensation to viewers for simply watching commercials. Program providers may need to seek other revenue streams such as pay-per-view and subscriber fees to replace the lost revenue from advertisers. The result of these structural changes may be fewer viewing options

for those unable or unwilling to pay these new charges and a wider gap between the information and entertainment "haves" and "have nots."

JAMES R. WALKER

*See also Remote Control Device*

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**Zipping.** *See Zapping*

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## Ziv Television Programs, Inc.

U.S. Production and Syndication Company

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As the most prolific producer of programming for the first-run syndication market during the 1950s, Ziv Television Programs occupies a unique niche in the history of U.S. television. Bypassing the networks and major national sponsors, Ziv rose to prominence by marketing its series to local and regional sponsors, who placed the shows on local stations, generally in time slots outside of prime time. Using this strategy, Ziv produced several popular and long-lived series, including *The Cisco Kid* (1949–56), *Highway Patrol* (1955–59), and *Sea Hunt* (1957–61).

Frederick W. Ziv, the company's founder, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1905. The son of immigrant parents, he attended the University of Michigan, where he graduated with a degree in law. Returning to his native Cincinnati, Ziv chose not to practice the legal profession, but instead opened his own advertising agency. His corporate strategies and his vision of the

broadcasting business developed from this early experience in the Midwest.

During the radio era, Cincinnati was a surprisingly active regional center for radio production. Clear-channel station WLW, owned by the local Crosley electronics firm, broadcast a powerful signal that could be heard over much of the Midwest. Due to its regional influence, WLW became a major source of radio programming that offered local stations an alternative to network-originated programming. Cincinnati was also home to Procter and Gamble, the most influential advertiser in the radio industry at a time when most radio programming was produced by sponsors. Consequently, Procter and Gamble was directly responsible for developing many of radio's most lasting genres, including the soap opera.

Ziv's small advertising agency gained valuable experience in this fertile regional market. Ziv produced



several programs for WLW, where he met John L. Sinn, a writer who would become his right-hand man. In 1937 the two men launched the Frederick W. Ziv Company into the business of program syndication. From his experience in a regional market, Ziv recognized that local and regional advertisers could not compete with national-brand sponsors because they could not afford the budget to produce network-quality programs. In an era dominated by live broadcasts, Ziv produced prerecorded programs, "transcriptions" recorded onto acetate discs, bypassing the networks and selling his programs directly to local advertisers on a market-by-market basis. Programs were priced according to the size of each market; this gave local sponsors a chance to break into radio with affordable quality programming that could be scheduled in any available slot on a station's schedule.

Ziv produced a wide range of programming for radio, including sports, music, talk shows, soap operas, anthology dramas, and action-adventure series such as *Boston Blackie*, *Philo Vance*, and *The Cisco Kid*. By 1948 he was the largest packager and syndicator of radio programs—the primary source of programming outside the networks.

In 1948 Ziv branched into the television market by creating the subsidiary Ziv Television Programs. His fortunes in television were entirely tied to the market for first-run syndication, which grew enormously during the first half of the 1950s before going into a steep decline by the end of the decade. In the early years of U.S. television, local stations needed programming to fill the time slots outside of prime time that were not supplied by the networks. More important, local and regional sponsors needed opportunities to advertise their products on television. As in radio, Ziv supplied this market with inexpensive, prerecorded programs that could be scheduled on a flexible basis. In 1948 the first Ziv series, *Yesterday's Newsreel* and *Sports Album*, featured 15-minute episodes of repackaged film footage.

In 1949 Ziv branched into original programming with his first dramatic series, *The Cisco Kid*, starring Duncan Renaldo as the Cisco Kid and Leo Carillo as his sidekick, Pancho. Ziv's awareness of the long-term value of filmed programming was signaled by his decision to shoot *The Cisco Kid* in color several years before color television sets were even available. *The Cisco Kid* remained in production until 1956, but its 156 episodes had an extraordinarily long life span in syndication thanks to the decision to shoot in color. In its first decade of syndication, the series grossed \$11 million.

During the 1950s, Ziv produced more than 25 different series, all of which were half-hour dramas based

on familiar male-oriented, action-adventure genres. His output included science fiction series such as *Science Fiction Theater* (1955–57), *Men into Space* (1959–60), and *The Man and the Challenge* (1959–60); westerns such as *Tombstone Territory* (1957–60), *Rough Riders* (1958–59), and *Bat Master-son* (1958–61); and courtroom dramas such as *Mr. District Attorney* (1954–55) and *Lockup* (1959–61).

In order to carve out a unique market niche, Ziv tried to spin variations on these familiar genres. In the crime genre, for instance, he produced few series that could be considered typical cop shows. His most notorious crime series, *I Led Three Lives* (1953–56), featured Richard Carlson as Herbert Philbrick, an undercover FBI agent sent to infiltrate communist organizations throughout the United States. While the major networks generally avoided the subject of the Red Scare, preferring to blacklist writers and performers while barely alluding to the perceived communist threat in their programming, Ziv attacked the issue with an ultraconservative zeal. By organizing the series around Philbrick's fight against the menace of communism, the series implied that communism was every bit as threatening and ubiquitous as urban crime.

Another crime series, *Highway Patrol*, starring Broderick Crawford, moved the police out of the familiar urban landscape, placing them instead on an endless highway—an important symbolic shift in a postwar America obsessed with automobile travel as a symbol of social mobility. *Sea Hunt*, which was produced for Ziv by Ivan Tors (who would go on to produce *Flipper* and *Daktari*), took the crime series onto the sea, where star Lloyd Bridges as Mike Nelson solved crimes and found adventure under the ocean's surface. The undersea footage added a touch of low-budget spectacle to the crime genre.

The market for first-run syndication swelled through the mid-1950s, and Ziv rode the wave with great success. The watchword for Ziv productions was "economy," and the company even formed a subsidiary called Economee TV in 1954. Production budgets were held to \$20,000 to \$40,000 per episode, which were generally shot in two to three days. As the demand for syndicated programming grew, Ziv expanded rapidly. In 1953 Ziv opened an international division to sell its series overseas. The operation proved to be such a success in England that Ziv found itself with revenues frozen by protectionist British legislation designed to force U.S. companies to spend their profits in Great Britain. In order to make use of these frozen funds, in 1956–57 Ziv produced two series in England: *The New Adventures of Martin Kane* and *Dial 999*.

With production at the studio booming, Ziv stopped leasing space from other studios and purchased its own



Frederick W. Ziv (right).

*Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research*

Hollywood studio in 1954. By 1955 the company's annual revenues were nearly doubling every year. Ziv was then producing more than 250 half-hour TV episodes annually, with a production budget that exceeded \$6 million—a figure that surpassed virtually every other television producer in Hollywood.

But the tide was turning in the market for first-run syndication. By 1956 the networks had begun to syndicate reruns of their older prime-time programs. Since these off-network reruns—with their established audience appeal—had already earned money during the initial run in prime time, networks were able to sell them to local markets at deep discounts. As a consequence, the market for first-run syndication began to shrink dramatically. In 1956 there were still 29 first-run syndicated series on television, with the number

dropping to ten by 1960. By 1964 there was only one such series left on the air.

As the networks extended their influence beyond prime time and the market for first-run syndication dwindled, Ziv began to produce series specifically for network use—a decision that the company had actively avoided for more than two decades. Ziv's first network series was *West Point* (1956–57) for CBS, followed by four other network programs: *Tombstone Territory*, *Bat Masterson*, *Men into Space*, and *The Man and the Challenge*.

In 1959 Ziv elected to sell 80 percent of his company to an alliance of Wall Street investment firms for \$14 million. "I sold my business," he explained,

because I recognized the networks were taking command of everything and were permitting independent

producers no room at all. The networks demanded a percentage of your profits, they demanded script approval and cast approval. You were just doing whatever the networks asked you to do. And that was not my type of operation. I didn't care to become an employee of the networks.

In 1960 United Artists (UA) purchased Ziv Television Programs, including the 20 percent share still held by chair of the board Frederick Ziv and president John L. Sinn for \$20 million. The newly merged production company was renamed Ziv-United Artists. United Artists had never been very successful in television, having placed only two series in prime time, *The Troubleshooters* (1959–60) and *The Dennis O'Keefe Show* (1959–60). This pattern continued after the merger. Ziv-UA produced 12 pilots during the first year and failed to sell any of them. In 1962, the company phased out Ziv Television operations and changed its

name to United Artists Television. Frederick Ziv left the board of directors at this time to return to Cincinnati, where he spent his retirement years.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON

*See also* **Syndication**

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## Znaimer, Moses (1942– )

Canadian Media Producer, Executive

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Moses Znaimer, an internationally known Canadian broadcaster and producer, is the executive producer and president of CityTV, one of Canada's leading commercial media production organizations. There he guides program services such as MuchMusic, Bravo!, and MusiquePlus. Znaimer's work in forging a distinctive style of television within Canada, and internationally, identifies him as a clear auteur in television production, and he can rightfully claim that he is the visionary of Canadian television. His early work in broadcasting was as a co-creator and producer of the CBC national radio program *Cross-Country Check-up* in the 1960s (a first in the world) and in television as a cohost and producer of the CBC afternoon talk show *Take-Thirty* with Adrienne Clarkson. After being denied the opportunity to remake the radio phone-in program into a national television program, Znaimer quit the CBC and launched into private broadcasting. With no VHF licenses available, Znaimer began Toronto's first UHF station, Channel 57, known as CityTV, on a limited budget in offices on Queen Street in Toronto in 1972. The unique programming of CityTV has been Znaimer's central contribution to the world of broadcasting. The station originally created a sensation in

the 1970s for its late-night, soft-core porn-movie stripping, Baby Blue Movies, which shocked Toronto. But its inner-city focus, its celebration of a cosmopolitan ethnic diversity in its choice of personalities and reporters, its transformation of news into something that was decidedly less formal, more identifiably urban, and generally more positive, and its programming mix of just news, movies, and music all clearly made the station distinctive. Indeed, Znaimer and his small UHF station served as the real-life starting point for David Cronenberg's dystopic film *Videodrome* (1983).

Through the platform of CityTV, Znaimer has successfully produced a number of programs, many of which have gained national and international distribution. *The New Music* (1978– ), designed as a *Rolling Stone*-style magazine of the air, was widely sold in Canada and internationally. More recently, Znaimer has broadcast and distributed two fashion-related programs, *Fashion Television* and *Ooh-La-La*, both nationally and internationally. *Movie Television*, an interview and news program about Hollywood in particular, has also been well syndicated throughout Canada's independent stations. The success of CityTV under Znaimer's direction allowed the company that

bought the station in 1981, CHUM Limited, to launch Canada's first satellite-to-cable music specialty channel, MuchMusic. What was clear about the look of MuchMusic was that it emulated Citytv. Its style was irreverent; its use of handheld cameras at often canted angles was unending; its dependence on the "liveness" of television and its possibility for spontaneity and its transformation of the studio "backstage" into the foreground were signatures of Znaimer's work as executive producer.

Znaimer has contributed specific forms of television that celebrate the potential spontaneity of the medium. His Toronto ChumCity building (1987), the home of Citytv, MuchMusic, and Bravo!, is described as the first "studioless" television station. With complete cabling and wiring through 35 exposed "hydrants," any part of the building can be converted into an exhibition site for broadcast. Several conceptual approaches to television have been registered trademarks developed by Znaimer. The building itself is trademarked as the "Streetfront, Studioless, Television Operating System" and is marketed internationally. The vox populi box at the front of the building is trademarked "The Speaker's Corner," where anyone who drops a dollar into the slot can speak on any issue and the message will be broadcast.

Recent ventures of Znaimer, both nationally and internationally, have met with more mixed success. His involvement (along with Thames Television and Time Warner) with a 1992 bid to set up a similar inner-city style of television for Britain for the proposed Channel 5 was in the end not accepted. His recent launch of another specialty channel, Bravo!, which rebroadcasts past Canadian television programs and films, has had limited appeal and financial viability. Znaimer was involved in setting up a third television network in New Zealand, which once again built on his tried programming flow strategies developed at Citytv. His launch of a Spanish version of MuchMusic, MuchMusica, in Buenos Aires, in 1994 has gained access to more than 1.5 million viewers via cable and thousands of others via satellite in South America. The launch of MuchMusic into the U.S. cable market in 1994 has also produced access to a further 4 million viewers. By 2000 Znaimer had helped set up versions of his Citytv style of programming in both Barcelona and Bogota. He had also reformed a collection of independent channels in both Ontario and British Columbia with similar formatting.

Znaimer's versatility within the arts has occasionally led to on-camera performances. He has been an on-and-off actor, with film credits including *Atlantic City* (1980), and, more regularly, an on-air narrator/interviewer in a number of programs, most notably *The*

*Originals*. His most recent large-scale production for the CBC is a clear acknowledgment of his role in pioneering a unique style of television. A four-part series titled *TVTV: The Television Revolution* (1995) was hosted and produced by Znaimer.

Znaimer's style of television represents a unique contribution to broadcasting. He has developed a localized style with up to 40 hours a week of local content that, because of its connection to the particular urban landscape, has gained a certain resonance and exportability to other urbanized cultures. In addition, Znaimer has emphasized the concept of the flow of television in various formats. Rather than a focus on narrative conclusion, Znaimer's programming style identifies how television can attempt to capture—however partially—the becoming aspect of contemporary life. He has been able to achieve this vision of interactive, urban, hip television through repeated financial success in Toronto, generally recognized as one of the most competitive television markets in North America. The apparent cost of his studioless studio is roughly one-quarter that of regular television stations. Portions of this style have been copied throughout North American television and, to a lesser degree, internationally.

P. DAVID MARSHALL

*See also* Citytv; MuchMusic

**Moses Znaimer.** Born in Kulab, Tajikistan, 1942; family fled to Shanghai, arrived in Canada in 1948 and settled in Montreal. Educated at McGill University, Montreal, B.A. in philosophy and politics; Harvard University, M.A. in government. Joined the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as radio and TV producer/director/host of several shows, from 1965 to 1969; vice president, T'ang Management Ltd. and Helix Investments; cofounder, president, chief executive officer, and executive officer, Citytv, 1972, MuchMusic, 1984, Musique Plus, 1986, Bravo!, 1995, SPACE, 1997, Cable Plus 24, 1998, MuchMore Music, 1998, Canadian Learning Television, 1999, Star!, 1999. Founder, MZTV Museum. Recipient: Canadian Association of Broadcasters CAB Gold Ribbon, 1998.

#### Television Series (selected)

1962 Take Thirty (producer, cohost)

1969 The Way It Is (cohost)

*The Originals* (on-air presenter)

*Originals in Space* (on-air presenter)

*Originals in Art* (on-air presenter)

#### Television Special

1995 *TVTV: The Television Revolution*

**Radio**

*Cross-Country Checkup* (coproducer), 1960s.

**Films (actor)**

*Atlantic City*, 1980; *The Last Chase*, 1981; *The Best Revenge*, 1982.

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"Moses Disposes Formal Launch of Bravo!" *Globe and Mail* (March 28, 1995)

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"Wholly Moses: Znaimer Takes on TV." *Montreal Gazette* (April 7, 1995)

# Zorro

## U.S. Western

The television version of *Zorro*, like its previous movie incarnations, was based on stories written by Johnston McCulley. These stories recounted exploits of the swashbuckling alter ego of Don Diego de la Vega in colonial California.

The most popular and recognizable TV version of *Zorro* was the Disney Studios production for ABC. The two organizations had entered into a joint production agreement in 1954, an agreement that bore immediate fruit with *Disneyland* and *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Walt Disney had purchased the rights to the *Zorro* stories in the early 1950s, but pilot production stalled while Walt focused on construction of his Disneyland theme park. *Zorro* went into production in 1957 and enjoyed immense popularity on ABC for two years, from October 1957 to September 1959.

Guy Williams played Zorro, the mysterious hero who righted wrongs perpetrated on the common people by the evil Captain Monastario (Britt Lomond), commandant of the Fortress de Los Angeles. Don Diego's father, Don Alejandro (George J. Lewis), persuaded his son to return to California from Spain and do his utmost to foil Monastario and his dimwitted underling, Sergeant Garcia (Henry Calvin). Zorro's true identity was known only to his deaf-mute servant, Bernardo (Gene Sheldon). Depending on the situation, Zorro rode one of two trusty mounts, one black (Tornado) and one white (Phantom). Each episode began with Zorro sticking a message on the commandant's door, "My sword is a flame to right every wrong, so heed well my name—Zorro."

Though it used almost all Caucasian actors, the story of Zorro stands out in the television landscape of 1957 for featuring a Hispanic hero figure. Roles and role models for Hispanic Americans were absent from the television productions of the era, and this acknowledgment of the Hispanic culture and the heroism of many of its constituents was considered a forward step.

The characters, however, were broadly drawn and often stereotypical. The conflict in *Zorro* was a simple distillation: a decadent, militaristic monarchy that exercised a corrupt, greedy rule over simple, God-loving folk versus the mysterious, altruistic defender of honesty and virtue. The archetypal characters of Monastario, Garcia, and Zorro provided easy markers of good and evil for the children of *Zorro*'s target audience. Evil was effeminate, devious, slovenly, and doltish. Good was decisive and (in the words of another Disney Studios product) "brave, truthful, and unselfish." Even as the prime-time western genre was approaching the end of its cycle by reinventing itself as "adult," the western genre for children remained a comfortable and predictable haven of values championed by Walt Disney and, in turn, the middle class.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the relationship between ABC and Disney Studios had soured. *The Mickey Mouse Club* was dropped after its fourth season. Though the network claimed this was due to flagging sponsorship, Walt Disney believed it was because of excessive commercial minutes. *Zorro*, still quite popular, was also canceled. ABC now owned enough



Zorro, Guy Williams, 1957–59.  
Courtesy of the Everett Collection

shows to make the purchase of programs from independent producers less necessary. To make matters worse, ABC forbade Disney Studios from selling its product to a competing network, and while legal wrestling changed that restriction, it was clear that Disney Studios had become a casualty of the fledgling network's success.

*Zorro* also serves as an early example of what can happen to the popularity of a show when it is extensively merchandised. Because it was a Disney Studios product, *Zorro* had the benefit of the studio's massive merchandising machinery. During the run of the show, and for many years thereafter, *Zorro* spawned a huge number of items—hats, knives, masks, capes, pencil cases, and lunch boxes—sold with the *Zorro* logo. The original theme was recorded for the opening of the show by Henry Calvin, who played Sergeant Garcia, and made into a hit record by the musical group called the Chordettes. During the two years that *Zorro* ran on ABC, the Disney merchandising juggernaut generated millions of dollars in additional income and kept the profile of the program high, especially with children. Even years after the popularity of Disney Studios and ABC's *Zorro* had waned, the merchandising contin-

ued. When *Zorro* became a children's cartoon in the 1970s, a PEZ candy dispenser capped with Zorro's masked visage enjoyed healthy sales.

In some ways, *Zorro* serves as a model for much that is right and much that is wrong with children's television. It often propounded positive values and altruistic behavior, but it was ultimately one of the first of a long line of productions used solely to deliver a huge number of children to advertisers.

The image of Zorro remains prevalent today. From McCulley's original stories, through the movie with Tyrone Power and the serial with Clayton Moore, the Disney version for ABC, the Saturday-morning cartoon, the cable remake on the Family Channel in 1988, and the 1998 feature film *The Mask of Zorro*, Zorro still has appeal. Even today, colorized versions of the original black-and-white episodes shot by Disney air on cable, introducing the next wave of children to "a horseman known as Zorro."

JOHN COOPER

See also **Walt Disney Programs; Westerns**

#### Cast

Don Diego de la Vega ("Zorro")	Guy Williams
Don Alejandro	George J. Lewis
Bernardo	Gene Sheldon
Captain Monastario	Britt Lomond
Sergeant Garcia	Henry Calvin
Nacho Torres	Jan Arvan
Elena Torres	Eugenia Paul
Magistrate Galindo	Vinton Hayworth
Anna Maria Verdugo (1958–59)	Jolene Brand
Senor Gregorio Verdugo (1958–59)	Eduard Franz
Corporal Reyes (1958–59)	Don Diamond

#### Producers

Walt Disney, William H. Anderson

#### Programming History

ABC  
October 1957–September 1959 Thursday 8:00–8:30

#### Further Reading

- Hollis, Richard, *The Disney Studio Story*, London: Octopus Books, 1989  
 Schnider, Cy, *Children's Television*, Chicago: NTC Books, 1987  
 West, Richard, *Television Westerns: Major and Minor Series, 1946–1978*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1987

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# Zwick, Edward (1952– ), and Marshall Herskovitz (1952– )

U.S. Producers, Writers, Directors

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Marshall Herskovitz and Edward M. Zwick met as students at the American Film Institute in the mid-1970s and soon after their graduation started their television careers. Their series television work acknowledges the collective force that family represents in American culture, and as such, their authorial presence is felt through their primary themes, striving for authentic representations of the modern American family.

In 1983 Herskovitz and Zwick teamed up to coproduce an award-winning television movie, *Special Bulletin*, which brought them each their first Emmy Award. In 1985 they formed their production company, Bedford Falls, named for George Bailey's hometown of Bedford Falls in Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life*.

Herskovitz and Zwick have been called the first baby boomers to depict their own lives so openly in a television series. Their drama series *thirtysomething* (1987–91) reflected the so-called self-centered dilemmas of the 1980s "thirtyish" professionals. Called a "yuppie" drama by some, the series featured a strong ensemble cast led by Ken Olin, Mel Harris, Timothy Busfield, and Patricia Wettig. Critics were divided about the show's self-exploration into relationships. Herskovitz and Zwick, however, took an unapologetic look at married and single life, which became a cultural touchstone for a generation. Their work on the 1987 season gained them each another Emmy Award.

Their series *My So-Called Life* (1994–95) was an emotionally raw look at the teenage years. Running only 19 episodes, it followed a 15-year-old girl through the sometimes dark, sometimes tender pains of identity exploration. *My So-Called Life* was a departure from cute teen entertainment, and series star Claire Danes was praised for reaching honest and profound levels of teenage experience. *Relativity* (1996–97) was a romantic comedy/drama centering on two 20-year-olds exploring the paradoxes that come when children mature and separate. While not series creators, Herskovitz and Zwick served as executive producers on *Relativity*. As with *My So-Called Life*, this show struggled to find its audience.

Most recently, *Once and Again* (1999–2002), sometimes called "fortysomething," explored the changing face of an American family faced with the realities of divorce, single parenting, and blending with other divorced families. The series also poignantly portrayed the struggles faced by children often unsettled by divorce—struggles that included anorexia, depression, and sexual identification. Winning an Emmy for her portrayal of Lily Manning, Sela Ward led an ensemble cast praised for their unflinching and uncompromising performances. *Once and Again* became part of an unusual deal that allowed ABC to replay episodes on Lifetime cable within the same week of ABC's airdate. The week before its premiere, Lifetime signed an exclusive agreement with ABC and Touchstone Television (Disney) in what was called one of the fastest network-to-cable deals ever.

Each of these series offered complex and textured sites for negotiating the shifting cultural phenomena of identity and family. The Herskovitz and Zwick narratives tend to avoid the easy answers and quick fixes. These same qualities were also the sites of profuse criticism, however. Some critics accused Herskovitz and Zwick of navel gazing, while others criticized network impatience for not letting the series' audiences build. While this may be true for *My So-Called Life* and *Relativity*, there is widespread agreement that *Once and Again* was mishandled, having been moved seven times in two and a half years.

SHERRA SCHICK

*See also Family; thirtysomething*

**Edward M. Zwick.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, October 8, 1952. Married Lynn Liberty Godshall; two children. Education: Harvard University, B.A., 1974; American Film Institute, M.F.A., 1976. Writer, producer, director associated with quality television programming centering on family (*thirtysomething*, *Relativity*, *My So-Called Life*, *Once and Again*); cofounder (with Marshall Herskovitz) of Bedford Falls Production Company. Recipient of Humanitas Prize Award, 1980.

Zwick, Edward, and Marshall Herskovitz

1983, 1988, 2001; Emmy Award, 1983, 1988; Writers Guild Award, 1983; Directors Guild Award, 1984; Bronze Wrangler, 1995; Lone Star Film and Television Award, 1997; Oscar, 1999; BAFTA, 1999; Golden Satellite Award, 1999; Stanley Kramer Award, 2002.

**Marshall Herskovitz.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 23, 1952. Married Susan Amanda Shilladay (divorced); children: Elizabeth Gray, May Myles. Education: Brandeis University, B.A., 1973; American Film Institute, M.F.A., 1975. Writer, producer, director associated with quality television programming centering on family (*Family*, *thirtysomething*, *Relativity*, *My So-Called Life*, *Once and Again*); cofounder (with Edward M. Zwick) of Bedford Falls Production Company. Recipient of DGA Award, 1988, 1989; Emmy Award, 1983, 1988; Humanitas Prize, 1983, 1988, 2001; Stanley Kramer Award, 2002.

**Television Series: Herskovitz and Zwick, Producers**

1987–1991     *thirtysomething*  
1989           *Dream Street*  
1994–95       *My So-Called Life*  
1996–97       *Relativity*  
1999–2002    *Once and Again*

**Television Series: Zwick, Producer**

1976–80       *Family*

**Television Specials, Movies: Herskovitz and Zwick, Producers**

1983           *Special Bulletin*  
1990           *Extreme Close-Up*  
1987           *Sawdust, CBS Summer Playhouse*  
1992           *Rock the Vote*  
2002           *Oooph!*

**Television Movies: Zwick, Director**

1982           *Paper Dolls*  
1982           *Having It All*

**Television Series: Herskovitz, Writer (Episodic)**

1970           *Family*  
1970–80       *The White Shadow*  
1980           *CHiPs*  
1982–83       *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers*  
1987           *thirtysomething*

1989           *Dream Street*  
1999–2002    *Once and Again*

**Television Series: Herskovitz, Director (Episodic)**

1976           *Family*  
1985           *The Best Times*  
1985–86       *The Insiders*  
1987–91       *thirtysomething*  
1999–2002    *Once and Again*  
1994           *My So-Called Life*

**Television Series: Zwick, Writer (Episodic)**

1976           *Family*  
1987           *thirtysomething*  
1999–2002    *Once and Again*

**Television Series: Zwick, Director (Episodic)**

1985           *The Insiders*  
1985           *The Best Times*  
1996           *Relativity*  
1994           *My So-Called Life*

**Films (selected) Zwick, Director**

*About Last Night*, 1986; *Glory*, 1989; *Leaving Normal*, 1992; *Legends of the Fall*, 1994; *Courage Under Fire*, 1995; *The Siege*, 1998. Producer: *Legends of the Fall*, 1994; *Dangerous Beauty*, 1998; *The Siege*, 1998; *Shakespeare in Love*, 1998; *Executive Search*, 1999; *Traffic*, 2000; *I Am Sam*, 2001; *Abandon*, 2002; *Lone Star State of Mind*, 2002.

**Films (selected) Herskovitz, Director**

*Jack the Bear*, 1993; *Dangerous Beauty*, 1998. Producer: *Legends of the Fall*, 1994; *Dangerous Beauty*, 1998; *Executive Search*, 1999; *Traffic*, 2000; *I Am Sam*, 2001; *Lone Star State of Mind*, 2002.

**Further Reading**

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# Zworykin, Vladimir (1889–1982)

U.S. Inventor

For his fundamental and crucial work in creating the iconoscope and the kinescope, inventor Vladimir Zworykin is often described as “the father of television.” These basic technologies revolutionized television and led to the worldwide adoption of electronic television rather than mechanical television, a device that used synchronized moving parts to generate rudimentary pictures.

At the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology, Zworykin studied electrical engineering with Boris Rosing, who believed cathode-ray tubes would be useful in television’s development because they could shoot a steady stream of charged particles. After graduating from St. Petersburg in 1912, Zworykin studied X-ray technology with well-known French physicist Paul Langevin at the College de France in Paris. Both experiences influenced Zworykin’s later work after he emigrated to the United States in 1919.

In 1920 Zworykin joined Westinghouse to work on the development of radio tubes and photocells. While there, he earned his Ph.D. in physics at the University of Pittsburgh and wrote his dissertation on improving photoelectric cells. However, electronic television’s development captured his attention, and in December 1923 he applied for a patent for the iconoscope, which produced pictures by scanning images. Within the year, he applied for a patent for the kinescope, which reproduced those scanned images on a picture tube. Electronic television was now possible. After Zworykin demonstrated his new system to Westinghouse executives, they decided not to pursue his research.

He found a more receptive audience in 1929 at the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), where he was hired as associate research director for RCA’s electronic research laboratory in Camden, New Jersey. This same year, he filed his first patent for color television. Reportedly, Zworykin told RCA president David Sarnoff that it would take \$100,000 to perfect television. Sarnoff later told the *New York Times*, “RCA spent \$50 million before we ever got a penny back from TV.”

In 1930 Zworykin’s experiments with G.A. Morton on infrared rays led to the development of night-seeing

devices. He also began to apply television technology to microscopy, which led to RCA’s development of the electron microscope. His work also led to text readers, electric eyes used in security systems and garage door openers, and electronically controlled missiles and vehicles. During World War II, he advised several defense organizations, and immediately after the war, he worked with Princeton University professor John von Neumann to develop computer applications for accurate weather forecasting.

After retiring from RCA in 1954, Zworykin was named an honorary vice president of the corporation and its technical consultant. He was also appointed director of the Medical Electronics Center at Rockefeller



Vladimir Zworykin.  
Photo courtesy of *Broadcasting & Cable*

Institute and worked on electronically based medical applications.

Zworykin received numerous awards related to these inventions, especially television. They included the Institute of Radio Engineers' Morris Liebmann Memorial Prize in 1934; the American Institute of Electrical Engineers' highest honor, the Edison Medal, in 1952; and the National Academy of Sciences' National Medal of Science in 1967.

LOUISE MARGARET BENJAMIN

*See also* **Television Technology**

**Vladimir Kozma Zworykin.** Born in Mourom, Russia, July 30, 1889. Degree in engineering from St. Petersburg Institute of Technology (Russia), 1912; attended College de France, 1912-14; University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Ph.D., 1926. Married: 1) Tatiana Vasilieff, 1916 (divorced); two children; 2) Katherine Polevitsky, 1951. Served in Signal Corps, Russian Army, World War I. Immigrated to U.S., 1919; naturalized, 1924. Bookkeeper, financial agent, Russian Embassy, Washington, D.C., 1919-20; electronics researcher, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, Pittsburgh, 1920, 1922, 1923-29; researcher, electronics development firm, Kansas, 1922-23; filed first of 120 patents, for electronic camera tube called an "iconoscope," 1923; patented kinescope, 1924; patented color television, 1929; director of electronics research lab, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), Camden, New Jersey, 1929-42; sponsored development of early version of electron microscope, 1940; associate research director, RCA Labs, Princeton, New Jersey, 1942-45, director of electronic research, 1946-54; vice president, from 1947; honorary vice president and consultant, 1954-82; director, Medical Electronics Research Center, Rockefeller Institute (now Rockefeller University), New York City, from 1954; developed radio endoscope, 1957; developed ultraviolet color-translating television microscope, 1957; researcher, Princeton University, 1970s; visiting professor, Institute for Molecular and Cellular Evolution, University of Miami, 1970-82; contributed numerous papers concerning electronics to scientific journals. National chair, Professional Group on Medical Electronics, Institute of Radio Engineers; founder and president, International Federation for Medical Electronics and Biological Engineering; officer of the Academy, French Ministry of Education; governor, International Institute for Medical Electronics and Biological Engineering, Paris. Fellow: American Association for the Advancement of Science; American Institute of Physics; American Physical Society; Institute of Elec-

trical and Electronics Engineers. Member: American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Philosophical Society; charter member, Electron Microscope Society of America; National Academy of Engineering; National Academy of Sciences; charter member, Society of Television Engineers; charter member, Society of Television Pioneers; Sigma Xi. Honorary fellow: Istituto Internazionale delle Comunicazione, Italy; Television Society, England. Honorary member: British Institute of Radio Engineers; Société Française des Électriciens et des Radioélectriciens; Television Engineers of Japan. Eminent member, Eta Kappa Nu Association. Recipient: Liebman Memorial Prize, 1934; Overseas Award, 1939; National Association of Manufacturers Modern Pioneer Award, 1940; American Academy of Arts and Sciences Rumford Medal, 1941; U.S. War Department Certificate of Appreciation, 1945; U.S. Navy Certificate of Commendation, 1947; Franklin Institute Potts Medal, 1947; Presidential Certificate of Merit, 1948; chevalier, Légion d'Honneur, 1948; American Institute of Electrical Engineers (AIEE) Lamme Medal, 1949; Poor Richard Club Gold Medal of Achievement, 1949; Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers Progress Medal, 1950; Medal of Honor, 1951; establishment of Television Prize in his name by the Institute of Radio Engineers, 1952; AIEE Edison Medal, 1952; Union Française des Inventeurs Gold Medal, 1954; University of Liege Trasenster Medal, 1959; Christoforo Columbo Award and Order of Merit, Italy, 1959; Broadcast Pioneers Award, 1960; American Society of Metals Sauveur Award, 1963; University of Liege Medical Electronics Medal, 1963; British Institution of Electrical Engineers Faraday Medal, 1965; DeForest Audion Award, 1966; National Medal of Science, 1966; American Academy of Achievement Golden Plate Award, 1967; National Academy of Engineering Founders Medal, 1968; named to National Inventor's Hall of Fame, 1977; Eduard Rhein Foundation ring, 1980. Died in Princeton, New Jersey, July 29, 1982.

**Publications**

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*Television: The Electronics of Image Transmission in Color and Monochrome*, with G.A. Morton, 1954

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## Notes on Contributors

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**ABBOTT, Gina.**

**ABRAM, Daniel.** Masters Candidate, Department of Radio Television Film, University of Texas at Austin.

**ABRAMSON, Bram.** Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Contributor to *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, 1998; *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 1999; *Telecommunications Policy*, 2000; *Critical Perspectives on the Internet*, 2001, edited by Greg Elmer; *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2001; *Global Media Policy in the New Millennium*, 2001, edited by Marc Raboy; and *Media, Culture & Society*, 2001.

**ACLAND, Charles.** Associate Professor, Department of Communication Studies, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. Author, *Youth, Murder, Spectacle: The Cultural Politics of Youth in Crisis*, 1995; articles in *Wide Angle, Communication, and Canadian Journal of Film Studies*. Member, editorial board, *Cultural Studies*.

**ALDRIDGE, Henry B.** Professor, Communication & Theatre Arts, Eastern Michigan University.

**ALEXANDER, Alison.** Professor and department head, Telecommunications, Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Georgia. Has served as president of the Association for Communication Administration and president of the

Eastern Communication Association, and as editor of the *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*.

**ALLEN, Erika Tyner.**

**ALLEN, Robert C.** Godfrey Professor of American Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Author, *Speaking of Soap Operas* and *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. Coauthor, with Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice*. Editor, *To Be Continued... Soap Operas Around the World*, and of two editions of *Channels of Discourse*.

**ALLEY, Robert S.** Professor Emeritus, Humanities, University of Richmond. Coauthor, *Murphy Brown: Anatomy of a Sitcom*, 1990; *Love is All Around: The Making of the Mary Tyler Moore Show*, 1989; *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*, 1983. Author, *Television: Ethics for Hire*, 1977; also numerous books and essays on the relation of American religion to the First Amendment, free speech, the presidency, and the Supreme Court.

**ALLOR, Martin.** Associate Professor, Department of Communication Studies, Concordia University, Canada. Coauthor, *L'Etat de Culture: Généalogie Discursive des Politiques Culturelles Québécoises*, 1994. Codirector, Research Group on Cultural Citizenship.

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Media Publications. Coauthor, *Made for Television: Euston Films Limited*, 1985; *Doctor Who: The Unfolding Text*, 1983; *Hazell: The Making of a TV Series*, 1978. Coeditor, *Media Education: An Introduction: The Workbook*, 1992; *East of Dallas: The European Challenge to American Television*, 1988; editor; *Video Worldwide: An International Study*, 1988.

**ALVEY, Mark.** Administrator, the Field Museum, Chicago. Unaffiliated writer and researcher with interests in television, film, and other forms of popular culture. His work has appeared in *The Road Movie Book*, 1997; *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict*, 1997; and *Screen*, 45:1, spring 2004.

**AMIN, Hussein Y.** Professor and Chair, Journalism and Mass Communication, American University in Cairo, Egypt. Coauthor, "Global TV News in Developing Countries: CNN's Expansion to Egypt," in *Ecquid Novi, Journal of Journalism in Southern Africa*, 1993; "The Impact of Home Video Cassette Recorder on Egyptian Film and Television Consumption Pattern," in *The European Journal of Communication*, 1993. Member, board of trustees, Egyptian Radio and Television Union; General Assembly, Egyptian Ministry of Information; advisory board, *Journal of International Communication*.

**ANDERSON, Christopher.** Associate Professor, Department of Communication and Culture, Indiana University-Bloomington. Author, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties*, 1994.

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**ATTALLAH, Paul.** Associate Director, Mass Communication, Carleton University, Toronto, Canada. Author, "Broadcasting and Narrowcasting: VCRs, Home Video, DBS," in *Cultural Studies: Into the 21st Century*, 1995; "Reconstructing North American Television Audiences," in *New Researcher*, 1992; "Trends and Developments in Canadian Television," in *Media Information Australia*, 1991; *Theories de la Communication: Sens, Sujets, Savoirs*, 1991; *Theories de la Communication: Histoire, Contexte, Pouvoir*, 1989. Member, editorial board, *MIA*, from 1991; *La Revue Communication*, from 1987.

**AUFDERHEIDE, Patricia.** Professor and Codirector, Center for Social Media, School of Communication, American University, Washington, D.C.

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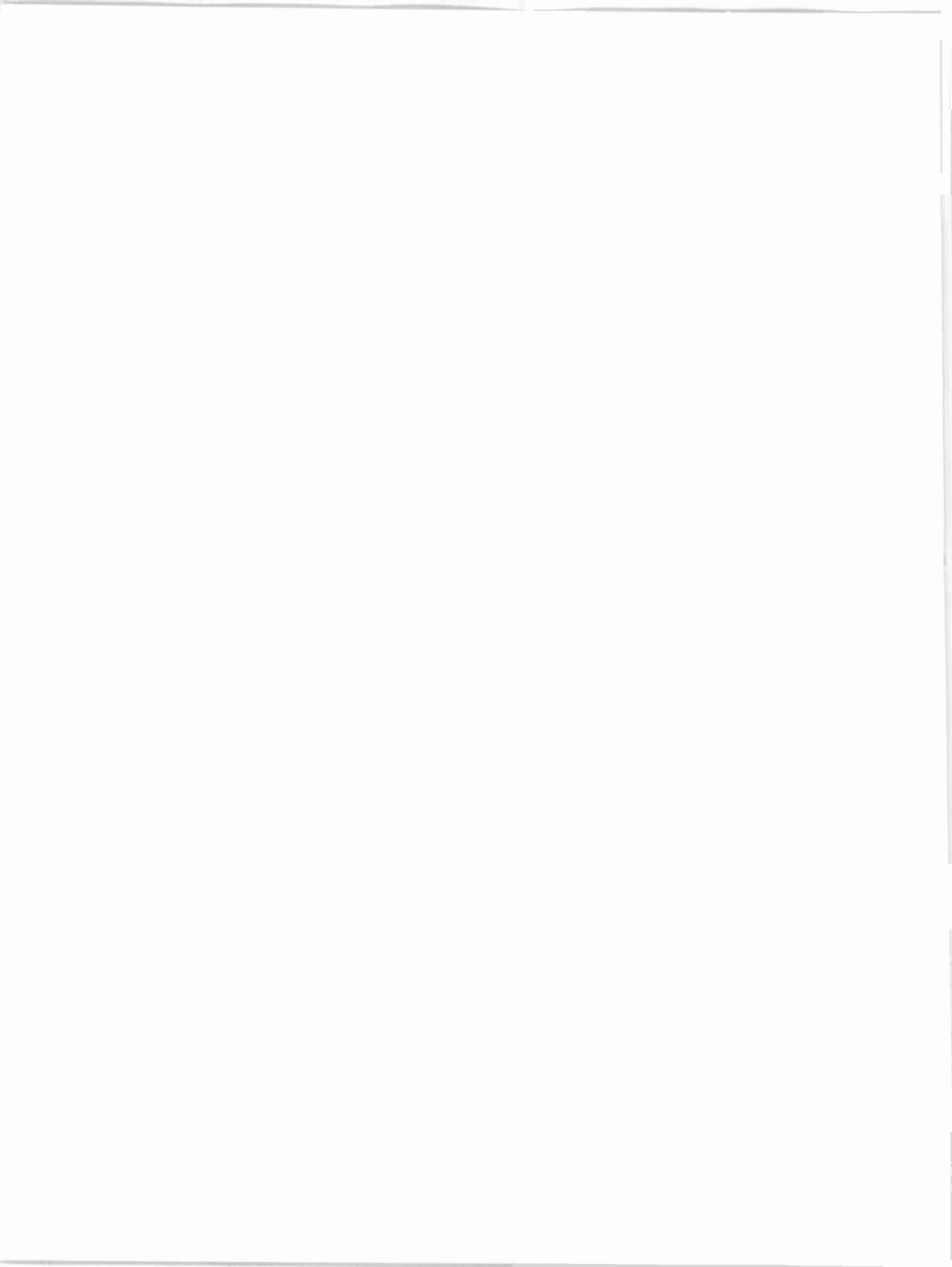
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